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REVIEWS

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Ekaterina Zavidovskaia,
Polina Rud

Popular Religion in Early Republican China Based on Vasilii Alekseev's Materials from to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography RAS (fund No. 2054)¹

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Abstract: One of the founding fathers of Russian sinology Vasilii Mikhailovich Alekseev (1881–1951) had acquired an impressive collection during his ethnographic expedition to the southern regions of China (May 4 — August 19, 1912), which was organized by the Russian Committee for Middle and East Asia Exploration and initiated by the Committee's head, founder academician Vasilii Vasilievich Radlov (1837–1918). Alekseev's expedition started from Vladivostok and passed through Harbin, Shanghai, Ningbo, Putuoshan, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Shantou, Guangzhou and ended up in Hong Kong. Alekseev has collected about 1083 artifacts making up “a collection exclusively on popular Buddhist and Daoist religion, items of household usage, daily life and cult, as well as revolutionary leaflets and posters of 1912”,² now this collection is kept at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE, RAS) with registration No. 2054. During his earlier studies in China in 1906–1909 Alekseev acquired large collections of ethnographic materials and folk art (mainly popular woodblock prints *nianhua* 年畫) from the northern regions of China, which had later for the most part entered collections of the State Hermitage and the State Museum of the History of Religion (GMIR) in St. Petersburg. For his expedition of 1912 Alekseev had lined out a plan based on his observations of northern religious practices, e.g. he was particularly interested in the worship of City God *chenghuang*, child giving goddesses *niangniang* and God of Wealth *caishen*, but he quickly realized how different was the southern religious terrain and focused on local specifics.

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¹ This publication was supported by the RFFI grant 19–59–52001 MHTa “Trade, Folk Beliefs, Art and Culture on Chinese Traditional Xylographic Pictures from Scantly Studied Collections of Russia and Taiwan”.

² ALEKSEEV 2012: 497.

This paper discusses a large portion of printed ritual texts used for religious purposes in Fujian and Guangdong provinces and dated by the early 20th c. Our survey of several dozens of printed materials from fund No. 2054 reveals prevalence of documents used by ritual specialists — Daoists for funerary rituals and ancestor worship, funeral various types of talismans occupy a central place. Apparently, the form and content of these texts have been preserved in the local religious practice up to present days.

Key words: Vasilii M. Alekseev (1881–1951), MAE, RAS, Daoist ritual documents, talisman, salvation ritual, image

Introduction

Parts of Alekseev’s travel diary, which he carefully kept during his expedition in 1912, have been added to the new edition of Alekseev’s travelogue *V Starom Kitae* (In Old China, 2012, first edition 1958) by the volume’s editor Boris L. Riftin.³ T. Vinogradova’s research on Alekseev’s diaries catalogued in his “sinological file cabinet” revealed that there were diaries from Ningbo and Canton (Guangzhou), which whereabouts are not known for certain. One of the suggestions is that they may have been handed over to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences by Alekseev’s family members.⁴ Hand notes made by the future academician during his visit to the island of Putuoshan 普陀山 (June 6–22, 1912) are kept at the State Museum of the History of Religion (GMIR). Upon his return back to Russia in 1912 Vasilii Alekseev delivered a report to the Russian Committee for Middle and East Asia Exploration about his mission. An typewritten archival inventory enumerates all acquired artifacts and becomes a very helpful source for the attribution of the ethnographic objects and various printed materials from this fund.⁵ Yet, some terms used in the inventory for describing

³ ALEKSEEV 2012: 444–501.

⁴ VINOGRADOVA 2017: 240.

⁵ This inventory allowed to track some objects which have been borrowed from MAE, RAS to be exhibited at the Antireligious exhibitions in 1930 and 1932 in Leningrad and later remained at the State Museum of the History of Religion, including a miniature statue of the child-giving goddess *Jinhua niangniang* 金花娘娘 (No. Л-4621/1-3-VII ГМИР-КП-20961/1–3) and ancestor name tablet (Б-1839-VII ГМИР-КП-19226). From personal communication with the research fellow of the GMIR Maria Kormanovskaia (April, 2020). The State Hermitage Museum on-line catalogue of woodblock prints contains around ten pieces collected by Alekseev in southern China, among them sheets No. ЛТ-6283, ЛТ-6289, ЛТ-6290 have detailed pencil notes of the collector, which are not intelligible from the screen, being

various documents appear lacking accuracy, one of the goals of this study has been to clarify of these terms and purpose of the documents. In early 2020, technical staff of MAE, RAS has completed photographing and scanning of the large scope of the No. 2054 fund's objects, some of the artifacts previously unseen by anyone from outside of the Museum are analyzed in this paper, which continues the authors previous research on the Alekseev's fund No. 2054 from MAE, RAS.⁶

Part of Alekseev's travel diary published in 2012 mentions that acquired objects allowed “studying religion in its intimacy, instead of randomly relying on book translations or some extracts”,⁷ which was seen by the collector as one of the most positive results of the expedition. Total amount of the objects of religious nature reached 686 pieces out of 1083. In his report Alekseev expressed intention to write a paper on “spells from Fuzhou”, but did not realize his plan. Alekseev's travel notes at our disposal barely mention when and how he purchased various kinds of ritual objects. This our knowledge of their place of origin, purpose and context may only derive from consulting similar well-studied ritual documents produced in abundance by the southern popular Daoism. Written texts played important part in the liturgy of the Zhengyi 正一 Taoist school prevailing in the southeastern China. Detailed and reliable study of the sequence and meaning of Taoist ritual practice is possible if ritual manuals *keyiben* 科儀本 kept by the masters and field observations are both available. In our case we only have “disposable materials” like empty forms which were probably sold at temple shops and purchased by customers before the ritual. Below we take closer look at a series of textual memorials and talismans.

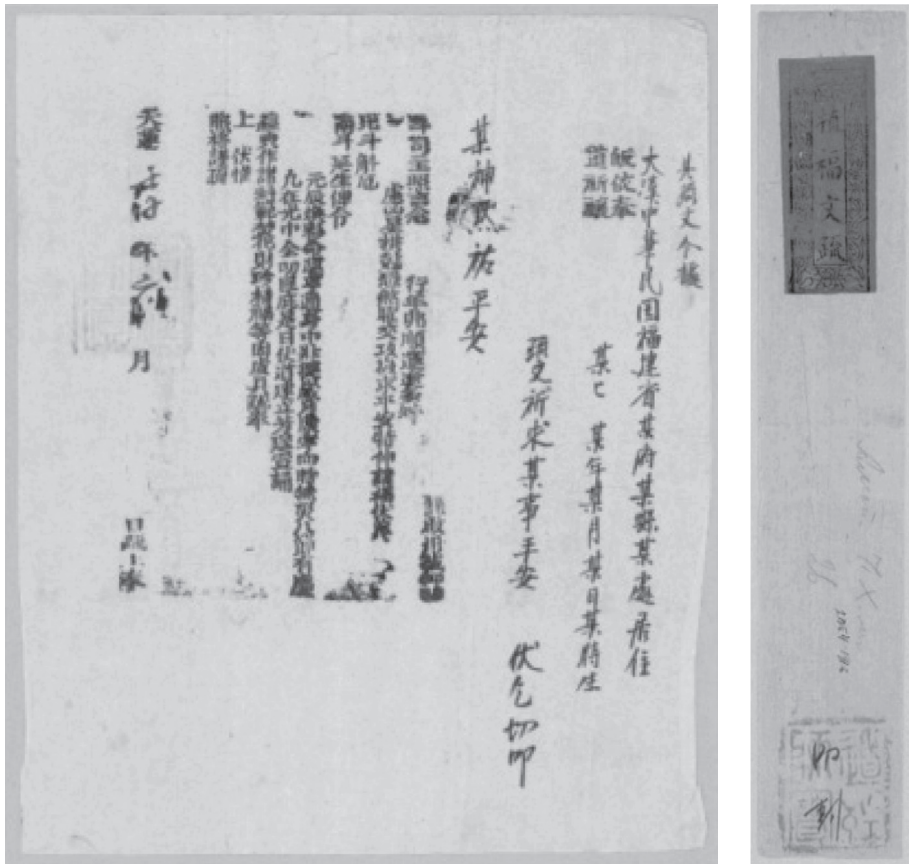
No. 2054-191/1, 2 (Pl. 1)

Museum attributes this piece as “envelope with a prayer for happiness”, envelope has rectangular piece of red paper with words “Memorial bringing good fortune” *zhifu shuwen* 植福疏文 (No. 2054-191/2) glued on top, inside

“official documents” issued to expel evil spirit which has brought fire and other misfortunes upon a house, sheets No. JIT-6284, JIT-6288 from Guangdong prefecture are addresses to local child-giving deity Flower King *huawang* 花王 with images and text, these prints can be viewed by inputting object number (e.g. JIT-6289) into a search window in <http://collections.hermitage.ru/>.

⁶ ZAVIDOVSKAIA & RUD 2020.

⁷ ALEKSEEV 2012: 497.



pl. 1

is a standard prayer text requiring filling in personal data. Information about location is the following: “Great Han Republic of China, Fujian province...” 大漢中華民國福建省 (there is word “Amoy” *Xiamen* 廈門 written in Russian with pencil on the envelope⁸), administrative units prefecture *fu* 府, county *xian* 縣, address, particular date, are to be written in. To the very left there is a date: 6th of year *renzi* 壬子 (1912). Document says: “memorial *shuwen* to pray for peace/luck concerning a certain matter (to be written in), pray to some deity to protect peace and make a bow”. Right part of the document is hand

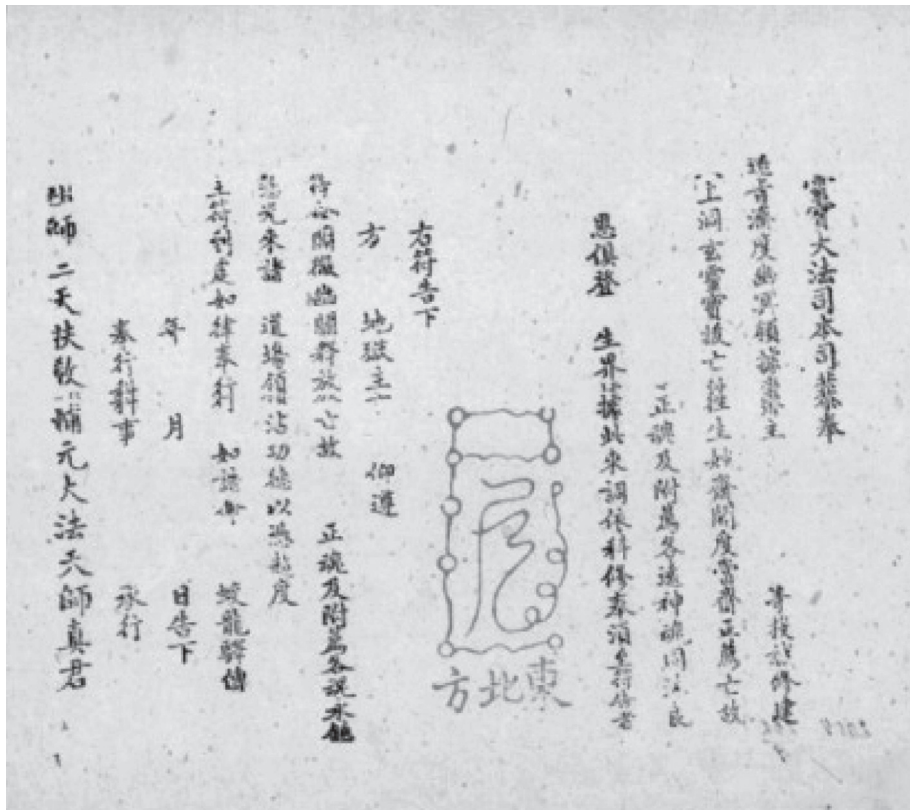
⁸ In his diary Alekseev mentions that during his visit to Amoy on July 4th he was impressed by a temple festival of the City God *chenghuang* and was very sorry to leave Amoy so quickly (ALEKSEEV 2012: 484).

written, while memorial is printed with use of a woodblock, where we see a prayer to the Host of the Dipper department *dousizhu* 斗司主 to minimize influences of malicious stars, addresses to North Dipper *beidou* 北斗 relieving from misfortune and South Dipper *nandou* 南斗 prolonging lifespan. Further text mentions star influences upon human fate. We suggest that this document might have been recited in the temple upon believer's request in the beginning of a new year in order to minimize misfortunes caused by stars, since each person's birth date and hour determined different star influences he/she experienced each year, after the ceremony the memorial would be burnt with paper money.

No. 2054-202/1-9 (Pl. 2)

This set of printed documents including nine sheets is termed in the Museum inventory as “talismans for the netherworld”. All sheets have similar textual part and nine different talismanic characters in the central part, talisman was seen to be the most potent part the document. All these talismans are issued by the Bureau of Great Methods of the Numinous Treasure *Lingbao dafasi* 靈寶大法司, related to the “Great Law of the Great Clarity Numinous Treasure” *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, *juan* 10 by Wang Qizhen 王契真 of Northern Song.⁹ The ritual is performed by Heavenly master Zhang 張天師 whose full title is written to the very left of the document — *Zushi santian fujiao fuyuan tianfa tianshi zhenjun* 祖師三天扶教輔元大法天師真君, ritual is conducted on behalf of the chief mourner *zhaizhu* 齋主, who hires ritual specialists to arrange passage *chaodu* 超度 of the deceased from the trials of the underworld to the paradise in the West. As mentioned in this memorial, the soul of the deceased is to be bathed, afterwards each of talisman is probably placed in one of the nine directions (south, north, west, east, center, south-east, south-west, north-west, north-east). Each direction has a Host of hell *diyuzhu* 地獄主, believed to be a demon-king overthrown to hell by the Bodhisattva Manjushri. Susan Huang mentioned that figure “nine” in salvation ritual is related to the ninefold darkness *jiuyou-jiao* 九幽醮 associated with the Yellow Register fast. Taoist salvation rituals,

⁹ In his study of Taoist rituals observed in southern Taiwan John Lagerwey mentions that Taoist Master Ch'en followed the Great Method of the Numinous Treasure founded by Ning Ch'üan-chen 寧全真 (1101–1181), whose alias was Real Man Who Saves from Distress (LAGERWEY 1987: 193), therefore ritual practice seen in Taiwan and earlier documents in this study may be considered as produced by the same school.



pl. 2

which grew largely after Song, had a special ritual space reserved for the souls and consisted of earth mounds marked by lamps and banners to symbolize the multichambered prisons in which the suffering souls were trapped, in the cause of the ritual the ritual master gradually moved toward main altar while leading the summoned souls onto the path of purity and salvation.¹⁰ In our case nine talismans could be placed in different directions for the souls to be saved.

In Taoist ritual, “bathing” is the name of one of the rites performed as a part of the Yellow Register fast *huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋 and the ritual of merit *gongde* 功德 for the salvation of the deceased, during which the spirit of the deceased is summoned and bathed during the ceremony of purification. After

¹⁰ HUANG 2015: 974.

it has been released from the underworld, he is bathed, purified and given a change of clothes.¹¹ Ritual of soul bathing *muyu* 沐浴 is mentioned as a part of initial summoning of the souls of the deceased ancestors *zhaohun* 招魂 on the first day of the mourning ceremony.¹² It was performed to for soul saved out of netherworld during an “incense and flower” Buddhist funeral service of Guangdong province.¹³

Another set of printed documents discussed below seems to be a set of talismans and memorials used for the salvation ritual as well.

No. 2054-217/1-9

A series of nine sheets printed with red ink and termed as “talismans for the relief from sufferings in the upcoming life” in the inventory were probably sold as one set for the funeral service performed by Taoists. Based on the information from sheet nine (2054–217/9) we learn that this set of documents was produced in Guangdong 廣東 province.¹⁴ In his travel diary describing visit to Canton Alekseev mentioned purchasing a lot of printed materials on three cults,¹⁵ but we don’t find any details on talismans related to mortuary rituals.

Sheet 2054–217/1 is covered by columns of accurately printed mystic Taoist characters representing talismans.

Sheet 2054–217/2 has vertical inscription “Genuine Talisman Saving from Distress of Yellow Register Addressing Gods” *huanglu baijian jiuku zhenfu* 黃籙白簡救苦真符, to the left is the talisman per se, the text to its left starts with mentioning *Yuanshi fuming* 元始符命 talisman,¹⁶ together with above mentioned Yellow Register talisman it is summoning one hundred and twen-

¹¹ HARUJI 2013: 156.

¹² JONES 2016: 76.

¹³ TAM 2012: 48.

¹⁴ Some Guangdong talismans to drive away thieves (№ 2054–187/3–1) and secure happy marriage (№ 2054–187/4–3) acquired by Alekseev in 1912 have been introduced in (ZAVIDOVSKAIA 2019: 102).

¹⁵ ALEKSEEV 2012: 489.

¹⁶ In his description of a three-day ritual observed in rural Fujian K. Dean mentions this talisman in the context of the consecration *kaiguang* 開光 ritual, when the priest burns *Yuanshi fuming* talisman asking Great God of the Five Roads to open the way for the scattered *hun* 魂 and *po* 魄 souls of the deceased (DEAN 1988: 50). This talisman is originating from “Great Law of the Great Clarity Numinous Treasure” *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, *juan* 46.

ty soldiers, five emperors, official investigators and mighty evil spirit warriors *lishi* 力士 from Ten directions, Three Palaces and Nine prefectures and Nine hells for deities to make fines, for Departments of Soldiers *bingsi* 兵司, Official's salary *lusi* 祿司, Fate *mingsi* 命司 and Merits *gongsì* 功司, demon Cow head, Soldiers of hell and Six demons of three directions to save the soul (a blank for the name of the deceased) from hell and for it to turn into an ancestor and see the light, to be cleaned of sins, take up Nine prohibitions *jiuzhen miaojie* 九真妙戒 and be reborn in paradise.

Sheet 2054–217/3 is a ritual text signed by The Supreme One, the Heavenly Venerable who Saves from Distress *taiyi jiuku tianzun* 太乙救苦天尊, “the principle deity to whom funeral services are directed”.¹⁷ The title of the memorial called “Heavenly Treasure Register of Passing Life of the Supreme Lord” *taishang baodusheng tianbaolu* 太上寶度生天寶籙 is borrowed from “Great Law of the Great Clarity Luminous Treasure” *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, *juan* 44 by Wang Qizhen, where its original title sounds like “Heavenly Luminous Register of Supreme Mysterious and Primordial Lord ordering pardoning to the living” *yuanshang xuanyuan taishang chi shesheng tianbao lu* 元上玄元太上敕赦生天寶籙. This whole *juan* of Wang Qizhen's writing is consisted of memorials and official forms relevant to the ritual of saving hungry ghosts from underworld.

The original text from “Great Law of the Great Clarity Luminous Treasure” is represented below, on the sheet No. 2054–217/3 it has been printed with slight discrepancies, representing a list of entities (prefectures, seas, peaks, passes) and deities in charge of the underworld prisons summoned for the ritual:

告下十方三界，天曹地府，山川海嶽，泉曲冥關，北都羅酆，
六洞十宮，三官九府，百二十曹，鬱絕之鄉，
幽塗之境，諸大地獄，九州分野，福地名山，
城隍社令，神物司臨之所，仙曹典錄之墟，
較量罪福，考察功過，一切天牢地獄主者，咸領符命¹⁸。

The next passage from the original memorial is omitted and continued with the passage below depicting the process of transformation into Daoist saints *xian* 仙, divinities and overcoming the sufferings in underworld prisons:

¹⁷ DEAN 1988: 56.

¹⁸ From: <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=298610> (access date: May 14, 2020).



pl. 3

承此太上慈恩，並與疾除罪簿，落滅惡根，不得拘留。徑出地獄，永離幽陰，皆證妙果。如擔砂負石、漣汲溟波之眾，驅雷役電、掃山穿地、貫天引水之徒，並與斷地逮役，永使逍遙。即令上件亡魂，七炁成真，六儀運虛，五靈續絕，二曜扶衰，旋網躡空，飛步雲宮，胚胎有始，塵劫元終，金城孕質，玉洞凝神，真炁內養，以成真人。上入太虛，下洞幽泉，雲官寶闕，中有真魂，出入福鄉，周旋生門，咀嚼靈芝，灌漱金泉，甘露川流，懸澎丹田，紫霞朝映，三炁凝煙，瓊室化仙，安座金蓮，真儀掩日，塵劫為年，一如告命。

The talisman is activated by the Supreme One, the Heavenly Venerable who Saves from Distress whose name is printed to the left on our document.

Sheet four (2054–217/4) contains both talisman and textual part, probably its purpose is to address the abode of the immortals *xianjie* 仙界 so that the host's body (the body of the deceased) is to go through the salvation and re-birth together with his soul.

Sheet five (2054–217/5) represents an order on behalf of the Three Pure Ones *sanqing* 三清 to transform the soul of the deceased into a “correct soul”

zhenghun 正魂, or an ancestor, the order is supported by a circular seal Precious circle *baohuan* 寶環, there are blank spaces for date and a name two masters witnessing this process.

Sheet six (2054–217/6) contains a talisman and textual part which mentions “The Most Excellent and Scripture of Limitless Salvation” *yuanshi du-ren shangpin jing* 元始度人上品經¹⁹ used to annihilate three evils, after that the saved soul to the Heavenly gate *tianmen* 天門 and sublimated on the Cinnabar hill *zhuling* 朱陵.²⁰

Sheet seven (2054–217/7, Pl. 3) contains the image of the soul-catcher called the Lad of Five Directions and Five Souls *wufang wuling tongzi* 五方五靈童子, who wears boys hairstyle, carrying a soul-banner *lingfan* 靈幡 with words “bring [soul] to the West” *yinjie xifang* 接引西方 on it, the text to the right mentions Passer from Three palaces *sangong duzhe* 三宮度者, Five emperors interrogation officials *wudi kaoguan* 五帝考官 who can exclude the soul’s sin record. The text to the right pleads the Lad to lead the soul with the banner.

Sheet nine (2054–217/9) representing a notice *bang* 榜 is most likely the first one used in the sequence of the salvation ritual, its purpose is to announce start of the salvation ritual and summon gods and demons to descend to the altar.

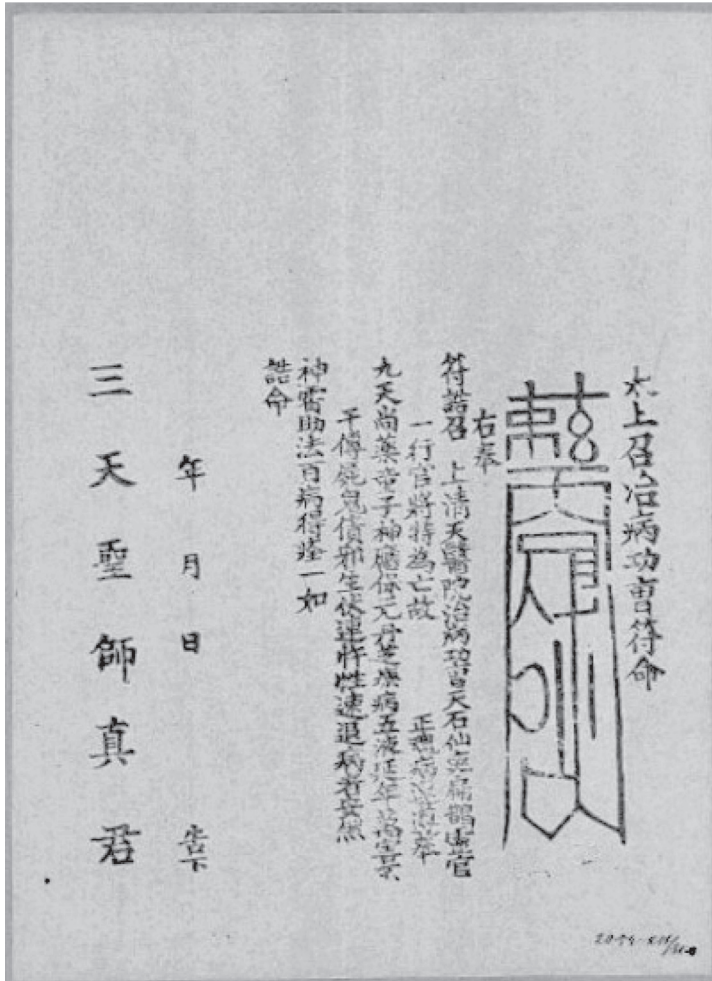
As was shown above, the sheet enumeration made by the Museum does not reflect the sequence of their use in the cause of the Taoist soul salvation ritual, which bears many features similar to the liturgy of modern Fujian and Taiwan.

No. 2054–218/1-35

This series of thirty five yellow sheets are termed as “posthumous talismans” in the inventory. Indeed, they were supposed to be used in the cause of

¹⁹ This scripture from the original fifth century Lingbao corpus is related to the idea of saving those suffering in the world or in hells, depicts the salvation of the Most High Lord to ensure salvation of the ancestors (PREGADIO 2013: 150).

²⁰ Three-day funeral rite in modern Fujian also has the Calling of the Soul, the incense is offered to the Three Pure Ones and all the gods, then the chief priest recalls the great vow of the One who Saves All from Distress to save all souls, then the chief reads the Memorial and waves the soul banner. The souls are led from the underworld to the altar and on to salvation (DEAN 1988: 50). In south Taiwan the soul-banner has narrow strips with the names of the seven terrestrial souls *po* 魄, the wide strip is the real soul-banner; its inscription calls on the Savior from Distress to save the “correct soul(s)” *cheng-hun* 正魂 of the deceased from hell and ensure its passage to the paradise in the West (LAGERWEY 1987: 176).



pl. 4

salvation ritual and present a valuable source of information, since each talisman has incantation formula explaining its meaning. The style of characters allows suggesting that this set was produced by the same shop in Guangdong along with set No. 2054–217. These talismans were used by a Taoist priest to activate such ritual acts as pardoning all the misdeeds and sins of the deceased, healing all his previous wounds and illnesses (No. 2054–218/10, Pl. 4), bathing and cleansing the body, preparing new clothes to enter the abode of the

immortals, passing through the Gates of different death causes, summoning gods and spirits. Some of these talismans were borrowed from *juan 5* of “The Jasper Mirror of the Luminous Treasure” *lingbao yujian* 靈寶玉鑑²¹ written by unknown author of Song dynasty, which has a section “Genuine Talismans of Opening Eight Gates for Salvation” *kaidu bamen zhenfu* 開度八門真符, some talisman titles originate from “Great Law of the Great Clarity Numinous Treasure” *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法, *juan 46*.

No. 2054–263/2 (Pl. 5)

A printed document with text and image of the Supreme One, the Heavenly Venerable who Saves from Distress *taiyi jiuku tianzun* 太乙救苦天尊 inside a frame composed of auspicious objects. The inventory attributes it as “talisman”, but what we see here is a “permit” for the soul of the deceased to be out from the netherworld *mingtu luyin* 冥途路引. Lagerwey calls it “‘dark path road-puller’, that is, a device like a flag for pulling the soul along the road that leads out of the underworld. It is issued in the name of the Heavenly Master of the Great Method of the Three Heavens, Chang (Tao-ling), and is addressed to the Savior from Distress, whose image appears between the end of the text and title of the Heavenly Master”.²² It is important to note that, the design of the document observed in southern Taiwan in 1980s basically matches the one from Alekseev’s collection, which was produced in Guangdong province. When discussing funerary practices of Guangdong Li Zhitian mentions that *mingtu luyin* 冥途路引, or “road passport” *lupiao* 路票, is issued to the souls of the deceased by Taoist by means of burning this passport, which says that the Supreme One, the Heavenly Venerable who Saves from Distress offers the passport to the soul so that no obstacles are created on its way by various hell departments and checkpoints, in other words, such passport guarantees smooth traveling of the soul out of the underworld.²³

A document identical to No. 2054–263/2 is kept in the collection of GMIR (No. ㄉ–3272–VII), Alekseev probably sold it to the Museum in 1938 together with around one thousand other pictures and objects. In our previous paper we have discussed “license for the soul of the deceased” *shenhun zhizhao*

²¹ <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=453122> (access date: June 8, 2020).


²² LAGERWEY 1987: 199.

²³ LI 2007: 213.

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福地龍虎山冥途路引

三天扶教輔元體道天法天師真君



太乙救苦天尊

靈寶大法司

大上科生之德萬善皆由施 通乃出胎胎引並救東上聖靈感符百六下世開生春世安長
 女身八律不律行始重出胎引 執照

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2-2

pl. 5

神魂執照,²⁴ which “the soul of the deceased receives after bathing and putting on clean clothes, and it is transmitted to it by the ‘servant’ of the Three Pure Ones, that is, the priest, whose ordination has made him an ‘immortal official’. In this ritual the priest is making the soul of the deceased a Taoist initiate, an initiation that is at once comparable to and dependent upon his own ordination”.²⁵ Therefore two documents, “dark road-puller” and “soul passport”, were used during the stages of the salvation ritual.

No. 2054–232/1–12

In the inventory a series of twelve talismans and characters printed on orange paper with black ink are termed as “incantation formulas”, but this term does not seem to be accurate. They are: *tianyi* 天乙, *kun* 坤, *li* 離, *dui* 兌, *zhen* 震, *kan* 坎, *dingfu* 定福, *guiren* 貴人, *jinma* 金馬, *yutang* 玉堂, *tongchun* 同春, *liuhe* 六合. Among them *kun* 坤, *li* 離, *dui* 兌, *zhen* 震, *kan* 坎 represent



pl. 6

four out of eight hexagrams, therefore this set of prints was probably used for divination purposes, supposedly, to determine person’s luck. *Tianyi* 天乙 is one of the four basic astral forces that may bring luck and misfortune upon a person, *guiren* 貴人 is a term describing some helping person or an auspicious deity (in this case they are stars), who could positively affect one’s fortune. Divination methods based on “eight birth characters” aim to determine a *guiren* star of a particular parson. Notions *jinma* 金馬 (“golden horse”) and *yutang* 玉堂 (“jade hall”) are probably metaphors for respectful address an to academician of Hanlin academy, in divination practice they may be used to determine person’s chances during exams; *tongchun* 同春 as a part of the wish for longevity *guihe tongchun* 龜鶴同春, could be used to determine person’s life span, *liuhe* 六合 “six cardinal points” (No. 2054–232/12, Pl. 6) was widely used by diviners to check whether a man and a woman are suitable for marriage.

²⁴ ZAVIDOVSKAIA & RUD 2020: 271–272.

²⁵ LAGERWEY 1987: 184.

No. 2054–197/1–5

A series of five sheets of different color with the same talisman, text and image printed with black ink, the talisman contains an image of a boy (probably deity Mangshen 芒神) holding a banner with words “Clay ox gives peace and protects” *tuniu anzhen* 土牛安鎮 with a “clay ox”²⁶ depicted next to a boy. The inventory marked this series as “farmers’ talismans”. The printing board and writing on it are rather coarse, which is a characteristic of the cheapest products consumed by common folks (No. 2054–197/1, pl. 7). The phrase on top “Talisman of the Highest for pacifying earth” *taishang antu fuming* 太上安土符命 points at the widely spread practice of using talismans to pacify earth spirits of five directions, who could be disturbed by people digging the ground, for instance, in the result of digging a grave. We also have five talismans matching five directions, therefore they are probably a set. *Juan* 30 of the collection of Daoist religious texts “The Reprieved Pearls from the Sea of Methods” *fahai yizhu* 法海遺珠 by unknown author of late Yuan early Ming period contains “Earth pacifying talismans of five directions” *wufang antu fu* 五方安土符, whose purpose is to address Dragon Kings of Five Directions protecting a lodging *wufang zhenzhai longwang* 五方鎮宅龍王.²⁷ Our talisman is signed by Heavenly Worthies Five Saints Dragon Kings bringing peace *taisheng wulong anzhen tianzun* 太聖五龍安鎮天尊. In this case talisman concerns probably Yin lodging *yinzhai* 陰宅, a term for a grave.



pl. 7

²⁶ Earth, or clay, ox *tuniu* 土牛 is normally associated with the ritual of beating an ox figure made of clay and welcoming spring rather than funerary practice.

²⁷ Five Dragon Kings are mentioned as protectors of the grave in various Daoist documents.

No. 2054–372/1–19

We may be certain that this set of paper icons *zhima* 紙馬 was produced in Foshan 佛山, the largest centre of woodblock prints production in south-eastern China. Inventory terms them as “popular prints, images of Liuhai 劉海 and Hehe 和合”. Alekseev could have purchased them either in Guangzhou or in Shantou, where Foshan printing shops had multiple branches. One of the features of Foshan paper icons was to use colored paper with one color imprint made with black ink, gold color was probably added in some parts by hand. Our icons have similar composition: on top tier is an image of two figures —

probably gods of harmony Hehe 和合, on the bottom level there are compositions with human figures, but who are the deities in the centre? On the sheet No. 2054–372/17 (pl. 8) we probably see Nezha 哪咤 wearing a princely crown holding longevity peaches on a tray, below him stands Longevity god Shouxing 壽星 with a peach. On the sheet No. 2054–372/16 a female figure in the centre is most likely the Queen of the West Xiwangmu 西王母 also holding a tray with peaches and Shouxing flying a crane below her. Such icons could be used for the 60th birthday celebration or for some ritual of praying for longevity of an elder family member.



pl. 8

Conclusion: Regional Variations in Talisman Usage

One of the objectives of this study has been to reveal and summarize regional specifics of early Republican popular religion based on the printed objects brought by Vasilii M. Alekseev from South China. Apparently, Alekseev purchased printed Taoist ritual documents texts & drawings without being able to look through them in detail and observe the process of their application in the ritual practice. Yet he was rather familiar with Chinese talismans per se, since he had acquired several dozens of them during his studies in China in 1906–1909, now most of them are stored at the GMIR.²⁸

What makes northern talismans different from southern ones is that majority of them are painted with a brush with Zhang Daoling's 張道陵 magic stamp on top and serve concrete purposes such as driving away evil spirits (No. Д-2848-VII, pl. 9), "five poisonous creatures", curing illnesses etc. Due to his interest for "demon conqueror" Zhong Kui, Alekseev purchased large amount of talismans and pictures related to Duanwu 端午 festival (No. Д-2828-VII, pl. 9), which make up a large part of his collection of northern talismans. Notably, northern talismans do not bear obvious signs of being a part of a larger ritual, neither do specimens collected by Alekseev relate to salvation ritual, which appears to be central for the southern tradition judging from randomly selected prints from fund No. 2054 in MAE RAS. Northern talismans seem to have been bought straight by their end users, rural and urban believers, from producers, who could be either "roaming Daoists" or some shops associated with them. Afterwards people just glued talismans on the wall or burned them with paper money after chanting an incantation (this part could be performed by a professional for a pay).²⁹ Shape and content of northern talismans reflects the status and role of Daoists in the northern regions of China, where monastic tradition of Quanzhen 全真 Daoism prevailed. As for the southern specimens discussed in this paper, they represent

²⁸ <http://alekseev-collection.gmir.ru/en/catalog-eng/category/fu-talismans> (Access date: June 19, 2020). Among them longevity talisman № Д-3303-VII has Alekseev's stamp, also produced in southern China in 1912.

²⁹ James Hayes characterizes charm producers in late imperial China in the following way: "The provision of charms was an important service for communities as well as for individuals. Specialist practitioners were often called upon by communities when they were thought to be imperiled by evil forces that made themselves felt through sickness and death of animals and humans. The ritual and charm specialists could be found in most subdistricts and even in many of the larger villages" (HAYES 1985: 97).



pl. 9

just one aspect of the funerary ritual practice, which was carried on by priests with use of special liturgical books *keyiben* 科儀本, accompanied by music, chanting and ritual actions, and these aspects are not reproducible based just on the documents we have. Yet it would be legible to claim that tradition of “Great Law of the Great Clarity Numinous Treasure” seems to have been prevailing in the area of Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Nevertheless, a larger portion of documents collected by Alekseev needs to be thoroughly studied in order to make final conclusions about regional specifics.

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The Updated Data on Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Serindia Collection (IOM, RAS): Perspectives of the Study

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Abstract: This article presents the preliminary results of the study on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Basing on the previous researches, as well as on the results of the efforts of the ‘Sanskrit Group’ within Serindica Laboratory, the authors outline the structure and repertoire of the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection, supplementing it with the description of paleographic and codicological aspects of the Sanskrit manuscripts.

Key words: paleography, Brāhmī, Sanskrit manuscripts, Tarim oases, Serindia manuscripts Collection

The penetration of Buddhism into Central Asia dates back to the first centuries of the 1st millennium AD and is associated with India.¹ However, it is not clear yet how Buddhism spread and developed in this region and what features this Indian religion had while its expanded inside the Tarim Basin (these territories are also known as Serindia and East [Chinese] Turkestan; at present Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of PRC). Basing on the paleographical research of manuscripts that have been preserved to nowadays, we can assume that Sanskrit was used as the main language of the transmission of the Buddhist tradition in the first centuries AD. Later, when Buddhist texts were translated into the local Central Asian languages, Sanskrit was used as a language of the Central Asian Buddhist written tradition.

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¹ *Vostochnyi Turkestan* 1992: 115.

Provenance and History of Study

The Serindia manuscripts Collection perhaps is the most multilingual and ‘multi-scriptual’ among all the manuscript collections of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy Sciences (IOM, RAS). It is very heterogeneous in terms of genres and functional purposes of the texts. A significant part of the Serindian Manuscripts Collection are Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit.

The St. Petersburg collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from the Tarim Basin oases consists mainly of the items that were obtained thanks to the efforts of the Russian consuls and diplomats in East Turkestan: the Consul-General in Kashgar Nikolai F. Petrovskii (1837–1908), Consul General in Urumqi Nikolai N. Krotkov (1869–1919), secretary of the consulate in Kashgar Mikhail I. Lavrov (1877–1934), doctor of the Russian consulate in Urumqi Aleksandr I. Kokhanovskii and others. The key role in this process belongs to Nikolai F. Petrovskii. Since 1867 he collected manuscripts and objects of Buddhist art and in every possible way contributed to the comprehensive research of the Serindia region. Through his activities he initiated a wide study of the Indian written heritage in Central Asia.²

The first publisher of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Asiatic Museum was the academician Sergei F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), who conducted the identification of the Central Asian scripts and miscellaneous texts contained in the discovered manuscripts.³ He and Andrei I. Vostrikov (1902–1937) prepared an inventory of the collection, where 240 items were listed.⁴

Manuscripts sent by Nikolai F. Petrovskii to Sergei F. Oldenburg during 1893–1903 were published in ZVORAO.⁵ In addition to the facsimiles and the transliteration these publications contain the academically founded identification of the texts, preliminary paleographic and codicological information. Sergei F. Oldenburg also planned to publish all Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments from East Turkestan in a separate special series. Thus, Irina V. Tunkina had found the Oldenburg transliterations of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the collection of acad. Fiodor I. Scherbatskoi in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the RAS. The typographic proof of the

² *Peshchery tysiachi Bidd* 2008: 29.

³ *Pamiatniki indiiskoi pis'mennosti* 2004: 26.

⁴ *Inventory* No. 1: 1930.

⁵ OL'DENBURG 1893, 1899, 1904.

4th part and the draft plan of the 5th part of the series of articles entitled “The Fragments of Kashgar Sanskrit Manuscripts from the Collection of Nikolai F. Petrovskii” were found in the same collection.⁶

A. Staël von Holstein (1877–1937) and Nikolai D. Mironov (1880–1936), the colleagues of Sergei F. Oldenburg, continued the research of Sanskrit manuscripts and fragments from the St. Petersburg Collection. Staël von Holstein had published the transliteration of Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra (SI 1905), as well as one Tibetan and four Chinese translations of this text.⁷ Mironov had published the bilingual fragment of Dharmapada in Sanskrit and Tocharian B.⁸

In the 1950s, after a long ‘time-out’ caused by the period of repressions (1930s) and the World War II, the new stage of the research of the Serindia manuscripts heritage was began by a young talented scholar Vladimir S. Vorobiov-Desiatovskii (1927–1956). He investigated Sanskrit, Khotanese and Tibetan manuscripts,⁹ published folios of the Kāśyapaparivarta sūtra manuscript (SI 1905), syllabic tables of the South Turkestan and North Turkestan Brāhmī (SI 1039, SI 1040, SI 1909, SI 3120), fragments of the Sanskrit explanatory dictionary and Sanskrit-Tocharian bilingual text (SI 2042, SI 2042).¹⁰ Unfortunately, Vorobiov-Desiatovskii had an ill heart and passed away when he was just 29.

The new academic team, acad. Grigorii M. Bongard-Levin (1933–2008), Eduard N. Tiomkin (1928–2019), Margarita I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia (born in 1933), continued the pursue of Vladimir S. Vorobiov-Desiatovskii. They had introduced into academic circulation the numerous Sanskrit manuscripts of Serindia Collection (former Central Asian Collection). The result of their efforts was the publishing of three volumes of “The Monuments of Indian Writing from Central Asia” (1985, 1990 and 2004). The research of this academic group has reached a new level: the publications were provided with facsimiles, transliterations, translations and comments on the Buddhist texts that these manuscripts contain. Many ZVORAO articles of Sergei F. Oldenburg were republished by Bongard-Levin, Tiomkin and Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia in the above-mentioned editions. The innovations included the addition of new call numbers of the manuscripts, new codicological data, comments and the transliteration according to international standards.

⁶ SHOMAKHMADOV 2016.

⁷ STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1926.

⁸ MIRONOV 1909.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ VOROBIOV-DESIATOVSKII 1957, 1958

In addition to the above-mentioned works, Bongard-Levin and Tiomkin and Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia published articles devoted to previously unknown Sanskrit manuscripts from East Turkestan.¹¹ Some manuscripts were published in collaboration with the Japanese and German scholars.¹²

Since 2010s Safarali H. Shomakhmadov has continued the research of Sanskrit manuscripts of Serindia Collection. Besides the articles written in collaboration with Margarita I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia,¹³ he had published some papers devoted to two Tangut block prints (SI 6563, SI 6564) containing Sanskrit dhāraṇī written in Siddhaṃ script.¹⁴

Foreign scholars also did extensive research of the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Serindia Collection, both in cooperation with IOM colleagues and independently. Japanese researcher Hirofumi Toda wrote a comprehensive monograph devoted to the study of Lotus Sūtra¹⁵ that contains transliteration of the Central Asian version of the sutra accompanied with parallel passages of the all known Lotus Sūtra manuscripts from the European and Asian manuscripts collections (including the ones kept in Russia).¹⁶ In particular, Hirofumi Toda's monograph contains transliterations of two manuscripts from the Serindia collection: the fragment of Lotus Sūtra (SI 2077) and so-called 'Nikolai F. Petrovsky Kashgar manuscript' (SI 1925, SI 1927). The last one is the most complete Central Asian version of Saddharmapūṇḍarīka-sūtra.

The German scholar Oskar von Hinüber (born in 1939) also had researched the Lotus Sūtra manuscripts from Serindia collection: he had published the transliteration and the detailed research of the colophons of some Lotus Sūtra manuscripts from the Serindia Collection including 'Nikolai F. Petrovskii Kashgar manuscript' (SI 1925, 1927).¹⁷

¹¹ BONGARD-LEVIN 1972, 1975a, 1975b, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1989, 1994; BONGARD-LEVIN & VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA & TIOMKIN 1967; BONGARD-LEVIN & TIOMKIN 1968; BONGARD-LEVIN & VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1986, 1987; TIOMKIN 1995a, 1995b, 1996; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA & TIOMKIN 1998, 2000; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1995; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1999–2002.

¹² BONGARD-LEVIN & KIMURA 1995; BONGARD-LEVIN & BOUCHER & FUKITA & WILLE 1996; BONGARD-LEVIN & HORI 1996; BONGARD-LEVIN & WATANABE 1997; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA & KARASHIMA & KUDO 2002; KARASHIMA, VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2007, 2008; KUDO & VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2007.

¹³ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA, SHOMAKHMADOV 2010, 2011, 2013.

¹⁴ SHOMAKHMADOV 2014, 2016, 2017.

¹⁵ TODA 1981.

¹⁶ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004, 206.

¹⁷ HINÜBER 2015.

Japanese scholars Seishi Karashima, Tatsushi Tamai from the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology and their colleagues made an important contribution in the methodology of the Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts research. The result of close collaboration of the international research group headed by Karashima and St. Petersburg scholars resulted in the publication of the first volume of 'The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments'.¹⁸ This collective monograph contains re-editions of the follows manuscripts from the Serindia Collection: Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna (SI 1942, SI 3431, SI 5145), Ajitasenavyākaraṇa (SI 2085), Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (SI 3038, SI 3042) and the part of Merv manuscript (SI 6580).

Among the articles devoted to the St. Petersburg manuscripts and published by international researchers it is necessary to mention the publication by Shin'ichirō Hori, dedicated to the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā fragments (SI 2041/5, SI 3695) written in the so-called Gilgit-Bamiyan Brāhmī (Type II) script¹⁹ as well as the paper of German scholar Klaus Wille, who published the Buddhanāma-sūtra fragments (SI 3457, SI 3458, SI 3467).²⁰

Despite of the great number of articles of Russian and foreign researchers devoted to the study of Central Asian written heritage from the Serindia Collection kept in IOM, RAS, the main part of these manuscripts needs the more detailed research.

A General Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts from the Serindia Collection

The Sanskrit collection stands out among all the other holdings of the Serindia Collection due to its abundance and multeity. All kinds of material for the manuscripts, different script types and styles are presented in this collection. It is necessary to stress out the variety of contents of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts: many texts belong to different historical periods and originate in the different Buddhist sects and Buddhist literature genres.

The number of all the inventoried Sanskrit manuscripts in the Serindia Collection kept within various sub-collections is about 700 items.²¹ Most of the Sanskrit manuscripts belong to the Petrovskii collection (464 items).

¹⁸ KARASHIMA & VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2015.

¹⁹ HORI 2011.

²⁰ WOLLE 1997–1998.

²¹ Some manuscripts need detailed research.

Berezovskii collection is represented by 73 storage items, Oldenburg collection — 56, Krotkov collection — 42, Lavrov collection — 38, Malov collection — 10, Klementz collection — 3, Kolokolov collection — 3, Kozlov collection — 2. The Kokhanovskii and Likhachev collections have one item each. 7 items do not belong to any collection.

The identified Sanskrit manuscripts from the Serindia collection, perhaps, present all the main Buddhist canonical literature genres of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna: Prajñāpāramitā texts, Vinaya fragments, Abhidharma treatises, Jātakas, Dhāraṇī. The latter was very popular among Serindian Buddhists. Up to date the overwhelming majority of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts (508 items) have not been identified, some of the fragments do not correspond to any known Buddhist Sanskrit text.

Materials

The analysis of the materials of the Sanskrit manuscripts allows to research the manuscript culture in Serindia particularly and in Central Asia in whole. The paper production in the Tarim oases had caused the active growth of the recording of Buddhist texts in local paper and neutralized the need to import Buddhist texts from India and China directly. In its turn, it had caused the formation of own Central Asian manuscript culture. It's notable that the Buddhism reception within Serindia was reflected in the change of the manuscripts materials, the scripts development and the genre transformation of Buddhist literature.

Palm leaf is the earliest material of Buddhist manuscripts in Central Asia. Apparently, this is the case of Buddhist manuscripts import directly from India to the Tarim oases. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the script of the Serindia Sanskrit texts written on palm leaf is either the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī (2th–3th cc.), or the North-Western (Indian) Gupta (4th–6th cc.).²² The Sanskrit manuscripts fragments on palm leaves in Brāhmī script kept in the Turfan collection in Berlin and in the Serindia Collection in St. Petersburg are most ancient.²³

²² Hereinafter, we use the chronology established by the German specialist in Central Asian paleography Lore Sander. This classification, in our opinion, in a best way reflects the process of the Buddhism reception in Serindia (SANDER 2005).

²³ The written fixation of religious texts in India began in the first centuries AD. The texts written on palm leaf in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī reflect the earliest stage in the development of Indian Buddhist manuscript culture.

The ‘Sanskrit division’ of the Serindia Collection includes 20 manuscripts on *palm leaf*. The fragments of canonical Abhidharma — the philosophical level of Buddhist doctrine — have an undoubted interest for the detailed research. Two of them (2th–3th cc.) written in the Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī (‘Spitzer Manuscript’ SI 1424–1425²⁴) are the oldest Sanskrit fragments from the Serindia Collection. Another two fragments (4th–5th cc.) on palm leaf (SI 1426–1427) containing Abhidharma texts were written in the Indian Gupta script. Other palm-leaf manuscripts are small fragments containing few akṣaras only. They can be used to identify the script type and an approximate dating, but it is not possible to identify the texts.

The Serindia Manuscripts Collection contains about 90 Sanskrit fragments on *birch bark* written in Indian script types, as well as in Central Asian ones — the Turkestan Gupta (4th–5th cc.) and the southern variety of the Early Turkestan Brāhmī (5th–6th cc.).²⁵ Regarding the birch bark manuscripts from the Serindia Collection we can see that, as a rule, the upper thin translucent layers were used for making a leaf of the manuscript which were then glued or pressed.²⁶ The manuscripts containing the fragments of Vinaya (SI 1943) and Abhidharma (SI 6583) are rare examples of identified birch bark manuscripts. Most of the items are pieces of poorly preserved birch bark manuscript fragments containing only separate words without any chance to identify the text content.²⁷

²⁴ FRANCO 2004; BROCKINGTON 2010.

²⁵ Birch bark manuscripts were also imported to the centers of Buddhist culture in Serindia from the regions of North India and Kashmir where this material was typical for the manuscript tradition (VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1988a: 27). The use of the local, Central Asian, script types indicates that not only birch bark manuscripts were imported from India but also birch bark itself as a material for manuscripts.

²⁶ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1988a: 28.

²⁷ The most representative example of birch bark manuscripts from the Serindia Collection is the mentioned above Merv manuscript (SI 6580). The manuscript numbers about 160 leaves; the text was written in Indian Gupta (4th–5th cc.). This manuscript contains fragments of Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, various passages from sūtras, avadānas and jātakas that makes possible to reconstruct the Sarvāstivāda Sanskrit Buddhist canon. The manuscript text is, apparently, a synopsis for a Buddhist preacher. This fact, in turn, provides material for the study of the key subjects of the Buddhist narrative and the code of the monastic community that were the most representative in the spread of Buddhism in non-endemic zones during the 4th–5th cc. Taking into account the place of this artifact find, we can contradict that this manuscript doesn’t belong to Serindia manuscript culture directly. However, typologically, it fully fits into the framework of the manuscript culture of the Central Asian region. In terms of the totality of codicological and paleographic features, as well as in content, the Merv manuscript is very similar to the manuscripts discovered in the Tarim oases.

Buddhist manuscripts fragments on *paper* are largest manuscripts collection in the ‘Sanskrit division’ of the Serindia Collection.²⁸ The vast majority of Dhāraṇī texts,²⁹ all versions of Mahāyāna texts: Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra, Prajñāparamitā-sūtra, Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra and Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra are written on paper. This group includes two large avadānas — Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna and Ajitasenavyākaraṇa — and many other manuscripts of the Serindia Collection. The paper spread within Serindia had coincided with the appearance of first translations of Buddhist texts into local languages.³⁰ The Central Asian Brāhmī based on Indian scripts was adapted for the writing Buddhist texts in local East Turkestan languages. The process of Brāhmī scripts adapting in the Northern and Southern Tarim oases had led to certain changes in the Central Asian manuscript culture. As a result, since 4th till 10th cc. some manuscript traditions were formed as well as many local scripts had appeared. Those ‘new scripts’ were used for write Buddhist texts both in Sanskrit and in local languages.

Scripts

Only a few little fragments on palm leaves and birch bark from the ‘Sanskrit division’ of the Serindia Collection were written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī script. The codicological description of these manuscripts is complicated by the severe damage of the items. Only two paginated leaves have survived — the ‘Spitzer manuscript’ fragments (SI 1424–25) that have a pagination on the left side of the obverse. The margins are narrow, not graphically delineated. The binding hole on the left side of the leaf doesn’t mark decoratively. There are no guidelines. The approximate size of the sheet is 4×20 cm.

The manuscripts written in Indian Gupta script (4th–6th cc.) are more numerous. This script type was used in manuscripts on palm leaves (Abhid-

²⁸ Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia notes that paper production in the Tarim oases (namely, in Kashgar and Khotan) began a bit later than in China — in the 2–3rd cc. The mechanically crushed bark of Paper Mulberry (*Broussoneria papyrifera*) was used for a paper production (VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1988b: 333). Later, in the 4th c. a paper production was spread in Turfan and Kucha (HOERNLE 1902: 13).

²⁹ Exept dhāraṇī on wooden tablets (SI 6586).

³⁰ At the same time, Sanskrit was remaining the Buddhist scholarship language. The key Buddhist texts were not translating into local languages and was functioning in Sanskrit but accompanying by comments into local languages.

harma fragments, SI 1426–27), on birch bark (Vinaya fragments SI 1943; Abhidharma fragments SI 6583) and on paper (Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna, SI 1942). Pagination occurs both on *recto* (SI 1942) and *verso* (SI 2038, SI 6580). The fields are narrow (0.6 cm) and not marked graphically. There is a hole for binding on the left side of a leaf that is not graphically marked any way.³¹ Guidelines are not visible, nevertheless, a fairly high level of calligraphy is observed, the lines are even (in SI 1942 and SI 2038 the distance between lines is 0.8–0.9 cm).³² Woven paper, good quality (paper pulp is even, equally shredded), there are traces of a primer.³³ Manuscripts on palm leaf and paper are single-layer while birch bark manuscripts are glued together from two layers. The average size of this type of manuscript is 5×22 cm (on a palm leaf), 5×19 cm (on birch bark) and 7×18 cm (on paper).

About forty Sanskrit manuscripts written in Turkestan Gupta script (4th–5th cc.) in the period before the division into Northern (Tocharian) and Southern (Khotanese) Brāhmī varieties are the special paleographic interest: Turkestan Gupta script has the characteristic features of both scripts. Manuscripts of this type are presented mainly on paper (except of small pieces of birch bark and poorly preserved wooden tablets).³⁴ Fragments of Vajrapāṇihṛdaya (SI 2034), Mahāsāhasrapramardinī (SI 2040/1–2), Aniruddha-sūtra (SI 3031), and a manuscript that content is defined as an ‘spell’ (SI 2025) are examples of manuscripts written in this script. Pagination, like in the previous script case, occurs both on *recto* (SI 3031) and *verso* (SI 2025). Margins and hole for

³¹ The binding hole in the Merv manuscript is located very close to the left edge (approx. 2 cm). In other manuscripts the hole is located much further — approx. at the border of the first and second quarter of the leaf.

³² Because of the lines in the manuscripts written on paper in Indian Gupta script are very clear and accurate it can be assumed that the guidelines were presented. The manuscripts guidelines on palm leaf and birch bark were no need because of natural features of these materials (streaks of palm leaf and ‘stripes’ of birch bark) were used as a ‘natural lines’. The Central Asian manuscripts had, as a rule, color guidelines made by red or black pigment. Sometimes guidelines were colorless made by squeezing a groove on the leaf by a lead stick (VOROBYOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1988b: 337).

³³ During the Sanskrit manuscripts checking some paper variants were encountered. It could be laid, woven or without any trace of guidelines. The paper pulp was either perfectly shredded or with small pieces of non-ground fiber, or large pieces of fiber visible to the naked eye (for more information see: DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2016).

³⁴ The fragments on wooden tablets are splinters placed in the Melinex cover (SI 2959, SI 3424, SI 3428).

binding are not graphically marked.³⁵ The laid paper of good quality. Guidelines are not visible, however, equal distances between the lines (0.9–1 cm) are observed. Leaves have different sizes, there are both medium (7×20 cm, SI 2024) and large (8×30 cm, SI 3031).

It's necessary to mention separately the manuscript written in Turkestan Gupta in a scroll format (SI 2040/1–2)³⁶ that is unique for the Sanskrit division of the Serindia Collection. The size of the one manuscript fragment is 12.5×7.5 cm, the second — 57×7.5 cm. The woven paper of good quality. There are no guidelines, the distance between the lines is 1–1.2 cm. The margins are narrow, about 0.5 cm.³⁷

Examples of Northern Brāhmī varieties in the Serindia Collection are extremely few in comparison with Southern Brāhmī scripts caused by the history of expeditions to East Turkestan organized by Russian and foreign researchers in the late 19th — early 20th cc. However, the available manuscripts from the Northern oases of Tarim basin allow us to trace the evolution of the Brāhmī script in the north of Serindia. Thus, some items in the collection represent the Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type I, 5th–6th cc.) — the script of Sanskrit manuscripts compiled in the Northern oases of the Tarim basin (SI 2027, SI 2035, SI 2045, SI 2069–70). There are no guidelines in these manuscripts; the binding hole is not specially marked. The primed paper, sometimes woven (SI 2027) and laid (SI 2070). The approximate leaf size is 6×21 cm.

The manuscripts written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī developed from Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 1) and spread in northern Serindia oases in 7th–9th cc. are presented more widely in the 'Sanskrit division' of the Serindia Collection. Prātimokṣa-sūtra (SI 964–971), the syllable tables (SI 1038–1040), Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna (SI 3431, SI 5145), Māṇibhadra-dhāraṇī (SI 2036, SI 2041/1), Dhāraṇī (SI 2037), Nagaropama-sūtra (SI 2041/3, SI 2041/6), Pārājikadharma fragment (SI 2041/7), etc. are among the manuscripts written by this script type. In contrast with mentioned above script types with unstable pagination the pagination in the manuscripts written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī is placed strictly on *verso*. The manuscripts written in this script type have guidelines made by red ink (SI 2041/3, SI 2041/6–7, SI 5145) and brown

³⁵ In the case of the SI 2034 it can be noted that a blank area without text was on the leaf for the binding hole space while for another manuscript the hole was simply located between the lines, taking up only a small amount of space.

³⁶ All another Sanskrit manuscripts have the *poṭhī* format only.

³⁷ Perhaps such unusual shape of this manuscript can be explained by the fact that this scroll with a spell text was made as an amulet.

one (SI 1040).³⁸ The one more peculiarity inherent in the manuscripts written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī is the graphical marking both left and right margins: the leaves of the manuscript SI 5145 have traces of marking — both margins are outlined in red ink. The paper of high quality, some places with perfectly shredded paper pulp without any visible fiber fragments, laid (SI 964–971) or without laid traces (SI 1040), in some cases primed (SI 964–971, SI 2041/6, SI 5145). There is usually a rectangular space marked by guidelines around the binding hole. The standard leaf size is 5×20 cm (SI 964–965, SI 2041/3). However, there is also a large format (8×55 cm, SI 5145). Thus, the peculiar tradition of the manuscripts decoration developed in the northern Tarim oases: the pagination strictly on *verso*, the required guidelines, the marking of the margins and the rectangular area for binding hold are specific features of the Northern Turkestan manuscripts.

The manuscripts from the Southern oases of Tarim basin (Khotan, Niya, Endere) are the most representative and numerous among all Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection. According to L. Sander classification, the southern group of Brāhmī varieties is represented by four successive script types: Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2, 5th–6th cc.), Early Southern Turkestan Brāhmī (7th–8th cc.), Southern Turkestan Brāhmī (8th–9th cc.), Later Southern Turkestan Brāhmī (9th–10th cc.). The manuscripts written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2) and Southern Turkestan Brāhmī are most numerous among the manuscripts discovered in the southern Tarim oases because of that, obviously, they correspond to the periods of Buddhism flower in Khotan. The examples of Later Southern Turkestan Brāhmī are very few and characterized by somewhat artsy calligraphy.

The fragments of Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (SI 3038, SI 3042, SI 3043), numerous fragments of Prajñāpāramitā texts (SI 2016–2019, SI 3032–3033, SI 3685, SI 3687), Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (SI 3030, SI 3330, SI 3332/3), Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra (SI 3329/1–3), Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra (SI 3037), Prātimokṣa-sūtra (SI 3332/1), etc. are examples of the manuscripts written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2). The Serindia Collection contains the Sanskrit manuscripts (in poṭhī format) written in this script type that have a huge size. There are manuscripts fragments of non-standard size (SI 2017, SI 2019).³⁹

³⁸ The red ink guidelines are inherent in the manuscripts written in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī only (among the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection).

³⁹ For more details see: BONGARD-LEVIN & HORI 1996

Thus, the size of a whole leaf of the manuscript was approximately 25×60 cm that obviously exceeds the standard size. To prepare leaves of such large size they were glued together in two parts. This is confirmed by the gluing stripes preserved in the central part of the fragment SI 2017 and on the right side of the fragment SI 2019.

The colored miniature (the Buddha image inside double round frame, SI 2019) as a binding hole decoration appears at first time in the manuscript from the southern Tarim oases.⁴⁰ There are guidelines not only for lines but also for left margin designation (SI 3030). The pagination is located on *recto* strictly. The paper is laid; traces of primer are not always visible; the leaves surface is smooth, possibly polished. There is paper of high as well as low quality; there are fiber traces in paper pulp of the manuscripts SI 3030, SI 3330. There are manuscripts of absolutely different sizes: there are medium (8×35 cm, SI 3037) and small (6×18 cm, SI 3332/1) manuscripts in addition to the large format poṭhī leaves. We can say that 5th–6th cc. is the period of the beginning of the Southern Turkestan manuscript tradition.

The next stage of the development of the manuscript tradition in the southern Serindia oases is reflected in the manuscripts written in Early Southern Turkestan Brāhmī (7th–8th cc.) — such as Kāśyapaparivarta-sūtra (SI 1905, SI 2014), Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (SI 1941), Ratnarāśi-sūtra (SI 2013) and others. The paper of these manuscripts has characteristics similar to the manuscripts of the previous tradition: it's a laid, with a fiber fragments. The margins and the binding hole are not marked (except of the manuscript SI 1905 where the binding hole is marked by a circle and the left margin is outlined by guidelines). The pagination is located on the *recto* in all manuscripts. The manuscript SI 1905 has wooden covers. Most likely, the manuscripts with a large number of leaves had wooden covers for better preservation. The wooden cover has a binding hole. These covers are not decorated in any way additionally, the text traces can be found on the inside. The one more manuscript has a similar wooden covers (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, SI 1925). The manuscripts sizes are 6×40 cm (SI 1905), 10×26 cm (SI 1941) and 6×28 cm (SI 2013–2014).

The manuscripts written in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī are most numerous within 'Sanskrit division' of the Serindia Collection. Buddhanāma-sūtra

⁴⁰ The manuscript SI 2016 has an empty double circle (obviously for a miniature also). There are no another miniatures (except of the colored Buddha image on the leaf of SI 2019) in the manuscripts written by this script type.

(SI 2075–2076, SI 3015–3016, SI 3027), Ajitasenavyākaraṇa (SI 2085), Dharmāśārīra-sūtra (SI 2086, SI 3014), Samādhirāja-sūtra (SI 3001–3002), Sumukhanāma-dhāraṇī (SI 3026), Prajñāparamitā (SI 3682) as well as almost all versions of the Lotus Sutra that will be discussed below are excellent examples of this script type.⁴¹ The codicological features of these manuscripts are very similar: the binding hole is marked by a circle; the paper is laid, with an occasional fiber fragments; the pagination is located on *recto* only. Some manuscripts have guidelines (SI 3001–3002, SI 3015). The left margin is marked with guidelines very rare (SI 2085), the right margin is present sometimes but it hasn't graphical guidelines. The margins in the manuscripts are both wide (2.5 cm, SI 3002) and narrow (0.8 cm, SI 3027). The leaves have absolutely different sizes: there are manuscripts of both small — 4×20 cm (SI 2086), and large — 20×58 cm (SI 3682) formats. It's remarkable that the leaf size didn't determine the lines number. For example, manuscripts SI 3014 (8×37 cm) and SI 3026 (4×25 cm) contain the same number of lines: 4 lines on both sides of the leaf. In the first case, lines are located at a great distance from each other (2.0 cm), in the second — at a distance of 0.8 cm.

As was mentioned above the manuscripts written in Southern scripts are most numerous in the Serindia Collection. In particular, all Saddharmapūṇḍarīka fragments are written in the scripts spread in the southern oases of Serindia. The main part of the Lotus Sutra fragments was written in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī as well as the Kashgar manuscript of Petrovskii that is the longest version of the sūtra (about 400 leaves) and the core of the Sanskrit manuscripts containing the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka text. The group of the Lotus Sutra manuscripts perhaps is one of the largest in the Serindia Collection (28 items). As a rule, these manuscripts belong to the Petrovskii Collection: SI 1925; SI 1927; SI 1933–1941; SI 2077; SI 2092; SI 2093; SI 2098; SI 3000; SI 3013; SI 3025; SI 3030; SI 3044; SI 3631; SI 3693; SI 3694. Four items (two ones in each collection) are presented in the collections of Mikhail I. L'vov (SI 3330; SI 3332/3) and Sergei E. Malov (SI 4517; SI 4519). One more item belongs to the Sergei F. Oldenburg Collection (SI 4645). The codicological features of these manuscripts are similar to other fragments written in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī. The paper of good enough quality, the no primer traces are not visible. In some manuscripts, mainly in large and decorated ones

⁴¹ Among all version of the Lotus Sūtra kept the Serindia Collection two only manuscripts (SI 1941, SI 3030, SI 3330; SI 3332/3) written in earlier script types; other Saddharmapūṇḍarīka manuscripts written in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī.

(for example, SI 3025 size: 14×54 cm), margins are outlined and there are laid traces made by a lead stick. In addition, the manuscript SI 1933 has an image (Śākyamuni Buddha with a donator), and there is a double decorative circle for a miniature on some leaves of SI 1925 and SI 1927.

It's necessary to mention separately the Sanskrit manuscripts written in the so-called Gilgit-Bamiyan Brāhmī (type2; 6th c.). Manuscripts SI 2041/5 and SI 3695 are the fragments of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (“Decorated Poem”) attributed to the Buddhist poet Kumāralāta. The two other fragments (SI 2998, fragment No. 5 and SI 5521) written in the same script are not identified. This Brāhmī script type has another name — proto-Śāradā — and, as the name suggests, it precedes the western version of the Gupta script — Śāradā that arose approx. the 8th c. The codicological features of the fragments SI 2041/5, SI 2998 and SI 3695: the paper is one-layered, laid, of very high quality, with perfectly shredded paper pulp. SI 5521, in contrast, has a two-layered paper, of poor quality, the ink is slightly blurry. It can indicate a poor quality of material or a poorly processed paper surface. The pagination occurs only in one fragment (2041/5) — on *verso*. The guidelines are not visible. Obviously, this manuscripts were compiled on the territory of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan but the circumstances of their acquisition and existence in the Serindia manuscript Collection remain unclear.

Conclusions

The first stage of the Buddhism institutionalization in Serindia (2th–4th cc.) was marked by the intensive ‘export’ of Buddhist teaching, as a rule, Hinayāna (Sarvāstivāda), from the northern regions of India and Kashmir. It can be testified, first of all, by the repertoire of the discovered Sanskrit fragments and, secondly, by the not typical for Serindia manuscripts material — palm leaves and birch bark. During this period, Buddhist Dhāraṇī are spread in Serindia. These spell texts contain besides of Buddhist deities the names of Vedic gods. It's very typical for the the religious syncretism of the Kuṣāṇa Empire.

The second stage — 4th–6th cc. — is characterized by the keeping of Sanskrit as the main language of Buddhist manuscript tradition and the change of the manuscripts material from birch bark and palm leaves to locally produced paper. Ideologically, a turn towards Mahāyāna Buddhism is outlined. Such Mahāyāna texts as Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra,

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (the fundamental text for East Asian Buddhism) appear. At the same time, the Dhāraṇī texts retain their popularity.

The peculiarity of the third stage — 6th–9th cc. — when both the Lotus Sūtra and another fundamental texts of Buddhist doctrine (Dharmaśāstra-sūtra, Prātimokṣa-sūtra) as well as Dhāraṇī remain their actuality, is an active appearance of the Buddhist texts in local languages (such as Khotanese Jñānolka-dhāraṇī) that marks the completion of the Buddhism institutionalization in Serindia.

In terms of codicology of the analyzed manuscripts it should be noted that, except of rare for Serindia the scroll manuscript format, *poṭhī* is a typical manuscript format for all Tarim oases regardless of the material. There were decorating changes that became more ornamental. Particularly, the margins and the area around a binding hole as well as guidelines needed for calligraphic writing started to be outlined. The pagination and features of leaves design began to vary depending on the region. It was in a same time (the middle of 1st millennium AD) when Brāhmī script was dividing into two separate scripts traditions — Northern and Southern. The earlier manuscripts were characterized by unstable pagination — the leaves could be paginated both on the *recto* and *verso*. Later, the *recto* pagination had become typical for the manuscripts from Southern Tarim oases but *verso* — for Northern ones. The outline of the area around a binding hole is another peculiarity of this stage: for Southern Tarim manuscripts it was a circle but for Northern ones — quadrangle. Moreover, Southern Tarim manuscripts had leaves with empty circles prepared for colored miniatures; two manuscripts have such images. The Northern Tarim manuscripts have neither decorated circles nor miniatures. The one more difference of the large deluxe manuscripts written in Southern Turkestan Brāhmī is the colorless guidelines in contrast of the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī manuscripts that guidelines are in black or red ink.

At present, the main goal of the Sanskrit group of the Laboratory Serindica is to compile the catalogue that would provide comprehensive codicological description of the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Serindia Collection. The group's tasks also include the research of Buddhism Sanskrit manuscripts in terms of their historical, cultural and source study value: the preliminary texts identification, general classification of the Central Asian Buddhist manuscript heritage and the clarification of its regionally specific features. In addition, the work on the compilation of an electronic dictionary of Buddhist texts from the Serindia Collection has recently begun.

Abbreviation

- ARIRIAB: Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University
 GRVL: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury
 MO: Manuscripta Orientalia
 PPV: Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka [Written monuments of the Orient]
 WMO: Written Monuments of the Orient
 ZVORAO: Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva [Proceedings of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society]

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Old Uyghur Fragments in the Serindia Collection: Provenance, Acquisition, Processing

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Abstract: The earliest findings of the Old Uyghur manuscripts and block prints were brought to Europe by the Russian expeditions. A number of the Old Uyghur fragments were found by Dmitrii Klementz in the course of the Turfan expedition in 1889–1890. These fragments, along with the manuscripts in other languages and scripts, were subsequently acquired by the Russian officials Nikolai Petrovskii and Nikolai Krotkov and the expeditions headed by Sergei Oldenburg (1909–1910; 1914–1915) and Sergei Malov (1909–1911; 1913–1914). They formed the Serindia (formerly known as Central Asian) Collection kept nowadays at the IOM, RAS. The major part of the Serindia Collection consists of the Old Uyghur fragments. Obtained by the expeditions to Eastern Turkestan, according to the customary tradition they were transferred to the Asiatic Museum. This paper presents the results of our recent study of the provenance, acquisition and processing history of the Old Uyghur manuscripts and block prints.

Keywords: Serindia Collection, Old Uyghur manuscripts, block prints, Asiatic Museum, manuscript collection, IOM, RAS

The major part (4730 items) of the Serindia Collection¹ (priorly known as

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¹ The Serindia Collection contains 6,737 items in 13 languages: Sanskrit, Gandhari, Tocharian A and B (Kuchean), Khotan Saka, Sogdian, Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Old Uyghur, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Arabic, and Tumshuqese (Saka). The Collection includes 15 subcollections of different size and content, 13 of which bear the names of the acquirers. It was Segrei Fiodorovich Oldenburg who decided to systemize the materials this way. Originally these subcollections were kept under the following codes: **B** for Berezovskii; **D** — Diakov; **KI** — Klementz; **Koz** — Kozlov; **K** — Kokhanovskii; **Kol** — Kolokolov; **Kr** — Krotkov; **L** — Lavrov; **M, MA, МТД** — Malov; **O** — Oldenburg; **P** — Petrovskii; **Rob** — Roborovskii; **Strel-D** — Strelkov. Two other subcollections are: **Uig** that includes miscellaneous texts in Old

Central Asian)² appear to be book fragments in the so-called Old Turkic or Old Uyghur language, known by the Orkhon and Yenisey runiform inscriptions and manuscripts found in the eastern part of present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and Gansu province of China. Obtained during expeditions to Eastern Turkestan organized by the Russian Geographical Society (RGS), Russian Archaeological Society (RAS) and Russian Committee for Middle and East Asia Exploration (RCMA) at the turn of the 20th c., book fragments in Old Uyghur script according to the customary tradition were transferred to the Asiatic Museum (AM). While some manuscripts were given to the AM almost at the same time they were brought to St. Petersburg, for others it took some time to be included into the Collection.³

The history of the formation and processing of the book fragments in Old Uyghur language remains unclear except for a few publications⁴ and contains a few gaps that will probably never be filled with complete confidence. However, some archival documents (inventory books,⁵ archival documents from the Archives of Orientalists,⁶ RCMA's transactions, private correspondence of the persons engaged in manuscripts acquisition,⁷ manuscript reg-

Uyghur script that were sorted into a separate unit due to unknown provenance, and **Merv** that consists solely of the manuscript discovered in 1965 at the Merv Oasis not far from Bairam-Ali in Turkmenistan. 51 fragments do not belong to any subcollection as it is impossible to determine their provenance. One should note that the number of fragments kept under one call number differ significantly — from one to several dozens of fragments or even a hundred manuscript folios (e.g. *SI 4498 (M/1)*).

² It was Margarita I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia who decided to restore the original code 'SI' along with the name "Serindia" used by Sergei Oldenburg, in 2006. The new inventories of separately preserved at that time subcollections primarily aimed to unify the codes to facilitate search and make the Collection more easily available to the researchers.

³ It was common for some scholars to keep manuscripts they were analyzing for their personal research. Thus, some manuscript fragments Wilhelm Radloff was researching were transferred to the AM only after his death.

⁴ DMITRIEVA 1969; TUGUSHEVA 2008c; LUNDYSHEVA 2018.

⁵ Seven inventory books kept in the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the IOM, RAS include sixteen records concerning accessions of the Old Uyghur fragments. The major part of the records refers to accessions of printed books for the Academic Library of the IOM. The dates mentioned in these inventory books often do not coincide with real accession time.

⁶ The information concerning Serindia Collection is preserved in the Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, 1a, 2. The documents contain information about manuscripts and books transferred to the AM and the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad throughout their history.

⁷ These documents are of great interest as they include more detailed description of the finds, provenance and archaeological excavations. Further research is required.

ister lists⁸) can shed light on the general history of the formation of the Old Uyghur part of the Serindia Collection.

Old Uyghur fragments are distributed among ten subcollections.⁹ The history of formation (arranged in chronological order) and brief description of these subcollections is presented below.

Roborovskii and Klementz subcollection (Rob., Rob.-Kle. and Uig.)

According to the prominent Russian Turkologist,¹⁰ Director of the IOS, AS USSR from 1934 to 1937, Aleksander Nikolaevich Samoilovich, the first manuscript fragments written in Old Uyghur, that were transferred to the AM, were acquired during expeditions headed by Vsevolod Ivanovich Roborovskii and Dmitrii Aleksanderovich Klementz.¹¹

Vsevolod I. Roborovskii (1856–1910), a participant of the third and fourth Przhevalskii's expeditions to Central Asia, headed the expedition organized by the RGS to Eastern Turkestan and North-Western China in 1883–1885. Although the expedition was not expected to be an archaeological one, Vsevolod I. Roborovskii managed to obtain a number of manuscript fragments in different scripts. According to his travel records, he purchased several scrolls from local people near Idiqutshari ruins, the former residence of the Kocho kingdom rulers.¹² Old Uyghur manuscript fragments, that were among his

⁸ The earliest register list Arch. 69 named “Serindica. List of Uyghur collections of the AM. Uyghur manuscripts and fragments: Diakov, Krotkov, Malov, Berezovskii, Kokhanovskii, Roborovskii, Kozlov, Oldenburg subcollections” dates back to 1918. However, some records indicate that its final version had not been compiled until 1925. This register list is not complete as it does not include some manuscripts that are mentioned in register list from 1953. A register list from 1953 keeps records of all Old Uyghur fragments except for the items transferred to the IOS along with the Sergei Malov's documents after his death in 1957, and manuscript fragments that obtained call numbers after 2018 (after *SI 6677*).

⁹ Old Uyghur fragments are not included into Klementz, Lavrov, Kolokolov, Strelkov subcollections.

¹⁰ The first attempt to systematize the AM's collections dates back to 1918–1920 when the researchers of the AM compiled and published a booklet “The Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of sciences. 1818–1918. Brief Summary”. A. Samoilovich who was in charge of the Turkic manuscripts of the AM collection at that time.

¹¹ *Pamiatka* 1920: 35.

¹² Further details in ROBOROVSKII 1900.

finds in Idikutshari and Toyuq-Mazar, were transferred to RGS and studied by Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918).¹³

Later, Wilhelm Radloff described the Old Uyghur materials in his article “Altuigurische Sprachproben aus Turfan”: “*Im December 1897 wurden mir eine Anzahl beschriebener Papierfetzen übergeben, die die russischen Reisenden Roborovski und Kozlov aus Turfan nach St. Petersburg gebracht und der Kaiserlichen Russischen Geographischen Gesellschaft übergeben hatten. Eine genauere Prüfung dieser Schriftfragmente ergab folgendes Resultat: die meisten Schriftstücke enthielten türkische mit uigurischen Buchstaben geschriebene Texte, die nach den Schriftzügen und dem für dieselben verwendeten Papier zu urtheilen, in zwei scharf geschiedene Gruppen zu theilen waren. Die erste Gruppe war auf einer Seite eines sehr dünnen roh und ungleichmäßig verarbeiteten Papiers geschrieben; die Schriftzüge waren in rundlichem Duktus mit dem Pinsel leicht hingeworfen und machten den Eindruck einer Schnellschrift, wie sie nur bei geschäftlichen Schriften verwendet werden konnte*”.¹⁴

These ‘unintentional’ finds by Vsevolod I. Roborovskii’s expedition aroused so much interest that the Imperial Academy of Sciences sent a special expedition headed by Dmitrii A. Klementz to the region.¹⁵ A Russian explorer of Middle and Eastern Asia, archaeologist, and initiator of the pioneering Russian expeditions to the Tarim Basin for archaeological purposes, Dmitrii Klementz (1848–1914) visited Turfan in 1898. Although he personally deemed that manuscripts, acquired in Karakhoja during the expedition were insignificant,¹⁶ Wilhelm Radloff highly appreciated his finds.¹⁷ In 1899 he wrote:

¹³ OLDENBURG 1917: 219–220.

¹⁴ *In December, 1897, a number of paper scraps, that the Russian explorers [Vsevolod Ivanovich] Roborovskii and [Piotr Kuzmich] Kozlov had brought from Turfan to St. Petersburg and handed over to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, were transferred to me. A closer examination of these fragments revealed the following: most of the materials contained Turkic texts written in Old Uyghur script. Judging by handwriting and paper, they can be divided into two groups. [Documents] from the first [group] are written on one side of a very thin, raw and uneven paper; the handwriting is of round ductus [written] by brush, [it] gives the impression of a shorthand that could only be used for official writing (RADLOFF 1899: 55).*

¹⁵ This fact is pointed out by Vsevolod I. Roborovskii in the preface to the publication of the expedition’s materials (ROBOROVSKII 1900: 6).

¹⁶ KLEMENTZ 1899: 47.

¹⁷ For more detailed information see WHILFIELD 2008: 205.

“Diese Schriftdenkmäler bestehen aus fünf Kategorien: 1) Abklatsche von an den Wänden einer Höhlenwohnung eingekratzten alttürkischen Inschriften; 2) Stücke vom Stuck der Klosterhöhlen, auf denen sich mit schwarzer oder braunrother Farbe geschriebene uigurische Inschriften befinden; 3) Fragmente buddhistischer religiöser Handschriften; 4) Fragmente von in Holzdruck ausgeführten buddhistischen Büchern; 5) Geschäftliche Schriftstücke in uigurischer Sprache. Die letzteren Schriftstücke haben für uns einen ganz besonderen Werth, weil sie einige abgeschlossene Dokumente enthalten, die bis auf wenige Stellen sich intakt erhalten haben und leicht entzifferbar sind. Ausser mehreren nur theilweise erhaltenen Stücken befinden sich zwei gut erhaltene Bescheinigungen, in denen die Verkäufer von Sklaven den Käufern die Bestätigung-des Besitzrechtes ausstellen”.¹⁸

The fate of the above mentioned fragments is unclear.¹⁹ According to the Register list (Arch. 69) compiled in 1918, the Roborovskii subcollection of the AM included only three Old Uyghur manuscript fragments (SI 4871–4873 (Rob/2–Rob/4)).²⁰

It is well known that fragments of larger size (in particularly those that contained enough text for translation or even identification of the text title) were quite often kept by the researchers for their private use.²¹ This customary practice sometimes resulted in provenance loss. Thus, fragments stored

¹⁸ “The texts can be divided into five categories: 1) imprints of Old Turkic inscriptions carved on the cave walls; 2) stucco pieces of the cave temples with Old Uyghur inscriptions written in black or brown-red color; 3) fragments of Buddhist religious manuscripts; 4) fragments of Buddhist block-printed books; 5) documents in Old Uyghur language. The latter are of special value as a few complete documents are intact and, apart from a few passages, easily decipherable. Among several fragments, preserved partially, there are two well-preserved documents, concerning the issues of slave trade” (RADLOFF 1899: 57).

¹⁹ The only record found in Arch. 4 from 1918 (record No. 486: “From Roborovskii materials: Old Uyghur manuscript”) most probably refers to a Sogdian manuscript fragment kept nowadays under call number SI 2100 (Rob/1). Other records (No. 487–492) concerning Roborovskii subcollection list Chinese manuscripts. The later were probably integrated into the Dunhuang Collection of the IOM. The fragment of Roborovskii collection, a block printed fragment of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* was edited by Wilhelm Radloff under the call number Rb.1 (USp 1928: No. 59)

²⁰ According to Sergei F. Oldenburg, the list of manuscripts and artefacts acquired by Dmitrii A. Klementz had to be prepared by researchers of the AM. However, it was never published due to historical circumstances (OLDENBURG 1917: 227). The Klementz’ subcollection preserved in the IOM consists of several Sanskrit manuscript fragments.

²¹ This is primarily proven by the fact that manuscript fragments were found in the private archives of the AM directors Wilhelm Radloff, Carl H. Salemann and Segrei F. Oldenburg after they passed away.

by Wilhelm Radloff later obtained codes *Kle.-Rob.*, and it is impossible to associate them with any of the explorers. Five fragments acquired by Dmitrii A. Klementz (published by Wilhelm Radloff²² and later by Sergei E. Malov in USp 1928: No. 55, 56, 57, 58, 59) are a rare exception. Several fragments that had been published in 1928 under call numbers *Kle.-Rob.* were later discovered in the subcollection of miscellaneous Old Uyghur materials ‘Uig’ and in the Photo Collection²³ of the IOM.

Nowadays only two fragments of *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī sūtra SI 4871–4872* (Rob/2, Rob/3²⁴) and the Old Uyghur documents *SI 4873* (Rob/4), *SI 6544* (Uig/14), *SI 6545* (Uig/15) and *SI 6546* (Uig/16) could be assigned to the Roborovskii-Klementz subcollection. There is also a probability that three fragments of Buddhist texts *SI 6540* (Uig/8, Uig/9), *SI 6542* (Uig/11) and fragment of a document on the reverse side of the Chinese scroll *SI 6539* (Uig/7) also belong to this subcollection.

Kokhanovskii subcollection (K)

On March 20, 1907, RGS transferred to the AM collections acquired from Aleksander Ivanovich Kokhanovskii, medical officer of the Consulate in Urumqi from 1904 to 1906.²⁵ Aleksander I. Kokhanovskii²⁶ led an expedition to Turfan in 1906–1907.²⁷ As he purchased manuscript fragments from the local people their provenance is unknown.

The Kokhanovskii subcollection includes 34 items in Old Uyghur. The majority of fragments are of small size and include Buddhist texts *SI 4904* (K/20), *SI 4906–4908* (K/22–K/24), *SI 4910–4913* (K/26–K/29), *SI 4914–4918* (K/30), *SI 5879*, *SI 5885*, *SI 5887–5890*, *SI 5892*, *SI 5915*, *SI 5995* (K/6), *SI 6148*, *SI 6168*, *SI 6193*, *SI 6215*, *SI 6219*, *SI 6277*, *SI 6349* (K/7), *SI 6593–6595*, *SI 6598* (no former call numbers) and one secular document *SI 4909/1* (K/25a).

²² RADLOFF 1899.

²³ USp 1928: No. 48–52, 54–55, 57. Photocopies are preserved at the IOM Photo Collection, call number ФВ–277.

²⁴ It seems that originally these two fragments of the same manuscript were given call number Rob/3 (USp 1928: No. 60).

²⁵ According to transaction excerpt of the RGS meeting held on March 7, 1907 preserved in archival documents (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, unit 47, f. 26).

²⁶ Birth and death dates unknown.

²⁷ For the more detailed description of the expedition see ПОРОВА 2011.

Berezovskii subcollection (B)

Records of acquisition of the manuscript fragments collection obtained by Mikhail Mikhailovich Berezovskii's (1848–1912) expedition to Kucha in 1905–1907 were not found among IOM's archival materials. However, it is possible to suppose that the transfer took place in 1908–1909.

A prominent explorer of Central Asia, zoologist and biologist, Mikhail M. Berezovskii visited Subashi, Dolgur-akhur, Tadjit, Kumtura, Kucha, Kizil, and Kirish. Manuscript fragments acquired by Mikhail M. Berezovskii are of special value due to the precise indication of the places where they were found. Thus, it is known that Old Uyghur fragments were found in On-bash Ming-oi.

The Berezovskii subcollection includes four Buddhist fragments in calligraphic script *SI 2951* (B/22), 23 fragments of unidentified texts in cursive script *SI 2952–2954* (B/23), *SI 2966* (B/30), scribal exercises *SI 2964* (B/28) and three fragments with text written in slanting Brāhmī *SI 2965* (B/29) (Sanskrit–Old Uyghur bilinguals).

Diakov subcollection (D)

It is known that Aleksei Alekseevich Diakov (1876?), secretary of the Consulate and later Consul in Kuldja (1906–1912) and Urumqi (1913–1915), visited the site of Astana located in Turfan oasis on August 15–20, 1908. There he managed to acquire a large fragment of a block print, two manuscript scrolls and 81 manuscript fragments, 70 of which appeared to be in Old Uyghur.²⁸ These materials were transferred by the RCMA to the AM in 1909.²⁹

The Old Uyghur part of the subcollection includes a coloured amulet with dhāraṇī text *SI 3123* (D/5), a scroll fragment of *Avalokiteśvara sūtra* (Kuanṣi-im Pusar) *SI 3158* (D/2), almost complete scroll³⁰ of Manichean confession of sins (*X^uastvanift*) *SI 3159* (D/1), 14 folios of the block print edition of *Avatamsaka sūtra* *SI 4842* (D/3), 48 manuscript fragments of *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra* (Altun Yaruk) *SI 4843* (D/4) and other unidentified Buddhist texts

²⁸ The major part of articles mentioning Aleksei A. Diakov state that he managed to obtain only 28 manuscript fragments (KLYASHTORNY 2008: 53; BUKHARIN 2013: 441).

²⁹ Arch. 3 from 1909, record No. 1976. According to archival document (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, unit 50, f. 131) these materials were transferred to the AM on December 3, 1909.

³⁰ First 15 lines of the text are lost.

SI 4844 (D/6), SI 4846 (D/10), SI 4845 (D/7), SI 4850 (D/14-1), SI 4854 (D/16), SI 4857 (D/19), SI 4860 (D/23), SI 4861 (D/24a), SI 4862 (D/24b), SI 4863 (D/25) and secular documents SI 4847 (D/11),

SI 4848 (D/12), SI 4849 (D/13), SI 4851 (D/14-2), SI 4852 (D/14-3), SI 4853 (D/15), SI 4855 (D/17), SI 4856 (D/18), SI 4858 (D/20, D/21), SI 4859 (D/22).

Krotkov subcollection (Kr)

The majority of Old Uyghur manuscript and block print fragments in the Serindia Collection belong to the subcollection granted by Nikolai Nikolaevich Krotkov (1869–1919), Consul in Urumqi, and later, secretary of the Consulate in Jilin, Qiqikar and Kuldja. Being an expert in Eastern Turkestan history and culture, Nikolai N. Krotkov not only purchased numerous manuscript fragments from the local people, but also carried out archaeological excavations in the vicinities of Urumqi, Toyuq, Yar-Khoto and Gaochang.³¹ The materials that he managed to obtain were transferred to the RCMA, and later to the AM, in four separate parcels.

The so-called ‘first Krotkov collection’³² was brought to St. Petersburg in 1907 and became part of the AM holdings in 1908.³³ Due to historical circumstances, call numbers of manuscript fragments in Old Uyghur and Sogdian were changed several times.³⁴ Finally, this part of the collection obtained call numbers *Kr I/1–Kr I/487, Kr II/1–1–Kr II/1-819, Kr II/2-1–Kr II/2-669, Kr II/3-1–Kr II/3-371, Kr II/4-1–Kr II/4-120, Kr II/5–Kr II/50,*

³¹ He also paid a special attention to the materials in the Manchu and Xibo languages (PANG 2018: 483-486).

³² The paper case with this title is preserved among the archival materials (Archives of Orientalists, Arch. 69).

³³ According to the RCMA meeting records, dated November 10, 1907, and May 10, 1908, N. Krotkov brought the materials and presented them to the Committee in person. C. Salemann, director of the AM at that time, highly evaluated the collection and persuaded the Committee to purchase it for an enormous sum of 5 000 rubles, 4,000 of which were paid from Turfan excavation funds. According to the archival materials, on December 11, 1908, RMCA transferred to the AM 71 manuscript fragments from N. Krotkov’s collection, 23 of which are in Old Uyghur (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, unit 48, f. 102).

³⁴ This is obvious from the call numbers mentioned in the inventory books (e.g. Kr/VII–Kr/XL etc.). Manuscript fragments in Brāhmī script were most probably united into a separate unit as they bear primarily given call numbers.

Kr III/1–Kr III/40, Kr IV/1–Kr IV/194, Kr. Дон/1–6 (for Old Uyghur fragments, 11 of which are written on the reverse side of Chinese scrolls), *Kr IV/195–Kr IV/223* (for Sogdian fragments).

The second part of the collection that had been contributed by Nikolai N. Krotkov to the RCMA was brought to St. Petersburg in 1909 by a member of the first Russian Turkestan Expedition headed by Segrei F. Oldenburg, Vladimir Kamenskii, who had to return from the Expedition half-way due to his illness.³⁵ According to the records found in the IOM inventory books, manuscript fragments were transferred to the AM in autumn 1909³⁶ and later were given call numbers *2 Kr/1–2 Kr/90*. In addition, on May 15, 1910, thirteen folios of Old Uyghur ‘concertina’ book *SI 5817–5818* (3 Kr/a-c) were sent by Nikolai N. Krotkov in a separate parcel to Wilhelm Radloff.³⁷

The RCMA received the third part of the Krotkov collection on March 28, 1911. These materials could be considered to be of special value as their provenance is known. According to the preserved archival documents (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, unit 52, f. 52, RCMA meeting of March 31, 1911), the RCMA received a parcel that included two Tibetan manuscripts, two Tibetan and two Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, a package with Old Uyghur and Chinese manuscript fragments found in Yar-khoto ruins, two — from Kara-Khodja, and one package with manuscript fragments acquired during excavations in Toyuq.

In summer 1911, Nikolai N. Krotkov brought the last, fourth part of his collection to St. Petersburg and passed it to the RCMA. It seems probable that materials included into the second and third parcels were sorted by Nikolai N. Krotkov himself. One may assume that he primarily selected manuscript fragments of larger size and those that seemed more interesting to be sent to RCMA. Thus, fragments from the last part of his collection can be joined with those that were sent earlier.³⁸

Records concerning the third and the last parts of Nikolai N. Krotkov collection are listed in the Inventory book from 1918.³⁹ One may suppose that these

³⁵ Record of the RCMA meeting dated September 22, 1909.

³⁶ Arch. 3, 1909, record No. 799.

³⁷ This is affirmed by a private letter sent by Nikolai N. Krotkov to Sergei F. Oldenburg, preserved in SPbB ARAS (Fund 208, Inv. 30, unit 305, ff. 3435).

³⁸ This assumption is rather plausible as joint fragments were found. For example, *SI 3791* (2 Kr/17), *SI 5726* (2 Kr/27) and *SI 1783* (Kr IV/256).

³⁹ The register list (Arch. 4, 1917, record No. 432) mentions only Tibetan block print folio, two Tibetan manuscript fragments, 16 fragments in Brāhmī script, and Chinese and Mongolian fragments.

materials were transferred between 1911 and 1917 by Wilhelm Radloff, who was engaged in sorting the Old Uyghur collection of Nikolai N. Krotkov, or after his death.

According to the archival materials and pencil notes on the margins, Wilhelm Radloff selected Old Uyghur fragments of larger size and gave them call numbers *3 Kr/1–3 Kr/41*, *4a Kr/1–4a Kr/76*, *4b Kr/1–4b Kr/23*. It is known that some manuscript fragments (at least with call numbers *3 Kr/26–3 Kr/50*⁴⁰) from this part of the collection had never been transferred to the AM (preserved in the Photo Collection of the IOM, RAS). The last part of the collection was sorted by the researchers of the AM after 1918 and obtained call numbers *4b Kr/24–4b Kr/236*, *Kr IV/224–Kr IV/879*.⁴¹

Krotkov subcollection comprises 4454 Old Uyghur manuscript and block print fragments. More than 800 fragments are written on the reverse of Chinese scrolls, while 28 on the reverse of Sogdian manuscripts. *SI 6603–SI 6613* include 530 Old Uyghur fragments of a rather small size sealed in 11 Melinex lists. Being the largest subcollection of Old Uyghur book fragments it includes Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna texts, Chinese apocrypha and secular documents.⁴²

Oldenburg subcollection (O)

Sergei Fiodorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934), a prominent Russian Orientalist, director of the AM from 1916 to 1934, obtained numerous manuscript

⁴⁰ Photos of the manuscript fragments with call numbers *3 Kr/26–3 Kr/50* were transferred to the AM by Sergei E. Malov in 1928, after publication of *USp*. Manuscript fragments preserved nowadays in the Serindia Collection under the same former call numbers do not refer to the fragments edited by Wilhelm Radloff and published by Sergei E. Malov. These call numbers were assigned to Sogdian fragments after the World War II during inventory procedures. The photos of the Old Uyghur fragments considered to be lost remained in the IOM Photo Collection under call numbers *ΦB–77*, *ΦB–277*.

⁴¹ The codes *4b Kr* and *Kr IV* were also given to Chinese, Sanskrit, Tocharian A and B, Sogdian, Middle Persian and Old Uyghur fragments from the second and third parts of the collection (for some reason Wilhelm Radloff had not given them any call number).

⁴² Another document in Old Uyghur is found on the verso of the unit *G 120* kept at the Mongolian Collection of the IOM. The circumstances that resulted in its transfer to the Mongolian Collection are unknown. The register list of 1918 mentions the empty envelope with the note ‘*Kr. V 1-2. Taken by Kotwicz to the Mongolian Department*’. Thus, one may suppose that the fragment with Mongolian text on recto was taken by a prominent Russian Mongolist, Władysław Kotwicz (1872–1944) for work, and was subsequently transferred to the Mongolian Collection.

One may assume that some Old Uyghur fragments obtained by Nikolai N. Krotkov were incorporated into the Dunhuang Collection, this assumption requires further research.

fragments written in different Central Asian scripts during the First and Second Russian Turkestan Expeditions (1909–1910 and 1914–1915). The fragments acquired by Sergei F. Oldenburg are included into subcollection that bears his name.

Sergei F. Oldenburg's First Russian Turkestan Expedition carried out excavations at the northern oases of Eastern Turkestan, i.e. Karashar, Turfan and Kucha. As a result, a dozen surface and cave Buddhist temples were investigated,⁴³ and several hundred manuscript fragments were brought to St. Petersburg. Although the fragments (mainly found in the cities of Bāzāklik, Idiqutshari, Toyuq-Mazar and Chyktym located in Turfan area) were considered to be of special value, Sergei F. Oldenburg was deeply frustrated with the small amount and preservation state of his finds.⁴⁴

During his second expedition Sergei F. Oldenburg surveyed the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang and revisited some of the sites in Turfan. He found a large number of artefacts and manuscript fragments (nearly 20 000 items) in Dunhuang, and also purchased about 300 scrolls from the local people. These materials, including Old Uyghur fragments, are incorporated into a separate Dunhuang Collection of the IOM, RAS.

Nowadays the Oldenburg subcollection includes 102 items in Old Uyghur: *SI 3114/1* (O/66), *SI 3116/3* (O/7c), *SI 3161* (O/49a-d), *SI 3162* (O/50), *SI 4586* (O/2-6), *SI 4603* (O/3-9,1–O/3-9,2)–*SI 4605* (O/3-9,4), *SI 4609* (O/4-4), *SI 4620* (O/5-10,1), *SI 4621* (O/5-10,2), *SI 4624* (O/6-2), *SI 4664* (O/15-1)–*SI 4667* (O/15-4), *SI 4671* (O/15-8), *SI 4679* (O/16-4B)–*SI 4685* (O/16-9), *SI 4686* (O/29)–*SI 4688* (O/31), *SI 4691* (O/36)–*SI 4693* (O/38), *SI 4695* (O/41)–*4713* (O/48a-d), *SI 4614* (O/51), *SI 4716* (/54)–*SI 4717* (O/55), *SI 4718* (O/73), *SI 4720* (O/76), *SI 4724* (O/26), *SI 4725* (O/56)–*SI 4732* (O/63), *SI 4735* (O/70), *SI 4738* (O/77a)–*SI 4765* (O/105), *SI 4768*

⁴³ More details in OLDENBURG 1914. The materials acquired by Sergei F. Oldenburg in the course of his expeditions nowadays are preserved in the IOM, RAS, the State Hermitage Museum and the Russian Museum of Ethnography. Particularly worthy to note are vast archives of the Russian Turkestan Expeditions, kept in the State Hermitage Museum, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Archives of Orientalists kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.

⁴⁴ A prominent Russian Indologist, Theodor Stcherbatsky (1866–1942) summarized the results of Sergei F. Oldenburg the following way: “As a result, when the expedition led by S.F. [Oldenburg] set out, that country had already been visited by a large number of other expeditions that had literally plundered the area, archaeologically speaking. Having arrived in their wake, the Russian expedition could but establish the fact and return home practically empty-handed” (SCHERBATSKY 1935: 26)

(O/109), *SI 4776* (O/113a-b)–*SI 4777* (O/113c), *SI 4820* (O/39)–*SI 4823* (O/40c), *SI 4824* (O/48d), *SI 4836* (O/198), *SI 6560*. Moreover, fragments preserved separately and registered as “Toyuq-Mazar 1909” most likely refer to this subcollection, and are under research nowadays. By now 60 fragments in Old Uyghur, 35 of which are written on the reverse side of Chinese scrolls, have obtained call numbers *SI 6677*, *SI 6678*, *SI 6619–6676*. The majority of fragments in the subcollection are too small to identify the text. The larger of them contain Buddhist texts, though several unique secular documents (*SI 4716* (O/54), *SI 4717* (O/55), *SI 4718* (O/73), *SI 4735* (O/70), *SI 4820* (O/39), *SI 4747* (O/89)) can be found.

Moreover, a few fragments are considered to be lost nowadays. Thus, at least four fragments (not found by now in the collection of the IOM) were published as O/1⁴⁵ and O/2.⁴⁶

Petrovskii subcollection (P)

Nikolai Fiodorovich Petrovskii (1837–1908) was one of the Russian diplomats who contributed greatly to academic research of the Eastern Turkestan region. Appointed as a Russian Consul in Kashgar in 1882, he collected manuscripts and art objects, buying them from the local people of Kucha, Korla, and Aksu and carrying out archaeological excavations, primarily in Kucha. Between the years 1892 and 1893, Nikolai F. Petrovskii forwarded to Sergei F. Oldenburg over 100 folios and fragments of manuscripts that he purchased from the inhabitants of Turfan. In 1905, he donated the entire Eastern Turkestan collection of the manuscripts to the RCMA that were later transferred to the AM.

⁴⁵ A small fragment of a book written in Old Turkic runic script (a folio with six incomplete lines) was bought by Sergei F. Oldenburg in Khara-Khodja in 1909, from a local peasant who had dug up a shabby piece of paper at the site of Idiqutshari. The text, which was published by Wilhelm Radloff, is too fragmentary to be identified (RADLOFF 1910: 1025–1036). A document concerning adoption with call number O/1 was edited by Wilhelm Radloff and published by Sergei E. Malov (USp 1928: No. 98). Photocopy is preserved in the IOM Photo Collection.

⁴⁶ A fragment of *Garbaparimočana* was edited in USp 1928: No. 102. A photocopy of document marked as O/2 is preserved in the IOM photo collection. Moreover, archival materials mention the Sogdian manuscript with the same call number: (Arch. 4, 1919, record No. 1178) “Ms. buddh. sogd. O2. Sogdian manuscript brought by Sergei F. Oldenburg from Dunhuang. 1 f.”. Manuscript fragments preserved with former call numbers O/1 and O/2 are in Sanskrit. These call numbers were given during the inventory procedures after World War II.

The Petrovskii subcollection includes 582 items, four of them are in Old Uyghur. These are two fragments in cursive script *SI 1924* (P/132), *SI 3629* (P/1253) and two documents written on wooden tablets *SI 3660* (P/137Д), *SI 3671* (P/1406).

Malov subcollection (M, MA)

In 1909–1911 and 1913–1914, Sergei Efimovich Malov (1880–1957) made journeys to Eastern Turkestan (Chuguchak (Tacheng), Urumqi, Turfan, Khara-Khodja, Hami, Suzhou) and Central China (Lop Nor, Aksu, Yarkend, Khotan and Kashgar). His expeditions pursued rather ethnographical and linguistical⁴⁷ than archaeological goals. Despite this fact, Sergei E. Malov acquired a number of manuscript fragments in Old Uyghur and other languages, i.e. Khotan Saka, Sanskrit, Mongolian,⁴⁸ Tibetan,⁴⁹ and Chinese.

The major part of his collection was customarily granted by the RCMA to the AM. Some fragments found in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in 1920s were transferred later, in 1925.⁵⁰

Fragments of *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī* block print *SI 4502* (M/5) and two documents from Turfan *SI 4503* (M/5), *SI 4504* (M/6) purchased by Sergei Malov during his second expedition to China were personally passed by him to the IOS in 1952.⁵¹ Several fragments were transmitted to the IOS after Malov's death. They were found in his private archive and obtained call numbers MA/... during inventory procedures in 1994.

⁴⁷ The main aim of Malov's journeys was to study the language and everyday life of the local Turkic peoples, i.e. the Uyghur, the Yellow Uyghur, the Lop Nor and the Salar peoples. Sergei E. Malov also acquired abundant ethnographic material from Turkic nationalities native to Eastern Turkestan (transferred to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (the *Kunstkamera*) in 1925). Moreover, he provided a large number of photographs, part of which are kept nowadays in the IOM, RAS.

⁴⁸ Mongolian manuscripts acquired by Sergei E. Malov are preserved separately in Mongolian Collection of the IOM, RAS.

⁴⁹ Tibetan collection acquired by Sergei E. Malov is of special value and includes early Tibetan wooden documents from Miran fortress.

⁵⁰ According to archival documents (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1a, unit 86, f. 2), on March 20, 1925, the Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology transferred to the AM manuscript fragments acquired by Sergei E. Malov during his journey to Eastern Turkestan in 1914 and manuscript fragments found among private documents of Wilhelm Radloff after his death.

⁵¹ A note written by Sergei E. Malov is attached to the items.

Malov subcollection includes 24 items in Old Uyghur language kept under call numbers *SI 4498–SI 4504* (M/1–M/7), *SI 4559–SI 4575* (MA/1–MA/11). His major finds were the most extant text of the Old Turkic version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra* (Altun Yaruk) *SI 4498* (M/1), *SI 4500* (M/3) and accompanying text *Buyan ävirmäk SI 4499* (M/2)⁵² discovered during his first expedition in the Buddhist temple located in the village of Wenshigu near Suzhou, in Gansu province.

Kozlov subcollection (Koz)

In 1907–1909, a large number of manuscripts and woodblock prints in various languages were discovered by a Russian traveller and explorer Piotr Kuzmich Kozlov (1863–1935) at the ruins of Khara-Khoto, a fortified town of the Tangut state (1038–1227). The unearthed texts included numerous Tangut manuscripts and block prints, in addition to those written in Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. One Old Uyghur fragment *SI 4841* (Koz/5) is found in his subcollection.⁵³

Miscellaneous subcollection (Uig)

Subcollection of miscellaneous manuscript fragments marked as ‘Uig’ includes 27 items *SI 3156* (Uig/3), *SI 3157* (Uig/12), *SI 5066* (Uig/19), *SI 6534–6557* (Uig/1–Uig/2, Uig/4–Uig/11, Uig/13–Uig/18). It is most probable that this subcollection was formed to unite manuscript fragments with unknown provenance or separate fragments brought by other researchers.

Thus, call numbers Uig/1 and Uig/2 (now *SI 6534* and *SI 6535* correspondingly) were assigned to Chagatai official documents of the 15th c. written in Old Uyghur script that were granted to Vasilii Vladimirovich Barthold in 1902 in Margilon (Fergana Region in eastern Uzbekistan). Due to unknown reasons Manichean fragments of small size and fragments of miniatures and drawings made on textile and paper *SI 5066* (Uig/19),

⁵² The record concerning these manuscripts is preserved in: Arch. 3, 1913, record No. 1545.

⁵³ On the verso of the manuscript fragment “From P.K. Kozlov finds in Khara-Khoto” is written. Archival materials (Arch. 4, 1919, record No. 275) erroneously note that this fragment along with other fragments in Arabic script were acquired by Sergei F. Oldenburg in 1910.

SI 6547–SI 6553 (Uig/17), *SI 6554–SI 6557* (Uig/18) were also included in this subcollection. History of their acquisition remains obscure.

The provenance of the remaining items now can be determined with sufficient certainty. As it was mentioned above, *SI 6544* (Uig/14), *SI 6545* (Uig/15), *SI 6545* (Uig/16) with confidence and *SI 6539* (Uig/7), *SI 6540* (Uig/8, Uig/9), *SI 6542* (Uig/11) with some uncertainty belong to Roborovskii and Klementz subcollections respectively.

Until recently the details of acquisition of unique manuscripts of the *Biography of Xuanzang SI 3156* (Uig/3), *SI 6538* (Uig/6)) and *Abitaki sūtra SI 6536-6537* (Uig/4–Uig/5) were unknown. However, analyzing the archival documents it became obvious that these Old Uyghur manuscript fragments were sent to the IOS in 1932 by the supervisor of the Second Oriental department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Boris I. Kozlovskii (1899–1975).

Processing the Old Uyghur fragments

It should be pointed out that the collections of Old Uyghur manuscript and block print fragments were built up rather unsystematically, according to the chronological sequence of the new arrivals. The very first attempt to systematize the collection, is an inventory of the so-called “first Krotkov collection” (Kr I) compiled by the AM's director Carl Salemann.⁵⁴ It was a preliminary attempt, where the quantity of the fragments was arranged in a table in order to calculate a total number of items. Carl H. Salemann used only criteria of language and type (ms./xyl.: manuscript or block print).⁵⁵ Another attempt to encompass all the Old Uyghur collections that were transferred to the AM by

⁵⁴ SALEMANN 1908.

⁵⁵ As it was written later on the title page: “The numbering of this inventory was subsequently replaced by another. No concordance. Now see the Krotkov collection No. 1”. Together with this inventory one can find:

1) list, enumerating contents of the cases and folders of the first Krotkov collection, also written by Carl Salemann (*Serindica: lists* 1918: 19–21);

2) list of the second Krotkov collection in manuscript and typescript form, as it was presented at the meeting of the Historical and Philological Department of the Academy on September 16, and November 4(17), 1909, and list of the same collection's items received from Wilhelm Radloff on October 31 (*Serindica: lists* 1918: 22–23, 26);

3) other lists related to the second Krotkov collection (*Serindica: lists* 1918: 4–5, 16–17);

4) list of the items found by Mikhail M. Berezovskii at Kizil-Min-Öy, Kizil-Karga and Tad-jik (*Serindica: lists* 1918: 2–3).

1930, most probable was compiled by Sergei F. Oldenburg.⁵⁶ The first complete inventory list of Old Uyghur book fragments was made only in 1952 by the researcher of the IOS, Liudmila Vasiliievna Dmitrieva (1924–1997) with support of Sergei E. Malov.

The AM (later — IOS) where the items were stored, conducted inventory, cataloguing and academic research. The process continues to present day. Foremost the absence of the catalogue⁵⁷ of the Old Uyghur fragments (due to their fragmentary nature) makes the situation more complicated and hinders the research process. According to the archival documents dated January, 1917, Sergei F. Oldenburg, Director of the AM at that time, had the intention to request Sergei E. Malov to sort and make a catalogue of the acquired fragments.⁵⁸ However, due to historical reasons, these intentions were never translated into reality.

Nevertheless, a large part of the texts was published already at the beginning of the first decade of the 20th c. due to the combined efforts of brilliant Turcologists Wilhelm Radloff and Sergei E. Malov. They were able to edit and publish the more ‘voluminous’ fragments — *Xuāstvānīft*, Manichean confession of sins,⁵⁹ an Uyghur version of *Dišastvustik* (Skt. *Diśāsauvāstikasūtra*),⁶⁰ *Avalokiteśvara sūtra*, or chapter 25 of the Chinese translation of *Saddharmapuṇḍarika sūtra* (Kuanṣi-im Pusal),⁶¹ *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra* known as *Altun Yaruk*,⁶² and numerous fragments of Buddhist texts and secular documents.⁶³

After Wilhelm Radloff’s death, there was no specialist in Old Uyghur language at the AM. Sergei E. Malov was never affiliated to the AM or IOS, although he provided assistance in inventorying and identification of fragments. This is proved by his numerous handwritten notes, found among the manuscripts of the Serindia Collection and mentioned in L’udmila V. Dmitrieva’s

⁵⁶ *Serindica: Lists* 1918: 6–15. The list mentions 3588 fragments.

⁵⁷ This also refers to the collections of texts in other languages and scripts. By now, only the catalogue of Sogdian fragments by Asiiia N. Ragoza is available (RAGOZA 1980).

⁵⁸ The Department of History and Philology of the Imperial Academy of Sciences meeting record dated January 11, 1917, preserved in the archival materials (Archives of Orientalists, Fund 152, Inv. 1, unit 60, f. 10) proves it.

⁵⁹ RADLOFF 1909.

⁶⁰ RADLOFF 1910.

⁶¹ RADLOFF 1911.

⁶² RADLOFF, MALOV 1930.

⁶³ USp 1928; MALOV 1927, 1930, 1932, 1951.

article concerning Old Uyghur texts kept at the IOS.⁶⁴ By Sergei E. Malov's efforts the photo copies used in the USp edition were transferred from the publishing house to the Institute.

The research of the Old Uyghur materials was resumed only in the 1960s, but the lack of already published foreign literature and few contacts with foreign colleagues made the majority of research results less promising. Thus, Liudmila V. Dmitrieva (1924–1997) re-edited and published the *Xuāstvānīft*.⁶⁵ In turn, Lilia Yu. Tugusheva (1932–2020) published fragments of the 5th, 6th, 8th and 10th chapters of the *Biography of Xuanzang*,⁶⁶ a number of Buddhist texts⁶⁷ and secular documents, including contracts, private and official letters etc.⁶⁸ Later she edited the Uyghur version of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*⁶⁹ (in cooperation with Masahiro Shōgaito), the *Abitaki sūtra* ('Sūtra of the White Lotus Society'),⁷⁰ and published re-editions of the *Xuāstvānīft*⁷¹ and secular documents of the 10th–14th cc.⁷²

The contribution to the study of the Old Uyghur fragments kept in the IOM made by foreign specialists could not be overestimated. Due to the efforts of the European colleagues Peter Zieme, György Kara, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Abdurishid Yakup and the Japanese colleagues, Masahiro Shōgaito, Juten Oda, Dai Matsui, Takao Moriyasu, Hiroshi Umemura, Kōichi Kitsudō, numerous fragments of Buddhist texts and secular documents were identified and published.⁷³

Nowadays the processing and further research of the Old Uyghur part of Serindia Collection is continued by the researchers of the IOM, RAS. Their main aim is to present to academic community a "Catalogue of the Old

⁶⁴ DMITRIEVA 1969: 222, note 1.

⁶⁵ DMITRIEVA 1963.

⁶⁶ TUGUSHEVA 1972; TUGUSHEVA 1991. According to the archival documents (Fund 152, Inv. 1a, unit 279, ff. 4–5), the *Biography of Xuanzang* and *Abitaki sūtra* were identified by Sergei E. Malov soon after they were transferred to the IOS in 1932.

⁶⁷ TUGUSHEVA 1970; TUGUSHEVA 1975; TUGUSHEVA 1978; TUGUSHEVA 2004; TUGUSHEVA 2007.

⁶⁸ TUGUSHEVA 1971; TUGUSHEVA 1996a; TUGUSHEVA 1996b.

⁶⁹ SHŌGAITO et al., 1998.

⁷⁰ TUGUSHEVA 2008b.

⁷¹ TUGUSHEVA 2008a.

⁷² TUGUSHEVA 2013. The majority of texts were edited in USp 1928, SUK 1993, etc.

⁷³ The list of edited and published fragments is too extensive to be incorporated into the present article, and it will be included into the forthcoming first volume of the "Catalogue of the Old Uyghur manuscripts and blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences" (ed. by Peter Zieme).

Uyghur manuscripts and blockprints in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences”. The catalogue was compiled by the researchers of the IOM, RAS in cooperation with the Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tokyo) will give a new impetus to further projects of editing the Old Uyghur texts of the IOM, RAS.⁷⁴

Abbreviations

AM: Asiatic Museum
 IOM, RAS: Institute of Oriental Manuscript of the Russian Academy of Sciences
 IRGS: Imperial Russian Geographical Society
 RAS: Russian Archaeological Society
 RCMA: Russian Committee for Middle and East Asia Exploration
 RGS: Russian Geographical Society
 SPbB ARAS: St. Petersburg Branch of Archive of Russian Academy of sciences
 USp: Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler
 SUK: Sammlung Uigurischer Kontrakte
 ФВ-77: IOM, RAS Photo Collection access number
 ФВ-277: IOM, RAS Photo Collection access number

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⁷⁴ Although a preliminary list of the Old Uyghur fragments was published in 2002 under the title “A Provisional Catalogue of the Microfilms of Uigur, Sogdian and Manichaean Manuscripts belonging to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences brought to the Tōyō Bunko” by Hiroshi Umemura, Masahiro Shōgaito, Yutaka Yoshida and Abdurishid Yakup, this work did not find the necessary acceptance due to its limited distribution. The first volume of edited and published in the last hundred years Old Uyghur fragments will be released in 2021.

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Imperial Postscript to the Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan Editions of the Dhāraṇī-sūtras in the Collection of the IOM, RAS*

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Abstract: Three parallel editions of dhāraṇī-sūtras in Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan languages were published in the Tangut state in 1149. The Tibetan edition is of particular importance, because until recently specimens of printing in Tibetan, that could belong to an earlier date, were not extant. All the editions are equal in terms of their contents and contain the postscript written by the Emperor Renzong. The main goal of this article is to introduce the previously unpublished Tibetan text of the postscript in correspondence with the Tangut and Chinese versions. Besides, the article provides information about the study, preservation state, and codicology of all the three editions.

Key words: Tibetan block prints, Tangut block prints, Chinese block prints, Khara-Khoto, Xi Xia, Emperor Renzong

During the long reign of the Emperor Renzong of Western Xia (1139–1193) the propagation of Buddhism in the Empire, including translation and publication activities, reached its heights. Colophons of Tangut texts state that various Buddhist texts were published in Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan in thousands of copies for distribution among the participants of the local Dharma assemblies.¹ However, currently we have at our disposal only one example of such an edition in all the three languages, that survived to our time. Namely,

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¹ SOLONIN 2015: 849.

this is the Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī-sūtra and Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī-sūtra, printed together in one volume and provided with the postscript written by the Emperor Renzong himself. The books were published in 1149, the first year of the new reign period, called “Heavenly Prosperity”.² The Tibetan edition is of particular importance, because until recently specimens of printing in Tibetan, that could belong to an earlier date, have not been found anywhere.³

The book (under the call number Kh. Tib. 67) became famous thanks to the State Hermitage Museum exhibition “Lost Empire of the Silk Road”, that was held from June 25 to October 31, 1993 in Switzerland with the support of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection Foundation.⁴ In 1996, the exhibition catalogue was published in Chinese,⁵ thus introducing Kh. Tib. 67 to scholars from China and Japan. During the first decade of the new century they made a significant contribution to the study of this block print.

In 2004, Shirai Satoko published an article on the first of the three texts of Kh. Tib. 67 (see the Table “Contents of the Editions” below), namely, the Avalokiteśvara dhāraṇī-sūtra. She transliterated and translated the Tibetan text into Japanese and described the linguistic features of this version of the text in comparison with its variants from the Beijing and Derge canons.⁶

Tangutologist Shi Jinbo in his article “A brief study of the earliest Tibetan block prints”⁷ paid special attention to Kh. Tib. 67 (as well as Kh. Tib. 63/68) as the example of “butterfly-binding”. Speaking about its contents, he expressed the opinion that Kh. Tib. 67 could contain numerous descriptions of rituals. He

² For the Tibetan edition this date is applicable with a high degree of probability, for reasons discussed below.

³ The situation changed when Matthew Kapstein discovered a large block-printed protective circle (with the syllables of Sanskrit dhāraṇī printed in Tibetan letters) in the collection of Dunhuang texts of Paul Pelliot at the National Library of France. He presented a paper dedicated to this discovery under the title “The Earliest Example of Printing in the Tibetan Script: Remarks on a Dhāraṇī-amulet from Dunhuang” at the conference “The Written Legacy of Dunhuang” (September 3, 2016, IOM, RAS). This item can be considered the earliest identified Tibetan block print. In addition, among the finds made in Turfan there are numerous prints of YE DHARMA. Radiocarbon analysis of one of the examples (from the Otani Collection at the Ryukoku University) showed that the sheet was printed between 880 and 1140. At the same time, if we limit ourselves to the texts in the Tibetan language (and not only in Tibetan script), the block print discussed in this article appears to be the earliest example known to us.

⁴ A description of Kh. Tib. 67 for the exhibition catalogue was prepared by Lev S. Savitsky (PIOTROVSKY 1993: 278).

⁵ *Xiaoshi de wangguo* 1996.

⁶ SHIRAI 2004.

⁷ SHI 2005.

identified the first text, giving its name in Chinese, and mentioned the translator Jayānanda, whose name is found in the colophon of the second text.

Unlike the dhāraṇī-sūtras, that became a subject of textual analysis conducted by Shirai Satoko and Duan Yuquan,⁸ the Tibetan text of the Imperial postscript (more precisely, its fragments) has never been published. Prof. Lin Ying-chin greatly contributed to the study of the Tangut and Chinese texts of the postscripts, making their collation and interlinear translation into Chinese.⁹ However, she did not use the Tibetan text and her work is not easily accessible to non-Chinese speakers.

Saya Hamanaka, one of the authors of this article, made a translation of the Tangut text of the Imperial postscript into English. We introduce the translation with a brief overview of the important issues connected with the study, preservation state, and codicology of all the three editions.

Establishing the Connection Between the Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan Editions

The article written by Shen Weirong, based on his report at the Paris seminar “Edition, éditions: l’écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir” in May 2008, turned out to be a breakthrough in establishing the connection between the editions. He indicated the existence of the Chinese equivalent for the Tibetan book.¹⁰ He was also the first to identify the second text as a version of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī-sūtra that has not been preserved in the existing editions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. He did not describe the third text of the collection (the postscript) in any detail, since it was beyond the scope of his interests. However, the call numbers of the corresponding Chinese block prints in the St. Petersburg collection (TK-164 and TK-165) which he referenced sufficed to locate the missing information in the catalogue of Lev N. Menshikov.

Meanwhile, as it later became clear, the Tangut Collection of the IOM, RAS contained a book completely identical to TK-164 and TK-165 — Tang. 109 (old inv. No. 6796, 6821). The connection between Tang. 109 and the Chinese block prints TK-164 and TK-165 was revealed and described by Nishida Tatsuo in the introduction to “The Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts”.¹¹ The colophon

⁸ DUAN 2010.

⁹ LIN 2011.

¹⁰ SHEN 2010.

¹¹ KYCHANOV 1999: XXV–XXVI.

of Tang. 109 mentions the exact date of the edition: “...the text was distributed to the people by Emperor Ren-xiao I title 1 / in the first year under the reign title of *Heavenly Prosperity* under the cyclic signs of Snake-Earth (in 1149)” (KYCHANOV 1999: 581; see also our translation of the postscript).¹² Nishida rightfully assumed that the same dating is applicable to the Chinese edition, where the corresponding part of the postscript is lost.

Summarizing the above, the connection between the Chinese and Tibetan editions was identified by the Chinese researcher Shen Weirong. However, he was unaware of the existence of the exact Tangut counterpart, containing the date of the publication (year 1149). According to Kurtis Schaeffer, Shen Weirong in his report gave the exact year 1153,¹³ the reasons for giving this particular date remain unclear.

The first clearly articulated reference unifying together the three editions was made in the article written by the Tangutologist Duan Yuquan.¹⁴ Following the indications of Shen Weirong, he used Kh. Tib. 67 in the study of certain aspects of the Tangut version of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī-sūtra. He worked with particular fragments of the Tibetan block print, namely the right side of f. 49 and ff. 50–53.

The history of the studies on this Tibetan block print and its Tangut and Chinese counterparts has been discussed in greater detail in an article written by Alexander Zorin and Alla Sizova.¹⁵ Beyond that, the authors found that all Tibetan block-printed fragments, that received different call numbers at the time of the formation of the Tibetan collection of the texts from Khara-Khoto — Kh. Tib. 63, 64, 67, 68 — belong to the same edition. While Kh. Tib. 64 was immediately connected to Kh. Tib. 67 and was never treated as something different, the two other items appeared separately in the academic literature. Meanwhile, these two items make up two fragments of the whole, the part of the dhāraṇī-sūtra of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, that consists purely of sacred Buddhist formulae that are traditionally believed to have a great magical power. These fragments are absent among the folios of Kh. Tib. 67, so it can be assumed that they were extracted by the owner of the book

¹² In the catalogue itself Tang. 109 (old inv. Nos. 6796, 6821) is not described in detail. In addition to Tatsuo Nishida’s remarks in the introduction, it contains only a description of the second text, the dhāraṇī-sūtra of Uṣṇīṣavijayā. The first text (the dhāraṇī-sūtra of Avalokiteśvara) is not mentioned anywhere, although it is fragmentarily preserved; the postscript is not marked as a separate structural unit of the book.

¹³ SCHAEFFER 2009: 9, 165–166.

¹⁴ DUAN 2010: 29.

¹⁵ ZORIN & SIZOVA 2019.

for making an amulet, etc. However, one cannot be completely sure of this assumption because of some differences in sizes of the folios of Kh. Tib. 67 and Kh. Tib. 63/68. The scope of the extant Tibetan text was extended by identifying the item Or. 8212/1914 kept at the A. Stein Collection in the British Library¹⁶ as part of the edition. Finally, in 2019, in the process of inventorying the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS, a small fragment of the block print was found, that was the left part of f. 39 (based on the comparison of the fragment with the manuscript Kh. Tib. 126 containing text 2). Another page, that should be attributed to Kh. Tib. 63/68 (identified as the left side of f. 40), was among the disjointed fragments in the Tibetan Collection of the IOM, RAS. It was published by H. Stoddard (based on a photograph provided by V.L. Uspensky).¹⁷

Contents of the Editions

No.	Title
1	<p>𑖀𑖄𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐 聖觀自主大悲心總持功德經韻集 [’phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug thugs rje chen po’i gzungs phan yon dang bcas pa’ mdo ltar btus pa]¹⁸ Dhāraṇī of the Holy Compassionate Avalokiteśvara with [the exposition of its] benefits, compiled according to the sūtras</p>
2	<p>𑖀𑖄𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐 頂尊相勝總持功德韻集 gtsug tor mam par gyāl ma’i gzungs phan yon dang bcas pa’ mdo ltar btus pa Dhāraṇī of the Victorious Uṣṇīṣavijayā with [the exposition of its] benefits, compiled according to the sūtras</p>

¹⁶ TAKEUCHI 1997–1998: No. 674.

¹⁷ STODDARD 2010: 364.

¹⁸ The colophon of the first Tibetan text has not been preserved; the title was reconstructed on the basis of colophon of the same work found in the manuscript Kh. Tib. 126 (with a slight editorial revision). The original title in Kh. Tib. 126 reads as follows (reconstructed text is marked with angle brackets): <’phags pa?>’ I spyan ras gzigs kyi dbang phyug | thugs rje chen po’i gzungs phan yon <dang bcas pa mdo>’ las btus pa. The version of this work contained in Kagyur is entitled *’phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug thugs rje chen po’i gzungs phan yon mdor bsdus pa zhes bya ba* (“Dhāraṇī of the Holy Compassionate Avalokiteshvara with a summary of [its] benefits”) (D723; U_I et al. 1934: 123).

3	效穰勿虬翥翁穀彝辨麗纒慨霹瓏鏡禱麗纒穉穉穉穉 御製聖觀自在大悲心惣持并勝相頂尊惣持後序發願文 [Tibetan title is lost] Imperially composed postscript-aspiration to [the edition] of the “Dhāraṇī of the Holy Compassionate Avalokiteśvara” and “Dhāraṇī of the Victorious Uṣṇīṣavijayā”
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Preservation State and Location of the Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan Block Prints

Part No.	1	2	3 (Postscript)
Block print			
Tangut Tang. 109 (old inv. No. 6796, 6821)	? ~ 穉穀 [f. 1R–13R] 12, 13R	穉穀 ~ 穉穀 [f. 13R–21R] all	穉穀 ~ 穉穀 [f. 21R–23L] all
Chinese TK 164 TK 165	一 ~ 十 [f. 1R–10L] all f. 1L–10L	十一 ~ 十七 [f. 11R–17L] all all	十八 ~ 二十一 [f. 18R–21R] all f. 18R–20R
Tibetan Kh. Tib. 67 Kh. Tib. 63/68 Serindian collection Or. 8212/1914 (Stoddard 2010, 364)	一 ~ ? [f. 1–?>27] 2L, 3–5, 6L, 9R, 10–12, 13L, 23R, 24–26, 27L — — — —	? ~ 五十四 [f. ?<34–54] 34R, 35L, 37R, 38L, 49R, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54L 40R, 41–44, 45R 39L (fragment) 36R 40L	五十五 ~ ? [f. 55–>61] 56R, 57, 58, 59L, 60R, 61L — — — —

Format and Other Features of the Editions

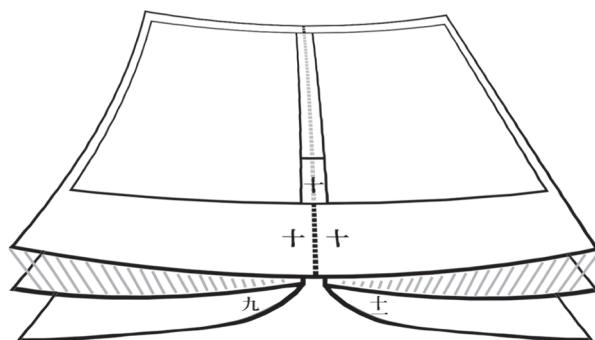
Folio. Two pages of the text were carved on one woodblock and printed on the recto side of the folio. The verso side remained empty.

Sizes of the folios slightly vary: for Tangut — 17.3/17.5×12.2/12.5, for Chinese — 17.5×13.0 (TK 164), 16.5/18.0×13.0 (TK 165), for Tibetan — 17.5×12.6/12.8 (Kh. Tib. 67), 16.0/16.3×11.0/11.5 (Kh. Tib. 63/68). Meanwhile, the sizes of the woodblocks are almost identical: for Tangut — 15.3/15.5×9.3/9.5,

for Chinese — 15.5×9.0/9.3 (TK 164, TK 165), for Tibetan — 15.7×9.3/9.5 (Kh. Tib. 67), 15.5/15.7×9.3/9.4 (Kh. Tib. 63/68).

Format. TK 165 has not undergone conservation. Tang. 109 was restored the purpose of publishing this article in August, 2020.¹⁹ Both provided clear evidence of the original appearance of the editions.

Each folio was folded in its center. Blank pages of the verso side were glued to the adjacent folios, as it is shown in a scheme (dotted line shows the fold, hatch shows the adhesive joint).



As a result, folded folios formed a Western-style codex, that greatly resembled a so-called “butterfly”-format, with the only difference that the blank pages could not be seen.

In the course of time the paper on the folds frayed, and folios began to fall apart. Intact folios and folios half-separated and completely separated into left and right halves can be found in Kh. Tib. 67, Tang. 109 and TK 165.

Pages of Kh. Tib. 63/68 remained glued only on the joints, therefore it resembles “concertina” (on the blank sides of the folios it has remnants of the Tangut manuscripts used for pasting purposes: strengthening the original paper and joining the pages together). TK 164 underwent conservation procedures and now appears as a pile of flattened folios, though the folds can be clearly seen.

Lines. Vertical Tangut and Chinese lines go from right to left. One page has 9 lines, one line has 14 characters (for both Tangut and Chinese).

¹⁹ We express our sincere gratitude to the Chief Conservator of the IOM, RAS Liubov Kriakina for the microscopic examination of the cover, that made possible the exact identifying of its fabric and pigment.

Horizontal Tibetan lines go from the left page to the right page. One folio has 6 lines.

Foliation. In all the three editions foliation is situated on *baikou*. Tangut and Chinese have their respective designation, in the Tibetan edition Chinese numerals are used. Furthermore, in the Tibetan edition, foliation is given additionally (but also in Chinese) in the lower margin on either side from the fold.

Short title on baikou.

Text 1. Tangut: 𐰇𐰏 Chinese: 大悲

Text 2. Tangut: 𐰇𐰏 (f. 13–15, 19, 20) / 𐰇𐰏 (f. 16–18) Chinese: 尊勝

Text 3. Tangut: 𐰇𐰏 (f. 21), □□²⁰ (f. 22), 𐰇𐰏 (𐰇𐰏) (f. 23) Chinese: 後序

Short titles in Tibetan edition are absent.

Cover. Tang. 109 has detached remnants of the blue silk cover. The ornamented fabric was dyed with indigo. The silk fragment used to be on a spine of the codex and has three stitches made with the blue thread. The fold of the book bears traces of stitches, one still with a blue thread.

According to Menshikov's catalogue, TK 165 had "a cover made of blue cloth with ornaments", however, it seems that it was separated in the course of the preservation procedures.

Engravings. TK 164 has three engravings thematically connected to the *dhāraṇī-sūtras*.²¹

²⁰ The characters are illegible, but one can expect to see here the short title of *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*. In that case the short titles on the folios of the postscript would form the sequence, related to the edition as a whole: 𐰇𐰏 — [𐰇𐰏] — 𐰇𐰏.

²¹ All the three engravings are printed on the whole folio.

Engraving 1. On the left side: the Eleven-faced Great Compassionate Avalokiteśvara, who sits in vajrasana on a lotus throne with two rows of petals, in the center of the throne is the syllable *hrīh* (Pala script), two offering goddesses to the right and to the left; on the right side: four bodhisattvas facing Avalokiteśvara.

Engraving 2. On the left side: *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, who sits on a lotus throne inside a richly decorated caitya, the syllable *hūm* is located in the center of the throne, in the space above the caitya there are two offering goddesses on the right and on the left; on the right side: four bodhisattvas facing *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*, objects hovering in the space above them symbolize various types of offerings.

Engraving 3. On the left side: the Buddha on a lotus throne, hands folded in dharmachakramudra; flanked by two disciples (*Ānanda* and *Mahākāśyapa*) and two bodhisattvas, behind him a bodhi tree; on the right side: the eight deities of the planets.

Imperial Postscript

Imperial postscript consists of (i) main text, (ii) aspiration, (iii) verses (gāthās) and (iv) colophon.

In the main text the Emperor explains the benefits of the dhāraṇīs, retelling in an extended or abridged manner the contents of the dhāraṇī-sūtras published in this edition, as demonstrated by the following examples.

Postscript: “If [one] wash [himself] in the flowing water or ocean, all the aquatic sentient beings that contact purified water will exhaust all the heavy karma [and] will be reborn in the Buddha-field (buddhakṣetra)” (Tangut 22R5–7, Chinese 19R1–3, Tibetan 59L3–5).

Dhāraṇī-sūtra: “If those, who recite and grasp the dhāraṇī of Mahākaruṇā, wash themselves, entering into the flowing water or into the ocean, and if the water that washed their bodies touches the sentient beings, who reside there, all [their] heavy evil transgressions will be purified, and they will be born miraculously in lotus at the other Pure Lands”.²²

Postscript: “[Even when one] encounters the shadow [of the dhāraṇī] and touches the dust [of the dhāraṇī], [he] will not fall into the three lower realms” (Tangut 22R9–L1, Chinese 19R5–6, Tibetan 60R2).

Dhāraṇī-sūtra: “If [someone] will write down this dhāraṇī and attach it to the top of the flag, or place it on the top of the mountain, or on the high building, or on the top of the stūpa, [those on whom] its shadow will fall, [whom] its dust will touch, even if only for a moment, will never be reborn in the three lower realms”.²³

Furthermore, the Emperor lists his own meritorious deeds, including the publication of these very editions (*Postscript*: Tangut 22L2–4, Chinese 19R7–9, Tibetan 60R4–61L1): this part is of particular importance, because it provides us with information on the number of printed copies. It is noteworthy, that in the Tangut and Chinese versions there are no mentions about the Tibetan language.

²² |gal te thugs rje chen po'i gzungs 'dl 'don cing yongs su 'dzin pa de dag chu klung 'am | rgya mtshor zhugs te khrus byas pa las | de nas gnas pa'I sems can de dang | de dag gi lus bkru pa'I chus lus la reg par gyur na | |sdig pa'I las dang kha na ma tho ba lci ba thams cad yongs su byang nas | zhing yongs su dag pa gzhan dag du | pad ma la rdzus te skye bar 'gyur bas (Manuscript Kh. Tib. 126, f. 41).

²³ gal te gzungs 'dl bris nas | rgyal mtshan gi rtse mo la btags nas | ri rtse 'am | rtsegs khang 'am | mchod rten gyi thog de bzhag la | de'i grib ma phog gam | de'i rdul phog gam | yud tsaṃ mngon na | de yang nang song gsum de myi skye | (Manuscript Kh. Tib. 126, f. 48).

Moreover, the number of copies in Tibetan version is different, being seventeen thousand instead of fifteen. It seems unlikely that the number of Tibetan texts could exceed the Tangut and Chinese ones. It can be assumed that the Tibetan version was printed last, and that the total number of copies was corrected: the number of Tibetan copies was simply added to the original fifteen thousand. Based on this assumption, we can determine the exact number of Tibetan editions — two thousand. The fact of the Tibetan version printed last (and not mentioned in Tangut and Chinese text) cast doubt to its immutable dating. However, taking into account the very purpose of the publication, distribution to the people at the Dharma gathering, we nevertheless can assume that the Tibetan edition must have been printed almost simultaneously with the others.

The Tibetan language of the postscript is characterized by grammatical deviations, that effect the supposed meaning of the text. For example, the phrase “all the virtuous benefits will be gained” (Tangut 21L7–8, Chinese 18L2–3) is rendered into Tibetan as *thams cad dge ba’I don ’grub*, where the word *thams cad* (‘all’) that should be placed in the postposition, precedes its object, *dge ba’I don* (‘virtuous benefits’). The phrase “[they] will aid the creatures and deeply benefit the sentient beings” (Tangut 21L6–7, Chinese 18L2) in Tibetan translation is rendered into: “[they] aid wide creatures (*skye bo rgya chen*) and benefit deep sentient beings (*zab pa’I sems can*)”. These deviations can be explained by the tendency to follow the Tangut word-order and prove that the Tibetan text of the postscript was translated from Tangut.

Considering the fragmentary state of the Chinese and Tibetan texts, the translation was based primarily on the Tangut version. In the aspiration part several passages of Chinese texts have no correspondent parts in Tangut (they are marked in brackets).

Translation

Title

21R4–6 效胤勿魏翥絲散彘辨麗颯焮爾瓏龍禪麗颯循焮爾輻夜
18R1–3 御製聖觀自在大悲心惣持并頂尊惣持惣持後序發願文

Imperially composed postscript-aspiration to [the edition] of the “Dhāraṇī of the Holy Compassionate Avalokiteśvara” and “Dhāraṇī of the Victorious Uṣṇīṣavijayā”.

(i) Main text

21R7 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐
18R4 朕伏以神咒威靈功被恆沙之界

I respectfully explain. The power and virtue [of these] dhāraṇīs will encompass the worlds as numerous as [the grains of] sand [in] the Ganges.

21R7–8 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐
18R4–5 玄言勝妙力通億劫之多
56R1 <...> la 'das pa|

The exceedingly wonderful power of [these] profound words transcends a hundred million of kalpas.

21R8–L1 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓
18R5–6 惟一聽於真筌可頓消於塵累
56R1–2 gal te gzungs <...> myur zhing rings par sgrib pa'I dri <...>

The stains of obscurations will instantly disappear when these dhāraṇīs are heard.

21L1–2 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑
18R6 其於微密豈得名言
56R3 <...> bu zab pa'I don brjod du myi lang|

How this profound meaning can be expressed [in words]?

21L2 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓
18R6–7 切謂自在大悲冠法門之密語
56R4 <...> chos kyi sgo mo 'i nang du khyad bar <...>

Therefore, the dhāraṇī of Īśvara Mahākaruṇā stands out amongst [the other teachings of the] doctrine (*dharmaparyāya*).

21L3–4 𑖀𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓
18R7–8 頂尊勝相惣佛印之真心一存救世之至神
56R5–6 <...> rgyal snying po|sangs rgyas kyi rgya <...> 'dren par byed
pa|

Uṣṇīṣavijaya consolidates true essence of the mūdras of Buddha, it is the one power that saves the universe.

21L4–5 撈翹糲穢烈蠶蠶散蕓蠶燄燄燄
 18R8–9 一盡利生之幽驗大矣受持而必應
 56R6– gciḡ ni sems can don byed nus pa| nus pa che ba 'chang zhing|
 57:1–2 nges par phan yon thob bo|

[It is the only] one, [that] brings welfare [to] the sentient beings. [We] accept and maintain [its] great miraculous efficacy, [and] the benefit is certain to be received.

21L5 勿敬撥輶燄辨散晷
 18R9–L1 聖哉敬信而無違
 57:2 |'phags rgyas dad gus bslu ba myi mnga'|

Sacred reverence and faith are indisputable.

21L5–6 辨鋒禪穢禪蠶蠶燄燄燄燄燄
 18L1–2 普周法界之中細入微塵之內
 57:3 bskyed nas chos nyid kun khyab| |bskyungs nas rdul phran nang
 du thim|

As [they] arise, [they] encompass all dharmadhātu. As [they] diminish, [they] dissolve into particles of dust.

21L6–7 蠶玆燄穢蠶蠶蠶蠶蠶
 18L2 廣資含識深益有情
 57:4–5 skye bo rgya chen la don mdzad cing| |zab pa'I sems can la don
 byed pa|

[They] widely aid the creatures and deeply benefit the sentient beings.

21L7–8 龍蠶蠶燄禪燄蠶蠶蠶蠶蠶蠶蠶
 18L2–3 聞音者大獲勝因觸影者普蒙善利
 57:5 |sgra thos na khyad bar du 'phags pa'I rgyu thob| |grib ma phog
 na thams cad dge ba'I don 'grub|

If the sound is heard, the great exceeding cause will be earned. If the shadow is touched, all the virtuous benefits will be gained.

21L8–9 辨蠶蠶燄燄燄燄燄燄燄燄燄燄
 18L3–5 點海為滴亦可知其幾何碎剎為塵亦可量其幾許
 57:6–58:2 rgya mtsho 'i thigs ba bgrang na yang grangs shes su rung| 'jig
 rten rdul phran phye na tshod 'dzin de btub|

[If one] divides the sea into drops, [he can] know the amount. [If] the world is divided into particles, [they] can be counted.

21L9–22R1 微瀲罷彙級穀視毅緬豷峰級級媚
 18L5–6 唯有慈悲之大教難窮福利之玄功
 58:2–3 thugs rje chen po 'i gzungs chos kyi sgo mo bsod nams tshad
 gzung du myed|

Only the merits of the doctrine (*dharmaparyāya*) of Mahākaruṇā (Great Compassionate) cannot be measured.

22R1 彙禪緜孺櫛視黠黠
 18L6 各有殊能迴存異感
 58:3–4 so so nus pa dang ldan| gnyis ka phan yon dang bcas pa

Each [dhāraṇī] possesses superior ability, both have [their] respective benefits.

22R1–4 穀穀彙緜級黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠
 級級緜黠級黠黠
 18L6–9 故大悲心感應云若有志心誦持大悲咒一遍或七遍者即能超滅
 百千億劫生死之罪
 58:4–59L1 des na| thugs rje chen po 'i phan yon nang na bshad pa gang zhig
 rtse gcig sems kyi thugs rje chen po 'i gzungs lan gcig gam lan
 bdun bton na | skal pa brgyad stong khrag khri 'khor ba 'I sgrib
 pa zad|

Therefore, as it is explained in “[Dhāraṇī of the] Holy Compassionate Avalokiteśvara [with the exposition of its] benefits”, if the dhāraṇī of Mahākaruṇā is recited one or seven times with concentration, the saṃsāric obscurations of the hundred billion of kalpas will be exhausted.

22R4–5 緜級緜級黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠黠
 18L9–19R1 臨命終時十方諸佛皆來授手隨願往生諸淨土中
 59L1–3 'chI ka na phyogs <...> phyag rkyong zhing zhing 'kham dag
 pa <...> 'gyur rol|

[If] life is about to be lost, various Buddhas of ten directions will come to stretch out their hands, and according to aspirations [the person] will be reborn in the Pure Land.

22L2–4 統徧禪勝嚴懽誦輟撈龍禿錐類輟級殺刃毘屍殛翹叢脛
 19R7–9 朕觀茲勝因倍激誠懇遂命工鏤板雕印番漢一萬五千卷普施
 60R4–61L1 <...> khyad bar du 'phags pa'I phan yon <...> 'o spyan drangs|
 par brkos nas | <...> khri tso gcig dang bdun stong par la brgyab
 nas phul|

I, seeing these exclusive benefits, arose pure faith, requested the craftsmen to carve and publish [both dhāraṇī-sūtras in] fifteen thousand (in Tibetan: seventeen thousand) copies in Tangut and Chinese [and] donated [them].

22L4–5 隨能巖瓶鮮潔講較撈輟錐類
 19R9–L1 國內臣民志心看轉虔誠頂受
 61L1–2 rgyal 'kham kyī <...> kyī sgo nas |'don zhing 'chang ba dad
 <...>

Officials and [common] folk in the Tangut state should read and recite [these texts] sincerely, respectfully receive and put them on the elevated place (or one's head).

22L5 統徧禪勝嚴懽誦輟撈龍禿錐類輟級殺刃毘屍殛翹叢脛
 19L1–2 朕亦躬親而口服每當竭意而誦持欲遂良緣廣
 61L3–4 <...> lus kyī gos la btags na| tse <...> na khyad bar du 'phags
 pa'I rgyu rdzog <...>

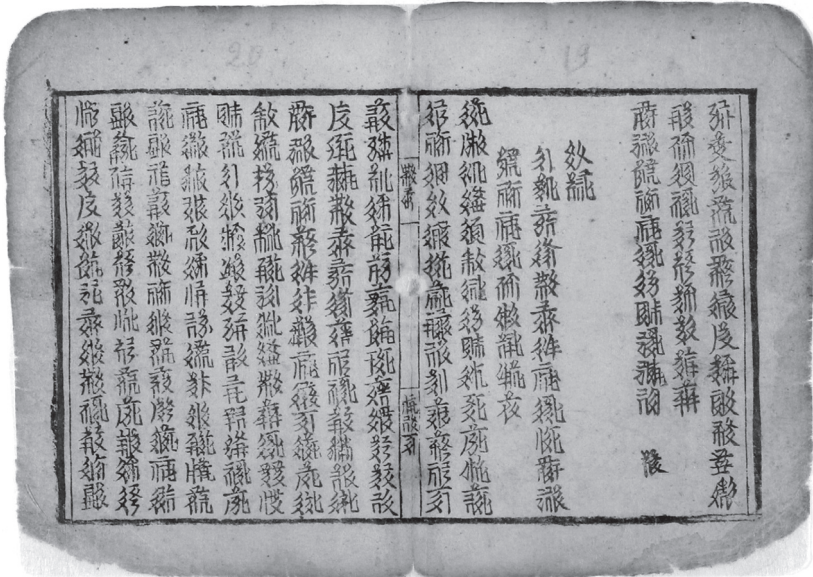
I also will attach [these dhāraṇī-sūtras] on [my] clothes, will recite the dhāraṇīs with one-pointed concentration and aspire the prominent cause to be fulfilled.

22L6 續結歸敬善發散禪淨
 19L3 修衆善開闡真乘之大教
 61L5 <...> sgrub rgos pas| theg pa chen po 'i <...>

To accomplish many virtues, [I] ordered the propagation of the true doctrines of Mahāyāna.

22L6–8 茲脛齋齋躬親禿錐類輟級殺刃毘屍殛翹叢脛
 續結秘密之壇儀讀經不絕於誦聲披典必全於大藏應干國內
 之聖像悉令懇上於金粧遍施設供之法筵
 61L6 <...> dkyil 'khor dang sbyin sragz bzheng <...>

Tangut text

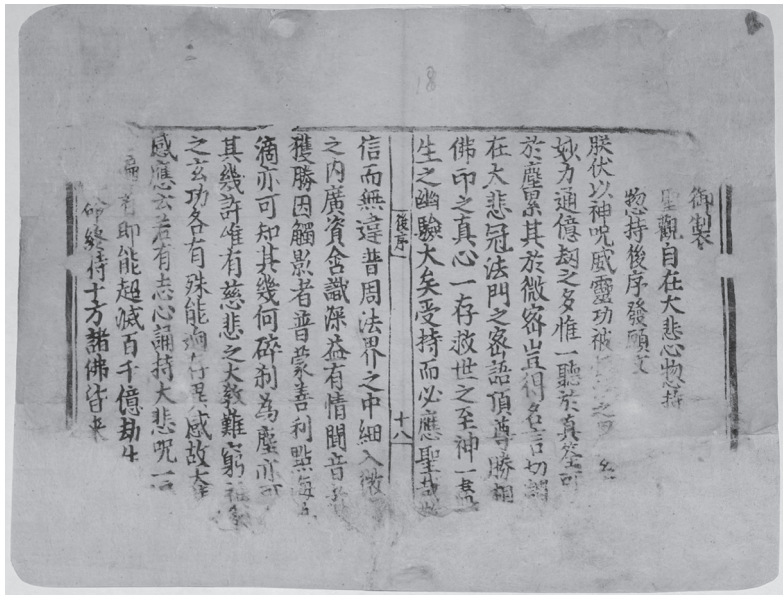


Tang. 109, f. 21

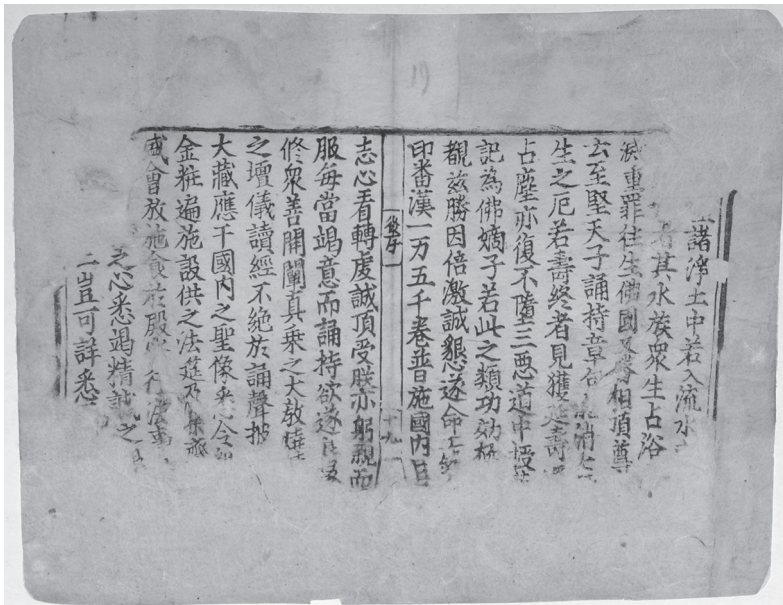


Tang. 109, f. 22

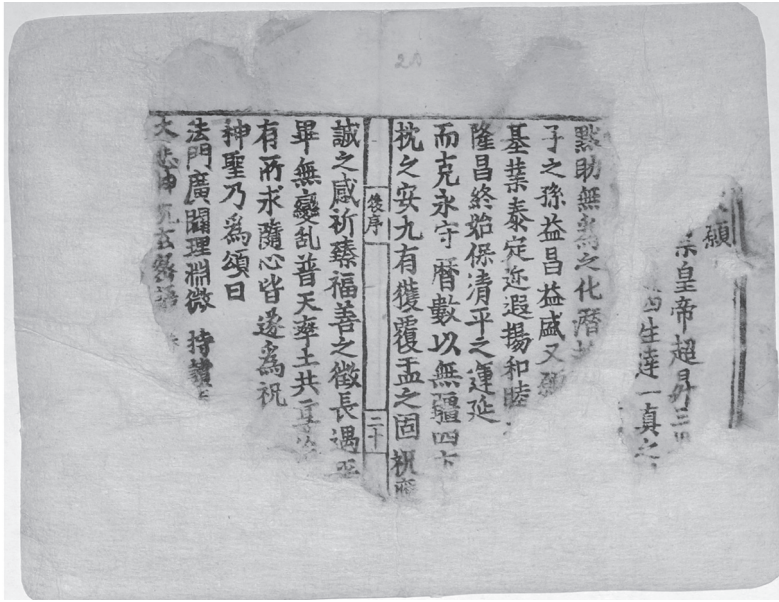
Chinese text



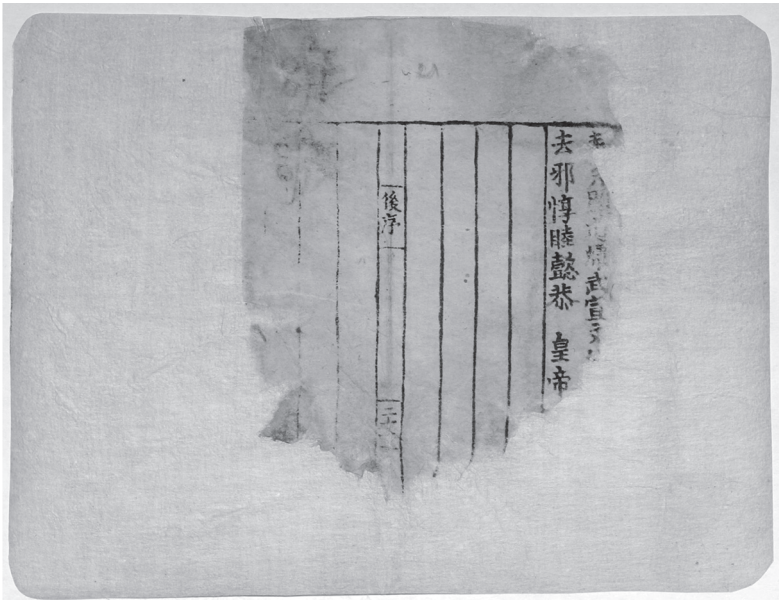
TK-164, f. 18



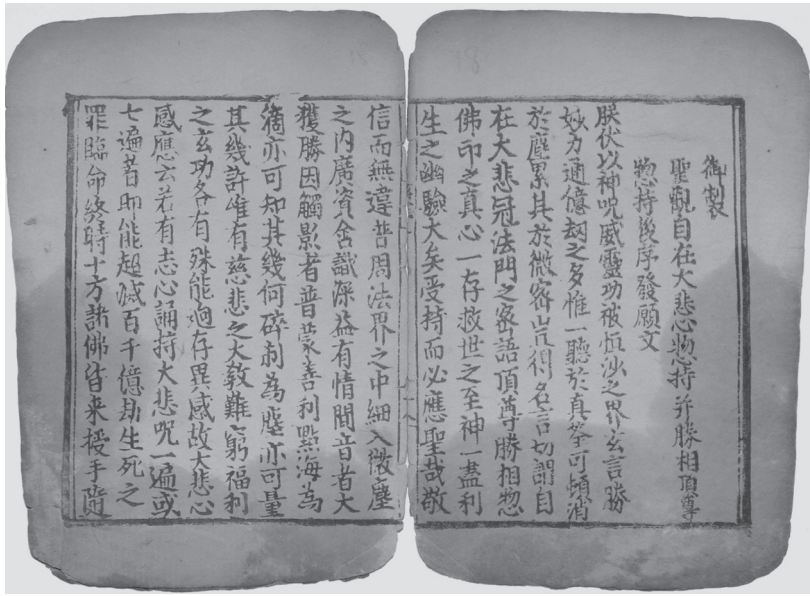
TK-164, f. 19



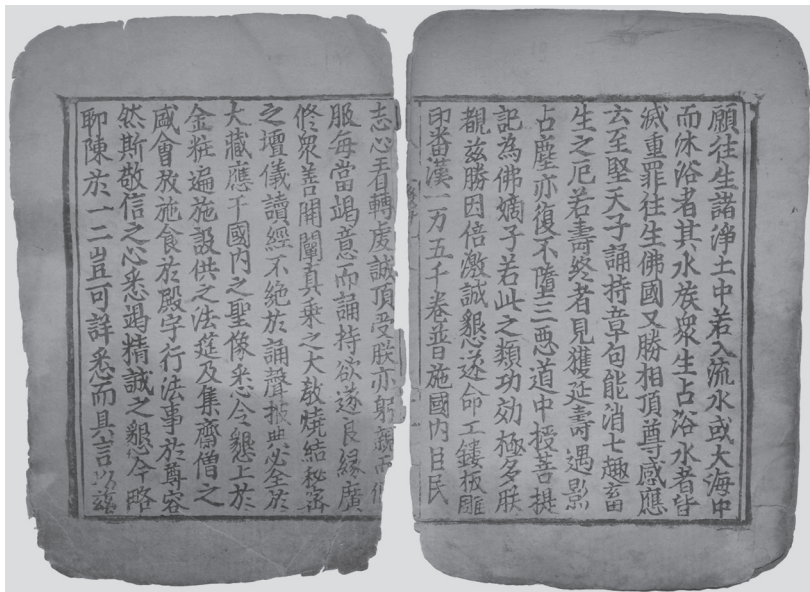
TK-164, f. 20



TK-164, f. 21



TK-165, f. 18



TK-165, f. 19

御製

聖觀自在大悲心懺持并勝相頂尊

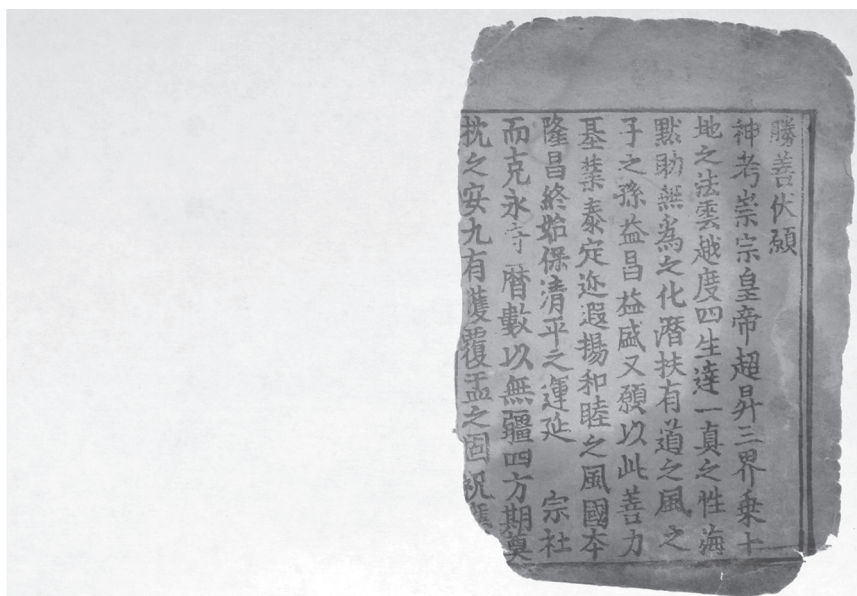
懺持後序發願文

朕伏以神呪威靈功被恒沙之界玄言勝
妙力通億劫之多惟一聽於真宰可頌消
於塵累其於微密豈得名言切謂自
在大悲冠法門之密語頂尊勝相懺
佛印之真心一存救世之至神一盡利
生之幽驗大矣受持而必應聖哉敬

信而無違昔周法界之中細入微塵
之內廣資含識深益有情聞音若大
獲勝因觸影者普蒙善利點海為
滄亦可知其幾何碎刺為塵亦可量
其幾許唯有慈悲之大教難窮福利
之玄功各有殊能迥存異感故大悲心
感應云若有志心誦持大悲呪一遍或
七遍者即能超滅百千億劫生死之
罪臨命終時十方諸佛皆來授手隨

願往生諸淨土中若入流水或大海中
而沐浴者其水族眾生在浴水者皆
減重罪往生佛國又勝相頂尊感應
云至聖天子誦持章句能消七趣畜
生之厄若壽終者見獲延壽遇點
占塵亦復不墮三惡道中投善撰
記為佛嫡子若此之類功效極多朕
觀茲勝因倍激誠懇遂命工鐫板雕
印番漢一萬五千卷普施國內日民

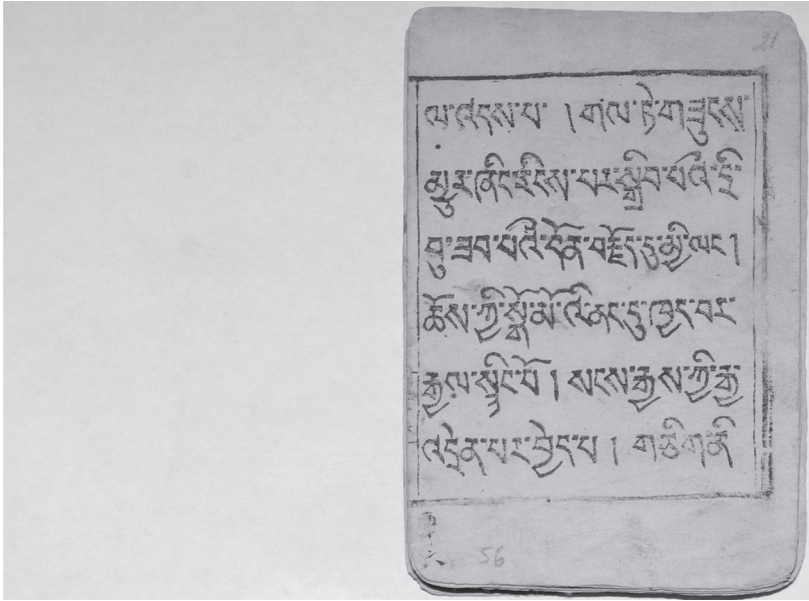
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之壇儀讀經不絕於誦聲披典必全於
大藏應于國內之聖像悉令懇上於
金莊遍施設供之法筵及集齋僧之
盛會放施食於殿宇行法事於尊容
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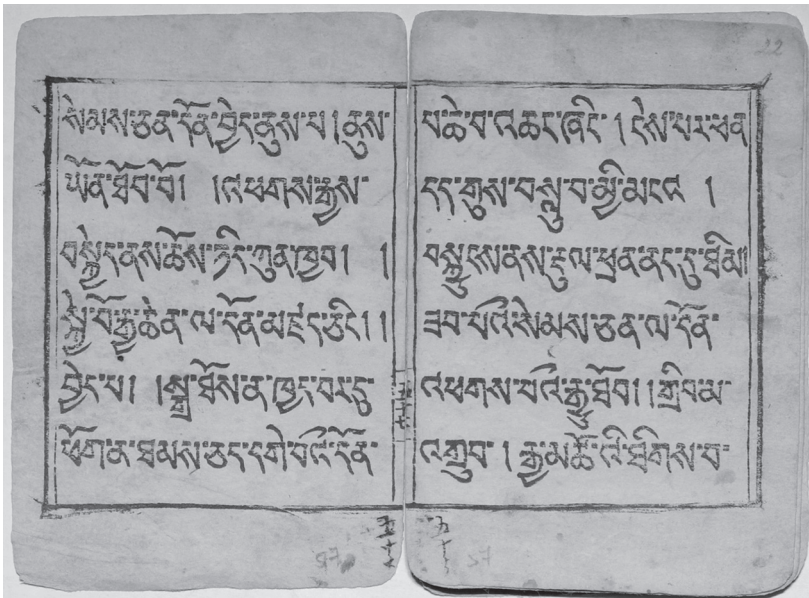
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 默助無為之化潛扶有道之風之
 子之孫益昌益盛又願以此善力
 基業泰定迹遐揚和睦之風國本
 隆昌終始保清平之運延宗社
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TK-165, f. 20

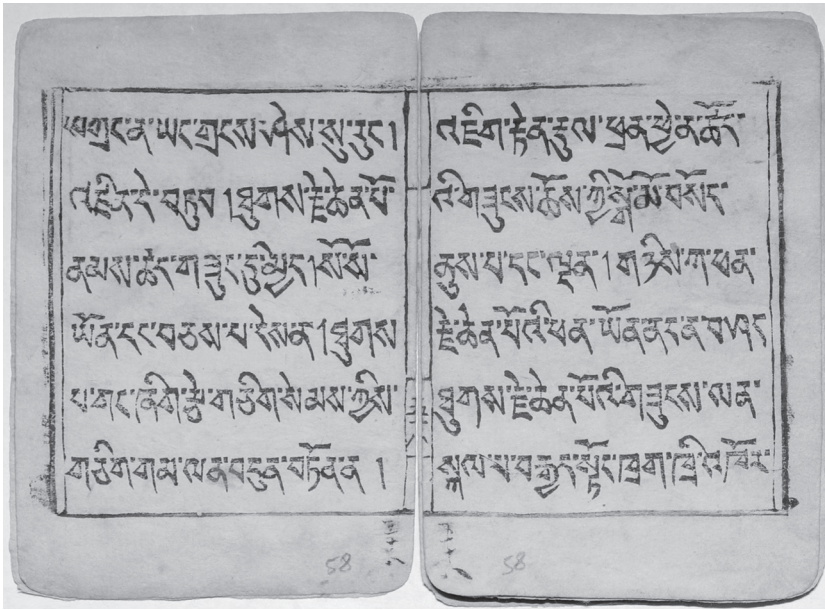
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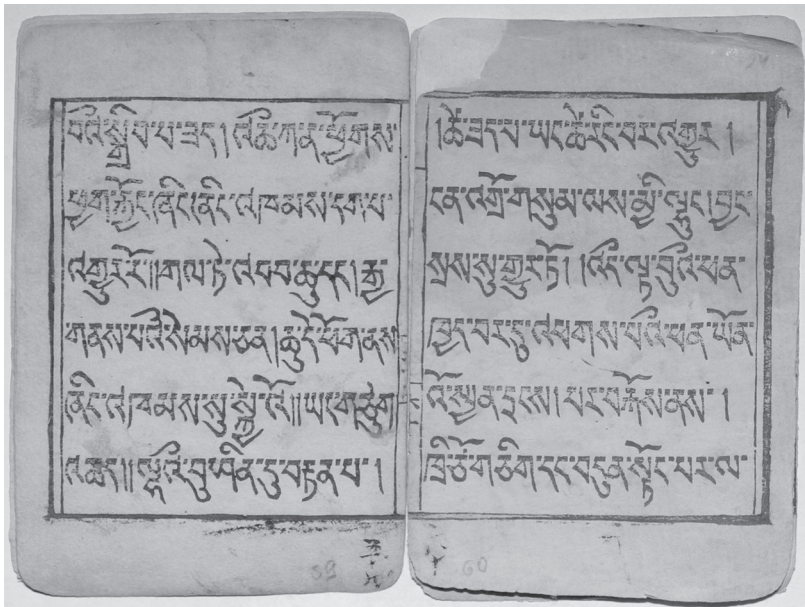
Kh. Tib. 67, f. 56R



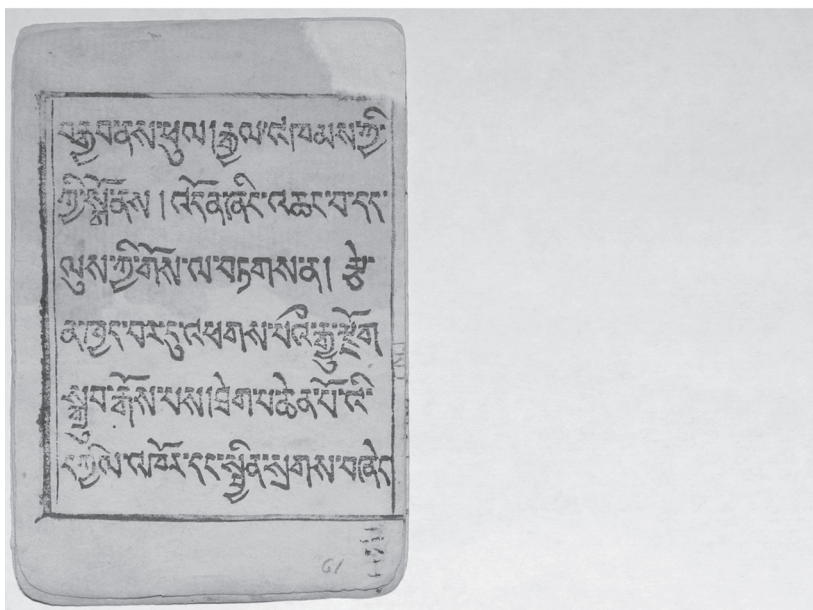
Kh. Tib. 67, f. 57



Kh. Tib. 67, f. 58



Kh. Tib. 67, f. 59L-60R



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**Japanese Didactic *Gunsho*
Commentaries in the Edo Period:
A Study of the 17th c. Commentary
on the *Heike Monogatari***

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Abstract: The *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* is an anonymous 17th c. commentary on the medieval *Heike monogatari*. As a military studies text (*gunsho*) written for Edo-period warriors, the commentary differs substantially from the *Heike monogatari* in content and purpose. It consists of didactic essays that critically evaluate passages from the *Heike monogatari* and also includes fictional stories that expand and reinterpret the content of the *Heike monogatari*. The commentary's content focuses on topics of governance, strategy, and ethics. In the 17th c., such *gunsho* commentaries functioned as educational texts with advice and admonition addressed to daimyo lords and warriors in general. As a didactic military studies text, the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* reveals a new facet of reception of the *Heike monogatari* in the Edo period.

Key words: Japan, Edo period, *gunsho*, didactic commentaries, *gunki monogatari*, *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō*, intellectual history, education

Introduction

The *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語, 13th c. CE), a well-known medieval Japanese “war tale” (*gunki monogatari* 軍記物語), narrates events of the late 12th c. with a focus on the Genpei 源平 conflict (1180–1185 CE) and the rise and fall of the Heike 平家 clan. For many centuries this major historical and literary text has influenced Japanese arts and culture. Studies of reception history of this text tend to examine visual arts, theatrical performances, and literary texts intended for entertainment. In this article,

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I investigate a different kind of reception of the *Tale of the Heike* that has not attracted much attention: didactic commentaries mainly intended for warriors in the Edo period (1603–1868). I briefly describe the *Commentary with Evaluations and Secret Transmissions about the Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* 平家物語評判秘伝抄, 1650), explain its background related to the intellectual history of the 17th c., and examine several passages from this commentary.

“Military Studies” (*gungaku* 軍学) and Military Texts (*gunsho* 軍書)

Ancient Chinese works known as the *Seven Military Classics* (Jp. *Shi-chisho* 七書, Chn. *Qishu*), one of which is the *Art of War* (Jp. *Sonshi* 孫子, Chn. *Sunzi*) by Sun zi, have been translated and studied worldwide. Less known are later developments of this school of thought in China, and research on similar texts produced in Japan is scarce.¹ The Japanese term for such texts is *gunsho* 軍書, or military texts, and they were actively produced in Japan, especially in the Edo period.² Although the military component is definitely present in these texts, their content is mostly a mix of political, military, and ethical advice and analysis. In other words, their subject matter is leadership, governance, and strategy in the widest sense of the word.³ These texts are an inherent part of military studies (*gungaku* 軍学, *hyōgaku/heigaku* 兵学) instituted and developed as the scholarship of warrior rulers and officials. This field and its texts are especially important for understanding the medieval and Edo periods of Japanese history when warriors held power. As

¹ The only exception is a group of Japanese martial arts texts some of which have been studied in detail. Martial arts and other physical skills were, indeed, an important part of warrior education in Japan, but they constitute physical training, whereas “military studies” deal mostly with strategy, governance, and ethics.

² The most comprehensive research on military studies in Japan is the two-volume pioneer study *The History of Japanese Military Studies* (*Nihon heihōshi* 日本兵法史) published in 1972 by historian Ishioka Hisao 石岡久夫, and the seven-volume *Anthology of Japanese Military Studies Texts* (*Nihon heihō zenshū* 日本兵法全集) published by Ishioka Hisao as general editor in 1967.

³ In my doctoral thesis, I suggested that *gunsho* are a Japanese equivalent of so-called “mirrors for princes,” numerous guides to governance and ethics produced in premodern Europe, Near East, India, and other regions. See Chapter 8 in “Discussing the *Tale of the Heike* in the Edo period: didactic commentaries as guides to wise rule for warrior-officials,” PhD thesis, University of British Columbia, 2018. <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/65735>.

noted by Japanese historian Ishioka Hisao, the military studies played the role of a “system of education” (*kyōiku taikai* 教育体系) or “educational scholarship” (*kyōikuteki gakumon* 教育的学問) for warrior officials of various levels.⁴

During the era of so-called Tokugawa peace that gradually formed since 1615, warrior society looked back on events of the medieval age, studied its military ways as well as administrative policies, and sought to formulate useful principles for contemporary politics and society. Both central and local leaders of the newly unified Japan were interested in recording their status and authority based on lineage and distinguished service, maintaining them by power, skill, and reputation, and perpetuating them by educating heirs, vassals, and commoners. Historical writings about the past of families and domains proliferated in the 17th c. and they often had a didactic character. In addition to legendary figures of the ancient and Kamakura periods (*Kamakura jidai* 鎌倉時代, 1185–1333), much attention was given to more recent heroes of the 14th c., such as Kusunoki no Masashige 楠木正成 (1294–1336) described in the *Taiheiki* 太平記 (14th c.), and prominent regional lords of the 16th c. such as Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521–1573) and Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530–1578). This retrospective trend coincided with the overall Edo-period rise in education and textual production that served as the background for the creation of numerous schools of military studies, especially in the 17th c. In addition to five major schools active in the Edo period across Japan (*Kōshū-ryū* 甲州流, *Echigo-ryū* 越後流, *Hōjō-ryū* 北条流, *Naganuma-ryū* 長沼流, and *Yamaga-ryū* 山鹿流), there existed about a hundred smaller schools and branches. Military studies were organized as an educational system managing secretly transmitted esoteric knowledge (*hiden* 秘伝). Major and minor schools had own texts (printed books and manuscripts) for different levels of initiation, and also secret teachings (*kuden* 口伝) in the form of unwritten secrets transmitted in person by a master to a disciple (sometimes recorded as more or less enigmatic manuscript notes). In terms of time, advancing from one level of initiation to another usually took several years, although full transmission in some cases took decades and was intended only for one or several disciples who continued the transmission. Thus, similar to many fields of knowledge in premodern Japan, military studies were made up of a complicated network of people (masters and disciples) and diverse sets of teachings in written or spoken form.

⁴ ISHIOKA 1972: 2.

It is evident that military studies in Japan were not merely a passive reception of ancient Chinese texts on the military, but a dynamic and creative production of new texts and commentaries by authors with diverse opinions and approaches regarding governance and ethics. Military studies may be described as a platform for critical discussion of history, statecraft, military strategy, duties and social norms, qualities of warriors, etc.

Didactic *gunsho*

Since at least the Warring States period (*Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代, 16th c.), military studies were given an impetus by competition of many *daimyo* lords who invited experts in strategy and statecraft, so-called *gunshi* 軍師, to act as lecturers and advisors. The establishment of the Tokugawa *bakufu* 幕府 in the early decades of the 17th c. brought about social mobility for some members of the warrior society and, at the same time, created a serious social problem of unemployed warriors (*rōnin* 浪人 or 牢人) who had lost land, posts, and status. Many of the educated ones made effort to obtain a position in the service of a *daimyo* lord by means of scholarship related to Confucian classics, history, medicine, or literary arts. By compiling historical and military texts they showcased their scholarly potential as prospective teachers, advisors, and historians. Some of them were invited by *daimyo* lords to deliver didactic lectures, compile family genealogies, write local histories for edification and enlightenment of *daimyo* family members, vassals, and officials. These writers were likely the most active group that developed military studies in the 17th c.

Gunsho, texts related to military studies, were commonly seen as historical and didactic writings in the Edo period. It is important, however, that “history” was defined in highly practical terms and linked with present-day practical concerns. Japanese scholar Saeki Shin’ichi notes:

[In the Edo period] history was a model with which to compare the present situation, it was meant to give an example for living in the present. <...> It is understandable that texts about practical military studies and ethical teachings, as well as historical texts and *gunki monogatari*, seen as works giving knowledge and teachings necessary for warriors’ life, that is, texts of enlightenment and admonition, were all put together into the “*gunsho*” category.⁵

⁵ SAEKI 2011: 616.

This understanding of history also means that warriors approached *gunsho* texts — a diverse category that included war tales (*gunki monogatari*), histories, and texts of military studies about stratagems, castles, statecraft, and ethics — with a practical purpose of acquiring knowledge and gaining aptitude in dealing with contemporary problems in one’s state, domain, and village. Throughout the Edo period, *gunsho* texts remained a didactically useful corpus of practical knowledge to be applied in the present.

Leading Japanese scholar of Edo-period *gunsho*, Inoue Yasushi, classifies them into four categories by time period:

1) 1558–1615 — mostly anonymous manuscripts about exploits by members of a specific family; private records about several battles written for descendants and vassals of a family;

2) 1615–1674 — published works and also manuscripts (in many cases written by *rōnin* scholars) primarily concerned with warrior education and new warrior role as rulers and officials; retrospection with praise of “sage rulers” to be emulated by warriors and also criticism of past figures and their misdeeds that led to the fall of states or families; combination of historical, military, didactic, and entertaining elements;

3) 1675–1698 — long works on Japanese history including compilations of “historically true” verified editions of historical works based on analysis of different manuscripts; criticism of unreliable and fictional content of earlier *gunsho*; reduced entertainment content;

4) 1699–1722 — historical, military, didactic, and entertaining elements of *gunsho* separated as each of them came to dominate in different kinds of literary and historical works; production of local histories and didactic compilations from earlier *gunsho* works.⁶

This approximate classification is mostly based on printed works. Much more numerous *gunsho* manuscripts, however, remain understudied and difficult to categorize. Inoue Yasushi notes that *gunsho* texts were kept in large numbers in *daimyo* libraries enhancing martial authority and status of their owners and serving as family records that defined the position of a *daimyo* among other warrior houses. *Gunsho* texts with diverse illustrative examples and historical evaluations influenced the creation of didactic manuscripts such as family precepts (*kakun* 家訓) and teachings (*kyōkun* 教訓).

⁶ INOUE 2014b: 29–33.

Cautionary admonitions and discussions of rise and fall of states or families make up a large part of *gunsho* content highlighting that maintenance of order and harmony in domains and families was the primary concern of warrior houses.⁷

The *Heike hyōban* Commentary: Format, Style, and Content

One trend of the early Edo period that affected military studies was attention to Japanese medieval martial history, such as Genpei events of the late 12th c. and the Nambokuchō 南北朝 conflict of the 14th c. Schools of military studies often relied on popularity of figures such as Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159–1189). In general, scholars affiliated with military studies were one of the most active groups engaging with medieval war tales (*gunki*) in the Edo period. They used known earlier works, such as the *Taiheiki*, as material for creating didactic commentaries discussing strategy, governance, and ethics. As a result, medieval texts with historical content were brought into the sphere of military studies and used for production of derivative *gunsho* texts.

The *Taiheiki*, seen primarily as a work of history, was supplemented with a set of various *gunsho* texts that discussed politics and military matters. The most influential and known one is the *Selection of Secret Commentaries on the Chronicles of the Great Peace* (*Taiheiki hyōban hiden rijinshō* 太平記評判秘伝理尽鈔), published in 1645 in 40 volumes, with detailed evaluation and criticism of people and events described in the *Taiheiki*.⁸ This commentary had a wide circulation among warriors and officials of different levels and, as shown by Japanese scholar Wakao Masaki, influenced the formation of a political common sense and shared political discourse in the Tokugawa society.⁹ This representative text which became the model for later works known as “evaluative commentaries on war tales” (*gunki hyōban* 軍記評判) consists of two kinds of commentaries, “evaluations” (*hyō* 評) and “transmissions” (*den* 伝). “Evaluations” are critical commentaries assessing specific actions of *Taiheiki* characters from the point of view of military studies and ethics,

⁷ INOUE 2014a: 2–11.

⁸ IMAI 2012. This monograph is the most detailed study of the commentary and related texts.

⁹ WAKAO 2014: 53.

whereas “transmissions” present rumors, legends, and plausible explanations of unclear points in the original *Taiheiki*. Both types are mostly fiction, but it is important that their didactic value outweighs historical veracity. Moreover, in the Edo period, these commentaries were often viewed as a kind of serious historical investigation complementing the *Taiheiki*.

In general terms, the *hyōban* (evaluative commentary) is grafted onto the medieval war tale (*gunki*) to produce a didactic work with military studies teachings mixing politics, strategy, and ethics. In the case of the *Taiheiki*, this commentarial task can be seen as a more or less natural extension of the original work because a sizable part of the *Taiheiki* is devoted to discussion of martial and political issues such as causes of disorder or analyses of battles. As for *hyōban* commentaries on other medieval works, a greater difference exists between the original and the commentary. In this respect, the commentary on the *Heike monogatari*, for example, presents an interesting case of reception, appropriation, and reinterpretation.

The *Heike monogatari* throughout the premodern period (until as late as 1890s) had a dual nature as a literary text related to popular entertainment, such as musical and performing arts, and a historical text used for scholarly purposes. It started out in the 13th c. as a work closely tied with courtly and Buddhist circles, and much of its content was written from the perspective of courtiers and monks.¹⁰ In the late medieval and Edo period, it was widely used as a source for new works of literature, art, and theatre. In parallel, its use as a historical work worthy of scholarly study reached full extent in the Edo period, in particular when scholars of military studies and history created commentaries, thereby drawing the work into the category of *gunsho* texts aimed primarily at edification of warriors. In other words, the *Heike monogatari* was not considered a *gunki* (military record) before the Edo period, but it became one in the early Edo period through scholarly efforts of *gunsho* writers.

The *Commentary with Evaluations and Secret Transmissions about the Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* 平家物語評判秘伝抄, 1650), a long didactic commentary in 24 volumes (henceforth, *Heike hyōban*), is not meant for clarifying comprehension of the original text of the *Heike monogatari*. Instead of short explanatory notes it consists of long didactic essays on a variety of topics related to leadership and ethics. Anonymous commentator(s) use specific episodes of the *Heike monogatari* as a starting point for developing didactic essays on a wide range of topics. The *Heike*

¹⁰ ŌTSU 2013: 14.

monogatari, known for its panoramic depiction of different social contexts, makes it possible to discuss such topics as appointments, corruption, battle tactics, exiles, Buddhist monks, and duties of women. Addressed primarily to rulers, such as daimyo and high-level warriors, comments in the *Heike hyōban* discuss events of the late 12th c., the rise and fall of the Taira 平 (or Heike 平家) house, to caution about negative qualities of rulers, incompetence, and lack of foresight leading to disorder in a family or state and inevitable loss of power. Comments often take the form of warnings, admonitions, and direct advice to rulers. The emphasis is placed on knowledge and prevention of troubles before they take place. Another focus is on the priority of harmony and order in state and society over private self-interest. Assessment and judgments are made from the position of military studies combined with Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto teachings. The basic judgment scale places wisdom and precedents of various “ancient sages” as the ideal model which contrasts with the so-called “Latter Age” (*mappō* 末法, *masse* 末世) of immorality and decline spanning from the Heian 平安 period (794–1185) to later times including the Edo period. Some characters in the *Heike monogatari* are criticized more than others, but in general, the *Heike hyōban*, perhaps under the influence of Confucian approaches to history, does not evaluate any character, including imperial figures and generals, as consistently ideal in all contexts. The work is openly critical of corruption and human weaknesses, and the tone is often pessimistic and frustrated, which likely resonated not only with discontent of some *daimyo* lords and *rōnin* warriors, but also with anxiety of Edo-period warriors about the loss of warrior identity and leadership skills in the process of bureaucratization and under the influence of peaceful lifestyle. Next, I show several passages from the *Heike hyōban* illustrating its style, commentarial approach, and content.

In the *Heike monogatari*, the topic of exile is treated from the standpoint of exiled people, such as courtier Fujiwara no Narichika 藤原成親 (1138–1178) or priest Shunkan 俊寛 (1143–1179). In the larger framework of the rise and fall of the Heike, the Shishi-no-tani plot and subsequent exiles are meant to illustrate “evil deeds” and suffering caused by arrogance and unrestrained power of the Heike leader, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181). Although the *Heike monogatari* also includes some criticism of exiled people who planned a failed coup against Kiyomori, the overall focus is on their misery and anguish. Their emotions are described with a clear tone of sympathy.

In the following passage from the *Heike hyōban*, the approach to the same events is completely different. The commentator discusses the issue of exile not from the position of the exiled, but from that of an ideal ruler who should exile wisely. The Heike are criticized for carrying out exiles using a wrong approach.

評曰。(…)平氏の成敗理にあたらざるせいばい 誤あやまり あり。かゝる謀叛むほん 人を。程ちかく流し置事。大なる非也。若時至て 謀はかりこと をめぐらさんには。ほど近き時は其 便 安し。故に讐有者を流す時は。杳はるか に所ところ をへだて流すべきもの也。東国の人ならば西国。南方の人ならば北国へ流すべき事也。其上左様の者をながすに。其国其所とうもく の地頭目代によく / \ 故有。彼流人かのる と。其所の地頭と。遺恨こん 有へきものゝ国郡へながす時は。禍わざはひ なきもの也。次に配所はい の。所なくして。同所に流すべきもの。多き時は。人の智かんがみ を鑑かんがみ て。智の愚おろか なるものと。智有べき者と組合て流すべし。才智有もの斗。一所にあつまる時は。身せん の詮方せん なきまゝに。却かへつ て又はからぬ 禍わざはひ をたくみ出すもの也。さうして。罪有て人をん を遠流するといふとも。妄みだり に捨置。是をむなしくする事なかれ。人の讒言ざんげん と云事。世になきものにあらず。罪なきものを流しなが ぎ。徒いたづら に殺時ころす は。必其報むくひ 。一度その身に有物也。又遠き島に流し置たればとて。妄みだり に心をゆるす事もすべからず。故にはかりこと 謀はかりこと をめぐらし。其流人の心ねを 勘かんがへ て。其ものゝ心ねに。未いまた たくむ事有としらば。速すみや に殺すべし。古ころ より。流いにしへ をきたる者ながし に心を緩ゆる して。却かへつ て害かい せられたる事とも。異国い は申に及じんしゆ ず。日本においても幾数多し。故に後世の人主。心をめぐらし給ひ。人を遠流し給へ

Evaluation says: [...] Punishment given by the Heike has faults that do not match reason. Exiling such rebels to a nearby place is a great mistake. If at some time or other they devise a scheme, it will be easy for

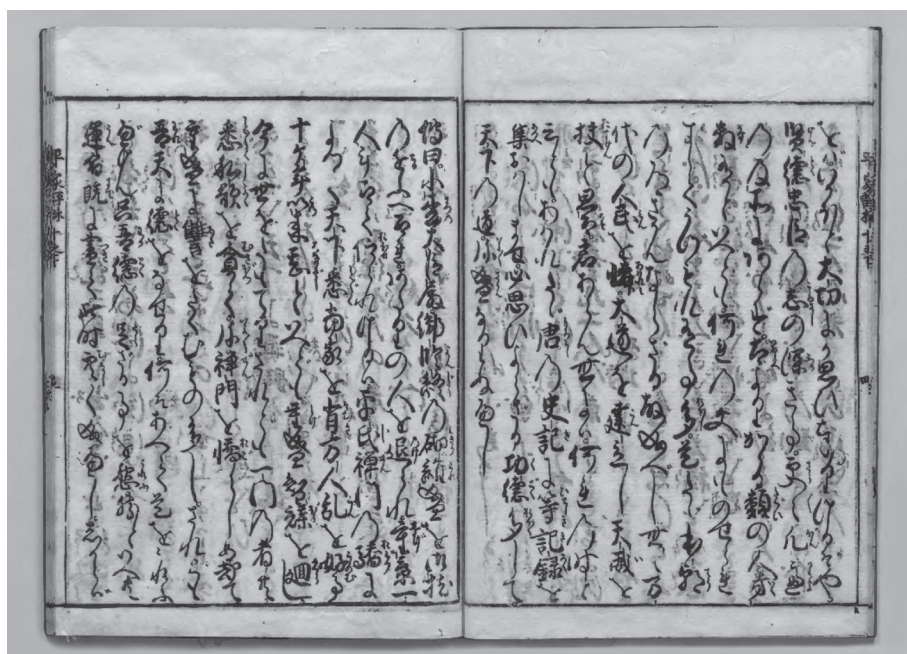
them to take advantage of the situation when they are close. So, when exiling people who feel enmity, one should exile them far, to a distant place. If a person is from an eastern province, [one exiles him] to a western province, and if a person is from the south, one should exile him to the north. Moreover, when one exiles such a person, he [may have] close connection with the estate steward and governor's deputy of that province or place. There will not be any trouble when one exiles to a province or district in which there will be animosity between the exiled person and the estate steward of that place. Next, in case one lacks [several] places for exile and has to exile many people to the same place, one should think about people's wisdom and exile foolish ones together with those that have wisdom. When only talented and wise people gather at the same place, unavoidably they will again plot unexpected trouble. Overall, one exiles to a distant place those who have committed a crime, but do not banish arbitrarily and negligently. People's slander does exist in the world. When one exiles an innocent person and kills in vain, one certainly gets [the same] retribution once himself. Also, thinking that exiling to a distant island [is enough], one should not let down one's guard recklessly. So, one devises a scheme, finds out that exiled person's true feelings, and if one knows that the person still plans something, one should execute him quickly. Since ancient times, cases of somebody letting his guard down against exiled people and getting harmed have been numerous in foreign countries, of course, and also in Japan. Thus, rulers of the later age, exile people to distant islands thinking over this matter [carefully]!¹¹

This critical commentary emphasizes that exiles carried out by the Heike, or specifically by Kiyomori, were mistakes. The correct way of exiling, discussed in detail, is presented as a form of advice or instruction for rulers. Many factors are taken into account, for example, the distance to the place of exile, relations between an exiled person and local governors, and the grouping of wise and foolish people. Moreover, rulers are warned about dangers of slander and the harm caused by exiling innocent people. At the same time, rulers should not be naïve and negligent, and the advice is to regularly check the attitude of exiled people and even execute those who continue to make dangerous plans.

¹¹ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 4 (comment on the *Heike*, Ch. 2:9 “The Akoya Pine”).

The contrast between the *Heike monogatari* and the *Heike hyōban* is great and it highlights the difference between the original medieval work and the Edo-period commentary based on its content. The medieval work, created by members of Buddhist and noble circles to pray, lament, and make sense of the great political and social transformation of the late 12th c., differs sharply from the 17th c. commentary produced by scholars of military studies to give advice on leadership and wise governance to daimyo lords, their retainers, and warrior officials of various levels.

In a well-known episode in the *Heike monogatari* Taira no Shigemori's 平重盛 (1138–1179) son Koremori 維盛 (1159–1184) leaves Heike camp, takes tonsure, and drowns himself in the sea near Kumano. The story fits well into the depiction of Heike clan's futile escape from the capital to seek refuge in the western region. The Heike are described as refined and helpless courtiers who resign themselves to tragic fate.



A comment about Koremori
from the *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* (volume 20)¹²

¹² Image from the website of the National Archives of Japan, Digital Archive, <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/das/image-j/M2015071311020357031>.

The *Heike hyōban*, being a military studies commentary, takes a different approach. Not limiting its content to the information presented in the original *Heike monogatari*, it freely adds fictional legends (*den* 伝) that are presented as rumors or stories presumably passed down for centuries and recorded in anonymous, obscure sources. The following passage is one such legend:

傳日小松大臣殿。御臨終の砌。維盛を御枕の近ふへ召れ。あ
 たりの人を退られ。重景一人斗召て仰られけるは。平氏禪門
 の驕によつて。天下悉當家を背。万人乱を好事十ヶ年以
 来甚といへども。重盛智謀を廻し。今に世をたもてり。さ
 れども一門の者共。悉私欲を貪て。弥禪門を僑らしめ
 却て重盛に讐をたくむもの多し。されども吾天に徳をなせり。
 何ぞあへて是をうれふべけん。只吾徳の足ざる事を愁。然と
 いへ共運命既に尽て。此時空く成べし。しからは必天下の大
 乱三年を出べからず。終汝等も帝都を去。西海に流浪すべし。
 然らば汝は智をめぐらし。紀伊国に兼て拵たる所有。此所
 へしのび。世上には自害の軀をみせて。時を得て運をひらき。
 父が名を天下に再顕べし。始をよくする者はあれども終
 を守る者稀也。天下を知べきものは源氏の輩たるべし。木曾
 義仲は不徳不道の者也。一旦事を得たりと云とも。終久かる
 べからず。頼朝尤強敵たるべし。されども彼必後に僑生ず
 べし。時に苙で義兵を挙よ。是は是兵法の深意たり。此巻を
 もつて兵道の自在を悟れとて。一卷の書を傳られけり。時に
 重景を召て仰られける事は。汝が父景康より。代々相傳の忠士
 たり。殊に汝千万人秀て忠勇尤他異也。天下の始終今吾
 鑑処。少も違べからず。殊に汝は維盛と同年にして。
 未若年也。存あらば必時に応ずべし。偏に草のかけにて

も。汝を頼と 宣 て重代の御劔を下されけると云々。是によつて熊野山中に落忍給ひて。世上には自害の躰にもてなし給と云々。殊に瀧口は。小松殿の御恩深蒙たる者也。故に良将は。三世を鑑。いかなる山中の者。又は賤隠者等にも。義恩を施し置。終の大事を計と見えたり。

Transmission says: When Lord Minister Komatsu [Shigemori] was dying, he called Koremori close to his side, removed other people except for Shigekeage,¹³ and said: “Due to arrogance of Lord Kiyomori, the whole empire turned away from the Heike and everyone has been fond of disorder for the last ten years. Although this [situation] has been extreme, I devised various strategies and kept the [Heike’s] rule up to now. Members of the Heike clan, however, indulged in selfish desires, made Kiyomori more and more arrogant, and many of them plan to harm me. I, however, acted virtuously to Heaven. Why should one lament about this? I only lament that my virtue was not sufficient. Nevertheless, [favorable] destiny has come to its end, and at this time I will die. The great disorder in the empire will not continue for more than three years. Eventually you will also leave the imperial capital and wander in the Western Sea. So, think wisely, hide in the place prepared in advance in the Kii Province, pretend that you have killed yourself, and when you have an opportunity, raise your fortune and reveal your father’s name once again in the empire. There are people who are good at the start, but few keep [good results until] the end. Those who will rule the empire will be the Genji fellows. Kiso no Yoshinaka¹⁴ is a person without virtue and the Way. Although he will hold power for a while, but eventually he will not last long. Yoritomo will be the strongest enemy, though later he will inevitably grow arrogant. At the right moment, raise righteous forces! This is the deep meaning of strategy. Use this scroll to

¹³ Shigekeage 重景, son of Yosōzaemon Kageyasu 与三左衛門景康, was raised by Taira no Shigemori. He took tonsure with Shigemori’s son Koremori when both were twenty-seven years old.

¹⁴ Kiso no Yoshinaka 木曾義仲 or Minamoto no Yoshinaka 源義仲 (1154–1184), a prominent Minamoto general who fought against the Heike and was a rival of Minamoto no Yoritomo.

attain mastery of the Military Way!” With these words he gave him a text in one scroll. Calling Shigekage he said: “You are a warrior inheriting loyalty for generations from your father Kageyasu. You are especially superior to many others in loyalty and bravery. The situation in the empire, as I think about it now, will not change in the least. Moreover, you are of the same age as Koremori, still young. If you live a long time, there will certainly be an [appropriate] occasion. Although only from the other world, I will rely on you.” Saying this, he gave him a heirloom sword, they say. For this reason, they were hiding in Kumano mountains and made it appear in the world that they committed suicide, it is said. Also, Takiguchi was a person who had been greatly favored by Lord Komatsu [Shigemori]. Thus, it seems that a good general thinks about three worlds [i.e. generations], and he plans an eventual great matter [of state] when he bestows favors on some person in the mountains or even on humble hermits.¹⁵

Shigemori, shown as an almost ideal person in the commentary, makes a forecast of the situation in the upcoming years and instructs as his last will about the plot that Koremori has to carry out. Takiguchi,¹⁶ mentioned in the end, is a monk at Kumano who had been favored by Shigemori and can help Koremori. Thus, the commentator takes the opportunity to develop a convincing story about a complicated plot behind Koremori’s drowning. Instead of a highly passive and resigned attitude in the *Heike monogatari*, here Koremori is given an active role. In this entertaining way, the commentator teaches how to concoct plots even in desperate situations and also to expect them from one’s opponents. In general, wise planning, considered an important attribute of a ruler and general, is one of the key themes in the commentary.

Heike generals are depicted in the *Heike monogatari* as refined, incompetent, and resigned to their tragic fate. Therefore, they are a convenient negative example for teaching how not to be a general or a ruler. Their mistakes, idleness, and unpreparedness are used to warn and admonish warrior rulers as follows:

¹⁵ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 20 (comment on the *Heike*, Ch. 10:10 “Koremori Renounces the World”).

¹⁶ Takiguchi 滝口 is a monk at Kumano who earlier served Taira no Shigemori as a warrior.

評曰 (...) 然に平氏の諸將。時の武將に備りながら明暮安き
 にのみみて危あやうきを忘れ。をのれが今日の威勢いを頼として。天下
 の万人をのちかろんず。 (...) この故に後の世の人主。かゝる処を
 かゞみとして。其身をいましめ。大徳とくを行ひおはしませ。一天
 下のあるじなどならせ給ふうへにては。世々末代まつに至るまで。
 聖君せいくんの名をのこし給はざる事は。是代をしり給ふ本意いにはあら
 ず。愚將ぐもしばらくは世をしるためし有。いかんぞ是のみを本
 懐くはいとは思ふべけんや。聖賢せいけんの法を心となし給ふ時は其代のしる
 し天地の有間ろんは。はんじやう有べし。つゝしんで此事を論じお
 はしませ

Evaluation says: [...] However, various Heike generals, although appointed as generals of the time, spent all the days in ease and forgot about dangers. Relying on today's power they slighted all the people in the state. [...] Thus, rulers of the later age, take this matter as an example, admonish yourselves, and act with great virtue! Being a master of the state and not leaving the reputation of a sage ruler for all ages to come, is not the real purpose of ruling. There are cases of foolish generals also ruling for a while. How can one think of this as being one's greatest ambition? When one has sage and wise teachings in one's heart/mind, the manifestation of that rule will prosper while the heaven and earth exist. Carefully discuss this matter!¹⁷

Careless attitude of the Heike resulted in their inability to foresee trouble and to bring order. Commentator(s) use this opportunity to address rulers directly and remind them about the benefits of wise rule. The point is made that in order to avoid the shame and disgrace suffered by the Heike, one should strive to become a sage ruler who governs wisely and achieves prosperity and fame.

¹⁷ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 1 (comment on the *Heike*, Ch. 1:9 “The Burning of Kiyomizudera”).

The criticism of the Heike, viewed as weak rulers, is one of the main topics of the *Heike hyōban* commentary. The next commentary develops a critical discussion of warrior lifestyle using the Heike as a negative example.

評曰(…)末世^{まつ}の武士。常に無芸^{げい}を事^{こと}として。一度の大事^{しよさふらひ}を心^{もうめう}が
 け給へ。されば末世^{しよさふらひ}に至ぬれば。平家の諸^{くはん}侍^{ろく}の有様^{ちや}は。盲猫^{おなじ}
 にひとしくして。用なき事ども多し。或は高官^{くはん}大禄^{ろく}有人^{ちや}は。か
 こひ数奇屋^{すき}をあまた造^{つく}り。こゝの手書^{てい}かしこの法師^{ほうし}をかたらひ
 ては。所々の茶屋^{ちや}に額^{かく}をうたせ。けふはいづれの茶屋^{ちや}にていづ
 れの会^{くはい}有^{あす}。明日^{あす}はそこのちや屋^{ちや}にてたれの御申^{ごんしん}有。其日^{あす}はそこ
 へ。いづれの白拍子^{しらびやうし}来れり。明日^{あす}はこなたへ傀儡師^{くわいらい}こそめせ
 とて。様々の遊興^{けうぐご}供御^{くご}をもふけ。明暮^{あきと}是^{あきと}にいとまなき(…)適^{たま}
 武士^{あきと}に似たる人も。馬^{あきと}を愛^{あきと}するとは。馬商人^{あきと}の様^{あきと}になり。太
 刀^{あきと}かたなを愛^{あきと}しては。利銭^{あきと}の道^{あきと}にかゝはりぬれば。是も同^{あきと}き類^{あきと}
 に成ぬ。此故^{あきと}に幾内^{あきと}の武士^{あきと}。東国^{あきと}武士^{あきと}にかけ立^{あきと}られ。あまたの
 恥^{あきと}をとりける事^{あきと}有。されば此^{あきと}誤^{あきと}。何^{あきと}の世^{あきと}といふともあらじと
 は申^{あきと}がたし。能^{あきと}々つゝしむべき事^{あきと}也。(…)匹夫^{あきと}の勇^{あきと}を貪^{あきと}事^{あきと}
 なく。天下^{あきと}に其名^{あきと}を擧^{あきと}べき事^{あきと}を常^{あきと}々心^{あきと}となし給^{あきと}へ。(…)

Evaluation says: [...] Warriors of the Latter Age, constantly pay attention to lack of accomplishments and aim at [achieving] a great matter once! In the Latter Age, the condition of Heike warriors is like that of blind cats and they are often busy with useless matters. Those who have high posts and big stipends build many enclosed tea-ceremony huts, invite this calligrapher and that master, and [talk about] having framed pictures put up in various tea huts, having some meeting in some tea hut today and having a talk with somebody in that tea hut tomorrow, a visit of some *shirabyōshi* dancer on that day in such a place, and inviting a puppeteer to this place tomorrow. They hold various diversions with food and drink without stop all day long. [...] Occasionally there are also people resembling warriors who say that they love horses, but they become like horse

merchants. When, loving swords, they get involved in the way of profit and money, they also end up in the same category [of merchants]. For this reason, Kinai [capital area] warriors, being opposed by warriors of the East [Kantō], suffered much shame. However, it is hard to say that these faults are not found in any age. One has to be very prudent about this. [...] Without coveting bravery of a common man, constantly set your mind on raising your name in the world! [...]¹⁸

This critical description of a lifestyle of carefree warriors is aimed both at the Heike and at Edo-period warriors. It is evident that author(s) of this commentary, and many *gunsho* works in general, felt dissatisfaction with the situation when members of the warrior class lose their identity and no longer have the ambition or ability to live frugally, cultivating civil and martial administrative skills. The fall of the Heike was tied with a clear didactic message for contemporary warriors: excessive preoccupation with amusements leads to shame and disaster. Such cautionary comments reveal the great anxiety of Edo-period warriors about losing their idealized qualities that distinguish them from merchants and other commoners. One of the main purposes of *gunsho* texts was to motivate, remind, and educate warriors about their way of life and proper duties.

In accordance with the overall approach that gives priority to didactic points rather than historical accuracy, the content of the *Heike hyōban* includes stories featuring behind-the-scenes discussions of military leaders who analyze some current situation and suggest different courses of action. These discussions of plans, presented as legends transmitted since distant past, teach Edo-period readers various useful stratagems. To stimulate readers' curiosity, these legends are placed in the context of the famous Genpei war and usually involve well-known figures such as Yoritomo or Yoshitsune. The following passage is an example of such a discussion.

傳じゆ曰つるがをかの寿永二年正月十五日まんくうに。頼朝けい鶴岡八幡宮へ参詣まし / \
て。還くはんぎよ御みざりの砌でうのたちに。北條とひの館へ入らせ給ひ。土肥さね次郎實平。北
條でう時政まさ。以上三人。軍用ぐんの評談ひやうだんおはしましける時。頼朝よし宣ひ
けるは。先今年は春の間に。木曾よし義仲を討べしとおもふはいか

¹⁸ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 8 (comment on the *Heike*, Ch. 4:11 “The Battle on the Bridge”).

にと仰られたりければ。實平 暫 思案して申上げるは。義仲を
 亡 さるべき事。尤安しといへども。義仲の兵数。鋭士三千には
 近く候べし。殊に北国は。山けはしくして。地難所多し。急に
 戦 を決せば。人多 亡 べく候。若又ながく軍を張時は。平家
 其 費 を 窺 候べし。但又。平家を亡され候はんも安しといへど
 も。東国 未 静 ならず。故先今年北国に 軍 をいさるべし。
 其心 全 戦 を思召事なく。只義仲の威勢を呑べき 謀 をめぐ
 らされ。和睦を入て人質を出すごとくに 謀 。さて其次に先義
 仲を以平家のあらぎりをなさしめ 給 。其 費 に乗じて兵を登せ
 られ候はゞ。闘 龍 勞 にのるにてこそ候べけれ。必爰に実否を
 決せらるべく候らはんやと申上たりければ。頼朝感涙を御袖に
 て 押 させ給ひ。神なる哉実平。吾を 助 る人也と仰られ。即
 御 劔 を給ると云り。是をもつてみるに。いま義仲との計 略 。
 其始終よく相通せり。兵法曰。善兵を用るものは。よく當 変 を
 察して。事理に通ずと云り。

Transmission says: On the fifteenth day of the first month of the year Juei 2 (1183), Yoritomo visited the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine and on his way back entered the Hōjō mansion. When three of them, with Doi no Jirō Sanehira and Hōjō Tokimasa,¹⁹ were discussing military matters, Yoritomo said: “Well, I think that we should strike Kiso no Yoshinaka this year in spring. How is it?” When he said this, Sanehira considered it for some time and said: “One can say that destroying Yoshinaka is very easy, but the number of excellent warriors in Yoshinaka’s army is close to three thousand. Moreover, mountains in the northern provinces are steep and the terrain is difficult in many places. If we fight swiftly, many

¹⁹ Doi Sanehira 土肥実平 (?–1191), a general of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. Hōjō Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138–1215), supporter of Minamoto no Yoritomo since 1180. He became the governor of Kyoto in 1185, and after Yoritomo’s death he was the *shikken* 執権 (shogun’s regent) and the de facto ruler of Japan..

men will perish. In case the fighting will continue for a long time, the Heike will find out about [their enemies] growing weak. Also, one can say that destroying the Heike is easy, too, but eastern provinces are not yet calm, and thus this year, first, we should fight against the northern provinces. I do not mean at all that we fight battles, but we should just devise a scheme that will reduce Yoshinaka's power. We plan something like making peace with him and sending him hostages, and then we first use Yoshinaka as the striking force against the Heike. Then, if we take advantage of their weakness and send our army to the capital, it will certainly be like using fatigue of fighting dragons. This will certainly be decisive, right?" When he said it, Yoritomo stopped tears of gratitude with his sleeve and said: "Outstanding, Sanehira! You saved me." And he presented him with his sword, it is said. Considering it like this, this scheme involving Yoshinaka becomes completely meaningful. The *Military Strategy* says: "One who uses troops well, skillfully perceives what stays the same and what changes, and understands facts and principles".²⁰

In the early 1183, Minamoto no Yoritomo discusses future plans with two advisors and associates, Doi no Jirō Sanehira and Hōjō Tokimasa. Yoritomo's proposal to attack Kiso no Yoshinaka leads to analysis of the situation by Sanehira who assesses the situation taking into account such factors as the number of troops, geographical features, available resources, and time. Then Sanehira, as Yoritomo's advisor, suggests a plan to weaken Yoshinaka by making him fight with the Heike.

Texts of the late Heian and Kamakura periods rarely include background details of planning and decision-making by warrior leaders. Activities of numerous military advisors (*gunshi* 軍師) in the service of daimyo lords are usually associated with the 15th and 16th cc. Compilers and readers of the *Heike hyōban* in the 17th c. apparently projected these recent *gunshi* and their functions back to the times of the Genpei war. Despite their fictional and perhaps anachronistic character, discussions similar to the one in the above example seem plausible and they skillfully mix entertainment with military studies teachings. Also, this example fits well with one of the overall themes of the entire work: analysis and planning before action. The final quote is not found in the *Seven Military Classics*, but appears to be inspired by their style and content.

²⁰ *Heike hyōban*, vol. 13 (comment on the *Heike*, Ch. 7:2 "The Northern Campaign").

Conclusion

The *Heike hyōban* is an important commentarial work showing how the *Heike monogatari* was linked with the field of military studies in the early Edo period. Unlike the *Heike monogatari* that was written by courtiers and monks for various audiences including warriors, the *Heike hyōban* and *gunsho* texts in general were primarily written by warriors to educate and admonish warrior rulers and officials. The *Heike hyōban* may be described as a collection of didactic essays on the topics of governance, leadership, and ethics containing advice and admonition addressed to warrior rulers. Its ideological background is a mix of military studies with Confucian, Buddhist, and Shinto teachings. Priority is given to cultivating one's "heart/mind," attaining wisdom, following the "Great Way" of ancient sages, being well-versed both in civil and martial matters, and having foresight to prevent troubles before they arise. The *Heike hyōban* and *gunsho* works exemplify the political and ethical discourse cultivated among Edo-period warriors.

Abbreviations

Heike: *Heike monogatari* (13th c.)

Heike hyōban: *Heike monogatari hyōban hidenshō* (1650)

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SI 4904: Conservation as a Base for New Discoveries

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Abstract: Book fragments in the Old Uyghur language, which constitute the major part of the Serindia Collection, currently undergo conservation and preservation procedures. The recent results of the conservation carried out in 2019 showed, that modern methods not only give new material life to ancient texts, but also contribute to the academic research. This article focuses on conservation procedures of the particular fragment SI 4904 from the Serindia Collection, as well as on subsequently made discoveries.

Key words: Serindia collection, conservation and preservation, Old Uyghur Buddhist books, Kokhanovsky collection

Until recently, SI 4904 (old call number: K/20) was just one of more than four thousand fragments in Old Uyghur language kept in the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS. The fragment belongs to the sub-collection of Aleksander Ivanovich Kokhanovskii, medical officer of the Consulate in Urumqi from 1903 to 1906 and participant of the Turfan expedition in 1906–1907.¹ A.I. Kokhanovskii acquired manuscript fragments from the local people, therefore their exact provenance is unknown. His sub-collection includes 520 items, 34 of which are fragments in the Old Uyghur language. The majority of them are of Buddhist content small size fragments. SI 4904 is of special interest for us as it has a fragment of a coloured image on recto side.

In the inventory book, compiled in 1929–1930 by Sergei F. Oldenburg, this item was described as “a fragment of the partially preserved image with

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¹ Birth and death dates unknown. More detailed information in POPOVA 2011.

Mongolian texts on the reverse, Turfan”.² Registered in the modern inventory book as “several manuscript fragments pasted together”, *SI 4904* was received to Conservation laboratory in June, 2019. During the preliminary examination it became obvious, that the layers of paper were glued together uniformly and were most probably pasted together on purpose to form a hardened base for the image. As reading and identification of the texts was almost impossible without disjoining, it was decided to separate the layers for further study.

For this purpose, we conducted the analysis of the fragment, and the microscopic examination revealed that the image (*SI 4904 recto*) was produced with the use of adhesive mineral dyes on a primed paper. Supposedly, the range of used pigments includes red lead (red colour), indigo (dark blue colour), azurite (blue colour), gamboge with indigo (light green colour, virtually flat layer). White primer is visible on the edges of the image (its composition can be established only by a chemical analysis). Contour lines of dark grey colour found in places of primer and paint loss indicate that a thin uneven layer of primer was applied to create a uniform surface. After drawing the outline, it protected the paper from absorption of paint binder and provided color intensity.

On the miniature one can see a buddha sitting in *padmāsana* on a lotus-throne with light blue and red petals. Preserved parts of the *dhōī* garment are decorated with geometrical ornament. Parts of mandorla of green hue and light halo are also visible. The absence of specific attributes and fragmentarity of the image (loss of colourful layer in the central part of the fragment) makes it impossible to identify the buddha.

Due to the multiple delaminations, losses and abrasion of the primer and paint layers, it was obvious that the conservation procedures aimed to preserve the image and fragments of manuscripts and block prints, used for hardening its base, should be conducted with great care. Firstly, dyes and ink underwent water resistance tests. It turned out that all of them were not water resistant and they were fixed with a 2% solution of Klucel G to avoid blurring during conservation procedures. The edges of losses and paint layer cracks were glued by a 5% wheat starch paste to exclude further destruction. It was decided to gradually separate paper layers on the reverse side of the image, therefore the entire surface of the paint layer was fixed with the use of equally strong paper with methylcellulose (MH 300p) solution. Separation was carried out in two stages. At first, the layers of pasted paper were evenly moistened through

² OLDENBURG 1930: f. 1v, No. 19.

the filter paper. Then the fragments of manuscripts and block prints were separated entirely with tweezers and a scalpel. Thick layers of dark brown glue were removed, while the residues (impossible to be extracted without damage) that penetrated deep into the paper structure were left. Tears were reinforced with the Japanese conservation paper (Awagami Papers, Shunyo SH-1, 19 g/m²).

As a result, six separate fragments were extracted, five in Old Uyghur script and one in Chinese. The reverse of the coloured image appeared to be the part of a Chinese scroll, its text corresponds to Taishō Tripiṭaka No. 211 (04.0590b01–19) with some variants.

One manuscript fragment of larger size (in calligraphic script on recto and cursive on verso side) and two, extremely small (severely damaged, text is illegible), include a part of the colophon to a prestigious Buddhist edition (according to the names of initiators mentioned³).

Two fragments used to be parts of block prints. One of them includes only two incomplete lines of dhāraṇī.⁴ The other, fragment of the block print edition of Sitaṭāpatrādhāraṇī sūtra,⁵ allows to speculate on the date when the fragments were pasted: one can suppose that the image could not be produced earlier than the second half of the 13th c.

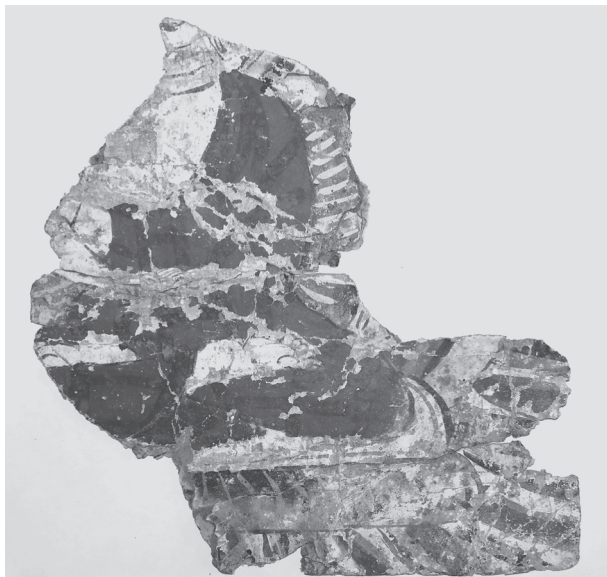
Thus, the conducted conservation procedures allowed to obtain unique Chinese and Old Uyghur texts that require further research. However, the function of the image still remains obscure. One may assume, although with a dose of skepticism, that it used to be a part of the deluxe Buddhist book cover.

³ No title is mentioned in the preserved part.

⁴ The dhāraṇī in Old Uyghur script is accompanied by glosses in Northern Turkestan Brāhmī. Most probably refers to Sitaṭāpatrādhāraṇī sūtra.

⁵ Paralell to T III M 182, preserved nowadays in the State Hermitage museum under call number BФ-531. Edited by RÖHRBÖRN & RÓNA-TAS 2004, 36 (lines 316–319).

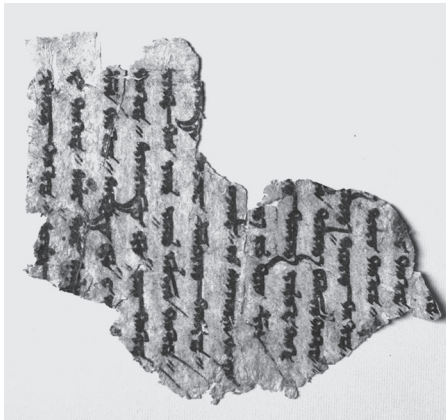
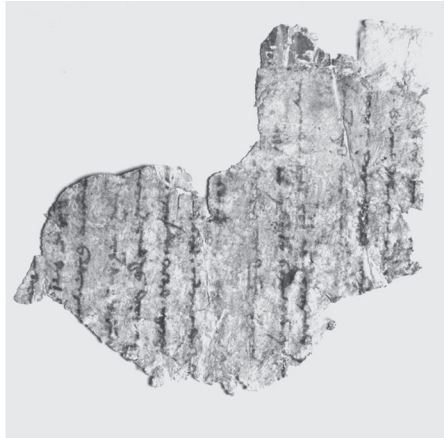
Facsimile



SI 4904/recto: before conservation



SI 4904/verso: before conservation



SI 4904: after conservation

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