Imre Galambos

Translating Chinese Tradition and Teaching Tangut Culture

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Manuscripts and Printed Books from Khara-khoto

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Contents

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 20th century, northwest China has been the source of important archaeological finds of manuscripts and printed books. In 1900, a crack in the wall in one of the Buddhist cave temples led to the discovery of the Dunhuang library cave, which held tens of thousands of medieval manuscripts written in Chinese, Tibetan and a dozen and a half other languages. Around the same time excavations led by foreign expeditions brought to light wood and paper manuscripts at a series of desert sites in China's westernmost province Xinjiang 新疆 (now not a province but an autonomous region). Especially the material found at Khotan 和田, Turfan 吐魯番, Loulan 樓蘭 and Kucha 庫車 were significant, revealing a wealth of new information on ancient languages and peoples along the Silk Road. In addition, tens of thousands of woodslip documents from the early medieval period were found in the region of Etsin-gol in Inner Mongolia. The abandoned city of Khara-khoto was located in the same region, and it is here that in 1908–1909 the Russian expedition of Pyotr K. Kozlov (1863–1935) discovered thousands of books and fragments written in Tangut and Chinese.

After discovering the vast amount of textual material in a stupa outside the city walls of Khara-khoto, Kozlov shipped everything back to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg. From there, the textual material was shortly transferred to the Asiatic Museum, which was the predecessor institution of the current Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), where the collection is kept to this day. Art objects and other items of pictorial nature went to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum, and eventually ended up in the State Hermitage Museum.[1] Even though Kozlov made every effort to remove from the site everything his caravan was able to transport, six years later the professional explorer and archaeologist M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) was still able to gather a significant collection, even if the bulk of it was made up of fragments. These two expeditions collected gathered most the available textual material at the site and it was only towards the end of the 20th century that excavations conducted by Chinese archaeologists yielded a limited amount of additional fragments. Yet to this day, the Kozlov collection kept in St. Petersburg represents the largest and most important group of Tangut material, making subsequent discoveries pale in comparison.

Nevertheless, even though no other site yielded as much material as Khara-khoto, when taken together, the other discoveries are just as important. Khara-

1 Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978, 154.

khoto was excavated by foreign expedition teams during the first decade and a half of the 20th century and, as a result, most of the material was taken out of China. From the late 1920s, however, China forbade the removal of antiquities from the country and thus subsequent discoveries remained on Chinese soil. Over the years, the Tangut manuscripts and printed texts accumulated and formed a sizeable body of material which is now kept in various institutions around China. Although they are not kept together in one institution and thus cannot be considered a single collection, facsimile images have been recently published in 20 large volumes, presenting a treasure trove of written sources for Tangut studies.[2] This body of material is especially important because it complements the Khara-khoto finds with sources of wider provenance, which in turn can validate or disprove some of the assumptions made earlier. The large volume of books from Khara-khoto inevitably raises the question how representative this corpus is for other regions of the Tangut state and Tangut culture in general. The publication of the Tangut collections kept in China, almost none of which come from Khara-khoto, provides a control group that is essential for assessing the reliability of the Kozlov collection. In light of these publications, we can now confirm the initial impression that most of the Tangut written sources are Buddhist in nature. In fact, the newly published material contains almost no secular texts, highlighting the uniqueness of the Khara-khoto corpus in this respect.

The discovery of texts written in Tangut opened up an entirely new field of research. Tangut was a dead language completely forgotten and initially even the identification of the script presented a serious problem. The discovery of a treasure trove of books written in this language made it possible to ascertain the identity of the script and to begin the work of decipherment. Fortunately, the collection had everything a decipherer could dream of, including bilingual and monolingual dictionaries, as well as numerous translations of known Chinese texts. This enabled scholars to align the Tangut and Chinese (and in some cases the Tibetan) versions of the same text, producing Rosetta Stone-type parallel versions. Such work in turn made it possible to determine which Tangut word translators usually used for which Chinese word. While such correspondences provided the basis for reading Tangut texts, in practice they were dependent on character-to-character matches with the Chinese version and essentially entailed reading Tangut texts in a Chinese transcription. Ironically, the richness of the parallel Chinese material presented an obstacle to understanding the Tangut language, which remained elusive behind the logographic disguise of Sinoform

2 Ningxia daxue Xixiaxue yanjiu zhongxin et al. 2005–2007.

characters. To this day, this remains a problem in the field, even though significant progress has been made in trying to understand the Tangut language independent of Chinese.

This book is concerned with Tangut translations of secular Chinese texts. More specifically, I am interested in how Chinese texts were used and understood beyond China's borders, in a setting that is linguistically and socially different from where they had been composed and initially circulated. Essentially, this is a study of Chinese texts that had been translated into a different language and used in a non-Chinese environment. Chinese texts began to be translated into Tangut immediately after the invention of the Tangut script and, as far as we can tell, this process lasted as long as the script was in use. Indeed, judging from the sources available to us today, Chinese culture and Chinese texts were a major source material for Tangut literacy, as the larger part of the extant Tangut material is of Chinese origin and, at one point or other, was translated from Chinese. Particularly important in this respect are the Buddhist texts which are by far the most numerous in the available body of material. In most cases these texts, especially canonical sutras, were of Indian origin and had been translated into Chinese by Chinese and Central Asian monks. Nevertheless, Tangut translations used the Chinese translations and were less interested in tracing those back to their Indic versions. Accordingly, Tangut Buddhist sutras normally included the name of the translator (e.g. Kumārajīva) who had produced the Chinese version, even though the text itself was presented in Tangut.

The predominance of Buddhist texts among the Tangut books and manuscripts discovered at Khara-khoto and other sites demonstrates the significance of Buddhism in the Tangut state.[3] At the same time, it also attests to the principally religious motivation behind the invention of a native script. Nevertheless, the surviving material also contains many secular works, including Confucian classics, popular or semi-popular literary works and primers used for educational purposes. The present book focuses on such secular works, all of which were translated into Tangut from Chinese. Not trying to downplay the importance of the Buddhist material, my primary interest in this place is how and why texts of the native Chinese tradition acquired additional roles and functions in a non-Chinese environment.

Another group of material not covered in this book is the rich collection of manuscripts and printed texts written in Chinese. Once again, Buddhist texts

3 For Tangut Buddhism, see the works of Kirill J. Solonin, especially Solonin 2003, 2008 and 2014.

constitute an important part of this material, although there is also a considerable number of secular works. Some of these are fragmentary and relatively small but there are also printed editions that run into dozens or hundreds of pages. In terms of their content, the texts range from Confucian classics and Daoist works to primers and collections of medical prescriptions. Among the most important Chinese finds is the printed edition of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 with Lü Huiqing's 呂惠卿 (1032–1111) commentary, which had been printed in the Song 宋 and subsequently brought to Khara-khoto.[4] There are also quite a few Chinese dictionaries, such as the *Guangyun* 廣韻 and the *Pingshui yun* 平水韵, as well as primers such as the *Qianziwen* 千字文 and the *Mengqiu* 蒙求.[5] In addition, there are also fragments of the *Han shu* 漢書, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑒綱目, *Chuxue ji* 初學記, *Lunyu* 論語 and other texts known from the Chinese literary tradition.[6] Some of these editions were produced in the Song or Jin 金 states, others within the Tangut domain. In either case, these materials are of crucial importance for the study of the history of printing, education and scholarship.

Even though the overall majority of Tangut textual material comprises translations from Chinese and Tibetan, this does not mean that the ruins yielded no native Tangut texts. Indeed, the Tanguts themselves authored a variety of literary and scholarly works and these were circulated in printed or manuscript form. Among the most important texts were the monolingual and bilingual dictionaries compiled after the Chinese model. These attracted the attention of modern scholars early on and subsequently played a major role in both the decipherment of Tangut and its phonetic reconstruction; especially the *Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Palm* and the large monolingual Tangut *Sea of Characters* were crucial in this process.[7] Equally significant are the Tangut legal codes no doubt compiled on the basis Chinese precedents.[8] We are also fortunate to have some original Tangut poems, three of which (i.e. "The Ode on Monthly Pleasures," "The Great

4 See Chen 2009 and Tang 2009. A full trancription of the edition is available in Sun et al. 2012, 9–138.

5 A study of Chinese-language rhyme dictionaries from Khara-khoto is presented in Nie and Sun 2006.

6 For an edited collection of Chinese texts from Khara-khoto, see Sun et al. 2012 and Sun et al. 2014. We should also mention that there are also a number of Buddhist texts, unattested anywhere else, that have been translated in the Tangut state from Tibetan into Chinese. Some of these are discussed in Shen 2010.

7 Kepping et al. 1969; Kwanten 1982a and 1982b; Shi et al. 1983.

8 Kychanov 1987–1989; Kychanov 2013.

Ode" and "The Ode on Maxims") survived in their complete form.[9] Other native Tangut compositions include, among others, fragments of a Chinese-type encyclopaedia (*leishu* 類書) entitled *The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints*[10] and a primer called *Miscellaneous Characters* listing words according to categories.[11] Finally, we should also mention the rich body of administrative documents found at Khara-khoto which had been written in Tangut and reflect the daily affairs of the city.[12] Admittedly, even some of these native Tangut texts (e.g. legal codes, encyclopaedias) reflect a strong Chinese—or at times Tibetan—influence, as literacy itself had an obvious connection with these written cultures. At the same time there are also some texts (e.g. poetry, primers) that might be more independent of such influences and these may allow us a better understanding of native Tangut culture. Ironically, such texts are often more difficult for us to read precisely because we have less help from languages we know, not having access to the same text in Chinese or Tibetan. Thus native texts have an enormous potential for enhancing our knowledge of Tangut culture and language. But such an investigation is beyond the scope of the present study, which is specifically concerned with translations of secular texts made from Chinese.

Structurally this book is divided into seven chapters. Of these, the first three provide background information on the Tanguts and the modern academic field of Tangut studies, known in China as Xixiaxue 西夏學, whereas the latter four examine aspects of Tangut book culture and literacy, focusing on concrete manuscripts and printed books (or groups of those) as case studies. These four chapters incorporate my earlier research on Tangut texts and are also intended to be read as separate studies. While some of these have been published earlier,[13] they have been updated and significantly enlarged and thus the versions presented here should supersede earlier ones. In the book, the individual chapters cover the following topics:

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9 There are admittedly problems with the interpretation of the language of these poems and modern scholars speculated that they were at least partially written in another language or dialect (e.g. Nishida 1986b). Subsequently, the Russian scholar Ksenia Kepping advanced the theory that they may have been written in a "ritual language" in contrast with the "common language" used in everyday situations (Keping 2003, 24–28).

10 Kychanov 1997a.

11 Terent'ev-Katanskij et al. 2002.

12 Khara-khoto also yielded a sizeable group of administrative documents in Chinese, showing that both Tangut and Chinese were widely used in the local bureaucracy; see Chen 1983, Li 1991 and 1995, Zhang 2007.

13 These include Galambos 2011a, 2011b, 2012c and 2014c.

Chapter 1, "Ruins of a forgotten city," introduces the discovery of the desert ruins of Khara-khoto in the early part of the 20th century and the excavation of the library of Tangut books. Since the end of the 19th century, Russian explorers began reporting rumours about the existence of a "dead city" in the Alashan desert but attempts to track down the location of the ruins remained unsuccessful. The discovery of the "dead city" is usually attributed to the Russian explorer Pyotr K. Kozlov who visited the site on two occasions in 1908 and 1909 during his expedition to Amdo and Tibet. Yet recently disclosed archival documents reveal that the site had already been found a year earlier by a Buryat officer who had duly informed Kozlov and the secretary of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society about this. Nevertheless, the discovery of the stupa holding thousands of Tangut books can indeed be attributed to Kozlov's exploration of the city and its vicinity. Five years later, in 1914 Aurel Stein also visited the site as part of his third Central Asian expedition (1913–1916) and collected several thousand fragments—most holding only a few characters—left behind by the Russians. Subsequent archaeological work has been less spectacular, yet some parts of the site continue to yield smaller groups of fragments to this day. Although the material excavated by the Russian and British expeditions were shipped to St. Petersburg and London, respectively, all materials found after the 1920s remained in China and are kept today in private or public collections.

Chapter 2, "Tangut studies: Emergence of a field," provides an overview of the birth and development of Tangut studies, a field of research devoted to the Tangut language and history. Work prior to the discovery of Khara-khoto concentrated on the identification of the script found on ancient coins and the hitherto unidentified inscription at Juyongguan 居庸關. Although initial steps towards decipherment were made following the discovery of printed volumes of the Tangut *Lotus sutra* in 1900 in Beijing, the real breakthrough came with the large quantity of books recovered by the Russian expedition from Khara-khoto. Because the collection was deposited in St. Petersburg, not surprisingly Russian scholars were the first to begin working on Tangut. Accordingly, in its early period the newly emerging field of Tangut studies was dominated by Russian scholarship. Chinese and Japanese scholars joined in but were always dependent on access to the material kept in St. Petersburg, which in the long run was a significant limitation. Xenophobic sentiments of the Stalinist purges in the late 1930s and the Second World War effectively halted research which recommenced only in the post-war period. Once again, backed by her massive collection of Tangut materials, Russia took a leading role, even though China and Japan followed closely behind.

Chapter 3, "Historical and cultural background," presents a brief account of the history of the Tangut people and Tangut state. As no official history was compiled for the Xia dynasty, we can only rely on relevant material found in the histories of other dynasties, where the Tanguts are treated among the "foreign" states. Unfortunately, there are no native Tangut historiographical works at our disposal and thus the reconstruction of a historical narrative of the Tanguts and their state is largely based on Chinese transmitted sources, which inevitably offer a skewed view of events. Newly excavated Tangut materials contain few, and fragmentary, sources that do not shed much additional light on what is known from Chinese texts. The available Chinese sources follow the migration of Tangut tribes from their original homeland somewhere in Sichuan 四川 to the Ordos region (i.e. the Yellow River bend) where they established their base and with time developed an independent state. From 1036, Tangut rulers reigned as emperors for nearly two centuries, until their domain was annihilated by the armies of Genghis khan. During the two centuries of its existence, the Tangut state grew into one of the major powers in East Asia, with a thriving native culture and literacy. Especially significant was in this respect the invention of the Tangut script which was used long after the fall of the Tangut state, at least until Ming times.

Chapter 4, "Primers in Tangut and Chinese," investigates the widespread use of Chinese primers and educational texts in Tangut translation. Such texts comprise an important part of the surviving Tangut collections and we also know from historical sources that some of them were translated shortly after the invention of the Tangut script, with the aim to facilitate the acquisition of Tangut literacy skills. In a sense, making use of an existing body of educational texts seems a logical step for developing a new programme of learning and teaching, yet importing these from an entirely different language and literary culture is also far from being a straightforward thing to do. There are two cases studies for this topic. The first is an untitled Tangut manuscript fragment I provisionally named **Taizong's Questions*[14] because it contains dialogues between the celebrated ruler Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) of the Tang 唐 and his sage minister or ministers. The surviving portion of the text contains four well-known stories from the Chinese classical tradition, which make it very likely that the entire work is a translation of a Chinese text that has not come down to us. The other case study is the famous primer *Mengqiu* from the mid-8th century, a Chinese fragment of which was found in Khara-khoto. Although the text is in Chinese, it was nevertheless

14 In the present book, an asterisk before the title of a work indicates that the title has been assigned to the text by modern researchers, rather than being present on the original manuscript or print.

excavated among the Tangut books and was obviously used in the Tangut state. Other copies of the *Mengqiu* were also discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts and a Liao 遼 period pagoda in Ying county 應縣 (Shanxi province). Therefore, these excavated copies of the text all come from peripheral or foreign regions with a multilingual population. The chapter tries to draw attention to the significance and implications of Chinese educational texts used in such environments, either in their Chinese original or in translation.

Chapter 5, "Manuscript and print," examines the phenomenon of the co-existence of manuscript and print in Tangut book culture. Although chronologically print culture indeed came after the age of manuscripts, the spread of print technology did not mean the end of manuscripts. Instead, woodblock and movable type printing functioned as an extension of existing modes of book production, as yet another method of reproducing texts that were usually copied by hand. Naturally, the same situation applies to Chinese books, but while this has been relatively widely recognised in the Chinese case, some old misconceptions about printed material by default postdating manuscripts still prevail in Tangut studies. The case study in this chapter is the Tangut translation of the *Art of War of Sunzi*, which comes with three commentaries, which is an edition unknown in China. The Tangut text survived in both manuscript and print and the comparison of the two versions enables us to make a number of interesting observations about Tangut book culture. Moreover, a careful examination of the relationship between the manuscript and printed versions of the Tangut *Sunzi* permits us to correct some misconceptions about the temporal priority of manuscript vs. print cultures.

Chapter 6, "Translation vs. adaptation," explores the issue of the fidelity of Tangut translations to their Chinese source texts. The Khara-khoto corpus includes a number of translations made from known Chinese texts, and this has been extremely helpful for the decipherment of the Tangut language and script. Yet the Tangut and Chinese versions often display minor discrepancies and this raises the question whether these are due to the translators trying to render the text more readable for a native readership or because the translations used editions that are no longer accessible to us. In other words, did the process of translation usually entail an intentional adaptation of the source text? Can we tell cases of careless translation apart from changes made for the sake of different readership? The case study for examining this problem is the *Jiangyuan* 將苑 known in English as the *General's Garden*, a Chinese military treatise a Tangut manuscript of which is currently kept at the British Library and which represents the earliest extant edition of this work. The comparison of the Tangut translation with early editions of the *Jiangyuan* shows that some of the discrepancies initially explained as a result of adaptation are in fact attested in surviving editions. At the same time, the Tangut version of the last part of the text, which forms a clearly identifiable textual unit that stands apart from the rest of the text, differs from all extant Chinese versions and thus may have been changed by the translator. In the Chinese versions these four sections are devoted to the four barbarians surrounding the central Chinese domain, but the Tangut version omits three of these, leaving only the category of northern barbarians which obviously resonated better with the circumstances of the Tangut state on the northern periphery of the Song empire. It is quite possible that the Tangut version in this place was indeed the result of a deliberate change, even though the fact that we do not possess a matching Chinese version cannot conclusively prove that such a version never existed.

Chapter 7, "Translation consistency," examines the phenomenon of wholescale appropriation of Chinese texts into a non-Chinese social and linguistic setting, which in this case is the Tangut state and the Tangut language. As it is probably the case in most literate cultures, texts do not appear in isolation but are generally written within the framework of an existing literary and scholarly tradition, positioning themselves as part of an intertextual world by means of a variety of techniques, ranging from directly quoting earlier texts and well-known proverbs to employing allusions and imitating the style of earlier works. With time, this generates a closely interwoven body of texts in which the intertextual connections are evident for most educated readers. But when these works are translated into a foreign language, the connections are inevitably lost, unless there is a deliberate effort to maintain those. This chapter uses Tangut translations of Chinese military texts as a case study to examine how much attention the translators paid to the problem of intertextuality. On a practical level, the focus is on how consistent they were in rendering technical terms, personal names and direct quotes. The results of the analysis suggest that translation consistency was not a major issue and in many cases the translators did not make an effort to consult earlier translations for technical terms or quotes. Similarly, Chinese names could be transcribed into Tangut differently, the reason for which may have been that the historical figure in question was not well-known to Tangut translators and readers.

As mentioned above, the last four chapters of the present book are devoted to different themes in Tangut book culture. All four of them are concerned with texts, focusing on the relationship with either their Chinese originals or each other. In each case, however, the materiality of printed books and manuscripts plays a crucial role. Rather than looking at Tangut translations in abstract linguistic (or textual) space, I attempt to draw attention to the importance of their physical manifestations, that is, the concrete form in which they were discovered at the ruins of Khara-khoto. This aspect of Tangut book culture is especially prominent in Chapter 5 which compares the manuscript and printed versions of the Tangut *Sunzi* and shows that taking into consideration the physical features of books can yield a number of additional insights concerning the circumstances of their production and use. So far the materiality of books and manuscripts has received relatively little attention in Tangut studies, a notable exception from this being the work of the Russian scholar Terentiev-Katansky whose research included the codicology of Tangut books.[15] Naturally, such research would ideally require full access to the original items which is not feasible for most of us. Yet even facsimile reproductions and digital photographs can help us make important distinctions and contribute to a better understanding of the physical makeup of Tangut books. Therefore, an attention to these characteristics is in most cases a matter of awareness to the significance of such an approach. Indeed, one of the aims of the present study is to highlight the utility of this line of enquiry.

Another point I attempt to lay emphasis on is the value of the Tangut material for the study of early editions of Chinese texts, and sinology in general. Although currently Tangut texts seem to be almost exclusively utilised by linguists and a limited group of hard-core "Tangutologists," they present a considerable amount of information that would be valuable for the wider field of Chinese studies. All of the Tangut texts analysed in this book are translations of Chinese originals and in some cases represent the only surviving copies of those. In other cases the Tangut text is the earliest extant version of the text, and is therefore of utmost value for the study of the textual history of that text. Therefore the Tangut collections offer a largely untapped body of texts, which are yet to be utilised by scholars of medieval and early modern China. Even though these texts are hidden from nonspecialists by the veil of an unknown language and, just as importantly, an unfamiliar script, most of them have been transcribed and translated into Chinese and are thus accessible if someone wished to study them. Unfortunately, in most cases publications presenting these texts are written for the close circle of specialists and appear in academic journals specifically associated with Tangut studies. The result is that "outsiders" do not read these studies and even those who make an effort to do so are invariably discouraged by the specialised way of presentation, which is less than fully transparent to those outside Tangut studies. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that opening up the sinological riches

15 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1974, 1977, 1981.

of Tangut collections would also be the responsibility of scholars working on the language as they are the ones who could make the material more attractive and easier to utilise by changing how, where and for whom it is presented. This book is a modest step in that direction.

The name of the Tangut state is called Xixia 西夏 (Western Xia) in Chinese and by extension the same name is also used for the language and their script. The Tanguts referred to their state in contemporary Chinese language material as Da Xia 大夏 (Great Xia), although in Tangut the name was *Phiow bjij lhjịj tha* 𗴂𗹭𗂧𘜶, translated by Ruth Dunnell as the Great State of White and High.[16] At the same time, the Tanguts called themselves *Mjɨ nja̱* 𗼇𗟲 (Tib. Mi-ñag). The ethnonym Tangut comes from Turkic sources but it is the one that became used in Western sources for the region. Thus Marco Polo already referred to the region as the "Province of Tangut" and it was also commonly used in Russian sources to refer to the tribes living in this region, regardless of whether they were truly descendants of the Tanguts. Even though in modern scholarship the terms Xixia and Tangut are used synonymously, in this book I prefer not to call the people or their state Xixia because it inevitably imposes a Sinocentric perspective, which I am keen to avoid. For the same reason, I try to present, whenever possible, titles of Tangut texts in an English translation followed by the original Tangut title, rather than referring to these texts by their Chinese title as it is often done in modern scholarship.[17]

A few words should also be said about how Tangut texts are usually transcribed in modern scholarship. The Tangut script has about six thousand unique characters, which look surprisingly similar to Chinese ones, especially when viewed by someone who cannot read either of them. Needless to say, they are completely different and the similarity is caused by the inventors of the Tangut script borrowing the strokes of Chinese characters when designing their script. Thus the individual strokes in Tangut writing are essentially those of Chinese characters. The components and characters made up of these strokes, however, are completely different from Chinese. As a result of the renewed interest in the Tangut script, currently there are several Tangut fonts and input methods available. The character set and fonts used in this book were developed by the Mojikyo Institute 文字鏡研究会 in Japan and are freely downloadable from their website.[18]

16 Dunnell 1996.

17 Obviously, part of the reason for this is that most scholarship on Tangut studies today is published in China and this inevitably emphasises a Chinese point of view.

18 <http://www.mojikyo.org>. I would like to express my gratitude to the designers of the Tangut font which greatly facilitated the writing of the present book.

The fonts contain a complete set of standard Tangut characters as they appear in available modern dictionaries. Naturally, when dealing with excavated texts from about two centuries, there are many variants and these cannot be represented directly but need to be displayed using their standard forms. Whenever the use of a variant is important for making a specific point, it is shown as an image. Furthermore, many Tangut manuscripts are written in the cursive hand and these can only be displayed in their standard forms. Whenever the visual form of the script matters, I use photographs to illustrate the point at hand.

The pronunciation of Tangut words used in the present book is based on the system of Gong Hwang-cherng's, as it is presented in Li Fanwen's 李範文 Tangut-Chinese dictionary.[19] This choice was done for the sake of convenience and not because I have a strong opinion in favour of one phonetic reconstruction over the other. Although the currently available systems show some discrepancies, these are for the most part relatively minor. As the present book is not concerned with the phonological system of Tangut, pronunciation is generally provided for reference purposes, for which any system is adequate, as long as it is applied consistently.

A common practice in modern Tangut studies is to transcribe Tangut characters with Chinese ones. On the one hand, this system allows researchers who are not—or only superficially—familiar with the Tangut script and language to follow the basic flow of the text. From this perspective, this practice is therefore a useful device. On the other hand, it is highly problematic from a methodological point of view, because it tries to read Tangut as if it was some sort of decoded version of Chinese, paying little attention to the important differences between the two languages. This transcription method reinforces the notion that Tangut text can be functionally read in this manner and that there is a one-to-one correspondence between Chinese and Tangut characters (i.e. words). Needless to say, this is not the case and one should avoid using Chinese characters, and especially their pronunciation, to read Tangut texts.

If we look for a model of how one should display texts in a philologically adequate manner, it is worth considering how Chinese texts are transcribed in Western scholarship. In this context, they are usually presented with a translation, but

19 Li 1997. To be exact, I am using the pronunciation as it appears on Andrew West's website Babelstone <http://www.babelstone.co.uk/Tangut/XHZD_Index.html>, which is based on Li Fanwen's dictionary. This webpage also provides in my view the most convenient method of looking up Tangut characters. I am extremely grateful to Andrew West for making this resource freely available on the Internet, it has certainly made working with Tangut characters much easier.

without a character-level transcription or phonetic annotation. We simply copy the original Chinese text and provide a translation. However tempting this may be, at the current level of research Tangut texts need to be accompanied by a larger notational apparatus so that the reader can see the entire interpretive process behind a translation. We need more transparency because by jumping directly to the translation we are running the risk of smoothening out some problematic issues, which may turn out to be significant not only for the passage in question but also for our understanding of Tangut grammar and syntax.

In an effort to make the transcription more transparent and at the same time avoid the pitfalls of a character-for-character Chinese transcription, I present Tangut texts with several layers of transcription.[20] As an example, consider the sentence in juan 7 of the Tangut *Forest of Categories* (259), a translation of a Chinese encyclopaedia:

5970	2119	5297	1319	1034	1013	5306	1139	4027	1567	0508
pie	·ji	śio̱w	tshji	kwo	tśju	dzjwɨ	jij	nji̱	gji	ŋwu
伯	夷	叔	齊	孤	竹	君	之	二	子	是
Bo	Yi	Shu	Qi	Gu	Zhu	ruler	GEN	two	son	be

Bo Yi and Shu Qi were the two sons of king Gu Zhu.

In this example, the first line contains the Tangut characters. The only extra annotation here is the punctuation which does not feature in the original but is added in much the same way as we do it when we cite texts written in literary Chinese. The second line contains the index number assigned to that particular Tangut character in Li Fanwen's dictionary. The index numbers included for the sake of identification and to facilitate the lookup of characters when seeing them in a printed book; it is basically a character ID. The third line has the reconstructed pronunciations from Li Fanwen's dictionary, which in general terms enable the reader to see how the sentence was pronounced and can also help to examine the Tangut transliteration of Chinese proper nouns, e.g. the names of the brothers Bo Yi (*Pie •Ji*) and Shu Qi (*Śio̱w Tshji*) and their father King Gu Zhu (*Kwo Tśju*).

20 Naturally, this method of presentation is on the whole based on, although not identical to, that seen in works of other scholars in Tangut studies (e.g. Jacques 2007, Lin 2009).

The fourth line contains the Chinese transcriptions of Tangut words in the sentence. Essentially, these are Chinese glosses of the Tangut words and should not be considered a translation. They are based on precedents taken from Tangut translations of Chinese texts, that is, patterns of usage in parallel texts known to us. Li Fanwen's dictionary is largely compiled from such parallel cases but there are also many other examples available in Tangut texts that have been deciphered and published. In glossing Tangut texts, an effort is made to approximate the use of words in the Chinese original, since the text is a translation of that. While without the presence of the Chinese source text this is a very imprecise method of guessing which words the original text may have used, the availability of a body of Tangut texts with Chinese parallels makes guesswork much more reliable than it may seem at first. But we should note that this is a flexible and quite inexact method, which has been in use since the early days of Tangut studies. I also added an extra line with English glosses of Tangut words, which is in many ways parallel with the Chinese glosses in the previous line. This line is included for the benefit of readers who do not read Chinese but in practice it is also helpful as a step away from the character-for-character Chinese transcriptions. The reason for this is that we normally do not have parallel English versions of the same texts and rather than trying to reconstruct a missing original, or trying to match the Tangut text with an extant original, we have to translate the Tangut characters directly according to how we understand those. Similar to the line with Chinese glosses, this line is relatively flexible and aims to elucidate my interpretation of the sentence, rather than trying to uphold a systematic transcription system.[21]

Finally, the last line in the example above is the English translation of the Tangut sentence. It is obvious that this translation is completely different from the character-level glossing presented in the previous line. Basically speaking, the first and last lines in this transcription apparatus contain the information we would normally expect to see when reading a modern study of a Chinese text. But for reading Tangut the reader needs more help and this is provided in the four additional lines inserted between these two. Hopefully, this allows the reader to see how a particular translation was arrived at and also to spot mistakes that would otherwise remain undetected in an un-annotated translation.

21 The grammatical abbreviations used in this line are based on the ones listed in Jacques 2014, viii–ix. The ones used in this book are: 1SG (1st person singular); 2SG (2nd person singular); CONJ (conjunction); COMIT (comitative); COP (copula); DIR (directional); GEN (genitive); LOC (locative); NMLS (nominalisation); ORD (ordinal); TOP (topic marker).

Russian names and titles that occur in the present book are romanised consistently according to the original Russian orthography (e.g., й > j; ж > zh; ч > ch; ы > y) in the footnotes and the bibliography. At the same time, in the main text of the book, I use the forms of names more familiar for English readers, especially for people whose names are already known in the West. Thus I use the form Przhevalsky but in the bibliography this name appears as Przhevalskij for Russian publications, as this is how it is actually spelled in Russian. Similarly, scholars who published in English may have had their preference for a particular way of spelling their name. For example, Kepping wrote her own name in English as Ksenia Kepping, even though in Russian it is spelled as Ksenija Keping, which is the form I retain for transliterating her Russian publications.

1 Ruins of a forgotten city

The ruins of Khara-khoto are located in the desert in the western part of modern-day Inner Mongolia. This was the city Marco Polo called Eçina when he visited it during the Yuan period.[22] During the Ming period the site was abandoned, possibly as a result of water shortage and following this it was gradually covered by desert. It was discovered for the West at the beginning of the 20th century, at the time when the archaeological expeditions of foreign powers searched through the desert sites of north-western China, looking for manuscripts and vestiges of forgotten civilisations. The discovery of the city is ascribed to Pyotr K. Kozlov who had passed through this region in 1908 on his way to Sichuan and Tibet. Sensational as it was, the discovery had been anticipated by earlier visitors such as the naturalist Grigory N. Potanin (1835–1920) who travelled through here during his 1884–1886 expedition to Amdo. Potanin reported that local Torgut tribes told him about the ruins of a city called Erge-khara-buryuk, located a day's march to the east of the easternmost tributary of the Etsin-gol. According to the rumours, there were walls of a small city and ruins of many sand-covered buildings, surrounded by large sand hills with no water nearby. Treasure-hunters had been finding silver objects among the ruins.[23]

In addition, Potanin recorded local legends connected with the fall of the Tangut. Among these was a story about Genghis khan taking the wife of the Tangut ruler. According to the legend, Genghis khan shot a hare while hunting and, upon seeing the hare's blood on the new white snow, asked his official called Mergen-Kasar whether there existed a woman with a face of this colour. Mergen-Kasar replied that such a woman was the wife of Shiturgu-Tülgen-khan whose city was a day's ride away. Genghis khan went to the city, killed Shiturgu-Tülgen and took his wife. But before his death Shiturgu-Tülgen said if Genghis khan was to take his wife, he should strip her of her clothes and search her body carefully, as she had an evil heart. When Genghis khan spent the night with Shiturgu-Tülgen's wife, she castrated the khan with a concealed blade and then drowned herself in the river. Her body was never found but since then the

22 The name Eçina often appears in English literature of Edzina or Etsina, even though this matches none of the forms that appear in manuscripts of Marco Polo's voyages. For a variety of spellings used in the manuscripts, see Pelliot 1959–1963, v. 2, 637.

23 Potanin 1893, v. 1, 464.

river has been called Khatun-gol, i.e. the Queen's River. The khan moved on but died not long after this incident.[24]

When Kozlov led his expedition through this region in 1908, one of his main objectives was to verify the rumours of the "dead city" in the desert. In fact, it is likely that he knew about the existence and even the exact location of the city before the beginning of his expedition. What he had no way of knowing, of course, was the richness of the archaeological material he was about to discover there, and the significance of these finds for scholarship.

Even before leading an expedition to Khara-khoto, Kozlov was already an experienced explorer and traveller. He had begun the business of the exploration at the age of 20, when he joined the renown Russian explorer Nikolai M. Przhevalsky (1839–1888) on his fourth Central Asian expedition to Chinese Turkestan and Northern Tibet (1883–1885).[25] He graduated from the military academy in St. Petersburg only after returning from this trip. In 1888, shortly after graduation, he left with Przhevalsky on another expedition which was cut short by Przhevalsky's illness and death near lake Issyk-kul in modern-day Kyrgystan.[26] A year later the expedition continued under the leadership of Colonel Mikhail V. Pevtsov (1843–1902), traversing Chinese Turkestan, the Kunlun range, Northern Tibet and Dzungaria.[27] Kozlov's third journey to Western China was with the 1893–1895 expedition of Vsevolod I. Roborovsky (1865–1910), an experienced member of Przhevalsky's several expeditions. Because halfway through the enterprise Roborovsky fell very ill, Kozlov took command of the expedition and concluded it successfully, publishing a report as an "assistant" to the expedition leader.[28]

24 *Ibid.*, v. 2, 268–269. The entire second volume of Potanin's work is devoted to folklore material he collected from local Mongols, such as tales, stories and historical legends.

25 An account of this expedition was published in 1888, the year of Przhevalsky's death (Przheval'skij 1888).

26 Karakol, the city in modern Kyrgyzstan where Przhevalsky died was renamed Przhevalsk in his honour, and kept this name until 1991.

27 Extensive reports of this expedition came out as Pevtsov 1892–1896 and Pevtsov 1895. A short English notice while the expedition was still in progress came out in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* with the title "Progress of the Russian Expedition to Central Asia under Colonel Pievtsoff" (Roborovsky 1890).

28 Roborovskij and Kozlov 1899–1900. The report consists of two volumes, one written by Roborovsky and the other by Kozlov. An English-language summary of the expedition was published in the *Geographical Journal* (v. 8, no. 2, 1896, 161–173) under the title "The Central Asian Expedition of Captain Roborovsky and Lieut. Kozloff."

In 1899–1901 Kozlov left on his first independent expedition to Mongolia, Amdo and Kham, leading a party of eighteen people. Travelling through uncharted territories where members at times were forced to engage in armed conflict with inhospitable locals, the expedition was out of touch with the rest of the world for nearly two years, which gave rise to rumours that they had perished. Upon his return, Kozlov published a full report in eight volumes and was awarded the golden medal of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.[29] The next mission was the so-called Mongolian-Sichuanese expedition (1907–1909) in the course of which Kozlov discovered the dead city of Khara-khoto. Partly because of the outbreak of the Russian Revolution (1917) and the Civil War (1917–1922), an account of the events was published only in 1923 in the book *Mongolia and Amdo and the Dead City of Khara-khoto*.[30] This book remains the main source for information about the course of events related to the discovery of the site. Additional details can be learned from Kozlov's letters written to Sergei Oldenburg around this time and Kozlov's diaries.[31]

1.1 Kozlov's first visit to Khara-khoto (1908)

The next person to visit the region after Potanin was V. A. Obruchev but the local Torguts concealed from him the existence of Khara-khoto and the shortcut leading through the ruins of the city to Alashan, forcing him do a large detour to the north-west.[32] Eight years earlier, during Kozlov's 1900 expedition, A. N. Kaznakov had visited the lower reaches of the Etsin-gol and tried to find out more about this mysterious city but the locals persistently denied the existence of any ruins in the region.[33] In 1908, however, locals were much more responsive and gave bits and pieces of information about the ruins. In fact, they seemed completely uninterested in the ruins and treasure seeking in general and apparently considered the place hazardous so they were unwilling to go there to help excavations even when offered generous wages.

29 Kozlov 1905–1908. An English summary of the expedition was published as "Through Eastern Tibet and Kam" (Kozloff 1908a and Kozloff 1908b).

30 Kozlov 1923. This book was almost immediately translated into German (Kozlow 1925). In addition, the text of his lecture read in Moscow and St. Petersburg (by this time already called Leningrad) came out later as a separate publication (Kozlov 1927).

31 The letters have recently been re-published with annotations in Bukharin 2012.

32 Obruchev 1900–1901, v. 2, 399–400.

33 Kozlov 1923, 75.

Khara-khoto was discovered for the world during Kozlov's 1908–1909 expedition to Mongolia and Sichuan. He reached the Etsin-gol region in March 1908 and immediately proceeded to visit the ruins, the exact location of which he had apparently already learned with certainty. The first preliminary visit lasted thirteen days (1–13 April) with a party of five, leaving the rest of the expedition with their caravan at Toroi-ontse. The small team was lead by a local guide called Bata who had been at the ruins many times himself and had heard plenty of stories about those from his father and other elders. First the party came across the ruins of Aktan-khoto, a fort defending the city, and only later the actual remains of Khara-khoto. As they were nearing the city, they began to notice an increasing number of pottery shards, even while the city itself was still blocked by high sand hills.

They entered through the western gates, coming to the large square. The area within the city walls contained a number of ruins, including remains of stupas, shrines and other structures, which stood amidst heaps of rubbish. They camped in the middle of the fortress and immediately commenced the surveying of the site. They measured the walls and structures and made note of an opening cut in the northern wall, large enough for a mounted soldier to ride through. Within hours of their arrival they already found a number of valuable artefacts and documents. While it was clear that local treasure-seekers had been occasionally digging at the ruins for silver and other valuable items, these activities were sporadic and conducted on a small-scale, leaving the major structures more or less intact. As a result, Kozlov's team was able to find a large amount of material when going through these.

During the two weeks spent at the site, the expedition dug up a number of manuscripts and printed texts. Thus at the ruins of a building inside the city walls they found fragments of manuscripts written in Tangut. A stupa yielded three Tangut books and up to thirty notebooks, and some small paintings and statues. In a building the Torguts identified as having been occupied by Muslims they found leaves of Persian manuscripts, one of which turned out to be a fragment of the well-known *Kitab-i-Sindbad*.[34] Upon leaving the ruins and rejoining the rest of the expedition, Kozlov immediately sent to St. Petersburg—with Mongolian post via Urga—news of the discovery of Khara-khoto, including samples of manuscripts found there. On the basis of these samples, Aleksei I. Ivanov (1878–1937) in St. Petersburg published a review of the Khara-khoto

34 Because Kozlov's party had no scholars who could read any of the languages found at the ruins, the identification of texts was only done in St. Petersburg after the books and fragments arrived there.

manuscripts, thereby making the discovery known to the academic community.[35] Kozlov also sent a letter to Sergei F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), the scholar and explorer who at the time served as secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Since it is one of the first notices regarding the discovery of writings at Khara-khoto, it is worth citing the parts related to excavated texts:[36]

> […] Along with this letter, I am also mailing three packets addressed to A. A. Dostoevsky, secretary of the Geographical Society, which contain (to a smaller extent) my brief notes about the visit to Khara-khoto and (to a larger extent) two packets with manuscripts, in good condition, found by the expedition while excavating the ruins where once lived a people with a higher level of culture than that of the modern inhabitants of the nearby regions.
>
> An intriguing phenomenon is that the city itself seems to be Chinese, yet the presence of many stupas and Lamaist dormitories and the discovery of paintings and Buddhist statues with Tibetan writing, etc. suggest something else!
>
> Presently I am only sending manuscripts (more precisely, only 1/20 or 1/30 portion of those—the ones in good condition). These include three separate books in folders (these books, however, are to be mailed together with the entire manuscript material in the autumn of this year from Alasha-yamen), i.e. I shall try to mail all of the material I have obtained at Khara-khoto. It is also interesting that the manuscripts are principally Chinese.[37] Excavating one of the stupas, we found a whole treasure trove of these, and all of the texts had been preserved surprisingly well.
>
> Would you please, dear Sergei Fyodorovich, take a close look at what is already at the Geographical Society (I hope that the mail will not be damaged along the way), or to be exact, will be there by the time you receive this letter. I am writing about this to A. A. Dostoevsky, asking him to contact you and maybe P. S. Popov upon receiving the Khara-khoto material.
>
> To my letter to the Geographical Society I am attaching (i) four photographs (I shall mail these separately in the autumn from Alasha-yamen; (ii) a site map of the fortress; (iii) a rough cross section of the mysterious structure; and a painting of the Buddha with a Tibetan date.
>
> In addition to the large number of manuscripts (in Chinese), we also obtained a large (reddish-golden) painting of the Buddha on textile. All this will probably reach you a year before my return.
>
> Tomorrow the expedition is leaving for Alasha-yamen along a new route. The first overnight stop will actually be in Khara-khoto where we have already sent some men this morning so that they could excavate at the ruins for an extra day or two. Despite the water

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35 A Russian notice was published in the bulletin of the Geographical Society (Ivanov 1909a) and a German one later on in the bulletin of the Academy of Sciences (Ivanov 1909b).

36 This letter is dated 28 March, 1908 (Old Style); Bukharin 2012, 291.

37 Obviously, Kozlov was unable to differentiate between Tangut and Chinese writing, which appear quite similar for the uninitiated.

> shortage, the entire expedition will spend a whole day at Khara-khoto and do nothing but search for more material. [...]

The samples sent by Kozlov caused a sensation in St. Petersburg. The next issue of the *Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society* had three short articles discussing the discoveries.[38] Thus news of the discovery spread very quickly in academic circles and brought instant fame to Kozlov as the person who discovered the "dead city." In fact, it seems that scholars in St. Petersburg and Moscow appreciated the significance of the discovery more than Kozlov himself who, despite being thrilled about the unexpected success of his expedition, did not possess the academic background to judge their implications. But scholars in St. Petersburg thought that at this stage it was much more important to continue archaeological work at Khara-khoto and secure additional material than to push on towards Sichuan and Tibet to explore uncharted regions. Aleksandr V. Grigoryev (1848–1908) of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society sent Kozlov a letter in which he conveyed the suggestion of the Committee of the Geographical Society that Kozlov should call off his upcoming trip to Sichuan and instead return to the Gobi and continue excavations at Khara-khoto. In conclusion, Grigoryev asks him to "spare no effort, time or means" for the excavation of the ruins.[39] News of the academic significance of the discovery naturally inspired Kozlov and pushed him to work even harder so that he could uncover more manuscripts and artefacts.

As mentioned in the letter to Oldenburg, the expedition went through Khara-khoto once again as they travelled to Alashan via an unexplored desert route that led through the site. Kozlov had sent some people to the ruins a day earlier so that they could continue looking for archaeological material. As expected, by the time the expedition caught up with them, a number of additional finds had been made, including coins and manuscripts. Excavations continued the following day before the expedition resumed its journey to Alashan, already carrying crates filled with material found at Khara-khoto.

Like Obruchev and Potanin before them, Kozlov's expedition tried to collect local legends related to the "dead city," even if they did this on a much more modest scale.[40] They found out that the Torguts living in the surrounding regions believed that the city's inhabitants used to be Chinese. They insisted that their own ancestors already found the ruins of the city in the same state as it

38 Ivanov 1909a, Ol'denburg 1909 and Kotvich 1909.
39 Bukharin 2012, 292.
40 The following legend is from Kozlov 1923, 81–82.

was when Kozlov first saw it. According to local lore, the last ruler of Khara-baishin (as they called Khara-khoto),[41] a warrior by the name of Black General (Khara Jiangjun), had designs to overthrow the Chinese dynasty and thus the Chinese sent a large army against him. The Black General's troops were outnumbered and after heavy fighting had to withdraw and take shelter in Khara-baishin. The Chinese laid siege to the city and were eventually able to triumph only after altering the course of the Etsin-gol, thus depriving the city of its water supply. The defenders of the city tried to dig a well in the north-western corner of the fortress but no matter how deep they went, they could not find any water. Then the Black General decided to bury all of his treasure in this dry well and killed his two wives, his son and his daughter so that the enemy could not abuse them. Following this, the defenders cut an opening in the city wall near the place where they buried the treasures and made a final charge at the enemy. They all died in battle, following which the Chinese troops razed the city to the ground but were unable to find the treasure. According to the legends, the treasures were still there, even though Chinese and Mongolian treasure-hunters had tried to dig them up on many occasions. It was said that the Black General had cursed the treasure so that it would not be found and that treasure-hunters looking for the treasure found two large snakes with shining red and green scales instead. Yet Kozlov also heard of an old lady who had been searching with her sons for their lost horses when a violent sand storm caught them. They found shelter among the ruins of the city and after the storm was gone looked around. The old lady found on the ground a pearl necklace which she was later able to sell at a very high price to a Chinese merchant.

1.2 Kozlov's second visit to Khara-khoto

After travelling through Inner Mongolia and Amdo under often dangerous conditions, in accordance with the wishes of the Geographical Society, Kozlov returned to Khara-khoto in May 1909. This was a year after his initial visit, and this time his team stayed at the ruins for nearly a month. The expedition approached the city from the direction of Dingyuanying 定遠營 (modern Bayanhot 巴彥浩特). Kozlov notes that during the year that passed since their first visit

41 Kozlov believed that Khara-baishin meant "black city" but he evidently confused this with the name Khara-khoto which does mean "black city" whereas Khara-baishin actually means "black house." On Folke Bergman's map, Khara-baishing [*sic*] is a separate place about 12km north-northwest of Khara-khoto (Sommarström 1956–1958).

here, no one else had been to the ruins and even the excavated objects they left behind remained in the same place. Kozlov hired local diggers through the local prince at Etsin-gol about 20 km from Khara-khoto and made arrangements for a daily supply of sheep and water.

This time the excavations were conducted according to a pre-arranged plan, digging both within and outside the city walls. In due course they began working on a stupa located about 250 m outside the western wall. This was the "famous" stupa which eventually yielded an entire library of books and a multitude of art objects. Most of the material survived in good condition and not only the books but also their covers made of blue paper or silk were well preserved. Buried in the same stupa were also the remains of a person, presumably a clergy, whose mummified body was found in a sitting position. The expedition removed the skull and had it shipped back to St. Petersburg along with the other finds.[42] The majority of the archaeological material obtained by the expedition at Khara-khoto came from this stupa, which at the time of Kozlov's arrival in Khara-khoto was 8–10 m high and consisted of a base, central portion and an already ruined brown top. Altogether it yielded at least two thousand books and hundreds of art objects including paintings and statues.

Kozlov points out that the texts and objects found in the stupa were in complete disarray. In the lower part, some system of arrangement was still detectable but the higher they looked the more disordered the contents were. Towards the base of the stupa books were carefully wrapped in silk cloth, whereas higher up they were simply piled atop of each other without any apparent system. Also in the lower, more orderly, part some of the clay figurines were found on the same level, facing towards the inside. The same was true of the bronze statues, wooden printing blocks, miniature stupas and other objects.

The hoard of books found in the stupa were hauled to the camp and placed on a large canvas where they were sorted. Since Kozlov and his people could not read the Chinese and Tangut titles, the sorting was done according to purely external—and yet unspecified—characteristics, which may have been the main

42 The skull was later examined by the anthropologist F. Volkov who concluded that it may have belonged to an elder lady over fifty years of age (Volkov 1914, 182; Kozlov 1923, 555–556). Based on this supposition, Lev N. Menshikov, who compiled a descriptive catalogue of Chinese texts from Khara-khoto, advanced the hypothesis that the person buried in the stupa was Empress Luo 羅, widow of the Tangut emperor Renzong 仁宗 (Men'shikov 1984, 75). Kychanov (1997b, 17–18), however, felt that this was merely a "romantic hypothesis" which could be refuted if the skull was examined once again. Since then, however, the skull has been lost, perhaps during the siege of Leningrad.

reason behind the chaotic condition of the Kozlov collection today.[43] As to the amount of material, Kozlov later claimed in a public lecture that they had to use forty camels to transport the excavated materials when they left the ruins.[44] Still, there were more objects than they could transport. Kozlov tried to take everything he could but there was obviously a limit to the physical capabilities of his caravan. Therefore, he buried part of the material near the wall covered in sand, in case they would have a chance to come back one day.[45] But there were also other places where they buried their surplus material; for example, they hid large heads of Buddhist statues and dozens of other artefacts in a room inside the southern wall.[46]

Much of this buried "treasure" seems to have disappeared in later years as it was found neither by Stein (who obviously knew nothing of its existence) nor by other visitors to the site. It is possible that some of it was recovered by Kozlov himself during his 1926 visit to Khara-khoto, as he claims that despite the expectations to "find nothing, but overall we found rather a lot, mainly statues and artistic heads."[47] The fact that these finds included heads and other artefacts, rather than books and fragments suggests that they were primarily the objects they had hid themselves 17 years earlier. Otherwise it is unlikely that "a lot" of archaeological material would have been left at the site after Stein's systematic excavations. It is also possible that some of Kozlov's hired hands, many of whom had dug at the site in search of treasures, would came back to retrieve these hidden objects, especially after having been alerted to the value they held in the eyes of foreign visitors.

In a personal letter written to Oldenburg shortly after leaving the ruins, Kozlov described the discoveries at the site the following way:

> During our second visit to the ruins of Khara-khoto, which lasted almost a month, the expedition obtained nearly a thousand volumes of books, not counting the numerous scrolls, notebooks and other paper fragments, or the hundreds of painted and etched Buddha images and various other interesting artefacts. In short, we were fortunate to come across a stupa with a half-ruined top, which had most likely been constructed in honour of the *gegen* [i.e. holy man] buried in it. Along with the *gegen* was also buried this

43 Kychanov 1997b, 13.

44 Public lecture delivered 17 years later on 8 December, 1926; quoted in Kychanov 1997b, 18.

45 Quoted in Kychanov 1997b, 15.

46 Ibid.

47 Quoted in Kychanov 1997b, 16.

> treasure trove of texts which we are now transporting, as English archaeologists like to say, on seven camels, that is, fourteen large crates and bales.[48]

> During the first week of our work at the ruins of Khara-khoto we had limited success, even though we did find texts in different scripts (adding Turkish and Arabic to the list),[49] paper fragments, coins, paper money and many other things. Then we began excavating the "famous" stupa and spent almost all our remaining time on it. We were all surprised how well the books, paintings and other objects were preserved there. Some of the objects, once cleared from centuries of dust, looked completely fresh, clean and intact. Some of the Buddhist images are truly outstanding, showing an exceptional level or artistic skill! Tsongkhapa is, of course, missing, there are no images of this reformer of Buddhism, accordingly all the Buddhist images are older. Especially interesting are the metallic images, even if there are only a few of them. I think that in its totality the wealth of material from Khara-khoto will shed a bright light on the historical past of a long-lost ancient city and its inhabitants.[50]

Later in the letter Kozlov mentions having received their mail from Urga and learning of a French expedition that had left Urga earlier that month (July 1909) in the direction of Kobdo, with the aim of conducting excavations at Khara-khoto. In this connection, Kozlov expresses his relief that their second visit to the ruins was "just in time." The French expedition in question was led by Henri de Bouillane de Lacoste (1867–1937) who had travelled through Central Asia and in 1909 visited Mongolia, traversing some of the same land as Kozlov.[51] Despite Russian fears, however, the French expedition did not visit Khara-khoto.[52]

By the autumn of 1909 all of the material collected by Kozlov's expedition was shipped to St. Petersburg and deposited at the Geographical Society. At the beginning of the following year the Society organized an exhibition for the gen-

48 It is hard to say whether it was forty camels or only seven but in his public lecture in 1926 Kozlov also claimed having found 24 thousand books (Kychanov 1997b, 18) which was certainly an exaggeration.

49 Kozlov is, of course, wrong in identifying Arabic writings among the excavated texts. These were most likely Mongolian manuscripts written in the Uyghur script, or possibly the Persian fragments.

50 Letter from Kozlov to Oldenburg, dated 8 July (finished on 10 July) 1909, at the mountains of Gurvan Saikhan. Bukharin 2012, 294–295.

51 Bouillane de Lacoste published a book about his travels in Afghanistan (Bouillane de Lacoste 1908), which was translated into English the following year (Bouillane de Lacoste 1909).

52 A short description of Bouillane de Lacoste's routes in Mongolia and Western China, alongside with those of Kozlov, was published in 1910 in the *Annales de Géographie* (Zimmermann 1910). Bouillane de Lacoste also published a book about this journey (Bouillane de Lacoste 1911).

eral public. After this, a large part of the collection was transferred to the Department of Ethnography of the Russian Museum, and the textual material to the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. At present, art objects are kept at the State Hermitage Museum, and the books and fragments at the IOM.[53]

It is important to make note of what "excavation" at the time meant, at least in the case of this particular expedition. Although there is little information about the actual techniques in published narratives or diaries, photographic documentation makes it clear that this was a highly destructive process in the course of which the original architectural structures were largely obliterated. Photographs of the "famous" library stupa from before and after the excavations show that the upper part of the stupa essentially disappeared as a result of the sifting through its earthen structure in search for ever more texts and artefacts (Fig. 1). At the time, most of the efforts seemed to have been directed at finding new objects, almost completely ignoring their original context and the overall composition of the stupa. As Kozlov wrote about this himself in his diary, he and the people he hired "dug, rummaged, broke and smashed."[54] In addition, Kozlov did not personally oversee the excavations but appeared only made appearance when objects of interest were found.

53 The art objects were transferred to the State Hermitage Museum in 1934. For an illustrated description of Tangut paintings in the Hermitage collection, see Samosjuk 2006.
54 Quoted in Kychanov 1997b, 7.

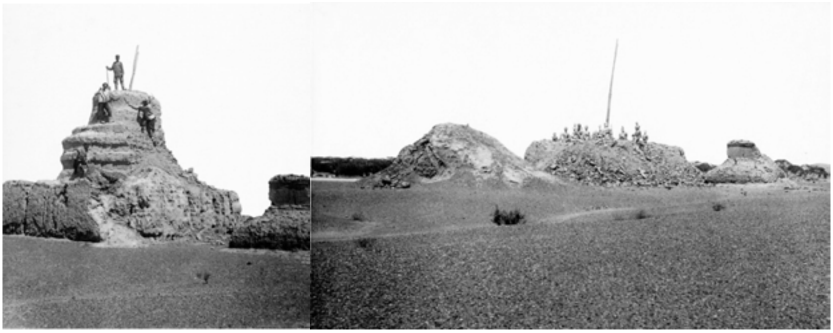

Fig. 1a+b: Kozlov's photographs of the "famous" library stupa before and after the excavations. (From the website of the Russian Geographical Society.[55])

In addition to the objectionable archaeological methods of the expedition, Kozlov has also been criticised for his failure to provide detailed documentation of the process of excavations. Since he usually was not present in person, neither his book nor his diaries give much detail about what went on during their stay in Khara-khoto,[56] which is in sharp contrast with the meticulous records provided by Aurel Stein. Shortly after the publication of Kozlov's book about the Khara-khoto adventure, Boris Vladimirtsov (1884–1931), a well-known specialist of Mongolian studies, voiced polite reservations about the way the expedition handled the excavations and conducted historical and ethnographic work in general.[57] He pointed out that the expedition was primarily equipped for the study of natural sciences and nature, which was aptly reflected in abundance of zoological (especially ornithological) and geological descriptions in Kozlov's book.[58] Instead of a detailed record of daily events and encounters with locals, Kozlov laid emphasis on describing what he felt when he saw beautiful sceneries or experienced the stillness of the desert. Vladimirtsov, however, was more interested in concrete ethnographic and archaeological information and therefore expressed his disappointment at Kozlov's " very brief and general description" of the excavations. Even the stupa that yielded the massive amount of texts was depicted "in an extremely brief and summary manner."[59] Vladimirtsov

55 <http://old.rgo.ru/2010/05/pervootkryvatel-mertvogo-goroda-xaro-xoto-petr-kozlov/>; last accessed: 30 April, 2015.
56 *Ibid.*, 11.
57 Vladimirtsov 2002, originally published in 1923.
58 *Ibid.*, 209.
59 *Ibid.*, 214.

moreover drew attention to the fact that among the members of Kozlov’s expedition there was not a single scholar who knew any of the major Asian languages; nor were there trained interpreters to assist in communicating with the local populace.[60]

In fact, Kozlov himself realised the extent of destruction he brought about but seemed to have seen this as inevitable, as the price one needs to pay for the advancement of science and research. He wrote about the destruction of the stupa and his leaving Khara-khoto the following way:

> As the expedition was moving farther away from the Dead City, I increasingly felt an inexplicable sense of sadness; it seemed that I had left something dear and close to me behind at these lifeless ruins, something that from there on would be inseparably connected with my name, something that was painful to say goodbye to... Time and time again I looked back at the historical walls of the fortress which were covered in a light fog of dust. Bidding farewell to my grey-haired and ancient friend, with a strange feeling I realised that now Khara-khoto had but one ancient stupa standing in solitude, because the other one, who had been its faithful companion, was irrevocably gone—destroyed by the inquisitiveness of the human mind...[61]

1.3 Discovery before the “first” discovery

News of the discovery of Khara-khoto brought fame to Kozlov, hailing him as the person who discovered the remnants of a forgotten civilisation and culture. The truth is, however, that a Buryat person called Tsokto Badmazhapov (1879–1937) had found the ruins a year earlier in the spring of 1907 and even wrote a short report about the discovery. Badmazhapov was no stranger to Kozlov, as he himself had been “discovered” by the Russian explorer several years earlier during the preparations for the 1899–1901 expedition to Mongolia, Amdo and Kham, in which he ended up working as an interpreter for Mongolian. He quickly distinguished himself by being able to collect folklore material and other types of information from locals and remained in touch with Kozlov throughout his life. Following the end of Kozlov’s expedition in 1901, Badmazhapov found a job in Bayanhot (Dingyuanying) in Alashan as a commercial agent for a Russian trading company.[62]

60 *Ibid.*, 210.
61 Kozlov 1923, 618.
62 For Badmazhapov’s role in the discovery of Khara-khoto, see Chimitdorzhiev et al. 2006, Kychanov 2001, Andreev 1997 and Lomakina 1998. For an English-language study, see Yusupova 2008.

In 1907 Badmazhapov sent a package to St. Petersburg to the Geographical Society, with letters addressed to vice-president P. P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky (1827–1914) and Kozlov, as well as photographs and a handwritten description of Khara-khoto. In the letter Badmazhapov wrote:

> I am attaching an account of my visit to Etsin-gol along with 13 photographs. Should the Geographical Society have an interest in this short description, I respectfully ask Your Excellency to have it published as a separate brochure and send me a few dozen copies. Should it be found unsuitable for publication, would you please kindly mail the original back to me.
>
> I remain Your Excellency's obedient servant
>
> Tsogto [*sic*] Garmaev Badmazhapov[63]

The handwritten account, which survives to this day, bears the title (in Russian) "A thirty-day journey from the residence of prince Alasha Wang to the headquarters of prince Torgoud-Beile. 1907."[64] The author refers to the city by the name of Khara-khoto or Khara-baishin and provides the following description of the ruins:

> The ruins of "Khara-baishin" represent the typical appearance of Chinese cities. They consist of the city walls arranged in rectangular format, with the long sides facing east and west and the short ones north and south. All four walls are partially covered in sand both on the inside and outside, and in some places the sand dune reaches to top of the wall and connects with the dune on the other side. The towers and battlements on the walls have been completely destroyed. Only at the north-western corner, in the place of a turret, is an enormous half-collapsed Buddhist stupa with a round base resembling those seen in Siam. Beside it, on the western wall is a second stupa with a square base, apparently in Tibetan style. Parallel with the foundation of this western side, about 11–13 m on the outside are a series of stupas of different size, all destroyed. Outside the north-western corner, in some distance from the walls are ruins of a large stupa.[65]

Further on, Badmazhapov also retells the story of Bator Khara Jiangjun, the Black General, who hid his treasures in a well and killed "his son and his daughter so that the enemy could not abuse them."[66] These last words appear in

63 Letter quoted in Lomakina 1998, 187–188.
64 Today the manuscript is kept in the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies, Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Ulan-Ude). It has been published in full in Chimitdorzhiev et al. 2006.
65 *Ibid.*, 32.
66 *Ibid.*, 33.

Kozlov’s book verbatim, making it clear that in his writing Kozlov was heavily relying on Badmazhapov’s account, at times directly “quoting” it. The photographs Badmazhapov attached to his account show the fortress, two stupas, remains of ruined buildings and other structures around Khara-khoto.

It is also clear that Kozlov had known about Badmazhapov’s discovery already in St. Petersburg, before setting out on the new expedition. Although the report must have reached the Geographical Society after Kozlov’s departure, Badmazhapov had announced the discovery of Khara-khoto in a letter dated 15 May 1907. This must have reached Kozlov in the summer of 1907, well after the plans of the new expedition were approved by the Geographical Society but before his actual departure. Badmazhapov also mentioned that he was going to write a report about it.

> During my trip to to Etsin-gol I made a very interesting discovery, at least that’s I think it is, as near the sands between the valleys of Guizuo and Ejin-gol I stumbled upon the ruins of Khara-Khoto or Khara-Baishin, where I stayed for a day to take pictures and make some notes. [...] I am enclosing four photographs of the ruins; please show them to P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky and tell him I intend to write a booklet about my trip and the ruins and will mail these to him. I do not know whether anything will come of it.[67]

The booklet in question is obviously the manuscript report mentioned above. As planned, Badmazhapov wrote an account of his journey with a description of the site, and mailed this to the Geographical Society, requesting publication. Thus news of the discovery was known to not only Kozlov but also the Society’s vice-president Semenov-Tyan-Shansky and possibly its secretary A. A. Dostoevsky. Yet neither the news of the discovery, nor Badmazhapov’s detailed report with photographs was ever published. Instead, as Evgeny I. Kychanov (1932–2013) speculates in an article entitled “The temptation of fame,” the whole affair was supressed, possibly because there was a growing concern that news of the discovery might bring British archaeologists to the site before the Russians had a chance to carry out excavations.[68]

To be sure, this fear was not entirely unfounded as at this very moment Aurel Stein was exploring Gansu province and had arrived in Dunhuang in March of the same year.[69] At the time of Badmazhapov’s letter to Kozlov, Stein was engaged in excavations in the desert north of Dunhuang, then worked at the

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67 Yusupova 2008, 119.
68 Kychanov 2001, 78.
69 Wang Jiqing 2012, 3. In doing this, Stein left Xinjiang, his usual place of exploration, and moved farther east towards China proper.

Mogao caves from 19 May until 12 June. Once already in Dunhuang, Stein heard of the discovery of "a great mass of ancient manuscripts" from a Turki trader called Zahīd Beg, and his claim that some of the material was in other languages than Chinese made him "still keener to ascertain exact details."[70] As a result of his quick response to the news, Stein was able to acquire an enormous collection of medieval manuscripts in Chinese and other languages and secure these for Britain. But he was not the only one interested in the discovery. Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), leader of the French expedition to Chinese Turkestan was also in Xinjiang at this time and, having heard news of the discovery, immediately adjusted his plans and made his way to Dunhuang, arriving there at the beginning of 1908, a few months after Stein. In addition, in 1908 the Japanese expedition organized and sponsored by Count Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞 (1876–1948) was also nearby, having reached Xinjiang after exploring Mongolia.[71] As already mentioned above, an even more intimidating threat must have been the French expedition of Bouillane de Lacoste ostensibly heading directly to Khara-khoto, news of which Kozlov received from Urga.

Thus the unwillingness of the Russian Geographical Society to publicise the news of the discovery of the ruins of a lost city was entirely reasonable. Had they announced Badmazhapov's report of Khara-khoto to the public, it is likely that by the time Kozlov made his way there from St. Petersburg via Urga, one of the foreign expeditions would have reached the site before him. The most likely candidate in this race for antiquities would have been Aurel Stein, whose presence in Western China, and the risks associated with this, must have been obvious to the leadership of the Russian Geographical Society. Therefore, the decision to suppress the information before Kozlov's expedition visited the site was probably a sensible decision.

Yet it is hard to explain why even after the Russian expedition's excavations at Khara-khoto Badmazhapov's name remained unmentioned. Meanwhile Kozlov was acclaimed as the person who discovered the city, giving lectures about the "discovery" before learned societies throughout Russia and being showered with prizes and awards. The discovery of the "dead city" was officially announced in October 1908, at the general meeting of the Geographical Society but Badmazhapov's name was not mentioned. On 30 January 1910 the Society organised a commemorative meeting in honour of Kozlov at which the explorer read a paper before an audience of two thousand. Subsequently, he was elected

70 Stein 1921, v. 2, 801.

71 On this expedition, see Galambos 2010.

honorary member of the Society.[72] Badmazhapov was evidently bewildered because he must have expected that Kozlov, who had been his mentor and whom he regarded as a person of unquestionable moral and professional integrity, was going to credit him with the discovery. At the end of 1909, he wrote to the Geographical Society and the General Staff with another request to publish his report about visiting the ruins. The replies do not survive but seem to have considerably distressed him, as in a letter dated 19 December 1909 he complains to Kozlov that the Geographical Society expressed its disapproval of him, whereas the General Staff accused him of being indiscreet. He was deeply offended that having been the one who discovered Khara-khoto, he was being blamed. He bitterly complained that "I discovered Khara-khoto for them and gave the first impetus to the study of Khara-khoto."[73]

He also threatened to turn to the press about what really happened.[74] Kozlov sent a nervous and muddled reply, trying to explain the inexplicable:

> My dearest Tsokto Garmaevich,
>
> With regard to your request and comments concerning Khara-khoto, I am not at ease to say anything in the name of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, except perhaps on one point, namely, your specific question as to "why the Society did not publish your report." According to my discussions with the Secretary, my impression is that the Society could not have published your report even if I did not use it in Mongolia, as it contained no factual data (i.e. archaeological material), while at the same time intimated that such material did exist, and this could have prompted someone—especially foreign subjects—to rush there with another expedition, which the Geographical Society was trying to avoid, especially since my expedition was already in preparation.
>
> Concerning the publication of the news of Khara-khoto the priority entirely belongs to G. N. Potanin, as I have discussed with you before and as I repeatedly acknowledge in my writings.
>
> For my part, I would advise you not to quarrel with the Geographical Society… This could indirectly weaken your position with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the General Staff… Once again, I urge you to think it over carefully.[75]

In this letter, Kozlov pushes the responsibility entirely onto the Geographical Society, although in the end we may detect something like a threat.

72 Kychanov 2001, 79.
73 *Ibid.*, 80.
74 *Ibid.*
75 Badmazhapov's letter to Kozlov, dated 16 January 1910; quoted in Lomakina 1998, 189–190.

Badmazhapov presumably needed the goodwill of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because he was working "abroad," in Alashan which was on Chinese territory. In addition, within the imperial Russian administration he counted as an *inorodets*, i.e. an ethnic minority, whose status was somewhat unclear and sensitive. The General Staff was mentioned because Badmazhapov had the rank of a corporal in the army, where Kozlov at the time was a colonel. In other words, Kozlov tried to intimidate his protégé in reminding him that he had much to lose. As part of the affair, Badmazhapov was awarded the Order of St. Anna, which he considered completely useless as it came with no financial benefits whatsoever.[76] Despite this unhappy conflict, he remained in contact with Kozlov throughout his life, seemingly not blaming his mentor for what happened. The two of them corresponded and met several times in Mongolia and St. Petersburg.[77]

As shown above, the motives of Kozlov and the Geographical Society in surprising Badmazhapov's discovery of Khara-khoto may be ascribed to two main reasons. The first was the fear of well-funded foreign—especially British—explorers (i.e. Stein) arriving at the site before the Russians and thereby adding yet another trophy to their already impressive list of archaeological successes. This was the time when news of Stein's discovery of the Dunhuang library cave had just become known in academic circles, which must have been a surprise to the Russians as the great Przhevalsky had already passed through Dunhuang in 1879 and thus it was considered "explored." The other possible reason behind silencing Badmazhapov's report Kychanov attributes to Kozlov's personal yearning for fame. It is of course hard to judge such a motive a century after the events but from our modern perspective the facts seem to speak for themselves. At the same time, I cannot help but feel that the problem here is not so much Kozlov's personal integrity as a wider social issue of colonialism and imperialism. Badmazhapov was, after all, a Buryat who could be considered more or less local in the Mongolian-speaking region of Alashan. Even though he served in the Russian army and was not only fluent but also fully literate in Russian, he remained a colonial subject. Kozlov himself had been a protégé of Przhevalsky and eventually rose to almost equal prominence with his mentor. Yet Kozlov's mentoring of Badmazhapov obviously fell short of this model, as he did not help his protégé on to a brilliant career as an explorer, even if there was ample evidence that he was well suited for that role. Instead, if we read through the parts

76 Badmazhapov's letter to Kozlov, dated 19 December 1909; quoted in Lomakina 1998, 197.
77 For the correspondence of Kozlov and Badmazhapov, including the letters cited above, see Jusupova 2004.

of Kozlov’s account of exploration of Khara-khoto, the parts he “borrowed” from Badmazhapov’s report appear in the context of “local lore,” showing that he simply regarded the young Buryat’s description as part of the ethnographic data collected by the expedition from local informants. Seeing their relationship from this point of view also helps to explain why the Geographical Society and the General Staff felt that Badmazhapov was indiscreet—they simply felt that his behaviour was “out of line.” In other words, they were not trying to silence him or cover up the truth about the true discovery of Khara-khoto, they simply did not consider him on equal terms and thus his discovery of the site was viewed on a par with the visits of local treasure-hunters who from time to time tried their luck at the ruins.[78]

Understandably, Badmazhapov’s role in discovering the ruins of Khara-khoto has been most actively propagated in his native Buryatia.[79] Yet there is also a growing awareness of this in other Russian publications dealing with the history of Tangut studies.[80] The seminal event in uncovering his role was the discovery of his journal in the early 1980s. This triggered further archival research which was able to uncover correspondence associated with these events, gradually unfolding the picture described above. Yet it is interesting to see that a quite accurate description of Badmazhapov’s role in the discovery appeared in a paper published by the famous Russian anthropologist Dmitry N. Anuchin (1843–1923) already in 1923:

> The very discovery of Khara-khoto should not be exclusively attributed to P. K. Kozlov—he reports himself that he initially learned of these ruins from the account of the explorer G. N. Potanin who had heard about them from the Mongols, even though he was unable to see them in person. Even more data about the ruins was collected by T. G. Badmazhapov, an educated Buryat who had taken part in Kozlov’s previous expedition of 1899–1902, and subsequently became the agent of the Russian trading company “Sobennikov and the Molchanov brothers” in Dingyuanying, Southern Mongolia. As I have heard, Badmazhapov, being interested in the country and passing through there on trade business, visited Khara-khoto and took a number of photographs, sending those along with a description to the Russian Geographical Society. The Society, however, did not publish

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78 This does not mean, however, that Buryats or other “minorities” had no chance of becoming scholars or explorers, especially if they were graduates of Russian universities, which was unfortunately not the case with Badmazhapov. One notable exception is, for example, Gombozhab Tsybikov (1873–1930) whose book about a journey to Tibet (1899–1902) was published by the Geographical Society (Tsybikov 1919). The same book also appeared in English as Tsybikov 1956.

79 E.g. Chimitdorzhiev et al. 2006.

80 E.g. Kychanov 2001 and 2012a.

> these because this was the time when Kozlov's expedition was about to set out and it was their task to verify and supplement the data reported by Badmazhapov.[81]

In this description Anuchin claims to have heard of Badmazhapov's role, implying that he learned this through unofficial channels. At the same time, his claim reveals that Badmazhapov's discovery of Khara-khoto was not completely unknown, even if it went almost completely unacknowledged in contemporary publications, including those written by Kozlov.[82] Indeed, Nikolaus Poppe (1897–1991) described Badmazhapov in 1954 as a Buryat who had travelled with Kozlov and discovered Khara-khoto and whose name was suppressed in Russian reports because he had made himself unpopular with the Soviets, alluding to Badmazhapov's fate as a victim of Stalin's purges in the 1930s.[83] This reasoning is, of course, only partially true because Badmazhapov's role in the discovery was already suppressed long before he was accused of being a political enemy of the Soviet state. Similarly, Robert A. Rupen wrote in 1964 that "Kozlov claimed to have discovered Kara Khoto [*sic*], although the Buryat, Badmajapov [*sic*], probably actually deserves the credit."[84] These comments reveal that information on Badmazhapov's role in finding Khara-khoto was available before his report and letters re-surfaced, even if most narratives went with Kozlov's version of the discovery.

Kozlov's expedition to Khara-khoto also included a person named Badmazhapov as an interpreter of Mongolian. This was, however, not Tsokto but his younger brother Gambozhap. But when years later Kozlov came back to Mongolia and China as part of his so-called Mongolian-Tibetan expedition of 1923–1926, he once again relied heavily on the assistance of Tsokto Badmazhapov who by that time had moved up in society and had extensive contacts in Mongolia. Badmazhapov, spelled in the French manner as Badmajapoff, also appears repeatedly in the narratives of the Central Asiatic expedition of the American explorer Roy Chapman Andrews (1884–1960). In his book *The New Conquest of Central Asia*, Andrews describes how in May 1922, when they arranged their passports with the Mongolian government, they had to fulfil a range of conditions, among which was that they had to take with them a government official who would monitor them and make sure that they complied with their obligations:

81 Anuchin 1923, 401–402.

82 In fact, it is possible that the reason Anuchin specifically mentioned this was because he to some extent felt Kozlov's fame as the "discoverer" of Khara-khoto unjustified.

83 Poppe 1954, 127.

84 Rupen 1964, 98–99.

> The official designated to go was our friend, Mr. Badmajapoff, with whom it had all been arranged previously. Badmajapoff is a Buriat who has had considerable experience with the great explorer, P. K. Kozloff. He is a master of Oriental diplomacy and moreover is a charming companion. His presence on the Expedition was most agreeable to us all and made for us a firm friend, who in later years did much to help me steer a safe path for the Expeditions among the political rocks which barred the way to the great open spaces of the Gobi Desert.[85]

Despite such positive acclaims, from the start of the 1930s Badmazhapov's fate took a tragic turn, along with countless other individuals who moved between countries and had international contacts. First he was forced to leave Mongolia and move back to his native Buryatia and then in 1932 was sentenced to five years. This was the beginning of a series of arrests and prison sentences that eventually led to his 1937 arrest and hasty execution under the charges of espionage.[86] He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1957. Towards the end of his life, he had also travelled to St. Petersburg where he tried to solicit the help of Kozlov to get a residency permit in the city, but efforts to this end were unsuccessful.[87]

1.4 Aurel Stein's 1914 visit to Khara-khoto

Kozlov's discoveries brought him fame not only in Russia but also in the West. In 1911 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society in London; he was also elected honorary member of the Hungarian and awarded gold medal of the Italian Geographical Societies.[88] In September 1910, Kozlov visited London and, at a meeting in the British Museum, showed samples of materials from Khara-khoto. In a letter to his future wife Kozlov described that "the gloomy Englishmen became greatly excited upon seeing the samples from Khara-khoto. [....] They were smacking their lips and sniffing the books and pictures from Khara-khoto, while I calmly smiled on the inside."[89]

85 Andrews 1932, 61. In some earlier publications related to the expedition, Badmazhapov was incorrectly identified as "the Mongolian Minister of Justice," e.g. in the "Report of the Secretary" in the *Annual Report for the Year 1923* of the American Museum of Natural History which was Andrews' home institution and main sponsor (Pyne 1924, 40); later on this was corrected to "Adviser to the Mongolian Minister of Justice (e.g. Andrews 1932, 57).

86 Chimitdorzhiev et al. 2006, 7–8.

87 *Ibid.*

88 Jusupova 2012, 486.

89 *Ibid.*, 485.

On this occasion he also met Aurel Stein.[90] Stein was naturally well informed about the developments and in the spring of 1914, five years after news of Kozlov's sensational discoveries were made public, visited the ruins of Khara-khoto himself. In his detailed report of the expedition, published in four large volumes with the title *Innermost Asia*, he acknowledges that one of the reasons for his visit were the "important finds of manuscripts and other remains" made by Colonel Kozlov in 1908, demonstrating that the concerns of the Russian Geographical Society earlier had been fully justified.[91] Even though the ruins had been covered in sand for centuries, by the beginning of the 20th century a veritable race for manuscripts was taking place in Western China. Aurel Stein was unquestionably the leading figure in this competition and the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts during his previous expedition had earned him a knighthood. Having heard of Kozlov's finds in Khara-khoto, Stein went there as soon as he could. In his report he hastens to add that he was also interested in earlier time periods when the region was inhabited by the Yuezhi, the Xiongnu and the Uyghur Turks. Not only that, he also wanted to learn about the "geographical aspects" of this region, including the course of ancient rivers.[92] Thus from the start Stein emphasised that he was not merely trying to sweep the crumbs left behind by Kozlov but came here as part of a much larger "scientific" agenda. Despite such grandiose claims, it is undeniable that Stein had been exploring Western China since 1900 but he came to the region of Khara-khoto only after the results of Kozlov's expedition were made public.

Stein also comments that he had not been able "to consult such descriptive materials as may be furnished by the Russian publications of the distinguished travellers who preceded me on this ground, M. M. Potanin, Obruchev, and Colonel Kozlov and his companions."[93] Therefore when describing his visit to Khara-khoto he distances himself from his Russian predecessors, stating that even their maps were "too small a scale to furnish topographical details such as might replace descriptions; but they have proved very useful in supplementing the data about the western portion of the delta." He insists that he cannot rely

90 *Ibid.*
91 Stein 1928, v. 1, 429.
92 *Ibid.*
93 *Ibid.* He claims that at the time of his visit to Khara-khoto he only had access to the English translation of Kozlov's preliminary report of his expedition, which appeared in the *Geographical Journal* (Kozloff 1909 and Kozloff 1910). By the time the chapter in question "was passing into print," Stein also received a copy of Kozlov's book (Kozlov 1923) which he is at difficulty to use because of his own "regrettable ignorance of Russian." (Stein 1928, 438). Stein makes no mention of Pelliot's (1914) article concerning the Chinese manuscripts of the Kozlov collection.

on the results of the Russian expedition because he has no access to their reports or they are in a language he does not read, etc.[94] What we see here is the same strategy of establishing that his own expedition is much wider in scope than those of the Russians—geographically, historically, and in every other aspect. This contestation was part of the race for antiquities, and Stein seems to be weaving a skilful web of rhetoric trying to compensate for arriving at the site inexcusably late.

Having established his position vis-à-vis his Russian competition, Stein proceeds to depict the region with pedantic thoroughness, taking such exploratory descriptions to an entirely new level, combining minute attention to detail with an extensive knowledge of the broader historical background (Fig. 2). When coming near Khara-khoto, he remarks that noticing the city walls across a dried river bed "was a striking sight, the most impressive perhaps that I had ever seen on true desert ground, this dead city, with massive walls and bastions for the most part still in fair preservation, rising above the gravel flat which stretches towards it from the river bank."[95] Characteristically, he describes the walls and structures of the ruins in great detail, giving measurements and using photographs to illustrate the objects in question. With regards to the opening in the north wall allegedly used by the Black General for his last charge at the enemy, Stein claims to have found no evidence to support the stories recorded by Kozlov, neither archaeologically nor from local informants "through the defective channel of our interpreter Mālum."[96] He speculates that since the story of the Black General cutting an opening in the city walls is closely tied to the legend of the treasure, it is possible that the hole was cut by early treasure-hunters.

Realising that he would not be able to do a complete excavation of the city with the few local diggers at his disposal, Stein decided to concentrate his efforts on the "temple ruins" in the western part of the city where layers of debris were likely to contain "objects of interest," as well as the refuse heaps where he hoped to find textual material. As expected, excavation in these places yielded waste paper, most of which were manuscript fragments or, less frequently,

94 *Ibid.*, 429–430.
95 *Ibid.*, 437.
96 *Ibid.*, 438–439. In view of Stein's inability to verify such local legends, it is possible that Kozlov's description may was directly based on Badmazhapov's report, while the Buryat may have recorded a story he had heard somewhere else rather than in the immediate vicinity of the site.

complete but twisted or crumbled pieces.[97] The majority of the fragments were Chinese and largely handwritten. All in all, these locations produced 230 Chinese fragments or complete documents, and only 57 Tangut ones, about half of which were printed. The dates found among the Chinese material suggested a Yuan dynasty occupation. Additional fragments of manuscripts and woodblock prints in both Chinese and Tangut were discovered among the debris of a shrine (marked K.K.I.ii in Stein's maps), and Stein suggested that these may have once served as votive offering. The debris in the "Sarais" in the south-eastern part of the city also yielded a leaf of a Persian manuscript dated to the early 14th century.

Over a hundred complete leaves of Tangut documents—mostly handwritten—and about half as much in Tibetan were found among the debris at the base of three small stupas outside the city walls, near the north-western corner. Once again, Stein concludes that the texts, which also included a multitude of fragments, may have been deposited here as votive offerings. Similar finds were also made in the remains of a completely collapsed stupa (K.K.III) near the north-eastern corner of the city walls, including Tangut and Chinese leaves and fragments, a small Chinese printed book, fragments of silk banners, miniature clay stupas and a clay mould with a seated Buddha.

97 *Ibid.*, 440.

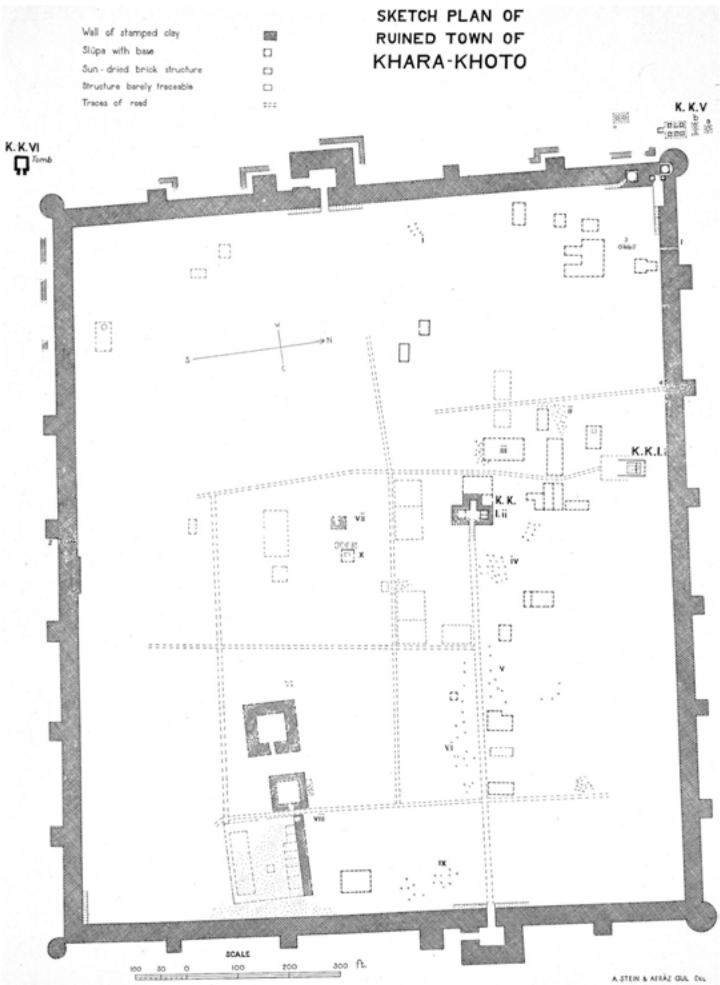

Fig. 2: Stein's site plan of the ruins of Khara-khoto enclosed by the city walls. (Stein 1928, v. 3, Plan 18.)

But the most important location was the stupa (K.K.II), where, as Stein found out from his local diggers, Kozlov had excavated his rich collection of manuscripts, paintings and other artefacts. Stein points out that the remains of the stupa presented "a scene of utter destruction," even though according to Shapir, one of the Mongols hired by Kozlov, it had been found by the Russian expedition "practically intact."[98] Stein describes the devastation caused by the "rough methods" of the Russian team to the site as follows:

> All that could be made out on first inspection was a brick-built platform about 28 feet square and 7 feet high, and on its sides heaps of debris of masonry and timber, mixed up in utter confusion with fragments big and small of stucco, originally painted and evidently once forming part of clay images. Frames of wood and reed bundles, which had served as cores for statues, lay about on the slopes and all round on the gravel flat. All these remains had obviously suffered greatly by exposure after having been thrown down. But even a slight scraping below the surface sufficed to show that, while the remains of paper manuscripts and printed texts had been reduced, where exposed, to the condition of mere felt-like rags, below the outer layer of debris they were still in fair condition. The careful clearing and sifting of all the "waste" left behind in this sad condition by the first explorers of the ruin occupied us for fully a day and a half.[99]

Using his methodical approach and close attention to details, Stein was able to salvage a large number of printed and manuscript fragments that had been left behind by Kozlov. He points out that the majority of the textual material found here comprised Tangut texts, unlike at other locations in Khara-khoto. Not counting the multitude of smaller fragments, there were over 1,100 manuscript fragments and about 300 printed pages in Tangut, in contrast with the 59 manuscripts and 19 printed fragments in Chinese. Stein speculates that the preponderance of Tangut texts in this stupa may be related to the use of the national language in the Buddhist context, whereas Chinese writing may have been used in secular matters even during the Tangut period "over the cumbrous 'national' language and script favoured by the ruling dynasty." He also notes the large number of block-printed book illustrations and separate pictures or designs.[100]

In total, Stein's description of Khara-khoto and Etsin-gol fills 86 folio-size pages.[101] It is a textbook example of how archaeological exploration should be carried out and documented, collecting the available material to the last fragment and meticulously recording every detail. Just the list of manuscripts and other artefacts collected at Khara-khoto and its vicinity amounts to 45 folio pages, demonstrating that the "waste" left behind by the Kozlov expedition was anything but waste. This incredibly rich collection was shipped to Britain from where some artefacts and a small number of books were sent to India because

98 *Ibid.*, 447–448.
99 *Ibid.*, 447.
100 *Ibid.*, 450–451.
101 The description forms Chapter XIII "The Etsin-Gol delta and the ruins of Khara-khoto" in Stein's *Innermost Asia* (Stein 1928, 429–506).

the expedition had been partially funded by the Government of India. These items are currently held at the National Museum in New Delhi.[102] The majority of the collection, however, was deposited at the British Museum, from where in the 1970s the textual material was transferred to the British Library. Today the Stein collection of Tangut texts at the British Library is only second to the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg.

1.5 Subsequent exploration of Khara-khoto

Once the ruins of the "dead city" were found, it was only a matter of time when other explorers and archaeologists would try their luck there. Yet we cannot talk about a steady stream of visitors, which was to a large part due to the remote location of the site. Among those who published accounts of their visit to Khara-khoto was the American art historian Langdon Warner (1881–1955), curator of Oriental art at Harvard's Fogg Museum. As part of his Harvard-sponsored expedition to Western China, he spent ten days at the site in November 1925.[103] He was painfully aware that he was preceded at the site by Kozlov and Stein who had "gutted" most of the structures and thus there was very little for him to find.[104] Yet he managed to uncover a number of headless statues in the city, which he suspected to have been left behind by the Russians.[105]

Warner just missed the Russian team headed by Sergei A. Glagolev (1893–after 1970), who visited Khara-khoto in 1925 as part of Kozlov's new expedition to Mongolia and Tibet.[106] By this time Kozlov was well aware of the significance

102 The Tangut material in New Delhi has not been published and it remains largely unstudied. For a description of some items in this collection, see Linrothe 1996, 32–36. A descriptive catalogue of objects had been published by Fred H. Andrews, along with the other materials from Stein's 1906–1908 and 1913–1916 expeditions deposited in New Delhi. In this, the Khara-khoto finds are listed on nearly thirty pages (Andrews 1935, 239–267).

103 Warner wrote a popular account of this expedition to China under the title *The Long Old Road to China*; see Warner 1927. For his description of Khara-khoto or, as he usually calls it, Edzina, see *ibid.*, 133–163. For some of his related private correspondence, see Bowie 1966, 106–112.

104 *Ibid.* 147–148.

105 The Tangut art objects recovered by Warner are now at the Harvard University Art Museums; see Linrothe 1996, 36–41.

106 A preliminary report of this expedition came out as Kozlov 1928. But the most complete documentation is in the form of Kozlov's diaries which were published on over 1,000 pages (Kozlov 2003). Part of these diaries had been published earlier by his widow (Kozlov 1949) who heavily abbreviated and paraphrased the original material. As a result, this early edition is of the materials he had discovered in Khara-khoto and was eager to get back there. In his diary, he expresses his astonishment that the Russians had not sent a special expedition to Khara-khoto but that it was only one site on the more extensive agenda of the new expedition.[107] Glagolev's team seems to have arrived there a few weeks before Warner but only stayed for a very short time because they still did not have Chinese passports.[108] Consequently, they withdrew northwards and explored the vegetation and animal life of the Noin-bogdo mountain range.[109] By the time they returned to Khara-khoto, Warner had been there and removed some of the statues the Russians were hoping to recover. Surprisingly, neither party knew of the other. After they had sorted out their visa issues, Glagolev's team spent a longer stretch of time at Khara-khoto, carrying out excavations and surveying not only the ruins of the city but also the surrounding area. This time the expedition team was much more thorough than in 1908–1909, making sure to document every aspect of their work.[110] Kozlov himself arrived at the site in June 1926 and spent a few days there observing the excavations. Although the expedition found a considerable amount of additional materials, including fragments of Tangut writings, Kozlov, who by this time was already 63 years old, on the whole seems to have been disappointed with the results.

Not long after Kozlov came Folke Bergman (1902–1946) who explored the Etsin-gol region as part of Sven Hedin's prolonged and complex expedition to north-western China (1927–1935). His first visit was in September 1927 but at this time he stayed only a few hours, making some preliminary measurements and observations.[111] The second visit happened in 1931, when he and his people spent more than two weeks at the city and its vicinity.[112] Although he intended "not to collect the crumbs" left by Kozlov, Stein and Langdon Warner, who had all visited the site before him, he nevertheless discovered "quite a collection of Chinese manuscripts on paper, and also fragments of Tibetan, Uyghur, Mongo-

completely unreliable, in contrast with the unabridged version which is a valuable resource for the study of the history of Russian explorations.

107 Kozlov 2003, 317.

108 The passports were only sent to them by Kozlov on 11 November (Kozlov 2003, 658–659).

109 Kozlov 1928, 6.

110 This might have been in response to earlier criticism, as Kozlov mentions in his diary that after arriving in Khara-khoto, he carefully examined all of the documentation of Glagolev's team, including diaries, photographs, drawings and maps, adding that they did everything the way Oldenburg wanted it to be done (Kozlov 2003, 859).

111 Bergman 1945, 17.

112 *Ibid.*, 143–151.

lian and Hsi-hsia prints and MSS."[113] He also found fragments at smaller ruins around the area, including the already mentioned Persian fragment from a hitherto unnoticed ruined stupa on the way back to their camp.[114] The texts were later deposited in Beiping 北平 (modern-day Beijing) as part of the agreement with the Chinese but apparently nobody showed any interest in them because they were relatively late in time, whereas most of those involved were looking for Han dynasty finds.[115] Bergman also found evidence that the ruined city must have been built atop of a smaller one, possibly dating to the Tang period.

Among the early visitors of Khara-khoto was the linguist John DeFrancis (1911–2009) who describes his visit here in 1935 in his book *In the Footsteps of Genghis Khan*.[116] By this time the excavations of the city were widely known and DeFrancis and his party were there merely as "amateur sightseers" in contrast to the "genuine explorers" before them.[117] Nevertheless, they spent some time exploring the city, taking photographs and drawing up a site plan. Even though they did not conduct excavations, they picked up "several unbaked clay discs stamped with the figure of a seated Buddha" and "a cracked wooden plate that at one time was probably a nicely lacquered piece."[118] This visit was, however, more of a sightseeing nature, rather than an archaeological expedition.

From the late 1920s onward excavations by foreign expeditions became restricted in China. This was to a large extent the result of the work of Chinese scientists and scholars, many of whom had been educated in the United States and France. They lobbied insistently against allowing foreign expeditions to take excavated fossils, artefacts and manuscripts out of the country. Among the main targets of the society were Sir Aurel Stein and Roy Chapman Andrews, both of whom were eventually forced to give up their expeditions on Chinese soil.[119] Sven Hedin was also targeted but, as a compromise, consented to reor-

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113 *Ibid.*, 148–149.

114 *Ibid.*, 151. Bergman also mentions that it was only after leaving the ruins that he received the German translation of Kozlov's book about Khara-khoto and his paper in the *Geographical Journal*, which nevertheless made him extremely happy.

115 *Ibid.*, n1.

116 DeFrancis 1993, 196–210.

117 *Ibid.*, 203.

118 *Ibid.*, 205–206.

119 Stein was able to secure travel permits from the Nanking government for beginning his fourth expedition to Western China but because of growing pressure on local authorities was expelled from the country in January 1931; see Brysac 2004. Andrews, who led a series of expeditions to Outer Mongolia in search of fossils, was on the society's black list because they found out that he had auctioned some dinosaur eggs in the United States in order to raise money for ganising his enterprise as a Sino-Swedish expedition and took several Chinese scholars with him. In addition, he agreed to leave behind all excavated material and take with him only objects that were duplicates.

Consequently, from about 1927–1928 all archaeological work had to be conducted by Chinese personnel. There were several important excavations resulting in additional finds. Thus in 1963 the Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics Working Team 內蒙古文物工作隊 consisting of Li Yiyou 李逸友 and others excavated some documents.[120] In 1978, Ma Yong 馬雍 of the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Wu Rengxiang 吳礽驤 of the Gansu Provincial Museum excavated two rubbish heaps and found more than a dozen documents, which are now in the Gansu Provincial Museum.[121] In 1983 and 1984, a team under the direction of Li Yiyou found over 2,200 documents in Khara-khoto, showing that the ruins still held plenty of surprises for archaeologists.[122]

But the ruins of Khara-khoto were not the only place where books and fragments of the Tangut empire came to light. There were several discoveries elsewhere in Inner Mongolia, Gansu, Ningxia and Shanxi provinces. Among the most important ones was a collection of Buddhist sutras in two large boxes found while carrying out renovation works on the city walls of Lingwu 靈武 (Ningxia) in 1917. After Khara-khoto, this was the second largest discovery of Tangut materials. Part of the texts went into private collections and became scattered but another part was acquired by the Beiping Library (today's National Library of China; NLC) in 1929.[123] The portion that ended up in the library's collection was merely a fraction of the original hoard but even so it amounted to over a hundred booklets with Buddhist sutras, including a Yuan dynasty copy of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* printed in Tangut characters with movable type. The texts were studied by leading Chinese scholars such as Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 (1899–1970), Luo Fucheng 羅福成 (1885–1960) and Wang Jingru 王靜如 (1903–1990). To commemorate the discovery, in 1932 the Beiping Library published a special edition of its bulletin dedicated to Tangut studies. Although unlike in the case of the materials found in Khara-khoto, the books and fragments from Lingwu were not taken out of the country by foreign explorers and archaeologists, the

the expeditions. The eggs fetched high prices and this was seen in China as proof that he was digging for financial gain.

120 Li 1995.

121 Chen 1983.

122 Li 1991. For an overall description of Tangut archaeology, see Niu 1998; for Yuan dynasty documents in particular, see Zhang 2007.

123 Bai 2006, Niu 1998, 36.

items that went into private collection became scattered and some of them were subsequently sold to overseas buyers. Nothing illustrates the scattered nature of this collection better than the case of the Tangut *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, volumes of which can be found at the NLC, in private Chinese collections (Renhe Shao 仁和邵, Zhang Siwen 張司溫, Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 family, Luo Xueqiao 羅雪樵), as well as Japanese and American collections.[124]

Another important find were the texts, both handwritten and printed, found in 1991 inside the Baisigou square pagoda 拜寺溝方塔 in Helan county 賀蘭縣 (Ningxia).[125] Among the books was a Tangut translation of a Tibetan Tantric text printed with movable type in 6 volumes, which is believed by some scholars to be the earliest extant book produced with wooden movable type, dating it to sometime around 1103.[126] Naturally, discoveries continue to be made even today. As part of China's rapid economic development, construction works are being carried out on an unprecedented scale, and these often result in new finds. In addition, economic prosperity is also a driving force behind a growing antique market, encouraging illegal excavations and tomb robberies. As prices continue to rise, the demand is often satisfied by forgeries and thus scholars are forced to consider carefully the authenticity of any fragment or book without provenance.

1.6 The Dunhuang and Khara-khoto materials: Analogies and connections

In many respects, the Khara-khoto books and manuscripts can be compared to the Dunhuang manuscripts, the largest portion of which had been acquired by Stein in 1907, the same year when Tsokto Badmazhapov stumbled upon the location of Khara-khoto in the Alashan desert. For one thing, these two sites yielded an immense quantity of material written in different languages, thereby providing an unprecedented amount of new texts for linguists and historians alike. These two finds represent by far the largest amount of books from pre-modern China.[127] Yet even though these texts supplied completely new information about the history of north-western China, the fact that most of them ended up in overseas collections made it hard for Chinese scholars to utilise

124 See Bai 2006, especially the Appendix at the end of the paper.
125 Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2005.
126 E.g. Niu 1994.
127 This is largely true even today, although in the past decades a steadily growing number of manuscripts from the Turfan region has been coming to light.

them in their research. This was also the reason why the material from both Dunhuang and Khara-khoto was extensively studied by Western and Japanese scholars, and thus Dunhuang and Tangut studies initially made better progress outside China.

Besides the similarities in the circumstances of their discovery and excavation, the two sites also share a number of other characteristics. Most importantly, the original collections in both cases were linked to a burial. In Dunhuang, the texts were sealed in a cave which at one point held the statue and ashes of the monk Hongbian 洪辯 (d. 868), chief of the Buddhist community of the entire Hexi 河西 region.[128] In a similar fashion, the Khara-khoto material came out of a stupa that contained a skeleton of a person whom the Russians identified, probably erroneously, as Empress Luo. It is hard to miss the similarity between the two situations. In either case, the internment of texts seems to have been related to a burial of a person of status, and this may partly explain the predominantly Buddhist nature of both collections. But the fact that Buddhist texts greatly outnumbered all other texts points to the religious significance of the libraries and the persons buried therewith.

In both Dunhuang and Khara-khoto, texts were found in different languages. Even though the largest body of material in Khara-khoto was Tangut and Chinese, there were also texts in other languages, such as Tibetan and Uyghur. In Dunhuang, the variety of languages was even wider, as the library cave included manuscripts in at least twenty different languages and scripts. Of these Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts were the most numerous but there were also many written in Uyghur, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Khotanese, and even Syriac.[129] These observations immediately point to an important difference, namely, that the material in Dunhuang was significantly more varied linguistically. This may be attributed to the fact that in terms of their date the manuscripts discovered in the library cave encompass about six centuries, as opposed to the roughly three-century time frame of the Khara-khoto material. But in reality the majority of manuscripts from Dunhuang come from the 9th–10th centuries and there are relatively few items from the 5th–7th centuries. Thus the real reasons for the larger linguistic diversity of the Dunhuang material must be sought elsewhere. A

128 At a later point, in order to create more space for manuscripts, this statue was removed from the library cave (i.e. Cave 17) and moved into the larger anterior cave (i.e. Cave 16) where it stood until recently. Hexi ("West of the Yellow River") is a historical name for what largely coincides with modern-day Gansu province. It is also called Hexi corridor 河西走廊 (or less commonly: Gansu corridor 甘肅走廊) because of its narrow shape.

129 On multilingualism in Dunhuang, see Takata 2000 and Galambos 2012a.

possible explanation is that the Dunhuang corpus is much larger than the Khara-khoto one. The Chinese material alone amounts to over 40,000 thousand manuscripts and there are large quantities of texts in other languages. In contrast, the Khara-khoto material is smaller and more fragmentary. For example, even though the Stein collection of Khara-khoto material at the British Library numbers over 6,000 items, most of these items are small bits of paper which would only amount to a handful of complete manuscripts if joined together.[130] The books in the Kozlov collection are less fragmentary but much fewer in number than those from Dunhuang.

Even more importantly, the diversity of Dunhuang manuscripts could be explained with the location of the city. For several centuries, until the decline of overland trading routes connecting China with the West, Dunhuang was as an important oasis city on the Silk Road. It was located in the Hexi corridor where the major trade and pilgrimage routes passed through, and the international traffic created a cosmopolitan city with a varied population. It was also one of the westernmost regions of China and thus it comes as no surprise that local culture incorporated a number of Central Asian elements. If we go farther west, we can see that the Turfan manuscripts are even more diverse in their linguistic makeup, and this diversity primarily arises from the city's location.

In contrast, the texts found at Khara-khoto feature a more modest range of languages, even if the material is still more varied than the monolingual woodslips from Qin and Han sites. Thus the tens of thousands of woodslips excavated from sites across north-western China in essentially the same region as Dunhuang and Khara-khoto are all written in Chinese, and the reason for this is obviously not that other languages were not used here or that the population was fully Chinese-speaking but that they were written in a period when the region was under Chinese administration. A millennium later the situation changed completely as many peoples of north-western China established their own states where they used their native scripts, which had primarily been developed through the adoption of existing alphabets. Consequently, archaeological discoveries from this period often yield books and documents written in non-Chinese languages and scripts.

Another difference between the Dunhuang and Khara-khoto materials is that there were nearly no printed texts were found in Dunhuang, whereas there were many in Khara-khoto. The tens of thousands of Dunhuang manuscripts

130 Joining the fragments together is naturally a hypothetical exercise aiming to demonstrate the relative size of the collection because for the most part the fragments do not belong together.

contain only two or three dozen printed items, and most of these consist of single-leaf calendars or prayer sheets, rather than longer texts. A notable exception is the complete copy of the *Diamond sutra* (Or.8210/P.2) explicitly dated to 9th year of the Xiantong 咸通 reign (868), which is often referred to as the world's earliest dated printed book.[131] In contrast with this, the Khara-khoto corpus includes a great number of printed books, some of which are dozens of pages long. This sharp contrast between the ratio of printed texts vs. manuscripts found at the two sites must be due to the difference in the dates of the two collections. The Dunhuang library cave was sealed in 1006 or shortly afterwards, which would have been before the widespread use of printing. Although printing technology had been invented at least three centuries earlier, it was used only sporadically during the Tang and the Five Dynasties periods, as demonstrated by the example of Dunhuang manuscripts.[132] The Khara-khoto texts, however, come from the 11th–14th centuries when printing already formed an important part of written culture, and this is reflected in the mixture of manuscripts and printed books found at Khara-khoto. Having said that, manuscripts noticeably remained important even after printing became widespread and we should not assume that printing was viewed as a new technology that replaced an obsolete one. It was merely another way of generating physical copies of texts and was certainly not seen as an improvement that would make previous modes of production outdated.

Finally, another important way in which the Dunhuang manuscripts differ from the Khara-khoto material is that the Dunhuang library cave did not contain any Tangut texts. Early on, scholars have recognised that this was because the cave had been sealed before the Tanguts occupied Dunhuang and before they invented their own script. In fact, an imminent Tangut invasion was one of the arguments Pelliot put forward to support his theory that the library cave was sealed in order to save the scriptures.[133] He thus suggested that this happened around 1030, on the eve of the Tangut conquest. Yet Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 may be right in asserting that since the Tanguts were Buddhist, they probably would have posed no threat to a Buddhist library and thus it is unlikely that the scriptures were hidden for this reason.[134] Nevertheless, the cave was sealed before the Tangut script was invented and this is the reason why no Tangut texts were

131 For a semi-popular introduction to this printed edition of the *Diamond sutra* and the story of its modern conservation, see Wood and Barnard 2010.

132 On the early history of printing in China and its subsequent disuse, see Barrett 2008.

133 Pelliot 1908, 506.

134 Rong 2013, 131–132.

found in the cave library. There were, however, Tangut fragments found at other places in Dunhuang, and these obviously come from the period when the Tanguts were in Dunhuang. On his visit to the Mogao caves in 1908, Pelliot himself managed to collect over two hundred, mostly printed, Tangut fragments from Caves 464 and 465 and these are now held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).[135] In addition to the Tangut fragments, the Mogao and Yulin caves near Dunhuang contain over a hundred Tangut inscriptions amounting to more than 1,300 characters, which means that in terms of character count Tangut inscriptions are only second to Chinese ones.[136] The murals in the caves also contain a wealth of pictorial material that points to an extended Tangut presence in the region.[137] This presence, which was to last nearly two centuries until the Mongol invasion, began much later, decades after the sealing of the library cave.

Following their discovery, the Dunhuang and Khara-khoto collections were deposited in modern institutions, often in physical proximity of each other. As a result, some of the Khara-khoto materials in St. Petersburg became intermixed with the Dunhuang collection. While Tangut books were relatively easy to keep apart from the Dunhuang manuscripts, the provenance of Chinese books and fragments was less obvious and over the years some of them were erroneously classified as being from Dunhuang. In many cases it is relatively straightforward to identify the differences between Chinese texts from Khara-khoto and Dunhuang, yet because of the large size of the two collections and the fact that access to them was limited until recently, many Khara-khoto books and fragments remained unnoticed for decades among the 19,000 plus Dunhuang manuscripts in St. Petersburg.[138] The first person who noticed this phenomenon was

135 For a facsimile publication of the entire collection, see Xibei di'er minzu xueyuan et al. 2007. See also Liu 2009a and Huang 2010. At a Tangut workshop held in Cambridge on 25 September 2014, Romain Lefebvre reported on additional fragments that have been recently discovered at the BnF, probably belonging to Pelliot's original collection.

136 Shi and Bai 1982, 368.

137 For a general description of Tangut material in the caves, including paintings, see Bai and Shi 1983.

138 The intermixing of Khara-khoto texts may have happened at some stage before the mid-1930s when Konstantin K. Flug (1893–1942) catalogued some of the scrolls of the collection (Flug 1935 and Flug 1936). The reason for this assumption is that among the intermixed Khara-khoto texts there are about twenty items that bear the F prefix, indicating that they were catalogued by Flug. This demonstrates that by the time Flug started working with the Dunhuang collection, the texts from Khara-khoto were already among them. It is also possible that some intermixing happened during the siege of Leningrad during World War II. In her chronicle of the Oriental Institute during the siege, Marakhonova (2008, 25–26) mentions that the bombing

Lev Menshikov while working on a catalogue of Chinese manuscripts from Khara-khoto.[139] Later scholars identified additional items and as a result of this work, the Khara-khoto corpus has increased by several dozen manuscripts and printed texts.[140]

The fact that materials from these two very distinct sites can be so easily confused underlines the analogies and connections between them, reminding us that neither corpus should be studied in isolation and that there are lessons to be learned from comparing them. Similarly, there are numerous other sites besides Dunhuang and Khara-khoto, most notably the remnants of ancient oasis cities around the perimeter of the Taklamakan desert (i.e. Turfan, Khotan, Loulan, Kucha), which yielded important manuscript discoveries. These collections are valuable additions to our overall corpus of medieval manuscripts and a comparative examination of their content, codicological and linguistic peculiarities may shed additional light on the history of literacy along the Silk Road.

and shelling of the city caused serious damages to the building of the Institute and that in February 1942 the room with the Tibetan collection received a direct hit, which destroyed the shelves where printed books were stored. The wall collapsed, causing damage to not only the Tibetan books but also the Chinese manuscripts.

139 Men'shikov 1984. Menshikov was a specialist of Dunhuang manuscripts who was thoroughly familiar with the collection both as a scholar and a cataloguer. He had authored a number of studies devoted to Dunhuang manuscripts, including monographs such as Men'shikov 1963a and 1963b; the catalogue of the Russian Dunhuang collection came out in two volumes as Men'shikov et al. 1963 and Men'shikov et al. 1967.

140 Wu Chi-yü (1986, 74) pointed out that the entire series of Dx.9585–10150 must have been acquired at Khara-khoto, rather than Dunhuang. Recently, Rong Xinjiang (2007) published an updated list of such intermixed items.

2 Tangut studies: Emergence of a field

Considering that scholars began reading Tangut texts only in the last four decades of the 20th century, Tangut studies is certainly a new field of research. It essentially began with the discovery of Khara-khoto and the work of Russian scholars who were privileged to have access to the materials not long after their discovery. Nevertheless, the reason why Kozlov's discovery caused such a sensation in academic circles and why the field could develop at such pace was that by the time the ruins of Khara-khoto were excavated, the issue of the Tangut script and the history of the Tangut state was already a topic of considerable interest in the West. In a sense, the discoveries were anticipated.

Kozlov's Mongolian and Tibetan expeditions should be viewed in light of the series of expeditions carried out by Western explorers and archaeologists in north-western China. The late 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries was truly the age of exploration for Central Asia, in the course of which Western nations surveyed China's peripheries both geographically and culturally. At the background of such an enthusiastic scientific interest was a political and military rivalry between Britain and Russia, the two major colonial powers already n the region. This colonial rivalry, which is commonly known today as the Great Game, was also mirrored in the fields of archaeology and geography.[141] In addition to the British and Russian expeditions, there were also expeditions organised by various other countries (e.g. Sweden, Germany, France, Hungary, Japan) who did not have an immediate colonial interest in the region but were eager to participate in its scientific exploration. Seeing Central Asia as one of the last unexplored regions of the globe, foreign expeditions came here in order to make their mark in the exploration of the world. Following a series of fortunate discoveries, the competition escalated into a race for manuscripts.

British interests were represented by Sir Aurel Stein's four expeditions to Chinese Central Asia, which recovered a staggering amount of archaeological material, including manuscripts in hitherto unknown languages. While the Russians also carried out excavations and collected manuscripts in Xinjiang, the expeditions of Kozlov followed the path of his mentor Przhevalsky into Mongolia and Kokonor (Qinghai 青海), ever trying to reach Tibet. As we have

141 The term Great Game is usually traced back to Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) who used it in his novel *Kim* (Kipling 1901, 233) to denote the intrigues of the espionage work at the turn of the century. The modern use of the term seems to be much wider than this and refers to the Anglo-Russian rivalry in general.

seen earlier, one of the reasons for silencing the discovery of the location of Khara-khoto made by the Buryat officer Badmazhapov in 1907 might have been the fear of alerting the British to the location of the city and having a full-scale British expedition at the site before the Russians had a chance to carry out proper excavations. Indeed, in the spring of 1907 Stein was himself in northwest China and the news of a major discovery involving books written in a curious script would have surely aroused his interest.

In this context, the discovery of Tangut writings was only a matter of time. If Kozlov had not gone to Khara-khoto, they would have been found by Stein or one of the other Western expeditions combing through the deserts of northwestern China. Hearing the news of the discovery and seeing the samples sent by Kozlov after his first visit in 1908, the Imperial Russian Geographical Society immediately realised their significance for carving out a domain of Oriental research that could be dominated by Russian scholars working on materials in Russian institutions. Surely enough, for many decades Russia remained the undisputed leader in the field of Tangut studies. This was partly due to the fact that Russia possessed by far the largest collection of Tangut materials, but just as importantly because the study of these materials was always understood to be of strategic importance for Oriental studies in the country.

2.1 Before the discovery of Khara-khoto

The Tangut language and script survived the fall of the Tangut empire and continued to be used in a Buddhist liturgical context well into the Ming dynasty. But eventually the language died out and the script was forgotten to the extent that scholars could not even identify the script when faced with sporadic samples of Tangut writing. Following the disuse of the script, the first person to identify written Tangut was the Chinese scholar Zhang Shu 張澍 (1781–1847), a native of Liangzhou 涼州 (modern Wuwei 武威, Gansu). Around 1804 he discovered a bilingual Chinese-Tangut stele at the Qingying monastery 清應寺 in Wuwei and correctly deduced from the Chinese text on one side that the writing on other was in Tangut. This was the so-called Liangzhou bilingual stele, currently held at the Wuwei City Museum.[142] In a short essay he wrote about the stele, Zhang describes the circumstances under which he came across it and

142 For a monograph-length study of this important stele, see Dunnell 1996.

identifies it as written in the Xixia 西夏 (i.e. Tangut) script.[143] At the end of the essay, he proudly claims credit for discovering the script:

> My discovery of this stele is the first sighting of such a script under heaven, and as a result of this, epigraphers and collectors now have yet another kind of strange writing at their disposal.[144]

Being a native of what used to be Tangut territory, Zhang was clearly very interested in the history of the Tanguts, as it is also shown by the fact that he took up the task of compiling their history. He mentions this in his *Liangzhou fu zhi beikao* 涼州府志備考, an unpublished gazetteer-type compilation that survives in manuscript form. In the preface to the section on Xixia chronology ("Xixia jinian xu" 西夏紀年序), Zhang wrote about his historiographical endeavours the following way:[145]

> The bibliographic chapter ("Yiwen zhi" 藝文志) of the *Song shi* 宋史 records a work called *Xixiaguo shu* 西夏國書 in forty *juan*, which has not survived. But Wang Yuyang 王漁洋 (i.e. Wang Shizhen 王士禛, 1634–1711) mentions in his *Chibei outan* 池北偶談 that someone had seen in the studio of Wang Huaiye 王槐野 (d. 1556?) a book entitled *Xia shu* 夏書, which was more voluminous than the *Jin shi* 金史. In the past, I wanted to compile a history of the Xia using the *Dongdu shilüe* 東都事略 and the "Xixia zhuan" 西夏傳 [chapter of the *Jin shi*] as the general structure and adding information from collections and notes of Song and Yuan authors. I collected such information and kept them together but it still was not complete. When I travelled south to Yangzhou 揚州, I heard that my senior friend Qin Enfu 秦恩復 (1760–1843) was compiling a history of the Xia 夏 so I visited him and asked to see the manuscript. To this, he said: "I only wrote several hundred entries on separate sheets of paper but have not put them together into a book, there is not much to look at." Later on, when I returned home, I took my draft and added more details to it, bringing it in total to six huge bundles of paper, which I placed on the top of the bookshelf. In the summer of 1810, I took five or six friends to the Songtao monastery 松濤寺 outside the city to escape from the heat, and in the meantime people in my family thought that this was waste paper and burned all of it. All I could do is sigh with regret and pain![146]

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143 Yangsutang wenji 養素堂文集, *juan* 19.

144 *Ibid*. Contrary to how it is sometime assumed (e.g. Nie 1993, 329), to my knowledge Zhang Shu never made the connection between the script on the Liangzhou stele and the "unknown" script at Juyongguan 居庸關.

145 Zhang Shu never printed this work, perhaps because he considered it to be unfinished. It only came out in a punctuated edition relatively recently, almost a century and a half after its author's death (Zhang 1988).

146 Zhang 1988, 832–833.

Thus Zhang Shu must have had a continuous interest in Tangut history lasting for years, even if his manuscript was accidentally burned by his family members. In the long term, his discovery of the Liangzhou bilingual stele had no major consequences for scholarship and, as Zhang had himself pointed out, it merely added yet another strange form of script to the repertoire of collectible inscriptions. His notice identifying the script was essentially forgotten and did not resurface until Tangut studies was introduced to China from abroad. We cannot avoid noticing the contrast of this lack of enthusiasm on the part of Chinese historians and philologists with the sensational effect of the Kozlov's discoveries in the West, which vividly demonstrates that great discoveries can only happen when the circumstances are right and without these, they will remain minor curiosities of little import.

Another roughly contemporaneous identification of the script comes from the epigrapher, numismatist and collector Liu Shilu 劉師陸 (1784–1850), also commonly known by his penname as Liu Qingyuan 劉青園. The *Jijin suojian lu* 吉金所見錄 compiled by Chu Shangling 初尚齡 (1759–1841) quotes Liu explaining that in 1805 locals from Liangzhou had dug up several jars full of coins, including some from the Northern Song, the Liao and the Tangut periods, and that among the coins were also several *fanziqian* 梵字錢, that is, coins with non-Chinese characters. Liu claimed that in total he acquired over a thousand coins from this discovery.[147] He made the connection between these characters and those on the verso of the Liangzhou bilingual stele and correctly identified them as specimens of Tangut writing.[148] The image accompanying the description (Fig. 3) shows four characters, which arguably do not resemble Tangut characters, especially the one on the left, which has a distinctly Chinese makeup. Obviously, this was due to the fact that the book carvers knew no Tangut and thus rendered the characters based on their knowledge of Chinese characters.

147 Chu 1827, *juan* 13, 9–10.

148 *Ibid*. Apparently, Liu did not know about Zhang Shu's role in discovering the stele, as he simply mentions the fact that he had seen the stele in the Dayun monastery 大雲寺. Zhang, however, wrote on two different occasions that he had discovered the stele at the Qingying monastery, which is almost certainly a mistake. In addition, he also contradicts himself regarding the date of the discovery, which has led some researchers to doubt that he had identified the stele before Liu Qingyuan. For some arguments in favour of this theory, see, for example, Cui 2008.

Fig. 3: The Tangut inscription from Liu Qingyuan's collection. *Jijin suojian lu*, *juan* 13.

Liu also referred to the well-known numismatic collection called *Quan zhi* 泉志, which had been compiled in 1149 by the Song epigrapher Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120–1174). Hong had listed one such coin with non-Chinese characters (*fanziqian*) among the coins of foreign countries which, as he put it, were undecipherable but probably belonged to the kind that come from Wutuo 屋馱 or Tibet 吐蕃.[149] He showed an image (Fig. 4) which had four illegible characters that do not even resemble those of the Tangut script but among which the one on the top and the bottom show some similarity to the ones in identical position on Liu Qingyuan's coin.[150] Once again, individual components of the characters have a strong tendency to resemble elements of the Chinese script, betraying the background of the carvers and calligraphers responsible for the image.

149 It is unclear to what country Wutuo refers. In the Han there was a kingdom by this name somewhere around modern-day Yarkand in Xinjiang, halfway between Kashgar and Khotan. The *Quan zhi* also shows other samples of Wutuo coins but the writing on those, although distinct from the one show here, is completely illegible. In the West, scholars became interested in the language of these undeciphered coins towards the end of the 19th century. See, for example, the article by the Belgian scholar Charles-Joseph de Harlez (1899).
150 Hong Zun, *Quan zhi*, *juan* 11.

Fig. 4: The coin with non-Chinese characters (*fanziqian*) in Hong Zun's *Quan zhi*, *juan* 11.

Interestingly, the 18th-century *Kangxi Dictionary* 康熙字典 included these four gibberish characters as main entries. There, under the entry for the character 𣦎, we read:

> 𣦎：《洪遵·泉志》載梵字錢，有𣦎𤕰𧳳𠆏四字，文不可辨，存之以資博雅。
> Character 𣦎: The *Quan zhi* of Hong Zun records a *fanziqian* which bears the four characters 𣦎𤕰𧳳𠆏. The text is undecipherable but we preserve the characters here to advance higher learning.

Because of their appearance in the *Kangxi Dictionary*, they are also included in the comprehensive modern dictionary *Hanyu dazidian* 漢語大字典 as part of the historical repertoire of Chinese characters. Interestingly, they are even categorized under semantic radicals, even though there is no known meaning or pronunciation associated with them. Thus the character 𣦎 appears in the *Hanyu dazidian* under the radical 止; 𤕰 under 爪; 𧳳 under 豸; and 𠆏 under 人. Thus the garbled Tangut characters were gradually appropriated and found a place within the vast pool of historically attested Chinese characters. Although their identity as elements of the Tangut script was uncovered in the early 19th century, by that time they had become part of the Chinese lexicographic tradition and today they are also included in the Unicode set of Chinese characters.

Hence numismatics was the first entryway through which scholars of the modern age had a chance to learn about the Tangut script. Since then, numismatics remained a field with exciting discoveries with important implications for the study of the script and Tangut history in general. Although initially the number of newly identified Tangut coins was relatively low, later on during the second half of the 20th century the numbers escalated to staggering figures and it was not unusual to find pits or caches with thousands of coins in them.[151]

During the 19th century two Chinese scholars compiled histories of the Tangut empire. Among the most important ones that survive to this day is Wu Guangcheng's 吳廣成 (fl. 1820s) *Xixia shushi* 西夏書事, the preface of which dates to 1826.[152] This was an attempt to construct a continuous narrative of the events during the existence of the Tangut state and it includes information that is unavailable elsewhere. Yet because it often draws on unidentified sources, some of the unique information is problematic from a historical point of view, creating serious doubts regarding the historical reliability of the entire book.[153] Another surviving work is Zhang Jian's 張鑒 (1768–1850) *Xixia jishi benmo* 西夏紀事本末, which chronicles Tangut history from the Zhonghe 中和 reign (881–885) of the Tang dynasty all the way through the destruction of the Tangut state in 1227. In general, it seems that there was a general interest among Qing scholars in the history of alien dynasties in northern China but this curiosity did not extend to the languages and scripts of these cultures.[154]

As for the beginnings of Tangut studies in the West, we have to acknowledge the work of Nikita Ya. Bichurin (1777–1853), a Russian Orthodox priest of partly of Chuvash descent who had collected historical information from traditional Chinese sources on the history of Tibet and Kokonor (Qinghai), including references to the Tangut state.[155] Bichurin, known in contemporaneous Western literature as Father Hyacinth, was an incredibly prolific author and translator whose devotion to scholarly research caused him considerable trou-

151 For example, in the summer of 1980, a farmer from the Ih Ju League 伊克昭盟 in Inner Mongolia found a pit with 272 thousand(!) coins with a total weight of over a metric ton (see Yikezhaomeng wenwu gongzuozhan 1989). Among other types of coins, the hoard included a considerable amount of coins cast by the Tangut state. Thus there were 14,058 coins with the inscription "Tiansheng yuanbao" 天盛元寶 and 168,131(!) coins with the inscription "Qianyou yuanbao" 乾祐元寶, both written in Chinese but used in the Tangut state. But coins with Tangut inscriptions have also been discovered, even if in more modest quantities. For an overview of the major Tangut coin finds during the period of 1950–1990, see Niu 1990.

152 Wu 1826. The front cover of this book states that the printing blocks were carved in 1825, even though the preface is dated to 1826. This probably means that the book was published at least a year after the carving of the blocks, i.e. in 1826. A modern edited version of this work is available as Wu et al. 1995.

153 Reservations about the reliability of the *Xixia shushi* are voiced in Nie 2007b, 135–136.

154 An overview of the contribution of Qing scholars to the study of Tangut history, including works that did not survive, is presented in Hu 2005.

155 Bichurin 1833.

bles with his monastic superiors.[156] His monumental work on Tibet and Kokonor was very influential in both Central Asian studies and sinology, even though today it is largely overlooked in non-Russian scholarship.

The next noteworthy contribution to research on Tangut history was a lengthy study published in 1883 by the British scholar Henry Hoyle Howorth (1842–1923) as Part IV of a series entitled "The northern frontagers of China."[157] While it was primarily based on known Chinese, Mongol and other sources, this was the first continuous narrative of the Tanguts and their state available in a Western language. Howorth essentially retells the story of the Tanguts from their life under the Tang dynasty until their annihilation by Genghis khan, thereby not only recording the general sequence of events but also identifying them as a people, and state, whose history is worth writing, even if this had never been done before.

As for available specimens of Tangut writing, in addition to the Liangzhou bilingual stele and the sporadic finds of coins, another example was among the famous multilingual inscriptions at Juyongguan, a section of the Great Wall about 60 km from Beijing. The inscriptions on the Cloud Platform 雲臺 that used to belong to a Buddhist temple are in six different scripts and have been on public display ever since they were carved in 1345. Of the six scripts, Sanskrit, Tibetan, 'Phags-pa, Uyghur and Chinese were easily identifiable but the sixth one was not recognised as Tangut, as there was no indication of its connection with the Tangut state, especially since the inscriptions were carved at the end of the Yuan period. In the West it was Alexander Wylie (1815–1887), a Protestant missionary working in Shanghai, who drew attention to the unknown script of the sixth inscription in an article published in 1870, advancing the hypothesis that it was written in Jurchen and providing a list of 78 characters which he called the "Neuchih Syllabary" (Fig. 5).[158] In fact, he had alluded to this "Jurchen" inscription in a paper a decade earlier but at the time he had not been able to see it in person yet.[159] He visited Juyongguan in 1863 and made a rubbing of some of the inscriptions, exhibiting those the following year at the first meeting of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai and publishing a short paper in the society's journal.[160] Later on, images of all in-

156 For an English language overview of Bichurin's life and the bibliography of his works, see Kim 2013.
157 Howorth 1883.
158 Wylie 1870.
159 Wylie 1860.
160 Wylie 1864.

scriptions also came out in a superb publication printed privately by Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858–1924), a grandnephew of Napoleon I and a scholar-explorer who was later to become the president of the Société de Géographie.[161] Using the images in this publication, Stephen W. Bushell (1844–1908), an amateur Orientalist and numismatist, was able to identify the script and language of the unknown inscription as Tangut.[162] Bushell's connection to the Tangut script was through numismatics but he also utilised traditional historiographical sources to reconstruct the history of the Tangut empire, including a table of their rulers and reign periods.[163] He was in possession of a rubbing of the bilingual Liangzhou stele and compared its characters with those at Juyongguan, pointing out more than a hundred identical ones. In addition, he also used numismatic evidence to support his thesis about the identity of the script.[164]

About the same time, the French sinologist Gabriel Devéria (1844–1899) also arrived at similar results.[165] He published several studies in which he clearly identified the unknown language as that of the Tangut state.[166] He also suggested that the script may have been based on the Khitan writing system. Devéria is sometimes credited with having been the first person to identify the Tangut script,[167] even though Bushell, with whom he worked closely together, seems to have reached this conclusion about the same time, if not earlier. Bushell claimed that he had known that the script on his rubbing of the Liangzhou stele was Tangut since at least a decade and a half earlier. In fact, he was the one who showed the rubbing to Devéria in 1879.[168] Regardless of who of these two scholars came to realise this first, it goes without saying that Zhang Shu beat both of them to it by nearly a century.[169] In addition, as we have seen above, this information was also available in Chinese numismatic works from the early 19th century, even if these may have arrived at this realisation independently from Zhang Shu.

161 Bonaparte 1895.

162 Bushell 1899a.

163 Bushell 1898, 1899b, 147–148.

164 Bushell 1899a, 67. He had also written a paper on the Jurchen script where he discusses the general similarities of the Jurchen, Khitan and Tangut scripts (Bushell 1897)

165 For an overview of the life and works of Devéria, see Pottier 1900 and Chavannes 1899.

166 Devéria 1898a, 1898b, 1902.

167 E.g. Nishida 1964–1966, v. 2, 518.

168 Bushell 1899a, 66–67.

169 Nie Hongyin correctly points this out in his overview of the history of Tangut studies; Nie 1993, 329.

Fig. 5: Wylie's list of 78 Tangut characters from the Juyongguan inscription, which he called the "Neuchih Syllabary." (From Wylie 1870.)

Aside from epigraphic material, samples of Tangut books were discovered by three employees of the French legation in China at the White Pagoda (Baita 白塔), in Beijing, in August 1900 during the quelling of the Boxer Rebellion. The three Frenchmen—Paul Pelliot, G. Morisse and F. Berteaux—found six concertina volumes of a manuscript book in Tangut. Morisse and Berteaux obtained three volumes each and with this new material in hand Morisse began studying the language. He published the results of his research in a report titled *Contribution préliminaire à l'étude de l'écriture et de la langue Si-Hia*, which was a major contribution to this newly emerging field.[170] From the Chinese characters someone had added next to the Tangut ones, he determined that this was a translation of the *Lotus sutra*. Based on this information, he proceeded to decipher the Tangut characters, partly relying on the works of Devéria, Wylie and Bushell. With these precedents and his volumes of the *Lotus sutra*, Morisse made significant progress and was able to establish the meaning of a series of characters, including their approximate pronunciation. He classified some 3,500 characters and arranged them under various categories. He also correctly concluded that the language itself belonged to the Tibeto-Burman family.

Following Berteaux's death, his widow sold the Tangut volumes he possessed to several buyers but in the end they were all acquired by the Musée Guimet.[171] Morisse eventually sold his volumes to a German buyer in 1912, not long after Kozlov's discovery of the Khara-khoto treasures made them lose their uniqueness.[172]

2.2 The discovery of Khara-khoto and Tangut studies

The Khara-khoto material was initially sent to the Geographical Society in St. Petersburg but soon after that it was divided into two parts: the books and manuscripts were deposited at the Asiatic Museum, whereas the paintings and other art objects went to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum. Today the two parts of the original collection are kept at the IOM, which is the successor institution of the Asiatic Museum, and the State Hermitage Museum.[173]

The discovery of a vast volume of Tangut material in Khara-khoto in 1908–1909 represented a breakthrough in the study of the Tangut language and brought the field to an entirely new level. The finds provided an unprecedented amount of textual material, including bilingual dictionaries and many texts translated from Chinese, all of which were essential in the decipherment of the script and the reconstruction of the language. The samples Kozlov sent to St. Petersburg following his visit to Khara-khoto in 1908 created a sensation in academic circles and were immediately studied by leading scholars. The 1909 issue of the *Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society* came out with

170 Morisse 1091. This was later published as a separate volume (Morisse 1904). An English review of this work was written by Bushell (1904).

171 Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978, 145.

172 *Ibid*., 146.

173 *Ibid*., 154.

three studies devoted to the new material. One of these was an iconographical study by the eminent Indologist Sergei F. Oldenburg; the other, an examination of Tangut paper money by the Polish-Russian scholar Władysław Kotwicz (1872–1944); and the third, strategically placed at the beginning of the journal, a paper on the Tangut manuscripts by Aleksei I. Ivanov, a young lecturer in Chinese at St. Petersburg University.[174]

Ivanov devoted himself to studying the Kozlov collection as soon as he gained access to the materials and published his findings in a series of academic articles.[175] Towards the end of 1909 he had already discovered the bilingual glossary entitled *Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Palm* (*Mji-Zar ŋwu̱ dzjịj bju pją gu nji* 𗼇𗟲𗣼𘔼𗏁𗗚𗽀𗗘), the Chinese title of which, being a bilingual work, was also provided as *Fan-Han heshi zhangzhong zhu* 番漢合時掌中珠.[176] Because of the bilingual nature of the book, it became an important clue for the decipherment of the Tangut language. In addition, Ivanov published shorter notices on the Chinese-language documents from the dead city.[177] In the course of working on the Tangut texts, he also compiled a dictionary of Tangut. Apparently, the dictionary had been sent to the publication department of the Russian Academy of Sciences where it stayed from 1919 until 1922 before Ivanov withdrew it and decided not to publish anything anymore.[178] The manuscript of the dictionary was subsequently lost, possibly during Ivanov's arrest and purge in 1937.[179]

In Russia, the motivations behind such a strong interest of Tangut studies were naturally connected with Kozlov's discoveries. It is certainly no coincidence that early work on the Tangut language (prior to the discovery of Khara-khoto) was mainly conducted in France and Britain, rather than Russia. Yet with its long-standing colonial ambitions in Central and East Asia, the Russian Empire, and later the Soviet Union, had a vested interest in studying the history and culture of peoples in its border regions, including those who lived there in

174 Ol'denburg 1909; Kotvich 1909; Ivanov 1909a.

175 E.g. Ivanov 1909b, 1911, 1913, 1918, 1920. His research was followed with interest in the rest of Europe, especially France. For example, the eminent French sinologist Edouard Chavannes (1920) wrote a short introduction about Ivanov 1909b, pointing out the significance of the *Pearl in the Palm* glossary.

176 Ivanov 1909b. Kychanov (2008b, 133) indicates that we do not actually know whether this glossary was discovered in the collection by Ivanov or Kotwitz. The Tanguts customarily used the Chinese word *fan* 番 to refer to themselves in Chinese.

177 Ivanov 1913.

178 Kychanov 2008b, 135.

179 Ibid.

the past. Accordingly, Mongolia, Qinghai and Tibet were among the earliest targets of Russian scientific exploration.

The newly discovered language was also of interest to linguists, regardless of their nationality. Early on in 1916, shortly after Ivanov's first articles on the Kozlov collection, the German-born American scholar Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) published a long and important study of the "Si-hia language" which was largely based on the findings of Ivanov.[180] In this, the author emphasized that the study of Tangut was "more than an isolated phenomenon of local interest, and that it even has a fundamental value for the understanding of the speech history [*sic*] of the Indo-Chinese family, and in many cases largely contributes to a correct appreciation of its genetic growth."[181] He firmly established that the language belonged to the Sino-Tibetan family and suggested that it was closer to Lolo and Moso than Tibetan. As it was pointed out later, Laufer's work had many errors but these were primarily due to the mistakes in Ivanov's publication which Laufer was using, as he did not himself have access to facsimiles of the *Pearl in the Palm* glossary.[182] Later on, Stuart N. Wolfenden (1889–1938), an American linguist at the University of California, Berkeley, who normally worked on Tibeto-Burman dialects, also wrote a couple of short studies on Tibetan and Chinese transcriptions of Tangut words.[183]

In the early 1920s, when Ivanov joined the diplomatic service and became too busy to continue his studies on Tangut, the Kozlov collection was briefly studied by the young and exceptionally talented linguist Aleksandr A. Dragunov (1900–1955), even though Tangut studies never became his primary field of research and for years he worked on the collection with varying degree of intensity.[184] Nevertheless, he compiled a list of titles he could identify in the collection[185] and a study of binoms which has not lost its significance to this day.[186] Dragunov continued to work on the cataloguing of the collection until moving to Moscow in 1951, by which time he had catalogued 2,720 items.[187]

As one of the first scholars working on the Kozlov collection, Ivanov had a tremendous impact on Tangut studies both through his works and by mentoring younger scholars. While still in St. Petersburg, he had taught Nikolai A. Nevsky

180 Laufer 1916.
181 *Ibid*., 7.
182 Nevskij 1960, 24–25.
183 Wolfenden 1931, 1934.
184 Kychanov 1972, 179–180.
185 Long Guofu (Dragunov) et al. 1930.
186 Dragunov 1929.
187 Kychanov 1972, 180.

(1892–1937), a linguist who was to become the brightest star of Tangut studies.[188] Nevsky studied sinology with Vasily M. Alekseev (1881–1951) but in the end decided to switch to Japanese studies. A few months after his graduation, in 1915 he was sent to Japan for two years. In the meantime the Russian Revolution (1917) broke out, then the Civil War (1917–1922), and so he remained in Japan much longer, thoroughly mastering the language and eventually marrying a Japanese woman. Although his initial academic interest was the ethnography and languages of various indigenous groups, such as the Ainu in Hokkaidō and the aboriginal tribes of the Ryūkyū Islands and Taiwan, from around 1923–1924 he also took up the study of Tangut.[189] Yet it was only after meeting Ivanov in 1925 in Beijing and hearing about the intellectual challenges involved that he began actively studying the language and the script. Ivanov allowed him to hand-copy several Tangut texts and these formed the foundation of his work for the next few years.[190] He wrote about this important meeting the following way:

> Last summer I visited Prof. A. I. Ivanov, my former teacher at St. Petersburg University, who at the moment works as an interpreter at the Soviet Embassy in Beijing. Our discussion concerned the language of the Tanguts, in which I was interested, and my professor showed me some books and documents written in this language. Among these were seven photographs of Buddhist fragments in Tangut, written in a cursive script that was quite close to the regular one. These texts were interesting in their own light but what made them especially valuable is the Tibetan transcriptions assigned to each character. […]
> As Prof. A. I. Ivanov was saying, these fragmentary texts were found by Vladislav Kotwitz in the bindings of Tangut books found by P. K. Kozlov in 1908 together with a hoard of other Tangut books in a stupa near Khara-khoto. The fragments were flattened, catalogued and deposited for safekeeping at the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, where they still are.
> With Prof. A. I. Ivanov's permission I copied all of them and, after my return to Japan, categorized all characters and their transcriptions according to the first strokes of the charac-

188 For biographical details of Nevsky, see Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978. A collection of material by and about Nevsky was published in 1996 in *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* (St. Petersburg Oriental Studies) No. 8. Recently Nevsky's 120th birthday was commemorated by a conference, the proceedings of which also came out as a separate volume (Baksheev and Shchepkin 2013).

189 Many of his early Japanese-language ethnographic publications have been collected in a posthumous volume (Nefusuki and Oka 1971). The first book-length biography of Nevsky was also in Japanese, and it has already come out in two editions (Katō 1976, 2011). A Russian biography (Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978) came out only two years later.

190 Nevsky relates this in two postcards sent from Beijing to Ishihama Juntarō. See Takata 2008, 184–185.

> ters, added their Chinese equivalents for the ones I have come across before and the meaning of which was more or less clear to me.[191]

About a year after this meeting, the Osaka Asiatic Society published Nevsky's short booklet called *A Brief Manual of the Si-hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions*, which contained a "Preface" in English and Japanese and a "Vocabulary" section that essentially functioned as a small dictionary.[192] Initially Nevsky worked from photographs provided by Ivanov but in 1929 he returned to St. Petersburg, by that time called Leningrad. Once there, he began to teach at the university and to work on the Tangut material at the Institute of Oriental Studies (present-day IOM) and the Hermitage. Following a lecture on the Kozlov collection he delivered at a meeting of the Russian Academy of Sciences in March 1935, Nevsky was assigned to work exclusively on the collection.[193] His work was suddenly interrupted in 1937 when he was arrested together with his wife on fictitious charges of spying for the Japanese government. Both of them were subsequently executed.[194] Nevsky's magnum opus devoted to Tangut studies came out posthumously in 1960 in two large volumes under the title *Tangut Philology*.[195] This publication, the larger part of which is taken up by a Tangut dictionary compiled by the author on the basis of his work with the material in the Kozlov collection, to this day remains one of the most important tools for working on Tangut texts. Despite the existence of newer reference tools, it is still commonly used and is unlikely to be rendered completely obsolete in the fore-

191 Nevskij 1960, v. 1, 163.

192 Nevsky 1926.

193 Kychanov 2008b, 136.

194 Some of the earlier publications state the year of Nevsky's death as 1938, although it is now clear that he was executed on 24 November 1937, on the same day as his wife and hundreds of other victims. Their daughter, who had been raised by friends and distant family, was initially told that her father died in 1945 of myocarditis and learned the truth only in 1991 upon gaining access to her parents' files (Nevskaja 1996, 530). In an interview given shortly before his death, Kychanov revealed that at the time of Nevsky's rehabilitation, many scholars in St. Petersburg did not believe the news of his death and expected him to return to work on the Tangut collection. In fact, Kychanov pointed out that the time of Nevsky's death was far from being certain since several people claimed to have seen him alive in various parts of Russia as late as 1962. See Kychanov 2012b, 9–10.

195 Nevskij 1960. The 1960 edition, for which Nevsky posthumously received the Lenin prize in 1962, are today an antiquarian rarity and extremely hard to find. Fortunately, the dictionary was reprinted as a facsimile reproduction in volume 6 of Li Fanwen's *Xixia yanjiu* 西夏研究 series.

seeable future. Nevsky is appropriately regarded today as the person who made the greatest contribution to the decipherment of Tangut.

In the mid-1920s, while working at the Osaka Foreign Languages University, Nevsky became acquainted with Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎 (1888–1968) who was the person who urged him to try his luck with Tangut studies in addition to his ethnographic work.[196] The two of them collaborated, as Nevsky had access to Tangut materials through Ivanov and other colleagues in Leningrad, whereas Ishihama owned an extensive research library which was equally important.[197] As a result, from 1927 until 1933, the two of them co-authored a series of academic papers related to Tangut texts.[198] Even after Nevsky's return to Russia, the two scholars continued their collaboration, until it abruptly ended with Nevsky's arrest in 1937.

The academic interest in Tangut studies in Japan was part of a greater trend partly inspired by nationalistic sentiments. While during the Meiji period (1868–1912) Japan was interested in Western models of academic learning and scholars were accordingly focusing on learning Western languages, with Japan's economic and military rise, and its victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, we can see the birth of a new trend which tried to move away from both Eurocentric and Sinocentric viewpoints.[199] One of the effects of this change of direction was the development of the discipline of *tōyōgaku* 東洋學, or Oriental studies, which engaged in a characteristically multidisciplinary and multilingual approach to Asian history. One of the major institutions cultivating this direction was Kyoto Imperial University (today's Kyoto University), which developed its Oriental studies partly as a way to compete with Tokyo Imperial University (today's Tokyo University) and its Western orientation. Kyoto-style Oriental studies was characterised by a strong focus on China's historical contacts with Central Asian cultures and the study of the languages of these regions. In the case of Dunhuang studies, this turned out to be an extremely productive approach, as Dunhuang itself boasted a multicultural and multilingual community that produced manuscripts in a multitude of

196 Takata 2008, 184.

197 For Ishihama's description of this period of collaboration, see Ishihama 1934.

198 Takata 2008, 184–185. For their collaborative works, which often included reproductions of original material, see, for example, Nefusuki and Ishihama 1927 and 1930. Ishihama, as part of his general interest in newly discovered texts and languages, had published short reports on the Kozlov collection and Tangut studies already before meeting Nevsky (e.g. Ishihama 1915, 1920, 1922). For the extensive list of academic works authored by Ishihama, see the Ishihama sensei koki kinenkai 1958, 1–18.

199 Wong 2004, Tanaka 1993.

languages and scripts. As a result of this approach, Japanese scholars moved beyond the relatively simple model of studying early editions of known or unknown Chinese texts, which characterised scholarship in China during the same period. In fact, Chinese interest in Dunhuang studies also partly began in Kyoto through the interaction of local scholars with Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) and Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) who moved to Kyoto in 1911.

To a certain extent Tangut studies was part of this larger development, which also meant that it developed in Kyoto and the Kansai region in general. As with the Dunhuang manuscripts, Luo Zhenyu and his sons played a major role during their Kyoto sojourn in absorbing the new material through their Japanese contacts. Nevsky and Ishihama worked in Osaka, merely an hour away by train but they also frequently visited Kyoto University. Even though with time the nationalistic aspect of the field was not longer part of the picture, the tradition remained and Kyoto continued to be the seat of Oriental studies in Japan. Among the people active during the pre-war period was Nakajima Satoshi 中嶋敏 (1910–2007), who started publishing on Tangut matters around the mid-1930s. Among his influential work were a study of Tangut culture in light of the changing political situation and the examination of coin casting in the Tangut state.[200]

In China, early studies of the Tangut script and language were made by the brothers Luo Fucheng 羅福成 (1885–1960) and Luo Fuchang 羅福萇 (1895–1921). Their involvement in Tangut studies is partly the result of meeting the Russian scholar Ivanov who from 1922 worked at the Soviet diplomatic mission in Beijing. It was here that he met the Luo brothers and Wang Jingru, another pioneer of Tangut studies in China, encouraging them to pursue the study of Tangut documents.

Luo Fucheng and Luo Fuchang were sons of the renown palaeographer and collector Luo Zhenyu who had made significant contributions to a wide range of academic fields in the late Qing and early Republican period, most notably the study of the Dunhuang manuscripts and oracle-bone inscriptions.[201] He was, for example, the person who, after meeting Paul Pelliot and seeing his collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in 1908, wrote a petition to the Chinese Ministry of Culture—and then to the rector of the Imperial University (today's Beijing University) where he held a position—urging them to purchase the manuscripts that

200 Nakajima 1936a and 1936b.

201 For a diagram of the Luo family's family tree, including Luo Zhenyu and his eight children, see Yang and Whitfield 2012, 10–11. For an assessment of Luo Zhenyu's contribution to Dunhuang studies, see Zhao 1989.

were still in Dunhuang in order to prevent them from being taken out of the county by foreign explorers and archaeologists.[202] Hearing that there were no funds available for this, he pledged his own salary to help with the purchase. Thus the NLC collection of Dunhuang manuscripts essentially owes its existence to Luo Zhenyu. Yet his role in contemporary scholarship has been downplayed in Mainland China because of his Qing loyalist affiliations and his support for Manchukuo and Japanese presence in Manchuria. It is only recently that he is being gradually acknowledged for his academic achievements and his merits in saving the remainder of the Dunhuang manuscripts.[203] The Luo family fled to Japan in 1911 following the Republican Revolution. Luo also brought over his soon to be famous protégé Wang Guowei, supporting him and his family financially.[204]

It was Luo Zhenyu who first introduced the *Pearl in the Palm* glossary to the world, after having received photographs of ten pages from the Russian scholar Ivanov in 1913.[205] He later also published a study of Tangut officials seals.[206] His other son Luo Fubao 羅福葆 (1899–1967) distinguished himself as a palaeographer and epigrapher, also playing a minor role in Tangut studies.[207] The youngest son Luo Fuyi 羅福頤 (1905–1981) became a leading authority on Chinese seals but also compiled a volume devoted to Tangut official seals, although this was published only after his death.[208] As we can see, all of the members of the Luo family have made a contribution to Tangut studies but it was the eldest

202 Rong 2013, 231–232. For Luo's role in another major rescue operation, i.e. the saving of the Qing Grand Secretariat archives, see Brown 2007. Luo Zhenyu met Pelliot in Beijing in October 1908 and this meeting was the first time he saw Tangut texts which were included among the samples Pelliot showed him. Miao Quansun's 繆荃孫 diary has the following entry for 25 October, 1908: "Pelliot came to the library and said that the Dunhuang Thousand Buddha Caves had over seven thousand Tang manuscript scrolls and that he had selected more than a thousand items, including the Tang work *Shazhou zhi* 沙州志. There were also manuscripts written in Tangut and Uyghur, as well as printed texts from the Song and Five Dynasties. How incredible!" Quoted in Rong 2013, 228.
203 For his significance in late Qing-early Republican intellectual life, see Yang and Whitfield 2012.
204 Luo and Wang settled in the immediate vicinity of Kyoto Imperial University. For the significance of Kyoto in the early development of Dunhuang studies and the role of Luo and Wang in this, see the fascinating studies in Takata 2002, especially Tonami 2002.
205 Luo 1918.
206 Luo 1927.
207 Today he is mainly remembered for his work on Chinese character variants in epigraphic works, e.g. Luo 1939.
208 Luo 1982.

brother Luo Fucheng whose work is particularly important.[209] While living in Kyoto, he published a study of the Tangut version of the *Lotus sutra*, continuing the work of Morisse.[210] Besides Morisse's volumes, he also relied on additional volumes, the photographs of which were made available to him by Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 (1882–1955) of Kyoto Imperial University.[211] On the basis of the photos of the *Pearl in the Palm* obtained from Ivanov, plus the *Lotus sutra* he had already studied, Luo Fucheng was able to decipher about a hundred Tangut characters which he arranged by stroke order and published as a vocabulary.[212] In 1924 Luo Fucheng hand-copied Ivanov's photographs of the *Pearl in the Palm* and had them printed in Tianjin, thereby making the entire work available to the scholarly community.

In the meantime, his younger brother Luo Fuchang compiled a small booklet on the Tangut script and grammar.[213] This was the first description of the Tangut language and writing system and therefore represents a major contribution to the work of decipherment. Luo Fuchang established that the Tangut characters were based on essentially the same principles as Chinese ones, and identified a small number of "radicals." Due to his untimely death at the age of 26, Luo Fuchang did not live to see the updated and corrected version which was completed by his brother Luo Fucheng under the same title. But during his short scholarly career Luo Fuchang managed to make a number of important contributions to Tangut studies, including an annotated edition of the description of the Tangut empire in the Song annals.[214]

Wang Jingru, the other important Chinese figure in Tangut studies, was part of a new generation of Chinese scholars who, having studied in European countries such as France, Germany or Britain, were heavily influenced by Western-style learning. From the late 1920s, China experienced a new wave of nationalism which, coupled with strong anti-foreign sentiments, had profound implications for the development of arts and sciences in the country. This was also the time when foreign explorers who had conducted excavations in various parts of China were banned from digging and their former activities were increasingly viewed as stealing China's national treasures. In 1928, Academia Sinica, China's

209 Volume 4 of Li Fanwen's *Xixia yanjiu* series is devoted to the contributions of the Luo family. This impressive list of scholars coming from one family is truly unparalled in modern scholarship.

210 Luo 1914.

211 Nishida 1964–1966, 520.

212 Luo 1915.

213 Luo 1919.

214 This work was recently published as Luo and Peng 2004.

national research academy, was founded and a new generation of native scholars came to the forefront. Issues related to the nation's past were of obvious importance and unsurprisingly one of the first major projects of the Academy in the field of archaeology was the excavation of oracle bones at the ancient Shang 商 capital near modern-day Anyang 安陽 (Henan province).

Wang Jingru's academic career began at this period; he started working on Tangut from the early 1930s.[215] His opus on "Shishiah studies" came out in three volumes as part of the Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) monograph series.[216] Attesting to the state of affairs in Tangut studies at the time, the first volume has short prefaces by eminent scholars in the three main languages of the field: an English one by Jaw Yuan renn (i.e. Zhao Yuanren 趙元任, 1892–1982), a Chinese one by Chen Yinque 陳寅恪 (1890–1969), and a Russian one by Wang Jingru himself. The first volume contains a series of shorter papers ranging from studies of the Tangut Tripitaka and official seals to the examination of specific sutras among the Khara-khoto material. The second and third volumes are largely taken up by a study of the Tangut version of the *Sutra of Golden Light* (T. *Kię bji swew zji bu̱ njij lwər rejr* [illegible]), in which Wang compares the text against Chinese and Tibetan versions. Finally, there are a couple of shorter studies, one on the Qiangic and Minya languages in Sichuan and one on Tangut phonetics.

In Britain there have been no significant publications related to Tangut in the pre-war period, even though the material acquired by Stein at Khara-khoto had been deposited at the British Museum. The few people who consulted the collection were foreign scholars who either had a chance to visit London or had access to photographs. A notable exception is Sir Gerard Clauson (1891–1974), an English civil servant and scholar who mostly worked on the Sanskrit, Tibetan and especially Turkic manuscripts from the Stein and Pelliot collections. Although his most important contributions were in the field of Turkology, he was also interested in Tangut studies[217] and was also working on what he called *A Skeleton Dictionary of Tangut*.[218] This dictionary was never published, even though in the early 1970s Eric Grinstead called it "a paragon of excellence" in comparison with the multitude of errors in other dictionaries, such as the index of characters to the Russian edition of the monolingual Tangut dictionary *Sea of*

215 His first publication was a book on the *Pearl in the Palm* glossary (Wang 1930).
216 Wang 1932–1933.
217 E.g., Clauson 1940.
218 Clauson 1964, 55.

Characters (T. *Jwɨr ŋjow* [illegible]) or the index in Vol. 1 of Sofronov's grammar.[219] Clauson himself mentioned that he had compiled the dictionary in 1937–1938 and deposited it at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), also sending a microfilm to Sofronov.[220]

Clauson's papers related to Tangut are currently kept in the SOAS Archives in seven thick notebook volumes. All volumes are titled "Hsi-hsia language", and two of them in addition are also marked "Dictionary Part I" and "Dictionary Part II."[221] The material is diverse and includes a linguistic description of the language, lists of transliterations, notes and summaries of secondary literature (e.g. Luo Fuchang's introduction to the Tangut language). The dictionary part has a note added to it in 1963 which claims that he had begun working on it in 1938.[222] The two volumes of the dictionary number 441 pages, showing that this was a monumental work that would have made a significant contribution to Tangut studies had it ever been published. In terms of its breadth and erudition, it could only be compared to the two volumes of Nevsky's *Tangut Philology*. Clauson probably felt that his work was still imperfect and this is why he never brought it to completion. Ironically, this parallels Nevsky's work which was not published by the author himself but by later scholars who edited his papers long after his death. Even in its unfinished form, Nevsky's work became a milestone in the history of Tangut studies, inspiring generations of scholars and laying down the foundations for a new field of study. Had Clauson finished his dictionary and analysis of Tangut, it would have no doubt made a similar impact on the field.

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219 Grinstead 1972b, 30.

220 Clauson 1964, 55.

221 I am grateful to Nathan Hill for alerting me to the fact that Clauson's Tangut material is still at the SOAS Archives.

222 Inserted into one of the notebooks are also some letters written to Clauson by Frederick W. Thomas (1867–1956), professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, who published extensively on the Tibetan manuscripts acquired by Stein in Dunhuang and who at the time was working on the Nam and Zhangzhung languages, manuscripts of which (written with the Tibetan script) had been discovered in Dunhuang. In the letters, which date from the period of 1935–1936, Thomas compliments Clauson on making progress with the Tangut script and also mentions that he himself had tried his luck with it but had given it up. These letters testify to the fact that Clauson, and earlier Thomas, were working on the decipherment of Tangut at the same time as Nevsky.

2.3 From the 1950s onward

Russia (USSR)

Disrupted by Stalin's purges and World War II, the study of Tangut language and texts entered a quiet period following the late 1930s and resumed only in the 1950s. The major "players" at this time were the USSR and Japan, as the newly established People's Republic of China was still trying to solidify itself as a nation. Because the largest collection of Tangut material was in Leningrad, understandably, it was the USSR where Tangut studies emerged as an academic field during the 1950s–1960s. Although there have been individual scholars with important contributions in various countries (especially Japan), it was only in Russia that we find a group of specialists working systematically and consistently for several decades on key aspects of Tangut language and history. Moreover, most Russian "Tangutologists" worked together as a group, conducting research within the same institute on the same body of material, and their day-to-day interaction unquestionably provided additional stimulus for the advancement of the field, also resulting in a series of co-authored studies.[223] In light of the above, we cannot but acknowledge that Tangut studies as a field of research owes its existence to the concentrated efforts of Soviet scholars from the mid-1950s onward.[224]

In Leningrad, after Dragunov's move to Moscow, work on the Kozlov collection was taken over by Zoya I. Gorbacheva (1907–1979), a sinologist trained as a historian. She worked on publicising the collection, drawing attention to the fact that no systematic work had been done on it for many years. She also pointed out the significance of the non-Buddhist material which was unparalleled in other collections around the world.[225] She emphasized the need to continue efforts directed at the decipherment of the language and the creation of a Tangut-Russian dictionary. As part of her work on Tangut, she began publishing

223 The only scholar from among the important Tangut researchers of this period who worked in Moscow, rather than Leningrad, was Sofronov.

224 Thus when Eric Grinstead (1974, 38) wrote that "in the past fifteen years Tangut studies have become established as a proper discipline," he was largely referring to the work of Russian scholars.

225 Gorbacheva 1954, 88.

material from the Nevsky archives at the Institute of Oriental Studies, including Nevsky's *Tangut Philology*.[226]

The first preliminary catalogue of Tangut texts in the Kozlov collection came out in 1963 in a volume compiled by Gorbacheva and Kychanov.[227] This was the result of the cumulative work of Russian scholars during the previous fifty years, combining descriptions completed by Nevsky, Dragunov, Gorbacheva and Kychanov.[228] From the total 8,090 items in the collection, the cataloguers were able to identify about 3,000 texts, most of which was based on Nevsky's identifications from the 1930s. Among the main issues was that of dating of the collection, and the "Preface" of the catalogue explicitly addresses this. Based on the paper money specimens recovered from the site, Kotwitz had believed that Khara-khoto was still inhabited during the period of 1287–1368.[229] The authors of the catalogue, however, pointed out that the earliest date seen in texts from Khara-khoto was from 1085, and the latest ones were from the period of 1223–1227.[230] Thus Kotwitz's dating was not necessarily valid for manuscripts and printed books which seemed to contain only material from the last quarter of the 11th century to the first quarter of the 13th century. This time range corroborated the dating proposed by the sinologist Vsevolod N. Kazin (1907–1942) who had suggested that the earliest materials in Khara-khoto were from the 11th century.[231] Thus Gorbacheva and Kychanov established that the date of the entire collection was different from the time of the sealing of the stupa in which Kozlov discovered the majority of the Tangut material, which probably happened during the last years of the Tangut state, perhaps in 1225, on the eve of the Mongol invasion.[232]

The publication of Nevsky's works and the catalogue of the Kozlov collection mark the beginning of a new era in Soviet Tangut studies. Among the important publications in the 1960s is a volume on Tangut translations of Chinese

226 Gorbacheva 1956; Nevskij 1960. A detailed overview of Nevsky's work was published by the French sinologist Paul Demiéville (1962) in *T'oung Pao*. The positive acclaim of these two volumes does not mean that it was not criticized by later scholars. Nishida (1964–1966, 522), for example, was quite critical of his work on a number of points, including him relying too heavily on Tangut lexicographic works, rather than using those to develop his own system.

227 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963.

228 *Ibid.*, 17–18.

229 Kotvich 1909.

230 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963, 19–20.

231 Kazin 1961. The author died at the age of 34 during the siege of Leningrad. His other study on the history of Khara-khoto was published only posthumously (Kazin 1990).

232 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963, 21.

Confucian texts such as the *Analects of Confucius* (T. *Ljị̈ dạ* [illegible]), the *Mencius* (T. *Miej tsə* [illegible]) and the *Newly Translated Book of Filial Piety with Commentary* (T. *·Jị lhej ·wə̱ gjij de̱j* [illegible]) by Vsevolod S. Kolokolov (1896–1979) and Kychanov.[233] Monographs dedicated to other texts, including facsimile copies of the originals, also came out around this time. Among these was a facsimile edition of the monolingual dictionary *Sea of Characters* with a translation and studies by leading Soviet scholars such as Ksenia B. Kepping (1937–2002), Kolokolov, Kychanov and Anatoly P. Terentiev-Katansky (1934–1998).[234]

An important contribution to the linguistic reconstruction of Tangut was the two-volume grammar of the Tangut language compiled by the linguist Mikhail V. Sofronov.[235] The first volume is a systematic description of the Tangut language, including the script, phonology, morphology and syntax. The second volume consists of a collection of material for the phonological reconstruction of the language, including transcriptions of Tangut words in other scripts and a list of about 6,000 Tangut characters. This was a continuation of Sofronov's work on Tangut linguistics, which had begun with a book on Tangut phonology he co-authored with Kychanov.[236]

Kepping wrote several important studies on Tangut grammar, including topics such as verbal prefixes, transitive verbs, a category of aspect, postpositions, and the incentive structure.[237] Her major work in this respect was a monograph on the morphology of Tangut, which remains an important reference book even today.[238] Simultaneously with working on the linguistic aspects of the language, she was also actively involved in studying specific texts, and these efforts resulted in the publication of several monographs. Among the most significant works in this regard was a study of the Tangut translation of the *Art of War of Sunzi with Three Commentaries* (T. *Swẽ tsə gja jwɨr sọ bjị̈j* [illegible]). She first began working on this text as part of her Ph.D.,[239] and over the years kept returning to it, until finally publishing a complete translation and study with facsimile copies of the original.[240] In addition, she published facsimile

233 Kolokolov and Kychanov 1966.
234 Keping et al. 1969.
235 Sofronov 1968.
236 Sofronov and Kychanov 1963. The authors also wrote a short overview of this work in English; see Sofronov and Kychanov 1965.
237 Keping 1968a, 1968b, 1969a, 1971a, 1971b, 1973. For a complete list of her publications, see Keping 2003, 226–230.
238 Keping 1985.
239 Keping 1967.
240 Keping 1979.

editions of the Tangut *Forest of Categories* (T. *Djij bo* 𘜔𘎊)[241] and the *Newly Collected Records of Compassion and Filiality* (T. *Sjiw śio̱ njij wə̱ la mji̱j ?* 𘐓𘏞𘍞𘊄𘃡𘖑𘂬).[242] Kepping devoted her long and productive academic career almost exclusively to Tangut studies and remained an active researcher until her death in 2002.[243]

The other important Russian Tangutologist was Kychanov who began studying Tangut history in the late 1950s and over the course of an academic career that lasted more than half a century authored over 300 publications.[244] He made a unique contribution to the study of the history of the Tangut state and published translations and facsimile editions of several important texts from the Kozlov collection.[245] Originally trained as a historian, Kychanov wrote a dissertation on the history of the Tangut state, a revised version of which was published as a monograph in 1968. This was the first comprehensive historiographical study that relied not only on Chinese but also on Tangut sources.[246] Since at the time most Western scholars in the field were primarily interested in linguistic issues, this was a much-needed study that made Tangut history accessible to researchers of other areas. Using the framework of a chronological narrative, the book also discusses various aspects of Tangut culture, including literature, music, art and religion.

Besides his strictly academic publications, Kychanov was equally keen to popularize texts of the Kozlov collection and the research results of Russian scholars, making those accessible for general audiences. He authored popular articles and books on all aspects of Tangut culture, from the decipherment of the script to the life of Tangut emperors.[247] In addition, he wrote popular books on Central Asian history in general, including one on Genghis khan and another

241 Keping 1983.
242 Keping 1990.
243 A volume with her partly unpublished last works was published pothumously as Keping 2003. Having been born in Tianjin where her family was closely involved with the Russian Orthodox Mission, she also wrote a small number of publications on the history of the church (e.g. Kepping 2011). A couple of her articles on this topic were included in a recent volume on the history of the Beiguan mission (Aleksandrov 2006, 183–198).
244 For a complete list of Kychanov's publications, see Zajtsev 2012.
245 Kychanov 1974, 1997a, 2000.
246 Kychanov 1968. For book reviews, see Clauson 1969 and Nishida 1969.
247 One of his best known books on the discovery of Khara-khoto and the decipherment of the Tangut script is Kychanov 1965.

one on Galdan Boshoktu-khan.[248] His book on Genghis khan saw three editions, each of which included new corrections and additions.

Kychanov also made a contribution to cataloguing the Tangut materials kept in Leningrad. Besides the inventory compiled early in his career with Gorbacheva,[249] he worked for years on identifying and describing the Buddhist texts in the collection. The work was done in collaboration with Kyoto University and the results came out in 1999 as a large catalogue of over 600 pages.[250] This was the first complete catalogue of Buddhist texts in the Kozlov collection and, considering the high proportion of Buddhist writings in the surviving body of Tangut material, it was a major step towards the study of the entire collection. Finally, Kychanov also put his name down in the history of Tangut lexicography by compiling a new Tangut dictionary.[251] The dictionary contains 5,803 Tangut characters as main entries and includes a large number of binoms or phrases. The Tangut words and phrases are translated not only into Chinese but also Russian and English, thereby making the dictionary a useful tool also for those not able to read Chinese.

Another Russian scholar, who became involved Tangut studies in the early 1980s, was Anatoly P. Terentiev-Katansky. A gifted artist and drawer who often made sketches of his colleagues while working in the Library of the Oriental Institute, he was most interested in material culture and especially the history of the book. His first monograph was devoted to the history of the Tangut book and was significant not only for Tangut but also for East Asian studies in general.[252] This work provides a detailed discussion of book forms, dating issues, illustrations, peculiarities of textual material, and attempts to reconstruct some of the social aspects related to the production and use of books in Khara-khoto. All in all, this is a valuable and interesting work with a great deal of concrete information that is useful for all those working with the history of the book, regardless of the cultural context.

Almost a decade later, Terentiev-Katansky came out with another book on the history of the book in Central Asia and China, in which he discussed topics such as the invention and spread of paper, writing utensils and ink, or the histo-

248 Kychanov 1973 and 1980.
249 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963.
250 Kychanov 1999.
251 Kychanov 2006. The dictionary was prepared with collaboration with the Japanese linguist Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎.
252 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981. This book was later translated into Chinese with the title *Xixia shuji ye* 西夏書籍業 (Terent'ev-Katanskij 2000).

ry of book forms.[253] He devoted a separate chapter to the various types of scripts (i.e. Chinese, Khitan, Tangut, Jurchen, Syriac, Manichaean, Sogdian, Uyghur, Mongolian, Runic, Arabic and Tibetan) developed and used in Central Asia. In another chapter he discussed the invention of printing and its use among the different cultures of Central Asia. Much like the author's previous monograph, this is a fascinating study which considers the history of the book throughout the entire Chinese and Central Asian domain, rather than in the usual monocultural context. From the point of view Tangut studies, this book is significant because it places the Tangut book in a wider context, integrating it with the history of other literate cultures in the region.

Besides the material aspects of Tangut culture, Terentiev-Katansky was also interested in how this culture was reflected in the Tangut language. He tried to merge the material and lexical approaches in his next monograph on the material culture of the Tangut state.[254] The book attempts to reconstruct the material culture of the Tanguts (i.e. clothing, weapons, domestic tools, food, architectural structures) by combining information available from Chinese sources with that in Tangut lexicographic works and surviving examples of Tangut pictorial art. A similar project was the publication of the facsimile edition of a text called *Mixed Signs of the Three Parts of the Universe* (*Sọ rjijr dji dza*), which Terentiev-Katansky co-authored with Sofronov.[255]

Japan

As discussed above, Tangut studies matured into a proper academic field during the 1950s–1960s as a result of the efforts of a group of Soviet scholars working on the Kozlov collection in Leningrad. While Russia was unquestionably the leader in the field, Japan followed closely behind, which was particularly noteworthy considering the fact that the country possessed almost no collections of Tangut materials—at least not original ones. What they had, however, were photographs and dedicated scholars. Japanese researchers were extremely active in the field and we can only mention here the most important figures.

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253 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1990.

254 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1993. This book was translated into Chinese as *Xixia wuzhi wenhua* 西夏物質文化 (Terent'ev-Katanskij 2006).

255 Terent'ev-Katanskij and Sofronov 2002. The English title given here is based on the Russian translation, translating the term *sọ rjijr* (Ch. *sancai* 三才) as "the three parts of the universe."

In Japan, from the 1950s onward there was a general fascination with the Silk Road, including Dunhuang and the forgotten empire of the Tanguts. The success of popular historical novels about the Silk Road by the celebrated novelist Inoue Yasushi 井上靖 (1907–1991) are a testimony to this interest. The most famous of these was the 1959 bestseller novel *Tonkō* 敦煌 (i.e. Dunhuang), which saw many editions and was also turned into a TV drama shortly after its appearance.[256] Subsequently, it was also translated into several languages, including English.[257] The story retells the adventures of a young man called Zhao Xingde 趙行德 (spelled Chao Hsing-te in the English translation) who arrives in the Song capital Kaifeng 開封 in 1026 to take the Palace Examinations but misses his opportunity because he falls asleep while waiting for his turn. Having his immediate dreams shattered, he decides to go to the land of the Tanguts and learn their mysterious writing system. After a series of adventures he manages to do this in the Tangut capital Xingqing 興慶 and even compiles a Chinese-Tangut dictionary.[258] In the end, amidst the war raging between the Tanguts and Chinese, the Uyghurs and Tibetans, Xingde seals off the Buddhist scrolls of the Dunhuang monasteries in a small cave at the Thousand Buddha Caves near the city, in order to save them from the imminent Tangut attack on Dunhuang.[259] The novel was a major success and in 1988 it was made into a major motion picture by director Satō Junya 佐藤純彌 and subsequently screened in many countries around the world.[260] The phenomenon sometimes called "Silk Road fever" in Japan was further intensified by the release of the extremely popular NHK TV series *Silk Road* in 1980 and 1983.[261]

256 Inoue 1959.

257 The English translation came out in 1978 with the title *Tun-huang: A Novel* (Inoue 1978).

258 This is the famous bilingual dictionary *Pearl in the Palm* from the Kozlov collection, for which Inoue thus provided a fictional background.

259 This fictional story is based on the assumption held by Paul Pelliot and some later scholars that the Dunhuang library cave had been sealed on the eve of the Tangut invasion of Dunhuang. This explanation, however, is no longer tenable as the closing of the library cave around 1006 predates the Tangut occupation by at least three decades. For a discussion of the reasons for sealing the cave, see Rong 2013, 131–136; van Schaik and Galambos 2012, 26–28.

260 The Japanese version of the film followed the novel's original title (*Tonkō* 敦煌) but in English it was distributed as *The Silk Road*.

261 Nagasawa 1992, 51. The author explains how a trend was turned into a fever by mass media and how this affected academic research. For the use of the term "Silk Road fever" in the West, see, for example, a newspaper article in the *Los Angeles Times* (24 April, 1988) which ran with the title "Exposition celebrating ancient Route opens today: Japan's 'Silk Road Fever' hits all-time high."

During the 1950s–1960s, when Tangut studies was booming in Russia, Japan once again began to carve out a piece of the field. Parallel with Sofronov's work on the reconstruction of Tangut grammar and its phonetic system, the Japanese scholar Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄 (1928–2012) of Kyoto University also began his research on the Tangut language, starting on a long and productive academic career. Nishida himself became involved with Tangut by being a student of Ishihama Juntarō and thus indirectly grew out of Nevsky's school. Nishida started working on Tangut texts from the mid-1950s, about the same time as Gorbacheva and Kychanov in Leningrad. He first did a study of the Tangut inscriptions at Juyongguan as part of a collaborative project led by Murata Jirō 村田治郎 (1895–1985) and Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 (1911–1998) of Kyoto University.[262] Following this, Nishida's main aim became the reconstruction of the Tangut language, especially its phonology.

One of Nishida's early books was a two-volume study of the Tangut language.[263] The first volume was devoted to the phonological structure of Tangut, whereas the second discussed topics such as the script, grammar and the Buddhist canon. Included as appendices were a dictionary of about 3,000 Tangut characters and a ninety-plus-page English summary of the book for those who do not read Japanese. The book, which came out before Sofronov's 1967 grammar of Tangut, was a major contribution to the field and at the time represented the cutting edge of research. In Kychanov's appraisal, it was "unquestionably a breakthrough in Tangut studies."[264] Even though the phonetic reconstructions of Nishida and Sofronov relied on more or less the same material, the two systems were quite different.

Nishida was a prolific scholar and produced a great number of publications related to Tangut studies. Among the most important ones were his three-volume study of the Tangut translation of the *Flower Garland sutra*[265] and his series of studies, published in instalments, on the Tangut version of the *Lotus sutra*.[266] Yet another important contribution was his study of the Tangut ritual *Poem of Monthly Pleasures* (T. *Lhjị lhjị bie̢j dzjo* 𗏁𗏁𗘏𗑗), in which he advanced

262 The results of the project came out in two magnificent folio-size with complete photographs and detailed examinations of each of the six inscriptions; Murata and Fujieda 1955–1957.

263 Nishida 1964–1966.

264 Kychanov 2012a, 86.

265 Nishida 1975–1977.

266 Nishida 2004a, 2005a, 2006a, 2006b. English language publications on the *Lotus Sutra*, partly overlapping with the Japanese ones, came out as Nishida 2004b, 2005b.

the theory that the poem used two different kinds of linguistic registers of the Tangut language.[267]

Like many leading Japanese scholars, Nishida was also active in producing semi-popular books for the general readership, making the results of Tangut studies accessible to non-specialists. His books centred around the romantic theme of deciphering ancient writing systems and the discovery of forgotten civilisation along the Silk Road.[268]Although none of these books were translated into European languages, they have been quite successful in Japan and the name of the Tangut state and its unique writing system is not entirely unfamiliar for Japanese readers.

Another Japanese linguist temporarily involved in Tangut studies during the first half of the 1960s was Hashimoto Mantarō 橋本萬太郎 (1932–1987) who had studied and taught in both Japan and the United States. While still in graduate school, he published his research on Tangut lexicography and the language's phonological system.[269] In later years, however, Hashimoto's interests turned away from Tangut studies and he instead worked on other languages and dialects spoken in China and Taiwan.

In the field of history, we have Okazaki Seirō 岡崎精郎 (1920–1993) who began researching Tangut history at Kyoto Imperial University during World War II. His dissertation was on the development of Dangxiang tribes during the Tang, which was eventually published as a monograph in a slightly modified form in 1947.[270] Okazaki also worked on the Tangut legal code,[271] as well as on Tangut contacts with neighbouring states, especially the Uyghurs.[272] An important work incorporating three decades of research was a monograph on the history of the Tangut state which came out only three years after Kychanov's 1968 book on Tangut history.[273] Okazaki was a productive researcher and until the late 1980s he authored about twenty different studies related to the history of the Tangut state.

Maeda Masana 前田正名 (1921–1984) of Komazawa University worked on the history and historical geography of the Hexi region. Although not involved in the study of the Tangut language, he published a number of studies that were

267 Nishida 1986b.
268 Nishida 1981, 1982, 1986a, 1989, 1994, 2002.
269 Hashimoto 1961, 1963a, 1963b, 1965.
270 Okazaki 1947.
271 Okazaki 1968.
272 Okazaki 1958, 1960.
273 Okazaki 1972. For a book review, see Maeda 1974.

devoted to, or at least touched upon, Tangut history, dealing with issues such as the travel route bypassing the Hexi corridor during the Xixia period or the peculiarities of Tangut military jurisdictions.[274] All of these studies, and many more, were included in his monograph on the historical geography of the Hexi region.[275] Almost three decades later the book was also published in Chinese, which demonstrates its lasting value.[276]

From the mid-1970s, the Buddhist scholar Matsuzawa Hiroshi 松澤博 (originally publishing as Nomura Hiroshi 野村博) worked on a variety of subjects related to Tangut studies, including the Tangut Buddhist canon,[277] economic documents related to grain loans[278] or land purchase.[279] He is one of the few scholars of this generation who remains an active researcher to this day, identifying and deciphering ever new documents and fragments. Recently, he has been working on the Tangut fragments at various collections worldwide, drawing attention to the significance of hitherto unrecognised Buddhist fragments.[280] In addition, he continues to work on historical topics related to the Tangut state.[281]

China

After the initial momentum of Tangut studies during the 1910s–1930s, China as a country went through turbulent years and the chaotic conditions had a detrimental effect on academic research. Although sporadic publications related to Tangut occasionally appeared in academic journals, these could not compete with the new wave of scholarship in Russia and Japan. Chinese researchers could only begin to work in earnest towards the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). When research finally began again, it was scholars of the old generation who led the way. Wang Jingru, by this time an old man of over 70, had suffered severe criticism during the Cultural Revolution[282] but was among the first to revive the field, reporting on the newly discovered Tangut manuscripts

274 Maeda 1959, 1961, respectively.
275 Maeda 1964.
276 Qiantian 1993.
277 Nomura 1975, 1977, 1978, Matsuzawa 1986.
278 Nomura 1979a, Matsuzawa 1987, 1992a, 1992b.
279 Nomura 1979b, 1979c.
280 E.g. Matsuzawa 2001, 2011.
281 E.g. Matsuzawa 2013, 2014.
282 Luo Zhenyu's youngest son Luo Fuyi was yet another member of the old generation who suffered severely during the Cultural Revolution.

and woodblock prints.[283] In 1962, before the Cultural Revolution, Wang Jingru had led a small group of young scholars on a field survey to study the Tangut inscriptions at the Dunhuang and Yulin caves, and with time several participants of this project grew into prominent scholars, including Li Fanwen 李範文, Shi Jinbo 史金波, Bai Bin 白濱 and Chen Bingying 陳炳應.[284] Unfortunately, this promising start was soon interrupted and the field had to wait for another decade and a half until research could resume.

As a result of unfavourable conditions, there was a prolonged hiatus between the pre-war period and the second half of the century, and scholars of the new generation to a large extent had to develop their own skills, rather than being able to learn the rigours of research from the previous generation. Up to the 1970s, Chinese publications essentially consisted of general studies concerning the history of the Tangut state, which for the most part did not utilise excavated texts written in Tangut.[285] Occasional discoveries of Tangut materials—such as the Buddhist texts found in the 1950s at the Tiantishan caves 天梯山石窟 near the city of Wuwei—remained unstudied for decades.

Among the influential scholars of the new generation was the linguist Li Fanwen whose interest in Tangut began in 1960 when he moved to Yinchuan 銀川 (Ningxia) to learn the language. After about a decade of studying on his own, in 1973 he was sent to Beijing where he had a chance to learn from longtime veteran Luo Fuyi through whom he gained access to new materials unavailable elsewhere. He had completed the first draft of his monumental Tangut-Chinese dictionary by 1976 but at the time it was rejected by reviewers. He continued his research on the language and from the late 1970s on published a range of articles, in the meantime also improving his dictionary. The dictionary eventually came out in 1997, after more than thirty years of work.[286] Its publication was an important step in Tangut studies and made texts written in Tangut much more accessible.

Another important figure in Chinese Tangut studies is Shi Jinbo, one of Wang Jingru's former students. Similar to Kychanov, he is one of the few scholars who made contributions in nearly every discipline related to Tangut studies,

283 Wang 1974; the report was about the material discovered in 1972 in Wuwei. Almost a decade later, Wang also wrote a brief introduction to the phonetic system of Tangut; see Wang 1982.

284 Zhang and Huang 2010, 78. Because of the adverse political conditions in China during the following years, a report of this field trip and its academic results was published only twenty-six years later by Bai Bin and Shi Jinbo (Bai and Shi 1983).

285 *Ibid.*, 77.

286 Li 1997.

including linguistics, history, religion, material culture, art history, philology and lexicography. From the mid-1970s he began publishing on newly discovered materials, such as the Tangut texts from Wuwei or the stone pillar inscriptions at Baoding 保定.[287] From 1973 Shi was also involved in cataloguing and organising the Tangut collection of Beijing Library which in the 1930s had acquired a group of Buddhist texts discovered in Lingwu. In time, Shi authored a long series of monographs and academic articles on such diverse topics as lexicography, culture or Buddhism.[288] He continues active research on Tangut matters to this day.

Other scholars in the field around this time were Bai Bin, Huang Zhenhua 黄振華 and Chen Bingying who, like Shi Jinbo, worked on a wide range of topics. Up until the late 1970s, Chinese scholars were mainly concerned with Tangut materials that had been kept in China, as they had limited access to the collections in other countries. But with time their attention turned to the impressive achievements of Soviet scholars and they made an attempt to involve these in their own research. Unfortunately, Sino-Soviet relations soon deteriorated and even academic publications often had a political edge. For example, in 1978 Huang Zhenhua published an overview of post-war Tangut studies in the Soviet Union, in which he sharply criticised the work of Soviet scholars on many points.[289] Yet in the same year, he and Bai Bin translated the catalogue of the Kozlov collection of Tangut texts compiled by Gorbacheva and Kychanov, which, even as an internal publication, played an important role in the development of Tangut studies in China.[290]

The new wave of Tangut studies in China naturally was not without a nationalistic side. It became a matter of national pride that Tangut studies should be developed in China, and the fact that Russian and Japanese scholars were dominating the field was a bit of an embarrassment. The same was also true retrospectively with regards to the beginnings of Tangut studies and it became important to emphasise that the first person who recognized the Tangut script

287 Shi 1974.

288 E.g. Shi et al. 1983, Shi 1986a, 1988, 2004 and 2007.

289 Huang 1978. While this unfriendly assessment of the work of Soviet colleagues should be understood against the background of the political situation at the time, it nevertheless had a powerful impact on the lives of those involved. See, for example, Kychanov remembering this event nearly forty years later in an interview, specifically mentioning Huang Zhenhua's article and an anonymous one in the bulletin of Wuhan University (Kychanov 2012b, 19–20).

290 Zhang and Huang 2010, 79. Kychanov (2012b, 19) also remembers that when he finally had a chance to visit Lanzhou and Yinchuan, he was surprised to see that translations of his books and those of his colleagues circulated internally.

was not Devéria, as it was commonly asserted at the time, but native scholars such as Liu Qingyuan and Zhang Shu.[291]

This was also the time when similar emotions were fuelling Dunhuang studies, which had been likewise built on materials excavated and taken abroad by foreign explorers and, as a result, was dominated by Japanese and Western scholars. A telling example of the general sensitivity at the time is the public outrage following the alleged statement made by Fujieda Akira, the leading scholar of Dunhuang manuscripts in post-war Japan, who supposedly said during a lecture he gave at Nankai University that "Dunhuang is in China but Dunhuang studies is in Japan (or, according to another version, in Kyoto)." These words apparently touched a nerve and swiftly spread across the country, infuriating Chinese academics and providing additional impetus to the newly developing field.[292] With time it became clear that Fujieda never made such a claim and these were the words of the Chinese scholar who introduced him to the audience. Still, these words are still remembered with indignation.

An influential figure in Tangut studies in China is the linguist Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音 who began working on Tangut phonology from the mid-1980s. In addition to Tangut books, he has also studied the Chinese-language material found at Khara-khoto, recognising their significance for the study of the local Chinese dialect and Tangut phonology. Although phonology remained one of the main directions of his research, with time Nie significantly expanded his scope of interest and studied a wide range of topics, including history, lexicography, education, literacy, literature and epigraphy. He also wrote books and articles for popular readership and continues to be a prolific researcher to this day.[293]

Taiwan

Among the influential scholars in the field was the Taiwanese linguist Gong Hwang-cherng 龔煌城 (1934–2010) who worked on the phonetic reconstruction

291 Bai 1983, Niu 1983 and 1993. Later on, regional nationalism also came into the picture and an emphasis was placed on the contribution of Tanguts to East Asian civilisation or the development of printing. See, for example, Niu 1994 on how the Tanguts were the first to use wooden movable type.

292 This claim generated much resentment and its circumstances are still debated in both academia and the popular media. For sober discussions of this episode, as well as several other nationalistically sensitive issues in Dunhuang studies, see Rong 2005 and Liu 2007.

293 One of his popular books on the history of the Khitan, Tangut and Jurchen states in northern China is Nie 1992.

of Tangut.[294] He became interested in Tangut studies through studying Chinese historical phonology, and this largely determined the direction of his research.[295] Pointing out the existence of phonological alternations in Tangut, Gong proposed an improved reconstruction over the systems of Nishida and Sofronov. Although he was also interested in the origin and structure of the Tangut script,[296] his legacy today is primarily his phonological research.[297]

Another Taiwanese linguist who joined the ranks of Tangutologists is Lin Ying-chin 林英津 of Academia Sinica. She began her career working on Chinese dialectology but from the early 1990s became involved in Tangut philology and linguistics.[298] Her first major work was a two-volume study of the Tangut translation of the Chinese military text *The Art of War of Sunzi*, which was in many ways an improvement over Kepping's book published nearly three decades earlier.[299] It provided a careful reading and annotation of every single character and thereby made the process of interpretation much more transparent for the reader.[300] Lin worked on a wide variety of texts, ranging from military treatises and other secular works to Tangut translations of Buddhist literature.[301] She remains an active researcher who continues publishing on various aspects of Tangut grammar.

Europe

Although the British Museum boasted the second largest Tangut collection in the world, Britain was never blessed with an abundance of outstanding Tangut scholars. Nevertheless, the boom of Tangut studies that began in Russia in the 1960s also had an effect on British scholarship. In particular, it was Eric D. Grin-

294 For an overview and assessment of Gong's scholarship, see Tsu-Lin Mei's euology (Mei 2010).

295 E.g. Gong 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1984.

296 E.g. Gong 1981c, 1982.

297 In 2002, not long before his retirement, Academia Sinica republished Gong's papers related to Tangut studies as a single volume (Gong 2002).

298 E.g. Lin and An 1992, Lin 1993.

299 Lin 1994 vs. Keping 1967.

300 Kepping did not present an analysis of the Tangut text, only provided a Russian translation from which it was often difficult to see her understanding of particular sentences, not to speak of individual phrases or characters.

301 An example of her work on Buddhist texts is a comprehensive study of a Buddhist text called *Śjɨj ·wə̱ gju̱ rjur ·jij mj̱ij zjɨr ɣiej tshj̱ɨ* [illegible], a translation of the Chinese *Shengmiao jixiang zhenshi ming jing* 聖妙吉祥真實名經; see Lin 2006.

stead of the British Museum who worked on the Tangut collection acquired by Stein. He was Assistant Keeper in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts from 1957 until 1968.[302] As a memento of the early days of Tangut studies in Britain, the British Library (where the entire Stein collection was transferred following the split of the Library and the Museum in 1973) still has a box with Tangut index cards created by Grinstead when he was only learning Tangut (Fig. 6).[303]

Fig. 6: Grinstead's index cards for his Tangut studies. (The British Library.)

In turning to Tangut texts, like many others, Grinstead was inspired by the 1960 publication of Nevsky's *Tangut Philology*.[304] An equally important influence was Gerard Clauson whom Grinstead knew personally and whose unpublished dictionary he admired. Grinstead's initial work on Tangut primarily revolved around the Stein collection in the British Museum and he was able to identify Tangut translations of Chinese texts, including the *General's Garden* or the

302 I am grateful to Chris Lazenby and David Bone of the British Museum for clarifying for me the details of Grinstead's position and dates at the Museum.
303 I came across this box entirely by accident as I was looking through the Tangut fragments in the strong room in 2009. Since then, it has been catalogued and is now officially part of the library holdings.
304 Grinstead 1961, 85.

Dragon King of the Sea.[305] His next project, already after leaving the British Museum and taking up a position at the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies in Copenhagen, was more ambitious in scope and resulted in the publication of a nine-volume facsimile collection of Tangut Buddhist texts under the title *Tangut Tripitaka*.[306] The series was made from photographs which had been given during his visit to Russia and China to Dr Raghu Vira (1902–1963), a linguist and close friend of Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964).[307] Thus the texts came from the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad and the Beijing Library, the majority of which had been inaccessible to the outside world. Initially Dr Lokesh Chandra had approached Kychanov in St. Petersburg with the idea of publishing the Buddhist material collected by his father but Kychanov felt himself "inadequate for such a work" and recommended Grinstead instead.[308] This is how Grinstead and the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies became involved in the publication.

Grinstead also published a book-length study of the Tangut script.[309] Besides a theoretical study of the typology of the script, the book provides a list of Tangut characters arranged according to meaning, pronunciation, and the Tangut telecode system devised on the basis of the four-corner method. This telecode system was the first encoding initiative proposed for Tangut, even though it never caught on.[310] The English-Tangut wordlist was the first of its kind as it provided a convenient index to look up Tangut characters according to their meaning, rather than the usual radical-type indices. The book also provided facsimile reproductions of the Tangut manuscript of the *Classic of Filial Piety*, the cursive characters of which Grinstead transcribed in a non-cursive script.

305 Grinstead 1962 and 1967, respectively.

306 Grinstead 1971.

307 Grinstead 1972a. Dr Raghu Vira visited the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad in 1956 and an order was given personally by Nikita S. Khrushchev to assist him in collecting microfilms of rare Buddhist manuscripts, including Tangut texts from the Kozlov collection (Kychanov 2012a, 84). Later on, the photographs were in the care of Dr Raghu Vira's son Dr Lokesh Chandra.

308 Kychanov 2012a, 85–86. Grinstead visited at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad for a month in 1964, and Kychanov later reciprocated the visit to the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies in 1978.

309 Grinstead 1972b; for book reviews, see Clauson 1973 and Nishida 1973.

310 Cook 2007, 1. Even after the publication of his book Grinstead continued to work on his telecode system and remained strongly convinced that it was essential for the field to devise "a working transcription that can be accommodated to the typewriter and the linotype machine" (Grinstead 1974, 41).

His readings of cursive Tangut characters are useful even today, as manuscripts written in a cursive hand are notoriously hard to decipher.

The new wave of Russian Tangut studies and the publication of Nevsky's posthumous works also revived Clauson's interest in his unfinished *Skeleton Dictionary*. Yet after several years of additional editing, he gave up the project because he felt that "a profound study of Tangut was impossible without, if not a profound, at any rate a good knowledge of Chinese, Tibetan and, if possible, some Hsifan languages," in which respect he felt himself lacking.[311] Consequently, he deposited the incomplete work at the library of SOAS, thereby making it available for those who wanted to use it. From this point on, although he abandoned active work on the dictionary, he continued to monitor the developments in the field.[312]

Even though during this period there were no Tangut specialists in France, a number of researchers produced works relevant to Tangut history or literature. Among these was Wu Chi-yü (Wu Qiyu 吳其昱; 1915/1919–2011), a Chinese-born scholar who worked in Paris from 1948 and was a specialist of medieval manuscripts from Dunhuang and Central Asia. Relying on published fragments of the Tangut translation of the *Analects of Confucius*,[313] he was able to identify the Chinese source text as the *Lunyu quanjie* 論語全解 composed by the Song scholar Chen Xiangdao 陳祥道 (d. 1093).[314] Another scholar marginally involved with Tangut studies was the German-born French Tibetologist Rolf Alfred Stein (1911–1999) whose interests included historical geography. He worked on various aspects of Tangut history based on Tibetan sources.[315] Among his contributions was, for example, the identification of the Tibetan toponym Mi-ñag with the Tanguts.[316]

From the mid-1980s onward, the linguist George van Driem of the University of Bern (Switzerland), whose main field of research was the languages of the Himalayan region, also became involved with Tangut research. He did research on the ethnogenesis of the Tanguts[317] and later became interested in linguistic

311 Clauson 1964, 77. "Hsifan" (i.e. Xifan 西蕃) is a collective label used for ethnic minorities in Sichuan, Yunnan and Qinghai, most of whom belong to the Qiangic group of Tibeto-Burman languages. For a general description of the term, see Wellens 2012.

312 Clauson published a review of Tangut studies (Clauson 1964) and later on a couple of book reviews (Clauson 1969 and 1973).

313 Kolokolov and Kychanov 1966.

314 Wu 1969.

315 Stein 1966.

316 Stein 1951.

317 van Driem 1991, van Driem and Kepping 1991.

issues, especially the Tibetan transcriptions of Tangut characters.[318] We know that he was working together with Kepping on a joint book that would have gathered together and indexed the available corpus of Tibetan transcriptions of Tangut characters but this publication never materialised.[319] He also published a fascinating article on the rediscovery of the Tangut manuscripts that had disappeared at the time of Nevsky's arrest in 1937.[320]

Naturally there were also other European scholars, such as Joseph van Hecken, Kamil Sedláček, and Mária Ferenczy, whose research interests and publications touched upon the Tangut language or the history of the Tangut state. A complete list, however, would lead us beyond the scope of this overview.[321]

United States

From the second half of the 1970s, the Belgian scholar Luc Kwanten, who at the time was teaching in the United States, produced a number of studies related to Tangut studies. His interests lay in the study of the Tangut script and language, and he published several articles on these subjects, some of which led to controversy. He proposed, for example, that Tangut might be an Altaic language, rather than Tibeto-Burman as it has been generally assumed since Laufer.[322] He also argued that Tangut characters could represent multiple syllables, similar to how Chinese could be read in Japan, where the characters had multisyllabic native readings in addition to a received Chinese reading.[323] Both of these theories were criticized by linguists who insisted that the Tangut language belonged to the Tibeto-Burman family and that the characters of the script were monosyllabic. Nevertheless, Kwanten's arguments pointed out a number of problems in the conventional understanding of the language and the script, and at the same time raised interesting issues that had been largely ignored by the linguistic

318 van Driem 1991, van Driem and Kepping 1991.

319 A monograph by the title *The Phonology of Tangut: Concordance and Analysis of the Tibetan Transcriptions of Tangut Ideograms* is marked as forthcoming in van Driem and Kepping 1991, 152. Among the documentation related to the Tangut collection is also an outline of a proposed book, including a table of contents, with the title *Tangut Civilisation and Language*, which was going to be written by van Driem and Kepping.

320 van Driem 1993. According to van Driem, these manuscripts were recovered from the KGB archives, rather than a colleague's library as maintained by the "official" version of the story.

321 van Hecken 1971; Sedláček 1962, 1964; Ferenczy 1976, 1984 and 1992.

322 Kwanten 1984.

323 Kwanten 1984 and 1988.

community. As part of his research on Tangut language, Kwanten published a facsimile edition of the famous bilingual glossary *Pearl in the Palm* based on the his photographs made during a visit to Leningrad in the late 1970s.[324] This was an important contribution to the field because the glossary, as Kwanten pointed out himself, was uniquely significant for the decipherment of the Tangut language, and yet had never been published in its complete form.[325] Kwanten remained active in Tangut studies until the late 1980s.

An active researcher in in Anglophone academia from the early 1980s was the American scholar Ruth W. Dunnell who produced an array of studies dealing with various aspects of Tangut history. One of her contributions is the chapter on the Tangut state in the *Cambridge History of China*, which was the first thorough and coherent historical overview of the Tangut state in English.[326] Later on, Dunnell published a book about on the Chinese-Tangut bilingual stele discovered in Liangzhou in the early 19th century where she presents a detailed analysis of this difficult inscription and used it as a starting point to examine the formation of the Tangut state and the role of Buddhism in this process.[327]

Finally, among the scholars who contributed to Tangut studies while working at institutions throughout the United States we should also mention Scott DeLancey, a linguist at the University of Oregon, who worked on Tangut from the early 1980s as part of his general research in the field of Tibeto-Burman languages.[328]

2.4 The late 1990s and after

During the 1990s, China overtook Russia and Japan and gradually became the leading power in Tangut studies. By this time, the older generation of researchers had reached senior positions in well-respected institutions and had a chance to raise their own students. In the meantime, state support persisted and as a result of the rapidly growing Chinese economy and pro-minorities policies, the

324 Kwanten 1982b. See also Kychanov 2012a, 87.
325 Although a Chinese edition of the glossary came out later as a separate book in Yinchuan in 1989 (*Fan-Han heshi zhangzhong zhu* 番漢合時掌中珠), to date there is no complete Russian edition. In an article written almost a decade later, Kepping referred to Kwanten's book as an "unauthorized" edition of the dictionary (Kepping 1991, 3).
326 Dunnell 1994.
327 Dunnell 1996. For a review article, see Kepping 1998; for a more recent book review, see Barrett 1997.
328 DeLancey 1983.

new millennium brought about additional growth in Tangut studies. From this point on, it is impossible to list all of those who contributed to the field and a comprehensive bibliography would fill a separate book. We can, however, see that research has essentially been proceeding along three main directions, which in a sense exemplify the relevance of the Tangut language and culture within the wider disciplines of social sciences and humanities. The first direction is unquestionably linguistics, as it has been the case ever since the beginning of the 20th century. The main points of interest are the Tibeto-Burman connections of Tangut and its phonetic system, yet there are also topics such as the nature of the Tangut script or techniques of translation. Representative scholars of this direction (in alphabetical order) include Arakawa Shintarō, Chang Pei-chi 張珮琪, Duan Yuquan 段玉泉, Gong Hwang-cherng, Guillaume Jacques, Han Xiaomang 韓小忙, Ikeda Takumi 池田巧, Lin Ying-chin, Nie Hongyin, Ksenia Kepping, Osada Natsuki 長田夏樹, Peng Xiangqian 澎向前, Shi Jinbo, Sun Bojun 孫伯君 and Sun Hongkai 孫宏開.[329]

The other main direction is the study of economic documents and history in general. Among scholars working on various aspects of such research we find Du Jianlu 杜建錄, Evgeny Kychanov, Li Huarui 李華瑞, Niu Dasheng 牛達生, Ono Hiroko 小野裕子, Satō Takayasu 佐藤貴保 and Shi Jinbo. The Xixia yanjiuyuan 西夏研究院 (Tangut Academy) at Ningxia University is also primarily devoted to the study of Tangut history and culture.

Finally, the third major avenue of research is the study of Buddhist texts, which gives justice to the fact that most of the surviving Tangut books are handwritten or printed copies of Buddhist texts. Scholars working on this topic include Nie Hongyin, Kirill Solonin, Shen Weirong 沈衛榮 and Sun Bojun. One of the main places for such research is Renmin University of China, where several scholars and graduate students work on Tangut Buddhist texts and study the contribution of the Tanguts to the spread and development of Buddhism.

The boom of Tangut studies in China involved not only researchers but also funding agencies and academic publishers. From the mid 1990s, major Chinese academic publishers began collaborating with overseas holding institutions to publish large hard-bound volumes with good quality facsimile reproductions of Tangut and Chinese texts discovered at Khara-khoto and other sites.[330] The vol-

329 Some of the names listed here appear in more than one category as these scholars did research on topics that cross disciplinary boundaries.

330 Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo et al. 1996–; Xibei di’er minzu xueyuan et al. 2005; Xibei di’er minzu xueyuan et al. 2007; Ningxia daxue Xixiaxue yanjiu zhongxin et al. 2005–2007; Wu and Huangchuan 2011.

umes with the collections in Russia, Britain, France, Japan and China amount to a small library and are offered at prices ordinary libraries can no longer afford. The largest of these collections is that in Russia, of which to date twenty volumes have been published, and more are on the way.

In addition to the paper editions with facsimile reproductions, high quality images of Tangut materials have been continuously made available online, especially through the website of the International Dunhuang Project (IDP).[331] The main site and the database behind it is at the British Library but there are mirror sites in other languages physically hosted at partner institutions around the world. At the moment the site can be accessed in Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Korean and Russian. Although the Tangut material is only part of the much larger pool of digital images, it steadily increases in volume as funding for the digitisation and conservation of additional fragments is becoming available.

Compared to the long history of Chinese philological tradition, Tangut studies is a relatively new field that emerged only following the archaeological discoveries at the beginning of the 20th century. In this respect, the origins of the field are analogous to those of Dunhuang studies which also owes its birth to discoveries made by foreign explorers in north-western China around the same time. A central figure in this respect was Aurel Stein, who acquired manuscripts at both Dunhuang and Khara-khoto. In both cases, Chinese academic circles were alerted to these discoveries and realised the significance of the new material far too late, only managing to keep the remaining part in China. But preventing archaeological material from being taken out of the country did not automatically guarantee its safety and protection. A well known example of the potential problems is the case of the remaining Dunhuang manuscripts which were sent to Beijing in 1910 on the orders of the Qing Ministry of Education, yet suffered serious losses en route to the capital and during their storage at the Metropolitan Library.[332]

Because both the Dunhuang manuscripts and the Tangut books from Khara-khoto were first discovered and excavated by foreigners, most of these materials were deposited in foreign institutions around the world. The majority of

331 <http://idp.bl.uk>.

332 It is an often-told story how manuscripts were stolen on the way to Beijing and how later longer manuscripts were torn into smaller pieces—sometimes as many as 15—to make up for the missing items and complete their total count (Rong 2013, 17–18). In addition, a large number of manuscripts were stolen after their arrival in the capital by Li Shengduo 李盛鐸, Liu Tingchen 劉廷琛 and other officials, and most of these found their way into Japanese collections after the death of their owners (*ibid.*, 506–508).

Dunhuang manuscripts ended up in Britain, France, Russia and Japan, whereas the Khara-khoto material was shipped to Russia and Britain. Chinese collections typically contain material from subsequent discoveries but their number continues to grow as ever new items are unearthed at various sites on the former territory of the Tangut state.

Because of foreign initiatives in the exploration of the sites and the ensuing dispersal of the material, from the beginning both Dunhuang and Tangut studies emerged as an international fields of research. Tangut studies was born in the 1910s–1920s in Russia and to a smaller extent in Japan, with limited Chinese participation. Until the 1980s Russia and Japan retained their leading position when Chinese scholars gradually began catching up with them. By the new millennium China took a leading role, and this trend is expected to continue as more resources are allocated for academic research.

Yet because of its history, Tangut studies remains a thoroughly international field which requires a good knowledge of the main languages used in secondary scholarship. In addition to Chinese, one should be able to read academic literature written in Russian, Japanese, English and, to a lesser extent, French and German. Knowledge of other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Tibetan, is a plus. Finally, in addition to having so many languages in one's linguistic repertoire, one should ideally have a thorough training in linguistics or history. These pre-requisites make Tangut studies a difficult field to enter and, as a result, despite the large number of surviving material surprisingly few researchers are able to actually read them. We may remember that Gerard Clauson gave up the idea of pursuing research in the field because he did not possess the necessary skills for this.[333] Yet he commanded a range of languages and linguistic expertise that few of us today can hope to ever achieve. The international nature of the field in a way mirrors the multicultural and multilingual composition of the Tangut state, which was home to not only Tangut residents but also a variety of other ethnicities, including Chinese, Tibetans, Khitans and Uyghurs.

333 Clauson 1964, 77.

3 Historical and cultural background

The Tangut state existed for about two centuries and in the course of its existence it developed a thriving civilization with a native writing system and a wealth of written material. In an unfortunate twist of fate, this culture was subsequently forgotten and written relics only resurfaced in the early 20th century from the garrison town of Khara-khoto. The excavated materials allow us to learn about the daily life of the people in the city and the Tangut state in general. But excavated books and artefacts are unable to provide us with a continuous narrative of the history of this people and their state. Such a narrative has to be largely reconstructed on the basis of Chinese written sources.

Unfortunately, historical sources on the Tangut state are relatively scarce. While official histories for the Jin (1115–1234), Liao (907–1125) and Song (960–1279) dynasties were created during the Yuan period (1271–1368), the recognition of the Tangut state as a legitimate dynasty was brought into question and thus a dynastic history was never completed. The majority of what we know about the Tangut state comes from the histories of the other three dynasties and a handful of other historiographical works.[334] Naturally, such a unilateral dominance of Chinese language sources on the history of a former, and more importantly, defeated, enemy state unavoidably presents a skewed picture and should ideally be counterbalanced with other types of material. Native Tangut documents, however, are even more meagre and even the language itself was forgotten during the early modern era. It is only following the discovery of Khara-khoto and other sites of the former Tangut domain that researchers gained access to first-hand sources written in Tangut and Chinese. Additional information came from other sources, including the rich collections of manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang and various sites of Western China. These, however, are extremely fragmentary and in most cases give highly localised information about specific aspects of social or economic history, rarely being able to modify the general narrative reconstructed from Chinese histories.

The historical overview presented here is by no means a comprehensive one and is merely meant to provide background information for the study of book culture, which is the topic of this book. Several excellent historical studies have been written in the past decades and at least one of these is available in each of the main languages of Tangut studies (i.e. English, Russian, Japanese and Chi-

334 For an overview of historiographical sources on Xia state, see Kychanov 1968, 5–10.

nese).[335] At the same time, as new sources come to light, earlier studies will require modifications. Characteristically, although not always, new discoveries that can help re-evaluate or modify our understanding of the history are written in Chinese. These are typically stele inscriptions which contain bits and pieces of information that can be tied to historical events known from historiographical works. The most noteworthy of such epigraphic material is, of course, the bilingual Liangzhou stele from 1094, discovered around 1804 in Wuwei, which played a crucial role in the decipherment of the Tangut script during the early stages of research.[336] But new inscriptions continue to be discovered and some of these can supplement and refine the existing historical narrative.[337]

3.1 Tangut tribes before the Tangut state

The Tangut state was a multilingual and multiethnic empire where different peoples and cultures lived in symbiosis. Not only did the empire encompass newly conquered territories with peoples of diverse background, the administration also employed officials and military personnel from distant lands that lay far beyond the physical boundaries of the state. The languages used in official communications, however, were Tangut and Chinese. Of these Tangut was the language spoken by the majority of the population, including its ruling elite. This people identified itself as *Mjɨ nja̱* 𗼇𗟲, an ethnonym that appears in Tibetan sources as Mi-ñag and in Chinese ones as Miyao 弭藥. The ethnonym "Tangut" first appears in the Orkhon inscription written in 735 in old Turkic with the runic script. The Chinese name for the same tribes was Dangxiang 党項 who feature in Chinese sources from the 6th century onward, from the time they come into contact with the Chinese states.[338] The *Sui shu* 隋書 (636), calls them Dangxiang Qiang 党項羌, thereby grouping them under the general ethnonym Qiang 羌, which included a variety of north-western peoples living next to China since pre-Han times.[339] The *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (945) specifically states that they were one of the peoples known under the generic term of Western Qiang 西羌 during the Han dynasty.[340]

335 E.g. Dunnell 1983 and 1994, Kychanov 1968, Okazaki 1972, Wu 1980.
336 For a book-length study of this inscription, see Dunnell 1996.
337 E.g. Wang 2004, Wei 2007.
338 On the ethnogenesis of the Tanguts, see Kychanov 1961 and 1964, Dunnell 1984.
339 *Sui shu* 83, 1845.
340 *Jiu Tang shu* 198, 5290.

The *Sui shu* further describes that there were two major types of Tanguts, the Dangchang 宕昌 and the Bailang 白狼, and they both referred to themselves as Mihou 獼猴.[341] The names themselves are of some interest, as Dangchang is very likely another way of transliterating Dangxiang, neither of which is meaningful in Chinese and thus must have been of foreign origin. The second name Bailang means "White Wolf," which in the context of semi-nomadic pastoral tribes is possibly a translation of an endonym connected with an origin myth. At the same time, Bailang may be an alternate transcription of Bailan 白蘭 ("White Orchid"), the name of a Tangut tribe identified in the *Jiu Tang shu* as one of those subjugated by the Tibetans in the 660s.[342] The two names are phonetically similar and despite the suggestive meaning of the former they may be variant phonetic transcriptions of an ethnonym, perhaps borrowed into Chinese at different times from different dialects but ultimately going back to the same source. The Bailang are also known from earlier times and the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 records three Bailang songs transcribed in Chinese characters which were submitted to the Emperor Ming of the Han 漢明帝 (r. 58–75).[343] Although the songs are difficult to interpret, most scholars today agree that they represent a Lolo-Burman language.[344]

Similarly, the term Mihou used as a self-designation of both peoples literally means "macaque," which is unlikely to derive from a native word and may instead represent a Chinese folk-etymological rendition of the sound of the original term. It is not impossible that it is somehow related to the endonym Mi-nya, although the second syllable makes direct identification problematic.

According to the *Sui shu*, the Tanguts were divided into different clans and each of these formed a separate tribe ranging from one to five thousand mounted riders. They inhabited mountain valleys and lived in houses or tents woven from yak tail and goat hair. Their customs were those of military people, they had no laws and the tribes joined one another only in times of war. They raised cattle, sheep and pigs for food but knew no farming, had no compulsory service and taxes and were the lewdest and most incestuous of all barbarian peoples. They had no writing and kept track of the years and seasons by observing how the grass and trees grew. Every three years they gathered together and offered cattle and sheep as sacrifice to heaven. If someone died over the age of eighty, the people did not cry because they considered that the person had outlived his

341 *Sui shu* 83, 1845.
342 *Jiu Tang shu* 198, 5292.
343 *Hou Han shu* 86, 2855–2857.
344 South-Coblin 1979.

or her natural years; but if someone died young, they considered this a major injustice and greatly lamented his or her death.[345] Naturally, we have no way of knowing how faithful such ethnographic descriptions provided in Chinese histories are and whether they are based on customs observed among the Tanguts or merely on earlier texts associated with border tribes. Yet there are very few non-Chinese sources that could be contrasted with the narrative of official histories in an attempt to authenticate the information in them.

From the mid-6th century onward, the Tangut tribes made frequent raids on Chinese territories along the border, often taking advantage of turbulent times. With time they grew into a consistent problem and the Chinese courts were forced to resolve the situation. Punitive expeditions were costly and not always successful, and did not produce lasting results. Accordingly, the Sui and Tang administrations tried to persuade Tangut leaders to submit by offering them military titles and putting them in charge of their own lands. Thus in 584, over a thousand Tangut families submitted to the Sui and the following year Tuoba Ningcong 拓拔寧叢 and others lead those under their command to Xuzhou 旭州 (in modern-day Gansu) to serve under the Sui, for which the leaders received the title "general-in-chief" (*da jiangjun* 大將軍). In 596, the Tanguts once again raided Huizhou 會州 (Gansu) and the court sent against them the troops stationed in the Longxi 隴西 region (southern Gansu), defeating them and inflicting heavy casualties. Following this, the tribes submitted to the Sui and the leaders were obliged to send their sons and younger brothers to the court as hostages.[346]

Tangut leaders adopted the surname Tuoba 拓拔 sometime after the demise of the Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏 dynasty (386–535), most likely motivated by reasons of prestige and political expediency. As a Qiangic people who spoke a Tibeto-Burman language, the Tanguts were not related to the royal Tuoba lineage, who were of Turkish origin.[347] Later on, the ruling clan was granted imperial surnames from the Tang and Song courts but with the rise of their own state, as a means of establishing an independent imperial identity, they also began to use their native Tangut surname Ngwemi (*Nwe mji* 𗁲𗰔). According to Guillaume Jacques, this native name (written in Chinese as Weiming 嵬名) may derive from a phrase that meant "the one who was fed milk by a cow," reflecting a Tangut origin myth that survives in several Tibetan texts.[348]

345 Ibid.

346 *Sui shu* 83, 1846.

347 Dunnell 1994, 157–158; Okazaki 1968, 23–25.

348 Jacques 2010a.

Under the Tang, further Tangut groups submitted to the throne who established on their land the four prefectures of Juzhou 崌州, Fengzhou 奉州, Yanzhou 巖州 and Yuanzhou 遠州, appointing their chieftains as prefects. One of the last to submit was the powerful chieftain Tuoba Chici 拓拔赤辭, a former ally of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 (Tib. 'Azha), who eventually became a loyal vassal to the throne and to whom the Tang court granted the imperial surname Li 李.[349] From the mid-7th century, the expansion of the Tibetan empire would have been the main reason why the throne invested so much energy into subjugating the Tangut tribes, as an attempt to fortify the frontier region against the Tibetans. The Tanguts also felt the growing Tibetan pressure and many of them sided with the Tang, requesting to move farther inland. This was the time when they began to populate the territory of the future Tangut state, leaving their old land to the Tibetans. The Tang court settled them in Qingzhou 慶州, with additional tribes moving to the region in the following decades.[350] The submission and migration of the Tanguts, however, had its own set of challenges. Their allegiance to the court, especially that of the tribes living along the frontier, was fragile and they often sided with rebel forces. Thus at the end of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–763), they supported the Turks and the Tuyuhun against the Tang. When the rebels were eventually scattered, the court settled these tribes further inland in the Ordos region.[351]

During the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion (875–884), when the rebel forces took the Tang capital Chang'an, the Tangut leader Tuoba Sigong 拓拔思恭 (d. 886) joined the imperial forces to defeat the rebels, for which Emperor Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–888) appointed him acting military commissioner of the Xia-Sui-Yin 夏綏銀 circuit. The campaign turned into a lengthy and difficult affair and Tuoba Sigong's merits in the final victory are not entirely clear, but when the Tang forces regained control, he was created Duke of the Xia State 夏國公 and awarded the imperial surname Li.[352] After his death, his brothers continued their services for the Tang court and served as military commissioners. In 895, at the time of Wang Xingyu's 王行瑜 (d. 895) revolt, the two brothers were put in charge of the northern and north-western forces.[353] The rise of the Tangut Tuoba clan and its imperial recognition laid the foundations for the future Tangut state. The Li imperial surname was hereditary and remained in use in contacts

349 *Jiu Tang shu* 198, 5290–5293.
350 *Ibid*., 5292.
351 *Xin Tang shu* 221, 6216.
352 *Ibid*., 6218.
353 Ibid.

with China for more than 130 years until the Tangut ruling clan felt strong enough to try to gain complete independence.

Following the collapse of the Tang, the Tanguts grew relatively independent and were only nominally under the control of the Chinese court. Tuoba Sigong's son appears in Chinese records with his Chinese surname as Li Renfu 李仁福 (d. 933). When in 910 one of his officers assassinated his cousin who had been serving as military commissioner of the Dingnan circuit, the local authorities executed the assassin and supported Renfu in becoming the military commissioner, a title that was officially sanctioned by the Later Liang 後梁 (907–923) court.[354] The Later Tang 後唐 (923–937) court made him Prince of Shuofang 朔方王.[355] With his death, the Tang court, concerned with the growing power of the Tuoba (i.e. Li) clan, wanted to isolate his son Li Yichao 李彝超 (d. 935) from his power base by putting him in charge of the troops at Yan'an 延安 (Shaanxi). Unsurprisingly, Yichao refused to leave his native land and his insubordination gave the Later Tang court a *casus belli* for a military conquest of Tangut territories. But the campaign ended in failure and this further increased the strength and influence of Tangut rulers.[356] As a result, they grew even bolder in their dealing with the court and frequently took advantage of rebellions and unrests for their own material gain.

Yichao was followed by his brother Li Yiyin 李彝殷 (r. 935–967) whose reign lasted over three decades. Shortly after his coming to power, the Later Tang court also recognized him as military commissioner of the Dingnan circuit. He was relatively loyal to the succession of short-lived Chinese dynasties, helping them in their struggles against the Khitans in the north. Later, with the advent of the Song, he even changed the second syllable of his name from Yin 殷 to Xing 興 to accommodate the Song imperial name taboo, as the character 殷 occurred in the personal name for Emperor Taizu's 太祖 (r. 960–976) late father. After Yixing's death, the Song court posthumously created him Prince of Xia, and also created his son military commissioners of the Dingnan circuit.[357] His two sons were likewise created military commissioners and the younger one, Li Jipeng 李繼捧 (r. 980–1004) maintained close relations with the court throughout his reign. His distant cousin Li Jiqian 李繼遷 (963–1004), however, was a strong supporter of Tangut independence and challenged Song authority. He moved with his people to the northern part of the Ordos and joined forces with

354 *Zizhi tongjian* 267, 8721.
355 *Jiu Wudai shi* 132, 1747.
356 *Zizhi tongjian* 278, 9082–9084.
357 *Song shi* 485, 13982.

other Tangut clans, frequently raiding the Song border. Despite numerous military expeditions, the Song could not overcome him and by 989 he allied himself with the Khitans, marrying princess Yicheng 義成. The Liao court granted him the title Prince of the Xia State 夏國王, thereby acknowledging him as a ruler of an independent state. At the same time he was a vassal to the powerful Khitan state. When in 991, due to internal strife, Jiqian decided to temporarily submit to the Song to protect his interests, the Khitans immediately sent a punitive expedition to the territories under his control, inflicting heavy losses.[358] During the following years Jiqian skilfully manoeuvred between the Khitans and the Song, using them against each other in order to strengthen his own position and expand the territories under his control.[359] His relationship with the Song was a complex sequence of conciliations and provocations, involving extended periods of warfare. For his military achievements against the Song, the Liao court in 997 bestowed on him the title Prince of Xiping 西平王.[360] In the same year, he tried to make peace with the Song and Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) who, in an attempt to resolve the prolonged and extremely costly conflict, created him prefect of Xiazhou 夏州 and military commissioner of the Dingnan circuit, thereby effectively giving him control over the five Tangut prefectures.[361] This also eliminated the internal opposition against Jiqian from Tangut leaders loyal to the Song, lending additional strength and support to his power base.

Having solidified his position both at home and vis-à-vis the Song and the Liao, in 999 Jiqian once again began a series of raids on Song territories, successfully demolishing the troops sent against him. He moved his capital from Yinzhou 銀州 to Xiazhou, renaming it Xipingfu 西平府, and by 1000, had control over most of the central regions of the future Tangut state, with the exception of Lingzhou 靈州 and Shizhou 石州.[362] By this time the Tibetans and the Uyghurs were also concerned about Tangut expansion and tried to join forces with the Song. To stabilize his position, Jiqian concentrated all of his efforts on seizing the strategic city of Lingzhou and when he finally succeeded, he moved his capital there from Xipingfu.[363] The following year he was mortally wounded by an arrow while fighting the troops of the Tibetan ruler of Liangzhou.[364]

358 *Liao shi* 115, 1525.
359 For a detailed overview of these tactics, see Kychanov 1968, 33–43.
360 *Liao shi* 13, 149; *Liao shi* 115, 1525.
361 *Song shi* 485, 13988.
362 Kychanov 1968, 37.
363 *Song shi* 308, 10144.
364 *Ibid.* 492, 14156.

3.2 Birth of the Tangut empire

Jiqian was succeeded by his eldest son Li Deming 李德明 (981–1032; r. 1004–1032) who at this time was twenty-three years old.[365] These were turbulent times: the Tibetans were fighting the Tanguts and the Khitans the Song. Deming tried to resolve the conflict with the Song, agreeing to a semi-autonomous vassalship in exchange for the titles of military commissioner of the Dingnan circuit and Prince of Xiping, as well as annual payments from the Song court.[366] The Song were eager to secure peace with the Tanguts not only because the conflicts were ruinously costly but also because of a continuous Khitan threat from the north. The agreement was concluded in 1006 and in addition to the material benefits also meant that the Song officially recognised the Tangut state with its ruler, which added legitimacy and prestige in dealing with the Tibetans and Uyghurs.[367]

Deming kept his end of the bargain and maintained peaceful relations with the Song until his death for nearly three decades. At the same time, he progressively increased his power and prestige within his home base, effectively ruling his domain according to imperial rites. As part of this, he posthumously recognised his late father Jiqian as Taizu 太祖 ("grand ancestor") of his dynasty. In addition, following his eldest son Li Yuanhao's 李元昊 (1003–1048; r. 1032–1048) victories against the Uyghurs, he made him crown prince. In 1020 he moved the capital from Xipingfu to Huaiyuan garrison 懷遠鎮 (modern Yinchuan, Ningxia) and renamed it Xingzhou 興州.[368]

The peace with the Song provided the Tangut state with a much needed opportunity to grow and become stronger. The two states were in continuous contact, exchanging embassies and engaging in lively trading. The Tanguts, however, were anything but friendly towards their western neighbours, the Tibetans and Uyghurs, whom they kept under continuous pressure as they expanded westward. This irritated the Khitans who were also unhappy about the growing strength of the Tanguts and its friendly relations with the Song. Even though initially they had recognized the Tangut state and had conferred on Deming the title Prince of the Xia State, with time the relations worsen and escalated into open hostility. In 1020 the Khitan ruler allegedly personally led five hundred thousand troops under the pretext of hunting and attacked the Tanguts. Dem-

365 *Ibid.* 485, 13989.
366 *Ibid.*, 13989–13990.
367 Kychanov 1968, 45.
368 *Song shi* 485, 12991–13992.

ing, however, defeated him.[369] Following this incident, Khitan-Tangut relations were gradually restored.

Deming died in 1032 and was given the temple name Taizong 太宗.[370] He was succeeded by his eldest son Yuanhao who by this time had achieved a number of brilliant victories in the western frontier. Thus in 1028, he defeated the Uyghurs and took both Liangzhou and Ganzhou 甘州, which up to that point had successfully fended off Tangut attacks. According to the *Song shi*, he had a bold and uncompromising nature and on many occasions had urged his father not to remain a Song vassal. His father cautioned him not to offend the Song who for three decades provided their clan the means to "wear silk brocades," to which Yuanhao allegedly replied that the Tanguts were comfortable wearing furs and leather clothes as they herded animals, therefore they had no use for fancy clothing.[371]

Succeeding his father, Yuanhao was officially recognized by both the Liao and Song courts and received a range of titles from them, including those of the Prince of Xia (from the Liao) and Prince of Xiping (from the Song). Soon he instituted a series of concrete measures designed to liberate himself from the subservient role in relation to his neighbours, especially the Song court. His state rituals revolved around him as the emperor, and were largely modelled after the Song example. He wore a narrow white upper garment, felt cap with red lining and red tassels hanging at the back. He proclaimed himself *Weiming wuzu* 嵬名吾祖, in which Weiming was his Tangut surname and *wuzu* (also transcribed in Chinese as 兀卒 or 烏珠) the native Tangut term for emperor.[372] The *Song shi* explains the term *wuzu* as the title of khagan, which was an utter insult towards the Song, especially that he called himself this way in official communications with the court.[373] Elsewhere, the term *wuzhu* 烏珠 (i.e. *wuzu*) is explained as the

369 *Song shi* 485, 13991. The figure of half a million seems a mistake, especially if they were led to Tangut territories under the pretext of hunting. A campaign of such scale would have probably warranted more than one sentence in official histories.

370 *Ibid*., 13992. The *Song shi* actually says that he died in the 10th month of the 9th year of the Tiansheng 天聖 reign (1031) but the commentary suggests that this might be a mistake and the correct date is the 10th month of the 1st year of the Mingdao 明道 reign (1032). The *Liao shi* (115, 1526) indeed records that he died in the 1st year of the Chongxi 重熙 reign (1032) of the Liao emperor Xingzong 興宗 (r. 1031–1055).

371 *Song shi* 485, 13992–13993.

372 *Ibid*., *Liao shi* 115, 1523.

373 *Song shi* 485, 13992 and 13998.

"Son of Blue Heaven" 青天子."[374] He also began using his Tangut surname Weiming in his correspondence with the Song, instead of his Chinese surnames Li or Zhao 趙 that had been granted to his lineage by the Tang and Song courts. For the offices of secretariat director, grand councillor, military affairs commissioner, grand master, director of chancellery, defender-in-chief and those below, he appointed Chinese and Tangut officials. He instituted a strict dress code for the different levels of officials. Common people had to wear green clothes to distinguish themselves from nobility.[375]

Since the Tanguts were using the Song calendar, the first character of Emperor Renzong's Mingdao 明道 (1032–1033) reign title violated the name taboo of Yuanhao's father Deming and for this reason within the Tangut state the reign title was renamed Xiandao 顯道, which effectively meant placing the Tangut ruling house above that of the Song.[376] Later on, Yuanhao announced his own reign title called Kaiyun 開運 (1034), which was a month later changed to Guangyun 廣運 (1034–1036) because advisors pointed out that Kaiyun had been the reign period during which the Later Jin 後晉 dynasty (936–947) was annihilated by the Khitans, and was therefore highly inauspicious.[377]

Yuanhao also continued territorial expansion and by 1036 extended his control over the prefectures of Xiazhou, Yinzhou, Suizhou 綏州, Youzhou, Jingzhou 靜州, Lingzhou, Yanzhou 鹽州, Huizhou 會州, Shengzhou 勝州, Ganzhou, Liangzhou, Guazhou and Suzhou 肅州. The conquest of Shazhou 沙州 prefecture with the city of Dunhuang at its centre, however, only happened much later, sometime between 1052 and 1074. The lower limit of this range is the time when Shazhou sent envoys to the Song court and thus still functioned as an autonomous state. The latter one is the date of the earliest Tangut dated inscription at the cave temples around Dunhuang, indicating that by 1074 the Tanguts were already present in Shazhou.[378] From this time on, their presence is amply documented by the caves and inscriptions commissioned by Tangut donors at the cave temples of Mogao and Yulin.[379] The territory of the Tangut state

374 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changpian* 122; Dunnell 1994, 181. On the identification of this term in Tangut, see Shi 1986b, 72; Nie 2000, 122–123; and, most importantly, Jacques 2010b.

375 *Song shi* 485, 13993.

376 *Ibid.*, 13993. Wang 1997, 329 also quotes the *Rizhi lu* 日知錄 which describes the same event.

377 *Ibid.*, 13993–13994.

378 Dunnell 1994, 179.

379 Tangut language inscriptions at the Dunhuang caves have been collected in Shi and Bai 1982. For the discussion of the caves and their significance for the history of the Tanguts in the region, see Liu 1982 and Yang 2006.

stretched from west to east for about 1,400 km from Dunhuang to the Yellow River, and from north to south for about 650 km from the region of Khara-khoto to lake Kokonor.[380]

At this time, as a young and dynamically expanding empire, the Tanguts were a multiethnic state in which the core Tangut population lived alongside Chinese, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Khitans and other peoples. In addition to this, the Tanguts themselves were not ethnically unified but consisted of a variety of tribes probably speaking different dialects of the Tangut language.[381] Most of the tribes and foreign groups became part of the empire as it grew larger and annexed the regions inhabited by these peoples. Thus as a result of military expansion, it was quite common that people of the same ethnicity ended up living on both sides of the Tangut border, blurring the division between foreign and domestic population. We must assume that "foreign" often must have been seen not so much in terms of ethnicity but as an allegiance to a particular state or regime. Non-Tangut peoples living within the borders enjoyed relative equality under Tangut law. Social status or position within a clan was more important in terms of people's legal responsibilities than their ethnic or tribal affiliation, and only in cases of equal rank did Tanguts enjoy priority.[382]

One of the most important measures of Yuanhao's reign was the introduction of a national script. Chinese sources disagree on who actually invented the Tangut script: the *Song shi* credits Yuanhao, whereas the *Liao shi* his father Deming. Whoever the "real" inventor may have been, the script was implemented as the official script of the state in 1036 by Yuanhao as part of the measures aiming to emphasize autonomy from the Song and the Khitans.[383] In a letter to the Song court, Yuanhao refers to the creation of the Tangut script as one of the main achievements of his reign, which brought the various tribes around him to submission.[384] This corroborates the view that the introduction of the script was primarily a political move of a symbolic nature, rather than an act that arose out of a desire to enable the Tanguts to write in their native language.[385]

380 Kychanov 1968, 60.

381 Nishida 2010, 246, n. 2.

382 Dunnell 1994, 147, Kychanov 2008a, 200.

383 *Song shi* 485, 13995. Kwanten (1977) suggests that the script was invented by the more scholarly minded Deming, rather than the militaristic Yuanhao who at the time was busy fighting the Tibetans.

384 *Ibid*., 13995–13996.

385 Dunnell 1996, 37. For the analysis of the rhetorics of Yuanhao's letter sent to the Song court, as well as its politicial implications, see *ibid*., 40–43.

In the autumn of 1038, Yuanhao officially assumed the title of emperor and at the beginning of the new year sent a letter about it to the Song court. He claimed that the conquered tribes were unhappy with him being called a prince (*wang* 王) and were urging him to assume the imperial title, which he did only after repeated requests. He named his state the Great Xia 大夏 and changed the reign title to Tianshou lifa yanzuo 天授禮法延祚 ("Extended Blessings of the Rites and Laws Conferred by Heaven"). He asked the Song emperor to acknowledge him as fellow emperor and offered his eternal friendship.[386]

From the Song court's point of view, the letter was an act of utter insolence to which it reacted by stripping Yuanhao of all titles granted earlier, ceasing border markets and mobilizing troops along the frontier. It was announced that whoever was able to capture Yuanhao or could at least present his head, would be appointed military commissioner of the Dingnan circuit. In response, Yuanhao sent a messenger with an insulting letter and returned the various emblems and insignia he had received from the court.[387] This began a period of open conflict between the Tanguts and the Song, which involved frequent warfare and lasted nearly seven years.[388] The fact that the Song were not able to suppress the new Tangut state testifies to its military strength and the opportune timing of Yuanhao openly confronting the Song.

Being drawn into a war with the Khitans, in 1044 Yuanhao sent a treaty proposal to the Song court, in which he suggested that the Tanguts would return their recently captured cities and forts, and the Song would pay an annual 255 thousand *liang* 兩 of silver, silk and tea. The court accepted the terms and at the beginning of 1045 sent envoys with regalia and gifts to Yuanhao, including a pair of matching sets of clothing, a golden belt, saddle and bridle ornamented with silver work, 20 thousand *liang* of silver, 20 thousand bolts of silver and 30 thousand *jin* 斤 of tea. He also received a certificate written with lacquer on bamboo slips and a gilded silver seal with the words "Seal of the Ruler of the Xia State" 夏國主印. According to the agreement, the Tangut ruler was to be called "subject" 臣 in Chinese correspondence and he had to use the Song calendar. At the same time, the Song emperor did not directly address him by his name and he was permitted to set up and run his own administration; Tangut envoys travelling to the Song capital were able to use the postal relay stations and were allowed to engage in trading. In turn, the Song envoys were not allowed in the

386 *Song shi* 485, 13995–13996.
387 *Ibid.*
388 For a detailed chain of events of the war with the Song, see Kychanov 1968, 138–156.

Tangut capital but could only come as far as Youzhou, and Yuanhao could continue to rule as emperor within his own domain.[389]

One of the main reasons for the successful conclusion of peace with the Song was the Khitan threat from the north. When the Khitans attacked the Tanguts, they sent envoys to the Song, asking them not to sign a treaty with the Tanguts but the Song court felt defeating the Tanguts would make the Khitans even stronger, which was a situation they were eager to prevent. Thus they reacted by expediting the negotiations and concluding the treaty with the Tanguts. The Khitans led a massive campaign against the Tanguts. Being greatly outnumbered, the Tanguts avoided direct combat and retreated deeply into their territory, scorching the land behind them and thereby leaving no fodder for the Khitan cavalry. As a result, with time the Khitan horses were starving and growing increasingly susceptible to diseases and this is when the Tanguts began engaging them in battle. In a final battle the Khitans suffered a decisive defeat and Emperor Xingzong 興宗 (r. 1031–1055), who had been personally leading the main army, was forced to flee for his life. Yuanhao let him escape and subsequently sent envoys to the Liao court to conclude a treaty.[390]

3.3 The Tangut state after Yuanhao

Yuanhao died in 1048 from a wound he suffered by the hand of his son Ninglingge 寧令哥, born from an empress of the powerful Yeli 野利 clan. Chinese accounts are conflicting on the chain of events that led to this but it seems that the fatal encounter was the last of several assassination attempts driven by inter-clan rivalry over political power and the succession of the throne.[391] With Yuanhao's death the throne went to his infant son Liangzuo 諒祚 (1047–1068; r. 1048–1068). He was a son by an empress of the Mozang 没藏 clan, therefore with his enthronement his mother became the empress dowager and power fell into the hands of the Mozang clan, with Mozang Epang 没藏訛龐 acting as regent and the *de facto* ruler of the state. Following his mother's death in 1056, Liangzuo became increasingly disgruntled with the regent's rule and when someone accused Epang of plotting against the throne, he seized the opportunity and had him executed, also wiping out his entire clan. Not long after this, he requested the Song court's approval to abandon Tangut rituals and follow the

389 *Song shi* 485, 13999.
390 *Ibid.*, 14000.
391 For a reconstruction of events, see Dunnell 1994, 189–191.

Chinese model.[392] Naturally, this was a symbolic act aiming to strengthen the ties with the Song court and gain its support. In 1062 Liangzuo presented horses to the Song court and requested to be given official copies of the classics, to which the court reacted by sending them the Nine Classics and returning the horses.[393] Despite Liangzuo's pro-Chinese policies, his reign was characterized by ongoing conflicts with the Liao and the Song, as well as internal strife.[394] He was not much older than twenty when he died, probably as a result of an injury suffered in a battle with Song troops, fighting over border disputes. He received the temple name Yizong 毅宗.[395]

Following Liangzuo's death in early 1068, the throne went to his eldest son Bingchang 秉常 (1061–1086; r. 1068–1086), who at the time was only seven years old. Control of the state went into the hands of his mother, empress dowager of the Liang 梁 clan, who acted as regent.[396] The power of the Liang clan was further cemented by having the young emperor marry his own cousin from the Liang clan. Thus his entire reign was under the overwhelming influence of the Liang clan, which significantly weakened the authority of the Weiming clan. During the eighteen years Bingchang was on the throne, relations with the Khitans and the Tibetans improved but the conflict with the Song continued with varying intensity.[397] When he died in 1086, he was given the temple name Huizong 惠宗 and was succeeded by his three-year-old son Qianshun 乾順 (1083–1139; r. 1086–1139).[398]

Once again, the power was in the hands of the empress dowager, Bingchang's widow from the Liang clan. This inevitably further strengthened the position of the Liang clan. Although Qianshun and his father Bingchang were both direct line descendants of Yuanhao and in theory represented the Weiming clan, due to their young age, state affairs were run by the empress dowagers and their relatives. During the early years of Qianshun's reign, actual power concentrated in the hands of the state minister Liang Yibu 梁乙逋 (d. 1094), the empress dowager's brother. But the Liang clan itself was torn with

392 *Song shi* 485, 14000–14001.

393 *Song shi* 12, 249. Nie Hongyin (2002, 86) believes that this request suggests that at this time the Confucian classics were not commonly available in the Xia state and most people would have only had access to digested and popularized versions of these books.

394 For the war with the Khitans, see Kychanov 1968, 170–173; for conflicts with the Song, see *ibid*., 173–177 and Dunnell 1994, 192.

395 *Song shi* 485, 14003. For an account of Liangzuo's death, see *Mengxi bitan* 25, 247–248.

396 *Song shi* 485, 14007.

397 Dunnell 1994, 193.

398 *Song shi* 485, 14015.

internal frictions and the empress dowager was gradually stripped of influence, a situation that antagonized her against her brother and the rest of the clan. Eventually, this led to the downfall of the entire clan.[399] In 1094 Renduo Baozhong 仁多保忠, Weiming Awu 嵬名阿吳, Sachen 撒辰 and others killed Liang Yibu and wiped out his family.[400] At this time Qianshun was merely eleven years old and thus power remained in the hands of the new clique, aided by the empress dowager. The Liao court, however, was opposed to her and wanted Qianshun to rule independently, presumably because he was hoped to be more susceptible to Liao influences. As a result, in 1099 Khitan assassins poisoned the empress dowager, which put the young Qianshun in actual control of the state.[401] Having been freed from the yoke of regents, unlike his father Bingchang, Qianshun had a chance to grow up and enjoyed a reign lasting over half a century.

In the meantime, contacts with the Song remained as problematic as before, ranging from local border conflicts to major military campaigns.[402] Finally in 1100 Qianshun was able to reach an agreement with the Chinese, asking the court to restore the original treaty concluded with Yuanhao over sixty years earlier. The Song court agreed to this and promised to send annual gifts. It did not, however, relinquish its newly annexed territories. Even though it was clear that peace was temporary, having achieved a more or less stable relationship with both the Liao and the Song, Qianshun could finally turn his attention to stabilising his position within his own state. He consolidated the power in the hand of the Weiming clan, appointing close relatives to the most important positions. To further strengthen relations with the Liao, he married a Liao princess.[403]

Qianshun was also active in promoting cultural enterprises and education. In 1101 he established a state school (*guoxue* 國學) with three hundred students fully supported by government funds.[404] Education in the school primarily consisted of Confucian learning, such as Chinese language, literature and history.[405] Most likely, the aim of the project was to develop a core group of educated elite capable of serving in public offices and diplomatic service. This was undoubted-

399 Kychanov 1968, 210–213.
400 *Xixia shushi* 29, v. 13, 103.
401 *Ibid.* 31, v. 13, 112.
402 For an overview of border conflicts and the 1096–1099 Song-Xia war, see Kychanov 1968, 213–222.
403 *Song shi* 486, 1418–14019.
404 *Ibid.*
405 Kychanov 1968, 223.

ly a move towards recruitment for public employment based on merit and talent, instead of kinship. It is clear that at least part of the rich corpus of surviving Tangut material was created during Qianshun's reign, and many of the translations made at this time continued to be copied and reprinted in later periods.

Qianshun died in 1139 after an extremely long reign of fifty-three years and was given the temple name Chongzong 崇宗. He was succeeded by his son Renxiao 仁孝 (1124–1193; r. 1139–1193) from an empress of the Chinese Cao 曹 clan, sixteen years of age. Early in the following year, the new emperor announced as his empress a lady from the Tangut Wang 罔 clan. Chinese histories record a series of disasters from the first years of the reign, including rebellions, severe famines and a series of earthquakes that lasted for months. They claim that the earth opened up and black sand gushed forth from below. Perhaps as a measure against these calamities, to symbolize a new era, in 1143 the reign title was changed from Daqing 大慶 to Renqing 人慶.[406]

In the same year, new Confucian schools were opened throughout the empire and a secondary school (*Xiaoxue* 小學) was established within the imperial palace, with the emperor himself among the instructors. This attests to the learnedness of Renxiao who grew up during the prosperous period of the later part of his father's reign. At the same time, his personal involvement in teaching inside the palace also shows the importance he attached to education. Indeed, starting from 1145, a series of measures were launched with the aim of implementing Confucian style education and official recruitment system in the Tangut state. Among these measures was the establishment of the Academy of Chinese Learning (*Dahan taixue* 大漢太學), inauguration of the cult of Confucius, introduction of Chinese-style official examinations, and the founding of the Academy of Inner Learning (*Neixue* 內學) with eminent Confucian scholars in charge. Later on, in 1161, the state established the Hanlin Academy 翰林學士院 where Jiao Jingyan 焦景顏, Wang Qian 王僉 and others were appointed as academicians in charge of compiling the historical records of the dynasty.[407]

By all accounts, Renxiao was an enlightened and active ruler who transformed the Tangut state into one of the major cultural centres in East Asia. He was born from a Chinese mother and received Confucian education, which may partly explain his pro-Confucian policies. We know from the printed books and manuscripts found at Khara-khoto that a number of Confucian and other works were translated and printed during his reign. He and his family members were also enthusiastic supporters of Buddhism, especially his second consort em-

406 *Song shi* 486, 14024.
407 *Ibid.*, 14025.

press from the Chinese Luo 羅 clan who sponsored several ambitious printing projects. Buddhist sutras were printed in both Tangut and Chinese. If we were to take the Kozlov collection as a representative sample of the translation and publication activities in the Tangut state, twice as many dated Buddhist texts come from the time of his reign than from all other periods of the Tangut state together. While this may be partly attributed to his unusually long time on the throne, his reign was also the time when the publication of Tangut translations of Buddhist texts began on a relatively wide scale, as only three items date from the before that.[408] The Chinese texts in the collection show a picture similar to that of the Tangut material. For example, all dated copies of the Chinese *Diamond sutra* found in Khara-khoto come from Renxiao's reign and belong to two distinct editions: the first, printed in 1167, survives in six copies; the other from 1189, in thirty-five.[409]

The reign of Renxiao was relatively quiet in terms of the relations with neighbouring states. By this time the Jurchen Jin state had grown into a formidable entity, conquering the Liao in 1125 and progressively taking control of northern China at the expense of the Song who were forced to retreat further south. The Jurchens also had smaller conflicts with the Tanguts but on the whole Renxiao managed to maintain good relations with them. Similarly, Tangut contacts with the Song were relatively peaceful, especially in comparison with the turbulent periods before and after. One of the major internal problems in the Tangut state in this period was the rise of a Chinese officer Ren Dejing 任得敬 (d. 1170), father of the empress dowager, who had a dominant influence on the court for two decades. His rise to power was viewed with concern both internally and by the Jurchen court, and as events escalated, Ren Dejing eventually lost its support base and was executed for treason.[410]

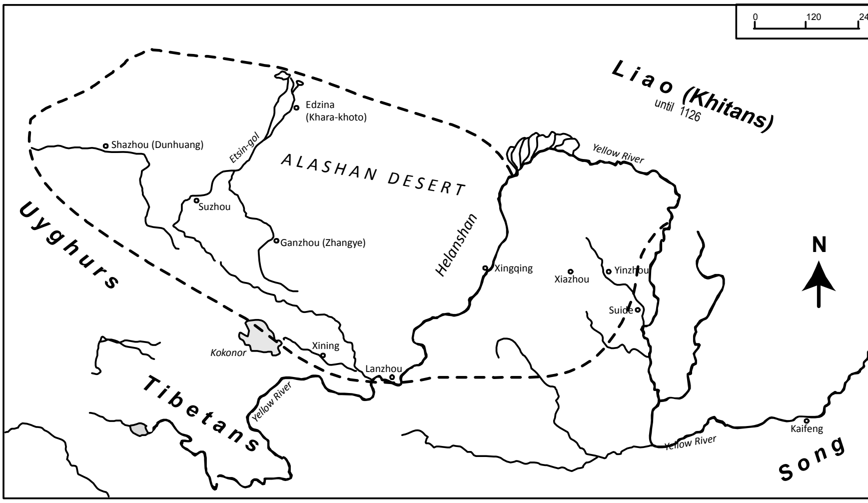
Renxiao reigned for fifty-five years until the age of seventy. When he died in 1193, he received the temple name Renzong 仁宗 and was succeeded by his son Chunyou 純佑 (1177–1206; r. 1193–1206), born from Empress Luo.[411] In the first half of his reign, Chunyou sustained amicable contacts with the Jin, which is illustrated by the fact that when his mother Empress Luo became ill, he turned

408 These statistics are based on the data presented in Kychanov's catalogue of Tangut Buddhist texts in the Kozlov collection (Kychanov 1999).
409 Men'shikov 1984, 10.
410 *Jin shi* 134, 2869–2870. For the career of Ren Dejing and the events that led to his rise and downfall, see Dunnell 1994, 199–202 and Kychanov 1968, 241–246.
411 *Song shi* 486, 14026.

to the Jin for doctors and medicine.[412] Subsequently relations deteriorated, undoubtedly contributing to the impact of Mongol raids, which began affecting the Tanguts from 1205. Chunyou ruled for thirteen years until 1206, dying at the age of thirty. He was given the temple name Huanzong 桓宗.[413] During his reign the printing of Buddhist sutras continued, as evidenced by a number of surviving copies dating to the 1190s.[414]

Map 1: Location of the Tangut region against the map of modern China.

412 *Jin shi* 134, 2871.
413 *Song shi* 486, 14026.
414 Men'shikov 1984, 11–12, 16. The existence of several dated copies and fragments from any particular period makes it probably that at least some of the undated items date from the same period.



Map 2: The Tangut empire at its heyday. (Based on Kychanov 1968, 42.)

3.4 The Mongol invasion

In 1204 Temüjin (i.e. the future Genghis khan) destroyed the Naimans 乃蠻 and gained full control over the Mongolian steppes. From this time on, the Mongols began raiding the lands of their neighbouring states.[415] In 1205, they raided Tangut territories, pillaging two fortified cities and taking with them a large amount of captives and livestock.[416] The Mongol attack came as a surprise to the Tanguts who were occupied at the time with internal conflicts. It further weakened the position of the emperor, as many high-ranking officials and courtiers did not believe that he would be able to withstand the Mongol threat. As a result, in 1206 Chunyou's cousin Anquan 安全 (1170–1211; r. 1206–1211) staged a coup and proclaimed himself the new emperor. The deposed Chunyou died soon afterwards.[417] As part of the arrangement, Chunyou's mother Empress Luo sent a letter to the Jin court, claiming that Chunyou was unable to maintain his throne and because of this she and the chief ministers, after careful deliberation, decided to enthrone Anquan. She asked for an official recognition from the Jin

415 Kychanov 1968, 257.
416 *Yuan shi* 1, 13.
417 *Song shi* 486, 14026; *Jin shi* 134, 2871.

court, which after some wavering granted this and created the new ruler Prince of Xia.[418]

The second Mongol attack came in the autumn of 1207, when the attackers seized the fort of Uraqai (Wulahai 兀剌海 or Woluohai 斡羅孩). They did not retire until the following spring, leading smaller incursions into Tangut border territories. In the spring of 1209 the Uyghurs submitted to Genghis khan. Following this, Genghis led a campaign to the Hexi region against the Tanguts. Anquan sent an army under the command of the crown prince but the Mongols defeated it and captured the deputy commander. They once again sacked Uraqai and enslaved its commander Xibi Eda 西壁訛答. Then they advanced to Keyimen 克夷門 and yet again defeated the Tangut forces, capturing their commander, a general of the Weiming clan. They laid siege to the Tangut capital Zhongxing 中興 and diverted the river to flood the city. In the course of this operation, however, the dikes broke and the Mongols were forced to withdraw. Having been unable to take the capital by force, they sent Xibi Eda into the city to negotiate with Anquan the terms of peace settlement. In the end, an agreement was reached and, as a way of cementing it, the Tangut ruler gave one of his daughters in marriage to Genghis khan.[419]

In 1211, after only five years on the throne, Anquan died and was given the temple name Xiangzong 襄宗. Even though he had a son called Chengzhen 承禎, presumably the one defeated in 1207 by the Mongols at Uraqai, the throne went to Anquan's cousin Zunxu 遵頊 (1163–1226; r. 1211–1223). The new emperor was a learned man and had been the first person in the imperial lineage to have ever earned the "advanced scholar" (*jinshi* 進士) degree at the civil examinations. His ascension to the Tangut throne was also acknowledged by the Jin emperor who the following year created him Prince of Xia.[420]

Tangut relations with the Jin reached a state of crisis in the course of the Mongol attacks. The primary reason for this was that the Jurchens refused Tangut pleas for help on several occasions. Yet conquering the Tanguts was merely the first step in the overall scheme of Mongol expansion. Having cut the Jurchens off from one of their potential allies, the Mongols were now keen on moving against the powerful Jin state. The Tanguts were in a difficult situation because as Mongol allies they had to back Genghis khan in his war against the Jin, with this eliminating their own potential ally against the Mongols. Therefore, they tried to avoid a full-scale war with the Jin with whom they had been

418 *Ibid.*
419 *Yuan shi* 1, 14.
420 *Song shi* 486, 14026–14027.

on relatively good terms for the past decades. As a compromise, they began raiding Jin border territories without engaging in more serious campaigns. The pretext for this was revenge for the lack of support from their ally over the previous years. Nevertheless, the Jin court did not completely abandon the idea of gaining Tangut cooperation in their struggle against the Mongols, which is why they were happy to acknowledge Zunxu as the new Tangut ruler.[421]

In 1213 the Jin emperor Wanyan Yongji 完顏永濟 (1153–1213; r. 1208–1213), also known as Prince Shao of Wei 衛紹王, was deposed and shortly after that assassinated by one of his commanders. The throne went to the emperor's cousin Wudubu 吾睹補 (1163–1223; r. 1213–1223) but the change happened at the worst possible moment, when Mongol troops were already advancing towards the Central Capital (Zhongdu 中都, i.e. modern Beijing). In the winter of 1213–1214, the Mongols blockaded the Central Capital and the Jurchens sued for peace, offering one of Wanyan Yongji's daughters in marriage to Genghis khan. The Mongols withdrew but when following this the Jin court relocated to the Southern Capital (i.e. Kaifeng), they chose to interpret this as preparation for war and led a campaign against the Central Capital. They took the city the following year.[422]

In the meantime, in 1214 war broke out between the Tanguts and the Jurchens, leading to costly consequences for both parties. The Tanguts were aided by the Song but some internal factions were clearly against fighting the Jurchens, considering the war an affair that merely drained their resources without yielding concrete benefits. The war lasted for a decade and no doubt greatly facilitated the eventual Mongol destruction of both states.[423]

In the winter of 1217–1218, the Mongols led a campaign against the Tanguts and besieged the capital. Zunxu put his son in charge of defence and himself fled westward to Xiliang 西涼 (i.e. Liangzhou).[424] The Mongols demanded that the Tanguts assist them in their military campaign against Khwarezm in Central Asia. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, before the Tangut emperor could respond, a certain Asha Gambu stepped in saying that if Genghis khan did not possess enough military strength for the campaign, he should not be a khan at all. As expected, his words deeply offended the khan who decided to take his revenge after his return from the Central Asian campaign.[425] In 1219, the

421 Kychanov 1968, 302.
422 Franke 1994, 252–254.
423 Kychanov 1968, 303. For an overview of the Xia-Jin war of 1214–1224, see *ibid*., 301–306.
424 *Yuan shi* 1, 20; *Jin shi* 15, 334.
425 de Rachewiltz 2004, 189.

khan personally led his main forces on the campaign, leaving behind his general Mukhali (1170–1223) to continue the war against the Jin. In 1221, Mukhali asked the Tanguts to allow his troops to pass through Tangut territory when leading a campaign against the Jin and the Tanguts acquiesced. Not only that, they joined the Mongols with a force of fifty thousand men, giving them military assistance. Although the Tanguts did their best to comply with the demands of the Mongols and keep up amicable relations with them, they had to endure an increasing amount of abuse.[426] Eventually, Zunxu abdicated in favour of his son Dewang 德旺 (1181–1226; r. 1223–1226) who the following year ended the war with the Jin, which was draining their resources. As part of the peace agreement, the relationship between the Jurchen and the Tangut states was described as that between elder and younger brothers.[427]

The Mongols attacked the Tanguts as soon as they learned about the unannounced change of rulers, the implications of which were no doubt clear to them. The Tanguts were able to resist them, forcing their troops to withdraw. More campaigns followed and eventually the Mongol troops sacked and pillaged Yinzhou.[428] Not long after this, in the winter of 1225 Genghis khan returned with the main forces from his victorious Central Asian expedition and immediately marched against the Tanguts. Whatever the real reasons for this may have been, the pretext was that the Tanguts had refused to assist him in his campaign against Khwarezm and that, more recently, Dewang did not agree to send his son as hostage to the Mongol court. According to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the khan's envoys sent ahead of the main forces were once again disrespected by the same Asha Gambu who apparently had a strong influence at the Tangut court.[429]

The Mongol armies took one Tangut city after the other, starting with those in the Hexi corridor and then Eçina (Khara-khoto). The Tanguts desperately tried to resist but were unable to withstand the massive force of the onslaught. In 1226, after the fall of Suzhou, the attackers massacred the population of the city but spared the residents of Ganzhou due to the intervention of Chahan 察罕, a Tangut officer in Mongol service. Then the Mongols took Xiliang and soon after that, led by the khan himself, pressed on to Lingzhou. Even though a Tangut

426 Kychanov 1968, 307–308.
427 *Jin shi* 134, 2876.
428 Kychanov 1968, 308–309.
429 Dunnell 1994, 210–211; de Rachewiltz 2004, 197.

force of hundred thousand rushed to the defence of the city, the Mongols defeated them and sacked the city.[430]

In the meantime, Zunxu, the abdicated Tangut emperor died in the spring of 1226 at the age of sixty-four. His son Dewang passed away in the summer of the same year, while the Mongols successively occupied the major provinces of the Tangut state.[431] The throne went to Xian 晛 (?–1227; r. 1226–1227) who only ruled for a few months before the Mongols completely annihilated the Tangut state.[432] But the Tangut campaign proved fatal for Genghis khan himself. He died in the spring of 1227, right around the fall of the Tangut capital Zhongxing. The *Secret History of the Mongols* merely mentions that he "came back and in the Year of the Pig (1227) ascended to heaven" without elaborating on the circumstances.[433] Other sources, however, offer different scenarios on how this important event had actually transpired.[434]

When after an extended siege Zhongxing finally fell, the Mongol generals seized the last Tangut emperor and had him killed. They also intended to massacre the population of the city but, once again, Chahan managed to dissuade them and save the remaining inhabitants.[435] Naturally, the fall of the capital and the death of the emperor meant the end of the Tangut state. From this time on, the Mongols assumed complete control over Tangut territories and annexed them into their own domain.

Nevertheless, the destruction of the state did not automatically mean the end of the people and the language. Officials and scribes with Tangut names, and at times explicitly identified as of Tangut origin, are often seen in sources related to the history of the Mongols. For example, according to the Persian historian Juvayni (1226–1283), Möngke khan (1209–1259; r. 1251–1259) had stipulated that appointed officials were to be attended by scribes of every kind, including Persian, Uyghur, Khitan, Tibetan and Tangut ones so that they could write decrees in the language and script of the people of their destination.[436] The

430 *Yuan shi* 120, 2956; Dunnell 1994, 211–213.

431 Zunxu was given the temple name Shenzong 神宗, and his son Dewang was named Xianzong 獻宗; *Song shi* 486, 14027–14028.

432 *Song shi* 486, 14028. The *Jin shi* (134, 2876) claims not to know the name of the last emperor and describes the last years of the imperial lineage as follows: "… in the 2nd month Zunxu died, in the 7th month Dewang died, his successor's name is unknown. The following year, the Tangut state perished."

433 de Rachewiltz 2004, 200.

434 Wright 1997.

435 *Yuan shi* 120, 2956.

436 *The History of the World-Conqueror*, 607.

fact that Tangut scribes were needed three decades after the fall of the Tangut state means not only that there were people who did this job but also that for part of the population Tangut remained the main language they used in daily life and that such people were numerous enough for the administration having to consider them at the level of legislation.[437]

Similarly, a number of Tangut and Chinese language documents found at the ruins of Khara-khoto come from the Yuan period, well after the fall of the Tangut state and the Mongol occupation of the city. All this suggests that the city was not wiped out by the Mongols but that it continued to be occupied by people who read and wrote in Tangut. In fact, when Marco Polo travelled through this region, he described several cities in “Province of Tangut,” including that of Eçina (i.e. Khara-khoto).[438] The presence of Tangut documents from the Yuan period in itself is proof to the use of the script and language following the Mongol conquest.

3.5 The invention of the Tangut script

The Tanguts stand out among the peoples of East and Central Asia as one of the few cultures that invented a native script to write their language. According to the *Song shi*, the script was created in 1036 by Li Yuanhao, the ruler of the newly founded Tangut state, shortly after declaring himself emperor in 1032:

> 元昊自製蕃書，命野利仁榮演繹之，成十二卷，字形體方整類八分，而畫頗重複。
> Yuanhao created Tangut writing himself, then ordered Yeli Renrong to develop it further and work out the details. [He put together a book] forming 12 *juan*. In their shape, the characters were angular and orderly, resembling the *bafen* [style of the Chinese script], yet their strokes were manifold and repetitive.[439]

This terse statement attributes the invention of the script to the emperor, which probably meant that he was responsible for the basic idea of the script, perhaps along with its primary components, whereas the whole system was subsequently developed on his orders by Yeli Renrong (d. 1042) who was also put in charge of

437 For an example of a Kashmiri monk by the name of Jayānanda who held the rank of a state preceptor in the Tangut state, see van der Kuijp 1993.
438 *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, v. 1, 202.
439 *Song shi*, 13995.

the Tangut Academy when it became established in 1039.[440] Perhaps he was the person responsible for an initial round of standardisation that laid down the foundation for a practical implementation of the system. The people were taught this new script so that they could use it to read and write, and, probably to aid the process of learning, several common Chinese primers were translated into Tangut. The script that resulted from this project was immediately put into use and remained in use for over four centuries.[441] The Mongol conquest and the annihilation of the Tangut state in 1227 did not mean the death of the language and the script because there is evidence of Tangut being written even in Ming times, especially in a Buddhist context.

Indeed, the Tangut language and script is attested as late as the beginning of the 16th century. The latest known examples are the two stone pillars discovered at Baoding (Hebei) in 1962, which contain an inscription with a *dhāraṇī* transcribed in Tangut.[442] One of the pillars has a date ascribing the carving of the text to 1502, which places it 275 years after the demise of the Tangut empire. An earlier version of the same text also appears on the six-script inscription at Juyongguan, near the Great Wall north of Beijing. This inscription is dated to 1345, thus it is much earlier than the Baoding stone pillars but still considerably later than the end of the Tangut state.[443] These examples demonstrate that the language and the script continued to be used well after the Mongol conquest of Tanguts. Especially for the later period, we do not know whether this happened exclusively in a religious context or there were Tangut descendants who spoke the language and were able to read and write using the Tangut script.[444]

Although there are still many unresolved issues concerning the principles behind the invention of the Tangut script, there is little doubt that the Chinese

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440 The *Song shi* account is only one of several slightly different scenarios found in Chinese historiographical sources offer regarding the invention of the Tangut script. For a discussion of these, see Nishida 1964–1966, 539–541, and Kwanten 1977.

441 It is sometimes assumed that the Tangut script was used only for a short period of time. Thus in his study of variant characters, Han 2005, 58 comments that Tangut characters did not have a long history and for this reason had relatively few variants. But the same idea was voiced at the dawn of Tangut studies when Albert Terrien de Lacouperie (1894, 70–74) gave a brief overview of the Tangut script in the chapter "Short-lived writings in Central Asia" among the Khitan, Jurchen and 'Phags-pa scripts. But four and a half centuries does not strike one as a short period, even if talking about a particular writing system.

442 For a description of the pillars and their discovery, see Zheng and Wang 1977; Peng and Yang 2011.

443 For the Juyongguan inscription see Murata and Fujieda 1955–1957.

444 On possible descendants of the Tanguts, see, for example, Ikeda 2006.

writing system was a major inspiration for it. It is very likely that the Khitan scripts also exerted some influence, but it was the Chinese script that served as the primary model for the Tangut inventors when designing the system. The reason for this was certainly not that the Chinese script was the only writing system in East Asia at this time and thus the only viable choice, as precisely at this moment in history a large variety of local scripts were in use on the northern and western peripheries of China. Apart from the small and large Khitan scripts in the north, there were also important writing systems in use in the West, most notably the Uyghur script which had been borrowed from Sogdian and ultimately derived from Syriac. Indeed, a multitude of languages in what is today northern and western China were written with phonetic scripts of west Asian origin.

Such a multilingual and multi-scriptural cavalcade is best illustrated with the contents of the Dunhuang cave library which contained tens of thousands of manuscripts, the largest portion of which came from the 9th–10th centuries, only a century or so before the invention of the Tangut script. The manuscripts were written in a dozen and a half languages and scripts and there was not always a consistent relationship between script and language. Chinese was one of the more stable languages in this sense, as it was almost always written with Chinese characters; conversely, texts written in Chinese characters for the most part recorded Chinese texts. But there are also examples where Chinese was transcribed using the Tibetan or Brahmi script or when Chinese characters were used to transcribe Tibetan names or Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*s.[445] Sometimes it is clear that Chinese characters recorded other languages not only phonetically but they were vocalized according to their semantic value in another language, such as Uyghur.[446] In some cases the Chinese characters followed the Uyghur word order, making them completely ungrammatical if attempted to be read in Chi-

445 For a monograph-length treatment of a manuscript where all of these cases occur together, see van Schaik and Galambos 2012. There are quite a number of texts from Dunhuang where Chinese is transcribed using the Tibetan alphabet and this material is invaluable for the reconstruction of contemporary (i.e. 9th–10th centuries) Chinese dialect in the Hexi region; see Takata 1988.

446 The use of Chinese characters as part of Uyghur literacy is similar to how they were used in Japanese and Korean, having a received Chinese reading and a semantic reading. The Uyghur use of Chinese characters is more commonly evidenced among the Turfan manuscripts; see Takata 1985, Shōgaito 1995 and Shōgaito 2004. For a study of how Chinese was transcribed using the Sogdian script, see Yoshida 1994; for Chinese written with the Brahmi script, see Csongor 1972.

nese.[447] To be sure, Uyghur was an extreme case of scriptural flexibility and surviving manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan evidence that it was written, apart from the special cases such being written in Chinese characters, on a regular basis in Brahmi, Runic, Manichaean, Sogdian and Uyghur scripts.

Most of the scripts in modern northern and western China were alphabetic or syllabic and would have been perfectly suitable for writing Tangut. A particularly apt solution would have been the Tibetan alphabet, especially since the Tangut language is remotely related to Tibetan. Yet the Tanguts opted for creating a Chinese-type writing system which not only emulated the general principles of character creation, or rather how these principles were understood at the time, but adopted the strokes of the regular Chinese script (*kaishu* 楷書). They assembled these Chinese-style strokes using the compositional principles of Chinese characters into completely different kinds of characters which resemble the Chinese ones but are in fact totally illegible to Chinese readers.[448] Thus on the one hand we see an effort to emulate the Chinese example and to live up to the prestige of its literary tradition, and on the other hand a desire to stand apart by creating a completely unique writing system. From our modern point of view it seems obvious that implementing a phonetic alphabet or syllabary would have been more efficient and practical than the invention of a new system with approximately 6,000 unique logographs. A small set of phonetic symbols would have been much easier not only to learn but also to use. Yet the Tanguts, like the Khitans nearly a century before them, chose to devise a script with thousands of characters that resembled the Chinese ones and yet were different from those.

The dependence on the Chinese tradition is seen not only in the nature of the Tangut script but also in the types of texts written with that script. A significant portion of the Tangut texts that survive are translations from Chinese, and to a lesser degree from Tibetan, whereas native Tangut texts are relatively rare. Among the non-translated material are the dictionaries which in most cases also deal with the connection of the Tangut script and phonology with Chinese.[449]

447 See Kitsudō 2011, 329–331.

448 As Zhang Shu, the first person in the modern period who identified the Tangut script as Tangut, wrote about the script on the Liangzhou bilingual stele he discovered in 1804, "looking at it (i.e. the stele) casually, all the characters seem legible; but if you take a close look, you cannot read a single one of them." Quoted in Niu 1993, 48.

449 Kychanov (Gromkovskaja and Kychanov 1978, 174) mentions the possibility that a Tangut-Tibetan dictionary may have existed in the Kozlov collection but was later lost. Nevsky claims that he heard about such a dictionary from someone while in Beijing but Ivanov denied having seen it. In 1927, however, the existence of the dictionary was confirmed in a letter by the

Even though the majority of the extant Tangut corpus is Buddhist in nature and is thus ultimately of South-Asian origin, the Tanguts usually used the Chinese translations of these sutras rather than their originals written in Indic languages. In other words, they opted to regard the Chinese text as the source text, even when it was a translation itself. For this reason, Tangut translations of Buddhist sutras name the Chinese translator after the title of the text, rather than the Tangut one. For example, a printed edition of the *Diamond sutra* in the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg (No. 53, 3834), which is an incomplete concertina with 32 pages, has a note at the beginning which states that the Tangut version was carefully checked against the Sanskrit and Chinese versions, as well as existing Tangut commentaries. The final line of the colophon, however, says that the sutra was translated by the Kuchean monk Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (334–413) of the Yao Qin 姚秦 dynasty (384–417), which obviously refers to the birth of the Chinese version many centuries earlier. Therefore it is the Chinese translation of the sutra that is regarded in the Tangut context as the original version, even if the note claims to have compared it against a Sanskrit version as well. In contrast, little emphasis is placed on the Tangut translators and their involvement seems to have been regarded less consequential.

In this respect, the Tangut situation was similar to that in other parts of East Asia, most notably Japan and Korea, where China remained the main source of the Buddhist tradition and Chinese texts continued to be used and recited even after the appearance of vernacular translations.[450] This does not deny the non-Chinese, especially Tibetan, influences on Tangut Buddhism, which is also attested in the surviving material. But China clearly emerges as the most important source of tradition. Accordingly, the Tanguts translated not only authentic Buddhist sutras but also apocryphal scriptures composed in China with no Indic originals. For example, the Kozlov collection contains a Tangut translation of the *Sutra of Parental Kindness*, the original of which is believed to have been compiled in China sometime before the end of the 8th century.[451] The col-

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academician Sergei Oldenburg whose opinion Nevsky considered indisputable. Yet the dictionary was never found. Still, among Nevsky's papers in the Tenri Library there are facsimile copies of Tangut works that are today not in the Kozlov collection, which shows that some items were indeed lost after arriving in St. Petersburg. Perhaps the Tangut-Tibetan dictionary was one of them.

450 For a comparison of Buddhist texts in the Xia state with those in Japan and Korea, see Kornicki 2014.

451 Guang 2008, 121–130.

lection also has a Chinese copy of the same text, attesting to its popularity in the Tangut state.[452]

We may assume that prior to the invention of the Tangut script, the Tanguts were using Chinese as the written language. This would have meant that their spoken language was different from the written one, a situation not unlike the Chinese case where the spoken language by this time was quite different from the written one that was ultimately modelled after the language of the philosophical and literary texts of the pre-Qin literary tradition. Learning to read and write in the Song period entailed not only the memorisation of the basic set of Chinese characters but also the learning of the language of classical texts, as this constituted the language of education and literacy. In this sense, the task of a Tangut student would not have been very different than that of his peers in China or Japan. He learned to read and write by internalizing Chinese primers and classics and with time this enabled him to compose texts in the same artificial language which served as a written *lingua franca* in much of East Asia. An additional difficulty he would have had was the pronunciation of characters, which unavoidably differed from the phonological structure of his own spoken language. This, however, would not have been a major problem as cultures that used the Chinese script tended to develop their own system of reading those according to their own phonology. This was the case in Korea, Japan, Vietnam and even among the Uyghurs. The practice of reading Chinese characters with Sino-Tangut pronunciation is not documented but it is likely that a system analogous to that in place in Japan and Korea would have developed among the Tanguts.

Although we do not have textual evidence of reading Chinese characters in the native language among the Tanguts, there are occasional descriptions of this technique in other cultures around China. Thus the *Zhou shu* 周書 (636) gives the following description of the Uyghurs of Qocho (Gaochang 高昌, modern-day Turfan) using Chinese characters in the second half of the 6th century:[453]

> 文字亦同華夏，兼用胡書。有《毛詩》、《論語》、《孝經》，置學官弟子，以相教授。雖習讀之，而皆為胡語。
> The script was also the same as in China but they concurrently used *hu* scripts as well.[454] They had the Mao version of the *Book of Poetry*, the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Classic*

452 Nie 2010.
453 *Zhou shu*, 915.
454 The term *hu* ("barbarian") here means "non-Chinese." It is a common designation of Central-Asian, and more specifically Iranian, peoples but in this context it obviously refers to the Uyghurs.

> *of Filial Piety*, and they established [positions for] teacher-officials and apprentices so that they could teach [these works]. Even though they were well-practiced in reading these, they did this completely in the *hu* language.

These words essentially describe the practice of reading Chinese texts by vocalizing the words in Uyghur, which is comparable to the *kundoku* 訓読 method used in Japan. In a sense, this was similar to translating the text while reading it, although the translation closely followed the original and the words are vocalized according to predefined "readings" chosen from among a limited set of available possibilities depending on how the reader interpreted the meaning of the text. In a language such as Uyghur, this would have meant jumping back and forth in the text to accommodate for the different word order. The change of word order when reading Chinese characters in a different language is attested in Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志:[455]

> 契丹誦詩
> 契丹小兒初讀書，光以俗語顛倒其文句而習之。至有一字用兩三字者。頃奉使金國時，接伴副使秘書少監王補，每為予言以為笑。如『鳥宿池中樹，僧敲月下門』兩句，其讀時則曰：『月明里和尚門子打，水底里樹上老鴉坐。』大率如此。補錦州人，亦一契丹也。
> Khitans reciting poetry
> When Khitan children begin to read books, they practice reading solely in the vernacular language, inverting the order of phrases and sentences. They may even read one character as two or three syllables (lit. characters). In the past, when I have been sent as envoy to the Jin state, Wang Bu, the escort vice commissioner and vice director of the Palace Library often discussed this with me in order to make me laugh. For example, the two lines of the poem "A bird perches on a tree in the middle of the pond, a monk knocks on the door beneath the moon" they recite more or less as "moon-bright-in-monk-door-knock; water-bottom-in-tree-on-crow-sit." Wang Bu was a native of Jinzhou and himself a Khitan.

Hong Mai's description, which he obtained while visiting the Jin state, is a rare first-hand account of how the Khitans read Chinese texts. It is especially valuable since we know very little about their written culture.[456] According to Hong Mai, when Khitan children learned to read Chinese, they vocalized the text in their native language, using colloquial Khitan. The statement about inverting the word order shows that this was not simply a translation of the Chinese sen-

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455 *Yijian zhi*, *bing* 丙 18, 514.
456 Hong Mai does not mention the use of the Khitan script, probably because the inverted reading of Chinese characters was of more interest to him. For an analysis of the Khitan language and script in general, see Kane 2009. For a discussion of the recently discovered manuscript volume written in the Khitan large script, see Zajtsev 2011.

tences into Khitan but a Khitan reading of the Chinese text. Although the poem he brings up as an example is intended to illustrate the comical aspect of such a practice, it is a fitting illustration of how Chinese characters were glossed in Khitan. The resulting string is, of course, nonsensical in Chinese but it works well for an Altaic language in which the verb comes at the end of the sentence and is preceded by the object.[457] Another point worth noting is that Wang Bu attributed this practice to Khitan children at their initial stage of learning to read Chinese. He himself was Khitan but apparently he could identify with Hong Mai's amusement at such a reading, even though he would have presumably also learned to read Chinese in this manner. As a person in charge of welcoming Chinese delegates he would have not only been fluent in spoken Chinese but also well versed in the Chinese literary tradition. Therefore he himself represents a special case and we do not know whether the Khitans continued to read Chinese texts in this way once they moved beyond the level of primary education, as it was the case in Japan and Korea.

These examples offer a plausible analogy for how the Tanguts may have used Chinese writing before the invention of the Tangut script. The invention of a native script undoubtedly marked the beginning of a new era in this respect. As a national script, it would have become the primary means of written communication and, as such, would have been taught in schools. Yet archaeological evidence tells us that Chinese characters did not fall into disuse but continued to be used alongside the Tangut script. In the Tangut empire different languages and cultures interacted on a daily level and the population was a mixture of Chinese, Tangut, Tibetan, Uyghur and other peoples. The overall majority of the texts discovered at Khara-khoto, however, are written in Tangut and Chinese. It is sometimes assumed that the Chinese material was written by the Chinese population but that is likely to be an oversimplification of the situation and it is more likely that there was no clear distinction between who wrote in what language, at least not according to ethnicity. It is quite feasible that the same person or group of persons would produce texts in two or more languages and that the Chinese and Tangut books reflect not the linguistic background of the scribes or printers but traditions associated with particular texts. As a general principle, a cosmopolitan society is not made up of different groups of peoples who stick to their own linguistic and cultural background but is rather an amalgam of these cultures, with multilingual members using more than one lan-

457 Another curious feature of the Khitan reading of the poem in Hong Mai's example is that it reversed the two lines. Such a reversal of parallel clauses has also been noted in Tangut translations of Chinese texts; see Nie 2001 and Peng 2011.

guage. The linguistic diversity of manuscripts found in Dunhuang and in the region of Turfan attests that this was a viable scenario in north-western China in the pre-modern period.

3.6 Characteristics of the script

In terms of handwriting styles, Tangut had a similar range of options as handwritten Chinese. There was a regular script which we could call *kaishu* or regular script (e.g. Tang.335/14), a variety of which was also used for printed texts. Printed books in general show greater stylistic regularity than manuscripts and because of this we can read them easier today. Still, manuscripts written with an even script are just as legible. In contrast, manuscripts written in a cursive hand can be very difficult to decipher (Fig. 7). Obviously, this is primarily due to our unfamiliarity with Tangut writing, as a semi-cursive text in Chinese usually poses no problem for anyone who is familiar with handwritten Chinese. Yet in the Tangut case reading becomes significantly more difficult as the degree of cursiveness increases. We know from the Chinese example that the way to improve our ability to read cursive hand is to become more familiar with Tangut handwriting in general, plus to have a higher competence in the language itself, as legibility improves dramatically with a thorough knowledge of the linguistic context. In many cases the reader anticipates the next word and thus the graphic form, even if drastically abbreviated, may function as a visual device that triggers the reader's linguistic repertoire and thereby disambiguates between the possibilities, rather than "spells out" words in full.

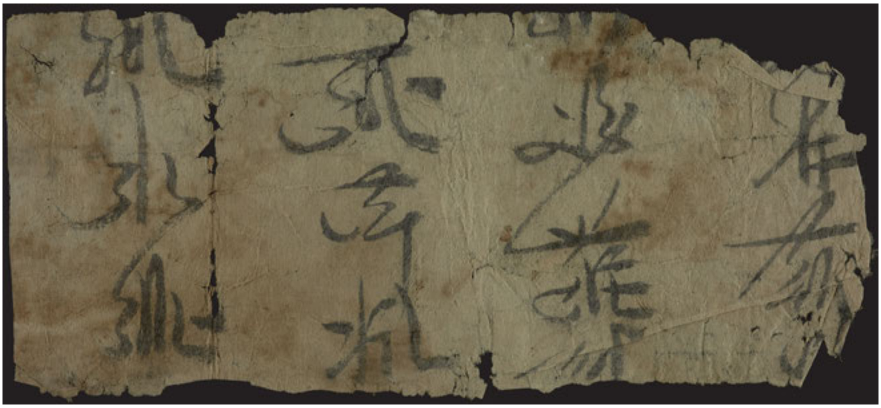

Fig. 7: Cursive handwriting in fragment Or.12380/214.

In some cases the hand changes within the same manuscript, even if it is written by the same person. One such example is manuscript Tang.335/9, a long concertina manuscript with the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* from the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg. Here the beginning of the manuscript is written in the regular script but later on the handwriting gradually accelerates and changes into cursive (Fig. 8). There is no clear point where the writing style abruptly changes so we cannot attribute this to a different copyist. Quite to the contrary, it seems that both the regular and cursive characters were written by the same person and the only reason for the shift towards the cursive script is that the copyist became less attentive to the handwriting style he was using. In the latter half of the manuscript, the handwriting somewhat normalizes and loses most of its cursiveness.

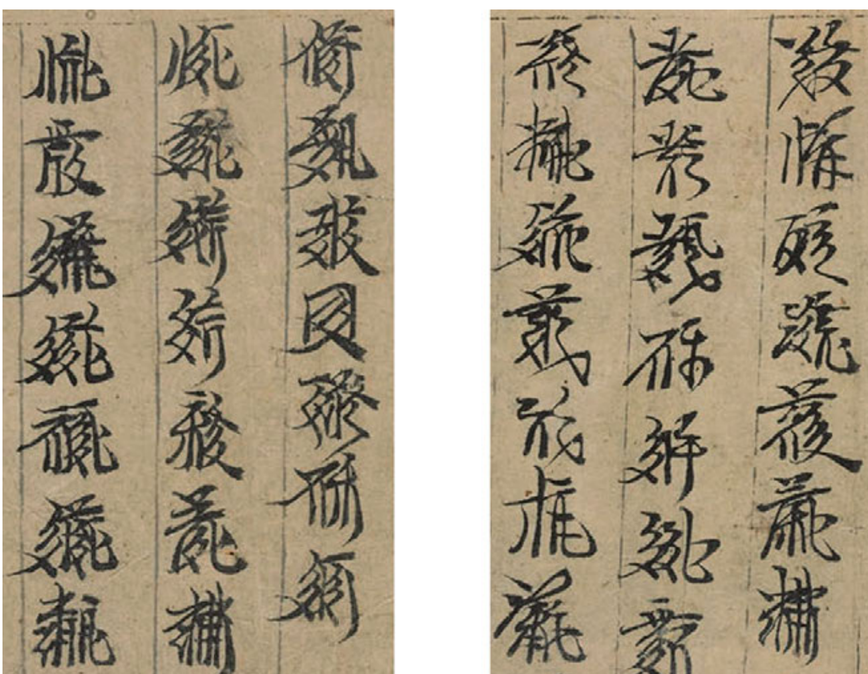

Fig. 8: Changes in the handwriting style within the same manuscript. On the left hand side is a section from the beginning of concertina Tang.335/9, and on the right a section around half-way through.

The varieties of Tangut handwriting ranging from regular to semi-cursive and full cursive hands are clearly analogous to the Chinese case where we have the well-defined categories of regular (*kai*), semi-cursive (*xing* 行, i.e."running") and cursive (*cao* 草, i.e. "draft" or "grass") scripts. While this equation is admittedly superficial and may be regarded as an inevitable development in any scribal culture, a more specifically Chinese category is that of the seal script (*zhuanshu* 篆書) used on seals and headings of stele inscriptions. In the Chinese tradition the seal script was an archaic style that went back to the scripts of the pre-Han period which were later superseded by the "clerical script" (*lishu* 隸書) of the Qin and Han dynasties. In fact, all modern forms of Chinese writing evolved from these early scripts through the process known as clericization (*libian* 隸變).[458] On the most basic level, this process was a cursive simplification which entailed the adoption of popular graphs used in everyday writing as the norm, in contrast with their full versions employed under more formal circumstances.

In the Tangut case, however, the script was invented anew in the 11th century and there were no "ancient" graphs to fall back on when an occasion called for the use of formal script. Yet the Tangut script generally followed the Chinese example and this necessitated the use of the seal script on seals and stele headings. The solution was to rely on the Chinese seal script and create artificially archaized Tangut characters. Since the basic strokes and handwriting features of Tangut characters emulated the Chinese regular script, the creation of Tangut seal script graphs was not particularly difficult. The strokes of the regular script were simply replaced with those of the Chinese seal script, which created Tangut seal script characters that were unsurprisingly quite reminiscent of Chinese ones. The number of surviving Tangut seals and inscriptions is small but even within this limited set we can see that there were several types of seal script. Once again, the Chinese tradition served as an example and different styles of seal script were employed in different contexts. For example, the characters on the heading of the Liangzhou stele shown in Fig. 9a is reminiscent of the Chinese "small seal script" (*xiaozhuan* 小篆), supposedly introduced during the Qin dynasty. The characters on the seal in Fig. 9b are quite different from this, as they seem to emulate the "nine-fold seal script" (*jiudiezhuan* 九疊篆) used on official seals starting from about the Song dynasty. Here the strokes are characterized by a tendency towards symmetry and an excessive ornamental folding

458 For a monograph-length study of the complex process of clericization, see Zhao 2009. See also Galambos 2006, 69–77.

pattern, part of the function of which was to fill out the available space and thereby prevent the modification (i.e. forgery) of the original inscription.

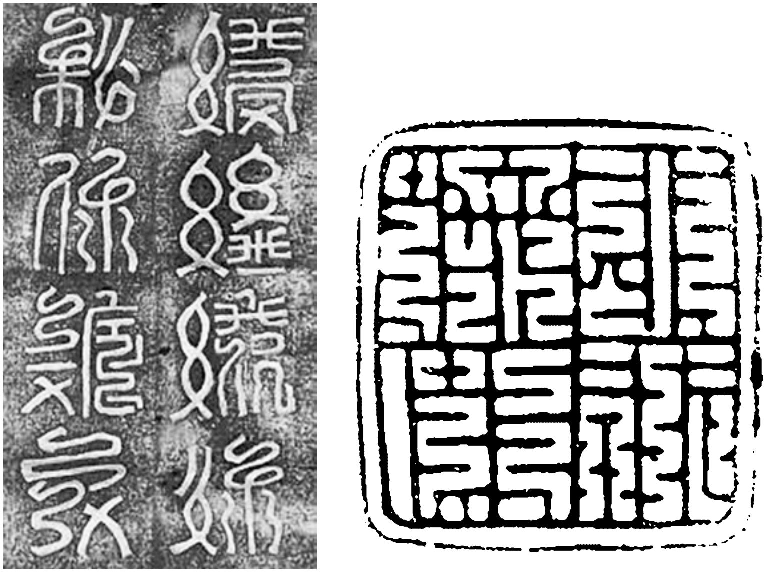

Fig. 9a+b: Tangut seal script characters on the heading of the Liangzhou stele (left) and an official seal (right).[459]

The different types of Tangut seal-script characters imitate their Chinese counterparts both in design and function, unambiguously pointing to their source of inspiration. These examples of Tangut seal script provide an intriguing case of an artificial invention of a palaeographic tradition with no historical precedence. In this respect the Tangut script is not unique, as other scripts in northern China have also created artificially archaized seal script characters, and there are archaeological examples of official seals written in such nine-fold seal script in the Khitan large script, the ‘Phags-pa or the Manchu script.[460]

Following the same line of creativity, the Tanguts also invented the characters used in the Chinese tradition in Taoist and Buddhist charms. Thus manuscript N.335 in the Kozlov collection has several such complicated characters.[461]

459 This seal imprint is #7 in Luo Fuyi’s collection of Xixia official seals (Luo 1982).

460 For examples of the Khitan seal-script characters, see West 2012.

461 See, for example, the illustration in Kychanov 1999, 783.

The inspiration for these obviously comes from the Chinese Buddhist tradition, even though in their original context these characters are supposedly of archaic origin, which was not the case for the graphs used in Tangut charms.

Another curious case of emulating the Chinese textual tradition is the observance of name taboos (*bihui* 避諱), a phenomenon evidenced in some Tangut books. In China, this was a custom which commenced around the beginning of the dynastic period and which was an important part of Tang and Song book culture.[462] With time, the presence or absence of taboo characters became an accepted method of dating books in traditional philology.[463] The basic idea behind the custom is that the personal names of the rulers of the reigning dynasty, and other revered figures or certain members of the imperial household, could not be written down directly. Thus the name of Li Shimin 李世民, that is, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) of the Tang dynasty, was tabooed throughout the dynasty, for nearly three centuries. Because of this, the characters 世 and 民 were either written without their last stroke, or replaced with the characters 代 and 人, whose semantic value is synonymous with that of 世 and 民. As time progressed and new emperors ascended the throne, the list of tabooed characters increased until the fall of the ruling house rendered the taboos irrelevant. With the beginning of a new dynasty the whole system began anew. Thus theoretically the presence or absence of specific taboo characters make it possible to date texts because they indicate which emperors have already reigned and which have not. In practice, however, the system was far from consistent and thus relying on it for dating purposes is problematic.

Similar taboo characters occur in Chinese manuscripts from Khara-khoto. For example, TK327 from the Kozlov collection is a manuscript of the *Zhong you shen yaomen* 中有身要門, a Tantric text translated from Tibetan.[464] Accordingly, this is a Chinese booklet that was not brought to Khara-khoto from China proper but translated and written down in Chinese for the first time in the Tangut state. In the manuscript, the character 明 is written as ,

462 For the problems associated with the taboo of the name of the First Emperor of Qin, see Beck 1987.

463 For taboo characters in general, see Wang 2007 and Soymié 1990; for their use in the medieval period and especially the Dunhuang manuscripts, see Dou 2007 and Galambos 2012b.

464 Shen Weirong 沈衛榮 (2010, 349) translates the title as *The Essential Instruction of the Body in Intermediate State (bar do)* and points out its significance, along with a series of similar titles, for understanding the religious history of the Tangut kingdom and Central Asia. For photographic images of the manuscript, see *E cang*, v. 5, 106–112.

missing the last two strokes on the inside of the component 月.[465] The apparent reason for this is that *ming* 明 was part of the personal name of Yuanhao's father Deming and thus the character could not be written in its full form.[466] Another solution, also analogous to the Chinese custom, was to replace it with the character *xian* 顯, as it was the case when Yuanhao decreed that the new Song reign title Mingdao 明道 should be written in the Tangut state as Xiandao 顯道.

A surprising phenomenon is that taboo characters were also used in the Tangut script. While we do not know well enough the Tangut texts to spot cases when a tabooed character was replaced with a synonymous one, there are examples of omitting a stroke from a character. Such Tangut taboo characters so far have only been identified in translations of the annotated versions of the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Classic of Filial Piety*.[467] Both of these texts were printed during the reign of Renxiao when Confucian teachings enjoyed a privileged status in the Tangut state. It is unclear why only these two books contain taboo characters and whether this means that this custom was limited in scope. In these two books nine characters have been identified but the system was used rather inconsistently, which mirrors the use of taboo characters in China.[468] Among the taboo characters were ·*wə̱* 𗒹 (孝 "filial piety") and ·*wjṳ* 𘊊 (里 "village"), both of which were tabooed because of their link with Chinese characters that were part of the Chinese name of the ruler, i.e. Li Renxiao. We do not know Renxiao's Tangut name but his Chinese surname was Li and presumably the Tangut character ·*wjṳ* 𘊊 was tabooed because its meaning matched that of the Chinese character *li* 里, which was homophonous with the Chinese surname of the ruler. Similarly, the character ·*wə̱* 𗒹 had the meaning "filial piety" which was part of Renxiao's Chinese name.

465 Taboo characters are not only seen in manuscripts but also in print. See, for example, Shi 2007, 833.

466 It is interesting to see that even in the same manuscript the character 明 is not always tabooed. For example, on the last page there are tabooed and non-tabooed forms together. Similarly, the manuscript of *Zhuohuo neng zhao wuming* 拙火能照無明 (*The Inner Heat which is Able to Illuminate Ignorance,* gtum mo [Shen 2010, 349]) uses the same type of modified 明 even in its title, both at the beginning and end of the text (*E cang*, v. 5, 252–256). Parallel to the inconsistent observance of the name taboo also the orthographic inconsistency between the head and end title, in which the last word is written respectively as 無明 and 无明, that is, with a full form of the character 無 and then its non-standard variant.

467 On the Tangut translation of the *Analects*, see Nishida 1968; on the *Classic of Filial Piety*, Nie 2007a.

468 Jia 2011.

The above peculiarities of the Tangut script and especially how it was used in different social and ritual contexts show its indebtedness to the Chinese writing system. The artificial invention of archaized seal-script characters and the existence of taboo characters are features closely connected with Chinese characters as used in traditional China. That the Tanguts reconstructed the same features within their own script demonstrates that they intended to produce an analogous system, which at the same time was distinctly non-Chinese. The Tangut script emulated its Chinese prototype, including its socio-ritual function and its handwriting and orthographic characteristics. Even though a new logographic script was clearly not the best fit for the Tangut language, the Tanguts did not choose any of the Central Asian alphabets but constructed their own system which appears extremely complex. While we do not fully understand the principles behind the script, there is no question that the adoption of an alphabet or a syllabary would have greatly facilitated the acquisition of literacy skills. The fact that the Tanguts opted not to go down this path shows that convenience and facility were less important for them than the ambition to produce a system that could match the Chinese script and its unequalled prestige throughout East and Central Asia, which was also closely connected with its role in the dissemination of Buddhist scriptures.

4 Primers in Tangut and Chinese

We know from the *Song shi* that when Emperor Yuanhao introduced the Tangut script, he also wanted the people of his country to learn Tangut writing and with this aim in mind commissioned the translation of the *Xiaojing*, *Erya* 爾雅 and a primer called *Siyan zazi* 四言雜字.[469] This record evidences that translations of Chinese primers and other educational texts were used for teaching the Tanguts to read and write in Tangut immediately after the invention of the script. This may seem counterintuitive because Chinese primers contain a good deal of language-specific information and are meant to acquaint students with Chinese characters and the nuances of literary Chinese language. Translating these into another language to be used as a tool for teaching that other language and a foreign script does not strike us as the most efficient path to literacy. Yet this was precisely what happened in the new Tangut state and the material from Khara-khoto provides evidence for the circulation of such educational works within the Tangut domain. Among these works is a Tangut manuscript copy of the *Xiaojing* with a long lost commentary and preface by Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿 (1032–1111)[470] but there is also a wide range of other texts not mentioned in transmitted sources, such as the text *Newly Collected Records on Compassion and Filiality* (T. *Sjiw śio̱ njij wə̱ la mji̱j ?* [illegible]), a manuscript version of a text apparently compiled from Chinese sources by an official in the Tangut state.[471]

Educational texts and primers are known in Chinese under the umbrella term *mengshu* 蒙書 ("beginners books"). As a parallel case to the Khara-khoto finds, we may remember that such texts also constituted a formidable body of material in the Dunhuang cave library. These have been collected together and studied by Taiwanese scholars Zheng Acai 鄭阿財 and Zhu Fengyu 朱鳳玉.[472] The most well-known ones are the *Xiaojing*, *Qianziwen* 千字文, *Baijiaxing* 百家姓 and *Taigong jiajiao* 太公家教,[473] but there are also quite a few less common or lost texts such as the *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓, *Baixing zhang* 百行章, *Kongzi*

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469 *Song shi* 485, 13995.

470 On the Tangut translation of the *Xiaojing*, see Grinstead 1972b, 277–376; Hu 2006 and Nie 2007a.

471 A full transcription and translation of this text is published in Jacques 2007. See also Keping 1990, Nie 1995 and, most recently, Nie 2009.

472 Zheng and Zhu 2002.

473 The *Taigong jiajiao* was translated into French by Paul Demiéville (1982, 611–835). See also Wang 1986a and 1986b, Zhang 2010 and 2012.

beiwen shu 孔子備問書. Besides the relatively large corpus of texts recognized as *mengshu*, the Dunhuang manuscripts contained a substantial amount of non-educational texts which may have also formed part of a school curriculum and were copied either by or for students. Victor Mair has compiled a catalogue of such manuscripts and pointed out that lay students were the main group responsible for copying the majority of vernacular narratives in Dunhuang, both religious and secular.[474] To this we may add that students copied as writing exercise not only vernacular narratives but all types of texts, including Confucian classics (e.g. *Lunyu*), Buddhist scriptures (e.g. *Xinjing* 心經) and even documents related to economic or administrative matters.[475] In general, the texts that functioned as practice material in real life were far more diverse than the genre we would normally identify as educational texts. The so-called *mengshu* were merely a small part of the total corpus of texts used by students in Dunhuang. Thus education played a major role in the process of textual transmission, and many of the texts survived not as a result of a deliberate act of transmitting to posterity but because they had been copied by students as part of their writing exercises.

The situation was no doubt similar in the Tangut state, including the city of Khara-khoto. Excavations at the ruins of the city yielded a variety of *mengshu* both in Tangut and Chinese, attesting to the multilingual character of elementary education in the region. What differs from Dunhuang is that the Khara-khoto materials include a large number of printed texts which of course cannot be explained as copies made by students, even if they belong to the genre of *mengshu*. Evidently, students could just as well rely on pre-made printed versions for reading and copying exercises. In Dunhuang even such model texts were handwritten but in the Khara-khoto corpus, which on the whole is two to three centuries later and comes from a time when printing was already widespread in East and Central Asia, we find many printed versions of texts, including educational ones.

This chapter presents three case studies of *mengshu* used by the residents of Khara-khoto in an educational context. One of them is a hitherto unnoticed manuscript fragment found by Stein in 1914 at the ruins of the city and is cur-

474 Mair 1981, 90–91.

475 Thus in many cases the manuscripts with lay students' copies of longer texts also contain fragments of contracts or association circulars (*shesi zhuantie* 社司轉帖) sent out to members of associations to announce a meeting. Typically these are written in the same hand as the other texts on the same manuscript, revealing that they were produced by the same students as a writing practice. This also explains their often fragmentary nature.

rently kept at the British Library. The manuscript consists of two pages discussing the proper moral conduct a person should strive for and citing stories of exemplary figures from classical texts and histories. Because the manuscript records dialogues between Tang emperor Taizong and his minister(s), we can provisionally name this text **Taizong's Questions*. I have been unsuccessful in trying to match the Tangut text to any known Chinese work but content leaves little doubt that such a work existed and that the Tangut manuscript is a translation of a Chinese original.

Another *mengshu* presented in this chapter is a fragmentary copy of a block-printed book excavated at Khara-khoto by the Russian expedition in 1908–1909, now part of the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg. Based on its content, the text was named by modern Chinese scholars **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* (**Jingshi zachao* 經史雜抄), as it represents a collection of short passages cited from the Confucian classics, historiographical works and other well-known texts.[476] Once again, this is almost certainly a translation of a Chinese text we no longer have, rather than a native Tangut compilation. Recently it has been linked with a Chinese text preserved in numerous Dunhuang manuscripts, with which it shows an apparent connection, even though there are also a number of marked differences.

The third text introduced here is the *Mengqiu* 蒙求, a Chinese primer from the Tang dynasty. Stein recovered a fragment of a Chinese manuscript with the text at the Khara-khoto, which demonstrates that it was also used among the Tanguts. Even though we do not know of a Tangut translation of the *Mengqiu*, the few examples of intertextual links with Tangut and Tibetan translations of unidentified Chinese educational texts corroborate the circulation and availability of very similar texts in non-Chinese linguistic environments. Likewise, in addition to the Khara-khoto copy, manuscript and printed fragments of the Chinese *Mengqiu* were also found in Dunhuang and the territory of the former Khitan state, further attesting to the significance of this primer on the peripheries of Chinese civilisation.

In all three examples the ultimate question is how Chinese educational texts functioned in the Tangut state. In the case of the *Mengqiu* this at first sight may seem relatively straightforward because it was found in its original language (i.e. Chinese) and we may presume that it was used to teach students to read and write in Chinese. This, however, was not necessarily the case because there is evidence from other cultures in East and Central Asia—most notably in

476 Although the text itself only survives in Tangut, modern scholars gave it a Chinese title under which it has been known since then.

Japan, Korea and the Uyghur state of Gaochang—where texts written in Chinese characters could be vocalized either in local languages or according to a local tradition of received Chinese pronunciation. Thus the linguistic situation may be more complex than it seems on the surface.[477] In the other two cases the Chinese primers were translated into Tangut and this creates a different scenario for how primary education functioned in real life. It is clear that in Chinese-speaking regions primers and other didactic works were utilised not only for their content but also as practice material for reading and writing Chinese characters. This latter function was obviously very different once the text became translated into a foreign language, although an argument can be made that Tangut students could practice their writing skills with any type of text, as long as it was written in Tangut and contained material that was relatively accessible at their level.

In terms of their content, the three texts presented here as case studies consist entirely of stories originating from the classical tradition of China and teaching these to Tangut students can only mean that their education was to a large extent based on Chinese sources. Instead of relying on native stories which the Tanguts, similar to other ethnic or cultural groups, no doubt also possessed as part of their oral tradition, Tangut literacy seems to have developed through whole-scale appropriation of Chinese written culture. Essentially, an educated Tangut individual would have been fully versed in Chinese literary culture and yet potentially not understand a word of Chinese.[478] This chapter tries to draw attention to this massive cultural borrowing and shed some light on how it may have worked in daily practice.

4.1 **Taizong's Questions*

The facsimile reproductions of the Tangut material from the British Library include an unidentified secular text which the editors provisionally named **Zashi* 雜史 (Miscellaneous Stories).[479] With this title the manuscript attracted little attention and remained unstudied, despite the palpable desire in Tangut studies to discover, identify and decipher ever "new" texts, especially those

477 See, for example, the complexities of using Chinese characters in early Japan in chapters 1 and 2 in Lurie 2011, 15–114.
478 This phenomenon is similar to how Buddhist texts of Indian origin circulated in a translated form in China, with large numbers of believers being fully versed in their content and yet not being able to understand the language in which they had originally been written.
479 Xibei di'er minzu xueyuan et al. 2005, v. 3, 156.

with non-Buddhist content. The manuscript in question is catalogued under pressmark Or.12380/2579, although Stein's original number assigned to it was K.K.II.0227.b. Yet Stein's description of the item with this code in *Innermost Asia* states that it comprised "two block-printed paper leaves, with Hsi-hsia text. One leaf decorated with two rows each of six seated Buddha figures, one row at top of page, the other at centre [...]"[480] Needless to say, this is not the same item because ours is a manuscript and has no images.[481] Even so, Stein's code reveals that he discovered the manuscript among the ruins of the shrine he marked as K.K.II, which is the same stupa from which Kozlov excavated the bulk of the texts now preserved in St. Petersburg.

4.1.1 Physical description of the manuscript

The Chinese facsimile publication marks the two pages as R (recto) and V (verso), as they seem to be two sides of the same sheet of paper (Fig. 10). In reality, however, the manuscript physically consists of one thin sheet of paper folded together in a way that it appears as if it was leaf with text on both sides, about 22 cm tall and 13 cm wide. Thus the blank side of the original sheet was on the inside, invisible to the observer. The pages were most likely part of a notebook in butterfly binding and technically neither should be called recto or verso. For this reason, I will refer to them as pages A and B, using the letter B to designate the page where Stein's shelfmark appears in the lower part of the left margin. This decision is based on reading the text which permits us to establish the sequence of the pages. This sequence also corresponds with the editors' decision in the Chinese facsimile publication.

Like it is the case with many other Tangut manuscripts, Or.12380/2579 is unruled, yet the text is written in even vertical lines. Both pages contain eight lines of text but the number of characters per line varies between 17 and 20. Page B has slightly narrower upper and bottom margins and thus the number of characters per line tends to be higher than on page A. In addition, the layout of the pages is not fully symmetrical, as the text is not centred but leans to the side where the two pages connect, creating a wider margin on the other (i.e. outer) side. The side of the pages with the narrow margin is where they had originally

480 Stein 1928, v. 1, 480.
481 The number "227" in the Stein code on the manuscript appears to have been written over something else (perhaps "223") which may be the reason for the mismatch between the item and its Stein number.

been sewn into the book. This edge has visible traces of having been sewn in three places: there are tiny holes at the upper and lower part of the page, about 3–4 cm from the top and the bottom, as well as in the middle. Unsurprisingly, these physical features of the pages also confirm what the reading of the text already made clear, namely, that page A precedes page B.

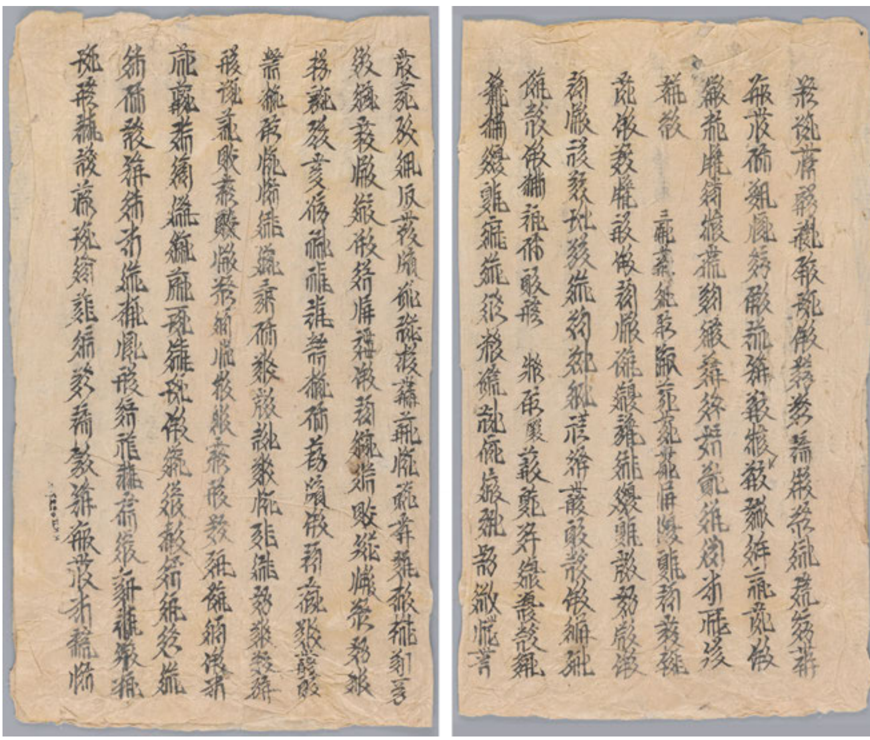

Fig. 10: Two pages, A (right) and B (left), of the manuscript **Taizong's Questions*. (Copyright @ The British Library Or.12380/2579.)

The fragment contains no punctuation marks but page A has two lacunae which indicate breaks in the text. The first one comes after the second character in line 4, and it equals two full characters in size. The second lacuna appears three lines later, after character 8 in line 7, and is much smaller, not even the size of a full character. The context makes it clear that the larger lacuna separates sections of the text, whereas the smaller one marks a lesser break, somewhat similar to our modern custom of starting a new paragraph. As far as we can see based on this small fragment, the lacunae were inserted in accordance with the content of the text, although we cannot say whether this was done consistently throughout the whole manuscript.

Even though the manuscript has no punctuation, there are two corrections (see Fig. 11). In both cases a character was duplicated after an intermediary one, and then a correction was applied to fix the problem. In the first case, the "check mark" commonly attested in both Tangut and Chinese manuscripts indicates that two characters should be reversed. The mistake of dyslexically reversing characters was one of the most common ones in manuscript culture and there are hundreds of examples of such corrections in surviving manuscripts, both Chinese and Tangut. Therefore, the check mark placed on the right side between the words *bju̱* (敬 "respect") and *ɣa* (門 "gate, door") means that the two of them should be read in reversed order. However, this correction introduces another problem, namely, that the word *ɣa* (門 "gate, door") now appears twice, one of which is clearly redundant. Accordingly, inserting a reversal mark between the words (敬 "respect") and *ɣa* (門 "gate, door") was the wrong solution to the problem because the mistake was not that these two words were accidentally reversed but that the word *ɣa* (門 "gate, door") was repeated after the word *bju̱* (敬 "respect"). The correct solution would have been to place a deletion mark next to this second instance. Instead, the copyist applied the wrong correction mark and created a new mistake.

Fig. 11: The two corrections in the manuscript **Taizong's Questions*; the first one is a reversal mark and the second, a possible deletion by painting over or dotting out the character.

The second correction is on page B, and consists of the character for *mji* 𗧓 (彼 "that") having a series of dots over it (Fig. 11). It is unclear, however, whether the character 𗧓 was painted over with black ink or there was another character underneath. It is also possible that an erroneous character was painted over with another colour, part of which had already eroded and what we see today is not how the correction used to look back when it was applied. In Chinese manuscripts we sometimes see that an erroneous character is painted over with a yellow dye, referred to in contemporary literature as *cihuang* 雌黃 ("orpiment"). While examples of this survive in medieval manuscripts, there may have been many more instances which wore off with time and are no longer visible.[482]

On page A, where the text begins after the smaller lacuna with a reply to a question, the word *bji* 𗐱 (臣 "servant") used by the responder as a self-designation appears in smaller script, slightly leaning to the right side of the line. This usage is not uncommon in Chinese books (both printed and handwritten) where the name or designation of the author or speaker is written in a smaller script as a sign of humility.[483] This may be an indication that the person answering the question was understood to be the author, which may also mean that the book was attributed to this person and his name may have even been part of the title. Considering that this feature is quite common in Chinese texts, it is likely that it is based on how this word was written in the Chinese original used for the translation.

4.1.2 Content

The manuscript is written in a clear, even hand, with all characters clearly visible. The text begins in mid-sentence, showing that in its current form the text is incomplete and that the original manuscript was longer than these two pages. There is no indication whatsoever how long the original may have been but the question-answer form suggests a number of such exchanges, which, consider-

482 For correction marks in medieval Chinese manuscripts, including the use of *cihuang*, see Galambos 2013.

483 In his collection of Chinese colophons, Ikeda On (1990) records dozens of examples where the character 臣 appears in smaller script before names in colophons. In some the name itself may also be in smaller script, as in the case of a manuscript copy of a memorial drafted by Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d. 659) in 653, which begins with the character 臣 followed by the author's personal name Wuji 無忌, all in smaller script (*ibid.*, 196). In other cases all of the characters are written in ordinary script, showing that this rule was by no means rigidly observed.

ing that the surviving two pages record only one instance of asking, would have certainly run to more than a dozen pages. Without trying to provide a comprehensive translation of the extant text, I would like to examine four stories that appear on page B and draw attention to some related issues.

As mentioned above, in the fourth line of page A we see a larger lacuna which signals the end of a section and the beginning of a new one (see Fig. 10 above). This new section starts with a long question concerning a phoenix that descends into a garden but none of the people recognise it, except for a stranger who comes from elsewhere. The question is asked by Thej tsṳ̃ [illegible], who is obviously Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty (r. 626–649). This way of writing the name matches the name of Taizong in the Tangut *Sunzi*, where it is appears, among other places, in Du Mu's 杜牧 (803–852) commentary as Thow Thej tsṳ̃ [illegible] (唐太宗 Tang Taizong).[484] The reply to the question comes after a smaller lacuna and begins with the words *hụ dạ bji mji* [illegible] (對曰臣聞 He answered: "Your servant has heard that […]"). This is why I provisionally name the text **Taizong's Questions*.

The minister's reply refers to the common literary trope about the phoenix being the foremost of the three hundred kinds of birds, being brilliant in appearance and perching exclusively on the *wutong* 梧桐 tree. The number three hundred in this case is interesting because in Chinese texts the number of birds is usually three hundred and sixty. For example, the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 quotes the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 writing "of the three hundred and sixty feathered creatures, the phoenix is the foremost" 羽蟲三百六十，而鳳皇為之長.[485] The theme of the phoenix perching exclusively on the *wutong* tree (*fei wutong bu zhi* 非梧桐不止 or *fei wutong bu qi* 非梧桐不棲) is already found in pre-Qin texts (e.g. the "Qiushui" 秋水 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子) but it becomes relatively common during the dynastic period.[486]

After the reference to the phoenix perching on the *wutong* tree come a series of well-known stories about exemplary figures of the Chinese past, evidently introduced here to support the responder's point of view by citing textual authorities. The four stories, in the order of their appearance, are as follows:

484 Lin 1994, 3–9.
485 *Taiping yulan*, v. 8, 303.
486 *Zhuangzi*, 605.

(i) Bao Jiao 鮑焦

[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],
0707	3139	1961	4324	2937	5258	1595	4092
tśjiw	śjij	phio	tsew	lhjịj	·iọ	lwo	khie
周	代	鮑	焦	國	土	昏	厭
Zhou	age	Bao	Jiao	country	land	darkness	hate

During the Zhou period Bao Jiao hated the depravity of the country (i.e. Zhou),

[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]。
4379	5018	1918	4517	1475	1680	5880	5918
sjɨ	na̱	mji	dzji	bji	ɣiwəj	ŋwu	sjɨ
蔬	菜	不	食	羸	瘦	而	死
vegetables	vegetables	not	eat	thin	thin	CONJ	die

so he did not eat the produces grown there, [and thus] became emaciated and died.

This is clearly a reference to the recluse Bao Jiao whose story appears in a number of early and medieval sources. According to the version in the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, he withdrew from public life because he believed that the land was governed by an impure king; so he lived on vegetables he gathered in the wilderness and his clothes were so worn that his skin showed through. When Zigong 子貢, the disciple of Confucius, pointed out to him that even by living in this way he still walked the king's domain and ate vegetables produced therein, Bao Jiao discarded the vegetables and withered away standing on the banks of the Luo 洛 river.[487] In later literature Bao Jiao is often evoked as the person of ultimate moral integrity who would rather die than compromise his ideals. While the wording of the Tangut text does not match the passage from the *Hanshi waizhuan*, there is no doubt that it relates the same story.

The story of Bao Jiao is not very common in medieval texts but it does occur in some popular encyclopaedias. Thus it appears in the encyclopaedia called

487 For a translation of the whole passage, see Hightower 1952, 35–36. Although Hightower translates the term *ligao* 立槁 as "stiffened in death," I chose the more literal way of rendering this as "withered away standing." Other early sources are slightly more specific regarding the manner of his death; the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 (*juan* 17, 422), for example, writes that "he embraced a tree and withered away standing" 鮑焦抱木而立枯.

Shisen 事森 (Forest of Affairs), fragments of which have been identified among the Dunhuang manuscripts.[488] Similarly, the story is also found in the Chinese *Leilin* 類林 (Forest of Categories), fragments recovered from the Dunhuang, showing that it was a common trope in medieval encyclopaedias when discussing historical examples of people who would adhere to their values no matter what.[489]

(ii) Yan Shuzi 顏叔子

5300	0102	2466	3431	1452	2373	3323	5297	3622	2983
tjɨ	gjɨ	lhjwɨ	dzjụ	nja	ljịj	ŋia̱	śio̱w	kji̱r	·u
一	夜	突	雨	△	來	顏	叔	屋	中
one	night	suddenly	rain	DIR	come	Yan	Shu	house	in

One night suddenly rain came down and a woman came to Yan Shu's house,

0243	2541	0448	3431	3788	4574	3527	3501	5113	1270	2484
sji	dzjwo	gjɨ	dzjụ	tsu	mjɨ	mja	·jiw	·wji	dźjịj	nio̱w
女	人	一	雨	逃	他	恐	疑	為	言	因
woman	man	one	rain	flee	he	fear	suspicion	make	speak	thus

fleeing from the rain. Because he was afraid of being talked about,

5981	0284	1826	0063	5120	0749
·a	śjwo	tjij	tśhjij	swew	phji
一	夜	燈	舉	明	使
one	night	torch	raise	bright	cause

he made her hold a torch all night in order to keep the place illuminated.

488 The two fragments of the *Shisen* are Pelliot chinois 2621 and Or.8210/S.5776, where the former is the one that contains Bao Jiao's story. For a transcription of the content of these two manuscripts, see Wang 1993, 237–238, and an improved one with an introduction and copious annotations in Dou and Zhang 2010, 57–101.
489 *Ibid.*, 74, n. 32; Shi et al. 1993, 251.

This is yet another well-known story from early China with a moral lesson about maintaining one's chastity. The theme occurs in a number of sources but a version that is relatively close to the Tangut one is cited in the *Taiping yulan*:[490]

> 顏叔子獨居一室，夜雨，比舍屋崩，有女子投之。叔子令秉燭，燭盡，乃徹屋草續之。至明不亂。
> Yan Shuzi lived alone in a house. One night there was a heavy rain and the roof of the neighbouring house collapsed, and a woman fled to him [to find shelter]. Shuzi made her hold a torch, and when the torch finished, he tore straw from the roof to support the fire. Thus they did not to engage in any illicit behaviour until the break of the day.

A peculiarity of the Tangut manuscript is that the name of Yan Shuzi 顏叔子 appears in an abbreviated form as Ŋia̱ Śio̱w [illegible] (i.e. Yan Shu) without the final syllable, yet the context leaves no doubt that the text refers to the same person. This is not necessarily an omission as occasionally the name also appears in a two-character form in the Chinese context. Another Tangut version of the same story also occurs in the Tangut *Forest of Categories* (L182–183) but here the name appears in the much more common three-character form as Ŋia̱ Śio̱w-tsə [illegible] (顏叔子 "Yan Shuzi"):[491]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。
3323	5297	5925	3566	2541	0508	1245	5356	3622	0448	2983	3099
ŋia̱	śio̱w	tsə	lu	dzjwo	nwu	·jij	tji̱j	kji̱r	gjɨ	·u	dźji̱j
顏	叔	子	魯	人	是	自	獨	屋	一	中	居
Yan	Shu	zi	Lu	man	be	self	alone	house	one	in	live

Yan Shuzi was a native of the state of Lu; he lived alone by himself in a house.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2019	0102	2302	2064	3431	3456	0942	3349	5165	3622	2560
thja	gjɨ	ljɨ	wor	dzju̧	lja	lja̧	ljijr	twu̧	kji̱r	·jɨj
彼	夜	風	起	雨	來	北	於	處	屋	宅
that	night	wind	rise	rain	come	north	LOC	place	house	dwelling

490 *Taiping yulan*, v. 7, 915.
491 For the *Forest of Categories*, including a partial translation into Russian, see Keping 1983. For a Chinese translation and study of the Tangut text, see Shi et al. 1993. In my references to the Tangut *Forest of Categories*, I use the folio numbers from Keping 1983, preceded by the letter "L" for Russian "list" (leaf), e.g. L71.

One night wind arose and rain came down, the house to the north of his collapsed,

1452	0907	0100	0960	5815	5297	5925	5447	1326	2775	5113
nja	kiew	lew	mjị̣j	tsjɨ	śio̱w	tsə	do	kjɨ	dew	·wji
△	塌	一	女	小	叔	子	△	△	奔	為
DIR	collapse	one	woman	small	Shu	zi	LOC	DIR	run	make

and a young woman fled to Shuzi's place. Shuzi made her

5297	5925	2590	3159	4557	0063	5880	2396	4557	3075	1906
śio̱w	tsə	·wjɨ	lhjịj	zjur	tśhjij	ŋwu	dzu̱	zjur	sji	nio̱w
叔	子	△	受	炬	舉	而	坐	炬	盡	後
Shu	zi	DIR	receive	torch	raise	CONJ	sit	torch	finish	after

sit holding a torch and when the torch finished, he took straw from the roof of the house

3349	3622	0089	0585	1770	1326	5192	5880	3513	5453	5856	2679
ljijr	kjɨ̱r	tśhja̱	śjị	lhjwi	kjɨ	njwɨ̣	ŋwu	mə	bjij	ɣa	njɨ
於	屋	上	草	取	△	燒	而	天	曉	△	至
LOC	house	on	straw	take	DIR	burn	CONJ	sky	dawn	LOC	arrive

and burned that.

5815	4027	2518	1918	0009
tsjɨ	njɨ̱	nji̱j	mji	śjwo
亦	二	心	不	生
even	two	heart	not	generate

Till the arrival of the dawn he did not waver.

Needless to say, this is a more elaborate version of the story than the one in **Taizong's Questions*, which does not mention specific details but merely references the anecdote as part of an argument. Another difference is that in the *Forest of Categories* version Yan Shuzi made the woman hold a torch so that he would not get tempted in the dark, whereas in the **Taizong's Questions* this was done because he was concerned that people would gossip if the two of them spent the night in the dark.

(iii) Zihan 子罕

[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]
0168	0429	5925	5916	1139	4921	2937	2541	0448	0933	5655
pjɨ	njwo	tsə	xã	·jij	swẽ	lhjịj	dzjwo	gjɨ	ɣjiw	ljịj
往	昔	子	罕	之	宋	國	人	一	玉	寶
former	ancient	Zi	Han	GEN	Song	state	man	one	jade	treasure

In former times, Zihan was presented a piece of jade by a man from the state of Song.

[Tangut]	[Tangut]。	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]:	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]
4342	1105	5925	5916	1045	1918	2932	2098	3583	1247	1139
dja	khjow	tsə	xã	dạ	mji	lẹj	na	tja	ŋə	·jij
△	獻	子	罕	曰	不	貪	我	者	我	之
DIR	present	Zi	Han	say	not	greedy	I	TOP	I	GEN

Zihan said: "I treasure me not being greedy,

[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]
5655	0508	3926	5655	1918	0245	2098	1279	5655	1918
ljịj	ŋwu	nja	ljịj	mji	śjwi	ŋa	·jɨ	ljịj	mji
寶	是	爾	寶	不	求	我	謂	寶	不
treasure	be	you	treasure	not	seek	I	say	treasure	not

I do not seek your treasure. This is why I say that I cannot

[illegible]	[illegible]。
1374	1770
tśhjɨ	lhjwi
此	受
this	accept

accept this."

This is a version of the story of Zihan, a high official from the ancient state of Song 宋 during the Spring and Autumn period. The *locus classicus* of the story is in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, although variations of it occur commonly both in pre-Qin and later texts (*Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, *Xinxu* 新序, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記), always endorsing Zihan as an example of an honest and incorruptible official. The original story in the *Zuozhuan* reads as follows:[492]

> 宋人或得玉，獻諸子罕，子罕弗受。獻玉者曰：「以示玉人，玉人以為寶也，故敢獻之。」子罕曰：「我以不貪為寶，爾以玉為寶。若以與我，皆喪寶也，不若人有其寶。」
> A man from the state of Song obtained a piece of jade and presented it to Zihan, but Zihan would not accept it. The man who presented the jade said: "I have shown it to jade workers and they thought that it was precious. This is why I dared to present it to you." Zihan said: "I consider not being greedy my treasure, you consider the jade as your treasure. If you give it to me, both of us lose our treasure, which is not as good as if we each held onto our own treasure."

The Tangut version of the story is not a direct quote from the *Zuozhuan*, as it is shorter and lacks a number of details. This is not surprising because the translation was not done from the *Zuozhuan* but from a much later collection compiled sometime after the reign of the Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty. The now lost Chinese version did not directly quote the *Zuozhuan* either but paraphrased the story in a more concise way in order to fit it into the argument offered by the responder in reply to Taizong's question.

Interestingly, the name Zihan is written as *Tsə xã* [illegible], which uses the same two characters—in reversed order—as the name of Hanfeizi 韓非子 in the *Forest of Categories*: *Xã tsə* [illegible] (韓子). Similarly, the character *xã* [illegible] could also transcribe the name of the Han 漢 dynasty, even though in Chinese these syllables (*han* 罕, *han* 韓, *han* 漢) had different tones and were written with different

492 *Zuozhuan*, 813.

characters.[493] This demonstrates how in transliterating Chinese names, Tangut translators tended to use a limited set of characters for their phonetic value.[494] Although a similar tendency can also be observed in Chinese transliterations of foreign names in the medieval and late medieval period, this pattern seems to have been significantly less pronounced than in the case of Tangut transliterations.

(iv) Yang Zhen 楊震

[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[[Tangut]]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut],
5087	5055	4574	0152	4574	2373	5113	2205	2699	5880	2473
·jow	tśjĩ	mjɨ	kiẹ	mjɨ	ljịj	·wji	ljịr	nwə	ŋwu	bjij
楊	震	密	金	[密]	來	為	四	知	而	怒
Yang	Zhen	Mi	gold	[Mi]	come	make	four	know	CONJ	angry

Mi brought gold to Yang Zhen who became angry on account of his [principle of] "the four who know" and

[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]	[Tangut]。
0152	1770	5643	0303
kiẹ	lhjwi	mjɨ	dzjij
金	受	不	肯。
gold	accept	not	agree

would not agree to accept the gold.[495]

The story of Yang Zhen originally appears in his biography in the *Hou Han shu*. There we learn of a certain Wang Mi 王密 who, after he had been appointed to

493 The name of the Han dynasty could also be transcribed with the homophonous Tangut character *xã* [Tangut]. At the same time, the ethnonym Han was consistently translated with the word *zar* [Tangut], which probably had a Tibetan origin. Thus Chinese characters (*hanzi* 漢字) were translated as *zar dji* [Tangut][Tangut].

494 To cite another example, the character *phio* [Tangut] in the name of Bao Jiao above, in addition to transcribing the Chinese syllable *bao* 鮑, could also stand for *bo* 玻 or *bao* 包.

495 In the transcription, the character [[Tangut]] stands in brackets because in the manuscript it seems to have been deleted. There is no need for it to be there from the point of view of grammar and thus we may disregard it in the translation.

the post of district magistrate, came to thank Yang Zhen for recommending him:[496]

> 謁見，至夜懷金十斤以遺震。震曰：「故人知君，君不知故人，何也？」密曰：「暮夜無知者。」震曰：「天知，神知，我知，子知。何謂無知！」密愧而出。
> When he paid his visit, he came at night and brought with him ten *jin* of gold as a gift to [Yang] Zhen. Zhen said, "How is it that I know you and yet you do not know me?" Mi replied, "In the darkness of the night nobody will know about it." Zhen said, "Heaven will know, the spirits will know, I will know, and you will know. How can you say nobody will know!" Mi felt ashamed and left.

Although the phrase *sizhi* 四知 ("the four who know") does not occur in the body of the biography, it is used in the postscript ("Zhuan zan" 傳贊), commending Yang Zhen for his incorruptibility. It is this principle of *sizhi* that became associated with Yang Zhen's name in later literature, including the work from which our Tangut text was translated. Although the Tangut version does not retell the entire story, it uses the very same phrase *lj̱ɨr nwə* [illegible][illegible] (四知 "the four who know"), calquing the Chinese term.

The manuscript mentions Wang Mi only by his personal name, transliterating it with the character *mji* [illegible], which, when used semantically, usually stands for the singular second-person pronoun. Yet *bji* [illegible] (光 "light") would work here much better as a loan and it is possible that the copyist of the manuscript has made a mistake.[497] The two characters, after all, differ only in a single stroke and their pronunciation is also close.

The above four stories appear in our Tangut manuscript consecutively, followed by a short summary stating that even though these four people were noble in their conduct and had a good reputation, they lived in the past, and in modern times such exemplary figures do not come around. The specific reference to "four" people shows that despite the fact that our manuscript is fragmentary, we have the full text of all four stories discussed in this section, and the text that came before was part of a different argument.[498] This, of course, does not give us much information regarding the size of the original manuscript.

496 *Hou Han shu* 54, 1760.
497 This has been suggested to me by Guillaume Jacques, to whom I am very grateful.
498 The first of the four stories, beginning with the one about Bao Jiao, starts at the third character of page B.

4.1.3 The Chinese original

Even though the fragment in question is very short, it nevertheless allows us to make some rudimentary observations and speculate about the identity of the text. First of all, the Tangut text seems to be a translation of a Chinese original, rather than a composition created by a Tangut author. The entire content is concerned with exemplary stories from the Chinese tradition with a strong emphasis on Confucian values such as morality and proper conduct. It is improbable that a Tangut person would have compiled such a text by abstracting stories from Chinese sources, especially since the stories form part of a consistent argument, rather than a series of unrelated units merely following one another. Yet the Chinese original is yet to be identified. The appearance of Emperor Taizong as one of the protagonists should help with the identification but unfortunately I have been so far unsuccessful in tracking down the original work. Yet the presence of the name of Taizong indicates that the text in its current form cannot be earlier than the mid-7th century.

The question-answer format between Taizong and one of his ministers immediately reminds us of the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 compiled by Wu Jing 武競 (670–749) on the basis of the "veritable records" 實錄 of Taizong's reign. This work was popular not only in China proper but also in Japan, Korea and the "alien" dynasties in China (Liao, Jin and Yuan).[499] The treatise also survived in Tangut translation and printed fragments are held in both St. Petersburg and London.[500] These fragments probably belong to the same copy, as there are places where the St. Petersburg and London fragments can be joined together.[501] While the Tangut edition appears to have been a significantly abridged version of the text, it nevertheless provides evidence to its circulation among the Tanguts. The text of the **Taizong's Questions* fragment, however, does not match that of the *Zhenguan zhengyao*, even though it likewise features a dialogue between Taizong and his ministers.

Other known texts involving a dialogue between Taizong and his ministers include the *Tang Taizong Li Wei gong wendui* 唐太宗李衛公問對, a military work attributed to Taizong's general Li Jing 李靖 (571–649). This work was subse-

499 For a variorum edition of the *Zhenguan zhengyao* based on its Japanese manuscripts, see Harada 1962. For an overview of how the *Zhenguan zhengyao* was used in the Liao, Xixia, Jin and Yuan states, see Zhou 2009.

500 For the St. Petersburg fragments, see Kychanov 2004, Nie 1997, Nie 2003. For those at the British Library, see Wang Rongfei 2012.

501 Wang and Jing 2012.

quently included among the seven titles that comprised the Song military canon *Wujing qishu* 武經七書. Yet another text with such dialogues is the *Wei Zheng gong jianlu* 魏鄭公諫錄 by Wang Fangqing 王方慶 (d. 702), which also had a sequel entitled *Wei Zheng gong jian xulu* 魏鄭公諫續錄. None of these texts, however, match the text in our Tangut manuscript fragment.

The figure of Taizong also provided the theme for works of popular literature, such as the *Tang Taizong ru ming ji* 唐太宗入冥記, a text about Taizong's journey to the netherworld which was discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts.[502] While our text is more similar in content and structure to the *Zhenguan zhengyao* than to a ballad or other literary composition, by including the four short stories translated above, it is unquestionably directed to a wider and more popular audience than the *Zhenguan zhengyao* which had originally been written for the ruler. Thus the work at hand is most likely a primer with a moral message, rather than a literary or political treatise.

As mentioned above, the name of Yan Shuzi appears in its highly unusual abbreviated form as Yan Shu, which is relatively rare in the available corpus of Chinese texts. Among the documented cases is the *Jiao shi Yilin* 焦氏易林, compiled by the Western Han 西漢 (206 BC–AD 9) scholar Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽 (fl. mid-1st century BC), but the references to Yan Shu have nothing to do with our story. Another example of the two-character form Yan Shu can be found on an Eastern Han 東漢 (AD 25–220) pictorial stone from the Wu 武 family's tomb (Jining 濟寧, Shandong province) where the image of the night scene is complemented with a caption saying "Yan Shu holding the fire (i.e. torch)" 顔淑握火, writing his personal name using the homophonous character *shu* 淑 instead of *shu* 叔.[503] The accompanying inscription on the right side is as follows:[504]

> 顔淑獨處，飄風暴雨，婦人乞宿，升堂入戶，燃蒸自獨，懼見意疑，未明蒸盡，摍笮續之。
>
> Yan Shu lived alone. [Once] there was a great wind and violent rain, and a woman begged him to give her shelter for the night. When she ascended to the hall and entered the house, he lit a torch and kept to himself, afraid that others would view them with suspicion. The torch finished before daybreak and he pulled some boards from underneath the roof to keep it burning.

502 This story was translated into English with the title "T'ai Tsung in Hell" by Arthur Waley (1960, 165–174).

503 See Gao 1985, 149–150. Naturally, we would not be able to document in a Tangut translation the difference between the use of homophonous Chinese characters for a name, as the transcriptions were by default phonetic.

504 The transcript of the inscription is from Zhong 2008, 195.

This version is also interesting because, as it is the case with our Tangut manuscript, it does not mention that the woman's house was destroyed, only that she came to ask for shelter. Yet this is a Han dynasty source, whereas the original of the Tangut **Taizong's Questions* must have been compiled during the Tang or later, even if it contains much older textual material. In this respect, a noteworthy connection with our text is the *Mengqiu*, which also uses a two-character form Yan Shu in order to make it fit the quadrisyllabic structure of the text: *Yan Shu bing zhu* 顔叔秉燭 ("Yan Shu held the torch"). I will examine the *Mengqiu* in more detail below but for now we can confirm that it was not used as the source for the Tangut translation either. Nevertheless, three of the four stories translated here appear in the *Mengqiu* in relative, although not immediate, proximity of each other. In the quadrisyllabic units characteristic of the *Mengqiu*, these three stories (or rather anchor references to stories) are as follows:

> Zihan: "Zihan refused the treasure" 子罕辭寶
> Yang Zhen: "Zhen feared 'the four who knew'" 震畏四知
> Yan Shuzi: "Yan Shu held the torch" 顔叔秉燭

Clearly, these terse phrases are a far cry from the stories of the Tangut text. Yet the use of similar tropes shows that the text the Tangut translator was working from might have been a similar type of educational text.

Yet another example of a type of text which uses two of the four stories from our manuscript side by side is the *Cijin jie* 辭金誡 by the Tang dynasty official Yao Chong 姚崇 (650–721). This short text is preceded by a preface that begins with the following words:[505]

> 辭金者，取其廉慎也。昔子罕辭玉，以不貪為寶；楊震辭金，以四知為慎。
> Refusing the gold highlights one's integrity and cautiousness. In the past, Zihan refused the jade because he treasured in himself that he was not greedy; Yang Zhen refused the gold because he was cautious with respect to "the four who knew."

The main text of the *Cijin jie*, which is only slightly longer than the preface, elaborates on this theme and calls for honesty and integrity when serving as an official. Yet this was a text written for not officials but children who were only learning about the ways of the world. Once again, this preface cannot be directly linked with the Tangut **Taizong's Questions* but it is yet another example of the type of educational texts in which the same tropes occur together as a means of teaching proper behaviour to children.

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505 *Quan Tang wen* 206, 2085a.

The **Taizong's Questions* fragment may have a more direct connection with another Tangut manuscript fragment kept in the St. Petersburg collection (Inv. No. 5875). This manuscript consists of five pages bound in a butterfly form, and bears the original Tangut title *Thej tsų̃ tshji tsjir jwɨr* [illegible] (太宗要擇文 "The text of Taizong choosing what is important"), which was translated back into Chinese by modern researchers as *Taizong zeyao* 太宗擇要.[506] To avoid using the inconvenient phonetic notation of the Tangut title, I will refer to this text in English as *Taizong's Choices*. This text shows a number of similarities with the text of our manuscript. To be sure, there is no overlap between the two and while our manuscript is written in regular script, the *Taizong's Choices* is in a semi-cursive, and clearly different, hand. This confirms that the two manuscripts could not have physically been part of the same manuscript. Yet the pages of the *Taizong's Choices* also have eight lines of text, and the number of characters per line is quite similar to the format of our manuscript (19–23 vs. 17–20). Moreover, in terms of its content the *Taizong's Choices* is analogous to the text on our manuscript as they both list, as the *Mengqiu* and some other primers, exemplary historical figures with a short summary of their deeds. In the surviving portion of the *Taizong's Choices* the individual stories seem to be short and thus more akin to those in the *Mengqiu*. Nevertheless, as the length of the stories is uneven in both manuscripts, this in itself does not preclude the possibility that we are dealing with two fragmentary versions of the same text. And while the name of Taizong in the title of *Taizong's Choices* has puzzled researchers as the emperor is not mentioned at all in the body of the text, our manuscript indeed contains a reference to him.[507] Still, there is no direct evidence that **Taizong's Questions* used to be part of the same text as *Taizong's Choices* and until such evidence comes to light, the question must remain open.

In the same way, I have found no evidence that our Tangut text is directly connected with the *Mengqiu* or other primers, but it seems to be a fragment from a Tangut translation of a didactic text used as a primer, and that the original Chinese text was composed sometime between the mid-seventh and early 12th centuries. We do not know whether this is a lost work or whether it will be possible to locate it in the large body of extant Chinese texts.

506 For a study of this manuscript, see Nie 2012c.

507 Nie Hongyin (*ibid.*, 59) suggested that the name Taizong in the title was simply there for the sake of authority because of the overall positive image of the emperor in popular lore.

4.2 Excerpts from the Classics and Histories

The Tangut collection in St. Petersburg includes fragments of an incomplete printed book named by modern scholars **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* (**Jingshi zachao*). The book was first recorded by Gorbacheva and Kychanov in their catalogue, who pointed out that it contained over 200 short excerpts from Chinese sources including the *Shiji*, *Zuozhuan*, *Lunyu*, *Zhuangzi, Sunzi*, *Mengzi*, *Xiaojing*, *Maoshi* 毛詩 and *Zhou shu* 周書.[508] Facsimile reproductions of the fragments were published in Shanghai in 1999, and here the text was already named using the Chinese title **Jingshi zachao*.[509]

4.2.1 Physical description of the fragments

The extant portion of the **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* survives as several individual fragments, which were nevertheless judged by the curators to be part of the same book. The fragments are catalogued under pressmarks Inv. No. 135–138, Inv. No. 798, Inv. No. 2562 and Inv. No. 6465. The original book was bound in a butterfly form but now only 32 double pages survive. The beginning and end are missing and thus we have no information regarding its original title, author, editor or printer. As it is typical for printed material in the collection, the pages are enclosed in a frame, which is doubled on the two sides. Page numbers are printed in Chinese, proceeding consecutively from page 2 to page 32.[510] The first page is only half extant, with the other side, which presumably held the title and the beginning of the text, missing. Each half-page has 7 lines of text separated by vertical ruling lines, lending a sense of orderliness to the layout. In general, there are 13 characters per line but as there are frequent breaks in the text, this number is at times lower. The breaks are about one character in size and function as segmentation marks that divide quotes coming from diverse sources.

An additional fragment of the same text survives in the British Library under the pressmark Or.12380/2636 (Fig. 12). Stein's original number was

508 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963, 35.

509 Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo et al. 1999, v. 11, 117–132.

510 Both Nie Hongyin (2002, 84) and Huang Yanjun (2009, 97) mention that the surviving part of the book consists of 32 pages, discounting the overlapping bits among the different fragments. The overlaps demonstrate that we are dealing with fragments from more than one copy of the book.

K.K.II.0275.z, revealing that it came from the same stupa outside the walls of Khara-khoto as the bulk of Tangut material. This is a fragment of a single half-page, which originally had 8 lines of text, 14–16 characters each. Even though the page is enclosed in a single-line frame as customary for printed books, the handling of the lines and of some of the characters reveal that this fragment was written by hand.[511] Consequently, it is not part of the same book as the fragments in St. Petersburg. The number of lines per page and characters per line is also different. More significantly, its content overlaps with the St. Petersburg fragments, which proves that the fragments represent not only the same text but also the same translation. Just like the printed version, the manuscript uses breaks to segment the quotes. Based on the layout and size of the page, it must have been part of a manuscript volume bound in a butterfly form. The discovery of printed and manuscript fragments of the same text provides evidence to the circulation of the **Jingshi zachao* among the Tanguts.

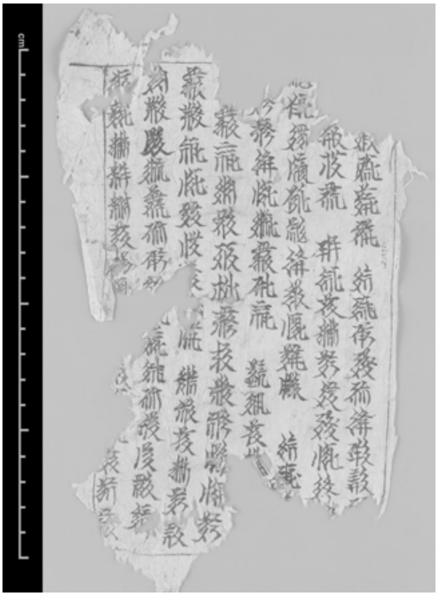

Fig. 12: The **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* fragment in London. (Copyright @ The British Library Or.12380/2636.)

511 Huang Yanjun (2009, 98, n. 1) claimed that this was a printed fragment, although at the time the manuscript had not been digitised yet and he only had access to the relatively low quality facsimile image published by Shanghai guji chubanshe.

4.2.2 Content

After its inclusion in the Russian catalogue, Nie Hongyin was among the first scholars to study the book, pointing out a number of additional Chinese sources behind it, including the *Shangshu* 尚書, *Zhouyi* 周易, *Chuci* 楚辭, *Guanzi* 管子, *Laozi* 老子, *Taigong jiajiao*, *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀, *Huainanzi* 淮南子, *Lunheng* 論衡, *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語, *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, *Han shu*.[512] He also drew attention to the significance of the *Taigong jiajiao* as a source for quotations because unlike most of the other cited texts, this was a late *mengshu* written in a relatively unrefined language, rather than a classic work associated with high literature or traditional scholarship.[513] Because the **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* quotes from the *Taigong jiajiao*, it cannot be regarded as a work of elite scholarship either. In fact, Nie called it the most unsophisticated text among other Tangut texts of similar type. To demonstrate the inferior nature of the text, he listed a multitude of errors arranged into six categories: (i) mistakenly joining separate sections; (ii) mistakenly splitting one section into several; (iii) indicating the wrong source for quotes; (iv) confusing the main text with commentaries; (v) mistakenly interpolating text; (vi) misunderstanding the meaning of the original.[514] In addition, Nie also tentatively suggested that the text must have been copied from a now lost Chinese original, although this original was probably not compiled directly from written sources but rather jotted down after hearing or from memory. Similarly, the Tangut translator made no effort to verify the sources but directly translated the Chinese original with its fuzzy quotes.

More recently, Huang Yanjun 黃延軍 provided additional evidence for the existence of a Chinese original by calling attention to a text that survived in several manuscript copies in the Dunhuang cave library.[515] This is the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* 新集文詞九經鈔, a collection of excerpts from the Confucian classics specifically targeting beginners. There are at least sixteen manuscripts of this text in the major Dunhuang collections, namely, the IOM in St. Petersburg, the BnF in Paris and the British Library in London.[516] Some copies preserve the beginning or end and thus we know that the text was called *Xinji wenci jiujing chao*. From the available manuscripts we can reconstruct the entire text of this

512 Nie 2002, 84.
513 *Ibid.*, 84–85.
514 *Ibid.*, 85–86.
515 Huang 2009.
516 For a study of the Dunhuang manuscripts of this text, see Zheng 1989.

work, which amounts to 435 short sections, about twice the length of the surviving portion of the Tangut text. The *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* quotes from both classical and popular literature, but in doing so it often paraphrases the source text to make it more accessible for beginners. Obviously, this was a text whose target audience consisted of students at early stages of schooling and it did not pretend to be a piece of high scholarship. The sixteen surviving manuscript copies from Dunhuang amply demonstrate the demand for such a work in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Since it is known that some of the items in the Russian Dunhuang collection in reality come from Khara-khoto and were only mistakenly intermixed with the Dunhuang manuscripts, Zheng Acai speculates that the three fragments of the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* in St. Petersburg probably originate from Khara-khoto and not Dunhuang. If he is right, than we have an even closer connection between the Tangut **Jingshi zachao* and the Chinese *Xinji wenci jiujing chao*. Yet on the basis of the overlaps between the St. Petersburg manuscripts and those in Paris, Huang Yanjun is of the opinion that the St. Petersburg copies must indeed come from Dunhuang.[517] Unfortunately at the moment we do not have conclusive evidence that could validate either theory.

Huang demonstrated that the Tangut **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* and the Dunhuang text of the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* are very similar in nature and language, both aiming at facilitating access to classical texts in an easy to understand way, often modifying the wording of the quotations.[518] Unlike many other *mengshu* such as the *Qianziwen* or the *Taigong jiajiao*, these two texts do not rhyme but present the material in prose form. There are 170 sections which are identical in the Tangut and Chinese texts and the ones that do not match amount to only 57. These circumstances inevitably lead to the conclusion that the two texts are directly related to each other.[519] Another proof of this connection is that a series of mistakes occur in both texts, which would not be possible by mere coincidence. There are cases when the two texts agree in misattributing a quote to the same source, or when they contain the same incorrect reading. Without the Chinese text, it would be easy to ascribe many of these mistakes to the Tangut translator and his potential unfamiliarity with Chinese texts, history and culture in general. Yet now that we have a closely related Chinese version of the text, we can see that many such mistakes were already proliferating in various versions of the text before any of them was translated

517 Huang 2009, 98, n. 5.
518 *Ibid.*, 98.
519 *Ibid.*, 99.

into Tangut. In other words, they were not caused by a non-Chinese person's inability to make sense of the original text but had been introduced in a Chinese environment, possibly by less educated Chinese speakers who were involved in the compilation or the transmission of the text.

Accordingly, Huang concluded that the Tangut text was largely based on the Chinese *Xinji wenci jiujing chao*.[520] He believed that the Tangut compiler felt that the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* was too lengthy and chaotic and thus selected only certain sections, which he then tried to arrange into thematic categories. This conclusion, however, is perceptibly based on the comparison of the Chinese text of the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* and the Tangut text of the **Jingshi zachao*, assuming that the differences were the result of the Tangut translator/editor reworking the original to adopt it to the requirements of Tangut readership. While this is certainly a viable hypothesis, it is equally possible that the same rearrangements were made by a Chinese editor to create a modified version of the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* long before the text found its way to Tangut land. The "Yiwen lüe" 藝文略 chapter of the *Tongzhi* 通志, an encyclopaedia completed in 1161 by the Song scholar Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162), records books titled *Jiujing chao* 九經抄 and *Jiujing yaochao* 九經要抄 and although we have no other information about the actual texts, judging from their titles they seem to have been variants of the same text, possibly a fuller and an abridged version. Without further evidence it would perhaps be naive to suppose that one refers to the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* and the other, the abridged one, to the Chinese original of our Tangut text but the mere record of these two titles demonstrates that different versions of similar texts were in existence, even though these were subsequently lost.

There is no question that Huang is right in claiming that the Tangut text and the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* from Dunhuang are related and to some extent represent different versions of the same text. Yet it is worth keeping in mind that the title of the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* refers to a "newly collected" (*xinji* 新集) version, possibly to differentiate it from earlier ones. This raises the possibility that we may be wrong in automatically assuming that the Dunhuang text is older just because our surviving copies are older. Theoretically there is a chance that the Tangut text is based on a Chinese original that predates the Dunhuang text which may be a newer edition. After all, what seems like making a selection from a longer text from one point of view, may equally be viewed as adding new material to a shorter text from the other.

520 *Ibid.*

This is not unlike the phenomenon discussed later in this book with reference to the Tangut *Sunzi*, printed versions of which are sometimes assumed to be later than manuscript copies merely because according to the common view of the history of the book, manuscripts preceded printed books. In a similar manner, the conjecture that the Tangut **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* is an abridged and rearranged version of the Chinese *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* originates in the notion that the Dunhuang manuscripts predate the Khara-khoto materials. This is, of course, true as far as the physical manifestations of texts are concerned. The texts themselves, however, can in principle be of any age, provided that they predate their printed or handwritten instantiations. In this manner, a copy of the Chinese *Lunyu* or *Xiaojing* found in Khara-khoto, be it print or manuscript, does not make the text itself later than a Tang poem found among the Dunhuang manuscripts.

Naturally, a Tangut translation of a Chinese text, no matter how early the original text may be, would necessarily postdate any text from Dunhuang by at least two centuries. In this respect, Huang would be correct in considering the Tangut version of the **Excerpts from the Classics and Histories* later than the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* found in Dunhuang. The problem is that this supposition only works if the Tangut text was indeed based on the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* and was created by editing and rearranging it. But if we allow the possibility that the Tangut text was actually a more or less faithful translation of a Chinese original, then there is no guarantee whatsoever that the Chinese source text also postdates the *Xinji wenci jiujing chao*. We do not possess sufficient evidence to conclusively resolve the issue but based on the cases discussed in present book, I am inclined to think that the Tangut translators usually refrained from interfering with the source text and did their best to provide an accurate translation. While there may certainly be contrary examples, in most cases the discrepancies we see between Tangut translations and their Chinese originals are the result of us not having access to the versions or editions used by the translators. It is only to be expected that a Tangut translator eight centuries ago in the region that is now Inner Mongolia would have had different versions from the texts available to us today.

4.3 The *Mengqiu*

The *Mengqiu* is a primer attributed to Li Han 李瀚 (fl. 746) of the Tang dynasty. Although following the Song period the text fell into disuse, early copies survived in Japan, where it remained popular all the way through modern times. During the 20th century several copies of the text were discovered in regions which were at the margins of Chinese civilisation, notably in Dunhuang, Khara-khoto and inside a Liao period pagoda in Ying county 應縣 (Shanxi province). All of these sites used to be on the territory of border regimes which at the time were not part of China proper, and thus the finds attest to the circulation of the text among the population of these states, highlighting its significance in Chinese-language education beyond the borders of China.

4.3.1 Background of the Chinese version

The identity of Li Han and the time when he lived have been disputed, most likely because by the Qing period the *Mengqiu* lost its popularity and little information remained about its author. As part of the problem, even the author's personal name is uncertain (i.e. 瀚, 翰, 幹, or 澣).[521] One Dunhuang manuscript writes it with the character 瀚, and this is the one I am using here. Today, most researchers agree that Li Han was a Tang scholar who lived during the 8th century. According to the memorial appended to the beginning of the text, it was "submitted by Li Liang 李良, prefect of Raozhou 饒州 on the 1st day of the 8th month of the 5th year of the Tianbao 天寶 reign," which corresponds to 746. The reliability of this claim has been called into question on several grounds.[522] One of them was that the character 年 was changed to 載 in 744 and yet the memorial writes "Tianbao wu nian" 天寶五年 two years later, which should not have happened. Another problem is that in 742 Raozhou was renamed Poyang commandery 鄱陽郡, yet the memorial refers to Li Liang as prefect of Raozhou.

The title *Mengqiu* is not listed in the bibliographic chapters of the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 but appears in the Song catalogue *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目. Nevertheless, the *Xin Tang shu* mentions a sequel to the *Mengqiu* in three *juan* under the title *Xu Mengqiu* 續蒙求, compiled by Wang Fan 王範 (d.u.), which provides an indirect proof that the *Mengqiu* existed prior to that.[523] The title itself comes from the *Zhouyi*, where under the hexagram *meng* 蒙 we read the following explanation:[524]

> 蒙，亨。匪我求童蒙，童蒙求我
> Meng: success. It is not that I seek the youthful ignorant, but he seeks me.

521 Hayakawa 1973, 26.
522 Yu 1980, 960–975.
523 Yang 1967, v. 3, 721. See also Zhang 2012.
524 *Zhouyi* 4, 173.

While the original meaning of the above explanation in the *Zhouyi* is far from clear, the title of the *Mengqiu* apparently meant to refer to a text designed specifically for beginners. The word *meng* 蒙 means someone without knowledge, i.e. a young child who is at the early stages of learning. In a sense, this title is analogous to that of the Tang dictionary *Ganlu zishu* 干祿字書 in which the expression *ganlu* 干祿, otherwise completely obscure, is a reference to *Lunyu* 2:18 where it is used in the sense of seeking official employment; in the title of the dictionary, this is meant to signify that the work should be perused by those who aspire to gain an official post. Along the same line of thought, in the case of the *Mengqiu* the target audience would have been elementary students. Nothing demonstrates the success and popularity of the *Mengqiu* better that later on a series of similar works were written in imitation of Li Han's work, referencing the original as an authority in the sphere of didactic texts. Such titles include the *Liujing mengqiu* 六經蒙求, *Jingzhuan mengqiu* 經傳蒙求, *Wenzi mengqiu* 文字蒙求, *Shuowen mengqiu* 說文蒙求, *Ziti mengqiu* 字體蒙求, *Kaiti mengqiu* 楷體蒙求, *Mingwu mengqiu* 名物蒙求, *Xiaoshuo mengqiu* 小說蒙求, *Lidai mingyi mengqiu* 歷代名醫蒙求, *Chanyuan mengqiu* 禪苑蒙求, *Chunqiu* 春秋蒙求, *Xunnü mengqiu* 訓女蒙求, and *Nü mengqiu* 女蒙求.[525] In addition, the original *Mengqiu* itself also acquired a new commentary by the Song scholar Xu Ziguang 徐子光 (fl. late 12th c.) which improved the original commentary in many respects and subsequently became part of most later editions.

From the point of view of its composition, the text is written as a series of quadrisyllabic units, with every second one rhyming. Thus it essentially consists of rhyming lines of eight characters, in which every four-character segment references a story from the Chinese literary tradition, providing compact allusions to persons and events that may serve as exemplary models for students. Naturally, four characters are insufficient to retell a whole story so instead they function as a mnemonic aid to recall stories already known. To illustrate its nature, let us look at the first eight four-character segments of the text:

> 王戎簡要，裴楷清通。
> 孔明臥龍，呂望非熊。
> 楊震關西，丁寬易東。
> 謝安高潔，王導公忠。
> Wang Rong: straightforward and to the point; Pei Kai: clear-minded and intelligent.
> Kongming: a sleeping dragon; Lü Wang: "not a bear."
> Yang Zhen: east of the Pass; Ding Kuan: the *Book of Changes* spreads eastward.
> Xie An: noble and pure; Wang Dao: impartial and loyal.

525 I list most of these *mengqiu*-type titles on the basis of Zheng 2003, 177.

The last character of what is presented here as a line rhymes with that of the following one, and the same rhyme continues four times before switching to a new one. In this way, the rhyming words in the above section are *tong* 通, *xiong* 熊, *dong* 東 and *zhong* 忠. The rhymes continue according to the sequence in the *Qieyun* 切韻, starting with *dong* 東. Thus the sequence itself was designed to aid memorization. As it can be seen from the example, without knowing the background stories, the segments are decidedly cryptic and almost impossible to understand. But for someone who knows the stories behind them, the quadrisyllabic segments become meaningful. Essentially, by memorising the nearly six hundred segments in the *Mengqiu* one can gain access to a surprisingly large pool of classical narratives chosen for their educational message. Initially, Li Han also included his own commentary to the work, which was not so much a commentary but a compilation of the relevant stories as they appeared in their *loci classici* (e.g. *Hou Han shu*, *Jin shu* 晉書). This was essentially a decoding device for the cryptic phrases of the main text and was often—though not always—transmitted together with the text.

The *Mengqiu* was extremely popular in Japan where there were also local adaptations, including the *Mōgyū waka* 蒙求和歌, a partial translation with appended *waka* poems, compiled in 1204 by Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163–1244). But the Chinese text itself also survived in a number of early Japanese manuscripts and editions. Some of these were rediscovered for Chinese scholars by the late Qing diplomat and collector Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915) who was in Japan on diplomatic service from 1880 for several years.[526] He brought back with him a manuscript copy from the late Heian period (794–1185), which is today kept at the National Palace Museum in Taibei. A collection of early manuscripts and block-printed editions from Japan were published in 1988–1990 as facsimile copies in four volumes by Ikeda Toshio 池田利夫 of Tsurumi University.[527] About a decade earlier, Burton Watson published an English translation of about one fourth of the complete text based on Hayakawa's edition under the title *Meng-ch'iu: Famous Episodes from Chinese History and Legend*.[528]

At the beginning of the 20th century, fragments of the *Mengqiu* were found in various parts of China's northwest. In the following, I introduce these newly discovered early witnesses, drawing attention to their peculiarities and significance. Although the present book is primarily concerned with materials found

526 Yang 1967, v. 3, 721–731.
527 Ikeda 1988–1990.
528 Li and Hsü 1979.

in Khara-khoto, I begin with the Dunhuang manuscripts because they supply a number of important details regarding the *Mengqiu* and the time of its composition.

4.3.2 The Dunhuang manuscripts

Three incomplete fragments of the *Mengqiu* were found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. One of these was acquired by a Chinese collector and eventually found its way to the Dunhuang Academy where it was catalogued under the pressmark Dunyan 敦研 95 (DY095).[529] The two other manuscripts (Pelliot chinois 2710 and 4877) were acquired by Paul Pelliot and are now kept at the BnF in Paris. Photographs of these manuscripts are available from Gallica, the BnF's digital library website.[530]

(i) DY045

This is a notebook fragment that contains the beginning of the *Mengqiu* with Li Han's own commentary. There are a total of eleven half-pages but the text ends midline about a third through the eleventh half-page. Based on the facsimile copies it is not possible to tell whether the rest of the page is damaged or the copyist simply interrupted his work, never to resume it. In its current form the manuscript contains exactly fifty segments, which is less than a tenth of the entire work. After the text ends there are two additional half-pages with three dates. The first is "the 4th year of the Xiantian era" 先天四年, which must refer to 715, even though the Xiantian era (712–713) only lasted two years. Then come two additional dates, both denoting the year 1913. One of them is "the *guichou* year of the Xuantong reign of the Great Qing" 大清宣統癸丑, the other is "the 2nd year of the Chinese Republic" 中華民國二年.[531] The date 1913 probably refers to the acquisition of this manuscript but the Tang date is hard to connect with the

529 On the manuscript in the collection of the Dunhuang Academy and its comparison with the manuscript copies kept in Japan, see Zhang 2002. For a general description of the three Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Mengqiu*, see Zheng 2003 and Zheng 2002, 227–253.

530 <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8302388t.r=pelliot+chinois+2710.langEN> and <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8300265v.r=pelliot+chinois+4877.langEN>, respectively.

531 Theoretically the Xuantong reign ended a year earlier with the last emperor's abdication but it was occasionally continued to be used by scholars of the old regime.

manuscript which, based on its handwriting style and type of paper, was probably copied in the 9th–10th century.

The first seventeen lines of the manuscript are Li Liang's memorial recommending the *Mengqiu* to the throne ("Jian *Mengqiu* biao" 薦《蒙求》表); the next four lines, a preface ("*Mengqiu* xu" 蒙求序) by the eminent literatus Li Hua's 李華 (715–774); and the rest of the text is the *Mengqiu* with Li Han's original commentary.[532] The text itself closely follows that in other versions. One notable discrepancy is that the name of the ancient philosopher Mozi 墨子 appears in the manuscript as Dizi 翟子, using Mozi's personal name (Di 翟) instead of his surname.

The paper of the notebook is unruled and there are eight lines per half-page. The commentary runs in double-line small script, inserted after each rhyme (eight characters). It typically ends with the particle *ye* 也, in which the last line is often extended far down to fill the remaining empty space in the second line of the commentary. This remaining space is obviously the result of not having estimated correctly where to halve the text of the commentary so that it would be evenly distributed between the two lines. For example, at the end of the seventh half-page about a third of the last line is left blank even after having significantly extended the last stroke of the character 也. There is no punctuation except for correction marks used to reverse the order of accidentally inverted characters. The line breaks do not follow the rhythm of the text and the text on the pages is not visually segmented, other than the contrast between the large characters of the main text and the small ones of the commentary. This consistent pattern of having smaller characters after eight large ones is of course already a kind of visual pattern and is an important part of the layout.

With regard to the date of the manuscript, Zheng Acai pointed out that the characters 虎 and 世 appear with a missing stroke which is one of the ways to avoid the Tang imperial name taboo. The character 虎 appears in the name of emperor Gaozu's 高祖 (r. 618–626) grandfather Li Hu 李虎 (d. 551), whereas the character 世 was part of the name of Li Shimin 李世民, i.e. emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649).[533] These taboos would indicate a Tang date anywhere between 618 and the end of the dynasty, as the Tang name taboos would have lost their binding effect after that. However, as far as I can tell from the facsimile images, the character 虎 in the manuscript seems to be not the tabooed form of the character but a *suzi* 俗字, that is, a non-standard variant commonly used in manuscripts. The character 世 on the other hand indeed occurs several times in its

532 Zheng 2003, 180.
533 *Ibid.*

tabooed form, which would theoretically suggest a Tang date. Having said that, despite their common use for this purpose, taboo characters are admittedly not a fully reliable method of dating paper manuscripts, as medieval copyists often copied orthographic features of earlier manuscripts along with the text. Perhaps a more reliable method to date the manuscript is on the basis of its book form and hand type, both of which point to the 9th–10th century.[534]

(ii) P.2710

Based on the online photograph available through the Gallica website, this manuscript appears to be a fragment of a scroll. It consists of only twenty-eight lines, representing the beginning of the *Mengqiu* with its original commentary. As far as we can judge from the photographs, the paper is unruled and the handwriting is relatively skilled. The manuscript begins with the memorial of Li Liang, followed by Li Hua's preface. After this comes the main text without the commentaries. There are only seven lines of this, amounting to a total of twenty-eight four-character segments, which is merely the beginning of the text. The text is continuous and there is no punctuation. The only type of spatial segmentation is between the memorial, the preface and the main text.

Although at first sight it may seem that the rest of the main text is missing because the scroll is incomplete, the manuscript may in fact be its original size. The reason for this assumption is that about two characters worth of space at the end of the last line is left unfilled. The text ends here after the twenty-eighth segment ("The three disasters of Zhou Chu" 周處三害), yet if the manuscript had originally continued, we would expect to see this space filled. Moreover, the edges of the paper sheet on both the left and right hand side are not torn but represent the original boundaries of the sheet. With twenty-eight lines on it, this seems to be a complete sheet of paper. Yet the sheet has margins on the left and right sides, and a two character empty space at the end, all of which suggest that the text was interrupted exactly where it ends today and there were no second, third or further sheets. It may have been rolled up as a small scroll but it seems to have comprised a single sheet with the unfinished *Mengqiu*. We do not know why the copyist stopped copying the text but in its current state the manuscript is similar to DY045 discussed above, which likewise ends midline. This peculiar aspect of both manuscripts is probably not a coincidence but is some-

534 The scientific analysis of paper would be another possible avenue, although to my knowledge this has not been done on this manuscript.

how connected to the way the manuscripts were produced and used in medieval times, even though we are unsure of the nature of this connection.

(iii) P.4877

The manuscript consists of one sheet of paper which used to form four half-pages of an original notebook. The paper is ruled so that there are six lines per half-page but the ruling is observed relatively loosely. The commentary runs in smaller script in two lines. The fragment only contains sixteen segments of the original text, plus the commentary to this part of the text. Whoever copied the text did this not with a brush but a pen which in Dunhuang is generally considered to have come into use from about the 770s, after the region came under Tibetan control. Yet based on the type of writing and the physical form of the manuscript it is likely to have been produced sometime between the second half of the 9th until the end of the 10th century.

The hand is visibly inferior to that in the other two Dunhuang manuscripts and there are also problems with adhering to the spatial arrangement of the lines. Although the paper is ruled and the copyist evidently tried to follow the traditional way of presenting the main text in a single line and the small-script commentaries in a double one, he was not able to do this consistently. In fact, the very first line of the manuscript has a single line of commentary, which should not have happened. Then on the second half-page, the second line of the double-line commentary is left empty halfway through because the copyist did not divide the text of the commentary evenly between the lines. In order not to leave a large chunk of space in the second line of the commentary, he dotted out the rest of the line. He used the same technique to remedy the same type of problem in the first line of the fourth half-page. But earlier on the third half-page, he miscounted the commentary lines and, disregarding the ruling of the page, began a line of full-size characters in a half-size commentary line. This completely disrupted the layout of the page and to rectify the problem he had to apply several ad-hoc solutions, none of which provided an adequate solution.

Such a chaotic arrangement of the text indicates that the manuscript was copied by someone who had relatively low literacy skills, perhaps a student still in the early stages of learning. This is corroborated by the numerous corrections which were applied either using the customary correction marks or simply by writing over mistaken characters. For example, in the segment "Xie Shang: the myna dance" 謝尚鴝鵒 the last character is accidentally omitted, then inserted on the right side of the line.

The above three Dunhuang fragments of the *Mengqiu* can be complimented with an interesting parallel in two Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, currently kept at the BnF in Paris. These are manuscripts Pelliot tibétain 987 and 988 which contain two nearly identical versions of the same text, featuring a series of stories from Chinese classical works. The Tibetan text is unquestionably a translation of a Chinese one but its original has not been identified. In a study devoted to the two manuscripts, the French scholar Rolf A. Stein published a tentative description/translation of its contents, trying to decipher the apparently very difficult stories.[535] Among the stories there was one about a man transcribed in Tibetan as Yaṅ 'Čhiṅ who refused some valuables and spoke about "four [kinds of] knowledge." Stein speculated that he might have been called Yang Tch'eng (i.e. Cheng) in Chinese but he was not able to identify this figure and, consequently, could not make sense of the passage in question.[536] The story in question is, however, unmistakably that of Yang Zhen and his *sizhi* ("four who know"), which also appears in the *Mengqiu*. The *Mengqiu* connection is even more apparent because the following story in the Tibetan manuscripts discusses another man whose name Stein transcribes from Tibetan as Çug(?)-cher, and who is mentioned in connection with wine and wealth. There is little doubt that this story represents the next quadrisyllabic segment in the *Mengqiu* about Yang Zhen's son Yang Bing 楊秉, whose style name is identified in the commentaries as Shujie 叔節, a perfect match for the Tibetan transcription. In the main text of the *Mengqiu*, the segment in question reads, "Bing disposed of the three vices" 秉去三惑 and it is the commentary that cites the *Hou Han shu*, which includes his style name and identifies the three vices as wine 酒, sex 色 and money 財.[537]

Thus the Tibetan text contains at least two consecutive stories from the *Mengqiu*, although the rest of them do not seem to match. We should also point out that the same two stories in the *Mengqiu*, consisting of two four-character segments, also appear verbatim in the postscript to Yang Zhen's biography in the *Hou Han shu*, but it is very likely that the Tibetan translation was based on a medieval text which had an annotated version of these segments that included not just the names but also the stories associated with these persons.

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535 Stein 1992. An English translation of this study appeared in Stein and McKeown 2002, 273–283.

536 Stein 1992, 13.

537 Without identifying the person in the story, Stein (*ibid*.) was able to translate two of the three vices (i.e. "vin et richesses") but did not succeed in identifying the third one.

Based on Stein's preliminary translation, Nie Hongyin was able to identify a number of stories in the Tibetan text, even though he did not recognize the one about Yang Zhen's son Yang Bing (i.e. Shujie).[538] Consequently, he did not notice that Yang Zhen's *sizhi* story and the one about his son's three vices were paired together, matching the *Mengqiu* and the postscript to Yang Zhen's bibliography. But he pointed out several cases where the stories and their sequence in the Tibetan text was very close to the *Taigong jiajiao*, suggesting that this was a translation made from a Chinese text that was similar to the *Taigong jiajiao*.[539]

4.3.3 The Khara-khoto fragment

Among the Chinese material found by Stein at Khara-khoto was a one-page copy of the *Mengqiu* (Or.8212/1344), unearthed from among the debris and refuse heaps within the walls of the city, rather than from the stupa which contained the majority of the texts in the Kozlov collection.[540] A transcription of this manuscript first appeared in Guo Feng's 郭峰 book which catalogued and transcribed the Chinese manuscripts Stein acquired in Gansu and Xinjiang during his third expedition to Central Asia.[541] Without having seen the actual manuscript, Zhang Nali 張娜麗 drew attention to a number of problems in Guo's transcription, suggesting that they might be errors.[542] Now that we have access to a high quality image through the IDP website (Fig. 13), we can confirm that her suspicion was well-founded and the characters in question (i.e. 束<東; 阿<河; 計<讖) were mistakenly transcribed.

538 Nie 2005. For the identification of yet another story from the Tibetan manuscript, see Zhang 2011, 91.

539 Nie 2005, 83–84.

540 The original location of the manuscript is evident from the code Stein initially assigned to the manuscript: KK0149a, in which the letters "KK," without additional Roman numerals attached to them, designate the area within the walled city of Khara-khoto.

541 Guo 1993, 26–27, 160–161.

542 Zhang 2002, 81.

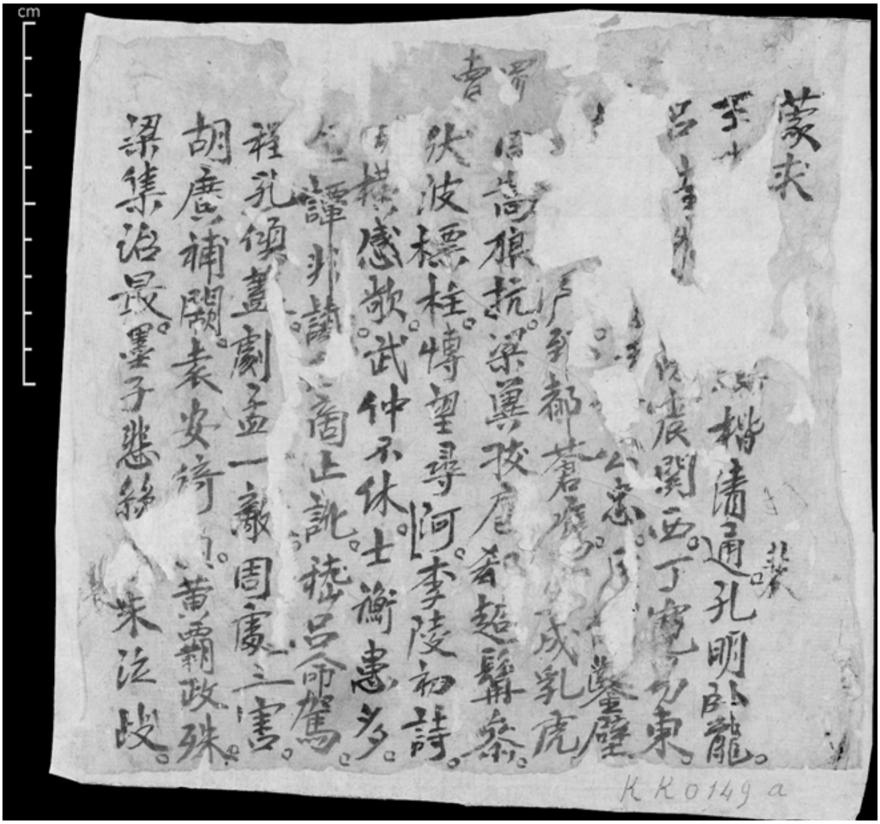

Fig. 13: The *Mengqiu* manuscript fragment from Khara-khoto. (Copyright @ The British Library Or.8212/1344.)

The fragment is written on a very thin, almost transparent, sheet of unruled paper, roughly square in shape. The paper is damaged in several places, resulting in missing characters which can only be reconstructed on the basis of the transmitted text. The top of the fragment has a margin but the bottom part does not. The text is consistently punctuated with small circles (similar to full stops in modern Chinese punctuation) placed after each quadrisyllabic segment. The handwriting is relatively careless and of mediocre quality. The text is preceded by the title *Mengqiu* on a separate line. Not counting the line the title is on, the manuscript contains eleven lines. Each line has three segments, which is not ideal because the rhymes come at the end of every second segment, thus two or four segments per line would have been more in harmony with the internal structure of the text. Yet such imbalance in the layout of rhyming segments is quite common in medieval Chinese manuscripts (e.g. Buddhist *gāthās*) and seems to have been of no concern.

The manuscript omits the four-syllable phrase "Wang Xun the short clerk" 王珣短簿, which is an obvious mistake not just because it differs from other versions of the text but also because the omission disrupts the carefully observed parallelism, not to speak of leaving out the rhyme. Once again, it is likely that this copy was made by a student, rather than a fully literate person. A noteworthy variation is writing the personal name of Liang Xi 梁習 (d. 230) as Ji 集 in the phrase which otherwise should read "In terms of governing, Liang Xi's was the greatest" 梁習治最. Considering that Liang Xi was an attested historical figure and that manuscript DY049 from the Dunhuang Academy correctly writes his personal name as Xi, this variant may be simply discounted as a copying mistake. Nevertheless, several of the surviving Japanese manuscripts also write the name as Ji, matching the Khara-khoto copy. Therefore, even if the name is written here mistakenly, it was probably not the fault of the copyist of this particular manuscript but was a variant reading that became part of a specific textual lineage. Indeed, the fact that this character in the Khara-khoto copy matches some early Japanese manuscripts cannot be attributed to coincidence but unmistakably points to a connection between those lineages of transmission. Such a connection certainly deserves more attention and its nature and extent should be examined in detail.

The discovery of the *Mengqiu* in Khara-khoto amidst the multitude of Tangut books confirms that the text was known in the Tangut state. The bits of content that parallel the Tangut manuscript **Taizong's Questions* discussed above are yet another indication of this. Even though the Tangut text is not a translation of the *Mengqiu*, it was translated from a Chinese work that was similar to the *Mengqiu* and was itself a primer.

4.3.4 The Liao printed version

In the summer of 1974, a printed *Mengqiu* was discovered among a large collection of printed and manuscript material inside the Buddhist pagoda at Fogong monastery 佛宫寺 in Ying county.[543] This is a notebook bound in a butterfly form, missing only the first page and the second half of the ninth one. The book contains the main text of the *Mengqiu* without any commentaries. The charac-

543 For reports on the discovery and the texts within, see the articles in *Wenwu* 文物 1982, No. 6. For the report on the *Mengqiu*, see Bi 1982.

ters 明 and 真 are written with missing a stroke as a form of taboo, which led modern scholars to the conclusion that the book was printed during or after the reign of the Khitan emperor Xingzong 興宗 (r. 1031–1055), whose personal name was Zongzhen 宗真.[544] The character 明 must have been tabooed because it formed part of the name of emperor Muzong 穆宗 (r. 951–969) who had changed his personal name from Jing 璟 to Ming 明.[545] On the basis of this evidence, the editors of the publication believed this to be the earliest copy of the *Mengqiu* without commentary. This, however, is clearly not the case because manuscript P.2710 from Dunhuang (with no commentary either) has to be earlier because the Dunhuang cave library was sealed around 1006, whereas the Khitan name taboos suggest a date that cannot be earlier than the beginning of Xingzong's reign (i.e. 1031).

The printed version is divided into three *juan* (*shang* 上, *zhong* 中 and *xia* 下), each clearly marked at the beginning and end. Although the beginning of the text is missing, the end has the words "a set of three *juan*" 一部三卷. The printed pages have a consistent layout in which the quadrisyllabic segments form a symmetrical pattern. Each line consists of four such segments and each half-page has ten lines. Following the text is a short lexicographic section which lists—using either *fanqie* 反切 or single-character phonetic glosses—the pronunciation of some characters in the text, presumably the ones deemed difficult for the readership. On the top margin of the same half-page there is an ink-stained drawing of a human figure with spread arms, perhaps drawn there by a young student while using the book.

All of the above copies of the *Mengqiu* come from sites that at the time when the fragments were copied or printed were not part of China. The copies from Dunhuang were produced in 9th or 10th century, when the city was under the control of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 regime, a military governorship (*jiedushi* 節度使) that nominally belonged to the Tang and its successors states but in effect an independent kingdom with its own ruling house and a multicultural population. The Khara-khoto copy came from the site of a former Tangut city that was a garrison town in the Tangut state, attesting to the circulation of the work among the Tanguts. Finally, the printed version of the *Mengqiu* found in the wooden

544 Shanxi sheng wenwuju 1991, 52.

545 Wang 1997, 329. In addition, on the published facsimile images the character 布 seems to be missing its last (vertical) stroke, which would indicate a Yuan dynasty taboo (*ibid*., 34). This, however, was not taken into consideration by the organizers of the volume thus it is possible that the missing stroke is a printing error. Unfortunately, without examining the original leaves it is impossible to tell whether this is yet another case of name taboo.

pagoda at Ying county came from the Khitan empire that controlled a large part of northern China in the 10th and 11th centuries. Other known early copies of the *Mengqiu* survive in Japan and, to a lesser degree, Korea. There are more early manuscript copies of this work in Japan than in all of the other places together, which is not only a testimony to the popularity of this work in that country but also to its continuous use there for almost a millennium. It is an interesting situation, although by no means a unique one, that no copy has been found in China proper where the work had presumably been composed.

4.4 Chinese primers among the Tanguts

The educational texts discussed above were all in use by the inhabitants of Khara-khoto, a garrison town in the northern part of the Tangut state. These three texts are merely select examples from a larger corpus of such texts (Chinese and Tangut, print and manuscript) discovered at the site. As it was the case with regard to the Dunhuang manuscripts, many other texts found in Khara-khoto may have also been produced in an educational setting, even if they fall outside the narrowly defined category of *mengshu*. Similarly, the variety of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries found at the site were probably also used for teaching purposes. But even translations of the Confucian classics, historical works, encyclopaedias or shorter Buddhist scriptures and commentaries may owe their survival to having been once used in a learning environment.

So why were the Tanguts so interested in Chinese educational texts? Why did they translate so many of them, instead of writing their own ones specifically for teaching Tangut writing? There was probably no Tangut equivalent to the written Chinese tradition that they adopted, which also means that the Tanguts had no inherent tradition of civil and military governance. It is true that excavations at Khara-khoto and other sites yielded some native Tangut *mengshu*, such as the woodblock printed and manuscript fragments of a text called *Sọ rjijr dji dza* [illegible] (三才字雜 “Miscellaneous Characters on the Three Parts of the Universe”).[546] Yet these are fewer in number than those translated from Chinese, revealing the central role Chinese *mengshu* played in Tangut education, as far as it can be judged on the basis of the surviving body of material. Note that not all the books found in Khara-khoto came from the library stupa but some of them were found at other parts of the city. Thus Stein dug up the manuscript sheet

546 Fragments of the text survive in different collections but those in St. Petersburg are the most numerous. See Terent’ev-Katanskij and Sofronov 2002; Nie and Shi 1995.

with the Chinese *Mengqiu* at the base of the city wall, and this slightly improves the statistics of how representative these fragments were for Khara-khoto or the Tangut state in general.

Evidently, the Tanguts were interested not only in the content of the primers they translated but also in the fact that these texts had been successfully used for teaching literacy skills in China. The Tanguts essentially appropriated the Chinese repertoire of such tools with little modification, apart from translating those into their own language. Yet it seems evident that besides providing practice material for writing Chinese—or Tangut—characters, the *mengshu* were also favoured for their educational message, because they upheld a set of cultural values that were both desirable and imitable in Tangut society. Many of the texts encapsulated a large pool of stories from Chinese literary and historical sources, presenting them in an accessible and easily memorisable way. It is open for discussion whether the primers designed for teaching Chinese characters worked just as efficiently for teaching Tangut characters. The choice of non-native texts for this purpose was certainly heavily influenced by the prestige of Chinese culture in East and Central Asia. We should not forget that before the invention of the native script, literacy among the Tanguts (however limited it may have been) probably entailed the ability to read and write Chinese, which also meant that those who acquired literacy skills by default had to learn and internalize a significant portion of the Chinese literary canon. Literate Tanguts must have regarded the vast world of written Chinese texts as part of their own heritage. There is very little information on how they read these Chinese texts, whether they vocalized them in Chinese or according to the phonetic and grammatical peculiarities of their native language. It is certain, however, that they knew them well. The Khara-khoto finds demonstrate that Chinese continued to be used as a written language after the introduction of the Tangut script, even if we do not have evidence to whether these were produced by Chinese speakers or individuals who were versed in two or more languages.

The prestige of Chinese culture must have been the main reason why the Tangut script was designed as a sinoform script, and the inventors did not adopt one of the phonetic systems used by literate cultures of Central Asia. Considering the linguistic affiliation of Tangut with Tibeto-Burman languages, the Tibetan alphabet would have been a particularly fitting choice for a new script. Yet Emperor Yuanhao sanctioned the invention of a script with nearly 6,000 distinct logographs assembled from the strokes of Chinese characters. The choice of the type of script on the part of the emperor was an act of affiliating himself with the cultural prestige of the Song empire, which was politically one of his major opponents. The *Song shi* suggests that the translation of Chinese *mengshu* and their use for teaching Tangut literacy skills began as soon as the Tangut script was introduced to the general population. The *mengshu* so to speak came with the script, as a set of tools that enabled their acquisition and spread. In this sense, their translation was part of the same nation-building effort as the invention of the script.

At the same time, we should also keep in mind the larger picture of East and Central Asia, where Chinese *mengshu* were used in many cultures around China. For example, among the most popular Chinese primers in the medieval period was the *Qianziwen* which survived in numerous copies in Dunhuang, Turfan and even Khara-khoto. More interestingly, this text was also transcribed and translated into other languages, showing its utility for non-Chinese speakers and non-Chinese literacy. Fragments of different Uyghur translations of the *Qianziwen* have been identified in several collections, including the Berlin Turfan collection (Ch/U 8152) and the IOM in St. Petersburg (4bKr.181, 4bKr.182, 4bKr.185, 4bKr.194, SI 3Kr.14, SI 3Kr.15 and SI Kr.IV.260).[547] The Uyghurs did not use a sinoform script but translated the *Qianziwen* into their native language, most likely because they felt a close connection with Chinese literacy through their Buddhism tradition, the texts of which were mostly translated from Chinese. They translated Chinese sutras into Uyghur and this clearly developed a bond with the Chinese written tradition. More importantly, the Uyghurs also studied Buddhist texts written in Chinese, and thus understandably had a vested interest in the tools that facilitated the learning of Chinese characters. The translation of such tools into Uyghur is an indication that at times they may have used the same texts for learning to read and write in Uyghur.

The two Tibetan manuscripts with a series of Confucian maxims are yet another example of the adaptation of Chinese educational texts to a non-Chinese linguistic environment. Similar examples are know from most other cultures around China, including the Khitan state, Japan, Korea, or Vietnam. The prestige of Chinese Buddhism and Confucian high culture spread far beyond the borders of China and continued to exert an influence even in times of political and military conflict with China.

547 Shōgaitō and Yakup 2001, Sjogajto 2008.

5 Manuscript and print

The corpus of Tangut texts discovered among the ruins of Khara-khoto includes the *Art of War of Sunzi with Three Commentaries* (T. *Swẽ tsə gja jwɨr sọ bjịj* [illegible]), an annotated version of the renown Chinese military classic *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 (hereafter referred to as *Sunzi*). The length of the surviving part of the book and the fact that it was a translation of such a famous work immediately singled it out as an interesting material worthy of research. An additional feature that made it special is that it was found in two, partly overlapping, versions, one printed and one manuscript copy. As a result, the text has been among the most studied ones in our present Tangut corpus, with numerous articles and two monographs devoted to it. The first monograph was Ksenia Kepping's Russian annotated translation published in 1979, which also presented facsimiles of the text, for the first time making them available for scholarly research.[548] She also wrote an extensive (nearly 170 pages) grammatical overview which took up a significant portion of the book. She aligned the translation of the Tangut version with that of the Chinese received text in order to show their similarities and discrepancies. The second monograph was a two-volume study by the Taiwanese linguist Lin Ying-chin, published in 1994 as part of the *Academia Sinica Monograph Series*. Volume 1 provided a close reading of the text with copious annotations of its linguistic features.[549] Unlike in Kepping's translation, here each Tangut character was transcribed with a Chinese character, thereby making the author's reading of that particular character specific and unambiguous, which at that point of studying the language was a useful device. Volume 2 was a character concordance to the text with Chinese translations, essentially functioning as a dictionary of the language of the Tangut *Sunzi*.

Kepping relied on the printed edition alone, using the manuscript version only for parts that were missing from the printed one. Likewise, the facsimile images she published in her book were only those of the printed version, whereas the manuscript at the time remained unpublished. Part of this one-sided presentation was obviously due to the fact that the printed edition was easier to decipher and thus it offered a more reliable source for reading and translating the text. Yet equally important was the notion that the printed copy was superior to the manuscript which had served as its pre-publication draft, an assumption I will challenge below. It is also clear that most former studies treated the Tangut *Sunzi* as

548 Keping 1979.
549 Lin 1994.

an abstract "text," the physical instantiations of which were regarded as relatively unimportant. On the conceptual level this is yet another reason why the manuscript was treated as of secondary importance in comparison with the more legible printed edition.

Wherever they overlap, the manuscript and the printed version are almost identical in wording, confirming that they are but two versions of the same translation. Comparing the discrepancies between them, modern scholars concluded that the manuscript must have been a draft to what later became the printed edition and therefore it represented an earlier stage in the evolution of the Tangut translation. In this chapter I reconsider the issue of temporal priority of the two versions and advance an argument that it is more likely that the manuscript was copied from the printed edition, even though not necessarily from this particular one. In addition, I intend to draw attention to the complex relationship between manuscript and print following the invention and spread of printing. The materials excavated from Khara-khoto are invaluable in this respect, as they provide first-hand evidence to the extensive use of manuscripts in an age when other options of book production were already available.

5.1 Tangut contribution to the spread of printing

The Tanguts are often evoked in connection with the development of printing technology in East Asia.[550] A particularly important aspect in this regard is typography, of which the Tanguts were among the first users. Nevertheless, until the beginning of the 20th century little was known about their book culture, and the very existence of their unique script became known in the West only at the end of the 19th century. The situation changed drastically with the discovery of the ruins of Khara-khoto and Kozlov's excavation of the library stupa, which provided a vast body of material for the study of Tangut history and culture. A significant portion of what was found in the stupa comprised printed books, although there were also many manuscripts. It is clear that printed and manuscript books circulated concurrently and scribal culture did not disappear with the spread of printing. In comparison, the contents of the Dunhuang library cave, principally from the 9th–10th centuries, contained merely a handful of printed texts against tens of thousands of manuscripts. In addition, the composition of the Khara-khoto corpus also attests to the extensive use of printing in this region and thereby to the contribution of the Tanguts to the spread and development of the technology.

550 Goodrich 1974; Barrett 2008, 17–18, 20; Kornicki 2012, 86–87; Kornicki 2014, 35.

Apart from being much more numerous, printed books from Khara-khoto also differed from those found at Dunhuang in that they included many longer texts bound in a butterfly, pothi, concertina or scroll form, whereas those from Dunhuang were largely single-page leaves or calendars.[551] In Dunhuang, there were very few printed copies of "proper texts," that is, longer works of philosophical, literary or religious nature which are usually handed down as part of a chain of transmission. A prominent exception in this regard is the 868 copy of the *Diamond sutra*, now part of the Stein collection at the British Library, which was however printed in Sichuan and brought to Dunhuang after that. While the existence of this scroll proves that religious and presumably other types of texts were occasionally also reproduced using woodblock printing before the 11th century, the limited number of printed material that survived in Dunhuang reveals that during the 9th–10th centuries print technology—at least in the north-western peripheries of China but perhaps also elsewhere—was predominantly used for producing one-page prayers, calendars, images or incantations, and that religious or literary texts were almost always copied by hand. This in itself demonstrates that long after its invention, printing was not seen as an alternative, and especially not a more advanced, technology to duplicate religious texts but that it had its own distinct range of applications which only partially overlapped with manuscript production.

The Khara-khoto materials allow us to see the situation in yet another location with a Buddhist setting, a couple of centuries later than in the case of Dunhuang manuscripts. What we see is a much greater overlap between the functions of print and manuscript. By this time a significant portion of Buddhist texts was printed, even if there were also plenty of manuscripts. Moreover, books were printed not only in Chinese but also in Tangut, which demonstrates the adaptability of the technology to any language or script. Specimens of Tangut sutras printed with movable type attest not only to the feasibility of the technique for publishing Tangut texts but also to the important role Tangut Buddhism played in the development of printing in Central and East Asia. Especially so that even though the technology itself was invented in China proper, to date no physical specimens of Song books printed with movable type have been found.

The use of movable type for printing Tangut Buddhist texts is confirmed by both the Khara-khoto material and subsequent discoveries at other sites. Even so, the detection of prints produced with movable type is not always straightforward

551 For a concise description of the various book forms used for medieval Chinese manuscripts, see the section "Formes et formats" in Drège and Moretti 2014, 345–380. A more indepth study of the concertina and butterfly form is found in Drège 1984 and 1996, respectively.

and there are cases when even specialists do not agree whether a book was printed with woodblock or movable type technology. Scholars working on the history of the book list a number of objective criteria that can be used to spot specimens of movable type printing. In most cases these involve some sort of printing error or out of the ordinary detail that signals that something is amiss. For example, Shi Jinbo points out that the characters the types were based on were not always written by the same person at the same time, therefore when they appear together on the page, they may exhibit differences in terms of the thickness of strokes, the overall balance of characters, or even size.[552] When the typesetting is not done perfectly, the characters may appear slightly out of alignment or leaning to one side. When at the time of printing the surface of the types is pressed against the surface of the paper unevenly, the ink may be distributed unevenly. In such cases looking at the verso of the page would be perhaps even more useful because the ink may bleed through the soft Chinese paper with different intensity for separate characters. This is in contrast with woodblock printed pages where the ink, if seen on the verso, is evenly distributed or, at least, does not show sudden variation from character to character. Often it is also possible to detect that some characters were pressed down harder and for these the physical indentation of the paper may still be noticeable, especially if viewed at an angle. In each case, the traits that let us determine whether a page was printed with movable type are essentially printing errors. Theoretically, a perfectly printed page would not give us any clues with regard to how it was produced.

Perhaps the most unambiguous sign of a page being printed with movable type is the presence of upside down characters. While this is a relatively uncommon error, multi-volume copies of texts usually have some examples. Even if we can find only one example, this indicates that the entire book was produced using the same technology.[553] Interestingly, in Tangut texts printed this way upside down characters may appear not only in the main text but also in the Chinese page numbers on the margins of the page. Since this type of error is a mistake on the part of the typesetters, in many cases the characters susceptible to this are the ones that are nearly symmetrical, making it easy for the typesetters to accidentally insert them upside down. For example, Niu Dasheng shows several examples of reversed Chinese page numbers in Tangut books printed with movable

552 The rest of this paragraph relies on the criteria and observations detailed in Shi 2004, 77–78.

553 To be sure, this is not entirely true because we know cases where faulty woodblock prints are corrected by inserting individual characters into the wood. But these cases are exceptional and, being corrections themselves, are unlikely to result in upside down characters.

type.[554] The characters that appear upside down are 二 (*er*; two), 卄 (*nian* [廿]; twenty) and 四 (*si*; four), all of which are more or less symmetrical in the typeface used on the pages. In the case of the character 二, the only deviation from a perfect symmetry is that the top stroke is supposed to be slightly shorter, while in the character 卄, the first vertical stroke should be slightly bent.[555] The character 四 is the most asymmetrical of these three but even there there was enough symmetry to trick the typesetter.

Besides upside down characters, the most common method of determining whether a book was printed with movable type is to look whether the ink seeps through on the verso stronger for particular characters but not for others. If it does, it is a strong indication that the book was produced with typography. Unfortunately, this presupposes a personal examination of the book which is not always possible and even if it is, the verso of the pages is often not exposed and may not be inspected without potentially damaging the book.

An example of a book produced by movable type is a Tangut translation of a Tibetan Tantric text printed with movable type in six volumes found, among other texts, in 1991 in the Baisigou square pagoda in Helan county.[556] Some believe this to be the earliest extant text produced with wooden movable type and date it to the early 12th century.[557] The criteria used for determining that it was printed with movable type were: (i) the corners of the printed frames around the page do not connect seamlessly; (ii) the ink is uneven across the page; (iii) occasional characters are printed upside down; (iv) there are traces of lines separating columns of characters.[558] The book itself is undated but the date 1103 is suggested by other dated texts found at the same location, which in itself is of course only indirect evidence. But regardless of its precise date, the volumes corroborate the use of the technology in the Tangut empire around the early 12th century. Another well-known example of a book created with wooden movable type is an edition of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, volumes of which are now held at various institutions around the world. Two volumes, probably acquired by Irvin V. Gillis (1875–1948) on behalf of Guion Moore Gest (1864–1948) in Beijing around 1929, are currently

554 Niu 2004, 7–8.

555 This bend cannot be seen in the font used here but it is discernible in the page numbers shown by Niu Dasheng.

556 Shen Weirong (2007, 93) reconstructs the original Tibetan title of this work as *Dpal kun tu kha sbyor zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (Ch. *Jixiang bianzhi kouhe benxu* 吉祥遍至口和本續). For the Tangut books found in the Baisigou square pagoda, as well as a detailed description of other items, see Ningxia wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 2005.

557 E.g. Niu 1994.

558 Zhang 2006, 542.

kept at the Gest Library at Princeton University.[559] Martin Heijdra and Cao Shuwen analysed these two volumes and hypothesised that they had been printed sometime during the mid-Yuan period (1271–1368).

Another important discovery was a copy of *juan* 3 of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra* found at the Haimudong 亥母洞 site near the city of Wuwei. This was a book in a concertina form, with 54 pages amounting to over 6,400 characters. Upon examination, the book turned out to have been printed with clay movable type, a technology known from sporadic references in transmitted Chinese sources.[560] Another concertina volume of the same sutra produced with the same technique was found in 1909 at Khara-khoto by Kozlov's expedition. Although initially there have been some doubts whether these books were indeed printed with clay type, or whether this technique ever existed or was even possible, by now most scholars accept this. One of the key characteristics of text printed with clay type is the traces of air bubbles formed during the process of firing the types. As for the practical feasibility of this technique, Sun Shouling 孫壽岭 of the Wuwei Museum proved this by personally producing over 3,000 clay types and printing the last part of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*.[561] But even before Sun's experiments, there have been cases of Qing scholars using clay types to print books.[562]

In 2005, additional books printed with movable type were found among the materials excavated from the Tangut cave site at Shanzuigou 山嘴溝 in Helan county, including ones made with wooden and clay type. According to Niu Dasheng's count, we currently know about twelve Tangut books printed with movable type, coming from various sites in Ningxia, Inner Mongolia and Gansu.[563] It is only to be expected that this number will continue to increase as new discoveries come to light. It is also possible that as a result of heightened academic interest in the history of typographic printing, additional volumes or fragments will be identified among existing collections of Tangut materials.

But typography is merely one aspect of the history of printing, even if it is one of the most fascinating ones. The surviving Chinese and Tangut books from sites

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559 Heijdra and Cao 1992. For the history of how the books of the Gest collection were purchased in China, see Chen and Zhao 2004, 41–53.

560 Sun 1994 and 2007. This text is considered to have been printed during the reign of Emperor Renzong (1139–1193) so it is technically later than the Tantric text from the Baisigou pagoda.

561 Sun 2007. Apparently, Sun used a rice cooker(!) to experiment with firing clay types; see Niu 2008, 32.

562 E.g. Li Yao 李瑤 (fl. 1829) from Suzhou 蘇州 (Jiangsu 江蘇) and Zhai Jinsheng 翟金生 (1774–1882) of Jing county 涇縣 (Anhui 安徽) both used clay type for printing purposes; see Niu 2008, 34.

563 For a list of these 12 items, including their provenance, see the table in *ibid.*, 32.

across the ancient territory of the Tangut empire likewise attest to the widespread use of woodblock printing among the Tanguts. Although printing quality varies, there are a number of officially sponsored volumes of Buddhist and secular texts which give evidence to the technological maturity and advanced artistic level of Tangut woodblock carvers and printers.

The recent publication of the 20-volume set of facsimile reproductions of Tangut materials kept in China attests to the quantity and quality of books printed in the Tangut state.[564] Even a cursory look at these volumes allows one to appreciate the stunning array of publications, as well as the high level of craftsmanship that went into producing those.[565] Unquestionably, book printing in the Tangut state was well advanced and at the same time extremely common. All this points to the significance of the Tanguts, and especially Tangut Buddhism, in the development and spread of printing in Central and East Asia.

5.2 The Tangut *Sunzi*

Of special interest for the study of the relationship between scribal and print cultures are the cases when we have parallel copies of the same text in printed and manuscript form. Because the majority of the Khara-khoto material is Buddhist in nature, there are multiple instances of many Buddhist texts, and some of them survive as both manuscript and printed copies. Apart from the most popular Mahayana sutras, such as the *Lotus sutra*, there are also a number of less known scriptures that exist in such parallel versions. For example, fragments of a Buddhist preface discussing Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) survive as a block print and a pothi manuscript leaf.[566]

In addition to Buddhist scriptures, there are also secular texts in such combination, including the Tangut translation of the *Sunzi*. In general, the *Sunzi* enjoyed enormous popularity both in China and the rest of East Asia. Early copies of the Chinese text survive in Japan and Korea but it was also translated into other

564 Ningxia daxue Xixiaxue yanjiu zhongxin et al. 2005–2007. Vols. 1–12 contain books and fragments kept in Beijing, vols. 13–17 those in Ningxia, Shaanxi, Gansu and Inner Mongolia, whereas the final three volumes (18–20) are devoted to epigraphic material and seals.
565 Unlike it is the case with collections in St. Petersburg and London, almost all of this material is Buddhist in content—there are very few items of secular nature. There also seems to be a higher ratio of printed texts than in European collections. Whether this is due to the way this material was collected or reflects regional or even temporal aspects, remains to be determined.
566 Keping and Terent'ev-Katanskij 1987.

languages. Thus besides the Tangut rendition, there are, for example, several extant Manchu translations.[567] As to the Tanguts, it is clear that as part of their general enthusiasm for translating a wide variety of Chinese texts (e.g. Buddhist sutras and commentaries, Confucian canonical works, legal codes, Daoist texts, medical literature, encyclopaedias, non-official historical compilations, primers), they were also very interested in military treatises. Among the surviving corpus of Tangut material there are fragments of translations of several Chinese military texts, including the *Sunzi*, the *Biography of Sunzi* (*Sunzi zhuan* 孫子傳), the *Liutao* 六韜, the *Huangshi gong sanlüe* 黃石公三略, and the *Jiangyuan* 將苑.

Of these works, the *Liutao* and *Huangshi gong sanlüe* are woodblock prints but the *Jiangyuan* is a manuscript. The *Sunzi* with the *Biography of Sunzi* appended to it survives in both printed and manuscript copies, though they only partially overlap and neither of them is complete. Nevertheless, the overlapping portions provide a rare opportunity for comparison. Although there are many more cases of such matching pairs among the Buddhist texts in Tangut, secular texts are in a way more interesting because their translations are understood by modern scholars to be less rigid in adhering to the source text than Buddhist scriptures and are therefore considered more "natural" in their wording.[568] It would be interesting to examine whether this propensity towards creating a "user-friendly" translation is reflected in multiple copies of the same text. In other words, can we see an effort to improve the translation or did the process of creating a new copy—printed or handwritten—invariably meant a faithful duplication of the original it was created from? Did a translation evolve or were the changes in new copies of the text unintentional?

In addition to the main text, the Tangut *Sunzi* comes with three commentaries, in an unattested combination that does not match any known Chinese edition. In the Chinese tradition only editions with ten or eleven commentaries are known, depending on whether the commentary of Du You 杜佑 (735–812) is included or not. In the Tangut version, the three commentaries are those of Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), Li Quan 李荃 (8th c.) and Du Mu, all of which are part of the multi-commentary Chinese editions. While in most cases the commentaries clarify the meaning of the main text or supply additional information, at times they provide word-level explications, glossing obscure words and phrases. Such linguistic clarifications are generally not needed in a foreign language version of the text because the translator would have already disambiguated obscure words and phrases as part of the translation process; an additional round of explication

567 For an English study of a Manchu translation of the *Sunzi*, see Mair 2008.
568 Keping 1985, 15–17, Keping and Gong 2003, 14–16.

would be unnecessary. Yet for the sake of consistency, the Tangut translator did his best to translate such comments, even when this proved to be challenging. For example, in Chapter 7 of the *Sunzi* we read the following statement:

> 五十里而爭利，則蹶上將軍，其法半至
> Were it (i.e. the army) to travel fifty *li* at such a pace to contend for some advantage, the commander of the advance force would be lost, and as a rule only half of its strength would reach the target.[569]

The word *jue* 蹶 ("fall, suffer a setback"), translated here by Roger T. Ames as "to be lost," is explained in Cao Cao's commentary the following way:

> 曹操曰：蹶，猶挫也。
> Cao Cao says: "[The word] *jue* 蹶 is used like 'to be defeated.'"

Obviously, translating this comment presents a difficulty for a translator because he would not have used an obscure word in the main text in the first place. Since translating in itself inevitably involves an interpretation, there is hardly any need for a word-level commentary. The Tangut translation renders the phrase "the commander of the advance force would be lost" 蹶上將軍 in the main text with the words *gja bju̱ wer lhjo* [illegible] (軍將威失 "the general will lose authority"), in which the Chinese word *jue* 蹶 ("to be lost") is interpreted as "to lose authority."[570] Accordingly, Cao Cao's explanation appears in the Tangut translation the following way:

569 Translation by Roger T. Ames (1993, 129–130).

570 Nevksy (1960, v. 2, 523) translated the word *wer* [illegible] as "power" (*shi* 勢) primarily on the basis of its use in the *Sunzi*, even though it usually translates the Chinese word *feng* 豐 ("rich, plentiful"). I am following Lin Ying-chin (1994, 4–19) who suggests that the character *wer* [illegible] stands for the homophonous *wer* [illegible] ("authority, power, etiquette"). This reading fits the context and the use of *wer* [illegible] may simply be a case of phonetic substitution, regardless of whether this fell within the possibilities of Tangut writing or was an actual mistake.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]：	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。
4962	3045	1822	0540	3583	4916	1324	1531	0540	1839	5285
we	tshew	ŋwu̱	wer	tja	ɣwej	dźju̱	gja	wer	lhjo	ljɨ
魏	曹	曰	威	者	戰	損	軍	威	失	也
Wei	Cao	say	authority	TOP	battle	diminish	military	authority	lose	COP

Cao [Cao] of the state of Wei says: "[The word] *wer* [illegible] (威 "authority") means being defeated in battle and losing military authority."

Noticeably, the translator resolved the challenge by a compromise, singling out the word *wer* [illegible] (威 "authority") and clarifying its meaning in context with an entire sentence. This is in contrast with the Chinese version where the Cao commentary essentially uses another word as an explanation for the one in question. The Tangut translator instead specifies the context, as he already disambiguated the obscure Chinese word *jue* 蹶 in the main text by translating it as *wer lhjo* [illegible] (威失 "to lose authority").

Another solution to the challenge of translating lexical glosses into Tangut can be seen in a manuscript scroll containing a translation of Zhao Qi's 趙岐 (108–201) commentary to the *Mencius*, known in the Chinese tradition under the title *Mengzi zhangju* 孟子章句. This scroll, written in a cursive hand, is kept at the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg (Inv. No. 6738) and contains both the main text and the commentary. Initially, Nevsky and later Russian scholars believed that the commentaries may have been prepared by Tangut scholars.[571] Since then, however, the commentary was unambiguously identified as that of Zhao Qi and the text as the *Mengzi zhangju*. Nevertheless, the translation often omits lexical glosses present in the Chinese commentary and incorporates those into the main text, substituting obscure words with the meaning supplied in the commentary.[572]

Going back to the Tangut *Sunzi* with the three commentaries, it is possible that we are dealing with an abridged version which ultimately derives from one of the known Chinese editions. While it is theoretically possible that such an abridgment was carried out by a Tangut editor, I suspect that the translation was done directly from an existing (but subsequently lost) Chinese edition with three commentaries. This is indirectly corroborated by the fact that quite a few hitherto unknown Chinese texts were discovered among the materials from Khara-

571 Nevskij 1960, 85–86; Kolokolov and Kychanov 1966, 12.
572 Nie 2012b, 4.

khoto.[573] As for Tangut translations of unidentified or known but lost Chinese texts, their number is even higher, even if this may partly be due to our inability to match the translations to the vast corpus of extant Chinese texts. Having said that, it is quite clear that a three-commentary edition of the *Sunzi* is not among the currently known body of Chinese literature.

Another significant difference of the Tangut *Sunzi* with Chinese editions is that, as already mentioned above, both the printed and manuscript versions come with the *Biography of Sunzi* appended to the end, which is a combination that is completely unattested in Chinese language versions. The *Biography of Sunzi* itself is a known text as it is one of the biographies featured in the *Shiji* 史記, China's first history completed around 100 BC by the historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–90 BC). The Tangut text at the end of the *Sunzi* is unmistakably a translation of the biography in the *Shiji*, yet we do not know of any Chinese edition where it would appear appended to the *Sunzi*. Once again, while it is possible that the two texts were linked for the first time in Tangut, it is just as likely that the translator was working with a now lost Chinese source, rather than compiling a new combination of texts with no Chinese precedent. The relevance of the biography to the main text requires no justification and it is quite possible that such an edition indeed existed in the Song empire prior to reaching the Tanguts. Moreover, as Nie Hongyin pointed out, the Tanguts for some reason did not translate Chinese official histories and the *Sunzi zhuan* is the sole example of such a text, which makes it unlikely that it would have been extracted from the *Shiji* by a Tangut translator.[574] Furthermore, the fact that both printed and manuscript copies of such an unconventional combination survived in Tangut translation suggests that this was not an *ad hoc* arrangement but a relatively stable edition. It is also an evidence to the popularity of the translation.

A comparison of the printed and manuscript versions reveals that they are ultimately two copies of the same translation, going back to the same source. Both versions are part of the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg. The printed version consists of several fragments of a book bound in butterfly form (Inv. No 943, 579, 772, 773, 771). Eric Grinstead identified two additional leaves in London (Or.12380/3841–3842) and these are likely to belong to the same edition, perhaps even the same print run as the book in St. Petersburg.[575] In his unpublished draft

573 E.g. the Song edition of the *Zhuangzi* with Lü Huiqing's commentary; see Chen 2009 and Tang 2009.

574 Nie 1991, 267. There are, however, other types of historical works of more popular nature; see, for example, Solonin 1995.

575 Grinstead 1961.

catalogue of the British collection, Nishida Tatsuo identified another fragment (Or.12380/872), although the text on it is rather unclear and it remains to be seen whether it really belongs to the *Sunzi*.[576] In the facsimile reproductions of the collection published in Shanghai, this fragment is labelled as a Buddhist sutra (*fojing* 佛經), which is almost certainly wrong.[577] But the same volume identifies further fragments in London (Or.12380/660–664) as belonging to the *Sunzi*. They are printed on both sides of the paper, unlike the fragment identified by Nishida; the ruled lines are also significantly wider, making the layout more spacious (Fig. 14). Comparing these small fragments with the two complete leaves (Or.12380/3841–3842) at the British Library, one can see that the paper of the fragments is much browner and thicker. Once again, the paper of the leaves is lighter and thinner and printed only on one side.

Therefore the British Library fragments represent at least three different printed editions. So far all studies involving the printed Tangut *Sunzi* were done on the edition in St. Petersburg and disregarded the other fragments because of their small size. At the same time, even though the few characters that survive on them have a limited value for the textual study of the Tangut *Sunzi*, the fragments themselves are of value for evaluating the history of editions of the treatise, as well as for any other research that involves the physical examination of books. The mere existence of these minor fragments confirms the popularity of the *Sunzi* in Tangut translation, which in turn means that, as more of the St. Petersburg collection becomes accessible in digital or facsimile reproductions, new fragments may be identified.

576 Nishida's draft catalogue was never finished but a copy was deposited at the British Library by the author.

577 Xibei di'er minzu xueyuan et al. 2005, v. 1, 296.

Fig. 14: One of the “minor” fragments of the printed edition of the Tangut *Sunzi* in the Stein collection in London. (Copyright The British Library Or.12380/660.)

Writing about a group of printed fragments with a text called *Jade Mirror from the Zhenguan Reign concerning the Commanding of Troops*, Kychanov mentioned an allegedly common phenomenon in Tangut printed text, namely, that the text printed from the same woodblocks may have been printed on paper of different size.[578] Apparently, the leaves could differ in size by as much as 5 cm. As an explanation to this puzzle, Kychanov proposed that these leaves of different size could belong to different print runs made on large and small paper, or that they could have been printed from the same blocks on completely different occasions. Unfortunately, many of the “minor” fragments of the *Sunzi* do not make up a complete page and thus it is not possible to measure the size of the paper. Even so, just determining whether they were part of the same edition would already be useful for working out the history of the Tangut translations of the *Sunzi*, including their editions.

Kepping pointed out that the title at the end of the *Sunzi* in the printed version was slightly different from how it appeared in the manuscript.[579] In the manuscript we read *Swẽ tsə gja jwɨr ·jij sọ bjịj* [illegible] (The Art of War of Sunzi with Three Commentaries), whereas in the printed text the possessive marker *·jij* [illegible] is absent. This, naturally, does not change the meaning of the title and does not violate Tangut grammar. We should also note that in both versions only the titles at the end of the text survive. Known in the Chinese tradition as end titles (*weiti* 尾題), these often appear in an abbreviated form, in contrast with the head titles (*shouti* 首題) that give the text’s proper designation. In surviving medieval manuscripts the two titles at times can be quite different, even when they appear at the beginning and end of the same book.[580] In our two versions of the *Sunzi*, the titles are end titles and as such they are less rigid than head titles would be, which may be the reason why they differ slightly. The printed *Sunzi* has two such end titles, one at the end of the second (i.e. middle) *juan* and one at the end of the third *juan*. Interestingly, the earlier occurrence of the title is followed by a note giving a total count of characters in the main text (2,148) and the commentary (15,844).[581] It is easy to see how in the manuscript version, which omits the commentary, these numbers would not have worked, since the number was not calculated anew each time a new copy was made but was transmitted together with

578 Kychanov 2005, 5.

579 Keping 1977, 161–162.

580 For example, the Dunhuang manuscript Or.8210/S.5438 is a notebook from the 10th century containing Chapter 25 of the *Lotus sutra*. At the beginning of the manuscript, we find the title *Miaofa lianhua jing Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin di ershiwu* 妙法蓮華經觀世音菩薩普門品第廿五 (*Lotus sutra*, Chapter 25, The universal gateway of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), whereas at the end, *Foshuo Guanyin jing yi juan* 佛說觀音經一卷 (The sutra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, as preached by the Buddha, in one *juan*). Thus the head and end titles do not match at all, which is partly due to the fact that this chapter of the *Lotus sutra* also commonly circulated separately as a stand-alone sutra.

581 Keping 1979, 128.

the text as a measure to ensure the accuracy of subsequent copies.[582] Unfortunately the surviving part of the text is incomplete so we cannot ascertain whether the numbers are accurate.

The manuscript version of the Tangut *Sunzi* with biography (Inv. No. 775) is a scroll with 90 lines of text, 17–20 characters per line.[583] Except for the last eight lines, the text is written in the cursive script, which would be difficult to read if we did not have a printed version of part of the same text available.[584] From the text of the *Sunzi* only the last 17 lines survive and the bigger part of the scroll is taken up by the *Biography of Sunzi*, which is complete in this version (but not in the printed one). In line 17, the text of the *Sunzi* ends with a title which asserts that this is the *Sunzi* with three commentaries.[585] Yet the surviving 17 lines of the *Sunzi* reveal that none of the commentaries have been copied and the scroll only has the main text. In other words, the title does not correspond to the text. It matches, however, the way the *Sunzi* appears in the printed edition, which includes the text of the three commentaries.

Recently, the existence of an additional manuscript fragment (Inv. No. 3788) in the Kozlov collection has been revealed.[586] Photographs were taken by staff members of a Chinese publisher while working at the IOM in St. Petersburg and these were later on made accessible to some Chinese scholars. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see images of this fragment and can only rely on its description in academic publications. According to these sources, this is a scroll that contains Chapters 7–9 of the *Sunzi*, without the commentaries. There are a total of 65 lines, with 17–21 characters per line. The cursive hand in the scroll makes it likely that it once belonged to the *Sunzi* + biography manuscript introduced

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582 Paradoxically the number that claimed to record the count of characters in the text it followed had to match not the number of characters in the copy where it appeared but the number recorded in the previous copy, which in turn was based on the one before it. Hence the number in reality recorded the number of characters not in the book but in the very first copy from which all later ones were made. Once an initial count of character was made, in all subsequent copies it was the text that had to match the number, rather than the other way around.

583 A detailed physical description of the manuscript is available in Keping 1977.

584 Although ordinary Tangut script itself does not present particular difficulties for reading, the cursive writing is still very hard to decipher. In their work on Chinese classics in Tangut translation, Kolokolov and Kychanov (1966, 128–133) provide a table of common elements in Tangut cursive script, which among other things shows how the same element can be written in a number of different ways.

585 Keping 1977, 161.

586 Sun 2012. This publication contains a full transcription of the text.

above. This “new” manuscript has even more discrepancies with the printed edition, amounting to more than 60 instances.[587] Many of these consist of omitting characters that are present in the printed version and some can be explained only as copying mistakes. With this fragment, we now possess a significantly larger portion of the original *Sunzi* scroll (155 lines vs. the 90 we knew about), enabling us to do a more reliable comparison of the printed and manuscript versions. As currently we only have a transcription of the text of this fragment, we will have to wait for the images to be able to ascertain whether it is indeed part of the same manuscript.

The above discussion shows that in contrast with Kepping’s 1979 publication of the Tangut *Sunzi*, which is still the standard reference for this text, we now have a much larger group of Tangut fragments related to the *Sunzi*. Some of these were already known when Kepping’s monograph came out but she based her translation on the printed edition kept in St. Petersburg. She also consulted the manuscript and even published a short notice on it while working on the translation, yet she seemed to have studied this text exclusively from the perspective of the printed version.[588] Today, in addition to the printed version published in facsimile as an appendix to Kepping’s monograph, we know of the following fragments:

- (i) the two printed pages at the British Library (Or.12380/3841–3842) identified by Grinstead, probably from the same edition as the St. Petersburg book;
- (ii) the fragment identified by Nishida at the British Library (Or.12380/872);
- (iii) the “minor” fragments at the British Library (Or.12380/660–664);
- (iv) the manuscript version with 90 lines at the IOM in St. Petersburg (Inv. No. 775);
- (v) the newly identified manuscript fragment with 65 lines at the IOM (Inv. No. 3788).

It is hard to give an exact character count but it seems that the items listed here contain almost as much text as the butterfly book published by Kepping. A careful analysis of this additional material will no doubt enrich our knowledge of the textual issues surrounding the Tangut translation of the *Sunzi*, not to speak of the problems related to codicology and the history of the book.

587 *Ibid.*, 79.
588 Keping 1977.

5.3 Draft or personal copy made from a printed edition?

In the printed version, unlike in the manuscript, the text conforms to the title because the *Sunzi* part contains not only the main text but also the commentaries of Cao Cao, Li Quan and Du Mu. In contrast with the manuscript scroll, the surviving part of the printed version retains a much larger portion of the *Sunzi*, although a big part of the biography is missing. Thus the portion that overlaps with the manuscript includes the last few lines of the *Sunzi* and part of the biography. Apart from the fact that the handwritten version omits the text of the commentaries, the text of the *Sunzi* more or less matches in the two versions. The only difference is two cases where the manuscript copyist had accidentally reversed adjacent characters but in both cases he corrected this by a reversal mark commonly seen in medieval manuscripts.[589] The biography part, however, shows a number of minor discrepancies, which partly must be due to the fact that the overlapping section between the printed and manuscript versions is significantly longer—as opposed to the mere 17 lines of the *Sunzi*. Kepping listed 39 differences, stating that the nature of the discrepancies suggested that the two versions were in fact copies of the same translation.[590] She argued that the printed text in most cases clarified and corrected the manuscript, which in turn lead her to conclude that the printed book was an improved version of the manuscript. She speculated that the manuscript may have been the draft for the printed edition.[591] The same conclusion was confirmed by Sun Yingxin who also studied the manuscript and marked its discrepancies against the printed version, identifying a few more cases in addition to the ones listed by Kepping.[592]

To take a closer look at a couple of concrete examples, #2 in Kepping's list is a word which appears in the manuscript as *rjijr* [illegible] (善 "skilful, good at"; 能 "can") but reads *njwi* [illegible] (能 "can") in the corresponding part of the printed edition.[593] As their pronunciation shows, they are completely different words, even if there is overlap between their meanings. They appear in the following sentence:

589 Keping 1977, 162. Taking into consideration the corrections, these instances do not constitute discrepancies with the printed edition of the text. On the reversal mark in the medieval Chinese manuscript culture, as well as other correction marks and punctuation, see Galambos 2013 and 2014a.

590 *Ibid.*, 163–165.

591 Ibid.

592 Sun 2010, 70.

593 Kepping (1977, 163) seems to misread the right hand side of the character in the manuscript and ends up with a non-existent character. I am following Sun Yingxin's (2010, 71) reading, which also matches the structure of the character in the manuscript.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3592	1531	2805	1531	3844	2716	4601	3583	1416	2098
ɣjɨr	gja	bju̱	gja	dźjị j	rjijr	nja	tja	djwu	ŋa
朕	軍	將	軍	用	能	△	者	知	△
I	military	general	troops	use	can	2SG	TOP	know	1SG

I know that the general is the one who is good at using the troops.

In the Chinese original of Sunzi's biography in the *Shiji*, this is expressed as "I already know that the general is capable of using the troops" 寡人已知將軍能用兵矣, which for all practical reasons matches the translations. The discrepancy between the manuscript and the printed edition does not change the meaning at all, the alternate words are synonymous. In fact, these two words are also attested together as the compound word *nwi rj̭ẹ* [illegible] with the meaning "able, clever."[594] In light of the above, we can see that use of one word instead of the other is motivated on the one hand by the existence of a binom in which they appear together and, on the other hand, by the fact that they are synonymous.

Example #5 in Kepping's list is a word that is written in the manuscript as *ndạ* [illegible] (言 words, speech) but appears in the printed edition as *źụ ndạ* [illegible] (敕言 words of an imperial order), a discrepancy which Kepping explains in terms of the printed text clarifying the manuscript. This is, however, only part of the difference, as the entire sentence is quite different in the two versions.[595] The manuscript reads as follows:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5306	1045	1918	3575	0930	1279
dzjwɨ	dạ	mji	nji	dju	·jɨ
君	言	不	聽	有	謂
ruler	word	not	listen	there is	say

They say that there are cases when the words of the ruler are not obeyed.

594 See entry 4488–1 in Kychanov's dictionary (2006, 634).
595 Kepping (*ibid.*, 164) lists these differences under separate numbers as word-level discrepancies, rather than looking at the whole sentence. This is not ideal because both sentences are grammatically correct even if different, that is, the difference does not stem from the omission or inclusion of individual words but is at the level of the sentence.

In the corresponding place, the printed edition has a slightly more elaborate version of the same sentence:

5306	1139	2806	1045	1918	3575	2090	5815	0930	1279
dzjwɨ	·jij	zur	dạ	mji	nji	lew	tsjɨ	dju	·jɨ
君	之	敕	言	不	聽	可	亦	有	謂
ruler	GEN	imperial order	word	not	listen	can	also	there is	say

They say that there can also be cases when the orders of the ruler are not obeyed.

The same expression appears in the Chinese original as "there are cases when the ruler's orders are not accepted [=abided by]" 君命有所不受, referring to the idea that once the general has been appointed and military operations are in process, he does not have to follow the commands of the ruler because he is in charge of all operations. It is clear from the differences that they do not significantly change the meaning of the sentence; the manuscript version simply uses a more condense form to say the same thing.

There is no need to go through all of the discrepancies between the manuscript and the printed version to see that the differences do not actually tell us which version is based on which. What seems a clarification by adding an extra word from one perspective, can be simply explained as an accidental omission from the other. After all, it is only natural that people make mistakes when copying texts, as it is amply demonstrated by several correction marks in this very manuscript.[596] In fact, considering a number of other circumstances in connection with these two versions, I am of the opinion that it is more likely that the manuscript version was copied from a printed edition, rather than having been written in preparation for producing the printed book.

One of the major problems with the scenario that the manuscript version served as a draft is that it does not have the commentaries which are indicated in its title and are in fact present in the printed edition. Kepping acknowledges this difficulty herself, suggesting that a possible reason for this may have been that the copyist was only interested in the main text of the *Sunzi* and thus omitted the commentaries, at the same time keeping the original title of the work.[597] This is a

596 The few cases of corrections I can detect on the facsimile images involve the reversal of adjacent characters written in the wrong order and the deletion of mistaken or superfluous characters.

597 *Ibid.*

reasonable explanation but it somewhat contradicts the point about the manuscript being a draft for the printed text. The logical thing would be that a draft of a printed edition included the commentaries the way they were going to appear in the final print. Yet in this case we have a manuscript version that was obviously copied from an earlier commentated edition (be it a manuscript or printed copy) that included the three commentaries referred to in the title. Nevertheless, the copyist left out the commentaries, revealing, as Kepping correctly observed, that he was only interested in the main text. In my view, this is an indication that instead of working on a new edition of the text, especially one that was going to appear with the three commentaries, the person responsible for the creation of the manuscript made the copy for his own purposes, perhaps for the sake of studying it privately or for keeping it with him as a reference work he could consult when needed.

A parallel case of copying an annotated version of a text without the commentaries is the Tangut version of the annotated *Mencius* mentioned above. This is a manuscript written in a semi-cursive hand and, just like our *Sunzi* manuscript, is believed to have been a draft for a printed edition.[598] Peng Xiangqian, who studied the manuscript at length, is of the opinion that the commentaries were deleted by the translator without translating those.[599] Yet it may be the case that the translator was using a Chinese version which did not have the commentaries or, as it probably happened with the Tangut *Sunzi* manuscript, the commentary was left out while making an abridged copy from a Tangut edition that contained it. The latter scenario is also supported by the fact that such a complete edition of the *Mengzi zhangju* was recently identified in the St. Petersburg collection.[600] This is manuscript Inv. No. 6850, a scroll written in a fully cursive hand, with 48 surviving lines. The scroll contains both the main text and the commentary, confirming that such an edition indeed existed in Tangut translation.

Going back to our *Sunzi* manuscript, additional details can be cited to support the theory that the scroll was intended for personal use. One is that the manuscript is written in a cursive hand, which is more likely in the case of a private copy, as opposed to a version prepared for others to read and use. After all, the process of printing would have still necessitated additional stages, such as writing out a clean copy of the text together with the commentaries, arranging the final layout, and then carving the "camera ready copy" onto woodblocks, and for

598 Peng 2012, Nie 2012b, 3.
599 Peng 2012.
600 Nie 2012b.

all of these steps a non-cursive hand would have been necessary. When producing a copy for one's own use, however, a hasty hand would have posed no obstacles whatsoever, as the copyist would have had little difficulty reading his own handwriting, and would have been less concerned about the aesthetic qualities of the copy. Similarly, the lack of any kind of formatting that would anticipate the final layout of the printed text is an argument against the "draft" theory. Conversely, a personal copy made from an existing book would not necessarily retain the layout of the book pages, since the point of the exercise would have been the duplication of the content.

Moreover, the *Sunzi* manuscript is in the form of a scroll. Although the scroll had been the main book form in China and the rest of East Asia up to the latter part of the Tang dynasty, from the second half of the 9th and early 10th centuries other forms became increasingly common. The Dunhuang manuscripts provide abundant evidence for this shift in book form, as around this period we see the appearance of non-orthodox forms such as the butterfly, whirlwind, concertina, pothi and notebook, many of which betray a Central Asian influence.[601] Yet the scroll never disappeared but continued to be used alongside other forms. The Khara-khoto texts are significantly later than the Dunhuang manuscripts and likewise come from the periphery of the Chinese domain, where the influence of Central Asian book cultures would have been presumably more pronounced. Consequently, among the surviving body of Tangut texts the scroll is relatively uncommon and most books which are complete enough to betray their original form are bound in butterfly, concertina or notebook form. The fact that our cursive *Sunzi* manuscript survived as a scroll may be a sign that binding it properly was not necessary. It was simply jotted down on a piece of paper and then rolled up, never going through the more elaborate process of binding.

A point worth noting in this context is that concertina books were among the most common ones in Khara-khoto. A concertina is essentially a scroll that is not rolled up but folded into an accordion-like shape. Therefore there is a fine distinction between scroll and concertina and without the outside covers commonly attached to properly bound concertina books, it is sometimes hard to tell them apart.[602] Fortunately, many of the books were found folded as concertina books and thus we know their original form. But it is also possible that some of the deformed fragments came from concertina books but modern conservators flattened them out believing that they used to be scrolls. For this reason we cannot

601 For codicological evidence for a move to new books forms among the Dunhuang manuscripts, see Galambos 2014b.
602 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981, 27.

rule out the possibility that our manuscript scroll was at one point also in the form of a concertina, which would still not resolve the issue whether it was a temporary draft of a printed edition.

The draft theory also raises some questions with regard to the nature of the entire corpus of texts found in Khara-khoto. First of all, why would an earlier version of a printed edition, a copy that already served its purpose, be deposited in a funerary stupa? We know that the Kozlov expedition found a skeleton in a sitting position inside the so-called library stupa and it seems reasonable to assume that the stupa was dedicated to this person. As mentioned above, this parallels the situation of the Dunhuang cave library which initially also held the statue with the ashes of Hongbian. Thus both libraries were somehow connected with a burial, probably that of a prominent person in the region.

The nature of the Dunhuang collection and the reason for its interment have long perplexed scholars.[603] Aurel Stein, who was the first Westerner to examine the cave, advanced the theory of "sacred waste," drawing attention to the existence of a tradition that prohibits the destruction of any writing with the word of the Buddha, no matter how small or fragmentary it was. Naturally, this was only one of the possible explanations and there were other views. Most notably Pelliot was a proponent of the theory that the manuscripts were hidden in the cave in order to protect them from an invading force, which he believed to be the Tanguts.[604] Later on, building on Stein's initial hypothesis, Fujieda Akira suggested that the Dunhuang manuscripts were deposited in the library cave because with the spread of printing in the 10th century the printed volumes of the Buddhist Canon displaced manuscripts, which were thus placed in the cave as sacred waste.[605] Regardless of which theory is correct, in the case of Khara-khoto neither of these explanations is likely because it is improbable that a stupa would be used either to deposit unwanted scriptures or to hide texts in order to protect them from a hostile invasion, especially since it was in such a highly visible place. It is evident that Buddhist texts interred in a stupa must have had a function related to the consecration of the site. Yet even though the bigger part of the material found there comprised Buddhist texts, there were also secular ones, including the *Sunzi*. These must have been connected to the person buried there, having been part of either a personal library or a larger collection under her or his control. In either case, it is hard to explain why a draft copy of the *Sunzi* would have

603 See, for example, Rong 1999 and Imaeda 2008.
604 For an overview of the various theories proposed to explain the nature of the Dunhuang cave library, see van Schaik and Galambos 2012, 19–28.
605 Fujieda 1973, 128.

been preserved in the stupa. In contrast, it is not inconceivable that a personal copy of a text that belonged to someone would be deposited in that person's tomb.

5.4 Co-existence of manuscript and print

While none of the above points provide conclusive evidence for establishing the temporal priority between the two versions of *Sunzi*, when taken together they suggest that the manuscript was not a draft for the printed edition but, quite to the contrary, was itself abridged from a three-commentary edition. Indeed, one cannot avoid noticing that the conjecture that the manuscript version preceded the printed one reflects a commonly held assumption that manuscripts generally precede printed texts, which is in turn largely based on a modern understanding of the course of the evolution of book culture. According to this understanding, printing technology represented a more advanced stage of evolution, which provided a definite solution for the tedious task of copying texts by hand. Consequently, as a general principle, manuscripts predate printed books, and if they are from the same period, the manuscript must have served as a temporary means to arrive at the technologically more advanced printed version. A classic example of this view is Fujieda's above-mentioned explanation for the sealing of the Dunhuang cave library, a theory that is easily refuted by the coexistence of large quantities of manuscripts and printed books found at Khara-khoto.

Yet there is undeniably some truth to this model because before the spread of printing manuscript culture was the main setting in which texts were reproduced and circulated. The appearance and spread of printing modified this by adding an alternative mode of book production.[606] Still, in many cases manuscript and print were conceived not as opposites in a binary split between old and new technologies but as complementary modes of production. By virtue of their very nature, woodblocks faithfully reproduced handwritten originals, consequently printed texts and manuscripts did not significantly differ visually.[607] For this reason it is perhaps better to understand early woodblock printing as an ex-

606 For a useful account of the changes associated with the advent of printing, see Cherniack 1994, 32–57.
607 Kornicki 2006, 25.

tension of scribal culture, rather than a brand new technology that brought radical changes to the lives of literate communities.[608] If it represented an advancement, it would not have been as obvious to contemporary people as we tend to imagine today. In fact, even though woodblock printing technology was already known in the late 7th century, it subsequently fell into disuse and remained largely ignored until after the Tang period.[609] Hence there is certainly a diachronic dimension to the spread of printing, which is also demonstrated by the differences in the composition of the Dunhuang and Khara-khoto corpora, as already discussed above.

Yet prints never completely replaced manuscripts which continued to be used until modern times throughout East Asia, especially in a Buddhist context. Sutra copying for the sake of accruing karmic merits, by either copying them personally or paying someone else to do so, was an essential part of Buddhist practice since the early medieval period. But even secular texts continued to be hand-copied for various reasons. Discussing the survival of scribal culture in Japan during the Edo period (1603–1867), Peter Kornicki argues that manuscripts were used alongside printed editions and that copying printed books by hand was a widespread practice attributable to a range of factors.[610] People filled notebooks with extracts from books they read, copied religious texts as an act of devotion, created artistic calligraphies of secular texts, or simply copied printed books because those were more expensive, not easily available or at times even banned.[611] It is only natural that all of these reasons also played a role in the production of manuscripts in Khara-khoto and other regions of China's north-western peripheries.

The Khara-khoto corpus dates to the 11th–13th centuries and comprises both printed and manuscript books. Nevertheless, the majority of the textual material is undated and without dated colophons or other clues to their date, it is not easy to determine the temporal sequence of the items. The Dunhuang manuscripts contain very few printed texts and this indicates the rarity of printing at the time. At the same time, there are manuscripts with colophons and notes that assert that they had been copied from printed editions. For example, several manuscript

608 I am grateful to Michael Friedrich of Hamburg University for pointing this out to me.

609 Timothy Barrett (2008) argues that the reason why printing technology did not achieve widespread application during the Tang was that it was too closely associated with the "usurper" Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) who had used it for the dissemination of Buddhist texts as part of her quest for legitimacy. Therefore it was only after the end of the dynasty that printing was once again considered a viable option for state-sponsored projects. For additional points and references concerning this topic, see also Barrett 2012.

610 Kornicki 2006.

611 *Ibid.*, 30–38.

notebooks of the *Diamond sutra* (Pelliot chinois 2094, 2876, 3398, 3493; Or.8210/S.5451, Or.8210/S.5534, Or.8210/S.6762) contain a note that states that the text was copied "from the true printed text of the Guo family of Xichuan" 西川過家真印本.[612] The wording slightly differs across the available examples but they all claim to have been copied from the same printed edition of the *Diamond sutra*. One of the manuscripts is dated to 905 and presumably the other ones also date to around the same period. It is clear that the source of the "true printed text" 真印本 is in each case recorded as a means of ascribing authority to the version through establishing a textual lineage, even if the text itself was not different from manuscript copies circulating in Dunhuang locally. The handwritten copies of the *Diamond sutra* made from an edition printed in western Sichuan testify that printed editions did not always represent the next stage in the chain of textual transmission and that they were often copied by hand, thereby re-entering the realm of manuscript culture. Not only that, but whatever advantages the Sichuanese edition of the *Diamond sutra* was thought to have had in comparison with contemporaneous manuscript versions, the new handwritten copies made from that edition obviously also claimed to possess those. Therefore not only the text but also the function and authority associated with its printed or manuscript versions could be transferred from one medium to the other.

A telling example of the symbiotic relationship between manuscript and print is found on one of the folios of the printed edition of the Tangut *Biography of Sunzi*, which takes up two pages in the book. On both pages the top of the page is missing, along with the first two characters in each row. Accordingly, the lines only have 11 characters instead of the 13 seen on adjacent pages. As a means of solving the problem of missing characters, someone added those by hand, thereby completing the pages and restoring the text. Although it is not entirely visible on the available reproductions, it seems that the paper itself is intact which would mean that the missing part of the text is a printing error; perhaps the top part of the printing block broke off or became deformed and slightly bent, as a result of which all impressions made from this block were defective. The restoration of missing parts of a printed text in this manner is a phenomenon well attested in later print culture in both East Asia and the West. For example, the sole extant Zhixiutang 芝秀堂 edition of Cui Bao's 崔豹 (fl. 290–306) *Gujin zhu* 古今注 has four missing pages which have been supplemented at a later time by copying the text from another edition by hand. Doing this, the copyist emulated the layout and visual appearance of the original.[613] To cite an example from the

612 Li 2006, 10.

613 Kong 2008.

print culture of premodern England, the library of Worcester College, Oxford owns a damaged copy of George Chapman's play *May-day* (1611), in which the title-page and the first leaf of text was replaced by a handwritten copy; it is possible that the manuscript copy used in place of the missing text might be dating from as early as the 1620s.[614]

Such cases were almost always the result of a conservation effort carried out by subsequent owners or users of the book much later, often centuries after its initial printing. Yet in our case the handwritten characters must have been added before the stupa in Khara-khoto was closed, most likely soon after the printing of the book. In fact, this probably happened as part of the production process and all copies printed from this set of blocks were supplemented in a similar manner. Considering that this post-production patch-up work was carried out sometime in the 12th century, that is, relatively early in the history of printing in East Asia, this may be the earliest extant example of such a hybrid correction in the world.

Although in the case of the Tangut *Sunzi* the handwritten correction was not part of the original design of the book, in many cases printed books and shorter texts such as almanacs or forms were intended to be filled in by users in handwriting.[615] Neither was the technique of supplementing missing text by hand an invention of the age of print, as there are numerous mutilated or damaged medieval manuscripts that have been repaired in this manner. It is not uncommon to find among the Dunhuang manuscripts composite scrolls in which separate sheets of paper had been physically inserted between existing ones subsequently in order to replenish missing portions of the text. In fact, the 10th century monk Daozhen 道真, who is credited with initiating the project of assembling the monastic library which later grew into the vast manuscript collection known to us as the Dunhuang manuscripts, was also actively involved in such conservation work, as he records this in a colophon attached to a list of manuscripts:

> On the 15th day of the 6th month of *jiawu* 甲午, the 5th year of the Changxing 長興 reign (934), Daozhen, a monk of the Sanjie monastery 三界寺, having observed that the monastery's collection of sutras and shastras was incomplete, bowed in devotion and made a great vow. He respectfully requested old and damaged sutras from various collections, and deposited

614 Woudhuysen 1996, 24. For a discussion of such publications in pre-modern Europe, see *ibid*., 20–25; Brayman Hackel 2005, 29–31; Chartier 2007, 398–400.
615 See this point made in Chartier 2007, 398–399.

> these in his monastery. He repaired their beginnings and ends so that they could be disseminated to the world and bring glory to Buddhism for ten thousand generations, as eternal offerings…[616]

Daozhen's efforts to collect Buddhist manuscripts and the conservation carried out as part of this project lay at the foundation of the forming of the enormous collection of the Dunhuang cave library. In some cases Daozhen supplied the missing text by recycling sheets from older fragments but there were no doubt also cases when he or his associates copied parts of texts specifically for the purpose of supplementing missing portions of incomplete manuscripts. Although in the case of the Khara-khoto materials we cannot name any particular person who worked on restoring the manuscripts and books, the need to repair damaged items and replenish missing text was certainly a routine part of book culture, regardless of whether the books themselves were printed or written by hand.

But print and manuscript could also intermix in a number of other ways. Among the Khara-khoto materials, there are examples of printed images being attached to the beginning of concertina manuscripts of Buddhist sutras. Manuscript Inv. No. 2208 from the IOM collection, for instance, contains *juan* 1 of the Tangut translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, which is by far the most common Tangut text in the Khara-khoto corpus. At the beginning of the volume is a woodblock print image of the Buddha preaching to his disciples, glued to the manuscript that follows it.[617] The exact same illustration, probably printed from the same woodblock, also appears at the beginning of *juan* 160 of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* (Inv. No. 1763), which suggests that each *juan* of this sutra may have begun with the same frontispiece. In turn, this also demonstrates that the image was not arbitrary but had a significance for this particular sutra. To cite another example, the concertina manuscript Inv. No. 150 (IOM) of the Tangut translation of the *Dīrghâgama sūtra* also has a printed frontispiece, likewise showing the Buddha preaching to his disciples.[618]

616 Rong 2013, 120.

617 Jean-Pierre Drège (2006, 348) points out that illustrations in books from Khara-khoto are almost always in the form of frontispieces at the beginning of a book. In fact, this phenomenon may not be limited to Tangut books because we can observe a similar pattern in Chinese books with Buddhist texts.

618 Colour photographs of these manuscripts appear at the beginning of the facsimile edition of Khara-khoto materials in Russian collections, published in Shanghai (Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo et al. 1996–, vols. 15 and 17).

An additional way of mixing manuscript and print within the same physical book was to use recycled paper on the cover of concertinas. One such case is manuscript Inv. No. 1786 (IOM), a manuscript copy of *juan* 195 of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, in which the cover is reinforced with recycled paper, the pages of which are turned inwards. Even so, part of the text on the paper used for the binding shows through and it is possible to discern that these used to be pages of a printed dictionary.

The above examples show that even after the spread of print technology, printed books did not supersede manuscripts but complemented those. We can find little evidence of any conflict between the two technologies and in most cases it is discernible that manuscript production had a different function from printing. Printed books often included text written by hand for a variety of reasons, either to correct printing errors and replenish missing text, or as part of the daily use of the book (e.g. punctuation, reading marks, notes, comments, dedications or colophons). Similarly, manuscripts could be supplemented by printed material, such as the illustrations seen at the beginning of the manuscript copies of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* and *Dīrghâgama sūtra* in the Kozlov collection. Accordingly, printing was not seen as a more advanced technology that cut costs and maximised efficiency and the clear line that separates it from manuscript production is to a great extent a modern construct.[619]

5.5 Editions and print runs

The two pages of the printed edition of the Tangut *Sunzi* where the missing text was replaced by hand (Fig. 15) merit an additional observation, namely, that the damaged woodblock used for the printing was probably not new. Otherwise the block causing the problem would have almost certainly been carved anew while the whole project was still in process and the original carvers were available. In our case, however, the woodblock was used in its defective form, suggesting that the printing was done at a later time, possibly long after the blocks had been carved. This point brings up an important question regarding the date of the book, since there could have been a significant stretch of time between the initial

619 Discussing reading in early modern England, Heidi Brayman Hackel (2005, 33) emphasizes that "[t]he material differences between print and manuscript, important though they are, are exaggerated and institutionalized by modern research tools and methods: with separate stacks, curatorial staffs, and reference guides, printed books and manuscript volumes are too neatly segregated in modern research and scholarship."

print run done shortly after the blocks were carved and the one we have today. It is also true that older blocks are more likely to be damaged, whether on account of being stored improperly or due to repeated use. Even though the Tangut *Sunzi* is undated, the possibility that there is a gap of several decades between the time the text was translated and first printed and the time the St. Petersburg copy was produced raises the possibility that this copy may have been printed after the Mongol conquest of Khara-khoto in 1227.

Fig. 15: The two damaged pages (one folio) from the printed *Sunzi* in which the missing characters on the top were replaced by hand. (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Inv. No. 773. Image used with permission.)[620]

Modern scholars generally believe that Tangut translations of Chinese military texts were produced in the second half of the 12th century but this is merely a hypothesis that is based on the fact that the Chinese classics, which are likewise

620 This item is accidentally marked in earlier publications as Inv. No. 771. I am grateful for Viacheslav Zaytsev of the IOM for pointing out this to me.

secular in nature, were also translated at that time.[621] An additional evidence is an opinion expressed in oral form by Menshikov regarding the type of paper.[622] At the moment we have no reasons to doubt this conclusion but its conjectural nature is worth keeping in mind. Yet to further assume that the excavated copies of military works are also from this time would only be possible if they had all been printed shortly after being translated. The damaged woodblock of the Tangut *Sunzi* points to a different scenario in which multiple print runs may have been produced from the same set of blocks, possibly decades apart. Such cases are well documented in the rich scholarship on Song print culture and there is no reason to suppose that contemporaneous Tangut publishing, which admittedly owed a great deal to Song print culture, functioned in a dissimilar manner. Considering the volume and relatively early date of printed books discovered at Khara-khoto, it would be important to include all this material in traditional research on Chinese editions (i.e. the field of *banbenxue* 版本學) and, conversely, to apply the extensive expertise of scholars working in that field for studying the Tangut books from Khara-khoto.

Whether the Tangut edition of the *Sunzi* postdates the Mongol conquest or not, it has no implications for the date of the manuscript copy. This is clearly the case even if I am correct in assuming that it was copied from the printed edition, rather than the other way around, because nothing suggests that it was copied from this particular print run. Indeed, it could have easily been copied from the first print, not long after the translation of the Chinese original was accomplished. Therefore, in a paradoxical way it is also possible that even though the manuscript was based on the printed edition, it predates our copy of that edition by several decades on account of having been produced from an earlier print run made with the same printing blocks.

In the previous pages we have examined the relationship between two surviving versions of the Tangut translation of the *Sunzi* followed by the *Biography of Sunzi*. The combination of these two otherwise distinct texts was probably part of a lost Chinese edition which was available in the Tangut state. The two Tangut versions clearly represent the same translation as the discrepancies between them are minor and for the most part inconsequential. Having compared the printed version against the manuscript, modern scholars came to the conclusion that the printed version postdated the manuscript, correcting and supplementing it in a number of instances. Accordingly, the manuscript copy was assumed to have served as a draft copy in the process of producing the printed edition. I take

621 Keping 1979, 10.
622 *Ibid.*

issue with this assumption and argue that the manuscript copy was made from the printed edition, even though not necessarily from the one we have today.

In itself, trying to determine which version was the earlier one is of minor import and may seem like a trivial pursuit. It does not fundamentally change our understanding of the Tangut translation. Yet this particular case helps to reconsider some long-held assumptions concerning the relationship between manuscript and print in the medieval period. It goes against the common, typically unstated, belief that manuscripts predate printed texts, which ultimately stems from a linear view of the history of the book. By examining the two versions of the Tangut *Sunzi* and drawing on evidence from other texts found at Dunhuang and Khara-khoto, I attempted to expose the faults of this assumption and demonstrate that manuscripts not only continued to be used after the introduction of print technology but the two modes of book production complemented each other in a symbiotic way. Woodblock printing was not considered a radically new technology that rendered older modes of production obsolete. Quite the opposite, scribal and printed cultures coexisted for centuries, as is evidenced by the corpus of Chinese, Tangut and Tibetan texts found in Khara-khoto. Even the much earlier Dunhuang corpus includes manuscripts made from printed editions, yet another indication that without other supportive evidence manuscripts should not automatically be judged to be earlier than printed texts.

Finally, the case presented here attests to the significance of the materiality of excavated texts. Former research has given little attention to this aspect of the Tangut *Sunzi* (and other Tangut books and fragments) and primarily focused on textual and linguistic issues, even though the physical form of these manuscripts and printed books affords important clues to the circumstances of their production and use, not to speak of the relationship between different versions. Including these parameters in our enquiry enables us to uncover a wealth of additional information which in turn has implications for interpreting the social and cultural conditions of the texts in their original social setting. This chapter tries to call attention to the inherent potential of such an approach for enhancing our understanding of the Tangut book, be it printed or written by hand.

6 Translation vs. adaptation

The Tangut collection of the British Library includes an incomplete manuscript of a Tangut version of the *General's Garden*, a Chinese military strategy text ostensibly written by the great strategist Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234).[623] Scholars since the Qing dynasty have repeatedly called into question the authenticity of the Chinese text, and since none of its known editions precede the late Ming dynasty, it has generally been treated as a forgery. As a result, the work has been largely neglected in the philological tradition. The discovery of a Tangut translation, however, made it clear that the text existed as far back as the 12th century and was considered important enough to be included among the works translated by the Tanguts. This chapter examines this manuscript in an attempt to shed light on the relationship of the translation with the Chinese original. My main concern is how closely the translator followed the Chinese text and whether he took any liberties in adapting it for a Tangut readership. In this connection I am also interested whether the discrepancies between the translation and the Chinese text are due to the translator having used a different edition from those that are available today or he knowingly introduced some changes that reflect his specific point of view, in which case I would like to reconstruct that point of view.

The manuscript in question is part of the Stein collection of the British Library, known under the pressmark Or.12380/1840. It was first studied in 1962 by Eric Grinstead, Assistant Keeper in charge of the Chinese collections at the British Museum, where the Tangut collection was kept at that time. He published a short notice in the *British Museum Quarterly*, pointing out that this was the first non-Buddhist manuscript identified in the collection.[624] The timing of Grinstead's work on this text is of interest itself, as his notice came out shortly after the 1960 publication of Nevsky's posthumous works which marked the beginning of a new stage of Tangut studies not only in Russia but also in China and Japan. Nevsky's works also generated an interest among scholars in Britain, most notably Gerard Clauson and Grinstead. Nevsky's dictionary was admittedly one of the key tools

623 As far as I can tell, the English title *General's Garden* is Eric Grinstead's translation. A more accurate rendition of *Jiangyuan* would be *General's Grove*, which is also corroborated by the Tangut title. Yet because the text has been known under this title in English scholarship, I will continue to use it to refer to the Tangut version as a way to differentiate it from the Chinese versions.
624 Grinstead 1962, 35. In a publication a year earlier Grinstead (1961) had already identified several non-Buddhist texts, including pages of a printed edition of the Tangut *Sunzi*.

that enabled Grinstead to commence work on the identification of Tangut fragments at the British Museum. No doubt Clauson himself, and his unpublished *Skeleton Dictionary of Tangut*, were also important resources.

In his notice about the *General's Garden*, Grinstead made a number of useful observations with regard to the Tangut text in comparison with its Chinese original, and published a photograph of the final portion of the manuscript. The image showed eleven lines of the manuscript, including the end title, which was, of course, crucial for the identification of the text. Showing his ability to read Tangut, he added Chinese characters next to the Tangut ones, leaving out very few which he apparently was unable to decipher (Fig. 16). Almost forty years later, following a visit to the British Library, Ksenia Kepping did a more detailed analysis of this manuscript and came to the conclusion that the Tangut version was not a word-for-word translation but rather an adaptation composed for Tangut readers.[625] As part of her study, she also identified an indigenous Tangut nomenclature for neighbouring peoples based on the four cardinal directions, although this was not based on this particular manuscript.

Fig. 16: The last portion of the *General's Garden* with Grinstead's Chinese transcriptions.[626] The Chinese characters next to the Tangut are Grinstead's reading of the text.

625 Kepping and Gong 2003, 23.

626 Grinstead 1962.

More recently, black and white images of the manuscript were published, enabling scholars to study the manuscript without having to travel to London.[627] Unfortunately the quality of the publication was far from perfect and only allowed a basic reading of the manuscript. Among the features not visible on the reproductions were the red dots that appear next to some characters, the significance of which will be addressed, although not solved, in this chapter. Another detail that could not be properly seen in the published images was the physical boundaries of the original manuscript. While the edges were mostly clear at the bottom part of the manuscript, the edges sometimes disappeared and one was left guessing where they were. At the top part of the manuscript they were mostly invisible and there was no indication whatsoever about the margins. Moreover, the manuscript was presented as not having any backing paper which was certainly not the case by the time the photographs were made. It seems that the editors regarded the backing an intervention that should not be part of the original item and made a deliberate effort to present the manuscript this way. Accordingly, the viewer had no way of knowing how much of the manuscript was missing and where some of its boundaries were. These types of problems were effectively solved when IDP digitised the manuscript and made high quality images accessible through its website.[628]

Despite the availability of images, the manuscript generated little attention from Tangut specialists, perhaps because they believed that the studies of Grinstead and especially Kepping have treated it adequately and there was not much left to do with it. The manuscript, however, has a lot more to offer. Despite being incomplete, because of the parallel structure of the sentences and phrases, it is possible to reconstruct a larger portion of the text than we currently have. There are also features such as the red dots which may shed additional light on the circumstances of its production and use. Most importantly, its relationship and fidelity to the Chinese original may provide insights into how Chinese texts were translated and what Tangut readership appreciated in them.

627 Xibei di'er minzu xueyuan et al. 2007, v. 2, 217–219.

628 <http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=3195930612;recnum=27171;index=3>

6.1 The Chinese text

The *Jiangyuan* is traditionally attributed to Zhuge Liang, a statesman and strategist of the 3rd century, whose name was immortalised for the general public in the 14th-century novel *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義, known in English as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.[629] Zhuge Liang is particularly known for his uncommon intelligence and strategic abilities, which he used to outmanoeuvre his enemies and achieve victory. Although historically he was not always successful in battle, he became an iconic figure symbolising military wisdom.[630] His literary skills played an important role in developing the romantic notion of him as someone who had equal facility with the pen and the sword. While the biography of Zhuge Liang in the 3rd-century official history *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 includes a list of the works he authored, the *Jiangyuan* is not among them.

These circumstances have led scholars to the conclusion that the *Jiangyuan*, also known as *Xinshu* 心書 (Book of Heart) or *Xinshu* 新書 (New Book), was a relatively late forgery. The extensive borrowings from other texts on military strategy that appear in this work have also been taken as an indication that the work was collated from other texts with the intent to forge a treatise that could be attributed to Zhuge Liang. The label of forgery in itself was enough to diminish the book's value and to exclude it from serious scholarly enquiry.

One of the main sources on textual forgeries is Zhang Xincheng's 張心澂 *Weishu tongkao* 偽書通考, a study published in 1939 but rooted in the evidential scholarship of the Qing period.[631] It has been called "the most convenient summary of the many aspects and degrees of forgery, misrepresentation and misattribution found in 1,105 titles."[632] Although archaeological discoveries and recent scholarship have since proven that quite a few texts Zhang Xincheng had considered forgeries were in fact authentic works long pre-dating the time of their alleged forging, the book remains a basic source for locating information related to the authenticity of texts scattered in traditional sources. For the *Xinshu*, it records the arguments of former scholars, starting with that of the Qing dynasty scholar Yao Jiheng 姚際恆 (1647–1715), who in his *Gujin weishu kao* 古今偽書考

629 In a scenario not unlike that of the *Jiangyuan*, one of the most important early editions of the novel *Sanguo yanyi* is also a translation, namely, the Manchu version of the novel printed in 1650, before the publication of Manchu translations of the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* (West 2005). On Manchu translations of novels and other literary texts, see also Durrant 1979 and Gimm 1987.

630 For details of his life, see de Crespigny 2007, 1172–1173 and also Tillman 2002b.

631 Zhang 1939. For the section on the *Xinshu*, see *ibid*., 809–810.

632 Wilkinson 1998, 276.

briefly stated that even though the *Xinshu* was attributed to Zhuge Liang, it was in fact a forgery.[633]

The editors of the monumental *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, which was completed in 1781, wrote the following assessment of the *Xinshu* (Book of Heart):[634]

> *Xinshu* 心書, in one *juan*
> A copy selected and submitted by the Governor of Shaanxi 陝西.
> Old versions attribute this work to Zhuge Liang. The entire book discusses the ways in which the general should deploy his troops. In Tao Zongyi's 陶宗儀 (?–1396) *Shuofu* 說郛, this text is called *Xinshu* 新書 (New Book). The title was first changed to *Xinshu* (Book of Heart) when Liu Rang 劉讓 of Guanxi 關西 carved it onto woodblocks during the Hongzhi 宏治 reign (1487–1505). He also added the two "Expedition memorials" (*chushi biao* 出師表) to it. Then during the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1521–1567) Zhang Rui 張鋭 of Kui 夔 reprinted it, adding the "Kuimentu" 夔門圖 and keeping Liu Rang's preface. Later on, the presented scholar (*jinshi* 進士) Kou Wei 寇韋 from Yunyangxiang 鄖陽鄉 wrote a short postface. They all thought that this was a genuine work written by Zhuge Liang. But examination reveals that most of the fifty sections are appropriated from the *Sunzi* 孫子, to which circuitous and vulgar words are added. It is utterly unworthy to mention it [as a genuine work]! It seems that it was fabricated by an ignorant person and came into being later than the *Jiangyuan*.

Clearly, the editors reveal a markedly negative opinion regarding the literary quality of the *Xinshu*, stating not only that it was forged but also that it was "fabricated by an ignorant person." But more importantly, they also provide a history of the editions of the work. Thus they claim that initially, in the *Shuofu* it was still called *Xinshu* (New Book), whereas since its Ming woodblock editions the first character in the title was changed from *xin* 新 ("new") to *xin* 心 ("heart"). It is also apparent that the editors thought that this work was different from the *Jiangyuan*, on which they wrote the following entry:[635]

> *Jiangyuan*, in one *juan*
> A copy from the Tianyige 天一閣 library of Fan Maozhu's 范懋柱 (1718–1788) family in Zhejiang 浙江.
>
> Old editions of this text claim that it is the work of Zhuge Liang. Formerly, under the Ming it had a preface by assistant censor-in-chief Ning Zhongsheng 寧仲升, saying that it used to be part of the collection of the scholar Zhou Yuan 周源. An examination of this book reveals that it has not been recorded by cataloguers and appears for the first time in You Mao's 尤袤 catalogue (1127–1194) *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目, also as a work of Zhuge Liang. It

633 Yao 1933, 43.
634 Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 100, 2049.
635 *Ibid*.

> seems to be a forgery from later times. Moreover, the *Jingji zhi* 經籍志 catalogue written by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540?–1620) of the Ming dynasty also contains Zhuge Liang's books such as the *Xinshu* 心書 (Book of Heart), *Liujun jing* 六軍鏡, *Xinjue* 心訣 and *Bingji fa* 兵機法, all attributed to Zhuge Liang. It seems that starting from the Song dynasty many books on military strategy were attributed to Zhuge Liang, just as from the Ming dynasty many books on magic arts (*shushu* 術數) were ascribed to Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375). These works are discussed on the streets and marketplace, and there is absolutely no need to subject them to a thorough analysis.

Unfortunately, it is unclear what the difference between the *Xinshu* and *Jiangyuan* the editors of the *Siku quanshu tiyao* saw was but it is obvious that these were two different works. Yet in later periods it seems that *Xinshu* and *Jiangyuan* were merely two titles of the same work. The discovery of a Tangut translation of the work with the title *The General's Garden* corroborates this and at the same time confirms that a title that corresponds to the Chinese *Jiangyuan* was already in use during the Song period. But what is apparent in the description of these two allegedly different works is that once deemed to be forgeries, they were immediately pushed aside as unworthy of scholarly attention. This implies that part of their criteria for evaluating books was the authentication of authorship, and if a work was not produced by an eminent figure, it had little value.

The editors of the *Siku quanshu tiyao* were able to trace the *Xinshu* to the *Shuofu*, Tao Zongyi's monumental encyclopaedia. The first printed edition of the *Xinshu* was done during the Hongzhi reign (1487–1505) and the second, during the Jiajing reign (1522–1567). Even though no copy of the first edition survives, Liu Rang's preface was transmitted and it allows us to date the first edition to 1489. It seems that before that date the work was transmitted exclusively in handwritten form. Today the earliest surviving edition is a little booklet printed with moveable type in 1517, that is, before the alleged second edition. Apparently, the editors of the *Siku quanshu tiyao* had no knowledge of this book, or for some reason they only counted woodblock-printed editions. The Jiajing edition they refer to as second, must be the one printed in 1564, which indeed preserves Liu Rang's preface, although this edition was published not by Zhang Rui but Lan Zhang 藍章 (1453–1526). Thus it seems that the compilers of the *Siku quanshu tiyao* were not entirely accurate in tracing the history of editions for the *Xinshu*, perhaps because they deemed it unimportant in the first place.

Extant Ming versions of the *Xinshu* I was able to examine in person or through facsimile and digital reproductions are limited to the following items:[636]

(i) 1517 print by Han Xifang 韓襲芳

This is a small booklet printed with moveable type, bearing the title *Zhuge Kongming Xinshu* 諸葛孔明心書. The only known copy is currently kept in the Rare Books Department of the Shanghai Library and it has never been reproduced and thus can only be examined in the library.[637] The book is dated to the 12th year of the Zhengde 正德 reign, that is, 1517. The pages are very small, with only 7 lines per half-page and 14 characters per line. A publisher's colophon immediately after the title line states that it was "printed with copper plates by Han Xifang of Qiongtai, instructor at the Qingyuan school in Zhejiang" 浙江慶元學教諭瓊臺韓襲芳銅版印行. The book is punctuated with black and red circles, which seem to have been put there by different people at different times, as they are often placed next to each other, marking the same divisions. In addition, there are also red vertical "underlines" used for emphasis, as well as red dots and red notes on the top margin of nearly every page.[638] Presumably, the red marks and notes were all done by the same person in the course of using the text. The characters appear crude and give the impression that little attention was paid to producing an aesthetically pleasing design. The same is also true for the page layout, as the ruling is uneven and so are the lines. In all likelihood, the principal aim of the publication was to market it for a wider readership while keeping the costs down.

The publisher Han Xifang was a native of Wenchang county 文昌縣 on Hainan 海南 island. At one point, he had served as assistant instructor (*xundao* 訓導) in Ningdu 寧都, Jiangxi.[639] Since the *Xinshu* he published is a relatively early example of printing with copper types, the publisher has some significance from the point of view of the history of printing. Yet very little is known of him or his

636 The *Zhongguo bingshu tonglan* 中國兵書通覽 (Xu 2002, 458) lists a fragmentary copy from 1516 (明正德丙子[1516]年刊本 題武侯心書) in the Library of the Chinese Military Academy but I have not been able to verify this copy.

637 In his book in Chinese printing, Zhang Xiumin (2009, 337) reproduces three pages in color, one with the beginning of the main text and two facing ones with Han Xifang's preface.

638 There are also occasional corrections, such as changing the printed character 邀 to 邊, an obvious graphic error in the print. In this case the character is corrected in red ink and then, perhaps by a different person, also written on the side in black ink.

639 Shen 2006, 193.

involvement in typography. He has included, however, a short preface at the beginning of the book which reads as follows:[640]

> The *Zhuge Wuhou xinshu* 諸葛武侯心書 consists of a total of fifty sections (*pian* 篇). It has a preface at the beginning by Master Zeng 曾公, director of the Directorate for Palace Delicacies, and a postface at the end by Master Shang 商公 of Chun'an 淳安.[641] These two notes already tell the whole story of the book from beginning to the end, what else could I say? In the past, I have served in Ningdu 寧都 in Jiangyou 江右 (i.e. Jiangxi) and this book was very helpful in planning against the contingencies associated with unrest caused by bandits; I greatly benefitted from it. Thus I am re-printing it using printing blocks with moveable sets (*yong huotao shuban fanyin* 用活套書板翻印), in order to make it available for those who have martial aspirations so that they would be mindful of danger even in peaceful times.
>
> Written at the Zhedong studio 浙東書舍 by Han Xitang, native of Qiong 瓊, on an auspicious day of the 4th month, in the summer of *dingchou* 丁丑 year, the 12th year of the Zhengde reign (1517).

This short note claims that the true reason for printing the book is because it has been helpful for fighting bandits (*koubian* 寇變). Not a word is mentioned about the scholarly pedigree of the work or any of the doubts associated with it. Neither is Zhuge Liang evoked as the authority who would provide a convenient selling point for the booklet. Instead, the publisher makes the salient point that the book has proven its worth in combat situation, and this better than anything determines its practical value. By printing it the publisher essentially claims that he is doing a service to society, rather than engaging in a profit-seeking enterprise.

(ii) 1564 edition of Lan Zhang

This is a woodblock printed edition with the title *Zhuge Kongming Xinshu* 諸葛孔明心書.[642] The book was printed by Shan Kui 單葵 in the 43rd year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1564). Although the compilation of the book is attributed to Lan Zhang, the actual printing was done long after Lan Zhang's death, which occurred in 1526.[643] In addition, it also reproduces a preface by Liu Rang from the 3rd year of

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640 For the text of the two prefaces, see Shen 1996, 59–60.
641 Master Shang of Chun'an refers to Shang Lu 商輅 (1414–1486), a native of Chun'an, Zhejiang who had served as senior grand secretary in 1475–1477.
642 A facsimile edition on the basis of the copy kept at the National Central Library in Taipei has been included in the facsimile series *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 (072).
643 I am in fact uncertain where the date 1564 (Jiajing 43) and the name of Lan Zhang come from. This information is included in the catalogue of the National Central Library in Taiwan and

the Hongzhi 弘治 reign (1489), plus a number of shorter texts attributed to Zhuge Liang. The book closes with a postface written by the scholar Kou Wei 寇韋 and dated to 1538.

Lan Zhang in this edition not only reproduced the text of the *Xinshu* but assembled a small collection of material related to Zhuge Liang. This enlarged edition was bound in two volumes (*ce* 冊) and undoubtedly represented a significant improvement over the previous ones. Yet the additional material also had the effect of reinforcing the connection between the text and the historical figure of Zhuge Liang, which had already been pointed out in the prefaces to the previous editions. For we must remember that the text itself does not refer to Zhuge Liang at all and it was only the title (which, as we have seen, was relatively unstable) that made the connection between the text and its alleged author, not counting the publishers' prefaces.

Liu Rang's preface confirms that the *Xinshu* appeared in print already in 1489, which very well may have been the first printed edition, as asserted by editors of the *Siku quanshu tiyao* in their overview of the book's history. The preface primarily focuses on Zhuge Liang himself, pointing out that he was a "rare talent in the aid of a ruler" (*wang zuocai* 王佐才) and that he was absolutely exceptional in this respect. Liu Rang also asserted, quite in contrast with the disdainful assessment of the editors of the *Siku quanshu tiyao*, that the *Xinshu*:

> [...] examines matters in a careful and detailed way; it is concise in its wording and yet exhaustive in meaning; instead of relying on conjecture or speculation, all of the marvellous points on the application of statecraft flow straight from the heart. Whatever is recorded in the book is done in a comprehensive way: the methods of selecting talented personnel and utilizing knowledge, the way of taking precautions or being obedient; as well as the art of complying with Heaven and observing the seasons (i.e. acting in accordance with meteorological conditions), or the principles of knowing human nature and examining external conditions. All these are the devices of strategic planning and achieving victory—couldn't one say that they are the secrets of the Martial Lord's (i.e. Zhuge Liang) applying his heart (i.e. mind)? [...]

Thus Liu Rang raised no doubts about the authenticity of the book and considered it a genuine work by Zhuge Liang, asserting a conviction that it should be disseminated as widely as possible. This woodblock-print edition had a number of features that imply that it was intended for a general audience rather than an elite readership. These include errors in the section titles and their numbers, as

there is presumably a reason for this attribution and dating but I cannot find this in the facsimile reprint of the book.

well as the inconsistency in writing the same characters in both standard and non-standard forms.

(iii) 1572 Korean edition

There is also a Korean edition of Zhuge Liang's work titled *Ch'ok sŭngsang Chegal Yang munjip* 蜀丞相諸葛亮文集. A copy is currently kept in the Asami collection of Korean books at the University of California, Berkeley.[644] A note at the end records that "Engraving started at Kugansa 國安寺 in the fourth moon of *imsin* 壬申, the sixth year of Yunggyŏng 隆慶, by chief solicitor Priest Sinin 信仁; engravers Kim Ŏn 金彥 and Po Ok 寶玉."[645] Obviously, this printed edition attests to the wide circulation of the book in Korea, where its popularity was related to the local conditions.[646] There are no other titles besides that of the entire book, which claims to be a collection (*munjip* 文集, Ch. *wenji*). Even so, it essentially consists of the 50 sections of the untitled *Xinshu* with 26 additional sections from works attributed to Zhuge Liang, similarly untitled. The only titles are those of the sections, thus there seems to have been an effort to amalgamate different works into a single collection. This arrangement is very similar to a Japanese seven-*juan* edition titled *Shokatsu Kōmei iden hyōhō chūkai hyōrin* 諸葛孔明異傳兵法註解評林 from 1709, which includes a preface dated to 1598 by the Chinese scholar Zhang Ying 章嬰, a native of Linchuan 臨川. Accordingly, similar compilations integrating a number of texts associated with Zhuge Liang without specifying their original title were popular in the 16th–18th centuries not only in Korea but also in China and Japan.

(iv) 1637 edition of Shan Xun 單恂

This a woodblock-printed book that claims to have been published by Shan Xun (1602–1671) of Huating 華亭 during the last years of the Ming dynasty, in the 11th year of the Chongzhen 崇禎 reign (1637). It is probably no coincidence that the surname of Shan Xun matches that of Shan Kui, who printed the Lan Zhang edition of the book. Considering the rarity of the surname and that both of them are involved in printing the same book, albeit 73 years apart, imply that the two publishers were related and that the business of printing ran in the family. There are 9 lines per page and 20 characters per line. The name of the Jingming studio 淨名

644 This edition is described in the collection's catalogue (Fang 1969, 354).
645 Translation from Fang's catalogue (*ibid.*).
646 On the changes of Zhuge Liang's perception in Korea, see Mueller-Lee 2007.

齋 appears at the left bottom margin of every page. The book comprises two *juan* and an appendix, and contains the works of Zhuge Liang collectively called *Zhuge Zhongwuhou ji* 諸葛忠武侯集. In this manner the *Xinshu* is only part of the many different writings in the collection, which essentially follows the example of the Lan Zhang edition where the core text of the *Xinshu* was augmented with an array of related material. But while Lan Zhang grouped this material around the *Xinshu*, which also became the title of the whole book, in the Shan Xun edition the focus is not on this particular text but on the author, aiming at producing a collected edition of Zhuge Liang's writings.

The text of the *Xinshu* in this volume is annotated with small interlinear characters written in two lines, a format customarily used for commentaries in Chinese books. The commentary makes sporadic references to other editions, revealing the amount of editing work that went into producing this collection. Thus oddly the title of Section 1 is "Jiangyuan" 將苑 (matching the title of the text in some editions) and the commentary mentions that in another version it is called "Bingji" 兵機.

This is how far surviving editions and prefaces enable us to trace the text of the *Jiangyuan*. The text, however, was also included in Tao Zongyi's *Shuofu*, a large collection of texts with a preface dating to 1370. Unfortunately, this does not allow us to trace back our text any further because surviving copies of the *Shuofu* date from the 16th century. Considering the complex textual history of the *Shuofu*, we cannot be sure that our text (called *Xinshu* [New Book] in surviving copies of the collection) was part of it at all.[647] In any case, the Ming editions and their prefaces show that the text was in circulation in the 15th century. The discovery of a Tangut translation of the *Jiangyuan* confirms that it already existed in the Song period. This naturally cannot prove that Zhuge Liang is the real author but it pushes back the trail of evidence by an additional three centuries. Moreover, it corroborates that in the Song period the book was already known by the title *Jiangyuan*, which is most likely the source of the Tangut title *Gja bju̱ rejr bo tśhji* [illegible] (將軍森林本 Book of the General's Forest).

In addition, there is fragmentary evidence that the *Jiangyuan* was part of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 encyclopaedia compiled during the Yongle 永樂 period (1403–1424). The surviving part contains several fragments, plus the title which is mentioned as *Zhuge Wuhou Jiangyuan* 諸葛武侯將苑 (The General's Garden of Martial Lord Zhuge).[648] This attests that the title *Jiangyuan* was also used for the

647 For an extensive bibliographic study of the complex system of the *Shuofu* in a western language, see Pelliot 1924.

648 *Yongle dadian* (*canjuan*) 永樂大典 (殘卷), *juan* 18207.

Chinese version in the early 15th century, plus that its composition was ascribed to Zhuge Liang. Surprisingly, all of the fragments in the *Yongle dadian* come from Section 5 of the received text and, when put together, make up the entire section. In view of this strange pattern of survival, it would be unwise to make far-reaching assumptions about the entire text.

Additional information for the dating of the text may come from the assessment of the image of Zhuge Liang during the Tang and Song periods. According to Hoyt Tillman, despite his universal popularity in later periods, during the Tang "Zhuge Liang was not yet as legendary a figure as generally assumed by later generations."[649] It seems that it was during the Song that he became a celebrated hero and master strategist. Considering that the *Jiangyuan* was compiled long after Zhuge Liang's time, it is highly unlikely that it would have been ascribed to him before his image evolved into that of having nearly supernatural powers in military strategy. In contrast, it is only to be expected that a work like the *Jiangyuan* would have been attributed to someone who was believed to be a master strategist. The Song period, when we begin to witness the development of the popular cult of Zhuge Liang, remarkably coincides with the appearance of the work's title in book catalogues. It is then perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the *Jiangyuan* was composed and ascribed to Zhuge Liang sometime during the Northern Song period, which is also the time when the text reached the Tanguts.

In terms of its structure, the Chinese *Jiangyuan* consists of 50 short sections, almost all of them headed by a two-character title. In most editions the titles also include the section number, although this is not always the case. Each section talks about a specific strategic principle, such as employing the right people, taking into consideration the features of the terrain, awarding or punishing those who deserve it, etc. In general, the *Jiangyuan* is written from the point of view of the general, giving advice with regard to matters of leadership. The last four sections deal with the four types of barbarians, describing their characteristics and the way to fight them. When the Tangut text was identified, it became immediately clear that the sequence and numbering of sections of the Chinese text does not match those of the Tangut translation. Based on her reading of the Tangut text, Kepping prepared a table of correspondences between the Chinese and Tangut versions.[650] For the sake of convenience, I shall use the Chinese section num-

649 Tillman 2002a, 309; see also Henry 1992.
650 Kepping and Gong 2003, 18.

bers to identify sections. Whenever there is a need to differentiate between Chinese and Tangut sections, I will mark the Chinese ones with the capital letter C (e.g. C1, C2…), and the Tangut ones with the capital letter T (e.g. T1, T2…).

6.2 The Tangut manuscript

The Tangut manuscript of the *General's Garden* is glued together from four sheets of paper into a roughly 21–22cm wide scroll.[651] According to a comment by Grinstead, it was "a twist of paper when first studied," which tells us that its current look is the result of a conservation work done in the early 1960s.[652] Probably as a consequence of Grinstead's interest in the Tangut collection at this time, the conservators of the British Museum flattened and backed the paper, giving back "its original form as a roll."[653] More than forty decades later we now know that the scroll form was not particularly popular for Tangut manuscripts and we see them much more commonly bound in a butterfly or concertina form. Considering that the only difference between a concertina and a scroll is that they are folded differently, it is not impossible that the manuscript of the *General's Garden* used to be a concertina. Although the original folds on fragments of concertina books are usually visible even today, the folds of our manuscript, along with the multitude of other creases, could have been ironed out as part of modern conservation work. An argument against this scenario is that there seems to be no obvious way of dividing the manuscript evenly into separate pages, which would have had to be the case if it was a concertina.

Grinstead's comment that the manuscript was "a twist of paper" is also confirmed by the fact that it does not contain Stein's KK numbers which he customarily wrote in pen on the material recovered from Khara-khoto. Instead, it only has the modern pressmark Or.12380/1840 written on the backing paper on the verso. The English title *General's Garden* appears in parentheses underneath the pressmark, written in pencil, obviously after Grinstead's identification of the text, and possibly inscribed by Grinstead himself. Stein marked each item he excavated with a string of letters and numbers which encoded the name of the site, the location within the site and a unique number identifying that particular item.

651 With reference to Chinese and Tangut scrolls which represent a long band of paper aligned horizontally, I am using the term "width" to refer to the dimensions of the paper from top to bottom. Similarly, "length" means the horizontal stretch from left to right.

652 Grinstead 1962, 36.

653 *Ibid*.

He used these code numbers in his description of the excavation of Khara-khoto in Innermost Asia, where he also provides a preliminary list of the materials obtained from the site.[654] The manuscript of the *General's Garden*, however, is not on the list. Since the manuscript of the *General's Garden* bears no such code, it must have been in a shape that precluded Stein from writing on it.[655]

The four sheets that make up the surviving part of the manuscript are joined together in a way that each sheet is glued atop of the next one, creating a 1–2 cm overlap. In some cases parts of the characters are written across the seam line, as shown in Fig. 17. In the first image the seam line goes through the left side of the characters, whereas in the second image (which is taken from the lower part of the same line in the manuscript) it halves the characters. In either case, it is clear that the paper sheets were joined together before being written on. The slight misalignment of the sheets is due to the fact that the manuscript was taken apart and reassembled in the course of conservation.

Fig. 17a+b: Two close up images of the same line in the manuscript, demonstrating how the characters were written across the seam line where paper sheets had been glued together.

The number of lines per sheet is 29, 33, 34 and 19, respectively. Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing, the first sheet is incomplete, and it is sheets 2

654 Stein 1928, v. 1, 462–506.

655 We should also mention here that there are still several smaller boxes of such uncatalogued fragments at the British Library, too brittle to be opened and badly in need of conservation. At this moment, the library is actively seeking funds for the conservation and digitisation of these fragments, thus it is likely that they will become available in the near future. It is quite possible that material still holds some surprises for the field.

and 3 that are representative of the number of lines per sheet in the original scoll (i.e. 33–34). The last sheet is complete but has only 19 lines as the text ends halfway through, leaving the remaining portion of the paper empty. The complete sheets (i.e. 2, 3 and 4) are all 65.5 cm long, which is an indication that the rest of them were also of the same size. The number of characters per line cannot be counted because in its current form the manuscript is missing its lower part, rendering all lines incomplete. The top part has no missing texts but the lines begin at the very top of the paper. This horizontal top edge of the paper is very even, suggesting that the top margin may have been trimmed by modern conservators. It is reasonable to assume that in its original form the manuscript would have had top and bottom margins.

The manuscript has no ruling lines, a situation that is not uncommon in Tangut manuscripts. Nevertheless, the lines are even and begin to slant only towards the very end of the manuscript. The characters are written in a careful hand, attesting to the handwriting skill of the copyist, who may very well have been someone involved in copying texts on a regular basis. The neatness of the handwriting style also demonstrates that he was in no hurry to finish the task and that the final product was intended to be something more formal than just a private copy of a book.

In terms of its textual structure, the Tangut translation basically follows our known Chinese editions, as it is arranged into smaller segments, each a few lines long. Each segment is preceded by a short title and a segment number. A typical example of a title that survived almost in its entire length is that of Section T36, written in the manuscript as follows:

[illegible]	𗒘	𘕕	𗰗	𗤁	[𗏁]
2805	5604	5865	1084	3200	1290
bju̠	dźjɨ	sọ	ɣạ	tśhjiw	tsew
將	行	三	十	六	［第］
general	action	three	ten	six	ORD

Section 36: The general’s actions

The character in square brackets is an ordinal indicator, which is missing because of the physical damage to the manuscript. Nevertheless, the context makes it fairly certain that it stood here originally. The titles are always written in a separate line, towards the bottom, even if the previous section ended midline, leaving some empty space. As a result, most of the line with the title remains empty and this provides a convenient way of segmenting the text. Fig. 18 shows this segmented layout on the part of the manuscript where the individual sections visually stand apart and make the structure of the text transparent. It also lends an air of orderliness to the book and thus may have been an intentional feature.

Fig. 18: Part of the manuscript of the *General's Garden* (Or.12380/1840) showing its visual segmentation. The section titles are written towards the bottom of the empty lines.

The last line of the manuscript contains the title *Gja bju̱ rejr bo tśhji* [illegible] (將軍森林本 Book of the General's Forest). Obviously, this is the same title as *Jiangyuan*, since the word *yuan* 苑 ("grove") is synonymous with the word "forest." The last character in the Tangut title is *tśhji* [illegible], which is commonly used in the sense of "root, basis" but can also mean "book."[656] In his Chinese transcription of the title Grinstead used the word *gen* 根 ("root") but, considering the possible meaning of the title, *ben* 本 ("basis; book") is no doubt a better choice.[657]

Reconstructing the line length

As mentioned above, in its current form the manuscript of the *General's Garden* is incomplete. The beginning with the first half of the text had been torn off and so was the entire lower part of the scroll. Because of this, there is no immediate way to count the number of characters per line, which in turn makes it difficult to judge the accuracy of the translation, since we do not know how much Tangut text is missing in each line.

The longest number of characters per line in the manuscript is 16 but it is apparent that there used to be more text where the line breaks off. When the con-

656 Kychanov 2006, 697.
657 Grinstead 1962.

servators of the British Museum backed the manuscript, they relied on the surviving measures of the manuscript because they had no way of knowing the original ones. As a consequence, the conserved scroll gives the impression that the lines used to be about 17 characters long, even though most of them have only 11–16 characters left. In this way the backing creates the illusion that it reproduces the dimensions of the original scroll while it is simply following the length of the longest surviving lines. The situation is even more confusing when looking at the black and white photographs published in Shanghai, where we cannot see even the edges of the backing against the grey background.

The lines in the original manuscript, however, must have been longer and the entire scroll must have been wider that it is today. Not knowing how much text is missing means that when we compare parallel parts of the Chinese and Tangut texts, we cannot be sure whether something was left out by the Tangut translator or it is only missing from our copy. Fortunately, we can reconstruct the number of characters per line by aligning specific portions of the Tangut text with the Chinese version. That the number of characters per line is more or less consistent throughout the manuscript can be surmised on the basis of other Tangut manuscripts where the length of lines remains relatively stable throughout the entire document. The even hand of our manuscript also corroborates this assumption. The part of the text most suitable for reconstructing the original line length comprises a series of short phrases in Section C34. For the sake of comparison, the text of the Lan Zhang edition from 1564 reads as follows:

> 主孰聖也？將孰賢也？吏孰能也？粮(糧)餉孰豐也？士卒孰練也？軍容孰整也？戎事孰逸也？形勢孰險也？賓客孰知也？鄰國孰惧(懼)也？財貨孰多也？百姓孰安也？
> Whose lord is more sagely? Whose general is more virtuous? Whose administrators are more able? Whose provisions are more plentiful? Whose officers and soldiers are better trained? Whose military formation is more orderly? Whose military affairs excel more? Whose terrain is more hazardous? Whose envoys are more knowledgeable? Whom are neighbouring states more afraid of? Whose financial and material means are more abundant? Whose common people are more at peace?[658]

658 This section ultimately goes back to Chapter 1 of the *Sunzi* where it appears as follows:

> 主孰有道？將孰有能？天地孰得？法令孰行？兵眾孰強？士卒孰練？賞罰孰明？
> Whose lord has the Way? Whose general is more able? Who obtains [the advantages of] heaven and earth? Whose laws and orders are carried out? Whose troops are stronger? Whose officers and soldiers are better trained? Whose rewards and punishments are clearer?

The above portion of text consists of twelve short segments identical in structure: N+孰+A+也. The same structure can be easily identified in the surviving portion of the Tangut translation where it appears as N+[illegible]+A (N+whosoever+A). The particle *kji* [illegible] is a function word which, when used together with *lji̠* [illegible], forms the relative pronoun *lji̠ kji* [illegible] ("whosoever"). This is somewhat different from the Chinese original where the individual segments in this sequence are presented as questions.

In the parallel segments, the nouns can consist of one or two syllables, while their desirable qualities are always represented as a single syllable. Accordingly, in the Tangut each segment consists of four or five characters. Based on this knowledge, we can safely reconstruct the structure of the missing Tangut text for segments which are at least fragmentarily preserved in the manuscript (Tab. 1).[659]

No.	Tangut	Ch. transcr.	Concept pairs	Lan Zhang
1	[□[illegible]][illegible]	[□孰△]聖	[...] — sagely	主孰聖也
2	[illegible]	將孰△善	general — skilled	將孰賢也
3	[illegible]	糧孰△有	provisions — existing	吏孰能也
4	[illegible][[illegible]□]	軍孰[△□]	troops — [...]	糧餉孰豐也
5	[□[illegible]□]	[□孰△□]	[...] — [...]	士卒孰練也
6	[□[illegible]][illegible]	[□孰]△能	[...] — able	軍容孰整也
7	[illegible]	武器孰△善	weapons — good	戎事孰逸也
8	[illegible]	禮孰△緊	etiquette — strict	形勢孰險也
9	[illegible][[illegible]□]	二軍[孰△□]	two types of troops — [...]	賓客孰知也
10	[□[illegible]][illegible]	[□孰△]懼	[...] — fear	鄰國孰懼也
11	[illegible]	買賣孰△厚	commerce — affluent	財貨孰多也
12	[illegible]	民民孰△安	people — peaceful	百姓孰安也

Tab. 1: Reconstruction of Tangut segments based on their parallel structure.

In the table, the first column shows the Tangut segments in the order they appear in the manuscript. Missing but structurally reconstructed characters (or their

659 For the purpose of this comparison, I disregard the beginning and end of this section, as they do not belong to this set of parallel segments.

square placeholders) are placed in brackets. The second column features a Chinese character-for-character transcription of the Tangut text; the third lists the N + A pairs of the concepts discussed in each Tangut segment; finally the fourth has the Chinese text of the Lan Zhang edition in its original order.

A comparison of the Tangut and Chinese sides shows that segments 1–3 and 10–12 are relatively good matches. That leaves six segments where the match is not immediately apparent. Still, segment 9 begins with the term *nɨ̱ gja* [illegible] which literally means "two armies" or "two troops." I tentatively translated this as "two types of troops" based on the analogy of the Chinese term *sanjun* 三軍 "three types of troops" which commonly occurs in the *Jiangyuan* and which is identified in the *Liutao* with infantry 步, chariots 車 and cavalry 騎. Thus it is possible that the term *nɨ̱ gja* [illegible] "two types of troops" corresponds to the "officers and soldiers" 士卒 of segment 5 of the Chinese text, especially since there is no other match for either of these.

Another possible identification is segment 7 which discusses whose weapons (*dzju njij* [illegible]) are better (*ŋạ* [illegible]). The Chinese text of Lan Zhang has no segment matching the Tangut text but a note in the Zhang Shu edition mentions that an earlier version of the text wrote the phrase *junrong* 軍容 ("military formation") in segment 6 of the Chinese text as *junqi* 軍器 ("weapons"). Supposing that the Tangut translator used a Chinese version with a similar variation, we may tentatively connect the Tangut segment 7 that begins with the term *dzju njij* [illegible] "weapons" with segment 6 of the Chinese side. Yet this identification is by no means conclusive and there may be other solutions.

It is also apparent that the sequence of the segments is not identical in the two texts. For example, segment 3 in the Tangut version discussing the availability of provisions (*śjɨj ljɨ̱* [illegible]) corresponds to segment 4 of the Chinese side. Also, Zhang Shu notes that in one of the texts he consulted, the segment "whom neighbouring states are more afraid of" 鄰國孰懼也 was omitted altogether, which is evidence to the fact that similar variations existed even between Chinese editions of this work. This particular segment, however, is present in the Tangut text, as it is evident from the character *kjạ* [illegible] (懼; "to be afraid of") in segment 10, even if the beginning of that phrase is missing.

Rather than reconstructing each segment in the Tangut translation and identifying its Chinese counterpart, in this place I am more interested in establishing the fact that despite the missing characters of the Tangut version, originally this part also consisted of twelve segments, just like the Chinese version. Based on the available information, we can reconstruct this part of the Tangut manuscript, including the length of lines the following way:

1 [□[illegible]]
2 [illegible]†[illegible][□□[illegible]□□[illegible]]
3 [illegible][[illegible]□□[illegible]]
4 [illegible]

The character *zur* [illegible] (敕 "edict, decree") with a little cross sign (†) next to it at the beginning of Line 2 is a scribal mistake[660] and the cross sign on its right side in the manuscript indicates that it should be deleted (Fig. 19).[661] Still, I keep it in the transcription because it occupies a full space and should be counted when calculating the number of characters per line. In the above reconstruction there are two full lines: Lines 2 and 3. Of these, Line 2 has 20 characters, and Line 3 has 19. Knowing that the Tangut nouns in these segments can consist of one or two characters, a feature especially apparent towards the second half of this sequence, we can conjecture that Line 3 probably had an extra character. In particular, this would be the missing noun in the segment □[illegible] (□孰△懼 "whom [neighbouring states] are more afraid of"). Because the final character of this segment matches the Chinese version we can safely assume that the noun at the beginning of the section probably matches the Chinese word *linguo* 鄰國 ("neighbouring states"), and this would have also been a compound word written with two characters in the Tangut. Thus Line 3 of the Tangut version probably consisted of 20 characters, just like Line 2. This leads to the conclusion that the Tangut manuscript originally had 20 characters per line.

The translation of these four lines is as follows:

[□	[illegible]	[illegible]]	[illegible],	[illegible]†	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],
	4435	1326	2544	2806	2805	4435	1326	2716
	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	śjɨj	zur	bjṵ	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	rjijr
[	孰	△]	聖	敕†	將	孰	△	賢
	who	-ever	sagely	decree	general	who	-ever	worthy

Whosesoever [...] is more sagely; whosesoever's general is more worthy;

---

660 The nature of the error is quite obvious if we compare the mistaken character *zur* [illegible] (敕 "edict, decree") with the one immediately after it: *bjṵ* [illegible] (將 "general"), as the two differ only in the left side component. That the mistake was caught immediately during the act of copying is suggested by the fact that the correct character was written beneath the mistake in full size, showing no signs of subsequent insertion.

661 The cross sign is a common deletion mark in Tangut manuscripts, it also occurs several times in this particular manuscript. It slightly differs from the deletion mark used in Chinese manuscripts where the horizontal stroke remained on the right hand side of the vertical line.

			,			[	□ ,
0128	4435	1326	0930	1531	4435	1326	
śjɨj	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	dju	gja	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	
糧	孰	△	有	軍	孰	△	
provisions	who	-ever	existing	troops	who	-ever	

whosesoever's provisions are more plentiful; whosesoever's troops are [...];

□			□ ,	□	]		,
	4435	1326			4435	1326	0005
	ljɨ̣	kjɨ			ljɨ̣	kjɨ	gjow
	孰	△			孰	△	能
	who	-ever			who	-ever	able

whosesoever's [...] are more [...]; whosesoever's [...] are more able;

				,				,
3148	2781	4435	1326	0685	1910	4435	1326	2320
dzju	njij	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	ŋạ	tjɨ̣j	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	ɣar
武	器	孰	△	善	法	孰	△	緊
weapon	weapon	who	-ever	good	rules	who	-ever	strict

whosesoever's weapons are better; whosesoever's rules are stricter;

		[		□ ,	□		]	,
4027	1531	4435	1326			4435	1326	2539
njɨ̣	gja	ljɨ̣	kjɨ			ljɨ̣	kjɨ	kjạ
二	軍	孰	△			孰	△	懼
two	troops	who	-ever			who	-ever	fear

whosesoever's two types of troops are [...]; whosoever its [neighbouring states] are more afraid of;

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。
5845	0235	4435	1326	2700	5243	4172	4435	1326	5464
lwə	du̱	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	la̱	sjij	·ju	ljɨ̣	kjɨ	ziejr
買	賣	孰	△	厚	民	民	孰	△	安
buy	sell	who	-ever	affluent	people	people	who	-ever	peaceful

whosoever's commerce is more affluent; whosesoever common people are more at peace.

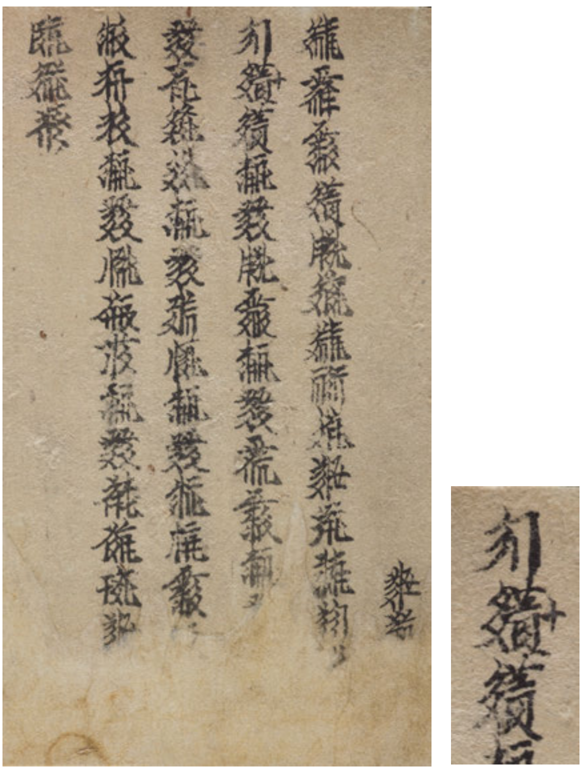

Fig. 19a+b: The section used for the reconstruction of line lengths and a close up of the deletion mark at the beginning of Line 2.

Proofreading

In the manuscript, red marks appear next to some characters. Section C32 describes the advantageous moves of the general when coming across different types of weather and terrain. Among them is a phrase which appears "[when there is] wind, fire and darkness" 風火暗昧.[662] The second half of the phrase appearing in the Tangut translation is not "darkness" 暗昧 as in the Chinese editions, but *le gjij* [illegible], which literally means "misty and gloomy." Thus while this meaning of the compound word is close in meaning to the Chinese word *anmei* 暗昧 ("darkness") which stands in the corresponding place, it nevertheless includes, on account of its first part *le* [illegible], the connotation of "mistiness."

Similar red marks appear in other parts of the manuscript, although their precise meaning is yet to be demonstrated. It is possible that they were placed there by a proofreader who checked the text after its completion, a possibility corroborated by the short colophon at the end of the manuscript, the legible portion of which says:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible] ....
1531	2805	4246	3890	4018	5712	1815
gja	bju̱	rejr	bo	tśhji	dźjwa	njar
軍	將	森	林	本	竟	校
army	general	forest	forest	book	end	check

The Book of the General's Forest. The end. Checked and ....

Unfortunately, the line is damaged further down, concealing the name of the person who checked the manuscript. The last character on this line is only partially visible and Kepping reads it as the word *rjar* [illegible] (寫 "copied").[663] This is, however, more of a conjecture because the character in question is too damaged to warrant a reliable reading.

Kepping interpreted the penultimate word *njar* [illegible] in the sense of "edited [by]..., i.e. revised and corrected [by]...," and suggested that because we do not have the word "translated by" in its place, the Tangut version was an adaptation, that is, some of its content was slightly changed during the process of translation.[664] It seems more likely to me, however, that the checking referred to at the end of the manuscript was a process completely separate from the translation. Kepping correctly pointed out that the same word *njar* [illegible] (校 "to check, com-

662 This wording is based on the version of the text preserved in the *Shuofu*.
663 Keping 2003, 17.
664 *Ibid.*, 21.

pare") was also used in the phrase *mẹ njar* 𗰜𗧘 (rendered into English by Kepping as "royally edited") which appears in translations of the Buddhist Canon, indicating that the translation was checked and corrected by the emperor. Yet this certainly does not mean that the emperor himself put together an adaptation of the Canon for Tangut readers. Instead, the word *njar* 𗧘 (校 "to check") in both contexts probably refers to checking a finished copy made by someone else. The fact that the completion of a round of checking is recorded in a colophon shows the importance attached to that particular text. It was not simply a hastily performed rendition but a careful translation which was subsequently also thoroughly checked, presumably against an original version. Maybe on a practical level the concept of wind and mist together may have been seen as problematic. Perhaps this is the reason why this compound word is marked with two small red marks, one next to each characters.

If we look at the colophons of Chinese manuscripts found in Dunhuang, the word *jiao* 校 ("to check") occurs at the end of official Buddhist sutras commissioned by the Tang court in Chang'an 長安. In that context, we often have a record of three subsequent rounds of *jiao* before the manuscript is further "carefully examined" 詳閱 by yet several other people. For example, in manuscript Or.8210/S.36, a copy of the *Diamond sutra* from the 3rd year of the Xianheng 咸亨 reign (672), we see that three rounds of *jiao* were performed by the the layman Xiao Hui 蕭禕, which was followed by four rounds of "careful examination" by four different high ranking monks from the Taiyuan monastery 太原寺. Xiao Hui is identified in the colophon as a *shushou* 書手, literally meaning "writing hand," a term used for lay copyists.[665] But the person named in the first line of the colophon as actually having "reverently copied" 禮寫 the sutra is someone entirely different. In view of the above, it is evident that what Xiao Hui did three times with the newly copied sutra was checking it for mistakes, that is, proofreading it. The "careful examination" of the eminent monks probably entailed a similar task, only at a higher level of authority and, in practice, possibly with less intervention. This example demonstrates how manuscript colophons often made note of a proofreading act and while such checking may have had other shades of meaning in prefaces of printed books, the Tangut word *njar* 𗧘 in the manuscript of the *General's Garden* must have also meant something closer to proofreading. In other words, it would have been connected more with the process of producing this particular manuscript copy, rather than improving the translation.

665 Drège 2007, 96.

Based on this interpretation, we can go back and reconsider the partially visible character after the *njar* [illegible] (校 "to check") in the colophon, which Kepping read as *rjar* [illegible] (寫 "copied"). An analogous note appears at the end of manuscript Inv. No. 5189 in the Kozlov collection.[666] The note comes after a poem, and reads as follows:

[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5712	1815	1608	5285
dźjwa	njar	lew	ljɨ
竟	校	同	矣
end	check	same	COP

The end. Proofread.[667]

Here the compound word *njar lew* [illegible], the two components of which mean "to check" and "same," evidently mean that the text on the manuscript was checked and brought in accord with an original copy. This is why I translated it using the word "proofread." The colophon in our *General's Garden* manuscript seems to have the same phrase and if we check the remains of the last character visible in the line, we can see that the word *lew* [illegible] (同 "same") is in fact a better candidate than the one proposed by Kepping. Accordingly, the part of the colophon in our manuscript which followed the title of the *Jiangyuan* probably said the same thing as the one in Inv. No. 5189, namely, *dźjwa njar lew ljɨ* [illegible]。[illegible] (竟。校同矣 "End. Proofread."), only the last character and half were damaged.

Going back to the word "fog" marked with red dots, the fact that both characters were marked shows that whoever added the dots intended to identify whole words, rather than individual characters. This was not done consistently because there is also the case of the compound word *ɣju ɣwej* [illegible] (溝壑 "gully, ditch") earlier in the same section, and here only the second character is marked. Evidently, the scope and nature of these red marks awaits further research. Trivial as they seem, determining what they stand for goes beyond strictly palaeographic considerations and has implications for the function of the manuscript in its original environment.

Such red marks are not infrequent in other Tangut books. The fact that they also appear next to characters in printed texts suggests that sometimes they were

666 Nie Hongyin (2012a) points out that this manuscript is dated to 1226 and thus represents the latest dated text among the books found in Khara-khoto.
667 *Ibid.*, 83–84.

added not when the book was produced but when it was used. In his monograph on Tangut book culture, Terentiev-Katansky discusses the red marks of readers, which range from dots and short dashes to longer vertical lines "underlining" (from the side) an entire row.[668] In our case there are less than ten of these in the manuscript, some brighter and some fainter, but their significance is not entirely clear. They also appear to have been drawn not by a pen or brush but with some sort of cruder tool, such as a chalk or a slab of red ink.

Finally, we should also point out that the Tangut version does not mention the name of Zhuge Liang. Accordingly, we cannot be sure if the text at this point was connected with him at all. Naturally, there is no way of knowing whether the title at the beginning included his name or this manuscript was copied from a larger collection of works attributed to him. The name of Zhuge Liang was not unknown to the Tanguts, as he is quoted several times in the commentaries of the Tangut *Sunzi*. But we should keep in mind that the discovery of the Tangut translation in itself does not confirm that the text at that time was attributed to Zhuge Liang.

6.3 Translation discrepancies

A crucial question is how faithful the Tangut translation is to the original Chinese text. While on the surface this may seem like a trivial issue, in reality it is not always very clear what the so-called original Chinese text entails because the surviving editions at times show significant discrepancies. Thus instead of simply comparing a standard edition of the Chinese text with the Tangut, we need to be aware not only of the differences between various editions but also of the possibility that there may have been additional discrepancies in editions that did not survive. Most decisive of these, of course, would be the version used by the Tangut translator, about which we can only speculate on the basis of the Tangut manuscript.

Let us look at some examples. At the very end of Section C26, the *Shuofu* edition has the phrase "whichever direction he faces, he will know no enemies" 所向者無敵. In this, the word *xiang* 向 ("to face") appears in the Lan Zhang edition as *dang* 當 ("to encounter; to oppose"), which is partly synonymous with the word *xiang* but has no directional sense. Accordingly, the phrase could rather be

668 Terent'ev-Katanskij 1981, p. 34. I am grateful to Viacheslav Zaytsev for alerting me to this reference.

translated as “whomever he encounters, he will know no enemies.” The difference does not significantly alter the general meaning of the sentence yet helpful for tracing the textual history of the text. The Tangut version in this place has the word *tshwew* 𗗙 (“to turn to; to face”), which matches the meaning of the Chinese word *xiang* (“to face”). This shows that the Chinese version used for the Tangut translation probably had the word *xiang* in this place, affiliating the manuscript with the *Shuofu* edition.

Nevertheless, this section in the Tangut version also shows a number of obvious dissimilarities with the Chinese editions, a fact that is evident even if the larger part of the text is missing or illegible. For example, this section discusses the “configuration” of heaven (*tianshi* 天勢), earth (*dishi* 地勢) and man (*renshi* 人勢). In the part where the text explains the potential of earth, the Tangut version mentions *dẹ so* 𗥃𗂧 which is the Tangut equivalent of the Chinese *yinyang* 陰陽. Yet neither this concept nor anything that could be even loosely linked with it appears in any of the Chinese editions. In fact, the mutilated lower part of the line must have contained some additional text that is not in the Chinese versions because the extant part of the Tangut line accounts for all of the Chinese text.

Towards the end of Section C32, the Zhang Shu edition reads as follows:

> 踰淵隔水，風大暗昧，利以搏前擒後。
> When one is across a ravine and separated by water, or if the wind is strong and it is dark and gloomy, it is advantageous to strike from the front and back at the same time.

In this sentence, the phrase “the wind is strong and it is dark and gloomy” shows some discrepancy between different editions:

> Zhang Shu: 風大暗昧 (literally: “wind is great, dark and gloomy”)
> *Shuofu:* 風火暗昧 (literally: “wind, fire, dark and gloomy”)
> Lan Zhang: 風火暗 (literally: “wind, fire, dark”)

It is clear that variation of the characters 大 (“great”) and 火 (“fire”) reflects a graphic mistake because the two graphs are visually quite similar.[669] While the concept of “wind and fire” in the above context makes less sense than “great

669 The mixing of these characters was not uncommon in manuscripts. For example, in the Dunhuang manuscript P.2529 from the Pelliot collection in Paris in the line “in the monastery there is a tooth of the great Pratyeka Buddha” 寺有大辟支佛牙 the character 大 is erroneously written as 火, forming a meaningless phrase “fire Pratyeka Buddha” 火辟支佛. The same confusion can also occur in modern scholarship, as Gábor Kósa (2013) discusses the persistent misreading of the phrase 火海 (“sea of fire”) as 大海 (“great sea”) in a Manichaean manuscript (BD00256) from the Dunhuang collection at the NLC.

wind," this is precisely the variant that appears in the Tangut version of the text, which uses the words *mə̱ ljɨ* (火風 "fire and wind") and thus matches the *Shuofu* and Lan Zhang editions, but not that of Zhang Shu. A version of the same sentence is also found in the Chinese *Liutao* (3/27), where this phrase appears as "when there is strong wind and it rains heavily" 大風甚雨者, and this variant corroborates that the character 火 ("fire") in the *Shuofu* and Lan Zhang editions is most likely a mistake.

Indeed, since the phrase "wind and fire" is probably a mistake that crept into the text during the process of its transmission, it is a particularly useful for tracing the history of editions. While it does not occur in Zhang Shu edition, we know that this edition is relatively new and was compiled around the 1830s or 1840s through combining available editions; therefore it is likely that the error of writing "fire" instead of "great" had been introduced to the text much earlier, and Zhang Shu simply corrected this in his edition, perhaps without textual antecedents, simply relying on his philological judgment and the awareness that these characters are often mixed up. The presence of the same erroneous reading in the Tangut version is an indication that this mistake had been introduced into the text before it was translated into Tangut.

The above examples show how the Tangut version can help us reconstruct some of the original Chinese text used for the Tangut translation. At the same time, since we do not have the Chinese edition used by the translator, we should be very careful when judging the quality or nature of the translation. Consider the following case. One of the things Kepping discussed in her article on the *General's Garden* is the Tangut translation of a sentence in Section C22. The Chinese sentence reads "now when folly overcomes wisdom, this is going against the current" 夫以愚克智，逆也. Kepping was especially interested in the word *ni* 逆 ("to go against the current"), for which the Tangut translator used the word *ljo* (福 "good luck, fortune"). We normally find this Tangut word used as a translation for the Chinese words *fu* 福, and less frequently *xing* 幸, both meaning "good fortune." Based on the analysis of this Tangut word in other texts, Kepping suggested that it should be understood in this context as "supernatural," i.e. it is against nature when folly overcomes wisdom. She used this example to show that the Tangut translator did not simply translate the Chinese original but created "an adaptation of the text" for Tangut readers."[670]

Kepping's analysis, however, is entirely based on the Zhang Shu edition which is almost the only one where the word *ni* 逆 ("to go against the current")

670 Keping 2003, 19.

occurs in this place. In contrast, the same sentence appears in Ming editions as 夫以愚克智，命也 ("now when folly overcomes wisdom, it is fate"). Thus the word in question is *ming* 命 ("fate"), which is not that far from the ordinary, non-mystical meaning of the Tangut word *ljo* 𗑗 ("good fortune"), making the sentence read as "now when folly overcomes wisdom, it is [simply a matter of] luck."[671] Therefore it seems more likely to me that the Chinese version used for creating the Tangut translation had the character 命 in this place, as it shows a simpler and less strained connection with its Tangut counterpart.[672]

These examples demonstrate that by studying the extant Chinese editions of the text we can significantly enhance our understanding of what the translation was based on and how faithful it was to the original. While a certain degree of adaptation is unavoidable, some of the discrepancies with the extant Chinese editions were simply due to using editions no longer available to us. Having recognized this, to a certain extent we can also use the Tangut text to reconstruct the Chinese edition used by the Tangut translator. Naturally, doing this solely on the basis of the Tangut translation is a risky exercise but when we have contending Chinese readings in different editions and the Tangut text matches one of these, we are on much safer grounds.

Despite these discrepancies between extant Chinese editions, in the following pages I often compare the Tangut translation with the "Chinese text," as if it was a concrete, tangible entity. In reality, of course, we do not have the original text from which the Tangut translation was made and even the surviving editions of the text, as seen above, at times differ from each other. Yet most of these differences are of little consequence for the case at hand, and when they are, I draw attention to these individually.

671 Peng Xiangqian (2009, 94) does not see a contradiction here, noting that the word *ming* 命 ("fate") "is, of course, supernatural." It is clear from Kepping's argument, however, that she was not aware that some Chinese editions had the word *ming* 命 ("fate") in this place, and she was hard pressed to explain how the word *ni* 逆 ("to go against the current") could be linked with the Tangut word used in this place.

672 The use of *ni* 逆 in this phrase in the Zhang Shu edition is by no means a defective one, as it is forms a perfect parallel with the following sentence which says "overcoming folly with wisdom is as if to go along with the current" 以智克愚，順也. It is quite likely that this reading was chosen by Zhang Shu based on the context.

6.4 The four barbarians

The last four sections of the *Jiangyuan* (C47–C50) deal with the four barbarians, describing their characteristics and the way to fight them. This is a particularly interesting part because from the Chinese point of view the Tanguts were obviously among the four barbarians about whom this section was written. It is also interesting to see how the Tanguts deal with the Sinocentric worldview when translating the text. Do they keep the original structure and simply accept it as a Chinese point of view, or do they alter it to fit their own perspective of their neighbours? A full translation of the Chinese version from Lan Zhang's 1564 edition is given below:

> 東夷第四十七
> 東夷之性，薄禮少義，捍急能鬪，依山塹海，憑以自固。上下和睦，百姓安樂，未可圖也。若上亂下離，則可以行間，間起則隙生，隙生則修文教以來之，固甲兵而擊之，其勢必勝也。
> C47. The Eastern Yi
> The nature of the Eastern Yi is such that they hold little esteem for rituals (*li*) and righteousness (*yi*) but are fierce and good at fighting. They live in the mountains and along dangerous sea [coasts], and rely on [these difficulties of the terrain] to secure themselves. When those above and those below are in harmony, and the ordinary people are content and happy, then any plans against them are futile. But if those above are in chaos and those below turn away from them, then a rift can be created between them, and when such a rift occurs, a gap will be born. Whenever a gap is born, we should cultivate culture and education to attract them, we should strengthen our armour and weapons to attack them, and their power can be surely overcome.
>
> 南蠻第四十八
> 南蠻多種，性不能教，連合朋黨，失意則相攻。居洞依山，或聚或散，西至崑崙，東至洋海，產出奇貨，故人貪而勇戰。春夏多疾疫，利在疾戰，不可久師也。
> C48. The Southern Man
> There are many types of Southern Man. Their nature is such that they cannot be educated; they join into cliques but then they quarrel and attack each other. They dwell in caves in the mountains, they sometimes gather, sometimes disperse. In the west, their territory extends to the Kunlun Mountain; in the east it reaches the sea. They produce rare and exotic commodities; therefore the people are greedy and fight bravely [over those]. In the spring and summer they often suffer from epidemics. The advantageous thing to do against them is to fight a quick war, as a long campaign cannot be sustained.
>
> 西戎第四十九
> 西戎之性，勇悍好利，或城居，或野處，米粮(糧)少，金貝多，故人勇戰鬪，難敗。自磧石以西，諸戎種繁，地廣形險，俗負强狠，故人多不臣。當候之以外釁，釁之以內亂，則可圖矣。

C49. The Western Rong
The nature of the Western Rong is such that they are fierce but love profit. Some of them live in cities, others dwell in the open; they produce little rice and grains but possess metal and cowries in abundance. Therefore, the people fight bravely and it is hard to defeat them. West of the stone deserts there are many different varieties of Rong barbarians. Their land is wide and the terrain is perilous; their customs are based on strength and violence: thus most of them are subjects of no ruler. We should wait for [an opportunity caused by] an external intrusion, and harass them with internal disorder, then they can be made plans against.
北狄第五十
北狄居無城郭，隨逐水草，勢利則南侵漢境，勢失則北遁陰山，足以自固，足以自衛。飢則捕獸飲乳，寒則寢皮服裘，奔走射獵，以殺為務，未可以道德懷之，未可以兵戎服之。

漢云不與戰，其略有三。漢卒且耕且戰，故疲而怯；虜但牧獵，故逸而勇。以疲敵逸，以怯敵勇，不相鬭也，此其不可戰者一也。

漢長於步，日馳百里；虜長於騎，日乃倍之，漢逐虜則齎粮(糧)負甲而隨之，虜逐漢則驅疾騎而運之，運負之勢已殊，走逐之形不等，此其不可戰者二也。

漢戰多步，虜戰多騎，爭奪地形之勢，則騎疾於步，遲疾勢懸，此其不可戰者三也。

不得已，則莫若守邊。守邊之道，揀良將而任之，訓銳士而禦之，廣營田而實之，設烽候(堠)而待之，候其虛而乘之，因其眾而取之，所謂資不費而寇自除矣，人不疲而虜自寬矣。
C50. The Northern Di
The Northern Di dwell without city walls, they wander about following the availability of water and pasture land. When the situation is beneficial, they invade the Chinese territories to the south; when the situation is unfavourable, they escape north to the Yinshan mountains where they can secure and defend themselves. When hungry, they capture wild animals and drink milk; when cold, they sleep on skins and wear pelts. They gallop around and hunt with bows; they consider killing as their main duty. They cannot be tamed with moral principles, cannot be subjugated with weapons.

The Han say that they would not fight them and there are three main reasons for this: The Han soldiers now toil the earth, now fight, thus they are fatigued and timid. The barbarians, on the other hand, raise livestock and hunt, thus they are agile and courageous. Opposing the agile with the fatigued, the courageous with the timid is not an equal fight. This is the first reason why they cannot be fought.

The Han are good at marching on foot and can cover a hundred *li* a day. The barbarians are good at riding on horseback and thus can cover more than twice as much in a day. When the Han are in pursuit of the barbarians, they haul their provisions and carry their armour during the chase. When the barbarians are in pursuit of the Han, they move at great speed and transport things on horseback. Since the efficiency of transporting things on horseback and carrying those on foot is different, the means of pursuit are unequal. This is the second reason why they cannot be fought.

> The Han mostly fight on foot, the barbarians mostly fight on horseback. When competing for the advantages of the terrain, riding is faster than walking. The great difference between the efficiency of slowness and speed: this is the third reason why they cannot be fought.
>
> There is no other way to deal with them than guarding the frontier line. The way of guarding the frontier line lies in choosing and employing a good general; training elite officers to resist them; extending the farmlands of military camps and filling those [with soldiers]; erecting beacon towers to expect them (i.e. the enemy); waiting for their vulnerable moments and taking advantage of those; relying on their multitude[673] to overcome them. This is referred to as having the bandits eradicate themselves without expending our resources; having the barbarians console themselves without exhausting our own people.

What we see here are the well-known traditional categories for China's neighbours, commonly translated into English as Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern Barbarians. The appellations go back to pre-Qin times but in later periods they lost their specificity and became used as generic terms for different non-Chinese ethnicities according to their geographical distribution. Similar descriptions of the types of people living at the four cardinal directions of the Chinese world are known in other sources and these are often found within the framework of the cosmogony of Five Phases and Four Seasons.[674] In terms of wording, individual elements of the description of foreign tribes in the *Jiangyuan* seem to have their roots in the official histories compiled during the mid 7th century (e.g. *Nan shi* 南史, *Bei shi* 北史), with bits and pieces of it occurring as early as the *Shiji*. Yet as a system, it seems most closely resembling the *Tongdian* 通典, the comprehensive encyclopaedia compiled by Du You towards the end of the 8th century.[675] In the section titled "Bianfang" 邊防 (Frontier defence), the *Tongdian* demarcates the world beyond the borders of the Tang empire using the four categories of East-

673 The word *zhong* 眾 ("multitude") is problematic in this context. Other editions of the text, including some from the Ming dynasty, have in this place 衰 ("decline") which fits the context perfectly, as it would produce the phase "relying on their decline to overcome them."
674 For example, in Chapter 12 of the Han dynasty medical treatise *Huangdi Neijing Suwen* 黃帝內經素問, we see a similar description of the world according to the four cardinal directions and the peoples living there. Only in this case, in order to conform with the Five Phases model, we also have an additional region called Center, where the people do not have to work that hard and, as a result, suffer from illnesses caused by lack of exercise.
675 The *Tongdian* was officially presented to the throne in 801, although Du You had worked on it for over thirty years prior to that, and made minor changes up until his death in 812 (Twitchett 2002, 106–107). Although we know that much of the *Tongdian* came from earlier sources, including the now lost *Zhengdian* 政典 by 8th-century scholar Liu Zhi 劉秩, it is unclear from where Du You adopted his detailed typology of China's neighbours.

ern Yi, Southern Man, Western Rong, and Northern Di, which match the description at the end of the *Jiangyuan*. Only in the *Tongdian*, this serves as the general framework for a much more detailed analysis of various ethnicities. Thus the four sections, into which the Western Rong category is divided, include no fewer than seventy-six peoples and kingdoms, ranging from Kucha and Loulan to Persia and India. The Western Rong is also the category into which the Dangxiang tribes, ancestors of the Tanguts, are grouped. The Northern Di, on the other hand, have fewer categories, although some groups (e.g. the Xiongnu and the Turks) are treated in more detail.

What distinguishes the *Jiangyuan* from its sources is that, being a text on military strategy, it specifically identifies these foreign tribes as a threat and offers a practical solution how each of them could or should be fought. Yet it does not take long to recognise that the four categories of barbarians around the Chinese domain are not immediately relevant for the Tangut state at the end of the 12th century.[676] They had different neighbours: the Tibetans to the south and southwest, the Jurchens to the east and southeast, the Kara-Khitans[677] to the west, and the Mongols to the north. By the end of the 12th century, the Tanguts did not share a border with the Southern Song state, as the southern frontier region was by that time under Jurchen control. In fact, from the perspective of the Chinese *Jiangyuan*, the Tanguts would have been understood to belong to the category of Western Barbarians, as is the case with the Dangxiang tribes in the *Tongdian*. Perhaps this is the reason why the Tangut translation omits three of the four neighbours and includes only the Northern Di. After all, reading about how to fight "neighbours" like the Southern Man in the regions of the modern Yunnan and Guizhou provinces would have been irrelevant for a Tangut audience.

Before proceeding to the Tangut translation, it is worth pointing out that this last part of the *Jiangyuan* stands apart from the rest of the text, and instead of discussing theoretical strategic issues of warfare and leadership, it provides a stereotypical and idealized of the peoples living in the four corners of the Chinese world. This sharp contrast with the rest of the text, coupled with its location at the very end of the work, raises the possibility that these four sections are a later addendum to a text that did not originally contain them. Nevertheless, they occur

676 Arguably this description of neighbouring barbarian tribes threatening a central unified domain does not reflect the political conditions of the 3rd century AD when Zhuge Liang lived.
677 The Kara-Khitans (or Qara-Khitans) were descendants of the Khitans who had fled their homeland after the Jurchen conquest of the Liao and established the Western Liao dynasty (1124–1218) in Central Asia. For a detailed study of the Kara-Khitan state, see Biran 2005.

in the earliest surviving Chinese editions, including manuscript copies of the *Shuofu* from the Ming dynasty. Interestingly, a 1646 edition of the *Shuofu* kept at Princeton University Library omits these four sections altogether, ending the text immediately after Section C46. The evident explanation for this is that the description of the barbarians living beyond the borders as the enemies of the state would have felt insulting for the Manchu rulers who by this time have conquered China. As Eric Grinstead puts it, "[t]he rulers of the Ch'ing dynasty, being Manchus — that is, northern non-Chinese — could well have felt themselves included in the general term."[678] In his study of the *Shuofu*, King P'ei-Yuan mentions that from the Qianlong 乾隆 (1735–1796) and Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1796–1821) reign periods, the work in its original form was prohibited because of the numerous references that appeared offensive to the Manchu ancestors.[679]

There are many similar cases of textual omission due to politico-ethnic sensitivity from the Manchu period. In a study of this phenomenon, Hans van Ess demonstrates how Qing editors changed and omitted references to barbarians in Song or Ming texts because they felt that these were too much resonant with their own identity.[680] One such case is the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of Hu Anguo's 胡安國 *Chunqiu zhuan* 春秋傳, in which all references to the Western Rong and Northern Di barbarians were removed.[681] To support van Ess's observation, we can also note that the part on the four barbarians is also missing from the *Shuofu* edition included in the *Siku quanshu*.[682]

This, of course, does not mean that this last part of the *Jiangyuan* was not transmitted during the Qing. We have a later manuscript in the collection of the Shanghai Library, annotated by the 18th-century scholar Shen Kepei 沈可培 (1737–1799), which has these four sections joined together into a single section

678 Grinstead 1962, 36.
679 King 1946, 1.
680 van Ess 2002.
681 Ibid.
682 At the same time, the *Jiangyuan*'s descriptions of the four barbarians appear in the *Siku quanshu* as block quotes in the Ming dynasty encyclopaedia *Tushu bian* 圖書編 (1613). The encyclopaedia quotes the full text of Southern Man, Western Rong and Northern Di sections, separated from each other and inserted into its own categorisation of China's neighbours. The text, however, omits the section on the Eastern Yi, no doubt because it did not fit its more detailed elaboration of these peoples. Yet the fact that the other three sections appear in the *Siku quanshu* in their full form suggests that the process of censoring out references to the Rong and Di barbarians was either not comprehensive or not thorough.

called "Four Barbarians" 四夷.[683] Therefore, while the arrangement of the rest of the *Jiangyuan* is fairly consistent throughout the extant editions, the part with the last four sections shows much lesser stability. The Tangut version of the *Jiangyuan* presents yet another version of this account, even though it does not omit it entirely.

Another example of the way the sensitive issue of barbarians was dealt with during the Manchu dynasty is seen in the version of the *Jiangyuan* (titled *Xinshu* [Book of Heart]) preserved in a 1705 edition of the *Zhongwu Zhi* 忠武誌 by Zhang Penghe 張鵬翮 (1649–1705). Here the term "Eastern Yi" 東夷 is written as 東彝, with the second character replaced with a phonetically equivalent ethnonym that is deprived of negative connotations.[684] While the names for the Western Rong and the Southern Man remain unchanged in the text, the Northern Di appear under the label "Northern Enemies" 北敵, in which the word "enemies" (*di* 敵) is yet another phonetic substitution of a non-offensive nature. In addition, the larger part of the final section of the original text is omitted in this edition.

We should also consider that during the medieval period and later the names of the four barbarians lost their specificity and were only used as general designations, rather as ethnonyms than for specific groups of foreigners. This is most vividly demonstrated by an undated manuscript copy most likely written in the second half of the 19th century.[685] At the end of this booklet, a note added by a different hand commented on the description of the four barbarians:

> 行間則隙生，釁之以內亂，候其虛而乘 之，因其衰而敢之，此審勢禦外國之最要著也。
> If we create a rift between them, a gap will be born. We should harass them with internal disorder, wait for their vulnerable moments and take advantage of those; drive them away

683 *Xinshu jiaozhu yi juan* 心書校注一卷, Shanghai Library, Dept. of Rare Books, No. 802672–79. This is a concise edition with less than half of the text and no section numbers. It is hard to know whether Shen Kepei only wanted to comment on these parts and consequently left the rest of the text out or he was working from an earlier copy that already had this arrangement.

684 Such a replacement of characters in a text is strongly reminiscent of the practice of imperial name taboos.

685 *Xinshu bufen juan* 新書不分卷, Shanghai Library, Dept. of Rare Books, No. 863710. The manuscript is undated, but p. 20 has a comment on the top margin written in Manchu. In addition, there is an owner's seal imprint with the words "Descendant of the Three Generals" 三將軍後人. The library catalogue states that this is a late Qing copy, which might be based on the circumstances of its acquisition, although there is no mention of any of this information in the catalogue. A 19th-century dating is also supported by the fact that this edition is much closer in its wording and textual features to the Zhang Shu edition than to earlier editions.

when they are in decline. These are the very essence of examining the state of affairs and resisting foreign countries.

As a comment on how to fight foreign powers (*waiguo* 外國), this note dramatically reflects the situation of the last decades of the Qing dynasty, when China was under increasing pressure from the outside. Obviously, Western powers and Japan could not have been equated with the Western Rong and the Eastern Yi, yet the advice in this last part of the *Jiangyuan* is so generic that a late Qing reader with patriotic sentiments would have had no difficulty in applying these words to his own situation and seeing them as an advice on how to resist foreign aggression.

6.5 The northern neighbours

The Tangut translation also consists of numbered sections but their order and numbers do not match those of the extant Chinese versions. Moreover, while the Chinese text has fifty sections, the Tangut has only thirty-seven, thus there are sections that do not appear in the translation. As the first half of the Tangut manuscript is missing, we only have Sections T20–T37. Not counting these differences, for the most part the Tangut translation follows the Chinese relatively faithfully, without major deviations.

The only part that shows significant discrepancy is the last four sections of the Chinese text (C47–C50), which describe the four barbarians, as the Tangut translation omits the first three of these. The description of the Northern Di appears in the translation as Section T37, which is also the last one. T37 also includes section C46 of the Chinese text. In other words, the last section of the Tangut translation (T37) combines sections C46 and C50 of the Chinese version and leaves out the description of the three barbarians in sections C47, C48 and C49. To show this correlation in a slightly more transparent way, below are the last five sections of the Chinese version:

C46. “Authoritative Orders” 威令
C47. “The Eastern Yi” 東夷
C48. “The Southern Man” 南蠻
C49. “The Western Rong” 西戎
C50. “The Northern Di” 北狄

Of these, only C46 and C50 appear in the Tangut translation, united into section T37, with the title *pjụ wer sọ ɣạ śjạ tsew* [illegible]［[illegible]］(威儀三十七［第］“37th:

Authoritative demeanour").[686] This title undoubtedly corresponds to the title of C46 of the Chinese text, even if it is not an exact match. In the manuscript, the first three and a half lines of T37 cover the contents of C46 and the rest is the translation of C50.

Below I present a translation and transcription of the Tangut text corresponding to Section C50. The passage in question is the description of the Northern Di, beginning three and half-lines into Section T37 of the Tangut text, which is why the first line in my transcription is indented. The first three lines of the section (i.e. the part I do not translate here) roughly correspond to the Section C46 of the Chinese text, describing how the general or ruler sets an example with his conduct for those below him and if it is not the case, then he would be no different from tyrants such as Jie 桀 and Zhou 紂. While the Tangut text here follows C46 (as far as we can tell from the mutilated lines), the last third of the Chinese text is clearly left out. Instead, the Tangut text continues seamlessly with the translation of C50, describing the Northern Di barbarians. This sudden change of subject is especially interesting because the Tangut text faithfully follows the Chinese version up to this point. Yet the final section of the Tangut translation presents a text that is structurally different from the extant Chinese versions.

Because the Tangut scroll is missing its lower half, the lines are incomplete. As we have seen above, each line would have had around 20 characters, and the missing characters at the end of lines appear as empty squares (□).[687]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	□	□
5888	1794	2541	3583	0289	5856	1918	0490		
gjiw	·o	dzjwo	tja	we	ɣa	mji	gjị		
廣	主	人	者	城	中	不	依		
wide	lord	man	TOP	city wall	inside	not	rely on		

The lords of the steppes do not find shelter inside city walls [...]

686 The suffix *tseu* [illegible] for producing ordinal numbers is missing because of the damage to this part of the manuscript, but it can be reconstructed based on the context.
687 The text presented here is continuous and does not follow the layout (e.g. line length) in the manuscript.

□	□	□	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]
			0705	5882	2937	0390	5113	2341	1918
			zjij	zar	lhjịj	khjwɨ	·wji	tśier	mji
			時	漢	國	伐	為	利	不
			when	Han	state	attack	make	benefit	not

When [...,] they attack the Han state; when it is disadvantageous for them,

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	□	□	□
1599	0705	4871	2181	2858	3789	2551			
rjir	zjịj	ŋər	gjij	zjir	tsu	lja			
得	時	山	川	遠	逃	匿			
attain	when	mountain	river	far	flee	hide			

they flee far away and hide amidst the mountains and rivers [...][688]

□	□	□	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			4534	0705	3065	4658	0143	0089	1212
			dźjwiw	zjij	lhju	thji	dźjij	tśhja̱	gjwi
			饑	時	乳	飲	寒	上	裘
			hungry	when	milk	drink	cold	on	pelt

[...] When hungry, they drink milk; when cold, they wear pelts.

[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	□	□	□
4906	2758	5683	0558	1922	0487	4225			
gjwi	khwa	·jịr	njijr	khia	sjwụ	sja			
服	圍	獵	獸	射	生	殺			
wear	enclose	hunt	animal	shoot	life	kill			

They shoot wild animals in battue hunts, killing life [...]

688 The Chinese and Tangut versions slightly differ here. The Chinese only says that when the Northern Di are powerful, they invade the areas in the south, whereas the Tangut states that the Lords of the Steppes come and destroy Chinese territories.

□	□	□	4916	5880	4279	5643	0303	2019	4950
			ɣwej	ŋwu	·wə̱	mjɨ	dzjij	thja	rjir
			戰	而	服	無	肯	其	△
			fight	CONJ	submit	no	consent	they	COMIT

[...] cannot be subjugated by fighting. There are

4916	2090	1943	0535	3583	5865	5932	□	□	□
ɣwej	lew	nja̱	śjij	tja	sọ	mə			
戰	可	非	△	者	三	種			
fight	can	not		TOP	three	kind			

three reasons why they cannot be fought [...]

□	□	□	4916	0412	0413	4465	4675	2935	5888
			ɣwej	tjɨ̣	Jar	ljɨ̣	rjijr	lạ	gjiw
			戰	疲	倦	勞	苦	多	廣
			fight	tired	tired	toil	hardship	many	wide

[...] fight, thus they are fatigued and experience much hardship.

1794	0558	1922	5169	0308	□	□	□	□	□
·o	njijr	khia	njwɨ̣	lhji					
主	獸	射	敏	勇					
lord	animal	shoot	agile	brave					

The lords of the steppes, [on the other hand,] shoot wild animals, are agile and brave.

□	□	[[illegible]]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			1290	5708	0535	0508	5882	1531	2627
			tsew	zju	śjij	ŋwu	zar	gja	ljɨ̣
		一	第	缺	△	是	漢	軍	地
		one	ORD	lack		be	Han	troops	land

[...] This is the first inadequacy. The Han troops can march

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	□	□	□
0026	5911	5300	2440	2798	2804	0123			
ŋwu	khwa	tjɨ	njɨ̱	·jir	bju̱	dźji			
程	遠	一	日	百	里	步			
limit	far	one	day	hundred	li	walk			

on foot a hundred *li* in one day. [...]

□	□	□	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			5981	0740	5531	5882	5888	1794	1906
			·a	bji̱j	gjij	zar	gjiw	·o	nio̱w
			一	倍	餘	漢	廣	主	後
			one	times	more	Han	wide	lord	behind

[...] more than twice as much. When the Han are

[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible][689]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	□	□	□	□
2356	4513	1366	3148	2781	0156				
dźjiw	dzji	dźjwij	dzju	njij	wjir				
追	糧	食	武	器	齎				
chase	grain	food	weapon	weapon	carry				

in pursuit of the lords of the steppes, they [have to carry] their provisions and weapons.

689 The first character of the word *dzji dźjwij* [illegible] (糧食 "grains, provisions") is written in the manuscript as *lji* [illegible] (香), producing the awkward and unattested word *lji dźjwij* [illegible] (香糧 "fragrant grains"). It is therefore likely that this is a mistake and that the much more common word *dzji dźjwij* [illegible] (糧食 "grains, provisions") was intended, and this is how I transcribe it.

□	□	□	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，
			1906	2356	0520	0089	0824	5417	0768
			nio̱w	dźjiw	dze̱j	tśhja̱	tśhjɨ	rjar	?
			後	追	騎	上	迅	速	及
			behind	chase	ride	on	swift	swift	reach

[...] ride in pursuit [of the Han], they reach them swiftly.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[[illegible]	[illegible]]。
0123	0520	3912	5643	1737	4027	1290	5708	0535	0508
dźji	dze̱j	bji	mjɨ	ka	nji̱	tsew	zju	śjij	ŋwu
步	騎	步	不	等	二	第	缺	△	是
walk	ride	pace	not	equal	two	ORD	lack		be

When [transporting things] on foot or on horseback, the pace is unequal. This is the second inadequacy.

□	[[illegible]	[illegible]]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	5882	0123	5414	5888	1794	0520	2407	2935	2302
	zar	dźji	rejr	gjiw	·o	dze̱j	dze̱j	la̱	ljɨ
	漢	步	多	廣	主	騎	乘	多	風
	Han	walk	much	wide	lord	ride	ride	much	wind

[... the Han] mostly [walk], the lords of the steppes mostly ride horses.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	□	□	□	□
0535	2043	2043	0705	0520	2520				
śjij	də̱	də̱	zjij	dze̱j	dzjɨr				
△	爭	爭	時	騎	疾				
	compete	compete	time	ride	fast				

When competing for environmental advantages,[690] riding is faster than [...]

690 Here the phrase *ljɨ śjij* [illegible][illegible] (風形) translated into English as "environmental advantages" is somewhat problematic. The Chinese equivalent in this place of the text is "nature of terrain" 地形. Instead of the word "terrain," the Tangut uses the word *ljɨ* [illegible] ("wind"), presumably to refer to the weather. See also the discussion in the next chapter on the *śjij* [illegible] suffix and its use in translating the phrase "nature of terrain" 地形.

□	□	□	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			2893	2019	4950	4916	2090	1943	5354
			khwej	thja	rjir	ɣwej	lew	nja̱	thjɨ
			大	其	△	戰	可	無	此
			big	this	COMIT	fight	can	not	this

[...] great. This is the third inadequacy why they (i.e. the barbarians) cannot be fought.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible]	□	□	□
3583	5865	1290	5708	0535	0508	3317			
tja	sọ	tsew	zju	śjij	ŋwu	lew			
者	三	第	缺	△	是	僅			
TOP	three	ORD	lack		be	only			

Only [...]

□	□	□	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]
			0500	1531	2805	2716	5871	1531	5264
			tsjụ	gja	bju̱	rjijr	ze̱w	gja	mjijr
			攻	軍	將	善	任	兵	卒
			attack	army	general	good	employ	army	troops

[...] attack; to employ a good general to command the troops;

[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible][691]	[illegible](?)	□	......[692]
0524	4520	2513	2258	4976	0835		
dzju	bji	·ju	khju̱	·wejr	sa		
指	揮	常	保	守	接		
command	direct	often	guard	guard	connect		

to often guard connecting(?) ...

691 The characters used to write the word *khju̱ ·wejr* [illegible][illegible] (保守 "guard") appear in the manuscript in reversed order but this error was corrected by placing a reversal mark between them. I transcribe them here in their correct order as indicated by the correction mark.
692 Because this is the last line of text before the colophon that begins on a new line, we cannot be certain how many characters there were originally in this line. Therefore, I place only a single square box here for the character partially visible on the manuscript.

It is obvious that there are significant differences between this Tangut version and the parallel part of the received Chinese text translated earlier. Among the most conspicuous features of the Tangut text is that the Northern Di barbarians of the Chinese text are described under the label *gjiw ·o* 𘘚𘝯 (廣主 "lords of the wide"). The English translation "lords of the steppes" is suggested by Kepping,[693] whereas Grinstead uses the term "lords of the great plain."[694] Although both terms basically convey the same meaning, I prefer Kepping's translation because it seems to fit the context better. In the Tangut term *gjiw ·o* 𘘚𘝯, the word *gjiw* 𘘚 is understood to refer to some sort of wideness or broadness, and is usually rendered into Chinese using the words *guang* 廣 ("broad") or *kuan* 寬 ("wide"). In the Tangut dictionary *Sea of Characters* (*·Jwɨr ŋjow* 𘟙𘜶; Ch. *Wenhai* 文海, 54.161), this word is explained as signifying the wideness of terrain, which in our text this clearly refers to vast expanses of open terrain without trees or mountains, i.e. the steppe.

Kepping also identifies three other ethnonyms in Tangut ritual songs for the peoples at the other cardinal directions, namely "lords of the West" (i.e. the Tibetans), "lords of the East" (i.e. the Chinese) and "lords of the mountains", a group that resided to the south of the Tangut domain.[695] While Kepping believes that the "lords of the steppes" in our manuscript provides the "missing indigenous term" for the ethnic group that resided to the north of the Tangut empire, it is perhaps more likely that these terms were not concrete ethnonyms but references to peoples based on their place of residence from the point of view of a centre. I suspect that these terms were used similar to how in English we may use words such as "westerner" or "easterner," "highlander" or "lowlander," without the intent to specify actual ethnicities.[696] This is particularly likely if we consider that the neighbours of the Tanguts changed several times in the course of their migrations and subsequent expansion.

A similar term appears in the Tangut text *Newly Collected Grains of Gold Placed in the Palm*, where the neighbours of the Tanguts are described as follows:[697]

693 Kepping and Gong 2003, 21.

694 Grinstead 1962, 36.

695 Kepping and Gong 2003, 20.

696 The Chinese terms for the four barbarians (i.e. Western Rong, Northern Di, Eastern Yi and Southern Man) by this time also lost their specificity and thus ceased to be used as ethnonyms. Yet the terms in Chinese are not descriptive but ultimately derive from concrete early Chinese ethnonyms. Each of these terms has specific connotations or stereotypes associated with it, precisely as this is described in the Chinese *Jiangyuan*.

697 For a description and translation of this text, see Kychanov 1969.

The Tanguts march bravely and vigorously,
The Khitans walk in a slow pace,
The Tibetans mostly revere the buddhas and monks,
The Chinese all like vernacular literature,
The Uyghurs drink sour milk,
The "lords of the mountains" love to eat buckwheat.[698]

The ethnonym *śiã ·o* 𗏁𗀓 (山主 lords of the mountains) in the last line matches the format of the term "lords of the steppes," as well as the other terms identified by Kepping in the ritual songs. Kychanov raises the possibility that *śiã ·o* 𗏁𗀓 is used phonetically to write the name of a country, namely, Shanshan 鄯善 in the area of Lopnor.[699] Considering the above examples, as well as its occurrence of the term in the ritual songs, it seems perhaps more likely that this is a native Tangut term of a descriptive nature, rather than a phonetic transcription. Which people it specifically refers to, however, remains a mystery.

In the *Jiangyuan* passage above, the lords of the steppes are contrasted with the Han, whose name is written as *zar* 𗃘, which in Tangut translations of Chinese texts commonly renders the ethnonym *han* 漢 ("Han, Chinese"). This means that the translation kept its Sinocentric perspective and the people fighting the lords of the steppes are still the Han, and not the Tanguts. No attempt was made to substitute the Han with the Tanguts in order to make the text truly relevant for native readership, which suggests that the text was regarded not as a manual with concrete instructions on how to defend the Tangut homeland but was kept as a Chinese military treatise, which was relevant only as an example of a particular type of attitude and logic.[700]

A fundamental question in evaluating the quality and purpose of the translation is to examine how closely it follows the Chinese text. Although we are at a

698 I adopt with slight modification the Russian translation from Kychanov 1971, 157. The first four lines of Kychanov's translation are, in turn, adopted from Nevskij 1960, v. 1, 81. For a detailed study of this text, see Kotaka Yūji's 小高裕次 series of articles (Kotaka 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2012).
699 Kychanov 1971, 158.
700 With reference to the translation of military treatises (*Sushu* 素書, *Huangshi gong sanlüe* and *Liutao*) into Manchu, Stephen Durrant (1979, 654–655) pointed out that these would have offered little precise knowledge of concrete strategies for warfare. Instead, he suggested that it was the ostensible authors of these texts that were the subject of interest, as they all "were associated with a rising power on the eve of its conquest, and the Mukden rulers might have gained a particular interest in them by a perceived, and at that time desired, analogy between the earlier pre-conquest powers and themselves." On this point, see also discussion in next chapter.

disadvantage because more than a third of each line (i.e. the lower part) is missing in the manuscript, it is nevertheless apparent that the Tangut version in general matches the Chinese one. While the translation was not carried out in a rigid word-for-word manner, the content in the two languages can be easily aligned with each other. In some cases the same sense is expressed in more (or fewer) words but there are no fundamental discrepancies. An exception is the very end of Section C50 which offers concrete solutions on how to deal with the Northern Di (i.e. "picking a good general to employ," etc.). The Tangut version (T37) omits most of this part, of which we can be certain because the end of the manuscript is complete and thus the translation comes to an end here. Based on its content there appears to be no obvious reason why the missing text would have been deemed unnecessary for Tangut readers, yet this portion is present in all Chinese editions.[701] This, of course, does not prove that these sentences were also part of the edition used by the Tangut translator. In fact, as I suggest in the following section, I am of the opinion that the Chinese text from which the Tangut version was translated probably already had the same arrangement as the Tangut translation and that the extant Chinese version of the text is a later development in the history of the text.

6.6 Translation vs. adaptation

We have seen that while the Tangut manuscript maintains the Sinocentric perspective of the original text, it excludes three of the four barbarians, describing only the Northern Di. The translation calls this horse-riding people the lords of the steppes, a term that could have referred to the Mongols who by the beginning of the 13th century had established a significant military presence along the northern border of the Tangut state. Such an identification would have important ramifications for the date of the translation. With no explicit clues to date the manuscript, the possibility of a Mongol threat beyond the northern frontier would suggest an early 13th century dating for the Tangut version, which to some extent would disagree with our current understanding that most secular writings were translated during the 12th century. The lords of the steppes however could have equally referred to the Khitans or Jurchens, and such identification would indicate a much earlier date for the text. There were wars with the Khitans already during the reign Yuanhao, when the Tanguts were greatly outnumbered and had

701 Except, of course, the Qing dynasty editions in which this part was censored out altogether.

to withdraw deep into Tangut territories to avoid direct encounters with the enemy. More importantly, the description of Northern Di is present in the Chinese text which would have predated the Mongol period, not to speak of the stereotypical characteristics of these people, which go back to even earlier times. While it is true that the Mongols were also a horse-riding militant nation in the north, throughout Chinese history the northern steppes had been occupied by nomadic tribes who led a similar lifestyle. The descriptive property of the term lords of the steppes also suggests that the Tanguts used this not as a reference to a specific ethnicity but as an umbrella term for nomadic tribes in the north.

As to why the sections describing the other three types of barbarians do not appear in the translation, theoretically it would be possible to argue that this was the only ethnic agglomeration of the original four that fit the Tangut worldview. Despite their geographical location, the Liao and later the Jin states would not have been called Eastern Barbarians (Dong Yi) because they represented high culture from the perspective of the Tanguts who had at one point been in a subordinate position to them, acting as their vassal state. These states occupied territories which for many centuries had been part of the Chinese cultural domain, and effectively acted as heirs to that tradition. Similarly, the Song, who had been adjacent to the Tanguts until the Jurchens pushed them further south, did not fit into the categories of Eastern or Southern Barbarians. The Tibetans to the south and southwest, once again, were not "barbarians" from a Tangut perspective but a civilisation with which the Tanguts shared an important part of their cultural heritage. The cultural dependency and indebtedness of the Tanguts to their neighbours is also demonstrated by the fact that besides the Tangut language, Tibetan and Chinese were both widely used in the Tangut state. This attests not only to the multi-ethnicity of the empire but also to its most principal cultural and political connections. The shared Buddhist background between these states may have also interfered with seeing them as "barbarians," especially since Buddhism spread to the Tangut empire from China and Tibet.

Therefore, of the four stereotypical barbarians in the Chinese version of the *Jiangyuan*, it was only the northern neighbours that could not be associated with some form of high culture and a common religious tradition. This was the only group of the four that corresponded to the Tangut geography in which the centre itself was moved from its original Chinese epicentre to the northwest, creating a completely different cultural and geographical layout. Accordingly, while it is tempting to regard the Mongols as the greatest threat to the Tangut domain, this becomes evident only in retrospect, whereas at the time the Jurchens would have probably represented a more formidable military challenge.

Having said that, the discrepancies between the Tangut and Chinese versions in other parts of this text make it possible that the translation followed its source text relatively closely and at least some of the differences can often be attributed to the variation between different versions of the Chinese text. Although we have no access to the version used by the Tangut translator, in many cases the seeming discrepancies can be matched to the wording in one of the early editions of the *Jiangyuan*. This is consistent with the phenomenon mentioned on several occasions in this book, namely, that Tangut translators were unlikely to be involved in editing the Chinese text and even when we do not have a Chinese version matching the Tangut text, it may be simply because that version was subsequently lost. The same point is also demonstrated by the fact that there are also examples of Tangut texts evidently translated from Chinese but for which we do not have the Chinese original anymore. From this point of view it is quite possible that the Tangut *General's Garden* followed faithfully a Chinese edition, including the last section devoted to the description of barbarian tribes, and that the form we see in the Tangut manuscript was in fact taken directly from a now lost Chinese version.

The Tangut manuscript is the earliest known version of the *Jiangyuan* and it may preserve a form of the text that predates the Ming editions available to us today. Consequently, it is not impossible that originally this last section discussed only the northern barbarians and the four-fold division of China's neighbours according to the four cardinal directions was introduced only later, possibly under the influence of works such as the *Tongdian*. An additional argument in favour of this hypothesis is that in the Tangut manuscript the description of the lords of the steppes does not appear in a separate section by itself but forms part of section T37 (i.e. the last section of the Tangut text), the beginning of which matches in content with C46. The separation of the description of the lords of the steppes from the rest of section T37 may have become necessary when the text was augmented and the four-fold division was created.

The important point here is that the last part of the Tangut version does not simply omit the description of three of the four types of barbarians but uses a framework that does not operate in terms of the four-fold division at all. It is only because of our knowledge of the transmitted version of the Chinese text that it appears as if there was an omission or abridgment. But if we do not try to match the Tangut text with the Chinese one, we will be able to see that the description of the enemy in the Tangut version does not necessarily require three additional categories but works perfectly well by itself.

In light of the above, I suspect that the Tangut translator did not adapt the text for local readership but instead relied on a Chinese version no longer available to us. Likewise, the different sequence of sections in the Tangut manuscript may go back to a Chinese version, as it would be hard to find a plausible explanation for a translator to radically rearrange the original text, especially if it keeps the title also attested in the Chinese context. In this sense, the Tangut *General's Garden* is an important witness of the early stage of the formation of this text from before it reached the relatively stable form we are familiar with today. This hypothesis, however, can be conclusively proven or refuted only if an early version of the Chinese text comes to light.

7 Translation consistency

As a result of ambitious translation activity, the Tanguts partially replicated the extensive world of Chinese texts in their own language. The majority of translations focused on Buddhist texts and it is possible that religious considerations played a central role in the nation-building agenda and the invention of the Tangut script.[702] Translations of secular works may have been part of the same movement, although on a smaller scale. Nevertheless, their number is considerable, especially when contrasted with the scarcity of native Tangut literature that survives today. It is hard to know whether this imbalance in favour of Chinese (and to a smaller extent Tibetan) texts is a peculiarity of Khara-khoto and other sites closer to the epicentre of the Tangut homeland would one day yield substantial quantities of books with native Tangut literature. So far, the situation has been exactly the opposite, as the texts found at other sites are almost exclusively of Buddhist content, which in itself shows the unique nature of the Khara-khoto materials.

The world of Chinese secular texts reproduced in Tangut translations raises the same question asked earlier in this book with regard to the various *mengshu* translated from Chinese, namely, why would the Tanguts need all these works and not rely more extensively on their own oral tradition? In the case of the *mengshu*, I saw the reasons in the prestige of the Chinese written word and a conscious affiliation with Chinese culture. The Tanguts adopted Chinese-type Buddhism and along with it the Chinese script, much the same way as it happened with China's other neighbours in East Asia. The Tanguts, however, went a step further and in addition created their own script. This new script was immediately put into use both on the level of administration and for translating the Buddhist canon which they claimed to have completed in about fifty years' time, in contrast with the Chinese who continued to translate these works from Indic languages for nearly a millennium.

In addition to the multitude of Buddhist texts, the ruins of Khara-khoto also yielded a considerable number of Tangut translations of secular Chinese texts. In this chapter I am chiefly interested in how these worked together as a literary and cultural corpus in an entirely different linguistic setting. My concern is with

702 Dunnell (1996, 7) writes about the "inseparability of Xia Buddhism and state formation," whereas Kepping (1998, 360) goes as far as stating that "[b]eyond doubt the translation of the Buddhist Canon was the main event in the spiritual life of the eleventh-century Tangut Empire."

intertextuality, whether the connections and links these texts had in their native environment were preserved or lost in the course of translation. I examine examples of discrepancies between multiple Tangut versions of the same (or similar) Chinese phrases or passages in order to assess the consistency of their translation. In order to create a relatively well controlled environment where variation cannot be attributed to the diversity of the material, I limit my analysis to translations of Chinese military works. My aim is to show that even within such a closely defined body of texts we encounter inconsistencies. This not only demonstrates that the texts were translated by different people at different times but also that translations were usually done without consulting existing translations. Furthermore, the differences in the transliteration of the names of major historical figures from the Chinese tradition show that the Tanguts did not always have a generally accepted convention for writing these in their own script but often transcribed them anew whenever they encountered them. Similarly, it is possible that the translations, as it was the case with Buddhist translations in the Chinese context, were done in teams and translating a single text may have involved a number of people, who at times made different choices.

7.1 Tangut translations of Chinese military texts

The Tangut translations of most military texts are believed to have been made during the second half of the 12th century. Together they represent an important part of the Tangut materials available to us today. As texts for which we have parallel Chinese versions, they are invaluable for enriching our linguistic knowledge of Tangut, including its syntax, morphology, and lexicon. When aligned side by side, however, Chinese and Tangut versions often exhibit differences, ranging from minor discrepancies in wording to omissions or additions of complete sentences and sections. As already mentioned, often these divergences were the result of the translators working from Chinese editions that are no longer extant and it is not necessarily true that they took liberties with the texts for a variety of reasons. At the same time, there was inevitably a certain amount of localization as the translators tried to fit the texts into their own cultural and linguistic environment and make them more accessible for Tangut readers. At times they left out details they regarded as inconsequential, or integrated commentary-type explanations for passages that otherwise would have been obscure for a Tangut audience.

In terms of the surviving non-Buddhist materials written in Tangut, works on military strategy represent one of the main categories. This pronounced interest in military lore was certainly in tune with the dynamic expansion of the

Tangut state from the 11th century onward, which entailed frequent wars with the surrounding peoples. Longer stretches of peace were few and military valour would have certainly been among the highly prized qualities in the state. This is not to say that the Tanguts were unusually violent and hostile people who thrived on destroying their neighbours. The extant corpus of Tangut language material largely consists of Buddhist texts but even among the secular translations works on history, Confucianism and other "peaceful" subjects are much better represented than those on military strategy. Neither were the Tanguts the only non-Chinese people in Central and East Asian history who valued military works. For example, one of the earliest Chinese texts translated into Manchu was the *Sanguo yanyi*, which is essentially a literary representation of military lore.[703] Early translations of military texts into Manchu include some of the same titles found in Tangut (e.g. *Huangshi gong sanlüe*, *Liutao*).[704]

In any case, the surviving corpus of Tangut translations of works on military strategy is significant in volume, demonstrating the interest in them on the part of the Tanguts. Modern researchers have identified a number of titles but additional fragments continue to be recognised as images of the books and manuscripts are becoming accessible in digital and paper form. Thus while some items were identified relatively early, discoveries continue to be made to this day. Usually these are not entirely new texts but unidentified fragments of otherwise known works, which are just as valuable for research. For example, the existence of a relatively long fragment of a hitherto unknown part of the *Sunzi* manuscript in St. Petersburg was revealed only in 2012.[705]

Earlier in this book, we have already examined the Tangut *General's Garden* (Ch. *Jiangyuan*) and the *Sunzi* with *Sunzi's Biography* (Ch. *Sunzi zhuan*). Besides these texts, we are also aware of Tangut translations of the *Liutao* and the *Huangshi gong sanlüe*. Of these, the *Liutao* is a printed edition at the IOM in St. Petersburg bound in a butterfly form. The surviving fragments contain some duplicates, attesting to the fact that they come from more than one physical copy of the book. In addition to the material at the IOM, Shi Jinbo has recently identified a fragment at the British Library (Or.12380/0516), probably representing a different version from the printed edition in St. Petersburg.[706] One of the surprising aspects of the Tangut translation is that it includes two chapters (*pian* 篇) which cannot be found in the received Chinese text. These two chap-

703 West 2005.
704 Durrant 1979, 654–655.
705 Sun 2012.
706 Shi 2010, 7.

ters have been located as smaller bits of quotes in Tang dynasty encyclopaedias such as the *Taiping yulan* and Du You's *Tongdian*. On the basis of the Tangut text, Nie Hongyin reconstructed the chapters missing from the received Chinese text and his reconstruction later served as the basis for identifying the missing parts in Tang encyclopaedias.[707] The discrepancy between the Tangut translation and the received Chinese text was obviously the result of the Tangut translator using an edition which contained these two chapters and, therefore, was quite a bit longer than the received text, which is ultimately based on the standardized version in the Song military canon *Wujing qishu*. Consequently, the discovery of the Tangut translation of the *Liutao* has major implications for studying the history of the Chinese text before the Song standardization of military texts.

The *Sanlüe* is a printed edition bound in a butterfly form and is currently kept in St. Petersburg. The text was first identified by Nevsky and later also included in the catalogue of Gorbacheva and Kychanov.[708] Facsimile reproductions of the book were made available in vol. 11 of the Shanghai publication.[709] All surviving pages, grouped under three pressmarks, seem to belong to the same book. The comparison with the *Wujing qishu* edition of the Chinese text shows that the Tangut translation frequently omits phrases or even longer strings of text, and in at least one part presents the text in a completely different arrangement.[710] Once again, these differences are not the result of the translator's intervention but derive from a now lost edition of the *Sanlüe*, which the Tangut translator must have used.[711]

Similarly, the Tangut translation contains occasional bits of text that are not part of the received text of the *Sanlüe*. These, however, were not added by the translator either, as many of them can be found in medieval texts quoting the *Sanlüe*, attesting to the fact that in the medieval period these used to be part of the Chinese text but were subsequently deleted from the version that was incorporated into the *Wujing qishu*.[712] Although the missing portions do not amount to complete chapters, as it was the case with the *Liutao*, the Tangut version of

707 For the reconstruction, see Nie 1996; for identifying bits of the text in Tang encyclopedias, see Song 2004.

708 Gorbacheva and Kychanov 1963, 38–39.

709 Eluosi kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo et al. 1996–, v. 11, 201–221.

710 Zhong 2005, 87–88.

711 *Ibid.*, 88.

712 *Ibid.*

the *Sanlüe* is an important witness of the textual history of the text prior to the Song standardization.

In addition to the main text, the Tangut *Sanlüe* also includes a commentary by an unidentified commentator, which did not survive in Chinese editions of the text.[713] Even so, it shows a number of similarities with parts of the commentary of the *Sanlüe* included in the *Changduan jing* 長短經, a composite text compiled by the Tang scholar Zhao Rui 趙蕤 (fl. 716), even if the match is only partial.[714] Moreover, part of the commentary matches the commentary of the *Sanlüe* as quoted in the *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要, an anthology completed in 631 under the leadership of Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643).[715] Considering the relationship of the commentaries with those in the *Changduan jing* and the *Qunshu zhiyao*, Zhong Han 鍾焓 suggested that this edition of the *Sanlüe* may be the one mentioned in the bibliographic chapter of the *Sui shu* as including the commentary by a certain Mr Cheng 成氏. In the *Sui shu* bibliography, this is the only edition of the *Sanlüe* with a commentary.

In the Chinese context, by the Song period military texts have evolved into a distinct genre with specific terminology and imagery. In 1080, under the orders of the Song emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1068–1085), seven works were officially gathered into a canon by the name of *Wujing qishu*, a Song edition of which survives to this day.[716] The collection included the following seven titles:

(i) *Sunzi bingfa*
(ii) *Wuzi* 吳子
(iii) *Sima fa* 司馬法
(iv) *Liutao*
(v) *Weiliao zi* 尉繚子
(vi) *Sanlüe*
(vii) *Tang Taizong Li Wei gong wendui*

This compilation had a strong standardizing effect on the texts and almost completely eradicated other editions of smaller titles such as the *Liutao* and *Sanlüe*. Of the five military texts that survive in Tangut, the *Sunzi*, the *Liutao*, and the *Sanlüe* formed part of the *Wujing qishu* canon, whereas the *Sunzi zhuan* and the

713 Zhong 2007, 90.
714 Zhong 2006. On the *Changduan jing* and its function in contemporary intellectual thought, see DeBlasi 2007.
715 Zhong 2007.
716 Gawlikowski and Loewe 1993, 450.

Jiangyuan did not. The reason for this is probably that the *Sunzi zhuan* was not a military text *per se* but a biography that was part of a historiographical work (i.e. the *Shiji*). In contrast, the *Jiangyuan* would have qualified as a military treatise but it might not have existed at the time of the compilation of the *Wujing qishu*, or was viewed as a recent forgery and thus not fit for being included in the canon. In either case, being included in or excluded from the collection must have had a major effect on the distribution and transmission of military treatises, and the decision of the compilers essentially functioned as a verdict on whether a text deserved to be transmitted or not.

A comparison of the *Wujing qishu* edition with the corresponding Tangut translations shows that the Tangut translators worked from other editions, even though the military canon already existed at that time. This is naturally true for the Tangut *Sunzi* with the three commentaries, as opposed to the ten in the *Wujing qishu*. But there is also the case of the *Sanlüe* where the commentary in the Tangut version in many cases matches that in the *Changduan jing* rather than the *Wujing qishu*.[717] In this way, the Tangut translations are important witnesses to the diversity of editions available in Song times, and part of the reason for such projects as the compilation of the *Wujing qishu* would have been the desire to normalize this textual diversity and create standard editions approved by the state and suitable for examination purposes. Inevitably, alternate versions and readings gradually lost their significance and many of them were not transmitted anymore.[718]

It is interesting to note that even though military treatises are considered a corpus of technical literature, the literal meaning of the texts is only part of their utility and the guidance they offer is not immediately helpful in practical situations. Consider Section 43 of the *Jiangyuan*, titled “Keeping the people in harmony” 和人:[719]

> 夫用兵之道，在於人和，人和則不勸而自戰矣。若人吏相猜，士卒不服，忠謀不用，群下謗議，讒慝互生，雖有湯、武之智而不取勝於匹夫，況其眾者乎？
> Now, the proper way of using troops lies in keeping the people in harmony with each other. If the people are in harmony, then they will fight of themselves without being urged to do so. If the people and officials second-guess each other, the soldiers will not obey, the stratagems that rely on loyalty will be of no use, the subordinates will vilify each other, giving rise to slander and wickedness. [In such a case,] one may have all the wisdom of

717 See Zhong 2005 and 2006.

718 Donald Harper describes a similar phenomenon with regards to the popularity of manuscripts of occult miscellanies in early and medieval China; see Harper 2010.

719 *Zhuge Kongming Xinshu* (Lan Zhang edition), 630–631.

[Shang] Tang and [King] Wu, yet one will not be able to overcome a single person, not to speak of multitudes!

The advice given here is that as a supreme commander, one needs to keep subordinates in accord with each other, or else one will never be able to achieve victory. This is very similar to the Latin maxim "ibi semper est victoria, ubi concordia est" (victory is ever there where there is agreement), only it lays more emphasis on the negative consequences of discord. But in practical terms this is a rather general advice, a cliché with little pragmatic value. Surely, any general or officer knows that this is something he must strive for. What makes the statement valuable, and elevates it above the level of commonsensical clichés, is that it is perceived as having been said by a person of authority whose advice and guidance carries weight. When it is Zhuge Liang who singles out agreement among one's subordinates as a key aspect of victory, the rather ordinary words acquire an additional dimension of significance and urgency.

7.2 Parallel phrases and passages

With the availability of Tangut translations of several Chinese military works we have a sizeable body of texts that belong to the same literary genre and share a similar vocabulary and rhetorical style. The analysis of such a corpus is in many ways more useful for understanding the process of translation than examining single works and their Chinese sources. It has been pointed out that translations of secular works did not always follow closely the Chinese original but that intelligibility and clarity of meaning seems to have been valued higher than a word for word correspondence with the source text. Naturally, in an effort to enhance readability, the translator may have chosen to handle the same term differently based on the context. For example, Nishida Tatsuo pointed out that the Tangut *Liutao* used different words in place of the Chinese word 守 (*shou* "to protect; guard") when that appeared in different contexts:[720]

tśhjiw ·ji̱j [illegible][illegible] *liu shou* 六守 ("the six kinds of *shou*")
lu ɣiwej [illegible][illegible] *shou tu* 守土 ("defense of national territory")
lhjịj zow [illegible][illegible] *shou guo* 守國 ("maintenance [*sic*] of the state")

720 The following examples, including the English translation of Tangut terms, come from Nishida 2010, 228–229. The pronunciation of Tangut words, however, is made consistent with the system used throughout the present book.

Nishida commented that although the Tangut words used as a translation for the Chinese word *shou* 守 were noticeably related to each other, it was "difficult to concretely determine the differences among them."[721] The Tangut translator apparently was less concerned with a word-for-word consistency in his translation than with trying to convey what the words meant in context. Consistency in general is not a requirement except for technical terms which reoccur more than once, in which case alternate translations would be counterproductive.

In the following, I examine four examples with the aim to evaluate translation consistency in Tangut versions of Chinese military works. The first example is a phrase from the *Sunzi* that is also quoted in two other texts; the second, a parallel section in the *Sanlüe* and the *Jiangyuan*; the third, a parallel section between the *Sunzi* and the *Jiangyuan*; finally the fourth, the name of Zhuge Liang in the commentaries of the *Sunzi* and the *Sunzi zhuan*.

In my analysis, I use the page numbers in Kepping's reproduction of the Tangut *Sunzi* (which reflect the page numbers of the original print) to refer to specific parts of the *Sunzi* and the *Sunzi zhuan*.[722] For the Chinese *Jiangyuan*, I use the Lan Zhang edition printed in 1564; for the *Sanlüe*, the *Wujing qishu* edition.

Example 1.

The phrase "there are cases when the ruler's orders are not obeyed" 君命有所不受 appears in the *Sunzi* and the *Sunzi zhuan*. In addition, there are also similar phrases in the *Jiangyuan* and elsewhere in the *Sunzi*. Although in pre-Qin China these sayings probably widely circulated as popular axioms, in the *Sunzi zhuan* and the *Jiangyuan* these are unmistakably references to the *Sunzi*. The Tangut translation uses a different solution in each case:

***Sunzi* 15B**

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5306	0524	1918	3575	0930
dzjwɨ	dzju	mji	nji	dju
君	命	不	聽	有
ruler	order	not	listen	there is

There are cases when the ruler's orders are not listened to.

721 *Ibid.*, 229.
722 Keping 1979.

***Sunzi zhuan* 51A**

1531	5306	1139	2806	1045	1918	3575	2090	5815	0930	1279
gja	dzjwɨ	·jij	zur	dạ	mji	nji	lew	·jwi	dju	·jɨ
軍	君	之	敕	言	不	聽	可	亦	有	謂
army	ruler	GEN	order	word	not	listen	can	also	there is	say

It is said that there are also cases when the troops may not listen to the commanding words of the ruler.

Tangut *Jiangyuan* T25 (C28)[723]

3830	0524	4520	1045	0353	
njij	dzju	bji	dạ	kha	……
王	命	令	言	中	……
king	order	order	word	in	

… in the words of the king's orders.

In addition, we may also look at the phrase "the general receives his orders from the ruler" 將受命於君, which appears in *Sunzi* 14A and is similar to the phrase examined here:

***Sunzi* 14A**

2805	5306	0524	2590	3159
bju̠	dzjwɨ	dzju	·wjɨ	lhjịj
將	君	命	△	受
general	ruler	orders	DIR	receive

the general receives the ruler's orders

Of the above examples, the last version in *Sunzi* 14A seems to be the closest in structure to the original Chinese. In the first two cases, the concept of "obeying orders" 受命 is expressed using the verb *nji* (聽 "to listen to") which in this context is equivalent to the meaning of the verb "to accept, obey." Yet, as Table 2 demonstrates, even the phrase "the ruler's orders" shows a great deal of varia-

723 Section 25 in the Tangut text (T25) corresponds to Section 28 in the Chinese version (C28).

tion between different versions. It is expressed as *dzjwɨ dzju* 𗼃𗗙 (君命 "the ruler's orders") both times in the *Sunzi*, yet the *Sunzi zhuan* uses a more roundabout form of *dzjwɨ ·jij zur dạ* 𗼃𗖵𗗙𗓁 (君之敕言 "the commanding words of the ruler"). In the *Jiangyuan*, on the other hand, we see the more specific word *njij* 𗴴(王 "king") instead of the generic *dzjwɨ* 𗼃 (君 "ruler"). Moreover, the word "orders" is expressed using the three-syllable, and thus presumably semantically more accurate, noun phrase *dzju bji dạ* 𗗙𗤶𗓁 (命令言 "the words of the orders"). We must assume that the translator used this translation for the sake of clarity, which was a conscious move away from trying to approximate the concise language of classical Chinese through finding an equivalent monosyllabic word for each Chinese word. The Chinese original in each of these cases is simply *jun ming* 君命 ("the ruler's orders"), which technically only matches the translation in the two instances in the Tangut *Sunzi*.

	***Sunzi* 14A**	***Sunzi* 15B**	***Sunzi zhuan* 51A**	***Jiangyuan* C28**
Tangut	𗼃𗗙 *dzjwɨ dzju*	𗼃𗗙 *dzjwɨ dzju*	𗼃𗖵𗗙𗓁 *dzjwɨ ·jij zur dạ*	𗴴𗗙𗤶𗓁 *dzju bji dạ*
	君命 the ruler's orders	君命 the ruler's orders	君之敕言 the commanding orders of the ruler	王命令言 the words of the king's orders
Chinese	君命 the ruler's orders	君命 the ruler's orders	君命 the ruler's orders	君命 the ruler's orders

Tab. 2: Tangut translations of the Chinese phrase "the ruler's orders" 君命.

Example 2.

The Chinese versions of the *Sanlüe* and the *Jiangyuan* have a parallel section that appears in their received versions as follows:

> *Sanlüe* – "Shang lüe" 上略
> 軍讖曰：
> 軍井未達，將不言渴；
> 軍幕未辦，將不言倦；
> 軍竈未炊，將不言飢；
> 冬不服裘，夏不操扇，雨不張蓋。
> An old military wisdom says: Until his troops have not reached the well, the general does not speak of being thirsty; until his troops have not arranged their tents, the general does

not speak of being tired; until his troops have not cooked their meals over the stove, the general does not speak of being hungry. In the winter he does not wear a fur coat, in the summer he does not wield a fan, in the rain he does not spread out a canopy.

Jiangyuan 45
夫為將之道，
軍井未汲，將不言渴；
軍食未熟，將不言飢；
軍火未然，將不言寒；
軍幕未施，將不言困；
夏不操扇，雨不張蓋，
與眾同也。
Now the way of being a general: until his troops have not drawn water from the well, the general does not speak of being thirsty; until his troops have not cooked their food, the general does not speak of being hungry; until his troops have not lit their fires, the general does not speak of being cold; until his troops have not pitched their tents, the general does not speak of being weary. In the summer he does not wield a fan, in the rain he does not spread out a canopy: because he is equal with the others.

The *Sanlüe* is a text with a complex textual history and there are considerable differences between different editions. Its earliest surviving copy is a Dunhuang manuscript currently held at the IOM in St. Petersburg (Dx17449), probably predating the Sui-Tang period.[724] In the corresponding part, however, we find less than half of what appears in the *Wujing qishu* edition. Other editions have additional discrepancies, thus it is clear that the assessment of the most important textual witnesses would be a prerequisite of any serious comparison. Similarly, the *Jiangyuan* also has a complicated history going back—as it is evidenced by the Tangut manuscript—at least to Song times. But what matters for our purposes here is how the corresponding parts in the Tangut translations of the *Sanlüe* and the *Jiangyuan* compare with each other, and to some extent this is independent of the history of the Chinese editions. The relevant sections appear in Tangut translation as follows:

724 On this manuscript and its dating, see Liu 2009b and Fujii 2011.

***Sanlüe* – “Shang lüe”**

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。
2004	3689	1918	1941	2805	4532	1918	1279
khja	lu̱	mji	dzjɨ̣	bju̱	pạ	mji	·jɨ
井	掘	不	俱	將	渴	不	言
well	dig	not	complete	general	thirsty	not	speak

Until the digging of wells is not completed, the general does not speak of being thirsty;

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]。
1531	1892	1064	2833	2805	0236	1918	1279
gja	mjɨ̱	mjij	djɨj	bju̱	·ụ	mji	·jɨ
軍	營	未	定	將	倦	不	言
troops	camp	have not	settle	general	tired	not	speak

until his troops have not set their camp, the general does not speak of being tired.

[[illegible]]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]
1490	1212	1918	4906	5711	3724	1918	4401	3431	3401
[tsur]	gjwi	mji	gjwi	tjị	ko̱	mji	zow	dzjụ	ɣja
[冬]	裘	不	服，	夏	扇	不	操	雨	蓋
[winter]	fur coat	not	wear	summer	fan	not	wield	rain	canopy

[In the winter] he does not wear a fur coat, in the summer he does not wield a fan, in the rain he does not spread out a canopy.

***Jiangyuan* T36 (C45)**

[illegible]	[illegible]。	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]，	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1918	2078	1531	3058	1064	4658	1245	4532	1918
mji	thu	gja	zjɨ̱r	mjij	thji	·jij	pạ	mji
不	張	軍	水	未	飲	自	渴	不
not	spread out	troops	water	have not	drink	himself	thirsty	not

Until his troops have not drunk water, he does not think of being thirsty himself;

[illegible];	[illegible]	□	[[illegible]]	□,	[[illegible]]	□	[[illegible]]	□;
2621	1531		1064		1245		1918	
sji̱j	gja		[mjij]		[·jij]		[mji]	
思	軍		[未]		[自]		[不]	
think	troops	…	[have not]	…	[himself]	…	[not]	…

until his troops [have not …, he does not … of being …. himself];

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible];
1531	4408	1064	4633	1245	0143	1918	1279
gja	mə̱	mjij	thwər	·jij	dźjij	mji	·jɨ
軍	火	未	燃	自	寒	不	言
troops	fire	have not	ignite	himself	cold	not	speak

until his troops have not lit their fires, he does not speak of being cold himself;

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible],	[illegible]	…
1531	1064	0151	5354	3349	1245	
gja	mjij	śju̱	thjɨ	ljijr	·jij	
軍	未	涼	此	方	自	
troops	have not	cool	this	LOC	himself	

until his troops have not cooled down here, [....] himself.

Disregarding the overall arrangement of the entire section, we can see that the two translations are quite similar. Although due to the fragmentary nature of the Tangut *Jiangyuan* manuscript, only the first line can qualify as a definite match between the two versions, the structural pattern of the segments is clear. One of the most apparent differences is the way the second half of the segments is rendered into Tangut. In the *Sanlüe*, it closely follows the Chinese, e.g. *bju̱ pạ mji ·jɨ* [illegible] (將渴不言 "the general does not speak of being thirsty") vs. *jiang bu yan ke* 將不言渴 ("the general does not speak of being thirsty"). In the Tangut *Jiangyuan*, however, we see a different grammatical structure, as here the subject *bju̱* [illegible] (將 "general") is substituted with the reflexive pronoun *·jij* [illegible] (自 "himself"). Because the surviving editions show no variation in this place, the Chinese must have been the same in both cases (i.e. 將不言渴 "the general does not speak of being thirsty"), thus we can be fairly certain that the discrepancy between the Tangut *Jiangyuan* and *Sanlüe* is due to having been translated in different way.

Looking at the context of this section in the Chinese versions of the two texts, we can see that the reason why the reflexive pronoun *·jij* 𗗙 (自 "himself") can be used in the *Jiangyuan* is that the subject is introduced at the very beginning of the section with the words "Now the way of the general…" 夫為將之道. It is because of the appearance of the subject at this place that it is possible to refer back to this subject later on, without having to repeat it. In a way, the Tangut translator is eliminating the redundancy that is part of the Chinese original by omitting the word "general" from each line. In the *Sanlüe*, however, the section is introduced with the words "An old military wisdom says…" 軍讖曰, which says nothing about the subject of the following segments. Accordingly, the discrepancies between the two Tangut translations were triggered by the differences between how these sections begin in the Chinese original.

Example 3.

Section C36 of the *Jiangyuan* begins with an almost exact quote from the *Sunzi*:

> ***Jiangyuan 36***
> 夫地勢者，兵之助也。
> Now the configuration of terrain is the aid of the troops.

The central term here is *shi* 勢, which Roger T. Ames renders in his translation of the *Sunzi* as "strategic advantage."[725] Victor Mair translates it as "configuration" and I choose this word myself because it seems that this is how the Tangut translators understood the word.[726] In any case, the term *shi* 勢 is a key concept in Chinese military thought and occurs frequently in relevant literature.[727] Yet because of the variety of semantic layers attached to it, translating it is never easy, whether it is into English or Tangut. The original sentence in the *Sunzi* appears in a slightly different form:

> ***Sunzi 10***
> 夫地形者，兵之助也。
> Now the shape of terrain is the aid of the troops.

Here we have the word "shape" 形 instead of "configuration" 勢. Since it is the *Jiangyuan* that quotes from the *Sunzi*, rather than the other way around, we

725 Ames 1993, 71–74.
726 Mair 2008, 78–79.
727 Jullien 1995 translates *shi* as "propensity."

would naturally assume that the version in the *Sunzi* is the primary and the change occurred in the process of quoting. Tracing back the phrasing in the *Jiangyuan*, we can see that even the Ming editions of the *Jiangyuan* all use the word “shape” 形. Fortunately, both the relevant portion of the *Sunzi* and the *Jiangyuan* survive in Tangut translation, allowing us to compare these.

***Jiangyuan* T30 (C3)**

4916	5645	2627	0535	3583	1531	1139	0645	3916	0508
ɣwej	tjị	ljɨ̣	śjij	tja	gja	·jij	·wụ	sji	ŋwu
戰	處	地	△	者	兵	之	助	△	是
battle	place	terrain		TOP	troops	GEN	help	NMLS	be

The nature of terrain in the battle field is the helper of troops.

Tangut *Sunzi* 32A

2627	0535	3583	1531	1139	0645	2705	3916	0508
ljɨ̣	śjij	tja	gja	·jij	·wụ	bjịj	sji	ŋwu
地	△	者	兵	之	輔	助	△	是
terrain	NMLS	TOP	troops	GEN	aid	help	NMLS	be

The nature of terrain is the helper of troops.

The most apparent difference between the two translations is that in the Tangut *Jiangyuan* the sentence begins with the words *ɣwej tjị* (戰處 “battle field”), which occurs neither in the Tangut *Sunzi* nor in the Chinese version of the *Jiangyuan*. We may assume that this word was added to the *Jiangyuan* translation for the sake of clarity, to make the meaning of the sentence even more transparent for Tangut readers. Apart from this difference, however, the two translations are quite similar, and the only difference between them is that the Tangut *Sunzi* uses the compound word *·wụ bjịj* (輔助 “help”) to translate the Chinese word *zhu* 助 (“help”), which is rendered as a monosyllabic word *·wụ* (助 “aid”) in the Tangut *Jiangyuan*. In both cases the verb is followed by the nominaliser suffix *sji* which produces the noun “helper.”[728]

728 On nominaliser suffixes, including *sji*, see Jacques 2014, 259–260.

Otherwise the two translations match and the surprising thing in this regard is that they do not exhibit the discrepancy between the words "shape" 形 (*Sunzi*) and "configuration" 勢 (*Jiangyuan*) that was present in the Chinese texts. In both translations, the Tangut avoids translating this word and instead uses the word *lj̣ɨ śjij* 𗄻𗬩 (地△ "nature of terrain"), in which the second syllable *śjij* 𗬩 is not a noun but a suffix used to express the preceding noun's quality or nature. In a way it is similar to adding the suffix "-liness" to the word "terrain" in English, which would create the non-existing word "terrainliness." But we could translate this noun+suffix structure as "quality of terrain" or "type of terrain." In a way, the English word "terrain" already includes the meaning of *lj̣ɨ śjij* 𗄻𗬩, being a derivative of the Latin root "terra" ("earth, ground"), and parallels the derivation of the Tangut word *lj̣ɨ śjij* 𗄻𗬩 from the root *lj̣ɨ* 𗄻 (地 "earth").

Even though the Tangut translation bypasses the difficulty of rending the Chinese words "shape" 形 and "configuration" 勢 directly in a word for word fashion, it is improbable that in both text the translator coincidentally chose the same Tangut solution. It is much more likely that either in both cases the Chinese source text had the same word in this place, or the Tangut translator of the *Jiangyuan* consulted how the relevant part in the *Sunzi* had been translated. This latter scenario would provide a counter-evidence to what we have seen in the earlier examples, which naturally does not mean that it cannot have been the case.

The Chinese phrase "shape of ground" 地形 occurs elsewhere in the *Sunzi*, and this part also survives in the Tangut version (*Sunzi* 16A). In this place the Tangut text uses the phrase *lj̣ɨ ·jij* 𗄻𗗙 (地形 "shape of terrain"), which is a perfect match for both words of the original Chinese phrase. The Tangut word *·jij* 𗗙 (形 "shape") is not a suffix but a noun that means "form, shape, appearance, sign." This is an indication that the use of the Tangut noun+suffix structure *lj̣ɨ śjij* 𗄻𗬩 (地△ "nature of terrain") in both the Tangut *Jiangyuan* and the *Sunzi* might have been because the Tangut translator of the *Sunzi* used a copy of the Chinese text that had the phrase "nature of terrain" 地勢 in this place (matching the *Jiangyuan*), in contrast with the surviving editions of the text that have the phrase "shape of terrain" 地形.

There are also other cases of using the same suffix in the Tangut *Jiangyuan* to render the Chinese word "configuration" *shi* 勢. For example, Section T23 (=C26) discusses the configuration (i.e. "strategic advantage") of heaven, earth and man. Each of these three Chinese phrases appear in the Tangut version as derivatives formed using the suffix *śjij* 𗬩. Thus the phrase "configuration of heaven" 天勢 is translated as *mə śjij* [illegible]; "configuration of earth" 地勢 as *lj̣ɨ śjij* [illegible]; "configuration of man" 人勢 as *dzjwo śjij* [illegible].[729] The same solution is used in rendering the phrase "configuration of the attack" 擊勢 in Section T31 (=C38), which appears in Tangut as *ɣwej śjij* [illegible] (擊△ "nature of attack").

Example 4.

Another interesting aspect of translation consistency is the transliteration of Chinese names in Tangut. Zhuge Liang, the famous statesman and general of the 3rd century, is one of the most prominent figures in military literature who by the Song period evolved into a cultural hero. In Tangut texts, his name occurs in the commentaries of the *Sunzi* and the *Sunzi zhuan*. As shown in Table 3, at least in one instance he is referred to by his posthumous title as Zhuge Wuhou 諸葛武侯 (Martial Marquis Zhuge), which appears in Tangut as a purely phonetic transcription, even though the second half of it is an epithet. Finally, the *Sunzi zhuan* also mentions Zhuge Kan 諸葛侃 who shares the same surname, and thus can be included in the comparison as a reference.

***Sunzi* 4A**	***Sunzi* 8B**	***Sunzi* 20A**	***Sunzi zhuan* 3–120**	***Sunzi zhuan* 3–112**
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
tśju ka ljow	tśju kja̱ ljow	tśju ka ·u xew	tśju ka ljow	tśju ka khã
諸葛亮 Zhuge Liang	諸葛亮 Zhuge Liang	諸葛武侯 Zhuge Wuhou (Martial Marquis Zhuge)	諸葛亮 Zhuge Liang	諸葛侃 Zhuge Kan

Tab. 3: Tangut transliterations of Zhuge Liang's name

The above examples show that Zhuge Liang's name is never written in exactly the same way. In the second instance (*Sunzi* 8B), there is divergence even in the pronunciation, as the second syllable of the surname is rendered *kja̱* instead of the more common and phonetically more appropriate *ka*. The variability of the

729 Note that in this context the "strategic advantage of earth" 地勢 matches the phrase "strategic advantage of the terrain" both in Chinese and Tangut, even though I use the word "earth" instead of "terrain" here to match the triad of heaven, earth and man of classical Chinese thought. In Chinese, and apparently also Tangut, this distinction was not necessary.

name is surprising in view of Zhuge Liang's general popularity during the Song period. We would expect the name of such a well-known historical figure to be written consistently in military works, especially since he occupied such a prominent place within this very tradition. We would think that there was a more or less standard Tangut way of writing his name. The lack of consistency is an indication that he was not as well-known among the Tanguts and when a translator had to write his name, he could not simply write it the "usual way," because such a way did not exist, but in each case had to transliterate anew the way he felt was most appropriate. As the first two instances show (*Sunzi* 4A and *Sunzi* 8B), variation could occur even within the same text, even though it was presumably translated by the same person.

At the same time, other names that occur multiple times in the corpus, such as Sun Bin 孫臏 and Huangshi gong 黄石公 are transcribed into Tangut consistently. The reason for this must have been their prominence in military lore, although Zhuge Liang's case seems to be a counter-example to this argument. Similarly, the names of the three commentators in the Tangut *Sunzi* (e.g. Cao Cao, Li Quan and Du Mu) are also written consistently, which can be explained by the fact that their name occurred in the text so often that it inevitably led to a stable form. But of the five military texts available to us, their names only occur in the *Sunzi* and it is reasonable to assume that elsewhere they may have been written differently.

Stepping outside the corpus of military treatises, we can cite additional examples of the name of Zhuge Liang being transliterated into Tangut. One of them is in the *Forest of Categories*, where the name is written as *tśju kja̱ ljow* 𗑗𗌗𗴮, which matches the transcription in *Sunzi* 8B. In the *Forest of Categories*, the syllable *kja̱* 𗌗 is used several times exclusively to render the Chinese character *ge* 葛 in the second syllable in the Zhuge surname. An interesting phenomenon is that not all Tangut translators may have been aware that of the three syllables of the name Zhuge Liang, the first two were the surname and the last one the given name, which is different from the usual form of Chinese names where in a three character formation the first would be the surname and the last two the given name. In one place the *Forest of Categories* (05.13B), after introducing Zhuge Liang using his full name as *Tśju-kja̱ Ljow* 𗑗𗌗𗴮, refers to him the second and third time as *Kja̱-ljow* 𗌗𗴮 (i.e. Geliang 葛亮). Evidently the Tangut translator was under the impression that *Tśju* 𗑗 was his surname and *Kja̱-ljow* 𗌗𗴮 his personal one, unaware of the fact that Zhuge was one of the relatively rare Chinese disyllabic surnames. This example again reveals that Zhuge Liang's name might not have been as well known among the Tanguts as it was in Song China.

7.3 Issues of intertextuality

Military texts form a specific body of technical writings that belong to the same genre and share common vocabulary and rhetorical devices. In addition, the texts are often interconnected by means of quotes and allusions. The above examples permit some observations regarding the way the Tangut translations were done. In Example 1, we saw that a quote from the *Sunzi* was slightly different in each text, showing that no "standard" translation existed on which translators could rely. Instead, translators re-translated the quote each time they came across it, perhaps unaware that it had already been translated elsewhere. This was the same in the case of the name of Zhuge Liang (Example 3), which was written differently in each case, demonstrating that no definite way of writing this name existed in the Tangut written tradition. This also meant that, unlike in China where by Song times Zhuge Liang evolved in the popular imagination into one of greatest strategists of all times, he was relatively unknown among the Tanguts. In contrast with this, some other names (e.g. Sun Bin, Huangshi gong) appear in consistent transliteration, which may be because they were known better or occurred in the same text with high frequency. Finally, Example 2 demonstrated that the discrepancies between the parallel segments in the *Sanlüe* and the *Jiangyuan* could at least partially be explained by differences between the contexts of their Chinese originals. The translation discrepancies do not significantly change the meaning of the text, neither version seems to be "incorrect" but is an adequate—and therefore synonymous—way of rendering the original into Tangut. Nevertheless, the lack of consistency implies that Chinese military texts were not translated as part of a single unified project but by different people at different times.

Now translation by definition rephrases words and sentences, as there are very few situations in which it is conceivable to have something translated without changing the text. One such scenario is the *kambun* 漢文 reading of literary Chinese texts in Japan, although it is questionable whether it constitutes an act of translation in the ordinary sense of the word. But quite often the translation destroys links between texts, unless all of these texts are translated and translators make an effort to preserve or rebuild the connections in the new language. As long as the translations are more or less faithful to the originals, the connections will be recognizable even if the wording is not identical. As the above examples show, the Tangut translators were apparently unconcerned with connecting parallel snippets of texts in the works they translated. Because of this, the intertextuality in the Tangut corpus of military texts is looser than in the original. Moreover, in some cases the quotes apparent in the original are no longer recognizable in the translations. Still, readers familiar with these texts, and possibly their Chinese originals, may have been able to detect the links between them.

On some level our own reading of Chinese texts mirrors the same issue because we recognize only a fraction of the intertextual references present in almost any carefully crafted Chinese text, be it poetry or a preface to a book. The reason for our inability to function as a fully literate person from the Tang-Song period is not so much a linguistic inferiority but the lack of the additional literary context which would have been available for those who lived in that period. We are so far removed in time that we only have access to a small part of the texts educated individuals would have read and even the ones we know are accessible to us only through the lens of subsequent interpretations which inevitably changed the way those texts are perceived. In addition, we certainly miss out on a rich trove of oral information that would have been transmitted either as part of an educational setup or as intellectual "gossip" among the literati. As a result of these circumstances, we are disadvantaged when trying to understand the full range of intertextual references in medieval Chinese writings. We may recognize some of the quotes and appreciate allusions to common tropes but inevitably miss a multitude of less obvious references embedded in literary compositions. Literary or creative writing in dynasty China was so heavily entrenched in the written past that it is virtually impossible to separate the form of writing from its content. Clearly, this phenomenon was not particular to China and scholars and writers of every culture with an advanced written tradition employed constant references to the existing body of writings.

To take this situation back to medieval China, it only stands that a semi-educated person would have also missed much of the intertextuality in literary and scholarly writings. He (or less likely, she) would have spotted some of the allusions and references but, depending on his level of education and reading experience, he would not have been able to notice all of them. Scholars and officials with a higher level of education would have been more sensitive to such matters, and were not only able to spot literary references but also to detect more subtle textual nuances, including irony, sarcasm, scorn or rudeness.

Presumably the Tangut experience of reading translations of Chinese texts was similar. Depending on their level of education and textual sophistication, they were aware of the intertextual connections between texts to a different degree. Less educated readers would have been able to notice some common elements but many more would have remained obscure because the translations would have added an additional layer of opacity. Whenever the translation introduced the quote by stating that the following was said by such and such a person, any reader would have noted the reference without difficulty. In the absence of such a reference anchor, a matching or close translation would have still made a perceptible connection between two texts. Naturally, more educated readers would have been able to detect a wider range of connections, even if the translations camouflaged some of these. Finally, we should probably also keep in mind that high education in the Tangut state probably involved familiarity with written Chinese and thus officials and literati were exposed to the texts in their original language as well. Even if this did not always entail the ability to read and write in Chinese "fluently," it would have inevitably brought such individuals closer to the world of Chinese texts and made them more mindful of the issues involved in translating into Tangut.

8 Conclusions

The nearly two centuries of the existence of the Tangut state witnessed the development of a sophisticated Tangut literary culture. Contrary to some earlier explanations, the Mongol onslaught did not wipe out the Tangut cities and annihilate the local population, at least not completely. Although the Tanguts ceased to exist as a state, the language continued to be used for decades or perhaps even centuries after the Mongols took control of the region. Little is known about the particulars of this later phase in the history of the Tanguts but there are numerous examples of administrative documents and Buddhist texts, both from Khara-khoto and other sites, which are written in Tangut yet postdate the fall of the Tangut state. These remnants attest to the survival of segments of population who were either fully literate in Tangut or, as this may have been the case in the Ming period, used the script in specific contexts.

Unquestionably, one of the greatest achievements of Tangut culture was the invention of a native script, which at the time was a decidedly political move intended to symbolise the autonomy of the new Tangut state. Skilfully manoeuvring between his two powerful neighbours, the Song and the Liao, Emperor Yuanhao managed to build up sufficient military and political strength to claim independence and shake off the direct control of both states. The introduction of the Tangut script was part of the efforts to curtail the dependence on the Chinese (and possibly Khitan) scripts. Literacy and writing in general was closely connected with governing the state and running a functional administration, and to do this with the help of the Chinese script would have inevitably implied some form of subordinate relationship with China. The creation of a native script, in turn, signified that the Tanguts were no longer barbarians who had no writing system of their own, which was a common cliché in traditional historiographical works when describing China's uncivilised neighbours. The choice to design a script on the basis of the Chinese model, rather than using the Tibetan syllabary or one of the Central Asian alphabets that may have been better suited to write the Tangut language, evidently also derived from the desire to have a writing system comparable to, yet different from, Chinese characters.

Immediately after the introduction of the new script, work began on producing texts written in Tangut. The translation of the Chinese Buddhist canon was a project that required an extraordinary dedication of resources and which yielded thousands of titles within a few decades. The exceptional efforts directed at translating and disseminating Buddhist texts are also evidenced in the surviving Tangut material, in which Buddhist scriptures comprise by far the largest portion. At the same time, the Tanguts also translated many secular texts from

Chinese and these attest to the significance of Confucian learning at specific periods during the history of the Tangut state. One of the important genres among the secular texts is that of primers and other types of educational works, which, once again, reveal the indebtedness of Tangut literacy to the Chinese written tradition. In many cases those who learned to read and write in Tangut would have also become familiar with the Chinese literary past, even if through Tangut translations of those.

A related phenomenon that seems to further underline the dependence on the Chinese tradition is the scarcity of native texts among the surviving Tangut texts. While this may be partially determined by the nature and function (whatever that may have been) of the library stupa in Khara-khoto, the Tangut and Chinese books excavated from other sites in northwest China show a similar picture. A possible explanation for the dearth of native texts may be the relatively short time between the invention of the script and the end of the 12th century, the period when most of the surviving manuscripts and books are thought to have been produced. Yet even this stretch of time amounts to over 160 years, which would have been more than enough to build up a collection of native texts. Another possible answer is the nature of the collections discovered so far, all of which come from Buddhist sites and thus consist of predominantly Buddhist material. It is undeniable that writing and literacy in the Tangut state, as it was also the case in Dunhuang and Turfan, were closely tied with religion, yet it is still possible that a discovery of a site of secular nature may yield completely different results.

By far the largest portion of extant Tangut texts comprise translations. In most cases, the source language was Chinese but there are also many Buddhist texts of Tibetan origin. In addition, Chinese translations of Tibetan Tantric texts survive in manuscript form among the Khara-khoto material. In contrast with this, there seem to have been no secular texts translated from Tibetan. Therefore, not counting the very meagre number of native Tangut texts, it seems that, as a rule, secular texts were translated from Chinese. These translations include Confucian classics both with and without commentaries, texts on military strategy, popular encyclopaedias, popular histories, primers and other types of educational texts. Taken together, these works comprise a considerable body of texts which are significant not only for scholars working on Tangut history and language but also for researchers in other fields.

First, Tangut versions of Chinese texts have been invaluable for the decipherment of Tangut, and remain to be important for working out the particulars of grammar and syntax. Having a large corpus of parallel texts is of major help in understanding an unknown language and this has indeed been one of the main avenues of research at the early stages of Tangut studies. In this respect, Buddhist texts are also useful even if their language often differs from that of secular works, betraying a heavier influence of Chinese syntax. Secular texts are believed to be less dependent on the wording of the original and thus may be more representative of ordinary Tangut spoken at the time. We should also note that the reliance on parallel Chinese texts in the process of deciphering Tangut is perhaps the main reason why our current understanding of Tangut is so dependent on Chinese and why in many cases researchers in effect read Tangut texts by transcribing and glossing those in Chinese.

Second, Tangut translations of secular works have a high but largely untapped potential for the traditional field of sinology. In fact, the aim of the present book is to bring this material to the attention of scholars working with Chinese texts by showing its significance beyond the narrow circle of Tangut studies. Here we have a sizeable body of texts dating to the 11^{th}–12^{th} centuries, translated from Chinese originals that circulated in northern China. This is the largest collection of "Chinese" texts from this period excavated from a single location, even if they are technically not in Chinese. On the most basic level, together with Chinese-language books and manuscripts found at Khara-khoto, the Tangut material tells us what texts were in use at this time, even if this information will mostly pertain to the north-western periphery of China. In this respect the situation is similar to the collections of Chinese texts preserved in Dunhuang and other East Asian countries, such as Korea and Japan.

Many of these works are known in their Chinese original, others are either known by their title only or completely unknown. Even the translations for which we have extant Chinese versions can preserve a number of interesting features that may have been lost in the Chinese versions. One such example is the Tangut version of the military treatise *Liutao*, which contains two additional sections that are not part of the transmitted Chinese versions, all of which derive from the Song military canon. The fact that fragments of these two sections can be located as quotes in medieval encyclopaedias attests to the existence of alternate versions of the *Liutao* which still contained the two lost sections. Therefore, the Tangut book discovered by Kozlov in Khara-khoto provides precious textual evidence that is unavailable from Chinese language editions.

Another example is the Tangut translation of the *Sunzi*, which has three commentaries. Even though the manuscript version of the translation omits the commentaries, the title identifies it as a three-commentary edition. The printed version of the translation has the same title and, indeed, includes the text of the three commentaries. Such an edition does not survive in the Chinese tradition where the *Sunzi* only comes with one, ten or eleven commentaries. While it is theoretically possible that the ten-commentary Tangut edition was compiled by a Tangut editor or translator through the process of eliminating some of the commentaries from a Chinese edition with ten or eleven-commentaries, it seems more likely that it was based on a now lost Chinese edition which had only three commentaries. Accordingly, the discovery of the Tangut translation revealed the possible existence of such an edition in the Song period and, at the same time, provided evidence to a greater diversity of editions in the medieval and early modern periods.

The Tangut translations may also shed light on the naming of books, which is especially valuable when the extant Chinese editions have dissimilar titles. For example, the note at the end of the Tangut manuscript of the *General's Garden* supplies key information for solving the question of the original title of the treatise, known in Chinese sources under three distinct titles as *Xinshu* (Book of Heart), *Xinshu* (New Book) and *Jiangyuan* (General's Garden). Albeit in a foreign language, the Tangut translation represents the first known edition of this work and identifies it under the title that matches the Chinese title *Jiangyuan*. Naturally, this does not prove conclusively that the other titles were not in use at this time but at least evidences the existence of the title *Jiangyuan* during the Song period.

In many cases the Tangut translations feature works the Chinese original of which survived only partially. A notable example is the Tang encyclopaedia called *Forest of Categories* (*Leilin*) fragments of which were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts, and a printed Tangut edition of which was also found in Khara-khoto. The Tangut text furnishes a wealth of material unavailable in the Chinese fragments and is therefore of great help when trying to reconstruct the original text. Since such encyclopaedias typically consist of stories based on earlier sources, in many cases the wording of the original may be approximated quite accurately. In addition, as a witness of an early encyclopaedia, the Tangut translation of the *Forest of Categories* is of major significance for studying the origin and development of the entire genre.

Finally there are several Tangut books and manuscripts with texts that did not survive in Chinese. While in principle some of these may be native Tangut compositions, their nature and content often points to a Chinese origin. As sole witnesses of particular compositions, they are valuable for Chinese philology even in translations which can help reconstruct the wording of the originals only tentatively. There is no doubt that for at least some of these texts the Chinese originals are extant and we simply have not been able to identify them yet. Future researchers will probably be able to make these identifications. Other texts will continue to be known only in translation, either by their Tangut title (if available) or under a title assigned to them by modern researchers. It is also possible that in some cases we will be able to ascertain that Tangut texts that survive as separate books and manuscripts represent pieces of the same work or different editions of the same work. Thus the Stein collection of Tangut material at the British Library consists of thousands of fragments and many of these have been identified as belonging to books kept in St. Petersburg. The obvious reason for this is that when Stein visited Khara-khoto in 1914, it had already been excavated by the Russian expedition and he could only collect the fragments left behind. Accordingly, both collections come from the same place and there should be many more fragments that can be joined together. The publication of the complete collections from London and St. Petersburg will no doubt lead to the identification of additional fragments.

In sum, the Tangut books and manuscripts discovered at Khara-khoto and other sites of the ancient Tangut domain contain a sizeable body of Chinese texts in Tangut translation. In a sense, these finds provide access to what is probably the largest collection of Chinese texts from the 11th–12th centuries, and even if access is hindered by a language barrier, most of these texts are by now available in annotated translations. Unfortunately, scholars of Tangut studies tend to focus on the Tangut versions and interpret those within the framework of their own field, publishing their results in specialised journals and forums. The dissemination of the results to wider audiences has been a relatively low priority and, as a result, scholars of Chinese philology are typically unaware of the significance and potential of this material for their own field. There are of course noteworthy exceptions, such as the Tangut *Sunzi* and *Forest of Categories*, which have been included in recent studies of the Chinese editions of these works by scholars not specialised in Tangut studies.

Yet the size of this corpus and the range of texts (known and unknown) would certainly merit the attention of the field of sinology. On a smaller scale, Sino-Tangut texts are similar to Chinese texts preserved in Japan, even though the latter are handed down in their original language (i.e. Chinese). They are a crucial addition to the texts that survive in China proper, as they give access to a number of long lost texts and unknown early editions. Since at least the late 19th century, Chinese scholars have been aware of the existence of important manuscript copies and printed editions of Chinese books in Japan. Similarly, the examination of rare editions of Chinese books in libraries in Europe and North America during the course of the 20th century has added valuable source material for the study of texts from nearly every period of Chinese history. Even in the 21st century, one of the project initiated and sponsored by the NLC is the compilation of a comprehensive catalogue of extant Song editions in collections outside China. It is all the more surprising that Tang and Song works in Tangut translation remain unstudied except for a relatively small circle of scholars working in the narrow field of Tangut studies.

Clearly, the study of the Tangut books and manuscripts from Khara-khoto is still in its infancy. It is true that many of the texts have been transcribed and translated into Russian or Chinese but in most cases that was the extent to which they have been studied. While this preliminary stage of research is vital in making the material available for those who do not read Tangut, it is somewhat surprising how little attention these translations receive among scholars who would be able to benefit from them. It is my hope that the present book will help to make this group of texts known beyond the admittedly specialised field of Tangut studies and that Chinese and foreign scholars working on Chinese texts in general will recognise their value for their own research.

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