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REVIEWS

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS · R.A.S.

# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

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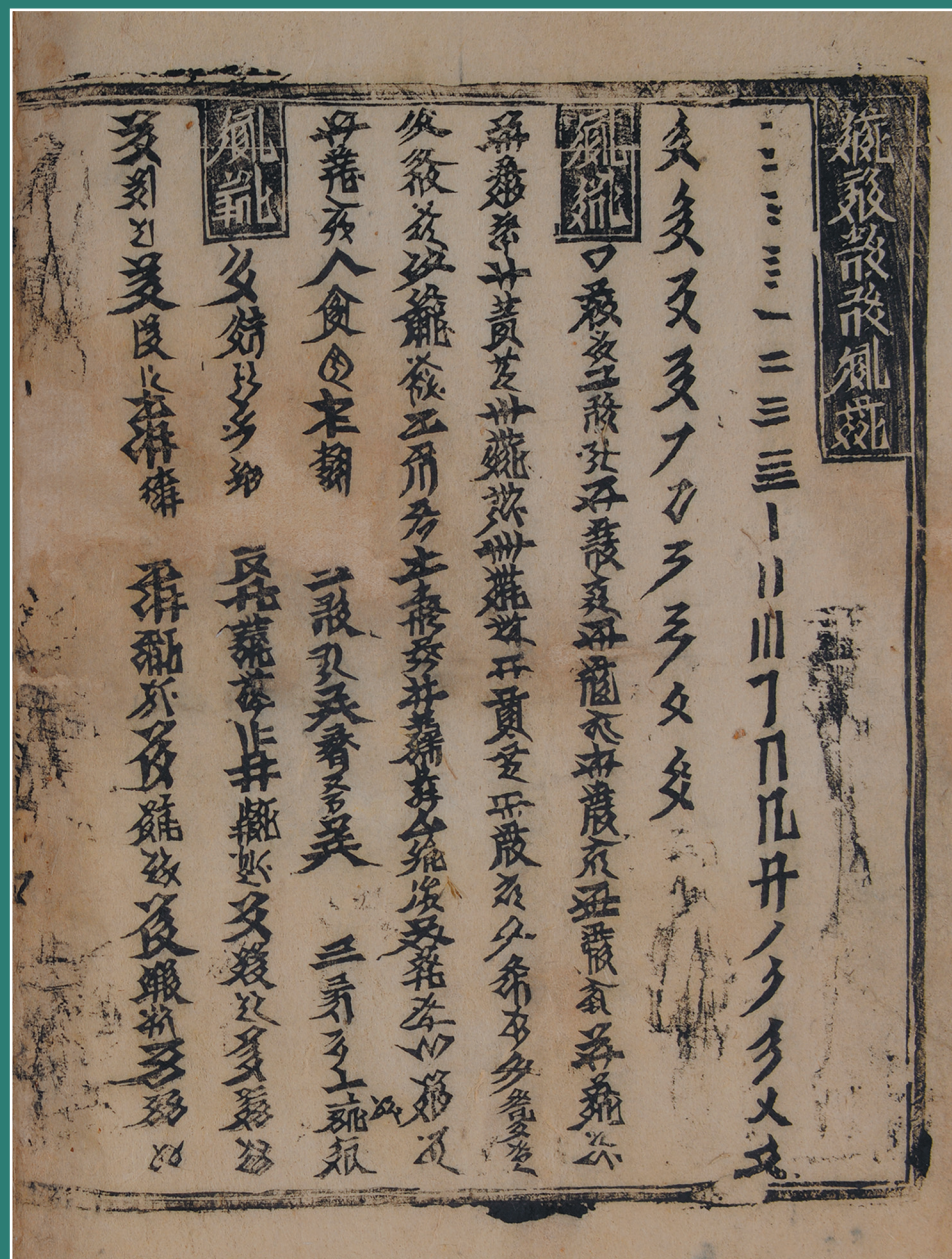Tangut Studies: Prospects and Problems for the 21st c.

# IN THIS ISSUE

ON THE COVER:
A page from the newly discovered Tangut xylograph *Essential Selection
of Mixed Homonyms Often-Transmitted*. Private collection.

## To the Blessed Memory of Professor Kychanov
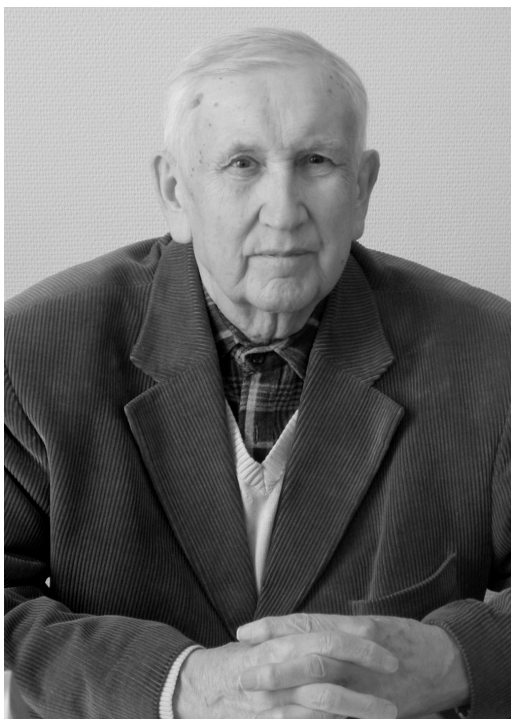


Professor Evgeny I. Kychanov
at his desk at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS,
October 22, 2012. (Photograph by V.P. Zaytsev).

On June 22, 2022, Tangutology specialists worldwide celebrated the 90th anniversary of the outstanding researcher Yevgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1932–2013).

Prof. Kychanov was an exceptional person with a rare talent for research work. Having linked his scholarly destiny to Tangutology, he wrote one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of this extremely difficult discipline of the Oriental studies. In doing so, Yevgeny Ivanovich also carried out superb work on many topical issues in the history of statehood, law, ethnogenesis and written legacy of the peoples of China and Central Asia.

Prof. Kychanov was born to a well-educated family in the small town of Sarapul on the Kama river in Udmurtia. His parents came from families of lower middle-class craftsmen and sturdy peasants, and they were not involved in any academic work. In 1950, Yevgeny Ivanovich set off for Leningrad with the intention of studying either history or philology at the Leningrad State University. However, he eventually decided to devote himself to the study of Chinese history.

In 1955, he moved on to post-graduate studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. During that time Zoya Ivanovna Gorbachëva (1907–1979), Kychanov's post-graduate research supervisor, worked with materials of the Institute's Tangut collection. She was cataloguing the Tangut collection and Nikolai Nevsky's archive kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Gorbachëva's invaluable contribution to Tangut studies was to prepare for publication Nikolai Nevsky's dictionary and works in two volumes of *Tangutskaia filologiia* [Tangut Philology] (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura Publishers, 1960). In 1962, nominated by Academician Nikolai Konrad (1891–1970), this work was awarded the prestigious Lenin Prize.

By autumn of 1958, Kychanov had drafted the text of his Candidate's (PhD) dissertation, *The Hsi Hsia State* (*982–1227*) and defended it brilliantly on June 30, 1960 at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Leningrad State University. This dissertation was the first work by a scholar anywhere in the world specifically devoted to the history of the Tangut state. The dissertation was ground-breaking because all earlier works in Tangutology had focused on the study of the language and its writing system.

On December 1, 1958, Kychanov joined the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as a junior researcher. Kychanov's work in the Institute included completing the full inventory of the materials from Khara-Khoto that had been begun by Aleksei Ivanov and Nikolai Nevsky. The result of the initial stock-taking of the collection was the publication of a brief annotated catalogue compiled jointly with Zoya Gorbachëva: *Tangutskie rukopisi i ksilografy* [Tangut Manuscripts and Woodcuts] (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura Publishers, 1963). This catalogue summed up the results of 50 years of work with the collection, with Kychanov contributing descriptions of 4,242 items — more than half of all the catalogued works.

In 1962, together with Mikhail Sofronov, Yevgeny Ivanovich engaged in deciphering Tangut phonetic tables. The results of their work were published jointly in *Issledovanie po fonetike tangutskogo iazyka* (*predvaritel'nye rezul'taty*) [Research on the Phonetics of the Tangut Language (preliminary

results)] (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura Publishers, 1963). The monograph outlined methods that made it possible to determine how to read characters contained in phonetic dictionaries of the Tangut language. The work identified the main resources, both external (Tibetan and Chinese) and internal (phonetic tables and glossaries), for a reconstruction of the phonetics of the Tangut language. In 1963, Yevgeny Ivanovich prepared one more work: *Zvuchat lish' pis'mena* [Only the Writings Can Be Heard] (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), this time intended for a wider readership. This fairly short monograph, which took the form of a series of essays on the history of Tangut studies, revealed his wonderful storytelling talent.

It is worth noting that Kychanov's organizational abilities were also immediately noticed by the Institute's administration: for two years after joining the staff he performed duties of the academic secretary of the Far Eastern Cabinet of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. In January 1963, Kychanov became the head of the newly organized Tangut group. The tasks were distributed between its members as follows: Vsevolod Kolokolov — Chinese classic literature translated into Tangut; Ksenia Kepping — non-canonical translated works and also the study of Tangut grammar; Anatoly Terentyev-Katansky was to study Tangut book culture; while Kychanov embarked on the study of original Tangut writings, including the translation of the 12th c. anthology of proverbs — *Freshly Collected Precious Parallel Sayings*. His study of this literary monument with a facsimile was published in 1974.

From March to July 1964, Kychanov attended the Higher Preparatory School for Foreign Students in Beijing as one of the last people sent on exchange from the Soviet Union to China just before the cooling of relations between the two states that would persist for many years. In China Kychanov repeatedly expressed his desire to meet with the outstanding researcher Wang Jingru, who had worked in the field of Tangutology in the 1930s, but at that time Kychanov's efforts were fruitless. Yevgeny Ivanovich met with Wang Jingru only in 1989.

From May 1965, Yevgeny Ivanovich worked at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as a senior researcher and in June of the same year, Yu.A. Petrosyan, the head of the Leningrad Branch, invited him to become his deputy responsible for research work. Kychanov remained in this position until January 1, 1997.

In 1966, together with Vsevolod Kolokolov, Professor Kychanov published facsimiles of Tangut translations of the Chinese classics, *The Analects*

*of Confucius*, *The Sayings of Mencius* and *The Classic of Filial Piety*, from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies. An important element of this project was a Tangut-Chinese glossary of 1,350 characters found in the published texts. Many of these characters had not been included in Nevsky's dictionary and were identified for the first time. Besides, the work was supplied with a Chinese-Tangut word list, a table of cursive elements in Tangut characters and also the text of chapter 4 of *The Classic of Filial Piety* with standard Tangut and Chinese characters presented in parallel. Making these unique texts known to scholars had great significance for the study of the ideology of China and Hsi Hsia and was an important contribution to the deciphering of the Tangut script.

The year 1968 saw the publication of one of Yevgeny Ivanovich Kychanov's chief works: *Ocherk istorii tangutskogo gosudarstva* [An Outline History of the Tangut State] (Moscow: Nauka, Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury), which in 1970 he submitted as his thesis for the doctoral degree in history. This was the first scholarly work in the world to present the history of the Tangut people from the moment of their origin to their tragic demise in 1227. The work clarified in detail the issues of ethnogenesis, the formation and consolidation of the state of Western Xia, its political, economic and military history, and also the peculiarities of the distinctive culture, religion and writing system of the Tanguts.

In 1969, Yevgeny Ivanovich began to study Tangut legal works and made it his goal to translate the *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhdennyi kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniia Nebesnoe protsvetanie* (*1149–1168*) [Revised and Newly Endorsed Code of Laws of the 'Celestial Prosperity' Reign (1149–1168)] (chapters 1–7). Work on this unique and voluminous (20 chapters, 1,460 articles) relic of East Asian jurisprudence lasted almost 20 years and resulted in the fundamental 4-volume publication in 1987–1989 in the series *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka* (Written Monuments of the Orient). This study immediately attracted attention of specialists. It was published partially in China in 1987 and in 1997 it was awarded the Oldenburg Prize of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

In addition to identifying and studying many other works of Tangut legislation in the course of preparing this publication, Kychanov also came close to settling a number of major issues concerning the system of government and legal regulation among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of Asia. Research on the Tangut law code led Kychanov to the study of mediaeval Chinese law. The result of Kychanov's research on the legislation of the Tang and

Song dynasties was the monograph *Osnovy srednevekovogo kitaiskogo prava (VII–XIII vv.)* [The Foundations of Mediaeval Chinese Law (7th–13th cc.)] (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), which for the first time expounded systematically and comprehensively the main provisions of traditional law in China.

While investigating the history of the ethnogenesis of the Tangut and their fate after the Mongol conquest, Kychanov developed an interest in the ethnic and political history of the neighbouring Khitan, Jurchen, Oirat and Mongol peoples. The most striking result of his research in this direction in the 1970s and 1980s was a series of books aimed at a general readership that presented historical portraits of rulers of the nomadic world: *Zhizn' Temuchzhina, dumavshego pokorit' mir* [The Life of Temüjin Who Thought to Conquer the World] (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), *Povestvovanie ob oiratskom Galdane Boshoktu-khane* [The Tale of the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu Khan] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1980), *Abakhai* [Abahai] (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1986) and others.

Until the early 1980s, China remained closed for Soviet researchers. Yevgeny Ivanovich managed to acquaint himself with current works in Chinese on the history of law and Tangutology in 1978, during a study visit to the Nordic Institute for Asian Studies in Copenhagen. However, direct personal contacts with Chinese Tangutologists were established almost a decade later, when in the winter of 1987 the leading figures in this field in the People's Republic of China, Professors Li Fanwen and Shi Jinbo, arrived in Leningrad. They were acquainted with some of Kychanov's works, parts of which had even been translated into Chinese. Then, in 1989, Yevgeny Ivanovich visited China for the first time after a long interval.

It was at that time that the PRC's Academy of Social Sciences approached the administration of the USSR Academy of Sciences with a proposal to publish a full set of facsimiles of the manuscript materials from Dunhuang and Khara-Khoto kept at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. This suggestion met with approval and gave rise to many years of collaboration. As part of this publishing project, between 1993 and 2000 a group of researchers and photographers led by Professor Shi came several times to Saint Petersburg (the historic name was restored in 1991). The team included Tangutologists Bai Bin and Nie Hongyin, as well as three representatives of the Shanghai-based *Ancient Book* publishing house, Jiang Weisong, Liu Jingyun and Yan Keqin. Yevgeny Ivanovich Kychanov acted as the editor on the Russian side. The result was the publication of 31 volumes of Tangut writings. The publication of the Khara-Khoto collection immediately gave a powerful impetus to Tangut studies around the world and above all in China.

The 1990s and early 2000s brought the publication of major summary works on which Kychanov had worked for many years. In 1997, the monograph *Kochevye gosudarstva ot gunnov do man'chzhurov* [Nomadic States from the Huns to the Manchus] (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura) came out containing an analysis of the processes involved in the formation of statehood among the nomadic peoples of Central Asia.

In 1999, *Katalog tangutskikh buddiiskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk* [A Catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist Texts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, compiled by Ye.I. Kychanov, introduction by T. Nishida, prepared for publication by Sh. Arakawa. Kyoto, 1999] was published by the Kyoto University. The list drawn up by Kychanov and Gorbachëva back in 1963 contained a description of the non-Buddhist part of the Tangut collection, while Buddhist texts in the Tangut language were simply listed. It took Kychanov more than 30 years to sort out and identify the Buddhist writings from Khara-Khoto. "The immense size of the material," he noted in the introduction, "required many years for the present description to be made available to scholars" (Catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist Texts, p. 1). Now the scholarly community was presented with the complete contents of the Tangut collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, except for administrative and official documents.

In 2006, an outstanding book was published that represented the outcome of 40 years of efforts by Yevgeny Ivanovich Kychanov: the *Tangut-Chinese-Russian-English Dictionary*. (Editor Ye.I. Kychanov, co-editor Sh. Arakawa. Kyoto, 2006). From his early days of working with the Tangut collection in 1959, Yevgeny Ivanovich kept a card-file dictionary that he expanded and supplemented throughout his life, taking account of both his own information, ascertained in the course of deciphering handwritten texts, and information published in the works of colleagues. Thus, this unique Dictionary summed up the achievements of scholars around the world in deciphering the Tangut writing system over the entire history of its evolution. The dictionary was mentioned in the Report of the Russian Academy of Sciences as one of the achievements of 2006.

In 2008, the publishing house of the Faculty of Philology and Arts of the Saint Petersburg State University produced a collection of Kychanov's published research under the title *Istoriia tangutskogo gosudarstva* [A History of the Tangut State], bringing together more than 50 articles on the history, law, military affairs and culture of Hsi Hsia. The publication of works from dif-

ferent years was not only of fundamental scholarly importance, but also showed the evolution of Kychanov's research, the routes to improving translations and interpretations of the sources, and the changes in approaches to the study of the Tangut civilization.

Besides works of general nature, Kychanov continued at this time to publish studies and translations of Tangut writings that were of enduring significance for the analysis of the history and culture of the East Asian region. In 2000, he published a study of the apocryphal text *Zapis' u altaria o primirenii Konfutsiia* [The Note at the Altar on the Reconciliation of Confucius] (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2000), which is a rare surviving example of a discussion between Taoists and Confucians in or immediately after the period of the "Hundred Schools of Thought." This text, the Chinese original of which is not extant, testifies to the dissemination of Taoist ideas in the state of Hsi Hsia and their influence on a certain part of its population.

It should be noted that Yevgeny Ivanovich wrote all his works while playing a major organizational role in the Institute. In the difficult period from 1997 to 2003 he was the director of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. He was a member of many editorial, scholarly and dissertation boards and committees, and he was awarded honorary professorships by many foreign universities. Yevgeny Ivanovich had dozens of students — post-graduates at the Institute and undergraduates at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the Saint Petersburg State University. In 1986, he was awarded the academic title of professor.

Until the last, before illness made him too weak, Yevgeny Ivanovich worked tirelessly for the benefit of scholarship and learning. He prepared documents from Khara-Khoto for publication and, together with Kirill Bogdanov, processed the Tangut collection aiming to take account of all the achievements that had been made in identifying and re-assembling Tangut writings.

Formally, Professor Kychanov was not a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. However, his contribution to Tangutology and Sinology made him absolutely unsurpassed among many generations of academicians.

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Kirill Bogdanov

# A Portrait of State Preceptor Xibi Baoyuan: Case Study of Identification

*Abstract*: This article is a case study of the engraving in the Tangut Buddhist text *Xibi State Preceptor's Compendium of Admonitions to the World* 詜蕬嶮脟祕薞莃 written by the Buddhist monk of high rank, State Preceptor Xibi Baoyuan. For a long period of time left and right parts of this illustration existed separately in two editions of this book. For this reason, this text's author in the illustration was identified incorrectly. The study of this engraving's fragments allowed to join two engraving parts in their original form and helped to identify the genuine portrait of Xibi.

*Key words*: Tangut Fund IOM RAS, Tangut state, engravings, Tangut Buddhism

The idea to write about the engraving which is the subject of this research belonged to the late Professor Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1932–2013). I remember the day when working with the Tangut collection, he took this engraving, looked at it for a moment and said: "This picture deserves to be written about". He was talking about an intro picture to the didactic text "A Compendium of Wisdom" by Xibi Baoyuan.[1] I was surprised by his words, but then forgot to ask his opinion, and now I think that he just liked it as a book illustration. Several years later, after E.I. Kychanov's passing, this engraving was in focus of my research again and I followed his advice.

This engraving (Pl. 1) is an introductory illustration in the didactic text *Xibi State Preceptor's Compendium of Admonitions to the World* 詜蕬嶮脟祕薞莃 (Tang 428).

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[1] In Tangut fund this text exists as two woodblock editions Tang 428, Tang 33, and as the manuscript Tang 34.

Pl. 1. Intro engraving in the text Tang 428 after first restoration

According to the colophon it is dated 1188–1189. This text is quite famous in the history of Tangut textological research. It was first mentioned and partly translated by N.A. Nevsky (1892–1937).[2] Many years later many researchers in the tangutology field referred to the *Compendium* in different contexts. The author of this book is Xibi Baoyuan, a Buddhist monk and a significant and famous person in the history of Tangut Buddhism primarily because of his numerous translations of canonical texts into the Tangut language. Ruth Dunnell describes him as a man with *ambitious erudition*.[3] He translated from Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese languages. In Kychanov's *Katalog tangutskikh buddiiskikh pamiatnikov* (*Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist books kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies RAS*) we find his name as an editor in colophons of some *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* editions.[4] Xibi Baoyuan occupied significant positions in the hierarchy of Tangut Buddhist Sangha:

[2] NEVSKY 1960: 83.
[3] DUNNELL 2009: 51.
[4] KYCHANOV 1999: 284, 286, 288.

Dharma Preceptor 法師 and later State Preceptor 國師.[5] According to the inscription in the cartouche, he is presented as State Preceptor at the right part of the engraving in the text Tang 428. But for a long period of time Xibi Baoyuan image was mistakenly identified with the person at the left part of the engraving in the Tang 33 edition (Pl. 2), because only this left part was known, and E.I. Kychanov examined only this part of the engraving.



Pl. 2. Left part of the engraving in the Tang 33 text
as it was given in all reference literature
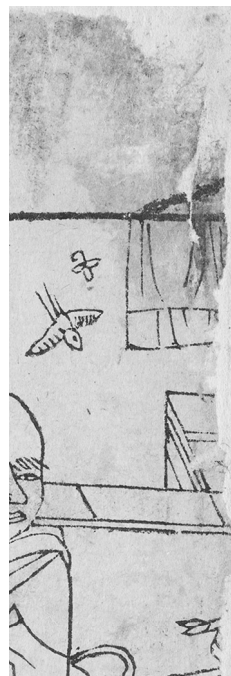
Pl. 3. A fragment of the left part
close to the missing right part

We see a standing Buddhist monk with hands in the *mudra* gesture and a group of people kneeling before him. On top there is an inscription in the cartouche on the left: "State Preceptor Xibi", and another inscription near the group of people: "Listening and accepting dharma". As a rule, in Tangut book illustrations the name of a person was placed near that person's image. According to this cartouche, Xibi Baoyuan was identified only with this standing monk since the inscription directly pointed at him. More importantly, in all earlier descriptions of this picture there were no indications that

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[5] KYCHANOV 2008: 603–605.

this fragment is the left part of the engraving. However, indirectly, the poses of all the people, and directly, two fingers on the right clearly pointed to the engraving's lost right part (Pl. 3).

In Russian Tangutological literature this engraving was first mentioned and described by A.P. Terentiev-Katansky, who considered it to be the complete illustration. [6] He ignored the central standing figure of the monk and concentrated his attention on the group of people who "listen and accept dharma", describing scrupulously their appearance. Recently, among unidentified fragments I have found — as I realized later — the right part of the engraving (Pl. 4). We see on it a high-ranking clergyman sitting on a throne of some kind, holding his right hand in a mudra gesture[7] and a figure of a servant standing behind the throne and holding the baldachin over this clergyman.
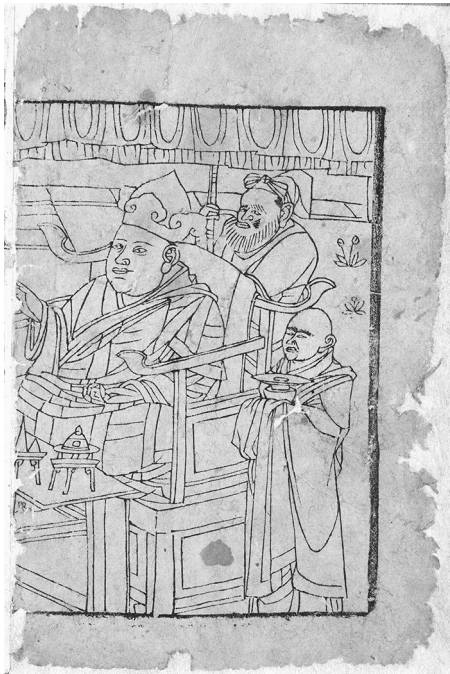


Pl. 4. Right part of the engraving that was found among unidentified texts.
Now we can see the face of the second monk on the right side of the engraving.
On the engraving in Tang 428 his image is damaged

[6] TERENTIEV-KATANSKY 1993: 49.

[7] I should remind that only this small part of this hand image (fingertips) is seen on the left fragment (Pl. 3) and that was the reason for the first restoration in process of which two parts of the engraving were joined as Tang 33 (Pl. 1), but not correctly, as we shall see later.

There is also another monk figure on his left who holds a kind of ritual vessel. Interestingly, this engraving copy is well known too. We find it under the pressmark Tang 428 and it was also described in *Katalog* (Pl. 5).[8]



Pl. 5. Right part of the engraving in the text Tang 428 before restoration

This picture was also mentioned by A.P. Terentiev-Katansky,[9] and published twice by E.I. Kychanov: one time with the title "Eminent Lama with servants",[10] and second time as "Noble Tangut with servants".[11] Despite firm evidence of the authorship in Tang 428 text's colophon, no researcher ever identified this man as Xibi Baoyuan. Ruth Dunnell describes both texts' editions (Tang 428, Tang 33) and notes only that they contain a *Preface* and a portrait of preceptor Xibi.[12] But we should keep in mind that left and right

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[8] KYCHANOV 1999: 615.
[9] TERENTIEV-KATANSKY 1993: 66–67.
[10] KYCHANOV 1965: 113.
[11] KYCHANOV 2008: 595.
[12] DUNNELL 2009: 52.

parts of this engraving always existed separately in Tang 428 and Tang 33 editions. We find the *Preface* only in text Tang 33 with the left part of the engraving. As for the edition Tang 428, it has only two pages: first page is the right part of the engraving with the portrait "Noble Lama with servants" (according to *Katalog*[13]), and the second one is the last page of the text with only the title and the colophon (Pl. 5). I assume that Ruth Dunnell making reference to the portrait of Xibi Baoyuan could mean only the left part of the engraving in Tang 33, because only in this edition there is a cartouche with his name. Finally, only after an additional stage of restoration work all the pieces of the puzzle came together, the complete original engraving appeared and the portrait of State Preceptor Xibi Baoyuan was finally correctly identified: he is the "Noble Tangut" pictured on the right part. Restoration also brought to light another discrepancy lost from view before: on the left part of the engraving Tang 33 over the baldachin we see a short line drawn by hand that does not correspond to woodblock printing (Pl. 6), and if we look attentively at the engraving in Tang 428, we see that the whole upper part of the baldachin is drawn by hand too. It looks like "artistic" work of book owner who decided to draw the whole baldachin image (Pl. 7).
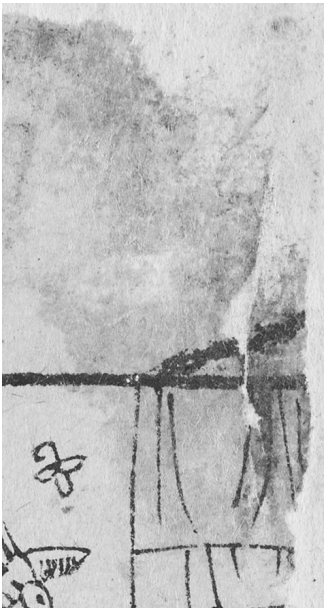


Pl. 6. Line drawn by hand at the upper left part of Tang 33

Pl. 7. Upper part of the baldachin drawn by hand on the right part of the engraving in the text Tang 428



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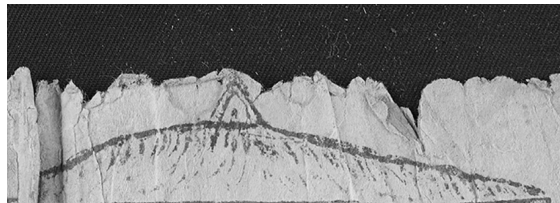
[13] KYCHANOV 1999: 615.

Thus, it is quite obvious that the left part of Tang 33 engraving is, in fact, the left part of the Tang 428 engraving. In this case the engraving recently found among unidentified fragments should be the right part of the Tang 33 edition. But probably this is not true, because of different sizes of printed frames, and because we cannot be sure that *A Compendium of Wisdom* 効骁訹 of Tang 33 was published originally with the intro engraving. In any case, now we can be sure that the text *Xibi State Preceptor's Compendium of Admonitions to the World* 訤瓺随彭訵疮蓏 of Tang 428 was published with his genuine portrait (Pl. 8). Also, the appearance of listeners accepting dharma in this engraving deserves special attention: their clothes are very similar and suggest that they are adepts of some religious cult. Hypothetically, they may be Nestorians who began their missionary activity during the Tang dynasty in China, and, as Kychanov noted, documents testifying to the activity of Nestorian Christians in Xi Xia were found in Khara-Khoto.[14] Especially interesting is the man on the left side in the second row — his set of face features, shape of beard, clothes, and especially his headdress look unusual for a Tangut, a Chinese or a Tibetan, and I propose that he could be a native from the so-called West Land.
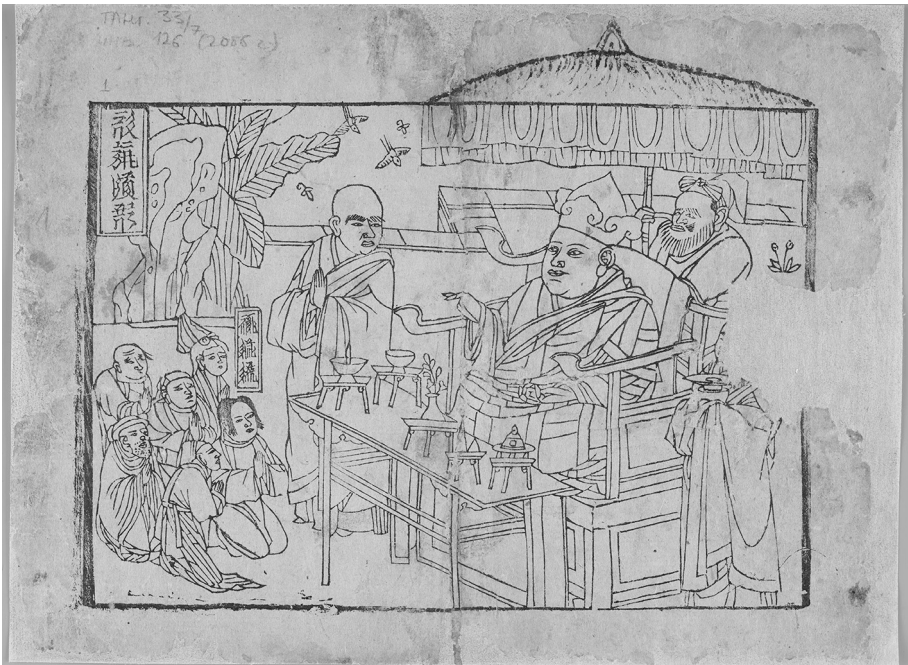


Pl. 8. Intro engraving of Tang 428 after final restoration

[14] KYCHANOV 1965: 257.

Some notes in conclusion: Tangut art as the original tradition arose as a mixture of art styles of neighbouring ethnicities. Therefore, I think, in order to trace its original style, we should try to explore each piece of art from the viewpoint of individual masterpiece style, rather than try to give general abstract characterestics. Not being a specialist in the field of art studies, I want to give my opinion about several features of this illustration that attract my attention. Art style shows itself better in small details: here, different expressions of people's faces and their poses create a specific atmosphere of the whole scene. When we look at the monk figure standing on the left and his facial expression, it seems that he contemptuously turned away from the group of people to whom dharma is preached and listens only to words of Preceptor Xibi. From the standpoint of European artistic tradition, all figures are completely static, they are fixed in the disproportional landscape and the group of people to whom Dharma is preached looks smaller than the group of preachers. However, there is a concealed dynamic in all these static figures that reveals itself in their body language, and each person's facial expression is unique. There is also one distinctive feature that makes this engraving special: it depicts an episode of historical reality with real people of this epoch, a rare example of realistic art in Tangut book illustration.

**Abbreviations**

KATALOG — *Katalog tangutskikh buddiiskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniya Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* [Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist books kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences]. See: KYCHANOV 1999.

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Viacheslav Zaytsev,
Chung-pui Tai

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

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

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

## 1. Introduction

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

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glosses in Tibetan writing. [1] Together with the Chinese transcriptions of Tangut characters contained in the bilingual glossary *Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Palm* (Tg. *mjɨ² zar¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjɨj¹ bju¹ pja̱¹ gu² njɨ̱²* 级緈疛瓕瓛苑辝玹; Ch. *Fān-Hàn Héshí Zhǎngzhōngzhū* 番漢合時掌中珠 ), [2] the Tibetan glosses [3] in these fragments provide straightforward information on the pronunciation of Tangut characters, and play a key role in the phonological reconstruction of the extinct Tangut language.

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

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

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

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

[3] Phonetic glosses in Tibetan writing are also called "Tibetan transcription(s)" in previous studies.

[4] I.e. materials for a dictionary of Tangut ideographs or characters.

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

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

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

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

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[5] Sawada 2013: 33.

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

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

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

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[6] Ishihama's diary entry, cited from OKAZAKI 1979: 1386.

[7] *Tōyōgaku ronsō* 1958: 年譜略, 5–6; *OGDFT* 1979: 序, 年譜略.

[8] ISHIHAMA 1935: 69–70; 1943: 194–195.

[9] These facts were first outlined by Japanese scholar and Nevsky's biographer Ikuta Michiko (IKUTA 2013). We came to the same conclusions independently.

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

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

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

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

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

[12] ISHIHAMA 1935: 70; 1943: 195.

[13] See: NEVSKY 1928: 41; 1960: I–106.

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

[15] KYCHANOV 1995: 42.

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

Nevsky recognized, based on Tibetan phonetic glosses, that one of the fragments was a 7-character *gāthā* (*śloka*), about 12 stanzas in total, ending with rhymes in the vowel *-i*. In another fragment, he found the Tibetan terms *āli* and *kāli*, suggesting that the content of this Tangut fragment could be a translated version of a Tibetan *śabdavidyā* text ("a fragment of some Buddhist grammatical text, which <…> is a translation from Tibetan"). Although Nevsky did not specify which fragments he was referring to, after analyzing his descriptions with the texts of known fragments, V.P. Zaytsev concluded that the one ending with rhyming vowel *-i* etc. is the fragment currently kept under pressmark Tang. 1075/Fr. 2, while the fragment containing the terms *āli* (Tg. ·*aˉ lji*² 朄𗏵) and *kāli* (Tg. *kjaa*¹ *lji*² 𗂧𗏵) is Tang. 1075/Fr. 5(10), in which the two terms are found in the first line. [19] As for other specimens, written "in still smaller characters," Nevsky suggested that they were probably fragments of a *śāstra* or *śāstras*. [20]

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

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[16] NEVSKY 1926: XVIII and 1960: I–163; 1928: 27 and 1960: I–95.

[17] IVANOV 1923 (actually printed between December 1924 and February 1925): 681–682.

[18] NEVSKY 1926: XIX; 1960: I–163.

[19] ZAYTSEV 2019.

[20] NEVSKY 1926: XVIII–XIX and 1960: I–163; 1931: 17 and 1960: I–27.

[21] NEVSKY 1931: 16; 1932: 396; 1960: I–27.

[22] NEVSKY 1931: 16–17; 1932: 396–397; 1960: I–27–28.

[23] NEVSKY 1926.

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

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

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

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[24] NEVSKY 1926: I–II; ISHIHAMA 1926; NEVSKY 1926: XVIII–XXIX.
[25] NEVSKY 1926: XXV.
[26] ZAYTSEV 2019.
[27] PELLIOT 1926: 401–402.
[28] NEVSKY 1931: 17–18; 1932: 397; 1960: I–28.

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

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

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[29] NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 397; 1960: I–28.

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

[31] N.A. Nesvky's letter to V.M. Alekseyev, 19 January 1929 (IOM RAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 4).

[32] IOM RAS ARCHIVE. F. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181.

[33] STEIN 1928: III-Plate CXXXIV. It was the first published photograph of a Tangut fragment with Tibetan phonetic glosses.

[34] NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 398; 1960: I–29.

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

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

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

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

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[35] ISHIHAMA 1935: 72–73; 1943: 198.

[36] NEVSKY 1931: 18; 1932: 397–398; 1960: I–28–29.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[40] Two letters we rely on are dated 10 March (to V.M. Alekseyev) and 19 March 1929 (to J.K. Shchutsky).

[41] The quotation marks here were added by Nevsky and indicate a title.

[42] IOM RAS Archive. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 10–11, f. 13–13 verso.

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

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

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

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

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

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[43] N.A. Nesvky's letter to Erwin von Zach, 7 February 1929, cited from GROMKOVSKAYA & KYCHANOV 1978: 178. See commentary on this letter above (note 11).

[44] Erwin von Zach's letter to N.A. Nevsky, 15 January 1929, published in IKUTA 2016: 177.

[45] N.A. Nesvky's letter to V.M. Alekseyev, 24 February 1929 (IOM RAS ARCHIVE. Razr. I, op. 1, ed. khr. 386, f. 7–7 verso).

[46] Cf.: NEVSKY 1960: I–169.

[47] ISHIHAMA 1935: 72; 1943: 198.

[48] See, for example: GORBACHËVA 1959: 166; NEVSKY 1960: I–169.

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

## 4. Friendship between Nevsky and Ishihama

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

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

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

[49] NEVSKY 1960.
[50] NISHIDA 1964: 8.

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

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

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[51] Wáng 2000.

[52] Ishihama 1915; 1920; 1922.

[53] Ishihama 1935: 69; 1943: 194.

[54] Nevsky 1931: 21, 1932: 400, 1960: I–31.

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

[56] Nevsky & Ishihama 1933: 101; Ishihama 1935: 61, 69.

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

[58] Ishihama 1926.

[59] Nevsky & Ishihama 1927a; 1927b; 1929 and 1932a; 1932b.

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

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

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[60] NEVSKY & ISHIHAMA 1930; 1932c; 1933 (cf. NEVSKY 1933); NEVSKY, ISHIHAMA & HIROSE 1933.

[61] ISHIHAMA 1942; 1952, 1956.

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

[63] ISHIHAMA 1935: 72–73.

[64] ISHIHAMA 1943: 198–199. This work was translated into Chinese as well, see ISHIHAMA 1947.

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

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

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

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

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[65] TSUTSUMI 2015: 6.
[66] MEHL 2003: 214–215.
[67] Shelf-marks: LH2*1.10**68 and LH2*丙*83–6* (LH2／丙 83–6).
[68] TSUBOI ED. 1958: 37; AZUMA ED. 2013: 13–17.
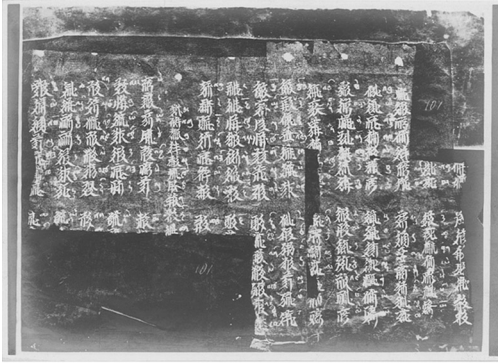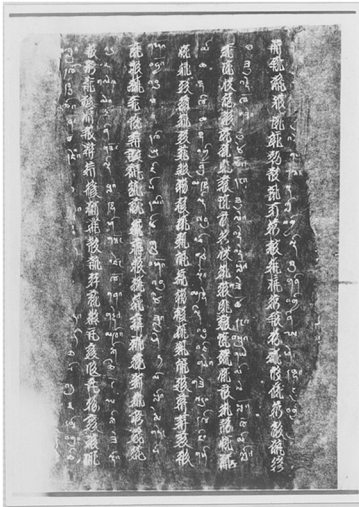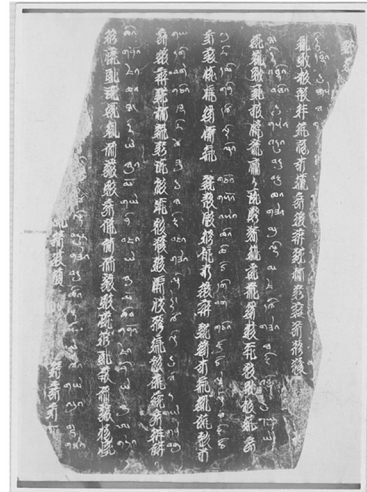
Pl. 1. Four photographs from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library.
Photographic copies of Nevsky's photographs a) no. 7; b) no. 14; c) no. 10; d) no. 11
now kept in the IOM RAS Archive (f. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[71] IOM RAS ARCHIVE. F. 69, op. 1, ed. khr. 181.

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

[73] On photograph albums see: TSUTSUMI 2015: 6.

[74] ISHIHAMA 1935: unnumbered plate; 1943: plate [7].

## 6. The lost extended manual?

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

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

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

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[75] NEVSKY 1960.
[76] Email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and Tai Chung-pui, 12 and 26 March 2020; email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and V.P. Zaytsev, 3 April, 11 May and 17 July 2020.

Pl. 2. Seven Nevsky's notebooks
from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library.
From left to right: Notebook 2 (part 1), 1, 2 (part 2), 4, 3, 5, 6, 7 (by our numeration)

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

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

The notebooks still do not have inventory numbers. By advice of Kuboyama Takeshi they should be referenced as:[77]

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

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

## 7. Contents of the Nevsky's notebooks

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

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

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

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[77] Email communication between Kuboyama Takeshi and V.P. Zaytsev, 3 April 2020.

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

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

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

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

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

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[78] NEVSKY 1960.

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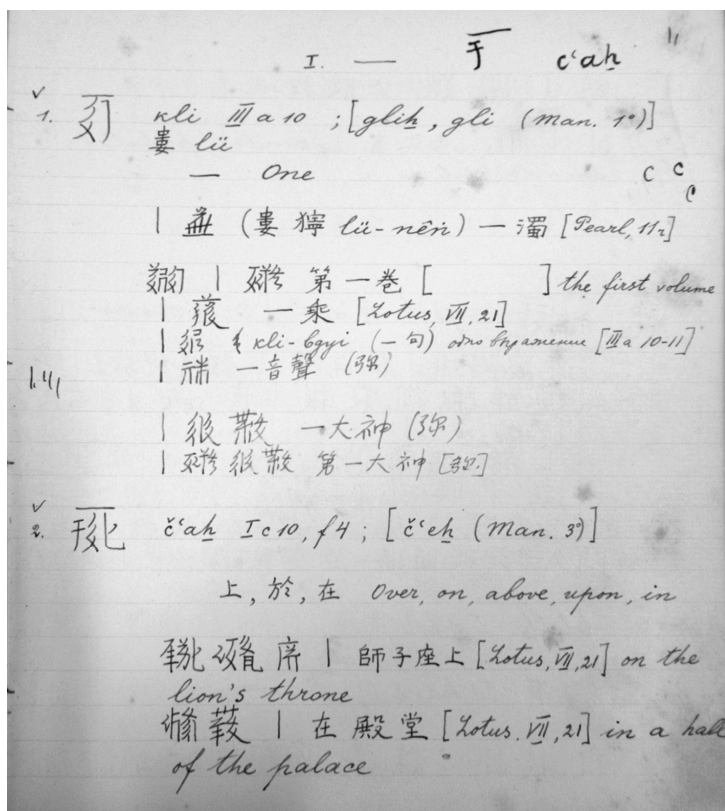


Pl. 3. First page of the re-discovered extended manual (Notebook 3, page 3)
from the Ishihama Collection of the Osaka University Library

## 8. Discussion and conclusions

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

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

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

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[79] NEVSKY 1960.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[80] NISHIDA 1975: 5.

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## Abbreviations

| Cн. | — | Chinese |
|---|---|---|
| IOM RAS | — | Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Институт восточных рукописей Российской академии наук, ИВР РАН), Saint Petersburg, Russia |
| IOM RAS Archive | — | Archive of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Архив востоковедов ИВР РАН), Saint Petersburg, Russia |
| Jp. | — | Japanese |
| Ru. | — | Russian |
| Sk. | — | Sanskrit |
| SPbF ARAN | — | Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской академии наук), Saint Petersburg, Russia |
| Tb. | — | Tibetan |
| Tg. | — | Tangut |

## Abbreviations for Russian archival sources

| D. | — | dossier, file (Ru. *дело*) |
|---|---|---|
| ed. khr. | — | individual file, file unit, storage unit (Ru. *единица хранения*) |
| f. | — | archival collection (Ru. *фонд*); the term has been anglicized as fond in this article |
| fol. | — | folio (Ru. *лист*) |
| op. | — | inventory, register (Ru. *опись*) |
| razr. | — | category, class (Ru. *разряд*) |

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Nikita Kuzmin

## Pilgrimage in Western Xia:
## Research on Tangut Wall Inscriptions
## in the Mogao and Yulin Caves

*Abstract*: The Tanguts who established Western Xia (982–1227) were active and devoted Buddhist pilgrims. They visited the Buddhist cave complexes of Mogao and Yulin in the Greater Dunhuang area and left several hundred lines of wall inscriptions. The paper examines various types of the remaining Tangut pilgrimage inscriptions and formulates their common textual formula. The comparative study of the resemblant Chinese, Tangut, and Uyghur inscriptions reveals their structural and vocabulary similarities and suggests the existence of the multilingual "inscriptional discourse" in the greater Dunhuang area in the 10th–14th cc. Finally, the content analysis of the inscriptions illuminates the features of the Buddhist pilgrimage as a local social and religious phenomenon and provides a precious primary textual source for the study of Western Xia.

*Key words*: Western Xia, Dunhuang, Tanguts, inscriptions, pilgrimage

## Introduction

The Greater Dunhuang area is located in the western part of the Gansu Corridor and includes the Buddhist cave complexes of Mogao (MG) 莫高窟, Yulin (YL) 榆林窟, and East Qianfodong 東千佛洞. The Mogao caves, located in the proximity of the town of Dunhuang 敦煌, not only preserved an abundant number of scrolls, booklets, and pieces of early medieval Chinese art but also thousands of inscriptions. These were left by pilgrims and donors from the Sixteen Kingdoms period (304–439) up to the Republican time (1911–1949).

Evgeny Kychanov pointed out that although the toponym "Dunhuang" is not attested in the Tangut sources, the city was depicted on a Xixia map created in the second half of the 11th c.[1] Paul Pelliot believed that no Tangut

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[1] KYCHANOV 2012: 127.

manuscripts and xylographs were discovered in the Dunhuang library cave (Cave 17) because the cave was sealed prior to the Tangut invasion around the year 1035.[2] This date is based on a passage from *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 [*Extension to the Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*], where Li Tao 李燾 states that, "[Li Yuanhao] changed the third year of Guangqing to the first year of Daqing (1036), once again raised [his] army and attacked Uighurs, occupied Gua[zhou], Sha[zhou][3], and Su[zhou]".[4] In addition, *Songshi* 宋史 [*History of Song*] lists Shazhou 沙州 (Dunhuang) among the prefectures that were under Tangut control in 1036.[5] Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 agrees on the date of the Tangut occupation of Dunhuang but suggests that the power of the Tanguts was not strong, because the Guiyijun 歸義軍 administration of Dunhuang continued to send envoys to Northern Song up to the fall of 1052.[6] After a careful onomastic analysis of the envoys, Liu Yuquan 劉玉權 suggested that they comprised members of diverse ethnic origins — Sinitic, Uighur, and Tibetan, but not Tangut. This testimony was recorded in *Song huiyao* 宋會要 [*Institutional History of the Song Dynasty*], and it justifies Rong's argument for Tanguts' insufficient control over the area.[7] Another piece of evidence that supports the hypothesis of the late Tangut dominance in Dunhuang is the use of the Northern Song reign period Qingli 慶歷 (1041–1048), specifically the year 1046, in the inscription in Mogao cave 444.[8] Okazaki Seirō 岡崎精郎 provides an even later date of the establishment of the Tangut control of the Dunhuang region — 1073 — based on the mention of the Tangut reign period *Guoqing* 國慶 (1069–1073) in a Yulin inscription.[9] It is possible that only in the 1070s did the Tanguts finally obtain stable political and military control of the Dunhuang region.

Inscriptions in the Tangut language preserved in the greater Dunhuang area were first studied by Chinese scholars, Shi Jinbo 史金波 and Bai Bin 白濱, who conducted initial fieldwork in the area in the fall of 1964. Their research group aimed to specify the dating of individual Buddhist caves, define the characteristics of mural art, and record the remaining inscriptions.

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[2] PELLIOT 1909: 506.
[3] I.e. Dunhuang.
[4] XZZTJCB, vol. 9, juan 119: 2813.
[5] SS, juan 485: 13994.
[6] RONG 2013: 47.
[7] BAI 1984: 213.
[8] DHMGKGYRTJ: 169.
[9] OKAZAKI 1972: 274–275. Inscription: MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 359.

The group was headed by prominent early Dunhuang and Tangut scholars, such as Chang Shuhong 常書鴻, Wang Jingru 王靜如, and Su Bai 宿白. By the end of their research, Shi Jinbo and Bai Bin published a decipherment and analysis of 92 Tangut inscriptions.[10] In the 2010s, Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎 conducted four field trips to Mogao and Yulin caves to carry out detailed research on the remaining inscriptions. The results of his work were published in 2017 in collaboration with Matsui Dai 松井太 in the volume *Tonkō sekkutsu tagengo shiryō shūsei* 敦煌石窟多言語資料集成 [*Multilingual Source Materials of the Dunhuang Grottoes*]. This work contains decipherment and translation of Uighur-Mongolian, Tibetan, Tangut, and Chinee inscriptions from the 11th to the 14th cc. Arakawa provided a detailed decipherment and annotated translation of 527 lines of Tangut inscriptions from Mogao, Yulin, and Dong Qianfodong, attempting to record all the remaining Tangut inscriptions, including many single Tangutgraphs and scribbles.[11] Due to the poor preservation of some inscriptions, which makes it impossible to decide the exact frames of a complete inscription, the Japanese scholar approached the issue by counting the inscriptions by lines (columns).

The activities of pilgrims and donors at the destination point of pilgrimage were significantly influenced by their religious beliefs, social status, and surrounding cultural context. Their behavioristic mode is to a certain extent formed by the *pilgrimage culture* that was prevailing in the Dunhuang area in the 10th–13th cc. Most of the remaining multilingual inscriptions from this period do not indicate significant variations or extreme derivations from the conventional formulas and Buddhist vocabulary. The comparative study of the Tangut inscription corpus displays multiple similarities with Uighur and Chinese counterparts. Therefore, research on Tangut inscriptions is impossible outside the context of the *inscription culture* of Mogao and Yulin, which has been forming and developing since the 4th c. CE.

## The "Anatomy" of Tangut Inscriptions

Tangut inscriptions can be classified by three criteria: physical characteristics, location in a cave, and content. Tangut inscriptions exist in two main physical forms: written with ink and scratched by a sharp tool (scribbles). Since the walls of many Buddhist caves were covered with

[10] SHI & BAI 1982; SHI & BAI 2007.
[11] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017.

straw-mud plaster, which is not an ideal surface for scratched inscriptions, scribbles were usually executed quite clumsily, leading to detachment of some pieces of stucco from the surface. The preservation state of the remaining ink inscriptions, which were mostly executed in cursive or semi-cursive script, varies from faded grey to richly preserved black. There is also one interesting example from the northern Mogao Cave 56 that displays two graphs with the frames of the characters delineated and the brushstrokes left hollow.[12] This example may suggest that some of the inscriptions may have been scratched and then filled with ink.

Spatial distribution of the wall inscriptions is quite different. A large number of inscriptions are seen in the corridor leading to the inner chamber(s) but concentrating predominantly on the northern wall. In the inner chamber(s), the inscriptions are fewer but cover the walls and the ceiling more evenly. The statistic suggests that the fraction of inscriptions is higher in the front chamber and the corridor than in the inner chamber. A wandering pilgrim may have preferred to leave an inscription in the front part of the cave because it was better illuminated than the inner spaces. Nevertheless, if a pilgrim was determined to perform certain rituals in front or in the vicinity of the particular icon or mural then he or she proceeded into the inner chamber and left the inscription in the main chamber.

Shi and Bai suggested dividing the Tangut inscriptions into three categories according to their content: merit vow inscriptions *gongde fayuan wen* 功德發願文, donor cartouches *gongyangren bangti* 供養人榜題, and pilgrim dedicatory inscriptions *xunli tikuan* 巡禮題款.[13] Pilgrim dedicatory inscriptions are the most intriguing and informative category due to their content and size. Usually, they contain valuable information about the date when the inscription was made, the name and the origin of the maker, or the person on whose behalf the inscription was made. In most cases, they also contain supplications, records about donations, and vows.

A typical formula of a pilgrim dedicatory inscription may be divided into three core parts, some of which may be partly or completely omitted. The first part *Introduction* contains information about the date the event (pilgrimage) took place as well as the name, social position, and provenance of the main protagonist. In the vast corpus of Tangut inscriptions, only eight can be dated precisely. The time scale of the inscriptions covers the period from 1085 to 1128,[14] which does not exceed the time of the Tangut rule in

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[12] ZGCXXWX, vol. 18: 231.
[13] SHI & BAI 1982: 368.
[14] SHI & BAI 1982: 370.

this region. It indirectly supports Okazaki's assertion that Dunhuang was occupied by the Tanguts only after the 1070s. The time span of Chinese inscriptions attributed to the Tangut period is broader and covers the period from 1071 to 1219.[15] The dating consists of a reign period, a year, written in the sexagenary system of "heavenly stems and earthly branches" (Chin. *tiangan dizhi* 天干地支), a month and a day. It is worth pointing out that most inscriptions in the Tangut script employ either a sexagenary system in which a year is indicated by a combination of two graphs or only the twelve branch system which corresponds to the zodiac animals.[16] Alternatively, Chinese inscriptions from the period of Tangut rule in the area (1073–1227) predominantly employ the reign period of Xixia's rulers.[17] Nikolay Nevsky pointed out that by translating Tibetan texts, the Tanguts became familiar with astrology, which was essential for compiling lunar calendars.[18] Presumably, the Tanguts inherited the Tibetan astrological tradition and often employed Tibetan zodiac symbols to indicate a specific year.

The seasonality of the dated inscriptions is also peculiar. The fourth and fifth months are predominant among the remaining records. Matsui Dai's research of Uighur and Syriac inscriptions from the Yuan dynasty indicates that many of them were made on the fifteenth day of the fifth month, which most likely was supposed to be auspicious.[19] Nevertheless, the general overview of Tangut inscriptions indicates that this seasonal pattern does not apply to the Tangut inscriptional corpus. Among the remaining sources, only one inscription (YL 39)[20] was made on the fifteenth day of the fifth month. Presumably, this day did not possess any auspicious meaning for the Tanguts in the 11th–13th cc. as it did for the Uighurs during the Mongol period.

The name of the main contributor(s) and his/her/their rank and provenance usually follow the date. Extant Tangut and Chinese inscriptions indicate a wide range of pilgrims' origins: Ganzhou 甘州 (present-day Zhangye 張掖, Gansu province, 4 instances), Suzhou 肅州 (present-day Jiuquan 酒泉, Gansu province, 2 instances), Liangzhou 涼州 (present-day Wuwei 武威, Gansu province, 1 instance), and even Song Han state (Chin. Song Han guo 宋漢國), and Northern Mount Wutai (Chin. Bei Wutai shan 北五臺山) in

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[15] SHI & BAI 1982: 371.
[16] MG 340, MG 464 — *hai* 亥 year (pig), MG 26 — *wei* 未 year (goat).
[17] Tianqing 天慶 MG 205, 229, Zhenguan 貞觀 MG 427, Guangding 光定 MG 443, Guoqing 國慶 MG 444, YL 16.
[18] NEVSKY 1960: 53.
[19] MATSUI 2018: 38.
[20] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 325.

present-day Mount Helan 賀蘭山 in Ningxia. Among the Yulin inscriptions, names such as Shazhou 沙州 and Guazhou 瓜州 are also mentioned. This data indicates that pilgrimage in the greater Dunhuang area during the Tangut period was predominantly local and pilgrims' movements usually did not exceed the realms of the Gansu Corridor. Hamilton and Niu also noted this peculiarity among Uighur inscriptions, pointing out that the pilgrims usually came from the proximity of Dunhuang, such as Shazhou, Suzhou, and Qamil (Chin. Hami 哈密).[21] It is quite surprising that we hardly see any representatives from the Ordos region — the main area of Tangut habitation and the center of the Tangut state. This was probably due to the remoteness of the region from the Tangut metropolitan centers in the east. Another possible explanation was provided by Valerie Hansen's research on the functioning mechanisms of the so-called Silk Road, which played a crucial role in the life of the greater Dunhuang area. After careful analysis of the remaining material and textual evidence of several sites located on the Silk Road, Hansen concluded that a "particular site preserves little direct evidence of the Silk Road trade."[22] In other words, the trade and exchange of commodities between the cities on the Silk Road took place predominantly between the sites located in proximity to each other rather than between those far away from each other. Similar patterns have been recently discovered by the BuddhistRoad team regarding the spread and diffusion of Buddhism in Central and East Asia. Their concept suggests that major religious and cultural centers (*major node*) form *feedback loops* with minor centers (*minor node*) so that direct influences and interactions occur inside the loops, which are interconnected and constitute a chain-shaped thread.[23] By extrapolation of this approach to the remaining textual evidence of the Tangut pilgrimage, we observe that the pilgrimage in the greater Dunhuang area was predominantly a local phenomenon.

Nevertheless, the fact that one inscription in MG 297[24] mentions the term "Han state" *zar-lhjij* 籡𗹦 indicates that the subjects of the Song court were traveling to Dunhuang during the Tangut rule. The bisyllabic toponym "Han state" is not widely attested in the Tangut sources. The Tanguts preferred to name their powerful neighbor as "Eastern Han" *wjɨ-zar* 𗂫籡 or "Eastern State" *wjɨ-lhjij* 𗂫𗹦.[25]

[21] HAMILTON & NIU 1998: 128.
[22] HANSEN 2012: 238.
[23] BUDDHISTROAD TEAM 2018: 129–130.
[24] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 269.
[25] SHI 2020: 436.

One Chinese inscription on the wall of MG 444[26] states that the pilgrim has arrived from Great Qingliang Monastery (Chin. Da Qingliang si 大清涼寺) on Northern Mount Wutai, which was another name for Helan mountains 賀蘭山 near the Tangut capital. Although the inscription did not preserve the name of the protagonist, the monastery and its location are attested in the colophon of the Buddhist text *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* 密咒圓因往生集 included in the Taishō Tripitaka (T46 n. 1956).[27] In addition, Yang Fuxue 楊富學 suggested that Great Qingliang Monastery on Northern Mount Wutai is mentioned in the colophon to the Yuan dynasty Tibetan Buddhist composition *Dasheng yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集, which was partially written during the Tangut times. Several parts of this text, not including colophons, were also discovered by Pyotr Kozlov in Khara-Khoto (Танг 251, Инв. № 913, 914, 4528).[28]

Tangut and Chinese inscriptions preserved several occupations and ranks. The most prominent and informative inscriptions are located in YL 25. They mention a number of donors of the Zhao 趙 family that occupied several military posts in the Department of military inspection (Tang. 𗲴𗥤𗥹 *gyad zju rjar*, Chin. *jianjun si* 監軍司) in Guazhou and Suzhou.[29] Another interesting instance from Mogao Cave 65 is an official named Tow 𗁂 from the department (*gwon*) of tax collection 𗣼𗡞 *zjij ·i̯ǫ* in Liangzhou.[30] Some inscriptions were made by Buddhist monks, who were either dwelling in the greater Dunhuang area or other regions.

Finally, the inscriptions contain more than a hundred personal and monastic names: Tangut, Kitan, and Chinese.[31] The most popular Tangut clan names that were used multiple times are Ma-dzon 𗼲𗤒 and Me-buq 𗤶𗣼. The latter surname is also widely seen in Tangut sources from the Kozlov collection and people bearing this surname constitute the significant majority of donors in Tangut sutra colophons.[32] Liang 梁 and Zhao 趙 are two Sinitic surnames that are attested both in the inscriptions and in sutra colophons.[33] Finally, one inscription (YL 12–13)[34] contains a Khitan name,

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[26] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 355; DHMGKGYRTJ: 168.
[27] SHI 1988: 118–119.
[28] YANG 2010: 15–16.
[29] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 308.
[30] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 253; ZGCXXWX, vol. 18: 211.
[31] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 329–331.
[32] KYCHANOV 1999: 666.
[33] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 330; KYCHANOV 1999: 664–665.
[34] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 295.

transcribed as Yeli 野利 corresponding to the Khitan ruling clan Yarud/Yelü 耶律.[35] The Tangut inscriptions show that pilgrims rarely paid homage to the deity as individuals. Multiple inscriptions contain several names of pilgrims, who made offerings, burned incense, and prayed for prosperity and good fortune. These name lists indicate that some may have belonged to the same clan or occupied similar ranks.

The introduction is usually organically connected with the next part, which contains a supplication stating that the protagonist *physically arrived* at the place of pilgrimage. The inscriptions contain various expressions used to denominate these pilgrimage sites. Pilgrims usually revered them as "holy palaces" (Tang. *śjɨj mjɨ* 夘肮)[36] or "thousand temples" (*tu mjɨjr ·jɨj* 孤縃糒).[37] Another term, which is also attested in Uighur, Chinese, and Mongolian inscriptions, is "mountain temple" 帍縃 糒 *śiã mjɨjr ·jɨji*. According to Arakawa's estimations, this term is used twice in the corpus of Mogao and Yulin Tangut inscriptions.[38]

Variants of the corresponding Uighur term *taɣ vrixar / taɣ buqar / taɣ süm(ä)* "mountain temple" are widely used in Uighur inscriptions.[39] In all these three compounds, the first part *taɣ* is the Uighur term for mountain, and the second one is the Uighur adaptation of the Sanskrit term *vihāra* (Uig. *vrixar* and *buqar*)[40] and the Uighur word *sümä* means Buddhist temple, monastery.[41] Since the word *taɣ* [mountain] precedes the compound *buxar süm* [temple], Tibor Porció tends to interpret it as "temple or monastery (inside of) mountain".[42]

This term is also attested in several Chinese inscriptions. One faded ink inscription on the eastern wall of the MG 61 states that on the 20th day of the fourth month of the fifth year of the Tianqing era (1198), a pilgrim came to the *mountain temple* (*shansi*) 山寺 to execute his pilgrimage.[43] Another Chinese inscription in MG 45 states that on the first day of the fourth month of the second year of Zhishun 至順 period (1331), a monk named Liu Zu 劉祖 came to the mountain temple to burn incense and pay homage.[44] Among

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[35] Róna-Tas 2016: 121.
[36] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 253.
[37] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 310.
[38] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 267.
[39] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 19.
[40] Wilkens 2021: 846, 196.
[41] Wilkens 2021: 637.
[42] Porció 2014: 172.
[43] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 347.
[44] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 365; DHMGKGYRTJ: 16.

several other Chinese pilgrimage inscriptions, this term is used in several instances, most of which originate from the Yuan period.

Some pilgrims did not limit themself to visiting only one location but travelled around the greater Dunhuang area and the western Gansu corridor. One Tangut inscription from MG 65 indicates that the pilgrim visited two "palaces of sand" (Tang. *mjị bẹ* 胤矵), which is an allusion to the two Buddhist complexes of Mogao and Yulin.[45] Another inscription from MG 196 introduces a pilgrim who visited the "two areas" (Tang. *njɨ ·iọ* 楄 舵), which is most likely also a reference to the two cave complexes.[46] Finally, an intriguing inscription from YL 12 tells us about a "professional" pilgrim, who is visiting "the holy palaces of the world" and in particular "holy palaces in Ganzhou".[47] The inscription remains silent about his spiritual experience in Yulin. One inscription from YL 25 employed the term "bodhi-realm" (Tang. *po tjɨj rjijr* 豩烮燉), referring to the Buddhist caves at Yulin.[48] These examples illustrate that the pilgrims of Tangut, Uighur, and Chinese origins, who visited Dunhuang and Yulin in the 11th–14th cc., were using similar terms describing the destination point of their pilgrimage.

The statement that indicates the fact of arrival at a sacred place is usually followed by a manifestation of the good deeds that a pilgrim has performed. This may include burning incenses *śja njwɨ* 蘒巍, which is a calque from the Chinese *shaoxiang* 燒香.[49] Wealthy pilgrims may have sponsored the construction or restoration of a cave or a temple *tshə ·jɨj dzjwɨ djị* 甋縣羅憑（憑）.[50]

The final part, supplication, is usually the longest and the most elaborate. Tangut devotees were praying for personal well-being as well as for the sake of all sentient beings. The inscriptions preserve various forms of such supplication. One variant is a wish that all beings may arrive at the Western Pure Land[51] (Skr. *sukhāvatī*, Chin. *xifang jingtu* 西方淨土) and pray for all generations to be able to behold the face of the Buddha, and that all the beings of the "lower *dharma*-realm would be liberated from the sins."[52]

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[45] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 253.
[46] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 256.
[47] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 293.
[48] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 300.
[49] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 267, 273, 301, 323.
[50] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 271.
[51] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 253.
[52] Matsui & Arakawa 2017: 267, 272.

The general pattern of the inscriptions is relatively unified and can be described by conventional structure. A completely preserved inscription usually started with an *introductory part*, which contained a date, expressed as a year either in the format of a reign period or a symbol of the zodiac cycle. It was followed by an introduction of the main devotee or a group of believers, who commissioned the inscription. Usually, this part mentions their origin and rank. A *statement part* declares that the devotee *has arrived* at the sacred location and conducted a series of actions, such as burning incenses and sponsoring the reconstruction of caves and temples. Finally, a *supplication part* contains prayers and wishes on the behalf of the pilgrim, other people, and even all sentient beings in general.

Another widespread kind of Tangut graffiti is donor inscriptions. MG 61 contains the majority of this kind of inscriptions, written near pictorial representations of donors and accompanied by their approximate Chinese equivalents. While a Tangut inscription reads as "the one, who raises a wish" (Tang. *tjɨ śjwo mjijr* 𘟣𗓊𗾔)[53] followed by a personal name, its Chinese version indicates "a monk with conscious action" (Chin. *zhuyuan seng* 助緣 僧).[54] The visual representation of the donors having shaved heads, wearing long monastic robes, and presenting various offerings in their hands suggests their ordained status. The inscriptions are located in rustic rectangular cartouches to the left of the figures.

## Challenges of studying inscriptions

Votive wall inscriptions are a visible and accessible source of information about the Tangut social and religious history. In contrast to many Buddhist texts that were translated from Chinese or Tibetan, the wall inscriptions are the original textual product of the Tanguts. Based on the Chinese and Uighur models, the Tangut inscriptions provide us with a glimpse of their lives, beliefs, and religious practices. They record several dozens of people's personal names and *dharma titles*, native places, and official positions. Supplication parts unveil their religious and spiritual endeavors. Although wall inscriptions are a source of valuable information, their study is a challenging task for a student of Tangut studies for the following reasons.

[53] MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017: 249–252.
[54] According to (HIRAKAWA 1997: 202) the term *zhuyuan* 助緣 is a translation of the Sanskrit term *saha-kāri-pratyaya*, which means "with conscious action" (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 274; 1194; 673). The Tangut term is not a simple lexical calque from Chinese, but an elaboration of the Sanskrit original term.

First, very few inscriptions are preserved in intact form. If the inscription was written with ink, its pigments may have been destroyed by the environment and the ink may be faded, making the inscription hardly visible. If the inscription was scratched with a sharp stylus and its stucco layer was later disturbed and fell off, its identification and deciphering become quite challenging. Second, the calligraphic font, cursive or semi-cursive script, may also become an issue for a scholar. Although the inscriptions have been thoroughly studied by Shi and Arakawa, there are still many graphs that cannot be clearly identified. Moreover, even if the Tangutgraph is identified, its usage and grammatical role may remain obscure and create a problem for an adequate translation. Third, due to the fragmentary and scattered nature of these inscriptions, their decent interpretation may be a challenging issue.

### *Inscriptional Discourse* of Mogao Caves

Tangut pilgrims did not exist in a religious and cultural vacuum, therefore emic research on votive inscriptions is unable to provide us with the comprehensive landscape of pilgrimage in the greater Dunhuang area. Comparative analysis of multilingual pilgrimage inscriptions from various epochs demonstrates a certain level of conformity in the applied patterns and vocabulary, which suggests the existence of a unified *inscriptional discourse* that existed in the area for at least sixteen hundred years. In other words, the pilgrims upon arrival to the sacred location were able to browse through the existing multilingual inscriptions and get themselves acquainted with the forms and styles of the local inscriptions. Some pilgrims also translated inscriptions of their predecessors, as we see in YL 25, which contains inscriptions in Tibetan and Uighur. According to Porció's research, two Tibetan inscriptions "are simply the translations, respectively, of the Uygur inscription next to them, or the other way around".[55]

We cannot deny the possibility of the existence of local monastic scribes, who were able to make a manuscript copy of a sūtra to be offered by a donor as an expression of religious piety and as a means to accumulate merit. Most likely, these scribes were also able to provide scribal services to make wall inscriptions.

The majority of the complete pilgrimage inscriptions in Chinese, Tangut, and Uighur contain information about the time when the inscription was

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[55] PORCIÓ 2014: 162.

written or the pilgrimage was conducted. Many Chinese language pilgrimage inscriptions created between the 10th and 15th cc. originated from the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) with a significant portion from the *zhishun* 至順 (1330–1333) and *zhizheng* 至正 (1341–1370) reign periods. Uighur inscriptions studied by Hamilton, Niu, and Matsui were written in the 13th–16th cc.[56] Interestingly, Uighur and Tangut inscriptions always start with the indication of time, while the Chinese ones often locate the date either after the name of the donor or even at the very end.

Since creating an inscription is an act of commemoration, a personal name is a common element in all inscriptional traditions. In many cases, it was located after the date and was also connected with the place of origin. Matsui suggests a similar inscriptional pattern, resembling the one described above for the Tangut inscriptions, that includes a date, name, place of origin, activity at the site of pilgrimage, and supplication.[57] Chinese inscriptions from the Tangut period are preserved in quite a poor condition that hinders finding a working pattern for the inscriptions. Nevertheless, Chinese inscriptions from the Mongol period are relatively consistent and often display a pattern comprised of a place, name, date, and description of activities performed at the pilgrimage site. Most of the Chinese inscriptions do not contain any supplications, wishes, and vows that are widely represented in Tangut and Uighur ones.

## Abbreviations

DHMGKGYRTJ — *Dunhuang Mogaoku gongyangren tiji* 敦煌莫高窟供养人题记. See: DUNHUANG YANJIUYUAN 1986.

MG — Mogao Caves 莫高窟. For the cited inscriptions (MG + cave number) see: MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017.

SS — *Songshi* 宋史. See: TUO TUO 1980.

Tang. — Tangut

XZZTJCB — *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編. See: LI 1985.

YL — Yulin Caves 榆林窟. For the cited inscriptions (YL + cave number) see: MATSUI & ARAKAWA 2017.

ZGCXXWX — *Zhongguo cang Xixia wenxian* 中國藏西夏文獻. See: NINGXIA DAXUE XIXIA YANJIU ZHONGXIN, GUOJIA TUSHUGUAN, GANSUSHENG GUJI WENXIAN ZHENGLI BIANYI ZHONGXIN 2005.

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[56] HAMILTON & NIU 1998: 127–210.
[57] MATSUI 2018: 38.

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Arakawa Shintaro

# The Tangut Dictionary by E.I. Kychanov
# and the Study of the Shapes of the Tangut Script

*Abstract*: The late Professor, Dr. Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov not only created a solid academic foundation for the research on history, society, law, and religion of Xixia, but also made a significant contribution to the study of the Tangut language and script. One of them is the *Tangut Dictionary* (Kyoto University, 2006). The author, as a co-editor of the dictionary, typed Tangut characters in the special font, checked phonetic-reconstruction forms, and worked on the arrangement of the characters in the index. Although the dictionary's method to find the character index is unique, it is useful for the study of the shapes of the Tangut script from the viewpoint of current research. The author discusses some topics from the viewpoint of linguistics.

*Key words*: Tangut script, Tangut language, Tangut lexicography, Tangut dictionary, E.I. Kychanov

# 1. Tangut language and script

## 1.1 Tangut language

The Xixia (Tangut) dynasty[1] occupied a dominant position in the northwestern part of China (1038–1227). Many Tangut documents written in the Tangut script are Buddhist documents.[2] After the extinction of the dynasty, however, the Tangut language and script[3] were in use until the 16th c. Tangut belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family and is the most northwestern of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Although Tangut seems

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[1] See KYCHANOV 1968 and so on for the general history of Xixia.
[2] See KYCHANOV 1982 and so on for the Buddhism of Xixia.
[3] See NISHIDA 1989 and GONG 2003 for Tangut language, and see NISHIDA 2001 for Tangut script. See NIE 2021 for both of them.

to be close to Rgyalrongic, there is no confirmed language that is a direct descendant of Tangut.

Continued research by scholars in Russia, China, Japan, and other countries in the 20th c. revealed phonological and grammatical properties of Tangut. Decoding the language with extremely high accuracy was made possible by the existence of multilingual diacritical materials such as Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit, in addition to the discovery of many kinds of rhyme dictionaries and syllabic tables based on "Tangut phonology" modeled after Chinese phonology. Tangut has interesting grammatical phenomena, directional prefixes, and pronominal suffixes that are not found even in Old Tibetan and Burmese.

## 1.2. Tangut script

The Tangut script 西夏文字 was created to represent the Tangut language and was promulgated in the name of *Li Yuanhao* 李元昊 in 1036. At this time, various new "Sinoform scripts 疑似漢字" were invented in northern and northwestern China, such as Khitan, Tangut, and Jurchen scripts. These scripts, which were similar to yet different from the Chinese writing system, played an important role in each culture.

Numerous Tangut documents of different kinds were unearthed from the *Khara-Khoto* ruins 黑水城. During the Tangut rule, Buddhist sutras[4] were systematically translated and were circulated by means of a number of printed books and not a few manuscripts.[5] While the Chinese classics were translated, a Tangut-Chinese bilingual glossary, original regal Tangut codes[6], collections of poems, rhyme dictionaries[7] and so on were compiled at the same time. It has been confirmed that approximately 6,000 Tangut characters were produced. This script continued to be used for several hundred years after the fall of the dynasty. The last written material has been confirmed to bear the date of the 15th year of *Hongwu* 洪武 (1502) in the *Ming* period. Later the Tangut script has become extinct.

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[4] See KYCHANOV ed. 1999 for the catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist documents in Russia.

[5] See GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963 for the catalogue of the Tangut non-Buddhist documents in Russia. And see KYCHANOV 1988 and so on for the Tangut manuscripts.

[6] See KYCHANOV 1987–89 for the Tangut famous codes, *Tiansheng* codex.

[7] See KYCHANOV 1995 for the study on the Tangut rhyme dictionary, *Wenhai baoyun* 文海寶韻.

## 2. The structure of Tangut script and indexes in previous studies

### 2.1. The structure of Tangut script

Although the Tangut script is influenced by Chinese characters, the glyph shapes are not congruent. However, the principle of glyph creation based on the concept of the main component might be considered an imitation of the "radical 部首" of a Chinese character.

Like Chinese characters, Tangut script characters can be divided into basic components such as the left part 偏 or the right part 旁, and their manner of composition is *huiyi* 會意 (compound ideographs) and *xingsheng* 形聲 (combining semantic and phonetic components). However, the composition *huisheng* 會聲 (combining phonetic components) is also popular.

**Type of compounds**

*huiyi* 會意 (compound ideographs)
　　祗 [2]'yiq 2.59 "sound" ＋ 絹 [1]me: 1.36 "not to exist" ＝ 祐 [1]me: 1.36 "silence"[8]

*xingsheng* 形聲 (combining semantic and phonetic components)
　　毢 [2]dzi:q 2.60 "to cover" ＋ 氵 (radical of "water") ＝ 毢 [2]dzi:q 2.60 "to cry"

*huisheng* 會聲 (combining phonetic components)
　　纰 [2]<u>bi</u>: 2.10 ＋ 孩 [1]'<u>o</u> 1.49 ＝ 辮 [1]bo 1.49

Tangut script differs from Chinese characters in many respects. For example, "it is extremely rare for the main component to become a single character" and "there is no pictographic nature even at the main component level." Meanwhile, the disposition pattern of the main component matches with the pattern of radicals of Chinese characters such as the left part *pian* 偏 or the right part *pang* 旁.

Chinese characters have "names of parts according to their position" such as the left part *pian* 偏, the right part *pang* 旁, the upper part *guan* 冠, and so on. Although the shapes of the Tangut script are different from those of Chinese characters, this "part by position" can be used to analyze the shapes.

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[8] In this paper, the reconstruction form follows ARAKAWA 2014 (+ rhyme number in Tangut phonology) and meanings of words are given by the author, although the dictionary originally used Sofronov's system (based on SOFRONOV 1968) and word meanings by Kychanov.

**Type of disposition patterns**

A1. the left part 偏 and other
𗁬 "language", 𗂼 "gatha (poetic verse of a scripture)", 𗃫 "to make a statement"

A2. the right part 旁 and other
𗈁 "not to exist", 𘀏 "poor"

B. the upper part 冠 and other
𘏞 "tree", 𗗥 "language", 𘒣 "a person who does something", 𘑲 "to see"

C. the upper and left part 垂 and other
𘅾 "all", 𗔆 "king", 𘚴 "to seat"

D. the left and bottom part 繞 and other
𗌰 "to live", 𗰜 "you (pronominal suffix)"

E. the encircling part 構 and other
𗯉 "silk", 𗴳 "twill"

F. the bottom part 脚 and other
𘄡 "leaf", 𘚫 "to expose"

<div align="right">(ARAKAWA 2022a: 96)</div>

## 2.2. Indexes in previous studies

Rhyme dictionaries of the time separated and arranged Tangut characters by phonetic properties. Although it is certain that Tangut radicals were recognized at that time, no material has been found that arranged characters by their radicals. On the other hand, for modern people who find it difficult to search for Tangut characters by pronunciation, an index to search for them by glyph shape is essential. In modern dictionaries, a "glyph index" is added based on a researcher's analysis. The most common is a system in which Tangut characters are categorized by "radical" and "other" and then further arranged according to the number of strokes.

**Analysis of the main part and other**

𘏞 ⇒ 艹 (4 strokes radical) ＋ 𘏝 (15 strokes)
The shape and number of strokes of the "radical" do not match among researchers.

𗕾 ⇒ 牛 (6 strokes radical) ＋ 夂 (4 strokes) in NISHIDA 1966: 366, LI 2008: 1043.

𗕾 ⇒ 丶 (1 stroke radical) ＋ 𗕽 (9 strokes) in HAN 2021, vol. 9: 11.

## 3. The Tangut Dictionary by E.I. Kychanov and the index

### 3.1. The history of the dictionary's publication

The late Professor, Dr. Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov not only created an important research foundation in the historical, social, legal, and religious studies of Xixia, but also made a great contribution to the study of the Tangut language and script. Prominent among them is his *Tangut Dictionary* (Kyoto University, 2006). Here, we look again at this dictionary, an important achievement of Kychanov. The author will show that elements of its organization, especially the index, make it useful in current research.

Here is a brief history of the publication of the Tangut dictionary. In the 1990s, Kychanov and the late Professor Dr. Nishida Tatsuo came up with a plan to edit and publish the *Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist documents in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. At the time, the author participated in the project as an "academic reviewer" ("издание подготовлено", i.e. "подготовка издания", lit. "preparation of the publication"). Actually, the author was in charge of assisting in the input of handwritten glyphs by Kychanov, checking Russian reconstructed forms of Tangut, and writing fair Tangut characters. At that time, there was no practical Tangut font in Japan, so writing by hand was the only option.

In 1999 and 2000, the author stayed in Saint Petersburg to research the Tangut versions of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra* and wrote his doctoral dissertation. After that, the author entered the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and began research career in Tokyo. At that time, a joint research project was launched again between Russia and Japan. This is Kychanov's *Tangut Dictionary*.

Just like in cataloging, he asked the author to input text in his manuscript, check the reconstructed forms, and "write all Tangut characters by hand." However, the handwritten version was expected to be very difficult, so the author instead used the Japanese-made "Konjaku Mojikyo" Tangut font. This dictionary was highly appreciated in Japan and received the 2nd Ritsumeikan University "East Asian Characters and Culture" Award in memory of the late Professor Shirakawa Shizuka (September 2007).

### 3.2. Index of the dictionary

In this dictionary, the index and method for arranging Tangut characters are very unique. In short, the characters are arrayed "from the last element of a character back to the first element." Tangut characters can be analyzed by elements, as in these examples. For example, in his index, the elements in boxes become heads.

This dictionary consists of a preface, a description of the dictionary entries, a list of abbreviations, indexes, and the main part. The index consists of a "parts index" and an "index of all characters." The former index divides all character parts into four parts: A the bottom part, B the right part, C the left and bottom part[9] and D the encircling part.

A: ▨, B: ▨, C: ▨, D: ▨

Within each section, parts are roughly arranged from simple to structurally complex glyphs. Each part is assigned a three-digit classification number.

In B series,

B001 ▨, B002 ▨, B003 ▨…

B001: 0097-0 𘉪, 0098-0 𘉫, 0099-0 𘉬…

B002: 0213-0 𘉭, 0214-0 𘉮, 0215-0 𘉯…

B003: 0218-0 𘉰, 0219-0 𘉱, 0220-0 𘉲…

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[9] It is a rare index for searching Tangut characters in which C type is a stand-alone headline (ARAKAWA 2022b: 24).

## 4. Study of the Tangut script shapes using Kychanov's index

### 4.1. Derivations of the Tangut characters

New forms of Tangut characters are derived from "parent forms" with different elements.

**Structure of the Tangut characters**

𗢤 **"deep"**                                    𗢤 **"mud"**
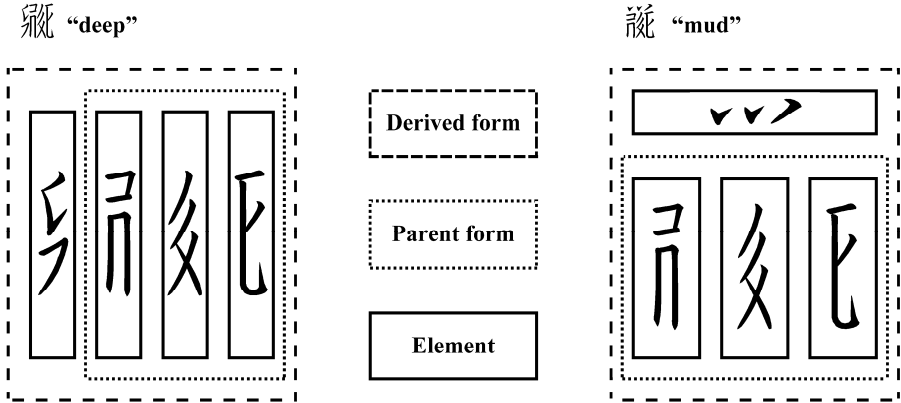


(ARAKAWA 2022b: 21)

As far as the author can see, there still seems to be a little figurative study of the derivation of the Tangut characters.

In Tangut, different syllables are usually written in different characters, even though the syllables are derived from the same word.

𗤁 ²byi 2.8 "to release (Vi)"          𗤁 ²phyi 2.8 "to release (Vt)"

On the other hand, sometimes the derived forms are clearly shown by "derivational" elements.

𗤁 ¹jo:n 1.56 "to part (Vi)"          𗤁 ¹cho:n 1.56 "to part (Vt)"

In a very rare case, we can also confirm an example showing inflection of a verb stem in a glyph derivation.

e.g. "to get"

|              | verb stemA      | verb stemB      |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Level tone   | 𗤁 ¹ri:r 1.79   | 𗤁 ¹ryor 1.90   |
| Raising tone | 𗤁 ²ri:r 2.72   | 𗤁 ²ryor 2.81   |

(NISHIDA 2012: 422 etc.)

We distinguish two types of derivative elements:

Type A: What were originally "semantic components 意符" of something were diverted for derivation.

Type B: They were created specifically for derivation, neither "semantic" nor "phonetic" components.

Some representative examples are,

A1: 艹, A2: 彳 and B1: 宀, B2: 亠

A1: originally a radical of "plant"

蕊 ¹shi: 1.11 "tree", 薻 ¹tsiq' 1.68 "tea", 藍 ²ga:' 2.21 "pole"

Sometimes it functions as a derivative part without the meaning "plants"

骹 ¹lhwi: 1.11 "to take" ⇒ 蒎 ²che: 2.32 "to hold"

The element makes synonyms but is essentially unrelated to the derivation of words, such as inflection.

A2: originally a radical of "act of a person"
It functions as various types of derivations.

a. Word derivation type: Initial alternation

拔 ²ba: 2.17 "to cut off (Vi)"          缀 ¹pha: 1.20 "to cut off (Vt)"
䄧 ¹jo:n 1.56 "to part (Vi)"          㸯 ¹cho:n 1.56 "to part (Vt)"

b. Word derivation type: Lax-tense alternation?

㲀 ¹ku: 1.4 "to loose (Vt?)"          㣲 ¹kuq 1.58 "to loose (CAUS?)"

B1 functions as just a derivative element
This is the most productive of the elements considered derivative-only.

a. Word derivation type: Lax-tense alternation

緉 ¹lwu 1.1 "to get mixed (Vt)"      蝙 ¹lwuq 1.58 "to mix (Vi)"

b. Word derivation type: Tone alternation

綴 ¹li:' 1.14 "trouser (n)"          薮 ²li:' 2.14 "to put on trouser (v)"
㣠 ¹zi:q 1.67 "shoes (n)"          薮 ²zi:q 2.60 "to put on shoes (v)"

B2 also makes many derivative characters.

㲀 ²mir "to deceive" ⇒ 龘 ²lha:q "to deceive"

However, there are few examples of phonological relationships between basic characters and derived characters.

## 4.2. Study of the shapes of the Tangut script using Kychanov's index

When conducting research on derived forms, it is actually useful to be able to search by the parent form rather than by the element for derivation.

A great dictionary published recently by the Chinese scholar, Han Xiaoman, has several different indexes.[10] In one of them, Tangut characters are classified by the part on the "right" and arranged in stroke order. First, the rightmost part becomes a head, and the characters are arranged in the order of the number of strokes including it.

RR361[11]

RR361 羊部

𝄢□☞——𝄢□☞
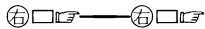
� （12） Ⅰ 4 2.68 mjijr ④298

𗙩 （13） Ⅴ -77 2.42 go ⑤240

𗷦 （13） Ⅶ 68 2.2 dżju ⑤329

𗚌 （13） Ⅶ 141 1.60 śiej ⑥458

𗒹 （14） Ⅲ -96 1.33 dwej ①143

𗘉 （14） Ⅰ 4 2.68 mjijr ④435

𗾰 （16） Ⅴ 70 2.33 gjij ⑧352   (HAN 2021, vol. 9: 185)

In fact, the rightmost element may not correspond to a radical, but may be an element of a radical. For example, in the following characters, although the part 刍 is a radical, the part 丨 is the headline.

𗽸, 𗀩, 𗿳, 𗀊, 𗀳, 𗽒 …

For more complex glyphs, parent forms are less likely to be the headline. For example, the following characters which are all glyphically correlated, are arranged in completely different places because the total number of strokes is different in Han's dictionary.

𗰔 thin → 𗟩 thorn → 𗠺 pierce
　　　　→ 𗠤 needle
　　　　→ 𗡧 pointed

---

[10] HAN 2021 is a great book in nine volumes and the last volume is an index of several different kinds. See the review on the volume: ARAKAWA 2022c.

[11] For example, (12) means "12 strokes including the radical".

羅 （14） Ⅲ-41 2.74 -jar ①672

羅 （14） Ⅲ-41 2.74 -jar
（羅之异体字） ①672

羅 （15） Ⅲ91 2.77 djir ③152

羅 （18） Ⅰ28 2.33 mjij ⑦530

RR158 羊部

羊 （05） Ⅵ86 1.30 tsjɨ ⑥169

羊 （07） Ⅴ73 1.54 khow ⑧248

羊 （08） Ⅸ-? 1.8 ze ⑧383

羊 （09） Ⅶ-29 1.26 dʑwa ③51

羊 （12） Ⅰ-41 1.86 bjɨr ⑧593

羊 （06） Ⅸ15 1.11 zji ①44

羊 （07） Ⅰ50 1.23 mjaa ①213

羊 （07） Ⅵ36 1.42 tshjɨj ①530

羊 （08） Ⅰ29 1.49 po ②7

羊 （08） Ⅶ96 1.28 dʑiə ②565

羊 （08） Ⅷ33 1.4 ɣu ①544

羊 （09） Ⅲ31 1.61 tjij ③216

羊 （09） Ⅴ81 2.61 kjɨ ③259

---

（10） Ⅶ70 2.12 tśjii ③409

（10） Ⅰ142 1.68 mọ ⑥137

（10） Ⅵ35 1.36 tshjij ⑥228

（11） Ⅲ34 1.20 tja ⑦35

（11） Ⅴ切韻 1.23 kjaa
（繈之异体字） ⑤316

（11） Ⅴ-133 2.48 kjow ⑦123

（11） Ⅲ111 2.63 niọ ⑦217

（11） Ⅷ92 2.42 ·o
（隨之异体字） ⑦243

（11） Ⅷ92 2.42 ·o ⑦254

（11） Ⅲ-148 2.55 tjɨj ⑦368

（12） Ⅴ切韻 1.23 kjaa ⑤324

（12） Ⅲ95 1.24 tā ⑧86

（13） Ⅴ187 2.56 khạ ③27

（13） Ⅸ192 1.24 lā ⑧336

（13） Ⅸ40 2.27 ljɨ ⑧355

（13） Ⅰ-4 2.46 bioo ④406

（14） Ⅰ29 1.49 po ⑦111

（14） Ⅵ-100 1.12 tswee ⑧484

---

右下 ↘ —— 右下 ↘

（07） Ⅱ32 1.69 wjɨ ①203

（10） Ⅶ切韻 1.82 tsjar ①182

（11） Ⅸ78 1.6 ʑjuu ③67

（11） Ⅸ57 2.9 lji ④184

（12） Ⅵ-108 1.24 tshā ③70

（12） Ⅵ-59 1.17 tshwa
（蒜之异体字） ③75

（12） Ⅸ-? 2.81 -jor ①205

（12） Ⅵ-59 1.17 tshwa ①102

（12） Ⅵ112 2.1 dzu ⑤394

（12） Ⅵ86 1.30 tsjɨ ②266

（13） Ⅸ8 2.14 la ③94

（13） Ⅴ123 2.28 kjɨ ④420

（14） Ⅶ-28 2.43 -io ③133

（14） Ⅵ34 2.33 tshjij ③139

（14） Ⅷ19 1.17 ɣa ⑧190

（14） Ⅲ-4 2.22 thwa ①672

（17） Ⅶ161 1.21 dʑjwaa ②450

(HAN 2021, vol. 9: 152–153)

In Kychanov's index, on the other hand, these characters are placed consecutively.

1407·0

1408·0

1409·0

1410·0 (→)

1411·0

1412·0

(KYCHANOV 2006: 30)

There are many other examples like this in Kychanov's index.

㣎 to collect, gather → 藹 to collect, gather
→ 儞 scattered
→ 飆 volume
→ 劖 to extract butter

蘐 （16） IX181 1.20 ljwa ⑥399
蘐 （17） V-22 2.5 khuu ⑦459
蘐 （18） VII24 （声调不详） dʑɨ
⑧181
虘 （15） IX-? 1.14 lhjii ②448
爐 （16） VII127 1.28 tśhiə
①409
矗 （19） IX21 1.49 lo ①477

RR2 丨部
⑥□☞——⑥□☞

刘 （06） III104 1.64 tja ⑤397
刻 （06） III137 1.52 noo ⑥225
㣎 （07） I46 1.36 pjij ①213
出 （07） I112 2.56 ba̱ ⑦64
刻 （07） III116 1.17 ta ⑦319
剥 （07） V114 2.28 khjwɨ
⑦473
殉 （08） VII151 1.29 tśhjɨ ①549
肖 （09） I60 2.17 bja ⑤286
牪 （09） VII52 1.69 sjɨ ②158
燃 （09） III137 1.52 noo ②158
㣎 （09） VII-157 1.53 śioo
③527
觓 （10） III-137 2.64 tjo̱ ⑦2
綳 （10） VII70 2.12 tśjii ⑤312
刻 （10） V-49 1.44 khiew
⑦350
觓 （10） I-103 1.32 phjɨɨ
⑦550
觓 （11） VII-5 1.34 śiwej ⑤186
儞 （11） VI148 1.24 sã ①369
綳 （11） I111 2.56 pa̱ ⑤322

綳 （11） II8 1.67 wjɨ ⑥213
劖 （11） VII-182 （声韵不详）
①635
綳 （12） V131 1.16 kjwi ⑤324
韵 （12） VII-134 1.38 śieej
⑧274
僦 （13） V-101 2.44 gjo ③428
緦 （13） IX92 2.70 rjur ③469
綳 （13） VIII84 1.19 xja ⑧446
綳 （15） II9 2.32 wjij ⑧384
劖 （15） IX-? 2.27 ljɨ ⑦449
※ ※ ※
辿 （08） V140 1.78 kier ④586
他 （08） IX142 2.60 lji ③457
纠 （09） III10 1.39 njiij ④70
儞 （10） V159 2.40 khjiw
①337
㣎 （11） III44 1.36 njij ⑧38
緲 （12） IX146 2.35 ljiij ③358
緲 （12） IX146 2.35 ljiij
（緲之异体字） ③370
綳 （13） V-53 1.79 gjir ④379
——
㣎 （08） III182 1.11 njwi ②468
㣎 （08） IX140 1.20 lhja ②586
㣎 （09） VIII-46 1.79 ·jir ③237
儞 （09） III-168 2.34 neej
①163
㣎 （10） I52 2.7 be ⑥10
㣎 （10） III-6 1.26 djã ⑥178
觓 （11） I97 1.86 mjɨr ⑦4
緲 （11） III142 2.29 njiɨ ⑥18

劖 （11） IX69 2.47 zow ⑦473
勢 （11） IX100 2.41 zeew
⑦559
刻 （11） V70 2.33 gjij ⑦583
勢 （12） V13 2.51 ku̱ ⑧147
綴 （12） VI62 1.20 tsja ①519
齡 （16） II10 1.35 wjij ⑧561
⑥下———⑥下
綳 （09） VII切韵 1.56 tśjwow
①182
苅 （09） V72 1.75 ŋur ⑧450
裛 （09） IX27 2.38 lhew ①422
絲 （09） VI134 1.69 sjɨ
（绪之异体字） ③740
綳 （11） I113 2.35 mjiij ④224
韵 （11） VII37 1.19 śjwa ②236
萌 （12） IX74 2.40 ljiw ③71
績 （12） III18 2.12 njii ④315
綳 （12） I113 2.35 mjiij ④317
韵 （12） VII-70 1.55 śiow ②277
豫 （12） V15 2.76 ŋwər ②584
菁 （13） II25 2.30 wej ⑤18
繢 （13） IX112 2.14 la ④395
蘐 （13） V-85 2.20 kiaa ②314
裔 （13） V192 1.85 kiər ⑧189
罪 （14） IX13 2.52 lju̱ ⑤26
蘋 （15） I152 2.12 phjii ⑤129
繢 （15） VII81 1.56 dʑjwow
④508
㣎 （16） III45 2.33 njij ⑧47
韵 （16） IX117 1.18 lia ⑧516
※ ※ ※

0154-0 舩

0155-0 詃

0156-0 㣤

0157-0 絗

0158-0 絗

(KYCHANOV 2006: 12)

The dictionary is useful not only due to the index showing correlations of components, but also due to the explanation of the characters whether the correlation is by "meaning" or "pronunciation." We can immediately see the derivation by meaning and the derivation by pronunciation. Just by looking at the same page and knowing the pronunciation and meaning, we can understand the derivation of characters as follows:

0053-0 蚤 vi̯e 2.9 "низ; дно; основание", "bottom; base", "底".

0055-0 㽦 tho 2.42 "подошва (у обуви)", "sole of the boot (of shoes)", "靴底".

0056-0 毿 vi̯e 2.9 "хозяин", "master; owner", "主人".

(KYCHANOV 2006: 99)

4311-0 舭 ˑa 2.14 "служебное слово; на; у; в; с;", "grammatical word; in; from", "虛詞; 中; 於; 從".

4313-0 舭 ngịn 1.36 "горный поток; ущелье", "valley; mountain stream gorge; ravin", "川; 岩; 谷".

4314-0 舭 ˑi̯ei 2.60 "вытягивать; растягивать", "stretch", "張".

4315-0 舭 ? ? "удлинять; растягивать; долгие гласные", "stretch; widen; make longer; long vowel", "長; 引; 延".

4317-0 舭 ngiwe 1.14 "знамя", "banner", "旗".

4318-0 舭 ngi 2.10 "знамя", "banner", "旗".

(KYCHANOV 2006: 608–609)

The dictionary is useful for investigating the function of the derivation-only elements shown earlier.

In conclusion, the index is still useful for investigating and studying derivation relationships for Tangut characters.

Unfortunately, this dictionary has been neither put into an electronic platform nor revised as the second edition. However, ideas such as the arrangement of Tangut script components will continue to be useful. In the future, research focusing on the derivation of Tangut characters and the index for searching characters are expected.

## Acknowledgements

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# The *Mixed Homonymic Characters*: Procedures for Primary Teaching as Recommended by the Tanguts

*Abstract:* The newly discovered Tangut xylograph *Essential Selection of Mixed Homonyms Often-Transmitted* is a primer designed to teach beginners over 2000 Tangut characters commonly used in Buddhist scriptures. Referring to various dictionaries and primers, the compilation approach of the booklet is modeled after the Chinese traditional primer entitled *Mixed Characters*, which was widely circulated at that time, but its notes focus on the interchangeability of homonymic characters in various manuscripts, rather than on providing phonetic or semantic explanations. The two prefaces of the book prove to be a unique material for showing how the Tanguts treated their own script, and how a Tangut teacher taught beginners to read and write such complex characters. Unfamiliar with the Chinese concept of radicals, the Tanguts regarded their characters as combinations of various components formed by simplest strokes and glyphs. They believed that it would be easier for students to learn Tangut characters by piecing the components together than trying to write full characters directly. Complete translations of the two prefaces to the book are presented for the first time in this paper.

*Key words*: Tangut, Xixia, script, primary education, writing, philology, Buddhist scriptures

## 1. Introduction

During the 11th–13th cc., the Xixia Tanguts compiled several dictionaries and primary readers, but few of them dealt with teaching procedures of reading and writing. As the Tangut script is considered to be the most complex writing system in China, it is interesting to know how a beginner develops his ability to read and write in a short period of time. A recently discovered Tangut booklet sheds new light on this topic.

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The original source presented here is from a private collection and it first appeared at an auction in Beijing in 2014, when four low-resolution images, folios 1, 4, 8 and 14, were published online.[1] One year later, the unrestored original was presented at the "Exhibition of the precious classics in folk collection" hosted by the Beijing Capital Library. The fine restored xylograph was auctioned off again in Beijing in 2017 and its current whereabouts remain unknown. A handful of articles have appeared in recent years, but all are based on the four folios available online. Fortunately, the Taihe Jiacheng Auction Company has left us a complete set of high-resolution photographs that facilitates a deeper understanding of this unique material.[2]

In the start-up introduction to this project, ZHAO (2015) mistakenly regarded this book as a comprehensive study of Tangut cursive handwriting, while SHI (2017) indiscreetly defined the book as "a xylograph concerning Tangut radicals and cursive handwritings". Both of them, without having read the whole text, improperly emphasized the importance of the appended cursive characters. In fact, the subject matter of the book is easily understood by reading through the text, which proves to have nothing to do with the study of cursive handwriting.

## 2. Material description and identification

The booklet introduced here is a xylograph in butterfly binding, 31×22 cm, comprising 14 folios of full text in relatively good condition, except some localized damage on the upper part of the central fold. There is a fragmentary title slip on the yellow wrapper (Pl. 1), reading *sej dwewr dźjɨ ·o* [*la*][3] 蔍繎颃�popup[蘱] (Chin. *Ru pusaxing ji* 入菩薩行記,[4] Record of entering the practice of Bodhisattva), which is evidently transplanted from another Buddhist work. The true end-title appears on the last folio (Pl. 15), reading

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[1] http://pmgs.kongfz.com/item_pic_545386/. The exact site of the excavation is shrouded in secrecy by the owner. It is possibly located, as has been speculated, somewhere in the Edzina Delta, near Khara-Khoto.

[2] Besides, another badly damaged manuscript, with only 14 characters in cursive hand surviving, was found in Guazhou County, Gansu Province in 1987, which was identified by ZHANG (2020) as a remnant of this work.

[3] The phonetic symbols are reconstructed by Gong Hwang-cherng (quoted from LI 1997), except the superscript marks of intonation are removed here for concision.

[4] Tangut *sej dwewr* 蔍繎 (pure enlightenment) comes from Tibetan *byang chub* (Chin. *puti* 菩提). In the Khara-Khoto collection of the IOM RAS, there are Buddhist scriptures with similar titles (KYCHANOV 1999: 493–495), which were translated from Tibetan *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod la 'jug pa* and *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa* respectively (NISHIDA 1977: 56).

*tshji tshi̱r ·ju dej mjij lə̄w dji dza bu ·a djij* 𗿂𗆧𗭳𗏹𗱢𗒀𗆟𗰖𗍁𗉟,[5] which was first translated by SHI (2015) into Chinese as *Zeyao Changchuan Tongming Zazi Xu Yibu* 擇要常傳同名雜字序一部.[6] WEST (2015, 2018) and WANG (2018) translated it as "Essential Selection of Often-Transmitted Homonyms and Mixed Characters [with] Preface in One Category" and "Various Characters Essentially Selected from Usual Transmitting Homonyms" respectively. Here we revise it as "Essential Selection of Mixed Homonyms Often-Transmitted", or hereafter, as the Tanguts called it in the preface, "Often-Transmitted" for short.

The text consists of four parts:

1) F. 1–2 (Pl. 2–3), the first preface, 9 lines per half-folio, except one more line for saving the space at the end of folio 2B.

2) F. 3–5, (Pl. 4–6), the so-called "second preface", 9 lines per half-folio. A specification of the procedure for learning Tangut characters, and a list of character components with appended examples in both regular and corresponding cursive hand occasionally used.

3) F. 6 (Pl. 7), a vocabulary selected from the *Synonyms*, 9 lines of large-sized characters in total, with small-sized characters in double lines.

4) F. 7–14 (Pl. 8–15), the main part of the book, 7 lines per half-folio, including more than 800 entries marked with large-sized head characters, followed by over 1800 small-sized homonyms in double lines under each entry.[7]

Concerning the nature of the main part, there are two notable contributions from previous studies. WEST (2015, 2018) called the entries "homonym groups", for he found that all the characters in one and the same entry, whether large-sized or small-sized, were phonetic equivalents, or at least phonetic similarities. He analyzed a sufficient number of examples as evidence. Here we take as an example the first sentence of the f. 7 (Pl. 1), which means "salute to the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṃgha*":

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[5] In the first preface (f. 1B), the book is also called *·ju dej dji dza mjij lə̄w* 𗭳𗏹𗒀𗆟𗰖𗍁 (*changchuan zazi tongming* 常傳雜字同名) or in the most shortened form *·ju dej* 𗭳𗏹 (*changchuan* 常傳, Often-transmitted).

[6] Tangut *·a djij* 𗉟 (Chin. 一部, one volume), indicating the length of the book, is not a part of the title. These two characters are used to mark the end of the whole work, but we see unexpectedly that there is a word *bu* 𗆫 (Chin. *xu* 序, preface) before them, making it seem that it is merely the preface to a large-scale compilation. Here we treat the available material as a complete work, following the suggestion of WEST (2018), and understand the *bu* (preface) in the end-title as "with preface".

[7] At the end of the text, there seems to be a short colophon consisting of transliteration characters too damaged to be deciphered, except a word *tsjwi khja* 𗧓𘊫, which might be, by supposition, the transliteration of *Zongka* 宗喀 (Xining city, Qinghai province).

Pl. 1. The wrapper

絆 *tha* — 𗼩 *tha*, 𗰜 *thã*, 𗴢 *thwã*;
𗫂 *tsji̱r* — 𗫸 *tsji̱r*, 𗪩 *tsji̱r*, 𗫵 *dzji̱*, 𗫹 *tsji̱r*, 𗫺 *tsji̱r*;
𗼽 *sẽ*;[8]
𗼲 *ji̱j* — 𗈬 *ji̱j*, 𗈭 *ji̱j*, 𗈮 *ji̱j*, 𗈯 *ji̱j*, 𗈰 *ji̱j*, 𗈱 *ji*, 𗈲 *ji*, 𗈳 *ji*;
𗰲 *ji̱j* — 𗰳 *ji̱j*, 𗰴 *ji̱r*, 𗰵 *ji*, 𗰶 *ji̱j*, 𗰷 *ji̱j*, 𗰸 *ji*, 𗰹 *ji̱j*;
𗺝 *dzjwi̱* — 𗺞 *dzjwi̱*, 𗺟 *dzjwi̱*, 𗺠 *dzjwi̱*, 𗺡 *dzjwi̱*, 𗺢 ?[9], 𗺣 *dzji̱*, 𗺤 *dzjwi̱*;
𗹲 *tshwew* — 𗹳 *tshwew*, 𗹴 *tshwew*.

SUN (2015, 2018) further pointed out that some characters in one and the same entry might be used as substitutions in various Buddhist manuscripts. For instance, in the last entry quoted above, the interchangeability of the three characters, *tshwew* 𗹲, *tshwew* 𗹳, *tshwew* 𗹴, may be evidenced by the following two examples from the Khara-Khoto collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS:

*Jixiang jiemeng zui xiaomie* 既向皆蒙罪消滅 (all who have gone forward achieve the elimination of their crimes) in the *Prajvaloṣṇīṣa-dharaṇī* (TK 129) should be translated as *tshwew dju̱ mjijr tja dzwej dźji dzjar* 𗹴𗫂𗼲𗰲𗺝𗹲𗼩

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[8] A borrowing from Chinese *seng* 僧, having no Tangut homonyms.
[9] No phonetic information is provided in available Tangut dictionaries.

(those who have gone forward eliminate their distresses) in inv. № 951, but the character *tshwew* 𗰖 (go forward to) is substituted by the homonymic *tshwew* 𗰿 (provide) in inv. № 809 (AN 2014).

*Xin qu wushangdao* 心趣無上道 (the mind goes forward to the supreme doctrine) in volume 36 of the *Ratnakuṭa* (*Taishō* T11, p0204a) should be translated as *njij zji phju tśja tshwew* 𗾔𗊲𗂸𗠒𗰖 (the mind goes forward to the supreme doctrine), but the character *tshwew* 𗰖 (go forward to) is substituted by the homonymic *tshwew* 𗰾 (salute) in inv. № 447 (ZHANG 2017).

This phenomenon is identical to the so-called *tongjia* 通假 (phonetic loan) in traditional Chinese philology, which indicates that the book author or transcriber occasionally borrows a homonymic character to replace the correct one (*benzi* 本字), just like Chinese pupils who often write down incorrect homonyms (*biezi* 別字) in their works. Many examples of phonetic loans have been found in Buddhist scriptures recently (SUN 2015, 2019, 2021), but of course, nobody is able to find the source for each pair of homonyms, because the quantity of extant scriptures is too huge for anyone to read through. That is to say, the task of making a detailed annotation of this booklet is almost impossible for anyone to accomplish, although it is possible that some new discoveries from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS may be gradually added:

*Jia yixun zhe* 加一尋者 (one *xun* [10] is increased) in volume 17 of *Ratnakuṭa-sūtra* (*Taishō* T11, p0095c) should be translated as *·a lhjọr jij dzjij zjij* 𗈬𗏾𗰔𗆧𗆧 (one *zhang* [11] is increased approximately) in inv. № 7377, but the character *zjij* 𗆧 (approximate) is substituted by the homonymic *zjij* 𗆦 (when) in inv. № 0411. The characters *zjij* 𗆦 (when) and *zjij* 𗆧 (approximate) are found in one and the same entry on f. 11A (Pl. 12).

*Men xing ren gui* 門興人貴 (the family members are flourishing and in high positions) in the *Tiandi Bayang Shenzhou Jing* 天地八陽神咒經 (*Taishō* T85, p1423a) should be translated as *sjwɨ ljij yjwe lo* 𗼋𗤁𗰱𗤁 (the generations are flourishing and in high positions) in inv. № 6818, but the character *ljij* 𗤁 (flourish) is substituted by the homonymic *ljij* 𗤀 (big) in inv. № 7029. The characters *ljij* 𗤀 (big) and *ljij* 𗤁 (flourish) are found in one and the same entry on f. 12B (Pl. 13).

Accordingly, Sun estimated that all the words listed were selected from the Tangut *Tripiṭaka* and were intended to teach students how to read and understand Buddhist works correctly. Undoubtedly, if we combine the large

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[10] *Xun* 尋 is a unit of measure ≈ 2.67 m in the Song-Yuan dynasty.

[11] Tangut *lhjọr* 𗏾 is a unit of measure being equivalent to Chinese *zhang* 丈 of the Song-Yuan dynasty ≈ 3.07 meter.

characters on f. 7 (Pl. 8) to form words or phrases, the Buddhist source of the materials will be apparent:

𘀀𘀁𘀂𘀃𘀄𘀅 (Salute to the Buddha, dharma and saṃgha); 𘀆𘀇 (once upon a time), 𘀈𘀉 (Chin. *Shijia* 釋迦, Skr. *Śākya*); 𘀊𘀋 (*Rulai* 如來, *Tathāgata*); 𘀌𘀍𘀎𘀏𘀐𘀑 (*Yaoshi liuliguang wang* 藥師琉璃光王, *Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūryaprabhāsa*); 𘀒𘀓 (*yinggong* 應供, *Arhat*); 𘀔𘀕 (*nanwu* 南無, *namo*); 𘀖𘀗𘀘 (*Amituo* 阿彌陀, *Amita*); 𘀙𘀚 (*Shizun* 世尊, *Bhagavān*); 𘀛𘀜 (*Baisangai* 白傘蓋, *Sitātapatroṣṇiṣa*); 𘀝𘀞 (*shengxiang* 勝相, *vijayā*); 𘀟𘀠 (*yaomen* 要門, *upadeśa*); 𘀡𘀢 (*nianxu* 念續[12]); 𘀣𘀤 (*Huayan* 華嚴,[13] *Avataṃsaka*); 𘀥𘀦 (*Yuanjue* 圓覺[14], perfect enlightenment); 𘀧𘀨 (*fayuan* 發願, to vow); 𘀩𘀪 (*Baoji* 寶積,[15] *Ratnakūṭa*); 𘀫𘀬 (*Niepan* 涅槃,[16] *Nirvāna*); 𘀭𘀮 (*Jiji* 集偈[17]); 𘀯𘀰𘀱𘀲𘀳 (*Wubu xinjing* 五部心經,[18]); 𘀴𘀵 (*Puxian* 普賢, *Samantabhadra*); 𘀶𘀷 (*Wenshu* 文殊, *Mañjuśrī*); 𘀸𘀹 (*Guanyin* 觀音, *Avalokiteśvara*); 𘀺𘀻 (*Dashizhi* 大勢至, *Mahāstamaprapta*); 𘀼𘀽𘀾 (*Xukongzang* 虛空藏, *Ākāśagarbha*); 𘀿𘁀𘁁𘁂 (*Jiuba tianmu* 救拔天母, a goddess in Tantrism); 𘁃𘁄𘁅 (*Pizhifo* 辟支佛, *pratyekabuddha*); 𘁆𘁇 (*luohan* 羅漢, *arhan*); 𘁈𘁉 (*haihui* 海會, a gathering of monks); 𘁊𘁋 (*heshang* 和尚, *upādhyāya*); 𘁌𘁍𘁎𘁏𘁐𘁑𘁒 (唵嘛呢叭咪吽醯唎, *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ hrī*),[19] 𘁓𘁔𘁕𘁖 (chanting his own name).

It is fairly clear that the material does not form a coherent statement, but rather a disjointed collection of words and phrases. This is exactly the compilation approach of the traditional Chinese philological work, *Zazi* 雜字 (Mixed characters). As a categorical compilation of everyday expressions, the *Zazi* was a type of primary reader that first appeared in the 3rd c. China and then spread widely along the Gansu Corridor in the 9th–12th cc. Various manuscripts of Chinese *Zazi* were excavated from the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang, in which most compilations are simple vocabularies with semantic

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[12] An informal abbreviation of the Chinese expression *niannian xiangxu* 念念相續, meaning "moment-to-moment continuity of thought".

[13] Abbreviation of the *Da Fangguang Fo Huayan Jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經.

[14] Abbreviation of the *Da Fangguang Yuanjue Xiuduoluo Liaoyi Jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經.

[15] Abbreviation of the *Da Baoji Jing* 大寶積經。

[16] Abbreviation of the *Da Ban Niepan Jing* 大般涅槃經.

[17] Abbreviation of the *Sheng Shenghui Daobi'an Gongdebao Jiji* 聖勝慧到彼岸功德寶集偈. For the Tangut versions kept in the IOM RAS, see KYCHANOV (1999: 481–484, 507).

[18] Tangut *njị̄* 𘁗 (heart) might be a misunderstanding, for in Buddhist tradition these *sūtra*s are generally called "Five Protections" (Chin. *Wu Shouhu* 五守護, Skr. *Pañcarakṣā*).

[19] This is the so-called "Heart mantra of Avalokiteśvara".

classification, only a few of them appended with phonetic or semantic annotations.[20] Authors of *Zazi* are rural schoolteachers without high cultural qualifications, so their compilations are little more than heaps of mixed words that teach students how to transcribe certain characters. They are not intended for teaching the language, let alone moral education.

According to the *Song Annals*, when Tangut script was created two years before the founding of the Xixia State, Emperor Yuanhao (1003–1048) delegated his ministers to translate three Chinese books, including the *Siyan Zazi* 四言雜字 (Mixed characters of four-syllables), into Tangut in order to popularize the new script nationwide.[21] The Tangut translation referred to here has been long lost, but four other similar works are preserved in the Khara-Khoto collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS, including:

1) Chinese *Zazi*, a manuscript without annotations (MEN'SHIKOV 1984: 313; SHI 1989);

2) Tangut *Sancai Zazi* 三才雜字, a xylograph without annotations (GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963: 48–50, 52–53; LI & NAKAJIMA 1997);

3) Tangut *Zuanyao* 纂要, a xylograph with notes in Chinese phonetic transcription (NISHIDA 1986: 8–11);

4) the famous *Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu* 番漢合時掌中珠, a xylograph with Tangut and Chinese bilingual correspondences (KWANTEN 1982; JING & BOBOWA 2018).

All the books mentioned above, which appear to have been compiled by native Tangut schoolteachers, are divided into chapters headed by subtitles to mark the semantic classification. In contrast, the Tangut *Often-Transmitted* adopts the compilation approach of traditional *Zazi*, except for the absence of categorical chapters and semantic subtitles, as most of the words and expressions are Buddhist terms that need no further classification. Analysis of the origins of words and expressions[22] convincingly shows that the author of the *Often-Transmitted* must have been a Buddhist who was familiar with

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[20] For example, S. 5514, 5712, cf. DUNHUANG YANJIUYUAN (2000: 170, 180).

[21] 宋史 vol. 485: 元昊自製蕃書, 命野利仁榮演繹之, 成十二卷, 字形體方整類八分, 而畫頗重複. 教國人紀事用蕃書, 而譯《孝經》《爾雅》《四言雜字》為蕃語。(Yuanhao designed the Tangut script and ordered Yeli Renrong to develop it into twelve volumes. The shapes of the characters are as square as the regular script, but the strokes are repeated more. He ordered the countrymen to record events in Tangut script, and to translate *Xiaojing*, *Erya*, *Siyan Zazi* into the Tangut language.)

[22] Most of the Tangut words are transcriptions or translations from Chinese, only a few of them, e.g., *ɣja phiow* 希祥, *·jij bu* 皖祔, *tshji ŋwu* 茲荒, *ywie rjir* 刻髹, come from Tibetan *gdugs dkar*, *vijayā*, *man ngag*, *mthu thob* respectively.

Chinese Buddhism, but did not belong to any Buddhist sect. This hypothesis about his identity will be proved in the first preface.

It is a fact that not all Tangut characters in the same entry are absolute phonetic equivalents,[23] which shows that the *Often-Transmitted* is by no means a lexicon, but a selection of disconnected words and expressions from Buddhist scriptures, something similar to the Chinese *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經 音義 (Sounds and meanings for the *Tripiṭaka*) compiled by Huilin (737–820). The difference is that the author of the *Often-Transmitted* put more emphasis on the interchangeability of characters used in literature, not paying too much attention to whether they are absolute equivalents in pronunciation.

Now we can comprehend the implications of the title of the booklet, "Essential Selection of Mixed Homonyms Often-Transmitted". Its compilation was modeled after the Chinese primer *Zazi*, and was intended to teach students how to grasp phonetically interchangeable characters of Buddhist scriptures, rather than to teach the Tangut language itself. Its basic material consists of the most commonly used Buddhist terms and expressions conveniently chosen so that the book is much shorter in length than a lexicon or even than most primary readers. As for the procedure and method of learning the characters, they are described in its preface.

## 3. The preface 1: translation and annotation

If we regard the *Often-Transmitted* as a complete whole, ignoring the *bu* 䏁 (preface) in the end-title, the real preface of the book will be recognized in the first two folios (Pl. 2, 3), where the author points out that the reason why beginners find it difficult to learn the script lies in incorrect teaching methods. Instead of teaching students to read an entire orthodox dictionary, the author advocates differentiating the characters according to their usage frequency, and, based on various dictionaries and primary readers, he selects and marks the "often-transmitted" characters to be taught first, in order to achieve the ultimate goal of reading Buddhist scriptures effectively. Of course, it is appropriate for students to use a complete dictionary after they have grasped the characters in the *Often-Transmitted*.

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[23] Overall, differences occur more frequently in the finals than in the initials. Some of the points of doubt may have been caused by the phonological differences between the Tangut rhyme dictionary and the spoken language. In fact, the phonological system of the Tangut spoken language is not as complex as that reconstructed by linguists from the classifications in the rhyme dictionary. WEST (2018) suspects that it may represent the phonetic system for a different dialect or historical stage of the Tangut language.
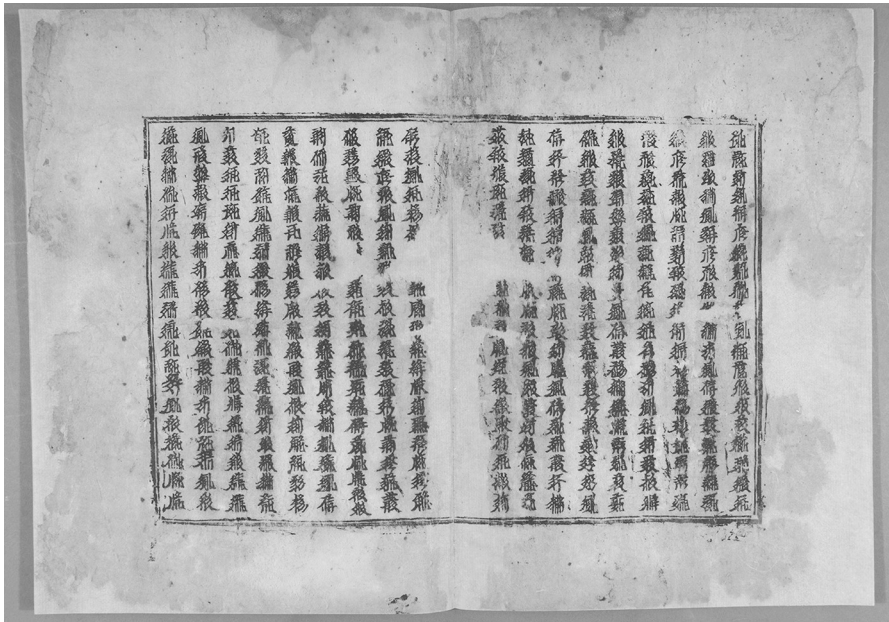
Pl. 2. Folio 1, preface 1
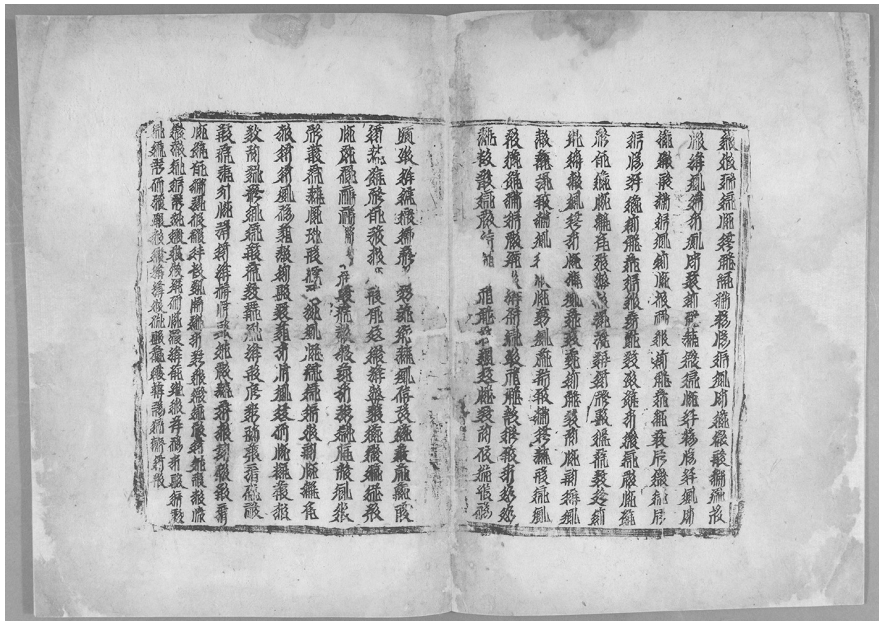
Pl. 3. Folio 2, preface 1

We must confess that this preface is the most difficult essay we have ever encountered, and it contains many peculiar terms, metaphors, and modes of expression that are unfamiliar to us. Nobody has tried to explain the whole text so far, except WANG (2018), WEST (2018) and ZHANG (2020) respectively, who have chosen several easily understandable sentences for translation. Needless to say, given the present level of Tangutology, it is impossible for us to present the one-by-one decipherment of the characters. In order to maintain the integrity and readability of the sentences, we provide relatively free translations with annotations, rather than deciphering the text in the strictest way.[24]

Pl. 2, *l.* 1–5

𗹢𗴺𗂰𗹲𗋼𗍁𗤒𗱳𗊌，𘃞𗤟𘋪𗍊𘜶．𗳠𗤒𘈗，𗤛𗤋𗏝𗋽，𗼨𘃜𘋧𗤟𘀍𗍁𘏲，𗫵□𘋧𘏟《𗤟𗰖》𗤋𗍣𗏝𘉌𘄄𘝾𗤋𗍁𘝳，𗫵𗹙𗵽𘈶𘈢𗹲𗏝𘅙𗑛，𗼷𘕼𗍣𗼷𘕼𘀍．𗈜𘟣𘈎𗫵𘜶𘃋𘈢𘌒𘋪𗲼𗴾𗣫𗏳𘝌，𗼨𗤟𗏝𘒜𘈧𗫵𘒂𗋽，𘕘𘕼𘀍𗈵．

Numerous people who seek truth and accumulated virtue have to rely upon the scripts. Learning to write Tangut characters[25] is so difficult that few women are literate. Among them there are also people who learn the scriptures but cannot grasp the *Sea of Characters*[26] directly, and there are also children lacking willpower who have learned a portion, but then forgot a portion. Though preceptors, disciples and parents corrected them drudgingly and anxiously, they still read slowly and forget quickly, because difficult characters are mingled with easy ones.[27]

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[24] In the following transcription, the Tangut original is punctuated and paragraphed appropriately for comprehension. The "□" indicates missing characters due to damage.

[25] Here we differentiate the translation of *·jwɨr dji* 𗤒𗤟 (script, Chin. *wenzi* 文字) from *dji* 𗤟 (character, Chin. *zi* 字). The latter specifically refers to all of the Chinese-type ideographs, including Tangut.

[26] The title of the book, *dji ŋiow* 𗤟𗰖 (Chin. *zihai* 字海, Sea of Characters), seems different from that of the famous dictionary *·jwɨr ŋiow* 𗤒𗰖 (Chin. *wenhai* 文海, Sea of Writings), but both have a similar literal meaning. We have not found a book entitled *dji ŋiow* in any Tangut collections so far. Considering that the Tangut word *dji* and *·jwɨr* form a pair of synonyms and often appear as the two-character compound *·jwɨr dji* 𗤒𗤟 (script) in literature, it seems that both synonymous titles indicate the same work, because one cannot imagine that the Xixia government organized another compilation soon after the official work *·jwɨr ŋiow* was published. The original xylograph of *·jwɨr ŋiow*, the rhyme dictionary with the most detailed commentaries, is kept at the IOM RAS (GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963: 45–46). Now we have its Russian translation (KEPING ET AL. 1969) and Chinese translation (SHI ET AL. 1983).

[27] Tangut *dji gie lji* 𗤟𗏝𘒜 (difficult and easy characters) here actually denotes characters which are rarely used and commonly used in the literature.

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Pl. 2, *l.* 5–12

𗝰𗀔𗅢𗱕《𗿒𗊢》𗦆𗤋𗟣，𗥃𗤒𗹃𗙟𗸿𗠁，𗱥𗤋𗸿𗟜𗤒𗿒𗡪𗟓，𗙟𗪙𗴽
𗡩．𗟙𗤋𗹃𗘆𗤒𗀚，𗣁《𗿒𗊢》𗎞𗹝，𗥩𗟓𗟣𗟣□𗘢．𗝰𗀔𗅢𗱕《𗿒𗊢》
𗌕𗌕𗦆𗎞𗟣，𗟈𗟯𗙟𗎞𗨁𗪙𗪉□𗥤𗝰𗤒𗙟𗡪𗦆𗟓．𗀔"𗝰𗿀𗙟𗡪"𗨁
𗡩𗧨𗪙𗡪，□□□𗤒𗤋𗒫．𗥮𗤒𗪆𗗏𗥩𗥩𗹞𗟓𗤚𗸣，𗙟𗥩𗧨𗟓□□𗪍𗟩
𗟳𗠁，𗧣𗪅𗹝𗽈𗹝．𗝰《𗘣𗾎𗦊》𗠦𗻤𗤒，𗙟𗹝𗌕𗌕𗸿𗟓，𗙟𗪙𗡪𗱀𗟓𗟳𗝰𗘢，
𗘣𗛏𗦆𗥥，𗴘𗭓𗝰𗘢．𗤒□□𗡩，𗵬𗀔𗔴𗵀．

Suppose someone had been taught orthographically the *Sea of Characters* during his boyhood, but after he came home and left the preceptors, he was induced to disobey the preceptors and was unable to read the scriptures. Though he tried to correct himself by a careful perusal of the *Sea of Characters*, he inwardly recognized his own inadequacy. Suppose someone had read the *Sea of Characters* over and over again in his boyhood, and yet, when he met with an intelligible *gāthā* drawn from the scriptures, he was unable to grasp the meaning due to incorrect characters. Afterwards, when reading works such as the "Five Scriptures",[28] he could not comprehend. He was in the habit of asking others for distasteful explanations, but difficult characters were so confusing with their similar character components[29] that the explanations were distorted. As for those men who have learned the *Preface to Synonyms*,[30] since a character's meanings are too many and too

[28] "Five Scriptures" (*Pañcarakṣa*) here indicates five Tangut versions of *sūtra*s translated from Tibetan no later than the year 1173, including: *Tha tụ lhjij tśjụ ·wejr lwər lhejr* 𗕥𗣜𗤩𗤻𗝰𗙟𗡪 (*Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*), *Wor le lwər lhejr* 𘟣𘃡𗙟𗡪 (*Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo*), *Tha gji śjụ bo lwər lhejr* 𗕥𗣊𗰚𗝏𗙟𗡪 (*Bsil ba'i tshal chen po'i mdo*), *Kjụ bju zji rjir lwər lhejr* 𗤶𗤻𗀦𗠁𗙟𗡪 ('*phags pa rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'phrang ba chen mo*), *Tha dwụ ŋwạ yjwej jij lwər lhejr* 𗕥𗋽𗦷𘊧𗠁𗙟𗡪 (*Gsang sngags chen po rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo*). There are Chinese equivalents of the first four *sūtra*s in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*, i.e., 佛說守護大千國土經 (No. 999), 大孔雀明王經 (No. 982), 大寒林聖難拏陀羅尼經 (No. 1392), 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 (No. 1153). The last one, literally meaning *Da Mizhou Shouchi Jing* 大密咒受持經 (Great *sūtra* of receiving and upholding the *mantras*), is not identified. In the Khara-Khoto collection of the IOM RAS, there is a preface of this corpus (inv.№ 234) by an officer named Tshji Khjiw 𗙏𘕢 (NIE 2016: 53–56), which was written under the instruction of Emperor Renzong (reigned 1139–1193).

[29] Here "character components", Tangut *pha bjij* 𗪍𗟩 (lit. auxiliary side), are equivalent to Chinese *pianpang* 偏旁.

[30] The *Preface to Synonyms*, Tangut *wo ləw bu* 𗘣𗾎𗰚 (Chin. *tongyi xu* 同義序), a Tangut vocabulary with semantic groups, modeled after the Chinese primary reader *Jijiu zhang* 急就章, is a manuscript preserved in the IOM RAS (inv. № 2539). It is a pity that the initial folios of the book are missing, hence we cannot decide if there really was a preface before the main text. The end-title of the book, *wo ləw ·a djij* 𗘣𗾎𗧨𗾈, was literally translated by GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV (1963: 53, 126) into Chinese as *yitong yilei* 義同一類 (Synonyms in one category),

varied, they cannot understand the structure of a sentence when they read the scriptures, and consequently lose their sense and may not be of any service to others. A cursory search for meaning will cause considerable distress in vain.

Pl. 2, *l.* 12–17
𗣼𗧘𘃠𗦢𗣼𗤻𗉝𗾝𗊯𗑗𗞜𗏇𗤺�, 𘝞𘊝𗥃□�𗿈𗸪𘄡𘀾𗊯𗵇𘃠𘙤𘚢，《𘃠
𗢍》𗪇𗟲𘚢𗦫𘚦𗼻𗈜𗵊𘔥，𗟩𗧘 "𗆀𘚛𘃠𗊯𘈰�𗉺𘕤" 𗈜𘔥𗑗𘗚𘟰. 𘘣𘃠𘚦
𗤺�6𘛖，𗍝𘊍𗨙𗭽𗭆𗉞𘕿，𗊯𗤺�鳾𘒻. 𘀞𗿈𗣝𗣝𗈬𘕿，𘘣𘉅𘖇𗿈� . 𗾝�6𘊍
𘝞𗺑𗑃𘕿，𘙤𘙤𘃠𘙤𗷙𗦫𗿭𗾰��b𗉝 𘕐𗒜.

Thus, pitying posterity, the intellectuals of the capital[31] conferred together. Referring to the characters in various wonderful categories and groups,[32] approximately two-and-half sevenths of the quantity of the *Sea of Characters* were selected and compiled into one volume, entitled "Preface of Mixed Homonymic Characters Often-Transmitted"[33] to show differentiation. By first learning to write these correct characters, a person will be able to read the scriptures at once and become respected by the people. As if they are consulting with the sages, all will be out of their troubles. As the numerous characters are not blended, they can be quickly obtained in advance, and few of them can be forgotten.

Pl. 2, *l.* 11 — Pl. 3, *l.* 4
𘘣《𗆀𘚛》�𗉝 𘝙𗖕𗆘�6𗏇��6，𗭽�0𘘣𗫂𗼻𘕿，𘙤𘙤𗤺𘕿. 𘝙𗖕𘄡�0𗏇�6
�6，𘝞𗼒𗼻�7，𗊯𗤺�7. 𘘣《𗗆𗽯�7》�𗑗��𗈬�0�b�6，《𗆀�》�𘙥�𗦢，
𗍝�0𘙤 �b�0�b𗿈𘈰𗉺��6�7. �7𗖕𗑗�𗖕�0�b�6，《𗆀�》�𗼻，�0𘈰�7�
𗧘�7，𘈰𗽯𗆆𗆗𗍝𗼎�6�7，𗼎𗼻�𗆘�6，𘈰𗽯𗆆𗼻�7，𗔳𗾍𗿈𘜕，𘘣�b
�6�7𘙐.

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which should be changed into *yitong*, because Tangut *·a djij* here also corresponds to Chinese *yibu* 一部 (one volume, one portion), which is actually not a part of the title. For Chinese decipherment of the whole book, see LI & HAN (2005).

[31] "Capital", Tangut *gu kiej* 𘘣𗉝 (lit. central region) is equal to Chinese *jingshi* 京師.

[32] Only a tentative translation is provided here, because the meaning of the Tangut phrase *śjwo ljɨr djij djij zji njɨ* 𗸪𘄡𘀾𗊯�π𘙤 is not very clear to us.

[33] Tangut *mjij ləw* 𘈰𗉺 in the title contains complex meanings. It was translated into Chinese as *tongming* 同名 (lit. name – identical) in previous studies. But, according to the content, the word *tongming* should be regarded as "interchangeable characters" in scriptures, or to mean what the compiler considered to be the temporary usage of Tangut characters linked by their pronunciation, not by their meaning. Given that Tangut *mjij* is not only different from "name", but also from "homonym", SUN (2018) suggested another translation, *tongxun* 同訓, indicating characters of identical or similar pronunciations which may be mutually substituted occasionally in writing practice.

In the *Often-Transmitted*, characters without a small circle attached[34] should be written first, as they occur frequently in the scriptures. Characters with circles attached should be written later, as they do not occur often. Moreover, if small characters are not recorded in the *Preface to Synonyms* but recorded in the *Often-Transmitted*, the interchangeability between large characters and small ones should be grasped. Moreover, if small characters are incorrectly recorded in the *Preface to Synonyms*[35] but not recorded in the *Often-Transmitted*, the notes on interchangeable characters should be grasped in order to avoid the mixture of characters. Characters without notes are left as "independent characters", which means there are no interchangeable characters for them. They should be learned as well.

Pl. 3, *l*. 4–10

𗫈𗷄𗟻𗓚𗫼，𗫈𗏵𗬤𗗙𘃡𗣼𗎼𘟀𗯱𗼦，𗏵𗴺𗆍𗢳𘔜𗢸，𘄒𗷦𗺉𘔜𘗲𗯵，𗫈𗫈𗤅，𘄒𘄌𗢸𗅋．𗫈𘅾𗼷𗯱𗢳𘄉𘟀𗆍𗽶𗯵□□□，𗫈"𗎼"𗯱 "𘉷𘉊"𗆍𗽶𗯵𗙴𗣉𗼨𗯱𗢵𗫼，𗷄𗽶𗟳𗄊，𘔧𗷂𘈬𗒹𗠊𗈬《𗆧𗼔》《�皮𗵜》𗆍�𗬥𗬥𘈠𗣉𗤅�𗄊．𗟳𗷄□ "《𗆧𗼔》𗆍𘚖，𘜦𗫈𗢸𗅋，𘙀𗫽𘓰𗟬，𘕕𗈬𘃜𘁱．" 𗣮𗟬𗟻□𘄉𘃨，𘔧𗵜《𗯱𗔇》𗢸𗫼．

Moreover, the aim of this short compilation is reading and understanding the scriptures rapidly without toil, which may give some advantage, but differences in pronunciation[36] and meanings of characters are still obscure. Leaving characters that are formally related, homonyms are assembled together. Since characters are slightly differently used by common people and in the scriptures, and characters chosen by their meaning to compound the monosyllables[37] are absent here, it behooves ambitious men to teach them the *Homophones* and the *Trinity*,[38] and to keep them constantly learning and

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[34] In the main text, less commonly used characters are marked by a small circle at top right, such as 𗬥 *thwã*, 𗤅 *tsjịr*, 𗶷 *·ji*, 𗯙 *dzjwɨ* on line 1, f. 7 (Pl. 8).

[35] The corresponding Tangut statement is the following abbreviated phrase: 𗬊𗤶𘗲𗯱𘔾𗫼 《𗫠𗤋》𗽶𗭪 (have incorrect – recorded – small character – in *Often-Transmitted* – lack = small characters incorrectly recorded in the *Preface of Synonyms* but not recorded in the *Often-Transmitted*).

[36] The meaning of *mjij ljɨ ·jij* 𘄒𗷦𗺉 (lit. name – heavy – light) is unclear to us. Maybe it means "slightly different pronunciation" according to the context.

[37] Here *·jɨ* 𗶷 is a character used only for phonetic transcription. We suppose that it comes from Tibetan *yig* (letter, *akṣara*), and translate it as "monosyllable". The implication of the word *tsewr khiew* 𘉷𘉊 (lit. joint – bow) is unclear to us, we suppose it might mean "to compound" according to the context, because in the whole vocabulary there are no small characters appearing as polysyllables.

[38] Tangut *sọ rjir* �皮𗵜 is borrowed from the traditional Chinese concept *sancai* 三才, indicating the union of Heaven, Earth and mankind.

re-reading. A learned man[39] said: "Thus the *Homophone* was engraved. New and old editions are collated, and even and rising tones[40] are corrected. It is sought by the whole nation."[41] What is learned there is authentic, but do not discard the *Sea of Characters*.

Pl. 3, *l.* 10–16

𗧘𗏁𘕘𗿷𗣼𗘞，𘍞𗭴𗾑𗣔𘊝□𗹬，𗾑𗉠𘕣，𗤫𘎑𗢤𘜼𘖑𗢤𗫘𗜓𗤻．𗜵𗤟𗄉𗙏𗙏𘃜□□𗙭𗏁𗉫，𗙷𘊈𐊊𗯸𘍦𗤫𘎁𗜵𗣼𗙭𗏁𗧘𘈩𘍫𗹬，□□𗫘𘎁𘈩𗏁𗦺𗴲．𗙴𘈿𘍫𗫼𘄒𗤫𗦷𗦷𘎁𗭴𗙭，𘊈𗣑𘃭𘎈𗙭𐊊𗹣．𘎁𗉠𘉨𘍫𗤾𗙭𗙭𘈤𘈫𗹬，𘕘𗫘𘈫𗙭？𘊪𗙮�

𘎑𗣼𘕟𗵐𘜶𗙭𗹊，𘐭𗎀𘊈𗙭？

Having not heard this, someone who casts aside the short compilation with disgust and goes back to the old ones, accordingly ought to understand that the time of study is determined by the degree of exigency. Owing to the divergences[42] in all the doctrines, the Chinese people selected characters according to their amount in the usage of Buddhists and Non-Buddhists, and never created new ones. Subsequent generations who prefer (texts) to be corrected without toil by easier characters should not seek fame and wealth. Is it risky to collect and interpret characters without reinventing old compilations? Is it pernicious to alter, to augment, or to remove an existing deficiency by the sages?

Pl. 3, *l.* 16–19

𗧤𗎀𘍞𘕟𗵐，𘎑𗙺𗝃𘊈𘊈𘕘𗘞，𘈫𗙭𘃨𗢤𗦷𘕟．𘍞𘍞𘍞𗾑𗫘𗵹𘂆𘈫、𘊆𗙭𘕠𘊫𗮄𐊊𗣆𗉫，𘜼𗫼𗹬𗤫𗏁，𘍣𗙭𗵹𘜼𗙭𗮄𘎑．𗹣𘎑𘜼𗅆𗜵𗪮𘍫�	，𘎑𗬻𘊈𗣆𗶷𗮄𗝃𘉨�	．��𗄉𗹣�	𘅂𗢻𗶷𗙷𘜼，𘎑�𗜵�$𗝃𗪶，�㘅？𗗿𗎀𗵐𗹬．

If the sages are not satisfied, I beseech you with compassion to give me instructions, for favorable ideas are not falsehoods. Moreover, as the principles of the scriptures and the methods of chanting practice are involved in this compilation, although what will be learned may seem simple, it is

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[39] Tangut *g̱or no* 結𗹬 (nobleman, gentleman, Chin. *junzi* 君子) is translated here as "learned man".

[40] The two tones in the Tangut language are described by borrowed Chinese terms for intonation, even tone = *pingsheng* 平聲, rising tone = *shangsheng* 上聲.

[41] The statement is quoted from the *Mixed Characters of Trinity* (Chin. *Sancai Zazi* 三才雜字), Chinese translation by NIE & SHI (1995a): 大臣憐之, 乃刻《同音》. 新舊既集, 平上既正, 國人歸心.

[42] A tentative addition, because the corresponding Tangut characters are missing due to damage.

not to be expected that the principles will be understood through amusement and inadvertence. If anyone does not respect the preceptor after learning from him, correction would be of no avail for this grievous crime. Learning from a virtuous preceptor with respectful belief will bring benefits in the present and future, (letting one) enter the "total retention"[43] and become auspicious.

## 4. The preface 2: translation and annotation

The so-called "second preface" of the book, f. 3–5 (Pl. 4–6), is rather like a general specification (Chin. *fanli* 凡例) on the procedures for learning to write Tangut characters, not necessarily a preface in real sense. The author regarded a Tangut character as a composite of several components, and did not advocate teaching the students to write full characters directly. He believed that students, once they had been properly trained in writing strokes and simple elements, would soon be able to write full characters by self-teaching.

Pl. 4, *l.* 1–6

𗹐𗆾𗆾𗀋𗥃，𗆾𘍞𗴂𗤒𘕣𗪾𗆸𘊛𗴂，𗰖𘄴𗽻，𘒏𗆾𗆾𗀋．𗼖𗆾𗆾𘊩𗥃．《𘜶𗆾𘗠》𗴂𘜶𘞂𗺉𗾭𗣼𗆾𗆾𗟲𗴉𘓱，𗔇𗴉𗦠𗆾𘞂𗤘，𗥃𗼲𗥦𗻝𘔼𘘣𘊛𗴉𘊄𗻝𘕕．𗵽𗸤𗊱𗥼𗆾𗻝𘊼𘘣𘕣𗸪𘕣𗵽𗷒𘓱，𗱕𗱕𘈷𘑲𘈷𗻚𘕦，𗥃𗼲𗻚𗆾𘍞𘕱𗀋𘒏𗀋𗻝𘃢𗻝𘐏𗻝𗗙．𗧅𘘣𗥃𗼲𘊼𘈷𗆾𗥃𗆾𗊱𘕣𘊼𘏲𗤒𘒘𘕙𗴮．

The so-called "primary symbols"[44] are the source for forming full characters, and they are called "primary symbols" because learning to write them is easy. Just like the "mothers" of script, although they cannot act as symbols for semantic head-titles collected in the *Preface to Synonyms*, they still, like Sanskrit and Tibetan and Chinese glyphs, are able to increase

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[43] Tangut *ɣjiw ɣjwej* 𘊛𘕣 (lit. to collect – to maintain) is borrowed from Chinese *shechi* 攝持 or *zongchi* 總持 (Skr. *saṃgraha, dhāraṇa*).

[44] The Tangut word *dji mja* 𗆾𗥃, "letter" as translated by WEST (2018), comes from Chinese *zimu* 字母 (lit. character — mother), but their definitions are quite different. In Chinese phonology, *zimu* is a proper term for the classification of a Chinese initial consonant, but the Tangut *dji mja* here, as described in the next folio, indicates the simplest glyphs combined with elementary strokes, which may be used to form components of characters.

"elementary strokes"[45] from less to more successively. Moreover, there are no substantial divergences between top and side components of a character, as stated by the ancestors, and here omissions and confusions occur so frequently that full characters are difficult to interpret, to comprehend, and to record based on elementary strokes. To this end, thirty primary symbols with elementary strokes are listed, together with top components and side components of characters.

Pl. 4, *l.* 6–14

𗙼𗧾𗲛，𗊱𗴺𗯁𗫡𗰟𗬟𗘇𗬾𗩾𗍦𗏵，𗰞𗟻𗘊𗣊．𘃸𘏥𗲚𗲚𗫗𗠩𗑗，𗋽𗋡𗯟𗎡𘟀𗟴𗵄𗲔𗫡．𗫍𗆫𗋡𗴺𗲚𗑗𘊊𗑗，𗄼𗟻𗯁𗣤，𗴁𗟻𗠎口𗮟𗏵𗥇，𗄻𘅡𗡬𗣤𘟀𗢴𗙦𗏵．《𗣋𗡪𗟻》𗙼𗔻𗼄口口𗫂，𗬾𘏎𗖜𗼄𗧓𗭠𗏵𗫂，𗙼𗴑𘄵𗭠𗏵𗫂，𗭽𗫡𗆳𗼄𗭠𗏵𗫂𗳮𗑗．《𗰆𗵄𗟻》𗏵𗢴𗳆𗟻𗫡，《𗧾𗙦》𗏵𗢴𘉞𗗡𗣊𗼄，𗳆𗪌𗢴𗓊，𗴇𗡬𘈷𗷕𗲗𗢴𗏵．

The primary symbols are named based on realizing natural images that are easy to learn. If the radicals are not sufficiently learned, one-tenth of them should be grasped first. It will be a great deal of trouble for ignorant children to learn full characters as the first step. In addition to this knowledge, when they are led to write full characters, they will understand how to write by themselves, and when they understand how to connect the components in series, they will gain the benefit of the simplicity of remembering, recognizing, and speaking. The *Preface to Synonyms* contains approximately five thousand characters, and its short edition contains two thousand and eight hundred characters,[46] forming an approximate number of nine hundred character entries, of which less than one thousand characters are listed without abridgment. Although the characters in the *Preface to Golden Grains* are

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[45] The meaning of the Tangut word *tja śjwɨ* 𘞵𘋩 (lit. a particle to mark subject — timely) has not been clarified so far, for we cannot find it in any other materials. By supposition, SHI (2017) transcribed it as *danchun* 單純 (simple) phonetically, while WEST (2018) regarded *śjwɨ* as a borrowing from Chinese *shi* 時 (time) without providing any interpretation of the whole word. ZHANG (2020) regarded *tja śjwɨ* as a borrowing from Tibetan *tag yig* (orthography), but it is unconvincing in both phonetically and semantically. On the basis of the examples listed on the first three lines on page 4 (Pl. 5), we believe that *tja śjwɨ* indicates elementary strokes (horizontal, vertical, left-falling and bending) used to form simplest glyphs, though the provenance of the word remains unknown.

[46] The incomplete manuscript of the *Synonyms* preserved in the IOM RAS, which includes over 4000 surviving characters, is evidently the original edition, not the short edition which is not available at present.

insufficient for writing,[47] and those in the *Trinity* remain to be somewhat corrected, no satisfactory idea has been engendered, and no slackness has been shown in other editions.

Pl. 4, *l.* 14–18

𗼝𗪊 𗼷𗼱𗲣𗧼𗯼𘂆𘃡𗈜𘊰, 𗤚𗧼𗯼𗔅𗵫𘄼𘓺𗮀 𗗟𘃡𘈷𘓽𘔉𘛞�. 𗗟𘉰𘋊𘂆, 𗤙𘆴𗱴𘄟, 𘓬𗼝𘉴𘌊𘍂𗫽�. 𘒗𘇶𘐗𗱴𘂄 𗬹𘊼𗈝𘉰, 𘋥𘒗𘋥𗱴𘇴𘌈 𘌇�? 𘒉𘐉𗼝�冀, 𗱴𘅣𘅣𘄙𘈜𘖼𘂄�, 𗱴𘅣𘅣𘌈𘃡𘓺𘅼, 𗧼𗯼 𗬹 𘒸𘌈𘃡, 𗔅�亅𗼝𗧼𗯼�, 𗬹𘖺�.

Moreover, because most teachers do not recognize the method of "combination",[48] no earlier teachers paid attention to learning characters by combination in their manuals. By laying the foundation, and then identifying the characters, and choosing and transcribing them with respect, the benefit will be gained at once without fatigue. Now that the Chinese people learn Sanskrit so skillfully, is there any difficulty, in comparison, for Tangut people to learn the Tangut script? As these radicals are the guiding principles of all characters, it is also possible that they may be applied to all characters, and that the method of combination may also be applied to all characters, which will be put together afterwards by combination.

In the following two folios there are illustrations of the structure of Tangut characters, beginning with the subtitle *tja śjwɨ sọ ɣạ dji mja* 𘃡𗯼𗤙𗤍𗱴𘊰 (Pl. 5, *l.* 1–3), which we interpret as "thirty primary symbols with elementary strokes". The so-called "elementary strokes" only include dot ( 丶 ), horizontal ( — ), vertical ( 丨 ), left-falling ( 丿 ) and bending ( 乛 ), showing that Tangut strokes have less variety than Chinese ones. Each stroke is followed by a few simple glyphs consisting of the strokes as examples, but, as we have seen, a combination of four dots, four horizontals or three verticals never occurs as a component of a Tangut character. This fact manifests that not all "thirty primary symbols" are components to form a character, and they are given only for a primary calligraphic training for beginners.[49]

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[47] There is a manuscript entitled *Newly Collected Golden Grains in Palm* (Chin. *xinji zhizhang suijin* 新集置掌碎金) kept at the IOM RAS, which was a primary reader composed with merely one thousand non-repeated characters (NEVSKIJ 1960: 89; KYCHANOV 1969).

[48] Tangut word *tshe śjwɨ* 𗼱𗯼 (lit. low — timely) has not been found anywhere else so far. Judging from the context, we believe that it relates to the term *tja śjwɨ* (elementary strokes) mentioned above, and means "to combine elementary strokes into character components", though the provenance of the word remains unknown.

[49] WEST (2018) tries to divide the thirty signs into nine classes corresponding to the "nine sounds" (*jiuyin* 九音) in traditional phonology, but the relevant evidence seems insufficient.
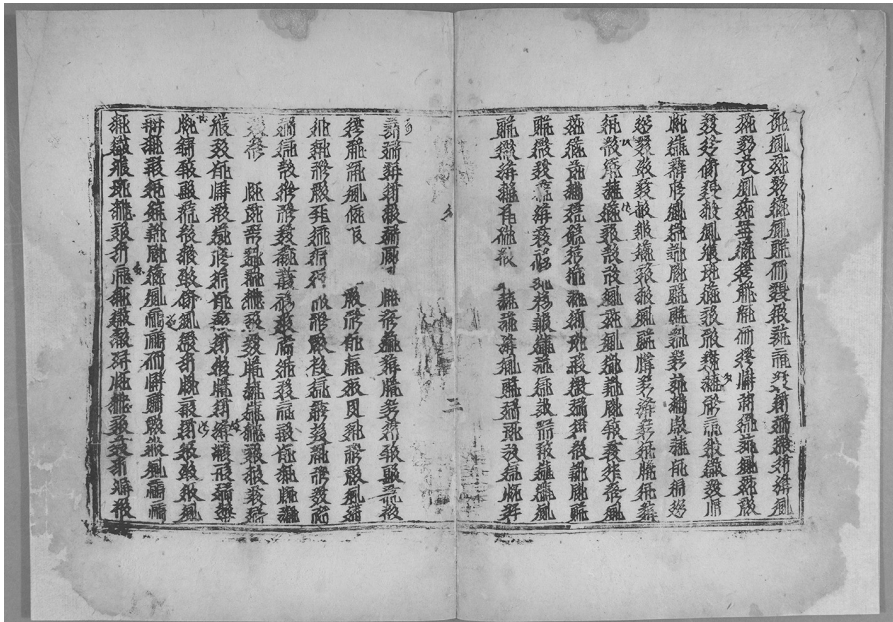
Pl. 4. Folio 3, preface 2

Pl. 5. Folio 4, preface 2

Pl. 6. Folio 5, preface 2
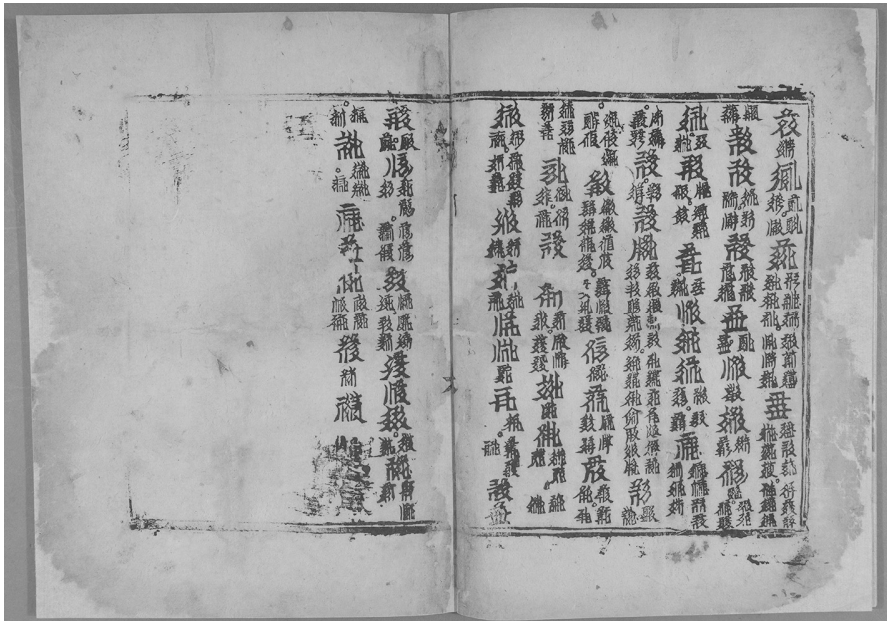
Pl. 7. Folio 6, selected words with homonyms

Having mastered the skill of using the brush, students may attempt to write components for full characters, including:[50]

Pl. 5, *l*. 4–7: *dji ɣu* �𗏟, the top of characters (31 components).
Pl. 5, *l*. 8 — Pl. 6, *l*. 8: *dji pha* �𗕦, the half side of characters (127 components).
Pl. 6, *l*. 9–10: *dji njij* �𗆍, the central part of characters (11 components).
Pl. 6, *l*. 11–12: *dji bjij* �𗓰, the auxiliary parts of characters (19 components).
Pl. 6, *l*. 13–18: *dji ŋowr pha we* �𗆴𗕦𗆟, whole characters as auxiliaries (38 components).

Under each component, a full character is appended as an example, written both in regular hand and its cursive counterpart. What we cannot explain is the fact that the second section *dji pha* includes both components used as the left side and the right side of a character (e.g., 彡 is at the left side of *no* 刻 (finger), while 彡 is at the right side of *lạ* 㣇 (hand)), but the fourth section *dji bjij* only includes components used as the right side. Besides, at the end of the last section *dji ŋowr pha we*, four other components, which are not full characters, are appended with brief notes (Pl. 6, *l*. 17–18):

冗 — *tśhji khjɨ lja ·u* 𗄑𗆍𗤋𗼑 (lit. base – foot – mouth – inside), meaning "a base from head to foot".
尣 — *kjwir tśhjɨj* 𗵣𗑣 (lit. pilfer – bottom), meaning "a bottom of *kjwir* 𗵣 (thief)".
乇 — *ju bjij ·u* 𗰖𗓰𗼑 (lit. ghost – auxiliary – inside), meaning "an auxiliary component in *ju* 𗰖".
乇 — *ɣiẹ bjij ·u* 𗥃𗓰𗼑 (lit. sound – auxiliary – inside), meaning "an auxiliary component in *ɣiẹ* 𗥃 (sound)".

It must be pointed out that the author probably did not devise a perfect criterion for classification before starting his work, or there is still something unclear to us.

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[50] Of course, because of the so-called "often-transmitted", not all the components are provided here, at least much less than those listed by NISHIDA (1966: 236–237).

## 5. Vocabulary selected from the contents of the *Synonyms*

Although the sixth folio (Pl. 7) is also a vocabulary modeled after the Chinese primary reader *Zazi* and its layout is the same as that of the following folios, it by no means belongs to the main part of the book, because it occupies only nine lines of the folio and leaves a blank space of five lines to the left as an obvious boundary.

The vocabulary consists of separate words in large characters with inter-changeable homonyms appended in small characters. The large characters may be translated and subdivided as follows:

⧈⧈ (script), ⧈⧈ (mother), ⧈⧈ (thirty), ⧈⧈ (pure and impure),[51] ⧈⧈ (elocution);

⧈ (correct), ⧈ (morality), ⧈ (intelligence), ⧈ (wisdom), ⧈ (survey), ⧈ (think), ⧈ (enlightened), ⧈⧈ (entirely pure);

⧈ (pure), ⧈ (dexterity), ⧈ (extreme), ⧈ (search), ⧈ (bright), ⧈ (have), ⧈ (see), ⧈⧈ (lateral pure);

⧈ (dedication), ⧈ (precious), ⧈ (skillful), ⧈ (flow), ⧈ (poetry), ⧈ (good), ⧈ (come), ⧈ (know), ⧈⧈⧈ (half pure and impure);

⧈ (powerful), ⧈ (penetrate), ⧈ (flourishing), ⧈ (breed), ⧈ (grow), ⧈ (tilted), ⧈ (dim), ⧈ (dark), ⧈⧈ (entirely impure),

⧈ (courtesy), ⧈ (finish),[52] ⧈ (*oṃ*).[53]

Most of the words in the vocabulary can be found in the sequence of the contents for the *Synonyms* (WEST 2018, ZHANG 2020), which consists of four volumes, each containing several chapters. The initial folios of the *Synonyms* are missing, but, according to its text and the above vocabulary, its volume and chapter titles may be supplemented in square brackets as follows:

[⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈] (The first volume, seven chapters of entirely pure)
[⧈, ⧈, ⧈,] ⧈, ⧈, ⧈, ⧈.
⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈⧈ (The second volume, seven chapters of lateral pure)

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[51] The Chinese phonological term *qingzhuo* 清濁 (lit. pure – impure) indicates unvoiced and voiced consonants respectively, but it seems that the Tanguts only borrowed this term literally, rather than its precise meaning. In Tangut philological works, *gji njəj* ⧈⧈ (pure and impure) is generally used to hint at any acoustic distinctions, not limited to consonants.

[52] A marker used to indicate the end of a whole text.

[53] A Sanskrit *akṣara* often used as the initial part of a mantra. Its placement here is meaningless.

𗀔, 𗀕, 𗀖, [𗀗, 𗀘,] 𗀙, [𗀚].
𗄊𗀔𗄋𗄌𗄍𗄎𗄏𗄐 (The third volume, eight chapters of half pure and impure)
𗀛, 𗀜, 𗀝, 𗀞, 𗀟, 𗀠, 𗀡, 𗀢.
𗄋𗄌𗄍𗄎𗄏𗄑𗄐 (The fourth volume, eight chapters of entirely impure)
𗀣, 𗀤, 𗀥, 𗀦, 𗀧, 𗀨, 𗀩, [𗀪].

It is evident that the volume and chapter titles in the *Synonyms* are essentially the same as those of the head characters in the *Often-Transmitted*, except that the title at the beginning of each volume is moved to its end. To be sure, the vocabulary introduced here is based on a different edition of the *Synonyms* preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS, although the inherent meaning of all these curious titles remains unknown,[54] since there is no phonetic or semantic relevance of a title to its corresponding text.

The *Synonyms* is mentioned five times in the prefaces, and it is therefore reasonable to believe that it must have been an important reference for the compilation of the *Often-Transmitted*. As stated in the second preface, two editions of the *Synonyms* were available at the time, a detailed edition containing approximately 5000 characters[55] and a shorter edition containing 2800 characters. It is impossible to tell from the available data how the two editions are related, but it is certain that the *Often-Transmitted* is based on a somewhat revised edition of the *Synonyms*, which contains fewer characters than the original, but has more head characters for classification. As a further supposition, there might be a preface in both editions, which includes the words *ˑjwɨr dji* 𗥃𗥄 (script), *rjar sji* 𗥅𗥆 (mother), *sọ γạ* 𗥇𗥈 (thirty), *gji njəj* 𗄊𗄋 (pure and impure), *sew nẹ* 𗥉𗥊 (elocution).

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[54] For example, the volume titles are borrowings from traditional Chinese phonology for the classification of initials: *źji gji* 𗄉𗄊 (entirely pure) corresponds to *quanqing* 全清, indicating unvoiced unaspirated explosives, fricatives and affricatives; *bju gji* 𗄈𗄊 (lateral pure) corresponds to *ciqing* 次清, indicating unvoiced aspirated explosives and affricatives; *khwə gji niəj* 𗄊𗄊𗄋 (half pure and impure) corresponds to *cizhuo* 次濁 or *buqing buzhuo* 不清不濁, indicating unvoiced nasals and laterals; *źji niəj* 𗄉𗄋 (entirely impure) corresponds to *quanzhuo* 全濁, indicating voiced explosives, fricatives and affricatives. However, it does not seem rational that the words listed under these headings are classified according to their initials.

[55] Judging from the manuscript in the IOM RAS, there are over 5000 characters in the surviving part, so it may be the so-called "detailed edition".
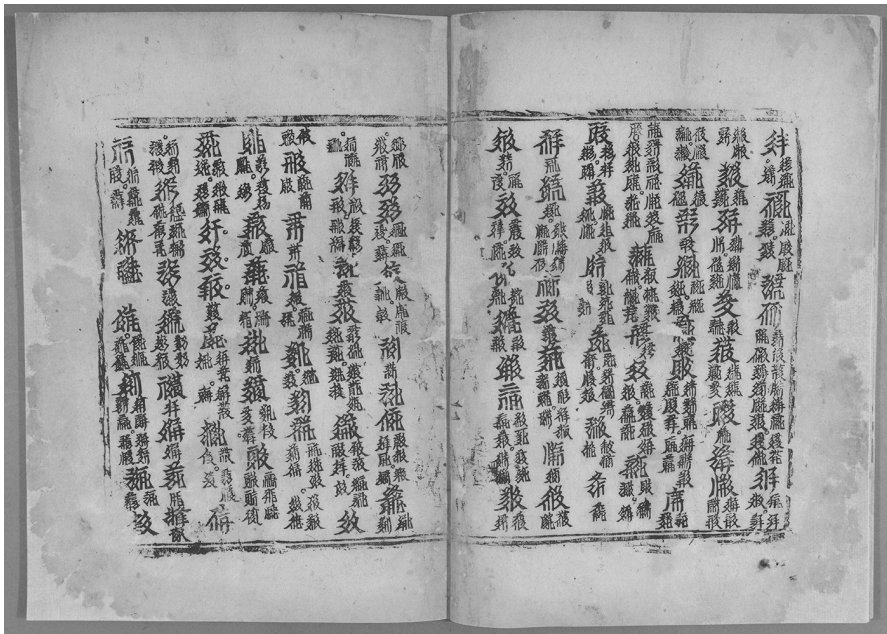
Pl. 8. Folio 7, beginning of the main text



Pl. 9. Folio 8, the main text
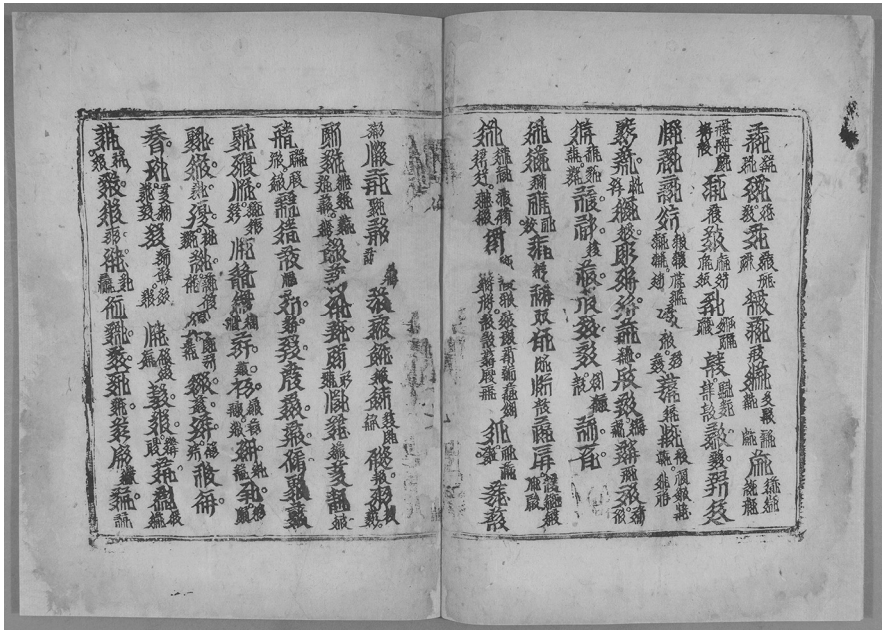
Pl. 10. Folio 9, the main text


Pl. 11. Folio 10, the main text

Pl. 12. Folio 11, the main text



Pl. 13. Folio 12, the main text

Pl. 14. Folio 13, the main text



Pl. 15. Folio 14, ending of the main text

## 6. Evaluation of the *Zazi*

Several dictionaries and primary readers are mentioned in the prefaces as reference materials, of which only one manuscript of the *Synonyms* is positively dated to 1189.[56] This fact implies that the compilation date of the *Often-Transmitted* might not be earlier than the last period of the Xixia Kingdom. It is even possible that the xylograph is made in the Yuan era, because, following a usual practice, the folio order of the book is numbered by Chinese numerals, which is a typical feature of the Yuan printing of the *Tripiṭaka*, for example.

When Chinese children are taught calligraphy, they begin by practicing the simplest strokes, such as a dot, a horizontal, a vertical and so on, and then they proceed directly to writing full characters. Considering that the structure of Tangut characters is more complex than that of Chinese ones, Tangut teachers devised a slightly different set of procedures. They recommend that beginners write elementary strokes first, then proceed to their simplest combinations, and then proceed to a larger number of character components. They believe that students will grasp any full character directly by piecing together its components that they have already mastered, and that teacher's instruction is of less importance in this final stage. Of course, when students attempt to write full characters, they must start with commonly used characters not marked with a small circle in the vocabulary, and are not required to learn all the characters in an orthodox dictionary. This is the consensus in the whole society, as the preface to the Tangut primer *Mixed Characters of Trinity* (*Sancai zazi* 三才雜字) states:

𗋽𗈜𗏵𘃨𗒆，𗌰𗣀𗌟𗠯，𗜈𗢱𘘣𗤒，𗤋𗤋𗋽𘎑，𗔣𗄈𗏴𗈒，𗿒𗤉𗜼𗈪𘒣𘒣，𘍦𗏵𘏞𗯴𘔭𘔭𗥃𗎳？𗀀𘁨𗻜𗇋𗋽𘟡𗙏，𗻉𗤁𘔭𗟻𘏥𗟱𗜓𘝵𗏴𗖠．

The inhabitants of the country, sowing in the spring, hoeing in the summer, reaping in the autumn and traveling in the winter, have no leisure during the four seasons. How could they find spare time to study so many characters with such profound meanings? I took pity on them by compiling a concise version of *Mixed Characters* in three chapters.[57]

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[56] GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963: 53.
[57] Chinese translation: 彼村邑鄉人，春時種田，夏時力鋤，秋時收割，冬時行驛，四季皆不閑，又豈暇學多文深義？愚憐憫此等，略為要方，乃作《雜字》三章。(NIE & SHI 1995a).

Seeking efficiency in education is a common idea among teachers and students. As claimed in the *Newly Collected Golden Grains in Palm*, a wise man can grasp one thousand Tangut characters within one month, while a stolid man needs one year at the most (KYCHANOV 1969).[58] The real effect of this teaching procedure is not recorded in the surviving documents, but it goes without saying that *Zazi* was not a kind of successful material for teaching language and script, as the students could grasp only a few scattered words rather than learn any full sentences using it.

Another purpose of elementary education, as expected in Chinese society, is to lay the foundation for the subsequent development of a perfect personality, but some vulgar textbooks such as *Zazi* do not fulfill this function. This is the reason why they were always held in low esteem by learned people and never admitted into official collections. According to a record in one of the Yuan legal codes, in the fifth month of 1273, various elementary texts represented by *Zazi* were prohibited by the Khubilai government.[59] For this reason, although these teaching materials were widely circulated for some time, very few of them survive to the present day.

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[58] Chinese Translation: 睿智彌月可得，而愚鈍不過經年 (NIE & SHI 1995b).

[59] *Dayuan Tongzhi Tiaoge* 大元通制條格 (vol. 5): 至元十年五月……村莊各社請教冬學. 多系粗識文字之人，往往讀《隨身寶》《衣服雜字》之類，枉誤後人，皆宜禁約. (In the fifth month of the tenth year of Zhiyuan… many village organizations asked to open winter schools. Many teachers who have learned a small number of characters by reading *Treasure for Carrying*, *Mixed Characters about Clothes*, etc., have adversely affected posterity. All of them should be prohibited.)

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Sun Bojun

# Tangut-Chinese Elements
# in the 12th Century Dialect of Hexi

*Abstract*: The Hexi dialect of the 12th c. recorded in Tangut literature, such as *Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu*, was a Tangut-Chinese language, i.e., an ethnic variant of the ancient Chinese Northwest Dialect. Under the influence of their native languages, non-Chinese people tend to make phonemic alternations, additions and deletions when they speak Chinese. These phonetic variants have nothing to do with diachronic evolution and cannot be brought into the sequence of Chinese phonological development as real forms of dialectal evolution. In researching Ancient (Middle) Chinese on the basis of the Chinese and non-Chinese transcriptions, only by stripping out phonetic variants and by carefully analyzing phonological divergences between Chinese and non-Chinese languages can we restore ancient forms better.

*Key words*: 12th c. Gansu Corridor dialect, Tangut-Chinese, Northwest dialect in Tang and Five Dynasties, Ethnic variant of Chinese

1. It is well known that research on the northwest Chinese dialect in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods generally relies on several kinds of materials, such as *Qieyun* 切韵, Kan-on, *dhāraṇī* transcriptions of Amoghavajra School, Sino-Annamite transcriptions, Dunhuang Tibetan-Chinese manuscripts,[1] and Chinese transcriptional materials of Sogdian, Khotanese and Uighur discovered in the Western Regions. When scholars use these materials, they feel that phonetic features of the northwest Chinese dialect are not always consistent, even though these materials belong to the same period. For example, Tibetan phonetic notations of Chinese characters from the Rhyme Groups *Dang* 宕, *Geng* 梗, *Zeng* 曾 and *Tong* 通 in *Qianziwen* 千字文 are different from those in *Amitābha-sūtra*, *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and *Dacheng Zhongzong Jianjie* 大乘中宗见解.

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[1] MASPERO 2005: 3–15.

Firstly, the loss of nasal final *-ŋ* caused the merger of the Rhyme Groups *Dang* and *Mo* 模 in *Qianziwen*. However, *-ŋ* of the Group *Dang* were kept in some other materials, such as, *-aŋ* in *Amitābha-sūtra* and *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, and *-oŋ* in *Dacheng Zhongzong Jianjie* except when following palatal fricative initials. Secondly, the loss of *-ŋ* also caused the merger of the Groups *Geng* and *Qi* 齐 in *Qianziwen*. The *-ŋ* was occasionally kept in the Group *Geng*, as in *Zeng*. Moreover, in other three Tibetan dialects, *-ŋ* was kept and tended to be divided into two types. That is, *-eŋ* in the Group *Geng* and *-iŋ* in *Zeng*.[2] The reason for these different performances of *-ŋ* in the Group *Dang* represented by Tibetan-Chinese transcriptions in *Qianziwen* and *Dacheng Zhongzong Jianjie* was attributed to dialectal differences following the suggestion of LUO Changpei (1933: 40) that the change of *-ŋ* can be correlated with unique pronunciations in different dialects. It is clear that besides the common phonological features, "phonetic ambiguity" still existed in different dialects, even though the data were collected from the same period and the same region.

For the phonetic system of the northwest Chinese dialect of the 12th c., we have transcriptions from *Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu* 番汉合时掌中珠 (hereafter *Zhangzhongzhu*) discovered at Khara-Khoto and Sanskrit-Chinese transcriptions from newly translated Buddhist *dhāraṇīs* of the Tangut period. In addition, Chinese-Tibetan transcriptions from Buddhist fragments are also included. Phonological features represented in these materials are different from those in the northwest Chinese dialect in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. We cannot explain some of these phenomena using the rules of phonetic evolution. For example, characters with the Initial *Yi* 疑 were transcribed by Tibetan *'g-* in Tibetan-Chinese transcriptions from the Dunhuang *Qianziwen*. Thus, Chinese *yin* 银 and *yan* 言 were transcribed by Tibetan *'gen* and *'gen* etc. But we cannot find examples of characters with the Initials *Ying* 影, and the third and fourth division of *Yu* 喻 being transcribed by Tibetan *g-*.[3] However, Tangut materials are different. Chinese-Tangut transcriptions from *Zhangzhongzhu* have three special characters of the Initial *Ying* 影, i.e., *wen* 嗢, *yi* 乙 and *e* 遏. Another example is that Chinese transcriptional characters for Tangut velar initials not only include *yu* 鱼, *yu* 愚, and *yu* 御 from the Initial *Yi* 疑母, but also involve *yu* 于 and *yu* 雨 from the division III with mouth rounding (*Hekou* 合口) of Initial *Ying* and *Yu*. Gong Hwang-cherng has the following explanation for this phenomenon.

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[2] LUO Changpei 1933: 30–31.
[3] LUO 1933: 24–25.

Based on the general observation of the Chinese dialect from *Zhangzhongzhu*, the glottal stop of the Initial *Ying* was lost. The first *Hekou* division of the Initial *Yi* also lost the initials. We can presume the reason for this chaotic phenomenon. The syllables which lost their initials, have a non-phonemic ŋ- or ɣ- in real-life language environment. These two phonemes were used to transcribe /ŋ/, /ɣ/ or even /g/ in Tangut (ɣ- was used to transcribe g-).[4]

Historical linguistics tells us that disappearance of a phoneme can be easily explained by natural evolution. However, the "emergence" of a new phoneme must have some other objective reasons.

Based on ancient scriptures in different scripts from Tang-Song times, it is known that the northwest Chinese dialect presented complex phonological phenomena. As proposed by Takata Tokio,[5] the northwest Chinese dialect in this period has some kinds of "variants". But Takata did not analyze the causes for these variants. It is not difficult to recognize that, besides *Qieyun* and the Sanskrit-Chinese transcriptions from the *dhāraṇī* of the Amoghavajra School, other research materials for the northwest dialect in Tang-Song times come from Chinese literary works written by non-Chinese people. When people speak Chinese, under the influence of their native languages, Chinese syllables not found in non-Chinese languages tend to change. In this way, Chinese data recorded using writing systems of these ethnic languages are more or less marked with non-Chinese features. A phonetic system based on these data can only be treated as an ethnic variant of the northwest Chinese dialect. Unlike other Chinese dialects, this variant does not originate from historical evolution, but from synchronic imitation when non-Chinese people were learning this dialect. In this process, certain phonemes, found in both Chinese and ethnic languages, could be pronounced as well as a native speaker did. However, some Chinese phonemes, not found in non-Chinese languages, were usually replaced by phonemes or syllables from non-Chinese languages. A similar example is sound change, such as phonetic addition, deletion and alternation. It always occurs when foreigners start to learn Chinese. Therefore, when we use ethnic language data to research Chinese dialects, we should carefully analyze different phonological characteristics of these non-Chinese languages, focusing on the rules of sound changes in non-Chinese people's oral speaking, and should separate sound changes with native elements. Then we can gain the real phonetic system of a given Chinese dialect.

[4] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005a: 503.
[5] TAKATA Tokio 2012.

Obviously, with the merging of different nationalities, Chinese ethnic variants could be preserved in forms of different dialects. These variants' phonetic features are different from other nearby Chinese dialects. For instance, *wen* 文 and *wei* 卫 have the same pronunciation in Zhongwei dialect, Ningxia Autonomous Region. We identify this phenomenon as preservation of Tangut-Chinese of the Xixia period. Treating these sound changes of ethnic language variants as historical evolution of Chinese should be avoided when we analyze phonetic characteristics of relative dialects.

2. The Tangut-Chinese glossary *Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu* compiled by the Tangut scholar *Gule Maocai* 骨勒茂才 in 1190 was found in Khara-Khoto ruins in 1909 and is now kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Based on the publication of *Zhangzhongzhu*, Nicolas NEVSKY (1926), WANG Jingru (1930) and HASHIMOTO Mantaro (1961) reconstructed and analyzed the phonetic system and spelling rules of the northwest Chinese dialect. The materials they used include Chinese-Tangut transcriptions from *Zhangzhongzhu* and other Tibetan-Tangut transcriptions. After that, GONG Hwang-cherng (2005a, 2005b) and LI Fanwen (1994) systematically researched two types of characters from *Zhangzhongzhu*, that is, Tangut transcriptions of Chinese and Chinese transcriptions of Tangut, and achieved significant results. In addition, we also found some long paragraphs of Sanskrit-Chinese *dhāraṇī* transcriptions in Tangut *sūtras*. Comparing them with their Sanskrit originals, we found that the phonetic rules of the Gansu Corridor dialect (also known as the Hexi dialect) in these transcriptions are strikingly consistent with those in *Zhangzhongzhu*. Some of these transcriptional materials are slightly earlier than *Zhangzhongzhu*, and some are from the same period around the 12th c. With the aid of these two types of materials from the Tangut period, scholars already have a clear understanding of the phonetic features of the Gansu Corridor dialect, which was popular in the Tangut area during this period. Based on the comparison of the northwest Chinese dialect in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods with the north dialect during the Song Dynasty, distinguished features of the Gansu Corridor dialect in the 12th c. can be summarized as follows:[6]

1. Medieval Chinese voiced initials become voiceless aspirated initials.
2. Medieval Chinese nasal initials, such as *Ming* 明, *Ni* 泥 and *Yi* 疑, have two different patterns. Syllables with nasal coda *-n* in the Rhyme Group *Zhen*

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[6] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005a, 2005b; SUN Bojun 2010, 2012.

臻 and *Shan* 山 have the initials *m-*, *n-* and *ŋ-*, but syllables without a nasal coda have *mb-*, *nd-* and *ŋg-* initials.

3. Some syllables of the Initial *Ying* 影, such as *e* 遏, *ye* 谒, *wa* 喎 and *yi* 乙, have the same initial *g-* in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

4. The nasal coda *-ŋ* in the Groups *Dang* 宕, *Geng* 梗, *Zeng* 曾 and part of *Tong* 通 is completely lost. Thus, the Groups *Dang* 宕 and *Guo* 果 merged together. *Geng* 梗, *Zhi* 止 and *Xie* 蟹 have merged. *Guo* 果, *Yu* 遇摄 and part of *Tong* 通 have merged.

5. Medieval Chinese *tu*, *thu* and *nu* were properly pronounced as *to*, *tho* and *no*.

6. Stop codas *-p*, *-t* and *-k* in the entering tone (*rushing* 入声) are lost and merged with even, raising and departing tones.

The most important phonetic phenomenon is the loss of nasal coda *-ŋ* in the Rhyme Groups *Dang*, *Geng*, *Zeng* and *Tong*. To give an example from *Zhangzhongzhu*, *huang* 黄, *gang* 刚 and *jiang* 姜 of the Group *Dang* have the same Tangut phonetic transcription as *ge* 哥, *guo* 果 and *ge* 个 of the Group *Guo* 果摄; *geng* 庚, *geng* 更, *geng* 耕 and *geng* 粳 of the Group *Geng* 梗 have the same transcription as *jie* 皆, *jie* 芥 and *jie* 界 of the Group *Xie* 蟹.[7] Another example from Sanskrit-Chinese transcription: the Group *Dang* used to transcribe Sanskrit o/u, and *Geng* used to transcribe i/e in Sanskrit. Below are some transcriptional examples.[8]

| Sanskrit | Group *Dang* 宕 | Sanskrit | Group *Geng* 梗 |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| lo | 逻 | te | 丁 |
| mo/mu | 麽 | te/ti | 矴 |
| bo | 磨 | bhe/bhi | 喻 |
| phu | 婆 | me | 铭 |
| co | 左 | de/dhe/dhi | 宁 |
| ko | 光 | he | 形 |
| rō | 唥 | ve | 永 |
| śo/śu | 商 | | |
| tu | 当 | | |

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[7] LI Fanwen 1994: 245–246.
[8] SUN Bojun 2007.

These transcriptions demonstrate that Tangut people did not differentiate between *Dang* and *Guo*, *Geng* and *Xie* in their speech. The nasal coda *-ŋ* is completely lost in the *Dang* and *Geng* rhyme groups.

As for the Rhyme Group *Tong*, GONG Hwang-cherng (2005b: 559–561) noticed that nasal coda pronunciations in the Group *Tong* are different from those in *Dang* and *Geng*. Characters of the Group *Tong*, such as *tong* 通, *tong* 同, *tong* 铜, *dong* 动, *tong* 桶, *tong* 统 and *cong* 葱, are usually transcribed by means of compounds such as 孩 *thu*[1] 甬 *mẽ*[2] and 叕 *tshji*[1] 扬 *swẽ*[1] in *Zhangzhongzhu*. That is, one Chinese character is transcribed by two Tangut ones. This indicates that these syllables have nasalized vowels. Based on *Zhangzhongzhu* and Sanskrit-Chinese transcription materials, SUN Bojun (2012) added the following conclusion: Syllables of the Rhyme Group *Tong* with *t-, th-, d-, ts-, tsh-, dz-* and vowel initials kept nasal codas, but syllables with other initials merged with the *Guo* and *Yu* rhyme groups. In other words, same as *Dang* and *Geng*, most syllables of the Group *Tong* in the Gansu Corridor dialect have already lost *-ŋ* and their main vowel *-u* changed to *-o* in the 12th c.

In addition, there are three characters of the Group *Zeng*, i.e. *deng* 登, *beng* 崩 and *neng* 能. In the Tangut period, *neng* 能 is used to transcribe Sanskrit *d-* or *da*. For example, 钵嘧铭 (二合) is used to transcribe *padme* in *Guanzizai Pusa Liuzi Daming Xinzhou* 观自在菩萨六字大明心咒 from *Mizhou Yuanyin Wangshengji* 密咒圆因往生集 edited by *Zhiguang* 智广 in the year 1200. 齐嘧捺 is used to transcribe *chedana* in *Sheng Guanzizai Dabeixin Zongchi Gongneng Yijinglu* 圣观自在大悲心总持功能依经录. These examples clearly indicate that the nasal coda *-ŋ* in *neng* 能 was lost.[9]

Gong Hwang-cherng[10] compared the change of nasal coda *-ŋ* in *Qianziwen* within Tangut literary works and summarized the results in the following conclusion.

Based on Chinese-Tangut transcription materials from *Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu* (1190), we have some conclusions on the codas of the northwest Chinese dialect in the 12th c. Medieval Chinese stop codas *-p, -t, -k* in the entering tone are completely lost. Nasal codas *-m, -n, -ŋ* disappeared after causing the nasalization of the preceding vowels. Nasalized vowels of the Rhyme Groups *Dang, Geng* and *Jiang* 江 lost their nasalized elements and became ordinary vowels.

This sound change in the northwest dialect in the 12th c. occupied an important position in the history of phonological development of the

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[9] SUN Bojun 2010: 48, 32.
[10] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005b: 567.

northwest Chinese dialect. The whole process of this change can be reconstructed as follows. First, nasal coda -ŋ started to change in the Rhyme Groups *Geng* and *Dang* in the mid-Tang Dynasty. Then, the loss of -ŋ spread to other rhyme groups. This phenomenon took place not only in syllables with the velar nasal coda -ŋ, but also in syllables with the bilabial nasal coda -*m* and the alveolar nasal coda -*n*. The loss of -*m, -n* and -*p, -t, -k*, began in the Five Dynasties period in the late 10th c. After continuous development, this phenomenon reached the stage of completion in the late 12th c. Nasalized vowels that remain in these syllables are traces of these original codas.[11]

Obviously, according to Gong's discussion, the mixing of syllables with a nasal coda and those without a nasal coda in various non-Chinese literary texts of different periods can be treated as a result of historical evolution. That is, nasal codas caused the nasalization of the preceding vowels in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods, and then the nasalized elements in the Gansu Corridor dialect were lost in the 12th c. Frankly, "the nasalization of the preceding vowels by nasal codas" can be explained as sound change, but "the loss of nasalized elements" is hard to analyze as sound loss. At least, the reason for the loss of nasalized elements needs further investigation.

3. In modern Chinese, some Initials *Ying*, *Yi*, *Yu* changed to vowel initials. However, Tangut transcriptions for these Chinese initials in *Zhangzhongzhu* usually have velars and glottals. This phenomenon was studied in detail by Gong Hwang-cherng.[12] The rules from his discussion can be summarized as follows.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 微 all | | >*w- | 喻 (division III) | *Hekou* | >*w- |
| 喻 (division IV) | *Hekou* | >*w- | 影 (division I) | *Hekou* | >*w- |
| 疑 (division I) | *Hekou* | >*w- | | | |
| 喻 (division III) | *Kaikou* | > *j- | 喻 (division IV) | *Kaikou* | >*j- |
| 影 (division III, IV) | *Kaikou* | > *j- | | | |
| 疑 (division III) | *Hekou* | > *jw- | 影 (division III) | *Hekou* | >*jw- |
| 喻 (division III) part | *Hekou* | > *jw- | 喻 (division IV) part | *Hekou* | >*jw- |
| 影 (division I) | *Kaikou* | > vowel initial | | | |

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[11] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005b: 567.
[12] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005a: 512–517.

Though there is no discussion about the Initial *Ying* 影 (division I), the situation is similar. The glottal stop disappeared, replaced by non-phonemic initial ɣ-.

Moreover, examining Sanskrit-Chinese transcriptions in Tangut *dhāraṇī* and names of Tibetan-Tangut Buddhist translators, we noticed that some syllables with the Initial *Ying*, *Yi* and *Yu* have special transcriptions.

3.1. The syllables with Initial *Yi* are transcribed by *g-/k-* in Sanskrit or Tibetan. The following are Sanskrit examples:[13]

| 宜 | 养宜说啰 | yogeśvara | g- |
|---|---|---|---|
| 唔 | 唔噜 | guru | g- |
| 屹 | 捺麻厮屹呤（三合）胆 | namaskṛtvā | k- |
| 蛾 | 啰捺（入）蛾能 | ratnaguṇa | g- |

3.2. The *kaikou* syllables of division I and III of the Initial *Ying* are transcribed by *g-* in Sanskrit or Tibetan.

3.2.1. *E* 遏 usually corresponds to Sanskrit *ga* in Tangut *dhāraṇī*, i.e. Sanskrit *bhagavate* is transcribed by *moewodi* 末遏斡帝, where *e* 遏 is used for *ga*.[14] In addition, a Tangut translator's Sanskrit name *ānandakīrti* is transcribed by *eanannachilidi* 遏啊难捺吃哩底 in Chinese, where *e* 遏 seems to transcribe Sanskrit *a*. However, the name was translated to Tangut 𗣼𗧃𗫂𗟲𗤓𗥃𗹬 in *Ārya Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguṇa Saṃcayagāthā*.[15] 𗣼 is a velar initial syllable transcribed by Chinese 验 in *Zhangzhongzhu*. Moreover, *yin* 银, *yan* 彦, *yan* 砚, *yan* 言 can also be used to transcribe this Tangut syllable. Gong Hwang-cherng reconstructed this syllable as *gên*[1].[16] Obviously, the initial of the syllable *e* 遏 is *g-*.

3.2.2. *Nayizhong* 捺乙钟, Tibetan transcription is *Nag chung*. *Yi* 乙 is used to transcribe *-g*.[17]

3.2.3. The Initial *Yu* (division III) are transcribed by *g-* in Tibetan.

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[13] SUN Bojun 2010: 97; DUAN Yuquan 2012: 27.

[14] SUN Bojun 2010: 38.

[15] DUAN Yuquan 2012: 29.

[16] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005: 394.

[17] Nag chung (?–1117), also named Dam pa sangs rgyas in Tibetan Buddhist history, and Kamalaśīla in Sanskrit. Nag chung means "small black" in Tibetan. This name was transcribed by *nayizhong* 捺乙钟 in Chinese *Sizi Kongxingmu Jiwen* 四字空行母记文（TK.329）that was unearthed in Khara-Khoto.

For example, *wuyan* 乌延, another Chinese transcription is *wuerjian*(erhe) 乌儿坚(二合). Both are transcribed by Tibetan U-rgyan. *Yan* 延 is transcribed by *gyan*. [18] Examples of Sanskrit-Chinese, Tibetan-Chinese transcriptions are given below.

| *Chinese transcription* | *Sanskrit* | *Tibetan* | *Examples* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 宜（疑母，支开三平止） | ge | | yogeśvara "养宜说啰" |
| 唔（疑母，暮合一去遇） | gu | | guru "唔噜" |
| 屹（疑母，迄开三入臻） | k- | | namaskṛtvā "捺麻厮屹呤（三合）胆" |
| 屹（疑母，迄开三入臻） | | g- | bsod nams grags "萨南屹啰" |
| 蛾（疑母，歌开一平果） | gu | | Ratnaguṇa "囉捺（入）蛾能" |
| 遏（影母，曷开一入山） | ga | | bhagavate "末遏斡帝" |
| 乙（影母，质开三入臻） | | -g | Nag chung "捺乙钟" |
| 延（馀母，仙开三平山） | | gyan | U-rgyan "乌延" |

It can also be seen in Sanskrit-Chinese transcriptions that not all of the Initial *Ying* and *Yu* were transcribed by *g-*, some other syllables were still transcribed by vowel initials. [19]

| *Chinese transcription* | *Sanskrit* | *Examples* |
|---|---|---|
| 乌（影模合一平遇） | -u | Uṣṇīṣa "乌实祢舍" |
| 英（影庚开三平梗） | ye | vairocaniye "命哴捹祢英" |
| 衍（馀獮开三上山） | yan | samāśvāsayantu "萨麻引说引萨衍丁六" |
| 瑜（馀虞合三平遇） | yu | ayur "啊瑜哩(二合)" |
| 嗌（馀清开三平梗） | e | ehyehi "嗌形兮" |
| 养（馀养开三上宕） | yo | yogeśvara "养鸡说啰" |
| 永（云梗合三上梗） | ve | sambhave "三末永" |

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[18] Chen Qingying, 2000.
[19] Sun Bojun 2010: appendix 1 and 2.

The transcription -*g* in the Gansu Corridor dialect is the continuous development of the northwest Chinese dialect in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. Tibetan-Chinese transcriptions in Dunhuang *Qianziwen* show that most of the characters with the Initial *Yi* are transcribed by Tibetan *g*-. For example, Chinese *yin* 银 and *yan* 言 are transcribed by Tibetan *gin* and *gen*. The "additional" initial *g*- of some syllables with the Initial *Ying* and *Yu* may be attributed to the oral sound changes of Tangut people when they speak Chinese.

4. Some *Qieshen* 切身 (self-spelling) characters are used to transcribe *tu*, *du* and *nu* in Sanskrit-Chinese transcriptions from newly translated *dhāraṇī* in the Tangut period.[20] Here are several examples of *Qieshen* characters.

| Sanskrit | Chinese transcriptions | Examples |
|---|---|---|
| tu | 丁六 | bhavatu "末斡丁六" |
| | 寧各(切身) | śituru "西寧各(切身)嚕" |
| | 丁各(切身) | hetu "形丁各(切身)" |
| | 丁各(舌齿) | hetu "形(引)丁各(舌齿)" |
| du | 寧各(切身) | duni "寧各(切身)你" |
| | 丁六(舌上) | duṣṭanaṃ "丁六(舌上)室达捺(能)" |
| | 丁六 | durlaṇghite "丁六(吟)辣（上腭）屹矴" |
| nu | 寧乌(切身)<br>寧与（切身） | manu "麻寧乌(切身)"<br>anurakto "啊寧与(切身)啰屹(二合)多" |

Sanskrit *tu* and *du* are transcribed by *Qieshen* characters 丁六, 寧各 and 丁各, *nu* is transcribed by 寧乌 and 寧与. The examples show that these Sanskrit syllables did not exist in the Chinese Gansu Corridor dialect during the 12th c.

However, examination of Sanskrit-Chinese Buddhist transcriptions from Tang-Song dynasty China shows that medieval Chinese syllables *tu*, *thu* and *du*, such as *du* 睹, are used to transcribe Sanskrit *tu*. For example, Sanskrit *bhavatu* is transcribed by *Fatian* 法天 (Song Dynasty) into Chinese 婆嚩睹 in

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[20] In transcriptions of *dhāraṇī*, translators usually use two Chinese characters together to transcribe one Sanskrit syllable when they cannot find the accurate Chinese character. In this case, one character is used for the initial and the other for the final. These pairs of characters are coined and their pronunciations come from the *fanqie* spelling, which is a Chinese traditional phonetic annotation method. This is the reason why these characters are called *Qieshen* 切身 characters.

*Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Taishō Tripiṭaka* 1934: 408).[21] This example demonstrates that *tu*, *thu* and *du* still existed in real northwest Chinese dialect during the Tang-Song Dynasty.

SUN Bojun (2012) synthesized the Tangut transcription of the first division of dental initials from *Zhangzhongzhu*. These Tangut characters, such as 𗆿 and 𗟲, usually belong to the first rhyme in *Wenhai* 文海. Chinese transcriptions for this rhyme include nasal final syllables from the Rhyme Groups *Tong*, *Guo* and *Dang*. Based on the fact that *Dang* and *Guo* are usually transcribed by Sanskrit *-o* in Tangut *sūtras*, Sun suggested that the final of medieval Chinese syllables *tu*, *thu* and *du* should be reconstructed as *-o*. Moreover, if the final of these syllables is not *-u*, we can correspondingly confirm that there are *to*, *do* and *no* in Tangut, but *tu*, *du* and *nu* are lacking.

5. These phonological characteristics of the Gansu Corridor dialect in the 12th c. can be retrieved from Sanskrit-Chinese, Tangut-Chinese and Tibetan-Chinese transcriptional materials. This is especially true for the three phenomena mentioned above, that is, the loss of nasal finals in the Rhyme Groups *Dang*, *Geng*, *Zeng* and *Tong*, the addition of initial *g-* before vowel initials, and the absence of the syllables *tu, thu* and *nu*. If we compare these phonological characteristics with those in the Tang and Five dynasties period, we cannot explain these changes by historical evolution rules unless we classify them under the category of Tangut-Chinese. Tangut-Chinese is the northwest Chinese dialect spoken by Tangut people in the 12th c. This dialect was spoken by a specific ethnic group, the Tangut people, whose native language was not Chinese. It is different from the dialect spoken by authentic Chinese, therefore, it should be called an ethnic variant of the northwest Chinese dialect.

According to the commonly accepted view, it is hard to have accurate pronunciation when people learn or pronounce phonemes or syllables not found in their native language. There are three types of common sound changes, that is, phonemic alternation, addition and deletion.

Phonemic alternation is the replacement of one phoneme or syllable of a source language by another phoneme or syllable of one's native language. For example, initial *f* and *ʐ* did not exist in Middle Mongol. The Chinese word

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[21] Sanskrit-Chinese transcription of *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* inherited the transcriptional principle of Amoghavajra and other translators that represented the Chang'an dialect in the Tang dynasty. Based on the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖统纪 Vol. 43, "河中府沙门法进，请三藏法天译经于蒲津，(蒲州河中府) 守臣表进，上览之大说，召入京师始兴译事。" *Pujin* 蒲津 (now around Xi'an area).

*furen* 夫人 is pronounced as *wošin* and written as *wuzhen* 兀真 and *xuzhen* 旭真 in the Yuan Dynasty.[22] Manchurian word is inherited from Mongolian, and the Chinese-Manchurian transcription of this word is *fujin* 福晋. Fricative *s-* is the only front alveolar in Mongolian. Front alveolar initial characters were transcribed by fricative *s-* in *Zhangyingrui Xianying Bei* 张应瑞先茔碑, *Zhuwentai Shendao Bei* 竹温台神道碑 and *Xindu Shendao Bei* 忻都神道碑 etc. Several examples of these transcriptions are given below.[23]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 藏: sink | 匠: sank | 赠: sink | 紫, 资, 集: si |
| 左: soo | 总: sonk | 参: sam | 钱: san |
| 齐: si | 秦: sin | 全: soin | 青, 清: sink |

Jurchen is similar to Mongolian in this respect. Front alveolar initials are usually transcribed by *s-* in *Nüzhen Yiyu* 女真译语. To give an example from the chapter *Renwumen* 人物门, the transcription of Chinese *zongbing* 总兵 is *suwenbiyin* 素温必因. Front alveolar initial character *zi* 子(瓦子) and alveolar initial character *zao* 皂(从母) are both transcribed by Jurchen 朩, as is the character *si* 司(都司).[24] There is no velar nasal coda *-ŋ* in Old Jurchen spelling. *–ŋ* is replaced by *–n* in transcriptions. For instance, Chinese *tang* 堂 is pronounced as *taan* 塔安, *ting* 厅 as *tiyin* 替因, *shilang* 侍郎 as *shilaan* 侍刺安, *dutong* 都统 as *dutaan* 都塔安 and *zongbing* 总兵 as *suwenbiyin* 素温必因 (LUO Fucheng 1933: 7, 10).[25] One above-mentioned example showed that *tu, thu* and *nu* are pronounced as *to* and *no* in the Gansu Corridor dialect in the 12th c. Since there are no *tu* and *nu* in the Tangut sound system, this phenomenon can also be attributed to phonemic alternation.

Phonemic addition is a change that involves insertion of a consonant or vowel into a word of the source language. Some phonemes are rarely placed at the beginning of a word in native language, or one's native language lacks vowel initials. Therefore, a vowel is inserted at the beginning of a word which

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[22] WULAN 2003.

[23] YILINZHEN 2001.

[24] JIN Qizong 1984: 166.

[25] According to a record in the Wu River Collection (*Wuxi ji* 武溪集), the chapter on the manners of the Khitan officials (*Qidan guanyi* 契丹官仪):"其东北则有挞领相公，掌黑水等边事。" Annotations are as follows."胡人呼'挞'字如'吞'字，入声，'领'音近'廪'。" Another example is from the History of Liao (*Liao shi* 辽史), the section of *Guoyujie* (国语解) "explanation of the national language". The word *taling* 挞领 is written in the form *talin* 挞林 there. The annotation explains it as an official's name:"挞林，官名。后二室韦部改为仆射，又名司空。" Thus, *ling* 领, *lin* 林 and *lin* 廪 have the same spelling in Khitan.

starts with a consonant, or a consonant is inserted in front of vowel initial syllables when people are recording some source language. For example, Altaic languages insert a vowel at the beginning of a word which starts with alveolar trill *r-*. It happens unconsciously when people spell these words, because *r-* is rarely used word-initially. Chinese *Eluosi* 俄罗斯 ("Russia; Russian") comes from Middle Mongol *Orus* via Manchu *Oros*,[26] and the phoneme *e* 俄 is an example of sound addition. The "additional" consonant *g-* before vowel initial syllables in the Gansu Corridor dialect in the 12th c. is also a case of phonemic addition.

Phonemic deletion is a change that involves omission of a phoneme or syllable not found in one's native language when using some source language. Phonemic deletion can be found in some Tibeto-Burman languages. There are no nasal finals in modern Yi and Naxi languages. It is hard for these people to have correct pronunciations of nasal final syllables. When they learn Chinese, *an, en* and *in* are usually pronounced as *ai, ei* and *i*, or as *a, e* and *i,* and *ang, eng, ing* and *ong* as *a, e, i, o(u)*. For example, *tan* 谈 and *tai* 台, *chang* 长 and *cha* 查, *ping* 平 and *pi* 啤, *ou* 欧 and *ong* 翁, *kong* 孔 and *ku* 苦, have the same pronunciations because of the loss of nasal finals. The reason for this phenomenon is the absence of nasal finals in their native languages.

Sometimes, phonemic alternation occurs at the same time with phonemic deletion. For example, there was no nasal coda *-ŋ* in Old Japanese, thus nasal finals were usually pronounced as diphthong finals. The final *-u* is used to replace *-ŋ* after its deletion. Syllables of the Rhyme Group *Geng* are exceptions, because nasal finals change to the diphthong *ei*. E.g. (LIU Fuhua 1982):

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 当 ang | > | au | | 工 ong | > | ou | |
| 江 iang | > | au | | 恒 eng | > | ou | |
| 丁 ing | > | ei | | 永 iong | > | ei | |

Another similar case can be found in Sogdian literature. Nasal finals changed to diphthong finals after the loss of coda *-ŋ* in Sogdian. For example, *geng* 庚, *ding* 丁, and *bing* 丙 are pronounced as *kêy, tîy* and *pîy*. However, *–ŋ* in Uighur is a different case, because sometimes it was lost and sometimes it survived. This phenomenon can be illustrated by the following transcriptions from *Xuanzang Zhuan* 玄奘传 and other literature.[27]

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[26] Cf. CORFF 2018: 69–70.
[27] NIE Hongyin 1998; MASPÉRO 1920.

| Chinese | Rhyme group | Uighur | nasal coda |
|---------|-------------|--------|------------|
| tang 汤/唐 | 宕摄 | to | -ø |
| zang 藏/奘 | 宕摄 | tso | -ø |
| guang 光 | 宕摄 | qo | -ø |
| ming 明 | 梗摄 | mi | -ø |
| jing 敬 | 梗摄 | ki | -ø |
| ding 丁 | 梗摄 | ti | -ø |
| jing 经 | 梗摄 | ki | -ø |
| sheng 升 | 曾摄 | sing | -ŋ |
| seng 僧 | 曾摄 | song | -ŋ |
| cheng 乘 | 曾摄 | sing | -ŋ |
| tong 统 | 通摄 | tung | -ŋ |
| cang 仓 | 宕摄 | tsang | -ŋ |

The reason for this case is that *-ŋ* existed in Uighur, but was not as commonly used as in Chinese. The change of nasal coda *-ŋ* in the Gansu Corridor dialect in the 12th c. is similar to the Japanese example. Finals of the Rhyme Groups *Geng* and *Xie* have the same spelling *ei*, because of the loss of *-ŋ*. *Dang* and *Guo* group finals have the same spelling, because -ŋ is replaced by the vowel *-u*.

It should be pointed out that, firstly, phonemic alternation is not random. NIE (1992) divided common consonant alternations into three levels:

The standard of the first level is the place of articulation. This is the most strict level. The phonemes from different places of articulation hardly ever replaced each other and the ancients did it only as a last resort. The standard of the second level is the tongue shape. Phonemes of different tongue shapes replaced each other with the condition of having the same place of articulation. The standard of the third level is voicing contrast and aspiration. This level is not strict. As we mentioned above, voicing contrast and aspiration are not paratactic factors in certain languages. We have to take into consideration the phonological system and then decide which one is more important.[28]

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[28] NIE 1992: 75.

Secondly, there are two methods to judge whether a type of sound change is historical evolution of a dialect or pronunciation change of an ethnic variant. One is to compare the differences in phonetic system between Chinese and the ethnic language, another is to analyze whether the sound change fits the rules of evolution.

Finally, when we are analyzing phonological evolution, Chinese language spoken by non-Chinese people cannot be treated as authentic Chinese and cannot be added into the sequence of Chinese phonological evolution without analysis.

The dialect of Gansu Corridor reflected in Tangut materials was called the *northwest Chinese dialect in the Song dynasty*[29] or the *northwest Chinese dialect in the 12th c*.[30] When scholars analyze this dialect, usually, some of its phonetic features are added into the Tang and Five Dynasties evolution sequence. The fact that this dialect belongs to the ethnic variant of the northwest Chinese dialect and some of its features are Tangut-Chinese was ignored. In fact, when using Tangut-Chinese transcriptional materials to research Medieval Chinese dialects, we should clarify the forms of sound change in Chinese ethnic variants which are not related to historical evolution, such as phonemic alternation, addition and deletion. Only in this way phonetic features of Middle Chinese can be accurately reconstructed.

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[29] LI Fanwen 1994.

[30] GONG Hwang-cherng 2005a; 2005b.

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Wang Peipei

# New Translations of Some Tangut Words

*Abstract*: Some important documents, such as the Tangut legal texts "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign (1149–1168)" (*Tiansheng lüling*) and "New Laws of the Pig Year" (*Hainian xinfa*), are not fully clarified. One reason is that some Tangut words cannot be understood correctly. The main key to finding exact meanings of Tangut words are translations of Chinese classics. In this paper it is shown how using the Tangut translation of a Chinese *leishu*, "Forest of Categories" (*Lei lin*), and finding correct interpretations of nine words results in reasonable translations of legal provisions.

*Key words*: Tangut Code, Tiansheng lüling, Hainian xinfa, Lei lin

More than one hundred years have passed, since the discovery of Tangut documents in Khara-Khoto by the expedition of Petr Kuz'mich Kozlov. Most of these documents have been published, and many studies interpreting these texts have been conducted. All of these works are used to reveal the truth of history. However, some important documents have not been fully interpreted, such as the Tangut legal texts "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign [1149–1168]" (*Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling* 天盛改舊新定律令 or *Tiansheng lüling* 天盛律令)[1] and "New Laws of the Pig Year" (*Hainian xinfa* 亥年新法), even though they are very important for historical research. One reason is that Tangut dictionaries focus on meanings of individual Tangut characters, but do not pay great attention to vocabulary. So, numerous words in the legal codes remain unknown. Furthermore, these blind spots obstruct our understanding of the law.

It is known that, apart from Tangut dictionaries, the main key to finding exact meanings of Tangut words are translations of Chinese classics. These

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[1] In Chinese academic literature, the titles of Tangut works are referred to by translated Chinese titles, which we cite here.

translations are more accurate and convincing. In this article Tangut words will be looked up in the Tangut translation of a Chinese *leishu* (類書) titled "Forest of Categories" (*Lei lin* 類林) to confirm their Chinese meanings. This will clarify the meaning and reading of several articles of Tangut law. This study demonstrates that Tangut translations of Chinese classics have great research value.

## 1. 纚孩

This Tangut word is literally translated as "householder". Previous studies indicate that "纚孩" means "the head of the family".[2] Looking up the word in "Forest of Categories" (hereafter *Lei lin*), we find the following two sentences:[3]

纚羸婂觥帰纚孩骸訛刟夷，蕥牧虎豸燚形猴帆祇。[4]
昔因郡中住户多火，乃皆禁人夜作。

In the past, fires often occurred between <u>residents</u>, so night work has been forbidden.[5]

彦蕭圀虂羸恍缘形夌，刜匂嚣澵，悦燉鼎，孩旔帆纖俙骸屍纚孩纚訛骸蕥祇。[6]
应闵为广汉太守时，欲德名而常贫，指挥吏下往住户觅钱。

When Ying Min was the Grand Guard of Guanghan, he wanted to be virtuous and stayed poor. He commanded junior officials to look for money from the <u>residents</u>.[7]

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[2] PAN 2016.

[3] The Tangut text of "Forest of Categories" is quoted in this article from three editions (all based on the facsimile of the same copy): KEPPING 1983; SHI JINBO et al. 1993 and *ECHW* 11. The sequence number of the stories in this Tangut text are given by the numbering in the Russian translation by K.B. Kepping. See KEPPING 1983. The Tangut text of "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" is quoted from the facsimile edition: *ECHW* 8. The article numbers in this text are given by the numbering in the Russian translation by E.I. Kychanov. See KYCHANOV 1987–1989. The Tangut text of "New Laws of the Pig Year" is quoted from the facsimile editions: *ECHW* 9 and KYCHANOV 2013. It should be noted that these editions reproduce different copies of the text kept at the IOM, RAS.

[4] *Lei lin*, Chapter 4, no. 83; *ECHW* 11: 250 (f. 18b); KEPPING 1983: 258; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 88.

[5] Cf. KEPPING 1983: 51; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 88.

[6] *Lei lin*, Chapter 4, no. 90; *ECHW* 11: 251 (f. 21b); KEPPING 1983: 264; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 91.

[7] Cf. KEPPING 1983: 52; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 91.

It is obvious that "𘕕𘏨" means "residents", generally referring to people living in a certain area. Thus, the following legal provision from "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" (hereafter *Tiansheng lüling*) can be translated as:

𗧓𘕕𘏨𗏁𗭼𗋽𗆧𗙵𗴓𗄈，𗰣𗾟𘕕𘏨𗦎𗄊𗰷𗉘𗹙𗍼。𗠁𗍼𗆻𘗽𗄊𗇐𗆄𗺳，𗿒𗆧𗺶𗿁，𘍞𘗓𘍞□⁸𗦻𗉶𗆧𗮔𗖸、𗤩𗆏、𗍫𗉛、𘘚𗾖𘐆𗎉𗴺，�532𗑠、𗑒𘂝、□⁸𗡔、𗟡𗙵、𘅈𘖄𗄈、𘞌𗗻𗆄𗁟，𘘚𗾖𘐆𘏨𗡵𘜶。𗍼𗧓𘕕𘏨𗆧𘜶𘜶。𗆻𗭼𗄊𘔟𘙉𗏁𘍞𗄊𘐆𗍼𗷲𗆧，𗆄𘈷𗺧𗮘𘉅，𗁟𘘚𗓽𗆧𘜶𘙉。⁹

一<u>居民</u>中有持拿盗窃者时，附近<u>居民</u>当立即协助救护。若协助救护不及，不往报告时，城内城外一律所属大人、承旨、行巡、检视等徒一年，迁溜、检校、边管、盈能、溜首领、行监知觉，有位人等徒六个月，此外<u>居民</u>徒三个月。又已与盗相遇，赶及不往报告时，有官罚马一，庶人十三杖。

When a <u>resident</u> captures a thief, the neighborhood <u>residents</u> should give immediate help. If this assistance is not timely, or they do not report, officials including the *daren* (大人; Tribal Overseer), *chengzhi* (承旨; Recipient of Edicts), *xingxun* (行巡), *jianshi* (检视) who come from inside and outside the city will be sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and other officials, such as the *qianliu* (迁溜), *jianjiao* (检校), *bianguan* (边管), *yingneng* (盈能), *liushouling* (溜首领), *xingjian* (行监), if they know about [it] and have an official position, [they] will be sentenced to imprisonment for six months, and <u>residents</u> will be sentenced to imprisonment for three months. Moreover, when any people encounter a thief, have time to report but do not, in this case, officials will be punished with a fine of a horse and non-official people will be flogged 13 times.[10]

## 2. 𗊯𗿒

This Tangut compound is literally translated as "changing one's mind" (心归). Some articles explain this word as "surrender" (投降).[11] Looking up this word in *Lei lin*, we find the following sentences:

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⁸ □  is the symbol for a missing character.
⁹ *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 3, Article 147; *ECHW* 8: 91.
¹⁰ Cf. KYCHANOV 1987, vol. 2: 93; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 179–180.
¹¹ SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 116.

𘎶𗀰𘜶𗩱𗙤𗱴𘖏𘝛。 [12]
费仲纣之<u>幸</u>臣也。
Fei Zhong, the <u>favored</u> minister of King Zhou.[13]

The archaism 幸 means "favorite". The meaning can be expanded as "desertion to the enemy", in Chinese 投诚. It is an intentional behavior which is different from surrender. So, the following legal provision from *Tiansheng lüling* can be translated as:

𗅢𗯮𗟲𗤁𗰖𗾄𗰗，𘗾𘑽𘛛𘅊，𗤁𗤁𗼨𘞍𗣋𗤅𘓟，𗒐𗰖𘟂𘟷𗴂𗱴𘌝𘀈，𘉕𗰶𗙤𗦇𘆊𗤁，𗗙𘁝𗤁𗠨，𘕒𗰶𗤁𗦆𘟚𘞥𘞪𗰪，𗤅𗣋𗤁𗅢𗰪𗊖𗤁𗰪𗨄。 [14]
一诸人往来敌界，提供密事，及为敌人侦查、隐藏等者，其人计划<u>投诚</u>他国，则与叛逃同样承罪，家门连坐，畜物没收，当依叛逃已行法办。所捕获侦查者，皆以剑斩之。

People who have contacts with the enemy territory, provide secret information, as well as provide shelter for enemy spies and so on, when they plan <u>to desert</u> to another state, they will be punished in the same way as for defection. Furthermore, their family members will be treated as guilty associates and their livestock will be confiscated according to the law for committing defection. All those who are caught spying are executed with swords.[15]

3. 𗊖𘞥

The first character 𗊖 in this compound means "market", the second 𘞥 means "long" or "all around". The whole compound 𗊖𘞥 is literally translated as "all around the market" (遍市). Looking up the word in *Lei lin*, we find the following sentences:

𗊖𘓘𗴺𗉯𘓘𗷒𗼨𗾘，𘙒�ﾂ𗽾𗹟𗰖𘝛。𗍊𘝋𗼨𘕕𗷥𗣋𘈢𘟚𗖒𘟷𗊖𘞥𗴂。 [16]
阮宣又名宣子，陈留地方人也。出时常杖头挂百钱，行<u>至市井</u>。

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[12] *Lei lin*, Chapter 3, no. 21; *ECHW* 11: 229 (f. 15a); KEPPING 1983: 177; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 48.

[13] Cf. SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 48.

[14] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 1, Article 12; *ECHW* 8: 52.

[15] Cf. KYCHANOV 1987, vol. 2: 19–20; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 116–117.

[16] *Lei lin*, Chapter 7, no. 270; *ECHW* 11: 300 (f. 32b); KEPPING 1983: 452; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 185

Ruan Xuan, also known as Xuanzi, is from Chenliu County. When going out, he often hangs 100 coins on the top of his cane and walks to the market.[17]

From the above example, we know that 𗼟𗰛 means "marketplace", where goods are traded. So, the following legal provision from "New Laws of the Pig Year" (hereafter *Hainian xinfa*) can be translated as:

𗴮𗊏𗹬𗋽𗊏𗼟𗰛，𗰖𗤔𗋽𗄊𗤔，𗿒𗊏�॒𗥔𗔨𗐆𗤅。𗷐𗊀𗿒𗰦𗀗𗰦𗗱，
𗄟𗳾𗤅𗫂𗨒𗡞，𗰋𗾈𗤅𗄈𗫂。[18]

一品边中卖市场，畜敌人不同，买卖利寻中屡捕。金多买已昌已重，
疑心不觉等有，故判捕当问。

In the border and interior marketplaces, different enemies trade seeking profit and often gain it. Excessive buying of gold is widespread and frequent. If there is suspicion, officials should arrest and interrogate everyone concerned even without evidence.[19]

4. 𗦻𗫤

The characters 𗦻 and 𗫤 that always appear together are translated as "wide". In *Lei lin*, however, the word means "generous, loose", as in the following sentence:

𗵒𗈁𗥃𗫂𗦻𗫤𗡞𗥃𗀉𗆟𗶠𗝾𗫂。[20]

太子性宽厚，柔而不刚。

The prince is generous, soft and weak.[21]

So, the following legal provisions from *Tiansheng lüling* and *Hainian xinfa* can be translated as:

𗷰𗫤𗘅𗾈𗗱𗴮𗤎𗫂，𗦻𗫤𗮔𗻻，𗫤𗘅𗤇𗡝𗘟𗀔𗫂𗿘𗰦𗥠�2𗗱𗸱𗷆𗔸
𗱇𗘟。[22]

[17] Cf. Sнɪ Jɪɴʙᴏ et al. 1993: 185.

[18] *Hainian xinfa*, Chapter 7; *ECHW* 9: 250 (f. 23b); Kʏᴄʜᴀɴᴏᴠ 2013: 377.

[19] cf. Kʏᴄʜᴀɴᴏᴠ 2013: 131, Chapter 7b, Article 2, § 27.

[20] *Lei lin*, Chapter 6, no. 212; *ECHW* 11: 283 (f. 35b); Kᴇᴘᴘɪɴɢ 1983: 386; Sнɪ Jɪɴʙᴏ et al. 1993: 152.

[21] Cf. Sнɪ Jɪɴʙᴏ et al. 1993: 152.

[22] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 9, Article 577; *ECHW* 8: 194.

若去狱囚之手枷，使其<u>松绑</u>，狱囚自搜寻刀、铁棍、他器等得手而上吊、断喉。

If shackles on a prisoner's hands are removed allowing him <u>to move freely</u>, the prisoner will get hold of a knife, an iron rod, and other implements to commit suicide by hanging himself or cutting his throat.[23]

𘀳𘈘𗸲𗣼𘔉𗫜，𗤈𗗙𗥨𘃰𗸱𗟲𗟅𗴮，𘀳�454𗸲𗾑𘎑𗤀，�8𗤈𗜓𗴒𘀖𘀖，𗈪𗧈𘄄𗣼𗁅𘎑，�8𘃰�8�8，�8𗴪𗨁�8𘇚𘔇𗾔，𗳮𘏍𘅪𘄟。[24]

违诈盗罪之人，捕获私畜期限<u>宽松</u>，恃仗盗律罪轻，与局分人知晓，亲自获得畜物，买卖遣分，不论肥瘦辐骑，以低价卖。

As for those who committed a fraud, captured private livestock, [officials] can <u>generously</u> extend the arrest deadline a few days. However, because of less serious offenders, the person who committed the crime communicated with officials privately to capture livestock illegally and then sell them at a low price […].[25]

## 5. 𗀚𘗢

This word is literally translated as "always, certainly". In *Lei lin*, a related sentence can be found:

𘕕𘈷𗇋𗶟𗶟𘃅𗛥𘍐𗢠𗶊𘍰，<u>𗀚𘗢</u>𘕿𗵈𗁅𗨁𘝯。[26]

今比干屡屡进谏，心<u>必</u>有孔。

Now that Bigan has admonished you many times, there <u>must</u> be holes in his heart.[27]

Here the words 𗀚𘗢 means "must". Used in law articles, this word embodies mandatory nature, authority and seriousness of the law. For example:

𘓁𗴪𗨁𘓨𗤈𗾔𘜶，𗣕𗾔𗤈、𘓌𗮟𘔈𗾑、𘃊𗳮𗉅，𘓨𗤈𘔇𘁟𘕕𘏜𘔥，<u>𗀚𘗢</u>𘘥𘕕𘍙。[28]

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[23] cf. KYCHANOV 1989, vol. 3: 60; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 328.

[24] *Hainian xinfa*, Chapter 3; *ECHW* 9: 148 (f. 17a); KYCHANOV 2013: 310.

[25] Cf. KYCHANOV 2013: 52, Chapter 3, Article 15.

[26] *Lei lin*, Chapter 3, no. 20; *ECHW* 11: 229 (f. 14b–15a); KEPPING 1983: 176–177; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 47–48.

[27] cf. SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 47–48.

[28] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 6, Article 362; *ECHW* 8: 146.

一上述所分抄中，军首领、帐门后宿、閤门等分抄时，入下法条，必依此执行。

The allocation of *chao* (抄; a unit of Tangut army) mentioned above to *junshouling* (军首领), *zhangmenhousu* (帐门后宿), *hemen* (閤门) and so on, who are related [to the allocation of *chao*], must follow the law given below.[29]

𗗨𗤁𗜈𗅲𗄻，𗱹𘔼、𗱹𗱕、𗲔𘓓、𗿤𘕣𗉛𗗩𗤻，𗦣𗁯𘌶𘋉𗾔𗦜𗥭，𗤁𗾈𗧊𗿈𘓁𘓁𗲖𗥑𗉸𗤻。[30]

一守大城者，军士、正军、辅主、寨妇等众人必须聚集而住，城司各自间或校验。

The defenders of the great city such as soldiers, *zhengjun* (正军; regular army), *fuzhu* (辅主; auxiliary troops) and *zhaifu* (寨妇; women soldiers) must line up and be stationed. *Chengsi* (城司; city administration) has to inspect them once in a while.[31]

## 6. 𗷉𘏲

The first character 𗷉 in this compound means "a long time" or "a large number", the second 𘏲 means "large quantity". Previous studies only pointed out that the whole compound 𗷉𘏲 means "amounts of". From the sentences in *Lei lin*, we find that this word means "rich", usually referring to riches and wealth. For example:

𗤁𗙴𘃵𘒣𗷉𘏲𘓃𘐘𗾐𘄒，𘓁𗧠𘍞𘃵𗴪𘓄𗵈𗤻。[32]
蒙君厚恩，无所报恩。
Thank you for your great kindness, and I have no way to repay for it.[33]

𗴲𗤁𘍞𗤁𘟣𗑟𗷉𘏲𘑆𗚂。[34]
如此与王恺比富。
In this way to compare who is richer than Wang Kai.[35]

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[29] Cf. KYCHANOV 1987, vol. 2: 192; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 259.

[30] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 4, Article 205; *ECHW* 8: 103.

[31] Cf. KYCHANOV 1987, vol. 2: 116; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 197.

[32] *Lei lin*, Chapter 7, no. 254; *ECHW* 11: 296 (f. 24b); KEPPING 1983: 436; SHI JINBO et al. 1993:177.

[33] Cf. SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 177.

[34] *Lei lin*, Chapter 8, no. 276; *ECHW* 11: 303 (f. 4a); KEPPING 1983: 460; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 189.

[35] Cf. SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 189.

So, the following legal provision from *Tiansheng lüling* can be translated as:

𗥃𗤊𗖰𗜈𗣼𗣿𗰜𗬖𗳒𗧘𗩾𗦲𗤋𗰗𗄼, 𗗊𗫵𗡊𗴴𗴲𗰓、𗬖𗷒𗤚𗰿𗽷、𗬆𗦴𗺩𗀅𗬖𗾕𗭼,𗗊𗗊𗌝𗴘𗤆𗊧𗲟𗿷𗲟𗣰𗣞。𗭩𗦉𗑶𗤒𗴇𗢭𗜈𗣼𗴘𗭼𗼜𗤒𗽒,𗒀𗰷𗴇𗿵𗁂𗮯𗽒𗭼𗣞,𗙴𗭼𗤊𗵘𗴲𗴲𗼍。[36]

一盗物现有及已使用而能赔偿修整以外，说寄放诸人处、已卖、已典当、已借贷、计量已给等，所指诸处数目属实，当催促，若甚少而诬说我<u>富有</u>时，有短期徒刑者，当在前罪上加一等，所加勿及死罪。

As for stolen goods, apart from those that are currently available or that were used, but can be compensated or repaired, [if the thief] states [that they were] left at other people's places, sold, pawned or lent, estimating amounts given and so on, then the amounts truly indicated for various locations should be urged [to be returned from them]. If [the quantity] is very small and [the thief] falsely states that [the keepers, lenders, buyers, pawnbrokers etc. have much] <u>wealth</u>, then, if he is punished with a short-term imprisonment, one should add one degree to the earlier punishment, but not adding up to the death penalty.[37]

### 7. 𗼋𗨰

The first character 𗼋 in this compound means "change", the second 𗨰 always follows a verb to indicate a specific place. The whole compound 𗼋𗨰 is literally translated as "changeable place". A related sentence in *Lei lin* has been found:

𗴴𗭼,𗫵𗤫𗺪𗭼。𗤒𗖝𗢭𗼴𗭼。𗭰<u>𗼋𗨰</u>𗅲𗴲𗬱𗈪𗺲𗈪。[38]
夏禹又名文<命>，为舜司空。<u>代父</u>治水因有功。

Xia Yu was also called Wen [Ming]. He was Shun's *sikong* (司空; Minister of Public Works), because he effectively prevented floods <u>replacing</u> his father.[39]

We can see here that 𗼋𗨰 means "replace, take the place of". So, the following legal provisions from *Tiansheng lüling* and *Hainian xinfa* can be translated as:

[36] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 3, Article 141; *ECHW* 8: 89.

[37] Cf. Kychanov 1987, vol. 2: 88; Shi Jinbo et al. 2000: 176.

[38] *Lei lin*, Chapter 7, no. 229; *ECHW* 11: 288 (f. 9b); Kepping 1983: 406; Shi Jinbo et al. 1993: 162.

[39] Cf. Shi Jinbo et al. 1993: 162.

𗾉𗋚、𗟲、𘊲、𘔉𘜶𗣼，𘔉𘓨𘗠𗑱，𗒿𗭤𘝵𗿢𘎽𗥀𗥷𘔯𘕿𗥃，𘒿𗴢𗵈𗼷𘚟□𘛝𗧒𘏖𘍏𗤊𗼷𗟿𗨵𘎔𗿘𘕿𘉘，𗥃𗼷𗤇𗬹。𗾉𘔉𗥀𘟣，𘕀𗤊𘜶𗤇，𘖑𘚊𗣒𘊴。 ⁴⁰

若田、舍、地、人富足，畜物较少，举告者所取一分数不足，则其当用就近官谷物替代罚赃中，分拨给足。若无告者，以问解明，则当交官。

If one has enough fields, houses, lands and people, but the livestock are too few, in this case, if officials do not give the informer a sufficient reward, then [they] should give him sufficiently from nearby state grain [confiscated] instead of penalty [for] bribes. And if there is no informer, or after interrogating [the accused person] was exonerated from his charge, the property must be confiscated.

𗫐𘚟𘊴𘝵𘔯𗥀𘜶𗨁𗥃𘟞，𗴫𘜶𘛧𘜶𘝆𘜶𗐛𗾈𘟣𘏹𘉘，𘟜𘏶𘜶𗿢𗘟𘝆𘝨，𗹢𘚟𘜶𘔉𘜕𗽶�佈�帢𗥃𗬵。 ⁴¹

一军头监中因功命主其他事或在溜更口不同处，代替军上权检校在，则所当罪当由其人承受，被代替者不治罪。

If [one of] military *toujian* (头监; Head Supervisor), following orders, is in charge of matters [of other officials], or he is sent to different fortified locations that belonged to *junliu* (军溜; a unit of Tangut army), and the military's *quanjianjiao* (权检校; Temporary Inspector) replaces [the *toujian*] to exercise power, then the *toujian* should not be punished, and the substitutes are not guilty.⁴²

𘊴𘝵、𘝁𗤊𘏖𘕿𗥃𗷏𗥃𗬵，𘚊𘔉𘜶𘔉𗟲，𘏹𗼷𘟞𘏶𘝵𗹢𗾈𘕿𗤷𘏹𗺫𗥃𗬵，𘝵𗦆𘕿𗥃𗹢𗬵𘏹𗣬。 ⁴³

嘱咐头监、众主，捕及举者获人，无理替代而逃，罚四十缗，从犯三十缗钱。

Must caution the *toujian* (头监; Head Supervisor), *zhongzhu* (众主): when the criminal is arrested, if he is replaced and runs away for no reason, [the chief culprit] is fined forty strings of coins and accomplices are fined thirty strings of coins.

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⁴⁰ *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 1, Article 8; *ECHW* 8: 51.
⁴¹ *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 5, Article 295; *ECHW* 8: 128.
⁴² Cf. KYCHANOV 1987, vol. 2: 160; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 237.
⁴³ *Hainian xinfa*, Chapter 1; *ECHW* 9: 121 (f. 6a–6b).

8. 𗥦𗥇𗎢 and 𗥦𗤩𗎢

The expression 𗥦𗥇𗎢 appears in law documents frequently. It is literally translated as "to start, begin with". In *Lei lin*, the following related sentence can be found:

𗵒𗗊𗥬𗄽𗎜，𗥬𗤩𗤏𗈪𗖸𗄈𗵒𗗊𗥦𗥇𗎢𗮓𗴮𗓰𗆢。 [44]

〈尹虞〉讨伐杜孜，战败。二女为孜所获，将欲妻之。

[Yin Yu] was defeated in the war by Du Zi. The two daughters who were <u>captured</u> by Du Zi were forced to marry him.[45]

In this case we know that 𗥦𗥇𗎢 means "capture" and, by extension, an action that has been carried out. In Chinese it means 获. So, the following legal provisions from *Tiansheng lüling* and *Hainian xinfa* can be translated as:

𗠣𗆧𗅋𗈪𗥬𗄈𗤧𗲷𗾔𗮓𗠃𗄈𗥬𗵘𗓰𗆢𗮓，𗥬𗥦𗥇𗎢，𗧻𗴋𗆧𗎁，𗥬𗆢𗓰𗙸𗙑𗅍，𗉜𗲷𗏮，𗴮𗄈𗗙𗧇𗙸𗤏𗵒𗆢𗄈𗸆𗕔。 [46]

一牢狱中狱因为他人强行救拔出监者，<u>获</u>囚则有逆罪，劫囚者造意不论官，斩，从犯庶人当绞杀。

If the prisoner was rescued from jail by others, and was <u>secured</u> successfully, the conspirators commit a crime of rebellion. The person who instigated the rescue scheme, no matter if he is an official or not, will be condemned to death. Accomplices who are commoners will be strangled.[47]

𗮓𗴐𗥬𗄙，𗴟𗧇𗴐𗵐𗲷𗓰，𗴮𗣜𗅍𗆧𗄈𗥦𗥇𗎢，𗥬𗐾𗙑𗎁，𗧣、𗲷𗓁𗘈，𗥭𗆧𗄈𗲮𗄈𗅍𗴚，𗊹𗴋𗵐𗮔𗵐𗆡，𗫤𗐾𗖿𗊷𗲂𗑗𗟲。 [48]

群盗一种，与强盗不同，畜物大小如何<u>获</u>得，一律造意。无论主、从，杀断门户为重罪，情节严重，依据轻重考量。

[In case of] a theft committed by a gang, unlike [a theft by] a robber, no matter what they have <u>captured</u>, all of them will be considered instigators [who have committed an intentional crime]. If a family was murdered, the criminals will be severely punished, because the case is serious.[49]

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[44] *Lei lin*, Chapter 6, no. 207; *ECHW* 11: 282 (f. 33b); KEPPING 1983: 382; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 150.

[45] Cf. KEPPING 1983: 65; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 150.

[46] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 9, Article 578; *ECHW* 8: 194.

[47] Cf. KYCHANOV 1989, vol. 3: 60–61; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 328.

[48] *Hainian xinfa*, Chapter 3; *ECHW* 9: 142 (f. 5a–5b); KYCHANOV 2013: 294–295.

[49] Cf. KYCHANOV 2013: 45, Chapter 3, Article 2.

The negative form of 𗸷𗅆𗿦 is 𗸷𗈜𗿦. It means "not get", or an action that has not been finished. A related sentence in *Lei lin* can be translated as:

𗫂𗬜𗶅𗙤𗍫𗬈𗅆𗢳𗿟，𗊟𗸷𗈜𗿦。[50]

〈许褚〉后为将军，与贼相遇，未交战。

Later, [Xu Chu] became a general. He <u>did not wage</u> war with the enemy, when he met with them.[51]

So, the following legal provision from *Tiansheng lüling* can be translated as:

𗫠𗬜𗸷𗈜𗿦𗸲𗵘𗴟，𗧴𗁬𗬈𗦢𗮔𗤺，𗿠𗸷𗈜𗿦𗸲𗵘𗫡𗬜，𗆫𗬀𗬜𗸷�
𗿦𗸲𗙏𗈜𗵘，𗶏𗬜𗘞𗅰𗏁𗍥，𗱀𗢳𗱰𗴦𗓰𗍯𗜓𗩾。[52]

若囚<u>未获</u>救而伤人时，依强盗执器械物<u>未获</u>而伤人法判断。若<u>未获</u>囚亦未伤人，则比囚之量罪减一等。

If the prisoner <u>was not rescued</u>, but other people were injured, he will be convicted of armed robbery when <u>nothing was taken</u>, but people were injured. However, if the prisoner <u>was not rescued</u> and no one was injured, he will be punished one degree more leniently than the prisoner.[53]

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*ECHW* 9: *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 9* 俄藏黑水城文獻⑨ = *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia. Vol. 9*. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1999.

*ECHW* 11: *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 11* 俄藏黑水城文獻⑪ = *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia. Vol. 11*. Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1999.

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[50] *Lei lin*, Chapter 9, no. 345; *ECHW* 11: 320 (f. 14b); KEPPING 1983: 526; SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 223.

[51] Cf. SHI JINBO et al. 1993: 223.

[52] *Tiansheng lüling*, Chapter 9, Article 578; *ECHW* 8: 194.

[53] Cf. KYCHANOV 1989, vol. 3: 60–61; SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 328.

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Chung Tsui-fun

# A Study on the Chinese Manuscript
# "Eight Gross Transgressions"
# (*Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo* 八種粗重犯墮)
# from Khara-Khoto

*Abstract*: The "Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia" (俄藏黑水城文獻) Volume 6 contains the Chinese manuscript Ф211V Ф288V Ф266V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang 大乘入藏錄卷上", and its verso side preserves a number of Western Xia written manuscripts. The purpose of this paper is to study one of the manuscripts on the verso side, namely "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" (八種粗重犯墮) which means "Eight Gross Transgressions". Individual tantric classes have their own enumeration of precepts. Anuttara Yoga Tantra tradition abides by precepts such as the twenty-five uncontrived activities, samaya of the five Buddha families, the fourteen root downfalls, and the eight gross transgressions. Among them, the "Eight Gross Transgressions" manuscript, unique to Anuttara Yoga Tantra, is an important tantric material. Analysis of its content suggests that the manuscript "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" belongs to the precepts of the Anuttara Yoga Tantra. The paper contains the manuscript's full transcription as well as a comparison with the parallel text of ltung ba sbom po [Gross Transgressions] in Derge Tanjur and sDom-gSum rNam-Nges [Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows].

*Key words*: Heishuicheng manuscripts, precepts of Anuttara Yoga Tantra, Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo

## (1)

The present paper focuses on the Chinese manuscript "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" (八種粗重犯墮) found in Khara-Khoto that is kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The "Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia" (俄藏黑水城文獻) Volume 6 (hereinafter referred to as Vol. 6) contains the Chinese

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manuscript Φ211V Φ288V Φ266V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang 大乘入藏錄卷上" [Mahayana scripture catalogue, part 1], page 72–79 (photographs 15–1 to 15–15). Its verso side bears a total of five written manuscripts and the first one is a Chinese version of "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" (八種粗重犯墮). The specific manuscript has ten consecutive folios and two lines of written text originating from the collection of Φ211V Φ288V Φ266V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang" (hereinafter referred to as Φ211V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang"). Most of the text is in good condition, only a few Chinese characters are incomplete or missing. Some observations on the correlation of the eight gross transgressions and Anuttara Yoga Tantra are made.

The Appendix / Descriptive Catalogue (附錄‧敘錄) of Vol. 6 lists information on the Φ211V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang." It is a manuscript of Wu Dai 五代 (Five Dynasties), folded form, written on thin calligraphy paper treated with cork tree juice. A total of 152 lines. Black calligraphy boundary column. Regular script, thick and uniform ink. The lower part is slightly rotten. The first title is "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang" (大乘入藏錄卷上). Its back has five Western Xia manuscripts: (1) "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" (八種粗重犯墮) (hereinafter referred to as Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo"), (2) "Chang suo zuo yi gui ba zhong bu gong" (常所作儀軌八種不共) [Eight kinds of uncommon rituals that are often performed], (3) "Da cheng mi mi qi fa" (大乘秘密起發) [Setting out Mahayana secrets], (4) "Xi cai zhe xiang" (惜財者像) [Portrait of those who cherish wealth], (5) "Xi cai zhe ji" (惜財者偈) [Verse of those who cherish wealth]. The manuscript Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" has a total of 72 lines of script, each line has 4 to 21 words. Regular script, in ink. It is written in prose with verse. On the first line, the title "八種粗重犯墮" is listed and below the title is "ma ming pu sa zao" (馬鳴菩薩造) (made by Aśvaghoṣa Boddhisatva).[1] According to the web site of the Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies (*rKTs*), Sthūlāpatt (Tib: ltung ba sbom po, lit.: gross transgressions) of Aśvaghoṣa can be found in Derge Tanjur No. 2479. Aśvaghoṣa stated the eight gross transgressions; however, the Φ211.1 version has a different sequence of the eight gross transgressions.

In general, the manuscript is in good condition. Its content is useful for investigating some forms and details of tantric precepts of the Western Xia society. In the manuscript, the Chinese character "麁 cu" is often used, which is different from the "粗 cu" used in the relevant photograph title

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[1] *ECHW* 1996: 45.

description on pages 80–82 and the appendix/descriptive catalogue on page 45 of Vol. 6. The 17th c. Chinese dictionary "Zheng Zi Tong" (正字通) [Orthography] explains that 麁 cu is the vulgar character of 麤 cu (麁，俗麤 字). The Han dynasty Chinese character dictionary "Shuowen Jiezi" (說文解 字) states that 麁 cu is the vulgar character of 麤 cu. Nowadays people generally use 粗 cu; therefore, 麤 cu is practically abandoned (麤，俗作 麁。今人槩用粗。粗行而麤廢矣).

Fang Guangchang collated Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" and the following is an extract from his description:

"Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo," an Indian Buddhist esoteric manuscript. The author is unknown but used the term "made by Aśvaghoṣa Bodhisattva" (馬鳴菩薩造) instead. The translator is unknown. This manuscript depicted esoteric precepts, eight in total, hence the name. This manuscript is neither recorded in Chinese scriptures nor collected by the Tripitaka. It is now in the St. Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (i.e. the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. — Chung Tsui-fun), numbered Φ221, and is regarded as a surviving work of Dunhuang literature. However, based on the analysis of its various features, this manuscript is not a surviving work of Dunhuang literature, but a Xixia document unearthed in Khara-Khoto, a city of Western Xia. This document has considerable reference value for the study of Western Xia Buddhism. The collator recorded the text using the original volume during his visit in St. Petersburg in 1991. The collated version is based on the above recorded text and the photographs are from the "Russian Collection of Dunhuang Documents" (Volume 4) published by the Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House. No collated version.[2]

However, the "Eight Gross Transgressions" is not simply a text of esoteric precepts, it is also a work of precepts that practitioners of Anuttara Yoga Tantra must abide by.

These ten folios, plus additional materials, are consecutive and almost intact, with only a few Chinese characters incomplete or missing. From a practical point of view, this manuscript can be seen as teaching material for religious education for the author and readers. From Tanjur, it is known that Sthūlāpatti was made by Aśvaghoṣa, however, it may not be the case that the

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[2] FANG 1992: 72–78.

composition of Φ221.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" is related to Aśvaghoṣa. Though the copy of the manuscript may not be a rarity, it is a valuable addition to the group of manuscripts relating to tantric precepts. It sheds light on the precepts of Anuttara Yoga Tantra observed in Western Xia. It also broadens our knowledge of the different kinds of precepts found in the tantric tradition of that period. The manuscript Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" may be related with some of the other four manuscripts on the verso side of the Φ211V "Dasheng ruzang lu juan shang".

The text of Φ211 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" is composed of a mixture of Buddhist verse and prose, it explains the eight gross transgressions and is an important source for later commentaries on the samaya commitments. The actual text about the eight gross transgressions is in verses that are placed between prose passages of related annotations. There are also examples of people who have committed various blameworthy transgressions and their sinful acts. The language and style have an informal structure but are of scholarly interest to researchers as an example of a Tibetan tantric document. The manuscript does not mention any tantric sects, practice methods, training and so on, but the eight gross transgressions listed in detail are consistent with the precepts of the Anuttara Yoga Tantra stated in sDom-gSum rNam-Nges [Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows], so it can be inferred that Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" is related to the precepts observed by Anuttara Yoga Tantra practitioners. In Dge-lugs-pa's four tantric classes, the Anuttara Yoga Tantra also observed the same fourteen root downfalls and eight gross transgressions.[3]

## (2)

The Tantric Vehicle is said to be secretive and deep, impossible to understand for ordinary people, and it should be kept secret among those who possess superior sensibility as fit vessels. The Tantric Vehicle is also known as Vajrayana. "Vajra" means indestructible, which refers to the three secret virtues of the Buddha's body, speech and mind. "Yana" is known as a vehicle, but here it means a rider carrying righteousness, morality, and legality, that is, the secret path or Dharma. Tantric scriptures are teachings attributed to the Buddha, or to those who have been blessed by the Buddha. Tantras are usually classified in two, three, four, five, and six classes and the general division in four classes is the most common one. The four tantric

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[3] LIU 2001: 151, 173–174.

classes are Kriyā Tantra, Upa Tantra, Yoga Tantra and Anuttara Yoga Tantra. Precise content of the precepts varies in different classes and traditions, and different monasteries set their own standards on its implementation. According to the sects, there is a four-theory system, namely the Vaibhāṣikas, the Sutrāntikas, the Yogācāras and the Madhyamika and they are respectively related to the four classes of tantra.[4]

Tantric training begins with initiation (abhiṣeka), disciplines and right practice (caryā).[5] When the initiation is successfully completed, a highly qualified hierophant gives a neophyte (yogī) the right and duty to practise tantras. Those who take refuge in the Tantric Vehicle must take the samaya when they receive initiation, those who do not observe samaya will never reach accomplishment.

**(3)**

Sila (ethics), samadhi (meditation) and prajña (wisdom) are the "three studies" of teachings in Buddhism that occupy a very important position. One needs to learn the commandments and to guard against evil consequences of error by mouth, body or mind because wisdom can be attained only by strictly abiding by the precepts. Doing good deeds is a necessary condition. The ten virtues are the general term for the good deeds and non-committal of the ten evils, namely (three kinds of bodily karma): to stay away from killing, stealing and sexual misconduct; (four kinds of speech karma): to stay away from lying, double tongue, evil speech and flattery; (three kinds of mind karma): to stay away from greed, hatred and ignorance. In order to retrain from committing any negative deeds, Buddhists must follow guidelines of physical and mental disciplines. There are different sets of disciplines in Buddhism, and in Tibetan Buddhist tradition they are classified into three sets of vows. The three sets of vows are the vows of prātimokṣa (or individual liberation), the vows of bodhisattva (or adherent of enlightenment) and the samayas of tantra, which are related to Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana respectively.

The prātimokṣa has eight categories of disciples and mainly emphasizes disciplining one's physical behaviour and not harming others, namely the vows of: 1. upāsaka (male lay practitioner), 2. upāsikā (female lay practitioner), 3. śrāmaṇera (novice monk), 4. śrāmaṇerikā (novice nun), 5. śikṣāmāṇā

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[4] LIU 2000, 152–153.
[5] LIU 2000: 168.

(female novice in training for full ordination), 6. bhikṣu (full ordained monk), 7. bhikṣuṇī (full ordained nun) and 8. upavāsikā (the one day lay vows). The Bodhisattva precepts have three major divisions, namely: 1. refraining from harmful deeds, 2. amassing virtuous deeds and 3. performing service for others. They also assemble the three major subjects of all dharma: observing the precepts, practicing the good deeds and benefiting sentient beings.

The manuscript Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" mentioned a number of times the term ji ju 記句 (Tib: dam tshing) which actually has the meaning of shi ju 誓句 (samaya). Tantric samaya has four meanings of equality, basic oath, riddance of unclean hindrances and awakening. Tantric masters confer these vows with initiation and permission to have the right and duty to read and practice tantras. The tantric vows are made before the principal deity and one must adhere to them until reaching enlightenment. "gSang sngags snga 'gyur rnying ma ba'i bstan pa'i rnam gzhag mdo tsam brjod pa legs bshad snang ba'i dga 'ston" (善說顯現喜宴) states that "refuge is the foundation and support of the path, because (refuge) is the cause of the oath, and (the oath is) the basis for nirvana. Therefore, if one does not seek refuge, then oath will not be made; if one is not bound by oaths, there will be no right path".[6] After receiving the initiation of the tantric vehicle, disciples should also be restricted by the vows of prātimokṣa and the bodhisattva vows. Each sect of tantra has different views and practices, and the content of precepts is not the same. According to "sDom-gSum rNam-Nges" [Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows], each of the four tantra classes has the Shi si gen ben duo (that is, the fourteen root downfalls), but only the Anuttara Yoga Tantra observes the eight gross transgressions, which are discussed here. Detailed discussion is given in this paper in order to lay a foundation for further studies.

The fourteen root downfalls of Kriyā Tantra are the lack of the following: 1. have deep faith in the Three Jewels of Buddha, dharma and sangha, 2. have faith in the secret mantra, 3. respect Mahayana wholeheartedly, 4. respect the guru (lama) and vajra family, 5. do not underestimate the wisdom of the worldly or wisdom deity, 6. make offerings to one's own deity at the right times, 7. do not make offerings to other traditions, 8. do not make offering to uninvited guests, 9. do not forsake your compassion, 10. make effort to accomplish altruistic matters, 11. recite mantras with perseverance, 12. maintain one's basic oath according with one's own sensibility, 13. do not give secret mantra to immature recipients, and 14. guard one's own vow and

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[6] H.H. Dunjom Rinpoche 2011: 37.

realize the real meaning. The fourteen root downfalls of Upa Tantra are to follow both the "ten non-virtues" and the "four roots". The four roots are as follows: 1. abandon the Buddha's Dharma, 2. abandon bodhicitta, 3. lack generosity due to covetousness, and 4. damage and annoy other sentient beings.[7]

The fourteen root downfalls of Yoga Tantra are consistent with the "samaya of the five Buddha families". "Samaya of the five Buddha families" are as follows: 1. samaya of the Buddha family is the three vows of refuge. 2. samaya of the Vajra family is to maintain a vajra, bell, mudra and vajra acharya. 3. samaya of the Ratna family is never to give up the four generosities (the giving of charity, wealth, fearlessness and Dharma). 4. samaya of the Padma/lotus family is to fully maintain and uphold all dharmas. 5. samaya of the Karma family is to accept and uphold all vows and to persevere in making offerings.[8]

The Anuttara Yoga Tantra requires adherence to the precepts of twenty-five uncontrived activities, samaya of the five Buddha families, the fourteen root downfalls, and the eight gross transgressions. The fourteen root downfalls are as follows: 1. disrespecting the vajra master, 2. contradicting the Buddha's words, 3. expressing contempt toward the vajra family, 4. abandoning love, 5. abandoning bodhicitta, 6. disrespecting other religious philosophies and doctrines, 7. revealing secrets, 8. disrespecting the aggregates, 9. doubting the Dharma, 10. failing to liberate if the ten prerequisites are met, 11. measuring the Dharma through logic, 12. causing someone to lose faith, 13. failing to rely upon the appropriate samaya substances, 14. disrespecting a wisdom woman. The eight gross transgressions are as follows: 1. relying on a consort who has not matured through empowerment and samaya, 2. physically or verbally fighting during the gaṇacakra, 3. receiving the nectar of an unauthorized consort, 4. failing to reveal the secret mantras to a qualified recipient, 5. teaching something other than what has been requested by a faithful aspirant, 6. staying seven complete days together with a sāvaka, 7. proclaiming oneself to be a tantric adept when the yoga of primordial wisdom had not been realized, 8. teaching unsuitable recipients.[9]

The Shi si gen ben duo (fourteen root downfalls) are terms used in tantric precepts and are the fundamental root downfalls for breaking the samaya. Samayas are the core of tantric precepts and the foundation of all practice. These fourteen root downfalls can damage the roots of the path and increase confusion and suffering. "The fourteen root downfalls are linked to the trunk

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[7] H.H. DUNJOM RINPOCHE 1996: 105–106.
[8] H.H. DUNJOM RINPOCHE 1996: 106.
[9] H.H. DUNJOM RINPOCHE 1996: 117–122.

of a fruit-bearing tree. In dependence upon the trunk, all the branches and leaves develop. If the trunk deteriorates, the entire tree will tumble down. The root vows are like the trunk, and if they are guarded it is through them that all the noble qualities of the path develop. If the trunk is damaged, this becomes the root cause for falling to the lowest hell realm. There will not be a chance for liberation and there unbearable suffering is endured".[10] The manuscript Ф211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" mentions that "ma ming zao shi si gen ba cu zhong" (馬鳴造十四根八麤重) (Aśvaghoṣa made Shi si gen Ba cuzhong) (page 2). In this context, "Shi si gen" (十四根) (fourteen roots) should refer to "Shi si gen ben duo" (fourteen root downfalls). Since the manuscript does not specify the content of the fourteen root downfalls, no comparison can be made.

Although similar to the root downfalls in weight, the eight gross transgressions do not qualify as causes for the loss of the words of honours. However, they create obstructions to the swift accomplishment of spiritual attainments. If main branches of a fruit-bearing tree fall, this affects the ability of the tree to bear fruit and may cause fatal damage to the tree.[11] The eight gross transgressions can be considered as less serious faults, but their violation will still harm attainments or realizations of tantric practice. To observe the eight gross transgressions, one should persevere in learning and abide by them. To violate any one of them is to commit sin.


**(4)**

In Tibet Buddhist tradition, disciplines (commandments) are classified into three categories. "sDom-gSum rNam-Nges" [Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining the Three Vows] is written by Ngari Panchen Lama Pema Wangjie Gyalpo (1487–1542) and the commentary is made by His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche (1904–1987). Its content covers the precepts of Theravada, Mahayana, and Vajrayana, and specifically clarifies that the three precepts (prātimokṣa, bodhisattva vows, and tantric samaya) can be combined and cultivated together without contradicting each other. The Venerable Longchen Rapchampa (無垢光尊者) in "Samten Ngalso" (禪定休息論) also states that: "The Precepts of Sāvaka, Bodhisattva and Chi Ming 持明 (here, the practice of the Tantric Vehicle precepts),[12] the three

[10] H. H. DUNJOM RINPOCHE 1996: 117.
[11] H. H. DUNJOM RINPOCHE 1996: 122.
[12] LONGCHEN RAPCHAMPA 2002: 141.

disciplines do not contradict each other." The unconflicted three vows are steps that lead to the same goal of enlightenment.

After receiving the precepts, from time to time, tantric practitioners may forget the precepts or offend against them. They recite the precepts such as the ten virtues or fourteen root downfalls together regularly in order to repent of sins and purify the three karmas, and to remind each other to be vigilant again, so that they can keep the precepts cleanly. [13] It is important to note that the work enjoys great popularity even today, the eponymous precepts are chanted in public in various tantric assemblies or feasts, in which practitioners get together to practise various tantric rituals.


**(5)**

The text of the manuscript Φ221.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" in Vol. 6, page 80–83 (photographs 15–1 to 15–7) is being cited here entirely in Table 1. It has ten consecutive folios with the last two lines written on the first page of the following manuscript Φ211V Φ288 Φ266V 2. (15–7). The number on the left of the recorded text indicates the page of the original text as shown in Vol. 6, "/" means the original text continues on the next line, "//" means that the original text continues on the next page, "[ ]" marks words that are difficult to decipher and have to be inferred from the context, and "□" marks a missing word. The English translation in "{ }" bracket is given immediately after the relevant gross transgression.


Table 1

| | Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" (八種粗重犯墮) |
|---|---|
| 1 | ○八種麁重犯墮 馬鳴菩薩 造 / 最上尊師於花足 以真實心而頂礼 / 諸本[續] 中所宣說 麁重犯墮略演說 / 且最上尊師者是聖天菩薩所礼住能礼人馬 / 鳴初歆礼足功驗因礼聖天之足有多應驗[者] / 聖天之威德後馬鳴啓最上志成三荣虔恭頂 / 礼聖天之花足也 // |
| 2 | 聖天問礼者礼住云何礼礼因礼緣故馬鳴造十四根 / 八麁重依禪定本續中略開演觸犯儀軌 / ○持密禪定母 強爲自受用 {1. upholding esoteric meditation consort forcefully for own use} 此中有二種 / 初是新授戒母 二已授戒母 / 無有人見禪定母勇猛等要受用作無二加行故 / 不依法作強受用者犯麁重罪 / 西天有一在於竭囉怛山初受大乘戒人見持[禪] // |

| 3 | 定母要行婬染令狃受用禪定母實不解無二 / 加行於禪定母麀起婬染心故馬鳴菩薩造 / 第一麁重罪此是說初受戒人犯罪 二已受戒 / 人犯罪者勇猛等先來受戒解無二加行女人 / 刾初發心受戒勇猛不依法作犯第一重罪 / 西天兢伽河側有一持禪定人名折囉沒怛自 / 七歲來時受大乘秘密戒因有一女人河邊過 // |
|---|---|
| 4 | 來見自女人顏兒端嚴此法師心中起婬染心言你 / 受大乘秘密戒速疾成佛因自行逐婬歇故馬鳴 / 造第一重罪 。第二頌云 / 。弃捨自禪定 於趣輪中諍 {2. abandoning self-meditation and causing disputes to arise at the assembly} / 初受戒人不了聚輪義中諍話犯罪 / 西天有一人實持禪定人八月十五日於屍堂林 / 中持禪定或至一更來有多勇猛 [作集]輪時於 // |
| 5 | 時此人問師因縁法滅後再在不 口 [師] 當時生嗔 / 默然不答勇猛等驚疑依此馬鳴造第二重罪 / 。非噐有情麀 說秘密法者 {3. delivering esoteric teaching to unfit vessels} / 此中有二種 一初未受戒人麀說此法者或見 / 本尊等像或見秘密禪觀文字犯罪 / 二後持禪定者先受大乘戒已不作禪定不念真 / 言不放施食等經一年不依法修者此人麀 // |
| 6 | 以不說秘密法若說時犯麁重罪若再受戒 口 [許] 口 / 法不犯罪 。第四頌云 / 。具信心有情 所說顛倒法 {4. inverting right and wrong teaching to confident sentient beings} / 此中有二種 一無記句師不解[秘密法] 口口口口 / 所說顛倒法 / 西天有一法師名山及多羅先受小[乘]別 [解]脫 / 戒能講三乘五性一切法門見[此] 口口口口 師說有 // |
| 7 | 多人受戒却將顯教法充作 [秘] 口口而說實不解 / 秘密就利養故所說顛倒法因此馬鳴造第四麁 / 重 。第五頌云 / 。我慢聲聞者 共宮在七夜 {5. living with a sāvaka for seven full nights} / 持秘密禪定人与小乘聲聞等不得同房在七 / 夜犯麁重罪 / 西天有一法師常持小乘戒或於一日逢着一箇 // |
| 8 | 持禪定人同房共住七夜持禪定人依法修作法師 / 心生��謗馬鳴因此造第五麁重 。第六頌云 / 。若不作法事 密者自受用 {6. not conducting dhamma event, tantric practitioner suffers himself} / 持禪定者受大乘秘密戒已不作禪定不念真 / 言不放施食等係破戒再不受戒但名持禪定人 / 者犯重罪 / 西天有一般弥怛法師常与人受戒有一人受 // |
| 9 | 了密戒已經一年於上師麀並不學此法戒相此 / 人不肯懺悔死入地獄因此馬鳴造第六麁重 / 。第七頌云 / 。不解禪定智 密者起我慢 {7. not understanding the wisdom of meditation, tantric practitioner becomes self-conceited} / 持禪定者不解此教法義強言我能解秘密法 / 狃初受戒人實不解妄生解犯麁重罪 / 西天有一法師實不解秘密法或与多人說法有 // |
| 10 | 一僧到說法麀法師你說法有其差別此法師生嗔 / 犯麁重罪 。第八頌云 / 。無記句明母 倚托故受用 {8. relying on and using a consort with no oath} / 持禪定者要行加行倚托秘密法於無記句母住 / 作加行犯麁重罪 / 若或此故觸犯者 依此建立於壇場 / 隨依聚輪所作法 以實思慮皆懺悔 // |
| | 若有人犯此麁重須是集輪中作懺悔對本尊 / 面前名白懺悔方可滅罪了[畢] |

Table 2 juxtaposes for comparison the passages of manuscripts corres-ponding to the "Eight Gross Transgressions" that are found in the "ltung ba sbom po [Sthūlāpatti]" Tanjur No. 2479 and in the "sDom-gSum rNam-Nges" [Perfect Conduct: Ascertaining The Three Vows] [14] regarding the eight gross transgressions of Anuttara Yoga Tantra. It is clear that there were certain variations in the order of explanations and contents, but it is not difficult to see that the three versions of eight gross transgressions have many similarities. There is no uniformity in expressions describing the transgressions, and they differ from document to document. It is possible that this variation was caused by the circumstances at the time when the manuscripts were composed, and it may shed light on the process of transmission of the gross transgressions.

Table 2

|   | Tanjur No. 2479 ltung ba sbom po |   | Φ211.1 Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo |   | Ascertaining The Three Vows |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | acquire possessions by the power of insight | 1 | upholding esoteric meditation consort forcefully for own use | 1 | relying on a consort who has not matured through empowerment and samaya |
| 2 | acquire by one's power of nectar | 8 | relying on and using a consort with no oath | 3 | receiving the nectar of an unauthorized consort |
| 3 | not maintain secrecy toward the unfit vessel | 6 | not conducting dhamma event, tantric practitioner suffers himself | 4 | failing to reveal the secret mantras to a qualified recipient |
| 4 | dispute in an assembly | 2 | abandoning self-meditation and causing disputes to arise at the assembly | 2 | physically or verbally fighting during the gaṇacakra |
| 5 | teach heterodox doctrines to the faithful | 4 | inverting right and wrong teaching to confident sentient beings | 5 | teaching something other than what has been requested by a faithful aspirant |
| 6 | stay seven days among the sāvaka | 5 | living with a sāvaka for seven full nights | 6 | staying seven complete days together with a sāvaka |

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[14] H.H. Dunjom Rinpoche 1996: 122–123.

| 7 | falsely claim to know yoga | 7 | not understanding the wisdom of meditation, tantric practitioner becomes self-conceited | 7 | proclaiming oneself to be a tantric adept when the yoga of primordial wisdom had not been realized |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | teach the doctrine to a non-believer | 3 | delivering esoteric teaching to unfit vessels | 8 | teaching unsuitable recipients |

**(6)**

There were two ways for the introduction of the esoteric vehicle to Western Xia: one way was from the Central Plains of China, and the other was the introduction of Tibetan Buddhism from Tibet. In the middle and late period of Western Xia, tantric teachings from the Central Plains of China and Tibet were widely disseminated, and the accompanying tantric precepts were extended to the lives of ordinary disciples. The practice of Vajrayana Yoga has its own establishment in each dharma system to match the results and practice. There are inconceivable numbers of methods to reach liberation, these teachings are grouped into different categories and condensed into the prātimokṣa, bodhisattva and tantric vehicles. There are innumerable commentaries, annotations, guides and supplements written by many learned scholars and accomplished hierophants. Many commentaries intended to reveal the manner through which an individual can engage in the vows and practice of prātimokṣa, bodhisattva and tantra by incorporating the essence of all three.

The "Eight Gross Transgressions" are the precepts of the Anuttara Yoga Tantra, which is still in existence. The manuscript Φ221.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" is well-organized and relatively clear. Its primary charm lies in its frank outspokenness, but this quality may have hampered its study. With the diffusion of tantras in the Western Xia, various Buddhist scriptures and ritual practices became popular in the Western Xia, such as initiation, offerings, homa and so on, but records of the "Eight Gross Transgressions" are rather few. All neophytes indoctrinated to enter the Anuttara Yoga Tantra are mandatorily bound by the samaya; therefore, the teaching must be accompanied by the precepts and the precepts must be spread along with the teachings. The existence of Φ211.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" may reflect the situation of diffusion of the Anuttara Yoga Tantra, and it probably was more secretive than its counterparts. Although the text is not unique in its treatment of tantric practices, its commentary is special and it is hard to find

elsewhere such information presented with this kind of clarity and richness in details. It is hoped that more materials will come to light or be found in other depositories to reveal the socio-historical context.

As for the fourteen root downfalls, a testimony to their popularity throughout the ages is a large number of surviving manuscripts that correspond to the fundamental depravity in Tanjur. There is no lack of discourses on root tantric vows: rdo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Vajrayāna-mūlāpatti-ṭīkā), rdo rje theg pa rtsa ba'i ltung ba bsdus pa (Vajrayānamūlāpattisaṁgraha), rdo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa (Vajrayānacaturdaśamūlāpattivṛtti), rdo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba'i rgya cher bshad pa (Vajrayānamūlāpattiṭīkā), rtsa ba'i ltung ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa (Mūlāpatti-ṭīkā), etc. Unfortunately, records of "Eight Gross Transgressions" in relevant tantric literature and discourse are scarce, except for ltung ba sbom po (Sthūlāpatti) by Aśvaghoṣa and rdo rje theg pa'i sbom po'i ltung ba (Vajrayānasthūlāpatti). Rarely found in other forms of literature, Ф221.1 "Bazhong Cuzhong Fanduo" confirms that the eight gross transgressions were observed by tantric practitioners in Western Xia in the medieval period. The origin of this specific manuscript is still unknown and the historical aetiology is also a matter for future investigation. Access to more information is definitely needed to facilitate further and in-depth study.

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Zhang Jiuling

# The Preface to the *Shiwang Jing*:
# An Early Legend of Revival*

*Abstract*: The main text of the Tangut version of the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* was based on the Tibetan version, but its preface, translated from Chinese, contains a folk legend about a child who returns alive from Hell after Yama admires his respect for deities and sages. A similar legend is recorded in Chinese Buddhist canon no earlier than the Ming Dynasty, therefore the Tangut preface proves to be the earliest sample of the same work. With the help of Chinese texts, it may be possible to decipher the Tangut version of the cursive handwritten preface in inv. № 819 kept at the IOM, RAS and the version in a xylograph that recently appeared on the Chinese relic market.

*Key words*: Tangut, Xixia, Buddhism, folklore, unorthodox scripture

## 1. Introduction

The *Shiwang Jing* 十王經 (*Scripture on the Ten Kings*) is an unorthodox Buddhist work that circulated widely in Northern China, especially in Dunhuang from the seventh to the tenth century.[1] It tells believers how to avoid afterlife pains in Hell by accumulating merits in advance. Its Chinese original was translated into Tibetan and then re-translated into Tangut with adaptation. There are two Tangut versions with different titles kept in the Khara-Khoto collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS that remain to be deciphered, especially a severely damaged preface in cursive handwriting. In the year 2021, a Tangut version of the scripture in question appeared on the market of Chinese relics, and we obtained a whole set of high-resolution pictures from the Taihe Jiacheng Auction Company.[2] This

[1] DU 1989; TEISER 1994.

[2] We would also like to thank Mr. Liu Yu, division manager of the company, for his permission to use these pictures. He told Prof. Nie that it was acquired by an anonymous collector, probably excavated first by some relic diggers from somewhere in the Edzina Delta, near Khara-Khoto.

proves to be the only xylograph of the *Shiwang Jing* we have at present. It preserves a comparatively complete preface, which will help us decipher the cursive hand preface of the same content kept at the IOM, and provides us an earlier sample of folk legends about returning from Hell.

## 2. Description and identification of the materials

There are two manuscripts of the *Shiwang Jing* kept at the IOM, RAS that are catalogued separately: inv. № 4976 as *Shiwang Jing* 十王經[3] and inv. № 819 as *Yanmo Focheng Jishou Jing* 閻魔佛成記受經.[4] Its full text survives in the latter manuscript, but the former lacks the initial part. In terms of content, both are identical to the *Shiwang Jing* that recently appeared on the market of cultural relics in China.

The xylograph on the market of cultural relics, with 41 folios of the initial part preserved, has accordion binding with the folio size 23.3×9.1 cm and the frame height is 15.8 cm, 6 lines with 15 characters per line. The end of the text is lost and the top of the book was damaged into debris. Before auction, it was mounted without guidance of specialists, so that some fragmented pieces were incorrectly pasted at the top of the folios and were hard to restore at the correct places.

On the front cover, the work is entitled *tha śjɨj la γjwei lwər lhejr* 𗧾𗴟𗲲 𗤁𗫩𗣼 (Scripture on becoming Buddha and receiving prediction).[5] Two other titles appear on the initial folio of the text (Pl. 1). The first line is the same title as on the front cover, the second to the fifth line is a very complicated title,[6] approximately parallel to the Tibetan title *Bcom ldan 'das kyi* (*kyis*) *gshin rje la lung bstan pa dang/ 'khor rnams la bshos ston bdun tshigs bya ba dang/ sangs rgyas kyi zhing du skye ba dang/ lha'i pho nya bstan pa zhes pa'i mdo*:[7]

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[3] NISHIDA 1977: 31; KYCHANOV 1999: 472–473.

[4] NISHIDA 1977: 59; KYCHANOV 1999: 473–474.

[5] Chin. *Chengfo shouji qijing* 成佛受記契經. *Shouji* = Skr. *vyākaraṇa*.

[6] Since the titles are slightly fragmentary, the following transcription is collated with inv. № 819 and 4976.

[7] Besides, according to BEROUNSKY 2012: 148, there is another title for the same scripture: *Gshin rje sangs rgyas su lung bstan pa dang/ 'khor rnams bzhi la bshos ston bcol ba dang/ sangs rgyes kyi zhing du skye ba dang/ lha'i pho nya lnga bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* (Chin. 閻羅成佛受記四眾修齋往生佛土示教五天使契經).
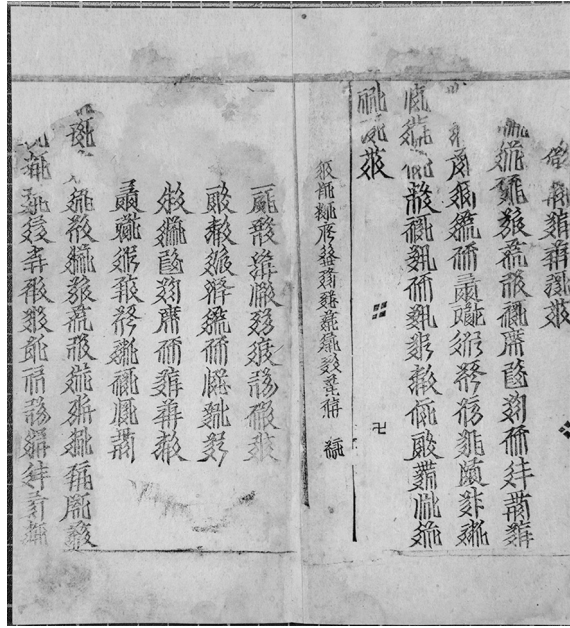
Pl. 1. The beginning of *the Scripture on the Ten Kings*
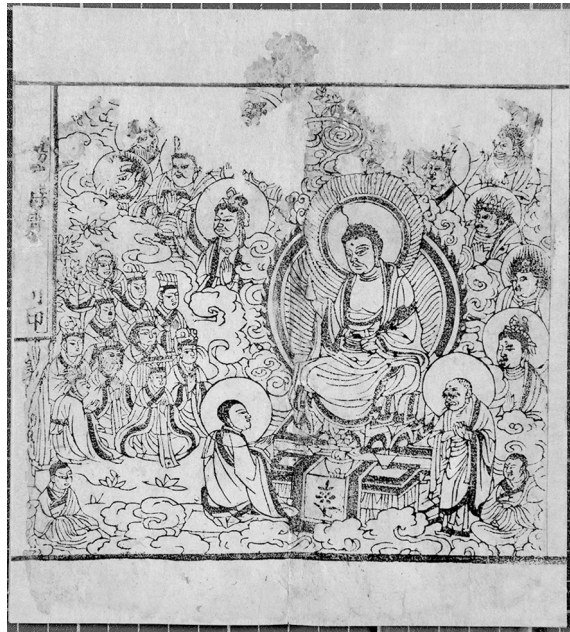


Pl. 2. Frontispiece of *the Scripture on the Ten Kings*

[𘀄𗄈𗱕]𘜶𗢭�187�970

[𗱬𗫂𗬫]𗰉𗗙𗗧𗫂𗜍𗰛𘟛𗤁𗱕𘜶𗢭[�187𘉍]𗫂𗼇𗿒𗤁𗢳𘗜

𗏋𗖫𗬫𗎖𘄡𗗜𗺇𗥃𗫂𗐆𗤁𗐆𗩗𘀳𗏹𗝬𗂧𗤌𘈩𗴟970[8]

Scripture on Yama becoming Buddha and receiving prediction

The Buddha, [9] World-honored, [10] Dharma-king, [11] Yama [12] becoming Buddha and receiving prediction, each of the fourfold assembly [13] practicing the ten days of fasting, [14] being reborn to the Buddha's land and increasing the practices of the Five Dharmas [15] in advance, enlightening the Five Heaven Envoys, [16] preached by the Buddha

On the border joining the first and second paper sheets, the name of the translator is recorded in the following colophon:

𘊺𗾫𗲲𗮀𘋠𘊈𗸹𗈁𘖄𘗳𘊩𗄡𘏒

Created by Tangut texts translator, [17] abbot in red, [18] Mji̱-njij Źji̱r-ŋjow

A similar colophon may be found in inv. № 819, [19] showing slight differences: the religious name of the translator, Źji̱r-ŋjow 𘖄𗄡 (Tib. *Shes-rab rgya-mtsho*, Chin. *Huihai* 慧海) is substituted by Tsji̱r-ŋjow 𗫂𗄡 (Tib. *Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho*, Chin. *Fahai* 法海), and the description of his working manner *yji̱r* 𘏒 (to create) is substituted by *lhɛ dej* 𘋠𘊈 (to translate and

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[8] Chinese deciphering: 佛说佛世尊閻羅法王成佛受記四眾修十齋生佛土及預增五法行示教五天使契經.

[9] Buddha (*swew sə* 𗱬𘉍) < Tib. *sangs rgyas* = Chin. *mingman* 明滿.

[10] World-honored (*tśji̱ dju dzjij* 𘄡𗗜𗺇) < Tib. *bcom ldan 'das* = Skr. *Bhagavān* = Chin. *chuyouhuai* 出有壞 (*shizun* 世尊).

[11] Dharma-king (*tsji̱r njij* 𗫂𗤁) < Tib. *chos rgyal* = Chin. *fawang* 法王.

[12] Yama (*dji̱ dzjwɨ* 𘟛𘉍) < Tib. *gshin rje* = Chin. *yuzhu* 獄主 (*yanluo* 閻羅).

[13] Fourfold assembly (*lji̱r·ji* 𘟛𗤁), generic terms for Buddhists: *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*.

[14] Ten days of fasting (*śja tsew* 𘈩𗴟) = Chin. *shizhai* 十齋, indicates the observation of Buddhist precepts during ten days every month practiced by lay people.

[15] Five Dharmas (*ŋwə mə tsji̱r* 𗏹𗝬𗫂), also named *wuyun* 五蘊 (Five Skandhas): form (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*samjñā*), impulse (*samskāra*) and consciousness (*vijñāna*).

[16] Five Heaven Envoys (*ŋwə mɛ phji̱* 𗏹𗝬𗂧), envoys of Yama, in charge of birth, senescence, illness, death and legal prison.

[17] Texts translator = Tib. *Lo-tsa-ba*.

[18] Wearing a red cassock is the distinguishing mark of eminent monks.

[19] KYCHANOV 1999: 474.

transmit). We believe that both names refer to one and the same person with the Tangut surname Mjɨ-njij who translated the Tibetan original into Tangut and transmitted it to the masses.

In the two folios preceding the text, there is a frontispiece showing Śākyamuni preaching to the masses (Pl. 2) and at the top left corner there is a severely fragmentary colophon with few Chinese characters remaining, indicating that it was produced by a certain printing workshop. Besides, Chinese characters also appear for numbering the woodblocks, such as *sibai ershiqi* 四百二十七 (four hundred and twenty-seven), *sibai ershiba* 四百二十八 (four hundred and twenty-eight) etc., suggesting that these blocks might have come from a huge Buddhist collection. What is more, on the 29th folio there is inserted a Chinese character Li 李, evidently the surname of the woodblock carver. In Tangut scriptures, it is a typical feature of *Hexi Zang* 河西藏 (Tangut *Tripiṭaka*) of the Yuan era that carvers recorded woodblock sequence and their own names in Chinese. Thus, we may conclude with certainty that this xylograph is a part of the Yuan edition of the *Tripiṭaka* compiled at the end of the 13th c.[20]

## 3. Deciphering and annotating the preface

There is no doubt that the main text of *Shiwang Jing* was translated from Tibetan, but its preface was translated from Chinese.[21] The Chinese original has not been found in text materials before the Xixia era. There are only two later editions of *Shiwang Jing* that we can see in the National Library of China. One is a Ming dynasty xylograph collected by Rong Geng and Zheng Zhenduo (№ 16022), the other is a donated printing by Liu Zan in Chongqing City in 1819.[22] Both editions begin with a preface similar to those in Tangut versions. With the help of the Chinese texts, the Tangut preface can be deciphered satisfactorily, but needless to say, the word "decipher" does not mean "to restore" the Chinese original, because it is impossible to do so only by means of collating a translation with two later different editions.

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[20] Besides, in a certain private collection in China, there are other fragmentary printings of *Shiwang Jing* similar to this xylograph (ZHANG Jiuling 2019). For the history of compiling the *Tangut Tripiṭaka*. See SUN 2011.

[21] NISHIDA 1977: 31, 59 and KYCHANOV 1999: 472–474 assumed the scripture to be a translation from Chinese. Maybe they only referred to the preface, and not to its main text.

[22] ZHANG Zong 2013.

The following transcription of the preface is based on the xylograph auctioned in China (Pl. 3) and collated with the manuscript inv. № 819 in the IOM (Pl. 4). Missing and vague words in the original, tentatively restored based on the texts of Chinese editions, are placed in square brackets.

[𗔡]𘝯𗖼𗱟𗫨𗅆𘝚𗫨𗎫𗂧𘂀
[𗦴]𗓟[𗼻]𗡞𗤁𗧓𗎩𘕣𗤼𗁅𗙫𗔀𘟀𗤩,[𘃸𗾞]𗓜𘓋. 𘟙𗼻𗿟𘕌𗗙𗤁,𗓦𘒣𗃬𗓁𗌾.[𘊴𘊧]𗀓𗫳𗤀𗫨𗫫𗝦𗁅𗧓𘟀𗪚𗤟,𘟙[𘊩𘋩]𘊦𗀓𘓰𘘚𗫳.𗓜𘕂𗧱𘊟𗷗𗉛𗁅𗤼[𘕰𘘛]𘉟𘓏𗷲. 𗓦𘂀𘂑𗇋𗫏𗍖𘙣,𘐻𘋔[𗬨𘊩]𘋪𗐸𗤁𘝙。

The Preface to the *Scripture on King Yama Practicing Shiwang Jing in Advance, Preached by Buddha*

In the Anding Block[23] of the Western Capital[24], the Great Tang dynasty, deity Ma Xing[25] had only[26] one son named Hongjing.[27] When he was able to differentiate east from west roughly, he revered the Three Treasures.[28] He used to call and invite the sages and deities of the earth[29] before dining. It was only after doing this that he started to eat and drink. On the first day, the fifth month, the second year of Jinglong,[30] he suddenly died without cause. His chest remained slightly warm for three days, so the family members dared not to incinerate him.[31]

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[23] Anding Block (*γã-thjij xjow* 𗱟𗫨𗅆) = Chin. *Anding Fang* 安定坊, located to the west of the capital. Song Minqiu's *Chang'an Zhi* 長安志, *juan* 10: *Zhuque jie xi zhi disi jie, ji huangcheng xi zhi diyi jie, jie xi cong bei diyi Anding Fang* 朱雀街西之第四街, 即皇城西之第一街, 街西從北第一安定坊 (The fourth street to the west of Zhuque Street, also the first street to the west of the Imperial Capital, the Anding Fang is located in the first block from the north to the west of the street).

[24] "Western Capital" refers to Chang'an (now Xi'an city), as opposed to the "Eastern Capital" Luoyang.

[25] The name Ma Xingxian 馬行仙 in Chinese original is misunderstood by Tangut translator as a *xianren* 仙人 (deity) named Ma Xing, so he transcribed *ma xing* phonetically as *bia̱ xiəj* 𗎫𗂧, but translated *xian* semantically as *śji dzjwo* 𗤁𗤼 (deity).

[26] Here the Tangut word *twu̱* 𘝚 (straight) is used to express the meaning "only". This is caused by Chinese phonetic borrowing, because Chinese words *zhi* 直 (straight) and *zhi* 祇 (only) are homophones in the Northwest dialect at that time.

[27] Chin. *hongjing* 弘敬.

[28] "Three Treasures" refers to Buddha, dharma and saṃgha = Chin. *fofaseng* 佛法僧.

[29] Deities of the earth (*lji̱ sji* 𗧓𘟀) = Chin. *diqi* 地祇 or *tudi* 土地.

[30] Jinglong 景龍 is the reign period of Tang Emperor Zhongzong (707–710). The date mentioned here is May 24, 708 AD.

[31] Here the Chinese *binmai* 殯埋 (burial) was substituted with *pju tśhji̱* 𘝙𘝎 (burn, incinerate) in order to accord with the Tangut custom of cremation.

Pl. 3. The preface of the xylograph *Scripture on the Ten Kings*

𘐩𘓿𗽻𗣱𘕿𗾟𗠝𗪊[𘆄]𘒣𗡅,𗽔𘓪𘙄𘕤："𗊰𗺌𗴨𘋩𗥃𗤛𗙼𘙷[𗥃𗤲𗆀]?"𘙷𗥃𘄒𘕤𗶘"𘈐"."𗊰𗱲𘒘𘊜𘗈𘒣[𘎯𗬮?"𗽔]𘓿𗤁𗉻�鑫𘕤:"𗼮𘕑𗬷𘈐𗴚,𘙷□□□.[𘈬]�阵𘈠𗣱�瑞𘑠,𗤴𘊽𗾶𗣲�[𗟥𗵒𗁡]𘜔𘙄𘉅�鑫�粉𗥃.�歼𗠝𗥃�緳𘊶𘛒𘔎𗥃.𗠭𘔊𘕤�:"𗊰《𗊍𘔿𗠭𗲧𗍁》𗶘[𗀅]𘙃𗪊𗶘𗁲𗽼𗮊?"𘙷𗥃𘄒𗴮�𘕤:"𘉅𘔉𗴚[𘆽]𗪊𘕤,𗐗𘊽𘆽𗁲𗙼𗥎𘆾.�𗈡𗠝𗴚[𗝾𘑘]𗥃,𗝾𘊖𗥃𗉅𘆄𗪊,𘐩𘓿𗽻𗣱�粉𗮈𗀖,[𘝲]𗜍𘊹𘞊𗥃.

The dispatched messenger[32] led him to the related department. The governor of the department questioned: "Aren't you Ma Hongjing from the Anding Block of the Western Capital?" Hongjing gave him an affirmative answer. "What merits did you make before?" The governors of the department said to each other secretly: "Despite being an ignorant child, he is always glad to make goodness in his mind.[33] Every time before daybreak,[34] he chants the appellation of Deliverance Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara a hundred times." The governors of the departments said that his soul might be released. The King asked again: "Will you be glad or not to transcribe a book of *Scripture on Yama King*?" Hongjing replied on his knees: "If you let me be released, I shall transcribe one thousand books." The King ordered to change his name into "Longevity"[35] and let him live till ninety years of age, and then called the dispatched messenger so that he would not get lost.

�緳𗶘𘆽,𗶘𘄒�祥𗠭,𘜈[𗴢𘑨𘋥]𗪊.𘐩𗠝𘆼𘜫,𗼇𗨙�鑫𗠁.𗲧𗠝�[𗝾�儿]𘝲𗥎𘙷,𗜍𘝲𘄒𘐩𗷲.𘈬𘊷𘆼𘜫,𗉾□𗴚𗬷,𘜈𗟥𗜍𘉫,𗥃𘐩𘔎𘜫.𘝲𗣱𗁵𗠝,□𗣱𗣱𗎯�𗾢.

After the soul came back, it made the whole family full of happiness and the whole area full of compliments. Reports were gathered in detail and transmitted from the country to the capital. One thousand books were transcribed, and everybody worshipped them with respect. Patients were recovered, dying people were revived, lawsuits were prevented, and blind people regained sight. The record is engraved on the stone and taken for transmission.

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[32] Dispatched messenger (*bju mjɨjr phjɨ dzjwo* 𘐩𘓿𗽻𗣱) = Chin. *zhuiling shiren* 追領使人, refers to the soul guide in Hell.

[33] The Tangut translation parallel to *chang le shan* 常樂善 is dropped.

[34] The Tangut translator employed the word *le dzjɨj* 𗟥𗡅 < Chin. *yinshi* 寅时, indicating 3–5 o'clock.

[35] Longevity < Chin. *yanshou* 延壽.

Pl. 4. The preface of the manuscript inv. № 819, IOM RAS

Based on the Tangut translation, the fragmentary preface in inv. № 819 may be transcribed into regular script as follows:

[1]   ……𘃽𗲤   𗥾𘊢𗢩𗧎𗼮𘓋𗉛𘔼𘄒𗤁𘝵𘊢𗤒𗫸𘏞𘈷𗤀

[2]   ……𗤒𗤀𗾭𗇋𘗽𘕰𘑲𘕰𘜼𘕭𘕰𘏻𘊢𘊢𘓋𗾭𘐊𗄒𘋼𘗼𘑳𗅆

       𘕰𘘍𘟙

[3]   ……𗷓𘔼𘏻�xi𘎪𘀛�xi𗗕𗤒𘊘𗽽𗤐𗇋𗘺𗤫𘓴𘎊𗯿𘓦�xi𘝵

       𘔼𘟙𘄝𗳛𗀖𘓦

[4]   ……𗤀𘈷𘏞𗤒……𘓋𘔼𗢩𘒏𘄒𗱕𘕲𘒏𘄒𗼇�𘝴𘑞𘚴𘕰

       𘕳𗐩……

[5]   ……𗁦𘐾𘔼𘒣……𘄒𘒜𘊘𘊹𘊣𗅲�㇏𗥅

[6]　……𗼺𘃜𗀋𗤒𗠣𗾮𗼺 ……𗱕𘊟𗷯𗴵𗑗𗀋𘇂𗪻𗨁

[7]　……𗷯𘛛𗭴𗢭 ……𗄝𗹙𘋩□□𗧿𗀩𗣓𗜓�𘜶𘃡𗦮𗹏

[8]　……𗄛𗸀𗜓𗟻𗼄𘝞𘋩𗁋𗥫𗪴𘉋𗄀𗼃�𗴵𘏨𗸕𘜶𘝞𘒣𘐋𘅝𗾉
　　𘀌𘍔𘓨𗔲

[9]　……𘊲𗭾𘉋𗼃𗤒𗉡𗈜𗽺𘗽𗒁𘊾𘎪𗵒□𗈜𗉡𘍼𗷯𘓨

Evidently, the extant preface in inv. № 819 is identical to that in the xylograph that appeared on the Chinese market. This fact confirms that the xylograph of the Yuan era is a reprinted edition based on the version in Xixia.

## 4. Restoring the Chinese original

Based on the Tangut translation, the Chinese reconstruction of the preface is collated with the Ming and Qing editions in order to point out some errors in the original, although there are also mistakes in the order of sentences in the two later editions caused by irregular circulation during hundreds of years.

　佛說閻羅王預修十王經序
　大唐西京安定坊馬行仙祇生一男, 名弘敬. 粗辨東西[36], 惟崇三寶. 每日吃食之時, 先呼賢聖土地, 然後方食. 景龍二年五月一日午時[37]忽爾暴亡. 三日之間, 心上微暖, 家人未敢殯埋. 追領使人引見所司, 司主謂曰: "汝非西京安定坊馬弘敬否?" 弘敬言是.[38] "汝曾作何功德?"[39] 司主陰相謂曰:[40] "然雖愚幼, 心常樂善. 每遇寅朝, 念救苦觀世音菩薩一百

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[36] Before *cubian dongxi* 粗辨東西 (to differentiate east from west roughly), the age of the son was probably omitted. Perhaps *nian fang jiusui* 年方九歲 (only nine years old) should be added according to the Qing edition.

[37] The Chinese word *wushi* 午時 (11–13 o'clock, noon) omitted in the Tangut version is added according to the Ming and Qing editions.

[38] A longer statement is omitted here. In the Ming edition: *Zhusi yin xiangwei yue: Ran ciren sui nianyou, you qinxian musheng zhi nian. Zhiyu yinshi zhi shi, jie meng huzhao. Zhuwang youjian, kefang huanhun* 主司陰相謂曰: 然此人雖年幼, 有欽賢慕聖之念. 至於飲食之時, 皆蒙呼召. 諸王幽鑒, 可放還魂 (The governors of the department secretly said to each other: Although he is a child, this person admires sages in his mind. Whenever he is going to eat and drink, they are called and invited by him. The Kings considered this deeply and (said that) his soul should be released).

[39] This sentence was asked by the King in the Ming edition, but by the officials in the Qing edition.

[40] According to the Chinese original, it was Hongjing who answered this question, not the governors of the department.

遍." 諸王曰: "可放還魂."[41] 王復問曰: "汝願書寫《閻羅王經》一卷否?"
宏敬跪而答曰: "倘若放回，千卷可寫." 改名延壽, 可至九十, 處分追領
使人, 勿令迷路. 魂魄既還, 一家喜慶, 闔境稱揚, 具錄奏聞, 遍傳京國.
依經本抄寫千卷, 無不敬崇. 病者得愈, 死者再甦, 冤訟得免, 盲者得明.
刊石為記, 流布□□.

As for the content and writing style of a traditional preface or postscript to
the *sūtra*s, it was indispensable for authors to eulogize Buddha and dharma, to
praise the key thoughts of a *sūtra*, and to narrate its form or translation
process.[42] Accordingly, it might be presumed that the above text was simply a
folk tale transplanted to the beginning of the *Shiwang Jing* with a new title,
and not an authentic preface attached to the scripture.

## 5. Summary

Folk legends about revival from Hell originated in the Southern and
Northern Dynasties (420–589 AD) under the influence of Indian Buddhism.
Their general theme was that one's afterlife depends on how many merits and
virtues one has accumulated in life. Most of these legends in collections, such
as *Mingxiang Ji* 冥祥記 and *Youming Lu* 幽冥录, were regarded as grotesque
tales and ignored by orthodox intellectuals.

The tale about Ma Hongjing does not belong to the earliest works in
Chinese Buddhism. The *Shiwang Jing* without preface was formed during the
era of the Five Dynasties or the beginning of the Song dynasty,[43] and it was
translated into Tibetan soon after. Both the Tibetan and Chinese versions
spread along the Silk Road simultaneously. It may be assumed that the Tangut
translator read its versions in both languages, and created a Tangut version
based on the Tibetan text, but utilized the title in Chinese and attached a
preface of unknown origin in front of the text.

The preface had not been adopted into orthodox Buddhist Canons for years,
its many varieties circulated through oral or written diffusion among Chinese
people, and were even accepted by Tanguts who did not have any concepts of
Hell in their cultural tradition.

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[41] In the Ming edition: *Zhuwang tanyue: Ruci daonian, ningbu fanghui* 諸王歎曰: 如此道
念, 寧不放回 (The Kings said with admiration: Why do we not release him back for such a
moral thought)?

[42] NIE 2016: 13.

[43] DU 1989: 146.

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## Appendix

The Ming edition:

《佛說閻羅王經》並序

大唐西京馬行仙祇生一男，立名弘敬。年至十九，粗辨東西，惟崇三寶。每日吃食之時，先呼賢聖土地，然始可食。景隆二年五月一日午時忽爾暴亡。三日之間，心上微暖，家人未敢殯理。追領使人引見所司，主司謂曰："汝非西京安定坊馬弘敬否？"遂言是答。主司陰相謂曰："然此人雖年幼，有欽賢慕聖之念，至於飲食之時，皆蒙呼召。諸王幽鑒，可放還魂。"王復問曰："不審此人作何功德？"弘敬對曰："然雖愚幼，心常樂善。每遇寅朝，念救苦觀世音菩薩一百遍。"諸王歎曰："如此道念，寧不放回？能與我等書寫流傳《閻羅王經》一卷否？"弘敬拜而答曰："儻得放回，千卷可矣。"諸王處分追領使人引還魂，冥寞之間勿令迷路。改名延壽，可至九十。魂魄既還，欻然警覺，一家喜慶，闔境稱揚。具錄奏聞，遍傳京國，依經本抄寫印造千卷，普勸受持。

The Qing Edition:

《閻王經》序

蓋聞：昔日大唐西京安定坊，景龍二年五月一日，馬行仙祇生一男，年方九歲，取名弘敬，初辨東西。每日吃食之時，先呼土地，然後方食。其日午時忽尔卒亡。三日三夜，冥寞之中，不知身主，身中尚暖，家中未敢殯埋。追領使人令敬過召身司，司主問曰："汝莫是西京安定坊馬弘敬否？"敬言是。司主謂諸司官曰："此人雖則年幼，極乃有心。吃食之時，[先蒙]呼召。請眾官能[放卻回否]？"[眾官問曰："汝]曾作何功德？"弘敬云："心最樂善，每日[念]救苦觀音菩薩一百遍。"眾官曰："如此善心，豈不放回？汝能與我寫《閻羅王經》一卷否？"弘敬跪而答曰："儻若放回，千卷可寫。"冥官處分領使人便引回家，勿令迷路。改名延壽，壽終九十。警覺還家，至誠虔敬。具錄聞奏，於是便傳京國，無不敬崇。病者得愈，死者再甦，冤訟得免，聾者[能]聽，啞者能言，刊[石為記，勿⿰火贊吉]。

理民弟子劉瓚同緣胡氏男鴻書、奇，謝氏、吳氏[捐資]敬刊《閻王經》一部，永垂不朽，冥陽俱利，存歿均沾。

龍飛嘉慶二十四年中秋月清溪四之堂余子南沐手敬書

Kong Xianghui

# Kychanov's Study of the Tiansheng Law from the Perspective of Vocabulary Translation and Interpretation

*Abstract*: Kychanov's translation and interpretation of the *Tiansheng Law* is the accumulation of decades of his research and a landmark work in Tangut scholarship. Working with a legal code without any reference text, the author faced the biggest challenge from numerous Tangut technical terms. Kychanov's profound scholarly skills are evident in the Russian translation of the vocabulary, his grasp of the East Asian medieval laws and his comparative study of the Chinese legal code texts. On the whole, the author's translation of legal texts is groundbreaking, even though his translation contains some problems of mistranslation. However, the defects do not outweigh the merits, and this work is still worthy of study and reference by current scholars.

*Key words*: Kychanov, *Tiansheng Law*, legal vocabulary, translation

## Preface

Professor Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1932–2013) was one of the founding fathers of the Tangut scholarship, and his work in collating and studying the *Khara-Khoto documents* in Russian has contributed greatly to the development of Tangut studies.[1] Especially after the World War II, he maintained the earlier focus on the documents obtained by P.K. Kozlov, and studied by N.A. Nevsky, A.A. Dragunov and others, and continued to work on the collation of Tangut documents, transforming Tangut studies into a truly international discipline.

Kychanov worked diligently in the fields of *Khara-Khoto documents* and the history of the Dangxiang and Xixia, and has written extensively.[2] If these achievements are a treasure trove of Tangut research, then his translation and

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[1] SHI 2012.

[2] POPOVA & NIE 2013.

interpretation of the *Tiansheng Law* is undoubtedly the brightest jewel of them all. The author was formally involved in the study of the *Tiansheng Law* since 1968, and over a period of nearly twenty years, he has made the pioneering study of this code with a unique perspective and high level of scholarship. From 1987 to 1989, Russian translations of the *Tiansheng Law* were published, together with 51 numbered documents of the original plates.[3] It is no exaggeration to say that this was a major sensation in Tangut scholarship at the time, and his most outstanding work.[4] After this work was introduced into China, Chinese scholars translated the first seven chapters of the translation into Chinese, and these works contributed to the rapid development of Tangut studies in China.[5]

During the 1990s, Chinese scholars began to translate the *Law* into Chinese, using the material provided by Kychanov, so the scholarly translation of the work came to a halt.[6] Because of language constraints, the results of the other three volumes of his work have long received little scholarly attention, and it is a pity that this published material cannot be used for Tangut research. From the point of view of scholarly history, his work directly influenced the two Chinese translations of the *Tiansheng Law*, and some of the provisions in the Chinese translations made direct references to the Russian translation. Therefore, both in terms of the value of the work itself and in terms of sorting out the lineage of the study of the *Law*, the scholars need to have a complete understanding of Kychanov's publication.

At the end of 2017, Professor Meng Xia embarked on a Chinese translation of the Russian translation, with the plan of providing a referenceable translation of Kychanov's work. The translation was fully completed in 2020 and is still being revised and improved. The first volume of the original work, as seen in this edition of the translation, is the essence of Kychanov's study. The author likewise considered it to be the culmination of his more than twenty years of research on the Tangut code and the Xixia society. In helping to proofread this edition of the translation, the author has appreciated the importance of this part of the work for the interpretation of the *Law* and related research. This article will focus on Kychanov's study of the *Tiansheng Law* from the perspective of the translation and interpretation of the vocabulary in the Russian translation.

[3] KYCHANOV 1987–1989.
[4] Kychanov was awarded the Oldenburg Prize of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1997 for the pioneering work on Tangut subjects.
[5] LI 1988.
[6] SHI et al. 1994; 2000.

## 1. Deep knowledge of Chinese studies

The *Tiansheng Law* is a vast and diverse collection of texts covering criminal law, administrative law, military law, economic law and much more. As such, it is not only a dynastic legal code, but also an encyclopaedia of the history and society of the Xixia. This is especially true given the paucity of Chinese sources on the history of the Xixia, which has become even more prominent in the study of Tangut. Kychanov was formally introduced to the *Khara-Khoto documents* in the early 1960s, he collaborated with Gorbachëva to compile the catalogue, *Tangut Manuscripts and Blockprints*, and registered all the original documents of the *Law* in 1963.[7] In 1965, he published the results of his interpretation of Volume X of the *Tiansheng Law*. He had already acquired a basic understanding of the Tangut legal texts in his collection prior to his research.[8] Since this section deals with the government offices and institutions of the Xixia, later this material became important for the completion of his PhD thesis, *Outline of the History of the Tangut State*.[9] It is easy to see that the author has tried to clarify the state apparatus of the Xixia and the administrative system that ensured its functioning before translating the *Law*. The first breakthrough in this endeavour was undoubtedly his accurate interpretation of the names of the offices and institutions in the *Tiansheng Law*.

Kychanov studied Chinese history and language at the University of Leningrad and went as far as Beijing University in the 1960s. These experiences have given Kychanov an in-depth knowledge of Chinese history and Sinology. In 1978, Huang Zhenhua 黃振華 commented on this part of Kychanov's work arguing that there were many mistranslations and omissions in these studies, which cast doubt on the standard of Kychanov's scholarship.[10] Objectively speaking, Kychanov was, after all, a "non-native" translator, and from the very beginning he dealt with the most difficult part of the translation and interpretation of the Tangut law. As Kychanov has repeatedly mentioned, the special institutions and titles of the Xixia state were different from those of the Song dynasty, which are difficult to document in the available sources, and many of the names are still unclear even today (in the 1980s). Although many of the Tangut offices and institutions in the *Law* are entirely transliterated into Chinese, the author was unable to find exact

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[7] GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963.
[8] KYCHANOV 1965.
[9] KYCHANOV 1968.
[10] HUANG 1978.

Chinese equivalent after restoring the Tangut language, and he also needed to find appropriate words in Russian to convey the meaning of the words being interpreted. The inevitability of interpreting and translating between multiple languages poses many problems. For example, he translated the term "醫人院" as "人住司", and now this clearly appears as a mistake in his translation.

Scholars can easily imagine that the root cause of these problems was that the study of the Tangut language was still at a relatively low level during the 1970s. For example, Kychanov translated the word "都磨勘司" as "一院磨勘司" because he did not know that "𘎑𗣓" could be used to mean "都" in Chinese, in addition to "一齊" in the Tangut language. In his review of his own research, he mentioned that there were only a handful of original Tangut texts that had been translated and were available for reference, and that it was very difficult for him personally to navigate through the vast amount of Tangut literature. It was not until the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union after the mid-1980s that he had full access to the research of many Chinese scholars. It is easy to see from the translations that, with the accumulation of research and improvement in understanding of the Tangut language, his study of Tangut legal texts has improved very significantly compared to the 1960s and 1970s. For example, the quality of the translations of the last ten volumes of the *Law* is significantly higher than that of the first ten volumes.

Particular offices and titles that appear in the *Law* are an important part of the study of Tangut history, and translating these terms is not simply a matter of finding a counterpart in Chinese historical sources, because many of the difficult terms require one to deduce their meaning in the original documents. On the whole, it seems that although Kychanov was unable to accurately translate most of the proprietary terms in the *Law*, his understanding of the Tangut administrative and bureaucratic system was generally accurate. The author argued that the Xixia offices were more streamlined than those of the Tang and Song, because daily affairs handled by the Xixia were not as complex as those of the Song. For example, in the "*Divisional Order and Official Documents*" 司序行文門, many of the divisions are preceded by the names of places, suggesting that the basic administrative organization of the Xixia was relatively homogeneous, and that they combined military and civil affairs. The author also mentioned that the Xixia Zhongshu 中樞 and Shumi 樞密 were modeled on the Northern Song Zhongshu Menxia 中書門下. Influenced by the Song dynasty's emphasis on the civil rather than the military, the function and scope of power of the Xixia Zhongshu was greater than that of the Shumi.

The author argued that the way in which the officials who compiled the laws were presented in the Xixia inherited the tradition of the Tang and Song. The title contained several parts, such as the official of office, the official of power, the title of the seal and the rank of the order. In the translation, the first nine officials in the *Law* are given the name "Prince of the Southeast", because Kychanov identified these words as the "東南親王" and believed that these officials came from one of the great families in the Southeast of Xixia. Professor Sun Bojun has pointed out that the titles in the table of the *Law* should be translated phonetically, while some of the officials should be translated by meaning.[11] It is thus clear that there is no single principle of translation for the special titles in the *Law*, and that all the names of officials in the Tangut language cannot be treated phonetically. It is impossible to tell nowadays how the author came to these understanding, but Kychanov always approached similar terms with his own understanding as well as the literal meaning of the Tangut words. For him, translating these unknown Tangut documents into a text that could be understood by the general public was the main task at the time, and so his translation was not meant to provide word-for-word correspondences. As Professor Meng Xia noted, if one examines all the translations, Kychanov was first a translator and then a scholar of Tangut.

Kychanov made the most of the available Chinese historical sources to interpret the *Law*, but some details of his study are still incomprehensible to us. Discussing the history of the compilation of Tangut legal documents, he accurately cited a large amount of material from early Xixia history, but then made inaccuracies in many Tangut historical facts. It is undeniable that the author's level of Chinese constrained his interpretation of the *Law*, but his research has also surpassed that of all "non-Chinese" scholars of the same period who were engaged in Tangut studies. Without his deep knowledge of Chinese and Sinology, the author could not have relied on this collection of Tangut documents alone to restore the Tangut kingdom and its unique history that has disappeared from Chinese historical sources.

## 2. Broad research horizon

Kychanov was the first to realise that the Tangut code was the most worthy medieval manuscript in the *Khara-Khoto documents* to be studied and

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[11] SUN 2021.

published. From the outset of his study, he constructed the legal status of the code in ancient China as a whole. He traced the historical origins of the subordination of Tangut law to the Chinese legal system and argued that there were two important factors in the formation of Tangut law. One is the acceptance and use of the regulations of Chinese dynasties for their own needs, and the other is the inclusion of a series of customs and practices of the Dangxiang tribes in the legal code. The *Law* was written by the Tanguts on the basis of a code modeled on that of the Tang and Song dynasties and adapted to their own reality. This statement corrected the earlier simplistic understanding by Nevsky. The author has accurately grasped the legal and social evolution of ancient China and the surrounding region, and has interpreted all the texts in the light of specialized law, reflecting a high level of legal history research.

Influenced by modern jurisprudential theory, Kychanov first discussed the objects in the law. The author pointed out that, in much the same way as other medieval hierarchical societies, the Tanguts restricted legal capacity of natural persons through hierarchical divisions. In his discussion in this section, he presents a breathtaking vision referring not only to the law of the Tang and Song, but also comparing Tangut laws horizontally with the literature of Goryeo, Japan and Central Asia. In addition, he explored the penal system of the Tanguts. As early as 1970, he compared the "*Ten evils*" 十惡 with the Tang and Song code. The author argued that the Tangut motivation for a punishment was the will to commit a crime, rather than the fact of a crime itself.[12] This is the underlying reason for the law's constant emphasis on the degree of conduct that has been planned but not yet planned completely, gained but not yet gained fully. At the same time, he also found that the Dangxiang did not refer to the Confucian classics in defining the "*Ten evils*", as they did in the Tang or Song code. They broke with the previous tradition and placed the corresponding legal provisions directly after the "*Ten evils*", making them applicable to the realities of Xixia society. However, the author is puzzled by the fact that inclusion of the crimes of intentional injury and intentional homicide in the Xixia code under Misdemeanours 不道 inadvertently breaks the theoretical premise that the "*Ten evils*" cannot be pardoned, since the punishment of such criminals usually takes into account the "official rank" 官階 factor. Even though we now have a systematic understanding of this, Kychanov's research done forty years ago cannot be ignored.

Kychanov found that the Dangxiang did not codify any new doctrines that were different from Chinese jurisprudence, and that all the differences in legal

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[12] KYCHANOV 1974.

texts were simply due to differences in form. He confirmed in many ways that the jurists of the Xixia did not follow the jurisprudence of the Tang and Song to the letter. For example, the concept of negligence had existed in ancient Chinese law since the Han dynasty, but the law of the Tangut did not distinguish between "actual negligence", "legal negligence" and "Negligence". He found that the Tangut laws were mainly based on the *Five punishments* 五刑, with flogging becoming an additional punishment, while the essence of the punishment by exile was imprisonment. In the translation, he consistently pointed out that the punishment was hard labour for life, but confusingly limited to thirteen years. The author suggested that the term "𗋒𗩾" did not originate in the Tang and Song code, but rather in the law of the Liao and Jin, and that the punishment may have been obtained from the Khitan.

The nature of the text and the evolution of the Tangut law are the focus of Kychanov's research. He argued that the *Law* is a formal collection of the legal format of the *Tang lü* 唐律 and was influenced by Song dynasty edict-making activities. The author mentioned that as Tangut society developed, some of the original laws could no longer be applied to judicial needs, so some special cases that could not be adjudicated had to be submitted to a superior or the emperor for a ruling in order to turn them into official laws that could be referred to. Combing through the documents, Kychanov found that Инв. No. 4189 records a selection of cases from the Tiansheng period. After interpreting this document, he concluded that these dated materials record the orders of the Tangut emperor and the judgments of higher authorities in proceedings, in which the cases described are directly related to the *Tiansheng Law*. In addition, the author noted the fact that cases of judgment also appear in the *New Law* 新法 written in the late Tangut period. The *New Law* was not a separate code to replace the old law, but rather a supplement and amendment to the *Tiansheng Law*. These understandings will undoubtedly provide an important reference for the study of Tangut legal literature.

Grassroots officials and functioning of society in the Xixia are also important topics in Kychanov's research. He quoted jurist Dai Yanhui's argument that "the official is the most important part of the code".[13] The author discussed the special group of Tangut bureaucrats known by the term "𗋒𗬩" 待命. He argued that all those who were at the side of the Tangut emperor and served his various needs, regardless of rank, were referred to as

[13] Dai 1964.

"餕徉", a term that is an imitation of the Tang and Song "待詔". At the same time, the author also reviewed the evolution of the nomadic dynastic "內侍官", arguing that the Tangut "待命" resulted from a fusion of steppe peoples' culture with agricultural civilization. In addition, he discussed the "𗋛𘐯" 童僕 of the *Law* as the "youthful attendants" of the *Kievan Rus Chronicle*. He made an analogy between the term and the "侍從門童" of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, arguing that child servants of the *Tiansheng Law* were attendants of Tangut nobles and officials. By working alongside their masters, some of the servants of senior officials had opportunities to become subordinate officials. He also translated the term "𗰔𗖰" 司吏 in the *Law* as "clerk". He considered these people to be intermediaries between officials and common people, and it was these people who actually handled much of the business work and many of the civil disputes. Through his knowledge of the Tangut system of appointment of officials and selection of military cadets at the grassroots level, he suggested that most Tangut officials were chosen by inheritance and heredity, and that the imperial examination was not the main method of selecting officials. It also shows that Tangut society in the twelfth century was largely run by clan tribes and that this system of selecting officials created a closed class of people mutually guaranteed by kinship, so that corruption became the most common offence in the *Tiansheng Law*.

It is easy to see that Kychanov attempted to take a single term as the starting point in his discussion, and this approach has become the main tool for interpreting the *Tiansheng Law*. In the early 1980s, he had largely completed his translation of the *Tiansheng Law*, and this led to a thematic study of the Tangut history. In the following years, relying on new materials, he published a series of articles such as *The Storage Services in the Tangut State*[14] and *The Legal Status of Buddhist Communities in the Tangut State*,[15] which demonstrate a significant rise in his research level. For example, when Kychanov wrote about Buddhism and monastic orders in the Tangut state, he discussed the monasteries in the Dunhuang documents in a comprehensive manner together with those in the Xixia, showing a broad academic vision. As his research accumulated, he also conducted interpretative studies of legal texts such as the *New Law* and the *Zhenguanyujingtong* 貞觀玉鏡統 in the late 1980s. In practical terms, although the author mixed in his study of the law and ordinances a number of elements that originally belonged to the *New Law*, he often compared the legal texts of the Tiansheng period with the late

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[14] KYCHANOV 1982a.
[15] KYCHANOV 1982b.

Xixia code in his thematic studies, a rare research approach for the time. Kychanov also attempted to explore the evolution of Xixia law, which is, of course, a major trend in the study of Tangut legal literature today.

## 3. Exploration of the Tangut legal language

A large amount of legal vocabulary and terminology in the *Tiansheng Law* is both difficult to interpret and an important part of current scholarly research. In Kychanov's study, he mentioned that, as a code written in the Tangut language, the *Law* brings together the customs and characteristics of many non-Dangxiang peoples. In 1980, he noted that the Xixia expressions for "蕤叙" 西州 and "毾繈" 大食 are derived from Chinese.[16] The author argued that the Tanguts borrowed many legal doctrines and terms from the Tang and Song, and that the two are very closely related in terms of legal language. He noted that, although the Xixia Code has its own characteristics, its legal language is heavily influenced by the Chinese legal system, for example, the word "骹繈" 有官 is an imitation of the *Tang Law.* Recently, combing through high-frequency words of the *Tiansheng Law*, we have also found that most of the legal terms in the *Tiansheng Law* are loanwords derived from the Tang and Song. The large proportion of terms common to the Tang and Song jurisdictions shows that the *Tiansheng Law* is systematic and comprehensive in its inheritance of the Chinese legal system.[17]

Kychanov also mentioned that the legal language of the Xixia did not exactly copy Chinese terminology, but that the Xixia also created new legal words or forms of expression based on their own understanding. He found no further examples of this in the *Tiansheng Law*, although there are some terms directly translated from the Chinese. For example, the Dangxiang people borrowed the law system of "official pawn" 官當 completely from the Song dynasty, but no similar terminology can be found in the entire code. In fact, the number of legal terms in the entire text of the *Tiansheng Law* is not as significant as one might expect. This phenomenon was first mentioned by Kychanov, but not studied in depth. We find that while the Xixia absorbed the terminology of the Tang and Song, they also adapted the complex jurisprudential system of the Chinese state according to their own under-standing and the customary law of ethnic minorities. Due to the transitory and metaphorical nature of legal terminology, the compilers of the Code

[16] KYCHANOV 1980.
[17] KONG 2021.

transposed some of the meanings of words in writing the code and created a large number of rewritten and imitated words. The Dangxiang people incorporated the terminology of other cultures into their codes by writing legal documents, and the borrowing of terms was not the only way. Recent research also suggests that the Tangut legal literature contains a large number of words in Xixia created by the Dangxiang as a result of their assimilation and fusion of multiple cultures. This part of the vocabulary is the linguistic expression of the contact and intermingling between the Xixia and other diverse cultures.

It is well known that the *Tiansheng Law* was not only influenced by the Han culture, but also contains evidence of the intermingling of the languages and cultures of the Tibetan, Huihu and Nüzhen. The multiculturalism of the Xixia code was noted early on by Kychanov, who argued that official names of the Tangut were created by the Dangxiang themselves, and even though some were borrowed from other ethnic groups, they were completely Dangxiangised. For example, the term "甗祕", the lowest-ranking of the officials with the right to exoneration, may have been borrowed from the Chinese word "什長", but it has also become the Tangut term for Chao 抄. The author also mentioned that some of the official titles in the *Tiansheng Law* are of Tibetan, Khitan or Huihu origin. For example, he suggested that the official title of "繝祕" 末驅 may be related to the nomadic marching line, in which the last person in the line was the "押尾官". Kychanov compared the word "farmer-owner" in Xixia and Tibetan texts, and suggested that the term "繖孩" 家主, which appears in the *Tiansheng Law* and the *New Law*, may have come from the Tibetans. There were also the "貚祇" 議判 who, he argued, were basically relatives of the king of the state whose main role was that of strategists. There were similarly skilled advisers belonging to the upper nobility of the state among the Tubo zanpu 吐蕃贊普, and the position always belonged to a few families with strong marital ties to the zanpu clan, as was also the case in Xixia society. Although the author did not delve into the relationship between these words and the intermingling of multi-ethnic languages, these examples show that Kychanov has correctly grasped the pluralistic and hybrid nature of the legal language of the Tanguts in the 1980s.

In addition, Kychanov has accurately documented the provisions of the *Tiansheng Law* that deal with the principle of "保辜". He divided legal liability of the Xixia into two types of liability: family liability and collective liability, which he expressed in the translation by the terms "連坐" and "緣坐", which he believed derive from the meaning of "只关" as expressed by fellow

officials. Kychanov's interpretation of the legal language of the *Tiansheng Law* is of a high standard, he placed the *Law* in the context of the entire legal system of the Middle Ages and, in general, translated most of the legal terminology accurately. It is very admirable that the author was able to do this very challenging work under the conditions of the 1980s.

## 4. Concluding remarks

Objectively speaking, in the first translation and interpretation of the *Tiansheng Law*, Kychanov's understanding of some of the translations is rather limited. Some of the translations are in the opposite direction, and this has led to errors in the text's interpretation. Despite these inevitable problems, the author was always modest and cautious in his translations and interpretations, and published the plates of this part of the document before its publication in 1996, which is an invaluable asset to the Tangut scholarship, and shows his high personal qualities.

The author also mentioned that, rather than seeking excuses, he objectively assessed the results of years of work and informed the reader in advance of errors or inaccuracies in the research. There are many reasons for errors, such as his incomplete knowledge of the extinct Tangut language The study of the *Tiansheng Law* took a great deal of effort, for often his discussion of a single detail takes up a great deal of space. The author strove to handle this unknown collection of Tangut documents with care, and today we can still sense Kychanov's struggles with these texts, as well as his desire to find the truth. The author felt that it was his duty to give a new life to this historical work that had survived the catastrophe. He also foresaw that countless others would continue to translate the *Law* in the future. It is for this reason that contemporary researchers of Tangut studies should not forget to acknowledge that the major credit goes to Kychanov for the study of the *Tiansheng Law*, but should also examine his research objectively and fairly. It is only on this basis that we can truly promote the development of Tangut studies by removing falsehoods and preserving the truth.

In memory of E.I. Kychanov, a great scholar of Oriental and Tangut studies.[18]

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[18] This article is based on the speech presented at the International conference in memory of Evgeny I. Kychanov (1932–2013) "Tangut studies: Prospects and problems for the 21st century" (IOM RAS, Saint Petersburg, June 23–24, 2022). The Chinese version of the speech has already been published with slight changes.

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Li Yu

# A Study of the Fragment Инв.No.7887-1
# as a Supplement to *Tiansheng lüling*

*Abstract*: The plate of the fragment Инв.No.7887 was published in the *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia Volume 9* and again in *Volume 14*. This led to a misunderstanding. The current academic study of Инв. No.7887 was, in fact, limited to Инв.No.7887–2. Translation and study of the fragment Инв.No.7887–1 made it clear that its content was about the provisions on how to deal with children born by women who committed adultery, on inactivity of women who pay a reward with labor, on widows not to be supervised by 稴嬈緤獳 (大小伬母) and on women who are forced to divorce by parents-in-law and so on. Comparison with the relevant provisions of *Tiansheng lüling* 天盛律令 showed that the contents of Инв.No.7887–1 are supplements and revisions to *Tiansheng lüling*. Based on this preliminary analysis, the contents of Инв.No.7887–1 are thought to be temporary legal provisions formulated in the late Xixia 西夏 period to solve some new litigation cases in the society. Such legal documents, supplementary to the basic code of Xixia, are expected to attract attention of the academic community.

*Key words*: *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*, legal document, *Tiansheng lüling*

## Introduction

In *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia Volume 9*, the fragment Инв.No.7887 was given the title *Hainian xinfa* 亥年新法[1], and it has been studied.[2] However, it was published again in *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia Volume 14*, numbered Инв.No.7887–2, and its title was
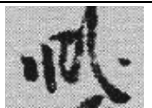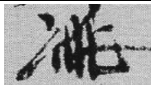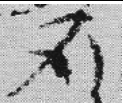
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[1] *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 9* 1999: 337.
[2] Song 2021: 32–36; Liang 2013: 149.

no longer *Hainian xinfa*, but *Guangding shennian gaodie* 光定申年告牒.[3] Due to this inconsistency in the publication of Инв.No.7887 in *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*, earlier researchers wrongly assumed that Инв.No.7887 was only one page, and the current academic study of Инв.No.7887 was actually limited to Инв.No.7887–2. In fact, before the plate of Инв.No.7887–2, there was another fragment named *lütiao* 律條, numbered Инв.No.7887–1.[4] Although the editor gave Инв.No.7887–1 and Инв.No. 7887–2 different titles, they should belong to the same document, judging from the characteristics of these two fragments.

First, handwriting shows that the two pieces of fragments were written by the same person. As shown in the table below, writing characteristics of the same Tangut characters in the two fragments are identical. Second, in terms of content, the same time information (綻犤𗫘𗱀𗰗𗤓𗤁𗰊𗰉𘄒𗒹𗣀) appears on both fragments. Third, in terms of page features, the two fragments differ in height by only 4 mm,[5] so the actual page height of the two fragments should be roughly the same. Based on the above three types of evidence, it can be proved that these two fragments should belong to the same document.

| | 骸 | 𗧤 | 愧 | 刃 | 骹 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Инв.No. 7887–1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| | Line 16, Word 2 | Line 2, Word 7 | Line 10, Word 6 | Line 7, Word 10 | Line 18, Word 10 |
| Инв.No. 7887–2 |  |  |  |  |  |
| | Line 3, Word 11 | Line 4, Word 10 | Line 3, Word 7 | Line 2, Word 4 | Line 4, Word 6 |

[3] *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 14* 2011: 201.

[4] *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 14* 2011: 200.

[5] The Инв.No.7887–1 is 19 cm and Инв. No.7887–2 is 18.6 cm in height according to the annotation in *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 14* 2011: 76.

### Interpretation of Инв.No.7887–1

Инв.No.7887–1, *lütiao*, transcript, scroll binding, hemp paper, height 19, width 41.5, total 19 lines, Tangut language, cursive script.[6] The following is the transcription of the original document in regular script.

(1) 𗈁𗧓𗒹𗤋𗫸𗣼𗊬𗈁𘃶𗳼
(2) 𗟣𗊬𘄿𘄿𘄿[7]𗤐𘝻𘄿𘄿𗌶𘄿𗤑
(3) 𗵒𗫔𘄿𘄿𘄿𗵖𗡪𗳼𗵒𗌶
(4) 𗒹𗧓
(5) 𗱕𘅤𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𗗙𗓱𘄿𘄿𘄿𗳼
(6) 𗊬𘄿𘄿𘄿𗭊𗒹𘄿𗍣
(7) 𘍵𘅤𘄿𗍑𘄿𘄿𘍵𘄿𘄿𗱕𘝻𗏁𗫡𘄿𗫡𘄿
(8) 𗌶𘄿𘃶𘄿𘄿𘄿𗧓𗒹𗧓
(9) 𗱕𘅤𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿
(10) 𗳼𘄿𘄿𘄿𗤐𘄿𘄿𘄿𘄿𗞔
(11) 𘄿𗫸𗫸𘄿𘄿𘄿𗉿𘄿𗥃
(12) 𗖰𗫔𘄿𗤐𘄿𗳒[8]𗌶𘄿𘄿𘄿
(13) 𘄿𘄿𗤐𘄿𘄿𘄿𘝻𗒹𗧓𗫸
(14) 𘄿𗵒𗟣𗵖𗺉𘄿𘃶𘄿[9]𗗙𗈁
(15) 𗱕𘅤𘄿𘅤𘄿𘄿𗖰𗫔𘄿𘄿𘄿𗖰
(16) 𘄿𗟣𘄿𗗙𘄿𘄿𘄿𗤐𘄿𘄿𗙴
(17) 𘄿𘄿𘅤𗗙𗊬𗫸𘄿𗤐𗗙𘄿𗗙
(18) 𘄿𘄿𘄿𗗙𗳼𗊬𘄿𗳼𗊬𘃶𘅡[10]𘄿
(19) 𗧓𗒹𗒹𗧓

## Translation

(1)–(4) …should be written in the household register. Those who are not registered in the household register are judged to be Zazi 雜子, and the procedure for registering a household should be carried out in accordance with existing laws. Children born to a woman who commits adultery with another person are treated according to the corresponding provisions.

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[6] *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian 14* 2011: 76.

[7] 𘄿 is added in small characters.

[8] 𗳒 and 𘄿 are phonetic loan characters.

[9] In the original document, there is a vertical mark between 𗺉 and 𗗙 indicating the order in which these two words are inverted. Normal word order here is 𗗙𗺉.

[10] 𘅡 is added in small characters.

(5)–(6) The fugitives have been arrested, and the reward due to those who report the fugitives is given in the form of hard labor. If those who do hard labor are slack, the person receiving the reward for reporting is not allowed to sue or urge them.

(7)–(8) Refer to the judgment before November 18, 1212.

(9)–(14) The 祗薮絲獖 was not allowed to supervise the widow, and such behavior was not allowed in *Tiansheng lüling*, regardless of whether the widow had parents-in-law or not, and regardless of whether the widow's period of mourning for her husband had arrived or not, widows are never allowed to be supervised by 祗薮絲獖.

(15)–(19) The woman's parents-in-law forced her husband not to respond to the woman and the woman was forced to divorce. Later, the woman is forced to divorce on the basis of the woman's guilt, then the woman and her parents-in-law sue each other, and this situation is judged by referring to the cases that are already available now.

## Comparative analysis of Инв.No.7887–1 and the relevant provisions of *Tiansheng lüling*

Judging from the translation of Инв.No.7887–1, it is not unreasonable for the editors of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* to name it *lütiao*. Indeed, although the first provision is missing, by reading its limited content, we can still roughly understand that this is a provision on how to deal with the children born by women fornicating with others. In *Tiansheng lüling*, there are two situations of such women. One is that women who have no husband fornicate with others, such as those who are unmarried or divorced, and the other is that women who have a husband fornicate with others. In the first case, a child born by women fornicating with others is not allowed to be registered as 蒺蘋 (使軍), but can only be registered as 蒁豖 (輔主).[11] In the second case, a child born by women fornicating with others is not allowed to inherit his legal father's official position or military rank.[12] A comparison of this article with *Tiansheng lüling* shows that the provisions of this incomplete article are inherited from the existing laws and have not been amended.

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[11] SHI 2000: 303.
[12] SHI 2000: 354.

The second provision is very brief and basically says that when a laborer paying a reward with labor is inactive, the person who is paid for reporting fugitives cannot sue or urge that laborer. Paying a whistle-blower with labor was one of the forms of rewards in the laws of Xixia. When the offender is unable to pay the reward, the cohabiting family members make up for it by way of labor.[13] In *Tiansheng lüling*, it is also clearly stipulated that there are different daily wage standards for different groups, such as strong men, weak men and women.[14] In addition, *Tiansheng lüling* also states that if a thief is unable to repay the stolen goods or cannot pay a reward to the informant, then the wife and unmarried daughter of the thief's cohabiting family members have to do hard labor to repay.[15] And if the debtor does not have a wife, daughter or daughter-in-law, the debtor will be punished by flogging.[16] Therefore, we can reasonably speculate from the provisions of *Tiansheng lüling* that the main group of people who paid the reward with labor in the second provision were women. Moreover, the circumstances in the second provision are not covered by *Tiansheng lüling*, so it can be said that the second provision is a supplement to *Tiansheng lüling*.

In terms of writing format and content, the remaining three articles are written as a "paragraph-subparagraph" structure. The word "𗧍𗥾" is written at the top of the page and the word "𘎨𗥾" is written 3–4 spaces lower, indicating that the subsequent "𘎨𗥾" is subordinate to "𗧍𗥾". In terms of content, the provisions under the "𗧍𗥾" apply to the next two articles, to the effect that the latter two cases can be judged by reference to the judgement made before November 18, 1212.

It is clear from the fourth provision that its central meaning is that widows are not allowed to be supervised by 𗬂𗢳𗵒𗵒. It also mentions that this is also not allowed in *Tiansheng lüling*. It is true that this provision is recorded in volume 8 of *Tiansheng lüling*,[17] however, unlike the fourth provision here, it is 𗬂𗢳𗵒𗵒 (大小侄父) who is not allowed to supervise widows, and 𗬂𗢳𗵒𗵒 is not mentioned. Therefore, the fourth provision is an amendment to *Tiansheng lüling*.

The fifth provision is about women being forced to divorce by parents-in-law. There are detailed provisions about women being divorced in

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[13] DAI 2014: 186.
[14] SHI 2000: 174.
[15] SHI 2000: 173.
[16] SHI 2000: 273.
[17] SHI 2000: 307.

Volume 8 of *Tiansheng lüling*.[18] Firstly, like other feudal dynasties, Xixia had a divorce system based on the will of the husband.[19] The circumstances in which women may be divorced are divided into different types from light to serious. If a woman has committed adultery, the husband and the parents-in-law can dissolve the marriage without discussion. If a woman has committed six sins, the husband will need to consult with the parents-in-law before the marriage is dissolved. If a woman is in three specific circumstances or has committed no sins, but the husband would like to dissolve the marriage, the marriage may be dissolved if the woman's parents are willing to redeem their own daughter. The above-mentioned provision in *Tiansheng lüling* does not cover the situation when a woman is forced to divorce by her parents-in-law. Therefore, the circumstances in the fifth provision are another supplement to *Tiansheng lüling*.

## Determining the nature of Инв.No.7887–1

With regard to identifying the dating of the contents of Инв.No.7887–1, the key chronological clue is provided in the third provision of Инв.No.7887–1 "𗼨𗱕𗥃𘎑𗤁𗤀𗦀𗴂𗼨𗱕𗥃𘆄𗱕𘜶𘈖". This clue indicates that November 18, 1212 is the earliest date to which the content of Инв.No.7887–1 can be referred, which means that the contents of Инв.No.7887–1 should be dated later than November 18, 1212.

From the results of the comparative analysis of Инв.No.7887–1 and the relevant provisions of *Tiansheng lüling*, it is clear that the contents of Инв.No.7887–1 are supplements and revisions to *Tiansheng lüling*. For example, the cases in which a woman delays her payment of the reward with her labor, the cases in which the 𗦀𗴂𘈖𗴂 are not allowed to supervise a widow, and the cases in which women are forced to divorce by their parents-in-law, which are not covered by *Tiansheng lüling*, were added. In addition, provisions specifying people who are not allowed to supervise widows have been amended.

Current research findings on the *Hainian xinfa* generally suggest that *Hainian xinfa* was an important legal document promulgated again in the late Xixia period after *Tiansheng lüling*. It is a supplement and revision to

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[18] SHI 2000: 308.
[19] SHAO 1998: 88.

*Tiansheng lüling*.[20] Although the content of Инв.No.7887–1 exhibits features similar to *Hainian xinfa*, we still cannot ignore the fact that it differs from *Hainian xinfa*. Firstly, the Инв.No.7887–1 and *Hainian xinfa* are written in different formats. In particular, the first word of each major article of the extant volumes of *Hainian xinfa* is "敇", usually written in the top frame. If there are several affiliated articles under a major article, they begin with the word "扬叕" and are written in a lower position than the first line of the major article. However, the Инв.No.7887–1 begins with the words "刻毨" and "桶毨", which are clearly different from the format of *Hainian xinfa*. Secondly, in terms of content, the Инв.No.7887–1 is also not identical to the text of the currently extant volumes of *Hainian xinfa*, and therefore such legal instruments cannot be hastily identified as the contents of *Hainian xinfa*.

It is well known that *Tiansheng lüling* was the basic code of Xixia, and existing studies of Xixia legal system have focused on *Tiansheng lüling*. However, no code can be permanent, and as social circumstances change and new practical problems arise in society that can no longer be solved by the existing code, it is inevitable that the code will have to be supplemented and amended accordingly. There is a provision in Volume 20 of *Tiansheng lüling,* which clearly states that when institutions encounter problems that cannot be solved according to the current laws, they should submit them to Zhongshu 中書 for ruling, and the results after the ruling should be compiled into a volume.[21] Thus, we can speculate that the Инв.No.7887–1 is possibly a product with this kind of background.

It can be seen from the contents recorded in the Инв.No.7887–1 that in the late Xixia period, some new litigation cases appeared in the society, such as urging or suing women to pay the reward with labor, widows being supervised and interfered by 稁蕤緒獯, and women being forced to divorce by parents-in-law. However, officials who handled these litigation cases could not find any similar cases in the current code at that time, so they had to refer to some previous cases that were similar, or report to Zhongshu, and ask Zhongshu to re-formulate some temporary laws to solve the

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[20] WANG 2020: 14. Also holding this view are Zhou Feng, Jia Changye and others. In his doctoral thesis, Zhou Feng explained one by one the supplements and amendments made by the volume 3 of *Hainian xinfa* to the volume 3 of *Tiansheng lüling*. By interpreting and analyzing the contents of the volume 1 of *Hainian xinfa*, Jia Changye concludes that the volume 1 of *Hainian xinfa* is a supplement to the volume 1 of *Tiansheng lüling*. See: ZHOU 2013: 49; JIA 2009: 90.
[21] SHI 2000: 609.

above-mentioned litigation cases. It can be said that provisions in such legal documents that supplement the basic code of Xixia are more similar to some temporary provisions formulated in the late Xixia period to adapt to new social changes. However, academic research on the legal documents of Xixia mostly focuses on the discussion of four legal documents, namely *Zhenguan Yujingtong* 貞觀玉鏡統, *Tiansheng lüling*, *Hainian xinfa* and *Faze* 法則, and pays little attention to such legal documents. The Инв.No.7887–1 can provide us with a deeper understanding of legal documents of Xixia, and can also provide material for examining transmission and evolution of the laws of Xixia.

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Ma Xiaofang

# On the Tangut Version of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* Series Preserved at the IOM, RAS

*Abstract*: This paper introduces the Tangut version of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* Series kept at the IOM, RAS, including the original *śāstra* and its commentaries. These documents indicate that the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* was very popular and several commentaries were available in the Tangut region in the 12th c. In addition to Maitreya's original text and the most famous commentary by Pandita Haribhadra, we consider two other commentaries showing that translations different from Tibetan ones may be derived from Tangut understanding and exegesis of Maitreya and Haribhadra's works.

*Key words*: *Abhisamayālaṁkāra*, Xixia, Tangut, Buddhist, sūtra.

## 1. Introduction

Full Sanskrit title of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (The Ornament of Clear Realization) is *Abhisamayālaṃkāra nāma prajñā pāramitopade śāstra*, and in Tibetan it is entitled *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa*. The work is regarded as an *upadeśa* (instructional treatise) and, by its nature, it is an authoritative treatise presenting the hidden meaning and doctrinal teaching of *Prajñāpāramitā*. It is believed that the work, one of the famous *Five Treatises of Maitreya*, was written by Maitreya (Byams-pa) in the fourth century. As a technical treatise, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is divided into eight subjects, each of which is further subdivided into seventy principles. This treatise is an analysis of the entire *Prajñāpāramitā* in terms of these principles, and the *Prajñāpāramitā* mentioned here refers to the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (25.000 verses).

The *Prajñāpāramitā* was highly valued in late Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism, and due to its later circulation in Tibet, it also gradually became part of the mainstream teachings of Tibetan Buddhism. Because this work,

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the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, inherits the Indian tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, it has been most valued by all schools of Tibetan Buddhism. The Gelugpa School even listed it as one of the five great treatises required to obtain the Geshe (dge bshes) degree, and for this reason many commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* have been composed and preserved in the Tibetan translation. There are as many as twenty-one commentary works in the Tibetan Tripitaka *Kangyur*, and among these extant Tibetan sūtras the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* commentary made by Ārya Vimuktisena ('phags pa rnam grol sde) is the earliest. For the next four or five centuries, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was successively disseminated and related commentaries and annotations were composed. For instance, Tsongkhapa, the prominent *guru* visualized by the Geluk, wrote an important treatise the *Golden Garland* (*Legs bshad gser phreng*) in his early years. This work provides a comprehensive explanation of the twenty-one Tibetan translations of the commentaries, including a detailed classification and identification of their authenticity.[1] Thus, it is clear that the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* has had a great influence on Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.

A Tangut version of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related literature were found in Khara-Khoto ruins by P.K. Kozlov (1863–1935) in 1909 and are now preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), Russian Academy of Sciences. These Tangut texts include both manuscripts and xylographs in various formats, such as scroll or butterfly binding. Previously, most attention was paid to the inv. № 5130 *buu² źjɨr¹ tjɨj¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjij² ljɨ¹dźju¹ ljaa¹* 㫼 𗀨 𗴛 𗥩 𗖠 𗗙 𗒹 𗣼 𗖠 𗗙 𗔦 𗾖 𗏁 , and research on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in Tangut translation also focused on this sūtra. The most characteristic feature of this manuscript is the 14 lines postscript attached to the last folio. According to the sūtra content and the postscript, there is no doubt that inv. № 5130 is the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra.* Nishida clearly showed that it was translated from Tibetan and its origin is the scripture catalogued as Derge no.3793 *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa*.[2] The entire postscript was later transcribed by Kychanov in his catalogue of Buddhist scriptures. Shi translated three lines of the postscript in his research article about Tangut Buddhism.[3] Following this, Nie has written a detailed explanation of the postscript and examined the names and titles of the

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[1] SHI 2002: 64.
[2] NISHIDA 1977: 34.
[3] SHI 1995: 165–183.

translators.[4] The author also translated all the fragments of inv. № 5130 and provided further evidence on the translators listed in the postscript.[5] In fact, there are various documents related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in the IOM, RAS Tangut collection. Preservation of these documents and their identification will be further discussed in this article.

## 2. The Collection of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* Series Preserved at the IOM, RAS

As the authoritative commentary on the hidden meaning of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is too abbreviated to be under-stood by reading it directly. In terms of content and structure, it consists of only 273 stanzas in ten chapters. This is the reason why various inter-pretations and commentaries on this work have been created since Ārya Vimuktisena. The collection of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Series excavated in Khara-Khoto not only consists of a wide variety of manuscripts in different formats, but the content of these documents (both their original verses and later commentaries) also varies. For instance, the aforementioned inv. № 5130 is the original *śāstra*, the contents of which are all in verse. This paper presents a translation, commentary, and facts about circulation of the Tangut version of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Series, based on the various editions of documents preserved in Russia.

Although several catalogues of Tangut documents from Khara-Khoto have been published, the existence of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Series in Tangut translation has not yet been adequately identified, since there is no uniformity in what is included and presented in various catalogues. Regarding the collections housed in the IOM, Gorbachëva and Kychanov recorded several documents with similar names.[6] In contrast, Kychanov's catalogue, published later in 1999, contains fewer types of documents, with only three titles and ten documents. Among them, inv. № 5130, 4722, 5179, 5164, 2888, 8329, and 6449 are recorded as the *Shenghui bi'andao yaolun jiaoxue xianliangjie zhuangyanlun xiansong* 勝慧彼岸到要論教學現量解莊嚴論顯頌,[7] inv.№ 4585 is recorded as the *Shenghui bi'andao yaolun*

[4] Nie 2002: 50–54.
[5] Ma 2015: 143–151.
[6] Gorbachëva & Kychanov 1963: 97. The titles recorded in the catalogue include 勝慧彼岸□之廣經名□, 勝慧彼岸到之明鏡□, 勝慧彼岸到要文教學現前解嚴莊之注, 勝慧彼岸到文教學現前解嚴莊曰, 勝慧彼岸到之最要教禁現前解□莊□之□廣分明鏡□.
[7] Kychanov 1999: 491.

*jiaoxue xianliangjie zhuangyan zhushishu* 勝慧彼岸到要論教學現量解莊嚴注釋疏,[8] inv. № 4593 is recorded as the *Shenghui bi'andao zhishiming* 勝慧彼岸到之釋明.[9] Nishida provided a more detailed classification of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* Series with titles and numbers. Normally, we can easily find equivalent titles and document numbers in both Nishida and Kychanov catalogues. However, the numbering of this series is somewhat confusing and the documents are not recorded uniformly in the three catalogues. Sūtra titles and document numbers recorded in the three catalogues are listed as follows:

| Sūtra title[10] | NISHIDA 1977 | GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963 | KYCHANOV 1999 |
|---|---|---|---|
| (i)勝慧到彼岸要論 | no.143 | — | № 4584, 5130, 6449[11] |
| (ii)勝慧到彼岸要論教學現量解莊嚴 | no.144 | № 618, 877, 878, 887, 2555, 7194 | — |
| (iii)勝慧到彼岸要論教學現量解莊嚴之注 | no.145 | № 2888, 4729 | № 4722, 5179, 5164, 2888, 8329 |
| (iv)勝慧到彼岸要論教學現量解莊嚴之廣釋明鏡疏 | no.146 | № 4752, 4995, 5025, 5148, 5935, 6341 | — |
| (v)勝慧到彼岸之明鏡疏 | no.147 | № 5922 | — |
| (vi)勝慧到彼岸之廣釋明鏡 | no.148 | № 4593 | № 4593 |

In terms of the number of documents collected, NISHIDA 1977 and GORBACHËVA & KYCHANOV 1963 are the most comprehensive. There are six sūtras recorded by Nishida, while at the same time, it is pointed out that the sūtras no.147 and 148 are abbreviations of no.146, and actually there should be only 4 types. Gorbachëva and Kychanov's catalogue recorded six

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[8] KYCHANOV 1999: 525.

[9] KYCHANOV 1999: 513.

[10] The titles of the sūtras in the table are arranged according to the Nishida catalogue, because it is more comprehensive in terms of Tangut characters and the documents collected.

[11] No.143 in the Nishida catalogue corresponds to Kychanov's Xixia collection Tang. 96, 101, and 103. Tang. 96 refers to inv. № 4584, Tang. 101 including 7 documents named 𗀊𗗚𗖰𗐂𗙴𗰗𗖰𗐂𗙴𗰗𗖰𗐂𗙴𗰗𗖰. Nishida does not indicate which document corresponds to no. 143. Judging from the content of the texts, we believe that inv. № 5130 and 6449 are *śāstra*, do not contain the commentaries, and are consistent with no. 143. Moreover, Kychanov's catalogue does not record the Tang. 103.

sūtras under a different title, corresponding to Tang. 98–103. Kychanov only recorded three sūtras, which is the fewest among all the catalogues. It is also notable that although the separate numbered documents are classified under the same sūtra by Nishida or Kychanov, the Tangut sūtra titles are more or less different, and almost no identical titles can be seen in the catalogues. For example, *Shenghui bi'andao yaolun jiaoxue xianliangjie zhuangyanlun xiansong* 勝慧彼岸到要論教學現量解莊嚴論顯頌 in Kychanov catalogue contains seven documents, each of them having a distinctive title in Tangut. The titles and Chinese translations are as follows:

inv. № 5130: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘓟𗟻𘗠𘊝𗤁𘂧𗧇𘄽𘃡𗖵𗢣𗗟
勝慧彼岸到要門教授現前解莊嚴論顯頌

inv. № 4722: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘓟𗟻𘗠𘊝𗤁𘂧𗧇𘉞𘟣
勝慧彼岸到要門教授現前解莊嚴之注

inv. № 5179: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘉞𘄽𘓟𘉞𗟻𘗠𘊝𗤁𘂧𗧇𘓄𘉞𘟣
勝慧彼岸到之要門之教授現前解莊嚴言之注

inv. № 5164: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘉞𘄽𗟻𘗠𘊝𗤁𘂧𘃡𗤁𘂧𘉞𘟣
勝慧彼岸到之要門教授現前解莊嚴注

inv. № 2888: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘂧𗧇𘟣𘕿𘋨
勝慧彼岸到莊嚴注釋疏

inv. № 8329: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘓟𗟻𘗠𘊝𗤁𘂧𗧇𘟣
勝慧彼岸到要門教授現前解莊嚴注

inv. № 6449: 𗣼𗧘𗏹𗑠𘄒𘉞𘓺𘄽𗟻𘗠𘊝�1𘂧𗧇𘓄
勝慧彼岸到之最要教授現前解莊嚴言

Analysis reveals that these are not the same work. Therefore, identification of these documents cannot be based on the titles only, but requires further interpretation and explanation of the sūtra contents.

## 3. A Brief Introduction of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* Texts in Tangut

Although some documents discussed above have not been published yet, ten documents collected in the Kychanov catalogue are available at present. What follows is a more detailed overview and reidentification of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* Series texts in the Khara-Khoto collection.

### 3.1. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is the original text of the work and presents its subjects in terse verses that are often vague in meaning and difficult to understand without supporting commentaries. Since the entire text is in verse style, when this sūtra was translated into Chinese by Master *Fa Zun* 法尊 during the Republican period, the word *song* 頌 (*gatha*) was added after the title. In the Khara-Khoto collection, inv. № 5130 and inv. № 6449 are fragments of this work. According to the postscript of inv. № 5130, its translators into Tibetan were the Indian commentator Vidyākaraprabha and the famous Tibetan translator Dpal brtsegs. The revisers were Go mi ʼchi med and Blo ldan shes rab. This postscript also indicates that the text is based on the commentary *Abhisamayālaṃkāra vivṛti* by Haribhadra (seng ge bzang po). Although these translators are consistent with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, only the verse text of the work has been extracted.

#### inv. № 5130

The fragment is a scroll-binding manuscript sized 18×187 cm. It is composed of separate disordered fragments put together. The beginning part is torn off, but the surviving part preserves the title and postscript at the end. By comparing the contents with the Chinese translation, it becomes clear that this manuscript is composed of three separate chapters with 82 verses out of the total of 273 verses. 27 of these extant 82 verses are from the opening chapter and the first subject 'Total Omniscience', and the other 55 are from the eighth subject 'The Dharma-body'. The sūtra title is *buu² ẓjɨr¹ tjɨj¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjɨj² ljɨ¹ dźju¹ ljaa¹* 㖃 䍬 䉥 貀 㗱 㪊 䈰 䇞 㴔 䇵 蕍 蕥 㪊 䤙 䶿 䉀 㴠 (An Instructional Treatise and Verses on *Prajñāpāramitā* called 'The Ornament of Clear Realization').

#### inv. № 6449

According to KYCHANOV (1999), this fragment consists of 25 folios in total from an accordion binding work sized 27.5×10.5 cm. Having examined different block-printed patterns, we concluded that 15 folios with 15 characters per line in verse style are parts of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The content is drawn from the beginning to the end of the first subject 'Total Omniscience'. This work preserves the complete beginning part of the sūtra, including the sūtra title, the inscription of the writer, and the honorary title of Tangut emperor Renzong (reigned 1139–1193). The Tangut text and translations are as follows:

𗼻𘜶 𗹙𘜶𗰖 𗭍𘜶𗏁𗜓 𗀔𗭍 □□𘄒𗅋𗜓 𗵜𗷓𗦲𗣼𗣀 𗵜𗱢𘌕𘜶 𗤋𗏠

𗕞𘜶 𗾟𘋗𗹙𘓓𗦍𗟲𗷋𗯟𗅋𗷒𗶵𗷒𗅋𗀒

𗁶𗆆𗶨𗏁𗟍𘜶

𗤶𗴺𗾫𗒛𗟓�-𗟩𗷒𗬫𗟂𗅋𗑱𗕚𗹙𗅋𗣀𗴾𗤙𗎖𗁦𘗽𗷙𘓓𗒛𗷒𗽂
𗅋𗲲

[Sanskrit: *prajñā-pāramitā-upadeśa-śastraṃ abhisamayā-laṅkāra-nāma*]
[Tangut: A Treatise on *Prajñā pāramitā* called 'The Ornament of Clear Realization']
[Written by Maitreya Buddha]
[Personally proofread by the Emperor Consecrating to the Heaven and Appearing for the Doctrine, Showing the Military and Propagating the Civil, with the Divinity-like Strategy and Sagacity, with Harmony and Respectfulness, Weiming]

The postscript on inv. № 5130 is the most detailed Tangut colophon in published works at present. It records that the sūtra was written in June of the sixth year of Guangding (1216) in the reign of Emperor Shenzong (reigned 1211–1223). The order of translation and the translators involved in each step were also presented in detail. There were four translators and revisers of the scriptures from Sanskrit to Tibetan, namely, *bji² djaa¹ kjaa¹ rjar¹ pjɨ¹rjar¹ wa¹* 𗏁𘊐𗹙𘜶𗹙𘜶𗰖𗫉, *neew² śjwo¹ gjuu² tśiow¹* 𗸯𘘥𗸽𘋩, *gjuu² rjur¹ ko¹ mji¹ yier¹ mjij¹* 𗸽𗫽𘚢𗜓𗭽𗙉 and *mee² lo¹ tsja¹ wa¹ phji¹ lheew² sjij² dżjij² dzjiij²* 𗵜𘓓𘊐𗷙𗹳𗒛𗅋𘅤𘜶. These four translators and revisers correspond to Vidyākaraprabha, Dpal brtsegs, Go mi 'chi med, and Blo ldan shes rab, the translators of the Tibetan sūtra catalogued as Derge no.3793. Combining the two inscriptions, it becomes clear that the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was first translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and then translated from Tibetan to Tangut by *lji² źjɨr¹ swew¹* 𗲸𘏞𗬚 and *ʼjow¹ sjij² dżjow¹* 𗢳𗭍𗷽. It was amended during the reign of Emperor Renzong and the beautiful block-printed sūtra was still in circulation until the reign of Emperor Shenzong, which shows that it was very popular at that time.

### 3.2. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra vivṛti*

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra vivṛti* is one of the most famous commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* made by the great Pandita Haribhadra. Its full Sanskrit title is *Abhisamayālaṃkāra kārakā śāstra vivṛti.* This work is also the original text of the Tangut version of the *śāstra*, as we introduced above,

so the translator will not be discussed. In the Khara-Khoto collection, four documents are related to this work, as follows:

### inv. № 4722 & inv. № 5179

The fragments are handwritten scrolls sized 20.5×300 cm and 21×834 cm. Beginning parts of both documents are damaged, but the titles are preserved at the end of both documents. The title of inv. № 4722 is *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjij² ·jij¹ gjɨ²* 𗘹𗱈𗏹𗗙𗤁𗥻𗋽𗟲𘅂𗦉𗗙𘃽𗤱 and the inv. № 5179 has one additional character *·jij¹¹* 𗟲 (belong to) in the title. However, after comparing the content of these two sūtras, it is obvious that both of them are from the first volume of the same sūtra. There are also many small characters in both texts, including Tangut annotations and Chinese numerals, and № 4722 has more annotations than № 5179.

### inv. № 5164 & inv. № 8329

inv. № 5164 is a handwritten scroll sized 20.5×300 cm. The beginning of the text is torn off. The sūtra is entitled *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² ·jij¹ tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjij² gjɨ²* 𗘹𗱈𗏹𗘹𗤁𗟲𗥻𗋽𗟲𘅂𗦉𗗙𘃽𗤱, which is consistent with the previous two fragments, but has no annotations written in small characters. inv. № 8329 is a folio from a butterfly binding manuscript, preserving 7 lines and 22 characters. The folio is the front page of the sūtra, and the first line is the title *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjij² gjɨ²* 𗘹𗱈𗏹𗗙𗤁𗥻𗋽𗟲𘅂𗦉𗗙𘃽𗤱. The title indicates that both texts belong to the fifth volume.

### 3.3. *Other commentaries*

There are two other documents in the IOM Khara-Khoto collection, inv. № 2888 and 4585, that can be identified as commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Although these two manuscripts both have *gjɨ² kjij¹ ljɨ¹* 𗤱𗰖𘃽 (explanatory comments on *vivṛti*) in the sūtra title and can be presumed to be commentaries on Haribhadra's work *Abhisamayālaṃkāra vivṛti*, the content of these Tangut texts does not indicate clearly that they correspond to these commentaries of the Tibetan tradition. According to the catalogue of the Tibetan Tripitaka, there are two commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra vivṛti*, one is *Abhisamayālaṃkāra nāma pāramitopadeśāstra vivṛti*

*duravabodhāloka nama ṭīkā* by Chos kyi grags pa dpal,[12] and the other is *Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikā prajñā pāramitopadeśāstraṭīkā prasphuṭapadā nāma* by Chos kyi bshes gnyen.[13] It is not obvious, at least for the moment, whether these two works are the original texts of these Tangut commentaries or not.

### inv. № 2888

This manuscript is a butterfly binding text sized 20.2×16.5 cm for each folio. It consists of 52 folios with double lines on all four sides. Compared with other documents discussed above, this one is preserved well. Only the first four pages of the lower part of the folio are damaged, but otherwise this manuscript preserves an almost complete second volume of the work. This document is well-written, and the text rarely quotes verses of the original treatise by Maitreya. The sūtra title *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² śjwo² tshjij² gjɨ² kjij¹ ljɨ¹* 𗈻𗗊𗏵𗗚𗕔𗤊𗦻𗢳𗮔𗑣 is the shortest of all the works and might have been an abbreviation for *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² tsjij² śjwo² tshjij² gjɨ² kjij¹ ljɨ¹* 𗈻𗗊𗏵𗗚𗕔𗤊𗥾𗤊𗫠𗏥𗦫𗤊𗦻𗢳𗮔𗑣.

### inv. № 4584

Based on the inscription at the end of the document, this is a handwritten scroll sized 20.5×960 cm, and the beginning of the scroll has been torn off. Although the title of this manuscript is similar to that of inv. № 2888, they are clearly not the same work. The text quotes more verses from the original treatise and several names, such as *njij² mə²* 𗼃𗰛 (Maitreya) and *ka² tśjij² mee²* 𗾈𗫨𗤊 (Haribhadra), appear frequently in comments after the verses, indicating that this is an explanatory work on the original Maitreya's treatise and Haribhadra's *vivṛti*. The sūtra title is *buu² źjɨr¹ tjij¹ rewr² njɨ² tshji¹ ŋwuu¹ dzjiij² tśhjwɨj¹ mjor¹ ·ju² gjɨ² kjij¹ ljɨ¹ ŋwə¹ tsew²* 𗈻𗗊𗏵𗗚𗕔𗥾𗤊𗫠𗏥𗦫𗤊𗢳𗮔𗑣𗧘𗢳, which is apparently volume 5. In addition, the inscription at the end gives us more information about the writer and the date of this manuscript. It was written by *gjuu² rjur¹ śjow¹* 𗴾𗫴𗧘 who made a vow and copied it in the fourth year of Guangding (1214) in the reign of Tangut Emperor Shenzong.

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[12] See Derge Tibetan Tripitaka no.3794.

[13] See Derge Tibetan Tripitaka no.3796.

## 4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined several Tangut translations of the *Abhisamayālaṁkāra* and its commentaries that circulated in Northwest China. Based on the investigation and analysis of the contents of related documents available in the Khara-Khoto collection housed in the IOM, we concluded that all these documents might have been translated from Tibetan texts. These documents can be divided into three groups: the original *śāstra* by Maitreya, the *vivṛti* by Haribhadra, and the commentary on the previous two groups. The colophons of these works also describe the period in which these documents were translated and written. Most of them were written during the time of Emperor Renzong or Shenzong, that is, in the middle and late stages in the history of the Tangut state.

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# E.I. Kychanov's Translation of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" in the Context of the Development of Modern Translation Studies

*Abstract*: E.I. Kychanov was well known in Chinese academic circles since 1980s, and his translations of ancient Tangut manuscripts into Russian are often used by Chinese scholars as reference material. This article focuses on the scholar's translation of the Tangut "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign (1149–1168)" and analyzes some features of his translation work, his chosen strategies and methods, and also comments on the Chinese specialists' attitude to E.I. Kychanov's translation of the Tangut legal text.

*Key words*: E.I. Kychanov, translation activities, translation strategies and methods, ancient Tangut manuscripts

## Introduction

Among Russian Tangut scholars, Evgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1932–2013) is undoubtedly an important personality. The scholar became well known in Chinese academic circles in the 1980s. His translated texts of ancient Tangut manuscripts into Russian have been used since 1980s and are still being used now as reference materials by Chinese experts in the field.

In the first place we draw attention to the fact that, judging by the areas of research pursued by Professor E.I. Kychanov, a significant part of his scholarly professional life was devoted to translation work, in particular, to translation of Tangut manuscripts. For this reason, without belittling the great merits of the scholar in other fields of humanities, we consider him not so much as a Tangut history scholar, but rather as a wonderful translator, and use as a convincing example his Russian translation of the Tangut legal text,

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the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign (1149–1168)" (*ngwə lịe kwi lın sịeu ndịe kê ndzịə* 蘝詤綫虉燉悐緂詥; known in Chinese academic literature by the translated name of the Tangut title as "Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling" 天盛改舊新定律令) (Kychanov 1987–1989).[1]

We will also conduct a comparative analysis of the translations of this ancient document made by E.I. Kychanov and Chinese specialists in order to deeper understand their value characteristics from the point of view of scientific rigour, based on the theory of translational interpretation and taking into account semantic expression, style correspondence and targeting.

## The pioneer translator of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign"

It is known that Tangut studies were of great interest to E.I. Kychanov from his youth and throughout his life. His doctoral dissertation, along with questions of ethnic origin of the Tanguts, their economic development, and the role and spread of Buddhism in the Tangut state, was also devoted to the study of their writing.

However, E.I. Kychanov at that time was not yet fluent in Tangut, so in his materials required for his thesis he referred to Chinese sources, because as a graduate of the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University he was proficient in the Chinese language.

It should be mentioned that in his study of Tangut, E.I. Kychanov was helped, on the one hand, by his experience of mastering Tibetan, and, on the other hand, by his examination and classification of the Tangut collection when he was working in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

It should also be noted that, due to the presence of the Tangut manuscript collection, formation of Tangut studies in Russia began in the early twentieth century, in 1909. From the point of view of content, this scientific field went through the full process of development from textological to historical and cultural research. It involved both careful examination and cataloguing of documents and their subsequent in-depth study and translation. Being

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[1] In this article we cite the transcription of Tangut characters in the phonetic reconstruction of M.V. Sofronov, as it is given in the Tangut dictionary by E.I. KYCHANOV 2006.

involved in this process, E.I. Kychanov created the first Russian translation of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign".

The scholar knew that the key to deciphering Tangut manuscripts of the Western Xia was their writing. Its signs, one might say, remained a mystery to researchers, but mysteries always entice and attract scholars with inquisitive minds and wide imagination. One such was E.I. Kychanov, who starting from 1969 over the course of twenty years worked steadily and consistently on solving the most difficult tasks. [2] With his previous translation experience and keen research vision, he chose the Western Xia legal code as his object of research and translation.

In translating the text of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign", the scholar was guided by the twofold aim of combining translation with scholarly historical research.

This work of the scholar is considered unique both in its volume and content, for it includes 1460 articles (20 chapters) of the original, translated by E.I. Kychanov into Russian. All his research findings and texts of translations were included in the 4-volume edition, in which the largest part (3 volumes) is taken up by the translations.[3]

The publication of Professor E.I. Kychanov's translation and the facsimile of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" has received considerable attention from Chinese scholars.

For four years, starting in 1987, scholars Shi Jinbo (史金波), Nie Hongying (聶鴻音) and Bai Bin (白濱) translated the Code from Tangut into Chinese. In 1994 their work was published as "Xixia Tiansheng lüling".[4] In 2000, this book was published under a different title, "Tiansheng gaijiu xinding lüling".[5]

A new translation of the Tangut Code into Chinese, to be published soon, has now been completed by Han Xiaomang (韓小忙), a Tangut scholar and professor at Shaanxi Pedagogical University (Xi'an), with support from the National Social Science Foundation of China project.

In addition, it should be noted that as early as 1988 Li Zhongsan (李仲三), a researcher at the Academy of Social Sciences of Ningxia-Hui Autonomous Region, translated into Chinese the second volume of the E.I. Kychanov's Russian translation of the Tangut Code.[6] This translation practice deserves

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[2] POPOVA 2013: 217.
[3] KYCHANOV 1987–1989.
[4] SHI JINBO et al. 1994.
[5] SHI JINBO et al. 2000.
[6] LI ZHONGSAN 1988.

special attention, because if the other three volumes will be translated, the true significance of E.I. Kychanov's work will become known in Chinese scholarly circles.

It should be acknowledged that in the last two decades, Chinese experts have comprehensively studied the text of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign". However, we should note that their research in this field would not have been so effective and scientifically convincing if it had not been for the work of the outstanding Russian scholar E.I. Kychanov.

### The features of the contents of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" and the difficulties of translation

If we ask ourselves why it took E.I. Kychanov 20 years to translate the Western Xia Code into Russian, the reasons are, firstly, high complexity of the texts, and, secondly, the need to reinterpret the original work taking into account its comprehension by Russian-speaking readers.

It is known that the text of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" is a state legal code that was compiled by the most educated people well-versed in both Chinese and Tangut writing systems. It was adopted and promulgated during the reign of Emperor Renzong of the Western Xia Dynasty (1149–1169), some 800 years before E.I. Kychanov started translating it.

Fortunately, the ancient Tangut manuscript was not lost to time, although time has not spared the Western Xia state itself. Having conquered it, the Mongols destroyed almost all of its written monuments and cultural relics. For this reason, the Tangut script was considered almost lost, and there was an extremely limited amount of reference material, which made its decipherment difficult for Russian researchers, including E.I. Kychanov.

To give a brief summary of the contents of the Code, it was extremely extensive, covering criminal, civil, administrative, economic, military and procedural law. Chapter 1 defined the "five penalties" and the "ten evils"; Chapter 2 provided general principles of criminal law; Chapter 3 was devoted to criminal and procedural rights; Chapters 4, 5 and 6 mainly dealt with military law; Chapters 10, 11, 12 and 13 presented administrative law, which dealt with the ranks of administrative bodies at all levels, the staffing of officials, the selection of officials and their terms of office, the

administrative procedures and the system of using seals; Chapters 15, 16, 17 and 18 dealt with economic laws, which regulated agriculture, winemaking, water management, construction and use of bridges and roads, salt production, warehousing, and foreign trade; Chapter 19 described laws dealing with livestock and pastures; and Chapter 20 contained supplementary material for preceding chapters of the Code.

Judging by the focus of the content, it is clear that translation difficulties were particularly acute when it came to interpreting numerous proper names and specific terms for particular state activities. Among these are the following thematic groups that need special attention in terms of translation.

**The terms for posts and titles** that were borrowed by the Tanguts from the Chinese administrative system. Comparison of these terms in Tangut and Chinese shows that these titles were not simple translations from Chinese, but, as the Chinese scholar Sun Bojun (孙伯君) pointed out in her article, they were rather free translations with a generalization of some functions.[7]

**The terms for the military administration.** In this respect, the Western Xia imitated the military system of China's earlier dynasties and established a strict system of military administration with many complex terms for its parts, which are described in detail in the tenth chapter of the Western Xia Code.

**The terms for Chinese medicines** found in the Code amount to 232 very diverse lexical items associated with a wide range of medicinal sources. Most of the original terms for traditional Chinese medicines were translated into Tangut by transliteration based on the Northwest Chinese dialect of the Song dynasty.[8]

**Buddhist and Taoist terms** used to describe rules concerning various aspects of Buddhism and Taoism in Western Xia. In particular, there were many articles about monks, in which their titles were indicated. In addition, the text contained many terms in quotations from Buddhist scriptures that were rare and unclear in meaning. Moreover, the drafters of the Code used two parallel sets of Buddhist terms that were adopted in the Tangut language. Therefore, their essential properties and differences could only be estimated rather than understood with certainty.

In addition to lexical difficulties in understanding the language of the original text, the translator likely faced the complex task of finding most accurate expressions, taking into account the text's comprehension by Russian-speaking readers.

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[7] SUN BOJUN 2021: 61.
[8] NIE HONGYIN 2009: 292.

According to the generally accepted classification, the original text of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign", being a state document, is a text with legal content belonging to the official formal style. E.I. Kychanov never forgot to take this important characteristic into account in his translation, maintaining, for example, its logical clarity, avoiding the use of emotional lexical items, using the suitable terminology, and adhering to the style of standard legal expressions similar to that found in the pre-1917 Russian written language. Thus, E.I. Kychanov sought to make the translation acceptable for perception and understanding by Russian readers well-versed in humanities.

As can be seen from the above, although many factors caused seemingly insurmountable difficulties in translating the original text of the legal Code from Tangut into Russian, E.I. Kychanov succeeded in translating the untranslatable! What enabled him to achieve this goal? In answering this question, we offer the following reflections.

Firstly, E.I. Kychanov, before undertaking his full translation of the Code, mastered the larger part of the Tangut writing system in the course of his work on cataloguing ancient Tangut manuscripts, and in the process of compiling, with M.V. Sofronov, a reference book for reconstructing the phonetics of the Tangut writing that was published in 1963. In addition, Professor E.I. Kychanov accumulated knowledge as the head of the Tangut research group for nearly ten years. As a result of this work, the scholar prepared his translation of the manuscript entitled "The Newly Collected Precious Paired Sayings" that was published in 1974.

These facts tell us that, when E.I. Kychanov started to translate the Western Xia Code, he already had sufficient knowledge and skills to understand and find equivalents for the ancient Tangut text in Russian.

Secondly, it is well known that many Tangut laws were borrowed from the legal system of ancient China and were based on interpretations given in Chinese sources. Examples of this are the judicial and prison systems that existed under the Tang and Song dynasties. It was therefore justifiable that, in the absence of other relevant references, E.I. Kychanov, who had a good command of the Chinese language, relied to a large extent on the "Tang Code with Commentaries" ("Tanglü shuyi" 唐律疏議) and the "Song Penal Code" ("Song xintong" 宋刑統) as reference materials.

Thirdly, let us not forget that E.I. Kychanov studied Tangut through Chinese, so his Russian translation had to go through a thought process from Tangut to Classical Chinese and then to literary Russian. Although

this complex process was not presented in written form, it undoubtedly played a positive role in matters requiring creative effort on the part of the translator.

Fourthly, the scholar's reference to and comparison with the legal codes of the Tang and Song dynasties allowed him to naturally develop his translation experience and to gradually improve his ability to interpret the Tangut script, which generally had a positive effect on his professional skills.

Fifthly, Kychanov relied on his profound knowledge of linguistics. He was able not only to take into account the stylistic features of the Tangut text with numerous terms and fixed legal expressions that reflected the values and traditions of the Tangut state, but also to render these features accurately into Russian.

## Strategies and ways
## of translating lacunae by E.I. Kychanov

From the above it is clear that in the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" many lexical units were so-called lacunae, i.e. words with unique cultural and informational connotations, formed over many centuries, which reflected the distinctive identity of the people that was linked with various areas of life of the Tangut state.

As a translator, E.I. Kychanov creatively used known strategies, types and methods of translation in order to express the meaning of Tangut concepts in Russian.

In general, a translation strategy is understood as a translator's specific general line of conduct, a strategy of transforming, "deforming" the source text (in our case, an ancient legal document in the Tangut language) as a result of deciding what should be sacrificed.[9]

Textual analysis of the translation shows that the main strategies used by the scholar are domestication and foreignization, as well as their possible combination, i.e. a hybrid strategy.

The strategy of domestication is an ethnocentric approach emphasizing cultural values of the target language.[10] In the translation of the legal Code, domestication manifested itself mainly in two aspects: first, when a certain cultural concept did not correspond to an appropriate expression in Russian

[9] GARBOVSKIJ 2004: 508.
[10] SHELESTYUK & GRITSENKO 2016: 204.

culture, it was replaced by a suitable concept, close in meaning, understood by the Russian-speaking target audience. Second, taking into account the perception of a concept by people of Russian culture, the translator provided additional interpretations in footnotes or references to explain correctly and clearly the particular linguocultural and historical information contained in the text.

As for foreignization, on the contrary, it is used to reflect the culture of the source language. [11] This strategy was used by E.I. Kychanov in the translation of the legal Code when concepts had special meanings, originated as a result of integration of Chinese and Tangut cultures, or reflected peculiar aspects of Tangut culture.

In addition, both strategies could certainly be combined in the translation process, as evidenced by the scholar's use of hybrid writing that combines the culture of the source language and the Russian culture.

The translation strategy represents a macro-level orientation during translation. Translation techniques, however, are manifestations of the translation strategy on specific linguistic levels. This is particularly clear in the fact that, when translating cultural lacunae, E.I. Kychanov sought to interpret the content of the original as accurately as possible, taking into account the time and space that would be acceptable for the perception and understanding of his reader.

It is clear that the translation strategies chosen by the scholar involved the use of certain translation techniques. For example, domestication was mainly based on different types of "substitutions", while foreignization relied on the use of literal translation and transcription. When combining these two strategies, the scholar joined transcription + interpretation or literal translation + addition. We have already pointed out above that great difficulties arose in finding acceptable ways of translating lacunae, such as proper names and terms adopted in different areas of Western Xia. Below we analyze in greater detail the techniques used by Kychanov in translating them.

Examination of the Code of Western Xia makes it clear that proper names and terms used in Tangut laws form two groups.

The first group consisted of names and terms that had a predominantly denotative function and had no corresponding words in Russian. They could be represented by transcription of the Tangut language, for example, *phi̯e nga* 蕭蘇, *ni̯e nın* 邃瓣, *·wǫn* 虺. Also, E.I. Kychanov often added in brackets transcriptions of the corresponding Chinese terms: *li̯u* 枞 (*liang* 兩),

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[11] SHELESTYUK & GRITSENKO 2016: 204.

*śįe* 甍 (*sheng* 升), *ldįə* 祇 (*jin* 斤), *ndzwon* 姵 (*mu* 畝), *tśhįau* 倮 (*chi* 尺), *ndų* 薏 (*dou* 斗), *ndźįa* 翔 (*hu* 斛).

We should also note that the scholar himself was skeptical about some of his reconstructed transcriptions of unknown Chinese words borrowed into the Tangut language or transcribed in the text of the Code in Tangut script. In this case he added a question mark in brackets: *bitou*(?), *jieniu*(?), *lotu*(?), *chuan-zou*(?), *hejue*(?), *shiyanzi*(?), *guxiebu*(?), *xijue*(?), *lianyangjue*(?), *muzhulan*(?), *honglu*(?), *baji*(?), *baichun*(?), *cuochun*(?).[12]

This testifies to the professional integrity of Professor E.I. Kychanov and his pursuit of scientific truth. We can see that he did not avoid questions, did not gloss over them, but left them unsolved until he could come back and find answers to them in the future.

As for the second group of translated Tangut names and terms, it consists of words with meanings reflecting the denotative function and the presence of cultural semantics. In this case, searching for translation equivalents, E.I. Kychanov often turned to free translation, free translation with transcription, or literal translation with additions. As a proof of this, below we list examples of such translations.

| **Free translation** | Head of the General Imperial Secretariat for Civil Affairs; having the title of head of the General Imperial Secretariat for Civil Affairs; highly esteemed and pure, enlightened, honouring his parents and respected, noble prince of the south-east; high pillar of the state (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2: 10); "transferring orders" in the General Imperial Secretariat for Civil Affairs and in the General Office of Military Affairs; the chiefs and "transmitting orders" of all directorates; army commanders; city inspectors in the border and interior [areas of the country]; chiefs of all directorates in the border and interior [areas of the country] (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3: 88); water supervisor; canal attendant (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 4: 86); [persons] with the ranks of "awarded a sovereign seal" and "not awarded a sovereign seal" or "awarded" (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2: 30). |
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[12] KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 4: 144–146.

| Free translation + transcription[13] | prefects (*cishi* 刺史); senior guard chiefs (*daban* 大班)[14]; vice-prefects (*tongpan* 通判); military commissar (*jinglüeshi* 經略使), governor-generals (*dadudufu* 大都督府); finance and tax administration (*sansi* 三司); Hua-yan 華嚴 (*Da-fang-guang-fo-hua-yan-jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma-mahā-vaipulya-sūtra*), *Qi-xin* 起信 (*Da-sheng-qi-xin-lun* 大乘起信論, *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra*), a shared sacred meal of monks (*shenyang*, i.e. *shengyang* 聖養?)[15]; Taoist preacher (*bianda* 𗆅𗴂)[16] — a monk who "left his family" (𗉝𗣼𗆅𗴂) (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3: 88, 156, 158, 161; KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 4: 85, 164, 202). |
|---|---|
| Literal translation + addition | [The [officials] of the night prohibition(?) and iron smelting departments; the inspectors overseeing release of water into canals and catching of thieves; the young men among the 'permanent residents' of temples; the young men of the monastic community; young men among the 'seekers of salvation in the law' (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3: 88, 161). |

[13] Due to technical difficulties, Chinese words in the Russian edition of the Code are given only in the Cyrillic transcription without the Chinese text, so it is not always clear whether this or that Chinese word is a hypothetical reconstruction or a confirmed decoding from its Tangut transcription (written in Tangut script), or simply a Chinese equivalent-translation of a Tangut word. A helpful hint in such cases is either a question mark after the transcription, if the Chinese word recorded in Tangut was reconstructed, but not understood (see examples above), or a Russian translation, if it was somehow identified (decoded). Here we restore the Chinese text omitted in the Russian edition and put it after the corresponding transcription.

[14] Chinese researchers suppose that the Tangut word *thon phan* 𗅁𗪅, borrowed from Chinese, which E.I. Kychanov interpreted as *daban*, has the meaning *tongpan* 通判, as does the word *thun ndzje* 𗅳𗊱 (cf., for example, KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2: 12 and SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 108).

[15] Chinese researchers suppose that the Tangut word *śje ·ôn* 𗈇𗾓, which E.I. Kychanov interpreted as *shengyang* ("shared sacred meal, joint meal of the monks"), has the meaning *shengrong* 聖容 (cf., for example, KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3: 110, 158; 1988, Vol. 1: 414 and SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 363, 403).

[16] It is not quite clear what Chinese word is meant by transcription *bianda* with the meaning "Taoist preacher" (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3: 115, 161, 164; Vol. 4: 676). Perhaps, E.I. Kychanov reconstructed in this way a *hypothetical* Chinese original of the Tangut word *phje tha* 𗆅𗴂 or just wrote down in Russian its transcription (cf. KYCHANOV 1988, Vol. 1: 421). His Tangut dictionary (KYCHANOV 2006: 761, no. 5595-1) gives for this word the corrected(?) Russian meaning "баньди" ("bandi") with English and Chinese translations "Taoist teacher" and "*biandi* 辨弟" respectively (the latter usually refers to Mongolian realities; cf. *shami* 沙彌). Chinese scholars have translated this Tangut word as *bian dao* 變道 (SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 368, 405, 408). Now it is interpreted as a transcription of the Chinese *piantan* 偏袒 (e.g., in the nine-volume Han Xiaomang's Tangut dictionary, see HAN XIAOMANG 2021, vol. 3: 429).

## The attitude in China to E.I. Kychanov's translation of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign"

It is known that as soon as Book 2: Facsimile, Translation and Notes (Chapters 1–7) of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" was published in 1987 (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2),[17] it immediately attracted the attention of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region of China, and its researcher Li Zhongsan translated the book into Chinese. E.I. Kychanov and his Chinese colleagues, Professors Wang Jingru (王靜如) and Li Fanwen (李範文), wrote their own prefaces to the edition, which was published in December 1988 by the Ningxia People's Publishing House (LI ZHONGSAN 1988).[18] The facsimiles of the Code itself in Tangut and its partial translation from Russian into Chinese served, in one way or another, as direct sources for the first translation from Tangut into Chinese made in the 1990s (SHI JINBO et al. 1994; 2000).

However, in our opinion, the Chinese academic community has not yet shown sufficient interest in discussing and evaluating this translation. Perhaps the reason for this is the absence of a complete Chinese translation of the four-volume Russian edition of the Code and its study by E.I. Kychanov. Nevertheless, the work on this translation has begun and one of the four volumes has been already translated.

At the end of 1978, the Chinese scholar Huang Zhenhua (黃振華) wrote an article in which he pointed out inaccuracies in E.I. Kychanov's translation of the place names in the tenth chapter of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" (see KYCHANOV 1965) and even attributed it to the insufficiently high level of Soviet scholars' knowledge of Classical Chinese and Tangut languages (HUANG ZHENHUA 1978: 322). However, this critical remark can hardly be considered entirely objective and fair, because at that time E.I. Kychanov presented only a part of his translations of manuscripts, and the translation of the main chapters of the

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[17] The volumes of this translation were published non-sequentially. The first to be published was the second volume, containing a facsimile and commented translation of the first seven chapters of the Code (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2), then came out the first volume, which contains the research part (KYCHANOV 1988, Vol. 1), and in 1989 the final two volumes of the translation were published (KYCHANOV 1989, Vol. 3, Vol. 4).

[18] December 1988 is specified as the publication date in the book's imprint. Li Wen in his review indicates that the book was published in May 1989 (LI WEN 1990: 67).

Code was still to come. We believe that one can judge the level of linguistic competence only on the basis of examining the translation in its entirety.

However, to be fair, one must admit that comparison of the translations made by Professor E.I. Kychanov into Russian and by Professor Han Xiaomang into Chinese reveals some discrepancies. For example, let us consider the passage in Chapter 1 ([Article 1], f. 4a <6> – f. 7b <13>, § [6]).

### Russian translation from Tangut by E.I. Kychanov:

Widowed mother-in-laws, uncles' wives, nephews' mothers, older and younger paternal aunts, and [the rebel's] daughters and sisters who have already been married off, or adopted by another and are in his custody, or have become nuns, are not to be included among those subject to punishment. If a sister or daughter [of the rebel] has a **master (husband)**, she is to be returned to her husband; **she is not to be given as a concubine** (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2: 14).

### Our translation of E.I. Kychanov's Russian translation into Chinese

谋反者守寡的岳母、舅母、姨母、大小姑母，已出嫁的，或被他人收养并生活在收养人家的，或已出家的女儿和姊妹，不必接受惩罚。如果谋反者姊妹和女儿已<u>有主（丈夫）</u>，她们会被送回夫家，<u>不被转为妾</u>。

### Translation of E.I. Kychanov's Russian translation into Chinese by Li Zhongsan

谋反者之守寡岳母、姉母、舅母、大小姑母及已嫁女儿、姊妹包括养女和已出家为尼者，皆属不获罪者。若〔谋反，者〕之姊妹和女儿已有<u>主家〔丈夫〕</u>，则她们应回夫家，<u>不沦为妾</u>。(LI ZHONGSAN 1988: 5).

### Chinese translation from Tangut by Shi Jinbo, Nie Hongyin and Bai Bin

祖母、嬸母、嫂娣、姑，此等寡居，及有女妹，或已嫁，或為他人養女，或有為僧人、道士等者，莫入連坐中。女姐妹者，有主明，則當給有主，<u>不須給嫁妝</u>。 (SHI JINBO et al. 2000: 112).

## Han Xiaomang's translation from Tangut into Chinese

祖母、婶母、大小侄母、姑，此等寡，及有女、姊妹，亦或已嫁，或为他人养女，或有为僧人、道士等者，莫入连坐中。女、姊妹者，有主明，则当给有主，<u>不须给嫁妆</u>。

Here in the two translations we see a common understanding of the overall meaning (female relatives of the rebel... should be returned to their master), but in the last part there is a discrepancy in the details due to their interpretation. E.I. Kychanov translates the Tangut character "𗇋" as "master" and adds "*husband*" in parentheses, then gives the translation of the sentence "*she is not to be given as a concubine*", but Han Xiaomang translates "𗇋" using the Chinese character "主", which in Classical Chinese is a polysemantic word. One meaning is interpreted in Russian as "*master*" or more precisely "*bridegroom*" and the other as a verb, which in this context means that "*the girl is engaged to be married*". Then follows the sentence "*no dowry is required*". According to the clarification given by Professor Han Xiaomang and other researchers in the field, in the original Tangut language "𗇋𗢳𗗙𗜓𗪟" does have the latter meaning. We think that E.I. Kychanov's interpretation of the character "𗇋" as "master (husband)" is related to his choice to translate the following word combination "𗇋𗢳𗗙𗜓𗪟" as "*she is not to be given as a concubine*". The word for "husband" in Russian tradition, however, could refer to any mature man.

Of course, in this case we find that translators take into account targeting and perception of details by speakers of the target language, without which the translation would lose its appeal and would be of little use to readers.

Let us consider another example of translation discrepancies from Chapter 3 ([Article 131] (f. 20a <156>).

## Russian translation from Tangut by E.I. Kychanov:

If a person **drank** in the same house with thieves, but had never before participated in a conspiracy to commit theft, had not committed theft, but after the thieves brought stolen cattle, grain, property to the house, he, knowing already that [it] has been stolen, ate meat of slaughtered animals, sold stolen goods and participated in dividing stolen goods, [he] shall not be included among those punished for committing theft; only those who have actually committed the theft shall receive this punishment. If, however, [the person] has previously conspired [to commit theft] and has repeatedly

committed theft, then [such person] shall be sentenced according to the law (KYCHANOV 1987, Vol. 2: 83).

### Our translation of E.I. Kychanov's Russian translation into Chinese

　　如果有人曾与盗贼同在一宅吃过<u>酒</u>，但之前从未参加过合谋盗窃，也未有过盗窃行为，但盗贼将偷来的牲畜、粮食和财产带到此宅，其明知为盗窃之物，仍食宰杀畜肉，倒卖赃物并参与瓜分，此类人不应在盗窃惩罚人之列，真正行窃者应受到惩罚。如果此人之前参与了合谋盗窃，而且不止一次实施盗窃，那么就应依法判决。

### Translation of E.I. Kychanov's Russian translation into Chinese by Li Zhongsan

　　若某同窃贼们在一家吃<u>过酒</u>，但过去从未参与合谋行窃，盗窃亦未行。此后，窃贼将窃畜、谷物、赃物带回家，他已知〔此乃窃〕来之物，吃过宰杀畜肉，卖赃并参与分赃，则〔该人〕不一定列为因已行盗窃获罪者。此案获罪者只限于那些真正行窃者。若〔该人〕过去曾参与合谋〔行窃〕，且多次行窃，则〔此人〕应按律获罪。(LI ZHONGSAN 1988: 68).

### Chinese translation from Tangut by Shi Jinbo, Nie Hongyin and Bai Bin

　　一與盜人<u>同居</u>，先未參與同謀盜，亦未往盜，盜人將畜、穀、物運於家處後，已知為盜物，參與屠宰、食賣肉、分用者，勿使承罪，當使實盜者承罪。若先昔同謀，及往行盜竊，則依法判斷。 (SHI JINBO ET AL. 2000: 173).

### Han Xiaomang's translation from Tangut into Chinese

　　与贼人<u>同居</u>，先不在议盗中，未往盗，贼人将畜、谷、物运于家之后，已知<u>盗</u>，在杀、食肉、买、用、分中等者，勿入承罪中，实盗当承罪。若在先前议中，人实往盗等，则依法判断。

　　Here in the first variant E.I. Kychanov translated the Tangut phrase "𗼃𗊋𘃡" as the verb form "*drank*" of the Russian verb "*to drink*". There is no such verb in Han Xiaomang's second translation. Why? After obtaining

clarification of the meaning of the Tangut characters "揚牖隮", it became clear to us that they mean "to live, to drink, to eat together". In Russian culture "to drink, to eat at one table" means "to become related, to become a family, to live in one house", therefore, using the strategy of domestication E.I. Kychanov translated these characters using the verb "to drink" ("*drank*"), which has a broad connotation understandable to native speakers of Russian.

In view of some discrepancies between translations, we would like to remind that authoritative translators are of the opinion that there is simply no translation without inaccuracies. Translation interpretations, linked to a translator's personal perception and imagination, always involve a search and, therefore, a risk of failing to achieve something or not conveying it clearly.

In this sense, the work of E.I. Kychanov required a combination of creative courage and scientific thoroughness in the process of translating the ancient historical text, which combined the features of both Chinese and Tangut cultures. And even if inaccuracies and discrepancies are found in the scholar's translation when it is compared with later translations, they are not very numerous and, in fact, they objectively confirm the difficulty of his translation work.

In his preface to the Chinese translation from Russian of the "Revised and Newly Approved Code of the Heavenly Prosperity Reign" E.I. Kychanov, discussing the translation and interpretation of ancient manuscripts, emphasized that: "Such texts cannot be translated in one fell swoop at any time. It will take one, two or three generations of scholars to translate them twice, thrice or even ten times, each time carefully studying the original text, before the translation is brought to perfection".[19]

## Conclusion

In summary of the above discussion, we note that it was thanks to Professor E.I. Kychanov, a remarkable historian and Sinology scholar, and his tireless research spirit manifest in both translation and scholarship, that centuries-old Tangut manuscripts, previously unknown to the world, became known to the scientific community despite all the difficulties.

I.F. Popova, director of the IOM RAS, aptly remarked that "Evgeny Ivanovich was an outstanding person with a rare innate talent for research work. Having tied his scientific life with Tangut studies, Evgeny Ivanovich

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[19] Li Zhongsan 1988, 汉译本序言: 5.

wrote one of the brightest pages in the history of this complex discipline, which is the pride of the national Oriental studies".[20]

Indeed, thanks to E.I. Kychanov's translations, Russian and Chinese scholars became acquainted with the precious historical text, which enabled them to uncover, step by step, the secrets of the ancient Western Xia civilisation, to determine the extent to which the laws of ancient China affected the Tangut kingdom, and to continue making new discoveries on the path of scholarship.

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