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Nie Hongyin, Sun Yingxin

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

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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 dźji o* $[la]^3$ 藤斌執診[猿] (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

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* 藤d (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 tsh<u>i</u>r ·ju dej mjij ləw dji dza bu ·a djij 茲錢撇酸颏離瘋敝靝糕鯰,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 *samgha*":

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⁵ In the first preface (f. 1B), the book is also called *ju dej dji dza mjij law* 繳酸颯敝颏能 (*changchuan zazi tongming* 常傳雜字同名) or in the most shortened form *ju dej* 繳酸 (*changchuan* 常傳, Often-transmitted).

⁶ Tangut *a djij* 移籬 (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* 馣 (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* 載姘, which might be, by supposition, the transliteration of *Zongka* 宗喀 (Xining city, Qinghai province).



Pl. 1. The wrapper

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* 襚, *tshwew* 養, *tshwew* 蘂, 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 djụ mjijr tja dzwej dźji dzjar 龗藏彥嬘能診薽

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. \mathbb{N} 951, but the character *tshwew* $\stackrel{\text{dist}}{=}$ (go forward to) is substituted by the homonymic *tshwew* $\stackrel{\text{dist}}{=}$ (provide) in inv. \mathbb{N} 809 (AN 2014).

Xin qu wushangdao 心趣無上道 (the mind goes forward to the supreme doctrine) in volume 36 of the Ratnakuța (Taishō T11, p0204a) should be translated as njij zji phju tśja tshwew 紅繡絨藏蘂 (the mind goes forward to the supreme doctrine), but the character tshwew 蘂 (go forward to) is substituted by the homonymic tshwew 燚 (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* 别字) 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 *Ratnakuța-sūtra* (*Taishō* T11, p0095c) should be translated as *a lhjor jij dzjij zjij* 孩族成能 (one *zhang*¹¹ is increased approximately) in inv. № 7377, but the character *zjij* 能 (approximate) is substituted by the homonymic *zjij* 就 (when) in inv. № 0411. The characters *zjij* 就 (when) and *zjij* 能 (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 *sjwi ljij yjwe lo* 基該維荒 (the generations are flourishing and in high positions) in inv. № 6818, but the character *ljij* 該 (flourish) is substituted by the homonymic *ljij* 談 (big) in inv. № 7029. The characters *ljij* 談 (big) and *ljij* 該 (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 *Tripitaka* and were intended to teach students how to read and understand Buddhist works correctly. Undoubtedly, if we combine the large

 $^{^{10}}$ Xun $\bar{\Leftrightarrow}$ is a unit of measure ≈ 2.67 m in the Song-Yuan dynasty.

¹¹ Tangut *lhjor* \breve{R} is a unit of measure being equivalent to Chinese *zhang* \pm 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:

纬爾號循解發 (Salute to the Buddha, dharma and samgha); 漏愛 (once upon a time), 蒎酸 (Chin. Shijia 釋迦, Skr. Śākya); 鋒膨 (Rulai 如來, (nanwu 南無, namo); 屐義嬪 (Amituo 阿彌陀, Amita); 彘瓢 (Shizun 世尊, Bhagavān); 畬祥 (Baisangai 白傘蓋, Sitātapatrosņisa); 鏡蘭 (shengxiang 勝相, vijayā); 茲統 (yaomen 要門, upadeśa); Nfill (nianxu 念續¹²); 絨颏 (Huayan 華嚴,¹³ Avatamsaka); 能缝 (Yuanjue 圓覺¹⁴, perfect Mahāstamaprapta); 跳쥷義 (Xukongzang 虛空藏, Ākāśagarbha); 皴類酸茲 (Jiuba tianmu 救拔天母, a goddess in Tantrism); 纤灵寂 (Pizhifo 辟支佛, pratyekabuddha); 顏纖 (luohan 羅漢, arhan); 循媚 (haihui 海會, a gathering 吽醯唎, Om mani padme hūm hrī),¹⁹ 旗颏源核 (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 #(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

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 *ŋjij* 毵 (heart) might be a misunderstanding, for in Buddhist tradition these *sūtras* are generally called "Five Protections" (Chin. *Wu Shouhu* 五守護, Skr. *Pañcarakṣā*).

¹⁹ This is the so-called "Heart mantra of Avalokitesvara".

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 expressions²² convincingly shows that the author of the *Often-Transmitted* must have been a Buddhist who was familiar with

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

²¹ 宋史 vol. 485: 元吴自製蕃書, 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., *yja phiow* 畬祥, *jij b<u>u</u> 硫酮, <i>tshji ŋw<u>u</u> 残藥, <i>ywie rjir* 刻雜, 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 *Tripițaka*) 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* $i\Re$ (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*.

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.

引致絕和斑斜應機發發 如御聽散勝無備難羅 能發爾羅風編編 朝備私殺燕編 錦露朝親稱產 寬縱備痛難雨靜 備野務職新 級飛粮帶發銀節結員圖儲藏都編編備兩點哀訴 沒嚴聽竊強聽聽在總統存聽前頭紙類載紙 凝凝輸為前能 磁琴感概報 龍麗南報 節截顏魚氣 船狼貧竊竊風 **後君致補風新於放散** 如府精報加請勤報福好 領想、被華福林城國素 福 積弊最病強補赤 務我 如爾 朝朝朝 雄雄 發 和 和 和 執流致痛常理得素要好愛知 杨将 新原務上報 御衣魚 軍無應 **桃源飛編新載飛編**瓶 新庸無稿和 將南朝 親親義 郑秋堂 柳舟 能施精制般 我教離影 潮麗無影帮 「な無無難気 新离新 加須湯湯 心路 我開 源在 竊義 羅系

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

能 藏 霸 銳 稱 序 縫 觌 龍 , 滾 颯 都 훊 脈 . 級 滾 嫌 , 碰 微 魚 減 靈 報 黼 颯 爾 澎 微 愛 越 脑 融 覆 微 疹 蘢 , 載 应 糊 凿 《 颯 倩 》 微 愛 越 脑 融 覆 微 疹 蘢 , 載 您 話 弱 報 舱 纸 イ 黛 婉 頑 祇 諭 就 範 離 範 . 影 驗 證 薇 薇 報 鯅 紙 氟 萬 嫩 梵 祥 離 , 出 斓 瓴 翃 靉 赪 嵋 縱 , 贛 駿 텪 躯 .

Numerous people who seek truth and accumulated virtue have to rely upon the scripts. Learning to write Tangut characters²⁵ 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

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

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

²⁶ The title of the book, *dji yiow* ²⁶ The title of the book, *dji yiow*
Mift (Chin. zihai 字海, Sea of Characters), seems different from that of the famous dictionary *jwir yiow i* (Chin. *wenhai* 文海, Sea of Writings), but both have a similar literal meaning. We have not found a book entitled *dji yiow* in any Tangut collections so far. Considering that the Tangut word *dji* and *jwir* form a pair of synonyms and often appear as the two-character compound *jwir dji i* (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 *jwir yiow* was published. The original xylograph of *jwir yiow*, the rhyme dictionary with the most detailed commentaries, is kept at the IOM RAS (GORBACHEVA & KYCHANOV 1963: 45–46). Now we have its Russian translation (KEPING ET AL. 1969) and Chinese translation (SHI ET AL. 1983).

Pl. 2, *l*. 5–12

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 $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ 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 components²⁹ 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" (*Pañcarakşa*) here indicates five Tangut versions of *sūtras* translated from Tibetan no later than the year 1173, including: *Tha tų lhiji tšjų wejr lwər lhejr* 歡茲險或 藏覆茲 (*Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*), *Wor le lwər lhejr* 薇藏覆茲 (*Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo*), *Tha gji śj<u>u</u> bo lwər lhejr* 黻豫電核覆茲 (*Bsil ba'i tshal chen po'i mdo*), *Kjų bju zji rjir lwər lhejr* 蓋聽麗雜澀茲 (*'phags pa rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'phrang ba chen mo*), *Tha dw<u>u ywə yjwej jij</u> lwər lhejr* 黻澹쥷雜滾氮茲 (*Gsang sngags chen po rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo*). There are Chinese equivalents of the first four *sūtras* in the *Taishō Tripiţaka*, 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 茲霍 (NIE 2016: 53–56), which was written under the instruction of Emperor Renzong (reigned 1139–1193).

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

³⁰ The *Preface to Synonyms*, Tangut *wo law bu* 缘能澈 (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 law a djij* 缘能秘驗, was literally translated by GORBACHEVA & KYCHANOV (1963: 53, 126) into Chinese as *yitong yilei* 義同一類 (Synonyms in one category),

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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

Thus, pitying posterity, the intellectuals of the capital³¹ 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

which should be changed into *yitong*, because Tangut $\cdot a \ djij$ here also corresponds to Chinese *yibu* $\rightarrow \exists i$ (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 解 (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* 茲姻総能 谢報 is not very clear to us.

³³ Tangut *mjij law* **纳能** 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 attached³⁴ 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

版旗齡帞嫩, 瓶藕毛茲弊赦懘蒲舞愆, 膨藪擺荒笈缝, 颏翹鎌赦须 將瓶旗, 颯蠢茲毫, 颏離燹闷. 版割頌颯載藣澀報糊氮□□, 版"鎊" 颯 "葡萄" 報糊缪聽形巯氮散嫌, 旗糊氛酸, 策級鋒絹珮後《龍靴》《散燈》 報 光 經經聽後意識。 結號□ "《 龍 能》 釋類, 经 既 發 說, 很 號 臆 祕, 隨 段 緝 鏡. " 微 氣 旕 □ 窈 就, 策 聽 《 颯 倩 》 發 嫩.

Moreover, the aim of this short compilation is reading and understanding the scriptures rapidly without toil, which may give some advantage, but differences in pronunciation³⁶ 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 monosyllables³⁷ are absent here, it behooves ambitious men to teach them the *Homophones* and the *Trinity*,³⁸ and to keep them constantly learning and

³⁴ In the main text, less commonly used characters are marked by a small circle at top right, such as $\frac{3}{4}$ *thwã*, $\frac{3}{2}$ *tsj<u>i</u>r*, $\frac{3}{2}$ *'ji*, $\frac{3}{7}$ *dzjwi* on line 1, f. 7 (Pl. 8).

³⁶ The meaning of *mjij lji jij* 颏辣雄 (lit. name – heavy – light) is unclear to us. Maybe it means "slightly different pronunciation" according to the context.

³⁷ Here ji 荔 is a character used only for phonetic transcription. We suppose that it comes from Tibetan *yig* (letter, *akşara*), and translate it as "monosyllable". The implication of the word *tsewr khiew* 蔽精 (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 *so rjir* 散游 is borrowed from the traditional Chinese concept *sancai* 三才, indicating the union of Heaven, Earth and mankind.

re-reading. A learned man³⁹ said: "Thus the *Homophone* was engraved. New and old editions are collated, and even and rising tones⁴⁰ 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

戴伉蕤雨颏魏, 旐形帞袚赦□形, 帞刻微, 鋒弊戮皴纖纖纖稅. 版成藏
 福福糊□□蔣荒縱, 粮菀凿霧瀲桶卷斓般形莓荒魏圆悦形, □□缆斓胶
 荒须娟. 娥剩鄉離毛赦舜舜颯祕莚, 赦劾艱愛莚ぉ庸. 颯返価幣類蕔赦炎
 閬麵形, 魤쥷賴荒? 愛羅騛鋒飛疹郯瑞義, 敝蓏賴荒?

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 divergences⁴² 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

龍 創 紙 詳 鐵 , 鋒 補 ្ 庸 賦 靴 酸 棘 , 录 赦 刻 報 報 看 . 燃 旗 軛 糊 覆 能 襯 、 禁 乾 知 乕 斌 出 荄 級 , 微 微 兪 紋 雉 枕 , 酿 赦 慷 微 赦 弧 륆 . 耐 效 熾 珑 救 雉 禰 舵 稜 , 鋒 柜 射 級 祥 祕 出 齀 娟 霰 . 紀 織 討 価 綾 報 赦 微 , 綠 鋒 救 徹 齀 藏 , 纐 韓 蒿 , 添 靜 獨 稅 .

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

³⁹ Tangut <u>gor</u> no 績號 (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.

 $^{^{\}rm 42}\,{\rm A}$ 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

並佩茲勢嫌, 佩熙 而 襲 稅 號 而 氦 頌 就 前 徽 郊 , 蒲 徽 郊 汤 . 袨 佩 萊 華 嫩 . 《 缪 祀 福 》 而 缪 ዙ 祔 劍 채 就 佩 茲 散 愛 趁 炎 , 斷 鬉 秋 卿 娘 预 , 纖 茲 兪 慾 聽 診 龍 秋 織 愛 悟 . 胶 纑 譯 庈 佩 觉 靴 髋 就 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 戴 嫩 茲 赦 佩 厩 峰 氦 鋒 氦 纸 睹 纸 藭 纸 於 . 矩 穮 皴 茲 散 於 豫 颯 斌 靴 鼢 皸 輆 纾 形 .

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

⁴³ Tangut *yjiw yjwej* 儀葬 (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* 颯茲, "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.

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"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

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 character entries, of which less than one thousand characters are listed without abridgment. Although the characters in the *Preface to Golden Grains* are

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

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 śjwi so ya dji mja* $\bigotimes _{1} \bigotimes _{1} \bigotimes _{2} \bigotimes _$

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.

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

和制級

Pl. 4. Folio 3, preface 2



Pl. 5. Folio 4, preface 2

地心と日南东 科料 言語許不和れ 教が下 the

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 yu 颯僦, the top of characters (31 components).

Pl. 5, *l*. 8 — Pl. 6, *l*. 8: *dji pha* 佩 , the half side of characters (127 components).

Pl. 6, *l*. 13–18: *dji ŋowr pha we* 颯麗識獄, 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., \breve{X} is at the left side of <u>no</u> \breve{X} | (finger), while \breve{X} is at the right side of $la | \breve{X}$ (hand)), but the fourth section *dji bjij* only includes components used as the right side. Besides, at the end of the last section *dji nowr pha we*, four other components, which are not full characters, are appended with brief notes (Pl. 6, *l*. 17–18):

礼—*tśhji khji lja ·u* 航該氣牖 (lit. base – foot – mouth – inside), meaning "a base from head to foot".

 $L - ju \ bjij \cdot u$ 循微 [lit. ghost – auxiliary – inside), meaning "an auxiliary component in ju 催".

č - yie bjij u 花鼢牖 (lit. sound – auxiliary – inside), meaning "an auxiliary component in yie 花 (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.

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 interchangeable homonyms appended in small characters. The large characters may be translated and subdivided as follows:

液斓 (script), 颏葉 (mother), 影形 (thirty), 膠滿 (pure and impure),⁵¹ 脈游 (elocution);

荡 (correct), 绿 (morality), 衫 (intelligence), 聋 (wisdom), 脈 (survey), 統

形 (pure), 脉 (dexterity), 汤 (extreme), 嵌 (search), 汤 (bright), 巯 (have), 蔵 (see), 就祾 (lateral pure);

箭 (dedication), 姚 (precious), 祧 (skillful), 颁 (flow), 翁 (poetry), 弱

鬷 (powerful), 肠 (penetrate), 憥 (flourishing), 缓 (breed), 版 (grow), 缀 (tilted), 襚 (dim), 袚 (dark), 鹿益 (entirely impure), 砹 (courtesy), 澻 (finish),⁵² 祾 (om).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:

[[]祕, 紀, 飛,] 養, 脈, 統, 統.

就該 爺 狠 纖 填 了 he second volume, seven chapters of lateral pure)

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 njaj 該益 (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 *aksara* often used as the initial part of a mantra. Its placement here is meaningless.

醆, 脱, 筋, [敍, 徟,] 秔, [贲].

箭, 姚, 祧, *\\$*, **\\$**

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 characters⁵⁵ 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 *jwir dji* 蒗颯 (script), *rjar sji* 茲垂 (mother), *so* ya 散武 (thirty), *gji njaj* 該益 (pure and impure), *sew ne* 敝城 (elocution).

⁵⁴ For example, the volume titles are borrowings from traditional Chinese phonology for the classification of initials: *źji gji* 藤豫 (entirely pure) corresponds to *quanqing* 全清, indicating unvoiced unaspirated explosives, fricatives and affricatives; *bju gji* 就骸 (lateral pure) corresponds to *ciqing* 次清, indicating unvoiced aspirated explosives and affricatives; *khwə gji niaj* 張蔭 (half pure and impure) corresponds to *cizhuo* 次濁 or *buqing buzhuo* 不清不濁, indicating unvoiced nasals and laterals; *źji niaj* 麗蔭 (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".

截藏 森 级 緣 新新 捐粮

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 *Tripitaka*, 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:

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

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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