

ORIENTALIA VENETIANA

IV

TURFAN AND
TUN-HUANG
THE TEXTS

ENCOUNTER OF CIVILIZATIONS
ON THE SILK ROUTE

Edited by
ALFREDO CADONNA



FIRENZE
LEO S. OLSCHKI EDITORE
MCMXCII

TURFAN AND TUN-HUANG: THE TEXTS
ENCOUNTER OF CIVILIZATIONS ON THE SILK ROUTE

Proceedings of the International Conference
promoted and organized by the Istituto 'Venezia e L'Oriente
of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini,
the Istituto Italiano
per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO),
the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici
of the Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
With the collaboration of UNESCO
(Venice, 15-16 January 1990)

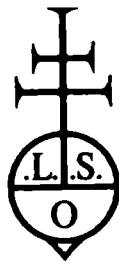
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Questo volume è stato pubblicato con il contributo
della Regione del Veneto

ISBN 88 222 3937 7

FOREWORD

The international congress on Turfan and Tun-huang: the Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route, organized in 1990 by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Istituto «Venezia e l'Oriente») in collaboration with the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente and the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples, represents the first of a series of international conferences devoted to different aspects of the various civilizations whose meeting places were the two caravan cities of Turfan and Tun-huang. Further elucidations may be found in the three inaugural addresses and Introduction at the beginning of the present volume. It may be added here that the conference was organized as an Associated Project in a ten-year project dedicated to the Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue, inaugurated by UNESCO in 1990.

The various contributions, with their inherent thematic divisions, are published in their order of presentation during the two-day conference. Janos Harmatta, who was unable to attend the conference, has contributed his study on the Origin of the Name Tun-huang, while Alfredo Cadonna's paper on Minor Collections and Forgeries of Tun-huang Manuscripts, presented in preliminary form during the final session of the conference, has been omitted. Other interesting additions are Margaret I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya's communication on the St Petersburg collection of Tun-huang manuscripts and the video-tape on Tun-huang studies prepared by the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples for teaching and research.

FOREWORD

In conclusion, I should like to join with the organizers and participants in the conference in expressing our deep regret on the death of Prof. Géza Uray and our happy memories of his important and lively contribution to the conference.

A. C.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

On behalf of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, which it is my honour to represent on the present occasion, I am happy to open this two-day conference dedicated to the two silk-road cities Turfan and Tun-huang and to the large, varied and highly significant documentation discovered there at the beginning of the present century – varied, as you know, in terms of their origin, nature and contents. I myself am quite unqualified to speak on these matters – the more so before a gathering of specialists of this kind, who I can only thank for having accepted the invitation of the Fondazione Cini, IsMEO and the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples to participate in this singularly interesting event. Before hearing Prof. Gallotta on behalf of the Director of the Department of Asiatic Studies of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Mr Diene for UNESCO (in his role as general coordinator of the Silk Roads project) and Prof. Gnoli, president of IsMEO, I should like to express my satisfaction for the fact that this conference, in a sense, represents the first in a coordinated programme of events and activities regarding the study of the silk roads, inaugurated this year by UNESCO. Prof. Lanciotti, Director of the Istituto «Venezia e l'Oriente» (itself one of the six research institutes which comprise the Fondazione Cini), who is momentarily indisposed and unable to attend the conference, asks me to convey his thanks and best wishes to all the participants; I am sure you will all join me in wishing him a speedy recovery. My thanks also to Prof. Marton of the Provincial Administration of Venice for his participation in the conference. And, above all, my warmest wishes to

you all for a pleasant stay in Venice and a rewarding and profitable meeting.

RENZO ZORZI
General Secretary
Fondazione Giorgio Cini

On behalf of the Department of Asiatic Studies of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, and its Director Giovanni D'Erme, momentarily indisposed, I would like to express my best wishes to all speakers and participants for a pleasant and profitable conference. The presence of the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples in the organization of this meeting, alongside the Fondazione Giorgio Cini and the Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, is in line with the Institute's policy of participation in important scientific initiatives both nationally and internationally. The choice of Venice as host city for a conference on the Silk Road cities of Turfan and Tun-huang has something of the flavour of nostalgic destiny: indeed, no other European city is so intimately connected with the East as the city of Marco Polo and the Fondaco dei Turchi. The present conference is by no means the first example of collaboration between the Istituto Universitario Orientale and the Fondazione Cini: I may remind participants of the second International Conference on Turkish Art, organized in the distant 1963 by Prof. Alessio Bombaci, then alone in Italy for his interest for the theme in question. Many of those present today will remember their contacts with this illustrious scholar.

Once again, my best wishes to you all for the success of this conference, whose results, I am sure, will fully bear out expectations.

ALDO GALLOTTA
Vice-Director
Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples

I would first like to thank Dr. Zorzi for having invited UNESCO to attend this important conference, whose very location in Venice is highly symbolic of the UNESCO «Silk-roads» project. The involvement of IsMEO is also, in a sense, symbolic: it was just two days ago in Islamabad that I became aware of the great respect in which Pakistan holds both IsMEO and Prof. Gnoli. The two cities named in the title of the conference – Turfan and Tun-huang – are of great scientific and historical importance for the «Silk-roads» project. The full title of this recently-launched UNESCO initiative, «Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue», contains three key-words which in my view explain very clearly its aims. First, this project is not one of public information or public relations, but is essentially a programme of scientific and intellectual «study». This is the reason why my presence here is so symbolic of the role of your meeting in the UNESCO project. The second key-word is «integral». The UNESCO project represents an attempt to bring together all the various specialists who for many years have been working in fields associated with the «silk-roads», with the aim of realizing collectively this «integral study». The third key-word is «dialogue»: the UNESCO project represents not only an intellectual or historical exercise but also – and this is its real challenge – an attempt to study past contacts, influences and relationships established by the «silk-roads» among the various peoples concerned, and help men today to rediscover and understand the profound links which history has established among them. UNESCO's mandate is, indeed, to promote peace through intellectual, scientific and cultural cooperation. I must say that the project has been supported very strongly; each of the countries concerned has established a national scientific committee with the aim of mobilizing its intellectual and cultural resources in favour of this project. What, in a way, makes the project original is that it is not conducted in the quiet rooms of Place de Fontenois, Paris, but in the form of expeditions along the principal silk-roads. These expeditions will provide an opportunity to reflect and study the various issues concerned; they will be organized around international seminars, with the participation of the foremost scholars

in their respective fields. Three expeditions have already been approved. One, in China, will start in two months: this will concentrate on the Desert route, beginning in Xi'an, historical starting point of the silk-road to Kashgar, and with a major international seminar in Urumqi. The title of the seminar may be found in the news-letter which I have distributed. There will be two scientific gatherings in Dunhuang. The second international seminar expedition will be on the Maritime route, which carried trade in silk and spices. This expedition will leave Venice on 23 October 1990, and will end in Osaka, Japan, in February 1991; there will be some ten or twenty international seminars during the expedition. The third expedition will be organized in the Soviet Union; this will retrace the Steppe route from Odessa to Urumqi, with several international seminars in key historical cities of central Asia. There will be further expeditions on the Buddhist route linking India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and China. Just three days ago in Islamabad, approval was obtained for an expedition on the so-called «Alpaic route», which links Mongolia to Korea and Japan. This, in a way, is what makes the seminars original. The international seminars will provide an opportunity not only for high-level study of the issues involved but also for contact with local scholars and discussion of common questions. Fundamental, too, is the project's aim of promoting the cultural heritage of each of the peoples concerned, with the purpose of understanding what traces history has left of the contacts established by the silk-roads and the cross-influences among the various peoples. Really, the ultimate goal of the project is to show that history is a common heritage. There are many ways to study history. One simple way, however, is to study what happened along certain roads through the movements of peoples from one point to another and try to understand the influences brought to bear over the vast Eurasian continent and their consequences in terms of modern customs. For all these reasons, this meeting was three days ago approved by the consultative committee in Islamabad as one of the key associated projects. I thank you for having invited UNESCO and myself to attend this meeting. I will convey to Mr Mayor,

Director General of UNESCO, the results of these two days of extremely interesting studies.

DOUDOU DIENE
General Coordinator
of the «Integral Study of
the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue»
project, UNESCO

INTRODUCTION

In collaboration with the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Orientale of Naples, the Giorgio Cini Foundation and Is-MEO agreed to promote and organize this conference in the belief that it would foster international scientific cooperation among researchers in different fields, e.g. sinologists, tibetologists, turkologists and iranianists, experts in different sectors of the Middle Iranian languages and literatures, ranging from Middle Persian and Manichaean Parthian to Sogdian and Khotanese, and also in different countries: from Hamburg, Berlin, Budapest, Leningrad, London, Paris and Philadelphia.

The title of the conference is accompanied by the secondary title 'Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route'. The idea behind this was to build an ideal bridge with the UNESCO 'La Route de la Soie' Project, which has so far run up against considerable organizational and, above all, scientific difficulty in Italy. In this way the Conference organizers have intended to show their UNESCO friends that it is possible to find, also in this country, suitable interlocutors for the purpose of implementing this important international project provided that the specific competences are rigorously respected. From this point of view I consider it particularly significant that Dr. Doudou Diene, General Coordinator of the UNESCO 'Route de la Soie' Project and Dr. Maria Teresa Rubin de Cervin, Italian Coordinator for the same Project here in Venice, have participated in our Conference. In welcoming them warmly I express the wish that our initiative may represent an important step towards effective future collaboration, for which IsMEO declares its willingness from the outset. Moreover, another

step has already been taken in this direction, namely the joint publication by Istituto Orientale di Napoli and IsMEO, with UNESCO Project participation, of the book by Dr. Deborah Klimburg-Salter of the University of Vienna in the series published by the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Orientale of Naples, *The Kingdom of Bāmiyān*.

However, there is also another international scientific initiative with which I think this Conference has a natural link. I am referring to the 'Collection of the sources for the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia' of the Hungarian Academy of Science, which has been carried out in collaboration with the International Academic Union and with UNESCO support, and therefore also to its international conferences and to the three books edited by Professor Janos Harmatta: *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* and *From Hecataeus to al-Ḥuwārizmī, Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sogdian, Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Arabic, Chinese, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, published in Budapest, the first two in 1979 and the third in 1984. All that I can say of the initiative of which Professor Harmatta has been the guiding light is what I have written in sincere admiration in «Orientalistische Literaturzeitung» in 1983 and 1984 (no. 78/6), columns 533-542 and no. 79 columns 285-289). We therefore deeply regret that previous work commitments have prevented Professor Harmatta from attending our Conference. I am therefore sure that I am interpreting the feelings of all those present when I express our best wishes to him and the hope that the initiative he has undertaken and led will grow and meet with further significant success.

Today's and tomorrow's Conference is one of the milestones attained in the now traditional cooperation between the Giorgio Cini Foundation and IsMEO. This cooperation is of long standing and was born out of the friendship and mutual esteem of the founders of the two institutions, Vittorio Cini and Giuseppe Tucci, although its form and expressions are quite recent. I shall mention only two: the international conference (16-18 November 1981) on

the topic 'Encounter of Religions in Asia between 3rd and 10th Century A.D.', the Proceedings of which were published by Leo S. Olschki of Florence in 1984, edited by Professor Lionello Lan-ciotti, and the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe (6-10 July 1987), organized by Professor Maurizio Taddei, the Proceedings of which IsMEO is about to publish in two volumes in its Rome Oriental Series LXVI 1 and 2.

In actual fact, the "Venezia e l'Oriente" Institute of the Giorgio Cini Foundation has always been a natural interlocutor of IsMEO. For an initiative such as the present Conference it also represents an ideal location, for at least two reasons: Venice's historical role between East and West and the presence, here in Venice, of an expanding body of Oriental studies, of which this Institute is no less eloquent an example than the University and its departments and institutes dedicated to Oriental studies.

For its part, IsMEO has for some time shown active interest in the field of studies embraced by this Conference. It was no chance event that, in December 1982, it asked Dr. Werner Sundermann of Berlin to make a survey of the state of the art in studies on the Iranian texts of Turfan starting from 1970. Our respected colleague, who is also a Corresponding Member of our Institute, did so with peerless competence, updating the contents of his contribution to «Journal Asiatique» (269, 1981, pp. 37-45) *Arbeiten an den iranischen Turfantexten*. Nor was it without any reason that IsMEO encouraged Dr. Enrico Morano, who is present today, in his studies on the Sogdian hymns of *Stellung Jesu*, supporting him in the reappraisal that, assisted by the extraordinary competence of Dr. Ilya Gershevitch of Cambridge, he has made of the two texts, translated from the Parthian, *Wāžan hasēnag* and *Pur karām*, which formed the kernel of the wellknown monograph of Ernst Waldschmidt and Wolfgang Lentz (*Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 4, Berlin 1926). Dr. Morano then published the results of this research in the Institute's journal as *The Sogdian Hymns of 'Stellung Jesu'*, «East and West», 32, 1982, pp. 9-43. However,

I believe there is no better proof of IsMEO's interest in this field of studies than the presence in this room of so many of its members, scholars of different ages who are active in the various Italian universities and institutions.

All that needs to be said as far as the participation of the Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici of the Istituto Orientale of Naples is concerned is that this Department is one of the most important university centres of Italian oriental studies at the present time.

The natural interest of the Istituto Orientale of Naples in this initiative of ours is displayed in a particularly significant way through the participation in our work of several young researchers who are following research doctoral courses in Iranian Studies at that University: Dr. Carlo Cereti, Dr. Mauro Maggi, Dr. Antonio Panaino. They enable us to present our initiative as a study seminar rather than a true conference which would have to be open to a wider public. What the organizers really had in mind was a seminar type model with a limited number of participants which would be more conducive to discussion among scholars from different branches and with different degrees of experience.

I hope that, in view of the possible future development of our initiative it will be necessary also to involve the international learned societies which might be more directly interested. Something of the kind has already been done: the *Societas Iranologica Europaea* has come forward and offered its auspices. It is represented here today by its President, Professor Philippe Gignoux of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* of Paris, whom I warmly welcome on behalf of us all. Also the European Association of Chinese Studies could also be officially contacted and informed of the results of our meeting and of any relevant proposals. The same is true for other international associations which gather together scholars interested in research concerning Turfan and Tun-huang. However, this is something which will of course have to be examined more closely.

Before concluding I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Giorgio Cini Foundation for its hospitality, and in particular to its President, the Rt. Hon. Bruno Visentini and its Secretary Gener-

INTRODUCTION

al, Dr. Renzo Zorzi, who has kindly offered to open our Conference. I should also like to thank the «Venezia e l'Oriente» Institute of the Foundation for its organizational efforts, in particular its Director, Professor Lionello Lanciotti and its Secretary, Professor Alfredo Cadonna, who kindly undertook the secretarial work of the Conference.

GERARDO GNOLI
President of IsMEO

TURFAN AND TUN-HUANG
THE TEXTS

LUCIANO PETECH

THE SILK ROAD, TURFAN AND TUN-HUANG
IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A.D.

The aim of this short historical introduction is to present a general outline of the complicated but fascinating history of the Silk Road *sensu stricto* in Central Asia, with particular attention to its easternmost section and to Turfan and Tun-huang, the two sites to which this meeting is dedicated.

The core of the former Chinese province of Hsin-chiang, now the Autonomous Region of the Uighurs, is essentially a huge bowl of sand surrounded on three sides by high mountains, but open towards the east to the Kansu corridor. This feature, as well as its position in the heart of the continent, between China and the Iranic world, have conditioned its economic and social structure. The means of life available to its inhabitants were limited to agriculture and above all trade. Agriculture, of a highly intensive kind, is possible only in very narrow areas, i.e. where the streams descending from the T'ien-shan to the north and from the K'un-lun to the south enter the desert, trying to reach the main river, the Tarim, but mostly losing themselves in the sands before reaching it. Their exits from the hills gave origin to two strings of oases, more frequent and prosperous to the north, less so in the south. Each oasis supports a town surrounded by a belt of fields and orchards but otherwise isolated, and thus destined by its very nature to become a city-state.

At this point the second life-giving element comes into the

picture: trade. Geographical conditions have designed two caravan routes, to the north and to the south of the desert, branching out at Kashgar and meeting again at Tun-huang. After the 4th-5th centuries the southern route lost much of its importance and was slowly abandoned, while in the north a variant was increasingly utilized, from Tun-huang to Hami and Turfan and then joining the earlier route at Karashahr.

The trade on the Silk Road (a name in common use nowadays) was conveyed mostly on horseback, but also on donkeys and mules, with the camel appearing later but gaining a wider utilization with the passing of time. The commodities carried were usually luxury goods of great value and limited bulk and weight. The staple export from China was silk and precious stones, but also linen, weapons and even some grain. From the west came object of arts, jade (of which Khotan was the foremost supplier) and, last but not least, the fine horses from Ferghana. The foreign mercantile communities in the towns immigrated at first from Northern India and Eastern Iran, with the Kushan empire in Bactria playing an important connecting role during the first two or three centuries of our era. The Indian traders settled everywhere, with a preference for the southern towns. In the north, beginning with the 2nd century and increasingly later, trade was mostly in the hands of the Sogdians, a people of born merchants and caravaneers. They formed thriving colonies in many cities, stretching as far as North China, even after their home country, now in Soviet Central Asia, was conquered by the Arabs and converted to Islam.

Along with the traders, mostly zealous proselitizers themselves, came the missionaries. The Indians and West Iranians brought with them Buddhism, which quickly gained general diffusion in Central Asia and from there penetrated into Northern China. The Sogdian merchants introduced Zoroastrianism, which never gained great popularity, and Christianity in its Nestorian form. A special case was Manichaeism, for which the Parthic language, already on the wane in its homeland, served at first as the language of literature and cult, to be replaced later by Uighuric Turkish. The Sogdians too helped in the diffusion of this religion.

The cities of the oases, seats of sophisticated material and artistic cultures, showed no linguistic uniformity. Till the early 11th century Indo-European languages prevailed. They were Khotani (or Khotanese Saka) to the south-west, and the so-called Tocharian with its two dialects at Kucha and Karashahr. But all the tongues of the foreign conquerors (Chinese, Tibetan, Uighur) and of the trading communities (North Indian Prakrit, Parthian, Sogdian) served at one time or the other as the medium of commercial, cultural and religious communications with foreign countries and between the cities themselves.

This highly colourful picture helps us to understand the vicissitudes of the country down to ca. 1000 A.D., an approximate date which shall form the limit of my account. A constant feature throughout is the passive role of the cities in front of repeated foreign invasions and/or dominations. Their wealth and their key positions as obligatory stages for the caravans traveling on the Silk Road attracted the attention of any powerful neighbour bent on establishing his control over the trade routes. On the other side, the relatively slender demographical strength of the towns, coupled with their incurable particularism, usually prevented them from offering a united front, or at least a concerted action against invaders; a Central Asian confederation was never formed. Central Asia was always an object and not a subject of political history.

The pressure from outside came from two different quarters. First there were the nomad confederacies in the long belt which paralleled Central Asia to the north. They interfered in the region with raiding parties looking out for plunder, but also with more or less important campaigns intending to establish their control on the caravan routes and to exact regular tribute from the towns. There was also that sort of petty trade, which was always going on between pastoral nomadic communities and agricultural sedentaries, being profitable for both parties. Theirs was a sort of vague overlordship, based on the acquiescence of the urban ruling classes, but usually avoiding actual military occupation of the cities.

This sort of dominance was seldom if ever opposed by active resistance from the local people. Eventually it was wiped out as

a consequence of the inner collapse of the nomadic confederations, or was challenged by the intervention of the great powers of Asia. The foremost role among the latter was played by the Chinese empire. Tibet too played a similar role during two centuries. Less important factors were the Arabs to the west and later the Tanguts to the east. Differently from the nomads, the aim of the foreign empires was the conquest of the cities and the establishment of garrisons and of administrative agencies, although they usually allowed the local rulers to maintain a limited power under imperial supervision. While the nomads kept outside the cities and exerted no deep cultural influence, the great powers, and chiefly China, through their generals and administrators made their impact felt in the cultural field, receiving in their turn manifold religious and artistic elements from Central Asia.

This overall picture changed at the end of the 9th century, when the foreign empires suffered an eclipse. This time the ensuing political vacuum was not filled by the vague and fluctuating suzerainty of nomadic chiefs, but by the immigration of new peoples, the Uighurs from the north-east and the Qarakhanid Turks from the west. The political formations they established were only partly derived from the outside and extended over several towns. This ushered in a comparatively swift replacement of the Indo-European languages by Turkic dialects and the more gradual Islamization of the region. It meant the end of the old order, as well as of the old cultures of Central Asia, replaced by new, different ones.

Having thus sketched the main lines of development in the Tarim basin during the first millennium of our era, I shall proceed to point out the main landmarks within this general frame.

The steppes to the north-east of Central Asia were occupied since early times by the Hsiung-nu tribes. At the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. they were knitted into a powerful nomadic state, which became a dangerous opponent to the Han dynasty of China and extended a loose paramountcy over Central Asia. Partly in order to find allies able and willing to work a diversion on the flank of the Hsiung-nu, and partly to get a supply of strong

horses for the imperial cavalry, in the late 2nd century B.C. the Han started a diplomatic and military drive toward the west. After half-a-century of fighting and intrigues, Hsiung-nu influence was ousted and China was able to consolidate its suzerainty over the city-states of the oases. It was formalized through the creation of the Protectorate General of the Western Countries in 59 B.C. Actually by that time the Chinese were already on the defensive.

Han paramountcy in Central Asia was of course conditioned by the internal events in the empire. The Hsiung-nu recovered their strength before and during the usurpation of Wang Mang, who vainly tried to keep them back. After his death the nomads were again masters in the Tarim basin.

The tables were turned on them by the single-handed effort of Pan Ch'ao, one of the foremost colonial officers in Chinese history, who after 72 A.D., with little or no support from his government, recovered Central Asia for the empire. The Hsiung-nu disappeared from the region and the Protectorate General was restored. The new Chinese domination did not meet its end through warlike events, but slowly waned during the long-drawn decay of the Later Han, becoming an empty name without real contents. In about the same period there was possibly a certain amount of political influence by the Kushan kings in the far west, i.e. in Kashgaria. Its very existence, however, has been called into doubt; this is one of the many problems in Central Asian history that await final solution.

About 200 A.D. the only link with China was represented by the brisk trading activities of the ubiquitous Sogdian merchants and by the constant flow of Buddhist missionaries. For obvious commercial reasons the city-states found it advisable to keep up their so-called tributary relations with the dynasties that ruled in Northern China during the 3rd century. The main purpose of their rather infrequent missions to the imperial court was to ensure normal conditions for the caravan trade.

This situation lasted for some centuries, being interrupted only by the campaign of general Lü Kuang (382/3), an isolated attempt by the Former Ch'in dynasty to recover the Chinese positions in

Central Asia. Although that dynasty collapsed immediately after and the Silk Road cities were abandoned at once, still the attempt left lasting traces at Turfan, as we are going to see presently.

In the 5th century Northern China, united under the Tabghach (Wei dynasty), was confronted with a new steppe kingdom, that of the Juan-juan, who for a while extended their dominance over most of the Tarim basin. A Tabghach expedition marching out in 448 exacted tribute from Kucha and Karashahr, but remained an isolated incident with no lasting consequences.

After ca. 500 the Hephthalites had built up a strong power in the steppes to the north-west of the T'ien-shan. Although their activity was turned mostly toward Eastern Iran, during the first half of the 6th century Kashgar and Khotan, and at times even some of the northern cities, seem to have been under their loose paramountcy.

As a whole, however, till about 565 the towns on the Silk Road remained undisturbed by the nomads and by China, whose conflicts were waged outside the Tarim basin. Things changed with the destruction of the Juan-juan by the Turks in 552. The latter immediately split into two khanates, Northern and Western. The Northern khanate had no direct contact with the Tarim basin. On the other side, the Western Turks were at times a power of pan-Asiatic size, extending its diplomatic relations as far as Byzantium and its long-range expeditions as far as the Crimea. Almost the whole of Central Asia came under their direct or indirect sway. Relations between the twin Turkish states were almost always strained and this offered to the experienced and shrewd Chinese diplomacy the possibility of playing the one against the other, usually seeking the alliance of the Western against the Northern Turks. Thus the Sui dynasty, after having unified the whole of China, was able, thanks to crafty manoeuvres and without employing armed force, to gain a precarious foothold on the eastern end of the Silk Road.

After the quick collapse of the Sui, partly due to heavy pressure from the Northern Turks, the new T'ang dynasty launched a decisive series of campaigns against both Turkish states. The

Northern khanate was destroyed and its territories annexed to the empire. At the same time the Western Turks were torn by internal feuds and their federation was split into two halves. Exploiting the favourable moment, the great emperor T'ai-tsung brought under his domination all the city-states as far as Kashgar (640-648). The Protectorate General of the Western countries was re-established, with its seat first at Turfan and then at Kucha. A few years later even the disjointed tribes of the Western Turks came for a while under Chinese control. The power of the T'ang empire was weakened by the successful rebellion of the Northern Turks, who in 683 resurrected their khanate. Central Asia, however, was not directly affected by this event, nor did the various elements of the old Western Turk federation, although regaining their independence, represent a serious threat. China's conflict of influence with the Arab Caliphate, starting at the end of the 7th century, was contested exclusively in western Central Asia and seldom threatened the Chinese hold on Kashgaria.

In the meantime a new factor in Central Asian politics appeared on the scene: the Tibetans. Their relations with China were at first friendly, being cemented by a marriage of their ruler (*btsan-po*) with an imperial princess. Then they turned to the worst and became critical after the Tibetans had destroyed the buffer state of the 'A-zha (T'u-yü-hun) in the Kukuror region. The sturdy mountaineers proved more than a match for the Chinese regulars. About 663 they seized Khotan and in 670 they conquered the rest of the Four Garrisons, i.e. Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Suyab (Tokmak; later replaced by Karashahr). These four cities represented the main military and administrative bases from which the imperial government had controlled the states of the Western Countries. This conquest was strengthened by a disastrous defeat inflicted on an imperial army at Ta-fei ch'uan south of the Kukuror. Almost the whole of Central Asia fell under Tibetan domination.

But T'ang China was still too vigorous for accepting the loss of control over the Silk Road. As soon as they perceived signs of weakening in their opponents, the Chinese re-established their rule over the Tarim basin through a series of fortunate campaigns (692-694).

The first half of the 8th century was unquestionably the culmination of T'ang power and prestige. Relations with Tibet remained hostile, being interrupted only by a short-lived peace in 730. It is interesting to note that Tibet aimed at turning the Chinese positions in Kashgaria by a drive toward the Western Himalaya and the Pamir. They even tried to extend their activity to the petty states of Transoxiana; but the natural obstacles to this far-flung policy were too serious. The only result was a series of desultory contacts (at first hostile) with the Arab governors of Khorasan. In the forties of the 8th century there was a military crisis in the Pamir, where the Chinese commanders wanted to keep open the trade route over the passes to Kashmir. This led to a daring Chinese campaign in the upper Indus valley (747); it was repeated six years later and caused a momentary weakening of the Tibetan hold in that region.

In the meantime a great shift of populations was on its way, or rather a dissolution and reformation of tribal confederacies, a characteristic feature of the history of the Northern Asian steppe belt. In 744 and the following years the last *qaghan* of the Northern Turks was defeated and killed and his kingdom disintegrated, being replaced by the Uighurs. At the same time the Qarluqs, another Turkish tribe, occupied the regions farther west previously ruled by the Western Turks.

All this did not at first concern Central Asia directly. But the sands were running out for the T'ang domination. In July 751 an imperial army was utterly routed on the banks of the Talas river by a Türgesh-Arab coalition, and this brought to an end Chinese attempts at intervening in Western Turkestan. The final crisis came when the great revolt of An Lu-shan broke out in North China at the end of 755. It lasted almost eight years, was repressed only with the dear-bought help of the Uighurs, and dealt to the empire a blow from which it never wholly recovered. The T'ang were compelled to withdraw their best troops from the Tibetan front to met the onslaught of the rebel armies. The Tibetans followed up toward the north-east, gaining easily terrain, their successes culminating with their temporary seizure of the imperial capital

Ch'ang-an late in 763. They occupied large slices of territory in western Shensi, thus cutting the communications with Central Asia through the Kansu corridor. Their advance in North China was finally stopped, and only then they turned backward, to reap the reward of their victories by the gradual occupation of the cities in western Kansu and in the oases of the Silk Road. They worked from east to west, starting with Liang-chou (764) and ending with Hami (781/2). This afforded a temporary respite to the last Chinese garrisons in Kashgaria.

By then China was practically out of the picture. The destiny of Central Asia was fought over between the Uighurs and the Tibetans around Beshbaliq (Pei-t'ing), to the north of the T'ien-shan (790/2), and then in the Tarim basin itself. During the following few years the Tibetans occupied Kucha and Khotan, thus becoming masters of most of the Tarim basin. Only Kashgar seems to have been seized by the Qarluq, although this is anything but certain. At a time the Tibetans were seriously engaged by the Arabs, but on the whole they remained paramount for about fifty years, with the exception perhaps of passing occupations of the northern oases by the Uighurs. The centre of the Tibetan domination in the west was the fortress of Mazar Tagh near Khotan, from where a resident-general with the title *nang rje po* controlled the administration of the local king. Other officials were stationed in some of the minor oases of the northern route, while the east end of the southern route was under direct military administration, with the fort of Miran as headquarters. The long struggle between China and Tibet, both of them exhausted by then, was finally brought to an end by the peace treaty of 822/3. It recognized the vast territorial gains of Tibet and lasted unbroken for twenty years.

In 840 the Uighur kingdom was overthrown by the Kirghiz. A part of the defeated fled south-west to settle around Kucha, Karashahr and Turfan, while the rest founded another small state in Kansu. Tibet was unable to react, as its monarchy had collapsed in 842 and civil war raged for several years. The Tarim basin, where Tibetan domination had considerably shrunk by then, was abandoned almost at once, Khotan being lost probably in 851,

and at the same time the Kansu cities rebelled or were recovered by the imperial troops. Tibetan domination disappeared, while throne pretendants and generals continued to battle hopelessly on the Kansu border, till the last of these adventurers was caught and executed in 866. And yet, the Tibetan language was still sometimes employed in the local administrations for many years more.

The hundred years or so after the disintegration of Tibetan rule are a rather obscure period. Kashgar and Yarkand were occupied by the Qarluq. In the middle of the 10th century both cities were under the rule of the Muslim Qarakhanid dynasty, possibly descendants of the Qarluq; they introduced in the country both Islam and the Turkish language. Khotan fell in their hands about 1006, and with this radical change of religion and language the old order passed away in Kashgaria.

After 840 Kucha and Karashahr seem to have acknowledged for a few years the purely nominal suzerainty of the T'ang, then they became incorporated in the Uighur kingdom of Qocho. The old religions (Buddhism and Nestorianism) continued to flourish, but here too Uighur replaced the old languages.

I have reserved for the end of my résumé the two cities on which the interest of our meeting is focussed. Both lay outside the Tarim basin and therefore their fate was often different from that of Central Asia. The oasis of Turfan, centered on a depression of 130 meters below sea level, with an extreme continental climate, was at first not touched by the earliest line of the Silk Road; soon, however, it became a knot point on the new route that joined the old one at Karashahr. Politically speaking, it first appeared in history as a double territorial unit, half to the north and half to the south of the Nan-shan, known to the Chinese under the names of Anterior and Posterior Chü-shih. Both Chü-shih were conquered by the Han in 89 B.C., but during the rest of that century they formed a bone of contention between Han and Hsiung-nu, being eventually abandoned to the latter. In 74 A.D. the twin kingdoms of Chü-shih were recovered by Pan Ch'ao and remained firmly in Chinese hands, representing for them the military gate to Central Asia. As was to be expected, during the long-protracted

agony of the Late Han dynasty the local ruler came to enjoy almost full independence. The capital was shifted afterwards to Kao-ch'ang (Turkish Qocho), about 42 km from the modern town of Turfan. In 324 the kingdom was conquered by the Western Chinese Former Liang dynasty and remained during forty years under their rule. After Lü Kuang's campaign (382) and the end of the Early Ch'in soon after, Turfan formed a part of the Northern Liang state until its destruction in 439 by the Tabghach. Three years later some Chinese refugees from Liang founded a new dynasty at Kao-ch'ang. It remained a Chinese colonial kingdom, wealthy through trade and with a mixed population of many languages, till in 640 it fell as the first victim of the T'ang conquest of Central Asia.

With the exception of a passing Turkish occupation (651-657) Turfan was strongly held by the T'ang army, being at first the headquarters of the Protector General of the Western Countries and later of a governor (*tu-tu fu*). The Uighur-Tibetan conflict around Pei-t'ing in 789/792 seems to have brought no final decision, and the position of Turfan between the two powers during the first decades of the 9th century is still a matter of debate.

When the western end of the Kansu corridor rebelled against the Tibetan authorities, Turfan in 851 came for some years under the rule of the Chinese commissioner of the Kuei-i army at Tun-huang. After the last Tibetan commanders were eliminated in 866/67, the Uighurs seized Turfan and made it the capital of their state under the name Qaraqocho. Apart from some indecisive clashes with the Tanguts, it led a peaceful life, at first in full independence, then under the overlordship of the Qara Khitai and lastly under that of the Mongols. The Uighurs, who had exchanged nomadism for agriculture and trade and Manichaeism for Buddhism and Christianity, represented an element of civilization and a source of able professional administrators for the whole of Northern Asia.

The history of Tun-huang again presents different aspects. It was a purely Chinese frontier town. Being the end point of the Silk Road, it was a commercial and military centre of notable importance. After the Han had acquired it from the Hsiung-nu, it

became the administrative and military headquarters of the Han limes guarding the gate of China against the nomads. After the fall of the Han it belonged to the Wei and Ch'in dynasties. When at the beginning of the 4th century the Hsiung-nu broke into North China, Tun-huang soon got rid of them and joined the other cities of the Kansu corridor in supporting the petty dynasties, all of them of non-Chinese origin, that ruled that region for more than a century under the general name of Liang. Life was not always easy under this period of local independence. When in 421 the ruler of Western Liang was defeated by Northern Liang, the city was his last refuge; it was beleaguered, had to surrender and its inhabitants were wholesale butchered. The regional autonomy was terminated by the Tabghach of Northern China, under whose rule the town recovered its commercial importance and became a busy trade centre frequented by people from the whole of Central Asia. After the Tabghach and their successor states, Tun-huang was integrated in the united China of the Sui and of the T'ang.

The Tibetans occupied most of the Tun-huang district (Sha-chou) in 781; the city itself fell to them six years later. The conditions of the local people and of the numerous and influential Buddhist community are fairly well known thanks to the documents and texts found in the famous Ch'ien-fo-tung or Mo-ka'o caves. In 848, immediately after the collapse of the Tibetan monarchy, the Chinese population of Tun-huang rebelled and tendered their allegiance to the T'ang. Their leader Chang I-ch'ao was appointed commissioner (*chieh-tu shih*) of the Kuei-i chün (Army returning to duty), centered upon Tun-huang. The Sha-chou district formed an isolated exclave, as after 866 direct communications with the imperial territory were impeded by the Uighur principality of Kan-chou. In the period of turmoil before and after the fall of the T'ang, this isolation prompted the commissioner of the Kuei-i chün to proclaim independence under the name of Hsi Han Chin-shan kingdom (905-915); but soon it was found convenient to return to the former status. Tun-huang renounced political ambitions and resumed her role as entrepot of the transit trade, the Buddhist church playing as ever a conspicuous economic role. The Kuei-i chün paid

tribute to the Sung dynasty, but also to the Ch'itan, and recognized even a sort of supremacy of the Uighurs of Kan-chou. It fell in 1035 under the domination of the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia), which lasted till the Mongol conquest. The Tangut invasion, however, was probably unconnected with the walling-up of the famous library, an event that turned out to be most fortunate for our studies.

The bibliography for the history and cultures of Central Asia is enormous and there would be no point in attempting to list even the major works; still more so in the case of a bird-eye survey like this. I merely subjoin the titles of some recent works that helped me in updating my account. They are:

K. ENOKI, *Tonkō no rekishi* (Kōza Tonkō, 2), Tokyo, 1980.

L. I. ČUGUEVSKIĪ, *Touen-houang du VIII^e au X^e siècle*, in M. Soymié (ed.), *Nouvelles contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, Geneva, 1981, pp. 1-56.

Ch. I. BECKWITH, *The Tibetan empire in Central Asia*, Princeton, 1987.

H.-J. KLIMKEIT, *Die Seidenstraßen*, Köln, 1988.

D. SINOR (ed.), *The Cambridge History of early Inner Asia*, Cambridge Un. Press, 1990.

JANOS HARMATTA

ORIGIN OF THE NAME TUN-HUANG

According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, the name of *Tun-huang*^a emerged at the end of the 2nd century B.C. when after the conquest of Kan-chou and Liang-chou the Chinese established there the command of Chiu-ch'üan which was subdivided into the command of Wu-wei, that of Chang-yeh and that of Tun-huang later in 111 B.C.¹ Formerly, the territory of the command Tun-huang belonged to the Yüeh-chih,² therefore the Chinese name probably represents some local toponym of Yüeh-chih origin.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that the name of the city appears in the form Θροάνα in Ptolemy (about 150 A.D.), Σηρικῆς θέσις, §. 6. This cannot be, of course, the Greek transcription of Archaic Chinese **twän-g'wâng* or of the Ancient Chinese form *tuän-γwâng* of *Tun-huang*³ but surely represents its barbarian prototype.

The occurrence of the name in the Sogdian «Ancient Letters», to be dated to the end of the 2nd century A.D.⁴, enables us to

¹ E. CHAVANNES, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, Oxford, 1913, p. v and note 5.

² G. HALOUN, *Zur Üe-tsi-Frage*, «Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft», 91, 1937, p. 258.

³ The reconstruction *tuän-hwan* by E. G. PULLEYBLANK, *The Consonantal System of Old Chinese*, «Asia Major», 9, 1962, pp. 66, 288, 290, represents a transitional form between *γwâng* and *huang*.

⁴ For the date of the «Ancient Letters» see Appendix.

determine more precisely its original form. The sender of Letter II writes: (22) 'HRZY MN (23) $\delta rw''n$ 't $kmzy$ [n] pr [mw] pr [''] = $\gamma t'y m n pr''\delta ty kynp w y n'k \delta \beta n'k$ (24) $t'pst$ «Then we went from Tun-huang ($\delta rw''n$) to Chin-ch'eng ($kmzyn$) to sell stuffs woven of hemp (and) blankets (carpets)». Afterwards, he speaks of the business activity, which extends from Chin-ch'eng up to Tun-huang (ZKZY MN k [m] [zyn] 't $\delta rw''n prmw$ 'skwtt). The form $\delta rw''n$ also occurs in Letter III^a (line 6), while later in the same letter (line 22) the name appears in the spelling $\delta rw'n$. The same form also occurs in Letter V two times (line 12 and 15). These Sogdian spellings can be interpreted as an Iranian form **Oruvan-* which may also be reflected by the Greek transcription $\Theta\rho\acute{o}\alpha\nu\alpha$ representing similarly a prototype **Oruvan-*. The form **Oruvan-* is derived with the suffix *-van*⁵ from the verb **θru-* 'to pile' (cf. Avestan *θrav-* 'aufschichten'⁶). Thus, the noun **Oruvan-* may have the meaning 'pile' in the sense of 'lofty mass building'.

The Greek transcription $\Theta\rho\acute{o}\alpha\nu\alpha$ of the Iranian form **Oruvan-* does not raise any phonological problem. The phonem *u/v* was missing in the Greek phonemic system, thus $\Theta\rho\acute{o}\alpha\nu\alpha$ was the most exact possible transcription of Iranian **Oruvan-*, omicron being generally used to represent a foreign *u* (cf. $\text{Ὀττοροχόρροι} = \text{Uttara-kuru-}$).

As concerns the Chinese transcription *Tun-huang*, Archaic Chinese **twan-g'wâng*, Ancient Chinese *tuân-γwâng*, it is a wellknown fact that Chinese final *-n* was used for the transcription of foreign final *-r* in the Han Age.⁷ Similarly, Chinese final *-ng* (= *v*) was broadly adopted to render foreign final *-n* (cf. *xun* ~ *hsiung*). Accordingly, the foreign prototype, to be restored on the basis of Ancient Chinese *tuân-γwâng* may be **Ourγvan* and **Oruyvan* respectively. It is only the question, whether Chinese *γw* (or *hw*) ren-

⁵ For the suffix *-van-* cfr. J. WACKERNAGEL, A. DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik*, Bd. II, 2. Die Nominalsuffixe, Göttingen, 1954, 894 foll.

⁶ *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 802.

⁷ P. PELLLOT, «Journal Asiatique», 222, 1934, 31 foll., «T'oung Pao», 32, 1933, p. 266.

dered Iranian *v* or some development of it. In any case, the possibility does exist to assume a development **Θuryvan* of Old Iranian **Θruvan-* in an Eastern Iranian language of Saka type (cf. Saka *thargga* < Old Iranian **θrak-*, and Eastern Iranian *gusura* < Old Iranian **vispuθra-*). The Greek and Sogdian forms speak, however, for a standard form **Θruvan* even as late as the end of the 2nd century A.D. on the one hand, and the Chinese initial *γu* was also used to render a foreign initial *v-* (cf. *Huo-lu*^b 'name of the capital of the Hephthalites', Ancient Chinese *yuât-luo*, North Western T'ang *yuât-luo* = **Varlva* = *Varva-liz*). Thus, it is not necessary to presume an Iranian prototype, different from **Θruvan-* for Chinese *Tun-huang*.

The Iranian term **Θruvan-* for 'great building, walled city' could possibly have been the source also for the name of Turfan.⁸ The latter is attested in Chinese as *T'u-lu-fan*^c (Ancient Chinese *t'uo-luo-p'iwθn*), in Uyyur as *Turpan* and in Khotan Saka in the spelling *tturpamnä*.⁹ From among the three forms, Chinese *T'u-lu-fan* and Khotan Saka *tturpamnä* are clearly transcriptions of Uyyur *Turpan*. Therefore the relation between Old Turkic *Turpan* and the Iranian form **Θruvan* should only be examined. The initial consonant cluster *θr-* in Old Turkic could not have been preserved, but it had to become **Θur-* by a svarabhakti vowel and being absent from Old Turkic phonemic system, *θ* was replaced by *t*. As regards the development *v > p*, there exists a dialectal alternation *v ~ β ~ b ~ p* in Old Turkic. Thus, the ethnic name *avar* appears in Old Turkic in the form *apar*. The same shift *v > p* took also place in the name **Turvan* > *Turpan*.

Accordingly, Old Turkic *Turpan* can be derived from the Iranian form **Θruvan* without difficulty. The toponym **Θruvan* may

⁸ E. G. PULLEYBLANCK, *Chinese and Indo-Europeans*, «Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society», 1966, p. 21, already suspected a connection between the toponyms *Tun-huang* and *Turfan*.

⁹ See the learned paper by V. H. MAIR, *Turfan and Tulufan. The Origins of the Old Chinese Names for Tibet and Turfan*, «Central & Inner Asian Studies», 4, 1990, 26 foll.

represent a trace of the ancient Iranian population of the Turfan basin which was partly replaced, partly Turkicized by the immigrating Turks. By the recent finds during the excavations at Kao-ch'ang (Qočo) of Chinese documents mentioning Turkic names, the presence of a Turkic population is reassuringly attested in the Turfan basin from the 5th century A.D. on.¹⁰ The name **Oruvan* may have been adopted by the first Turk immigrants in the form *Turpan* denoting a little settlement which did not play any important role until the 9th century A.D.

Appendix

THE DATE OF THE SOGDIAN «ANCIENT LETTERS»

The date of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» is a matter in dispute. Sir Aurel Stein put the writing of them roughly between 105 A.D. and the end of the 2nd century A.D.¹¹ Later, W. B. Henning proposed a novel theory according to which the «Ancient Letters» date from 313 A.D.¹² Thereafter, I made an attempt to prove that the events described in Letter II are better in harmony with the historical situation at the end of the 2nd century A.D.¹³ Recently, F. Grenet and N. Sims-Williams tried again to support

¹⁰ I. ECSEDY, *Ancient Turk (T'u-Chüeh) Burial Customs*, «Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae», 38, 1984, 263 foll.; J. HARMATTA, *Attila és hunjai*, 2 Budapest, 1986. Introduction, p. xvii.

¹¹ Sir AUREL STEIN, *Serindia*, II, Oxford, 1921, p. 673.

¹² W. B. HENNING, *The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies», 12, 1948, 601-615.

¹³ J. HARMATTA, *Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte der Seidenstrasse*, «Jb. f. Wirtschaftsgeschichte», 1971/II, pp. 135-143; J. HARMATTA, *The Archaeological Evidence for the Date of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters»*, «Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae», 24, 1976, pp. 71-86; J. HARMATTA, *Sogdian Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest, 1979, pp. 153-165.

the theory elaborated by Henning.¹⁴ In spite of their efforts, however, it seems to be beyond any doubt that the evidence of Letter II cannot be reconciled with the historical events of the beginnings of the 4th century A.D.

According to the text of Letter II, on account of famine the last Chinese Emperor fled from Lo-yang and his palace was burnt and the city was abandoned. Then came the Hsiung-nu and together with them the Chinese occupied Ch'ang-an and held the territory up to Yeh and up to Nan-yang. All essential elements of this report clearly reflect the historical situation of the years between 190 and 196, when Lo-yang was taken by a Chinese military group which was commanded among others by the general Sun Ch'ien, the father of Sun Ch'üan, the founder of the Wu Kingdom in Southern China. The last Han Emperor, Hsian-ti, succeeded, however, in escaping to Ch'ang-an where the real power was wielded by the general Tung-cho. The Hsiung-nu, settled in P'ing-yang at that very time (noticed also by Letter II line 16 *my x[w]n [ZK] ZY 'zyy myδ βγρwr xypδ wm't'nt* «these are those Huns who a little earlier became subjects of the Emperor»), took only part in the events after the assassination of Tung-cho, when according to the *Hou Han-shu* by the help of the Western Chu-ch'i Hsiung-nu prince, Ch'iu-pi and his Hsiung-nu troops Han-lo guarded the Emperor and protected Ch'ang-an against the generals Li-ch'üeh and Kuo-fan up to 196 A.D.

Contrary to this historical situation, in 311 A.D. the course of the events was entirely different. The Hsiung-nu king Liu Ts'ung already as Emperor of the Pei-Han dynasty took Lo-yang and captured the Chin Emperor Huai-ti who was led to P'ing-yang where he served as cup-bearer up to his execution in 313.

The discrepancy between the Sogdian report and the historical events of the years 311-313 is obvious and unsurmountable. To eliminate the apparent contradiction between the relation of Let-

¹⁴ FR. GRENET, N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, *The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters*, «Studia Iranica», Cahier 5, Paris, 1987, pp. 101-122.

ter II and the historical facts of 311, Grenet and Sims-Williams made the desperate attempt at referring to the fact that the Chin Emperor Huai-ti at first succeeded in leaving the city and was only captured in the pursuit. Contrary to their opinion, however, this historical detail far from removing the discrepancy between Letter II and the events of 311, does not even reduce it. The capture of Emperor Huai-tu could remain unknown only to the inhabitants left in the city and even to them only for short time. The sender of Letter II wrote, however, his report in Chin-ch'eng and several years later after the events. Accordingly, it is unimaginable that he would not have been informed of the capture of the Chinese Emperor, a sensational case, the news of which quickly spread throughout China.

Consequently, the dating of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» to the end of the 2nd century A.D. remains valid in the future, too, and thus these texts give evidence for the Iranian name **Oruvan* of Tun-huang from the end of the 2nd century A.D.¹⁵

CHINESE CHARACTERS

[a] 敦煌

[b] 浩路

[c] 土魯番

¹⁵ I shall discuss the date of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» in detail elsewhere.

PETER ZIEME

PROBLEME ALTTÜRKISCHER
VAJRACCHEDIKĀ-ÜBERSETZUNGEN

Ohne das Wort śūnyatā selbst zu enthalten, gehört das Vajracchedikāsūtra zu den ältesten Werken des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, die den Mittleren Weg vorbereitet haben. Die Sanskrit-Fassung, deren Entstehungszeit japanische Buddhisten in das 1. oder 2. Jh. u.Z. verlegen,¹ wurde im Jahre 402 von Kumārajīva ins Chinesische übertragen.² Dieses Datum ist das erste sichere für die Überlieferungskette dieses weit verbreiteten und beliebten Textes. Während die chotansakische Fassung bis auf die ausschmückende Versifizierung der Gāthā über die neun Vergleiche für die Dharmas³ und einige Auslassungen⁴ eng der Sanskrit-Vorlage folgt, war es gerade die etwas freiere Übertragung Kumārajīvas, die für den zentral- und ostasiatischen Raum, hier insbesondere Dunhuang und Turfan, ausschlaggebend wurde. Und dies, obwohl später etliche chinesische Übersetzungen folgten.⁵ Allein ein Blick

¹ Vgl. Sh. HANAYAMA, *A Summary of Various Research on the Prajñāpāramitā Literature by Japanese Scholars*, «Acta Asiatica», 10, 1966, 60 ff.

² T(*aishō shinshū daizōkyō*), 235, Bd. VIII.

³ R. E. EMMERICK, *The Concluding Verses of the Khotanese Vajracchedikā*, in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in honor of Edward Conze*, ed. by L. LANCASTER, L. O. GÓMEZ, Berkeley, 1977, 83-92.

⁴ E. CONZE, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, Tokyo, 1978, 61-62.

⁵ Vgl. HANAYAMA (s. Anm. 1), 75-76.

in die Kataloge chinesischer Handschriften aus Dunhuang⁶ und Turfan⁷ macht deutlich, daß Fragmente von Kumārajīvas Übersetzung solchen anderer chinesischer Fassungen um ein Vielfaches überlegen sind. Die Abhängigkeit der sogdischen Übertragung von Kumārajīvas chinesischer Version wurde von F. Weller gezeigt.⁸

Verschiedentlich ist bereits erwähnt worden, daß es auch alttürkische Vajracchedikā-Texte gebe,⁹ jedoch sind bisher noch keine veröffentlicht. Diese Feststellung ist allerdings in der Hinsicht zu modifizieren, daß ein das Sūtra enthaltender Text ediert wurde, und daß somit auch Abschnitte des Sūtras selbst bekannt wurden.¹⁰ Der Titel war seit langem bekannt, und zwar durch ein Zitat aus dem sogenannten Kšanti qilyuluq nom, einer alttürkischen Übersetzung des auf Veranlassung des Kaisers Wu^a der Liang^b-Dynastie kompilierten Textes über das Sündenbekennen.¹¹ Gegenüber der lapidaren Angabe Bo ruo^c,¹² d.i. Umschrift für Sanskrit *prajñā* als Grobbezeichnung für das Vajracchedikāsūtra,¹³ setzt der alttürkische Übersetzer den volleren Titel *kim-go-ki atly včračitak*

⁶ Vgl. M. I. VOROB'eva-DESJATOVSKAJA, I. S. GUREVIČ, L. N. MEN'ŠIKOV, V. S. SPIRIN, S. A. ŠKOLJAR, *Opisanie kitajskich rukopisej dun'chuanskogo fonda Instituta Narodov Azii*, vypusk 1, Moskva, 1963, vypusk 2, Moskva 1967; L. GILES, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London, 1937 usw.

⁷ G. SCHMITT, Th. THILO, in Zusammenarbeit mit T. INOKUCHI, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* Bd. 1, Berlin, 1975, Berliner Turfantexte VI, S. 39-46 (einige Fragmente mit Abschnittstiteln!); Th. THILO, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* Bd. 2, Berlin, 1985, Berliner Turfantexte XIV, S. 32-36.

⁸ F. WELLER, *Bemerkungen zur sogdischen Vajracchedikā*, «Acta Orientalia», 14, 1936, 112-146.

⁹ D. SINOR, *A középázsiai török buddhizmusról*, «Körösi Csoma Archivum» I. Ergänzungsband 1939, 371; CONZE (s. Anm. 4), 62.

¹⁰ G. HAZAI, P. ZIEME, *Fragmente der uigurischen Version des «Jin'gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu» nebst einem Anhang von T. Inokuchi*, Berliner Turfantexte I, Berlin, 1971.

¹¹ W. BANG, A. von GABAIN, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, «SPAW», 1931, S. 348 Anm. B 1.

¹² T. 1909, Bd. 49, 924 c 9-11.

¹³ HANAYAMA (s. Anm. 1), 56.

sudur, d.h. «Kimqoki genanntes Vajracchedikāsūtra» ein.¹⁴ Dabei handelt es sich, wie aus I. Warnkes Textedition hervorgeht, um ein Zitat aus dem 16. Abschnitt, in welchem von der Tilgung von Sünden aus früheren Existenzen die Rede ist, sofern man das Sūtra lehrt und bewahrt, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß man von anderen Erniedrigungen hinnehmen muß.¹⁵

Das soeben angesprochene Werk, das das Vajracchedikāsūtra enthält, ist der apokryphe Text *Liangchao Fu dashi song Jin'gangjing bing xu*^d.¹⁶ Nachweise dieses Textes gibt es, wie T. Inokuchi in seiner Studie gezeigt hat,¹⁷ nur aus Dunhuang und aus Turfan. Neben der chinesischen Fassung, die wohl kaum vor dem 9. Jh. entstanden sein dürfte und die dann im 10. Jh. sehr verbreitet war, existierten alttürkische Übersetzungen, die frühestens im 10. Jh., vermutlich jedoch später, vielleicht sogar noch in der Mongolenzeit angefertigt wurden. Seit der Edition der alttürkischen Fragmente¹⁸ sind weitere hinzugehörige Bruchstücke aufgetaucht. Diese nun machen es möglich, einige Probleme der Überlieferung dieses Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtras, wie ich von nun an dieses apokryphe Werk nennen werde, im Kontext der Vajracchedikātradition und der religiösen Praxis im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo in der Zeit des 10. bis zum 13. Jh. erneut zu erörtern.

Das Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra enthält in der chinesischen Fassung zu den 32 Abschnitten 54 Gāthās, deren Verteilung auf die Abschnitte ganz und gar unproportional ist, sie reicht von 0 bis 9 je Abschnitt.¹⁹ Ihr jeweiliger Inhalt deckt sich im großen und ganzen mit demjenigen der einzelnen Abschnitte, ja man kann sagen,

¹⁴ I. WARNKE, *Eine buddhistische Lehrschrift über das Bekennen der Sünden. Fragmente der uigurischen Version des Cibeī - daochang - chanfa*, unpubl. Dissertation, Berlin, 1978, Z. 764.

¹⁵ Zum Zusammenhang vgl. E. CONZE, *Vajracchedikā*, Rom, 1957, S. 80.

¹⁶ T. 2732, Bd. 85, 1-8 (nach einer Londoner Dunhuang-Handschrift).

¹⁷ BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 80-81.

¹⁸ BT I (s. Anm. 10).

¹⁹ BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 83.

daß praktisch der Prosatext des Vajracchedikāsūtras versifiziert wurde. Zugrunde gelegt ist übrigens der Prosatext der Übersetzung von Kumārajīva. Wie in der chin. Überlieferung, jedenfalls soweit sie uns bekannt ist, gibt es bei den Alttürken nicht nur Übersetzungen, die diesem chin. Text Wort für Wort folgen, sondern auch solche, die nur die Gāthās enthalten. Aus den Handschriften, die zu der einen oder zu der anderen Gruppe der Textgestaltung gehören, ergibt sich, daß die atü. Übertragungen offenbar (Sicherheit besteht nicht, weil alles ja nur fragmentarisch überliefert ist) insgesamt mehr Gāthās als das chin. Vorbild enthielten. Das ergibt sich daraus, daß, obwohl alle chin. Gāthās in der atü. Übersetzung vorliegen, zu einigen Abschnitten, wo im Chin. keine Verse stehen, solche vom atü. Übersetzer hinzugefügt wurden. Ob diese zusätzlichen Verse ebenfalls auf chin. Verfasser zurückgehen, läßt sich nicht genau sagen, doch kann man dies vermuten, weil ihre Struktur, selbst in der atü. Übertragung, mit derjenigen der sonstigen fünf-silbigen Verse recht genau übereinzustimmen scheint. Unklar bleibt bei dieser höher zu veranschlagenden Gāthāzahl deren Verhältnis zu der im Vorwort mitgeteilten Angabe von $49 + 5 = 54$ Gāthās.²⁰ In einem chin. Turfan-Text hat T. Inokuchi eine zusätzliche Zeile konstatiert, die vermutlich Verse, allerdings nicht fünf-, sondern siebensilbige enthielt. Daß Verse vorliegen, läßt sich allerdings nur daraus schlußfolgern, daß nach den sieben Zeichen des Zeilenanfangs eine Lücke besteht.²¹ Darauf folgen noch vier Zeichen, und die Zeile bricht ab.

Bevor ich auf einige Beispiele aus den zusätzlichen alttürkischen Versen zu sprechen komme, sei kurz eine fast zeilenidentische Parallelhandschrift zu der als Handschrift D veröffentlichten erwähnt. Während die Handschrift D aus Sängim in der Turfanoase stammt, kommt das Blatt der Parallelhandschrift aus Murtuq. Dem Sängimer Blatt 35²² entspricht Blatt 33 in der Murtuqer

²⁰ BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 85.

²¹ Ch/U 7288, vgl. BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 85.

²² BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 145-162.

Handschrift.²³ Auf dem Rand der Vorderseite befindet sich folgender bemerkenswerter Eintrag in vier chinesischen Zeichen: *hai hai hui bao*^e,²⁴ was vielleicht als 'mitgeteilt von Haihui' zu verstehen ist. Haihui könnte skr. Sāgaramati entsprechen. Ein Sāgaramati ist als Name eines indischen Śramaṇa bekannt,²⁵ doch sehe ich keine Gründe, diesen hier zu beanspruchen. Wahrscheinlicher handelt es sich um einen Uiguren, der seinen chinesischen Mönchs-namen eben mal in Chinesisch geschrieben hat. Es steht außer Frage, daß zahlreiche Uiguren jener Zeit zweisprachlich waren. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß eventuell ein chinesischer Mönch diesen alt-türkischen Text sich angesehen oder mitgeteilt haben könnte.

Zwischen den Gāthās 43²⁶ und 44²⁷ steht in der alttürkischen Nur-Gāthā-Version eine Versgruppe,²⁸ die keine Entsprechung im Chinesischen hat. Der erste Teil der Verse entspricht dem Prosa-Abschnitt 19 der Vajracchedikā, wo Buddha an Subhūti die Frage richtet, ob es Verdienst bringe, die Trisāhasramahāsāhasra-Welten mit den Saptaratna anzufüllen und den Tathāgatas als Spende darzubringen. Der zweite Teil dieser Gāthā ist von zwei Gedanken geprägt. 1) Selbst wenn man die Kleśas besiegt, wird man die Tathatā, im Alttürkischen: die wahre Wurzel, nicht durchdringen. 2) Wenn man den aus vier Pādas bestehenden Śloka als notwendig erachtet, bezeugt man die Buddhaschaft und vollendet die Leerheit (*śūnyatā*). Dazu ist zu bemerken, daß der erwähnte Śloka einer der beiden Ślokas sein muß, die in den Abschnitten 26 und 32 vorkommen. Die erste Ślokastelle im Abschnitt 26 besteht eigentlich aus zwei Ślokas, und Xuanzangs Kritik, daß in der alten Über-

²³ T III M 178 (U 3283).

²⁴ Das erste Zeichen, *hai*, ist doppelt geschrieben; das Zeichen *bao* ist sehr kursiv geschrieben.

²⁵ H. HACKMANN, J. NOBEL, *Erklärendes Wörterbuch zum chinesischen Buddhismus, Chinesisch-Sanskrit-Deutsch*, Leiden, 1951-1954, 213 a.

²⁶ T. 2732, Bd. 85, 7 a 5-8.

²⁷ T. 2732, Bd. 85, 7 a 24-27.

²⁸ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 164-172.

setzung von Kumārajīva von zwei Ślokas ein Śloka fehle,²⁹ bezieht sich wohl darauf.

Zum Abschnitt 21 findet sich nur im atü. Text eine Gāthā,³⁰ die den Kerngedanken dieses Abschnitts, daß es nämlich kein Lehren der Lehre durch den Buddha gebe (dharma-deśana namopala-bhyate)³¹ in variierenden Versen zum Ausdruck bringt:

Man kann nicht sagen, daß (Buddha) eine zu lehrende Lehre habe. / Die zu lehrende Lehre nun ist äußerst schwer zu ergründen. / Zu sagen: (Buddha) habe eine zu lehrende (Lehre) – dies alles ist Verleumden (des Buddha). / Auf dem Mittleren Weg, da muß man den Sinn ansiedeln und entstehen lassen.

Und ähnlich geht es auch im zweiten Teil des Śloka weiter.

Auch die Verse nach der Prosa des 22. Abschnitts beziehen sich ganz eindeutig auf den Inhalt desselben. Sie lassen sich wie folgt übersetzen:

Alle Buddhas erkennen die Erkenntnis durch ihre eigene Weisheit. / Das Wesen Buddhas ist ursprünglich ein Ding ohne Grund und Boden. / Wie sollte es etwas geben, das man durch Buddhaschaft erlangt? / Hat man die Buddhaschaft erlangt oder nicht – so muß man sagen.³²

Wenn auch diese Verse, wie gesagt, im wesentlichen mit dem Inhalt der Vajracchedikā übereinstimmen, so sind sie doch weit stärker und prononcierter und weisen in die Richtung des Chan-Buddhismus, auf den ich im Zusammenhang mit dem Vorwort noch zu sprechen komme. Die Handschrift B hat übrigens zum 1. Vers der oben zitierten Strophe eine beachtenswerte Variante:

Die Weisheit der Buddhas wissen die Buddhas als nichtexistent.³³

²⁹ T. 2053, Bd. 50, 259 a 23.

³⁰ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 182-190.

³¹ CONZE (s. Anm. 15), S. 53.

³² BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 191-201.

³³ Blatt 45 der Handschrift B (noch unpubliziert): *burxan-lar-ning bilgä biligin burxan-lar yoq bilir-lär.*

Auch zum 25. Abschnitt gibt es einen alttürkischen Šloka,³⁴ dessen Kerngedanke zum Inhalt der Prosa stimmt. Hier wird gesagt, daß der Tathāgata kein Wesen erlöst habe, denn das wäre ja ein Erfassen eines Selbstes. Und dazu der atü. Text:

Wegen der Lebewesen übt man sich in dem Wunsch, die Frucht zu erlangen. / Wenn die Frucht herangereift ist, wird sie von selbst voll und vollendet sich. / Wenn man mit dem Dharma-Schiff (den Strom) zu überqueren vermag, / was soll man dann für notwendig halten einen Menschen, der (es) zieht?

Der zweite Teil ist ein Vergleich mit einem Angler:

Das Sammeln des Sinnes ist zu vergleichen dem Wieder-Auswerfen des Schilfkorbcs durch einen Fische fangenden Menschen, nachdem er Fische gefangen hat. Wenn man sagt, daß der Wahrhaft-Gekommene (Tathāgata) hinübergelangen läßt, (so ist es nicht so, denn) von Beginn an sind hinübergelant mit dem Floß die Lebewesen.

Für die Abschnitte 27 bis 29 hat der chin. Text keine Gāthās, wohl aber der atü. je eine Gāthā für einen Abschnitt. Dem Kerngedanken des 27. Abschnitts, daß der Tathāgata die Erleuchtung nicht auf Grund ihn auszeichnender Merkmale erlangt habe, entsprechen folgende Verse.³⁵

Merkmale, die 'Merkmale' genannt werden, sind nicht Merkmale, die existieren. / Das Ausgestattetsein mit Merkmalen ist ein dharma, auf den man sich nicht stützen soll. / Aus den 'dharma' genannten Dharmas entsteht wieder ein lieblicher Dharma. / Die Wurzeln dessen, was 'leer' genannt wird, und der Leere sind eins, sie sind nicht verschieden.

Um die Bemerkungen zu den zusätzlichen Versen abzuschließen, erwähne ich noch den 29. Abschnitt, in welchem der Begriff 'Tathāgata' im Lichte der Weisheitslehre erläutert wird. Da die

³⁴ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 221-231.

³⁵ BT I (s. Anm 10) D 245-254. Zum zweiten Teil vgl. weiter unten.

entsprechenden atü. Verse³⁶ nicht ganz vollständig erhalten sind, verzichte ich darauf, sie hier zu zitieren. Jedenfalls legen die Verse genau so wie der Prosatext dar, daß es weder ein Kommen noch ein Gehen des Tathāgata gebe. Diese Argumentation findet sich sehr häufig in den Prajñāpāramitā-Texten.³⁷

Die Einteilung des Vajracchedikāsūtras in 32 Kapitel findet sich nicht im Sanskritoriginal. Diese und das Versehen mit Titeln gehen auf die Zeit um 530 u.Z. zurück.³⁸ Sie finden sich jedoch nur in Kumārajīvas Version und in dem von dieser abhängigen Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra. Aus den atü. Handschriften sind bisher nur die Titel für die Abschnitte 8, 9, 16, 17 und 32 bekannt. Im Zusammenhang mit den Abschnittstiteln möchte ich auf das folgende Bruchstück aus Murtoq aufmerksam machen. Auf einer Seite steht der folgende chin. Text: *Da sheng zheng zong fen di yi* (*Mahāyānasamyaksamādhi, erster Abschnitt*).³⁹ Zweifellos handelt es sich dabei um einen der Abschnittstitel, beachtenswert ist jedoch, daß es im Vajracchedikāsūtra der dritte Abschnitt ist, der so genannt wird. Wie diese Diskrepanz aufzuklären ist, weiß ich nicht. Es könnte sein, daß diese Notiz von einem Uiguren stammt, auf die Kenntnis des Chinesischen unter den Uiguren hatte ich ja schon hingewiesen. Auf der Rückseite desselben Fragments stehen drei atü. Zeilen, die ich in deutscher Übersetzung zitiere: «Verneigend verbeuge ich mich, ich, Mungsuz, vor dem Triratna. Ich verbeuge mich vor meinem Guru. Durch (diesen) Ausspruch mögen alle meine schlechten Taten gänzlich getilgt und vernichtet sein! Gewiß! Sävičük (und) Taz». ⁴⁰ Mungsuz ist als Name eines bedeutenden uig. Ministers unter Qubilai bekannt, doch dürfte es hier ein ande-

³⁶ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 266-277.

³⁷ Für die alttürkische Überlieferung vgl. Ş. TEKIN, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*, Budapest, 1980, Teil II, Z. 442 ff.

³⁸ CONZE (s. Anm. 4), 63.

³⁹ T III M 182 (U 5078) recto.

⁴⁰ T III M 182 (U 5078) verso.

rer Mungsuz sein, wenngleich als Abfassungszeit des Bruchstücks am ehesten die mongolische Periode in Frage kommt.

Im Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra folgen auf das pseudo-historische Vorwort, dieses quasi beendend, ein Gelöbniß und die Namen von acht Vajrapāṇis und vier großen Bodhisattvas.⁴¹ Die wenigen atü. Bruchstücke legen die Vermutung nahe, daß die Reihenfolge in einer atü. Fassung umgekehrt war, mit anderen Worten, daß das Gelöbniß praktisch den Abschluß des Vorwortes bildete. Das Gelöbniß dürfte, wie T. Inokuchi annimmt,⁴² älter als das Vorwort selbst sein. Im Katalog der Leningrader Dunhuang-Handschriften taucht das Gelöbniß sogar als selbständiger Text auf.⁴³ Mir sind bisher Reste von vier atü. Versionen des Gelöbnisses bekannt, deren Zusammengehörigkeit erst durch den eingehenden Vergleich deutlich geworden ist. Der chin. Text umfaßt nach der im Taishō Tripiṭaka abgedruckten Londoner Dunhuang-Handschrift 10 Verse à 5 Zeichen.⁴⁴

Die ersten vier Verse bilden einen geschlossenen Teil mit dem Bezug auf das Vajracchedikāsūtra:

In Verehrung vor den Verehrten der drei Regionen,
den zahllosen Buddhas der 10 Gegenden,
bringe ich jetzt das Gelöbniß dar
und halte mich an dieses Jin'gangjing.

Dieser Teil läßt sich in drei atü. Handschriften nachweisen. Entsprechend den atü. Gepflogenheiten sind die Verse auf Personen bezogen. So folgen auf 'ich' in zwei Fällen die Namen der Auftraggeber, einmal ein gewisser Buitso Šilavanti,⁴⁵ zum ande-

⁴¹ Vgl. M. SOYMIÉ, *Notes d'iconographie bouddhique - Des vidyārāja et vajradhara de Touen-Houang* -, «Cahiers d'Extrême Asie», 3, 1987, 9-26. Im Verständnis der Alttürken, soweit die Texte dies zeigen, sind die 'Vajras' eben Vajrapāṇis.

⁴² BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 79.

⁴³ *Opisanie* (s. Anm. 6), vypusk 1, Nr. 1356.

⁴⁴ T. 2732, Bd. 85, 1 b 7-11.

⁴⁵ T III M 115 (U 3204) recto Z. 3, Z. 8. Buitso ist ein chin. Name.

ren Arslan Qy-a und Qasar.⁴⁶ In der von L. Ju. Tuguševa edierten Leningrader Handschrift steht kein Name. Für «verehren» findet sich dort die Variante «glauben».⁴⁷ Wichtig erscheint mir nun die Wiedergabe des Titels *Jin'gangjing*. In der Leningrader Handschrift steht: *bo kimqoki sudurnung ävdimäsin*,⁴⁸ was ich wie folgt verstehe: «diese Sammlung des Kimqoki (= *Jin'gangjing* = *Vajracchedikā*) - Sūtras», Dagegen lautet der Titel in einer aus Murtuq stammenden Berliner Handschrift: *bo kimqo[kisudurnung...] t[äri]ng yorüglüg nom ärdinig*,⁴⁹ «dieses Kimqo[ki-Sūtras...] mit t[iefen] Deutungen versehene Lehrjuwel». Der Titel *kimqoki sudurnung ävdimäsi*, «Sammlung des Vajracchedikāsūtras», liegt in einer weiteren Berliner Handschrift vor, in der das Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra als besonders wirkungsvoll gepriesen wird, wenn es heißt:

«Wer diese eine Rolle (gemeint ist das Buch) rezitiert, der hat zugleich das Vajracchedikāsūtra 30 000 Mal rezitiert».⁵⁰

Aus den beiden Belegen kann geschlossen werden, daß im Atü. unter dem Titel *kimqoki sudurnung ävdimäsi* das Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra verstanden wurde.

Kommen wir nun zum zweiten Teil des Gelöbnisses, weiter führen nur drei der genannten vier atü. Handschriften. Der chin. Text kann wie folgt übersetzt werden:

Oben euch den viererlei Dank,
unten Befreiung aus den Leiden der drei Schlamme.
Alle, die sehen und hören können,
sollen hervorbringen den Bodhi-Sinn!

⁴⁶ T III TV 49.503 (U 3345) verso Z. 5.

⁴⁷ L. Ju. TUGUŠEVA, *Ujgurskaja rukopis' iz Sobraniija LO IVAN SSSR*, in *Pis'mennye pamjatniki Vostoka* 1969, Moskva 1972, S. 319 Z. 49.

⁴⁸ TUGUŠEVA (s. Anm. 47), S. 319 Z. 53.

⁴⁹ T III M 115 (U 3204) recto Z. 9 - verso Z. 1. Das Fragment T II S 32 a (U 1750), zur Handschrift F von BT I gehörig, hat: [...]γ tāring [...].

⁵⁰ T II 908 (U 4886) Z. 8-13. Vgl. GILES (s. Anm. 6), Nr. 1261!

Verlassen sie diesen einen Ratna-Körper,
werden sie gleichsam geboren im Land der Höchsten Freude.⁵¹

Mit den 'viererlei Gnaden' oder 'Dank' sind vier Gruppen gemeint, denen man Dank entgegenbringt. Nach der Zusammenstellung bei H. Nakamura gibt es vier Varianten: 1) Eltern - alle Wesen - Herrscher - Triratna, 2) Himmel und Erde - Lehrer - Herrscher - Eltern, 3) Himmel und Erde - Herrscher - Eltern - alle Wesen und 4) Herrscher - Eltern - Lehrer - *Dānapati*.⁵²

Ohne dies schon in meiner Edition bemerkt zu haben, ist der soeben besprochene Teil des Gelöbnisses vollständig eingebaut in den Anfang eines atü. Kolophons zu einer Sammlung von 12 buddhistischen Werken, zu denen auch die *Vajracchedikā* gehört.⁵³ Ich zitiere die deutsche Übersetzung dieses Teils, um zu demonstrieren, wie der atü. Verfasser den mageren chin. Text verdeutlichend und ausschmückend wiedergegeben hat:

Was oben betrifft, möchte ich Dankbarkeit darbringen den viererlei Dankbarkeit heischenden Guten. / Was unten betrifft, möchte ich Hoffnung und Zuflucht gegen die Leiden der auf den drei schlechten Wegen befindlichen Lebewesen sein. / Diejenigen, die sehen und hören (eine Variante⁵⁴ setzt hinzu: diese meine gute zum Nirvāṇa führende Lehre), / sollen alle den Bodhi-Sinn hervorbringen! / Wenn nun ihre Sambhogakörper sterben, / sollen sie allesamt im Sukhāvātī-Reich geboren werden!⁵⁵

Durch die Beifügung von Dhāraṇīs, die einen tantrischen Zug ankündigen, durch die Einfügung des Gelöbnisses mit seinem deut-

⁵¹ T. 2732, Bd. 85, 1 b 9-11.

⁵² H. NAKAMURA, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, Tokyo, 1975, 509 a-b.

⁵³ P. ZIEME, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berliner Turfan-
texte XIII, Berlin, 1985, Nr. 46.1.

⁵⁴ T III M 115 (U 3204) verso Z. 7-8.

⁵⁵ BT XIII (s. Anm. 53), 46.1.

lichen Hinweis auf das religiöse Ziel des Amitābha-Buddhismus, die Wiedergeburt in der Sukhāvātī nämlich, wengleich man auch letztere Vorstellung nach der Studie von G. Schopen⁵⁶ als Ausdruck einer verallgemeinerten Idee sehen kann, und schließlich durch die Hinzusetzung von Gāthās, die auf den Chan-Buddhismus weisen, hat dieser Vajracchedikā-Text in den buddhistischen Gemeinden von Dunhuang und Turfan eine große Rolle gespielt, die man vielleicht dahingehend werten darf, daß die Anhängerschaft des Meditationsbuddhismus besonders stark gewesen ist. Damit komme ich zu dem Problem, wer war Zhigong^g, der im Vorwort erwähnt wird. T. Inokuchi räumte ein, daß völlig unbekannt ist, wer Zhigong ist.⁵⁷

Bevor ich meinen Vorschlag zur Lösung dieses Problems unterbreite, verweise ich darauf, daß in einer der atü. Fassungen dieser Zhigong (dort: *čiqong*) nicht nur im Vorwort wie auch im Chin. erscheint, sondern auch in einer der zusätzlichen Strophen, und zwar in den auf den 27. Abschnitt bezüglichen Versen. Diese anlässlich der Erörterung des 27. Abschnitts ausgelassene Strophe hat folgenden Wortlaut, den ich hier nur in der deutschen Übersetzung zitiere.⁵⁸

Des Abgeschnittenwerdens und des Verlöschens wie auch des Nichtabgeschnittenwerdens und des Nichtverlöschens / tiefe Annahme muß man verstehen und einsehen. / In dem Maße, wie man den Gedanken vom Ego und von der Person vernichtet, / wird man sogleich wissen: das ist der Dhyāna-Meister Zhigong.

Aus dem letzten Vers erfahren wir, daß Zhigong die Titel *šinši* und *ačari* trug. Die Herkunft des atü. *ačari* aus skr. *ācārya* ist hinlänglich bekannt und eindeutig, anders steht es mit dem Titel *šinši*, für den ich den bisherigen Vorschlägen die Herkunft aus chin.

⁵⁶ G. SCHOPEN, *Sukhāvātī as a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature*, «Indo-Iranian Journal», 19, 1977, 177-210.

⁵⁷ BT I (s. Anm. 10), S. 80.

⁵⁸ BT I (s. Anm. 10), D 250-254. Ergänzungen nach der Hs. B.

chan shi^h 'Dhyāna-Meister' gegenübergestellt habe.⁵⁹ Der atü. Name Čiqong ist die phonetische Wiedergabe von chin. Zhigong^g, wo *gong*ⁱ ein Titel ist, der nicht nur weltlichen Personen, sondern auch Mönchen zukam.⁶⁰ Derselbe Zhigong ist auch von der berühmten Begegnung mit dem Kaiser Wu der Liang her bekannt, wie sie im ersten Kōan des *Biyānlü*^j erzählt wird.⁶¹ Nun liegt der Schluß nahe, den in diesen beiden Fällen Zhi^k geschriebenen Namen mit der gleichlautenden Silbe Zhi^l (unterschieden durch das linke Radikal!) gleichzusetzen, wie es u.a. auch B. Faure⁶² voraussetzt. Somit erscheint es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Zhigong eben der berühmte Baozhi^m (425-514) ist, der als Dhyāna-Meister neben dem gleichfalls berühmten Fu Dashiⁿ am Hofe des Kaisers Wu tätig war. In einer späten Hagiographie von Yu Zhi (1272-1348) ist nicht mehr bekannt, daß Zhugong^o (= Zhigong^p) und Baogong^q ein und dieselbe Person waren, denn bei Hinzufügung des Titels *gong*ⁱ entfällt eine der beiden Silben, aus denen in der Regel ein Mönchsname besteht (meist ist es aber die erste Silbe, so daß Zhigong die geläufigere Form gewesen ist).⁶³ Zhigong alias Baozhi gilt, wie E.T.C. Werner mitteilt,⁶⁴ als der 3. Patriarch des chinesischen Buddhismus. Seine Person lebt auch in der chinesischen Folklore weiter,⁶⁵ und es sei gestattet, hier einen Passus zu zitieren aus den Südannalen, wie ihn Liu Guanying in seiner Einleitung über einen chinesischen Eulenspiegel übersetzt hat:

Der Mönch Schi Bao dschi (d.i. unser Baozhi) wurde während der

⁵⁹ P. ZIEME, *Sur quelques titres et noms des bouddhistes turcs*, in *L'Asie Centrale et ses voisins. Influences réciproques*, éd. Rémy Dor, Paris, 1990, 131-139.

⁶⁰ HN (s. Anm. 25), 306 a.

⁶¹ T. 2003, Bd. 48, 140 a.

⁶² B. FAURE, «Revue bibliographique de Sinologie 1968-70», S. 281.

⁶³ Vg. H. SCHMIDT-GLINZER, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China*, Wiesbaden, 1982, S. 151.

⁶⁴ E. T. C. WERNER, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*, Shanghai, 1932, S. 70.

⁶⁵ T. MAKITA, *A Study of the Life of Pao-chih^m (425-514) As Viewed From the Folkloristic Standpoint*, «Tōhō gakuho», 26, 1956, 64-89, (in Japanisch).

Jahre Tai-shi (465-471) gesehen. Er war damals bereits 50 bis 60 Jahre alt. Seit dem Dynastienwechsel im Jahre 479 zeigte er einige Wundertaten. Er ließ sein Haar in langen Strähnen herabhängen und ging barfuß. Wortkarg und sonderbar war er. Bisweilen trug er einen Brokatrock. Er aß und trank wie ein gewöhnlicher Bürger. Dann und wann trug er unterwegs auf seiner Schulter einen Stock, an welchem Bronzespiegel, Schere und Rasiermesser angebunden waren. Bald verlangte er nach Fleisch und Wein, bald aß er tagelang überhaupt nichts. Er konnte weissagen und fremde Gedanken lesen. Auch war er imstande, zur selben Zeit an verschiedenen Orten zu erscheinen. Da er oft eine Mütze mit Fransen und einen Tuchrock trug, wurde er Herr Meister Dshi genannt. Er starb im 13. Jahr Tiän-dsiän (514), ohne krank gewesen zu sein.⁶⁶

Soweit die Legende über Baozhi. Die Berufung auf diesen Dhyāna-Priester in dem Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra ist ein deutlicher Hinweis auf das Eingebundensein dieses Textes in den Chan-Buddhismus. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, daß ich keinen Nachweis in frühen chin. Texten dafür gefunden habe, daß Baozhi bzw. Zhi-gong mit dem Titel *chanshi* versehen wird (bekannt ist nur die Nennung als *fashi*).⁶⁷ So könnte man vermuten, daß der atü. Übersetzer seinem potentiellen Leser eine möglichst umfassende Information vermitteln wollte.

Im Vorangegangenen habe ich erwähnt, daß es mehrere Übersetzungen des Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtras und vielleicht auch des Vajracchedikāsūtras selbst gegeben habe. Ich möchte diese Feststellung nunmehr an einem Beispiel demonstrieren. Ausgangspunkt dafür soll der Abschnitt 32 sein, dessen Höhepunkt der berühmte Śloka mit den neun Vergleichen für die *samskrta dharmāḥ* bildet. Die Lebensbeschreibung Xuanzangs überliefert ein Gespräch zwischen dem chinesischen Kaiser und dem Meister, warum es notwendig geworden sei, eine neue Übersetzung des Vajracchedikāsūtras anzufertigen. In seiner Argumentation führt Xuanzang u.a. auch an,

⁶⁶ *Der Heilige als Eulenspiegel. Zwölf Abenteuer eines Zenmeisters, aus dem Chinesischen von Liu Guan Ying*, Basel/Stuttgart, 1958, S. 6-7.

⁶⁷ S. MOCHIZUKI, *Bukkyō daijiten*, Tokyo, 1954-1958, (4600) in Bd. 5.

daß von den neun Vergleichen, in der atü. Übersetzung *yo.läšürüg* als Entsprechung von chin. *yu^s* 'Parabel', drei fehlen.⁶⁸

In der Nur-Gāthā-Version, die als Text D ediert ist,⁶⁹ sind die entsprechenden Zeilen unvollständig, und in der Ausgabe sind einige unkorrekte Ergänzungen vorgenommen worden. Aus diesem Grund führe ich zunächst eine Parallelhandschrift einer, wie zu zeigen ist, von jener verschiedenen Übersetzung an, die aber ebenfalls nur die Verse enthält. Hier zunächst die Umschrift dieses aus zwei Bruchstücken zusammengesetzten Textes:⁷⁰

(recto)

- 1 [.....]bodi[.....]
- 2 [.....]ar[.....]
- 3 [.....]līγ bl[.....]
4. [.....a]dīrtlīγ uqup yarayīnča [.....]
- 5 [.....]: vuu darni bitisär⁷¹
- 6⁷² alqu itiglig nomlar ärsär-lär qltī [tül täg]⁷³
- 7 yilvi kömän [t]äg köpik täg kö[ligä]
- 8 tæg salqīm [tæg] yaš[in] yruqī [tæg]
- 9 ymä ärür tip:
- 10 munčulayu körmiš k[rgäk:]

(verso) [.....].

- 1⁷⁴ inča qltī yultuz kö[k
- 2 bolar barča itiglig[igoqša]
- 3 -tīγī ol: a[qīγ]-l[i]γ bil[.....]l...s ..[avant]

⁶⁸ T. 2053, Bd. 50, 259 a 23-24. Atü. HtPar. 168 ZZ. 5-6.

⁶⁹ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 297-306.

⁷⁰ T II M (U 2675) + Ohne Fundortsignatur (U 3591).

⁷¹ In kleinerer Schrift. Atü *vuu* < chin. *fu¹*. Aus welchem Grund der Satz «wenn man die Amulett-Dhāraṇī schreibt» hier steht, ist mir nicht klar.

⁷² Diese Zeile ist in Rot geschrieben, erster Vers der Gāthā.

⁷⁴ Neben *alqu itiglig* steht in kleinerer roter Schrift *alqu utuy*.

- 4 -larīy tūš-lä[rīg]: kim sözlägäy ol[arnī]
 5 mängülüg ärür tip:
 6 [.....]ügi köpik-li salqim-li [...]
 7 [.....bulut]⁷⁵ köligä yašin [yruqī]
 8 [.....] ärdtükdä [.....]
 9 [.....]liy [.....]
 10 [.....]n [.....]

Die Unterschiede zwischen diesem Bruchstück und dem als Hs. D edierten Fragment gehen über handschriftliche Differenzen hinaus. Ganz deutlich wird dies aus der Entsprechung für chin. *guan*^u «*Vipaśyana; vidarśana*. To look into, study, examine, contemplate, insight (...) to consider illusion and discern illusion, or discern the seeming from the real; to contemplate and mentally enter into truth». ⁷⁶ In der Hs. D steht *bilmış kergäk* 'man muß wissen', ⁷⁷ hier dagegen *körmiş k[rgäk]* 'man m[uß] betrachten (ansehen)'. Interessant ist, daß in der sogdischen Übersetzung dieses Verses "p'y-" 'ansehen, betrachten, beobachten' steht, ⁷⁸ was wohl mit der hier vorgestellten atü. Variante übereinstimmt.

Die 9 Vergleiche des Sanskrit-Textes sind: *tārakā, timiram, dipa, māyā, avaśyāya, budbudam, supinam, vidyud* und *abbram*. Von diesen hat Kumārajīvas Übersetzung an 1. Stelle *meng*^v als Wiedergabe von skr. *supinam* 'Traum', in der Skr.-Liste an 7. Stelle. Es folgt an 2. Stelle *huan*^w für 4. skr. *māyā* 'Trug'. Der dritte Vergleich ist *pao*^x 'Wasserblase' für skr. 6. *budbudam*. An vierter Stelle folgt im Chin. *ying*^y, was einerseits 'Schatten', andererseits aber auch 'Abbild, Reflexion' bedeutet. E. Conze hat sich dafür

⁷⁴ Diese Zeile als erste der Gāthā in Rot geschrieben.

⁷⁵ Vielleicht ist der erhaltene Buchstabenrest als Abstrich des finalen -t zu deuten.

⁷⁶ W. E. SOOTHILL, L. HODOUS, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, 489 a.

⁷⁷ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 301.

⁷⁸ F. W. K. MÜLLER, W. LENTZ, *Soghdische Texte*, II, Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934, S. 547 Z. 5.

ausgesprochen, daß chin. *ying^y* nicht 'Schatten' bedeute, sondern eher 'pratibimba', 'reflected image'.⁷⁹ Dagegen spricht allerdings die Wiedergabe in der sogdischen wie auch in der alttürkischen Übersetzung durch 'Schatten'.⁸⁰ Ganz eindeutig folgt die atü. Reihenfolge der chin. Liste, so daß *köligä* 'Schatten' chin. *ying^y* entspricht, und dies ist auch die erste Bedeutung im Neuuigurischen.⁸¹

Man kann vermuten, daß chin. *ying^y* nun die Wiedergabe von skr. *māyā* 'Trugbild' ist, denn immerhin verzeichnet Wogihara die Gleichung skr. *māyā* = chin. *huan ying^z*.⁸² Andererseits fällt natürlich auf, daß in der chin. Liste ganz und gar ein Pendant für skr. *abhram* 'Wolke' fehlt. Die beiden letzten Glieder der Sechserreihe 'Tautropfen' und 'Blitz' entsprechen dem 6. und 8. Element der Neunerreihe. Im Anschluß an diese Gāthā aus dem Vajracchedikāsūtra Kumārajīvas steht im Fu-Text eine Gāthā, die alle neun Vergleiche einbezieht: 1. chin. *xing^{aa}* = atü. *yultuz* = skr. *tāra-kā*, 2. chin. *yi^{ab}* = atü. *kök⁸³* = skr. *timiram* '(Augen)trübung', 3. chin. *deng^{ac}* = atü. *yula* = skr. *dīpa* 'Lampe', 4. chin. *huan^w* = atü. (fehlt) = skr. *māyā* 'Trugbild', 5. chin. *pao^x* = atü. *köpik* = skr. *budbudam* 'Wassertropfen', 6. chin. *lu^{ad}* = atü. *salqim* = skr. *avaśyāya* 'Tautropfen',⁸⁴ 7. chin. *yun^{ac}* = atü. [*bulut*] = skr. *abhram* 'Wolke',⁸⁵ 8. chin. *ying^y* = atü. *köligä* 'Schatten' = ? skr. *supinam* 'Traum' (?) und 9. chin. *dian guang^{al}* = atü. *yašin [yruqi]* = skr. *vidyud* 'Blitzglanz'.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ CONZE *Vajracchedikā* (s. Anm. 15), S. 5 nebst Anm. 4.

⁸⁰ Sogd. *sy'kh*, atü. *köligä*.

⁸¹ *Hänzuqə-Uyğurqə Luğət*, Xinjiang həlk nəxriyati, 1974, 1022 a.

⁸² U. WOGIHARA, *The Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhist Technical Terms, Based on the Mahāvīyūtpatti*, Tokyo, 1959, 1033b.

⁸³ Vgl. G. CLAUSON, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, 710 a: *küg* 'freckle'. Die in BT I D 302 Anm. gegebene Interpretation ist aufzugeben.

⁸⁴ Im Sanskrit-Text ist die Reihenfolge: Tau - Wasserblase.

⁸⁵ Im Sanskrit-Text erst an 9. Stelle.

⁸⁶ Im Sanskrit-Text an 8. Stelle.

Schließlich möchte ich nun auf das Vajracchedikāsūtra selbst zu sprechen kommen. Es ist zu erwarten, daß auch hierfür als Vorlage am ehesten Kumārajīvas chin. Fassung in Frage kommt. Unter den noch unpublizierten Fragmenten der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung gibt es einige Reste von Handschriften und Blockdrucken, die Teilen des Vajracchedikāsūtras entsprechen. Nicht immer ist aber die Abgrenzung zum Fu-Vajracchedikāsūtra möglich, weil dieser Text ja ebenfalls den Sūtrastext enthält. Für eine mögliche Rekonstruktion einer atü. Fassung der Vajracchedikā muß man demzufolge auch die Handschriften und Blockdrucke des Fu-Textes berücksichtigen sowie auch Zitate in anderen Texten. Unter dieser Voraussetzung kann man den atü. Wortlaut für etwa die Hälfte des Sūtras zusammenstellen. Man muß ein solches Verfahren anwenden, solange nicht umfangreiche Handschriften von Vajracchedikā-Übersetzungen auftauchen. Zu erwähnen ist, daß bisher auch noch keine Kolophone bekannt sind, die Angaben über atü. Übersetzer u.ä. enthalten. Immerhin wird im Kolophon des Bodhidhvaja Śīla vom Jahre 1347 das Kimqoki als einer der 12 Texte erwähnt, die dieser drucken ließ.⁸⁷ Bei dem Blockdruck, der über eine Druckausgabe von sechs Sūtras, darunter auch der Vajracchedikā, berichtet, die im Hongfa-Kloster^{ag} der Stadt Zhongdu^{ah} im Jahre 1248(?) veranstaltet wurde,⁸⁸ ist nicht klar, ob die Texte in Chinesisch oder Alttürkisch verfaßt waren, denn bisher sind noch keine Textbruchstücke bekannt, die sich eindeutig diesem Druck zuordnen lassen. Bei der Beurteilung der atü. Vajracchedikā-Bruchstücke, ob sie aus dem Chin. oder aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt wurden, muß man also vom konkreten Textvergleich ausgehen. Der folgende Passus, den ein Blockdruck überliefert⁸⁹ und der dem 6. Abschnitt des Sūtras zuzuordnen ist, kann den Eindruck erwecken, als ob der Text wirklich aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt wurde. Wir lesen:

⁸⁷ BT XIII (s. Anm. 53), 46.7.

⁸⁸ P. ZIEME, *Ein alttürkisches Kolophon zu einem Hongfasi-Druck*, (im Druck)

⁸⁹ T II (U 4820).

*kola upam tigmä tar kimi yoläštürüg-lüg nomluy käšig-ig biltäči-lär ärsär: nom-lar oq tarqaryuluq ärür-lär: taqi nä ayitmiš krgäk nom ärmäz[lär]*⁹⁰
 «Was diejenigen betrifft, die die Dharma-Reihe dem kola upam genannten Floßschiff vergleichlich halten, (so ist zu sagen:) die Dharmas nun sind aufzugebende, was soll man da noch reden über die Nicht-Dharmas.»

Dazu der Sanskrit-Text: *kolopamam dharmaparyāyam ājānadbhir dharmā eva prahātavyāḥ prāg eva-adharmā iti.*⁹¹ Und E. Conzes Übersetzung: «By those who know the discourse on dharma like unto a raft, dharmas should be forsaken, much more so no-dharmas».⁹² Ganz offensichtlich ist, daß *kola upam* des atü. Textes eben das Sanskrit-Wort *kolopam* 'Floß' ist. Da dieses Wort nicht zum üblichen buddhistischen Lehnwortschatz gehört, könnte man zunächst vermuten, daß der Übersetzer einem Sanskrit-Text folgte, oder, um vorsichtiger zu sein, im Sanskrittext nachgesehen hat. Das ist aber doch nicht notwendigerweise der Fall, denn die Passage ist ein *locus classicus* im buddhistischen Schrifttum, wie die von E. Conze beigebrachten Nachweise⁹³ bezeugen. So kann man also der naheliegenden Annahme entgegenhalten, daß der atü. Übersetzer ein sehr gebildeter Uigure war, der sich gut im buddhistischen Schrifttum auskannte. Denn daß er in seiner Arbeit doch einer chinesischen Vorlage, und zwar vermutlich der Version Kumārajīvas, folgte, läßt sich aus dem atü. Wort *yoläštürüg* ableiten, das nur als Entsprechung von chin. *yu*^s 'Parabel, Vergleich'⁹⁴ gelten kann.

In seiner neuen Edition der Vajracchedikā nach der Gilgit-Handschrift hat G. Schopen deutlich gemacht, daß man die Sanskrit-Form *kalirāja* nicht zu *kalinga-rāja* emendieren darf, wie der Gilgit-

⁹⁰ T II (U 4820), Z. 10-12.

⁹¹ CONZE *Vajracchedikā* (s. Anm. 15), S. 32.

⁹² CONZE *Vajracchedikā* (s. Anm. 15), S. 69.

⁹³ CONZE *Vajracchedikā* (s. Anm. 15), S. 32 Anm. 1.

⁹⁴ Vgl. oben S. 35 Vgl. auch K. KUDARA, «Indobukkyō kenkyū», 28, 1980, S. 940.

Text und auch die chotansakische Variante *Kalärri* beweisen und was schon F. Edgerton vermutet hatte.⁹⁵ In diesem Sinne muß man nun auch die atü. Form *kali bäg*⁹⁶ deuten.

Zum Schluß möchte ich darauf aufmerksam machen, daß bei den Uiguren auch chinesische Texte übersetzt wurden, in denen das Vajracchedikāsūtra als ein Wundermittel gepriesen und durch entsprechende Tatsachenberichte untermauert wird. Allerdings steht bisher erst ein Handschriftenfragment aus Yarchoto zur Verfügung.⁹⁷ Es wird berichtet, daß an einem Ort mit dem Namen Litsun – dies ist ein deutlicher Hinweis auf den angenommenen chinesischen Ursprung – jemand, ein Meister vielleicht, seinen Aufenthalt nahm und die Schüler belehrte. Dieser Weise schrieb täglich mit dem Pinsel das Kimqoki-Sūtra in die Leere des Himmels. Später gab es einen heftigen Schneesturm, und man fragte nach diesem Weisen, der das Kimqoki-Sūtra geschrieben hatte. An dem Ort, wo er in die Leere des Himmels schrieb, wurde es ganz trocken, und die Viehhirten waren sehr erstaunt. Soweit dieses Fragment.⁹⁸ H. Kawaguchi erwähnt, daß «in China many collections of narrative legends concerning miracles inspired by religious faith in the V[ajracchedikā]-pāramitā-sūtra, for example those written by Hsiao-yü^{al}, Tuan Ch'eng-shih^{am}, etc.»⁹⁹ existierten.

Ich hoffe, mit diesen Bemerkungen, die streckenweise als ein Arbeitsbericht anzusehen sind, gezeigt zu haben, daß das Vajra-

⁹⁵ G. SCHOPEN, *The Manuscript of the Vajracchedikā Found at Gilgit*, in *Studies in the Literature of the Great Vehicle, Three Mahāyāna Buddhist Texts*, ed. by L. O. GÓMEZ and J. A. SILK, Ann Arbor, 1989, S. 135 Anm. 6.

⁹⁶ BT I (s. Anm. 10) D 48-49.

⁹⁷ T II Y 22 (U 3107).

⁹⁸ Als mögliche Vorlage könnte eine Erzählung gedient haben, die in der Anthologie von Tang-Erzählungen, im *Tai ping guang ji*^{ai} als 4. Geschichte des 102. Juan unter dem Titel «Xinfan xian shusheng^{aj} (Der Scholar des Distrikts Xinfan)», überliefert wird. Der am Ende stehenden Notiz zufolge stammt die Erzählung aus dem Werk *Sanbao gantongji*^{ak}.

⁹⁹ H. KAWAGUCHI, *An Interpretation of Chinese Wall Paintings Based on Materials from Tun-Huang and Japan*, «T'oung Pao», 51, 1964, 424.

chedikāsūtra auch bei den Alttürken in vielfältiger Weise aufmerksam und treu tradiert wurde. Es ist aber zugleich zu unterstreichen, daß mancherlei Hinweise dafür vorliegen, daß dieser Text in der religiösen Praxis wichtig war. Zwar gilt es zunächst, alle bisher identifizierten Fragmente zu edieren, um die alttürkische Version in das Betrachtungsfeld der Buddhologen zu rücken, und zweifellos müssen die philologischen Probleme von den Turkologen selbst gelöst werden, doch werden buddhologische Studien auch für die Lösung der hier nur kurz umrissenen Fragen von hohem Nutzen sein. Für die Aufhellung dunkler Punkte in der Geschichte des Buddhismus bei den Uiguren sind alle Mittel heranzuziehen, und nur aus eingehenden Vergleichen werden die Besonderheiten des alttürkischen Buddhismus erkannt werden können. In diesem Sinne möge die Arbeit an den Dunhuang- und Turfan-Texten auch im letzten Jahrzehnt unseres Jahrhunderts zu einem Wissenszuwachs beitragen.

ZEICHEN-GLOSSAR

- [a] 武 [b] 梁 [c] 般若 [d] 梁朝傅大
 士頌金剛經並序 [e] 海海慧報 [f]
 大乘正宗分 第一 [g] 志公 [h] 禪
 師 [i] 公 [j] 碧巖錄 [k] 志 [l] 誌
 [m] 寶誌 [n] 傅大士 [o] 諸公 [p] 誌

公 [q] 寶公 [r] 法師 [s] 喻 [t] 符

[u] 觀 [v] 夢 [w] 幻 [x] 泡 [y] 影

[z] 幻影 [aa] 星 [ab] 翳 [ac] 燈 [ad] 露

[ae] 雲 [af] 電光 [ag] 弘法寺 [ah] 中都

[ai] 太平廣記 [aj] 新繁縣書生 [ak] 三

寶感通記 [al] 蕭瑤 [am] 段成式

NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

SOGDIAN AND TURKISH CHRISTIANS
IN THE TURFAN AND TUN-HUANG MANUSCRIPTS¹

The great majority of the Christian manuscripts of the Turfan collection derive from a single site, the ruin of Shüi-pang near Bulayïq, north of Turfan.² Here the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions unearthed a whole library of fragmentary manuscripts, most of which were easily identifiable as Christian texts, either by their contents or by their use of the Syriac script. The principal languages of the manuscripts are Sogdian and Syriac, but there are also forty or fifty fragments in Uygur Turkish, as well as parts of the Psalter in several other languages: one in Middle Persian (in Pahlavi script),³ one bilingual in Syriac and New Persian (in Syriac script),⁴ and even the first line of a psalm in Greek as a superscription to its translation into Sogdian.⁵ A very

¹ Revised and expanded English version of a paper entitled *Die christlich-sogdischen Handschriften von Bulayïq* (forthcoming in the proceedings of a conference held in Berlin in May 1987). The following abbreviations should be noted: AoF = *Altorientalische Forschungen*; APAW/SPAW = *Abhandlungen/Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*; BT XII = SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1985; DTS = SIMS-WILLIAMS-HAMILTON, 1990; ST I = MÜLLER, 1913; ST II = MÜLLER-LENTZ, 1934; STSC = SCHWARTZ, 1967; UW = RÖHRBORN, 1977 -.

² See LE COQ, 1926, p. 88.

³ ANDREAS-BARR, 1933.

⁴ SUNDERMANN, 1974a.

⁵ See SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1981, p. 442.

few Christian texts in Syriac, Sogdian, Turkish, and Persian were discovered at other sites in the Turfan oasis, such as Astana, Qočo, Qurutqa, and Toyoq.

It is a matter for regret that no Christian texts in Sogdian have been discovered in Sogdiana itself, although the Christian remains found in the region do include written materials in Syriac, such as a group of short rock inscriptions found near Urghut, 35 km from Samarkand, and an ostrakon from Panjikant inscribed with Psalms 1-2 as a writing exercise. Both the Nestorian and the Melkite churches were established in Sogdiana by the eighth century. There seems to be no reference to Melkites in Transoxiana before 762 A.D., when the caliph al-Manṣūr transported the Melkite Catholicos of Ctesiphon and his flock to Tashkent,⁶ but by this time the Nestorians were already well entrenched: ossuaries excavated at Samarkand and decorated with Nestorian crosses and other Christian symbols can be dated on archaeological grounds to the seventh century or earlier, whilst the Nestorian metropolitan see of Samarkand had been created by the early eighth century at the latest.⁷ The Nestorian church of Samarkand prospered for some centuries, as witnessed by Ibn Ḥawqal in the tenth century and by Marco Polo in the 13th; it was finally destroyed by persecution in the 15th century under Ulugh Beg.⁸

Meanwhile, Christianity seems to have been carried by Sogdian colonists to Semirechiye, the region north-east of Sogdiana, between Lake Balkash and the Issyk Kul. Several Sogdian inscriptions have been found in this area, including one whose Christian origin is assured by the occurrence of the Syriac words *'myn 'myn* 'amen, amen' and *mlp'ny* 'teacher'.⁹ The name of this 'teacher',

⁶ See DAUVILLIER, 1953, pp. 63-64.

⁷ See J. DAUVILLIER, *apud* PELLLOT, 1973, pp. 118-119.

⁸ For more detailed surveys of the history of the church in Samarkand see COLLESS, 1986, and SIMS-WILLIAMS, *Christianity in Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan* (forthcoming in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*).

⁹ Oblique case of **mlp'n'* = Syriac *mlpn'* [malfānā], cfr. SIMS-WILLIAMS,

like many of the personal names in the Sogdian inscriptions of this region, is Turkish: *yrwxtkyn* 'Yaruq tegin'. Here too Christianity survived for many centuries, as we know from the report of the Franciscan William of Rubruck, who passed through the region in the mid-13th century, and from hundreds of tombstones with Syriac and Turkish inscriptions, mostly dating to the 13th and 14th centuries, found in Nestorian cemeteries near Tokmak and Pishpek (modern Frunze).¹⁰ By this period, however, as the tomb-inscriptions indicate, the population of the area seems to have consisted of speakers of Turkish rather than of Sogdian.

One can scarcely doubt that some form of Christian literature must have been translated into Sogdian for the sake of the Christians of Sogdiana and Semirechiye, who would have been unlikely to understand Syriac, but no such text has been discovered in either area. Curiously enough, the only written record in Sogdian which has so far been attributed to the Nestorian community of the Sogdian homeland is a short inscription found far away in Ladakh,¹¹ which, according to Henning's interpretation, records the visit of a Christian from Samarkand on an embassy to the ruler of Tibet, probably in the year 841/2.¹² The inscription in question, however, has no religious content, and the identification of its author as a Christian depends wholly on the questionable assumption that the drawings of Nestorian crosses nearby on the rock are to be associated with the inscription. There is perhaps a better case for regarding another, as yet unpublished, Sogdian inscription on the same rock as the work of a Christian, as is suggested by its wording: *wry trx'n pr βγγ n'm 'γt'ym* «(I,) Uri tarxan, have come (here) in the name of God».¹³ Though the author bears a

1988, p. 154, where this example should have been added. For the text of the inscription see LIVŠIĆ, 1981, p. 80.

¹⁰ CHWOLSON, 1890, 1897.

¹¹ MÜLLER, 1926. A new edition of this and the other Sogdian inscriptions of Ladakh is in preparation.

¹² HENNING, 1958, p. 54.

¹³ On the significance of the phrase *pr βγγ n'm* 'in the name of God' see

Turkish name, he too may have come from Sogdiana, where the population is known to have included a significant Turkish element already by the beginning of the eighth century.

To this minimal and uncertain evidence for the use of the Sogdian language by the Christians of Sogdiana one may add an intriguing piece of information provided by the Armenian Het'um, who wrote in 1307 in his description of Choresmia: «The people of this country are called Choresmians; they are heathens and have no law or writing of their own. A kind of Christians live in these parts, who are called Sogdians, and have their own writing and language; their beliefs are like those of the Greeks, and they are obedient to the Patriarch of Antioch. In church they sing in various ways and celebrate the office like the Greeks, but their language is not Greek».¹⁴ From the references to the Greek rite and to the Patriarch of Antioch it is clear that Het'um is referring to the Melkites of Choresmia, of whom we know also from al-Beruni. But this does not imply that he is in error in the quite precise information which he gives that these Christians were called 'Sogdians' and that they employed their own language in the liturgy. It seems to me most probable that the Christians described by Het'um were descendants of the Melkites of Tashkent, who had there adopted the local language and who may have continued to be known as 'Sogdians' generations after they had migrated once again to Choresmia. If this supposition is correct, Het'um's account provides indirect evidence that Sogdian had earlier been used liturgically by the Melkites in Sogdiana.

In fact, the Nestorian library of Bulayiq contains one text which may perhaps be attributed to contact with the Melkites of Sogdiana. This is the unique fragment mentioned earlier which contains the first phrase of Psalm 33 in Greek followed by its continuation

DTS, pp. 39-40. For the use of *uri* 'boy, son' as a personal name, cfr. below, p. 56, text A, l. 7, and Bäg Uri in HAMILTON, 1986, p. 166, no. 34, ll. 5 and 17. The spelling with *w-* (instead of 'w-) for initial *u-* is Sogdian rather than Turkish.

¹⁴ See PELLIOT, 1973, p. 117.

in Sogdian. The Sogdian translation agrees in part with the Greek of the Septuagint but also shows the influence of the Syriac Peshitta version. This document is unlikely to be Nestorian in origin, knowledge of the Septuagint pointing rather to the Melkites, the only Syrian church which ever used Greek (beside Syriac) in the liturgy. In the absence of other evidence for a Melkite presence in Chinese Turkestan, it seems most likely that the translation was made in the Sogdian homeland, with which the Sogdians of the Turfan oasis no doubt remained in contact.¹⁵

In 1905, when the Second German Turfan Expedition began to excavate at Bulayïq, the erstwhile existence of significant communities of Sogdian-speaking Christians was hardly suspected. The linguistic and literary importance of the discovery of a large collection of Christian literature in Sogdian was quickly recognized. Within a few months of the discovery E. Sachau had already published a specimen of this new variety of Sogdian in Syriac script;¹⁶ soon afterwards F. W. K. Müller was able to announce the identification of portions of the New Testament translated into Sogdian from the Syriac Peshitta version, of which he wrote that «wir jetzt in diesen Übersetzungen inhaltlich bekannter christlicher Texte den Schlüssel zum Soghdischen besitzen».¹⁷

The New Testament passages identified by Müller and published in full in his *Soghdische Texte I*, as well as the additional fragments with which Sundermann has since completed Müller's work,¹⁸ for the most part belong to lectionaries containing the portions of the gospels and Pauline epistles appointed to be read in the services of the church. Most of them are bilingual, the Syri-

¹⁵ The presence at Bulayïq of fragments of a draft-letter in Syriac apparently addressed to a Byzantine dignitary (MARÓTH, 1985) appears to be a further indication of amicable relations between the Nestorians of Central Asia and the Chalcedonian churches.

¹⁶ SACHAU, 1905, pp. 973-978.

¹⁷ MÜLLER, 1907, p. 260.

¹⁸ SUNDERMANN, 1974, 1975, 1981.

ac original and the Sogdian translation alternating phrase by phrase, but one manuscript, which happens to be the best preserved, is entirely in Sogdian except for the Syriac heading and introductory phrase of each reading.¹⁹ An apparently exceptional case is provided by a pair of fragments from a single page, of which one side contains the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel in Syriac and Sogdian, the other being left blank. This fact has suggested that the fragments belong to the first page of a book, in which case the manuscript would probably have been a bilingual copy of the complete Gospel (or Gospels) rather than a lectionary.²⁰ However, it is also possible that the writer of this manuscript left the first and last pages of each quire blank, a practice attested in at least one Syriac manuscript from Bulayïq.²¹ In that case, these fragments too may belong to a lectionary.

The only book of the Old Testament which we know to have been translated into Sogdian is the Book of Psalms, of which we possess fragments of two versions. One is the fragment with a Greek quotation, which I have attributed to contact with the Melkite church in Sogdiana. The other is translated from the Peshitta and gives the first verse of each psalm in Syriac as well as in Sogdian.²² Since it also includes the East Syrian headings to the psalms, this manuscript is clearly of Nestorian origin.

Apart from these lectionaries and psalters, the Christian Sogdian manuscripts of Bulayïq include few texts which seem to have

¹⁹ It has been suggested that the bilingual lectionaries represent an earlier liturgical usage than the monolingual Sogdian lectionary (cfr. SUNDERMANN, 1981, p. 169, with reference to BAUMSTARK, 1921, p. 11); at any rate, it seems that both the traditional church language and the vernacular were employed for the bible readings.

²⁰ See SUNDERMANN, 1981, p. 210.

²¹ T II B 26 (cfr. SACHAU, 1905, pp. 970-973). Cfr. also the fragment T II B 18, of which one side contains the Syriac text of Proverbs 9.14-10.12 and the other, which was perhaps originally the blank page at the beginning or end of the quire, the draft-letter mentioned in fn. 15 above.

²² See SCHWARTZ, 1974.

been intended for liturgical use. A Sogdian version of the Nicene Creed, published by Müller, was presumably used liturgically, since it is contained in the same manuscript as the Nestorian psalter just described.²³ In his still unpublished *Studies in the texts of the Sogdian Christians*, Martin Schwartz has identified a page from a «Book of Life», which would have been read in church in commemoration of the faithful departed.²⁴ Finally I may mention the existence of a Sogdian translation of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo*,²⁵ of which a Chinese version was found at Tun-huang.²⁶ It is a characteristic feature of the missionary practice of the Nestorian church that Syriac was always maintained as the primary language of the liturgy, the languages of the local people being admitted into liturgical use only for particular parts of the service such as hymns, psalms, and bible readings.²⁷ Certainly Syriac was the principal language of the liturgy at Bulayïq, where several Syriac psalters, hymn-books, and service-books have been found.²⁸ Some of these contain rubrics in Sogdian,²⁹ showing that they were copied and used by members of the local Sogdian community, which had been established in the Turfan oasis for so many centuries that Sogdian had attained the status of a local vernacular. As such, it was evidently employed, beside Syriac, for bible readings and the singing of hymns and psalms.

Unlike the Sogdian language and script, the Middle Persian language and the Pahlavi script were probably never used to any significant extent for secular purposes in the Turfan area (or any-

²³ ST I, pp. 84-88; cfr. SCHWARTZ, 1974, p. 257.

²⁴ STSC, pp. 115-125.

²⁵ C 19, unpublished, incorrectly described by HANSEN (1968, p. 98) as 'Hymnenanfänge'.

²⁶ MOULE, 1930, pp. 52-57.

²⁷ See HAGE, 1978.

²⁸ See SUNDERMANN, 1974a, p. 442; SACHAU, 1905, pp. 964-973.

²⁹ C 9 + C 50 and C 43 + C 43a, all unpublished (cfr. SUNDERMANN, 1981, p. 170).

where beyond the boundaries of the Sasanian empire). It is therefore somewhat surprising to find evidence that at some stage Middle Persian must also have been used liturgically by the Christians of Chinese Turkestan. Two indications of this are the discovery at Bulayïq of the Pahlavi psalter and the use in Christian Sogdian of the Middle Persian word *paywāg* as a technical term for a liturgical response. The Persian background of the community at Bulayïq, which was repeatedly stressed by Olaf Hansen,³⁰ is evident from other Middle Persian loanwords in Sogdian, which even include the term for 'Christian' itself: *trs'q*, that is, 'one who fears (God)'. As is by now well known, the Nestorian church in Iran made – admittedly limited – use of Middle Persian for literary and liturgical purposes.³¹ For instance, according to the Chronicle of Seert, a certain Ma'nā of Shiraz, metropolitan of Rēw-Ardashir in the late fifth century, composed, amongst other works, hymns (*madrāše*), 'discourses' (*memre*), and responses ('*onyātā*') in Persian for liturgical use.³² A characteristic episode in the life of the East Syrian saint John of Dailam, which is extant in various forms in Syriac, Arabic, and Sogdian, contains a revealing episode, which I cite in Brock's translation: «Now the Persian and Syriac speaking brethren quarrelled with each other over the services: the Persians said, 'We should all recite the services in our language, seeing that we live in Persian territory'; while the Syriac-speakers said, 'Our father is a Syriac-speaker, and so we should recite the services in our language, on account of the founder of the monastery; furthermore we do not know how to recite the services in Persian'». ³³ Against this background, the Pahlavi psalter found at Bulayïq may be seen as an import from the mother-church in Iran and the use of Middle Persian for the vernacular parts of the litur-

³⁰ HANSEN, 1966; 1968, p. 94; 1969.

³¹ See BAUMSTARK, 1922, pp. 105, 114-115, 131, 206-207, 215; HENNING, 1958, pp. 77-78; BROCK, 1982, p. 18.

³² SCHER, 1911, p. 117.

³³ BROCK, 1981-'2, p. 150.

gy as a feature of the earliest period in the history of the Christian community in the Turfan oasis, before Sogdian was raised to the status of a church language.

On the other hand, the fragment of a bilingual psalter in Syriac and New Persian must be regarded as a product of the Turfan oasis, or at least of Transoxiana, since the Persian text makes use of the extra letters which were added to the Syriac alphabet when it was adapted to write Sogdian.³⁴ The same applies to the only other New Persian Turfan-text in Syriac script, a pharmacological fragment found at Toyoq.³⁵ These manuscripts are hardly earlier than the end of the ninth century, by which time New Persian was beginning to replace Sogdian as the spoken language of Sogdiana.³⁶ As Henning suggested, it is possible that the Sogdians of Chinese Turkestan may also have begun to adopt the use of New Persian under the influence of their kinsmen at home, but in general, as we shall see, it seems rather that the Sogdian population was gradually absorbed into the Turkish-speaking majority, and that, following a period of bilingualism, Turkish largely took over the function of Sogdian as a lingua franca of Chinese Turkestan. So far as I can see, the comparatively few New Persian manuscripts which have been found in the Turfan oasis are all quite likely to have been brought from further west, most probably from Transoxiana, the birthplace of the New Persian literary language, in which case the Syriac-New Persian psalter fragment may be taken as a further indication of contact between the Christians of Bulayiq and their coreligionists in Sogdiana.

The Sogdian manuscripts of Bulayiq include many texts concerning asceticism and the religious life, so many, in fact, that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the settlement was a monastery. Admonitions, homilies, and treatises on such matters

³⁴ See HENNING, 1958, p. 79; SUNDERMANN, 1974a, pp. 448-452.

³⁵ T II Toyoq, unpublished; cfr. BOYCE, 1960, p. 130.

³⁶ See HENNING, 1959, pp. 305-306; LAZARD, 1975.

as the seven canonical hours of prayer³⁷ and the virtues of withdrawal from the world, solitude, and silent contemplation within one's cell are clearly addressed to monks rather than to laymen.³⁸ The presence of numerous fragments of Sogdian versions of texts such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,³⁹ the *Antirrheticus* of Evagrius Ponticus,⁴⁰ works attributed to Macarius the Egyptian and to Abba Isaiah,⁴¹ and commentaries by Dādišo' Qatrāyā both on the writings of Abba Isaiah⁴² on the 'Paradise' of 'Nānišo',⁴³ suggests that the monks of Bulayīq regarded the monks and solitaries of the Egyptian desert as their spiritual ancestors.

An immense quantity of hagiographical literature is also known to have been translated into Sogdian, including such well-known texts as the apocryphal 'Acts of Peter',⁴⁴ the legends of the Invention of the Cross⁴⁵ and of the Sleepers of Ephesus,⁴⁶ and the martyrdoms of Sergius and Bacchus,⁴⁷ Cyriacus and Julitta,⁴⁸ Eustathius,⁴⁹ and George,⁵⁰ the last of which was ultimately trans-

³⁷ C 85 (unpublished, cited in SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1988, p. 151, s. v. 'dn'); cfr. the texts on the seven canonical hours published in VÖÖBUS, 1960, pp. 142, 157-158.

³⁸ e.g. BT XII, pp. 69-77 (on the three stages of the solitary life); STSC, pp. 145-150 (described by Schwartz as a 'discourse against evil thoughts'). The so-called 'Daniel fragment' (ST II, pp. 532-534) may belong to a work on fasting, as is suggested by some other fragments of the same manuscript (cfr. HANSEN, 1968, p. 98, no. 13).

³⁹ BT XII, pp. 124-136 and perhaps p. 186 (Fragment B); STSC, pp. 42-52.

⁴⁰ BT XII, pp. 168-182.

⁴¹ BT XII, pp. 165-167.

⁴² BT XII, pp. 78-86; cfr. also the next note.

⁴³ In an unpublished manuscript which also contains excerpts from Dādišo's commentary on the Second and Fourteenth *Memre* of Isaiah.

⁴⁴ ST II, pp. 528-531.

⁴⁵ ST II, pp. 513-521.

⁴⁶ BT XII, pp. 154-157.

⁴⁷ ST II, pp. 520-522.

⁴⁸ T II B 60 N° 13 (unpublished).

⁴⁹ BT XII, pp. 158-164.

⁵⁰ HANSEN, 1941 (cfr. also BENVENISTE, 1943-'5; GERSHEVITCH, 1946).

lated also into Turkish.⁵¹ Amongst the unpublished Sogdian manuscripts of the Turfan collection are also, as Werner Sundermann has pointed out,⁵² a number of biographies of those who were regarded as having played an important part in the history of monasticism, such as the lives of Serapion (in two manuscripts),⁵³ Eugenius,⁵⁴ and John of Dailam.⁵⁵ The life of John of Dailam, who founded two monasteries in Fars, is one of several hagiographical texts with an Iranian setting, amongst which one may also mention the 'Acts of the Persian martyrs under Shapur II'⁵⁶ and the martyrdom of Pethion.⁵⁷ But the most important Sogdian text of this type must surely be the legend of Bishop Baršabbā and the evangelization of Marv, since the Syriac original, like the Sogdian translation, is known only from fragments found at Bulayīq.⁵⁸

In addition to the biblical, liturgical, ascetic, and hagiographical literature mentioned so far, the Sogdian library at Bulayīq naturally includes some texts which are not so easily susceptible to categorization: the 'Apostolic Canons',⁵⁹ a commentary on the symbolism of the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies,⁶⁰ translations of Syriac metrical homilies,⁶¹ a collection of riddles on biblical

⁵¹ BANG, 1926.

⁵² W. SUNDERMANN, *Byzanz und Bulayīq* (forthcoming).

⁵³ C 3 (from which two excerpts are given in ST I, pp. 34, 80-81) and C 27.

⁵⁴ Inexactly defined by HANSEN (1968, p. 96) as 'Martyrium des Heiligen Miles'.

⁵⁵ See SUNDERMANN, 1976.

⁵⁶ BT XII, pp. 137-153; SCHWARTZ, 1970, pp. 391-394.

⁵⁷ BT XII, pp. 31-68, 185.

⁵⁸ ST II, pp. 523-528 (Sogdian), 559-564 (Syriac).

⁵⁹ BT XII, pp. 101-109.

⁶⁰ BT XII, pp. 110-120.

⁶¹ BT XII, pp. 87-100 (a *memrā* 'On the final evil hour' by Bābay bar Nšib-nāye); ST II, pp. 535-538 ('Ermahnungen zu christlicher Geduld'); perhaps also BT XII, pp. 121-123 ('On the mercy of God to His creation').

themes,⁶² and so on, in fact almost all the kinds of texts which one would expect to find in the library of a Nestorian monastery. However, there is an almost total lack of practical and secular documents. At the most one may mention a fragmentary medical prescription, a text concerning omens, a calendrical fragment, and a list of numerals in Syriac and Sogdian (all unpublished). This lack is all the more surprising in view of the fact that ephemera such as private letters and economic documents make up a significant proportion of the much smaller collection of Christian Turkish manuscripts found at Bulayïq and at the nearby, wholly Turkish site of Qurutqa.⁶³

With this observation I should like to join two others. The first is that some of the Sogdian documents contain names of members of the Christian community and that, while many of these names are Turkish, not one is identifiably Sogdian (see texts A-D in the appendix below). Secondly, the insertion of the letter *aleph* before an initial *r*, which is found consistently in a Christian Sogdian manuscript from Toyoq,⁶⁴ and occasionally in the texts from Bulayïq,⁶⁵ is a typical feature of Turkish spelling and pronunciation.

Taken together, these observations suggest that the writers and readers of the Christian Sogdian manuscripts may in many cases have been Turkish speakers. During the final phase of the monastery's existence, to which the more ephemeral documents are likely to belong, Turkish was probably the principal language of day-to-day business, although Sogdian evidently retained a place beside Syriac as a language of literature and liturgy.

The existence of another community of Christians who were probably bilingual in Sogdian and Turkish is attested by a group

⁶² SUNDERMANN, 1988.

⁶³ For a general survey see ZIEME, 1974 (cfr. also ZIEME, 1977, 1981a).

⁶⁴ C 33 = T II T 21, unpublished.

⁶⁵ e.g. *'rmy* (C1, ll. 236 and A14; C3 = T II B 13a, V29; in Sogdian script, So. 12,700 = T II B 28, R6), *'ryncq* (T II B 60 N° 13, V9).

of 9th-10th century documents from the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', where several Christian texts in Chinese have also come to light.⁶⁶ No Christian Turkish texts have been found at Tun-huang, and the only Sogdian manuscript of recognizably Christian content is a small fragment of a text of popular character, an oracle book of the type known in the West as *Sortes Apostolorum*.⁶⁷ But several secular Sogdian texts from Tun-huang are either written by Christians or mention Christians, including priests and monks. One is a letter written by a priest named Sargis (Sergius), who, in a postscript, commends a friend with the Turkish name El Bars to the care of the monk David. The body of the letter is chiefly concerned with commercial transactions, in which the priest takes an active part—quite in accordance with the traditions of the Sogdian people, whose commercial enterprise was proverbial.⁶⁸ Two further Sogdian documents from Tun-huang may plausibly be attributed to Christians in view of their use of the phrase *pr βγ(')y n'm* 'in the name of God': one is again a commercial document, the other a colophon.⁶⁹ Finally one may refer to another letter, which mentions several persons who are presumably Christians: the addressee, who bears the Syriac name Giwargis (George); a monk, whose name may be interpreted as Sogdian (Kwr'k?), Turkish (Küräg?), or Chinese (Kuang?); and a priest with the Sogdian name Wanu-čor and the Syriac title *reš 'ēdtā* 'bursar, steward' (lit. 'head of the church').⁷⁰ The linguistic mixture revealed by the names is equally characteristic of the texts themselves, which are mainly written in Sogdian, but with many Turkish and Chinese

⁶⁶ See MOULE, 1930, pp. 52-64.

⁶⁷ SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1976, pp. 63-65. The closest parallel to this manuscript is a Turkish oracle book found at Bulayiq, for which see LE COQ, 1909, pp. 1205-1208, BANG, 1926, pp. 53-64, and ZIEME, 1977.

⁶⁸ DTS, text F (pp. 51-61, Pl. 11-12).

⁶⁹ DTS, texts A and D (pp. 23-30, Pl. 1-3, and pp. 39-40, Pl. 8). Cfr. above, p. 45 with fn. 13.

⁷⁰ DTS, text G (pp. 63-76, Pl. 13-16).

words. The syntax too contains many unusual constructions, with a proliferation of non-finite verbal forms, suggesting that the writers, even though they wrote in Sogdian, were more accustomed to thinking in Turkish.⁷¹ In these documents from Tun-huang we can see, even more clearly than in those from Semirechiye and the Turfan oasis, the Sogdian Christians in the process of being absorbed and eventually vanishing into the Turcophone population which surrounded them. Some centuries later, when Marco Polo mentions the presence of Turkish Nestorians in the Tun-huang region,⁷² the people to whom he refers may well have included the descendants of the Christians of these Sogdian documents.

Appendix

TEXTS FROM THE TURFAN AREA CONTAINING NAMES OF LOCAL CHRISTIANS

A (C48 = T II B 66, from Bulayïq, Syriac script. Verso blank. See Plate I).

- 1 []•[]
- 2 []'(fr)ywn cn [nwr]
- 3 [qw 'y]qwn prm 'm[yn.]
- 4 '(s)γ^a (q)wlcwr.^b '•[•]•[]
- 5 'yšwγ. myxy xwt-(d)myš^c
- 6 'ngwdcyw'.^d twln c(w)r(.)
- 7 y'nn^e 'wry. 'pγ (ywḥnn^f #)□
- 8 ['t]sγtm'n br'drt-(y)^g []

^a I owe this reading to Dr Peter Zieme; 'pγ as in l. 7 is quite unlikely.
^b The first letter is blotted and q is no more than a guess. (It looks most

⁷¹ Cfr. DTS, pp. 10-11.

⁷² POLO (ed. Benedetto), 1928, p. 44.

like *m*, *š*, *γ*, or *f*, but none of these gives a plausible reading.) ^c The large dot or blot over the fourth letter suggests an *r*, but the normal-sized dot below the letter shows that it is really *d*. ^d Alternatively, the second letter could be *y*, the fourth *q*. ^e Or *y'c?* ^f The tail of the final *n* is visible below the preceding letters. ^g Or *br'drt* + punctuation mark?

«... blessing from [today] till [eter]nity, Am[en.] Asiγ Köl(?)-čor, [...]išo', Myxy(?) Qut-admīš, Angud-žīwā(?), Tolun-čor, Y'nn(?) Uri, Abiγ Yoḥannān, [and] all the brothers ...».

Of these names, which are apparently those of the monks of Bulayiq, the majority are clearly Turkish: Abiγ,⁷³ Asiγ,⁷⁴ Köl(?)-čor,⁷⁵ Tolun-čor,⁷⁶ Qut-admīš,⁷⁷ Uri.⁷⁸ Yoḥannān 'John' is Syriac, as is Išo' 'Jesus', here perhaps forming part of a compound, the first element of which might equally well be non-Semitic, as in the common Persian-Syriac hybrid Dādišo' 'given by Jesus'. For Angud-žīwā(?) I can only offer a very speculative interpretation as a Parthian name meaning literally 'quietus vivat!'. Myxy⁷⁹ and Y'nn (Y'c?) are quite obscure, but neither seems likely to be Sogdian.

B (Fragment without signature, find-spot unknown, Sogdian script. The other side of the page contains a prayer in Syriac script. See Plate II.)

1 'yny 'wmyštḱyny mncky (m'cry?)

⁷³ Cfr. RADLOFF, 1928, p. 16, no. 14, l. 5 (for the reading and interpretation see ZIEME, 1981, p. 92), and p. 117, no. 64, l. 2 (cited in UW, p. 36).

⁷⁴ Cfr. Asiγ Bolmiš *apud* RADLOFF, 1928, p. 100, no. 57, l. 20 (cited in UW, p. 227).

⁷⁵ On the title and name-element Čor see DTS, p. 75. The combination Köl-čor is well attested from the period of the Orkhon inscriptions onwards.

⁷⁶ On Tolun 'full moon' as a personal name see ZIEME, 1978, p. 82.

⁷⁷ A very common name, cfr. the references *apud* ASMUSSEN, 1965, p. 250, n. 9 (to which add ZIEME, 1981, p. 93, and HAMILTON, 1986, p. 237).

⁷⁸ Cfr. fn. 13 above.

⁷⁹ A Chinese name? Or a hypocoristic form of Syriac Mikāel 'Michael'?

2 (pwst)[y](?)

«This (is) the ... book(?) of Umiš-tegin».

The name of the owner of the book is clearly Turkish, though the prior element (Umiš or Ömiš?) is uncertain. However, it is not certain that he was a Christian, since there need not necessarily be any connexion between the texts on the two sides of the sheet.

C (So. 12,700 = T II B 28, from Bulayïq, Sogdian script. At the foot of a page containing the Nicene Creed. Facsimile in ST I, Pl. II.)

δβ'mn x'twn «Madam Xatun».

Turkish *xatun* was already recognized in the glossary to ST I, p. 108. It is not clear whether it is to be understood as a name or as a title (virtually synonymous with the preceding Sogdian δβ'mn 'lady, wife, madam').

D (Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, inventory number III/365 = T II D 416 A, an inscription on plaster from Qočo, line 2 in Sogdian script, the rest in Syriac script. Published, without facsimile, in DTS, p. 38.)

1 (')yny (••')r(•••••')r

2 'lp •••••••

3 pr()wyspw()nm'cy šy'

4 qty wb't 'myn w'myn

«This [is the memorial(?) of] Alp ... May (he) be commemorated in every (act of) worship, Amen and Amen».

The name-element Alp 'brave, heroic' is of course Turkish, a fact here emphasized by the use of the traditional Sogdian or Uygur (rather than the Syriac) script to write the name.

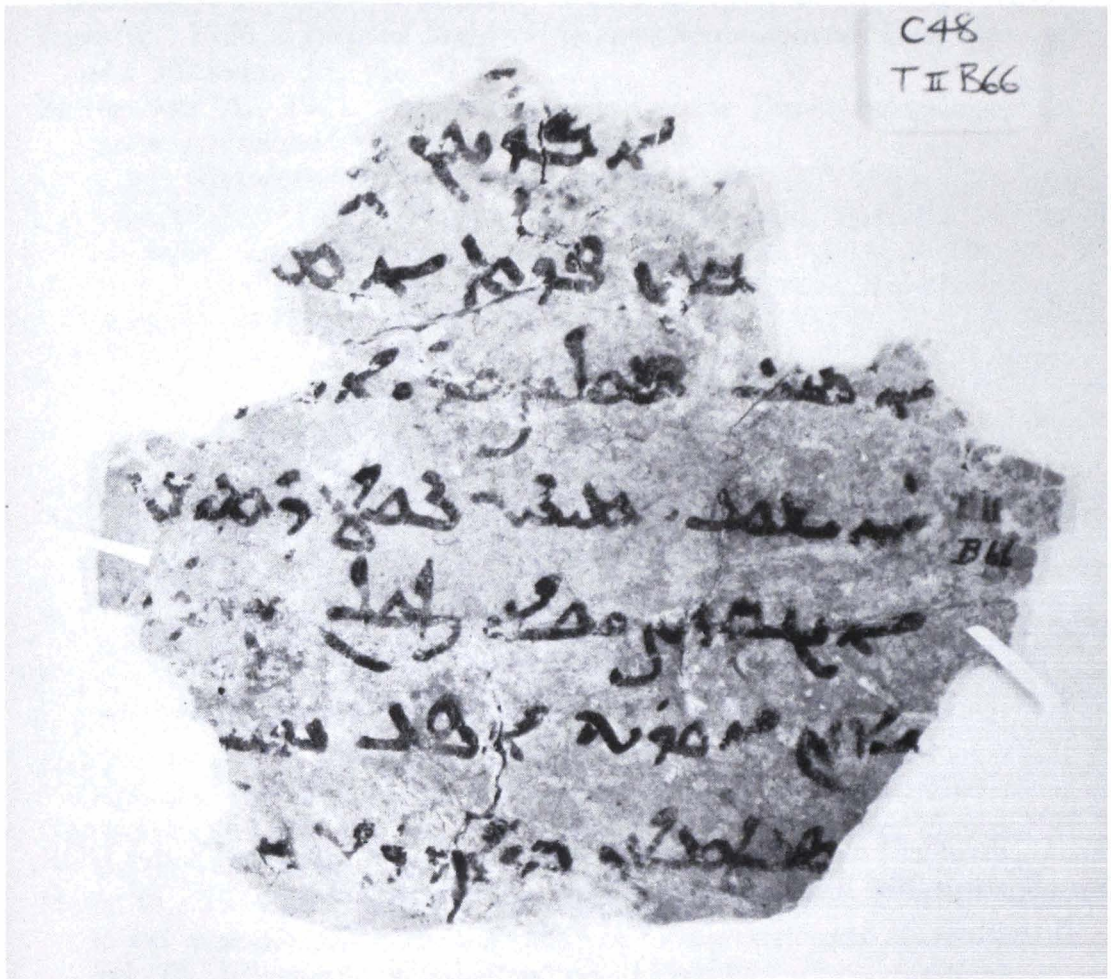


Plate I. C 48 = T II B 66. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie.



Plate II. Fragment without signature. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR
Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie.

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WERNER SUNDERMANN

IRANIAN MANICHAEAN TURFAN TEXTS CONCERNING
THE TURFAN REGION

W. B. Henning's statement of 1936 about the Iranian Turfan texts as sources for the history of Manichaeism may also be said of their contribution to a history of the Turfan region which is still to be written: «Es ist bei diesen Fragmenten nun einmal so, daß sie aufzuhören pflegen, wenn es anfängt, interessant zu werden».¹ This is not only so because the scraps of paper in our hands are the vestiges of whole books but also because of their purpose as literary compositions. It was mainly a vast collection of hymn – and prayer-books, treatises, sermons and confessional forms which was of great importance to the Manichaean communities and which was carefully kept and preserved. Ecclesiastical histories and colophons are or would certainly be more informative for our end than works of this kind, but they are largely missing. This is, in brief, Henning's evaluation of the textual ground of our work² which is still valid today.

Among those rare references to historical events, persons or places in the Turfan region to be found in the whole collection of texts there are some Iranian ones, most of them of Manichaean

¹ W. B. HENNING, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus*, «Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft», 90, 1936, p. 18.

² Cfr. note 1.

origin. This might surprise at first glance. Was it not so that the religion of the Manichaeans presented itself everywhere as a cosmopolitan missionary doctrine regarding the whole world without particular attachment to any of its parts as its field of work? This is in theory certainly true. But in fact it was only in the regions of Middle and Central Asia that a relatively long period of peaceful development was granted to the Manichaean community, and it was here, in the Uygur steppe empire and later on in the small kingdom of Qočo that Manichaeism became, for almost half a millennium, the confession of the ruling dynasty. Only in Central Asia Manichaeism was given the chance to come to good terms with life on earth. To put it in H.-J. Klimkeit's words: «Being protected by a Manichaean king the community of scribes and elect could assess the world as a place where the blessing of the gods was experienced already. Certainly ultimate salvation could only be found in the other world, but the light of the other world already shone into this world».³

But it was not just the world pure and simple which became a home of Mani's church, it was Middle and Central Asia. Thus it is understandable that the Manichaeans expressed their affectionate community with this part of the earth more than once and even more often than followers of other religions.

In what follows I am presenting some important examples to be found in Iranian Manichaean texts arranged according to literary forms. I think this is legitimate because 1) specific literary works can only rarely be determined, and 2) because the literary form determines essentially the message of a work. I distinguish between 1) hymns in praise of religious and secular dignitaries, 2) colophons and names of donors, 3) letters, documents and word lists.

My arrangement leaves out what we do not have: there are

³ H. J. KLIMKEIT, *Manichaean Kingship: Gnosis at Home in the World*, «Numen», 29, 1982, p. 30.

- so far - no annals of Manichaean monasteries, of offices or dynasties, and there is no history of the Manichaean church in Central Asia.

Hymns

There are among the great number of Manichean hymns two closely related groups which to some extent bear on contemporary and local facts and events in Central Asia. The first group was aptly called «Hierarchieymnen» (hymns for the hierarchy) by Henning,⁴ the second one are hymns in honour of secular heads, the rulers of the Uygur steppe empire or the Kings of Qočo. Sometimes both motifs happen to merge, so that representatives of church and state are praised in one and the same hymn.

Typical hymns of this kind enumerate the members of the Central Asian hierarchy of the Dīnāvārīya-community in their characteristic sequence from the teacher up to the hearer. Some of these hymns are destined to a certain rank or person of the hierarchy. They may be called then (in MP) *mhr'n 'y s'r'r'n* 'Hymns for the heads' or *mhr'n 'y 'spsg'n* 'Hymns for the bishops'. All of them outline the image of the church according to the pattern of its ecclesiastic doctrine with a fivefold division of the whole community into one teacher, 72 bishops, 360 presbyters, and the great number of elect and hearers. Special mention can be done of scribes and preachers, etc., but in general such lists were hardly a realistic image of real church life with its ranks and offices as they had come into being according to such documents as the Manichaean

⁴ F. C. ANDREAS, W. B. HENNING, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II*, «Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Academie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.» («SPAW»), Berlin, 1933, p. 295. Examples are given on pp. 323-333. The texts published so far are collected in M. BOYCE, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, «Acta Iranica», 9, Téhéran - Liège, Leiden, 1975, pp. 144-151, and H. J. KLIMKEIT, *Hymnen und Gebete der Religion des Lichts. Iranische und türkische liturgische Texte der Manichäer Zentralasiens*, Opladen, 1989, pp. 131-141.

monastery text from Qočo.⁵ But they are of some importance as historical sources if they mention the names of persons or places which for their part allow to date some of these texts.

As a rule dignitaries praised in hymns remain anonymous. This is best to be shown in text M 174, a hymn fragment containing an intercession for a ruler.⁶ The text wishes «the banquet (*zyyšñ*) and the grace (*'ypt*) of the noble» for the «fortunate and praised So-and-so, the great glorious lord and ruler»,⁷ whatever that may mean. Klimkeit justly called this text a «form» (ein Formular)⁸ since any name could be filled in and bring the hymn up to date.

I am going to mention now some hymns in honour of the hierarchy or of secular lords, the remarkable point of which being their mentioning one or perhaps two Uygur rulers of Qočo.

In his contribution to the second International Conference on Manichaeism in St. Augustin P. Zieme commented on the still unpublished MP fragment M 158.⁹ It mentions the khan (*q̄wt*) *'wrn'nmys' lp q̄wtluy qwyl bylg'h tngryy x'nmz*, i.e. «Our khan Qut ornanmiš alp qutluy köl bilgä tängri». Zieme pointed out that he is likely to be a khan of the city state of Qočo whose full name was *Kün ay tängriä qut bulmiš uluy qut ornanmiš alp in ärdämin il tutmiš alp arslan qutluy köl bilgä tängri* and that he ruled from 1007-1019.¹⁰ The words *Köl bilgä* of his composite name

⁵ Cfr. P. ZIEME, *Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich*, in *Researches in Altaic Languages* 1975, pp. 331-338.

⁶ Published in E. WALDSCHMIDT, W. LENTZ, *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, «SPAW», Berlin, 1933, pp. 555-556, cfr. p. 591; cfr. M. BOYCE, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*, Berlin, 1960, p. 13; BOYCE (in note 4), pp. 195-196; KLIMKEIT (in note 4), pp. 204-205.

⁷ For the correct translation of *'w'hm'n* as 'so-and-so, NN', cfr. W. B. HENNING, «Orientalistische Literaturzeitung», 37, 1934, col. 9.

⁸ Cfr. BOYCE (in note 4), p. 205.

⁹ Cfr. BOYCE (in note 6), p. 12.

¹⁰ I refer to P. Zieme's still unpublished contribution to the «Second International Conference on Manichaeism, St. Augustin/Bonn, August 6-10, 1989», *Ma-*

have recently been identified with their Chinese translation *zhi hai*^a 'wisdom (like) the ocean' by T. Moriyasu which led to a reliable dating of this King.¹¹ J. Hamilton argues that a pile with a Buddhist inscription in Uygur language commemorating the establishment of a Buddhist sanctuary in ruin α was erected under the same khan.¹²

One cannot exclude the possibility, of course, that more than one ruler bore the same name. But if Zieme's identification is correct M 158 can be dated to the beginning of the 11th century.

The MP text M 43, published as early as 1904,¹³ was regarded by F. W. K. Müller and others after him as a «prayer for an Uygur Khan». It is in its preserved parts rather an address to a prince. Its subject is panegyric, not intercession, and its «Sitz im Leben» may well have been a rite of the Manichaean ruler cult practiced in Central Asia (unless one prefers to assume a letter in MP(!) language).

The name of the hitherto unidentified king is *tngr̄y q̄'n qwyl bylg' q̄'n* (*Tängri qan köl bilgä qan*) the *Köl bilgä* of which once again agrees only with the name of the ruler identified by Zieme.

A fragment containing [*mhr'n*] (')y s[r'r'n] «Hymns for the heads», for heads of church and state, is IB 8259.¹⁴ Already Henning

nichäische Kolophone und Könige. The name is attested in an Uygur pile inscription; cfr. F. W. K. MÜLLER (in note 22), p. 26.

¹¹ MORIYASU TAKAO, *Uiguru to Tonkō*, quoted after J. HAMILTON, *Manuscripts ouigours du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-Houang I*, Paris, 1986, p. XVII, n. 30.

¹² Cfr. note 11, pp. XVII-XVIII. Müller himself as well as A.v. Le-Coq expressed their doubts concerning the earlier date in the 8th century (*Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien II. Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1923, p. 29, n. 2).

¹³ F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II*, Anhang zu den «Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften» («APAW»), 1904, Berlin, 1904, pp. 78-79; BOYCE (in note 6), p. 43; BOYCE (in note 4), pp. 193-194; KLIMKEIT (in note 4), pp. 197-198.

¹⁴ Cfr. BOYCE (in note 6), p. 144. Head-lines in W. SUNDERMANN, *Mittelpersische und parthische Kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berliner Turfantexte IV, Berlin, 1973, p. 99, ll. 1925-7.

drew attention to this text.¹⁵ A translation of its historically relevant parts shall be given here:

lʔ/v/i/

1/ wy(.)[](.)[]	1/ []
2/ 'rd'w'n p'k'n o l o	2/ the pure elect.
3/ r'ynyd'ryy u pyšwb'y	3/ The guidance and presidency
4/ 'y xwd'ym'n 'prydg	4/ of our blessed lord,
5/ n'm o m o mry wh(m)n	5/ Mār Wahman Xwarxšēd
6/ xwrxšyd hmwc'(g)	6/ by name, teacher of the
7/ hwr's'n p'y(gw)[s]	7/ province «East»,
8/ o n o n'mgy(n s)'(r')[r]	8/ famous head of
9/ [c]h'r t(wg)ryst'[n ¹⁶ u]	9/ [Č]ahār Tu(g)ristā[n, and]
10/ [m](r)[y] (b')ryst xwr(x)[šyd]	10/ of (Mār) Bārist Xwarx[šēd,]
11/ ['](s)psg 'y nyw o s o	11/ the brave [b]ishop.
12/ [s'](r)'ryy u p'dxš'yy	12/ [The l]ordship and rule
13/ ['y(?)]('s)twd o u 'prydg	13/ [of] the praised and blessed
14/ ['y ''y](t)[n](g)ryδ' qwt	14/ [Ay] tängriḍä qut
15/ [bwlmyš qwt 'w]rn'n[myš]	15/ [bulmiš qut o]rnan[miš]
16/ ['lpyn 'rd'myn 'yl]	16/ [alpīn ārdāmin il]
17/ [twtmyš 'lp 'rsl'n]	17/ [tutmiš alp arslan]

One important information of this text justly emphasized by Henning is the exact title of the Manichaean teacher of the diocese Xwarāsān or 'East' as head of the Čahār-Tugri-land, identified by Henning as the area between Bišbalīq and Kuča with Qočo as residence.¹⁷ The other interesting news is the identification of the political head of the country as that King of Qočo already familiar to us who ruled from 1007 to 1019. His name, it is true, has been restored by me from two words and four letters, but the word [*w]rn'(n)[myš]* seems to be safe, and it appears, according to Zieme, in this one name alone.¹⁸ The gaps of the fragment

¹⁵ W. B. HENNING, *Argi and the «Tokharians»*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies» («BSOAS»), 9, 1938, p. 551.

¹⁶ Or t(wγ)ryst'[n]. So Henning.

¹⁷ Cfr. HENNING (in note 15), pp. 550-551, 559-560.

¹⁸ Cfr. note 10.

permit a restoration which corresponds exactly to the form of the name attested in the Turkish fragment IB 6368.¹⁹

It follows from these texts that in the beginning of the 11th century the Turkish khan of Qočo was the subject of a remarkable Manichaean panegyric poetry. In the texts accessible to us no other king of the Uygur empire or of Qočo, not even Bilgä khan who made Manichaeism the religion of his state, was granted praise and intercession like this ruler. As far as Iranian Manichaean texts are concerned this result is somewhat surprising. Texts which could be dated so far were written in the 8th and 9th centuries.

Another question is if the above mentioned Uigur pile inscription in memory of the consecration of a Buddhist sanctuary in ruin α has really been erected under this king, in 1008 according to Hamilton.²⁰ The problem is that in my view ruin α had been a Manichaean place of worship before,²¹ so that the installation of the pile inscription might indicate also a supersession of the Manichaean by the Buddhist cult in Qočo under this selfsame ruler, which is strangely contrasting with the frequent praise he is given in the Iranian and Turkish Manichaean texts.

Hamilton's translation of the crucial passage is: «Dans la deuxième année de l'accession au trône du souverain céleste Köl Bilgä, notre khan céleste semblable aux dieux Soleil et Lune, désirable, beau, lumineux, céleste, et sorcier».

It may be pointed out here that F. W. K. Müller had given another translation of the same passage distinguishing between two Uygur Khans, between *Kün ay tängritäg kūsänčig körtlä yaruq tängri bögü tängrikän* and *Köl bilgä tängri*, ascribing the inscription to the first one, not to our Köl bilgä. Peter Zieme, however, tells

¹⁹ LE COQ (in note 12), plate 8a, fragm.b, and p. 58.

²⁰ Cfr. HAMILTON in note 12.

²¹ Which I try to show in my still unpublished contribution to the conference «Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques», Paris, UNESCO 22-28 November 1988, *Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological Means. The Case of the Turfan Texts*.

me that Hamilton's translation is the grammatically correct one and it is therefore also most likely the better interpretation which makes the whole sequence of honorific titles the name of one ruler.²²

If this may be accepted, one has to admit that the Uygur ruler whose characteristic name parts according to the Chinese sources were Kōl bilgä was given a series of honorific titles in this inscription which is not to be met with in other texts. But this is not impossible either, and it is not even an exception in the list of Uygur royal names.

So there is no need to doubt the somewhat surprising coincidence that under one and the same Uygur ruler Kōl bilgä Buddhism spread and Manichaean literature flourished. That so many Manichaean hymns were written in praise of just this ruler is and remains of course enigmatic. A possible explanation seems to be that Kōl bilgä was the last Uygur ruler in whose praise the Manichaeans wrote and re-wrote panegyric poetry, and that after his death the replacement of the dead king's name by the name of his successor fell into disuse.

This is only a hypothesis, and other explanations can be thought of. If it should turn out to be true the time of Kōl bilgä denotes the end rather than a last climax of the Manichaean panegyric literature.

A MP text in Sogdian script mentioning an Uygur ruler *Ay tängridä qut bulmiš alp* [] *uygur xan* has been edited by N. Sims-Williams in collaboration with H. Halén.²³ I had suggested to fill the gap by *bilgä* which means identity of names with the Uygur Khan of M 1 who ruled from 825 to 832.²⁴ P. Zieme

²² Cfr. F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Zwei Pfablinschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, «APAW», 1951, Nr. 3, pp. 6-7.

²³ N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, H. HALÉN, *The Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script from the Mannerheim Collection*, in *Studia Orientalia Edited by the Finnish Oriental Society*, 51: 13, 1980, pp. 9-10.

²⁴ Cfr. note 23, p. 10, F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥnāmag)*, «APAW», 1912, p. 29.

pointed out that an addition *qutluy* is likewise possible.²⁵ In any case he thinks that a khan of Qočo is meant, not a ruler of the Uygur empire. Unfortunately there is no way of dating the ruler mentioned in this fragment.

Colophons

Colophons are preserved in small number among the Iranian Turfan texts, but they are not as rare as might be surmised at first glance.

The most famous and best preserved colophon is without doubt one half of the double sheet M 1 published by F. W. K. Müller in 1912.²⁶ Its text reports in late and incorrect Middle Persian that the work it belonged to, the Mahrnāmag or Hymn Book, was begun in the year 761/2, that it first remained unfinished and was kept in the monastery of Argi, i.e. of Qarašahr, until Naxurīg the scribe completed it thanks to the support of «his divinity the teacher Mār Aryānšāh» (*yzd mry 'ry'ns'*), of the bishop Mār Dōšist, of the presbyter Mār Yišō' Aryamān and the preacher Yazad-āmad.²⁷ This happened under the rule of *ay tāngridā qut bulmiš alp bilgā uyyur qayan*. The colophon mentions him and his retinue, as well as rulers of several small kingdoms along the northern Silk Road, among them the lord of Činānčkanθ, i.e. Qočo, capital of the Turfan oasis.²⁸ Ay tāngridā ruled, according to Müller, from 825 to 832.

The Mahrnāmag was completed in this time. That it mentions in addition to the lord of the Uygur steppe empire the rulers of Bišbalīq, Qočo, Kuča, Kašyar, Aqsu, Argi and Uč(?)²⁹ need not

²⁵ Cfr. note 23, p. 10.

²⁶ Cfr. MÜLLER (in note 24), pp. 3-40.

²⁷ Cfr. MÜLLER (in note 24), pp. 14, 17, ll. 205 ff.

²⁸ Cfr. MÜLLER (in note 24), pp. 8, 10, ll. 54-56.

²⁹ Cfr. MÜLLER (in note 24), pp. 7-12; HENNING (in note 15), pp. 566-571.

necessarily means that these small city states were submitted to the Uyğur empire in those days. The list might enumerate as well those regions where Manichaeism existed and enjoyed local protection.³⁰

Müller's interpretation of the fragment is still valid in its main results. My only objection concerns his explanation of the text as a «Vorrede» of the Mahrnāmag.³¹ I mention it because his view has so far generally been accepted.³² The difficulty of this interpretation was shown by Müller himself, but was not regarded as serious. Müller simply stated: «Zwischen beiden [halves of the double sheet] sind einige Lagen ausgefallen».³³ One could even say: all quires are lost. But a simple double sheet enclosing a whole book seems to me a strange idea. A more natural solution is at hand if one regards the double sheet as part of the last quire and inverts the sequence of the sheets. In this case our text becomes a colophon rather than a preface.

In my view a colophon is also another fragment T.II.D.135 = IB 6371 called by Müller a text on the «royal retinue of an Uyğur king». It requests the protection of the angels for *Uluğ iliq tängridä qut bulmiš ärdämin il tutmiš alp qutluğ külüq bilgä uyğur qayan* and his entourage,³⁴ probably that selfsame Bilgä qayan who ruled from 759 to 779 and who made, in 762/3, Manichaeism the state religion of the Uyğur empire.³⁵ If this is true T.II.D.135

³⁰ Henning assumed that in the list of rulers in M 1 «more attention was paid to ecclesiastical than to political divisions», cfr. note 15, p. 567.

³¹ MÜLLER (in note 24), p. 6.

³² BOYCE (in note 6), p. 1; BOYCE (in note 4), p. 52; KLIMKEIT (in note 4), p. 191.

³³ MÜLLER (in note 24), p. 6.

³⁴ F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs*, in *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig 1912, pp. 207-213, announced also in M. Boyce's *Reader* (cfr. note 4), p. 23, as text ea, but not among the edited texts; KLIMKEIT (in note 4), pp. 195-196.

³⁵ Cfr. MÜLLER (in note 24), p. 4-5.

represents the oldest datable Iranian Manichaean Turfan fragment.

An argument in favour of its being a colophon is the observation that in its text, passages in red and black ink follow each other, a phenomenon well known from the initial and final parts of the Hymn Cycles (Parth. M 233, sogd. 14470 = T ii K and 14585-6 = T ii K 178),³⁶ as well as from the colophon of M 1 discussed above.

I cannot describe here a more modest type of colophon to be found on the back of scrolls. They mention the title of a work, its writer and its owner, to be found e.g. in the Sogdian Parable Book.

Names of Donors

Proper names are often to be found at the end of text passages, chapters of a prose work or certain hymns. Thus, the description of Pilate's questioning Christ ends, in the Parthian *parnibrānīg wifrās*, with the word *daršāh*, evidently a proper name.³⁷ At the end of a kind of hymn text the name *Dōšist Mānī*, not recognized by me when I edited the fragment, can be read.³⁸ Numerous other examples are traceable both in published and in unpublished texts. The remarkable Turkish name *Ögürmiş* was discovered by Hen-

³⁶ Cfr. my photo edition *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*, in: *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Supplementary Series II, London 1990, plates 39b, 40a, 69.

³⁷ Attested in W. SUNDERMANN, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte Kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI, Berlin, 1981, p. 80, l. 1234. The name might be explained as **darš-šāh*, with **darš* from Av. *darši* - 'kühn, stark' (Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Straßburg, 1904, col. 699). The name can be compared with the other names Xurramšāh, Pērōzšāh (F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Hildesheim, 1963 = Marburg 1895, pp. 178, 251). It can be explained either as a *Tatpuruṣa* 'brave king' or as a *Bahuvrīhi* 'having a brave king'.

³⁸ Attested in SUNDERMANN (in note 14), p. 109, l. 2109.

ning in M 897.³⁹ As for the meaning and function of names like these, I am still convinced that they denote some kind of donors, i.e. of persons who in order to acquire merit gave alms to a monastery or to a certain scribe for the sake of having a quantity of text copied. When the word *dbyr* 'scribe' replaces a proper name at the end of a passage which is attested in one case,⁴⁰ the donor was in my view the scribe himself (anonymous for us) who did his work free of charge.

It would be a worthwhile task for the future to collect the names of all 'donors' in Iranian Manichaean texts and to distinguish between names of Iranian, Turkish or other origin, between religious and secular names.

Some information concerning the members of the Manichaean community in Qočo can certainly be gathered from these names. But they must be made use of with utmost caution, above all because hardly any of the Turfan texts can safely be dated.

Letters

Letters from the Iranian collection of the Turfan texts known and comprehensible so far are directed to high-ranking personalities with religious or secular authority. They may be regarded as petitions. Replies to subordinate people, business and private letters are rarely attested.

All letters are written in Sogdian language, but they may contain Middle Persian quotations. There are letters in a cursive variant of the Manichaean alphabet (one letter in the formal script of books), and letters in Sogdian script, both in formal and in a sometimes hardly readable cursive script.

Texts in Manichaean script are likely to have been destined

³⁹ Cfr. HENNING (in note 4), p. 333 n. 1.

⁴⁰ M 11/v/23/, published in WALDSCHMIDT - LENTZ (in note 6), p. 557.

for the head of the Manichaeen community in Qočo. They were found in ruin α where the archive, perhaps even the see of the teacher may have been.⁴¹ Two of these letters described by Henning in 1936⁴² were published by me in 1983.⁴³ Their importance as historical documents is obvious. Manichaeans whose language is Sogdian and whose home country is Central Asia complain about foreigners whose communities are called *mihryānd* and *miklāsikt* in the first letter. Both groups may be identified with what an-Nadīm called the Mihriya and Miqlāsiya who between the first half of the 8th century and the end of the 9th century were the conflicting Manichean parties in Mesopotamia.⁴⁴ The letters prove that they even penetrated the Central Asian missionary field of the Dīnāvāriya-community. According to the first letter they violated the five commandments of the elect in many ways.⁴⁵ The writer of the second letter intercedes with a religious or secular authority for «our masters» (*m'x xwys'rt*) and «the present masters» (*'skw'ncykt xwys'rt*) who were hardpressed by teachers and bishops of foreign origin. The author calls them «those dirty and nasty Syrians». So they may have been what the incriminated persons of the first letter were, people from the west, from Mesopotamia and possibly from Persia. Both letters allow us to take a look at the everyday life of the Manichaeen communities in Central Asia. Their social relations were not so harmonious and peaceful as their hymns and homilies might tempt us to believe. They were characterized by what the Chinese *Traité Manichéen* expressly condemns, by an outspoken libertinism,⁴⁶ by manifold interior conflicts, by

⁴¹ Cfr. note 21.

⁴² Cfr. note 1, pp. 14-18.

⁴³ W. SUNDERMANN, *Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe*, in *From Hecataeus to al-Huwārazmī*, ed. by J. HARMATTA, Budapest, 1984, pp. 289-316.

⁴⁴ Cfr. HENNING (in note 1), p. 17.

⁴⁵ Cfr. SUNDERMANN (in note 43), pp. 292-295, 305-309.

⁴⁶ E. CHAVANNES, P. PELLIOT, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine I*, «Jour-

suspicion and distrust, hatred and actions of open animosity to the point of bloodshed.

Henning had dated both letters between 763, the year when Manichaeism became the dominating religion of the Uygur empire, and 880, when the schism between Miqlāsīya and Mihriya came to an end, not without admitting, however, the possibility of a later origin.⁴⁷ I had assumed a similar date between the first half of the 8th century and the end of the 9th. As for the terminus ante quem, I had referred to the purely Sogdian character of the language and the non-Turkish character of the proper names. I had inferred therefrom that the letters were written before the definitive turkization of the Turfan area which must have happened from the 9th century on.⁴⁸ It was my presupposition that in later times correspondence was carried out in Turkish only. But this conclusion has recently been refuted by the discovery of later Sogdian letters in the Turfan oasis containing Turkish names. So Henning's alternative dating of the Manichaean letters after 880 gains greater weight.

The recent discoveries mentioned here are, so far as I know, several Sogdian text fragments found in 1981 by Chinese archaeologists in so-called cave 21 in Bāzāklik in the Turfan oasis. They are, with one exception, unpublished so far, but their existence has already become known among interested specialists. The most recent survey of this group of texts has been given by R. N. Frye in his paper for the Second International Conference on Manichaeism in St. Augustin/Bonn in August last year. Frye reported about *Two Manichaean Scrolls in Sogdian Language and Script from Bezeklik*. The scrolls in question are verbose letter fragments. According to a description of the larger piece given in the Chinese archaeological journal «Wen Wu» 8, 1985, pp. 49-65, its length is 268 cm,

nal Asiatique», 1911, p. 577; H. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, *Chinesische Manichaica*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 96.

⁴⁷ HENNING (in note 1), p. 17, with n. 4.

⁴⁸ SUNDERMANN (in note 43), p. 300.

its breadth is 26 cm, and it contains 135 lines of text. Yutaka Yoshida is expected to publish all the recently found documents. It is not my intention to anticipate any of his results.

What I should like to mention is that the expected publication of the Bāzäklik texts has drawn my attention to two small fragments of the Berlin collection, to piece U 6021 of the Turkish collection, the knowledge of which I owe to Peter Zieme, and a piece without signature of the Iranian part called by me 19554. Both fragments are written in a cursive hand similar to the script of the Bāzäklik documents. One can exclude, it is true, that they might join the above mentioned letter fragments, but they certainly belong to similar letters. This follows from their contents as far as one can understand it. It follows for U 6021 also from a distinctive feature which it shares with many other Central Asian Turkish and Sogdian letters,⁴⁹ i.e. to indent the names and titles of the sender between the address and the message of the letter.

The most interesting information to be gathered from the small Berlin pieces is a double seal imprint on fragment 19554. I think their poor traces can be interpreted as the en-face portrait of a Manichaean clergyman comparable to a seal imprint published by me, explained as *čihr ī hrēstag rōšn* 'the face of the Apostle of Light'.⁵⁰ The imprint, I think, comes from the official seal of the sender so that it must have been attached to the writing of a Manichaean clergyman.

All these letters are likely to be dated later than the two letters in Manichaean script discussed above. Turkish names are attested

⁴⁹ A survey on Uygur letters is given by S. TEZCAN and P. ZIEME, *Uigurische Brieffragmente*, in *Studia Turcica* 1971, pp. 451-460; cfr. also examples published in P. ZIEME, *Manichäisch-türkische Texte*, Berliner Turfantexte V, Berlin, 1975, pp. 65-71. A comparable Sogdian letter has been published by A. N. RAGOZA in *Sogdijskie fragmenty Central'no-Aziatskogo sobranija Instituta Vostokovedenja*, Moskva, 1980, p. 36, plate 137 (text L 44), on which cfr. N. SIMS-WILLIAMS, «BSO AS», 44, 1981, pp. 235-236.

⁵⁰ Cfr. W. SUNDERMANN, *Ein übersehenes Bild Manis*, «Altorientalische Forschungen» («AoF»), 12, 1985, pp. 172-174.

in one case at least, and there are also certain titles known from the Uygur monastery text. This advocates the origin of these letters in the 10th century or afterwards. It compels me to give up my idea that Sogdian as a living language was replaced in Central Asia by the Turkish language after the 9th century. Some Dunhuang documents which have now been published by J. Hamilton and N. Sims-Williams, written in a kind of Sogdo-Turkish mixed language, argue against a quick and complete supersession of the Sogdian by the Turkish language after the 9th century, too.

I should like to mention here two hitherto disregarded Sogdian texts which are most likely letters to a ruler or letter forms. This is what their contents as well as their form seems to imply. One cannot, of course, exclude offhand that both texts belong to colophons, as they are written on codex sheets. This is made unlikely, however, by the word $\beta\gamma$ appearing at the end of sentences in both texts. I understand it as the Sogdian word corresponding to Turkish *tängrim* 'my lord' attested in hymns and letters.⁵¹ The endinglessness of $\beta\gamma$ is of course in need of explanation.⁵²

The first fragment, 18196 = T.M. 381 [= T.], is written in a careful, even calligraphic style of the Sogdian script. I am going to quote its relevant final part:

v/ 9/ ... $\beta\gamma$ kkyr'nw $\beta\gamma$ 'y	9/ ... the exterior
10/ šty δ st β ry 'δw'	10/ ruler of both
11/ (šyr)w 'yrz-nw frn γ wnt	11/ very worthy ⁵³

⁵¹ I owe this information to Peter Ziem who kindly referred me to HAMILTON (in note 11), vol. II, p. 253.

⁵² I compare *vay* instead of *vay* with the second part of the agglutinative formation *rat-vay* «and, o lord», *pāruti-vay* 'because, o lord'. *Vay* and the word preceding it seem to be treated like one word which, containing at least one heavy syllable, functions as a heavy stem without ending.

⁵³ I owe the correct reading and interpretation of the word to N. Sims-Williams. 'yrz-nw = *ērzan* 'worthy' seems to be an archaic spelling of a word which goes back to Old Iranian **arjyāna-* and came to be pronounced in Sogdian as *ējan-|ēžan-*. On these and other forms of the word cfr. I. GERSHEVITCH, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1961, § 263. n. 2; N. Sims-Williams,

12/ pδy 'xš'wnδ'r βγ'y	12/ glorious kinds, ⁵⁴ authorised by the gods, ⁵⁵ the lord,
13/ 'wyγwr 'xšywny-y	13/ king of the Uygurs,
14/ frn'š 'βr'z-'nty	14/ may the splendour of his glory
15/ 'skw['tw oo] ctβ'r	15/ be shining. [May he protect]
16/ kyr'n(w) [MN] s'nt	16/ the four quarters of the world [from]
17/ (n') [šyrxw]z-yt	17/ the [malicious] enemies.

The ruler of the text, it is true, remains anonymous, but the way he is respectfully addressed deserves particular interest. He is, if my interpretation of the passage is correct, the «exterior ruler of both kinds». This formula might correspond to a similar one in an Uygur letter recently published by Hamilton and made known to me by Peter Zieme. The letter has *ekki törlüg* «les deux ordres, catégories, sortes, etc.», or «sur les deux plans».⁵⁶ This means state and church, the first of which being regarded as the «exterior», as it were, profane power.⁵⁷ N. Sims-Williams, however, suggests an essentially different translation of lines 10-12: «... the ruler, worthy of both goods(?), of noble stock».

The language of the fragment makes it likely to be a late com-

H. Halén, *The Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian Script from the Mannerheim Collection*, «Studia Orientalia», 51: 13, 1980, p. 7; D. WEBER, *Khotansakisch āšana-wert, würdig*, in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden, 1985, pp. 675-681.

⁵⁴ For pδ- 'family, kin', translated by me as 'kind', cfr. I. GERSHEVITCH, *The Sogdian Word for «Advice», and some Muγ Documents*, «Central Asiatic Journal», 7, 1962, p. 86, n. 27a.

⁵⁵ I regard βγ'yšty δstβry as an «open compound», 'having the mandate of the gods'. I compare the word with Buddhist Sogdian δstβ'r ''s 'to seize the mandate', Manichaean Sogdian δstβr (M 129/9/ 'ty 'hw'yy δstββry nyy's 'and he took hold of Eve') and Christian Sogdian dstbr (C 3 = T II B 66 / r/4/ ny ''st dstbr 'he does not take hold of'). The ' of the second syllable of the Buddhist form is likely to be no more than a plene writing, and all three spellings represent *dastvar*. For these and related forms with different meanings cfr. «AoF», 14, 1987, p. 344, n. 34.

⁵⁶ HAMILTON (in note 11), p. 50, cfr. p. 41, l. 55.

⁵⁷ Cfr. KLIMKEIT (in note 4), p. 200, n. 15.

position. A point in case is the frequent suffix *-aš* (written *-š* and *-š̄*) denoting the suffix of the possessive pronoun 3rd sg. which in this form is not to be met with in the Sogdian language described in the *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (cfr. §§ 1365-1374).

The second fragment written in cursive script on the back of a Chinese scroll and bearing the signature K 30 only contains the following passage:

7/ ...rty ptškw'nh ptškw(y)[m]	7/ ... And [we] make a request
8/ skwn kw s'r'st βr'yšt(mn)[c]	8/ to the magnificent, ange[lic](?)
9/ MLKw ZY Kw γwr-y k'y prn (ZY)[ms]	9/ king and to the proud, Kayani- an glory, and
10/ kw cyn'nckδy 'wt'k p'sy β(γ)[w]	10/ to the protector of Čīnānčkanθ, the lord []
11/ ZY kw mγwn p's'k prn[ZY kw ...]	11/ and to all protective glories [and to]
12/ tyt (x)wt'wt rwny(?) ...	12/ the lords of []...

Qočo is given here the name Čīnānčkanθ 'Chinatown'. It is the place of the sender or addressee or both. The letter is probably of late origin. Its syntax is characterized by many participle constructions which may well imitate a Turkish pattern.

I cannot deal here with other, hitherto unpublished letter fragments, e.g. 14730 = T II Toyoq.⁵⁸ I just mention the publication of further pieces from the Mannerheim collections⁵⁹ and of Leningrad.⁶⁰ A remarkable specimen is L 44, a letter of a «queen of Argi» (*'rkc'nch x't'wnh*) to a Manichaean teacher (*mwck'*). Proper names do not appear. There is a gap where the destination should have been written (beginning of line 5). Or is it allowed to restore the *Jry* before *s'r* 'to' to *ctβ'r twγry*? A date is also missing. The idiomatic choice of words, however, is, according to Sims-Williams,

⁵⁸ A collection in SIMS-WILLIAMS, HALÉN (in note 23), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁹ Cfr. note 58.

⁶⁰ Letters L 27, L 44, L 111 in RAGOZA (in note 49), pp. 25-26, 35-36, 73. Cfr. on all these letters SIMS-WILLIAMS (in note 49), pp. 235-236.

characterized by some archaic traits also to be met with in the Sogdian Ancient Letters and in the Mugh Documents.⁶¹

Documents

A great number of pre-islamic Turkish documents have come to light in the Turfan oasis.⁶² Sogdian documents have until recently been missing in this part of Central Asia. Today at least two Sogdian documents are known.

A complete sale contract of a slave girl in Sogdian language belonging to the Chinese discoveries in Astana was published by Y. Yoshida and T. Moriyasu in the Japanese journal «Studies on the Inner Asian Languages», 4, 1988, pp. 1-50 under the title *A Sogdian sale contract of a female slave from the period of the Gaochang^b kingdom under the rule of Qu^c clan*. I do not understand the Japanese text of the paper, but it follows from the photo and the transcription of the Sogdian text that a monk *y'nsy'n* bought from a man called *wxwšwšyrt* a slave girl *'wp'ch* from Samarkand for himself and for his descendants with all rights to treat the girl at pleasure. The text is called *δ'ypwsty* 'document about a slave girl'. The greatest surprise for me was the early date of the admittedly non-Manichaean contract. It was written in the 16th year of the regnal device *y'(n)cyw* (*jän žižu*) of the kingdom of Qočo, i.e. in A.D. 639.⁶³

I could add a fragmentary document from two pieces of the Turfan collection in Berlin bearing the signatures T ii D 58 [500]

⁶¹ SIMS-WILLIAMS (in note 49), p. 235.

⁶² Cfr. in general P. ZIEME, *Uigurische Pacht Dokumente*, «AoF», 7, 1980, pp. 197-245, with reference to the unpublished thesis of L. V. CLARK, *Introduction to the Uigur Civil Documents of East Turkestan (13th - 15th cc)*, Bloomington, 1975; P. ZIEME, *Research on Uigur Documents since 1975*, «JA», 169, 1981, pp. 55-61.

⁶³ Y. YOSHIDA, T. MORIYASU, *A Sogdian sale contract of a female slave from the period of the Gaochang^b Kingdom under the rule of Qu^c clan*, «Studies on the Inner Asian Languages», 4, 1988, p. 8.

= 13881/2. The very crude Sogdian script and the fact that the back has a line of Turkish text make it clear that this document, in contrast to the other one published by Yoshida, must be of late origin. The mentioning of Manichaean ranks of a teacher (*mwz-'kw*) and of a presbyter (*xwšty*) as well as two words in Manichaean script on the back of the document betray its Manichaean origin.

I am not yet in a position to give a continuous translation of the whole piece because I do not understand all words. The general subject, I think, is mentioned, however, on the back of the fragment. I tentatively restore, read and translate it as follows:

(tγ)[t](y) nyz-ty z-ynty pw(sty .) [
«document about deposits brought (or) went away».

The text itself reports about pieces or bundles of cotton (*wšynty*),⁶⁴ brought by different persons under a common date, the 9th day of the second month(? *'p(r)my m'xw*)⁶⁵ of a horse year, as deposits, it seems, and possibly into the hands of the teacher of Qočo.

If this is correct the document testifies to certain banking activities of Manichaean monasteries in Central Asia on behalf of local businessmen which have already been supposed by several scholars.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The word is restored from two partly destroyed attestations. It was discussed by Sims-Williams in his still unpublished contribution to the «Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies 'Central Asia: Tradition and Change', 7-10.4.1987». Sims-Williams translated «(cloth) made of cotton».

⁶⁵ My provisional reading is *'p(r)my m'xw*. As the dating follows the Chinese calendar system, an ordinal number is to be expected except for the first month. So it is certainly impossible to correct the spelling of the first word to *'prtmy* 'first'. I suggest *'p'rmy* (or *'pr'my?*) which might belong to Av. *apara-* «der Reihenfolge nach 'der folgende, zweite'» (BARTHOLOMAE in note 37, cols. 76-77), combined with the Buddhist Sogdian suffix *-my* of ordinal numbers (GERSHEVITCH in note 53, § 1096).

⁶⁶ Cfr. S. N. C. LIEU, *Manichaeism in the Late Roman Empire and Medieval China. A Historical Survey*, Oxford, 1985, p. 197.

Word Lists

I mention finally and briefly lists of related words and terms in Sogdian language the most important specimens of which have been published by Henning.⁶⁷ Their Manichaean origin is likely but cannot always be proved. This applies e.g. to the *nāfnāme*, the 'list of nations',⁶⁸ another specimen of which has recently been found by Yutaka Yoshida in the Ōtani collection of Kyoto.⁶⁹

My paper was ment to give a general impression of different kinds of Iranian Manichaean sources on the history of the Turfan area. What we do not have at all are historiographical compositions of any kind. This is not self-evident. Already in the first century of their church the Manichaeans had developed a kind of church history consisting of homilies about the lives and acts of Mani, his followers and successors. Texts like these were to be read in services as models for education and uplift. Their historical message was no end in itself. So, a true Manichaean sense of history did not come into being and in later times the Manichaeans did not regard it worthwhile to write a history of their contemporary church. Their Buddhist environment did not stimulate their sense of history either.

Nevertheless the scanty scraps of source material we have in our hands are distinguished by a particular worth and value. They are not second hand descriptions of history, they are what J. G. Droysen called the «Überreste», the very remains of history.

Additional note of May 17, 1991

During my stay in Japan in April and May 1991 I had the

⁶⁷ W. B. HENNING *Sogdica*, London, 1940, pp. 1-11.

⁶⁸ HENNING (in note 67) pp. 8-11.

⁶⁹ Y. YOSHIDA, *Ōtani Tankentai shōrai chūsei irango bunsho kaken (Report about Sogdian Middle-Iranian texts of the Ōtani Collection)*, «Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan», 28, 1985, pp. 57-58, 64.

chance to discuss the subject of my paper with Professor T. Moriyasu and Prof. Y. Yoshida. Prof. Moriyasu tells me that it was he who, for the first time, dated two Uigur Pale inscriptions in 1008 and 1019 attributing them, however, to two successive Köl Bilgä - kings (cfr. note 11, pp. 334-335). So he does not identify all the Uigur kings mentioned in my paper, either. The time of the fatal decay of Manichaeism in the kingdom of Qočo began, according to him, already in the second half of the 10th century A.D. But concerning the history of the ruin α we both came to the same results.

Y. Yoshida's three corrections of and additions to my texts are as follows. Fragment 18196 = T.M. 381 has a parallel in the Leningrad fragment L 77 (A. N. Ragoza, *Sogdijskie Fragmenty Central'no-Aziatskogo Sobraniija Instituta Vostokovedenija*, Moskva 1980, p. 53). The Leningrad fragment makes my precise interpretation of the text as a (copy of a) letter unlikely. But it must have been some kind of panegyric form. In K 30/9/ he reads xwr-y «sun» instead of my γwr-y «proud» which makes better sense. Yoshida convinced me that L 44 is addressed to one teacher only.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

[a] 智海

[b] 高昌

[c] 麴

MARGARET I. VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYA

THE LENINGRAD COLLECTION OF THE SAKISH BUSINESS
DOCUMENTS AND THE PROBLEM
OF THE INVESTIGATION OF CENTRAL ASIAN TEXTS

The investigation of the written monuments from East Turkestan dating from the first millennium A. D. continues to be one of the most significant ones in the field of orientalistics. In spite of steady progress in the study of many texts in Indo-European, Tibetan, Old-Uigurish, Chinese and other languages, these investigations seem as yet incomplete. Many problems of the history and culture of the peoples who settled in East Turkestan in ancient and medieval times remain to be solved.

Two groups of oases, Northern (Turfan, Kuca etc. including Tun-huang by reason of their historic and cultural unity) and Southern (Kashgar and Khotan), in the first millennium made up the same region due to the influence of Indo-Buddhist culture on them. Hence the difficulties intrinsic to their exploration, whose aim must be to clarify not only their common peculiarities but some specific traits of each people and State in this region.

Accordingly, in our investigation we have applied two general approaches: (1) the complex exploration on the basis of the comparison of the manuscripts of the peoples of Central Asia as the monuments of artifacts and spiritual culture; (2) the analysis of the ties and the mutual influence of the manuscript traditions of Central Asian peoples and the peoples of such neighbouring countries as India, Tibet and China.

The main purpose of our communication is to acquaint our colleagues with the Leningrad collection of business documents in Saka of Khotan. They make up a part of Central Asian manuscripts kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. These documents date from the VIII-IXth centuries A.D. They are here presented for the first time. We shall make an attempt to demonstrate the relationship of the data obtained from our documents with those which have been obtained before. These data deal with the problems of socio-political history of Khotan State at the turn of the first millennium A.D.

The majority of the business documents in Saka were collected by the Russian consul in Kashgar N. F. Petrovsky from 1888 to 1903. They were sent to the Asiatic Museum in St Petersburg. The documents were bought or received as a gift; the site where they had been found is unknown. For the time being 242 documents have been chosen from this collection. 118 of them are sufficiently large and are of a special interest for us. We have 20 documents representing a complete text, 98 being fragments. We were able to read these documents only preliminarily. 124 documents present small pieces, which add to the known data only in some details.

A few documents were bought in Khotan by the Russian scholar S. E. Malov from 1919 to 1920; again, the exact site where they had been found is not known. There are 3 complete documents and 5 pieces in this collection. They differ from the documents of Petrovsky by their appearance and palaeography. They seem to have been written at a later date and elsewhere in Khotan.

Previously about 300 documents in Saka of Khotan were known. They are kept in the manuscript collections of Great Britain, France, Sweden, the USA, Japan and China. About 200 of them have been facsimiled in Six Portfolios of Saka Documents (*Corpus Inscriptio-num Iranicarum*). The majority of these documents have been published by the distinguished scientist Dr. H. W. Bailey with transliteration and preliminary translation into English (Bailey, 1968). It may be said that our documents contribute notably to the num-

ber of the generally known ones – we have about 250 scrolls. I have said ‘about’ because I suppose that some unconnected fragments belong to the same accounting documents.

As is known, the official and business documents in seven languages have been found in East Turkestan: North-West Prakrit, Tibetan, Saka of Khotan and Tumshuq, Tokharian B (the language of Kuca), Sogdian, Chinese and Old-Uigurish. They make use of four different writing materials – paper, wood, leather, silk. They are different in appearance, but they have kept without changes two types of the pattern, one that descended from the Achaemenid office and the other from the Old Chinese office. The latter is conserved almost exclusively in Chinese documents from Tunhuang and Turfan. The influence of the Achaemenid formulary on the Chinese type of documents seems evidently to have been exercised. The documents in Saka of Khotan are not an exception in this respect. The Saka documents are known on paper and wood. Our documents, except for two, are written on paper. Of the other two, one is written on a small whittled plank and the other on a stick with knots. There are the following formulas in these documents: (1) the number of years of the reign periods of Khotanian rājās (*kṣuna*) and some of their administrators: more usually only the name of the month and day, without the designation of the year. Only one document from the Malov collection is dated by means of the Animal Cycle of Twelve Years (*krrakerraga salyi*, ‘in the cock year’). (2) There are some technical formulas at the beginning and at the end of many documents, for example: *ttye pracaina cu*, ‘for the reason that...’; *ttīra prammā himi khu* or the complete set *ttīra pramānda himi khu*, ‘this [letter] will then come into force when...’. (3) In conclusion, as a rule, the names of witnesses are enumerated with their finger-marks (*hamguṣṭe*). Some documents are attested by the Chinese officials, whose posts and names are listed (by the way of hieroglyphs); there are several signs like hieroglyphs in some documents (*tamga?*). The small non-Chinese square seal is found only on Malov’s documents. It has not yet been deciphered.

We must make here an essential remark. The Saka language

of Khotan had been unknown until the manuscripts of East Turkestan were found. That is why there has been a philological approach to texts in Saka studies up to recent times: grammatic and etymological analysis only. The business documents present especially grave difficulties; much in the translation must remain conjectural. We are able to imagine the records of a village-official. Their characteristic features may be cursive writing, insufficient grammatical correctness, the absence of orthographical rules, only his own abbreviations. The main obstacle in interpreting these documents is the absence of a dictionary of those technical terms which are etymologically 'dark'. The number of bilingual texts is scanty; in many cases only the context can be helpful. For this reason a fully satisfactory interpretation of these texts is not yet possible. We have tried to interpret only such things which seem beyond doubt or at least highly probable.

The documents in question present the records of the payments of taxes for a month, as a rule, by money (*mūri*) and by cloth. In the majority of cases the cloth is probably silk, if the supposition of H. W. Bailey is correct. He derived Saka *thau*, *thauna* from Chinese *tš'ou*. More frequently the word *thaunaka* is used, 'a piece of cloth'. As has been shown by H. W. Bailey, *I thaunaka* is equal to '40 *chā*', also the Chinese word *tš'i* or a 'foot of about 10 inches' (KT, IV, 53). Besides, the words *kām̄ha*, *kāha* ('hemp cloth') and *pi'mīnai* ('woollen cloth') occur in the texts. The documents sometimes contain the information about tax by cattle, corn, lucerne, skin, butter etc. Accounting documents are composed very carefully; the names of the givers and receivers are written; there are signatures under the records.

It is a very important fact that all the documents of the Petrovsky collection come from one and the same place – the Gaysata village – at time when a certain Sīdaki was the village-elder (*auva hamdasta*). As a matter of fact, our documents consist of the archives of his office: the orders received from Supremacy; the documents about taxation; the deeds of purchase; the deeds of loan; the letters etc. With the help of these documents the list of the taxpayers of Gaysata may be almost fully restored. Nine docu-

ments preserve the full formula of dating with the name of one and the same rājā, Viṣa' Vāham. The dates on these documents range from the twelfth to twentieth years of his reign. Adding the documents from S. Hedin's and A. Stein's collections his reign may be traced from its 7th to the 22nd year. The prosopography or the list of the names of all officials of Viṣa' Vāham may be reconstructed for Gaysata during the period of Sīdaki. We have also made a list of all taxpayers of Gaysata village – a total of sixty names (of the general number of fifty – fifty-five farms mentioned in two documents of the fifteenth and the seventeenth years of Viṣa' Vāham).

What are the new data obtained from our documents? As can be imagined, the results of our investigations may be useful for clarifying some unsolved problems. In the first place it throws light on the absolute and relative chronology of Khotanian rājās. The reign period of Viṣa' Vāham whose family name is Vijaya (in Sanskrit) up to recent time has not been ascertained. H. W. Bailey was the first to tackle this problem. He tried to associate the name of one of Viṣa' Vāham's officials of high position, ṣṣau Ṣanīra, with the father of the Great Princess who wrote the lyric poem in P. 2027. According to the colophon of this manuscript he was born in A. D. 917. Thus the reign period of Viṣa' Vāham must be put at the end of the IXth century or in the early half of the Xth century (KT, IV, 8). Further investigation shows that there is no reason for such a dating. E. Pulleyblank and others on the basis of comparison of the number of colophons with the Chinese written sources, provided evidence that the period between 912-977 was covered by the reign of two other rājās – Vijaya Saṃbhava and Vijaya Śūra. The period of Viṣa' Vāham was sufficiently long to lend support to this theory – as many as 22 years.

On the basis of the investigations of the Chinese written sources by Zhang Guanda, Rong Xinjiang (Zhang Guanda, Rong Xinjiang, 1984), E. Pulleyblank (Pulleyblank, 1954, p. 94), Inokuchi Taijun (Inokuchi, 1960), J. Hamilton (Hamilton, 1977, p. 360-361) and others it can now be said that the Xth century has been fully covered by the reign of rājās, dated more or less exactly. The last

year of Vijaya family was determined by J. Hamilton as 998 – the end of the reign of Viṣa Dharma. The analyses of Saka documents confirms the correctness of this dating: the document Or.9268 from Birgaṃdara village is dated by the 17th year of Viṣa' Dharma. We know, that the first year of his reign is 978, thus the 17th year is 995.

In this way Viṣa' Vāhaṃ must have been on the throne during the VIIIth or IXth centuries. Our documents present arguments for the statement that Viṣa' Vāhaṃ's reign period covered the time when there was Chinese Supremacy in Khotan. These documents mention the orders of the Chinese administration and contain the hieroglyphs; in some cases they are written on the back of Chinese writings. One of them is worthy to be mentioned especially. It is the local imitation of a Chinese sample. Akṣaras of brāhmi script are placed by the vertical lines beginning from the right side. We suppose our documents were written in the time before 790 or before Tibetan occupation. Another way of dating them is that they may have been written after 851, when the Tibetan army withdrew from Khotan. The first supposition seems to be more acceptable. Rājā Viṣa' Vāhaṃ is known from the Tibetan records concerning Khotan: for example, from the *Prophecy of the Li country*. The manuscripts of this text were found in Tun-huang. Viṣa' Vāhaṃ is referred to as «Viṣa' Vāhaṃ the Great», 'The Great Victorious Driver'. His name also occurs in the Tibetan documents from the times of the Tibetan Supremacy in East Turkestan in the forms of 'Tran-ched-po', 'The Great Driver' (document from Mazar-Tagh, published by F. W. Thomas in the early 1930s: Thomas, IV, c. 66-68) and 'Mun-dmag-tran', 'The Driver, Conquering the armies' (document from Tun-huang, published for the first time by S. Konow: Konow, 1914, p. 342). In the «Prophecy of the Li country» issued by R. E. Emmerick, 'The Great Victorious Driver' is mentioned in the genealogy of the Vijaya family as the next to last, and of 57 rājās only he is called 'The Great'. The reason for this was that the Tibetans were concerned with him when consolidating their position in Khotan.

Further. The dating by the Animal Cycle is absent in the Gay-

sata documents. It seems that, in East Turkestan, this Cycle came into use for dating only during the Tibetan occupation. The Tibetan records from Tun-huang were dated by the Animal Cycle of Twelve Years. Before Tibetan occupation the Chinese documents from East Turkestan were dated by the Cyclic signs (cf., for example, the Chinese documents from Dandān-Uiliq, found by A. Stein together with six Saka documents). A. Stein dated them to the period between 781-790. He considered that after 790 the office where these documents were found was abandoned. After Tibetan occupation, dating by the Animal Cycle came into use both in Saka and Chinese documents. For example, two bilingual documents from the S. Hedin collection (Hedin 15 and Hedin 16) where the Chinese part is dated by the 'Serpent year' of an unnamed rājā. With the help of the name of 'tax collector Hvu' (Chinese *p'an-kuan Fu*) used in these documents, E. Pulleyblank determined that they dated from 885 (KT, IV, p. 179). Our investigation of the documents from the S. Hedin collection has resulted in the reconstruction of the proper name of this rājā. It is also mentioned in the document from China, published by R. E. Emmerick in 1984 - Viṣa' Siṃhya (Emmerick, 1984).

All this allows us to consider that Viṣa' Vāhaṃ must have been on the throne during the middle or the second half of the VIIIth century. His reign came to the end before 790.

Prosopography and the list of the tax-payers of Gaysata-village are very useful as a criterion for dating other Saka documents and determining the places of compilation. By means of these materials we succeeded in showing that a great deal of S. Hedin's documents are associated with the territory of the region (*piškala*) near to Gaysata village, the so called 'Six villages' (*kṣa auva*). In the light of the name of each village in this region and the ties of their respective peoples with Gaysata, it becomes clear that the 'Six villages', together with the villages of Gaysata, Askura and Birgamdara mentioned in both groups of documents, were situated in the S. E. part of Ancient Khotan, corresponding to the modern oases of Cira, Gulakhma and Dumaqu (the first of these conserves its ancient name unchanged). On the basis of the documents pub-

lished by H. W. Bailey, we can reconstruct the proper names of 68 tax-payers from the 'Six-villages' for the reign period of rājā Viṣa' Siṃhya. As mentioned above his reign period began after the end of the Tibetan occupation. The prosopography of his officials is also composed.

The large amount of contemporary documents from one and the same territory allows us to make some conclusions about the socio-economic and administrative system of Khotan in the VIIIth-IXth centuries. We may describe the functions of some officials of the court and local administration. For example, *ṣau* (*ṣṣau*) – a title which H. W. Bailey proposed to translate as 'the Governor', the second figure in the administration after rājā. Or the *spāta*, a member of the local administration. It is possible that this title had been conserved from the time of the military-administrative system of the division of society. Etymologically it can be interpreted as 'a military official', 'commander'. The orders of the *ṣau* and others were addressed in his name. They concerned the tax-collection and the fulfilment of communal works. One more title: *hamdasta*, 'the village official', 'the elder'. The title *pharṣa* (*pharṣavata*), 'the official', 'the official asking questions' or probably 'judge', was of not so high rank. According to documents his functions were similar to those which *spāta* and *hamdasta* fulfilled. Juridical functions were not separated from business ones.

Now I shall dwell on the prosopography of the officials of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ. *Spāta* Sīḍaki was appointed for the post of village-elder at some time between the 7th to the 12th regnal year of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ. His predecessor was *spāta* Daḍuṣa, who is mentioned in the document of the seventh year of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ (Hedin 26). It is probable that one of our documents is concerned with the appointment of Sīḍaki. We have the following text: 'for the appointment of the elder of Gaysata village ... the counting of the number of people was made'. On another document – the report of Sīḍaki – the name of his son is mentioned – Sīlāṃ. He was sent to the court for service. A certain Attā or Arrtai is mentioned in a number of documents as the assistant of Sīḍaki. As far as the officials of high rank are concerned, we believe that only in

the times of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ was their status determined more or less exactly. This is reflected in the way of dating the documents by the names of the ṣau.

Nine documents are dated by the years of governments of the following ṣau: 'the year of ṣau Śacu' (five documents, beginning with the 7th year of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ); 'the year of ṣau Vidyadatta' (two documents, for the 7th and 20th years of Viṣa' Vāhaṃ); 'the year of ṣau Śanīra' (two documents; one of them: Or. 6393.2).

Ṣau Śattāṃ also sent the orders to Sīḍaki (two documents), as well as ṣau Phaimhvuhi (three documents); ṣau Śīlā or *hiyaudi āmāca ṣṣau Śīlā*, 'the noble minister ṣṣau Śīlā' (five documents); *spāta* Budadatta (one document); *spāta* Ṣṣaniraka (five documents); *spāta* Devakīrti, (one document); *āmāca* Macira āṣa or Ma-ākṣira a[ṣa] (three documents).

Chinese officials are also mentioned: *khakhai hvū*, 'the official Fu' (the title is not deciphered yet); *jiang-zuojiang* Yang Jinqing (three documents), 'the official of the government of the communal works Yang Jinqing', etc. In the letters of Sīḍaki there are also references to *yauvi pharṣa* Īrvamāṃñāṃ, 'the young judge Īrvamāṃñāṃ'.

Prosopography and the list of the names give the material for clarifying the linguistic substratum of Saka language in Khotan. The names of the Attā and Arrtai type, which are transmitted in a variety of forms, are of special interest in this respect.

The comparison of the Saka documents with the Chinese and Tibetan documents on the one hand, and with those from Niya and Kroraina, together with Sogdian and Parthian documents on the other, permits us to conclude that there were two types of housekeeping in Northern and Southern oases of East Turkestan. These types are reflected in the documents and it is impossible to explain them only on the basis of chronological differences. We can notice three main distinctions:

(1) There are no lists of homesteads enumerating each member of a family among the documents from Southern oases. We have only the lists of householders who are associated with the different administrative

units – such as *sata* ('a hundred'), village, region, etc. These units were established for fiscal purposes.

(2) There are no descriptions of the allotments of each householder among the documents from Southern oases. In contrast, the Chinese category *juan-tian*, 'the equal fields', may be mentioned. We did not even find the unit for measuring the land under crop in the documents from Niya-Kroraina or Khotan. Such a unit occurs in Chinese documents: *mu*. The difference may be explained by the fundamentally different systems of evaluating the land under crop: in Southern oases it is measured by the quantity of the seed which may be sown on it. This tradition also may be traced in Sogdian and Parthian documents. Only during the Tibetan occupation the unit *dor* appears in Tibetan documents; its literal meaning is 'the land which may be ploughed by the team of a pair of yaks within the time from morning to evening'.

(3) The way of levying taxes in Southern oases was different from that of Turfan and Tun-huang. In the States of Kroraina and Khotan the offices of Supreme governors levied the general sum of taxes in money and in kind for each hundred, village and region. The number of farms in a given administrative unit in each year as well as the general sum of taxes were ascertained. According to the Chinese tradition in Northern oases the taxes were levied on each single farm annually. Their sum depended on the number of household people; they were divided into groups according to age, social position etc. for the purpose of establishing a tax-quota. It seems that such a system of levying taxes may indicate some relicts of communal society in the economy of Southern oases: the responsibility for tax payments at an earlier stage was laid on the whole community, not on a single household.

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JAMES HAMILTON

ÉTUDE NOUVELLE DE LA LETTRE
PELLIOT OUIGOUR 16 BIS
D'UN BOUDDHISTE D'ÉPOQUE MONGOLE

INTRODUCTION

On sait que dans la célèbre grotte aux manuscrits de Touenhouang furent trouvés, parmi les dizaines de milliers de manuscrits antérieurs à l'an mille, cinq petits cahiers de manuscrits bouddhiques en ouïgour tardif des environs du XIV^e siècle. On peut supposer, comme l'a fait Sir Aurel Stein,¹ qui les avait en 1907 trouvés en dehors des liasses, que ces cahiers ouïgours tardifs avaient été ramassés par le moine taoïste Wang dans une autre grotte, vraisemblablement une du groupe septentrional aménagé au XIII^e-XIV^e siècle, et qu'il les aurait lui-même déposés ensuite dans la grotte aux manuscrits anciens. Or, pour renforcer la reliure de celui des cinq cahiers ouïgours tardifs que Paul Pelliot avait rapporté à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris où il portait la cote *Pelliot Chinois 4521*, s'y trouvait incorporée, repliée et collée ensemble avec d'autres feuilles de papier, une feuille en grande partie masquée mais laissant apparaître par endroits quelques bribes d'un texte en ouïgour tardif. De ces petits bouts d'écriture ouïgoure tardive

¹ Cf. SIR AUREL STEIN, *Serindia*, vol. II (Oxford 1921), pp. 828-829, 923 et 925.

à peine lisibles transparaissant sur deux bords de la couverture du *Pelliot Chinois 4521* personne n'avait, bien entendu, songé à s'occuper pendant de longues années. Il a fallu attendre l'arrivée en France en 1978 pour un séjour d'étude de deux ans du boursier japonais Moriyasu Takao pour voir s'accomplir le tour de force remarquable qui consistait à déchiffrer ce manuscrit tel qu'il se trouvait dissimulé dans la reliure du cahier en le scrutant par transparence à l'aide d'une lampe. L'édition par le professeur Moriyasu Takao du manuscrit en question fut publiée en anglais sous le titre *An Uigur Buddhist's Letter of the Yuan dynasty from Tun-huang* (Supplement to *Uigurica from Tun-huang*) dans «Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko», n° 40, 1982, pp. 1-18, et en japonais sous le titre *Gendai Uiguru Bukkyōto no ichi shokan – Tonkō shutsudo Uiguru-go bunken hoi*, dans *Nairiku Ajia, Nishi Ajia no shakai to bunka*, Tōkyō 1983, pp. 209-231.

Puis, un jour au début de l'année dernière (1987), alors que je me trouvais dans la salle des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale en compagnie du Professor Kudara Kogi, une bibliothécaire m'a apporté plusieurs fragments, trois grands et trois petits, d'un manuscrit ouïgour tardif portant la cote *Pelliot Ouïgour 17*, qu'elle m'a présenté comme étant récemment décollé d'un autre manuscrit et qu'elle souhaitait que j'examine pour pouvoir l'identifier et le restaurer. Or, dans la lecture que je devais faire de ce manuscrit, j'étais, pour commencer, particulièrement gêné par le fait que l'écriture de la plupart des fragments était inversée par rapport à la normale, ayant sans doute absorbé l'encre de la feuille de laquelle ils avaient été décollés. Alors que j'avançais malgré tout dans le déchiffrement du manuscrit, arrivé à un certain point je me suis rendu compte qu'il devait s'agir de la lettre du Bouddhiste ouïgour éditée en 1982 par le professeur Moriyasu. D'abord j'ai éprouvé quelque déception en constatant que le démontage de la couverture du cahier dans laquelle la lettre avait été incorporée n'avait malheureusement pas permis de découvrir beaucoup plus de texte, en dépit de l'espoir exprimé par Moriyasu à la p. 2 de son édition en anglais. Tout au plus a-t-il permis de reconnaître plus sûrement par-ci par-là une ou deux lettres ou un

élément de mot – rarement un mot entier.² Je m'apprêtais donc à en rester là de cette étude, quitte à communiquer au professeur Moriyasu les résultats plutôt décevants du démontage de la lettre,³ lorsque du texte que j'étais ainsi en train de réviser semblait se dégager petit à petit un certain sens nouveau qui m'a paru présenter un intérêt non négligeable. Il s'agissait en particulier du terme *yonar*, lu au début de la l. 9 à la place du nom de personne *Yoqay* lu par Moriyasu et tiré sans doute du verbe turc *yon-*, 'tailler, sculpter, couper', qui désignerait une importante activité se déroulant au XIV^e siècle en milieu bouddhiste à Cha-tcheou et qui se trouverait apparemment en relation, d'une part, avec le travail manuel difficile et fatiguant échu au religieux Alp Qaya et, d'autre part, avec la fabrication d'objets poursuivie par le ou les maîtres bouddhistes, en même temps qu'avec leur étude des œuvres sacrées bouddhiques. Cette activité dite *yonar*, préoccupation toute particulière de l'auteur de la lettre, qui semble correspondre à un travail de sculpture, de taille, ou de gravure en relief, et à laquelle se rapporteraient également peut-être les formes malheureusement très hypothétiques de *yonip/yonup* (?) à la l. 12, de *yo//* à la l. 24 et de *yonm/* à la l. 25, m'a évidemment fait penser au millier de petits blocs de bois portant en relief des caractères ouïgours taillés ou sculptés, qui furent trouvés par Paul Pelliot en 1908 dans la grotte 181 du groupe septentrional de Touen-houang, aménagée à l'époque mongole, d'où proviendrait justement notre cahier ouïgour,⁴ et qui représentent sans doute les plus anciens exemples

² J'ai dû laisser de côté deux très petits fragments portant chacun deux ou trois lettres de deux lignes parallèles d'écriture de lecture trop incertaine pour en faire état.

³ J'ignorais alors que la Bibliothèque Nationale lui avait déjà fait parvenir trois ans auparavant les photographies des fragments démontés du manuscrit en question (cf. la note de M. MORIYASU, p. 98, à la fin de son étude *Uiguru-go Bunken*, Tôkyô 1985).

⁴ A cet égard cf. la note suivante sur la grotte 181 du carnet de Pelliot (*Grottes de Touen-houang, Carnet de Notes de Paul Pelliot*, XI, 6, Grottes 146 à 182 et divers, édité par Monique Maillard et actuellement sous presse): «... Cette grotte

trouvés jusqu'ici de caractères mobiles servant à l'imprimerie.⁵

Voici donc ma version, qui diffère quelque peu de celle du professeur Moriyasu, de la lettre, portant actuellement la cote *Pelliot Ouïgour 16 bis*, d'un Bouddhiste ouïgour de l'époque mongole, trouvée par Paul Pelliot dans la grotte aux manuscrits à Touen-houang, mais provenant selon toute vraisemblance de la grotte 181:

est en partie encombrée de débris: en dégagant un peu pour la photographie, nous avons trouvé de nombreux cubes de bois servant à l'impression de livres mongols, et qui doivent donner chacun un mot entier; il devait y avoir dans cette grotte une imprimerie à l'époque mongole, il y a aussi des fragments en chinois, tibétain, brahmī, mongol et de courts fragments imprimés en si-hia; c'est là une nouveauté. J'ai fait achever le dégagement de la grotte: on y a trouvé finalement un certain nombre de feuillets imprimés si-hia appartenant à au moins quatre livres différents, un cahier mongol à peu près entier, avec des expressions chinoises intercalées, rappelant le cahier que j'ai trouvé hors des paquets dans la grotte 163 [Institut de Dunhuang n° 17] et que je soupçonne d'être mongol plutôt que ouïgour (et qui a dû être ajouté dans la grotte 163 depuis 1900)...» – A noter que le cahier de la grotte 163 que Pelliot soupçonne d'être mongol, à savoir le *Pelliot Chinois 4521* devenu le *Pelliot Ouïgour 16* dans la couverture duquel se trouvait la lettre étudiée ici, est bel et bien ouïgoure, comme devait l'être également sans doute le «cahier mongol» de la grotte 181 dont je n'ai malheureusement pas trouvé trace à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁵ Sur ces blocs mobiles d'impression en ouïgour trouvés par Paul Pelliot, cf. FRANCIS MACOUIN, *A propos de caractères d'imprimerie ouïgours, Le Livre et l'Imprimerie en Extrême-Orient et en Asie du Sud*, Actes du Colloque organisé à Paris du 9 au 11 mars 1983, «Revue Française d'Histoire du Livre», N° 42, 1984, pp. 147-157. Par ailleurs, j'apprends depuis peu avec étonnement que S. F. Ol'denburg, au cours de son expédition à Touen-houang en 1914-15, aurait trouvé encore 100.000 petits blocs de bois mobiles portant des formes gravées en écriture ouïgoure. Voir l'ouvrage par S. L. TIXVINSKIJ et B. A. LITVINSKIJ, *Vostočnyj Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e. Očerki istorii.*, Moscou 1988, p. 42, ainsi que le compte rendu de PETER ZIEME, *Neue sowjetische Veröffentlichungen über die alten Kulturen Xinjiangs*, «Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig)», N° 499, sous presse, qui renvoie également à un article de N. N. NAZIROVA dans le volume *Vostočnyj Turkestan i Srednjaja Azija v sisteme kul'tur Drevnego i Srednevekovogo Vostoka*, Moscou 1986, p. 31. Doit-on penser que les «100.000 petits blocs de bois» trouvés par Ol'denburg ne sont autres que les «nombreux cubes de bois» que Pelliot avait vus en 1908 dans la grotte 181 et dont il n'aurait rapporté à Paris qu'un relativement petit échantillon d'un millier de pièces? Et cette énorme trouvaille de blocs d'impression xylographiques mobiles en ouïgour serait-elle actuellement conservée à Léninegrad?

Pelliot Ouigour 16 bis (ancien Pelliot Chinois 4521)

TEXTE

1. //////////////●●●(n)⁶ lyk k(w)////l "////////////////////
..... [äsä](n)-lik k(ö)[ŋü]l a[yidu i-dur-mān enč]
2. "s/////////ky sn mn syn kwyrmys t'ky č' t●●●//
äs[än bar ār]ki sän mān sen körmiš-täki-čä t[örtünč?]
3. "y ●●●(č) ⁷ 'wtwz χ'd'ky 'ynč "s'n p'r twrwr m/
ay [ülč (●) otuz-qadägi enč äsän bar turur m[än]
4. y'n' swyz wm 'lp xy 'nwmd's χ', s'nk' m ' kw//
yana söz-üm alp qay-a nomdaš-qa saŋa m-ā kü[č?]
5. 'ynč (sz) 'lyk 'yš pwlmys twxs'r 'wylkw yyrt////
enč(-siz) ālig iš bolmiš toysar ölgü yert[inčü-]
6. nwnk twyrw sy twrwr s'nk' "ny t'k 'yš pw(l)////
nüŋ törü-si turur saŋa anı täg iš bol[miš?]
7. m'nk' (m) ' "ny t'k pwlmys n'kw χylχw sβ 'wl
maŋa m-ä anı täg bolmiš nägü qılıγu saβ ol
8. y'n' swyz wm 'lp xy 'nwmd's χ' s'n šačw t'ky
yana söz-üm alp qay-a nomdaš-qa sän šaču-täki
9. ywn'r nynk pwydmys yn pwydm'ywk yn "nd'χy 'yš
yonar-niŋ büdmiš-in büdümäyük-in andaγı iš-
10. nynk kwyc wnk y'r'χy n'd'k 'rs'r "ny m'nk'
niŋ küč-ünγ yaraγı nädäg ärsär anı maŋa
11. p////(p) 'y-dχyl 'ws'l pwlm'zwn • š(')ly tw "d
b[iti](p) i-dγil osal bolmazun • šäli tu äd
12. "d χylγp ywryp⁸ twrwr • nwm 'wχyp mw
äd qılıp yoriγ turur • nom oqıp mu

⁶ Ou č...⁷ Plutôt que d'une lettre il doit s'agir d'un pâté ou lettre gâchée.⁸ Ou ywnyp ou, bien moins vraisemblablement, ywnwp.

13. *twrwor 'wχym'yyn mw twrwor 'wl'r ny m'nk' pyty/*
turur oqımayın mu turur olar-nı maņa biti[p]
14. *'y-dχyl 'wysk' 'yš kwyč p'r 'rs'r sn pyt//*
i-dyıl öşgä iş küč bar ärsär sän bit[ig]
15. *'y-dχ'y sn y'n' swyz 'lp χy '9χ' pwy'n t'mwr š¹⁰yš¹¹ y'*
i-dyay-sän yana söz alp qay-a-qa buyan tämür šiš-ya
16. *prw pwydwn twyk'l č'kr t's lyχ t'βχ'č č'*
berü büdün tükäl čakar taš-liy taßyač-ča
17. *kwylyχ pyr βw¹² β'pχw'ky nynk ''čyχy pyr*
güliy bir (βua?) βapχuaki-niη ačiγi bir
18. *'n(n)ts('n)k¹³ p'χšy nynk ''χd'rmys' n'm's'nkkyd*
an(n)ts(a)η baχši-niη aqđarmiš namasaηgid
19. *pyr t'ypwš'ky χ'rd'y y mwncā nwm l'r ny 'y-dt(y)*
bir taypošaki χarday-i munča nom-lar-nı i-dti
20. *kwyrwop ''lyyl y'mw pw nwm l'r 'wyzk' nwm l'r t'(k)¹⁴*
körüp alγil yamu bu nom-lar özgä nom-lar tä(g)
21. */////k¹⁵ kwykwskwlwk '(')rm' sn*
.....k kögüsgülüg arma sän
22. */////p'χšymz 'ny n'd'k s'χyns'r sn pw nwm //*
.....baχšimiz ani näđäg saqınsar sän bu nom ...
23. *////////////////////••••//•sw(n)k(')yšy (pw)/(s)•/*
.....••••...• soη iši (bo)[l](s)[ar?]

⁹ Mot ajouté au-dessus de la ligne.

¹⁰ š tracé par-dessus une autre lettre (ou tache?).

¹¹ š porte une longue queue comme une finale.

¹² La lettre finale 'ou n est un peu bizarre, avec une sorte de boucle tracée par-dessus, comme pour biffer.

¹³ On a l'impression qu'avant le t il y a un ' ou n supplémentaire et qu'après le s il manque 'n avant la queue du k.

¹⁴ Ou n.

¹⁵ Ou 'n.

24. ||||●●● yw||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||
●●● yo.....
25. |||(w) k'rk k pwl(w)p ''χy ''nč' tys'r ywn(m)¹⁶||||
 ...(u) kărgăk bolup aγi anča tesăr yon(m).....

Pelliot Ouigour 16 bis

TRADUCTION

(1) [J'envoie (cette lettre) en m'enquérant] de (ton) état [de (paix et de?) bonne santé] et de (ton) état d'esprit. (2) Sans doute mènes-tu [une existence de paix et de] bonne santé. Moi, (3) jusqu'à (la date actuelle du) vingt-trois du (quatrième ~ neuvième?) mois, je continue de mener une existence de paix et de bonne santé comme au moment de (t')avoir vu auparavant.

(4) Encore un mot de moi à l'intention du frère en religion Alp Qaya: À toi aussi (5) est échu un travail manuel difficile et fatigant. Lorsqu'on naît on doit mourir: (6) c'est la règle de ce bas monde. (Si?) à toi un tel travail est échu, (7) à moi aussi un tel travail est échu. C'est le cas de dire 'que faire?'

(8) Encore un mot de moi à l'intention du frère en religion Alp Qaya: Toi, (9) (pour dire) si (le travail de) taille (sculpture? gravure?) qui (est fait) à Cha-tcheou a été mené à bien ou n'a pas été mené à bien, (et pour décrire) (10) les perspectives quelles qu'elles soient des affaires qui (sont entreprises) là-bas, (11) en écrivant (tout) cela, envoie-moi (une lettre). Qu'il n'y ait pas de négligence (à ce sujet)! (Est-ce que) (les?) *Šäli tu* (12) continue(nt?) à fabriquer sans cesse (et à tailler?) des objets (de toute sorte?) les uns après les autres, et est-ce qu'il(s) continue(nt) à réciter des œuvres sacrées (13) ou est-ce qu'il(s) ne continue(nt) pas à les réciter? En m'écrivant ces (choses)-là (14) envoie-moi (une lettre). (Et) s'il y a (encore) d'autres affaires, toi, (15) tu enverras une lettre.

¹⁶ Ou y ou k.

Encore un mot à Alp Qaya: Buyan Tämür *çişya*, (16) en (les) donnant, a envoyé, tout au complet, (17) les œuvres sacrées que voici: un commentaire sur le *Fa-houa-king*^a comportant des expressions (*yu*^b) en chinois avec la couverture (au dessin) de *cakra*, un (18) *Nāmasaṃgīti* traduit par Maître Ngan-tsang^c, (19) et un *hrdaya* du *Ta-po-jo-king*^d. (20) Prends-en livraison en vérifiant, n'est-ce pas? Ces œuvres sacrées, comme les autres œuvres sacrées, (21) (sont) [.....] imprégnées de la pensée profonde (ou sont à faire connaître?). Ne te lasse pas, toi!

(22) [.....?] quoi qu'en pense notre maître [.....?], toi, ce(s?) œuvre(s) sacrée(s) (23) [.....] après... s'il a du travail (24) [.....] (tailler/graver?) [.....] (25) ayant besoin de [.....], si (on?) dit que le trésor (la marchandise? l'étoffe?) vaut autant, (la taille/la gravure?) [.....].

COMMENTAIRE

1-2. La présente lettre est à comparer avec d'autres lettres ouïgoures de l'époque mongole comportant des formules épistolaires analogues, à savoir notamment celle de la planche 79, p. 87, chez Houang Wen-pi, *T'ou-lou-fan k'ao-kou ki*, in «K'ao-kou hiue t'ö-k'an», n° 3, Changhai 1954, éditée par Semih Tezcan et Peter Zieme dans *Uigurische Brieffragmente*, «Studia Turcica», Budapest 1971, pp. 456-459, et les deux lettres figurant au recto et au verso des fragments *Pelliot Ouïgour 203, 195 et 197* de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris provenant de la grotte 181 de Touen-houang aménagée aux XIII^e-XIV^e s., éditées par Moriyasu Takao dans *I. Uiguru-go bunken* Tōkyō 1985, pp. 76-87, extrait de la tome VI des *Kōza* sur *Tonkō: Tonkō Kogo bunken*. Cette comparaison nous amène à supposer qu'il ne manquait au début de notre lettre qu'une ou deux lignes, comportant d'abord le nom du ou des destinataires suivi de celui de l'auteur de la lettre, qui devait poursuivre en demandant des nouvelles de l'état de santé de son correspondant. Or, les premières traces d'écriture subsistant à la l. 1 de notre manuscrit pourraient bien appartenir à la forme *enč-lik* ou, peut-être mieux, à *äsän-lik*, termes figurant justement dans la formule

de la demande de nouvelles de la lettre éditée par Tezcan et Zieme, p. 457, l. 5: *enč-lik äsän-lik ayıdu idur-biz*, littéralement «nous envoyons en nous enquérant de (votre) état de paix et bonne santé». Dans notre manuscrit, cependant, ces premières traces sont suivies par des traces suggérant *kö[ŋü]l a[yıdu]*. Nous sommes donc amenés à rétablir une variante de la première formule qui serait: (*enč-lik?*) *äsän-lik köŋül ayıdu idur män*, litt. «j'envoie en m'enquérant de (ton) état de (paix et de?) bonne santé et de (ton) état d'esprit». Ensuite, à la fin de la l. 1 peut être suppléé le mot *enč* et au début de la l. 2 la forme commençant par 's peut être rétablie en *äs[än]* pour retrouver la formule *enč äsän bar ärki sän* dont les dernières lettres *..ky sn* subsistent à la l. 2. La construction *bar är-* ou *bar tur-* avec le sujet au cas nominatif ou absolu devait signifier 'exister (d'une certaine façon), mener (telle) existence'.¹⁷ Voir les exemples de *bay bar ärtim*, «j'ai mené une existence de riche», dans l'Inscription de Suji, l. 5 (chez G. J. Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord-Mongolei*, extrait du JSFO, XXX, 3, p. 4, Helsinki 1913) et de *Christusnuŋ tanyqy bar dyr*, «il continue d'exister comme témoin du Christ» dans le *Codex Cumanicus*, 123, 14 (chez K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Kopenhagen 1942, p. 50).

2. *syn* que Moriyasu avait lu aux pp. 2 et 4 de son édition *sy'n* ou *syn'*, en pensant y trouver le nom de l'expéditeur de la lettre, correspond à *sw* dans l'expression analogue de la lettre éditée par Tezcan et Zieme dans *Uigurische Brieffragmente*, à la p. 457, l. 6: *biz sw körmış-däki-čä...*, et le même *sw* se retrouve dans *biz sw enčbiz* à la l. 5 de la lettre D éditée par Tezcan et Zieme à la p. 459. Ces derniers avait, sans conviction, traduit *sw* par 'bis zur Heiterkeit' ('jusqu'à la gaieté'), en renvoyant à leur note D 5, p. 460: *su* 'lebhaft, fröhlich, gesund' (< chin.) vgl. ATG S. 335. Effectivement, à la page 335 du glossaire de son *Alltür-*

¹⁷ A ce propos il faut signaler que dans la lettre éditée par Tezcan et Zieme à laquelle je renvoie ci-dessus *bar* est à lire aux ll. 5 et 6 au lieu de *bay*.

kische Grammatik, A. von Gabain indique «*su* < *chin. su*^e lebhaf, fröhlich; gesund | canli, neşeli; sağlam» – glose qui se rapporte sans doute (cf. *Drevnetjurkskij Slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, p. 512) à la forme *sw* de la p. 623, l. 5, du texte du *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* publié par V. V. Radlov et S. E. Malov, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XVII, Petrograd 1917,¹⁸ que voici: *iki tegitlär sw äsän täginür*. Or, tout au moins dans les deux passages des lettres cités ci-dessus, la forme *sw*, à lire *so*, me paraît représenter plutôt le chinois *tsao'* (A¹⁹ **tsâu*; EMC-EM²⁰ **tsaw*), 'tôt, matin, de bonne heure, tantôt, précédemment, auparavant, autrefois, jadis', qui aurait été emprunté en turc ancien pour évoquer un temps passé qui peut être selon le cas proche ou lointain. Ainsi, *biz so körmiş-däki-čä* voudrait dire «nous, comme lorsque nous (vous) avons vu plus tôt...», soit «nous, comme lors de (notre) précédente rencontre, (continuons de bien nous porter)», tandis *biz so enčbiz* serait une ellipse de la première expression significant «nous, (comme) précédemment, nous allons bien». Peut-être faut-il interpréter de la même façon la phrase *iki tegitler so äsän täginür*, à savoir «les deux princes (comme) précédemment se portent bien». ²¹ Quant au terme *syn* figurant à la place de *so* dans l'expression analogue de la lettre que nous étudions ici, à mon avis il s'agirait de l'emprunt en turc ancien d'un autre mot chinois, partiellement synonyme de *tsao*, à

¹⁸ Voir ce passage également chez SAADET ÇAGATAY, *Altun Yaruktan iki parça*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, n. 46, Ankara 1945, p. 102.

¹⁹ A = Ancient Chinese ou reconstructions du chinois ancien des environs de l'an 600 de notre ère d'après BERNHARD KARLGREN, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, Stockholm 1957.

²⁰ EMC = Early Middle Chinese ou reconstructions du chinois ancien de environs de l'an 600 d'après E. G. PULLEYBLANK, *Middle Chinese*, Vancouver 1984. LMC = Late Middle Chinese indique des reconstructions de la période du VIII^e-XII^e s. et EM = Early Mandarin de la période du XIII^e-XV^e s., d'après le même auteur.

²¹ La version chinoise du *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* traduit par Yi-tsing a ici simplement *wang-tseu tsai*^B 'les princes sont en vie' (cf. l'édition du *Taishō* de Tôkyô, tome 16, p. 425 b, l. 26).

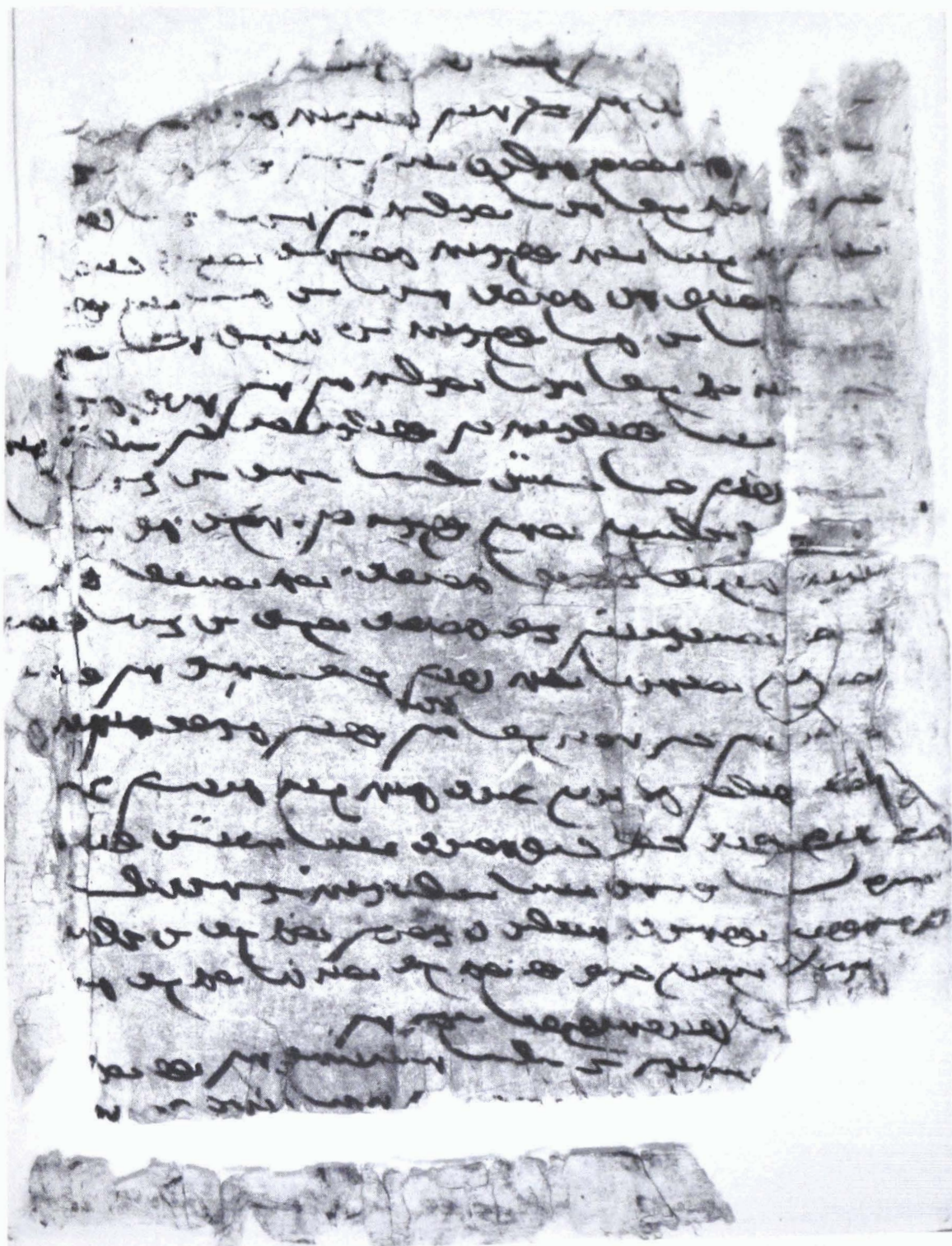


Planche I. Fragment A (18 × 24 cm, sens normal). *Phot. Bibl. Nat., Paris.*

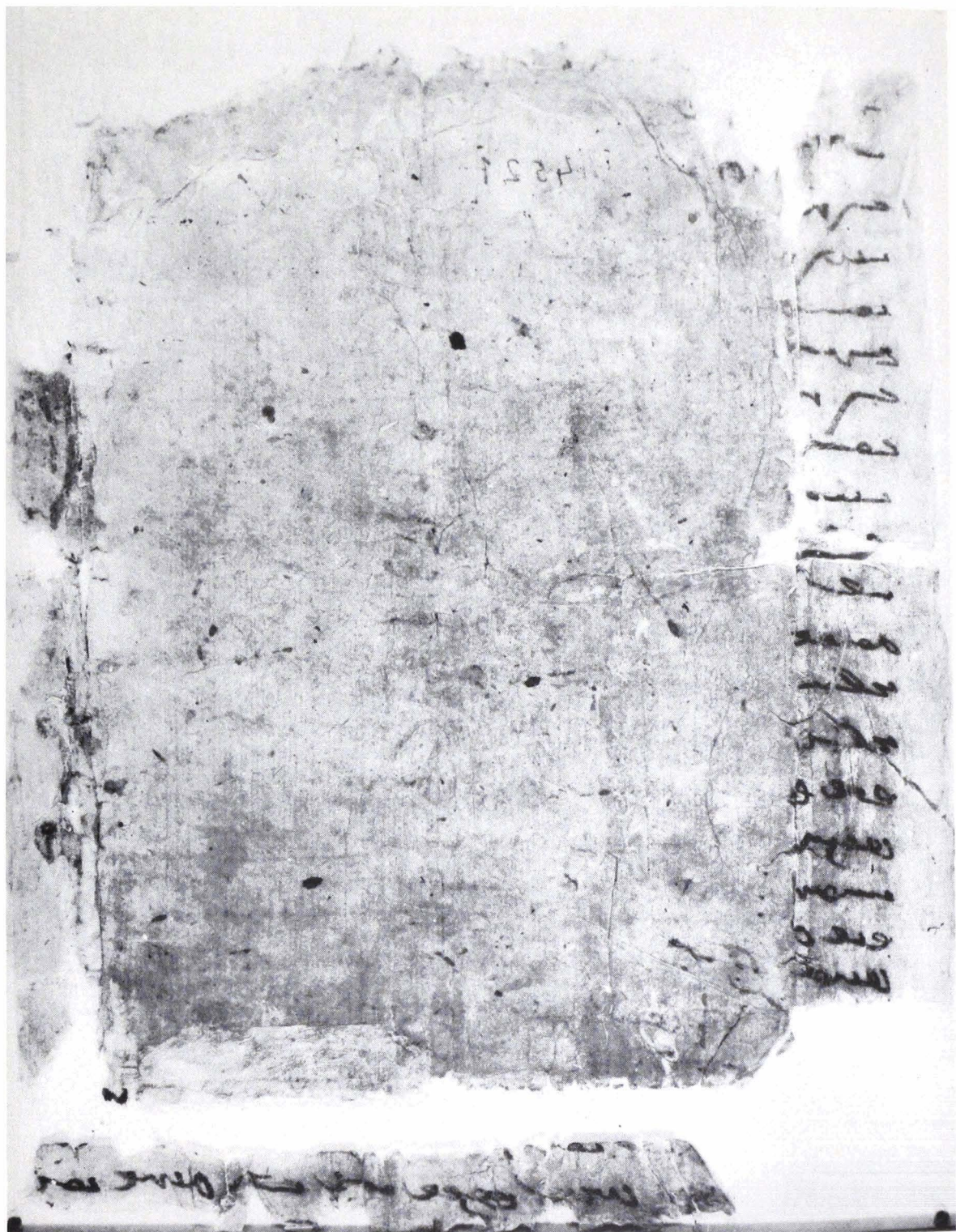


Planche II. Fragment B (3,5 × 21,5 cm, sens inversé) et fragment C (2 × 15,5 cm, sens inversé). *Phot. Bibl. Nat., Paris.*

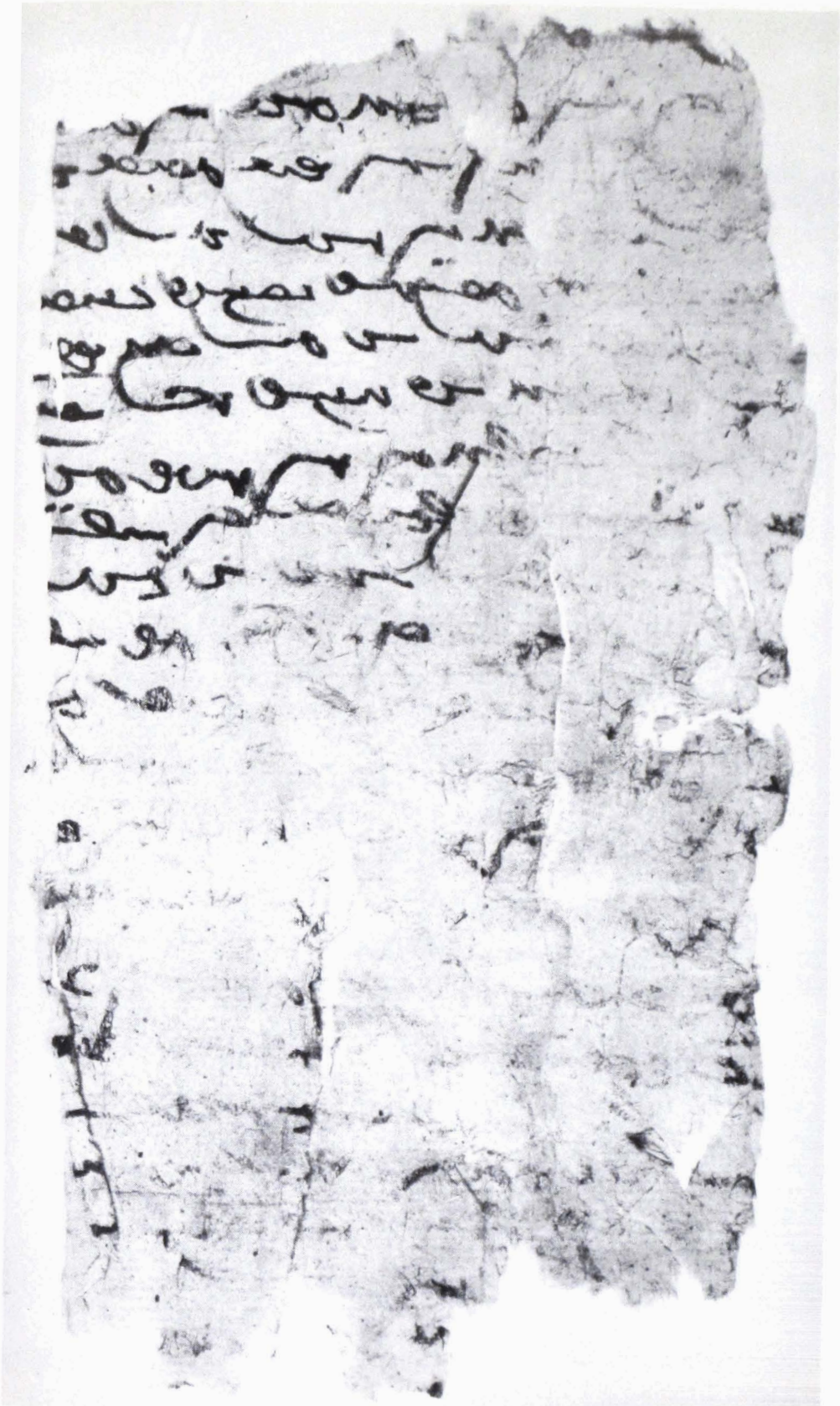


Planche III. Fragment D (13 × 23,5 cm, sens inversé). *Phot. Bibl. Nat., Paris.*

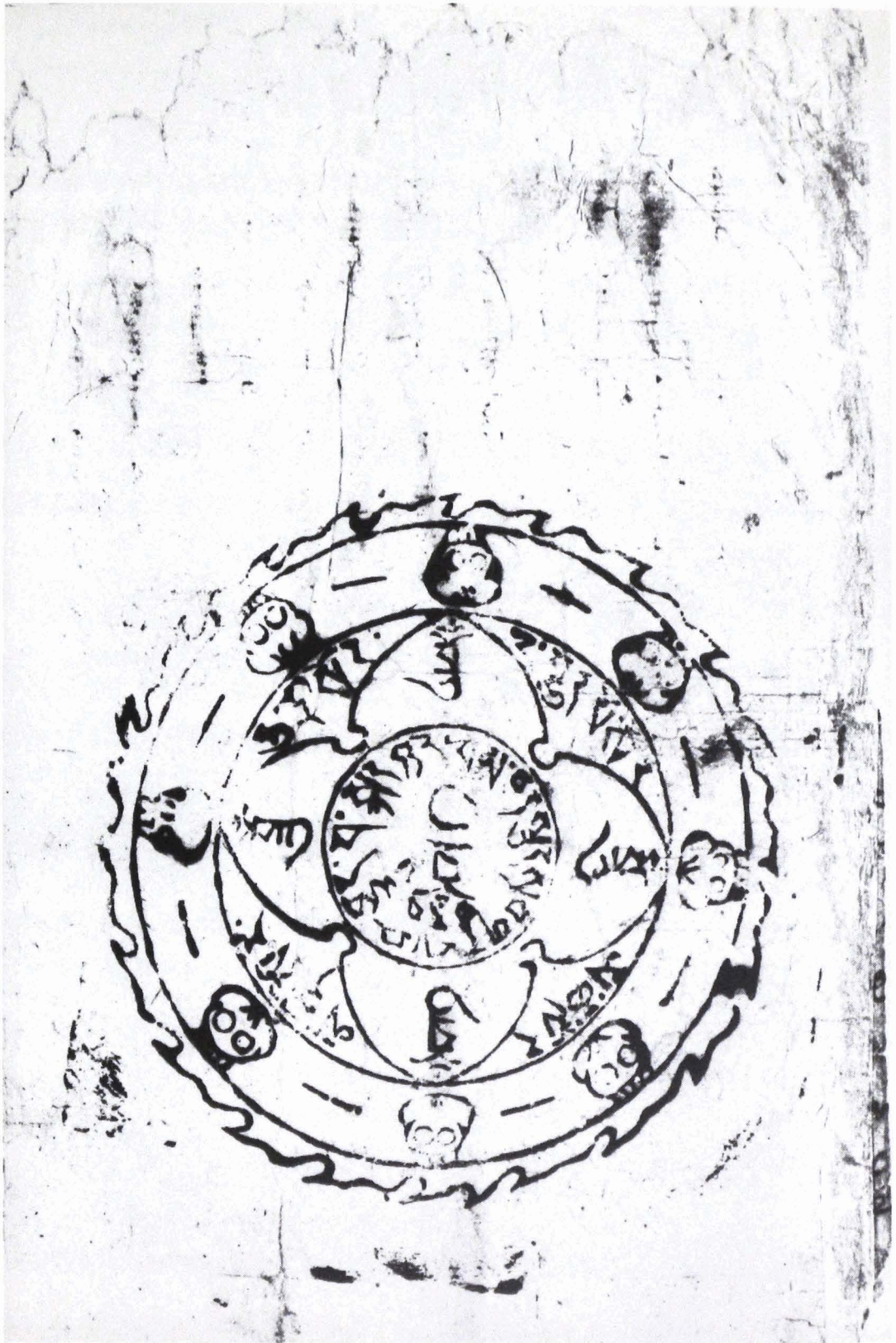


Planche IV. La dernière page du cahier *Pelliot Ouïgour 16* portant l'image d'un *cakra* (cf. la note 16). *Phot. Bibl. Nat., Paris.*

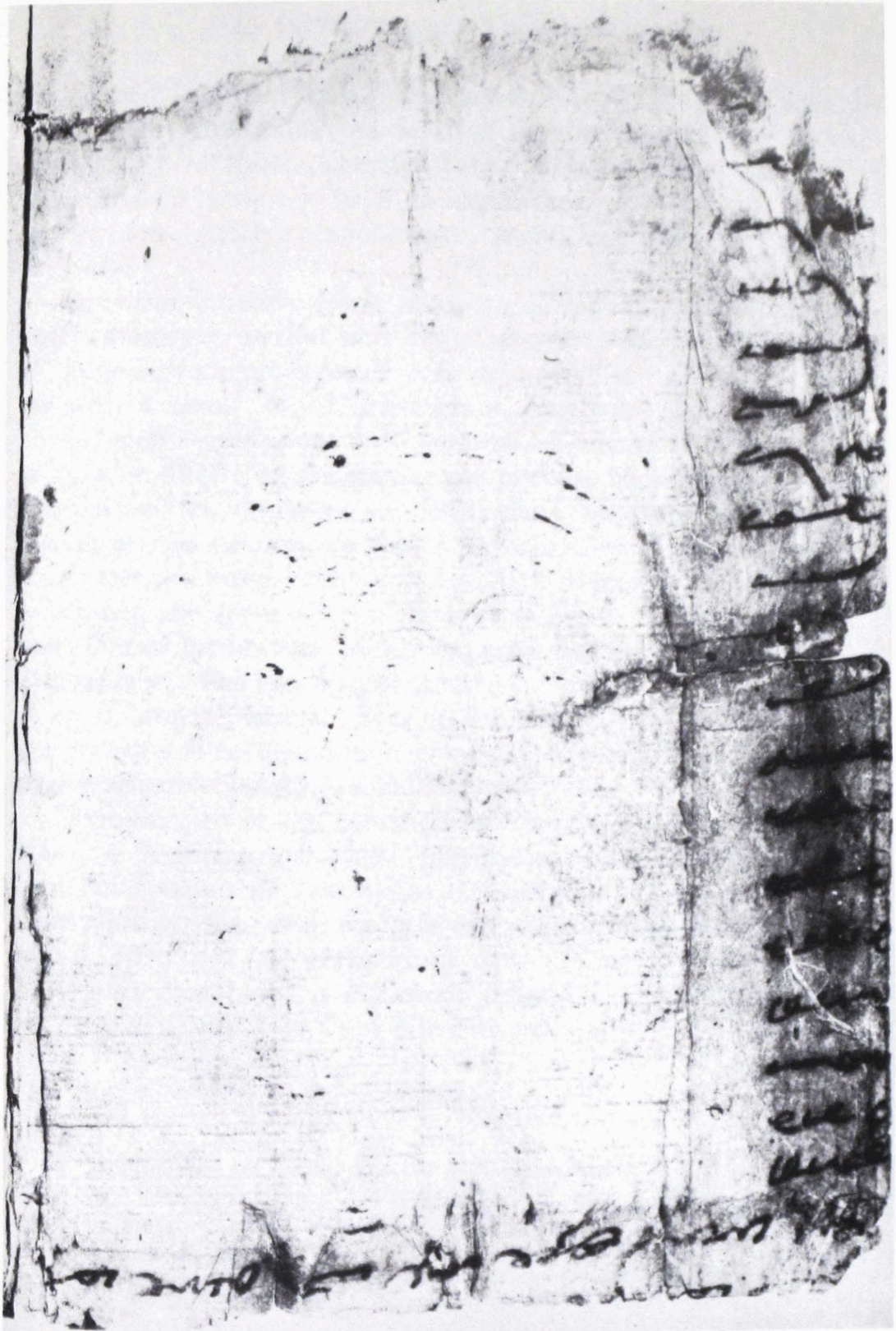


Planche V. Le plat inférieur de la couverture du cahier *Pelliot Ouïgour* 16 portant l'image inversée du début des lignes 2 à 20 et celles des lignes 24 et 25. *Phot. Bibl. Nat., Paris.*

savoir *sien*^h (A **sien*, EMC **sen*, LMC **sien*, EM **sjen*), 'auparavant, avant, antérieur', qui serait à lire *sin* ou peut-être mieux, *sen* dans notre texte. *Män sen körmiš-täki-čä* voudrait donc dire «moi, comme lorsque je (t)'ai vu auparavant...», soit «moi, comme lors de (notre) précédente rencontre, (je continue d'aller bien jusqu'à ce jour)».

Revenant cependant à la forme *so* au sens de 'précédemment, antérieurement', on doit sans doute rappeler à son propos la forme *sö*, jusqu'ici toujours attestée avec un suffixe *-n*, *-dä*, ou *-ki*, dont les sens, à savoir 'avant, bien avant, longtemps auparavant, antérieurement, jadis', sont pratiquement les mêmes que ceux de *so*, et qui n'en diffère en somme que par sa classe vocalique antérieure. Or, j'ai déjà eu l'occasion en 1973, dans une *Note Additionnelle* à mon article *Le nom de lieu K.č.n dans les inscriptions turques runiformes*, «T'oung Pao», Vol. LX, aux pages 301-303, de faire remarquer une certaine instabilité de la classe vocalique dans les mots d'emprunt en turc ancien et particulièrement dans le cas de monosyllabes. Par conséquent, tout comme *lö* ~ *lu*, 'dragon', et *sü* ~ *su*, 'armée', *sö* et *so*, 'antérieurement', pourraient représenter des variantes d'un même mot, emprunté vers le IX^e siècle au plus tard vraisemblablement au chinois *tsao*.

Toutefois, en ce qui concerne les variantes *sü* ~ *su*, 'armée', bien que la forme à la classe postérieure soit très bien attestée pour des époques plus ou moins tardives,²² je tiens à rectifier ici l'identification que j'avais acceptée dans ma *Note Additionnelle* précitée, p. 303, n. 2, de cette forme avec le terme *suu-qa* figurant aux lignes 2 et 15 d'un manuscrit ouïgour de l'époque mongole édité par E. Tenišev et Fong Kia-cheng et par N. Yamada. Il res-

²² Voir notamment *suu-luy* à la l. 7 du manuscrit ouïgour T II Y 47 (Mainz 734), datant vraisemblablement de l'époque mongole, édité par PETER ZIEME, *Ein uigurisches Fragment der Rāma-Erzählung*, «AO (Hung)», XXXII-1, 1978, pp. 28 et 31, n. 7, de même que *su* à côté de *sü* en turc ottoman (cf. *Tarama Sözlüğü*, tome V, Ankara 1971, p. 3605). Voir aussi *sü* > *su başı* chez G. DOERFER, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III, n. 1279, pp. 282-285.

sort, en effet, de l'étude de L. Ligeti, *A propos d'un document ouïgour de l'époque mongole*, «Acta Orientalia (Hung)», XXVII-1, 1973, pp. 3-6, que le mot *suu* des deux exemples précités de *suu-qa* est à identifier, non pas avec *sü ~ su*, 'armée', mais avec un autre *sü ~ su*, également attesté aux deux classes vocaliques, signifiant 'majesté, fortune impériale'. Dans *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [p. 166], n. 1, extrait de la «Revue de l'Orient Chrétien», tome VIII (1931), Paul Pelliot suggéra: «Peut-être *suu* est-il un emprunt ouïgour au chinois *tsou* (*dz'uo). 'Fortune (impériale)', passé ensuite au mongol...». Cf. aussi Mostaert et Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arjun et Öljeitü a Philippe le Bel*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica, Monograph Series I, 1962, pp. 19-22.

2. *t[örtünč]* ou *t[oquzunč]*?

3. *üč* serait le seul nom de nombre entre *bir* et *toquz* dont la lettre finale se terminerait par le long trait descendant visible sur le fragment A.

4. *kw||* à la fin de cette ligne me paraît devoir représenter *küč*, au sens de 'difficile, pénible', approximativement synonyme du mot suivant *enč-(siz)*, 'sans repos, malaisé, fatiguant', qui sont tous deux des qualificatifs de *älig iş*, 'travail manuel'. Bien que le mot *küč* soit attesté en turc ancien surtout au sens de 'force', il aurait comporté accessoirement depuis l'époque ancienne, à mon avis, le sens de 'exigeant de l'effort, contrainte, difficulté, difficile, peine, pénible': cf. les sens de 'contrainte, peine, difficulté' dans le *Qutadγu Bilig* (cf. entre autres les ll. 812, 1367, 1771, 2024, 6310) et dans l'*Atebetu 'l-Hakayik* à la l. 331, d'efforts, travail, contrainte' dans le *Codex Cumanicus* (cf. K. Grønbech, *ibid.*, p. 157), de 'dur, difficile' en teleut (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, tome II, col. 1490), de 'difficulté' en qazaq (cf. Boris N. Schnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 28, London 1966, p. 132 sous *kwš*), et de 'exigeant de l'effort, dur, difficile' en osmanli et turc de Turquie.

5. *sz*, qui ne peut guère représenter que *-siz*, se distingue assez nettement dans l'espace entre *'ynč* et *'lyk*. On doit donc lire *enčsiz*, qui devait signifier 'sans repos ou tranquillité, malaise ou malaisé,

fatigant'. Cf. Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, p. 174.²³

5. *pwlmys̄*, plutôt que *bulmīs̄* comme chez Moriyasu, serait à lire *bolmīs̄*, qui signifierait ici avec le datif 'échoir à, arriver à, être à, appartenir à', comme, par exemple, dans la phrase *bu täŋri-lik sizinjä bolzun*, «que ce temple vous échoie, vous appartienne» (cf. W. Bang. *Manichäische Erzähler*, «Le Muséon», t. XLIV, p. 18, ll. 32-40).

6. A la fin de cette ligne, au lieu de [*mīs̄*], on pourrait sans doute songer également à restaurer [*sar*], pour comprendre «si un tel travail t'est échu...».

9. *ywn'r* était lu *yoqay* par Moriyasu, p. 3, qui y voyait un nom de personne qui serait le sujet du verbe *büđ-*, qu'il traduit par 'accomplir'. Or, une telle interprétation est impossible étant donné que le verbe *büt-* signifie non pas 'accomplir', mais 'être accompli, arriver à terme, s'achever'. Au demeurant, la lecture *ywn'r*, c-à-d. *yonar*, me paraît bien plus conforme à la graphie du manuscrit, comme elle apparaît en sens inversé sur la planche 41 des fac-similés²⁴ du manuscrit *Pelliot Chinois 4521* (devenu *Pelliot Ouïgour 16*) publiés dans l'édition par Şinasi Tekin, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*, Budapest 1980. La lecture *yonar* trouverait une certaine confirmation si on pouvait lire *yonip* à la l. 12, ce qui paraît assez problématique, et si les formes tronquées *yw//* de la l. 24 et *ywn(m)//* (*yonma?*) de la fin de la l. 25 représentent effectivement des dérivés du verbe *yon-*. La forme *yonar* apparaît comme l'aoriste du verbe *yon-* 'tailler, sculpter, couper', qui serait ici employé substantivement pour indiquer 'l'action ou le fait de tailler ou de sculpter', et, de fait, à part *yonma*, je n'ai pas trouvé en turc ancien d'autre forme pouvant désigner cette action (il existe bien une forme *yonaq*, mais seulement au sens de 'coussinet placé sous une selle': cf. *EDPT*, p. 949). On pourrait

²³ Abrégé ci-après en *EDPT*.

²⁴ J'ai pu vérifier mes lectures de la planche 41 par le microfilm de ces fac-similés se trouvant à la Bibliothèque Nationale.

supposer que le verbe *yon-* serait apte à désigner l'action de tailler ou sculpter ou graver en relief des caractères d'écriture sur une planche de bois destinée à l'impression d'œuvres bouddhiques comme on devait en fabriquer notamment à Touen-houang à cette époque. Pourtant, dans plusieurs textes de la même période que la nôtre (cf. Peter Zieme, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berliner Turfantexte XIII, Berlin 1985, p. 222 sous *oytur-*), c'est l'expression *tamɣa oytur-* qui est employée pour signifier 'faire graver une planche pour l'impression'. Or, étant donné que *oy-* signifie à proprement parler 'creuser', tandis que *yon-* signifie véritablement 'sculpter ou tailler ou graver en relief', il paraîtrait normal que le verbe *yon-* fût choisi pour désigner l'action qui consistait à tailler en relief des caractères sur une planche de bois. D'ailleurs, selon le professeur de mongol Igor de Rachewiltz, du Department of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University à Canberra, qui a eu l'amabilité de me renseigner à ce sujet, en mongol du XIII^e-XIV^e siècle le verbe usuel pour 'graver en relief' un bloc de bois à usage xylographique était *čoyulya-*, qui signifiait effectivement 'tailler en relief, sculpter, graver en relief'.²⁵ Je retiens donc comme première hypothèse que des religieux bouddhiques qui s'occupaient de la 'gravure' de planches d'impression xylographiques ont pu employer le terme *yon-* au lieu de *oy-*, surtout lorsqu'ils parlaient plus concrètement et plus précisément de leur travail. Une deuxième hypothèse serait que *yon-*, 'tailler, couper', se rapporterait au travail de découpage à l'aide d'une scie et d'un couteau des colonnes d'écriture des planches 'gravées' ou sculptées pour en faire des caractères d'imprimerie mobiles, comme

²⁵ Au terme *čoyulya-* correspond le mongol moderne *čoyulburila-*, qui est l'équivalent du chinois *tiao* 'tailler (en relief), sculpter, graver'. Sur *čoyulya-*, voir notamment F. W. CLEAVES dans le «Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies», XII (1949), p. 127, n. 228, et XVII (1954), p. 128, n. 346; A. RÓNA-TAS dans «Acta Orientalia (Hung.)», t. XVIII (1965), p. 138; ainsi que le *Dictionnaire mongol, russe, français* de J. E. KOWALEWSKI (Kasan 1849), t. III, p. 2198, 2^e colonne sous *tsoghoulghakhou (čoyulyaqu)*: 'faire faire un trou, faire percer, faire découper sur une planche de bois, ordonner d'entailler les caractères d'un livre sur les planches pour le faire imprimer'.

Paul Pelliot en avait trouvé dans la grotte 181 aménagée vers le début du XIV^e siècle.²⁶ Il reste enfin une dernière hypothèse selon laquelle *yon-* se rapporterait à un travail de taille ou de sculpture d'objets de bois ou de pierre, peut-être de caractère religieux mais difficile à préciser.

9. *'nd'χy* apparaît nettement dans le manuscrit tel qu'il est restauré actuellement, alors que le *-y* final était jusqu'alors caché dans un pli.

9-10. *iš küč*, 'travail, affaire, entreprise', figure dans un manuscrit de l'an 1259 relatif à l'administration du monastère de Murutluq également avec le sens de 'corvée, imposition'. Cf. Peter ZIEME. *Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster*, «Alt-orientalische Forschungen», VIII, 1981, pp. 238-253.

10. *y'r'χy*, *yarayı*, me paraît beaucoup plus conforme à la graphie du manuscrit que la forme *yanıi* lue par Moriyasu. L'expression *iš yarayı* au sens de «l'occasion, l'opportunité, les perspectives d'une affaire» est attestée notamment chez Kāšyarī (cf. *EDPT*, p. 962).

11. *š(')ly tw*, *šäli tu*, était lu *quli tu* par Moriyasu. Cependant, à comparer les formes des autres lettres *q* et *š* dans ce manuscrit, je trouve que la première lettre ressemble davantage à un *š*. Quant à la deuxième lettre, je la vois plutôt comme un ' épaissi par une tache d'encre comme le *y* de *'yš* à la l. 14. On sait que le titre bouddhique *šäli* provient de l'abréviation *chö-li* de la transcription chinoise *a-chö-li^k* du sanskrit *ācārya*, 'maître' (cf. mon article *Les titres šäli et tutung en ouïgour*, «Journal Asiatique», CCLXXII-3/4, 1984, pp. 425-437). Or, dans divers manuscrits de la période du XI^e-XIV^e siècle le terme *šäli* ou *šälilär* semble désigner une catégorie plus ou moins nombreuse de religieux se trouvant dans un

²⁶ Sur ces blocs de caractères ouïgours d'imprimerie mobile, cf. FRANCIS MACOUIN, *À propos de caractères d'imprimerie ouïgours*, «Revue française d'Histoire du Livre», n° 42, nouvelle série, 1984, pp. 147-156. Sur la date de la grotte 181 et la provenance du cahier *Pelliot Ouïgour 16 = P. 4521*, cf. l'édition de Moriyasu Takao précitée, pp. 13-15.

monastère.²⁷ Par conséquent, dans notre lettre le titre *šäli* ou *šäli tu* pourrait, me semble-t-il, désigner, non pas un religieux en particulier, mais plutôt un ensemble de religieux de la catégorie en question. Quant à la nature de la catégorie des *šäli*, je suis toujours porté à croire qu'il s'agissait en règle générale de religieux qui seraient, comme leur titre *šäli*, d'origine chinoise.²⁸ Comme l'explique le Professeur Moriyasu,²⁹ alors que les Ouïgours qui se sont installés entre le VIII^e et le X^e siècle dans l'actuel Sin-kiang et au Kan-sou devaient être principalement manichéens, sur place ils ont trouvé des populations relativement nombreuses d'origine chinoise et d'origine indo-européenne qui étaient, eux, de longue date bouddhistes et qui, au bout d'un certain temps, au fur et mesure de leur assimilation, ont dû transmettre leur foi bouddhiste à la population ouïgoure dominante. Pour ce qui est des *šäli* ou *šäli tu* qu'on voit dans notre texte en train de *äd äd qilip*, 'fabriquer des objets les uns après les autres', on peut se demander s'il ne s'agissait pas de religieux bouddhistes chinois de Touen-houang qui seraient occupés à graver des blocs de bois pour l'impression. La présence parmi les Ouïgours d'un artisanat chinois spécialisé dans la gravure xylographique est suggérée notamment par la numérotation habituellement en chinois des estampes xylographiques ouïgoures.³⁰

²⁷ Voir mon article précité, pp. 428-431; et PETER ZIEME, *Uigurische Steuerbefreiungsurkunden für buddhistische Klöster*, «Altorientalische Forschungen», VIII, 1981, pp. 244-251.

²⁸ Voir mon article précité, p. 431.

²⁹ Cf. MORIYASU TAKAO, *Chibetto monji de kakareta uiguru-bun bukkyō kyōri mondō (P.T. 1292) no kenkyū* (Etude sur un catéchisme bouddhique ouïgour en écriture tibétaine (P.t. 1292), «Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Osaka University», vol. XXV (mars 1985), pp. 54-62; et *idem*, *Toruko bukkyō no genryū to furu toruko-go butten no shutsugen* (L'origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien), «Shigaku-Zasshi», vol. XCVIII, n° 4 (avril 1989), pp. 453-487.

³⁰ Voir à cet égard THOMAS FRANCIS CARTER, *The Invention of Printing in China and its spread westward*, New York 1925, p. 110: «... The theory has been advanced that block printing was primarily a Uigur or Central Asiatic invention.

Quant à *tu*, il s'agit vraisemblablement de l'abréviation bien attestée du titre *tutung*¹ (cf. mon article précité, p. 435, n. 24). Peut-être les *šäli tu* ou *šäli tutung* avaient-ils la charge de l'étude, de la traduction, ou de la reproduction des textes sacrés, puisque ces titres sont particulièrement bien attestés chez les copistes ou traducteurs d'œuvres bouddhiques, comme le célèbre Šingqo Šäli *tutung* de Beš-baliq (voir mon article précité). Autrement, devant *äd äd*, 'des objets les uns après les autres, biens sur biens', dans la phrase *šäli tw äd äd qilip*, il serait sans doute également possible d'envisager une interprétation différente de *tw*, qui serait pour *tü*, 'toutes sortes de, nombreux', bien que la forme usuelle de ce terme en écriture ouïgour fût *tww*. En ouïgour *tü* est attesté surtout devant *türlüg* et *tümän*, mais aussi dans *tü ödi sayu*, (cf. *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, VA, n. A 117 sur *alqu*), tandis que chez Kāš'arī (p. 99) on trouve *tü tü čičäk*, (cf. l'édition de Dankoff et Kelly, Harvard 1982, Part I, p. 184) et dans le *Qutadyu Bilig* (cf. le tome III, *Indeks*, Istanbul 1979, p. 476) *tü* dans une grande variété de contextes.

11-12. ''d ''d doit représenter *äd äd* signifiant 'des biens nombreux, beaucoup de marchandises, des objets les uns après les autres, article sur article, objet sur objet'. Voir la graphie ''d pour *äd* également dans *ädsiz* et *ädätdür* chez SEMIH TEZCAN, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*, Berliner Turfantexte III, p. 83. On peut voir la graphie du second ''d à peu près en entier en comparant la fragment principal avec le fragment qui en avait été décollé.

12. *xylyp ywryp/ywnyp/ywnwp* a été lu par Moriyasu dans ses deux éditions *qalip onip*, ou comme deuxième lecture possible proposée en note, *qalip urip* (cf. l'édition anglaise, pp. 3-4 et p. 5, n. 12, et l'édition japonaise, p. 212, et p. 215, n. 11). Ensuite, en 1985, après avoir examiné les photographies de la lettre démon-

But the little Chinese page numbers on all the Turfan books, whether the language is Chinese, Sanskrit or Uigur, are a sure indication of Chinese workmanship. Block printing comes from China. The fact that a larger number of early prints have been found in Tun-huang and Turfan than in China proper is due to the climate».

tée de sa couverture que lui avait expédiées Mme Monique Cohen, le Professeur Moriyasu indique, entre autres lectures révisées, qu'il lit *yorip* au lieu de *onip*, dans une note ajoutée à la fin de son étude consacrée aux documents ouïgours de Touen-houang *Uiguru-go bunken*, p. 98, citée plus haut dans notre commentaire sur les ll. 1-2. Or, à bien regarder cette graphie, je lirais après *xylyp* en premier lieu *ywnyp* ou *ywryp*, c.-à-d. *yonip* ou *yorip*, -n- et -r- étant pratiquement confondus dans notre manuscrit, sans exclure totalement, cependant, une lecture *ywmwp* c.-à-d. *yonup*, vu que la lettre précédant -p n'est pas très différente de certains -w- (cf. par exemple le -w- de *kwyrmys* à la l. 2, le second -w- d' *'wtwz* à la l. 3, le -w- de *'wl* à la l. 7, et le -w- devant -p dans *pwlwp* à la l. 25). Une forme *yonip* serait pourtant tout à fait irrégulière puisque, comme me l'a très aimablement fait remarquer Peter Zieme, en turc ancien les verbes dont la base se termine par une voyelle labiale prennent toujours une voyelle labiale devant le suffixe -p. Ainsi, pour pouvoir rétablir ici le gérondif en -p du verbe *yon-* 'tailler, sculpter', il faudrait supposer qu'après *qilip* on aurait écrit *yonip* par une inadvertance exceptionnelle, ou alors qu'on aurait effectivement écrit *yonup*. Reste la lecture somme toute la plus vraisemblable de cette graphie comme *yorip*, qui serait ici un verbe auxiliaire au sens duratif: *qilip yorip turur* voulant dire «... continue à fabriquer sans cesse..., ... continue à produire toujours...».

Par ailleurs, dans la phrase *šäli tu äd äd qilip yorip turur*, il faudrait sans doute sous-entendre l'interrogation qui n'est exprimée que dans la seconde partie de l'énoncé par *mu ~ mu*, d'autant plus qu'immédiatement après cet énoncé figure le pronom démonstratif du pluriel *olar-ni*, 'ceux-là, ces (choses-)là', renvoyant à ce qui précède et qui se rapporte forcément à au moins deux questions différentes.

15-16. *buyan tämür šyš y' prw*: La forme *šyš y'* doit représenter le terme sanskrit *çišya*, 'élève, disciple,³¹ indiquant la qualité ou

³¹ Cf. *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français* par N. STCHOUPAK, L. NITTI et L. RENOU, Paris 1972, p. 731, et *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, compilé par SOOTHILL et HODOUS, p. 300a.

statut de Buyan Tämür. Quant à *prw*, qu'on peut lire au début de la l. 16 sur le Fragment B et surtout sur la planche 41 des fac-similés du *Pelliot Ouïgour 16*,³² où le *r* et le *w* se distinguent assez nettement du *y* et du *r* de *bir*, lu par Moriyasu, il doit s'agir d'une graphie syncopée de *berü*, gérondif du verbe *ber-*, 'donner, faire don'. Comme, d'autre part, à la fin de cette phrase le verbe principal *idti* semble bien être à la troisième personne du singulier, puisque le manuscrit ne porte aucune trace de lettre après le *y* qui serait final mais dont le trait inférieur est peu lisible, on doit comprendre que c'est l'élève ou le disciple Buyan Tämür qui a donné et envoyé les trois ouvrages bouddhiques énumérées, à commencer par l'explication ou commentaire sur le *βapχuaki* ou *Fahoua-king* (*Saddharmapundarika-sūtra*). Or, ce Buyan Tämür, élève ou disciple du Bouddhisme et expéditeur vers Cha-tcheou d'un commentaire sur le *βapχuaki*, se retrouve peut-être dans un manuscrit cité par Peter Zieme,³³ à savoir le *T I D 561 (U 1568)* que je suppose de la région de Turfan. Sur ce manuscrit, correspondant à la partie inférieure d'une feuille de *poṭhī*, un certain Buyan Tämür a noté plusieurs lignes dans une orthographe ouïgoure tardive en évoquant surtout le *βapχuaki* ~ *βapχaki* qu'il aurait récité afin de «satisfaire mon désir d'apprendre» (*bošyud-luγ küšüşüm qñip*).

16. *č'kr t's lyx* semble représenter *čak(a)r tašlīγ*, ce qui devrait signifier «avec une pierre de *cakra*» ou «avec un extérieur de *cakra*». Voir *č'kr* pour *cakra* chez Semih Tezcan, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*, Berliner Turfantexte III, p. 87. J'incline à penser qu'il s'agissait, en fait, d'«un extérieur de *cakra*», c.-à-d. d'une image de *cakra* imprimée sur la couverture du livre en question – peut-être la même image que celle imprimée à la fin du cahier *Pelliot Chinois 4521* devenu *Pelliot Ouïgour 16*³⁴ dans la couverture duquel était collée notre lettre.

³² Sur la pl. 41 voir la note sur la l. 9, *yonar*.

³³ *Drei neue uigurische Sklavendokumente*, «Altorientalische Forschungen», V, p. 161, n. 52.

³⁴ Cf. la planche 40 des fac-similés de ce manuscrit publiés par ŞINASI TEKIN, *Buddhistische Uigurica aus der Yüan-Zeit*, Budapest 1980.

17. *kwylx*, qu'on peut également lire *kwβlx*, c.-à-d. le *kwy* ou *kwβ* qui était 'en chinois' (*taβγac-ča*) et que le commentaire du *sūtra* comportait, me paraît devoir correspondre à la forme chinoise *yu^b*, 'expression, locution, parole, mot', dont la prononciation ancienne était A **ngiwo*, EMC **ɲuā*, LMC **ɲüā*, EM **ü*. Doit-on supposer que la première partie de la transcription *kwy-lx* notait une diphtongue commençant à la classe antérieure et finissant à la classe postérieure, telle que *güi*, ou alors qu'elle notait tout simplement *gü* devant un suffixe à la classe postérieure? Quoi qu'il en soit, les exemples ne manquent pas à cette époque de manuscrits ouïgours bouddhiques comportant de nombreuses annotations en chinois, à commencer par le *Pelliot Ouïgour 16* lui-même.

17. *βw'* (? *βww?*) doit, à mon avis, représenter le début raté de la forme *β'pxw'ky* qui suit. Dans la note ajoutée à la fin de son *Uiguru-go Bunken* (cf. la note sur la l. 12 plus haut), M. Moriyasu lit *bir vuu* pour restaurer *yi pou^m* 'un exemplaire', mais je doute que l'initiale de *pouⁿ*, A **b'zu*, EMC **bow*, LMC **pḥəw*, ait pu être rendue en turc ancien par l'initiale *v-* (= *β-*) de *vuu* (= *βuu*).

19. *taypošaki* avec *po* au lieu de *pa* est lu également par Moriyasu dans la note ajoutée à la fin de son *Uiguru-go Bunken* (cf. *supra*). Comme M. Moriyasu l'indique dans la note 19, p. 6, de son édition, le caractère *po^o* (A **puā*, EMC **pwaā*) fut souvent employé en chinois comme en turc ancien, rendu par *pa* ou par *po*, au lieu de *pan^p* pour désigner le *Ta-pan-jo-king^q* ou *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*.

21. ... (*k* ou *'/n*) *kwykwskwlwk* semble représenter *kögüsgülüg* précédé d'un mot manquant qui se termine en *-g* ou *-a/-n*. Or, bien que un mot *kögüsgülüg* ne soit, à ma connaissance, attesté jusqu'ici, les mots *kögüz* ~ *kögüs* et *kögüzlüg* ~ *kögüslüg* sont bien attestés, notamment dans des textes bouddhiques, aux sens d' 'esprit, intelligence, pensée' et de 'pourvu d'esprit, d'intelligence, de pensée' (cf. entre autres, *EDPT*, p. 714, et Şinasi Tekin, *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, Berliner Turfantexte IX, 1980, tome II, p. 60). Peut-être s'agit-il ici d'un adjectif en *-lüg* formé à partir d'un substantif jusqu'ici non attesté **kögüsgü*, qui serait, lui, dérivé de *kögüs* au moyen du suffixe dénominal *-gü*, qui ajoute une nuance

d'amplification ou de renforcement.³⁵ Dans ce cas, **kögüsgü* signifierait 'l'esprit par excellence, la pensée profonde, la réflexion', tandis que *kögüsgülüg* aurait le sens de 'imprégné de la pensée profonde'. Peut-être conviendrait-il, cependant, de songer à une autre interprétation de *kwykwskwlwk* à partir du radical verbal **küg-* ou **kük-* qui aurait donné *kügül-* ou *kükül-*, 'être renommé, connu'.³⁶ En effet, le même radical verbal aurait pu donner une forme factitive telle que **kügüz-* ou **küküz-* au sens de 'rendre célèbre, faire connaître', dont notre *kügüsgülüg* ou *küküsgülüg*, avec -s- pour -z-, serait le *nomen futuri* en -gü suivi du suffixe adjectif -lüg, au sens d'«étant à faire connaître, à rendre célèbre». La phrase en question signifierait alors «Ces œuvres sacrées, comme les autres œuvres sacrées, (sont) à faire connaître», en voulant dire peut-être que les textes bouddhiques envoyés avec la lettre sont à préparer pour l'impression et la diffusion comme d'autres envoyés précédemment.

21. '(*)rm*' me paraît devoir représenter *arma*, 'ne te lasse pas', bien que la lecture *ärmä* soit du point de vue graphique également possible (la lecture *amraq* de l'édition de Moriyasu n'étant guère envisageable). Il me semble, en effet, que l'expression «ne te lasse pas!» vient bien à propos après que l'auteur de la lettre a fait remarquer à son interlocuteur combien «ces œuvres sacrées... sont imprégnées de pensées profondes, ou alors combien ils sont à faire connaître» (voir la note ci-dessus).

24-25. Peut-être y a-t-il peu de lacune entre la l. 23 et le petit fragment en forme de bande qui porte les ll. 24 et 25. On peut supposer qu'il s'agit d'une dernière remarque avant la fin de la lettre.

³⁵ Sur le suffixe dénomiatif -*γu/-gü*, qu'on trouve dans *äsängü*, *ädgü*, *enčgü*, *mätjigü*, *nägü*, *buγrayu*, etc. voir mon édition, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IX^e-X^e s. de Touen-houang*, tome I, p. 53.

³⁶ Voir *kügül-/kükül-* dans *Uigurica I*, p. 24; chez S. TEZCAN, *Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra*, BTT III, aux ll. 771 et 864; chez P. ZIEME, *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, BTT XIII aux ll. 20.39 et 21.26; etc.

GLOSSAIRE

- ačiy**, ''čyχ, explication, commentaire: **βapχuaki-niņ ačiyi** 17
ayi, ''xy, trésor, étoffe de soie, biens: 25
alyl, 'lχyl, impératif emphatique de **al-**, prends livraison: 20
alp, 'lp, brave, nom de personne: **alp qay-a nomdaš** 4; 8; **alp qay-a** 15
anča, ''nč', comme cela, autant: 25
andaγi (andaqi?), 'nd'χy, qui est là-bas: **andaγi iš-niņ küč-ün** 9
ani, ''ny/ny, l'acc. de **ol**, cela: 6; 7; 10; 22
an(n)ts(a)η, ''n(n)ts('n)k, Ngan-tsang 18
agdarmiš, 'χd'rmyš, traduit: 18
arma, (')rm', impératif négatif de **ar-**, ne te lasse pas: 21
ay, ''y, lune, mois: -3
a[yidu], ''////, gérondif d'**ayit-**, faisant dire, m'enquérant: 1
äd äd, ''d ''d, biens sur biens, objets après objets: 11-12
älig, 'lyk, main, manuel: 5
[är]ki, //ky, particule verbale de supposition: 2
ärsär, 'rs'r, hypothétique de **är-**, être: **nädäg ärsär** 10; **bar ärsär** 14
äsän, ''s'n, bien portant: **enč äsän bar** 2, 3
[äsä[(n)-lik, ... (n) lyk état de santé: 1
baχši, p'χšy, maître: **baχši-niņ** 18; **baχšimiz** 22
bar, p'r, existant, il y a: **enč äsän bar** 2; 3; **iš küč bar** 14
berü, prw, gérondif de **ber-**, donner: 16
bir, pyr, un: 17; 19
bit[ig], pyt//, lettre: 14
bitip, p//(p), pyty/, gérondif préalable de **biti-**, écrire: 11; 13
bol-, pwl-, être, devenir, échoir à, arriver à: **bolmiš** 5; 6; 7; **bolma-**
zun 11; **(bo)[l](s)[ar?]** 23; **bolup** 25
bu, pw, adj. démonstratif ce, ces: 20; 22
buyan, pwy'n, skr. *punya*; nom de personne: **buyan tämür šišya** 15
büđ- (= **büt-**), pwyd-, être accompli: **büđmiš-in büđmäyük-in** 9
büđ- büđün (βua?) büđün (= **bütün**), pwydwn, entièrement: **büđün**
tükäl 16
(βua?), βw', début raté de la forme suivante? 17
βapχuaki, β'pχw'ky, *Fa-houa-king*: 17
čakar, č'kr, skr. *cakra*: 16

- enč, 'ynč, paix, tranquillité: **enč äsän 2(?)**; 3
enč(-siz), 'ynč (sz), sans tranquillité, fatigant: 5
güliγ, kwylχ, avec *yu*, terme chinois signifiant mot, expression: 17
xarday, χ'rd'y, skr. *hrdaya*: 19
i-d-, 'y-d, envoyer: **i-dγay-sän 15**; **i-dγil 11**; **i-dti 19**
iš, 'yš, travail, activité: **älig iš 5**; **ani täg iš 6**; **iš-niη küč-ün 9-10**;
iš küč 14; **soη iši 23**
kärgäk, k'rkē, besoin: 25
kögüsgülüg/küküsgülüg, kwykwskwhwk, plein de pensée (ou à faire connaître?): 21
k(ö)[ηü]l, k(w)///l, état d'esprit: 1
körmiš-täki-čä, kwyrmys t'ky č', comme au moment de (t')avoir vu: 2
körüp, kwyrwp, en ayant regardé, vérifié: 20
küč, kwyč, effort, exigeant de l'effort: **kü[č?] 4**; **iš-niη küč -ün 10**; **iš küč 14**
maηa, m'nk', datif du pronom 1^{re} p. sing. *män*, moi: 7; 10; 13
m-ä, m', forme réduite de *yemä*, aussi: 4; 7
män, mn, nominatif du pronom 1^{re} pers. sing., je, moi: 2
mu, mw, particule interrogative: 12; 13
munča, mwnč', comme ceci, autant que ceci: 9
namasanγid, n'm's'nkkyd, skr. *Nāmasaṅgīti*: 18
nägü, n'kw, forme emphatique de *nä*, quoi: 7
nädäg (= nätäg), n'd'k, comme quoi, quel que (soit): 10; 22
nom, nwm, œuvre sacrée, *sūtra*: 12; 22; **nom-lar 19**; 20
nomdaš, nwmd'š, coreligionnaire, frère en religion: 4; 8
ol, 'wl, pronom démonstratif cela; copule: 7; **olar-ni 13**
oqi-, 'wxy-, réciter, lire: **oqip 12**; **oqimayin 13**
osal, 'ws'l, négligent, négligence: 11
otuz-qadägi, ...(č) 'wtwz χ'd'ky, jusqu'au vingt-(trois): 3
ölgü, 'wylkw, participe futur de *öl-*, mourir: 5
özgä, 'wysk', 'wyzk', autre: 14; 20
qay-a (qiya?), χy', titre (ou nom?): **alp qay-a nomdaš 4**; 8; **alp qay-a-qa 15**

- qil-, *χyl-*, faire, fabriquer: **qilyu** 7; **qilip** 12
saß, *sß*, parole, discours: 7
saŋa, *s'nk'*, datif du pronom de la 2^e pers. sing. **sän**, toi: 4; 6
saqinsar, *s'χyns'r*, hypothétique de **saqin-**, penser: 22
sän, *sn/s'n*, nominatif du pronom 2^e pers. sing., tu, toi: 2; 8; 14;
 21; 22
sen, *syn*, emprunt au chinois **sien**, auparavant: 2
soŋ, *sw(n)k*, après: 23
söz, *swyz*, mot, message: 15; **söz-üm** 4; 8
šaču-täki, *šačw t'ky*, qui (est) à Cha-tcheou (Touen-houang): 8
šiš-ya, *šyšy'*, skr. **çisya**, élève, disciple: 15
šäli (quli?), *š(')ly/χ(w)ly*, titre correspondant à la transcription chinoise **chö-li** du skr. **ācārya**, maître: 11
taßyač-ča, *t'βχ'č č'*, en chinois: 16
taš-liγ, *t'š lyχ*, avec extérieur (= couverture?): **čakar taš-liγ** 16
taypošaki, *t'ypwš'ky*, chinois **Ta-po-jo-king**: 19
täg, *t'k*, comme: 6; 7; **tä(g)/ta(n)** 20
tämür, *t'mwr*, fer, nom de personne: **buyan tämür** 15
tesär, *tys'r*, hypothétique de **te-**, dire: 25
toγsar, *twχs'r*, hypothétique de **toγ-**, naître: 5
t[örtünč?] ou **t[oquzunč?]** quatrième ou neuvième (lune): 2
törü-si, *twyrw sy*, règle, coutume: 6
tu, *tw*, forme abrégée de **tutung** (ou pour **tü**, *tww*, toutes sortes de?): 11
tur-, *twr-*, se tenir, être; verbe auxiliaire exprimant la durée: **turur m[än]** 3; **turur** 6; **qilip yorip turur** 12; **oqip mu turur oqimayın mu turur** 13
tükäl, *twyk'l*, complet: **büdün түkäl** 16
[ü]č, ...(*č*), (vingt-)trois: **[ü]č otuz-qadägi** 3
yamu, *y'mw*, comprends-tu? veux-tu? n'est-ce pas? 20
yana, *y'n'*, encore, de plus: **yana sözüm** 4; 8; **yana söz** 15
yaraγ, *y'r'χ*, occasion, opportunité, possibilités, perspectives: **iš-niŋ küč-üŋ yaraγı** 10
yert[inčü], *yryt/////*, monde d'ici-bas: **yert[inčü-]nün törü-si** 5-6

yon-, *yw///*, *ywn(m)///*, tailler, sculpter, graver? yo... 24; yon(m)... 25
 yonar, *ywn'r*, action ou fait de tailler, sculpter, graver: yonar-nin
 būdmiš-in būdmäyük-in 9
 yorip (yonip/yonup?), *ywryp* (*ywnyp/ywnwp?*), gérondif préalable
 de *yori-*, marcher, verbe auxiliaire exprimant la poursuite d'une
 action: äd äd qilip yorip turur 12

CARACTÈRES CHINOIS

[a] 法華經 [b] 語 [c] 安藏 [d] 大波
 若經 [e] 蘇 [f] 早 [g] 王子在 [h]
 先 [i] 祚 [j] 雕 [k] 阿闍梨 [l] 都
 統 [m] 一部 [n] 部 [o] 波 [p] 般
 [q] 大般若經。

† GÉZA URAY

THE STRUCTURE AND GENESIS OF THE *OLD TIBETAN
CHRONICLE OF DUNHUANG*

1. The *Old Tibetan Chronicle* belongs to the most important Tibetan texts that have come down in Dunhuang. It is, on the one hand, the earliest relatively long representative of the historical tradition which survived more and more reshaped and adjusted to the Buddhistic view of history till the present-day Tibetan historiography. On the other hand, several of its parts are solitary relics of the different genres and styles of Old Tibetan narrative and poetry.

The structure of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, especially the chronological inconsequences in the succession of paragraphs and the related question of how the work evolved pose many problems. These have often been discussed in varying detail. The relevant researches so far as well as some occasional observations have clarified several important partial problems but in my view the basic problems are still waiting to be settled.

In what follows I am going to try to get significantly closer to solving the problems of the structure and genesis of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, starting from a critical revision of the previous attempts, without of course the illusion of having cleared up the entire complex of problems in all detail.

2. By *Old Tibetan Chronicle* I denote the incomplete manuscripts

Pelliot tibétain 1286 (earlier no. 249) of 69 lines¹ and *Pelliot tibétain* 1287 (earlier no. 250) of 536 lines.² Their publishers Jacques Bacot and Charles Toussaint handled them as two separate works giving them the titles “Principautés anciennes et généalogie des rois” and “Chronique”.³ As these titles struck root in the literature, and in addition to that, the paragraphs and lines of the two manuscripts are numbered separately, I am going to distinguish them as the “Genealogy-manuscript” (Gen.) and the “Chronicle-manuscript” (Chr.).

As has been assumed earlier, the two manuscripts were completed for one and the same manuscript scroll. This is indicated by the following: (a) The entire Genealogy-manuscript and part of the Chronicle-manuscript were written on pieces of the verso of a single continuous part of a Chinese manuscript scroll.⁴ (b) The Genealogy-manuscript and a part of the Chronicle-manuscript seem to be written by the same hand.⁵ (c) As regards contents, the Chronicle-manuscript is the direct continuation of the Genealogy-manuscript.⁶

The work at issue seems to have been redacted during or after the reign of 'U-'i-dum-brtan alias Glan Dar-ma in 838-842. The

¹ Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 554-556. Ed. and trl. of §§ «I-III», rece: II-IV, in BACOT - THOMAS - THOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, pp. 77-89, and of § I in LALOU, 1958/1959, p. 161 = 5; RICHARDSON, 1969, p. 5; MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 195-197.

² Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 557-577. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - THOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, pp. 91-171, and complement: RICHARDSON, 1969, pp. 8-9.

³ BACOT - THOMAS - THOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, pp. 77 and 91.

⁴ Cfr. below, p. 00.

⁵ Cfr. the remarks of MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 191, 219-220, 227 and 248. Only a graphological examination could clarify the question exactly.

⁶ In Gen. §§ III and IV the descent of Khri Ñag-khri bcan-po to earth and his reign are narrated, followed by the genealogy of the descendants of Lde Ñag-khri bcan-po (i.e. Khri Ñag-khri bcan-po). Chr. § I, on the other side, relates the history of Dri-gum bcan-po, the first ruler to have an independent legend among the descendants of Ñag-khri bcan-po.

last name in the list of kings, § IV of the Genealogy-manuscript, is 'U-'i-dum-brtan.⁷ Also, the enumeration of the great councillors in § II of the Chronicle-manuscript mentions⁸ 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ at the penultimate place who is named, among other things, in connection with the peace treaty of 821-822,⁹ while last mentioned is Dba's Rgyal-to-re Stag-sña, who was, according to later historiography, the councillor of King Glañ Dar-ma 'U-dum-bcan.¹⁰

3. The contents and structure of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* could be briefly summarized as follows. In this overview I have retained the original division of the Genealogy- and Chronicle-manuscripts into four and sixteen paragraphs respectively, while I refer to Bacot's arbitrary and miselading division into three and ten chapters¹¹ only in brackets.

Gen. § I (= Bacot -): Catalogue of the lineages related by marriage on the four borders of old (Ll. 1-5).

Gen. § II (= Bacot I): Catalogue of principalities, their subjugation by the Tibetan kings and councillors (Ll. 6-29).

Gen. § III (= Bacot II): Descent of Khri Ñag-khri bcan-po' from Heaven and his eulogy (Ll. 30-41).

⁷ Cfr. IMAEDA, 1979, p. 23.

⁸ *Pelliot tibétain* 1287, Ll. 116-117. Facs.: [MACDONALD]-SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pl. 561. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - THOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 102, Ll. 19-21; p. 132, Ll. 18-19.

⁹ *The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription* at Lha-sa, north face, L. 10. Ed. and trl.: RICHARDSON, 1985, pp. 128-129; LI - COBLIN, 1987, p. 59; p. 63, n. 14-18; p. 117; p. 122, n. to L. 10. Cfr. esp. the comments of RICHARDSON, 1978, pp. 157-158, n. 2.

¹⁰ In later texts the councillor is mentioned in connection with different events in different roles and by different forms of the name, some of later orthography, some folk etymological and again some corrupted. There is no room here to enumerate all of them, so let it suffice to refer to UEBACH, 1987, p. 67, n. 225 and 229, where the most important later forms can be found. For Rbas Rgyal-po Stag-sna (sic!) as the councillor of Dar-ma Khri 'U-dum-bcan cfr. *ibid.*, p. 118, Ll. 6-10; p. 119, Ll. 7-9.

¹¹ Cfr. MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, p. 220.

- Gen. § IV (= Bacot III): Genealogy of the Tibetan kings (Ll. 42-69).
- Chr. § I (= Bacot I): Death and burial of King Dri-gum bcan-po (i.e. Gri-gum bcan-po in later records), Spu-de Guñ-rgyal assuming power (Ll. 1-62).
- Chr. § II (= Bacot II): Catalogue of the great councillors (Ll. 63-117).
- Chr. § III (= Bacot III): King Stag-bu Sñā-gzigs's reign: Part 1 of the narrative of the fall of prince Ziñ-po-rje Khri Pañ-sum (Ll. 118-172).
- Chr. § IV (= Bacot IV): Reign of King Slon-mchan/Khri Slon-bcan/Gnam-ri Slon-mchan (Ll. 173-246):
- (a) Part 2 of the Ziñ-po-rje narrative;
 - (b) Part 1 of the history of the councillor Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce;
 - (c) Dispute between Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad [Zu-ce] and Señ-go Myi-čhen and the defeat of Dags-po by the latter;
 - (d) Song of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce and the answer of Myañ [Mañ-po-rje] Žaň-snaň; beginning of the rise of Myañ [Mañ-po-rje] Žaň-snaň.
- Chr. § V (= Bacot V): Confirmation of the right of succession for the descendants of Dba's Phaňs-to-re Dbyi-chab by Khri Sroň-brcan (i.e. Sroň-brcan sgam-po) after the felony of Myañ [Mañ-po-rje] Žaň-snaň (Ll. 247-298).
- Chr. § VI (= Bacot VI,1) (Ll. 299-314):
- (a) Beginning of the reign of Sroň-brcan Sgam-po/Khri Sroň-brcan: revolt of the vassals, subjugation of the Sum-pa, expedition against China and the 'A-ža;
 - (b) Fall of [Myañ] Mañ-po-rje Žaň-snaň due to Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad [Zu-ce]'s intrigues.
- Chr. § VII (= Bacot VI,2): Part 2 of the history of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce (Ll. 315-327).
- Chr. § VIII (= Bacot VII,1): Eulogy of Khri 'Dus-sroň (Ll. 328-337).
- Chr. § IX (= Bacot VII,2): Reign of Khri Lde-gcug-brcan (Ll. 338-365).
- Chr. § X (= Bacot VIII,1): Reign of Khri Sroň-lde-brcan (Ll. 366-397).
- Chr. § XI (= Bacot VIII,2): Conflict between the Tibetan ruler and the Žaň-žuň king Liğ Myi-rhya (Ll. 398-432).
- Chr. § XII (= Bacot VIII,3) (Ll. 433-455):
- a) Celebration of the victory over Liğ Myi-rhya;
 - b) Eulogy of Khri Sroň-brcan/Sroň-brcan sgam-po.
- Chr. § XIII (= Bacot IX,1): Song of king 'Dus-sroň at the time of Mgar [Khri-'briň Bcan-brod]'s felony (Ll. 456-481).
- Chr. § XIV (= Bacot IX,2): Song of Khe-rgad Rgyal-to-re Mdo-snaň and

the answer of Khri 'Dus-sroñ's wife of the Čog-ro clan (Ll. 482-494).
Chr. § XV (= Bacot X,1): Mgar Khri-'brjñ bcan-brod's victory over the Chinese general 'Voñ (He'u-)ker žaň-še at Stag-la Rgya-dur (Ll. 495-525).

Chr. § XVI (= Bacot X,2): Song of Pa-chab Rgyal-to-re at the time of the flight of Mgar Mañ-po-rje Stag-rcañ and himself to China (Ll. 526-536, badly damaged).

4. Already Bacot had noticed that the sequence of paragraphs does not always correspond to the chronological order.¹² The main problems are posed by Chr. §§ X-XVI:

Chr. § X incipit: *bcan-po Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ-gyi riñ-la*, "at the time of the king Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ" and it only gives a description of this king's reign;

Chr. § XI incipit: *rgyal 'di-'i riñ-la*, "at the time of this king" and it is concerned with the conflict between an unnamed Tibetan ruler and the Žaň-žuñ king Lig Myi-rhya;

Chr. § XII incipit: *rgyal 'di-'i riñ-la*, "at the time of this king" and it describes the celebrations after the victory over Lig Myi-rhya with the ritual songs of Khri Sroñ-brcañ and [Mgar] Stoñ-rcañ yul-žuñ, ending with a eulogy of the reign of Khri Sroñ-brcañ/Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po;

Chr. § XIII: The song of King 'Dus-sroñ; as well as §§ XIV-XVI.

5. It has long been disputed whether Lig Myi-rhya was defeated under Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ or Khri Sroñ-brcañ (alias Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po). In this controversy the later Bon-po tradition which attributed the fall of Lig Mi-rgya [(Lig Myi-rhya)] and the collapse of the Žaň-žuñ empire to Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ also entered into consideration.

Thus in Bacot's view Chr. §§ X-XII (Bacot VIII, 1-3) refer fully to the time of Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ. What explains the appearance of the names of King Khri Sroñ-brcañ/Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po and the councillor [Mgar] Stoñ-rcañ Yu-žuñ should allegedly

¹² BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 93.

be explained by the fact that in the ecstasy over the victory and the high spirits of the celebrations Khri Sroñ-lde-brcan and his great councillor identified themselves with their great predecessors.¹³

Bacot's attempted explanation was adopted and further elaborated by A. Róna-Tas. Based on a comparative analysis of the ritual song in Chr. § XII with the variant of the same song in Chr. § V he concluded that the king and the councillor identified themselves with their predecessors for ritual reasons.¹⁴

However, Bacot's and Róna-Tas's hypothesis is untenable. The king and the councillor are named Khri Sroñ-brcan and Stoñ-rcañ Yul-zuñ respectively not only in the songs but also in the following narrative parts of Chr. § XII.

Hishasi Satō has arrived at the significant conclusion that Spug Gyim-brcan Rmañ-čuñ of Chr. § XI is identical with Spug Gyim-rcañ Rma-čuñ in the report of the year 653/654 in the *Royal Annals*. But unfortunately he was mistaken in stating that in both *loci* Spug was mentioned as the commander-in-chief of the campaign against Žaň-žuñ, and that Chr. §§ XI-XII refer partly to the time of Khri Sroñ-brcan/Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po's reign and partly to the time after his death.¹⁵

Kun Chang is also of the position that Spug Gyim-brcan Rmañ-čuñ of Chr. § XI and Spug Gyim-rcañ Rma-čuñ of the entry for the year 653/654 in the *Annals* are identical, but since only Khri Sroñ-brcañ and [Mgar] Stoñ-rcañ are mentioned in Chr. § XII in connection with the conquest of Žaň-žuñ, he dates the events narrated in the two paragraphs solely to the age of Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po.¹⁶

Also in the view of V. A. Bogoslovskij both the narrative of

¹³ BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 159, n. 1.

¹⁴ RÓNA-TAS, 1958, pp. 322-324. Cfr. also MILLER, 1963a, pp. 488-489 and n. 38, = repr.: MILLER, 1976, pp. 4-5 and n. 38; MILLER, 1963b, pp. 452-453.

¹⁵ SATŌ, 1958, pp. 207-209, cfr. also p. 245.

¹⁶ CHANG, 1960, p. 138.

the conflict with Lig Myi-rhya and the eulogy refer to the time of Sroñ-brcan sgam-po, but unfortunately he failed to substantiate his position.¹⁷

Later, however, the solution proposed by Chang and Bogoslovskij appeared nearly simultaneously but wholly independently and based partly on different arguments in the report about Ariane Macdonald's university lectures, in a study by Petech and one by me. According to these, the Žaṅ-žuṅ king Lig Myi-rhya mentioned in Chr. §§ XI-XII is identical with Lig Sṅa-šur who, according to the *Royal Annals*, was overthrown by the Tibetans during the reign of Khri Sroñ-brcan (i.e. Sroñ-brcan sgam-po) c. 644/645.¹⁸

6. Apparently, the sequence of paragraphs does not tally with the succession of kings. Not only some paragraphs about the reign of Khri Sroñ-brcan/Sroñ-brcan sgam-po (Chr. §§ XI-XII) but also most of the paragraphs about the time of Khri 'Dus-sroñ (Chr. §§ XIII-XVI) are erroneously placed after the exposition of the reign of Khri Lde-gcug-brcan (Chr. § IX) and that of Khri Sroñ-lde-brcan (Chr. § X). The question arises how the given sequence of paragraphs came about and how the paragraphs originally succeeded one another.

Petech tried to reconstruct the original sequence of the paragraphs of the Chronicle-manuscript on purely chronological bases. He claimed that the first seven paragraphs of the manuscript were copied in the right order. When, however, the scribes started to write the second part, they confused the right sequence of four short scrolls that served as the model for the remaining nine paragraphs¹⁹ (see table).

¹⁷ BOGOSLOVSKIJ, 1962, p. 82, n. 25; p. 169 and n. 150; French trl. BOGOSLOVSKIJ, 1972, p. 159, n. 25; pp. 140-141 and p. 172, n. 150.

¹⁸ URAY, 1968, pp. 292-297; MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1969, pp. 533-534; PETECH, 1969, p. 254 = repr.: PETECH, 1988, p. 310.

¹⁹ PETECH, 1969, pp. 253-256, esp. p. 256 = repr. PETECH, 1988, pp. 309-312, esp. 312.

As for me, I approached the problem from quite another angle. From the way the sheets were put together into a scroll I could establish that normally the sheets had been attached together before writing. But in two cases the sheets were fastened to the previous ones with the text on – exactly there where the right sequence of kings is confused, notably at the beginning of Chr. §§ VIII and XI (Ll. 328, 398). From this I concluded that the chronologically incorrect sequence of the paragraphs was alone the fault of the person who mounted the sheets. The intended right order of the paragraphs in the Chronicle-manuscript should be I-VII, XI-XVI, VIII-X²⁰ (see table).

Demiéville commented on Petech's and my views in his detailed critical review *Récents travaux sur Touen-houang*. He agreed with Petech, for in his opinion L. 398, the first line of Chr. § XI, was not written before the relevant sheets were glued together.²¹ However, Demiéville soon changed his opinion about the order in which the sheets were glued together and Chr. § XI was written (Ll. 398 ff). On the margin of p. 66 of the copy of *Récents travaux* he sent to me he wrote; “Inexact. Question repuisee par Ariane Macdonald dans Mélanges Lalou 1971 (mon assistant n'a pas examiné d'assez près)”.

7. Macdonald's work referred to by Demiéville is not the mentioned report about the lectures in which the sequence of the paragraphs of the Chronicle-manuscript is not discussed, but the great study about the hisotrical texts of the Fonds Pelliot tibétain. In this study Macdonald tackles the problem of the sequence of the paragraphs and in this connection she also argues with my views.

Upon the initiative of Macdonald the restorers at the Bibliothèque Nationale disjoined the sheets of the scroll. This undertaking confirmed my view that the piece containing lines 328-397

²⁰ URAY, 1968, pp. 298-299.

²¹ DEMIÉVILLE, 1970, pp. 65-67.

was only attached to the other part of the scroll after writing.²² Nevertheless Macdonald does not believe that the present, chronologically incorrect order was caused by a single technical blunder.

According to Macdonald, the paragraphs of the Chronicle-manuscript had been taken from works of different genres like *rgyal-rabs*, "history of kings" and **blon-rabs*, "history of councilors", and perhaps even from a history of queens. There are also independent versions of certain narratives (Macdonald sees India Office fragment *Ch. xvii 2* as such²³). In her view the paragraphs of the Chronicle-manuscript form coherent units and consequently, the units stemming from different works and written in different times were not subjected to uniforming and reworking when the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* was compiled. Accordingly, the confusion of the chronological order must have been caused by the difficulty facing the compilers of the heterogenous material.²⁴ Macdonald goes even so far as to state that the erroneous attribution of Chr. §§ XI-XII to the reign of Khri Sron-lde-brcan complies with the intentions of the compilers, and that the Bon-po tradition, which claims that Lig Mi-rgya and Khri Sron-lde-brcan were contemporaries, goes back to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.²⁵

8. The theory proposed by Macdonald was developed further by Yoshiro Imaeda in cooperation with Hélène Vetch in the supplement to volume II of *Choix de documents tibétains*.

Vetch analyzed both the Genealogy- and the Chronicle-manuscripts with respect to the distribution of the Tibetan para-

²² MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, p. 220, n. 123; p. 259; also [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 571-572, which show the end of Chr. § X and the beginning of § XI before and after the separation of the sheets. Cfr. also VETCH, 1979, p. 25 (N.B.) and p. 26 (§ XI).

²³ Quoted incorrectly in MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 253-254 and 334, as «I.O. 716». For the fragment itself cfr. below, p. 00 and n. 32.

²⁴ MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 333-334, cfr. also pp. 202, 227, 229, 236, 248, 254, 258 and 259.

²⁵ MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, p. 335.

graphs on the sheets and to the sequence of the Chinese texts on the verso, as well as the paper and the execution of each paragraph or fragment. Two of her most important findings are:

(1) All the sheets of the Genealogy-manuscript and five of the Chronicle-manuscript represent, irrespective of minor lacunae, immediately consecutive fragments of a copy of Kumārajīva's Chinese *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* translation [Taishō, No. 475, *juan* 2, *pin* 6-7 = Bd. XIV, 546c₁₍₁₆₎-547c₁₍₁₂₎ + 547c₅-548b₂₃₍₂₎]. To this Vetch added that if one assumed that the Chinese scroll was only cut up when the Tibetan Chronicle had been written on it, the following would be the original sequence of the Tibetan paragraphs: Gen. § IV, Chr. §§ VIII-X, Gen. §§ I-III, Chr. § I. (That is, however, chronologically out of the question, as Imaeda has already noted.²⁶)

(2) Sheets 10 and 13 (= Fragments 5 and 7) of the Chronicle-manuscript on which Chr. § VII and the beginning of Chr. § XI were written constituted originally a single sheet of a Chinese scroll cut into two parts.²⁷ (This statement is especially significant for it is precisely Chr. §§ VII and XI that should originally succeed each other in Petech's and my theory.)

On the basis of the results of Vetch's codicological analysis Imaeda asserts that the total of twenty paragraphs of the Genealogy- and Chronicle-manuscripts could be divided into two groups: (1) Gen. §§ I-IV + Chr. §§ I + VIII-X; (2) Chr. §§ II-VII + XI-XVI. This division corresponds to the literary genres of the paragraphs (but Imaeda defines the genres of some paragraphs differently from Macdonald). In Imaeda's view, originally there were two scrolls that comprised two separate works which mutually complemented each other: a *rgyal-rabs*, "history of kings", and a **blon-rabs*, "history of councillors". The **blon-rabs* is claimed to have consisted of a "liste des ministres" (sic!) (Chr. §§ II) and the chronologically arranged paragraphs about the most important "ministers" (Chr. §§ III-VII + XI-XVI). The *rgyal-rabs* must have contained the para-

²⁶ IMAEDA, 1979, pp. 22-23.

²⁷ VETCH, 1979, pp. 23-31, esp. pp. 23-25, 25 (N.B.), 28-30 (frgments 5, 10, 11).

graphs Gen. §§ I-IV, Chr. §§ I and VIII-X but it is difficult to reconstruct the original form of the work. Later the works were cut into pieces and stuck together again in the sequence in which they have survived.²⁸

9. Unfortunately I cannot agree with the theory proposed by Macdonald and Imaeda assuming that the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* can be traced back partly to a *rgyal-rabs*, partly to a **blon-rabs* and possibly also to a history of queens (**bcun-rabs*).

A problem already arises in regard to the literary genres.

The genre of *rgyal-rabs*, "succession of kings", is well known. On the one hand, it concerns simple genealogical lists which contain, besides the name of the king, that of the queen and sometimes the names of the king's councillor and the birth-date of the ruler. On the other hand, it refers to detailed dynastic chronicles in which the real or fictitious historical events are narrated by the reigns of kings.

In contrast to that, I do not think one could speak of a separate **blon-rabs* genre in opposition to *rgyal-rabs*. True, one may very rarely come across lists of councillors according to various principles, there is namely a list of the holders of the office of the great councillor in chronological order in Chr. § II, and another one of the most important councillors arranged by clans.²⁹ But I know no work that is devoted to the acts of councillors. The *Blon-po bka'i than-yig* "discovered" in 1347 by O-rgyan-glin-pa and complemented between 1386 and 1393, the fifth part of the *Bka'-than sde-lña* "The Five Sections of Explanations", to which Macdonald implicitly refers as an example,³⁰ presents the structure and principles of administration rather than the deeds of the councillors.

I think it is even more problematic in Macdonald's and Imae-

²⁸ IMAEDA, 1979, pp. 21-23.

²⁹ *Blon-po bka'-than*, chapter 3 = fols. 7a5-8a5. Cfr. MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, p. 228, n. 147.

³⁰ MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 333-334, esp. 334.

da's studies that they regard the paragraphs as coherent, closed unities.

In actual fact there are several paragraphs that are made up of two-to-four independent passages, and conversely, there are narratives that are cut into two parts which can be found in different paragraphs. For instance, Chr. § IV falls into four passages that are totally different from one another as to subject-matter, manner of presentation and style. On the other side, passage (a) of Chr. § IV constitutes together with the preceding paragraph Chr. § III a strictly organized narrative both in style and content (the "Ziñ-po-rje narrative").

Similarly, passage (b) of Chr. § IV and Chr. § VII form a single narrative ("the History of Khyuñ Spuñ-sad Zu-ce"), as borne out by the identical ways of presentation and similarity of stylistic devices. It is to be added here that the "History of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce" has survived, besides the Chronicle-manuscript, in the India Office Fragment *Ch. xvii 2*, as several scholars have noted.³¹ As I proved earlier, this *Ch. xvii 2*³² and fragment *Pelliot Tibétain 1144*³³ are two sheets from a redaction of a chronicle written in *pothi* form, and *Ch. xvii 2* served as the model for Chr. §§ IV (b) and VII of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. Those parts of the "History of Khyuñ-po" that refer to the times of Slon-bcan and Khri Sron-brcan were only separated from each other when the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* was being redacted and their text was also adjusted to the new context (though with revealing inconsistencies). However, the story of the captivity of King khri Stagbu [Sña-gzigs] contained in *Pelliot Tibétain 1144* was not taken over by the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* and lived on only in Bon-po historiography.³⁴

³¹ URAY, 1972, p. 38, n.

³² Facs.: THOMAS, 1955, pl. II, figs. B and A; [MACDONALD]-SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pl. 578. Ed. and trl. THOMAS, 1951, pp. 53-56. Trl. only of the verso: MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, p. 254.

³³ Unpublished.

³⁴ URAY, 1972, pp. 37-39, n. 91.

10. The relation between the two versions of the "History of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce" preserved in the India Office fragment *Ch. xvii 2*, on the one side, and in §§ IV (*b*) and VII, on the other, unambiguously proves that the Genealogy- and Chronicle-manuscripts are copies not of a redaction compiled in the interior of Tibet but of one prepared in Dunhuang itself. During the compilation of this redaction they deviated from the model and arranged the pieces in the order of succession of the rulers. As a result of this arrangement certain narratives were divided into two and the pieces were put in different places of the Chronicle. But the compilers of the Dunhuang redaction did not try to observe a strict chronological order within the reigns themselves. (E.g. Chr. § V should be between Chr. §§ VI and VII, as Macdonald already pointed out.³⁵)

Since not only the glueing together of the parts of text but also their copying complied with the principle of arrangement by successive reigns, one may contend that the Dunhuang redaction was meant to be a *rgyal-rabs* from the beginning. The sources, however, or at least a part of them, were historical writings of a different kind since the temporal limits of their narratives did not always coincide with those of the reigns.

The question arises how the confusion of the sequence of Chr. §§ VII-XVI could be explained on the basis of the new results. A decisive circumstance is the one established by Vetch, notably that Chr. § VII and the beginning of Chr. § XI were originally written on a sheet.³⁶ This circumstance reveals not only what Petech and I assumed – that the compilers of the Dunhuang redaction had intended Chr. §§ VII and XI to follow each other directly – but also the fact that they were actually written consecutively. From this it follows that the confusion of the sequence of paragraphs could not be blamed simply on the person who mounted the pieces, since Chr. §§ VII and XI had to be cut apart first

³⁵ MACDONALD[-SPANIEN], 1971, p. 248.

³⁶ VETCH, 1979, pp. 25 (N.B.) and 28 (fragments 4 and 6).

so that Chr. §§ VIII-X could be inserted between them. Following Macdonald, the change could perhaps be explained by the assumption that already in the second half of the 9th century people tried to find a connection between the fall of the last *Žaṅ-žun* king Lig Myi-rhya and the suppression of Tibet's non-Buddhistic religion by Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan.³⁷ However, I cannot adduce a fully reliable reason for the change.

11. An insight into an earlier phase of the genesis of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* can be got from the passages that have been designed to fit the interests of certain clans.

It was proposed by Prof. Louis Ligeti that the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* was composed in the interest of the clans *Dbā's*, *Myaṅ*, *Mnon* and *Che-spoṅ*. This thought was put forth by Ligeti in his university lectures in 1955/1956 and I was first made aware of it briefly by Prof. A. Róna-Tas, who was a student at that time, and later by Prof. Ligeti himself. Chr. §§ III-VI, especially the list of possessions at the end of the "Ziṅ-po-rje narrative" [Chr. § IV (a)] and the "Confirmation of the right of succession for *Dbā's* *Phaṅs-to-re Dbyi-chab's* descendants" (Chr. § V), were quoted in evidence.

In this way, Ligeti recognized a very important aspect of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*. Moreover, I should say that the number of places that were modified to comply with the interests of the *Myaṅ* and *Dbā's* clans is indeed considerable. However, in my opinion the interests of the *Che-spoṅ* and *Mnon* clans did not influence the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* et all.

I can name the following places that clearly testify to the interests of the *Dbā's* and *Myaṅ* clans:

Chr. § II, Catalogue of the great councillors: After the death of *Mgar*

³⁷ MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 260-261. Relying on the text of the *Žaṅ-žun sṅan-brgyud* published in the meantime, Macdonald also corrects my interpretation of the passage in the *Rgyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byun-gnas* about the fall of Lig Mi-rgya in URAY, 1968, pp. 295-296.

- Stoñ-rcan Yul-zuñ the small councillors and the subjects wanted Dba's Sum-snañ as great councillor, but at a secret consultation of the king and the councillors the post was given to the son of the deceased.³⁸
- Chr. §§ III and IV (a), Ziñ-po-rje narrative: The conspiracy against Ziñ-po-rje Khri Pañ-sum, which marked the beginning of the unification of Tibet under the Yar-luñ Dynasty, having been initiated by Myañ Smon-to-re Ceñ-sku and Dba's Phañs-to-re Dbyi-chab, they got outstandingly great recompensations among the conspirators.³⁹
- Chr. § IV (d): Dispute between Khyuñ-po Spuñ--sad Zu-ce and Myañ [Mañ-po-rje] Žaň-snañ, which launched the rise of the latter.⁴⁰
- Chr. § V: Confirmation of the right of succession for Dba's Phañs-to-re Dbyi-chab's descendants.⁴¹
- Chr. § VI (b): Myañ Mañ-po-rje Žaň-snañ is ruined by Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad [Zu-ce]'s intrigues.⁴²
- Chr. § IX, Reign of Khri Lde-gcug-brcan: According to a passage of this paragraph, the occupation of the castle of Kva-ču (= Guazhou) bringing a wealth of loot for the Tibetans was decided upon at a consultation of the king and the Great Councillor [Dba's] Stag-sgra Khoñ-lod.⁴³

³⁸ Ll. 103-107. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pl. 560. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 101, L. 37-p. 102, L. 6; p. 131, Ll. 14-24.

³⁹ Ll. 134-198, esp. 139-154, 185-187, 190-194. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 561-564. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 103, L. 25-p. 104, L. 13; p. 105, Ll. 29-34; p. 106, Ll. 4-12; p. 134, L. 10-p. 135, L. 14; p. 138, Ll. 5-12; p. 138, L. 19-p. 139, L. 2. Partial trl.: RÓNA-TAS, 1955, p. 250. Cfr. also the analysis of the narrative in MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 230-238, §§ III and IV, 1-4.

⁴⁰ Ll. 218-246. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 565-566. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 107, L. 16-p.108, L. 23; p. 140, L. 16-p. 143, L. 16. Cfr. also the analysis of the passage in MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 240-247.

⁴¹ Ll. 247-298. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 566-567. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 108, L. 24-p. 110, L. 37; p. 143, L. 17-p. 147, L. 9. Cfr. also the analysis of the passage in MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, pp. 255-258.

⁴² Ll. 307-314. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pl. 568. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 111, Ll. 14-25; p. 147, L. 25-p. 148, L. 8. New trl.: MACDONALD[SPANIEN], 1971, p. 249.

⁴³ Ll. 338-343. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pl. 569. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 113, Ll. 2-10; p. 150, Ll. 6-15.

According to the more authentic reports of the *Royal Annals of Tibet*⁴⁴ and the *Jiu Tangshu*⁴⁵ it was really Dba's Stag-sgra Khon-lod/Xinoulo Gonglu⁴⁶ who led the occupation of Guazhou on 26 September 727 but only afterwards was he appointed great councillor and in a year's time he was condemned and executed.

It cannot be the only explanation for the presence of these *loci* in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* that some stories were taken over by the *Chronicle* from a clan history of the Myan and Dba's, for in addition to the complete narratives of Chr. §§ III + IV(a), IV (d), V and VI(b) there are also passages that should apparently be regarded as interpolations, notably the cited statements in Chr. §§ II and IX. From that it follows that some time during its history the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* underwent some redaction which served the interests of the Myan and Dba's clans.⁴⁷ Since the last event, which is apparently presented in accordance with the interests of

⁴⁴ *Pelliot tibétain* 1288 (earlier no. 252) + *India Office ms.* 750 (Ch. 79 viii 7), Ll. 243-249. Facs.: [MACDONALD-]SPANIEN - IMAEDA, 1979, pls. 588-589, Ll. 192-198. Ed. and trl.: BACOT - THOMAS - TOUSSAINT, 1940-1946, p. 24, Ll. 2-12; p. 48, Ll. 1-13.

⁴⁵ *Jiu Tangshu*, ch. CXCVI A, trl. PELLIOU, 1961, pp. 17-18. Cfr. DEMIÉVILLE, 1952, p. 294, n. 3.

⁴⁶ Middle Chinese *sjēt-nâk()***ndâk*-*lâ kung-luk*, cfr. KARLGREN, 1957/1972, nos. 1257/e + 777/f + 6/a + 1182/l + 1208/h. In my opinion, a possible explanation to the Middle Chinese final *-k* at the end of the last syllable in place of the Tibetan *-d* may be that the Middle Chinese *-k* was more suitable to render the Old Tibetan plosive *-d* than the Middle Chinese *-t* which became a spirant in the northwestern dialects and was mainly used to render foreign *-r*.

⁴⁷ The close ties of kinship or alliance between the Myan and Dba's clans are borne out by an order of Khri Lde-sron-brcan dating from the first decade of the 8th century and preserved in the *Inscription of the West Pillar (rdo-rin) at Zva'i lha-khan*, Ll. 56-58: «Formerly, while the Myang and the Dba's were similar in having been loyal and having made contributions, yet, if compared with the corresponding case of the Dba's, the grace (shown) the Myang seems to have been small. Consequently, by my command, it is granted that with regard to the decree for the Myang a supplement shall be added»; trl. by W. S. Coblin in LI - COBLIN, 1987, p. 280. Ed. of the Tibetan text, *ibid.*, p. 267. Cfr. also ed. and trl. in RICHARDSON, 1985, pp. 52-53, and comments, *ibid.*, p. 45.

the Myañ and Dba's in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, is the occupation of Kva-ču (= Guazhou) and the installation of Dba's Stag-sgra Khoñ-lod into the office of the great councillor, the Myañ-Dba's redaction of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* cannot date from before 727/728. It can also be contended that the Myañ-Dba's-redaction is not identical with the Dunhaung redaction, since the narratives of greatest import for the Myañ and Dba's clans, notably the "Ziñ-po-rje narrative" and the "Confirmation of the right of succession", concern the legitimation of clan possessions in Central Tibet, and besides, traces of the "Ziñ-po-rje narrative" can be found in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* written from 1545 up to 1565 in Central Tibet by Dpa'-bo sprul-sku Gcug-lag-'phren-ba 'jin-pa.⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ URAY, 1967 [1969], pp. 499-503.

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Present sequence of paragraphs	Topics of paragraphs
Gen. I.	Catalogue of the lineages related by marriage on the four borders of old
II.	Catalogue of ancient principalities
III.	Descent of King Khri Ņag-khri bcan-po from Heaven and his eulogy
IV.	Genealogy of the Tibetan kings
Chr. I.	Death and burial of King Dri-gum
II.	Catalogue of the great councillors
III.	Ziñ-po-rje Narrative, part I
IV.	(a) Ziñ-po-rje Narrative, part II (b) History of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce, part I (c) Defeat of Dags-po (d) Song of Khyuñ-po Spuñ-sad Zu-ce and answer of Myañ Mañ-po-rje Žan-snañ
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(L. 328) VIII.	Eulogy of Khri 'Dus-sron
IX.	Reign of Khri lde-gcug-brcan
X.	Reign of Khri Sron-lde-brcan
(L. 398) XI.	Conflict with the Žaň-žuň king Lig Myi-rhya
XII.	(a) Celebration of the victory over Lig Myi-rhya (b) Eulogy of Khri Sron-brcan
XIII.	Song of King 'Dus-sron
XIV.	Song of Khe-rgad Rgyal-to-re Mdo-snañ and answer of Khri 'Dus-sron's wife of the Cog-ro clan
XV.	Mgar khri-'briñ Bcan-brod's victory over the Chinese general 'Vaň [He'u-] ker žaň-še at Stag-la Rgya-dur
XVI.	Song of Pa-chab Rgyal-to-re at the time of the flight of Mgar Mañ-po-rje Stag-rcañ and himself to China

THE OLD TIBETAN CHRONICLE OF DUNHUANG

Reign	Original sequence according			
	URAY 1968	PETECH 1969	IMAEDA 1979	URAY 1990
Mythical times			* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*1
Mythical times			* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*2
Khri Ñag-khri bcan-po (mythical)			* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*3
From Lde Ñag-khri bcan-po to 'U-'i-dum-brtan			* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*4
Dri-gum bcan-po (mythical)		*1	* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*5
From Lde Pru-bo-gnam-gžun-rcañ [to 'U-'i-dum-brtan]		*2	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*6
Rgyal Stag-bu Sña-gzigs		*3	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*7
Slon-mchan/Khri Slon-bcañ/ Gnam-ri Slon-mchan		*4	<i>Blon-rabs</i>	*8
Khri Sroñ-brcañ/Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po		*5	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*9
	*6	*6	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*10
	*7	*7	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*11
Khri 'Dus-sroñ	*14	*14	* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*18
Khri Lde-gcuḡ-brcañ	*15	*15	* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*19
Khri Sroñ-lde-brcañ	*16	*16	* <i>Rgyal-rabs</i>	*20
[*Khri Sroñ-brcañ]	*8	*8	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*12
Khri Sroñ-brcañ/Sroñ-brcañ sgam-po	*9	*9	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*13
[Khri] 'Dus-sroñ	*10	*12	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*14
	*11	*13	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*15
	*12	*10	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*16
	*13	*11	* <i>Blon-rabs</i>	*17

RONALD E. EMMERICK

THE DUNHUANG MS. CH 00120: ITS IMPORTANCE
FOR RECONSTRUCTING THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM
OF KHOTANESE

The appearance of Indo-European has gradually changed with progress in research. At first it looked very much like a variant of Sanskrit, but with the discovery of traces in Sanskrit of the former presence of *e* and *o* vowels, it gradually came to look more like Greek. Of some modern reconstructions it is sometimes said that it is beginning to look more like algebra.

Although it is not necessary to reconstruct Khotanese because, unlike Indo-European, it is actually attested, it is nevertheless necessary to interpret the spellings occurring in the extant texts. This is the more necessary because the spellings of one and the same word in some cases vary greatly from one text to another. In part this is due to the fact that the texts were written at different dates and represent different stages in the development of the language. In part it is due to the existence of scribal traditions that may have been different in one monastery from another.

Ernst Leumann thought that Khotanese represented a branch of Indo-European separate from but parallel to both Indian and Iranian.¹ On his interpretation Khotanese was in fact made to ap-

¹ ERNST LEUMANN, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Straßburg, 1912, pp. 29 ff. Leumann's enthusiasm for this idea led him to give it poetic form:

pear very Indian. Khotanese does indeed have an extremely large number of words borrowed from Sanskrit and Northwest Prakrit. Moreover, all known Khotanese texts are written in Central Asian brahmi script, which is of Indian origin. Hence, already at the first glance Khotanese makes a very Indian impression.

As early as in 1901, A. F. R. Hoernle,² the decipherer of Khotanese, had recognised its close affinity with East Iranian languages. He wrote at that time:

Only a few of the words or phrases have, as yet, been determined, but these seem to prove clearly that the language of the documents is an Indo-Iranian dialect, having affinities both with Persian and the Indian Vernaculars, in addition to peculiarities of its own which connect it with the dialects of the Western Highlands of Central Asia. To me it appears that it has its nearest congeners in the so-called Ghalchah dialects of the Pamir, the Sariq-qoli, Shighnī, Wakhī, Munjānī, Sanglichī.

Thanks largely to the efforts of Sten Konow and Sir Harold Bailey it has become universally accepted that Khotanese is nothing but a Middle Iranian language that for cultural reasons has come under strong Indian influence. Konow and later Herzenberg tried to establish the pronunciation likely to underlie the diverse spellings of Khotanese on the basis mainly of its historical development from Old Iranian. As a result of this approach Khotanese came to look much more Iranian than it had done seen from Leumann's point of view.

My own contribution to this aspect of Khotanese studies has so far been an attempt to sift the evidence for the pronunciation collected by previous workers, where necessary evaluating the arguments for opposing views and to try to establish the phoneme

Lange schon freuten wir uns der Sprachen der Inder und Perser;
 Rede aus nördlichem Land mischt nun harmonisch sich ein,
 und sie verkündet in heimisch ins Ohr uns fallenden Rhythmen,
 wie ein verschollenes Volk Buddha's Größe begriff.

² A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, *A report on the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia*, «Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal», Extra-Number 1, 1901, pp. 32-33.

inventory of Khotanese. This work was summarised in two articles, one on the vowel phonemes in the Szemerényi Festschrift³ and one on the consonant phonemes in the volume in memory of Morgenstierne.⁴ Those articles have had the effect of making clearer the range of possible interpretations of a given spelling leading to a number of new explanations of Khotanese words. At the same time they have focussed attention on the need to develop this aspect of Khotanese studies.

One of the most important ways of determining the probable pronunciation of a language no longer spoken is to examine the way in which it deals with loanwords or in favourable cases the way in which foreign languages are transcribed by its speakers. In the case of Khotanese we are fortunate in having transcriptions of Tibetan, Turkish and Chinese words. However, the evaluation of this material is not straightforward because we are dealing with languages spoken in a remote area more than a thousand years ago. Moreover, one has always to consider the fact that in rendering a sound occurring in a foreign language a scribe will normally write the graph representing the closest approximation for the sound in his own language. This means that if his own language does not have a particular sound, he will write something that seems to be acoustically similar. Only in extreme cases is he likely, if he has an inventive mind, to devise some special means of indicating the peculiar sound.

Of the three languages mentioned, Tibetan, Turkish, and Chinese we have most material in Chinese, and there is more evidence available concerning the earlier pronunciation of Chinese than there is for that of Tibetan and Turkish. Virtually all this material is available only for Late Khotanese. It is in fact quite striking that

³ *The vowel phonemes of Khotanese, Studies in diachronic, synchronic, and typological linguistics, Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi*, ed. B. BROGYANYI, (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science, Series IV, Current issues in linguistic theory, vol. 11 in two parts), Amsterdam, 1979, pp. 239-250.

⁴ *The consonant phonemes of Khotanese*, «Acta Iranica», 21, 1981, pp. 185-200.

whereas Khotanese is saturated with Indian loanwords at all periods and in all types of texts, loanwords from Chinese and Tibetan are found exclusively in Late Khotanese texts.

Already in 1937 F. W. Thomas⁵ published a transcription of a Chinese text written in a variety of Central Asian brahmi script commonly used in manuscripts from Khotan and Dunhuang. He had correctly identified it as containing from line 24 onward a transcription of the first seven sections of Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the Vajracchedikā. He was aware that the first 24 lines were also a transcription of Chinese, but he was unable to identify the underlying original and he offered no transcription of them. A transcription was provided the following year by Bailey,⁶ who also provided many readings improving on those offered by Thomas.

The first Sinologists to study the text were S. Mizutani and B. Csongor, both of whom published their work in obscure places so that I became aware of them only long after my own articles had been completed. In any case it would have been difficult for me to use Mizutani's work written as it is in Japanese. In the case of Csongor's work published in the journal "Unicorn",⁷ I was for a long time misled by his statement on p. 65: 'A comparison of the pronunciation of the Brāhmī letters as established by Sten Konow with their ACh. and MCh. counterparts suggests furthermore a marked tendency in our text to create a distinct orthography for the use in Chinese transcription'. Since as mentioned above one might expect that a scribe having to render a foreign language would adopt the approximate equivalents in his own language I continued to assume that one should not put overdue faith in the values attributed by Sinologists to the brahmi characters.

⁵ F. W. THOMAS, *A Buddhist Chinese text in Brahmi script*, «Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft» («ZDMG»), 92, pp. 592-594.

⁶ H. W. BAILEY, *Vajra-prajñā-pāramitā*, «ZDMG», 1938, pp. 579-593.

⁷ B. CSONGOR, *A Chinese Buddhist text in Brahmi script*, «Unicorn», 10, 1972, pp. 36-77.

Already in 1958 Mizutani⁸ had in fact called into question whether the Indian tenues aspiratae *kh*, *th*, *ph* really were used in Khotanese to represent voiceless fricatives. These letters represent voiceless aspirates in Sanskrit and Prakrit on the one hand, but they occur in Khotanese in words that in Iranian originally at any rate had voiceless fricatives. One has only to think of *khara-*, *thamj-*, *pharra-* from Old Iranian *xara-*, *θanjaiia-*, *farnah-* to see why Iranian scholars attributed fricative values to *kh*, *th*, *ph*. If the Khotanese had only voiceless fricatives and not voiceless aspirates, they may well have used their voiceless fricatives to render foreign voiceless aspirates by way of approximation.

In 1972 Csongor was able to use for his article in *Unicorn* not only the text of the Vajracchedikā proper but also that of the prefatory material since W. Simon⁹ had identified this as being a set of introductory prayers contained in a Song Dynasty work and also in a Dunhuang manuscript reproduced in the Taishō Tripiṭaka.

The manuscript published originally by F. W. Thomas is the Dunhuang manuscript Ch. 00120 from the Stein collection in the India Office Library. From it a rectangular piece is missing from the top left hand corner. Subsequently I discovered¹⁰ that the missing piece is in fact in the Bibliothèque Nationale under the signature P. 5597. The old 'signature' FM is probably not a signature but an abbreviation for 'fonds manuscrits'. The manuscript can accordingly now be studied in toto.

Realising the need to engage the assistance of a Sinologist to study this material I began working on it with the help first of W. Simon, then of K. P. K. Whitaker, and later of G. Dudbridge.

⁸ SHINJŌ MIZUTANI, *Brāhmi moji tensha Rajū yaku Kongokyō no kanjion*, «Nagoya daigaku bungakubu jissūnen kinen ronshū», 1958, pp. 749-774.

⁹ W. SIMON, *A note on Chinese texts in Tibetan transcription*, «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies» («BSOAS»), XXI, 1958, pp. 334-343.

¹⁰ As reported in M. J. DRESDEN, *Khotanese (Saka) manuscripts, a provisional handlist*, «Acta Iranica», 1977, p. 38.

However, it was not until I showed the material to E. G. Pulleyblank in 1981 that substantial progress began to be made. Pulleyblank has meantime twice visited me in Hamburg to work on the text and we have corresponded intermittently over it ever since 1981. Progress has been made on all fronts. The whole text has now been accurately transcribed. With the help of parallel texts and as a result of consultation of the original manuscripts it has been possible to improve the underlying Chinese text. For the first time the introductory prayers have been translated into English. Most importantly, close study of the transcriptions with the underlying Chinese text has resulted in improved understanding of the contemporary pronunciation of both Chinese and Khotanese.

Aspirates vs. fricatives

Let us turn our attention first to the question whether the Brahmi akṣaras for tenues aspiratae were used to represent fricatives in Khotanese or retained exclusively their original significance.

It is conceivable that the Khotanese applied *two* values to a single letter. In the case of Iranian words they could well have adopted the convention that *kh*, *th*, *ph* be used for voiceless fricatives while in words of Indian origin they retained their original value. However, Late Middle Chinese is thought to have had both voiceless fricatives *and* voiceless aspirates. What did the Khotanese do about that? They used *kh*, *th*, *ph* for the Chinese voiceless aspirates whereas they rendered Chinese *x* by *h*: and Chinese *f* by *hv*:. This may look like a special convention for Chinese, but in fact *h*: and *hv*: are also found in Iranian words in well written Late Khotanese texts that show no Chinese influence as in the Khotanese Rāma story. There intervocalic *h* is normally written *h*: even in the case of Sanskrit words such as the name *sahasrabāhā*:. In initial position I have noted one instance only, namely, *hvām:dä* (108) 'they said' against nine occurrences of *hvāmdä*, and one each of *hvāmda*, and *hvāmdai*. It is perhaps worth noting that although it is usual to transcribe as *hvām:dä*, one could transcribe

as *hv:āṃdä*. The reason for preferring *hvām:dä* is simply that visarga follows the akṣara. *h:* is also found in Sanskrit words as in the name *sahasrabāhā:*, written thus at each of three occurrences. The group *hy* appears to be treated in this respect as *h*, that is to say, *hy:* occurs eleven times (*sahye: babyq: āvāhye: uhya:ste haṃgrīhya:rä gīhya:rä uhya:stai byehya: bahya: vālāhyām: sū'hyām:*) as against *hy* only three times (*uhyasta uhyastai babyä*). The invention of a special sign to represent a fricative *x* makes sense only on the assumption that *kh* did not already have that value.

Some evidence has however been offered in support of the fricative value of *kh*. In *BSOAS*, XI.4. 1946, 792-793 H. W. Bailey drew attention to the use of *makhiśvara* in a *dhāraṇī* (Sumukha 898 *KBT* 137) to represent Sanskrit *mahēśvara*. This is a text in which *h:* is not used. If here the voiceless aspirate *kh* is being used to approximate to [x], this would be exactly the opposite of what was formerly thought to have occurred. However, since intervocalic *kh* normally became *h* in Northwest Prakrit, it is most likely that *makhiśvara* is merely a hyper-Sanskritism based on a Northwest Prakrit form.

In a few cases *kh* is used after a nasal in loanwords to render Sanskrit *h* or *gh* e.g. *siṃkhala* 'Ceylon' (N 166.10) for Sanskrit *siṃhala-*, *saṃkhārama-* 'monastery' (Z 4.8 +) for Sanskrit *saṃghārāma-*, *saṃkhāla-* 'monk's garment' (Z 2.78) for Sanskrit *saṃghāṭi-*. This evidence hardly points to the 'voicing of *kh* after a nasal' as suggested by Konow¹¹ because one would hardly have expected the scribes to write *kh* in that case. Since 'voicing of *kh* after a nasal' did in fact take place in Northwest Prakrit,¹² we probably have hyper-Sanskritisms also in these cases.

If one assumes then that *kh*, *th*, *ph* had developed in Khotanese to voiceless aspirates, many inner-Khotanese phonological developments become easier to understand. Thus the relationship between *khās'* 'to drink' and *parchās'* 'to make consume' is clear because

¹¹ STEN KONOW, *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, Oslo, 1949, p. 13.

¹² Cfr. J. BROUGH, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962, § 46, p. 99.

the palatalisation of *kh* to *ch* is no different in principle from the palatalisation of *k* to *c* as seen e.g. in *byūka*- 'room', loc. sg. *byūca*.

There are a number of instances in which Khotanese has been thought to have developed fricatives from voiceless stops under the influence of a following fricative. Thus the word *khava*- 'foam' was compared early with Avestan *kafa*- (Bailey, *BSOS*, VIII.1, 1935, 128), the development having been thought to be via **xapa*-. That such a phonological development is improbable is immediately clear. If however we start from a form **kapha*-, identical with OInd. *kapha*-, there is no difficulty in assuming a transfer of aspiration resulting in **khapa*-.

In general one hesitates to assume that a phonological development may be regressive. If *kh*, *th*, *ph* have become voiceless aspirates in Khotanese, this means that they have reverted to the Indo-Iranian state of affairs after having for a time developed into voiceless fricatives. It would be easier to assume that Khotanese belonged to a separate branch of Indo-European as thought by Leumann, but is that really necessary? A similar regression seems to have taken place in Baluchi, where too the Old Iranian voiceless fricatives have developed into stops.

A simpler explanation would of course be to assume that already at the time of common Old Iranian the voiceless aspirates developed to fricatives in only a part of the Iranian speaking world just as we presumably must assume different dialectal developments in the case of Indo-Iranian **śv*, which in general developed to *sp* in Iranian but in Khotanese and in some modern East Iranian languages retained its palatal character. It is difficult definitively to disprove such a hypothesis, but some facts do seem to point against it. Certainly it seems necessary to assume that in certain cases voiceless stops developed to fricatives in groups and subsequently to voiceless aspirates. This may be the case with *khauša*- 'article of clothing made of leather' from **kafša*-, which has been plausibly compared with Pahlavi and Persian *kafš* and Buddhist Sogdian *kβš*.¹³ Simi-

¹³ H. W. BAILEY, «Transactions of the Philological Society», 1954, 148; «Acta orientalia», 30, 1966, p. 28.

larly *thauna-* 'cloth(ing)' was attractively connected by Bailey with Ossetic D. ТОИ, I. ТЫИ. He derived both words from a Proto-Iranian **tafna-* (TPS, 1945, 26). In such cases if we assume that *f* developed to *ph*, the development of initial *k* to *kh* in the case of *khausa-* and of *t* to *th* in the case of *thauna-* can be regarded as a simple matter of transfer of aspiration as in the case of *khava-* discussed above.

Khotanese has *phārra-* corresponding to the Old Iranian word *farnah-*, which has generally thought to have spread throughout the Iranian-speaking world as an early loanword from Median since the development of Proto-Iranian **hv* to *f* is not otherwise attested. In Khotanese Proto-Iranian **hv* remains unchanged as in words like *hvāñ-* 'to speak' from **hvānaya-*. Even if we were to follow P. O. Skjærvø¹⁴ in assuming that Median *farnah-* was not transmitted widely as a loanword but that the exceptional development of **hv* to *f* is due to dissimilation, the Proto-Iranian stem being **hvarnah-*, it seems likely that *ph* in Khotanese *phārra-*, originally at any rate, was a fricative rather than a voiceless aspirate. If at the time of borrowing *farnah-*, assuming it was borrowed, Khotanese had no fricative *f*, one would have expected the initial to be rendered *hv* like Chinese *f*.

Assuming then that Khotanese had an opposition of aspirate as to non-aspirate, we can go further and extend the series to *kh*, *th*, *ph*, *ts*, *ch*, since as already mentioned inner-Khotanese evidence indicates that the relationship between *kh* and *ch* is like that between *k* and *c*, and *ts* [ts'] relates to *ch* [tš'] as *tc* [ts] to *c* [tš]. Thus we have *ggamtsa-* 'hole' beside its loc. sg. *ggamcha* and *tcei'man-* 'eye' < **čašman* beside *cira-* 'manifest' < **čiθra-*. This makes it clear that the opposition of palatalised to non-palatalised so typical of Iranian languages and evidently at the base of the developments seen in the words discussed has in Khotanese been replaced by an opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated.

¹⁴ FARNAH: *mot mède en vieux-perse?*, «BSL», LXXVIII, 1983, pp. 241-259.

In *ZDMG*, 1938, 588-589 Bailey had quoted the evidence of Chinese transcriptions as support for the view that *ts* was the palatalised counterpart of *tc* since in Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese *ts'i* corresponds to *ts* but plain *ts* often to *tc* [ts]. However, it is the aspiration that is significant rather than the following vowel.

The Khotanese opposition between palatalised and non-palatalised was in fact even more limited than previously supposed because the evidence of the Chinese transcriptions taken in conjunction with internal Khotanese evidence leads to the conclusion that there are no palatalised dentals in Khotanese.

Retroflexives vs. palatal stops

In the Vajracchedikā text that formed the starting-point for this investigation, *tb* and *ɲ* do not occur, so that other sources have to be utilised. In the transcriptions available Khotanese *t̪* and *tb* correspond to what Pulleyblank and others reconstruct as retroflex affricates in late Middle Chinese. In this respect the recent work of Tokio Takata¹⁵ is deficient since he continues to follow Karlgren in treating this series as palatal.

The situation with regard to the retroflex stops is somewhat more complicated because *d̪* corresponds to Chinese *l* before *i* and *y* contrasting with *l* for Chinese *l* elsewhere. However, both *d̪* and *l* frequently go back to Old Iranian clusters consisting of *r* plus dental e.g. *sāda-* 'cold', cfr. Avestan *sarəta-*, *kamala-* 'head', cfr. Avestan *kamərəda-*. Similarly there are cases where Khotanese *tb* is thought to go back to older *rθ* as in *bītb-* 'to writhe' from **varθya-*. Khotanese *paṭhu-* 'to burn' could theoretically owe its *tb* in contrast to *hamthuta-* 'burnt up' to the preceding *i* of the preverb **pati*, but here again closer consideration encourages us

¹⁵ TAKATA TOKIO, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugoshi no kenkyū: kyū hachi seiki no Kasei hōgen* (A historical study of the Chinese language based on Dunhuang materials: The Hexi dialect of the ninth and tenth centuries), Tokyo, 1988.

to connect it rather with Sogdian *prδwt-* and ascribe the retroflex to the *r* of the preverb **pari*. All this points to the retroflex character of *th* and *ḍ*.

The most serious objection to regarding Khotanese *th* as retroflex has hitherto been the derivation of *haṭhthā-* 'truth' from **haθyā-*, cfr. Avestan *haiθiia-* 'true'.¹⁶ This derivation is not quite as straightforward as it looks since we would expect the *y* to palatalise the stem to **hīṭhṭh-*. This is of course the oblique stem, which confirms that such a form is expected. However, here too we should be cautious. The usual word for 'truth' in Indo-Iranian is **rta-*, cfr. Avestan *arəta-*, OInd. *ṛtá-*, and *haṭhthā-* may have been the result of contamination of Old Iranian **haθyā* with **ərta-* resulting in **hərθā-*. The feminine gender in Khotanese I have always assumed to be due to substantivisation of the instrumental used adverbially as in Avestan *haiθiia* 'in reality'.

It was always something of a mystery how Old Khotanese *haṭh(th)ā-* 'truth' could have developed to *hakṣā-* in Late Khotanese. The same development is found in other words. Thus we find LKh. *sakṣā* continuing OKh. *saṃthāna-* 'external appearance' (Śgs 81; *Studies* I, 119-120), LKh. *gākṣaa-* P 5538b.66 KT 3.123) continuing OKh. *ggāṭhaa-* (Z 22.90 + +) 'householder', and LKh. *vakṣāyaa-* (Ch 00272.17 KT 2.50; P 5538b. 52 KT 3.123) continuing older *vaṭhāyaa-* (Leningrad S I 0.20 KT 5.313) 'servant'. In all three cases the development has affected loanwords from Indian sources since these words go back ultimately to Sanskrit *saṃsthāna-*, *grhastha-*, and *upasthāyaka-* respectively.¹⁷

On the basis of Iranian historical phonology it has been assumed that Brahmi *kṣ* was used to represent [xš] since Khotanese has *kṣ* in words going back to Old Iranian **xš* as in *kṣustā-* 'serum', cfr. Av. *xšusta-*; *kṣāta* 'six', cfr. Av. *xšuuas̄*. In the closely related Tumshuqese a special symbol was used for this sound, and even

¹⁶ S. KONOW, «Norks Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap», VII, 1934, p. 28f.

¹⁷ For *ggāṭhaa-* and *vaṭhāyaa-* see H. W. BAILEY, «BSOAS», IX.3, 1938, pp. 542-543.

in Indian tradition *kṣ* had a peculiar status. W. S. Allen¹⁸ described it as an 'affricate unit not precisely describable in terms of *k* and *ṣ*.' The Chinese evidence as now understood leads us to assume that *kṣ* was in fact pronounced *tṣ'*. This would mean that the first element of the affricate was a stop as in Sanskrit but a dental, making it easier to see how *t'* could have developed to *tṣ'* since retroflexion and aspiration are also represented. If *kṣ* were an aspirated affricate, that would also account for its use to represent Sanskrit *ch* in some cases e.g. *kṣattra-* 'umbrella' for Sanskrit *chattra-*. The reverse process on the other hand whereby *ch* is found in words having *kṣ* in Sanskrit is of no relevance to the question of how *kṣ* was pronounced because such words were borrowed from Prakrit, where *kṣ* had already become *ch* e.g. *rriḥa-* 'bear' from Prakrit *riccha-*, Sanskrit *ṛkṣa-*.

There is however a complication that deserves to be mentioned here. We sometimes find attempts in Late Khotanese to represent Sanskrit *kṣ* more precisely by writing *hā:kṣ* as in Si 19.14 (123r1 KT 1.52), where Sanskrit *yavakṣāra* is written as *yavihā:kṣārā* instead of *yavakṣārā* as in Si. 3.24.6 (19v2 KT 1.30).¹⁹ Since as we have seen *h:* was invented to represent the fricative *x*, such spellings appear to provide good evidence confirming the pronunciation [xš] for *kṣ*. It is however undoubtedly significant that these spellings are found exclusively in loanwords. Like the pronunciation of Sanskrit intervocalic *h* as fricative [x], the pronunciation of *kṣ* as [xš] appears to indicate a realisation that Sanskrit *h* and *kṣ* sounds were *not* in fact identical with the sounds that had come to be represented by those letters in Khotanese. They may accordingly reflect a deliberate effort to pronounce Sanskrit more accurately. Below we will see further evidence concerning the aspiration associated with *kṣ* in words of Iranian origin.

¹⁸ W. SIDNEY ALLEN, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, London Oriental Series 1, OUP, 1953, p. 79.

¹⁹ A number of other examples are listed by H. W. BAILEY, «BSOAS», XI, 4, 1946, p. 771.

As for the distinction between *n* and *ṅ* in Khotanese, it has been usual hitherto to ignore it, but in view of the evidence in favour of regarding *t*, *ṭh*, and *ḍ* as retroflex, it is necessary to reconsider the interpretation of *ṅ*. In almost every case it is possible to find variation between forms with dental and forms with retroflex nasal. I had assumed that the writing of retroflex *ṅ* was merely a scribal flourish, an attempt by the scribes to show that they were conversant with Sanskrit orthographical niceties. Indeed, as in Sanskrit *ṅ* commonly occurs in the vicinity of *r* e.g. in *brātarāṅu* gen.-dat. pl. of *brātar-* 'brother'. This retroflexion may even affect enclitics e.g. *ysurrā ṅā* (Z 3.63) 'anger for them'. It is also found in the vicinity of *ṣ* as in *veṣāṅa* (Z 23.167) instr.-abl. sg. of *veṣa-* 'garb', although this is rare because of the early loss of intervocalic **ṣ* in Khotanese. Nevertheless, the usage differs from that characteristic of Sanskrit in that the writing of the retroflex is not obligatory and forms the exception rather than the rule. We may note however that as in Sanskrit a retroflex dental does not normally cause retroflexion of a following consonant. Thus the extremely common postposition *kādāna* 'on account of' < **kārtanā* is never spelt with *ṅ* even when reduced to *kādna*. When the consonant cluster is later simplified, the result is *kāna*, not **kāṅa*, which suggests that the prosodic feature of retroflexion was responsible for converting *n* to *ṅ*. However, we do find *grabāṅna* in Z 7.14 as instr.-abl. sg. of *grabāṅa-* although the group *ṅn* occurs in Khotanese e.g. in *pva'ṅna* JS 7v2 (27).

Interestingly enough, it is in words in which intervocalic **ṣ* is thought to have been lost that *ṅ* is most commonly found. Thus, it occurs in *nei'ṅa* (Z 3.85, 102) instr.-abl. sg. of *nāta-* 'nectar', which derives from Old Iranian **anauša-*. Here we could assume that the writing of *ṅ* is simply a reminiscence of older times before the loss of intervocalic *ṣ*. Indeed the spelling *nei'na* with dental *n* also occurs in the same text (Z 3.50).

There remain a very few cases in which an apparently sporadic retroflexion of intervocalic *n* appears to have taken place in Late Khotanese as in the case of the spelling *ysāṅū* 'knee'. Here one may have to do with the influence of Gāndhārī Prakrit, in which

every intervocalic dental nasal became retroflex.

Unfortunately the Chinese evidence does not provide much assistance with regard to retroflex *ŋ* since in Late Middle Chinese the retroflex nasal was quite rare. *ŋ* is accordingly not used in the Vajracchedikā text nor is it found in any of the Late Khotanese transcriptions of Chinese names and titles. The same applies to loanwords from Chinese with one notable exception. Late Khotanese texts have a unit of measure, *kīna*, which is, as Bailey²⁰ recognised already in 1949, a loanword from Chinese. This loanword *kīna* occurs several times and is always written with *ŋ*, although this spelling causes homonymic clash with the Khotanese postposition *kīna* we have already mentioned. According to Pulleyblank, this state of affairs may be explained by assuming that *kīna* was borrowed not from Late Middle Chinese *kin* but from the Early Middle Chinese *kin* with a back unrounded vowel that may have entailed a following nasal appearing as an allophone having a back quality that could have caused a Khotanese speaker to hear this as closer to his retroflex than to his dental nasal.

The subscript hook



It has become customary to speak of the so-called 'subscript hook' of Khotanese because it is in fact a diacritic mark resembling a hook placed below an akṣara. It has been common, though not universal, practice since the days of E. Leumann to transliterate it by an apostrophe because Leumann considered it to be in fact its Khotanese counterpart.²¹ However, it cannot be graphically derived from the Brahmi *avagraha* because the latter makes its appearance only much later. Moreover, it is difficult to see why a sign that in Indian usage is used only to indicate the elision

²⁰ H. W. BAILEY, «Asia Major», n.s. 1, 1949, p. 44.

²¹ E. LEUMANN, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, Straßburg, 1912, 1: 'Auch gestehe ich, erst im Herbst 1910 erkannt zu haben, daß das unter vielen Silben stehende Bögelchen mit dem indischen Apostrophzeichen identisch sei'.

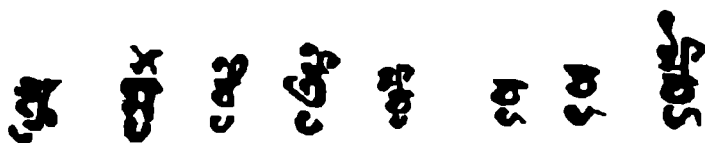
of a short vowel *a* should have such very different functions in writing Khotanese.

Recently a much more plausible suggestion for the source of the subscript hook was made by P. O. Skjærvø,²² who suggests that it may derive from a special sign used in Tumshuqese to represent *ž* since the subscript hook is commonly found in Khotanese in syllables in which an original intervocalic *š* has been lost, presumably after having been voiced to *ž*. The idea behind this is presumably that the *ž*-sign was relegated to a subscript position after it ceased to be pronounced rather like the iota subscript in Greek.

The arguments in favour of assigning to Tumshuqese  the value *ž* are I think compelling, but there are a number of reasons for doubting whether it can be the source of the Khotanese subscript hook. The sign used in Tumshuqese resembles rather the sign  used in Khotanese for *r* than the subscript hook and the two may in fact be related. In the earliest Khotanese manuscripts the subscript hook sometimes appears open below:



and resembles most closely the sign used for the numeral 'one'. It is only with the form of the hook that is open above:



²² «Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society», 1987, pp. 84-85.

attempt to provide an exhaustive discussion, but merely to draw attention to those aspects of the matter that may shed some light on the issue. If they serve no other purpose than to initiate a fruitful discussion, they will have been worthwhile.

Elsewhere²³ I have suggested that in the case of the Khotanese loc. pl. ending, which must go back to Old Iranian *-aišu, the regular development would have been to *-ivu' via *-ižu. After vowel assimilation of *-ivu' to *-uvu' the latter was secondarily weakened to -uvo'. The Late Khotanese development to -vā is the result of contraction of *a*, the expected Late Khotanese replacement of Old Khotanese final -o, with whatever sound was represented by the subscript hook. Earlier it had been thought that -uvo' and -vā reflected two different Old Iranian endings, *-aišy-ām, attested only in Khotanese, and *-aišy-ā and that this dichotomy between Old and Late Khotanese is an indication of dialectal variation. However, no other traces of dialectal variation within Khotanese have hitherto come to light, and if the Late Khotanese ending is to be derived from the Old Khotanese one, the process I have suggested must in principle be correct. However, I now think that the subscript hook represents a prosodic feature rather than a phoneme.

What can this prosodic feature be? To answer this intriguing question it will be necessary to look at the ways in which the subscript hook is used in Khotanese. We may begin by reminding ourselves of the well-known convention by which the hook is used with sibilants to distinguish voiced from unvoiced. In Late Khotanese texts ś [š] is opposed to ś' [ž] and ṣ [ṣ] to ṣ' [z]. However, we do not find ṣ [s] opposed to ṣ' [z] because Old Khotanese already had the digraph ys to represent [z]. It is true that many Old Khotanese texts distinguish śś [š] from ś [ž] and ṣṣ [ṣ] from ṣ [z],²⁴

²³ *The transition from Old to Late Khotanese*, in *Transition periods in Iranian history, actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 Mai 1985)*, Leuven, 1987, pp. 33-42.

²⁴ However, we do not find ss [s] opposed to s [z]. [z] is always represented

but the oldest texts e.g. Śgs use ś for both [š] and [ž] and ṣ for both [ṣ] and [ṣ̣]. ś is found in both uses both initially (*śāru* 'well', *śāta-* 'second') and medially (*paś-* 'to abandon', *kūśāmatā-* 'seeking'). ṣ is found in both uses initially (*ṣavā-* 'night', *ṣā* 'this') and for [š] medially (*būṣ-* 'to distribute', *bāsīwārāṣaa-* 'noble son' etc.).

It is thus clear that one important use of the subscript hook was to indicate voicing. This may also be the case in transcriptions of Turkish where *h:*' may be the voiced counterpart of *h*: although the exact phonetic significance of these transcriptions remains uncertain at present.

The subscript hook occurs not only as an indication of voicedness but also as an indication of aspiration. In Late Khotanese we often find *kṣ'* beside *kṣ* not only medially but also initially, which makes it likely that the use of the hook is an indication of aspiration since *kṣ* may be presumed to have been pronounced *tṣ'* as we noted above. One could envisage a Late Khotanese voicing of the group *kṣ*, but, as we saw earlier, spellings with *h:kṣ* are sometimes found in Sanskrit words, and this would also seem to indicate an attempt to record aspiration of the group. Not only do we find the hook with loanwords e.g. in Si 1.39 *kṣā'rām* as variant in (P 2893.23 KT 5.316) beside *kṣārām* (Ch ii.002.7r3 KT 1.10) or *rakṣa'ysa* (Rāma 159-160 KT 3.72) beside *rakṣaysā* (Rāma 227 KT 3.75), but very frequently in words of Iranian origin e.g. *kṣā'rma* 'shame' (Rāma 93 KT 3.69) beside *kṣārma* (Rāma 76 KT 3.68), *kṣī'ra* 'land' (Rāma 4 KT 3.65) beside *kṣīra* (Rāma 223 KT 3.75), *ha'kṣa* 'truth' (P 2028.12 KT 2.82) beside *hakṣa* (P 2028.7 KT 2.82).

Theoretically the subscript hook might indicate in the case of *kṣ'* that the group had become or had a tendency to become voiced, but since it occurs quite commonly in initial position and not only intervocalically, this alternative can probably be dismissed. Another conceivable explanation is that the hook here emphasises the retroflex

by *ys*. In Late Khotanese the word for 'hundred' (Old Khotanese *sata-*, Late *(s)sa-*) is commonly spelled with initial *ss*, but the reason for this is not known.

nature of the ζ , but as $k\zeta'$ is commonly found in texts that are not otherwise characterised by this use of the hook, this too seems unlikely.

A number of derivatives of the Khotanese verb $\bar{a}b$ - 'to sit' exhibit replacement of b by the subscript hook. Thus the frequent 3 pl. pres. mid. $\bar{a}'re$ is always spelled with the hook, and we also find the part. pres. fem. spelled $\bar{a}'gy\bar{a}$ - in Z 23.25. The abstract noun $\bar{a}'mat\bar{a}$ - 'dwelling' shows the same phenomenon.

F. de Blois drew my attention to the fact that in some dialects of Maltese the loss of Arabic b is compensated for by pharyngalisation of neighbouring vowels.²⁵ However, as far as one can tell, the vowels are not affected in the case of Khotanese $\bar{a}'re$ etc.

We saw above that in some Late Khotanese texts intervocalic b is regularly written b : and initial b is sometimes also so written. However, this usage seems to be preferred only by certain scribes whereas others use instead b' in the same way. Thus the Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā uses b : whereas the Jātakastava uses b' . Compare *parāhā*: Bcd 48r1 (22) and *subi*: Bcd 46v1 (15) with *parāhe*' JS 33v1 (146) and *suba*' JS 36r1 (157), 36r4 (158). Numerous other instances can be found in both texts of other words exhibiting the same orthography. The spelling *hvai*' for 'you spoke' in JS 31v3 (138) is thus no different in principle from *hvām:dā* in Rāma (108) mentioned earlier.

It is accordingly possible that the feature represented by the subscript hook was retained when the b itself was lost in the case of words like $\bar{a}'re$, $\bar{a}'gy\bar{a}$ -, $\bar{a}'mat\bar{a}$ -.

The association of the subscript hook with voicedness, aspiration, and loss of b led me to postulate that the subscript hook may be an indication of breathiness of the surrounding vowels. W. S. Allen²⁶ made a case for describing aspiration as a prosod-

²⁵ The phenomenon is described in PETER SCHABERT, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Maltesischen anhand zweier Mundarten*, (Erlanger Studien 16), Erlangen, 1976, pp. 5-6, 18-20, 45-50.

²⁶ W. S. ALLEN, *Aspiration in the Hārauṭi nominal*, pp. 68-86 «Studies in linguistic analysis», Oxford, 1957.

ic feature of the Hārauṭī nominal. He used the term breathiness for the 'breathy onset' following a stop in the case of aspirate occlusives. Breathiness is a phonetic feature representing a compromise between full voice and whisper. According to R-M. S. Heffner 'some languages use a kind of murmur in which the flow of the breath stream produces a notable fricative hiss in addition to the reduced cord tone. This has been called "breathy voice" and is found regularly interchanging with full voice, for example in the Madi dialects of the Eastern Sudan.'²⁷

That the subscript hook represents a prosodic feature rather than a phoneme seems to be indicated by the fact that it is sometimes added to two successive syllables e.g. in *ā'te'* (Z 2.222) 3 sg. subj. mid. < *āh-* 'to sit' or *nājsā'ṣā'kā* (Śgs 2.7v3) 'shower'. Moreover, it is sometimes placed under the syllable before (e.g. *nā'tu* Z 3.114; *bā'tu* Z 7.47), sometimes under the syllable after (e.g. *nātu'* Z 3.59; *bātu'* N 168.34) that in which the sound was lost that caused its appearance.

One of the most striking features of Khotanese phonology is the interchange of *g/t/v*. Thus the Indian word *ākāśa-* 'sky' is written in Old Khotanese *agāśa-* but more commonly *ātāśa-*, and the Iranian word *ātama-* 'desire' undoubtedly derives from an earlier **ākāma-*. In the later language this *-t-* is itself usually replaced by *v-*, especially after *ā*, which in Late Khotanese had become [ɔ]. Thus, we find *āvaśa'*- and even *āśa'*- for older *ātāśa-*. Bailey²⁸ thought that both *-t-* and *-v-* had been replaced by a glottal stop. The use of *-v-* points rather to a [w] glide following a rounded vowel, but Chinese evidence suggests that some feature of glottalisation may have been present. *In the case of words of this kind we never find the subscript hook, which seems to indicate that whatever feature the subscript hook represented, it was not glottalisation.*

²⁷ R-M. S. HEFFNER, *General Phonetics*, Madison, 1952, p. 87.

²⁸ H. W. BAILEY, «ZDMG», 92, 1938, pp. 589-590, 606; «BSOAS», X.3, 1941, pp. 572-573.

Moreover, the evidence of Chinese transcriptions shows that the Chinese glottal stop was rendered not just by the subscript hook but by *h*: accompanied by the hōok.

I have come across two cases where the subscript hook occurs in words having an earlier intervocalic *-t-*, but I do not think they prove that the hook represented glottalisation since we would expect to find it in many other words as well. Twice in the Jātakastava the Sanskrit loanword *gati-* is spelled *ge'*: *paṃjsa ge' nātai* 'you took upon yourself the five *gatis*' (JS 4v2 (14)) and *paṃse ge' satvāṃ trāyāke* 'rescuer of the beings in the five *gatis*' (JS 38r3 (166)). The spelling is attested also in P 2787.144 KT 2.106: *gyastauṇe ge' vī ysatha* 'birth in the divine *gati*'. Similarly we find *hvīyai gai' vīra* 'in the human *gati*' in the same text (P 2787.143). In these cases I think we have to consider the possibility that there has been confusion with the Late Khotanese word *ge'* meaning 'group' (*Dict.* s.v. *ga'*) that goes back to Old Khotanese *gāṣā'*.

As pointed out by Skjærvø in *Studies I*, 86 Khotanese distinguishes between a masculine *a*-stem *bāta-* 'wind' and a feminine *bātā-* or *bāti-* meaning 'wind' as one of the humours in Indian medicine. Corresponding to the Old Khotanese instr.-abl. sg. *bete jsa* (Z 4.73) we sometimes find in late Khotanese spellings with the subscript hook: e.g. *be'ti jsa* Si 21.2 128v3 KT 1.60; *be'ta jsa* Si 22.6 134r1 KT 1.68, Si 26.62 153r3 KT 1.100). These spellings are not however to be ascribed to the presence of an intervocalic *-t-* but reflect another interesting feature of the use of the hook to which attention has not hitherto been drawn: in Late Khotanese the subscript hook is optionally found wherever an Old Khotanese *ā* has been palatalised to *e* no matter how the vowel itself is actually written in late Khotanese.

A few examples of this phenomenon from Late Khotanese texts must suffice here to illustrate this usage. Thus we find *hamba'rī* 'may I fulfill' in Bcd 47r1 (17) from *hamber-*. In the well-written Rāma story we find for Old Khotanese *beḍa* loc. sg. of *bāḍa-* 'time' the spelling *ba'ḍa* in lines 69 and 80. Cfr. also *be'ḍa* in P. 5538b.76 KT 3.124. Similarly, the Old Khotanese verb stem *gver-* 'to tell, explain' is only once written *gva'r-*

occurs eight times (122 (2x) 123 124 126 128 175 176) and *gva'* in line 174 is probably also to be emended to **gva'ra*.

This use of the subscript hook would also seem to confirm that it has been used to mark the presence of some prosodic feature since no sound has been lost.

In Old Khotanese abstract nouns having the common *-āmatā-* suffix show *-emate/-emäte* in the gen.-dat. sg. and instr.-abl. sg.: e.g. *yanemate* < *yanāmatā-* and *bvemäte* < *bvāmatā-* (SGS 274). In late Khotanese we find commonly both forms with and without palatalisation, sometimes even side by side e.g. *bvāme jsa ysā u bvemi huṣq̄* 'born with wisdom and grown up with wisdom' (Ch 1.0021a, a.25 KT 2.54). Here too we sometimes find the subscript hook even when the unmodified vowel is written: e.g. *bvau'me* (JS 17r4 (73)) or *bvau'ma* (P 3513.77v3 KBT 62) as variant to *bvāme* (P 3510.10.8 KBT 53).

In the case of words in which an original intervocalic **-š-* has been lost we find both a glide *and* the subscript hook as in *pyūvā'matā-* 'hearing' (Šgs 3.3v3). Usually the older form is also occasionally attested e.g. *pyūṣā'mata* (D. III.1 8r2 KT 5.69), which suggests that *-š-*, having become voiced to *-ž-*, was still in the process of being lost. It seems unlikely that the hook should here represent glottalisation when it is not used in the case of words in which an older *-k/g-* has been lost.

The loss of intervocalic **-d-* via **-ḍ-* appears to have the same result as loss of **-š-* in the case of the word *bū'* 'perfume'. Since *bū'* 'perfume', instr.-abl. sg. *bū'na*, exactly parallels **ggū'* 'ear', instr.-abl. sg. *ggū'na*, I proposed at one time to derive *bū'* from an OIr. **bauša-* (SGS 332) to match OIr. **gauša-* 'ear', cfr. Avestan *gaoša-*, but Leumann's old derivation from **bauda-* (KZ, 57, 1930, 185) is more natural. Yet another consonant whose loss results in the subscript hook is *l* as in the well-known word *balysa-* 'Buddha', which develops in Late Khotanese to *ba'ysa-*.²⁹ It would seem

²⁹ In Late Khotanese this word is commonly spelled *be'ysa-* or *ba'ysa-*, which suggests that the *l* also caused fronting rather than flattening of the preceding vowel.

then that loss of intervocalic *ž, *δ, *l*, and *h* all leave behind the same prosodic feature, which I suggest may be breathiness of the surrounding vowels.

Whatever the nature of our prosodic feature, it apparently bears a special relation to another prosodic feature, retroflexion. Thus, in the case of the verb *āh-* 'to sit', the present participle middle, which is of extremely common occurrence, is spelled *āna-* with retroflex *n* but *never* with the subscript hook. Thus either the hook is replaced by retroflexion or its loss induces it. Similarly, the Old Khotanese word *hva'ndä* 'men' appears in Late Khotanese usually as *hvandä*, but in this case we do occasionally also find *hva'ndä*.

Although *āna-* is never spelled with the subscript hook, the related extended participial adjective *ānaṃdaa-* (cfr. *SGS* 214) is once spelled with the hook: *aunaṃ'dai* P 2787.49 KT 2.103. However, this is a Late Khotanese panegyric text characterised by many hypercorrect spellings not found elsewhere. In fact it contains a number of instances of the use of the subscript hook apparently simply to reinforce retroflexion. Thus the common Old Khotanese postposition *kādana*, which elsewhere in Late Khotanese is normally spelled *kāna*, *kiṇa*, *kena*, *kaiṇa* is here often written with a hook *ke'na* (40 107 147), *kai'na* (147) or even with two *ke'na*' (15), *ke'nä*' (4). Other cases I have noted in this text are the loanwords: *ttriyānī*' (3), *maṇḍä'la* (30), *kaṇai'ska* (172 173 186), *kāṇai'ska* (181), *pai'ndai* (191).

The case of the Old Khotanese adverb *hālsto* 'away', which develops in late Khotanese to *hāṣṭa*, not to **hā'sta*, may shed some light on the question of the relation between the subscript hook and retroflexion. As is well known, in Sanskrit *l* inhibits retroflexion. Since Khotanese *l* itself has retroflex character, it appears to leave its trace in the form of retroflexion causing *st* to become *ṣṭ*. Some indications of the retroflex character of Khotanese *l* are its development from OIr. **rd* e.g. *kamala-* 'head', cfr. Avestan *kamərəda-*; its use to represent Indian *ṭ* e.g. *kūla-* '10,000' for Indian *koṭi-*; the development of the OIr. preverb **niš* to Khotanese *nal-*. In the case of words like *hālsti-* 'spear' from **rṣti-*, cfr. OPers. *arṣti-*, OInd. *rṣti-*, and *mulysdi-* 'compassion' from **mṛždi-*, cfr.

Avestan *mərəždika-*, Khotanese *l* appears to have caused *š/ž* to develop to *s/z* and not as otherwise to *ʃ/ž*.


Occasionally a so-called intrusive *l* is found in Khotanese. I had thought that in cases like *pulña-* (Z 11.37) for standard *puña-* 'merit' the writing of *l* was a reinforcement of the palatalisation expressed by *ñ* and was one of several indications of the palatal character of Khotanese *l*. However, an intrusive *l* is found in Khotanese words such as *niga'lsta-* 'seated' (Z 2.93) and *bva'lsta-* 'mounted' (Suv 29v2 KT 5.107 tr. Skt. *abhirūḍha-*), where no palatalisation is involved. Here there may have been latent retroflexion due to the lost *-ž-* such that the speaker felt more comfortable about not retroflexing *st* to *ʃt* only when *l* intervened. It is of course possible to consider such cases as 'hyper-Khotanisms', to coin a term. In other words a scribe who actually said *ba'ysa-* for 'Buddha' but knew that the correct formal Khotanese was *balysa-* was able to write *ba'lysa-* and one who said **niga'sta-* for 'seated' may well have *thought* that the correct formal Khotanese was *niga'lsta-*. Indeed he may even have pronounced it so to parade his learning.



Educated Khotanese speakers were familiar not only with Khotanese but also with Northwest Prakrit and Sanskrit. The Northwest Prakrit spoken in Khotan was not a pure dialect as shown by the Khotan *Dharmapada* so admirably edited by J. Brough. In this dialect although the dental, palatal, and retroflex sibilants were distinguished, both *ʃy* and *śy* often developed to *ś*. We have instances in Khotanese of an intrusive *l* preceding *ś* of both origins. Thus we find the asterism *puṣya-* written *pulśa-* in Z 24.202, and the well-known name *Kāśyapa* is always written *kālśava-* in Z. Here the intrusive Khotanese *l* represents a latent retroflexion justified in the case of *pulśa-* from Northwest Prakrit **puśa-*, itself from *puṣya-*, but unjustified in the case of *kālśava-* from Northwest Prakrit **kāśava-*, itself from *kāśyapa-*.

pulña- can thus be regarded as a hyper-Khotanism for *puña-*, which is ultimately from Sanskrit *punya-*.

In the light of what has been said it may therefore be tentatively suggested that the subscript hook originally had an inhibiting effect on retroflexion and that its loss was accompanied by

the adoption of retroflexion. This we saw in the case of *hālsto* becoming *hāṣṭa*. The latent retroflexion present in *hva'ndä* would thus take over on the loss of the hook resulting in *hvaṇḍä*. A form such as *hva'ndä* will then be due to reintroduction of the hook from the nominative *hve'* or be due to historicising orthography. The instr.-abl. sg. *nei'na* will be the older form, *ne'ina* being similarly due either to reintroduction of the hook from the nominative *nei'* or to historical tendencies. The form *bū'na* may be due to a false analogy with *ggū'na*. All these forms we could term hyper-Khotanisms.

In the light of the above discussion of the use of the subscript hook in Khotanese, it is tempting to suggest as its graphic origin the cursive form of *b*: .

Although it is unlikely that the Tibetans borrowed their system of writing from Khotan as is shown among other things by the fact that they did not adopt the digraphs *tc* and *js* for the affricates [ts] and [dz] respectively, nevertheless the similarity between the two systems is so great that the one may well have influenced the other. It is accordingly worth considering whether the Tibetan *ha-chun*, whose origin has been variously accounted for, may be based on the Khotanese subscript hook rather than on Gilgit Bamyān II *gā* as recently suggested by Róna-Tas.³⁰ In its older form as seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts the Tibetan *ha-chun* is written  while its modern form is . Graphically it resembles most closely the earliest forms of the subscript hook that are open below as illustrated above and indeed in *dbu-med* script it even takes on forms identical to that of the subscript hook.

Certainly it is difficult to see why *g* should have been taken over in two forms, once for *g* and a second time in a different form for *ha-chun*. Even assuming it had, it is difficult to see why it should have been used with no apparent phonetic significance in words like *dgab*. The subscript hook on the other hand as a

³⁰ ANDRÁS RÓNA-TAS, *Wiener Vorlesungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte Tibets*, Wien, 1985, p. 258.

sign of voicedness/aspiration/breathiness could well have seemed ideal to represent the various functions of the Tibetan *ba-chuñ*.

Concluding remarks

Taken together, these two features of Khotanese phonology, the regression of voiceless fricatives to voiceless aspirates and the introduction of retroflexion have the effect of making Khotanese today look once again much more Indian. If one takes into account the cultural background of Khotan, one can hardly expect the profound Indian influence on Khotanese to have been restricted to supplying an abundance of loanwords and a script in which to write them. It ought hardly surprise us that retroflex consonants should have been introduced into Khotanese from Indian when we reflect that the modern East Iranian language, Pashto, has similarly suffered an invasion of Indian retroflexion.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Dict.* = H. W. BAILEY, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, 1979.
JS = M. J. DRESDEN, *The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., 45,5, Philadelphia, 1955.
KBT = H. W. BAILEY, *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, 1951; ed. 2 Cambridge, 1981.
KT 1-7 = H. W. BAILEY, *Khotanese texts I-VII*, Cambridge, 1945-1985 (vols 1-3 reprinted in one volume as 'second edition', Cambridge, 1969 and 1980; vol. 4 reprinted Cambridge, 1979; vol. 5 reprinted Cambridge, 1980).
N = E. LEUMANN, *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, I. Teil, *Nebenstücke*, Leipzig, 1920.
SGS = R. E. EMMERICK, *Saka grammatical studies* (London Oriental Series vol. 20), London, 1968.
Śgs = R. E. EMMERICK, *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* (London Oriental Series vol. 23), London, 1970.
Si = R. E. EMMERICK, *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*, vol. 1: *San-*

skrit text, vol. 2: *The Tibetan version with facing English translation* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Supplementbände 23,1 and 23,2), Wiesbaden, 1980 and 1982.

Studies I, II = R. E. EMMERICK and P. O. SKJÆRVØ, *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese I and II* (Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission Band 12 and Band 18), vols 1-2 Wien, 1982 and 1987.

Z = R. E. EMMERICK, *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism* (London Oriental Series vol. 21), London, 1968.

NB: References to texts are as recommended in R. E. EMMERICK, *A guide to the literature of Khotan*, Tokyo, 1979.

VICTOR H. MAIR

CHINESE POPULAR LITERATURE FROM TUN-HUANG:
THE STATE OF THE FIELD (1980-1990) *

I. Introduction; II. Genres; III. Editions; IV. Translations and Annotations; V. Studies; VI. Bibliographies; VII. Catalogues; VIII. Desiderata; IX. Conclusion; X. Works Cited.

I. *Introduction*

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, there has been a veritable explosion of books and articles about Tun-huang.¹ A number of national and international conferences focussing on Tun-huang have been held in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Europe. A plethora of research institutes, learned socie-

* I am deeply grateful to the noted lexicographer and bibliographer, Hsü Wen-k'an of Shanghai, for supplying me with a steady stream of the latest publications from China on Tun-huang popular literature. Thanks are also due to the young Tun-huang scholar, Han Chien-ling of Lanchow, for sending me a complete set of the papers of the 1988 Tun-huang and Turfan Studies conference held in Peking and to Carmen Lee, a librarian at Ohio State University who specializes in the history of East Asian science, for periodically sending me book catalogues and notices. Many other friends and authors too numerous to mention kindly supplied me with much appreciated references and publications.

¹ I shall avoid repeating bibliographical data contained in my previous works. My aim in this paper is to bring to light significant studies written in the last ten years. I also stress prosimetric (*shuo-ch'ang*^a or *chiang-ch'ang*^b) literature over poetry because most of the controversies in the study of Tun-huang popular literature center on *p'ien-wen*^c, the pre-eminent prosimetric genre.

ties, and journals devoted to Tun-huang have been founded. This is not to mention the spate of novels, short stories, albums, song-and-dance shows, feature films, and television documentaries that have been created, nor the booming tourist trade promoted by an airport and fancy hotels close by the Mo-kao Grottoes, nor the flourishing commercial enterprises that market products having Tun-huang as their theme. The scholarly aspects of the resurgence of interest in Tun-huang alone have all the earmarks of a veritable industry. The art, music, dance, literature, languages, history, geography, society, politics, and economics of Tun-huang – and much else besides – have been the subjects of lectures, articles, monographs, and series. We have, in short, been inundated with Tunhuangiana.

Obviously, it will be impossible in this paper to give a full accounting of this phenomenon. My goal is much more modest: I seek merely to give some sense of the quality of this massive outpouring in one specific area, that of popular literature. At the same time, I shall attempt to assess the coverage of studies in this field and to suggest directions for fruitful research in the future. My emphasis will be primarily on works coming from China because it is much more difficult to maintain bibliographic control over them than over materials from elsewhere and because this is where the bulk of writing on Tun-huang popular literature is being done. Much of it is published in obscure journals or conference proceedings of very limited circulation. Furthermore, some of it is quite good but much of it is rather terrible. Thus there is an urgent need to identify what is worthy and useful in this flood of publications on Tun-huang, lest we become swept away by its sheer mass.

We must first define what is meant by “popular literature”. By “popular literature” (*t'ung-su wen-hsüeh*^d in Modern Standard Mandarin [MSM]) I intend literature that includes a sizable proportion of vernacular (*pai-hua*^e) elements.² Strictly speaking, it would

² See the works by Chiang Li-hung and Iriya Yoshitaka for examples of such

be incorrect to refer to any Chinese texts from Tun-huang as "vernacular literature" *per se* because they are all more or less contaminated by classicisms. There are, however, definite, linguistically identifiable markers that distinguish popular literary texts from works written purely in Classical Chinese.³ On the other hand, we should not confuse written popular literature with folk (or oral) literature, since there were no tape recorders or International Phonetic Alphabet during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods to preserve them faithfully, although clearly several genres of Tun-huang popular literature were based upon oral antecedents.

Popular literature might also be defined in sociological terms, such as equating it with literature of the non-elite, literature of the partially educated, literature intended for the broad masses of the people, and so forth. I choose not to adopt such definitions, however, because they are far more problematic. In the first place, they entangle us in very complicated issues of literacy and readership that are impossible to solve without a tremendous amount of demographic and other types of specialized research that remain to be done.

II. *Genres*

One of the most difficult problems confronting students of Tun-huang popular literature is that of distinguishing among the vari-

usages in Tun-huang texts. Many other useful studies of early vernacular Chinese have appeared in the last couple of decades. I intend to write a separate review essay introducing them to non-linguists. Suffice it to say for the moment that there are specific, identifiable grammatical and lexical markers of early vernaculars whereby we may differentiate them from the various styles and stages of Classical Chinese.

³ Many literati of the T'ang and Five Dynasties used occasional vernacular expressions, but their grammar, vocabulary, and syntax remain primarily (usually almost exclusively and unremittingly) Classical Chinese.

ous genres. The situation is still quite fluid and considerable effort will be required before a consensus is reached.

It is well known that Tun-huang popular literature was written in verse, in prose, or in a combination of the two. The prosimetric (also sometimes called chantefable) style of presentation was a new development in Chinese popular literature introduced from India and Central Asia along with Buddhism. So characteristic is the mixed prose-verse form of much Tun-huang popular literature that it is frequently mistaken for the most important genre discovered among the Tun-huang manuscripts, namely *pien-wen*^c (“transformation texts”). Conversely, the genre designation *pien-wen* is often used loosely to signify Tun-huang popular literature in general. This sort of terminological imprecision presents a serious obstacle to the clarification of issues pertaining both to genre and to form.

We may gain a sense of the scope of the problem by listing some of the genres of Tun-huang popular literature that can actually be attested by original titles appearing on the manuscripts themselves:

1. *pien(-wen)*^c [“transformation (text)”]
2. *hua*^f [“tale”]
3. *chuan*^g [“story” or “romance”]
4. *shu*^h [“account”]
5. *chi*ⁱ [“record”]
6. *lun*^j [“discussion”]
7. *ch'ao*^k [“copy”]
8. *chia-chiao*^l [“family instructions”]
9. *yin-yüan*^m [Sanskrit *avadāna*, “illustration of underlying causes through parable, metaphor, or story”]
10. *yin*ⁿ, *yüan*^o, *yin-yüan*^m, *yüan-ch'i*^p [Sanskrit *nidāna*, “origin or underlying cause”]
11. *chiang-ching-wen*^q [“sūtra lecture text”]
12. *ching*^r [“sūtra, scripture”]
13. *ya-tso-wen*^s [“seat settling text,” i.e., introduction of a religious service for laymen]
14. *tz'u-wen*^t [“lyric text”]
15. *fu*^u [“rhapsody” or “rhyme-prose”]

16. *shih*^v ["poem"]
17. *ch'ü-tzu(-tz'u)*^w ["cantos"]
18. *tz'u*^x ["words" or "lyric meter," depending on whether it is prose or poetry]
19. *yün*^y ["rhymes"]
20. *ko*^z ["song"]
21. *tsan*^{aa} [Sanskrit *stotra*, "hymn of praise"]
22. *sung*^{ab} ["stanza," "eulogy"]
23. *chi*^{ac} [Sanskrit *gāthā*, "metrical hymn" or "verses"]
24. *yin*^{ad} ["lament"]
25. *yung*^{ae} ["recitation"]
26. *shih-yung*^{af} ["poetic recitation"]
27. ... numerous other types of poetry, often of a purely Buddhist nature (Pachow, 1965) and occasionally Taoist (Lung, 1985).

There is also a growing number of specious genres (insofar as Tun-huang popular literature is concerned) for which there is no hard evidence in the manuscripts retrieved from the Mo-kao cave chamber. Among these are:

1. *hsiao-shuo*^{ag} ["fiction"]
2. *ch'uan-ch'i*^{ah} ["transmission of the strange," i.e., classical language short story]
3. *shih-hua*^{ai} ["tale interspersed with poetry"]
4. *hua-pen*^{aj} ["story-root" or "promptbook"]
5. *chuan-wen*^{ak} ["biographical text"]
6. *Fo-ch'ü*^{al} ["Buddhist canto"]
7. *su-ch'ü*^{am} ["vernacular canto"]
8. *ta-ch'ü*^{an} ["greater canto"]
9. *hsiao-ch'ü*^{ao} ["lesser canto"]
10. *su-fu*^{ap} ["vernacular rhapsody / rhymeprose"]
11. *ku-shih*^{aq} ["story"]
12. *min-chien*^{ar} ... ["popular..." as applied to various genres]

Even disregarding these false categories, it is obvious that there is a rich variety of authentic Tun-huang popular literary genres. In terms of their form, some are entirely prose, others are all in

verse, and still others are prosimetric. As for their content, some are primarily or exclusively Buddhist, others are primarily or exclusively secular, and still others can be used for either secular or Buddhist themes. It is simply unacceptable to continue to lump all literary texts, even all those that are prosimetric, under the single heading of *pien-wen*.

Probably the main reason why this unscientific practice persists is due to sheer inertia. There is already a large amount of scholarly writing in Chinese that vaguely applies the term *pien-wen* to all forms of Tun-huang popular literature. Even specialists who should know better fall into the habit of calling all vernacular literature from Tun-huang *pien-wen*. What is more, all three of the major published collections of Tun-huang popular literature (those edited by Chou Shao-liang, Wang Chung-min *et al.*, and P'an Ch'ung-kuei) have adopted this imprecise usage. Let us look briefly at the "standard" *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* edited by Wang Chung-min and five colleagues. Altogether, this edition includes 78 separate texts based on 187 different manuscripts, of which 39 bear original titles. Since most of the original genre designations are other than *pien-wen*, and since the manuscripts represent a wide variety of forms and present a broad range of secular and religious content, there is no justification whatsoever for somehow imagining that all of the texts in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* are in fact *pien-wen*. To insist on calling them all *pien-wen* is purely a modern convention totally lacking in any historical basis. It is as erroneous as the old habit of referring to all vernacular short stories from the Sung through the Ch'ing as *hua-pen*^{aj}. Unfortunately, even the latter abuse persists on the fringes of the scholarly world in spite of the heroic efforts of Patrick D. Hanan, Y. W. Ma, and others to remedy the situation.

In a way, the use of *pien-wen* to refer to all vernacular narrative from Tun-huang is even more deleterious than the blanket abuse of *hua-pen*. Whereas *hua-pen* was an imaginary genre all along, *pien-wen* really did exist. to use one certifiable genre of Tun-huang popular narrative literature to refer to dozens of other equally real genres is more pernicious than to refer to all Sung through Ch'ing

vernacular stories by a fictitious designation. It was inevitable that the *hua-pen* problem would be cleared up eventually when scholars simply begin looking at the sources more carefully. The *pien-wen* quagmire is messier because it involves complicated historical and methodological issues. Among these are the lack of a consensus on the origins of *pien-wen*, the relationship of *pien-wen* to the other genres discovered at Tun-huang, and the very meaning of the term *pien*. To gain an idea of the scope of the terminological predicament, one may read the article by Lanciotti (1983). I find it extremely ironic and incredulous, and yet strangely telling, that Chinese literary historians so blithely and confidently apply the designation *pien-wen* to all of Tun-huang popular narrative when they do not even know what the word means!

A few middle generation scholars (Pai Hua-wen [1982] and Chang Hung-hsün [1982]) have made tentative efforts to detach the other genres of Tun-huang popular literature from *pien-wen* by delineating strict criteria, but the establishment view of the older generation is still too entrenched. So powerful it is that even a promising young scholar like Hsiang Ch'u (1989a) will vigorously support *pien-wen* as a general term for works of popular literature from Tun-huang^{as}. This view is wrong and is the cause of much false conceptualization concerning Tun-huang popular literature. Because it is so deeply rooted, however, many years will probably elapse before a more accurate view is widely accepted. The conditions for gaining such acceptance include the following:

1. More attention should be paid to the original titles on the manuscripts.

2. Manuscripts whose titles are lacking should not be designated by fabricated titles within quotation marks or in italics. Hence we may refer to the Tun-huang story of or about Wu Tzu-hsü but not to a putative "Wu Tzu-hsü *pien-wen*" or *Wu Tzu-hsü pien-wen*.

3. More precision should be required in describing the formal criteria of the various genres.

4. More monographs on the individual genres and editions restricted to the individual genres should be published to show in depth and in detail how distinct they are. Let us hope that the forthcoming collection

of Tun-huang *fu* ("rhapsodies") being prepared by Chang Hsi-hou will set high standards in this regard and that others will follow for *chiang-ching-wen* ("sutra lecture texts"), *shu* ("accounts"), and so forth.

5. Only after reliable editions have appeared for each of the authentic genres should there be an attempt to issue another general collection of Tun-huang popular literature.

6. In the interim, discussions in European languages should use translated terms such as "transformation texts" and its equivalents only in the narrow sense spelled out in my *T'ang Transformation Texts*. The transcribed expression *pien-wen* may be used only when necessary (as, for example, in discussions of modern scholarly debates) to convey the loose usage that remains current in China. As a rule, we should avoid the use of the word *pien-wen* except when signifying a rigorously defined corpus of texts that share common features such as the verse introductory formula *ch'ieh k'an XX ch'u jo-wei ch'en-shuo*^{at} ("Please look at the place where XX happens. How does it go?" or "How should I put it?").

The boundaries between the various genres of Tun-huang popular literature are not always absolute, but boundaries never are hard and fast in the real world. The fuzzy edges separating all phenomena in the universe do not permit us to declare that only one category of object exists or that there is only one nation. My arm is different from a speeding meteor and yet they both shed particles that end up on the floor of my house. The Chinese are not the same as the Russians but genes flow back and forth all along the border that separates the two peoples. Most assuredly, *pien-wen* ("transformation texts") and *chiang-ching-wen* ("sutra lecture texts") possess some similarities (e.g., Tun-huang provenience, prosimetric form, and semi-vernacular language). Equally assuredly, however, they have telling differences (e.g., one is linked to pictures and the other is based on scriptural passages, one was performed by lay entertainers and the other was recited by common monks, and their quotative formulas are quite distinct). It makes no more sense to refer to a *chiang-ching-wen* as a *pien-wen* than it does to refer to a *pien-wen* as a *chiang-ching-wen*. The two genres are discrete, as are the other thirty-odd genres of Tun-huang popular literature.

If, as I hope, the term *pien-wen* is restricted to its rightful

corpus in the future, how should we replace it as a common denominator of Tun-huang popular literature? I would suggest that we use the expression "Tun-huang popular literature" (*Tun-huang t'ung-su wen-hsüeh*^{au}) or *su-wen*^{av} for short. The latter term has a number of advantages. In the first place, it is even shorter and easier to write than *pien-wen*, so no one can complain that it is clumsy or inconvenient. Secondly, it is not found as a genre designation in the Tun-huang manuscripts, hence it can safely serve as a modern scholarly classification without conveying any unwanted distortions or creating unnecessary misunderstandings. Thirdly, it was already wisely used by several early writers on Tun-huang popular literature and should be easy to resurrect. Fourthly, it is more accurate than *pien-wen* as a general term to refer to the types of texts that were included in the *Tun-huang "pien-wen" chi* inasmuch as their only common feature (aside from having been discovered at Tun-huang) is their partially vernacular (i.e., popular) language. We may further break down Tun-huang *t'ung-su wen-hsüeh* or *su-wen* into various smaller categories and divisions such as narrative (*hsü-shu*^{aw}), lyrical (*shu-ch'ing*^{ax}), prose (*san-wen*^{ay}), verse (*yün-wen*^{az}, or *shih-ko*^{ba}), prosimetric (*shuo-ch'ang*^{bb} or *chiang-ch'ang*^b), Buddhist (*Fo-chiao*^{bc}), secular (*fei-tsung-chiao te*^{bd}), and so forth. No matter what term we substitute for it, we should all strive for the elimination of *pien-wen* as a designation for the whole of Tun-huang popular literature.

III. Editions

Even though, as we have already seen and will discover anew in succeeding sections, there are tremendous problems surrounding the study of Tun-huang popular literature, there has been no dearth of published editions of the texts. I have already mentioned three major editions of so-called *pien-wen* and there are even more editions of Tun-huang verse. This abundance of published texts has both advantages and disadvantages. One obvious advantage is that it has made available for a wide scholarly audience a number of

precious texts that might otherwise have remained hidden in the relative obscurity of archives scattered across the face of the globe. Thus a whole new field of studies on T'ang and Five Dynasties vernacular literature was opened up and this has had important consequences not only for our knowledge of early popular literature but for culture and society as a whole. An equally obvious disadvantage, however, is that it has perpetuated a host of misreadings and erroneous conceptions that are the result of immature reflection on some of the most difficult questions in the study of medieval Chinese civilization.

The inadequacies of the early general collections of Tun-huang popular literature are by now widely recognized and steps are being taken to remedy them. The first to undertake an appraisal of the collations in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* was Hsü Chen-o (1958). It was an auspicious beginning, for Hsü's contributions are concise, critical, and largely correct. Unfortunately, the Cultural Revolution silenced further reappraisals until the late seventies. Since that time, we have been blessed with a superabundance of articles offering new collations of virtually every text in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* (cf. Yüan Pin [1984], Yüan Chih [1988], Kuo Tsai-i *et al.* [1989ab], Yang Hsiung [1987], and Hsiang Ch'u [1986, 1988b]). Only a few collators since Hsü have taken the whole of the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* as their purview (e.g. Kuo Tsai-i [1983] and Chiang Shao-yü [1985]). The overall quality of these collations is exceptionally high. It would seem, in fact, that this is the forte of Chinese Tun-huang scholars, viz. textual criticism. Perhaps by a process of self-selection, only those qualified to do so have been undertaking textual criticism of the standard edition of Tun-huang popular literature. In any event, the high level of research in this area stands in contrast to most other facets of Tun-huang popular literary studies in China where the quality of the scholarly output varies enormously.

Grateful as we all must be for this proliferation of collations, it is not without its own liabilities. The first and most frustrating is simply the very diffuse nature of these secondary collations. Maintaining bibliographical control over what is available becomes a gar-

gantuan challenge. Individual scholars will occasionally mention other relevant textual criticism (e.g. Chang Yung-ch'üan's helpful note 2 on p. 211 of his 1988 article). Yet even when we are apprised of the existence of a given set of collations, obtaining it can also be a very hard task. Although some textual criticism of Tun-huang popular literature has been published in national organs such as "Chung-kuo yü-wen^{be} [Chinese Languages]", China's premier linguistic journal, which offered a number of articles by the likes of Hsiang Ch'u, Kuo Tsai-i, Ch'en Chih-wen^{bf}, and Yüan Pin beginning in 1982, most such articles come out in local, ephemeral, or highly specialized publications (e.g. Liu K'ai-ming). There is thus now a great need to bring all of these secondary collations together in a convenient format and to publish them at the national level, perhaps under the auspices of the Tun-huang and Turfan Studies Association or the Tun-huang Materials Center of the Peking National Library. This should be a high priority of the community of Tun-huang scholars in China. Otherwise, I foresee the exacerbation of certain inauspicious tendencies that are already detectable, namely needless duplication and quibbling over trivialities.

It is, admittedly, advantageous to have corrections of previous collations, such as Chang Yung-ch'üan (1988) gives us in his criticisms of Hsiang Ch'u, Hsü Chen-o, and others. Nevertheless, I have lately been observing an increasing scholasticism which pits collator against collator and detracts from the genuine mission of **understanding the texts**. Too many collations are devoted to arguments over the exact orthographic form of the characters on the manuscripts when more energy should be expended on phonological matters, a subject to which I shall return below. For the moment, it is important to remember two things: 1. Tun-huang manuscripts are *ipso facto* handwritten and consequently there are endless idiosyncracies in the shapes of the tetragraphs (*fang-k'uai-tzu*^{bg}) on them, hence it is futile to expect regularity; 2. many problematic expressions in Tun-huang popular literature had no established orthographic form because their sounds were uppermost in the authors' or scribes' minds.

The numerous new sets of collational corrections and revisions

notwithstanding, *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* remains the standard edition. The only serious attempt to unseat it was P'an Ch'ung-kuei's 1983-1984 *Tun-huang pien-wen chi hsin-shu*. Despite the fact that P'an's edition is clearly superior, it has not succeeded in displacing the *Pien-wen chi* for several reasons. Aside from the political complications involved (P'an is based in Taiwan), the *Hsin-shu* is not widely accessible. Furthermore, it is manifestly keyed to the *Pien-wen chi* and hence tacitly accepts it as the standard. In addition, P'an himself was swiftly subjected to intense scrutiny (e.g., Kuo Tsai-i *et al.* [1988a and 1989d]) which undercut any claim he may have had to ultimate authority.

The current state of affairs in the collation of Tun-huang popular literature is thus starting to display a certain amount of chaos. Kuo Tsai-i, Chang Yung-ch'üan, and Huang Cheng had begun to make a determined effort to bring back a measure of order before things really got out of hand. Their 1988a paper was a thoughtfully considered and much needed statement of the general principles of collation. And their 1989c article on the Maudgalyāyana transformation text was part of a projected *Tun-huang pien-wen chi hui-chiao*^{bh} [*Assembled Collations of the Collection of pien-wen from Tun-huang*]. Their notes are extraordinarily detailed and elaborate. Though not always helpful for reading and understanding the texts, they are useful as a matter of record. Unfortunately, the chief compiler of these collation notes, Kuo Tsai-i, passed away while still in his fifties. Let us hope that the conscious coordination of the enterprise of textual criticism he sought is not forgotten.

Apart from the three general editions of Tun-huang popular literature mentioned in section II (those by Chou Shao-liang, Wang Chung-ming *et al.*, and P'an Ch'ung-kuei), no other edition of significance has appeared. The four volumes from Wen-shu ch'u-pan-she (1988) give us only Buddhist texts and only a portion of these are actually *pien-wen*. There are no collation notes and annotations of any sort are absolutely minimal. Unusual Tun-huang orthographies or miswritings are all regularized as modern tetragraphs. Although the editors claim that they have kept scholarly apparatus to a minimum because they intend their edition for the average

reader, the absence of aids to understanding makes it very difficult for nonspecialists to read.

In 1982, Chang Chin-ch'üan offered some sensible suggestions for a revised edition of the *Pien-wen chi*. I would do him one better and call for a moratorium on further editions and additional collations until procedures have been established to marshal resources and forestall confusion. Until we have agreed upon reasonable guidelines for inclusion, we do not need another *Pien-wen chi*. And until we establish models and aims for additional collations, we will only be distracted by conflicting commentaries, sub-commentaries, and sub-sub-commentaries. Eventually, a new collection of Tun-huang popular literature is desirable, but if it is called something like *Ch'ung-pien Tun-huang pien-wen chi*^{bi} [*Second Edition of the Collection of pien-wen from Tun-huang*], this will only prove that we are not ready for it. Collators and their critics are unstoppable, of course, but unless measures are taken to harness them, their earnestness and enthusiasm will lead to diminishing returns.

To my mind, the single most heartening development in Tun-huang studies as a whole during the last decade was the publication of the *Tun-huang pao-tsang* (Huang Yung-wu, 1981-1986), Reproduced from microfilms of the (mostly Chinese language) manuscripts in the Stein collection of the British Librrary, the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Peking National Library, it has essentially brought these vast holdings into the private studies of specialists around the world. There is no point in dwelling on the limitations of the *Tun-huang pao-tsang* (such as its limited legibility). This collection is a veritable godsend which makes it possible for all of us to go directly to the original sources for nearly 20,000 manuscripts. (Many of us have been trying for years to convince the authorities in Leningrad to permit the Taiwan publishers of the *Pao-tsang* to add the Tun-huang manuscripts in their keeping to that number.) There is no longer any excuse for complaining about inaccessibility or for inadequacy of published editions. Whether or not we can comprehend Tun-huang popular literature now depends on our own abilities.

Supplementary note: Just as this article was going to press, I learned of three new undertakings of great significance. The first is the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi pu-pien* edited by Chou Shao-liang, Pai Hua-wen, and Li Ting-hsia. It includes nine new texts that were not in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi* edited by Wang Chung-min *et al.* and offers additional collational materials for six of the texts that were already in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*. The texts are all written by hand to reflect the format (line and word placement) of the original manuscripts with punctuation added. At the end of each text, fairly full collation notes are provided and at the end of the book there is a conversion chart for unusual orthographical forms as well as photographs of the manuscripts. Having the handwritten published texts and the photographs of the manuscripts in the same volume makes it extremely easy to check the one against the other. Naturally, we should not take the title of this book seriously because it is only following the old misleading title of the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*.

The next two ventures are of enormous scope. One is close to realization and the other is still in the planning states. Within the year, Szechwan People's Publishing House^{bj} reportedly will issue several large volumes of the *Ying-ts'ang Tun-huang wen-hsien*^{bk} [*Tun-huang Documents Preserved in England* (exact English title not yet known)]. This series will begin with Chinese language manuscripts other than Buddhist sūtras. The volumes will be edited by a team of scholars from the History Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Chinese Society for Tun-huang and Turfan Studies, the British Library, and the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. The documents to be published are drawn from the approximately 15,000 Tun-huang manuscripts housed in the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts of the British Library, the India Office Library, and the British Museum. The initial volumes to be selected number more than 2,000 and will require 7,000 and some separate photographs. Each document will be identified in Chinese and in English. Most of the manuscripts were previously available in microfilm but some will be made available to the public for the

first time, in particular 300 odd manuscripts from among S8150 through S11604. Another advantage of this collection over the microfilms (and the *Tun-huang pao-tsang* which was made from the microfilms) is that the resolution and clarity will be much greater. Some of the documents on which the writing is exceedingly small will be presented in enlargements.

Even more important is the agreement that has just been reached between Shanghai Classics Publishing House^{bl} and the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union for the photographic reproduction of all the Tun-huang manuscripts in the Leningrad Institute for Oriental Studies. Altogether 60 volumes are projected and the work is scheduled to begin next year. This will be the first opportunity for non-Soviet scholars to gain free access to the vast bulk of the Leningrad Tun-huang manuscript archives. Both the Chinese side and the Soviet side are to be warmly congratulated for this tremendous breakthrough. Let us hope that China will soon make available to the world through comparably large-scale publication projects its own huge collection of Chinese, Tibetan (!), and other manuscripts from Tun-huang and various sites in Central Asia at the earliest possible date (see section VIII below).

IV. *Translations and Annotations*

Although it is now over 70 years since scholars have been studying Tun-huang popular literature, I remain dubious about how well they can actually read and understand individual texts. I say this in spite of the massive outpouring of collations which sometimes only serve to mask incomprehension. There is a great difference between establishing a text and grasping the meaning of a text. It is only very recently that I have detected the glimmer of a realization among Chinese scholars of just how great that difference is and a consequent determination to bridge the gap.

More than the unusual orthographical forms of tetragraphs, the most difficult aspect of reading Tun-huang texts of popular literature lies in understanding specific vernacular terms in them. Even

after we have ascertained the correct readings through the discipline of textual criticism, we cannot comprehend a text unless we understand the meanings of the words which constitute it. Considering that the hardest words to understand in Tun-huang vernacular texts invariably derive from the spoken languages and that we can thus not expect to find them in classical dictionaries, we must rely on other devices to explicate them. It is here that much work urgently remains to be done, although the patient dedication of a handful of scholars over the past three decades has laid a solid foundation.

The premier tool in this area is Chiang Li-hung's *Tun-huang pien-wen tzu-i t'ung-shih*. First published as a thin volume in 1959, it is now in its fourth revised and enlarged edition. We can rejoice that it gets bigger and better each time. In spite of the title Chiang has given his book, it is by no means restricted to transformation texts (*pien-wen*) but covers all genres of Tun-huang popular literature. Nor is this a book about the meanings of graphs (*tzu^{bm}*) as Chiang's title implies, but about the meanings of vernacular words (*t'zu^x*). Complementary illustrations of usage are drawn from a wide variety of contemporary sources outside of Tun-huang. Reviews of the various editions of Chiang's book, such as those by Lü Shu-hsiang (1981), Iriya Yoshitaka (1959), and Hisiang Ch'u (Chung-kuo Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan... [1988], pp. 100-112) are also helpful in explicating various vernacular expressions. My one complaint about Chiang's book is that neither of its two indices (total stroke count and four corner codes of initial tetragraphs) is handy. Chiang could make life so much easier for his colleagues by providing an MSM single-sort alphabetical index of all items in his book. Better still, he could arrange the whole book in that order with cross references for related expressions. It would be particularly suitable for the types of expressions he is explicating because they are mostly disyllabic and all are drawn from vernacular language.

The other gem in the tool kit of the researcher on Tun-huang popular literature is Iriya Yoshitaka's *'Tonkōhenbun shū' kōgo goi sakuin*. This is a vastly enlarged (from 34 pages to 274 pages) version of the index published by Iriya under the same title in August, 1961. Iriya provides no explanations, only a listing of occur-

rences of vernacular expressions in the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*. Nonetheless, it is absolutely invaluable because frequently the only way to grasp the meaning of a Tun-huang vernacular expression is through comparison of its usage throughout the entire corpus. Iriya also was thoughtful enough to arrange his index by alphabetical order, although lookup time would be much reduced if he used a single sequence instead of grouping expressions under the head tetragraphs. The chief drawback of Iriya's work is its limited availability. The most recent edition of Chiang's book was printed in a run of 3,000 copies which is a mere drop in the bucket for a country with China's population. Nonetheless, through the help of friends, I was able to obtain a copy. Iriya's index circulates only in xerographic copies, which means that whether or not you obtain one is dependent on sheer chance and then often it is a copy of a copy (of a copy...). I am enormously grateful to Iriya for giving me a copy, but it was just because I happened to give a lecture in Kyoto a couple of years ago and he not only honored me with his presence but was kind enough to mention the existence of the enlarged version and to see that a copy was made available for me. My obtaining the first edition fifteen years earlier was equally fortuitous (it was a gift from my teacher, Patrick Hanan), but it enhanced the quality of my work immeasurably. In short, Iriya's index should be published forthwith and widely distributed.

There are also smaller groups of explications of terms in Tun-huang vernacular texts such as Chou I-liang's^{bn} article (in *Tun-huang wen-wu yen-chiu-so* [1987], pp. 238-250) which explains *ssu-wu-wei*^{bo} (cf. Sanskrit *abhayadāna*, "bestower of fearlessness") and other difficult expressions. Chou I-liang is a rare example of the Chinese scholar who is able to pursue philological questions beyond narrowly Sinitic bounds. This is a vital subject to which I shall return in section VIII.

The problem with such explanations of Tun-huang vernacular terms is that, like the supplemental collations discussed in section III, they are so dispersed (cf. Yüan Pin [1988] and Chang Chin-ch'üan [1988]). Fewer people have been interested in or capable of addressing the thorny issue of the meanings of vernacularisms,

hence the magnitude of the problem is much less than it is with the mushrooming collations and sub-collations. Here again, cooperation is required. In a letter of September 20, 1989, Hsiang Ch'u informed me that he plans to publish three collections of notes on selected Tun-huang vernacular texts and then combine them into a single complete, annotated edition of Tun-huang popular literature. The first of these three volumes has just been issued as *Tun-huang pien-wen hsüan chu*. It includes 27 texts with generous annotations written in a more or less traditional commentarial style. Not all of the texts presented are genuine transformation texts, but at least Hsiang Ch'u has taken the sensible step of separating out sūtra lecture texts from the secular works in this volume. Hsiang's hefty (847 pages) volume has already been favorably reviewed by Lü Shu-hsiang and Chiang Lan-sheng. The value of Hsiang Ch'u's work would be greatly enhanced if he were able to consult both primary and secondary materials written in non-Sinicitic languages. Studies about Tun-huang and Turfan have from their very beginning been international in scope. This is due both to their location at the crossroads of Asia and to the nature of the discovery and preservation of manuscripts from these two sites. Anyone who wishes to be truly comprehensive and authoritative concerning texts or works of art from Tun-huang and Turfan cannot restrict himself to Chinese language sources alone.

Hsiang Ch'u is not the first Chinese scholar to realize the need for annotated editions of Tun-huang vernacular texts. In 1987, Chang Hung-hsün issued his carefully entitled *Tun-huang chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh tso-p'in hsüan-chu* which presented 25 pieces (whose titles are not all chosen as cautiously as that of the book itself) and in the same year Chou Shao-liang *et al.* gave us their *Tun-huang wen-hsüeh tso-p'in hsüan*, also appropriately entitled, which was divided into 42 headings. The latter volume is especially interesting because it uncovers several hitherto unpublished texts. Neither of these two volumes offers more than minimal annotations, however, so the reader must still struggle with the refractory language of the texts. Nevertheless, this is a welcome trend and I

strongly encourage the publication of more thoroughly annotated volumes of Tun-huang vernacular texts.

Indeed, I would suggest that the translation of Tun-huang popular literature into MSM be considered as a method for getting at the meaning of these texts. This possibility has already been broached by Lo Tsung-t'ao in his imprecisely entitled *Tun-huang pien-wen: shih-k'u li te lao ch'uan-shuo*. Lo presents 14 texts of which about a third are actually transformation texts. His renderings are not really Sinologically rigorous translations but are often very loose and more on the order of paraphrases or retellings. At other times, Lo simply records the texts in their original language. Tun-huang vernacular texts are sufficiently different from both MSM and Classical Chinese that they are hard to read for those who are familiar only with China's "official" written languages. It is for this reason that I recommend either extensive annotations, translations, or a combination of the two.

One of the best examples of the type of presentation I urge is the *Bukkyō bungaku shū* of Iriya *et al.* This superb collection includes nine stories from Tun-huang of which three are transformation texts. The translations are highly reliable and the annotations are enlightening. Iriya has an excellent command of Tun-huang colloquialisms. He is, furthermore, well aware of scholarship in European languages and is competent in dealing with Indian Buddhist terminology. All of this makes his work a touchstone for the kind of treatment of Tun-huang vernacular texts that I advocate.

Victor H. Mair's *Tun-huang Popular Narratives* is an attempt to be relentlessly exhaustive and exacting in the study of four works: the transformation texts on Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, and Chang I-ch'ao, and the story of Wu Tzu-hsü. Each piece is presented with a close English translation and extensive annotation and commentary. The book also includes a 27-page introduction which looks briefly at the following questions:

- a. the meaning of the term *pien-wen*
- b. the corpus of transformation texts, including the question of distinguishing them from other genres

- c. scribes and performers
- d. dating
- e. sources
- f. relationship to drama
- g. the sociolinguistics of popular Buddhism
- h. the connection of Tun-huang popular literature to Szechwan and other areas both within and without China
- i. speculations on the reasons for the apparent demise of the genre in the early Sung period
- j. an appendix discussing the variants of the characteristic verse introductory formula (see section II above)

I have come back to examine all of these questions except one at greater length in subsequent works, and that is the matter of the sociolinguistics of popular Buddhism in China. This is a question of enormous complexity and significance. I expect that it will be another decade before I will be in a position to present my findings on the role of vernacular language in T'ang society. Whatever I am able to publish on this subject will be the culmination of my entire career.

V. *Studies*

A fairly good idea of the state of the field of Chinese language studies on Tun-huang popular narrative at the beginning of the eighties can be had by perusing the *Tun-huang pien-wen lun-wen lu* edited by Chou Shao-liang and Pai Hua-wen in 1982. It reprints about sixty previously published articles dating all the way back to Wang Kuo-wei^{bp} (1877-1927). These are divided into general and theoretical pieces on the one hand and studies of individual pieces on the other. In addition, the *Lun-wen lu* also presents without authorization, acknowledgment, or attribution five texts from the Leningrad collection of Tun-huang manuscripts that had earlier been studied by L. N. Men'shikov and his colleagues. Represented in the *Lun-wen lu* are nearly all of the major

figures in the study of Tun-huang popular literature in China prior to 1980.

The *Tun-huang pien-wen lun-wen lu* is, of course, not just about *pien-wen*, but concerns itself with the whole range of popular narrative texts from Tun-huang. It is sad that the editors were not able to shake off the imprecise application of *pien-wen*. This is especially so because the editors (actually Pai Hua-wen alone – I have discussed this matter with him personally and through letters) were clearly, almost painfully, aware of the genre problem. They twice go so far as to mention an alternative title for the book that would have more accurately identified the contents as dealing with prosimetric stories among the popular literature from Tun-huang. Instead, they bow to convention and offer the lame, pathetic excuse for sticking with *pien-wen* because it is “commonly used” (*t’ung-yung*^{ba}).

Its deficiencies notwithstanding, the *Lun-wen lu* is a worthwhile addition to the bookshelf of the specialist in Tun-huang popular literature, for it makes readily available a large number of noteworthy articles, many of which were virtually lost on the back pages of defunct newspapers and other unlikely places. The *Lun-wen lu* has thus set the tempo for the rescue of rare and neglected studies of Tun-huang popular literature. Wang Ch’ing-shu, one of the editors of the *Pien-wen chi* and also represented by one article in the *Lun-wen lu*, was inspired by it to dig out her other old papers on Tun-huang popular literature in her own correctly entitled *Tun-huang wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi*. Some of these papers would otherwise have been impossible to find, coming as they do from very obscure publications and even unpublished drafts that languished in bottom desk drawers and file cabinets during the Cultural Revolution. Several additional pieces were written expressly for this volume. Although it is nice to have all of Wang Ch’ing-shu’s articles in print, I must say that – while displaying good sense and judgement (for which I commend her warmly) – there is seldom anything in what she has to offer that is new. Li Ch’ien has also entered the fray with his *Tun-huang pien-wen hua-pen yen-chiu* but the title alone is enough to make one blanch.

A few monographic attempts to present a synoptic overview of the whole field of Tun-huang popular literature have appeared in recent years. I am thinking mainly of those by Chang Hsi-hou (1980) and Lin Ts'ung-ming (1984). Judging from their accomplishments, the field is not yet ready for such aspirations. The main drawback of both is a lack of awareness of fundamental studies of particular problems and texts that has been done in Japan, Europe, and America.

The majority of research on Tun-huang popular literature being done in China today appears in the form of volumes of collected articles on assorted subjects by a variety of authors. Thus we find 19 articles, a few of which had already appeared elsewhere, in *Tun-huang yü-yen wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi* (Hang-chou, 1988) and 17 articles, 12 of which have to do with popular literature, in *Tun-huang-hsüeh lun-chi* (Kan-su, 1985). The quality of such volumes varies greatly. For example, the Hang-chou volume is packed with substantial studies, several of which I have cited separately elsewhere in this paper. The Kan-su volume, on the other hand, has little of true worth apart from Hsiang Ch'u's supplemental collations to the "Tale of Hui-yüan of Mt. Lu" (pp. 81-99). The special issue of the *Kuan-lung wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* devoted to Tun-huang studies (Kan-su, 1983) is even more spotty and disappointingly ridden with political cant. I will return momentarily to studies being done in China (the main focus of this paper) but, to show that the field is far from moribund elsewhere, I shall mention a few studies that have recently been done in Europe, America, and Japan. The total output in these areas, certainly in terms of significant new research, is probably about equal to what it is in China. Chinese scholars ignore this work to their own disadvantage.

Since I have myself written a series of books and articles on Tun-huang prosimetric literature, it behooves me to say a few words about how they all fit together. The best place to find out quickly about the overall purpose of my studies is in *Brief Conspectus* which was published in Baroda, India in 1987a or, even more succinctly (in Chinese) in *Wo yü Tun-huang pien-wen yen-chiu* (1988c). Another

general, though more folkloristic, treatment may be found in a 1988a article entitled "The Buddhist Tradition of Prosimetric Oral Narrative in Chinese Literature". In 1989b, a monograph entitled *T'ang Transformation Texts* was published which, relying chiefly on primary sources, investigated in depth the following facets of *pien-wen* and their oral antecedents: corpus, terminology, formal and formulaic features, performers and scribes, and contemporary evidence for the existence of transformation performances.

Due to the severely decimated record for the study of folk and popular literature in premodern China, it became necessary to supplement the Chinese sources with analogical material from other cultures. The result was *Painting and Performance* (1988b). This book treats the following topics: picture storytelling in ancient India, its transmission through Central Asia, Indonesian parallels, recent and modern Indian picture recitation, and related genres in Japan, the Middle East, Europe, and elsewhere. This book contains approximately 100 color and black-and-white photographs that were gathered over a period of more than ten years. I also present evidence that at least some *pao-chüan*^{br} ("precious scrolls"), long thought to be descended from *pien-wen*, were told with illustrative aids. One of the chief conclusions of the book is that picture reciters around the world are for the most part lay entertainers of low social status.

The close relationship between the oral antecedents of transformation texts and narrative picture scrolls of tableaux has now been firmly established. It is so well grounded, in fact, that we can now use this feature as an identifying characteristic of the genre. Kanaoka Shōkō's praiseworthy 1981 monograph gathers most of the available internal evidence concerning pictorial aspects of transformation texts. Chapter 6 of Hsiao Teng-fu's 1988 *Tun-huang su-wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* deals with the question of the measure words (also called numerary classifiers or adjuncts) for pictures in Tun-huang texts. In a fascinating but incomplete article, Pai Hua-wen undertakes a preliminary study of the cartouche-style inscriptions on Peking manuscript 462 (Mair inventory number, microfilm number 8670), S2702, and S4527 (Chung-kuo Tun-huang T'u-lu-fan

[1988], pp. 113-149). Already Pai has been able to demonstrate a connection between Tun-huang art and literature, but he needs to make a more explicit comparison with texts in the Buddhist canon and with actual cartouches at Tun-huang. I have myself (1986d) carried out an extensive study of the artistic genre of Chinese painting known as *pien-hsiang*^{bs} ("transformation tableau") with the goal of elucidating certain points concerning transformation texts.

A continuing mission of mine has been the desire to clean up the genre mess to which I alluded in section II above. Thus (in 1986b) I wrote an article on sūtra lecture texts (*chiang-ching-wen*) which strove to show how dissimilar they are from transformation texts (*pien-wen*). It concentrated on a previously unstudied manuscript (Taiwan 32) held in the National Central Library in Taipei. Incidentally, the article appeared in an international conference volume which affords a good idea of the state of the field in Taiwan (well funded, well organized, consisting of about a dozen well-trained and dedicated younger scholars grouped around two or three eminent older authorities, disposed toward bibliographical studies and massive compilations, with good connections abroad but not utilizing them fully because of language limitations).

Another preoccupation of mine has been the impact of transformation texts upon later Chinese popular literature. An article on this subject appeared in 1989a. The main theoretical thrust of the article was to present a unified theory of vernacular fiction and drama as well as the crucial role of the oral antecedents of transformation texts for both. Although I did cite a number of specific instances of the influence of T'ang and Five Dynasties popular literature upon later vernacular literature, much work remains to be done in this area.

I have also written several articles on severely circumscribed topics. Here I shall mention only one published in 1987 which demonstrates the close interrelationships in language and theme between two different genres presenting the story of Shun-tzu^{bt} discovered at Tun-huang, their influence on the seventeenth chapter of the *Ta-T'ang San-tsang ch'ü ching shih-hua*^{bu} [*Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripitaka of the Great T'ang Dynasty Retrieving Buddhist*

Sūtras] preserved at the Kōzanji monastery outside Kyoto, and the inclusion of a notable Indian motif in these Chinese stories. The article also discusses in detail the process of the fictional elaboration of history.

It is gratifying that the methodology I have attempted to lay down for the study of Tun-huang popular literature has borne fruit and that others have used it to establish guidelines for their own studies. An excellent example is Alfredo Cadonna's *Il Taoista di sua Maesta'* (see especially pp. 33-34). This is an annotated translation and study of S6836, an unusual Tun-huang popular narrative whose hero is the Taoist wizard, Yeh Ching-neng^{bv}. The field will profit greatly if more thorough monographs on single texts of this sort are written. It makes me happy that I studied a year of Italian in college.

There are also excellent critical studies of limited compass coming from China. Han Chien-ling (1986) presents a lucid and correct interpretation of the expression *hua-pen*^{bw} that occurs at the end of S2144 (the story about Catch-Tiger Han) as referring to illustrations used in picture storytelling, not the much abused homophonous term *hua-pen*^{aj} ("story-root"). It should be made clear this is not a formal title for the text, only a comment of the copyist: "The booklet of illustrations have come to an end and we have left nothing out of our copy". Since there are no drawings on the manuscript, the notation must be referring to a separate set of illustrations.

In my estimation, some of the most creative work on Tun-huang popular literature in China today is being done by historians. I will give three examples. The first, Li Cheng-yü (1987), shows unmistakably and masterfully that the text styled "Words of a Waiting Maid" (*Hsia-nü-fu tz'u*^{bx}) is actually closely related to a well-known book of etiquette written by a high-ranking officer in the local satrap Chang i-ch'ao's government. The "Words", in fact, are not a literary work at all but a sort of protocol for instructing the parties of a wedding ceremony how to behave and what to say. Li's article is both convincing and revelatory.

Another innovative study is by the medieval historian, Teng

Wen-k'uan (1986). Utilizing the Chang Huai-shen^{by} transformation text (P3451), children's verse (*t'ung-yao*^{bz}, P3500), local songs (*shih-ko*^{ca}, P3645), and nine "Mighty Lad" (*Erb-lang-wei*^{cb}) exorcistic texts, Teng reconstructs the events surrounding the suppression of the Kan-chou Uighurs by the Loyalist Army (Kuei-i chün^{cc}). Thus does Teng use popular literary texts to set the historical record straight. Conversely, Chang Kuang-ta and Jung Hsin-chiang (1989) use historical data to clear up a very fine but important point of geography in a sūtra lecture text.

I shall close this section with evidence that studies of Tun-huang popular verse are flourishing almost as much as are those of Tun-huang popular narrative. There has been, in particular, an incredible amount of work done on the popular Buddhist poet known as Brahmācārin Wang (Wang Fan-chih^{cd}). Actually he is not a single historical personage but represents more of a category of versifier. Be that as it may, the number of books and articles written on Brahmācārin Wang during the past decade is absolutely astonishing. Perhaps it is by way of compensation for his utter neglect during the previous thousand years of Chinese history.

Now that Brahmācārin Wang has been rescued from a millennium of disregard, scores of articles have appeared that discuss his dates, biography, corpus, philosophy, and every other imaginable facet of his alleged existence. As might be expected in China, much energy is also being expended on textual criticism of the poems attributed to Brahmācārin Wang in the Tun-huang manuscripts. Thus we have Kuo Tsai-i (1988) and Hsiang Ch'u (1988a and 1988c), to name only a couple. Indeed, a whole big book of collations of Brahmācārin Wang's poems by the indefatigable Hsiang Ch'u (cf. 1987) will soon come out.

Chu Feng-yü has an exhaustive two volume study (1987) from Taiwan. In Germany, Dorothee Tafel-Kehren's dissertation (1982) translated, annotated, and commented upon P3833, one of the main manuscripts for the study of Brahmācārin Wang's poetry. Like many of the transformation texts, it was copied by a lay student enrolled in one of the Tun-huang monastery schools. The great French Buddhistologist and Sinologist, Paul Demiéville, did a translation of all

the poems he could lay his hands on, supplying them with extensive annotations and collations. Demiéville's work was published posthumously in 1982 and Hélène Vetch quickly added her extensive collations in 1984. The standard edition in Chinese was to have been Chang Hsi-hou's 1983 volume, but it has been criticized so ruthlessly that few have much faith in it any more. I am not so pessimistic and negative about the book. At the very least, Chang's index of vernacular terms on pp. 363-382 has proven useful in my own research on Tun-huang popular narrative, despite the clumsy arrangement by total stroke count of initial tetragraphs.

Most assuredly, the time is ripe for a complete English translation of Brahmācārin Wang's poetry. We certainly do not need another rendition of the works of his *alter ego*, Cold Mountain (Han-shan^{ce}) since we already have at least four (Burton Watson, Gary Snyder, Red Pine, Robert Henricks). I cannot fathom precisely what attracts so many to these unconventional poets, unless it be their unconventionalness itself. For me, though, the real lesson of Brahmācārin Wang is to be found in the original preface to his collected poems (S778 and S5796): "They do not observe the usages of the classics but present only vernacularisms"^{cf}. Like the transformation texts and other vernacular materials from Tun-huang, that alone was enough to seal their fate until a chance rediscovery in this age of bourgeois (not pejorative!) democratization.

VI. *Bibliographies*

In a field which is growing as rapidly as that of Tun-huang popular literature, good bibliographical aids are essential. Without them, we would be left swimming in a flood of disorganized and unlocatable publications. Like so much else about Tun-huang popular literature, the bibliographical harvest is a mixed blessing. There are some good works and some horrible ones. I shall begin by emphasizing that no up-to-date bibliography is restricted to popular literature alone. Most works attempt instead to cover the whole vast discipline of Tunhuangology.

Cheng A-ts'ai and Chu Feng-yü's 1987 *Bibliography of Tun-huang Studies* lists 4,381 articles and 506 books in Chinese and Japanese. Like most bibliographies of Tun-huang studies, it is arranged according to various categories and sub-categories and, also like most Chinese reference books (if they have indices at all), its index of authors' names is arranged according to the total stroke count of initial tetragraphs. Liu Ching-pao's 1985 catalogue of Chinese Tunhuangological studies is divided by categories but has no index. The same is true of Lu Shou-huan and Shih Chin's 1985 *Bibliography and Index of Works and Materials on Tun-huang and Turfan Studies in China*, in spite of its title.⁴ Many of its entries, furthermore, are of little or no value to the scholar. K'uang Shih-yüan's 1987 bibliography of Tun-huang studies during the past century is impressively large, hardbound, and expensive. It lists 6,084 books and articles, but it is riddled with gross errors, omits many of the most important studies, and consists largely of references to journalistic publications that will be of little use to anyone having a serious interest in Tun-huang popular literature.

William H. Nienhauser, Jr.'s *Bibliography of Selected Western Works on T'ang Dynasty Literature* has a useful partially annotated section (pp. 97-107) on Tun-huang *pien-wen* and related literature. Victor H. Mair's 1987 partial bibliography for the study of Indian influence on Chinese popular literature has hundreds of works dealing with Tun-huang manuscripts. Unfortunately, it has no index. Although it is alphabetically arranged by authors' names, because the bibliography is divided into several sections according to language groups (Chinese, Japanese and Korean, South and Southeast Asian and Central Asian, European), one must know the author's name and the language in which it was written in order to find a given article. Pages 6-8 list over 30 bibliographies and catalogues that are important for the study of Tun-huang popular literature.

⁴ Pages 270-317 are occupied by a totally superfluous listing of series, journals, and newspapers cited in the bibliography.

VII. *Catalogues*

While bibliographies are essential for controlling secondary studies regarding Tun-huang popular literature, catalogues are required for gaining access to specific texts within the more than 40,000 Tun-huang manuscripts known to be extant. The situation regarding catalogues is, in some respects, better than it is for bibliographies and in other respects it is abysmally bad.

I shall not take up space describing the older catalogues of Lionel Giles and L. N. Men'shikov for the British and Soviet holdings except to say that Giles' achievement was of both remarkably high quality and timely in its appearance, while we are grateful for Men'shikov's entrée to 2,951 manuscripts but look forward to the day when his shoeboxes full of note cards will permit us a glimpse of the other 8,000 fragments.

All of the minor collections of Tun-huang manuscripts (those with holdings between 50 and 500 items) outside of China have now been catalogued more or less adequately. That leaves mainly the holdings in Paris, Peking, and Lanchow which require separate discussion. I shall not here address the problem of scattered holdings of less than 50 manuscripts, of groups of manuscripts that are currently "missing", or of manuscripts in private hands.

As with nearly all large-scale French Sinological ventures (e.g., *Hōbōgin*, *Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie*, the Taoist canon project), the catalogues of Tun-huang Chinese holdings in the Pelliot collection being issued by the Département des Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Nationale are both stupendously good and agonizingly slow. Volume I appeared in 1970, about 60 years after the manuscripts were brought to Paris, volume III came out 13 years later, and volume II has been lost in the shuffle. Lord knows when we can expect IV, V, VI, and VII. All that we can do is wait. As we must be patient while good French wine ages, so must we endure while good French Sinology comes to fruition.

The situation in China is far more grave. It is, in fact, so desperate that I will reserve full discussion on the subject until the next section on desiderata.

The *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin* was first compiled and published by the Commercial Press (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan) in 1962. In 1983, it was reissued in a presumably revised edition. It is claimed that minimal changes were made in the following cases:

1. incorrect dating of a manuscript
2. content or author of a manuscript wrongly described
3. text of a manuscript copied incorrectly
4. typographical errors
5. incorrect punctuation
6. omissions

Other inconsistencies, especially in dating of manuscripts according to cyclical stems and branches, have not been touched. I have not systematically gone through the 1962 and 1983 editions comparing them to determine whether the alleged revisions have actually been made. What I do know is that the Commercial Press *Tsung-mu so-yin* in both its first and second editions is shot through with error. Every text copied into the *Tsung-mu so-yin* that I have checked against the original manuscripts has an average of one misreading per line. Users should be cautioned that it is highly unreliable and thus must always check the manuscripts themselves.

Another bewildering characteristic of the catalogue portion of the *Tsung-mu so-yin* is its horrendously poor treatment of the holdings in the Peking National Library. From the first moment I became involved in Tun-huang studies and started to consult the *Tsung-mu so-yin*, I was utterly flabbergasted by the fact that the Stein and Pelliot collections receive far better coverage than China's own manuscripts. Whereas the entries for the French and British manuscripts often (but not consistently) give colophons, a breakdown of items on recto and verso of a given manuscript, dates, and occasional excerpts, none of this information is ever provided for any of the 8,000 plus manuscripts held in Peking! All we are given is a simple one line title which, upon examination of the manuscripts themselves, usually turns out at best to be imprecise and at worst to be completely wrong. To this day, I still cannot

comprehend the reason for this comparative lavishing of attention of the Stein and Pelliot collections and the nearly complete disregard for the Peking collection.

One would have expected that Huang Yung-wu and his team in Taiwan, when compiling the *Tun-huang i-shu tsui-hsin mu-lu* (1986) would have made some drastic improvements in the description of the Peking holdings. Almost unbelievably, they do no more than copy in the microfilm catalogue of the Peking manuscripts. This is admittedly a small step beyond the treatment afforded by the *Tsung-mu so-yin*, for it at least tells us in many cases which chapter of a given sūtra is found on a manuscript. In his preface, Huang proudly points out hundreds of corrections he has been able to make in the *Tsung-mu so-yin* entries for the Stein and Pelliot collections, but he does not mention a single instance in which he improved upon the Peking microfilm catalogue. Huang's *Tsui-hsin mu-lu* is a hefty, imposing volume, but its only true worth is as a bare listing (pp. 1-787) of the contents of the volumes in the *Tun-huang pao-tsang*, also edited by him. That is to say, we can use the *Tsui-hsin mu-lu* to determine in which volume of the *Pao-tsang* a given manuscript is located. But it is almost as easy to do that by looking at the numbers on the spines of the volumes in the *Pao-tsang* itself. Other than this, there is practically nothing the *Tsui-hsin mu-lu* can do for us that some other already available catalogue cannot do better.

The one redeeming feature of the *Tsung-mu so-yin* is its index. While the arrangement by total stroke count of initial tetragraphs and radicals is cumbersome, I have often been able to find items I am looking for by consulting this index. This is especially the case with the uncatalogued portions of the Pelliot collection and the whole of the Peking collection. The index in the back of Giles's catalogue is generally superior to that of the *Tsung-mu so-yin* for the Stein collection.

The first comprehensive study of the major catalogues of the Tun-huang Chinese manuscripts is *Tun-huang-hsüeh mu-lu ch'u-t'an* of Pai Hua-wen and Yang Pao-yü. This is a critical and systematic review of catalogues in all languages written from the point of

view of the library scientist. It is marred only by an unscholarly emphasis on the patriotic aspects of Tun-huang studies in China.

So far, I have concentrated exclusively on catalogues for Chinese language manuscripts and, indeed, since my paper is about popular Chinese literature from Tun-huang, that is as it should be. However, inasmuch as this paper is being delivered before an international conference where Tibetan specialists are present, it is incumbent upon me to speak out concerning a crisis of unimaginable proportions regarding a huge cache of Tibetan manuscripts presumably dating mainly to the first half of the ninth century that are thought to be kept in China. I am also personally interested in these manuscripts because I believe they hold the key to many questions about the history of Tun-huang in particular (hence Tun-huang popular literature) and of Central Asia in general. Christopher Beckwith's book (1987) has helped us to understand the political importance of the Tibetans for the history of the whole of Asia during the Middle Ages. I believe that China is sitting on a gold mine of priceless historical data that will unlock the door to a better understanding of the history of the Tibetan people and of China's relations with such diverse peoples as Turks, Arabs, and Persians. The potential consequences of the release of China's hoard of Tibetan manuscripts to scrutiny by qualified Tibetologists are mind-boggling and are probably only to be matched by the eye-opening experience that will ensue when the tomb of the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty is finally opened.

The best information available to me for why China continues to sequester its Tun-huang Tibetan manuscripts is that it does not have specialists who are prepared to read them and also that it has done nothing to conserve the manuscripts other than keep them in a relatively cool place out of the light. The latter conditions also adversely affect the accessibility of the Tun-huang Chinese language manuscripts in Peking in comparison with those preserved in Paris and in London. Inadequate measures and facilities for conservation certainly are one factor in the Chinese reluctance to open the tomb of the First Emperor. This is evidenced by a high level delegation led by the Vice Governor of Shensi to the University

Museum in Philadelphia several years ago for the specific purpose of seeking technical information that could be employed to forestall deterioration of artifacts that are thought to be buried in the tomb. In both the cases of the Tibetan manuscripts and the First Emperor's tomb, I pray that China will realize it is to her own benefit to let the full truth come out as quickly as possible and to seek international cooperation and assistance in doing so.

Now, what can we surmise about the approximate size of the Chinese holdings of Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang? Chou P'ei-hsien (1986), who works in the Kansu Provincial Library where latest reports indicate that the Chinese hoard of Tun-huang Tibetan manuscripts are kept, states (p. 104) that there are approximately 7,000 Tun-huang Tibetan manuscripts in the world. About 2,700 of these are in Paris (p. 99) and roughly 1,000 are preserved in British, especially the India Office Library (p. 97), and other holdings. That leaves approximately 3,300 manuscripts unaccounted for unless we assume that Chou knows whereof he speaks, and the likelihood of that is very great. In 1981 (p. 95), I estimated on other, confidential, grounds that there were somewhat less than 4,000 Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang kept in the Kansu Provincial Library. It would appear that I was not far off the mark. This figure is also consonant with Paul Demiéville's statement that there was a ton of Tun-huang Tibetan manuscripts in China. I have made several trips to Lanchow and each time I have spoken to authorities at the Kansu Provincial Museum where the manuscripts were reportedly formerly housed. While tacit acknowledgement of the manuscripts' existence somewhere in Lanchow was made, I was not permitted to see them and no definite information concerning them was forthcoming.

My greatest fear is that these manuscripts may be destroyed or damaged through improper storage. It is my opinion that an international body, including officers of the Chinese Tun-huang and Turfan Studies Association, ethnic representatives of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Tibetans living abroad, and Tibetan scholars worldwide should be convened to ensure that these priceless manuscripts are catalogued and studied as soon as possible. As I

have said above, they are undoubtedly of extreme importance not only for the history of the Tibetan people and their culture but for virtually the whole of Asia during the medieval period.

To conclude this section, we may return to the more mundane matter of catalogues for the study of Chinese popular literature from Tun-huang. The only catalogue compiled during the last decade specifically for that purpose is the "Inventory" by Mair (1981). This catalogue lists 599 manuscripts that have a direct bearing on the study of Tun-huang popular narrative. It is, however, much more than a mere catalogue. Minute examination of the actual manuscripts in Paris, Peking, London, Leningrad, Taipei, and elsewhere revealed details that cannot be seen in microfilm or even in photographic reproductions. These are duly recorded in the *Inventory* and serve powerfully to substantiate the theory that many of the Tun-huang manuscripts of popular literature were copied by lay students. The "Inventory" is full of doodles, doggerel, and other invaluable evidence of the activities and attitudes of the creators of China's earliest written vernacular literature.

VIII. *Desiderata*

With such a Tunhuangological feast to partake of as that described in the preceding seven sections, it would seem almost invidious to suggest that there ought to be something else. My wish list, however, is actually rather long. So as not to waste any time, I shall forge ahead at once and outline a number of areas where there is room for improvement.

My first and most urgent wish is for a proper catalogue of all Tun-huang manuscripts preserved in China. (This is a separate matter from the even more critical need to divulge the whereabouts, extent, and contents of the Tibetan manuscripts discussed toward the end of the last section). The situation as it stands now is nearly catastrophic. It is so horrible, in fact, such a tragedy for Chinese Tun-huang studies, that I scarcely know where to begin.

I have become aware of the perilous state of the preservation

and organization of the Tun-huang manuscripts in China through repeated poignant experiences of my own. I will not dwell on the physical condition of the manuscripts whose location is relatively secure, for that is purely a matter of technology, benign management, and allocation of resources. We may trust that the authorities in Peking will one day be in a position to consult with the curators of the Tun-huang manuscripts in London and in Paris to learn what measures are necessary to conserve their own holdings in such a fashion that these manuscripts will also be readily available for examination by qualified scholars of all countries.

So that no one will mistake my intentions or sentiments, I wish to declare emphatically and publicly once again, as I have on previous occasions, that I am deeply grateful to the keepers of the Tun-huang manuscripts at the Peking National Library and Peking University Library for generously allowing me to examine firsthand dozens of manuscripts in their collections. How rare a privilege this was can be apprehended from the fact that China's own scholars had not studied many of these manuscripts during the preceding six of seven decades. My research over the past 15 years has time and time again yielded detailed evidence that the Stein and Pelliot collections are far better known to Chinese scholars than are the Tun-huang manuscripts in Peking and elsewhere in China! This is even true of the compilation of the *Tun-huang pien-wen chi*. I have come across many instances which demonstrate beyond any doubt whatsoever that relevant Tun-huang manuscripts preserved in China were utilized less fully than the Stein and Pelliot manuscripts for the collations of the texts in the *Pien-wen chi* or, in some cases, were overlooked altogether. My plea is to ensure that this ironic disparity be rectified.

There are hundreds of "dispersed" (*san^{cs}*) Tun-huang manuscripts whose present location in China is unknown. Some of these are of tremendous value and every effort should be made to recover them. For example, there was formerly in the possession of the collector Fu Tseng-hsiang^{ch} (*Tsung-mu so-yin*, p. 328) the earliest known manuscript of the Taoist philosopher called Master of the Pheasant Feather Cap (Ho-kuan Tzu^{ci}). Dated the third month

of the year 629, this puts it nearly five centuries before the printed edition of Lu Tien (1042-1102).

And what has become of all the manuscripts once owned by the pioneering Tun-huang scholar Lo Chen-yü? The *Tsung-mu so-yin* (pp. 327-328) lists only 32 manuscripts under his name. It is obvious from their titles that even these are of great value. But I am certain that Lo possessed many other Tun-huang manuscripts whose location cannot now be ascertained. For instance, in his biography of Chang I-ch'ao, Lo states (p. 3a) that he possessed a "heptasyllabic strum lyric" (*ch'i-yen t'an-tz'u^{ci}*) of the warlord's achievements that was on the verso of a *Later Conversations of the States from the Spring and Autumn Period* (Ch'un-ch'iu hou Kuo-yü^{ck}), whatever that may be. Judging from Lo's citations of this presumably popular account of Chang I-ch'ao, I would give an eye tooth to be able to see it. Who can tell us what has become of this priceless document concerning the life of Chang I-ch'ao? If it and Lo Chen-yü's other Tun-huang manuscripts have been absorbed into some other verifiable collection(s), a new catalogue should be prepared which accurately presents the current disposition of the manuscripts. It only causes frustration to know that Lo Chen-yü and other early collectors possessed certain manuscripts but to be unable to locate them and use them in our research.

Many of the dispersed manuscripts were undoubtedly sold off to foreign collectors, but a tremendous amount of them are still in the private hands of art dealers, calligraphy connoisseurs, antiquarians, and bibliophiles inside China, for I have seen a number of scrolls with my own eyes in the homes of Chinese acquaintances and they told me that they knew of many more. This is all well and good in a free society, providing that the manuscripts are adequately conserved, included in a national catalogue, and published if their contents are of sufficient interest to warrant it. In 1983a, I published an article on a priceless and previously unknown manuscript of the Wang Ling transformation text that had been torn apart and used for paper samples! It is curious that the other half of this manuscript rests in the Library of Peking University. One wonders how and when the two parts became separated.

The need for a single national catalogue of Tun-huang manuscripts in China is paramount. Sporadically, we become aware of various small and medium-sized collections. In 1987 while attending an international symposium on Tun-huang and Turfan studies in Hong Kong, I saw thirty items from the Shanghai Museum (1987) of which I was previously unaware. Even though an eminent expert on Tun-huang paper and calligraphy who viewed the exhibition with me pronounced his skepticism about the authenticity of many of these manuscripts, I would still like to learn more about the exact holdings of the Shanghai Museum, including an account of how the Museum obtained its Tun-huang manuscripts.

It turns out that the Tientsin Museum of Art also owns quite a few Tun-huang manuscripts, 197 to be exact. I was completely ignorant of their existence until 1987 when Liu Kuo-chan and Li Kuei-ying published a catalogue of the collection. As it so happens, several of the manuscripts are quite important for the study of popular culture. For example, the first colophon on Tientsin 175 reads as follows:

During the night of the first day of the third month in the fifth, *wu-wu*, year of the Manifest Virtue^{cl} reign period [i.e., March 23, 958], the family matriarch and wife^{cm} *née* Ma passed away. On the seventh day began the weekly masses for the deceased. Her husband, the Acting Minister and Vice Director in the Ministry of Works, Chai Feng-ta^{cn}, in her remembrance respectfully wrote out the *Sūtra of Impermanence*^{co} in one scroll, and respectfully [had?] painted a layout^{cp} of the Ratnaśikhin Tathāgata Buddha. On every seventh day for three years and at every mass, he will write [or have written] one scroll of a sūtra to pursue the departed with rites for her happiness. We wish that our mother's spirit, by relying on this image, will journey to a good place and be reborn there so as to avoid the disaster of falling upon the three paths of hell and to receive forever our worshipful offerings.

This immediately calls to mind a similar colophon on PK876v:

On the fifth day of the intercalary sixth month in the second, *ting-ch'ou*, year of the Peace and Prosperity^{ca} reign period [i.e., August 22, 977], the lay scholar Yang Yüan-shou^{cr} of the Manifest Virtue Temple^{cs},

having pondered the matter by himself, made a vow to create blessings by writing in full this *Transformation on Maudgalyāyana* in one scroll. It is his determination that, in the future, together with Śākyamuni Buddha, he shall be reborn a Buddha once he encounters Maitreya. If, later, there are individuals who, expressing a similar faith, write out in full the *Transformation on Maudgalyāyana* and similarly maintain the power of their vow, they will avoid falling upon the three paths of hell.

(Mair [1981], p. 81)

The reference in the Tientsin 175 colophon to “a layout” is also reminiscent of various transformation tableaux that are so designated and the function of the image of Ratnaśikhin Tathāgata Buddha is comparable to that of the guardian spirits in the Tun-huang portraits of the itinerant foreign monks that I wrote about in 1986c. How many other equally invaluable Tun-huang manuscripts are lying undiscovered in Chinese museums, libraries, and homes?

In simplest terms, China needs to compile as soon as possible a union catalogue of all Tun-huang manuscripts throughout the country. Until that is done, Tun-huang studies will be hampered and the chances that additional manuscripts will be lost are great. The new Tun-huang national catalogue should be both analytical and descriptive. We need more than just the imprecise titles that Ch'en Yüan^{ct} gave us sixty years ago. Something comparable to the catalogues that already exist for the collections in London, Paris (partial), Leningrad, Taipei, and Kyoto would be most welcome. References in the catalogue to the Peking manuscripts should be according to a single numerical sequence, either the system proposed by me in 1981 (p. 96) or the system used for the microfilming of the 8,738 manuscripts as listed in the *Tun-huang pao-tsang*, preferably the latter since it makes an attempt to divide up the manuscripts by category, although it does not do so as rigorously and logically as Giles or Men'shikov. The current system based on the first hundred odd graphs of the *Thousand Character Text* (*Ch'ien tzu wen*^{cu}) is completely arbitrary, extraordinarily cumbersome, and a tremendous impediment to efficient research.

The present status of the Tun-huang manuscripts in China

amounts to a national emergency. China needs to mobilize all of her resources and talent that can be mustered to provide a complete accounting of her holdings. It will not hurt to call a temporary halt to additional collations and subcollations, but to put off the compilation of a complete and reliable catalogue will result in untold harm.

While still on the subject of the proposed union catalogue of Chinese Tun-huang manuscripts, I wish to reiterate how vital it is to provide all catalogues, bibliographies, dictionaries, and other references works – including monographs – with alphabetically ordered indices. The rationale for this arrangement is spelled out at length in my 1986a article on dictionaries. The main result of the institution of such a practice would be the saving of countless thousands upon thousands of man-hours that would otherwise be spent in fumbling aimlessly through all manner of clumsy look-up systems. The benefits for Tun-huang studies are obvious.

Another mechanical matter, but one of great significance, is that modern simplified characters should not be used in any publications dealing with Tun-huang studies. This is particularly the case with research on popular literature because Tun-huang vernacular texts have their own set of simplified and variant orthographic forms. It becomes hopelessly confusing when the scholar is forced to juggle three sets of characters – complicated, Tun-huang simplified, and PRC simplified. It is of little concern to me whether China simplifies its characters still further or even romanizes for certain purposes. But it only wreaks havoc on studies of ancient texts to impose these changes for the modern world upon them.

I would also like to encourage the genuine internationalization of Tun-huang studies. This takes more than holding a few international symposiums or trotting out a couple of token scholars from abroad at national conferences. It also implies sharing of resources, carrying out joint projects, and – above all – learning each other's languages. Through translations (e.g. Tun-huang wen-wu [1985]) and bibliographies (Lin Shih-t'ien [1988] and Hsü Tzu-ch'iang [1988]), Chinese scholars are becoming more aware of materials

on Tun-huang and Turfan written in foreign languages, but their research will continue to suffer until they can read for themselves books and articles written in these languages. One can simply no longer be a truly competent Tunhuangologist if he or she can read only one language. Unilingualism is as crippling for a scholar as unipedalism is for a runner. To be blunt, parochialism has no place in scholarship. Soymié's splendid, almost definitive study of the dialogue between Confucius and the bright boy Hsang T'o^{cv} came out over thirty years ago. It is lamentable that scholars in China continue to write articles on this text in complete ignorance of what Soymié has already done.

On the other hand, it would be nice if Chinese scholars followed the internationally accepted practice of recognizing previous work on a given subject when they do take advantage of it. In preparing my translation and annotations of the celebrated medicine poem in the Tun-huang story about Wu Tzu-hsü (Mair [1983b], pp. 134-136 and 275-279 [notes]), I spent nearly a quarter of a year laboriously identifying all of the puns and pharmaceutical terms. It would appear that Chu Hung-chieh and Ch'u Liang-ts'ai (1988) mined my findings wholesale without any acknowledgment at all. Likewise, there is a tremendous amount of solid research on Tun-huang popular literature done by Japanese scholars that is regurgitated in Chinese publications without mention of its authors.

While I would prefer to see less unacknowledged borrowing, there are some recent developments in Tun-huang popular literature studies that I would like to see more of. One is the treatment of literature as literature instead of always as artifact. Kao Kuo-fan (1989) has given us a refreshing appreciation of some Tun-huang cantos. I look forward to similarly insightful approaches to Tun-huang popular narratives.

I would also like to see more of the sort of good work done by Chiang Li-hung and Iriya Yoshitaka. Eventually, someone should undertake to compile a dictionary of Tun-huang vernacularisms that is comparable to Tung Tsun-chang's beautifully straightforward and (thank heaven and earth!) alphabetically ordered dictionary of Shantung vernacular expressions from the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing periods.

Finally, we need many more articles like Chang Chin-ch'üan's fine piece on the importance of topolectal phonology for the study of Tun-huang popular literature (Tun-huang wen-wu [1987], pp. 298-319). Among other brilliant perceptions, we find the following:

... Chinese characters are the same as other scripts in that they are symbols for recording the sounds of language. Consequently, to gain a firm grasp of the sounds of language is the correct role of script and is the determining consideration governing the potential of a given script. Naturally, it should also be an important method in textual criticism of *pien-wen*. However, a special feature of Chinese characters is that they have ideographic properties. **The more prominent the ideographic aspect, the more obscured is the relationship between script and the sounds of language.** Add to this such factors as China's great size, the multiplicity of her topolects, and the extraordinary length of her linguistic history, language sounds that would originally have been perfectly clear become complicated, confusing, obscure, and difficult to recognize for later people. Therefore, scholars of the Ch'ing period raised a great hue and cry: **it is necessary to break through the constraints of the forms of the graphs.** This is in conformity with the principles of modern linguistics. Textual critics of Tun-huang *pien-wen* have much to learn from their rich experience. (p. 303, emphasis mine)

I would only add that Tun-huang vernacular texts pose far more difficult phonological challenges than those that were customarily faced by the Ch'ing advocates of evidential learning. In contrast to the various forms of Classical Chinese or written MSM, the topolects *fang-yen*^{cw}, both ancient and modern) have many words for which there are no established tetragraphic forms. That is to say, many morphemes of the spoken Sinitic topolects and nonstandard languages (e.g., Cantonese, Amoy, Shanghainese, Taiwanese, etc.) simply do not match any existing tetragraphs. Most scholars are oblivious of this fundamental truism about Chinese languages and are completely absorbed in the shapes of the tetragraphs or, at best, occasionally rely on standard (i.e. capital-centered, whether that be Ch'ang-an or Peking) phonology. Chang Chin-ch'üan has pointed the way to a more sophisticated approach for the study of Tun-huang vernacular texts. We must remember that what is

important for the study of vernacular literature is language, not script. For the script is only a vehicle to convey the sentiments expressed in language. Because of the peculiar (partially morphosyllabic) nature of the Chinese script among all the other surviving scripts of the world, we often forget that the purpose of writing is to convey approximately the **sounds** of speech and through them **meaning**. The **shapes** of the graphs are essentially incidental and arbitrary when it comes to the primary function of writing. If China's talented scholars keep this in mind when they collate and annotate Tun-huang vernacular literature, they will reap immeasurable gains.

IX. *Conclusion*

The question of language leads naturally to the question of literacy. I predict that the next big breakthrough in the study of Tun-huang popular literature will come from a heightened sensitivity to sociolinguistic considerations. Somehow, we must strive to gain a handle on the matter of just who the readers of Tun-huang popular literature were, and this means tackling the problem of literacy during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods. Owing to differences in both the quality and quantity of our data, we will undoubtedly have to adopt very different research strategies from those employed by Evelyn Rawski in her 1979 book for the Ch'ing period. Several things are certain, however, and one is that reading texts written in Classical Chinese requires extensive education. Another is that, during the T'ang period when texts with more than a smattering of vernacular elements in them first came to be written down, there were no available models to follow and indeed no suitable script to use. Hence the experimental quality of so much Tun-huang popular literature and the seemingly execrable errors with which they are filled. This also accounts for the difficulty of writing purely vernacular texts without a fully phonetic (*piao-yin*^{cx}) script. Since the Chinese writing system is only partially phonetic (it is also partially morphemic or, in the usual jargon, "ideographic" [*piao-*

i^{cy})), a wholly vernacular text written in Chinese characters becomes a contradiction in terms.

A corollary of this relationship between script and text at Tun-huang is that the intended readership must have possessed at least a modicum of education. The challenge during the next decade will be to glean as much as possible from all of the Tun-huang manuscripts concerning the local educational system. Aside from a couple of articles done by Naba Toshisada^{cz} and Ogawa Kan'ichi^{da} several decades ago (see Mair [1981] and 1987c] for references), practically nothing of substance has been written on this subject.

Solving the literacy conundrum and many other problems of Tun-huang vernacular literature will require looking beyond Chinese language sources. We must comb Tocharian, Khotanese, Parthian, Sogdian, Tibetan (!!), Uighur, Arabic, and other language sources for bits of information that will enable us to breathe life into the Tun-huang Chinese manuscripts. Regretfully, many Chinese scholars are steadfastly determined not to look beyond China's shifting borders for illumination of any aspect of culture in the Central Kingdom. They make it a point of honor to rely exclusively upon Chinese language materials, as though this will magically determine the integrity of their research. The gross fallacy in this approach is that China, from the beginning of time, has never been totally isolated from the rest of the world. Other peoples have been continuously interacting with China, hence influencing and being influenced by China. As a result, we can find useful information about China in non-Chinese sources and useful information about non-Chinese peoples in Chinese sources. But it is up to us to make the effort.

I have met many otherwise respectable scholars in China whose blinded visions regarding the nature of cultural interflow has vitiated their entire oeuvre. It is so obvious that *pien-wen* has an Indian connection, but patriotic fervor has led many specialists on Tun-huang popular literature to declare categorically that the genre developed entirely within China. This unwavering and irrational insistence on the exclusively Sinitic pedigree of every aspect of Chinese culture is at best limiting and at worst fatal. Cultures and peoples

do not grow up in little closed boxes and to pretend that they do is to ignore reality. To ignore reality is a form of insanity.

Fortunately, for China's sake, there is a discernible movement toward sanity. Lang Chi (1986) has done an interesting comparative study of the debate between tea and wine in the Tun-huang manuscripts and in Tibetan. Lang's handling of Tibetan sources leaves something to be desired (there are no transcriptions or transliterations), but he is able to demonstrate that there are distinct similarities between the Chinese and Tibetan texts. He does not pursue the question of whether or not both evolved from a third source, which I suspect may be the case, but that is another matter. Furthermore, he recognizes that the prosimetric form of both the Tibetan and the Chinese pieces derives from India. Although such a view is anathema to the cultural isolationists, Lang is undoubtedly correct and deserves our congratulations for saying so.

Ts'ai Chu-sheng (1988) likewise provides specific examples of resemblances in form and in content between popular literature from Tun-huang and Buddhist literature from Burma. While he concedes that there are differences between them, his concluding sentence is unequivocal: "Nonetheless, seeking truth from facts, we must recognize that the *pien-wen* of China and the Buddhist literature of Burma are alike in both deriving from Buddhist scriptures and in both receiving direct and deep influence from literature in Indian Buddhist texts". I find the levelheaded courage of Lang, Ts'ai, and others like them to be a salutary development in Tun-huang popular literature studies within China. Nothing could give me greater cause for joy than to see this trend continue and be strengthened by additional studies of this nature that are both well documented and persuasively argued.

In general, Sinology as a whole must open itself to the philology of the world outside China. Sinologists in Europe, Japan, and America are often just as guilty of Sinocentric close-mindedness as they are in China. Indeed, Sinocentrism seems to be the rule rather than the exception among the most eminent Western Sinologists. They do not realize that, in restricting the vision of their discipline, they automatically pervert their conclusions. The most

powerful and enduring Sinology is opened. The same holds for Tunhuangology.

Addendum: After this article had already gone through the galley proof stage, I became aware of a book that was published almost at the end of the decade I am covering. Since it is of some significance, I have decided to add a reference to it here at this late date. The book is entitled *Tun-huang wen-hsüeh* [*Tun-huang Literature*] (Lanchow: Kan-su People's, 1989). It was edited by Yen T'ing-liang who received consultative guidance from Chou Shao-liang.

Tun-huang wen-hsüeh consists of 25 chapters, each dealing with a genre or several related genres represented among the Tun-huang manuscripts. The editor and consultant made a conscious decision to enlarge the coverage beyond folk and popular literature, for which Tun-huang is renowned, to include traditional genres favored by the literati. The classification scheme basically follows that of the famous early sixth-century classical anthology, *Wen-hsüan* [*Literary Selections*]. Naturally, since there are many genres of Tun-huang literature that were not contained in the *Wen-hsüan*, about a dozen additional genres had to be tacked on at the end.

Each of the chapters is written by a qualified specialist and hence may be considered authoritative so far as Chinese scholarship goes. Unfortunately, the authors and editors shown themselves to be completely oblivious to research done outside of China which vitiates the volume as a reliable handbook for future work on Tun-huang literary genres.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

[a] 說唱 [b] 講唱 [c] 變文 [d] 通俗

文學 [e] 白話 [f] 話 [g] 傳 [h] 書

[i] 記 [j] 論 [k] 抄 [l] 家教 [m] 因
 緣 [n] 因 [o] 緣 [p] 緣起 [q] 講經
 文 [r] 經 [s] 押 / 壓座文 [t] 詞文
 [u] 賦 [v] 詩 [w] 曲子(詞) [x] 詞 [y]
 韻 [z] 歌 [aa] 讚 [ab] 頌 [ac] 偈 [ad]
 吟 [ae] 詠 咏 [af] 詩咏 [ag] 小說
 [ah] 傳奇 [ai] 詩話 [aj] 話本 [ak] 傳文
 [al] 佛曲 [am] 俗曲 [an] 大曲 [ao] 小曲
 [ap] 俗賦 [aq] 故事 [ar] 民間 [as] 敦煌
 所出通俗文學作品的總稱 [at] 且看

- ××處若為陳說 [au] 敦煌通俗文學
 [av] 俗文 [aw] 敘述 [ax] 抒情 [ay] 散文
 [az] 韻文 [ba] 詩歌 [bb] 說唱 [bc] 佛教
 [bd] 非宗教的 [be] 中國語文 [bf] 陳治
 文 [bg] 方塊字 [bh] 敦煌變文集彙校
 [bi] 重編敦煌變文集 [bj] 四川人民出
 版社 [bk] 英藏敦煌文獻 [bl] 上海古
 籍出版社 [bm] 字 [bn] 周一良 [bo] 賜
 無畏 [bp] 王國維 [bq] 通用 [br] 寶卷
 [bs] 變相 [bt] 舜子 [bu] 大唐三藏取經

詩話 [bv] 葉淨能 [bw] 畫本

[bx] 下女夫詞 [by] 張淮深 [bz] 童謠

[ca] 詩歌 [cb] 兒郎偉 [cc] 歸義軍 [cd]

王梵志 [ce] 寒山 [cf] 不守經典，皆

陳俗語 [cg] 散 [ch] 傅增湘 [ci] 鷓冠

子 [cj] 七言彈詞 [ck] 春秋後國語

[cl] 顯德 [cm] 家母阿婆 [cn] 翟奉達

[co] 無常經 [cp] 一鋪 [cq] 太平興國

[cr] 楊願受 [cs] 顯德寺 [ct] 陳垣 [cu]

千字文 [cv] 項託 [cw] 方言 [cx] 表音

[cy] 表意 [cz] 那波利貞 [da] 小川貫弑

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RÉSOLUTION FINALE

Les participants au Colloque international sur le thème «Tourfan et Touen-houang: les textes. Rencontre des civilisations sur la Route de la Soie», organisé par la Fondation Giorgio Cini, par l'IsMEO et par le Département des Etudes Asiatiques de l'Institut Oriental de Naples (Venise, 15-16 Janvier 1990) conviennent de l'opportunité d'une initiative internationale permanente concernant les études sur l'histoire et sur les civilisations de l'Asie Centrale pré-islamique.

Ils souhaitent que les institutions qui ont organisé ce colloque s'engagent pour l'avenir, en s'associant avec l'Académie des Sciences de la Hongrie et avec le Professeur Janos Harmatta, à assurer, dans un cadre de collaboration internationale, la poursuite de leur initiative relative aux textes de Tourfan et de Touen-houang et de celle de la «Collection des sources pour l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale pré-islamique», en un projet international unique qui envisage l'organisation de congrès, séminaires d'études et publications scientifiques.

Ils souhaitent encore qu'un tel projet puisse être lancé dans le cadre du Projet de l'Unesco sur l'étude integrale des routes de la soie et avec la collaboration de sociétés internationales, telles que la Societas Iranologica Europaea, l'Association Européenne d'Etudes Chinoises, l'Association Internationale d'Etudes Tibétaines etc.

Ils donnent mandat aux collègues Philippe Gignoux, Gherardo Gnoli, Lionello Lanciotti et Werner Sundermann de prendre les contacts nécessaires pour la réalisation de ce projet, en accord avec le Professeur Janos Harmatta.

Venise, le 16 Janvier 1990

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Finito di stampare nel mese di marzo 1992
dalla TIBERGRAPH s.r.l. - Città di Castello (PG)

PUBBLICAZIONI EDITE O PROMOSSE
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