РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК

Институт восточных рукописей (Азиатский Музей)

#### Журнал основан в 2004 году *Выходит 4 раза в год*

# ПИСЬМЕННЫЕ ПАМЯТНИКИ ВОСТОКА

Том 18, № 3 осень 2021 выпуск 46

#### Редакционная коллегия

Главный редактор чл.-корр. РАН **И.Ф. Попова** (ИВР РАН) Заместитель главного редактора к.и.н. **Т.А. Пан** (ИВР РАН) Секретарь к.ф.н. **Е.В. Танонова** (ИВР РАН)

д.и.н. А.К. Аликберов (ИВ РАН) акад. РАН В.М. Алпатов (ИЯ РАН) к.ф.н. С.М. Аникеева (Изд-во «Наука») акад. РАН Б.В. Базаров (ИМБТ СО РАН) д.филос.н. С.Л. Бурмистров (ИВР РАН) д.ф.н., д.и.н. А.А. Бурыкин (ИЛИ РАН) д.и.н. Р.М. Валеев (КФУ) проф. Х. Валравенс (Германия, Берлинская гос. библиотека) О.В. Васильева (Российская нац. библиотека) акад. РАН А.П. Деревянко (ИАЭТ СО РАН) к.ф.н. Ю.А. Иоаннесян (ИВР РАН) д.и.н. А.И. Колесников (ИВР РАН) член-корр. РАН Н.Н. Крадин (ИИАЭ ДВО РАН) акад. РАН А.Б. Куделин (ИМЛИ РАН) к.и.н. К.Г. Маранджян (ИВР РАН) д.и.н. **А.Н. Мещеряков** (ИВ РАН) акад. РАН В.С. Мясников (ИДВ РАН; ИВР РАН) проф. Не Хунъинь (КНР, Пекин, Пед. ун-т; Сычуаньский пед. ун-т) к.и.н. С.М. Прозоров (ИВР РАН) проф. Н. Симс-Вильямс (Великобритания, Лондонский ун-т) акад. РАН А.В. Смирнов (ИФ РАН) проф. Таката Токио (Япония, Ун-т Киото; Китай, Фуданьский ун-т) член-корр. РАН И.В. Тункина (СПбФ АРАН) д.и.н. С.А. Французов (ИВР РАН) член-корр. РАН Д.В. Фролов (МГУ им. М.В. Ломоносова) к.ф.н. Н.С. Яхонтова (ИВР РАН)

Санкт-Петербург ИВР РАН 2021

#### Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 2

# B HOMEPE:

#### ПУБЛИКАЦИИ история, философия, филология *Peter ZIEME*. Maitreya and the Religious Situation according to Two Old Uighur Poems of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958

of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958	5
Simone-Christiane RASCHMANN. New Traces of Old Uighur Vinaya Literature	17
<i>Т.А. ПАН</i> . Маньчжурско-китайский диплом гаомин 詰命 из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева	25
ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ	
история, философия, филология	
Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS. A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian	32
Dai MATSUI. Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and Abita Qur "Abita Cave"	37
Tokio TAKATA. Sound Changes to Avoid Using Taboo Characters	51
ДУ Цзяньлу. Об эволюции экономических форм в тангутском обществе (на кит. яз.)	58
Shintaro ARAKAWA. On the Tangut Prefix <sup>2</sup> da:-	64
А.И. КОЛЕСНИКОВ. К семантике астральной метафоры в средневековых	
персидских текстах	74
Е.П. ОСТРОВСКАЯ. Обучение Дхарме: нравственные качества ученика	87
ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ	
ТЕКСТОЛОГИЯ, КОДИКОЛОГИЯ, ПАЛЕОГРАФИЯ, АРХЕОГРАФИЯ	
NIE Hongyin. Chinese Stories of Filial Piety in Tangut Literature	95
<i>RONG Xinjiang</i> . The Earliest Extant Example of Woodblock Printing: the Precept Certificate of the 29th Year of Kaiyuan (741 A.D.)	118
CHING Chao-jung, Frantz GRENET. The Golden Poluo in Sogdiana: An In-depth Analysis of the Suishu and Tongdian Passages	127
OGIHARA Hirotoshi. Miscellany on the Tumshuqese Documents: Part II	148
ЛЮ Жомэй. Исследование списков цинской рукописи	
«История государства Российского», хранящихся в России (на кит. яз.)	160
С.М. ПРОЗОРОВ. Неатрибутированный сборник шиитских преданий ( <i>хадис</i> ов) в собрании арабских рукописей ИВР РАН	172
в собрании арабских рукописси изг т Атт	172
КОЛЛЕКЦИИ И АРХИВЫ	
В.М. АЛПАТОВ. Е.Д. Поливанов о китайском и японском языках	179
Hartmut WALRAVENS. Preface to the Indexes to the Great Chinese Botany Zhiwu Mingshi Tukao 植物名實圖考 of Wu Qijun 吳其濬	187
О.В. ВАСИЛЬЕВА. Китайский альбом из Парижа в Российской национальной библиотеке	207
К.М. БОГДАНОВ. К истории описания Тангутского фонда ИВР РАН	221

На четвертой стороне обложки:

Торговец новогодними визитками. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 3.

© Институт восточных рукописей РАН (Азиатский Музей), 2021

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Asiatic Museum)

# PIS'MENNYE Pamiatniki Vostoka

Founded in 2004 Issued quarterly Volume 18, No. 3 autumn 2021 Issue 46

Editorial Board

*Editor-in-Chief* Irina F. Popova, Corresponding Member of RAS (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS

*Deputy Editor-in-Chief* **Tatiana A. Pang**, Ph.D. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS *Secretary* **Elena V. Tanonova**, Ph.D. Sci. (Phil.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS

Alikber K. Alikberov, Dr. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, Moscow

Vladimir M. Alpatov, Member of RAS (Phil.), Institute of Linguistics, RAS, Moscow

Svetlana M. Anikeeva, Ph. D. Sci. (Phil.), Nauka Publishers, Moscow

Boris V. Bazarov, Member of RAS (Hist.), Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhology and Tibetology, SB RAS, Ulan-Ude

Sergey L. Burmistrov, Dr. Sci. (Philosophy), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg Aleksei A. Burykin, Dr. Sci. (Phil., Hist.), Institute for Linguistic Research, RAS, St. Petersburg

Anatoly P. Derevyanko, Member of RAS (Hist.), Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, SB RAS, Novosibirsk

Serge A. Frantsouzoff, Dr. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg Dmitrii V. Frolov, Corresponding Member of RAS, Moscow State University

Youli A. Ioannesyan, Ph. D. Sci. (Phil.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg

Aliy I. Kolesnikov, Dr. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg

Nikolay N. Kradin, Corresponding Member of RAS (Hist.), Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnology, FEB RAS, Vladivostok

Alexander B. Kudelin, Member of RAS, Institute of World Literature, RAS, Moscow

Karine G. Marandjian, Ph. D. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg

Alexander N. Meshcheryakov, Dr. Sci. (Hist.), Higher School of Economics, Moscow

Vladimir S. Myasnikov, Member of RAS (Hist.), Institute of Far East, RAS, Moscow

Nie Hongyin, Prof., Beijing Normal University, Sichuan Normal University, China

Stanislav M. Prozorov, Ph. D. Sci. (Hist.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg

Nicholas Sims-Williams, Dr. Sci. (Phil.), University of London

Andrey V. Smirnov, Member of RAS (Philosophy), Institute of Philosophy, RAS, Moscow

Takata Tokio, Dr. Sci. (Phil.), Kyoto University, Japan, Fudan University, China

Irina V. Tunkina, Corresponding Member of RAS, St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the RAS

Ramil M. Valeev, Dr. Sci. (Hist.), Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University, Kazan

Olga V. Vasilyeva, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg

Hartmut Walravens, Prof., Berlin State Library, Germany

Nataliya S. Yakhontova, Ph. D. Sci. (Phil.), Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, St. Petersburg

#### Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka, 2021, volume 18, no. 3 (issue 46), p. 4

# IN THIS ISSUE:

PUBLICATIONS HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, PHILOLOGY	
<i>Peter ZIEME</i> . Maitreya and the Religious Situation according to Two Old Uighur Poems of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958	5
Simone-Christiane RASCHMANN. New Traces of Old Uighur Vinaya Literature	17
<i>Tatiana A. PANG</i> . The Manchu-Chinese Diploma <i>Gaoming</i> 誥命 from the Collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev	25
RESEARCH WORKS HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, PHILOLOGY	
Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS. A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian	32
Dai MATSUI. Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and Abita Qur "Abita Cave"	37
Tokio TAKATA. Sound Changes to Avoid Using Taboo Characters	51
DU Jianlu. On the Evolution of the Economic Form of Xixia Society (in Chinese)	58
Shintaro ARAKAWA. On the Tangut Prefix <sup>2</sup> da:-	64
Aliy I. KOLESNIKOV. To Semantics of an Astral Metaphor in the Persian Medieval Texts	74
Helena P. OSTROVSKAIA. Studying the Dharma: Moral Qualities of a Disciple	87
HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY textology, codicology, paleography, archeography	
NIE Hongyin. Chinese Stories of Filial Piety in Tangut Literature	95
<i>RONG Xinjiang.</i> The Earliest Extant Example of Woodblock Printing: the Precept Certificate of the 29th Year of Kaiyuan (741 A.D.)	118
CHING Chao-jung, Frantz GRENET. The Golden Poluo in Sogdiana: An In-depth Analysis of the Suishu and Tongdian Passages	127
OGIHARA Hirotoshi. Miscellany on the Tumshuqese Documents: Part II	148
<i>LIU Ruomei</i> . The Study on the Qing Manuscript Copies of the "History of the Russian State" Kept in Russia (in Chinese)	160
<i>Stanislav M. PROZOROV</i> . An Unattributed Miscellanea of Shi'a Traditions ( <i>hadith</i> ) in the Collection of Arabic Manuscripts of IOM RAS	172
COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES	
Vladimir M. ALPATOV. E.D. Polivanov on Chinese and Japanese	179
Hartmut WALRAVENS. Preface to the Indexes to the Great Chinese Botany Zhiwu Mingshi Tukao 植物名實圖考 of Wu Qijun 吳其濬	187
Olga V. VASILYEVA. Chinese Album from Paris in the National Library of Russia	207
Kirill M. BOGDANOV. IOM RAS Tangut Fund History: Hypotheses Based on Some New Facts	221

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 5–16

# Maitreya and the Religious Situation according to Two Old Uighur Poems of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958

Peter ZIEME Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities Berlin, Germany

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77330

Received 10.05.2021

Abstract: This paper offers the edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958, two manuscripts of the Old Uighur section of the Serindia Collection of the IOM written in alliterating verses. Their contents are praises on Maitreya, the future Buddha. The author tries to show why praises on Maitreya like the two presented here were written. He argues that it was to advocate the preservation of Buddhism through proving the superiority of the Maitreya cult over other religions in the current viral times of the Yuan.

Key words: Serindia Collection, Old Uighur, Maitreya cult, praises in.

For citation: Zieme, Peter. "Maitreya and the Religious Situation according to Two Old Uighur Poems of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 5–16 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77330

About the author: ZIEME Peter, Professor, the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Berlin, Germany) (ziemepet@gmail.com).

© Zieme Peter, 2021

At the time when the religion of Islam was about to enter the oases of Xinjiang, the Uighur Buddhists developed a strong Maitreya cult and expressed in many writings, mainly in poems, their view that all people and all peoples should venerate Maitreya, the future Buddha. They promoted this cult by writing praises and other scriptures to keep alive the Buddhist faith and to strengthen the belief in Maitreya. The cult of the future Buddha Maitreya has a long tradition starting from the homeland of Buddhism and spreading to the modern regions where Mahāyāna teachings are en vogue today. In Central Asia we observe a special peak with the development of a voluminous scripture in Tokharian and Old Uighur under the name Maitreyasamitināṭaka // Maitrisimit nom bitig<sup>1</sup>. Translated from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For studies in this field promoted by G.-J. Pinault and J.P. Laut see: Laut & Wilkens 2017: 353–370 (Bibliography).

Tokharian version, the Old Uyghur text gained great fame and was spread not only in the Turfan oasis in the 10th century, but also in the Qomul region from where a version dated to the year 1067 is attested by a large manuscript found near Tömürtü (Geng & Klimkeit 1988). We have also testimonies of the Maitreva cult from paintings in several caves. Partly they follow models of Maitreyan paradises and Maitreya depictions in Dunhuang. Among Uighurs during the subsequent centuries up to the end of the Yuan dynasty a special genre was en vogue. These are texts of alliterating poems on Maitreva veneration featuring both main strands, the encounter with Maitreva on earth at the time when the future Buddha descends from the Tuşita heaven or the rebirth in the Tuşita heaven. Direct references can be found in a large number of colophons as well, but sometimes it is difficult to give a precise attribution of a certain praise. Several poems of this genre have been edited, but others are still waiting to be identified and edited among the unpublished materials. Previously, R.R. Arat started the work on Maitreva texts with a fragment of the Berlin Turfan Collection.<sup>2</sup> In the subsequent years other fragments followed, including the longest Maitreva praise in alliterating verses in a miscellany manuscript<sup>3</sup> and also shorter ones<sup>4</sup>, some of them re-edited by A. Yakup<sup>5</sup>. Fragments of the IOM Serindia Collection are mentioned in the newly published catalogue (Catalogue 2021).

Recently I had the honour to publish a newly identified fragment of a Maitreyan praise (SI 842 (Kr IV 304) + SI 4748 (O 87) + lacuna + SI 4068 (4bKr 77)) (Zieme 2021: 64–79). And in this sense this paper offers a further edition of two similar texts.

This is a modest contribution<sup>6</sup> on the special occasion of celebrating the birthday of Irina F. Popova for her everlasting efforts to promote studies based on the materials kept in the largest treasure house of Oriental manuscripts and prints in the celebrated city of St. Petersburg.

#### Manuscript I: SI 4485

The manuscript that I would like to edit here has some very strange features. The vocabulary shows that several religions were around the Buddhists of Turfan. Although the manuscript is written in a cursive Uighur script type, one can easily read the text as long as it is well-preserved. At some places the script is torn and the paper is broken. This sheet comes from the finds of Krotkov and now belongs to the Serindia Collection of the IOM. It bears the code SI 4485. Probably the verso side was empty at the beginning, only afterwards some additional text sections were written, among the parts of visible lines one can observe at least two half sentences which are repetitions of the text of the recto side: *yolčum bahšum* and *tüsürüg čäčäklig*, but due to the glued cover nowadays these sections cannot be edited here.

The recto side has 45 lines from the main part of the poem, but beginning and end are missing because the sheet is damaged left and right. The poem is structured according to the usual way of strophical alliteration in four verses of a quatrain. The number of syllables varies, also in the usual system, between 5 (1:58) and 16 (1:58), but most verses have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ETŞ Nr. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> BT 3, ll. 761–1121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> BT 13, text 19; Zieme 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Yakup 2015, chapters J and K. Cf. BT 47, mainly the section "Bausteine zu einer Sammlung von altuigurischen Maitreya-Hymnen (Kapitel J und K)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I express my gratitude to Marcel Erdal who kindly checked my paper and gave valuable information, especially on some spellings and the word *sunčuk*.

8 (8:58), 9 (22:58) or 10 (12:58) syllables, while 6 or 7 syllables are presented by 3 each, 11 syllables occur 4 times, and 12 syllables 3 times.

#### The text of SI 4485 (Kr I 9)

I.

	[tö ]
	[tö ] 01 -lar [:]
	[tö ]
	02 töltäg-lig y[]m[] 03 -lar ::
II.	[Description detail of the city of Ketumatī]
	tüšrök <sup>7</sup> čäčäklig kapzı-l[arta]
	[tözün] 04 yigit <sup>8</sup> kičig urılar
	tükäl beš yüz yašlı[g] 05 kızlar birlä
	tün kün adırtsız ögirgäylär
	[In the] gardens (?) <sup>9</sup> of colourful flowers <sup>10</sup>
	the [noble] heroes and youngsters
	enjoy themselves day and night without distinction
	with the five hundred year old girls <sup>11</sup> .
III.	[Four Truths]
	06 tüzülmiš <sup>12</sup> inčgä oyunlarıg
	tüzkäštürü 07 kirištürü ätizü
	tört kertükä yarašı 08 takšutları <sup>13</sup>
	tözi agızlarıntın ketärmägäylär ::
	Arranging <sup>14</sup> and introducing <sup>15</sup>
	harmonious fine melodies for resounding <sup>16</sup> ,
	they let spring from their mouths nothing else than
	poems corresponding to the Four Truths.
IV.	[A description detail of the city of Ketumatī]
	09 arasız <sup>17</sup> sansız ol tınl(1)glarnın

<sup>7</sup> Spelled twyswrwk.

<sup>10</sup> č'č'klyk can be read as *čäčäklig* "with flowers" or *čäčäklik* "flower garden".

<sup>11</sup> There is no direct connection, but in the Maitreya sūtra T. 455 it is said that the girls marry only at the age of five hundred years: T.XIV.0455.0426b05 女年五百歳 方乃作婚姻.

<sup>12</sup> Spelled twyswlmys.

<sup>13</sup> One expects rather an accusative suffix. Is here a mistake?

<sup>14</sup> The word *tüzkäštürü* is not recorded. It can be analyzed as follows: *tüzük* (OTWF 251) "well arranged"  $+\ddot{a}-\breve{s}-t\ddot{u}r-\ddot{u}$ .

<sup>15</sup> For *kirištür*- cf. HWAU 383b.

<sup>16</sup> Spelled "dyzw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Spelled yykyd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> As some parts of the letters are missing, the reading is not sure; even less its meaning. The most probable reading is q'pzy which looks similar to *kapız* "Schatulle, Sarg" (HWAU 332b), but should be a variant of *haptse* < Chin. *hezi* 盒子 "Gefäß, Schatulle, Behälter" (HWAU 278b). Note, though, that the context demands a larger space, perhaps a chamber or a room.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Before the beginning of the line one sees a + mark and the first part of the word was deleted. In another direction the margin was used for writing 'wytky ynkwq which one can read: *üdki yaŋlok* [l-hook missing] "*üdki* is wrong". In the deleted place one can see some remnants of these letters. Unfortunately, the corrected word is not clear. Since the verse begins with *a*-, one should expect *ara*, but the letters look rather like "s.

agır buyanları 10 -nın tüšintä adak basımı yerlärtä altun 11 kümüš ök sačılgay Through the fruit of the very good deeds of the countless living beings on the places wherever feet tread<sup>18</sup> gold and silver are scattered.

In a description of the city of Ketumatī where Maitreya will appear one reads: (T.XIV.0453.0421b10) suowei jinyin zhenbao chequ manao zhenzhu hupo, ge sanzai di wuren xinglu 所謂金銀 珍<sup>b11</sup>寶車渠馬瑙這珠虎珀, 各散在地無人省録"Namely gold and silver, precious jewels (like) agate, corals, pearls, amber are all scattered on the ground, but nobody takes care about it".

V. [Following the way of the ten karmapathas] alayın yıgayın tep ol tınl(1)g 12 -larnın adak eligläri bolmadın adın amramakı 13 t(ä)nlämädin amuru on karmaputlarča ok 14 vorigav-sizlär :: Living beings wanting to take and collect it, if you have no feet and hands (to do it), without appreciating the love<sup>19</sup> of others you shall always walk according to the ten karmapathas. VI. [Dharmarāja] tüg tümän baglıg tänri 15 -lärnin töpölärintä kötürgülük tidimi 16 tört tugum beš ažunnun umugi tüzgärinč<sup>20</sup> 17 -siz ıdok nom hanı The diadem to wear by the gods — belonging to many ten-thousands<sup>21</sup> groups — on their heads is the (token of) the inexhaustible holy Dharma King, hope of the four births and the five existences. VII. [Gates of the 8 Noble Paths] törüsärsiz ol tušta : 18 törölüg tokulug balıkta tözün<sup>22</sup> säkiz 19 yolnun kapıgı törttin yıŋaktın ačıl[ur] If you appear at this time in the lawful beautiful city, the gates of the eight noble paths will be opened on all four sides.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> An interesting phrase is *adak basımı*.
 <sup>19</sup> There is no accusative suffix!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Spelled twysk'rynč.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The syllable *tüg* occurs always before *tümän* in reduplication, cf. HWAU 769a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Spelled twyswn.

In the third line we see a clear reordering of the term säkiz tözün vol "eightfold noble path" because of the alliteration. As a metaphor the "gate" is used here for the first time, as we can see from the collection of Buddhist metaphors (Kaygusuz 2021). The metaphorical gate is generally used in other contexts.

VIII. [Listening to the name of Maitreya destroys the *kleśa*s]

```
20^{23} ati<sup>24</sup> kötrülmiš burhan maytre<sup>25</sup> tep
      atınıznı<sup>26</sup> 21 äšidmäktin
      ol tınl(1)glarnın ugušı nizvane 22 -ları amrılıp<sup>27</sup>
      ačılgaylar nomlug közläri
            By hearing your name
            - Buddha Maitreya the Exalted -
            the passions of the entirety of living beings are calmed,
            their dharma eyes will be opened.
IX. [Knowledge leads to arhatship]
```

az 23 -k(1)ya katıglanmakıŋa<sup>28</sup> nom tuyup

alku akıgları 24 alkınıp

arhant kutılıg<sup>29</sup> yeg tüšüg

antača 25 k(1)ya ok bulgaylar ::

Understanding the doctrine with a little effort,

all (āsrava-)currents disappear,

they will find at once

the good fruit of arhatship.

[My master (= Maitreya) sits among gods and human beings] X. bahšım volčım ol üd 26 -tä bärü tep<sup>3</sup> manuš<sup>31</sup> täŋri yalŋoklug

parišat kuvrag 27 –nıŋ otırasınta<sup>32</sup>

bagdašınu oluru yarlıkap

My master, my guide! Since that time

— in the midst of the *parisad*<sup>33</sup> multitudes

of human beings and gods ----

you are sitting in paryanka position.

XI. [Pāramitā should spread everywhere] bašı 28 otırası<sup>34</sup> üzlünčüsi<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Spelled qwdy lyq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Between lines 19 to 20 one phrase is inserted: *atnıŋ buy-a süŋäk*(?).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Spelled "dy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Spelled m[]ydry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Spelled "dynkyzny.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Here we see the only serious infringement against the strophic alliteration. It can easily be saved by putting the verb at the beginning of the verse just as in the next verse: amrilip of tinl(i)glarnin uguši nizvaneları.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Spelled q'dyql'nm'qynk'. One should expect here a dative like emended to *katıglanmakıŋa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The word *tep* written between the lines was added.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> In HWAU 468a only *manuši << Skt. manusya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Spelled 'wdyr'synt'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> SWTF III, 97b parisad "Versammlung, Gruppe".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Spelled 'wdyr'sy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Spelled 'wyslwnčwsy.

barčası yomkı ädgülüg 29 parimat<sup>36</sup> nomug tiläyü<sup>37</sup> barčatin sinar lenhua<sup>38</sup> ulal<sup>39</sup> Wishing the pāramitā-law which is at the beginning, middle, and end overall and entirely good; everywhere lotus be spread<sup>40</sup>. XII. [Monasteries of Kočo] kutlug nom sizin ol üdtä<sup>41</sup>. 31 kočo kısıl bašdaš arayadan kunsukmaksız 32 öglüg käd toyın kut t(ä)nrisintä külälgäy The blessed dharma — yours at that time, the foremost<sup>42</sup> monasteries (of) the Kočo valley. and the strong monks with a mind that cannot be stolen will be praised by the god of fortune.

The *kut tänrisi* "God of fortune"<sup>43</sup> appears here as a very high entity responsible for the growth and strength of Buddhism characterised as the teaching at a certain place under the care of a community of monks. The place referred to here are the monasteries in the Kočo valley.

XIII. [Quiet religious refuges]

33 gumura mačid manisdan

kurug sulaglar kıy

34 kulak tunguči bakguči bolmadin

kopurga 35 örlätü enčikgäy ::

Cloisters<sup>44</sup>, mosques<sup>45</sup>, monasteries, empty watercourses<sup>46</sup>, roads<sup>47</sup> —

(only) owls<sup>48</sup> will sound and surrender.

XIV. [After the descend of Maitreya even Arab kaliphs will surrender] surya-mandal kudı enmiš 36 täg

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Spelled p'rydm't.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Spelling is not clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Spelled lyn qw/. The last letter is either y or w.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> b(a)rča [ ], all other words of this line are dubious, some of them may be regarded as being deleted. Moreover, the paper is broken. Between this and the following line the verse was apparently repeated as given above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The spelling of the last word is not clear, *ulal* is only a guess.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Spelled 'wyt t'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> HWAU 148b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> HWAU 429b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Probably read *gumra*, cf. HWAU 275b *gumra* < Syr. '*wmr*' "monastery".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> < Ar. *msğd* "mosque".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> sulag < suvlag.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> kiy < chin. *jie* HWAU 349 (kay and kiy).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Jens Wilkens now reads *koburga* (HWAU 388a).

surtok<sup>49</sup> bo vertinčükä ensärsiz 37 sultan<sup>50</sup> bašlap kalipalar soka sizinä inangay 38 -lar When you, like the sun mandala<sup>51</sup> descends, quickly descend into this world, the khalifs<sup>52</sup> headed by the sultan<sup>53</sup> will directly believe in you. XV. [Muslims and others will become Buddhist followers] sundar<sup>54</sup> täg burunlug musurmanlar suvtın 39 arınmak umunčluglar sunčuk kılur törölüg urug<sup>55</sup> soka burhan nomlug 40 bolgay-lar :: The Muslims with noses like *sundar(?)*, those who hope to be cleansed by water, the progeny with the tradition of making mats(?), will be those who immediately adopt the Buddha's teaching.

In this stanza members of non-Buddhist religions are mentioned by recalling special symbols or features. The first verse ascribes Muslims having noses like *sundar*, the easiest possible reading for swnd'r. As a Turkic word cannot be found, it probably is derived from Skt. *sundara* "beautiful" which i.a. is also a name of a *gandharva*. One cannot be sure that this *gandharva* had a remarkable nose to be used as a metaphorical medium<sup>56</sup>. On the other hand, the same letters can also be read as *šundar* from Skt. *śundāra* "the trunk of a young elephant" (MW 1081c.). In any case, if this comparison is correct, it is meant in a very discriminating way. Although this spelling breaks the norm of the stropical alliteration, it is more probable to adopt in this verse as a metaphor. But if again one thinks of a Turkic word, one can refer to Kırgız *sono* // *sonor* "duck, drake" (Judachin 653). A metaphorically used similar expression is given by Meninski with his *patka burunlu* (Meninski 1680: 5972) for a person with a nose like a duck's beak. I follow here the nose study of A. Tietze (Tietze 1983: 121) who suggests that this expression rather corresponds to Persian *pūč-bīnī* "large or hook-nosed" (Steingass 1892: 259a). But this, too, remains dubious because of the difficult relation of *sondar* to *sonor*.

The second verse is also enigmatic. If one regards it as a circumscription for baptism, this verse refers to Christians who are often called as people of baptism.

The third verse refers to a community whose followers make mats used for praying if the reading  $sunčuk^{57}$  is correct. The other spelling sučuk is less probable. The modern Turkish word *sucuk* as a special kind of sausage is very common and is known from Ottoman sources (Meninski 1680: 2559).

<sup>56</sup> In the episode of the Gandharva Sundara which is chapter 24 of the English translation of the Skanda Purana that gandharva's nose is not mentioned, thus it is not sure that the gandharva is meant here.

<sup>57</sup> HWAU 631a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> surtduk  $\leq$  surt + ok.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Spelled swld'n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> suryamantal < skt. sūryamaņdala, cf. HWAU 632b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> kalipa [q̈'lypʾ] < Ar. *ḥalīfa*, HWAU 323b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> suldan  $\leq$  Ar. sultān.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Spelled swnd'r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The spelling is not clear.

XVI. [People serving in the Mahāyāna are dressed modestly]
l-a buyum ešgirti<sup>58</sup>.
tärz nom 41 -lug luu-kin
taišiņta tapıglıg
l-a ešgirti kara keŋ tonlug<sup>59</sup>
Silk<sup>60</sup> coverings<sup>61</sup> or brocade<sup>62</sup> —
Luukin with false teaching.
Those who serve in the Mahāyāna —
with black wide clothes of silk and brocade.

In this stanza the author gives a comparison between non-Buddhist and Mahāyāna teaching. The representative of the "wrong law" is *lww kyn* = *Luukin* in which one can see a phonetical adaptation of Chinese *laojun* 老君, another name of Laozi<sup>63</sup>. In the Alphabetical Poem the Uighur form is *lavkun* which better fits to the supposed origin than *luukin* (Zieme 1991: 276). Therefore the identification is not absolutely sure.

XVII. [Not discernible as verses] käpäk säpäk<sup>64</sup> 42 küsüšlüglär siziŋ-lär kamugun yomkı 43 /////w tar-ka tarın-takı yašı kudulu k(a)rg(a)tmıš 44 [ ]ičim siziŋä ök. 45 [ ]r Those who have the wish for käpäk säpäk(?), you altogether ...his tears in ... were flowing cursed my ... to you!

#### Manuscript II: SI 4958 verso

The second poem is written on the verso side of SI 4958 (Kr I 14). Its recto side is part of a Chinese scroll of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T.IX.262.30a29-b13). The poem is written in a question — answer style. It culminates in expressing the wish to be born in the Tuşita heaven in the presence of Maitreya.

#### The text of SI 4958 verso

```
I. [A kind of excuse]
```

01 munı birlä bitisär bolur mu tep ildim

Is it right that I attached here what I write?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Spelled 'yskyrdy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> This line is written between the lines. The last two words are unclear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> *la* < Chin. *luo* "silk" (HWAU 449b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Spelled pwywm = *buyum* which is known from modern Uighur as a general term for "article, things, goods" (Schwarz 1992: 88a). However, one can see one more hook in the word, which allows us to transliterate pwyrwm =  $b\ddot{u}r\ddot{u}m$  a non-attested derivate from *bür*- "to twist, wind round, screw together" (ED 355a).

<sup>62</sup> ešgirti "brocade" (HWAU 264a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Cf. HWAU 452a lavkun < chin. laojun 老君 "Laozi".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> This line is written between the lines. The last two words are unclear.

II. [Author's introduction] 02 arok tilkükä okšati<sup>65</sup>. atıkmiš<sup>66</sup> mürki kulutnuŋ. adınčıg ıdok baši<sup>67</sup> bo 03 mant(a)lmallıg urukka<sup>68</sup>. I am the stupid one known to be 'similar to a tired fox', whose wonderful holy head is for this loop of a round garland.

If the explanation of mant(a)lmallig as "having a mandalamala" is correct, it is a qualifying attribute to *uruk* "lasso, rope". The term consists of *mandala* "round, circle" and mala"garland", for what usually mala (Saunders 1960: 174–177) itself is used.

- III. [Reasons of the author's training] agtinu<sup>69</sup> tidinu täginmäkim ärsär. avantlıg 04 tiltaglıg täginür My humbly ascending und self-control has grounds and reasons.
   IV. [Question about the reasons]
- nätägin<sup>70</sup> tep tesär :. kim ol

Which?

(They are) as follows.

 V. [The Buddha's teaching] kertütin kälmiš 05 burhan bahšılıg. kesare arslan hanınıŋ. kinayan mahayan tep kükülmiš

06 keŋ täriŋ yörüglüg taluyıŋa.

It is the ocean of broad and deep explanations praised as *hīnayāna* and *mahāyāna* of the *kesarin* lion king, the Buddhe measter Truly Come

the Buddha master Truly Come.

VI. [Teaching as ship and bridge] kertgünmäk süzülmäk ukmak 07 –lıg. kemi köprüg üzä kölünüp. kizläglig<sup>71</sup> nomlug ärdinilärig 08 aldačı. kiši körklüg kinšuk ärdini ::

<sup>65</sup> Or: ogšatı (HWAU 503b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Spelled "dyqmys.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Spelling is not clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> It seems that the scribe did not use an aliph before w-, generally one can say that in this manuscript the aliph hook before vowels is very small.

<sup>69</sup> Spelled "qdynw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Spelled n'd'kyn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Spelled kysl'klyk.

Using the ship and the bridge		
of belief and insight for devoting		
the <i>kimśuka</i> <sup>72</sup> jewel in the shape of a human being		
who takes the jewels of the secret <i>dharma</i> .		
VII. [The Buddha who sowed the seed of salvation]		
ugan[lar] aržisi burhan bahšitin		
09 okadıp kalmıš beš ažun tınl(1)glarnıŋ umugı.		
[ogu]l eligi maytreta 10 ozguka <sup>73</sup> urug äkmiš.		
on karmapat küzädür <sup>74</sup> up[a]se atl(1)g ::		
Hope of the living beings of the five existences who came late		
(to meet) the Buddha master, the <i>rsi</i> of the mighty ones <sup>75</sup> .		
Who has sown the seed for the salvation by the prince Maitreya		
the one who is called <i>upāsaka</i> protecting the ten <i>karmapathas</i> .		
VIII. [True belief; wish to be born in Tușita]		
tuyunmišlar 11 burhan bahšinin nominta.		
turıtmaksız bäk katıg <sup>76</sup> süzök kertgünč köŋül 12 -lüglär.		
tugmiš kadaš birlā birgārū.		
tušit ordota maitre bodis(a)t(a)v 13 [ü]skintä tuggalı küsüšlüg.		
Those who have insight have an irreversible firm true belief		
in the teachings of the Buddha master.		
Together with the family members		
they have the wish to be born in the presence of Maitreya Bodhisattva in the		
Tușita palace. IX. [Laymen belonging to the author's family]		
turmiš upase kutlug niran kurtga <sup>77</sup> 14 asan birlä inčä tep sözläšü täginmišlär ::		
We, the layman Turmiš, Kutlug Niran <sup>78</sup> and Kurtga Asan, have agreed on it.		
X. [Life goes on]		
yunlaguča ädkä tavar 15 –ka.		
yok yitmäz <sup>79</sup> ymä ärmäz biz.		
yollug yolsuz kalganka.		
yonkımız 16 –[n]ı . yuŋlap yorır biz ::		
As long as we can make use of materials.		
it is not that we do not die nor that we are not.		
For all those who remain with a way or without a way:		
using all of us we are living.		
asing an or as we are name.		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> kyńswq = kinšuk < Skt. kimśuka (HWAU 382a).</li>
<sup>73</sup> Spelled wsqw-q'.
<sup>74</sup> Spelled kwys'dwr.
<sup>75</sup> Spelled 'wqfi///] "rsy sy = uganlar aržisi "Seher der Göttlichen" (HWAU 787b) < Skt. devārsi, epi-telsel berdeling.</li> the of the Buddha.
<sup>76</sup> Spelled q'dyq.
<sup>77</sup> Spelled qwrdq'.
<sup>78</sup> Spelled n/yr'n(?). One possible reading is Niran, but several others can be suggested.
<sup>79</sup> Spelled yydm'z.

#### Abbreviation

BT 3 Tezcan 1974 BT 13 Zieme 1985 BT 47 Zieme 2020 ED Clauson ETS Arat HWAU Wilkens 2021 MW Monier Williams Erdal 1991 OTWF STWF Sanskrit-Wörterbuch

#### References

Arat, Reşid Rahmeti 1965 — Eski Türk Şiiri. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1965 (in Turkish).

- Catalogue of the Old Uyghur manuscripts and blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Vol. 1. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 2021 (in English).
- Clauson, Gerard 1972 An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972 (in English).
- Erdal, Marcel 1991 Old Turkic Word Formation. A Functional Approach to the Lexicon, I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991 (in English).
- Geng, Shimin & Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim 1988 Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit. In Zusammenarbeit mit Helmut Eimer und Jens Peter Laut. I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988 (in German).
- Judachin, K.K. 1965 Kirgizsko-russkii slovar' [Kirgiz-Russian Dectionary]. Moscow: Sovetskaia Enciklopediia, 1965 (in Russian).
- Kaygusuz, Arzu 2021 Buddhistische Bildersprache in alttürkischen Texten, Eine literaturwissenschaftliche und philologische Analyse. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021 (in German).
- Laut, Jens Peter & Wilkens, Jens 2017 Alttürkische Handschriften Teil 3: Die Handschriftenfragmente der Maitrisimit aus Sängim and Murtuk in der Berliner Turfansammlung. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2017 (VOHD XIII, 11) (in German).
- Meninski, F. à Mesgnien 1680 Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Lexicon Turcico-Arabico-Persicum. Wien: Typograheo Orientali Schigliano, 1680 (in Latin).
- Monier-Williams, M. 1899 A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Oxford: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing House (reprint), 1899 (in English, Sanskrit).
- Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule, begonnen von E. Waldschmidt, hrsg. von H. Bechert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973 (in German).
- Saunders, E. Dale 1960 Mudrā. A Study of Symbolic Gesture in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture. New York: Pantheon Books Inc, 1960 (in English).
- Schwarz, Henry G. 1992 An Uighur-English Dictionary. Bellingham. Washington: Center for East Asian Studies. Western Washington University, 1992 (in English).
- Steingass, F. 1892 A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Oxford: Librairie du Liban Publishers (reprint) 1892 (in English).
- Tezcan, Semih 1974 Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974 (Berliner Turfantexte 3) (in German).
- Tietze, Andreas 1983 "Türkisch burun ,Nase'. Versuch einer phraseologischen Monographie". Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1983, vol. 75, pp. 99–156 (in German).
- Wilkens, Jens 2021 Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen. Altuigurisch–Deutsch–Türkisch. Eski Uigurcanın El Sözlüğü. Eski Uigurca–Almanca–Türkçe. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 2021 (in German).

- Yakup, Abdurishid 2015 阿不都热西提·亚库甫 [Gudai weiwuer yu zanmeishi he miaoxiexing yunwen de yuwenxue yanjiu] 古代维吾尔语美诗和描写性韵文的语文学研究 [Old Uighur Hymns, Praises, Blessings and Descriptive Poems]. Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 2015 (in Chinese).
- Zieme, Peter 1985 *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der alten Uiguren*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985 (Berliner Turfantexte 13) (in German).
- Zieme, Peter 1991 Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang. Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991 (in German).
- Zieme, Peter 1994 "Zum Maitreya-Kult in uigurischen Kolophonen". *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 49, 1994, pp. 219–230 (in German).
- Zieme, Peter. "La poésie en turc ancien d'après le témoignage des manuscrits de Turfan et Dunhuang". In: *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*. Paris, 2006, pp. 1145–1168 (in French).
- Zieme, Peter 2013 "Ein alttürkischer Maitreya-Hymnus und mögliche Parallelen". In: Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit. Symposium anlässlich des 100. Jahrestages der Entzifferung des Tocharischen. Berlin, 3. und 4. April 2008. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 403–416 (Silk Road Studies. XVII) (in German).
- Zieme, Peter 2020 *Uigurorum veterum fragmenta minora*. Turnhout: (Berliner Turfantexte 47, including text 12: Altuigurischer Lobpreis auf Maitreya in Versen, die in der Anrufung, die Nöte des Uigurischen Reichs zu lindern, kulminieren). Turnhout: Brepols, 2020 (in German).
- Zieme, Peter 2021 "Vnimaite Nastavnikam!" Drenveuigurskoe Voskhvalenie Buddy Maitreia [«Listen to the Masters!». An Old Uighur Maitreya Praise]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 64–79 (in Russian).

### Майтрея и религиозная ситуация по двум староуйгурским стихотворениям периода династии Юань. Списки SI 4485 и SI 4958

Петер ЦИМЕ Берлин-Бранденбургская Академия наук Берлин, Германия

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 10.05.2021.

Аннотация: В статье представлены две рукописи на староуйгурском языке из сериндийской коллекции ИВР РАН, хранящиеся под шифрами SI 4485 и SI 4958. Тексты написаны стихами с начальной аллитерацией и посвящены Майтрее, Будде будущего. Содержание текстов воспевания Майтреи свидетельствует о том, что в Центральной Азии буддисты периода династии Юань всячески пытались продемонстрировать приоритет культа Майтреи над всеми другими религиями, распространяемыми в этом регионе. В статье предлагается комментированный перевод обоих текстов на английский язык.

Ключевые слова: ИВР РАН, сериндийская коллекция, староуйгурский язык, культ Майтреи.

Для цитирования: *Zieme P*. Maitreya and the Religious Situation according to Two Old Uighur Poems of Yuan Dynasty. Edition of SI 4485 and SI 4958 // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 5–16 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77330

16 Об авторе: ЦИМЕ Петер, профессор Берлин-Бранденбургской Академии наук (Берлин, Германия) (ziemepet@gmail.com).

#### Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 17-24

## New Traces of Old Uighur Vinaya Literature

Simone-Christiane RASCHMANN Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts Berlin, Germany

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77337

Received 09.06.2021.

Abstract: Only a few remnants of the ancient Uighur Vinaya literature have survived. The incomplete state of the two fragments presented here does not allow any firm statements to be made about a specific textual affiliation, but the textual preservation clearly points to an affiliation with Vinaya literature. The aim of this first publication is, on the one hand, to make other Old Uighur Vinaya text fragments known and, on the other hand, to stimulate discussion of the content.

Key words: Vinaya literature, Old Uighur Buddhist literature, pātavantika, Prātimoksasūtra.

For citation: Raschmann, Simone-Christiane. "New Traces of Old Uighur Vinava Literature". Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka", 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 17-24 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77337

About the author: Dr. RASCHMANN Simone-Christiane, Research Associate, Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Berlin, Germany) (raschmann@bbaw.de).

© Raschmann Simone-Christiane, 2021

It is my great honor and pleasure to make a modest contribution to the Festschrift for Irina F. Popova. We have worked together for many years in a spirit of trust and the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts, which she has been directing for many years, has become a second academic home for me. I hope my little article might find some interest with her.

I would like to bring two small fragments to the edition, which can be assigned to the Old Uighur Vinaya literature. Even though fragments have been catalogued and edited from time to time in recent years, the proportion of Vinaya literature remains is relatively small compared to the surviving written sources of other categories of ancient Uighur Buddhist literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For an overview with further bibliographical data see Zieme 1991: 137–138; Elverskog 1997: 29–32; VOHD XIII,9 No.1-No. 4; VOHD XIII,27 No.85-No.88.

#### ПУБЛИКАЦИИ

The text of the two fragments was written on the back of a Chinese scroll. Thanks to the identification of the Chinese front pages, it was possible to reconstruct not only the affiliation but also the sequence of the texts.<sup>2</sup> The gap of about 71 lines of Chinese text between the two fragments on the recto side indicates that the Old Uighur text on the verso side must have been quite extensive.

Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible within the framework of the present work to determine the exact translation template for the text edited here. The small amount of preserved textual context is only one reason for this. However, it also makes the interpretation of individual sections of the text more difficult. It would certainly be very helpful to find further fragments of this extensive text. The extensive collection of Old Uighur fragments in Saint Petersburg could perhaps be considered for this.

To further this identification, the two fragments are to be published today. In addition they also offer interesting lexical material.

And, it is for the first time that we are faced with remnants of a monolingual Old Uighur Vinaya text in Uighur script. Only recently Jens Wilkens was able to identify and publish the Berlin fragment U6044 as a bilingual text in Sanskrit and Old Uighur relating to the *pravāraņā* ceremony written in Uighur script. As he pointed out: "In terms of the appropriation of Sanskrit literature, it is clearly highly relevant that Vinaya ("monastic discipline") related materials have been so far identified only in bilingual texts in Brāhmī script. The piece edited below is the only exception that has come to light so far." (Wilkens 2020: 139)

As far as I can see, it is also for the first time that the term *padayantik/patayantik*, the Old Uighur calque for Sanskrit *pātayantika* in Uighur script is attested in the fragment Ch/U6722 verso. *pātayantika* "causing fall (to an evil existence, if not repented and expiated)" designates "one of the three main kinds of monkish transgressions, the others being pārājika and saṃghāvaśeṣa".<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of this term suggests that we are thinking here of a fragment of an Old Uighur version of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, or the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, or a text that is related to the two aforementioned ones. The text of the fragment also mentions the twice-monthly *poṣadha* ceremony (Old Uighur *požad/pošad*) during which the *Prātimokṣa* (list of precepts) was recited.<sup>4</sup> The last two extant lines of text make most probably reference to the *Prātimokṣa* by mentioning a "vinaya sutra" that is brought to the assembly's attention during the *poṣadha* ceremony.

Dieter Maue was able to identify several bilingual (Sanskrit/Old Uighur) fragments in Brāhmī script as remains of the Mūlasarvastivādin *Vinayavibhanga*, dealing with different *pātayantika* offences in his two edited catalogue volumes of Old Uighur fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan collections.<sup>5</sup> With some hesitation, Maue identifies another fragment U6820 as a remnant of an Old Uighur version of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, dealing with the Niḥsargikā Pātayantikā offence 12. This fragment also belongs to group of the bilingual fragments (Sanskrit/Old Uighur) in Brāhmī script.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ch/U6722 recto: 小品般若波羅蜜經 Xiaopin Boreboluomi Jing (Aştasāhasrikā Prajňāpāramitā), Taisho 227, vol. 8, 574b 15–21; Ch/U6312 recto: 小品般若波羅蜜經 Xiaopin Boreboluomi Jing (Aştasāhasrikā Prajňāpāramitā), Taisho 227, Bd. 8, 575b 06-08.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/patayantika. Accessed: Sep 8, 21, 2:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The *poşadha* ceremony is mentioned several times in the Old Uighur Insadi Sutra, the main subject of which is the *pravāraņā* ceremony, cf. Tezcan 1974): 29 (with the detailed commentary to *pošat*), 53, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> VOHD XIII,9 No. 3, 4; VOHD XIII,27 No. 86, 87.

A still unpublished monolingual Old Uighur fragment in Uighur script U3440 preserves the Old Uighur title of the work *idok* pr(a)timokš sudur. Considering the text arrangement on the folio U3440 verso and the formula of the Triple Refuge immediately following the title of the work, we may assume that the fragment on hand is the last folio of an Old Uighur version.<sup>6</sup> In view of these new findings, we can assume that the quantity of monolingual Old Uighur Vinaya material may be greater than previously suspected.



#### Physical description of the fragments

Ch/U6722 verso © Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Ch/U6722 is a fragment from the center of the sheet. There is a slight damage due to tears. The finding sigla T I is noted in pencil on the back of the fragment in the Old Uighur text. According to this note, the fragment belongs to the findings of the First German Turfan expedition (A label on the glazing reads T III T 136. How this discrepancy came about cannot be explained here. It can be assumed that there was a transcription error). The text is written in a semi-cursive style of the Uighur script. Various text corrections have been made. Text omissions have been added between lines and the place of the text omission has been marked with the correction sign +. There is another text correction by crossing out at the end of the line /v/6/. As a special feature, an additional line interlinear /v/10/-/11/ has been added in the opposite direction of writing. The continuous outline of the beginning and end of the line in this fragment does not allow us to say whether a correction sign marked the place for the placement of this text addition in this case as well. The fragment is kept under full glazing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For the catalogue entry with further comments see https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de/receive/ KOHDOldUygurMSBook islamhs 00000314



Ch/U6312 verso © Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

Ch/U6312 verso is a fragment of the lower half of the sheet. A slight damage due to tears, a smaller hole and abrasion of writing. Some darker paper discolouration is present at the edges of the break-off. The writing style differs in some details from that of the text of Ch/U6722 verso and therefore a change of scribe is assumed here. The text of this fragment also shows no textual corrections. No finding sigla is preserved and that is why we have no knowledge about the finding circumstances for this fragment. The fragment is also kept under full glazing.

# Transcription and translation of Ch/U6722 verso and Ch/U6312 verso

/v/01/ [	]///[		
/v/02/ [	]S'R . toyın-ka [		
/v/03/ [	t]oyın š(a)mnanč-ka muntag [		
/v/04/ [	]-NYNK tapı bolmadın š(a)mnanč-ka bus[uš		
/v/05/ [	]/-ol. {[]/ altı-lar.} tükäți bahšı-larıg tut [		
/v/06/ [	]/L'R-TYN öŋi yüz {altmıš PY[ ]} <deletion> [</deletion>		
/v/07/ [	]KRY etilgü-kä yarag-lıg [		
/v/08/ [	] töțüš-üg sımtap ıdmak tıltag-lıg YW[		
/v/09/ [	]/-lar-ka tüŋmiš čant-1g bersär . toy1[n		
/v/10/ [	]Q' sizlärkä bo ok bolzun T[		
*/v/10/-/11/ [	]R üzä čışınlamak tıltag-lıg padayantik		
/v/11/ [	] toyın bursoŋ kuvrag-tın 'WYD/[		
/v/12/ [ ]L'T'Č	Y toyın-ta bošug-suz požad QYL[		
/v/13/ // turur . toyın {kuvrag}-tın öŋi požad [			
/v/14/[] bursoŋ kuvrag-ka äšidtürmiš [			
/v/15/ [	]// tep vinay-a sudar-ta [		
/v/16/ [	]/[		

20

[lacuna of approximately 71 Chinese text lines (Taishō 227, vol. 8 574b 23 – 575b 05)]

#### Ch/U6312

- /v/01/...]/ yintäm karte<sup>7</sup>-lar-ka ogš[at1]
- /v/02/ ...]/ yavız ävriš-lär *bolmaz*
- /v/03/ ...] kılmıš yıgmak kılmıš ///
- /v/04/ ...] bolur . yazok bolmaz . PWL[ ]
- /v/05/ ...]/ olar-nıŋ antag berzü[n]
- /v/06/ ...] tıltag boltačı QY/[

#### Ch/U6722 verso

- ... if ... To the monk ...
- ... the monk towards the nun in this way ...
- ... without it being the wish of ..., to the nuns grief ...
- ... {they received}. All master (acc.) despicable ...
- $\dots$  different from  $160(?)^8$ ...
- ... in accordance with the setting up of the ...
- ... based on the settlement<sub>2</sub> of discord ...
- $\dots$  when offering the verses of regulation(?)<sup>9</sup> to  $\dots$
- ... may it be just so for them ...

{the *pātayantika*, having the cause in displaying the behaviour<sup>10</sup>...}<sup>11</sup>

... from the assembly<sub>2</sub> of the monks ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> On Old Uighur *karte*, cf. in detail Moerloose 1985: 301–308. Wilkens 2021: 340a: karte < Sogd. k'rt'k ~ k'rtk < Skt. grhastha Laienanhänger, Hausvorstand || rahip olma-yan erkek Budist, ev idari heyeti (vgl./krş. TochB kattāke, TochA kātak, kātäk, Khotansak. ggāţhaa).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The reading and interpretation of the number is not certain in this corrected passage. It is also possible that the yüz ("hundred") has also been crossed out. Due to this fact and due to the lack of context, it is difficult to establish a contextual reference for the number 160 or 60. In the present context, one could naturally think of a number related to the number of rules in the  $Pr\bar{a}timoksa$ , which varies from school to school, but also between the rules for monks on the one hand and nuns on the other.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The phrase *tüŋmiš čantıg bersär* is quoted in Zieme 2016a: 6 without adding a translation. However, Zieme presents suggestions for the interpretation of *čant* with reference to the present derivation of Skt. *chantas.* Wilkens 2021: 221b also gives the meanings "Metrum, Vers". An interpretation of *čant* as 'metre' is probably ruled out in the present text. Crucial for the understanding is the meaning of *tüŋmiš*, which, as far as I know, has not yet been attested. With reference to the attested derivations *tüŋül-* and *tüŋüš-*, however, the entry \*tüŋ- is found in Clauson 1972: 515a. Cf. also Dankoff/Kelly 1985: 205. Taking into account the meanings of the occupied derivatives, one could possibly consider a translation "instruct, regulate" in the given context. It cannot be ruled out that there is a reference here to the *Prātimokşa*: The *Prātimokşa* is an inventory of offenses, being primarily "a collection of liturgical formularies governing the conduct of the Bhikşus and Bhikşuņis." (Prebish 2010: 11) A reading *töŋmiš* is equally possible, but no evidence for *töŋ-* is known either, cf. Clauson 1972, 515a: ?\*töŋ-. But on the basis of Clauson's statement "The basic meaning in any event is 'opposite, upside down' ", this approach should not be completely ruled out here either, cf. Clauson 1972: 517a (töŋdi:).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> On the kind advice of Peter Zieme, the hitherto unattested *čışınlanmak* could be a +lA-n- formation (a composite denominal intr. formative) of *čısın* "behaviour". For details on *čısın* "behaviour" cf. Zieme 2016b: 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This line, inserted upside down, is incomplete due to demolition. There is no indication in the manuscript where this text addition is to be inserted. Among other possibilities, it cannot be ruled out that this line is intended to join the text of the preceding line as a supplement. In any case, the line is treated here according to its position in the manuscript, albeit upside down.

 $\dots$  for a sorrowless<sup>12</sup> *poşadha* among the monks, who  $\dots$ 

- .... Different from the monks assembly, a *poşadha* ...
- $\dots$  heard by the assembly<sub>2</sub>  $\dots$
- ... in the aforementioned vinaya sūtra ...

....//...

#### Ch/U6312 verso

- ... only comparable to the layman ...
- ... It is not bad behaviour. ...
- ... the gathering carried out ...
- ... is it. It is not an offence.
- ... may give like theirs ...
- ... it is the cause ...

..../ ....

#### Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, it was not possible to identify the text originals within the framework of this small fragment presentation. Regarding the fragment Ch/U6722 verso, it should be noted that there are probably introductory or explanatory remarks on the *poşadha* ceremony and the recitation of the *Prātimokşa*. The text is addressed directly to a specific group of people, as is evident from the address Ch/U6722/v/10/ *sizlärkä*. The first extant section of the text deals with forms of behaviour when monks and nuns meet. The information at the end of the surviving text of Ch/U6722 verso can be interpreted as referring to the parallel occurrence of several *poşadha* ceremonies. As, among others, Prebish declares: "Second, extreme care was taken to establish a meeting hall for the *poşadha* ceremony and delineate proper boundaries [sīmā] for each āvāsa, already verifying the fact that various saṃghas existed in several places." (Prebish 2010: 25).

In my opinion, the textual preservation does not allow any statement on the school affiliation of the present text. Maue was able to assign the Vinaya fragments he catalogued to both the Sarvāstivādins and the Mūlasarvastivādins.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the formal characteristics of the manuscript and the careless style of writing suggest that we are faced with a personal copy.

Provided that the two fragments presented here are directly related, and assuming that there is a reference to the *Prātimokşa* or *Vinayavibhaṅga*, the term *karte* could play a key role in the small fragment Ch/U6312 verso. The offences in dealing with *karte* "layman" (Skt. *grhastha* ~ *grhapati*) are listed in the Niḥasargika-Pātayantikā (Simson 2000: 344). The numbering of the offences differs in the various versions. As can be seen from the tran-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> If the reading *busušsuz* "without worry, without sorrow" is correct, one could perhaps think here of a reference in terms of content, which A. Heirman summarised as follows: "When strictly interpreted, all *vinayas* state that only a harmonious *samgha* (*samagrasamgha*) can perform legal procedures, such as ordinations. The terms *samagra* and *samgha* imply that all monks and nuns who are present in the legal district ( $s\bar{n}m\bar{a}$ ) have to attend the ceremony; that there has to be unity in legal procedures and unity in the recitation of the *prātimokṣa* at the *poṣadha* ceremony; and that there have to be enough monks or nuns in order to carry out a formal act in a legally valid way". (Heirman 2007: 167–

<sup>202).</sup> Another reading, which should also not be excluded here, would be bošugsuz "without permission".

scription and translation, there is little text available to unlock the content of this passage. Furthermore, for the reading *y1gmak* "gathering, accumulating" in line Ch/U6312/v/03/, another option is the reading *y1kmak* "destruction, annihilation". Nevertheless, at the moment, Niḥasargika-Pātayantikā 10 seems to me the most promising candidate for a possible parallel, since this detailed rule, in addition to the offense, also describes what conduct is permitted towards a householder in connection with obtaining the permitted garment at the proper time (*yazok bolmaz*). Of course, this assumption is extremely hypothetical given the high degree of textual preservation. However, this could also be a fragment of a text from one of the explanatory chapters (*vibhangas*) in which the rules are introduced and discussed in detail. May this small contribution stimulate both the search for further fragments of the text in other collections and discussion.

#### Abbreviations

VOHD — Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland VOHD XIII,9 — Maue 1996 VOHD XIII,27 — Maue 2015

#### References

- Clauson, Sir Gerard. An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972 (in English).
- Dankoff, Robert & Kelly James. *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān lughāt al-Turk)* = Türk şiveleri lügati (Dīvānü lügāt-it-Türk). Vol. III. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Print Office, 1985 (in English).
- Elverskog, Johan. *Uygur Buddhist Literature*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1997. (Silk Road Studies, I) (in English).
- Heirman, Ann. "Vinaya: From India to China". In: *Heirman, Ann/Stephen Peter Bumbacher (edd.), The spread of Buddhism.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007, pp. 167–202 (in English).
- Maue, Dieter. Alttürkische Handschriften. Teil 1. Dokumente in Brähmī und tibetischer Schrift. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996 (VOHD XIII, 9) (in German).
- Maue, Dieter. Alttürkische Handschriften. Teil 19: Dokumente in Brähmī und tibetischer Schrift. Teil 2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015 (VOHD XIII, 27) (in German).
- Moerloose, Eddy. "Uighur karti". In: Altorientalische Forschungen 1985, vol. 12. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 301–308 (in English).
- Prebish, Charles S. Buddhist Monastic Discipline. The Sanskrit Prātimokşa Sūtras of the Mahāsaṃghikas and the Mūlasarvastivādins. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2010 (in English).
- Tezcan, Semih. *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974. (Berliner Turfantexte, 3) (in German).
- von Simson, Georg. Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders† und Herbert Härtel. Teil II: Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, XI) (in German).
- Wilkens, Jens. "Buddhist Monastic Life in Central Asia A Bilingual Text in Sanskrit and Old Uighur Relating to the *Pravāraņā* Ceremony". *International Journal of Old Uyghur Studies*, 2020, vol. 2/2, pp. 137–152 (in English).
- Wilkens, Jens. Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen. Altuigurisch–Deutsch–Türkisch. Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü. Eski Uygurca–Almanca–Türkçe. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2021 (in German and Turkish).

#### ПУБЛИКАЦИИ

- Zieme, Peter. "Gedanken zur Bearbeitung der alttürkischen buddhistischen Texte". In: Klengel, Horst/Werner Sundermann (edd.). Ägypten, Vorderasien, Turfan. Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften. Tagung in Berlin, Mai 1987. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 134–140 (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orient, 23) (in German).
- Zieme, Peter. "Notizen zum altuigurischen Alphabetischen Gedicht (Eski Türk Şiiri 11)". [https:// www.academia.edu/24858563/ Notizen\_zum\_altuigurischen\_Alphabetischen\_Gedicht\_Eski\_Türk\_ Şiiri\_11\_2016] (in German).
- Zieme, Peter. Notizen zur Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā von Jens Wilkens (Berliner Turfantexte XXXVII). [https://www.academia.edu/26614523/Notizen\_zur\_Edition\_der\_ altuigurischen\_ Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā\_2016] (in German).

#### Новые следы старой уйгурской литературы виная

#### Симоне-Кристина РАШМАН

Гёттингенская Академия наук и гуманитарных исследований Берлин, Германия

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 09.06.2021.

Аннотация: В настоящее время сохранилось лишь несколько фрагментов старой уйгурской литературы *виная*. Два фрагмента, представленные в статье, достаточно отрывисты, и по ним невозможно установить, к какому конкретному тексту они относятся. Однако текстологический анализ имеющегося материала четко указывает на принадлежность этих фрагментов к литературе *виная*. Целью данной публикации является введение в научный оборот выявленных фрагментов старой уйгурской литературы *виная*, а также представление на обсуждение варианта их перевода для возможной дальнейшей научной работы.

Ключевые слова: литература *виная*, старая уйгурская буддийская литература, «Пратимокша-сутра».

Для цитирования: *Raschmann S.-Ch.* New Traces of Old Uighur *Vinaya* Literature // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 17–24 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77337

Об авторе: РАШМАН Симоне-Кристина, научный сотрудник, Гёттингенская Академия наук и гуманитарных исследований (Berlin, Germany) (raschmann@bbaw.de). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 25-31

# Маньчжурско-китайский диплом гаомин 誥命 из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева

Т.А. ПАН Институт восточных рукописей РАН Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77350

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 13.07.2021.

Аннотация: В коллекции ИВР РАН хранятся рукописи на восточных языках из бывшего Музея палеографии, созданного Н.П. Лихачевым в 1925 г. После расформирования музея в 1930 г. в ИВР РАН попал маньчжурско-китайский диплом, выданный чиновнику Яту и его жене в 1682 г. За добросовестную службу Яту награждается титулом чиновника 4-го ранга *чжунсянь дафу*, а его жена из рода Тунго — соответствующим титулом жены чиновника 4-го ранга. В статье публикуются диплом и перевод на русский язык с китайского и маньчжурского текстов документа.

Ключевые слова: династия Цин, Канси, маньчжурско-китайские дипломы, *гаомин*, Н.П. Лихачев, маньчжурские рукописи.

Для цитирования: Пан Т.А. Маньчжурско-китайский диплом гаомин 誥命 из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 25–31. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77350

Об авторе: ПАН Татьяна Александровна, кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник, заведующая Отделом Дальнего Востока, заместитель директора по науке ИВР РАН (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (ptatiana@inbox.ru).

© Пан Т.А., 2021

Имя выдающегося знатока и собирателя рукописей — академика Николая Петровича Лихачева (1862–1936) известно всем, кто занимается дипломатикой, сфагистикой, нумизматикой, палеографией, кодикологией древних и средневековых рукописей. Под его руководством был создан Музей палеографии, просуществовавший с 1925 по 1930 г., экспозиция которого рассказывала об истории письма, создании различных текстов (Мещерская, Пиотровская 2012: 55). В 2012 г. Государственный Эрмитаж организовал масштабную выставку «Звучат лишь письмена...», посвященную 150-летию Н.П. Лихачева, собрав когда-то приобретенные коллекционером рукописи, которые в настоящий момент хранятся в различных музеях и академических институтах. Среди представленных восточных текстов был диплом на маньчжурском и китайском языках, выданный чиновнику Яту в 1682 г. Впервые этот диплом был опубликован Ириной Федоровной Поповой в каталоге выставки («Звучат лишь письмена...» 2012: 486-487) с кратким описанием свитка и его содержания. Основываясь на архивных материалах, И.Ф. Попова пишет, что этот императорский диплом был куплен для Н.П. Лихачева поверенным в делах Российской дипломатической миссии в Пекине Михаилом Сергеевичем Щекиным примерно в 1910–1911 гг. (Попова 2012: 483, 486). После расформирования Музея палеографии в 1930 г. этот диплом вместе с другими рукописями на восточных языках был передан в Отдел рукописей и документов Института востоковедения (ныне — Институт восточных рукописей РАН). В Архиве востоковедов ИВР РАН сохранилась опись 1938 г. материалов, поступивших из бывшего музея (Архив востоковедов. Ф. 152. Оп. 1а). Рукописи из коллекции Н.П. Лихачева были присоединены к коллекциям соответствующих восточных фондов (Мещерская, Пиотровская 2012: 59). Исследуемый нами диплом попал в китайскую коллекцию рукописей и ксилографов и сейчас хранится под шифром Н 178 Nova. О том, что этот документ когда-то принадлежал коллекции Н.П. Лихачева, указывает запись на бумажной основе оборота свитка справа: «VI SM25. Из кол[лекции] Н.П. Лихачева». Ниже мы предлагаем перевод китайской и маньчжурской частей диплома.

Диплом представляет собой свиток длиной 322,5 см и шириной 31,1 см, текст написан на цветном шелке, зафиксированном на плотной бумажной основе. Левая часть свитка закреплена на деревянной палочке, на концах которой когда-то были, но сейчас утеряны, нефритовые наконечники. Китайский текст расположен в правой части свитка и читается первым по мере разворачивания свитка. Текст состоит из 18 вертикальных строк справа налево. Маньчжурский текст расположен в левой части свитка и записан 17-ю вертикальными строками слева направо. В конце маньчжурского текста на дате стоит красная квадратная печать с четкой легендой на двух языках: кит. ижигао чжи бао 制誥之寶, маньчж. hese wasimbuhe boobai («Печать для указов»). Обычно на китайской дате также ставилась печать, но здесь она отсутствует. В начале каждого текста (для китайского — справа, для маньчжурского — слева) между двумя вытканными на шелке драконами, спускающемся и поднимающемся, выткано название диплома: кит. фэнтянь гаомин 奉天誥命, маньчж. abkai hese g'aoming («Императорский указ»). Сам шелковый свиток состоит из полос различных цветов и по мере раскрывания свитка справа налево появляются следующие полосы: коричневато-серая с китайским названием (60 см), красная (45,5 см), желтая (46 см), белая (45,5 см), светло-коричневая с маньчжурским названием (60 см), белая с выбитыми на ней облаками (16 см). К правому краю свитка прикреплена цветная шелковая обложка: на красном шелке вытканы рисунки цветов лотоса и летучих мышей – символов чистоты и долголетия. На ней с краю имеется вертикальная полустертая надпись тушью на двух языках, первое маньчжурское слово и два китайских иероглифа утрачены, однако они восстанавливаются из текста самого диплома: маньчж. [baitalabure] hafan Yatu-i sargan Tunggo hala, кит. [拜他]喇布勒哈番牙圖妻通倭氏 («жена байталабурэ хафань Яту из рода Тунго») и приписка на маньчжурском языке: hešeri hala («род Хэшэри»).

#### ПУБЛИКАЦИИ



Ил. 1. Китайский текст диплома

#### Китайский текст оригинала

奉天承運

皇帝制曰國家推恩而錫類臣子懋德以圖功懿典攸存忱恂宜勗爾拜他喇布勒哈番牙 圖持心克謹蒞事惟勤俾典厥司特加任用奉公罔懈盡職靡愆盛典既逢宜加新命茲以覃 恩特授爾階中憲大夫錫之誥命於戲式弘車服之庸用勵顯揚之志尚欽榮命益矢嘉猷

初任六品阿敦大二任今職

制曰靖共爾位良臣既効其勤黽勉同心淑女宜從其貴爾拜他喇布勒哈番牙圖妻通倭 氏克嫻內則能貞順以宜家載考國常應褒嘉以錫寵茲以覃恩封爾為恭人於戲敬為德聚 實加儆戒以相成柔和女箴愈著匡襄以永賚

康熙二十年十二月二十四日

#### Китайский текст с расстановкой пунктуации

奉天承運皇帝制曰:國家推恩而錫類,臣子懋德以圖功,懿典攸存,忱恂宜勗。 爾,拜他喇布勒哈番牙圖,持心克謹,蒞事惟勤。俾典厥司,特加任用。奉公罔 懈,盡職靡愆。盛典既逢,宜加新命。茲以覃恩,特授爾階中憲大夫,錫之誥命。 於戲!式弘車服之庸,用勵顯揚之志。尚欽榮命,益矢嘉猷。

初任六品阿敦大,二任今職。

制曰:靖共爾位,良臣既効其勤;黽勉同心,淑女宜從其貴。爾,拜他喇布勒哈 番牙圖妻通倭氏,克嫻內則,能貞順以宜家;載考國常,應褒嘉以錫寵。茲以覃 恩,封爾為恭人。於戲!敬為德聚,實加儆戒以相成;柔和女箴,愈著匡襄以永 資。

康熙二十年十二月二十四日

#### Перевод с китайского

Волею Неба и велением судьбы [мы], император, повелеваем.

Императорский указ гласит:

Государство распространяет милость и дарует чины. Чиновники совершают подвиги, преданно исполняя свой долг. Добродетельные основы будут сохранены, преданность и верность всячески поощряются. У тебя, *байталабурэ хафань*<sup>1</sup> Яту, пре-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Байталабурэ хафань 拜他喇布勒哈番 — маньчж. «наследственное дворянское достоинство», соответствует 4-му рангу гражданских чинов.

данное сердце, и ты старательно и усердно выполняешь дела, поэтому вполне заслуживаешь продвижения по должности, делая дела без задержки, выполняя обязанности без ошибок. По случаю торжественной церемонии (события) издается указ о назначении на новую должность. Сейчас монаршей милостью я дарую тебе титул чжунсянь дафу<sup>2</sup> и императорский диплом. О! Усиливая знаки отличия на одежде и экипажах, я поддерживаю твои честолюбивые помыслы. Почтительно принимая священный приказ, ты сможешь еще лучше демонстрировать свои превосходные планы.

Сначала ты был назначен  $adyhb da^3$  6-го ранга, сейчас назначаешься на эту должность (т.е. на должность 4-го ранга).

Императорский указ гласит: получая эту должность, хороший чиновник проявил свои заслуги; единодушно [с ним] проявляющая старание хорошая жена также заслуживает поощрение. О! [Ты] из рода Тунго, жена *байталабурэ хафань* Яту, знаешь изысканные правила поведения жены, хранишь в доме добродетель и целомудрие, поэтому согласно государственным законам ты также заслуживаешь поощрение. Сейчас, распространяя монаршию милость, я дарую тебе титул *гунжэнь*<sup>4</sup>. О! Уважение, [полученное благодаря] накопленной добродетели, поистине должно быть дополнено наставлениями; ласковые женские увещевания должны постоянно помогать и поддерживать.

24-й день 12-й луны 20-го года правления Канси (1 февраля 1682 г.)



Ил. 2. Маньчжурский текст диплома

#### Транслитерация маньчжурского текста

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha /

Hûwangdi hese. gurun boo. kesi be selgiyeme neigen isibumbi. amban oho niyalma. erdemu be wesihuleme gung be / kicembi. sain kooli bisire be dahame. unenggi gûnin-i sithûci acambi. baitalabure hafan Yatu sini / mujilen ginggun bime. baita de kicebe seme tušan de afabufi baitalaha. afabuha babe heolendehakû. / tušan be akûmbume endebuhakû. amba kooli be ucaraha be dahame. doshon hese be isibure / giyan. te kesi selgiyehe doroi simbe tušan de faššaha amban fungnefi. g'aoming buhe. Ai. / sejen eteku-i temgetulere be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Чжунсянь дафу* 中憲大夫 — «образцовый сановник», титул сановника 4-го ранга 1-й степени (Попова 2012: 487).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Адунь да 阿敦大 — маньчж. «смотритель казенных табунов».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Гунжэнь 恭人 — «уважаемая жена», почетный титул жены чиновника 4-го ранга.

badarambufi. iletulere algibure gûnin be huwekiyebuhe. ele wesihun / hese be gingguleme. sain bodogon be nememe kice. //

sucungga tušan ningguci adun-i da. / bihe. jai tušan de ere hafan. //

Hûwangdi hese. beye-i tušan be gingulere be dahame. sain amban kiceme faššambi. uhei mujilen-i kicehe be dahame. mergen hehe sasa wesihun ojoro giyan. baitalabure hafan Yatu-i sargan Tonggo (sic.)<sup>5</sup> hala / dorgi durun be urefi. akdun ijishun-i boo be hûwali-yambume mutehe. gurun-i kooli be kimcici. / saišara temgetulere doshon be isibuci acambi. te kesi selgiyehe doroi simbe gingguji hehe fungnehe. / ai. ginggun erdemu-i isahangge ofi yargian-i jombume targabuha be dahame. ishunde akdafi mutebuhe. / nesuken hehe durun de acanafi. tuwacihiyaha aisilahangge iletulehe be dahame. enteheme kesi isibuha. //

Elhe taifin-i orici aniya. jorgon biyai orin duin de

#### Перевод с маньчжурского

Волею Неба и велением судьбы [мы], император, повелеваем.

Императорский указ гласит: царствующий дом повсюду распространяет милость. Тот, кто занимает чиновничью должность, высоко чтит добродетель и старательно выполняет [свой] долг. Поскольку существующие хорошие законы согласуются со старательным осуществлением искренних намерений, то у тебя, *байталабурэ хафань* Яту, преданное сердце, [ты] усерден в делах, и когда выполняешь обязанности, то делаешь дела старательно и безошибочно прилагаешь усердие на службе. Чтобы следовать великому закону, справедливо издать особый указ. Сейчас законом, распространяющим государеву милость, тебе даруется диплом чиновника *фашшаха амбань*<sup>6</sup>. О! Выставляй знаки отличия на одежде и экипаже, чтобы обнародовать желание прославлять знаменитость. Оказывая всякое почтение высочайшему указу, ревностно осуществляй добрые помыслы!

Сначала имел должность чиновника *адунь да* 6-го ранга, сейчас должность эта (т.е. повышается на два ранга).

Императорский указ гласит: оказывая уважение к своей должности, хороший чиновник старательно несет службу. Чтобы усердие было единодушным, будет справедливым повысить в звании мудрую жену. [Ты] из рода Тонго, жена *байталабурэ хафань* Яту, обучена придворным правилам, можешь сохранять согласие, надежность и верность в доме. Если тщательно изучить государственные законы, то ты достойна знаков поощрения и благоволения. Сейчас, согласно изданному милостивому указу, тебе даруется титул *гунчжи хэхэ*<sup>7</sup>. О! Чтобы умножать преданность и добродетель, следуйте наставлениям, поддерживая друг друга. [Ты] являешь собой образец кроткой и ласковой жены, и чтобы прославить [тебя], дарую вечную милость.

24-й день 12-й луны 20-го года правления Элхэ тайфинь (1 февраля 1682 г.)

Публикуемый диплом является одним из самых ранних в коллекции Института восточных рукописей РАН (Пан 2020а; 2020б). Следует отметить, что в китайском тексте маньчжурские титулы транскрибируются китайскими иероглифами: 拜他喇布

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> В маньчжурском тексте диплома написано *tonggo* — Тонго, а в надписи на обложке — *tunggo* — Тунго. Скорее всего, правильное название рода — Тунго, как оно транскрибируется китайскими иероглифами *tongwo* 通倭.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Фашшаха амбань — «ревностный, усердный сановник», титул чиновника 4-го ранга.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Гунчжи хэхэ — «внимательная жена», титул жены чиновника 4-го ранга.

勒哈番 — маньчж. байталабурэ хафань, 阿敦大 — манчж. адунь да. При этом титулы, заимствованные маньчжурами из китайской титулатуры предыдущих династий, даются в китайском оригинале и в маньчжурском тексте переводятся на маньчжурский язык: 中憲大夫 — маньчж. фашшаха амбань; 恭人 — маньчж. гунчжи хэхэ.

#### Литература

- «Звучат лишь письмена...» 2012 «Звучат лишь письмена...». К 150-летию со дня рождения академика Николая Петровича Лихачева. Каталог выставки. СПб.: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2012.
- Мещерская, Пиотровская 2012 Мещерская Е.Н., Пиотровская Е.К. Музей палеографии академика Н.П. Лихачева и его судьба (1925–1930) // «Звучат лишь письмена…». К 150-летию со дня рождения академика Николая Петровича Лихачева. Каталог выставки. СПб.: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2012. С. 49–65.
- Попова 2012 Попова И.Ф. Памятники китайской письменности // «Звучат лишь письмена...». К 150-летию со дня рождения академика Николая Петровича Лихачева. Каталог выставки. СПб.: Издательство Государственного Эрмитажа, 2012. С. 483–484.
- Пан 2020а *Пан Т.А.* Три императорских диплома гаомин 許命 из коллекции ИВР РАН // Письменные памятники Востока. 2020. Т. 17. № 1 (вып. 40). С. 5–20. DOI: 10.7868/S181180622001001X.
- Пан 20206 *Пан Т.А.* Маньчжурско-китайский диплом гаомин 浩命 (В 108 mss) из коллекции ИВР РАН // Письменные памятники Востока. 2020. Т. 17. № 4 (вып. 43). С. 24–32. DOI: 10.18716/WMO49972.

#### References

- "Zvuchat lish pis'mena...". K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia akademika Nikolaia Petrovicha Likhacheva. Katalog vystavki ["In Written Words Alone...". On the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Academician Nikolay Petrovich Likhachev. Exhibition Catalogue]. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2012 (in Russian).
- Meshcherskaia, Elena N., Piotrovskaia, Elena K. "Muzei paleografii akademika N.P. Lihacheva i ego sud'ba (1925–1930)" [Academician N.P. Likhachev's Museum of Paleography and Its Fate (1925–1930)]. In: "Zvuchat lish pis'mena..." K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia akademika Nikolaia Petrovicha Likhacheva. Ratalog vystavki ["Only Writings are Heard...". To the 150th Anniversary of the Academician Nikolaj Petrovich Likhachev]. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2012, pp. 49–65 (in Russian).
- Popova, Irina F. "Pamiatniki kitaiskoi pis'mennosti" [Monuments of Chinese Writing]. In: "Zvuchat lish pis'mena..." K 150-letiiu so dnia rozhdenila akademika Nikolaia Petrovicha Likhacheva. Ratalog vystavki ["Only Writings are Heard..." To the 150th Anniversary of the Academician Nikolaj Petrovich Likhachev]. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2012, pp. 483–484 (in Russian).
- Pang, Tatiana A. "Tri imperatorskikh diploma *gaomin* 誥命 iz kollektsii IVR RAN" [Three Imperial *Gaoming* (誥命) Diplomas from the Collection of the IOM RAS]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2020, vol. 17, no. 1 (issue 40), pp. 5–20. DOI: 10.7868/S181180622001001X (in Russian).
- Pang, Tatiana A. "Man'chzhursko-kitaiskii diplom *gaomin* 誥命(B 108 mss) iz kollektsii IVR RAN" [The Manchu-Chinese *Gaoming* 誥命 Diploma (B 108 mss) from the Collection of the IOM RAS]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2020, vol. 17, no. 4 (issue 43), pp. 24–32. DOI: 10.18716/WMO49972

(in Russian).

### The Manchu-Chinese Diploma Gaoming 誥命 from the Collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev

Tatiana A. PANG Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Received 13.07.2021.

Abstract: The Chinese collection of the IOM RAS keeps the Manchu-Chinese diploma from the former Museum of Paleography, which was founded by Nikolai P. Likhachev in 1925. The Museum was closed in 1930, and manuscripts in Oriental languages were sent to the nowadays IOM RAS. Among these manuscripts was the Manchu-Chinese diploma dated 1682. It bestowed the civil official Yatu the 4th rank title zhongxian dafu, and his wife from the Tunggo clan a corresponding title. The article publishes the diploma and its Russian translation from Chinese and Manchu.

Key words: Qing dynasty, Kangxi, Manchu-Chinese diploma, gaoming, N.P. Likhachev, Manchu manuscripts.

For citation: Pang, Tatiana A. "The Manchu-Chinese Diploma Gaoming 誥命 from the Collection of Nikolai P. Likhachev". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 25–31 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77350

About the author: Tatiana A. PANG, Cand. Sci. (History), Leading Researcher, Head of the Department of Far Eastern Studies, Deputy-director for Science, IOM RAS (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (ptatiana@inbox.ru).

## A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian

Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS SOAS University of London

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77332

Received 20.05.2021.

Abstract: A Buddhist technical term in Christian Sogdian. This article surveys the Indian (Sanskrit and Prakrit) loanwords used in the Christian literature in Sogdian, including some which have not been noticed previously. In particular, it discusses a possible borrowing of the Buddhist Sanskrit technical term *citta-samtāna*-, used in a Christian Sogdian text in the sense "train of thought". Finally, it raises the question whether *snks*'r, the Buddhist Sogdian equivalent of Sanskrit *samsāra*- "cycle of existence", may result from a confusion between this term and *samskāra*- "conditioned state".

Key words: Christian Sogdian, Buddhist Sanskrit, loanwords, citta-samtāna-, samsāra-, samskāra-.

For citation: Sims-Williams, Nicholas. "A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian". *Pis 'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 32–36 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77332

About the author: SIMS-WILLIAMS Nicholas, Emeritus Professor of Iranian and Central Asian Studies, SOAS, University of London (London, Great Britain) (ns5@soas.ac.uk).

© Sims-Williams Nicholas, 2021

The texts extant in Sogdian include a considerable number belonging to the literature of three major religions: Buddhism, Manicheism and Christianity. Although the Buddhist texts were mostly translated from Chinese, they contain a substantial Indian (Sanskrit and Prakrit) vocabulary, including both everyday words and Buddhist technical terms. The Manichean texts too employ a considerable number of Indian and Buddhist loanwords, which is not surprising in view of the attempt of the Manichean missionaries to present their religion in a Buddhist guise in order to attract converts in Central Asia and China.

The Indian vocabulary found in the Christian texts is naturally much less in quantity. In a survey published many years ago I noted ten such words (Sims-Williams 1983: 140): "q'c "sky", fcmbd "world", qrm "evil action", qwtr "family", mx'q'r "Mahākāla", rtn-"jewel", smbtsr "astrologer", smwtr- "sea", wyn "harp" and yqš- "yakṣa, fiend". A few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The old idea that this word is an adaptation of *jambudvīpa*- (Sims-Williams 1983: 136 with references in fn. 35) must be given up. However, if *fcmbd* is a compound of Sogdian ' $\beta$ t- "seven" and \**žanpa* $\delta$  < Sanskrit *janapa*da- "nation, empire, inhabited country" (Humbach 1972: 45–6; Sims-Williams 2014: 44–5) it still has at least a partially Indian etymology.

further items can now be added to the list:  $[\gamma]wrdq$  "pill" < gutika, rwq "disease" < roga-<sup>2</sup>, mwdy "price" < mulya- (Sims-Williams 2015: 19), pr'ny "insect" < pranaka- (Sims-Williams 2015: 39). Yet another, apparently unrecognized so far, is d'wsy, dwsy "neighbour", which probably derives from Sanskrit adhivasa-.

Almost all of these words are also attested in Buddhist and Manichean Sogdian texts. One of them, the word for "price", is already attested in the form  $mw\delta y$  in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters" of the early 4th century, and others, such as "q'c "sky" (probably borrowed via Parthian), *fcmbd* "world", *qwtr* "family", *smwtr*- "sea", no doubt belonged to the Sogdian core vocabulary. As I wrote in 1983: "In general… Indian words which occur in the Christian Sogdian literature may be assumed to be fully naturalized and to belong to the oldest stratum of Indian loanwords in Sogdian. The only probable exceptions to this generalization are those words which are used in Christian Sogdian in polemical contexts: *qrm* 'evil action, evil fate' in an anti-Manichean tract; mx'q'r 'Mahākāla', which serves as translation of the name of the heathen deity Apollo; yqšyšt 'fiends', used as an epithet of the persecuting Zoroastrians. Such words as these may have been taken over from Manichean and Buddhist usage" (Sims-Williams 1983: 136). The recently discovered medical terms such as  $[\gamma]wrdq$  "pill" and rwq "disease" may form a second group of exceptions, being adopted into Sogdian, possibly at a quite late date, as part of the prestigious Ayurvedic medical tradition.

It is notable that the Indian words collected above do not include any which could be described as Buddhist technical terms. In this respect the Indian vocabulary of the Christian Sogdian texts is very different not only from that of the Buddhist texts but also that of the Manichean texts, which make use of terms such as *bwt*- "Buddha", *βwsndyy* "fast" (Buddhist Sanskrit *upoṣadha*-), *cxš'pδ* "commandment, moral precept" (*śikṣāpada*-, another word transmitted via Parthian), *δrm* "law" (*dharma*-), *pwrny'ny*' "meritorious act" (*puṇya*-, with suffix influenced by the antonym '*krt'nyh* "sin"). The absence from the Christian texts of such Buddhist terminology is not surprising, given that the two religions have little in common. All the more interesting, therefore, is the possible borrowing of a Buddhist technical term to be proposed here.

Recently I published a series of excerpts from the writings of the seventh-century Christian ascetic Isaac of Nineveh in Sogdian translation. One of these excerpts contains the previously unknown word *smt*'n in the following context:<sup>3</sup>

p't 'mbysty šm'r' qt prym(nt) [...] šnqt 't n'-pcm'rcyq 'yct . w'n' by'nyq ( $\check{s}$ )[m'r'] zntysqn pr m'x. 't ms prymyd smt'n šm'(r)[' b'd] b'd pr f $\theta$ ys snymsqn m'x qw wny zprcyq '[mbnt] s'

"For constant thinking about these... little and inconsiderable things engenders in us that [thought] of God. And also, by means of this *smt*'n thought, [from time] to time we ascend in a vision to holy [intimacy] with Him..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These two terms occur, along with some less certain Indian terms, in a pharmacological fragment, see Sims-Williams/Maue in (Sims-Williams 2019: 89–94).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E28/14, R8–12, in (Sims-Williams 2017: 20–21). As noted in my edition, the identification of the text is due to Adrian Pirtea.

is an adjective synonymous with šḥym' "ordinary" and described it as "a previously unknown word without any obvious etymology" (Sims-Williams 2017: 34). It now seems to me likely that it the phrase *smt'n šm'(r)[']* is part loanword, part translation of Buddhist Sanskrit *citta-saṃtāna-*. This expression is translated by Edgerton as "mental disposition, mentality" (Edgerton 1953: 555), but Jonathan Silk, who kindly advised me on this point, defines it as "stream of thought moments". He explains: "Nothing continues through time, everything is momentary (*kṣaṇika*) ...everything that is part of existence (*saṃsāra*) in so far as it exists, exists moment to moment only. However, there is a continuity between these moments, and that is the *saṃtāna*, the flow or stream". Amongst the Chinese equivalents of this Sanskrit expression, and of the synonymous *citta-saṃtati-*, are *xin xiangxu* 心相續 or *xiangxu xin* 相續心 (Soothill–Hodous 1937: 310).

It is not to be expected that the Christian translator who made use of the phrase *smt'n*  $\frac{\delta m'(r)}{r}$  intended or even understood it in such a technical sense. He may rather have used it in a sense such as "train of thought", i.e. a sequence of thoughts each leading to the next. In that case, although *smt*'n is not a literal translation of *šhym*' "ordinary", the translator's paraphrase represents the meaning of the text quite accurately. Isaac is arguing for the value of "small actions" or "small observances", which, he says, lead to greater things: "What we discover by means of these small observances is as greatly exalted and glorious as fire is greater than the flint and iron from which it issues... Continuous reflection on these tiny and insignificant things gives birth in us to reflection on him [i.e. on God], and by means of this ordinary reflection on occasion we imagine that we are in luminous converse with him...<sup>4</sup>. The phrase "ordinary reflection" is effectively an abbreviated version of the preceding words "continuous reflection on these tiny and insignificant things". The "reflection" to which Isaac refers is defined by two features. It is "ordinary", that is, it concerns "tiny and insignificant things", and it is "continuous". In using the phrase "ordinary reflection" the Syriac original leaves "continuous" to be understood from the context, whereas the translator alludes to the "continuity" of thought by means of the term *smt*'n but leaves "ordinary" to be understood from the context.

One possible objection to the interpretation proposed here might be that the representation of m by m is somewhat unexpected. However, there is a close parallel in Parthian, where Sanskrit samsāra- appears as sms'r. As Wilma Heston once pointed out to me, the form samsār is also attested in some modern Indian languages such as Urdu. Possibly such forms result from the reintroduction of the etymological [m] in place of the nasalized vowel or homorganic nasal indicated by m. A different, but equally unexpected, adaptation is found in the Sogdian form of samsāra-, which is written snks'r, apparently [sansār], [saŋgsār] or [saŋksār]. In theory this spelling could be explained as due to adaptation to the unrelated Sogdian word attested in Christian Sogdian as sngs'r "stoned, put to death by stoning", but the meaning seems too distant for such a folk-etymological adaptation to be plausible. Once again I am grateful to Jonathan Silk for the ingenious suggestion that the Sogdian form might result from a confusion between the Buddhist terms samsāra- "cycle of existence" and samskāra- "conditioned state". The confusion of these two terms seems to be quite well-attested. Prof. Silk refers me to a Sanskrit folio of the Ratnarāśi (see F.W. Thomas in Hoernle 1916: 119 with n. 10, 121) where samskāra-pakṣānukūlam must stand for "well-disposed towards the partisans of samsāra", as shown both by the context and by the Tibetan translation. Similarly, in the Khotanese translation of the Sanghātasūtra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Translation taken from Brock 1997: 19–20 (my emphasis).

(§ 253.73 in the edition of Canevascini 1993: 110, 158 n. 13), the phrase *skaugyānu gaņjse* "faults of conditioned states" implies a Sanskrit text with *\*saṃskāra-doṣāṇi* rather than the transmitted text *saṃsāra-doṣāṇi* "faults of *saṃsāra*". The converse, that is, *saṃskāra* translated as if it were *saṃsāra*, is quite common in early Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, including those by An Shigao, Lokakṣema and Dharmarakṣa, all of whom employ the phrase 生死 "birth and death" for *saṃskāra* as well as for *saṃsāra*. According to some scholars (e.g. Deleanu 2003: 79–80 n. 30) such translations result from a confusion of the two terms in some Prakrit, but others (e.g. Vetter & Harrison 1998: 213, notes 7–8) take the opposite view<sup>5</sup>.

A derivation of the Sogdian term *snks*'r from *samskāra* would of course imply a metathesis of [sk] to [ks]. Although the reason for such a metathesis is not self-evident, it may be easier to accept than a Sogdian  $[\eta]$  as a replacement or realization of Sanskrit m.

#### References

- Brock, Sebastian P. "St. Isaac the Syrian: two unpublished texts". *Sobornost* 19.1, 1997, pp. 7–33 (in English).
- Canevascini, Giotto. *The Khotanese Sanghāțasūtra*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993 (Beiträge zur Iranistik 14) (in English).
- Deleanu, Florin. "The newly found text of the *An ban shou yi jing* translated by An Shigao". *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, 2003, vol. 6, pp. 63–100 (in English).
- Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. II. *Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953 (in English).
- Hoernle. *Manuscript remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, I, London: Oxford University Press, 1916 (in English).
- Humbach, Helmut. "Zu einer Neuausgabe des sogdischen Sūtra von den Ursachen und Wirkungen der Handlungen (SCE)". *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 1972, vol. 30, pp. 39–46 (in German).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. "Indian elements in Parthian and Sogdian". In: Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien. Vorträge des Hamburger Symposions vom 2. Juli bis 5. Juli 1981 (ed. K. Röhrborn & W. Veenker). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 132–141 (in English).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. *Biblical and other Christian Sogdian texts from the Turfan collection*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014 (Berliner Turfantexte 32) (in English).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. *The Life of Serapion and other Christian Sogdian texts from the manuscripts E25 and E26*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015 (Berliner Turfantexte 35) (in English).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. *An ascetic miscellany: The Christian Sogdian manuscript E28*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017 (Berliner Turfantexte 42) (in English).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas. From Liturgy to Pharmacology: Christian Sogdian texts from the Turfan Collection. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019 (Berliner Turfantexte 45) (in English).
- Soothill, William E. & Hodous, Lewis. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist terms*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1937 (in English).
- Vetter, Tilmann & Harrison, Paul. "An Shigao's Chinese translation of the Saptasthānasūtra". In: Sūryacandrāya: Essays in honour of Akira Yuyama on the occasion of his 65th birthday (Indica et Tibetica, 35, ed. P. Harrison & G. Schopen), Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1998, pp. 197–216 (in English).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For these references I am grateful to Michael Radich.

# Специальный буддийский термин в христианском согдийском языке

Николас СИМС-ВИЛЬЯМС Школа востоковедения и африканистики Университета Лондона Лондон, Великобритания

Статья поступила в редакцию 20.05.2021.

Аннотация: В статье рассматриваются заимствования из индийских языков (санскрита и пракрита), употребляемые в христианской литературе на согдийском языке (часть из которых ранее не разбиралась). Автор предполагает, что «технический» термин *citta-saṃtāna-*, заимствованный из буддийского санскрита, в христианском согдийском тексте используется в значении «поезд мысли».

Ключевые слова: христианский согдийский, буддийский санскрит, заимствования.

Для цитирования: *Sims-Williams N*. A Buddhist Technical Term in Christian Sogdian // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 32–36 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77332

Об авторе: СИМС-ВИЛЬЯМС Николас, почетный профессор кафедры Ирана и Центральной Азии, СОАС, Университет Лондона (Лондон, Великобритания) (ns5@soas.ac.uk).
Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 37–50

# Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and *Abita Qur* "Abita Cave"

Dai MATSUI Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University Osaka, Japan

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77308

Received 23.06.2021.

Abstract: IOM RAS preserves 55 Old Uighur manuscripts related to a group of Buddhist Uighurs who were active around the monastery of *abita qur* "Abita Cave" at the Toyoq Cave Temples. This paper investigates the location of the "Abita Cave" through Uighur wall inscriptions, which have been discovered at the monastery complex in the West Zone of the Toyoq site. Furthermore, this paper inquires into an Old Uighur toponym mentioned as the hometown of the scribe of one of the 55 manuscripts, which would suggest the pilgrimage range surrounding the Toyoq Caves.

Key words: Old Uighur, Turfan, Toyoq, wall inscriptions, toponym.

Acknowledgements: This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant (No. JP20H01324). I would express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Peter Zieme (Berlin) for his kind advice and comments on a draft version of this paper.

For citation: Matsui Dai. "Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and *Abita Qur* 'Abita Cave'". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 37–50 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77308

About the author: MATSUI Dai, Professor of Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University (Osaka, Japan) (dmatsui@let.osaka-u.ac.jp).

© Matsui Dai, 2021

## Introduction

In my previous research, I introduced 55 Old Uighur texts of the Serindia collection of IOM RAS as the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts," which are related to a single group of Buddhist Uighurs, who were active around the Toyoq (~ Tuyuk = Tuyugou 吐峪溝 < Uig. *tiyoq* ~ *teyoq* < Chin. *Ding-yu* 丁谷) Cave Temples, one of the greatest Buddhist sanctuaries in the Turfan region, in the thirteenth century (Matsui 2004; Matsui 2005; Matsui 2010). In addition, in six of the texts, I detected mentions of Uig. *abita qur* "Abita-Cave"<sup>1</sup> as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Uig. abita < Chin. A-mi-tuo 阿彌陀 "Amitābha ~ Amitāyus"; qur < ku 窟 (MC \*kuət) "cave, grotto."

name of a Buddhist temple (*varxar* ~ *vaxar*) or monastery (*sängräm*), where the Uighurs conducted their Buddhist practice such as veneration, meditation, and education. Thus, I concluded that the "Abita-Cave temple" should be located at the Toyoq Caves and the provenance of the 55 Uighur manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

Here, I offer supplementary remarks on the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts," in view of the results of recent investigations of the Toyoq Caves, as well as through comparison with texts thus far unpublished or unedited.

### 1. The Toyoq Caves and abita qur

Recently, Chinese research organizations have conducted joint archaeological excavations at the Toyoq site. In particular, their works on the monastery complex in the West Zone (*xiqu* 西區) of the site brought about rich fruits of cultural relics and ancient manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> as well as a great number of Old Uighur wall inscriptions and graffities of Caves NK 10 and NK 26, editions of which have been published by scholars in China.<sup>4</sup>

Among the inscriptions of NK 26, we find two written by a scribe named Qïtay-Toyrïl. We may safely regard them as written by one and the same hand.

## Text A<sup>5</sup>

1	tonguz yïl yetinč [a](y)[	]	<sup>1</sup> The Boar year, the seventh [month, on the day]
2	tekuy šila qïtay [toγr](ï)[l	]	2Tekuy-šila, Qïtay-[Τογrïl]
3	bo ïdoq oron-ta i[ri]ki[p][	]	<sub>3</sub> In this sacred place, in boredom
4	tep män qïtay toγrï[l] t[ört käzig bitidim	]	4Thus saying, I, Qïtay-Toγrïl, [wrote four lines]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Matsui 2004: 62–68; Matsui 2010: 704–710, Nos. 2, 6, 7, 10, 34, 49. Some fragments of the five texts have been given a new call number by IOM RAS: No. 2 = SI 1779 (Kr IV/252) +  $\mathcal{I}x$  12145 +  $\mathcal{I}x$  3650; No. 6 = SI 1789 (Kr IV/262); No. 7 = SI 1814 (Kr IV/265); No. 10 = SI 5067v + SI 5087v (Kr IV/367 + Kr IV/395); No. 34 = SI 3961 (4b Kr/42); No. 49 =  $\mathcal{I}x$  9569. Cf. UygIOM, Nos. 517, 520, 523+524, 521, 510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CASS/AT/KRI 2012; CASS/AT 2019; CASS/AT 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Yakup/Li 2019, for the inscriptions from Cave NK 10; for those from Cave NK 26, see Imin 2020; Li/Zhang 2021; Fu/Xia 2021. In fact, Imin 2020 did not declare the location of the inscriptions, although CASS/AT 2020 offers the facsimiles of the Uighur wall inscriptions of Cave NK 26, which include Imin's Nos. 37–45. In detail: Imin's Nos. 37–38, 39, 40, 41 are in Pl. 7; Nos. 42, 43, 44 (= Text A here), 45 in Pl. 8. In addition, we may note correspondences between Imin 2020, Li/Zhang 2021, and Fu/Xia 2021: Imin's Nos. 37–38 = Li/Zhang's K10-B-Z1 = Fu/Xia's II-1, II-2, II-3, II-4; Imin's Nos. 39–40 = Li/Zhang's K10-B-Z2 = Fu/Xia's II-6, II-7; Imin's Nos. 43–44 = Li/Zhang's K10-B-Y2 = Fu/Xia's III-3, III-4; Imin's No. 45 = Li/Zhang's K10-B-Y3 = Fu/Xia's III-6; Imin's No. 46 = Li/Zhang's K10-A-2 Consequently, "Cave 10" (or "NK 10") and "K10" in signatures for inscriptions by Li/Zhang should be corrected to "Cave 26 (NK 26)" and "K26."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CASS/AT 2020, Plate 7; Imin 2020: 126 (No. 44) and Fig. 9 = Li/Zhang 2021: 154–155, K10-B-Y2, lines 7–10 = Fu/Xia 2021: 199, III-4.



Fig. 1. Text A (extracted from CASS/AT 2020: Pl. 8)

### Notes

**A2, tekuy šila:** Uig. *tekuy* < Chin. *Ding-hui* 定惠. This Tekuy-*šila* may be identical with the one who put his name on the wooden tablet excavated from the Cave 51, as *män tekuy šila* "I, Tekuy-*šila*," and a text as *ming beš b(a)š*? "one thousand and five heads(?)" on the opposite side. See CASS/AT 2020, Plate 22, Figs. 1 and 2.

A4a, qïtay to $\gamma$ rï[l]: The ductus for *to\gammarï[l]* is well legible here, and we can also supplement it after *qïtay* in line 2.<sup>6</sup>

**A4b, t[ört käzig bitidim?]:** The initial *T*- of *t[ört]* "four" is well legible. From the context we may supplement "I wrote four lines (*käzig*)." Cf. e.g., Matsui 2019: Text B.

## Text B<sup>7</sup>

1	tonguz yïl ye[tin]č? (ay) säki[z ]	<sup>1</sup> The Boar year, the seventh? month, on the [ day].
2	män qïtay toγrïl [ ] bitidim?	<sub>2</sub> I, Qïtay-Toγrïl wrote? [].
3	qïẓïl-ta üč ay tur(u)? (tägintim? bo?)	<sup>3</sup> I humbly? stayed? in the gorge for (the sum- mer-retreat of) three months. Through (this?)
4	buyan küčintä käd toyïn ()	4meritorious deed, Käd-Toyïn, []
5	burxan bolu täginäyin	<sub>5</sub> we shall become Buddha!

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  We can safely modify *qïtay tung* (< *tutung* < Chin. *du-tong* 都統) by Fu/Xia 2021: 199.  $^7$  Imin 2020: 122 (No. 22) and Fig. 6.



**Fig. 2.** Text B (after IMIN 2020: Fig. 6)

### Notes

**B2, bitidim?:** The lacuna after <sub>2</sub>toγr*ïl* is followed by a quite faint ductus. From the context, Imin's <sub>2</sub>bitidim "I wrote" may be modified to bo teyoq (<sub>3</sub>q*ïzïl*) "this Toyoq (Gorge)."

**B3a, üč ay:** Here Uig. *üč ay* "three months" may well connote Uig. *pkčan* ~ *pekčan* (< TochA. *pākāccām* ~ TochB. *pakaccām*) "the three-month summer retreat for Buddhist monks." Examples being: BT III: 27–28,  $_{58}yay$ -qï üc ay-lar-nïng  $_{59}$ ärtmäkindin pekčan üşlünčü-si tolun ay beš ygrmi tünlä-sintä "at the end of the summer retreat after three months of summer had passed, (i.e.,) in the night of the fifteenth (day) of the full moon"; Matsui 2017: No. 231,  $_{3}$ üč ay pkčan(?) qonïp tüz täginip "(I).... stayed (here) for the summer retreat(?) of three months and obtained calmness of mind." Cf. Fu/Xia 2021: 186.

**B3b, tur(u)? (tägintim? bo?):** From the context, I would tentatively modify Imin's reading *tur(up)*.

The name of the scribe of these two inscriptions, Qïtay-Toγrïl, reminds us of one of the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts" related to the Abita-Cave Temple, as follows:

### Text C = $Дx 9569 verso^8$

1	[	]bodu qïtay toyrïl pin(tso)	1[]bodu, Qïtay-Toyrïl and Pintso
2	[	]-lar bo abita qur vaxar	2this Abita-Cave Temple
3	[	biti]dimz sadu ädgü yamu	3we [wrote]. It is very good.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> DhSPB 14 186; Matsui 2004: 65–66 (No. 8). In Matsui 2010: 709–710 (No. 49), the call number was mistaken as "4bKr 42."



**Fig. 3.** Text C Дх 9569 verso (after DhSPB 14: 186)

Its onomastic components, *qitay* "Qïtay, Khitay; (North) Chinese" and *toyril* "a kind of bird of prey"<sup>9</sup> were frequently used among the Uighurs and do not directly confirm the identity of the scribe of Texts A, B, and the one in Text C. However, through comparison of the ductus of the name *XYT()Y TWXRYL* = *qitay toyril*, we can surely regard the three texts as written by one and the same hand. Moreover, another name in Text C, Pintso (< Chin. *Bin-zang* 滅滅), is shared by other Toyoq inscriptions introduced by Imin 2020: No. 18, *män pintso* "I, Pintso" and No. 19, *män pintso yükündüm* "I, Pintso, venerated." The name *pintso* is also rather frequent among Buddhist Uighurs, although the two instances may be identified with Qïtay-Toyrïl's colleague in Text C.<sup>10</sup>

If these personal identifications are the case, the three texts here would corroborate my locating *abita qur* "Abita-Cave" in Text C and other "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts" at the Toyoq Caves and allow us to further pinpoint its location at the monastery complex in the West Zone of the Toyoq site. Even though we cannot find mention of *abita qur* among the Old Uighur wall inscriptions in the caves of the West Zone thus far edited,<sup>11</sup> we may expect the archaeological results to provide evidence in the future.

## 2. Toponyms related to the Toyoq Caves

A key person of the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts," Sivšidu (< Chin. *Xiu-shi-nu* 修士奴), declared in his memorial graffiti that he was *teyoq qïsïl-lïy* "(inhabitant) of the Toyoq Gorge."<sup>12</sup> Another key person, Yaqšidu (< Chin. *Yao-shi-nu* 藥師奴), identified himself as *lükčüng-lüg kenki bošyut-luy* "a learner of late generation from Lükčüng (i.e.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> VWTD III: 1167; ED: 472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Imin 2020: No. 20, reads *män*  $b(\ddot{a})k\ddot{u}z$  *yüküdüm* "I, Bäküz, venerated," although I speculate that we may modify the name  $b(\ddot{a})k\ddot{u}z = PKWZ$  to *pintso* = *PYNTSW*, and regard it as identical with the same named one in Nos. 18, 19, and our Text C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Yakup/Li 2019 for the inscriptions in the Cave NK 10 of the northern caves; Imin 2020 and Li/Zhang 2021 for those in Cave NK 26. Cf. fn. 4 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> SI 4030 (4b Kr/13), 2[*küs*]*kü yïl bešinč ay on yangïqa män*<sub>3</sub> *teyoq qïsïl-lïγ sivšidu tutung qy-a bo* 4*ïdoq tavyač küen-tä* "2The Mouse year, the fifth month, on the tenth day. (I), 3Sivšidu-*tutung* of the Toyoq gorge, [wrote] on this 4sacred Chinese scroll." See Matsui 2010: 703.

modern Lükchün = Lukeqin 魯克沁)."<sup>13</sup> The brand-new wall inscription of the West Zone of the Toyoq Caves also attests to the name Toyïnčuγ-*tutung* from Lükchün (*lükčüng-lüg toyïnčuγ tutung*).<sup>14</sup> This information, together with the Toyoq Inscription that declares the donation of the cultivated land in the city of Lükchün (*lükčüng*) to the monastery of the Toyoq Caves,<sup>15</sup> and a Buddhist Uigur fragment from Dunhuang (B464:65v) to pray for protection of *lükčüng* "Lükchün" and *teyoq qïsïl* "the Toyoq Gorge,"<sup>16</sup> well suggest that the Uighur Buddhist monastery at the Toyoq Caves was physically and materially supported by inhabitants of the city of Lükchün; therefore, the majority of visitors to the Toyoq Caves would be the inhabitants of Lükchün.

Furthermore, one of the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts" refers to another toponym as the hometown of a scribe. It deserves analysis from the geohistorical viewpoint, as it indicates the pilgrimage range to the Toyoq Caves.

The manuscript, SI 1823 (Kr IV/284) verso,<sup>17</sup> includes 14 lines in the cursive Uighur script. In view of the handwritings, the contents can be divided into five parts: Da = lines 1-4, Db = lines 5-6, Dc = lines 7 and 9, Dd = lines 8 and 10-12, and De = lines 13-14. Da and Db were apparently written by one and the same scribe. I proposed 1241 CE for the most probable date of the "Ox year" of Da, and 1243 CE for the "Hare year" of Dc and Dd. Judging from its placement, De was written last, so I would date its "Sheep year" to 1247 CE, one cycle of twelve-animal years later than my former dating of 1235 (Matsui 2004: 60-61).

### Text D = SI 1823 (Kr IV/284) verso

- Da1 ud yïl altïnč ay toquz ygrmikä biz qan-kimqadu šilavanti kuyšidu tutung
- Da2 kenšidu tutung šenšidu tutung biz munča kiši-lär täng ödigläp o(l)ortumuz
- Da3 nätäg qïlsar ädgü bolur ärki ämgäk nämä ay bo yertinčü sav-lar nätäg
- Da4 näng ädgü bitigäli bolmatïn turur yemtso
- Db5 y-a qutluγ bolzun ymä kim inčip ol körsär körki köz sonär? kötürsär
- Db6 küši kök P(L) KW KYT KYPY 无大山 🗆
- Dc7 tavïšyan yïl altïnč ay säkiz yangïqa bo tavyač kuen-tä
- Dd8 tavïšγan yïl aram ay säkiz otuz-qa {q} qulutï män (..)
- Dc9 män sambodu šäli qaya čīztīm
- Dd10 ïšum balïqlïy sävičä tutung q qy-a bo nom-qa
- Dd11 čïşa tägindim qïlïnč mu bolur ärki tep

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> SI 4029 (4b Kr/12), 10küskü yil ikinti ay säkiz yangi pošat 11bačay kün üzä biz yaqšidu kentso 12kök taz üčägü vapdu baxšim čisi-tin 13kälip män män? lükčüng-lüg kenki bošyut 14-luy yaqšidu tutung täk turup čizdīm "10The Rat year, the second month, on the eighth, (i.e.,) 110n the day of feast. We, Yaqšidu, Kentso (< Chin. Xian-zang 賢藏), and 12Kök-Taz, the three of us, came from čisi(?) of my Master Vapdu (< Chin. *Fa-nu* 法奴 "slave of Dharma"), 13-14and I, Yaqšidu-tutung, who is a learner of late (generation) from Lükchün, remained alone and depicted (this graffiti)." Cf. Matsui 2010: 703.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Imin 2020: No. 29; Fu/Xia 2021: 188. He is obviously identical to the same named Toyïnčuγ-*tutung* in Imin 2020: Nos. 16, 37–38, 39, and Li/Zhang 2021: K10-B-Z6; Fu/Xia 2021: I-4, I-5, II-1, II-2, II-4, II-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Matsul 2010: 703; for the most up to date edition of the inscription, see Zieme 2020: esp. 10–11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Zieme 2020: 11; for the facsimile of the manuscript, see DMBS III: Pl. XLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Matsui 2004: 54; Matsui 2010: 699 (No. 9); UygIOM: 237–238 (No. 522).

- Dd12 munča bidip qoddï
- De13 qoyn yïl altïnč ay toquz yangï-qa bo tavyač
- De14 kuentä
- Da <sup>1</sup>The Ox year, the sixth month, on the twenty-ninth day. We, Qan-Kimqadu*šilavanti*, Kuyšidu-*tutung*, <sup>2</sup>Kenšidu-*tutung*, Šenšidu-*tutung*, these persons, altogether humbly commemorated: <sup>3</sup>"How can we conduct so that things should be good? What is distress? Ah! How <sub>4</sub>can we write good things about the matters of this world?" Yemtso
- Db <sub>5</sub>Ah, may it be fortunate! What follows now: if one sees, the figure disappears (from) eyes; if one offers, <sub>6</sub>(the smoke of) incense (becomes?) blue. *KW KYT KYPY wu-da-shan*
- Dc <sub>7</sub>The Hare year, the sixth month, on the eighth day. On this Chinese scroll, <sub>9</sub>I, the servant Sambodu-*šäli*, depicted (this).
- Dd <sup>8</sup>The Hare year, the first month, on the twenty-eighth day. I,  $_{10-11}$ Sävinč-*tutung* from the town of lšum, respectfully depicted on this (scroll of) sutra. Saying "Is (this) a sin? Is (this) permitted?"  $_{12}$ I wrote thus and left (it here).
- De  $_{13}$ The Sheep year, the sixth month, on the ninth day. On this Chinese  $_{14}$ scroll



Fig. 4. SI 1823 (IOM RAS)

#### Notes

**Da1–2:** *Kimqadu* < Chin. *Jin-hua-nu* 金華奴; *Kuyšidu* < Chin. *Hui-shi-nu* 惠師奴; *Kenšidu* < Chin. *Xian-shi-nu* 賢師奴; *Šenšidu* < Chin. *Chan-shi-nu* 禪師奴 or *Shan-shi-nu* 善師奴. These names also appear in other Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts (Matsui 2010: 697–702). Uig. *šilavanti* (< TochB. *śilavānde* << Skt. *śīlavat-*) and *tutung* (< Chin. *du-tong* 都統) are well known Buddhist titles (Kitsudo 2017: 168).

**Da3, ämgäk nämä:** This phrase is not so easily graspable. It may be interpreted otherwise, "there is no distress!" or "I do not know distress!" (ATG: 348; CTD II: 272).

**Da4, yemtso:** Reading is tentative. It seems to be a personal name derived from Chin. *Yan-zang* 嚴藏, although the context is unclear.

**Db5–6, körsär körki köz sonär kötürsär küši kök P(.):** My interpretation "if one sees, the figure disappears (from) eyes; if one offers, (the smoke of) incense (becomes?) blue" is rather tentative. It would belong to an alliterative verse, which was popular among contemporary Uighur monks. One of the "Sivšidu-Yaqšidu manuscripts," SI 5748 (3 Kr/5(21)),<sup>18</sup> includes a parallel passage: *y-a qutluy bo(l)zun ymä kim inčip ol körsär körki köz sonär? kötür[sär]*. Another manuscript SI 1777 (Kr IV 250)<sup>19</sup> includes <sub>4</sub>*körsär körki ködür-sär küši* <sub>5</sub>*kök P(....)*, which could be an emendation or extraction of the text.

**Db6:** The three Chinese characters *wu-da-shan* 无大山 would be an error of *wu-tai-shan* 五臺山 "Mt. Wutai," the well-known Buddhist sanctuary of Mañjuśrī cult, which is located in the northern part of Shanxi Province. For Uighur forms *utayšan* ~ *udayšan* (< Chin. *wu-tai-shan*) ~ *utay* ~ *uday* (< Chin. *wu-tai*) and the cult of Wutaishan as the sanctuary of Mañjuśrī among the Uighurs, see Zieme 2002; Zieme 2016; Matsui 2017: Nos. 128, 130; Kasai 2020, for example. The scribe of the present text reconstructed wrong Chinese characters *wu-da-shan* 无大山 from the Uighur form *utayšan*, according to the Sino-Uighur pronunciation: Chin. *wu*  $\mathcal{T}(\mathfrak{M}) >$ Uig. *u(u)* ~ *wu(u)*; *da*  $\mathfrak{T} >$ tay; *shan*  $\mathfrak{U} >$ šan.<sup>20</sup>

In view of the fact that Dunhuang Chinese texts of *Wutaishanzan* 五臺山讃 "Praise of Mt. Wutai" are composed of verses of seven characters, we may regard *KW KYT KYPY* preceding *wu-da-shan* 无大山 as transcriptions of four Chinese characters. The existing versions of Chinese *Wutaishanzan*, however, do not attest to any corresponding verse (Du 1991).

One more Chinese-like sign follows wu-da-shan, but it is not easily graspable.

**Dd8**, išum balïqlï $\gamma$ : The toponym *išum* = *YŠWM* might be read as Y()*ŠWM* = *yašum* ~ *yäšüm* or *ŠWM* = *äšüm*. For details, see the analysis below.

The hand of Text D (lines 8, 10–12) tends to stretch the ductus vertically: here,  $bal\ddot{i}ql\ddot{i}\gamma = PLYXLYX$  is written as  $P^{\nu}L'XLX$ .

**Dc9**, sambodu: < Chin. San-bao-nu 三寶奴 "slave of Triratna." The namesake is found in SI 3961 (4b Kr/42), SI 4028 (4b Kr/11), SI 4031 (4b Kr/15), and SI 5067 + SI 5087 (Kr IV/367 + Kr IV/395) (Matsui 2004: 58; Matsui 2010: 697–702; UygIOM, Nos. 510, 555, 527, 378+523).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This fragment joins to SI 1780 (Kr IV/253). See Matsui 2004: 54, 55; Matsui 2010: No. 3; UygIOM, 236 (Nos. 518, 519).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This fragment joins to Дх 3652. See Matsui 2005: 140–142; Matsui 2010: No. 1; UygIOM: 235 (No. 516).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> BT XXXIV: 174, 175, 184. For another Sino-Uighur form *wu-tai-shan* 五臺山 > *WXW T°Y Š*N = *wyu-tay-šan*, see BT XXXIV: 71, 148.

**Dd10:** The personal name  $s\ddot{a}vi\check{c}\ddot{a} = S'VY\check{C}'$  may be a misrepresentation of the frequently attested name  $S'VYN\check{C} = s\ddot{a}vin\check{c}$ .

**Dd11:** The face of the letters of  $t\ddot{a}gindim = T^{\circ}KYNDYM$  is in fact written as if  $T^{\circ}RYNDYM$ .

From the geohistorical viewpoint, it is noteworthy that the scribe of Text Dd, Sävičätutung, identifies himself as *išum balïqlï*γ "from the town of lšum."

I suppose that *išum* here would be the same toponym as Mong. *soim* ~ *suim* = *SWYM*, which is mentioned in a Mongolian decree of 1352 CE by the Chaghatai Khan Tuyluytemür as a village (*siltege(n)* > pl. *silteged*), together with two other villages, *qongsir* and *limčin* (BT XVI, Nr. 70). Mong. *qongsir* is a loanword of Uig. *xongtser* ~ *xongser* (~ *qongtsir* ~ *qongsir*), which derived from Chin. *Heng-jie* 横截 (MC \**ywpng-dz'iet*) and corresponds to the ruins nearby the modern village of Subashi (= Subashi 蘇巴什), at the north exit of the gorge through the Huoyanshan 火焰山 mountains, ca. 7 km north from the Toyoq Caves;<sup>21</sup> Mong. *limčin* derives from Uig. *limčin*, which goes back to Chin. *Lin-chuan* 臨川 (MC \**ljam-tś'jwän*) and corresponds to the modern village of Lämjin (= Lianmuqin 連木沁) (Matsui 2015: 279), at ca. 20 km east to Subashi.

For the etymon of Mong. *soim* ~ *suim*, I previously proposed the Khotanese toponym '*īśumä* ~ *yūśumä*, which the Staël-Holstein scroll of 925 CE locates around Khot. *hve'tsver* (~ Uig. *xongser* ~ Mong. *qongsir* < Chin. *Heng-jie*) and *dūkä cū* (~ Uig. *lük-čüng*).<sup>22</sup> I also supposed that a Chinese toponym *Wei-shen* 威神 (MC \**jwei-dź'iĕn*) in the Turfan document of the Gaochang kingdom period developed to Mong. *soim* ~ *suim* via Khot. '*īśumä* ~ *yūśumä* (Matsui 2015: 280). Accepting my proposal, Chen Guocan further identified *Wei-shen* with Chin. *Yu-chen* 于謎 (MC \**jiu-źiəm*) of the Tang period and identified it as the ruins at ca. 20 km northeast to Lämjin (Chen 2017a: 34; Chen 2017b: 14–15, 21).

Now our Text Dc offers the Uigur form išum (or yašum ~ yäšüm ~ äšüm), which would fit Khot. isumä more appropriately than Mong. soim ~ suim. This identification tallies with the geographical location of *Wei-shen* and *Yu-chen* proposed by Chen Guocan. As shown in the map below, the Toyoq Caves (*teyoq qïsil*) would be the nearest religious sanctuary for Buddhist Uighur inhabitants of lšum, east of Lämjin.

Furthermore, we find another Uighur toponym *yušum* in a fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection.

## **Text E = U6018**<sup>23</sup> recto

1	pučang-nïng beš [	]	Five [] of Pučang []
2	yušum-nung säkiz [	]	Eight [] of Yušum []
3	tört äšgäk (.)[	]	Four donkeys []
4	(tsi)rkip-n[ing	]	[] of Tsirkip []
5	[l]ü(k)čüng-n[üng	]	[] of Lükčüng []

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For Chin. *Heng-jie* 横截 > Uig. *xongtser* ~ *xongser* (~ *qongtsür* ~ *qongsür*), see Matsui 2015: 278–279. In its geographical identification as modern Khandu (= Handun 漢墩), I followed previous scholars such as Shimazaki 1977: 120–122, Arakawa 1986: 40, Wang 2000: 61–62, and Rong 2007: 33–34; cf. Rong 2016: 21. However, through fieldwork in the Turfan region, Chen 2017a: 34–35, proposed the identification as the ruins nearby Subashi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> KT II: 73; Hamilton 1958: 140; Arakawa 1986: 40, 68; Wang 2000: 70; Rong 2007: 34–35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cf. VOHD XIII, 22: 149–150 (No. 448). Here, I would improve readings of toponyms in lines 2, 4, and 5.

#### ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ



Fig. 5. U 6018 Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung

The Uighur toponym *µpučang*, as well as Khot. *phūcamnä*, derives from Chin. *Pu-chang* 蒲昌 of the Tang times and corresponds to the modern village of Pichan (= Pizhan 闢展, or Shanshan 鄯善) (Matsui 2015: 276–278). Another toponym, *₄tsirkip*, is an older form of *sirkip*, which derived from Chin. *qi-ji* 七級 "seven-storied" (MC \**ts'ičt-kipp*) and was used as a component of the name of a Buddhist temple *Qi-ji-si* 七級寺 on the halfway point between Lämjin and Lükchün in the Tang times. The temple name became the name for its village, that is, modern Sirkip (= Seerkepu 色爾克普).<sup>24</sup>

These toponyms,  $_1Pučang$ ,  $_4Tsirkip$ , and  $_5Lükčüng$ , may well suggest that Text E belongs to a financial record concerning donkeys (and other livestock and materials used for official transportation?), which were assembled from towns and villages on the route from *Pučang* (= Pichan) to *Lükčüng* (= Lükchün).<sup>25</sup> Consequently,  $_2yušum$  (or yušüm ~ yüšüm), followed by a genitive suffix (*-nung*) as well as the other toponyms, would also be the name of a town or village on the route, especially between *Pučang* and *Tsirkip* (= Sirkip). We may safely identify it with Khot. yūśumä, and regard it as a variant of Uig. išum ~ Khot. išumä.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For details, see Kitsudo 2014. The form *tsirkip* in Text E, as well as Khot. *tsīrkyepä* in the Staël-Holstein scroll of 925 CE, well preserves the *qing-mu* 清母 initial ([fe]) of *qi* 七 of the Chinese etymon. See BT XXXIV: 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> S.-Chr. Raschmann also described the fragment as "Listenförmige Aufzeichnung, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Steuer-, Abgaben- und Arbeitsdienstsystem steht." See VOHD XIII, 22: 150.

While we have many Uighur toponyms originated from Sino-Uighur forms (Matsui 2015: 293–294; Kitsudo 2014), *išum* and *yušum* do not accurately correspond to the Sino-Uighur expected for Chin. *Wei-shen* 威神 and *Yu-chen* 于註.<sup>26</sup> As shown above, Uig. *išum* and *yušum* correspond better to Khot. *'īśumä* and *yūśumä*, respectively, although the dual forms in both languages may well suggest the etymon in another language. The onset of the toponym may perhaps be unstable among Uighur, and too unclear for Mongolians, who later borrowed it in a collapsed form *soim* ~ *suim* (or maybe *šoim* ~ *šuim*), dropping its initial /ī/ ~ /yu/, to recognize.

The mention of *išum baliq(-līq)* "(from) the town of *lšum*" in our Text Dd indicates that lšum had sufficient size or infrastructure to be called a *balïq* "town, city" in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, Text E does not preserve the numbers of donkeys or any other materials requisitioned on Yušum (= *lšum*) and other three towns and does not offer us information on their size. The mention of the town of Yušum (= *lšum*) itself, however, may reflect its social significance in the eastern region of the Turfan basin, similar to Pučang and Tsirkip (~ Sirkip). Therefore, the refugees and disorder of the town of Soim ~ Suim (= *lšum* = Yušum) was a great concern for Chaghatai Khan of the fourteenth century, who issued a royal decree to aid its inhabitants.

### **Abbreviations and References**

- Arakawa Masaharu 荒川正晴. "Kiku-shi Koshō-koku no gunkensei no seikaku wo megutte 麴氏高昌國の郡縣制の性格をめぐって [On the Character of the Chun-hsien System in the Kingdom of Kao-ch'ang under the Rule of the Ch'u Familiy]." *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, 1986, vol. 95, no. 3, pp. 37–74 (in Japanese).
- ATG = VON GABAIN, Annemarie, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 3. ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (in German).
- BT III = TEZCAN, Semih, *Das uigirische Insadi-Sutra (Berliner Turfantexte* III). Berlin: Akademe Verlag, 1974 (in German).
- BT XXXIV = SHOGAITO Masahiro et al., *The Berlin Chinese Text U 5335 Written in Uighur Script* (*Berliner Turfantexte* XXXIV). Turhnout: Brepols, 2015 (in English).
- CASS/AT = Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo bianjiang minzu kaogu yanjiushi 中國社會科學院考古研究所邊疆民族考古研究室, Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 吐魯番學研究院, "Xinjiang Shanshan-xian Tuyugou xiqu zhongbu Huigu fosi fajue jianbao 新疆鄯善縣吐峪 溝西區中部回鶻佛寺發掘簡報 [The Excavation of the Uighur Buddhist Temple of the West Zone of Tuyoq Grottoes in Shanshan (Piqan) County, Xinjiang]." *Kaogu* 考古, 2019-4, pp. 17–22, +pls. XVII–XII (in Chinese).
- CASS/AT = Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo bianjiang minzu kaogu yanjiushi 中國社會科學院考古研究所邊疆民族考古研究室, Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 吐魯番學研究院, "Xinjiang Shanshan Tuyugou xiqu zhongbu gaotai kuyuan fajue baogao 新疆鄯善吐峪溝西 區中部高台窟院發掘報告 [The Excavation of a Buddhist Temple Complex on the Middle Platform of the West Zone in Tuyuq Caves, Shanshan County, Xinjiang]." *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, 2020-3, pp. 420–460, +24 pls. (in Chinese).
- CASS/AT/KRI = Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo bianjiang minzu kaogu yanjiushi 中國社會科學院考古研究所邊疆民族考古研究室, Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 吐魯番學研究院,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See BT XXXIV: 176, 187, for Sino-Uighur *u-šin < Wei-shen* 威神; Middle Chinese of *chen* 諶 had *chan-mu* 禪母 initial (/š/) and *qin* 侵 rhyme (/im/), and therefore *Yu-chen* 于諶 should be transcribed as *u(u)-šim* in Sino-Uighur. Cf. BT XXXIV: 173, 105, 183.

Guizi yanjiuyuan 龜茲研究院, "Xinjiang Shanshan xian Tuyugou xiqu beice shiku fajue jianbao 新疆鄯善縣吐峪溝西區北側石窟發掘簡報 [The Excavation of the North Portion of the West Zone of Tuyoq Grottoes in Shanshan (Piqan) County, Xinjiang]." *Kaogu* 考古, 2012-1, pp. 17–22, +Pls. 7–12 (in Chinese).

- Chen Guocan 陳國燦. "Xizhou Huigu shiqi Tulufan diming de yinbian 西州回鶻時期吐魯番地 名的音變 [Investigation to Some Ancient City Sites of Eastern Gaochang]." *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐魯番學研究, 2017-1, pp. 26–38 (in Chinese).
- Chen Guocan 陳國燦. "Dui Gaochang dongbu zhu gucheng yizhi de chafang 對高昌東部諸古城 遺址查訪 [Investigation to Some Ancient City Sites of Eastern Gaochang]." *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐魯番學研究, 2017-2, pp. 12–21 (in Chinese).
- CTD = Dankoff, Robert / Kelly, James, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, 3 vols. Duxbury: Harvard University, 1982–1985 (in English).
- DhSPB 14 = Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Sheng-Bidepu fensuo zang Dunhuang wenxian 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌文獻 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Collected in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia], vol. 14. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe. 2000 (in Chinese).
- DMBS III = Dunhuang Mogaoku beiqu shiku 敦煌莫高窟北區石窟 [Northern Grottoes of Mogao, Dunhuang], vol. 3. Ed. by Bang Jinzhang 彭金章, Wang Jianjun 王建軍, Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004 (in Chinese).
- Du Doucheng 杜斗城. Dunhuang Wutaishan wenxian jiaolu yanjiu 敦煌五臺山文獻校錄研究 [Edition and Study on the Dunhuang Manuscripts of Mt. Wutai]. Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991 (in Chinese).
- ED = Clauson, Gerard. An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972 (in English).
- Fu Ma & Xia Lidong. "Comprehensive Study on the Old Uighur and Chinese Wall Inscriptions in Room B of the Newly Excavated Cave 26 in Toyuq Grottoes, Turfan." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 2021, vol. 74, no. 2, pp. 181–206 (in English).
- Hamilton, James. "Autour du manuscrit Staël-Holstein." *T'oung Pao* 1958, vol. 46, no. 1/2, pp. 115–153 (in French).
- Imin, Tursunjan 吐送江 · 依明. "Tuyugou shiku fojiao yizhi xinfaxian Huigu-wen tiji 吐峪溝石窟 佛教遺址新發現回鶻文題記 [A Reading of Newly Discovered Wall Inscriptions in Old Uighur from the Buddhist Site at the Tuyuq Grottoes]." *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, 2020-5, pp. 115–127 (in Chinese).
- Kasai Yukiyo. "The Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Mt. Wutai, and Uyghur Pilgrims." *BuddhistRoad Paper* 2020, 5.4 (in English).
- Kitsudo Koichi. "Etymon of Sirkip Oasis in the Turfan Region." *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*, 2014, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 145–150 (in English).
- Kitsudo Koichi 橘堂晃一. "Tonkō sekkutsu Burāfumī-moji daiki meibun shūsei 敦煌石窟 ブラーフミー文字題記銘文集成 [Brāhmī Inscriptions of the Dunhuang Grottoe." In: *Tonkō sekkutsu ta-gengo shiryō shūsei* 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成 [Multilingual Source Materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes]. Ed. by D. Matsui / Sh. Arakawa. Fuchu (Tokyo): Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2017, pp. 163– 198, + Figs. 1, 2, 8 (in Japanese).
- KT II = Bailey, Harold Walther, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. II. Cambridge (UK): the University Press, 1954 (in English).
- Li Gang 李剛 / Zhang Hailong 張海龍. "Tulufan Tuyugou 10-hao ku xinfaxian zhi Huigu-wen tiji kaoshi 吐魯番吐峪溝10號窟新發現之回鶻文題記考釋 [Textual Examination on the Uighur Inscriptions of the Book Notes Newly Discovered from the Cave 10 of Tuyugou]." Xiyu yanjiu 西域研究, 2021-1, pp. 152–164 (in Chinese).
- Matsui Dai 松井太. "Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo to Toyoku sekkutsu no Bukkyō kyōdan シヴシドゥ・ヤクシドゥ關係文書とトヨク石窟の佛教教團 [Notes on the Uigur Secular

Documents from the St. Petersburg Collection]." In: *Chūō Ajia shutsudo bunbutsu ronsō* 中央アジア出土文物論叢 [Papers on the Pre-Islamic Documents and Other Materials Unearthed from Central Asia]. Ed. by T. Moriyasu. Kyoto: Hōyū shoten, 2004, pp. 41–70 (in Japanese).

Matsui Dai 松井太, "Uiguru-bun Shivushidu Yakushidu kankei monjo hoi ウイグル文シヴシド ウ・ヤクシドウ關係文書補遺 [Supplement to the Uighur Documents Related to Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu]." *Jinbun shakai ronsō*人文社會論叢, 2005, vol. 13, pp. 139–155 (in Japanese).

- Matsui Dai. "Uighur Manuscripts Related to the Monks Sivšidu and Yaqšidu at 'Abita-Cave Temple' of Toyoq." In: *Tulufanxue yanjiu: disanjie Tulufanxue ji Ouya youmu minzu de qiyuan yu qianxi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 吐魯番學研究: 第三屆吐魯番學暨歐亞游牧民族的起源與 遷徙國際學術研討會論文集 [Journal of Turfan Studies: Essays of the Third International Conference of Turfanological Studies, 2008, Turfan]. Ed. by Xinjiang Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 新疆吐 魯番學研究院. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010, pp. 697–714 (in English).
- Matsui Dai. "Old Uighur Toponyms of the Turfan Oases." In: *Kutadgu nom bitig. Festschrift für Jens Peter LAUT zum 60. Geburtstag.* Ed. by E. Ragagnin / J. Wilkens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015, pp. 275–303 (in English).
- Matsui Dai 松井太, "Tonkō sekkutsu Uiguru-go Mongoru-go daiki meibun shūsei 敦煌石窟ゥイグル語・モンゴル語題記銘文集成 [Uigur and Mongol Inscriptions of the Dunhuang Grottoes]." In: *Tonkō sekkutsu ta-gengo shiryō shūsei* 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成 [Multilingual Source Materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes]. Ed. by D. Matsui / Sh. Arakawa. Fuchu (Tokyo): Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2017, pp. 1–160, + Figs. 1, 3–7 (in Japanese).
- Matsui Dai. "Remarks on Buyan-Qaya, a Uighur Buddhist Pilgrim to Dunhuang." In: Unter den Bodhi Baum. Festschrift für Klaus Röhrborn anlässlich des 80. Geburtstags Ed. by Z. Özertural / G. Şilfeler. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019, pp. 209–224 (in English).
- MC = Middle Chinese (according to Karlgren, Bernhard, *Grammata serica recensa*, Stockholm: The Museum of Fart Eastern Antiquities, 1957).
- Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "Tulufan xinchu songshi wenshu yu Kanshi Gaochang wangguo de junxiancheng 吐魯番新出送使文書與闕氏高昌王國的郡縣城 [Study on a Newly Discovered Embassy Document of the Gaochang Kingdom under the Kan Family and Its Local Administrative Districts]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, 2007, vol. 10, pp. 21-42 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "Cong Tulufan chutu wenshu kan gudai Gaochang de dili xinxi 從吐魯 番出土文書看古代高昌的地理信息 [A View of the Historical-geographic Information of the Ancient Gaochang in Terms of the Unearthed Documents in Turfan]." *Shaanxi shifan daxue xuebao* 陝西師範大學學報, 2016, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 12–24 (in Chinese).
- Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌. Zui-Tō jidai no Higashi-Turukisutan kenkyū 隋唐時代の東トゥルキ スタン研究 [Studies on East Turkistan during the Sui-Tang Times]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1977 (in Japanese).
- UygIOM = Zieme, Peter & Lundysheva, Olga & Turanskaya, Anna & Umemura Hiroshi (eds.). Catalogue of the Old Uyghur Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, vol. 1. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2021 (in English).
- VOHD XIII, 22 = Raschmann, Simone-Christiane, Alttürkische Handschriften, Teil 14: Dokumente, Teil 2 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften der Deutschland, 13, 21). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2009 (in German).
- VWTD = Radloff, Wilhelm, Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte, 4 vols. St. Petersbourg: Императорская академия наук, 1893–1911 (in German & Russian).
- Wang Su 王素. Gaochang shigao: jiaotong bian 高昌史稿: 交通編 [History of Gaochang: Traffics and Transportations]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000 (in Chinese).
- Yakup, Abdurishid & Li Xiao. "A Philological Investigation of the Old Uyghur Pilgrim Inscriptions Recently Discovered in the Cave NK 10 in the Tuyoq Grottoes of Turfan." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 2019, vol. 72, no. 4, pp. 399–417 (in English).

Zieme, Peter. "Three Old Turkic *Wutaishanzan* Fragments." *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 2002, vol. 17, pp. 223–239 (in English).

Zieme, Peter. "Gudai Huigu fojiao zhizhong de Wutaishan yu Wenshushili 古代回鶻佛教之中的 五臺山與文殊師利 [Wutaishan and Mañjuśrī in Uighur Buddhism]." In: *Yishan er wuding* 一山而五頂 [One Mountain of Five Plateaus]. Ed. by Miaojiang 妙江 & Chen Jinhua 陳金華 & Kuanguang 寬弘. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2016, pp. 117–126 (in Chinese).

Zieme, Peter. "Notes on the Interpretation of the Toyok Inscription of the West Uyghur Kingdom." *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 2020, vol. 35, pp. 1–24 (in English).

## Два комментария по поводу пещер Туюк и Абита кур «Пещеры Абита»

Дай МАЦУИ Высшая школа гуманитарных исследований Университета Осака Осака, Япония

Статья поступила в редакцию 23.06.2021.

Аннотация: В ИВР РАН хранятся 55 рукописей на староуйгурском языке, которые ассоциируются с группой уйгуров-буддистов, живших в районе монастыря abita qur «Пещера Абита» пещерных храмов Туюк. В статье делается попытка определить местонахождение «Пещеры Абита», основываясь на настенных надписях на уйгурском языке, обнаруженных в западной части монастырского комплекса Туюк. Кроме этого, в статье разбирается староуйгурский топоним, зафиксированный как родной город одного из писцов, переписавших эти 55 рукописей. Этот факт может указывать на географический охват паломничества в пещеры Туюк.

Ключевые слова: староуйгурский, Турфан, Туюк, настенные надписи, топоним.

Благодарности: Работа написана по гранту JSPS KAKENHI Grant (No. JP20H01324). Я выражаю глубокую признательность проф. Петеру Циме (Берлин) за его советы и комментарии, высказанные при прочтении рабочего варианта этой статьи.

Для цитирования: *Matsui Dai*. Two Remarks on the Toyoq Caves and *Abita Qur* "Abita Cave" // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 37–50 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77308

Об авторе: МАЦУИ Дай, Профессор Высшей школы гуманитарных исследований Университета Осака (Осака, Япония) (dmatsui@let.osaka-u.ac.jp). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 51–57

## Sound Changes to Avoid Using Taboo Characters

Tokio TAKATA Fudan University Shanghai, China

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77307

Received 11.06.2021.

Abstract: It has been recognized so far that sound change was not used in order to avoid using a taboo character. Nevertheless, we find examples that suggest that there was indeed a habit of changing sounds to avoid using taboo characters in speech. Such sound changes can be seen not only in the case of state taboo, i.e., avoidance of the given names of emperors, but also in the case of secular taboo, e.g., sound changes of the vocabularies for genitals practiced in the Buddhist society. Interesting enough, these sound changes were not a case of temporary substitution but were used as one of the stable pronunciations of the characters.

Key words: taboo characters, sound change, state taboo, secular taboo, Dunhuang Manuscripts, Buddhist society

For citation: Tokio Takata. "Sound Changes to Avoid Using Taboo Characters". *Pis'mennye pa-miatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 51–57 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77307

About the author: Tokio TAKATA, Distinguished Professor Fudan University, Department of History (Shanghai, China) (takatatokio@gmail.com).

© Tokio Takata, 2021

## Preamble

The taboo characters are peculiar to Chinese textual history, and an understanding of their various usages has been essential to the Chinese philological study. In this essay, I will discuss the issue of the taboo characters in the Chinese history, specifically the relationship between the sound changes and taboo characters.

Until now, it has been accepted that a sound change was not used in order to avoid using a taboo character. For instance, Chen Yuan 陳垣, in his famous standard work on this problem, *Shihui juli* 史諱舉例 "Examples of Taboos in History," claims that sound changes to avoid using taboo characters were not practiced at all<sup>1</sup>. In this essay, I ask if this theory can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1962, p. 8.

still be considered accurate, and try to demonstrate that the practice of changing sounds to avoid using taboo characters was present in the past, especially in Medieval China. This paper is mainly concerned with the "state taboo," i.e., the avoidance of emperors' names, but "secular taboo" in Buddhist society will also be discussed.

## State taboo

In premodern China, the given names of emperors were to be avoided. These customs were carried forward from dynasty to dynasty, and took root in many periods of Chinese history. However, there were some methods to avoid them:

- 1. To change the character to another synonymous character. For example, the character 治 *zhi*, the name of emperor Gaozong of Tang dynasty, was replaced with the synonym 理 li.
- 2. To omit a stroke of the character, in many cases the last stroke of the character. For example the character 民, which is the second character of emperor Taizong's name 世民, is written as the shape displayed in Fig. 1. This method is called *quebi* 闕筆. We can attest to the existence of the *quebi* method from evidence in both the Dunhuang manuscripts, as well as in old manuscripts of Chinese texts kept in Japan.
- 3. In some other cases, the taboo characters were also left blank.



Fig. 1: From an old manuscript of the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 kept in Tōkyō National Museum.

We will now examine further examples of taboo characters. These examples are from *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (Skr. *Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraņī Sūtra*), translated by Rizhao 日照 and Du Xingyi 杜行顗 in the 4th year of Yifeng 儀鳳 (679):

- 1. Shizun 世尊 is written as shengzun 聖尊 in order to avoid the name of Li Shimin 李世民.
- 2. Shijie 世界 is written as shengjie 生界, also in order to avoid the name of Li Shimin.
- 3. Jiuzhi 救治 is written as jiuchu 救除 in order to avoid the name of Lizhi 李治.
- 4. Dashi 大勢 is written as daqu 大趣 in order to avoid the name of Li Shimin.

The last example is worth noting, as the avoidance is also applied to the homophonous character shi 勢. In such cases, the homophonous character is called "xianming" 嫌名.

We can also find a large number of examples of *quebi* in *Zangjing yinyi suihanlu* 藏經音義隨函録 (Phonetic and semantic glosses to the Tripitaka arranged in the order of the bookcases) compiled by Kehong 可洪 between 931 and 940 CE.

For example, in a gloss to *Sengjiatuo jing* 僧伽吒經 (Sanghāta sutra), we find: 【序形】上呼古反, 獸名, 正作虎也, 避廟諱故省之。 "The upper character is pronounced as *hu* with the *fanqie* spelling 呼古, name of an animal, the correct form is 虎. A stroke is omitted due to the taboo character for a former emperor".<sup>2</sup>

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Hu 虎 is the name of an ancestor of the Tang dynasty. Although Kehong was a monk of the Later Jin 後晉dynasty of the Five dynasties, he still followed the Tang rules regarding taboo characters.



Fig. 2: Pelliot Tibétain 1046. Taken from *Gallica* of the BnF.

And in a gloss to *Pusa chutai jing* 菩薩處胎經: 【處廿】下尸制反,正作丗, 避太宗諱故闕。 "the lower character is pronounced as *shi* with the *fanqie* spelling 尸制, the correct form is 丗. A stroke is omitted due to the name of Emperor Taizong".<sup>3</sup>

While these methods were practiced in writing, it is not easy to trace how the taboo characters were avoided in speech. However, certain literary materials suggest that there was indeed a habit of changing sounds to avoid using taboo characters in speech as well.

Such a sound change can be surmised from the Tibetan transcription of a character in the Dunhuang manuscript text of the Thousand Character Classics, *Qianziwen* (Fig. 2). Here the character  $\stackrel{}{\approx}$ , the name of the Tang emperor Gaozong, was read as *li* instead of *chi* or *zhi*, the genuine pronunciation of the character.<sup>4</sup> The *li* sound is the pronunciation of the synonymous character  $\stackrel{}{m}$ . It seems to me that this single example can dispute the validity of Chen Yuan's theory. Until now, the sound *li* was recognized as a temporary substitute for the avoidance phenomenon, but that is not the case.

The sound *li* was by no means a temporary substitute, but in fact was used as one of the stable pronunciations of the character. This can be confirmed by the frequent use of the character for substituting other characters with the *li* pronunciation in the Dunhuang manuscripts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Needless to say, Shiming 世民 is the name of Taizong of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> As to the character 治, there are three different readings in the rime dictionary *Kanmiu buque Qieyun* 刊謬補缺切韻 of Wang Renxu 王仁昀, one in the level tone and two in the departing tone. The present pronunciation *chi* is derived from the reading of the even tone and *zhi* from that of the departing tone. Still, as all three entries are annotated in a manner similar to "理, 大帝諱" (same as *li* 理, also the name of the Great emperor, i.e., Gaozong), it is hard to determine which reading of the three is correct.

### ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

Fig. 3: Pelliot Chinois 3215, 3373, 3861. Taken from Gallica of the BnF.

Let us examine a passage of a Zen catechism text, *Dacheng sanke* 大乘三科, "Three fundamentals of Mahayana Buddhism." Here I present three different manuscripts of the text: (a) P3861, (b) P3215, and (c) P3373 (Fig. 3), and the passage can be read as follows:

- (a)「離有,離无,共甚離,自性離。」「自性共甚離?」「本來共甚離?」「畢 竟不說.....」
- (b)「利有,利无,自性利故。」「自性共甚利你?」「本來利。」「本來共甚利 ?」「畢竟不說......」
- (c)「裏有, 裏无, 自性治苦。」「自性共甚治?」「本來治。畢敬不說......」

There is also a text written in the Tibetan script (d) C131, currently housed in the British Library.<sup>5</sup> Here, the word in question was transcribed as li as a matter of course.

(d) "yi'u pu yi / wu pu yi / li" i'u li wu / dzi zye li khu / dzi zye gyung zhim lyi /bun la'u lyi /bun la'u gyung zhim lyi / 'pyir gye pu shwar 「離有,離无,自性離苦。」「自性共甚離?」「本來離。」「本來共甚離?」 「畢竟不說。」

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This is only a part of the manuscript C131 (Long Scroll), Recto II.251–253.



Fig. 4: C131 (IOL Tib J 1772). Taken form TAKATA Tokio, A Study on the Chinese 'Long Scroll' 長巻 in Tibetan Script, Part 1: Text and Facsimile. *Tōhō Gakuhō* (東方學報), No. 65, March 1993.

As homophonous characters are used frequently in each text and the text itself varies slightly, it is not easy to grasp the meaning of the catechism.<sup>6</sup> Among these three (or four) manuscripts, the manuscript (a) can be considered the most easily understandable, in which the correct characters are generally used. In the two other manuscripts,  $\overline{R}$  is used for  $\overline{R}$ , and  $\overline{R}$  for  $\overline{R}$ . The crucial point, however, is that in manuscript (c)  $\overline{R}$  is written as  $\overline{R}$ . In this manuscript, the very character  $\overline{R}$  is used for the sound *li*. It can be stated without doubt that the character  $\overline{R}$  was pronounced in practice as *li*.

Now let us add some more examples from Dunhuang manuscripts.

- 1. "舎卻治(麗) 氈錦褥" Jx278(1) 好住娘・入山讚
- "緋治(麗)氈一領"S1947V(1) 唐咸通四年癸未歳(863)敦煌所管十六寺和三所 禪窟以及抄録再成氈數目

3. "修治(理)佛手塑師及羅筋匠、染布匠等用" P2040V 淨土寺諸色入破曆祘會稿
4."若右(有)親因(姻)論治(理)此舍來者、一仰丑撻並隣[近]覓上好舍充替一院" BD8347V 宋開寶八年(875) 三月一日鄭醜撻出賣宅舍地基與沈都和契



Therefore, li could not have been a temporary substitute, but was indeed used as one of the stable pronunciations of the character. This can be confirmed by the frequent use of the character to substitute other characters of li pronunciation in the Dunhuang manuscripts.

Now let us discuss another taboo character of the Tang dynasty: 虎 hu is the name of the grandfather of Li Yuan 李淵, founder of the Tang dynasty. In Tang times, the character was often changed to 獸、武、豹 or 彪. More frequently, the last stroke of the character

Fig. 5: Pelliot Chinois 2609. Taken from Gallica of the BnF.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> An approximate meaning of the phrase in question would be: "To leave beingness and to leave nothingness. In own-being, you can leave pain. From what can we leave? You can leave from the very beginning. From what can we leave from the very beginning? After all, it cannot be told".

was omitted, as is the case with the *quebi* method. However, this character too was read not as *hu* but as *wu*, the pronunciation of a substitute character 武. We may cite an entry of the popular dictionary of the Tang period, *Suwu yaominglin* 俗務要名林 (Indispensable words for secular affairs), discovered at Dunhuang. The character in question appears in two manuscripts, and in both manuscripts, the character 虎 is instructed to be pronounced *wu*. Here we present a part of P2609 in Fig. 5. The character itself also takes a *quebi* form. As this is a pronunciation in the dictionary, we cannot consider this as a case of temporary substitution.

## Secular taboo

In addition to the state taboo of the emperor's given names, we can find another example of sound change, this time concerned with secular taboo. According to the Five Precepts of Buddhism, one must avoid sensual misconduct. Therefore, Buddhist monks largely re-frained from using explicit sexual terms in their society. Such terms were considered *suhui* 俗諱 "secular taboo" and were to be avoided.

In Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*<sup>7</sup> 慧琳《一切經音義》, *juan* 100, we find the following entry:

【裸形】「魯果反。赤體無衣曰裸,或從人作倮,或從身作躶,今避俗諱,音胡 瓦反,上聲。」

[Luoxing]: To be pronounced  $*lw\hat{a}$  with the *fanqie* 魯果.  $*Lw\hat{a}$  means "body without any clothes," sometimes written倮 with the radical 人 or 躶 with the radical 身. Now pronounced  $*hw\hat{a}$  with the *fanqie* 胡瓦. Belongs to the rising tone.

On the other hand, in Kehong's *Xinji Zangjing yinyi Suihanlu<sup>8</sup>* 可洪《新集藏經音義隨函録》, Book 25, we find:

【躶形】「上郎果反,俗謂陰囊爲躶也。古文作胞,像形字也。《說文》「赤體。,躶,裸也。」又肥,是身之少分,亦不合偏露其躶也。今宜作裸,音踝,裸即全 體無衣也。」

[Luoxing]: The upper character is to be read as  $*lw\hat{a}$  with the *fanqie* 郎果, and refers to testicles in vulgar speech. In ancient character it was written as 胞, representing the figure. *Shuowen jiezi* 説文解字 says [...] Now it must be written as 裸, the pronunciation is  $*hw\hat{a}$  踝.

Here we find that the real meaning is given, whereas *Hulin* did not mention the meaning explicitly, only indicating the  $hw\hat{a}$  sound as a substitution.

We find also in Kehong, Book 21:

【胆腂】「上徒旱反,下胡瓦反,偏露其體也。正作袒裸也。又上七余、七慮二 反。下諸家經音並作郎果反,非也,二並同。」

[Danluo]: [...] the lower character is to be read as  $*lw\hat{a}$ , [...] correctly to be written as 袒裸. As to the lower character, many phonetic glosses indicate the sound  $*lw\hat{a}$ , but it is not correct.

We have another example of "secular taboo" for a Buddhist monk, again from Kehong, this time in Book 10:

【兩圓】「或作圜,同于拳反。天體也,核也, ·也。正言極,避俗諱,故作圓 也。 極戶官反。」

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  Completed in the second year of the Yuanhe 元和 era of the Tang Dynasty (807 CE).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Completed in the fifth year of the Tianfu 天福 era of the Later Jin (940 CE).

[Liangyuan]: Alternatively written as 圜, both being pronounced as \**jiwän* with the *fanqie* 于拳. Celestial body, kernel, ball. Correctly written as, but written as 圓 in order to avoid secular taboo. 極is pronounced \**hwân* by the *fanqie* 戶官.

兩圓 appears in the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 (*Bodhisattva-bhūmi*) translated by Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (Dharmakṣema, 385–433 CE), and is referred to as one of the Eighty noble qualities 八十隨好 of Buddha. Xuanzang 玄奘 translates this term as 兩核 in his *Yujia shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra). The term also certainly means "testicles," as the commentary by Binfashi 賓法師, *Sifenlüshu shizong yiji* 四分律疏飾宗義記 provides the gloss: *he wei luan ye* 核謂卵也 "he" means "luan" (testicles). As a matter of fact, this term is translated differently in Chinese Buddhist sutras. *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, translated by Qiunabamo 求那跋摩 (367–431 CE) gives *yaoqizhong* 腰奇中 "the very center of waist." *Faji mingshu jing* 法集名數經, translated by Shihu 施護 of Nothern Song gives *yinchu* 隱處 "secret part." Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that both term mean "testicles." In Tang times, the character *\*lwâ* 裸 was read as *\*hwâ*. In the same way, *yuan* 圓 was used in place of *huan* to avoid the taboo pronunciation.

## Conclusion

The method of sound change was undoubtedly practiced to avoid using the taboo characters. The pronunciation li for the character  $\hat{n}$  is widely observed and attained a stable position in the lexicon. The character  $\hat{n}$  was also read as wu in place of hu, and the wu pronunciation was even registered in a dictionary. Sound changes to avoid using taboo characters can also be observed in Chinese Buddhist society.

## Звуковые изменения вместо использования табуированных иероглифов

Токио ТАКАТА Фуданьский университет Шанхай, Китай

Статья поступила в редакцию 11.06.2021.

Аннотация: До сих пор существовало мнение, что звуковые изменения не использовались для передачи табуированных иероглифов. Тем не менее мы обнаружили примеры, указывающие на то, что в разговорной речи часто обращались к звуковым изменениям, чтобы передать табуированные иероглифы, используемые в письменной речи. Такие замены отмечаются не только относительно государственных табу, но и в бытовых случаях, например изменения буддистами звучания слов в обозначении половых органов. Интересно, что такие звуковые изменения были не временными явлениями, а постоянно использовались при произнесении конкретных иероглифов.

Ключевые слова: табуированные иероглифы, звуковые изменения, государственные табу, частные табу, дуньхуанские рукописи, буддийское общество.

Для цитирования: *Tokio Takata*. Sound Changes to Avoid Using Taboo Characters // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 51–57 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77307

Об авторе: ТАКАТА Токио, почетный профессор Исторического факультета Фуданьского университета (Шанхай, Китай) (takatatokio@gmail.con). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 58-63

# Об эволюции экономических форм в тангутском обществе

ДУ Цзяньлу Академия тангутоведения Университета Нинся Иньчуань, Китай

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77359

Статья поступила в редакцию 12.06.2021.

Аннотация: До продвижения на восток тангуты довольно длительное время жили в примитивном, неклассовом обществе. После распространения на восток, под влиянием китайской цивилизации тангуты быстро перешли к классовому обществу. Первоначально этот переход происходил по двум направлениям: рабству и феодальной системе, т.е. параллельно с развитием рабства тангуты воспринимали систему феодальных отношений в тех районах, куда они проникали. Таким образом, в государстве Сися существовали два типа экономических отношений. С развитием производства постепенно исчезало рабство, а экономические отношения, основанные на частной собственности, развивались. Феодальные отношения окончательно сформировались тогда, когда Ли Юаньхао основал свое государство, однако рабство продолжало существовать и ассоциировалось с династией Сися. В отдаленных районах длительное время существовали примитивные клановые отношения.

Ключевые слова: примитивное общество, рабство, феодализм, тангуты, государство Сися.

Для цитирования: Ду Цзяньлу. Об эволюции экономических форм в тангутском обществе // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 58–63 (на кит. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77359

Об авторе: ДУ Цзяньлу, профессор Академии тангутоведения Университета Нинся (Иньчуань, КНР) (dujl2061083@163.com).

© Ду Цзяньлу, 2021

西夏社会经济形态的演进

杜建录

摘要:党项东迁前长期过着原始社会生活,尚未进入阶级社会。东迁后受汉族文明的影响, 迅速向阶级社会的过渡。这种过渡一开始就沿着奴隶制与封建制两个方向发展,既发展了奴 隶制,又继承和适应了迁入地的封建制,从而使奴隶制和封建制这两种经济关系长期存在于 西夏社会。尽管随着生产的发展,奴隶制逐步缩小,以私有制为基础的封建经济关系逐步扩 大,到李元昊建国时最终确立了封建制度,但奴隶制一直残存下来,与西夏政权相始终。在 些偏远地区,甚至长期保留原始氏族制度。

58 关键词: 原始公社 奴隶制 封建制

社会经济形态是西夏历史研究的关键,随着黑水城出土西夏法律文献和社会文书 的公布,这一困扰西夏历史研究的问题越来越清晰。受宋朝的影响,西夏虽然在农 业生产中采取租佃经营方式,但全民皆兵的部落社会,决定了其土地租佃和宋朝有 着很大的差别。

## 一、早期党项社会经济形态

建立西夏国的党项是我国古代羌族的一个分支,南北朝以来,长期居住在今甘、 青、川三省毗连地区,以姓为部落,一姓之中复分为小部落。隋朝初年,部落"大者 五千余骑,小者千余骑"[隋书,卷83:1845]。入唐后部落人口有所增加,"大者万余 骑,小者数千骑,不相统一";"俗皆土著,居有栋宇,其屋织犛牛尾及羊毛覆之, 每年一易。俗尚武,无法令赋役";"不事产业,好为盗窃,互相凌劫";"男女并衣裘 褐,仍披大毡。畜犛牛、马、驴、羊,以供其食。不知稼穑,土无五谷。气候多风 寒,五月草始生,八月霜雪降。求大麦于他界,醖以为酒";"无文字,但候草木以 记岁时。三年一相聚,杀牛羊以祭天。自周及隋,或叛或朝,常为边患";"妻其庶 母及伯叔母、嫂、子弟之妇",但"不婚同姓"[旧唐书,卷198:5291]。

据此可知,内迁前党项处于原始社会末期的父家长制阶段,男子在部落社会中起 主导作用,妇女则降到从属的地位,并在收继婚制下,沦为家族或家庭首领的财 产,由具有家长权利的男性及其子弟继承。值得注意的是,随着剩余产品的出现, 早期党项对外交换业已发生,"求大麦于他界,醖以为酒"。隋大业五年(609年), 隋炀帝西巡狄道(今甘肃临洮),党项差来贡方物[隋书,卷3:73];唐武德二年 (619年)十一月,党项与吐谷浑并遣使来贡[册府元龟 Б卷970:11227];武德九年 (626年),又遣使入贡[旧唐书,卷2:32]。朝贡的目的是为了交换,而剩余产品和 对外交换的出现,必然促使原始社会氏族部落公有制向部落首领私有制演变。这些 大大小小的部落首领为了攫取更多的财富,把对外掠夺看做是增加财富的重要手 段,也是一件荣耀的事。因而在封建史家的眼中,早期党项是"不事产业,好为盗 窃,互相凌劫"。"魏、周之际,数来扰边。高祖为丞相时,中原多故,因此大为寇 掠"[隋书,卷 83:1846]。

## 二、东迁党项社会经济形态的变化

唐朝初年,崛起于青藏高原的吐蕃政权不断向外扩张,在吐蕃的进攻下,包括拓跋、野利等大族在内的党项部落陆续从青藏高原迁移到黄土高原,散处西北地区的庆、灵、盐等州。"安史之乱"前后,又进入银夏地区。党项内迁后,仍以氏族部落为单位,原有部落经过数千里的跋涉,有的比较完整地迁到内地,有的在迁徙过程中分化整合,形成了新的部落。早期党项有"细封氏、费听氏、往利氏、颇超氏、野辞氏、房当氏、米擒氏、拓拔氏,而拓拔最为强族"[旧唐书,卷 198: 5290]。内迁后"大姓有细封氏、费听氏、折氏、野利氏,拓拔氏为最强"[新五代史,卷 74: 912]。减少了往利氏、颇超氏、房当氏、米擒氏,增加了折氏,野辞氏又作野利氏。内迁后党项的社会组织发生较大的变化,在保留一个个相对独立的社会实体的同时,逐渐形成了以地缘为基础的部落联盟,"居庆州者号为东山部落,居夏州者号为平夏部落"[旧唐书,卷 198: 5293];居横山一带者号为"南山党项"。

党项内迁后定居的地区, 原来都是汉族人民长期过着封建社会生活并创造着封建 文明的所在, 党项人在这里定居下来后, 这里先进的封建文明对他们在新环境中进 行生产劳动是极为有利的,诸如先进的生产技术,金属工具特别是铁器的使用,河 渠灌溉设施等等,对于党项社会生产力的提高和经济的发展,都起着积极的推动作 用。因此,内迁定居下来的党项人不仅在畜牧业方面显示了兴旺的前景,而且还逐 渐学会了农作物的耕种,特别是沿边蕃汉杂居地区,他们和汉族人民朝夕相处,受 汉文明的影响更为直接。

内迁党项社会经济的发展和外部环境的影响,加剧了原始公社的解体和向阶级社 会的过渡,但内迁党项社会发展的特殊性,即迅速接受沿边汉族封建文明,使这种 过渡一开始就沿着奴隶制与封建制两个方向发展。党项原始公社制解体后向奴隶制 发展是清楚的,史料显示,西夏建国前后存在大量奴隶。在奴隶制下,贵族首领把 掠夺看成"比进行创造的劳动更容易甚至更荣誉的事情"[恩格斯 1972:162]。他们"或 侵暴州镇,或攻掠道途"[唐大诏令集,卷 129: 700]。"攘夺不避于官物,驱掠罔惮于平 人, 擅兴甲兵, 恣行攻劫"[全唐文.卷 700: 7189]。沈亚之《夏平》一文对部落首领这 种掠夺与复仇生活形态有着形象的概述:"夏之属土,广长几千里,皆流沙。属民皆 杂虏,虏之多者曰党项。相聚为落,于野曰部落。其所业无农桑事,畜马、牛、 羊、骆驼。广德年中(763-764),其部落先党项与其类意能气不等,因聚党为兵相 伐,强者有其马、牛、羊、骆驼。其后支属更酬杀,辗转六、七十年莫能禁,道路 杀掠以为常。尝与华民贸易马、牛、羊、骆驼者,贸已,辄以壮骑从间道,伺险击 夺华民,华民脱死者几希矣。"[全唐文,卷737:7613]

然而,银夏地区自秦汉以来就是汉族居住并创造着封建文明的所在,党项羌徙居 后,不但没有破坏原有的汉族封建经济关系,而且随着时间的推移,逐渐适应这种 经济关系。大中年间(847-859),唐朝镇压了党项羌的反抗后,南山党项"迫于饥寒, 犹行钞掠", 乃下诏"于银、夏境内授以闲田" [资治通鉴, 卷 249: 8046], "爰受冠带, 兼伏征徭"[杜牧集系年校注•樊川文集.卷 15: 935]。五代宋初这种封建经济关系得到 了进一步发展,北宋西北沿边地区的党项熟户不仅进人了封建制,而且还发展到封 建租佃制阶段 [漆侠、乔幼梅 1998: 258 - 259]。

## 三、以贵族地主为代表的宗法封建制

西夏境内的党项人在向阶级社会过渡中,既发展了奴隶制,又保存和适应了封建 制,从而使奴隶制和封建制这两种经济关系长期存在于西夏社会。尽管随着生产的 发展,奴隶制逐步缩小,以私有制为基础的封建经济关系逐步扩大,到李元昊建国 时最终确立了封建制度,但奴隶制一直残存下来,与西夏政权相始终。在些偏远地 区, 其至长期保留原始氏族制度。

西夏中后期,以大土地占有为基础的土地兼并得到法律的明确保护,《天盛改旧 新定律令》卷一五《租地门》规定:"诸人卖自属私地时,当卖情愿处,不许地边相 接者谓我边接而强买之。""僧人、道士、诸大小臣僚等,因公索求农田司所属耕地 及寺院中地、节亲主所属地等,诸人买时,自买日始一年之内当告转运司,于地册 上注册, 依法为租傭草事。"三十年河东, 三十年河西, 在土地兼并的大潮下, 节亲 60 主占有的土地都成为被兼并的对象。当然失去土地主要是自耕农。

黑水城出土户籍手实,记录梁行监一户 18 口人,有撒 52 石种子地4块,约 520 西夏亩(218.4 宋亩)。马 3 匹, 2 大 1 小;骆驼 32 头, 26 大 6 小。讹移千男一户 7 口人,有撒 27 石种子地4块,约 270 西夏亩(113.4 宋亩)。骆驼 3 头,2 大 1 小;牛 10 头,4 大 6 小;羊大小 80 只。反映出除贵族大地主外,还有一定数量的 中小地主[史金波 2017:457-463]。

西夏贵族地主土地往往采取租佃经营的方式, 宋英宗治平年间 (1064-1066), 同知 谏院吕诲在一道奏章中曾说:"逐部族今所存者,却有外来散户依附其间,或是连 亲,或即庸力,混杂居处,例各年深"[宋朝诸臣奏议,卷125:1379]。这些外来"庸力" 与前来"连亲"的党项人,就是失去土地的自耕农,他们以租佃的形式耕种地主的土 地。俄藏黑水城租地契约是西夏租佃生产的真实写照,其中有的农户把土地过户给 地主后,又从地主手中包租土地,从自耕农变成佃农。和贵族大土地一样,寺院地 主土地也主要采取租佃的方式,现存的8件西夏租地文契,全部是普渡寺土地出 租,其中天庆寅年(1194年)正月二十九日,梁老房酉把自己撒15石种子地卖给普 渡寺,得到 6 石小麦,10 石杂粮。当天他又从普渡寺包租了一块撒 8 石种子的土 地,秋收后交二石八斗小麦、三石六斗杂粮地租,从自耕农变成佃户。如此高的地 租,相当于该地地价的一半,换言之,地主将兼并的土地连续出租,两年就能捞回 成本。可见西夏晚期寺院地主翻手为云,覆手为雨,对广大农民剥削之残酷。除经 营田产外,寺院还放高利贷,乾定申年(1224 年)二月二十五日,立文约人没水何狗 狗典借瓦国师糜子一斛,于同年九月一日归还,从中获利八斗 [孙寿龄 1993,5 期。]。普度寺仅天庆寅年(1194 年)正月二十九日到二月二日的四天时间,共贷出 30石3斗5升小麦,54石杂粮(大麦、粟、糜、谷等)。

黑水城出土租地契约为一年租佃,从文书来看,佃户有自由选择的权利,即一年 期满后可以离开或续租。但必须指出,这种自由租佃的权利是有限的:一是部落社 会下,贵族首领(大地主、大牧主)对失去土地的个体族帐(家庭)有相当程度的 控制权,寺院地主把梁老房酉撒 15 石种子地兼并后,当即又向他出租了一块撒 8 石 种子的土地,就透露出这样的信息;二是部落兵制下,有严格的兵役登记制度,男 孩年 10-14 岁登记为预备役,15-70 登记为现役,然后以族帐(家庭)为基础组织军 抄,一人为正军,一人为负担,还有一人为辅主 [宋史,卷 486: 14028]。平时生产, 战时点集出征。这种兵役制度,限制了家族成员的流动,即使流动,也主要在本部 落内部。没有人口的自由流动,就没有一定意义上的自由租佃。这样一来,佃户身 受贵族地主和封建国家双重剥削,和宋朝的租佃制有较大的不同。

熙宁年间 (1068-1077 年),宋朝城绥德时,鄜延经略使赵离招问党项大酋,"往时 汝族户若干,今皆安在?"对:'大兵之后,死亡流散,其所存止此。'离曰:'其地存乎?' 酋无以对。离曰:'听汝自募丁,家使占田充兵,若何?吾所得者人尔,田则吾不问 也。'诸酋皆感服归募,悉补亡籍" [宋史,卷 332: 10685]。这里"听汝自募丁"中的"募" 所包含的关系,虽然和"熙河官庄法"中立功弓箭手与佃户之间的关系一样,为封建 租佃关系,但租佃者和"党项大酋"之间有一种隶属关系,或人身依附关系,谁招募 来的就是谁的佃户。

尽管如此,土地租佃契约关系在党项西夏社会发展中具有十分重要的意义,失去 土地的佃户有一定的人身自由,更为重要的是地主获取的是定额地租,有利于调动 佃农的生产积极性,推动生产的发展。当然,必须指出的是西夏贵族地主拥有大量 土地,利用超经济的强制手段,对农民进行残酷的剥削和压迫,大量农民贫困化, 西夏晚期黑水地区农民维持生活都很困难。 在贵族地主(包括部分富裕农贵)的土地上还存在雇工生产,俄藏黑水城出土 《西夏光定卯年雇工契》记录,光定卯年(1219年)腊月五日播盃犬粪茂立契,从 来年正月一日至十月一日为地主人耕作,九个月工价五石粮食、三丈白布,其中三 石粮食现付,两石秋收后支付。另给播盃犬粪茂撒五斗三升杂粮、三斗麦的土地上 的收成,约3石左右。满打满算,九个月的收入8石粮食和两件单衣。

西夏境内还存在为数较多的小土地占有者,法律规定疏浚灌溉渠道的人工是按占 田多少来派遣,从1亩至150亩,分别出5至40个工日[史金波、聂鸿音、白滨译 2000:497]。西夏的亩,"一边各五十尺,四边二百尺算一亩",合二十五平方丈,即 百步亩制[白滨1984:175],与宋朝的二百四十步亩制不同。因而,西夏的10亩约合 宋朝的4.2亩,40亩约合16.8亩,75亩约合31.5亩,100亩约合42亩,120亩约合 50.4亩,150亩约63亩。除京畿兴灵地区外,周边其它地区亦存在大量的小土地占 有者,内蒙古黑水古城出土的西夏缴纳税粮文书,记录农户的田亩数有10亩、30 亩、70亩、139亩、150亩,折合4.2到63 宋亩。西夏文12件土地买卖契约,11件 出卖的土地约为22亩到200西夏亩,折合9.2到84 宋亩,大部分是二、三十亩,他 们都是小土地占有者。自耕农是一个最容易分化的阶层,有的为了度过饥荒,出卖 一部分土地,变成自耕贫农,有的出卖仅有的一点土地,变成佃农或雇农,前揭天 庆寅年(1194)正月二十九日,梁老房酉把自己撒15石种子地卖给普渡寺,当天他 又从普渡寺包租了一块撒8石种子的土地,从自耕农变成佃户。西夏小土地占有者 在官府与贵族首领的双重压迫下,大量破产沦为佃农和依附民,这样就使得西夏社 会沿着封建制的方向发展,而不是向奴隶制方向发展。

### References

- Bai Bin 白滨: Cong Xixiawen zidian <Wen hai> kan Xixia shehui 从西夏文字典<文海>看西夏社 会 [About the Xixia society as seen from the Tangut dictionary "Sea of letters"]. *Xixia shi lunwenji* 西夏史论文集. 银川: 宁夏人民出版社, 1984 (in Chinese).
- Ce fu yuan gui 《册府元龟》 [宋]王钦若等编纂,周勋初等校订.南京:凤凰出版社, 2006 (in Chinese).
- Du Mu ji xinian jiaozhu 杜牧集系年校注 [Chronicles of Du Mu's Collected Works with Commentary] [唐]杜牧. 北京: 中华书局, 2016 (in Chinese).
- Engesi 恩格斯: Jiating, siyouzhi he guojia de qiyuan 家庭、私有制和国家的起源 [Clan and Private Ownership and the Origin of the State]. 北京: 人民出版社, 1972 (in Chinese).
- Jiu Tang shu: 旧唐书 [The Old Book of Tang Dynasty]. [后晋]刘昫等. 北京:中华书局, 1975 (in Chinese).
- Qi Xia 漆侠、Qiao Tongmei 乔幼梅. Liao Xia Jin jingji shi 辽夏金经济史 [Economic History of Liao, Xia and Jin]. 保定: 河北大学出版社, 1998 (in Chinese).
- Quan Tang wen 全唐文 [Full Collection of Tang Text]. [清]董诰等. 北京: 中华书局, 1983 (in Chinese).
- Shi Jinbo 史金波. Xixia jingji wenshu yanjiu 西夏经济文书研究 [Research on Economy Documents of Xixia]. 北京: 社会科学文献出版社, 2017 (in Chinese).
- Shi Jinbo, 史金波、Nie Hongyin 聂鸿音、Bai Bin 白滨译. Tiansheng gai jiu xin ding lüiling 天盛 改旧新定律令[The Modified and Re-approved Code in the Period of Tiansheng]. 北京: 法律出版 社, 2000 (in Chinese).
- Song chao zhu chen zouyi 宋朝诸臣奏议 [Reports of all Officials of the Song Dynasty] [宋]赵汝愚. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, 1999 (in Chinese).
- 62 Song shi 宋史 [History of the Song Dynasty]. [元]脱脱等. 北京: 中华书局, 1977 (in Chinese).

Sui shu 隋书 [History of the Sui Dynasty]. [唐]魏征等. 北京: 中华书局, 1973 (in Chinese).

Sun Shouling 孙寿龄. Xixia qian dingjia nian dian mi qi yue 西夏乾定申年典糜契约. Zhongguo wenwu bao 中国文物报, 1993, 5 期 (in Chinese).

Tang da zhaoling ji 唐大诏令集 [A Collection of Great Edicts of Tang]. [宋]宋敏求. 北京: 中华书局, 2008 (in Chinese).

Xin wudai shi 新五代史 [New History of Five Dynasties]. [宋]欧阳修等撰, 徐无党注. 北京: 中华 书局, 1974 (in Chinese).

Zizhi tongjian 资治通鉴. [宋]司马光. 北京: 中华书局, 1956 (in Chinese).

## On the Evolution of the Economic Form of Xixia Society

DU Jianlu Academy of Xixia Studies Ningxia University Yinchuan, China

Received 12.06.2021.

Abstract: Before moving eastward, the Tangut had lived a primitive social life for a long time and had not yet entered a class society. Influenced by the civilization of the Han nationality, Tangut quickly made the transition to class society after moving eastward. At the very beginning, the transition developed in the two directions of slavery and feudal system. The Tanguts not only developed slavery, but also inherited and adapted the feudal system in the places where they moved, so that the two economic relations existed in the society of Xixia. With the development of production, slavery was gradually reduced and the feudal economic relationship based on private ownership was gradually expanded. The feudal system was finally established when Li Yuanhao founded the country, but slavery survived and was always associated with Xixia Dynasty. In some remote areas, the primitive clan system was even retained for a long time.

Key words: Primitive communes, Slavery, Feudalism, Tangut, Xixia society.

For citation: Du Jianlu. "On the Evolution of the Economic Form of Xixia Society". *Pis'mennye pa-miatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 58–63 (in Chinese). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77359

About the author: DU Jianlu, Professor of the Academy of Xixia Studies Ningxia University (Yinchuan, China) (dujl2061083@163.com).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 64–73

## On the Tangut Prefix <sup>2</sup>da:-

Shintaro ARAKAWA

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Tokyo, Japan

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77306

Received 13.07.2021.

Abstract: The Tangut language was spoken during the Xixia (Tangut) dynasty (A.D. 1038–1227) in the northwestern part of China. The first emperor (A.D. 1036) established the Tangut script for the language. Although the Tangut language and its script are now extinct, the many documents written in the Tangut script enable us to reconstruct its phonology and grammar. Tangut belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language group (Tangut-Qiang). Its grammar possesses unique features that are not found in either Old Tibetan or Old Burman. One of such features is a "directional prefix". Six or seven morphemes function as prefixes. Previous works have discussed the change in the function of the prefix from "directional" to "aspect (perfective)". Some minor Tibeto-Burman languages have morphemes that are similar syllables or functions to Tangut. In this article, we present the outline of the prefixes and a description of the prefix <sup>2</sup>da:- with sample sentences and discuss some remarks.

Key words: Tangut, verb phrase, prefix, directional prefix, perfective.

Acknowledgements: This study benefited from the financial assistance of the research program: Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) of Japan Society of the Promotion of Sciences in 2016– 2018: Aspects of Tibeto-Burman Languages through analysis of the Directional prefixes.

For citation: Arakawa Shintaro. "On the Tangut Prefix <sup>2</sup>da:-". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 64–73 (in English). DOI 10.17816/WMO77306

About the author: ARAKAWA Shintaro, Associate Professor, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (Tokyo, Japan) (arakkuma@hotmail.co.jp).

© Arakawa Shintaro, 2021

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The Tangut and the language

The Xixia (Tangut) dynasty occupied a dominant position in the northwestern part of China (A.D. 1038–1227). The Tangut script was established for the language by the emperor Li Yuanhao (A.D. 1036). Although the language and the script of the Tangut are now extinct, the many documents written in the Tangut script enable us to reconstruct its phonology and grammar. In addition to mainly Buddhist texts, the Tangut documents have

broad contents including the translations of the Chinese classics, law codes, treaties, poems, rhyme dictionaries, and so on. After the fall of the dynasty in 1227, the Tangut language and its script were used up to the 16th c. In the 20th c., the script was decoded by some scholars in Japan, Russia and China.<sup>1</sup>

Tangut belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family (hereinafter, TB), and is the most northwestern of the TB languages. It should be noted that the Tangut people did not originally live in the region but in the south. According to historical records, they originally lived in the areas in southwest China such as northern Sichuan and Qinghai. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the characteristics of their language were similar to those of other languages in northern Sichuan. Although Tangut seems to be close to Rgyalrongic, there is no confirmed language that is a direct descendant of Tangut.

In modern linguistics, the Tangut syllable is analyzed as in classical Chinese phonology. C(G1)(G2)V(C)/T

C = Initial, (G1)(G2)V(C) = Rhyme, and T = Tone

The round brackets () mean the additional segments. The G1 and G2 slots can be filled by the glides /j and w/. The final V(C) (-an, -ur, etc.) are the vowel features. Tangut phonology describes two tones: the "level" tone and the "rising" tone (Tangut scripts for them can be translated as  $\overline{\Psi}$   $\equiv$  *pingsheng* and  $\pm \overline{\beta}$  *shangsheng* respectively).

One character in the Tangut script represents one syllable and one word (or one morpheme). The script is derived from square-style Chinese characters. There are more than 6,000 characters.

In terms of linguistic typology, Tangut has an SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) order for the sentence and a "Demonstrative-Noun-Adjective" order for the noun phrase. Tangut has non-obligatory case marking.

### 1.2. Structure of verb phrase

Grammatically, the Tangut sentence requires only a verb stem in a verb phrase. Certain verbal forms have directional prefixes indicating the direction of motion with motion verbs, but there are lexicalized perfective aspect markers with other verbs. The verb also has a demonstrative prefix and person agreement suffixes. The verb phrase can be complicated in some cases. A maximum scheme for the slots in the verbal syntagma in my analysis is as follows.

Table 1: Structure of the Tangut verb phrase (ideal)

{PrefA - Pref B- PrefC}- Verb stem - {PrefA - PrefB- PrefC}-AV - Pronominal Suf - Particle

Prefix A: Prefix series 1 and 2, and prefixes for interrogative

Prefix B: Negation or Prohibition

Prefix C: Demonstrative

{ } means "prohibition of co-occurrence"

1) So-called "Prefix series 1": six types, indicative of the "direction of action" or "perfective"

2) So-called "Prefix series 2": six types, with an "optative" meaning

3) Negation ( <sup>1</sup>mi:-, 酸<sup>2</sup>me:-, and <sup>2</sup>ml:-) or prohibition ( <sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>ti:-)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Nishida 1989b and Gong 2003 for Tangut language, and see Nishida 2001 for Tangut script.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Concerning the negation/prohibition/interrogative sentences of Tangut, see Arakawa 2012.

4) Interrogative (the same form as one of the "Prefix1" 粉<sup>1</sup>'a?-)

5) Demonstrative pronominal 涌<sup>1</sup> chI: : occurring with negation or interrogative

Here, however, we do not refer to the prefixes for the interrogative, negation, prohibition, and demonstrative, nor do we refer to auxiliary verbs, particles, and prefixes added to auxiliary verbs. We use the simplified structure, "Prefix-Verb-Suffix."

Tangut has unique linguistic features, which are not found in either Old Tibetan or Old Burmese, for example: the unique set of verb-prefixes originated from "directional markers", and the "agreement" between personal pronouns and personal suffixes. The following is an example in which there is an "agreement" between the independent pronouns and the agreement suffixes.

(1) <u></u> (1)	裰	傢	祁	鋖	蕭	豧		
<sup>2</sup> nga	<sup>2</sup> syu	<sup>1</sup> thon	<sup>1</sup> hwan	<sup>1</sup> ma:'	<sup>2</sup> ryor	<sup>2</sup> nga		
1sg	srotaāpanna			result	get	S1		
I got the result of srotaāpanna (Arakawa 2014b: 234).								

### 1.3. Directional prefixes in Tangut

A great scholar of the Tangut grammar, the late Dr. Ksenia Kepping, contributed to the study of directional prefixes (Kepping 1968, 1971, 1979, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1994ab etc.). Nishida 1989b; Lin 1987, 1993, 1994 and Arakawa 2012, 2014a continued to study such matters. Based on the previous works, we present the directional prefix, follows.

The Tangut language has a variety of verb-prefixes with different functions. The prefixes are grouped into two series with similar consonants. The first series indicates the direction (or motion) or perfective, and the second series represents an "optative" meaning. The first series is usually called "Prefix series 1" (hereinafter, "Pref1") and the second, "Prefix series 2" (hereinafter, "Pref2"). According to Nishida,<sup>3</sup> Pref1 originally functioned as directional marker and then developed into an aspect marker expressing perfect aspect. Some of the Pref1 have pronunciation and functions that are similar to other TB languages.

Pref2 has the same initial consonants as Pref1, but all Pref2 have the same vowel (which I reconstruct as "-e"). It functions as an optative. Nishida suggested that Perf2 derived from Pref1.

Table 2 shows the set of Pref1 and 2 from Nishida 1989a: 41. The last pair shown in this table is questionable.

Table 2: the set of Pref1 and 2

the set of Pref1 and 2 from Nishida 1989a

Direction	Pref 1	Pref 2
upward	【 <sup>撈<sup>1</sup>'a?- (1A)</sup> 轐 <sup>1</sup> na:- (1N)	Ř¹'e:- (2E)
downward		龍 <sup>2</sup> ne:- (2N)
to here	【 <sup>穀1</sup> kI:- (1K) 縦 <sup>2</sup> wI:- (1W)	蓫 <sup>1</sup> ke:- (2K)
over there		漖 <sup>2</sup> we:- (2W)
inward	Γ 藣 <sup>2</sup> da:- (1Da)	眷 <sup>2</sup> de:- (2D)
outward	$L$ $\Re^2 rI:r-(1R)$	櫈 <sup>2</sup> ryeqr'-(2R)

<sup>3</sup> See Nishida (1989a: 418) on Tangut prefixes and Nishida (1989b: 806-807) on the topic of other TB languages.

The prefix  $\mathbb{R}^2$ dI:- is irregular. Each scholar has a different view concerning this prefix. According to some scholars' and in my opinion<sup>4</sup> one "irregular" prefix, namely  $\mathbb{R}^2$ dI:-, belongs to Pref1 (1Db).

Table 3 presents the correspondence of some scholars' views on the direction indicated by these prefixes.

Nishida 1989		Kepping 1994		Gong 2003		
1A-2E	upward	1A-2E	upward	1A-2E	upward	
1N-2N	downward	1N-2N	1N-2N downward 1		downward	
1K-2K	here	1K-2K	here, inside	1K-2K	here, inside	
1W-2W	there	1W-2W	there, outside	1W-2W	there, outside	
1Da-2D	inside	1Db-2D towards the speaker		1Db-2D	toward the speaker	
		1Da	away from the speaker	1Da-2D	away from the speaker	
1R-2R	outside	1R-2R	(direction not found)	1R-2R	(direction not found)	

Table 3: The correlation of the scholar's view

Nishida (1989a: 420l) supposed that Pref2 was derived from Pref1. Table 4 shows the schema.

Table 4: The derivation of the verb prefixes (Nishida's hypothesis)

StructureFunctionPref1 + Verb Stem> Directional marker > Aspect marker (perfect)Pref2 (<Pref1 + 'e:) + Verb Stem > Optative marker

Here, we introduce an example sentence that includes the function indicating the direction of the motion.<sup>5</sup>

 (2) 襁 網 國 
 <sup>2</sup>wi <sup>1</sup>kha <sup>1</sup>kl: <sup>1</sup>shI: castle CM P1 go (He) went inside the castle (Arakawa 2014a: 20).

According to Nishida, the prefix  $\overline{\mathbb{X}}^1$ kI:- indicates "to here (to the speaker)." In fact, it represents the "perfective" of the motion generally. Although it indicates the direction, this is a secondary function. In common sentences as below, the prefix  $\overline{\mathbb{X}}^1$ kI:- indicates not direction but perfectiveness.

(3) 靴 織 爺 該 <u>網 燕</u>
 <sup>2</sup>jyan <sup>1</sup>chyu <sup>1</sup>'e: <sup>1</sup>kI: <sup>1</sup>gyu <sup>2</sup>dza:r
 people CM P1 relieve
 He liberated the people into nirvāņa (Arakawa 2014b: 224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kepping 1985; Gong 2003; Arakawa 2012. In (Nishida 1989a: 420r), it is regarded as an "optative" marker which is out of the set.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hereafter, we emphasize Pref 1, 2 by frame, underline verb stems and double-underline pronouns and pronominal suffixes. The just numbers in () means from the texts in this volume and the expects have the abbreviations and the references.

## 2. On the "Directional" Prefix 讃<sup>2</sup>da:-

### 2.1. Previous view on the prefix $(\overline{\mathbb{R}})$ and other possibilities

Although some scholars suggested that the prefix indicates the "motion inward (to the source of the river)," we cannot justify the direction based solely on Buddhist materials. The prefix seems to co-occur with "negative" verbs<sup>6</sup> such as "to get drunk, to forget, to abandon." On the other hand, in the same materials, there are various verbs that co-occur with this prefix including "to achieve, to dispatch, to eat".

We will consider the prefix  $\overline{R}^2$ da:-<sup>7</sup>. Researchers have different views concerning this prefix. The Russian pioneer, Nikolai Nevsky made an important point early in the study. He makes a short explanation on the grammatical function of the morpheme as "particle of perfectiveness" and refers to the use of the prefix as part of "藏 件 已死 (someone died)" in Nevsky (1960: 499).<sup>8</sup> We need to keep his point in mind.

Sofronov also considers the perfective as a function of the prefix. It should also be noted that his example is a positive example that does not lead to "loss".

(4) 巍	瀨	貅	艞	蔱	靗	襏	輚	<u> </u>
<sup>1</sup> chyin	$^2$ so:	<sup>1</sup> hyu	<sup>2</sup> hen	<sup>2</sup> ri:r	<sup>2</sup> jyu	<sup>2</sup> lenq	<sup>2</sup> da:	<sup>2</sup> di
Chenx	iang	Xuxir	ıg	СМ	meet	very	much P1	be pleased
Chenx	<i>iang</i> m	et Xuxi	ing and	l was	greatly	please	d (Sofronov	1968: 194).

In the dictionary by Li (Li 2008: 691),

趨向助詞。通常祇跟特定的動詞相結合、表示離開説話的方向

(Directional particle. Usually, it combines only with a particular verb and represents the direction away from the speaker).

It is described as translocative ("away from the speaker"). This is probably a reference to previous studies, such as Gong 2003, but I disagree with him.<sup>9</sup>

According to previous studies by the author and other data, this prefix is considered to have no paired prefix (e.g. 就). I do not reject the idea that it originally indicated a specific direction, but I agree that the language record does not reveal any direction. If the prefix indicates "direction," I suspect it is psychological, "bad," "far," or "irreversible" rather than geographical.

It might be reasonable to think of it as a "losing prefix," as Dr. Kepping did. It can be paraphrased as a prefix that suggests an emotional and psychological ("unfortunate direction"). This prefix does often precede verbs that have unfortunate consequences, such as "die," "kill," "forget," and "lose".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See the tendency of the co-occurred verbs in (Arakawa 2012: 63).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> According to Tangut rhyme dictionaries such as *Tongyin*  $\exists \hat{E}$ , this prefix does not have homonyms. Moreover, because there are no glyphs for the other characters except for the upper part (#), it is impossible to know the significance of the character from the glyphs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Kychanov's dictionary doesn't give useful information.

<sup>&</sup>quot;3024-0 藏 nda 2.17 "служебное слово <префикс совершенного вида прошедшего времени>", "grammatical word (prefix)", "虚詞"." (Кусhanov 2006: 448).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For example, although there are nine examples in the dictionary, only one example of what seems to be a "translocative" example ("I lost my beloved son.") can be identified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In the Tangut law code, *Tiansheng* Code the prefix co-occurred with the verbs such as lose, throw away, give (way), declare, damage... from Arakawa 2012.

- 袤 谻 毅 刻 貅 瀦 衜 窈 꺫 箛 菔 鍬 麬  $^{2}$ 'u  $^{1}$ dzI:  $^{1}$ hyu  $^{1}$ 'eu: <sup>1</sup>'e: <sup>2</sup>rven <sup>2</sup>wI: <sup>1</sup>dzI: <sup>2</sup>dI: <sup>2</sup>ci:q <sup>1</sup>lvI' <sup>2</sup>wi  $^{2}$ ni:  $^{1}$ kI: Xuyou CM plan P1 Wei Wudi hear prepare transport P1 컳 諑 獝 獊 奫 扅 逐 蕟 彰 꼚 瘢 <sup>1</sup>'a:n <sup>2</sup>seu: <sup>2</sup>ldwi:g' <sup>2</sup>me:' <sup>1</sup>kwan <sup>1</sup>chya:  $^{2}$ pvu  $^{1}$ wi: <sup>1</sup>thu <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>1</sup>pha Yuanxiao land name Guandu CM burn do P1 beat Wei Wudi heard Xu You's plan, prepared, and set fire to the transport of goods? (of Yuan Shao), and beat Yuan Shao on the place named Guandu (Kepping 1985: 178).
- 豜 蕟 (6) 南 浙 旕 皳 祿 豼 勿 攡 <sup>1</sup>ra:r <sup>2</sup>ngwo <sup>1</sup>gwyI' <sup>2</sup>wi <sup>1</sup>meng <sup>1</sup>tshI: <sup>2</sup>gI: <sup>1</sup>dyu <sup>1</sup>shwi:  $^{2}$ 'aq  $^{2}$ da: <sup>2</sup>si: <sup>1</sup>sI: little one exist age nine become disease P1 girl ten die One girl, 19 years old, died of disease (Arakawa 2014b: 413).
- (8) 雍 豚 毅 甂 隵 彲 屐 龠 藗 웺 讈 誦 <sup>1</sup>tha: <sup>1</sup>no" <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>2</sup>mi:g' <sup>1</sup>mI: <sup>1</sup>nwI <sup>1</sup>mi: <sup>2</sup>seng <sup>1</sup>'a? <sup>1</sup>lo <sup>1</sup>han <sup>1</sup>ca: <sup>2</sup>ri:r Dem later P1 forget Neg know Neg kow arhat way get Nevertheless we forgot, we did not know or understand. We attained the path of the arhats (Arakawa 2018: 110).

On the other hand, there are some co-occurrences of such verbs as "finish," "ask," "become," "send," and "eat," which can result in not being unhappy.

- (9) 講 鮤 꺫 隵 烕 嬾  $^{2}$ mIr  $^{2}$ do  $^{2}$ wI:  $^{2}$ lo  $^{1}$ ti:q  $^{2}$ thi:  $^{2}$ da: <sup>1</sup>iwa: root place P1 return food eat P1 finish (Buddha) returned to his original place and finished eating (Arakawa 2014b: 220).
- (10) 殼 嵴 紐 胶 微... 酸 <u>酸</u> <u>揪</u>
   <sup>1</sup>mI: <sup>1</sup>pyuq <sup>1</sup>jo:n <sup>1</sup>ci:q' <sup>2</sup>ror <sup>... 2</sup>be:' <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>2</sup>rI:r
   Neg measure time around walk P1 go away
   (He) went around many times, ...and then walked away (Arakawa 2011: 189).
- 霰 .. 藣 (11) 쮦 承 鏩 较 鷔 謻 繒 觚 <sup>2</sup>luq <sup>2</sup>dzwo: <sup>1</sup>tha: <sup>2</sup>ni:q <sup>2</sup>le: <sup>?</sup>lho? <sup>1</sup>zi:q' <sup>2</sup>war <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>2</sup>rvear Dem jewel look P1 rich treasure property numerous poor man be The poor man, seeing this jewel, ... and with this rich treasure he enjoys (Arakawa 2018: 115).
- (12) 貄 ब्र 葧 좎 殹 <sup>1</sup>tha <sup>1</sup>leu  $^{2}$ bi:' <sup>1</sup>phyon <sup>1</sup>bi: <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>2</sup>wena hair white Buddha one light P1 dispatch The Buddha emitted a ray of light from the tuft of white hair (between his eyebrows) (Arakawa 2018: 173).

(13) 联 祝 藏 燕 流
 <sup>2</sup>zIr <sup>2</sup>lyenq <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>1</sup>ti:q <sup>2</sup>syu
 dew sweet P1 eat like
 The poor man, seeing this jewel, rejoices greatly and with this rich treasure he enjoys (Arakawa 2018: 134).

However, for example, the act of eating is "unidirectional." It can be said to be an "irrevocable", "not restored to its original state" act. The prefix seems to have a close relation to an irrevocable act that cannot be undone.

### 2.2. Notable usage of the prefix

Next, we will discuss the significant use of this prefix. This prefix precedes the verb "change into a state," whether it is about "getting better" or "getting worse".

- (14)  $\frac{3}{2}$   $\frac{3}{2}$
- (15) 職 
  第 
  第 
  <sup>2</sup>jyan <sup>2</sup>tse: <sup>2</sup>ngo:r <sup>2</sup>ngo:r <sup>2</sup>ji? <sup>1</sup>ti:q <sup>1</sup>byu <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>1</sup>shyen <sup>2</sup>'eu: Bodhisattva all vow CM P1 attain (He) attained by all the vows of Bodhisattva (Arakawa 2011: 162–163).
- (16) 荍 獙... 頿 溵 霰 <sup>2</sup>gwI: <sup>2</sup>zon <sup>2</sup>ngwu <sup>1</sup>wig <sup>2</sup>le?  $^{2}$ mvu  $^{2}$ mur <sup>...</sup>  $^{2}$ non  $^{2}$ le: <sup>2</sup>da: wi common wicked view hold CM foolish P1 become The man became foolish by holding on to his wicked view (Arakawa 2006: 104).
- (17) 統 菜 辣 熟 職 <u>購</u> <u>潤</u>
   <sup>1</sup>tha: <sup>1</sup>ryur <sup>1</sup>tha <sup>2</sup>do <sup>2</sup>tha <sup>1</sup>ti:q <sup>2</sup>da: <sup>1</sup>shyen
   Dem every Buddha place great wish P1 make
   They achieved their great wishes under all the Buddhas (Arakawa 2018: 137).

Sample sentences from (14) to (17) do not express an "unfortunate" situation. These verbs can also be interpreted as referring to "change and not return" actions rather than "going in the wrong direction."

Other prefixes may be used instead of the prefix even before verbs that mean "die". It is clear, however, that in this context (18-20) a person who "dies" is "coming back".

(18) 貓 扉 獹 図 龍 黁 煭 裔 輆 <sup>1</sup>ko <sup>1</sup>li: <sup>2</sup>ne: <sup>2</sup>ji? <sup>1</sup>wi: <sup>2</sup>lyuq  $\overline{}^{1}$ na: <sup>2</sup>nga <sup>1</sup>pI: <sup>2</sup>no: <sup>1</sup>tser <sup>2</sup>ga:r <sup>2</sup>nga Kali body P1 1sg once king AM break **S**1 Once, I was broken by the King Kali (Kalingarāja) (Arakawa 2014b: 248-249).

- (19) 貓 颪 蕹 甋 葻 箙 <sup>1</sup>tser <sup>2</sup>war <sup>2</sup>nga  ${}^{1}pI: {}^{2}no:$ <sup>1</sup>ivIr <sup>1</sup>wi:  $^{2}$ wI: once body **P1** break do 1sg Once, I was broken (Arakawa 2014b: 248).
- (20) 雡 郦 輚 饧 南  $^{2}$ no: <sup>1</sup>ko <sup>2</sup>lyug <sup>1</sup>kIr <sup>1</sup>li:  $^{2}$ ne:  $^{?}$ ii? <sup>1</sup>wi: na: tser ga:r <sup>2</sup>nga king AM P1 once Kali body break do **S1** Once, I was broken by the King Kali (Kalingarāja) (Arakawa 2014b: 420).

### 2.3. Assumption concerning the prefix (藏)

As with other directional prefixes, it is difficult to explain the function of this prefix simply by saying that it has shifted from "the function of indicating the geographical direction" to "the function of indicating the perfective." I do not currently assume multiple origins for this prefix. As a directional prefix, it is not "either direction," but a "far away" direction. In other words, psychologically, it might be considered as "can't come back, the direction after going".

### 3. Conclusion

Although there is a so-called "directional prefix" in Tangut, the function to indicate "perfective of action" is more dominant than "direction of action" in actual example sentences. There are not many examples where a sentence in perfective voice and the direction of action is clearly indicated or traces remain.

The prefix 1D presents more issues for consideration, such as whether it should show a specific direction (real direction). As a directional prefix, it is not "either direction," but "far away" direction. In other words, it might be considered as "can't come back, the direction after going" psychologically.

In Tibeto-Burman, especially Rgyalrongic, some of the minor languages have similar prefixes, pronunciations, and usage, therefore it is meaningful to compare them. Nevertheless, the direction of action should be identified cautiously from the actual example sentences.

### Abbreviations

AM: agent marker, CM: case marker, Dem: demonstrative (pronoun), Neg: negation, Pref1, 2 (P1, 2): prefix series 1, 2, Suf (S): suffix, 1sg: first person singular, 2sg: second person singular

### Sources

Avatamsaka Sūtra vol. 77 from Arakawa 2011 Jingangjingzuan (金剛経纂) from Arakawa 2014b Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya Sūtra from Arakawa 2006 Shengliyihai (聖立義海) from Arakawa 2014a Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra vol. 4 from Arakawa 2018 Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā from Arakawa 2014b

### References

- Arakawa, Shintaro (荒川慎太郎). 「ロシア所蔵西夏語訳『般若心経註』の研究 [Study on the Tangut version of "*Prajňāpāramitā-Hṛdaya Sūtra* with a commentary" preserved in Russia] 中央 アジア古文献の言語学的・文献学的研究 (Contribution to the Studies of Eurasian Languages Series 10) (白井聡子・庄垣内正弘編), 京都大学文学部言語学研究室, 2006, pp. 95–156 (+図版8 (in Japanese).
- Arakawa, Shintaro. プリンストン大学所蔵西夏文華厳経巻七十七訳注 [An annotated Japanese Translation of the Tagut Version of Avatamsaka Sūtra, vol. 77 in Princeton University Collection] アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究 [Journal of Asian and African Studies], 2011, vol. 81, pp. 147–305 (in Japanese).
- Arakawa, Shintaro. "On the Tangut Verb Prefixes in '*Tiansheng* Code'. Tangury v Tsentralnoi Azii: Sbornik statei v chest 80-letiia prof. E.I. Kychanova". Moscow: Vostochaia literatura, 2012, pp. 58–71 (in English).
- Arakawa, Shintaro. "On the Tangut verb phrase in *The Sea of Meaning, Established by the Saints.*" Central Asiatic Journal, 2014a, vol. 57, pp. 15–25 (in English).
- Arakawa, Shintaro. 西夏文金剛経の研究 [Studies on the Tangut version of the Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā] 京都: 松香堂, 2014b (in Japanese).
- Arakawa, Shintaro. プリンストン大学図書館所蔵西夏文妙法蓮華経 —写真版及びテキストの 研究 [Tangut Version of the Lotus Sutra in the Collection of the Princeton University Library: Facsimile, Text and Linguistic Studies] 東京・創価学会・東洋哲学研究所, 2018 (in Japanese).
- Gong, Hwang-Cherng. Tangut. G. Thurgood and R. J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 602–620 (in English).
- Kepping Kseniya B. "Kategoriia vida v tangutskom uizyke" [A Category of Aspect in Tangut]. Narody Azii i Afriki, 1968, no. 3, pp. 134–139 (in Russian).
- Kepping Kseniya B. "A category of aspect in Tangut. (transl. with coments E. Grinstead)". Acta Orientalia, 1971, vol. XXXIII, pp. 283–294 (in English).
- Kepping Kseniya B. Sun stzy v tangutskom perevode [Sun-zi in Tangut]. Moscow: Nauka, 1979 (in Russian).
- Kepping Kseniya B. Deictic motion verbs in Tangut. (translated by K. Rumsey and S. DeLancy). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 1982, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 77–82 (in English).
- Kepping Kseniya B. Les tategorii utracheyyaia kitaiskaia lei-lin v tangutskom perevode [LEI-LIN in Tangut]. Moscow: Nauka, 1983 (in Russian).
- Kepping Kseniya B. Tangutskii iazyk. Morfologiia [Tangut. Mophorogy]. Moscow: Nauka, 1985 (in Russian).
- Kepping Kseniya B. "The conjugation of the Tangut verb". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1994a, vol. LVII, part 2, pp. 339–346 (in English).
- Kepping Kseniya B. "The category of directedness of action in Tangut". St. Petersburg Jornal of Oriental Studies, 1994b, vol. 5, pp. 267–291 (in English).
- Kychanov Evgenii I., Arakawa Shintaro. Slovar tangutskogo (Si Sia) iazyka: tangutsko-Russko-Kitaiskii slovar [Dictionary of the Tangut Lanquage: Tangut-Russian-English-Chinese Dictionary]. Kyoto: Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 2006 (in Russian).
- Li, Fanwen (李 範文) ed. 《同音研究 [A Study of Tongyin]》, 寧夏人民出版社, 銀川, 1986 (in Chinese).
- Li, Fanwen 《夏漢字典 [Tangut Dictionary]》 北京:中国社会科学出版社 (増補修正本 2008), 1997 (in Chinese).
- Lin, Yingchin (林 英津). 孫子兵法西夏訳本中所見動詞詞頭的語法功能 [The grammatical function of verbal prefixes in a Tangut translation of *Sun-tzu Ping-fa*]. 《中央研究院歴史語言研究所 集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica]》, 1987, vol. 58.2, pp. 381–445 (in Chinese).
- Lin, Yingchin. 西夏語具有空間意義的語詞. 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica]》, 1993, vol. 62, pp. 677–716 (in Chi-

72

nese).
- Lin, Yingchin. 《夏訳《孫子兵法》研究 [Research on SUN-TZY PING-FA in Tangut]》. 上下(中 央研究院歴史語言研究所単巻之二十八 [Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica Monographs, no. 28]. 台北:中央研究院歴史語言研究所, 1994 (in Chinese).
- Nevsky, Nikolai A. *Tangunskaia filologiia. V 2 kn.* [Tangut Filology]. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 1960 (in Russian).
- Nishida, Tatsuo (西田龍雄). 西夏語の研究-西夏語の再構成と西夏文字の解読 [Study of Tangut Language] I, 座右宝刊行会, 1964 (in Japanese).
- Nishida, Tatsuo. 西夏語 [Tangut]. 言語学大辞典 第2巻 世界言語編(中) [The Sanseido encyclopaedia of linguistics, vol. 2]. (亀井孝他 (T. Kamei et al.) 編). 東京: 三省堂 [Sanseidō], 1989a, pp. 408–429 (in Japanese).
- Nishida, Tatsuo. チベット・ビルマ語派 [Tibeto-Burman]. 言語学大辞典 第2巻 世界言語編(中) [*The Sanseido encyclopaedia of linguistics*, vol. 2] (亀井孝他 (T. Kamei et al.) 編). 東京:三 省堂 [Sanseidō], 1989b, pp. 791–822 (in Japanese).
- Nishida, Tatsuo, 西夏文字 [Tangut Script]. 言語学大辞典 別巻 世界文字辞典 [*The Sanseido Encyclopaedia of Linguistics, Script and Writing System of the World*] (河野六郎他 (R. Kono et al.) 編). 東京:三省堂 [Sanseidō], 2001, pp. 537–547 (in Japanese).
- Sofronov Mikhail V. *Grammatika tamgutskogo iazyka* [Tangut Grammar]. 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1968 (in Russian).

# О тангутском префиксе <sup>2</sup>da:-

#### Синтаро АРАКАВА

Токийский университет, Исследовательский институт языков и культур Азии и Африки Токио, Япония

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 13.07.2021.

Аннотация: На тангутском языке говорили при династии Сися (1038–1227) в северозападной части Китая, а тангутский шрифт был изобретен при первом императоре (1036 г.). Несмотря на то что и тангутский язык и письменность уже вышли из употребления, тем не менее благодаря наличию большого количества письменных источников мы можем реконструировать фонологию и грамматику этого языка. Тангутский язык принадлежит к тибетобирманской языковой группе (тангут-цян). В его грамматике сохранились уникальные особенности, которых нет ни в старотибетском, ни в старобирманском языках. Один из них — «префикс направленности движения». В тангутском языке существует шесть или семь морфем, которые используются как префиксы. В предыдущих работах мы разбирали случаи перехода функции префикса от «направительного» к «аспектному (перфектному)». В некоторых малочисленных тибето-бирманских языках есть морфемы, по звучанию и функциям схожие с тангутскими. В данной статье на различных примерах разбирается префикс <sup>2</sup>da:- и рассматриваются особенности его употребления.

Ключевые слова: тангутский язык, глагольная фраза, префикс, префикс направленности движения, перфект.

Благодарность: Работа выполнена при финансовой поддержке Гранта для научных исследований (В) Японского общества поддержки наук 2016–2018 по теме «Особенности тибетобирманских языков на основе анализа направительных префиксов».

Для цитирования: *Arakawa Shintaro*. On the Tangut Prefix <sup>2</sup>da:- // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 64–73 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77306

Об авторе: АРАКАВА Синтаро, доцент Исследовательского института языков и культур Азии и Африки Токийского университета (Токио, Япония) (arakkuma@hotmail.co.jp). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 74-86

# К семантике астральной метафоры в средневековых персидских текстах

А.И. КОЛЕСНИКОВ

Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77358

Статья поступила в редакцию 12.07.2021.

Аннотация: В статье предпринята попытка осмысления астральной метафоры в персидском тексте, обрамляющем миниатюру в альбоме-муракка (конец XVII в.) из собрания Института восточных рукописей РАН. Анализируя описания планеты Сатурн (Кейван) в пехлевийских зороастрийских сочинениях и вариации астральной метафоры с участием Кейвана в иранском национальном эпосе «Шах-наме», автор приходит к выводу, что при разнообразии семантики астральной метафоры в литературных источниках упоминание Кейвана в двустишии каллиграфа идет в двух направлениях: в тексте над миниатюрой — осуждение необычной прически персонажей, имитирующей расположение Сатурна в высшей точке (у них на макушке), а в тексте под миниатюрой — абсолютная убежденность в том, что творцом Сатурна, как и всего мироздания, является бог.

Ключевые слова: миниатюра, айван, Кейван, метафоры, Антология Задспрама, Иранский Бундахишн, Индийский Бундахишн, «Дадестан-и Меног-и Храд», «Шах-наме», толковые словари.

Для цитирования: Колесников А.И. К семантике астральной метафоры в средневековых персидских текстах // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 74–86. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77358

Об авторе: КОЛЕСНИКОВ Алий Иванович, доктор исторических наук, советник ИВР РАН (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (ali.koles@mail.ru).

© Колесников А.И., 2021

В альбоме X3 (*муракка*) из фонда известного российского ювелира Карла Фаберже (род. в 1846 г. в Санкт-Петербурге, ум. в 1920 г. в Лозанне, Швейцария) привлекает внимание миниатюра, на которой изображена группа отдыхающих под деревом на поляне трех мужчин и пяти женщин с двумя младенцами. Принадлежность к мужскому полу определяется наличием у них усов. Единственным одеянием взрослых являются короткие юбки, оголенная верхняя часть тела украшена шейными ожерельями. У всех мужчин и женщин одинаковые прически, волосы собраны на макушках в клубки, похожие на башенки. Лук в руках женщины и охотничья добыча на плечах мужчины указывают на основной род их занятий<sup>1</sup>. Графинчики рядом с отдыхающими

<sup>74 &</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Шифр ХЗ 021, инв. 80. Ныне хранится в Отделе рукописей и документов Института восточных рукописей РАН.

свидетельствуют о вкушении скоромного пира. У верхушки цветущей кроны дерева видна поздняя приписка почерком *шекасте* (скорописью), которой новый владелец миниатюры мог выразить свое отрицательное отношение к сюжету. Компанию отдыхающих новый владелец характеризует одним словом — <sup>1</sup>414. *bahīlhā* («незанятые», праздные)<sup>2</sup>. По сочетанию согласных эта приписка могла обозначать и определенную часть населения страны — бхилайцев<sup>3</sup>.

Снаружи к рамке миниатюры примыкают прямоугольники с персидскими текстами, выполненными каллиграфическим *наста 'ликом*, которые содержат обращение к богу и поэтические метафоры.

Над рамкой:

```
اله]ی بکیوان کشیده ایوان را
«Бо]же! На Сатурн затащило дом!»»
```

Под рамкой:

#### برج ایوانت کرده کیوان را

«Башня Твоего чертога сотворила Сатурн!»

Справа от рамки:

## الهی جعفر را در دو جهان با عزت با حرمت بگذار

«Боже, в обоих мирах оставь Джа'фара уважаемым и достойным!»

Слева от рамки:

## محو خط او همعرب و همعجم است

«Уничтожь его письмо, будь оно как арабским, так и персидским!»

Все четыре текста составлены одним каллиграфом, неким Джа'фаром, имя которого встречается в альбоме не менее 15 раз. Текст, помещенный слева от рамки миниатюры, является продолжением правого, а текст под рамкой — продолжением верхнего.

Уже при первом знакомстве с двустишием появляется ощущение, что рифма *Кеуwān-aywān* (کیوان – ایوان) представляет не простое упражнение начинающего стихотворца («пробу пера»), а метафору, которая могла служить комментарием к изображению на миниатюре. В альбомах-*муракка* пояснения к миниатюрам встречаются, но не так часто, как следовало бы ожидать. Ключевым элементом в этой метафоре является Кейван, т.е. планета Сатурн, о влиянии которой на судьбы людей, народов и целых стран свидетельствуют религиозные трактаты разных эпох. *Айван* в персидском в зависимости от контекста может обозначать террасу, дом, царский дворец, обитель, чертоги (Гаффаров, 1976, I: 85; II: 680; Junker & Alavi 1965: 72, 621; Mac Kenzie 1971: 51; Platts I: 116).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Другой вариант — «проклятые», отверженные. Ср. араб. بهنی bahala «проклинать» и بهنی bahlā «с открытым лицом» (о женщине) (Баранов 1984: 89).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Платте слово *אונ bhīl* считал индийским названием горских племен, живших в лесистой местности и промышлявших разбоем (Platts I: 200: "h. لمال ... bhīl… Name of a wild mountain race (who live in the Vindhya mountains, in the forests of Malwa, Mewar and Kandesh, and subsists chiefly by plunder)".





В греко-римской мифологии древнеримский бог земледелия Сатурн стал отождествляться с Кроном (древнегреческим богом жатвы, в античное время и позднее богом времени). С именем Сатурна (Крона) связано представление о золотом веке эпохе равенства, всеобщего благоденствия и вечного мира. Античная традиция сохранила до наших дней легенду о Сатурне (Кроне), поедающем своих детей из опасения быть свергнутым наследниками (Мифологический словарь 1959: 97–98, 172–173). Со временем в честь бога Сатурна была названа одна из планет солнечной системы.

Поиски истоков иранской астральной метафоры привели нас к астрологическим сюжетам в зороастрийских текстах. В главах Большого (Иранского) Бундахишна, Антологии Задспрама (IX в.) и «Суждений Духа разума», посвященных сотворению мира, семь планет предстают порождениями Злого духа Ангро-Майнью (Ахримана), которые созданы для разрушения миропорядка, сотворенного верховным богом Ахура-Маздой. Самой зловещей среди планет считают Сатурн (среднеперс. *Kēwān*, новоперс. *Keywān*). В этих сочинениях Кēwān изображается как один из семи командующих планетами, противостоящими двенадцати созвездиям Ахура-Мазды, князем тьмы и звездой смерти, которые приносят людям только несчастья (Zādspram 1993: 38–39, Ch. II. 21, 22; Choksy 1986: 221; Mīnū-ye Xerad 1975: 23.17–21; Рак 1998: 92–94, 119–120; Raffaelli 2001: 137–139)<sup>4</sup>. Согласно источнику, степень вреда от перемещения планеты Сатурн (Кеван) многократно возрастала, когда она появлялась в апогее в созвездии Весов. Именно тогда Ахриман смог умертвить Гайомарда, первого человека, созданного богом:

(22) "tā sīh sāl Kēwān abāz ō bālist ī ast tarāzūg nē mad pad ān gāh ka Kēwān pad ō tarāzūg mad Ohrmazd pad wahīg būd ī-š xwēš \*nišēb ud abarwēzīh ī Kēwān abar Ohrmazd rāy Gayōmard pad hōy ālag \*ōbast ud widord" («В течение тридцати лет Сатурн не возвращался к своему апогею, который находится в созвездии Весов. А когда Сатурн пришел в Весы, Юпитер находился в Козероге, в своем перигее. И после победы Сатурна над Юпитером Гайомард повалился на левый бок и умер») (Zādspram 1993: 38–39, Ch. 23).

Преобладает точка зрения, что среднеперсидское название Сатурна (Kēwān) было заимствовано из аккадского *kaiamānu* через арамейский (Mac Kenzie 1964: 520, n. 46; Nyberg 1974: 110; Raffaelli 2001: 19–20). В средневековых сирийских хрониках, издававшихся в XVIII–XIX вв., название Сатурна (Кейвана) засвидетельствовано в трех вариантах — *Kēwān/Kewān/Kīwān*. При этом Брокельманн возводил его к аккадскому *kaiawānu* (Brockelmann 1928: **322b**, 926–937, 929–930). М.Н. Боголюбов не исключал, что название дня субботы в согдийском языке (*Kēwān zamān*) «было воспринято из западноиранского источника» (Боголюбов 2012: 363).

В поэме Фирдоуси «Шах-наме» (Х в.), отражающей героическую традицию древнеиранских преданий, вариации метафоры с именем Кейвана-Сатурна более многочис-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> В тексте Малого (Индийского) Бундахишна прямо не говорится о противостоянии планет созвездиям, но о приходе семи командующих планетами к семи командующим звезд. По причине отсутствия развернутого контекста не совсем ясно, явился ли Кеван к Полярной звезде для противоборства или для взаимодействия [Bundaheš-e Hendī. Text: 11 — *haft abāxtarān spāhbedān ō haft spāhbedān axtarīg; čiyōn … kēwān abāxtar ō mēx ī mayān ī asmān … mad ēstīd* («семь командующих планетами предстали перед семью звездными военачальниками; так… планета Кеван явилась перед Полярной звездой», букв. «Гвоздем в середине неба», т.е. в зените). Ср.: Зороастрийские тексты 1997: 272].

ленны и разнообразны. В славословиях Ахура-Мазде Сатурн упоминается в одном ряду с другими планетами уже как создание благого Творца. Вот несколько примеров.

1) Шах-наме VII (критический текст). В речи перед знатью шаханшах Ардашир I благодарит бога за то, что тот даровал ему силу, высокое положение и благосклонность Сатурна и Солнца.

Бейты 445-**446**<sup>5</sup>:

همی باژ خواهم ز روم و ز هند جهان شد مرا همچو رومی پرند سپاسم ز یزدان که او داد زور بلند اختر و بخش کیوان و هور

«От Рима и Индии желаю получать дань. Мир стал для меня словно римский меч. Благодарю Бога за то, что даровал мне силу, Высокое положение, благосклонность Сатурна и Солнца».

Шах-наме V (поэтический перевод) о том же: С. 143, стихи 6247–6250:

> Румийцев и хиндов я дани обрек, Сверкает мой край, что румийский клинок<sup>6</sup>. **Творцу благодарен — он дал мне обресть Кейвана и Солнца достойную честь.**

2) Шах-наме VII (критический текст). Ормазд II в тронной речи благодарит всемогущего Творца — создателя дня и ночи, вращающегося небосвода, Марса, Сатурна и Солнца.

Бейты 3-4:

نخست آفرین کرد بر کردگار توانا و دانا و پروردگار شب و روز و گردان سپهرآفرید چو بهرام وکیوان ومهر آفرید

«Сначала он восславил Творца, Всемогущего и мудрого Бога, Который создал ночь и день, вращающийся небосвод, Который сотворил Марс, Сатурн и Солнце».

Шах-наме V (поэтический перевод) о том же: C. 165, стихи 7243–7246:

> Восславил венчанный владыку миров, Благого подателя щедрых даров: «День с ночью и сферы Йездан сотворил, Он Солнце, Бехрам и Кейван сотворил».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Номера бейтов, в которых упоминается Кейван (Сатурн), а также строчки оригинального текста и переводов с упоминанием этой планеты, здесь и ниже выделены жирным шрифтом.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> В тексте: برند (parand). Обиходное значение слова — «шелк» (Гаффаров 1976, I: 130). В эпических текстах parand/parandāwar часто обозначают «меч, клинок, драгоценный меч» (Majmū'at al-Furs: 78; Farhang-e 'Amīd: 265).

Зловещий характер этой планеты и ее отрицательное влияние на судьбы людей и стран по-прежнему остаются. Несколько примеров.

1) Шах-наме VII (критический текст). Искандер. Предсказание несчастий. Бейты 210–211:

**چو کیوان ببرج ترازو شود جهان زیر نیروی بازو شود** شود کار بیمار و درویش سست وزو چیز خواهد همی تن درست

Когда Сатурн войдет в созвездие Весов, Мир окажется под властью сильной руки. Положение («дело») больных и нищих ухудшится. А сильный что-то еще от них потребует<sup>7</sup>.

Шах-наме V (поэтический перевод) о том же: С. 16, стихи 501–504:

# В созвездье Весов только вступит Кейван — Пойдут притеснения в каждой из стран,

Для слабых настанут суровые дни, От жадности сильных застонут они.

2) Шах-наме IX (критический текст). Йездигерд III. Предсказания Рустама перед сражением при Кадисии по расположению звезд на небе о грядущих несчастьях для Сасанидского государства:

Бейты 38-40-42:

ز چارم همی بنگرد آفتاب کزین جنگ مارا بد آید شتاب ز بهرام و زهره ست مارا گزند نشاید گذشتن ز چرخ بلند همان تیر و کیوان برابر شدست عطارد ببرج دو پیکر شدست چنین است و کاری بزرگ است پیش همی سیر گردد دل از جان خویش همه بودنیها به بینم همی و زان خاموشی برگزینم همی

«С четвертого (неба) озабоченно наблюдает солнце, О том, что от этой войны к нам скоро грядут несчастья.

От Марса и Венеры произойдут наши беды

Не следует пренебрегать колесом Судьбы.

#### Сириус и Сатурн встали друг против друга,

А Меркурий вошел в созвездие Близнецов.

Такое вот грозное событие нас ожидает,

Что сердце готово покинуть жизнь.

Я предвижу все будущие события,

Но об этом предпочитаю молчать».

Шах-наме VI (поэтический перевод) о том же: С. 538, стихи 24377–24386:

> С четвертого неба светило глядит, Недобрый конец этой брани сулит.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Вспомним, что именно во время пребывания Сатурна в созвездии Весов Ахриман смог умертвить первого человека, созданного Ормаздом.

Беду предвещают Зохра и Бахрам, Высоким кто б мог возражать небесам! Тир движется рядом с Кайваном, и тут Гляжу, к Близнецам подошел Аторуд. Такие нас бедствия ждут впереди, Что жизни уж сердце не радо в груди. Дано мне грядущее всё созерцать, Однако о том предпочту умолчать.

Наряду со зловещими характеристиками планеты Кейван в поэтических текстах и средневековых толковых словарях чаще обыгрывается другая существенная особенность Сатурна — его удаленность от земли и местоположение «на седьмом небе»<sup>8</sup>. И в эпическом сочинении Фирдоуси высота царских дворцов, горных вершин, величие царской власти, накал человеческих эмоций предельно гиперболизируются. Приведем лишь несколько примеров.

1) Шах-наме II (поэтический перевод). Рудабе оплакивает смерть Сохраба. С. 91, стихи **2789**–2790:

К Кейвану тот плач непрестанный вставал<sup>9</sup>. Кто слышал, тот слезы ручьем проливал.

2) Шах-наме VII (критический текст), Искандер. О походе Александра на Баболь. Высоту невидимой горной вершины сравнивают с ее близостью к седьмому небу. Бейты 1685, 1686, 1687:

بدین گونه تا سوی کوهی رسید ز دیدار دیده سرش ناپدید بسربر یکی ابر تاریک بود بکیوان تو گفتی که نزدیک بود بجایی بروبر ندبدند راه فروماند از راه شاه و سپاه

В таком состоянии они приблизились к горе, Вершина которой была невидима глазу. На самой верхушке виднелось темное облако, Ты бы сказал, что оно находилось близко к Сатурну. В каком-то месте они сбились с пути, Устали от дороги и шах, и его войско».

Шах-наме V (поэтический перевод) о том же: C. 79, стихи 3405–**3407**–3410:

> Достигли горы. Высоко вознеслась, Вершина ее недоступна для глаз. Сказал бы, Кейвана достигла она, И туча над нею темна и грозна.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Burhān-e Qāte' 3: 1760–1761; Majmū'at al-Furs: 205. Современные словари большей частью оперируют научными данными, такими, как период полного обращения Сатурна вокруг солнца или число колец этой планеты (Farhang-e 'Amīd: 567).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> В оригинале — «Рыдания мои от дворца (айвана) достигали Кейвана», т.е. последней сферы неба.

Смутились воители — негде пройти, Отвесные кручи у них на пути.

3) Шах-наме IX (критический текст). Хосров Парвиз. Кесарь в беседе с Хуррад-Бурзином обличает веру индусов и иранцев, противопоставляя им веру Христа. Бейты 1467, **1468**–1470:

> شمارا هوا بر خرد شاه گشت دل از آز بسیار بیراه گشت: که ایوانهاتان بکیوان رسید شماری که شد گذجتانرا کلید. ابا گذجتان نیز چندان سپاه زره های رومی و رومی کلاه بهر جای بیداد لشکر کشید ز آسودگی تیغها بر کشید

«Вашим разумом овладела страсть,

Сердце от алчности сбилось с пути.

Ваши дворцы достигли Сатурна,

Ты считаешь, что для ваших сокровищниц найден ключ. При ваших сокровищах у вас также большое войско, Византийские кольчуги и византийские шлемы. Повсюду вы неправедно посылаете войска, Ненавидя покой ("из-за покоя"), вы обнажаете мечи».

Шах-наме VI (поэтический перевод) о том же: С. 386, стихи 17471–**17473**–17478–17482:

> У вас над рассудком господствует страсть, Путь правды покинув, зла приняли власть. **«Уж ваши дворцы до Кейвана встают,** Ключи от сокровищ верблюды везут. С казною немало и войска у вас, Румийских кольчуг и шеломов запас. Неправою часто идете войной, Заносите меч, ненавидя покой. Степь в море кровавое обращена! Но заповедь людям иная дана Христом. Был неведомым он бедняком, Себе добывал пропитанье трудом», и т.д.

4) Шах-наме IX (критический текст). Йездигерд III. Сон Хосрова Ануширвана о грядущем нашествии арабов. Пыль от движения вражеского войска достигает Сатурна. Бейты 365–368:

انوشین روان دیده بود این بخواب کزین تخت بپر اکند رنگ و آب چنان دید کز تازیان صد هزار هیونان مست و گسسته مهار گذر یافتندی باروند رود بکیوان همی (بچرخ زحل) بر شدی تیره دود «Ануширвану привиделось во сне, Будто царский ("этот") трон утратил свое величие. Увидел он, как сто тысяч арабов На буйных верблюдах с отпущенными поводьями Примчались к реке Арванд, И не осталось на этой земле ничего ("основы и утока"). Во всем Иране и Баболе ни посевов, ни леса, Все пространство до Кейвана потемнело от пыли».

Шах-наме VI (поэтический перевод) о том же: С. 552, стихи 25021–**25026**:

«Не зря Нуширвану привиделся сон: Мол, блеск и величье утратил сей трон. Сто тысяч тазийцев — воочью беду — Увидел на буйных, порвавших узду Верблюдах. Примчались к Арванду-реке; Весь мир до Кейвана в пыли и песке».

Примеры можно продолжать сколько угодно. Но самое любопытное в том, что название планеты Сатурн (Кейван) в астральных метафорах «Шах-наме» встречается чаще, чем всех других планет вместе взятых (около 80 упоминаний) (Wolff 1935: 315, 436, 681). По частоте цитирования за Сатурном следует планета Марс (перс. Бахрам, 22 упоминания) (Ibid.: 161). Обе при всех отвлекающих внимание литературных вариациях остаются главными планетами, активно влияющими на судьбы людей.

В мусульманскую эпоху планета Кейван обрела параллельное название — Zuhal (arab. زحل). Как планета она полностью адекватна Кейвану, но лица, рожденные под знаком этой планеты (zuhalī), считались людьми несчастными или приносящими несчастье. Автор персидско-русского словаря цитирует в качестве примера текст из Саади (XIII в.):

پیش از این خواستمت تا زحلیت گویم باز گویم نه که صد بار از آن نحستری

Перевод:

«Прежде я хотел назвать тебя несчастным (*zuhalī*, т.е. рожденным под знаком Сатурна). Но говорю, что нет! Ты во сто крат еще того злосчастнее» (Гаффаров 1976, I: 411).

В мусульманском обществе две планеты являются предвестниками несчастий — это Сатурн и Марс. Только Сатурн (Zuhal) прозван большим несчастьем (*an-Nahs al-akbar*), а Марс (Бахрам) — меньшим (*an-Nahs al-asyar*) (Гаффаров 1976, II: 857).

Метафоры над и под миниатюрой конца XVII в. хоть и равнозначны (обе фиксируют удаленность Сатурна от Земли), но в верхнем тексте («Боже, на Кейван затащило айван!») эта удаленность ограничена макушкой персонажей, а в нижнем («Башня Твоего чертога сотворила Кейван») звучит искренняя убежденность в том, что творцом Сатурна, как и всего мироздания, является бог. В текстах справа и слева от рамки миниатюры каллиграф Джафар просит у бога милости на этом и на том свете и, раскаиваясь в совершенных грехах, просит Всевышнего уничтожить все написанное им, если оно противоречит вере.

Дополнительной реакцией на сюжет является поздняя приписка на миниатюре, в которой ее владелец (ортодоксальный мусульманин) не принимает образа жизни иноверных, исповедующих другие принципы существования.

Ведь в своих астрологических рассуждениях именно «иноверные» (прежде всего зороастрийцы) могли усматривать влияние астральных тел на человеческий организм, помещая их на его отдельных участках:

«Мозг нуждается в Луне, которой противостоит планета Луна; поскольку при возрастании божество Луна благодаря здоровой природе увеличивает мозг,

планета Луна его разрушает, и поэтому среди других планет она занимает низшее место.

Выше Луны расположен Меркурий, его местопребывание в костях; выше Меркурия расположена Венера, ее местопребывание — в плоти; выше Венеры находится Солнце, его местопребывание — в сухожилиях; выше Солнца расположен Марс, его местопребывание — в венах; выше Марса находится Юпитер, и его местопребывание — на коже, которая украшает тела;

выше Юпитера расположен Сатурн (Кейван), местопребывание которого в волосах» (Zadspram 1993: 98–99, Ch. 30).

#### Литература

- Баранов 1984 Баранов Х.К. Арабско-русский словарь. Ок. 4200 слов. 6-е изд. М.: Русский язык, 1984.
- Боголюбов 2012 Боголюбов М.Н. Отражение названий звезд и созвездий лунного Зодиака в согдийской ономастике // Боголюбов М.Н. Труды по иранскому языкознанию: избранное / Сост., отв. ред. О.М. Чунакова; Ин-т вост. рукописей РАН; Вост. фак. СПбГУ. М.: Вост. лит., 2012 (Классики отечественного востоковедения). С. 363–370.
- Гаффаров 1976 *Гаффаров М.А.* Персидско-русский словарь. Т. I / Под ред. Ф.Е. Корша; Т. II / Под ред. Л.И. Жиркова. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1976 (фотомеханическое переиздание 1914–1928 гг.).
- Зороастрийские тексты 1997 Зороастрийские тексты: Суждения Духа разума (Дадестан-и меног-и храд), Сотворение Основы (Бундахишн) и другие тексты / Изд. подгот. О.М. Чунаковой. М.: Издательская фирма «Восточная литература» РАН, 1997 (Памятники письменности Востока. CXIV).
- Мифологический словарь 1959 Мифологический словарь / Сост. М.Н. Ботвинник, М.А. Коган, М.Б. Рабинович, Б.П. Селецкий. Л.: ЛО Учпедгиза, 1959.
- Рак 1998 Рак И.В. Мифы древнего и раннесредневекового Ирана // Нева. СПб.: Летний Сад, 1998.
- Шах-наме VII (тексты) Фирдоуси. Шах-наме. Критический текст. Т. VII / Сост. текста М.-Н.О. Османов, под ред. А. Нушина. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1968.
- Шах-наме IX (тексты) Фирдоуси. Шах-наме. Критический текст. Т. IX / Сост. текста А.Е. Бертельс, под ред. А. Нушина. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1971.

- Шах-наме II (перевод) Фирдоуси. Шахнаме. Т. II: От сказания о Ростеме и Сохрабе до сказания о Ростеме и хакане Чина / Пер. Ц.Б. Бану-Лахути, коммент. А.А. Старикова. М.: Наука; АН СССР, 1960 (Литературные памятники).
- Шах-наме V (перевод) Фирдоуси. Шахнаме. Т. V: От начала царствования Искендера до начала царствования Йездгерда, сына Бехрама Гура / Пер. Ц.Б. Бану-Лахути и В.Г. Берзнева. М.: Наука; АН СССР, 1984 (Литературные памятники).
- Шах-наме VI (перевод) Фирдоуси. Шахнаме. Т. VI: От начала царствования Йездгерда, сына Бахрама Гура, до конца книги / Пер. Ц.Б. Бану-Лахути и В.Г. Берзнева. М.: Наука; АН СССР, 1989 (Литературные памятники).
- Brockelmann 1928 Lexicon Syriacum auctore *Carolo Brockelmann*. Editio secunda aucta et emendate. Halis Saxonum. Sumptibus Max Niemeyer, 1928.
- Bundaheš-e Hendī 1368/1989 Bondaheš-e Hendī. Matn-ī ba zabān-e Pārsī-ye mīyāne (Pahlavī-ye sāsānī). Ba tashīh wa tarjome-ye *Raqīye Behzādī*. Tehrān: Mo'asese-ye motāle'āt wa tahqīqāt-e farhangī, 1368.
- Burhān-e Qāte' 1, 3 Mohammad Hosayn ebn-e Khalaf de Tebrīz. Borhān-e Qāte' ... par Mohammad Mo'īn. Vol. 1. A-<u>Th</u>. Vol. 3. Teheran: Ebn-e-Sina éditeur, 1963.
- Choksy 1986 *Choksy Jamshed K*. An Annotated Index of the Greater or Iranian Bundahišn (TD 2) // Studia Iranica. Leiden. T. 15. 1986. Fasc. 2. P. 203–242.
- Farhang-e 'Amīd 1342/1963 Farhang-e 'Amīd, ta'līf-e Hasan 'Amīd. Tehran, sāl-e 1342 xōršīdī.
- Junker & Alavi 1965 *Heinrich F.J. Junker* und *Bozorg Alavi*. Persisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965.
- Mac Kenzie 1964 *Daniel N. Mac Kenzie*. Zoroastrian Astrology in the Bundahišn // Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Vol. 27. London, 1964. P. 511–529.
- Mac Kenzie 1971 Mac Kenzie Daniel N. A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Majmū'at al-Furs *Farhang-e Majmū'at al-Furs*, ta'līf-e Abū-l-'Alā' 'Abd al-mu'min *Jārūtī*, ma'rūf ba Safī Kahāl, ba tashīh-e doctor 'Azīzullah Juvaynī // Entešārāt-e Bonyād-e Farhang-e Īrān. Šomāre 259. Sāl-e 2536 šāhanšāhī.
- Mīnū-ye Xerad Mīnū-ye Xerad, tarjome-ye *Ahmad Tafazzolī*. Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Īrān, 1354/1975.
- Nyberg 1974 *Nyberg Heinrich S.* A Manual of Pahlavi, II: Ideograms, Glossary, Abbreviations, Index, Grammatical Survey, Corrigenda to Pt. I. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974.
- Platts I, II, 1884/1959 Platts John T. A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English. Vol. I, II. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company (Урду-хинди-английский словарь в двух томах. М.: ИВЛ АН СССР, 1959. Репродуцировано фотомеханическим способом с английского издания).
- Raffaelli 2001 *Raffaelli Enrico G.* L'Oroscopo dell Mondo: Il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo, secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana. Milano: Mimesis; Sīmorγ, 2001.
- Wolff 1935 Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname von Fritz Wolff. Festgabe des Deutschen Reiches zur Jahrtausendfeier f
  ür den Persischen Dichterf
  ürsten. Berlin: Gedruckt in der Reichsdruckerei, 1935.
- Zādspram 1993 Anthologie de Zādspram. Édition critique du texte Pehlevi, traduit et commenté par Philipp Gignoux et Ahmad Tafazzoli. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des etudes Iraniennes, 1993 (Studia Iranica. Cahier 13).

#### References

'Amīd Hasan. Farhang-e 'Amīd. Tehran, sāl-e 1342 xōršīdī/1963 (in Persian).

- Anthologie de Zādspram. Édition critique du texte Pehlevi, traduit et commenté par Gignoux Philipp et Tafazzoli Ahmad. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des etudes Iraniennes, 1993 (Studia Iranica. Cahier 13) (in French).
- Baranov, Kharlampii K. Arabsko-Russkii Slovar'. Okolo 42000 slov. Izdanie 6-e [Arabic-Russian Dic
  - tionary. Near 42000 words. 6th ed.]. Moscow: The Russian language Publishers, 1984 (in Russian).

- Bogoliubov, Mihail N. "Otrazhenie nazvanii zviozd i sozvezdiy lunnogo zodiaka v sogdiiskoi onomastike" [Designation of Celestial Stars and Constellations of the Lunar Zodiac in Sogdian Onomastics]. In: *Trudy po iranskomu yazykoznaniyu: Izbrannoye* [Selected Papers on Iranian Linguistics]. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2012, pp. 363–370 (in Russian).
- Brockelmann Carolo. *Lexicon Syriacum*. Editio secunda, aucta et emendate. Halis Saxonum. Sumptibus Max Niemeyer, 1928 (in Latin).
- Bundaheš-e Hendī. *Matn-ī ba zabān-e Pārsī-ye mīyāne* (Pahlavī-ye sāsānī). Ba tashīh wa tarjome-ye *Raqīye Behzādī*. Tehrān: Mo'asese-ye motāle'āt wa tahqīqāt-e farhangī. 1368/1989 (in Persian & Pahlavi).
- Choksy, Jamshed K. An Annotated Index of the Greater or Iranian Bundahišn (TD 2). Leiden. 1986, vol. 15, fasc. 2, pp. 203–242 (Studia Iranica) (in English).
- Firdousi. Shah-name. Critical text. Vol. VII. Moscow: Nauka, 1968 (in Persian).
- Firdousi. Shah-name. Critical text. Vol. IX. Moscow: Nauka, 1971 (in Persian).
- Firdousi. Shah-name. Poetical translation. Vol. II. Moscow: Nauka; Academy of Sciences USSR (Literaturnye pamiatniki), 1960 (in Russian)
- Firdousi. *Shah-name. Poetical translation. Vol. V.* Moscow: Nauka: Academy of Sciences USSR (Literaturnye pamiatniki), 1984 (in Russian).
- Firdousi. *Shah-name. Poetical translation. Vol VI.* Moscow: Nauka: Academy of Sciences USSR (Literaturnye pamiatniki), 1989 (in Russian).
- Gaffarov M.A. *Persidsko-Russkii slovar*' [The Persian-Russian Dictionary in 2 volumes. Vol. 1, ed. by F.Ye. Korsh, vol. 2, ed. by L.I. Zhirkov]. Moscow: Nauka, 1976 (in Russian).
- Jārūtī. Farhang-e Majmū 'at al-Furs, ta'līf-e Abū-l-'Alā' 'Abd al-mu'min Jārūtī, ma'rūf ba Safī Kahāl, ba tashīh-e doctor 'Azīzullah Juvaynī. Entešārāt-e Bonyād-e Farhang-e Īrān. Šomāre 259. Sāle 2536 šāhanšāhī (in Persian).
- Junker, Heinrich F.J. und Alavi Bozorg. *Persisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1965 (in German).
- Mac Kenzie, Daniel N. Zoroastrian Astrology in the Bundahišn. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 27. London, 1964, pp. 511–529 (in English).
- Mac Kenzie Daniel N. A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- *Mīnū-ye Xerad*, tarjome-ye Ahmad Tafazzolī. Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Īrān, 1354 /1975 (in Persian).
- *Mifologicheskii slovar'* [Mythological Dictionary, Compiled by M. Botvinnik, M. Kogan, M. Rabinovich, B. Seletskiy]. Leningrad, 1959 (in Russian).
- Mohammad Hosayn ebn-e Khalaf de Tebrīz. *Borhān-e Qāte*<sup>4</sup> ...Edition entièrement revue par Mohammad Mo<sup>4</sup>īn. Vol.1. A-<u>Th</u>. Vol. 3. Teheran: Ebn-e-Sina éditeur, 1963 (in Persian).
- Nyberg, Heinrich S. A Manual of Pahlavi, II: Ideograms, Glossary, Abbreviations, Index, Grammatical Survey, Corrigenda to Pt I. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (in English).
- Platts I, II, 1884/1959 Platts John T. A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English. Vol. I, II. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company (Урду-хинди-английский словарь в двух томах. М.: ИВЛ АН СССР, 1959. Репродуцировано фотомеханическим способом с английского издания).
- Raffaelli, Enrico G. L'Oroscopo dell Mondo: Il tema di nascita del mondo e del primo uomo, secondo l'astrologia zoroastriana. Milano: Mimesis–Sīmory, 2001 (in Italian).
- Rak, Ivan V. "Mify Drevnego i rannesrednevekovogo Irana" [Miths of an Ancient and a Late Antique Iran]. *Neva*. St. Petersburg: Letnii Sad, 1998.
- Wolff, Fritz. *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*. Festgabe des Deutschen Reiches zur Jahrtausendfeier für den Persischen Dichterfürsten. Berlin: Gedruckt in der Reichsdruckerei, 1935 (in German).
- Zoroastriiskie teksty. Suzhdeniya Duha razuma (Dadestan-i menog-i hrad). Sotvorenie osnovy (Bundahishn) i drugie teksty [The Zoroastrian Texts. Judgments of the Spirit of Wisdom (Dādestān ī mēnōg ī xrad). Creation of the Beginning (Bundahišn) and Other Texts]. Ed. by O.M. Chunakova. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura Publishers (Pamyatniki pismennosti Vostoka. CXIV), 1997 (in Russian).

# To Semantics of an Astral Metaphor in the Persian Medieval Texts

Aliy I. KOLESNIKOV Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Received 12.07.2021.

Abstract: The paper deals with attribution on the meaning of an astral metaphor in Persian text related to the miniature, which occurs in the Album *murakka* (17th cent.) from the Carl Faberge fund, now in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. While analyzing on characteristics of planet Saturn (Kewan) in Zoroastrian Pahlavi compositions and variations of astral metaphor in Iranian national epos Shah-name, the author comes to conclusion, that calligraph Ja'far used a name Keywan in his distich for pursuit of two tasks: 1) to condemn imitation of Keywan's abode on top of heads (see ill. 1); 2) to convey his belief that only God is veritable creator of Keywan as all the Universe.

Key words: aiwan, Keywan, metaphor, Anthologie of Zadspram, Iranian Bundahishn, Indian Bundahishn, *Dadestan i Menog i Xrad, Shah-name*, Vocabularies.

For citation: Kolesnikov, Aliy I. "To Semantics of an Astral Metaphor in the Persian Medieval Texts". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 74–86 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77358

About the author: Aliy I. KOLESNIKOV, Dr Sci. (History), Counselor of Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (ali.koles@mail.ru).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 87-94

# Обучение Дхарме: нравственные качества ученика

Е.П. ОСТРОВСКАЯ

Институт восточных рукописей РАН Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77353

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 23.06.2021.

Аннотация: Статья посвящена воззрениям буддийских мыслителей раннесредневековой Индии на проблему отбора монахов, пригодных для обучения в высших духовных училищах. На основе анализа трактата Васубандху (IV–V вв.) «Абхидхармакошабхашья» («Энциклопедия высшего учения и комментарий») автор показывает, что критерии отбора, разработанные кашмирскими вайбхашиками, включали только моральные качества абитуриентов. Для обучения признавались подходящими монахи, проникнутые решимостью достигнуть сотериологическую цель Учения Будды, «вырвать корень страдания». Особое внимание уделялось добродетельному поведению абитуриента, строгому соблюдению монашеских обетов. Достойным абитуриентом считался тот, кто обладает усердием, кто воздержан и испытывает удовлетворенность минимумом материальных благ (одеянием, пищей, постелью и сиденьем), кто находит счастье в монашеской аскезе и религиозных практиках.

Ключевые слова: буддизм в раннесредневековой Индии, вайбхашика, сарвастивада, Васубандху, «Абхидхармакошабхашья», обучение Дхарме (Учению Будды), нравственные качества ученика.

Для цитирования: Островская Е.П. Обучение Дхарме: нравственные качества ученика // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 87–94. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77353

Об авторе: ОСТРОВСКАЯ Елена Петровна, доктор философских наук, главный научный сотрудник, заведующая сектором Южной Азии Отдела Центральной и Южной Азии ИВР РАН (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (ost-alex@yandex.ru).

© Островская Е.П., 2021

Тема настоящей статьи непосредственно связана с задачами исследования буддийской этики на материале трактатов постканонической абхидхармы<sup>1</sup> — раннесредне-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Область значений термина abhidharma — «[мудрость], связанная с Учением Будды». В высшем смысле абхидхарма — это чистая, т.е. свободная от аффективных загрязнений, мудрость, свойственная просветленным. А в конвенциональном — это и способность понимания как ментальный инструмент познания Учения, и наука (śāstra) обретения чистой мудрости, излагаемая в форме трактатов (шастр). Наука абхидхармы трактуется в качестве высшего учения, поскольку она является теоретическим истолкованием праксиологического и сотериологического аспектов религиозной доктрины. Литература абхидхармического цикла делится на каноническую, представленную древними экзегетическими произведениями — первичными опытами концептуальной систематизации наследия Учителя (проповеднических бесед и религиозно-дисциплинарных наставлений), и постканоническую, создававшуюся в экзегетический период развития буддийского философского дискурса. Современный буддийский ученый проф. Гонконгского университета досточтимый Дхаммаджоти, го-

вековых санскритских экзегетических источников. Вопрос о нравственных качествах адепта, намеренного посвятить свою жизнь познанию Дхармы (Учению Будды), приобрел особую значимость на экзегетическом этапе истории буддийской философской мысли, длившемся в течение пяти столетий с начала нашей эры (Лысенко 2011: 27). Живой интерес к данной проблеме обусловливался характерным для этого периода процессом развития институциональных форм подготовки ученого духовенства. На базе монастырей создавались образовательные центры, в том числе университетского типа (Лепехов 2011: 487–489), в городах функционировали автономные духовные училища, возглавляемые авторитетными представителями той либо иной буддийской школы. Выпускникам присваивались ученые степени, позволявшие заниматься преподавательской деятельностью и замещать вакансии административных должностей в монашеских обителях.

Отбор абитуриентов согласно традиции не предполагал приоритета интеллектуальной одаренности. Принципы буддийской педагогики основывались на дифференциации учеников, наделенных слабыми, средними и сильными способностями, и достижении успеха в их обучении путем применения издавна разработанных абхидхармических методов изложения учебного материала в соответствии со способностями учащихся. В отборе были важны только нравственные критерии. Их обсуждение в трактате прославленного буддийского просветителя Васубандху (IV–V вв.) «Абхидхармакошабхашья» («Энциклопедия высшего учения и комментарий»)<sup>2</sup> до сих пор не становилось предметом исследования и представляет значительный интерес, так как суммирует воззрения кашмирских вайбхашиков<sup>3</sup> на эту проблему.

К вопросу о нравственных качествах ученика кашмирские учители подходили с позиций канонических представлений о пути шраваков (śrāvaka — букв. «слушатель») — адептов, обучающихся Дхарме в монашеской общине и имеющих целью вступление в статус архата<sup>4</sup>. Васубандху рассматривает эту тему в шестом разделе своего произведения («Учение о пути благородной личности»), отвечая на вопрос о том, кто действительно желает достигнуть успеха в практике ви́дения Благородных

<sup>2</sup> Досточтимый Дхаммаджоти интерпретирует название трактата Васубандху иначе: «Комментарий на сумму разъяснений буддийской доктрины» (Дхаммаджоти 2018: 134).

<sup>3</sup> Кашмирские вайбхашики как школа философской мысли заявляли себя строгими последователями сарвастивады — учения о реальном существовании всех дхарм (моментальных по длительности элементов, конституирующих индивидуальный поток психофизического существования). Их воззрения базировались на каноне сарвастивадинов — древнего монашеского ордена, включавшего в состав Слова Будды (устного наследия Учителя) не только проповеднические беседы (Сутру) и религиозно-дисциплинарные наставления (Винаю), но и абхидхармические тексты (семь канонизированных трактатов). Кашмирские вайбхашики лидировали как теоретики абхидхармы, а в роли их компетентных оппонентов выступали саутрантики, отвергавшие учение о реальности всех дхарм, и представители ранней йогачары — школы махаянского направления. Базовым («корневым») текстом кашмирской вайбхашики является составленный в катехизической (вопросно-ответной) форме трактат «Абхидхармамахавибхаша» («Большая дискуссия об абхидхарме»), датируемый I — нач. II в. Санскритский оригинал трактата утрачен, текст сохранился лишь в переводе на китайский язык. В «Абхидхармакошабхашье» система вайбхашиков изложена на основе этого фундаментального произведения и сопровождается критикой с позиций саутрантики и воспроизведением ряда концептуальных идей, почерпнутых, как показано Р. Критцером, из воззрений йогачаринов (Kritzer 2005).

воря об историко-философском значении этой постканонической литературы, подчеркивает: «...всё, что мы сегодня называем буддийской философией, развивалось из абхидхармы» (Дхаммаджоти 2018: 132). Свод определений термина abhidharma см. (Dhammajoti 2009: 6–10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Архат — буддийский подвижник, реализовавший сотериологическую цель Дхармы. Этимология термина arhat не известна.

истин, уничтожающей большую часть аффективных загрязнений сознания (Островская, Рудой 2006: 351–354).

В связи с этим необходимо сказать, что обучение Дхарме представляло собой высший уровень буддийского образования, базировавшийся на изучении канонических текстов и постканонических трактатов абхидхармического цикла. Но образовательный процесс не сводился лишь к теоретической подготовке ученого духовенства. Смысловым ядром обучения являлось практикование религиозного подвижничества — методов, ориентированных на достижение сотериологической цели Учения. Избавление от аффектов (kleśa) достигалось шраваками посредством пути видения (darśana mārga) Благородных истин — их познания применительно к каждой дхарме в собственном потоке существования и пути культивирования (bhāvana mārga) — сосредоточения сознания на «увиденном». Но процесс осуществления этой цели не мог согласно каноническим представлениям уложиться в пределы одной жизни — даже самому способному ученику требуется не менее семи человеческих рождений. Поэтому пригодным для обучения Дхарме считался лишь тот, кто действительно стремится уничтожить в себе корень страдания, т.е. индивид, обладающий недюжинной религиозной мотивированностью. О наличии этого качества свидетельствует, как указывает Васубандху, безупречная нравственность (sīla) — только монах<sup>5</sup>, утвердившийся в добродетельном поведении (vrttastha), способен следовать путем шраваков (Островская, Рудой 2006: 351–352).

Основа добродетельного поведения — неукоснительное соблюдение обетов Пратимокши<sup>6</sup> (кодекса моральной дисциплины). Регламенты Пратимокши, дифференцированные в соответствии со статусными различиями членов сангхи (буддийской общины) как совокупности монахов и мирян, предписывали воздержание от пяти грехов: убийства, воровства, прелюбодеяния, лжи, потребления опьяняющих веществ (алкогольных напитков и наркотиков). Обеты мирян<sup>7</sup>, послушников и послушниц, кандидаток в монахини<sup>8</sup>, монахов и монахинь различались не по своему содержанию<sup>9</sup>, а по количеству

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Согласно буддийскому каноническому принципу равенства религиозных возможностей полов не только монахи, но и монахини могли обучаться Дхарме и, следуя путем шраваков, осуществлять сотериологическую цель Учения (Островская, Рудой 2006: 365).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Дост. Дхаммаджоти дает следующее истолкование термина prātimokşa: слово mokşa образовано от корня -muc-, несущего значения «освобождать», «избавлять», но с префиксом prāti- оно приобретает семантику связанности. В своем историческом употреблении термин prātimokşa соотносился с собранием монахов, идейно связанных признанием и подтверждением учения Будды Бхагавана о монашеской дисциплине (Дхаммаджоти 2018: 135).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Словом «миряне» обычно передается оригинальная терминология, обозначающая немонашествующих членов сангхи, — upāsaka («почитатель») и upāsikā («почитательница»).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Кандидатка в монахини (śikşamāņā) — послушница, изъявившая желание принять монашество и пребывающая на двухгодичном испытательном сроке.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Существенное различие касалось лишь обета воздержания от прелюбодеяния: для мирян его смысл состоял в отказе от соблазнения чужих жен, добрачного сожительства с собственной невестой, попыток совращения монахини, занятой сбором подаяния, или опекаемой девушки-сироты, а для монашествующих — в соблюдении целибата (Островская, Рудой 2001: 539). Смысл остальных обетов был единым для всех членов общины. Воздержание от убийства заключалось в отказе отнимать жизнь любого живого существа, даже комара или таракана. Воздержание от воровства трактовалось как отказ от присвоения того, что не было дано добровольно, и включало в область греховного действия не только воровство в буквальном понимании, но и присвоение какой-либо бесхозной находки, потерянной кем-то вещи. Воздержание от лжи интерпретировалось как запрет на преднамеренное искажение достоверных сведений, касающихся прежде всего религиозных вопросов, и на умолчание о собственных проступках, требующих покаяния, а бытовые конфабуляции трактовались в качестве неблагого образа действий, называемого суссловием. Воздержание от потребления опья-

правил, детализирующих конкретику их соблюдения. Так, соблюдению обетов мирянами соответствовали 10 правил, а монахами — 225. Женщинам предписывалось большее количество правил, нежели мужчинам, — например, монахиням требовалось соблюдать более 500 правил.

Судить о добродетельности поведения монаха, желающего обучаться Дхарме в своем монастыре, не составляло труда, поскольку регулярно в дни новолуния и полнолуния перед собранием членов общины зачитывались регламенты Пратимокши и любой повинный в нарушении дисциплины публично сообщал о допущенных прегрешениях и приносил покаяние. Для верующего буддиста сокрытие своих проступков не имело смысла, так как ложь посредством умолчания являлась с точки зрения учения о карме дополнительным злостным грехом, чреватым дурным трансцендентным следствием.

Необходимо сказать, что соблюдение обетов Пратимокши трактовалось буддийскими экзегетами в сверхэмпирическом аспекте с позиций теории дхарм как элементов, конституирующих индивидуальный поток (samtāna) психофизического существования. Акт принятия обета, будучи оглашаемой клятвой, рассматривался в качестве материального действия<sup>10</sup>, мотивированного осознанным побуждением (cetanā). Вайбхашики в соответствии с концепцией реального существования всех дхарм утверждали, что в момент произнесения обетной формулы, т.е. осуществления проявленного (vijñapti) действия, у говорящего возникает тонкий материальный аналог этого акта, недоступный восприятию, — дхарма, называемая непроявленным, или неинформативным (avijñapti), действием. В религиозно-нравственном отношении и проявленное и непроявленное действия имеют одно и то же качество, соответствующее намерению — благому (kuśala) или неблагому (akuśala). Но специфика непроявленного заключается в том, что эта дхарма, возникнув, продолжает и в дальнейшем ежемоментно воспроизводиться, направляя индивидуальный поток существования к благому или неблагому<sup>11</sup>. А поскольку принятие обетов мотивируется сугубо благим намерением отрешения от греха (virati), возникшее вследствие этого непроявленное и есть то, что называется дисциплиной Пратимокши.

В канонических текстах для обозначения религиозной дисциплины использовался термин samvara (букв. «дамба»), который разъяснялся кашмирскими учителями как заслон, препятствующий наплыву безнравственности. Возникший вследствие принятия обетов благой непроявленный элемент, утверждали они, блокирует возможность совершения аморальных действий актуализацией дхармы «стыд» (Островская, Рудой 2001: 523).

Согласно этим теоретическим рассуждениям все, кто принял обеты Пратимокши, онтологически отличаются от «внешних»<sup>12</sup> (bāhya), т.е. небуддистов, наличием этого

<sup>10</sup> В абхидхармической теории человеческой деятельности к разряду материальных были отнесены не только телесные, но и вербальные действия, поскольку звук по своей природе (svabhāva) трактовался как материальная дхарма (Островская, Рудой 2001: 504).

<sup>11</sup> О теории непроявленного действия см. (Островская, Рудой 2001: 505–511).

<sup>12</sup> «Внешние» — непричастные к сангхе — подразделялись в соответствии с каноническими представлениями на две категории: asamvarika (букв. «обладающие не-дисциплиной») — распущенные и madhyastha — стоящие посередине. Распущенность — asamvara — трактовалась кашмирскими учителями как отсутствие самоконтроля над телом и речью. К стоящим посередине относились все те, кто проявляет уважение к буддийским святыням, подносит дары монашеской общине, но не изъявляет готовности возложить на себя мирские обеты.

няющих веществ соблюдалось особенно строго в монашеской среде, поскольку состояние опьянения предрасполагало к забвению о должном и нарушениям религиозной дисциплины, но мирянам не возбранялось в случае болезни принимать алкогольные напитки в лечебных дозах.

благого заслона и принадлежат к категории saṃvarika — «обладающие дисциплиной», «воздержанные». Разумеется, покуда сознание индивида, относящегося к данной категории, не будет полностью освобождено от аффективных предрасположенностей (anuśaya), возможность совершения дисциплинарных проступков сохраняется. Но возникающие в случае прегрешения угрызения совести (anuśāraṇa) и стыд за содеянное приводят нарушителя к покаянию и тем самым возвращают на стезю религиозно-нравственной дисциплины<sup>13</sup>.

Укорененность в добродетели, необходимая для обучения Дхарме, предполагала не только строгое соблюдение монашеских обетов, но и благую ориентацию сознания — направленность его ценностного вектора к нирване, желание «смыть с себя грязь»<sup>14</sup>, т.е. избавиться от привязанности к сансаре. Показателем такого устремления служило усердие, проявленное индивидом на предшествующем этапе образовательной подготовки. Важно подчеркнуть, что вайбхашики выступали поборниками широкой и разносторонней образованности духовенства. В седьмом разделе «Абхидхармакошабхашьи» («Учении о знании») Васубандху отмечает, что в отличие от других школ, признававших в качестве основной подготовительной дисциплины заучивание канонических текстов из разделов Сутры и Винаи, кашмирские учители полагали необходимым последовательное освоение четырех учебных курсов: науки исчисления, Слова Будды (канона), санскритской грамматики, теории логического вывода (Pradhan 1967: 418).

Обучение Дхарме начиналось с проникновения в смысл теорий постканонической абхидхармы. Классический подход, применявшийся в образовательном процессе, представлял собой поэтапное овладение тройственным пониманием (prajñā) преподаваемого материала, порождаемым слушанием (śruta), рациональным размышлением (cintā), сосредоточением сознания (bhāvanā). Поскольку базу обучения составляла теория дхарм, ее познанию уделялось особое внимание. От ученика требовалось изучить номенклатуру дхарм, характеристики каждой из них — партикулярные (svalakşana) и общие (sāmānyalakşana), классификации, разработанные в канонической и постканонической традиции. Изучение дхарм как объектов познания имело своей целью натренировать ученика на различение этих элементов в собственном потоке существования. На уровне понимания, порождаемого слушанием (śrutamayīprajñā), обучающийся усваивал концептуальные (понятийно-терминологические) сведения, позволяющие мыслить о познаваемом объекте, используя специальный буддийский лексикон. На этом уровне имеет место интеллектуальное ознакомление с объектом, и поэтому в познавательной деятельности сохраняется естественная субъектнообъектная бифуркация.

Понимание, порождаемое рациональным размышлением (cintāmayīprajñā) об услышанном, представляет собой, как утверждали вайбхашики, эвристическое постижение связи наименования и обозначаемого им объекта. Углубленное размышление приводило к размыванию субъектно-объектного познавательного модуса — к проблескам непосредственного «ви́дения» объекта.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Однако, как указывает Васубандху, в случае совершения крайне безнравственного поступка, например, убийства человека, в потоке дхарм грешника возникает столь сильная в энергетическом отношении дхарма неблагого непроявленного действия, что она оказывается несовместимой с обладанием дисциплиной Пратимокши, и последняя отсекается. Такой грешник даже после принесения покаяния подлежит изгнанию из сангхи.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Метафора «грязь» устойчиво связана в экзегетическом дискурсе с образом сансары как болотной трясины. А добродетель уподобляется мосткам, стоя на которых, подвижники смывают с себя следы пребывания в этом труднопреодолимом болоте.

#### ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

А затем в ходе сосредоточения сознания — практикования его концентрации на объекте — тенденция к бифуркации субъекта и объекта полностью устраняется, так как концептуализирующая функция мышления отключается. Сознание отождествляется с познаваемым объектом, и это есть понимание, порожденное сосредоточением (bhāvanāmayīprajñā). Такое понимание дается не с первого раза, а достигается путем приложения неоднократных усилий, поэтому термин bhāvanā обозначает процесс возделывания, культивирования знания. Для занятий такого рода подходили лишь те, кто сумел развить в себе изрядное усердие.

Для достижения успеха в практиковании сосредоточения ученик должен обладать двумя «отвлечениями» (vyapakarşa): отвлечением органов чувств от объектов чувственного восприятия и отвлечением сознания от неблагих помыслов (Островская, Рудой 2006: 352). Первое необходимо по той причине, что латентная аффективная предрасположенность активируется при наличии чувственного восприятия, а возникновение аффекта препятствует сосредоточению. Интерес, влечение к чувственно воспринимаемым объектам несовместимы с успешной концентрацией сознания. Второе отвлечение позволяет остановить блуждание воображения, поддерживающего и усиливающего влечение к чувственным объектам.

Оба вида отвлечения легко возникают лишь у воздержанных индивидов, имеющих скромные желания и осознающих себя полностью удовлетворенными. Только такие подходят для обучения Дхарме, потому что они не впадают в уныние и не удручаются малостью достигнутого духовного прогресса. А неудовлетворенные и ненасытные не могут добиться успеха в практике сосредоточения.

Воздержанность и удовлетворенность есть по собственной природе неалчность (alobha), т.е. первый корень благого<sup>15</sup> (kuśalamūla). Неалчностью определяются и четыре благородных качества, столь же необходимые ученику. Из них первые три — это удовлетворенность одеянием, пищей, постелью и сиденьем, а четвертое — способность испытывать счастье в связи с аскетическим образом жизни и практикованием Благородного пути.

Итак, кашмирские вайбхашики признавали пригодным к обучению Дхарме адепта, проникнутого решимостью избавиться от страдания в круговороте рождений, неукоснительно соблюдающего монашеские обеты, усердного в обретении знания, воздержанного, способного удовлетворяться монастырским минимумом материальных благ и усматривать счастье в возможности вести аскетический образ жизни и совершенствоваться в методах устранения аффективных загрязнений сознания.

#### Литература

Дхаммаджоти 2018 — Дхаммаджоти дост. Адхимукти и субъективность в когнитивном опыте: позиции абхидхармы и йогачары // Вопросы философии. 2018. № 7. С. 131–139.

Лепехов 2011 — *Лепехов С.Ю.* Наланда // Философия буддизма: Энциклопедия / Отв. ред. М.Т. Степанянц; Институт философии РАН. М.: Вост. лит., 2011. С. 487–489.

Лысенко 2011 — *Лысенко В.Г.* Буддизм и философия // Философия буддизма: Энциклопедия / Отв. ред. М.Т. Степанянц; Институт философии РАН. М.: Вост. лит., 2011. С. 2–79.

Островская, Рудой 2001 — *Васубандху*. Абхидхармакоша. Разделы III и IV / Изд. подгот. Е.П. Островская, В.И. Рудой. М.: Ладомир, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Два других — невраждебность (advesa) и незаблуждение (amoha).

- Островская, Рудой 2006 Васубандху. Энциклопедия Абхидхармы (Абхидхармакоша). Разделы V и VI / Изд. подгот. Е.П. Островская и В.И. Рудой. СПб.: Издательство СПбГУ, 2006.
- Dhammajoti 2009 *Dhammajoti Bhikkhu K.L.* Sarvāstivada Abhidharma. Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Hong Kong, 2009.
- Kritzer 2005 *Kritzer R.* Vasubandhu and the Yogācārabhūmi: Yogācāra Elements in the Abhidharmakośabhāşya. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2005.
- Pradhan 1967 Abhidharmakośabhāşya of Vasubandhu / Ed. by P. Pradhan. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute; Gen ed. Anantal Thakur, 1967 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series. Vol. VIII).

#### References

- Abhidharmakośabhāşya of Vasubandhu. Ed. by P. Pradhan. Tibetan Sanskrit works series. Vol. VIII. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute; Gen. ed.: Anantal Thakur, 1967 (in Sanskrit).
- Dhammajoti Bhikkhu K.L. Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma. Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Hong Kong, 2009 (in English).
- Dhammajoti Bhikkhu K.L. "Adkhimukti i subektivnost' v kognitivnom opyte: pozitsii abkhidkharmy i iogachary" [Adhimukti and Subjectiviti in Cognitive Esperiloce: The Abhidharma and Yogacara Perspective]. *Voprosy Filosofii*, 2018, no. 7, pp. 131–139 (in Russian).
- Kritzer, Rober. Vasubandhu and the Yogācārabhūmi: Yogācāra Elements in the Abhidharmakośabhāşya. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, 2005 (in English).
- Lepekhov, Sergei Iu. "Nalanda". In: *Filosofiia buddhizma: Entsiklopediia* [Buddhist Philosophy: Encyclopedia]. Gen. ed. T.M. Stepaniants. Institute of Philosophy RAS. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2011, pp. 487–489 (in Russian).
- Lysenko, Viktoriia G. "Buddhist and Philosophy". In: *Filosofiia buddhizma: Entsiklopediia* [Buddhist Philosophy: Encyclopedia]. Gen. ed. T.M. Stepaniants. Institute of Philosophy RAS. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2011, pp. 2–79 (in Russian).
- Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakosha. Razdely III i IV [Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakosha. Sections III and IV]. Izdanie podgot. E.P. Ostrovskaia, V.I. Rudoi [Ed. prepared by E.P. Ostrovskaya and V.I. Rudoy]. Moscow: Ladomir, 2001 (in Russian).
- Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakosha. Razdely V i VI [Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakosha. Sections V and VI]. Izdanie podgot. E.P. Ostrovskaia, V.I. Rudoi [Ed. prepared by E.P. Ostrovskaya and V.I. Rudoy]. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University Publisher, 2006 (in Russian).

## Studying the Dharma: Moral Qualities of a Disciple

Helena P. OSTROVSKAIA Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Received 23.06.2021.

Abstract: The topic of the article is early medieval Indian Buddhist views on the problem of monks' selection for the study in monastery universities. Basing on the analysis of Vasubandhu's treatise "The Encyclopedia of *Abhidharma*" and the commentary on it (*Abhidharmakośa, Abhidharmakośa, Abhidharmakośa, abhidharmakośa, Abhidharmakośa, bhāşya*), the author demonstrates that the criteria of the selection elaborated by Kaśmīr Vaibhāşikas included only moral qualities of competitors. Only monks inspired with determination to

achieve the soteriological aim of the Buddha's Teaching to "eradicate the root of suffering" could be regarded as appropriate for the study. The object of special attention was virtuous behavior of a competitor and strict observance of monastic vows. Those who were diligent, abstinent from sin, content with minimal material goods (clothes, food, bed, and seat), and see happiness in monastic ascetics and religious practices regarded as worthy competitor.

Key words: Buddhism in early medieval India, Vaibhāşika, Sarvāstivāda, Vasubandhu, *Abhidhar-makośa-bhāşya*, studying the Dharma (Buddha's Teaching), moral qualities of a disciple.

For citation: Ostrovskaia, Helena P. "Studying the Dharma: Moral Qualities of a Disciple". *Pis 'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 87–94 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77353

About the author: Helena P. OSTROVSKAIA, Dr. Sci. (Philosophy), Researcher-in-Chief, Head of the South Asian Section of the Department of Central Asian and South Asian Studies, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (ost-alex@yandex.ru).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 95–117

# Chinese Stories of Filial Piety in Tangut Literature

NIE Hongyin Sichuan Normal University Chengdu, China

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77344

Received 10.06.2021.

Abstract: Before the formal Chinese compilation of the "Twenty-four filial pieties" appeared in the Yuan era, there were lots of stories concerning family moral code spreading around the Central Kingdom and along the Gansu Corridor. Most of them entered Xixia through the channels of literary record or oral narration. Some of them were translated into Tangut more than once and became the most popular materials used in moral education for youth and in birthday congratulation for aged people. Sometimes the Tangut versions are quite different from the corresponding Chinese originals in their storylines or even in topics. Such fact shows that Tanguts tried their best to make Chinese culture integrate into their own and lots of their Tangut versions were recomposed through oral literature than historical records. Tanguts did not have the real concept of "Twenty-four filial pieties", but their versions concerning filial piety show the transitory stage shortly before the Yuan era.

Key words: Tangut, Xixia, folklore, Chinese classics, filial piety, translation.

Acknowledgements: Major project of the National Philosophy and Social Science Foundation, China (17ZDA264). Project of the Team for Rare Knowledge, National Philosophy and Social Science Foundation, China (20VJXT016).

For citation: Nie Hongyin. "Chinese Stories of Filial Piety in Tangut Literature". *Pis'mennye pa-miatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 46, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 95–117 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77344

About the author: NIE Hongyin, Professor, Faculty of Chinese Language and Literature, Sichuan Normal University (Chengdu, China) (nhy54116@sina.com).

© Nie Hongyin, 2021

## Introduction

The concept of filial piety is regarded as the most important moral code throughout Chinese history. By selecting 24 relevant stories from literal records and oral narrations, the famous compilation *Ershisi xiao* 二十四孝 (Twenty-four filial pieties) appeared formally in

the Yuan era.<sup>1</sup> Until recent times, various booklets with illustrations and poems have been used in moral education for youth and in birthday congratulation for aged people. As a symbol of family prosperity and parents' longevity, series of brick sculptures concerning these topics may also be seen on the courtyard walls of many old buildings in China.

Compiling the stories about filial piety began with Liu Xiang 劉向 (77 BC-6 BC) by his Xiaozi zhuan 孝子傳 (Biography of filial sons). During a dozen centuries after that, there appeared more works sharing the same title<sup>2</sup>. By the end of the 13th c., Guo Jujing 郭居敬 (or Shouzheng 守正) had finished a selected compilation of 24 stories, entitled "Ershisi xiao".<sup>3</sup> Sequentially, various editions with different entries and divergent orders appeared later, but all of them have been distributed only in civilian and have never been adopted in official government collections.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, the concept of the twenty-four filial pieties came to its pinnacle in the Ming era, because at that time there were lots of folk works recording different stories on that topic (Ōsawa 2002). This tradition was carried over to the Oing era. For example, Gong Mengren 宫梦仁 saw another edition of *Ershisi xiao*, in which there are nearly a half entries different from Guo Jujing's compilation<sup>5</sup>. Because most of the folk stories were spread only in some informal oral narrations, their plots are often different from the biographies in orthodox Chinese classics. This fact makes the direct sources of some stories remain unknown. Maybe, the Tangut literature will provide us some information, at least, information about the relevant stories spreading a little earlier than the Yuan era period of the Xixia state.

#### Resources

In the last quarter of the 12th c., lots of Chinese stories were translated into Tangut. Now most of them can be seen in manuscripts and xylographs kept in Kozlov collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. As far as we know, the aim of the wide spreading stories in Xixia was to preach the morality of family relationships.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The word "Ershisi xiao" first appeared in an *Ershisi xiao yazuo wen* 二十四孝押座文 (S. 7) excavated from Dunhuang Grottoes (Ōsawa 2002). Though it is not regarded as the real source of "Twenty-four filial pieties" in the academic realm, it implies that the stories of filial piety were spread by folk Buddhist publicities to a certain extent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to the quotations in *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, the authors include Xiao Guangji 蕭廣濟, Shi Jueshou 師覺授, Song Gong 宋躬 etc., but their works were long lost. As a parallel fact, there are many series of stone carvings and silk paintings with various topics in the Song-Yuan era, only their amount was often less than twenty-four.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Full name "Quanxiang ershisi xiao shi xuan" 全相二十四孝詩選. There are also various compilations published in the Yuan era mentioned in the booklet with illustrations and poems, e.g., Chapter 14 of Xie Yingfang's *Guichao Gao* 龜巢稿, Chapter 5 of Zhang Xian's *Yusi ji* 玉笥集, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It seems that the concept of "Twenty-four filial pieties" originated much earlier than the 13th c., because in the Beijing Palace Museum there is a series of 16 brick carvings, 19.5 cm high and 25.5 cm wide each, entitled the key figures of filial piety. The topics of these carvings dated the Northern Song dynasty are slightly different from those in the Yuan era.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The brief catalogue of Gong's "Twenty-four filial pieties" is recorded in Volume 21 of his work *Dushu jishu lüe* 讀書紀數略, in which the entries of Han Boyu 韓伯俞, Liu Yin 劉殷, Tian Zhen 田真, Zhe E 陳娥, Cai Gu 蔡姑, Lu Yigu 魯義姑, Bao Shan 鮑山, Zhao Xiaozong 趙孝宗, Wang Wuzi 王武子, Yuanjue 元覺 are included instead of Zilu 子路, Liu Heng 劉恒, Cai Sun 蔡順, Wang Pou 王裒, Yang Xiang 楊香, Wu Meng 吳猛, Yu Qianlou 庾黔婁, Cui Shannan 崔山南, Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 and Zhu Shouchang 朱壽昌

Sometimes one and the same story is present in more than two versions, showing that these Chinese stories about filial piety were the most popular legends in Xixia, all of which can be selected from the following resources:

1. Tangut xylograph Shengli yihai 聖立義海 (The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saint)<sup>6</sup>, compiled by the Xixia government in 1182, proves to be an imitation of Chinese traditional encyclopedia (Nevskyi 1960: 87–88). According to its contents this compilation includes five volumes and fifty chapters, but there are only about 50 folios of Volume 1, 2 and 5 left.<sup>7</sup> As suggested by Gorbacheva and Kychanov (1963: 57), along with some entries of pure familial moralization, lots of entries in Volume 5 are brief quotations or re-compositions from various Chinese classics or folklore, but most of their provenances remain unknown at that time.

As the most important reference for the present paper, in Chapter 14 there are dozens of short stories telling about the relationship among family members, which were recognized as translations from Chinese. Since the compilers and translators always used the phrase "somebody in the past" for the key figure of most stories instead of transcribing their real names in Chinese classics, it is difficult to find their originals. Luo (1995) translated the entire work into Chinese but without providing any annotations to trace their provenances, while Kychanov (1997) successfully had found a lot of their sources attached to his Russian translation.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, he did not pay enough attention to the folk legends about Twenty-four filial pieties, otherwise he would have identified the provenances of more stories. More than 20 years ago, in preparing to publish a set of clearest facsimiles, Nie and Huang (2001) also tried to search the sources of those stories, but their report was printed only in an informal publication<sup>9</sup>.

2. Tangut xylograph *Leilin* 類林 (Forest of categories) translated directly from Yu Lizheng's 于立政 (617–679?), Chinese compilation of the same title, ten volumes of Xixia government printing in 1181, but only approximately eight volumes left,<sup>10</sup> proves to be some kind of *leishu* 類書 in private compilation (Nevskyi 1960: 86). The book might have been completed by more than one translator, because Keping has found (Keping 2002) that one and the same Chinese poem was translated differently in different volumes, though the whole work has its unified translation style. As a tradition of compiling Chinese *leishu*, the provenance of each story was mentioned at the beginning or at the end of a relevant quoted passage, so it is easy to find their sources in Chinese classics. Now we have translation of the whole text in Russian (Keping 1983) and in Chinese (Shi et al. 1993).

<sup>9</sup> There are few errors in their report. For example, the authors misunderstood the story *Liu Yin mengsu* (Liu Yin getting grain in dream) as another story "getting fresh vegetables" with the same character.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tangutologists used to indicate the titles in their Chinese translation instead of those in Tangut.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Inv. № 143, 144, 145, 684, 2614.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Most of Kychanov's identifications came from Chinese encyclopedia *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 and *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, but it seems that he also referred to some Buddhist works. For example, he correctly pointed out that an entry "Meeting of the deities" in the part of "The seventh month" told about the Buddhist festival *Ullambana*, in which the key figure should be restored as *Mulian* 目蓮, i.e., the Chinese abbreviated transcription of Sanskrit name Mahā-Maudgalyāyana (Kychanov 1997: 105, 174), not *maoling* 茂陵 transcribed by Chinese scholars.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Inv. № 125–131, 2625, 6686. For the detailed description, see (Gorbacheva, Kychanov 1963: 40–42). Some of the entries about filial piety are recorded in the second volume, but only the end of that volume is preserved nowadays. Fortunately, there is a later revision of the Jin era, *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* 增 廣分門類林雜說 (Various augmented and classified forest of categories) preserved in *Jiayetang congshu*, in which one can find more Chinese originals for this topic as complement.

3. Tangut manuscript Xinji cixiao zhuan 新集慈孝傳 (Newly collected biographies of affection and filial piety).<sup>11</sup> compiled by a Xixia civil official Cao Daole in 1190s, proves to be a story collection of family education based on Jia fan 家範 (Family models) written by Sima Guang 司馬光 (Nie 2008). Because each biography shows its key figure's name clearly in Tangut transcription, it is not so difficult for scholars to find the corresponding Chinese originals. In the forty-four biographies preserved in its last volume (juan xia),<sup>12</sup> thirty-nine key figures were successfully identified by Keping (1990),<sup>13</sup> the rests were complemented by (Nie 2009). Now we have the translations of the whole text in Russian, in French (Jacques 2007) and in Chinese respectively.

4. A Tangut fragment from Lienü zhuan 列女傳 (Biography of women), only one single folio left (inv. No 198), on which there are two fragmentary stories, which were identified by (Nie 2001) and (Matsuzawa 2005) and are coming from Houhan shu 後漢書.

Facsimiles of the abovementioned Tangut materials were co-edited by St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, Institute of Nationalities, CASS, Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House and published in volume 10 and 11 of Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文獻 (Khara-khoto manuscripts collected in Russia), Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1999 (hereafter EHW).

## Tangut stories corresponding to Ershisi xiao

There are fifteen Tangut stories about filial piety corresponding to those mentioned in Ershisi xiao<sup>14</sup>. Here, we try to translate and narrate them in titles and sequence of Guo Jujing's edition. The Tangut versions of some entries not found in materials available will be discussed in the next section.

## Xiao gan dong tian 孝感動天 (Touching Heaven by sense of filial piety)

There are two Tangut versions of the story about the legendary Emperor Shun of prehistoric times, which are commonly known as Dashun gengtian 大舜耕田 (The Great Shun plowing in the fields).<sup>15</sup> One of the versions can be seen in *Xinji cixiao zhuan (EHW* 10: 127; Keping 1990: 26; Jacques 2007: 48-49; Nie 2009: 28):

形蕹嫬, 爾鎺 肺刻 侕 茲 胝 編 戭 霰. *<sup>え</sup> 蒲 菰 菰 涌 粱 豵*, \* 新報 新 税 , 那 粮 礼 ҡ 形 版 庇 郷 税 , 繳 繳 丸 輝 和 元 . 版 承 え 肺 肥 湯 , 肺 槦颏: 嚴義 履 缀. 肺 解 弱 織 裕 穮, 版 承 麟 刻 席 쮋 髲艑蔽颏.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Inv. № 616. For the detailed description, see (Gorbacheva, Kychanov 1963: 56).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> According to the Chinese edition Jia fan, we know that most stories must have been recorded in the first volume (juan shang) of Xinji cixiao zhuan, but unfortunately, the Tangut edition of that volume is entirely lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> There is merely one single fault in her identification: the name *Wang Xiu*  $\pm$  16 should be Wang Xiang  $\pm$ 样. <sup>14</sup> Of course, in addition, there are also dozens of stories in Tangut which were not included in *Ershisi xiao*.

Jujing's title, the modern ones look better in their writing style and are commonly known, because each title emphasizes the name of the key figure and presents more literary flavor by phonetic harmony.

Yu Xiang was the stepbrother of Emperor Shun. Xiang made a conspiracy together with his mother. They ordered Shun to repair a granary, and then removed the log ladder and set [the granary] on fire. They ordered him to dredge a well, and then blocked the entrance [of the well]. They intended to murder him every day. After that Xiang entered Shun's room and saw Shun was playing music on his seat. Xiang was out of breath and said embarrassedly: "I am here because I miss you." Shun did not vent anger at him and said: "Well. Every affair will be managed by me and others." Because Shun was extremely filial and gentle, the Emperor Yao gave him his emperor's post and let him be the Son of Heaven<sup>16</sup>.

The story of Shun was first recorded in the initial volume of *Shiji*<sup>17</sup>. The original was recomposed and shortened by later generations. Besides some dramatic simplification, somebody changed the storyline of Shun going to visit Xiang into Xiang going to visit Shun.

The other version can be seen under the entry "Becoming a virtuous emperor by filial piety" in *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10:257; Luo 1995: 75; Kychanov 1997: 140), in which, as identified by (Nie, Huang 2001), the key figure is Shun as well. Because the fantastic topic of "elephants plowing and birds carrying seeds" did not appear in any orthodox classics, we can believe that the statement came from a certain folk myth:<sup>18</sup>

Somebody in the past was a filial son of his mother, but the stepmother was jealous of him and intended to find some way to murder him. She tried successively to kill the filial son, but did not succeed for his morality. [As the filial son] was going to the countryside, elephants and hogs plowed for him; various birds carried seeds and gathered grain for him. When Heaven was cruel<sup>19</sup>, [he still] served the parents, including his father Gusou<sup>20</sup>. After hearing that, the emperor let his two daughters marry him to be empress, and he succeeded to the throne by his morality.

#### Xicai yu qin 戲彩娛親 (Making fun in multicolor to entertain his parents)

This story is recorded under the entry "An old son respecting his parents" in *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73), in which the key figure proves to be Laolaizi in quotations of *Taiping yulan* (Kychanov 1997: 137, 184; Nie and Huang 2001),<sup>21</sup> commonly known as *Laizi banyi* 萊子斑衣 (Laizi in multicolor clothes).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Son of Heaven" is a traditional Chinese expression for "emperor".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Chinese original: 舜父瞽叟頑, 母嚚, 弟象傲, 皆欲殺舜... 瞽叟尚復欲殺之. 使舜上塗廩, 瞽叟從下 縱火焚廩。舜乃以兩笠自扞而下, 去, 得不死. 後瞽叟又使舜穿井, 舜穿井為匿空旁出. 舜既入深, 瞽叟 與象共下土實井. 舜從匿空出, 去. 瞽叟、象喜, 以舜為已死...象乃止舜宮居, 鼓其琴. 舜往見之, 象愕不 懌, 曰: "我思舜正郁陶." 舜曰: "然, 爾其庶矣." 舜復事瞽叟, 愛弟彌謹. 於是堯乃試舜五典百官, 皆治. (史記•五帝本紀)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This topic first appears in *Wudu fu* 吳都賦 (*Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 vol. 5) by Zuo Si (250?–305), but it is interesting that the statement given below quite corresponds to that in later commentary of *Ershisi xiao*: "虞舜, 瞽瞍之子, 性至孝. 父頑, 母嚚, 弟象傲. 舜耕於歷山, 有象為之耕, 鳥為之耘. 其孝感如此. 帝 堯聞之, 事以九男, 妻以二女, 遂以天下讓焉."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Heaven was cruel" here means "natural disasters" or "turmoil of war".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Gusou, literary meaning "blind old man", is the sobriquet of Shun's muddleheaded father.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Chinese original: 師覺授《孝子傳》曰: 老萊子者, 楚人. 行年七十, 父母俱存, 至孝蒸蒸. 嘗著斑斕 之衣, 為親取飲. 上堂脚跌, 恐傷父母之心, 僵仆為嬰兒啼 (太平御覽 413). Another quotation: 皇甫士安 《高士傳》曰: 老萊子, 楚人耕於蒙山之陽, 萑葭為牆, 蓬蓽為屋, 板木為床, 蓍艾為席. 或言楚王. 楚王

航 级 酸 酸 良 酸 氮 , 魏 茲 銀 銀 . 魏 茲 価 铎 甐 級 , 能 鬍 號 铤 쭰 酸 . 棄 慨 魏 枕, 鲜 氣 織 艰 形 . 数 載, 筑 龍 照 岷 , 奉 翻 晕 髓. 段 醇 慨 報, 講 氮 铎 橙.

An aged son in the past was eighty years old and his parents were one hundred. In order to entertain his parents, [the aged son] danced as a child. After that, his father died, he held a funeral at a high level. Hearing that, the emperor invited him, but he did not come. He ran away and concealed into a hill, keeping his filial piety to last without the need for official ranking.

The conventional storyline concerning Laolaisi is that he dressed up as a child by wearing multicolor clothes (*banyi*) to entertain his old parents, but this nuclear topic is not emphasized in the Tangut narrative.

#### Luru feng qin 鹿乳奉親 (Serving the parents with deer milk)

This story is recorded under the entry "Dressing up as a deer to serve the old mother" in *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73). It is identified by Kychanov (1997: 137, 184) and Guo (2017) as the story of Shanzi 睒子 or Shanzi 閃子 in *Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌變 文集, which is simplified from a long story in *Foshuo shanzi jing*.<sup>22</sup>

There was a filial son in the past whose parents were blind. The son pretended a deer by wearing deerskin and went out to find drinks for his parents. One day an emperor<sup>23</sup> went hunting, and the son was shot by an arrow. The son cried painfully to the emperor, and [then] his old parents were sent to the palace to be served.

The word "deer milk" in *Ershisi xiao* does not appear in any relevant originals, what is mentioned there is merely "to get drinking water". Considering quite a different story recorded in *Ershisi xiao*,<sup>24</sup> it may be concluded that the "deer milk" most probably appeared in the Yuan era, in which the key figure was far-fetched to be connected with a person in the Zhou dynasty. The last sentence about the parents receiving good treatment from the emperor might be a complement by later narrators to express a good wish.

#### Nie zhi tong xin 齧指痛心 (Biting a finger to cause a heart pain)

This story can be seen under the entry "A filial son and a kind mother" of *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73), in which the key figure was identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 136, 183–184) as Zeng Shen, but by Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001) as Cai Shun.

航级 酸 颏, 荻核颏殘. "敝禄承蕹笏" 骸 靋 僢 戊 龍, 酸鮮姚飄, 藏貓茲循쬮瓴. 茲 假: "訛承藤 鈩. 蕹窈, 缝歲偏皺?" "颈! 鋒繡藏銅? 瓶形颏離斑荒窈. 茲 떍 戊 訛 緩, 䅟����������.

遂至老萊子之門,曰:寡人愚陋,獨守宗廟.先生幸臨之!老萊子曰:僕山野之人,不足以守政.(太平御覽 vol. 474)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Chinese original: 父母時渴欲飲, 睒著鹿皮衣, 提瓶行取水. 麋鹿飛鳥亦復往飲, 不相畏難。時迦夷國王入山射獵, 王見水邊有麋鹿飛鳥, 引弓射之, 箭誤中睒。睒被毒箭甚痛, 便大呼言: 誰持一毒箭射殺三道人! (佛說睒子經, *Taishō* T03, p0440c).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> In fact, this "emperor" indicates the King of Kāśī or Vārānasī in Buddhist works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Chinese original: 周郯子性至孝。父母年老,俱患雙眼疾,思食鹿乳。郯子乃衣鹿皮,去深山,入鹿羣之中,取鹿乳供親。獵者見而欲射之。郯子具以情告,乃免。

In the past, a son supported his mother by selling wood. When the son went into the mountain to pick up wood, his mother was told three times: "Your son had killed someone". In order to let her son to return back, the mother bit her finger in terror; the son felt pain and took wood back to ask his mother respectfully. The mother said: "Is it true that you have killed someone?" The son said: "Mama! How can it be true? The criminal has the same name as me." The filial son felt pain in his heart because his mother had bitten her finger in terror.

This story, commonly known as *Zeng Shen niezhi* 曾參齧指 (Biting a finger for Zeng Shen), is confusedly recomposed from two irrelevant classics: the story of "biting a finger" comes from Volume 69 of *Houhan shu*, in which the aim of Cai Shun's mother (and not Zeng Shen's mother) biting her finger is to pass a message to Cai Shun that there is a guest coming for urgency.<sup>25</sup> The story of "killing someone" comes from Volume 4 of *Zhanguo ce*: when being told the rumor of "Zeng Shen killed someone" three times, Zeng Shen's mother believed and ran away<sup>26</sup>. The plot of "biting a finger" is not mentioned there.

#### Luyi shun mu 蘆衣順母 (Respecting his mother by wearing reeds)

This story can be found under the entry "A wise son respecting his stepmother" of *Shengli* yihai (EHW 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73), in which the key figure identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 137, 183) and Nie,Huang (Nie, Huang 2001) as Min Sun in a quotation of *Taiping yulan*<sup>27</sup>, commonly known as *Min Sun yilu* 閔損衣蘆 (Min Sun wearing reed clothes).

航 紋 繡 斑 移 溒 龍 霄 , 煅 斑 梶 該 龍 麵 . 魏 祿 禰 龍 鑶 뢩 顑 , 煅 頌 錯 嫒 . 祿 報 铎 努 , 魏 效 廠 : "茲 錯 锋 骸 骸 霓 輔 隹 . 謂 輾 齕 發 慨 愈 ." 魏 頌 慨 錯 . 茲 硫 , 散 骸 歰 攀 形 预 .

In the past, a son of a former wife wore thin clothes, but two sons of his stepmother wore warm clothes. Seeing [his former wife's] son wear thin [clothes], the father became angry and intended to divorce his present wife. The wise and filial son wept and advised the father: "If you divorce my stepmother, the three sons will be alone and helpless. I cannot bear to need so." The father did not divorce the wife. The mother was awakened and treated the three sons equally.

A vivid original plot is lost in this recomposed version. There *lu* indicates "floccus flowers of reed", that is to say, in making clothes for the stepson, the stepmother used reed flowers to immitate cotton, which, of course, could not keep warm. The Chinese original recorded that his father found Min Sun could not drive the carriage successfully because he suffered from freezing, but this storyline was removed in the Tangut version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Chinese original: 順少孤, 養母. 嘗出求薪, 有客卒至. 母望順不還, 乃噬其指. 順即心動, 棄薪馳歸, 跪問其故. 母曰: "有急客来, 吾噬指以悟汝耳." (後漢書•周磐傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Chinese original: 昔者曾子處費, 費人有與曾子同名族者而殺人. 人告曾子母曰: "曾參殺人." 曾子 之母曰: "吾子不殺人." 織自若. 有頃焉, 人又曰: "曾參殺人." 其母尚織自若也. 頃之, 一人又告之曰; "曾參殺人." 其母懼, 投杼踰牆而走. (戰國策•秦策二).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Chinese original: 師覺授《孝子傳》曰: [閔損] 早失母, 後母遇之甚酷, 損事之彌謹. 損衣皆藁枲為 絮, 其子則綿纊重厚. 父使損御, 冬寒失響, 後母子御則不然. 父怒詰之, 損默然而已. 後視二子衣, 乃知 其故. 將欲遣妻, 損諫曰: "大人有一寒子猶上垂心, 若遣母, 有二寒子也." 父感其言, 乃止. (太平御覽 vol. 413)

#### Mai shen zang fu 賣身葬父 (Selling himself for burying his father)

This story is recorded under the entry "Selling himself for serving his mother" of *Shengli Yihai* (*EHW* 10: 257; Luo 1995: 75), identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 141, 186) and Nie and Huang (2001) as a simplified quotation from *Taiping yulan*<sup>28</sup>, commonly known as *Dong Yong mai shen* 董永賣身 (Dong Yong Selling himself).

艇承编新续. 航级段额, 藏�������. 靋 攏, **釆**郷 飜 穀 藕, 教茲 脫爾鐵龍. 嚴偏運形茲讀, 辦頭蓊循爾韤. "飯 循解醱務, 蓊馟: 锋酸雄出奶." 雞 �� 禽 裰, 羅 義 繳 毛 颀 鏫 毟 食 殼 鈃 雄 . 郑 建 屘 剱 : "簳 藏攏燈雞3." 瓣 蔬 鼢 胤 苂 覈. 珮敝��斑 ��.

Someone in the past served his late father faithfully. After that he became poor. When his mother died, he was not able to serve her [for burrial], so he went to do hard labor. A wise woman met him on the road and went accompanying him as his wife. The husband said: "If having woven five hundred  $pi^{29}$  of silk, [we shall be] released." Within half a day, the wise woman wove five hundred pi of silk and sent them [to the employer]. The woman said [to the filial son]: "Because of your filial piety, I came here to help you to pay the debt. I am going back to the Heaven Palace." [Then she] went to the sky in clouds.

It is unknown why "burying his father" in Chinese original was changed to "burying his mother" in Tangut.

Another Tangut version in *Leilin* is lost. Its Chinese original is preserved in Chapter 8 of *Zengguang fenmen Leilin zashuo* (Shi et al. 1993: 255).<sup>30</sup> These stories became one of the most famous legends in various modern dramas, commonly entitled "Dong Yong and the Seventh Fairy".

#### Kemu shi qin 刻木事親 (Making a wood sculpture for filial serving)

This story can be seen under the entry of a quite different topic "Daughter-in-law violating her mother-in-law" in *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 261; Luo 1995: 82–83), identified as the story of Ding Lan (Kychanov 1997: 152, 192; Nie, Huang 2001)quoted in *Taiping yulan*,<sup>31</sup> commonly known as *Ding Lan ke mu* 丁蘭刻木 (Ding Lan carving a wood).

航级编舱斑雁解蹴. 頦 貓 茲 抛, 斑頦霢靛斑颏, 娰 茤 茲 鋒 稅 霰 般. 彰 **欻** 禰 犹 ��, "뿂殛榳, 纖 �� �� ��: 4. 千秋 新 新 教 義 報 & 数. 膨解腱髓 巍敏窥锋 能躺" "茲鋒爄. 剱. 紪 翍 萎 形, 顃贏, 鏆顉鈸, 敽 燘, 荻 茲 欬 娍, 僦偏筑缓. 船绂. 敽颏, 霢햾, ‴孤�����, 翥 翁����� 哉. 酸����酸, 駕鈸續����.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Chinese original: 刘向《孝子图》曰...前漢董永, 千乘人. 少失母, 獨養父. 父亡, 無以葬, 乃從人貸錢一萬. 永謂錢主曰: "後若無錢還君, 當以身作奴." 主甚愍之. 永得錢葬父畢, 將往為奴, 於路忽逢一婦人, 求為永妻...主曰: "為我織千疋絹, 即放爾夫妻." 於是索絲, 十日之内千疋絹足. 主驚, 遂放夫婦二人而去. 行至本相逢處, 乃謂永曰: "我是天之織女. 感君至孝, 天使我償之. 今君事了, 不得久停." 語訖, 雲霧四垂, 忽飛而去. (太平御覽 vol. 411).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The length unit *pi* for textile is equivalent approximately to 13.2 m.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo was composed by Wang Pengshou 王朋壽 in the year 1189. But unfortunately, the end of volume 2 are severe fragmentary in Tangut version, except the last two stories of "Yin Boqi" and "Bao Shan" preserved. <sup>31</sup> 孩成《渔人俱》曰:"丁蘭老 河山人也 小雨老船 不及供業 乃刻太先人 影影如亚 声文地在 即

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> 孫盛《逸人傳》曰:"丁蘭者,河内人也.少喪考妣,不及供養,乃刻木為人,髣髴親形,事之若生,朝 夕定省.後鄰人張叔妻從蘭妻借物,看蘭妻跪拜木人,木人不悦,不以借之.叔醉酣,來罵木人,以杖敲其 頭.蘭還,見木人色不懌,問其妻,具以告之.即奮劒殺張叔.(太平御覽 vol. 414).

A son in the past served his mother faithfully. His mother died when he was a child, he carved a wooden statue imitating his mother and served it as a real mother every day. When he was going to another place, he told his wife: "After I am gone, you must serve [the wooden statue] carefully as you did previously." After that the wife caused malice and said: "It is not a real mother. What is the use of a wooden statue?" She hit the [wooden statue's] head with a stick and stabbed [the wooden statue] with a knife, resulting in bossing and bleeding. When the son came back and worshiped his wooden mother, the mother looked bad with tears in her eyes. The son looked at it, seeing that there was a bossing on her head and bleeding from the cutting mark. The son cried sadly and sent his wife away to be a slave.

Here the story is greatly recomposed. The person who maltreats the wooden statue was changed to the key figure's wife, instead of a neighbor mentioned in Chinese records. The original topic is to commend a filial son, but the Tangut version changed it to criticize a pitiless daughter-in-law.

There must have been another version spreading in Xixia, but now we can read it only in the Chinese edition *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* (Shi et al. 1993: 256)<sup>32</sup>, which tells that the key figure's wife burned the wooden statue accidentally, not hit it with a stick maliciously.

#### *Yongquan yue li* 湧泉躍鯉 (Carps jumped out from a gushing spring)

This seems the most popular story in Xixia, for in the Kozlov collection there are three Tangut versions of different contents. The relatively complete story may be found in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* (*EHW* 10: 121; Keping 1990: 20–21; Jacques 2007: 11–13; Nie 2009: 16–17),<sup>33</sup> commonly known as *Jiang Shi yueli* 美詩躍鯉 (Carps jumping out for Jiang Shi).

**冦** 鎃 夼 娵 媙, 般���������������� 茲 虠 娥 娵, 瓶逤缝首 狐 霢, 猛發瓶 織秬须웴, 嫘彰葭魏, 策继载移居 塞狼船. **骸**娇������������. **娇薌**擫 傋 截, [[羅 \_ 4 \_ 4 ] [ **娇薌**烿頞僦服. [[] 斑 報 瓴 銀, 午班 絥. 盛薌 而就 菔 芰 税.

Jiang Shi's wife was the daughter of Pang Sheng in the Late Han  $era^{34}$ . Jiang Shi was filial in nature. His mother was fond of drinking river water, but the river was located some six or seven  $li^{35}$  away, so Jiang Shi used to let his wife fetch water. Once on a blustery day, she came back late and the mother felt thirsty, therefore Jiang Shi was angry and sent his wife away. The wife stayed at a neighbor's home, making textiles day and night to serve [her mother-in-law with] delicacies, asking the hostess to [send it to] her mother-in-law. Many days passed, [the mother-in-law] asked in surprise and the neighbor told her the truth. The mother-in-law felt ashamed and let her daughter-in-law back home, the daughter-in-law was more diligent than before. The mother-in-law also liked to eat fish fillet. For the daughter-in-law also liked to eat fish fillet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The original is quoted from *Xiaozi zhuan*: 丁蘭事母至孝. 母亡, 刻木為母事之. 蘭婦誤以火燒母面, 應時髮落.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> It can be concluded that the story about Jiang Shi's wife might have been translated in Volume 2 of *Leilin*, because we see its Chinese original in *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* (Shi et al. 1993: 255–256).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The Late Han, also called Donghan 東漢, 25–220 AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The length unit *li* in the Later Han dynasty is equivalent approximately to 400 meter.

ter-in-law it was hard to get it. Suddenly a spring gushed out beside the house, its taste was equal to river water, moreover, there were two carps jumping out every day for her to serve the mother-in-law.

The story comes from Volume 114 of *Houhan shu*,<sup>36</sup> where the Chinese original includes three storylines, but in *Xinji cixiao zhuan* there are only two of them selected, i.e., an abandoned wife kept serving her mother-in-law and a spring gushed out for children's filial piety. Another topic, how Jiang Shi and his wife concealed the information of their son's death<sup>37</sup>, is omitted in the Tangut story. This story is retained completely in Volume 10 of *Jia fan*, the model of the adaptation *Xinji cixiao zhuan*; it may be suggested that the topic was removed by the Tangut compiler and translator for it would cause more or less displeasure of a reader.

All the three topics are present in *Shengli yihai*, but were adapted into two different entries. The first can be seen under the entry "Becoming famous for good result of filial piety" (*EHW* 10: 261; Luo 1995: 82), identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 151, 252) and Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001):

航级承氦 茲 馣 癓, 瘢斑斑皲0, 뛭娰散茲쨊娥娥. 刻級護戮, 蓊微擖 **棄 臧 �� �� �� �� ��**, 貓 뙚 縑 穮 瘢 娺, 羅發蓋 贏融. 刻級茲範 霢纽猎. 護魏: "窺�������?" 継���育: 茲 馣 奷 豜, 猏 兪 麗 �� � � . [[] 释 �� ��, 웷 骸 桶 骸 蛾 魏, 茲孫 霸蕹窈.

Someone in the past had an old mother who was fond of drinking deep-water and eating fish, every day his wife fetched deep-water for the mother. One day the wife came late, the husband was angry and drove her out. The wife stayed at a neighbor's home, fetching water according to former schedule and asking the host to send [it to the old mother]. One day the old mother asked: "Who has sent the water?" The neighbor host said: "Your daughter-in-law let me send it." The old mother regretted and ordered her son to greet [her back]. Because of the daughter-in-law's filial piety and morality, a spring of deep-water taste gushed out in front of the side door, from which two fish came out to provide the mother.

The second entry, "A spring of deep-water taste gushing out", can be seen in the chapter "Meaning of daughter-in-law's formalities" (*SHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76), identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 141–142, 187) and Nie,Huang (Nie, Huang 2001):

航线 後 氦 魏 茲 而 铎 疏 . 茲 縱 琛 র 服 成 , 堅 於 茲 而 郊 延 , 嚴 我 影 . 嘉 ٬ 派 報 謝 報 形 , 承 診 報 辦 藏 枕 . 茲 듦 娘 , 堅 於 影 衫 : "衣 繳 龍 笏 ." 策 版 堅 [ 酸 ] 舜 澎 : "我 號 嫒 笏 ?" 堅 聽 報 報 報 報 菜 巯 .

Someone in the past served his parents faithfully. The mother was fond of the taste of deep-water. The filial son stayed with his mother for daily service. He dispatched his son to fetch water in the depths, but the son died of drowning in water. The mother asked [where] her grandson [was], the filial son answered: "He is traveling for studies." After that the filial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Chinese original: 廣漢姜詩妻者, 同郡龐盛之女也. 詩事母至孝, 妻奉順尤篤. 母好飲江水, 水去舍 六七里, 妻嘗泝流而汲. 後值風, 不時得還, 母渴, 詩責而遣之. 妻乃寄止鄰舍, 晝夜紡績, 市珍羞, 使鄰母 以意自遺其姑. 如是者久之, 姑怪問鄰母, 鄰母具對. 姑感慚呼還, 恩養愈謹. 其子後因遠汲溺死, 妻恐姑 哀傷, 不敢言, 而託以行學不在. 姑嗜魚鱠, 又不能獨食, 夫婦常力作供鱠, 呼鄰母共之. 舍側忽有涌泉, 味如江水, 每旦輒出雙鯉魚, 常以供二母之膳. (後漢書•姜詩妻傳)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Translation from the original: Her son drowned when fetching water far away. The wife worried about her mother-in-law's sorrowing, so she lied that he did not die, but was traveling for studies.

son cried: "Who fetches the water?"<sup>38</sup> Because of the filial piety, a spring of deep-water taste gushed out at the door.

The same story may be seen in inv. No 198 as well, though it is too damaged to be read through (*EHW* p. 333; Nie 2001; Matsuzawa 2005):

웳燰散敝矲撬斑ጡ颧娘肎: "敞웲骸尨慌,觳旕窈?" 継撬斑肎: "斑 쫼ጡ���嫌效殛, 肢嫌兼荒, 웲骸斑掚尨形, 繉霸劲敝鹾疏斑韈燹慌 缱勁." 储疏肎: "怿��酸敽." 移徹臉, 酸茀燹碱. 釉沎蓘茀璨齕 氦狼氣, 泓璨挽, 璨봶웷…磋疏效韈.

...Thus [she] asked the neighboring mother in surprise: "Why do you present me fish fillet every day?" The neighboring mother said: "Your daughter-in-law is staying at my home. She gets money by making textiles to buy fish for making fillet every day and asks me to present it to her mother-in-law." The mother-in-law said: "This is really a filial daughter." Then [the mother-in-law] called her back and [the daughter-in-law] thanked her by bowing repeatedly in front of her. Immediately a spring like river water gushed out in front of the house, in which [every] day... [for devoting her] mother-in-law.

Here the relevant narration in the original is adapted into a dialogue style in order to make the story more dramatic.

#### Huai ju wei qin 懷橘遺親 (Hiding oranges in clothes for giving the respected one)

This story can be found under the entry "A child respecting the mother" of *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73; Kychanov 1997: 136), in which the key figure identified by Nie, Huang (Nie, Huang 2001) as Lu Ji in Volume 57 of *Sanguo zhi*,<sup>39</sup> commonly known as *Lu Ji huai ju* 陸績懷橘 (Lu Ji hiding oranges in clothes).

In the past, a child of six years old served his mother faithfully. He stole food at an official banquet. The official saw and asked the child. [The child answered:] "I do not escape from crime for stealing food to enjoy my mother." The official reported to the chief and then gave the filial son a high post.

The fact recorded in Chinese edition is that Lu Ji received three oranges from Yuan Shu and hid them, not a stolen food at a banquet. Besides, the Tangut story is far from the lively description of the Chinese original, the last sentence must have been added by a certain adapter. According to historical record, Lu Ji's high post in later times is unrelated to his stealing oranges; besides, he is only a child of six years old then.

#### Xing yong gong mu 行傭供母 (Providing mother as a servant)

This story can be found under the entry "A filial son carrying mother on his back" of *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73). Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 136–137, 184)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> The implicit meaning of this sentence is that Jiang Shi cried merely for nobody fetching water to serve his mother, not for his son's death, i.e., mother was much more important than his son in his mind.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Chinese original: 績年六歲, 於九江見袁術. 術出橘, 績懷三枚去, 拜辭墮地. 術謂曰: "陸郎作賓客 而懷橘乎?" 績跪答曰: "欲歸遺母." 術大奇之. (三國志•吳志•陸績傳).

presumed that the key figure of this story is Sima Zhi recorded in *Cefu yuangui*<sup>40</sup>, but it seems that the Chinese original is different from the Tangut entry, so the identification by (Nie, Huang 2001) as Jiang Ge in volume 69 of *Houhan shu* should be accepted<sup>41</sup>. This story proves to be the commonly known as *Jiang Ge fumu* 江革负母 (Jiang Ge carrying his mother on his back) in *Ershisi xiao*.

In the past, Heaven was cruel. [A son] carried his mother on his back to visit relatives to find some food. The robbers met him on the road and intended to kill him. The filial son told them: "I am willing to be killed, but I am carrying my old mother"<sup>42</sup>. The atrocious robbers became merciful, gave him money and released him for his filial piety.

Of course, the Tangut version is much shortened by removing the detail that Jiang Ge entreated the robbers not to kill him.

#### Wen lei qi mu 聞雷泣墓 (Weeping at a tomb when hearing thunder)

This story can be seen under the entry "Crying at a tomb when hearing thunder" of *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 256; Luo 1995: 73). The key figure is identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 136, 184) and Nie (Nie, Huang 2001) as Cai Shun in Volume 69 of *Houhan shu*,<sup>43</sup> commonly known as *Cai Shun wen lei* 蔡顺闻雷 (Cai Shun hearing thunder).

Someone in the past had a mother who was afraid of thunder when living. After the mother died and was buried in a tomb, whenever there was thunder in summer, the son moved around the tomb and cried, so Heaven relented and stopped thunder. Afterwards the emperor heard about that and granted him an official post, making him being famous all over the land.

According to the commentary in Yuan edition of *Ershisi xiao*, Guo (Guo 2017) pointed out that the figure should be Wang Pou from Volume 88 of *Jin shu*.<sup>44</sup> Considering that *Jin shu* does not tell that Wang Pou had an official position because of his crying at the tomb, one can believe that *Houhan shu* should be its real source, though the annotator of *Ershisi xiao* confused him with Wang Pou.

## Ku zhu sheng sun 哭竹生筍 (Crying to cause bamboo shoots to grow out)

This story can be seen under the entry "Serving stepmother faithfully" from *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76). The key figure is identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 142, 187) and Nie (Nie, Huang 2001) as Meng Zong quoted by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Chinese original: 司馬芝字子華, 河內溫人也. 少為書生, 避亂荆州, 于魯陽山遇賊, 同行者皆棄老 弱走, 芝獨坐守老母. 賊至, 以刃臨芝. 芝叩頭曰: "母老, 唯在諸君!" 賊曰: "此孝子也, 殺之不義." 遂得 免害. Evidently, the key word "carrying the mother" is absent in this quotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Chinese original: 江革字次翁, 齊國臨淄人也, 少失父, 獨與母居. 遭天下亂, 盜賊並起. 革負母逃難, 備經阻險, 常採拾以為養. 數遇賊, 或劫欲將去. 革輙涕泣求, 哀言: "有老母." 辭氣愿款, 有足感動人者, 賊以是不忍犯之. (後漢書·江革傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> This sentence means "If I die, nobody will carry my old mother".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Chinese original: [蔡顺] 母平生畏雷. 自亡後, 每有雷震, 順輙圜冢泣曰: "順在此!" 崇聞之, 每雷, 輙為差車馬到墓所. 太守鮑衆舉孝廉. (后汉书•周磐傳).

<sup>44</sup> Chinese original: [王裒] 母性畏雷. 母沒, 每雷輙到墓曰: "裒在此." (晉書•王裒傳).

commentary to Volume 38 of *Sanguo zhi*<sup>45</sup>. The story is commonly known as *Meng Zong ku zhu* 孟宗哭竹 (Meng Zong crying at bamboo).

 航线 释 該 預 荒, 茲 鋒 繡 贏, 般 萊 価 铎 斌. 策 般 萊 歳 諾 稈 服, 核 線 偏 諾 稈 丽 繉 勞. 策 祿 諾 稈 췗 信 報 胞 雜, 鋒 績 祿 承 酸 滅, 豬 永 歳 諾 稈 緩, 茲 效 靉 释 勞.

There was a filial son in the past whose mother died, and he served the stepmother faithfully. The stepmother was fond of bamboo shoots, saying in winter that she wanted to eat bamboo shoots. Her own son could not find any bamboo shoots, because it was not the right season, so the stepson cried with tears, then a bamboo shoot grew out in front of him and he gave it to the mother.

It is unknown why the real "mother" was substituted here by "stepmother" in the Tangut version.

#### Wo bing qiu li 臥冰求鯉 (Acquiring carps by lying on ice)

This story can be seen under the entry "Ice thawing and fish coming out" of *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76). It is identified as Wang Xiang (Kychanov 1997: 141, 186; Nie, Huang 2001) in Volume 33 of *Jin shu*<sup>46</sup>, commonly known as *Wang Xiang wo bing* 王祥臥 冰 (Wang Xiang lying on ice)<sup>47</sup>.

航线 後 爾 藏 蔬 桶 铎 藏 . 斑 舜 巤 爾 , 梭 線 偏 舜 巤 研 繩 勁 , 策 释 䅟 棣 陬 蕤 癖 쵕 殚 , 卜 薝 雁 惊 须 . 甲 穮 棣 黝 , 庙 舜 躿 鍬 , 斑 翅 靉 解 勁 .

Somebody in the past served his parents faithfully. The mother was fond of fish filet, saying in winter that she wanted to eat fish filet. The filial son lay on the ice and informed the Heaven while crying. Because of the filial piety, the ice split off, two fishes jumped out for him to provide his mother.

The plot of "lying on ice and crying" proves to be an absurd figment by later generations, because the Chinese original only mentioned "undressing and cracking ice [with a tool]".

#### *E hu jiu fu* 扼虎救父 (Saving father by curbing a tiger)

This story can be found under the entry "A filial daughter protecting her father" of *Shengli Yihai* (*EHW* 10: 257; Luo 1995: 74; Kychanov 1997: 137–138), it is identified as the story of Yang Xiang (Guo 2017) in a quotation of *Taiping yulan*<sup>48</sup>, commonly known as *Yang Xiang da hu* 楊香打虎 (Yang Xiang fighting a tiger).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Chinese original:《楚國先賢傳》曰: "宗母嗜筍. 冬節將至, 時筍尚未生. 宗入竹林哀歎, 而筍為之 出, 得以供母. (三國志•吳志•孫皓傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Chinese original: [王祥]母常欲生魚. 時天寒冰凍, 祥解衣, 將剖冰求之. 冰忽自解, 雙鯉躍出, 持之 而歸. (晉書•王祥傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Besides, there are two other stories concerning Wang Xiang. The first, in *Xinji Cixiao Zhuan*, tells about his younger brother Wang Lan how to protect him from stepmother's maltreatment (*EHW* 10: 129; Keping 1990: 28; Jacques 2007: 57–59; Nie 2009: 32–33). The second, in *Leilin*, tells about Wang Xiang how to tolerate the stepmother's maltreatment (*EHW* 11: 236; Keping 1983: 41; Shi et al. 1993: 62). Both stories have little relation with the topic "lying on ice".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Chinese original:《異苑》曰: 順陽南鄉縣楊豐與息女香於田穫粟, 豐因穫為虎所噬. 香年甫十四, 手無寸刀, 乃搤虎頸, 豐因獲免. (太平御覽 vol. 415).

In the past, a daughter and her father went along the road together and stayed in the mountain. An atrocious tiger intended to kill the father, while the filial daughter suddenly rode on the tiger and grasped its ears, shouting to the Heaven. As she curbs the tiger by morality, the father could not be hurt.

The plot "strangling the tiger's neck" in the Chinese original was substituted by "grasping the tiger's ears" in the Tangut version, because a tiger's neck is too thick to be strangled.

## Zi wen bao xie 恣蚊飽血 (Indulging mosquitoes to be full of blood)

This Tangut story with an identical plot appeared twice in *Leilin*, but only version that in Chapter 14 is preserved (*EHW* 11: 237; Keping 1983: 41, 78; Shi et al. 1993: 64), which proves to be the story of Wu Meng in Volume 95 of *Jin shu*.<sup>49</sup>

離癲慨頦纖ú勁, 散ú就能 載認. 藏 貧 銀 類 愛, 織 翠 纖 艱 凝 鎣 艱 ע 4. 斑 娘, 躺 程: " 載 茲 纋 熨 斑 涌 蜒 礼 雉 畿 殿 笏.

Wu Meng, also called Shiyun<sup>50</sup>, was a native of Yuzhang.<sup>51</sup> When he was seven years old, in summer he often hid himself under his mother's bed. The mother asked him [why he did so], [he] answered: "I do so because [I am] afraid that insects and mosquitoes will bite my mother".

Suggested by Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo, there must have been another record of the same story in Chapter 9 of Leilin (Shi et al. 1993: 256), but its Tangut version is lost.

#### Other stories proved in Chinese edition

Besides the fifteen narrations above, there are five other stories in *Ershisi xiao* preserved in Chinese *Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo* and *Jia fan*. The former presenting the original compilation of Yu Lizheng's *Leilin* is the source of the Tangut version (Shi et al. 1993: 9), the latter proves to be the basic model of Cao Daole's composition. Many stories in Tangut literature are direct translations from Sima Guang's Chinese narration (Nie 2008), thus materials from both works are reliable. One can estimate reasonably that the relevant stories may have been translated into Tangut together with other volumes of *Leilin* and *Xinji cixiao zhuan*, merely the corresponding volumes of the Tangut version are long lost.

#### Shi shen yi qi 拾椹異器 (Picking up mulberries into different containers)

This story is recorded in Zengguang fenmen leilin zashuo (Shi et al. 1993: 255):

蔡順字君仲,汝南人.少失父,養母至孝.王莽未定,天下大饑荒.順摘椹,赤黑 異器.赤眉賊見,問之.順曰: "黑者與母,赤者自食." 賊感其孝,遺斗米,令 順養母.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Chinese original: 吳猛, 豫章人也. 少有孝行, 夏日常手不驅蚊, 懼其去已而噬親也. (晉書•吳猛傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Shiyun 士雲, recorded in volume 85 of *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, was mistranslated as *chuyun* 出雲 by (Shi et al 1993: 64).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Yuzhang is an ancient prefecture located in present-day Jiangxi Province.
Cai Shun, also named Junzhong, was a native of Runan<sup>52</sup>. Losing his father in childhood, he served his mother extremely faithfully. [When the insurgency of] Wang Mang<sup>53</sup> had not been quieted down, a bad famine was full of land. Cai Shun picked up mulberries, putting the red ones and black ones into different containers. The robbers of Chimei<sup>54</sup> saw him and asked him [the reason]. Cai Shun said: "Black ones for mother, red ones for me"<sup>55</sup>. Robbers were touched by his filial piety and gave him one  $dou^{56}$  of rice to serve his mother.

# Qin chang tangyao 親嘗湯藥 (Tasting medicine decoctions personally)

This story is recorded in volume 4 of Jia Fan:

漢文帝為代王時, 薄太后常病三年. 文帝目不交睫, 衣不解帶. 湯藥非口所嘗弗進.

When Emperor Han Wendi was the King of Dai,<sup>57</sup> Empress Dowager Bo had been ill for three years. [During that time] Wendi did not blink his eyes and did not unfasten his belt. [He ordered the servants] not to serve her medicine decoctions without his tasting personally.

#### Mai er feng mu 埋兒奉母 (Burying his son to provide his mother)

This story is recorded in Volume 5 of Jia Fan:

後漢郭巨,家貧,養老母.妻生一子,三歲,母常減食與之.巨謂妻曰:"貧乏不能供給,共汝埋子.子可再有,母不可再得."妻不敢違.巨遂掘坑二尺餘,得黄金一釜.

Guo Ju in the Late Han era served his old mother in a poor family. His wife gave birth to a son. When the son was three years old, [Guo Ju's] mother often saved [her own] food to feed him. Guo Ju said to his wife: "because we are too poor to provide [the whole family], I shall bury the son with you together. We may have sons later, but never have a mother again." The wife dared not to disobey him. Then Guo Ju dug a pit of two  $chi^{58}$  deep, he suddenly found one  $fu^{59}$  of gold.

# Shan zhen wen qin 扇枕溫衾 (Cooling pillow and warming quilt)

This story is recorded in Volume 4 of Jia Fan:

晉西河人王延, 事親色養. 夏則扇枕席, 冬則以身温被.

Wang Yan, a native of Xihe,<sup>60</sup> served his parents amiably. He cooled their sleeping mat with a fan in summer and warmed the quilt with his body in winter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Runan is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Zhumadian City.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Wang Mang (45 BC–23AD) was the founder of Xin dynasty in 9 AD and failed in 23. Traditional Chinese historians regard this short period as usurping the legitimate Han emperor's authority.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Chimei, literal meaning "Red eyebrow", was the name of a famous peasant rebel force in Shandong in 18 AD and failed in 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> A mulberry turns black from red when it is ripe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> *Dou* is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement, less than two kilograms in Han dynasty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Dai is an ancient prefecture located approximately at present day Yuxian County, Hebei Province.

Emperor Han Wendi (reign 180–157 DC) was a king there before he came to the post of emperor.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{58}{58}$  Chi is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement,  $\approx 22$  cm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Fu is a traditional Chinese unit of measurement,  $\approx 20.5$ kg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Xihe is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Fenyang City, Shanxi Province.

## Chang fen youxin 嘗糞憂心 (Tasting excrements worriedly)

This story is recorded in Volume 4 of Jia Fan:

南齊庾黔婁為孱陵令.到縣未旬,父易在家遘疾.黔婁忽心驚,舉身流汗,即日棄 官歸家.家人悉驚其忽至.時易病始二日,醫云: "欲知差劇,但嘗糞甜苦." 易 泄利,黔婁輙取嘗之,味轉甜滑,心愈憂苦.

In Southern Qi<sup>61</sup>, Yu Qianlou got a magistrate post in Chanling<sup>62</sup>. Less than ten days after his arrival in the county, his father, Yi, got sick at home. Qianlou suddenly felt panic with sweat all over his body, so he gave up his job and went back home that very day. His family members were surprised at his sudden arrival. Two days after Yi got sick, the doctor said: "To know whether he is seriously ill, merely taste his excrements being sweet or bitter"<sup>63</sup>. Yi had diarrhea, Qianlou took his excrements and tasted, [finding] their taste turning sweet and soapy, so feeling worried and painful.

As for the last three stories, according to the commentaries of *Ershisi xiao* in Yuan times: a story *Rugu budai* 乳姑不怠 (Lactating the mother-in-law never slackly) tells about the wife of Cui Shannan 崔山南 (active in the second quarter of the 9th c.),<sup>64</sup> *Di qin niqi* 滌親溺器 (Washing his parent's toilet bowl) tells about Huang Tingjian 黄庭堅 (1045–1105), *Qiguan xun mu* 棄官尋母 (Giving up official job to seek his mother) tells about Zhu Shouchang 朱 壽昌 (active in the last half of the 11th c.). It is evident that the stories might not be known to Tanguts, because the key figures' living time is too late to be recorded timely in the Tangut literature, although Zhu Shouchang might have been a famous filial son at that time.<sup>65</sup>

All the other stories occurred no later than the 6th c. (Southern Dynasties, 420–589 AD), in which the only exception is *Baili fu mi* 百里負米 (Carrying rice a hundred *li* away). The key figure of this story is Zhongyou 仲由 (i.e. Zilu 子路), one of the most famous students of Confucius, recorded in the second volume of *Kongzi jiayu*. Accordingly, in the past when Zhongyou served his parents, he often had food of roughage but carried rice a hundred *li* away for his parents. After his parents died, he traveled south to Chu.<sup>66</sup> Then he had one hundred accompany carriages and ten thousand *zhong*<sup>67</sup> of accumulated grain, sat on multiple blankets and ate from cauldron series. Even though he wanted to have food of roughage and to carry rice for his parents again, he would not have [the opportunity].<sup>68</sup>

In all of the historical records, *Baili fu mi* was merely an idiom in the quote that Confucius told his students, without any storylines presented. Maybe this is just the reason why "Carrying rice a hundred *li* away" was not regarded by later generations as a story of filial piety. Actually, all the four entries above were substituted by others which spread more widely beyond Guo Jujing's *Ershisi xiao*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Southern Qi was a dynasty from 479 to 502 AD in South China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Chanling is an ancient county located at present-day Gong'an County, Hubei Province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This sentence means "If his feces taste sweet, he will be ill seriously".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> It is noticeable that the stories of Zui Shannan (Cui Guan 崔琯) was first recorded in *Jiu Tangshu* compiled as late as the year 945. One cannot believe the stories spreading widely in folklore during the next century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> As for the admiring to Zhu Shouchang by his contemporaries, see Ōsawa (2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The state Chu (?–223 BC.) located at the surrounding area of present-day Hubei and Hunan province. <sup>67</sup> Zhong is an ancient Chinese unit of measurement,  $\approx$  45 kilograms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Chinese original: 昔者由也事二親之時, 常食藜藿之實, 為親負米百里之外. 親殁之後, 南遊於楚. 從車百乘, 積粟萬鍾, 累茵而坐, 列鼎而食. 願欲食藜藿, 為親負米, 不可復得也. (孔子家語•致思).

# Substitutions in Tangut resources

According to Gong's collection mentioned above, there are also other stories well known to people at that time and being regarded as the entries from "Twenty-four filial pieties", in which there are six entries being found in Tangut literature. The following titles are directly translated from Tangut *Shengli yihai*.

#### 1. An old mother beating her son with a rod

This entry (*EHW* 10: 256–257; Luo 1995: 73–74; Kychanov 1997: 137) was identified as the story of Han Boyu (Nie, Huang 2001) in Chapter 3 of *Shuoyuan*<sup>69</sup>, commonly known as *Boyu qi zhang* 伯俞泣杖 (Boyu weeping for being beaten by rod).

航线瓶斑桶疑. 斑酸銀, 锋鮮彈礬鐵. 刘翔斑酸銀, 酸酸. 斑醇: "繡 頦脫籠, 酸風融解?" 酸船醇般: "斑鏞受礬鍐鄉形, 頤縠缎鋒慨鄉. 斑韄雗就, 動酸雞勁." 刻載, 斑甲酸而段苊蔽殿.

In the past, a son lived with his mother. When the mother beat the son, the son received it with pleasure. But one day when the mother beat the son, the son wept. The mother said: "It is not like [you did] previously. Why do you weep?" The son said tactfully: "When mother was young, the rod brought pain, but this time the rod does not bring pain. [The fact indicates that] my mother is already senile, so I weep for this." Hearing that, the emperor granted the filial son an official post.

#### 2. Getting grain in a dream for filial piety

This entry (*EHW* 10: 258; Luo 1995: 76, 188) was identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 142) as the story of Liu Yin in Chapter 11 of *Soushen ji*<sup>70</sup>, commonly known as *Liu Yin meng su* 劉殷夢粟 (Liu Yin getting grain in dream).

A son in the past served his parents faithfully. Meeting a famine period, one night he dreamed of someone telling him there was millet to the west. Thus, he went to the west and found a cellar [full of millet], in which there was an inscription on a stone: "Heaven gave the filial son grain for seven years to eat."

#### 3. Three trees changing their color

There are two Tangut versions of this topic. The first under the entry "Brothers respecting each other" (*EHW* 10: 259; Luo 1995: 78) was identified by Kychanov (Kychanov 1997: 146, 190) as Yin Tang, but actually it proves to be the story of Tian Zhen in *Xu Qixie Ji*<sup>71</sup>, commonly known as *Tian Zhen ku shu* 田真枯樹 (Trees withered for Tian Zhen).

111

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Chinese original: 伯俞有過, 其母笞之, 泣. 其母曰: "他日笞子, 未嘗見泣. 今泣, 何也?" 對曰; "他日 俞得罪, 笞嘗痛. 今母之力不能使痛, 是以泣. (說苑・建本)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Chinese original: [劉殷]事曾祖母王氏. 嘗夜夢人謂之曰: "西籬下有粟." 寤而掘之, 得粟十五鍾. 銘曰: "七年粟百石, 以賜孝子劉殷." 自是食之, 七歲方盡. (搜神記 vol. 11).
<sup>71</sup> Chinese original: 京兆田真, 兄弟三人共議分財. 生貲皆平均, 惟堂前一株紫荆樹, 共議欲破三片,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Chinese original: 京兆田真, 兄弟三人共議分財. 生貲皆平均, 惟堂前一株紫荆樹, 共議欲破三片, 19日就截之. 其樹即枯死, 狀如火燃. 真往見之, 大驚...因悲不自勝, 不復解樹, 樹應聲榮茂. (續齊諧記).

In the past, when three brothers intended to separate,<sup>72</sup> three trees planted in front of the gate suddenly turned withered. All of the brothers regretted and gave up [the idea of] separation. Those trees revived again.

The second version can be seen in Volume 7 of *Leilin (EHW* 11: 289; Keping 1983: 66, Shi et al. 1993: 163–164).

Tian Zhen was a native of Jingzhao.<sup>73</sup> After their parents died, the three brothers immediately intended to live separately. After dividing up all the houses and properties, there was only a redbud tree in front of the hall left. The brothers intended to divide it and conferred with each other in the very evening that they would together cut it down the next morning. After a night, that tree suddenly withered. The brothers cried and said each other: "Even a tree showing this, can it be compared with our so-called 'person'?" They immediately stopped [the idea of] separation, and the tree became luxuriant again as before.

#### 4. A woman treating the sons equally

This entry in *Shengli yihai* (*EHW* 10: 255; Luo 1995: 70; Kychanov 1997: 131) was identified as Lu Yiguzi in *Lienü Zhuan* (Nie, Huang 2001), commonly known as *Yigu qi zi* 義 姑棄子 (Yigu abandoning her son).

航级编\_ 微 褫 绋, 般茲發燈. 酸 �� �� 芰. 級 霰 藏, 霦 翁 祥 養 瓴. 新 貌 珳 維 穮, "���������, **獼 ����������**�� 貓 赦 嫌 籱, 濷 截攀笏." 颛�� 搦 瘢. 刻 義 释 紪 瓣, 霰 �� �� ��, 臧叛颏 疲쭰.

In the past, the child of a former mother was older and the baby of a stepmother was younger. Meeting unexpectedly with a troop, the stepmother ran away discarding the baby and holding the elder child in her arms. The troop leader asked why she had done that way. [She answered:] "The baby is my own son, the elder child is the former mother's son. According to the mind of equality, I discard my ignorant baby and protect the elder wise child." The troop leader was surprised and let the mother and the sons reunite.

Another version can be seen in *Xinji cixiao zhuan (EHW* 10: 125–126; Keping 1990: 24–25; Jacques 2007: 38–43; Nie 2009: 25–26), which seems more detailed and closer to the Chinese original in *Lienü zhuan*.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "Separate" here means "to divide up family property and live apart".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Jingzhao is an ancient prefecture located at present-day Xi'an City, Shanxi Province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Chinese original: 魯義姑姊者, 魯野之婦人也. 齊攻魯, 至郊, 望見一婦人抱一兒攜一兒而行. 軍且 及之, 棄其所抱, 抱其所攜而走於山. 兒隨而啼, 婦人遂行不顧. 齊將問兒曰: "走者爾母耶?"曰: "是也." "母所抱者誰也?"曰: "不知也." 齊將乃追之. 軍士引弓將射之, 曰: "止! 不止, 吾將射爾!" 婦人乃還. 齊 將問: "所抱者誰也? 所棄者誰也?" 對曰: "所抱者妾兄之子也, 所棄者妾之子也. 見軍之至, 力不能兩護, 故棄妾之子." 齊將曰: "子之於母, 其親愛也, 痛甚於心. 今釋之而反抱兄之子, 何也?" 婦人曰: "己之子,

磷 席 霰 福, 缓履预設旗融. 就偏毅荡, 藤柩羄承额, **豕酸缴豕酸**渗 磀. **藏 휎 徹** , 纖 閬 頒 纖, 獼 譋: "酸剱." " 藏 邈 �� �� 酸 ?" " 毅 航 繉 쭰 . " "蘧俄狼拨凰! 錺: 编锋膨胀弱!" 躯瓣 "護繳账載靉匘報虦獼祿酸窈?" 躺 : "狼刻桃 躺拨. 魏�������: 舞颏端循酸酸, **氦** 缀 繊 緋 薄 涌 祿 霰. **羅 翻** 應 植 娥 鑀 颏 魏, 衫雁狼獭 窈." 魏 绩 �� : `酸��, 織纖�������. 瀫蔠 "敽 觳 嫩, 窈?" 躺颏: 쮩 酸 嫌, 紪缓缓. 纖纖發版級猿 窥 循 纖 截 魏 殽 航, 鋒祥 竅 雄, **新**援刻魏 佩 服 服 , 륣 施, 所 缬 類 甭 烿 邃, 隨承魏茲燃稅. 旗꾼锋甄魏砖裤烫出薪荡釵编. 缓效 颇须. 缪编赦缓颁级毅務 "缝觞脓酵. 逾笏?" **承薪**磷 席 觌 鈞 礼 程: **歽** 珑 磷 缆 霰 倏 祀, 张莪説 预, 载颈酿酵数." 磷席 紪 豵. 版 棄 羅 甭 肏 靚 鏫 鞋 顾, 綳释缚莜 剱.

The King of State Oi<sup>75</sup> dispatched a troop to the borders of State Lu<sup>76</sup>. Entering the frontier. [he saw] a woman in the suburb holding one baby in her arm and leading one child by hand. When the troop approached, she discarded the baby she held, took the child she led and ran into the hill. The baby [being discarded] went after her crying, but she did not look back. The general of State Oi asked the baby: "Is that your mother?" [The baby] said: "Yes." [The general asked:] "Who is that in her arms?" [The baby] said: "I do not know." The general chased her and said: "Stop, that woman! If not, I shall shoot you [by an arrow]!" Thus [the mother] stopped. The general asked: "The one you hold and the one you abandon, whose sons are they?" She answered: "This is the son of the humble female servant's<sup>77</sup> sister<sup>78</sup>, the one being left is the son of the humble female servant. Now I am not able to protect both of them from the troops, so I discarded [my own] son." The general of Qi said: "A son is the most cherished and distressed [by the mother], but now you abandoned him and protect your nephew. What is the reason?" She answered: "To cherish a son is a personal love, to cherish a nephew is a moral obligation. If violating morality, discarding nephew and saving my son, even being fortunate [in success], the monarch of Lu will not need me, ministers will not support me and the national masses will not be with me. If so, there will be no place for me to enter, even if I incline my shoulder; there will be no place for me to occupy, even if I put one of my feet on the other. For this reason, I discard my son to fulfill morality. If there are no moralities, how dare I live in State Lu?" At that time, the general of Qi ordered his troop to stop and dispatched someone to tell the King of Qi: "State Lu cannot be destroyed. When I entered the frontier, even a woman in the suburb fulfilled morality, knowing not to impair morality by private benefit, can it be compared with the officials to their royal court? It is natural [for us] to retreat our troops." The King of Qi complied with him. Hearing that, the

<sup>77</sup> "Humble female servant", *jianqie*, is a self-appellation of humility when a woman talks to others.

庶民國人不吾與也. 夫如是, 則脅肩無所容, 而累足無所履也. 子雖痛乎, 獨謂義何? 故忍棄子而行義, 不 能無義而視魯國."於是齊将按兵而止, 使人言于齊君曰; "魯未可伐也. 乃至於境, 山澤之婦人耳, 猶知 持節行義, 不以私害公, 而况於朝臣士大夫乎? 請還." 齊君許之. 魯君聞之, 賜婦人束帛百端, 號曰義姑 姊. (列女傳 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Qi (1046–221BC) was an ancient state located in the present-day northern part of Shandong Province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Lu (1043–255BC) was an ancient state located in the present-day southern part of Shandong Province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> "Sister" here indicates the wife of her elder brother.

emperor of Lu granted that woman one hundred  $shu^{79}$  of silk, and gave her the title the "Loyal aunt".<sup>80</sup>

#### 5. Brothers respecting each other

This entry (*EHW* 10: 259; Luo 1995: 78; Kychanov 1997: 145–146) was identified as Zhao Xiao (Nie, Huang 2001) in Volume 69 of *Houhan Shu*<sup>81</sup>.

**銅**顧 
橇 
載 
დ 
、 顓 義 颏 藏, 航级膨晶像, 츐陇翻, 蕹陇候. 鉜蕹廠. 곍 紪 蕹 酵 窈 豵.' ����������� '紪 祇 莪 洯 窈. **顩** 鍬 쬮 穮, 新承釽 蒂 貒. 竆 版刻款, **氟氟纖糊** 爺 循 解 鄰 瓣, 酸 荷 <br />

In the past, the Heaven was cruel that people ate each other. When the two brothers went out together, they met robbers. The robbers intended to kill the younger brother to eat. The elder brother rushed for being killed: "I am fat enough to be a substitution. Because I love my younger brother, please kill me for the reason." The robbers realized and let them go. After hearing that, the emperor gave brothers chief posts for the brothers' compassion with each other.

Another slightly detailed version can be seen in Volume 3 of *Leilin (EHW* 11: 237; Shi et al. 1993: 63).<sup>82</sup>

瓶婧鞯, 娺�� テff �� �� �� �� . 貔 箙 珑, 蕦薵義 "蕴������, 瓶 版 炃 鯈, 碱 陇 赦 馟 쭰 : **撇**截號 蒹 蕹 魏 柩, "旗承编缉藏粮, 窈.' 瓶 嘉 編 屘 쭰 : 嬳级散. 榹俌蕟犹豼敝. 葕 

Zhao Xiaozong was a native of Changping County of State Pei<sup>83</sup>. His younger brother, Li,<sup>84</sup> was captured by robbers who intended to boil him [to eat]. Hearing that, Xiaozong caught up with the robbers and told them reverently: "Li is emaciated, while Xiaozong is fat. You should kill me [to eat] instead of him." The robbers said to each other: "This guy loves his younger brother. He is a benevolent guy." Then they released both of them. Xiaozong became the Changle Weiwei<sup>85</sup> during the reign of Emperor Mingdi<sup>86</sup> of the Later Han dynasty, and Li became Yushi Zhongcheng.<sup>87</sup>

Evidently, the above three stories tell about the solicitude between brothers and sisters, which has nothing to do with serving parents. Maybe in somebody's mind, serving parents (*xiao* 孝) and respecting brothers (*ti* 悌) were complementary to each other, because in Chinese classics one can see *xiaoti* as a disyllabic word appeared repeatedly. If, of course, only

<sup>84</sup> Li (manner) was the name of Xiaozong's brother, but it is unknown why the Tangut equivalent word *tsia* (to collapse) shows neither phonetic nor semantic connection with Chinese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Shu" was an ancient unit of measurement for silk, = 5 pi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> "Sister" here indicates the sister of the elder child's father.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Chinese original: 趙孝字長平沛國蘄人也...及天下亂, 人相食, 孝弟禮為餓賊所得. 孝聞之, 即自縛 詣賊, 曰: "禮久餓羸瘦, 不如孝肥飽." 賊大驚, 並放之...顯宗素聞其行, 詔拜諫議大夫, 遷侍中, 又遷長 樂衛尉. 復徵弟禮為御史中丞. (後漢書•趙孝傳).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> The reason why (Keping 1983: 41) did not translate this passage is unknown.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> This sentence is confusing. According to *Hou Hanshu*, Changping was the other name ( $zi \neq$ ) of Zhao and Zhao was a native of County Ji (now near Suzhou City, Anhui Province), not a native of County Changping (now near Xihua County, Henan Province).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Changle Weiwei was an ancient officer in charge of guarding Changle Palace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Emperor Mingdi, Liu Zhuang, reigned 57–75 AD.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Yushi Zhongcheng is the chief officer of supervisory institution in the government.

the first two stories, "An old mother beating her son with a rod" and "Getting grain in dream for filial piety" are qualified to be complements of *Ershisi xiao*.

# Conclusion

Chinese stories entered Xixia through two channels: one is the literary channel as shown in Leilin and Xinji cixiao zhuan, presenting direct translations from Chinese monuments, the other is the oral channel as shown in Shengli yihai, presenting translations from Chinese folk legends spreading in Xixia. Stories in the latter were greatly recomposed in their original plots or even topics, though we do not know who did that, i.e., Tanguts or Chinese? Or both? What may be concluded is that the compilers of Shengli yihai concealed the key figure's name of every story, in order to tell the readers an illusion that these stories occurred in the Tangut history, and not in Chinese. It is beyond doubt that such an illusion would make Tanguts feel gracious in their native culture, though the Tangut titles they gave to the stories were not as appropriate as the common titles in Chinese. The decade of composing the Tangut works mentioned above is the most prosperous period of culture education in Xixia. It was the time when Xixia Emperor Renzong (reigned 1139-1193) showed great enthusiasm to develop Chinese values and to accelerate the cultural combination between Tangut and Chinese. By the same consideration, officials of the Xixia government translated many Chinese classics into Tangut for school teaching and popular reading. The concept of filial piety proves to be one of the most important topics in various textbooks for Royal School and primary readers for folk education.

The spreading of the stories concerning filial sons went through a long period of history, in which most illiterate narrators might, according to their personal preferences, add and delete the storylines, or even modify the topics of the originals. This fact often results in various versions of one and the same story, presenting different contexts more and more inconceivable or even absurd, so that it is difficult for contemporary scholars to trace their provenances one by one. Tangut translations, together with relevant materials in other languages, constitute a complicated appearance of the stories of filial piety spreading in north China, which is an interesting task for the future.

#### References

- Gorbacheva Z.I., Kychanov E.I. *Tangutskie rukopisi i ksilografy* [Tangut Manuscripts and Xylographs]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1963 (in Russian).
- Guo Mingming 郭明明. Shengli Yihai xiaozi gushi shiyuan bukao 《聖立義海》孝子故事史源補考 [Complementary Researches of the Historical Sources of the Stories Concerning Filial Piety in Shengli Yihai]. Xixia Yanjiu 西夏研究, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 50–54 (in Russian).
- Keping Kseniya B. Les Kategoriy [Forest of Categories]. Moscow: Nauka, 1983 (in Russian).
- Keping Kseniya B. *Vnov'sobrannye zapisi o liubvi k mladshim i pochtenii k starshim* [Newly Gathered Notes on Maternal Love and Filial Piety]. Moscow: Nauka, 1990 (in Russian).
- Keping Kseniya B. "The Autumn wind" by Han Wu-di in the Mi-nya (Tangut) translation. *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 2002, vol. 8 (issue 2), pp. 26–51 (in Russian).
- Kychanov Evgeniy I. *More znacheniy, ustanovlennykh svyatymi* [The Sea of Meanings Established by Saint]. St. Petersburg: Tsentr Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 1997 (in Russian).

- Jacques G. Nouveau recueil sur l'amour parental et la piété filial [New collection on the parental love and filial piety]. München: Lincom Europa, 2007 (in French).
- Luo Maokun 羅矛昆. Shengli vihai vizhu 聖立義海譯注 [Translations and Annotations on The Sea of Meanings Established by Saint]. In: Keqianuofu 克恰諾夫, Li Fanwen 李範文, Luo Maokun, Shengli Yihai Yanjiu 聖立義海研究 [Studies on The Sea of Meanings Established by Saint], 1995, pp. 45-94. Yinchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing House (in Chinese).
- Matsuzawa Hiroshi 松澤博, "Seika bunken jitsui 3: Gokan Jo retsujoden juyō no ichi shiryō 西夏文獻 拾遺 (3):『後漢書』列女傳受容の一資料" [Gleanings Concerning Tangut Literature 3: Material Accepted from Biography of Women in Houhan Shu]. Ryūkoku shidan 龍谷史壇, 2005, vol. 122, pp. 73–116 (in Chinese).
- Nevskiy, Nikolay A. "Tangutskaia pis'mennost' i ee fondy" [Tangut Manuscript and Its Foundations]. In: Tangutskaia filologiia, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 74–94. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury (First published: Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniia 17, 1936) (in Russian).
- Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音. Ecang 198 hao Xixiawen lienü gushi canye kao 俄藏 198 號西夏文列女故事殘 葉考 [A Textual Research of Tangut Fragment inv. № 198. Stories of Women Kept in Russia]. In: Li Jinyou (ed.). Zhongguo Shaoshuminzu Guji Lun 中國少數民族古籍論, 2001, vol. 4, pp. 394-402. Chengdu: Bashu Shushe (in Chinese).
- Nie Hongyin. "Family Models: The Model of the Tangut Work Newly Collected Biographies of Affection and Filial Piety". Pis'mennye pamyatniki Vostoka, 2008, vol. 2, no. 9, pp. 237-242 (in Russian).
- Nie Hongyin. Xixiawen Xinji cixiao zhuan yanjiu 西夏文《新集慈孝傳》研究 [A Study on Tangut Newly Collected Biographies of Affection and Filial Piety]. Yinchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing House, 2009 (in Chinese).
- Nie Hongyin & Huang Zhenhua 黃振華. Xixia Shengli yihai gushi kaoyuan 西夏《聖立義海》故事 考原 [Searching the Sources of the Stories in Tangut The Sea of Meanings Established by Saint]. Longvou wenbo 隴右文博, 2001, vol. 1, pp. 42-49 (in Chinese).
- Ōsawa Akihiro 大澤顯浩. Mingdai chuban wenhua zhong de Ershisi Xiao 明代出版文化中的「二十 四孝」——論孝子形象的建立與發展 [Ershisi xiao in Publishing Culture of Ming Era: on Establishment and Development of Figures of Filial Piety]. Mingdai vanjiu tongxun 明代研究通訊 2002, vol. 5, pp. 11-33 (in Chinese).
- Shi Jinbo 史金波 & Huang Zhenhua 黄振華 & Nie Hongyin. Leilin yanjiu 類林研究 [A Study on Leilin]. Yinchuan: Ningxia People's Publishing House, 1993 (in Chinese).

# Китайские истории о сыновней почтительности в тангутской литературе

НЕ Хунъинь Сычуаньский педагогический университет Чэнду, Китай

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 10.06.2021.

Аннотация: Большое количество рассказов о семейных морально-этических правилах были распространены в Срединной империи и вдоль коридора Ганьсу задолго до официального появления «Двадцати четырех историй о сыновней почтительности» при династии Юань. Большинство из них проникли в государство Сися как литературные записи или устные рассказы. Некоторые из них неоднократно переводились на тангутский язык и использовались как

популярный материал для обучения молодежи моральным устоям или как поздравления с днем

рождения пожилых людей. Довольно часто тангутские версии значительно отличаются от китайских оригиналов, как по сюжету, так и по тематике. Это указывает на то, что тангуты старательно адаптировали китайскую культуру к своей, пересказывая тангутские версии на основе устных рассказов, а не исторических фактов. У тангутов не существовало устойчивого текста подобно «Двадцати четырем историям о сыновней почтительности», однако их версии о сыновней почтительности являются переходным этапом пост-Юаньского периода.

Ключевые слова: тангуты, Сися, фольклор, китайские классики, сыновняя почтительность, переводы на тангутский язык.

Благодарности: работа выполнена при поддержке Фонда национальной философии и социальных наук, Китай (17ZDA264), и проекта Группы по редким знаниям (20VJXT016).

Для цитирования: *Не Хунъинь*. Китайские истории о сыновней почтительности в тангутской литературе // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 95–117 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77344

Об авторе: НЕ Хунъинь, профессор Факультета китайского языка и литературы, Сычуаньский педагогический университет (Чэнду, Китай) (nhy54116@sina.com). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 118–126

# The Earliest Extant Example of Woodblock Printing: The Precept Certificate of the 29th Year of Kaiyuan (741 A.D.)

RONG Xinjiang Peking University Peking, China

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77364

Received 08.07.2021.

Abstract: In this paper, the present author focus on the three printed images of Buddha on the precept certificate from the Dayun Monastery of Dunhuang preserved in St. Petersburg ( $\Delta x.02881+\Delta x.02882$ ). It is the earliest extant example of woodblock printing, with a definite date the 9th day of the 2nd month of the 29th year of Kaiyuan 開元 (A.D. 741), which has long been ignored by the specialists on the history of printing. The certificate was given the monk Daojian from the Great Anguo Monastery from the capital Chang'an, as the representative of the royal monastery. The precept certificate with printed Buddha images has great significance in the history of printing. Based on the facts that Sinicized monasteries in Central Asia and Japan should have the same institution as in Dunhuang and Chang'an, we can assume the certificate with the same woodblock printing was very likely to be spread to the Western Region (Central Asia) as well as to Japan.

Key words: woodblock printing, Buddhist certificate, Chang'an, Dunhuang, IOM RAS, MSS Дх.02881+Дх.02882.

Acknowledgements: I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Irina Popova for all kind of help when I research the manuscripts preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg. And I also thank Dr. Fu Ma for translating my paper into English.

For citation: Rong Xinjiang. "The Earliest Extant Example of Woodblock Printing: The Precept Certificate of the 29th Year of Kaiyuan (741 A.D.)". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 46, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 118–126 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77364

About the author: RONG Xinjiang, Professor of History, FBA Department of History, Peking University (Beijing, China) (rxj@pku.edu.cn).

© Rong Xinjiang, 2021

Besides searching for related records in literatures, the most important approach to study the history of woodblock printing is the search of early block prints. The earliest extant dated example of woodblock printing is a *Diamond Sutra* 金剛經 dating back to the 9th year of Xiantong of the Tang dynasty, i.e., 868 A.D. Discovered in the Library cave of the Dunhuang grottoes, it is now housed in the British Library, coded S.P.002. It can be viewed as a com-

plete block print book in the format of Chinese scroll, with the full length of 488 cm and printed drawings on the preface page (For the most in-depth study on this item, see Wood and Barnard 2010). Professor Deng Wenkuan has proposed to date the block print fragment of a calendar Ax.02880 to the 8th year of Taihe of the Tang Dynasty, i.e., 834 A.D., based on the record of the date and position of the Moon God, the reference of the 12 gods of *jianchu*, the map of 9 Palaces, the *ganzhi* of the *shuo* dates and the dates of *mi*  $\cong$  (Deng Wenkuan 2000: 108–112. See also Su Ya 2000). If so, it is 34 years older than the above-mentioned *Diamond Sutra*. However, it is not noticed and accepted by the specialists on the history of printing, due to the lack of a definite dating and the relative small body of text with only 30 lines left. It should belong to the official block print of books, presumably brought from the heartland of Tang China or Sichuan.

As a stage earlier than the woodblock printing, the technology of seal-like stamps is not so advanced as the book printing, but it shares the same method. Therefore, the seal-like stamps are generally viewed as an early form of block print, different from seals, on-sand stamping 印沙 and etc. Some scholars have argued that the seal-like stamps emerged in the early Tang time, based on the record that the monk Xuanzang printed the image of Samantabhadra on huifeng paper 回鋒紙 in Sengyuan yilu 僧園逸錄 cited by Feng Zhi 馮贄 of the later Tang time in his Yunxian sanlu 雲仙散錄. There are also similar records in other literatures, but none of them is doubtless and well accepted. As for the early examples of woodblock printing, the Dunhuang scroll BD14711 from the National Library of China, Chinese version of Samyuktābhi-dharma-hrdaya, bears the seal of the county of Yongxing 永興郡 at the end and on the back, along with 10 sets of Buddhist images printed on the back. Each set is centered with the combination of one Buddha and two accompanying Bodhisattvas, with 2 lines of Sanskrit to its left and right, 2 lines above and 4 lines underneath (The colored plate of a part of this scroll was for the first time published in Rare Book Section of National Library of China 2000: 6–7). Since the manuscript of Samyuktābhi-dharma-hrdaya on the recto can be dated to the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, judging from the calligraphy and the toponym  $\hat{\chi}$   $\mathbb{R}$  (in use from the reign of the emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou till the 3rd year of Kaihuang of the emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty, i.e., 583), some scholars argued to date these printed images to the same period. Considering the texts or images on the recto and verso sides of the Dunhuang manuscripts in many cases date to different periods, more and more scholars tend to date them to a later period, the Tang time (7-8 cc) [For the black and white plate of the whole scroll see National Library of China 2010: 159–169. For the commentary, see the appendix to the same book: 7-9]. In my opinion, the date of the printed images cannot be earlier than the middle Tang period. Next to the printed drawing on the preface of the Diamond Sutra of 868, the earliest printed Buddhist image with a definite date is the images of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvar, Vaisramana and so forth created by Lei Yanmei, an artisan of the Guiyi Army in 947, i.e. S.P.8, S.P.9, P.4514 (Kikutake 1975: 12-15; Drège 1984: 56-57, pl. VII; Bai Huawen 1987: 45; Tsiang 2010: 214-218).

In this paper, I would like to focus on a manuscript with the seal-like stamps, which has long been ignored by the specialists on the history of printing. This is the precept certificate from the Dayun Monastery of Dunhuang preserved in St. Petersburg ( $\exists x.02881+\exists x.02882$ ), which is the earliest extant example of woodblock printing, with a definite date the ninth day of the 2nd month of the 29th year of Kaiyuan  $\exists \exists \exists c$  (i.e., 741, Plate 1) [*E cang* 1998: color pl. 1; 109–110]. Joint by two fragments, the manuscript measures 28.4cm by height and 64.4 cm by length. The whole Chinese text is as follows:

	(前缺)
1	[]菩薩戒佛弟[]
2	[]入烏波斯迦伍[]
3	[ ]不發出離之心,恐還□□[ ](朱印)
4	閻浮□(提)□□□□□(大)唐國沙州燉煌縣大雲寺僧伽藍□□
5	京大安國寺法師講 《御注金剛經》、《法華》、《梵網經》,清淨道場,
6	聽法二七□(日),然後懺悔四重、五逆、十惡、謗方等經一切諸
7	罪,今對十方諸佛、一切賢聖、天曹地府、善惡部官、閻羅
8	大王、怨家債主、負財負命、□□道眼證明,令得罪障消
9	滅,授得金剛不壞□□□□菩薩戒品具足,任爲公驗,請
10	乞大乘六念,謹牒。
11	第一念佛 第二念法 第三念僧 第四念戒 第五念捨
12	第六念天
13	開元廿九年二月九日授得菩薩戒 佛像 はままました バント 四回送法 (なん)
14	傳菩薩賊和尚沙門釋道建(簽名)
15	授菩薩戒同學伴侶十方諸大菩薩
16	佛像 證菩薩戒師十方諸佛
17	教授 阿 闍 梨 當來 弥勒 菩薩
18	達磨 阿 闍 梨 釋 迦 牟 尼 佛
19	佛像 授菩薩戒和尚盧舍那佛
20	今有眾多善男子、善女人等, 今於我所, 求受菩薩戒, 所
21	謂攝律儀戒, 誓斷一切惡;
22	攝善法戒,誓求無上菩提;饒益有情戒,誓度法戒(界)眾生;
23	是諸佛三聚淨戒。過去諸佛菩薩已受已學已成佛竟,未
24	來菩薩當受當學當作,現今菩薩今□□□時學,即擬行
25	當來作佛。如(汝)等善男子、善女人等能持不?
26	能持。於後如法脩行,莫放逸。
	(以下紙縫)

This certificate was issued to a monk in the Dayun Monastery in Dunhuang by the master Daojian 道建(?), who gave Boddhisattva precepts there on the 9th day of the 2nd month of the 29th year of Kaiyuan during the reign of the emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty. Three images of Buddha were printed between line 13 and 19 (Plate 2). The block is the standard image of the preaching of the Sakyamuni Buddha, illustrating him sitting cross-legged, with a high uṣnīṣa, a round face and a halo behind his head. He wears kasaya, with right hand in Abhaya-mudra and a halo behind his body. The picture fits the solemn scenario of the ritual of Boddhisattva precepts, with only floral decorations at the upper corners of the frame. The three images are identical, suggesting they were produced by the same woodblock. The irregular sequence of the three images is probably due to printing carelessly.

120



Plate I: Precept certificate from the Dayun Monastery of Dunhuang preserved in St. Petersburg (Дх.02881+Дх.02882).



Plate II: Three images of Buddha in printed on the precept certificate from the Dayun Monastery of Dunhuang preserved in St. Petersburg (Дх.02881+Дх.02882)

After the initiation of monkhood, one has to experience different periods of learning and thus different kinds of precepts, including Śrāmaņera or Śrāmaņerika, Bhikṣu or Bhikṣunī precepts, and Boddhisattva precepts (For the general description of Buddhist monks' precepts in China, see Qu Dacheng 2016: 28–73; For the monks' precepts in Dunhuang, see Hao Chunwen 1998; Zhanru 2003). The above-mentioned certificate is for Boddhisattva precepts. As I have already pointed out, this certificate (Дх.02881+Дх.02882) not only presents the so far earliest extant certificate for Boddhisattva precepts, but also reveals that it is the monk

Daojian from the Great Anguo Monastery from the capital Chang'an, as the representative of the royal monastery, who gave the precepts to the monks in the Dayun Monastery in Dunhuang. As part of the ritual, Daojian also spent 14 days preaching three sutras to the monks in the Dayun Monastery, including the *Diamond Sutra* with the emperor's commentary 御注金 剛經, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Brahmajāla Sutra*. The Emperor Xuanzong accomplished his commentary to the *Diamond Sutra* in the 23rd year of Kaiyuan. In the 27th year, the monks in Chang'an built the Prajna temple. On the 10th day of the 8th month in the same year, they gathered in the Great Anguo Monastery, preaching the *Diamond Sutra* with the emperor's commentary to Dunhuang, preaching it to the local monks (For this part, see Rong Xinjiang 2007: 15–25; included in Rong Xinjiang 2009: 149–178). This reflects the central government's control on the local monks in the Tang times.

The certificate should be in the same format with those issued in Chang'an. The text could be written in Dunhuang, but the images of the Buddhas of ten directions could not be drawn in a short time. Therefore, it is more feasible to bring the woodblock of the images to Dunhuang and print them there. Otherwise, it is also possible that they brought the certificate with printed images from Chang'an and filled in the monks' name in Dunhuang. According to my examination of the manuscript in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, the paper has pretty fine and clean texture, resembling the paper made in Chang'an. A red square seal was stamped on the year when the ritual took place. It shows the image of a 3-storied altar, probably representing the altar for precepts. However, the characters in the middle are not legible due to the damage of the paper. Anyways, the purpose of this seal is clear: it is to prevent any change to the year.

The precept certificate with printed Buddha images has great significance in the history of printing. As we know, the power of Buddhism largely overwhelmed that of the Taoism in Tang times, even though the Tang court had tried to restrict it several times. Great numbers of monks and nuns undertook precepts every year, whilst the Tang court issued certificates to them as a method to control. In particular, the ministry of temples 祠部 replaced the Chongxuan department of the court of state ceremonials 鴻臚寺崇玄署 as the administrative department of the Buddhist societies in the 24th year of Kaiyuan, i.e., 736, as a strict measure taken by the Tang court. Therefore, we should relate the precept certificate in Dunhuang of 741 to this background. That the monk from the royal monastery came all the way to Dunhuang to take charge of the precept ritual of the local monks is very likely to be due to a new policy to strengthen the central control of the local Buddhist societies.

The monk Huichao 慧超 from Silla recorded the Buddhist monasteries in the Four Garrisons in Anxi Protectorate in his travel log during his visit in the 15th year of Kaiyuan, i.e., 727. I hereby cite Jan et al.'s English translation with necessary modification as follows (Jan *et al.* 1984: 57–58. See also Kuwayama 1992: 25–26):

From Congling I travelled another month and arrived at Kashgar. The foreigners call this place Kashgiri. The place is also guarded by Han troops. There are monasteries and monks. Hīnayāna Buddhism is practiced. People eat meat, onions, leeks, and such. The local inhabitants wear cotton clothes.

From Kashgar I travelled further east for one month and arrived at the country of Kucha. This is the headquarters of the great protectorate of Anxi, the place where Han troops are gathered. In Kucha there are many monasteries and monks. Hīnayāna

122

Buddhism is practiced. The foods are meat, onions, leeks, and such. The Han monks practice Mahayana Buddhism.

Two thousand *li* from Anxi is the country of Khotan. There are also many Han troops stationed here. There are many monasteries and monks. Mahāyāna Buddhism is practiced. No monks eat meat.

From here eastward is all the territory of the Great Tang Empire. This is known to all. One can understand [the Situation] without further explanation.

I arrived at Anxi during the first ten-day period of the eleventh moon of the fifteenth year of the Kaiyuan era. At that time, the military governor was his excellency Chao.

There are two monasteries presided over by Han monks. They practice Mahāyāna Buddhism and eat no meat. The abbot of the Dayun Monastery is Xiuxing 秀行, who is well versed in discourse and speech. Previously, he was a monk of the Qibaotai Monastery in the capital. The Duty Distributor called Yichao 義超 understands the Vinaya Piţaka very well. Previously he was a monk of the Zhuangyan Monastery in the capital. The Dayun Monastery called Mingyun 明惲, who had a high moral character, originally came from the capital. These monks are good chiefs. They possess religious determination and perform religious worship with joy.

The abbot of the Longxing Monastery is called Fahai 法海. Though he is a Chinese born in Anxi, his scholarship and manners are not different from those of China.

There is a Chinese monastery called Longxing Monastery in Khotan. A Chinese monk called <...> is the abbot of the monastery and he is a good abbot. This monk is a native of Jizhou in Hebei.

There is also a Chinese monastery called the Dayun Monastery in Kashgar. A Chinese monk resides over the monastery, who is a native of Minzhou.

From Anxi I travelled further east for <...> and arrived at the country of Yanqi. The place is also guarded by Han troops. There is a king, and the inhabitants are Hu people. There are many monasteries and monks. Hīnayāna Buddhism is practiced.

There are four towns in the Anxi region, namely Anxi [Kucha], Khotan, Kashgar, and Yanqi <...>

In the Anxi region, the Hīnayāna Buddhism was prevalent among the local Hu people in Kashgar, Kucha and Yanqi, whilst the Mahāyāna Buddhism in Khotan. On the other hand, the Mahāyāna Buddhism was practiced among the Han people in all the Four Garrisons in this region. Noteworthy is that the abbot of the Dayun Monastery in Kucha (Anxi) was a monk from the Qibaotai Monastery in Chang'an, the Duty Distributor a monk from the Zhuangyan Monastery in Chang'an, and the Chief Chair a monk from Chang'an as well. All the three leading monks of the official monastery in Kucha came from Chang'an. Moreover, I have once pointed out that Wudao [悟] 道, a chief administrator of the whole Buddhist society in the Anxi region was also a monk from the Zhuangyan Monastery of Chang'an, based on a wall inscription taken from Kumtura Caves by the Otani expedition (Rong Xinjiang 2005: 130-137; included in Rong Xinjiang 2015: 153-160. For the English version, see: Rong Xinjiang 2010: 215–220. The name Wudao was reconstructed by Moriyasu 2007: 21; also Moriyasu 2015: 663). He specialized in Vinaya. We can therefore assume that these leading monks from Chang'an could have issued the same certificates as the one of 741 in Dunhuang, when they were in charge of the precept rituals of the local Han monks in the Anxi region. These certificates should have born similar printed images of the Buddha. Therefore, the woodblock printing images were very likely to be introduced to most of the Anxi region, as far as Suyab, which used to be one of the Four Garrisons.

The precept ritual practiced in the monasteries in Chang'an should have been introduced eastwards to Japan as well. Jianzhen 鑒真, the monk from Yangzhou who founded of the Japanese Vinaya School, had received the complete precepts in the Wenguo Monastery (former Shiji Monastery) in Chang'an in the 3rd month of the 2nd year of Jinglong (708) (See Mahito Genkai 2000: 34; See also Zanning 1987: 349). In the 21st year of Kaiyuan (733), Japan sent the 10th delegation of 594 people to the Tang court in four ships, including Rongrui and Puzhao, the monks from the Xingfu Monastery who were intended to receive Jianzhen (For the in-depth study on the Japanese delegation, see Ando 1960: 59–86). Through several rounds of troubles, Jianzhen finally arrived in Japan in the 14th year of Tianbao (754), introducing the Vinaya School there. We can thus assume that the ritual as well as the certificate given by Jianzhen there should be the same as that in Chang'an. The printed images on the certificate were very likely introduced to Japan in such background.

Scholars tend to stress the significant role of the Buddhist Tantric School in the invention and development of printings, based on the emergence of printed *Dharanī* during the period of High and Middle Tang. I do not intend to join in the discussion of the early history of printing in this paper. My primary purpose is to draw attention to the precept certificate of 741 in the St. Petersburg collection, which has long been ignored by the specialists in the history of printing, and to argue that the printed images of Buddha on it should be the earliest extant dated example of woodblock printing in the world. Further, I suppose, the development and spread of early woodblock printing was very likely to be prompted by the huge need for this kind of precept certificate with printed image. Based on the facts that Sinicized monasteries in Anxi and Japan should have the same institution as in Dunhuang and Chang'an, we can assume the precept ritual and certificate should be the same in these regions. Woodblock printing was very likely to spread to the Western Region (Central Asia) as well as to Japan, along with the spread of the Sinicized precept activities.

#### Reference

- Ando Kousei 安藤更生. Ganjin daiwajoden no kenkyu 鑒真大和上傳之研究. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1960 (in Japanese).
- Bai Huawen 白化文. "Survey of the Woodcut Prints in the Dunhuang Chinese Materials"敦煌漢文遺 書中雕版印刷資料綜述. *Daxue Tushuguan tongxun* 大學圖書館通訊, 1987, no. 3, pp. 44–52 (in Chinese).
- Deng Wenkuan 鄧文寬. "Three Fragments of Calendar from Dunhuang" 敦煌三篇具注曆日佚文校 考. Dunhuang yanjiu 敦煌研究, 2000, no. 3, pp. 108-112 (in Chinese).

Drège, J.-P. "Éléments méthodologiques pour l'étude des documents de Dunhuang". *Les peintures murales et les manuscrits de Dunhuang* ed. M. Soymié, Paris, 1984, pp. 53–59 (in French).

- *E cang Dunhuang wenxian (Dunhuang Manuscripts kept in Russia)* 俄藏敦煌文獻, vol. 10. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998 (in Chinese).
- Hao Chunwen 郝春文. Tang houqi Wudai Songchu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo 唐後期五代 宋初敦煌僧尼的社會生活. Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1998 (in Chinese).
- Jan, Yun-hua et al. The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India 慧超 往五天竺國傳. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1984 (in English).

124

- Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一. "Buddhist Woodcut Prints from Dunhuang" 敦煌の佛教版畫. Ars Buddhica 佛教藝術, 1975, no. 101, pp. 3-35 (in Japanese).
- Kuwayama Shoshin 桑山正進 (ed.). Huichao's Wang Wu-Tianzhuguo zhuan Record of Travels in Five Indic Regions. Tanslation and Commentary. 慧超往五天竺國傳研究. Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1992 (in Japanese).
- Mahito Genkai 真人元開. To daiwajo toseiden / Tang daheshang dongzheng zhuan 唐大和上東征傳, with commentaries by Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000 (in Chinese).
- Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫. "Chronology of West Uighur Buddhism: Re-examination of the Dating of the Wall-paintings in Grünwedel's Cave No. 8 (New: No. 18). Bezeklik"西ウイグル仏教のクロノロジー \_\_\_\_ベゼクリクのグリエンヴェーデル編號第 8 窟 (新編號第 18 窟)の壁畫年代再考. Bukkyō-gaku kenkyū 佛教學研究, 2007, vol. 62/63, pp. 1–45 (in Japanese).
- Moriyasu Takao. Tōzai Uiguru to Cyūō Yūrasia (East- and West-Uighurs in the Central Eurasia) 東西 ウイグルと中央ユーラシア. Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2015 (In Japanese).
- National Library of China 中國國家圖書館 (ed.). *Guojia Tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu (Dunhuang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library)* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書, vol. 132. Beijing: Press of Beijing Library, 2010 (in Chinese).
- Qu Dacheng 屈大成. Zhongguo Fojiao lvzhi yaoyi 中國佛教律制要義, Tainan: Heyu chubanshe, 2016 (in Chinese).
- Rare Book Section of National Library of China 中國國家圖書館善本特藏部 et al. (eds.). Zhongguo Guojia Tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu jingpinxuan (Masterpieces of Dunhuang Manuscripts Preserved in the National Library of China) 中國國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書精品選. Beijing: No Publisher, 2000 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "The Network of Chinese Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions under Tang Control" 唐代西域的漢化佛寺系統. Xinjiang Kucha Society 新疆龜茲學會 (ed.). In: *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu* 龜茲文化研究, vol. 1, Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2005, pp. 130–137 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang. "Chang'an and Dunhuang in the High Tang: A Study on the Certificate Dated to 741 A.D. in the Russian Collections" 盛唐長安與敦煌——從俄藏〈開元廿九年(741)授戒牒〉談 起. *Zhejiang daxue xuebao* 浙江大學學報, 2007, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 15–25 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang. Sui Tang Chang'an: Xingbie, jiyi jiqita 隋唐長安: 性別、記憶及其他. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.) Co., Ltd., 2009 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang. "The Network of Chinese Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions under Tang Control". "The Way of Buddha" 2003: The 100th Anniversary of the Otani Mission and the 50th of the Research Society for Central Asian Cultures. (Cultures of the Silk Road and Modern Science, Vol. 1.), ed. Irisawa Takashi 入澤崇, Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 2010, pp. 215–220 (in English).
- Rong Xinjiang. Sichouzhilu yu dongxi wenhua jiaoliu 絲綢之路與東西文化交流, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2015 (in Chinese).
- Su Ya 蘇雅. "The Earliest Extant Printed Matter found in China: Calendar in A.D. 834" 我國發現的現存最早雕版印刷品——唐大和八年甲寅歲(834) 具注曆日. In: *Newsletter of Cultural Relics in China* 中國文物報, Feb. 2, 2000, p. 3 (in Chinese).
- Tsiang, Katherine R. "Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth-Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation". In: *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang. Rites and teachings for this life and beyond*, eds. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik. Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 201–252 (in English).
- Wood, F. & M. Barnard. *The Diamond Sutra: The Story of the World's Earliest Dated Printed Book*. London: The British Library, 2010 (in English).
- Zanning 贊寧. Song Gaoseng zhuan 宋高僧傳, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987 (in Chinese).
- Zhanru 湛如. Dunhuang Fojiao lvyi zhidu yanjiu 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003 (in Chinese).

# Самый ранний экземпляр ксилографа: сертификат наставника от 29-го года Кайюань (741 г.)

ЖУН Синьцзян Пекинский университет Пекин, Китай

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 08.07.2021.

Аннотация: Статья посвящена трем печатным образам Будды на сертификате наставника из монастыря Даюнь в Дуньхуане, который хранится в ИВР РАН (Дх.02881+Дх.02882). Это — самый ранний экземпляр ксилографической печати, имеющий точную дату — 9-й день 2-го месяца 29-го года Кайюань (741 г.), который до сих пор не рассматривался специалистами по истории книгопечатания. Сертификат был выдан монаху Даоцзянь из Монастыря Большой Аньго в столице Чанъань, подтверждая его принадлежность к императорскому монастырю. Сертификат наставника с печатными изображениями Будды имеет большое значение для истории книгопечатания. Принимая во внимание, что китаизированные монастыри в Центральной Азии и Японии имели такие же административные структуры как в Дуньхуане и Чанъани, следует предположить, что сертификаты с подобными печатными изображениями были распространены и в Западном регионе (Центральной Азии), и в Японии.

Ключевые слова: ксилография, буддийский сертификат, Чанъань, Дуньхуан, ИВР РАН, MSS Дх.02881+Дх.02882.

Благодарность: Я искренне благодарю проф. Ирину Ф. Попову за помощь во время моей работы с рукописями в Институте восточных рукописей РАН, Санкт-Петербург. Я также признательна д-ру Фу Ма за перевод моей статьи на английский язык.

Для цитирования: *Жун Синьцзян*. Самый ранний экземпляр ксилографа: сертификат наставника от 29-го года Кайюань (741 г.) // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 118–126 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77364

Об авторе: ЖУН Синьцзян, профессор исторического факультета Пекинского университета. (Пекин, Китай) (rxj@pku.edu.cn). Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 127–147

# The Golden *Poluo* in Sogdiana: an In-depth Analysis of the *Suishu* and *Tongdian* Passages

CHING Chao-jung Collège de France Paris, France

Frantz GRENET Collège de France Paris, France

DOI: 10.17816/WMO79679

Received 03.07.2021.

Abstract: This paper is based on our preparation of the seminar 'Nouvelle approche des sources chinoises (principalement le *Tongdian*) sur l'Asie centrale à l'ouest des Pamirs' at the Collège de France since autumn 2020. We assume that the 'golden *poluo*' (ultimately from Sanskrit *pātra-*?) mentioned in the entry on Cao (Ishtīkhan) in the *Suishu* was a huge container of *sharbat* or another beverage or soup, serving the poor people and worshippers around the temple of Takhsīch. The big cauldron at Khodja Akhmed Yasawi (Kazakhstan) may be a continuation of this Zoroastrian practice, of which evidence in the *Anthologie de Zādspram* is detectable. As to the gold *poluo* presented by the Tsenpo of Tubo to the Tang court in 658 and the silver one by the king of Qiuci in 675, they were both likely wine drinking vessels carefully chosen for celebrating the restoration of the Tang power in the Tarim Basin after the turbulence in the middle 650s and in the late 660s, respectively.

Key words: Central Asia, Sogdiana, Tarim Basin, Kucha, Tibet, Middle Iranian Epigraphy, wine drinking vessels, cauldron.

Acknowledgements: Both of us met Prof. Irina F. Popova on the occasion of the colloquium "Paul Pelliot, de l'histoire à la légende" (2–3 Oct. 2008, Collège de France/Institut de France) for the first time. We admire for her excellent direction of the IOM RAS and dedicate this paper for her birthday.

For citation: Ching Chao-jung, Grenet Frantz. "The Golden *Poluo* in Sogdiana: An In-depth Analysis of the *Suishu* and *Tongdian* Passages". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 127–147 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO79679

About the authors: CHING Chao-jung 慶昭蓉 (Dr.), PhD, Maître de conférences associée, Collège de France (Paris, France) (ching.cj@gmail.com / chao-jung.ching@college-de-france.fr). GRENET Frantz, PhD, Professor, Collège de France (Paris, France) (frantz.grenet@college-de-france.fr).

> © Ching Chao-jung, 2021 © Grenet Frantz, 2021

# 1. Introduction: Tributes of gold and silver *poluos* to the Tang Emperor

Among the tributes sent to the Tang court in January 658 from the Tubo (Tibet) was something called a golden *poluo* 頗羅, which is described as a 'mystery' in Edward H. Schafer's *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*.<sup>1</sup> Given the timing of this event, these tributes might have been presented to the Emperor Gaozong as a gift for the coming Chinese New Year (CFYG 2006: 11232)<sup>2</sup>:

十二月, 吐蕃贊普遣使獻金城, 城上有獅子、象、駝、馬、原(for 羱)、羝等, 並 有人騎; 並獻金瓮、金頗羅等。

In the 12th month of [of Xianqing] (10 Jan. — 7 Feb. 658), the Tsenpo of Tubo dispatched an embassy to present a [miniature of] golden city; on the city there are [reliefs or statuettes of] lion(s), elephant(s), camel(s), horse(s), ibex(es), goat(s), etc., as well as horsemen; together with [this item], a (?) gold jar, a (?) gold *poluo* and other things were also presented.

Later, in 675, a silver *poluo* was presented to Gaozong from Bai Suji 白素稽, king of Qiuci (Kucha).<sup>3</sup> The description in the *New book of Tang* was translated by Sylvain Lévi. Here we quote his French translation by converting the Wade-Gile transcription into *pinyin* (Lévi 1913: 370, cf. XTS 1975: 6232):

Pendant la période Shangyuan (674–675) [The *Cefuyuangui* spécifie: la 1re année (674), le 12e mois]<sup>4</sup>, *Suji* offrit à la Cour un *poluo* d'argent et des chevaux renommés.

In fact, the very passage in the *Cefuyuangui* (CFYG 2006: 11233) had been translated by Chavannes: the event is dated the 1st month of the 2nd year of Shangyuan (1 Feb.–1 March 675), not the 12th month of the 1st year of it as given by Lévi. The precise date is important to detect the meaning of Bai Suji's gift, so by providing *pinyin* as well, we give Chavannes' French translation (Chavanne 1904: 23) of the *Cefuyuangui* as follows:

上元二年正月,右驍衛大將軍龜茲王白素稽獻銀頗羅,賜帛以答之;拔汗那王獻 碧頗黎及蛇黃。十二月丁亥,龜茲王白素稽獻名馬。

La deuxième année Shangyuan, le premier mois, le roi de Qiuci, Bai Suji, qui avait le titre de grand général des gardes vaillants de droite, offrit un *poluo* d'argent; on lui fit présent en retour d'étoffes de soie. Le roi du Bahanna (Ferghânah) offrit du *poli* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the note 81 (p. 339) for the Chapter 15, p. 256 in (Schafer 1963: 256). Unfortunately, he gave the year of the tribute of a silver *poluo* from Kucha (see *infra*) as 761 CE, obviously because he confused the Shangyuan  $\pm \pi$  reign period of Gaozong (674–677) with that of Suzong (760–761).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It goes without saying that in Medieval Chinese, the grammatical gender and number of nouns are unmarked and are to be defined by the context. In this paper, this kind of alternative interpretations is explicitly stated only when it involves with our main topic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On the chronology of Bai Suji (r. 658 – at least 675) and other Kuchean kings in the 7th–8th cc. (Ching 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A similar passage is found in the *Taiping yulan, juan* 808, which is discussed by Yu Xin (Yu Xin 2012: 541–542), but he also confused the two reign periods identically called Shangyuan (Yu Xin 2021: 125). In our opinion, one cannot exclude the possibility that Bai Suji additionally presented *jin poli* 金頗黎 (lit. 'golden glass; gold-glass' (Chavannes 1904: 23 n. 5) on *poli* = Skt. *sphațika*) to Gaozong in the 12th month of the 2nd year of Shangyuan (22 Dec. 675 – 20 Jan. 676), but the whole sentence found in the *Taiping yulan* is more likely a corrupted one, possibly due to a scribal error that *zhengyue* 正月 'the first month' was wrongly

verdâtre et du bézoard. Le douzième mois, le jour *dinghai*, le roi de Qiuci, Bai Suji, offrit des chevaux renommés.

A more precise record is found in the section of the annals of the Shangyuan reign period of Gaozong in the *Old book of Tang* (JTS 1975: 99–100):

二年春正月甲寅, 熒惑犯房。壬戌, 支汗郡王獻碧玻瓈。丙寅, 以于闐為毘沙都 督府, 以尉遲伏闍雄為毘沙都督, 分其境內為十州, 以伏闍雄有擊吐蕃功故也。 庚午, 龜茲王白素稽獻<u>銀頗羅</u>。

In the 2nd year: In spring, on the *jiayin* day of the 1st month (9 Feb. 675), Mars intruded the Room mansion. On *renxu* (17 Feb.), the king of *zhihanjun* presented blue-green glass (*boli* 玻瓈).<sup>5</sup> On *bingyin* (21 Feb.), Yutian (Khotan) was [transformed] to the Pisha Area Command, and Yuchi Fushexiong was nominated as the Governor (*Dudu*) of Pisha.<sup>6</sup> His territory was divided into ten prefectures, [being still under his command,] because Fushexiong performed meritorious service when attacking the Tubo. On *gengwu* (25 Feb.), Bai Suji, king of Qiuci, presented (a?) <u>silver *poluo*</u>.

Very likely, the silver *poluo* was a special gift for celebrating the foundation of the Pisha Area Command.<sup>7</sup> It is known that during the Tubo expansion into the Tarim Basin, it once allied with Yutian to attack the Bohuan City of Qiuci on 25 April 670. The fall of Bohuan (approx. today's Aksu) made the Tang abandon their four garrisons in Qiuci (Kucha), Yanqi (Karashahr), Yutian (Khotan) and Shule (Kashgar), but after a successful mission to Shule around 673 (Rong Xinjiang 1987: 53–54), the king of Shule came to Chang'an in complete surrender in January 674, then Fushexiong also bowed to Gaozong on 14th January 675. It was exactly in 675 that in addition to the foundation of the Pisha Area Command, the Shule and Yanqi Area Commands were founded in the respective territories, so that the Tang rule in the basin was re-organized by conferring the military position of Governor to the kings in Khtoan, Kashgar and Karashahr in the same year.<sup>8</sup> It is unclear whether Bai Suji also went to Chang'an in spring 675, bringing himself the silver *poluo*. In any case, his tribute was most probably a symbol of the revival of his kingdom as the Western headquarters of Tang in 675, although two years later, he and the Anxi Protectorate General were again attacked by the ally of the Tubo and the Tujishi (Turgesh).

As early as in 1903, the enigmatic silver *poluo* had caught Chavannes' attention (Chavannes 1903: 119, n. 2); our quotation is provided with *pinyin*:

銀頗羅. Je n'ai pas pu déterminer quelle sorte d'objet était le *poluo*. Il semble qu'on puisse l'identifier avec le *boluo* d'or 金波羅 qui était une distinction honorifique dans le royaume de Nanzhao; le *Jinshicuibian* (chap. CLX, p. 17 r°), qui en parle à la fin de ses notes sur l'inscription érigée en 766 à *Dali fu*, dit que, suivant certains auteurs, le *boluo* serait une peau de tigre; il rejette cette explication pour en adopter une autre (encore moins admissible selon nous) d'après laquelle le *boluo* serait un arbre de l'intérieur duquel les gens des pays d'Occident extrayaient une sorte de filasse qu'on pouvait filer et

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Obviously zhihanjun 支汗郡 is a scribal error for Bahanna 抜汗那 (Ferghana).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Chavannes 1904: 23 on this event in the Cefuyuangui. On dudufu, see Inaba (Inaba 2015: 107-110).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pisha (LMC phji-sa:) possibly stands for the Visa, name of Khotanese royal house.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The foundation of *dudufu* in Kashgar, Khotan and Karashahr came later than the foundation of the sixteen *dudufus* in the west of Pamirs in 661. This phenomenon not only reveals the threat of the Tubo but also an important change of Tang's administrative strategy in the middle of the 670s. Since then, the status of the kings of Shule, Yutian and Yanqi were promoted to the same rank as Bai Suji, king of Qiuci, who had received the position of Governor in 658 precisely when he assumed the throne.

tisser (l'arbre *boluo* est cité dans la notice sur le Magadha, *Tangshu*, chap. CCXXI, p. 11 v°). Nous trouverons plus loin, dans une des notes de l'article consacré à la Sogdiane, un *poluo* d'or 金破羅 qui paraît être identique à l'objet énigmatique dont il est question ici.

The first candidate indicated by Chavannes, the golden *boluo* in Nanzhao (around today's Yunnan Province, China), was a kind of attire. In addition to the *Jinshicuibian* 金石萃編, it is found in the *New Book of Tang*, in the notice on this kingdom situated in subtropical jungles. The second one is resulted from his hypothetical equation of *boluo* 波羅 tree in the entry on Magadha with a tree transcribed by the same characters in the entry on Nanzhao:

New Book of Tang, juan 221a, on Magadha (XTS 1975: 6239)

貞觀二十一年,始遣使者自通于天子,獻波羅樹,樹類白楊。

In the 21st year of Zhenguan (647), [the king] automatically dispatched envoys to the Emperor for the first time and sent a (?) *boluo* tree as tribute; the tree is similar to poplar.

New Book of Tang, juan 222a, on Nanzhao (XTS 1975: 6269)

大和、祁鮮而西,人不蠶,剖波羅樹實,狀若絮,紐縷而幅之。

To the east of Dahe and Qixian [toponyms around Nanzhao], people do not rear silkworms but cut the fruits of *boluo* trees; [the hair] looks like silk flocculent; people twist it into thread and make fabric of it.

In other words, in the very same entry on Nanzhao in the *New Book of Tang*, there are two terms — one for an attire and the other for a tree — invariably given as *boluo* 波羅, so that Chavannes doubted if either of them could be identified with the silver *poluo*. Concerning the tree, Pelliot's identification of it with Skt. *śālmali* 'cotton trees' (*Bombax ceiba*) is generally correct (Pelliot 1904: 483, n. 1).<sup>9</sup> For this usage, one may assume two alternative ways of text corruption with regard to this uncommon form of *śālmali* (usually *shelamoli* 設拉末梨, etc.):

boluo 波羅←poluo 婆羅←suoluo 娑羅 (conjectured by Pelliot in 1904) boluo 波羅←shaluo 沙羅←suoluo 娑羅

In any case, Chavannes' second candidate can be ruled out. Being so cautious with this problem, he did not treat his third candidate from Sogdiana any further but left the silver *poluo* untranslated in 1904, yet he expressed his doubt on Pelliot's solution of other *poluo* 婆羅 in Chinese texts with Skt. *bhāra* (unit of weight) based on the records of Funan (Indochina) in the *Nan Qishu* (Chavannes 1904: 23 n. 4; see also NQS 1972: 1016; Pelliot 1903: 259 n. 2; Pelliot 1904: 483).

# 2. Pelliot's further note on poluo

In order to facilitate our following discussion, we number the various forms in question as follows:

```
poluo<sup>I</sup> = pŏluó 頗羅 (EMC p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>'</sup>-la, LMC phua<sup>'</sup>-la)
```

A gold one as a tribute from Tibet; a silver one as a tribute from Kucha.

130

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Modern Chinese *mumianshu* 木棉樹, also known as *panzhihua* 攀枝花. Other popular names are 'red silk-cotton tree', 'Malabar silk-cotton tree', etc.

poluo<sup>II</sup> = póluó 婆羅 (EMC ba-la, LMC phua-la)

① [in Nanzhao] attire made of tiger skin (conjectured by Pelliot in 1904)

② [in Funan] unit of weight ?

*poluo*<sup>III</sup> = *pòluó* 破羅 (EMC p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>-la, LMC p<sup>h</sup>ua`-la)

An enigmatic object in Chinese sources about Sogdiana.

This list was enlarged by E. von Zach, who declared in his *Lexicographische Beiträge*. Fascicule IV (Beijing, 1906) that *poluo*<sup>II</sup> with regard to Funan is identical with *pŏluó* 回羅 (EMC p<sup>h</sup>a'-la, LMC pha'-la) '*ein Becher*' — let us number it as *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> — as well as *poluo*<sup>I</sup> in Chinese poems and other literature. By commenting Maybon's review of this fascicule (Maybon 1907: 123), Pelliot (Pelliot 1909: 159) enforced his opinion that the *jin wu poluo*<sup>II</sup>  $\pm \Xi$  婆羅 as a tribute from Funan to the Southern Qi Dynasty hardly mean anything other than 'five *bhāras* of gold'. Nevertheless, he agreed with some of von Zach's arguments and further equated *poluo*<sup>II</sup>, *poluo*<sup>III</sup>, *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> all as the same foreign term by translating it as 'coupe à vin'. This French translation is based on the meaning of *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> is explained as a traditional drinking vessel for alcoholic drinks *jiuzhi* 酒卮 (KXZD 1958: 173–174).

Among the attestations of *poluo* as a kind of drinking vessel mentioned by von Zach and Pelliot, there are famous poems by Li Bai 李白 and Cen Shen 岑参 in the Tang period, as well as the biography of Zu Ting 祖斑 in the Northern Qi Dynasty (BS 1974: 1737; KXZD 1958: 173–174). Zu Ting was a talented officer with sticky fingers, an extract of whose biography is tentatively translated here:<sup>10</sup>

神武宴僚屬,於坐失<u>金叵羅</u>,竇泰令飲酒者皆脫帽,於斑<u>髻上</u>得之,神武不能罪 也。

The Shenwu [Emperor] held a banquet for officials in his camp, then <u>a gold *poluo*<sup>IV</sup></u> was lost among [their] seats; Dou Tai made all the ones who drank ale/wine take off their hats and found it <u>on the hair bun/coil</u> of [Zu] Ting, but Shenwu was unable to blame him [because of Zu was known for his uninhibited and indulgent personality].

As to the usage by Cen Shen (ca. 715–770 CE), it was found in his poem 'made after getting drunk on the feast of Prefect of Jiuquan' (CJZ 2004: 427):<sup>11</sup>

琵琶長笛曲相和,羌兒胡雛齊唱歌。 渾炙犁牛烹野駝,交河美酒<u>金叵羅</u>。 With the harmony of the melodies by lutes and flutes, *Qiang* boys and *Hu* girls sang in chorus. Roast whole of yak, stew of wild camel, excellent wine of Jiaohe [in] <u>gold *poluo*(s)</u>.

In this poem composed in Jiuquan (east of Dunhuang), the gold *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> is juxtaposed with the excellent alcoholic drink (*jiu* 酒) from Jiaohe (Turfan). It no doubt means grape wine, as Li Bai's usage in a phrase 'Grape wine, gold *poluo*<sup>IV</sup>, a *Wu* girl aged 15 years was carried by a fine horse' 蒲萄酒,金巨羅,吳姬十五細馬馱 (LTB 1977: 1179).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Translated by Ching. The Shenwu Emperor is a posthumous title given to Gao Huan (496–547), founder of the Northern Qi Dynasty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Translated by Ching. Cf. Yu 2021: 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Translated by Ching. Cf. Yu 2021: 138.

In the late 20th c., quite independently from the early discussion of European Sinologists, Cai Hongsheng again identified *poluo*<sup>L/III/IV</sup> (頗羅/破羅/叵羅) as a wine or ale drinking vessel. In addition to the above examples already mentioned by Pelliot in 1909, he pointed out a valuable attestation in a compilation of historical anecdotes in the *Tang Yulin* 唐語林, *juan* 5 (Cai Hongsheng 1998: 12, translated by Ching):

開元中,上與內臣作曆日令。 高力士挾大胾置黃幡綽口中,曰:「塞穴吉!」 黃幡綽遽取上前叵羅納靴中,走下,曰:「內財吉!」

In the Kaiyuan period (713–741), the Emperor [Xuanzong] played a drinking game with his dignitaries; its rule [was to do a funny thing when one said a term] in calendar. Gao Lishi picked up a big piece of meat and placed it into Huang Fanchuo's mouth, saying: "[Today] it is good for blocking a hole!"

[Then,] Huang Fanchuo immediately took a *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> in front of the Emperor, placed it into [Huang's own] boot, then run down away [from the table], saying: "[Today] it is good for receiving wealth!"

Together with the gold *poluo*<sup>IV</sup> stolen by Zu Ting, this is an illustrative example which implies that in most attestations in Chinese literature, *poluo* means a kind of drinking vessel that is small enough to be hidden in one's hat or in one's boot.



Fig. 1. The Northern tradition of ancient Chinese drinking vessels (Reproduced from Fig. 9 in Hamada 1933)



Fig. 2 The Southern tradition of ancient Chinese drinking vessels; [lower-right] Cups from Six Dynasties to the Tang period (Reproduced from Fig. 10 in Hamada 1933)

In fact, K. Hamada (1933) had pointed out that among the drinking vessels in Ancient China, there were two traditions: the one developed in Northern China (represented by the tripod *jue* 爵) (Fig. 1) and the other in Southern China (represented by the flat-bottomed *bei* 杯) (Fig. 2). The former, usually made of bronze, resulted from the habit of warming alcohol before drinking; as to the latter, it reflected the custom of drinking from lacquerware. Even though his terminological study was improved in the last century, he aptly remarked that in the Tang period, the design of drinking vessels became highly variable. In his opinion, the round ones in the form of Western "cup" (usually with a ringfoot, i.e. the lower-right corner in Fig. 2) and made more variously of pottery, silver, glass, etc., no doubt reflect fashions from the West (Hamada 1933: 1064–1066). Today, we know that cultural trends from Central Asia, Iran and India had been popular in the Northern Wei Dynasty (Watt 2004: 17–24), so it is time to reconsider the third candidate assumed by Chavannes.

# 3. The golden *poluo* in Sogdiana in the *Suishu* and the *Tongdian*

In his famous paper on Sogdian deities, Henning (Henning 1965: 253, n. 70) intuitively explained the third candidate  $poluo^{III}$  as 'a golden banner ( $pal\bar{a}$ )' by referring to Chavannes' translation of the entry on the state of Cao (Ishtīkhan) in the *Suishu* (Chavannes 1903: 139, n. 3; *idem.*, p. 312). In the same paper, he wisely matched Dexi 得悉 in the *Suishu* with Takhsīch which he analyzed from the personal name *Txs'yc-βntk* in Ancient Letter II (Lurje 2010: § 436, 1274).

Recently it became evident that Takhsīch is a goddess (Grenet 2020: 30; Sims-Williams and Grenet forthcoming), so we have to re-examine the full context of the enigmatic candi-

date.<sup>13</sup> We give our English translation of the *Suishu*, updated and improved from Chavannes' French one:<sup>14</sup>

The state of Cao: its capital is several li to the south of the Nami River (Zarafshan). Formerly, it was [in] the territory of Kangju. There is no ruler in the state, so the king of the state of Kang charges his son Wujian with governing it. [Its] capital is three li square. Elite soldiers: more than one thousand men. In this state, there is the deity Dexi. Various states east of the Western Sea all worship her. This deity has (a?) golden statue (?);<sup>15</sup> a golden *poluo* of which the diameter is 1 *zhang* and 5 *chi* (ca. 3.5~4.5 m),<sup>16</sup> the higher [statue] and the lower [poluo] are in proportion(?). (Or: the height [of poluo] is in proportion of [its diameter]?)<sup>17</sup> Everyday five camels, ten horses, and one hundred sheep/goats are sacrificed to the [deity]. Usually there are a few/several thousand persons, eating those [foods] but never being able of finishing [their eating].

The entry in the *Tongdian* on the state of Cao (TD 1988: 5256–5257) is a quotation from the *Suishu* (whose information was gathered by envoys in the early 7th c.), although a few details deviate from it. Generally, the text of the *Tongdian* look more practical, such as to give the frequency of 'every month' (*mei yue* 每月) instead of 'everyday' (*mei ri* 每日) and to give 'one thousand persons' (*qian ren* 千人) rather than 'a few/several thousands persons' (*shu-qian ren* 數千人). Therefore, it is not necessary to see Takhsīch as a 'rapacious god' as Henning (Henning 1965: 253, n. 71) supposed. Furthermore, the *Tongdian* did not reproduce the state of Cao had expanded from Ishitīkhan eastward to Kabūdhan and Ustrushana during the Tang period. Consequently, he could not give too precise an information on the capital.<sup>18</sup>

By trying to elucidate *poluo* from Khot. *palā* 'banner', Henning did not fully accept or realize the meaning of *kuo*  $\mathbb{R}$  'wide, large; width, largeness' in Chavannes' translation (Chavannes 1903: 139, n. 3): '... il y a l'homme d'or; son *p'o-lo* d'or est large de quinze pieds; la hauteur (de la statue) est proportionnée (à cette dimension)'. He is not the only scholar who ignored or rejected this important hint, perhaps because this scale of width seems too unrealistic in their eyes. For example, Shiratori (Shiratori 1924: 499) explained the passage as: 'the length (E) of the metallic *poluo* is 1 *zhang* and 5 *chi*, therefore it would be a colossal as huge as the Buddha statue of 1 *zhang* and 6 *chi* high in our country', while Wakeman (Wakeman 1990: 680–682) took *poluokuo* Wa as one obscure word designating the golden statues or images. Shiratori's view and Cai's theory were combined by Yu Taishan 2014: 753), so that to his mind, there were golden or metallic wine vessels as high as 15 feet for the worship of Takhsīch. However, in our opinion, to take *kuo* as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> We treat the Chinese sources about the Goddess in another forthcoming paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Various translations including Yu Taishan 2014: 753 (mainly adapted from Wakeman's translation of the *Tongdian*); Yu Xin 2018: 276; Huber 2020: 35–36; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Lit. 'gold-human'. See the additional note in Chavannes 1903: 312.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 1 *zhang* and 5 *chi* = 15 *chi* = 367.5~369 cm (by counting with the smaller *chi* = 24.5~24.6 cm) or 442.5~444 cm (by the larger *chi* =29.5~29.6 cm) (Guo Zhengzhong 2008: 191). Since *chi*  $\not\subset$  generally means the length of human's ulna, the length might be resulted from an approximate estimation by an informant who measured it by his own arm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Chavannes' translation of *gaoxia* 高下 (lit. as 'high-low; up-down') as 'hauteur' is supported by a passage on the design of a celestial globe in the *Suishu* (SS 1973: 517). Prof. Yu Xin (p.c. e-mail on 14 May 2021) kindly informed us that now in his view, it most probably means that the upper opening diameter of the *poluo* is 15 *chi*, and the size of its lower bottom is proportional to it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> On Western Cao, Central Cao and Eastern Cao in the Tang period, see Chavannes 1903: 138–140.

'width' or even 'diameter' is theoretically workable, since a similar usage is found in a commentary on the  $Hou \ Hanshu^{19}$ :

俚獠鑄銅為鼓,鼓唯高大為貴,<u>面闊丈餘</u>。

The barbarian people called  $Li \oplus [in SW China]$  cast bronze for making drums. The drums are the higher, the bigger and the more prestigious, [so that their drum] <u>head can</u> be more than one *zhang* wide.

Interestingly, in the parallel text on the state of Cao in the *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要, the golden object is transcribed not as *poluo*<sup>III</sup> 破羅 but as *poluo*<sup>I</sup> 頗羅, which links together the tributes from Tibet, from Kucha and the enigmatic object in Sogdiana, and all of them were no doubt metallic ones. With regard to this variant in the *Tang Huiyao*, it is taken by Sören Stark (Stark 2009: 22) again as 'banner' (*palā*) based on Henning's idea.

The Khotanese word *palā* was noticed by T. Burrow (Burrow 1937: § 18) among the Niya-Prākrit loanwords in Khotanese together with other examples such as Khot. *nālai* = Skt. *nāţaka*. By translating *palā* as 'banner', he obviously followed É. Benveniste (Benveniste 1933: 224) who joined Sogd. *pr* " 'bannière' to Khot. *palā* 'idem.' and attached them to Prākrit *padāā,* Sanskrit *patāka* 'flag, banner'. H.W. Bailey (Bailey 1967: 170–171) further reconstructed its Gāndhārī form as \**padāģa* and indicated other related forms including Agnean (Tocharian A) *pattākās* (obl. pl.) and Sogdian *pr* '[*t*]*t*', *pr* '*kh* in Buddhist texts. This view is adopted by Y. Yoshida (Yoshida 1998: 43) who counted *poluo*<sup>III</sup> in the *Suishu* and the *Tongdian* on Cao as the transcription of Sogd. *pr* '*kh* 'banner' by simply referring to Henning (Henning 1965: 253 n. 70).

# 4. *Poluo* = Sogdian *patyāδ* ? The terminology of Iranian drinking vessels

In fact, in 1981, in the Russian version of *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, V.A. Livshits commented on the note 81 of Chapter 15 (Shefer [Schafer] 1981: 459–460):

Транскрипция, происходящая от иранского \*padyōd 'чаша'(?) ср. согдийское раtyōδ, в том числе в надписях на серебряных чашах типа пиал. На западе, в греческом, это слово отразилось в форме φιάλη «чаша», «фиал», в тюркских на востоке в *пиала̀/фиала̀*; в китайском в *поло* (\**p'uâlâ*).<sup>20</sup>

Based on this key notice, Cai Hongsheng (Cai 1998: 12, 17 n. 30) identified  $poluo^{UII/IV}$ 頗羅/破羅/巨羅 all as transcriptions of Sogd.  $patyā\delta$  'cup' by equating them with Greek  $\varphi i \alpha \lambda \eta$ .<sup>21</sup> Since then, Chinese scholars have been pursuing the images of "*poluo* =  $patyā\delta$ "

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> This commentary is quoted from a record written in the Jin or Southern Dynasties (HHS 1965: 840).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> This comment may be rendered in English as follows: "Transcription from Iranian \*padyōd 'cup'(?). Cf. Sogdian patyōδ, including in inscriptions on silver bowls/cups of the type called piâl [in Persian]. In the West, in Greek, this word was reflected in the form  $\varphi_i d\lambda \eta$  (in Russian чаша, фиал); in the East, in Turkic pialà / phialà [and] in Chinese poluo (\*p'uâlâ)." We thank Étienne de la Vaissière who found the Russian book for us.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cai Hongsheng (Cai 1998: 12) provided a rough digest of Livshits' comment. Afterwards, the equation '*poluo* = *patyōδ* = *φιάλη*' greatly influenced many scholars (Rong Xinjiang 2005, Yu Taishan 2005: 580; 2014: 753 Commentary No. 225, Yu Xin 2012: 543; 2021: 128; Huber 2020: 36 n. 139), so that a typo *patrōδ* for Livshits' "*patyōδ*" (sic!) in (Cai Hongsheng 1998) was inherited by a number of his followers.

in the new data from Sogdian tombs in China and other collections.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, according to the opinion expressed by Yang Junkai (Yang Junkai 2014: 238–239) in his report of Shi Jun (Wirkak) tomb, current theories in China on the shape of "*poluo* = *patyāð*" are so highly variable that one should refrain from describing any specific kind of drinking vessels — such as elongated cups (*changbei* 長杯) or bowls (*wan* 碗) — as '*poluo*' in the description of the finds from the tomb.



Fig. 3 Bowl with Sogdian inscription, 7th–8th cc. Diameter of mouth = 6.5 cm (reproduced from Plate XLI in Smirnov 1909)



Fig. 4 Relief and inscription on the Stroganoff Bowl, 5th c., inscribed later. Diameter of mouth = 14.5 cm (reproduced from Fig. 10 in Weitzmann 1943)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For example, see AJ 2003: 36, 82; Zhang Guangda 2003: 13; Jiang Boqin 2004: 157–158; Rong Xinjiang 2005.

The silver bowls or cups (чашах) with epigraphical attestations of  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  are no doubt Nos. 19 and 20 published by Livshits and Lukonin (Livshits, Lukonin 1964: 172).<sup>23</sup> They had been published as No. 71 and No. 67 by Smirnov in 1909, respectively. The former was received in 1894 from the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission among other objects found in Perm in 1886, now in the permanent exhibition in the State Hermitage Museum (Fig. 3). The latter is the famous 'Stroganoff bowl' also in the same museum. (Fig. 4). The reading of Sogdian inscriptions on these silverwares by Livshits and Lukonin have since been improved by Lurje (Lurie 2010), but both attestations of  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  are safe.

Given that both Nos. 19 and 20 published by Livshits and Lukonin are round bowls with a rounded bottom, one may doubt whether it is possible to identify  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  'cup' with other types of vessels such as elongated cups. In particular, given that these two firm specimens of  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  are both without ringfoot or any evidence of a stand, we think the basic function is not to share drinks among many people nor to be placed on a flat surface for long. We would rather assume its function as a wine drinking vessel to be held in one's hand for individual usage, or to be circulated among a few guests who are not supposed to put it down until it is empty. If this is the case,  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  is to be distinguished from other three types of drinking vessels in Iranian cultures, enumerated by Grenet as follows:

(1) Pahlavi *makōg* 'elongated cup; boat-cup', lit. 'boat' (< mak- 'to plunge, wash'): an attestation is found on the Pahlavi inscription on a cup in the Ancient Orient Museum, Japan (Gignoux 1990: 72). It is borrowed into Arabic and Armenian as *makkūk* and *makoik*, respectively, but their meanings are not restricted to this type of cup. In Persian, *makū* simply means 'boat', and Pahlavi *makōg* 'elongated cup' is translated into Persian as *kaštī-e mey* (lit. 'boat of wine'), *kaštī-e bāde* (*idem*.) or simply *kaštī* 'boat'.<sup>24</sup> The Sogdian form is not attested, but semantically this kind of cup could have been designated by *naw* 'boat'.

(2) Pahlavi jām / jāmag (Sogd. y'mk [\*jāme]): usually translated as 'cup', but these words seem to be generic terms which lack clear definition and may designate round pottery or metallic containers of various size, either with ringfoot or without it.<sup>25</sup> Epigraphic attestations are only found on Sogdian inscriptions. One is on a silverware collected around Shikshin (Yanqi, China) initially published by Lin Meicun (Lin 1997),<sup>26</sup> and the latest reading and translation by Sims-Williams is: ZNH ZY y'mk ZKwy txs'ycyh  $\gamma$ 'ôp'nynyh xr'ryh ZKwyh ôrs-m'tyh xypô 20-10 s n'krtk 'This cup (is) the property of the guardian of the throne of Takhsīch, Kharar the (daughter of) Zhemat. 30 staters of silver.' (Sims-Williams and Grenet, forthcoming) The other is on a silver cup of Hephthalite style from Chilek near

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See also Gignoux 1990: 77, 84 n. 57. We owe much to Nicholas Sims-Williams (p.c. 17 Dec. 2020) who kindly helped us to check Livshits and Lukonin (1964) in time just before Christmas holidays and during Covid-19 conditions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> According to Mélikian-Chirvani (Mélikian-Chirvani 1991: 9–10), the 'boat-cup' (or 'crescent-shaped cups' in his terms) is to be filled with wine when the new moon signals Nauruz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf. Gignoux 1990: 75. We gratefully received a comment from Samra Azarnouche (p.c. e-mail to F. Grenet, 4 May 2021): 'Encore aujourd'hui *piyâle* désigne le bol (sans pied) et *jâm* la coupe (plus haute, et/ou avec pied)'.

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  In the *Silu guibao* (2011), the size of this highly broken piece is: height = 7.2 cm, opening diameter = 16.2 cm; diameter of ringfoot = 6.5 cm; weight = 534 g. We thank Bi Bo who checked the catalogue for us (p.c. e-mail on 14 May 2021). Grenet notes that this piece as it appears after restoration is possibly a combination of two different silverwares.

Samarkand (Gignoux 1990: 75).<sup>27</sup> Another attestation from Munchak-tepe mentioned by Gignoux (Gignoux 1990: 75) is doubtful.

(3) **Rhyton:** No epigraphic attestations in Iranian languages. According to Mélikian-Chirvani (Mélikian-Chirvani 1982), the corpus of Iranian texts gives two different terms with regard to this type of vessel:

①  $tak\bar{o}g$  (< tak- 'to pour'): a word attested in Pahlavi texts as 'drinking vessel' without specific definition (MacKenzie 1971, s.v.); in Persian it designates an animal-shaped rhyton.

② **bālogh**: This word is not attested in Pahlavi, only in Persian, where it designates a 'rhyton-horn' cup. In Gignoux's opinion (Gignoux 1990: 75), it might be of Arabic origin, while Mélikian-Chirvani (Mélikian-Chirvani 1982: 287) suggested that the form *pālogh* would be preferable and that it might be derived from *pālāy-/pālūdan* 'to filter, clarify'. Mélikian's suggestion looks plausible, and in any case, the function of rhyton prevents it from being the etymological origin of *poluo* in our question.

# 5. Towards a new etymological solution for poluo

Nowadays, Sogdian  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  and Greek  $\varphi i \dot{a}\lambda \eta$  are no more recognized as cognates.<sup>28</sup> The latter as the word for 'basin (shallow, with a very large opening and fitted with two vertical handles): used to head a liquid' in Homer and 'broad, flat vessel; bowl' in later texts is attested in Mycenean (Chantraine 1968: 1203). On the other hand, Sogd.  $paty\bar{a}\delta$  is cognate with Pahl.  $payg\bar{a}l$  (archaic Persian  $paiy\bar{a}la$ ) and etymologically from OIr. \* $pati-g\bar{a}la-ka$  (Benveniste 1936: 233–234; Gignoux 1990: 77; Gharib 2004 § 7660). According to N. Sims-Williams, there is no Bactrian form attested of either  $pt\gamma'\delta$  or  $\varphi i \dot{a}\lambda \eta$ . In his opinion, Benveniste (Benveniste 1936: 233–234) was certainly right when assuming that these words are unconnected and that NP  $piy\hat{a}la$  belongs to the former. Historically or phonologically, poluo can hardly be from either of them.<sup>29</sup>

Since *poluo* as a vessel usually occurs in Chinese texts together with exotic drinks and foods, we assume that it transcribes a loanword from an Iranian and/or a Central Asian language. Its ultimate origin may be Skt. *pātra-* 'a drinking vessel, goblet, bowl, cup, dish, pot, plate, utensil, &c., any vessel or receptacle' (Monier-Williams 1899: 612).<sup>30</sup> It is well known that in Buddhist literature, Skt. *pātra-* (Pāli *patta*; Gāndhārī *patra, pate, patre*)<sup>31</sup> commonly means the alms-bowl used by the Buddha or Buddhist monks. In fact, for this specific usage, ancient Chinese created special characters *bo* 鉢/缽 (EMC p<sup>h</sup>at), and the fullest transcription of this Buddhist utensil is *boduoluo* 鉢多羅/缽多羅 (EMC p<sup>h</sup>at-ta-la). *Poluo* was so transcribed in a different way, probably because it meant to designate various vessels of pan-Indian style in the context of non-Buddhist usage in its strict sense.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Its photograph and sketch are found in Marshak 2017: 520, Figs. 36, 36a, where he gives the opening diameter as 16 cm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> We thank Anca Dan for checking several Greek dictionaries for us (e-mail on 10 October 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> N. Sims-Williams, e-mail to Grenet, Dan and Ching on 11 Oct. 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> During the e-mail discussion on 10–11 Oct. 2020 with our colleagues, Skt. *pātra-* initially assumed by Ching was taken as a solution more viable than *patyāδ* and  $\varphi_i \dot{\alpha} \lambda \eta$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See https://gandhari.org/patra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> As Falk (Falk 2013) elucidates, wine production and consumption are found in Gandhāran Art. Nevertheless, these activities were not conceived as good Buddhist manners in China, so it would be necessary to render the begging-bowls and the utensils for luxurious feasts differently.

Concerning the borrowing of Skt. pātra- or one of its Middle Indic forms into China in non-Buddhist contexts, an immediate intermediary in Kuchean (Tocharian B) or Agnean (Tocharian A) languages seem less likely and demands more philological evidence, because so far all the attestations of the respective forms — Kuchean *pātro* (obl. *pātrai*) — invariably designate Buddhist alms-bowls or begging-bowls. The situation of Khot. pāttäru/pāttro/  $p\bar{a}tro$  'alms-bowl' is similar: all the attestations from the *Book of Zambasta* mean the bowl kept by the Buddha (Bailey 1967: 179, Emmerick 1968: 22–23, 38–39).<sup>33</sup> While the Iranian loanwords in Kuchean and Agnean is a crucial issue to be explored (Pevrot 2015; Ching 2021),<sup>34</sup> Bailey's notice is at any rate remarkable: two Indian words are found with Chinese lin place of Indian tr, namely Maitreya (Chin. Mile 彌勒, EMC mjið/mji-lək) and *Trāyastrimśa* (Chin. *Daoli* 忉利, EMC taw-li<sup>h</sup>), so that he considered a change of tr > dr > lduring the spread of the two words from India to China (Bailey 1946: 779-780).<sup>35</sup> In our view, a comparable example is Wuyishanli 島弋山離, Chinese transcription of Alexandria (of Arachosia) in the Han period (ou-yek-saen-lie in Karlgren's system, Pulleyblank 1962: 116). Regarding Greek  $dr \sim MC l$  and Greek  $l \sim MC v^{36}$  in this toponym for todays' Qandahar, one of the intermediary languages could be Iranian.<sup>37</sup> In this sense, it will be very interesting to assume an Iranian language which intervened the borrowing of Skt. pātra- into Middle Chinese. After all, Burrow (op. cit.) has collected more examples concerning the phenomenon Khot.  $l \sim \text{Pkt./Skt.} d/t$  (see supra on Khot. palā 'banner').<sup>38</sup> For instance, as long as one may assume intervocalic tr > t or d in Niya-Prākrit or another language around the basin (e.g. Kucha-Prākrit, etc.), it is fully possible to suggest that Skt.  $p\bar{a}tra$ - became EMC p<sup>h</sup>a-la. If so, it is a parallel example of Skt. *Maitreya-* or Bactr.  $\mu\eta\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\sigma$  which finally became EMC mjið/mji-lək.39

This solution agrees with the only epigraphically confirmed specimen of  $poluo^{III}$ : a ceramic bowl lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston by Charles B. Hoyt in 1946. This Chinese bowl is dated by the museum to the early 7th c. and is arranged with a ceramic stand of unknown date as a set.<sup>40</sup> On the base of the bowl there is an inscription: *poluo pen yi he* 破羅 盆一合 'a piece of *poluo* bowl'. (Figs. 5, 6)

https://collections.mfa.org/objects/21245/polou-bowl-and-stand-with-inscription-on-base-of-bowl-polou.

 $<sup>^{33}</sup>$  We thank Ogihara Hirotoshi who checked the Khotanese context of *pāttäru* for us on 20 May 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Mr. Athanaric Huard (doctoral student of EPHE), after our seminar on 28 May, kindly mentioned that a few other Tocharian words are assumed to be Iranian loanwords by F. Dragoni, Ch. Bernard and R. Chen in Leiden. We look forward to seeing the result of their analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See Maue's discussion (Maue 2013) on further reflection on the various forms of Maitreya.

 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$  Or \**z* as Pulleyblank (op.cit) assumed for the transition period from Old Chinese to Middle Chinese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> On the sound of *l* in Iranian languages, see (Benveniste 1936: 234; Lurje and Yakubovich 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Accordingly, *boli* 玻璃/*poli* 頗黎 'glass' as established transcriptions of Skt. *sphațika*- imply an intervention of Khotanese (\**sphāliā*-, see Skjærvø 2004: 357) and/or other local languages (e.g. Kuchean *spharir*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> We do not exclude the possibility that Khot. *phara-* (corresponding to Skt. *ghata-* 'pot' in Khotanese *Sudhanāvadāna* fragments, Bailey 1979: 260) might be involved in this issue. The word is translated by De Chiara (De Chiara 2013: 149, 153, etc.) as 'jar' since it designates a water container carried upon a woman's shoulders, being large enough to hide one's ring. In this sense, it is not exactly the same as the *poluo* revealed in the texts about Zu Ting and Huang Fanchuo, so we are looking for more attestations of the word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> On the image of the bowl and the stand as a whole set, see







Fig. 6 The inscription on the base of the ceramic bowl 50.1963a Bequest of Charles Bain Hoyt—Charles Bain Hoyt Collection Photograph © [28 Sept. 2021] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

By pointing out this ceramic item in a catalogue published in 1964, Yang Zhishui (Yang 2008) identifies a set of ten little *poluos* (*poluozi* 破羅子) among numerous relics excavated from the hoard of the Famen Temple (Shaanxi Province, China), and her theory is adopted by Yu Xin (Yu 2012: 544; 2018: 274 Fig. 1; 2021: 129–130). The key is a list of the donated objects around the late 9th c. inscribed on a stele and buried at the same site. We transcribe and translate a part of ll. 11–12 based on a rubbing published by Han Sheng (Han 2009: 30–31):

銀金花供養器物共卌件、枚、隻、對,<sup>☆</sup>壘子一十枚,破[羅]子一十枚、疊子一 十枚、…

Silver utensils for worshipping [the Buddha's *śarīra*] bearing with flowery gilt of gold: 40 items/pieces/units/pairs in total: <sup>Including</sup> ten pieces of *leizi*, ten pieces of *po[luo]zi*, ten pieces of *diezi*, ...

Following Yang's argumentation, *leizi* 壘子 (lit. 'little one that can be piled up'), *poluozi* 破羅子 and *diezi* 疊子 (lit 'little one that can be stacked up') are respectively shallow dishes with four compartments and equally wide ringfoot with ornamental apertures, shallow dishes with ringfoot, and shallow dishes without ringfoot.<sup>41</sup> This show that *poluo<sup>1/III/IV</sup>* in Medieval China was, as Yu Xin (Yu 2021: 131) supposes, a generic term designating various exotic vessels including cups, bowls and shallow dishes. In this sense, an appropriate match of *poluo* in Iranian terminology appears to be *jām/jāmag* (Sogd. *y'mk*) rather than *paygāl* (Sogd. *patyāð*), as *jām/jāmag*, like *poluo*, can designate vessels of very various sizes and often provided with a foot or a stand.

# 6. A gigantic *Poluo* in the temple of Takhsīch?

Now, according to the *Suishu* and the *Tongdian*, inside (or in front of?) the temple of Takhsīch, there was a gigantic *poluo*<sup>III</sup> 破羅 (*poluo*<sup>1</sup>頗羅 in the *Tang Huiyao*) of which the outer diameter of the mouth would be as large as approximately 4 m. Even though this scale sounds exaggerated, Grenet notes an interesting parallel in the Middle Persian Zoroastrian text *Anthology of Zādspram* 16.3 (Gignoux and Tafazzoli 1993: 74–75):<sup>42</sup>

Everyday he (= the son of the hero T $\bar{u}$ r) gives to the poor (the content of) an iron *jāmag* high like a horse, filled up with bread, milk and other foods.

This way of nourishing poor people by a huge container seems to be a Zoroastrian tradition. The "golden" (or brass) *poluo* in Takhsīch's temple was hardly used for cooking, but might have been used to serve an accompaniment to the meat mentioned in the *Suishu*, either a kind of soup (Persian  $\bar{a}sh$ ), like in the  $Z\bar{a}dspram$  passage text just quoted, or *shorbat*, a sweet drink. Both are served still today in big containers to pilgrims in Iranian mosques.<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, there is an old cauldron (diameter = 2.2m, weight = 2 tons) placed in the center of *Jamaatkhana* among the Timurid architectural complex of Khodja Ahmad Yasawi in the town of Yasi (now the city of Turkestan, Kazakhstan), allegedly casted from the alloy of seven metals, formed as an incomplete hemisphere and attached on a foot. Donated by Tamerlane in 1399, it is perceived as a symbol of hospitality and unity.<sup>44</sup> There is another apparently smaller, hemispherical cauldron, set on a stand, dating from the Kart period (14th c.), at the Masjid-i Jameh at Herat.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, by taking the passage in the *Anthology* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> The image of *poluozi* according to her identification is reproduced by Yu Xin (Yu 2018: 274, Fig. 1; 2021: 129, Fig. 3). They are FD5:  $079-1\sim10$  in the Famen Report 2007: 115, Fig. 52–3; Plate 51 and Plate 52. Size: h. 1.9 cm; diameter of mouth: 11.1 cm; height of ringfoot: 0.7 cm; diameter of ringfoot: 7.5 cm; average weight: 118.5 g. Their photograph is also available in Han Sheng 2009: 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Translated into English by Grenet. Actually horses depicted in Sasanian art are quite small, hardly more than 1.50 cm at the saddle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> We thank Samra Azarnouche for this information (p.c. e-mail on 30 July 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Grube 1966: 134, plate 73. See also http://www.natcom.unesco.kz/turkestan/e10\_mausoleum.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Mélikian-Chirvani 1969. A photograph taken by Oskar von Niedermayer, published in 1924, is available on https://archnet.org/sites/3931/media\_contents/41831.

into consideration, the gigantic "golden *poluo*" in Sogdiana — perhaps made of brass — was probably installed for serving poor people as well as worshippers from 'all the countries to the east of the Western Sea'. Nevertheless, we do not much expect its shape to be exactly a hemisphere (capacity = 16,755 L, assuming a diameter of 4 m). It could look like a shallow round container of shorter diameter, either with flat bottom, being footed or being supported, so that its capacity would be significantly less than the aforementioned capacity but still large enough to serve a large number of guests at once.

# 7. Conclusion

We assume that the golden (brass?) *poluo* mentioned in the entry on the state of Cao (Ishtīkhan) in the *Suishu* was a huge container of *sharbat* (or another beverage or soup), being situated inside (or in front of?) the temple of Takhsīch and serving the poor people and worshippers around it. The container might have looked like a round shallow cauldron, either with or without ringfoot. The big cauldron preserved at the Khodja Akhmed Yasawi may be a continuation of this ancient practice. The one in the state of Cao was described as a *poluo* (ultimately from Sanskrit *pātra-*?) very likely because it looked or sounded exotic to an unknown informant in the Sui period (581–619), but in traditional Iranian terminology, this kind of container is preferably to be described as a *jām/jāmag*, as there is evidence of this kind of usage in the *Anthologie de Zādspram*.

On the other hand, the silver *poluo* presented by the king of Qiuci to the Tang court, as well as the gold one by the Tsenpo of Tubo, were both likely to be wine cups or bowls made of genuine silver and gold, respectively. Although the etymological origin of *poluo* seems most likely an Indic and non-Buddhist one, with the intervention of one or more languages in Central Asia, it is possible that these carefully chosen tributes were Iranian fine arts such as the silverwares unearthed from Yanqi (Karashahr) with Sogdian and Middle Persian inscriptions.

The gold *poluo*(s) and gold jar(s) sent by the Tsenpo probably formed a set of wine drinking utensils. The presentation of this tribute was dated in the 12th month of the 2nd year of Xianqing in the *Cefuyuangui* but in the 3rd year of the same reign (8 Feb. 658 - 28 Jan. 659) in the *New Book of Tang* (XTS 1974: 6075).<sup>46</sup> They seem to have been selected around 658 by the Tibetan court, very likely a token of celebration for the shift of the Anxi Protectorate from Turfan to Kucha in 658. Together with the sophisticate miniature of a 'gold city', the Tibetan tribute in this year might be a political metaphor of recognizing the Tang rule in the Tarim Basin. In this case, it would be interesting to pursue the respective symbols of lions, elephants and other animals which appeared in miniature form, since they might represent various peoples and countries in pre-Islamic Central Asia in its broad sense.

#### Abbreviations

EMC — Early Middle Chinese (cf. Pulleyblank 1991) Khot. — Khotanese LMC — Late Middle Chinese (cf. Pulleyblank 1991) OIr. — Old Iranian Pahl. — Pahlavi Skt. — Sanskrit

142

<sup>46</sup> The third (*san*  $\equiv$ ) could be a scribal error of the second (*er*  $\equiv$ ).

AJ 2003 — Xi'an Beizhou An Jia mu 西安北周安伽墓 [Anjia Tomb of Northern Zhou at Xi'an]. Ed. by Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 [Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2003 (in Chinese).

BS 1974 — Beishi 北史 [History of Northern Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

- CFYG 2006 Cefuyuangui 冊府元龜 [Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau]. Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2006 (in Chinese).
- CJZ 2004 Cen Jiazhou shi 岑嘉州詩 [Poems of Cen Jiazhou]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004 (in Chinese).
- Famen Report 2007 Famensi kaogu fajue baogao 法門寺考古發掘報告 [Report of Archaeological Excavation at Famen Temple]. Ed. by Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院 [Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology], Famensi Bowuguan 法門寺博物館 [Famen Temple Museum], 寶雞市文物局 [Baoji Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage], 扶風縣博物館 [The Fufeng County Museum]. Beijing: Cultual Relics Press, 2007 (in Chinese).
- HHS 1965 Houhanshu 後漢書 [Book of the Later Han]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965 (in Chinese).
- JTS 1975 Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書 [Old Book of Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975 (in Chinese).
- KXZD 1958 Kangxi zidian 康熙字典 [Kangxi Dictionary]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1958 (in Chinese).
- LTB 1977 Li Taibai quanji 李太白全集 [Collected Works of Li Taibai]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1977 (in Chinese).
- NQS 1972 Nanqishu 南齊書 [Book of Southern Qi]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1972 (in Chinese).
- SS 1973 Suishu 隋書 [Book of Sui]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1973 (in Chinese).
- Silu guibao 2011 Silu guibao 絲路瑰寶 [Silk Road Treasures]. Ed. by Xinjiang Wuiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館 [Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region Museum] Urumqi: Xinjiang remin chubanshe, 2011 (in Chinese).

TD 1988 — Tongdian 通典 [Book of Institutions]. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1988 (in Chinese).

XTS 1975 — Xin Tangshu 新唐書 [New Book of Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975 (in Chinese).

#### References

- Bailey, Harold Walter. "Gāndhārī". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1946, vol. 11, pp. 764–797 (in English).
- Bailey, Harold Walter. *Khotanese Texts VI: Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967 (in English).
- Bailey, Harold Walter. *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979 (in English).

Benveniste, Émile. "Notes sur le fragment sogdien du *Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgarasūtra*". *Journal Asiatique*, 1933, vol. 223, pp. 193–248 (in French).

- Benveniste, Émile. "Notes parthes et sogdiennes". *Journal Asiatique*, 1936, vol. 228, pp. 194–237 (in French).
- Burrow, Thomas. *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937 (in English).
- Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生. Tangdai jiuxing hu yu Tujue wenhua 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 [\*The Nine Surnames of Hu in the Tang Dynasty and the Culture of the Tujue]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998 (in Chinese).
- Chantraine, Pierre. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1968 (in French).

- Chavannes, Édouard. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. SPb: Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, 1903 (in French).
- Chavannes, Édouard. "Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux". *T'oung Pao*, second series, 1904, vol. 5/1, pp. 1–110 (in French).
- Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Qiuci shiku xiancun tiji zhong de Qiuci guowang" 龜茲石窟現存題記中 的龜茲國王 [The Kuchean Kings Seen in the Inscriptions Found in Kucha Grottoes]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 [Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies], 2013, vol. 13, pp. 387–418 (in Chinese).
- Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Kucha". Encyclopaedia Iranica Online. Consulted online on 31 July 2021 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2330-4804\_EIRO\_COM\_337721.
- De Chiara, Matteo. *The Khotanese Sudhanāvadāna*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013 (Baiträge zur Indologie 48) (in English).
- Emmerick, Ronald Eric. *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968 (in English).
- Falk, Harry. "Making Wine in Gandhara under Buddhist Monastic Supervision". *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 2013, vol. 23, pp. 65–78 (in English).
- Gharib, B. Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian-Persian-English). Teheran: Farhangan Publications, 2004 (in English).
- Gignoux, Philippe. "Noms d'ustensiles (argenterie et poterie) en moyen-iranien". Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale. Actes du Colloque franco-japonais, Kyoto (Kyoto 4–8 octobre 1988). Ed. by A. Haneda. Kyoto: Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales, 1990, pp. 71–86 (in French).
- Gignoux, Philippe & Tafazzolli, Ahmad. *Anthologie de Zādspram. Édition critique du texte pehlevi*. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1993 (Studia Iranica — Cahier 13) (in French).
- Grenet, Frantz. "The Wooden Panels from Kafir-kala: A Group Portrait of the Samarkand *nāf* (Civic Body)". *Acta Asiatica*, 2020, vol. 119/2, pp. 21–42 (in English).
- Grube, Ernst J. The World of Islam. London: Paul Hamlyn Limited, 1966 (in English).
- Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠. San zhi shisi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang 三至十四世紀中國的權 衡度量 [\*Systems of Chinese Measurement Units from the 3rd to the 14th Centuries]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008 (in Chinese).
- Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕作. "Shaku to hai to ni tsuite" 爵と杯とに就いて [\*On the *jue* 爵 and *bei* 杯]. *Tōyōshi ronsō: Ichimura hakushikoki kinen* 東洋史論叢:市村博士古稀記念 [\*Collection of Papers on Oriental History: Festschrift for the 70th Birthday of Dr. Ichimura]. Ed. by Ichimura hakushikokikinen Tōyōshironsō kankōkai 市村博士古稀記念東洋史論叢刊行會. Tokyo: Fusanbō, 1933, pp. 1047–1068 (in Japanese).
- Han Sheng 韓生. Famensi wenwu tushi 法門寺文物圖飾 [Famen Temple]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2009 (in Chinese).
- Henning, Walter Bruno. "A Sogdian god". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1965, vol. 28/2, pp. 242–254 (in English).
- Huber, Moritz. *Lives of Sogdians in Medieval China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020 (Asiatische Forschungen 160) (in English).
- Inaba Minoru 稲葉穣. "From Caojuzha to Ghazna/Ghaznīn: Early Medieval Chinese and Muslim Descriptions of Eastern Afghanistan". *Journal of Asian History*, 2015, vol. 49, n. 1–2, pp. 97–116 (in English).
- Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤. Zhongguo Xianjiao yishushi yanjiu 中國祆教藝術史研究 [A History of Chinese Zoroastrian Art]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004 (in Chinese).
- Lévi, Sylvain. "Le «tokharien B», langue de Koutcha". *Journal Asiatique*, 11<sup>e</sup> série, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 311–380 (in French).
- Lin Meicun 林梅村. "Zhongguo jingnei chutu dai mingwen de Bosi he Zhongya yinqi" 中國境內出土 帶銘文的波斯和中亞銀器 [Some Persian and Central Asian Silver Wares with Inscriptions from
- China]. Wenwu 文物 [Cultural Relics], 1997, vol. 9, pp. 55-65 (in Chinese).

144
- Livshits, V.A. & Lukonin, V.G. "Srednepersidskie i sogdiiskie nadpisi na serebrianykh sosudakh". *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1964, vol. 89, no. 3, pp. 155–176 (in Russian).
- Lurje, Pavel B. *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010 (Iranisches Personennamenbuch Band II, Faszikel 8) (in English).
- Lurje, Pavel B. & Yakubovich Ilya. "The Myth of Sogdian Lambdacism". Zur lichten Heimat. Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann. Ed. by the team Turfanforschung. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017 (Iranica 25), pp. 319–341 (in English).

MacKenzie, D.N. A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

- Marshak, B.I. *Istoria vostochnoi torevtiki III-XIII vv. i problemy kul'turnoi preemstvennosti* [History of Oriental Toreutics of the 3rd–13th Centuries and Problems of Cultural Continuity]. St. Petersburg: Academy of Culture's Research, 2017 (in Russian).
- Maue, Dieter. "Uigurisch <m'ytry> zu einem vernachlässigten lautlichen Problem". Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit. Ed. by Y. Kasai, A. Yakup, D. Durkin-Meisterernst. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013 (Silk Road Studies XVII), pp. 139–159 (in German).
- Maybon, Charles B. "Chine". Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1907, vol. 7, pp. 123–125 (in French).
- Mélikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. "Un bassin iranien de l'an 1375". *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Vi<sup>e</sup> période,* LXXIII, Janvier 1969, pp. 5–18.
- Mélikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. "Le rhyton selon les sources persanes". *Studia Iranica*, 1982, vol. 11, pp. 263–292 (in French).
- Mélikian-Chirvani, Assadullah Souren. "From the Royal Boat to the Beggar's Boat". *Islamic Art*, 1991, vol. 4, pp. 103–111 (in English).

Monier-Williams, Monier. Sankrit English Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.

- Pelliot, Paul. "Le Fou-nan". *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, vol. 3, pp. 248–303 (in French).
- Pelliot, Paul. [Review] "Ed. Chavannes: Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux". Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1904, vol. 4, pp. 479–483 (in French).
- Pelliot, Paul. "Le *p'o-lo* peut-il être un poids?". *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1909, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 158–160 (in French).
- Peyrot, Michaël. "Tocharian Language". *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*. 2015. Consulted online on 31 July 2021 (in English)
- http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2330-4804\_EIRO\_COM\_11716
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese, Part II". Asia Major, 1962, vol. 9, pp. 206–265 (in English).
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991 (in English).
- Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "Tulufan wenshu 'Tang mouren zishu liguanzhuang' suoji Xiyu shishi gouchen" 吐鲁番文書《唐某人自書歷官狀》所記西域史事鈎沉 [\*Probing the Historical Events in the Western Regions Recorded in the Turfan Document 'Resume of Official Career Written by Someone in the Tang Dynasty']. *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 [Historical and Geographical Review of Northwest China], 1987, vol. 4, pp. 53–55 (in Chinese).
- Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. "Jinzun meijiu zui taxiang: cong An Jia mu kan Sute wuzhiwenhua de dongjian" 金樽美酒醉他鄉——從安伽墓看粟特物質文化的東漸 [A Drink in a Golden Chalice Takes Me Home in the Far Distance: Introduction of Sogdian Material Culture to China Seen in An Jia's Tomb]. *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 [Cultural Relics World], 2005, vol. 1, pp. 88–91 (in Chinese).
- Schafer, Edward H. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics.* Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1963 (in English).
- Shefer, E. [Schafer, Edward H.]. Zolotye persiki Samarkanda. Moscow: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury, 1981 (in Russian).
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas & Grenet, Frantz *Early Sogdian Inscriptions and Documents*. London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, forthcoming (in English).

- Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉. "Zokutokukoku kō" 粟特國考 [\*On the State of Sute]. Tōyō Gakuhō 東洋學報 [Reports of the Oriental Society], 1924, vol. 14, pp. 453–545 (in Japanese).
- Skjærvø, Prods Oktor. This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras. The Khotanese Suvarņabhāsottamasūtra. Vol. II. Cambridge: Harvard University, 2004 (in English).
- Smirnov, Ia.I. Vostochnoe serebro. Atlas serebrianoi i zolotoi posudy vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia. St. Petersburg, 1909 (in Russian).
- Stark, Sören. Transoxanien nach dem Tang Huiyao. Norderstedt: Book on Demand, 2009 (in German).
- Wakeman, Ch.B. Hsi Jung (the Western Barbarians). An Annotated Translation of the Five Chapters of the T'ung Tien on the Peoples and Countries of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. PhD dissertation, University of California, 1990 (in English).
- Weitzmann, Kurt. "Three 'Bactrian' Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides". *The Art Bulletin*, 1943, vol. 25, no. 4, pp. 289–324 (in English).
- Yang Junkai 楊軍凱. Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu 北周史君墓 [Shi Jun Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty]. Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2014 (in Chinese).
- Yang Zhishui 揚之水. "Wan Tang jinyin jiuqi de mingcheng yu yangshi" 晚唐金銀酒器的名稱與樣 式 [\*Terminology and Typology of Wine Drinking Vessels in Late Tang Period]. *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物 [Journal of National Museum of China], 2008, vol. 6, pp. 14–24, Plate IV–VIII (in Chinese).
- Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊. "Sino-Iranica". Seinan Ajia kenkyū 西南アジア研究 [Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies], 1998, vol. 48, pp. 33–51 (in Japanese).
- Yu Taishan 余太山. Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi xiyuzhuan yaozhu 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史 西域傳要注 [A Concise Commentary on Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005 (in Chinese).
- Yu Taishan 余太山. A Concise Commentary on Memoirs on the Western Regions in the Official Histories of the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2014 (in English)
- Yu Xin 余欣. "Quzhiguan yu youxianzhen Qiuci yiwu ji qi wenhua xiangxiang" 屈支灌與游仙 枕——龜茲異物及其文化想像 [Pot of Qiuci and Pillow of Mystical Excursion: Fantastic Treasures of Qiuci and Its Cultrual Imagination]. *Qiuci xue yanjiu* 龜茲學研究 [Kuchaological Research], 2012, vol. 5, pp. 529–556 (in Chinese).
- Yu Xin 余欣. Savoir traditionnel et pratique magiques sur la route de la Soie. Paris: Demopolis, 2018 (in French).
- Yu Xin 余欣. "Archaeological Evidence, Cultural Imagination and Image of the Medieval World: New Perspectives on Treasures from Qiuci (Kucha)". *Central Asiatic Journal*, 2021, vol. 63, no. 1–2, pp. 113–152 (in English).
- Watt, James C.Y. "Art and History in China from the Third to the Eighth Century". *China Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 AD.* Ed. by James C.Y. Watt et al. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004, pp. 2–45 (in English).
- Zhang Guangda 張廣達. "Tangdai Chang'an de Bosiren he Suteren tamen gefangmian de huodong" 唐代長安的波斯人和粟特人——他們各方面的活動 [\*The Persians and Sogdians in Chang'an in the Tang Dynasty: Their Activities in Various Respects. *Tōdaishi kenkyū* 唐代史研究 [The Journal of Tang History Studies], 2003, vol. 6, pp. 3–16 (in Chinese).

After reading our final draft, Dr. Yury Karev kindly reminded us a brief conference abstract by Aleksandr Naymark, "Giant cauldrons of Central Asia: The symbolism of an art form", *The Sixth Annual Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Abstracts of Papers*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1999, pp. 29–30 (p.c. email, 9 Aug. 2021). We are grateful for his information.

# Золотой *poluo* в Согдии: подробный анализ отрывков из «Суйшу» и «Тундянь»

ЦИН Чао-цзюнь Коллеж де Франс Париж, Франция

Франц ГРЭНЭ Коллеж де Франс Париж, Франция

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 03.07.2021.

Аннотация: Эта статья основана на наших исследованиях в рамках семинара «Новый подход к китайским источникам (в основном *Тундянь*) по Центральной Азии восточнее Памира» ('Nouvelle approche des sources chinoises (principalement le *Tongdian*) sur l'Asie centrale à l'ouest des Pamirs'), проводимого в Коллеж де Франс с осени 2020 г. Мы считаем, что «золотой *poluo»* (от санскритского *pātra-*?), упоминаемый в разделе о государстве Цао (Ishtīkhan) в «Суйшу», является большим контейнером для шербета или других напитков либо супа, из которого поили простолюдинов и паломников в храме Таксих. Использование большого котла у хаджи Ахмеда Ясави (Казахстан), вероятно, является продолжением этой зороастрийской практики, о чем есть упоминание в *Anthologie de Zādspram*.Что касается золотого *poluo*, преподнесенного Цзенпо из Тубо танскому двору в 658 г., и серебряного *poluo* от короля Цюцы в 675 г., то, скорее всего, это были сосуды для вина, специально подобранные для празднования реставрации власти Тан в Таримском бассейне после волнений в середине 650-х и конце 660-х годов соответственно.

Ключевые слова: Центральная Азия, Согдия, Таримский бассейн, куча, Тибет, Среднеиранская эпиграфика, сосуды для вина, котел.

Благодарность: Мы оба познакомились с проф. Ириной Поповой на коллоквиуме «Пол Пеллио, история легенды» ("Paul Pelliot, de l'histoire à la légende"; 2–3 Oct. 2008, Collège de France/Institut de France). Мы восхищаемся тем, как И.Ф. Попова замечательно руководит Институтом восточных рукописей, и посвящаем эту статью ее юбилейному дню рождения.

Для цитирования: *Цин Чао-цзюнь, Грэнэ Ф.* Золотой *poluo* в Согдии: подробный анализ отрывков из «Суйшу» и «Тундянь» // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 127–147 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO79679

Об авторах: ЦИН Чао-цзюнь, лектор, Коллеж де Франс (Париж, Франция) (ching.cj@gmail.com).

ГРЭНЭ Франц, профессор, Коллеж де Франс (Париж, Франция) (frantz.grenet@college-de-france.fr).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 148–159

# Miscellany on the Tumshuqese Documents: Part II

OGIHARA Hirotoshi The University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology (Linguistics) Tokyo, Japan Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale (CRCAO), Paris, France

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77877

#### Received 03.06.2021.

Abstract: The present article is part of the research on Tumshuqese (for Part I see Central Asiatic Journal, 2020, vol. 63, no. 1–2. pp. 11–24). Among Middle Iranian languages, linguistic research on Tumshuqese has been much delayed because of the insufficient documentation, and the lack of the parallel texts written in other languages which leads to the comparative study. However, the secular documents, especially the contracts, are the most important material for the linguistic study of this language in view of the fact [1] that Tumshuqese contracts offer the best preserved texts and [2] that some passages are comparable to the contracts written in other Central Asian languages. In this paper, an attempt will be made to elucidate following Tumshuqese words attested in the secular documents: the numerals  $tsh\bar{a}rsa$  'forty',  $hodad_1a$  'seventy',  $sod_1u$  'hundred',  $drd_1a$ - 'third' and words of measure *jaha*- and  $k^haa$ - in addition to a noun dau/do 'gift'. Among them, the numerals  $tsh\bar{a}rsa$  'forty' and  $hodad_1a$  'seventy' are recognized for the first time. Although other words have been more or less known to scholars, different meaning and/or analysis have been assigned to them.

Key words: Middle Iranian languages, Central Asia, secular documents, contracts, numerals, words of measure.

Acknowledgements: This contribution is dedicated as a token of my gratitude to Prof. Irina F. Popova, who has kindly supported my research on Central Asian fragments preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS) since 2008. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Duan Qing, who kindly made me available the electronic typesetting of the edition of two newly found Tumshuqese documents (Duan 2021).

For citation: Hirotoshi Ogihara. "Miscellany on the Tumshuqese Documents: Part II". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 148–159 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77877

About the author: OGIHARA Hirotoshi, Research Fellow of The University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology (Linguistics) (Tokyo, Japan). Membre associé of Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale (Paris, France) (diyuanyumin@gmail.com).

# Introduction

The linguistic structure of Tumshuqese, one of the Middle Iranian languages most closely related to Khotanese, has been elucidated ambiguously despite of some newly found materials. However, as it was revealed by previous studies (Hitch 1988, 1990, 1992, TPR, Ogihara & Ching 2014, Ogihara & Ching 2017, Ching 2019, Ogihara 2019, 2020) the secular documents, especially the contracts, are still the most important corpus for linguistic study of this language. In this paper, which is the sequel of my article on the Tumshuqese documents (Ogihara 2020), I will treat some words attested in the Tumshuqese secular documents that have been scarcely discussed in the previous studies. My discussion concerns some passages attested in the Central Asian fragments preserved in IOM, RAS, which were made available to me thanks to the arrangement by our honorand.

#### 1. dau/do = sg. acc. of $d\bar{a}$ - 'gift'

As mentioned by Maue (Maue 2009), three fragments in the Paris collection have been identified with the Vessantara-jātaka and they belong to one single folio.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy to mention that two more Kuchean fragments kept in the Russian collection, the present inventory number of which are SI 2962-2 and SI 2998-8, were recently identified with this jātaka, and the Kuchean version of this story cannot be attributed to any known Indic texts, but rather most often exhibits similarities with the Chinese and Sogdian versions (Ogihara 2018: e9–e22 and 2021). In this text, a word *dau* is clearly read, and the meaning 'gift' could be assigned to it, based on the context where it appears.

HL 27b3–4: ] (handa)ranu dau ärdī  $t^h \times [...]$  bārzi rende

'[...] whoever(?) does donation to others, in that case(?) [...] he shall become a Buddha.'

HL 27b5: ] (ha)nd(a)ranu dau arū '[...] I shall do/did donation to others.'

The former passage is comparable to the following Kuchean version.

SI 2962-2 + SI 2998-8a6: /// ( $\bar{a}yor$ )  $aim w(atk\ddot{a})$ şşi  $k(_us)e$  ( $\tilde{n}a$ )ştär alyen $k(\ddot{a})mts$  kartse rītatär sū pañäkte mäs(ketär) ///

'[...] whoever will give alms, order (alms), want and long for the welfare of others, he shall become a Buddha [...]'

From the morphological point of view, Tumsh. *dau* can be regarded as the sg. acc. form of  $d\bar{a}$ - 'gift', which is etymologically related to OA neuter noun  $d\bar{a}h$ - 'gift'. The Tumshugese locution *dau ar*- could mean 'to donate'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tumshuqese fragments known to scholars by 2009 are quoted by HL number offered by Maue (2009). On the other hand, four documents published by Ogihara and Ching (2013) and TPR are mentioned by TX001–004, and H111 is used for the recently published Tumshuqese contract (see Duan 2021). The Tumshuqese and Kuchean (i.e. Tocharian B) texts quoted in this paper are from my transliteration based on the original fragments. The following signs proposed by Maue (Maue 2009) are used for Tumshuqese. The brackets [] placed at the beginning or end of a quoted passage indicate a textual loss at left or right edge of a fragment. One single illegible akşara is indicated by +, and damaged part of an akşara (vowel or consonant) is indicated by ×. Round bracket is used for the restored part by me.  $\blacklozenge$ , | and — indicate the punctuation given in the Tumshuqese documents. A is the akşara erased by the scribe, and <> is the akşara added below a line. For the missing part of the fragment, [...] is used, but this sign is also used in the translation to indicate the part which I cannot understand. The  $\triangleleft$  papeared in the consonant cluster is noted by the normal h <Ch>, while the aspirated consonant is noted by the superscript <C<sup>h</sup>>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Khotanese, the words for 'gift' are  $d\bar{a}mgy\bar{a}$ - (< \* $d\bar{a}mac\bar{c}$ - <  $d\bar{a}$ - 'to give') and haura- (< haur-/hor- 'to give') = Tumsh. rura- 'gift(?)'. On the etymology of Khot.  $d\bar{a}mgy\bar{a}$ - and haura-, see DKS: 155–156 and 499.

In addition, considering that the vowel /au/ changed into /o/ in a later stage of Tumshuqese as reflected in the declension of the *-aa-* stem nouns and variants of some words, a thus far attested form *do* could be the late form of this *dau*.<sup>3</sup> In fact, as far as the verbs remain, Tumsh. *do* can be regarded as a direct object of the verbs *ar-* 'to do' [HL 10.7] and *res!*<sup>*h*</sup>- 'to send' [HL 14.9], and the context does not contradict this meaning.<sup>4</sup>

HL 10.7: *cu* se azu do daro aru bisu me  $\chi$ sanda bujid<sub>1</sub>i 'That I have done donation(?) for a long time(?), thee (lit. my lord) knows (it) in full.'<sup>5</sup>

HL 14.9: *puştā tirye pad<sub>1</sub>esa do ma reşt<sup>h</sup>ed<sub>1</sub>a* 'Let (one) not do donation to *puşta*(?) in any manners(?).'

### 2. Numerals

### 2-1. Tumsh. tshārsa 'forty'

New numerals are attested in another fragment kept in the Paris collection. The context suggests that it is a part of a monastic account, both sides of which are written in a writing brush like other Tumshuqese documents.

HL 29b5: | *cantadewā brārā tshārsa ba*(*ri*) [ '[...] brought(3sg.) [...] to a brother of Cantadewa, 40 [...]'

Tumsh. *tshārsa* can be regarded as an expected form for 'forty', cf. Tumsh. *tshāri* 'four', Tumsh. *dase* 'ten' and Khot. *tcaholsä/tcoholsä* 'forty'. On the other hand, in the joint article with Maue (Maue & Ogihara 2017), we interpreted Tumsh.  $x_8\bar{a}rsu$  as the numeral 'forty', mainly based on the context, the corresponding Khotanese form, and the phonological system of Tumshuqese.

TX002.16:  $\chi \check{s} er \bar{a} \ bandina \ \check{s} e \ x_8 \bar{a} r su \ hvayi$ 

'He is to be beaten [with] 40 [strokes] as the punishment of the state'.

As suggested there, if our equation of  $\langle x_8 \rangle$  with the phoneme /dz/ is correct, Tumsh.  $dz\bar{a}rsu$  (previously transliterated as  $x_8\bar{a}rsu$ ) would be a secondary form created by the analogy on another numeral, ex. *drisu* 'thirty'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The fact that the spelling <au> appears most often in the Buddhist texts, especially in the Karmavācanā text [HL 16], suggests that the vowel /au/ changed into /o/ at a later stage of Tumshuqese. See the alternation of <au> and <o> attested in the following words: Tumsh. *ustamatau* [HL 16.49], *ustamato* [HL 16.36, 58], *ustamad*<sub>1</sub>o [HL 10.11] 'even, finally' and *gaursu* [H111.4, 5], *gaursā* [or *gorsā* in H111.4], *gorsi* [HL 29.3, 6, 7, H111.6] 'name of food or cereal(?)', the latter of which was read as *gautsu*, *gautsā*, *gautsi* respectively by Duan (Duan 2021: 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The meaning 'harm' was supposed by Hitch (1992: 93), who compares it to Khot.  $d\bar{u}$  'harm'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In my discussion on Tumsh.  $\chi šandaa$ - 'lord, ruler' (Ogihara 2020: 20–21) I quoted three attestations from HL 10, which can be regarded as a letter or a report addressed to a monastery official. In this case, Tumsh. *tepi* at the beginning of this document may be a borrowing from Chin. R dié (EMC \*dɛp; LMC \*tfiiap, on the reconstruction of EMC and LMC, see Pulleyblank 1991), a certain kind of Tang official document or R tiě (EMC \*t<sup>h</sup>ɛp; LMC \*t<sup>h</sup>iap), a simplified form of R tié and less formal in use', cf. Kuch. *tep* (Ching & Ogihara 2010: 108). Thus, the passage HL 10.1: *tepi pese aśrā kṣemayeśā*  $\bullet$  could be translated as 'the document for the teacher,  $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ , Kṣemayaśa(s)'. On the other hand, Bailey proposed

#### 2-2. Tumsh. hodad1a 'seventy'

Another numeral appears in the following passages in the same document treated in the preceding section.

HL 29b1: ]  $ka + \times i$  mure rorama hodad<sub>1</sub>a | 'We give money to [...], 70.' HL 29b2: ] rorama hodad<sub>1</sub>ä pantsi | 'We give [...], 75'.

Although Tumsh.  $hodad_1a/hodad_1\ddot{a}$  has never been recognized by scholars, it is the numeral 'seventy', as suggested by the corresponding Khotanese form,  $haud\bar{a}t\ddot{a}/hod\bar{a}t\ddot{a}$  'seventy'. If this is accepted, Tumsh.  $hodad_1\ddot{a}$  pantsi should indicate 'seventy five'.

In addition, Tumsh. *pantsasä* attested in the next line should be a variant for the numeral *patsasu* 'fifty'.

HL 29b3: ] + *aśanu mure rorama, pantsasä* | '[...] We give money for horses, 50'.

#### 2-3. Tumsh. sod<sub>1</sub>u 'hundred'

In my latest article on the Tumshuqese, I proposed that Tumsh. azaru(sg.)/zare(pl.) would be the numeral for 'thousand' (Ogihara 2020: 18–20). In the discussion, I mentioned that only the plural form  $sad_1e$  is attested for the numeral for 'hundred'. However, the detailed research on the Tumshuqese materials leads to the supposition that Tumsh.  $sod_1u$  would be the singular form for the numeral 'hundred'. To my knowledge, Tumsh.  $sod_1u$  is attested thrice.

HL 11.1:  $ak^h a a a d_1 a sod_1 u mare k^h o$ '[...] ?-ed(3sg./pl.) [...] 100(?)  $k^h a a a.$ .'<sup>6</sup> HL 11.3:  $pa - wa k^h a lire sod_1 u k^h o \bar{a} d_1 a$ 'And then,  $k^h a lire a rrived$ , 100(?)  $k^h a a a.$ .'<sup>7</sup>

HL 32.7: [ca. 4 akṣaras] +  $rr \times sod_1 u \ azar\bar{u} \ be \ ma \ le \times r \times$  [ '[...] 100, 000(?) woven cloths(?) [...]<sup>8</sup>

The context of these attestations is so obscure that it is not easy to propose the exact interpretation. However, Tumsh.  $sod_1u$  precedes  $azar\bar{u}$  'thousand' in HL 32.7, which is comparable to Khot.  $sat\bar{a}$ - $ys\bar{a}ra$ - 'a hundred thousand' (Skjærvø 2004: 351b). In addition, it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> As will be discussed in the section 3–2 below, Tumsh.  $k^haa$ - is very probably a word of measure, not a commercial item as suggested (Ogihara 2020: 19, fn. 34). In this passage, the main verb  $ak^hasad_la$ , of which exact meaning cannot be restored, is the 3sg./pl. impf.-inj. mid. The obscure context does not permit me to decide the grammatical status of *mare* in this passage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Although Tumsh.  $k^halire$  can be regarded as the subject of  $\bar{a}d_1a$  'came(3sg./pl.)', the number and gender of  $k^halire$  depends on the interpretation of  $\bar{a}d_1a$ . If  $\bar{a}d_1a$  is the f. sg. form, it is the f. sg. noun. On the other hand, it is the pl. noun in case that  $\bar{a}d_1a$  is the m. pl. form. Because it is not possible to decide which is correct, I am obliged to leave it open. If my interpretation of  $sod_1u$  and  $k^ho$  is correct, it should be a common noun. Still, the meaning of Tumsh.  $k^halire$  remains uncertain. In interpreting the new attestation of this noun in a thus far unknown Tumshuqese document found in China (the inventory number: H111), it is interpreted as 'prince' (Duan 2021: 7–8), based on Bailey's proposition (SDTV I: 47) that it is a proper name, and the comparative study with the documents written in Niya Prākrit and Bactrian. However, the context of this passage in H111 is too obscure to support the interpretation 'prince'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This fragment is preserved in IOM, RAS. The present inventory number is SI Khot.954 (the previous numer: SI B/10-1). It is uncertain whether Tumsh. *bema* is the cognate of Khot. *bema*- 'woven cloth' (DKS: 303b). Tumsh. *bema* is attested in H111.10 (cf. Duan 2021: 14), who translates this noun as 'wealth'.

used with the sg. acc. of Tumsh.  $k^h aa$ - in HL 11.1 and 11.3 which usually indicates the quantity of a noun accompanied by a numeral. Taking these attestations into account, Tumsh.  $sod_1u$  could be most naturally explained as 'hundred', cf. Sogd. stw /satu/ 'hundred' (Gharib 1995: 363b). It is remarkable that Tumsh.  $sod_1u$  has the neuter ending -u as the Sogdian form stw /satu/ comparable to Av. satam 'hundred'. In summary, the numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' exhibit the same declension in Tumshuqese in difference to Khotanese.

	'hundred' (sg./pl.)	'thousand' (sg./pl.)
Tumshuqese	$sod_1u$ : $sad_1e$	azaru : zare
Khotanese	satä : sate	ysāru : ysāre

In Tumshuqese, the ending -u is used for the singular form of both numerals, and the ending -e is assigned to the plural form. On the other hand, the Khot. numeral 'hundred' shows the ending  $-\ddot{a}$  in the singular form.

#### 2-4. Tumsh. drd1a- 'third'

In the Tumshuqese contracts, the date of a transaction is clearly mentioned at the beginning. It refers to the day, the month and the regnal year of the Gūzdik king, to which most of our knowledge on the Tumshuqese ordinals owes. In the course of our decipherment of TX001–004, we encountered the ordinal 'third'. As mentioned in TPR: 77, the Tumsh. ordinal  $drd_1ye$  'third' first given by Ogihara and Ching (Ogihara & Ching 2013: 46, 47, 55) was corrected to  $drd_1we$ , based on the suggestion by Maue.<sup>9</sup>

In her edition of two recently found Tumshuqese documents, Duan proposes the reading  $drd_1de$  to the above mentioned form in the light of a newly attested  $drd_1te$  'third' in the Tumshuqese contract H111 and Khot.  $d\ddot{a}da$ -/ $d\ddot{a}dda$ - 'third' (Duan 2021: 7, 11).

H111.1: yaunduyā  $d\underline{r}ad_{l}te \chi sane buzad_{l}ine māste dauwars no$ 

'In the 3rd regnal year of Yondu, in the Buzad<sub>1</sub>(ina) month, on the 13th day'<sup>10</sup>

However, the scrutiny on the plate of this fragment attached to her paper in which Tumsh. *drd*<sub>1</sub>*te* appears enables me to offer another possible interpretation to the Tumsh. ordinal 'third'.

As mentioned by Duan (Duan 2021: 7), the second aksara of  $\langle drd_1 te \rangle$  can also be read as  $\langle d_1 ne \rangle$ .<sup>11</sup> In my opinion, this form should be  $drd_1 ne$ , of which original form is  $drd_1 ane$ ,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In TX001a7 and a8, Tumsh.  $b\bar{a}g_{2e}$  is attested twice, to which the translation 'management' was given (Ogihara & Ching 2014: 30; 2017: 463). In addition to these attestations in TX001, it also appears in HL 11.7, 9 and HL 32.3. Taking into account that Tumsh.  $b\bar{a}g_{2e}$  follows the gen.-dat. form of a noun in these attestations, it may be a postposition 'instead of, for the sake of ' as a cognate of Khot.  $b\bar{a}je$ ,  $b\bar{a}ja$  (SVK I: 86 and III: 112–114).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Here I corrected *dauwa[rsañyo]* 'thirteeen' read by Duan (Duan 2021: 5) to *dauwarsño*, see *infra*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Although we have two more attestations of  $< d_1 te>$  in H111.7 and 111.9, the correct reading of these forms should also be  $< d_1 ne>$ , namely H111.7:  $< l\bar{a}zid_1 ne>$  and 111.9:  $< bidruhvid_1 ne>$ . These are the infinitives with the vowel reduction in the penultimate syllable of  $l\bar{a}z$ - 'meaning unknown' and *bidruhv*- 'to misbehave(?)' respectively. The expected forms are  $l\bar{a}zid_1 ane$  and *bidruhvid\_1 ane*, cf. *parād\_1 ane*, *parād\_1 äne*, and *parād\_ne* attested as the infinitive of *parat<sup>h</sup>-/parād\_1a*- 'to sell'. Although the insufficient documentation of Tumshuqese does not leads to the detailed description of the Tumsh. verbal system, Tumsh. verbs can be classified to four, mainly, two Classes as in Khotanese (Ogihara 2019: 299–302). Class A in Tumshuqese has *-i*- between stem and ending for the 3sg. prs. act./mid., which corresponds to *-ä*- of Khot. Class A. On the other hand, this *-i*- does not appear in Tumsh. Class B as in Khot. Class B, thus, stem directly followed by ending. The insertion of *-i*- also applies to the 3sg. imper. act. and past stem of Class A, the latter of which goes back to the past passive participle of Old Iranian in \**-ta*. In the impf.-inj. in Tumshuqese, the distinction between Classes A and B is reflected by the different endings, namely 3sg. mid.: *-tal-da*; 3pl. mid.: *-anda* are restricted to Class B, although the ending 3sg./pl. mid.: *-ad\_1a* applies to both Classes.

the m. sg. loc. of  $drd_1a$ - as suggested by Tumsh. *dritana* 'thrice', the sg. instr.-abl. of *drita*-(Bailey 1950: 653).<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Tumsh. *bid*<sub>1</sub>*ane* attested in TX001a1 and b9, the m. sg. loc. form of *bid*<sub>1</sub>*a*- 'second', lends support to  $drd_1ne$  with the vowel reduction in the penultimate syllable which goes back to  $drd_1ane$ .<sup>13</sup> Thus, the above quoted passage should reads as H111.1:  $drad_1ne \chi sane buzad_1ine m aste dauwars no.$ 

If this is accepted, Tumsh.  $drd_1we$  we read in TX001 and 003 should be reconsidered. I would rather like to read this form as  $\langle drd_1nye \rangle$  with  $\langle y \rangle$  indicating the palatalization of a preceding /n/ caused by the ending -e as follows.

TX001a1–2 and b9-10:  $w\bar{a}sudew\bar{a} \, bid_1 ane \chi \bar{s}ane g \bar{u}h \bar{a} \, s \bar{a}lye \chi \bar{s}imane m \bar{a}ste dr d_1 nye$ 'In the 2nd regnal year of Wasudewa, the year of ox, in the 6th month, on the 3rd day.'

TX003a1–2: *wāsudewā hodmane \chišane aśā sālye (a)hvarjane māste drd*<sub>1</sub>*nye* 'In the 7th regnal year of Wāsudewa, the year of horse, in the Ahvarjana month, on the 3rd day'<sup>14</sup>

The problem is that the akṣara  $\langle nya \rangle$  written below  $\langle d_1a \rangle$  is different from the usually attested form, and it rather resembles  $\langle wa \rangle$ . In the ligature  $\langle nya \rangle$  composed of  $\langle na \rangle$  and  $\langle ya \rangle$ ,  $\langle na \rangle$  deletes the bottom stroke and only leaves the upper part, to which the  $\langle ya \rangle$  specific to the ligature is attached.<sup>15</sup> What is important is that the akṣara  $\langle na \rangle$  is never written in its full form as the first component of a ligature. On the other hand,  $\langle na \rangle$  is written almost in its full form as the second component.

Now it is possible to suppose that the scribe of TX001 and 003 would have used the normal  $\langle na \rangle$  as the second component to write the ligature  $\langle d_1na \rangle$  first, and added the  $\langle ya \rangle$  specific to the ligature to this  $\langle d_1na \rangle$  as the third component. Consequently, the ligature  $\langle nya \rangle$  in  $\langle d_1nya \rangle$  is different from the usually attested  $\langle nya \rangle$ .<sup>16</sup> If it is correct, Tumsh.  $drd_1ne$  and  $drd_1nye$  can be set up as the m. sg. loc. form of the ordinal  $drd_1a$ - 'third'.

### 3. Words of measure

#### 3-1. Tumsh. jaha-

In the fragment preserved in the Paris collection, the hapax  $jh\bar{a}$  appears.<sup>17</sup>

HL 30a5: ] risa bari 2 jhā | '[...] brought(3sg.) [...], 2 jahas'.

To my knowledge, the verb *hvan-* 'to speak' is the exception to these rules (cf. *hvan-* 'to speak': 3sg. act. prs. *hvanid*<sub>*j*</sub>*i*/*hvañid*<sub>*j*</sub>*i*, past stem: *hvata-*/*hvad*<sub>*j*</sub>*a*-). Tumsh. infinitives are based on the past stem. Consequently, Tumsh.  $l\bar{a}zid_{1}ne$  (<  $l\bar{a}zid_{1}ane$ ) attested in H111.7 derives from  $l\bar{a}zid_{1}a$ -, the past stem of the verb  $l\bar{a}z$ -. The present stem  $l\bar{a}z$ - is confirmed by the agent noun  $l\bar{a}z\bar{a}ki$  (TX003a4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Concerning the m. sg. loc. ending -ane, see (Maggi 1991: 221-224).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The vowel reduction in the penultimate syllable is also observable in *dauwarsño* (or *dowarsño*) 'twelve' in H111.1, which was read as *dauwa[rsañyo]* (Duan 2021: 5), cf. *dowarsañy(o)* without the vowel reduction attested in HL 33.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The translation 'In the 2nd regnal year of Wāsudewa' at the beginning of TX003 given in (Ogihara & Ching 2017: 465) should be corrected as here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For the Brāhmī script developped in the northern rim of the Tarim basin (Malzahn 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> At present, the lack of other attestations does not permit me to decide whether this is the normal writing style for  $< d_1 nya >$  in the Tumshuqese or not.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The faint trace of a vowel diacritic sign above  $\langle jha \rangle$  at the beginning of line a2 of the same document permits us to restore  $jh(\bar{a})$ . The vertical line after this aksara indicates that this passage ends with this aksara as line a5 quoted here.

In my opinion, this form should be the m. pl. nom.-acc. form of *jaha*-. Tumsh. *jaha*- has been recognized since the pioneering work by Konow (Konow 1935: 818; Konow 1947: 183), according to whom it would mean 'how, that'. However, the context suggests that it can be safely interpreted as a word of measure.

HL 7.1:  $k^h$ așo  $g_2i$  latsāngi yesi mo bari jahu nä 'Latsāngi came(?) from Kāš(?). He brought wine, 9 jahas'.<sup>18</sup>

In this attestation, the sg. acc. form of *jaha*- is used to indicate the quantity of liquid.<sup>19</sup> As well as in Khotanese (Emmerick 1965: 25), the usage of the nominative case as measure is known to Tumshuqese as pointed out by Hitch (Hitch 1987: 59–60).

HL 6.5–6: dad<sub>1</sub>i-hvana dād<sub>1</sub>u hvañi lāwu yi k<sup>h</sup>āli rorama śo soli

'The preacher is scheduled to preach a law. We give oilcake paste(?) as a dona-tion/tribute(?) to him, one sola'.<sup>20</sup>

In this passage, Tumsh. *soli* is the m. sg. nom. form of *sola*-, and its plural form *sole* is also attested in HL 6.2, 7.3 and 7.4. Thus, Tumsh. *jhā* in HL 30a5 introduced here can also be interpreted in the same line of thought. The vowel reduction in the first syllable and lengthening of the final vowel can be supported by *howa* attested in TX002a9, as a variant of the sg. nom. form  $hv\bar{a}$  of *hvar*- 'sister'.

Furthermore, the interpretation of Tumsh.  $jh\bar{a}$  as the m. pl. nom.-acc. form of *jaha*- could lead to a better understanding of the final word in the following sentence which has been read and interpreted differently.

HL 4.13: *bije śeñcu sud*<sub>1</sub>*ati* [SIG] *hampa<u>ra</u>-ñijane se mo <u>ra</u>huho jhā* 'Witness, Śeñcu, Sud<sub>1</sub>*ati*. [SIG]<sup>21</sup> Wine to(?) the *hampara*'s [...], *rahuho jahas*'.<sup>22</sup>

These sentences appear in the list of witnesses of the contract. The last akṣara of the latter sentence has been interpreted in two different ways, namely as a verbal form and as a signature. Konow proposed  $\langle \bar{j}aha \rangle$  (Konow 1935: 808, 818) and  $\langle jeha \rangle$  (Konow 1947: 168, 183) as a verbal form of 2sg. imper. act. of  $j\bar{a}h$ - 'to clean'. On the other hand, Hitch and Maue regard it as a signature, although their readings are different from each other:  $\langle j\bar{a} + ha \rangle$  (Hitch 1985) and  $\langle jhe \rangle$  (Maue 2009).

However, the last akṣara can also be read as  $\langle jh\bar{a} \rangle$ . In addition, this line seems to be written in the same hand, and the signatures in the Brāhmī script given in this contract are rotated 90 degrees counterclockwise just like  $\langle su \rangle$  in the preceding part of HL 4.13 quoted here (transliterated as [SIG]). These signatures and  $\langle jh\bar{a} \rangle$  are written in different hands

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> I regard Tumsh.  $k^h aşo$  as the pl. instr.-abl. of  $k^h aşa$ - 'Kāš(?)' tentatively, cf. Khot. *khyeşa*- 'Kāš (KT VII: 50–54)'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tumsh. *jahu* also appears in HL 7.2 and 7.3. Furthermore, Tumsh. *jahä* attested in HL 29a3 can be taken as a variant of *jahu*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tumsh.  $k^{h}\bar{a}li$  may be a loan word from BHS *khali*- 'oil-cake' (BHSD: 204a). I regard Tumsh. *lāwu* as a borrowing from an unattested Bactrian \**lā*-(?), cf. OA *dāh*- 'gift' introduced above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Tumsh. *śeñcu* was regarded as 'a Chinese title' (Konow: 1935: 808–809, 811, 822), or 'name, or surname of a man' (Konow 1947: 168–169, 170, 188). On the other hand, Tumsh. *sud<sub>1</sub>ani* read by Konow (op. cit.) was rejected by Hitch (1985) and Maue (2009), which I follow here. Tumsh. *śeñcu sud<sub>1</sub>ati* appears as *sud<sub>1</sub>ati śeñcu* in HL 6.3. In my opinion, Tumsh. *śeñcu* would be a title. The signature <su> confirms that Tumsh. *sud<sub>1</sub>ati* is a personal name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The exact meaning of Tumsh. *hampara*- is ambiguous. Konow (1935: 817 and 1947: 189) and Bailey (1958: 152–153) regard it as 'store, storehouse'. On the other hand, the interpretation of *hampara*- as 'object that brings yearly profit' was proposed by Ching Chao-jung in the course of our decipherment of TX001–004, cf. TPR: 85, Ogihara & Ching (2014: 24 and 2017: 471).

evidently. If this is the case, the latter interpretation as a signature should be reconsidered. The fact that Tumsh. *mo* 'wine' appears here suggests that  $\langle jh\bar{a} \rangle$  attested in this passage would be very probably the m. pl. nom.-acc. form of *jaha*-. In this case, *rahuho* preceding it would be a thus far unknown numeral which indicates plurality.<sup>23</sup>

# 3-2. Tumsh. *k<sup>h</sup>aa*-

As briefly mentioned in the footnote in the section 2–3 above, Tumsh.  $k^haa$ - is very probably a word of measure, not a commercial item as suggested in Ogihara (Ogihara 2020: 19, fn. 34). In most of the attestations, it appears as the sg. acc. form,  $k^ho$  (in total 16 times). The nominative form is  $k^ha/ka$  [HL 38.2, 38.3], and  $k^hayo$  [HL 11.15] can be assigned to the pl. instr.-abl. form. The sg. acc. form  $k^ho$ , usually accompanied by a numeral, indicates the quantity of a noun. Below are quoted some attestations that exemplify well its usage.

HL 10.14: *śida k<sup>h</sup>o 50 mre 5 <del>ka</del> 1000 bārre 10* 'Śida (received?) 50  $k^haas$ , 5000 murās, 10 bārrās'.

HL 11.1:  $ak^h asad_1 a sod_1 u$  mare  $k^h o$ 

'[...] ?-ed(3sg./pl.) [...] 100(?) *k<sup>h</sup>aas*'. HL 11.3: ♦ *mare k<sup>h</sup>o <del>ro</del> cilye rorama* ♦

'Here we give 1  $k^h aa$  as *cila*'.

HL 11.3: *pa-wa*  $k^h$ *alire* sod<sub>1</sub>*u*  $k^h$ *o*  $\bar{a}d_1a$ 'And then,  $k^h$ *alire* arrived, 100(?)  $k^haas$ '.

HL 11.4–5: *yaśawirā*  $k^h o t^h a sad_1 a bista \frac{pam tsi}{pam tsi} \diamond cīla bari \diamond$ 'He brought 120  $k^h aa$ s of *cila* to Yaśawira'.

HL 11.5–6:  $rid_1a$  by  $eg_1y_i$   $c\bar{a}karra gix_6e - parat^h i dva sad_1e < drisu > hastad_1a k^h o ag_2ami + + <10 5> [(+)] <math>g_1 \times [(+)] ri bari \blacklozenge$ 

'[...] Cākarra sold sheep(?) [...] 230 k<sup>h</sup>aas [...] 15 [...] brought(3sg.) [...]'

HL 11.25:  $\blacklozenge$  briyalka  $\blacklozenge$   $k^h o$  rori sa 10 cila ñesta  $\blacklozenge$ 'Briyalka gave [...] 1  $k^h aas$ , and received 10 cilas.'

HL 11.26: *so*  $k^h o$  we lakana  $gr(nda) | kundi g_1 a$  se | 'A pot was bought from Laka, 1  $k^h aa'$ .<sup>24</sup>

As the above attestations reveal, Tumsh.  $k^h o$  indicates the quantity of a noun, accompanied by a numeral.

As for the classification of the stem of this noun, it can be regarded both as the  $-\bar{a}$ - stem noun and as the *-aa*-stem noun, for these two nominal classes have the same endings: the sg. nom. *-a* and sg. acc. *-o* (the original form being *-au* for the *-aa*- stem nouns). However, since Tumsh. *-ā*- stem nouns have *-yo* as the pl. instr.-abl. ending, cf. *bisyo* [HL 2.8] for *bisā*- 'house', the pl. instr.-abl. form  $k^h ayo$  suggests that it would be classified to the *-aa*-stem noun.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the stem form of  $k^h \bar{a}$ - (Ogihara 2020: 19, fn. 34) should be abandoned.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  Even if this is accepted, it is still not easy to interpret the interrelationship between these two sentences.

tences. <sup>24</sup> Tumsh. *kuṇḍi* would be a loan word from Indic languages, cf. Skt. *kuṇḍin-* 'a kind of vessel' [MW: 290a].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the sg. instr.-abl. ending of the *-aa*-stem nouns is *-ona/-onā*, cf. *mitrona < mitraa*-'Maitreya', pesonā < pesaa- 'teacher', and *brikanonā < brikanaa*- 'personal name'.

### **Concluding remarks**

In this paper, I interpreted some words appeared in the Tumshuqese secular documents. My discussion mainly concerns the Tumshuqese numerals together with words of measure. Among them, Tumsh. *tshārsa* 'forty', *hodad*<sub>1</sub>*a* 'seventy', *sod*<sub>1</sub>*u* 'hundred', and *d*<sub>1</sub>*a*-'third' deserve to be mentioned. These forms resemble the corresponding Khotanese forms, *tcaholsä/tcoholsä*, *haudātä/hodātä*, *satä*, and *däda-/dädda*- respectively. Still, they show the peculiarities in phonetic changes and the morphology in Tumshuqese. Although the documents belong to the best preserved materials in Tumshuqese, the attestations are so scarce that it is not easy to draw a decisive conclusion. Not only comparative research but also detailed examination of context of the texts will be required to elucidate unsolved problems.

## Addendum

After my submission of this contribution, Dr. Dieter Maue kindly informed me that  $<hvid_1ne>$  attested in H111.9 should be interpreted as  $<bidruhvid_1ne>$ , the infinitive of *bidruhv-* as quoted in p. 152, fn. 11 (p.c. email on 24 August 2021). I would like to express my deepest gratitude to him for his remarks. We are preparing the re-edition of two Tumshuqese documents H111 and H112 published by Duan (Duan 2021).

#### Abbreviations

AV. — Avesta

- BHS Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
- EMC Early Middle Chinese
- Khot. Khotanese
- Kuch. Kuchean
- LMC Late Middle Chinese
- OA Old Avesta
- Sogd. Sogdian
- Tumsh. Tumshuqese
- BHSD Edgerton, Franklin. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary. Vol. II: Dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953 (in English).
- DKS Bailey, H. W. Dictionary of Khotan Saka. London: CUP, 1979 (in English).
- KT VII Bailey, H. W. Khotanese Texts. Volume VII. Cambridge: CUP, 1985 (in English).
- MW *Monier-Williams M.* Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged. Oxford: Clarendon, 1899 (in English).
- SDTV I *Bailey, H. W.* Saka Documents. Text Volume (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Pt. II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Period and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. V: Saka.). London: Lund Humphries, 1968 (in English).
- SVK I Emmerick, R.E., P.O. Skjærvø. Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese I (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 401. Bd.).
- Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982 (in English).

- SVK III Emmerick, R.E., P.O. Skjærvø. Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese III (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 651. Bd.). Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997 (in English).
- TPR Bureau of Cultural Relics of Tumshuk City 圖木舒克市文物局, Center for Research on Ancient Chinese History, Peking University 北京大學中國古代史研究中心, Institute for Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions, Renmin University of China 中國人民大學 國學院西域歷史語言研究所. Sanjian xinchu jushideyu qiyue 三件新出據史德語契約 [Three Newly Found Tumshuqese Sale Contracts], Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan 西域歷史語言研究 所集刊 [Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions], 2014. Vol. 7. pp. 63– 105 (in Chinese).

#### References

- Bailey, H.W. "The Tumshuq Karmavācanā". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1950, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 649–670, 809–810 (in English).
- Bailey, H.W. "Languages of the Saka". Ed. by K. Hoffmann, W.B. Henning, H.W. Bailey et al. *Handbuchder Orientalistik. 4. Bd. Iranistik; 1. Abschnitt: Linguistik.* 1958. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 131–154 (in English).
- Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "The Four Cardinal Directions in Tumshuqese". Ed. by Pavel B. Lurje. *Proceedings of the Eighth European Conference of Iranian Studies*, vol. 1, 2019. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Publishers, pp. 66–86 (in English).
- Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉, Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "Internal Relationships and Dating of the Tocharian B Monastic Accounts in the Berlin Collection". *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyu* 内陸ア ジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages], 2010, vol. 25, pp. 75–141 (in English).
- Duan Qing 段晴. "Huang Wenbi faxian de liang jian jushideyu wenshu" 黃文弼發現的兩件據史德 語文書 [Two Gūzdiya Documents Discovered by Huang Wenbi]. *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 [The Western Regions Literature and History], 2021, vol. 15, pp. 1–18 (in Chinese).
- Emmerick, R.E. "Syntax of the Cases in Khotanese". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1965, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 24–33 (in English).
- Gharib, B. Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian—Persian—English. Tehran: Farhangan Publications, 1995 (in English).
- Hitch, D.A. *Tumshuqese Transcriptions*, 1985. Wateringen (in English). [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329030821\_Tumshuqese\_Transcriptions (Last access: 2021/8/4)].
- Hitch, D.A. "Tumshuqese and Tocharian Word of Measure". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 59–62 (in English).
- Hitch, D.A. "Penalty Clauses in Tumshuqese, Khotanese and the Shanshan Prakrit". *Studia Iranica*, 1988, Vol. 17, pp. 147–152 (in English).
- Hitch, D.A. "Prakrit Administration at Tumshuq". Paper read at the 33rd ICANAS. 1990 [https:// www.researchgate.net/publication/320291220\_Prakrit\_Administration\_at\_Tumshuq (Last access: 2021/8/4)] (in English).
- Hitch, D.A. "Tumshuqese *resth-* (*resth-*): Khotanese *\*hist-* 'send'". Journal of Turkish Studies, 1992, vol. 16, pp. 91–95 (in English).
- Konow, Sten. "Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt". Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. 1935. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang ,1935, pp. 772–823 (in German).
- Konow, Sten. "The Oldest Dialect of Khotanese Saka". Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, 1947, Bind 14, pp. 159–190 (in English).
- Maggi, Mauro. "Note tumšuqesi". Studia linguistica amico et magistro oblata: Scritti di amici e allievi dedicati alla memoria di Enzo Evangelisti (Quaderni della collana di linguistica storica e descrittiva 3). Milano: Unicopli, 1991, pp. 219–228 (in Italian).

- Malzahn, Melanie. "The Tocharian Brahmi Chart". Ed. by Melanie Malzahn. *Instrumenta Tocharica*. Heidelberg: Winter, 2007, pp. 223–254 (in English).
- Maue, Dieter. Corpus of Tumshuqese Fragments: Introduction, Handlist, Transliteration. TITUS (Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien), 2009 [http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/ indexe.htm (Last access: 2021/8/4)] (in English).
- Maue, Dieter, Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "Tumschukische Miszellen III: 3. Tumshukese Dental Affricates". Ed. by Turfanforschung. Zur lichten Heimat. Gedenkschrift für Werner Sundermann. 2017. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. pp. 421–432 (in German).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "Roshia shozo Tokarago bunken ni kansuru oboegaki" ロシア所蔵ト カラ語文献に関する覚え書き [Remarks on the Tocharian Manuscript Remains Housed in the Russian Collection]. *Tokyo daigaku gengogaku ronshu denshiban (eTULIP)* 東京大学言語学論 集 電子版 (eTULIP) [Tokyo University linguistic papers (eTULIP)]. 2018. pp. e1-e41 [https:// doi.org/10.15083/00076315] (in Japanese).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "Tumshuqese Imperfect and Its Related Forms". Ed. by Pavel B. Lurje. *Proceedings of the Eighth European Conference of Iranian Studies*, vol. 1, 2019. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Publishers, pp. 297–309 (in English).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "Miscellany on the Tumshuqese documents". *Central Asiatic Journal*, 2020, vol. 63, no. 1–2. pp. 11–24 (in English).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏. "She ji ji ren de zizai wangzi—Vessantara-jātaka zhi fan, han, qiuci, sute zhuben bijiao" 捨己濟人的自在王子—*Vessantara-jātaka* 之梵、漢、龜茲、粟特諸本比較 [Altruism of the All-subduing Prince: A Close Comparison of the Sanskrit, Chinese, Kuchean and Sogdian Versions of the *Vessantara-jātaka*]. Ed. by Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, Wang Juan 汪娟. *Zhang Guangda xiansheng jiushi huadan zhushou lunwenji* 張廣達先生九十華誕祝壽論文集. 2 vols. Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban 新文豐出版, 2021, pp. 985–1022 (in Chinese).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏, Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Xinchu Jushideyu siyuan qiyue wenshu ji qita" 新出據史德語寺院契約文書及其他 [A Newly Found Tumshuqese Monastic Contract and Other Related Findings]. *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 [The Western Regions Literature and History], 2013, vol. 7, pp. 43–61 (in Chinese).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏, Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Xinshutsu Tumushukugo kēyaku monjo ni tsuite" 新出トゥムシュク語契約文書について [On the Tumshuqese Contracts Newly Published in China]. *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyu* 内陸アジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages], 2014, vol. 29, pp. 7–55 (in Japanese).
- Ogihara Hirotoshi 荻原裕敏, Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉. "Some Observations on the Tumshuqese Documents Newly Published in China". Ed. by Turfanforschung. Zur lichten Heimat. Gedenk-schrift für Werner Sundermann. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017, pp. 453–482 (in English).
- Pulleyblank, E.G. Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991 (in English).
- Skjærvø, Prods O. This Most Excellent Shine of Gold, King of Kings of Sutras, the Khotanese Suvarnabhāsottamasūtra. Volume II: Manuscripts, Commentary, Glossary, Indexes. (Sources of orien 慶昭蓉. "Some Observations on the Tumshuqese Documents Newly Published in China". Ed. by Turfanforschung. Zur lichten Heimat. Gedenkschrift für Werner Sundermann. Wiesbaden:tal languages and literatures, 61. Central Asian sources; 6). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004 (in English).

# Сборник документов на тумшукском языке: Часть II

Хиротоси ОГИХАРА Токио, Япония

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 03.06.2021.

Аннотация: Настоящая статья является продолжением серии работ по тумшукскому языку (часть I см.: *Central Asiatic Journal*, 2020, vol. 63, no. 1–2. pp. 11–24). Исследования тумшукского языка, одного из среднеиранских языков, идут сравнительно медленно из-за недостатка письменного материала, а также отсутствия параллельных текстов, которые могли бы дать почву для сравнительного анализа. Однако гражданские документы, особенно различные контракты, являются крайне важным источником для лингвистического анализа языка, так как во-первых, контракты на тумшукском языке лучше всего сохранились, а во-вторых, некоторые части этих контрактов можно сравнить с подобными контрактами на других центральноазиатских языках. В настоящей статье делается попытка проанализировать некоторые тумшукские слова, встречаемые в гражданских документах, например, числительные tshārsa «сорок»,  $hodad_1a$  «семьдесят»,  $sod_1u$  «сто»,  $drd_1a$ - «третий», меры jaha- и  $k^haa$ - к существительному dau/do «подарок». Среди этих слов числительные tshārsa «сорок» и  $hodad_1a$  «семьдесят» встречаются впервые. Несмотря на то что другие слова были уже известны ученым, тем не менее в статье дается новая интерпретация их значения или анализ их использования.

Ключевые слова: среднеиранские языки, тумшукский язык, Центральная Азия, гражданские документы, контракты, числительные, слова мер.

Благодарность: Эта статья является выражением моей благодарности проф. Ирине Поповой за помощь в моей работе с центральноазиатскими фрагментами, хранящимися в Институте восточных рукописей РАН, которую я начал еще в 2008 г. Я также выражаю глубокую признательность проф. Дуань Цину, снабдившему меня электронным изданием двух недавно обнаруженных тумшукских текстов (Duan 2021).

Для цитирования: *Огихара Хиротоси*. Сборник документов на тумшукском языке: Часть II // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 148–159 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77877

Об авторе: ОГИХАРА Хиротоси, научный сотрудник Высшей школы гуманитарных исследований и социологии (лингвистика) Университета Токио (Токио, Япония). Центр исследований цивилизаций Восточной Азии (СRCAO), Париж, Франция (diyuanyumin@gmail.com).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 160–171

# Исследование списков цинской рукописи «История государства Российского», хранящихся в России

ЛЮ Жомэй

Институт международной и китайской культуры Пекинского университета иностранных языков Пекин, Китай

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77357

Статья поступила в редакцию 12.06.2021.

Аннотация: Китайская рукопись «История государства Российского» в девяти тетрадях, сложенных в одно тао, появилась в Пекине в 8-й год Даогуана (1828). Это — первая история России на китайском языке. В настоящее время списки этой рукописи хранятся только в библиотеках Санкт-Петербурга (Россия), и их нет ни в китайских коллекциях, ни в коллекциях других стран. «История государства Российского» — это китайская версия первых трех томов «Истории» первого русского национального историка Н.М. Карамзина, который в 1816—1826 гг. издал свой 12-томный труд. Китайский текст был составлен и переведен с русского языка 3.Ф. Леонтьевским — студентом 10-й Духовной миссии в Пекине (1820—1830). Китайская версия состоит из посвящения Карамзина российскому императору Александру I, предисловия, перевода первого, второго и третьего томов (кроме главы 7). В статье проводится сравнение китайской версии Леонтьевского с русским оригиналом Карамзина, выявляется ее значение как литературного произведения, как явления китайско-русского культурного обмена, а также ее роль в историографии Китая.

Ключевые слова: Н.М. Карамзин, З.Ф. Леонтьевский, китайские рукописи, «История государства Российского», РНБ, ИВР РАН.

Благодарность: Особую благодарность за помощь и консультации выражаю директору ИВР РАН И.Ф. Поповой, в.н.с. ИВР РАН Т.А. Пан, зав. сектором восточных фондов Отдела рукописей РНБ О.В. Васильевой, профессору СПбГУ Н.А. Самойлову и преподавателю СПбГУ Д.И. Маяцкому.

Для цитирования: Лю Жомэй. Исследование списков цинской рукописи «История государства Российского», хранящихся в России // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 160–171 (на кит. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77357

Об авторе: ЛЮ Жомэй, доктор филологических наук, профессор Института международной и китайской культуры Пекинского университета иностранных языков (Пекин, КНР) (liuruomei@bfsu.edu.cn).

© Лю Жомэй, 2021

# 俄藏中国清代稿抄本《罗西亚国史》研究

柳若梅

内容提要:清代稿抄本《罗西亚国史》,一函 9 册,成书于道光八年 (1828 年)的北京,堪称 世界上第一部中文的俄国史。目前在俄罗斯圣彼得堡的三处历史悠久的图书馆中藏有完整本全 卷 1 套、完整本合卷 1 套、非完整本全卷 5 套和残卷 1 套,除圣彼得堡外的海内外其他地点

均未见收藏。《罗西亚国史》是俄国历史上第一位"国家历史学家"卡拉姆津(H.M. Карамзин, 1766-1826) 在 1816-1826 年间出版于彼得堡的史学巨著 12 卷本的《俄罗斯国家历史》前三卷的中译本,由第十届俄国东正教驻北京使团随团学生列昂季耶夫斯基 (3.Ф. Леотьевский, 1799-1874) 在北京期间 (1820-1830) 编译。译本内容包括原作者卡拉姆津致俄皇亚历山大一世的献辞、前言、第一卷、第二卷和第三卷(第七章未译)。本文对勘列氏译本与卡拉姆津俄文原著,揭示其文献价值、中俄文化交流价值及中文俄国史学史价值。

清代稿抄本《罗西亚国史》,一函 9 册,成书于道光八年(1828 年)的北京,堪称世界上第一部中文的俄国史。目前在俄罗斯圣彼得堡的三处历史悠久的图书馆中藏 有完整本全卷1套、完整本合卷1套、非完整本全卷5套和残卷1套,除圣彼得堡外 的海内外其他地点均未见收藏。《罗西亚国史》是俄国历史上第一位"国家历史学家" 卡拉姆津 (H.M. Карамзин, 1766–1826)在 1816–1826年间出版于彼得堡的史学巨著 12卷本的《俄罗斯国家历史》前三卷的中译本,由第十届俄国东正教驻北京使团随 团学生列昂季耶夫斯基 (З.Ф. Леотьевский, 1799–1874)在北京期间 (1820–1830)编 译。译本内容包括原作者卡拉姆津致俄皇亚历山大一世的献辞、前言、第一卷、第二 卷和第三卷(第七章未译)。

# 一、俄藏清代稿抄本《罗西亚国史》

历史上中国与俄国之间的交往主要集中在清代。俄国与中国往来的主要目的,是与 清代中国建立稳定的贸易联系。为达到这一目的,俄国以为归顺的清朝俄俘臣民保障 宗教生活之名,自 1715 年起向中国派出了发挥协调中俄关系等政治外交功能的俄国 东正教驻北京使团。该使团持续驻华近二百年,使团成员学习中国语言并从多方面研 究中国,由此在客观上,他们也成为中俄文化交流的主体。《罗西亚国史》是 1820–1830 年间派驻北京的第十届俄国东正教驻北京使团为中俄文化交流做出的重要贡献之一。 目前在圣彼得堡有三家机构藏有《罗西亚国史》:圣彼得堡俄罗斯国家图书馆、俄罗 斯科学院东方文献研究所手稿部、俄罗斯国立圣彼得堡大学东方图书馆。

圣彼得堡的俄罗斯国家图书馆是一所有中文收藏传统的图书馆,在该馆的第一批藏书——来自 18 世纪波兰最著名的藏书家扎卢茨基兄弟 (Станислав-Анджей Залусский, 1695—1758; Юзеф-Анджей Залусский, 1702–1774) 藏书中就有中文古籍,如《四书狐白解——新刻伯雝赵鸣阳先生四书狐白解》等。该馆建设初期的第二笔重要藏书是 18 世纪俄国派驻巴黎教会特使兼驻法国、驻荷兰使馆翻译的杜布罗夫斯基(П.П. Дубровский, 1754–1816) 手稿",其中有16种中文文献:明万历三十年 (1602 年)刊刻的"坤舆万国全图"1份,朱熹注《孟子》刻本残卷1份,康熙六年 (1667 年)刊刻的《金刚经乩注》1份,刊刻于清中前期的入华传教士阳玛诺、费奇规、傅汎济、郭居静、费乐德、南怀仁、利类思整理撰写并经龙华民核订的《天主圣教日课》(附冯秉正辑《圣心规程》,《好述传》残本1份,《金兰筏》残本1份, 16 幅中国花鸟水彩画等。历史上俄国的贵族和富人很早就有收集图书的传统,特别是欧洲近代以来关注东方的风潮对俄国很有影响。贵族、富有家族中等关注东方的人士的中文收藏,有

不少后来都捐赠给了国家图书馆。此外,国家图书馆还多次委托俄国东正教驻北京使 闭负责人在中国收集、采购图书。俄国东正教驻北京使闭成员的一些个人藏书最终也 进入国家图书馆。目前,该馆藏有清代中文写本三百多种,其中就包括《罗西亚国史》 全卷一套。

该馆所藏《罗西亚国史》,编号为 ф. Дорн, № 745, 一函九册, 函套及各册封面均 为明黄色丝绸。函套完好,带有两个象牙扣绊。函套右侧贴一长条白纸,上以黑色大 字书"罗西亚国史"。函套内侧书"卡拉姆津俄罗斯国家历史前三卷,由扎哈尔•列昂 季耶维奇译成汉语,译者于 1835 年 7 月 9 日赠与帝俄国家图书馆" (Первые три части Истории Российского Государства Карамзина переведены на Китайский язык Захаром Леонтьевским. В Императорскую Библиотеку Переводчик 9 июля 1835 года). 函套内夹有一卡片,上书"卡拉姆津 (1766–1826),俄罗斯国家历史,第十届北京东 正教使团成员列昂季耶夫斯基 (1799–1874) 的汉译本, 刻本, 北京, 1835 年译者赠 送" (Карамзин Н.М. 1766–1826 гг. История государства Российского. Перевод на китайский язык 3.). 本套《罗西亚国史》开本为 18.5×28 cm, 版心为 13.5×18.5 cm, 半 叶8 行20 字,花口,版心有书名罗西亚国史和卷号,双边黑格,黑单鱼尾,无象鼻。 第一册33叶,均为半叶八行 16 字,由"表文"、"序"、"正文" 三部分组成,全册标 有句读:"表文"部分即原书作者卡拉姆津致沙皇的献辞的译文共3叶:"序"共4叶, "正文"共 26 叶; 第二至九册叶数分别为45叶、 24 叶、 34 叶、 27 叶、 37 叶、 31 叶、 76 叶、 25 叶。第二册至第九册均无句读。该本虽九卷齐全,但相比于完 整本全卷,第九册末尾缺少一叶半的内容,故称之为非完整本全卷。此外,相比于完 整本全卷,该本第一册中还多出了"表文"部分,序言部分与正文部分也与完整本全 卷第一册中的相应部分不同。

《罗西亚国史》的第二个收藏地点是俄罗斯科学院东方文献研究所手稿部。这里是 俄罗斯收藏中文写本最为丰富的机构,其中文图书收藏历史可追溯到18世纪的彼得一 世时期的俄国博物收藏开端时期——在1714年成立的俄国第一所博物馆。当时的珍品 收藏中就藏有中文书。目前,该所藏有中文刻本近四千种,写本千余种。该所收藏的 《罗西亚国史》有四种:三种全卷,一种残卷;一种大开本,三种小开本。

该所收藏的《罗西亚国史》完整本全卷,编号为 M30/1-9, 一函 9 册,明黄色丝 绸函套,明黄色丝绸封面。函套破旧,函套上无空无一字一标。函套内侧中下位置贴 有红色皮质烫金俄文旧字标签:"卡拉姆津的历史书前三卷,由扎哈尔•列昂季耶维奇 在北京翻译"。首册及每册封面均无书名。本套藏本与前述圣彼得堡国图藏本的区别 在于其大开本 (27×42.5 cm, 首册版心为 19.5×27 cm, 其余各册版心为 17.5×25 cm, 10 行20 字) 和朱格双边(花口、象鼻、双鱼尾),装帧极其隆重,规制如同《永乐大 典》图书的稿抄本样貌。本套《罗西亚国史》的内容中没有原书作者致沙皇的献辞即 "表文"部分。第一册 30 叶,由"序"和"正文"两部分组成;第二至九册的叶数 分别为 40 叶、 22 叶、 28 叶、 25 叶、 33 叶、 28 叶、 61 叶、 22 叶。

该所藏第二种《罗西亚国史》非完整本全卷,编号为 C85/1-9, 一函 9 册齐全,明 黄色丝绸函套,明黄色丝绸封面。函套破旧,函套上以俄文黑字书写:"卡拉姆津的 俄罗斯国家历史前三卷 由扎哈尔•列昂季耶夫斯基在1828年译成汉语,译者赠帝俄科 学院" (З. Леонтьевского (1799–1874), члена Х духовной миссии в Пекине. Ксилограф. Пекин, 1835. Дар переводчика) 工。正是由此得知《罗西亚国史》形成于道光八年 162 (1828 年)。本套开本与前述圣彼得堡国图藏本相似,为 18.5×28 cm, 版心为 13.5×18.5 cm, 八行 21 字,花口,版心有书名罗西亚国史和卷号,双边黑格,黑单鱼尾,无象 鼻。册一有句读(句读不占格),其余八册无句读。本套《罗西亚国史》的内容中没 有"表文"即原书作者致沙皇的献辞。第一册 33 叶,由"序"和"正文"两部分组 成;第二册至第九册每册的叶数分别为 45 叶、 24 叶、 30 叶、 27 叶、 37 叶、 31 叶、 76 叶、 25 叶。从内容上看,本套《罗西亚国史》的第九册中缺少最后一 叶半的内容,其余部分与前述该馆藏完整本全卷相同。

该所藏第三种《罗西亚国史》非完整本全卷,编号为 C86/1-9,一函 9 册,明黄色 丝绸函套,明黄色丝绸封面。函套破旧,函套上贴有带黑色俄文书名的白纸(上缘已 磨损),分三行书"译成中文的卡拉姆津历史",第四行手写小字"由扎哈尔•列昂季 耶夫斯基翻译"(История Карамзина переведенная на китайский языкъ Захаромъ Леонтьевскимъ). 函套脊侧下贴白纸,钢笔书写"扎哈尔•列昂季耶夫斯基的卡拉姆津 俄罗斯国家历史中译本, 9 本"(История Российского государства Карамзина на китайский язык перевод Зах. Леонтьевского. 96.). 首册及每册封面均无书名。与前述 圣彼得堡国图藏本相似,本套开本为 28×19 cm,版心为 13.5×18.5 cm,半叶八行 21 字,花口,版心有书名"罗西亚国史"和卷号,双边黑格,黑单鱼尾,无象鼻。本套 《罗西亚国史》的内容中没有原书作者致沙皇的献辞即"表文"部分。第一册 33 叶, 由"序"和"正文"两部分组成,每叶右上角用铅笔阿拉伯数字标叶码;第二册至第 九册的叶数分别为 45 叶、24 叶、31 叶、27 叶、37 叶、31 叶、76 叶、25 叶。第二册至第九册,每册的前十叶右上角用铅笔阿拉伯数字标叶码。第一册至第八 册无句读,第九册有句读。本套《罗西亚国史》的第九册中缺少最后一叶半的内容, 其余部分与前述该馆藏完整本全卷相同。

该所藏第四种《罗西亚国史》为残卷,编号为 C87/1-5,只有第一册至第五册。无 函套,每册明黄色丝绸封面。每册封面上,上方贴有白色方纸,纸上黑框内有黑色墨 水手写书名 "《俄罗斯历史》中文本 (写本)" (История России. На китайск. языке (рукопись)。本套第一册为开本为为 22×28 сm,版心为 14×18 сm,其余各册开本为 19×28 сm,版心为 14×9 сm,半叶八行20字,花口,版心有书名 "罗西亚国史"和卷 号,黑格双边,黑单鱼尾,无象鼻。第一册由 "序"和 "正文"两部分组成,共33 叶; 第二册至第五册的叶数分别为 45 叶、 24 叶、 30 叶、 27 叶。

俄罗斯科学院东方文献研究所收藏的四种《罗西亚国史》重叠部分的内容完全 相同。

该馆藏第一种《罗西亚国史》全卷编号为 Xyl.1062,一函 9 册,明黄色丝绸函套, 明黄色丝绸封面。函套破旧,函套上贴有带黑色俄文书名的白纸(上缘已破损),上 书"扎哈尔·列昂季耶夫斯基翻译的卡拉姆津俄罗斯国家历史前三卷"(Первые три тома Истории Российского Государства Карамзина, переведенные Захаром Леонтьевским на китайский язык).本套开本开本为 19×28 сm,版心为 13.5×18.5 cm,半叶八 行 20 字。花口,版心有书名"罗西亚国史"和卷号,双边黑格,黑单鱼尾,无象鼻。 第一册由"序"和"正文"两部分组成,"序"共14叶,一共 33 叶;第二册至第九 册的叶数分别为 45 叶、卷三共 24 叶、30 叶、27 叶、37 叶、31 叶、76 叶、

#### ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ

25 叶。本套《罗西亚国史》的第九册中缺少最后一叶半的内容,其余部分与前述该 馆藏完整本全卷相同。

该馆藏第二种《罗西亚国史》全卷编号为 Xyl. 2565,一函 9 册齐全。明黄色丝绸 函套,明黄色丝绸封面。函套破旧,函套上以俄文黑字书写:"卡拉姆津的俄罗斯国 家历史前三卷 由扎哈尔•列昂季耶夫斯基在 1828 年译成汉语,译者赠皇家彼得堡大 学"(Истории Государства Российскаго Карамзина три первые тома, переведенные на Китайский языкъ Захаромъ Леонтьевскимъ 1828 года. Императорскому Санкт-Петербургскому университету от Переводчика). 本套开本为18.5×28 сm,版心为3.5×18.5cm, 半叶八行20字,花口,版心有书名罗西亚国史和卷号,双边黑格,黑单鱼尾,无象鼻。 第一册有句读(句读不占格)。第一册由"序"和"正文"两部分组成,"序"共14 叶, 共33 叶;第二册至第九册叶数分别为、36 叶、29 叶、0 叶、27 叶、37 叶、 31叶、76 叶、25 叶。本套第二册、第三册行与他处所藏本内容基本一致,但行文 不同。第九册与完整本全卷相比,缺少最后一叶半的内容。

该馆所藏第三种《罗西亚国史》为合卷完整本,编号为 F-60,藏青色棉布函套,一 函 8 册,每册封面均为淡黄色厚纸。本套为大开本 27×41 cm,版心 19.5×7 cm,10 行 20 字,朱格双边(花口、象鼻、双鱼尾),装帧规制如同《永乐大典》图书的稿抄本 样貌。第九册则为 17×28 cm 的小开本。函套上书"扎哈尔•列昂季耶夫斯基翻译的 卡拉姆津'历史'前三卷"。第一册内容包括满文表文和中文表文(《俄罗斯国家历史》 作者卡拉姆津致俄国沙皇亚历山大一世的献辞)[Пан, Маяцкий, Лю Жомэй 2019: 5–34]、序、正文四个部分。"表文"部分的行文与圣彼得堡国图藏本不同。本套各册 均有句读,人名地名以右侧线标出,文中有多处删改、修订痕迹,甚至有整句勾涂删 减重写。抬写意义的空格、边栏外等排列方式虽具体安排与他处所藏本不尽相同,但 两者抬写处理的情况完全一致,如本国"皇"、"帝"等抬写,敌国的则不做抬写处理。 卷九小开本版式与东方文献研究所收藏的小开本《罗西亚国史》一致。"表文"和"序" 的译文与他处所藏本不同。第9册小开本版式与东方文献研究所收藏的小开本《罗西 亚国史》一致,内容完整。

以上各藏本均有掉字补加、错字修改、错字删减之类的痕迹。

# 二、《罗西亚国史》的蓝本——《俄罗斯国家历史》

《罗西亚国史》作为一部译著,其翻译底本是十二卷本的《俄罗斯国家历史》 (История государства Российского) [Н.М. Карамзин, 1818–1823],这是俄国历史上第 一部"正史"。作者尼古拉·米哈依洛维奇·卡拉姆津 (1766–1826 年) 作为 18–19 世 纪之交俄国重要的文化人物、作家,留下了大量的小说、诗歌、戏剧作品。在文学创 作中,卡拉姆津拒绝使用典雅教会斯拉夫语,而极力推动俄语书面语的使用,其作品 《可怜的莉莎》也因此成为俄国感伤主义文学的代表作品,成为俄罗斯文学进一步发 展的里程碑,并由此推动了俄语标准语的形成。俄国早期哲学家赫尔岑认为"卡拉姆 津使俄罗斯文学具有了人文性"。当代文化学家洛特曼认为,卡拉姆津勇敢地将自己 的文学作品流传于后世的俄国早期作家之一,将独立表达个人见解视为作家的最高使 164 命。 卡拉姆津后期的兴趣逐渐趋向于历史,特别是 1803 年被沙皇赐以"国家历史学家" 的名号、承担起撰写俄罗斯国家历史的使命后,他全面收集、发掘史料,整理被俄国 誉为"历史之父"的、 11 世纪基辅洞窟修道院教会编年史家涅斯托尔留下的编年史 料、俄国皇室系谱、拜占庭编年史中涉及罗斯国家的年代记、圣徒传、关于俄国历史 的传说故事、伊凡三世时代起的一些军人职官录、 17 世纪后半叶以来的各类家谱资 料、东正教大牧首大主教实录记事薄、使徒行传、古代传说歌谣谚语、古代文书、罗 斯国家外交衙门档案文枼、所纂写的时代的外国如拜占庭、斯堪的纳维亚半岛、德国、 匈牙利、波兰等国的编年史料和一些著名旅行家的笔记,收集整理国外的档案史料和 国家文件,并系统整理这些史料,历经十余年之功,于 1816–1817 年推出《俄罗斯 国家历史》的前八卷,首印 3000 册,不到一个月便销售一空。 1921–1923 年间出 版了第九卷至第十二卷。

全书包括献辞、前言、正文三项内容。

献辞部分作者盛赞沙皇战胜拿破仑使俄国、欧洲重新获得自由功绩,并赞美沙皇敕 令修史。序言部分作者申明对"历史"的认识,谈到古希腊、古罗马都重视历史,以 及希罗多德、波利比阿对历史的兴趣和希罗多德、修昔底德、李维史学的特点。作者 例数古代、近代、同时代欧洲史家李维、塔西佗、伏尔泰、马基雅维利、休谟、约翰 内斯·穆勒、施列策尔的史学特点,申明本史在撰写过程中多方考据、对史料"倾心 镂琢",认为俄罗斯国家历史分以三段为期:自开国之君留利克至伊凡三世(862–1493 年)为古代,自伊凡三世至彼得一世(1493–1682 年)为中间发展阶段,自彼得一世 至当朝沙皇亚历山大一世为当代(1682 年–)。本史纂至留利克王朝终结的 1612 年。 全书篇幅百余万字。

卡拉姆津《俄罗斯国家历史》的纂写,是俄国史学史上第一次全面梳理俄罗斯国家 发源发展的历史,使俄国的史学编纂突破了教会编年的单一框架,是俄国世俗史学、 俄罗斯国家历史编纂的起点。普希金将卡拉姆津称为向俄国读者打开古罗斯历史的 "哥伦布",认为是卡拉姆津首次为俄罗斯民族构建系统完整的历史,唤起俄罗斯人 对本民族过往的兴趣。在俄国《俄罗斯国家历史》作国俄国史学的奠基之作的史学价 值之外,也为19世纪的俄国知识分子的群体意识中加入了历史的内涵,因而获得了重 要的文化价值。该书出版后,欧洲各国竞相翻译,1818 年在德国便已出现两个译本, 法文本也迅速出现,且不止一种 [Сын Отечества 1818: 255–261].意大利文本、英文 本、波兰文本、希腊文本等多种外文译本在19世纪 20 年代出现。而《罗西亚国史》 的编译者列昂季耶夫斯基 1820 年随第十届俄国东正教驻北京使团前往北京时带走 的应该是首印的版本,很可能在决定带该书前往中国时就已有以该书内容向中国介绍 俄罗斯民族的设想。

1820 年作为俄国东正教驻北京使团随团学生到达北京的列昂季耶夫斯基翻译了 《俄罗斯国家历史》的前三卷(其中第三卷第七章 "11-13 世纪俄罗斯的状况"未 译)。全书内容包括作者致俄皇亚历山大一世的献辞、前言以及从罗斯国家的起源至 俄国历史的整个基辅罗斯时期,止于 1238 年蒙古入侵。原书《俄罗斯国家历史》这 一部分的篇幅约 30 万字,中译本《罗西亚国史》篇幅约 10 万字。 《罗西亚国史》与原作《俄罗斯国家历史》之间的章节对应关系如下:

《罗西亚国史》	《俄罗斯国家历史》		
表文	致全俄罗	斯的君主亚历山大·帕夫洛维奇的献辞	
第一册	第一卷	第一章 论古代生活在俄罗斯的各民族。论斯拉夫民族。	
(研究所本、	214 C	第二章 构成俄罗斯国家的斯拉夫人和其他民族	
大学本)		第三章 古代斯拉夫人的体质特点和精神特点	
第二册 (国图本)		第一章至第三章	
初二加 (自日平)		第四章 留利克、西涅乌斯和特鲁沃尔(862–879 年)	
		第五章 辅政者奥列格(879–912 年)	
		第四章和第五章	
(研究所本、		第六章 伊戈尔大公(912–945 年)	
国图本、		第八章 伊文尔大公(912–943 平) 第七章 斯维亚斯拉夫大公(945–972 年)	
西国本、 大学本 Xyl.1062)			
八十本 Ay1.1002)		第八章 雅罗波尔克大公 (972–980 年) 第十章 弗特斯 发生 (999–1014 年)	
なた 111		第九章 弗拉基米尔大公(980-1014 年)	
第二册		第六章至第八章	
(大学本 Xyl.2565)	kh 14		
第三册	第二卷	第一章 斯维亚托波尔克大公(1015–1019年)	
(研究所本、		第二章 雅罗斯拉夫大公(1020–1054年)	
国图本)		第三章 罗斯法典	
第三册		第一章、第二章和第三章	
(大学本 Xyl.2565)			
第四册		第四章 伊兹亚斯拉夫大公(1051–1077 年)	
		第五章 弗谢沃罗德大公(1078–1093 年)	
		第六章 斯维亚托波尔克大公(1093-1112 年)	
第五册		第七章 莫诺马赫大公(1113-1125 年)	
		第八章 姆斯季斯拉夫大公(1125–1132 年)	
		第九章 雅罗波尔克大公(1132–1139 年)	
		第十章 弗谢沃罗德大公(1139–1146 年)	
		第十一章 伊戈尔·奥尔戈维奇大公	
第六册		第十二章 伊兹亚斯拉夫大公(1146-1154 年)	
		第十三章 罗斯季斯拉夫-米哈依尔大公(1154-1155 年)	
		第十四章 格里高里大公(1155–1157 年)	
第七册		第十五章 伊兹亚斯拉夫·达维多维奇大公(1157-1159 年)	
		第十六章 罗斯季斯拉夫-米哈依尔大公再登基辅大公位	
		(1159-1167 年)	
		第十七章 基辅大公姆斯季斯拉夫·伊兹亚斯拉维奇	
		(1167-1169 年)	
第八册	第三卷	第一章 安德烈大公(1169-1174 年)	
		第二章 米哈依尔・格里高里耶维奇大公(1174-1176 年)	
		第三章 弗谢沃洛德·格里高里耶维奇大公(1176-1212 年)	
		第四章 格里高里大公(1212-1216 年)	
		第五章 弗拉基米尔和苏兹达尔大公康斯坦丁(1216-1219)	
		第六章 格里高里·弗谢沃洛维奇大公 (1219-1224 年)	
第九册		第八章 格里高里·弗谢沃洛维奇大公 (1224-1238 年)	

《俄罗斯国家历史》正文开篇的"古代生活在罗斯的各民族"部分以很大篇幅介绍 古民族的生活在迁徙地域、路线和迁徙经过,《罗西亚国史》中没有这部分内容。另 外,卡拉姆津纂写《俄罗斯国家历史》的基础史料中,教会系统留下的史料、俄国王 公家世系谱、圣徒传、使徒行传、牧首和大主教实录等都体现了俄罗斯民族对于东正 教的虔敬情感。《罗西亚国史》则选择性地回避宗教情感,译文读不出宗教的意涵。 这与译者身为俄国东正教驻北京使团成员,东正教使团向北京派出之时,天主教耶稣 会已在华经营百余年并入主清钦天监,俄国向北京派出东正教使团的目的,是协调、 稳定中俄关系,确保俄中贸易顺利进行,为此早期北京东正教使团的任务是保持北京 俄俘及其后代的东正教信仰,保障他们的东正教信徒的日常生活习俗。为确保与在京 天主教耶稣会教士的良好关系,不敢于贸然传播东正教。天主教被驱逐以后,北京东 正教使团目睹天主教因传教活动导致的种种灭顶之灾,甚至最后被彻底驱逐回国或前 往澳门一隅生活,使北京东正教使团成员面对清政府更要避免表现出其基督教信仰, 而只将罗斯国家从无到有逐渐发展完善成为欧洲重要国家之一这个过程介绍给中国。

# 三、《罗西亚国史》的译者——列昂季耶夫斯基

扎哈尔•费奥多罗维奇•列昂季耶夫斯基, 1799 年出生于雅罗斯拉夫尔, 1816 年 以中学毕业成绩优异而被推荐到彼得堡师范学院数学系学习。大学期间报名作为派往 中国的新一届东正教使团随团学生,于 1820 年抵达北京,10年期满后离开北京返回 俄国。按照俄清双方的约定,理藩院为俄罗斯馆学生安排官派语言教师,列氏在京时 为学习语言长期个人雇请语言教师 [斯卡奇科夫 2011:189], 并参考《康熙字典》、《清 文捷要大全》、《清文鉴》、《满汉词典》、《清文汇书》和《清文补汇》、《清汉文海》, 参考此前欧洲传教士编纂的词典如叶尊孝的《汉字西译》、克拉普罗特的《汉字西译 补》、《汉拉词列氏典》等,付出很大精力为后来者编纂《汉满拉俄词典》。后辈学者 对列昂季耶夫斯基留下的这部手稿词典评价很高,认为比此前欧洲人编的词典更详尽 [斯卡奇科夫, 2011, 191]. 1822 年, 掌握了中国语言的列昂季耶夫被提升为十级文官, 为俄国政府翻译了大量介绍清政府的政治经济体系的资料,还定期向俄国发回工作总 结,并摘译京报,辑结成册发往彼得堡,使俄国政府得以十分具体地研究和理解北京 的各方面状况。从列昂季耶夫斯基的日记可知,列氏为俄国提供处理俄中事务的参考, 专门介绍理藩院的俄罗斯学[AUBP PAH, φ. 42, on. 2, № 9, c. 38]。 俄国对清朝在贸易 方面的期望较多,在北京期间,列氏关注在经济、贸易各个方面,如中国的女商业、 工业、生产工艺和染料、茶叶加工方式等[Гавристова, Шубина 2001: 25], 还在日记中 详细记录来华路线,并将《示我周行》译成俄语,向俄国介绍在华贸易的水路、陆路 通道,介绍各省商品价格和税务信息。此外,列昂季耶夫斯基还曾翻译松筠的《恰图 志》,介绍恰克图的中俄贸易。除以文字向俄国介绍中国外,擅长绘画的列氏学习中 国传统绘画方法,并描绘婚礼、葬礼、民间游园、各信仰的寺庙内景等画面:同时还 向中国画匠订购,北京城内城外的重要标志建筑物如东华门、西华门、天安门、午门、 崇文门、宣武门、朝阳门、德胜门、安定门等绘制成像,将京郊昆明湖、圆明园、西 峰等景色绘制成像,并收集能够反映北京人日常生活旨趣的景色描绘出来,从各个侧 面形象地向俄国传达19世纪上半叶北京居民的日常生活和精神面貌。

据《清实录》记载,道光四年甲申十月己亥日道光皇帝批复了大学士托津等奏请 从俄罗斯馆挑取一人协同教授俄罗斯学官生育习俄罗斯文字 [清宗实录卷七十四: 20],

被派往国子监俄罗斯学教授俄罗斯文字者,便是当时在京的俄国东正教使团(即"俄 罗斯馆")的随团学生——《罗西亚国史》的编译者列昂季耶夫斯基。稿抄本《罗西亚 国史》的形成很可能与列昂季耶夫斯基在国子监俄罗斯学的教学活动相关——将俄罗 斯民族的历史介绍给学生。遗憾的是,列氏因何编译该书,书稿形成后如何抄定成 书……等诸多问题,目前均未有中外文资料支持回应。从稿抄本的装帧形制来看,明 黄色、大开本的《罗西亚国史》很有可能是提供给道光皇帝御览之用,同样的开本形 制抄出一份用于进献俄国沙皇也极有可能。小开本则为另抄出多份带回俄国赠送大学 和图书馆。

古时俄国与中国并无直接往来。中国典籍最早关于俄罗斯的记录见《元史》中关 于蒙古征服俄罗斯的记录[元史卷七十一•曷斯麦里传]。《元史》中还记载了元代至顺 元年间在枢密院下置宣忠扈卫新军都万户府,专门管理斡罗思军士[元史•卷一二二•速 不台传]。此后《元史·宪宗本纪》中有"三年,遣闍别儿括斡罗斯户口"[元史卷三·宪 宗本纪1、《元史·成宗本纪》中有"元贞无年夏四月丙戌,诸王也只里以兵五千人, 戊兀鲁思界,遣使来求马,帝不允"[元史卷十八・成宗本纪]、《元史・英宗本纪》中 有"延祐七年三月丙申,斡罗思等内附,赐钞万四千贯,遣还其部"[元史卷二十七•英 宗本纪1的相关俄罗斯的记载。 17 世纪中叶,清朝军队阻挡了俄国人东扩的脚步, 1689 年中俄签订尼布楚条约确定了两国边界,并由此俄国开始定期向中国派出商队。 1727 年中俄恰克图条约在进一步确保俄国对华贸易的同时还将东正教使闭确立为定 期向中国派驻、人员每隔十年轮换的常驻北京的机构。北京东正教使团成员学汉语、 向俄国介绍中国,特别是 19 世纪之后,第九届俄国东正教驻北京使团长比丘林 (Н.Я. Бичурин, 1777-1853) 发表的关于中国的国家、民族、社会、历史、地理、风俗 等各方面的大量论著,与 18 世纪俄国从欧洲"中国热"中得到的中国知识一起,形 成中俄文化交流的一股洪流。然而,这股"洪流"却只限于俄国获得中国知识的单向 吸收。

中国关于俄国的认识,最早见于明末清初意大利入华传教士艾儒略在明代天启三 年(1623年)所作介绍世界各国的《职方外纪》中的"莫斯哥未亚"一章, 廖廖数语 介绍了俄国的地理和风俗。顺治十二年 (1655 年), 西伯利亚哥萨克巴伊科夫在奉俄 国沙皇旨到达北京, 其进表中提到其国起自一千一百六十五年 [何秋涛 1983: 19]。此 后至康熙五十一年(1712年),清朝关于俄国历史的知识略有充实:以侍读学士殷 扎纳为首的使团假道俄罗斯前往伏尔加河下游地区探访流落在此的土尔扈特部,近三 载的时间里往返行程数万里,使团随员图理琛沿途记载事件,于雍正元年(1723年) 刊得《异域录》一书。《异域录》最早记载了俄罗斯国家的发端和发展历程,直至图 理琛一行出使回程至托博尔斯克的 1714 4年, 国史 350 多年, 共历帝王 23 代, 1552-1546 年伊凡四世征服喀山、托博尔斯克、阿斯特拉罕,形成 18 世纪初期俄国 的情状 [庄吉发 1982: 166]。 19 世纪起以英国为代表的欧洲列强对华活动加剧,在 毛皮贸易等方面已对俄国的对华贸易构成威胁,为此俄国调整其东方政策, 1819 年 在外交部设立亚洲司,专门针对"亚洲各民族、俄国附属国以及同俄国有着贸易和其 他方面重要关系的国家" [МИД 1902: 89] 展开工作,而俄国东正教驻北京使团则成 为亚洲司设在远东的下属机构。按俄国外交部给东正教使团制定的工作守则,学习是 使团的教士和世俗人员义务,彼得堡科学院专门为使团成员制定了各方面的学习、研 究、收集资料的任务,"细心合理地与中国人交往"[阿夫拉阿米 2016:61] 也是俄国 对驻北京的东正教使团成员的要求。《罗西亚国史》的编译者列昂季耶夫斯基正是在 这一背景下被派驻到北京。

# 四、《罗西亚国史》的中俄文化交流史意义和中文俄国史学史价值

列昂季耶夫斯基编译的《罗西亚国史》,叙述了斯拉夫民族自在东西伯利亚平原的 发源、斯拉夫人的国家——罗斯国家的形成直至 1238 年蒙古入侵的大历程。相比于 以往清朝认识俄国的零星知识,列昂季耶夫斯基将刚刚问世不久的第一部俄罗斯国家 历史著作《俄罗斯国家历史》的内容介绍给清朝,旨在推动中国对俄国的认识,打破 以往中俄交往中的隔膜。这种隔膜普遍存在于欧洲来华人士与中国人交往过程中。就 在《罗西亚国史》成书后数年,基督新教传教士郭实腊在广州出版的《中国从报》上 发表文章谈到将创办《东西洋考每月统计传》时写到,"当文明几乎在地球各处取得 迅速进步并招越无知与谬误之时……唯独中国人却一如既往,依然故我。虽然我们与 他们长久交往,他们仍自称为天下诸民族之首尊,并视所有其他民族为'蛮夷',如 此妄自尊大严重影响到广州的外国居民的利益,以及他们与中国人的交往……本月 刊······出版是为了使中国人获知我们的技艺、科学与准则。"[Chinese Repository 1833: 186] 郭实腊的《东西洋考每月统计传》有感于"向来中国人藐视外国之文法" [爱汉 者 1997: 204],希望改变"中国经书已繙译泰西之知,各人可读,但汉人未曾繙译泰 西经书"的现状,以"姪外奉姑书"、"史记"、"地理"、"经书"、"博爱"、"本草目"、 "新闻"等栏目,将西学传给中国,缩短中西之间的精神距离。道光二十五年 (1845 年),为感谢清政府清政府赠送藏经《丹珠尔》,俄国作为回礼向清政府赠送俄国出版 的最新书籍 357 种,内容包括俄国"中针武备算法"、"医药种树"、语言、宗教、文 学等各方面<sup>1</sup>,其中第三十一号为"俄罗斯国史十三本"、第七十二号为"俄罗斯国史 十五本"。俄国这次向清朝赠书的活动,也体现了俄国希求与中国互相理解沟通的原 望。 1828 年成书于北京的俄《罗西亚国史》是以中文介绍欧洲史学诸家特点的最早 记录。与 1833 年出现的《东西洋考每月统计传》及此后其书刊,说明 19 世纪上半 叶在华外国人主动消弭中外文化隔阂,通过翻译、出版等手段将俄罗斯、西欧的文化 价值介绍给中国,为我们当今留下了具有中外文化交流价值的重要文献。

中国较晚才获得关于俄国历史知识。康熙五十一年 (1712 年) 刊刻的图理琛《异 域录》中记载了俄罗斯国家的发端和发展历程,可说是透露了俄罗斯历史的零星信息。

此后至道光丁酉年 (1837 年)《东西洋考每月统记传》九月号的"地理"栏目刊 登《峨罗斯国志略》[爱汉者 1997: 273-275]一文,约两千字的篇幅叙述了俄国自"唐 懿宗咸通 (862 年)二年建国"起,从俄罗斯国家建立至杂志出刊时代的俄国发展历 程。再稍晚时,林则徐《四洲至》 (1839 年)、徐继畬《瀛环志略》 (1848 年)等 书以地理描述为主,对俄国历史的介绍并未有实质性推进,至咸丰十年 (1860 年) 何秋涛辑《朔方备乘》之时,清朝对俄罗斯历史的了解,仍是起自蒙古入侵俄境,将 伊凡三世使蒙古统治瓦解并立国称帝视为俄罗斯立国之始。[何秋涛 1983: XVI, 5-11]

19 世纪后半叶,清总税务司主持翻译欧洲最新出版的欧洲历史文化普及读物"格物启蒙丛书十六种",其中由英国传教士艾约瑟翻译并于 1885 年出版的《欧洲史略》 之卷六"欧洲诸国肇基原委"部分,提到斯拉夫各部与东西罗马帝国的关系,卷九"耶 稣新教源流并教战之事"部分,提及俄国历史上伊凡四世兴国、留利克王朝终结、大 混乱时期乃至 1612 年罗曼诺夫王朝兴起。 1886 年艾约瑟翻译出版的《西学略述》 之卷六"史学"部分,也提到"俄立国辟地原委"。不过,《欧洲史略》和《西学略 述》中关于俄国历史文化的介绍只是非常零散的只言片语,信息量十分有限。此后直 至清末,欧洲的历史文化知识先后从日本和欧洲被介绍到中国,翻译出版了大量关于 欧洲文化、欧洲各民族发展历史的图书。科举废除、新学制建立后所出版的大量教科 书,俄国历史随同这场西方历史文化进入中国的洪流进入国人视野,举其中一例可窥 斑见豹:由日本传入中国并为新学所广泛使用人《万国史记》[冈本辅监, 1901],该 书卷十六欧罗巴史第十一俄罗斯记,叙自 862 年留利克建国起,至 1878 年俄国取 得俄土战争胜利后、英国与奥匈帝国对俄国的强势不满而于 1878 年压制俄国在柏林 会议上修改俄土之间的圣斯特凡诺和约。俄罗斯民族的发展历史始为国人所知。将《罗 西亚国史》放在中国关于俄国历史的认识过程之中可以看出,成书于在道光八年(1828 年)的《罗西亚国史》,系统记述俄罗斯民族的起源、国家的形成和发展至蒙古入侵 之前的历程,是汉语世界全面了解蒙古入侵前的俄罗斯的最早文本,具有重要的汉语 俄国史学史价值。

俄罗斯圣彼得堡藏清代稿抄本《罗西亚国史》,形制、内容庄正,是编译者在中国 完成后带回俄国赠送给俄国外交部亚洲司、皇家科学院、皇家彼得堡大学的赠礼,是 海内外稀见的清代珍贵文献。该本的存在表明俄国与中国交往的历史上曾经主动努力 从文化上与清代中国会通交流、以期达成两国之间顺利的沟通的愿望;该本的存在又 表明在 19 世纪上半叶已有汉语的俄国史专书问世,将俄国史汉语书写的历史提前的 近百年。《罗西亚国史》的问世使俄国第一部"正史"《俄罗斯国家历史》得以呈现 于汉语读者,该本的中文史学史价值是不言而喻的。

#### References

- Afulaami 阿夫拉阿米. *Lishi shang beijing-de eguo dongzhengjiao shituan* 历史上北京的俄国东正教使团 [The Russian Ecclesiastic mission in Peking and its role in history], transl. by Liu Ruomei 柳若梅. 北京: 大象出版社, 2016 (in Chinese).
- Ai Hanzhe 爱汉者. Dong xi yang kao mei yue tong ji chuan 《东西洋考每月统记传》 [Eastern Western Monthly Magazine]. 北京: 中华书局, 1997 (in Chinese).
- Chinese Repository, August, 1833 (in English).

Gavristova Tatiana, Shubina Svetlana. "Vydaiushchiisia znatok Kitaia Z.F. Leontievskii — uchenyi, diplomat, kollektsioner" [Z.F. Leontievskiy, an outstanding specialist of China – scholar, diplomat, collector]. *Aziia i Afrika segodnia* [Asia and Afrika today], 2001, no. 1, pp. 24–28 (in Russian).

- He Qiutao 何秋涛, Shofang beicheng 朔方备乘. 北京: 1983 (in Chinese).
- Karamzin Nikolai M. *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskogo* [History of the Russian State]. St. Petersburg: Tipografiia N. Grecha, 1818–1823 (in Russian).
- MID, Ocherk istorii Ministerstva inostrannykh del. 1802-1902. St. Petersburg, 1902 (in Russian).
- "O perevodakh istorii Rossiiskogo Gosudarstva" [On Translations of the History of the Russian State]. *Syn Otechestva* [The Son of Motherland], 1818, part 48, no. XXXVIII (in Russian).
- Okamoto Kansuke 冈本辅监,《万国史记》 [History of the world]. 上海: 文渊山房石印, 光绪辛 五年(1901 年) 小春月 (in Chinese).
- Pang Taiana A., Mayatsky Dmitry I., Liu Ruo-mei. "N.M. Karamzin's Report to the Emperor Alexander I in the Chinese Translation of the "History of the Russian State" Introduction, Translation from Chinese and Manchu, Commentaries". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2019, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 5–34). DOI: 10.7868/S1811806219010011 (in Russian).
- *Qing shi lu* 清实录 [Veritable records of the Qing dynasty]. 北京:中华书局, 1986 (in Chinese). Sikaqikefu 斯卡奇科夫. *Elosi hanxue shi* 俄罗斯汉学史 [Skachkov. History of Russian sinology].
- ed. by Miyasinikefu 米亚斯尼科夫, transl. by Liu Ruomei 柳若梅. 北京: 社会科学文献出版 社, 2011 (in Chinese).

*Yuan shi* 元史 [History of the Yuan dynasty]. 北京:中华书局, 1976 (in Chinese). Zhuang Jifa 庄吉发 (ed.). *Man han dao yulu jiaozhu* 满汉异域录校注 [Manchu Chinese notes on the trip across the frontiers, with commentary]. 台北:文史哲出版社, 1982 (in Chinese).

# The Study on the Qing Manuscript Copies of the "History of the Russian State" Kept in Russia

LIU Ruomei International Institute of Chinese Studies Peking, China

Received 12.06.2021.

Abstract: The manuscripts of *History of Russian Country*, one case and nine volumes, were published in Beijing in the eighth year of Daoguang (1828). They can be rated as the world's first Russian history in Chinese. There manuscripts are currently in three long-established libraries of St. Petersburg of Russia and there are no collections at home or abroad except for St. Petersburg. *History of Russian Country* was the Chinese version of the first three volumes of *History of the Russian State* (a 12-volume national history published in St. Petersburg between the years of 1816–1826) by the first Russian "national historian" N.M. Karamzin. It was compiled and translated by Z.F. Leontjevsky during his stay in Beijing (1820-1830), a student of the tenth Russian Orthodox Mission in Beijing. The Chinese version includes the original author Karamzin's dedication to the Russian Emperor Alexander I, the foreword, the first volume, the second volume and the third volume (Chapter 7 untranslated). This article compares Leontjevsky's Chinese version with Karamzin's original Russian version, revealing its values of literature, of Sino-Russian cultural exchanges, and of Russian historiography in Chinese.

Key words: N.M. Karamzin, Z.F. Leontievsky, "History of the Russian state", Chinese manuscripts, Russian National Library, Institute of Oriental manuscripts.

Acknowledgements: I express my thanks for the help during my research to the director of the IOM RAS prof. Irina Popova and leading researcher of the IOM RAS Dr. Tatiana Pang, Head of Oriental collections' sector of the Manuscript department at National library of Russia Olga Vasilyeva, SPbGU Prof. Nikolaj Samojlov and Dr. D. Mayatsky.

For citation: Liu Ruomei. "The Study on the Qing Manuscript Copies of the "History of the Russian State" Kept in Russia". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 46, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 160–171 (in Chinese). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77357

About the author: LIU Romei, Doct. Sci. (Phylology), Full Professor at the Peking University of Foreign Languages (Peking, China) (ruomeiliu@126.com).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 172–178

# Неатрибутированный сборник шиитских преданий (*хадис*ов) в собрании арабских рукописей ИВР РАН

С.М. ПРОЗОРОВ Институт восточных рукописей РАН Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WM077349

Статья поступила в редакцию 12.07.2021.

Аннотация: Цель исследования — идентификация неатрибутированного сборника шиитских преданий (*xaduco*в) в собрании арабских рукописей ИВР РАН. Анализ цепей (*ucнad*ов) передатчиков шиитских *xaduc*ов в этом сборнике и сличение их с данными других шиитских авторов (аш-Шайх ас-Садук, ан-Наджаши, ат-Тихрани, ат-Туси) дают основание утверждать, что речь идет о сборнике *Caxuфam ap-Puda* («Свиток», или «Список ар-Риды»), одном из авторитетных и надежных источников шиитского вероучения, права, культа, морали, этики. Списки этого сборника сохранились в собраниях арабских рукописей других стран. В этом контексте идентификация петербургского сборника шиитских *xaduc*ов, доселе остававшегося безымянным, может быть полезной для подготовки критического академического издания *Caxuфam ap-Puda*.

Ключевые слова: анализ *иснад*ных цепей, арабские рукописи, идентификация сборника шиитских преданий (*хадисов*), *Сахифат ар-Рида*, ат-Табарси.

Для цитирования: Прозоров С.М. Неатрибутированный сборник шиитских преданий (*хадисов*) в собрании арабских рукописей ИВР РАН // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 172–178. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77349

Об авторе: ПРОЗОРОВ Станислав Михайлович, кандидат исторических наук, ведущий научный сотрудник, руководитель научного направления ИВР РАН (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (s\_prozorov@mail.ru).

© Прозоров С.М., 2021

Последнюю четверть объема рукописи А 857/749 (л. 74b–101a)<sup>1</sup> занимает сборник *хадис*ов, не имеющий конкретного названия, *унван*а и традиционного славословия Аллаху. После *басмалл*ы составитель сборника сразу переходит к описанию цепи передатчиков: «Передал нам учитель, великий имам, ученый и аскет, хранитель ре-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> В Каталоге арабских рукописей Института востоковедения Академии наук СССР (М., 1986) в квадратных скобках дано рабочее название («Сборник шиитских хадисов в передаче Абу 'Али ал-Фадла б. ал-Хасана ат-Табарси») и указана дата смерти «лица, к которому возводят хадисы» (548/1153). Дата переписки — вторник, 24-го месяца *раби*' *ал-аввал* 908/1503, место переписки — Астарабад, переписчик — Шамс ад-дин Мухаммад б. Хасан Хуснан (Хассан?) ал-Астарабади (Беляев 1932: № 60; ср.: Brockelmann 1937: 708, № 3).

лигии, авторитет ислама, доверенное лицо сановников (1) Абу 'Али ал-Фадл б. ал-Хасан ат-Табарси — да продлит Аллах его жизнь!»<sup>2</sup>. Эта передача состоялась в четверг, в начале месяца *раджаб* 529 г. (20-е числа апреля 1135 г.).

В свою очередь, Абу 'Али ал-Фадл б. ал-Хасан ат-Табарси<sup>3</sup> ссылается (*ахбара-на*) на (**2**) Абу-л-Фатха 'Абд Аллаха б. ('Абд) ал-Карима б. Хавазина ал-Кушайри, под руководством которого он изучал («читал», *кира'ат<sup>ан</sup> 'алай-хи*) эти *хадис*ы в начале «Благословенного месяца» 501 г. (1108 г.) внутри мавзолея (*ал-кубба*) с могилой 8-го имама ши итов-имамитов 'Али ар-Риды (ум. в 203/818 г.)<sup>4</sup>.

Непосредственным передатчиком *хадис*ов для Абу-л-Фатха ал-Кушайри назван (*хаддаса-ни*) славный (*ал-джалил*) *аш-шайх ал-'алим* (**3**) Абу-л-Хасан 'Али б. Мухаммад б. 'Али ал-Хатими аз-Заузани, под руководством которого он «читал» (*киpa'am<sup>an</sup>*) *хадис*ы в 452 г. (1060 г.)<sup>5</sup>.

Мухаммад б. Мас'уд ал-'Аййаши, Абу-н-Надр ас-Сулами ас-Самарканди — бывший в молодости суннитом ('*аммийу-л-мазхаб*), ставший главой самаркандской школы шиитов, формировавшейся на традициях куфийских и куммских ученых-шиитов, автор более двухсот «книг» (догматика, культовая практика, право, хадисоведение и т.д.). Известность ал-'Аййаши вышла далеко за пределы Самарканда и достигла Багдада, широкое распространение в среде шиитов получил его Комментарий к Корану (*Китаб ат-тафсир*) (ан-Наджаши: 270–273; ат-Тихрани IV 1390/1971: 305–306).

Подобно основательному комментарию к Корану "ал-Кашшаф" знаменитого экзегета-му тазилита аз-Замахшари (ум. в 539/1144 г.), *Маджма сал-байан* ат-Табарси считался авторитетным исследованием не только среди ши и и отов-имамитов, но и среди суннитских ученых.

Помимо Маджма' ал-байан сохранились и другие труды ат-Табарси, тематически связанные с его содержанием, в частности, Мишкат ал-анвар («Ниша света», опубликовано: ан-Наджаф: ал-Мактаба ал-Хайдарийа, 1385/1966), Джавами' ал-джами' фи тафсир ал-Кур'ан; И'лам ал-вара' биа'лам ал-худа (биография пророка Мухаммада и 12 имамов, учение о «скрытом» состоянии имама (ал-гайба)).

По одной из версий, аш-Шайх ат-Табарси погиб во время огузского нашествия в Хорасан и «покинул этот мир» в 548/1153 г. Он погребен в мавзолее Имама ар-Ризы/ар-Риды в Машхаде, рядом с захоронением известного ученого ши'итско-имамитского толка аш-Шайха ат-Туси (ум. в 459/1067 г.), которого он почитал как великого правоведа и после смерти которого продолжил изучение юриспруденции, способствуя ее расцвету (http://fadakbook.com).

<sup>4</sup> Сын знаменитого хорасанского *суфийя* Абу-л-Касима ал-Кушайри (ум. в 465/1072 г.), автора популярного изложения теоретических основ суфизма *ар-Рисала ал-Кушайрийа*. Сведений об Абу-л-Фатхе ал-Кушайри не удалось обнаружить в биографических сочинениях ни суфийских, ни ши иско-имамитских авторов. Обращает на себя внимание, что Абу-л-Фатх ал-Кушайри назван *ас-саййид*ом (в ши иской традиции — потомок 'Али б. Аби Талиба и Фатимы) и что под его руководством в ши искою святыне читали ши иское.

<sup>5</sup> Ал-Хатими аз-Заузани — современник ан-Наджаши, был жив в 452/1060 г.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ахбара-на аш-шайх ал-имам ал-аджалл ал-'алим ва-з-захид амин ад-дин сикат ал-ислам амин ар-ру'аса Абу 'Али ал-Фадл б. ал-Хасан ат-Табарси – атала Аллаху бака'а-ху!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Аш-Шайх ат-Табарси — автор многочисленных трудов (доктрина, теология, этика, грамматика), только сохранившихся — около двадцати. Он родился в Табаристане (совр. название провинции в Иране) в 468/1073 г. и до 523/1128 г. жил в Машхаде, затем перебрался в Сабзавар, где начал писать (согласно преданию, во исполнение обета), когда ему было уже за 60 лет, и в 534/1139 г. завершил свой монументальный труд по коранической экзегетике *Маджма* '*ал-байан* (Brockelmann 1937: 708). *Маджма*' *ал-байан фи тафсир* [вар.: *ли-'улум*] *ал-Кур'ан* («Собрание разъяснений к толкованию Корана» [вар. «...к кораническим наукам»] (в англ. переводе: "Compendium of Elucidations on the Exegesis of the Quran"). Арабский текст в 10 томах размещен в интернете, бумажный вариант в 5 томах опубликован в Ливане (издательство «Дар ал-Муртада»). Бо́льшей частью приведенные в нем *хадис*ы взяты из суннитских(!) источников, меньше — из *Тафсир*а ал-'Аййаши (ум. в 320/932 г.) (Вгоскеlmann 1937: 708–709). При этом К. Брокельманн ссылается на рукописные источники, в которых упомянуты это и другие сочинения, издания и исследования.

### ИСТОРИОГРАФИЯ И ИСТОЧНИКОВЕДЕНИЕ

الماقال الخبرنا الوتكر عبدبن عبد اللها All and a straight الم التحمير الدهم عتهجفيق العباس حمع النستاد ركاشنة أخر فالشبج الإمام الأجل الكالم و سيح وثلثين وثلثمائة والكة شالوالفيم عيدايته بناحدين عامراطاس بالطابئ بالضج الزّاجد أيبن الدين تقية / بالمثل أيثن الحديثيا فاستةستاني ومارتين وال الرموساء أبوعلى الفضل بن المتر الطبيئ حد شي على بن موسى الرضاع سنة الع أطال الله يقاده لوم المش مرة شم الله لاعترائجب سنه شيج وعشيتاى وتبحين ومانة الحذشي ايتوس بن حسمايدة ال اختر بالشيخ « للما مالسيد الراعد الوالفة عبد التدين الكريم بن والحدثنى ابجعف ونعد والحدثني الاجمدين على والحدثني ادعاد والمخبي والحد شى اء المستين بن على الحديث فوازن القشيري ادامات عز قرائة عليدداخر القية التي فعاقر الرضاء أبعلى ليطلب عليهم السلامة القالي غتى شعابته المتارك سنة احدى فحابة المتما يقول المته عن حل كالذلاالة And Bart حضى فن وخل حصنى ابن س عداد قال حدَّشى الشيخ الجليش القالم الولكن واستاده قال قال سول المتحال فتكأنا على بن معمد بن على الحابق الذرية قتابة ינוטיין. גנוטיי الفرشفيع يوم القيامة للكرم لذريتى سنه شخا يخسبن ولربعا تؤ والخبا والقاجى لمنم خولجمة والساع لمفه ولوج الوالمستن المدنين عدين الأوناق فادي المديم البيد باموي لوسالتي والإدلين والآج فالاختل ماخلا فالالعينان مر ما معلى اذا م على وفاق انتقتم لد من فاتل وللمد يقد حكة لأبوته سلقا ولحك لمحما وكاء اوْلَا وَاخْرَا وَالْصَلْقَ عَلَى رُسُولْ خِلْحَظْ الْمُرْلَى احتلة لفتا وثاؤر شتاؤاعت والديه كالحنا والشلم على النبخ الهذى فتهن المنة الأعلى كن شبي فدين وبلنادة النخة الشريغة الربية في وم المُلتَافي قاعلى بن ا ب طالب من احتم وحد ب البوعشرين شهر يبح لاذل بلوة استرابده وعندمانه تحيت يخت ومن ابغض وحدان سنتثان ويسجة على بالصعف النهيف عندماته محيث تكن وباستادة وقدتنا الخاطى الراجى للحشاج الى وحق اللك المقاح الوالق الظاني حدَّثيا ويعتدن على شالاستالا بالم حَدْثَى عَلَى تُوَاسَى الْضَاء (حَدَثَى الْى مرى د اعلام المعتزان الاول الناوي الوس ى بنجفياً حَدَثْنا في حفر بن تحدد الم الموسكانة والسلمن والسكا تعطقاعلى نبيه المعتدين على المحدث المعلى المكين مستعيثا بعجي لاختاد لأباد حديثي الى الحسن على قاحد شي ال على بن الى طالب عاد ال وسول الله معال الفن الخيابين الطيبين الطامر وم تمالي انْ مُوْتَى بِن عَبْرَان سَلَا رَبَّهُ وُلَعْ يُدْبِدِهِ وم قال كارباق التي مرون قد كات فاغذله

Следующим в этой нисходящей цепи передатчиков *хадис*ов указан (*ахбара-на*) (4) Абу-л-Хасан Ахмад б. Мухаммад б. Харун (дата передачи отсутствует)<sup>6</sup>, который в свою очередь ссылается (в форме *ахбара-на* и с указанием даты — 337/948 г.) на (5) Абу Бакра Мухаммада б. 'Абд Аллаха б. Мухаммада (из потомства Аббасида Хамзы ан-Найсабури)<sup>7</sup>.

Последний сообщает, что эти *хадис*ы «передал нам» (*хаддаса-на*) в ал-Басре (6) Абу-л-Касим 'Абд Аллах б. Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и<sup>8</sup>, который в свою очередь в этой передаче ссылается (*хаддаса-ни*, с указанием даты — 260/874 г.) непосредственно на своего отца, (7) Ахмада б. 'Амира ат-Та'и<sup>9</sup>.

Эта цепь передатчиков (*иснад*) фактически совпадает с данными других ши'итских источников. Так, ан-Наджаши (ум. в 450/1058 г.) сообщает, что «наш учитель» (*шай-ху-на*) Абу-л-Хасан Ахмад б. Мухаммад б. Муса ал-Джунди «передал мне» (*дафа'а илай-йа*) «список» (*нусха*) Абу-л-Фадла (возможно, это — вторая *кунйа* 'Абд Аллаха ат-Та'и) 'Абд Аллаха б. Ахмада б. 'Амира ат-Та'и. Этот «список», переданный со слов его отца, со слов имама 'Али ар-Риды, он (ан-Наджаши) прочитал (*кара 'ту-ха*) под руководством своего учителя «с правом передачи» (*иджазат*<sup>ан</sup>) и нашел его «хорошим» (*хасанат*<sup>ан</sup>) (ан-Наджаши: 78, 170).

Согласно ат-Тихрани, ссылавшегося на более ранних ши'итских авторов, нисходящая к 'Али ар-Риде цепочка передатчиков ши'итских *хадис*ов реконструируется в двух вариантах.

•) Абу-л-Хусайн Мухаммад б. 'Али б. аш-Шах *ал-факих* ал-Марварузи, один из учителей *аш-Шайха* ас-Садука (ум. в 381/991 г., о нем см. ниже, примеч. 11), рассказывал со слов (*йарви 'ан*) Абу Бакра Мухаммада б. 'Абд Аллаха ан-Найсабури (= № 5 в *иснад*е нашей рукописи), которому Абу-л-Касим 'Абд Аллах б. Ахмад б. 'Аббас (вм. 'Амир) ат-Та'и (= № 6 в *иснад*е нашей рукописи) сказал в ал-Басре: передал мне *хадисы* (*хаддаса-ни*) мой отец в 260 г. (874 г.) со слов 'Али ар-Риды (ат-Тихрани IV 1390/1971: 152, 281).

•) Абу-л-Хасан 'Али б. Мухаммад б. 'Али ал-Хатими аз-Заузани (= № 3 в *иснаде* нашей рукописи) назван передатчиком (*ар-рави*) *Сахифат ар-Рида* («Свиток», или «Список ар-Риды»), с его слов в 452 г. (1060 г.) передавал *хадисы* (*йарви 'ан*) Абу-л-

Абу-л-Касим ат-Та'и — важное звено в цепи передатчиков *хадис*ов рассматриваемого сборника, поскольку он сохранил информацию со слов своего отца (о нем см. следующее примечание), непосредственно общавшегося с 8-м имамом ши'итов-имамитов 'Али ар-Ридой, с именем которого связано содержание некоего «списка» (рукописи — *ан-нусха*), легшего, очевидно, в основу сборника шиитских *хадис*ов.

<sup>9</sup> Абу-л-Джа'д Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и — видная фигура в окружении 8-го и последующих имамов ши'итов-имамитов («двунадесятников», «дюжинников»). По словам его сына, Абу-л-Касима ат-Та'и, его отец родился в 157 г. (774 г.), в 174 г. (790 г.), или в 194 г. (810 г.) (это расхождение объясняется сходством буквенной прописи арабских чисел «семьдесят» и «девяносто») он «встретил» (*лакийа*) 'Али ар-Риду. У Абу-л-Хасана ан-Наки ал-Хади (10-й имам, ум. в 254/868 г., у ан-Наджаши — 244/858 г.) и у Абу Мухаммада ал-'Аскари (11-й имам, ум. в 260/874 г.), которых «воочию видел» его сын, он служил муэдзином (араб. *му'аззин*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Абу-л-Хасан Ахмад б. Мухаммад б. Харун (аз-Заузани) (ат-Тихрани V 1391/1971: 27–28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Абу Бакр Мухаммад б. 'Абд Аллах б. Мухаммад (ан-Найсабури) (ат-Тихрани IV 1390/1971: 152, 281).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Абу-л-Касим 'Абд Аллах б. Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и — ши'ит-имамит, представитель древнего рода активных приверженцев «семьи дома Пророка» (*ахл ал-байт*), в исторической битве при Сиффине (36/657 г.) его предки участвовали на стороне 'Али б. Аби Талиба, в Карбале (60/680 г.) вместе с ал-Хусайном б. 'Али погиб один из них. Абу-л-Касим ат-Та'и был автором «книг», в том числе *Китаб кадайа амир ал-му'минин* («Дела/Решения повелителя верующих [т.е. 'Али б. Аби Талиба]») (ан-Наджаши: 170).

Фатх 'Абд Аллах б. 'Абд ал-Карим б. Хавазин ал-Кушайри (= № 2 в *иснад*е нашей рукописи). Сам же Абу-л-Хасан ал-Хатими аз-Заузани передавал *хадисы* со слов Абу-л-Хасана Ахмада б. Мухаммада б. Харуна аз-Заузани (= № 4 в *иснад*е нашей рукописи), «и далее до конца *иснад*а» (т.е. Абу-л-Касим 'Абд Аллах ат-Та'и > его отец Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и > имам 'Али ар-Рида) (ат-Тихрани V 1391/1971: 127).

Таким образом, несмотря на некоторые расхождения в деталях иснадов, очевидно, что эти три лица (Абу-л-Касим ат-Та'и, его отец Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и и 8-й имам ши'итов-имамитов 'Али ар-Рида) имели непосредственное отношение к составлению данного сборника ши'итских хадисов. В пользу этого свидетельствуют также следующие два факта: во-первых, 'Али ар-Рида чаще других имамов ши'итов-имамитов выступает верхним звеном в цепи передатчиков ши'итско-имамитских хадисов; во-вторых, последний (двухсотый) хадис с усеченным иснадом начинается с имени Абу-л-Касима ат-Та'и: ва-би-иснади-хи кала: ва-хаддаса-на Абу-л-Касим ат-Та'и кала: хаддаса-ни аби (в рук. ошибочно добавлено: Мухаммад б. 'Али вместо Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и) кала: хаддаса-ни 'Али б. Муса ар-Рида и далее следует по нисходящей цепочка имамов-передатчиков хадиса вплоть до 'Али б. Аби Талиба (погиб от рук хариджита в ал-Куфе в 40/661 г.).

Таким образом, есть основания полагать, что именно Ахмад б. 'Амир ат-Та'и мог записать непосредственно со слов имама 'Али ар-Риды, которого он слушал в 194/209–10 г. в ал-Мадине, *хадис*ы, составившие содержание «списка» (*нусха*), или «свитка» (*сахифа*), ставшего известным в передаче Абу-л-Касима ат-Та'и<sup>10</sup>.

На этом завершается верхняя часть цепи передатчиков *хадис*ов, представленная учеными-ши'итами. Вторая, нижняя часть этой цепи начинается с 8-го имама ши'итов-имамитов, упомянутого 'Али ар-Риды, и нисходит к 'Али б. Аби Талибу и непосредственно — к пророку Мухаммаду.

Из 200 хадисов разного объема (от нескольких слов до нескольких строк), включенных в этот сборник, только в первом приведена полная цепь передатчиков (*ucнад*), все остальные хадисы начинаются с констатации, что они опираются на тот же иснад (ва-би-иснади-хи кала...).

В литературе об ат-Табарси имеется краткая информация о пяти списках *Caxuфam ар-Рида*, сохранившихся в разных библиотеках. Это: список Мухаммада б. Мухаммада б. 'Абд ал-Каххара, переписанный в 761/1360 г. (библиотека 'Алламе Амини); список Низама б. Фахр ад-дина Хасани Амоли, переписанный в 848/1444 г. (библиотека Большой мечети в Куме); список Исма'ила б. 'Абд Момина Ка'ани, переписанный в 881/1476 г. (библиотека Астан Кудс Ризави); список *ал-кади* Абу 'Абд Аллаха Мухаммада б. Хамзы б. Аби Наджма, без даты (Национальная библиотека Римской Академии); Египетский список, в котором последним в цепи передатчиков *хадис*ов назван ал-Байхаки (?).

Египетский список *Caxuфam ap-Puda*, опубликованный в Каире еще столетие назад (издательство "Al-Maahid Press", 1340/1921–22), содержал 163 *xaduca* (по другим сведениям, 240), разделенных на десять тематических разделов (первые девять посвящены конкретным темам, 10-й — разным). Последний раздел заканчивается примечанием издателя, что он «отбросил» некоторые *xaduc*ы, считая их «сфабрикованными», и что другие ученые вообще не признают авторство этого сборника за 'Али ар-Ридой (https://ru.qaz.wiki/wiki/Sahifah\_of\_al-Ridha). Там же имеется упоминание о переводе сборника *Caxuфam ap-Puda* на англ. и перс. языки (перевод некоего Хиджази), однако выходные данные этих изданий не указаны).

Тем не менее это собрание *хадис*ов (*Сахифат ар-Рида*) рассматривается в шиитской среде как один из авторитетных и надежных источников шиитского вероучения, права, культа, морали, этики. Таковым его признавали знаменитые ученые мужи Ибн Бабуйа (Бабавайхи) аш-Шайх ас-Садук (ум. в 381/991 г.)<sup>11</sup>, ан-Наджаши (ум. в 450/ 1058 г.), Мухаммад ат-Туси (ум. в 159/1967 г.), ат-Табарси и многие другие. В этом контексте идентификация петербургского сборника шиитских *хадис*ов, доселе остававшегося безымянным, может быть полезной для подготовки критического академического издания *Сахифат ар-Рида*.

#### Литература

- Беляев 1932 Беляев В.И. Арабские рукописи Бухарской коллекции Азиатского Музея Института востоковедения АН СССР. Л., 1932. № 60 (Труды ИВ АН СССР. II).
- ан-Наджаши Абу-л-'Аббас Ахмад б. 'Али ан-Наджаши. Китаб ар-риджал [Биографии ученых мужей]. Иран, [Б.м., б.г.]: Издательский центр «Мустафа». С. 78, 170, 270–273, 302–306.
- Прозоров 2004 *Прозоров С.М.* Ислам как идеологическая система. Т. І. М.: Наука, Вост. лит., 2004. С. 308–309.
- ат-Тихрани IV 1390/1971 *аш-Шайх Ага Бузург ат-Тихрани*. Табакат а'лам аш-ши'а. Ал-Карн ар-раби' [Поколения самых ученых шиитов, IV в.]. Байрут, 1390/1971. С. 152, 281, 287–288, 305–306.
- ат-Тихрани V 1391/1971 *аш-Шайх Ага Бузург ат-Тихрани*. Табакат а'лам аш-ши'а. Ал-Карн ал-хамис [Поколения самых ученых шиитов, V в.]. Байрут, 1391/1971. С. 27–28, 127.
- Brockelmann 1937 Brockelmann C. Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Suppl. Bd. I. Leiden, 1937.
- Sezgin 1967 Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums von *Fuat Sezgin*. Bd. I. Qur'anwissenschaften. Hadith. Geschichte. Fiqh. Dogmatik. Mystik. Bis ca. 430 H. Leiden, 1967. S. 544–549.

#### References

Beliaev, Viktor I. Arabskie rukopisi Bukharskoi kollektsii Aziatskogo Muzeia Instituta vostokovedenia Akademii nauk SSSR (Trudy Instituta vostokovedenia Akademii nauk SSSR, II) [Arabic Manuscripts of Bukhara Collection in Asiatic Museum of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Academy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Мухаммад б. 'Али Абу Джа'фар ал-Кумми, известный как Ибн Бабуйа (Бабавайхи) аш-Шайх ас-Садук (ум. в 381/991 г. в ар-Раййе/Рей) — авторитетный шиитский богослов и факих, признанный знаток шиитских преданий, один из ранних кодификаторов имамитского (джа'фаритского) права (ал-фикх). Автор около 200 трудов (в том числе 100 «сочинений» /мусаннаф и 70 «книг»/китаб), половина из 20 сохранившихся — издана. Его труд Ман ла йахдуруху ал-факих стал одним из четырех сборников преданий (ал-усул ал-арба'а), признанных шиитами «каноническими» по имамитскому праву. Большим авторитетом и популярностью в шиитском мире и поныне пользуются его труды, содержащие шиитские предания, в частности Ма'ани ал-ахбар («Смыслы/Значения [шиитских] Преданий»), Уйун ахбар ар-Рида («Истоки [шиитских] Преданий ['Али] ар-Риды»), ал-Амали («Диктовки») и др. (ан-Наджаши: 302–306; ат-Тихрани IV 1390/1971: 287–288; Brockelmann 1937: 321–322; Sezgin 1967: 544–549; Прозоров 2004: 308–309). Со слов ан-Наджаши (Там же: 306), о всех «книгах» аш-Шайха ас-Садука рассказал ему его отец, 'Али б. Ахмад б. ал-'Аббас ан-Наджаши, а часть из них он «прочитал» (изучал) под его руководством. При этом он сказал, что отец дал ему право на дальнейшую передачу (иджаза) всех его книг, которые он слушал от него в Багдаде.

of Sciences USSR (Works of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Academy of Sciences USSR, II)]. Leningrad, 1932, no. 60 (in Russian).

Brockelmann, Carl. Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. SBd. I. Leiden, 1937 (in German).

- an-Najashi, Abu-l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Ali. *Kitab ar-rijal* [Biographies of Learned Men]. Publ. Centre "Mustafa", Iran, without date, pp. 78, 170, 270–273, 302–306 (in Arabic).
- Sezgin, Fuat. Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums von Fuat Sezgin. Bd. I. Qur'anwissenschaften. Hadith. Geschichte. Fiqh. Dogmatik. Mystik. Bis ca. 430 H. Leiden, 1967 (in German).
- at-Tihrani, al-Shaykh Aga Buzurg. *Tabaqat a'lam al-shi'a*. *Al-Qarn al-rabi'* [Generations of Shi'a Scientists, 4th Century]. Bayrut, 1390/1971, pp. 152, 281, 287–288, 305–306 (in Arabic).
- at-Tihrani, al-Shaykh Aga Buzurg. *Tabaqat a'lam al-shi'a. Al-Qarn al-hamis* [Generations of Shi'a Scientists, 5th Century]. Bayrut, 1391/1971, pp. 27–28, 127 (in Arabic).

Prozorov, Stanislav M. Islam kak ideologicheskaia sistema. T. I [Islam as an Ideological System. Vol. I]. Moscow: Nauka, Vostochnaya literatura, 2004, pp. 308–309 (in Russian).

# An Unattributed Miscellanea of Shi'a Traditions (*hadith*) in the Collection of Arabic Manuscripts of IOM RAS

Stanislav M. PROZOROV Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Received 12.07.2021.

Abstract: The present research is aimed to identify the unattributed miscellanea of Shi'a traditions (*hadith*es) in the collection of the Arabic manuscripts of the IOM RAS. The analysis of Shi'a tradition's *ithnads* and its comparison with the data from other Shi'a authors (ash-Shaykh as-Saduk, an-Najashi, at-Tihrani, Muhammad at-Tusi) gives a foundation to affirm that it is the miscellanea *Sahifat ar-Rida* ("Scroll of ar-Rida"). It is one of authoritative and trustworthy sources of Shi'a religious doctrine, law, cult, moral, ethics. Copies of this miscellanea are kept in the collections of Arabic manuscripts in various countries. In this context the identification of the Saint-Petersburg miscellanea of Shi'a traditions (*hadith*es) may be useful for a further preparation of academic critical publication of *Sahifat ar-Rida*.

Key words: Analysis of *ithnads*, Arabic manuscripts, identification of the miscellanea of Shi'a traditions (*hadithes*), *Sahifat ar-Rida*, at-Tabarsi.

For citation: Prozorov, Stanislav M. "An Unattributed Miscellanea of Shi'a Traditions (*hadith*) in the Collection of Arabic Manuscripts of IOM RAS". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 172–178 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77349

About the author: Stanislav M. PROZOROV, Cand. Sci. (History), Leading Researcher, Chief of the Scientific Direction Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (s\_prozorov@mail.ru).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 179–186

# Е.Д. Поливанов о китайском и японском языках

В.М. АЛПАТОВ Институт языкознания РАН Москва, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77362

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 12.06.2021.

Аннотация: В 1930 г. Е.Д. Поливанов опубликовал в соавторстве китайскую и японскую грамматики. В обеих грамматиках он предложил оригинальные подходы, но они были различными для этих языков. В японской грамматике он подчеркивал особую роль слога и оценивал все несамостоятельные грамматические элементы как аффиксы; однако он рассматривал те же единицы, что в «обычных языках»: фонемы, морфемы, слова, предложения. Его подход к китайскому языку был совершенно другим: Поливанов считал основными единицами китайского языка слоги и инкорпорации вместо фонем, слов и предложений, отрицал принципиальное различие морфологии и синтаксиса в этом языке.

Ключевые слова: Поливанов, китайский язык, японский язык, фонема, слог, грамматика, морфология, слово, предложение, инкорпорация.

Для цитирования: *Аллатов В.М.* Е.Д. Поливанов о китайском и японском языках // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 179–186. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77362

Об авторе: АЛПАТОВ Владимир Михайлович, доктор филологических наук, профессор, академик РАН, главный научный сотрудник Института языкознания РАН (Москва, Россия) (v-alpatov@ivran.ru).

© Алпатов В.М., 2021

Выдающийся ученый Евгений Дмитриевич Поливанов был полиглотом и в той или иной степени занимался большим количеством языков. Однако особое место в его научном творчестве занимали языки Дальнего Востока, прежде всего китайский и японский, в изучение которых он внес значительный вклад.

Безусловно, японским языком Поливанов занимался больше, о нём он писал в самые разные периоды своей деятельности. Обучаясь на историко-филологическом факультете Петербургского университета, он одновременно состоял в японском разряде Восточной практической академии, где изучал японский язык под руководством Д.М. Позднеева. По окончании обоих учебных заведений он в течение нескольких лет был сосредоточен на японистике. В 1914, 1915 и 1916 гг. он трижды ездил в Японию, где вел полевые исследования японских диалектов, а с 1915 г., когда ему было всего 24 года, стал приват-доцентом восточного факультета университета, к тому времени именовавшегося Петроградским. Японскому языку было посвящено большинство его ранних публикаций, включая книгу «Психофонетические наблюдения над японскими диалектами» (1917); в это же время Поливанов разработал практическую кириллическую транскрипцию для японского языка, используемую до сих пор. Позже он значительно расширил объекты своих исследований, но не оставлял никогда японский язык и рассматривал его материал вплоть до последней прижизненной публикации 1937 г.

Китайским языком ученый стал заниматься позже, уже в советское время. Он не был дипломированным китаистом в отличие от своих сверстников Н.И. Конрада и Н.А. Невского, которые кончали китайско-японский разряд восточного университета (в Практической академии был японский разряд), в Китае бывал лишь проездом в Японию. Ряд вопросов (полевые исследования диалектов, генетические связи) Поливанов изучал для японского, но не для китайского языка. Правда, он имел такой источник знакомства с китайским языком, как общение с «красными китайцами», которыми он одно время командовал в годы Гражданской войны. Китаистических публикаций у него намного меньше, чем японистических. Но главные его труды по этим двум языкам однотипны: это грамматики современного литературного (стандартного) языка, выполненные в соавторстве.

Обе грамматики вышли в 1930 г., но написаны были не позже лета 1929 г., когда Поливанов был вынужден покинуть Москву и переехать в Самарканд. Он не был выслан, как иногда ошибочно пишут, но переезд был спровоцирован травлей, которая обрушилась на ученого после выступления против Н.Я. Марра в феврале того же года. Евгений Дмитриевич рассчитывал, что в Узбекистане, где в 1920-е годы он пользовался авторитетом, ему будет легче, что не оправдалось. Но обе грамматики всё же издали.

Соавторы Поливанова были очень разными людьми. Японист Олег Викторович Плетнер, для которого публикация грамматики была посмертной (он умер в марте 1929 г.), хотя не был учеником Евгения Дмитриевича в прямом смысле (они были почти ровесниками), но находился под сильным его влиянием. Многое в его подходах совпадает с тем, что мы видим у Поливанова, хотя есть и отдельные различия (см.: Алпатов 1988: 69-73). А профессор Алексей Иванович Иванов (как и Поливанов, погиб в годы репрессий) принадлежал к старой, дореволюционной школе японистов и писал независимо от своего соавтора, который был моложе его на тринадцать лет. Видимо, они с самого начала не имели общих позиций и не учитывали взглядов друг друга; лишь некоторые вопросы один из соавторов передавал другому, например, Поливанов уступил Иванову всё, что касалось письменности. В японской грамматике, пишет Поливанов, «сосуществование научных и школьных грамматик, поразному трактующих одни и те же языковые факты, — нелепость» (Плетнер, Поливанов 1930: III). Но в китайской грамматике ему пришлось по каким-то причинам с этим смириться (подробнее о различиях подходов двух авторов см.: Алпатов 2014). В китайской грамматике тематика двух авторов более или менее сходна, а в японской грамматике при сходных в основном общих подходах различается тематика.

В грамматике Плетнера и Поливанова последнему принадлежат краткое введение, вводный раздел «Морфология словоизменения» (Плетнер, Поливанов 1930: XV– XXXV) и заключительная часть, посвященная фонологии и акцентуации; между ними идет самый пространный раздел «Грамматика» Плетнера (Там же: 1–143); разделы разных авторов имеют разную нумерацию. В китайской грамматике до с. 35
общей нумерации идет текст Поливанова, затем разделы Иванова и начиная со с. 199 — опять текст Поливанова.

Далее рассматриваются лишь разделы, написанные Поливановым. В них говорится о языках, которые при географической близости и многовековых контактах имели и имеют значительные структурные различия, которые, как считал Поливанов, требуют разных исследовательских подходов. Об этих подходах и будет идти речь в данной статье.

Что касается звукового строя языков, то для обоих языков строго разграничены описания сегментной фонологии и акцентуации. Центральным для сегментной фонологии в японской грамматике было понятие фонемы, разработанное учителями Поливанова И.А. Бодуэном де Куртенэ и Л.В. Щербой. Строго разграничиваются фонетика и фонология, которая вслед за Бодуэном рассматривается как психофонетика (уже в 1930-е годы Н.С. Трубецкой и Р.О. Якобсон критиковали Поливанова за устаревшее, по их мнению, психическое понимание фонемы). При этом при выделении фонем учитываются и критерии звукового сходства, поэтому, например, т и и трактуются как разные фонемы, несмотря на то что они находятся в дополнительной дистрибуции (и перед у, т в других случаях). Используется критерий системности, исходя из него выделяется очень существенное для японского языка и проходящее через всю его систему согласных противопоставление твердых и мягких фонем (ср. менее системный подход в англоязычной японистике: Алпатов 2008). На основе данных критериев рассматриваются фонемы стандартного японского языка, в некоторых случаях производится сопоставление с системами изучавшихся Поливановым диалектов. Строго системный подход он применял еще в ранней статье о транскрипции.

Сегментная фонология для японского языка описана на основе тогдашних передовых теорий, и подход ученого здесь в большинстве случаев не отличается от тех подходов, которые были к тому времени приняты для русского, романских, германских и многих других языков; какая-либо специфика для японского языка не присутствует. Однако иначе обстоит дело, когда Евгений Дмитриевич доходит до структуры слога. Обычно в очерках фонологии европейских языков такой раздел вообще не выделялся, но здесь ему уделено значительное внимание, поскольку структура слога в японском языке намного строже. Ученый указывает на невозможность за редкими исключениями закрытых слогов и сочетаний согласных и на ограничения в позиции фонем в слоге. Он как представитель психофонетики не ограничивается констатацией фактов, но выделяет психологические причины такой структуры: в японском языковом мышлении звуки осознаются не сами по себе, а как «элементы слогопредставлений» (Плетнер, Поливанов 1930: 148). О том, что именно Поливанов на японском (а также китайском, см. ниже) материале установил фонологическую роль слога, писали Р. Якобсон, Г. Халле, В.В. Иванов и др. И такой факт: в экзаменационные билеты японских студентов по языкознанию включается вопрос о том, кто из лингвистов совершил какое открытие; Поливанов обозначается как открыватель законов слога (Gengo 1979: 12).

Однако возникает вопрос: что считать слогом в японском языке? В данной грамматике Поливанов пользуется понятием *слог*, хотя еще в ранних работах 1910-х годов он указывал, что «слогопредставление» японцев связано не со слогом в обычном смысле, а с более краткой единицей, которую сопоставил с морой в древнегреческом и латинском языках. Это либо отдельный гласный, либо сочетание согласного и краткого гласного, тогда как вторые компоненты долгих гласных и дифтонгов, а также конечнослоговые носовые согласные рассматриваются традицией как отдельные единицы. Именно с морами соотносятся, как правило, знаки японских азбук, а понятие звука в европейском смысле появилось лишь под западным влиянием.

Иначе дело обстоит с китайским языком. В самом начале грамматики Поливанов пишет: «Существеннейшим отличием китайского языка от европейских языков... является принцип различия в количественном (а также и в качественном) характере элементарных единиц китайского языкового мышления, соответствующих нашим (т.е. европейским, в частности русским и т.д.) представлениям звука языка, слова и, наконец, предложения и фразы. Строго говоря, точного соответствия нашим единицам языкового мышления... в современном китайском языке не существует» (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 3). Европейские фонемы способны ассоциироваться со смысловыми представлениями независимо от позиции, китайские нет. В европейских языках слова формируются из звуков, а в китайском языке из слогов. И это именно слоги; показательно, что они считаются слогами и в европейской китаистике. Слоги имеют строгую структуру, внутри их не допускаются чередования.

Если в японском языке (как и в европейских) нет жестких правил соотношения между морой и слогом, с одной стороны, и морфемой, с другой, то в китайском языке общим правилом является совпадение слога и морфемы. Единицы, соответствующие фонемам, выделить возможно, но они не могут ассоциироваться с какими-нибудь значениями; если в европейских языках есть звукопредставления, то в китайском языке имеются слогопредставления (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 7).

Таким образом, если для японского языка Поливанов хотя и отметил особенности, связанные со «слогопредставлениями», но сохранял подход, основанный на понятии фонемы, то для китайского языка анализ строится принципиально на других основаниях.

Еще больше различий в подходе к грамматике, и опять для китайского языка подход больше расходится с европейской традицией, чем для японского языка. Во времена Поливанова грамматика понималась как сочетание морфологии и синтаксиса, но при этом морфология была развита намного детальнее. Игнорирование синтаксиса было распространено даже у крупнейших ученых, а структурные методы в это время вырабатывались на фонологическом и морфологическом, но не синтаксическом материале; ситуация кардинально изменится лишь во время «хомскианской революции» в 1950-1960-х годах. В России, впрочем, в начале XX в. существовал интерес к синтаксису и появился ряд значительных работ, например, таких авторов, как А.А. Шахматов, А.М. Пешковский, М.Н. Петерсон, но они вышли не из школы, к которой принадлежал Поливанов.

Однако и здесь Поливанов подходил к двум языкам по-разному, и опять-таки для китайского языка разрыв с традицией существеннее. Для японского языка набор единиц грамматики вполне традиционен. Особенно он выглядит таким сейчас, поскольку в те времена не всегда морфема бывала исходным пунктом морфологии, но к 1930 г. и это уже стало достаточно распространено. И выделение в качестве основных единиц морфем, слов и предложений распространялось на все языки. Но Поливанов сосредоточен на морфологических свойствах слов японского языка, а о синтаксисе в книге имеется лишь краткий раздел, написанный Плетнером. Вообще среди сохранившихся работ Поливанова по синтаксису нет ничего.

Подход Евгения Дмитриевича к японскому языку последовательно морфологичен. 182 Все морфемы делятся на основе их значения и возможности самостоятельного упот-

ребления на лексические и формальные, а слово понимается как сочетание лексической морфемы (или морфем в случае композитов) с примыкающими формальными. В ранней книге «Психофонетические наблюдения над японскими диалектами» Поливанов обосновывал аффиксальный характер падежных и других грамматических показателей их акцентуационной несамостоятельностью, но в рассматриваемой здесь грамматике главное — способность быть потенциальным минимумом фразы, а акцентуация оценивается как дополнительный признак (Плетнер, Поливанов 1930: 144– 146). Данное определение слова сходно с тем, что в те же годы предлагал Л. Блумфилд. Показательно полное отсутствие в написанной им части грамматики какихлибо служебных слов (в части, написанной Плетнером, они есть, хотя их очень немного, здесь появилась несогласованность позиций авторов).

Морфологический подход использован и при выделении частей речи. Их у Поливанова всего три: имя, глагол, прилагательное (Плетнер, Поливанов 1930: XXIX-XXII), хотя в периферийные классы могут быть выделены еще звукоподражания и междометия (но не наречия: это имена с дефектной парадигмой) и тем более местоимения, выделяемые лишь чисто семантически. То есть части речи определены исключительно на основе их словоизменения. Подход Поливанова к выделению слов и частей речи был оригинален и резко отличался от того, что уже к тому времени было принято и в японской лингвистике, и в западной, в том числе англоязычной японистике: там падежные и другие приименные показатели принято считать отдельными служебными словами. Представляется, что эти идеи (как и вышеупомянутые идеи о наличии в японском языке мягких согласных) тоже базировались на «звукопредставлениях» и «словопредставлениях» носителя русского языка, для которого словоизменение — норма морфологии (а мягкие согласные хорошо известны, что не свойственно носителям, скажем, английского языка). Идеи об именном словоизменении после Поливанова были широко распространены в отечественной японистике до 1960-х годов, но затем большинство наших японистов их отвергли.

Однако общий подход к японской грамматике у Поливанова в целом соответствует привычной традиции: слова состоят из лексических и формальных морфем, предложения состоят из слов, среди частей речи выделяются имена, прилагательные и глаголы. Нетривиальные идеи вроде отрицания служебных слов имеют более частный характер.

Иначе обстоит дело с китайским языком. Здесь оригинальный подход основывается на уже упоминавшейся особой роли слога, которой нет, например, в русском или английском языке, где морфема и слог часто не совпадают по границам, а «слоговые комплексы» трудно выделять и практически невозможно подсчитать. В китайской традиции все слоги были подсчитаны задолго до ее европеизации. Если морфема, как правило, равна слогу, то норма следующей по рангу единицы в современном языке — двуслог. Односложные единицы того же порядка существуют, но теперь (в отличие от древнего языка) представляют собой аномалии. Еще одна особенность китайского языка связана с тем, что словосложение (композиция) преобладает в двуслогах над аффиксацией. С точки зрения Поливанова, хотя двуслоги часто соответствуют словам других языков, но далеко не всегда: объектно-предикатные комплексы, которые в русском или японском языке являются словосочетаниями (каждый их член требует отдельного грамматического оформления), — такие же двуслоги. Более того: таковы и субъектно-предикатные сочетания, соответствующие в других языках предложениям. Поэтому ученый предложил называть двусложные единицы не *словами*, а *инкорпорациями* (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 8); этот термин не следует смешивать с инкорпорациями в типологии. Отдельность инкорпораций подтверждается акцентуационными критериями.

Таким образом, для китайского (но не для японского) языка предлагается иное по сравнению со всей европейской традицией и с современной Поливанову лингвистикой выделение основных грамматических единиц. Совпадают лишь морфемы, но подчеркивается специфическое для китайского языка совпадение их со слогами. А дальше «классификационные пороги не совпадают» (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 8): инкорпорация может соответствовать и слову, и словосочетанию, и предложению (Там же: 8, 11). С другой стороны, словам соответствуют не только инкорпорации, но и менее распространенные сочетания с аффиксами, хотя в принципе «инкорпорации не нуждаются в аффиксации» (Там же: 202).

В связи с этим Поливанов нетрадиционно подходит и к разграничению морфологии и синтаксиса. Здесь его точка зрения несколько противоречива. С одной стороны, любые инкорпорации — морфология, а не синтаксис (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 21). Но тут же сказано, что в этом языке «морфология и синтаксис сливаются в единстве» (Там же: 22). В японской грамматике традиционное разграничение двух частей грамматики не пересматривается, хотя, как уже упоминалось, синтаксические вопросы отданы соавтору. А в китайской грамматике мы видим принципиально другой подход.

В отношении частей речи Поливанов избегает полной их классификации, и подход не вполне ясен. Он отмечает, что «глагол мыслится как слово только в сочетании с другой частью инкорпорации» (Иванов, Поливанов 1930: 15), т.е. оказывается, что часть инкорпорации может быть и словом. Также отмечено сходство китайского языка с английским, где слово нередко может быть и существительным, и глаголом: *bridge* — *to bridge*. Однако в английском языке это — слова, а как в китайском? Мало сказано о характере последовательностей, которые более протяженны, чем инкорпорации; упомянуто лишь, что в китайском языке нет соответствия понятию сложного предложения (Там же: 12).

В заключительной части грамматики ученый подробнее описывает типы инкорпораций: субъектно-предикатные, объектно-предикатные, атрибутивно-именные, копулятивные и др. Подчеркнуто, что для китайского языка субъектно-предикатные инкорпорации не отличаются от других типов.

В целом многое в подходах Поливанова к китайскому языку оказалось слишком непривычным, и предложение заменить слово и предложение инкорпорацией не нашло поддержки у большинства китаистов, тогда же как его взгляд на японский язык, гораздо больше соответствующий представлениям лингвистов — носителей русского языка, нашел продолжение в отечественной японистике.

Итак, подход к двум языкам Дальнего Востока в одновременно написанных грамматиках Поливанова принципиально различен, что нельзя трактовать как отражение изменения взглядов ученого. Исходя из единых принципов, он по-разному подходил к языкам разного строя. При этом агглютинативно-флективный японский язык (в котором ученый выводил на первый план флективные черты) он описывал принципиально так же, как русский и другие «обычные» языки, а для изолирующего китайского языка предложил принципиально новую точку зрения.

### Литература

- Алпатов 1988 *Алпатов В.М.* Изучение японского языка в России и СССР. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1988.
- Алпатов 2008 Алпатов В.М. Сасими или сашими? Фонетика и нефонетика. К 70-летию Сандро В. Кодзасова. М.: Языки славянской культуры, 2008. С. 722–731.
- Алпатов 2014 Алпатов В.М. Два века в одной книге // 44-я научная конференция «Общество и государство в Китае». Том XLIV. Часть 1. М.: ИВ РАН, 2014. С. 524–540.
- Иванов, Поливанов 1930 Иванов А.И., Поливанов Е.Д. Грамматика современного китайского языка. М.: Институт востоковедения им. Н.Н. Нариманова, 1930 (Труды Московского института востоковедения мм. Н.Н. Нариманова, т. XV).
- Плетнер, Поливанов 1930 *Плетнер О.В., Поливанов Е.Д.* Грамматика японского разговорного языка. М.: Институт востоковедения им. Н.Н. Нариманова, 1930 (Труды Московского института востоковедения им. Н.Н. Нариманова, т. XIV).

Gengo 1979 — Gengo. Tokyo, 1979. № 9.

### References

- Alpatov, Vladimir M. *Izuchenie iaponskogo iazyka v Rossii i SSSR* [The Studies of the Japanese Laguage in Russia and the USSR]. Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury, 1988 (in Russian).
- Alpatov, Vladimir M. Sasami ili sashimi? Fonetika i nefonetika. K 70-letiiu Sandro V. Kodzasova [Sasami or sashimi? Phonetics and Non-Phonetics. To the 70th Anniversary of Sandro V. Kodzasov]. Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury [Languages of Slavic Culture], 2008, pp. 722–731 (in Russian).
- Alpatov, Vladimir M. "Dva veka v odnoi knige" [Two Centuries in One Book]. In: 44-ia nauchnaia konferentsiia "Obzhectvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae" [The 44th Scientific Conference "Society and State in China"]. Vol. XLIV. Pt. 1. Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia RAN, 2014, pp. 524–540 (in Russian).

Gengo. Tokyo, 1979, № 9 (in Japanese).

- Ivanov, Aleksei I., Polivanov, Evgenii D. Grammatika sovremennogo kitaiskogo iazyka [The Grammar of the Modern Chinese Language]. Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia im. N.N. Narimanova, 1930 (in Russian).
- Pletner, Oleg V., Polivanov, Evgenii D. Grammatika iaponskogo razgovornogo iazyka [The Grammar of the Japanese Colloquial Language]. Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia im. N.N. Narimanova, 1930 (in Russian).

## E.D. Polivanov on Chinese and Japanese

Vladimir M. ALPATOV Institute of Linguistics of RAS Moscow, Russian Federation

Received 12.06.2021.

Abstract: In 1930 E.D. Polivanov published in co-authorship grammars of Chinese and Japanese. He proposed some original approaches in the both grammars but his approaches were different for these languages. In the Japanese grammar he emphasized the peculiar role of syllables and interpreted all the not independent grammar units as affixes; however he considered the same units as in the "usual languages": phonemes, morphemes, words, clauses. His approach to Chinese was quite different: Polivanov considered syllables and incorporations the basic units of Chinese instead of phonemes, words and clauses, denied the principal difference of morphology and syntax in his language.

Key words: Polivanov, Chinese, Japanese, phoneme, syllable, grammar, morphology, word, clause, incorporation.

For citation: Alpatov, Vladimir M. "E.D. Polivanov on Chinese and Japanese". *Pis'mennye pamiat-niki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 179–186 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77362

About the author: Vladimir M. ALPATOV, Doctor of Letters, Professor, Member of Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistics of RAS (Moscow, Russian Federation) (v-alpatov@ivran.ru).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 187–206

# Preface to the Indexes to the Great Chinese Botany Zhiwu Mingshi Tukao 植物名實圖考 of Wu Qijun 吳其濬

Hartmut WALRAVENS

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Free University of Berlin Berlin, Germany

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77360

Received 10.05.2021.

Abstract: The paper focuses on the efforts of the US botanist Walter T. Swingle to disseminate information on Chinese traditional botanical literature, especially facilitating access to the outstanding Zhiwu mingshi tukao by Wu Qijun. For the latter purpose he prepared indexes and correlation tables to cover the then available different editions in Chinese and Japanese. This research tool was never printed but a small number of photostats was circulated among interested scholars. The paper introduces Swingle's work and presents his preface in which he underlines the importance of Chinese botanical literature and explains the method behind this index volume. In addition it offers the translation of the original prefaces to the different editions of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao, prepared by such scholars as Jiang Kanghu, the historian of literature and Yuan Tongli, later director of the National Library of China.

Key words: *Zhiwu mingshi tu kao*, Wu Qijun (1789–1847), Swingle, Walter Tennyson (1871–1952), Botanical literature in China.

For citation: Hartmut, Walravens. "Preface to the Indexes to the Great Chinese Botany *Zhiwu Mingshi Tukao* 植物名實圖考 of Wu Qijun 吳其濬". *Pis 'mennye pamyatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 187–206 (in English). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77360

About the author: WALRAVENS Hartmut. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Free University of Berlin (Berlin, Germany) (hwalravens@gmx.net).

© Walravens Hartmut, 2021

Walter Tennyson Swingle (Canaan, Pa. Jan. 8, 1871 — Jan. 19. 1952 Washington, D.C.) (Bartlett 1952; Seifriz 1953), botanist, citrus and date expert, worked for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. He grew up on a farm in Kansas and attended a one-class rural school and he quickly took in all knowledge it could offer. But he was eager for more, his strong point was perseverance, and he was interested in nature. Thus, he had no problem in going through college, guided and motivated by good teachers. He was full of ideas but never became a model administrator. He dealt with the culture of citrous fruits, including parasite control, solved the issue of the pollination of the Smyrna fig and supported the introduction of the date palm into North America. His research concerned also *metaxenia* and *neophosis* — he had worked in genetics already during his study term at Bonn University; at first he had to cope with disbelief and opposition to his experimental results but he managed to

convince his critics by well-founded presentations. The Department showed generosity regarding his projects and ideas but this attitude changed in 1933 when a restructuring took place which focused upon immediate application. His previous work even if it had found much recognition by scientists was no longer of any importance. He retained his position but the Bureau of Plant Industry was abolished, and from then on he was just one of numerous employees — his ideas were not in demand any more. But he kept on working, especially on his citrus material which became part of the standard work the *Citrus Industry* (Swingle 1943–1948).

Swingle belonged to a small circle of scholars and scientists who promoted East Asian Studies in the USA. Frank D. Venning has a long paragraph in his appreciation of Swingle:

"Swingle's studies to straighten out the classification and descriptions of citrus and its relatives had led him to explore the history of the cultivated varieties. The genus Citrus is native to Southeast Asia, and has long been cultivated in China. There were records and descriptions in the Chinese literature and a collection of Chinese books at the Library of Congress, so he had sought help there. By a series of coincidences, this led to his taking on and accomplishing in fifteen years, merely as a sideline, what would have been a full time career for most persons, the guidance of the development of the Oriental Collection in the Library of Congress.

Until 1898, the Chinese collection in the Library of Congress was a miscellany of minor books, mostly uncatalogued and therefore unavailable for general use. The collection had never been rounded out to cover any special fields of knowledge and could not be counted on to serve the needs of special investigators. In it, however, were some choice, basically important and valuable items. The first American commissioner to China, Caleb Cushing<sup>1</sup>, had personally collected Chinese books, and had given them to the Library in the late 1840s. A classical Chinese herbal, edition of 1655<sup>2</sup>, was presented by the Emperor Tongzhi in 1869. In 1898 the famous Chinese Ambassador Wu Ting-Fang<sup>3</sup> inspected the collection, and through his courtesy arranged for it to be "catalogued by some learned gentlemen connected with the embassy." At that time, the collection contained 2.888 volumes.

In 1904, the Chinese Government had exhibited 1,965 volumes at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition<sup>4</sup>; in 1905 it presented them to the United States. The learned William Woodville Rockhill<sup>5</sup>, Orientalist and special American Minister to China, personally purchased and presented an aggregate of 6,000 volumes. There followed, in 1908, the gift of a sumptuous set of the Imperial Encyclopedia<sup>6</sup>, in 5,041 volumes, brought to Washington by a special ambassador and presented on behalf of the Empress Dowager to the American government as a memorial tribute of China's appreciation of the remission by the United States of the last of the indemnity for the destruction that had occurred during the Boxer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Caleb Cushing (1800–1879), lawyer, statesman and diplomat. H was dispatched to China as a plenipotentiary in 1843 to negotiate the treaty of Wangxia in 1844. Cf. Walravens 2016.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Bencao gangmu 本草綱目, compendium of medicinal plants. The donation comprised ten important works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳 (1842–1922), statesman and diplomat, 1896–1902 and 1908–1909 ambassador to the USA, later on (1921–1922) foreign minister under Sun Yatsen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> World Exhibition in St. Louis, Missouri, to commemorate the centenary of the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> William Woodville Rockhill (1854–1914), ambassador and Orientalist; see Varg 1952; Wimmel 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 of 1726–28; reference is here probably not made to the original edition (printed from movable type) but the reprint made at the end of the 19th century, commissioned by the Zongli Yamen, on white paper and in original size.

uprising. With these gifts, the collection numbered 15.894 volumes, and was on the way toward becoming one of the important Oriental libraries in the West. This was where things stood in 1911 when Swingle began using the collection.

The Chinese botanical and agricultural literature held records of economic plants going back many hundreds of years, but the old volumes accessible to Swingle referred to still older works. When he would ask to consult these, he found that most were not in the collection. Many were known to have survived in China or Japan, or might turn up if searched for. The Library kept adding these titles to its list of desiderata, but had no operating plan for developing its Orientalia. By his intensive use of the materials and his requests for titles not held by the Library, Swingle was, de facto, guiding its development.

In 1915 Swingle was preparing for his first trip to China. Foreigners now had access to some official Chinese libraries. Swingle needed to consult these older references, and queried Herbert Putnam<sup>7</sup>, the learned and far-seeing Librarian of Congress, as to where he might find them. Putnam was interested in systematically rounding out the Library's holdings so that it would serve scholars adequately, and here was Swingle with a long list of herbals and encyclopedias not in the collection. Would Mr. Swingle be willing to accept a commission authorizing him to buy important books that would supply these deficiencies? Mr. Swingle was mightily pleased at such a prospect. Together the two men worked out the broad outlines of a program, and Swingle undertook his commission with typical enthusiasm.

From this point until 1928 the growth and development of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, was systematically guided by Swingle, and his interest continued for the rest of his life. The ability to transmit his enthusiasm to others enabled him to obtain efficient collaboration in the task, not only from friends in the Bureau of Plant Industry, but from persons he knew only through correspondence. From 1916 to 1928 he wrote the Annual Reports on Far Eastern accessions for the Librarian. He continued to contribute to the reports for the botanical, agricultural, and geographical accessions until 1935. His reports were brief but highly effective, and actually constitute a history of Chinese science. In them, he enumerated the most significant Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Mongol, Manchu and Annamite accessions, adding inspiringly enthusiastic annotations. They gave our American botanists and agriculturists an inkling of what they might find in the ancient herbals, encyclopedias, and gazetteers, of Chinese economic botany and ethnobotany. Others reading these reports caught his enthusiasm and offered to collaborate.

From the herbals and encyclopedic agricultural works, Swingle turned his attention to the gazetteers that the Chinese periodically compiled for the country as a whole, and for provincial and lesser subdivisions. These gazetteers include not only geographic descriptions, but annals of each general or local administration, detailed local history and biography, records of the utilization of natural products, development of manufactures, reports on official tours of inspection, and such a vast amount of information that they are an inexhaustible mine of facts bearing on every phase of Chinese culture. When Swingle's good friend O.F. Cook<sup>8</sup> travelled widely in China in 1919 to investigate the cultivation of cotton, Swingle asked him to buy any gazetteers he came across to help build up the already nota-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The librarian Herbert Putnam (1861–1955), son of a well-known publisher; he served as the Librarian of Congress from 1899 to 1939 and turned the library into one of the world's most important book repositories.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Orator Fuller Cook (1867–1949), botanist and entomologist. He specialized in cotton, rubber producing plants and palms. Cf. Anonymous 1953.

ble collection in the Library. With the help of his assistant, Mr. Yeh Yuen-Ting [Ye Yuanding 葉元鼎], Cook secured no less than 108 official gazetteers in 1,239 volumes. As a result, Swingle was able to report with pride in 1920 that "the Library of Congress now contains the largest collection of official gazetteers to be found outside of China". In the same year, a professional copyist began copying valuable selected manuscripts in the great library of Canton. And Berthold Laufer,<sup>9</sup> the great Orientalist of the Field Museum of Chicago, cooperated in the acquisition of Mongol books.



Walter T. Swingle (4 Corners of the World. *blogs.loc.gov*)

Swingle also sought out Chinese *congshu* 叢書, or collectanea. These consist of sets in which are reprinted rare books long out of print and unavailable as separate volumes. Individual *congshu* usually cover a special field of endeavor, and are ambitious undertakings. The bulkiest of them all, the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典<sup>10</sup>, had the objective of including all "serious works" of Chinese literature extant in the year 1400, excluding novels and plays. It comprised 11,095 volumes, and was never printed. It existed at first only in the origin ill draft and one final copy. Later a new copy was made. Swingle stated that "some 8,000 years' labor of scholars was spent in compiling, copying, and proofreading the original work, and that another 2,000 years' labor went into the copies and transcripts. «So far as is known, only scattered volumes of this monumental *congshu* have survived, of which the Library of Congress has 33; only the Library of the Chinese Ministry of Education has more, holding 60» (Annual Report, 1922)» [Venning 1977: 22–24]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Berthold Laufer (1874–1934), one of the most outstanding Sinologists, who undertook four collecting trips to East Asia where he assembled a large amount of books and artefacts for the museums and libraries in New York and Chicago. He became director of the Anthropology Dept. at Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Cf. Walravens 1976 and 1982.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This work belongs to the category *leishu* 類書 which is often translated by *encyclopedia* but in fact it is rather a thematically arranged collection of material consisting of long quotations from books (or even whole books).

Swingle contributed the following essays to the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress:

Orientalia, Chinese. 1917: 83-99.

Orientalia 1920: 187-192.

Far Eastern acquisition. 1921: 169–172.

Orientalia: acquisitions. 1922: 176-186.

Orientalia: acquisitions. 1923: 171-195.

Chinese books added to the Library of Congress, 1923–1924. 1924: 258–279.

Chinese and other East Asiatic books added to the Library of Congress, 1924–1925. 1925: 255–278.

Chinese and other East Asiatic books added to the Library of Congress, 1925–1926. 1926: 313–334.

Chinese and other East Asiatic books added to the Library of Congress, 1926–1927. 1927: 245–278.

Notes on Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Tibetan accessions. 1928: 287-299.

Notes on Chinese accessions, chiefly medicine, materia medica and horticulture. 1929: 311–333.

Notes on Chinese accessions on medicine and materia medica, and the Nashi pictographic Manuscripts. 1930: 368–390.

Notes on Chinese, Korean, Japanese accessions on materia medica, medicine, and agriculture. 1931: 290-299.

Notes on Chinese herbals and other works on materia medica. 1932: 199-207.

Notes on early Chinese records on maize, on natural products, and on medicine. 1933: 119–131.

Pictographic books of the Nashi people. 1934: 153-158.

Noteworthy Chinese books on wild and cultivated food plants. 1935: 193–206.

Chinese famine herbals and Nashi pictographic manuscripts. 1936: 184-195.

New and old Chinese treatises on materia medica. 1937: 189–196.

Among the important historical botanical works which stick out for their reliable descriptions and illustrations of plants, is arguably the most prominent the *Zhiwu ming shi tukao* of the provincial governor Wu Qijun 吳其濬 (1789–1847) which was released in 1848. When in the beginning of the 20th c. botanists became interested in Chinese source material it seemed a priority to facilitate access to the by that time several different editions, i.e. by means of correlation tables and indexes. Swingle and his team did exactly that but to make this handbook available would have been very costly, and therefore photostats were prepared for the numerically small number of scholars.

In a preface Swingle explained the access method to three different editions and added also the original prefaces with translations in order to make the respective editorial concepts more transparent.

It may be useful to look at Swingle's contributions to the *Annual reports of the Librarian of Congress*<sup>11</sup> to get some background information on the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*:

"The author (acting governor general of Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces in 1844) is the author of the great Chinese botany *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*, a work of 60 books in 60 volumes, containing 1714 excellent full-page illustrations of Chinese plants. It was first published in

<sup>11</sup> See Walravens 2021 for an index to the East Asian sections of the Annual reports.

1848 by the provincial press of Shanxi Province. The author took the highest degree in 1817 and held many high offices during his long career, in which he served in 10 of the 18 Provinces of China, usually as governor or acting governor general" (Annual report of the Librarian of Congress 1928: 297–298).

"This year a hitherto unknown Chinese edition [of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao] was secured from Japan. This a reprint made in Yunnan Provincial Library in 1915 of the Japanese reprint of this work first published in Tokyo in 1884. The Yunnan edition has a preface by Mr. You Yunlong (zi, Kuiju), who was apparently in charge of the Yunnan Provincial Library at the time.

He states in his preface that when he was a student in Japan he heard of the *Zhiwu ming-shi tukao* through the botanist, Prof. K. Yabe; upon his return to Peking he tried to find it in the secondhand bookstores there, but was unable to secure a Chinese edition, although he did see the Japanese edition. Finally, upon entering his official duties in Yunnan in 1914 he again took up the matter and was able to secure a copy of the Japanese edition through a friend living in Yunnan. After rather disparaging references to the older Chinese works which discuss plants he extols the work of Wu Qijun who, as he points out, formerly served as Governor of Yunnan and notes that a Yunnan man, Lu Jiatang, published Wu Qijun's great botany after the author's death in 1848, so that this work is of special interest to men of Yunnan. The reprint is a photolithographic one, as is shown by the fact that the Japanese phonetic renderings of the plant names, written in *furigana* alongside the Chinese characters, are included although they would be misleading to anyone who could read them in China as they give the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters that make up the plant names.

Although in the meantime a third edition of Wu Qijun's great botany has been reprinted recently by direction of the famous governor of Shanxi, Yan Xishan, for the most part from the original blocks used in the edition of 1848, nevertheless, the Yunnan reprint noted above is of interest, inasmuch as it reproduces page for page the Japanese edition, and the Japanese edition is the one cited by Prof. J. Matsumura in his great work, *Shokubutsu-mei-i, revised and enlarged edition*, Tokyo 1921, which ties up the Chinese names of the plants with the Latin names in international use. This edition of Wu Qijun's great botany is likely, therefore, to prove very convenient for use in connection with Professor Matsumura's work in view of the rarity of the Japanese edition" [Annual report of the Librarian of Congress 1929: 326–327].

The following texts are reproduced from Swingle's typescript and show his sincere interest in Chinese botanical literature. After Emil Bretschneider and Berthold Laufer he was an important promoter of the value of Chinese traditional botanical, agricultural and medical texts for the growing and improvement of cultural plants.

China has the richest flora of the north-temperate zone.<sup>12</sup> Over one-half of the trees of this zone are native to China. China is the only country north of the equator where tropical regions adjoin temperate regions with no impassable barriers, deserts, seas, or lofty mountains intervening. In consequence we see in China many tropical plants that have become adapted to cold winters (for example, the fan palm, *Trachycarpus excelsa* Wendl., the trifoliate orange, *Poncirus trifoliata* (L.) Raf. etc.) and, on the other hand, in Indo-China, especially in the plateau region, many temperate zone plants such as Pyrus, Hicoria, etc. are found far to the south of the tropic of Cancer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> E.H. Wilson, who probably has as good a first hard knowledge of the Chinese flora as any man living, says in his *Naturalist in Western China* (v. 2, p. 2. New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1913): "The Chinese flora is, beyond question, the richest temperate flora in the world. A greater number of different kinds of trees are found in China than in the whole of the other north-temperate regions" (Swingle's note).

INDEXES to the
Great Chinese Botany
<u>Chih wu ming shih tu k'ao</u> 植物名 實圖考
by
Wu Ch'i-chiin tzu Ytteh-chai 吳其 溶 溶 齋
(originally published in 1848)
In Three Parts.
PART LL
Prefaces of the Four Chinese editions
and one Japanese edition, with translations.
Prepared and photographed in the office of the Chairman of the Library Committee of the United States Department of Agriculture.
Washington, D.C. 1912-1922

[Preface to the Index volume]

The Chinese for forty centuries have cultivated most intensively the soil of China. Chinese agriculture, unlike that of Europe, seeks to find crops adapted to each type of soil, rather than by draining, liming, etc., to change the physical and chemical properties of the soil.

As a result, the Chinese have developed an unrivaled series of crops fitted to swampy soils and to other special types of soils not usually planted to crops in Europe or America.

Then, too, the Chinese have for ages been attached closely to the ancestral soil and have not willingly sought to reclaim single-handed the uninhabited regions. Even today considerable areas of uncultivated land, usually mountainous land, often surround densely inhabited valleys.

Occurring famines have, by dire necessity, driven the inhabitants of each region to seek out every plant capable of serving for food or medicine.

A highly developed culinary art, probably the most perfect in the world, not only from the gastronomic but also from the dietetic and economic points of view, has guided the Chinese in their wonderfully effective working out of tasty, digestible dietaries at all possible ranges of cost. They have surpassed all western people in their range of food substances, especially of plant foods and condiments.

#### КОЛЛЕКЦИИ И АРХИВЫ

194

All of these influences operating through many centuries of time in the seat of the oldest existing civilisation of the world have resulted in the development in China of an unrivaled array of cultivated crop plants and wild species which are used for food, medicine, perfumes, or ornamental purposes.

Because of the ultra-continental character of the East Asiatic climate, Chinese plants can brave the vigors and sudden changes of North America and can of course easily become adapted to the mild climate of Western Europe.

As a result of an age-long policy of non-intercourse with foreigners, a policy persisted in up to the last decade, the plant resources of China have hitherto been only imperfectly known to other peoples. Consequently China is today the richest warehouse in the world of plant useful for food, for medicine, or for ornament. It becomes, therefore, a matter of prime interest to the whole world to know what plants the Chinese make use of. Most of these will grow readily in Europe or America. Many of them yield products that will be appreciated by Western peoples. No inconsiderable number will doubtless eventually be grown on a large scale in the West.

Fortunately, there exists in China a splendid treatise on the useful plants, the last and best of a great number of similar works. Written not quite a century ago, it is still thoroughly in the spirit of the old Chinese civilization. The new Chinese botany of the twentieth century is something very different than in the time being much less useful, though without doubt the future holds high promise in this as in any other fields of scientific work. This work on the useful plants of China one of the lasting monuments to the greatness if the Chinese, is the Zhiwu mingshi tukao 植物名實圖攷 written by a high official of the late Qing dynasty, Wu Qijun 吳其濬, a native of the Gushi 固始 district of Guangzhou 光州 prefecture, Henan. He took the highest degree, jinshi 進士, in 1817 and held various offices in Peking, and in the provinces, and in 1840 was appointed acting governor-general of Huguang. He was made governor of Hunan in the same year and became governor or acting governor-general of five other provinces before he retired in 1846. Shortly after retiring he died. During his busy official life he held high offices in ten of the eighteen provinces of China proper. In spite of his meteoric career and heavy official honors he found time to study the plants of all parts of the empire that he visited. It is said of him if he had a few moments leisure in his arduous official duties, he was nearly always to be found talking to some farmer about his crops.

He made first of all, early in his career, a great compilation of the cream of the old Chinese literature relating to plants; and he was then persuaded by his friends to undertake a first-hand study of the plants themselves. This first-hand study, thus undertaken, was put into the very front rank of Chinese works of its class by the excellence of the illustrations with which it was furnished.

The Zhiwu mingshi tukao was not published until two years after his death, in 1848, when it was issued by the Shanxi provincial printing office at Taiyuan fu. It is well printed, in large characters, in sixty books, bound in sixty volumes, of which twenty-two bulky volumes include the *changbian* 長編 or historical part of the work which has no illustrations, and thirty-eight thinner volumes the illustrated part of the work, which contain no fewer than 1,714 full page wood-cuts of the more important useful plants of China. Not only are these plates for the most part artistically composed and well executed, but also the essential characters of the plant are so well emphasized by the omission of all unnecessary detail that very many of them can be recognized instantly by a botanist familiar with the flora of China.



Emil Bretschneider

The excellent illustrations of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* early attracted the attention of foreign students of Chinese botany and Dr. E. Bretschneider<sup>13</sup> specifically called attention to the value of this work in a three page note in his *Botanicon sinicum* I., which note is here reproduced photographically towards the end of the third part.

Many of the plants illustrated and described by Wu Qijun have been determined by Western botanists, sometimes with specific reference to the illustrations of the *Zhiwu ming-shi tukao*. The greater part of them have been identified, i.e. the Latin scientific names assigned, by Professor J. Matsumura<sup>14</sup> in his *Shokubutsu mei-i* 植物名彙 Pt. 1, Chinese Names of Plants. Tokyo: Maruzen 1915. He lists a great number of Chinese character plant names under the alphabetically arranged scientific names. In many cases the book and folio of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* are cited. Unfortunately, however, the Japanese edition only is cited and as it is paged differently from the Chinese edition and has been for years out of print and very difficult to secure, the citations given by Professor Matsumura are often very difficult to locate in any obtainable edition of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*.

The publication by the Commercial Press of Shanghai in 1919 of a stroke index to the Chinese character plant names in their edition of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* would at first seem to have solved the difficulty, since there is a Chinese character index to Professor Matsumura's book. Unfortunately, the characters in Professor Matsumura's index are not arranged in any definite order (except that all one, two or three character names, etc., are together) so in view of the large number of characters in the Matsumura index and their small size, it is often very difficult to locate a given Chinese character name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Emil Bretschneider (Riga 1833–1901 St. Petersburg), embassy physician, botanist and Sinologist. Cf. Walravens 1983; Lenz 1970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Jinzō Matsumura 松村 任三 (Ibaraki 1856–1928 Tokyo), Botanist. He studied at Würzburg and Heidelberg. In 1890 he became prof. of botany at the university of Tokyo, and in 1897 director of the Koishikawa Botanical Garden.



Matsumura Jinzō

The collation table in the first part of the present work permits a citation to the Japanese edition of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao to be located at once, either in the original Chinese edition and its two facsimile reprints, or in the new Commercial Press edition. It is arranged in the order of the Japanese edition so the citation from Professor Matsumura's book can be located without any trouble in the first column following the Chinese character names. The next two columns to the right give the corresponding citations to the two parts of the original Chinese edition and the last two columns to the two parts of the Commercial Press edition. The last column gives the page (to the) references in the illustrated part of the Commercial Press edition. The Chinese character index contained in this edition permits of a prompt reference to all plant names in the Illustrated Part, but names contained in the changbian (historical part) are often hard to locate.

In order to locate citations to the historical part, a special *changbian* collation table is given in the middle of the present part following the main collation table. It permits the prompt finding of references to the *changbian* or historical part of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* in the original Chinese and Japanese editions, as explained in the directions for use at the beginning of the changbian collation table.

At the end of the first part of the present work is given an enlarged photographic copy of the stroke index to the Chinese character plant names found in the Commercial Press edition of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao. Being from a Chinese book, the pages run in the reverse direction from those in the collation table, so the last page of part one is the first page of the Chinese character stroke index.

By the use of the two collation tables and the stroke index of Chinese character plant names, it is easy to find whether any given Chinese plant name occurs in the Zhiwu mingshi tukao and also just where it is found in each of the three editions. This does not permit of finding promptly whether the Chinese plant in question has been identified in a Western 196 botanical sense, i.e. whether the Latin scientific name is known or not. This can be determined in most cases by consulting Professor Matsumura's *Shokubutsu mei-i.* Pt. 1, Chinese Plant Names, noted above by means of the Byrd-Wead Index [Byrd and Wead 1920] to the Chinese character plant names. This Index is a magnified photographic reproduction of the Chinese character index of Prof. Matsumura's book, rearranged by the radical and subradical or Poletti [Poletti 1905] method. It cites the pages in Professor Matsumura's work where the Latin name is given and under the Latin name the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* is cited in the Japanese edition. By referring to the main collation table in the present part the corresponding citation to the Chinese character names not found at once. Of course, the Byrd-Wead Index also gives many Chinese character names not found in the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*. The title page and a sample page of the Byrd-Wead Index is given in the appendix of the third part of this work.

These two indexes constitute the two most important parts of a complete multi-index which it is hoped will some day be prepared to enable the Chinese character plant names to be looked up by any one of the commonly used systems of indexing characters. The strokeradical index is the one that will be preferred by the Chinese, and the radical-subradical index is the one preferred by Western students of Chinese.

It should be added that Matsumura's Chinese Names [of] Plants itself constitutes an alphabetical index to the Latin names of all the plants that are treated in the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* that had been, up to 1915, associated with their Latin scientific names. The main text of Professor Matsumura's work is arranged alphabetically by the Latin names and so can be used as an index to the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* which is either cited where it describes or gives the figure of the plant in question.



Furthermore, another work, the Zhiwuxue dacidian 植物學大辭典 (A Complete Dictionary of Botanical Terms) published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai in 1918, although it does not cite the Zhiwu mingshi tukao, may nevertheless be used to determine the Latin scientific names of very many of the plants it illustrates and describes. This dictionary of botanical terms gives the descriptions of a multitude of plants, the descriptions being arranged in the body of the text in the order of the number of strokes in the first character of the name. It gives the Chinese name of the plants as used in Japan, the identifications being mostly taken and the illustrations all taken from Saishin zusetsu naigai shokubutsu shi 最新 圖說內外植物誌 (New general iconography of plants), by K. Saida 齋田功太郎<sup>15</sup> and R. Sato 佐藤禮介<sup>16</sup>, second edition, published Taishō 6 VIII (August 1917) by Dai-Nihon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha 大日本図書株式会社, Tokyo, Japan. Unfortunately, in some cases the Japanese do not use the Chinese character plant names in the same sense as do the Chinese. An example cited by Bretschneider is Ma xian hao 馬先蒿 used in China for Incarvillea sinensis Lam. and in Japan for Pedicularis resupinata L. This statement of Bretschneider is confirmed by Matsumura [Chinese names of plants, l.c., p. 189]. In the "Botanical Nomenclature" the name is applied only to Pedicularis resupinata L.

The second part of this present work is a photographic reproduction of the table of contents of the two parts of the first Chinese edition, with references to the folios added. This permits of glancing through the work rapidly and easily and locating any desired plant.

The third part gives photographic reproduction in natural size of the three prefaces of the original Chinese edition and its two reprints, and prefaces of the Japanese and Commercial Press editions, with approximate translations. Sample pages showing the size and appearance of the three principal editions are also given.

It should be noted that the original Chinese edition is reproduced exactly in the two later reprints, which are made from the original blocks in the Provincial printing office of Shanxi at Taiyuan fu with the exceptions of the blocks for new prefaces accompanying each reprint and, in addition, seventy-two blocks that were lost and which had to be re-engraved (in facsimile, of course) for the first reprint. To all intents, the 1880 and 1919 Taiyuan fu reprints are identical with the original edition issued in 1848 except that some of the blocks are slightly worn.

In addition, the third part of the present work contains Bretschneider's notice of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* and his valuable sketch of the life of the learned author, Wu Qijun; photographic copies of the title page and a sample page of the text of Professor J. Matsumura's *Shokubutsu mei-i*, Part 1, Chinese Plant Names, and of the Byrd-Wead Index to this work; and the title page and a sample page of the Commercial Press edition.

There still remain a number of plants figured and described in *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* that have not yet been identified, i.e. their Latin scientific names are not yet known. It is to be hoped that these will be determined in the future.

It should be noted that the first careful study and attempted identification of the plants illustrated in *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* was made by Dr. E. Bretschneider in his *Botanicon sinicum*. The first Botanicon sinicum, published in 1882 (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, 16: 1–230) lists the principal Chinese works on botany including the Zhiwu mingshi tukao. *The Botanicon sinicum* II, published in 1893 (l.c., N.S. 25: 1–408) treats of the useful plants mentioned in the principal classical works

198

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Satō Reisuke (fl. 1903–1934).

of the Chinese, and in the discussion critical remarks are often made on the illustrations cited in *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*. The *Botanicon sinicum* III, published in 1896 (l.c. N.S. 29: 1–623) treats of the Materia Medica of the ancient Chinese, giving in Part II critical notes on the illustrations which appear in the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*. The references to Bretschneider given by Matsumura in his Chinese Names of Plants should always be looked up in order to consult his notes on the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*.

It is hoped that the Chinese botanists will heed the sound advice of that progressive leader, Yan Xishan, governor of Shanxi Province, as given in his preface to the 1919 reprint of the Chinese edition, where he regrets that the modern textbooks on botany in use in the Chinese schools are usually translated from foreign languages and ignore completely the great work in this field already accomplished by the Chinese themselves.

A critical revision of Wu Qijun's great work along the lines of Western botanical science would yield results of the highest interest and value for China and the whole world

Washington, D.C., 1 April, 1922

Walter T. Swingle

Chairman of the library Committee of the United States

Department of Agriculture, Physiologist in Charge, Crop Physiology and Breeding Investigations

Preface by Lu Yinggu<sup>17</sup> to the original Chinese edition (1848) of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* Approximate translation by S. C. Kiang Kang-hu 江亢虎<sup>18</sup> June 1920

The Book of Changes states that "the Heaven and the Earth change, and grasses and trees are abundant". When the positive principle comes to intercourse with the negative principle, the roots of all plants grow; when the negative comes to the positive the branches and leaves grow. All lives in the botanical kingdom flourishing everywhere are forms of expression of the great kindness of Heaven and Earth.

Therefore, the former rulers encouraged the science and art of planting according to the nature of the land, in order to benefit the people, and not merely for medicinal use. Hemps and mulberry trees are for clothes, grains and beans are for food, vegetables and fruits are for dishes, and bamboos and woods are for timber, every nourishing and useful material is from a plant. Because the world cannot live a day without plants, so the products of plants are more valuable than other products.

The names of many plants are first recorded in the *Zhouli* and the details are given in the Bencao. All the three and sixty plant varieties contained in the latter classic are useful plants and not one of them exists merely in name. In the *Bielu*<sup>19</sup> and *Tujing*<sup>20</sup> later generations have added more species to them; the *[Bencao] gangmu* which was published last mentions the largest number. But all these works include records of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire and earth) and utilize them for the service of the ten remedies. Lines of different origins and forms are found together. There are, indeed, few works like

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lu Yinggu 陸應穀, governor of Henan province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (Yiyang 1883–1954 Shanghai), historian of literature and politician.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Mingyi bielu 名醫別錄, Additional Records of Famous Physicians, dates back to the 3th-4th ct.; it is a supplement to the materia medica *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經. <sup>20</sup> Tujing 圖經, "Illustrated Classic", designates the appendix to the *Tang bencao* 唐本草, the *Shu ben*-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Tujing 圖經, "Illustrated Classic", designates the appendix to the Tang bencao 唐本草, the Shu ben cao 蜀本草 or also, as an abbreviation, the Tujing bencao 圖經本草.

the *[Qimin] yaoshu*<sup>21</sup> 期民要術 by Jia Sixie 賈思勰 and the *Jiuhuang [bencao]* by Prince Zhou Xian which are devoted especially and entirely to botany. Was it because people lacked knowledge or because most authors were physicians and adhered to their own occupation and neglected the abundant utility of plants in general and their importance in very day life?

Yuezhai 淪齋 (Wu Qijun) was a scholar of very rare attainments and traveled over half of the Empire on his official duties. He alone saw the value in botanical study and read over the books of all the four classes seeking for knowledge about plants of various kinds. He collected and compiled all the material extracted from his reading and compiled a work named *Changbian*. After this he worked on those plants of which he had personal knowledge and compared the records in ancient and modern works, examining their forms and colors and classifying them according to their natures and tastes. Then he wrote his definitions and drew pictures of the plants. The work *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* was thus completed. It contains ten thousand articles, stands above all other works of its line, and opens a new era in the study of plants.

A common mistake in our books is that the names and facts do not correspond with each other. Some books have their names correct but not the facts and some have the facts but not the names. This author was very particular about this matter and made minute examinations, in order to make no mistakes, no matter how slight. From this work the reader may readily recognize the scholarship and also the administrative ability of the author. His aim is to doctor a country and to heal the people as a whole and to try to become a great physician.

The idea of omitting all animals and insects as medicinal materials is the same as that of Zhenbai<sup>22</sup> in his compilation of the *Qianjin yifang*<sup>23</sup>. The author meant to preserve the lives of lower creatures in view of the great kind heart of Heaven and the Earth. Therefore the value of this book is practically unbounded.

I am an unlearned officer, but as I have received word from the author and as I know his worthy purpose, I therefore undertake to write this preface and publish the book, with the hope that it may be widely read in this country.

On the fifth day after the Qingming festival in the twenty-eighth year of Daoguang [1848], Lu Yinggu of Mengzi 蒙自 District [Yunnan] wrote this in the office of the Prefect of Taiyuan [Shanxi].

Preface by Zeng Guozhuan<sup>24</sup> to the first reprint (1880) of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao*. Approximate translation by T.L. Yuan 袁同禮<sup>25</sup> January 1922.

I have read the *Bencao gangmu* which treats of many varieties of grasses and trees growing on water and land. Some are good and others should be avoided. Plants are indeed of great benefit to the people. Persons living in villages who have studied a little about medicine are often tempted to become physicians. They cannot apply properly even a few com-

200

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Treatise on agriculture of the North Wei period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Zhenbai apparently refers to Sun Simiao 孫思邈, a famous Chinese doctor of the seventh century A.D. who compiled a work of the title given in the text. However Zhenbai may possibly mean another and still earlier physician and writer named Tao Hongjing 陶弘景.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Qianjin yifang 千金翼方, Additional 1000 pieces of gold prescriptions, by Sun Simiao.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃 (1824–1890), military leader and official, brother of Zeng Guofan. Cf. Hummel 1943–1944: 749–751.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Yuan Tongli 袁同禮 (1895–1965), later director of the National Library of China, bibliographer. Cf. Chen 1965/66.

monly used drugs. As a result, these doctors kill people by trying to relieve them of their diseases. How benevolent they are!

During recent years the physicians in Shanxi have been much more isolated than those of the other provinces. The reason is due to the limited supply of books, which has made advanced study impossible. Last year I petitioned the Emperor to establish a Junwen Printing Office 濬文書局 at the Provincial Capital, after the system used in the southwestern provinces. Besides printing the four philosophies and the six classics, it buys medical books of good editions and makes blocks of them, in order, by printing these books, to satisfy scholars and save the lives of those inflicted with disease.

Long ago the Deputy Governor, Mr. Bao Zhijing, spoke to me about the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* and the energy that author had spent in compiling this book, many features of which are not found in the [Bencao] gangmu. The blocks are kept in the Yamen of Taiyuan fu and the total number of blocks that had been lost was fifty-two. Mr. Bao asked me to compare these blocks with a copy of the printed work and arrange the blocks in the proper order. It was made complete at a small cost. The achievement was creditable because thousands of blocks were thus prevented from being burned in the stove.

No sooner had this plan been made than I was ordered to quarter my troops at Shanhaiguan for frontier defense. The Emperor made Mr. Bao Governor in my place; so I turned over the work, which Mr. Bao had entrusted to me, to him.

The book was written by Mr. Wu Yuezhai 吳淪齋 but it was later published by Mr. Lu Yinggu 陸應穀. Then some of the blocks were lost. Mr. Bao has been able to do the revision and reprint the work. Ah! how difficult it is to complete a book, especially for us who are officers and have little time at our disposal. Do we not need fellow-workers for cooperation when we are engaged in one piece of work? At the completion of the revision, Mr. Bao asked me to write a preface. I feel that the desire of Mr. Bao to save the world is like mine and it is also similar to that of Mr. Wu and Mr. Lu.

Zeng Guoquan The tenth moon of the sixth year of Guangxu [1880]

Preface by Yan Xishan to the second reprint of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao (1919) Approximate translation by T.L. Yuan 袁同禮 January 1922.

Among our books on botany, the *Bencao* has been regarded as the most extensive work. It investigates the nature and distinguishes the taste of various plants. It is full of concise and abundant data. It is indeed a pioneer work and unsurpassed. But as it lays emphasis on medical theories, covering the five elements and recording both prescriptions and drugs, it is not exclusively a work on plants.

New books on the subject have since appeared. Books such as *Qunfangpu* 群芳譜 contain detailed treatment with references only to beautiful flowers. One seldom finds a work which deals with plants, each of which is treated separately, by examining their properties and uses, which is not inspired merely by curiosity but is based on well founded facts, and which propounds theory with a view to its utilization.

"It is a shame for a scholar to omit the recognition of a single thing". Especially this is true of botany, since during the recent period of development along scientific lines, this subject has become a special branch of study. How can research be carried on without an accurate and concise work?

During recent years school textbooks are usually translated from foreign languages. We regret, however, that no attempt has yet been made to publish what China had already contributed in this field.

This book was written by Mr. Wu Qijun of Gushi district. Mr. Wu was a learned and profound scholar and was an official in more than ten provinces. Wherever he went, he studied the properties of plants that he saw and drew pictures of them. The more he studied, the more accurate became his examinations. His work is independent of Bencao and eliminates the superfluous material. It is made up of thirty-eight books classified with descriptions and illustrations and it is certainly an excellent work in the study of botany. Mr. Wu died before he could see its publication. It was printed for the first time in the twenty-eighth year of Daoguang [1848] by Mr. Lu Yinggu. By long lapse of years the blocks were decaved and became imperfect. Later, in the sixth year Guangxu, Mr. Bao Zhijing reprinted the work. It had a wide circulation and was eagerly sought by the scholars. It has been again nearly forty years since the last edition was issued. The demand for copies from readers in different provinces has been great. The good old copies are getting fewer and fewer; not only do they fail to satisfy the desire of numerous readers, but also they may ultimately be lost. I, therefore, have ordered the Provincial Printing Office to undertake the reprinting of this work. The blocks that had become dim that have been changed, and the illustrations that were worn away have been replaced. By this reprint of many copies, the work of Mr. Wu may, I hope, last for a long time and it may serve as a reference book to readers interested in botany. At its completion, I have, therefore, wished to write a few words.

Yan Xishan<sup>26</sup>

Huairen Hall, Yamen of the Military Governor, Taiyuan, Shanxi.

Seventh moon of the eighth year of the Republic of China

Prefatory note by Motoyoshi Ono<sup>27</sup> to the Japanese edition (1883) of the Zhiwu mingshi tukao<sup>28</sup>

Approximate translation by Tyōzaburō Tanaka 田中長三郎<sup>29</sup>, March 1922

This book was compiled by Wu Qijun during the Daoguang period of the Chinese Empire, and contains universal accounts of trees and herbs produced in the country which was once reigned over by the legendary Emperor Yu 禹. The descriptions of plants, accompanied by illustrations, are admirably accurate and true to nature, and the quotations from writings of ancient and modern authors are extensively rich and are arranged with complete command and thorough understanding. I, therefore, believe that every student of plants of our country or of China will find great advantage in using this book compiled with such completeness as is seldom found in any other work.

In China, this book seems to have had a rather small circulation, and Professor Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介<sup>30</sup> received the first information about the work from Bretschneider, a Rus-

202

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (Wutai, Shanxi 1883–1960 Taibei), governor of Shanxi. Cf. Gillin 1967.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ono Motoyoshi (小野職愨 1837–1890) was a Japanese naturalist during the late Edo period and Meiji era.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Go Kishun [Wu Qijun] 吳其濬: Shokubutsumei jitsuzu kô 植物名實圖考. Tokyo: Keibundō 奎文堂 1883-1889. Co-editors were Ito Keisuke (1803-1903) and Okamatsu Ōkoku 岡松甕谷 (1820-1895). 38 maki in 40 fascicles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Tanaka Tyōzaburō 田中長三郎 (Kōbe 3. Nov. 1885–28. Juni 1976), botanist and mycologist, citrus expert. <sup>30</sup> Itō Keisuke 伊藤 圭介 (Nagoya 1803–1901 Tokyo), physician and botanist.

sian Professor, in a discussion upon Chinese botanical literature. Professor Itō then obtained a copy from the capital of Yan  $\underline{\mathbb{R}}$  [Peking] by asking a German citizen called Schinn<sup>31</sup> 刺因 to make the purchase. This was probably the first copy brought into this country, and it happened not further back than ten years ago. After this event, the excellence of this book gradually became known, and at the present time we can count several persons who are in possession of copies of this work.

Recently the Minister to China, Mr. Takezoe 竹添, then stationed at Tianjin secured two copies of this work from a person who lived in the capital of Yan [Peking] therefore made a request to him, with the assistance of the proprietor of Keibundō 奎文堂 to give us one of these copies for use in making a reprint, and since this was permitted at once, we are now able to set the type and make the print in order to distribute copies among scholars. I celebrate the success of the undertaking as a sign of scientific activities in the prosperous reign of the present Emperor.

In the original work, the thirty-eight books of the *benbian* 本編 and twenty-three books of the *changbian* 長編 are bound separately, but for the convenience of the reader, I rearranged them without changing the original order to bring the text of the *changbian* to the same heading where the corresponding texts of the *benbian* are found and the former is distinguished by the sub-heading *changbian*. For those plants which are illustrated in the *benbian* in one class and described in the *changbian* in a different class, I have put both together in the class where the illustration is given. For instance, *lujue cai* 鹿角菜 is illustrated in the *benbian* under the class of water plants, but its description in *changbian* is found under the class of vegetables, so that I placed it under the water plants to the principle given above. Those plants which are described in *changbian* but not illustrated in the *benbian*, I have placed under the chapter in which the text of the *changbian* is found, because such a plant is not classified in the *benbian*.

The Japanese names given to the headings listed in the table of contents of each book are generally in accord with the previous identifications, but in case the illustration of the plant does not agree with the current Japanese identification, I have omitted the Japanese names as is noticed in *baitou weng* 白頭翁. If the previous Japanese identification is evidently mistaken, I made literal changes in the application of the Japanese names; for instance *canzi* 䅟子 is Kamoma takibi not Hie as previously approved, whereas *baizi* 稗子 is Hie and not Nobie, similarly *rang he* 蘘荷 is Ubayuri and not Myōga, and *yanghuo* 陽藿 is Myōga which has not been identified before.

I compiled an additional volume which contains Chinese names arranged according to the number of strokes, and the Japanese names according to phonetical order. This will be helpful to the scholars who desire to find names. [Apparently never printed.]

Meiji jūrokunen jūnigatsu mikka December 3, 1883)

Notes by the revisor Motoyoshi Ono 小野職慤

Preface to the Commercial Press edition (1919) of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* Approximate translation by T.P. Wang 王德溥<sup>32</sup> April 1922.

The twenty-two books of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao changbian* [Historical section] and the thirty-eight books of the *Zhiwu mingshi tukao* [Illustrated section] were compiled by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Probably Otto Schinne, who lived in Yokohama and made his living as an "agent". Cf. *Meiji Portraits*. (online file maintained by Bernd Lepach).

<sup>32</sup> Wang Depu 王德溥.

Wu Oijun of the district of Gushi and were printed by Lu Yinggu of Mengzi. Wu was a distinguished *jinshi* scholar of the Jiaqing [1796–1821] period. He was at one time Deputy Governor of Shanxi. The various official missions with which he was charged during his life necessitated his traveling through half the territory of China. Wherever he visited, he examined the farm crops, studied the soil, and acquainted himself with the local products, scrutinizing their appearance and character. After he had stored up sufficient knowledge of these products, he undertook to pick out everything relating to plants and trees grown on the land or in the water which he had previously read in the Siku [quan]shu. This material he compiled into the *changbian* for the purpose of studying various species of old plants. In addition he gave to us what he had gained by ear and eye examination the knowledge of numerous species of modern plants, drawing pictures and writing explanations of them. Altogether 832 varieties of plants were listed in the historical section and 1711 in the Illustrated section. The thoroughness and completeness of these two works have not been surpassed in the past.

Two years after the death of Mr. Wu, Lu Yinggu printed the work in Taiyuan. Later many of the blocks became incomplete so that an original edition could not be easily obtained.

After the introduction of botanical study into Japan, the native botanists adopted the Western method of natural classification of plants. Since then any distinguished botanists have become known. Their researches into plants and agricultural products have been made mostly by consulting the materials contained in this work.

In recent years the number of Western experts sent to this country by educational associations in Europe and America, has been daily increasing. Consequently this work has begun to attract attention of plant students in all parts of the world: and its popularity and value are rapidly increasing.

Inasmuch therefore, as the original edition of this work is nowadays difficult to obtain and as the reprints are likewise rarely seen, the management of this Press, aiming to facilitate studies for the students of botany, has secured the original edition and has undertaken to revise and reprint it. Herewith we respectfully attach our directions for use of this work.

The original text laid stress on illustrations. The drawing and engraving were skillfully and thoroughly done. The present work reduces the original illustrations to two-fifth of the original size. Zinc plates have been used in photographic illustrations. The results are very clear and are identical in detail with the original.

During the revision, the work of printing and photographing the original texts has passed through the hands of several proof readers. They have performed their duties with extraordinary carefulness. Their experience has shown that the original printed copy has many omissions and errors. The management of this press in making the reprint of this work undertook only to copy exactly the original text and therefore has refrained from making changes, notwithstanding the discovery of mistakes. In cases where the omissions and errors have been very serious, the management has notes attached in order to indicate them. Of course, mistakes by our proofreaders in missing a few pages and mistakes in printing or photographing which are not found in the original text, are inevitable in this present work. We would ask the indulgence of our readers.

The form and appearance of the original copy varies at different parts of the text. The management, during this revision and reprint, has let the form of the original edition remain unchanged throughout; only when there have occurred many blank lines has it been found necessary to make a few slight alterations. For such alterations the management begs 204 the reader's pardon.

This work lists more than 2500 species of plants. As most of these plants have several names, it is not an easy task to look them up. To facilitate the search the management has prepared, according to the number of strokes in the initial character of each plant name, a key index which is appended at the end of the Illustrated section.

Respectfully submitted, The Commercial Press October 1919

### References

- Anonymous 1953 "Cook, Orator Fuller". In: National Cyclopedia of American Biography 1953, vol. 38, pp. 369–370 (in English).
- Bartlett, Harley Harris 1952 "Walter Tennyson Swingle: botanist and exponent of Chinese civilization". In: Asa Gray Bulletin 1952, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 107–132 (in English).
- Byrd, Caroline Rixford; Katharine Howes Wead 1920 *Radical and subradical index to Chinese plant names listed in J. Matsumura... Shokubutsu mei-i, rev. ed.* Pt. 1. Chinese names of plants... Chinese characters arranged according to radical and subradicals <Poletti system>. Washington, D.C., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1920 (in English).
- Chen Tsu-lung 1965/66 "Yuan Tongli (1895–1965)". In: *T'oung Pao*, 1965/66, vol. 52, pp. 154–159 (in English).
- Go Kishun [Wu Qijun] 吳其濬 1883–1889 *Shokubutsumei jitsuzu kō* 植物名實圖考. Tokyo: Keibundô 奎文堂 1883–1889 (in Japanese).
- Gillin, Donald G. 1967 Warlord: Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi Province 1911–1949. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967 (in English).
- Hummel, Arthur W. 1944 *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period*. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress. 2 vols. (in English).
- Lenz, Wilhelm 1970 (ed.) *Deutschbaltisches biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960.* Köln, Wien: Böhlau (in German).
- Matsumura Jinzô 松村 任三 1915 Shokubutsu mei-i 植物名彙. Pt. 1: Chinese names of plants. Tokyo: Maruzen, 1915 (in Japanese).
- Poletti, P. 1905 A Chinese and English Dictionary arranged according to radicals and subradicals, containing 12650 Chinese characters with the pronunciation in the Peking Dialect according to Sir Thomas Wade's system, and the pronunciation in the general language of China in Dr. Williams' spelling. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1905. 406 pp. (in English).
- Saida K., Sato R. 1917 Saishin zusetsu naigai shokubutsu shi 最新圖說內外植物誌. Tokyo: Dai Nihon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1917 (in Japanese).
- Seifriz, William 1953 "Walter T. Swingle 1871–1952". In: *Science*. New series, 118. 1953, no. 3063 (Sept. 11.), pp. 288–289 (in English).
- Swingle, Walter Tennyson et al. 1943–1948 *The citrus industry*. Los Angeles: Univ. of California Pr. 2 vols. (in English).
- Varg, Paul A. 1952 Open door diplomat. The life of W.W. Rockhill. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press. IX (in English).
- Venning, Frank D. 1977 "Walter Tennyson Swingle, 1871–1952". In: *The Carrell. Journal of the Friends of the University of Miami Library* 18, 1977, pp. 1–32 (in English).
- Walravens, Hartmut 1976 "Verzeichnis der Schriften Berthold Laufers". In: Berthold Laufer: *Kleinere Schriften*. Bd 1. Mit Vorwort von J. Needham. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976 (Sinologica Coloniensia 2.), pp. XXIX–LXXX (in German).
- Walravens, Hartmut 1982 "Laufer, Berthold". In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 13, 1982, pp. 710–711 (in German).

- Walravens, Hartmut 1983 Emil Bretschneider russischer Gesandtschaftsarzt, Geograph und Erforscher der chinesischen Botanik. Eine Bibliographie. Hamburg: C. Bell, 1983 (in German).
- Walravens, Hartmut (2016) "Die chinesische Büchersammlung Caleb Cushings in der Library of Congress". In: *Monumenta Serica* 64, 2016, pp. 411–444 (in German).
- Walravens, Hartmut 2021 "Namen- und Titelregister zu den Jahresberichten über ostasiatische Neuerwerbungen der Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 1898–1941". In: *Monumenta serica* 2021 [in press] (in German).
- Wilson, Ernest H. 1913 *Naturalist in Western China*. New York: Doubleday Page & Co., 1913 (in English).
- Wimmel, Kenneth 2003 *William Woodville Rockhill: scholar-diplomat of the Tibetan highlands.* Ed. with an introd. by Braham Norwick. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2003. XV, 238 p. (in English).
- Wu Qijun 1848 Zhiwu mingshi tukao. Taiyuan fu, 1848 (in Chinese).
- Wu Qijun 1880 Zhiwu mingshi tukao. 1880. 60 juan (in Chinese).
- Wu Qijun 1919 Zhiwu mingshi tukao. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919 (in Chinese).
- Zhiwuxue dacidian 植物學大辭典 (1918). Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1918 (in Chinese).

## Предисловие к Индексам ботанического атласа «Чжиу минши тукао» 植物名實圖考 У Цицзюня 吳其濬

Хартмут ВАЛРАВЕНС

Государственная библиотека Берлина, Свободный университет Берлин, Германия

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 10.05.2021.

Аннотация: В статье освещается деятельность американского ботаника Валтера Т. Свингла по распространению традиционной китайской литературы по ботанике, в особенности популяризации работы У Цицзюня «Чжиу минши тукао». Для этого он подготовил индексы и таблицы соответствий различных китайских и японских изданий этого произведения. В статье рассказывается о работе Свингла по традиционной китайской ботанике и публикуется его предисловие к индексам. В статье также приводятся переводы оригинальных предисловий к различным изданиям «Чжиу минши тукао», выполненных историком литературы Цзян Канху и директором национальной библиотеки в Китае Юань Тунли.

Ключевые слова: «Чжиу минши тукао», У Цицзюнь (1789–1847), Валтер Теннисон Свингл (1871–1952), литература по ботанике в Китае.

Для цитирования: *Hartmut W*. Preface to the Indexes to the Great Chinese Botany *Zhiwu Mingshi Tukao* 植物名實圖考 of Wu Qijun 吳其濬 // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 187–206 (на англ. яз.). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77360

Об авторе: ВАЛРАВЕНС Хартмут, доктор филологических наук, Государственная библиотека Берлина, Свободный университет (Берлин, Германия) (hwalravens@gmx.net).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 207–220

# Китайский альбом из Парижа в Российской национальной библиотеке

## О.В. ВАСИЛЬЕВА

Российская национальная библиотека Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO76368

Статья поступила в редакцию 12.07.2021.

Аннотация: В статье речь идет об альбоме китайских экспортных рисунков конца XVIII — начала XIX в. На происходящих из Гуанчжоу 84 красочных картинках изображены ремесленники, мелкие торговцы, уличные артисты. 16 из них по сюжету и композиции совпадают с гравюрами, опубликованными в 1800 г. Мейсоном, который называет имя художника оригиналов — Пу Куа. Аналогичные рисунки имеются и в альбоме Восточноазиатского музея в Стокгольме, а близкие по стилю — в альбоме капитана Лисянского. «Парижский альбом» был составлен и переплетен в Париже, находился в продаже в магазине Дондей-Дюпре, а в 1828 г. Генрих Юлиус Клапрот письменно заверил, что рисунки выполнены китайцем, что, видимо, вызывало некоторые сомнения. Каким путем альбом поступил в Императорскую Публичную (ныне Российскую национальную) библиотеку, проследить не удалось, но произошло это до 1852 г. — года выхода из печати каталога академика Б.А. Дорна, в котором он описан под номером 798.

Ключевые слова: китайские экспортные рисунки, Кантон (Гуанчжоу), Пу Куа, Г.Ю. Клапрот, Российская национальная библиотека.

Для цитирования: Васильева О.В. Китайский альбом из Парижа в Российской национальной библиотеке // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 207–220. DOI: 10.17816/WMO76368

Об авторе: ВАСИЛЬЕВА Ольга Валентиновна, заведующая сектором восточных фондов Отдела рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (orientsekt@nlr.ru).

© Васильева О.В., 2021

Среди китайских изобразительных материалов конца XVIII — начала XIX в., хранящихся в Отделе рукописей Российской национальной (ранее Императорской Публичной) библиотеки в Санкт-Петербурге (Васильева 2002; 2010; 2012; 2020: 86–94, 282, 307; Яхонтов 1993: 185–206; Alferova, Tarasenko 2015)<sup>1</sup>, один альбом этнографических рисунков определенно поступил не из Китая<sup>2</sup>. Краткое его описание помеще-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Об альбомах ИВР РАН см. (Попова 2009: 6–11; 2018: 76–83, 136–138).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Статья об этом альбоме была написана в 2008 г. для неосуществленного факсимильного издания. Данный вариант претерпел существенные изменения. Благодарю Н.А. Елагину, Л.И. Шишову и О.М. Ястребову за консультации.

но в каталоге основного собрания восточных рукописей, вышедшем в 1852 г. под редакцией академика Б.А. Дорна, под номером 798, и таким образом он имеет шифр Дорн 798 (Dorn 1852: 611; Яхонтов 1993: 198, № 304).

На 84 рисунках по большей части изображены китайские ремесленники за работой, но не только они. Здесь можно видеть процесс обмолота зерна и производства бисера, каллиграфа и созданные им образцы, уличных артистов и фокусников, кустарей, лавочников, торговцев снедью. Все рисунки исполнены водорастворимыми минеральными красками (гуашью) на листах, вероятно, европейской (с верже и понтюзо), тонкой полупрозрачной бумаги типа папиросной<sup>3</sup>, размером 35,5×28 см. Краткие подписи сделаны на французском языке блеклыми чернилами, непосредственно на рисунках, которые приклеены по углам к плотным листам белой бумаги размером 41×32,5 см и с филигранью «виноградная гроздь» с контрамаркой "CF". К ним был добавлен еще один лист, защищающий первый рисунок, и все они заключены в плотный картонный переплет темно-зеленого цвета размером 42×33×2,5 см. Тиснение на кожаном корешке — "Rel[lure] chez ed. vivet" — указывает имя известного переплетчика Эдме Виве (Edme-Théodore Vivet, ок. 1795 — 1852). На внутренних сторонах обеих крышек имеются небольшие наклейки белой бумаги с мелким печатным текстом на французском языке, из которого явствует, что альбом побывал в лавке у парижских книгопродавцев Огюста-Франсуа и Проспера Донде-Дюпре<sup>4</sup>, занимавшихся также и изданием книг на восточных языках.

На обороте форзацного листа карандашом дано название альбома: "Collection de costumes d'artisas chinois de toutes professions soit ambulantes soit en boutiques. N<sup>a</sup>. L'exécution de ces dessins est supérieure à tout ce qu'on a eu dans ce genre en Europe. Les couleurs sont très-belles et très-vives. Il y a 84 dessins" («Коллекция костюмов китайских ремесленников различных профессий, как странствующих, так и лавочников. N<sup>a</sup>. Исполнение этих рисунков по своему качеству превосходит все, встречавшееся ранее в Европе в этом жанре. Великолепные и очень яркие краски. В альбоме 84 рисунка»).

Чуть выше справа тем же почерком и также карандашом написаны буквы "DD rzz Ach. G.", не поддающиеся расшифровке, и дата: «29.VI/27» (возможно — поступление в магазин Дондей-Дюпре). Рядом слева чернилами сделана запись: "Je soussigné certifie que les dessins composant ce recueil, sont<sup>5</sup> bien été exécutés en Chine et par des Chinois. J.H. Klaproth. Paris ce 1<sup>er</sup> Avril 1828" («Я, нижеподписавшийся, удостоверяю, что рисунки, составляющие этот сборник, были выполнены в Китае китайцами. Й.Г. Клапрот. Париж, 1 апреля 1828 г.»).

Очевидно, что эта помета не является владельческой, а лишь подтверждает происхождение рисунков альбома, видимо, имеется в виду его дальнейшая продажа в магазине Донде-Дюпре. Экспертом выступил Генрих Юлиус Клапрот (Heinrich Julius Klaproth, 1783–1835). Немец по происхождению, он был приглашен в Россию в 1805 г. «адъюнктом по части новейших восточных языков и литературы» Императорской академии наук. По причине склонности к синологии его включили в состав научной экспедиции при возглавляемом Ю.А. Головкиным посольстве России в Китай (Баснин 1875; Скачков 1977: 89–90, 310). Однако посольство не было допущено дальше

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Н.В. Алферова и А.В. Тарасенко ошибочно полагают, что это не бумага, а иной материал, часто использовавшийся для рисунков — тонкий спил дерева тетрапанакса (Alferova, Tarasenko 2015: 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Auguste-François Dondey-Dupré (1766–1847), Prosper Dondey-Dupré (1794–1834).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Вместо sont должно быть ont.

Урги. Ожидание, затянувшееся на длительное время, Клапрот провел с пользой, занимаясь в Сибири сбором научных материалов, а также изучая китайский язык в Иркутской библиотеке и японский язык у преподавателя-японца. В Иркутске Клапрот не мог не познакомиться с архимандритом Иакинфом (Никитой Яковлевичем Бичуриным) (Денисов 2007; Скачков 1977: 90–123), назначенным главой 9-й Духовной миссии, которая должна была отправиться в Пекин вместе с посольством Головкина, но была вынуждена выехать в Китай самостоятельно.

В 1806 г. Клапрот вернулся в Петербург, а в апреле 1807 г. был утвержден в звании экстраординарного академика. Этим же годом датируется составленный Шарлем Вейером каталог собрания графа Александра Сергеевича Строганова (1733–1811), одну персидскую рукопись из которого аннотировал Клапрот<sup>6</sup>. Интересно, что китайские материалы собрания Строганова (28 единиц описаний: альбомов рисунков, карт, гравюр и др.) он не описывал<sup>7</sup>, но, вполне возможно, видел.

В 1810 г. Клапрот был отправлен на полгода в командировку в Берлин для подготовки к изданию своего китайского словаря (Куликова 2001: 24–31). По всей вероятности, охватившая Европу война с Наполеоном помешала Клапроту выполнить задание. Он не вернулся в Россию и, более того, не вернул взятые для работы книги, рукописи и карты, вследствие чего был исключен «с бесславием из Академии наук». В 1815 г. Клапрот переехал в Париж и получил от короля Пруссии звание и содержание профессора азиатских языков с правом оставаться во Франции для научных изысканий и публикации трудов, коими вполне воспользовался и вполне оправдал, опубликовав около десятка книг, демонстрирующих широкий круг его ориенталистских интересов.

Собственно, в истории российской науки немецкий ученый остался не столько благодаря своим научным изыскания или фактом увольнения из членов Академии наук, сколько из-за его острой полемики на страницах печати со ставшим впоследствии самым знаменитым российским востоковедом XIX в. о. Иакинфом<sup>8</sup>, что способствовало признанию последнего как ученого и в России, и за рубежом.

Итак, в 1828 г. Генрих Юлиус Клапрот, никогда не бывший в Китае, сделал на альбоме рисунков запись, утверждающую, что эти рисунки выполнены китайцем. Но так ли это на самом деле? Такие особенности, как наложение светотени для придачи изображению объема и не по-китайски округлые глаза, и лица без скул, казалось бы, говорят о том, что это — цветные копии, которые могли быть изготовлены европейцем, хотя вполне возможно, в Китае. Особенно по-европейски выписано лицо сторожа на листе 45 (Ил. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> См. рукопись: *Weyher Ch.* Catalogue de la bibliothèque de son excellence monsieur le comte Alexandre de Stroganoff... // ОР РНБ. Разноязычные рукописи. XVIII. 184/1. Л. 166 (с. 299 старой пагинации). Судя по описанию это поэтическое сочинение было составлено неким Касимом, имя которого указано в конце предисловия, и посвящено Абдаллаху Ансари.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Там же. Л. 167–168. Первоначально со всей коллекцией Строгонова они поступили в Эрмитаж, а в 1829 г. были переданы в Азиатский музей (ИВР РАН). См. (Меньшикова 2003: 153–154; Попова 2009: 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Клапрот сам выслал несколько оттисков своей рецензии "Rapport sur les ouvrages du P.H. Bitchurinski relatifs à l'histoire des mongols" в Россию, в Академию наук и в ИПБ (один экземпляр предназначался лично ее директору А.Н. Оленину). См.: *Фус П.Н.* Письмо А.Н. Оленину // ОАД РНБ. Ф. 1. Оп. 1. 1830. № 6. Л. 23. Клапрот присылал в библиотеку и другие свои печатные работы. См.: Там же. 1829. № 5. Л. 38; 1833. № 4. Л. 10.



Ил. 1. Сторож. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 45. Watchman

Между тем у нашего альбома нашелся печатный аналог — изданный побывавшим в Кантоне в 1789 г. Джорджем Генри Мейсоном (George Henry Mason, 1770–1851) альбом гравюр «Костюмы Китая, иллюстрированные шестьюдесятью гравюрами, с объяснениями на английском и французском языках» (Mason 1800)<sup>9</sup>. Представленные в нем раскрашенные гравюры выполнены в 1799 г. резчиком и иллюстратором Джоном Дедлеем (John Dadley, 1767–1817) по оригиналам китайского художника из Гуанчжоу (Кантона) Пу Куа (Pu Owa). Известно, что в 1757–1842 гг. Кантон был единственным китайским портом, через который шла торговля с европейскими странами и Соединенными Штатами. Моряки и купцы охотно приобретали разного рода сувениры, в том числе и красочные картинки с изображениями китайцев разных сословий и представителей разных народностей Китая, а также рисунки растений, рыб, птиц, лодок, бытовых сценок; стали популярны также сцены пыток и казней. Считается, что в студиях, занимавшихся рисованием картинок, работали несколько мастеров, объединенных вокруг одного художника. Картинки чаще не имели имени автора и были копиями-повторениями или вариантами предшествующих образцов (Виноградова 2006).

При сравнении двух альбомов выяснилось, что в них в той или иной мере совпадают 16 картинок, причем часто с некоторыми отличиями. Это дает основания полагать, что оба они могли иметь своим источником рисунки кантонского художника Пу Куа, при этом альбом Дорн 798 не является ни копией с альбома гравюр, ни его оригиналом.

Иллюстрации в альбоме Мейсона сопровождаются пространными комментариями, зачастую включающими информацию о быте и правилах жизни. Приведем несколько примеров.

Изображение сторожа на таблице 2 альбома Мейсона (соответствует рисунку 45 «Обходчик улиц по ночам» из альбома Дорн 798. Ил. 1) имеет такое объяснение: «С наступлением темноты ворота городов в Китае и заграждения в конце каждой улицы тщательно закрывают. Ночью ни один добропорядочный гражданин не появляется на улицах, изобилующих сторожами, которые бьют по куску бамбука в левой руке, чтобы отметить время и продемонстрировать свою бдительность. Те, кого они встречают по пути, допрашиваются, и, если их ответы удовлетворительны, им разрешается пройти через калитку в заграждении. Сторожа носят фонари, на которых написаны их имена и название района, к которому они принадлежат. В самые жаркие месяцы все низшие классы китайцев ходят с обнаженными руками и ногами».

Изображение винокура на таблице 24 (соответствует: Дорн 798. Л. 14. Ил. 2) сопровождается следующим текстом: «Спиртной напиток, который пьют высшие классы китайского народа, это разновидность вина, получаемого из риса, который замачивается на несколько дней в воде вместе с другими ингредиентами; затем они его кипятят, и во время ферментации он дает выпускающую пар пену. Чистый напиток, весьма напоминающий по вкусу и крепости плохое рейнское вино, обнаруживается под пеной, которую сливают в кувшины. Из осадка делают спиртной напиток, который весьма крепок и жгуч. В обычае всех китайцев пить все их вино очень горячим».

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Этот альбом имеет продолжение (Mason 1801; репринт 2017). Существует и немецкий вариант первого альбома Мейсона, расширенный за счет привлечения других источников и изданный Грохманом (по одним источникам в 1800 г., а по другим — в 1810 г.) (Grohmann 1810).



Ил. 2. Винокур. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 14. Distiller



Ил. 3. Марионетки. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 22. Marionettes



Ил. 4. Жонглер. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 25. Juggler



Ил. 5. Приспособление для обмолота. ОР РНБ. Дорн 798. Л. 53. Thrashing tool

Сценка «Кукольное представление» на таблице 38 (соответствует рисунку «Марионетки», Дорн 798. Л. 22. Ил. 3) начинается простым ее описанием: «Человек, встав на табурет, скрытый до самых лодыжек покрывалом из хлопчатобумажной ткани, заставляет очень маленьких кукол показывать нечто вроде пьесы, а коробка наверху представляет собой сцену. Фигурки сделаны так, что двигаются с большим изяществом и благопристойностью, из-за чего китайское кукольное представление изображается столь же невинным, как шутливая беседа, и может быть показано без угрозы для чистоты детского ума». А далее следуют рассуждения о традиционно жестком воспитании молодого поколения в уважении к старшим.

Аналогичные двум последним изображения можно найти в третьем томе французского шеститомного издания малого формата Бретона де Мартиньера (Jean-Baptiste Joseph Breton, dit de la Martinière, 1777–1852) «Китай в миниатюрах, или подборка костюмов, искусств и ремесел этой империи, представленных в гравюрах, по большей части с неопубликованных оригиналов из собрания усопшего г-на Бертена, с приложением исторических и литературных пояснительных заметок» (Breton de la Martiniere 1811)<sup>10</sup>. Это издание содержит 108 цветных гравюр, частично совпадающих по сюжетам с теми, что представлены в альбоме Мейсона, но определенно созданных другим гравером в более европеизированной манере. Большая часть иллюстраций выполнена с рисунков, находившихся в коллекции государственного деятеля, одно время государственного секретаря, затем министра иностранных дел Франции Анри Леонара Жана Батиста Бертена (Henri-Léonard-Jean-Baptiste Bertin, 1720–1792). В предисловии автор говорит о том, что Бертен покровительствовал двум молодым китайцамкатоликам, обучавшимся в Париже, и финансово поддерживал миссию иезуитов в Пекине. Из чего следует, что имевшиеся у него четыре сотни китайских рисунков происходят, скорее всего, из Пекина, а не из Кантона, как те, что были использованы Мейсоном, и те, что находятся в нашем «парижском» альбоме.

Интересно, что пять аналогичных нашим, но выполненных определенно другим художником рисунков представлены в каталоге выставки «От Китая до Европы», проходившей в Стокгольме в 1998–1999 гг. (Wirgin 1998: 292–293), в Восточноазиатском музее, в котором хранится альбом, в 1820–1830-х годах попавший к шведскому кронпринцу, впоследствии королю Оскару I (1799–1859, прав. 1844–1859). Альбом озаглавлен по-французски "Differents métiers" («Различные ремесла») и содержит 163 рисунка размером 37×32,5 см<sup>11</sup>. Один из пяти рисунков, опубликованных в каталоге выставки, совпадает с нашим — «Продавец петард» (Дорн 798. Л. 43).

Упомянем также альбом, приобретенный капитаном Юрием Федоровичем Лисянским (1784–1837) во время кругосветного плавания в 1803–1806 гг. и подаренный им императрице Елизавете Алексеевне, которая в 1817 г. передала альбом в ИПБ (Дорн 799). В нем помимо прочего имеются восемь изображений ремесленников, очень близких тем, что находятся в «парижском альбоме». Два из них совпадают по сюже-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Английский вариант вышел в 1824 г. в Лондоне под заглавием "China: its costume, arts, manufactures, etc...".

Перед нами не стоит задача сравнить с нашим альбомом все европейские издания, отметим лишь, что таковых в начале XIX в. было несколько (Lipperheide 1896: 597–600).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Цифровую копию см. [https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-om/web/perform/free\_search?FreeSearch\_ TEXT\_OPERAND=CONTAINS&FreeSearch\_TEXT\_VALUE=OM-1974-2706&imagesOnly=false& presentation=MAP&resultBrowseIndex=0&sortAscending=true&sortColumn=ID].

Благодарю за информацию хранителя китайской коллекции Восточноазиатского музея Майкла Ли.

там — это торговец рыбой и «шарлатан». Однако при всей близости стиля в рисунках этих двух альбомов также нельзя признать руку одного мастера.

Большую часть альбома Лисянского составляют изображения цветов, птиц, судов и рыб. Некоторые из них имеют параллели в бывших Строгановских альбомах, хранящихся ныне в ИВР, особенно в альбоме, озаглавленном по-испански "Collection de algunos de los muchos pezes que se crian en los tanques y rios del ymperio de China recopilaga por Manuel de Agote, ano 1795" («Коллекция некоторых из множества рыб, которые разводятся в водоемах и реках Китайской империи, собранная для Мануэля дэ Аготэ, год 1795» (ИВР. Х-82; Попова 2018: 76–77, 136). На титульном листе альбома с цветами, составленного в 1796 г. в Кантоне, указано, что этот Мануэль дэ Аготэ (1755–1803) (Luengo 2016) являлся «главным агентом королевской компании на Филиппинах» (ИВР. Х-85). Имя художника нигде не названо, между тем возникает ощущение, что рисунки исполнены в европейской манере. Заметим лишь, что на оборотной стороне рисунка 33 из альбома с рыбами сохранился черновой карандашный набросокочерк рыбы, возможно, срисованный с некого образца.

Однако вернемся к «парижскому альбому». Когда и от кого он поступил в ИПБ? На самом альбоме нет какой-либо информации на сей счет. Очевидно лишь, что обозначенная Клапротом дата — 1 апреля 1828 г. — может служить нижним временным пределом, а год выхода в свет каталога Дорна, в который описание альбома вошло — 1852 г., — верхним пределом. Таким образом, необходимо было просмотреть в ОАД РНБ все дела за этот период, в которые упоминание об альбоме могло попасть: покупка, дары частных лиц и передача от государя императора. Поиски не привели к положительным результатам, как и попытка найти какое-либо упоминание об альбоме в личных архивах директора ИПБ А.Н. Оленина, его заместителя В.Ф. Одоевского, хранителей рукописного отделения А.И. Ермолаева и А.Ф. Бычкова. Остается предположить, что альбом поступил вместе с печатными изданиями аналогичной тематики и/или в составе какого-либо большого собрания и потому не был отмечен в документах как отдельное приобретение. К таким собраниям можно, например, отнести обширную библиотеку графа Петра Корнильевича Сухтелена (1751-1836), голландца на русской службе, посла России в Швеции. Восточная часть его собрания, купленного российским правительством у наследников коллекционера, рассредоточена по нескольким хранилищам (Васильева 2016; 2020: 157-184; Vasilyeva 2013), при этом не все материалы отражены в документах. Так, в «Краткий каталог восточным рукописям бывшей библиотеки инженер-генерала графа Сухтелена, долженствующим поступить в Азиатский музей Императорской академии наук, и частию в Учебное отделение восточных языков, при Азиатском департаменте состоящее»<sup>12</sup> не входили, например, альбом индийских рисунков (ОР РНБ. Инд. НС 5) и шесть китайских рукописных, ксило- и литографированных книг. Не были они отражены в «Подробном каталоге Части рукописей бывшей библиотеки инженер-генерала графа Сухтелена, передающихся в Императорскую Публичную библиотеку»<sup>13</sup>. Между тем среди китайских книг Сухтелена есть одна, определенно происходящая из Парижа. Ксилограф христианского сочинения «Истинный путь свидетельствует сам за себя» (Дорн 713) имеет помимо штампа библиотеки Сухтелена запись на шведском языке: "Bekommen från Paris d: 31. Majis 21" («Получено из Парижа 31 мая [18]21») (Яхонтов 1993: 99).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> РГВИА. Ф. 38. Оп. 5. № 215. Л. 110а–110с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> ОР РНБ. Фр. F. XVIII, 19.

Очевидно, что живя в Стокгольме, Сухтелен пользовался богатым книжным рынком Парижа, откуда к нему мог попасть также альбом китайских рисунков. Противоречит этому предположению одно, но весьма существенное обстоятельство: в альбоме нет ни экслибриса, ни печати Сухтелена, которыми владелец обычно помечал свои раритеты.

В то же время нельзя не упомянуть и об еще одном значительном книжном собрании, в котором теоретически мог находиться альбом парижского происхождения. Оно принадлежало бывшему министру народного просвещения А.Н. Голицину (1773–1844) и поступило в ИПБ в 1842 г. В предисловии к своему каталогу Б.А. Дорн указал, что от Голицина получены некие материалы (Dorn 1852: XV), но ограничивались ли они одной турецкой рукописью, осталось неизвестным.

Итак, рисунки альбома Дорн 798, скорее всего, были выполнены в Гуанчжоу (Кантоне) в самом конце XVIII — начале XIX в., возможно, художником Пу-Куа или его подражателями. Впрочем, нельзя исключать и копийный характер изображений, особенно с учетом использования прозрачной бумаги. При этом художником мог быть и европеец<sup>14</sup>. В любом случае можно заметить, что подобные картинки на бумаге, а также на спиле дерева в значительном количестве ввозились из китайского порта Кантон в Европу. Они имелись и в Англии у издавшего их Мейсона, и в Швеции у кронпринца Оскара, и в России у капитана Лисянского и у Строганова (к которому попали не ранее 1804 г. от Мануэля Паломино, профессора живописи академии св. Фердинанда в Мадриде). В собрании француза Бертена, составленном в 1760–1770-х годах, очевидно, преобладали рисунки из Пекина, из которого происходят также альбомы начальника 9-й Духовной миссии о. Иакинфа (Н.Я. Бичурина), в начале 1820-х годов поступившие в ИПБ. По всей видимости, и кантонские, и пекинские рисунки, хотя и несколько отличаются по сюжетам, восходят к работам последователей синкретической «художественной школы», созданной в Китае иезуитами и другими католикамимиссионерами.

Рисунки «китайского альбома из Парижа» не являются шедеврами изобразительного искусства и относятся к разряду ремесленной продукции, сувениров, удовлетворяющих вкусам и интересам заезжих иностранцев. Вместе с тем они исполнены на добротном уровне, а главное — дают представление о простых китайцах — городских обывателях и крестьянах, их образе жизни, труде, быте, развлечениях, еде, одежде, внешнем виде. Таким образом, наш альбом может служить иллюстративным источником по этнографии и истории китайского города конца XVIII — начала XIX в., тем более что не все его рисунки имеют параллели в печатных изданиях.

#### Сокращения

ИПБ — Императорская Публичная библиотека
ОР — Отдел рукописей
ОАД — Отдел архивных документов
РГВИА — Российский государственный военно-исторический архив (Москва)
РНБ — Российская национальная библиотека (Санкт-Петербург)

<sup>14</sup> Мы обращались за консультацией по этому вопросу к искусствоведу Е.В. Нестеровой и к посетившим РНБ представителям Китайской академии художеств. Однозначного ответа они не дали.
## Литература

- Баснин 1875 *Баснин В.Н.* О посольстве в Китай графа Головкина // Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских. СПб., 1875. № 4. С. 1–109.
- Васильева 2002 Васильева О.В. Из истории одного собрания // Восточная коллекция. М., 2002. № 2(9). С. 126–129.
- Васильева 2010 Васильева О.В. «Китайские» альбомы в Российской национальной библиотеке и о. Иакинф (Н.Я. Бичурин) // «Первый альбом» о. Иакинфа (Н.Я. Бичурина): исследования и комментарии. СПб.: Изд-во РНБ, 2010. С. 18–28.
- Васильева 2012 Васильева О.В. Этнографические альбомы о. Иакинфа (Н.Я. Бичурина) // «Второй» и «Третий» альбомы о. Иакинфа (Н.Я. Бичурина). СПб.: Изд-во РНБ, 2012. С. 41–58.
- Васильева 2016 Васильева О.В. «...в Азиатский Музеум Императорской академии наук...»: Огientalia из библиотеки генерала П.К. Сухтелена в Институте восточных рукописей РАН // Письменные памятники Востока. 2016. Т. 26. № 3. С. 100–131.
- Васильева 2020 Васильева О.В. Памятники письменности Востока в Российской национальной библиотеке: история формирования фонда: 1795–1850. СПб.: Изд-во РНБ, 2020.
- Виноградова 2006 *Виноградова Т.И.* [Рец. на:] "Views from the West: Collection of Nineteenth Century Pith Paper Donated by Mr. Ifan Williams to the City of Guangzhou // Письменные памятники Востока. 2006. Т. 4. № 1. С. 284–287.
- Денисов 2007 *Денисов П.В.* Слово о монахе Иакинфе Бичурине. Чебоксары: Чуваш. кн. изд-во, 2007.
- Куликова 2001 Куликова А.М. Российское востоковедение XIX века в лицах. СПб.: Петербургское Востоковедение, 2001.
- Меньшикова 2003 *Меньшикова М.Л.* Китайское искусство в собрании Строгановых // Строгановы: меценаты и коллекционеры: Каталог выставки. СПб.: Славия, 2003. С. 151–156.
- Попова 2009 Попова И.Ф. Цинский Пекин: Картины народной жизни (*миньсухуа*) в собрании Института восточных рукописей РАН // Цинский Пекин: Картины народной жизни (*миньсухуа*). СПб.: Славия, 2009. С. 6–11.
- Попова 2018 *Попова И.Ф.* Жемчужины китайских коллекций Института восточных рукописей РАН. СПб.: Кварта, 2018.
- Скачков 1977 Скачков П.Е. Очерки истории русского китаеведения. М.: Наука, 1977.
- Яхонтов 1993 Китайские рукописи и ксилографы Публичной библиотеки: систематический каталог / Сост. К.С. Яхонтов. СПб.: Изд-во РНБ, 1993.
- Alferova, Tarasenko 2015 Alferova N.V., Tarasenko A.V. Chinese Export Painting in the Collection of the National Library of Russia (National Research University Higher School of Economics. Basic Research Program Working Papers Series: HUMANITIES WP BRP 112/HUM/2015) [https://www.hse.ru/data/2015/11/20/1081928773/112HUM2015.pdf].
- Breton de la Martiniere 1811 Breton de la Martiniere Jean-Baptiste Joseph. La Chine en miniature, ou choix de costumes, arts et métiers de cet empire, représentés par... gravures, la plupart d'après les originaux inéedits du Cabinet de feu M. Bertin... accompagnés de notices explicatives, historiques et littéraires. Paris: Nepveu, 1811.
- Grohmann 1810 Grohmann Johann Gottfried (Hrsg.). Gebräuche und Kleidungen der Chinesen dargestellt in bunten Gemälden von dem Mahler Pu-Qúa in Canton als Zusats zu Macartneys und Van Braams Reisen: 60 Kupfer mit Erklarung in deutscher und französischer Sprache. Leipzig: Industrie-Comptoir, [1810].
- Dorn 1852 Dorn Bernhard (ed.). Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg. St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, 1852.
- Lipperheide 1896 *Lipperheide Franz Freiherr, von.* Katalog der Freiherrlich von Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek. Berlin: F. Lipperheide, 1896. Bd. 1.

- Luengo 2016 Luengo, Pedro. Manuel de Agote. Diálogo cultural y cartografía en China a finales del siglo XVIII // Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País asco. Donostia-San Sebastián: Untzi Museoa-Museo Naval, 2016. 8. P. 759–770.
- Mason 1800 Mason George Henry. The Costumes of China, Illustrated by Sixty Engravings: with Explanations in English and French. London: William Miller, 1800.
- Mason 1801 Mason George Henry. The Punishments of China, Illustrated by Twenty-two Engravings: With Explanations in English and French. London: William Miller, 1801.
- Vasilyeva 2013 Vasilyeva O.V. Åkerblad's Collection in Suchtelen's Orientalia: From Sweden to Russia // Studia Orientalia. Helsinki, 2013. Vol. 114: Travelling through Time: Essays in Honor of Kaj Öhrnberg. P. 493–510.
- Wirgin 1998 Wirgin Jan. Från Kina till Eyropa: Kinesiska konstföremål från de ostindiska kompaniernas tid. Stickholm: Östasiatiska Museet, 1998.

### Rererences

- Alferova, Natalia V., Tarasenko, Anna V. Chinese Export Painting in the Collection of the National Library of Russia (National Research University Higher School of Economics. Basic Research Program Working Papers Series: HUMANITIES WP BRP 112/HUM/2015) https://www.hse.ru/ data/2015/11/20/1081928773/112HUM2015.pdf (in English).
- Basnin, Vasilii N. "O posol'stve v Kitai grafa Golovkina" [On the Count Golovkin's Embassy to China]. In: Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh [Readings in the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities], 1875, no. 4. pp. 1–109 (in Russian).
- Breton de la Martiniere, Jean-Baptiste Joseph. La Chine en miniature, ou choix de costumes, arts et métiers de cet empire, représentés par ...gravures, la plupart d'après les originaux inéedits du Cabinet de feu M. Bertin... accompagnés de notices explicatives, historiques et littéraires. Paris: Nepveu, 1811 (in French).
- Denisov, Piotr V. *Slovo o monakhe Iakinfe Bichurine* [Speech on the Monk Iakinf Bichurin]. Cheboksary: Chuvashskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2007 (in Russian).
- Dorn, Bernhard, ed. *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg.* St. Pétersbourg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, 1852 (in French).
- Grohmann, Johann Gottfried (Hrsg.). Gebräuche und Kleidungen der Chinesen dargestellt in bunten Gemälden von dem Mahler Pu-Qúa in Canton als Zusats zu Macartneys und Van Braams Reisen: 60 Kupfer mit Erklarung in deutscher und französischer Sprache. Leipzig: Industrie-Comptoir [1810] (in German).
- Iakhontov, Konstantin S. Kitaiskie rukopisi i ksilografy Publichnoi biblioteki: sistematicheskii katalog [Chinese Manuscripts and Block-prints of the Public Library: Systematic Catalogue]. St. Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi national'noi biblioteki, 1993 (in Russian).
- Kulikova, Alla M. *Rossiiskoe vostokovedenie XIX veka v litsah* [The 19th Century Russian Oriental Studies in Persons]. St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoie Vostokovedenie, 2001 (in Russian).
- Lipperheide, Franz Freiherr von. *Katalog der Freiherrlich von Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek*. Berlin: F. Lipperheide, 1896. Bd. 1 (in German).
- Luengo, Pedro. "Manuel de Agote. Diálogo cultural y cartografía en China a finales del siglo XVIII". In: Itsas Memoria. Revista de Estudios Marítimos del País asco. Donostia-San Sebastián: Untzi Museoa-Museo Naval, 2016. 8, pp. 759–770. (In Spanish).
- Mason, George Henry. *The Costumes of China, Illustrated by Sixty Engravings: with Explanations in English and French*. London: William Miller, 1800 (in English).
- Mason, George Henry. The Punishments of China, Illustrated by Twenty-two engravings: With
- 8 *Explanations in English and French*. London: William Miller, 1801 (in English).

- Men'shikova, Maria L. "Kitaiskoe iskusstvo v sobranii Stroganovykh" [Chinese Art in the Stroganov's Collection]. In: *Stroganovy: metsenaty i kollektsionery. Katalog vystavki* [The Stroganovs: Art Patrons and Collectors. Exhibition Catalogue]. St. Petersburg: Slaviia, 2003, pp. 151–156 (in Russian).
- Popova, Irina F. "Tsinskii Pekin. Kartiny narodnoi jizni (*min-su hua*) v sobranii Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei RAN" [Beijing Qing. Pictures of Folklife (*min-su hua*) in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences]. In: *Tsinskii Pekin. Kartiny narodnoi zhizni (min-sus hua)* [Beijing Qing. Pictures of Folklife (*min-su hua*)]. St. Petersburg: Slaviya, 2009, pp. 6–11 (in Russian); pp. 12–15 (in English).
- Popova, Irina F. *Zhemchuzhiny kitaiskikh kollektsii Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei RAN* [Pearls from the Chinese Collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS]. St. Peterburg: Kvarta, 2018 (in Russian and English).
- Skachkov, Piotr E. *Ocherki istorii russkogo kitaevedeniia* [Studies on the History of Russian Sinology]. Moscow: Nauka, 1977 (in Russian).
- Vasil'eva, Olga V. "Iz istorii odnogo sobraniia" [From the History of one Collection]. Vostochnaia kollektsiia [Oriental Collection], 2002, no. 2(9), pp. 127–133 (in Russian).
- Vasil'eva, Olga V. "Kitaiskie' al'bomy v Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteke i o. Iakinf (N.Ia. Bichurin)" ["Chinese" Albums in the National Library of Russia and Father Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin)].
  In: "Pervyi al'bom" o. Iakinfa (N.Ia. Bichurina). Issledovaniia i kommentarii [The "First Album" of Father Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin). Studies and Commentaries]. St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, 2010, pp. 18–28 (in Russian).
- Vasil'eva, Olga V. "Etnograficheskie al'bomy o. Iakinfa" [Ethnographic Albums of Father Iakinf]. In: "Vtoroi" i "Tretii" al'bomy o. Iakinfa (N.Ia. Bichurina) [The "Second" and the "Third" Albums of Father Iakinf (N.Ia. Bichurin)]. St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, 2012, pp. 41–58 (in Russian).
- Vasilyeva, Olga V. "Åkerblad's collection in Suchtelen's Orientalia: From Sweden to Russia". *Studia orientalia*. Vol. 114: Travelling through Time: Essays in Honor of Kaj Öhrnberg. Helsinki, 2013, pp. 493–510 (in English).
- Vasil'eva, Olga V. " '...v Asiatskii Muzeum Imperatorskoi akademii nauk': Orientalia iz biblioteki generala Suhtelena v Institute vostochnykh rukopisei RAN" ["...Transferred to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences...": Orientalia from the library of General Peter Suchtelen in the Institute of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences]. *Pis 'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*. 2016, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 100–131 (in Russian).
- Vasil'eva, Olga V. Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka v Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteke: Istoria formirovaniia fonda: 1795–1850 [Written Monuments of the East in the National Library of Russia: The History of the Collection's Development: 1795–1850]. St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, 2020 (in Russian).
- Vinogradova, Tatiana I. "Retsenziia na: "Views from the West: Collection of Nineteenth Century Pith Paper Donated by Mr. Ifan Williams to the City of Guangzhou" ["Review on: "Views from the West: Collection of Nineteenth Century Pith Paper Donated by Mr. Ifan Williams to the City of Guangzhou"]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2006, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 100–131 (in Russian).
- Wirgin, Jan. Från Kina till Eyropa: Kinesiska konstföremål från de ostindiska kompaniernas tid. Stickholm: Östasiatiska Museet, 1998 (in Swedish).

# Chinese Album from Paris in the National Library of Russia

Olga V. VASILYEVA National Library of Russia St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

Received 12.07.2021.

Abstract: This article deals with the album of Chinese drawings produced for export in the late 18th — early 19th cc. Originating from Guangzhou, 84 color pictures represent craftsmen, petty traders and street actors. Sixteen of them concur by subject and composition with the engravings published by G.H. Mason who named Pu Qwa as an artist of the originals. Similar drawings can be found in the album of Östasiatiska Museet in Stockholm; other ones, close to ours in style, have been included into the album of Capitan Lisianskii. The "Parisian album" was compiled and bound in Paris; it was on sale in the Dondey-Dupré bookshop, and in 1828 Heinrich Julius Klaproth inscribed it with his hand certifying the fact that the drawings had been produced by a Chinese painter (what was probably doubted). It is still unclear how the album reached the Imperial Public library (National library of Russia of today) in Saint-Petersburg. However, it had happened before 1852 when the academician Bernhard Dorn published his catalogue in which the album was described under the number 798.

Key words: Chinese export drawings, Kanton (Guangzhou), Pu Qwa, H.J. Klaproth, National Library of Russia.

For citation: Vasilyeva, Olga V. "Chinese Album from Paris in the National Library of Russia". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 207–220 (in Russian). DOI 10.17816/WMO76368

About the author: Olga V. VASILYEVA, Head of Oriental Collections' Sector Manuscript Department National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (orientsekt@nlr.ru).

Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Том 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 221–230

# К истории описания Тангутского фонда ИВР РАН

# К.М. БОГДАНОВ

Институт восточных рукописей РАН Санкт-Петербург, Россия

DOI: 10.17816/WMO77361

#### Статья поступила в редакцию 02.07.2021.

Аннотация: В статье на основании изучения первых инвентарных книг Тангутского фонда Азиатского музея представлены уже известные и новые факты, имеющие отношение к описанию и изучению материалов фонда. Основное предположение заключается в том, что в начальный или первый период инвентаризации и описания материалов фонда в данной работе принимали участие не только Н.А. Невский и А.А. Драгунов, как это принято было считать, а еще один или, возможно, два сотрудника Азиатского музея. Оно возникло из-за очевидного различия почерков, которыми заполнялась первая инвентарная книга Тангутского фонда. Сведения о данном периоде описания этого фонда одновременно достаточно конкретны и довольно скудны. Отсутствуют даже формальные данные: даты внесения записей и имена сотрудников, которые их внесли. На основании имеющихся сведений трудно объяснить, почему помимо А.А. Драгунова и Н.А. Невского мы не можем допустить, что в начальной работе по преобразованию коллекции П.К. Козлова в библиотечный фонд участвовал кто-то еще? Тем не менее, помимо гипотетического третьего почерка в первой инвентарной книге, в личной переписке Невского с сотрудниками Азиатского музея есть косвенные указания, подтверждающие высказанное предположение. Таким образом, основная идея заключается в том, что, несмотря на неоспоримые фундаментальные заслуги Н.А. Невского в первоначальном описании и исследовании Тангутского фонда, скорее всего, работа с такой огромной коллекцией могла быть коллективной. Если внимательно проследить историю образования фонда с момента прибытия материалов из Хара-Хото в Петербург, то можно убедиться, что это было именно так.

Ключевые слова: Азиатский Музей, Тангутский фонд ИВР РАН, тангутоведение, коллекция Козлова, Хара-Хото.

Для цитирования: Богданов К.М. К истории описания Тангутского фонда ИВР РАН // Письменные памятники Востока. 2021. Т. 18. № 3 (вып. 46). С. 221–230. DOI: 10.17816/WMO77361

Об авторе: БОГДАНОВ Кирилл Михайлович, научный сотрудник Отдела рукописей и документов ИВР РАН (Санкт-Петербург, Россия) (khmae@list.ru).

© Богданов К.М., 2021

Первые инвентарные книги Тангутского фонда (ТФ) Азиатского музея (АМ) привлекли мое внимание в период сверки всех шифров и инвентарей фонда, которая проводилась под руководством Е.И. Кычанова (1932-2013) сотрудниками Рукописного отдела ИВР РАН в 2005–2013 гг. Речь идет о первых двух книгах, которые отно- 221 сятся к довоенному периоду работы с коллекцией, точное время их создания неизвестно, так как даты, которые формально фиксировали бы период ведения инвентарных записей, в них отсутствуют. Вполне вероятно, что они были созданы спустя много лет после размещения коллекции П.К. Козлова в  $AM^1$ . Упомянутые книги содержат 2400 инвентарных номеров с подробными описаниями каждой единицы хранения, выполненными в разное время А.А. Драгуновым (1900–1955) и Н.А. Невским (1892–1937). Принято считать, что Н.А. Невскому принадлежит описание первых 995 единиц хранения, остальные выполнены А.А. Драгуновым, хотя все это недостоверные сведения, основанные на хронологии событий, свидетельствах современников и на почерках в самих инвентарных записях, но никаких документов, подтверждающих точное авторство инвентарных описаний не сохранилось. Известно, что А.А. Драгунов был первым хранителем ТФ и первым начал работу по научной каталогизации коллекции<sup>2</sup>.

Вернувшийся из Японии в 1929 г. Н.А. Невский был назначен руководством AM — как это и планировалось — хранителем ТФ, и, начиная с этого момента, его научная деятельность была неразрывно связана с фондом, а его имя — с основанием тангутоведения.

Тем не менее, при ближайшем и внимательном рассмотрении — как буквально, так и метафорически — первых записей в инвентарной книге № 1 все известные данные перестают быть очевидными и неоспоримыми. Дело в том, что почерк, которым выполнены первые 204 записи (т.е. описание первых 204 номеров) не является почерком Н.А. Невского (ил. 1)<sup>3</sup>.

Описания, выполненные Н.А. Невским, появляются с № 205 по № 357 (ил. 2).

Затем снова следуют несколько записей неизвестным почерком, далее записи, выполненные А.А. Драгуновым, которые завершают книгу № 1 (ил. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> В 1909 г. все материалы (письменные источники, предметы материальной культуры), найденные экспедицией П.К. Козлова в Хара-Хото, были привезены в Санкт-Петербург. Первоначально они были размещены в здании Русского географического общества, затем некоторое время хранились в Русском музее и в 1910 г. были окончательно переданы Азиатскому музею, где и началось первое научное исследование коллекции. Профессора Петербургского университета — китаевед А.И. Иванов и монголовед В.Л. Котвич начали обрабатывать, описывать памятники тангутской письменности, иными словами создавать научную основу для формирования крупнейшего в мире собрания тангутских книг. Этот первоначальный этап разбора и осмотра материалов коллекции продлился примерно полгода. До сих пор неясным остается вопрос, были ли все материалы из Хара-Хото просмотрены и первично рассортированы А.И. Ивановым и В.Л. Котвичем. Судя по номерам, проставленным А.И. Ивановым на книгах с целью учета, именно тогда впервые могла быть произведена приблизительная количественная оценка всех рукописей и ксилографов, привезенных из Хара-Хото, а также фрагментов разной величины и степени сохранности.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> А.А. Драгунов также заполнил инвентарную книгу № 3 (№ 2462–3475), эта инвентаризация относится к уже послевоенному времени — на некоторых листах инвентаря можно увидеть проставленную карандашом дату записи.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Здесь сразу следует упомянуть следующий факт, который важен в данном контексте, — по состоянию чернил складывается впечатление, что записи в инвентарной книге № 1 были сделаны в разные временные промежутки: возможно, годы отделяют одну запись от другой. К сожалению, не удалось установить даже дату выпуска самой инвентарной книги – все типографские данные не сохранились.

Пангут	ckue hykonucu u Keunorhaph Kon	rexr	zuu	Козл	oba.		1	
Nn 1.	<b>显</b> 颏 席 報 散 砚 砚 现 萊 채 諭	Ulupp						
	Tepeta e mudemierow cympt " Mahāmayūri -							1
i.	-vidyarajnen KH. 1						13.2	
-	Xyl. Spore raparonner . 11/2 × 25 1/2							
	Step+2pp(pue.) bll. 16 ugeorp.		New York					
	Keena saxawarena & shermay, oraceringes			21 10			1.4.5	
	"receptor meanobor deamenned,							
n 2.	Monce, Kn. 1-as				1			
Tanz 61	Xyl. Spory rapressment. 11×28 ' 81pp + 4pp (pue)		1.5.5.					- 1
	. bll. 16 ugeorp.						-	
	Pegarizing successpopa (= = ? 2Kone 33yria						-	
	(1140-1193)							-
n 3. V.	Monce. Ku. 1-as						-	Z
Tanz 61	Xyl. Spore requirer 11×28,2. 79pp+ 2pp(pue)							
	bll. 16 regeorp.					1		
	Peganguy nuen 1= = \$ Mone-usyn'a (1140-							1
	- 1193)		2117					
n 4.	Monce. Kn. 1-az	N	944		head		17	
	Ms. Spore, rapuerne: 11×22 91/2 pp.			67	glow			
	bll. 17 ngeorp.		-	pa	8			
	Russiera l'unencolori obucomere apartes.							
~ +	- necennos refera.							1
n: s.t	鼻颏腐破散窥窥窥视 解输			-				1
Top	Jepebog e mutericiono cytph: " Mahāmagari -		- - 					
10412 67	-Vidyarajñe 77 Kr. 2							
	Xyl. Sporn, representation 11x28 Ftpp.							
-	bfl. Hugenp.							
	Pegacyny numpajopa (= = Mesus usign'a		130					)
	(1141193) 重颏底汲蔽窥窥现蔽 厮翻						1	S
n 6. Tanz	H XIQUITI XIX TIX AL XIL VILLIN LIGH AIM					JA.	11	

Ил. 1. Инвентарные записи с описанием тангутских книг в инвентарной книге № 1, выполненные неизвестным лицом, предположительно А.А. Драгуновым. Отдел рукописей и документов ИВР РАН. Арх 119/1

## КОЛЛЕКЦИИ И АРХИВЫ

59 a briggingo notecciones no haraceputer havengen tumaicin curles e apore er faces to man afterna + keyaran Manay confederant man ayor In At 13 an & 43 K K Ty or 3 эрониение в порадае: ( чустоле, rypher any auna, syphere, manamantpetre), sadnessmanne, gena andre authe Maryan l' de wing onen flikte roupable, marcano antheouspace, (= 1190) allamigues curdens, com reprisence a dustriques, Or deneury dayed as onequestions curl a gapas, Wenpaged , kan a Courtige , Mope adenpagel /cu. Source A 211), para postof na mpo engera ; net serve a recebe , la sugar emparinga garages 40 mps maps; of deciency compyetter wearings, ere maximus passpagnens to mai kournes , kannes y comopour desucchain acomage by ening allemadore grane ne. florige margiceners composes ; 1) managenet cecho in many sidespages (higher) Orgens congress) is agos provenceno con trafa congress) is agos provenceno con trafa congress) is acconstante recould apprinter ondecene astra on Spiper spy mine Dobyen, Paucion cardapt no Premerican carolaps no Premericany. bady our nexare us More as Lumaicana Deorpagan (mpops spaged in beforenes and no watter. нино, Сосравние на основание ког. Empor engaber . 4/ romence uernew courbages. Kumadonuk waeng agel mpysed conform many panen merecion frighty. Кандаропраница рапрадаена на J Kourner, Bayrow Longon & Senans Dichard ( conversioner kynows Mingon) farminaray & The may coper capelos + 215. Tours 13 Lyl. 15/2 x 22/2 1p. proper nousburs managemen 後敬配 編 離花 科 反 + 214. Tane 13 當漢在時掌中珠、別加的pe repetucueday & audapes, Regar 6 . - Аусе" Страниц, кленени т саму - 216. По те Танг 13 Рариант. combigestyrongen (danpoeane) byereecon, the managerer & ramaderson Athranger. + 216 Kyl. \$1 \$\$ 15 12 15/2×23 Ff. 1-7. Myl. at at the 15x22 F. 4-25, 266-36 13.61

Ил. 2. Инвентарные записи в книге № 1, выполненные Н.А. Невским. Отдел рукописей и документов ИВР РАН. Арх 119/1

98		99
	Ell. Muzeop Know" & penno "Makantarata sita" Kopundos majepagas karras. Negerna Nanjie 23.	434. Mo. ne. , Kn. 25. as. Tarz clls. Bon. aguen. 12.33/6; 72 pp. 354 6 R. 18 warop.
n. 428	mo-ne. vn. 29-as.	
	Me Eprin rapum 12+33/2; 62 pg. 6 ll Wayng.	435 Мони, км. 20-ал Ганг. Ма. Бран. гарист. 12×33/6, 357 58 186рр. С.С. Из идеотр. Кыша
1 429.	Mo-ree, Kn. 22-as.	le menuro-kopinal regionar observere.
Tan2 357	Ms. Spon rapus. 131/2 × 341/2; 21/1/2,	
357	7ll. 20-22 ugenz. Bez xer a kruze.	436 Moxie, Kn. 27-as.
		Tar 357 Ms. Spon. rapuor. 13/2×34/2;
n 430.	то-же, кн. 23.	43pp. Fill. 21 ugeorp. Knuna
Танг 357	Mr. Spou. rapruori. 12.33/2; 58 pp. 6.ll., 18 ugeorp. Ees	b curres hazeprog. Successe
	Koniza.	437. Mone, KM. 28-03.
		7 Take Ils Epnu rapuor 13/2 × 34/2;
431	то-же, кн. N 23.	554 68pp. Fill. 2/ ugeorp. Bes Koniza
	6.ll. ' 15 uzeorp. Nonezme incre vana	Bezennerspe e requestarem
		438, more, Kn. 28. as.
432.	Mo-mee, Kn. 24-as.	Take Ms. Span. rapuon. 12.331/2:108m
Tan 3	57. U.S. Spon. rapura. 12 × 331/2;	357 Ell. 18 uzon Knura le minuno-
	68pp. 6.ll. 18 ugeorp:	Kopurnebost injegraf. obioscie
733.	Morxee, U.M. 24as.	439, Mo xee, KM. 29-as.
	Ив. брон лари. 13/2 + 34 /с;	Tane 357 Mrs. Spon. rapus. 131/2 . 341/2;
Taxa 357	47 pp. 7. Cl. 20-21 ugeonp.	34mp Fill. Dlugeop. Knur
	Des Konise	b current insteprote obviorence

Ил. 3. Инвентарные записи, выполненные А.А. Драгуновым. Отдел рукописей и документов ИВР РАН. Арх 119/1

Инвентарная книга № 2 заполнена рукой Н.А. Невского с № 447 и до № 955. Далее инвентарные записи в книге № 2 и все записи в книге № 3, которая уже была закончена после войны, выполнены А.А. Драгуновым. Кому же принадлежит неизвестный почерк или почерки, которым выполнены каталожные описания первых 200 единиц хранения? Судя по научному уровню описаний, этот человек понимал специфику исследований, знал китайский и, видимо, тибетский буддийский канон, соответственно — китайский и, возможно, тибетский языки, но, самое главное, он мог читать тангутский текст и хорошо писал на тангутском, т.е. к моменту записи уже являлся специалистом в данной области. Логично предположить, учитывая всю совокупность данных (знание китайского и тибетского, время работы с коллекцией, профессиональный уровень подготовки), что записи выполнены А.А. Драгуновым (ил. 3). Однако при некоторой общей схожести почерков (прямые закругленные буквы) я думаю, что это все же не его рука. Другим самым вероятным претендентом на эту роль мог являться А.И. Иванов (1877/78–1937), первый исследователь коллекции П.К. Козлова, дешифровавший письменные источники, важнейшие для развития тангутоведения, создатель первого тангутско-русского словаря. Известно, что А.И. Иванов вдохновил Н.А. Невского на занятия тангутоведением, а также передал ему свои материалы и результаты исследований. Однако имеющийся в нашем распоряжении автограф А.И. Иванова (ил. 4) опровергает это предположение.

amaluh

Ил. 4. Автограф А.И. Иванова. Тангутский фонд ИВР РАН

Кто же еще в то время, кроме названных выше лиц, мог выполнить научное каталожное описание значительного количества трудных для отождествления тангутских текстов? Трудно представить себе, что в не столь отдаленную эпоху и в достаточно узкой научной среде неизвестный никому исследователь мог самостоятельно заниматься тангутоведением и впоследствии прекратить занятия в данной области. Все ключевые персоналии той эпохи и среды, их личные отношения, кажется, известны: академик В.М. Алексеев целенаправленно готовил Н.А. Невского, который находился на стажировке в Японии, к работе с ТФ, его поддерживал директор АМ академик С.Ф. Ольденбург. А.А. Драгунов знал об этом, он уже некоторое время активно работал с фондом, однако его работа не упоминалась или не считалась значимой, так как о ней почти ничего неизвестно в международной научной среде, в которой активно обсуждаются все темы, связанные с тангутоведением. Подтверждением сказанному является письмо В.М. Алексееву от синолога Эрвина фон Цаха (1872–1942), который в определенный период времени увлеченно занимался дешифровкой тангутской письменности. Последний спрашивает Алексеева: «Заинтересованы ли Вы лично или кто-нибудь в Азиатском музее в исследованиях Си Ся? Почему А.И. Иванов больше ничего не опубликовал с 1909 г.?»<sup>4</sup>. К сожалению, ответ Алексеева неизвестен. Судя по переписке с тем же фон Цахом, умалчивал о своем коллеге и сам Н.А. Невский. В связи с возникшим вопросом укажем на два письма Невского неизвестным адресатам, которые приводит Е.И. Кычанов. В одном из них Невский называет себя beginner в тангутоведении в сравнении с неизвестным адресатом письма (Громковская, Кычанов 1978)<sup>5</sup>.

Данное исследование построено на различиях в почерках и косвенных предположениях. Осознавая, что любая профессиональная почерковедческая экспертиза сразу поставит все на свои места, я, оставляя реализацию этой возможности будущим исследователям, все-таки выскажу свою гипотезу относительно неизвестного почерка в инвентарной книге № 1, хотя отношусь к ней весьма скептически. Я думаю, что эти записи сделал А.А. Драгунов. Возможно, они относятся к моменту его работы с коллекцией, когда он — лингвист — был полон научного энтузиазма и интереса, начиная исследования только что открытого мертвого языка. Потом по неизвестным и непонятным, с моей точки зрения, причинам он был отстранен от интересной, приоритетной в научном отношении работы с фондом, но, видимо, продолжал работать вместе с Н.А. Невским, будучи на вторых ролях. Вскоре последовали трагические события — арест Н.А. Невского, отсутствие каких-либо сведений о его дальнейшей судьбе, затем началась война... А.А. Драгунов продолжил работать с коллекцией после войны, но это ему уже было явно неинтересно и тяжело<sup>6</sup>. Почерк и внешний вид последних записей в книгах № 2 и 3 может свидетельствовать о происшедших

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Письмо от 10 марта 1929 г. (АВ ИВР РАН. Разряд 1. Оп. 1. № 368). Стоит отметить, что это не совсем верно — после первой публикации (по-немецки), с 1909 по 1918 гг. А.И. Иванов опубликовал несколько работ, в том числе довольно объемных, на русском языке. В 1920 г. вышла его статья на французском языке, в 1923 г. — на китайском. Возможно, Э. фон Цах не знал о них, как не знал и о том, кто занимается тангутской коллекцией после А.И. Иванова.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Е.И. Кычанов считает, что это письмо адресовано А.А. Драгунову. Но следует отметить, что в личном архиве А.А. Драгунова, хранящемся в ИВР РАН, нет ни одного письма Н.А. Невского (Дубков 1991).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> В архиве А.А. Драгунова (АВ ИВР РАН) отсутствуют какие-либо материалы, имеющие отношение к его работе с ТФ. Между тем, в содержании, описывающем структуру своего архива, А.А. Драгунов указывает «тангутские и тибетские материалы» (Дубков 1991).

изменениях: записи лаконичны, тангутский и даже китайский текст в названиях отсутствуют, почерк небрежный (ил. 5). Он выбирает для инвентаризации многочисленные списки и печатные копии «Махапраджняпарамита-сутры», которые образуют большую часть буддийских текстов ТФ, потому эти инвентарные записи составляют практически всю инвентарную книгу № 3. Иногда он вынужден возвращаться к проделанной работе до войны: в инвентарной книге № 2 в описаниях Н.А. Невского есть исправления, внесенные А.А. Драгуновым<sup>7</sup>.

Число и месяц	Дата поступл.	И	к	л	м	название	происхождение	Колич. икземпа,	Колич. перепа,	цена	примечание
noctyna.	noeryns.	Ин	вешта	ряыя	Syd.	Ms. 5pour "rapuopurou"; 32	3121 7		8400	Ile The	un rapuoruseni.
116 *					-J	[241/4] × 11/2; har u conya			4		up. 3pp+6pp+11/2pp.
						Hem; 29 pp. 6 ll; 18 ugeorsa					31 [241/2]; All; 18
						opol.				ugenp	apob.
		.2. 20. 2		a 5 114		LL - ( 2)	8122 ~		. (1	11	
			も変換			Ms. Spor , raperonucou; 334/ [263/4] × 121/4; Opparient	8122				331/2 [26 1/4], nar. 11 20
			ころを見 a-sut			2pp (nereno pypeonucu), 6lls					9 pp. 6 ll, 18-19 uses
5	praznap	Knung	46			18ugeopagol	1.1				Noepegephennon corpas
						0.1.					
¥1						М. брош. "гариопикой";	3123			lle D	ет. париониной;
3118						18/4 × 33 [25.1/2]; 1.9 pp.	012-0				810/4 [241/2]; Har. U.M.
				-		nazara u konza nem; Fll;	-				5 mp. 6ll; 17 ugeorpa
						18 uzenpagool.					11 1 0 1
							04814 V		''	11. 57	our "repuonikou";
3113					"	Ms. Spour "rapus russi"; M1/2 × \$313/4 [24]; marana u	8129				[263/2] 84; nor. 11 Ko
	-					Kouys nem; 6ll; 16-17					Opp. Gll; 18 ugenpa
		-				upenpapol; 34 pp. Miseon		-			110 0 1
						coxpannocpu.					, پ
3120		、廃葬	颜颜	城	- 11	Ma. opour (raphonickon;	3125		"		2/4 [253/4], 9 pp. Har.
334 334			A 2 ?		4 "	181/4 × 33 [26]; Handreson					nem; Fll; 20 nepons
239	- ochah		a 129.	170-54	100	rangencere; 7 ll; 20 ugence				mal.	1 0

Ил. 5. Записи в инвентарной книге № 3, выполненные А.А. Драгуновым. Отдел рукописей и документов ИВР РАН. Арх 119/3

Если это был А.А. Драгунов, то как он изучал тангутский язык? Полностью самостоятельно? Насколько известно, А.И. Иванов передал свои материалы, обнаруженные и идентифицированные тексты только Н.А. Невскому, и тот самостоятельно начал заниматься тангутским языком в Японии. В.М. Алексеев также всячески способствовал удаленной работе Н.А. Невского, посылая ему, по его запросу, копии нужных текстов. Кто же, если не А.А. Драгунов, этот неизвестный знаток, по сравнению с которым Н.А. Невский называет себя «начинающим»?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Напротив этих описаний имеются карандашные надписи «перешифрован Драгуновым в №...». Дата и подпись отсутствуют, можно предположить со всей очевидностью, что запись принадлежит самому А.А. Драгунову, но это не похоже на его почерк. Тогда чей? Возникает еще один вопрос, кто мог вносить эти примечания в инвентарь? Вероятно, только З.И. Горбачева, но на основании каких данных?

Вглядываясь в события тех лет, имеющие отношение к науке и академической среде, еще раз убеждаешься, какое это было сложное время: оно отражается даже в том, что сотрудники, знающие библиотечное дело, по определенным соображениям не ставят не только даты занесения записи в инвентарь, но даже дату начала и окончания инвентарной книги. Все эти пропуски в документах, недосказанность или умалчивание каких-либо имен и событий представляются не случайными.

В истории формирования ТФ есть несколько «темных пятен», которые, видимо, никогда не будут прояснены. В первую очередь, это тангутско-тибетский словарь, о котором писал Н.А. Невский, ссылаясь на свидетельство С.Ф. Ольденбурга, при том, что А.И. Иванов «отрицал его существование» (Невский 1960: 106). Словарь так и не был найден, и все последующие годы это считалось недоразумением, т.е. что такого словаря в фонде никогда не было. В то же время в письме С.Ф. Ольденбурга было, похоже, прямое указание на его существование: «из-за больших размеров его нельзя скопировать» (Громковская, Кычанов 1978: 167), т.е. скорее всего словарь действительно был, его видели сотрудники Азиатского музея и, как мне представляется, уж никак не могли ошибиться, но почему А.И. Иванов отрицал этот факт? Невскому о тангутскотибетском словаре сообщил китаист Б.А. Васильев (Невский 1960: 106), т.е. он проявлял интерес к тангутским материалам. Из переписки Н.А. Невского и Ю.К. Щуцкого мы узнаем, что последний предположительно мог читать тангутский текст, во всяком случае, заглавия сутр. Вот цитата из переписки Н.А. Невского с В.М. Алексеевым: «На днях пришел пакет с тангутскими фотокопиями, который меня весьма порадовал. В нем находится 聖大乘大千國守護經, которую я у Вас просил и которая стараниями Юлиана Константиновича [Щуцкого] была найдена. Громаднейшее спасибо!»<sup>8</sup>. Моим первым впечатлением от неизвестного почерка в инвентарной книге № 1 было то, что он принадлежит именно Б.А. Васильеву, но это, скорее всего, совершенно исключено.

Еще одна лакуна в истории тангутоведения — пропавший словарь А.И. Иванова, который упоминается в его статье 1918 г. «Памятники тангутского письма» как «близкий к окончанию», но словарь так и не был сдан в печать (Громковская, Кычанов 1978: 156). Невский еще в Японии начал составлять свой словарь, очевидно, зная о существовании уже готового словаря А.И. Иванова. Возникает вопрос, мог ли А.И. Иванов отказаться от публикации своего словаря, который по объему материала, несомненно, должен был уступать словарю Н.А. Невского?

Таким образом, при всей, казалось бы, ясности и очевидности начинают проступать новые «пробелы» и их по-прежнему трудно заполнить. В этом плане символично краткое документальное свидетельство: на обороте закладки с инв. № 1757 (Танг 334/796) была случайно обнаружена краткая надпись из четырех тангутских иероглифов 稼/ 總之 (ил. 6), смысл которой можно передать как «избавить от бедствий или освободить от страданий»<sup>9</sup>. Описание текста под шифром Танг 334/796 — 162-я глава «Махапраджняпарамита-сутры» — было внесено в инвентарную книгу № 2 А.А. Драгуновым, и фраза на тангутском могла быть выписана из текста этой главы. Однако написание тангутских знаков не похоже на руку Драгунова. Тогда это мог быть только Н.А. Невский. Почему была выписана на обороте закладки для инвентарного номера именно эта краткая фраза с весьма специфическим смыслом, при том, что, как упоминалось выше, работавшие с фондом не фиксировали даже формальные данные о работе?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Письмо от 10 марта 1929 г. (АВ ИВР РАН. Разряд 1. Оп. 1. № 368).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Какие-либо служебные слова отсутствуют, поэтому перевод основан на буквальном значении иероглифов.



Ил. 6. ТФ ИВР РАН. Неизвестный автограф на обороте ярлыка с инвентарным номером 1757, соответствующий шифру Танг 334/796

Все эти вопросы и неясности кажутся несущественными, учитывая огромный объем библиотечной и научной работы, проделанной с материалами ТФ за последние 100 лет. Вместе с тем, новые сведения, детали, новые имена могут дополнить уже сложившуюся картину, а возможно, и изменить ее, восстановить объективную картину. Для этого следует непредвзято взглянуть на хорошо известные факты. Обратимся, например, к словарю Н.А. Невского (Невский 1960). При внимательном рассмотрении рукописи словаря у меня сложилось впечатление, что многие его страницы заполнены разными почерками, т.е. в составлении словаря, возможно, тем или иным образом, принимал участие не один человек. Мы никогда не узнаем, как выглядело бы научное издание словаря под редакцией самого Н.А. Невского. Возможно, многие наши вопросы были бы прояснены, а пробелы заполнены. Тем не менее, если предложенные здесь «графологические» гипотезы подтвердятся, история российского тангутоведения может несколько измениться.

## Литература

- Громковская, Кычанов 1978 *Громковская Л.Л., Кычанов Е.И.* Николай Александрович Невский. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1978 (Русские востоковеды и путешественники).
- Дубков 1991 Дубков К.В. Личный архив Александра Александровича Драгунова (фонд 132, Архив востоковедов ЛО ИВ АН СССР) // Письменные памятники и проблемы истории культуры народов Востока. XXIV годичная научная сессия ЛО ИВ АН СССР (доклады и сообщения). 1989 г. Ч. 2. М.: Наука, ГРВЛ, 1991.
- Невский 1960 *Невский Н.А.* Тангутская филология. Исследования и словарь в двух книгах. М.: Изд-во вост. лит., 1960.

## References

- Dubkov, Konstantin V. "Lichnyi arkhiv Alexandra Alexandrovicha Dragunova" [Personal Archive of Alexander A. Dragunov]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*. Part 2. Moscow, 1991 (in Russian).
- Gromkovskaya, Lidia L., Kychanov, Evgenii I. *Nikolai Alexandrovitch Nevskii (Russkie vostokovedy i puteshestvenniki)* [Nikolai Nevsky (Russian Orientalists and Travellers)]. Moscow, 1978 (in Russian).
- Nevsky, Nikolai A. *Tangutskaia filologiia. Issledovaniia i slovar' v dvukh knigakh* [Tangut Philology. Research Study and Dictionary, in two volumes]. Moscow, 1960 (in Russian).

229

# IOM RAS Tangut Fund History: Hypotheses Based on Some New Facts

Kirill M. BOGDANOV Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS St. Petersburg, Russian Federation.

Received 02.07.2021.

Abstract: In this article some new facts and hypotheses concerned the IOM, RAS Tangut collection's cataloguing and description in the period of 1910s-1930s are presented. This data is based on research of description records in the No. 1 and No. 2 inventory books of the Tangut Fund. The main idea assumes that along with N. Nevsky and A. Dragunov other Asiatic Museum researchers could participate in the initial stage of the Tangut Fund inventory work. This hypothesis is based on the obvious difference in handwritings especially in records of inventory book No. 1. It should be noted that all evidences about this period in the Tangut Fund research history are both precise and exiguous in the same time. It is enough to mention the absence of the necessary dates of recordings and names of persons who made it. Considering the whole history of P. Kozlov collection and great interest to collection's research can we assume that more than one or two well-known researchers of AM described it too? Maybe yes. Because, apart from "incognito" hand in the first inventory book, we find oblique or indirect confirmation to it in personal correspondence of N. Nevsky himself. So, despite the significant and basic contribution of Nevsky to first cataloguing work with Tangut books biggest collection, it is logically to propose that it should be "collective" work too. If we follow the research history of Kozlov archeological findings after Khara-Khoto and then, we recognize the rightfulness of this assumption.

Key words: Asiatic Museum, Tangut Fund, IOM RAS, Tangut studies, P. Kozlov's collection, Khara-Khoto.

For citation: Bogdanov, Kirill M. "IOM RAS Tangut Fund History: Hypotheses Based on Some New Facts". *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, 2021, vol. 18, no. 3 (iss. 46), pp. 221–230 (in Russian). DOI: 10.17816/WMO77361

About the author: Kirill M. BOGDANOV, Researcher, the Department of Manuscripts and Documents, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation) (khmae@list.ru).

# ОБЪЯВЛЕНИЕ

## Вниманию подписчиков, читателей и авторов журнала!

С 2016 года журнал «Письменные памятники Востока» издается четыре раза в год согласно требованиям Высшей аттестационной комиссии. Просим авторов обратить внимание на изменения в оформлении статей и списка литературы. Полная информация о правилах подачи материала опубликована на сайте Института восточных рукописей РАН:

http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=51

Над номером работали:

С.М. Аникеева, А.А. Ковалев, О.В. Мажидова, М.А. Унке, О.В. Волкова, М.П. Горшенкова, А.Е. Танчарова, И.И. Чернышева, Н.Н. Щигорева

# К сведению читателей журнала «Письменные памятники Востока»

Подписка на журнал «Письменные памятники Востока» производится по Объединенному каталогу «Пресса России» (т. I) в отделениях связи.

По вопросу приобретения журнала просим обращаться в Институт восточных рукописей РАН по адресу: 191186, Санкт-Петербург, Дворцовая наб., 18 — www.orientalstudies.ru

Адрес редакции: 191186, Санкт-Петербург, Дворцовая наб., 18 — www.orientalstudies.ru Подписано к печати 13.09.2021. Формат 70×100<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>. Печать офсетная. Усл. п. л. 18,7 Уч.-изд. л. 17,0. Тираж 500 экз. Зак. №

Типография ООО "Литография Принт". 191119, Санкт-Петербург, ул. Днепропетровская, д. 8, офис 14. www.litobook.ru e-mail: info@litobook.ru. Тел. +7 (812) 712-02-08