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Georges-Jean Pinault

**The Buddhastotra
of the Petrovskii Collection**

Abstract: The article is devoted to the publication of two leaves of a manuscript in Tocharian B from the Petrovskii collection, which is kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in St. Petersburg, known under the call numbers SI P/1b (SI 1903) and SI P/2b (SI 1904). These two leaves are consecutive and almost complete. The text is being published here for the first time in its entirety, with full transliteration, transcription and translation. It is part of a Buddhastotra, a poem of praise addressed to the Buddha, the stanzas of which are parallel to several stanzas of the *Vaṇṇārhavarastotra* by Mātṛceṭa.

Key words: Tocharian, Sanskrit, poetry, Buddhist literature, Buddhastotra, Mātṛceṭa

§ 1.

The Tocharian manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg, in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, belong to a number of different collections which are named after the scholars, explorers and civil servants who found in the Tarim basin (in present-day Xinjiang, China) manuscripts in various languages, which were eventually sent to St. Petersburg for study by Sergei Oldenburg (1863–1934), and gathered together by the Russian Academy of Sciences.¹ The manuscript which will be published in the following pages is both historically famous and nearly unknown. It consists of two consecutive leaves of large size, written in the classical Brāhmī script of the Northern Turkestan type. The exact location where they were found is unknown, but it can be surmised to have been one of the oases on the northern route, possibly in the region of Kucha. They were acquired by Nikolai Petrovskii (1837–1908), who was then Russian consul in Kashgar, near the western border of present-day Xinjiang. This discovery was reported by Oldenburg in a short article (1893), which is evidently dated as

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¹ For a comprehensive survey, see VOROB'IOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997, 207–210.

from May 1892. That paper included in an appendix a large plate showing the recto and the verso of the first leaf (SI P/1b).² At that time, both the script and the language were unknown. Some time afterwards, the two leaves were passed on to Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) for examination. The display of the first leaf caused a sensation at the 9th International Congress of Orientalists held in London in September 1892. Leumann presented the second leaf at the 12th International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome in October 1899.³ Immediately afterwards, in 1900, he published in St. Petersburg a transcription⁴ and a first analysis of the content of the two leaves. Leumann was able to identify the metrical structure (see below § 3) of the text and several loans from Sanskrit that pointed to the Buddhist content of the poem. This publication comprised two plates: the first gives the metrical reconstruction of the lines of the first leaf (SI P/1b) and the second shows the recto and the verso of the second leaf (SI P/2b).⁵ Leumann’s pioneering work was quite creditable, even though he was at a loss to interpret the special akṣaras which were used to denote specific sounds of this unknown language. In the following years, his first endeavour was bolstered by the discovery in Serindia (called at that time “Ostturkestan”) of further manuscripts written in northern varieties of the Brāhmī script, belonging to the so-called Gupta type. A number of them were in Sanskrit, which aided the partial reading of those which were written in unknown languages while presumably containing Buddhist literature. In these materials, Leumann (1907) distinguished two groups according to the language affiliation, which he named “Sprache I” and “Sprache II”. The second language would later be identified as Middle Iranian, more precisely Khotanese Saka (which Leumann termed “Nordarisch”). The first was deciphered by Sieg and Siegling in 1908, and identified as a new Indo-European language, which they named “Tocharisch”. Furthermore, they identified two varieties of this language, A and B, and they correctly ascribed the St. Petersburg leaves published by Leumann in 1900 to Tocharian B. Sieg and Siegling had worked mostly on the manuscripts which had been found and brought back to Berlin by German expeditions in the Tarim basin, from 1902 onwards, but they duly mention (1908, 915–917) Leumann’s contribution. Therefore, it is fair to say that Leumann (1900)

² Actually, the verso was reproduced above the recto.

³ See also BALBIR 1998, XXI–XXIII.

⁴ A preliminary and highly chaotic transcription of the first leaf had been published previously by HOERNLE 1893, 39–40.

⁵ For sake of simplicity I will henceforth refer to these two leaves by the marks [abbreviations?] SI P/1 and SI P/2.

paved the way for the beginnings of Tocharian studies, and the two leaves of the Petrovskii collection have remained famous ever since as the first Tocharian manuscript ever published.⁶ It is somewhat paradoxical, therefore, that in the following decades these leaves were never scientifically published in their entirety by the few scholars who could rely on the advances in Tocharian philology.

This manuscript has long been cited with the press mark Pe (= Petersburg), especially by German scholars.⁷ Some phrases and sentences from the text have been quoted in books and articles on Tocharian linguistics. The text was studied by Walter Couvreur (1914–1996), presumably after the revised transliteration provided by Emil Sieg (1866–1951), during Couvreur’s stay in Göttingen, sometime between 1938 and 1944. Couvreur 1948, 563 and 567 gave the transcription and translation of three short passages.⁸ In the German handbook of Tocharian, there is a broad transcription of the first leaf, with several notes but no translation, in a selection of extracts from *Buddhastotras*, see TEB II, 58–59 (text No. XX.3).⁹ This transcription is not based on an autopsy of the manuscript and it contains erroneous restorations which stemmed from misreadings. It has been in need of revision for a long time. I had the opportunity to personally study the original manuscript in St. Petersburg three times. In February 1998, I made a survey of the collections of Tocharian and Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the IOM, RAS.¹⁰ I transliterated most of the Tocharian fragments, including the two leaves of the *Buddhastotra* in the Petrovskii collection. This transliteration was the basis of the transcription which I published later, with translation and commentary.¹¹ I realized that my interpretation of some of the damaged parts close to

⁶ See for instance KRAUSE 1955, 1.

⁷ Cf. KRAUSE 1952, 311. The two leaves were then referred by the marks Pe 1 and Pe 2. From the indication given there, one can surmise that Sieg and Siegling made in the meantime a new transliteration of the text on the basis of the photographs that had been published in OLDENBURG 1893 and LEUMANN 1900. This reading is the source for the quotations of a few extracts, see for instance THOMAS 1957, 173–174. STUMPF 1971, 61, 158 used the mark Petr. (respectively Petr. I and Petr. II) and quoted from the same source.

⁸ Precisely the verses 67b, 68b (COUVREUR 1948, 563), and 72e (COUVREUR 1948, 567). On the other hand, passing mentions of Couvreur’s alternative restorations by Krause and Thomas would suggest that Couvreur collaborated at some stage with Sieg on the interpretation of the text.

⁹ Under the following title: “Aus der Sammlung Petrovski”, without giving the previous literature.

¹⁰ I am much obliged to Dr. Margarita Vorobyova-Desiatovskaia, supervisor of the manuscript fund, for her help on that occasion.

¹¹ PINAULT 2008, 293–311.

the lacunas in the manuscript was problematic, so that my restorations were at the least debatable, if not unsound. Fortunately, I had the opportunity to study the original leaves¹² again in April 2009 and May 2015, in order to check many details.

The leaves are in relatively good condition, although the ink has been somewhat erased in places, especially at the surviving extremities. The paper has been pierced or torn in a few places. The upper and lower edges remain. There are 6 lines on each side. The space for the string hole interrupts lines 3 and 4. Size of the leaves: 38×9.1 cm; interval between the lines: around 1.3 cm. The paper has been torn off obliquely on the right, so that half of the lines are shorter by a few centimeters. The space for the string hole occupies about 5 cm. One can still see the ruling of the lines, and even traces of the vertical ruling on both sides of the spaces for the string hole. This testifies to the careful preparation of the leaves, which is borne out by the quite regular and beautiful calligraphy. The left and right edges have been lost. The width of the respective lacunas can be estimated by the number of missing syllables and the expected position of the string hole in a manuscript of such size, since the string hole is normally placed in the first third of the leaf. The meter helps us to assess the number of missing akṣaras, which varies between 7 and 10 in total for SI P/1, between 5 and 9 for SI P/2. There are more akṣaras missing on the left side (between three and six) than on the right (minimum one or two, maximum five). Therefore, the width of the original leaves can be estimated to have been about 48 cm, depending of the size of the left and right margins.

§ 2. Transliteration of the two leaves SI P/1 (SI 1903) and SI P/2 (SI 1904)

The conventional symbols for the transliteration of Tocharian are used: — illegible akṣara; · illegible or missing part of an akṣara; /// for a lacuna in the manuscript; ○ for the string hole space; [] (square brackets) for an uncertain reading; () for restorations; = for sandhi; \ for the virāma stroke. Note that the redundant marking of virāma, with an additional dot on the right, is found only twice in SI P/2 b1, after the same word. At the end of each

¹² I am very grateful to Dr. Irina Popova, head of the IOM, RAS, for the opportunity to work with the Tocharian manuscripts housed there, as well as for the possibility to publish my edition of the two leaves in this journal.

stanza, I have given its number, without any other additional mark. Except for the last pāda of a stanza, the end of the pāda is normally marked by a single dot, not by the double dot which is found in most metrical passages of other Toch. manuscripts. This dot has been forgotten by the scribe at the end of the pādas 65a, 68c, 68d, 72a, 73b, 74b, 74d.

SI P/1

Recto (pl. 1)

a1 /// spantaitśñentaṣṣe enku wājra akautacce • mahākaruṃṣe waipe peñ-yacce peṣpimtu • taryā-ykne ymentse śmoñṣṣe mā[n̄](·)¹ kakām[au •]///

a2 ///lyp[o] yaitu stmau ṣña-nwalñeṣṣepi sumerntse mrācne 64 poy-śi[n̄]ñ(·)ṣṣe tve ylaiñakte nest yalts=eśaintsa lkāṣṣeñc=ānaiśai [p](·) preś-cyaṣṣe [kr](·)///

a3 ///r(·)syāṣṣeṃ āstreṃ ña ○ ktentsa wawārpau • kleśanmaṣṣeṃ ceṃ lāmtn asūreṃts po nākṣeñcai • pālskoṣṣe cau wemacitreṃ ś[an]maṣṣeñcai y(·)ai///

a4 /// [śa]nmausa 65 ○ ñākcyem yetwemtsa yaitu wājra emñku ṣarnene • ylaiñaktñe weṣsa karpāsta wrocce telkine • kreṃt pe[l](·)///

a5 /// [so]yṣasta • wismai klyautkasta brāhmaññai wertsyai po śaiṣṣe • yātaṣṣeñcai ilaiñaktem² po ylaiñaktents āṣtsa praly[u]³ yparwe s(·)a⁴///

a6 ///[nma] pelaikeṣṣana wrotstsana • wārpormem skwanma pālskoṣṣana⁵ tom snay⁶ āke • śaiṣṣentse wāntre ārskormem yā(-) [st m]ai [·]ā(-)⁷///

Verso (pl. 2)

b1 /// w(·)rś(·) rīne nervāñṣai • orasta ñiś⁸ ywārc laklene tñak no pw āñmṣta yam śarāṃne po śaulanma[sa] 67 āñmālāṣṣñe[ṣṣ](·) uppā[l](·)///

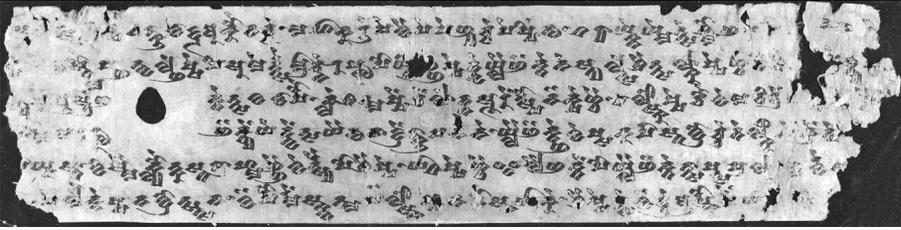
b2 ///[kw]()peṣṣe wastsy āstren ausu peñyacce • kwāntsaññe jaṭ⁹ snai ykorñeṣṣa po kektseñe lalaṃṣk=astarya poyśiññeṣṣ=aurtsa [la]ktsauña ṣa///

b3 /// bhrañgār enku sū ○ kes=āstreṃ ite maittarṣṣe 68 pūdñākteṣṣe tve bramñākte śpālmem snai menāk\ • yainmu maṣṣtañe ///

b4 /// nermit yāmṣe ○ ñcai wñolmen okt yaknes=astarem • nervāñṣai¹⁰ kentse śaiṣṣe tarkaucai eṃṣketstse • tanmaṣṣeñcai pelaikn[e] ///

b5 /// ṣsuwa koy[ntsa] auspa brāhmaṃem 69 emprenmaṣṣana (-)[d]anma¹¹ śtwāra akṣāsta • klainamṣ\ śamaṣkamṣ\ karsatsi (-)w n(·)rm ci aurt(·)e -///

b6 ///[ś]\ karute [ś]iryem¹² sāgari • gāñ pelaikeṣṣai kemtsa cārkkāsta astaryai • po pi śaiṣṣe kalloy nāṣtsi pelai[n]eṣ(·)ai (-)ñaiś¹³ [lau] -///



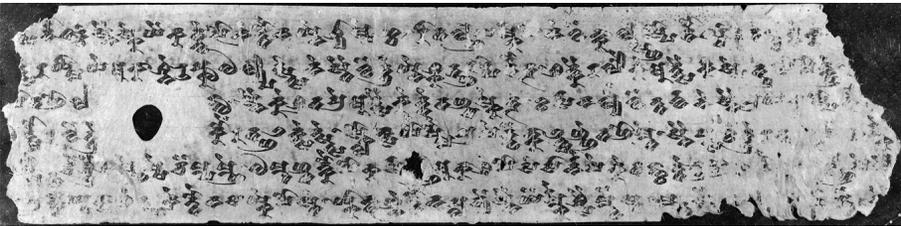
Pl. 1. SI P/1 (SI 1903), recto



Pl. 2. SI P/1 (SI 1903), verso



Pl. 3. SI P/2 (SI 1904), recto



Pl. 4. SI P/2 (SI 1904), verso

SI P/2

Recto (pl. 3)

a1 /// h(·)tu mānavemś kauñāktaññ=āstreṃ maṇḍālmem • pākri takāsta
bramñāktaññana ersnasa • yakne kektents(·) [p](·) [śārsa]stane an(·)///

a2 /// (·)su ka[l]pa tañ cīne maiyyāce • ywārc wertsyaine plyews=iprerne
ms(·)c¹⁴ ompostam tsemtsa cīne wnoImemts\ tañ wrocce 71 waipātār [po
wno]lmemts\ k_uśa///

a3 ///[ndri]nta palsko ○ ntamts\ ymain po ysomo yāmornta kleśanma •
ykenta preścīyaṃ tsalpaṣeṣṣana upāynta • ysomo ai///

a4 /// alāl_{te} • ○ aṅmālaṣke tañwaññeñca kratanīke tweek nest auspa
pontamts ṣaṅ śaumo 72 po pelaiknenta[m]///

a5 ///[ṣa]rm ekītatsñe okonta cmelamts putkalñe p_kantenm=opāynta waip-
tārtsaññenta ṣetsñenta • yāmwa yām[l]ona ṣaṅ ṣaṅ ī(·)[e]///

a6 ///[jhñ]e¹⁵ lykaṣke trekte po karsauca po klautkentsa po trai prekenne
73 tū yknes=anaiśai po pelaiknenta śarsāsta • ṣals(·)e///

Verso (pl. 4)

b1 /// [s]p(·)rtotarc\ snai skeyeṃ ka tve po krentauna yneś yāmṣeñca •
rītalñe yarm ka [po]ne wātkāltśñe sportotarc\ • etañkatte ka s(·)///

b2 /// nts[e] ra ymīye akāśne 74 olypotsts=enestai wāntre yneś ka tañ\
sportotrā • śatkai ra lauке attsaik ispe tañ somotkñe • [ka]¹⁶///

b3 /// p[o] tañ ola ○ ñ tu • snai keś ra tapre attsaik ette tañ masketra •
karsanalyeṃ wāntarwane snai prayo[k k]a sporto[tr](·)¹⁷ ///

b4 /// [o]rkmo ra wāntre ○ kauṃ ra tañ\ laktsetstse • skloksa yauṣmauṣ ra
ṣek wātkāltsaññe tañ omte • snai pta katkre ra t[pa]rṣkemem [tpa]rṣke ///

b5 /// [ai]śmoṃts\ ceṃśtr aiśamñeṣṣe cāmpamñe • om tañ ṣatkau po
karsa(- -) [ñ]¹⁸ akāśe po saṃsārne ṣek etañkatte 76 [tāk]=aurt[s]e¹⁹ [lkā]lñe
pelai///

b6 ///[·] prutkoytr akāśe tañ\ krentaunasa yke postam • ykāk tañ krentauna
placyeṃ snai yārm keś saim wāsta • mant\ snai [ka]ls(·)ā[lyñ]e [snai]
yā[rm\] ke (·)[ai]///

Textual notes:

1. The paper is torn at the end of the line, but the reading of *mā* is safe. In any case, the remnants of the next akṣara exclude the restoration (*pekwe*), as per TEB II, 58, n. 6. The reading *kakāmo* for the next word is not warranted.

This form shows the expected final diphthong. After it, one can even see a trace of the expected dot at the end of the pāda.

2. Sic! The spelling *ilai*^o instead of *ylai*^o can be accounted for by the metrical constraint which requires a word of 4 syllables here in order to complete the first 8-syllable segment of the pāda. There is no trace of the double dot on the top of the akṣara *ña* of *ñaktem*. Compare the correct writing of the genitive pl. of the same word shortly afterwards.

3. The reading *pralya*, as per TEB II, 58 is excluded; the reading *pralyu* was confirmed by Couvreur, (cf. TEB I, 103, n. 1). This is the expected form of the vocative sg. masc. of the gerundive *pralye*, (cf. TEB I, 103, § 123.1).

4. On the top of this akṣara, the vocalization ^o*au* is excluded. The restoration *s(tmaucaī)*, as per TEB II, 58, n. 12 is impossible.

5. Sic! This word is not written with a *Fremdzeichen* for the first akṣara, as is usual. Compare further occurrences of *pālsko* in 1a3 and 2a3.

6. Sic! For *snai*, a sandhi form before the vowel which does not change the prosody.

7. The paper is torn, so the reading remains tentative as well as the restoration. Nonetheless, my previous reading has to be revised.

8. Sic! Virāma stroke after the plain sign, not a *Fremdzeichen*.

9. Virāma sign, but the meter proves that this word should be read with two syllables, as *jaṭä*.

10. According to the meter, this word should be read with 3 syllables: *nervānšai*. The */nä/* is written without a *Fremdzeichen*, which is not so remarkable.

11. For the second akṣara of this word, the reading <ra> is excluded. The reading and restoration (*ve*)*danma* by Couvreur were correct, *pace* TEB II, 59, n. 5, see also THOMAS 1957, 173.

12. Despite the poor condition of the paper, the reading [*ʃ*]*i* is much preferable to [*p*]*i* for the first akṣara of this word, *pace* TEB II, 59.

13. Virāma stroke after the plain sign, not the *Fremdzeichen*, see above n. 8. As for the beginning of the word, the damaged paper and the size of the break allow us to assume a large and complex ligature.

14. The hole in the paper allows the restoration *ms(ā)* for the preceding akṣara.

15. The reading of the ligature right after the break has puzzled me for a long time. After repeated checks, it appears that some options are not warranted: [*pr*]e, [*pñ*]e, [*ʃn*]e, [*ʃk*]e. As the most likely reading one should retain [*jhñ*]e, which implies a loan from Skt. *sarvajña-* or *dharmajña-* with hyper-sanskritism and adaptation to the Tocharian morphology. This can be sup-

ported by the parallel Sanskrit text, which contains *sarvadharmajñāḥ* (VAV 3.15c). The Tocharian text paraphrases or translates several stanzas of the chapter 2 (*Sarvajñatāsiddhi*) of VAV, see below § 5. The restoration (*sarva*)*jhñe* (Skt. *sarvajña-*) can be reckoned redundant, because it would be translated later by *po kärsauca*. Therefore, I have tentatively preferred to restore (*dharma*)*jhñe*, provided that the first two akṣaras were sufficiently close to the Sanskrit original.

16. Only the lower left part of a single sign, not a ligature, is visible before the break. My previous tentative reading is best forgotten.

17. The ligature entails the sandhi of °*trä*>°*tr* before the vowel or diphthong of the next word.

18. My previous reading and restoration *karsa*[*l*]ñ(e) have to be drastically revised, first of all because this gives the wrong meter. In addition the place of the akṣara *ña* does not correspond to a ligature; it is actually marked by a virāma stroke, which is almost completely erased. The new reading allows a syntactical construction which is not very different from my former assumption, except that *po karsatsi* should be taken as the nominalization of the phrase *po kärs-* ‘to know everything’ (cf. *po kärsauca* in 73e), translating the Skt. *sarvajñatā-* ‘omniscience’.

19. This sequence ought to be interpreted as the sandhi of *tākoy*, optative 3rd sg. act. of the verb ‘to be’, with the initial diphthong of the following word. This optative is in parallel to the optative *prutkoytär* of the next sentence.

§ 3. Transcription and metrical restitution of the text

The poem follows a relatively rare metrical pattern: each stanza has five pādas, the first four pādas having 13 syllables (rhythm 5/8) and the fifth pāda having 21 syllables (rhythm 8/8/5).¹³ Accordingly, the text shows a number of metrical variants of the standard Tocharian B language, as well as many sandhi forms. Otherwise, the language belongs to the classical stage, according to Peyrot’s periodization.¹⁴ I would assume the first half of the 7th c. CE for the composition of the text, but it may have been copied in the second half of the same century. In the following I have tried to give a continuous text in most instances. Some of the restitutions given below are, of

¹³ TEB II, 52, n. 4; STUMPF 1971, 72.

¹⁴ See especially PEYROT 2008, 235.

course, open to discussion. The manuscript covers verses 64b to 77d of the poem. There is still a long lacuna which I have not yet been able to fill plausibly: in the pāda 69b, where 8 syllables are missing. In the following, ordinary brackets correspond to the restorations, whereas square brackets denote additions that are required to make the text more readable. The expected dots that occur in lacunas have been restored, but missing dots have not been added in disregard of the manuscript.

SI P/1a1 (5 syllables missing) spāntaitsñientaṣṣe eṅku wājrā akautacce •
mahākaruṃṣe waipe peṅyacce peṣpimtu •
tāryā-ykne ymentse śmoñaṣṣe māñ(ye) kakāmau •
(tā[a2]ryāka-wi yetweṃts=o)lypo yaitu stmau ṣṅa-nwalñeṣṣepi sumerntse
mrācne 64

poyśiññ(e)ṣṣe twe ylaiñākte nest yalts=eśaintsa
lkāṣṣeñc=ānaiśai p(o)-preścyāṣṣe kr(em)[a3](t pelaikne •)
(štwarā-we)r(t)syāṣṣeṃ āstreṃ ñaktentsa wawārpau •
kleśanmaṣṣeṃ ceṃ lāmtn aśüreṃts po nākṣeñcai •
pālskoṣṣe cau wemacitreṃ śanmāṣṣeñcai y(l)ai(ñā[a4]ktentse prākrem)
śanmausa 65

ñākcyem yetweṃtsa yaitu wājr eṅku ṣarnene •
ylaiñāktñe weṣṣa karpāsta wrocce telkine •
kremt pel(aikneṣṣe [a5] śūkesa śāmna) soṣṣasta •
wismai klyautkasta brāhmaññai wertsyai po śaiṣṣe •
yātāṣṣeñcai ilaiñakteṃ po ylaiñāktents āṣṣa pralyu yparwe s(t)a(māṣ-
lu) (66)

[a6] (toṃ štwār=empre)nma pelaikneṣṣana wrotstsana •
wārpormem skwanma pālskoṣṣana toṃ snay āke •
śaiṣṣentse wāntre ārskormem yā(tā)st mai(yy)ā(ccem •)
(katknat [b1] śaulṣana po) w(a)rś(aim) rīne nervāṅśai •
orasta ñiś ywārc laklene tñak no pw āñmṣa yam śarāṃne po śaulanmasa 67
āñmālāṣṣeṣṣe uppāl(ne ścmast=ara[b2]ñcāṣṣu •
yase)-kw(i)peṣṣe wasty āstren ausu peṅyacce •
kwāntsaññe jaṭ(ā) snai-ykorñeṣṣa po kektseñe
lalaṃṣk=astarya poyśiññeṣṣ=aurtsa lāktsauña
ṣa(rsa ñākcye) [b3] (karunāṣṣe) bhrāṅgār eṅku śūkes=āstreṃ ĩte maittarṣ-
ṣe 68

pūdñākteṣṣe twe bramñākte śpālmeṃ snai menāk •
yainmu māktauñe --- [b4] ----- (•)
nermit yāmṣeñcai wñolmen okt-yaknes=astarem •

nervānāṣṣai kentsa šaiṣṣe tārkaucāi eṃṣketstse •
tanmāṣṣeñicai pelaikn(eṣṣe) [b5] (bramñāktentse) s_asuwa koynṭsa auspa
brāhmaṇeṃ 69

empenmaṣṣana (ve)danma śtwāra akṣāsta •
klainamṭs šamaṣkamṭs karsatsi (sak)w n(ā)rm ci aurt(s)e (•)
(ceṃ [b6]wamer kälpo)ṣ karute-ṣiryem sāgari •
gāñ pelaikneṣṣai keṃtsa cārkaṣta astaryai •
po pi šaiṣṣe kalloy nāṣṭsi pelaikneṣ(ṣ)ai (wṣeṃ)ñaiṣ lau(ke) [SI P/2a1]
(astareṃ warne 70)

h(e)tu mānavemṣ kauñāktāññ=āstreṃ maṇḍālmeṃ •
pākri takāsta bramñāktāññana ersnasa •
yakne kektents(e) p(o) šārsasta-ne an(aiṣai) [a2] (•)
(šauṃo spelkkes)su kalpa tañ cīne maiyyāce •
ywārc wertsyaine plyews=iprerne ms(ā)-c ompostāṃ tsemṭsa cīne wnoł-
meṃts tañ wrocce 71

waiptār po wnołmeṃts k_aśa[lamū[a3]lānta i)ndrinta
pālskontaṃts ymain po ysomo yāmornta kleśanma •
ykenta preṣciyaṃ tsalpāṣeṣṣana upāynta •
ysomo ai(šeñca) [a4] (snai olypo kāṣṣi) alālṭte •
añmālaṣke tānwaññeñca krātāñke tvek nest auspa pontamṭs ṣaṇ ṣauṃo 72
po pelaiknentaṃ (ts nesalñenta [a5] cāmpalñenta •)
ṣarm ekītatsñe okonta cmelamṭs putkalñe
pkāntenm=opāynta waiptārṭsāññenta ṣetsñenta •
yāmwa yāmlona ṣaṇ ṣaṇ ī(k)e(ne wānta[a6]rwa •)
(twe dharma)jñe lykaṣke trekte po kārsauca po klautkentsa po trai pre-
kenne 73

tū yknes=anaiṣai po pelaiknenta šārsāsta •
ṣals(k)e(mane yarm i[b1]mesa ka po) sp(o)rtotār-c
snai skeyem ka tve po krentauna yneṣ yāmṣeñca •
rītalñe yarm ka pone wātkāltsñe sportotār-c
etānkātte ka s(nai āke tañ ka[b2]rsalñe yente)ntse ra ymīye akāśne 74
olypotsts=enestai wāntre yneṣ ka tañ sportotrā •
śatkaī ra lauṣe attsaik ispe tañ somotkñe •
kā(tkre ra [b3] tpaṣke māsketār) po tañ olañ tu •
snai keṣ ra tpaṣe attsaik ette tañ māsketrā •
kārsanalyem wāntarwane snai prayok ka sportotr (aiṣai yama[b4]lñe po
ci) (75)

(śatkaī) orkmo ra wāntre kauṃ ra tañ lāktsetstse •
sklokṣa yaūṣmauṣ ra ṣek wātkāltsāññe tañ omte •

snai p̄tsa k̄ātkre ra t̄p̄r̄ṣkemem̄ t̄p̄r̄ṣke (m̄āske[b5]t̄ār •)
 (ente po) aiśmoṃts cem̄str̄ aiśam̄ñeṣṣe c̄āmpam̄ñe •
 om tañ s̄ātkau po karsa(tsi ṣa)ñ akāṣe po saṃsār̄ne ṣek etañk̄ātte 76
 t̄āk=aurtse lk̄ālñe pelai(knenta) [b6] (po śaiṣṣene) •
 prutkoytr̄ akāṣe tañ krentaunasa yke postām̄ •
 ykāk tañ krentauna placyem̄ snai yārm̄ keś saim-wāsta •
 mant snai-kāls(n)ālyñe snai yārm̄ ke(ś s)ai(m-wāste ka nest •)

§ 4. Translation of the text

[b] ...having seized the unsplitable thunderbolt [*vajra-*] of trustworthiness, [c] trusting in the splendid banner of great compassion [*mahā-karuṇā-*], [d] having taken on the serv(ant) of the establishment of the threefold consciousness,¹⁵ [e] very well adorned (with the thirty-two ornaments), standing on the summit of the Sumeru characterized by self-roaring, /64/

[a] you, you are the god Indra of all-knowingness [*sarvajñatā-*], with a thousand eyes [b] looking attentively at the good Law [*sad-dharma-*] appropriate to every time, [c] [you are] surrounded by the pure gods belonging to the four companies,¹⁶ [d] o you who destroy totally those Asura-kings [*asura-rāj-*] of the passions [*kleśa-*], o you who tied up this Vemacitra of thinking¹⁷ with the firm fetter of the god Indra! /65/

[a] Adorned with the divine ornaments, having seized the thunderbolt [*vajra-*] in both hands, [b] in the guise of god Indra, you descended to the great sacrifice, [c] you made (humans) satiated (with the nectar) of the good L(aw). [d] You have struck with amazement the company of brahmins [and] the whole world, [e] o you who have tamed the Indra-gods, o you who ought to be carried on the head of all Indra-gods, o you who have to be placed first! /66/

[a] (Those) great (four) truths belonging to the Law, [b] after having received [them], and those delights of thinking without end, [c] after having renounced the condition of the world [*loka-dharma-*], you tame¹⁸ the power-

¹⁵ This phrase transposes the notion of the three applications of awareness pertaining to a Buddha: Skt. *smṛty-upasthāna-*; Pāli *satipathāna-* (cf. BHSD, 614b).

¹⁶ This refer to the Cāturmahārājikas, comprising the four Mahārājas ‘Great kings’, posted at the four cardinal points, and the groups of deities which they control: the Gandharvas, the Kumbhāṇḍas, the Nāgas, the Yakṣas (cf. KIRFEL 1959, 25).

¹⁷ Vemacitra, alternatively Vemacitrin (cf. Pāli Vepacitti) is a prince of the Asuras (see BHSD, 509a). His defeat at the hands of the god Indra is a topos of Buddhist literature.

¹⁸ The verb (*yātāst*, 2 sg. act. of the present of the verb *yāt-* ‘to tame’), if correctly restored, is in the present, while the other finite verbs nearby are in the past tense. Nonetheless, there are some other verbs in the present in the passage, and this may be the case for the verb in the

ful ones, [d] (you pass through all) the bushes (of life) towards the city of Nirvāṇa [*nirvāṇa-nagara*]. [e] You have abandoned me in the midst of suffering, but only in your protection [*śaraṇa*-] will I go with all my person through all the lives. /67/

[a] (You stood up) on the lotus of sympathy, (o you dear to the heart!). [b] Having put on the pure [and] splendid garment of (shame and) modesty, [c] the top-knot [*jaṭā*-]¹⁹ [is] firmness, the whole body [is] without negligence; [d] soft, pure, large [is] the brilliance of all-knowingness [*sarvajñatā*]-]. [e] Having seized with the hand the (divine) pitcher [*bhṛṅgāra*-]²⁰ (of compassion), full of the nectar of friendship [*maitrī-rasa*], /68/

[a] you, (you are) the excellent, without comparison, Brahmā-god of Buddha, [b] having reached the destination, (...) [c] o you who fashion living beings according to the eightfold pure way, [d] o you who release forever the world on the ground of Nirvāṇa [*nirvāṇa-bhūmi*]-, [e] o you who generate verily brahmins through your mouth, sons of the Brahmā-god of the Law. /69/

[a] You have taught the four Vedas consisting in the [four] truths, [b] [it is] widely a delight [and] amusement that you are understood by women [and] children, [c] [you] (who have obtain)ed (that gem) of Sāgara having the cup in his hand [*karoṣa-pāṇi*-].²¹ [d] You released the pure Gaṅgā [river] of the Law on the earth. [e] May the whole world manage to swim fa(r away) towards the domain of the Law, (in the pure water). /70/

[a] For humans in huge number,²² from the pure circle of the sun [*sūrya-maṇḍala*]-, [b] you became visible with your figure appropriate to a Brahmā-god. [c] You have understood wholly [and] accurately the way of the body. [d] The (zealous) (human being) has gained a powerful love for you. [e] In the midst of the company he has leapt into the sky [and] he has set off following you; he caused to grow the great love of living beings towards you. /71/

[a] Individually, the roots of virtue [*kuśala-mūla*-] of all living beings, the faculties of sense [*indriya*-], [b] the ways of the thoughts, entirely [and] alto-

next sentence. For the latter, an alternative would be the preterit participle *kātkau* as predicate. Accordingly, the passage would be a vivid recital of the deeds of the Buddha.

¹⁹ This refers to the twisted hair on the top of the head of ascetics (cf. MW, 409a).

²⁰ This refers to a luxurious pitcher or vase used to pour water, especially for kings (cf. MW, 765c). This is one of the vessels belonging to the insignia of royalty in ancient India (cf. WEZLER 1987).

²¹ This attribute is found with Nāgas and Yakṣas. The cup in question is made of the skull or cranium: Skt. *karoṣa*- or *karoṣi*- (cf. MW, 255c; BHSD, 169b). Skt. *Sāgara*- is the name of a king of Nāgas (cf. BHSD, 589a), who possessed the *cintāmaṇi* gem, through which all wishes come true.

²² This is a special meaning of Skt. *hetu*- (cf. BHSD, 621b).

gether, the acts, the passions, [c] the places, the moments, the means pertaining to salvation [d] [you] kno(w them) altogether, (an unrivalled teacher), indefatigable, [e] merciful, loving, grateful, you alone are certainly the ally of all [people]. /72/

[a] Of all the conditions of being [*dharmā-*], (the existences, the abilities,) [b] [their] cause, [their] support, [their] fruits, [their] repartition among the births, [c] [their] obstacles [and their] means of success, [their] differentiations [and their] singularities, [d] the (things) that have been done [and] the (things) that have to be done, each one in its own place, [e] you as knower of the *dharmas* [*dharmā-jñā-*], [you are] who knows all, the fine [and] the great, under all turns [and] in all three times. /73/

[a] In that way you have understood accurately all the conditions of being [*dharmā-*]. [b] Only by the idea being thrown off, (everything) just happens to you. [c] Just without efforts, you, [you] reveal all the virtues. [d] Only the requiring just turns to be for you the decisiveness in every matter. [e] (Your capacity for understanding) [is] just impossible to hinder, wi(thout end), like the course of the (wi)nd in an open space. /74/

[a] A very secret matter just turns out to be obvious for you, [b] even what is extremely distant [turns out to be] nearby [and] similar for you indeed. [c] (Even) the dee(p becomes shallow), all that [is] easy for you. [d] Even the high beyond counting becomes low indeed for you. [e] In the things which ought to be understood (the perception) happens (wholly for you), even without practicing [*prayoga-*]. /75/

[a] Even an (extremely) obscure thing [is] for you bright like the sun. [b] Even in front of the hesitation, your decisiveness [remains] always there. [c] Even the bottomless deep (becomes for you) the shallowest of the shallow. [d] (Where) the ability to wisdom of (all) the wise ones is stopped, [e] there has spread out the space [of] your (ow)n understanding of everything, always impossible to hinder in the whole Saṃsāra. /76/

[a] The vision of all the condi(tions in the whole world) may be large, [b] the space may be filled up with your virtues step by step, [c] still your virtues would overflow²³ with neither number nor measure, o refuge [and] protection! [d] Thus (you are indeed) the absence of oppression, the re(fuge [and] protection) with neither nu(mber nor measure). (...) /77/

²³ About the interpretation of the verb form *placyem*, 3rd pl. act. of the optative of the verbe *plātk-* (see PEYROT 2013, 781, n. 505).

§ 5. Parallel texts in Sanskrit

The style of this poem indicates at first glance that it belongs to the Buddhastotra genre. The Buddha is often addressed in the vocative and he is the object of lavish praise. In addition, the text shows the author's acquaintance with classical Sanskrit poetics and Indian erudition. It is obvious that many phrases and sentences are translated from or modeled on Sanskrit. This assertion can be very precisely substantiated through comparison with the best known *stotra* composed by the poet Mātṛceṭa (2nd c. CE), the so-called *Varṇārhavarṇastotra*. This is no surprise because there is evidence for the wide circulation of Mātṛceṭa's poems in Serindia, which can be judged by the large number of manuscripts in Sanskrit, as well by their translations.²⁴ On the Tocharian side, some fragments of bilingual (Sanskrit-Tocharian A/B) manuscripts have been identified and edited by COUVREUR 1966. A manuscript in Tocharian A in the Berlin collection, comprising eight leaves (A243–250 = THT 876–883)²⁵ contains a metrical translation of stanzas of the chapter 2 (*Mūrdhābhiṣeka* "Top consecrating") of the VAV.²⁶ A new publication and translation of this Tocharian A text is still a desideratum.²⁷ In the following I will quote extracts from the Sanskrit text²⁸ of the VAV which correspond, at least in part, to several stanzas of the Tocharian B Buddhastotra in St. Petersburg.

Stanza 64, cf. VAV 8.25	<i>mahākaruṇayā kṛtsnam āliṅgyeva jagat sthitāḥ / aham va ity anāthānām sālāthyam avaghoṣayan //</i>
Stanza 67, cf. VAV 8.16	<i>pithitāḥ kāpathāḥ sarve [v]iparyāsāsamañjasaḥ / amṛtaikāyanaḥ śrīmān r̥jur [vi]vr̥ta añjasaḥ //</i>
Stanza 69, cf. VAV 7.12	<i>brāhmaṇā brahmaṇaḥ putrā aurāsā mukhajā iti / prasṛto lokavādo 'yaṁ tvayi sāphalyam āgataḥ //</i>
Stanza 70ab, cf. VAV 8.3	<i>mahānāgair iva svairam api kṣuṇṇaḥ kumārakaiḥ / strījanenāpi yad asau dvyaiṅgulābalabuddhinā //</i>
VAV 8.4	<i>aprameyaprabhāvasya sā buddhāveṇikasya te / deśanāprātihāryasya vyuṣṭir vyuṣṭimatām vara //</i>
Stanza 70e, cf. VAV 8.18	<i>uddhṛtyamedhyajāmbālāt saṁkleśakrimisaṁkulāt / akliṣṭāṣṭāṅgasampanne plāvitā vimale 'mbhasi //</i>

²⁴ HARTMANN 1987, 22–47.

²⁵ First edition by SIEG and SIEGLING 1921, 121–125.

²⁶ See the identification and analysis of some stanzas by SCHMIDT 1983 and 1987, as well as the information provided by HARTMANN 1987, 88.

²⁷ Translation and commentary of several stanzas from the leaves A243–244 and 247–248 by PINAULT 2008, 283–291.

²⁸ After the publication of HARTMANN 1987. That is accompanied by Hartmann's translation into German, which I will not reproduce here.

Stanza 72abc, cf. VAV 8.24	<i>sarvadharmapadābhijña(h) sarvārthapadakovidah / sarvabhāṣāvibhāgajñah sarvādṛkpratibhānavān //</i>
Stanza 72e, cf. VAV 8.26	<i>mahākāruṇikah śāstā dayāvān anukampakah / tatparaś cākilāsī ca kas tvayāsti samo 'paraḥ //</i>
VAV 8.27	<i>nāthas tvam sarvasatvānām sāmānyo bhadrabāndhavaḥ / nopaiti nāthavattām tu janas tenāvasīdati //</i>
Stanza 73e, cf. VAV 3.10	<i>sa(rvadāvagatā dha)rmāḥ sarvākārākārās tava / talāmalakavad buddha buddher āyānti gocaram //</i>
Stanza 73abd, cf. VAV 3.15	<i>sadhātubhedanānātvāḥ sāpāyopāyavistarāḥ / tvam sarvāḥ sarvadharmajña sarvathāvaiṣi nāpara(h) //</i>
Stanza 74abe, cf. VAV 3.11	<i>prthag ekatvanānātvē dharmānām sākṣarākṣare / na te vyā(hanyate) b(uddhi)r vāyo(r gati)r ivāmbare //</i>
Stanza 74cd, cf. VAV 3.13	<i>na te prāyogikam kiṃ cit kuśalam kuśalāntaga / icchāmātrāvabaddhā te yatrakāmāvasāyitā //</i>
Stanza 75, cf. VAV 3.16	<i>sutiraskṛtam apy āviḥ sudūram api te 'ntike / sugahvaram api (p)r(a)hvam sūdviddham api vāma- nam //</i>
Stanza 76, cf. VAV 3.17	<i>sudhvāntam api sālōkam sudvaidham api niścitam / sugāmbhīram api jñeyam uttānottānam eva te //</i>

This is not the place to comment on all correspondences between the Tocharian and the Sanskrit texts.²⁹ I would rather point out some major facts. First, the Tocharian B Buddhastotra is not divided into chapters, and has its own numbering. We are unable to figure out the length of the original Tocharian poem, but it comprised maybe one hundred stanzas or so. Second, the Tocharian stanzas are translations or paraphrases of Sanskrit stanzas which belong to different chapters of the VAV, to wit chapters 3 (*Sarvajñatāsiddhi* “Accomplishment of omniscience”), 7 (*Brahmānūvāda* “Explanation according to the Brahman”) and 8 (*Upakārastava* “Praise of the services”) in the present state of my investigation.³⁰ Third, although the correspondences with Sanskrit are more numerous for the chapter 3, the Tocharian text does not follow the order or the extent of the original Sanskrit text. The redactor of the Tocharian poem therefore selected some stanzas from the VAV, which he found representative for a given theme. On occasion a single Tocharian stanza summarizes two or three Sanskrit stanzas of similar content. One has also to consider the fact that the author of the Tocharian poem

²⁹ This comparison has been made by PINAULT 2008, 305–311, according to a different presentation.

³⁰ The correspondences with stanzas in chapter 3 were already noted by Schmidt, whose findings are reported by HARTMANN 1987, 137. But Hartmann gives no precise comments under the corresponding stanzas of the Sanskrit text.

had to fill up lengthy stanzas, longer than any Sanskrit stanzas, which are mostly of the *anuṣṭubh*-type ($4 \times 8 = 32$ syllables).³¹ As for the stanzas for which there are no obvious parallels in the VAV, one should consider if they were not extracted from other *stotras* by Mātṛceṭa or from other collections of stanzas belonging to the same genre. One is led to conclude, at least provisionally, that the Tocharian text was a “new” Buddhastotra produced by the compilation and adaptation of stanzas from previous Buddhastotras in Sanskrit, mostly works by Mātṛceṭa. This manuscript adds significant evidence for understanding the local process, in the Tocharian-speaking milieu, of the composition of literary works belonging to the Buddhist tradition.

Abbreviations

BHSD: EDGERTON 1953.

MW: MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899.

TEB: KRAUSE-THOMAS 1960–1964.

THT: Tocharische Texte aus den Turfanfunden.

VAV: *Varṇārhavarṇastotra* by Mātṛceṭa, quoted after HARTMANN 1987.

ZVORAO: Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Rossiiskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva [Proceedings of the Oriental Branch of the (Imperial) Russian Archaeological Society].

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³¹ HARTMANN 1987, 55.

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**Manuscripts of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*
from Dunhuang: preliminary arrangement
according to its scroll division**

Abstract: The paper considers one of the methods of manuscript classification applied to the Chinese translation of *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* from Dunhuang. Given the fact that the beginnings and endings of some scrolls of its different versions do not correspond, researchers identify several types of scroll division (*fen juan* 分卷). This paper attempts to reconstruct one of these types based on *Daboniepanjing chao* 大般涅槃經鈔 (“Digests of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*”) manuscripts from Dunhuang.

Key words: Chinese Buddhism, Dunhuang, manuscripts, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra*, scroll division, digests of sūtras, 北敦 6363, 北敦 3386, 北敦 2838

The *Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra* (*Daboniepanjing* 大般涅槃經, hereinafter — MPNMS) is believed to have been written around the 2nd or 3rd c. AD. The full Sanskrit version of the MPNMS has not remained intact. The MPNMS was an important scripture among the Buddha-nature corpus of texts since it was the first of this kind to reach China, and it played a significant role in the dissemination of the Buddha-nature doctrine.

There are two full versions of the sūtra, known as Northern (*beiben* 北本) and Southern (*nanben* 南本), both of which are found in Dunhuang cave library.

The Northern version¹ is a translation of Dharmakṣema (*Tanwuchen* 曇無讖, 385–433) made between AD 421 and 430.² It consisted of 40 volumes (*juan* 卷) and was completed in two stages: first, a text of 10 volumes was translated, which corresponded to approximately six volumes of an earlier translation by Buddhahadra in terms of volume and content; second, the translation of the remaining 30 volumes was completed. The text of the

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¹ T. 374.

² CHEN JINHUA 2004, 215–263.

MPNMS is heterogeneous. The researchers believe that its second part was written later. The first 10 volumes are sometimes called “the core portion” (*qianfen* 前分).

The Southern version³ was made, based on the “Northern” one, in AD 436 by Huiyan 慧嚴 (363–443), Huiguan 慧觀 (375?–445?) and others. The text was split into chapters in the same way as in the Buddhahadra (*Fotuobatuolu* 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429) and Faxian 法顯 (337–422) six-volume translation with some minor stylistic changes. The translation consisted of 36 volumes, mainly due to the greater amount of text in each scroll rather than abridgements.

Preliminary figures indicate that the total number of MPNMS manuscript fragments from Dunhuang is over 3,000 items. The archive of the National Library of China possesses the largest number of fragments and full scrolls of the sūtra (over 700 items). The vast majority of Dunhuang copies of the sūtra contain the text of its Northern version. However, sometimes, with a small fragment, we cannot establish with certainty which of the two versions it belongs to. It is also impossible to work out even the approximate number of copies solely on the basis of these data, since the manuscripts are represented both by full scrolls and fragments of different size, some very small indeed. We can get more accurate information by putting the fragments together, but many of them do not fit together precisely, so sometimes we can only make assumptions that they belong to one and the same copy on the basis of the handwriting, paper etc. We face the same problems when attempting to correlate the various volumes of the sūtra. Apart from differences in paper, handwriting, sheet size, etc., the sūtra copies are also distinguished by differing scroll divisions (*fenjuan* 分卷). In other words, while the overall number of volumes is the same (40), the beginning and end of some scrolls do not match those in other copies.

The present paper attempts to classify the surviving copies of the Northern version by scroll division type. Obviously, we can only classify those manuscripts that have either the beginning or the end, or full scrolls. For that purpose we need to reconstruct the possible types of scroll division, a task which is made possible thanks to a number of Dunhuang manuscripts.

Among them is a series of documents containing a list of MPNMS volumes with indication of their beginnings (*tou* 頭) and ends (*wei* 尾). We believe that these documents served as a check list for the monks who copied the sūtra to help them in the standardization of the text.⁴ These are the fol-

³ T. 375.

⁴ FANG Guangchang 1997, vol. 1, 13.

lowing manuscripts: P.3150, P.5047 (held in the National Library of France), S.1361 (held in the British Library), 北 6612v (held in the National Library of China) and Φ-271 (held in the IOM, RAS). Their contents were deciphered and published by Fang Guangchang,⁵ so I am not going to include that process in the present paper. The data provided by the manuscripts show four possible types of scroll division. Jing Shengxuan made up a classification table, in which the sūtra manuscripts were sorted by these types of division.⁶ His research has shown that a considerable portion of the manuscripts do not accord with any of “check lists” in the five aforementioned manuscripts. We should also note that none of these types of division represented by the Dunhuang lists of MPNMS accord with the Taishō Tripitaka version. Do such manuscripts represent a new type of division, or they are just variations of the existing ones? To clarify this issue, I decided to analyze a number of manuscripts labelled and catalogue as *Daboniepanjing chao* 大般涅槃經鈔 or *Daboniepanjing yiyao* 大般涅槃經義要 (“Digests of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra”).

The published catalogues of Dunhuang collections contain over twenty manuscripts that have been given these labels by modern catalogue compilers. Most of them date from approximately 7th–8th cc. AD. They consist of MPNMS fragments arranged in an order that differs from the canonical version.

Amongst these documents three typologically different kinds of texts are found — a) wasted pages (marked with *dui* 兌 “deleted”) conglutinated together; b) random writings; c) well-organized sūtra extracts (*yiyao* 義要).

Making digests of sūtras was quite common in medieval China. Nevertheless, bibliographers tended to regard such texts negatively, and digests were placed in the category of apocryphal texts and dubious sūtras. Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) expressed concerns that two such texts, which he dated as being from the reign of Emperor Wu of Southern Qi (483–493), while not fake and promoting the teaching, might at some point in the future be mistaken for the original.⁷

For our purposes we consider the following manuscripts: 北敦 6363 (北 6604), 北敦 3386 (北 6610) and 北敦 2838 (北 6607) from the collection of the National Library of China. All three take the form of a digest made up of quotations from the “core portion” of the “Northern” version of the sūtra

⁵ FANG Guangchang 1997, 377–401; JING Shengxuan 2009, 303–316.

⁶ JING Shengxuan 2009, 317–332.

⁷ KUO Liying 2000, 683–684; T. 2145, p. 39b4–7

(1–10 vols.) that were carefully copied in the order of the canonical version, divided by titles with the volume numbers and have been dated to around 7th–8th cc.

The colophon of some lost MPNMS manuscript dated the equivalent of AD 721 reads: (開元九年臘月十三日馬奉錄於此經中略取要義) On the 13th day of the 12th month of 9th year of Kaiyuan reign, Ma Fenglu slightly extracted the essentials from this sūtra.⁸

Of course, we cannot therefore conclude that three manuscripts in the Beijing collection are the “essentials” made by a certain Ma Fenglu in 721, nor indeed can we judge the authenticity of that colophon. Moreover, in the various digests the quotes from the MPNMS are not always identical, but generally include the same fragments with few differences. However, the date of this colophon is in line with the estimated dating of these manuscripts, which might also prove that the making of such digests of the sūtra was practiced in the 7th–8th cc.

The following *table* presents a comparison of the technical characteristics of these three manuscripts:

	北敦 6363	北敦 3386	北敦 2838
condition	beginning mutilated	beginning mutilated	beginning and end both mutilated
content	Preface (mtd); MPNMS quotations (vols. 1–10)	MPNMS quotations (vols. 4–10)	MPNMS quotations (vols. 3–6)
titles	each vol., except the first (卷第二, 卷第三 etc.)	each vol. (卷第五, 卷第六 etc.)	vols. 4, 5. The title of vol. 6 is omitted (卷第四, 卷第五)
dating	7th–8th cc., Tang. dynasty	7th–8th cc., Tang. dynasty	7th–8th cc., Tang. dynasty.
script	<i>kaishu</i>	<i>kaishu</i>	<i>kaishu</i>
length	3.4+1245 cm	1061 cm	5.5+260 cm
width	26 cm	25.5 cm	28.1 cm
length of a single sheet	45.5–46.2 cm	40 cm	36.5–37 cm

⁸ The colophon was published by IKEDA On 1990, 292

	北敦 6363	北敦 3386	北敦 2838
top margin	no data	~2.8 cm	~2.8 cm
bottom margin	no data	~3.4 cm	varies
width of frame	no data	~1.85 cm	varies
characters per line	no data	17	17
lines per sheet	~28	23	22–24
lines (total)	no data	605	167

These characteristics can help us to reconstruct the presumed type of scroll division in the core sūtra part of the original text that served as a source. For example, in the 北敦 6363 manuscript the last quotation from the first volume ends with 却坐一面⁹, while the text after the second volume title 卷第二 begins with 爾時娑羅¹⁰ which might not accord with the division common for all extant versions of this volume. In all known versions the second volume starts with 爾時會中¹¹. The vast majority of copies of the first and the second sūtra volumes share this common division. The only exception is the S.3707 (MPNMS *vol.* 1), which ends with 皆亦如是¹². The second volume of this set ought therefore to begin with 爾時會中¹³, so the S.3707 list should belong to the same divisional type as the master copy that served as a source for 北敦 6363.

The data obtained are best presented as a table. I have used alphabetical labels to identify the types of division given in the aforementioned “check lists”: a. 北 6612v, also S.1361 and Φ-271, b. 北 6612v, c. P.3150, d. P.5047. The type of division reconstructed from the “Digests of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra” is shown here as (e). The cells with shelfmarks contain the ending of the last quotation of the volume and the beginning of the next one. The (e) type is highlighted in grey and in cases where it accords with other types the corresponding cells are also highlighted in grey.

⁹ T., vol. 12, p. 366a16.

¹⁰ T., vol. 12, p. 371b12.

¹¹ T., vol. 12, p. 371c14.

¹² T., vol. 12, p. 371b11.

¹³ T., vol. 12, p. 371b12.

vol. number	type of division	beginning line (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)	type of division	concluding title (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)
1	<i>Taishō</i>	365c06	<i>Taishō</i>	371c08
	a	365c06	a	371c08
	b		b	
	c		c	
	d ¹⁴		d	
	e	365c06	e	371b11
	北敦 6363	365c07	北敦 6363	366a16~371b12
2	<i>Taishō</i>	371c08	<i>Taishō</i>	379a06
	a	371c08	a	379a06
	b		b	
	c		c	
	d		d	
	e	371b12?	e	379a06
	北敦 6363	366a16~371b12	北敦 6363	377b22~379c14
3	<i>Taishō</i>	379a13	<i>Taishō</i>	385b06
	a	379a13	a, e	384c25
	b		b	385b13
	c		c	
	d		d	
	e?	379a13?	3.5?	?
			3.6?	?
	北敦 6363	377b22~379c14	北敦 6363	384c25
	北敦 2838	?	北敦 2838	384c25~c27

¹⁴ The characteristics of divisional type (d) are known only for volumes 19–29 because the document P.5047 is damaged. Since our table gives data for volumes 1–10 only, its cells have intentionally been left blank.

vol. number	type of division	beginning line (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)	type of division	concluding title (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)
4	<i>Taishō</i>	385b13	<i>Taishō</i>	390b08
	a, e	384c27	a, e1	390b13
	b	385b13	b	
	c		c	
	d	?	d	
	?	?	e2?	391b05
	?	?	?	391b29
	北敦 6363	384c25	北敦 363	395b29~c17
			北敦 3386	389b9~395b27
	北敦 2838	384c25~c27	北敦 2838	391a10~391b6
5	<i>Taishō</i>	390b15	<i>Taishō</i>	396c11
	a, e1	390b15	a	396c10
	b		b	
	c		c	
	d		d	
	e2?	391b06(?)	e	398a12
	?	391c03(?)		
	北敦 6363	395b29~c17	北敦 6363	398a12~398b12
	北敦 3386	389b9~395b27	北敦 3386	397b27~398b12
	北敦 2838	391a10~391b6	北敦 2838	?
6	<i>Taishō</i>	396c18	<i>Taishō</i>	402c11
	a	396c18	a	402c10
	b		b	
	c		c	404a29
	d		d	

vol. number	type of division	beginning line (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)	type of division	concluding title (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)
	e	398a13	e	404a29
	(?)Дx-3369	396c06	(?)Дx-3369	?
	北敦 6363	398a12~398b13	北敦 6363	403a14~406b03
	北敦 3386	397b27~398b13	北敦 3386	403a14~406b03
7	<i>Taishō</i>	402c18	<i>Taishō</i>	408c23
	a	402c18	a	411a06
	b		b	408c22
	c	404b01	c	
	d		d	
	e	404b01	e	411a06
	?	?	?	411b16(?)
	北敦 6363	403a14~406b03	北敦 6363	410b29~411b25
	北敦 3386	403a14~406b03	北敦 3386	410b29~411b25
8	<i>Taishō</i>	409a15	<i>Taishō</i>	409a15
	a	411a07	a	417b13
	b	409a19	b	416a10
	c		c	417b13
	d		d	
	e	411a07	e?	417c01
	P.2342	411b17	?	?
	北敦 6363	410b29~411b25	北敦 6363	417a29~417c01
	北敦 3386	410b29~411b25	北敦 3386	417a29~417c01
9	<i>Taishō</i>	416a18	<i>Taishō</i>	422b27
	a	417b14	a	422b27
	b	416a18	b	

vol. number	type of division	beginning line (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)	type of division	concluding title (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)
	c	417b14	c	
	d		d	
	e	417c01	e	422b27
	北敦 6363	417a29~417c01	北敦 6363	422b12~423a4
	北敦 3386	417a29~417c01	北敦 3386	422b12~423a4
10	<i>Taishō</i>	422c06	<i>Taishō</i>	428b13
	a		a	
	b		b	
	c		c	
	d		d	
	e	422c06	e	
	?		?	432a06
	北敦 6363	422b12~423a4	北敦 6363	428b12~
	北敦 3386	422b12~423a4	北敦 3386	428b12~

The data obtained make it possible to classify the sheets according to their types of scroll division. The following table has been borrowed from the work of Jing Shengxuan and updated with the newly data. Where possible, the shelfmark is accompanied by an approximate dating. The shelfmarks are given in Chinese characters (for Chinese collections). The manuscripts from the National Library of China have two sorts: old (北) and new (北敦), apart from newly catalogued items for which only the new type is used.

type of division	beginning or/and ending line (according to <i>Taishō</i> , vol. 12)	shelfmarks of manuscripts from Dunhuang
<i>juan 1</i>		
(e)	如是~如是 (365c06~371b11)	S.3707 (~500)

type of division	beginning or/and ending line (according Taishō, vol. 12)	shelfmarks of manuscripts from Dunhuang
(a) (b) (c) (d)	?~灑地 (?~371c08)	S.1317, 甘圖26, S.3707, 北 6287 (北敦 6298), S.1550, 津藝 200, S.3153, S.6943, 北 6285 (北敦 845) + 北 6289 (北敦 544) + 北 6290 (北敦 686)
<i>juan 2</i>		
(e)	爾時~是法 (371b12(?)~379a05)	北敦 14507 (5–6th cc.)
(a) (b) (c)	爾時~是法 (371c14~379a05)	北敦 14954 (7–8th cc.)
	爾時~? (371c14~?)	北敦 14954 (7–8th cc.)
	?~是法 (?~379a05)	北 6293 (北敦 2322) (6th c.), S.829 (7th c.), 北 6295 (北敦 1997) (5–6th cc.), S.4500 (7–8th cc.), S.6098, 北敦 14507 (5–6th cc.).
<i>juan 3</i>		
(a) (e)	?~色象 (?~384c25)	S.2835 (6th c.), S.2876 (early 6th c.), 北 6299 (北敦 4355) (6th c.), 北敦 14946 (6th c.), 北敦 15323 (8–9th cc.), 北敦 15151 (6th c.)
(b) (c)	?~所覆 (?~385b06)	北敦 15323 (8–9th cc.), 北 6302 (北敦 2370) + 北 6300 (北敦 7654) + 北 6300 (北敦 7654) + 北 6303 (北敦 7516) + 北 6304 (北敦 2726) + 北 6307 (北敦 7462) (5–6th cc.), S.4720, 北 6298 (北敦 1215) (6–8th cc.), S.172 (7th c.), Φ-184 (8–9th cc.), S.6742 (7th c.), 北敦 13842 (8–9th cc.), 北敦 14459 (7–8th cc.)
<i>juan 4</i>		
(e2)	?~墮落(?~391b05)	北 6308 (北敦 6588) (5–6th cc.), 津藝 022 (522), 北 6309 (北敦 7949)(5–6th cc.)
(b) (c) (e1)	佛復~那含 (385b13~390b07)	北敦 13843 (9–10th cc.)

type of division	beginning or/and ending line (according Taishō, vol. 12)	shelfmarks of manuscripts from Dunhuang
(a) (b) (c)	?~那含 (?~390b07)	北 6306 (北敦 1946) (7–8th cc.), 北 6305 (北敦 5261) (8th c.), 北 6311 (北敦 2676) + S. 433 (7–8th cc.), S.2115, 北 6538 (7–8th cc.)
(?)	?~涅槃 (?~391b29)	S.3518 (588)
<i>juan 5</i>		
(e)	?~惡道 (?~398a12)	北 6316 (北敦 1131) (7–8th cc.), 北 6317 (北敦 3405) (5–6th cc.), 北 6319 (北敦 5733) (5–6th cc.), 北 6318 (北敦 1038) (5–6th cc.), 中央圖書館 81
(e1)	爾時~惡道 (390b15~398a12)	北敦 13874 (8–9th cc.), 北敦 13875 (7–8th cc.)
(a) (b) (c)	爾時~正法 (390b15~396c10)	S.1966 (7–9th cc.), 北 6539 (北敦 663) (9–10th cc.), 北 6321 (北敦 2760) (7–9th cc.), S.5384 (7–9th cc.), 北敦 14949 (708)
<i>juan 6</i>		
(e) (c)	爾時~菩薩 (398a13~404a29)	S.2393 (6th c.), 北 6323 (北敦 1470) (7–8th cc.), S.2864 (7th c.), 中央圖書館 73
(a) (b)	善男~經典 (396c14~402c10)	北 6324 (北敦 3173) (8th c.), 北 6325 (北敦 3975) (9–10th cc.), 北敦 13844 (8–9th cc.)
<i>juan 7</i>		
(e)	復次~思議 (404b01~411a06)	北敦 13845 (7–8th cc.), 中書店14 (7th c.)
(a)(e)	?~說已 (?~411a06)	S.67 (6th c.), 北 6327 (北敦 3430 (5–6th cc.), 北 6334 (北敦 1209) (7–8th cc.), 津藝 328, 北敦 14484 (7–8th cc.)
(a)	爾時~說已 (402c18~411a06)	北 6326 (北敦 1358) (6th c.), 北 6326 (北敦 1358) (6th c.)

type of division	beginning or/and ending line (according Taishō, vol. 12)	shelfmarks of manuscripts from Dunhuang
(b) (c)	?~思議 (?~408c22)	S.6573
<i>juan 8</i>		
(?) (e)?	善男~涅槃 (411a07~417c01)	S.883, 北 6542 (北敦 89), Φ-82, 北 6330 (北敦 1983), P.2205, S.4876, 散 68, 北敦 14464, 北敦 14550, 中央圖書館 82, Φ-82 (7-9th cc.), 北敦 1983 (7-8th cc.), S.4876, 北敦 14464 (7-8th cc.), 北敦 14550 (7-8th cc.), S.883 (7th c.), 北 6542 (北敦 89) (7-9th cc.)
(a)	善男~滅沒 (411a07~417b13)	北敦 13846 (8-9th cc.)
(a)(c)	?~滅沒(?~417b13)	S.6942 (7th c.)
(b)	?~等鳥 (?~416a10)	S.130, Φ-74 (7-9th cc.), 北 6333 (北敦 3653) (7-8th cc.)
<i>juan 9</i>		
(e)	迦葉~不久 (417c01~422b27)	S.93 (7th c.), 北 6543 (北敦 3714) (6-7th cc.), 上博 4 (7-8th cc.), 上博 4 (7-8th cc.), 上博 61 (7-8th cc.), 北 6335 (北敦 2136), 北敦 13847 (8th c.)
(b)	復次~不久 (416a18~422b27)	S.4788, S.6510 (6th c.)
<i>juan 10</i>		
the scroll division is the same for all manuscripts		

Different versions of MPNMS manuscripts were circulating in Dunhuang during the entire period spanned by the Dunhuang manuscripts collection. For its core portion there are versions with at least four different scroll divisions ((a), (b), (c), and (e) versions). The (e) type copies were circulating

from the 5th c. till 10th c. or later, but the majority date from the 5th–6th cc., with some (considerably fewer less) from the 7th–8th cc. By contrast, manuscripts belonging to the (b) type were copied mostly in later centuries (8th–10th cc.). The “Essence of MPNMS” manuscripts were copied from the (e) version. The scheme of its division is presented below.

1. from 如是 to 如是 (365c06–371b11)
2. from 爾時 to 是法 (371b12–379a06?)
3. from 佛復 to 色像 (379a13?–384c25)
4. from 爾時 to 那含 (384c27–390b07) (e1) / from 爾時 to 墮落 (384c25–391b05) (e2)¹⁵
5. from 爾時 to 惡道 (390b15–398a12) (e1) / from 迦葉 to 惡道 (391b06–398a12) (e2)
6. from 爾時 to 菩薩 (398a13–404a29)
7. from 複次 to 說已 (404b01–411a06)
8. from 善男 to 涅槃 (411a07–417c01) / from 善男 to 滅沒 (411a07–417b13?)
9. from 善男 to 不久 (417c01–422b27) / from 複次 to 不久 (417b14?–422b27)
10. from 爾時 to 病人 (422c06–428b13)

From this preliminary classification, we can only know that all types of division were probably in use in all periods when the Dunhuang cave library was accumulating its stocks (5th to 10th cc.). That means that these different types were not standardized from the very beginning of sūtra circulation until the library was sealed up in the first part of 11th c. The modest attempts to standardize the copying process that were made by unknown scribes did not change the overall situation. Moreover, the division into volumes of xylographic editions of Chinese Tripiṭakas produced in the following centuries is not uniform either and might be compared with manuscript from Dunhuang. From time to time the copyists tended to deal quite freely with texts, randomly splitting them in order, for example, to save paper. Further investigation will allow us to produce a more detailed reconstruction of the history of the MPNMS text.

¹⁵ We can see that there seems to be some variations of the “e” version, so we have marked the master copy of 北敦 2838 as “e2” type.

Abbreviations

MPNMS: Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahāsūtra
T.: Taishō Buddhist Canon
mtd: mutilated

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Natalia Smelova

The Canons of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in the Manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34¹

Abstract: The article deals with the manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34, one leaf of parchment originating from the collection of Nikolai Likhachev. It contains a Syriac translation of selected documents of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325): the introduction to the canons, a bilingual Greek-Syriac list of 42 bishops, and the first five canons of the council. Most of the texts are incomplete and damaged. The present article focuses mainly on the study and commented publication of the five Nicaean canons from IOM, RAS Syr. 34. On the basis of comparative textual research the author aims to show the place of the St. Petersburg manuscript in the history of Syriac translations of the canons.

Key words: Christian Church, Late Roman Empire, Ecumenical Councils, canon law, Syriac translations from Greek, Syriac manuscripts

Introduction

1. IOM, RAS Syr. 34: the study of provenance and paleographic description

The subject of this paper is a remarkable one-leaf parchment manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34, which contains fragmented documents of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325) (hereafter, Nicaea I): a final portion of the introduction to the canons (f. 1r), the bilingual Greek-Syriac list of 42 bishops (f. 1r), and the first five canons (incomplete and badly damaged) (f. 1v).

The manuscript came into the Institute as part of the collection of the historian Nikolai Likhachev (1862–1936). This remarkable private collection was formed in the course of the late 19th and early 20th cc. It included various types of script and writing material, both Eastern and Western, due

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¹ This is a revised and corrected version of my article in the PPV No. 2(11) (SMELOVA 2009).

to the collector's special interest in the history of writing, paleography and codicology. In 1918, the nationalised collection became the basis for the newly-founded Cabinet of Paleography that first was part of the Archeological Institute, and then (since 1923) of the Archeological Museum of the Petrograd University. In 1925 it was renamed the Museum of Paleography and came under the administration of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Later on, in 1930, following Likhachev's arrest, this was reorganised as the Museum of the Book, Document and Writing, which was soon afterwards renamed Institute and subsequently, in 1936, ceased its existence as an independent organisation. From 1930 until 1935 the collection was gradually distributed among different institutions in Leningrad, such as the State Hermitage Museum, the Leningrad Branches of the Institute of History and the Institute of Oriental Studies (now IOM) of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, depending on the language and nature of the material.² The scope, scale and significance of the collection could be fully appreciated at the exhibition held in the Hermitage in 2012, which brought together artefacts and manuscripts that once belonged to Likhachev and are now kept in different depositories in St. Petersburg.³

Among the numerous Oriental materials from the Likhachev Collection, six items were identified as Syriac, in some cases by their script rather than by language.⁴ The provenance of the manuscripts can be established, albeit only approximately, from the hand-written notes taken by Yurii Perepelkin of Likhachev's own statements, now in St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences.⁵ Regarding the manuscript later classified as Syr. 34, we know that it was acquired from an antiquarian bookseller in St. Petersburg around 1900 along with two others, the liturgy of John Chrysostom in the form of a paper scroll, and 53 loose leaves of parchment carrying the *Homiliae Cathedrales* by Severus of Antioch.⁶ However, there is another piece of testimony provided by Heinrich Goussen who writes that most probably this is the same leaf of parchment which was offered to the University of Strasbourg by an antiquarian from Frankfurt around 1896/1897. Goussen saw and copied the manuscript himself and he

² I am indebted to Dr. Alexandra Chirkova of the St. Petersburg Institute of History, RAS for her consultations concerning the history of the Likhachev Collection.

³ "In written words alone..." 2012.

⁴ SMELOVA 2012.

⁵ ARAS, St. Petersburg Branch, fond 246 (Nikolai Likhachev), inv. 2, unit 136, ff. 95v, 107r, 110r, 132r.

⁶ On this manuscript see SMELOVA 2011.

tends to date it to the 7th–8th cc.⁷ Thus it well may be that Likhachev purchased the manuscript from an antiquarian bookseller in Frankfurt rather than St. Petersburg.

Apart from this information, we are fortunate to have further notes testifying to the time when our manuscript reached St. Petersburg and was first examined there. The manuscript is still kept in its original folder along with two handwritten notes in French dated 14th November 1859. These were made by two librarians of the Imperial Public Library (hereafter — IPL) in St. Petersburg, Eduard de Muralt and Bernhard (Boris) Dorn, who examined and provided an expert opinion on the two manuscripts, the *Homiliae Cathedrales* (now Syr. 35) and the Nicaean documents (now Syr. 34). Muralt describes the latter as containing the first five canons of the Council of Nicaea of AD 325 issued and subscribed by 318 bishops, of whom 41 (sic! — *N.S.*) signature survived in Greek writing of approximately the 9th–10th cc. and in Syriac estrangelo writing. He then lists the names of the bishops in French. In Dorn's note the manuscript is described as being written in the "Nestorian" script and is dated, on the basis of paleography, to the 9th c.⁸

In October 1859 Constantine Tischendorf returned to St. Petersburg from his expedition to the Middle East and brought a collection of 109 Greek and Oriental manuscripts, predominately Christian, which was solemnly presented to the Tsar Alexander II, who had sponsored the expedition, and subsequently deposited in the IPL. Among Tischendorf's finds was the other portion of the *Homiliae Cathedrales* manuscript (23 leaves; now NLR, Syr. new series 10). We can only conjecture that the two manuscripts (IOM, RAS Syr. 34 and Syr. 35) might also have been brought to St. Petersburg by Tischendorf in 1859. However, it is unclear why, having been seen and described by Bernhard Dorn, the librarian at the IPL Manuscripts Department as well as the director of the Asiatic Museum, they were acquired neither by the IPL nor by the Museum. Probably, in 1859, they entered a private collection in Russia, from which they were sold to an antiquarian, either in St. Petersburg, or in Frankfurt, where they were eventually purchased by Likhachev at the turn of the 20th c.

The first scholarly description of the manuscript, the study and publication of the bilingual Greek and Syriac list of bishops was undertaken by Vladimir Beneshevich in the 1910s.⁹ The researcher highlighted the bilinguality of the list as a feature which made the St. Petersburg manuscript unique, since no

⁷ GOUSSEN 1927, 173.

⁸ IOM, RAS Syr. 34, ff. 2r–2v.

⁹ BENESHEVICH 1917–1925; the list was later reprinted in HONIGMANN, 1937, 336–337.

other examples were known to him at that time. He thoroughly analysed the Greek script used in the names of the bishops (majuscule form) as well as in the names of the provinces and marginal notes (transitional form with elements of minuscule), and came to the conclusion that the writing can be dated to the 8th(?)–9th cc. Quoting Prof. Pavel Kokovtsoff’s opinion, he described the Syriac script as “a Jacobite cursive” of approximately 9th–10th cc. In addition to this, Beneshevich stated that both parts of the list were written simultaneously, although the Greek and parallel Syriac column (the names of the bishops and provinces) could have been written by one scribe and the three columns of Syriac text by another hand.¹⁰ Another significant conclusion drawn by Beneshevich was that the Syriac text of the canons in the St. Petersburg manuscript is virtually the same recension as that in the manuscript Paris syr. 62 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. He supposed that this translation of the Greek canons was made around the time of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, i.e. AD 451 (see the discussion on this text in chapter 2 below).¹¹

A short description of the IOM, RAS Syr. 34 was included in the “Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad” by Nina Pigulevskaya.¹² Agreeing with Kokovtsoff’s opinion, she defined the script of the manuscript as a clear cursive in its transitional form from *eṣṙangelo* to *serṭo* (the West-Syrian writing). She added also that the ductus is similar to that seen in the manuscript containing a work by Sahdona copied in AD 837 (AG 1148) by a monk called Sergius who donated it to the Monastery of Moses on Sinai (NLR Syr. new series 13; Strasbourg MS 4116).¹³ This statement is somewhat unclear because the main text of the latter manuscript is written in *eṣṙangelo*. Apparently, Pigulevskaya was referring to the cursive writing used in the colophon, which does make sense, although the two scripts are obviously not identical, as the Sahdona manuscript contains more elements of cursive than IOM, RAS Syr. 34.

¹⁰ Ibid., 112–113.

¹¹ Ibid., 114.

¹² PIGULEVSKAIA 1960, 120.

¹³ PIGULEVSKAIA 1960, 109; PIGOULEWSKAYA 1927, 293–309; BRIQUEL CHATONNET 1997, 201–204.

Twelve other leaves from the same manuscript, kept in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (A. 296 Inf., f. 131–142), were published by André de Halleux (DE HALLEUX 1960, 33–38). Further leaves were identified by Sebastian Brock in the Mingana Collection at the University of Birmingham (Mingana Syr. 650; BROCK 1968, 139–154), and among the new finds at St. Catherine’s Monastery on Sinai (M45N; PHILOTHÉE DU SINAI 2008, 474–476; BROCK 2009, 175–177). A copy of the Sinaitic manuscript is Vat. sir. 623, of 886 (BROCK 2009, 176).

The dimensions of the IOM, RAS Syr. 34 are 195×293 mm. The upper right corner of f. 1r is damaged, so that the final part of the introduction on the recto as well as the title and the initial part of the canons on the verso have been lost. The text on the hair (recto) side of the parchment is generally better preserved than the text on the flesh side, where it was rubbed or washed off. The text is written with iron gall ink, while the names of provinces in both Greek and Syriac (f. 1r) as well as the titles and numbers of the canons (f. 1v) are in red ink.

The recto contains two columns of text; the right-hand column and the text in the lower margin are further divided to include parallel lists of bishops in two languages. The left edge of the right-hand column is more or less observed, in contrast to the right edge which is virtually ignored. Thus it becomes obvious that the Greek names were written prior to the Syriac ones, which were fitted into the space available. The left column contains 42 lines of plain Syriac text of the so-called introduction to the canons. In the left margin, there are a few Greek words corresponding to those given in Syriac transcription in the introduction. Writing area: variable, 272×164 mm maximum; right column: variable, 272×88 mm maximum; left column: 224×64 mm; upper margin — 20 mm; lower margin: filled with names of bishops and, in the bottom right corner, four lines of smaller Syriac text in a vertical direction published by Beneshevich;¹⁴ right margin: between 7 and 16 mm; left margin: up to 25 mm, gap between columns about 10 mm.

The verso contains two columns of Syriac text (42 lines in the right column, 41 in the left column) with Greek glosses in the right margin and in the gap between the columns. The traces of ruling include four pinholes marking the edges of the columns. Writing area: 224×150 mm; right column: 224×64 mm; left column: 224×67 mm; upper margin — up to 23 mm; lower margin — up to 48 mm; right margin — up to 30 mm; left margin — 17 mm; gap between columns 20 mm. Measurements were taken from the pinholes.

The writing of the main Syriac text is a transitional form of estrangelo with some elements of serṭo (ܣܪܬܘ). The Syriac list of bishops is written in a rather cursive script with occasional elements of estrangelo (letters ܐ ܘ ܘܢ ܘܢܝܢ). It is, however, unlikely that the two were written by different scribes, as Beneshevich suggested. Such ductus features as the slope of the letters and final strokes, especially, the final ܘܢ, testify to the fact that both parts were written by the same hand. It is difficult to say

¹⁴ BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 114.

whether the Greek text was executed by the same scribe. However, taking into account the high level of translation activity and the widespread use of Greek marginal notes in West-Syrian manuscripts, it would seem reasonable to assume that both texts were written by the same Syriac scribe well versed in the Greek language and calligraphy.

Although a similar transitional form of the script can be found in a number of 9th c. West-Syrian manuscripts (e.g. BL Add. 12159 of AD 867/868 and BL Add. 14623 of AD 823),¹⁵ it is also characteristic of some Syro-Melkite manuscripts, presumed to be of the same period (e.g. Syr. Sp. 68, Syr. Sp. 70, 9th c., according to Sebastian Brock).¹⁶ Therefore in our case the writing *per se* cannot be decisive in determining whether the manuscript belongs to one tradition or the other. However, the Greek words in the margins form part of the specifically West-Syrian system for the presentation of translated texts (cf. Greek scholia in IOM, RAS Syr. 35, BL Add. 17148 (AD 650–660), BL Add. 17134 (AD 675), BL Add. 12134 (AD 697) and many other West-Syrian manuscripts from the 7th c. onwards).¹⁷ This latter feature as well as the recension of the text, which is only preserved in West-Syrian manuscripts, may testify to the West-Syrian origin of the St. Petersburg leaf.

2. Documents of Nicaea I in Syriac translation: an overview

Paraphrasing Michel Aubineau, the question of the exact number of bishops who participated in the Council of Nicaea is likely to remain for ever insoluble.¹⁸ Even the 4th c. writers, who attended the council, do not agree on this matter. The *Vita Constantini*, ascribed, although not without some doubt, to Eusebius, gives the smallest number, to wit “more than two hundred and fifty bishops”.¹⁹ Theodoret, quoting the words of Eustathius of Antioch, who chaired the council before his deposition and exile, mentions about 270 bishops.²⁰ Other sources give a number around or above 300. These are the letter from Emperor Constantine to the Church of Alexandria

¹⁵ HATCH 1946, 156, pl. CV; *Ibid.*, 149, pl. XCVIII.

¹⁶ BROCK 1995, 66–67, 268–271.

¹⁷ See also BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 112.

¹⁸ AUBINEAU 1966, 5.

¹⁹ *Vita Constantini* III:8; EUSEBIUS 1991, 85.

²⁰ *Hist. Eccles.* I:8; THEODORET 1998, 33–34.

(AD 325) quoted by Socrates Scholasticus, Gelasius of Cyzicus and others; *Apologia contra Arianos* (AD 350–351) and *Historia Arianorum ad monachos* (AD 358) by Athanasius; *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* by Jerome, etc.²¹

However, at some point in the 4th c., the precise number of 318 bishops emerged and gained currency, being associated with the number of Abraham's servants in Gen. 14:14.²² Among the earliest sources which give the number 318, scholars mention *De Fide ad Gratianum* by Ambrose, *Epistola ad Afros* by Athanasius, *De synodis* and *Liber contra Constantium imperatorem* by Hilary of Poitiers.²³ I should add that the tradition does not always specify whether 318 refers to the total number of bishops gathered in Nicaea or to those who signed the canons and other resolutions of the council (some bishops were deposed in the course of the sessions and sent into exile before the end of the council; others refused to put their signatures to the Creed).²⁴ In either case, the number 318 became widely reflected in the title of the Nicaean canons in Syriac translations (e.g. BL Add. 14528, BL Add. 14526, BL Add. 14529, and also the 72 pseudo-Nicaean canons associated with Maruta of Maiperqat) as well as in some later Greek versions of the list of bishops.²⁵

The written records of Nicaea I have not survived unlike the acts of the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431) and all subsequent Ecumenical Councils. The main resolutions concerning Church structure and internal discipline, including issues of private life and ordination of priests and bishops, were formulated in the form of 20 canons. Karl Joseph Hefele in his *Conciliengeschichte* made a thorough study of the question of the number of the Nicaean canons. On the one hand, he cites Theodoret, Gelasius of Cyzicus, Rufinus and other Church historians who spoke of 20 canons, and mentions numerous western (Latin) and eastern (Greek and Slavonic) medieval canonic manuscripts (Syntagmas, Nomocanons and other collections of canon law) containing 20 Nicaean canons. On the other hand,

²¹ AUBINEAU 1966, 7–10.

²² The analogy between Abraham, who defeated four impious kings at the head of his 318 servants (or slaves), and Constantine, who defeated heretics presiding over 318 bishops, was probably first drawn by Ambrose in his *De Fide ad Gratianum* I:1. See HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 411.

²³ HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 409–411; AUBINEAU 1966, 14–15; L'HUILLIER 1996, 18.

²⁴ Theodoret mentions 318 bishops who gathered at the council, although here he does not provide his source (*Hist. Eccles.* I:7,3; THEODORET 1998, 30). Socrates Scholasticus, in turn, speaks of 318 bishops who signed the Nicaean Creed, while five other refused to do this (*Hist. Eccles.* I:8.31; SOKRATES 1995, 22).

²⁵ KAUFHOLD 1993; HONIGMANN 1936; HONIGMANN 1939, 52–61; HONIGMANN 1950; LEBEDEV 1916; BENESHEVICH 1908.

he shows some Arabic versions which preserved up to 84 canons ascribed to the Council of Nicaea. First published in the course of the 16th c. by the Jesuits François Torrès and Alphonse Pisani, then re-published in mid–17th c. by the Maronite Abraham Ecchelensis, the Latin translation of these was included in all major collections of the proceedings of the Ecumenical Councils.²⁶ Hefele sums up the conclusions of various scholars that these additional canons were products of later Eastern traditions. Some of them could not have been composed before the Council of Ephesus (431), others not before Chalcedon (461).²⁷

In 1898, the publication by Oscar Braun made known the corpus of works ascribed to Maruta, Bishop of Maiperqat, on the basis of the East-Syrian manuscript from the former Borgia Museum in Vatican, now Borg. sir. 82. Among a dozen works dealing with the Council of Nicaea, he published a transcription of 73 Syriac “Nicaean” canons.²⁸ The scholarly publication of these texts was undertaken by Arthur Vööbus.²⁹ As follows from the title, the canons of the council of 318 [bishops] were translated by Maruta at the request of Mar Išḥaq, Bishop-Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.³⁰ In AD 410 Maruta assisted Mar Išḥaq in convening the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. That synod was an important milestone in the formation of the Church structure within the Sasanian Empire. In order to stress its legitimate status and continuity from the Ecumenical Church, the Synod accepted the main resolutions of Nicaea I, including the Creed and the canons.

On the occasion of the synod, Maruta apparently translated from Greek the main documents of the Council of Nicaea, including 20 canons, the Creed, the *Sacra*, letters of Constantine and Helena and the names of the bishops (220 in number, without the Western bishops) and also composed his own overview of the Canon of Nicaea and various related explanatory pieces, i.e. on monasticism, persecutions, heresies, on terms, ranks and orders, etc. All these texts were included in the edition prepared by Vööbus on the basis of the manuscript from the Monastery of Our Lady of the Seeds in Alqoš (Alqoš 169; later in the Chaldean monastery in Bagdad, No. 509) with variants from Vat. sir. 501, Borg. sir. 82, Mingana Syr. 586, and Mingana Syr. 47 (see details of some of these manuscripts in Table 1 below).³¹

²⁶ HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 511–514.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 515–520.

²⁸ BRAUN 1898.

²⁹ VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 56–115.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XXVI.

Braun considered Maruta to be the author of the 73 canons originally composed in Syriac.³² Vööbus neither supports nor rejects this attribution due to the lack of evidence, as well as the critical edition and stylistic analysis of the text.³³ Moreover, he adds that the East-Syrian recension, which associates the canons with Maruta, is not the original one and must have been adopted from the West-Syrian tradition. He also mentions Arabic and Ethiopic versions of these canons.³⁴

In a number of Syriac manuscripts the authentic Nicaean canons are accompanied by the list of bishops who approved and signed them (the list can be included either before or after the canons). Being originally a collection of signatures in Greek, the list underwent certain transformations within the Greek tradition and was subsequently translated into Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic and Armenian.³⁵ Among the variety of versions Dmitrii Lebedev distinguished two forms of the list. In “systematic” lists, which include all extant Latin, Syriac, Coptic and Armenian versions, the names are arranged according to provinces. The “non-systematic” lists published by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld and Cuntz from selected Greek and Arabic manuscripts lack the names of the provinces and arrange the bishops’ names in a different, somewhat peculiar, way.³⁶

All Syriac lists, which can be found in both West-Syrian and East-Syrian manuscripts, are in the “systematic” form and derive from the Greek recension of Theodoros Anagnostes (the list of 212 names, originally included in Socrates Scholasticus’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*).³⁷ Besides anonymous collections of ecclesiastical law, the lists are included in the Chronicle of the 12th-c. Syrian Orthodox patriarch Michael the Great and the Nomocanon of ‘Abdišo’ bar Brika, the Metropolitan of Nisibis (Church of the East) (13th–14th cc.). According to Vladimir Beneshevich, the version of the list in the manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34 corresponds to the West-Syrian recension used by Michael the Great in his Chronicle (VII:2).³⁸ This perfectly supports our assumption regarding the West-Syrian origin of the St. Petersburg manuscript. Beneshevich also states that the original Greek version of the Syriac list must have been composed after 371 under a certain influence from the

³² BRAUN 1898, 24.

³³ VÖÖBUS 1982–2, IX.

³⁴ VÖÖBUS 1960, 115–118.

³⁵ GELZER, HILGENFELD, CUNTZ 1898.

³⁶ BENESHEVICH 1908, 282–283; LEBEDEV 1916, 2–3; GELZER, HILGENFELD, CUNTZ 1898, 71–75, 144–181.

³⁷ KAUFHOLD 1993, 8.

³⁸ BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 121–122; CHABOT 1910, vol. IV, 124–127.

Coptic tradition. It also became the source for the Latin translations.³⁹ Another curious observation by Beneshevich about the Greek text of the list in IOM, RAS Syr. 34 is that it represents a transcription of the Syriac forms of the names of provinces and bishops rather than being the authentic Greek forms.⁴⁰ However, Hubert Kaufhold demonstrates that this is not particularly correct and the scribe must have had the original list of bishops before his eyes. The fact that the Greek names of the provinces are in the nominative rather than the genitive is not decisive here, as some Greek and Syriac forms in this recension (which can be fully evaluated on the grounds of Mardin Orth. 309) are clearly different (e.g. ΕΔΕΣΗΣ — ܕܝܢܝܨܐ).⁴¹

Beneshevich wrote his work in the first decades of the 20th c. when no other manuscripts containing bilingual lists of bishops were known. Thus the St. Petersburg leaf was considered unique. However, due to new acquisitions made by the Vatican Library and Arthur Vööbus's exploration of Middle Eastern manuscript collections, some other bilingual Greek-Syriac lists have become known, among them the 8th-c. codex Mardin Orth. 309 and Vat. sir. 495, a 20th-c. manuscript "copied from an ancient codex".⁴² The Mardin manuscript attracted a lot of attention, particularly, from Hubert Kaufhold who published the lists of bishops of the early Greek councils and synods on its basis.⁴³

Alongside the above-mentioned 20 canons and the list of bishops, the Nicæan documents in both West-Syrian and East-Syrian manuscripts, mostly of legislative contents, include the Nicæan Creed, the letter of Constantine of AD 325 calling on the bishops who assembled in Ancyra to move to the new venue in Nicæa, the *Sacra*, i.e. the decree of Constantine against the Arians,⁴⁴ the letter of the bishops to the Church of Alexandria, and an introduction to the canons.⁴⁵ This last work has not yet been fully identified. According to Vladimir Beneshevich, it may be a combination of two different texts: the afterword to the Nicæan Creed included in Gelasius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (II:27), also known in Latin, Coptic and Armenian translations,

³⁹ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁴¹ KAUFHOLD 1993, 4–5.

⁴² VÖÖBUS 1972, 96; VÖÖBUS 1970, 443–447; LANTSCHOOT 1965, 26–27; see also KAUFHOLD 1993.

⁴³ KAUFHOLD 1993, 57–83.

⁴⁴ The original text has been preserved in Socrates's *Hist. Eccles.* I:9.30–31 and Gelasius of Cyzicus's *Hist. Eccles.* II:36; Syriac text published in COWPER 1857, 2–3; SCHULTHESS 1908, 1; VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 123.

⁴⁵ First published by Paulin Martin in PITRA, 1883, 224–227; then in SCHULTHESS 1908, 158–159.

and the council's resolution on the celebration of Easter.⁴⁶ This text in Syriac translation was thought to be present in full in the manuscript Paris syr. 62 only. However, it can be also identified in the two Mardin manuscripts discovered by Arthur Vööbus, Mardin Orth. 309 and Mardin Orth. 310, as well as the Birmingham manuscript Mingana Syr. 8 that was copied in 1911 from the fragmented Mardin Orth. 310.

3. The place of IOM, RAS Syr. 34 in the textual history of the Syriac canons of Nicaea I

We are indebted to Friedrich Schulthess for the initial identification of different Syriac translations and recensions of the canons of Nicaea I. Through a critical study of eight Syriac manuscripts, he uncovered the fact that the canons were translated twice. One translation (A) is attested by the London codex BL Add. 14528 of the 6th c. The first of its two independent parts that were bound together is an archaic form of Synodicon of the councils from Nicaea to Chalcedon with the exception of the Council of Ephesus (ff. 1–151). This form of canonical collection is known as the “*Corpus canonum*” and is thought to have been compiled in Antioch shortly before the Council of Constantinople (381). It included the canons of the Greek councils and synods of the 4th c. (Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea and Constantinople itself) with later added canons of the Ecumenical Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon.⁴⁷ It represents the core and the initial part of subsequent Synodica, i.e. the corpora of ecclesiastical legislation, both West-Syrian (e.g. Paris syr. 62, Damascus 8/11) and East Syrian (e.g. Alqoš 169 and its copies).⁴⁸

The colophon of Add. 14528 informs us that the entire collection of 193 canons of various synods was translated from Greek into Syriac in Mabbug in the year 500/501 (AD 812).⁴⁹ Schulthess described this translation as precise, and Vööbus suggested that it was the later of the two. He states that translation A (hereafter, I use Schulthess's letters indicating the published manuscripts as a designation of translations contained in them) was intended to correct and improve the existing rendering which permitted certain leeway

⁴⁶ BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 130–131.

⁴⁷ KAUFHOLD 2012, 216.

⁴⁸ See for example VÖÖBUS 1975–1, 85–139; SELB 1989; SELB 1981.

⁴⁹ WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 1030–1033.

in the interpretation of Greek canon law.⁵⁰ The manuscript BL Add. 14528 is also interesting as it contains a very well preserved Syriac list of the bishops at Nicaea I which became the basis for a number of modern publications (see Table 1 for details).

The beginning of the 6th c. was the time when Philoxenus, a strong advocate of Miaphysitism, was active in Mabbug, where he was a bishop from 485 until his deposition in 519. In all probability, the translation of the canons made in Mabbug in 501 (as is claimed in the colophon of Add. 14528) was the result of a large-scale translation activity, which consisted primarily in the translation of the Old and New Testament, commissioned by Philoxenus and performed by his horepiskopus Polycarpus. Hubert Kaufhold adds an interesting detail: another Miaphysite leader, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (512–518), mentions in his letters a collection of canons of the imperial councils which was available to him, although no Greek original for this existed at his time.⁵¹ This may have been the translation produced in Mabbug just a decade before his patriarchate.

In this case, why were the canons of the hostile Council of Chalcedon translated and included in all known West-Syrian manuscripts of purely legislative or mixed contents (e.g. BL Add. 14526, BL Add. 14529, BL Add. 12155, Paris syr. 62, Damascus Part. 8/11 etc.)? The answer is probably that they cover and discuss disciplinary rather than doctrinal issues, so their inclusion in the West-Syrian collections would not give rise to any further controversy. By contrast, the canon(s) of Ephesus seems to be a rarer text. Most West-Syrian manuscripts studied by Schulthess and Vööbus include only one canon of Ephesus (namely, canon 7, dealing with the Nicæan Creed) of eight known in the Greek tradition (with the exception of Paris syr. 62 which includes two canons, 8 and 7). They are not included in the East-Syrian Synodicon Borg. sir. 82, although that codex is highly fragmented. The canons of Ephesus are quite different in content as, unlike those of other councils, they have a pronouncedly polemical character.

The earliest evidence of another translation (B), which Schulthess characterises as “free”, is the manuscript BL Add. 14526 from the 7th c. It was probably written around or soon after 641.⁵² Like the previous manuscript, the first part of this composite codex contains the *Corpus canonum*, including one canon of the Council of Ephesus. Despite the evidence for this translation being more recent than the previous one, Vööbus points out its archaic

⁵⁰ VÖÖBUS 1972, 95.

⁵¹ KAUFHOLD 2012, 224.

⁵² WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 1033–1036.

character and suggests that this might be the first attempt at interpreting the canons.⁵³

The further development of both translations of the Nicæan canons is most curious. Translation A emerges in East-Syrian manuscripts which contain the works of Maruta of Maiperqaṭ (Borg. sir. 82, Vat. Syr. 501, Mingana Syr. 586, Mingana Syr. 47). This creates a certain difficulty, as the colophons in the manuscripts contradict each other. Was the Nicæan corpus translated by Maruta on the occasion of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 (as East-Syrian manuscripts claim) or were the canons of Nicæa translated together with those constituting the Antiochian *Corpus canonum* around 501 in Mabbug? This question can only be answered on the basis of comparative stylistic analysis of translation A with the texts ascribed to Maruta on the one hand and with the West-Syrian translations from the 6th c. on the other.

Interestingly, other examples of translation A can be found in manuscripts with mixed contents of undoubtedly West-Syrian origin: the polemic florilegium BL Add. 14529 (7th–8th cc.) which includes patristic texts against heretics such as Nestorius and Julian of Halicarnassus;⁵⁴ and a highly fragmented 8th–9th cc. codex in the Houghton Library of Harvard University that came from the collection of James Rendel Harris, which also contains apocryphal gospels and apocalypses.⁵⁵ The comparison of the different patterns of translation A show minor variants (with the exception of the general title of the canons) and testify to roughly the same recension of the text.

Translation B, on the contrary, underwent some major alterations in the course of its textual history, probably due to the free character of the original translation, which was considered unsatisfactory at some point. The first recension (C-D) of this translation is attested by West-Syrian manuscripts with various contents, e.g. BL Add. 12155 (C) (8th c.), a very extensive polemic florilegium,⁵⁶ and Vat. sir. 127 (D), a collection of canons similar in structure to the earlier manuscript BL Add. 14526.⁵⁷ In the course of the exploration of Syriac manuscripts in the Middle East, Arthur Vööbus discovered in the library of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus an important codex that was a compendium of the ecclesiastical law, the Synodicon, be-

⁵³ VÖÖBUS 1972, 95.

⁵⁴ WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 917–921.

⁵⁵ GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN 1979, 75–76; HARRIS 1900, 7–11.

⁵⁶ WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 921–955.

⁵⁷ ASSEMANI 1756–1759, vol. III, 178–181.

longing to the West-Syrian tradition.⁵⁸ According to Vööbus, the version of the Nicaean canons preserved in this manuscript conforms in general to the C-D recension, although it adds a number of variants not attested by any previously known manuscripts.⁵⁹ Vööbus identified another example of the same recension in the manuscript Mardin Orth. 320.⁶⁰

Another recension (E), the result of further revision of the C-D text, was identified by Schulthess in the 9th-c. manuscript Paris syr. 62, a West-Syrian collection of apocryphal, patristic and canonical texts. An interesting feature is that this compendium of undoubtedly West-Syrian origin contains the previously mentioned 73 pseudo-Nicaean canons associated with Maruta of Maiperqaṭ. Apart from the 20 authentic canons of Nicaea I, the manuscript includes the introduction to the canons which also can be found in all other manuscripts attesting to this recension.⁶¹ Arthur Vööbus and, later, Hubert Kaufhold identified the same revision of the text in two 8th-c. Synodica from the Za‘faran Monastery, namely, Mardin Orth. 309 and Mardin Orth. 310. With regard to the latter, Vööbus mentions a number of variants which “throw more light” on the history of this recension.⁶² The copy of Mardin Orth. 310 is a manuscript of 1911 in the Mingana collection at the University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 8. Unlike Schulthess, Kaufhold identifies this version as the second translation (or, rather an adaptation of the first translation) of the canons made by Jacob of Edessa at the end of the 7th c.⁶³

Within the context of comparative textual study of the translations of the Nicaean canons and, in particular, the recension E just mentioned, the main perspective is the preparation of the critical edition of the 20 Nicaean canons and an introduction to the canons through study and collation of the manuscripts Mardin Orth. 309, Mardin Orth. 310, IOM, RAS Syr. 34, Paris syr. 62 and Mingana Syr. 8. There is still a possibility that at some point the manuscript, presumably from the 9th c., to which our leaf originally belonged to, will be found.

⁵⁸ VÖÖBUS 1975.

⁵⁹ VÖÖBUS 1972, 96–97.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶¹ ZOTENBERG 1874, 23.

⁶² VÖÖBUS 1972, 96.

⁶³ KAUFHOLD 2012, 244.

Table 1

The table below shows the three Nicaean documents preserved in IOM, RAS Syr. 34 in the context of their textual history. For each document I provide a list of the most important manuscripts relevant for this study with their editions and selected bibliography. The table is based on the critical edition of the canons by Friedrich Schulthess to which I have added new material discovered in the second half of the 20th c., mainly by Arthur Vööbus. The table covers selected sources only and in no way claims to be comprehensive.

Documents	Manuscripts (West-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions	Manuscripts (East-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions
Canons	<p>Translation A BL Add. 14528, after 501, ff. 25v–36r (VÖÖBUS 1972, 94; SCHULTHESS 1908, V; WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 1030–1033; COWPER 1857, III–IV; edition: SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28) BL Add. 14529, 7th–8th cc., ff. 40r–44v SCHULTHESS 1908, VIII; WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 917–921; edition: SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28) Harvard Syr. 93 (Harris 85), 8th–9th cc., ff. 60r–62v, canons 1–2, 6–7, 18–20, fragm. (VÖÖBUS 1970, 452–454; GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN 1979, 75–76; HARRIS 1900, 7–11)</p>	<p>Translation A within the corpus of Maruta of Maiperqaṭ Bagdad Chaldean Monastery 509 (Alqoš 169), 13th–14th cc. (VÖÖBUS 1982–1, VI–IX; SELB 1981, 64; SCHER 1906, 55; VOSTÉ 1929, 63; HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, ۲۲۴–۲۲۹; edition: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 47–55) Borg. sir. 82, a copy of Alqoš 169, ff. 15–18, canons 15–20, imperfect (VÖÖBUS 1982–1, X–XIII; SCHER 1909, 268; SCHULTHESS 1908, VII; BRAUN 1898, 1–26; editions: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 47–55; SCHULTHESS 1908, 24–28) Vat. sir. 501, 1927, ff. 4v–10v (VÖÖBUS 1982–1, VI–IX; LANTSCHOOT 1965, 34–35; edition: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 47–55) Mingana Syr. 586, 1932, probably a copy of Alqoš 169, ff. 2r–5v (VÖÖBUS 1982–1, XIII; MINGANA 1933, col. 1109–1116; edition: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 47–55)</p>
	<p>Translation B BL Add. 14526, after 641, ff. 13v–16r (VÖÖBUS 1970, 440–2; SCHULTHESS 1908, V–VI; WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 1033–1036; editions: COWPER 1857, 20 (canons 6 and 7); SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28).</p>	

Documents	Manuscripts (West-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions	Manuscripts (East-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions
Canons	<p style="text-align: center;">Translation B — recension CD</p> <p>BL Add. 12155, 8th c., ff. 207v–209r (VÖÖBUS 1970, 442–3; SCHULTHESS 1908, VI; WRIGHT 1870–1872, pt. 2, 921–955; edition: SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28)</p> <p>Vat. sir. 127, ff. 29v–39r (SCHULTHESS 1908, VI; ASSEMANI 1756–1759, vol. III, 178; edition: SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28)</p> <p>Damascus Patr. 8/11, 1204, ff. 34r–37v (VÖÖBUS 1972, 96–97; VÖÖBUS 1970, 458–464; edition: VÖÖBUS 1975, 85–93)</p> <p>Mardin Orth. 320 (VÖÖBUS 1972, 97; VÖÖBUS 1970, 471)</p>	
	<p style="text-align: center;">Translation B — recension E</p> <p>Mardin Orth. 309, 8th c., 37r–41v (VÖÖBUS 1972, 96; VÖÖBUS 1970, 443–447)</p> <p>Mardin Orth. 310, 8th c. (VÖÖBUS 1972, 96; VÖÖBUS 1970, 447–452)</p> <p>IOM, RAS Syr. 34, 9th c., f. 1v, canons 1–5, fragm. (BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 111–134)</p> <p>Paris syr. 62, 9th c., ff. 124r–128v (VÖÖBUS 1970, 456–458; SCHULTHESS 1908, VI–VII; ZOTENBERG 1874, 22–29; editions: SCHULTHESS 1908, 13–28; PITRA, 1883, 227–233)</p> <p>Mingana Syr. 8, 1911, a copy of Mardin Orth. 310, ff. 11v–17r (MINGANA 1933, 25–37)</p>	

Documents	Manuscripts (West-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions	Manuscripts (East-Syrian), selected bibliography and editions
Canons	<p>Translation B, unknown recension Borg. sir. 148, 1576 (SCHER 1909, 280) Vat. sir. 495, before 1926 (LANTSCHOOT 1965, 26–27)</p>	
Introduction to the canons	<p>IOM, RAS Syr. 34, f. 1r, fragm. Paris syr. 62, ff. 121v–124r (editions: SCHULTHESS 1908, 158–159; PITRA 1883, 224–227) Mardin Orth. 309(?) Mardin Orth. 310(?) Mingana Syr. 8, f. 11r–11v</p>	
List of bishops	<p>BL Add. 14528, ff. 18r–25r, 220 names (editions: SCHULTHESS 1908, 4–13; GELZER, HILGENFELD, CUNTZ 1898, 96–117; PITRA 1883, 234–237; COWPER 1857, 6–18) IOM, RAS Syr. 34, f. 1r, Greek and Syriac, 42 names (edition: BENESHEVICH 1917–1925, 116–118; HONIGMANN 1937, 336–337) Mardin Orth. 309, ff. 30r–33r, Greek and Syriac (edition: KAUFHOLD 1993, 57–67) Mardin Orth. 310, f. 1r–1v, fragm. Mingana Syr. 8, f. 11r, fragm. Vat. sir. 495, Greek and Syriac</p>	<p>Bagdad Chaldean Monastery 509 (Alqoš 169)(?) Borg. sir. 82, ff. 18–20, 64–65, imperfect (editions: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 117–122; SCHULTHESS 1908, 4–13; BRAUN 1898, 29–34) Vat. sir. 501, ff. 10v–12v (editions: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 117–122) Mingana Syr. 586, ff. 5v–6v (editions: VÖÖBUS 1982–1, 117–122) Mingana Syr. 47, 1907 (VÖÖBUS 1982–1, XIV; MINGANA 1933, col. 121–133; VÖÖBUS 1982–1: 117–122)</p>

Publication

Below is a diplomatic edition of the first five canons of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in Syriac translation based on the manuscript IOM, RAS Syr. 34. The text was previously published in my article of 2009. However, as the Syriac text was corrupted due to technical issues, it is republished here in full.

<p> ⁸² <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸³ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁴ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁵ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁶ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁷ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁸ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁸⁹ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹⁰ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹¹ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹² <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹³ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹⁴ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹⁵ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹⁶ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> ⁹⁷ <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> <i>ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ</i> </p>	<p>ⲛ</p> <p>ⲓ</p> <p>ⲛ</p> <p>ⲛ</p>	<p>1</p> <p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p>
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ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ
ΛΙΤΗΣ¹¹³

⁸² *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸³ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁴ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁵ < *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁶ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁷ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁸ < *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁸⁹ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹⁰ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹¹ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹² *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹³ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹⁴ *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r
⁹⁵ < *ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲉ* E, f. 125r

Translation

Twenty Ecclesiastical Canons of the Great (Council) of Nicaea¹¹⁵

*First (canon). On those who (castrated) themselves, or made themselves eunuchs*¹¹⁶

(If a man with a disease) (was operated on) by doctors or castrated (by barbarians), (then let him be) in the clergy. If a man (while in [good] health) castrated himself and if (he is in the clergy), he ought to be removed, (and from) now on no such men ought to be accepted into the clergy. Thus it is clear that this first [canon] is concerned with those who plan the deed and dare to castrate themselves. If, however, people happen to be made eunuchs

¹¹⁵ Defective portions of text in IOM, RAS Syr. 34 were translated on the basis of Paris syr. 62 (E).

¹¹⁶ Reflections on the nature of this canon are complex due to the multiple meanings of the word ἐκτέμνω (I. to cut out/off; II. to castrate) (LIDDELL, SCOTT 1901, 444) and its Syriac equivalent ܥܡܫܐ (to cut off, mutilate, castrate) (PAYNE SMITH 1879, vol. 2, col. 3192; PAYNE SMITH 1902, 452). Traditionally, the act dealt with in the canon is understood as self-castration — this is how it was understood by the 12th-c. commentators John Zonaras, Alexis Aristenos and Theodor Balsamon (PRAVILA 1877, 3–5). Similar rules can be found in various canon law documents, Greek and Syriac, such as, for instance, the “Apostolic canons” 21–24 (JOANNOU 1962, 17–18) and the rule 55 for priests and *bny qym’* of Rabbula of Edessa (VÖÖBUS 1960, 49). This testifies to the fact that such a practice did exist in the Early Church and afterwards. Probably the best known example is the case of Origen described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* VI, 8). Another widely known event narrated by Athanasius and cited by Theodoret and Socrates which, according to Beveridge and Hefele, resulted in the issue of this particular canon, was the act of self-castration of an Antiochene cleric named Leontius, who was removed from office by the bishop after his deed was uncovered (HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 529–532). Archbishop Peter L’Huillier, however, doubts that such an insignificant person could influence wide-scale church legislation. Moreover, it is appropriate to mention that in 344 Leontius was made Bishop of Antioch with the support of Emperor Constantine himself (L’HUILIER 1996, 32).

Although the title of the canon in the recent edition of Giuseppe Alberigo et al. runs “Περὶ τῶν ἐνουχιζόντων ἑαυτοῦς καὶ περὶ τῶν παρ’ ἄλλων τοῦτο πασχόντων” (On those who made themselves eunuchs or who suffered this from others) (ALBERIGO 2006, 20), which leaves no doubts about the contents, it is not particularly clear, when the titles were added to the Nicaean canons and what is the base of the published text.

Another possible connotation arising from the first meaning of the verb ἐκτέμνω / ܥܡܫܐ is mutilation in the form of cutting off ears. Here we can recall the episode of mutilation of the deposed Jewish king Hyrcanus II described by Flavius Josephus and retold with variants by Julius Africanus and George Syncellus. After Antigonus cut off his ears (ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα), Hyrcanus could not be re-elevated to the high priesthood, as the law stipulated that only bodily sound persons could hold the office (Jewish Antiquities XIV:13, 10; JOSEPHUS 1962, 640–643). However, this is hardly relevant in the case of the first Nicaean canon as there is no evidence of self-mutilation of this nature, but only of violent acts.

by barbarians or their masters, and are otherwise worthy, then this canon admits them to the clergy.

Second canon. On those [converted] from paganism who are brought to ordination at the time of their baptism¹¹⁷

As it happened to many, either out of necessity or in a human haste, in contradiction of the ecclesiastical canon, that people, who recently came from the pagan life to the faith, being catechumens for a short time, immediately afterwards are brought to the spiritual font; and at the time of their baptism they are ordained bishop or priest — it is considered fair that from now on nothing of this kind [ever] should happen. Both the catechumen needs time, and [a person] after baptism [has to undergo] many trials. Because the apostolic writings clearly say: “Let him not be newly converted,¹¹⁸ so that having exalted himself to [the point of] condemnation, he might not fall into (the snare) of the Adversary”. If, as the time passes, any sin of the soul is found concerning this person and he is accused by two or three witnesses, then he should be deposed from the clergy. He who dares to act against what has been approved by this Great Council, is in danger of [losing his position in] the clergy.

¹¹⁷ This canon is based on 1 Tim. 3:6: “μη νεόφυτον, ἵνα μη τυφωθείς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέση τοῦ διαβόλου” (NESTLE-ALAND 1993, 545) (Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation of the devil) (AKJV). It has not yet been mentioned by commentators that the canon quotes the Biblical text precisely with one exception, where it probably attempts to elucidate a somewhat obscure formula “κρίμα... τοῦ διαβόλου” (the condemnation of the devil) by adding another object: “Μη νεόφυτον, ἵνα μη τυφωθείς εἰς κρίμα ἐμπέση καὶ παγίδα τοῦ διαβόλου” (Not a novice, lest being lifted up with pride he fall into the condemnation and the snare of the devil) (my underlining — N.S.) (ALBERIGO 2006, 21).

Cf. the text in the Peshitta: .ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ (And not a newly converted so that he would not be exalted and fall into condemnation of Satan) (KTB' KDYS' 1979, 279). Both archetypic Syriac translations A and B generally follow the Peshitta with the exception of a few variants (underlined in the texts below), while the recension E, as well as IOM, RAS Syr. 34, tend to reflect the meaning of the Greek sentence rather than to follow the phraseology of the Peshitta.

Translation A (f. 26v): .ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ (And not a newly converted so that having been exalted he would not fall into condemnation and the snare of Satan).

Translation B (f. 14r): .ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܘܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ (Not a newly converted so that having been exalted he would not fall into condemnation and the snare of the Adversary).

The same subject is dealt with, directly or indirectly, in the “Apostolic” canon 80 (JOANNOU 1962, 48); canons 3 and 12 of the Council of Laodicea, canon 10 of the Council of Sardica, etc. (HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 532–536; L’HULLIER 1996, 33–34).

¹¹⁸ Lit. newly planted, established.

Third canon. On women who dwell together [with clerics]¹¹⁹

The Great Council absolutely rejects and forbids that a bishop, a priest or a deacon, or any other man in the clergy have a woman who dwells together [with him], unless she is [his] mother, or [his] father's sister, or [his] sister, or [his] mother's sister, [that is] only those persons who can demonstrate that they are beyond any suspicion.

Fourth canon. On consecration of bishops¹²⁰

A bishop ought to be consecrated by all bishops in the province. If this is difficult, either because of the need for haste or the length of the journey, let

¹¹⁹ This canon is thought to reflect an ancient practice of spiritual matrimony which existed in the Early Church. It involved the cohabitation (but not physical relations) of clerics with women called *συνείσακτος* (lit. co-entered; syn. ἀγαπητή, επείσακτος, Lat. subintroducta) (HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 538–539; L'HUILLIER 1996, 34–36). Syriac ܩܘܕܝܫܐܘܬܐ, pl. ܩܘܕܝܫܐܘܬܐ (lit. cohabitant) in the *status emphaticus* is used as an equivalent to *συνείσακτος* (PAYNE SMITH 1879, vol. 2, col. 2920–2921). However, another meaning of the Syriac word refers to concubines, probably due to the multiple known cases of concubinage of priests and bishops with cohabitants (PAYNE SMITH 1902, 417).

The earliest mention of this practice can be found in the polemics of Malchion and others with Paul of Samosata (3rd c.) described by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* 7:30), further evidence comes from the 4th–6th-c. authors, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom (in his homily “Contra eos qui subintroductas habent”), Epiphanius (*Panarion haer.* 78:11), in the Novels of Emperor Justinian (*Nov.* 6, 6; 123, 49), etc. (SOPHOCLES 1957, vol. 2, 1043; *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 494; LAMPE 1961, 1317–1318).

¹²⁰ In the course of the 4th c. the formation of the administrative structure and territorial division of the Church was underway, as reflected in the documents of the Ecumenical Councils as well as regional synods. At this time, ecclesiastical eparchies in many cases were the same civil territorial units as provinces, thus the word *ἐπαρχία* (Syriac ܩܘܕܝܫܐܘܬܐ) here should be understood as province, as is reflected in the translation. Metropolitan (μητροπολίτης) here is the bishop of the main city in the province, or metropolis (some recensions of the Greek text of the canons call him μητροπολίτης-ἐπίσκοπος, metropolitan-bishop). This church official was responsible for ecclesiastical matters across the whole province (HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 539–547; L'HUILLIER 1996, 37–38).

The verb *καθίστημι*, (lit. “set up”; here: “consecrate [a bishop]”), Syriac ܩܘܕܝܫܐܘܬܐ can be found in Acts 7:10, and subsequently, in the writings of Clement of Rome and other Early Christian writers and is applied to the whole of the procedure of elevation to bishop's cathedra, including the elections and the act of consecration (SOPHOCLES 1957, vol. 2, 613).

The term *χειροτονία*, Syriac ܩܘܕܝܫܐܘܬܐ, “chirotony, ordination” (from *χειροτονέω*, lit. “stretch one's hand”, also “vote”) has a double meaning in Christian texts. Along with the general meaning, it has a narrower sense — to consecrate through laying hands upon someone's head (LAMPE 1961, 1523; L'HUILLIER 1996, 37).

According to Hefele, this canon might have been caused by the case of Meletius of Lycopolis who ordained bishops without the approval of the Metropolitan of Alexandria, which led to the Meletian schism that was dealt with at the Council of Nicaea. Similar canons exist in other collections, e.g. the “Apostolic” canon 1, canon 20 of the synod of Arles, canons of the synods of Laodicea, Antioch etc. and the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (HEFELE, LECLERQUE 1907, 543, 546–547).

three [bishops] gather together by all means, and those who are far away, make their choice and approve in writing. Then let them perform consecration. Let the confirmation of what has been done be entrusted to the metropolitan of each province.

Fifth [canon]. On those banned from communion¹²¹

Concerning those banned from communion by bishops of each province, whether they are in the clergy, or in the laity, let them follow the opinion in accordance with the canon that those excommunicated by (some), should not be accepted by others. Let it be investigated whether it was because of a quarrel,¹²² or any disagreement, or a trouble that this bishop expelled them from the church community. Thus in order that a proper investigation might be undertaken it is seen fair that a synod of the whole eparchy should gather twice a year. So that all bishops of the province having gathered together would investigate these questions, or matters. Thus those who are openly and unanimously considered to envy the bishop, let them all generally be proclaimed¹²³ (excommunicated until the community or the bishop might consider [it appropriate] to make a benevolent decision about them. Let these synods take place, one during the forty [days of] lent, in order that when all disagreements and quarrels come to an end, a pure offering might be made to God; the second in the autumn¹²⁴).

Abbreviations

AKJV: Authorized (King James) Version, an English translation of the Bible, 1604–1611

ARAS: Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences

CSCO: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium

ETSE: Estonian Theological Society in Exile

Hist. Eccles.: Historia Ecclesiastica

NLR: National Library of Russia

¹²¹ Here, just as in canon 4, the term *ἐπαρχία* (Syriac ܩܘܪܝܫܘܢ) should be interpreted as lay province. The ban on accepting those excommunicated by a bishop can also be found in the “Apostolic canons” 12, 13 and 32 (JOANNOU 1962, 13–14, 22).

¹²² According to Robert Payne Smith, the direct Greek equivalent of the term ܩܘܪܝܫܘܢ is *ὀλιγοψυχία* (lit. faint-heartedness, cowardice) (PAYNE SMITH 1879, vol. 1, col. 1145; LAMPE 1961, 948). However, in the original text of the canon we find another term, *μικροψυχία*, which has a wider spectrum of meanings, one of them being “dissension, quarrel” (LAMPE 1961, 871). As follows from the context, this latter meaning is preferable.

¹²³ Lit. found.

¹²⁴ Lit. the two autumn months (corresponding to October and November).

IPL: Imperial Public Library

PPV: Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka [Written Monuments of the Orient, Russian version]

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Peter Zieme

**An Old Uighur Fictional Letter Supposedly
Written by Prince Gautama from a Fragment
in the Serindia Collection at the IOM, RAS**

Abstract: In this paper the Old Uighur fragment SI 4bKr 11 (SI 4028) of the Serindia Collection at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, the Russian Academy of Sciences is edited together with notes. Its content are rather peculiar and shed some light on the attitude of Uighur monks towards their Buddhism.

Key words: Old Uighur, Buddhist culture, fiction, rare words

The recto side of fragment SI 4bKr 11 (SI 4028) of the Serindia Collection at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) of the Russian Academy of Sciences is part of a copy of the 菩薩瓔珞本業經 *Pusa yingluo benye jing* (“Gem-Necklace Scripture of Bodhisattvas”) attributed to Zhu Fonian.¹

The verso side is a remarkable testimony to the activities of Old Uighur Buddhist monks. From left to right the leaf can be divided into four sections. **A** is the concluding passage of an Old Uighur Buddhist text, **B** is a colophon, **C** is a part of a loan contract, and **D** is the transcription of a Chinese phrase in Uighur script. Before coming to **A**, which is the main subject of this paper, I shall discuss the other sections briefly.

Section B (colophon)

Section **B** was introduced by D. Matsui.² The text of this colophon can be read as follows.

- (10) kwyskw yyl 'ltync 'y pyr ynkyq' pw t'vq'c kwyn t' mn
- (10) küskü yıl altınč ay bir yaŋıka bo tavgaç kön-tä m(ä)n
- (11) <t> t'qycwq twtwnk qy 'yrykyp 'wlwrwp 'yky k'zyk ky'
- (11) <t> takıçok tutuŋ k(ı)y-a irikip olurup iki kâzig-k(i)y-ä

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¹ T. 1485, vol. 24, pp. 1014b12–29.

² Further notes in MATSUI 2004, 58, 61, 66.

- (12) py[]dym cyn 'wl 'zkw ym' 'rm'z 'wl typ pytydym cyn t'kynwr mn
 (12) bitidim čın ol äzüg ymä ärmäz ol tep bitidim čın täginür m(ä)n

“In the year of mouse, in the sixth month, on the first day. On this Chinese scroll I, Takıčok(?)³ Tutuñ K(ı)ya, sitting about lazily,⁴ only wrote a couple of lines. It is true; it is not wrong. It is true, I affirm.”

Section C (loan contract)

- (13) qwyn yyl 'wycwnc ''y vyty ykrmy k' m'nk'
 (13) koyn yıl üçünč ay yeti ygrmikä maña
 (14) smpwdw twtwnk q' ''syq q' kwymws krk'k
 (14) s(a)mbodu tutuñ-ka asıg-ka kümüş kargäk

“Sheep year, third month, on the seventeenth. I, S(a)mbodu Tutuñ, was in need of silver on interest.”

Section D

D is a separate section (lines 15 to 19). This passage edited by M. Shōgaito⁵ contains the Chinese phrase 四種族性清淨諸勝利利王帝 followed by a transcription in Uigur script and an Old Uighur translation.

The first attempt at translating the Chinese phrase — *tegmä tört türlüg tözüg uguştıg kitärtäči t⁶* (ll. 15–16) — was determined to be wrong, without a mark of deletion. In his new attempt the writer started with a transcription of the Chinese sounds into Uighur script, after which he translated the phrase. Here I present the text in the following table.⁷

³ t'qycwq or t'mycwq. I follow Matsui's reading although it is not definitive.

⁴ Translated as *kokoro-o itame* 心を痛め “in sorrow” (MATSUI 2004, 53, 66). The verb *irik-* (*erik-*?, ED, 226a) has the meaning “to be disgusted, bored”. M. Erdal (OTWF, 366) reminds of Maḥmūd al-Kāšğarī's *ir-* “to be lonely”, but Clauson combines *ir-* and *irik-*. In Kirgiz (JUDACHIN 1965, 461b) the verb *irik-* has two meanings “to be bored” and “to be lazy”. I think that the latter meaning fits the phrase above, expressing the self-deprecating attitude of scribes: “sitting about lazily I only wrote a couple of lines”, or in a more natural rendering as Nicholas Sims-Williams suggested to me: “owing to my laziness I only wrote a couple of lines”. The expression “two lines” is probably not meant literally: it should rather be interpreted as “a couple of lines”.

⁵ SHŌGAITO 1997, 28–29. Mentioned in MATSUI 2010, 700.

⁶ Emended to *ta[rkartači]*.

⁷ For details see SHŌGAITO 1997, 28–29. In lines 3 and 10 the characters were not transcribed. Line 12: The phrase beginning with *töpüdä abižek* “*abhižeka* on the head” definitely refers to the emperor or ruler (*wangdi*), cf. RÖHRBORN 2015, 5–6.

	Chinese character	Pinyin	Transcription in Uighur script	OU translation
(1)	四	<i>si</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>tört</i>
(2)	種	<i>zhong</i>	<i>cwnk</i>	<i>türlüg</i>
(3)	族	<i>zu</i>	—	<i>tözlüg</i>
(4)	性	<i>xing</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>uguşluglarnuñ arasında</i>
(5)	清	<i>qing</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>arığı</i>
(6)	淨	<i>jing</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>süzüki üzä</i>
(7)	諸	<i>zhu</i>	<i>cw</i>	<i>alkuta</i>
(8)	勝	<i>sheng</i>	<i>şynk</i>	<i>utmiş yegädmiş</i>
(9)	刹利	<i>chali</i>	<i>c' r ly</i>	<i>kşatrik</i>
(10)	王	<i>wang</i>	—	
(11)	帝	<i>di</i>	<i>ty</i>	
(12)				<i>töpüdä abižek</i>

The *kşatriya* is the name of the second in the system of the four castes in India, but in the phrase above it is placed first. This deviates from the traditional sequence of the four castes, i.e. *brāhmana* (priests), *kşatriya* (military), *vaiśya* (farmers, traders), *śūdra* (serfs), but agrees with a passage in the Old Uighur *Insadi-sūtra*: *kiştirik braman uz tarıgçı bo tört uguşluglar* “those who belong to the four castes, i.e. *kşatriya*, *brāhmana*, artisans, farmers”.⁸ While the artisans are chosen as representatives of the third caste, the farmers were regarded as the lowest caste. In at least four Chinese texts, too, the sequence begins with *kşatriya*: T. 374, T. 375, T. 397, T. 1763.⁹

Section A

Finally, the first section (A) on the verso side of the fragment is the most interesting and most difficult.

Transliteration and transcription

- (01) [] mn pww¹⁰ pys 'şwn nwk ywl 'ycyn t' k[]
 (01) [] m(ä)n bo beş ažun-nuñ yol için-tä-k[i]

⁸ BT III 119.

⁹ T. 374, vol. 12, p. 372a2, T. 375, vol. 12, p. 611b24, T. 397, vol. 13, p. 359b8, T. 1763, vol. 37, p. 390b4.

¹⁰ Peculiar spelling pww for *bo* “this”.

(02) q' t'k +y+ y'nm'q'y mn q'c'n pwq'n qwdyn pwl'm'qyn c' q'pylp'q
k' []

(02) -ka-tägi yanmagay-m(ä)n kačan burhan kutin bulmagın-ča kapılıbak
k' []

(03) t'qy tydymym q'nkym šwdwt'n' 'ylyk pl'k 'wytwnwr mn ''r'swd
'wyk lp¹¹

(03) -takı tidimim kañım šudotana elig b(ä)läk ötünür-m(ä)n arašud
öñ-l(ü)g

(04) kwyk s'cyqmy¹² 'wykw m'q' m'y q'dwn q' pl'k 'wydwnwr mn
pwqwnwm t'qy mwrwm

(04) kök saçımın ögüm maha-may hatun-ka b(ä)läk ötünür-m(ä)n bogu-
num-takı murmu

(05) -twmwmy kwykwyym ''k'm q''dwn q' pwyr'l'kym t'ky pwyr'l'k swk
kwk myn ''mr'q

(05) -tum{um}nı kügüyim äkäm hatun-ka *bürläkim-täki *bürläk
sünjök-(ü)min amrak

(06) q''dwnwm y'š t'ryq q' p'l'k 'ydwr mn. ''lty ywz twym'n 'yck'k
qyrqyn

(06) hatunum¹³ yaš-tarih-ka bäläk idur-m(ä)n . altı yüz tımän inčgä kırkın

(07) q'nym q' cwt'm'nym ''s'n kwyl'yw ''ytw 'ydwr mn 'lty yyl twynyn

(07) hanım¹⁴-ka čutamanım äsän-güläyü aytu idur-m(ä)n altı yıl tönin

(08) twysq'c'r lyq ''cyq 'mkk 'mk'nwr mn pwq'n qwdyn 'wycwn

(08) dwyšq'č'r-lıg açıg ämgäk ämgänür-m(ä)n bu(r)han kutin üčün

(09) pw s'kymwny ny mn 'ydswyn twtwk qy 'pytydym cyn 'wl

(09) bo šakimuni-nı m(ä)n 'ydswyn tutuñ k(ı)y-a bitidim čın ol

Translation

I will not return into [...] of the ways of these five existences as long as I do not attain Buddhahood.

I offer as a present my diadem on the headgear k' [] to my father, King Šuddhodana.

I offer as a present my *rājavarta* coloured blue hair to my mother, Queen Mahāmāya.

¹¹ The word 'wyk lp seems to be written in error for *öñ-lüg*.

¹² In s'cyqmy the dots cannot be explained.

¹³ Written q'dtwn.

¹⁴ As *hanım* is difficult in this position, it is perhaps better to assume that an *l*-hook was forgotten so that we should read *kırkın-larım*.

I send as a present my *mumurt* on my knuckle to my aunt and my elder sister, the ladies, and my **bürläk* bones in my **bürläk* to (my) beloved wife Yaśodharā.

Asking about their health, I send my *cūdāmaṇi* to my 600 times 10,000 tender servant girls.

I suffer the bitter pains of *duṣkaracaryā* suffering through six years for Buddhahood.

I, Idsön Tutuṅ k(1)ya, wrote this Śākyamuni (text). This is true.

General notes

The “I” of this fictional letter can be none other than Prince Gautama himself. The actual writer was an Old Uighur monk by name ’ydswyn Tutuṅ. That name consists of two elements: ’ydswyn + *tutuṅ*. The latter is the title *dutong* 都統 widely used in Buddhist Uighur clerical circles. The first part is certainly also derived from Chinese, but only its second syllable can be identified — coming from *quan* 泉 “fountain”, while the source of the first syllable ’y, which can be read as *i*, *ay*, *ni* and other variants, remains unclear.

What was the purpose of this fictional letter? There is no easy answer. I would like to think of it as a special act of devotion, but possibly it was nothing more than a writing exercise.

Notes on some words

(02) q’pyp’q may be read **kapılbak*. This word can be regarded as the original form of *kalpak* denoting in Turkic languages “head-cover, hat”, etc.¹⁵ The modern Turkish form reflects a reduction and metathesis from **kapılbak* > **kalpbak* > *kalpak*. A similar formation is *kögüsbäg* in the Old Uighur Family archive.¹⁶

(03) *tidim* “crown”¹⁷ is ultimately derived from Greek διάδημα “crown” and means here in all probability the *ūrṇa* on Buddha’s forehead.

(03–04) ’r’swd. If read *arašud*, this seems to be a previously unnoted spelling of *ražvart*¹⁸ < Skt. *rājavarta* “lapislazuli”, the colour of Buddha’s *uṣṇīṣa*, here *sač* “hair”. Cf. *ražawrt öṅlüg kök sači*¹⁹.

¹⁵ Cf. TMEN No. 1506; ED, 584b–585a; ESTJa 1997, 234–236.

¹⁶ UMEMURA 1987, l. 29; ED, 714b (*köküzme* “breastplate”).

¹⁷ ED 456b: “the crown which a bride wears on her wedding night”, thus recorded in the Family archive, cp. UMEMURA 1987, l. 87.

¹⁸ KARA 2001, 106.

¹⁹ GENG and KLIMKEIT 1988, ll. 2000–2001 (“his *rājavarta*-blue hair”, mark of Buddha).

(04) Mahāmāya,²⁰ Prince Gautama's mother.

(04–05) mwrmtwm. If one regards the last two letters wm as dittography one gets mwrmt. The most similar word is mwrmt in Mainz 724 verso 51 = BT.XXIII.D093: *ärtini-lig murmut* meaning *ratnamālā* 寶鬘 “jewel necklace”.

(05) *kügüy* “aunt”, this seems to be the first occurrence in an Old Uighur text.²¹ The following word is *ākā* which can also mean “aunt”.²² Buddha's maternal aunt and adoptive mother was Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī (Pāli) / Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (Sanskrit). In a famous story she made a special dress for the Buddha, but the Lord accepted it only after long discussions. This story is told at length in the Old Uighur *Maitrisimit nom bitig*.²³

(05) pwyrl'kym t'ky pwyrl'k swk kwk myn. The first word **bürläk* (pwyrlwk) denotes something like a head-cover, to be explained from **bürülüg/bürülük* “something twisted” <*bürül-* “to be twisted, folded”²⁴; swk kwk myn = *sünük(ü)min* “my bones”. But the expression as a whole is enigmatic: **bürläkim-täki *bürläk sünük(ü)min* “my **bürläk* bones in my **bürläk*”.

(05–06) *amrak hatun yaš-tarh* “beloved lady Yaśodharā”, the wife of Prince Gautama. The name is written in a strange way: y'š t'ryq. In the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* the spelling is y'swd'r'.²⁵

(06) *altı yüz tümän* “600×10,000”. In the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* we find *altı tümän kunčuy hatunlar*²⁶ “60,000 princess ladies”.

(06) *ičgäk kırkın*, taken as it is, would mean “demon girls”, but probably the scribe miswrote the first word, intending to put *inčgä* “tender”. The compound *inčgä kırkın* meaning “servant girls (of the harem)” is known from several texts.

(07) As the paper is torn here, I cannot propose a definite reading, but it seems to be something like cw(n)t' rksy. Although I am assuming *cūḍāmaṇi* here, I should point out that the letters can also be interpreted as **cūḍāraḷṣa* or **cūḍālakṣa*, if the *l*-hook was forgotten or not written. The latter would mean “the mark of *cūḍā*”, Skt. has *cūḍā-lakṣaṇa* as the name of the “tonsure”,²⁷ but that is not something that can be sent as a gift. Skt. *cūḍāmaṇi* is

²⁰ Cf. GENG and KLIMKEIT 1988, ll. 1299, 2226 (*maxamaya qatun*).

²¹ LI 1996.

²² ED, 100b “junior (paternal) aunt” and “elder sister”, later only “elder sister”.

²³ GENG and KLIMKEIT 1988, ch. IV.

²⁴ ED, 365b.

²⁵ GENG and KLIMKEIT 1988, ll. 1330, 2456, 2484, 2488; *yažotara* l. 2474.

²⁶ GENG and KLIMKEIT 1988, l. 2496.

²⁷ MW, 401a.

the precious stone in the *uṣnīṣa*. In Old Uighur it is known as the name of a jewel only from the story of *Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata*.²⁸

anıy kántiniñ taşında yana tągirmiläyü

alp tap(i)şguluk čintamani čudamani biliñn(a)mani brahmamanita ulati ärdinilär üzä

aralaşturu etmiş yetirär kat tamlıg

*adinčig körklä yetirär kat kalıkları ısırgalıkları ol ::*²⁹

“Outside of his city around there were extremely beautiful castles and palaces with seven layers each with seven walls each alternatively³⁰ decorated with jewels like *cintāmaṇi*, *cūḍāmaṇi*, (*śakrā*)*bhilaḡnamaṇi*, *brahmāmaṇi* that are difficult to find.”

(07) *töñin* may be a variant of the postposition *töni*.³¹

(08) *twysq’c’r* < kt. *duṣkaracaryā* “arduous practices”, the term for “asceticism”, especially that of Buddha when he left home and spent six years leading an ascetic life.³² In this spelling in Uighur script we see another rare example of the letter q for a Sanskrit front k.³³

Abbreviations

BT III: Berliner Turfantexte III

BT XXIII: Berliner Turfantexte XXIII

DDB: Digital Dictionary of Buddhism

ED: Etymological Dictionary

ESTJa: Etimologičeskii slovar’ tiurkskikh iazykov

GOT: Grammar of Old Turkic

MW: M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary

OTWF: Old Turkic Word Formation

T.: Taishō Buddhist Canon

TMEN: Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen

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²⁸ TEKIN 1980, 190.

²⁹ ll. 070–072.

³⁰ OTWF, 816.

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³² Cf. DDB; KUDARA and ZIEME 1997, 77.

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Photographs of SI 4bKr 11 (SI 4028)

//Photograph 1//



Section A

//Photograph 2// //Photograph 3//

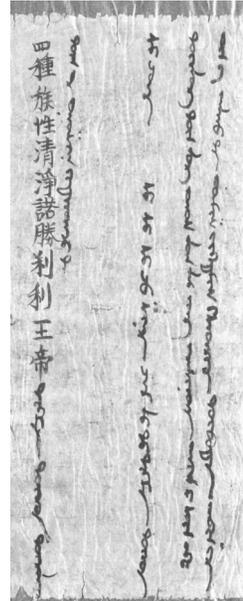


Section B



Section C

//Photograph 4//



Section D

Olga Chunakova

The Pahlavi Lapidary

Abstract: The text “The Pahlavi Lapidary” is difficult for translation and interpretation because different properties are attributed to stones of the same colour and the same properties to stones of different colours. Correct translation of Pahl. *sāyīšn* as a concrete noun ‘a powder’ appears to explain the lapidary and to show that it is not only a question of stones of different colours, but of different coloured powders of these stones. Pahl. *muhrag* used not in its meaning of ‘a seal’, but in the meaning ‘a stone’ appears to suggest that this text may have been translated from a language in which there is one noun for these two meanings.

Key words: Pahlavi, Pahlavi literature, Pahlavi lapidary

The late compilation “The Pahlavi Rivāyat” known to us from MS K35 (A.D. 1572)¹ and a few later copies contains a short treatise usually referred to as “The Pahlavi Lapidary”. It was published by E.B.N. Dhabhar,² translated by Jean de Menasce,³ later it was again published and translated by A.V. Williams.⁴ Menasce noted its illogical structure, the same gems being repeatedly mentioned, while their properties are described in more than one way;⁵ Williams detected some “cyclical structure” in the list, as every other member of each group was mentioned accompanied by the noun *sāyīšn*.⁶ Following Menasce, Williams translated that Pahlavi noun as ‘gloss’.⁷

Before I offer another translation, I must remark that the noun *muh*//*muhrag* translated by both publishers as ‘gem-stone’ has never had that meaning in either Pahlavi or Modern Persian. The noun *muh* means ‘seal; seal-ring’, etc., while *muhrag* means ‘bead; piece (for playing backgammon,

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¹ CODICES AVESTICI ET PAHLAVICI 1934.

² DHABHAR 1913.

³ MENASCE 1942–5, 180–186.

⁴ WILLIAMS 1990a, 229–232; WILLIAMS 1990b, 111–113.

⁵ MENASCE 1942–5, 181 (after WILLIAMS 1990b, 266).

⁶ WILLIAMS 1990b, 266.

⁷ WILLIAMS 1990b, 111, 112.

etc.); vertebra; a kind of small shell resembling pearls', etc. The Pahlavi word *sāyišn* used six times in the text is a noun formed by the suffix *-išn* on the present verbal stem of the verb *sūdan* 'to rub, to powder', etc. The suffix *-išn* makes a noun denote the process of an action (*dārišn* 'preservation, maintenance'; *garzišn* 'complaint', etc.), but also the specific result, materialization, or object of an action (*dārišn* 'possessions'; *garzišn* 'supplication', etc.). Modern Persian still has some nouns with the suffix *-eš* (<Pahlavi *-išn*) reflecting both shades of meaning (*dāneš* 'science, knowledge; learning'; *gardeš* 'motion; wandering about'), while nouns having a more specific meaning (*garzeš* 'a cry against injustice') are usually considered 'obsolete'. As a rule, such nouns denote actions (*sāyeš* 'friction; polish'). It is not unreasonable to conjecture that this last word could also have once had another, more specific meaning — 'powder' (cf. Modern Persian *suda* (past participle) 'powder'). Thus one phrase containing the noun *sāyišn* would mean: "the black ⁺stone (*muhrag*) whose powder is white is used as an antidote against any poison shaped like a seal (*muhragihā*)" (p. 259, ll. 11–12); the following phrase, "the yellow ⁺stone (*muhrag*) whose powder is white, whoever owns it, will quickly get any assistance he wants, (both) from Gods and people" (p. 259, l. 18–260, l. 1). Further, it is explained how an owner profits from "the red ⁺stone whose powder is white", "the blue ⁺stone whose powder is white", "the light blue ⁺stone whose powder is white", and, once more, "the black ⁺stone whose powder is white" which appears to be a remedy for all maladies: that recalls the properties ascribed to the black stone with white powder described at the very beginning. It might be that the second description of the black stone was once part of some other treatise purely mechanically linked with this text. Each phrase of the first text dealing with the properties of gems that have a white (i.e. colourless) powder is followed by a description of the properties possessed by varying numbers of ⁺stones (*muhrag*): after the black stone with the white powder come the healing and protecting characteristics of yellow, red, blue, light blue and green stones; after the yellow stone with white powder, there again follow five stones, but with the black one described instead of yellow; after the red one with white powder, there again follow five stones; after the blue one with white powder four; the description of the light blue stone with white powder remains incomplete, as the first text was damaged. The first phrase of the second text, as it has been mentioned, describes the properties of the black stone with the white powder, but the following one containing the adjective 'yellow' starts with the attributive construction *ān ī* replacing the preceding noun, i.e. *sāyišn* 'powder'. Correspondingly, after the description of the properties of the

black stone with the white powder there follows one of another black stone, which produced yellow powder when ground. Later, the properties of black stones with red, blue, and green powders are described in more detail than in the first text. It would appear that initially the first text followed the same pattern and the passages dealing with the white powder of each stone (black, yellow, green, red, blue, and light blue) began with the same grammatical construction *ān ī*, indicating differing colours of powder produced by the same stone. Later, some copyist replaced the noun *sāyišn* with *muhrag*, which distorted both the sense and the logic of the whole.

In reality, all gems are nothing but particularly attractive minerals, their colour depending on their chemical composition. Colour was once the basic principle for their classification, but in itself, it cannot be considered a distinctive feature, as a lot of gems have the same colour, albeit with different hues (e.g. spinel, hyacinth, garnet and other stones are red despite belonging to different mineral classes). On the other hand, the colour of the powder a gem leaves on a touchstone is unique and is used in mineralogy for the attribution purposes.⁸ The coloured powder of various stones mixed with water,⁹ so-called ‘juice’, was long used as medicine. Perhaps that sort of water (Sogdian ‘*ph*’) was mentioned in the treatise on stones published by E. Benveniste¹⁰. That text lists black, white, blue, greenish, red, black, yellow, sandal-coloured, and white stones that when rubbed¹¹ produce correspondingly white, black, greenish, light blue, black, yellow, red, light blue and, again, light blue water.

Thus the contents of the Pahlavi treatise uniting two unfinished texts was actually a description of the properties ascribed to stones having similar colour but differing in chemical composition as indicated by the differing colours of their powders. That also explains why the final passage mentions seven colours of powder, the seventh being plain white,¹² the others black, yellow, red, blue, light blue, and green. Accordingly, the first sentence concerning the green colour of the ⁺powder (*muhrag*) was actually the last element in a lost description of a white or green stone. That means that the Pah-

⁸ LEMMLEIN 1963, 299.

⁹ Or with other ingredients, cf. PATKANOV 1873, 19, 38, 40, etc.; SEMENOV 1912, 304, 310, 314, etc.

¹⁰ BENVENISTE 1940, 59–73.

¹¹ E. Benveniste identified the Sogdian verb *'nsy'y* with Persian *sāyīdan* ‘frotter, aiguiser’, translating it, however, as ‘presser, exprimer’.

¹² A.V. Williams thought that the seventh colour was that of ‘the polished stone’, i.e. that of each of the six stones with the defining noun *sāyišn* (which he translated as ‘gloss’) (WILLIAMS 1990b, 266).

lavi text of the lapidary was not only unfinished, but also lacking its beginning; its introductory passages, as well as the concluding ones, were simply added to an incomplete text, a compilation of two earlier ones.

The Pahlavi word *muhrag* could mean ‘gem’ instead of ‘seal’ if the text were not original,¹³ but rather a translation from a language in which both ‘gem’ and ‘seal’ were denoted by the same word. The source language could be Syriac, as it was the language of scholars in the medieval Middle East, and Syriacs, with their good knowledge of Greek and Middle Persian, were translators, physicians, and astrologers at the Sassanid royal court. And indeed, the Syriac word *'bn'* does mean both ‘seal’ and ‘(precious) stone’.¹⁴ This idea could also explain the peculiar grammar, syntax, and lexicon of this text, which could have been caused by the translator’s insufficient familiarity with certain words and grammatical structures.

No Syriac lapidaries are known to have reached us, but they gave birth to the earliest Arabic mineralogy, the so-called “Book of Stones” ascribed to Aristotle. We know fragments of it in Hebrew translation from which that apocrypha was subsequently translated into Latin.¹⁵ On the basis of certain features, Julius Ruska who published and translated the “Book” suggested that it was not written in Byzantium, but rather in the Syro-Persian environment, and its sources should be looked for among medical treatises by such Syriac authors as Hunayn ibn Ishaq (9th c.) who were well acquainted with texts following the Greek¹⁶ tradition.¹⁷ And the Arabic translation of the “Book of Stones” was based on a Middle Persian version, which is indicated by the fact that the names of the stones followed the Middle Persian pattern (*fīrūzağ*, etc.).¹⁸ Ruska also translated a chapter from “Cosmography” by Zacharia Kazvini (13th c.)¹⁹ which contained stories about gems, most of them referring to Aristotle. Having compared Kazvini’s work with other Arabic texts quoting the “Book of Stones” by Pseudo-Aristotle, Ruska noticed that Kazvini mentioned 48 stones omitted elsewhere. He then split those gems, most of them fantastic, into four groups: those with pronounced chemical activity; those used as medicine; magical and colourful magical

¹³ Cf. Sogdian *snk* (= Pahlavi *sang*), ‘stone’ in the Sogdian lapidary published by E. Benveniste (BENVENISTE 1940, 59–73).

¹⁴ BROCKELMANN 1928, 3a.

¹⁵ RUSKA 1912, 66.

¹⁶ In fact, Greek science adopted and developed the knowledge of the Assyro-Babylonians and Egyptians; cf. FIGULEVSKAYA 1979, 175–176, 181, etc.

¹⁷ RUSKA 1912, 91–92.

¹⁸ RUSKA 1912, 43–44.

¹⁹ RUSKA 1896.

stones.²⁰ That last group comprised seven colours: white, red, green, light blue (in Arabic, *asmānjūnī*; a word borrowed from the Pahlavi *asmāngōn*), black, yellow, and gray. Here are a few examples of their descriptions: “The black stone. So said Aristotle: If the stone is black and, when ground, its powder is white, it can be used against the poison of snakes and scorpions; the one bitten should drink (water with) this powder, or else that stone (lit. ‘it’, i.e. ‘powder’. — *O.Ch.*) should be worn as a pendant. If the powder is yellow, few of its owners will wake up(?) (the question mark is in Ruska’s translation. — *O.Ch.*), and the inhabitants of a house in which diseases occur will remain healthy. If the powder is black like the stone itself, its owner will have all his wishes fulfilled, and his wisdom will grow. If the powder is green, its owner will never get bitten by reptiles.

“The yellow stone. So said Aristotle: if the stone is yellow and, when ground, its powder is white, its owner will receive from other people everything he may ask for. If the powder is green, one should expect that its owner will succeed in everything. If the powder is red, its owner will receive God’s assistance in everything he will ask for. If the powder is black, the one who takes it may pronounce the name of any other person who will have to follow him (the owner. — *O.Ch.*), and will not be able to follow his own will for as long as the owner has that stone.”²¹

Even though that text does not follow the Pahlavi lapidary to the letter,²² their typological similarity is obvious: most probably, the latter, combining two texts, followed some other treatises written by Syriac translators and being separate scholarly works.

Thus studying the Pahlavi lapidary proves that this text was logical both in its contents and its structure. It probably was a translation of some Syriac work reflecting contemporary ideas concerning the medicinal and magical properties of stones.

The Pahlavi text

The publication based on manuscript K 35 employs the following conventional signs: round brackets mark additions and explanations, angular brackets mark words written erroneously, crosses mark reconstructed words.

²⁰ RUSKA 1912, 82–91.

²¹ RUSKA 1912, 90.

²² Cf. Ruska’s idea that the origin of the Latin “Book of Stones” was a certain text in Hebrew, differing from the one that has come down to us (RUSKA 1912, 66). By the way, the Hebrew *’bn* used in the extant version (*Ibid.*, 11, 19, etc.) could be indirect proof that the Syriac original used the noun *’bn*’.

Transliteration

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- 9 nyš'n' mwhryh' Y PWN k'l k'lt Y nywk bysz MNW 'sm'n W 'NŠWT'
 10 hwlmtl W l'mšntl YḤSNNy't' mwhlk' spz 'MT' PWN k'l d'lyt'
 'SLWNy_{nd} W
 ZLYTND bl KZY ŠPYL YḤTYWNYt' mwhlk' Y syd' MNWš <s'yh>
 s'dšn
 spyt' p't z'hl' Y KR' z'hl mwhlk'yh' wc'lyhyt' mwhlk' Y zlt'
 MNW d'lyt' my_{ngw}g wyłw'yšn' YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y swhl PWN
 MND'Mc L'
 š'yt' mwhlk' Y hšyyn' ptyhw'yh 'pz'yt' W l't' YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y
 15 'sym'ngwn 'wš PWN wyhyḥ YḤSNNy't' L' HY' MNW mwhlk' Y spz
 MNW
 d'lyt' hlpstl 'šwpyt' mwhlk' spz MNW d'lyt' hlpstl'n' L'
 gcyt' mwhlk' Y zlt' hcš s'dšn' spyt MNW d'lyt' KR' 'y'pt' MN

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- 1 yzd'n' 'NŠWT''n B'YḤWN'y't' tycyh' ḤŠKḤWny't' mwhlk' Y syd'
 MNW d'lyt' PWN KR' hymym'l W ptk'l bwhtyt' mwhlk' swhl MNW
 MNW d'lyt' KR' k'l = 1 pr'c' 'HDWNYt' plc'mynyt' BR' L' zwtk'
 YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y hšyn MNW d'lyt' KR' gyw'k 'YK YḤMTWNYt'
 dwst'
 5 ptš wst'hw' YḤWWNd W KR' MH B'YḤWWN'y't' wys YḤBWNd
 MNW
 'sym'ngwn mn'sn' Y 'NŠWT''n MDM t'pyt' nywk' YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y
 spz MNW d'lyt' KR' shwn p'šhw' zwt' W tyc' YḤMTWNYt' mwhlk' Y
 swhl
 MNWš s'dšn spyt' MNW d'lyt' KR' k'l = 1 pr'c' 'HDWNYt' zwt'
 tyc' SGYTWNYt' W mwhlk' Y syd' MNW d'lyt' mnšn' tyc W zwpl W
 MH'
 10 hndšyt' nywk' 'y'pyt' mwhlk' Y zlt' MNW d'lyt' KR' gyw'k 'p'dšn'
 W gl'myk YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y hšyn' KR' 'YK YḤMTWNYt' PWN
 KR' gyw'k'
 'YK KTLNYt' lwb'k' YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y 'sm'ngwn 'MT 'šk'lk'
 L'YN' Y
 ŠDY' W dlwc'n YḤSNNy't' MND'Mc yz'dšn' wn'sšn' ptš krtn' L' twb'n
 bym hcš L' YḤWWNYt' mwhlk' Y spz MNW d'lyt' 'DNš PWN k'lyc'l
 15 MND'Mc zy'hm W nydy MNW nyck W spšyl ptš L' YḤWWNYt'
 mwhlk' Y
 hšyn' MNWš s'dšn' spyt' 'MT NYŠH YḤSNNd PWN ŠM GBR'
 s'dynd BYN 'L YNH 'hncynd 'DYN'š ZK GBR' dwst' YḤWWNYt'

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- 1 hcš wštn' L' twb'n' GBR''n' PWN 'p'yt' d'št' mwhlk'
syd' MNW d'lyt' gyw'k 'YK YHMTWNYt' slb" MDM KR' 'YŠ
gl'myk YHWWNYt' mwhlk' Y zlt' MNW YHŠNNyt' 'YK 'ZLWNYt'
mynynd plystynynd 'Pš hwd'k'yh' L'YN YK'YMWNd
- 5 mwhlk' Y swhl MNW d'lyt' KR' gyw'k 'p'dšnyk YHWWNYt'
'pyltl PWN hncmn' myd'n Y hmym'l'n' mwhlk' Y 'sm'ngwn MNWš
s'dšn' spyt' MNW d'lyt' w'st'n' PWN l'mšn' 'Pš hk'lc"
byš PWN tn' m'hm'n' L' YHWWNYt' mwhlk' Y syd' MNWš s'dšn'
spyt' KR' MH byšz'snyh' dlm'n YBLWNx₂ lwb'k YHWWNYt' W ZK Y
- 10 zlt' 'L KBD MND'M wyz'yt' MH 'MT' 'L c'h W kts
h'nyk' LMYTWNyt' MY' k'hyt' 'MT' 'L 'pyl MDM YHŠNNd
plgnyt W w'l'n' L' YHWWNYt' BR' 'MT' swhl p'thš' MDM
'c'lyt' 'MT' d'lyt' W whšt' dwst YHWWNYt' MNW swhl d'lyt'
'D ywd wl'hynšn' pr'c' YHMTWNYt' 'DYNš MND'Mc L' tlwnyt' MNW
- 15 hšyn" GBR''n' 'MT PWN ŠM Y NYŠH hwyšynnd W 'L cšm NPŠH'
'hncynd ZK NYŠH 'LH' GBR' dwst" YHWWNYt' 'Pš hcš wštn'
L' twb'n' ZKc gw'hl PWN tn' d'štn' 'p'yt' MNW spz mdy'nc Y

p. 262

- 1 wyd'p('n 'p)'yt' d'štn' W w'l'n' w'lyt' ptyhw(yh 'pc'yt') W KR'
MH plm'dynd 'BYDWNx₁ W ZK MNW d'lyt' mšn' Y 'NŠWT''n
YD'YTNyt cw
stn' MH 'MT' 'L L'YN' 'ZLWNd ptk'l 'BYDWNx₁ 'MT SLY'
hndšynd kwstk' Y hwy W 'MT nywk' ZK Y dšn' gl'dyyt' 'MT' 'wctn Y
- 5 'YŠ l'd hndšynd PWN mšn' YHŠNNd L' gl'dyyt' W ZNH mwhlk' Y
gw'hl Y
yzd'n' MNW nylwk' Y hptlng d'lyt' ZNH gw'hlyh' 'YT' Y MY' W 'YT'
zmyk' 'YT' 'wlwl W 'YT' Y w't' Y y'nwl'n cyhkl' YHWWNd.

Transcription

p. 259

- 9 nišān (ī) muhrīhā ī pad kār (ī) kārd ī nek bēšaz kē asmān ud mardōm
- 10 huramtar ud rāmištar dārēd (.....) muhrag sabz ka pad kār dārēd ban-
dēnd ud
kārēnd bar ahī weh āwārēd muhrag ī syā kē-š sāyišn
spēd pād-zahr ī har zahr muhragīhā wizārīhēd muhrag <▷ zard
kē dārēd mēnōg⁺ wirāyišn bawēd muhrag <▷ suxr pad tis-iz nē
šāyēd muhrag <▷ xašēn padēxīh abzāyēd ud rād bawēd muhrag <▷

- 15 ⁺asmāngōn oš pad ⁺wēhīh dārēd nē gyān <kē> muhrag <▷> sabz kē dārēd xrafstar āšōbēd muhrag sabz kē dārēd xrafstarān nē gazēd muhrag <▷> zard az-iš sāyišn spēd kē dārēd har ayāft (ī) az

p. 260

- 1 yazdān mardōmān xwāhēd tēzīhā windēd muhrag <▷> syā kē dārēd pad har ⁺hamēmālīh ud pahikār bōxtēd muhrag suxr <kē> kē dārēd har kār-ē frāz gīrēd frazāmēnēd bē nē zūdag bawēd muhrag <▷> xašēn kē dārēd har gyāg kū rasēd dōst
- 5 pad-iš wistāxw bawēnd ud har čē xwāhēd wēš dahēnd kē ⁺asmāngōn manišn ī mardōmān abar tābēd nēk bawēd muhrag <▷> sabz kē dārēd har saxwan (ud) pāsox zūd ud tēz rasēd muhrag <▷> suxr kē-š sāyišn spēd kē dārēd har kār-ē frāz gīrēd zūd (ud) tēz rawēd ud muhrag <▷> syā kē dārēd manišn-tēz ud -zōfr ud čē
- 10 ⁺handēšēd nēk ayābēd muhrag <▷> zard kē dārēd har gyāg ⁺abāyišnīg ud grāmīg bawēd muhrag <▷> xašēn har kū rasēd pad har gyāg kū mānēd rawāg bawēd muhrag <▷> asmāngōn ka āškārag pēš ī dēw ud druzān dārēd tis-iz ⁺wizāyišn wināhišn pad-iš kardan nē tuwān bīm az-iš nē bawēd muhrag <▷> sabz kē dārēd ⁺ēg-iš pad kārēzār
- 15 tis-iz ⁺zaxm ud ⁺nīš ⁺az nēzag ud šafšēr pad-iš nē bawēd muhrag ī xašēn kē-š sāyišn spēd ka zan dārēnd pad nām (ī) mard sāyēnd andar ō ⁺čašm ahanjēnd ēg-iš ān mard dōšt bawēd

p. 261

- 1 az-iš waštan nē tuwān mardān pad (tan) abāyēd dāšt muhrag syā kē dārēd gyāg kū rasēd ⁺husraw abar har kas grāmīg bawēd muhrag <▷> zard kē dārēd kū šawēd mēnēnd ⁺paristēnēnd u-š ⁺hudāgīhā pēš ⁺ēstēnd
- 5 muhrag <▷> suxr kē dārēd har gyāg abāyišnīg bawēd ⁺abartar pad hanjaman mayān ī hamēmālān muhrag ī asmāngōn kē-š sāyišn spēd kē dārēd ⁺bāstān pad rāmišn u-š ⁺hagriz bēš pad tan ⁺mēhmān nē bawēd muhrag ī syā kē-š sāyišn spēd har čē bēšazišnīhā darmān barēd rawāg bawēd ud ān ī
- 10 zard ō was tis wizāyēd čē ka ō čāh ud kahās xānīg abgānēd āb kāhēd ka ō ⁺abr abar dārēnd parganēd ud wārān nē bawēd bē ka suxr pādixšā abar āzārēd ka dārēd ud wahišt dōst bawēd kē suxr dārēd tā jud- ⁺brēhēnišn frāz rasēd ēg-iš tis-iz nē ⁺tarwēnēd kē
- 15 xašēn mardān ka pad nām ī zan ⁺xwēšēnēnd ud ō čašm (ī) xwēš āhanjēnd ān zan ōy mard dōst bawēd u-š az-iš waštan nē tuwān ān-iz gōhr pad tan dāštan abāyēd kē sabz mayān-iz ī

p. 262

- 1 +wyābān +abāyēd dāštan ud wārān wārēd +padēxīh +abzāyēd ud har
 čē framāyēnd kunēd ud ān kē dārēd manišn ī mardōmān dānēd +wizō-
 stan čē ka ō pēš +šawēd pahikār kunēnd ka wad
 +handēšēnd kustag ī hōy ud ka nēk ān ī dašn +grāyēd ka ōzadan ī
- 5 kas rāy +handēšēnd pad manišn dārēnd nē grāyēd ud ēn muhrag ī gōhr ī
 yazdān kē nērōg ī haft rang dārēd ēn gōhrīhā ast ī āb ud ast (ī)
 zamīg ast (ī) urwar ud ast ī wād (ud ast) ī gyānwarān čihrag bawēnd.

Translation

p. 259, line 9.

The properties of the +stones²³ worked over ('which were worked over') with a knife, healing well, which make ('keep') the Heaven and people happier and quieter. (...) ²⁴(If) +the powder²⁵ is green, if (the stone) is used while planting (a tree), ²⁶(it) should be hung up, (the tree) planted, and it will give fruit soon and well. The black +stone whose powder²⁷ is white is used as an antidote against any poison shaped like a seal. (If) +the powder is yellow, its owner will be drawn to the spiritual. (If) +the powder is red, that (stone) is worthless. (If) +the powder is blue, that (stone) increases well-being and its owner will be generous. (If) +the powder is light blue, that (stone) protects wisdom, but never the soul. <Who> (If) +the powder is green, whoever owns (that stone) will frighten reptiles; (if) +the powder is green, whoever owns (that stone) will never be bitten by a reptile. The yellow +stone whose powder is white, whoever owns it, will quickly get any assistance

p. 260

he wants, (both) from Gods and people. (If) +the powder is black, whoever owns it will be safe in every +fight and battle. (If) +the powder is red, <who> whoever owns (that stone) will succeed in anything, but never quickly. (If) +the powder is blue, whoever owns (that stone) may come anywhere, and his friends will be devoted to him and give him ('more') of everything he might

²³ Here and elsewhere the noun 'a stone' is used for Pahlavi *muhrr//muhrag*.

²⁴ The lapidary has no beginning.

²⁵ The +ān ī in the archetype (initial text) has been replaced with the noun *muhrag*.

²⁶ In regard to the meaning of *kār* cf. Modern Persian *kār* 'sawing, planting'.

²⁷ In the manuscript *s'yšn* is written above *s'yh* (*sāyīh* 'rubbing, friction'); that means that initially the scribe had written a synonym, but later corrected the text, aware that the word *sāyīšn* was ambiguous. The correct version is, in the present manuscript, always superscribed over the faulty one, cf. p. 260, line 14; p. 261, line 4; p. 262, line 4, etc.

desire. The one with light blue (powder), (that stone) wakes up the thought ('of people') and it will be good. (If) ⁺the powder is green, whoever owns (that stone) learns to speak quickly and soon and (finds) the answer. The red ⁺stone whose powder is white, whoever owns (it) will start any action quickly and soon. (If) ⁺the powder is black, whoever owns (that stone) will be clever and wise, and whatever he ⁺thinks about, he will easily get. (If) ⁺the powder is yellow, whoever owns (that stone) will be ⁺required and favoured everywhere. (If) ⁺the powder is blue, wherever (the owner of that stone) comes, and in any place he stays, he will be welcomed. (If) ⁺the powder is light blue, in the event that (the owner) shows (that stone) to a devil or demons, they will not be able to harm²⁸ or cause evil to him, and (he) will not be frightened of them. (If) ⁺the powder is green, whoever owns (that stone), ('⁺then') in combat he will not have a single ⁺wound or ⁺damage²⁹ caused by a spear or a sword. The blue stone whose powder is white, in case women own (it) they should rub it saying a man's name and bring it to their ⁺eyes,³⁰ and then that man will fall in love with (that woman)

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and will never be able to leave her. Men should always wear that stone close to (the body).³¹ (If) the ⁺powder is black, whoever owns (that stone), wherever he walks, will be ⁺famous³² and adored by all. (If) the ⁺powder is yellow, whoever owns (that stone), wherever he walks, will be thought and cared about³³ and every good will be done for him. (If) the ⁺powder is red, whoever owns (that stone) will be needed in all places and in a conference (he) will be ⁺above ('among') his opponents. ((If) the ⁺powder is green, whoever owns (that stone), wherever he goes, will have plenty).³⁴ The light blue ⁺stone whose powder is white, whoever owns (that stone), will ⁺always³⁵ (live) in peace and his body will be devoid of pain. (Line 8). The black

²⁸ Pahlavi ⁺*wizāyšn*, a conjecture by A.V. Williams (WILLIAMS 1990a, 230 (64.19)) according to a later copy (WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a).

²⁹ A conjecture by E.B.N. Dhabhar (WILLIAMS 1990a, 230 (64.20); WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a, fn.7).

³⁰ Reconstructed on the basis of other copies (WILLIAMS 1990a, 230 (64.21), fn. 30; WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a).

³¹ Inserted on the basis of other copies (WILLIAMS 1990a, 230 (64.21), fn. 35; WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a).

³² Reconstructed on the basis of other copies (WILLIAMS 1990a, 230 (64.22), fn. 36; WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a).

³³ In the text causative *paristēnēnd*.

³⁴ This passage is missing from manuscript 35, but can be found in other copies: *muhrag ī sabz kē dārēd har kū rasēd duš-padēxīh nē bawēd* (WILLIAMS 1990b, 374a-b (25)).

³⁵ Reconstructed by E.B.N. Dhabhar on the basis of other copies (WILLIAMS 1990b, 374b(26)).

⁺stone whose powder is white, heals all maladies and is good (for all diseases). (The one) with yellow powder,³⁶ (that stone) harms a lot of things, because if (someone) throws (it) into a well ('and') a canal, (or) a spring, the water flow will decrease; if it gets raised towards the ⁺clouds, it will disperse (them), and there will be no rain. And if (the powder) is red, the ruler...,³⁷ if he has (it), he will deserve paradise. Whoever has the red (powder), whenever a ⁺disaster(?)³⁸ occurs, (the owner of that stone) will be impossible to ⁺defeat. Whoever (has) the blue (powder), in case men take ('appropriate') that stone saying the name of a woman and bring it to their eyes, that woman will fall in love with that man and be unable to leave him. And that gem³⁹ should be worn close to the body. Whoever (has) the green (powder), it is that stone which

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is necessary in the desert for the rain to fall. It will increase prosperity⁴⁰ and it will do whatever (its owners) tell to do. The one who owns (it) can ⁺learn⁴¹ other people's thoughts, as when (the stone) moves forward, they are about to quarrel; if they mean harm, (it will move) left, and if they mean good, right; if they ⁺think about killing someone and keep (that) in mind, it will not move. These are the divine gems possessing the powers of seven colours. They have their origins either in water, or in earth, or in plants, or in the air, (or in) animals.⁴²

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³⁶ The attributive construction *ān ī* is in this case replacing the noun *sāyišn*.

³⁷ The manuscript clearly reads *abar azārēd*, meaningless in this context. Might it be a mistake by the scribe who used the verb to render a polysemantic Syriac word?

³⁸ Cf. the Pahlavi ⁺*ywdt-blyhynšn*.

³⁹ This and two following phrases written after the proper lapidary use the Pahlavi word *gōhr* for 'a gem, a precious stone'.

⁴⁰ The illegible words in line 1 of the manuscript K 35 can be reconstructed on the basis of other copies (WILLIAMS 1990b, 374b(30)).

⁴¹ An emendation by J. de Menasce, cf. a reference in (WILLIAMS 1990a, 274, fn. 55).

⁴² This phrase might be a trace of the ideas concerning the origins of stones, typical in the Middle East, cf. Ibn Sina's statement that stones were born of earth, water, plants, animals, and fire (BELENITSKII 1953, 45–51).

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**Mongolian Golden Kanjur Fragments
in the Collection of the IOM, RAS***

Abstract: The collection of the IOM, RAS contains a number of odd folios from the Mongolian Kanjur, the history of whose entry into the collection is unknown. The text is written in golden ink on blue paper. Handwriting and orthography are characteristic of the first half of the 17th c. Appearance and ductus reveal a striking similarity to the *Golden Kanjur* of Ligdan Khan kept in Hohhot. In the article the folios from IOM, RAS are compared with the *Golden Kanjur*. An attempt to trace back the history of these manuscript fragments leads to the conclusion that they could be among the first Mongolian manuscripts brought to St. Petersburg at the time of Peter the Great.

Key words: Ablai Keyid, Kanjur, “golden” manuscripts, codicology, manuscript collection of IOM, RAS

The study of the genesis of the Kanjur (Mong. Ganjur), the Mongolian translation of the Word of Buddha (Skr. *buddhavacana*), is one of the key problems of modern Mongolian studies. Despite long-established interest in the problem, our vision of Buddhist canonical literature in Mongolia is far from complete, and new data in this field of study necessitate not so much a correction as a reconsideration of the whole picture.¹

The process of the Mongols’ reception of the *buddhavacana* started as early as the 13th–14th cc. under the Yuan dynasty.² After the fall of the dynasty in 1368, translation activities among the Mongols declined for almost two centuries, recommencing with renewed vigour under Altan Khan (1508–

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¹ On the latest research in this field see: ALEKSEEV 2013; ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013; GCCA; YAMPOLSKAYA 2013.

² On the translation of Buddhist works into Mongolian under the Yuan dynasty see, for example, COYIJI, 2003.

1582). According to his biography, the “Jewel Translucent Sūtra” (Mong. *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*), written sometime after 1607, and the colophon of the *Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, translated into Mongolian by Siregetü Güsi Corji (late 16th – early 17th cc.),³ the work of compiling the entire Kanjur was completed under Altan's grandson Namudai Secen Khan (1586–1607).⁴ Unfortunately, not a single folio of this redaction has survived to the present day. The next manuscript edition of the Kanjur was produced under Ligdan Khan (r. 1592–1634) in the years 1628–29. Today it is well established that Ligdan Khan's redaction committee made extensive use of the earlier translations, changing their colophons in favour of their patron.⁵ The final product of this translation and editorial work was a special manuscript written in gold on a blue background. Subsequently it was named the ‘Altan’, i.e. ‘Golden’, Kanjur.

In modern Mongolian studies it has been taken for granted that the Golden Kanjur was written in a single copy. However, the Mongolian historiographical tradition does not comment on the exact number of ‘golden’ copies. Thus, for example, the Mongolian chronicle called the “Thousand Spoke Golden Wheel” (Mong. *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*)⁶ states that “...the Kanjur was translated into Mongolian and written in gold”.⁷ Another Mongolian work, the “Golden Rosary” (Mong. *Altan erike*), reports: “It is marvellous that having written golden and silver letters that are like the Sun and the Moon on the sky of paper that is like blue turquoise they illuminated the darkness of ignorance of the sentient beings”.⁸ Later on this collection be-

³ On Güsi Corji see BIRA 1978, 72; VLADIMIRTSOV 1927, 217–232; TSERENSODNOM 1997, 108–114; ALTANORGIL 1982, 76, 98; BAREJA-STARZYNSKA 2006, 22–28; COYIJI 1985; COYIJI 1988; ELVERSKOG 2003, 203–204; KARA 1983.

⁴ ELVERSKOG 2003, 210–211; KAS'IANENKO 1993, No. 545(1); KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 156–159; TUYAF-A, 2008, 274–278.

⁵ VLADIMIRTSOV 2003, 113; HEISSIG 1957; 1962, 5–42; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 151.

⁶ In transcription of Mongolian text ‘c’ and ‘j’ are given without diacritic. The following symbols are used for the Galik letters and editorial marks: <...> — glosses and interpolations, {...} — eliminations and corrections of the text, a — ^{◌̇}, d* — ^{◌̇}, d' — ^{◌̇}, e' — ^{◌̇}, g' — ^{◌̇}, j' — ^{◌̇}, k' — ^{◌̇}, m' — ^{◌̇}, o' — ^{◌̇}, t' — ^{◌̇}, y' — ^{◌̇}, z' — ^{◌̇}.

⁷ baka-a 'agyur-i mongyol kelen-e orciyulun altan-iyar bicibei: DHARM-A, 1987, 148.

⁸ köke bidura metü çayasan-u oytaryui-dur naran saran metü altan mönggön üsügüd-i orosiylulun qubitan amitan-u mungqay-un qarangyui-yi geyigülün jokiyaysan yeke çayiqamsiy: NA-TA 1989, 114. Scholars have repeatedly commented on the five “black” or plain copies written at the same time as the Golden Kanjur (see, for example, ELVERSKOG 2003, 211 n. 176; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 159; USPENSKY 1997, 114), nevertheless the authors of this study are not acquainted with Mongolian historical records that mention them. At present we know the following ‘black’ manuscript copies of Ligdan Khan's Kanjur: one volume preser-

came the basis for yet another edition of the Mongolian Kanjur — this time in blockprint — produced under the auspices of the Qing dynasty's Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722) in 1718–20 in Beijing (MK).⁹

The Manuscript of the Golden Kanjur Kept in Hohhot

Twenty volumes, including fragments, of the Golden Kanjur are in the library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (AK). The history, contents and colophon of this manuscript collection have been described in detail elsewhere.¹⁰ For this study it is important to give the basic data on the codicology, paleography and orthography of the Golden Kanjur.

The Golden Kanjur consists of *pothi* format volumes; the size of the folios is 72×24.9 cm. The paper is multilayer Chinese: the inner layer is soft, white paper, while the upper layers (thinner and denser) have been painted blue. The text was written using a reed pen (*calamus*) with gold inside the blackened glossy interior of a frame (57.5×15.5 cm) outlined with a golden double line. Some minor inscriptions and graphic elements are written with silver. On the middle axis of each folio (excluding the first folios of the volumes) two double circles are drawn symbolizing the holes for the cords that used to bind some Indian palm-leaf manuscripts.¹¹ On the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios there is a 'rail' enclosing a marginal title denoting the section of the collection, the number of the volume marked with a Tibetan letter, and pagination in Mongolian. On the bulk of the folios hundreds in the pagination are indicated by small crosses: so, for example, the

ved in Copenhagen (CK; on this volume see: HEISSIG 1957; KOLLMAR–PAULENZ 2002, 162–165), the 113 volume collection kept in the St. Petersburg State University Library (PK; see KAS'IANENKO 1993); the bulk of the 70-volume collection preserved in the National Library of Mongolia as the Kanjur (UBK); 109 volumes kept in the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS (UUK); the Kanjur preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (HHK1).

⁹ The circumstances surrounding the creation of both Ligdan Khan's and Kangxi's editions have been repeatedly described in the literature on Mongolian studies. See, for example, KAS'IANENKO 1993, 18–13; HEISSIG 1957; 1962; TUYAT–A, 2008, 278–297; USPENSKY 1997, 113–114. The catalogue of the Kangxi's edition see in LIGETI 1942. The full text of the blockprint Kanjur was edited by Lokesh Chandra (MK), at present a new edition of the Kangxi's collection is being published in China under the guidance of Prof. Altanorgil.

¹⁰ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013.

¹¹ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 760–761.

“Golden” Folios in European Collections

Several folios of Mongolian manuscripts written in gold on blue paper can be found in European collections. Two folios of this sort were published and described by Walther Heissig in his 1979 article titled “Die erste mongolische Handschrift in Deutschland”.¹⁵ One of them is kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Saxony, together with a folio of a Tibetan manuscript and a document that casts light on its history.¹⁶ The other folio is kept in the Swedish town of Linköping. It has been established that both folios were found in Siberia and came into the possession of their European owners in the early 1720s. The Wolfenbüttel folio was delivered to St. Petersburg from the ruined temple of Ablai Keyid on the river Irtysh. It came into possession of A.E. Stambke, the envoy of the Duke of Holstein at the court of Peter the Great, in 1723–24, and later became part of the collection of the German scholar J.F. Reimmann.¹⁷ The Linköping folio was brought to Sweden by the military officer Johan Gustaf Renat, who was sent to Siberia after the Battle of Poltava and spent 18 years (1716–1734) among the Dzhungar people.¹⁸ Both folios are identical to the Golden Kanjur in appearance, ductus and style of handwriting.¹⁹

The “Golden” Folios at the IOM, RAS

Odd folios and fragments (twelve complete folios and nine fragments) of the Mongolian Kanjur,²⁰ the codicology, paleography and orthography of

¹⁵ HEISSIG 1979.

¹⁶ The document is a letter dated 1 February 1723, from the French scholar Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon to Peter the Great. The history of their correspondence is covered in the paper by E. Kniazhetskaia. See: KNIAZHETSKAIA 1989. Additional comments can be found in the paper by Hartmut Walravens: WALRAVENS 1997.

¹⁷ HEISSIG 1979, 210.

¹⁸ HEISSIG 1979, 200–201.

¹⁹ For a detailed comparative codicological description of the folios see: ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA, YAMPOLSKAYA 2014.

²⁰ A.G. Sazykin in his catalogue gives a different number of folios: “17 odd folios and fragments of the manuscript Kanjur in Mongolian, written with “golden” ink on black lacquered paper” (SAZYKIN 2001, No. 2929). The same number is given on the folder that contains the folios. Most probably, this figure appeared because when calculating the quantity eight fragments were considered to be halves of complete folios.

which are strikingly similar to those of the Golden Kanjur from Hohhot and the folios published by W. Heissig, are kept in the collection of IOM, RAS under the pressmark K37 (IOMAK).

The size of the *pothi* format folios is about 63.7×22.8 (51×14.3) cm, 27–30 lines in the frame.²¹ Like the manuscripts described above, these Kanjur folios are written on multilayer Chinese paper: the inner layer is thinner and denser than in the Golden Kanjur in Hohhot, the upper layers are painted blue.

The text was written using a reed pen (calamus) with gold inside the blackened glossy interior of a frame outlined with a golden double line. On the middle axis of both sides of each folio two double circles are drawn with gold. On the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios there is a ‘rail’ enclosing the same markers as in the Golden Kanjur. Pagination is on the recto sides of the folios. On some folios, hundreds in the pagination are indicated with small crosses.

Most likely due to the limited amount of text, the handwriting seems to be more uniform than in the Golden Kanjur, but beyond all doubt it belongs to the same ductus. Absolutely all the peculiarities of the ductus of the Golden Kanjur listed above are characteristic of the folios kept in IOM.

The text on the ‘golden’ folios displays the same orthographical characteristics as the text of the Golden Kanjur, such as preclassic use of ‘t’ and ‘d’ in suffixes (Mong. *oytaryui-tur*, *vcir-a-tur*, etc.); separate writing of some words (Mong. *ter-e*); archaic spelling of such words as *bodisung*, *maqasung* etc.; combination of ‘q’, ‘γ’ and ‘i’ (Mong. *qimusun*, *qi vcir*); characteristic use of ‘i’ at the beginning of Sanskrit and Tibetan words (Mong. *irjudci*, *irgalmsan*, *injan-a*). There is only one exception: we could not find any instances of suffixes being joined with words (possibly due to the limited amount of text material).

The folios belong to the *Dandir-a*, *Yüm*, *Olangki* and *Vinai* sections of the Mongolian Kanjur. Due to the absence of markers of works or chapters, the bulk of the fragments could not be identified. The exceptions are the fragments on folios 276 and 335 from the *ka* volume of the *Dandir-a* section.

F. 276a carries the end of the eighth work from the *ka* volume of *Dandir-a* section²² and the beginning of the ninth.²³ To show correlation of the texts in AK, IOMAK and PK we collate the concluding title and the colophon of the

²¹ Precise sizes and numbers of lines for each folio are given below.

²² KASIANENKO 1993, No. 8.

²³ KASIANENKO 1993, No. 9.

eighth work (Table 3), as well as the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian titles of the ninth work (Table 4).

Table 3

AK, Dandir-a, ka	IOMAK, Dandir-a, ka	PK, Dandir-a, ka
[341b] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d*ag</u> 'ini yilvi jiryalang-un degedü kemegekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg- ün <u>ubadii</u> <u>sam</u> iriti in- jan-a <u>k</u> 'irti büged orciyulbai:: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed- ün <u>ubadii</u> jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylulbai::	[276a] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d'ag</u> ini yilvi jiryalang- un degedü kemegekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg-ün ubadiy-a <u>sim</u> iriti inyan-a <u>k</u> irti büged orciyulbai: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed-ün <u>ubadiy-a</u> jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylulbai:: : ::	[73a] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d*ag</u> ini <u>yelvi</u> jiryalang- un degedü kemegekü: nigen tümen naiman mingy-a-tu-aca qamuy <u>nom-un</u> qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg-ün ubadini <u>sm</u> iriti inyan-a <u>ki</u> irti büged orciyulbai:: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed-ün <u>ubadini</u> jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylulbai:: : ::

As can be seen from the textological collation, variant readings in this fragment are associated primarily with the rendering of foreign words. An interesting difference between the texts is the translation of the Tibetan expression “the king of all [types of] conceptual comprehension” (Tib. *rtog pa thams cad kyi rgyal po*).²⁴ Here Tib. *rtog pa* is accurately and uniformly translated in both ‘golden’ copies (Mong. *onol*), while in PK there seems to be a error on the part of the scribe, who by force of habit wrote “the king of all teachings” (Mong. *qamuy nom-un qayan*), an expression that occurs abundantly in the texts of the Kanjur.

²⁴ Q, rGyud, ka, 230a/2.

AK, Dandir-a, ka, 342a	IOMAK, Dandir-a, ka, 276a	PK, Dandir-a, ka, 73a
qi vcir-a dandir-a raja nam-a:: cii dorji se's by'au-a irjudci irgalbo:	qi vcir-a dandir-a raja nam-a:: cii dorji se's by'au-a irjudci irgalbo:	hi baj'ar d''and'r-a ra-a c'a na-a m-a: g'ye' rdo' rje: z'e's by'au-a rgyud' gyi rgyalpo'-i:
qi vcir-a neretü dandiras-un qayan:	qi vcir-a neretü dandiras-un qayan:	hi vcir neretü d''andiras- un qayan:

As the textological collation demonstrates, the title of the work in three languages is absolutely identical in AK and IOMAK. Both manuscripts render Skt. *hevajra* as *qi vcir-a*, with the preclassic use of the 'q' and 'i' combination as well as the use of the same variant as in the Mongolian title *vcir-a* for Sanskr. *vajra*. Besides that, in the Sanskrit title in both manuscripts the long vowels are not marked. In the transcription of the Tibetan title Tib. *kye'i*²⁵ is rendered as *cii*, and 'i' is added to the transcriptions of Tib. *rgyud kyi* and *rgyal po*.²⁶ PK demonstrates more accuracy in rendering the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. It reproduces the long vowels of the Sanskrit title and uses more *Galik* letters to render Sanskrit and Tibetan words. On the whole AK and IOMAK demonstrate a more archaic manner of rendering Sanskrit and Tibetan words. The texts are absolutely identical, which suggests that the manuscripts are closely related. However, we do not have sufficient material to draw final conclusions about the relationship between the three manuscripts.

On f. 335a there is the marker of the seventh chapter of the work: *degedü tabun rasiyan yaruşsan vcir neretü samadi dolodayar bölög bolai*. This chapter is the part of the tenth work in the volume ka of the *Dandir-a* section.²⁷

The History of the Golden Folios in the IOM, RAS

It is not known how these manuscript folios appeared in the Institute's funds. The pressmark K37 was given to them in 1937, when the folios became part of the *Mongolica Nova* collection. This collection was formed

²⁵ Q, rGyud, ka, 230a/3.

²⁶ rGyud, ka, 230a/3.

²⁷ KASIANENKO 1993, No. 10.

between 1925 and 1937²⁸ and, besides the manuscripts and xylographs that arrived at the Institute during that period, it included some materials from the old funds, among which were the manuscript folios in question.²⁹ Apart from the record in the inventory book dated 1937, no references have been found that could cast light on the history of these folios. It is possible that before 1937 they were never catalogued or inventoried.

There are reasons to believe that the odd ‘golden’ folios of the Mongolian Kanjur were among the first Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts that were found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid and brought to St. Petersburg in the early 1720s by order of Peter the Great.³⁰

The manuscripts from Ablai Keyid are considered to have been the basis of the Mongolian collection of the Asiatic Museum, although so far it has not been established which particular manuscripts in the IOM’s collection these were.³¹ Some of them probably became part of the first collection of the Asiatic Museum: in the catalogue compiled in 1891, under the title of Section I “Books and manuscripts according to the 1789 catalogue by Jähriq”, it is stated that some of the manuscripts listed there were donated by Johann Jähriq himself, while others had already been kept at the Oriental Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences.³² Johann Jähriq (1747–1795) was the first scholar in St. Petersburg to master the Mongolian language and was thus able to assess the value of the manuscripts held at the Academy. On examining these Mongolian manuscripts, Jähriq referred to them as ‘torn-out folios’ (Germ. *ausgerissene Blätter*) that were worth preserving only because they had already been preserved.³³ This important detail suggests that many of the Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts brought to St. Petersburg in the early 1720s were not only damaged, but were in fact random fragments.

Another valuable mention of the manuscripts found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid comes from Peter Simon Pallas, who travelled around adjacent territo-

²⁸ PUCHKOVSKIJ 1954, 98.

²⁹ An entry was made in a 1934 inventory book at the manuscript fund: ORKID IV AN 1934 (Arch. 21), p. 115. The record lists twelve folios sized 23×64 cm and nine folios of different sizes (these are the torn folios) — 21 folio in total, marked “from old funds”.

³⁰ In 1720 Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts were found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid monastery on the Irtysh by Ivan Likharev’s expedition and brought to St. Petersburg. See: KNAZHETSKAIA 1989.

³¹ PUCHKOVSKIJ 1954, 91–92; SAZYKIN 1988, 10.

³² *Spisok mongol’skim i kalmytskim knigam i rukopisiam, khrianschimsia v Aziatskom muzeje Akademii nauk, po khronologicheskomu postuplieniuiu ikh v sostav biblioteki Aziatskogo muzeia. Mart 1891*, 1.

³³ BACMEISTER 1796, 124.

ries in the early 1770s. The naturalist himself did not visit the site of the monastery, but his assistant put together a detailed description of the place, published in the 1773 book *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches*. According to this description, among the ruins one could still find remnants of the manuscripts that had earlier been scattered in large numbers at the abandoned monastery. Some of the manuscripts were written in black on white paper, others — in silver and gold on glossed black and blue paper. The ones that Pallas's assistant brought to him were so damaged that they crumbled to dust under his fingers, and yet the silver and golden letters could still be seen.³⁴ From this description it emerges that even fifty years after Ivan Likharev's visit to the ruins of Ablai Keyid it was still possible to find manuscript folios written in silver on black and in gold on blue paper — folios that could possibly come from the same volumes as the 21 ff. in the *Mongolica Nova* collection, the two folios from the Herzog August Bibliothek, and the one taken to Sweden by the artillery officer J.G. Renat.

In 1779 Johann Bacmeister described the collection of the Academy in the following way: "Our library is rich in Tangut and Mongolian manuscripts. Some of them with golden, others with silver, and others with black letters. A part of these manuscripts was brought in 1720 from Siberia, where they were found at Ablai-keyid on the Irtysh..."³⁵ Not only does this description establish the presence of such manuscripts in St. Petersburg in the 18th c., it also complements Pallas's evidence concerning their appearance and indicates to their possible place of origin.

All these scattered facts help to reconstruct piece by piece the history of the manuscript folios under the pressmark K37. The design of the pages and the ductus, bearing unquestionable resemblance to the Golden Kanjur of Hohhot, show that the manuscript was written in South Mongolia in the first decades of the 17th c. The codicological similarity to the folios from Wolfenbüttel and Linköping is no less evident, revealing possible connections with Ablai Keyid. The assumption that these folios were once found at the ruins of a monastery is supported by their poor state, as well as by the fact that they come from different volumes of such a large collection of texts as the Kanjur. If they were in fact brought to St. Petersburg in the 1720s, their unsatisfactory condition could possibly be a good enough reason for Jährgig not to include them in his collection. Thus the folios could have ended up being stored in the funds of the Academy of Sciences for two hundred years before they were finally listed as part of the collection *Mongolica Nova* in 1937.

³⁴ PALLAS 1773, 551.

³⁵ BACMEISTER 1796, 122.

Conclusion

A striking similarity between the ‘golden’ folios from IOM, RAS, the library of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Linköping and the Golden Kanjur from Huhhot indicates that most probably these manuscripts were written at the same time, as part of one and the same ‘project’. As at the moment we do not have any reason to doubt that the ‘golden’ manuscript collection kept in Hohhot is the Golden Kanjur of Ligdan Khan,³⁶ we can assume that the other manuscript fragments were also written in 1629 after the translation and editing of the Mongolian Kanjur had been completed. At present it is not clear how some of these manuscripts came to be at Ablai Keyid. The possibility to solve this riddle lies in further study of the ‘golden’ fragments on blue paper preserved in European collections.³⁷ For now, having given free rein to our imagination, we can only conjecture that because, under pressure from the Manchu, Ligdan Khan retreated to Kökenuur, where he died in 1634, and then in 1636–1637 that area was taken by the Khoshud under Gtüüsi Khan,³⁸ some part of the holy books of the last all-Mongolian khan may have come into the Khoshud’s hands as trophies, as repeatedly happened in Mongolian history.

The Catalogue of the ‘Golden’ Folios in the IOM, RAS

Given below is the catalogue of the folios of the manuscript Kanjur kept in the IOM, RAS. The folios are listed according to the order of sections and folios in the Kanjur. The folios that have not been identified are given in the end of the list. The description of each folio includes: the section marker, the volume number, the folio number (including its Mongolian spelling), the sizes of the folio and the frame, the number of lines on both sides of the folio, the beginning and concluding lines of the folio. For the fragments without part of the text only the length of the folio and the beginning and concluding lines are indicated.³⁹

³⁶ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 777.

³⁷ Similar folios are kept in libraries in Berlin, Glasgow and London (HEISSIG 1998, 158).

³⁸ IMNR 194; ATWOOD 2003, 335, 421.

³⁹ In the transcription of the Mongolian text the following additional symbols are used: parentheses — to indicate the side of the folio and the number of the line (empty parentheses indicate the lines of a folio, the beginning of which is lost), asterisks — instead of words which are impossible to read, a question mark — for words, the reading of which is doubtful, three dots — to indicate a lost fragment of the text.

1. Dandir-a, ka, 164/194? (jayun jiran/yiren dörben?), 63.7×22.9 (51×14.3) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) ilekü singekü boluyad jici basa ene kemebesü tegüncilen ür-e-ı (2) teyin büged ariyun bolıyay: tere metü qoyar ıurban naiman-ıyar (3) ilekü-ı singegülkü boluyad jici basa singeküi ene kemebesü degedü (4) bida-nuyud-ıyar: ese singebesü ele amitan-tur kejiy-e naiman (5) söni boltala kürdün-ü odoqui sayitur boluy: ...

...(b/25) mingyan toytan nebtelküi jayun-ıyar qubilyay(26)san jayun kiged költi: nebteleküi-yi kejiyede ber medejü: (27) öbere öbere edür qonoy-un cay-tur idegdekü boluyad (28) cayan kiji qubi-aca ecüs-tür isginceyin⁴⁰ qubi bolai: (29) sayin keyid kiged ıajar-un ger küiten kei-lüğe qalayun-aca

2. Dandir-a, ka, 276 (qoyar jayun dalan jiryuyan), 63.6×22.8 (51.7×14.3) cm, 27 and 28 lines

(a/1) qoyin-a kümün-i nomoyadqaqui cay-tur: tedeger-i ber yambar (2) degedü jiryalang-tu bolyaqui-yin tulada: tere metü yeke (3) ayalıutu öciji bü-ün: köbegün-lüğe nigen-e qamuy burqad: (4) yeke vcir satu-a-yi nomlayısan-ı ilete maytabai:: qamuy (5) burqad-luy-a tegsi barıldıyıcı d'agini yilvi jiryalang-un (6) degedü kemegdekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un (7) qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: ...

...(b/25) vcir-a garbi ocir-un: (26) ai ilaju tegüs nögcıgsen-e: vcir-tu bey-e-tür kedün (27) sudal amui: ilaju tegüs nögcıgsen jarlıy bolur-un: sudal (28) kemebesü ıucin qoyar bülüğe: ıucin qoyar bodi sedkil

3. Dandir-a, ka, 335 (ıurban jayun ıucin tabun), 63.8×23.3 (51.4×14.5) cm, 28 and 28 lines

(a/1) bilig baramid-un belge bilig: egüni vcir-tu ***⁴¹ (2) kemen ügüleyü: qamuy nom-ud-un oron: tegüncilen iregsen (3) ayusi: burqan vcir-tu-yin büged: arı-a bilig kiged-i (4) kölgeleghsed:: qotala ıurban yırtıncüs-ün delekei kiged delekei(5)-yin door-a oıtarıui-tur: cisun kiged sukir-a-bar (6) düğürügsen bey-e: ııayur-tan-u erketü egüni nomlar-un: ...

...(b/24) vcir-tu urılıyan-u ııyal-ıyar: kelen-ü vcir kkir ügei: (25) moq-a vcir-a-yi sayitur barıldıyuluıysan-ıyar: nidün-ü (26) medeküi-yi arılaydaqui:: diyan-a vcir-a-yi sedkıgsen(27)-ıyer: dayun-u qayaly-a-yi sedküki bolai: qabar-ı mad(28)sary-a vcir-ıyar: jiryuyan amitan-ı yeke vcir-ıyar::

⁴⁰ ? 𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰾

⁴¹ AK, Dandir-a, ka, 405b: naran.

4. Yüm, ka, 56 (tabin jiryuyan), the end of the folio is torn off, the length is 44 cm

(a/1) ilete tuylju burqan boluγ-a inaru: qamuγ ilaju tegüs (2) nögcigsed-ün ülü anggijiraqu boluyu: saradudi-yin köbegün: (3) mergen arγ-a ügegü bodisung maqasung-nar nigedüger diyan-tur (4) tegsi ayuluyu:

...(b/19) üçügüken ber ügei-yin törölki-tür ber (20) tegsi orolduyu: sedkiküi ügei: sedkiküi ügei busu-yin töröl(21)ki-tür ber tegsi oroldu-γad tedeger mergen arγ-a-tu(22)-yin tula-yin ba tegsi orolduqu-yin keber-...

5. Yüm, ka, 62/92? (jiran/yiren qoyar?), 63.5×23.4 (51.7×14.6) cm, 29 and 29 lines

(a/1) idegen umtayan-i olyaγulqui ba: ebeciten-ü ebecin-i anayaqui (2) ba: iregü-tü <qarangyui> γau-tur aγsad bögüde-yi bi ridi qubilγan(3)-iyar-<iyan> ba bi kücün-iyer-iyen ali tayalaγsabar bolγasuγai (4) kemen tayalaγcid bodisung maqasung-nar bilig baramid -tur (5) suralcaγdaqui: ...

...(b/25) ölüsügsen ba: umtayasuγsad-a (26) idegen umtayan-i olyaγulqui ba: ebeciten-ü ebecin-i anayaqui (27) ba: eregü-tü qarangyui γau aγsad bögüde-yi ridi qubilγan (28)-iyar-iyen ba: bi kücün-iyer-iyen ali tayalaγsabar bolsuγai: (28) kemen tayalaγcid ber bilig baramid-tur suralcaγdaqui: ker kijü (29) qamuγ arban jüg-deki nijeged büri-yin g'angga mören-ü qumaki-yin

6. Yüm, ka, 153 (+ tabin γurban), 63.5×22.8 (51.3×15.8) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) -γulumui: üiledküi ba qoγosun-a ülü barilduγulumui: qoγosun (2) ba üiledküy-e ülü barilduγulumui: medeküi ba qoγosun-a ülü (3) barilduγulumui: <qoγosun ba> medeküi ba {qoγosun-a} ülü barilduγulumui: ...

...(b/26) duran-u medekü-yin ijaγur ba qoγosun-a (27) ülü barilduγulumui: qoγosun ba duran-u medekü-yin (28) ijaγur-a ülü barilduγulumui: *** *** *** (29) kemebesü saradudi-yin köbegün ene metü *** *** qoγosun (30) bisilyal kemebesü: degedü bisilyal buyu: saradudi-yin

7. Yüm, ka, 240 (++ döcin), 63.5×22.8 (51.3×15.8) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) burqan jarliy bolur-un: subuti tegün-i yaγun kemen sedki(2)mü: üiledkü-yi bodisung buyu kemen sedkimü-üü: öci(3)rün: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan teyimü busu buyu: (4) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarliy bolur-un:

...(b/26) duran-u medekü-yin ijaγur ba qoγosun-a (27) ülü barilduγulumui: qoγosun ba duran-u medekü-yin (28) ijaγur-a ülü barilduγulumui: *** *** *** (29) kemebesü saradudi-yin köbegün ene metü *** *** qoγosun (30) bisilyal kemebesü: degedü bisilyal buyu: saradudi-yin

8. Yüm, ka, 278 (++) dalan naiman), край листа оборван (52×14.6) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) kemekü ner-e anu bodisung bolqu qamiγ-a bui: duran-u tegüncilen (2) kü cinar busu busud anu bodisung bolqu ber qamiγ-a bui: ...

...(b/28) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen <burqan?> bodisung oγoγ-a(29)ta ügei büged: ülü sedkigdeküi ele bügesü: tegün-tür öngge(30)-yin ijayur-un tegüncilen kü cinar kemekü ner-e anu bodisung bolqu:

9. Yüm, ka?⁴², 348 (+++ döcin naiman), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 39 cm

(a/1) dayan ese üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü (2) nadur yeke asaraqı ene nemeküi ba: daki bayuraqui anu ese (3) sedkigdedeg üneker dayan ese üjegdebesü ele: bodisung (4) kemen ken-i nereyidümü: ...

...(b/10) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan edür öngge (11) ügei-yin dörben tegsi orolduqun-u nemeküi ba daki bayuraqui anu ese sedkigdebei: üneker dayan ese (12) üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü nadur (13) ...ügei-yin tegsi orolduqun-u nemeküi ba: taki (14) ...anu ese sedkigdedeg: üneker dayan ese üjegde(15) ...-disung kemen ken-i nereyidümü: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen (16) ...tegsi urbaduqun-u tere (17) ...adistid (18) ...büged

10. Yüm, ka, 353 (+++ tabin γurban), 63.4×23.2 (51.8×15) cm, 30 and 31 lines

(a/1) buyu: qoγosun büged duran bolai: öngge öngge ber (2) qoγosun boluγsan büged: öngge-yin qoγosun anu ali (3) bügesü: tere ber öngge busu: öngge-ece öber-e (4) qoγosun ügei: öngge büged qoγosun buyu: ...

...(b/25) cikin-ü qurayad <kürelceküi> cikin-ü (26) qurayad kürelceküi ber qoγosun boluγsan büged: cikin-ü (27) qurayad kürelceküi qoγosun anu ali bügesü: tere ber (28) cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi busu cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi(29)-ece öber-e qoγosun ügei cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi (30) büged qoγosun buyu: qoγosun büged cikin-u qurayad

11. Olangki, ka, 68/98? (jiran/yiren naiman?), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 34.5 cm

(a/1) töröged: genel egüles-iyer qamuy jüg bügüde-yi (2) dügürgeged: bodi modun-u aγsan tngri-yin ayimay: (3) burqan-i nasuda üjeged takil üiledümü:: eldeb (4) küjin-ü tuγ badarayci mani erdeni: küji genel utuqui (5) küji nasuda γaruyad: dalai metü nököd bügüde-te (6) sayin ünür tügemel: tere metü modun-u qaγan jüg(7)-tür üjesküleng-tü bolai: ...

⁴² The marker of the volume is not clear.

...(b/12) dalai metü sansar-tur bodi yabudal-iyar yabuqui (13) çay-tayan: bisirel-ün mandal irüger oyoğata aril(13) ...oron kiged oron busu kücün bügüde sedkil-tür (14) ...sayıbar oduysan-i kücün bügüde mayad (15) ...qutuy dalai metü...

12. Olangki, ka, 211 (qoyar jayun arban nigen), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 46.3 cm

(a/1) dayan kiciyegci kemegdeyü: degedü nidün kemegdeyü: jüg-i (2) geyigülügci kemegdeyü: ai ilayırsad-un köbegüd-e: tere metü (3) tedeger terigüten bürüküi tegüsüngen yirtincü-yin ulus-tur (4) qutuy-tanu ünennügüd-ün ner-e inu <döcin> jayun mingyan költi toytatan (5) buyu: ...

...(b/19) ai ilayırsad-un (20) köbegüd-e: ken jobalang-i qamuy-a törögülügci (21) qutuy-tan-u ünennü kemegdekü tegün-tür tuyluyırsan arılıyaycı (22) yirtincü-yin ulus-tur tacyangyui kemegdeyü: ügüleküi

13. Vinay-a, ka, 216 (++arban jiryuyan), 63.6×23 (51×14.2) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) aysad dötüger ba: irejü sayuyad jokistu bolbasu: (2) teden-i eyin kemen sedkigdeküi: ked ber ese iregsen ayay(3)-qa tegimlig bui bolai kemen ülü sedkiged: nom-i sedkiküi(4)-lüge jokistay-a sedkigci tedeger jalbarin öcijü: ...

...(b/26) tede nököd ese bosuyad: ayay-qa tegimlig (27) oduysan tegün-ü qoyına <genedte> iregsed saca ayay-qa tegimlig (28) saca qamtu irebesü: tedeger-ün mandal-tur uriju? bür(29)-ün: tejigen arılıyaqui üiledüged: anggida anggida tonılıyaycı

14. Vinay, ka, 284 (++ nayan dörben), 63.5×22.8 (48.7×14.3) cm, 26 and 27 lines

(a/1) vinai busu-tur vinai kemen: vinai-tur vinai busu kemen üjügülkü (2) bolbasu tere metü ügülegci-tür tokiyalduyuluyad ünenniyer (3) tokiyalduyulju adqay negeküi üileddeküi:

...(b/22) ecüs (23)-tür kürtele busu kedber ecüs-ün tula bügesü nöğöge ber busu (24) ba: ecüs kürtele busu ba: kedber sür üiledügsen bügesü (25) edür üiledügsen-ü tula busu ba: kedber edür üiledügsen (26) bügesü söni üiledügsen busu: kedber mör tügürıgsen-tür (27) üiledügsen bügesü mör-tür üiledügsen busu:

15. Vinay-a, ka, 449 (++++ döcin yisün), 64×23.1 (51.3×13.7) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) nom-luy-a adalıı-iyar qarıyulun cidamui: kemen sedkibesü ele (2) tere-nuyud ba ülü ügülen: biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig(3)-tü ene sitügen-tür

adali nom-luy-a adali-bar qariyula(4)γultuyai biraman-nuyud-ta ker ba eyin kemen sedkijü: ...

...(b/25) tendece γar-tayan vcir-un jibqulang badaray-san (26) *** qamuy-a sayitur badarayci-tur nigen γal-un oci (27) bolγayad badarabai: biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig-tü terigün(28)-degen barayad ker be biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig-tü-tür (29) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen γurban-da boltala asay-un ügüleksen

16. ? (margin. of the section is not clear, adii?), ka, 89 (nayan yisün), 64×23.2 (51.3×14.5) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) tedeger kemebesü ene metü nom-i abqui-yin tulada amin bey-e-yi (2) ber oγoyata tebcijü bür-ün: ene sudur-tur oroqu boluyu: (3) tegün-tür qoyitu cay inu alimad amitan bal ene metü nom-i (4) sonosqui-yin tulada kiciyegci tedeger ber: cuqay bolbasu (5) ele: üsüg-tür jiruqui: ungsiqui: jegüküi: amabar uriqui (6) busud-tur delgerenggüy-e üjügülküi kiged-i-taki yayun (7) ügületele: alimad ene nom-un jüil-i nemegülüged: ...

...(b/22) tegüncilen iregsen kemebesü yambar-iyar jobalang-un (23) udq-a-yi üjügülügci tegüncilen kü: aljijas-un udq-a (24) kiged: tacyangyui-aca angijiraysan-u udq-a-yi üjügülbei: (25) tegüncilen iregsen kemebesü yambar nirvan boluysan inu (26) amurliysan bolai kemen üjügülügci tegüncilen kü: qamuy coγ(27)cas-i mayad tebciküi udq-a-yi üjügülüged: möngke busu (28) jobalang: bi ügei: nirvan kiged-ün qayaly-a-aca: (29) oγoyata ariluysan nom-un qayaly-a-yi ber üjügülüyü: (30) kijayar ügei jokiyayci-a: tegüncilen iregsed

17. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 42.1 cm

(a)... üileddeküi... () duradqaydaqui: jorin... () -da nom-un qurim-i üiledüküi lam-a burqan... () ber bayasqaydaqui: lam-a-tur-iyar ***-i öggün öciged: () tegünü qoyina qamuy ciyuluysad-tur bolai: ...

...(b) lam-a-yin següder () qatun kiged qutuy-un debisger kiged oron-i: ali ba () yeke mungqay-ud alqubasu ele: tere narin büged kiryaqui () bariyci buyu: sayitur abisig ögdeksen ali tere

18. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 40.8 cm

(a) kiciyenggüi baramid-iyar masida arbijimu: () diyan baramid-iyar masida arbijimu: bilig () baramid-iyar masida arbijimui: bodisung gem ügegüy-e () üneker oroqu boluyu:

...(b) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarliy bolur-un: subuti () tegün-i yayun kemen sedkimü: öngge ügei nigen-i () bodisung buyu: kemen sedkimü-üü:

öcir-ün () ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan teyin busu buyu: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarliy bolur-un: subuti tegün-i yayun kemen sedkimü:

19. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 54 cm

(a)... kei orosiqui:() ügei: moqor... ..idlaydaqui (=adistidlaydaqui) ügei: () buyu: tere... -u tula kemebesü: tere nere anu ügei () büged: tegüber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei: moqordaqui () ügei: adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai:: ...

...(b) üneker dayan () ese üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü () nadur boda ügei qoγosun-u... ba: daki bayuraqui anu ese sedkigdeged üneker dayan ese üjegdebesü ele:

20. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 56.7 cm

(a) -sung maqasung ilaju tegüs nögcigsen ()... -ruγsan üneker tuyuluγsan γasalang ()... coγ-tu kemegdekü burqan-a eyin kemen öcibe: ilaju tegüs () nögcigsen burqan bi ber tere sablokadatu yirtincü-yin oron()-taki ilaju tegüs nögcigsen tegüncilen iregsen dayini daruγsan () üneker toyoluγsan tere saky'amuni burqan-i üjer-e ba: () tegün-tür mörgüjü ergün kündüler-e ba: tendeki tedeger () bodisung maqasung-nar ber olangki anu jalayu büged: ...

...(b) tende tegüncilen iregsen dayini daruγsan üneker tuyu()luγsan saky'amuni burqan kemegdekü sayun amidurayulun tedkü aju: () tere bodisung maqasung-nar-tur bilig-ün cinadu kürügsen-i

21. ?. the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 39 cm

(a) burqan öngge ügei yin... () nereber orosiqui ügei... () ...<-laydaqui buyu: tere yayun-u tula kemebesü ...-dekü ber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei...> -laydaqui ügei bolai:: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan... () burqan-i dayan duradqui-yin nemeküi ba: taki... ese () sedkigdebei: ...

...(b) tere yayun-u tula kemebesü: tere nere anu ügei () büged: tegüber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei: moqordaqui () ügei: adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai:: ilaju tegüs

Abbreviations

IMNR: Istoriiia Mongolskoi Narodnoi Respubliki

AK: Altan (Golden) Kanjur

CK: Volume of the manuscript Kanjur. Copenhagen

GCCA: Ganjur Colophons in Comparative Analysis

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

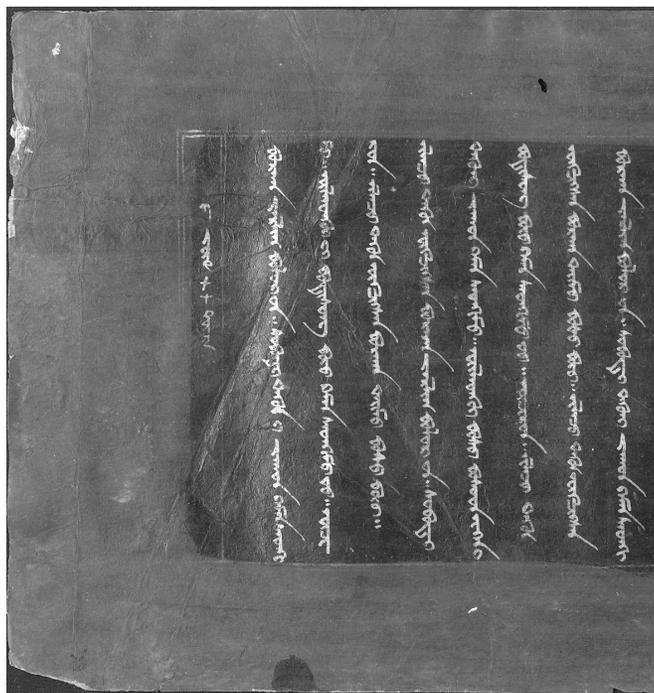
IOMAK: Fragments of the Golden Kanjur, IOM, RAS
MK: Mongolian Kanjur
PK: Manuscript Kanjur. St. Petersburg State University Library
Q: *bKa' gyur pe cin par ma*
UBK: Manuscript Kanjur. National Library of Mongolia
UUK: Manuscript Kanjur Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS
ZAS: Zentralasiatische Studien

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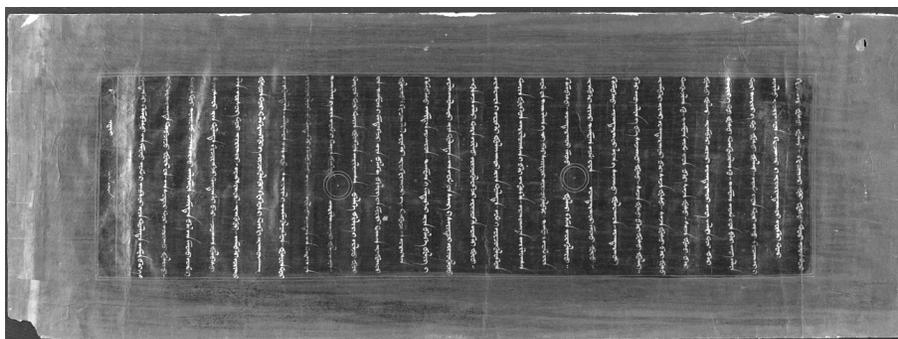


Pl. 1

An example of crosses used to mark hundreds in pagination.

Folio 240, vol. ka, Yum.

Collection of IOM RAS, K 37



Pl. 2

Folio 89, vol. ka, section unattributed.

Collection of IOM RAS, K 37

Vasily Shchepkin

**The Manuscript *Nijūgokoku chūka chikyū no zu*
("Pictures of the Peoples
of Twenty Five Countries with Maps
of China and the World")
in the IOM, RAS Collection**

Abstract: The article introduces a Japanese manuscript containing maps of China and the world along with depictions of the inhabitants of 25 countries and brief descriptions of those countries. On the basis of the information about Russia and the Ainu lands, the author puts forward a hypothesis about the date of the manuscript.

Key words: Japanese manuscripts, dating of manuscripts, geography, Russia, Ainu lands, depictions of tributaries (*zhigongtu*)

The "Nova" Chinese collection of the IOM, RAS contains at least one manuscript in Japanese (designated as H-5). Its title is *Nijūgokoku chūka chikyū no zu* 二十五國人物中華地球之圖 ("Pictures of the peoples of twenty five countries with maps of China and the world"). The manuscript is a single binding notebook of 41 ff. (82 pages), with 29 ff. carrying maps and pictures, and the remaining eleven the text. The paper is of Japanese origin; the maps and drawings are made in color; there is no pagination in the manuscript. Also absent are a preface, summary, colophon or any indications concerning the manuscript, the author or the copyist. On the first page there is a red seal reading *Tōwa kyōin* 藤和卿印 or *Tōin Wakyō* 藤印和卿. Alongside the *katakana* characters and Chinese symbols indicating different countries there are Cyrillic transcriptions written in lead pencil. These transcriptions are frequently incorrect. For instance, the *katakana* characters *wo* (ヲ) and *re* (レ) have in virtually all cases been marked as *shi* (シ). That probably attests to the person who attempted to indicate the pronunciation of the characters not being able to read Japanese.

The *General Catalog of Japanese Writings* 国書総目録 contains no information about a manuscript bearing this title; nor was it possible to find it

in various databases of Japanese archives and libraries. On the basis of earlier publications, it has been established that the aforementioned seal can be found on at least two manuscripts extant in Japan. One of them is a copy of *Bojutsu yume monogatari* 戊戌夢物語 (“A story of a dream in the Bojutsu year”) written by Takano Choei in 1837 and now in the Tsukuba University library. The other, *Gekizetsu wakumon* 馱舌或問 (“Diverse problems of barbaric pseudo-speech”), was the work of the renowned artist and philosopher Watanabe Kazan. Both treatises were written at approximately the same time and connected with the shelling of the United States ship “*Morrison*” in 1837 on the orders of the Japanese government. Both authors were known as outspoken critics of the actions taken by the government, which makes it obvious that the seal belonged to someone who lived in the mid-19th c. and was interested in international relations. It therefore seems entirely logical that the manuscript under consideration also belonged to his library.

The title itself indicates that the manuscript contains maps of the world and China, each filling a double-page spread, along with the representations of the inhabitants of 25 countries (as a rule, drawings of a man and a woman wearing national costume) and brief descriptions of the countries in Japanese in the same order as the illustrations.

The countries are as follows: 1) Ming 明; 2) Qing 清; 3) Tartar 韃靼; 4) Tonkin 東京 (Northern Vietnam); 5) Mouru 毛留 (Mogols); 6) Siam 暹羅; 7) Korea 朝鮮; 8) Ryukyu 琉球; 9) Quảng Nam 廣南 (Southern Vietnam); 10) Jiaozhi 交趾 (Northern Vietnam); 11) Jakarta 咬瑠吧; 12) Holland 阿蘭陀; 13) Kafuri 加富里 (Africa?); 14) Orankai 兀良哈 (to the North of Korea); 15) Luzon 呂宋 (Philippines); 16) Armenia 亞爾默尼亞; 17) Java 爪哇; 18) Africa 亞費利加; 19) Germany 齊爾瑪尼亞; 20) England 諳尼利亞; 21) Macau 亞媽港; 22) Kanarin 加拿林 (judging by assonance, the Canary Islands); 23) Italy 意大利亞; 24) Onkaria 翁加利亞 (Hungary); 25) Aoren 阿勒戀 (according to the text, somewhere in Southern America); 26) Muscovy 莫斯科未亞 (Russia); 27) Ezo 蝦夷 (Ainu).

Compositions of this sort probably originated from the Chinese *zhigongtu* 職貢圖 genre — “Depictions of tributaries” or “Portraits of [vassals arriving with] tribute”, describing envoys of the lands and tribes dependent in fact or just theoretically upon China and paying tribute to the court. The last work in the series was “Portraits of [vassals arriving with] tribute to Emperor Qing” written by Xie Sui 謝遂, in 1751.¹ In China, those compositions had been commissioned by the imperial court which employed its extensive bu-

¹ *Xie sui zhigongtu manwen tushuo xiaozhu* 1989. There is a Russian translation of the third volume of this work made by Iakin (Nikita) Bichurin in the 1810s, (BICHURIN 2010).

reaucratic apparatus to manufacture thousands of depictions.² In Japan, however, there was no tradition of that sort, and the genre appeared only toward the late 17th c., as a succession of studies reviewing trade relations and the goods traded between China and its partners. Some treatises split the countries and peoples into two groups, “foreign states” (the countries of Eastern Asia that had diplomatic ties with China) and “foreign barbarians”; others did not distinguish between the two categories.

Japanese studies of the same sort are well-known. One of the earliest was probably the treatise entitled *Kaitsūshōkō* 華夷通商考 “A Study of Trade Relations between China and the Barbarians” written in 1695 by Nisikawa Joken, a geographer and astronomer residing in Nagasaki. It contained illustrations and descriptions of forty two peoples whose representatives had made contact at one time or other with the Chinese. However, the earliest copies of the study contained only black-and-white outline drawings; the treatise was dominated by the text. Later, Joken’s work was considerably augmented, and its geography expanded. This most probably happened after Giovanni Sidotti, an Italian missionary, arrived in Japan. The supplemented copies of Nisikawa Joken’s work appeared in the 1720s; among them ones with modified titles, such as (“Pictures of the Peoples from Thousands of Countries”) *Bankoku jimbutsu no zu* 万国人物之図 or (“Pictures of the Peoples from 42 Countries”) *Yonjunikoku jimbutsu no zu* 四十二国人物之図. However, the manuscript in the IOM, RAS collection must obviously date from a later time, as becomes clear as soon as we consider the descriptions of Muscovy and Ezo (it may well be no coincidence that these are the last in the list).

Most of the information about Russia coincided with that given in the augmented copy of Nisikawa Joken’s work from 1720 that has already been mentioned. It was reported to be a vast and cold country situated in Europe, east of Holland. In it, there were a huge bell and a giant cannon 4 *jo* (12 m) long charged with 2 *koku* (300 kg) of gunpowder (obviously referring to the Tsar Bell and Tsar Cannon still to be seen in the Moscow Kremlin today). Further, the distance between that country and Japan was reckoned to be 14,100 [Chinese] *li* (about 7,000 km) by sea. Its primary exports were said to be amber, products of corals, and leather.

On the other hand, there was also information not present in Nisikawa Joken’s study or the copies of it written in the early 18th c. Thus, besides “Muscovy”, another name was suggested for the country: “Oroshia”. It was

² LAI 2012, 75.

reported that its residents were referred to as *akahito*, “the red people”. What is important is the fact that the text mentions an “Empress” who ruled during the *Kambun* era (1661–72) and annexed territories extending as far as Kamchatka. All this taken together suggests that the primary source of information concerning Russia, besides the work by Nisikawa Joken, should be looked for among the late 18th c. studies, such as the *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* 三国通覧図説 (“Illustrated Description of Three Countries”) by Hayashi Shihei³ and *Akaezo fūsetsukō* 赤蝦夷風説考 (“Research of the Rumors about Red Ezo”) by Kudo Heisuke.⁴

With regard to Ezo, it was stated that the land was situated north of the Princedom of Matsumae, east of Tartaria (Dattan) and south of Kamchatka; from all of which it was separated by the sea. The land was 300 [Japanese] *ri* (1,200 km) long (from north to south), and 100 *ri* (400 km) wide (east to west). Its territory was divided into five parts (plus the land belonging to Matsumae), the names of which were all listed. It was reported to be an “inferior” country inhabited by “dishonorable” people trading clothes imported from Japan, China, and Muscovy. The poorest among them made their clothes of wisteria rods called *atsushi*. Due to its cold climate and mountainous terrain, it had no agriculture and most food was provided by the sea. The mountains contained plenty of gold and silver, but the locals had no idea how to mine them. The land had no ruler, but every locality was governed by wealthy people. Listed finally were the goods for which the country was known. On the basis of the data in this brief text, we can be certain that the author(s) also drew on such works as *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* by Hayashi Shihei.⁵

Ryukyu was another country whose description was undoubtedly based on *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu*. A telling indication is this: Hayashi gave a complete list of Ryukyu kings from the 12th c. to the early 18th. In it a few names were accompanied by a description of some important event which occurred in their time. Our manuscript mentions only those rulers whose reigns were marked by those same events.

Another peculiarity of the manuscript is the fact that the texts about three countries, 22) Kanarin 加拿林, 24) Onkaria 翁加利亞, and 25) Aroren 阿勒戀, are missing, with blank pages following their names, even though the corresponding drawings are present. Brief descriptions of them can be found in an augmented copy of Nisikawa Joken’s *Zōho Kaitsūshōkō* 增補

³ HAYASHI 1979, 35–36.

⁴ KUDO 1969, 279–280.

⁵ HAYASHI 1979, 37–38.

華夷通商考. Possibly, the compiler of the manuscript failed to attribute these three countries though the texts about them were available for him.

It should finally be noted that the manuscript contains drawings of people representing 27 countries (see the list above), while the title mentions only 25. The scribe might have discounted Ming and Qing, as both those names were linked to China, which the title names separately.

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Reviews

Shimon Yakerson. *Ozar Sepharad — Sefardskaia sokrovishchnitsa. Sefardskaia kniga X–XV vv. Ot rukopisnoi k pechatnoi traditsii. [Ozar Sepharad: Sephardic treasury. Sephardic Books from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century. From Manuscripts to Printed Books]* — St. Petersburg: Filologicheskii fakul'tet SPb. gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2015. — 127 pp. ISBN 978-5-8465-1461-4

Written by the well-known specialist in Hebrew paleography and codicology, the book represents at the same time a serious academic study, manual of Sephardic Hebrew paleography, and short paleographic chrestomathy. The book starts with the survey of the history of Sephardic Jewry from the time of Visigothic Spain (the fifth century A.D.) and until the expulsion of 1496 (pp. 11–17). This survey serves as the introduction to the analysis of the Sephardic manuscript and printed book from the 10th to the 15th cc. (pp. 18–22). Yakerson calls the whole manuscript heritage of Sephardic Jews by the Hebrew term *moreshet Sepharad* (“Sephardic heritage”) and estimates that Sephardic manuscripts constitute about 22% of all medieval Jewish manuscripts; 35% of all medieval Jewish manuscripts were written with Sephardic handwriting. This is the largest group of all dated Jewish manuscripts registered in Sfar-Data database (p. 22).

The author mentioned the fact that medieval Jewish authors, unfortunately, did not leave any treatises or instructions regarding the art of calligraphy (a short note of Judah Ibn Tibbon being perhaps the only exception from this rule; p. 28). As a result, modern scholars have to identify the main types of Hebrew scripts and understand other aspects related to production of Jewish books and manuscripts by themselves. As well as other paleographers, Yakerson distinguishes three main types of Sephardic scripts: square (*ketav meruba*), semi-cursive (*ketav beinoni*), and cursive (*ketav rehut*; pp. 23–28). On the basis of the comprehensive analysis of Sephardic incunabula Yakerson comes to the conclusion that eleven printing houses of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey functioned in eight cities; 27 types of fonts were employed by Sephardic printers of the period. All of them copied variations of square and semi-cursive scripts (pp. 31–32). One can find the table with the comp-

lete list of cities and names of printers with exact characterization of specificity of the fonts and ligatures used by them (p. 32). The most important font, which combined qualities of two main types of Sephardic handwriting (square and semi-cursive), was invented by the famous Italian Jewish printers, the Soncino family (pp. 33–34). Important part of the book represents the codicological characterization of Sephardic manuscripts and incunabula which i.a. discusses the questions of who and why wrote manuscripts and how the date was usually expressed (pp. 35–40).

The “Paleographic chrestomathy” subsection of the book (pp. 41–99) is based largely on virtually unknown manuscripts from Russian archival collections. The reader of the book can use it as a self-study manual of Sephardic scripts (the author provides both the facsimile of a given manuscript folio together with transcription of its text in square Hebrew characters). The earliest manuscript used in the study dates back to 1225 (the copy of the Tanakh from Tlemsen in Alger) while the latest — to 1492 (the list of the books of Suleiman ha-Cohen). To give samples of Sephardic printing culture, Yakerson also provides examples of Sephardic incunabula fonts.

The book for the first time provides a complete list of Sephardic incunabula in academic Russian transcription (pp. 100–105). The essential bibliography (pp. 106–108) and typology of the handwritten letters of the Hebrew alphabet (pp. 110–112) helps to continue further study of Sephardic Hebrew paleography. The book is a must for anyone interested in the study of Sephardic printed books and manuscripts.

Mikhail Kizilov

“Vtoroi” i “Tretii” al’bomy o. Iakinfa (N.Ya. Bichurina) [The “Second” and “Third” Albums of Fr. Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin)] / Introduction by Academician V.S. Miasnikov and O.V. Vassilieva. Publication by O.V. Vassilieva — St. Petersburg: National Library of Russia, 2012. — 56 pp. + 58 pp. of facsimiles (Nontraditional sources on the history of China during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911)). ISBN 978-5-8192-0438-2.

The albums published by Vladimir Miasnikov and Olga Vassilieva form part of the legacy of the outstanding Russian sinologist Father Iakinf (Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin, 1777–1853) and show a hitherto unknown side of his talents as an artist and ethnographer.

These previously unpublished sources from the collection of the National Library of Russia appeared in the series “Nontraditional sources on the history of China during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911)”. The “First Album” by Fr. Iakinf was published in the same series in 2010 under the title “On the Peoples Who Live along the Amur River from the Ussuri River to its Outlet, along the Shore of the Eastern Sea from Korea to the Russian Border and on the Islands along this Shore” (The “First Album” by Fr. Iakinf / N.Ya. Bichurin. A Study and Commentary. St. Petersburg: National Library of Russia, 2010). In spite of its small print-run, that publication aroused great interest among Russian and Chinese scholars and so a joint publication of drawings from Fr. Iakinf’s “Second” and “Third” albums was an expected and necessary step in the introduction of the most famous 19th c. Russian Sinologist’s diverse legacy to the world.

The discovery of such valuable materials, which were previously considered not to be of academic interest, is an outstanding fact in itself and a great contribution to Sinological studies and the history of scholarship. The publishers have carried out extensive and thorough archival researches. Since the 1930s much attention has been paid to Fr. Iakinf himself, his life and scholarly activities, and also to the importance of his works for Sinology. Indeed, in the introduction Vladimir Miasnikov justly

writes about the existence of a separate discipline of “Bichurin studies” (p. 10). Many scholars have studied the archives and have published many documents concerning Bichurin’s activities, thus the introduction of any new document by the man himself is an important event. In a supplement to his article “Documents on Fr. Iakinf’s life in China and on the School of the Chinese Language in Kiakhta”, Miasnikov included nine interesting sources from the Russian State Historical Archives that give a fresh insight on many events in the history of Russian Sinology (pp. 23–38). The importance of this publication is that it provides the complete texts (not abstracts), which allows them to be studied and used in further research.

Miasnikov’s introduction “The Publication of the Written Legacy and Archival Materials of N.Ya. Bichurin (Fr. Iakinf)” expounds the importance of Fr. Iakinf’s studies for Russian and world Sinology. Up to now, little has been known in the West about the history of Sinology in Russia. A comparison of the writings of Fr. Iakinf and Robert Morrison has clearly shown that the Russian Sinologist’s works met the main expectations of his time, and in scale and number exceeded the output of any of his contemporaries. To overcome the prevailing opinion (see V.P. Buzeskul’s assessment on p. 14), we should continue publication of works by Bichurin still in the archives. Actually, Miasnikov’s article does propose a plan and sequence for their introduction to the scholarly community.

Olga Vassilieva’s contribution “The Ethnographic Albums of Fr. Iakinf (N.Ya. Bichurin)” presents a detailed bibliographical study of these sources, analyses their history, contents and scientific importance. It proves the authorship of the drawings and captions; the artistic and paleographic studies are made at a high scholarly level with references to archival documents. The article offers a new view of researchers, political leaders, public officials, travelers and people from artistic circles, who influenced the development of Sinology in Russia. The published documents have an important value for the history of Chinese library collections in Russia.

The published albums prove that at an early stage Russian Sinologists were deeply interested in the life of the peoples who inhabit China and pictorially recorded their outward appearance and everyday life. The “Second” and “Third” Albums of Fr. Iakinf from the collection of the National Library of Russia are truly unique. There are no comparable sources in other collections worldwide. Thus publication of these albums is necessary and of current scholarly interest. From now on, the material in them is accessible to the general public and future multidisciplinary studies.

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A. Helman-Ważny. *The Archaeology of Tibetan Books*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014. — 311 p. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library. Ed. by H. Blezer, A. McKay, Ch. Ramble. Vol. 36. ISBN: 978-90-04-27504-1; ISSN: 1568-6183.

This monograph by Dr. Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, the leading expert on the history of Tibetan paper, sums up the results of her long and successful research into various types of Tibetan books held in museums and libraries around the world, such as the British Library (London), the Berlin State Library, the Jagiellonian University Library (Krakow), the Library of Congress (Washington) and the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala). Some Tibetan texts kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St. Petersburg) have also been examined by Helman-Ważny. Her research is primarily concerned with the material aspects of Tibetan books: papermaking plants, tools and technology, types of ink, formats of books, conservation issues, and so on.

The book consists of seven chapters. In Chapter 1, *Introduction*, the author explains her choice of the term *archaeology* as suitable “in the context of studying the physical make-up and production of a given volume. It comprises analyses of the structures of books and an interpretation of technological aspects” (p. 2). The term *codicology* is not appropriate since the bulk of Tibetan books do not conform to the definition of “the ‘codex’, which is a bound book” (p. 3). The author also specifies that the Tibetan language served as “the most general criterion for the selection of items” (p. 3).

Chapter 2, *Methods: An Uneasy Alliance of Science and History*, focuses mainly on the advantages that scientific methods of research can provide with regard to more correct dating of texts, determining their possible origin, etc., these issues being of major importance for scholars of Tibetan texts, which often lack any explicit information of this kind. While radiocarbon dating has some strong limitations (pp. 17–21), chemical analysis of the raw material is attested as an important

and rather convenient way to help us understand in what area of Central Asia (and, sometimes, in what period) certain texts may have been produced (p. 33).

Chapter 3, *Tibetan Books: A Craft and Artistry*, presents types of Tibetan books, starting with those of *pothi* format that is so characteristically Tibetan, and then touching upon other important types such as scrolls (p. 59fn.), concertina books (p. 60fn.), folded documents (p. 61f), several kinds of sewn books (pp. 62–73). Each type is illustrated with descriptions and pictures of the Tibetan texts analyzed by the author who comes to an important conclusion that “the documented forms of Tibetan manuscripts show a relationship between the format associated with the functions that a particular book served and the utility of these books” (p. 69).

The next two Chapters 4, *Indigo, Gold, and Human Blood: Tibetan Illuminated Manuscripts*, and 5, *Tibetan Woodblock Printing Culture*, deal with two major groups of Tibetan books: elaborately produced manuscripts of various sacred Buddhist books and their block print equivalents, respectively. But they are structured differently. Chapter 4, analyzes sequentially some formal and material aspects of the gold manuscripts, such as format and book binding style (pp. 81–85), illuminations and decorations (pp. 85–94), calligraphy (p. 95fn.), page layout (pp. 96–99), ink (pp. 99–101), writing tools (p. 101fn.) and paper (pp. 102–115). Chapter 5, starts with a general survey of the early history and the mode of production of Tibetan block prints and then examines various editions of the first part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon — early Beijing Kanjurs (Yongle, Wanli and Kangxi eds.; pp. 136–158), Mongolian Kanjurs (their inclusion is not explained) (pp. 158–162), Tibetan Kanjurs made in Eastern Tibet (the Cone and Derge eds.; pp. 163–173) and Central Tibet (the Narthang and Lhasa eds.; pp. 173–176). The Urga edition is not mentioned.

Chapter 6, *A Survey of Tibetan Paper*, focuses on Himalayan papermaking plants (pp. 183–191) and the traditional papermaking technology developed in Tibet. Each stage of the process is described in a separate section — *Collecting and Preparing Raw Material* (p. 194), *Boiling* (pp. 194–196), *Beating* (p. 196), *Molding* (pp. 196–199), *Finishing* (p. 200).

Chapter 7, *Conservation*, discusses various internal and external factors that can cause damage to Tibetan books and some procedures of conservation treatment. This chapter can be considered a reasonable ending to the monograph, although some general conclusions might be expected as well.

The book is supplied with important appendices that contain detailed descriptions of some Tibetan volumes kept at the British Library, etc.

Without doubt, this monograph is a very important contribution to Tibetology and a pioneering work in many respects. I believe it will serve as an excellent basis for subsequent study that can be enriched with more detailed examination of the less explored but very extensive Tibetan libraries located in Russia, Mongolia and China that possess tens of thousands of Tibetan texts of various types. For example, the libraries in St. Petersburg and Ulan-Ude can boast almost limitless materials on the history of Tibetan books produced on the territory of the Russian Empire and early

USSR — they were produced there, as a rule using Russian paper, from the first half of the 18th c. to the middle of the 1930s. The regional diversities in the production of Tibetan books are sure to be one of the major aspects for future study. Grouping together all texts in Tibetan only because they use the Tibetan language can be somewhat misleading, although for a general survey this is not so important.

The book by will be of interest not only to the Tibetologists but also to the scholars who study the history of Asian paper and bookmaking, experts in religious studies and professional conservators of the Asian written heritage. The abundance of photographic illustrations can help provide an insight into the material beauty of Tibetan books.

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Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎, *Seika bun Konggo kyō no kenkyū*
(西夏文金剛經の研究, Kyōto: Shoukadoh, 2014)

Recent years have seen some important advances in Tangut studies. Despite persisting difficulties, the Tangut texts, both those translated from Chinese or Tibetan and original compositions, are now generally readable. At the same time, much of the current research continues to concentrate on issues of historical linguistics and views the Tangut language through the prism of other languages. Another aspect of Tangut studies is publication and translation of various texts, predominantly of Buddhist nature. However, the linguistic and philological-*cum*-historical approaches are rarely combined in one study. A recent publication by Arakawa Shintarō is one happy exception to this rule. This book successfully combines linguistic and philological approaches and concerns itself with issues of synchronic description, rather than with historical reconstructions.

Historical linguistics deals with the Tangut materials from its own perspective, with little or no regard to questions of reading and understanding the texts. As a consequence, as Marc Miyake once commented, we know more about proto-Tangut than we do about the language which is presented to us in the written documents. Thus, despite fundamental achievements in the study of the Tangut phonomorphology in general, the structure of the Tangut verb, Tangut verb agreement and other important matters, current scholarship still lacks a comprehensive synchronic description of the Tangut language. Considering the rise of Tangut studies worldwide, this description has to be empirically based and practically oriented, that is to say, capable of providing clues to the understanding of texts. Obviously, the brief descriptions of the Tangut language produced by Berthold Laufer as early as 1916, and by Nishida Tatsuo and Hwangcherng Gong in more recent years, are of limited value in this respect and can be properly understood only by scholars already familiar with Tangut or by linguists who use these descriptions for reference purposes.

That said, the recent publication *Seika bun Konggo kyō no kenkyū* by Arakawa Shintarō (荒川慎太郎) is a long-awaited step in the right direction. This publication

is a valuable new contribution to the field. It is based on a meticulous analysis of an important group of texts that are connected in various ways with the Tangut version of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. Exceeding the promise of its title, Arakawa's book is a massive piece of work which covers issues beyond the topic specified. The publication also includes reproductions of the texts used in the research and careful transcriptions of them. Over two hundred pages of the book contain actual research which summarizes the author's longtime efforts in the study of the Tangut language; the second section of the book consists of annotated translations of the Tangut texts fundamental to the research. The texts discussed in the volume include the sūtra itself, the version of it with gāthās by Liang Fu Dashi 梁傅大士, T 2732, and the Tangut version of the so-called "collected edition" (金剛般若經疏論纂要 *Jinggang bore jing shulun zuanyao*, T1701) by the famous Tang Buddhist Master Guifeng Zongmi (780–841). From a general perspective, this book is a very important achievement in the field of Tangut linguistics and philology which should be welcomed by the scholarly community worldwide.

The translation needs to be discussed separately at length. For the moment it will suffice to say that it was made on the basis of clearly defined grammar principles formulated by the author in his research and thus the degree of guesswork and intuition, which still remains in translations from Tangut, is kept to a minimum. The author chose not to provide the Chinese originals for the Tangut texts; this impedes understanding, but is justified as it demonstrates that the author really does translate from the Tangut, and not from Chinese, afterwards disguised as the translation from Tangut. In his research the author articulates the grammar rules on which he bases his translation. This makes the translation reliable and worthy for future reference. My only objection to the translation is that in the reproduction of the actual Tangut text the author did not provide punctuation, however, this is remedied in the translation.

The research part consists of several independent chapters devoted to a range of topics, from the textual history to questions of phonology and grammar. Of these, pages 2–66 are devoted to questions of the relationship between various versions of the Tangut translation of the sūtra and the textual corpus "generated" by this fundamental text. The author provides a comprehensive list of the Chinese and Tangut versions of the text discovered in Khara-Khoto and elsewhere, and establishes the relationship between various textual traditions. Arakawa pays special attention to the relationship between the Tangut and Chinese versions of the *Jinggang jing zuan* and verses by Liang Fu dashi.

One reason for the analysis of the Tangut version of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* is that this text is one of the main scriptures whose study was mandatory for the Tangut monks (on pp. 62–66 the author provides his translation of the famous excerpt from the *Tiansheng Law Code*, where the important texts are listed). Through studying the surviving colophons, the author established the connection between the version of the sūtra and the gāthās by Fu dashi and the

“schematic commentary” on the sūtra composed by Zongmi, whose Chinese version, as far as I am aware, has survived only within a larger commentary composed by Zixuan (子璿) during the Northern Song. The Tangut version of the text is apparently independent from the one prepared by Zixuan and is therefore indicative of the local peculiarities of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia. Thus, the *Vajracchedikā* texts probably belong to the circle of Buddhist writings which demonstrate visible deviations of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia from the perceived character of Northern Song Buddhism. Such works as the *Recorded Saying of Nanyang Huizhong*, Huizhong’s Commentary to the *Prajñāpāramitahr̥daya* and the works of Zongmi devoted to the *Contemplation of the Dharma realm* (法界觀) in all probability also belong to this circle, which defined the character of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia. Following the general line of his research, the author traces the textual history of the Tangut version of the text which included the poems composed by Fu dashi (pp. 23–24). Unfortunately, the author does not specifically discuss the text known as 𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿 (pp. 24–25). This text definitely belongs to the Tibetan dimension of Tangut Buddhist literature, while its author 𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿 (*Sumpa Sangs rgyas, “Sumpa Supreme in the World”) crops up in a variety of Tangut sources.

Arakawa successfully brings together almost all the available texts of the Tangut translation of the sūtra and comes to the conclusion that a textual diversity existed which encompassed several versions of the text and tries to trace the origins of this variety. Unfortunately, the system of abbreviations which the author devised to indicate the various versions of the text (VMN, VMR, VPB, VPC, etc.) is overly complicated and I personally have trouble identifying the texts being discussed. Arakawa distinguishes 7 major versions of the text altogether (judging from the arrows in the diagram on p. 57; although he identifies 14 different publications). However, it appears to me from the discussion that the author discriminates not so much between the actual versions of the texts (e.g. “early” and “late,” that is published before or after the major “editing” project initiated some time during the reign of Renxiao), as between different editions. As can be seen from the publications by Nishida Tatsuo, the actual textual history of the Tangut translations is to be found in comparison of the various renderings of the dhārāṇi and in tracing new grammar patterns which replace the older forms in successive versions of the same texts.

Although aspects of the textual history of the Tangut translations of the *Diamond sūtra* are a little vague, the reconstruction of the transmission of the “collected version” (*Jingang jing zuan*) with the poems by Fu Dashi is presented by the author with great clarity. From the perspective of Buddhist studies, the identification of the textual tradition of the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* which is traceable to the late Tang Huayan tradition represented by Zongmi and resurrected by Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源) in the Northern Song is well in tenor with previous observations concerning the nature of the Sinitic part of the Tangut Buddhist system: i.e. its connection with the Huayan teaching of the Northern China during the Liao and

the Northern Song. The Buddhological part of the work concludes with the translation of the entry on Buddhist texts from the *Tiansheng Law Code*.

It might be suggested here, though, that the Dunhuang materials are less relevant for the study of Tangut Buddhism, while the Liao versions of the scriptures, especially the ones available from the Fangshan stone sūtras, might have been useful in determining the general outline of the textual evolution of the Tangut versions of the texts and in determining the hypothetical source text.

The second part of the research is obviously more important for the both the author and the reader: it contains the linguistic considerations and the results of a long-term study of Tangut phonology and grammar. One major advantage of the present publication is that unlike other scholarly works, Arakawa's is actually based on the reading of large amounts of texts, which permits a systematized set of observations. These texts belong to a homogeneous tradition, thus the validity of grammar principles identified in the study can be attested by their recurrence throughout the set of the texts used in the research. However, the examples in the research section are not limited to the *Vajracchedikā* texts, thus implying a degree of universality for the interpretations postulated. To me, this approach appears more justified than the selection of individual sentences as examples without any reference to their general context.

The first section of the second part is devoted to matters of phonology. This contains Arakawa's own reconstruction of the Tangut phonetic system; among other things the author formulates the principles behind the Tangut transcription of the Sanskrit dhārāṇi. I find Arakawa's reconstruction plausible; however, the author does not give his reasons for reconstructing the final nasal *-n* for some of the Tangut syllables, nor does he account for his reconstruction of the initial *f*-. For example, Hwangcherng Gong reconstructed the Tangut transcription for the Chinese *fan* 梵 as *xiwā*, on the basis of the sound change *f*→*x* shared by both Tangut and Northwestern Chinese. The dropping of the final nasal consonant is also established by Hwangcherng Gong as a common development for Tangut and Northwestern Chinese and it has to be accounted for if it is preserved in the reconstruction. The present review uses Hwangcherng Gong's transcription.

The most important part of the study is located on pages 125–192 of the publication and is devoted to the analysis of the Tangut grammar. One major advantage of the approach taken by the author is that he proceeds from the Tangut language itself and not from a comparative perspective. Thus the observations formulated in the study might not only be relevant (or might not be relevant at all) for general questions of Tibeto-Burman linguistics, but also useful for actual reading of the Tangut texts. Although the author lists several publications by scholars who worked on this subject before him, one should appreciate that the problems of the Tangut syntax and grammar were previously considered in relation to the study of morphology, structure of the Tangut verbs etc., whereas Arakawa attempts a systematized presentation of the subject.

In many cases previous research failed to notice one obvious fact: Chinese sentences are short, whereas Tangut ones are long; this means that auxiliary words and various markers sometimes (not always) have to take on more than one function. So, rendering these classes of words through their Chinese equivalents will make Tangut texts ungrammatical. The Tangut philologists generally neglected the issues of grammar and assigned Chinese equivalents to the Tangut auxiliary words and markers according to what they thought would represent the primary meanings of the Tangut words. We can hypothesize that Chinese grammar was reanalyzed by Tangut scholars in order to accommodate various Chinese syntactic and grammatical markers to their own language. Thus a proper understanding of Tangut grammar is in a way impeded by direct association between the Tangut and Chinese words. For example, if we were to regard the Tangut *rjir*² 茲 as *yu* 與, this would only be able to account for some aspects of this otherwise multifunctional word. Arakawa's publication successfully escapes these shortcomings. This is because the approach adopted in his study is more appropriate for the study of the Tangut cases.

Below I will try to discuss some issues which I find important in Arakawa's publication. The examples are taken from the Tangut version of the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (JDCDL), the Tangut translation of the *Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi* by Jitāri (Bodhi), *The Forty Banners of Emptiness* attributed to Atiśa (40), and other sources. As I see it, these examples might be useful for further research.

The author begins his discussion with the presentation of morphological matters and specifies classes of words (p. 130), although he correctly indicates that the differences between, for example, verbs and nouns in Tangut are not always clear and are established on the basis of root vowel alterations, which in turn depend on the accuracy of the phonetic reconstruction. That is to say, although the existence of verb stems in the Tangut language is beyond doubt, one still has to be careful when assigning particular verbs to a specific stem.

Discussing verbal nouns, the author specifies those formed by the combination of the verb with *mjijr*² 蔣, *lew*² 纒, *sjj*² 毓 and specifically discusses the particle *nji*² 鞞. The first and the last present no difficulties: the first is analogous to the Tibetan *ba* and Chinese *zhe* 者, while the last is a noun quantifier. The usage of *lew*² 纒 as a nominalizer is discussed at some length, but the example given on p. 133 is not the best: here this auxiliary word can be interpreted in its modal capacity. A better one would be: (1) 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒, 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 (JDCDL). "If I say that there is even one Dharma in what I give to the others, I am deceiving the people." One nominalizer which was omitted from the discussion is probably *sjji*¹ 纒, normally treated as a suffix: (2) 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒, which translates as the "entry into the two truths." (3) 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒, 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 纒 (JDCL), "Zhicheng stepped forward from among the assembly, paid respect to the master and told him everything about his arrival." More examples of this sort can easily be supplied.

postpositions which normally represent spatial relationships, such as *kha'* 𑖇, are in fact not limited to spatial meaning, but evolved further to acquire syntactic functions: (5) 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇, 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇 (["by] maintaining this bodhicitta, in all times they will be living as in if in a palace = Temporal; Bodhi); (6) 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇, 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇 (‘‘Now I am born into the family of the Buddhas, born among the disciples of the Tathāgata = Spatial); (6) 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇, 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇 (‘‘The Great Master Huineng, while (indicative of Huineng’s circumstances) not knowing even one character, how can he understand the truth?’’ = marks the relationship between the clauses in the sentence; JDCDL).

The examples presented above do not challenge Arakawa’s basic conclusions, quite the opposite, they tend to support the author’s idea of defining the Tangut cases on the basis of what they actually represent in the texts and not on the basis of certain assumptions. This approach originally existed in the scholarship, and has now been further developed, refined and sufficiently justified on the basis of abundant textual materials by Dr. Arakawa. By this token, we should welcome his publication as a valuable tool which enhances our understanding of the Tangut language and culture.

K. Solonin

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