

Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series

Volume 137

Luc Kwanten and Susan Hesse

TANGUT (HSI HSIA) STUDIES:
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies

Indiana University, Bloomington

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Denis Sinor, Editor

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I. I N T R O D U C T I O N

A HISTORY OF TANGUT (HSI HSIA) STUDIES

Tangut is the most common name for the language and the people of the state of Hsi Hsia, one of China's border empires during the Sung dynasty. How and when this name came to be used is still very uncertain. Although the name is used in the Secret History of the Mongols, the explanation most frequently given for its origins, that it is a Mongol plural derived from the Chinese name for the principal ethnic group within the state, the Tang-hsiang, is of doubtful validity. The name Tangjud occurs well before the rise of Chinggis-qan, namely in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century and, in the eleventh century, in Mahmud al-Kas̄yari's Diwan Lujat at-Türk. In fact, al-Kas̄yari defines the Tangut as "a tribe of Türks, they dwell near China."¹

A people known as Tang-hsiang had been in contact with the Chinese since the Period of Disunion. During the early decades of the T'ang dynasty, under constant attack by the expanding Tibetan empire, a major portion of the Tang-hsiang

¹ Luc Kwanten, Imperial Nomads. A History of Central Asia, 500-1500, Philadelphia, 1979, pp. 71-72.

migrated from Western Szechuan, their original homeland, to the area of the Great Bend of the Yellow River. In time, they came to occupy nearly the entire region of present-day Kansu and Ninghsia as well as major portions of Shansi and Chinghai. Under the leadership of the T'o-pa,² the major Tang-hsiang clan, they established a semi-autonomous government in and around the Hsia prefecture and recognized the T'ang emperor as their nominal suzerain.³ After the Huang Ch'ao rebellion (875-884), taking advantage of the general decline of the T'ang dynasty, the Tang-hsiang, and with them the entire Hsia prefecture, assumed full independence.⁴

Until the establishment of the Sung dynasty, the Tang-hsiang remained very much outside the mainstream of history. They proved, however, to be a major obstacle to the Sung reconquest of former T'ang territories. Under the leadership of Li Chi-ch'ien (963-1003/4), the Tang-hsiang and their allies

²When Li Yüan-hao assumed the title of "Son of Heaven" in 1032, he based his claim to Chinese dynastic legitimacy on an alleged descentance from the Northern Wei. O. Franke, Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, Berlin, 1948, vol. IV, p. 132 dismisses this claim. Further investigation, however, is required before a definite answer to Li Yüan-hao's claim can be given.

³On the Tang-hsiang and Hsia-chou, J.R. Hamilton, Les Ouighours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties, Paris, 1955, pp. 101-104.

⁴On Tangut assistance to the T'ang dynasty, Howard S. Levy, Biography of Huang Ch'ao, Berkeley, 1955, pp. 80ff; Luc Kwanten, Imperial Nomads, p. 88.

put up a strenuous resistance and prevented the Sung from gaining control over the area. By the year 990 the "rebels", as Li Chi-ch'ien and his followers were called by the Sung government, were strong enough to create their own empire on the borders of China, an empire as hostile to China as was the Ch'i-tan empire to the north. War between the new empire and the Sung occurred at frequent intervals, and, more often than not, ended in disaster for the Chinese.⁵ The state, known as Hsi Hsia or Hsia Kuo, remained in existence until the death of Chinggis-qan.

From its inception, the Hsi Hsia state maintained very close ties with the Ch'i-tan state. It was under Ch'i-tan influence that the second ruler of Hsi Hsia, Li Te-ming (1004-1032), the most scholarly of the Tangut rulers, began to develop a complex script, apparently using both the Ch'i-tan and the Chinese script as his models. During the reign of his son Li Yüan-hao (1032-1048), the developing script was standardized in a manner reminiscent of Li Ssu's actions on the Chinese script during the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.).⁶

⁵E. I. Kyčanov, *Les guerres entre les Sung du Nord et le Hsi Hsia*, in *Etudes Song/Sung Studies*, F. Aubin, ed., Paris, 1971, pp. 103-118; Luc Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads*, pp. 88-92.

⁶Luc Kwanten, *Tangut Miscellanea*. I. On the Inventor of the Tangut Script, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 97, 1977, pp. 333-335.

Unlike many of the so-called invented scripts, the Tangut script was in active use until at least the second decade of the fourteenth century. A voluminous literature developed which included Buddhist, historical, legal and economic matters. Many Chinese, and possibly also Uighur, texts⁷ were translated and written down in a script that can easily be termed the most complex ever developed in East or Inner Asia.

The Rediscovery of the Script

Of all the destruction wrought upon civilization by the Mongols, the annihilation of the Hsi Hsia state and its culture was the most thorough.⁸ A limited knowledge of the language remained until at least the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1307, the Yüan dynasty, for reasons that still remain to be investigated, published an edition in some 3,620 chapters of the Buddhist Tripitaka in the Tangut script. By the late 1330's, however, it had become, for all practical purposes a dead language. There is no indication in the contemporary sources that the few Yüan officials of Tangut origins were capable of reading the

⁷ At least one Buddhist text, the *Suvarnaprabhasa*, was translated from the Uighur as well as the Chinese. In spite of Nishida Tatsuo's claim in the third volume of his edition of the *Tangut Avatamsaka*, no translation from a Tibetan original has been discovered so far.

⁸ On the few Tangut survivors, J.W. Dardess, *From Mongol Empire to Yüan Dynasty. Changing Forms of Imperial Rule in Mongolia and Central Asia*, Monumenta Serica, vol. 30, 1972-73, p. 145.

Tangut script. By the time of the Ming dynasty, the language was not only a dead one, but also a forgotten one. Ming and Ch'ing scholars remembered the existence of a Hsi Hsia state and compiled several works on its history; the language and the script, however, had fallen into oblivion.

It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the language was rediscovered. In 1870, A. Wylie undertook a study of the unknown script on the multilingual inscription of the Chü-yung-kuan,⁹ an inscription dated 1345. Although Wylie was unable to identify the script, he suggested that, most likely, it was that of the Jürčēn Chin dynasty. This identification remained accepted until 1882. At about that time, the French scholar G. Devéria undertook a study of the Yen-t'ai stele in Honan which he published in the Revue de l'Extrême-Orient. This inscription was clearly, and beyond doubt, identified on the stele itself as being in the Jürčēn script. The unknown script of the Chü-yung-kuan in no way resembled it. Devéria's suggestion that the latter was in the script of the Hsi Hsia or Tangut state led to an animated controversy between him and the eminent French sinologist

⁹The best study is provided by Murata Jirō, Kyoyōkan, 2 vols., Kyoto, 1955-1958.

E. Chavannes. G. Devéria persisted and in 1895 he wrote his famous article, not published until 1902, entitled "L'écriture du royaume Si-hia ou Tangout," in which he proved the existence of a specific Tangut script, quite different in appearance from the Jürč'en script. He had come to this conclusion by examining the bilingual inscription on the Kan-ying tower in Liang-chou, once an important Tangut city.¹⁰

Although A. Wylie is frequently credited with the discovery of the Tangut script, the honor clearly belongs to G. Devéria who can also be called the father of Tangut studies. These studies can be dated from 1895, the year of the scientific dispute between Devéria and Chavannes over the unknown script of the Chü-yung-ku. When Prince Roland Bonaparte asked the two scholars to edit a facsimile, the dispute was resolved by identifying the script as "Tangut?".

Philological Studies: The Beginning

As a direct consequence of G. Devéria's study, several other articles identifying material in the Tangut script were published. Nearly all of them concerned bilingual Chinese-Tangut numismatic and epigraphic material, and, at no time, did anyone succeed in translating the Tangut text. The first

¹⁰Bibliography, item 042.

such effort was published in 1900 by G. Morisse who, while with the French Legation in Peking, had acquired a Tangut translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.¹¹ Using a Chinese version as his guide, Morisse was able to provide pronunciations for some of the Tangut characters as well as a very sketchy grammatical outline.¹²

¹¹ Bibliography, item no. 223.

¹² The Tangut version of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka used by Morisse is commonly described as being in three volumes, consisting of Tangut text with interlinear notations in Chinese by an unknown person. Nishida Tatsuo stated recently that the work was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, but that instead of three there are five volumes. A search done at the Bibliothèque Nationale in the fall of 1974 failed to turn up a single volume. The history of the work's whereabouts, however, is given by P. Pelliot under the heading "livres reçus" in the T'oung Pao of 1932.

In this, Pelliot claims that he discovered six volumes after the 1900 events in Peking and to have handed them over to Morisse and Fernand Berteaux, French consular officials in Peking. Moreover, he claims that the interlinear Chinese was done by Morisse himself and that Morisse kept three volumes which he later sold to a Berlin Museum, a museum about which Pelliot is not more specific. The three other volumes remained in the private possession of F. Berteaux and were turned over to the Musée Guimet in Paris by his widow.

The degree to which Pelliot's account can be accepted at face value is in doubt. He appears not to have had excellent relations with Morisse and his Peking diaries, published in 1974 by L. Hambis, do not mention the discovery. Moreover, according to Pelliot, the text was in gold ink on black blue paper whereas the photograph published by Morisse would tend to indicate a light colored paper with a dark colored ink. Also, the Chinese calligraphy is that of an experienced hand.

Most likely, Tangut studies would never have developed beyond this preliminary stage simply because very little material written in Tangut was known to exist. The beginning of the twentieth century, however, was an era of massive European exploration of China's borderlands and of Central Asia. In 1908, the Russian explorer P.K. Kozlov explored the Qaraqoto area in present-day Kansu province and discovered in the ruins of the city, once a major Tangut city, a hidden library of material in the Tangut script. This material was crated and shipped to Leningrad, then St. Petersburg, where it is still housed in the Institut Vostokovedeniya AN SSSR. When word of Kozlov's discovery spread, other expeditions began to discover material in, among other places, the famous caves of Tun-huang.

Kozlov conducted two excavations in Qaraqoto, respectively in 1908 and 1909 and in his report to the Imperial Geographical Society, the sponsor of the expedition, he stated: "We have made a find of great scientific significance and discovered a true treasure. The expedition has found thousands of complete books and a quantity of scrolls, individual volumes and pages as well as hundreds of Buddha representations in painting and sculptures."¹³ The importance of the Kozlov discovery, which raised the known inventory of Tangut materials

¹³P.K. Kozlov, Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Geograf. Obšč., vol. 45, 1909. p.429. The paintings, nearly all frescoes, and the sculptures are on exhibit in the Hermitage Museum.

from less than a dozen items to several thousands, was confirmed by the Russian scholar A. Ivanov in a communication to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg on December 1, 1909 (November 18) and entitled "Zur Kenntnis der Hsi Hsia Sprache."¹⁴ With this communication, serious study of the Tangut language had finally begun.

The bulk of the material recovered by Kozlov is made up of Buddhist texts. Most of these are translations from Chinese, some of them are translations from Uighur. Surprisingly, until now no translations from Tibetan have been discovered. The library contained not only religious material but also a whole set of important linguistic texts, texts that deal with the phonology of the language and some dictionaries. These works are best known by their reconstructed Chinese titles as the T'ung-yin, the Wen-hai, the Wen-hai pao-yŭn, the Wen-hai tsa-lei and the Wu-ying ch'ieh-yŭn. The Wen-hai is a phonological dictionary compiled according to the Chinese philological tradition. Whereas the Wen-hai covers 97 rhymes of the level tone, the Wen-hai pao-yŭn covers 86 rhymes in the rising tone. The T'ung-yin, on the other hand, is an apparent phonological cum etymological dictionary based on a native Tangut scholarship. The Wu-ying ch'ieh-yŭn apparently is a table of Chinese sounds for Tangut

¹⁴Bibliography, item no. 090.

usage and the Wen-hai tsa-lei is a native Tangut etymology of the Tangut characters.

The topic of Ivanov's communication was, for this stage of knowledge, a more important document, namely the Fan-Han ho-chung chang-chung-chu, a Tangut-Chinese, Chinese-Tangut glossary in which each entry was accompanied by a Tangut as well as a Chinese phonetic symbol. Thus, for the first time, both the meaning as well as the pronunciation of Tangut characters could be derived from a native text, a text dated 1198. Until then, all phonetic reconstruction had to be based on Sanskrit and was tentative at best.

Although Ivanov's communication marked the first serious step forward in the study of the Tangut language, the Chang-chung-chu itself was not published until some twenty years later when Lo Fu-ch'eng issued a handwritten copy of it in Tientsin. Privately published, this copy was not readily available to other scholars. A consequence of this delay in its publication was that any studies had to be based on the slightly more than 300 words that Ivanov had included in his communication without copying the Tangut original. Unfortunately, Ivanov had made several serious mistakes in his reading of the Chang-chung-chu. First of all, most likely as a consequence of the undeveloped state of Chinese historical phonology at that time, Ivanov had the Chinese phonetic

symbols transcribed in the Peking dialect of the nineteenth century, when these symbols reflected twelfth-century Chinese as spoken in the northwest. Second, as some of the Chinese phonetic transcription of a Tangut character was made by two Chinese characters, Ivanov assumed a disyllabic reading. Finally, and rather incredibly, Ivanov read the characters from left to right instead of the correct right to left. Ivanov's errors were not discovered until nearly eighteen years later.

The most important study in Tangut linguistics, still considered as such today, was published in 1916 by Berthold Laufer. This study compared the Chinese phonetic transcription of Tangut with Lolo and Moso and concluded that these languages were closely related. The main consequence of Laufer's work was the classification of the Tangut language into the Sino-Tibetan linguistic group where, rightly or wrongly, it has remained ever since.

It is surprising that Laufer's study has remained unchallenged until now, especially since its basic premises were faulty. Indeed, Laufer used the wordlist published by Ivanov but criticized Ivanov's use of the Peking dialect for transcribing the glosses of the Chang-chung-chu, but he did not notice Ivanov's erroneous reading. Laufer proceeded to transcribe the same glosses read in a similar manner in the contemporary "Northern Mandarin" dialect. Furthermore,

he started from the premise that Tangut had to be a Sino-Tibetan language because of the origins of the Tang-hsiang people. In proceeding in this manner, Laufer ignored not only the history of the Tangut people but also the historical evolution of the Chinese language. In addition to the errors made by Ivanov, Laufer added an important one of his own. He tacitly dismissed the pronunciation difference between twelfth- and twentieth-century Chinese and thus compared a language of the twelfth century with Lolo and Moso using only nineteenth-century phonological information.¹⁵

The Tangut phonological documents that have come down to us can be dated somewhere between 1130 and 1198. When the probable history of the Tangut language is taken into consideration, it is clear that the Chinese phonetic glosses of the Chang-chung-chu have to be reconstructed in accordance with Lo Ch'ang-pei's study of tenth-century northwestern Chinese,¹⁶ at least until adequate twelfth-century Chinese material can be used. Laufer cannot be blamed for ignoring

¹⁵Laufer used only western language sources whose methodology and scientific rigor leave much to be desired.

¹⁶Lo Ch'ang-pei, T'ang Wu-tai hsi-pei fan yin, Shanghai, 1933.

Lo's study, as it was published in 1933. What is surprising is that after its publication, no researchers examined the consequences of this work for the linguistic classification and the phonological reconstruction of Tangut.

The errors of Ivanov and Laufer, and the study of Lo Ch'ang-peï are not the only elements that argue in favor of a re-examination of the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis. The study of Hsi Hsia history provides us with a substantial number of personal names, clan names and Hsi Hsia official titles, all of which have been written down in a Chinese transcription. The Chinese transcription system for Tibetan and Turkic is known and there are small but important differences between them, for example the rendering of -l or -r. Tangut names or titles, when reconstructed along the principles used for Tibetan transcription not only requires important modifications of the transcription rules but also results in names which, from the viewpoint of Tibetan linguistics, are essentially unacceptable. If, on the other hand, the system of transcription for Turkic is used in combination with Lo Ch'ang-peï's study, the reconstruction of almost all names is remarkably easy and yields names which, from the viewpoint of Altaic linguistics, are entirely rational and possible.

Philological Studies: The Second Phase

The first phase in Tangut studies extends from approximately 1908 until 1925. Its main characteristics were the scarcity of Tangut materials and the very limited scope of research conducted. In contrast, the second period is characterized by the availability of a large corpus of materials and by an interest in nearly all aspects of philological studies. The period extends from 1926 until the late 1930's when, first, the Sino-Japanese War, then World War II and, finally, political upheavals of the immediate post-war years prevented nearly all research, as most of the documents needed were located in China and in the U.S.S.R. During this period, two scholars stand out, namely N.A. Nevskii, a Russian scholar who began his work in Japan, and Wang Ch'ing-ju, a member of the Academia Sinica in Peking.¹⁷

The Kozlov discoveries in Qaraqoto led to a search for Tangut materials in the archives of the National Library in Peking. Buddhist material was discovered, including texts in Tangut of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, in ten chapters, and the *Mahāmayurividyārajñī*. The text of these two sutras, together with a few other studies, were published by Wang Ch'ing-ju

¹⁷Wang Ch'ing-ju was, apparently, still active in the 1970's. See Bibliography, item no. 359. A biographical sketch of Nevskii was published recently, Bibliography, item no. 069.

in three volumes entitled Hsi Hsia yen-chiu, as special numbers of the Bulletin of the Academia Sinica. The facsimile of the Tangut versions was accompanied by a Chinese and a Tibetan version of the same sutra.

The principal value of Wang Ch'ing-ju's work consists in having made available the texts. He only undertook a study of the Mahāmayurividyārajñī; a study which permitted an important expansion of the known Tangut lexicography. As to the Suvarṇaprabhāsa, he contented himself to publish the three texts without commentary or analysis. M. Sofronov is in error when he calls the Chinese and Tibetan texts parallel to the Tangut.¹⁸ In spite of its numerous shortcomings, the work of Wang Ch'ing-ju should remain an important starting point for renewed studies in grammar and lexicography.

The most outstanding figure during this period, and the most influential figure in Tangut studies until the present, was Nikolai Alexandrovič Nevskii (1892-1945).¹⁹ Nevskii devoted most of his scholarly work to the phonetic reconstruction of the Tangut language and the creation of a Tangut dictionary. From 1912 to 1929, Nevskii worked in Japan,

¹⁸M.S. Sofronov, Grammatika Tangutskogo Yazyka, Moscow, 1968, p. 22.

¹⁹The date of his death is the one put forth by his biographers, L.L. Gromkovskaya and E.I. Kyčanov.

where he began and developed his interests in Tangut philology. In 1929, he returned to Leningrad where he worked until around 1936 at the Institut Vostokovedeniya.

Nevskii's first work in Tangut philology was published in Osaka in 1926 with the title "A Brief Manual of Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions." This was a study of Tangut characters with an attempted reconstruction of their phonological value based on Tibetan transcriptions which Ivanov had given him a few years earlier. Nevskii's study is the only source of information of these Tibetan transcriptions. As has already been pointed out by P. Pelliot in his review of this work,²⁰ it is extremely regrettable that no facsimile of these transcriptions were given. According to Nevskii, these transcriptions were in a very legible script unlike the fragment reproduced in Aurel Stein's Innermost Asia. In the posthumous published work of N.A. Nevskii, these fragments have not been included and although it is stated that they are in the Nevskii archives, it has proven impossible to examine them.²¹ Consequently, until they become available, this work by Nevskii should be treated with extreme care.

²⁰Bibliography, item no. 279.

²¹This work and the problems it raises will be discussed in a forthcoming article.

Nevskii's major contribution to the field, however, was his work on Tangut dictionaries, an enterprise begun in 1928 and which he might have brought to completion if his work had not been prematurely interrupted. He published the first descriptive analysis of the T'ung-yin and the Wen-hai in the Festschrift for Kano Kyōju.²² This article was based on notes he took when he met Ivanov in Peking, in 1925, when the latter was attached to the Russian embassy there. Nevskii continued his studies using the original documents after his return to Leningrad. The dictionary he compiled as a tool for the phonetic reconstruction of the language remained incomplete and in manuscript form. It did not become available to scholars until its posthumous publication, after Nevskii's rehabilitation, in 1960.²³

Wang Ch'ing-ju and N.A. Nevskii were not the only scholars active during this period. In China, Lo Fu-ch'eng was active in editing Tangut materials. In Japan, Ishihama Juntarō was engaged in the study of materials collected in Japan and, although he did not publish extensively, he laid the foundation for present-day scholarship in that country. In Europe, only Sir Gerard Clauson had an active interest. During the 1930's he compiled a dictionary of the language. This work remains in manuscript form and is stored in the library of

²²Bibliography, item no. 231.

²³Bibliography, item no. 243.

the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

Philological Studies: The Present

Tangut studies resumed in the early 1950's when Nishida Tatsuo began his studies with Ishihama Juntarō. The material at their disposal, however, was too limited for an attempt at a complete phonetic reconstruction of the language. Thus, Nishida devoted most of his efforts to a grammatical and semantical analysis. These results were published in 1961,²⁴ and had been preceded by several articles in which Nishida outlined his methodology. The most important of these articles was a study of Tangut numerals, published both in Japanese and English.²⁵

The inaccessibility of the large Tangut collection in Leningrad hampered any serious progress in the field. At the beginning of the 1960's, however, this situation was to change drastically. In 1960, at the initiative of the academician N.I. Konrad, Nevskii's work done while he was in Leningrad was published in two volumes entitled Tangutskaya Filologiya. The principal consequence of this posthumous publication was that it made Nevskii's draft dictionary available and that, therefore, a serious effort at the phonetic reconstruction of the language could be undertaken. At the same time, a group

²⁴Bibliography, item no. 251.

²⁵Bibliography, items nos. 249, 250.

of researchers at the Institut Vostokovedeniya in Leningrad began a detailed examination of the Institute's Tangut holdings and, in 1963, finally published a catalogue. Not only was a catalogue published, but the material itself was made accessible to scholars throughout the world.

The ready availability of material in Tangut led to a dramatic increase in studies devoted to the language and to the formation of two principal centers of research, one in the U.S.S.R. and one in Japan. In the U.S.S.R. most research activity is concentrated in Leningrad where the material is housed. There, the two principal investigators are B.K. Kepping whose major interest is grammar, and E.I. Kyčanov whose principal activity is concentrated in Tangut history and law. Research is also done in Moscow by M.V. Sofronov, whose primary interests are phonology and grammar. In Japan, the center for research is Kyoto where Nishida Tatsuo continues his phonological and grammatical investigations, Hashimoto Mantarō conducts investigations in comparative linguistics and Okazaki Seirō in Tangut history. Outside of these two countries very little work has been and is being conducted. For a while research was conducted only by Eric Grinstead, first in Great Britain and presently in Denmark. In 1976, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, research was begun in the United States.

The first scholar to use the materials contained in the draft dictionary of N.A. Nevskii was Hashimoto Mantarō who, in 1962, published a reconstruction of Tangut phonetics. Hashimoto's work, although an important advance, suffered from the drawback that he did not outline his methodology. The most important progress in the phonetic reconstruction was accomplished nearly simultaneously in Japan and in the U.S.S.R. In the latter country. E.I. Kyčanov and M.V. Sofronov collaborated and published their research results in 1963 under the title Issledovaniye po fonetika tangutskogo. Their work was based on two assumptions, namely that the internal and external sources for a reconstruction describe one and the same state of the Tangut language, and, second, that the Chinese and the Tibetan transcriptions render one and the same temporal and areal status.²⁶ In 1964, Nishida Tatsuo published his Seikago no kenkyū nearly entirely devoted to the phonetic reconstruction of the work. There are major differences between these two phonetic reconstructions, differences that have yet to be examined.

Whereas phonological studies of the language have progressed considerably since the first attempts made by Ivanov and Morisse, the study of the grammar as well as

²⁶M.V. Sofronov, Grammatika Tangutskogo Yazyka, pp. 30-31.

the compilation of a usable dictionary still present serious difficulties. In his Seikago no kenkyū, Nishida Tatsuo provides a bare outline of a grammar. Familiarity with it does not really facilitate access to the material. M.V. Sofronov, in 1968, published a two volume work entitled Grammatika Tangutskogo Yazyka. The first volume is devoted to the phonetic reconstruction of the language whereas the second volume provides an outline of the grammar that is a substantial improvement over Nishida's. Since 1969, substantial progress has been made in this area through the work of K.B. Kepping, one of the researchers in Leningrad. Her grammatical study of the Tangut translation of Sun Tzu's Art of War, soon to be published, will provide the first real examination of Tangut grammatical problems.

The period under review is characterized not only by an increase in scholarly studies devoted to the language but also, and possibly more important in the long run, by the massive publication of facsimile of Tangut texts. This publication effort is carried out primarily in the U.S.S.R. and, to a more limited degree, in Japan. The first major publication took place in 1966 when, under the editorship of V.S. Kolokolov and E.I. Kyčanov, Tangut translations of the Lun-yü, the Meng-tzu and the Hsiao ching were published;²⁷ a publication that included an unknown commentary in Tangut, to the Meng-tzu. Three years later, the Tangut

²⁷Bibliography, item no. 123.

research group in Leningrad published a study and a facsimile of the Wen-hai.²⁸ The year before, M.V. Sofronov had published the T'ung-yin in the second volume of his grammar. Thus the scholarly world was provided with direct access to the major texts for the study of the language. Since then, several more texts have been published and it is expected that this publication effort will continue.²⁹

In Japan, publication of material is much more limited, primarily as a result of the limited amount of texts known to exist there. The primary force behind the effort is Nishida Tatsuo who, most recently, published a facsimile of a Tangut translation of the Avatamsaka.³⁰ A few years earlier, in his Seikago no kenkyū he published the text of the Kan-ying tower inscription as well as the Fan-han ho-chung chang-chung-chu. These two publications are not facsimile, however, and the Chang-chung-chu in particular suffers from omissions and rearrangements so that the use of it is very limited. In 1971, E. Grinstead published a large collection of Buddhist texts in a massive nine volumes under the misleading title The Tangut Tripitaka.

²⁸ Bibliography, item no. 120.

²⁹ In a private communication with the authors while in Leningrad during the summer of 1977, E.I. Kyčanov mentioned that the next planned work was a facsimile publication of the Tangut law code with a critical study of the contents. It is also planned that K.B. Kepping's study of Sun Tzu will include a facsimile.

³⁰ Bibliography, item 261.

This collection will be a major source for all studies undertaken outside the U.S.S.R. Indeed, it is reproduction, without acknowledgement and reference to the catalogue, of the material stored in Leningrad. Finally, in the last two years, publication of small fragments of non-Buddhist material has begun in the People's Republic of China, an effort which is expected to continue.³¹

With the work of Kepping, Kyčanov, Nishida and Sofronov, the study of the Tangut language has moved well beyond the stage of initial exploration. The massive publication effort will certainly lead it into a stage of mature development.

³¹Bibliography, item no. 175.

Historical Studies

In contrast to Tangut philological studies, the study of Tangut history began during the Ming dynasty and was continued through the Ch'ing dynasty until the present. The studies made during this period, however, are traditional Chinese compilations of references to Hsi Hsia in other Chinese sources. Most contemporary research is still based on these compilations, thus on secondary source materials. The early Chinese compilations have been accepted at face value and no effort has been made, until quite recently, to examine the primary sources themselves. Furthermore, as none of these compilations have been subjected to serious historical criticism, studies based upon them reflect the anti-foreign bias of Chinese compilers.

Unlike the situation in Tangut philology, the discoveries at the beginning of the twentieth century did not lead to an increased interest in Tangut or Hsi Hsia history. The primary Chinese sources, for example Li Tao's Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien,³² were not re-examined and the role of the Tangut state in East and Inner Asian history remained uninvestigated. This in spite of the fact that there are abundant indications in the history of the Northern Sung that the Tangut state

³² Chekiang shu-chü, 1881 ed. A 1974 Taiwan reprint contains the missing chapters taken from the Yung-lo ta-tien.

played a role at least as important as the Ch'i-tan state.

Although the Tangut, or Hsi Hsia state, is often mentioned in many works dealing with China and with the conquest dynasties in particular, until very recently only O. Franke, in his Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, devoted more than a paragraph to it.³³ It was not until 1968 that the first monograph dealing exclusively with the Tangut state was published, namely by E.I. Kyčanov entitled Očerk Istorii Tangutskogo Gosudarstva, an expansion of his 1960 Leningrad dissertation Gosudarstvo Si Sya (982-1227g). Kycanov's work is, in essence, a detailed outline of the state's history based on traditional Chinese compilations. He deviates from Chinese historiography by beginning the Tangut imperial period in 982, the beginning of Li Chi-ch'ien's so-called rebellion. A second monograph, also using very few primary sources, entitled Tangūto kodaishi kenkyū by Okazaki Seirō was published in 1971. Okazaki follows traditional Chinese historiography and accordingly begins the imperial period in 1032. His work deals with the so-called pre-dynastic period, especially the reigns of Li Chi-ch'ien (982-1003/4) and Li Te-ming (1004-1032) and provides a

³³O. Hucker in his excellent introduction to Chinese history, China's Imperial Past. An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture, Stanford, 1975 devotes but a few lines to it. L. Kwanten, Imperial Nomads, has two subchapters devoted to the state.

history of the Ho-hsi region. These two works are the only monographs available and they represent a pioneering effort.

The research that has been carried out since clearly indicates the need for more detailed and specialized studies of Hsi Hsia itself and of its relations with the Chinese, the Tibetans, Uighurs, Ch'i-tan and Jürčēn. The existence of the state had serious consequences for the internal and external policies of the Northern Sung.³⁴ Contrary to the commonly accepted interpretations, they were the most serious threat to the stability of the area until the rise of the Mongols. The contemporary Chinese material is abundant and can provide an acceptable base for the study of Tangut history until such times as the Tangut material itself can be used. The real problem confronting a historian is not the scarcity of sources but the great number of issues that need investigation before a full understanding of the Tangut state and its importance can be reached.

³⁴On this topic, L. Kwanten, Chio-ssu-lo (997-1065). A Tibetan Ally of Northern Sung, Rocznik Orientalistyczny, vol. 39, 1977, pp. 97-106; L. Kwanten, The Role of the Tangut State in China's Relations with Inner Asia, Acta Orientalia, vol. 38, 1978, pp. 189-196.

THE FUTURE OF TANGUT (HSI HSIA) STUDIES

Fifteen years ago, Sir Gerard Clauson, under an identical title, provided an evaluation of the state of the field and its future needs.¹ Although progress has been made in many areas since its publication, the need for a re-evaluation of priorities has to be made, especially since all progress has been made primarily in the area of phonetic reconstruction. This evaluation of research priorities and needs does not intend to be exhaustive but merely indicative of the work that remains to be done or that needs to be begun.

Tangut Philological Studies

A. Grammatical Studies

At present, the greatest need is for a detailed study of the grammatical structure of the language. Presently, only two serious grammatical sketches are available, namely those by M.V. Sofronov and by Nishida Tatsuo. To these brief outlines can be added the articles by B.K. Kepping. These works, however, present but an unorganized attempt to come to grips with the language, a piecemeal patchwork that may hide the more important problems that need to be dealt with.

¹Bibliography, item no. 038.

No detailed or systematic study of the grammar of the Tangut language has been undertaken as yet, let alone published. In the past, Tangut studies have concerned themselves primarily with comparative studies of Buddhist texts, but the characteristics of the Tangut language proper have not yet been examined in any detail. Moreover, the methodology used in whatever research that has been conducted is inadequate to come to a full and practical understanding of the language. Studies have been limited to either translations of Buddhist texts or phonological works. No attempts have been made to test the obtained results on Chinese historical texts translated into Tangut or on historical and economical texts originally written in Tangut.

The few studies that have been conducted reflect the idiosyncracies of the original languages from which the texts were translated. Tangut material can, however, be classified into three major categories: first, canonical texts, whether Buddhist or Confucian, most of which have been translated from Chinese; second, non-canonical Buddhist texts using a less formal style and apparently translated from Chinese or Uighur.² In this category have been placed those historical and administrative texts that were translated from Chinese.

²No indications of translations from Tibetan have been correctly identified up to now.

Third are those texts written originally in Tangut without a foreign model.

Any serious research on Tangut grammar will have to follow a method that will incorporate all three categories. Such a method will provide a fuller and better understanding of the grammar than has been possible so far and will be useful to a larger number of scholars than has been the case until now when it was primarily limited to Buddhologists.

As an example, a prepositional sentence taken from the Avatamsaka, chapter 41 will be discussed; the full stanza has been published by Nishida Tatsuo.³ However, Nishida analyzed only the first part of the sentence and not the second part which is the more interesting one. The sentence clearly shows the questions that must be raised in order to bring a grammatical study of the language to a successful conclusion. It also raises some interesting lexicographical questions.

The sentence runs as follows:

Chinese: chiao shih sui wu meng chung ching chieh

覺 時 雖 無 夢 中 境 界

Tangut: ha bi-tiy ziy mley dgu bie kiu khie meŋ

³Nishida Tatsuo, Seikago no kenkyū, p. 563.

Translation: Being conscious at the time, although no longer within the realm of dreams.

This sentence can be broken down into two parts, a temporal and a concessive clause.

a) The temporal clause:

Chinese: 覺時
 chiao shih
 Tangut: 勝 寐 核 該
 ha bi-ti zi

In order to make this a temporal clause, Tangut appears to require the prefix 勝.

b) The concessive clause:

Chinese: 雖無夢中境界
 sui wu meng chung ching chieh
 Tangut: 辦 解 詛 虜 變 翁
 mie dgu bie kiu khie me

In this clause too, the construction is quite different from the Chinese. Before deciding, however, that this particular structure is a proper Tangut structure, the following research needs to be conducted:

- 1) Locate the corresponding sentence in a Tibetan version of the Avatamsaka and make a grammatical analysis. This analysis will reveal whether or not this particular structure has been influenced by Tibetan.

- 2) Locate an identical structure in a Chinese non-Buddhist text which has been translated into Tangut. Locate the corresponding Tangut sentence and analyze. This approach is used to ascertain whether or not this particular structure has been developed solely to translate Buddhist text or whether it was also used to translate other Chinese texts.
- 3) On the basis of the conclusions reached in 1 and 2, locate this structure in original Tangut material and analyze.
- 4) Finally, as it is known that Tangut may have been influenced by other languages like, for example, Uighur and Ch'i-tan, study this structure in related Altaic languages and compare with Tangut. It is only thereafter that a final conclusion can be drawn.

This particular sentence also demonstrates the need to investigate the function of two Tangut words, namely ha 𐰇𐰏 and khie 𐰇𐰏. In each case, the question that needs to be answered is twofold. First, when and under what circumstances are these words used; second, what is the place of the word in the sentence structure in each specific case?

The prefix ha 𐰇𐰏 does not seem to have a Chinese equivalent whereas the word khie 𐰇𐰏 appears to be the equivalent of the Chinese sui 隹. In literary Chinese, sui 隹 occurs not only by itself but also in such combinations sui ... tse 隹 ... 則. Examples must be taken from other Chinese texts,

the corresponding passages located in the Tangut translations and their structures analyzed. This combined with a verification in original Tangut will indicate the proper function of khie ^{みみ} 久久 .

The examination of Buddhist texts can only be one phase of the proper study of the language. Indeed, the existing Buddhist texts use but a limited number of so-called grammatical particles. The character count of a Tangut and a Chinese Buddhist text gives an almost identical result. On the other hand, the character count in a non-Buddhist text indicates that the Tangut uses a substantially higher number of characters. As an example, part of paragraph 2 of chapter XI of the Analects can be cited.⁴

Chinese: 子曰從我於陳蔡者

Tzu ylleh ts'ung wo yll Ch'en Ts'ai che

Tangut: No yu Tsh'en Tshel ndo ga ja mbu **

難 辨 疑 正 崩 疑 難 辨 序

Translation: The Master said: Of those who went with me to Ch'en and Ts'ai ...

⁴James Legge, The Four Books, p. 138.

Here in order to express the same syntactical structure as the Chinese, the Tangut has to add the word mbu 張. The exact function of this word is not clear at present. Does it form a grammatical unit with the word ** thus 張序 and does this unit have a function similar to the Chinese che 者, or does it conjugate the pronoun ja 誰 or is ja-mbu 誰張 a particular grammatical form affecting the verb ga 能?

B. Lexicographical and Phonological Studies

It is within the area of phonology and lexicography, broadly interpreted, that knowledge of the Tangut language has progressed the most. The publication of the Wen-hai, Nevskii's dictionary notes have allowed Sofronov and Nishida to make a hypothetical reconstruction of Tangut sounds. However, as a result of absence of communication between scholars, the publication of their work has created new complications for the field. Differences in transcriptions necessitate the tedious task of establishing a concordance between the Sofronov and the Nishida reconstructions; a task made all the more difficult as neither scholar uses the same classification system for Tangut characters.

As an example of the differences in the transcriptions, the same sentence as above from the Analects will be used.

Tangut:	𐰚	𐰛	𐰜	𐰝	𐰞	𐰟	𐰠	𐰡	𐰢
Nishida:	nɔh	ɣhuh	tshɪʃ	tshe	na	ɣhah	ɟah	mbɪuh	mɛ
Sofronov:	no	ngwu	tshen	tshei	ndo	nga	'a	mbu	**

One of the first tasks in the area of phonological research is a comparative examination of the reconstruction made both by Nishida and Sofronov. At the same time, the linguistic affiliation as well as the monosyllabic pronunciation of the Tangut characters need to be re-examined. The errors made by B. Laufer in his T'oung Pao article, which is the basis of the Sino-Tibetan affiliation, have been pointed out earlier.

Other than the problems raised by the existing phonetic reconstruction of the Tangut language, there are several basic flaws in the analysis of the script. These flaws are a consequence of an attachment to a Sinitic model. First of all, there is the a priori assumption that the language is a Sino-Tibetan one and that, to a very large degree, the Tangut characters have the same nature as Chinese characters. Second, there is the basic assumption that each Tangut character has a single meaning and a single pronunciation.

There is no justifiable reason to treat Tangut characters as Chinese characters, i.e. composed of a phonetic and a morphemic element. Without considering the dual pronunciation of characters in Japanese, one should examine the case of

two other "ideographic" writing systems in existence at that time, namely Ch'i-tan and Jürčēn. Because of the close political and cultural relations between the Ch'i-tan and the Tangut, the Ch'i-tan script had, most likely, an important influence on the Tangut script. As not much is known about it, however, it cannot be considered here. Because of the relations between the Jürčēn and the Ming dynasty, the Hua-i i-yü contains a Jürčēn - Chinese glossary and from this it cannot be determined, without a Chinese phonetic transcription, how a Jürčēn character, much less intricate than a Tangut character, is pronounced.⁵ A few examples are given below.

<u>Jürčēn</u>	<u>Chinese Phonetic Transcription</u>	<u>Translation</u>
吞宅	阿卜哈以	* abkai heaven
月	必阿	* biya moon
五	順扎	* šunja five

It is rather surprising that this approach to the analysis of Tangut characters is so categorically rejected by Nishida. He states: "In the first place, whereas the system of Ch'i-tan characters may be presented to be a mixture of phonetic and semantic elements, the Hsi Hsia words are entirely semantic and do not contain a mixture of phonetic elements." Nishida furthermore implies that the linguistic structure of

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The most recent study of the language is, Gisaburo N. Kiyose, A Study of the Jurchen Language and Script. Reconstruction and Decipherment, Kyoto, 1977.

both languages is entirely different. His statements, however, are not supported by his own evidence.⁶ Nishida's own example:

Ch'i-tan: 主 王	emperor, 主 王 为	of the emperor
Tangut: 𐞑𐞑𐞑	emperor, 𐞑𐞑𐞑 𐞑𐞑	of the emperor.

Both Ch'i-tan and Tangut form the genitive by the addition of one character. The difference seems to consist in the fact that in Ch'i-tan, the character "appears" to be incorporated into the structure of the character affected whereas in Tangut it stands more apart. Nishida's implication that Ch'i-tan is phonetic and Tangut is not appears unfounded as both languages use the same structure to express the genitive.

Although the Tangut character 𐞑𐞑 translates the Chinese chih 之, it does have only one of its functions, namely the formation of the simple genitive. Its function, however, compares to the genitive in classical Mongol since, when appended to the verb "to be", the function of the verb becomes "to have."

As is shown by nearly all Tangut texts, and the Analects will again be cited, Tangut characters can have a purely phonetic function. Characters used for names such as Yen Hui, Yen Lu and for a title such as ta fu are purely phonetic and in order to come close to the Chinese sound, one has to make what can be called a Turkic reconstruction.

⁶Nishida Tatsuo, Seikago no kenkyū, p. 542.









<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Tangut</u>	<u>Sofronov</u>	<u>Nishida</u>	<u>Kwanten</u>
顏淵	𗵑𗵒𗵓	tsie- .ie	-na - ?	gĥn-xai
顏路	𗵑𗵒𗵓	tsie- lu	-na - lu	gĥn-ly
大夫	𗵑𗵒𗵓	thai- xu	? - ?	Ŷai-pu

It is clear from the above that serious questions can be raised with regards to the present phonetic reconstruction of Tangut. These problems are further complicated by the fact that the "rhymes" of the Wen-hai are consistently read from left to right whereas all other parts of the text are read correctly from right to left. This reading of the rhymes is the only manner in which they can be fused into a monosyllabic unit and, hence, made to fit into the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis. Finally, many transcriptions from Sanskrit also argue against the monosyllabic interpretation. Quite frequently, Tangut uses fewer characters than Chinese when transcribing a Sanskrit name or term.

The problems with the phonetic reconstruction of Tangut are not the most serious ones that have to be dealt with. The most serious obstacle to research is the absence of adequate dictionaries for translation. Nevskii's dictionary contains but few definitions of the words listed. The only ones that do so at present are the More Pis'men and Nishida Tatsuo's work.⁷ These existing dictionaries present the researcher

⁷Bibliography, items nos. 120, 255.

with two specific problems: first, a great amount of inaccuracy in the definitions given and, second, a haphazard classification of Tangut characters.

It is not possible to enter into the details of the erroneous definitions contained in the existing dictionaries. Most frequently the meaning they give is not attested by the existing texts. The word  is defined in Nishida as haberu  and by the More Pis'men as the name of a family. Neither meaning is attested while the attested meaning is . The word  is defined as  but attested as , whereas  is attested in the form of .

The works of Nevskii, Sofronov, Nishida and the More Pis'men function as finding lists for Tangut characters. None of them, however, use the same principles of classification. More Pis'men and Sofronov use as the theoretical basis for their classification the system devised by I.M. Ošanin for his Chinese - Russian dictionary.⁸ More Pis'men, however, classifies the characters from the right whereas Sofronov does so from the left. Nishida basically follows the traditional Chinese system of determining radicals and classifying by radical from left to right. Nevskii follows the same principle but is much less systematic than Nishida.

⁸I.M. Ošanin, Kitaisko - Ruskii slovar', Moscow, 1955.
 The principles are explained on pp. 8-10.

When a comparison is made between the indexes of these finding lists, a remarkable difference is immediately obvious. Nishida's index has 329 radicals, Nevskii's 408, Sofronov's 369 and the More Pis'men has 1064. This variation points not only to the different criteria used in selecting radicals but also to the time-consuming effort needed to locate a character in any list. Moreover, even though the Tangut script is based, in essence, on a Chinese model, none of the works lists the characters under each radical by stroke count. Thus, to give a hypothetical example, a word with a radical 204 and a stroke count of 8 can be preceded by a word with the same radical and a stroke count of 15.

Consequently, it is a very tedious task to locate the same word in each of the finding lists. For example, the word ma ~~𐰇𐰏~~ "mother" requires a decision between three different radicals in Sofronov, namely 0209 ~~𐰇~~, 0220 ~~𐰏~~ and 0237 ~~𐰏~~. The character can be found under no. 0245, thus radical 0237. In Nishida, the character is no. 018-088 located under radical 018 ~~𐰏~~. In Nevskii, it is in vol. 2, p. 200 under the key ~~𐰏~~. In the More Pis'men it is character no. 734 located under key 11.3.0, i.e. ~~𐰏~~. Only the existence of E. Grinstead's telecode makes it possible not to have to locate the More Pis'men key for the word.⁹

⁹Bibliography, item no. 066. It does contain some errors. |

C. Research Priorities

The most urgent task for future philological research is the compilation of a dictionary in which the meanings given for the characters are attested by the known texts. Research on the dictionary compilation should go hand in hand with work of a grammar of the language.¹⁰ These works are needed if ever Tangut material is to be used in scholarly research.

Somewhat less urgent is a re-examination of the phonetic reconstruction. The hypothesis used until now has permitted a phonetic reconstruction but it is clear that it is not entirely satisfactory. Some of the basic assumptions of this hypothesis are in error. It appears that a hypothesis based on an "Altaic" interpretation is more likely to lead to positive results.

Historical Studies

Although E.I. Kyčanov and Okazaki Seirō have provided us with monographic introductions to the history of the Hsi Hsia state, much basic research needs to be undertaken before more than an outline will be available. Until philological research

¹⁰With support from the National Endowment of the Humanities, this research is presently being carried out by the authors.

makes material in Tangut accessible to the historian, the latter has to rely exclusively on Chinese materials. Consequently, most of the research that will be possible will center on the political history of Hsi Hsia and, in particular, on Hsi Hsia's foreign relations.

The exclusive use of Chinese sources presents numerous specific problems but, in the case of Hsi Hsia, the difficulties presented by traditional Chinese historiography are compounded by the fact that, since the reign of Qubilai, the state's history has been relegated to historical obscurity. The most apparent reason for this was that the Mongols held the Tangut responsible for the death of Chinggis-khan.¹¹ This combined with a lack of interest on the part of later Chinese historians has resulted in a situation where the basic work of determining primary sources in Chinese for Tangut history, by and large, remains to be done. The four chapters in the official dynastic histories, two in the Sung shih and one each in the Liao shih and the Chin shih, provide but little information.

¹¹ Luc Kwanten, Imperial Nomads, pp. 91-92.

Research Priorities

Too much research of a very basic nature still needs to be done. Two basic aspects of the history of the Hsi Hsia state, however, need attention before anything else. The first concerns the extent and the composition of the state. Indeed, unlike other so-called barbarian states, the state of Hsi Hsia was made up of a great variety of ethnic groups of which the Tangut were but one even though all Hsi Hsia rulers belonged to it. The second aspect is the nature of its relation with both the Sung and the Ch'i-tan and, concurrent with this, the importance of the Hsi Hsia state in Chinese and Ch'i-tan politics, both internal and external.

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