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## **Nikolai Nevsky, Ishihama Juntarō, and the Lost “Extended Manual” of Tangut Characters with Tibetan Phonetic Glosses**

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DOI: 10.55512/wmo569161

*Abstract:* Shortly before his return from Japan to Russia in 1929, the prominent Russian Orientalist and Tangutologist Nikolai (Nicolas) Aleksandrovich Nevsky (1892–1937), best known for his successful decipherment of the extinct Tangut language and script, prepared and left in Japan some kind of a glossary, an extended manual of Tibetan phonetic glosses for more than 500 Tangut characters, which was planned to be sent to the Tōyō Bunko for publication. However, this work was not published, and the manual was lost for decades and literally forgotten by scholars. This article is an investigation into the fate of this lost work prepared by Nevsky and a report on its re-discovery. Based on the study of his academic activities in Japan, it presents four photographic copies of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses and seven non-inventoried Nevsky’s notebooks from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library. Our careful examination and preliminary study of these notebooks reveals that three of them are most likely the complete lost manuscript of the extended manual and the four photographs are its integral part.

*Key words:* Tangut script, Tangut language, Tangut characters, Tibetan phonetic gloss, Tangut fragment, N.A. Nevsky, Ishihama Juntarō

### **1. Introduction**

Among all discovered printed and written Tangut documents (Ru. *памятники письменности* or *письменные памятники*, lit. “written monuments”; Ch. *wénxiàn* 文獻) there are known to be 34 fragments of Tangut texts, including three newly discovered and still unpublished fragments, two lost fragments and five very small pieces that are broken off from larger fragments, in which Tangut characters are supplemented by their phonetic

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glosses in Tibetan writing.<sup>1</sup> Together with the Chinese transcriptions of Tangut characters contained in the bilingual glossary *Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Palm* (Tg. *mjī<sup>2</sup> zar<sup>1</sup> ŋwuu<sup>1</sup> dzjĭj<sup>1</sup> bju<sup>1</sup> pja<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>2</sup> njī<sup>2</sup>* 級級形孃孃花綵綵; Ch. *Fān-Hàn Héshí Zhǎngzhōngzhū* 番漢合時掌中珠),<sup>2</sup> the Tibetan glosses<sup>3</sup> in these fragments provide straightforward information on the pronunciation of Tangut characters, and play a key role in the phonological reconstruction of the extinct Tangut language.

One of the first researchers of these fragments was Nikolai (Nicolas) Aleksandrovich Nevsky (Николай Александрович Невский; Niè Lìshān 聶歷山, Niè Sīkè 聶斯克; 1892–1937), a prominent Russian Orientalist and Tangutologist, who is forever remembered for his groundbreaking contribution to the study and decipherment of the extinct medieval Tangut language and script. His first printed work in the field of Tangut studies, *A Brief Manual of the Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions*, published in 1926 in Japan, was based on these fragments. In this work Nevsky provided a vocabulary of 334 Tangut characters accompanied with their corresponding Tibetan phonetic glosses, extracted from seven fragments known to him at that time.

The 1926 manual was just a preliminary attempt in Nevsky’s decipherment of the mentioned fragments. In 1929 he has compiled another work of the same nature, which can be considered an “extended manual,” since it contained more than 500 Tangut characters with Tibetan phonetic glosses expanding his “brief manual,” or it can be viewed as “Materials for a Tangut ideographic dictionary,”<sup>4</sup> as Nevsky referred to it in his private correspon-

<sup>1</sup> These fragments are now preserved in two collections. 22 larger fragments and five small pieces of them are held in the Tangut Collection (Ru. *Тангутский фонд*) of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS) at Saint Petersburg. The British Library in London also holds five fragments. As we have already reported in 2009 (see ZAYTSEV 2009), two small fragments which were originally in the Russian collection have been lost, and only photographs of them belonging to N.A. Nevsky are preserved among his archive materials kept in his fond (Ru. *фонд* “archival collection”) in the Archive of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (f. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181). Photographic copies of these photographs are held in the British Library as well. As shown in this paper, photographic copies of four photographs are also preserved in Japan.

<sup>2</sup> The reconstructed pronunciation of Tangut characters in this paper is based on the scheme of GONG 2003: 602–605, with long vowels represented by double letters, and tense vowels represented by an underlined letter.

<sup>3</sup> Phonetic glosses in Tibetan writing are also called “Tibetan transcription(s)” in previous studies.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. materials for a dictionary of Tangut ideographs or characters.

dence. Unfortunately, the publication of this work was never carried out. The whereabouts of the manuscript became unknown as well. Subsequently, the original 1926 manual continued to be the sole reliable source of Tibetan phonetic glosses for Tangut characters for more than 80 years, especially for scholars outside of Russia.

This article is an investigation into the fate of this lost work prepared by Nevsky and a report on its re-discovery. A search for this manual led us to Nevsky's notebooks and photographic copies of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses from the Ishihama Collection (Jp. *Ishihama bunko* 石濱文庫) of the Osaka University Library, which were little known among present-day Tangut scholars. Although a more comprehensive index of Tibetan phonetic glosses has already been made available, the 1929 extended manual is still valuable in many respects. First of all, its contents may provide insight into the early discovery and photocopying of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses in the Russian Collection. Furthermore, it can also be a good source for cross-checking the readings of Tibetan glosses in fragments which are often illegible. This extended manual bears witness not only to the pioneering effort of Nevsky, but also to the collaboration and friendship between Nevsky and the Japanese scholar Ishihama Juntarō (石濱純太郎; 1888–1968), another legend in the academic history of Tangut studies who should be commemorated.

## 2. Nevsky's study of Tangut language and script in Japan

Nevsky was a Japanologist by his initial training. After graduation in 1914 from Saint Petersburg Imperial University with a specialization in Japanese and Chinese languages, he was sent to Japan in 1915 to continue studying the Japanese language. However, he was not able to return on schedule due to the revolution and civil war in Russia. He continued to stay in Japan as a result and found a teaching position in the Otaru Higher Commercial School (Jp. *Otaru kōtō shōgyō gakkō* 小樽高等商業學校). At the end of March 1922,<sup>5</sup> he moved to Osaka, and joined the Department of Russian at the Osaka School of Foreign Languages (Jp. *Ōsaka gaikokugo gakkō* 大阪外國語學校) established in December of the previous year. With the move to Osaka, his academic environment changed as well, but little did he know how his academic life would change in just a few years.

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<sup>5</sup> SAWADA 2013: 33.

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On 28 April 1922, Nevsky met Ishihama Juntarō for the first time when the latter was on his way home from the school.<sup>6</sup> Back then, Ishihama was studying the basics of Mongolian and Tibetan languages in the Mongolian Department of the Osaka School of Foreign Languages, that he entered on 8 April of the same year as “a commissioned student of an elective course” (Jp. *senka itakusei* 選科委託生).<sup>7</sup> Later on, Nevsky and Ishihama became close friends and their academic activities were often collaborative (see Section 4 below).

Among other things, Ishihama was interested to some extent in the Tangut language “from the beginning.” By the time he met Nevsky, he had already published two overview articles on available Tangut materials, with a third one published in November 1922 (see Section 4). Due to lack of materials, Ishihama did not go deeper into the subject, but he repeatedly incited Nevsky to start his research in this field. Eventually, Nevsky decided to give it a try and borrowed literature or documents (Jp. *bunken* 文獻) from Ishihama’s collection for studying.<sup>8</sup> Thus, it was definitely Ishihama Juntarō who persuaded Nevsky to get involved in Tangut studies.<sup>9</sup> As Ishihama would later write in a letter to V.M. Alekseyev (Василий Михайлович Алексеев; 1881–1951), Nevsky “began to study the Xi Xia [Tangut] script under my guidance, but what happened to him was the very thing that the Chinese Xun-zi [荀子] says in his famous saying, ‘blue [dye] comes from the indigo [plant], but it is bluer than indigo [青出於藍，而勝於藍].’”<sup>10</sup>

According to Nevsky’s letter to the Austrian scholar Erwin von Zach (1872–1942) of 7 February 1929, by that time he had been studying the Tangut language “for no more than five or six years, intermittently and in the absence of material.”<sup>11</sup> If so, this indicates that he yielded to Ishihama’s persuasions and began his research in 1923–1924.

<sup>6</sup> Ishihama’s diary entry, cited from OKAZAKI 1979: 1386.

<sup>7</sup> *Tōyōgaku ronsō* 1958: 年譜略, 5–6; *OGDFT* 1979: 序, 年譜略.

<sup>8</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: 69–70; 1943: 194–195.

<sup>9</sup> These facts were first outlined by Japanese scholar and Nevsky’s biographer Ikuta Michiko (IKUTA 2013). We came to the same conclusions independently.

<sup>10</sup> Ishihama Juntarō’s letter to V.M. Alekseyev, 7 November 1934 (SPBF ARAN, f. 820, op. 3, ed. khr. 385), cited from GROMKOVSKAYA 1963: 51. The original letter was written in English, which we were unable to consult in time for this publication. Here we give a back translation from the Russian translation. The source of the Russian translation is prompted to us by Ikuta (IKUTA 2013: 47, note 20).

<sup>11</sup> Only two excerpts of Nevsky’s letter of 7 February 1929 are published (GROMKOVSKAYA & KYCHANOV 1978: 157–158, 178). No addressee is given in the text. The publishers suggested that it might have been addressed to A.A. Dragunov (1900–1955), but from Erwin

Nevsky and Ishihama began to gather Tangut materials that were desperately lacking. Photocopies of many of them were sent to Nevsky from Russia, with the help of Alekseyev and S.F. Oldenburg (Сергей Фёдорович Ольденбург; 1863–1934). However, this supply of photocopies was organized later and took place regularly from 1927 to 1929.

In 1925, during his summer vacation, Nevsky travelled to China. The exact reasons for this trip are unknown, but he was already interested in Tangut studies and definitely planned to obtain necessary materials.<sup>12</sup> Some of his meetings in Beijing at that time are known to us. In particular, he met with the Sinologist B.A. Vasilyev (Борис Александрович Васильев; 1899–1937),<sup>13</sup> and with Nevsky's former professor of Japanese, the Tangutologist A.I. Ivanov (Алексей Иванович Иванов; Үї Fènggè 伊鳳閣; 1878–1937).<sup>14</sup> The last meeting was fruitful and significant, and could certainly be the main reason for Nevsky's trip. Professor E.I. Kychanov suggested that “probably under Ivanov's influence, Nevsky decided to devote himself to the study of Tangut texts.”<sup>15</sup> We suppose that Nevsky may have been strengthened in his desire to study the Tangut language and script after discussions with Ivanov, but as mentioned above, he came to Beijing already inspired by Ishihama.

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von Zach's letter to Nevsky dated 15 January 1929 (IKUTA 2016: 177), it becomes evident that Nevsky's reply was addressed to him. As far as we are aware, this fact has not been determined in previous studies (see, for example, IKUTA 2013: 42).

<sup>12</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: 70; 1943: 195.

<sup>13</sup> See: NEVSKY 1928: 41; 1960: I–106.

<sup>14</sup> Nevsky is also believed to have met the Chinese historian and poet Wáng Guówéi (王國維; 1877–1927) in Beijing (GROMKOVSKAYA & KYCHANOV 1978: 158). He actually planned this visit and obtained in Japan letters of recommendation from Naitō Torajirō (内藤虎次郎; commonly known as Naitō Konan 内藤湖南; 1866–1934) and Kano Naoki (狩野直喜; 1868–1947). However, hot weather and Nevsky's workload, as well as his subsequent cold, postponed the visit. One day Nevsky came to Wáng's residence at Tsinghua University outside of Beijing, but he was not at home. Nevsky waited for his return for about three hours, playing with his children, but then returned to the city because of a rising fever (NEVSKY 1927: 58–59). On the next day, 29 August 1925, Wáng Guówéi, who also had a cold that day, instructed Wú Mì (吳宓; 1894–1978), director of the Tsinghua Academy of Chinese Learning, to go to Nevsky's apartment to apologize. From Wú's published diary we learn that Nevsky lived at the Beijing Apartments (北京公寓) on Rice Market Street in Dongcheng District of Beijing (東城米市大街). Wú presented him with the Academy's Constitution (研究院章程) and the journal *Critical Review* (Ch. *Xué Héng* 學衡). The conversation continued for two hours. Wú recorded in his diary later: “Nevsky studies Oriental texts and folklore. Recently he has been studying Xixia [Tangut] texts, tending to carry out textual research, but he is very fond of old China” (WÚ 1998: 63; SĀNG 1999: 64). Nevsky had no further chance to meet Wáng Guówéi, as he returned by ship to Japan shortly thereafter (NEVSKY 1927: 59).

<sup>15</sup> KYCHANOV 1995: 42.

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According to Nevsky, during their meeting, Ivanov showed him three Tangut dictionaries and seven photographs of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses.<sup>16</sup> As Ivanov reported in his article, which came out between 1924 and 1925, these fragments were found among paper layers of a book's cover (Ch. *shūtào* 書套).<sup>17</sup> Later Nevsky, referring to Ivanov, stated that these fragments were found by Wł. Kotwicz (Владислав Людвигович Котвич; 1872–1944) “in the binding of a Si-hia book,”<sup>18</sup> undoubtedly when the latter was working with Tangut materials in Saint Petersburg.

Nevsky recognized, based on Tibetan phonetic glosses, that one of the fragments was a 7-character *gāthā* (*śloka*), about 12 stanzas in total, ending with rhymes in the vowel *-i*. In another fragment, he found the Tibetan terms *āli* and *kāli*, suggesting that the content of this Tangut fragment could be a translated version of a Tibetan *śabdavidyā* text (“a fragment of some Buddhist grammatical text, which <...> is a translation from Tibetan”). Although Nevsky did not specify which fragments he was referring to, after analyzing his descriptions with the texts of known fragments, V.P. Zaytsev concluded that the one ending with rhyming vowel *-i* etc. is the fragment currently kept under pressmark Tang. 1075/Fr. 2, while the fragment containing the terms *āli* (Tg. *ā lji²* 𑖠𑖩𑖪𑖫) and *kāli* (Tg. *kjaa¹ lji²* 𑖠𑖩𑖪𑖫) is Tang. 1075/Fr. 5(10), in which the two terms are found in the first line.<sup>19</sup> As for other specimens, written “in still smaller characters,” Nevsky suggested that they were probably fragments of a *śāstra* or *śāstras*.<sup>20</sup>

On this occasion, Nevsky copied “all the texts (a total of 7)” from Ivanov's photographs,<sup>21</sup> and brought them back to Japan. He made a brief speech based on research of these materials at the Osaka Asiatic Society of the Osaka School of Foreign Languages. Then, at the request of the Society, he prepared a preliminary and “unfinished” (in terms of his long-term research plan) work which was sent back to the Society for publication.<sup>22</sup> As a result, this work, entitled *A Brief Manual of the Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions* (Jp. *Seizō moji taishō Seika moji shōran* 西藏文字對照西夏文字抄覽), was published by the Society on 15 March 1926.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> NEVSKY 1926: XVIII and 1960: I-163; 1928: 27 and 1960: I-95.

<sup>17</sup> IVANOV 1923 (actually printed between December 1924 and February 1925): 681–682.

<sup>18</sup> NEVSKY 1926: XIX; 1960: I-163.

<sup>19</sup> ZAYTSEV 2019.

<sup>20</sup> NEVSKY 1926: XVIII–XIX and 1960: I-163; 1931: 17 and 1960: I-27.

<sup>21</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 16; 1932: 396; 1960: I-27.

<sup>22</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 16–17; 1932: 396–397; 1960: I-27–28.

<sup>23</sup> NEVSKY 1926.

The work is preceded by three prefaces: the first, dated 15 January 1926 (大正 15 年), by Nakanome Akira (中目覺), the president of the Osaka Asiatic Society and the Osaka School of Foreign Languages; the second, dated 29 November 1925 (大正 14 年), by Ishihama Juntarō; and, the third, dated December 1925, by Nevsky.<sup>24</sup> In this manual Nevsky provided some kind of a glossary, a clear and detailed list of 334 Tangut characters, that is, 306 identified and 28 unidentified (“dubious”) ones, and their corresponding Tibetan phonetic glosses. He also briefly discussed the spelling of Tibetan phonetic glosses. For example, he suggested that both *ld-* and *zl-* in Tibetan phonetic glosses represented the same sound.<sup>25</sup>

Unfortunately, apart from the very brief descriptions of some linguistic facts that we have given above, Nevsky did not name in any way the seven texts that he copied from Ivanov’s photographs and used in his work. He also did not provide a single “address” in his examples (i.e. the source text and the place in it from which this or that Tangut character and its Tibetan phonetic gloss(es) were taken). For this reason, it was difficult to verify Nevsky’s data for a long time because it was not known where exactly it came from. In addition, it was not known which seven fragments were in Ivanov’s possession, and this represented a particular problem for previous studies of these fragments (cf. TAI 2008: 238–331). V.P. Zaytsev made a comparative analysis of the texts of all existing fragments and 334 characters with their corresponding Tibetan phonetic glosses included in Nevsky’s manual, and convincingly showed that the seven texts copied by Nevsky were undoubtedly Tang. 1075/Fr. 2, Fr. 1(6), Fr. 2(7), Fr. 3(8), Fr. 4(9), Fr. 5(10), Fr. 11(16). All the “dubious” characters and exact locations of all 334 characters included in the manual have been identified as well.<sup>26</sup>

Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) reviewed Nevsky’s work soon after its publication. In his review, Pelliot mentioned that the British Museum also preserved several fragments of the same kind.<sup>27</sup> After learning this news, Nevsky immediately wrote to Lionel David Barnett (1871–1960), the keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Museum, requesting a copy of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses in their keeping.<sup>28</sup> However, according to Nevsky, the reply of 29 April 1927 he received from Barnett was “far from reassuring.” Indeed

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<sup>24</sup> NEVSKY 1926: I–II; ISHIHAMA 1926; NEVSKY 1926: XVIII–XXIX.

<sup>25</sup> NEVSKY 1926: XXV.

<sup>26</sup> ZAYTSEV 2019.

<sup>27</sup> PELLIOT 1926: 401–402.

<sup>28</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 17–18; 1932: 397; 1960: I–28.

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his request was formally turned down. The reason given by Barnett was that the fragments were the property of the Indian Government and were only temporarily deposited at the museum. Almost at the same time with his letter to Barnett, Nevsky wrote to S.F. Oldenburg, and to V.M. Alekseyev, at that time the senior curator of the Museum, with similar requests. The responses from both were encouraging, and thus Nevsky received two sets of photographs with images of 18 fragments in total.<sup>29</sup> The first parcel with 5 photographs was sent to Nevsky on 9 March 1927,<sup>30</sup> the second with 9 photographs was sent only a few years later and received on 15 January 1929.<sup>31</sup> We have yet to determine which of the 19 photographs of the Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses available among Nevsky's archival papers these 14 correspond to, and where the additional 5 photographs came from.<sup>32</sup>

At the end of 1928, probably in October, a photograph of a Tangut fragment with Tibetan phonetic glosses "K.K.II.0234.k" (now Or. 12380/1842) from the British Collection was published in *Innermost Asia* with the romanization of Tibetan characters printed on a translucent paper covering the photograph.<sup>33</sup> This decipherment (reading of Tibetan glosses) was prepared by Berthold Laufer (1874–1934). At that time Nevsky was compiling a more comprehensive manual of Tangut characters and their Tibetan phonetic glosses, based on the photographs of 18 Russian fragments he received from the Asiatic Museum. After the publication of the fragment Or. 12380/1842, he included it into his project as well, raising the total number of fragments to 19.<sup>34</sup> Strictly speaking, it is not known when exactly Nevsky could become acquainted with Stein's *Innermost Asia*, in other words, when the new British publication reached Japan and became available to him. Considering that Nevsky received photographs of the remaining unstudied Russian fragments in January 1929 (see above), this could have happened either shortly before or after that, and thus could have affected the order in which he worked with the texts. Here we follow the chronology of events outlined by Nevsky himself in the 1931 article that we cite. In any case, his

<sup>29</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 397; 1960: I–28.

<sup>30</sup> S.F. Oldenburg's letter to N.A. Nevsky, 9 March 1927, published in IKUTA 2016: 179–180.

<sup>31</sup> N.A. Nevsky's letter to V.M. Alekseyev, 19 January 1929 (IOM RAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 4).

<sup>32</sup> IOM RAS ARCHIVE. F. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181.

<sup>33</sup> STEIN 1928: III-Plate CXXXIV. It was the first published photograph of a Tangut fragment with Tibetan phonetic glosses.

<sup>34</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 398; 1960: I–29.



work with these 19 fragments probably had to be done in an expedited manner in order to have time to process them all before leaving Japan in September 1929 (see below).

### 3. Nevsky's research shortly before leaving Japan

In the last one to two years of his stay in Japan, Nevsky dedicated himself “like a madman” (Jp. マルデ狂人の様で) to the study of the Tangut language.<sup>35</sup> By analyzing and studying the 19 available fragments, Nevsky collected more than 500 Tangut characters and their corresponding Tibetan phonetic glosses. The characters were arranged according to initial strokes and supplied with Chinese equivalents. Their meanings were confirmed by examples from Tangut works.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, at the end of 1928, due to “invitations, persuasions, and efforts” of N.I. Konrad (Николай Иосифович Конрад; 1891–1970) and V.M. Alekseyev, Nevsky decided to leave Japan for his new “former” life in Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg). In early September of 1929, before leaving Japan,<sup>37</sup> his “list” (Ru. *список*) of more than 500 Tangut characters with Tibetan phonetic glosses was ready for printing and “was passed to the Tōyō Bunko library (Jp. 東洋文庫) in Tokyo, which promised (him) to publish it.”<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, Nevsky gives only a very brief account of this

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<sup>35</sup> ISHIMAMA 1935: 72–73; 1943: 198.

<sup>36</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 397–398; 1960: I–28–29.

<sup>37</sup> Nevsky left Japan on 7 September 1929, arrived in Vladivostok on 9 September, and came to Moscow on 19 September (SAWADA 2013: 33; KATŌ 1976: 358). On 25 September in the apartment of V.M. Alekseyev in Leningrad his disciples organized an evening party in honour of Nevsky, “Satyricon by [J.K.] Shchutsky and [B.A.] Vasilyev” (BANKOVSKAYA 1992: 105). Nevsky’s second wife Mantani (Yorozuya) Isoko (萬谷磯子; 1901–1937; known as Mantani Iso 萬谷イソ and Mantani Kyokuren 萬谷旭輦) and daughter Elena (Eren 惠蓮; b. 1928) did not join him until 1933 (GROMKOVSKAYA & KYCHANOV 1978: 183–185).

<sup>38</sup> The original Russian text says, “Присоединив к своему списку из данного листа новые идеографы, я получил свыше 500 тангутских знаков с тибетской транскрипцией. Список их был приготовлен к печати и перед моим отъездом из Японии, осенью 1929 г., был передан библиотеке Тōyō-bunko (в Токио), которая обещала мне его издать” (NEVSKY 1931: 18; cf. NEVSKY 1960: I–29; underlined by us). Nevsky used the verb of perfective aspect “передать” (“to pass,” “to hand over,” “to hand,” “to transfer” etc.) that can be understood here in at least two ways: (1) the work has already been given to the Tōyō Bunko; (2) the work has already been handed over to someone to be taken to the Tōyō Bunko. Although the first meaning seems preferable to us, as will be shown below, this sentence could mean the help of someone else, but this help could be perceived by Nevsky as an accomplished fact or a fact that would certainly happen, and therefore, perhaps, the details were not indicated.

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“list” in his article *Outline of the History of Tangut Studies* (1931) that we cited above, from which it is difficult to get an idea of what exactly it represented. However, there are other documentary pieces of evidence.

Recently discovered correspondence, originally kept, most likely, in V.M. Alekseyev’s home archive, provides us with more information on this matter.<sup>39</sup> From two Nevsky’s letters, one to Alekseyev, and the other to J.K. Shchutsky (Юлиан Константинович Щуцкий; 1897–1938), we learn that Nevsky was constantly supplementing his “far from complete” “Tangut ideographic dictionary” with new Tangut characters, which he extracted from a variety of newly analyzed texts. As early as March 1929,<sup>40</sup> he was “hastily putting [this dictionary] into a decent shape” in order to submit it for publication as “Materials for a Tangut ideographic dictionary” (Ru. *Матерьялы для тангутского идеографического словаря*) or as “Materials for a Tangut dictionary” (Ru. *Матерьялы для тангутского словаря*).<sup>41</sup> According to the letters, the Tōyō Bunko library had already promised him to publish it. In addition, Nevsky hoped that “the Tōyō Bunko, headed by Professor Shiratori [Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉; 1865–1942], would not back down and would undertake the publication of these materials.”<sup>42</sup> These details suggest that much more was intended to be printed than just a “list” of Tangut characters with Tibetan phonetic glosses. However, either the situation changed and the work was shortened to cover only a limited set

<sup>39</sup> The letters were discovered by S.L. Shevelchinskaya, a photographer at the IOM RAS at that time, among the archival papers of the academician B.L. Riftin (Борис Львович Рифтин; 1932–2012) in 2015. The discovery was brought to light by our colleague K.M. Bogdanov in his report “Research of the Tangut Collection of the IOM RAS in the letters of N.A. Nevsky and E. von Zach to V.M. Alekseyev (Based on the materials of the Archive of Orientalists of the IOM RAS)” (in Russian) at the Tenth All-Russian Orientalist Seminar in Memory of O.O. Rosenberg (Saint Petersburg, 28–29 November 2016).

In total, there are seven letters in the collection (the following description is ours): 1) from Erwin von Zach to V.M. Alekseyev, 25 September 1928 (includes a folio with a decipherment of the beginning of the 50th chapter of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* in Tangut done by Zach), in English; 2–4) from N.A. Nevsky to V.M. Alekseyev, 19 January 1929 (the letter’s ending is missing), 24 February 1929, 10 March 1929; 5) from N.A. Nevsky to J.K. Shchutsky, 19 March 1929; 6) from O[reste] V. Pletner to V.M. Alekseyev, undated (not earlier than March 1925); 7) from Ishihama Juntarō to J.K. Shchutsky (Chū Ziqì 楚紫氣), 5 June [1929] (the year is identified by the postage stamp on the envelope), in Japanese (IOM RAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386).

<sup>40</sup> Two letters we rely on are dated 10 March (to V.M. Alekseyev) and 19 March 1929 (to J.K. Shchutsky).

<sup>41</sup> The quotation marks here were added by Nevsky and indicate a title.

<sup>42</sup> IOM RAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 10–11, f. 13–13 verso.

of characters, or Nevsky did not find it necessary to tell Alekseyev and Shchutsky about his plan in full detail.

Apparently the second assumption is likely correct, because one month earlier, on 7 February 1929, Nevsky wrote more definitely in his letter to Erwin von Zach, “I am currently preparing a second edition of this book, which will be supplemented with a host of new ideographs (explained by examples) and to which will be appended photographs of the texts.”<sup>43</sup> The “book” here refers to *A Brief Manual of the Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions* (1926) that Zach requested from Nevsky.<sup>44</sup> The book was sent to Zach.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, Nevsky’s new study was a continuation, a second expanded edition, of the work that he had done earlier and published as a “brief manual” in 1926.<sup>46</sup> This allows us to call this work an “extended manual” in our study. At the same time, it certainly can also be called “Materials for a Tangut ideographic dictionary,” since that is exactly what this work *is* by its nature, and that is how the author called it. It is also worth mentioning that Ishihama Juntarō referred to these materials as “glossary of Tangut transcriptions” (Jp. *Seika taion jii* 西夏對音字彙)<sup>47</sup> (see Section 4 below).

Publication of this work would provide much more comprehensive information about Tangut phonology. Unfortunately, it was never published and its manuscript could only be considered definitely lost before our investigation. Moreover, as far as we know, the existence of this work by Nevsky (that ended up somewhere in the Tōyō Bunko or, rather, in Japan, and is apparently known only from one short paragraph of Russian text where it was mentioned casually) did not attract any attention of scholars before, except for a citation of Nevsky’s account about it.<sup>48</sup>

In the Soviet Union Nevsky continued his work on the Tibetan phonetic glosses for Tangut characters, and on Tangut manuscripts in general, as well as his work on Ainu folktales and the aboriginal Tsou language spoken on the island of Taiwan. His tragic death in November 1937 was a great loss for Oriental studies. He left a sizeable Tangut-Chinese-Russian-English dictio-

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<sup>43</sup> N.A. Nevsky’s letter to Erwin von Zach, 7 February 1929, cited from GROMKOVSKAYA & KYCHANOV 1978: 178. See commentary on this letter above (note 11).

<sup>44</sup> Erwin von Zach’s letter to N.A. Nevsky, 15 January 1929, published in IKUTA 2016: 177.

<sup>45</sup> N.A. Nevsky’s letter to V.M. Alekseyev, 24 February 1929 (IOMRAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 7–7 verso).

<sup>46</sup> Cf.: NEVSKY 1960: I–169.

<sup>47</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: 72; 1943: 198.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example: GORBACHEVA 1959: 166; NEVSKY 1960: I–169.

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nary of Tangut characters, which was published posthumously as a facsimile of his handwritten manuscript under the title of *Tangut Philology*.<sup>49</sup> He also left many other works and documents, which are now in the Archive of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The extended manual, however, was gradually forgotten.

#### 4. Friendship between Nevsky and Ishihama

In September 2009, two authors of this paper met briefly in Saint Petersburg and decided to conduct a thorough review of all Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses. From 7 to 11 September 2009, we worked together with original Tangut fragments and Nevsky's archival materials at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts. Then, the 1929 work by Nevsky came to our attention. The most reasonable guess, of course, was that the manuscript was still kept somewhere in the Tōyō Bunko. In order to trace the manuscript of this work, our colleague V.V. Shchepkin of IOM RAS, at the request of V.P. Zaytsev, helped search for it during his academic trip in Japan. Shchepkin looked for this manuscript when he visited the Tōyō Bunko on 17 January 2014, but he could not find it. On the same day at the library he communicated with Shinozaki Yōko (篠崎陽子), research fellow of the Tōyō Bunko, who then looked into this issue. On 6 February 2014, Shinozaki replied to Shchepkin by email that there was no such extended manual or dictionary in the Tōyō Bunko. She further pointed out that if this Nevsky's manuscript had been indeed in the Tōyō Bunko, it would have been known to Nishida Tatsuo (西田龍雄; 1928–2012), who has worked closely with the library for many years.

Nishida has conducted detailed surveys on the literature of Tangut studies. In his pathbreaking work on Tangut phonology, he highly praised Nevsky's (1926) brief manual of Tibetan phonetic glosses as a "leap forward" in the research on Tangut language.<sup>50</sup> If Nishida had ever seen the manuscript of Nevsky's 1929 extended manual, it would have been quite unimaginable for him to ignore it. Yet, he has never mentioned the existence of such a work.

Shinozaki also drew our attention to the papers published by Ishihama Juntaarō in the 1930s and 1940s. Ishihama was a native of Osaka and an active scholar of Classical Chinese studies. He was also keen on the study of

<sup>49</sup> NEVSKY 1960.

<sup>50</sup> NISHIDA 1964: 8.

Dunhuang manuscripts and is acknowledged as the first scholar to adopt the term “Dunhuangology” (Jp. *Tonkōgaku* 敦煌學).<sup>51</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that he was greatly interested in Tangut manuscripts at the same time. As shown above, Ishihama had been involved in Tangut studies even earlier than Nevsky. Ishihama published an overview of Tangut discoveries made by Kozlov in 1915, a short paper *A Brief Note on Tangutology* in 1920, and “more notes” on Tangutology in 1922.<sup>52</sup> In his 1920 paper, he commented on the discovery of the Tangut-Chinese bilingual glossary *Pearl in the Palm*, as well as other documents, in the Russian Collection. It was also the first time that the concept of “Tangutology” (Jp. *Seikagaku* 西夏學) was ever proposed. However, Ishihama did not pursue his research further in this field at that time due to lack of materials.<sup>53</sup> Later events have already been outlined: Ishihama persuaded Nevsky to take up Tangut studies and they started working together (see Section 2).

Nevsky called Ishihama “*ōpyz*”<sup>54</sup> and even “my only close friend” (Jp. *yuiitsu no shin'yū* 唯一の親友),<sup>55</sup> and Ishihama called him “*tomodachi* 友達” or “*tomo* 友.”<sup>56</sup> Both words, literally meaning “friend,” can indicate a deeper spiritual connection with the speaker.<sup>57</sup> Ishihama wrote the preface when Nevsky published *A Brief Manual of the Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions* in 1926.<sup>58</sup> They also collaborated on the Tangut translation of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, *Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva Pūrvapraṇidhāna Sūtra*, *Tripitaka*, and the comparison of Tangut, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.<sup>59</sup> They also studied together the Tangut-Chinese dictionary *Pearl in the Palm*, a fragment of the *Jñānolka-dhāraṇī* in Khotanese, the problem of naming the Tangut state,

<sup>51</sup> WANG 2000.

<sup>52</sup> ISHIHAMA 1915; 1920; 1922.

<sup>53</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: 69; 1943: 194.

<sup>54</sup> NEVSKY 1931: 21, 1932: 400, 1960: I–31.

<sup>55</sup> N.A. Nevsky’s letter to Ishihama Juntarō, 8 October [1930], published in IKUTA 2003: 154–155. This fact was first pointed out by Ikuta Michiko, the publisher of the cited letter (IKUTA 2013: 44).

<sup>56</sup> NEVSKY & ISHIHAMA 1933: 101; ISHIHAMA 1935: 61, 69.

<sup>57</sup> On the Russian concept *ōpyz* see: WIERZBICKA 1997: 59–65. Definitely, it can be translated as “*friend*” into English, but the notion of friend in Russian culture is somewhat different. For example, naming someone “*ōpyz*” in a Russian text can express a closer “spiritual” relationship with this individual (for the person using this word) than the one conveyed by the word “*friend*” in the English translation of the same text.

<sup>58</sup> ISHIHAMA 1926.

<sup>59</sup> NEVSKY & ISHIHAMA 1927a; 1927b; 1929 and 1932a; 1932b.

and a chapter from the Tangut translation of the *Mahāvaiṣṭya Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*.<sup>60</sup> The last work was written in collaboration with Hirose Toku (廣瀬督), a person about whom we could find almost no information in the literature. In total, Nevsky and Ishihama published eight papers together. Nevsky also shared the photographs of Tangut materials received from Russia with Ishihama (cf. Section 5). Here we should note that after Nevsky's tragic death in 1937, Ishihama seems to have withdrawn from Tangut studies and published only a few minor papers in this field.<sup>61</sup>

In August 1935, Ishihama published a paper *A Talk on the Tangut Language Studies* dated March of the same year.<sup>62</sup> According to this "talk," Nevsky had entrusted the extended manual of Tibetan phonetic glosses for Tangut characters ("glossary of Tangut transcriptions") to Ishihama before he left Japan. Ishihama felt the responsibility to proofread it before submitting it to the Tōyō Bunko for publication. However, the work was delayed. Thus, Ishihama kept the manuscript at least until 1935, and he was uncomfortable with this delay.<sup>63</sup> This statement about not submitting the manual was retained when Ishihama republished his papers in 1943.<sup>64</sup> If the manuscript had already been submitted at that time, maybe a note would have been added. Therefore, the manuscript was probably still in Ishihama's keeping at that time.

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<sup>60</sup> NEVSKY & ISHIHAMA 1930; 1932c; 1933 (cf. NEVSKY 1933); NEVSKY, ISHIHAMA & HIROSE 1933.

<sup>61</sup> ISHIHAMA 1942; 1952, 1956.

<sup>62</sup> According to the author's note in the end, this paper is a summary of the lecture given at the linguistic colloquium (Jp. *Gengogaku danwakai* 言語學談話會) of Kyoto Imperial University on 6 May 1933. Roughly the same lectures were repeated by Ishihama on a number of different occasions, for instance at the Association for Linguistic Study of Sacred Scriptures (Jp. *Seitengo gakkai* 聖典語學會) of the Otani University on 11 October 1933, at the Osaka Asiatic Society (Jp. *Ōsaka Tōyō gakkai* 大阪東洋學會) of the Osaka School of Foreign Languages on 17 October 1933, and at the cultural lectures (Jp. *Bunka kōza* 文化講座) in the Senju-ji (Jp. 専修寺), the head temple of the Takada branch of the Shinshū school, in early August of 1934. Despite additions and revisions made to the later lectures depending on time and place, the summary was mainly based on the first one. To be precise, only the endnote is dated March 1935 (ISHIHAMA 1935: 79–80; 1943: 207–208).

<sup>63</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: 72–73.

<sup>64</sup> ISHIHAMA 1943: 198–199. This work was translated into Chinese as well, see ISHIHAMA 1947.

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## 5. Photographs of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses

So, where has the manuscript been? After Ishihama passed away on 11 February 1968, his collection was donated to the library of Osaka University of Foreign Studies (Jp. *Ōsaka gaikokugo daigaku fuzoku toshokan* 大阪外国語大学附属図書館), the successor of Osaka School of Foreign Languages, forming the Ishihama Collection (Jp. *Ishihama Bunko* 石濱文庫). The collection was moved to the Osaka University Main Library (widely known as the Osaka University Library) in 2014 after the consolidation of Osaka University of Foreign Studies with Osaka University in 2007.<sup>65</sup> If Ishihama has all along kept the manuscript of the extended manual, it would be most likely preserved in the Ishihama Collection.

Another possibility is the Kansai University Library. Ishihama and his family had close connections with the Classical Chinese learning academy Hakuen Shoin (Jp. 泊園書院) in Osaka. In 1948, Ishihama succeeded the academy's previous head Fujisawa Kōha (藤澤黃坡; 1876–1948) after he passed away. The building of the academy was destroyed during the bombing of Osaka in 1945, but the books were preserved. In 1949 Ishihama started to work at Kansai University, which also had close relations with Hakuen Shoin historically. As a result, in 1951 he decided to donate the collection of Hakuen Shoin to Kansai University, which became the Hakuen Collection (Jp. *Hakuen Bunko* 泊園文庫) at the Kansai University Library.<sup>66</sup> Considering the connection between Ishihama, the Hakuen Collection and the Kansai University, it could not be ruled out that the Kansai University Library preserved the Nevsky's 1929 extended manual.

However, after a preliminary exploration of these two collections, it became clear that the Ishihama Collection in the Osaka University Library was more promising. Most items in the Hakuen Collection are Chinese and Japanese classics. The few items related to Tangut in this collection are the Nevsky's 1926 brief manual,<sup>67</sup> and the papers co-authored by Nevsky and Ishihama.<sup>68</sup> It seems unlikely that this collection may preserve the manuscript of the extended manual.

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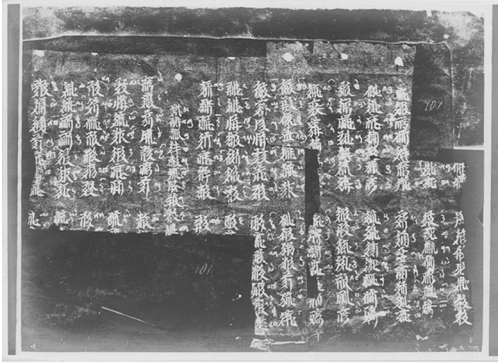
<sup>65</sup> TSUTSUMI 2015: 6.

<sup>66</sup> MEHL 2003: 214–215.

<sup>67</sup> Shelf-marks: LH2\*1.10\*\*68 and LH2\*丙\*83-6\* (LH2/丙 83-6).

<sup>68</sup> TSuboi ED. 1958: 37; AZUMA ED. 2013: 13–17.

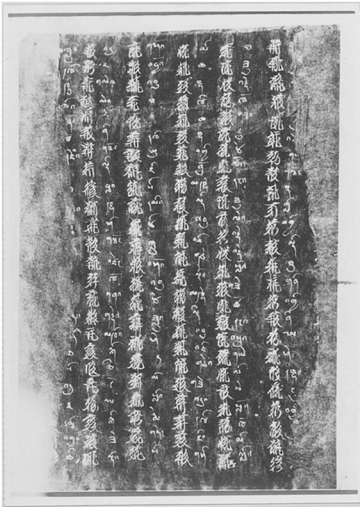
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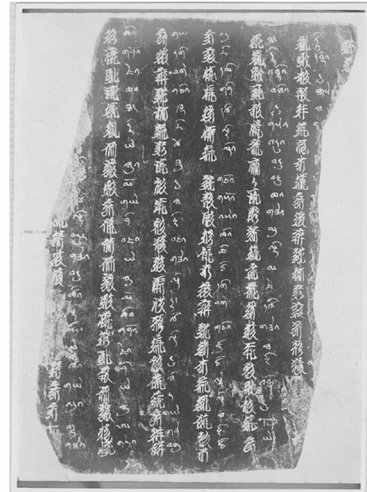
a



b



c



d

Pl. 1. Four photographs from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library.  
 Photographic copies of Nevsky's photographs a) no. 7; b) no. 14; c) no. 10; d) no. 11  
 now kept in the IOM RAS Archive (f. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181)

There are two editions of the catalogue for the Ishihama Collection in the Osaka University Library. The first edition published in 1977 contributes nothing to our study. The second edition published in 1979 lists four photographs of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses, which until



now were little known among contemporary Tangut scholars (see Pl. 1).<sup>69</sup> These photographs are obviously related to the photographs Nevsky received from the Asiatic Museum (see Section 2 above). Because the catalogue description of the fragments provides few details, we sent an enquiry to the Osaka University Library on 25 April 2016, and received a reply from Miyaji Kenji (宮地健士), librarian of the library, on 28 April 2016 with digital copies of the recto sides of these photographs.<sup>70</sup> V.P. Zaytsev identified the photographs to be photographic copies of photographs no. 7, 10, 11 and 14 now kept in fond 69 of the IOM RAS Archive.<sup>71</sup> The copies of photographs no. 7, 10, 11 are images of Tang. 1075/Fr. 5A, Fr. 11(16) and Fr. 8(13) respectively and the copy of photo no. 14 contains images of Tang. 1075/Fr. 4(9) and a small piece that is broken off from a larger fragment.

Later, Akamatsu Takemichi (赤松威倫) and Fujie Yūtarō (藤江雄太郎), reference librarians of the same library, kindly observed the verso sides of the photographs in 2016 and 2019 and provided us with additional details.<sup>72</sup> Thus, it is known that the verso sides of the photographs are not numbered. However, on the recto side of the photographic copy of photograph no. 11 there is a note in Japanese “西夏字 右傍西藏字草書体” [Tangut characters. Tibetan characters [in] grass style on the right side].

The photographs are kept inside volume 6 of “Photo Albums of the Ishihama Collection” (Jp. *Ishihama bunko shashinshū* 石濱文庫写真集 第6巻),<sup>73</sup> but it has no assigned shelf-mark or pressmark.

The image of the photographic copy of Nevsky’s photograph no. 7 (i.e. the negative image of Tang. 1075/Fr. 5A) was published by Ishihama in original negative form in 1935 and in inverted positive form in 1943.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *OGDFT* 1977; *OGDFT* 1979: 494. The second catalogue lists the photos and gives their number briefly without providing specific details: 西夏文 (チベット文字表音付) 写真 | 4枚 (IBID.).

<sup>70</sup> Email communication between Tai Chung-pui and the Library, between Miyaji Kenji and Tai Chung-pui, 25 and 28 April 2016. We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Ogawa Tetsuo (小川哲生), director of the Osaka University Library at that time, for issuing the permission (貴重図書特別利用許可書) no. 1605 to use copies of the photographs.

<sup>71</sup> IOMRAS ARCHIVE. F. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181.

<sup>72</sup> Email communication between Akamatsu Takemichi and Tai Chung-pui, 4 August 2016; email communication between Fujie Yūtarō and V.P. Zaytsev, 21 February 2019.

<sup>73</sup> On photograph albums see: TSUTSUMI 2015: 6.

<sup>74</sup> ISHIHAMA 1935: unnumbered plate; 1943: plate [7].

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## 6. The lost extended manual?

The fact that the Ishihama Collection in the Osaka University Library contains four photographs of Tangut fragments with Tibetan phonetic glosses raises the possibility that the library preserves the Nevsky's 1929 extended manual. However, there is no record of such a manual in both editions of the collection catalogue. Replying by email on 4 August 2016, Akamatsu mentioned that Prof. Tsutsumi Kazuaki (堤一昭), professor of the Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University, was commissioned by the library to examine the Ishihama Collection. Following the advice of Tsutsumi, Akamatsu found in the Ishihama Collection some notebooks written by Nevsky on Tangut language, which have not yet been listed in the catalogue. Akamatsu inspected these notebooks and reported that their format seemed to be similar to those facsimiled in *Tangut Philology*,<sup>75</sup> with slanting lines and arrows on some pages. These notebooks are more likely to be personal notes of Nevsky, rather than a manuscript ready for publication.

These notebooks were left out from our study for a while until we re-considered the whole issue. Ishihama took his friendship with Nevsky and the manuscript seriously. Therefore, it would be quite impossible for him to lose the manuscript. Much of his personal collection and the collection of Hakuen Shoin survived the World War II bombing, so the manuscript likely survived the war as well. Ishihama mentioned that the manuscript still needed proofreading before submission, which means the extended manual may be in a format which is still not ready for publication. Therefore, the notebooks of Nevsky in the Ishihama Collection might hold some clues. Nevsky must have had a reason to give these notebooks to Ishihama instead of bringing them to the Soviet Union. It seemed reasonable to infer that these notebooks were the manuscript of the Nevsky's 1929 extended manual.

For this reason, on 12 March 2020 we sent an enquiry to the Osaka University Library again. The librarian Kuboyama Takeshi (久保山健) replied with details on the notebooks. With the exceptional assistance from the library, we obtained 23 photographs of these notebooks taken by Kuboyama and also received approval to use these photographs in our article on 17 July 2020.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> NEVSKY 1960.

<sup>76</sup> Email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and Tai Chung-pui, 12 and 26 March 2020; email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and V.P. Zaytsev, 3 April, 11 May and 17 July 2020.



Pl. 2. Seven Nevsky's notebooks

from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library.

From left to right: Notebook 2 (part 1), 1, 2 (part 2), 4, 3, 5, 6, 7 (by our numeration)

On 17 June 2022, with the help of V.A. Bushmakina, a researcher from Japan and our good friend, we were finally able to see the full contents of each notebook and examine them in detail.

The notebooks (see Pl. 2) are kept in a white paper box originally made for pastry with a label Jp. “*tokusen okashi kinsei* 特撰 御菓子 謹製” [special selection (of) pastry, carefully made]. Handwritten text Jp. “*Nefusuki genkō* ネフスキ原稿” [Nevsky's manuscript] is written in Ishihama's hand next to the label. There is no production year recorded on the box. Also, it is unclear whether this box was originally used when Ishihama received the notebooks or was used for storage sometime later. There are seven notebooks of nearly the same width and height. One notebook is now split into two parts, so the library counts them as eight notebooks, albeit with a question mark. Another one does not have a cover and consists of five quires (gatherings) that are detached from each other. The covers of the other six notebooks are all different (but two of them are designed in the same artistic style), suggesting that they were probably bought on different occasions. These notebooks were evidently kept with care. Even after more than 90 years, the papers are preserved in good condition, without obvious bookworm damage, mould or yellowing.

The notebooks still do not have inventory numbers. By advice of Kuboyama Takeshi they should be referenced as:<sup>77</sup>

A box 「ネフスキ原稿」, 8(?) notebooks inside, 19??  
 大阪大学総合図書館所蔵 (C棟 3F, 書架 3609-E-6).

In the following discussion, we refer to them using numbers, from “notebook 1” to “notebook 7” (see Pl. 2), grouping and ordering them by content.

## 7. Contents of the Nevsky’s notebooks

A comprehensive description of all seven notebooks and their contents will be published as our separate forthcoming paper. Here we will only summarize our general conclusions that we have reached after a detailed study of them in search for an answer to the main question: is there the extended manual among them or not?

Our examination revealed that these seven notebooks can be divided into three categories:

**Category A:** Notebooks 1 and 2 (divided into two parts). A general index or a dictionary of Tangut characters. According to the numbers on their cover pages and the number of strokes of Tangut character radicals in the notebooks, the volumes should be arranged in the following order: notebook 1, notebook 2 (part 1 and then part 2). The text of these two notebooks is one complete work, with all its parts preserved. This is definitely a draft or an early preliminary version of some later manuscript. It seems that Nevsky later copied the content of these notebooks creating a new and more systematic version. In terms of content, this index focuses on Chinese phonetic glosses for Tangut characters from *Pearl in the Palm*, and the corresponding Tangut and Chinese words in Buddhist sūtras. Tibetan phonetic glosses are often missing in these notebooks. Tangut characters are grouped first by the number of strokes of their radicals. Under each radical, the characters seem to be roughly arranged by the number of strokes as well. The entry characters under related (“neighboring”) radicals (e.g., “𑖧” and “𑖨”, “𑖩” and “𑖪”, “𑖫” and “𑖬”, and so on) are often intermixed with each other, so that any formal boundary between such radicals may not be traceable. It is obvious that the notebooks were constantly being updated with new information on listed characters. New ones were being added as

<sup>77</sup> Email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and V.P. Zaytsev, 3 April 2020.

well. Often there was not enough space for them to be properly placed, and they were either written in smaller handwriting between other characters or written at the end of “their” page or somewhere else. Explanations in the entries are written only in Russian, suggesting that they were personal records for Nevsky’s reference.

**Category B:** Notebooks 6 and 7 are also a general dictionary of Tangut characters. The text of these two notebooks is possibly a single work, but it is incomplete. We suppose that there must be a preceding and a following part of it, but it is unknown if Nevsky left them to Ishihama. No such parts have yet been found. Notebook 6 supplements the contents of notebook 7, but the latter was written earlier and was edited from time to time (new information and entries were added and corrections were made). In other words, like the notebooks of category A, notebook 7 was part of a draft version of the dictionary. Notebook 6 was copied directly from some source and was not edited. Since the text of notebook 6 exactly fills in the missing part in notebook 7, we assume that it was copied in order to serve as its supplement.

In comparison with category A, the content of this version is more structured and richer. It is definitely the next stage in the development of Nevsky’s Tangut dictionary. In fact, this version can be regarded as an earlier edition of the published dictionary,<sup>78</sup> since they are close to each other in many respects.

The first two to three lines of the entries contain phonetic glosses in Chinese characters and Tibetan spelling, basic meanings of Tangut characters in Chinese, English or Russian, and categories of initials of Tangut characters. These are followed by word examples from *Pearl in the Palm* and Buddhist sūtras. Tibetan phonetic glosses for Tangut characters are included, but they are not the main focus in this version. Tangut characters without any Tibetan phonetic glosses are also listed in the notebooks, and for entries which have Tibetan phonetic glosses, the information is copied from the 1926 manual.

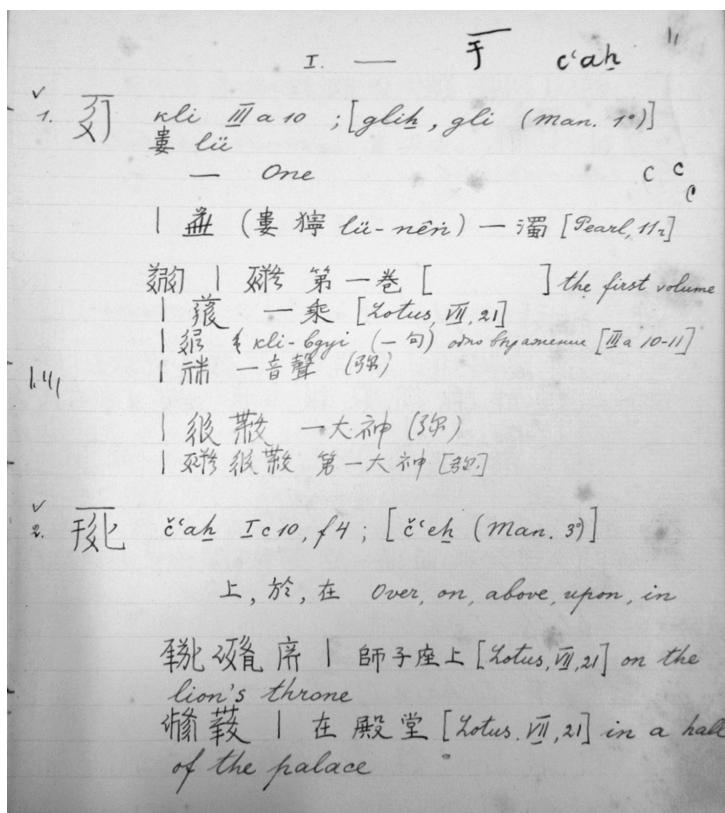
**Category C:** Notebooks 3, 4 and 5. These notebooks are a dictionary of Tangut characters with Tibetan phonetic glosses, supplemented with additional linguistic information. Similar to entries in categories A and B, in these notebooks entries are also arranged by Tangut radicals and number of strokes. Based on the numbering of entries and radicals, the first volume in this set should be notebook 3 (entry numbers 1–116, radicals I “一” – XXIV “𑖇”), followed by notebook 4 (entry numbers 117–211, radicals XXIV “𑖇” – LXXIV “𑖇”), and then notebook 5 (no entry numbers, radicals LXXV “𑖇” –

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<sup>78</sup> NEVSKY 1960.

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CXXX “叢”). The text of these three notebooks is a complete single work, with all its parts preserved. The key characteristic of this work is that only Tangut characters with information on Tibetan phonetic glosses are included. The Tibetan phonetic glosses are listed with indications of their location in the fragments. The records from the 1926 manual are also provided. The entries in notebooks 3 and 4 are numbered, but those in notebook 5 are not. In addition to the Tibetan phonetic glosses, the entries also provide information on phonetic glosses in Chinese characters, categories of initials of Tangut characters, and word samples from *Pearl in the Palm* and Buddhist sūtras. In this set, the explanations are provided in English with some Chinese, and Russian, which suggests that they were meant for a broad international readership. From this description it is already evident that these notebooks were the answer to our question and the goal of our search (see Pl. 3).



Pl. 3. First page of the re-discovered extended manual (Notebook 3, page 3) from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library

## 8. Discussion and conclusions

The different categories of Nevsky's notebooks in the Ishihama Collection clearly show how Nevsky developed his index system for Tangut characters, which later led to the creation of the world-famous and breakthrough Tangut dictionary published posthumously in the renowned *Tangut Philology*.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, the re-discovery of these notebooks is beyond any doubt invaluable for research on the history of Tangut studies and development of modern Tangut lexicography. But are these notebooks the 1929 extended manual (as we proposed to refer to this work) of Tibetan phonetic glosses prepared by Nevsky?

We are almost convinced that only the last category C, that is, the notebooks 3, 4 and 5, can be qualified as such. Moreover, considering all the facts we have laid out in this article, we believe that these three notebooks in the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library are most likely the manuscript we have been looking for, i.e. the manuscript of the extended manual that, as Nevsky wrote in 1931, "was passed to the Tōyō Bunko library in Tokyo, which promised (him) to publish it" (in fact, as shown in this study, the manuscript was never submitted to the Tōyō Bunko). Obviously, until some definitive documentary evidence is found, doubts may remain, but everything points to this conclusion, unless we assume a less likely possibility that Nevsky had written several similar notebooks (one set of which was a draft of a later one), in which he listed Tangut characters with their Tibetan phonetic glosses, and for some reason left all of them to Ishihama.

If our conclusion is correct, then a glance at these three notebooks may explain the need for Ishihama's editorial work. Undoubtedly, the text in these notebooks is written down quite neatly. Judging by the handwriting and different shades of ink colour, we can conclude that Nevsky copied the text from another source, leaving gaps that were filled in by him later. There are also additions and corrections. It should not be a *draft*, but one can notice some "omissions" (we have to be careful with word choice, because we do not know whether this was the author's intention or not). The format of some entries is not uniform. Some information is still missing. In a few places, translations are given in Russian only (but they all should be in English). There are numbered empty entries (14a), numbered entries with nothing but Tangut entry characters (157d), and crossed out entries (188a, 203a). Tangut

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<sup>79</sup> NEVSKY 1960.

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entry characters in the notebook 5 are not numbered at all. It is possible that Nevsky, who was preparing to leave Japan soon, was in a hurry to finish the work in order to hand it over to Ishihama in time, and for this reason the text has such peculiarities. Especially, his hurry can explain why entry characters in the *last* part (notebook 5) are unnumbered. The text definitely requires editing and proofreading work before it can be sent for publishing. Ishihama may have wished to work on it, but he could not find time due to his heavy involvement in various academic and cultural activities. So, the notebooks were kept in the box and then forgotten.

A new question is raised if the notebooks 3, 4 and 5 are indeed the extended manual, as we believe. Nevsky mentioned that the manual had more than 500 Tangut characters. According to our rough calculations, there are about 418 entries in total in the three notebooks (including entries 14a, 157d, 188a and 203a mentioned above). In general, this means that either there must be other notebook(s) in the set not included in this box of seven, or this figure of 500 characters was quite approximate and (or) included characters for which no Tibetan glosses were known. However, as we were able to ascertain, the text of these three notebooks is complete, so the first assumption is less probable than the second.

The photographs are worth mentioning as well. As the letter from Nevsky to Zach quoted above (see Section 3) shows, the publication of the extended manual was to be accompanied by photographs of the texts. We suggest that the four photographs discovered in the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library were provided to Ishihama for this purpose. Therefore, they can be considered an integral part of the manuscript.

The possession of notebooks of categories A and B by Ishihama also requires a separate discussion. We find it hard to explain why Nevsky left him the partial work contained in the notebooks of category B (unless other parts of it are now missing and it was originally given in its complete form). On the other hand, leaving an earlier draft of his dictionary, i.e. the notebooks of category A, does not make much sense either. It was definitely outdated already. It can be assumed that Nevsky left the other notebooks to Ishihama to facilitate the editing of the extended manual or simply to kindly share his knowledge with a colleague and friend, since he undoubtedly had copies or newer versions of these materials. In his letters from this time period we read that he was preparing “Materials for a Tangut Dictionary” for publication. These notebooks as a whole look like such materials. Perhaps, not having time to prepare them, he settled on a narrower task (“extended manual”), and left drafts of the “Materials” to Ishihama for reference. We do

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not know yet. Concluding these considerations, it is possible to suggest an even simpler reason for Nevsky to leave these notebooks: he did not need them anymore.

There were more than 30,000 items in the Ishihama Collection when the library of Osaka University of Foreign Studies acquired it in 1970. The catalogue of the collection is still being compiled. Since there are still materials in the collection waiting to be catalogued, discovering more notebooks cannot be ruled out. In fact, when the Ishihama Collection moved to the library of Osaka University of Foreign Studies, Nishida briefly investigated the materials in the collection. He mentioned there were three notebooks of Nevsky. It is not clear whether he referred to the notebooks 3, 4, 5, or other notebooks which were not in the box. Unfortunately, Nishida did not examine these notebooks at that time.<sup>80</sup> If he had done it, the notebooks would have been re-discovered much earlier and would have influenced Nishida's reconstruction scheme of Tangut phonology.

This study presents a report on the search and re-discovery of the lost manuscript of the extended manual of Tangut characters with Tibetan phonetic glosses compiled by N.A. Nevsky in 1929. We are currently preparing for publication a detailed description of all seven notebooks found during our investigation and presented in this article. It is our hope that a comprehensive study of them in future will reveal more details of Nevsky's understanding of the Tangut language during his time in Japan. It will shed light not only on the study of Tibetan phonetic glosses for Tangut characters, but also on research ties between Nevsky and Ishihama, the two pioneers of Tangutology in Russia and Japan.

## **Dedication and acknowledgements**

We would like to dedicate this study to the memory of our Teacher and Colleague, Professor Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1932–2013). Also, the authors would like to acknowledge and thank Vasily Vladimirovich Shchepkin, senior researcher of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Shinozaki Yōko (篠崎陽子), researcher of Tōyō Bunko; Tsutsumi Kazuaki (堤一昭), professor of the Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University; Ogawa Tetsuo (小川哲生), former director of the Osaka University Library; Miyaji Kenji (宮地健士), Akamatsu

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<sup>80</sup> NISHIDA 1975: 5.

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Takemichi (赤松威倫), Fujie Yūtarō (藤江雄太郎), Kuboyama Takeshi (久保山健), librarians of the Osaka University Library; and last, but by no means least, our friend and colleague Vadim Alexandrovich Bushmakín, for their advice and help in this study.

### Abbreviations

CH.	—	Chinese
IOMRAS	—	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт восточных рукописей Российской академии наук, ИБР РАН), Saint Petersburg, Russia
IOMRAS ARCHIVE	—	Archive of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Архив востоковедов ИБР РАН), Saint Petersburg, Russia
JP.	—	Japanese
RU.	—	Russian
SK.	—	Sanskrit
SPBF ARAN	—	Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской академии наук), Saint Petersburg, Russia
TB.	—	Tibetan
TG.	—	Tangut

### Abbreviations for Russian archival sources

D.	—	dossier, file (Ru. <i>дело</i> )
ED. KHR.	—	individual file, file unit, storage unit (Ru. <i>единица хранения</i> )
F.	—	archival collection (Ru. <i>фонд</i> ); the term has been anglicized as fond in this article
FOL.	—	folio (Ru. <i>лист</i> )
OP.	—	inventory, register (Ru. <i>опись</i> )
RAZR.	—	category, class (Ru. <i>разряд</i> )

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