WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

2019
(1)

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2019 (1)

IN THIS ISSUE

Peter Zieme

Notes on a Manichaean Turkic Prayer Cycle

Abstract: In this paper a recently identified new Manichaean-Turkic fragment (SI6621) from Toyok Mazar is analyzed and edited. This manuscript written on the verso side of a Chinese Buddhist scroll belongs to the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) of the Russian Academy. It is compared with other fragments of several manuscripts published earlier. On the basis of the new evidence, reading and translation can be improved.
Key words: Serindia Collection, Manichaean-Turkic, Manichaean hymn, comparison of different manuscripts.

Since the text discussed here is attested in at least five copies, it must have been very popular among the Turkic-speaking Manichaeans in Central Asia. It belongs to the rich literature of hymns and prayers known from the main Central Asian corpora of the Manichaeans. The Manichaean texts of the Central Asian Uighurs from the 9th to the 11th cc. were written in three scripts: Runic, Manichaean, and Uigur.[1] For this prayer book there are so far only fragments known in Uighur script.[2]

The manuscripts

Manuscript A

In 1922 A. von Le Coq edited a small codex book in Uighur script of which several fragments were found.[3] As the book was in a bad condition

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[1] A new complete edition of the corpus in three volumes started with volume II in 2013 (CLARK 2013). The third volume was published in 2017 (CLARK 2017). Volume I, to be published in the near future, will be the final volume.

[2] Kindly Nicholas Sims-Williams corrected my English text, otherwise I alone am responsible for all mistakes.

[3] M III No. 9, I–XI.

and several small fragments are missing today, it did not find the interest it should have. Recently, Larry Clark reedited these fragments giving them a partially new order.[4] In his study he regards this manuscript consisting of 16 different prayers as belonging to a Prayer book. Moreover, he gives each of them a header. Since one does not find headlines in the manuscript itself, this treatment is at least doubtful. One can approve the author's intention to offer an interpretation which might be useful for studies of the Manichaean religion, but the poor state of the fragments is a great hindrance to a definite judgement, as we do not find any hint of such a division in the other manuscripts either. As a result of comparing the different manuscripts and especially taking the new fragment from St. Petersburg into consideration, one can determine a definite order for at least three of the fragments.

Manuscript B

Parts of a second manuscript belong to the Otani Collection of Ryukoku University Library (Kyoto) first edited by K. Kudara[5] and recently reedited by myself.[6]

Manuscript C

During the cataloguing work at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) of the Russian Academy some additional Old Uighur manuscripts have come to light. Here[7] I would like to present an unedited Manichaean fragment written on the verso side of a Chinese *Prajñāpāramitā* scroll.[8] It quickly became clear that the fragment SI 6621 is another copy of the above-mentioned Manichaean text. This new item is better preserved than the Berlin and Kyoto fragments, but it too contains only part of the whole book. According to an old note it was found at Toyok Mazar in 1909 by the expe-

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[4] CLARK 2013, 283–322. Under the title "Prayer Book" he has arranged the text of the fragments under 16 subtitles chosen according to some key-words. But since the sequence is not settled, most such titles remain questionable. There is no explanation as to why the author did not include Le Coq No. 9, VI (Mainz 394) [not preserved as a double leaf] and Le Coq No. 9, VIII+X (U 37+ U 52), leaf II. J. Wilkens has catalogued the fragments of this manuscript (cp. WILKENS 2000, 301–310), including those pieces that are omitted in Clark's edition.

[5] KUDARA 1996, (62). At this time, the fragment was still not identified.

[6] ZIEME 2017, 54–55 (No. 20).

[7] I express my gratitude to Irina Fedorovna Popova, the Director of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts as well as to Olga Lundysheva and Anna Turanskaya for giving me the opportunity to work on this fragment and to publish it here.

[8] T.VI.220.418a23–b11.

dition of Oldenburg. The fragment measures 32.5×27 cm. The script is a fluidly written half cursive in a rather large format which is not typical for Manichaean manuscripts. The Schriftspiegel covers the whole height of the scroll without upper and lower margins as found on the Chinese side.

Manuscript D

Two fragments[9] written on the verso side of a Chinese Buddhist scroll[10] can be joined: Ch/U 6963 (T II T 1805 [only on glass]) + Ch/U 6042 (T III 2002 [only on glass]). The text corresponds to Clark LP251–260.[11]

Transcription of manuscript D with restorations from Ms. A (U 39)

01 [bulun boltu]m siziŋärü ötünür
02 [m(ä)n siziŋärü … yalva]rar m(ä)n m(ä)n(i)ŋ
03 [özümün eligim mäniŋ] özütümün arılaglı
04 [bägim tirig özümkä] ö-grünčü körtgür
05 [-ügli t(ä)ŋrim mäniŋ] köŋül-ümün y(ar)ugl[ı]

Manuscript E

Leaf I of the double leaf U 15 (T II K 8) is a parallel to M III Nr. 9,V (Clark LP172–180). U 15 II is a copy of the Manichaean X^{u}āstvānīft.[12] This shows that U 15 was a double leaf of a composite book (Sammelhandschrift). As the fragment M III Nr. 9,V (T II D 78e) is missing today, it is difficult to estimate whether A. v. Le Coq's readings are all correct. In I v 3 he read *tiriläyin* which is followed by L. Clark with *teriläyin*[13].

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[9] Both fragments are missing in the catalogue of the Manichaean Turkic texts (WILKENS 2000).

[10] T.X.279.72b4–10.

[11] There is one fragment which also belongs to this manuscript but can not be located exactly because of the small amount of text preserved: Ot.Ry. 7142 verso (not mentioned in ZIEME 2017). It has only traces of two lines: (1) *siziŋ[ärü …]* (2) *t(ä)ŋrim t(ä)ŋri y(a)ruk […]* "To you [I pray…], my God, heavenly light […]". The recto side belongs surely to T.VI.220, but the four preserved characters 若菩薩摩 appear too often.

[12] Most recent edition by ÖZBAY 2014.

[13] His translation "I myself collect" is not correct because *teril-* is a passive (ED 547b). In any case, it seems that the variant of U 15 *bilinäyin* should be taken into account. If Le Coq's manuscript was slightly broken one also could think of emending *tiriläyin* to *bilinäyin* "I want to recognise" on the basis that there is no difference between medial r and n and that the l-hook may have been put in a wrong place.
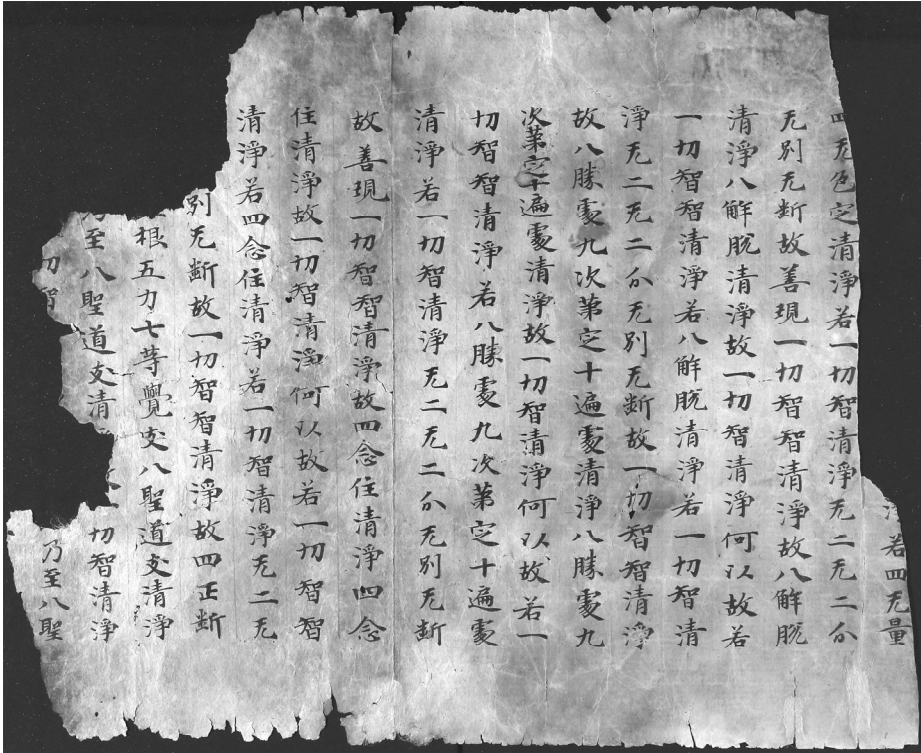
Fol. 1. SI 6621 recto

Edition of manuscript C (IOM SI 6621)

01 [   ]-iŋiz t[irig]

02 [öz] . bäk katıg öz[ün]g[üz] . kertü butıkıŋız[14]

03 ögrünčü yavıšguŋuz amranmak yemišiŋiz

04 mäŋigü tirig öz . yıdıŋaz tataglag[15] säviglig[16]

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[14] Spelled: pwtyqꞏꞏꞏkꞏz.

[15] Spelled: tꞏtꞏqlꞏq. The first line on U 53 II v has only the three letters lꞏq (M III Nr. 9, XI Blatt II Rückseite 7 ///lγ; Clark LP111 lıg), which correspond to the last syllable of *tatıglag*. The text of the preceding lines in SI 6621 thus present a new passage, cp. translation.

[16] *säviglig* is missing in U 53 II v, but one of the two dots of the punctuation mark is still visible. In SI 6621 they are present in the following line.
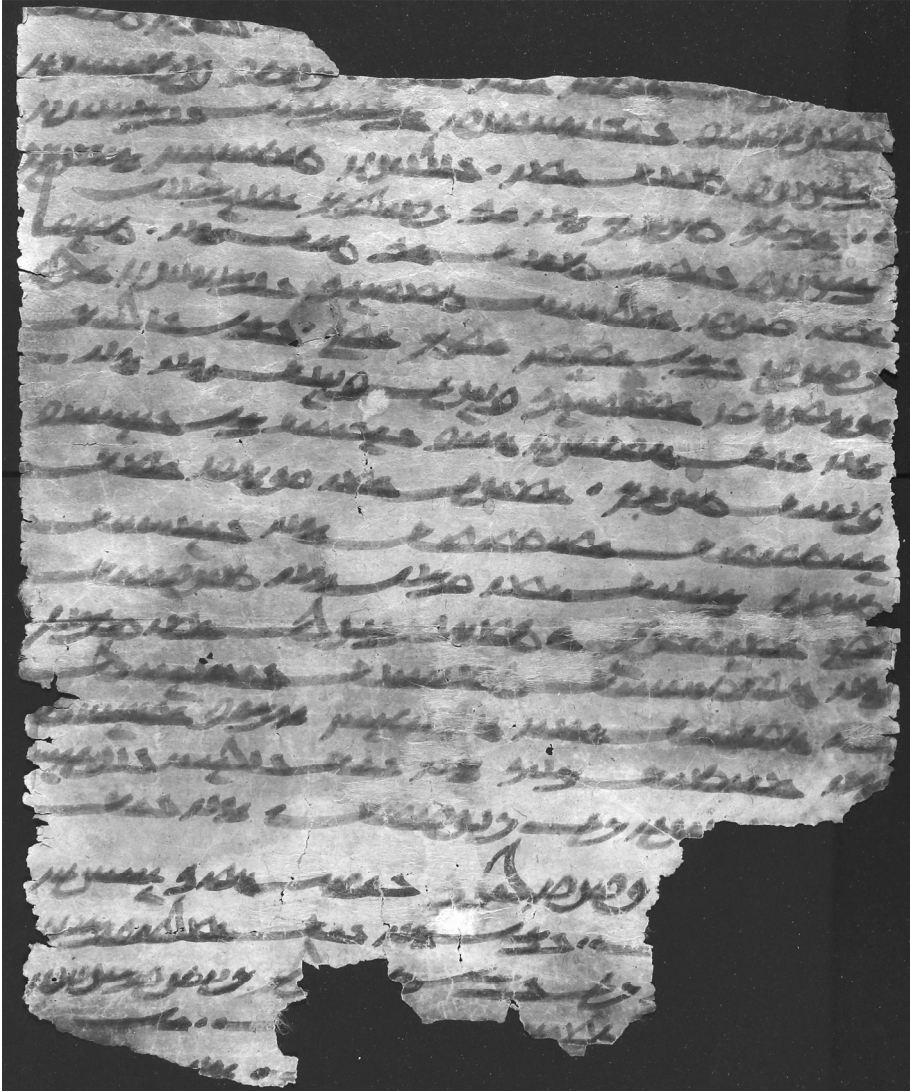
Fol. 2. SI 6621 verso

05 .. amtı t(ä)ŋrim[17] sizni[18] kördüm[19] ölmäyin[20]
06 mäŋigü y(a)ruk tirig ı[21] täg siz . tolp
07 özüŋüz[22] odugrak tuyuglı[23] yemišiŋiz ädgü
08 köŋül ymä ulug nom ol . ymä yıdaŋ[24]
09 ägsüksüz ukuglı bilgä bilig siz siz ..
10 siziŋ kutuŋuz-garu[25] y(a)lvarar-m(ä)n[26] y(a)rl(ı)kayu[27]
11 beriŋ t(ä)ŋrim . ürkä üzüksüz ög
12 -läntürüŋ ukturuŋ[28] siz y(a)rlıkaŋ
13 t(ä)ŋrim[29] mäniŋ[30] özümin[31] siz tirgürüŋ[32]
14 ol ölürügli[33] . tüšürmäkdä[34] özüt(ü)min[35]
15 siz kurtgaraŋ[36] tünärig yagılarda
16 ozguruŋ ay(ı)g kılınčlag[37] šmnu oglanınt[a][38]

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[17] *t(ä)ŋrim* is missing in U 53 II v.

[18] U 53 II v 03 (M III Nr. 9, XI Blatt II Rückseite 9 ///ni; Clark LP113) has preserved only ny of the word.

[19] As this manuscript makes no distinction between the letters n and r, one can easily read *körtüm* confirmed by the new manuscript with *kördüm* "I have seen". While A. v. Le Coq read *köntüm* with a question mark, L. Clark translates *köntüm* by "I have acknowledged [you]" without comment, but a verb *kön-* "to acknowledge" is not attested.

[20] *ölmäyin* is missing in U 53.

[21] Here we observe a real variant which turns to be very important. While U 53 II v 05 (M III Nr. 9, XI Blatt II Rückseite 11; Clark LP115) has *tirig öz* "Living self", SI 6621 reads *tirig ı* "Living tree".

[22] The last line of U 53 II v has *öz*. Therefore it is possible that the leaf Mainz 104 I follows it immediately. What is not obvious from SI 6621 is that the Berlin fragment Mainz 104 I recto almost joins it, but had a variant reading: against *özüŋüz* it has **öz[üŋüz kut]uŋuz**. The word *odugrak* of SI 6621 is not recorded in this manuscript.

[23] Mainz 104 I r 02 starts with a letter read so far as y, but it is clearly the letter t as is now confirmed by SI 6621.

[24] Mainz 104 I r 05 has only yydnk to be read as *yıd(a)ŋ*, now confirmed by SI 6621 *yıdaŋ*.

[25] The second w is very small, it looks like ʾ.

[26] The word in Mainz 104 I r 09 has to be corrected to agree with SI 6621, as the spelling *yarlıkagma* makes no sense here.

[27] Spelled: yrlqʾʾyw.

[28] The spelling *uktru* of Mainz 104 I r 12 is not correct.

[29] *t(ä)ŋrim* is missing in Mainz 104 I v 01.

[30] The first preserved word on Mainz 104 I v 01 must also be read *mäniŋ*.

[31] Missing in Mainz 104 I v.

[32] Missing in Mainz 104 I v.

[33] Only partly preserved in Mainz 104 I v 03, but now easily emended to *ölürügli*.

[34] Mainz 104 I v 04 t[ ]mäk-tä.

[35] It seems that in Mainz 104 I v 05 the w = *ü* is also missing, but it is not absolutely clear. Clark transliterated in l. 05 wt/m/n.

[36] *kurtgaraŋ* against Mainz 104 I v 05–06 *kurtgarıŋ*.

[37] *lag* against Mainz 104 I v 09 *l(ı)g*.

[38] Mainz 104 I v 09 *ogulanında*.

17 siz ıratıŋ[39] mini siziŋ[40] yıdlag[41] yıparlag[42]
18 [yemišlik]iŋizkä[43] kigürüŋ . siziŋ[44]
19 [   ] kögüzdäki y(a)ruk kuzı-laraŋaz[45]
20 [   ] .. ymä siziŋ ödürünmiš[46]
21 [ögmäkiŋiz]-kä ymä t[(ä)ŋri]d(ä)m kertgünmäkiŋiz
22 [-kä özüm] tük[ällig bolayın] .. nä
23 [üčün tesär siziŋ m(ä)n] . siz[intä][47]
(U 39 I r 11–12)
24 bulun boltum siz
25 -iŋärü ötünürm(ä)n
(U 39 I v 01–09)
26 a[yalvarar-m(ä)n mäniŋ]
27 özümin elägäm
28 mäniŋ özütümin[48]
25 arılaglı bägim tirig
26 özümkä ögrünčü[49]
27 körtgürügli t(ä)ŋrim
28 mäniŋ köŋülümin[50]
29 y(a)rutuglı kaŋım

Translation[51]

Your [   ] is the L[iving Self], your firm and stable Self.
Truth is your branch, joy is your leaves, love is your fruit. The eternal living self. Your fragrance is lovely and favoured.

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[39] *arıtıŋ* but SI 6621 has *ıratıŋ* which seems to be better.

[40] *sizing* against Mainz 104 I v 10 *s(ä)n(i)ŋ*.

[41] Mainz 104 I v 10 *yıdlıg* against *yıdlag*.

[42] Mainz 104 I v 11 *yıparlıg* against *yıpar-lag*.

[43] Emended according to the manuscript Mainz 104 I v 11-12.

[44] In the Berlin manuscript U 39 I recto, whose first line is completely missing, apparently follows the word *siziŋ*.

[45] There is no further evidence for this line. The only allusion to lambs is found in the parallel of the Hymn-scroll, cp. ZIEME 2014, 208. Here the lambs (= human beings) are protected by the shepherds a motif known also from the New Testament.

[46] Read *ödrülmiš*. Berlin (U 39 I r 04) has *adrılmıš*, in the same meaning. In SI 6621 the *l*-hook seems to be forgotten.

[47] The sentence ends in *bulun boltum*. The Kyoto fragment Ot.Ry.11086 has it, too.

[48] Ms D *özütümün*.

[49] Ms D *ö-grünčü*.

[50] Ms D *köŋül-ümün*.

[51] The translation follows that of L. Clark, deviating in some places to take account of new readings.

Now, my God, I have seen you. I will not die! You are like the eternal light and living tree. Your whole self is strongly awake and perceiving, your fruit is the good heart and the great law.

And your fragrance is flawless, you are the one who understands, you are the wisdom. I pray to your majesty. Deign to give your grace, my God.

Forever and unceasingly deign to bring to me understanding and knowledge, my God.

Deign to bring to life my Self! From the state of falling (into hell) because of killing save my soul.

Save me from the dark enemies. Keep me far from the sons of the evildoer, the Devil!

Let me enter into your fragrant and aromatic orchard!

[Deign to keep] your light sheep that are in your breast!

And may I fully become able for your special praising and for the godly belief. Why? Because I am yours! I have become a captive in you. I pray to you. I beseech you on behalf of my self. My king! My Lord who intercedes on behalf of my soul! My god who reveals joy to my Living Self! My Father who enlightens my mind!

Commentary

From the new fragment (ms. C) it is evident that the order of the fragments of ms. A has to be changed, although A. v. Le Coq wrote that he edited the fragments in the order they were found[52]. At least for the part covered by manuscript C the sequence can now be established as follows: U 53 I verso – Mainz 104 I recto – Mainz 104 I verso – U 39 I recto.[53] It is a task for the future to find out the correct order of the other leaves of manuscript A.

Outlook

One has to bear in mind that the fragments known so far represent only a very small proportion of the rich book corpora that once existed in the Manichaean monasteries and cities and among the believers. Although new finds of Manichaean-Turkic texts are rare today, every single leaf such as that edited here enriches our knowledge of the religious culture of the Cen-

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[52] M III, p. 24 "Die Blätter sind numeriert in der Reihenfolge, in der sie beim Auffinden lagen".

[53] Clark LP105–116 [As a result of the comparison I changed the location of this leaf.]; LP218–263.

tral Asian Manichaeans to a greater or lesser degree. One may look forward to new finds in the future to enrich the corpus for further research both into the religious history of pre-Islamic Central Asia and into the language and literature of these who wrote and read these texts.

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Brāhmī glosses of the Uyghur blockprint
of Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī kept in the IOM, RAS

Abstract: This paper deals with the fragment of one of the blockprint Sitātapatrā editions that belongs to the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. The authors focuse on Brāhmī parts included into the Uyghur text. Some observations on the correlation of Uygur script signs and akśaras in Brāhmī are made. The Chart of akśaras found in the blockprint is attached. *Key words*: Brāhmī akśara chart, Brāhmī glosses, Old Uyghur Sitātapatrā blockprint.

Sitātapatrā (literally 'Goddess with the white parasol') became one of the highly honoured female deities in the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition. Text dedicated to this goddess *Ārya sarva-tathhāgata-uṣṇīṣa-sitātapatrā-aparājitā nāma-dhāraṇī* (literally "White umbrella one' goddess who will protect all devotees from evil", also known under the short name *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī*) was translated into numerous languages of Central Asia as it was regarded as a kind of protection against any negative influence of life or evil. It was translated several times into Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. Two Sitātapatrā texts in Khotanese sources are known.

The text became widely spread among the Uyghurs during the era of the Mongol empire (1206–1368). One can suppose the great popularity of the *Vidyārājṇī –sitātapatrā-sūtra* (Uyg. avišlar iligi sitadapatri sudur) among the Uyghurs as it was blockprinted at least two times under the patronage of the Yuan emperor's family.[1] The above mentioned editions look almost similar

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[1] Professor Peter Zieme was the first to notice that the fragments kept in Berlin and Russian collections are from the different blockprint editions (ZIEME 1985, 171). Some researchers assume the excistence of even more editions (PORCIÓ 2003, 93).

and differ mostly in page size.[2] What is curious, however, is that both editions have Brāhmī parts included.[3] These inserted glosses pertain to Nothern Turkistan Brāhmī (type B, subtype u) according to the Sander's classification.[4] They are inserted interlineally and arranged vertically, probably, for reader's convenience.

16 pages of one of the blockprint editions are preserved in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS) under the call number SI 4502 (M/5, inv. 4558). They were obtained by a famous Russian scholar S.E. Malov in Turfan during his second expedition in 1913–1915. Later, according to the label attached to the text, "on July 28, 1952, they were granted to the Department of Oriental manuscripts of the Institute Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR". While the text of the blockprint was published by S.E. Malov in 1930,[5] Brāhmī glosses incorporated into it have never been paid attention.

The present article focuses on the Brāhmī parts included into the Uyghur text. The aim of the article is to provide the list of Brāhmī parts found in the fragments kept in the collection of the IOM, RAS (in the order as they appear in the text), as also the illustrative material that could be used in future research works (chart of *akśaras* used).

On the territory of the Tarim Basin (Xinjiang, China) Brāhmī script was used by the Turkic people for writing down religious texts as also pilgrim graffiti inscriptions.[6] Turkic texts could be written in Brāhmī script[7] or include Brāhmī parts. These Brāhmī parts could be integral components of the text (with the corresponding translation into Uyghur or without it) or interpolations for Buddhist names, terms and mantras that were inserted on the left of the main line of the text. Most of interpolations of this kind were added to the printed texts which are all dated to the Mongolian period.[8]

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[2] The collation of editions has shown that they have some minor textual differences.

[3] One should note that the majority of Uyghur Buddhist texts that contain Brāhmī glosses are blockprints.

[4] SANDER 1968, charts 29–40.

[5] MALOV 1930. The publication includes the text printed in Uyghur script (the transliteration is absent) and translation that needs correction as the majority of the buddist terms had not been translated carefully. Moreover the article was published without a detailed archeological and codicological description or facsimile.

[6] The lay pilgrim inscription is described in details in MAUE 1996, 20; Zieme 1984, 335.

[7] MAUE 1996, XXXV, 1, 174.

[8] *Diṣasvastikāsūtra* kept in the IOM, RAS is a rare exception. The research on Brāhmī glosses in this text is being done by O. Lundysheva at the moment. Results of this research are to be published soon.

The researchers who made analisys of these glosses in the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, in particular blockprints, paid attention to the fact that most of them do not correspond to their Sanskrit original exactly, but to a form borrowed by Tocharian.[9] Moreover the numerous mistakes and erroneous forms (not corresponding with Sanskrit or Tocharian variants) in glossary apparently could be explained by the fact that the scribes of the Brāhmī glosses didin't use the Sanskrit original texts relying on the writing in Uyghur script.[10]

So what was the meaning of these glosses? What was the purpose of inserting them into the texts?[11] Analising the Brāhmī glosses in the Uyghur blockprint edition of *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī* kept in the Berlin collection Tibor Porció outlines that they were used as a kind of 'collecting religious merit', 'exhibiting religious erudition' and thus supporting the authenticity of particular text.[12]

Although all these presumptions are plausible[13] it seems more likely that their main function was more pragmatic. The Brāhmī glosses represent nothing 'but the mere transcription of the erroneous Uyghur forms'.[14] Apparently the scribes realized the inadequacy of the Uyghur script in unambiguous transmission of words of Indian origin and challenges that less erudite and sophisticated readers could face.

The manuscript copy of *Diśasvastikāsūtra* kept in St. Petersburg collection (IOM, RAS) is an illustrative example of usage such kind of transcription. Brāhmī glosses in this manuscript are written in alsmost illegible cursive script that was probably clear only to the person who wrote them down. The ductus gives us enough evidences to suppose that they were written by different people and at varying times (as they are written both vertically and horizontally). Thus it is possible to presume that such tradition of glossing was an inalienable part of the Old Uyghur writing culture.

Moreover in the above mentioned blockprints there are no Brāhmī glosses for words that apparently became widely spread among the Uyghur Buddhist devotees, e.g. *vajra*, *buddha*, *dhāraṇī* etc. In addition some Sanskrit words

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[9] However Brāhmī glosses in the manuscript *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* from Hami could be considered to be a rare exception (LAUT 1996, 191–194; GENG, LAUT, WILKENS 2005, 73; YAKUB 2006, 28–34). The Tocharian influence on the glosses' form is described by SHŌGAITO 1978, 84; PORCIÓ 2003; KASAI 2015.

[10] This fact was repeatedly noted by researchers (LAUT 1996, 114; ZIEME 1985, 336).

[11] In comparosin, for example, with the Mongolian tradition where glosses show the tense connection with the Tibetan original texts.

[12] PORCIÓ 2003, 94.

[13] These functions are more likely to be more important for Uyghur texts with Brāhmī integral components accompanied by translations into Uyghur or without them.

[14] PORCIÓ 2003, 95.

written in Uyghur are accompanied not by the whole word re-transcription but its part (e.g. in *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī - kṣas*﹀ (r'kṣ'z) for *rākṣasa*). Besides there is no uniform orthography in one text (e.g. *''l'mp' ńy – alambāni, ''l'mp' ń' – alambāna*) and the spelling differs in accordance to the Uyghur.

In the concerned blockprint kept in the IOM, RAS Brāhmī parts appear in the following order:[15]

Uyghur transcription	Uyghur ransliteration	Brahmi glosses	Tocharian	Sanskrit
garude	k'rwdy	garuḍi	garuḍe*[16]	garuḍa
asure	''swry	asuri	asūre	asura
rakṣaz	r'kṣ'z	kṣas﹀	rākṣatse*	rākṣasa
gaṇḍar - ve	k'nt'r - vy	gandharvi	gandharve*	gandharva
garude	k'rwty	garuḍi	garuḍe*	garuḍa
marute	m'rwty	maruḍi	–	maruta
kinare	kyń'ry	kinari	kinnare*	kiṃnara
mahorage	m'qwr'ky	mahoraki	–	mahoraga
manuṣi	m'nwṣy	mānuṣi	–	manuṣya
amanuži	''m'nwẓ y	amānuṣi	–	amanuṣya
pret	pryt	pret﹀	prete*	preta
piṣaçe	pyṣ'čy	piśaci	–	Piśāca
kum- paṇḍe	kwm - p'ńty	ku - mbhāṇḍi	kumbhāṃṇḍe*	Kumbhāṇḍa
puṭane	pwd'ńy	putani	pūtane*	pūtana
kataputane	k't'pwd'ny	kaṭaputani	kaṭapūtane*	kaṭapūtana
skanḍa	sk'ńt'	skandha	–	Skanda
utmada	'wtm'd'	udmāda	–	unmāda
apasmar	''p'sm'r	apasmra	apasmār	apasmāra
mahapaṣu-	m'q'p'ṣw	mahāpaśu-	–	mahāpaśu
-paṭi	p'dy	-pati	–	pati
mahakade	m'q'k'dy	mahākaḍi	–	mahākāla
kapali	k'p'ly	kapali	–	kāpālika
ṣabari	ṣ'p'ry	śabari	–	śavarī
bukkakasi	pwkk'k'sy	pukkasi	–	pukkasī
atarvana	''t'rv'ń'	atharvaṇa	-	ātharvaṇa
vinayike	vyń'yyky	vināyiki	- winai	vināyaka
kumare	kwm'ry	kumāri	-	kumāra
maharaç	m'ä'r'č	mahārāc﹀	-	mahārāja

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[15] Reasearch of the orthograpphy peculiarities of the Brāhmī glosses in the Berlin blockprint was done by T. Porció (Porció 2003). They are the same in the fragment of the blockprint from St. Petersburg collection. The majority of words met in the fragments of the blockprints in both collection coincide. In some cases they differ in spelling. Mostly, the differences are represented in the vowel length, (e.g. garuḍi - garūḍi) or different consonants for transcription (e.g. kinari - kinnari, parivracaki - parivrajaki).

[16] The mark "*" is used for words that are not found till now in the Tocharian manuscript fragments, but reconstructed.

Being a ritual text *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* represents a string of mantras and dhāraṇīs enclosed in the narrative frame. They are considered to be the most important and sacred part for the devotees.[17] As their efficiency is in sound rather than meaning they were never translated but given in transcription. So no wonder that the longest Brāhmī part used in the text is dhāraṇī. The 16 pages of text in St. Petersburg collection contain only one mantra.

The Sanskrit mantra *oṃ ṛṣi-gana-praṣastana-sarva-tathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitāta-patre hūṃ ṭrūṃ hrī ṣṭom jambhanakari hūṃ ṭrūṃ* is transcribed in the following way:

‘wwm	’yrž y	k’ń’	pr[…]	s’rv’		t’t’k’d’	’wšnyš’
om	ṛṣi	gana	pr[aṣastana]	sarva		tathāgatā	uṣṇiṣā

syt’d’p’tyry	[*qwnk]	twrwm	ǯyryšdwrwm	č’mp’k’ry	qwnk	twrwm
sitātapatr[e]	[hūṃ]	druṃ	hri ṣṭrom	cambhanakari	hūṃ	druṃ

Although Brāhmī parts are quite short they provide enough material to make some observations on the correlation of Uyghur script signs and akśaras in Brāhmī. On the basis of the fragments of the Old Uyghur blockprint of Sitā-tapatrā dhāraṇī one may see the Brāhmī signs that were used for transcription:

Initial vowels	
Uygur words	**Brāhmī glosses**
’’	a
’w	u
’ww	o
Syllable vowels	
’	a / ā
y	i / e
w	u / ū / o
‘y	ai
ww	au
Consonants	
k	k / kh / g / gh / h
q	h
c	c j
ṭ/ d	ṭ / ḍ / t / th / d / dh / ddh
n	ṇ / n / nn / ṃ
m	ṃ / m / m

---

[17] The narrative text is used as a kind of detailed explanation of the usage of the corresponding mantras.

p	p / ph / b / bh
y	y / yi
r	r
l	l
v	v
s	s
š	ś
z	s̱ / ṣ
Consonant blend	
kn	ghn
ky	kya
ks/ kš	kṣ
tv	tv / dhv
nkk	ṅk / ṅkh / ṅg
nc	ñc
nt	nt / ṇḍ / nd / ndh
mp	mp / mbh
py	bhy
pr	pr
rk	rg
rv	rv
str	str
šn	ṣṇ
šv	śv
Stable syllables	
k'r	kṛ
kyr	gra
gyr	hri
cyr	jra
tyk	tyek
t'r	tṛ
twr	dru
tyr	tri
pyr	bra / bhṛ
r'm	rma
v'r	vra
swr	sro
šdwr	ṣṭro
Stable spelling	
durum	ṣṭroṃ
pud	buddha
pt	phaṭ̱

What is more important is that material provided in the blockprints can be organized into the summary chart of Brāhmī akśaras used by the Uyghurs. While in the manuscripts they are fused together and its extremely difficult to devide them from each other in blockprints they are 90-degree turned, easy-to-read and represent a kind of 'average variat' for the writing tradition on the whole. Thus these charts are useful for analisys and research of the Brāhmī glosses in the Old Uyghur manuscripts.

Appendix
Akshara List of the blockprint

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	o
—									
k									
g									
c									
ṭ									
ḍ									
ṇ									
t									
th									

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	o
d	𑀟								
dh	𑀠								
n	𑀦	𑀦	𑀦		𑀦				
p	𑀧		𑀧		𑀧				
b	𑀩				𑀩				
bh	𑀪								
m	𑀫	𑀫	𑀫		𑀫				
y	𑀬		𑀬						
r	𑀭		𑀭		𑀭			𑀭	

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	o
l									
v									
ś									
ṣ									
s									
h									

oṃ	
druṃ	
hūṃ	
rac	

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	o
kk									
ky									
kṣ									
ṇḍ									
tr									
ty									
ddh									
dm									
dr									
nd									
ndh									
pr									
mb									

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	o
mbh									
rv									
rm									
vr									
śr									
ṣṭr									
ṣṇ									
sk									
st									
str									
smr									
hr									

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Safarali Shomakhmadov

**Vyākaraṇa as a Method of Rational Cognition
in the Buddhist Written Sources**

Abstract: The article is devoted to the substantiation of the statement that the Buddhist vyākaraṇa is the method of rational 'forecast' and at the same time the 'fore-knowledge' (from Greek *prognosis*) itself. The proofs that the conventional meaning 'prophecy' is invalid are given. The reasons of the opinion that vyākaraṇa is the 'prognosis' are based of Buddhist canonical and post-canonical texts. Vyākaraṇa as the dialectical method of the Buddhist philosophy allows to model the scheme of the good conduct that leads to the obtaining of the final goal of the Buddhist spiritual practice — the attainment of nirvāṇa.
Key words: analysis and synthesis, Buddhist philosophy, Buddhist texts, dialectical method, prognosis, prophecy, rational cognition, vyākaraṇa.

Vyākaraṇa as a special 'genre' of Buddhist literature occupies an important place in the written heritage of Buddhism. Whole works as well as separate sections of lengthy texts have a title 'vyākaraṇa' that, as a rule, is translated as 'prophecy, prediction'. But is such an interpretation of this Buddhist term the only correct one?

Let us analyze the term vyākaraṇa. First of all, according to Buddhist written tradition, it refers to the twelve *aṅgas* — divisions of Buddhist canonical literature (*sūtra*, *geyya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *abhutadharma*, *vaipulya*, *nidāna*, *avadāna*, *upadeśa*). There are mentions of the first three aṅgas (sūtra, geyya, vyākaraṇa) in the period of the written fixation of Pāḷi *Sutta Piṭaka* — the second of the three texts' collections of Pāḷi Buddhist Canon. Thus, in *Mahāsuññata-sutta* (Sansk. *Mahāśūnyatā sūtra*) Buddha turns to Ānanda with exhortations about the futility of seeking enlightenment only by the texts' studying, without the diligence in spiritual practice: 'Verily, Ānanda, one should not seek out the teacher for the sake of

[study] sūtra, geyya, vyākaraṇa <...>'.[1] Undoubtedly, this passage does not exclude the importance of studying written heritage, the possibility of achieving enlightenment exclusively by reading the sacred texts is denied.

It can be assumed that already in the early period of its history (not earlier than the First Buddhist Council, i.e. 6th c.) the Buddhist doctrine existed in the form of these three divisions, and it's likely that Dharma reproduced by Ānanda at the First Buddhist Council three months later Buddha's Parinirvāṇa consisted of aforementioned three aṅgas — sūtras, geyyas, vyākaraṇas.

According to the Indian lingual-philosophical tradition, vyākaraṇa is a circle of grammatical literature devoted to the language analysis. But, as usual, Buddhist term vyākaraṇa is interpreted as 'prediction, prophecy'. For example, in the Sixth chapter of well-known 'Lotus Sūtra' (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*) Buddha 'prophesies' that in a future all his nearest disciples — Kaśyapa, Maudgalyāyana, Subhūti and Kātyāyana — will become a buddhas. This chapter has a title *Vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ* ('Bestowal of Prophecy').

Let us analyze the meaning of the term vyākaraṇa. One of the canonical definitions of it is reflected in the *Dharmaviniścaya* ('The Definition of Dharma') — the second chapter of the comprehensive Asaṅga's treatise *Abhidharma-samuccaya* ('The Collection [of main categories] of Abhidharma') (4–5 cc.): 'What is Vyākaraṇa? <...> this is an <u>explanation</u> [of the reasons that conditioned the circumstances] of the present lives of some outstanding disciples (*aryaśravakāḥ*) depending on their previous lives in the distant past <...>. Or this is explanation of the meaning expressed in the sūtras. This is an exhaustive explanation of the concept expressed [in a text] implicitly'.[2]

Another meaning of the term vyākaraṇa found in the Sanskrit (as well as in the Pāḷi) Buddhist literature is the interpretation of vyākaraṇa as a detailed answer to the question posed.[3] So, at the end of the Third chapter of *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra* (Sutra 'Vimalakīrti's Instructions'), the composite *praśnavyākaraṇanirdeśa* is translated as 'explanation of answers to questions'. Moreover, at the beginning of the Seventh chapter of *Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra* attributed to the authorship of Nāgārjuna (2–3 cc.) four types of answers to questions (*praśnavyākaraṇa*) are explained: (1) responding in

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[1] *Na kho*, *Ānanda*, *arahati sāvako satthāraṁ anubandhituṁ yadidaṁ **suttaṁ geyyaṁ veyyākaraṇassa** hetu* (*Majjhima-nikāya* 1899, 115).

[2] *Vyākaraṇaṁ katamat | tat sthāneṣu samatikrāntānāmatītānāmārya śrāvakāṇāṁ prāptyutpattiprabheda**vyākaraṇam** | api ca sūtreṣu nirūpitārthasya sphuṭīkaraṇam| vivṛtyābhisandhivyākaraṇāt ||* (*Abhidharma samuccaya* 1950, 78).

[3] The typical example: *pañhassa veyyākaraṇam* ('an answer on question') (*Dīgha-Nikāya* 1903, 223).

a categorical way (*ekāṃśena vyākaraṇa*); (2) responding by distinguishing (*vibhajya vyākaraṇa*); (3) responding by means of a question (*paripṛcchā-vyākaraṇa*); (4) responding by not answering (*sthāpanīya vyākaraṇa*)[4].

Therefore, in Buddhist Sanskrit texts the term vyākaraṇa is used in three meanings:

1. The explanation of the 'conditioned causality' (*pratītya-samutpāda*) be-tween past life (*daśa-kuśala/akuśala-karma-pathāni*) and the karmic result (*karmaphalam*) in present existence. When such relationship is established between the present life acts and the karmic results of the future birth, then we are talking about vyākaraṇa as a 'prediction, prophecy'. However, we asume that the understanding of vyākaraṇa as a 'prophecy, prediction' is somewhat incorrect.

2. The detailed, exhaustive interpretation of the ideas implicitly included in the text of sūtras.

3. The expanded answer to the question posed.

Let us consider what meanings in the Pāḷi tradition are included in the term vyākaraṇa (pāḷi *vyākaraṇa*, *veyyākaraṇa*, prakr. *vaiyākaraṇa*). Of course, basically the semantic field of this term in the 'South Buddhist tradi-tion' will coincide with the Sanskrit meanings: 'clarification, explanation, instruction'.[5] Thus, for example, in the fragment of *Chakkavatti-sihanada-sutta* the newly consecrated king is instructed by his servants in the noble conduct of the righteous king: *tassa te ariyaṃ cakkavatti-vattaṃ puṭṭhā **vyākariṃsu***.[6]

Along with veyyākaraṇa/vyākaraṇa there are some cognate words such as *vyākata* ('expounded, interpreted, answered, solved'), respectively, *avyākata* ('unresolved' [question]); *vyākaroti* ('to answer, interpret, explain', possible form — *byākareyya*).[7] It's remarkable that the Pāḷi vyākaroti, as well as the similar Sanskrit verb, goes back to the common composite *vi+ā+kṛ*, which, however, in Sanskrit, besides of similar Pāḷi meanings 'expound, explain, pro-claim', mainly, has the definitions 'to be devided or separated' (vyākriyate).[8]

In addition, in the Pāḷi tradition, namely, in the *Upali-sutta*, veyyākaraṇa is mentioned as the epithet of the Buddha — 'One, who explained [the

[4] *Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra* 1970, 1127.
[5] *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 2009, 549–554; *Pali-English Dictionary* 1952, 108, 112.
[6] *Dīgha-Nikāya* 1911, 65.
[7] *Pali-English Dictionary* 1952, 112.
[8] *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* 1997, 1035.

truth]'.[9] Also it should be noted that in the meaning 'proclaiming, declaring' vyākaraṇa is found in the *Aññavyākaraṇa-sutta* of Aṅguttara-nikāya, where we can read on the 'five variants of the proclamation of the True Knowledge and the arhatship's state obtaining' (*pañca aññāvyākarāṇāni*); four of these states are false.[10] Also in the Aṅguttara-nikāya, in the *Vyākaraṇa-sutta*, it's 'proclaimed' about the factors of the attainment of the True Knowledge (*aññāṃ vyākaroti*).[11] The similar fragment on the clarifying of the conditions for the True Knowledge attainment is found in the *Chabbisodhana-sutta* of *Majjhima-nikāya* (*anudhammo vyākaraṇa*).[12] That is, in the Pāḷi Suttas it's very common to use the term vyākaraṇa as 'an explanation of the essence of True Knowledge and methods of its attainment', whose sacred status is officially fixed in the Buddha's titulature of the Theravāda tradition.

Therefore, it can be noted that even at the early stage of Buddhist canonical texts fixation (Pāḷi suttas and early Mahāyāna sutras fragmented in Asaṅga's Abhidharma-samuccaya) the circle of the term vyākaraṇa meanings is defined mainly by such definitions as an 'instruction; detailed, exhaustive answer [to any question on the interpretation problem concerning the particular doctrinal moment]', as well as the 'clarification, detailed interpretation' [of the essence and the method of the attainment of the True Knowledge and, as a consequence, the state of the Arhat]; and this meaning is fixed in the Buddha's title. Also it should be noted that in the early Buddhist canonical texts the using of the term vyākaraṇa as 'prophecy, prediction' is not confirmed.

The term vyākaraṇa, understood as a 'prophecy', occurs in the Jain literature of 11th c., namely, in the *Praśnavyākaraṇa-sūtra*; (another titles: *Paṇhavāyaraṇa-*, *Paṇhavāgaraṇa-*) that is the interpretation of practices related to 'fortune telling' (in fact, with prophecy, prediction).[13]

In the most common words, a prophecy is one or several messages (oral or written) about events that will certainly take place in a far or near future. The one who gives such 'messages' for a wide audience is called a *prophet* (*soothsayer*, *seer*) — a man who, because of the revelation that has come

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[9] *Ariyassa bhāvitattassa pattipattassa veyyākaraṇassa <…> Bhagavato tassa sāvako'hamasmi* (*Majjhima-nikāya* 1899, 386) ('He is the Noble One, developed in mind, who has gained the goal and expounds the truth <…> The Blessed One is he, and I am his disciple' (*Middle Length Discourses* 1995, 491).

[10] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* 1896, 119.

[11] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* 1900, 155–156.

[12] *Majjhima-Nikāya* 1899, 30.

[13] *Praśnavyākaraṇa sutra* 1973.

upon him, is able to see a future. *Clairvoyance*, as a 'gift' to 'look into the past or future' that lies outside of any religion but in the field of 'mystical perception of reality' (i.e. parascience) is such psychic ability to receive 'from space immediately' some 'information' on events that were in a deep past or will in a future, far or near. A prophet obtains the ability for prophesy through the mystical experience — direct 'communication' with Higher Reality — God, Absolute, extramundane world. As a result of this spiritual relationship the prophet/clairvoyant gets knowledge on a past/future.

The definition of 'prophetic religion' includes Judaism, Christianity and Islam, Vedic religion/Hinduism, Jainism. Buddhism is not on this list.[14] Moreover, due to rationality, inherent to 'classical Buddhism',[15] mysticism as an integral element of prophetic religion is completely absent in Buddha's Teaching. Well-known Russian Buddhologist Evgeny Torchinov (1956–2003), confirming the thesis about the absence of mysticism in classical Buddhism, wrote: '<...> Buddhism insists that the world has no sacral basis and must be explained out of itself...'.[16] The concept of 'conditioned causality' (*pratītya-samutpāda*) as the theory that explains the genesis of the Universe without Creator became an element connecting the three time modes — past, present, future — and very clearly elucidates the relationship of three adjacent births (past–present–future). The principle of 'conditioned causality', provided that past births circumstances were known, made it possible 'to model' probable circumstances of a new birth — it is that erroneously, on our opinion, called prophetism in Buddhism.

However, how does Buddhist canonical tradition explain the inherent ability of anyone to know about past births, his own or others? *Karma-nirdeśa* ('The Doctrine of Karma'), the fourth section of *Vasubandhu*'s treatise *Abhidharmakośa* ('Encyclopedia of Buddhist Canonical Philosophy') (5th c.), enumerates the criteria for Bodhisattva status attaining. According to this text, Bodhisattva has an innate ability to remember all his former births.[17]

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[14] Thus, for example, the comprehensive encyclopedic article 'Prophecy' in the Xth Volume of the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. (1918; ed. by J. Hastings) analyzes in detail the prophetism phenomenon in American believes and religions, in Christianity, Judaism. There is no one word on Buddhism there (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1918, 381–393).

[15] The Buddhist concept of cosmogenesis, for example, presented in *Loka-nirdeśa* ('The Doctrine of the World'), the third section of the *Vasubandhu*'s treatise *Abhidharmakośa* ('The Encyclopedia of Buddhist Canonical Philosophy') (5th c.) completely denies the idea of the Creator or gods and 'supernatural world' in the sense of Biblical tradition, for example.

[16] Torchinov 2007, 237–238.

[17] Ostrovskaia and Rudoi 2001, 486.

That is, in the process of being in the womb of the mother, as well as at birth moment, Bodhisattva does not lose the 'second yogic concentration' state that permits to remember own past births.[18] Thus, Buddha, descending, according to Buddhist mythology, from the Tuṣita Heavens and being born into Śākyas Kṣatriya family as a Bodhisattva, had a knowledge of all his former births and, most likely, of the past births of all living beings.

The memory of former births (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñāna*, 'knowledge/ability to retain in the memory the former births') is the so-called 'wordly' (*laukika*) supernatural skill (*ṛddhi*). Besides of the memory of former births 'wordly supernatural skills' are the ability to create phantoms, the change of face, the telepathy, 'Divine Hearing' (*divyaśrotra*) and the 'Divine Vision' (*divyacakṣu*).[19] Both worldly and superworldly (*lokottara*) extra-ordinal skills constitute the 'Highest Knowledge' (*abhijñā*). In addition to the memory of former births Buddha has the 'Buddha Vision' (*buddha-cakṣu*) that allows to see all events in the past, present and future. The 'Buddha's Vision' and also mentioned above the 'Divine Vision' and the 'Fleshy Vision' (*māṃsa-cakṣu*),[20] the 'Wisdom Vision' (*prajñā-cakṣu*),[21] the 'Dharma Vision' (*dharma-cakṣu*)[22] constitute the 'Five kinds of Vision' (*pañca-cakṣa-vaḥ*) — Buddha abilities.

It is not for nothing that in the Lalitavistara's text Buddha is called *Pañca-cakṣu* ('Five-Eyes [Visions]') or *Pañca-cakṣuḥ-samanvāgataḥ* ('One who has Five Visions'). In the same text Buddha is characterized as the 'One who possesses the Highest Vision',[23] i.e. the 'Buddha Vision' that combines all 'Five Visions'. Also in the Vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ of the Lotus Sutra it's mentioned that Buddha used the Buddha-cakṣu during to the prophecy for Kaśyapa.[24]

Therefore, Śākyamuni knows about former births both his own and all living beings not by means of the gaining a 'mystical experience' of communication with the 'Supernatural Reality', but through the <u>Knowledge</u>, exhaustive and absolute, obtained by spiritual (yogic) practice. The possession of

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[18] Ibid., 181.

[19] 'Divine Vision' allows to see the many thousands worlds at once.

[20] Māṃsa — (lit.) 'flesh', 'meat'. Māṃsa-cakṣu — the vision of ordinary person — the tool of sensory perception that is the one of initial stages of the reality cognition.

[21] 'Wisdom Vision' is obtained also after the Enlightenment and allows to comprehend the 'Conditioned Causality' Concept as well as total Non-substantiality.

[22] 'Dharma Vision' allows 'to see' the True Knowledge; this ability appears after the Enlightenment.

[23] *Lalita Vastara* 1874, 2.

[24] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 1909, 145.

the 'Higher Knowledge' including the knowledge of former births, the 'Divine Vision' and the using of the 'conditioned causality' principle allow Buddha 'to predict' certain events in a future very strictly without any mysticism. The object of these 'predictions' is the obtaining by the prophecy's addressees, as a rule, of higher forms of existence.

We assume that the meaning of the term vyākaraṇa in the Buddhist canonical tradition applying to the so-called 'prophecies' but, in fact, to examples of the description of the 'conditioned causality' principle is fully revealed in the meanings of the term *vyākṛta* and cognate words. The meaning of these terms is described detaily in II–IV sections of the Abhidharmakośa. In *Indriya-nirdeśa* ("The Doctrine of Factors of Domination in the Psyche') — second section of the treatise — the consciousness activity is directly called vyākaraṇa. So, in the *kārikā* 57 of this section we read: '[The action is called] 'definite' because it is defined in terms of the 'ripening' of good and non-good actions' (*kuśalākuśalaṃ hi vipākaṃ prati **vyākaraṇād vyākṛtaṃ**).[25]

Therefore, the action (physical, verbal, mental) is regarded as 'definite' (*vyākṛta*), inevitably leading to the ripening of karmic consequence (*vipāka*). *Avyākṛta* (the karmic neutral action) is opposite to vyākṛta and makes the ripening of the karma fruit (*karmaphala*) impossible because in this case the consciousness is not affected. Avyākṛta actions are 'darkened' ('with obstacles') activities (*nivṛtāvyākṛta*) where the state of affective consciousness is potentially possible and deeds 'without obstacles' (*anivṛtāvyākṛta*) — without affective manifestations that differ from 'darkened' ones by the absence of six fundamental affects (*kleśamahābhūmikā*) or so-called 'six enemies' that conditioned by the five senses and the mind (*āyatana*). 'Undefined' actions — *avyākṛita* — can be contaminated (*kliṣṭa*) as well as uncontaminated (*akliṣṭa*). Thus, for example, the non-attainment (*aprāpti*) of dharmas 'with an influx of affects' (*sāsrava*) is characterized as *akliṣṭāvyākṛta*. The consciousness activity of 'ordinary' person (*pṛthagjana*) as well as religious ascetic (*yogin*) can be considered as 'contaminated' because their spiritual practice still not free of affects. Also the consciousness activity, 'definite' as well as 'indefinite', can has both a good (*kuśala*) and not-good (*akuśala*) religious nature.

Therefore, we assume that vyākaraṇa in the Buddhist canonical tradition is not a 'prophecy' or 'prediction' but it is the way of describing the 'condi-

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[25] *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 1967, 65. The term *vyākṛta* is used in the similar fragment of Yaśomitra Comment (*kārikās* 58–59) (*Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* 1971, 223).

tioned causality' principle that determines the consciousness activity of all human beings — from ordinary people to religious ascetics.

As we said above the term vyākaraṇa is a composite consisting of the following elements: prefix *vi* — 'separation', 'discrimination'; '[to move] from [something], in different directions'[26]; the verb prefix –*ā*- means the reverse action for *vi*-, i.e. '[to move] towards [something]'; *karaṇa* — 'action' itself. In addition, one of the √*kṛ*(*t*) meanings whose derivative is karaṇa — 'to purify, clarify'; 'to bring to a higher level'. Thus, the term vyākaraṇa can be interpreted as 'an action (*karaṇa*) [combining] the separation (*vi*-) and the combination (-*ā*-) [of the examined object for the purpose of] clarifying [its meaning]'. This definition of the term vyākaraṇa allows to bring the problem to a qualitatively different, higher, level.

Basing on the dialectical approach we will assume that vi+ā in the composition of vyākaraṇa mark the analysis (vi — 'separation')[27] and synthesis (ā — 'combination')[28] as methods of rational cognition allowing to make not predictions or prophecies but <u>prognoses</u> based on a strictly logical approach.[29]

It's necessary to make an important remark. We understand vyākaraṇa as the 'Pre-knowledge' itself ('Pro-gnosis') and the method of its obtaining by the establishing of the 'causal-consequence' relations. But a 'pre-diction' can be a peculiar aspect of the vyākaraṇa — an exposition/description of the results of the obtained 'Pre-knowledge' that can be an expression of the compassion of the one who has attained this Knowledge-vyākaraṇa.

Thus, initially in the Buddhist tradition vyākaraṇa, apparently, is the prognosis, 'rational foresight' — 'fore-knowledge'. In this case it is the way of very strict describing of the prospects for the development of any phenomenon[30] represented in the three time modes — past, present and future. The strict 'logical base' within of which the 'analysis and synthesis' of the Buddhist vyākaraṇa unfolds is the 'conditioned causality' principle (pratītya-samutpāda).

Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra seems to us the very typical example of the consideration of vyākaraṇa as a method of Buddhist epistemology. Let us examine how the prefix vi- ('separation') is presented

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[26] Probably, *vi* is the abbreviated variant of *dvi*- signified the division 'into two parts' (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary* 1997, 949).

[27] Analysis (ἀνάλυσις) — (greek) 'dissociation, division'.

[28] Synthesis (σύνθεσις) — (greek) 'association, connection'.

[29] Prognosis (πρόγνωσις) — (greek) (lit.) 'Fore-Knowledge', i.e. 'Knowledge in advance'.

[30] IL'ICHIOV and FEDOSEIEV and KOVALIOV and PANOV 1983, 533.

in this text. We know that analysis as an initial stage of any rational knowledge in the case of a theoretical research is a procedure of a mental separation of an object into different parts — signs, properties, relations.[31] Also this process 'involves the abstracting from the content of the reasoning and the revealing of its logical form (scheme)'.[32]

In this early Mahāyāna text the 'prophecy' given by Buddha to the poor girl (*nagarabalaṃbikādārikā*) can be divided into five main elements unfolded in time — from events in former births through actual existence to events in a future described in the 'prophecy'. The key elements of the 'prophetic' narrative are: (1) the sin action in one of former births that determined (2) the life in poorness during next births till actual existence; (3) the good action made in actual life that led to the finish of bad karmic outcome and the obtaining in the next existence (4) the last human birth ('from a womb') in a noble Kṣatriya family as a successor and, finally, through 'incalculable *kalpas*' (5) the obtaining of the status of Tathāgata, Arhat, Samyaksaṃbuddha, Bhagavan.[33]

It's necessary to note that practically all Buddhist texts called vyākaraṇa have 'prophecies' which contain the temporal aspect — the future obtaining of noble form of existence or Final Liberation that invariably associated with righteous deeds in the preceding time periods. Thus, in the Lotus Sutra three chapters are devoted to Buddha's 'prophecies': Ch. VI *Vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ* ('[Handing of] Predictions'), Ch. VIII *Pañcabhikṣuśata-vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ* ('Prophecy of Enlightenment for Five Hundred Disciples') and Ch. IX *Ānanda-adi-vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ* ('Prophecies Conferred on Learners and Adepts'). 'Prophecies' given by Buddha in Chapters VI and IX, and partly in the Chapter VIII, addressed to his closest disciples — Kaśyapa, Subhūti, Kātyāyana, Maudgalyāyana, Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Ānanda and Rāhula — are mainly narratives about future births of the 'prophecies' addressees. In this next existences, thanks to their devotion to future buddhas, these disciples will reach the final goal of spiritual practice — they will attain the state of anuttara-samyak-saṃboddhi.[34] That is to say, the scheme of this 'prophecy'-vyākaraṇa that unfolds exclusively in a future, is follows: the attainment of a good form of existence in a future birth → the follow the Path of good activity → the achievement of Final Liberation.

[31] Ibid., 23.
[32] Vorobiova 1998, 24.
[33] Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia and Shovakhmadov 2013, 44.
[34] Ignatovich 1998, 154–159, 182–184, 186–188.

Summarizing the 'analytical part' of vyākaraṇa's meaning it's necessary to note the following. Basing on Buddhist sūtras it can be argued that 'prophecy' scheme taking into account three time modes — past, present and future — usually consists of three pairs: (1) sin deeds in former births → troubles in follows lives; (2) good action in actual existence (the finish of 'bad karma') → next noble birth; (3) an increase of righteous deeds in future lives → the attainment of Final Liberation. However, this threefold scheme can be simplified to a twofold one that has, first of all, a didactic goal: (1) misconduct → retribution; (2) good deed → reward. Finally, it boils down to a single pair: cause → consequence.

Having established 'cause-consequence' connections between basic elements of the 'prophetic' narration of Buddhist vyākaraṇa thereby we fulfilled the synthesis (marked by verb prefix -ā- in composite vyākaraṇa). Because the synthesis is, in fact, the restoration of original unity, the connection of different elements (separated during analysis) of the researched object in one whole, the ascertainment of systemic relations among them.[35] In addition, the synthesis, understood as a reasoning aimed at a step-by-step proof of some initial assumption,[36] moving from cause to consequence (so-called 'translational', 'progressive', synthesis[37]), creates the possibility of 'deliberate modeling' of conditions (doing of good deeds) which open the way to the attainment of good births in a future, i.e. this synthesis allows to forecast the result. On other hand, the comprehension of the actual life as a consequence of previous deeds clearly highlights the karma of former births. This line of reasoning is a so-called 'recurrent', or 'regressive', synthesis.[38]

Mentioned above 'progressive synthesis' following from cause to consequence and allowing deliberately modeling the future situation seems to be the third component of the term vyākaraṇa — karaṇa that is the forecast actually. How does meanings 'purify, clarify'; 'to bring to a higher level' are manifested in the Buddhist term vyākaraṇa?

It's necessary to note that all Buddhist 'prophecies' (prognoses) are positive. In all cases prognoses is oriented toward 'raising' the birth's form (from bad to good one), until the obtaining of Final Liberation by the 'prophecy' addressee. From didactic positions, a negative prophesy is, of course, undesirable. Thus, vyākaraṇa explains the way of obtaining the best form of birth,

[35] IL'ICHIOV and FEDOSEIEV and KOVALIOV and PANOV 1983, 609.
[36] Ibid.
[37] VOROBIOVA 1998, 24.
[38] Ibid.

i.e. it 'carries the 'prophecy' addressee to a higher level' of existence. In the praxeological aspect vyākaraṇa, in our opinion, is a psychological motivation that stimulates followers to stand on the Path of good deeds.

Buddhist vyākaraṇa, in our opinion, fully corresponds with the definition 'prognosis'[39] and includes such aspects as goal-setting, planning, programming, projecting, controlling. The *goal-setting* is expressed in the need for all living beings to achieve Final Liberation — *nirvāṇa*. The *planning* in Buddhist vyākaraṇa is the definition of the main tasks, the solution of which contributes to the realization of the ultimate goal in best manner. Among these tasks one can name, for example, the finishing of 'bad karma' in actual life and the obtaining of a more perfect form of existence in next births. By the *programming* according to vyākaraṇa we mean a certain algorithm of actions aimed at solving the tasks posed — actions that will stop the maturing of the karmic fruit of unrighteous deeds of former births; good behavior that promotes the acquisition of a better form of existence in the future, and the attainment of nirvāṇa. The *projecting* in Buddhist vyākaraṇa, in our opinion, is the creation of some ideal model within which it's possible to explain the actual state, and also to forecast ('to vaticinate') the events that still have to happen. In the Buddhist tradition such model, we believe, presents a 'causal-consequence' relation realized in the concept of pratītya-samutpāda. The last aspect — *controlling* — implies, as we see it, the possibility of control by a person over his own actions which determine the maturation of karmic consequence. That is to say, person himself determines his own destiny but not 'supernatural powers'.

Summarize. Firstly, despite of 'traditional' definition of vyākaraṇa as 'prophecy' we have all reasons to call in question the validity of this interpretation. First of all, it's very doubtful to define Buddhism as a prophetic religion, unlike other world religions. And Buddha himself doesn't correspond to the definition of a prophet — in none of the Buddhist schools Śakyamuni is regarded as a mediator between mankind and 'divine forces' the herald of which he could be. Only in the Jain text Praśnavyākaraṇa-sūtra (11th c.) dedicated to explaining the divination practice we find the use of the term vyākaraṇa in the sense 'prophecy'. According to Buddhist canonical tradition Buddha has the ability to see past, present and future through its own exceptional mental powers ('Higher Knowledge').

In Buddhist texts, where we find the mention of the vyākaraṇa term, this word is interpreted either as a detailed explanation, an exhaustive interpreta-

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[39] IL'ICHIOV and FEDOSEIEV and KOVALIOV and PANOV 1983, 533.

tion of ideas implicit in sūtras (that brings together vyākaraṇa and *nirdeśa* as genres of Buddhist literature), or as an explanation of the causal relationship between acts in former births and the karmic fruit ripening in future lives. The definition of vyākaraṇa as a definite action is fixed in the Vasubandhu treatise 'Encyclopedia of Buddhist Canonical Philosophy' (Abhadharma-kośa) (5th c.).

Secondly, the use of the dialectical approach allows to consider vyākaraṇa as a complex of the methods of rational cognition (analysis and synthesis), the aim of which in the context of Buddhist 'soteriology' is a controlled forecasting of the results of human activity aimed the realizing the ideal of Buddhist religious practice — the attainment of Final Liberation (nirvāṇa).

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On the Fragment of the *Naran-u Gerel*
Catalogue Preserved in IOM, RAS[1]

Abstract: Until recently the manuscript entitled *Naran-u Gerel* in the collection of St. Petersburg State University was considered to be the only extant catalogue of the 17th c. recension of the Mongolian Kanjur. The article presents a fragment of the Kanjur catalogue discovered among the manuscript fragments from Dzungaria preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. Its textual similarity to the *Naran-u Gerel* and structural proximity to the manuscript copies of the Mongolian Kanjur indicate that having been reflected in more than one catalogue the repertoire and structure of the 17th c. recension were not that random as it was previously represented in Mongolian studies.

Key words: Mongolian Kanjur, catalogue, Dzungaria, manuscript collection of IOM, RAS.

The oldest extant recension of the Mongolian Kanjur (a voluminous compendium of translated texts ascribed to the Buddha) was implemented in 1628–1629 under the auspices of Ligdan-qaγan of Čaqar (1592–1634). It has survived to the present day in a number of copies,[2] of which only the manuscript preserved in St. Petersburg State University Library (PK) represents the complete Kanjur set. The Kanjur catalogue called *Naran-u Gerel*, i.e. the *Sun-*

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[2] See the description of the extant copies of the Mongolian manuscript Kanjur in ALEKSEEV 2015, 202–209.

light, is attached to the initial volume of PK [NG(PK)]. The text of the catalogue was published by Z.K. Kas'ianenko in 1987.[3] Her analysis of the catalogue demonstrated that its structure and content are different from both PK and the xylographic edition of the Mongolian Kanjur from 1717–1720 (MK), but closer to PK. At that stage of study its text was considered to exist in a single copy and represent one of the preliminary drafts of Ligdan's recension.[4]

In his 2015 publication K. Alekseev already noted that NG(PK) was more likely regarded by its compilers as the PK catalogue and its deviations from the structure of the latter can be explained by its close connection to the catalogue of the Tibetan Kanjur block-printed in 1606 under the Emperor Wanli (1563–1620) and the general attitude to cataloguing at the time of its creation.[5]

The situation could be clarified by discovery of some other inventories of that kind. In 2013 another Kanjur catalogue was disclosed in the miscellanea called *Ganjur: Orosil-un Boti*. The publication represents the text that used to be kept in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, but at present seems to be lost [NG(HH)].[6] The manuscript format is a *debter* (a stitched fascicle) sized 26.3×26.3 cm, 36 pages, the text is written with a brush. On the cover of the fascicle there is an inscription: *the catalogue of the Prescious Kanjur*, *debter one* (Mong. *Ganjuur erdeni-yin γarcaγ nigen debter*). On the last page of the manuscript there is an inscription indicating that it was copied in the 30th year of the Emperor Guangxu (Mong. *Badaraγul-tu törö*, r. 1875–1908), which corresponds with the year 1904 of the European calendar. The publishers of the catalogue identify the text as a copy of the catalogue of the so-called Ligdan-qaγan's Golden Kanjur.[7] They also mention that the NG(HH) text is incomplete without going into any further details, and note that in their publication they corrected "some mistakes" of the text.[8] The text of NG(HH) has the same title,[9] foreword and basically

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[3] KAS'IANENKO 1987.

[4] KAS'IANENKO 1987, 164–167; 1993, 10; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 160.

[5] ALEKSEEV 2015, 216–221. PK(NG) is not the only example of a catalogue that does not fully correspond with the manuscript it belongs to. In both the Tibetan and Mongolian literary traditions even the small lists could conflict with the repertoire and arrangement of the texts represented by them. Thus, for example, according to H. Tauscher, the volume *dkar chags* of the Gondhla proto-Kanjur show some deviations from the respective volumes, as they probably were mechanically reproduced from the model that was copied. TAUSCHER 2008, xlv.

[6] See the information about its storage in YG, vol. 1. No. 05111.

[7] On the Golden Kanjur see ALEKSEEV and TURANSKAYA 2013.

[8] See the description of NG(HH), the details of its publication and the catalogue itself in ERDENIČILAγU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 17–18, 172–207.

[9] Mong. *Sayibar oduγsan-u jarliγ nom erdeni-yin toγ-a: šasin-[i] delgeregülügci naran-u gerel neretü:* Cf. KAS'IANENKO 1987, 170.

the same structure as NG(PK) that allows to identify it as a version of the same catalogue. Nevertheless, the Hohhot catalogue reveals some structural deviations from NG(PK) that do not let us recognize two texts as absolutely identical. Regrettably, the way NG(HH) was published makes it unclear if these deviations were inherent in the original of the catalogue, or they rather belong to the incomplete 1904 copy, or even to its 2013 publication.

Recently a folio of the catalogue of the Mongolian Kanjur was found amongst the manuscript fragments from Dzungaria rediscovered by N. Yampolskaya in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS).[10] The folio belongs to the Kanjur set designated by N. Yampolskaya as "Manuscript I" (JBF1). As the rest of JBF1 the fragment of the catalogue (NG(JBF1) is a *poṭhi* format folio with the dimensions 23.2×63.8 cm (the frame, outlined with the red double line — 57.8×17.8 cm), 29 lines on each side of the folio. A signature in Tibetan — *k+zha* ( ) and the foliation number in Mongolian — *arban doloγan* (17) are written in the left-hand margin of the *recto* side of the folio outside the frame. Interestingly, this peculiar kind of signature that consists of two letters, one atop the other, seems to be characteristic of some old Tibetan manuscripts, such as those from Dunhuang and Ta pho. The meaning of such signatures is not absolutely clear yet. Scholars lean towards the idea that this is a method of foliation (defined as "type III" by C. Scherrer-Schaub and G. Bonani) in which the upper letter is the volume signature while the subscript one denotes hundreds in the foliation.[11] In the case with the single extant NG(JBF1) folio the meaning of the signature is even more ambiguous. Judging by the complete NG(PK) catalogue, which occupies only 11 folios, NG(JBF1) definitely could not exceed 100 folios.[12] Along with that, it is not possible to check if the other NG(JBF1) folios were marked with the same combination of letters or had some other signatures. It is very probable that the signature on the folio was mechanically copied from some Tibetan text, which indicates the possible archaic character of the Tibetan original of the *Naran-u gerel* catalogue.

The NG(JBF1) fragment is written with a *calamus*. The handwriting is of a quite mediocre quality and characterized by the following features:

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[10] On the so called black fragments of the Mongolian Kanjurs from Dzungaria see IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015.

[11] For more details on such a method of foliation in Tibetan manuscripts see SCHERRER-SCHAUB, BONANI 2002, 197; STEINKELLNER 1994, 125–128.

[12] Fol. 17 of NG(JBF1) corresponds with the fragment on Fols. 8v–9v of NG(PK), which means that one NG(PK) folio is the equivalent of about 1.8 NG(JBF1) folios. So the whole NG(JBF1) catalogue could occupy only about 19–20 ff.

— the width of the vertical and horizontal lines of the graphemes is the same;

— the initial "teeth" do not have "crests";

— the "loops" are small, sitting on the axis;

— in many cases the "sticks" are of virtually the same length as the "teeth" and differ from the latter only in their shape and the angle of inclination;

— the long and slanting downwards "tails" begin with a sort of angle, when the line first goes to the left from the vertical axis and then forms the "tail";

— the initial "s" and "q" are almost indistinguishable from each other;

— the initial "t/d" has a shape of a drop with a small "tooth";

— the medial "t/d" has the form of a short "loop";

— the final "k/g" and "ng" have "snake's tongues" while the *orkica* does not have this element.

The fragment is not free from some corrections made with a thinner *calamus*.

Fol. 17 of NG(JBF1) represents the structure of the Vols. *na*, *pa*, *pha*, *ba*, and *ma* of the *Eldeb* section and corresponds with the fragment occupying thirteen lines on Fol. 8v, Fol. 9r and twelve lines on Fol. 9v of NG(PK). Below the transcription of the NG(JBF1) fragment is given together with a text critical word-by-word collation with NG(PK).[13]

[17r] @ [1] [(NA1)] sudur-aca arban jüg-ün bodisung-nar dalai ciɣuluɣsan-u yeke bayasqulang-[2]un qa<u>rim-tur[14] naɣaduɣci {ya} neret̠ü[15] yeke kölgen sudur: [(NA2)] anavatabta neret̠ü[16] [3] luus̄-un qaɣan-u öcigsen neret̠ü[17] sudur: [(NA3)] qutuɣ-tu sambaɣ-a oyutu-yin[18] [4] öcigsen neret̠ü[19] sudur: [(NA4)] qutuɣ-tu

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[13] In this publication the following symbols are used for the *Galik* letters, orthographical peculiarities and editorial marks: <...> — glosses and interpolations, {...} — eliminations and corrections of the text, * – unclear readings (a number of the asterisks corresponds with the presumable number of letters in a word), superlinear / ... / — a fragment of text collated as a whole, superlinear letter and figures, e.g. NA1 — volume signature and the number of a work in the volume; e' — ɛ, d" — ᴅ, n — "n" with the diacritical dot, p' — ᴘ, s̄ — final "s" written with the Uygur sign for "z" (a short horizontal "tail", t̠ — a combination of the "loop" and the "tooth" to denote the medial "t/d" in front of a vowel; @ — *orkica*. In the transcription the Mongolian *č* and *ǰ* are given without diacritical marks.

[14] NG(PK): qaurim-tur.

[15] NG(PK): neretü.

[16] NG(PK): neretü.

[17] NG(PK): neretü.

[18] NG(PK): oyitu-yin (sic). Correct *oyutu* = Tib. *blo gros*.

[19] NG(PK): neretü.

yekede[20] tonilγaγci nereṯü[21] yeke kölgen [5] sudur: **(NA5)** qutuγ-tu bodisung-nar-un[22] yabudal-i uqaγuluγsan nereṯü[23] sudur [6] bui:: : :: arban γurbaduγar[24] pa[25] gelmeli-tür: **(PA1)** bilig-ün cinaṯu[26] [7] kijaγar-a kürügsen: oγtauluγcu[27] vcir **(PA2)** qutuγ-tu subikiranta[28] [8] vikiram-i-yin[29] bilig baramid bilig-ün cinaṯu[30] kijaγar-a kürügsen [9] **(PA3)** jaγun tabin yosutu: **(PA4)** /<bilig-ün cinadu qijaγara kürügsen tabitu:>[31] **(PA5)** bilig-ün cinaṯu kijaγar-a kürügsen/[32] cügüken[33] [10] üsüg-tü: **(PA6)** bilig-ün cinaṯu[34] kijaγar-a kürügsen kausika: **(PA7)** bilig-ün [11] cinaṯu[35] kijaγar-a kürügsen {jarim jaγun-tu:} qorin tabun qaγalγ-a-[12]tu: **(PA8)** bilig-ün cinaṯu[36] kijaγar-a kürügsen jarim jaγun-tu[37]: **(PA9)** /bilig-ün [13] cinaṯu[38] kijaγar-a kürügsen tabun jaγun-tu:/[39] **(PA10)** bilig-ün cinaṯu[40] kijaγar-a [14] kürügsen jaγun naiman ner-e: **(PA11)** yeke nigülesküi-yin caγan linqu-a-yin[41] [15] nereṯü[42] sudur **(PA12)** balγasun-u idesi nereṯü[43] <yeke>[44] sudur: **(PA13)** qutuγ-tu esru-a-yin /coγ-[16]*****/[45] yiung****d[46] öggügsen[47] nereṯü[48] sudur: **(PA14)** qutuγ-tu dibangγar-a[49]

[20] NG(PK): yeke-de.

[21] NG(PK): neretü.

[22] NG(PK): *add.* {d"alai ciγuluγsan-u yeke bayasqulang-un qurim-tur naγaduγci neretü yeke kölgen}.

[23] NG(PK): neretü.

[24] NG(PK): γutaγar.

[25] In Tibetan. NG(PK): *add.* pa (in Mongolian).

[26] NG(PK): cinadu.

[27] Sic. NG(PK): oγtauluγci.

[28] NG(PK): subaranta.

[29] NG(PK): vikaramin.

[30] NG(PK): cinadu.

[31] With a different hand and thinner *calamus*.

[32] NG(PK): /bilig-ün cinadu kijaγar-a kürügsen <tabin-tu: bilig-ün cinadu kijaγar-a kürügsen>/.

[33] NG(PK): cügeken.

[34] NG(PK): cinadu.

[35] NG(PK): cinadu.

[36] NG(PK): cinadu.

[37] NG(PK): jaγu-tu.

[38] NG(PK): cinadu.

[39] NG(PK): /*abs*./.

[40] NG(PK): cinadu.

[41] NG(PK): linqu-a.

[42] NG(PK): neretü.

[43] NG(PK): neretü.

[44] With a different hand and thinner *calamus*. NG(PK): *abs*.

[45] NG(PK): coγtu-da.

[46] NG(PK): yivanggirid.

[47] NG(PK): ögtegsen.

[48] NG(PK): neretü.

[49] NG(PK): dibanggar-a.

burqan-a[50] [17] yivanggirid ögtegsen nere_tü[51] sudur: [(PA15)] /saran-u gerel-tü[/52] qaɣan-u domoɣ-i [18] ügüleküi: [(PA16)] j*****s̄-un[53] adalidqaqui sudur: [(PA17)] qotola-aca[54] buyan-tu nere_tü[55] [19] ****gün-ü[56] sudur [(PA18)] siltaɣan-aca barilduju[57] boluɣsan uridu kiged ilɣal-i [20] uqaɣulqui nere_tü[58] sudur ede bui:: : :: arban dörbedüger[59] pha[60] [21] {gemle} gelmeli-tür: [(PHA1)] qutuɣ-tu qarin ülü nicuɣci kürdün nere_tü[61] yeke [22] kölgen sudur: [(PHA2)] jaɣan-u [62] nere_tü[63] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA3)] qutuɣ-tu [23] rasiyan nere_tü[64] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA4)] qutuɣ-tu mayidari-yin ****sen[65] [24] naiman nom-tu{*} nere_tü[66] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA5)] qutuɣ-tu tegüncilen iregsen-ü [25] jirüken nere_tü[67] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA6)] qutuɣ-tu erdini[68] qamuɣ ceceg delgeregsen [26] nere_tü[69] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA7)] dabqucaɣuluɣsan ger-ün sudur: [(PHA8)] qutuɣ-tu [27] qubilɣan qatuɣtai-tur yivanggirid[70] öggügsen[71] nere_tü[72] yeke {kölen} [28] kölgen sudur: [(PHA9)] qutuɣ-tu nom-un mudur nere_tü[73] yeke kölgen sudur: [29] [(PHA10)] qatuɣ-tu[74] yeke daɣun nere_tü[75] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA11)] qutuɣ-tu bodi jüg-i [17v1] uqaɣuluɣsan nere_tü[76] yeke kölgen sudur: [(PHA12)] qutuɣ-tu manjusiri-yin uqaɣuluɣsan [2] nere_tü[77] yeke kölgen sudur:

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[50] NG(PK): burqan-i.
[51] NG(PK): neretü.
[52] NG(PK): /saran neretü/.
[53] NG(PK): jalaɣus̄-un.
[54] NG(PK): qotala-aca.
[55] NG(PK): neretü.
[56] NG(PK): köbegün-ü.
[57] NG(PK): barilduqui.
[58] NG(PK): neretü.
[59] NG(PK): dötüger.
[60] In Tibetan. NG(PK): p'a.
[61] NG(PK): neretü.
[62] NG(PK): *add*. {****} <kücün>.
[63] NG(PK): neretü.
[64] NG(PK): neretü.
[65] NG(PK): öcigsen.
[66] NG(PK): neretü.
[67] NG(PK): neretü.
[68] NG(PK): erden_i.
[69] NG(PK): neretü.
[70] NG(PK): yivangirid.
[71] NG(PK): ö<g>gügsen.
[72] NG(PK): neretü.
[73] NG(PK): neretü.
[74] Sic. NG(PK): qutuɣ-tu.
[75] NG(PK): neretü.
[76] NG(PK): neretü.
[77] NG(PK): neretü.

(PHA13) qutuɣ-tu sayin öglige ögküi **(PHA14)** degeṯü[78] yabudal [3] irüger: **(PHA15)** qutuɣ-tu tngri-yin köbegün ülemji kücütü[79] sedkil-iyer öcigsen [4] nereṯü[80] yeke kölgen sudur ede bui:: : :: arban tabtaɣar ba[81] [5] gelmeli-tür: **(BA1)** qutuɣ-tu luus-un qaɣan sagir-a-yin[82] öcigsen nereṯü[83] [6] yeke kölgen sudur: **(BA2)** qutuɣ-tu erdini-yin[84] {kijaɣ} kijaɣar nereṯü[85] sudur: [7] **(BA3)** qutaɣ-tu[86] burqan-i ülü tebciküi nereṯü[87] sudur: **(BA4)** qutuɣ-{tu}-tu [8] manjusiri[88] orosiɣsan nereṯü[89] sudur: **(BA5)** qutuɣ-tu salu tuturɣan-u uɣ [9] noɣoɣan-u[90] nereṯü[91] sudur: **(BA6)** tabun aldal-un buyan kiged buyan busu-yin aci [10] ür-e-yi onoɣsan sudur: **(BA7)** nasun-u[92] ecuṡ-un sudur: **(BA8)** qutuɣ-tu nidüber [11] üjegci erkeṯü-yin[93] üjegsen-ü[94] doloɣan nom-tu nereṯü[95] sudur: [12] **(BA9)** qutuɣ-tu bayasqulang-tu sudur: **(BA10)** qutuɣ-tu tabun baramid-i [13] uqaɣulqui yeke kölgen sudur: **(BA11)** üile-yi teyin büged {ial} ilɣaqui: [14] yeke[96] sudur **(BA12)** bimbasari-yin[97] ündüsün-ü[98] nereṯü[99] sudur: **(BA13)** öglige-yin [15] yeke[100] sang: **(BA14)** tngri-yin köbegün erdini-yin[101] ɣar-tu-yin asaɣuɣsan **(BA15)** ilaju [16] tegüṡ nögcigsen burqan maɣtaju[102] sayisiyaqui[103] yosutu-aca[104] ilaju tegüṡ [17] nögcigsen burqan-i sayisiyaɣsan:

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[78] NG(PK): degedü.
[79] NG(PK): kücü-dü.
[80] NG(PK): neretü.
[81] In Tibetan. NG(PK): *add.* Mong. ba.
[82] NG(PK): sagar-a-yin.
[83] NG(PK): neretü.
[84] NG(PK): erdeni-yin.
[85] NG(PK): neretü.
[86] Sic. NG(PK): qutaɣ-tu.
[87] NG(PK): neretü.
[88] NG(PK): manjusiri-yin.
[89] NG(PK): neretü.
[90] NG(PK): noɣoɣan.
[91] NG(PK): neretü.
[92] NG(PK): nasun-u.
[93] NG(PK): erketü-yin.
[94] Sic, = öcigsen-ü. NG(PK): öcigsen.
[95] NG(PK): neretü.
[96] NG(PK): *add*. kölgen.
[97] NG(PK): bimbasiri-yin.
[98] NG(PK): ündüsün.
[99] NG(PK): neretü.
[100] Sic. NG(PK) gives the same reading. PK gives the correct reading: *küü* < Ch. *kou*. Z.K. Kas'ianenko transcribes it as *gü* KAS'IANENKO 1993, No. 713.
[101] NG(PK): erdeni.
[102] NG(PK): maɣtaqui.
[103] NG(PK): sayisiyaqu.
[104] NG(PK): yosu-tu-aca.

[BA16] tangɣariɣ-dai[105] dar-a[106] /ökin tngri-[18]yin/[107] maɣtaɣal: [BA17] /ary-a avalokita isvari-yin/[108] maɣtaɣal: [BA18] *****-tu[109] [19] ****ng-tü[110] manjusiri-yin maɣtaɣal: [BA19] qutuɣ-tur maɣtaɣsan: [BA20] qutuɣ-tu [20] tangsuɣ boluɣsan nereṯü[111] nom-un jüil [BA21] nom-un mön cinar-aca ködelkü [21] ügegüy-e {****} öber-e öber-e bügüde-tür {**} üjegdeküi nereṯü[112] [22] sudur ede bui:: : :: arban jirɣuduɣar ma[113] [23] gelmeli-tür [MA1] qutuɣ-tu langka avatar-a nereṯü[114] yeke kölgen sudur: [24] [MA2] qutuɣ-tu asaraqui-yin öcigsen nereṯü[115] yeke kölgen sudur: [MA3] qutuɣ-tu [25] qotala bitügci urtu kimusu-tu-yin[116] öcigsen nereṯü[117] sudur: [MA4] qutuɣ-tu [26] mayidari-yin yivanggirid üjügülügsen: [MA5] qutuɣ-tu burqan-u uqaɣan-i [27] üjügülküi tegüs̄ medeküi-tü sudur: [MA6] üneger tegüsügsen saɣsabad sudur: [28] [MA7] tabun ayimaɣ aldal-un buyan kiged: buyan busu-yin aci ür-e-yi[118] onoqu-yin [29] sudur: [MA8] qutuɣ-tu nigen[119] sedkiküi nomlaɣsan sudur: [MA9] qutuɣ-tu

It is clear from the text critical collation that, aside from minor variant readings, the two texts are almost identical. In NG(PK) the PA9 text is missing, but this seems to be rather the copyist's mistake than a structural diference between the two catalogues. Considering orthography, in both texts the final "s" is persistently written with the Uygur sign for "z" (a short horizontal "tail"; e.g. luuś-un); the initial "t/d" in the case suffixes is regularly written with the use of the Uygur *taw* sign after the stems ending with vowels, diphthongs and, in certain consonants (e.g. gelmeli-tür; qatuɣtai-tur), "c" and "j" are regularly denoted with the same sign. Both texts give archaic spelling of such words as *bodi*, *bodisung*, *linqu-a* etc. With

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[105] NG(PK): tangɣariɣ-tai.
[106] NG(PK): d"ar-a.
[107] NG(PK): /eke-yin/. PK: ökin tngri-yin.
[108] NG(PK): /a-a ry-a avalokite' isvari-yin/.
[109] NG(PK): qutuɣ-tu.
[110] NG(PK): kiling-tü.
[111] NG(PK): neretü.
[112] NG(PK): neretü.
[113] In Tibetan. NG(PK): *add.* Mong. ma.
[114] NG(PK): neretü.
[115] NG(PK): neretü.
[116] NG(PK): kimusutu-yin.
[117] NG(PK): neretü.
[118] NG(PK): ür-e-yin.
[119] Sic. Should be *arban nigen*, cf Tib. 'du shes bcu gcig SUZUKI 1962, No. 977. Both PK and NG(HH) give *arban nigen*. ERDENIČILAɣU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 199 No. 74–09; KAS'IANEN-KO 1993, No. 732

this the frequent use of the Uygur *dāleth* for "t" in NG(JBF1) is changed in NG(PK) for "t" proper: *tangɣariɣ-dai* > PK: *tangɣariɣ-tai*. In NG(JBF1) the words *nereṯü*, *cinaṯu* and *erkeṯü* (only one case in the text for the latter) are written with the use of the combination of the "loop" and the "tooth" to denote the medial "t/d" in front of the vowels. In the NG(PK) fragment such cases were not detected. The combination of the velar "q" and "i" is used only once in the correction in NG(JBF1): *qijaɣara* (in NG(PK) is given as *kijaɣar-a*).

   In general the repertoire and arrangement of works in NG(JBF1) is similar to the corresponding PK volumes. However, there are some distinctions that are to be mentioned below. The correlation between NG(JBF1) and PK is demonstrated in *Table 1*.[120]

Table 1

NG(JBF1)	Corresponds with the PK Nos.	Commentaries
Eldeb, *na*		
– ?	663	The beginning of Vol. *na* of the *Eldeb* section is absent in the extant NG(JBF1) fragment. Considering the fact that the initial text of the PK volume (No. 663) is also not mentioned in both NG(PK) and NG(HH), as well as the textual proximity of three catalogues, it is possible to suggest that it is also absent in NG(JBF1).
1–5	664–668	
Eldeb, *pa*		
1–6	669–674	
7	> 122, 126	The seventh text in the fragment of the catalogue, NG(JBF1) PA 7, does not have a counterpart in Vol. *pa*, *Eldeb* of PK — two duplicates of this text are contained in the Vols. *ja* and *nya* of the *Dandir-a* section (Nos. 122 and 126 correspondingly). Interestingly, in Tibetan Kanjur this text can be located in the *rGyud* section as part of the *Prajñā tantras* or in the *Shes rab sna tshogs* section as part of the minor *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Some Tibetan Kanjurs have duplicates of the text in both sections.[121] Apart from

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[120] The numbers of texts in PK are given according to KAS'IANENKO 1993. On the correspondence between the PK and Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur (Q) texts see USPENSKY 1997.
    [121] See HACKETT 2012, Nos. 37, 516.

		Vol. *pa*, *Eldeb* NG(PK) also marks the duplicate of the text in Vol. *ja*, of the *Dandir-a* section.[122] It also notes that during the translation from Tibetan into Mongolian small *Prajñāpāramitā* texts from the *Shes rab sna tshogs* section were mixed with other *sūtras* and placed in the *Eldeb* section of the Mongolian Kanjur.[123] It is possible that the *Naran-u gerel* catalogue reflects both the dichotomy of the text under consideration and the relocation of one of its duplicates to the *Eldeb* section.
8–18	675–685	Of them NG(JBF1) PA 17 (= PK No. 684) does not have a counterpart in the Tibetan Kanjurs of the *Tshal pa* group.[124]
Eldeb, *pha*		
1–7	686–692	Of them NG(JBF1) PHA 6 (= PK No. 691) is the translation of the *Ratnakūṭa* text different from the one included in the *Ratnakūṭa* section (= PK No. 583). The duplicates of this text are included in several Kanjurs of the *Them spangs ma* group. For example, the Ulaanbaatar Kanjur also has its duplicate in Vol. *pha* of the *mDo sde* section.[125]
–	693	The eighth text in the PK volume is absent in both NG(JBF1) and NG(PK), but indicated in NG(HH).[126]
8–15	694–701	Of them NG(JBF1) PHA 13 (= PK No. 699), unidentified by V.L. Uspenskii,[127] is the counterpart of Q No. 850. Its substantially edited version is included in MK.[128] NG(JBF1) PHA 14 (= PK No. 700) is similarly placed in the *mDo sde* section in the Kanjurs of the *Them spangs ma* group; in Q it has two duplicates, Nos. 718 and 1040 placed in the *rGyud* and *'Dul ba* sections correspondingly.[129]
Eldeb, *ba*		
1–2	702–703	

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[122] KASʼIANENKO 1987, 173, 181.

[123] KASʼIANENKO 1987, 178. The list of the texts and their location see in ALEKSEEV 2015, 220.

[124] For its counterparts in the *Them spangs ma* Kanjurs see RKTS https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=851 <last visited 02.08.2018>.

[125] See RKTS https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=78.

[126] See ERDENIČILAɣU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 198 No. 72–08.

[127] USPENSKY 1997, 143 No. 699.

[128] LIGETI 1942–1944, No. 938.

[129] RKTS https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=1097.

3	> 792	NG(JBF1) BA3 does not have a counterpart in PK, *Eldeb*, Vol. *ba*. It is located in Vol. *ya* of the *Eldeb* section (No. 792). NG(PK) places the text both into *Eldeb*, *ba* and *ya*.[130] NG(HH) mentions this text only in the *ya* volume.[131]
4–16	704–717	Of them PK Nos. 713 and 714 do not have identifiable counterparts in Q. NG(JBF1) BA 15 corresponds with PK Nos. 715 and 716.[132] In the "standard" Tibetan editions of the Kanjur these texts, as well as PK No. 717, are included in the Danjur.[133]
17	–	NG(JBF1) BA 17 does not have an identifiable counterpart in PK. It is presented in both manuscript catalogues with some minor variant readings as the *Ary-a avalokita isvari-yin maγtaγal*, but absent in NG(HH). The text, possibly, can be a translation of one of the prayers to Avalokiteśvara (Skr. *stotra*, Tib. *bstod pa*) located in the Danjur (considering the use of the genitive in the Mongolian translation of the title, most probably, Q 3554 or 3561).[134]
–	718–719	PK No. 718 is a *stotra* from the Danjur (Q 3533).[135] Both texts are included in NG(HH).[136]
18–19	possibly, 720–721	Have no identifiable counterparts in Q.[137]
–	722	The text is also absent in NG(HH). Has no identifiable counterparts in Q.[138]
20	–	NG(JBF1) No. 20 does not have a counterpart in PK and is included only in the block-printed edition of the Mongolian Kanjur.[139] Absent in NG(HH).

[130] For the classification and location of this text in the Tibetan Kanjurs see HACKETT 2012, No. 294.

[131] ERDENIČILAγU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 201 No. 83–03.

[132] In NG(JBF1) these texts are also presented separately ERDENIČILAγU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 198 Nos. 73–14, 73–15.

[133] See USPENSKY 1997, 143.

[134] See SUZUKI 1962, 381–382. Interestingly a short prayer to Avalokiteśvara was discovered among the tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang. As noted by T. Dalton and S. van Schaik: "This prayer is not similar to any of the Avalokiteśvara *stotra* texts in the *Bstan 'gyur*" DALTON, VAN SCHAIK 2006, 41.

[135] The text is missing in the main part of the V. L. Uspenskii's *Concordance* but mentioned in the *Index*. USPENSKY 1997, 159.

[136] ERDENIČILAγU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 198 Nos. 73–17, 73–18.

[137] USPENSKY 1997, 144.

[138] USPENSKY 1997, 144.

[139] LIGETI 1942–1944, No. 1079. See the classification and position of the text in the Tibetan Kanjurs in HACKETT 2012, No. 337.

21	723	
Eldeb, *ma*		
1–3	724–726	
–	727	Present in NG(HH).[140]
4–8	728–732	
9	733?	Only one word is left on the folio from the next title, NG(JBF1) No. 9. Judging by NG(PK) and NG(HH) the text possibly correlates with PK No. 733.

The discovery of the *Naran-u Gerel* fragment among the folios of the Dzungar Kanjurs in the library of IOM, RAS and its textual proximity to the manuscript preserved in the St. Petersburg State University Library prove that NG(PK) was not a single copy of the catalogue representing some preliminary draft of the Ligdan's recension of the Mongolian Kanjur, as it was previously believed. In general both NG(JBF1) and NG(PK) duplicate the structure of the volumes *na*, *pa*, *pha*, *ba* and *ma* of the *Eldeb* section in PK and other manuscript copies of the Mongolian Kanjur. This observation possibly indicates that the structure of Ligdan's recension, which still remains a conundrum for the scholars,[141] was not that random. Some differences between the catalogues and the complete manuscript Kanjur sets probably reflect different stages of Kanjur formation in both the Tibetan and Mongolian cultural worlds. Some of these structural peculiarities that also occur in the Tibetan Kanjurs of the *Them spangs ma* group possibly point at an archaic Tibetan source or sources that were used when the Mongolian Kanjur was created in the 17th c.

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[140] ERDENIČILAγU, ŠONGQOR 2013, 198 No. 74–04.

[141] On the structure of the Mongolian manuscript Kanjur see ALEKSEEV 2015, 213–222.

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Zhuangsheng

The Development of Sibe Ethnic Awareness: With Special Consideration of the Sibe People of the Ili River Basin

Abstract: In the sixteenth century, the Sibe people emerged as a unique ethnic group, and they remained a unique ethnic group after their migration to the Ili River basin. In the Republic of China, a time when many ethnic systems were created, the Sibe gained official recognition for being an independent ethnic group. Although the creation of a written script is an act of ethnic construction, the Sibe written language could never break free of its close relation to the Manchu written language. The construction of ethnic groups and the creation of written scripts stimulated vigorous development of ethnic histories compiled by the Sibe scholars, and it is their textual research of ethnic origin that best illustrates the birth of this new ethnic group.
Key words: ethnic groups, the Sibe people, the Sibe script, ethnic history, the Jurchen people.

During the Emperor Qianlong's reign in the years 1757 and 1759, the Qing government respectively pacified both the Junghar Amoursana's revolt and the revolt of the Altishahr Khojas in the area south of the Tianshan. The following year saw the establishment of a yamen for the General of Ili, to serve the military and general affairs of Xinjiang. Although Ili was both a nomadic and agricultural center during the period of the Junghar rule, its population had been reduced by the long-lasting war. The first General of Ili, Mingrui 明瑞, thus placed special consideration to the borderland area of Ili as a point of strategic significance. For the established border posts — the *karun* — he demanded a replacement of the armed forces and requested

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more garrison officers. The central government continued to dispatch troops belonging to such ethnicities as the Manchu, Cahar Mongol, Solon, the Sibe and soon. In 1764, two groups of the Sibe soldiers were dispatched along with their wives and children from the Mukden area. In the seventh month of the following year, they arrived to the Suiding area of Ili, where the Ili general temporarily arranged for them to rest and reorganize in Uhalik. Not long after that, they settled down in the agricultural plains on the southern bank of the Ili River. The general of Ili then divided those Sibe soldiers into 6 *niru* to efficiently administer them, and later for efficient administration another two *niru* were added to make a Sibe "Eight Banners" that would later become the Sibe camp.[1]

1. Reform of the Writing System

The Sibe have always been a distinct group from the time they began appearing in the Ming-Qing historical materials of the 16th c. They are distinguished as the "Sibe tribe" (Ma. sibe aiman) or "cie-p'i 諸備 졍삥"[2] in Manchu and Korean historical materials. During the Kangxi period, the eastward expansion of Russian forces gave rise to the need for increased fortifications in the northeast. In 1692, the central government provided funds for the Sibe troops under the jurisdiction of the Khorchin Mongol nobility. They were assigned to the Manchu Eight Banners and placed for garrison duty respectively in such places as Qiqihar, Bedune and Girin Ula. At that time, the Sibe were described as an independent group in the same way as peoples such as the Guwalca and Dahūr.[3] Although they were all recognized as independent groups, the Qing government divided the Manchus into the two large groups of "Old Manchus" and "New Manchus". Those tribes who belonged to what was once called the "Cooked Jurchen" 熟女真 were incorporated into the "Old Manchus", and the "Raw Jurchens" 生女真 who were distinguished from the "Cooked Jurchens" were all incorporated into the "New Manchus" upon being included in the Eight Banners. This gave rise to the two large groups of Manchus, and of course, the Sibe were affiliated with the "New Manchus". After their migration to Ili, those Sibe were referred to in Manchu as "*Ili i Sibe aiman* (the Sibe tribe of Ili), or in Chi-

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[1] WU and ZHAO 2008, 58–60; CHENGZHI 2012, 257–268.

[2] SIN 1940. On the research of the *Geonju gijeong dogi* 建州紀程圖記, see INABA 1937; INABA 1939; I 1954; MITAMURA 1965, 400–443; On the study of the interpretation of *cie-p'i* 諸備, see WADA 1959, 650; MASUI 2007, 70; ZHUANGSHENG 2014, 431.

[3] WU and ZHAO 2008, 38–48; KUZUNOKI 2009, 191–262.

nese as the *Xibo ying* 錫伯營 (the Sibe camp), or the *Xibo buluo* 錫伯部落 (the Sibe tribe)".[4]

Apart from the Qing government also recognized the existence of the Mongol, Tibetan and Hui ethnicities. Although the Qing dynasty advocated a high social position for the Manchus as rulers, on a cultural level they respected the independence of other ethnicities. As for the question of whether or not the Sibe had their own independent culture, we can refer to a memorial from the 22nd day of the 4th month of the 34th year of the Qianlong period from Henglu 恒祿 and others describing the circumstances of the Eight Banner Manchu, Mongolian, and Han officers and soldiers: "Concerning the Manchu language, the officers and soldiers of the new Manchu Sibe and the Mongolian tribes who are either proficient, have a rough understanding, or have no ability in Manchu cannot be equal. Among the soldiers of the Old Manchu and the Hanjun, there are those who can speak and comprehead manchu, yet there are many who cannot speak or understand the language". Again, Henglu memorialized on the twenty second day of the ninth month of the thirty ninth year of the Qianlong period: "I tried using spoken Manchu with officers and soldiers when inspecting the navies of Gaizhou, Xiongyue, Fuzhou, southern Jinzhou, and Lüshun — those like the Sibe and so on could all speak Manchu, and though a few of the others were making progress in speaking and understanding, still many could not speak or understand Manchu".[5] In addition, according to the records from the 25th day of the 10th month of the 11th year of the Yongzheng period: "Of the fifty stationed troops in Xiong County, except for the armored Sibe soldiers none of them could speak Manchu".[6] Although we can see that the Sibe were referred to as an independent group, there was no difference between them and the Old Manchus regarding linguistic culture. In 1869, the German born Russian turkologist Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff conducted a survey of the language, religion, and social life of the Sibe living in the Ili river basin — and he considered the Sibe language to be a colloquial version of Manchu. In 1906, while he was a student of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University, Fedor V. Muromskiĭ went to the Sibe settlement in Ili to study the Sibe language in the third and sixth *niru*. He studied the spoken Sibe language and clarified its relationship to the written Manchu language. He made

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[4] *Zhongyang yangjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo cang ming qing dang'an* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所藏明清檔案 [Ming and Qing archives at the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica], 157289-001, 171369-001, 174647-001.

[5] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 49.

[6] WU and ZHAO 2008, 283.

three primary conclusions: 1) There was no difference between the Manchu written language and Beijing Manchu; 2) The official Sibe language and the language used by Sibe intellectuals were similar; 3) The discrepancy in the language used by uneducated Sibe and the written Sibe language was rather significant.[7] Obviously, he found a discrepancy between the written and spoken Sibe language. When Nurhaci unified the Jurchen peoples, he emphasized: "From the east of the Ming and all the way west until the coast, north of Korea and south of Mongolia, that year all of the various kingdoms of the Jurchen were conqured".[8] The Jurchen language spoken there later became the Manchu language, and of course, the territory indicated by Nurhaci included the area of the Sibe tribe.

Tatiana Pang points out that after the Sibe had migrated to Ili, they emphasized their linguistic superiority in comparison to that the of Old Manchu's: "In the thirtieth year of the Qianlong reign, the Sibe set out from the northeast with Solon and even some Manchu to the Ili river valley. In the beginning, our lives were exceedingly difficult and we even suffered unfair treatment and humiliation from the Manchu. We called them the 'Old Manchu'. They were all high-ranking officials. The Manchus were harmed by their use of opium, for they had forgotten their ancestral language and traditions. We Sibe people worked hard in the fields. We were without epidemic disease and our population grew. We have schools which require writing and reading of the Manchu language, and our most talented children also study Chinese. All positions which require Manchu are undertaken by the Sibe".[9] Clearly, the Sibe were often discriminated against by the Old Manchu. This is the 1899 record of Bališan (1847–1908), who worked at the Russian consulate in Ili.[10] From this record we can see that the Manchu who lived in the Ili area at that time could not really speak their native language. This was a problem throughout all the Manchu Eight Banner garrisons. In 1907 Hino Tsutomu 日野強 was dispatched by the Japanese military to Ili for an investigation and mentioned a similar question in his 1909 *Iri kikō* 伊犁紀行 (Ili travel notes): "Now Manchu language and customs have been completely Sinicized; these who speak their native language are very few".[11] However, the Sibe residing in the Sibe camp of the Ili river basin were completely dif-

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[7] YAHONTOV 2009, 278.
[8] *Manwen yuandang* 滿文原檔 [Original Manchu archives], 1: 293; *Manzhou shilu* 滿洲實錄 [Manchu memoir], 6: 280.
[9] PANG 2011, 430–434.
[10] YAHONTOV 2009, 276–278.
[11] HINO 1909, 77.

ferent. Not only did they use their superior language skills to hold the Manchu language government positions, they also continued traditional Manchu language education at their schools. Clearly, when the Sibe criticized the Manchus as rulers for having already forgotten their traditional language and culture, the cultural superiority they spoke of wis in the Manchu language.

From 1864 to 1871, the rebellion of Dungans and Taranchins in Ili erupted, and that soon after brought ten years of Russian occupation to the area. At that time the ahung of Dungans said to a Sibe garrison commander: "The Dungan people are revolting because we truly cannot stand the pressure of the Han and Manchu, and we will not drop our weapons until there are no more Manchu or Han Chinese in the Ili region. Yet as for the Sibe people, we will not interfere with them".[12] Here it is evident that the Sibe were distinguished from Han Chinese and Manchu. From that they were able to reconcile and avoid any ethnic persecution from the Taranchi people. After the Russians had occupied Ili, the Ili region was divided into northern and southern areas. The Sibe camp was signed to the southern area and its total population was 2,449 households.[13] In the year of 1877, the total population was 18,321, among whom were 9,305 men and 9,016 women.[14] Clearly, at that time there was no great disparity in the ratio between men and women.

In 1911, when the Chinese Revolution had already brought the collapse of the Qing dynasty, the original system of the Sibe camp continued and was abolished only in 1938.[15] In the year 1909, Hino Tsutomu 日野強 in his *Iri kikō* 伊犁紀行 (Ili travel notes) recorded that the Ili region was divided into 6 ethnicities: "Turbaned Muslims, Kazakh, Hui, Han Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian" Among them, "the Manchu have immigrated from Manchuria to Ili and Tarbaghatay Prefecture and they were garrison troops responsible for opening up wasteland and growing food grain. Yet those called the Manchu are only those from the Changbai Mountain region, those who emigrated from the Shenyang region were called the Sibe, and those from the Heilongjiang area were called the Solon.[16] Clearly, the Sibe and the Solon were both parts of the greater Manchu ethnic group. Although Hino Tsutomu knew through his fieldwork that the Sibe lived on the left bank of the Ili river, he did not regard them as an independent ethnic group. This kind of distinction is in fact the same as the Qing ethnic distinction.

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[12] BALIŠAN 2010, 269.
[13] NODA 2009, 161–163.
[14] HINO 1909, 77.
[15] WU and ZHAO 2008, 87.
[16] HINO 1909, 60–63.

In the 1927–1928 period, young Sibe intellectuals who had returned from studying in the Soviet Union such as Yi Hualu 伊華陸, developed new plans for the Sibe characters using the Latin alphabet. Although the Qing had already been overthrown for many years at that time, a special historical reason allowed the Sibe to continue to live in banner camps with their old guard position still taking a dominant position. Under a continuous banner life, the Sibe were limited in their understanding of the outside world; the Sibe had not yet received a new Latin alphabet. Thus, this romanization proposal could not be carried out, and the project was quickly abandoned.[17] Clearly before the establishment of the General Promotion Association of Sibe, Solon, and Manchu Culture — a proposal of young Sibe intellectuals, who were influenced by new cultural ideas, to modernize the Manchu script had begun. Even though this proposal has never been carried out, that plan of script reform still allows us to see that the Sibe people wanted to culturally separate from the Manchu culture. This also means that with the foundations of a unique cultural system, the Sibe had the goal of constructing themselves as a unique group.

After the 1911 Chinese Revolution, the soldiers of the Eight Banners were disbanded, and the garrison system was abolished, which has created favorable conditions for the bannermen and soldiers who lived in China Proper and Beijing to participate in labor and manufacturing. Even though the *Guanyu Man Meng Hui Zang gezu daiyu zhi tiaojian* 關於滿、蒙、回、藏各族待遇之條件 (Conditions for the Treatment of Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan Ethnicities) clearly regulated these peoples "be equal with Han Chinese" and even though the Republic of China promoted the slogan of the 'Harmony of the Five Peoples', the fact says that the Revolution could not reasonably solve ethnic problems. Many bannermen concealed their identity to survive, that was especially the case for the Manchus who nearly all hid their identity by changing their nationalities and names to these of Han Chinese.[18] Yet in 1936, under the Russian control, the ethnic groups of Xinjiang were subjected to new methods of Sheng Shicai's 盛世才 governance, and the Soviet method of dividing ethnic groups was employed. This new method of Soviet Russian governance was aimed at splitting and supporting Central Asian ethnic groups in the way of classification: on the one hand, it brought particularly distinct ethnic group boundaries; on the other hand, it fostered the development of culture and education to the greatest extent. At

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[17] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 350.
[18] LIU 2011, 169–171.

that time, there were fourteen ethnic groups in Xinjiang including Uyghur, Han Chinese, Hui (Dungan Hui), Kazakh, Mongolian, Uzbek, Taranchins, Tatar, Tajik, Kirgiz, Sibe, Solon, and Manchu.[19] Although Sheng Shicai recognized Sibe as an independent ethnic group, from a linguistic cultural perspective, they still could not be distinguished from the Manchu. The Manchu languages included the Sibe language, the Solon language, and the Manchu language. In order to develop the ethnic culture of each group, the improvement of their cultural level by education was important. Therefore, Sheng Shicai put forth the first method by which the components of the ethnic groups would be united together, establishing cultural promotion associations for each group, among those groups was the General Promotion Association of Sibe, Solon, and Manchu Culture.[20] Undoubtedly, the Sibe, Solon, and Manchu groups were still culturally and linguistically united at a time even though they were unique ethnic groups.

After 1937, the General Promotion Association of Sibe, Solon, and Manchu Culture was primarily undertaken by An Ziying 安子英. That period was the most influential and effective period in the development of the cultural association. An Ziying can be said to be a very talented and active figure amongst Sibe intellectuals in modern times. Being a man from the Huocheng Solon camp, he was one of the first batch of students to study abroad in the Soviet Union during the period of Sheng Shicai 盛世才. He was full of linguistic skills, knowing Chinese, Russian, and the Uyghur language. In 1938, An Ziying studied the unique characteristics of the Sibe language in depth. Then, he diligently studied the Latin alphabet and used innovative way to alphabetize the Sibe language. He earned sympathy and support from many in the cultural association at that time, also gained the approval of the government and compiled textbooks in that new alphabet for Sibe elementary school students. These textbooks were sent to Sibe primary schools and popularized, which has also made some achievement in practice. Yet with the change in Xinjiang's political situation, a group of progressive youths led by An Ziying were arrested and brutally murdered, and the work to form a new Sibe alphabet also died prematurely at this time.[21] The second plan to reform the writing system was different from the first, for this time to plan preceded under conditions whereby the Sibe were already recognized as an independent ethnic group. Yet due to the changes

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[19] ZHANG 1980, 3446.

[20] ZHANG 1980, 3447–3448.

[21] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 350. Besides, see XUELIN 1998.

in the political situation, this second plan to reform the Sibe writing system ended in nothing.

In 1947, the third attempt to reform the Sibe writing system finally established the position of the Sibe written language. It was from this time that the Sibe people began to refer to their own spoken language and writing as the spoken Sibe and Sibe writing.[22] For the first time the Sibe language appeared in the arena of history with a new look, and this marked a turning point whereby the Sibe language and writing system were universally recognized. With this reform, the famous Sibe scholars Ujala Saracun 兀扎拉·薩拉春 and Guo Jinan 郭基南 compiled the first new Sibe language textbook which was used in all Sibe schools. Saracun also wrote the first *Xibowen wenfa* 錫伯文文法 (Grammar of the Sibe language).[23] This third language reform was carried out on the basis of the Manchu written language: it was only slightly changed to formulate the Sibe alphabet. It was not at all the same as the plans for the Latin alphabetization of the Sibe language.[24] In discussing the new writing system, the meeting records of the Three-district Cultural and Educational Bureau 三區文教所 stated: "the education of the teaching staff is carried out under the policies of the highest authorities, and these methods of vocational study as well as how to manage student life are researched together by new and senior teachers. The new script is used for study whether in the humanities or the sciences".[25] It is clear that in 1957 the schools of Cabcal County of Ili used the new Sibe script for education. Moreover, at that time the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Language Research Institute also compiled the *Xin Xibowen jiaocai* 新錫文教材 (Textbook for the new Sibe script) which was stored by the Archives Bureau of Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County.

The fourth reform of the script was based on the policy of the China State Council whereby ethnic minorities would base their new scripts on the Roman alphabet. In 1958, the original Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Minority Language Research Committee assembled a conference which included participating researchers of all of the various ethnic groups in accordance with the document no. 85 of the China State Council of 1957. The meeting issued a draft of a plan for writing reform whereby ethnic minority

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[22] Hu 1980, 7.

[23] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 350.

[24] On the similarities and differences between Manchu and Sibe languages, see Wang 1963.

[25] *Wenjiao huiyi jilu (Sanqu)* 文教會議記錄(三區) [Records of the meeting of culture and education (Three-district)], September 25, 1957. Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County Archive.

groups such as the Uyghur, Kazakh, Kirgiz, and Sibe would base their new writing systems on the Latin script, and this was given to the relevant authorities and specialists for discussion. After that various meetings were organized in minority regions, such as Cabcal, to collect opinions on such changes of written languages from people of all levels of society. A draft was then submitted in June of 1959 to use the Latin alphabet as the basis for a *Xibo Xin wenzi fangan* 錫伯新文字方案 (Plan for the new Sibe script). On August 29, 1960, two opinions were raised at the meeting in the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County on the Sibe written language. The first opinion was that the Sibe script should be reformed on the basis of the Scheme for *Hanyu Pinyin* (Chinese Phonetic Alphabet); the other opinion was that the current Sibe language would not be able to adjust to the needs of the new situation and had already completed its historical role. This second opinion was considered the fact that the vast majority of the Sibe people at that time had a grasp of the Chinese language, and that there was no need to create another script, as Chinese language and writing could be the tool of Sibe communication. In 1962, the Cabcal County followed the instructions approved by the higher authorities in which the Sibe would simply adopt the Chinese script and writing as their tool of communication, and the Sibe language should be used as a language for the transition period. Besides, the Cabcal County also instructed its education departments to organize manpower to compile new Sibe language textbooks for elementary education in accordance with the actual situation of Sibe elementary schools. Yet, there was no specific implementation of this instruction due to the influence of political circumstances.[26]

2. The Writing of Ethnohistory

On June 2, 1931, the Nanjing National Government issued the *Shezhiju zuzhi tiaoli* 設治局組織條例 (Regulations on the organization of government offices), stipulating that the various provinces which did not have county-level administration could establish temporary government offices which would in time be reformed to county jurisdiction. The establishment and abolition of these government offices and the division of regions were done in the same way as new counties. The provincial government would draft a plan to consult the Ministry of the Interior and the Executive Yuan which would transfer the plan to the National Government for approval of the Ministry of Works. These government offices would have one director to

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[26] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 350–351.

Pl. 1: Henan County Government Seal (GUAN and GUAN 2009)

be appointed by recommendation of the civil affairs department who would promote qualified personnel. The director would be assigned by the council of the provincial government who would reach a decision after deliberation and report this to the Ministry of the Interior for record. Under the command and supervision of the provincial government, these offices would handle all administrative affairs within the area. Within the scope of not contravening the central and provincial decrees, these government offices could issue bureaucratic orders and establish separate rules. This system of the government offices continued throughout the Republic of China period with a total of a hundred and fifty-four administration bureaus established in nineteen provinces, of which the four provinces with the most number of these offices were Heilongjiang with thirty-two, Xinjiang with twenty-eight, Yunnan with seventeen, and Qinghai with thirteen.[27] Those offices established in Xinjiang included the Henan Administration Bureau whose predecessor was the Sibe camp. In 1937, the Sibe camp area was separated from Yining County to be set as the Henan Administration Bureau. This area was located south of the Ili river, so the government office established there was named Henan meaning "south of the river". In the 28th year of the Republic of China, Henan County was set up. (see Pl. 1) Then it was renamed Ningxi County in the

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[27] FU and ZHENG 2007, 101–105.

33rd year of the Republic of China, because it shared the same name as He-nan Province.[28] In the Three-district revolutionary period, it was renamed Sumul County, and the old name of Ningxi County was restored at the end of 1949. In 1950, the People's Congress of All Ethnic Groups and All Levels of Society was convened in Ningxi County and the Ningxi County People's Government was established.[29]

On September 9, 1952, the second meeting of the first session of the People's Congress of All Ethnic Groups and All Levels of Society in Xinjiang established the Preparatory Meeting for the Implementation of Regional Ethnic Minority Autonomy in Xinjiang Province in accordance with the opinions and requirements of the *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo minzu quyu zizhi shishi gangyao* 中華人民共和國民族區域自治實施綱要 (Implementation outline of ethnic regional autonomy in the People's Republic of China). Among them, the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County is the only autonomous county in Ili Prefecture as well as the only in all of China. In June of 1953, the Xinjing People's Government Committee and representatives of various ethnic minority groups met at an enlarged meeting to confirm that Ningxi would become a county-level Sibe autonomous region. On December 25th of that same year, this county established the Preparatory Committee for Regional Ethnic Minority Autonomy and Shatuo 沙陀 (a Sibe) was assigned as director of this committee.[30] On January 20, 1954, the Preparatory Committee for Regional Ethnic Minority Autonomy of Ningxi County convened its first conference. The conference was directed by Shatuo and the primary proposal was: "From the beginning of March this year, our county will be established as a county-level autonomous region which is dominated by the Sibe people and includes other ethnic minorities. Autonomous regions for ethnic minorities were a fundamental Marxist-Leninist policy used by Chairman Mao to solve China's ethnic minority problem. China was a country of many ethnic minorities, and in Xinjiang alone there are thirty ethnic minorities including Uyghur, Kazakh, Han Chinese, Hui, Kirgiz, Mongolian, Russian, Uzbek, Tajik, Sibe, Tatar, Manchu, etc. Ningxi County alone has dozens of various ethnic groups of which the Uyghur are the most numerous contributing to seventy-eight percent of the total population; the Kazakh account for ten percent of the population; the

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[28] FU and ZHENG 2007, 495.

[29] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 192.

[30] *Zhongguo Gongchandang Yili Hasake zizhizhou jianshi (1939.3–2001.3)* 中國共產黨伊犁哈薩克自治州簡史 (1939.3–2001.3) [A brief history of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture of the Communist Party of China (1939.3–2001.3)], 114–116.

Han Chinese account for five percent of the population; the Hui account for two point three percent of the population; the Kirgiz account for one point three percent of the population; the Mongolian account for one point two percent of the population; and the other ethnic groups including Russian, Uzbek, Tajik, Sibe, Tatar, Solon, and Manchu altogether account for less than one percent of the total population. Xinjiang has established eight autonomous regions for the various ethnicities, among which the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region is controlled directly by the Central People's Government. Its three special regions, namely Ili, Tarbaghatay, and Ashan established an autonomous region dominated by the Kazak ethnic group. The autonomous regions for other ethnic groups such as Kirgiz, Mongolian, and Hui, are all directly controlled by the People's Government of Autonomous Region of Xinjiang Province; there is also an autonomous region created for the Tajik and Solon ethnic groups; the Sibe autonomous region belongs to Ili and Ningxi County established a county-level autonomous region dominated by the Sibe ethnic group".[31]

On September 2, 1954, the Ili United Front Work Department of the prefectural party committee of Ili proposed a change to the name of Ningxi County: "Concerning the question of the naming of the Sibe autonomous region in Ningxi County, and through the consultation of the Sibe cadre at Urumqi, the overwhelming majority believe that it is appropriate to change the name of Ningxi to Cabcal, as this is the largest irrigation channel in Ningxi County and is also the great canal with a long history of one hundred and forty or fifty years which the Sibe have personally dug out since their migration to Xinjiang from the northeast. This name (Cabcal) is a portmanteau of two Sibe words: 'cabu' which means the most delicious food, and 'calu' which means a granary storehouse. They chose this name because the excavation of this canal was truly the Sibe's economic lifeline. So, please consider this name, and report your decision to us after the local Sibe party cadres and the masses have thought about it. Sub-branch of the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (United Front Work Department No. 43)".[32] Here we can see that when consulted about a name change for Ningxi County in the Sibe autono-

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[31] *Dui minzu quyu zizhi yingyou de renshi* 對民族區域自治應有的認識 [Required understanding of regional ethnic autonomy], January 20, 1954. Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County Archive.

[32] *Guanyu Ningxixian Xibozu zizhiqu de mingcheng wenti* 關於寧西縣錫伯族自治區的名稱問題 [On the name of Sibe Autonomous Region in Ningxi County], February 9, 1954. Ili Prefecture Achieve.

mous region, the Sibe living in Urumqi all thought it suitable for the name to be changed to "Cabcal". This is because Cabcal was the canal which the Sibe used for the development of agriculture after migrating to the southern side of the Ili river. They even took the time to explain the meaning of the name. Clearly, their explanation of this name is not entirely correct. According to the records in *Xiyu shuidao ji* 西域水道記 ("Records of the Waterways of the Western Regions"): "In the thirtieth year of the Qianlong reign, a thousand and ten Sibe officers and soldiers migrated from Shengjing to the southern bank of the Ili river. In the past there was a canal which was several *li* away from the river. The north side of the canal was narrow and lacked good fields; the south side of the canal was blocked by cliffs and lacked water. In the early Jiaqing period, a member of the Sibe tribe, Tubet, was the first to propose that water be drawn from the mouth of the Cabcal mountain. A canal was chiseled from the mountain cliff, and it stretched for two hundred *li*".[33] From the map drafted in the *Xiyu shuidao ji*, we can determine the location of Mt. Cabcal, which is near the Cabcal water inlet. From this we know that the Cabcal canal got its name from this mountain. In fact, Cabcal comes from a Mongolian word *cabciyal* which means "being precipitous or a deep valley". Its meaning has nothing to do with the Sibe words for a granary storehouse or the most delicious food.

On March 17, 1954, Ningxi County convened the first People's Congress. This conference decided to abandon the old name of Ningxi County and changed the name to "Cabcal Sibe Autonomous Region",[34] which is also called the "Cabcal Sibe Ethnic Group Autonomous Region". In February, 1955, the Xinjiang People's Government published edicts on the division of administrative districts according to the constitution. Those places which were department-level or special-district level autonomous regions became autonomous prefectures, while those autonomous places which were county-level became autonomous counties. Those places which were only the size of a district or town became known as minority towns. These People's Governments of autonomous prefectures, autonomous counties, and minority towns were all changed to the People's Committees. From November of that year, according to a directive of the People's Committee of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the Ili Kazak Ethnic Group Autonomous Prefecture

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[33] XU 1966, 4:18.

[34] *Xibozu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯族簡史簡志合編 [Compilations of brief history and gazetteer of the Sibe] (draft), 26. This book states that the name of the new county was "Cabcal Sibe Ethnic Group Autonomous County", but the actual new name was "Cabcal Sibe Autonomous Region People's Government", not an autonomous county.

would no longer use the Chinese character "*zu* 族" (ethnic group), and they would be known simply as the Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture. At the same time, the other ethnic group autonomous areas at various levels also dropped the character for "*zu*".[35] From the above documents which have formed since the Ningxi County was built, there was always a delay in the time it took for the official government seal to change in reflecting the new official name. The Uyghur which reflects the Chinese of "*Ningxi Xian renmin zhengfu yin* 寧西縣人民政府印" is "سومول ناحىيەلىك خەلق حكومەت تامغاسى" (Ch: *Sumu'er renmin zhengfu yin* 蘇木爾縣人民政府印). Clearly, the Uyghur language still used the Three-district Revolution's old name (see Pl. 2). On January 27, 1955, the State Council issued the *Guanyu guojia jiguan yinchang de guiding* 關於國家機關印章的規定 (Regulations on the seals of national organizations). In 1956, the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County, in accordance with the spirit of the original Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region People's Committee's "Notice on the Production and Issuance of Government Stamps of Different Levels", inspected and revised the stamps and seals of government offices at all levels of the whole county.[36]

On March 18, 1954, the first People's Congress held in the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous Region submitted the ten great proposals, including those on such topics as agriculture, water conservation, medical care, culture and education. Among these, the Article No. 11 concerning culture and education states that: "Other ethnic groups all have handed down complete records of their ethnic histories which are convenient for them to study and research. Yet, up to now the Sibe have no complete history. Please organize special groups to collect historical materials, so that we will be able to teach the history of

Pl. 2:Ningxi County People's Government Seal
(Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County Archive)

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[35] *Zhongguo Gongchandang Yili Hasake zizhizhou jianshi (1939.3–2001.3)* 中國共產黨伊犁哈薩克自治州簡史 (1939.3–2001.3) [A brief history of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture of the Communist Party of China (1939.3–2001.3)], 119–120. However, of the essays introducing the minority autonomous county in 1957, Cabcal was still called the "Cabcal Sibe Ethnic Group Autonomous County". When the word "ethnic group" (Ch: *zu* 族) was officially removed from the name remains to be verified. See HUANG 1957.

[36] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 407.

our people".[37] In the twelfth month of the twenty-seventh year of the Guangxu period (1901), during a time when the provincial scholars of China were concerned with current affairs, many of them went to to study at the universities in other countries.[38] In the twenty-eighth year of the Guangxu period, the General of Ili selected and appointed more than ten Sibe students to go to Almaty for study, and after they completed their education, they returned to China greatly contributing to Chinese-Russian diplomatic affairs. Among these students going abroad was Ujala Saracun 兀扎拉·薩拉春 (1885–1960), of the Plain White Banner Sibe camp, who wrote *Xibowen wenfa* 錫伯文文法 (Grammar of the Sibe language). After he returned to China in 1914, he and some progressive intellectuals in Sibe camp organized cultural groups such as Shangxue Association 尚學會 and Qicheng Association 期成會, initiated educational reform, and advocated for modern Western learning.[39] In 1924, Saracun became the leader of the Sibe camp, and in 1926 he took the post as consul of the Chinese embassy in Soviet Almaty (Kazakhstan), a position which he kept for four years. In 1936, he again took a post at the Chinese embassy in Andijian (Uzbekistan). Not only did Saracun have rich experience in such fields as education, society, politics, he also was among those who worked for the third Sibe script reform. This is the Sibe script which is currently used. In 1946, Saracun also founded the Manchu language newspaper, *Ziyou zhi sheng bao* 自由之聲報 (Voice of freedom) which was the previous incarnation of the current Sibe language newspaper, *Chabucha'er bao* 察布查爾報 (Cabcal newspaper). He even translated many works of foreign literature. Saracun made great contributions to the development of Sibe culture and education. By virtue of his overseas study experience, he later participated in politics, education and other activities. He was truly a person with great life experiences.

In fact, before the first People's Congress of Ningxi County, Ujala Saracun wrote the academic work, *Xibo minzu jianshi* 錫伯民族簡史 (A brief history of the Sibe) in 1953. He writes in the preface of this work, "In compiling a history of the Sibe, I carried on these following ideas. First, the history of the Sibe in Xinjiang can be divided into three historical periods. The first period would be from remote antiquity until the formation of the Qing dynasty; the second would be from the founding of the Qing dynasty to

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[37] *Chabucha'er Xibo zizhiqu diyijie renmin daibiao dahui ti'an* 察布查爾錫伯自治區第一屆人民代表大會提案 [Proposal of the First People's Congress of the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous Region], March 18, 1954. Cabcal Xibe Autonomous County Archive.

[38] *Daqing Dezong shilu* 大清德宗實錄 [Daqing Dezong memoir], 492: 9–10.

[39] *Xibozu baike quanshu* 錫伯族百科全書 [Encyclopedia of the Sibe people], 321.

the migration of the Sibe to Xinjiang, and the third would be from the migration of the Sibe to Xinjiang until the present. Second, the name 'Sibe' is not a name from antiquity but rather is a name which has undergone several variations before arriving at this present name. Therefore, it is necessary to combine the history of many ethnic groups from China's northeast, especially the history of Manchu, to understand Sibe history clearly. These thirty years I have collected many historical materials on the Sibe including such works as *Shiji* 史記 (Historical records), *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty), *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han dynasty), *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui dynasty), *Tangshu* 唐書 (History of the Tang dynasty), *Wudaishi* 五代史 (History of the Five dynasties), *Shengwuji* 聖武記 (Saint military records), *Baqi Manzhou shizu tongpu* 八旗滿洲氏族通譜 (The comprehensive genealogy of the Manchu families of the Eight Banners), Chinese history textbooks, the Japanese *Tōyō rekishi* 東洋歷史 (History of East Asia), Iwakichi Inaba's 稻葉岩吉 *Shinchō zensho* 清朝全史 (Complete history of the Qing dynasty), Russian language materials, old Sibe achieves, and conducted research on village songs, legends of Sibe elders, *Jinshi* 金史 (History of the Jin dynasty) and *Liaoshi* 遼史 (History of the Liao dynasty)".[40] He considered that, "although the Sibe are from the same origin as the Manchu, after they broke off with the Manchus, they preserved their original language and became a new Sibe ethnic group. Ethnic groups of the past went along with all the uncertainties of the world and lived by the principle to change whenever necessary following the constant change of culture and economy. The ancient Sibe (Xianbei 鮮卑) came to Ili in 1765 to establish themselves as an ethnic unit once more. With over two-hundred years of history they became a new Sibe ethnic group".[41] Clearly, Saracun believed that the Sibe and the Manchu came from the same origin. This is the same ethnic consciousness as found in the *Liubian jilüe* 柳邊紀略 (Brief records of willow borders) that the Manchu and the Sibe were the same ethnic group. Yet, the Sibe became a new ethnic group after migrating to Ili, and the ancient Sibe were the same as the Xianbei. He had some additional remarks on the origins of the Sibe people: "The Sibe language and script had a great advancement after they had moved to Ili. The Sibe language with a long history is from many Northeast ethnic groups who were termed Eastern Hu 東胡, such as the Sushen, Xianbei, Mohe, Fuyu, Jurchen, Jin…These were all passed down and greatly developed and were organized in the Qing. The

[40] UJALA 1953.
[41] UJALA 1953.

Sibe script is the same as the Manchu script".[42] Evidently, the system by which the Jurchens came from the Sushen and Xianbei could be traced linearly; their reciprocal origins were very clear. Thus, the Sibe were considered to be the descendants of Xianbei, and the Sibe script is the same as the Manchu script. Besides, by saying that there are no fundamental differences between these two languages, Saracun admitted that the Sibe script which was reformed in 1947 could also be considered as Manchu language. After this he pointed out: "Even though in modern times the Han chauvinists of the Nationalist Party regarded Sibe as a "dead language", as Sibe is the fundamental language of the Sibe people in Xinjiang, it has developed very fast in only the three short years since Xinjiang was liberated and the Xinjiang new Sibe language and culture has been led under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government. With the help of our other ethnic group brothers, we have had even more rapid development. During this time the Sibe have compiled such works as *Xibo wenfa* 錫伯文法 (Sibe grammar) and *Xiaoxue keben* 小學課本 (Elementary school textbook). At present Ili publishes Sibe language newspapers and several varieties of magazines, and aspects of the articles such as the content and spirit have broken free of their decaying outer shells and are in the process of embracing progressive thought. Therefore, the Sibe is clearly a singular ethnic unit with an independent language and culture in the process of development. Moreover, it can also be said that the new Sibe of Xinjiang are the preservers of the Eastern Hu lineage".[43] Saracun advocated that while the so-called "dead language" is referred to Manchu, not only did this language not become a dead language but rather became the language tool used by the new Sibe, an independent group, and continued to develop. He also emphasized that the new Sibe is only an ethnic group within a greater Manchu system, nothing more than a branch of the Jurchen. This is because later historians all considered that the ancestors of the Manchu were the Sushen, Yilou, Wuji, Mohe, and Jurchen.[44]

The Qing emperor Hong Taiji also recognized that the Sibe were the descendants of the Jurchen, for example: "Our country's name was originally Manchu, Hada, Ula, Yehe, and Hoifa. Those unclear of this call us Jurchen. The Jurchens are the descendants of the *Sibei coo mergen*, but what relation do they have to those like us? Henceforth all those who call our original

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[42] UJALA 1953.
[43] UJALA 1953.
[44] *Manzu jianshi* 滿族簡史 [A brief history of the Manchu], 1.

name of Manchu as Jurchen will be punished".[45] The Japanese scholar Shimada Konomu 島田好 analyzed this, pointing out: "The Manchu are the same as the Jurchen, which is a clear fact. Yet, Hong Taiji denied this reality. He made it a taboo to use the Qing's initial dynastic name of 'Jin' which was the same dynastic name used by the Jurchens in their twelfth century. Jin dynasty and therefore this dynastic name had to be altered. Yet, from this example we can see that both the Manchu and the Sibe are Jurchens".[46] Clearly, Hong Taiji changed the dynastic name because he was afraid of the fact that the Jurchen's "Jin dynasty" was the same name that the early Qing used. Of course, on the other hand it could not be ignored that Hong Taiji altered the dynastic name in order to avoid the meaning of the common people.

Ujala Saracun wrote on the cover of *Xibo minzu jianshi* 錫伯民族簡史 (A brief history of the Sibe), "consulted by secretary Lü, Prefectural Party Committee Department of Propaganda, March 23". This refers to the fact that Saracun operated through the inspection of the Ili Prefectural Party Committee Department of Propaganda; his books were thus passed on for approval by the then Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County party secretary Lü Xingying 呂興銀, who held this position from March 1950 to August 1955. So, the original manuscript was left behind in the county achieves. Because

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[45] *Manwen yuandang* 滿文原檔 [Original Manchu archives], 9: 408. Manchu original text: *(#juwan ilan de)(+tere inenggi:) han hendume musei gurun i gebu daci/ manju: hada. ula. yehe. hoifa kai: tere be ulhirakū niyalma jušen/ sembi: jušen serengge sibei coo mergen i hūncihin kai: tere/ muse de ai dalji: ereci julesi yaya niyalma musei gurun i /da manju sere gebu be hūla: jušen seme hūlaha de weile:* Translation: (The thirteenth) (+On that day) the Khan said, "The original names of our nation Manchu: Hada, Ula, Yehe, and Hoifa. People who do not know this call us Jurchens. These 'Jurchens' are blood relatives of the Sibe *coo mergen*. What relationship are they with us? From this onwards everybody will call our nation Manchu.Those that call us Jurchens will be punished". Another version in the *Manwen nei Guoshiyuan dang* 滿文內國史院檔 [Manchu archives of the Inner Historical Academy] of the First Historical Achieves of China is as follows: *tere inenggi sure han (#hendume) (+hese wasimbume) musei gurun i gebu daci manju. hada. ula. yehe. hoifa kai./ tere be ulhirakū niyalma jušen sembi: jušen serengge sibei coo mergen i hūncihin kai:/ tere muse de ai dalji: ereci julesi yaya niyalma musei gurun i da manju sere gebu be/ hūla: jušen seme hūlaha de weile sehe:* Translation: On that day Sure Han (Heavenly Wisdom) (#said) (+gave down an edict:) "the original names of our nation was Manchu, Hada, Ula, Yehe, and Hoifa. People who do not know this call us Jurchens. These 'Jurchens' are blood relatives of the Sibe *coo mergen*. What relationship are they with us? From this onwards everybody will call our nation Manchu. Those that call us Jurchens will be punished". On the Chinese text, see *Daqing Taizong shilu* 大清太宗實錄 [Daqing Taizong memoir], Chinese language (compiled in early Shunzhi period), 20: 46. On the research of the *coo mergen,* see ZHUANG SHENG 2014, 427–441.

[46] SHIMADA 1941, 1–2.

of a lack of historical materials we are unable to know what the results of this review for approval were. Nevertheless, on October 26, 1958, the Chinese Communist Party Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County Committee, together with the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County People's Committee and the Sibe Sub-division of the Investigation Team on Society and History of Xinjiang Ethnic Minority Group, gave the Sibe scholar Guan Xingcai 管興才 a message: "Now we are sending the historical parts of the compilations of history and gazetteer of the Sibe, *Chabucha'er Xibo zizhixian* 察布查爾錫伯自治縣 (Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County) and *Xibo minzu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯民族簡史簡志合編 (Compilations of Brief History and gazetteer of the Sibe) which are namely the first part of the first chapter, the second chapter and the forth chapter of the compilations of history and gazetteer. Please review them".[47] From this we can know that after Saracun submitted his manuscript, the county committee organized a special team to write two monographs. In the manuscript for soliciting advice, several important points on the review of the content were included. One of those was the question of "whether the ethnic origin was appropriate". In the end, it is impossible for us to know what advice Guan Xingcai had given them when solicited.

After the liberation of the entirety of China, there was a nationwide development of investigation and research work on the society and history of various ethnic minority groups. At the beginning of liberation, the major task was the work on ethnic classification. From the year 1956 until the present, this main task laid out the plan of conducting comprehensive and in-depth investigations and studies of the society and history of ethnic minorities, and on this foundation were compiled such publications as survey reports, "brief histories", "short gazetteers", and three kinds of collections of the minority problems about the general situations of the autonomous areas of each ethnic group.[48] Thus, in January and April of 1959, the Institute of Ethnic Studies of the Chinese Academy of Sciences published by mimeograph the first draft of two works: *Xibozu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯族簡史簡志合編 (Compilations of brief history and gazetteer of the Sibe) and *Chabucha'er Xibo zizhixian gaikuang* 察布查爾錫伯自治縣概況 (General survey of the Cabcal Sibe Autonomous County). Concerning the problem of ethnic origins, the former work writes: "The ethnic origins of the Sibe people so far cannot be systematically discussed due to a lack of historical materials. Even though the Chinese classics mention names such as Bobo 僰伯, Xibai 席百, Xibei

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[47] This correspondence is in my collection.
[48] Su 1959, 41.

西北, and Xibo 錫伯, all these records are extremely brief. As for the Sibe view of their own ethnic origins, there is only a legend that they are descendants of the Xianbei". Clearly from a historical point of view there is no way to prove historically the origins of the Sibe people. There is only the legend that their ancestors were the Xianbei people. From the information compiled in *Xibozu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯族簡史簡志合編 (Compilations of brief history and gazetteer of the Sibe), we can know that the authors did not consult *Xibo minzu jianshi* 錫伯民族簡史 (A brief history of the Sibe) written by Ujala Saracun. The referenced sources of these two works are also completely different.

In 1963, apart from the intention of preserving materials and keeping them from being lost, there was another more important goal which developed — this is the widespread solicitation of advice. Therefore, the Institute of Ethnic Studies of the Chinese Academy of Sciences officially published a first draft of the *Xibozu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯族簡史簡志合編 (Compilations of brief history and gazetteer of the Sibe), which was one of the series of books on the history and gazetteer of minorities. This work included more chapters than the first compilation, and the content was richer. Its discussion of the question of ethnic origins also differed from the previous work, and it gave two different hypothesizes about this: "One explanation is that the Sibe and the Manchu are of the same origin, and that they are both the descendants of the Jurchen; another explanation says that they are the descendants of the ancient Xianbei, a branch of the Eastern Hu, and a legend circulates among the Sibe people that they are the descendants of the Xianbei people".[49] Clearly this book synthesizes Saracun's textual research and the conclusions of the first edition. Even though this book could not confirm these two ideas concerning the question of the ancestors of the Sibe, it emphasizes the idea that the name Sibe is a phonetic alteration of "Xianbei" and this name came from "Xianbei". This argument is primarily based on the following research conclusion in He Qiutao's 何秋濤 *Shuofang beisheng* 朔方備乘 (Prepared historical records on northern areas): "The pronunciation of Xianbei changed to become Sibe, who are the descendants of the Xianbei".[50] We can see that He Qiutao's conclusion was very thoughtless, as he did not provide any proof. His biography in the *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (A draft history of the Qing dynasty) states:

[49] *Xibozu jianshi jianzhi hebian* 錫伯族簡史簡志合編 [Compilations of Brief History and Gazetteer of the Sibe] (draft), 6–7.
[50] HE, 17: 3.

He Qiutao's style name was Yuanchuan 願船. He was born in Guangze 光澤. In the twenty-fourth year of the Daoguang period (1844), he was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations and received a position as director of the Board of Punishments. He paid close attention to managing state affairs. Thinking there should be a monograph on the Chinese-Russian border, he started writing six *juan* of *Beijiao huibian* 北徼彙編 (Compilations of northern borders). He later added and examined detailed illustrations, which began in the Han and Jin dynasties all the way until the Daoguang period. This increased the volume of the work to eighty *juan*. When the Xianfeng emperor read this work, he gave it the name *Shuofang beisheng* 朔方備乘 (Prepared historical records on northern areas). He Qiutao was then summoned for a meeting and promoted to be a counsellor, obtaining an unofficial position at the Maoqin Palace, but soon resigned for filial mourning. On the year of the change to the Tongzhi reign he passed away at the age of thirty-nine.[51]

He Qiutao was born in Guangze County, Fujian Province, which is considered part of the Northern Min 閩北 topolect region. As early as the Yongzheng period there were officials from Fujiang and Guangdong who memorialized to the emperor on the phenomena whereby: "Whenever a personal record is submitted by memorial to the emperor, it is alone those from Fujian and Guangdong who use their local accents which are difficult to understand".[52] Such a situation did not improve during the Qianlong and Jiaqing reigns.[53] Therefore, it was possible that He Qiutao still used his local accent during the Daoguang period.

Just as Cheng Di 陳第 says, "Time includes both ancient and modern times; the earth has the south and north; characters are changing, and pronunciations are diverging".[54] Chinese characters are not phonetic alphabets and they are unable to show the different pronunciations of different time periods and areas, which is extremely difficult to understand ancient pronunciations based on the form of a Chinese character.[55] He Qiutao used the pronunciation of ancient Chinese characters and compared them with the nineteenth century pronunciation of "Sibe", but he ignored differences in the pronunciation of the past and the present. There have been many pro-

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[51] ZHAO 1976, 13400.
[52] *Daqing Shizong shilu* 大清世宗實錄 [Daqing Shizong memoir], 72: 4–5. Besides, see TAKADA 1997.
[53] YU 2003, 269.
[54] CHEN 1988, 7.
[55] LUO and ZHOU 1958, 1.

found changes from the earliest three dynasties — the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, through the Sui-Tang period, and into modern times.[56] For this reason, there exist serious doubts about He Qiutao's hypothesis that "Xianbei" is the same as "Sibe" from phonological and etymological perspectives. According to the textual research of Paul Pelliot (1930), the Xianbei are not a Tungusic people, as have been generally believed, but are rather a kind of Turkic or Mongolian people.[57] In addition to this is the phenomena whereby the common endings found in the Xianbei language are also found in Turkic languages.[58]

At the end of the Jin dynasty there were also individuals who had "Xianbei" as their double surname in *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of the Yuan dynasty), and furthermore one of them became a general during the Mongolian period and held an office as military commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使) of Luanzhou 灤州 in Heibei.[59] In the Phags-pa script this surname is pronounced "sen bi",[60] which is almost identical with the pronunciation of Chinese characters phonetically transferred from medieval Tibetan and Sogdian languages.[61] The pronunciation of this surname is also similar to that of "sien pi" in the language books written by the western missionaries of the early seventeenth century.[62] Thus, the pronunciation of "sien pi" and "sibe" are quite different though they have the same meaning. He Qiutao did not employ any phonological methodology in his consideration of this problem. From this the research concerning the question of the origins of the Sibe people has all come from the research conclusion of He Qiutao. Undoubtedly, there is no sufficient textual research backing these claims and there is no way for the evidence of historical materials to empirically prove this hypothesis.

Conclusion

The Sibe has been an independent group since the sexteenth century when historical materials were recorded, and their migration to Ili did not change

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[56] LUO 1949, 7.
[57] PELLIOT 1930, 21; GROUSSET 1996, 325.
[58] ZHUO 2010, 64; NIE 2001.
[59] SONG 1976, 165: 3885–3886.
[60] ZHAONASITU and YANG 1987, 50, 100; LUO and CAI 2004.
[61] LUO 1933, 111, 197; YOSHIDA 1994, 380–271. In these two works, there is only the pronunciation of "bei 碑", which is homophonic with "bei 卑". Besides, according to *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 [Annotation on *Shuowen Jiezi*], part. 9: "The word 'bei 碑' means solid rock, pronounced as 'bei 卑' ".
[62] TRIGAULT 1957, 8–10, 118–119.

this. Other ethnic groups also recognized them as an independent group and during the Republic of China period they were designated as the Sibe ethnicity. Yet, in terms of the cause of cultural development, the Sibe and the Manchu were still a community, and as before, the Sibe still used Manchu language and script. To this end these Sibe cultural figures initiated reforms of the new Sibe script, but due to a variety of factors these attempts at reform were unsuccessful. As a recognized ethnic group, the Sibe supported the idea that they should have their own unique culture, and therefore they proposed a plan for the third reform of their written script. Even though this reform was comparatively more successful, this Sibe script was still based on Manchu. By the 1950s, Chinese national policy permitted various ethnic groups to formulate new written scripts that suited them. It was for this reason that the Sibe drafted a new Sibe script which was based on the Cyrillic alphabet, but later various experts were quite divided in their opinions, and this project also came to nothing.

Under the banner of the national ethnic district policy, the Sibe recognized that their history was a blank space, and this led them to compile their own ethnohistory with vigor. Some of the Sibe scholars who had studied abroad in Russia also participated in this compilation process, and on the issue of the origins of the Sibe people, these scholars and the specialists organized by governments to write their own ethnohistory of the Sibe each persisted in their own views. Ultimately only these government-organized specialists were able to publish their research results while these unofficial Sibe written ethnohistories remained confined away in the archive and were completely forgotten until now. Although the textual analysis of folk scholars contains some mistaken views, the accuracy of the argumentation of their ethnic origin was far superior to that of official publications.

From now on historians must consider a problem: although with the passage of time and space, the two nationalities — the Sibe and the Manchu became independent ethnic groups, fundamentally at a linguistic and cultural level, they are not independent. To stress their independence is only to go along with the narrative whereby they were artificially reconstructed to be two different ethnic groups.

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Anton Popov

Two Mongolian Official Documents Dated by the 19th c.

Abstract: The article presents transliteration and commented translation of two official letters written by Mongolian administrative functionaries in the first third of the 19th c. Both were brought from Mongolia by A.M. Pozdneev. In 1898, handwritten copies were published by G.Dz. Tsibikov in the collection of materials, as a training manual for practical course in Mongolian language. The above mentioned letters still have not been subjected to any kind of scientific analysis. However, these documents represent typical examples of Mongolian official correspondence dated to the 19th c. Moreover they are abandoned of little-known facts about relationship between the authorities of the North Mongolian banners (khoshuns) and administrative structures, constituted personal subjects assigned to the Treasury of Jibzundamba Khutugtu (the Shabi).
Key words: official documents, Mongolian administration in the Qing period, A.M. Pozdneev, G.Dz. Tsibikov, the North Mongolian banners, the Shabi of Jibzundamba Khutugtu.

   Official documents issued by the administrative institutions that existed in the Northern Mongolia during the time when it was a part of the Qing Empire presents a unique category of historical sources. State legislation, orders of authorities, official correspondence contain a huge array of diverse information about the life of Mongolian society in the late 17th — early 20th cc. Officials who compiled these documents, by virtue of their daily duties, collected, systematized and transmitted numerous messages about various events that took place in administrative centers, Buddhist monasteries and even in remote pasture areas. It is not surprising that all spheres of contemporary social reality were the object of their attention and investigation. Many specific details of the past life as well as aspirations, concerns and ex-

periences of long gone people sometimes can be distinguished behind the stingy wording typical for the official papers.

The first publications of Mongolian official documents were made by Russian researchers in the late 19th — early 20th cc. The mentioned documents were then released in several collections of copies. The latter were specified as textbooks for courses of the practical Mongolian language, which were taught by Prof. A.M. Pozdneev and his disciple G.Dz. Tsybikov at the St. Petersburg University and Oriental Institute in Vladivostok.[1] However, from an academic point of view, the importance of these publications goes far beyond the issue of ordinary textbooks. The samples of official papers that one can find here, are in many respects unique and don't have any correlation to another texts. At the same time they are full of numerous, often little-known reports about administrative, judicial, fiscal, property, family relations in Mongolian society in the middle of the 18th — second half of the 19th cc. However, the possibility of using the above mentioned collections of official documents as historical sources now remains only potential since researchers in their studies still do not pay an appropriate attention to these collections. Our notes aim to take a step towards bringing back these valuable materials on Mongolian history from undeserved oblivion.

As an object for analysis, we selected an anthology of Mongolian official papers borrowed from the collection of A.M. Pozdneev, which includes 32 copies of administrative orders, reports and accounts dating back to the early, middle and late 19th c. These copies were handwritten by G. Tsybikov and printed on lithograph in 1898.[2] Tsybikov also briefly described in Russian the content of each of the samples included in the anthology.[3] *Two of them*,[4] which we are particularly interested in, represent examples of official correspondence typical for Mongolian local authorities in 19th c. The Latin transliteration and commented translation of both documents are given below. Composition of the texts like of all Mongolian official letters at that time (in regards of style and terminology) corresponded to *Chinese bureaucratic tradition*.[5]

Although the authorship of the documents under discussion belongs to officials who served in two different administrative departments, they have the

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[1] See POZDNEEV 1883; TSYBIKOV 1907; TSYBIKOV 1908.

[2] See TSYBIKOV 1898.

[3] Ibid. 76–77.

[4] In the serial numbering assigned by the publisher to the documents included in the anthology, these official letters bear numbers XXII and XXIV.

[5] First of all, we are talking about the rules of drawing up reports belonged to the category of "zouzhe" (奏折), which were submitted on daily, operational and urgent issues by lower administrative authorities to higher (up to the Emperor).

same addressee, close in date (the first third of 19th c.) and devoted to similar matters. Namely, both dispatches deal with little-known features of relationship between the authorities of *khoshuns*[6] and administrative institutions, supervising the property of Buddhist monasteries and clergy in North (Khalkha) Mongolia. The search for original letters in the archives of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts of Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, where the collections of Mongolian official documents assembled by A.M. Pozdneev are mainly kept, did not bring us any positive result. However, there is no reason to doubt that G. Tsybikov when publishing copies of Mongolian official correspondence in all cases provided their *full textual similarity with the originals*.[7]

Document XXII.

Indication of specific locations to pasture lands intended for Shabi (p. 57–58)[8]

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[6] *Khoshun* (or *banner*, Mong. *qošiɣu*; Chin. 旗) was a unit of administrative-territorial division, which in the system of public authorities established in Northern Mongolia by the Qing government was a step lower than *aimag* (see note 9). Before Khalkha became a part of the Qing Empire, its territory was traditionally divided among seven principalities named as khoshuns. After the Manchu ruling house took control of North Mongolia, this tradition was gone and the former principalities were fragmented into many small parts. From 1691 to 1725 the number of khoshuns increased to 75, and in another thirty years reached 84. Its total number amounted to 23 in Secenkhan aimag, 20 were included into Tushiyetukhan aimag, 24 and 19, respectively, into Sainnoyonkhan and Zasagtukhan aimags, see BAT-OCHIR BOLD 2001, 104–105. The purpose of those reforms was to prevent North Mongolian nobility from the desire for political or military consolidation that contradicted to the Beijing authority's strategy of reforming the Mongolian traditional administrative system.

[7] This can be confirmed by a comparison between the originals of the documents and their copies which were published in the anthology under consideration, but are not the subject of study in this article. For example, one of such documents is a decree of Qing Imperial authorities which prohibited the transfer of duties from one North Mongolian aimag to another. It was copied by Tsybikov and included in the anthology under the number XXV: TSYBIKOV 1898, 60–61. We find its original in the Mongolian Fund of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts RAS as a part of the collection of extracts from the texts of official papers dated to 18th–19th cc., compiled in Mongolia specially for A.M. Pozdneev: *sayisiyaltu irügeltü-yin ɣurbaduɣar on*, 35a.

[8] The Roman numeral indicates the place of each document in the serial numbering assigned to it by the publisher of the anthology. Titles of the documents are translated from Russian in accordance to the description of their content given by G.Dz. Tsybikov. Numerals in brackets indicate pages on which the documents are located.

XXII.

Transliteration

//57// Qalq-a-yin dumdaduki cirig-i jakiraqu tusalaγči jangjun arban jerge temdeglegsen jasaγ-un törö-yin beile. tusalaγči tüšimed-ün bičig.

Jarliγ-yiar ergümjilegsen šašin-i mandaγulqu amitan-i jirγaγuluγči jibjungdamba blam-a-yin kürien-ü kereg-i šitgekü šabinar-i bügüde jakiruγči erdeni šangjotba sang-un qamuγ kereg-i bayicaγan jakiraqu jasaγ-un ulus-dur tusalaγči güng da lamanar-dur ergün ilegebe. medegülün yabuγulqu učir. edüge man-u qošigun-u nutuγtu saγuju bui erkim šabi šiülengge sining-ün nigen otoγ-un kümün nutuγ-un dotor durabar tarqaju nutuγlan aqui-dur ken-yien teden-ü onoγdaγsan alba ba jiči ulaγ-a onoγolqu jerge jüyil-dür alusulaqu-yin //58// tedüi ügei. qarin qošigun-u olan arad-luγ-a neng qolicaldun jiγuruldan aju arsar kereg učir edükü böged ali nigen anu nutuγlaqu-dur erkebiši tasuldan alba kereg-dür tusa ügei anu büküi-yin tulada. edüge-ece ekilen šabinar-i man-u nutuγ-un jegün eteged jiq-a γajar-uud-yiar nigen jalaγ-a-bar nutuγlaγulun urida-yin adali teden-u über über-ün joriγ-yiar tarqaju nutuγlaγulqu ügei bolγasuγai kemen yabudal-i

erdeni šangjotba güng da lamanar tan-a medegülün yabuγuluγad šabi šiülengge šining-dür uqaγulju tušiyalaγad tegün-ü bey-e qariyatu nutuγ-un šabinar-i abču bügüdeger nutuγ-un jegün jiq-a-yin dotor-a nutuγlaγulun aju törögülsügei. egün-ü tula ergün ilegebe:

Translation

The dispatch sent from performing duties of *the assistant for military affairs to the foreman of aimag assembly*,[9] standing at the head of *the troops of*

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[9] *Aimag* (Mong. aiymaγ; Chin. 盟) — a unit of administrative and territorial division in Mongolia. In the Qing period, *four aimags* were established within the Northern Mongolia. Three of them Tushiyetukhan, Secenkhan and Zasagtukhan — were the elements of administrative and political system in Northern Mongolia before it became a part of the Qing Empire. These aimags remained after 1691, when Khalkhan princes recognized the Supreme power of the Qing Emperor Kangxi. The fourth Sainnoyonkhan aimag traces its history back to 1725. This year, by decree of Emperor Yongzheng prince Dashdondov was granted the title of his great-grandfather "Sain Noyon", equal in status to the khan. The "*Draft of History of Qing Dynasty*" narrates that Dashdondov had merit in military campaigns, so he was entrusted to rule the newly created aimag: QING SHI GAO 1927, 86, 3b. By tradition, hereditary rights as

Central direction,[10] having sixteen service records of merit *khoshun ruler törö-yin beile*[11] and officials of his khoshun chancellery.

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aimag rulers belonged to the North Mongolian khans, but in 1727 Imperial government abolished this order. Administrative and judicial authorities in aimags were transferred to *chuulgans* (Mong. čiɣulɣan; Chin. 盟) or assemblies of local nobility. Henceforth, hereditary power of the khans over the aimags was abolished and the chuulgan foremen *(darga)* were put at the head of them. They were elected on the instructions of Imperial authorities from among princes who participated in assemblies. At the same time, official terminology was changed — the concept of "aimag" was transformed into "chuulgan". Accordingly, the name of each aimag ceased to be consonant with the title of the khan who previously ruled it and began to correspond to the place where the assemblies of princes were held. However, as a result of these renaming traditional names of aimags did not disappear at all and continued to be used both in everyday lexicon and in official document circulation.

Administrative positions of the *assistants for military affairs to the foremen of aimag assemblies* (Mong. tusalaɣči ǰangǰun; Chin. 副将军) were established in North Mongolia in 1724 by the order of Yongzheng Emperor: QIANLONG 1988, 96; POZDNEEV 1883a, 312. Mongolian princes originally appointed to these positions were entrusted with the command of the troops of the Khalkh aimags, but only in wartime and only of the contingents in active service and not listed in reserve. Hereinafter authorities of these officials were greatly expanded. They were supplemented by responsibilities for monitoring of combat readiness of the Khalkh militia, which included all *serving population* ("somon people"; Mong. suman-u arad; Chin. 苏木兵丁), who in time of peace dwelled in the places of their permanent residence. Code of laws "Dai Qing huidian" (大清会典) dated back to the times of Jiaqing Emperor (1796–1820), defined the status of bureaucratic positions we are interested in as follows: "In each of the four Khalkh aimags to appoint one assistant for military affairs to the foreman of aimag assembly and one vice-assistant to the above mentioned dignitary (Mong. kebei ǰangǰun; Chin. 参赞). In two wings of Dörböds [West Mongolian. — *A.P.*] to establish posts of assistants for military affairs to the foremen. For this to submit for the All Highest consideration lists of the persons in aimags and wings who are in charge of the rule over khoshuns, and to claim the Imperial decree appointing from among them dignitaries in these positions. The aforementioned dignitaries must be obliged with annual inspection of troops and military weapons": JIAQING 1988, 78. Assistants for military affairs to the foremen of aimags were directly subordinate to the Qing governors in Northern Mongolia. Besides that in military-administrative sphere they had authority, equal in value to the rights and duties of the foremen. For performance of their jobs, assistants did not receive special remuneration. The salary from the Qing Treasury was assigned to them according to their aristocratic titles: SODNOMDAGVA 1961, 56–57.

[10] In accordance with the Qing administrative terminology military units recruited from Tushiyetukhan aimag were named as *troops of Central direction* (Mong. qalq-a-yin dumdadaki jam-un čirig; Chin. 喀尔喀中路军).

[11] The dispatch was compiled by officials served in the administrative chancellery of the North Mongolian khoshun on behalf of its ruler *prince Gombotseren who beard the aristocratic title of the 3-rd degree* (Mong. törö-yin beyile; Chin. 多罗贝勒). That khoshun was attached to the Tushiyetukhan aimag. For genealogy of the aristocratic family to which törö-yin beile Gombotseren belonged, see SHARKHUU 1984, 177.

Hereby we address with respect to *Erdeni Shanjotba*,[12] who handle the affairs of the monasteries and control the *Shabi people*[13] attached to *Jibzun-*

[12] *Erdeni Shanjotba* (Mong. erdeni šangǰotba; Chin. 额尔德尼商卓忒巴) was the official in charge of affairs of the monasteries headed by Jibzundamba Khutugtu and of the governance over subordinate to the latter *Shabi people* (see note. 13). The earliest mention about this official related to 1650, see: NASANBALJIR 1969, 143. Initially, Jibzundamba Khutugtu himself carried out the selection of candidates for the position of Erdeni Shanjotba from among North Mongolian Lamas. But since 1723, the right of appointment of Erdeni Shanjotba moved into the sphere of authority of Central Qing government. Then Lama Dashdondov was assigned to this post by the Emperor Yongzheng. Dashdondov as Erdeni Shanjotba was entrusted with supervision of the life of Jibzundamba Khutugtu monasteries and with control above "the people who accompanied him" (Chin. 徒众). At the same time for the management of "affairs dealing with Religion, and to control the clergy", in an environment of Jibzundamba Khutugtu Qing authorities created position of special officer with the title of Khambo Nomun Khan, see QIANLONG 1988, 111. In 1754, control of all the Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu transferred to the special department (Mong. "yeke šabi", "erkim šabi" or "boγdo-yin šabi"), headed by Erdeni Shanjotba. Simultaneously the latter position was given to Lama Sundev-Dorji with the title Secentoyin, see POZDNEEV 1896, 66. At first, activities of Erdeni Shanjotba as well as subordinate to him administrative structures were put under the direct control of the Qing Imperial authorities. But in 1758 when the post of the Qing governor (Chin. 钦定库伦办事大臣; Mong. ǰarliγ-iyar ǰaruγsan kürien-dür següǰü kereg sitgegči sayid) was established in Da Khüriye, supervision over the Shabi Department moved to that dignitary. In 1822 administrative status of that department was equated to the administrative chancelleries of the four North Mongolian aimags. During 19th c. the Shabi Department in terms of population and economic importance of territories under its administration was comparable to an aimag: BAT-OCHIR BOLD 2001, 139. Erdeni Shanjotba who headed that Department was not granted with any governmental financial allowance, but had official permission to use all he needed at the expense of the Jibzundamba Khutugtu Treasury, see: POZDNEEV 1887, 167.

[13] *Shabi people* (Mong. šabi-nar; Chin. 沙毕), formally "disciples" or "followers". Shabi were a stratum of Mongolian labor bound and tax-paying population subordinate to the Treasury (Mong. sang) that belonged to Buddhist priests of highest ranks, bearing the titles of *Khutugtu*. A distinctive feature of the Khutugtu Treasury, compared with the property of ordinary monks, was the existence of Shabi along with property and livestock, see: SKRYNNIKOVA 1988, 55. Shabi as a social class originally appeared on the legal basis of the canonical Buddhist principles of relationship between "disciple and teacher". The first mention of Shabi assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu dates to 1640, see: NATSAGDORJ 1978, 202. Initially, in the first half of 17th c. internal social structure of the mentioned class was very heterogeneous. Among Shabi there could be met representatives of lower aristocracy and even Lamas who possessed dignities of *khubilga* (emanations of Buddhist saints), see: KUZ'MIN 2016, 52–53. But mainly, communities of Shabi assigned to the Treasury of supreme Buddhist hierarchs raised up due to the "donations" of people made by Mongolian princes and due to the voluntary transition of representatives from lower social strata. Many of them were beggars and vagabonds: NATSAGDORJ 1978, 202. When the Qing Empire spread administrative control over Mongolia, "voluntarily" (i.e. not sanctioned by the Imperial authorities) transition of secular population into the class of Shabi was banned. This prohibition was established by a special provision included in the first (1817) and subsequent editions of the "*Code of Lifanyuan*" — the basic set of Qing laws intended for the management of Mongolia: "As for Shaby people assigned to persons with high ranks of Buddhist saints, it is not allowed to add new ones, except those who are signified in the registers

damba Khutugtu,[14] the latter being promoted to his rank by the All Highest decree, exalting religion and bringing joy and bliss to all living beings. Also we address to *jasaγ-un ulus-dur tuslagchi gong*,[15] who is in charge of supervision and superintendence of the Treasury of this esteemed *Khutugtu* and to *Da-Lamas*.[16]

Reasons that induced our addressing you with this dispatch are as follows. Now within the pasture lands of our khoshun is settles the *otog*[17] of Shabi people headed by *shulenga*[18] Xining and assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu.

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contained in the Chamber [On the Governance of Affairs in Outer Mongolia, i.e. in Lifanyuan. — *A.P.*]": *qauli ǰüyil-ün bičig* 1817, 59, 12a.

[14] *Jibzundamba Khutugtu —* the line of reincarnated Buddhist saints, which existed in the Northern Mongolia from 1639 to 1924 and is known among the Khalkhas also under the name of *Bogdo-gegen*, and among the Southern Mongols under the name *Ar* (i.e. Northern) *Bogdo*. In the Buddhist pantheon Jibzundamba (from Tibetan *rJe-btsun Dam-pa*, Reverend Noble One) were considered a continuation of a long line of incarnate lamas in India and Tibet, expanding from the time of Shakyamuni Buddha to the *'Jo-nang-pa hierarch rJe-btsun* (reverend) *Taranatha* (1575–1634). Despite this sequence, Jibzundambas are numbered from first Mongolian one, see: SKRYNNIKOVA 1988, 39; ATWOOD 2004, 267. In all it is known about eight emanations of Jibzundamba Khutugtu, moreover the first two were discovered in Khalkha Mongolia respectively in 1649 and 1737. According to the rules imposed by the authorities of the Qing Empire, the next incarnations were entirely identified in Tibet. The document we are interested in, judging from the names of Mongol princes indicated in it (see note. 11) most likely was drawn up during the years when Abbot chair of Jibzundamba Khutugtu was occupied by his forth incarnation named *Lubsang Tubdan Wangchug*.

[15] Mongolian princes and officials from the two Eastern Khalkha aimags (Tushiyetukhan and Secenkhan) were obliged to participate *in an official duty* (Mong. ǰisiy-a; Chin. 年班) in Da Khüriye after the chancellery of the *Qing governor* (see note. 12) was located there. Duty for a period of 4 months was performed in turn: SODNOMDAGVA 1961, 36. In particular, princes who were involved in the performance of such services were in charge of supervision and control over the Treasury of Jibzundamba Khutugtu which the latter owned separately from the property of his monastery. The official dispatch being commented here says that at the moment it was compiled the post of that serviceman was occupied by a prince *of the 6th degree* with the rank of *khoshun sovereign* (Mong. jasaγ-un ulus-tur tusalaγči güng; Chin. 旗长辅国公). During the period under consideration thirteen Mongolian nobles possessed similar ranks in two mentioned aimags. Regrettably, we were unable to determine who exactly of these thirteen carried out the duty for supervision of the Khutugtu Treasury at that time.

[16] *Da-Lamas* — the titles of two aids assisted Erdeni Shanjotva in performance of his duties, see: POZDNEEV 1887, 168.

[17] *Otog* (Mong. otoγ) in 15th–17th cc. meant a group of Mongolian nomadic families united by collective occupation of a certain area as a pasture. Otog at that time existed as the basic social and economic unit: VLADIMIRTSOV 1934, 132. During the Qing period in the Northern Mongolia this concept transformed into the designation of a basic unit of territorial division and administrative organization of Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu. According to Ch. Atwood, by 1830 there were 114 such units, see: ATWOOD 2004, 211.

[18] *Shulenga* (Mong. siülengge) in 17th c. was a title of Mongolian official or tax collector. During the Qing period this title was assigned to a head of *Shabi otog* (see note 17).

People from this otog wander in our grounds and disperse around at their own discretion. All the aforementioned Shabi neglect obligatory services as well as *ignore duties to supply transport facilities for official needs*.[19] In addition, according to the custom already established among them, they in a fair disorder *mix up with people, witch belong to the khoshun subordinated to us*.[20] Since this situation is of no benefit in performance of state service,

[19] The case we noted in the text of the document definitely was not a single one. In the second half of 18th — middle of 19th cc., such conflicts often added difficulties in administrative activities of the Mongolian officials, served in Shabi department as well as in administrative chancelleries in aimags and khoshuns. Confirmations of this conclusion can be found in the content of their official correspondence. For example, we will refer to a dispatch dated to the spring of the 55th year of Qianlong (1790), which the foreman of Tushiyetuk-han aimag prince of the 4th degree (*beise*) Sundewdorji sent to the Qing Governor in Da Khüriye. Addressing up the chain of command beise complained about the routine, which imposed a ban on the use of transport facilities, supplemented by Shabi otogs for long-distance conveyance of governmental officials and state-owned cargo. According to Sundewdorjis testimony, other people illegally used such rules to systematically evade responsibility for ensuring long-distance transport services, falsely gave their cattle for Shabi ownership, thereby creating fake impression of their poverty and inability to bear public service. As the aimag foreman wrote, it is impossible to understand, where whose livestock was, therefore unforeseen obstacles presented themselves in the administration of official affairs. The complaint presented by beise Sundewdorji was investigated, which resulted in cancellation of duty benefits provided for Shabi people. At the same time the Qing Governor confirmed that herds belonging to the Treasury of Jibzundamba Khutugtu were exempt from the mandatory supply of cattle for state-owned carrier, and other service needs: *ǰarlaǰu toɣtaɣsan qauli*, 5a-b.

[20] Selected fragment of the document sheds light on the circumstances that Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu traditionally enjoyed the right of free movement throughout the territory of Khalkha, and unlike other population were not subject to the ban on crossing the borders of khoshuns. Sh. Natsagdorj mentioned that Mongols in their traditional sayings used to compare Shabi with white antelopes, because both did not have a permanent *nutug* (i.e. pasture lands): NATSAGDORJ 1972, 47. It is quite natural that this state of affairs was the source of constant disputes and conflicts over pastures, in which Shabi people contradicted to the permanent residents of aimags and khoshuns. In order to avoid such problems and to exclude "mixing" of different categories of population, in 1826 foremen of the four North Mongolian aimags made some decisions, which were later approved by the Qing Imperial authorities. According to those decisions, people who permanently reside in khoshuns should not voluntary expel Shabi from their pastures. At the same time Shabi people should not arbitrarily occupy the lands on which the inhabitants of khoshuns herded their cattle for a long time. To ensure the compliance with these rules the so-called "registered" pastures were assigned as permanent places of residence for Shabi: ibid. However the document being commented here notifies how difficult it was to establish such an order in the daily life conditions of the Khalkh khoshuns in 19th c. Obviously, over the years the local Mongolian authorities continued to face the above mentioned conflicts over pastures. This can be confirmed by contents of the report, which the foremen of four North Mongolian aimags sent to Lifanyuan in 1849. They asked the government authorities to approve their joint decision as follows: "From now on, Shabi people assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu, which have the right to reside everywhere, must roam in the areas where they herd their cattle now. All unau-

insofar we hereby inform your Excellencies Erdeni Shanjotba, gong and Da-Lamas asking that Shabi people should be encouraged to roam in one single community on the lands at the Eastern border of our khoshun and not to disperse, as before, everywhere on their own. Please supply shulenga Xining with instructions that he should thoroughly bring together people of his subordinate otog and settle them on residence to the Eastern edge of our land. To this end, present dispatch is sent for your High consideration.

Document XXIV.

On transfer to the class of Shabi (pp. 59–60)

Transliteration

//59// ǰasaγ-un terigün ǰerge tayiǰi baǰarsida-yin tamaγ-a-yi qamiyaruγsan tusalaγči tayiǰi γomboǰab tüsimed-ün bičig:

J̌arliγ-yiar ergümǰilegsen sasin-i mandaγulqu amitan-i ǰirγaγuluγči ǰib-ǰungdamba blam-a-yin kürien-ü kereg-i //60// sitgekü šabinar-i bügüde ǰakiruγči erdeni šangǰotba. sang-un qamuγ kereg-i bayicaγan ǰakiraqu ǰasaγ-un ulus-tur tusalaγči güng da lamanar tan-dur ergün ilegebe. medegülükü-yin učir. edüge man-u qosiγun-u arad kesig-tü-yin medegülügsen γaǰar-a. bi öber-ün köbegün lama lubsangγaldan-i degüü keüken süli-yin qamtu nige erüke qoyiar ama-yi qorin qoyiar boda arban tabun qonin-u qamtubar

Gegegen tan-a ergüǰü šabi bolγay-a kemen sanaγsan bile kemen γuyuγsan-i yosuγar bolγaǰu egün-i erdeni šangǰotba. güng. da lama-nar tan-a medegülün egün-ü tula ergün ilegebe:

törö gereltü arban tabuduγar on qoyiar sara-yin γučin-a:

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thorized aspirations to evict them outside the borders of aimags and khoshuns must be prohibited. If it happen a drought and Shabi will need to migrate to other places, the office of the Erdeni Shanjotba is invited to an obligation for carrying out careful check of all circumstances, find out the real needs in their travel and identify which aimag and which khoshun the affected population should be directed to. Therefore all authorities involved in such cases must be notified in advance about the mentioned incidents. Officials and residents of the four aimags should be prohibited to drive out of pastures those Shabi people who migrated to their areas and must be told that they, on the contrary, must live with those people in peace and harmony. When the situation in drought-affected territories will become normal, Shabi as soon as possible must be returned to the former places of their residence": *urida sitgen önggeregülügsen kereg-üüd anu*, 129b.

XXIX.

60.—

Translation

The dispatch sent from *tuslagchi taiji*[21] Gombojab, temporarily assuming the position of khoshun ruler *taiji of the first degree Bajarshida*,[22] and officials of his khoshun chancellery.

Hereby we address with respect to Erdeni Shanjotba, who handle the affairs of the monasteries and control the Shabi people attached to Jibzundamba Khutugtu, the latter being promoted to his rank by the All Highest decree, exalting religion and bringing joy and bliss to all living beings. Also we address to jasaɣ-un ulus-dur tuslagchi gong, who is in charge of supervision and superintendence of the Treasury of this esteemed Khutugtu and to Da-Lamas.

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[21] *Tuslagchi taiji* (Mong. tusalaɣči tayiǰi; Chin. 协理旗务台吉) — a title of assistant to the ruler of khoshun in Mongolia. This position was established in 1682 by the decree of Emperor Kangxi: DAI QING HUIDIAN ZELI 1748, 140, 18b. Hereinafter the content of that decree was included into all major collections of the Qing legislation related to the management of Mongolia, in particular, into the "*Code of Lifanyuan*": "In all of the Mongolian aimags, in each of the khoshuns to establish a position of taiji helping with management of khoshun. The above mentioned taiji should be entrusted with responsibility to assist khoshun sovereign in his administrative affairs. When there appears a vacancy for this position, sovereign must select two candidates from among the princes of the first to sixth degree subordinated to him, who are not in state service, who can be able to serve as officials and stand out for good behavior, so that candidates will be able to cope with the responsibilities of this post. From among the candidates one must be chosen as the first and another as the second. Thereafter the aimag foreman relevant to such case must be notified of the mentioned choice and should be made aware of the behavior, skills and abilities demonstrated by candidates. Foreman then has to forward all these messages to Lifanyuan. The latter chamber is obliged, having studied all circumstances involved in the case, to call the candidates to Beijing and present their appointment for the All Highest consideration": *qauli ǰüyil-ün bičig* 1817, 6, 16a-b. Our sources contain sufficient evidence of the fact that the Imperial authorities widely used their right to select and approve candidates for the positions of assistants to the rulers of Mongolian khoshuns. For example, in the 20th year of Jiaqing (1815) the foreman of Sainnoyonkhan aimag in the letter addressed to Lifanyuan asked to approve the decision on dismissal from service tuslagchi taiji Dzamiyandorji from the khoshun ruled by prince of the second degree (junwang) Bat-Ochir. The reasons given for this decision were that Dzamiyandorji was a poor man having no livestock and property, and therefore unable to help his sovereign in the management of the khoshun. In response, Lifanyuan decided as follows: "Since there is no law, according to which poverty and inability to support own existence can be a reason for one being dismissed from an official position and instead appointed the other, insofar tuslagchi taiji Dzamiyandorji is to be left under his previous post and selection of candidates to replace him must not be allowed": *urida sitgen önggeregülügsen kereg-üüd anu*, 56a.

[22] *Taiji of the first degree Bajarshida* occupied the post of the khoshun ruler in Tushiyetukhan aimag of Khalkha from 1830 to 1862: SHARKHUU 1984, 121.

Reasons that induced our addressing you with this dispatch are as follows. Now a man from our khoshun named Hishig approached us with a petition, in which it is said, "I intend to bring a gift to his Holiness Jibzundamba-Blama by transfer into the class of Shabi one *erüke*[23] of two subjects — my own son Lama Luvsanvandan along with my youngest daughter Suli, with whom there are 22 *bod of cattle*[24] and 15 head of sheep". *It was decided to accept what was requested*,[25] which we hereby respectfully bring to the attention of your Excellencies Erdeni Shanjotba, gong and Da-Lamas.

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[23] *Erüke* (or tax-paying family) in Mongolian administrative terminology of the Qing period designated a conventional unit for deployment of official duties, equal to two adult "male souls" liable for military service: alba tegsitgesen dangs-a 1962, 6. However, the concept of "erüke" in the 19th c. existed in a different semantics traditional for the Mongols — the felt covering smoke-hole circle (or *toono*) in a yurt (*ger*), i.e. home — family, family — homeland, house, farm, property i.e. yurt, etc.: *Mongolian-Russian Dictionary* 1895, 110.

[24] *Bod* or *bod mal* in Mongolian means a big herd animal. In legislative and administrative lexicon *bod* designated a statistical unit used in the calculation of livestock of different herd animals in comparison to one conventional head of big cattle. For example, in the 17th c. one *bod* equaled to one horse, or one cow and five sheep; two *bod* equaled to one camel etc.: KHALKHA JIRUM 1965, 104.

[25] The document under consideration is interesting, first of all, because it makes evident the practical effectiveness of the Qing legislation, which prohibited *military and labor-bound Mongols* (Mong. suman-u arad; Chin. 苏木兵丁) to make independent decisions about their own transfer into the category of Buddhist monks or in the class of Shabi without official permission issued by the Imperial administration. Close attention paid by the Central authorities of the Qing Empire in the first half of 19th c. to improve legal barriers that prevented the erosion of social stratum of labor-bound and tax-paying population, becomes obvious from the decree of Emperor Daoguang, which is dated from two years after the official letter being commented here was drawn up. This decree was issued in winter of 1836 as the result of investigation of a complaint received by Lifanyuan from some taiyji Goncigjab who was the inhabitant of the khoshun ruled by jasag-taiji Namjildorji in Sainnoyonkhan aimag of Khalkha. In the complaint, the khoshun sovereign was accused of arbitrarily moving a few subordinate herdsmen to the class of Shabi, whom the author of the appeal called rich and having an abundance of cattle. In the complaint it was also stated that jasag-taiji Namjildorji by his own order supplemented the economy of those herdsmen with cattle which was bred in the khoshun especially for use in accordance with the needs of official service. Having explored the facts notified by taiji Goncigjab, dignitaries from Lifanyuan sent a report "to the All Highest consideration" where they wrote: "We revealed non-compliance with the established rules, according to which, with all care and diligence, it should be investigated who are the people that want to transfer into Shabi assigned to Jibzundamba Khutugtu. Now in fact the transition to Shabi takes place in accordance to the order, which existed prior to the establishment of afore mentioned rules. Therefore, we consider it necessary to submit for All Highest consideration a proposal about the possibility of supplementing the laws existing now in Mongolia with the following provisions. From now on, it should be set the strict ban to transfer all the taiji who inherited their titles as well as military and labor-bound commoners to Shabi assigned to Lamas of all grades. If among people who are in service with the Mongol wangs,

The 30th day of the second moon, the 15th year of Toro Gereltu.[26]

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gongs and jasag-taiji [in the text of the document such people are referred to as "domestic workers" (ger-ün kümün). Otherwise they were named "khamjilga" (qamǰilγ-a). — *A.P.*], or among the elderly and out of service military and labor-bound commoners, or among illegiti-mate sons, or among women without means of subsistence and their daughters, or among taiji who are under the age of majority or taiji-Lamas there are people who willingly wish to go into the service to any Khutugtu or Lama, the khoshun chancelleries that may be involved in such a circumstances should collect accurate information about all of these people and send inquiries on their cases to Lifanyuan. This chamber, after having examined all the mentioned circumstances, should be empowered to make final decisions of such cases, which should be brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities. Upon receipt of the Chamber's permis-sion, relevant khoshun rulers should supply people who are going to enter Shabi with certifi-cates confirmed by seal stamps. Once these rules have been established, it will be easy for the Mongols to act in accordance with them in the execution of this category of administrative affairs. In addition, these rules will allow to get rid of the drawbacks in the performance of official services": *urida sitgen önggeregülügsen kereg-üüd anu*, 105a.

The Emperor approved the proposals submitted to him, the result of which was the follow-ing legislative article included in the 4th edition of the "Code of Lifanyuan" (1842): All the taiyji who possess noble degrees as well as military and labor-bound commoners are strictly prohibited to be assigned to the Treasury of Khutugtu and to transfer into the class of Shabi people. For all of the Mongolian khans, wangs, beile, beise, gongs and taiji who are in charge of ruling the khoshuns it is forbidden to move subordinated to them taiji who possess noble degrees and military and labor-bound commoners at the disposal of the Treasury of Khutugtu and enroll the above mentioned people in Shabi. Those who will be transferred to Shabi in violation of these rules must be forced to return to their previous state. Khoshun sovereigns, to whom such people are subordinated, must be put on trial under the provisions on infringe-ment of the laws established by All Highest Command. However if some of the taiji who are under the age of majority or of taiji-Lamas being subject to aforementioned khoshun sover-eigns, or some of adults who are in service with the nobles, or some of the elderly and out of service military and labor-bound commoners, or some of illegitimate sons, or some of women without means of subsistence and their daughters will by own desire become Shabi assigned to Lamas living in the monasteries, then let all these people proceed according to their wish. Rulers of khoshuns, to whom they are subordinate, should report about their wishes to Lifanyuan. This chamber after verifying the content of these reports, is entitled to take final decisions to satisfy petitions on the transition to Shabi and to prescribe the officials relevant to such cases to supply all the outgoing people with certificates authorizing their exit from khoshuns in accor-dance with the established legislative statements: *qauli ǰüyil-ün bičig* 1842, 53, 11a–b.

[26] *Toro Gereltu* (Mong. törö gereltü) is the Mongolian equivalent of Chinese motto of the Board "Daoguang" (道 光) which symbolized the reign of the eighth Qing Emperor Mianning (1820–1850).

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[27] See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 167, 168.

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[28] See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 175,176.
[29] See description in: PUCHKOVSKII 1957, 173, 174.

REVIEWS

The State Hermitage Museum (ed.): Brush and Qalam:
200 years of the collection of the Institute
of Oriental manuscripts. Exhibition catalogue.
St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers, 2018. 320 S.
ISBN ISBN 978-5-93572-824-3

More than 115.000 manuscripts and old prints in 65 different, living and dead, languages belong today to the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Russian Academy of Sciences) in St. Petersburg. On November 27–29, 2018, the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the Asiatic Museum — the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences was celebrated. On this occasion, the IOM, RAS held the International Forum 'Russia and the Orient. To the 200th Anniversary of the Russian Academic Oriental Studies'. At the same time, on the evening of the first day of this event, the opening ceremony for the exhibition "Brush and Qalam: 200 years of the collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts" in the presence of the director of the State Hermitage, Mikhail Piotrovsky, and the director of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (RAS), Irina Popova, took place. The research of the history and the cultural heritage of the countries and the peoples of the Orient by the means of their written sources were in the focus of the Asiatic Museum since the first days of its foundation. In this context, a collection of 700 Muslim manuscripts bought from the French consul in Aleppo and Tripoli, J.L. Rousseau, a relative of the famous philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, on the decision of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) in November 1818, played an important role and finally led

to the formation of a new department within the RAS — the Asiatic Museum (AM), which later was transformed into the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS).[1] On June 19, 2007, the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences ordered to reorganize the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies into the independent Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.[2]

The book under review is the catalogue of the exhibition "Brush and Qalam: 200 years of the collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts", which lasted from October 27, 2018 to February 24, 2019 in the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Among the 200 objects which were on display in five halls (No. 393–397) on the top floor of the Winter Palace there were not only precious manuscripts and woodblock printed texts as examples for the book culture of the peoples of the Orient in the course of the last two millennia. The scope of the exhibition was broadened by material objects which are closely related to the manuscript culture on one hand (book covers, brushes, kalams, cases for them, ink and woodblocks), and objects used in religious practices along with them (icons, crosses, church plate), and further on articles of clothing, fragments of murals which show parallels in their decoration and/or present the cultural context of the period and region, or, like in the case of coins, are associated with the donors or owners of the manuscripts and block prints. These artefacts of material culture belong to the stocks of the State Hermitage. The curator of the exhibition was Anton Dmitriyevich Pritula, Candidate of Philological Sciences, leading researcher in the State Hermitage's Sector of Byzantium and the Middle East. The impressive exhibition was organized with support of LVMH Moet Hennessy Louis Vuitton.

The scholarly, rich illustrated catalogue, issued by the State Hermitage Publishing House, has a spectacular design created by D.G. Gaskevich. By opening a three-part beautifully decorated book case with details taken from three different manuscripts the reader finds inside attached two volumes with an almost unique number of pages. The first volume of normal book type consists of 360 numbered pages. The scholarly editors and compilers of the catalogue and also the authors of the concept are Irina Popova, Anton Pritula and Natalia Yampolskaya. Three introductory texts written by Mikhail

[1] http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id= 46&Itemid=82.

[2] For a more detailled information concerning the history of the Asiatic Museum — the Institute of Oriental manuscripts see now: I.F. Popova (ed.): Asiatic Museum — Institute of oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Collections and Personalia. Moscow: Nauka, Vostochnaia Literatura, 2018.

Piotrovsky, General Director of the State Hermitage, who presents his ideas concerning the poetics of the Oriental manuscripts, by Irina F. Popova who gives an insight in the way from the Asiatic Museum to the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts and by the creators of the exhibition open the volume. The structure of the exhibition catalogue follows the structure of the exhibition itself. "For the sake of convenience, exhibits are grouped into three big sections, each one concerned with a big region characterised by the unity of culture and history: 1) Near East and Middle East; 2) India and Central Asia; 3) Far East. Largely formal, this separation is linked not so much to geography as to the spread and movement of cultures".[3] It goes without saying that these three big sections are to be split into sub-sections. For the convenience of the readers specialized scholars present an introduction into the book culture of these sub-sections ahead their detailed description of each single object on display. In addition, an editorial opens every big section. The author of the editorial of section I: Near and Middle East, A.D. Pritula, writes on the books of the Abrahamic religions: codices and scrolls, written with a *kalam* (pp. 23–27). For section II: India and Central Asia N.V. Yampolskaya has chosen the topic "Gold on palm leaves: the book traditions of India and Central Asia" for her editorial (pp. 193–195). Section III: Far East starts with an editorial by I.F. Popova on the manuscript and book traditions of the Far East (pp. 281–285). The great variety of book cultures is illustrated by the high number of sub-sections:

I. Hebrew (S.M. Iakerson) pp. 28–31, Syriac (A.D. Pritula) pp. 40–43, Armenian (N.S. Smelova) pp. 52–55, Grusinian (N.S. Smelova) pp. 64–67, Coptic (A.L. Khosroev) pp. 80–81, Ethiopian (E.V. Gusarova) pp. 86–91, Arabic (N.I. Serikov, S.A. Frantsouzoff) pp. 102–105, Persian (O.A. Vodneva) pp. 120–123, Afghan (O.A. Vodneva) pp. 160–161, book culture of Turkic-speaking peoples in the Middle and Minor Asia (O.V. Vasilyeva) pp. 164–169;

II. Indian (E.V. Tanonova) pp. 196–199, book culture of the oasis states in Eastern Turkestan (O.V. Lundysheva) pp. 204–207, Tibetan (A.V. Zorin) pp. 232–235, Mongolian (A.A. Sizova) pp. 248–251, K.M. Bogdanov (Tangut) pp. 263–267;

III. Chinese (I.F. Popova) pp. 286–289, Manchu (T.A. Pang) pp. 314–317, Japanese (K.G. Maranjian) p. 324–327, Korean (A.A. Gureva) pp. 334–337.

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[3] Infra, vol. 1, p. 359.

Not a small number of objects were selected by the curators for a presentation to the public for the first time, like catalogue no. 43, an Ethiopian psalter in the liturgical language of the Ethiopian church Ge'ez from 1878, catalogue no. 113, two wooden tablets with *dhāraṇī* (Sanskrit in Brāhmī script) from the findings of M.M. Berezovsky's expedition to Kucha (1905–1908) and catalogue no. 170, the table of a Chinese scholar's room from the Qing dynasty. Under the title "The treasures of a Chinese scholar's cabinet", referring to the *Wenfang sipu* 文房四譜 "Four treasures to the scholar's study" by Su Yijian 蘇易簡 (957–995), M.L. Men'shikova presents a full-page introduction to the catalogue numbers 170–184, a series of items of a scholar's cabinet. Within the scope of this review, only one example for these so far unpublished objects from every big section was given here. The addition of titles, inscriptions and quotations in the original language and script in a large number of object's descriptions throughout all big sections of the catalogue should be highlighted here. As far as the author of the review on hand, who is a specialist of Central Asian manuscripts, and Old Uyghur in particular, can judge, only minor mistakes or inaccuracies are to be found in the bulk of descriptions which have no impact on the high quality of the exhibition catalogue. An index of used abbreviations, a bibliography of the quoted literature and a short English summary complete the volume. The language of the exhibition catalogue is Russian.

The second volume has a format that is known from *safīna*-shaped manuscripts, i.e. an oblong format bound on the top of the folia with text lines running horizontal to the spine. This format is used also for "notepad" purposes and tear-off calendars. This second volume consists of 360 unnumbered pages which present details of the manuscripts and block prints on display with reference to the descriptions in the first volume. The plates allow fascinating and unique insights into details with regard to the calligraphy or illustration of selected items. Details from the St. Petersburg *Muraqqa* album of Iranian and Indian miniatures that is included in the UNESCO list of world cultural heritage form the beginning and the end of this volume. The unique format of the second volume allows an easy handling side by side with the first volume. Catalogue numbers in brackets added to the captions of the detailed images in this volume serve as a cross reference to the description of the object in the first volume. Headlines guide the viewer through the different sections of presentation.

The catalogue did not only enable the visitors of the exhibition to get a detailed insight on what they saw on display, to learn and understand the his-

torical and cultural background of the compilation of the texts, the production of the copies, the various and sometimes striking different book cultures. It also gives a deep insight in the richness and diversity of the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, which, besides those of the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, belongs to the largest collections of Oriental manuscripts in the world. The study of this precious exhibition catalogue is therefore also highly recommended to those specialists and interested individuals of Oriental manuscripts which were not able to visit the exhibition "Brush and Qalam" during its comparatively short period of duration.

The exhibition, as well as the published catalogue, greatly benefited from the broad support of those, who are employed in various departments of the State Hermitage and the Institute of Oriental manuscripts. With regard to the excellent illustrations accompanying the scholarly texts I would especially like to refer to the team of the photographers, and the restoration team, who did a huge work in order to restore and prepare the selection of objects for their presentation.

<div align="right">

Dr. Simone-Christiane Raschmann
Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften
in Deutschland

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S.L. Burmistrov. *Rukopisi shkoly Vedanta v sobraniiakh Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei RAN: annotirovannyi katalog* [Manuscripts of Vedānta School in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of RAS: annotated catalogue] — Moscow: Nauka–Vostochnaia Literatura, 2018. — 479 pp. (Pismenniie pamiatniki Vostoka. CLII). — ISBN 978-5-02-039832-0

Sergey Burmistrov's monograph "Manuscripts of the Vedānta School in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences: An Annotated Catalog" is the result of three years research conducted by S. Burmistrov in the IOM, RAS. The value and relevance of this work is undoubtful: for the first time in Russian Indology the description and systematization of the handwritten heritage of the Vedānta religious and philosophical tradition, stored in the Indian Fund of IOM, RAS and rightly considered one of the largest in the world, are carried out. Despite of the almost three hundred year history of Indology, the pioneers of which were H.T. Colebrooke (1765–1837), W. Jones (1746–1794), F. Schlegel (1772–1829), Vedānta still remains out of sight of professional researchers. Therefore, this peer-reviewed work is the first and very important step on the way to systematic academic research of Vedānta in Russia.

Being a one of the six orthodox (which recognized the absolute authority of the Vedic texts, unlike Jainism and Buddhism) schools of religious and philosophical thought of India, Vedānta was central to the field of traditional

Indian scholarship. In addition, Vedānta had a certain influence on the European philosophical tradition: G.W.F. Hegel, A. Schopenhauer, F.W. Nietzsche, H.K. Hesse, A.J. Toynbee and others.

The annotated catalog of Sergey Burmistrov is opened by Preface, short in form but capacious in content, where the author indicated the sources used in compiling this catalog — the well-known catalog of N.D. Mironov and the "Short Catalog of Indian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences" by T.K. Posova and K.L. Chizhikova. Within the Preface Sergey Burmistrov presented one of the principles for the compilation of his Catalog: articles are placed in chronological order — according to the dates of texts' (not manuscripts) compilation. This principle is quite justified because it allows to get a primary understanding of the evolution of Vedānta religious and philosophical thought already at the stage of working with the Catalog. Thus, the Annotated Catalog by Sergey Burmistrov — the first step of historical and philosophical research of Vedānta.

The catalog is preceded by a serious historical and philosophical research which reflects such aspects as the history of the formation of the Indian Foundation of the Asian Museum (pp. 2–7), the history of Vedānta Studies in Europe and Russia (pp. 8–76), Vedānta Studies in India properly (pp. 77–87), a brief essay on Vedānta history (p. 88–126).

Starting to research the history of Indian fund of IOM, RAS, Sergey Burmistrov rightly calls Gerasim Lebedev (1749–1817) as the founder of the collection, briefly outlining Lebedev's Indian journey and the history of the collecting of first manuscripts that founded the Indian Fund of IOM, RAS. S.L. Burmistrov quite out of place mentions the foreign policy circumstances of Gerasim Lebedev journey — the colonial British government as an absolute monopolist in their colonies in every way prevented the representatives of another countries from developing any activity, including research (p. 3).

Manuscripts collected by Lebedev subsequently replenished the collection of P.L. Schilling von Kannstadt (1786–1837) which consisted mainly of Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, Tibetan writings and books about the culture of the Far East. The Indian part of Shilling collection was very modest — only eight items but they later became the basis of the Indian Fund of Asian Museum–IOM, RAS (p. 5).

Serget Burmistrov rightly names J. Haeberlin and Baron Alexander von Staël-Holstein as the founders of the formation of the Vedānta part of In-

dian Manuscript Fund of IOM, RAS. Thus, J. Haeberlin acquired in Calcutta a collection of Vedānta texts that was transferred to the Asian Museum in 1855 (p. 5). Thank to A. von Staël-Holstein in 1908 the Indian Fund was replenished with many manuscripts mainly Advaita Vedānta tradition (p. 6).

The serious research essay on the history of Vedānta Studies in Europe and Russia Sergey Burmistrov opens with the consideration of first attempts in Vedānta researching undertaken by W. Jones and H.T. Colebrooke. Burmistrov examines in detail the entire history of Vedānta Studies until the beginning of XXI c. The Catalogue's author introduces the reader not only to the results of Vedānta researchers' activity but also their own philosophical views. Burmistrov also demonstrates how the Vedānta influenced European philosophy (p. 46). Sergey Burmistrov as an experienced comparativist analyzes the ideas of Indian, European, ancient philosophy, revealing typologically similar features (pp. 44–45).

The chapter "The history of Vedānta Studies" is devoted to the review of the intellectual environment that definitely influenced the formation of Indian historical and philosophical science. It's necessary to agree that so-called 'Indian, or Bengal, Renaissance' was an important stage in the development of Indian philosophical thought. As Burmistrov notes, the synthesis of Indian and Western cultures became a kind of response of Indian culture to a powerful challenge — a clash with Western civilization and was a characteristic feature of the 'Bengal Renaissance'. "Rethinking of place of Indian culture in the world made by Indian intellectuals has led to the emergence of traditionalism: in a past times customs and religious ideas were taken as a something usual and didn't become an object of special reflection, but now they, as a 'tradition', are opposed to innovations brought by Western civilization and Advaita Vedānta has become its core" (p. 77).

The undoubtful merit of Sergey Burmistrov's monograph is — the main part — Annotated catalogue immediately. Despite of the fact that the author relies on the "Short Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences," the Annotated catalogue's articles have the structure, because of which it can rightfully be considered *annotated*.

Each Catalogue's article contains the transliteration of the beginning and the end of the text, colophon. The annotation of each manuscript has a detailed paleographic description. Thus, the using of this Annotated catalogue greatly facilitates the subsequent work of the researcher.

The Annex completes this Catalogue where selectively presented transliteration, translation and commentaries of texts belonging to prominent thinkers of Vedānta — Śaṃkara and Rāmatīrtha.

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