

大秦景教流行中國碑

STELE ON THE DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY (THE LUMINOUS RELIGION)
FROM ROME (DA QIN) INTO CHINA (THE MIDDLE KINGDOM)
'THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT'

ONGOING PROJECT – last update: 26.03.2022

Translated by Dr L. Eccles and Prof. Samuel N.C. Lieu
Commentary in association with Camilla Ferard and Gunner Mikkelsen



The Xi'an (Nestorian) Monument as displayed in the Beilin Museum in Xi'an
(Photo Sam Lieu)

{On cap-stone}: 大秦景教流行中國碑

Stele (commemorating) the diffusion of the ‘Luminous’ Religion in the Middle Kingdom

[1] [Tit.] 景教流行中國碑頌並序

Stele (commemorating) the diffusion of the ‘Luminous’ Religion
in the Middle Kingdom – an eulogy and preface

[2] 大秦寺僧景淨述

[2] composed by the monk Jingjing of
the *Da Qin* (Roman, i.e. Christian) Monastery.

ܐܕܡ ܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܘܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܘܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܘܪܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܘܪܝܫܘܬܐ

{Syr.} [S1] 'd'm qšyš' wqwr 'pysqwp' wp 'pšy dcynst'n

{Syr.} [S1] Adam Priest and Chorepiscopos and Priest (*fapshi*) of China (*Chin(i)stan*).

[3] 粵若。常然真寂。先先而无
元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙有。
摠玄樞而造化。妙眾聖以元尊
者。其唯 我三一妙身无元真
主阿羅訶歟。判十字以定四
方。鼓元風而生 [4] 二氣。暗
空易而天地開。日月運而晝
夜作。匠成万物然立初人。
別賜良和令鎮化海。渾元之
性虛而不盈。素蕩之心本无
希嗜。泊乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾
純精。聞平大於 [5] 此是之
中。隙冥同於彼非之內。是
以三百六十五種。肩隨結
轍。競織法羅。或指物以託
宗。或空有以淪二。或禱祀
以邀福。或伐善以矯人。智
慮營營。恩情役役。茫然 [6]
无得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡
途。久迷

§2. [3] “Thus the constant and true tranquility, preceding all and without beginning, all-knowing; everlasting and mysterious, the impenetrable core of creation, worthy of utmost reverence among the wonderful host of sages. Āluóhē (i.e. God, <Syr. Alāhā) the true lord who has no beginning. He is three, yet a single wondrous being. He determined that the Figure of Ten (i.e. the Cross) should be planted throughout the world. He set the first stirrings in motion and [4] produced the two forces. The dark void was changed and heaven and earth came into existence; the sun and moon began to move, making day and night. He created all things, then He established (i.e. created) the First Man, making everything harmonious for him and giving him charge over land and sea. His original nature was one of contentment, his simple heart had no lustful desires; but then Suōdān (i.e. Satan, <Syr. Sātānā) deceived him into a vain adornment of his pure essence. §3. On the surface this seemed reasonable [5] and correct, but hidden within was darkness and error. Thus arose three hundred and sixty-five different doctrines, each setting out on its determined route and striving to weave a network of laws. Some direct their petitions to objects, some consider the real and unreal as the two polarities of annihilation, some pray and offer sacrifice in order to request happiness, some make a show of goodness in order to deceive others. Their intellects fluctuate, and their thoughts are inconstant. All to no avail! [6] Chaos broke out on all sides; darkness, blindness and confusion arose again and again. §4. Thus, one of

休復。於是我三一分身景尊
 彌施訶。戰隱真威。同人出
 代。神天宣慶。室女誕聖於
 大秦。景宿告祥。波斯瞻耀
 以來貢。圓廿四聖 [7] 有說之
 舊法。理家國於大猷。設三
 一淨風无言之新教。陶良用
 於正信。制八境之度。鍊塵
 成真。啟三常之門。開生滅
 死。懸景日以破暗府。魔妄
 於是乎悉摧。棹慈 [8] 航以登
 明宮。含靈於是乎既濟。舫
 事斯畢。亭午昇真。經留廿
 七部。張元化以發靈關。法
 浴水風。滌浮華而潔虛白。
 印持十字。融四照以合无拘
 。擊木震仁惠之音。東 [9] 礼
 趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外
 行。削頂所以无內情。不畜
 臧獲。均貴賤於人。不聚貨
 財示罄遺於我。齋以伏識而
 成。戒以靜慎為固。七時礼
 讚。大庇存亡。七日一薦。
 [10] 洗心反素。

真常之道。妙而難名。功用
 昭彰。強稱景教。惟道非聖

the three, the radiant Míshīhē (<Syr. Mš̄hā, i.e. the Messiah), concealing his true majesty, appeared as a man. Heaven rejoiced, and a virgin gave birth to a sage in Da Qin (i.e. the Roman Empire). In Bosī (i.e. Persia) they saw the brilliant light and brought offering, thus [7] fulfilling the old law as told by the twenty-four sages. He regulated family and nation through his great plan; he established the new doctrine of the wordless [inspiration of the] pure (i.e. divine) spirit, one of the three. He formed good practice through correct belief; he created the principle of the eight frontiers (?); he refined the unworthy into the true. He opened the door of the three constants; he introduced life and eliminated death; he raised a bright sun to dispel the darkness. By this was demonic malevolence completely swept away; he steered [8] a compassionate course towards paradise. By this all living beings were succoured. When his duties were ended, at noon he arose into the ether. §5. He left behind twenty-seven books (lit. *sūtras*). He promoted a fundamental change in order to liberate captive souls. His law is to bathe, and the water has a spiritual effect; it washes away remaining defects and it purifies. As his emblem, the cross is taken up; its image illuminates all directions to bring to unity those who do not believe. Striking the wood causes the message of benevolence to resonate. In their ceremonies they face East, [9] in the direction of the path of life and glory. They preserve their beard as an external sign. They shave their head to show they have no internal desires. They do not keep slaves; all men, of high status and low, are equal. They do not accumulate possessions, but demonstrate their frugality by handing over their possessions to others. They abstain from meat to purify their minds and develop themselves. They hold their passions in check to practise restraint and to strengthen themselves. At the seventh hour of the day a ceremony of hymns (psalms?) is performed for the benefit of the living and the dead. Once in every seven days [10] they cleanse their hearts and return to a state of purity. §6. The way of the true constant is mysterious, and it is difficult to give it a name, but its merits are manifest, impelling us to call it the Luminous (or Illustrious) Teaching (*Jingjiao*, i.e. Christianity). If it is only a way and is not holy, then

不弘。聖非道不大。道聖符契。天下文明。太宗文皇帝。光華啟運。明聖臨人。大秦國有上德。曰阿^[11]羅本。占青雲而載真經。望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀至於長安。帝使宰臣房公玄齡揔仗西郊賓迎入內。翻經書殿。問道禁闈。深知正真。特令傳授。貞觀十有二^[12]年秋七月。詔曰。道无常名。聖无常體。隨方設教。密濟群生。大秦國大德阿羅本。遠將經像來獻上京。詳其教旨。玄妙无為。觀其元宗。生成立要。詞无繁說。理有忘筌。^[13]濟物利人。宜行天下。所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺。一所度僧廿一人。宗周德喪。青駕西昇。

巨唐道光。景風東扇。旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁。天

it is limited. If it is holy but is not the way, then it is not great. When the way and holiness match each other, then the world will be enlightened. §7. When Emperor Taizong's reign (627–649 CE) began, he was wise in his relations with the people. In Da Qin there was a man of great virtue (bishop), known as ^[11] Ālouběn, who detected the intent of heaven and conveyed the true scripture here. He observed the way the winds blew in order to travel through difficulties and perils, and in the ninth year of the Zhenguang reign (635 CE) he reached Chang'an. The emperor dispatched an official, Duke Fang Xuanling as an envoy to the western outskirts to welcome the visitor, who translated the scriptures in the imperial library. (The emperor) examined the doctrines in his apartments and reached a profound understanding of their truth. He specially ordered that they be promulgated. "In Autumn, ^[12] in the seventh month of the twelfth year of the Zhenguang reign (638 CE), the emperor proclaimed: §8. The way does not have a constant name, and the holy does not have a constant form. Teachings are established according to the locality, and their mysteries aid mankind. Ālouběn, the virtuous man of Da Qin, has brought scriptures and images from afar and presented them at the capital. He has explained the doctrines, so that there is nothing left obscure. We have observed its basic teachings. They set forth the most important things for living, their words are not complicated, and their principles, once learnt, can easily be retained. Everything in them ^[13] benefits mankind. It is appropriate that it should spread throughout the empire". As a result, a Da Qin temple (or monastery) was constructed in the capital, in the district of Yining. This monastery had twenty-one monks. §9. The virtue of the house of Zhou had come to an end, and the black chariot has ascended into the western heaven. The way of the great Tang dynasty shone forth, and the Luminous teachings spread into the East. It was decreed that the Emperor's portrait should be copied onto the temple wall. His celestial image radiated colourful lights, giving a heroic aspect to ^[14] the luminous portal. His sacred countenance brought blessings upon it and cast glory upon the learned company. §10. According to the *Illustrated records of the western*

姿汎彩。英朗[14]景門。聖迹騰祥。永輝法界。案西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極眾寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出火紈布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧。[15]俗无寇盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣闊。文物昌明。高宗大帝。克恭纘祖。潤色真宗。而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主。法流十[16]道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。聖曆年。釋子用壯。騰口於東周。先天末。下士大笑。訕謗於西鎬。有若僧首羅含。大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振玄綱。俱維[17]絕紐。玄宗至道皇帝。令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場。法棟暫撓而更崇。道石時傾而復正。

天寶初。令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置。賜絹百

regions and to the historical records of the Han and Wei dynasties, there is a coral sea to the south of Da Qin, and in the North it extends to the mountains of great treasure. To the West lie the borders of the immortal realm, and dense forests. On the East it meets the eternal winds and the Weak Water. Its earth produces asbestos, restorative fragrances, moon pearls, and jade that glows in the dark. [15] Its custom knows no thievery, the people are contented, and there is no religion but the Luminous Teaching. No ruler is enthroned unless he is virtuous. The land is broad and extensive, and its cultural life prosperous and enlightened. §11. The Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83 CE) duly succeeded his ancestor with deep piety and he was even more beneficent toward the institution of truth. He also commanded Luminous (*Jingjiao* i.e. Christian) monasteries to be built in all the prefectures. Furthermore he honoured Alouben (<Syr. Rabban ‘teacher’?) by making him the great master of doctrine for the preservation of the State. While this doctrine was established in the Ten Provinces, [16] the state became rich and tranquility abounded. Because every city was full of monasteries, the (ordinary?) families enjoyed ‘luminous’ (or illustrious) (*jing*) fortune. §12. In the Shengli year (697 CE) the Buddhist priests, used their power and influence to arrogantly raise their objection in the eastern capital (i.e. Luoyang). At the end of the Xiantian year (713 CE), lower-ranked scholars (i.e. Daoists) ridicule (us) and spread slander in the western capital (i.e. Chang’an). At that time there was the Abbot Lohan, the Bishop Jilie (i.e. Gabriel), both noble sons from the golden regions (i.e. the West), who harmoniously restored the mystic order and tied up [17] the broken knot. §13. The devout emperor Xuanzong (712–56 CE) ordered the prince of Ning and four other princes to visit the sacred shrine and restore the altar and sanctuary. The consecrated timbers that had been temporarily cast down rose still more sublime and the holy tablets, which had for some time been desecrated, were re-erected. In the early Tianbao period (742 CE) orders were given to the great general Gao Lishi to send a sacred portrait of the five sage(-emperors) and have it placed in the temple; and a gift of a hundred [18] bales of silk came with this picture of wisdom.

[18]匹。奉慶睿圖。龍髯雖遠。弓劍可攀。日角舒光。天顏咫尺。三載大秦國有僧佉和。瞻星向化。望日朝尊。詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人。與大德佉和。於興慶宮修功德。於[19]是天題寺榜。額戴龍書。寶裝璀璨。灼爍丹霞。睿扎宏空。騰凌激日。寵賚比南山峻極。沛澤與東海齊深。道无不可。所可可名。聖无不作。所作可述。肅宗文明皇[20]帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺。元善資而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建。代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事无為。每於降誕之辰。錫天香以告成功。頒御饌以光景眾。且[21]乾以美利故能廣生。

聖以體元故能亭毒。我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜

Although the dragon's (i.e. the Emperor's) beard was then remote, their bows and swords could still be held; while the solar horns diffuse light, and his celestial visage seem close at hand. §14. In the third year (744 CE) the priest Jihe (Gabriel) of the kingdom of Da Qin, while observing the stars noticed the changes, and following the sun, came to pay court to the most honourable (i.e. the Emperor). The Emperor commanded the priest Luohan (Abraham), the priest Pulun (Paul), and others, seven in all, together with the Bishop Jihe, to perform a service of merit in the Xingqing palace. [19] The Emperor then composed mottoes on the side of the temple, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; and the precious gems were like a kingfisher, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds. The writings of the wise pervaded in space and their rays are like radiant reflections of the sun. The munificent gifts exceeded the height of the Southern Mountains; the tide of favours was as deep as the Eastern Sea. §15. The Way (*dao*) is omnipotent, and what is possible can be named; nothing is beyond the power of the sage, and that which is practicable may be explicable. §16. The cultured and martial Emperor Suzong [20] rebuilt the Luminous monasteries in Lingwu and four (i.e. five in all) other commanderies; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great prosperity descended, and the imperial state was strengthened. §17. The cultured and martial Emperor Daizong revived the imperial fortunes, and smoothly conducted the affairs of the state. On the morning of his birthday, he made a gift of incense to pray for success; he distributed food from imperial banquets to brighten the Luminous Assembly. [21] The divine (emperors) disseminate blessings fairly, whereby the benefits are extended. Sages embody the original principle of virtue, therefore they are able to counteract noxious influences. §18. Our reigning sacred and excellent Emperor (Dezong) established in the Jianzong era (780-83 CE) the eight principles of government, according to which he downgraded the dull and advanced the intelligent. He opened up the nine categories, by means of which he issued new 'luminous (or illustrious)' decrees. His transforming influence penetrates the most abstruse

陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景
 命。化通玄理。祝无愧心。
 至於方大而虛。專靜而恕。
 廣[22]慈救眾苦。善貸被群生
 者。我修行之大猷。汲引之
 階漸也。若使風雨時。天下
 靜。人能理。物能清。存能
 昌。歿能樂。念生響應。情
 發目誠者。我景力能事之功
 用也。大施[23]主金紫光祿大
 夫。同朔方節度副使。試殿
 中監。賜紫袈裟僧伊斯。和
 而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王
 舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三
 代。藝博十全。始效節於丹
 庭。乃策名於王[24]帳。中書
 令汾陽郡王郭公子儀。初摠
 戎於朔方也。肅宗俾之從
 邁。雖見親於臥內。不自異
 於行間。為公爪牙。作軍耳
 目。能散祿賜。不積於家。
 獻臨恩之頗黎。布[25]辭憇之
 金罽。或仍其舊寺。或重廣
 法堂。

崇飾廊宇。如翬斯飛。更效
 景門。依仁施利。每歲集四

principles, while his prayers are offered with a clear conscience.

§19. Though elevated he is humble and because of his inner tranquillity [22] he is merciful and rescues multitudes from misery, he bestows blessings on all around. The cultivation of our doctrine gained a strong basis by which its influence was gradually advanced. If the winds and rains come at the right season, the world will be peaceful; people will be reasonable, the creatures will be clean; the living will be prosperous, and the dead will be at peace. When thoughts echo their appropriate response, affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere; such is the laudable condition that our Luminous Religion strives to accomplish'. §20. Our great benefactor, [23] Yisi (i.e. Yazdbozid), the Priest of the Imperial-conferred Gold and Purple Gown, the titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, the Assistant Military Governor for the Northern Region, and Superintendent of the Examination Hall, was mild by nature and gracious in character. After he had heard the doctrine and he became zealous in the performing it. He came from the distant City of Royal Residence (*wangshe* = Balkh ?) to China (*Zhongxia*). His standards were higher than those (i.e. the learned) of the Three Dynasties, his wide ranging skills were perfect in every respect. §21 He at first distinguished himself in the duties of the palace (lit. 'Red Hall'), [24] but later his name was inscribed in the royal tent (i.e. on the military roll). When Guo, the Duke Ziye, Secondary Minister of State, and Prince of Fanyang, first took military command in the northern region, the Emperor Suzong made him (Yisi) his attendant on his travels. Although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no special privilege on the march. He was the Duke's right arm (lit. 'claw and fang') and was the eyes and ears for the army. He distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not amassing a private fortune. §22. He distributed the gifts given to him by imperial favour and did not keep them at home. He [25] disposed of his retirement presents. He repaired the old monasteries and also increased the number of religious establishments (lit. 'halls of *dharma*'). He honoured and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of a pheasant in full flight.

寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五
旬。餒者來而飯之。寒者來
而衣之。病者療而[26]起之。
死者葬而安之。清節達娑。
未聞斯美。白衣景士。今見
其人。願刻洪碑。以揚休
烈。詞曰。真主无元。湛寂
常然。權輿匠化。起地立
天。分身出代。救度无邊。
日昇暗[27]滅。咸證真玄 赫
赫文皇。道冠前王。乘時撥
亂。乾廓坤張。明明景教。
言歸我唐。翻經建寺。存歿
舟航。百福偕作。万邦之
康。高宗纂祖。更築精宇。
和宮敞朗。遍[28]滿中土。真
道宣明。式封法主。人有樂
康。物无災苦。玄宗啟聖。
克修真正。御榜揚輝。天書
蔚映。皇圖璀璨。率土高
敬。庶績咸熙。人賴其慶。

肅宗來復。天威引[29]駕。聖

He exerted himself beyond the portals the Luminous (Religion) and he dispersed his wealth for just causes. Every year he assembled the monks from the four monasteries, and provided for them for fifty days. The hungry came and were fed; the naked (lit. 'the cold (ones)') came and were clothed. The sick were attended to [26] and healed. The dead were buried with all due respect. Among the *dasuo* (*tarsā*) with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of; but we see this among the white-robed Luminous priests (*jingshi*). We have desired to engrave a grand tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of such great deeds. {*Ode*:} §23a. The true Lord is without beginning, serene, still and unchangeable; with power and capacity to perfect and create. He created the earth and established the heavens. §23b. A part of his divided-self entered the world to bring salvation to all without limit. The rising sun dispels [27] the darkness and bears witness to the divine principle. §23c. Then the excellent and cultured Emperor (i.e. Taizong), surpassing the previous rulers in achievements, took control of the political situation and put an end to chaos. Heaven was spread out and earth was enlarged. §23d. When the pure, bright Luminous Religion was introduced to our Tang (Dynasty), scriptures were translated and monasteries built, and both the living and the dead sailed in the vessel (of mercy). Every kind of blessing was then received, and all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace. §23e. When Gaozong succeeded to his ancestral estate, he rebuilt the edifices of purity. Palaces of concord, spacious and bright, covered the [28] length and breadth of China (lit. 'middle earth'). The true doctrine was preached, leaders of religions were duly appointed. The common people enjoyed happiness and peace while creatures were exempt from disasters and suffering. §23f. When Xuanzong commenced his sacred reign, he applied himself to the cultivation of the true doctrine. His imperial decrees (lit. 'tablets') were radiant and the celestial writings were splendid. The imperial portraits glittered like gems, and the entire world revered him. All his undertakings were exceptionally successful and the people benefited from his success. §23g. Then (Emperor) Suzong came and restored (the dynasty) and celestial power

{At the bottom of the Stele reading from left to right:}

[S3] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S3] bšnt 'lp wtš'yn wtr̄tyñ	[S3] In the year One Thousand
[S4] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S4] dyw̄ny' mry yzdbwzyd qšyš'	and Ninety and Two [S4] of the
[S5] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S5] wkwr'pysqwp' dkwmd'n	Greeks (1092 Sel. = 781 CE)
[S6] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S6] mdynt' mlkwt' br nyh	My Lord Yazdbuzid priest [S5]
[S7] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S7] npš' mylys qšyš' dmn	and Chorepiscopos of Kumdān
[S8] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S8] blh mdynt' dthwrstn	[S6] the metropolis, son of the
[S9] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S9] 'qym lwh' hn' dk'p'	[S7] late Milis priest, from [S8]
[S10] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S10] dkt̄ybn bh mdbrnwth	Balkh a city of Tauristan (i.e.
[S11] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S11] dprwqn qwrwzwthwn	Tocharistan), [S9] set up that
[S12] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S12] d'bhyn dlwt mlk'	tablet of stone. [S10] The things
[S13] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S13] dc̄nyñ' [33] ܩܘܕܫܐ	which are written on it [S11]
[S14] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S14] 'd'm mšmšn' br	[are] the law of him (who is)
[S15] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S15] yzdbwzyd kwr'pysqwp'	our Saviour and the preaching
		[S12] of them (who are) our
		fathers to the kings [S13] of
		Zinaye (i.e. the Chinese).
		{Chin.} [33] <i>Monk Lingbao</i>
		{Syr.} [S14] Adam minister
		[S15] son of Yazdbuzid Chor-
		episcopus.
[S16] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S16] mrsrgys qšyš'	
[S17] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S17] wkwr'pysqwp'	[S16] Mar Sargis priest and
		Chorepiscopos
[S34] 檢校建立碑僧[35]行通	[S34] 檢校建立碑僧[35]行通	{Chin.} [34] Supervisor of the
[S18] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S18] sbrnyšw' qšyš'	erection of the tablet the monk
		[35] Xingtong. {Syr.} [S17]
		The priest Sabranīšō'.
[S19] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S19] gbryl qšyš' w'rkdyqwn	[S18] Gabriel Priest and an
[S20] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S20] wrš 'dt' dkwmd'n	Archdeacon [S19] and Abbot of
[S21] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S21] wdsrg	Kumdān (i.e. Chang'an) [S20]
		and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).
[S36] 助檢校試太常[37]卿賜紫袞	{Chin.} [36] Assistant Supervisor: the High Statesman	
袞寺[38]主僧業利	of the Sacred rites, [37] the Imperially-conferred-	
	purple-gown [38] Chief Monk Yeli.	

{On the left side of the Stele:}

{First row:}	{First row:}	
[S22] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S22] mry ywhnn 'pysqwp'	Our Master Yōhannān
[S39] 大德曜	[S39] 大德曜	(John), the Bishop {Chin.} [39] Great Virtue (<i>dade</i> <Skt.
輪		<i>dhabanta</i>) Yàolún.
[S23] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S23] 'yshq qšyš'	the priest 'Ishāq (Isaac) {Chin.}
[S40] 僧日進	[S40] monk Rijin.	
[S24] ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ	[S24] ywy'l qšyš'	the priest Yō'ēl (Joel)
[S41] 僧遙越	[S41] monk Yáoyuè	
	[S25] mykyl qšyš'	the priest Mīkā'ēl (Michael)

[S25] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [42] 僧廣慶	{Chin.} [42] monk Guǎngqīng.
[S26] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [43] 僧和吉	{Syr.} [S26] <i>gyw'rgys qšyš'</i> the priest Gīwargīs (George) {Chin.} [43] monk Héjǐ.
[S27] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [44] 僧惠明	{Syr.} [S27] <i>mhddgwšnsp qšyš'</i> the priest Māhdād Gušnasp {Chin.} [44] monk Huimíng.
[S28] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [45] 僧寶達	{Syr.} [S28] <i>mšyḥ'dd qšyš'</i> the priest Mšḥādād {Chin.} [45] monk Bǎodá.
[S29] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [46] 僧拂林	{Syr.} [S29] <i>'prym qšyš'</i> the priest Aprēm (Ephraim) {Chin.} [46] monk Fúlín.
[S30] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ	{Syr.} [S30] <i>'by qšyš'</i> the priest Abāy (Abi).
[S31] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ	{Syr.} [S31] <i>dwyd qšyš'</i> the priest Dāwīd (David).
[S32] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [47] 僧福壽	{Syr.} [S32] <i>mws' qšyš'</i> the priest Mōšē (Moses) {Chin.} [47] monk Fúshòu.
{Second Row:}	{Second Row:}
[S33] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [48] 僧崇敬	{Syr.} [S33] <i>bkws qšyš' yḥydy'</i> the monk-priest Bakkōs {Chin.} [48] monk Chóngjǐng.
[S34] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [49] 僧延和	{Syr.} [S34] <i>'ly' qšyš' yḥydy'</i> the monk-priest Eliyā (Eijah) {Chin.} [49] monk Yánhé.
[S35] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ	{Syr.} [S35] <i>mws' qšyš' wyḥydy'</i> the priest and monk Mōšē (Moses)
[S36] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ	Syr.} [S36] <i>'bdyšw' qšyš' wyḥydy'</i> the priest and monk 'Abdīšō'.
[S37] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ	{Syr.} [S37] <i>šm'wn qšyš' dqbr'</i> Šem'ōn (Simon) the priest of the tomb (i.e. the cemetery).
[S38] ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐ [50] 僧惠通	{Syr.} [S38] <i>ywhnys mšmšn' wyd'</i> Yōḥannīs minister and monk {Chin.} [50] monk Huitōng.
{Third Row:}	{Third Row:}
[S39] ܩܘܘܢܐ [51] 僧乾祐	{Syr.} [S39] <i>'hrwn Ahrōn</i> (Aaron) {Chin.} [51] monk Gānyòu
[S40] ܩܘܘܢܐ [52] 僧元一	{Syr.} [S40] <i>ptrws Petrōs</i> (Peter) {Chin.} [52] monk Yuányī.
[S41] ܩܘܘܢܐ [53] 僧敬德	{Syr.} [S41] <i>'ywb Īyōb</i> (Job) {Chin.} [53] monk Jìngdé.
[S42] ܩܘܘܢܐ [54] 僧利見	{Syr.} [S42] <i>lwq' Lūqā</i> (Luke) {Chin.} [54] monk Lìjiàn.
[S43] ܩܘܘܢܐ [55] 僧明泰	{Syr.} [S43] <i>mty Mattay</i> (Matthew) {Chin.} [55] monk Míngtài.
[S44] ܩܘܘܢܐ [56] 僧玄真	{Syr.} [S44] <i>ywhnn Yōḥannān</i> (John) {Chin.} [56] monk Xuánzhēn.
[S45] ܩܘܘܢܐ [57] 僧仁惠	{Syr.} [S45] <i>yšw'mh Īšō'-'ammeh</i> {Chin.} [57] monk Rénhuì.
[S46] ܩܘܘܢܐ [58] 僧曜源	{Syr.} [S46] <i>ywhnn Yōḥannān</i> (John) {Chin.} [58] monk Yàoyuán.
[S47] ܩܘܘܢܐ [59] 僧昭德	{Syr.} [S47] <i>sbryšw' Sabrīšō'</i> {Chin.} [59] monk Zhāodé.
[S48] ܩܘܘܢܐ [60] 僧文明	{Syr.} [S48] <i>yšw'dd Īšō'dād</i> {Chin.} [60] monk Wénmíng.
[S49] ܩܘܘܢܐ [61] 僧文貞	{Syr.} [S49] <i>lwk' Lūqā</i> (Luke) {Chin.} [61] monk Wénzhēn.
[S50] ܩܘܘܢܐ [62] 僧居信	{Syr.} [S50] <i>qwsntynws Qōstantīnōs</i> (Constantine) {Chin.} [62] monk Jūxìn.
[S51] ܩܘܘܢܐ [63] 僧來威	{Syr.} [S51] <i>nwh Nōḥ</i> (Noah) {Chin.} [63] monk Láiwēi.
{Fourth Row:}	{Fourth Row:}
[S52] ܩܘܘܢܐ [64] 僧	{Syr.} [S52] <i>'yzdsp's Izadspās</i> {Chin.} [64] monk

[S52] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [64] 僧敬真	Jingzhēn.
[S53] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [65] 僧還淳	{Syr.} [S53] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [65] monk Huánchún.
[S54] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [66] 僧靈壽	{Syr.} [S54] <i>'nws</i> Ānōš (Enosh) {Chin.} [66] monk Língshòu.
[S55] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [67] 僧靈德	{Syr.} [S55] <i>mrsrgys</i> Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) {Chin.} [67] monk Língdé.
[S56] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [68] 僧英德	{Syr.} [S56] <i>'yshq</i> Īshāq {Chin.} [68] monk Yīngdé.
[S57] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [69] 僧沖和	{Syr.} [S57] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān {Chin.} [69] monk Chōnghé.
[S58] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [70] 僧凝虛	{Syr.} [S58] <i>mrsrgys</i> Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) {Chin.} [70] Níngxū.
[S59] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [71] 僧普濟	{Syr.} [S59] <i>pwsy</i> Pusāy {Chin.} [71] monk Pǔjì.
[S60] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [72] 僧聞順	{Syr.} [S60] <i>šm 'wn</i> Šem'ōn (Simon) {Chin.} [72] monk Wénshùn.
[S61] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [73] 僧光濟	{Syr.} [S61] <i>'yshq</i> Īshāq (Isaac) {Chin.} [73] monk Guāngjì.
[S62] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [74] 僧守一	{Syr.} [S62] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) [74] monk Shǒuyī.

{On the right edge of the Stele}

{First Row:}	{First Row:}
[S63] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [75] 老宿耶俱摩	{Syr.} [S63] <i>y'qwb qšyš'</i> the priest Ya'qōb (Jacob) {Chin.} [75] the venerable Yējùmó.
[S64] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [76] 僧景通	{Syr.} [S64] <i>mrsrgys qšyš' wkw'pysqwp' šy'ngtsw'</i> Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) priest and Chorepiscopos and Abbot (<i>šy'ngtsw'</i> ? <Chin. <i>shàng-zuò</i> 上座“(on) high seat”) {Chin.} [76] monk Jǐngtōng.
[S65] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [77] 僧玄覽	{Syr.} [S65] <i>gygwy qšyš' w'rkdyqwn dkwmd'n wmqryn'</i> Gīgōy priest and archdeacon of Kumdān (i.e. Chang'an) and teacher {Chin.} [77] monk Xuánlǎn.
[S66] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [78] 僧寶靈	{Syr.} [S66] <i>pwlws qšyš'</i> the priest Pawlōs (Paul) {Chin.} [78] monk Bǎolíng.
[S67] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [79] 僧審慎	{Syr.} [S67] <i>šmšn qšyš'</i> the priest Šemšōn (Samson) {Chin.} [79] monk Shěnshèn.
[S68] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [80] 僧法源	{Syr.} [S68] <i>'dm qšyš'</i> the priest Ādām (Adam) {Chin.} [80] monk Fǎyuán.
[S69] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [81] 僧立本	{Syr.} [S69] <i>'ly' qšyš'</i> the priest Iliyā (Elijah) {Chin.} [81] monk Liběn.
[S70] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [82] 僧和明	{Syr.} [S70] <i>'yshq qšyš'</i> the priest Īshāq (Isaac) {Chin.} [82] monk Hémíng.
[S71] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [83] 僧光正	{Syr.} [S71] <i>ywhnn qšyš'</i> the priest Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [83] monk Guāngzhèng.
[S72] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [84] 僧內澄	{Syr.} [S72] <i>ywhnn qšyš'</i> the priest Yōḥannān {Chin.} [84] monk Nèichéng.
[S73] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ	{Syr.} [S73] <i>šm 'wn qšyš' wsb'</i> Šem'ōn priest and elder.
{Second Row:}	{Second Row:}
[S74] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [85] 僧崇德	{Syr.} [S74] <i>y'qwb qnky'</i> Ya'qōb (Jacob) the sacristan {Chin.} [85] monk Chóngdé.
[S75] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [86] 僧太和	{Syr.} [S75] <i>'bdyšw' 'Abdīšō'</i> {Chin.} [86] monk Tàihé.
[S76] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [87] 僧景福	{Syr.} [S76] <i>yšw'dd</i> Yišō'dād {Chin.} [87] monk Jǐngfú.
[S77] ܘܢܘܫܘܢܘܢ [88] 僧和光	{Syr.} [S77] <i>y'qwb</i> Ya'qōb (Jacob) {Chin.} [88] monk Héguāng.
	{Syr.} [S78] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [89] monk

[S78] ܘܨܦܐ [89] 僧至德	Zhidé. {Syr.} [S79] <i>šwbḥ' lmrn</i> Šubḥā l-Māran (lit. “Glory to Our Lord”) {Chin.} [90] monk Fèngzhēn.
[S79] ܘܨܦܐ ܠܡܪܢ [90] 僧奉真	{Syr.} [S80] <i>mrsrgys</i> Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) {Chin.} [91] monk Yuánzōng.
[S80] ܘܨܦܐ ܠܡܪܢ [91] 僧元宗	{Syr.} [S81] <i>šm 'wn</i> Šem'ōn (Simeon) {Chin.} [92] monk Liyòng.
[S81] ܘܨܦܐ [92] 僧利用	{Syr.} [S82] <i>'prym</i> Aprēm (Ephraim) {Chin.} [93] monk Xuándé.
[S82] ܘܨܦܐ [93] 僧玄德	{Syr.} [S83] <i>zkry'</i> Zkaryā (Zechariah) {Chin.} [94] monk Yiji.
[S83] ܘܨܦܐ [94] 僧義濟	{Syr.} [S84] <i>kwrykws</i> Quryāqōs (Cyriac) {Chin.} [95] monk Zhijiān.
[S84] ܘܨܦܐ [95] 僧志堅	{Syr.} [S85] Bakkōs (<Lat. Bacchus) {Chin.} [96] monk Bǎoguó.
[S85] ܘܨܦܐ [96] 僧保國	{Syr.} [S86] <i>'mnw 'yl</i> 'Ammānū'ēl (Emmanuel) {Chin.} [97] monk Míngyī.
[S86] ܘܨܦܐ [97] 僧明一	
{Third row:}	{Third row:}
[S87] ܘܨܦܐ [98] 僧廣德	{Syr.} [S87] <i>gbry'yl</i> Gabrī'ēl (Gabriel) {Chin.} [98] monk Guǎngdé.
[S88] ܘܨܦܐ	{Syr.} [S888] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John).
[S89] ܘܨܦܐ [99] 僧去甚	{Syr.} [S89] <i>šlymwn</i> Šlēmōn (Solomon) {Chin.} [99] monk Qùshèn.
[S90] ܘܨܦܐ	{Syr.} [S90] <i>'yshq</i> Īshāq (Isaac).
[S91] ܘܨܦܐ [100] 僧德建	{Syr.} [S91] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [100] monk Déjiàn.

{On top of the Syriac and Chinese names on the left side of the Stele are inscribed these words in Chinese which greatly damaged the original text:}

後一千七十九年咸豐己未武林
韓泰華來觀幸字畫完整重造碑
亭覆焉惜故友吳子苾方伯不及
同遊也為悵然久之

One thousand and seventy-nine years later, in the year of Jiwei of the Xianfeng period (1895 CE), I, Han Taihua of Wulin (i.e. Hangzhou) came and saw this stele. The lettering is still fortunately perfect and I rebuilt the pavilion (which houses it). Sadly my late friend Wu Zibi – the Treasurer – was unable to accompany me on my tour and for this I greatly regret.

WORKS CITED

- Dauvillier, J., *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 2, 1, La Stèle de Si-ngan-fou, Pt. 2: Inscriptions syriaques de la Stèle de Si-ngan-fou, Œuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, (Paris, 1984).
- Ferreira, J., *Early Chinese Christianity: The Tang Christian Monument and other documents*, Early Christian Studies 17 (Brisbane: St Paul's, 2014) pp. 144-280.
- Foster, J., *The Church of the T'ang Dynasty* (London, 1939) 134-151.
- Havret, H., *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, 3 vols., Variétés sinologiques 7, 12, 20 (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1895, 1897 and 1902).
- Kroll, P., *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden, 2017).
- Legge, J., *The Nestorian monument of Hsi-an fû in Shen-hsî, China: relating to the diffusion of Christianity in China in the seventh and eighth centuries with the Chinese text of the inscription, a translation, and notes, and a lecture on the monument, with a sketch of subsequent Christian missions in China* (London, 1888) 2-31.
- Luo Xianglin 羅香林 *Tang Yuan erdai zhi Jingjiao 唐元二代之景教* (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe, 1966) esp. 10-20.
- Moule, A.C., *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London, 1930), pp. 35-52.
- Palmer, M., *The Jesus Sutras – Rediscovering the lost religion of Taoist Christianity* (London, 2001) 224-32.
- Pelliot, P., *L'Inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, edited with supplements by A. Forte (Kyoto-Paris, 1996), pp. 173-180 (translation) and 497-503 (Chinese text).
- Saeki, P.Y., *The Nestorian Monuments and Relics in China* (Tokyo, 1937, revised, 1951), pp. 320-33, and Chinese Text Section, pp. 1-13.
- Wu Changxing 吳昶興, *Daqin Jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei: Daqin Jingjiao wenxian shiyi 大秦景教流行中國碑: 大秦景教文獻釋義* (Hong Kong: Olive Press, 2015) pp. 7-47.
- Wylie, A. *apud* Charles F. Horne, ed., *The Sacred Books and Early Literature of the East*, Vol. XII, *Medieval China* (New York, 1917), pp. 381-392.
- Xu Longfei, *Die Nestorianische Stele in Xi'an. Begegnung von Christentum und chinesischer Kultur* (Bonn, 2004), pp. 95-101.

DISCOVERY AND PROVENANCE

The 'Nestorian Stele' is one of the most frequently visited monuments on display in the Xi'an Forest of Inscribed Stelae Museum (*Xi'an beilin bowuguan* 西安碑林博物館) which is a division of the Shanxi (or Shaanxi) Provincial Museum (*Shanxi-sheng bowuguan* 陝西省博物館). Since its discovery *circa* 1623 CE,¹ the text of the 'Nestorian Stele' has no shortage of translations into European languages although printed editions of the Chinese (and Syriac) are considerably fewer by comparison. Of the translations by Western scholars most commonly used by scholars only those of Legge, Saeki and Ferreira are accompanied by both Syriac.

Fortunately rubbings of the text of the inscription (of both Chinese and Syriac sections) are on sale at the souvenir shop of the museum. As the rubbing is a faithful reproduction of the original inscribed text, it is of immeasurable value to scholars who need regular access to the text in Chinese and Syriac scripts. Because the inscribed lines of the main (i.e. Chinese) part of the inscription are exceedingly long, a photographic reproduction of the text is of limited value to scholars. A recent edition of the text in a Chinese publication including segmented photographic reproductions of the text is fiendishly difficult to consult as the vertically inscribed lines are

not numbered at the top of each photograph.² The need to arrive at an agreed system of numbering of the lines of the text, both Chinese and Syriac, has long been felt. The translation of Pelliot is the only modern one that includes line-numbers (in egregious Roman numerals) and the same applies to the appended text of original in Chinese script. As Pelliot's translation and edition is still little used by scholars in China because the translation and commentary are both in French, I have made available on-line a preliminary edition of the original Chinese and Syriac text based on that of Saeki and my own copy of the rubbing of the inscription with the same line numbers as given in Pelliot's translation and edition but in less obtrusive Arabic numerals.

As the accompanying text in Pelliot's posthumously published volume does not include the sections of the text in Syriac, I have ventured to number the latter in my 'on-line' edition with capital letter 'S' (for Syriac) before the line-numbers also in Arabic numerals.

¹ For an excellent study of the impact of the discovery on western attitude to China and her culture see M. Keevak, *The Story of a Stele: China's Nestorian Monument and Its Reception in the West, 1625-1916* (Hong Kong, 2008).

² Lu Yuan 路遠, *Jingjiao yu Jingjiao bei* 景教與“景教碑” (Nestorianism and the “Nestorian Monument”) (Xi'an, 2009) 330-348. I am grateful to Dr Sally Church, Fellow of Wolfson College Cambridge, for drawing my attention to this recently republished and important work on the history of the Church of the East in China and for lending me her own copy of the work.

COMMENTARY
on lines the title and lines 1-3 of the
Syriac and Chinese Text by

SAMUEL N.C. LIEU



[1] 景教 **jingjiao** lit. ‘luminous teaching’: In my 2009 study I have made the bold suggestion that the character *jing* 景 in the official title of the Church of the East in China which is often translated as ‘luminous’ was originally a calque for a Chinese word meaning ‘fear’ as Christians in Central Asia had long been known by the Middle Persian name of *tarsāg*, Christian Sogdian *trs’q* or New Persian *tarsā* ‘fearer, shaker’.³ Shortly after my article was published, I was able to elaborate on my hypothesis with further supporting evidence in a conference paper delivered to the Third International *Jingjiao* Symposium at Salzburg: ‘Research on the Church of the East in China and Central Asia’ held in Salzburg in 2009.⁴ I am grateful to the many positive comments on my main hypothesis – especially to Dr Penelope Riboud for pointing

out to the participants of the conference in her own lecture that the character *xian* 祆 used for Zoroastrianism in Tang China is a specially devised character used to transliterate the Middle Persian word *dyn* ‘religion’. The term *tarsā* is found in phonetic transliteration in the Chinese text of the ‘Monument’: *dasuo* 達娑 and in a literary context which draws direct comparison between it and the *jingshi* 景士 i.e. priests of the *jing* teaching:⁵

Among the *dasuo* 達娑 (*tarsā*) with their rule of purity, such excellence has not yet been heard of; but we see this among the white-robed *jingshi* 景士.

What amazed me was that the term *tarsā* remained in vogue as a designation for Christians who had come to China from Central Asia right down to Modern period. On 26th July 1605, after a long and seemingly unfruitful search for the survival of Christian communities at Kaifengfu 開封府 where there was still a thriving Jewish community with its own synagogue, Matteo Ricci wrote:⁶

³ S.N.C. Lieu, ‘Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica’ in W. Sundermann, A. Hintze, and F. de Blois (eds.) *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (Wiesbaden, 2009) 241-46. NB error on p. 24, line 18 – delete the term ‘*jing ming* 景命’ from the list of terms with the word *jing* 景 as it was not used in a theological or ascetical sense in the context of the ‘Monument’. On different forms of the word *tarsāg* in Middle Iranian languages see Gershevitch, *op. cit.*, 150 (§990).

⁴ S.N.C. Lieu, ‘The “Romanitas” of the Xi’an Inscription’ has appeared in Tang Li 唐莉 and D. W. Winkler (eds.), *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Vienna and Münster, 2013) [Publication announced on 5th February 2013, *non vidi.*].

⁵ *Xi’an Monument* (Chin.) l. 26, ed. Saeki, *op. cit.* (‘The Chinese Text’ section) 8; trans. Moule, *op. cit.*, 45 (altered).

⁶ Matteo Ricci, *Lettere (1580-1609)*, in P. Corradini and F. D’Arelli (eds.) *Lettere (1580-1609) Matteo Ricci* (Macerata, 2001) 412-13: Puochi giorni sono venessimo a sapere per cosa certa che dentro della Cina, vi fu da cinquecento anni in qua buon numero de christiani, e che

A few days ago we came to know for certain that there have been a good number of Christians in China for the past five hundred years and that there are still considerable traces of them in many places. ... Now we know that in the middle of China, half a month from here and the same distance from Nanchino (*Nanjing*), in the province of Honan (*Henan*) and in the capital which is called Caifun fu (*Kaifengfu*) there are five or six families of Christians who have now lost almost all the little Christianity they had, because several years ago they turned the church into the temple of an idol called *Quanguam* (*Guanwang*, i.e. Guan Yu). What has hindered us from knowing of them until now is that they are not called by their race of *Terza* (i.e. *Tarsā*), which seems to be the name of the country from which they came to China, and by the religion of the *xezu* (*shizi*), which means 'of the sign of ten' which in Chinese writing is a perfect cross like this †; for in appearance and features and in not worshipping idols they were like the Moors and Jews and were only distinguished by the fact that they ate pork and all kinds of flesh, making over it a cross with the hand.

This important reference to the survival of both the Christian community in Kaifengfu and its use of the term *Tarsā* as its mark of identity, now studied mainly by scholars of Matteo Ricci⁷ rather than of

anocora ve ne resta grande vestigio in molti luoghi. ... Adesso sapessimo che nel mezzo della Cina, longi da qui mezzo mese, et altre tanto di Nanchino, nella provincia di Honan, e nella metropoli che si chiama Caifun fu, vi sono cinque o sei era di christianità, per avere già parecchi anni che della chiesa fecero tempio di un iolo, che si chiama Quanguam. Quello che ci impeditte a saperlo sin hora fu non si nominare loro per nome de christiani, ma per gente de *Terza*; pare nome del regno donde vennero alla Cina, e dalla lege de *xezu*, che vuol dire della lettera di dieci, che nella lettera cina è una croce perfetta, di questo mono +; perché nella figura e fisonomia del viso e in non adorar idoli erano simili ai Mori e Giudei; solo erano diversi, che mangiavano carne di porco ed ogni carne, facendoli sopra di essa una croce con la mano. English translation by Moule, *op. cit.*, 6-7 (all words in Chinese have been given in *Pinyin* in the translation cited above).

⁷ See e.g. the important and highly informative study of A. Dudink, 'Zhang Geng, Christian Convert of Late Ming Times: Descendant of Nestorian Christians?' in C. Jami and H. Delahaye (eds.), *L'Europe en Chine: interactions*

the Church of the East in China, would have further strengthened my faith in my hypothesis that the character *jing* is a calque for *tarsā* had I discovered it earlier.

[S1] ܩܘܢܘܡܐ **Papshy**: The Syriac text of the inscription, consisting mainly of names and titles,⁸ could have been read with ease by a contemporary Syriac-speaking Christian except for a small number of place-names which will be discussed later in this study. Two titles, though, which might have caused problems had their meanings not been provided by someone who knew them are P'PŠY in line 1 and ŠY'NGTSW' in line 64 of the Syriac respectively. There is general agreement on the latter as transliteration for the Chinese term *shangzuo* 上座 "(on) high seat" (i.e. office of an abbot). Scholarly opinion, however, is still very divided over the first title occupying an eminent position at the beginning of the text.

The two most common explanations of this puzzling word in Syriac script are:

(1) It is a transliteration of the commonly encountered Chinese religious title *fashi* 法師 (lit. 'teacher or master of the law'). However, as I have pointed out in my earlier study,⁹ I made a close inspection of the relevant word on the 'Monument' itself when I visited Xi'an in 2007, and I am fairly certain that the inscribed text gives P'PŠ' and not P'PŠY. This has led me to

scientifiques, religieuses et culturelles aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: actes du colloque de la Fondation Hugot (14-17 octobre 1991) (Paris, 1993), 57-86.

⁸ On proper names in Syriac found on the 'Monument' and other Christian texts from the Tang period see now the important study of Hidemi Takahashi, 'Transcribed Proper Names in Chinese Syriac Christian Documents' in G.A. Kiraz (ed.) *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone. Studies in honor of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway NJ, 2008), 631-662.

⁹ Lieu, *Epigraphica*, 230.

wonder if P'PŠ' is phonetic transcription for *fazhu* 法主 – a term used on the Monument (S2) to translate the Graeco-Syriac title of ܩܘܕܝܫܐ ܩܘܪܕܝܫܐ *ptyrkys* (i.e. Patriarchos). (Cf. Lieu 2009: 230-31) Such a solution, however, can not answer the question as to why Adam would have used a form of an ecclesiastical title loaned into Chinese at the beginning of the Monument and the correct original in Syriac at the bottom of the stele. In any case, Ferreira¹⁰ has rightly observed that the final letter in S1 is an uncommon way of writing a final *yōd* but it is a *yōd* nevertheless which puts pay to any possibility of the term being read as a phonetic transcription for *fazhu*.

Moule, a strong proponent of the *fashi* solution states in a foot-note: 'Dr L.D. Barnett has very kindly found the sounds in question written *phab shi* in a contemporary bilingual MS in the Stein collection.'¹¹ Unfortunately Moule did not tell us what languages were used in this bilingual text nor did he give us its manuscript signature. The example, if genuine, would have solved the problem of the medial –p- in P'PŠY as P'-ŠY would have been a more natural phonetic transcription of the Chinese *fashi* for speakers of Modern Standard Chinese. However, the problem of the medial –p- is a contemporary one and not one which would bother a Chinese speaker in the Tang period as the characters *fashi* 法師 'teacher of law' was pronounced *piuap-ši* in Middle Chinese and *fap-ši* in Late Middle Chinese.

(2) P'PŠY or P'PŠ' is a variant form of the Syriac title P'P'S, i.e. 'Pope' (<Gr. πάππας <Lat. *Papa*). Such a solution certainly fits the

context as its holder, (Syr.) Adam (Chin. Jingqing 景清), was effectively the Archbishop or Patriarch of China (CYN(Y)STN *v. infra*).¹² I was originally inclined towards accepting such a solution in my earlier study, but with one slight hesitation on the final *yōd* which makes the term *papshi* sound Chinese, because of the double 'P' in the transliterated form of the title. The title of 'Papa (i.e. Pope) of China' would have been highly suitable for a cleric made very senior by the geographical coincidence of his archdiocese with a vast empire (i.e. Tang China) and its isolation from the main body of the Church of the East. However, for a completely normal Syriac title (i.e. P'P'S) to appear in such an unconventional manner (i.e. P'PŠ'), a historical explanation is needed and I have surmised that the original Syriac term P'P' or P'P'S was transliterated into Chinese at an early stage of the diffusion of Syriac Christianity in China. The title took root in the Chinese language of the Church of the East and it was this 'native' Chinese form (now lost) that found its way back into the Syriac text inscribed on the 'Monument'. However, I also drew attention to another problem in adopting the Papas-solution viz. that the form of the 'pontifical' title P'P'S is derived originally from Greek (πάππας) and the final -ς in the title would normally have been transliterated into the Syriac script with an S and not with a Š.¹³ The problematic use of the Š in P'PŠY / P'PŠ' and the addition of what appears

¹⁰ J. Ferreira, *Early Chinese Christianity: The Tang Christian Monument and other documents*, Early Christian Studies 17 (Brisbane, 2014) 212, fn. 16.

¹¹ A.C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London, 1930), 35, n. 12.


¹² On translating the title as 'papas of China' see E.C.D. Hunter, 'The Persian contribution to Christianity in China' in D.W. Winkler and Tang Li 唐莉 (eds.) *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters*. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia = Orientalia–Patristica–Oecumenica 1 (Vienna and Münster, 2009) 73. For earlier discussions see Saeki, *op. cit.* 82-83 and for a useful summary of different views among Chinese scholars see Lu Yuan, *op. cit.*, 101-02.

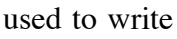
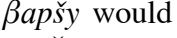
¹³ Lieu, *op. cit.*, 230.

to be a suffix (either *-y* or *-‘*) remain almost impossible to explain unless the title had been adopted into a language which employs suffixes before being re-transliterated into Syriac.

Since 2009, I have discussed the ‘Papa(s)’ solution with a number of scholars in Syriac studies and a problem which quickly surfaced from these discussions concerns the very late date of the ‘Monument’ (erected in 781 CE) for the use of the term P’P’ in Syriac as a title for a senior bishop of the Church of the East.

Sinologists with whom I had discussed the issue cautioned against abandoning the ‘*fashi*-solution’ too readily. There is no doubt that P’PŠ’ or P’PŠY is not a conventional Syriac word and to see it as a corruption or variant of P’P’S or P’P’ begs too many questions both scribal and linguistic and it is easier to explain it as the phonetic transliteration of a Chinese term. The term *fashi* is widely used of priests in a variety of religions in China and had come to be seen as a reverential rather than status term. It is therefore not out of place for Adam to be styled ‘the priest of China’ and using a term which is of Chinese origin to underscore the fact that it was over the Church of the East *in China* that he exercised his authority.

A decisive argument for P’PŠY as a phonetically transcribed term *fashi* 法師 ‘priest’ from the Chinese in Syriac script is the appearance of the term in an unambiguous Buddhist context and in a near identical form of transcription into Old Turkish (Uighur) in a contemporary document. Among the texts in Uygur brought back by Paul Pelliot from Dunhuang at the beginning of the last century and published by the late Dr. James Hamilton in 1986 is a fragmentary letter addressed to a Buddhist priest. The first preserved half line reads in the Uygur script  and in transliteration: B’PŠYM

TWYYN and in transcription $\beta'pšym\ toyin$ which Hamilton correctly translates as ‘[Á] mon $\beta'pš'i$ (maître de la Loi) ...’.¹⁴ The term is also found with the exact same spelling in a Uighur translation of a letter concerning the life of the famous Tang Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang originally written in Chinese published by Annemarie von Gabain.¹⁵ The Chinese Buddhist context of the phrase is clear as *toyin* is the standard transcription for *daoren* 道人 ‘a person of the Way’ (i.e. a Buddhist Monk) in Old Turkish. The term became standard in Central Asian languages and was still encountered in the writings of Western travellers to the court of the Mongol Khans like William of Rubruck and Marco Polo in the slightly corrupted but still easily recognizable form *tuin* (note the Wade-Giles transliteration of the term: *tao-jen* is remarkable close to the *tu-(y)in* of William of Rubruck) and used to denote a Daoist priest and Buddhist monk. As the Uygur script was also used to write Sogdian, the word  B’PŠY / $\beta apšy$ would have easily been written as  P’PŠY/ *papšy* in Christian Sogdian which used the Syriac script and we have the word in a Manichaean text (M74) given in the Manichaean script (with is based on the Syriac script) as

but with an elevated sense like the English loanword from Chinese *Taipan* (大班 *daban*, Cantonese *dai-ban*) which commonly means the 'boss of bosses', i.e. head of a major company or *hong* in Hong Kong like Jardines or Swires and not just meaning an ordinary 'boss' or 'supervisor'.

The enigmatic term P'PŠY in the Syriac part of the Xi'an Monument is none other than the standard transliteration and transcription of a Chinese religious title into Central Asian languages in the Tang Era. The reason why the 'Papal solution' has remained popular among scholars of the Monument is simply that it makes apparent sense to Syriac scholars and the Monument is too often studied jointly by Syriac scholars and Sinologists rather than by Central Asian scholars for whom the *papshi* or *fapshi* = 法師 (*fapshi* in Tang pronunciation) would have been an obvious solution.

[S2] ܙܢܫܬܢ ZYNST'N: The Syriac part of the document contains three place-names which are of Iranian origin, viz. CYNST'N, KWMD'N and SRG. All three are attested with more or less the same spelling in the second of the so-called 'Ancient Sogdian Letters' (British Library Ms. Or. 8212/95) composed by Sogdian merchants between 307 and 311 CE.¹⁶ The letters were and found in 1907 by Aurel Stein in a Chinese watch-tower just west of the Jade Gate, a fortified outpost guarding the western approaches to Dunhuang 燉煌¹⁷ – a name which

though famous among the Chinese as the gateway to the Silk Road was probably also of foreign origin.¹⁸ The collection consisted of a small dossier of five letters written to friends and relatives at Loulan and Samarkand by Sogdian merchants who traded along the land-routes between Loulan 樓蘭 (Sogd. *kr'wr'n*) and a number of key Chinese cities including Dunhuang (Sogd. *drw'n*),¹⁹ Luoyang 洛陽 (Sogd. *sry*),²⁰ Chang'an 長安 (Sogd. *'xwmt'n*),²¹ Guzang (Sogd. *kc'n*),²² Yeh (Sogd. *'nkp'*), Jiuquan 酒泉 (Sogd. *cwcn*)²³ and Jincheng 金城 (Sogd. *kmzyn*).²⁴

The Syriac part of the inscription interestingly uses two names for China. The first of these, C'YNY' which is found on line 12 of the Syriac,²⁵ is abridgement for *bt c'ny'* ('the land of the Chins') which is standard designation for China in Syriac literature.²⁶ Why was Adam not entitled ܩܦܫܝ ܕܒܬ ܥܝܢܝܝܐ *papshi dbt c'ny'* on the first line of the Syriac part of the

¹⁶ Ed. and trans. N. Sims-Williams, 'The Ancient Sogdian Letter II' in M.G. Schmidt and W. Bisang (eds.) *Philologica et Linguistica – Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4 Dezember 2001* (Trier, 2001), 267-280.

¹⁷ The standard edition of all five letters remains H. Reichelt (ed.), *Die soghdischen Handschriften-reste des Britischen Museums*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1928-1931), ii,

1-35. New editions of the letters are currently being published by Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams. Colour photographs of the manuscript of Letter II can be found in A. L. Juliano & J. A. Lerner, *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China* (London and New York, 2001) 47-48. On the dating of the letters see and F. Grenet and N. Sims-Williams, "The historical context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters" in *Transition periods in Iranian history, Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Breisgau (22-24 Mai 1985)* (Leuven, 1987) 101-122.

¹⁸ On the various forms of the name see J. Harmatta, 'Origin of the name Tun-huang' in A. Cadonna, *Turfan and Tun-huang: The Texts – Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, *Orientalia Venetiana IV* (Florence, 1992) 15-20.

¹⁹ *Ancient Letters II.23, ed. cit.* 270.

²⁰ *Anc. Lett.* II.11, 268.

²¹ *Anc. Lett.* II.15, 268.

²² *Anc. Lett.* II.6, 268.

²³ *Anc. Lett.* II.5, 268.

²⁴ *Anc. Lett.* II.23, 270.

²⁵ Line S12 = line 11 of the edition of the text of Saeki. See Saeki, *op. cit.* ('The Chinese Text' section) 11.

²⁶ Cf. Lieu, *op. cit.*, 231-232.

inscription but was designated instead as ܩܝܢܫܬܢ *papshi dcynst'n* is an intriguing question which requires answers.

The form SYNST'N (or ČYN(Y)ST'N) is of Iranian, especially Sogdian, origin as indicated by its *-(i)stan* ending. While there is little doubt that Sogdian *cynstn* and the Syriac *syn(y)st'n* both designate China, there is some reluctance among Chinese scholars in embracing the generally accepted supposition that the 'cyn-' part of the state-name is derived from the notorious but powerful, and mercifully short-lived, Qin 秦 (Ch'in in Wade-Giles System) Dynasty (221-206 BCE) and thereby admitting that the most popular modern Western names for the Middle Kingdom (viz. China, Chine, Cina, Kina) too were all derived from the dynastic title of one of the most (notorious) and 'criticized' dynasties in Chinese history. Most Chinese scholars of the Monument therefore simply translate *cyn(y)stn* as Zhongguo 中國 'Middle Kingdom' – the official title of China which is stated in large characters in the header of the 'Monument'. Some scholars have ventured to transliterate it, and to my mind, correctly, as Qinisitan 秦尼斯坦.²⁷ However, one alternative suggestion sometimes offered by Chinese scholars is that *cynst'n* is derived phonetically not from the infamous Qin Dynasty but from Jinguo 晉國 i.e. 'State of Jin' (265-420 CE)²⁸ – Jin being the title of the dynasty ruling at the time when the 'Ancient Sogdian Letters' were written. However, attention must be drawn to an important article by the late Dr James Hamilton

in which has convincingly demonstrated that the title of Qin 秦 totally dominated the nomenclature for China in Central Asian languages and even seemingly unrelated but popular names such as *Seres* ('People of Silk') and *Serica* ('Land of Silk') in Latin and *Σηροες* ('People of Silk') and *Σηροική* ('Land of Silk') in Greek all derive ultimately from Qin 秦 and not from the Chinese word for silk (*si* 絲) because of the final *-n/-r* switch frequently encountered in Central Asian languages.²⁹ While the term Qinren 秦人 'men of Qin' is not as commonly attested as Hanren 漢人 'men of Han' (i.e. a Chinese), it is nevertheless found in ancient Chinese texts³⁰ and the terms *Qinshamen* 秦沙門 'monk from Qin' and *Qin(wen)* 秦(文) 'the Qin = Chinese (language)' are found in a collection Buddhist colophons from the 4th to the 5th Centuries CE and in contexts which unambiguously involve the state or language of China.³¹

[S18] ܩܘܡܕܢܐ **KWMD'N** (*Khumdan*): The names of the two Chinese capital cities of Chang'an 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽 are given in the Syriac part of the inscription and as KWMD'N and SRΓ. Their Sogdian equivalents are also found in the Ancient Sogdian Letters and they are so

²⁹ J. Hamilton, 'East-West Borrowings via the Silk Road of Textile Terms' in *Diogenes - A quarterly publication of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies* 171 (1995) 25-33.

³⁰ Cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I (Paris, 1959) 264-45.

³¹ *Taishō shinshū daijōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Tokyo, 1936-) 55.64c29: 秦沙門道養; 64c4: 轉胡為秦. The brief revival of (Later) Qin 後秦 as a dynastic title from 399-416 during the Five Dynasties and Sixteen Kingdoms period (304-439 CE) might have helped to perpetuate the equation of Qin = China and the Chinese. On this see Tsui Chung-hui, *A study of early Buddhist scriptural calligraphy: based on Buddhist manuscripts found in Dunhuang and Turfan (3-5 century)*, (PhD Hong Kong University, 2012) 135.

²⁷ Lu Yuan, *op. cit.*, 100.

²⁸ Suggested by Wang Jiqing 王冀青 *ap. Bi Bo* 畢波, 'Sutewen gu xinzha Hanyi yu zhushi 粟特文古信劄漢譯與注釋 (Ancient epistolary document in Sogdian language: Chinese translation and commentary)' *Wenshi* 文史 67 (2004/ii) 82.

close to the Syriac forms that the latter were most likely to have been Sogdian written in the Syriac script as commonly practised by Sogdian Christians of Central Asia.³² As the name of a major city in China, *kwmd'n* has long been known to Western scholars through the Byzantine historian Theophylactus Simocattes who in his history of the reign of the Emperor Maurice composed in the early 7th C. CE tells us that according to his Turkish sources Chubdan (Gr. *Χουβδάν*) was the local name for a major city in China (Gr. *Ταυγάστ* <Turk. *Tawγast*) founded by Alexander the Great!³³ The Greek form of the name *Χουβδάν* (which has a manuscriptal variant: *Χουμαδάν*) is an excellent example of the b/m switch due to nasalisation widely attested in Altaic languages. Chumbdan (Sogd. *'xwmt'n* or *γwmt'n*),³⁴ however, is clearly not a phonetic transliteration of the Chinese name Chang'an – the western capital of Tang China – but most scholars are agreed that it was the transliteration of Xianyang 咸陽, the capital of the more ancient Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE) which was situated only a few kilometres upstream (west) from Chang'an.³⁵

³² On Sogdian names of the Chinese principal Silk Road cities see N. Sims-Williams, 'Towards a new edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letter P' in E. de la Vaissière and E. Trombert (eds.), *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, Études Thématiques 17 (Paris, 2005), 181.

³³ Theophylactus Simocattes, *Historiae*, VII,9,8-9. Text and translation in J. Sheldon (trans.) G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. CE*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout, 2010) 137.

³⁴ The adjectival form *xwmt'ncw* is found in É. Benveniste (Ed. and trans.) *Textes sogdiens* (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, 3. Série, Paris 1940), Vol. 2, 58, Texte 2, line 1233.

³⁵ E. de la Vaissière (translated by J. Ward), *Sogdian Traders – A History* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section 8, Vol. 10; Leiden 2005), 22. See the strong arguments for identifying Khumdan with Chang'an marshalled by Takata Tokio 高田時雄, 'Khumdan deduiyin 的對音 (On

[S18] 𐰽𐰺𐰍 **SRT** (*saray*): Almost all scholars are agreed on the identification of *SRT* with Luoyang 洛陽 the Eastern capital of Tang China in the modern Henan 河南 Province, and the seat of a Chorepiscopos of the Church of the East, with *SRG* in the the Syriac text of the 'Monument' which is identical to *sry*, the standard form for the city in Sogdian.³⁶ Given her great importance as the final terminus of the Silk Road, the presence of a Nestorian community in the capital city of Luoyang has long been assumed by scholars.³⁷ The close connection between the Church of the East and Sogdian mercantile settlements in Tang China is now confirmed by the historical information provided by the newly discovered stele from Luoyang³⁸ Like Khumdan, the Sogdian toponym

the phonetic equivalents of *Khumdan*)' in Zhu Fengyu 朱鳳玉 and Wang Juan 汪娟 (eds.), *Zhang Guangda xiansheng bashi nian huadan zhushou lunwenji* 張廣達先生八十年華誕祝壽論文集 (*Studies in Honour of Mr. Zhang Guangda on his (Chinese) Eightieth Birthday*) (Taipei: 新文豐出版股份有限公司, 2010) Vol. 2, 965-976. See also the original identification by G. Haloun ap. W. B. Henning, "The date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters", *BSOAS* XII (1948) 608 See also Moule, *Christians* 48-49, note 45.

³⁶ The Sogdian version of the name *sry* is found in Buddhist Sogdian writings in the form of *sryc'ncn knḏh* 'the town of Saray'. Cf. *Sūtra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink*, 1.34, ed. D.N. Mackenzie (ed. and trans.), *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*, *Acta Iranica* 3 (Leiden–Teheran, 1976), 10. Cf. I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Publication of the Philological Society (London, 1954) 156 (§1023).

³⁷ The discovery of one or more inscribed document similar to the Nestorian Monument from other major Tang cities had already been predicted by a leading scholar of Sino-Western relations more than eighty years ago. Cf. Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Jingjiaobei kao* 景教碑考 (*Study on the Nestorian Monument*) (Shanghai 1931) 60.

³⁸ Cf. Zhang Naizhu 張乃翥 "Ba Luoyang xin chutude yi jian Tangdai Jingjiao shike 跋洛陽新出土的一件唐代景教石刻" (*Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 2007/1, 65-73). 65f. English translation by P. de Laurentis, "Notes on a

S(a)r(a)γ bears little phonetic relation to the original Chinese city-name of Luoyang. Paul Pelliot has suggested that *Saray* might have been a phonetic transliteration of the ‘luo’ part of Luoyang³⁹ but such a suggestion cannot explain the initial *s-* unless the Sogdians had experienced difficulty in pronouncing the initial *l-* of the Chinese name and had to transliterate the name *Luoyang* orally into something like *(s)l’a(n)g*. An alternative way of solving the problem is to discover if Luoyang had been historically associated with another name, especially one that might have been in use when the Sogdians first came to know the city through trade. For much of its long history Luoyang was in the prefecture of Henan 河南 and the modern city with the same name is still in a province also with the same name – the association of Luoyang with Henan is therefore of long duration. However, at some point in its long history, the prefecture of Henan was called Sizhou 司州 which under the Jin Dynasty, the period of the Ancient Sogdian Letters, was also known as Sili 司隸.⁴⁰ While Sili bears greater phonetic resemblance to *Saray* than Luoyang, its association with Luoyang is tenuous and short-lived and it will not be easy to argue at this stage

of our knowledge for a direct onomastic link between Sili and *Saray*. However, we have no idea how *sry* was vocalized in Sogdian and in Sili we do have the possibility of a new line of historical and linguistic inquiry.

Nestorian Stone Inscription from the Tang Dynasty Recently Unearthed in Luoyang” in: Ge Chengyong 葛承雍 (Ed.) *Jingjiao weizhen* 景教遺珍 (Precious Nestorian Relic), *Luoyang xinchu Tangdai jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu* 洛陽新出唐代景教幢研究 (Studies on the Nestorian Stone Pillar of the Tang Dynasty Recently Discovered in Luoyang), Beijing 2009, 17-33) 17-18. For the text and English translation see Tang Li 唐莉, ‘A Preliminary Study on the Jingjiao Inscription of Luoyang: Text, Analysis, Commentary and English Translation’ in Winkler and Tang (eds.) *op. cit.*, 108-132.

³⁹ P. Pelliot, ‘L’évêché nestorien de Khumdan et Sarag’, *T’oung-pao*, 25 (1928) 91. See also Moule, *op. cit.*, 48-49, note 45.

⁴⁰ Cf. Shi Jangru 石璋如 *et al.* (eds.) *Zhong-guo li shi di li* 中國歷史地理, 3 vols. (Taipei, 1954), i, 278c.

COMMENTARY
on lines 3-10 of the
Chinese Text of the Monument by

PAUL PELLIOT
(1878-1945)

(trans. Camilla Ferard, revised by Sam Lieu, Gunner Mikkelsen and Sybil Wong)



[PROLOGUE]

2 (2) 粵若 *yueruo* (*yue-jo*) On this formula of solemn prologue, see Havret, III, 10. The first four chapters of the current *Shujing* (*Chou king*) begin with 曰若稽古 *yueruo jigu* (*yue-jo ki-kou*), obscure formula, whose interpretations vary (see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, III, I, 16). Note also that this formula was only added as header of the second of the four chapters at the end of the VIth century, and the 3rd chapter is entirely special in the review of the pseudo-Kong Anguo (K'ong Ngan-kouo), and consequently eminently suspicious. Fr. Havret says that 粵 is the *guwen* (*kou-wen*) form of 曰; this is not entirely correct. Without doubt, while the current *Shujing* (*Chou king*), as it was fixed graphically by 衛包 Wei Bao (Wei Pao) in 744, has 曰, the so-called text in *guwen* (*kou-wen*) that 李遇孫 Li Yusun (Li Yu-souen) republished in the early XIXth has 粵. But this only means that such was the lesson in the alleged *Shujing* (*Chou king*) in *guwen* (*kou-wen*) reconstituted in the XIIth century by 薛季宣 Xue Jixuan (Siué Ki-siuan) (1125-1173), or perhaps even in the edition of *Shujing* (*Chou king*) in *guwen* (*kou-wen*) given in 1082 by 呂大防 Lü Dafang (Liu Ta-fang) [1027-1097]; these editions were used at the beginning of the XIIIth century by 蔡沈 Cai

Chen (Ts'ai Tch'en) [1167-1230], whose 書經集傳 *Shujing jizhuan* (*Chou king tsi tchouan*) is here the source from which Fr. Havret was inspired. And it is also true that some manuscripts of the VIIth century must have had the reading 粵 in the text of *Shujing* (*Chou king*). In 658 李善 Li Shan (Li Chan) gives it twice by quoting the *Shujing* (*Chou king*) in his commentary of 文選 *Wenxuan* (*Wen siuan*) (chap. 1, on the 東都賦 *Dongdu fu* (*Tong tou fou*) of 班固 Ban Gu (Pan Kou); Chap. 11, on the 魯靈光殿賦 *Luling guangdian fu* (*Lou ling kouang tien fou*) of 王延壽 Wang Yanshou (Wang Yen-cheou). But in 676-678, the commentary of *Hou Hanshu* (*Heou han chou*) (chapter 70 下, f° 2 r°) writes 曰. On the other hand, the fragmentary manuscript of 經典釋文 *Jingdian shiwen* (*King tien che wen*) that is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris shows that 曰 is not a graph due to 衛包 (*Wei Pao*), and that this was already, towards the year 600, the usual reading of the text in *guwen* (*kou wen*) of the pseudo-Kong Anguo (K'ong Ngan-kouo) (on this ms. of *Jingdian shiwen* [*King tien che wen*], see my article of *Mém. concernant l'Asie orientale*, vol. II [1916], pp. 123-177; for the spellings 粵 and 曰, see also 古文尚書撰異 *Guwen shangshu zhuan yi* [*Kou wen chang chou tchouan yi*] of 段玉裁 Duan

Yucai [Touan Yu-ts'ai] [1735-1815], in the 皇清經解 *Huangqing jingjie* [*Houang ts'ing king kiai*], chapter 567, f°1 r° and v°. The script used by the author of our inscription, and which is found in other Tang (T'ang) inscriptions, would therefore seem to be archaic not only in relation to *Wei Bao's* (*Wei Pao's*) *Shujing* (*Chou king*), but also in relation to the text that was glossed in the VIIth century by 陸德明 Lu Deming (Lou Tö-ming) and 孔穎達 Kong Yingda (K'ong Ying-ta); I am not sure that this is so, and that one of the spellings is really more “*guwen*” (“*kou wen*”) than the other. Anyway, on this point, it seems to me certain that it is not without intention that our author, summarizing from a Christian point of view the history of the world since the creation, places in the heading of his story the two same words with which the *Shujing* (*Chou king*) opens and, with the *Shujing* (*Chou king*), the history of the world according to ancient Chinese tradition.

3 (3) There is an absolute parallelism between the two members of the phrases beginning with “eternal” and “inaccessible”. Most of the attributes that our text gives to the person of God are borrowed, as terminology, from Laozi (Lao-Tseu), who characterized by them the *dao* (*tao*), the Way. See Havret, III, 11-12. The same terms will be found partly in line XXVI, in the first stanza of the versified eulogy. Of all the earlier translations, that of Fr. Havret is the only one which, in this passage, took into account the details of the Chinese construction. Still, I cannot agree with Fr. Havret that 真 *zhen* (*tchen*) should be understood adverbially here. Mr. L. Giles (*Bull. Sch. Or. Lang.*, 1917, p. 93) has proposed translating *zhen* (*tchen*) here by

“pure”. It is certain that, in Daoism, the word *zhen* (*tchen*) includes the idea of “non-mixing”; the *zhenren* (*tchen-jen*), the “true man”, is the one who has arrived at the truth of his nature by rejecting all that could trouble him. Fr. Havret already rightly referred to this point in chap. 31 of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) (see Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, II, 198, Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 487). But I do not see why, at least in French, we have to renounce the usual translations of *zhen* (*tchen*) by “*vérité*” (truth) or “*véritable*” (true), which are well adapted to these nuances, and many others, for example that of “*supernaturel*” (supernatural) that the Daoist “*vérité*” (truth) also implies (see Alekseev, *Kitaiskaya poëma o poëté*, p. 7). When the Ascension is rendered in Chinese by “he ascended to Truth” (line 8), we would gain nothing by translating as “*il s'éleva à la Purité*” (he ascended to Purity). Both are only explained in terms of Chinese philosophical or religious theories, which may diverge more between themselves than the poverty of an apparently identical technical vocabulary may lead us to believe. As for the word 寂 *ji* (*tsi*), it responds to the ideas of “calm” and sometimes “silence”; the versified part of the inscription uses in the parallel passage, the dual expression 湛寂 *zhanji* (*tchan-tsi*), which has the same meaning. Fr. Havret quoted, from the 佩文韻府 *Peiwen yunfu* (*P'ei wen yun fou*), two examples where the words *zhen* (*tchen*) and *ji* (*tsi*) are used side by side. The translation of *ji* (*tsi*) by “firm”, adopted by Mr. Saeki, is without foundation.

4 (3a) No one has yet reported any other example of 先先 *xianxian* (*sien-sien*) or 後後 *houhou* (*heou-heou*), but I consider it to be practically certain that the first *xian* (*sien*) and

the first *hou* (*heou*) must be taken to have a verbal function. Fr. Havret is right to recall here Sec. 25 of the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö king*) on the *dao* (*tao*) that existed “before the heaven and the earth” (先天地生). “Any-origin” (“toute-origine”) and “any-end” (“toute-fin”) must not only be understood as the appearance and disappearance of individualized beings, but of all aspects of things.

5 (3 bis) 窅然靈虛 *yao ran ling xu* [*yao-jan ling hui*]. “The far-seeing perfect intelligence” (Wylie); “incomprehensible in His intelligence and simplicity” (Legge); “inaccessible and pure spirit” (Havret). Mr. L. Giles (ibid., p. 93) proposed “profoundly immersed in spiritual vacancy”, and added that, in agreement with a passage of the *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) where the commentary indicates for 窅然 a pronunciation *mianran* (*mien-jan*), it was probably necessary to read here also *mianran* (*mien-jan*) and not *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) (as Fr. Havret had read). I am not convinced that these remarks by Mr. L. Giles are valid, either from a semantic or a phonetic point of view. In the passage in question of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*), the phonetic glosses that are also ancient (they came down to us through the intermediary of 經典釋文 *Jingdian shiwen* (*King tien che wen*), which dates from the first half of the VIIth century) hesitate between *yao* (*yao*) and *mian* (*mien*), and I cannot currently see any decisive reasons for choosing between them. As for the meaning of *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) or *mianran* (*mien-jan*) in the *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*), the gloss preserved in the *Jingdian shiwen* (*King tien che wen*) is 悵然 *changran* (*tch'ang-jan*), “disappointed”, and it is this one that has passed into the *Kangxi zidian* (*K'ang-hi tseu tien*). The paraphrase of Fr.

Wieger (*Taoïsme*, II, 213 “he recognized that he had ruined everything”) is perhaps less inaccurate in substance than it is in form, compared to the already older translation of Mr. H. Giles who said that the emperor Yao (Yao) “was plunged in abstraction”. As for the version of Legge (*The Texts of Taoism*, II, 172), where *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) is rendered “his deep-sunken oblivious eyes”, I doubt that would convince anyone. But, that said, for the passage of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*), it does not seem to me that our inscription is inspired from this. A well-chosen allusion should not only reflect the terms but also evoke reconciliation with the whole text from which it is drawn. Yet, there is no reason to apply to God the Father an epithet concerning the Emperor Yao (Yao) when the eyes of this same have just opened to the truth. Pan Shen's (P'an Chen's) commentary (while quoting the passage from *Zhuangzi* [*Tchouang tseu*]) gives for the inscription the pronunciation *yao* (*yao*) with the meaning of “deep and distant”. This explanation seems to me to be the right one. Apart from the passage of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) quoted above and where 窅, taken in a very special sense, may perhaps have read *mian* (*mien*), the expression *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) is found in other texts of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) as an epithet of *dao* (*tao*), and it is from this use of the expression that our inscription is certainly inspired. Mr. Alekseev, who found *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) in the fifth of the “Twenty-four poems” of 司空圖 *Sikong Tu* (Sseu-k'ong T'ou), already quoted (*Kitaiskaya poëma o poëté*, p. 78) these passages of the *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) (chapter 22, Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 392, 398); Legge (*The Texts of Taoism*, II, 63, 70) translated *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) by “deep” both times; Mr Alekseev himself adopted “without

substance". This only pays attention to a part of the gloss "deep and far". Besides, it seems to me that in this usage, 窅 *yao* (*yao*) is the equivalent of 窈 *yao* (*yao*); the possibility of this equivalence is evidenced by the fact that 窅窅 *yaoyao* (*yao-yao*) and 窈窈 *yaoyao* (*yao-yao*) are written indiscriminately. Yet we read in *Liezi* (*Lie tseu*) (chapter 6, see Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 156-157) 窈然無際天道自會, 謨然無分天道自運 "infini et sans contours, le tao céleste se rassemble spontanément; immense et sans divisions, le tao céleste se meut spontanément" (infinite and without contours, the celestial *dao* gathers spontaneously; immense and without divisions, the celestial *dao* moves spontaneously). I do not otherwise guarantee the detail of this translation of the *Liezi* (*Lie tseu*); in particular it may be that *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) could have been translated as "insaisissable" (elusive) and not by "infini" (infinite); I only claim that the *yaoran* (*yao-jan*) of the inscription is the same as that of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) and *Liezi* (*Lie tseu*); the attributes of God the Father, here again, are those of the celestial *dao* (*tao*). Only leaving *lingxu* (*ling-hiu*). Since Mr. L. Giles, and rightly in my opinion, sees in *zhenji* (*tchen-tsi*) two adjectives juxtaposed in the first sentence member, it must in principle be the same here; I cannot therefore support "spiritual vacancy". The word *ling* (*ling*) designates the divine quintessence of the soul; it is the definition of the commentary of *Shijing* (*Che king*) by 鄭玄 Zheng Xuan (Tcheng Hiuan), recalled here by Pan Shen (P'an Chen) 神之精明者稱靈; see *Shisanjing zhushu* (*Che san king tchou chou*), ed. 1815, *Shijing* (*Che king*), XVI, V, 4 v°; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, IV, II, 456). As for *xu* (*hiu*), with a literal meaning of "empty": it is one of the most difficult terms of Daoist philosophy

to render. Legge has rendered it here by "simplicity"; Fr. Havret (III, 11) used "independence" once; Mr. L. Giles spoke of "absolute" and "unconditional". The 1st chapter of *Liezi* (*Lie tseu*) (Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 76-77, and especially the commentary of 張湛 Zhang Zhan (Tchang Tchan) in the edition of the "Ten Philosophies", Ch. 1, f° 9 r°) renders *xu* (*hiu*) as a state that is neither being nor non-being, neither action nor inaction. My translation by "impassibilité" (equanimity) is mainly inspired by the beginning of the 20th section of *Hanfeizi* (*Han fei tseu*). Fundamentally, the idea of this phrase seems to me to be in keeping with Fr. Havret's somewhat free translation: God is a "pur esprit" (pure spirit).

6 (4) 妙有 *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*). Fr. Havret (III, 13) pointed out the commentary that 王弼 Wang Bi (Wang Pi) gave of this expression, in the IIIrd century, in his commentary of Laozi (Lao tseu). "On appelle (le *dao* [*tao*]) l'Être transcendant. C'est que si on veut dire qu'il est, on ne voit pas sa forme; ce n'est donc pas l'être; aussi le qualifie-t-on de 'transcendant'. Si on veut dire qu'il n'est pas, c'est de lui que les choses tirent leur origine; ce n'est donc pas le non-être; aussi le qualifie-t-on d'être. Ainsi c'est l'être dans le non-être. On l'appelle l'Être transcendant" (One calls (le *dao* [*tao*]) the transcendent Being. It is as if one wants to say that it is the being, one does not see its form; it is therefore not the being; we also refer to it as 'transcendent'. If one wants to say that it is not, it is from it that things derive their origin; it is therefore the non-being; we also refer to it as a being. So, it is the being in the non-being. It is called the transcendent Being.) The word 有 *you* (*yeou*) normally means "the being". 妙 *Miao* (*Miao*) has the

meaning of “admirable” adopted by Fr. Havret, but also that of “tenu” (fine), “subtil” (subtle). The commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) to the first paragraph of Laozi (Lao-tseu) glosses *miao* (*miao*) by “the extremity =of subtlety” (妙者微之極也 the 10th lithographic reissue of the *Wenxuan* [*Wen siuan*] published by Hongwen shuju [Hong-wen-chou-kiu], and which is the one I currently have, has here in chap. 11, f° 2 r°, 妙者極之微也 which must be a simple mistake. It is not the only one in this passage). I therefore think that the translation that I have decided on is sufficiently justified; it has a technical meaning, and the word *miao* (*miao*), as we shall see, enters into the very expression by which the Chinese Nestorians designated the first person of the Trinity; concerning line XII Pan Shen (P’an Chen) gloss *miao* (*miao*) by 不可思議 *buke siyi* (*pou k’o sseu-yi*), which is the usual translation of *acintya*, “inconceivable”. However, there is a question of rather surprising origin arises concerning the expression *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*) that we have here. Fr. Havret, without referring, it seems, to Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) own commentary, borrowed the passage from the citation made by Li Shan (Li Chan) in 658, chap. 11 of his commentary of *Wenxuan* (*Wen siuan*), concerning a phrase of 遊天台山賦 *Yu Tiantaishan fu* (*Yeou t’ien t’ai chan fou*) of 孫綽 Sun Chuo (Souen Tch’o (6th C; and not of the prince Zhao Ming [Tchao-Ming] of the Liang [Leang], as Fr. Havret says); but this passage is not found in Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) commentary of Laozi (Lao-tseu) that we currently have. In the commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) to the 14th paragraph, we certainly have a similar text (欲言無耶而物由以成。欲言有耶而不見其形。故曰無狀之狀無物之象也) but from where the

characteristic expression of *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*) is absent. On the other hand, the *Peiwen yunfu* (*P’ei wen yun fou*) cites, with some variations of form, the text that Li Shan (Li Chan) attributes to Wang Bi (Wang Pi), but by putting it in the account of Laozi (Lao-tseu) himself. This is certainly an error, although it probably goes back to compilations which preceded the *Peiwen yunfu* (*P’ei wen yun fou*); the text in question is not found in Laozi (Lao-tseu), and moreover has all the appearance of a gloss; except that this gloss supposes in the commentary text the very expression of *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*), which itself is not found in the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö King*). I can only come up with provisional solutions. The text of the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö King*), even since the VIIth century, has undergone certain alterations (especially Sec. 31), and there have also been several reviews; it is possible that one of the reviews contained the expression *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*). As for Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) commentary, the oldest of the current commentaries of Laozi (Lao-tseu) (see on this subject *T’oung Pao*, 1912, 399-400), all the modern editions are derived from an edition of the 12th C, the shortcomings and imperfections of which were acknowledged by the author itself; it is therefore possible that the passage invoked by Li Shan (Li Chan) disappeared from this commentary between the 7th and 12th C, precisely because the expression *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*) was no longer in the review of Laozi (Lao-tseu), called the *Heshanggong* (*Ho-chang-kong*), who took it out. We shall see further on, by a passage of line XXI, that the author of our inscription seems to have known the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö King*) in a review different to that of 河上公 *Heshanggong* (*Ho-chang-kong*), and which would be precisely that of

Wang Bi (Wang Pi). The manuscripts of Dunhuang (Touen-houang) contain ancient texts of Laozi (Lao-tseu); perhaps they will allow us to arrive at more precise solutions. Be that as it may, the expression *miaoyou* (*miao-yeou*) was very popular under the six Dynasties and under the Tang (T'ang); I cite for example the great poet of the 8th C, Li Bo (Li Po), reproduced by the *Peiwen yunfu* (*P'ei wen yun fou*), and where we find expressions that our inscription also uses: 妙有分二氣 “L'Être transcendant a divisé les deux principes” (The transcendent Being has divided the two principles).

7 (5) In the current characters, the forms of the inscription correspond to the 總玄樞 *zong xuan kou* (*tsong hiuan chou*); Fr. Havret (III, 13) corrected Legge's reading error. The form of the Xi'anfu (Si-ngan-fou) inscription for the first character is expressly noted, next to others, in the 碑別字 *Bei bie zi* (*Pei pie tseu*) of 羅振鋆 Luo Zhenyun (Lo Tchen-yun) (chap. 3, f° 1 r°); other variants are to be found in the 碑別字補 *Bei bie zi bu* (*Pei pie tseu pou*) of Mr. Luo Zhenyu (Lo Tchen-yu) (chap. 3 f° 1 r°) and in the 金石文字辨異 *Jinshi wenzi bianyi* (*Kin che wen tseu pien yi*) of 邢澍 Xing Shu (Hing Tchou) (ed., of *Juxuexuan congshu* [Tsiu hio hiuan ts'ong chou] chap. 7 ff. 1-2). This last work (chap. 2, f° 13 r°) also cites, but according to other inscriptions, examples of the form that the 3rd character has in our text. The translations have varied considerably: “operating on primordial substance” (Wylie); explorant, de ses mains puissantes, les abîmes ténébreux du monde” (exploring, with his powerful hands, the dark abysses of the world) (Pauthier); “souverain moteur, il a pris en mains le mouvement originel” (sovereign engine, he took the

original movement in hand) (Dabry de Thiersant); “with His hands operating in the mysterious (abyss of space)” (Legge); “sustinet mysticum cardinem” and “détenant en ses mains une mystérieuse puissance” (holding a mysterious power in his hands) (Havret); “the holder of the mysterious source of life” (Moule); “holding the Secret Source of Origin” (Saeki); “that which controls the hidden axis of the Universe” (L. Giles). Pan Shen's (P'an Chen's) commentary glosses *zong* (*tsong*) by 聚 *ju* (*tsiu*), “gather”, and *xuanshu* (*hiuan-chou*) by the “unfathomable divine power” (玄樞謂神妙莫測之權能也). I hesitated for quite a long time. I was first inclined to take 樞 *kou* (*chou*) in its literal meaning of “axis” (by thinking of the “*dao* (*tao*) axis” of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*), chap. 2, see Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 218), as Fr. Havret did (in his literal Latin translation) and especially Mr. L. Giles. As for *zong* (*tsong*), here I leaned towards the translation of “tenir en main” (hold in the hand) which is that of Mssrs. Moule and Saeki. The phrase “tenir en main l'axe mystérieux” (hold the mysterious axis in the hand) would then have had a precise value. In ancient Chinese cosmogony there was a column supporting the sky or a “column of Heaven” (天柱 *tianzhu* [*t'ient-chou*]) that had been broken during the revolt of Gonggong (Kong-kong) at the time of Nüwa (Niu-wa) (see Chavannes, *Memoires historiques*, I, 11-12, *Liezi* (*Lie Tseu*), in Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 131, *Huainanzi* (*Houai nan tseu*), ed. of “Cent philosophes” (Hundred philosophers), chapter 6, f° 4 r°). Under the Tang (T'ang), Empress Wu (Wou) had erected the 天樞 *tiankou* (*t'ien-chou*), or “axis of the sky”, which will be discussed in another chapter, and this *tiankou* (*t'ien-chou*) was a huge column of bronze. The Chinese regarded

the world as turning around an axis, whose stars near the pole marked the extremity; hence the name of *tiankou* (*t'ien-chou*) has been extended to several of these stars (see Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise*, pp. 503, 525); Fr. Havret already wondered whether there was not a connection to be made between these stars and the *xuanshu* (*hiuan-chou*) of the inscription. In the end, I think we have to give up on this explanation. Let us first note that *xuanshu* (*hiuan-chou*) has never yet been found for *tiankou* (*t'ien-chou*) (Mr. Saeki says that *xuanshu* (*hiuan-chou*) is a common expression; it would have been good if he had indicated some reference); there is therefore no identification to be made here. But above all, the meaning of *zong* (*tsong*) does not seem to me to be reconcilable with this hypothesis. The word *zong* (*tsong*), to my knowledge, has never been used in the simple sense of “hold in the hand”, like 持 *chi* (*tch'e*), or 秉 *bing* (*ping*) or 執 *zhi* (*tche*); *zong* (*tsong*) literally means “to gather into a bundle”, from where arises the figurative meaning of “to gather under one’s authority”, “to direct”, “to be [or to be placed] at the head of”; we will see this meaning again in lines XI and XXIV. Mr. L. Giles felt the difficulty when he adopted “controls” and not “holds”. But it is obvious that for the unique axis of the world, “controls” has little imagery and that one would specifically expect there to be a word in Chinese that really means “hold in the hand”. We are also in the very first stage of the Creation; the “axis of the sky” does not exist yet. The word 樞 *kou* (*chou*), apart from its literal meaning of “axis”, is used in its figurative meaning of “power which causes action, which sets in motion” (主轉動者 as Pan Shen [P'an Chen] has said); this seems to me to be the case here. God draws creation

from himself; it is in a way the concentration, the concretisation of his power; in other words, he “gathers his power” in order to make Creation. It seems to me that this translation, which has the advantage of being justified from the point of view of the Chinese language, fits better than any other with the development as a whole.

8 (6) 造化 *zaohua* (*tsao-houa*), “make and transform”, is found in the *Daodejing* (*Tao tō king*). It is a very acceptable expression for rendering the idea of “Creation”. More directly, the author of the inscription must have been inspired by the beginning of 魏都賦 *Weidu fu* (*Wei tou fou*) (chapter 6 of *Wenxuan* [*Wen siuan*]). This is not an ex nihilo creation in Daoism, nor a conscious and personal work. All things preexist in power and are organised according to the order of the world.

9 (7) 妙眾聖以元尊 *miao zhongsheng yi yuan zun* (*miao tchong cheng yi yuan tsouen*). The Latin and French versions of Fr. Havret are not absolutely identical: “mirificat omnes sanctos, ipse prior venerandus”, and ““admirable dans ses saints, lui le premier digne d’hommages” (admirable in his saints, he the first worthy of homage). For the expressions, see Havret, III, 14. It is certain that *miao* (*miao*) has a verbal function here; Legge and Havret are right in admitting that the author was inspired by this passage of the Appendices of *Yijing* (*Yi king*) (ed., 1815 of *Ruan Yuan* (*Jouan Yuan*), chapter 9, f° 6 r°): which Legge translates (*Sacred Books*, vol. XVI, p. 427): “When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things”. The comments leave no doubt as to what the Chinese of the Tang

(T'ang) meant by *miao* (*miao*) in this passage; this verb *miao* (*miao*) verb represents here the action of the Spirit *zhen* (*tchen*), which animates the inert matter of objects *wanwu* (*wan-wou*), and which thus refines and enlarges them. The “saints” are to be understood here in the broad sense of the creatures whose conduct is directed by divine inspiration. These “saints” are penetrated by the divine majesty, they have it as a reflection, and I see no reason to go against the letter of the Chinese text by agreeing, with Legge and Havret, that “the divine majesty” is here a kind of apposition to the subject, which supposes a literal translation that is difficult to justify. As to the very meaning of *yuanzun* (*yuan-tsouen*), there have been divergences in the translations: “inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honourable” (Wylie); “Himself the great adorable” (Legge); “lui le premier digne d’hommages” (Him the first worthy of homage) (Havret); “In His supreme majesty” (Moule); “The only unoriginated Lord of the Universe” (Saeki). Saeki is absolutely incorrect in proposing that *yuanzun* (*yuan-tsouen*) is a borrowing from Jingjing (King-tsing) from Buddhism; it is in reality a term of Daoism, as Fr. Havret has shown, even more so since, according to the *che-tsouen* of the Buddhists, the Daoists were able to pound upon it. In any case, it is not really a title in the inscription. Mr. Moule seems to agree with me. From the Christian point of view, Fr. Havret has brought our text closer to the passage from Psalms, IV, 4, “Mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum”.

10 (8) On the construction 者。其唯 ... 歟 see Havret, III, 14-15.

11 (9) 妙身 *miaoshen* (*miao-chen*); on this expression, see *supra*, p. [missing].

12 (10) 三一 *sanyi* (*san-yi*), see *supra*.

13 (10 bis) Fr. Havret (p. 19) says that he did not find any examples of 真主 *zhenzhu* (*tchen-tchou*) prior to the Tang (T'ang); but the expression is already in the *Hou Hanshu* (*Heou han chou*) (chap. 45, f° 2 v°), where “true lord” is equivalent to “legitimate sovereignty”.

14 (11) 阿羅訶 *Aluohe* (*A-lo-ho*); see *supra*, p. [missing].

[DOCTRINAL SECTION]

15 (12) 判十字 *pan shizi* (*p'an che-tseu*), literally “he divided [by] the character ten”. The character “ten” has the form of a cross, and Fr. Havret (III, 22) precisely recalled this passage from *Shuowen* (*Chouo wen*): “Dix est le nombre complet. Le trait horizontal marque l'Est et l'Ouest; le trait vertical marque le Sud et le Nord; ainsi les quatre points cardinaux et le centre sont au complet” (Ten is the complete number. The horizontal line marks the East and the West; the vertical line marks the South and the North; thus the four cardinal points and the centre are complete.) But at the same time, the “character ten”, *shizi* (*che-tseu*), due to its shape, was the designation of the cross both under the Tang (T'ang) in the Mongol era and in our times. We will find the cross thus formally designated in the inscription itself, on line VIII, and it will again be related to the cardinal points. To me, it therefore seems, contrary to the opinion of Mssrs. Saeki and L. Giles, but in agreement with Wang Chang (Wang Tch'ang), Yu Zhengxie (Yu Tcheng-sie) and Fr. Havret, that

the author of the inscription was inspired by the very symbolism of the cardinal points to insinuate that, from the Creation, God had revealed the importance of the Christian sign. This is also the opinion of Dr J. Steele (*Bull. Sch. Or. Lang.*, 1918, p. 16). The cross will reappear, always in relation to the cardinal points, in the Nestorian inscription of Zhenjiang (Tchen-kiang), written in 1281. Certain Gnostic sects seem, moreover, to have given a value to the cross in their cosmogonic speculations; see for example Pugnion, *Inscriptions mandaites*, p. 222: “[Les adeptes de Battai] disent que la croix est le secret de la limite entre le Père de la Grandeur et la terre inférieure” ([The followers of Battai] say that the cross is the secret of the boundary between the Father of Greatness and the lower earth.) Some modern works concerning Eastern religions and containing notions similar to this one had to be translated into Chinese, undoubtedly by the Protestant missions, because Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) insists here on the role that the cross would have played in the Eastern religions prior to Christianity; he sees Nestorianism as having borrowed, through the intermediary of the Gnostic sects, the role of the cross in determining the cardinal points, and finally that Jingjing (King-tsing) has invoked here “the two principles” because in China he found the yin and yang, that is to say, a dualism analogous to that which had influenced him in Persia. All this, adds Yang, has nothing to do with the true Christianity. While there may be some truth in Yang Rongzhi’s (Yang Jong-tche’s) reasoning, it may be exaggerated, and the detail of the arguments is often imprecise.

16 (13) 二氣 *erqi* (*eul-k'i*), that is to say the two principles, luminous and male, obscure and female. For the expressions, see Havret, III, 23-24; see also the beginning of the versified part of the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple. I translated 元風 *yuanfeng* (*yuan-fong*) by the “Souffle primitif” (primitive breath). Fr. Havret, in the same way as Dabry de Thiersant and Heller, had wondered if there was not here an allusion to *Genesis*, I, 2: “Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas”. If he did not decide on this in the end it is because he did not think it was established that 風 *feng* (*fong*) had ever meant *ruach*, “Breath”, “Spirit”, of the Bible. But we have seen above [see p. (missing)] that this interpretation can no longer be doubted, and that the Holy Spirit must certainly be understood in particular by Jingfeng (Tsing-fong), by “Pure Wind”, “Pure Breath”. Pan Shen (P’an Chen) agrees with me (元風, 上帝之靈也). It therefore seems to me right that *yuanfeng* (*yuan-fong*), no more than Jingfeng (Tsing-fong) in fact, is attested in Chinese outside of Western-inspired texts (the Confucian expression corresponding to *yuanfeng* [*yuan-fong*] is 元氣 *yuanqi* [*yuan-k'i*]) was used by the Nestorians to render the idea of the “Spiritus Dei” of *Genesis*.

17 (14) For the parallels of *Genesis* and the Chinese expressions used here, see Havret, III, 24-25.

18 (15) 匠成万物 *jiangcheng wanwu* (*tsiang-tch'eng wan-wou*). See the parallels of Havret, III, p. 25. The form 万 of 萬 *wan* is frequent from the Han onwards. For the first term, together with the indications of Fr. Havret the end of the commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) in the 41st paragraph of Laozi. I

found *jiangcheng* (*tsiang-tch'eng*) in a poem by [陸龜蒙] Lu Guimeng (Lou Kouei-mong) (*Quan Tang shi* [*Ts'iuian t'ang che*], ed. lithograph of 1887, chap. 23, f° 38 v°): 魚骼匠成尊 “A cut was made from a fish bone”. I translated *wanwu* (*wan-wou*) by the “dix mille êtres” (ten thousand beings); *wu* (*wou*) designates all of the shapeless objects, the animate and inanimate, therefore beings as well as things, although this latter meaning is more usual today; man is generally a category apart; see the expression 人物 *renwu* (*jen-wou*), “men and things”. *Wanwu* (*Wan-wou*) is found frequently in the *Yijing* (*Yi king*), in *Laozi* (*Lao-tseu*), etc.

19 (16) 然立初人 *ranli churen* (*jan-li tch'ou-jen*). I adopted, without much conviction, the explanation of Fr. Havret for the first expression, for want of anything better. One could be tempted to explain 然 *ran* (*jan*) in the sense of “then only”, “next”; God created all beings, and “next” he erected the first man. The meaning would be excellent, but the parallelism of this clause and of the precedent would then be very defective. On the other hand, the gloss of *ran* (*jan*) by *cheng* (*tch'eng*), “réaliser” (to achieve), “achever” (to complete), invoked by Fr. Havret, would require confirmation by texts. But I cannot agree with the hypothesis of *ran* (*jan*) taken here to mean “to light up”, “to endow with the spark of life”, which was proposed by Mr. L. Giles. Pan Shen's (P'an Chen's) commentary (while glossing *ran* [*jan*] by “next” here, as does Yang Rongzhi [Yang Jong-tche] also) says that this word is not right (未安) and argues that there is some fault in the inscription; nor is this a very probable solution either. *Churen* (*Tch'ou-jen*) is clear but has not been found elsewhere; the expression

could have been made up by Jingjing (King-tsing) or his collaborators; I would rather believe that it was part of the technical vocabulary of the Chinese Nestorians under the Tang (T'ang). *Li*, “to erect”, normally applies to the action of the heaven over beings (see [鶡冠子] *He guanzi* [*Ho kouan tseu*], ed. of Cent philosophes, Sec. 6, f° 10 r°: 天者萬物所以得立也).

20 (16 bis) 良和 *lianghuo* (*leang-houo*). “Excellent disposition” (Wylie); “bonté et sociabilité” (goodness and sociability) (Pauthier); “the harmony of all good qualities” (Legge); “integritatis harmonia” and “l'intégrité et l'harmonie (des facultés)” (the integrity and harmony [of faculties]) (Havret); “goodness and just temperament” (Moule); “excellent disposition” (Saeki). As we see, some translations considered the two words *liang* (*leang*) and *huo* (*houo*) to be juxtaposed, while others put them in the constructed state. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) glosses by 良知 *liangzhi* (*leang-tche*) and 中和 *zhonghuo* (*tchong-houo*), “innate knowledge” and “equanimity of mood”. The expression has not been found elsewhere, and I would readily believe that it had been adopted by the Nestorians in the Chinese version of the holy books to mark the state of innocence of Adam before sin. I propose it was the “harmony” of man's nature with the Creator's nature before sin.

21 (17) 化海 *huahai* (*houa-hai*), “creaturarum universitas”, “l'immensité des créatures” (the immensity of creatures), says Fr. Havret (III, 22, 25-26); such was already the version of Wylie; such was also that of Mssrs. Moule and Saeki. A very different interpretation can be found in Pauthier (“les

mers transformées” [the transformed seas]), Dabry de Thiersant (the “quatre mers” [four seas]), and Legge (“the ocean depths [now] transformed [into the earth]”), which invoke on this subject the first chapter of *Genesis*. The expression of our inscription is not attested to in this way anywhere else. Theoretically, it can be interpreted as “transformed seas” or “ocean of transformations”. But, on the one hand, *hua* (*houa*), when a word like 變 *bian* (*pian*) is not joined to it, indicates a moral transformation rather than a material one; in addition *hai*, “sea”, “ocean”, is constantly used to design all that is vast, abundant: one has 法海 *fahai* (*fa-hai*), the “ocean of the doctrine”, as well as 韻海 *yunhai* (*yun-hai*), the “ocean of rhymes”. I therefore agree with Fr. Havret and propose that our inscription is here employing a figurative language and refers to the “l’ocean des [êtres] qui se transforment” (the ocean of [the beings] that are transformed), that is to say, all creatures. But I do not believe, contrary to what Fr. Havret would suggest, that the author may have wanted to suggest at the same time, on a subsidiary level, the transformation of the oceans. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says of *huahai* (*houa-hai*). “[This term] remains unexplained; it must designate the world (世界 *shijie* (*che-kiai*))”; Pan Shen (P’an Chen) simply glosses by *shijie* (*che-kiai*).

22 (18) 渾元之性 *hunyuan zhi xing* (*houen-yuan tche sing*). See Havret, III, 26. The expression *hunyuan* (*houen-yuan*) is used frequently in ancient Chinese texts to designate the world at its beginning, but it was part of the Chinese Nestorian vocabulary; it will be seen later that it enters into the title of one of the Christian works which had been

translated into Chinese under the Tang (T’ang) and whose list was preserved for us after the *Hymn to the Holy Trinity*.

23 (19) 虛而不盈 *xu er bu ying* (*hiu eul pou ying*), literally “was empty and was not filled”. Here are the previous translations: “was pure and unostentatious” (Wylie); “il était simple et sans orgueil” (he was simple and without pride) (Pauthier); “void of all ambitious preoccupation” (Legge); “humble et sans enflure” (humble and without pomposity) (Havret). Pan Shen (P’an Chen) explains *xu* (*hiu*) by “humility” (謙抑) and *ying* (*ying*) by pride (驕滿). It is exact that *ying* (*ying*) glossed by “pride” is contrasted to *qian* (*k’ien*), “humility” in a text of *Yijing* (*Yi king*) (ed. of *Shisan jing zhushu* [*Che san king tchou chou*] of 1815, Chapter 2, f° 32 r°; Legge, *The Yi King*, p. 226). But in philosophical texts, especially in the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö king*) and its commentaries (Sec. 15 and others), it seems to me that the metaphor is living, and represents the accumulation of worries and impressions that come to “fill up” the individual nature and risk making it “overflow”. In *Lunyu* (*Louen yu*) (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, I, 203), one reads an apparently analogous sentence 虛而為盈 but where *xu* (*hiu*) is a fault and not a quality, like it is here. I have some doubt about the exact equivalence to be adopted in our text.

24 (20) 素蕩之心 *sudang zhi xin* (*sou-tang tche sin*). The expression *sudang* (*sou-tang*) is awkward; it has not been found elsewhere. It has been rendered by “unsullied and expansive” (Wylie); “pur, large” (“pure, broad” (Dabry de Thiersant); “unstained and capacious” (Legge); “simplex magnusque” (Havret); “unstained and unostentatious”

(Saeki). Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says that *su* (*sou*) is “pure whiteness” and that *dang* (*tang*) is equal 坦蕩 *tandang* (*t'an-tang*), “peaceful”. Pan Shen's (P'an Chen's) commentary interprets *su* (*sou*) by “white colour” (白色) and *dang* (*tang*) by “rejecting defilements” (去垢穢). *Su* (*Sou*) means “off-white”, “undyed”, “white”, and, in the figurative sense, “simple”. All the translations, except that of Mr. Saeki, have given *dang* (*tang*) a meaning that I only know for the compound word 蕩蕩 *dangdang* (*tang-tang*), yet, in literary language the meaning of these dual expressions is not self-evident from the isolated word. The “reject the defilements” of Pan Shen (P'an Chen) is not attested to except in combination with 滌 *di* (*ti*), “to wash”. On the other hand, *dang* (*tang*) is found in ancient times in connection with “heart”, but then it has a sense of “overflow [with agitation]”, “to spread”, which, from the point of view of the ancient conceptions of Chinese philosophy, implies a fault and not a quality. Thus, in the *Zuozhuan* (*Tso tchouan*) (4th year of the duke Zhuang [Tchouang]; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, X, I, 76-77; Couvreur, *Tch'ouen ts'iou*, I, 133-134), King Wu [Wou] of Chu [Tch'ou] comes to tell his wife: “Mon coeur déborde [d'agitation] 余心蕩)” (My heart is overflowing [with agitation]); and his wife then predicts his imminent end, adding: “Ce qui est plein déborde; telle est la voie du Ciel” (What is full will overflow; this is the way of Heaven) (i.e. the natural order of the world) (盈而蕩。天之道也); we will note how much the terminology of the *Zuozhuan* (*Tso Tchouan*) is here close to that of *Laozi* (*Lao tseu*). The *Peiwen yunfu* (*P'ei wen yun fou*) (s.v. 心蕩 *xindang* [*sin-tang*]) cites a passage of 新論 *Xinlun* (*Sin-louen*) of 劉勰 Liu Xie (Lieou

Hie) (early VIth century) which is no less specific: 神靜而心和。心和則形全。神躁而心蕩。[心蕩]則形傷 “Quand l'esprit est calme, le coeur est harmonieux, et si le coeur est harmonieux, le corps est intact; quand l'esprit est agité, le coeur déborde, et si le coeur déborde, le corps est endommagé” (When the spirit is calm, the heart is harmonious, and if the heart is smooth, the body is intact; when the mind is agitated, the heart overflows, and if the heart overflows, the body is damaged.) It does not seem, therefore, that the *dang* (*tang*) is a very appropriate epithet to characterise the happy and peaceful state of man before sin. That is why, without guaranteeing that my explanation is the right one, and possibly accepting that of Pan Shen (P'an Chen), but not that of the European translators, I think that the important word of the binomial *sudang* (*sou-tang*) must be *su* (*sou*), “candid”, and *dang* (*tang*) would only be connected to it as a secondary word, and by analogy with the expressions 平蕩 *pingdang* (*p'ing-tang*), 坦蕩 *tandang* (*t'an-tang*), 洩蕩 *yidang* (*yi-tang*), where the first term has the meaning of “uni”, and in this secondary value leads to the second term. The parallelism between the two phrases which are about “nature” and “the heart” is imperfect, in any case.

25 (21) 娑殫 *Suodan* (*So-tan*) (**Sa-tan*) regularly transcribes the Syriac form *Satanna*. This is so far the only example of this name that is found in ancient Chinese texts. There is no need to look for a secondary semantic value in the Chinese phonetic transcription, contrary to what Fr. Heller supposed (p.44) on the faith of Bridgman. The notes of M^{gr} Maurice, inserted in Havret, II, 111 et seq., mention Xi'anfu (*Si-ngan-fou*), in a Lamaist

temple, “a temple of Sa-tan, Sa-tan-tien”, and it seems that Mr. Maurice thought of the name of Satan; but it is almost certain that it is a modern Chinese transcription of a Tibetan name whose first element must be its “land” (Sa-ldan?).

26 (21 bis) 施妄 *shiwang* (*che-wang*). “Introduced the seeds of falsehood” (Wylie); “usant des ruses” (using ruses) (Dabry de Thiersant); “employed his evil devices” (Legge); “den Samen der Luge ausstreute” (spread the seed of the lie) (Heller); “disséminant ses fraudes” (spreading his frauds) (Havret); “the propagator of falsehood”; “employed his evil devices on him” (Saeki). Despite being found in several translations, the idea of “seed” is absent from the original. The word *shi* (*che*) is commonly used in the sense of “to use”, “to apply”; 施色 *shise* (*che-sö*) is “add some colour”, etc. The only exact translation is that of Dabry de Thiersant. Pan Shen (P'an Chen) simply glosses 施 *shi* (*che*) by 用 *yong* (*yong*), “to use”.

27 (22) 鈿飾純精 *tianshi chunjing* (*t'ien-che chouen-tsing*). “To deteriorate his purity of principle” (Wylie); “revêtant des formes séduisantes, a attaqué sa simplicité, sa pureté naturelle” (taking on seductive forms, attacking his simplicity, his natural purity) (Dabry de Thiersant); “a glamour was thrown over that pure and fine nature” (Legge); “seine ursprüngliche Reinheit zu entstellen” (to distort his original purity) (Heller); “se para de l'ornément emprunté d'une pure essence” (dissimulates himself by borrowing the ornament of a pure essence)” (Havret); “borrowing the adornment of pure spirit” (Mold); “Man's pure and stainless [nature]

was deteriorated” (Saeki). The translations are thus divided into two groups: most translators relate *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*) to the “purity” of the first man before sin and give *tianshi* (*t'ien-che*) the meaning of “to deteriorate”. Fr. Havret, followed by Mr. Moule, see it as consisting of the appearance of purity given by Satan, who is transfigured into “angel of light”, and Fr. Havret invokes that *tian* (*t'ien*) designates an “ornément de métal” (ornament of metal) and that *shi* (*che*) means “chercher à paraître ce qu'on n'est pas” (trying to appear what one is not). a Tchen also said that *tian* (*t'ien*) designates an “ornament made with golden flowers”, but simply gives *shi* (*che*) the meaning of “to be adorned”. In reality, the value given by Fr. Havret to *shi* (*che*) could only be a derivative meaning necessitated by the context, as *tianshi* (*t'ien-che*) has a defined and quite different meaning. The true meaning of *shi* (*che*) is “to decorate”, “to adorn”. As for *tian* (*t'ien*), it does in principle designate an ornament of metal, but in the era of the Tang (T'ang), it combined with *shi* (*che*) into an expression *tianshi* (*t'ien-che*) which meant “to decorate by enchasing (or watermark, or inlay)” and was also written 填飾 *tianshi* (*t'ien-che*). Both forms are recorded and glossed in the 音義 *yinyi* (*yin-yi*) of the Chinese *Tripitaka*: for example, that of our inscription in chap. 40 of 一切經音義 *yiqie jing yinyi* (*yi ts'ie king yin-yi*) of 慧琳 Huilin (Houei-lin) (but in a part dating back to the middle of the VIIth century, *Tripitaka* of Tōkyō, 為, IX, 51 r°), the second in the 大方廣佛花嚴經音義 *dafang guangfo huayanjing yinyi* (*ta fang kouang fo houa yen king yin yi*) of 慧苑 Huiyuan (Houei-yuan), almost contemporaneous with our inscription (*Tripitaka* of Tōkyō, 為, X, 131 v°, 137 v°). As an example, I will quote this gloss which is

from Huilin (Houei-lin) himself (circa 800 AD), and is in chap. 54, (f° 121 r°) of his *yinyi* (*yin-yi*), in connection with the expression 珠柄拂 *zhubing fu* (*tchou-ping fou*), “pearl-handle fly swatter”: “If we say ‘pearl-handle’, it is because we adorn the fly swatter by enchasing *tianshi* (*t’ien-che*) the handle with pearls and jade”. In the *Jiu Tangshu* (*Kieou t’ang chou*) (chap. 45, f° 1 r°), it concerns leather inlaid with gold and jade (金玉鈿飾). There is therefore no reason to adopt the meaning of “seeking to appear what one is not” put forward by Fr. Havret; *tianshi* (*t’ien-che*) only means “adorn with ornaments”. Only leaving *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*), whose interpretation is more doubtful. At the end of his gloss of this paragraph, Pan Shen (P’an Chen) says that Satan “has given himself the appearance of good without mixing” (橋裝純善), thus seeming to approach that of Fr. Havret, but before that he gives a completely different interpretation. Pan Shen (P’an Chen) cites a passage from a commentary on Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) *Dongdu fu* (*Tong tou fou*), where, on the subject of the appearance of a wonderful white pheasant, this commentary says: “The bird is the essence *jing* (*tsing*) of the pure luminous [principle] *chun* (*chouen*)” (鳥為純陽之精 and Pan Shen (P’an Chen) adds, reasoning by analogy: “The serpent can likewise be called the essence *jing* (*tsing*) of the pure obscure [principle] *chun* (*chouen*)” (按蛇亦可稱純陰之精也). Thus “pure essence” would not be that of man before sin, nor the luminous essence borrowed by Satan, but his own “essence” of “pure” darkness. Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) reasoning has not convinced me. First, his quote is inaccurate. It is true that in the “poetry on the white pheasant” which ends the *Dongdu fu* (*Tong tou fou*) of Ban Gu (Pan Kou) *Hou Hanshu*

(*Heou han chou*), chap. 70 下 f° 5 r°; *Wenxuan* (*Wen siuan*), end of chap. 1), it is said that this bird is “lighter and brighter than pure essence” (容潔朗兮於淳精, such is the text in *Hou Hanshu* [*Heou han chou*] and in the ed. of works by Ban Gu [Pan Kou] in *Han wei liuchao bosan mingjia ji* [*Han wei lieou tch’ao po san ming kia tsi*]; the *Wenxuan* [*Wen siuan*] has 純 *chun* [*chouen*] for the penultimate character; these two words are frequently used interchangeably). It is in this respect that the commentary of *Hou Hanshu* (*Heou Han Chou*) cites a phrase from 孝經元命包 *Xiaojing yuan ming bao* (*Hiaoking yuan ming pao*): “The raven is the essence of the luminous [principle]” (鳥者揚之精). There is no mention of the bird in general (鳥 *niao* [*niao*]), but of the raven 烏 *wu* (*wou*), and this phrase of *Xiaojing yuan ming bao* (*Hiao king yuan ming pao*) (which is also cited in the *Peiwen yunfu* [*P’ei wen yun fou*], s.v. 陽精) does not contain the word *chun* (*chouen*). If the commentary invokes it, it is to explain the metaphor of “pure essence” by which Ban Gu (Pan Kou) has just recalled another auspicious bird, the 素烏 *suwou* (*sou-wou*), “white raven”, which was briefly discussed above in his poem (for a passage from the *Songshi* [*Song che*] where the use next to 素烏 *suwu* [*sou-wou*] and 純精 *chunjing* [*chouen-tsing*] is visibly cited from Ban Gu’s [Pan Kou’s] poem, see *Peiwen yunfu* [*P’ei wen yun fou*], s.v. 玉鳥). Thus, it is not birds in general that are “the essence of the luminous principle” but the raven. And this privilege is because there is a raven in the sun; yet the sun and the fire are “the essence of the luminous principle”, just as the moon and the water are “the essence of the obscure principle”. Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) 純精 *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*) is understandable only because he has

spoken of the raven before and there is a tradition relating the raven to the “essence of the male principle”: that is to say the sun. But, in our inscription, Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) hypothesis would assume that the serpent is metaphorically designated as the “essence of the principle [implied: obscure]”, whereas there has been no mention of a serpent before, and that, to my knowledge, no text exists that makes the serpent into a special emanation of the obscure principle. Instead, Wang Chong (Wang Tch’ong) in the 1st century placed the serpent in relation to fire, that is to say, with the male principle (see Forke, *Lun-hêng*, I, 105; Chavannes in *T’oung Pao*, 1906, 79-80). I do not mean to say that we could not find texts talking about the serpent, like that about the turtle, the cold, the North, the darkness, etc., but there is nothing characteristic enough about it to be able to state it in the present case. On the other hand, the expression of 純精 *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*) is known outside of the special value it takes on in Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) text. Fr. Havret had already referred to two examples given in the *Peiwen yunfu* (*P’ei wen yun fou*) (s.v. 純粹精). The oldest is drawn from the “Dissertation sur les qualites et les défauts des fondateurs des deux dynasties Han (Han)” (Dissertation on the qualities and defects of the founders of the two Han dynasties), that is, Gaozu (Kao-tsou), of the Western Han (Han), and Guangwu (Kouang-wou) or Shizu (*Che-tsou*), of Eastern Han (Han); this piece is from 曹植 Cao Zhi (Ts’ao Tche) (192-232), and it reads: 世祖體乾靈之休德。稟貞和之純精 “Shizu (*Che-tsou*) incarnated the excellent virtue of the celestial soul, he was endowed with the pure essence of virtuous harmony”. The other example is part of a piece of 楊炯 Yang Jiong (Yang Kiong) (late VIIth century), and it says:

風雷海岳之純精。天地陰陽之正氣。 “Wind and thunder are the pure essence of seas and mountains; heaven and earth are the unaltered emanations of *yin* (*yin*) and *yang* (*yang*)”. What is meant by “pure essence”? *Chun* (*Chouen*) signifies “pure” in the sense of “simple”, “without alteration”, “without complication”; *jing* (*tsing*) represents the purified, sublimated elements of beings, but they are material elements; if this is otherwise in the text of Cao Zhi (Ts’ao Tche) it is because he uses the expression in the figurative sense. In any case, I cannot therefore accept the “pure essence” of Fr. Havret, because of the immaterial idea that this expression suggests to us. Has Satan now disguised himself by means of a “pure essence”? Or has he hidden his “pure essence” in the sense of his “true nature”? Or, finally has he altered by vain ornaments the “pure essence”, that is, the simple and pure original nature of our first parents? The first version, which is that of Fr. Havret, does not seem acceptable to me. That St. Paul transforms Satan into an angel of light; however, this is not here a term from Genesis, but the Genesis where Satan appears in the form of the serpent, which evokes neither “pure essence” nor “essence pure”. On the other hand, I am reluctant to admit that “pure essence” can be the true nature of Satan; *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*), in our text, can only apply in my opinion to a virtuous state. It only remains to suppose, along with the great majority of previous interpreters, that *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*) applies to the first man; this is also the opinion of Yang Rongzhi’s (Yang Jong-tche’s) commentary. The first man was primitively simple and pure. Satan came and adorned him with ornaments, to be naturally understood as deteriorating him by pretending

to add new perfections to him. In the end I think these are here the “vain ornaments” the splendours of Satan, which are washed off by baptism (see below, line VIII).

28 (23) 間平大於此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內 *jian ping dayu ci shi zhi zhong; ximing tongyu bifei zhinei* (*kien p'ing-ta yu ts'eu che tche tchong; k'i ming-t'ong yu pei fei tche nei*). These two parallel clauses have deservedly appeared very obscure. Here are the principal previous translations: “the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious” (Wylie); “a breach wide and great was made in its judgements of what was right, and it was drawn, as through an opening, into the gulph of (Satan’s) perversities” (Legge); “diduxit rectitudinis dignitatem ab hujus boni medio, admisitque confusionis similitudinem cum suae perversitatis statu”, et “ouvrant une brèche dans cette grandeur morale, au milieu de cet heureux état, il y introduisit la ressemblance de la confusion” [opening a breach in this moral greatness, in the midst of this happy state, he introduced the resemblance of confusion] (Havret); “disturbed the great (moral) equilibrium in (man’s) goodness by the introduction of the likeness of confusion (which was) in his own wickedness” (Moule); “the perfect attainment of goodness on the one hand, and the entire exemption from wickedness on the other became alike impossible for him” (Saeki); “[Satan] cunningly held out hopes of happiness greater than that to be found in this [i.e. Adam’s] state of righteousness, but introduced darkness similar to that existing in his own state of sin” (L. Giles). To all these versions, I will add that of Palladius, of which

we have never spoken about before. Palladius explained this passage in his article *Starinnye slédy Khristianstva v Kitaé* (Ancient traces of Christianity in China) (*Vostočnyĭ sbornik* [Eastern collection, vol. I, p. 8]). His literal translation is: “He [Satan] has set aside the greatness of equality in what is so (*v tom čto tak*); he has opened the confusion in what is not so (*v tom čto ne tak*)”; and he glosses: “In other words, [Satan] made man forget that by executing the [divine] commandments he would maintain equality with the Divinity (the divine image and likeness), and promised him that by disobedience to the commandments, he would be identical to God”. Of all these interpretations, and not to mention other even worse aberrations of which I have said nothing, that of Fr. Havret, inspired by the old Chinese commentary of Fr. Diaz and followed in turn by Mr. Moule, and on the other hand by that of Palladius, are the only ones to construct the Chinese sentence correctly. The rigorous parallelism of the two sentences makes it necessary to see in 間 *jian* (*kien*) and 隙 *xi* (*k'i*) two words which respond to each other, and the construction itself leaves no doubt that these two words are taken verbally here. *Jian* (*Kien*) means “interval”, “separation”, and *xi* (*k'i*) is literally a “crevice” in a wall. The two words unite into one expression *jianxi* (*kien-k'i*) which means in the figurative sense either “occasion”, or more rarely “leisure” (cf. *jianxi* (*kien-k'i*), “occasion”, in sec. 27 of *Mouzi* (*Meou tseu*) [[see *T'oung Pao*, 1920, 317]], or the developed expression 伺間候隙 “watch out for the occasions”, or “disaccord” (see the dictionary of Giles). The existence of this expression suffices to show that, in our text, the two words must not only play the same grammatical role, but have, in my opinion,

virtually identical meanings. The translation of Palladius and that of Fr. Havret gives *xi* (*k'i*) a meaning roughly opposite to that of *jian* (*kien*); I think this is wrong. The two words must mean “to move apart”, that is to say to have for regime the object itself that one dislocates, or on the contrary “to interpose”, that is to say applied to what one inserts into the slot of the dislocated object. To come to a decision, let us look at the rest of the two sentences. The expression *cishi* (*ts'eu che*) and *bei fei* (*pei fei*) are clear enough, if not as to what they mean here, at least as far as their literal meaning is concerned. Fr. Havret has already recalled the analogous expressions of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) (Chapter 2) and *Liezi* (*Lie tseu*); the comparison in fact is necessary and we find it in the commentary of P'an Tchen. *Cishi* (*Ts'eu che*) is “this which is good”; *bei fei* (*pei fei*) is “that which is bad”. Leaving the two other expressions that correspond to each other, *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*), literally ‘equal size’, and *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*), literally ‘mysterious identity’. Mr. L. Giles was wrong, I think, in trying to dissociate *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*) and *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*), (*Bull. Sch. Or. Lang.*, 1917, 95-96; 1918, 17), and previous translators have not all “strangely missed” the grammatical construction of this passage. If we cut it, as Mr. Giles proposes, *ping* (*p'ing*) and *ming* (*ming*) remain all alone and insufficiently determined; the meaning of *jian* (*kien*) no longer corresponds to that of *xi* (*k'i*); finally, *zhizhong* (*tche tchong*) and *zhinei* (*tche nei*) not only have no reason any longer to be at the end of the clause, but even hinder the grammatical construction if we do not add 者 *zhe* (*tchö*) or an analogous word to their sequence. Moreover, although the Chinese are often mistaken in the interpretation of a text, it

is rarer that they misunderstand its construction and its rhythm, and the two commentaries of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and of Pan Shen (P'an Chen) have been well-constructed like those of most European translators. We will therefore keep *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*) and *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*). *Pingda* (*P'ing-ta*) is not attested to elsewhere in the texts. I had thought for a moment, considering the frequent ancient use of 大 *da* (*ta*) for 太 *tai* (*t'ai*), to read *pingtai* (*p'ing-t'ai*), and to compare it with the 平太 *pingtai* (*p'ing-t'ai*) (Wangbi's [Wang Pi's] text) or 平泰 *pingtai* (*p'ing-t'ai*) of Sec. 35 of *Daodejing* (*Tao tö king*); but the inscription regularly distinguishes *da* (*ta*) and *tai* (*t'ai*), and there is no reason to assume that this passage is an exception. So, finally, I am settling on *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*), a new expression which was probably part of the technical vocabulary of the Nestorians under the Tang (T'ang); *ping* (*p'ing*) is determinative of *da* (*ta*) as 並 *bing* (*ping*) would be; in the same way we have 平行 *pingxing* (*p'ing-hing*) and 並行 *bingxing* (*ping-hing*), 平肩 *pingjian* (*p'ing-kien*) and 並肩 *bingjian* (*ping-kien*) etc. Having acquired these literal translations, what do they mean? Yang Rongzhi's (Yang Jong-tche's) commentary gave a complicated and bizarre explanation. *Cishi* (*Ts'eu che*) would mean “this [heart here that] holds for true [the words of Satan]”, and *bei fei* (*pei fei*) would mean “this [heart there that] holds for false [the words of God]”. The word *jian* (*kien*) would signify “to interpose” and the word *xi* (*k'i*) “to open the road of disaccord”. (開嫌隙之路) The “equal greatness” would be “equality with God” (侔於上帝) promised by Satan to Adam. The “mysterious identity” would be the “secret” “obscure identity”; Satan promised man that he would be the equal of God,

but “in reality [man] thus becomes secretly identical to the demon” (而暗中實同於魔鬼也). The commentary of P'an Tchen, where we find the expression 乘間伺隙 seems to have interpreted *jian* (*kien*) and *xi* (*k'i*) with the meaning of “take advantage of”, “take the pretext for”. *Cishi* (*Ts'eu che*) is for him man faithful to the orders of God; *bei fei* (*pei fei*) is man after he has given in to the advice of the demon. *Pingda* (*P'ing-ta*) is the equality with God promised by the demon (可與上帝並大). For *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*), P'an Tchen proposes a singular theory. We have in *Huainanzi* (*Houai nan tseu*) and in [文中子] *Wen zhongzi* (*Wen tchong tseu*), two very similar passages, in which primitive man, uncertain of himself (冥冥 *mingming* [*ming-ming*]), with an unsteadiness of gait, still in ignorance of the early ages of (侗然 *tongran* [*t'ong-jan*]); P'an Tchen proposes 冥同 *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*) to be 冥伺 *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*); we will not decide on this hypothesis which is not based on anything. Let us now see what there is to be taken from these different interpretations. The first point of importance seems to me to be the explanation of *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*) by “equality with God”. Palladius had already adopted this literal version but understood by this to be the mere resemblance of “ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit ilium”. I believe that Palladius's gloss is incorrect; *pingda* (*p'ing-ta*) really implies “equal greatness”, not simple “resemblance”, and it seems to me that Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and Pan Shen (P'an Chen) are right to see the “equality to God” promised by Satan to our first parents. This promise is such a characteristic feature of the temptation that it is quite natural to see it recalled here; on the other hand, its very importance would justify the adoption, on this

subject, by the Nestorians of the Tang (T'ang), of a technical term which only the almost complete disappearance of the Nestorian versions of the holy books has prevented us from finding elsewhere so far. But this meaning, if we adopt it, also determines the value we must give to the verb *jian* (*kien*). There can no longer be any question of “putting aside”, “making a breach”, since this is something new that Satan brings; we will therefore adopt for *jian* (*kien*) the meaning of “insert”, and thereby we will decide on the identical meaning that *xi* (*k'i*) must have at the beginning of the clause; we will render *xi* (*k'i*) by “insert”. Grammatically, we will even gain a construction that is more natural for the end of the clauses; the Chinese text does not only have simple locatives with *yu* (*yu*), but compound expressions that specify that the act is done “in the middle of” and “in the interior of”; it is possible to insert, to make penetrate into “the middle of”; but we separate or remove “from the middle of”; in the ablative sense, the construction adopted by the author of the inscription would not be right, and it would have been better to stick to 於 *yu* (*yu*) alone, without *zhizhong* (*tche tchong*) or *zhinei* (*tche nei*). We therefore have for the first clause a construction and an interpretation which I believe satisfactory: “He inserted the same greatness into the middle of this that was good”. What is meant by the following parallel sentence: “Will he insert the mysterious identity into what was bad”? Fr. Havret has already pointed out that the expression *mingtong* (*ming-t'ong*), “mysterious identity”, is found in a poem quoted by *Peiwen yunfu* (*P'ei wen yun fou*): 簫條象數外。有無自冥同 “Beyond the ruinous characteristics of things, the being and the non-being are in

themselves mysteriously identical". *Mingtong* (*Ming-t'ong*) seems to me moreover to be similar to 玄同 *xuantong* (*hiuan-t'ong*), "the mysterious identity" with the *dao* (*tao*), which is mentioned in Sec. 56 of the *Daodejing* (*Tao tō king*) (see also Alekséev, *Kitaïskaya poéma o poété*, p. 356). There is no reason to look for an allusion to hell. In these conditions, is there any reason to think here of the equality of God promised by the demon, as Palladius proposed, or of the confusion with Satan's state of perversity, as Fr. Havret supposed? I do not think so. Let us first remember that there must be opposition between *cishi* (*ts'eu che*) and *bei fei* (*pei fei*). Since *cishi* (*ts'eu che*) designates the state of man before the temptation, *bei fei* (*pei fei*) necessarily applies to the state of this same man after the fall. But then the two clauses can apply at different times, and not at the sole moment when Satan seduces Adam and Eve. They do not seem to have noticed that the following sentence, which will speak of the various beliefs, begins with a "that is why", of which the previous versions do not render an adequate account. In my opinion, the author of the inscription, which recounts a shortened history of humanity, has only consecrated one clause to the temptation in the earthly Paradise; the second clause is aimed at man already fallen and chased away from Paradise. Satan's action then continues, and he is the one who inspires these beliefs where man, imagining the world system within the limits that his intelligence allows him, strives to establish a "mysterious identity" between the world of appearances and the eternal principle, or, if you will, between the creature and the Creator. This identity, moreover, is no less artificial than the equality with God promised by Satan during the temptation. Both are those

false "ornaments" by which Satan has deteriorated the primitive nature of man. Such is, in the interpretation I propose, the economics of the whole passage, which is thus closely related to what precedes it, while at the same time announcing what follows it. We will see further examples of the care that the author of the inscription has made in managing his transitions.

29 (24) It is obvious, although Legge only proposed it by way of hypothesis, that this figure is based on the number of days in the year. Whether it is about sects or not about types of errors notwithstanding any general doctrine, it would not be necessary to recall whether Mr. Saeki had supported the contrary. When Buddhism talks of 95 or 96 *zhong* (*tchong*), it is indeed 95 or 96 doctrinal sects; it is the same here. The comparison with the number of days of the year may be an image due only to the author of the inscription. Similarly, one of our colleagues recently said that the Pekinese transcriptions are in number "as great as that of the days of the year" (B. Karlgren, *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise*, 16). But it is also possible that the author of the inscription is inspired by Chinese or foreign examples. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says that the figure of 365 must be taken by Jingjing (King-tsing) from the Zoroaster religion. Pan Shen (P'an Chen) states that this figure of 365 remains unexplained, and only compares the passage of *Jiayu* (*Kia yu*) (section 25), which distinguishes 360 kinds of beings in each of the following categories: feathered beings, hairy beings, carapaces beings, scaly beings and naked beings, the man being the head of this last class. Fr. Havret recalled (III, 30) that Confucius had indicated, in the *Appendices* of the *Yijing* (*Yi*

King), the round number of 360 as that of the days of the year and supposes that it is from this passage that the inscription was inspired. The borrowing is not obvious, since many other traditions in the Chinese literature support these same figures, and that moreover the inscription uses 365 instead of the 360 of Confucius. In India, they counted 360 bones for the body of man; Chinese literature itself contains a whole series of texts which recognise in the microcosmic man the correspondence of the macrocosm and attribute to him, among other things, opposite 360 days of the year, 360 “bone items” (節 *jie* [*tsie*]). This is a tradition found in *Hanfeizi* (*Han fei-tseu*), in *Huainanzi* (*Houai-nan-tseu*), in *Gongsun Nizi* (*Kong-souen Ni-tseu*), in the *Jiayu* (*Kia yu*), in the *Chunqiu fanlu* (*Tch'ouen ts'ieou fan lou*), in the *Huangdi suwen* (*Houang ti sou wen*), in *Zihuazi* (*Tseu-houa-tzeu*). *Huainanzi* (*Houai-nan-tseu*), which has for the macrocosm and microcosm the figure of 360 in chap. 3, gives the figure of 366 in chap. 7. As for the actual figure of 365, I have only noted it so far in the first chapter of the ancient medical book entitled *靈樞經* *Lingshu jing* (*Ling chou king*). It is therefore possible that the introduction of the figure of 365 is here of Chinese influence, but it does not seem to me impossible for a tradition of this kind to have existed among the Nestorians. The days of the year could play a role in their stories, since we see that the legend of Bar Šaba, bishop of Merv, had 365 Christian temples built in this city (see F. Nau, in *J.A.*, Sept.-Oct. 1913, p. 452). For the theory of the microcosmic man in the Nestorians, see Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 388.

30 (24 bis) 肩隨 *jiansui* (*kien-souei*) is an expression of *Liji* (*Li ki*), where it indicates that someone who is with a person who is 5 years older than them must be *jiansui* (*kien-souei*), that is to say, walk with them “shoulder to shoulder, [but slightly behind]” (see Legge, *Liji* [*Li ki*], I, 68, Couvreur, *Li ki*, I, 12). The term 結轍 *jiezhe* (*kie-tchö*, “to join the cart tracks”, is taken from the *Qian Hanshu* (*Ts'ien han chou*) (chapter 4, f° 7 v°), where it applies to the imperial envoys whose chariots follow each other and meet on the roads. But Pan Shen (P'an Chen) was right to point out that the two expressions are already used side by side in the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, from which the author of our text has made several borrowings (see above, p. [missing]. We read in fact in this inscription: 澄什結轍於山西。林遠肩隨乎江左矣 “Fotu-deng ([Fo-t'ou]-teng) and Kumārajīva have confused their cart tracks at the west of the mountains; Dao-lin ([Tao]-lin) and Hui-yuan ([Houei]-yuan) have [walked] shoulder to shoulder on the left of the River”.

31 (25) [競織法羅 *jingzhi faluo* (*king tche fa lo*)]. The shape of the character *king* given in the inscription is recorded in the *Jinshi wenzi bianyi* (*Kin che wen tseu pien yi*) (chapter 10, f° 42 v°), which cites another example in another inscription of the Tang (T'ang), that of the 少林寺 *Shaolin si* (*Shao-lin-sseu*). Fr. Havret has already pointed out that we have the expression 競作羅 *jing zuo luo* (*king tso lo*) in the *Zuo zhuan* (*Tso tchouan*) (see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, V, II, 435; Couvreur, *Tch'ouen ts'iou*, II, 228). I do not see any reason, contrary to what Mr. L. Giles thinks, to prefer “false doctrines” to the word “law” or “laws”; we often use “law” in the sense of “religious law”, and the usage has

consecrated such title as the Lotus of the Good Law. The “net of the Law” braided by the 365 sects extends over Heaven and Earth, says Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche), “like the celestial net and the terrestrial nets?” (如天羅地網).

32 (26) 或指物以託宗 [*huozhi wuyi tuozong* (*houo tche wou yi t'o tsong*)]. *Zhi* (*Tche*) means “designate by pointing the finger”, but also sometimes “take a witness”, “swear by”, as Fr. Havret says; for example, he cites (per Fr. Couvreur’s dictionary), we can add the usual expression 指天 *zhi tian* (*tche t'ien*), “to show the sky” (which usually means “to take the sky as witness”), or the more complete formula 指天誓日 “show the sky and swear by the sun” given by the dictionary of Giles. The word *wu* (*wou*) designates any kind of animate or inanimate “object”. The verb *tuo* (*t'o*) means “to rely on”, “to confer”. Only leaving *zong* (*tsong*) remaining, which is less clear. Most translations have rendered the word by “lord”, “master”; it is also by “lord” 主 *zhu* (*tchou*) that the word is glossed, just as in the former commentary of Fr. Diaz, in the notes of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and Pan Shen (P'an Chen). Fr. Havret, while approving the gloss of Fr. Diaz, replaced “lord” by “principle” in his translation; this is undoubtedly because the Lord is also the “principle” of his creatures; the word *zong* (*tsong*) contains both meanings. Perhaps the text is aimed at phrases like that of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*): 以天為宗 but it is doubtful. Mr. L. Giles proposed the following translation: “One sect pretended that Matter was the ultimate principle of the universe”, assuming that they are skeptics like Wang Chong (Wang Tch'ong). But *wu* (*wou*) does

not designate here matter in general; these are specific objects. On the other hand, it is natural that our inscription, as Fr. Havret says, is referring to the cults existing in China; the scepticism of thinkers like Wang Chong (Wang Tch'ong) had no reason to be invoked, especially before any other doctrine. Fr. Havret admits that this concerned here the naturist cults of Daoism. Mr. L. Giles, starting from his idea of materialism, objects that the teaching of Laozi (Lao-tseu) is not materialistic, and proposes looking for Daoism in the following sentence. But we will see that it is Buddhism that this next sentence is certainly referring to. On the other hand, it is not a question of the philosophical theories of Laozi (Lao-tseu), but of the worship which, under the Tang (T'ang), the Daoists rendered to “objects”, that is, to Heaven to Earth, to mountains, to rivers, etc. We thus have no choice but between Daoism and Confucianism, since Buddhism is out of the question. We know the special favour for Daoism under the Tang (T'ang). For my part, I propose that it is mentioned first here, and it is possible that the text simultaneously targets all the idolatrous cults in the world.

33 (27) 或空有以淪二 *huo kong you yi lun er* (*houo k'ong yeou yi louen eul*). In other words, they identify and deny both the being and the non-being. Everyone, including the Chinese commentators, and except Mr. L. Giles, who prioritised Daoism, seems to have suggested that the inscription here refers to Buddhism without any mention of an example of *kongyou* (*k'ong-yeou*). Fr. Havret translated *lun'er* (*louen-eul*) by “plunging into superstition”, which his commentary itself does not make it seem likely to me. I do not see any reason to permit the “were swept into

devious paths” proposed by Mr. L. Giles. Mr. Saeki understood “insisted on ignoring the duality”, and Mr. L. Giles “thus obliterating the duality of Nature”. My translation, which sees in *er (eul)* the being and non-being, agrees with the former Chinese commentary of Fr. Diaz. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) understands *lun (louen)* in the sense of “to sink down”, “bury” (埋沒) and explains *er (eul)* by the “two principles” *yin (yin)* and *yang (yang)*. Pan Shen (P’an Chen) glosses *lun (louen)* by 牽率不分 “pull together without distinguishing them”, that is, merge them; in *er (eul)*, he sees, like Fr. Diaz and myself, the being and the non-being. As for the intention of our author, it is easy to specify; it is sufficient to show what source he has drawn from. At the end of the chapter that he devoted to the countries of the West in his *Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou)*, Fan Ye produced a dissertation widely read in China, and in which he strives among other things to show that Buddhism is overrated, and in short, is inspired by Daoism; it is the one theory which has retained partisans even up to modern times. Yet, among the expressions used in this text to characterize the Buddhist doctrine, we have 空有兼遣之宗 *kong you jian qian zhizong (k’ong-yeou kien-k’ien tche tsong)*, which Chavannes translated (*T’oung Pao*, 1907, 219) by: “Et quant aux principes du vide de l’être et de leur non-existence simultanée...” (And as to the principles of the emptiness of being and of their simultaneous non-existence ...), but that the very commentary of 676 is rendered more precisely by “quant au principe de la suppression simultanée du non-être et de l’être...” (as to the principle of the simultaneous suppression of non-being and being). It is obvious that our inscription here copies the *Hou Hanshu (Heou*

han chou), so it is indeed Buddhism, characterised by the negation of both being and non-being.

34 (28) For the expressions in these two parts of the sentence, see Havret, III, 32. They must be referring to the cult of the ancestors and Confucian morality.

35 (29) See Havret, III, 33. The books of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and P’an Tchen, as well as the edition of the inscription given by Legge, have erroneously used 恩情 *sique (sseeu-ts’ing)* instead of 恩情 *enqing (ngen-ts’ing)*. The special form that the word 役 has in the inscription (with the key 9) is noted in the *Jinshi wenzi bianyi (Kin che wen tseu pien yi)*, chap. 12, f° 12 v°, which cites, in addition, another analogous example of the Tang (T’ang); an example of the Sui (Souei) is noted in the *Bei biezi (Pei pie tseu)* chap. 5, f° 11. Mr. L. Giles (*Confucianism and its Rivals*, 202) renders the first member of the sentence by “wise concern for the future was lost in the confusion”; this is an unjustified paraphrase.

36 (20) 茫然無得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途。久迷休復 (*mangran wude, jianpo zhuan shao, jimei wangtu, jiumi xiufu [mang-jan wou-tö tsien p’o tchouan chao, tsi-mei wang-t’ou, kieou-mi hieou-fou]*). Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) gives the following explanations: 茫然 *mangran (mang-jan)* is “to see nothing”; 煎 *jian (tsien)* is like an object that is fried; 迫 *po (p’o)* is like being questioned in justice; 轉 *zhuan (tchouan)* is to turn around; 燒 *shao (chao)*, is to burn in the fire; it is as if one were turning in a burning pit; ... 亡 *wang (wang)* is to lose; ... 休復 *xiufu (hieou-fou)* comes from the *Yijing (Yi king)*, *gua (koua)* 復

fu (*fou*), and here marks the return to God. Here are now the glosses of Pan Shen (P'an Chen): *mangran* (*mang-jan*), is to have an air of weariness (罷倦貌); *jian* (*tsien*), is to be withered by fire (火乾); ... *xiu* (*hieou*), is not being able (不得); in other words, the followers of these sects "toiled in vain without obtaining anything; their heart was burnt as if they had been burned in the fire; as the one who loses his way in the darkness, they were lost for a long time and could not return to their place of origin". For his part, Fr. Havret translated: "Dans cette activite febrile qui restait sans effet, pousse à bout par ces soucis devorants, et même consumé, on accumulait les ténèbres dans cette voie de la perdition, et l'on éternisait cet éloignement du retour vers le bien". [In this febrile activity which remained without effect, pushed to the end by these devouring worries, and even consumed, the darkness was accumulated in this path of perdition, and this distance from the return to goodness was eternal]. The translation of Legge here is much inferior to that previously given by Wylie, but Fr. Havret is the first to have, I believe, precisely interpreted *xiufu* (*hieou-fou*) by "le retour excellent" [the excellent return], or "le retour vers le bien" [the return to goodness]; the expression is borrowed from the *Yijing* (*Yi king*). However, it seems to me that Fr. Havret, who had the right concern for parallelism and took good advantage of it, was mistaken here, perhaps for the only time in his entire translation, in seeking this parallelism where there was none. Taking these four members of sentences two by two, Fr. Havret spoke of "defective parallelism" between the first and the second, then contested, in the name of this same parallelism, that *wang* (*wang*) could be in verbal function in the third, since *xiu* (*hieou*)

is an adjective in the fourth. The double difficulty vanishes if we approach the text differently, by establishing the parallelism between the first and third members of the sentence, then secondarily between the second and the fourth; the correspondence is then less imperfect, and *wang* (*wang*) can have the verbal meaning of "losing" than the mere reading of the text would naturally suggest. Mr. L. Giles, who saw the difficulties resulting from the false parallelism established by Fr. Havret, kept it however and was thus led to take up the meaning of "not being able to return" for *xiufu* (*hieou-fou*) (Mr. H. Giles did the same in Confucianism, p. 202); this is, in my opinion, impossible, and the commentary of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) is here better than that of P'an Tchen. On the other hand, in my translation, I agree with Pan Shen (P'an Chen) about rendering *mangran* (*mang-jan*) by "wearied with fatigue". Mr. Moule, who had adopted "wearied", is the only one of the earlier translators of the inscription who understood as I do. But we find the same translation of *mangran* (*mang-jan*) for a passage of Sima Qian (Sseu-ma Ts'ien) (*Shiji* [*Che ki*], chapter 44, f° 6 v°) in Chavannes, *Memoires historiques*, V, 176; Mr. Chavannes even gave this meaning to the expression *mangmangran* (*mang-mang-jan*) in the passage of Mencius cited by Fr. Havret, and for which the translations of Legge (*Chinese Classics*, II, 191) and Couvreur (*Les quatre livres* [The Four Books], p. 365) preferred the meaning of "stupid" (stupid), "nigaud" (foolish). *Mangran* (*mang-jan*) is still read in the *Shang linfu* (*Chang lin fou*) of Sima Xiangru (Sseu-ma Siang-jou) (*Shiji* [*Che ki*], chapter 117, f° 10 v°; *Qian Hanshu* [*Ts'ien han chou*], chapter 57 上, f° 11 r°; *Wenxuan* [*Wen siuan*],

chapter 8, f° 47 of the photolith edition of *Hong wen shuju* [*Hong-wen-chou-kiu*]; the meaning is not obvious. Mr. H. Giles rendered the second sentence member by “the fire that oppressed men became a scorching flame”; I do not think that here 轉 *zhuan* (*tchouan*) can have the meaning of “became”.

37 (31) For the interpretation of this sentence which has been so controversial and whose meaning however seems absolutely certain, see *supra*.

38 (31 bis) For other examples of the form that the word 戢 *ji* (*tsi*) has in the inscription, see Havret, III, 40, and especially, for the era of the Tang (T'ang), the *Jinshi wenzi bianyi* (*Kin che wen tseu pien yi*), chap. 12, f° 36 v°. The words 真威 *zhenwei* (*tchen-wei*), “True majesty” have a technical value; *zhen* (*tchen*) has the same meaning as in line III; *wei* (*wei*) enters into 三威 *sanwei* (*san-wei*), the “three Majesties” which is the name of the Trinity in the Nestorian hymn found in Dunhuang (Touen-houang).

39 (32) See Havret, III, 40. Fr. Havret already pointed out that the use in the inscription of 出代 *chudai* (*tch'ou-tai*) for “to come into the world”, here and in the parallel passage of line XXVI, instead of the usual 出世 *chushi* (*tch'ou che*), comes from the fact that, under the Tang (T'ang), the character *che*, tabooed for having been part of the personal name of Emperor Taizong (T'ai-tsong) (李世民 Li Shimin [Li Che-min]), was replaced by *tai*. This detail is also noted in our text by the author of *新編中國歷史全書* *Xinbian Zhongguo lishi quanshu* (*Sin pien tchong kouo li che ts'iuian chou*), 8th part, app., ff. 1-5. It happened, moreover, that a single

character could not cover all the meanings of the tabooed character; this is precisely the case for *shi* (*che*) and *dai* (*tai*); so another substitute character was used. Thus, in a report of 645 or 646 relating to the Sanskrit translation of the *Daodejing* (*Tao tö king*) I proposed (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 413) considering 順俗 *shunsu* (*chouen-sou*) as the equivalent of 順世 *shunshi* (*chouen-che*), *lokāyata*, but without perceiving the reason for this variant; it is clear, however; it is still due to the taboo of *shi* (*che*); but *dai* (*tai*) did not go well here; hence the use of *su* (*sou*). Even more so, in the same text of 645 or 646, we find an expression 出俗 *chusu* (*tch'ou-sou*), and there again I adopted the equivalence of *su* (*sou*) with *shi* (*che*) (p. 412). It is therefore the same expression *chushi* (*tch'ou che*) as in our inscription, but with a different taboo. The reason is that *chushi* (*tch'ou che*) has two meanings; in that of “to be born”, we wrote *chudai* (*tch'ou-tai*) in that of “to leave the world” (to enter into religion), we had to choose another equivalence *chusu* (*tch'ou-sou*).

40 (33) 神天 *shentian* (*chen-t'ien*). See Havret, III, 41; *shentian* (*chen-t'ien*) is in the *Shujing* (*Chou king*). The current name of the angels, in Catholic terminology, is 神天 *shentian* (*chen-t'ien*), “the celestial spirits”, but it is a modern term, and there is no reason to suppose, as does Heller, that two words were erroneously interchanged in the inscription. I do not want to take up again in detail here the discussion of this word, *tian* (*t'ien*), which has been the subject of so many writings over past centuries. Suffice it to recall that *tian* (*t'ien*) is not only the material sky, but also the divinity. On this subject, we cannot neglect the testimony of all the peoples

who have had ancient relations with China and whose languages distinguished the word “sky” from the word “god”. Our habits are somewhat confusing when we translate 天子 *tianzi* (*t'ien-tseu*) as “Son of the Heaven”. The Emperor is at the same time truly divine, and the Hindus have rendered the title by *devaputra*, “Son of the Gods”, the Iranians by Baghaputhra, Fagfur, “Son of God”, the Turks and Mongols by Tängri qaghan, “Divine Emperor”. Similarly, Buddhism called *tian* (*t'ien*) the *svarga* or material sky of India, but also the *deva* or gods. If Indra is sometimes called 天主 *tianzhu* (*t'ien-tchou*), it is not like Lord of Heaven, which is the meaning of the name of *Tianzhu* (*T'ien-tchou*) given today to God in the Chinese terminology of Catholicism, but because he is *devendra*, that is, “lord of the *deva*”. If therefore our inscription, conforming probably to the usual vocabulary of the Chinese Nestorians, uses *zhentian* (*tchen-t'ien*) to mean angel, it is undoubtedly necessary not so much to see a precise memory of the *Shujing* (*Chou king*) for example but an adaptation of the meaning of *deva* which *tian* (*t'ien*) had in Buddhism; the angels have become spirits-*deva* or divine *deva*; I agree with Legge on this point; I cannot agree with the duplication of “spirits and *devas*” by Mr. H. Giles (*Confucianism*, p. 202). I will have to return to *shen* (*chen*) about the Nestorian manuscript preserved today in Japan, whose singular terminology seems quite different from that of the texts known until now; God the Father is called 一神 *yishen* (*yi-chen*), the “One God”. All the translations of the inscription have spoken of “angels” in the plural. But in the text, the sentence follows the incarnation and precedes the birth of Christ; so, I do not think it consists

here of the concert of angels at the birth of Christ, but only of the Annunciation.

41 (34) See Havret, III, 41-42. On Ta-ts'in, see the Introduction.

42 (3 5) 景宿 *jingxiu* (*king-sieou*), see *supra*, p. [missing].

43 (36) 波斯 *Bosi* (*Po-sseu*) (*Pwa-si), transcription of the name of Persia used in China since the middle of the fifth century of our era (and not the second, as Fr. Havret inadvertently said to Bretschneider [III, 42]). On the Adoration of the Magi, in the traditions of Eastern Christians, I intend to return to the chapters relating to Fr. Jean.

44 (37) 圓廿四聖有說之舊法 *yuan ershisi sheng youshuo zhi jiufa* (*yuan eul-che-sseu-cheng yeou-chouo tche kieou-fa*). The “old law” is naturally the Old Testament, whose “twenty-four saints” are supposed to be the authors. See Havret, II, 213-214; III, 44-45. Renaudot had already given an exact note (*Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine*, 244) about the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, where Fr. Kircher (nowadays followed by Dabry de Thiersant) believed, but wrongly, that there was originally a series of twenty-four prophets. In the enumeration of the holy personages or “kings of the Law”, Jews and Christians, which follows the *Hymn to the Holy Trinity*, we shall see again the “kings of the Law [who are] the twenty-four saints” (廿四聖法王 *niansisheng fawang* [*nien-sseu-cheng fa-wang*]). Fr. Havret, in the name of parallelism, wanted to show that a word had gone missing following “saint” during the engraving (or the copy for the engraving) of our inscription. Indeed, taking

the text as it is written, we have *niansisheng* (*nien-sseu-cheng*), which is only three words, to respond to the *sanyi jingfeng* (*san-yi tsing-fong*) found in the following sentence. Mr. Moule further noted that *cheng* was at the end of the column, where it is easier for a word to get omitted. P'an Tchen's commentary also states that he suspects a gap before or after *sheng* (*cheng*). This is not impossible, but I think another solution should be considered. *Nian* (*Nien*) (**nyep*) is one of the rare Chinese compound words, derived from 二十 *ershi* (*eul-che*) (**n'i-z'ep*), and the graphic form in one character can, if necessary, be read in dissyllable just as the two-character form can be read in monosyllable (see *B.E.F.E.-O.*, VI, 411, Duan Yucai (Touan Yu-ts'ai) in *Huangqing jingjie* [*Houang ts'ing king kiai*], chap. 568, ff. 21-22). If we suppose that Lu Xiuyan (Lu Sieou-yen) would have done better here to adopt the long form graphically, from the point of view of reading, we are entitled to place *ershisi sheng* (*eul-che-sseu-cheng*) in front of *sanyi jingfeng* (*san-yi tsing-fong*); this solution, although uncertain, seems to me less improbable than a fault in such a careful text, and I have followed this reasoning in the transcription. The reasoning of Mr. Saeki against Fr. Havret and Mr. Moule is without value. The form 廿 for "twenty" is found in line VIII; there, the commentary of Pan Shen (P'an Chen) indicates the pronunciation *ru* (*jou*); I have given (*B.E.F.E.-O.*, VI, 411) the reasons of this theoretical pronunciation, which has not survived.

45 (38) We have seen above (pp. [204-205, note 39]) that one character was replaced by another in the expression "to come into the world" due to an imperial taboo. Here we

have a similar case, and it is surprising that it has not been indicated. The same citations of Fr. Havret (III, 45) show that we should have 治 *zhi* (*tche*) at the beginning of this phrase and not 理 *li* (*li*). But under the Tang (T'ang), the character *zhi* (*tche*) was tabooed and replaced by *li* (*li*), since it had been the personal name of 李治 Li Zhi (Li Tche), that is to say, Gaozong (Kao-tsong), the son and successor of Taizong (T'ai-tsong); for another example of this same taboo, see below.

46 (39) 設三一淨風無言之新教 *she sanyi jingfeng wuyan zhi xinjiao* (*chö san-yi tsing-fong wou-yen tche sin-kiao*). On the true translation of *Jingfeng* (*Tsing-fong*), which is the Holy Spirit, see above, p. [missing]; the Chinese commentaries, whether those of Fr. Diaz or those of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and P'an Tchen, have in fact never been wrong. *Wuyan* (*Wou-yen*), "without words", has already been likened by Fr. Havret (III, 46) to this sentence of St. Paul (I Cor. II, 13): "Loquimur, non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in doctrina Spiritus". As for the Chinese parallels, as much as the "I do not want to speak anymore", of Confucius put forward by Fr. Havret and Pan Shen (P'an Chen) (*Lunyu* [*Louen Yu*], XVII, 19; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, I, 326), I believe, with Legge and Mr. L. Giles, that it is necessary to bring into play here the 不言之教 *buyan zhijiao* (*pou-yen tche-kiao*), the "doctrine without words", which is mentioned twice by Laozi (Lao tseu) (§ 2 and § 43), and which reappears in chap. 5 and 22 of *Zhuangzi* (*Tchouang tseu*) (Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 242, 388).

47 (40) In this passage, the author of the inscription seems to me to give a rather

interesting interpretation of the two Testaments. He seems to distinguish them not only in their origin, but in their spirit. For him, the Old Testament, that of the “letter”, is a guide to family and national life, according to which we ensure the proper functioning of society. The new law, on the contrary, the ineffable law of the Holy Spirit instituted by the Messiah, is a rule of faith aimed at the moral perfection of individuals. I cannot accept P’an Tchen’s opinion that *jiaguo* (*kia-kouo*), “families and empires” here designate the “kingdom of God”.

48 (41) 制八境之度 *zhi bajing zhi du* (*tche pa-king tche tou*). See Havret, III, 47. The expression *bajing* (*pa-king*) is not common in Chinese, but it also was probably part of the technical vocabulary of the Nestorians under the Tang (T’ang). Since Fr. Diaz, we are in agreement for hypothetically finding the “eight beatitudes”, or eight classes of blessed men enumerated in the Sermon on the mountain. No qualified translator has highlighted these eight degrees of the Nestorian ecclesiastical hierarchy of which Mr. Saeki speaks (193); and Mr. Saeki errs in assuming that Jingjing (King-tsing) borrowed the expression of *bajing* (*pa-king*) from Buddhism, where it would be a possible – but not proven – substitute for 八關齋戒 *baguan zhajie* (*pa-kouan tchai-kiai*), or “octuples precepts”. Moreover, it might be proposed, along with Mr. L. Giles, that the popularity of the Buddhist *baguan zhajie* (*pa-kouan tchai-kiai*) prompted Jingjing (King-tsing) to cite a Christian category where the number eight also appeared; but I am more inclined to believe that the number eight is inspired by the passage of the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, which will be mentioned later. Mr. L.

Giles, moreover, says that *bajing* (*pa-king*) is found, but with a different meaning than in the inscription, in a poem of Su Shi (Sou Che); he gives no reference, and I do not have the necessary works to find the passage quickly.

49 (41 bis) Messrs. H. and L. Giles translated here by “purété” (purity), and this is certainly one of the cases where this is the best translation. The commentary of P’an Tchen also glosses *zhen* (*tchen*) as in this passage by “holy purity” (聖潔). I retained “verité” (truth), with the reservations indicated about line III, in order to render as far as possible a same Chinese word by a same French word. On the technical value of the word, see also Havret, III, 48.

50 (42) 啟三常之門 *qi sanchang zhi men* (*k’i san-tch’ang tche men*). See Havret, III, 48. There are *sanchang* (*san-tch’ang*) like *bajing* (*pa-king*), technical terms that have not survived. The current Chinese language contains a series of 五常 *wuchang* (*wou-tch’ang*), “five constant [virtues]”. Since Fr. Diaz, we identify, and almost surely rightly, the “three constants” to be the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity. The expression of *sanchang* (*san-tch’ang*) has had other uses, in meanings that are very different, in the *Guanzi* (*Kouan Tseu*) (see Havret, III, 48); in the *Bei qi shu* (*Pei ts’i chou*) (see H. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, vol. II, p. 55; *Confucianism*, pp. 202-203); in Manichaeism (see *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 552). Mr. L. Giles was quite right in rejecting (pp. 22-23) the application to our text of the political meaning of *Bei Qi shu* (*Pei ts’i chou*) proposed by Mr. H. Giles, and even more the fanciful interpretation of the *trividhadvara* of Buddhism of Mr. Saeki.

51 (42 bis) For the analogous passages of the Scriptures, see Havret, III, 49. It seems to me that the author of Xi'anfu's (Si-ngan-fou's) inscription has taken the idea of the preceding sentences in the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, there where it concerns the career of Çākṃyamūni. I cite one under the other the two parallel texts; A designates the inscription of the Dhūta Temple, B the inscription of Xi'anfu's (Si-ngan-fou's):

A. 憑五行之軾。拯弱逝川。開八正之門。大庇交喪。

B. 制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。開生滅死。

The “five yen” of the Buddhist inscription are the five yana or vehicles (the humans, the *devas*, the *śrāvakas*, the *pratyekabuddhas*, the *bodhisattvas*); the “eight corrections” are the correction of views, thoughts, words etc. The categories are different, but considering the analogy of the situations, and especially if one remembers that there are other cases where the two texts are similar, the identity of rhythm and sometimes words can only be explained by a borrowing.

52 (43) 懸景日以破暗府 *xuan jingri yipo anfu (hiuan king-je yi-p'o ngan-fou)*. I believe that Fr. Havret is right to see in this sentence a reminiscence of Christ “sun of justice” of *Hebr.*, I, 3, and to remind, moreover, that Saint Augustine applied to Christ and to the apostles the passages of the Psalms XVIII: “In sole posuit tabernaculum suum”, etc. St. Augustine himself and the Chinese texts also make us aware that, according to the Manichaean doctrine, Christ was enthroned in the sun and in the moon (see *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 556). Especially if one compares to the present passage the corresponding passage

of the versified part, it is clear that, in the inscription, the “radiant sun” is Christ himself; we understand, then, that Fr. Diaz thought he recognised in the “he was suspended” of the text an allusion to the Passion; this is also the opinion of Pan Shen (P'an Chen). It should be noted however that the “suspended sun” is found elsewhere, for example in this verse of 貫休 Guan Xiu (Kouan Hieou), cited in the *Peiwen yunfu (P'ei wen yun fou)* (s.v. 佛日): 瞳瞳懸佛日, “Gleaming at the dawn, the sun of the Buddha is suspended”. Fr. Havret has already pointed out an older use of *jingri (king-je)*, “radiant sun” in the *Jinshu (Tsin chou)* (chapter 51, f° 5 v°), but gives an inaccurate translation of it; we should understand: “He made the radiant sun shine to reflect the shapes [of the objects]” (明景日以鑑形兮). Mr. H. Giles (*Adversaria Sinica*, II, 56, and *Confucianism*, p. 203) had proposed translating: “He was suspended like a bright sun”; but I share the objections that Mr. L. Giles has raised against this interpretation. In any case, the image comes from the fact that the Chinese considered the stars as suspended in the firmament; see the inscription of the temple of Laozi (Lao tseu) by 薛道衡 Xue Daoheng (Siue Tao-heng): “We lifted the cables of the sky and we suspended the sun and the moon”; (舉天維而懸日月; Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, II, 312, has “curtain” instead of “cable”; without doubt he confused 維 *wei* [wei] and 帷 *wei* [wei]). Anfu (Ngan-fou), “the empire of darkness”, designates the infernal regions, and there is probably here, as Fr. Havret says, an allusion to “descendit ad inferos”. Whether it is hell itself or limbo (see Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 72-74), we see that the inscription does not use here the Buddhist expression of 地獄 *diyū (ti-yu)*. It is only indirectly that the *po anfu (p'o-ngan-fou)*

recalls the Buddhist and modern Daoist ceremonies of *po yu* (*p'o yu*), "to break the hell" (see Havret, III, 49). The Chinese Manichaeans, on the contrary, had adopted the Buddhist term of *diyu* (*ti-yu*) (see *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 533); taking it as a whole, the vocabulary of Chinese Nestorianism in the VIIIth century appears to us to have penetrated Buddhist terms less than it did the Manichaean vocabulary of the same era.

53 (44) This is indeed a Buddhist word, since 魔 *mo* (*mo*) (**m^wa*) is a typed character to transcribe the very name of Māra. But its usage had become widespread and has lasted in the sense of any "demon". The vocabulary of Chinese Catholicism has retained it.

54 (45) 棹慈航以登明宮 *zhao ci hang yi deng ming gong* (*tchao ts'eu-hang yi teng ming-kong*). *Ci hang* (*Ts'eu-hang*), "the boat of mercy" is found in the VIth century in a poetry of the prince Zhaoming (*Tchao-ming*) of the Liang (*Leang*), describing a "meeting of the law" in the 開善寺 *Kaishanxi* (*K'ai-chan-sseu*): "The wheel of the law illuminates the dark room; the sea of wisdom lets the boat of mercy pass". See also Havret, III, 50-51, and two other examples in Pan Shen's (*P'an Chen's*) commentary. Fr. Havret did not find the expression of *minggong* (*ming-kong*), "luminous palace". But today we know that in Turkish Manichaeism, the sun and the moon were called the "two luminous palaces", and the Manichaean treaty of Beijing uses for their subject the same word *gong* (*kong*), "palace" (see *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 516). We have seen in a previous note how Christ was associated with the sun; the sun can therefore be the "luminous palace" referred to by our text; this "palace" must also be identified with

the Celestial Jerusalem. In agreement with Mr. L. Giles, I understood *deng* (*teng*) in the causative sense, which is perfectly admissible, and I translated by "faire monter" (to be raised up) instead of "s'élever" (to rise up) of Fr. Havret; such was already the translation of Wylie and Legge. It seems clear to me that the "boat of mercy" has no reason to be for Christ himself, but only for those he takes with him. We thus avoid seeking in this passage, in agreement with Pauthier, an allusion to the Resurrection; it could only in fact be the Ascension, but the Ascension is clearly indicated further on. As for the image of the boat of salvation, we still find it in Chinese Manichaeism (see *J.A.*, Nov.-Dec. 1911, pp. 531-533).

55 (46) 含靈 *hanling* (*han-ling*). In his commentary (III, 51), Fr. Havret simply rendered the expression by "l'âme, l'être spirituel" (the soul, the spiritual being); this seems to be an inadvertence that his translation of p. 44 does not reproduce; *hanling* (*han-ling*) means "[the beings] endowed with a soul"; the expression is very usual (see on this subject *B.E.F.E.-O.*, IX, 385), and its omission can only be fortuitous in the dictionary of Couvreur as well as that of Giles. Mr. L. Giles says that *hanling* (*han-ling*) are the souls in limbo "et non tous les êtres intelligents, comme le dit Legge" (and not all the intelligent beings, as Legge says); I am not convinced that this is in fact true, and, in any case, in no way does the term *hanling* (*han-ling*) imply this. Perhaps *hanling* (*han-ling*) is moreover simply one of the borrowings made by our Inscription from the Dhūta Temple, where the expression is found.

56 (47) 既濟 *jiji (ki-tsi)*. Borrowing from the 63rd hexagram of the *Yijing (Yi king)*. *Ji (Tsi)* means “to be saved”, but in the literal sense “to cross”, and thus the image of the boat of salvation continues.

57 (48) 能事斯畢 *nengshi si bi (neng-che sseu pi)*. We have 能事畢矣 in the Appendices of *Yijing (Yi king)*; see Havret, III, 51, but the French translation of this passage of the inscription distorts the meaning by saying “l'oeuvre de la toute-puissance” (the work of the omnipotent one) (*ibid.*, III, 44). The comments of *Yijing (Yi king)* glossed [天下之]能事[畢矣] by 所能之事, “what is possible [in the world]”, “what [the world] is capable of”. We find *nengshi (neng-che)* again in line XXII. The other translations of the inscription seem to me to be as inaccurate as that of Fr. Havret. I do not think that the author of the inscription was directly inspired by the *Yijing (Yi king)*. Rather, he copies much more, once again, from the inscription of the Dhūta Temple that closes its account of the earthly career of the Buddha by 能事畢矣 and then passes onto the *nirvāṇa*, just as this same sentence will be followed here by the mention of the Ascension.

58 (49) It is obviously the Ascension, but “monter à la Vérité” [ascending to the Truth] designates the death of the saints in the Daoist vocabulary (see Shengzhen (Cheng-tchen) in a Daoist cave name cited by Chavannes, *Le jet des dragons*, 154). Fr. Havret (III, 48) and the commentary of Pan Shen (P'an Chen) precisely reminded of the fact that from the 1st half of the IInd century, one of the meanings of *Shuowen (Chouo wen)* is *zhen (tchen)* (“truth”) that of “immortal who transforms himself and ascends to heaven”; the

“immortal” *xian (sien)* is transformed into a “true” *zhen (tchen)* man, and this same is transformed into “divinity” (神 *shen [chen]*). In recounting the life of Christ, the inscription composed in 1655 for the church of Fuzhou (Fou-chou) on behalf of the viceroy 佟國器 Tong Guoqi (T'ong Kouo-k'i) (see Courant, *Catalogue*, No. 1202) is obviously inspired by the inscription of Xi'anfu (Si-ngan-fou) but avoids the Daoist nuance by writing 停五上昇 “at midday he rose up”. Similarly, the graduate Zhang Geng (Tchang Keng), whom has been mentioned above, when he speaks of the death in 1623 of his young son Denis, [*supra*, p. 16], says (Courant, *Catalogue*, No. 1016, IX) that 越停午而厭世神乃上昇 “at midday he separated from the world and his soul rose up”.

59 (50) 經留廿七部 *jing liu nianqi bu (king lieou nien-ts'i pou)*. In agreement with Mr. Moule, I began here a paragraph, because it is a new subject; Fr. Havret had already suspected this division, but without adopting it (III, 53). It seems to me that the very rhythm obligates us. This sentence and the following two are constructed on a uniform model. The number alone of *nianqi (nien-ts'i)* creates an obstacle, but we must consider of *nianqi (nien-ts'i)* as here having, from the point of view of parallelism, the value of a single word. This is a reason which, by analogy, makes uncertain, but does not condemn, the hypothesis that I made above (line VII), when the word *nian (nien)*, which should be read *ershi (eul-che)*, was already found concerning the “24 saints”. The number of 27, for the New Testament books, also corresponds to the Canon of the Catholic Church. This is the solution which had been accepted by all, until recently; it was, however, attacked a few years

ago by the Abbot Nau (*J.A.*, Sept.-Oct. 1913, p. 454, note 2). “Ce passage, à notre connaissance, dit M. Nau, n’est pas expliqué de manière satisfaisante. Il ne s’agit pas des 27 livres du Nouveau Testament, que les nestoriens n’ont jamais reconnus; on a eu tort de conclure des jacobites qui les connaissaient aux nestoriens qui les connaissaient peu. Il s’agit de la division en 27 livres (24 pour l’Ancien et 3 pour le Nouveau) connue par un auteur musulman de Babylonie du IX^e au X^e siècle, par le *Fihrist* et par un manuscrit arabe du Sinai’ (“This passage, to our knowledge”, says Mr. Nau, “is not explained in a satisfactory manner. It is not about the 27 books of the New Testament, which the Nestorians never recognised; we were wrong to conclude that the Jacobites were known to the Nestorians, who knew them little. This is the division into 27 books (24 for the Old and 3 for the New) known by a Muslim author of Babylonia of the IXth to the Xth century, by the *Fihrist* and by an Arabic manuscript of the Sinai”). A little later (*Ann. du Musée Guimet*, conferences of 1913, p. 358), Mr. Nau spoke a little differently. While maintaining that this consisted of the entire Bible, he notes that the Nestorians “ont connu a certaine époque le dernier canon des apôtres traduit du grec en syriaque ou l’on peut compter 27 livres, puisque l’Apocalypse qui manque est remplacée par les 8 livres de Clément (*Octateuque* ou *Constitutions apostoliques*), mais nous ne savons si ce canon a eu grande diffusion chez les nestoriens” [knew at a certain era that about the last canon of the Apostles translated from Greek into Syriac where 27 books can be counted, since the apocalypse which is missing is replaced by the 8 books of Clément (*Octateuque* or *Apostolic Constitutions*), but we do not know if this

canon was widely distributed among the Nestorians.] I do not have the required competence to discuss what went into the New Testament of the Persian Nestorians in the VIIIth century. But it seems that the twenty-four books of the Old Testament are out of the question; they have been mentioned above. It can only consist here of the books considered to have been left by the Messiah, hence the New Testament. The only conclusion to be drawn from them is that the Nestorians knew more about the division of the New Testament into twenty-seven books than we supposed. Most of the Eastern Nestorian manuscripts have disappeared, and the history of their Canon can only be followed with difficulty. Mr. Saeki translated *jing* (*king*) by *sūtra*, there is no more reason to speak of Nestorian *sūtras* than of Confucian or Daoist *sūtras*; *jing* (*king*) is a purely Chinese word.

60 (51) 元化 *yuanhua* (*yuan-houa*), attested in the VIIth century; see Havret, III, 52.

61 (52) 以發靈關 *yi fa lingguan* (*yi fa ling-kouan*). Contrary to what Fr. Havret says (III, 52), Legge is not alone in having misread the last character; it is the same with Wylie, Pauthier, Dabry de Thiersant [[also Schlegel, *Die chines. Inschrift*, 123]]; but the rectification of Fr. Havret and the punctuation he adopts are no more justifiable. It still needs to be translated. Fr. Havret hesitated and his unfinished French version leaves the last word blanked out; in Latin, he gives “ad aperienda spiritualia claustra”. Fr. Diaz had glossed *lingguan* (*ling-kuan*) by “l’axe essentiel de la vraie doctrine” (the essential axis of the true doctrine) (正道之要樞), and he added: “Quand la grande réforme n’avait pas

commence, la vraie doctrine rencontrait beaucoup d'obstacles" (When the great reform had not begun, the true doctrine encountered many obstacles) (大化未開。正道多阻) (Mr. Saeki translated our phrase by "the sealed Gate of the Blessed life was unlocked". *Guan* (*Kouan*) literally designates the crossbar used to close a door (I think that this is the meaning that must be adopted for example instead of that of the complicated "serrures" (locks), in Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, 55); This is how Pan Shen (P'an Chen) seems to understand it here. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jongtche) seems to incline to the very usual meaning of "mechanism" that the word has in the expression 機關 *jiguan* (*ki-kuan*) today, but ancient (see *B.E.F.E.-O.*, IX, 168), judging by its gloss (靈關。良心發動之機關。聞道立信之樞紐). I first thought to translate by "declencher les ressorts de l'âme" [trigger the springs of the soul], but finally the meaning adopted by Fr. Diaz seems to me more natural. The New Testament removed the closing bar which had up to then forbidden access to the spiritual life. This interpretation seems to me to be confirmed by another argument: it is to my mind that the author of Xi'anfu (Si-ngan-fou)'s inscription was probably inspired, here again, by the inscription of the Dhūta Temple, or, concerning the teaching of the Buddha, it is about the "dark bar" 玄關 *xuanguan* (*hiuan-kouan*) and the "mysterious lock" (幽捷 *youjian* [*yeou-kien*]), where the second word is equivalent to 捷 *jian* [*kien*]).

62 (53) 法浴水風 *fayu shui feng* (*fa-yu chouei fong*). Here we find the Spirit rendered by *feng* (*fong*), "wind". For the evangelical parallels on baptism, see Havret, III, 53; we think first of all of *John*, III, 5: "Nisi quis

renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei". This interpretation, even from the point of view of the Chinese text, is more natural than the alternative thought by Fr. Havret (III, 53).

63 (54) 滌浮華 *di fuhua* (*ti fou-houa*). The expression, attested elsewhere in Chinese, is very clear (see Havret, III, 54); it is incorrect to speak of "souillures" (defilements) as Pauthier and Gueluy did, for example. Fr. Havret does not quote here the Western parallel, but it seems to me that the text clearly aims at the formula of renouncing the "pompe" (splendours) of Satan. Such is the opinion of Fr. Heller (*Das nestor. Denkmal*, p. 45). Fr. Heller recalled that, although the Nestorians no longer have this formula, they did possess it formally (Fr. Heller referred to Bickell, *Innsbr. Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.*, I, 1877, 94, and to Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III, 2, 259). I further believe that this passage justifies my translation of line IV: these vain ornaments are those with which Satan had "shielded the pure essence".

64 (55) We find here, as during the creation, the symbolism of the cardinal points determined by the "character ten", that is to say by the cross; see *supra*, pp. [188-189, note 15], and Havret, III, 54-55. Fr. Heller (p.45) proposed referring to the present passage as an allusion to the confirmation, which the Nestorians immediately conferred after baptism (see Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 153); but it does not seem to me very likely that it is the confirmation, a secondary ceremony in the eyes of the Nestorians, that is mentioned here. The "sceau" "seal" seems to me to have been taken here in the figurative sense, as in the *Traité manichéen* [Manichaean treatise] (*J.A.*,

1911, II, 588; 1913, I, 379-380); I do not see in this solution the difficulties mentioned by Mr. L. Giles (*Bull. Sch. Or. Lang.*, 1918, 25-26). As for the passage of line III, Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) sees this to be a heretical opinion specific to the Nestorians; nothing could be less certain. Personally, it seems to me that this “seal”, which unites the four directions, is indeed the cross in general, but also and more specifically the sign of the cross, which played a great role in Nestorianism and which constituted, the authors say, the “seal” of the other sacraments (see Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 132, 162). I do not believe in the version of Legge and Mr. Saeki that these are the disciples visiting the four cardinal points. The four cardinal points are here designated by the expression 四照 *sizhao* (*sseu-tchao*) [thus written in the inscription; there is no reason to adopt, as does Fr. Havret, III, 53, 54, and Mr. L. Giles, *Bull. Sch. Or. Lang.*, 1918, 25, a 炤 *zhao* (*tchao*) orthography], which means “the four luminous [directions]”, and of which Fr. Havret was probably right to research the origin in a passage of the *Yijing* (*Yi king*); this is also Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) opinion. But Mr. L. Giles has also pointed out (page 26) a passage from the *Shanhaijing* (*Chan hai king*) concerning a plant, similar in appearance to a cereal, whose flowers are “tournées vers les quatre directions lumineuses” (turned towards the four luminous directions) (其華四照) and whose name is “céréale de l’égare” (cereal of the astray) (迷穀 *migu* [*mi-kou*]), “en la portant à la ceinture, ajoute le texte, on ne s’égare pas” (by wearing it at the belt, adds the text, we do not go astray). Mr. Giles refrained from commenting. This is not, however, the first time that this text is related to the inscription of Xi’anfu (Si-gnan-fou):

Pauthier, in 1858, bravely translated this passage of the inscription by “la croix qui s’étend vers les quatre points lumineux, comme la fleur *Sizhao* (*Sseu-tchao*)” (the cross which extends towards the four luminous points, like the flower *Sizhao* (*Sseu-tchao*), and Dabry de Thiersant undoubtedly had in view something analogous when he spoke of the “croix s’étendant avec quatre pointes brillantes” “cross extending with four luminous points). At first sight, it may seem bold to return to such a comparison. But in fact, almost all the examples of *Sizhao* (*Sseu-tchao*) cited in *Peiwen yunfu* (*P’ei wen yun fou*) mean the *Sizhao* (*Sseu-tchao*) plant. Moreover, it turns out that “la fleur des quatre directions lumineuses” (the flower of the four luminous directions) (四照之花) is mentioned in this Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, to which the inscription of Xi’anfu (Si-gnan-fou) owes so much. In this state of affairs, I am very much leaning to proposing that our author took the sound *Sizhao* (*Sseu-tchao*), which on the one hand associated the cross with a word meaning “luminous” and, on the other hand, evoked something which, “carried at the belt, prevented one from going astray”. We must not forget that the cross of our inscription, with its terminal pearls, is luminous.

65 (56) Here, the precious commentary of Fr. Havret was interrupted by his death. The “wood that is struck”, 擊木 *jimu* (*ki-mou*), is not, as Pan Shen (P’an Chen) believes, an allusion to the 木鐸 “metal bell struck with wood” but designates the wooden board that was struck and which served as a bell in the ancient Greek Church and among the Nestorians it was called [σημαντρον] in Greek. Its use among Nestorians is perfectly

attested. In the IXth century, for example, we read in Thomas of Marga (*The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, II, 244; also I, LIV-LV, and Moule, *Christian Monument*, p. 102): “And when the sacristan rose up to strike the board to summon the congregation for the office of the night...” In the XIIIth century, William of Rubruck, finding himself in the courtyard of Sartaq, said: “Habet etiam circa se nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam et cantant officium suum” (d’Avezac, *Recueil de voyages*, IV, 263), and elsewhere, concerning the temples of China, the same traveller believes to have found the reason why the Nestorians do not use bells; the Chinese idolaters “habent campanas magnas sicut nos: ideo credo quod orientales christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni autem habent et Greci in Gazaria” (ibid., Fr. 284); see concerning these passages the interesting notes of Rockhill, *The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 116-117, 145. But Mr. Rockhill was misled by the translation of Quatremère, when he invoked a passage from the *History of the Mongols* (pp. 94-95) stating that sometimes the Nestorians used real bells. In the text of Rachid ud-Din, the Persian word is naqus, and the translation of “bell” given by Quatremère is too absolute. Naqus can mean a real bell but applies just as well to the call to prayer board (see Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l’Inde et la Chine* [Stories of travels made by Arabs and Persians in India and China], II, 6). Likewise, Mr. Chabot (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha*, III, pp. 94, 106) speaks of “bells”, but is careful to warn us in note that these are not real bells, but small boards of prayer. In 1600, Fr. Gabriel de San Antonio sees among the “Christians of St. Thomas” “de longs tronçons de bois suspendus en Pair

sur lesquels ils frappent avec des cornes de cerf” (long pieces of wood suspended in pairs upon which they strike deer horns) and which take the place of bells (A. Cabaton, in *Documents relatifs à l’Indochine française*, 1914, page 187). For a mention of the same instrument in the Armenian history of Etienne Orbélian, see Старинные Слѣды христіанства въ Китаѣ, по китайскимъ источникамъ (Ancient traces of Christianity, according to Chinese sources), 2nd book, St. Petersburg, 1873, pp. 64 and 97. It remains only for the use of the bells in the Nestorians, this passage of the letter of Sembat: “Pulsant campanas et percutiunt tabulas”. But perhaps the bells heard by Sembat in the camp of the Mongol ruler were those of Buddhist or Daoist religious persons, and not that of Nestorians. D’Avezac (*Recueil*, IX, 591) says that the Christians of the Kūyūk camp “sonnaient les cloches aux heures d’usage, suivant le rite grec” [sounded the bells at the hours of use, according to the Greek rite]; but the original text of Plan Carpin (p. 767) is less formal: “Pulsant ad horas secundum morem Graecorum”; we can possibly understand this to be any naqus. China had bells, as was reported in Rubruck; but it also had the board. Fr. Heller (p. 45) says, on the authority of Julian and Eitel, that the Chinese name of this board, 犍稚 *jianzhi* (*kien-tche*), corresponds to a Sanskrit *ghaṇṭa*. In fact, *ghaṇṭa* is a barbarism, and if we take into account the ancient pronunciation of *jianzhi* (*kien-tche*) and other transcriptions of the word, we see that it can only be an original *gaṇḍi* or *gaṇḍī*; see the work of Baron A. de Staël-Holstein, *Kien-ch’ui-fan-tsan* (*Gaṇḍīstotragāthā*), St. Petersburg, 1913, forming vol. XV of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*; we find at p. XXI, the drawing of a *gaṇḍī*. Today the board still

exists, but the call in the Buddhist temples of China is done mainly by means of a more considerable apparatus in wood, hollow inside, and that we call 木魚 *muyu* (*mou-yu*), “wooden fish”. The expression *jimu* (*ki-mou*) of our inscription is attested to from the Han onwards; the ancients knocked on wood and stones as a sign of rejoicing. The Chinese authors recognise that *gaṇḍī* has the same amphibology that we have seen for *naqus*: sometimes they render it by “sound bells and stones” (鍾磬), and sometimes by 擊木聲 *jimusheng* (*ki-mou-cheng*), “sound of wood that is struck”, thus employing the very expression of *jimu* (*ki-mou*) which our inscription has; see on this subject the section 雜紀 *zaji* (*tsa-ki*) in the 3rd chapter of 釋氏要覽 *Shishi yaolan* (*Che che yao lan*) completed in 1024. *Renhui* (*Jen-houei*) is no less ancient, both in historical texts and in philosophical literature; it still appears as a religious name on one of the lateral faces of the stele. I am quite led to suggest that, since wood is struck in relation to the recitation of the sacred texts, these are themselves the “sounds of charity and beneficence”.

66 (57) 東禮趣生榮之路 *dongli qu shengrong zhi lu* (*tong-li ts'iu cheng-jong tche lou*). *Dongli* (*Tong-li*) is very clear but appears to have been struck for the needs of the Nestorian cult. On the habit of praying turning to the East, see Ebed-jesu (°Ab^hd-išo°), in A. M[ai], *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, t. X, p. 361; Thomas de Marga, *The Book of Governors*, II, 274; Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 413. The Christian inscription of Zhenjiang (Tchen-kiang), in 1281, insists a bit much on only two points of the Nestorian religion: prayer to the East and the use of the cross. The expression *cheng-jong* is freely

imitated from *Lunyu* (*Louen yu*) (XIX, xxv, 4), and not from Mencius, as Pan Shen (P'an Chen) says: 其生也榮, “During his life he would be glorious”.

67 (58) This curious symbolism does not appear to be of Chinese inspiration; a Western parallel has not so far been pointed out, at least as regards the wearing of the beard. For Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche), it is the ancient usages of Syria and Persia that have contaminated the Christianity of these regions. Mr. Nau (*Ann. Musée Guimet, Confér. de 1913*, p. 359) says that the tonsure was introduced to Nestorian monks by Abraham of Kaškar “towards the year 502”; and he refers, inter alia, to Mr. Labourt (*Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 321) which says of the Persian monks: “Leur signe distinctif était la tonsure. Les nestoriens la portaient en forme de croix pour se distinguer des jacobites. Au dire de Thomas de Marga, c'est à Abraham lui-même qu'il faut faire remonter cette innovation” (Their distinctive sign was the tonsure. The Nestorians wore it in the shape of a cross to distinguish themselves from the Jacobites. According to Thomas de Marga, it is to Abraham himself that this innovation must be traced.) I am not a Syriac literary specialist, but it seems to me that he has let some errors slip into these opinions. If we refer to the introduction made by Mr. Budge at the head of the Thomas de Marga edition, and in the very passage of the text concerning the tonsure (*The Book of Governors*, vol. I, p. CXXXIV; vol. II, pp. 37, 40-41), we will see that Abraham can hardly have introduced the tonsure at 502 due to the simple fact that he was baptized in 502; he must have been very young in age in 502 since he lived until the end of the VIth century (Mr. Budge's

indications did not conform to the dates of 491-2 to 586 given by Mr. Labourt, pp. 316-317), and, on the other hand, it was only a new type of tonsure which henceforth distinguished the Nestorians from the partisans of Severus, that is, from the Jacobites. Moreover, the text is definite in saying that this new tonsure was in the shape of a crown, and this is contrary to that of the Jacobites, according to the notes of Mr. Budge, which is in the shape of a cross. The formulas pronounced when one tonsured the monk, and which are cited by Mr. Budge (“the world is already dead for you”, “Christ will wash away the impurity of your sins”) agree with the symbolism found in the inscription. The Nestorians, again according to Mr. Budge, also knew the “Greek tonsure”, where the whole head was shaved. Our text shows that the Nestorians in China did not practise this in the VIIIth century. It will be noted that this is a rule of interest to the monks, and not the secular clergy; this is an important point for the history of the Nestorian communities in China. We know, on the other hand, that the bonzes are completely shaved and shorn. The expressions of 外行 *waixing* (*wai-hing*), “action outside”, and 内情 *neiqing* (*nei-ts'ing*), “interior passions” have not, to my knowledge, been encountered elsewhere so far.

68 (59) 不畜臧獲 *bu xu zanghuo* (*pou hiu tsang-houo*). Theoretically, *zang* (*tsang*) and *huo* (*houo*) [[the original meaning is uncertain]] are two abusive names applying respectively to male and female slaves; that is why Legge translated: “They do not keep or maltreat slaves, male or female”. But this etymological explanation, which was not agreed upon prior to the Tang (T'ang), does

not prevent *zanghuo* (*tsang-huo*) from having taken very early on, before the Han (Han), the meaning of slaves in general, and without suggesting the idea of ill-treatment; it is certainly this common usage that we must hold on to. Nor, in my opinion, is it necessary to retain the distinction between “esclaves” (slaves) and “captifs” (captives) of Fr. Havret, nor to specify the gender of slaves, as most translators do.

69 (60) 示罄遺於我 *shi qingyi yu wo* (*che k'ing-yi yu wo*). All the translations previous to that of Fr. Havret are poor in this respect; Legge, in particular, has totally misunderstood by understanding it as “but give all they have to our (communities)”. It is obvious that 我 *wo* (*wo*), “me”, is opposed here to 人 *ren* (*jen*), “others”, of the preceding sentence, and that the text, after showing the attitude of the Christians towards others, goes on to refer to their conduct to each other. Fr. Havret translated “montrant en eux-memes l'exemple du devouement et de la générosité” (showing in themselves the example of dedication and generosity). The only difficulty comes from an expression that I read *qingyi* (*k'ing-yi*) and which until now has not been attested otherwise. The second word, meaning “to make gifts”, literally reads *wei* (*wei*); in the hypothesis of Fr. Havret, we should therefore read *qingwei* (*k'ing-wei*) rather than *qingyi* (*k'ing-yi*). But *yi* (*yi*) means “to leave”, “to put aside”, “to detach from”. As for *qing* (*k'ing*), the word means “exhausted”, “empty”. In the end this expression must have been part of the technical vocabulary of the Nestorians, since it enters into the Chinese title of one of the Christian works (perhaps the *Book of Job*?) enumerated following the *Hymn to the Holy Trinity*. Without being able to prove that my

translation is the right one, I adopted it because it seems to me to be word for word a more rigorous translation than that of Fr. Havret. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) strives at length to show that the rules laid down in these two sentences by the inscription are too imperative, and that Christianity strictly imposes neither the return of slaves nor the abandonment of goods. But, without discussing this point, it seems to me that here again we have a series of rules which are aimed not at the laity but at the clergy, and perhaps even at the monks.

70 (61) I do not believe that Fr. Havret, although since then followed by Messrs. Moule and L. Giles, improved the old versions by replacing the words that have generally been translated, as I do here, by “fast” and “by defences” with the vague words of “purification” and “circumspection”. These words 齋 *zhai* (*tchai*) and 戒 *jie* (*kiai*) have always been grouped into an expression *zhaijie* (*tchai-kiai*) whose dissociation is here merely superficial. No doubt, and following the Chinese commentators, they are vaguely translated as “purification” in the oldest texts, those of the *Yijing* (*Yi king*) or *Liji* (*Li ki*), perhaps sometimes due to lack of a precise tradition on the ritual of these purifications. The expression is to be found in the biography of Qin Shi Huangdi (Ts'in Che-houang-ti) in *Shiji* (*Che ki*) (the *Peiwen yunfu* [*P'ei wen yun fou*] gives a false reference to the chapter of the *fang* [*fang*] and *shan* [*chan*] sacrifices), again it is the vague translation “après nous être purifiés” [after we have been purified] which was adopted by Mr. Chavannes (*Mémoires historiques*, II, 152), but nothing guarantees it. In any case, when *zhaijie* (*tchai-kiai*) is found again, concerning Buddhism, in

the last passages of chap. 118 of the *Hou Hanshu* (*Heou han chou*), Mr. Chavannes did not fail this time (*T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 219) to render *zhaijie* (*tchai-kiai*) by “les abstinences et les défences” (the abstinences and the defences); this is the translation of *upavasatha* and *qiksapada*, the two notions were, moreover, quite similar so that, in Turkish Buddhism, the second word plays at the same time the role of the first. On the modern value of “abstinence” and “continence”, see *B.E.F.E.-O.*, III, 467. I think that Nestorianism very naturally took its disciplinary terminology from Buddhism, in the same way as it borrowed the titles of its religious persons here; I have therefore translated as I would have done for a Buddhist text. The Chinese commentaries are moreover unanimous here, that of Fr. Diaz as those of Pan Shen (P'an Chen) and Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche). Pan Shen (P'an Chen) even specifies that there is indeed the general meaning of *Yijing* (*Yi king*), but that *zhai* (*tchai*) means “fast” in a religious text like this; and as for 戒 *jie* (*kiai*), “defences”, he glosses it by 誠 *jie* (*kiai*), and sees in it the Decalogue, just as Fr. Diaz had formerly, and Mr. Saeki had recently. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) understands *zhaijie* (*tchai-kiai*) as “fast and abstinence”, and adds that these are not the practices of early Christianity, but that they had already begun in *Jingjing* (King-tsing). In fact, it will be noticed that there are very precise instructions throughout this passage. Yet there are few Christian communities where, even nowadays, the fast is observed as rigorously as among the Nestorians (see Badger, *The Nestorians*, III, 187-188, 417); there is nothing surprising about it being mentioned in the inscription. Before Fr. Havret, Wylie is the only one who

seems to me to have understood the expression 伏識 *fuzhi* (*fou-tche*), which I translated as “the retreat and the meditation”. Other translators, and Legge in particular, have understood *fu* (*fou*) in the sense of “subduing”; “They fast to subdue (the pride) of knowledge”, says Legge. Although the *fuzhi* (*fou-tche*) is not attested, the expression seems inspired by 默而識之 *mo er zhi zhi* (*mo eul tche tche*), “remembering in silence”, from *Lunyu* (*Louen yu*), VII, 2, especially since *mo* (*mo*) also has the meaning of “withdrawn”, “distanced”. All this, assuming that this is the fast, agrees with the 5th Canon of Abraham of Kaškar: “During the forty-day fast, a brother should not leave his cell without necessity, or without the permission of the community” (Budge, *The Book of Governors*, I, CXXXVIII). As to the defences, I do not see why they should be limited to the Decalogue alone; the Christian precepts for the laity and the clergy are also concerned here, and if they consist of monks, their monastic rule must be added.

71 (62) These seven daily prayers were later reduced to four, at least for the laity. See Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 16-18; Budge, *The Book of Governors*, I, LV, CXXXVI; Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*, p. 322; Chabot, in *Ann. Du Musée Guimet, Confèr de 1913*, p. 360. The Manichaeans also had seven moments of prayer every day; see *J.A.*, March-April 1913, p. 338. Concerning prayers for the dead in the Nestorian liturgy, see Chabot, *loc. laud.*, p. 360; Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 321; the affirmations of Mr. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, p. 201, seem to me without authority. The expression 存亡 *cunwang* (*ts'ouen-wang*) for “the living and the dead” is found from the *Yijing* (*Yi king*) onwards. As for 大庇 *dabi*

(*ta-pi*), “to help greatly”, I believe that it is a new borrowing from the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, where it is said that the Buddha, by “opening the door of the eight corrections”, 大庇交喪 *dabi jiaosang* (*ta-pi kiao-sang*) “greatly helped those who get mutually lost” (that is, doctrine and the beings).

72 (63) The translation of Fr. Havret, “le septieme jour” (the seventh day), is not grammatically impossible, and Pan Shen (P'an Chen) understood it like Fr. Havret. But the very fact that there is then the word “one”, “once”, tends to show, in Chinese, that here we must give the number a partitive value here and translate by “every seven days”. In any case, it is obviously the Sunday sacrifice that is meant here. Moreover, we know very well that Sunday was not the seventh day of the week for the Nestorians, but the first; it is on a Sunday that the inscription was written, and that day is indicated under the Chinese transcription of the Persian name of Sunday, which precisely has the meaning of “first (day) of the week”, see above, p. [missing]. For the “holy first day of the week” which is Sunday, see also Badger, *The Nestorians*, II, 415; Budge, *The Book of Governors*, II, 98. On the other hand, Pauthier's translation misled Fr. Heller into believing, against the authority of Wylie, that the Chinese passage could “certainly” be translated as “le premier des sept jours” (the first of the seven days); this is not so. It is likely that “purification of the heart” (literally “washing of the heart”) and the “return to candour” allude to the dominical Sunday confession and communion; but it is not certain. The two Chinese expressions used here, 洗心 *xixin* (*si-sin*) and 反素 *fansu* (*fan-sou*), are already

found: firstly in the *Yijing* (*Yi king*), and secondly in its commentary.

73 (64) 功用昭彰。強稱景教 *gongyong zhaozhang, qiang cheng jingjiao* (*kong-yong tchao-tchang, k'iang tch'eng king-kiao*). We have long recognised in this passage an allusion to section 25 of the *Daodejing* (*Tao tō king*). Laozi (Lao-tseu), speaking of the *dao* (*tao*), of the Way, says: "I do not know his name; for the designer, I say the Way. If, by forcing myself, I give him a name, I will say: the Great One". A similar passage is in *Hanfeizi* (*Han fei tseu*) (trad. Ivanov, p. 130; ed. of "Cent philosophes [One hundred philosophers]", VI, 8 v°). In the *Daodejing* (*Tao tō king*) the idea is that every name supposes a delimited object, and that by giving a name to the infinite *dao* (*tao*), we diminish it. Also "the Way" is only a label, a nickname. But our mind is repugnant to a lack of name which is a hindrance to our needs for categories; we will give this name to our defending body, and it will be "the Great One" (see Legge, *The Texts of Tâoism*, I, 67-68). Similarly, religion is divine; to impose a human name upon is to diminish it; it is, however, necessary to name it: it will be called the Radiant Religion. On this name, see above p. [missing]. The term *gongyong* (*kong-yong*) and that of *zhaozhang* (*tchao-tchang*) (the latter of frequent literary use) were probably chosen first because there is a combination 功彰 *gongzhang* (*kong-tchang*), the second because there is an expression 景彰 *jingzhang* (*king-tchang*), and that they both helped to associate ideas where our author explains the name of Radiant Religion by the ecstatic merits of Christianity. The "nous sommes contraints de la nommer" [we are forced to name it] by Fr. Havret is not very

precise. As for the translation of Legge which takes the effect for the cause, it is untenable. I agree with Mr. Giles, except that I have kept the word "veritable" [true] in the translation.

{To be continued ...}

APPENDIX I

大秦景教流行中國碑

A MONUMENT TO THE SPREAD OF THE SYRIAN BRILLIANT TEACHING IN CHINA

TRANS. DR DAVID WILMSHURST
(REVISED BY PROF. SAM LIEU)

[1] 景教流行中國碑頌並序 [2] 大秦寺僧景淨述

§1. [1] In order that the reader may fully admire this Monument to the Spread of the Brilliant Teaching in China, the following exposition has been written by Jingjing (Ching-ching), [2] a monk of the Syrian (Chin. Daqin / Ta-ts'in i.e. 'Roman') Monastery.

[S1] *'d'm qšyš' wqwr'pysqwp' wp'pšy dzynst'n*
*Adam, priest, country-bishop, and spiritual father of China.*⁴¹

[3] 粵若。常然真寂。先先而無元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙有。總玄樞而造化。妙眾聖以元尊者。其唯我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶。歟判十字。以定四方。鼓元風而生[4]二氣。暗空易而天地開。日月運而晝夜作。匠成萬物然立初人。別賜良和令鎮化海。渾元之性虛而不盈。素蕩之心本無希嗜。泊乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾純精。間平大於[5]此是之中。

§2. [3] In the beginning was GOD (Chin. Āluóhē <Syr. Alāhā)⁴² the eternal, unchanging, and omnipotent; who was there before all things were made, and who will remain when all things have perished; himself supremely good and the source of all wisdom and nobility in men; the master and maker of all things; our mysterious Trinity. He made the four quarters of the world; he set his spirit in motion and created [4] darkness and void. He made light from darkness and matter from void, and separated the earth from the sky. He made all things and saw that they were good, and created the first man. He made him wise and just, and gave him authority over all living things. He made him not proud, but humble; not greedy, but content with what he had. But SATAN (Chin. Suōdān <Syr. Sātānā),⁴³ the father of lies, corrupted him. Disguised as a good angel, he told the man that he could be equal with GOD. The man believed his lies, [5] and evil came into the world.

⁴¹ *Adam qshisha w'kurapisqupa w'papash d'Sinistan*. *Sinistan* is a well-attested Persian name for China. The normal Syriac name for China was *Beth Sinaye*, 'the country of the Chinese'. The term *Sinaye*, 'Chinese', occurs in the phrase *malke d'Sinaye*, 'rulers of the Chinese', in paragraph 24a. The term *papash*, 'pope' or 'spiritual head', is equally rare.

⁴² *A-lo-ho*, a transliteration of the Syriac *Allaha*, 'God'.

⁴³ *Sa-tan*, a transliteration of the Syriac *Tsatana*, 'Satan'.

隙冥同於彼非之內。是以三百六十五種。肩隨結轍。競織法羅。或指物以託宗。或空有以淪二。或禱祀以邀福。或伐善以矯人。智慮營營。恩情役役。茫然 [6] 無得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途。久迷休復。

§3. Unity and harmony departed, and there were countless quarrels between men of different ideas, some teaching one thing and others another. Some men set up material things as the objects of their worship; some said that all existence was meaningless and did not distinguish between right and wrong; some tried to find happiness through rituals and sacrifices; some rejected goodness altogether and sought only power over other men. Their minds were in torment and their hearts were in agony. [6] They longed for escape from the fires of guilt which tormented them. But the more they struggled, the deeper they sank into darkness. At last, in despair, they stopped looking for truth.

於是我三一分身景尊彌施訶。戢隱真威。同人出代。神天宣慶。室女誕聖。於大秦景宿告祥。波斯睹耀以來貢。圓二十四聖 [7] 有說之舊法。理家國於大猷。設三一淨風無言之新教。陶良用於正信。制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。開生滅死。懸景日以破暗府。魔妄於是乎悉摧。棹慈 [8] 航以登明宮。含靈於是乎既濟。能事斯畢。亭午昇真。

§4. Then one person of our Trinity, the brilliant and reverend CHRIST (Chin. Míshīhē <Syr. Mšīhā, i.e. Messiah),⁴⁴ veiling and hiding his true majesty, came to earth in the likeness of man. Angels proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to a saint in Syria (Chin. Daqin / Ta-ts' in i.e. 'Roman'). A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts. [7] The wise prophets of old gave the law to men, teaching that they must practise good works. CHRIST fulfilled this law, but also sent men the spirit of GOD, so that they could find salvation through faith as well as works. He gave men eight rules for living well, and taught them to resist the desires of the flesh, and to seek truth and purity. He told men to trust GOD, to hope for their salvation, and to love their fellow men. He gave men life, and conquered death. He hung up the brilliant sun to storm the halls of darkness, and defeated the snares of SATAN.⁴⁵ In his mercy, [8] he won entrance to heaven for the souls of men, and saved them from the fate which their wickedness deserved. His saving work complete, he returned to heaven.

經留二十七部。張元化以發靈關。法浴水風。滌浮華而潔虛白。印持十字。融四照以合無拘。擊木震仁惠之音。東 [9] 禮趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外行。削頂所以無內情。不畜臧獲。均貴賤於人。不聚貨財示罄遺於我。齋以伏識而成。戒以靜慎為固。七時禮讚。大庇存亡。七日一薦。 [10] 洗心反素。

§5. He left twenty-seven books of scripture, which explain how men can reform their hearts and find salvation.⁴⁶ They tell us that if a man is washed in water and the spirit, he will become clean and pure. We, his ministers, carry the Cross (Chin. 十字 *shizi* lit. 'the character ten') to symbolise that our teaching is open to men in all four quarters of the world. We strike wooden gongs to

⁴⁴ *Mi-shi-ho*, a transliteration of the Syriac *Mshiha*, 'Christ' (literally 'the anointed one'). Cf. English 'Messiah'.

⁴⁵ The sole reference to the Crucifixion in the Sian Tablet inscription, and deliberately oblique. Elsewhere the Christian cross is explained as a symbol of the universality of the Christian message, representing the four cardinal compass points (paragraph 5).

⁴⁶ 'Twenty-seven'. The figure is presumably a mistake, as the East Syrian church recognised the canonical twenty-three books of the New Testament.

awaken feelings of love and kindness.⁴⁷ We worship towards the [9] east to show that we are travelling along the road of life and glory. We grow our beards to show that our duties are towards others, and we shave the crown of the head to show that our thoughts are not centred on ourselves. We do not keep slaves,⁴⁸ and we honour rich and poor equally. We do not amass goods and wealth, and we share all we have among ourselves. We seek to purify ourselves by fasting and meditation. We worship seven times a day, and pray for the salvation of both the living and the dead. Once every seven days we hold a public service [10] to cleanse our hearts and rededicate ourselves to purity.

真常之道。妙而難名。功用昭彰。強稱景教。惟道非聖不弘。聖非道不大。道聖符契。
天下文明

§6. This true and unchanging way is hard to describe, and harder to name. Because it is clearly beneficial and useful, we have tried our best to capture its essence by calling it the 'brilliant teaching'. Nevertheless, just as a ruler can only flourish by following our teaching, so our teaching can only flourish under a sympathetic ruler. Whenever our teaching meets a wise sovereign, it civilises and enlightens the world.

太宗文皇帝。光華啟運。明聖臨人。大秦國有上德。曰^[11]阿羅本。占青雲而載真經。望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀至於長安。帝使宰臣房公玄齡總仗西郊賓迎入內。翻經書殿。問道禁闈。深知正真。特令傳授。貞觀十有二^[12]年秋七月。詔曰

§7. In the ninth Zhenguang (Cheng-kuan) year (635 CE), when the accomplished emperor T'ai-tsung [626–49] was beginning his prosperous reign in glory and splendour, ruling the people wisely and well, bishop [11] Aluoben (A-lo-pen)⁴⁹ from the land of Syria came to Chang'an (Ch'ang-an). Forewarned by the blue clouds and the harmony of the winds, he hurried through difficulties and dangers to China, carrying books which proclaimed the truth. The emperor sent the minister of state, Duke Fang Xuanling (Fang Hsuan-ling), to take an escort to the west suburb to welcome the guest and bring him to the palace.⁵⁰ When the books had been translated in the library and the doctrine examined in his private apartments, the emperor was convinced of their propriety and truth and personally ordered their preaching and transmission. In the twelfth Zhenguang (Cheng-kuan) [12] year (638 CE), in the autumn in the seventh month, it was decreed:

道無常名。聖無常體。隨方設教。密濟群生。大秦國大德阿羅本。遠將經像來獻上京。詳其教旨。玄妙無為。觀其元宗。生成立要。詞無繁說。理有忘筌。^[13]濟物利人。宜行天下。所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺。一所度僧二十一人

⁴⁷ Christians living under Moslem rule (as most East Syrian Christians were at this period) were forbidden to compete with the sound of the *muezzin*, the Moslem call to worship, by ringing church bells. However, priests were allowed to beat muffled wooden gongs to call congregations to church services, and this practice eventually became traditional.

⁴⁸ Slavery was normal both in China and throughout the Arab world at this period. During the T'ang (Tang) dynasty the slave-market in Ch'ang-an was the largest in the world. Red-haired girls, supplied by Arab pirates from Spain and Britain, were particularly prized for their rarity value.

⁴⁹ Perhaps representing the Syriac name Yabballaha, 'Gift of God'.

⁵⁰ An extraordinary mark of respect. Fang Hsuan-ling was T'ai-tsung's prime minister at this period, and most important decisions were taken by a closed triumvirate consisting of the emperor himself, Fang Hsuan-ling, and Wei Cheng.

§8. Truth can be recognized, whatever its name. Wisdom can be discerned, whoever its possessor. Every region has its own appropriate doctrine, which by its pervasive influence benefits the inhabitants. The Syrian bishop Aluoben (A-lo-pen) has come to our great capital from afar with the 'brilliant teaching'. We have carefully examined this teaching, and find it challenging, humbling, and comforting. We have studied its principles, and are satisfied that they lay stress on the essentials of life. Its language is spare and elegant, and its thought is coherent. [13] It is without doubt a helpful doctrine: let it be admitted to our empire. Let a monastery be built in our capital by the relevant board in the I-ning ward, and let twenty-one monks be appointed there.⁵¹

宗周德喪。青駕西昇。巨唐道光。景風東扇。旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁。天姿汎彩。英朗[14]景門。聖跡騰祥。永輝法界。

§9. The glory of the Zhou (Chou) Dynasty departed, and Laozi (Lao-tzu) rode into the west in a dark chariot. Now a brilliant breeze blew towards the east, and the great T'ang (Tang) shone in its splendour.⁵² Officers were told to have the emperor's portrait copied on the walls of our monastery. The emperor's handsome features decorated its [14] brilliant gates: the wisdom of his expression was a constant inspiration to our community.

案西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極眾寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出火綉布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧。[15]俗無寇盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣濶。文物昌明。

§10. According to the *Illustrated Records of Western Lands* and the *Histories of the Han and Wei Dynasties* the land of Syria is bounded on the south by the Coral Sea; on the north it stretches to the Mountain of All Precious Things; on the west it looks towards the flowery forests on the Borders of the Immortals; and on the east it lies open to the Long Winds and the Weak Water. The country produces asbestos, spices that restore the soul, bright-moon pearls, and rings that shine in the night. [15] Theft and robbery are unknown, and the people enjoy happiness and peace. No law but the brilliant is permitted, none but virtuous rulers are tolerated. The lands are extensive and broad, the civilisation prosperous and enlightened.

高宗大帝。克恭纘祖。潤色真宗。而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主。法流十[16]道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。

⁵¹The text of this imperial decree has been independently preserved in the *T'ang (Tang) Hui-yao*. This version has been slightly amended to harmonise its contents with the current official name for Christianity, the 'Syrian brilliant teaching', *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao*. In the original version, the fourth sentence read 'The Persian bishop A-lo-pen has come to our great capital from afar with the teaching of the scriptures (*ching-chiao*)'.

⁵²An interesting and daring passage which links the Han and T'ang (Tang) dynasties and unfavourably compares Taoism with Christianity. The Han dynasty, which had exalted the teachings of the Taoists, modelled itself on the fancied glories of the Chou dynasty, and its extinction in the second century ("the glory of the Chou dynasty departed") had resulted in three centuries of chaos in China, which were only ended with the establishment of the T'ang (Tang) dynasty. The author implies that the teachings of Lao Tzu were unable to prevent the collapse of the Han, and goes on to suggest that the founder of the T'ang (Tang) dynasty was favoured by a 'brilliant breeze' from the West; in other words that the present dynasty, which had restored peace and order to China, was under the patronage of the Christian God.

§11. The great emperor Gaozong (Kao-tsung) (r. 649–83 CE) piously followed the policy of his predecessors. A generous and elegant patron of the truth, he caused brilliant monasteries to be built in all the departments. He also raised Alouben (A-lo-pen) (<Syr. Rabban ‘teacher’?) to the rank of Great Spiritual Lord for the protection of the state. The brilliant teaching spread through the ten [16] provinces and the kingdom enjoyed great prosperity. Monasteries occupied a hundred cities, and the people enjoyed brilliant happiness.

聖曆年。釋子用壯。騰口於東周。先天末。下士大笑。訕謗於西鎬。有若僧首羅含。大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振玄網。俱維[17]絕紐

§12. In the Shengli (Sheng-li) years (698-99 CE) the Buddhists arrogantly criticised us in the Eastern Zhou (Chou) (i.e. Luoyang).⁵³ at the end of Xiantian (Hsien-t'ien) year (712 CE) the Daoists (Taoists),⁵⁴ puffed up with their own importance, attacked us bitterly in the Western Hao (i.e. Chang'an).⁵⁵ But the chief monk Alohan (A-lo-han)⁵⁶ and bishop Jilie (Chi-lieh),⁵⁷ both noble men from the west, dedicated to spiritual values, came to our aid. They supported together the mystic cord and joined in tying [17] the broken knot.

玄宗至道皇帝。令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場。法棟暫撓而更崇。道石時傾而復正。天寶初。令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置。賜絹百[18]匹。奉慶睿圖。龍髯雖遠。弓劍可攀。日角舒光。天顏咫尺。

§13. The devout emperor Xuanzong (Hsuan-tsung) (712–56 CE) ordered the prince of Ningguo (Ning-kuo) and the four other princes to go in person to our blessed monastery to rebuild the altars and courts. The beam of the religion had been weak for a moment but was raised again; the stone of the Way had been thrown down for a time but now stood upright once more. At the beginning of Tianbao (T'ien-pao) (742 CE) he ordered Gao Lishi (Kao Li-shih), the commander-in-chief, to send us portraits of the five emperors to hang in the monastery, and to present us with a hundred [18] rolls of silk. We received them with great respect, and admired the wise emperors' portraits. Though the emperor's beard was far away, we could touch his bow and sword: shining in the sun's rays, the divine faces were within arm's reach.

三載大秦國有僧佶和。瞻星向化。望日朝尊。詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人。與大德佶和。於興慶宮修功德。於[19]是天題寺榜。額戴龍書。寶裝璀璨。灼爍丹霞。睿扎宏空。騰凌激日。寵賚比南山峻極。沛澤與東海齊深。

§14. In the third year of Tianbao (T'ien-pao) (744 CE), the monk Jihe (Chi-ho) (Gabriel ?) arrived from Syria. Observing the stars, he travelled to this admirable land; following the sun, he came to do reverence to the emperor. The emperor decreed that the priests Alohan (A-lo-han) (Abraham ?), Pulun (Pu-lun) (Paul) and others, seven in all, along with bishop Jihe (Chi-ho), should offer prayers for the empire in the Xingqing (Hsing-ching) palace. [19] The emperor then composed a motto for the monastery, and its name-board displayed the imperial hand-writing. The precious ornament was like a gem or a kingfisher, and was bright with the scarlet glow of

⁵³Lo-yang. Reign of empress Wu (Chou dynasty), 690–705.

⁵⁴Literally ‘the inferior scholars’. A Taoist term of abuse for their opponents, here ironically turned against them.

⁵⁵Ch'ang-an. Reign of Jui-tsung, 710–12.

⁵⁶Perhaps ‘Abraham’, ‘Abraham’.

⁵⁷Perhaps ‘Gabriel’.

sunset clouds. All could see the wise emperor's words, which shone like the rising sun. His charity was higher than the southern mountain: his kindness was deeper than the eastern sea.

道無不可。所可可名。聖無不作。所作可述

§15. A wise teaching always wins through, and what it achieves we are right to name. A wise ruler never rests, and what he achieves we are right to record.

肅宗文明皇[20]帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺。元善資而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建。

§16. Suzong (Su-tsung) [756–62], the accomplished and prudent [20] emperor, rebuilt the brilliant monasteries in Lingwu (Ling-wu) and four other departments.⁵⁸ As he generously supported us, heaven supported him, and confirmed him in his imperial heritage.

代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事無為。每於降誕之辰。錫天香以告成功。頒御饌以光景眾。且[21]乾以美利故能廣生。聖以體元故能亭毒。

§17. The accomplished and martial emperor Daizong (Tai-tsung) (*r.* 762–79) increased the empire's power and conducted the affairs of the realm smoothly. Always on his birthday he offered incense to celebrate the empire's good fortune, and gave a royal feast to honour the brilliant congregation. [21] Heaven gives long life to the good: the good emperor gives long life to the empire.

我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景命。化通玄理。祝無愧心。

§18. Today, in Jianzong (Chien-chung) (*r.* 780–3), our wise, divinely-favoured, accomplished and martial emperor strenuously pursues the eight great principles of government,⁵⁹ degrading the undeserving and promoting the eminent. He thoroughly understands the nine categories of a ruler's duty, and has an unerring instinct for the reforms which he promotes. We can pray for him without any reservation.

至於方大而虛。專靜而恕。廣[22]慈救眾苦。善貸被群生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之階漸也。若使風雨時。天下靜。人能理。物能清。存能昌。歿能樂。念生響應。情發目誠者。我景力能事之功用也。

§19. Despite his elevated rank he remains humble. Despite the comfort of his position he is thoughtful and generous, [22] helping all who are in misfortune, and making just provision for all his subjects. Such has been the influence of our teachings, awakening virtue in all who hear them. That the winds and rains come in their seasons; that the empire is at peace; that men cheerfully

⁵⁸Or 'in Wu-chun', the name of a town in the Ling-Wu district in modern Kansu province. Su-tsung marched through the Ling-Wu district during the campaign of 763 in which he recaptured Ch'ang-an from An Lu-shan's rebel army. His army contained a large number of Uighur mercenaries, many of whom (at this period) were East Syrian Christians. Interestingly, many of these mercenaries are said to have converted to Manichaeism shortly afterwards as the result of meeting Manichaean missionaries in the liberated capital.

⁵⁹Te-tsung [779–805].

obey their ruler and all creatures seek to master their weaknesses; that the living can flourish and the dying can face death with confidence; that men speak and act with sincerity, without disguising their true feelings: all this is due to the beneficial influence of our 'brilliant teaching'.

大施[23]主金紫光祿大夫。同朔方節度副使。試殿中監。賜紫袈裟僧伊斯。和而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三代。藝博十全。

§20. We acknowledge our great patron [23] the monk Yisi (I-ssu, i.e. Yazdbuzid) officer of the banqueting hall, deputy military governor of Shuo-fang, overseer of the examination hall, and companion of the order of the purple robe. Good-natured and virtuous, a zealous believer, he came from the royal city⁶⁰ all the way to China (Chin. Zhongxia / Tsung-hsia). He was more knowledgeable than the doctors of the Three Dynasties, and his manners were polished in every respect.

始效節於丹庭。乃策名於王[24]帳。中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀。初總戎於朔方也。肅宗俾之從邁。雖見親於臥內。不自異於行間。為公爪牙。作軍耳目。

§21. He first distinguished himself in the Red Hall, and his name was inscribed in the prince's [24] tent. When Duke Guo Ziye (Kuo Tzu-i), secretary of state and prince of the Fanyang (Fanyang) region, was first put in charge of military operations in Shuofang (Shuo-fang), Suzong (Suzong) ordered him to accompany the duke to his command. Though he enjoyed the privilege of access to the duke's sleeping-tent, he made no distinction between himself and others on the march. He was teeth and nails to the duke, and ears and eyes to the army.

能散祿賜。不積於家。獻臨恩之頗黎。布[25]辭憩之金罽。或仍其舊寺。或重廣法堂。崇飾廊宇。如翬斯飛。更效景門。依仁施利。每歲集四寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五旬。饑者來而飯之。寒者來而衣之。病者療而[26]起之。死者葬而安之。清節達娑。未聞斯美。白衣景士。今見其人。

§22. He gave away all the gifts and rewards he received, scorning to lay up [25] treasure on earth. He gave us his retirement present of crystal glasses, and decorated our halls with carpets of golden weave. He restored the old monasteries and doubled the size of the churches. He raised and adorned the roofs of the galleries, so that they appeared like flying pheasants. He used his wealth to support the 'brilliant teaching'. Every year he gathers the monks of the surrounding monasteries together, to hold services and make offerings for a period of fifty days. He invites the hungry to come, and he feeds them. He invites the cold to come, and he clothes them. He heals the sick, and [26] raises them up. He buries the dead, and lays them to rest. The Buddhists pride themselves on their purity, but their finest deeds cannot rival the merit of this white-robed priest of the 'brilliant teaching'.

願刻洪碑。以揚休烈。詞曰

§23. We wish to engrave a praise poem to celebrate these wonderful events. The words are:

真主無元。湛寂常然。權輿匠化。起地立天。

⁶⁰Probably Merv or Balkh.

The true God is without origin, profound, unmoving, ever the same.
The universe is the work of his hands.
Through him the earth arose and heaven was framed.

分身出代。救度無邊。日昇暗[27]滅。咸證真玄

One person of his Trinity appeared on earth.
Redemption and salvation knew no limit.
The sun rose and darkness [27] fled. All recognised a true mystery.

赫赫文皇。道冠前王。乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。

The accomplished emperor far excelled his predecessors.⁶¹
He crushed disorder beneath his feet.
Heaven was widened and earth enlarged.

明明景教。言歸我唐。翻經建寺。存歿舟航。百福偕作。萬邦之康

Our brilliant truth then came to T'ang (Tang).
Scriptures were translated and monasteries built.
Both living and dead made the voyage of salvation.
Happiness sprang up everywhere, and all regions found peace.

高宗纂祖。更築精宇。和宮敞朗。遍滿[28]中土。真道宣明。式封法主。人有樂康。
。物無災苦

Gaozong (Kao-tsung) honoured his ancestors, and rebuilt the pure mansions.
Palaces of harmony shining far and wide filled [28] all China (Chin. Zhongtu / Ts'ung-tu).
The path of truth was made known, the spiritual lord was appointed.
Men knew joy and peace, and the land was free from pain and sorrow.

玄宗啟聖。克修真正。御榜揚輝。天書蔚映。皇圖璀璨。率土高敬。庶績咸熙。人
賴其慶

Xuanzong (Hsuan-tsung) ruled justly, and strove always to realise truth and virtue.
He sent us a text in his own handwriting, which shone and dazzled.
He sent us imperial portraits, which glittered like gems.
The whole land revered him.
His conduct was a shining example, and his justice was praised by all.

肅宗來復。天威引[29]駕。聖日舒晶。祥風掃夜。祚歸皇室。祆氛永謝。止沸定塵。
。造我區夏

Suzong (Su-tsung) came to avenge him, [29] riding a majestic chariot.

⁶¹T'ai-tsung.

He rose like the sun and rekindled the light.
 A kind wind swept away the darkness.
 Discontent was stilled and faction muzzled.
 China recovered its former glory.

代宗孝義。德合天地。開貸生成。物資美利。香以報功。仁以作施。暘谷來威。月窟畢萃。

Tai-tsung was pious and just, blessed with more than human wisdom.
 He was open-handed, and men enjoyed the fruits of his liberality.
 He regularly burned incense to heaven, and always looked kindly on men.
 From the rising sun to the setting moon crowds came to admire his might.

建[30]中統極。聿修明德。武肅四溟。文清萬域。燭臨人隱。鏡觀物色。六合昭蘇。
 。百蠻取則。

The present emperor (Jianzong / Ch'ien-chung) reigns widely and practises virtue.
 The four seas hold him in awe, and all lands benefit from his culture.
 No secrets are hidden from him, and he sees all the affairs of men.
 He enlightens the whole world; even the barbarians model themselves on him.

道惟廣兮。應惟密強。名言兮演三一主能作兮臣能述。建豐碑兮頌元吉

How profound is our faith, how widespread its influence!
 How difficult to find a name for our glorious Trinity!
 Our Lord is almighty: his servants must relate his acts.
 We therefore raise this great tablet to praise GOD who has so blessed us.

[31] 大唐建中二年歲在作噩太簇月七日大耀森文曰建立時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也

[31] §24. Set up in the Great T'ang (Tang), on the seventh day of the *t'ai-tsou* month of the second year of Jianzong (Chien-chung) (24 February 781). The year-star was in Zuō'è (tso-o), and the day was the great day of the Sabbath (Chin. Yàosēnwén / Yao-sen-wen) (<Pe. *yakšambah*). Our spiritual director the monk Ningshu (Ning-shu)⁶² was presiding over the brilliant congregations (i.e. the Church) of the East.⁶³

{Syr.} [S2] *bywmy 'b' d'bht' mry hnnyšw' qtwlyq' p'tryrkys*

⁶²Evidently the Chinese name of the East Syrian patriarch Hnanisho^c II (773–80). See the following sentence in Syriac.

⁶³The Church of the East called its members 'easterners', distinguishing them from the 'western' Christians of the Roman empire. The 'brilliant congregations of the East' refers not only to the East Syrian communities in China itself but also to Church of the East generally, which at this period had over a hundred dioceses in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, India, China, and Tibet.

*In the days of the father of fathers Mar Hnanisho^c catholicus and patriarch.*⁶⁴

[32] 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書

§24a. Lu Xiuyan (Lu Hsiu-yen), secretary of state, formerly military superintendent in Taizhou (T'ai chou), was the writer.

[At the foot of the front face of the stone below the Chinese inscription; columns read from left to right]

{Syr.} [S3] *bšnt 'lp wtš'yn wtrīyn* [S4] *dyw̄ny' mry yzdbwzyd qšyš'* [S5] *wkwr'pysqwp' dkwmd'n* [S6] *mdynt' mlkw't br nyh* [S7] *npš' mylys qšyš' dmn* [S8] *blh mdynt' dthwrstn* [S9] *'qym lwh' hn' dk'p'* [S10] *dktybn bh mdbrwth* [S11] *dprwqn wqrwzwthwn* [S12] *d'bhyn dlwt mlk'* [S13] *dzjny'* [33] 僧靈寶 [S14] *'d'm mšmšn' br* [S15] *yzdbwzyd kwr'pysqwp'*

*In the year 1092 of the Greeks [AD 781] Mar Yazdbuzid, priest and country-bishop of Khumdan, the capital of the kingdom, son of the late priest Milis, from the city of Balkh in Tocharistan, set up this tablet of stone. Written on it are the law of our Saviour and the preaching of our fathers to the rulers of the Chinese.*⁶⁵ Monk Ling-pao. *Adam, deacon, son of the country-bishop Yazdbuzid.*⁶⁶

[S16] *mrsgys qšyš'* [S17] *wkwr'pysqwp'*
*Mar Sargis priest and country-bishop.*⁶⁷

[34] 檢校建立碑僧 [35] 行通

24b. Supervisor of the erection of the tablet: the monk Hsing-tung.

{Syr.} [S17] *sbrnyšw' qšyš'*
*Sabranisho^c, priest.*⁶⁸

[36] 助檢校試太常 [37] 卿賜紫袈裟寺 [37] 主僧業利

⁶⁴*B'yawmi aba d'abahatha Mar Hnanisho^c qatoliqa patirqis.* A standard East Syrian dating formula with numerous parallels in other Syriac documents, naming the reigning patriarch. In fact the patriarch Hnanisho^c II (776–80) died early in 780, and his successor Timothy I (780–823), according to the *Chronography* of Eliya of Nisibis, was consecrated in Baghdad on Sunday 7 May 780. The East Syrian Church in China was evidently still unaware of these events in February 781. The name Hnanisho^c means 'Grace of Jesus'.

⁶⁵*B'shanat alap w'tesh^c in w'tartin d'Yawnaye; Mar Yazdbuzid qshisha w'kurapisqupa d'Kumdan mdinath malkutha, bar nih napsha Milis qshisha d'men Balkh mdintha d'Takhurstan, aqim lukha hana d'kifa. D'ktiban beh mdabranutheh d'paruqan w'karuzuthun d'abahain d'lwat malke d'Sinaye.* Until recently the East and West Syrian churches have normally used a dating system counting from 311 BC, the date of the founding of the Greek Seleucid kingdom in the Middle East by one of the generals of Alexander the Great. This system is variously known as the 'Seleucid era', the 'era of the Greeks', or the 'era of Alexander'.

⁶⁶*Adam mshamshana bar Yazdbuzid kurapisqupa.*

⁶⁷*Mar Sargis qshisha w'kurapisqupa.*

⁶⁸The name means 'Jesus is our hope'.

24c. Assistant supervisor: the monk Yeh-li, chief of the monastery, director of the sacrificial court, honoured with the purple robe.

{Syr.} [S18] *gbryl qšyš' w'rkdyqwn* [S19] *wrš 'dt' dkwmd'n* [S20] *wdsrg*
*Gabriel, priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Khumdan and Sarag.*⁶⁹

[On the left side of the stone; top row]

{Syr.} [S21] *mry ywhnn 'pysqwp'*
*Mar Yohannan, bishop*⁷⁰

[39] 大德曜輪
Bishop Yàolún (Yao-lun)

[S24] *'yshq qšyš'*
*Ishaq, priest*⁷¹

[40] 僧日進
Monk Rìjìn (Jih-chin)

[S25] *yw'yl qšyš'*
Joel, priest

[41] 僧遙越
Monk Yáoyuè (Yao-yueh)

[S25] *mykyl qšyš'*
*Mikha'il, priest*⁷²

[42] 僧廣慶
Monk Guǎngqìng (Kuang-ch'ing)

[S26] *gyw'rgys qšyš'*
*Giwargis, priest*⁷³

[43] 僧和吉
Monk Héjǐ (Ho-chi)

[S27] *mhddgwšnsp qšyš'*
*Mahadad Gushnasap, priest*⁷⁴

[44] 僧惠明
Monk Huìmíng (Hui-ming)

[S28] *mšyh'dd qšyš'*
*Mshihadad, priest*⁷⁵

[45] 僧寶達
Monk Bǎodá (Pao-ta)

[S29] *'prym qšyš'*
Ephrem, priest

[46] 僧拂林
Monk Fúlín (Fu-lin)

[S30] *'by qšyš'*
Abi, priest

[S31] *dwyd qšyš'*
*Dawid, priest*⁷⁶

[S32] *mws' qšyš'*
Mushe, priest

[47] 僧福壽
Monk Fúshòu (Fu-shou)

[On the left side of the stone; second row]

[S33] *bkws qšyš' yhydy'*
*Bakos, priest, monk*⁷⁷

[48] 僧崇敬
Monk Ch'ung-ching (Ch'ung-ching)

⁶⁹*Gabriel qshisha w'arkdiqun w'rish 'idta d'Khumdan w'd'Sarag.* 'Khumdan' is certainly to be identified with Ch'ang-an (paragraph 24a) and 'Sarag' very probably with Lo-yang, the two northern capitals of China during the T'ang (Tang) dynasty.

⁷⁰The Syriac form of the biblical name John.

⁷¹The Syriac form of the biblical name Isaac.

⁷²The Syriac form of the biblical name Michael.

⁷³The Syriac form of the name George, the name of a famous Christian martyr.

⁷⁴One of the few monks with a Persian name, Gushnasap. The Syriac name Mahadad seems to be a shortened form of Mshihadad, 'Christ has given'.

⁷⁵The name means 'Christ has given'.

⁷⁶The Syriac form of the biblical name David.

[S34] 'ly' qšyš' yhydy' <i>Eliya, priest, monk</i> ⁷⁸	[49] 僧延和 Monk Yánhé (Yen-ho)
[S35] mws' qšyš' wyhydy' <i>Mushe, priest, monk</i> ⁷⁹	
[S36] 'bdyšw' qšyš' wyhydy' <i>Abdisho^c, priest, monk</i> ⁸⁰	
[S37] šm'wn qšyš' dqbr' <i>Shem^con, priest of the sepulchre</i> ⁸¹	
[S38] ywḥnys mšmšn' wyd' <i>Iwanis, deacon and secretary</i> ⁸²	[50] 僧惠通 Monk Huìtōng (Hui-t'ung)
[On the left side of the stone; third row]	
[S39] 'hrwn <i>Ahron</i> ⁸³	[51] 僧乾祐 Monk Gānyòu (Ch'ien-yu)
[S40] pṭrws <i>Patros</i> ⁸⁴	[52] 僧元一 Monk Yuányī (Yuan-i)
[S41] 'ywb <i>Iyyub</i> ⁸⁵	[53] 僧敬德 Monk Jìngdé (Ching-te)
[S42] lwq' <i>Luqa</i> ⁸⁶	[54] 僧利見 Monk Lìjiàn (Li-chien)
[S43] mty <i>Mattai</i> ⁸⁷	[55] 僧明泰 Monk Míngtài (Ming-t'ai)
[S44] ywḥnn <i>Yohannan</i>	[56] 僧玄真 Monk Xuánzhēn (Hsuan-chen)
[S45] yšw'mh <i>Isho^cammeh</i> ⁸⁸	[57] 僧仁惠 Monk Rénhuì (Jen-hui)
[S46] ywḥnn <i>Yohannan</i>	[58] 僧曜源 Monk Yàoyuán (Yao-yuan)
[S47] sbryšw' <i>Sabrisho</i> ⁸⁹	[59] 僧昭德 Monk Zhāodé (Chao-te)
[S48] yšw'dd <i>Isho^cdad</i> ⁹⁰	[60] 僧文明 Monk Wénmíng (Wen-ming)

⁷⁷The Syriac form of the name Bacchus, a famous fourth-century Christian martyr.

⁷⁸The Syriac form of the biblical name Elijah.

⁷⁹The Syriac form of the biblical name Moses.

⁸⁰The name means 'Servant of Jesus'.

⁸¹The Syriac form of the biblical name Simon.

⁸²A variant Syriac form of Yohannan, the biblical name John.

⁸³The Syriac form of the biblical name Aaron.

⁸⁴The Syriac form of the biblical name Peter.

⁸⁵The Syriac form of the biblical name Job.

⁸⁶The Syriac form of the biblical name Luke.

⁸⁷The Syriac form of the biblical name Matthew.

⁸⁸The name means 'Jesus is with him'.

⁸⁹The name means 'Jesus is hope'.

[S49] lwk'
Luqa
 [S50] qwstntynws
*Qustantinos*⁹¹
 [S51] nwh
*Nuh*⁹²

[61] 僧文貞
 Monk Wénzhēn (Wen-cheng)
 [62] 僧居信
 Monk Jūxìn (Chu-hsin)
 [63] 僧來威
 Monk Láiwēi (Lai-wei)

[On the left side of the stone; fourth row]

[S52] 'yzdsp's
*Izadsafas*⁹³
 [S53] ywhnn
Yohannan
 [S54] 'nwsc
*Anush*⁹⁴
 [S55] mrsrgys
*Mar Sargis*⁹⁵
 [S56] 'yshq
*Ishaq*⁹⁶
 [S57] ywhnn
Yohannan
 mrsrgys
Mar Sargis
 [S59] pwsy
Pusai
 [S60] šm'wn
Shem^con
 [S61] 'yshq
Ishaq
 [S62] ywhnn
Yohannan

[64] 僧敬真
 Monk Jìngzhēn (Ching-chen)
 [65] 僧還淳
 Monk Huánchún (Huan-shun)
 [66] 僧靈壽
 Monk Língshòu (Ling-shou)
 [67] 僧靈德
 Monk Língdé (Ling-te)
 [68] 僧英德
 Monk Yīngdé (Ying-te)
 [69] 僧沖和
 Monk Chōnghé (Chung-ho)
 [70] 僧凝虛
 Monk Níngxū (Ying-hsu)
 [71] 僧普濟
 Monk Pǔjì (P'u-chi)
 [72] 僧聞順
 Monk Wénshùn (Wen-shun)
 [73] 僧光濟
 Monk Guāngjì (Kuang-chi)
 [74] 僧守一
 Monk Shǒuyī (Shou-i)

[On the right side of the stone; top row]

[S63] y'qwb qšyš'
Ya^cqob, priest
 [S64] mrsrgys qšyš' wkwr'pysqwp' šy'ngtsw'
*Mar Sargis, priest and country-bishop of Shiangtsua*⁹⁷

[75] 老宿耶俱摩
 Yējùmó (Yeh-chu-mo), elder
 [76] 僧景通
 Monk Jǐngtōng (Ching-t'ung)

⁹⁰The name means 'Jesus has given'.

⁹¹The Syriac form of Constantine, the name of the first Christian Roman emperor.

⁹²The Syriac form of the biblical name Noah.

⁹³One of the few monks with a Persian name.

⁹⁴The Syriac form of the biblical name Enos.

⁹⁵The Syriac form of the Roman name Sergius. Sergius was a famous fourth-century Christian martyr.

⁹⁶The Syriac form of the biblical name Isaac.

[S65] gygwy qšyš' w'rkdyqwn dkwmd'n wmqryn' <i>Gigoi, priest and archdeacon of Khumdan, and teacher</i>	[77] 僧玄覽 Monk Xuánlǎn (Hsuan-lan)
[S66] pwlws qšyš' <i>Polos, priest</i> ⁹⁸	[78] 僧寶靈 Monk Bǎolíng (Pao-ling)
[S67] šmšn qšyš' <i>Shem^con, priest</i>	[79] 僧審慎 Monk Shěnshe'n (Shen-shen)
[S68] 'dm qšyš' <i>Adam, priest</i>	[80] 僧法源 Monk Fǎyuán (Fa-yuan)
[S69] 'ly' qšyš' <i>Eliya, priest</i>	[81] 僧立本 Monk Lìběn (Li-pen)
[S70] 'yshq qšyš' <i>Ishaq, priest</i>	[82] 僧和明 Monk Héming (Ho-ming)
[S71] ywḥnn qšyš' <i>Yohannan, priest</i>	[83] 僧光正 Monk Guāngzhèng (Kuang-cheng)
[S72] ywḥnn qšyš' <i>Yohannan, priest</i>	[84] 僧內澄 Monk Nèichéng (Nei-ch'eng)
[S73] šm'wn qšyš' wsb' <i>Shem'on, priest and elder</i>	

[On the right side of the stone; second row]

[S74] y'qwb qnky' <i>Ya^cqob, sacristan</i> ⁹⁹	[85] 僧崇德 Monk Chóngdé (Ch'ung-te)
[S75] 'bdyšw' <i>Abdisho^c</i> ¹⁰⁰	[86] 僧太和 Monk Tàihé (T'ai-ho)
[S76] yšw'dd <i>Isho^cdad</i>	[87] 僧景福 Monk Jǐngfú (Ching-fu)
[S77] y'qwb <i>Ya^cqob</i>	[88] 僧和光 Monk Héguāng (Ho-kuang)
[S78] ywḥnn {Chin.} <i>Yohannan</i>	[89] 僧至德 Monk Zhìdé (Chih-te)
[S79] šwbḥ' lmrn <i>Shubhalmaran</i> ¹⁰¹	[90] 僧奉真 Monk Fèngzhēn (Feng-chen)
[S80] mrsrgys <i>Mar Sargis</i>	[91] 僧元宗 Monk Yuánzōng (Yuan-tsung)
[S81] šm'wn <i>Shem^con</i>	[92] 僧利用 Monk Lìyòng (Li-yung)
[S82] 'prym <i>Ephrem</i>	[93] 僧玄德 Monk Xuándé (Hsuan-te)

⁹⁷*Mar Sargis qshisha w'kurapisqupa Shiangtsoa.* The word *Shiangtsoa* has not been satisfactorily explained. It seems to be a transliteration of two Chinese characters, the first of which is almost certainly *shang*, 'upper'. It perhaps signifies *shangchu*, 'the upper region', possibly the region between Tun-huang and Ch'ang-an.

⁹⁸The Syriac form of the biblical name Paul.

⁹⁹*Ya^cqob qankaya.* The Syriac form of the biblical name Jacob.

¹⁰⁰The name means 'Servant of Jesus'.

¹⁰¹The name means 'Praise Our Lord'.

[S83] zkry' <i>Zakarya</i> ¹⁰²	[94] 僧義濟 Monk Yìjì (I-chi)
[S84] kwrykws <i>Quriaqos</i> ¹⁰³	[95] 僧志堅 Monk Zhìjiān (Chih-chien)
[S85] bkws <i>Bakos</i> ¹⁰⁴	[96] 僧保國 Monk Bǎoguó (Pao-kuo)
[S86] 'mnw'yl <i>Emmanuel</i>	[97] 僧明一 Monk Míngyī (Ming-i)

[On the right side of the stone; third row]

[S87] gbry'yl <i>Gabriel</i>	[98] 僧廣德 Monk Guǎngdé (Kuang-te)
[S88] ywḥnn <i>Yohannan</i>	
[S89] šlymwn <i>Shlemun</i> ¹⁰⁵	[99] 僧去甚 Monk Ch'u-shen
[S91] ywḥnn <i>Yohannan</i>	[100] 僧德建 Monk Déjiàn (Te-chien)

[Through and below the third and fourth rows of names on the left side a modern inscription has been engraved in 47 Chinese characters as follows:]

後一千七十九年咸豐己未武林韓泰舉來觀幸字畫完整重造碑亭覆焉惜故友吳子苾方伯不及同遊也為悵然久之

One thousand and seventy-nine years later, in Jiwei (chi-wei) of Xianfeng (*Hsien-feng*) (1859 CE), Han Taihua (Han T'ai-hua) of Wulin (Wu-lin, i.e. Hang-chou) came to see. Fortunately the characters were perfect and complete. He rebuilt the pavilion of the monument to protect it. Sadly, his old friend the Treasurer Wu Zibi (Wu Tzu-pi) did not come with him. Long will he regret it.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²The Syriac form of the biblical name Zacharias.

¹⁰³The Syriac form of the name Cyriacus.

¹⁰⁴The Syriac form of the Roman name Bacchus. Bacchus was a famous fourth-century Christian martyr.

¹⁰⁵The Syriac form of the biblical name Solomon.

¹⁰⁶A regrettable act of vandalism, which has erased several of the Syriac and Chinese names on this part of the Sian Tablet. Fortunately the names were accurately copied in the seventeenth century by the Jesuits.

APPENDIX II

A COMPARISON OF THE FOUR MOST CITED ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE CHINESE TEXT OF THE XI'AN MONUMENT

[Title:] 大秦景教流行中國碑

Legge (1888: 3-31)	Moule (1930: 34-52)	Saeki (1937/1951: 53-77)	Foster (1939: 134-151)
{3} The stone monument (commemorating) the diffusion of the Illustrious Religion in the Middle Kingdom.	{34} A Monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch'in.	[53] A monument commemorating the Propagation of the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom.	{134} The tablet of the spread of the Ta Ch'in (Syrian) Illustrious Religion in China.

[1] 景教流行中國碑頌並序 [2] 大秦寺僧景淨述

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The eulogistic verses on the stone monument (commemorating) the diffusion of the Illustrious Religion in the Middle Kingdom, with prefatory notice. Handed down by Ching-Tsing a priest of the Ta-Ts'in monastery.	The eulogy on the monument of the diffusion through the {35} Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching: with an orderly account. Recorded by Ching-ching a monk of the Ta-ch'in monastery.	Eulogy on a Monument commemorating the Propagation of the Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom, with a preface to the same, composed by Ching-ching a priest of the Ta-ch'in monastery.	The Tablet of the spread of the Illustrious Religion in China. Religion in China, Eulogy with introduction, composed by Ching-ching, monk of the Ta Ch'in (Syrian) Monastery.

[S1] 亞當及諸君之碑

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Adam, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos, and Papas of China.	<i>Adam priest and country-bishop and fapshi of Zinistan.</i>	Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopos, and Papash' of China.	Adam, priest and chorepiscopos, and Fapshi of Sinestan.

[3] 粵若。常然真寂。先先而無元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙有。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
It is acknowledged that there was One, unchangeable, true, and still, the First and unoriginated; incomprehensible in His intelligence and simplicity; the Last and mysteriously existing;	Behold! The unchanging in perfect repose, before the first and without beginning; the inaccessible in spiritual purity, after the last and wonderfully living;	Behold! there is One who is true and firm, who, being Uncreated, is the Origin of the Origins; who is ever Incomprehensible and Invisible, yet ever mysteriously existing to the last of lasts;	Behold, the eternal, true tranquillity, the first, and unoriginated; the profound, being ineffable, the last, and wondrously persisting;

[3] 總玄樞而造化。妙眾聖以元尊者。其唯我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶歟。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Who, with His hands operating in the mysterious (abyss of space), proceeded to create, and by His spirit to	he who holds the mysterious source of life and creates, who in his original majesty imparts his mysterious nature to	who holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who surpassing all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated	who gathered the abysmal forces and created; who inspired all he Sages, primordial Honoured One: {135}

give existence to all the Holy ones, Himself the great adorable; – was not this our Eloah, with His marvellous being, Three in-One, the unoriginated True Lord?	all the sages; is this not the mysterious Person of our Three in One, the True Lord without beginning, A-lo-he (<i>Alā-hā</i>)?	Lord of the Universe, – is not this our Aloha, the Triune, mysterious Person, the unbegotten and true Lord?	there is one but our wondrous Trinity, the unoriginated True Lord, Aloha.
---	---	---	---

[3/4] 歟判十字。以定四方。鼓元風而生|二氣。暗空易而天地開。日月運而晝夜作。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
{5} Having determined the four cardinal points in space as by the extremities of the character for ten (十). He called into action the primordial wind, and produced the twofold ether. The dark void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out. The sun and moon revolved, and day and night commenced.	He set out the figure of ten to define the four quarters; he set the original breath in motion and produced the two principles. Darkness and void were transformed and the sky and earth were separated.	Dividing the Cross, He determined the four cardinal points. Setting in motion the primordial spirit (wind), He produced the two principles of Nature. The dark void was changed, and Heaven and Earth appeared. The sun and moon revolved, and day and night began.	He appointed the cross to determine the four quarters. He stirred up the primordial wind (spirit) and brought to life the two forces of nature (Yin and Yang). The gloomy void was moved, and heaven and earth separated. Sun and moon began their circuit, and day and night were created.

[4] 匠成萬物然立初人。別賜良和令鎮化海。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He then made the first man, specially conferring on him the harmony of all good qualities, and commanding him to have dominion over the ocean depths (now) transformed (into the earth).	He made and perfected all things; he fashioned and established the first man. He gave him special goodness and just temperament, he commanded him to have dominion over the ocean creatures.	Having designed and fashioned all things, he then created the first man and bestowed on him an excellent disposition, superior to all others, and gave him to have dominion {54} over the Ocean of created things.	After he had finished all creatures he set up the first man. He especially gave him intuitive goodness and harmony, bidding him to have dominion over creation.

[4] 渾元之性虛而不盈。素蕩之心本無希嗜。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Man's perfect original nature was void of all ambitious preoccupation; his unstained and capacious mind was free from all inordinate desire.	The lofty primitive nature was humble and not puffed up, the simple and great heart was at first without lust.	The original nature of Man was pure, and void of all selfishness, unstained and unostentatious, his mind was free from inordinate lust and passion.	His undeveloped and original nature was innocent and without content. White and clean was his heart, at first without desire.

[4/5] 洎乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾純精。間平大於|此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
When, however, Satan employed his evil devices, a glamour was thrown over that pure and fine (nature). A breach wide and great was made in its judgments of what was right, and it was drawn, as	It came to pass that Satan (Satan), propagating falsehood, borrowed the adornment of the pure spirit. He insinuated [the idea of] equal greatness [with God] into the original good; he	When however, Satan employed his evil devices on him, Man's pure and stainless (nature) was deteriorated; what is just and noble was eliminated from that which is called right on the one hand (lit.	Then Satan set forth his guile, gliding over simplicity and purity. He set aside and levelled down, beyond that which was included in the one permission. He broke and obscured in just the

through an opening into the gulph of (Satan's) perversities.	introduced [the theory of] {36} the mysterious identity [of being and not being] into the evil that had resulted.	'in this place'), and what is fundamentally identical (with wickedness) was abstracted from that which is named wrong on the other (lit. 'in that place').	way which was excluded by the other prohibitions.
--	---	--	---

[5] 是以三百六十五種。肩隨結轍。競織法羅。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
In this way there arose (among men) 365 different forms (of error), closely following one another, and treading in the same ruts, striving to weave the nets of their several ways.	In consequence of this three hundred and sixty five sects followed side by side crossing one another's tracks, vying one with another in weaving the web of religion.	In consequence of this three hundred and sixty five (spiritual beings) with different seeds (of error) arose in quick succession and left deep furrows behind. They strove to weave nets of the laws wherewith to ensnare the innocent.	Thus came three hundred and sixty-five kinds (of men), shoulder pressing shoulder, fast in the old ruts, struggling to weave the sacred net (systems of salvation). {136}

[5] 或指物以託宗。或空有以淪二。或禱祀以邀福。或伐善以矯人。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Some set up (material) things as the objects of their worship; some insisted on empty space without the (ethereal) duality; some offered prayers and sacrifices in order to obtain happiness; some boasted of their goodness, and arrogated it over others:—	Some point to material things that they may trust to them as lord; some empty existence of reality that they may confound the two; some pray and sacrifice that they may obtain happiness; some boast goodness to deceive men.	Some pointing to natural objects pretended that they were the right objects to worship; others got hold of (the idea that) non-existent (lit. Emptiness) and existence (are alike after all). Some sought to call down blessings (happiness or success) by means of prayers and sacrifices; others again boasted of their own goodness, and held their fellows in contempt.	Some point to the creature, to trust in it as the ultimate. Some take things and nothingness, and destroy the two. Some pray and sacrifice to induce blessings. Some set forth their own merit to deceive others.

[5/6] 智慮營營。恩情役役。茫然|无得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途久迷休復。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
with their wisdom they anxiously tasked themselves, labouring with their fondest feelings; but all in vain. The heat of their distress was turned into a scorching flame. They made the darkness greater and lost their way; and after going long astray, they ceased any further search (for the truth).	The thoughts of the mind never rested, the passions of the heart were ever in motion. For all their activity they attained nothing, being consumed by their own feverish zeal. They deepened darkness on the road of perdition, and wandered long from the [way of] return to happiness.	(Thus) the intellect and the thoughts of Men fell into hopeless confusion; and their mind and affections began to toil incessantly; but all their travail was in vain. The heat of their distress became a scorching flame; and self-blinded, they increased the darkness still more; and losing their patch for a long while they went astray and became unable to return home again.	Wise counsels were a-buzz. Thoughts and feelings were a-toil. Far and wide (they went) without achievement The dry hastened to turn to burning. As darkness gathered they lost their way, until confusion was beyond return.

[6] 於是我三一分身景尊彌施訶。戰隱真威。同人出代。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Hereupon our Tri-une (Eloah) divided His God-head, and the Illustrious and Adorable Messiah, veiling His true Majesty, appeared in the world as a man.	Upon this the divided Person of our Three in One, the brilliant and reverend Mi-shih-hê (<i>Messiah</i>), veiling and hiding his true majesty, came to earth in the likeness of man.	Whereupon one Person of our Trinity, the Messiah, who is the Luminous Lord of the Universe, folding up Himself and concealing his true Majesty, appeared {55} upon earth as a man.	Whereupon (one Person of) our Trinity became incarnate: The Illustrious Honoured-One Messiah, hid away his true majesty, and came into the world as a man (or among men).

[6] 神天宣慶。室女誕聖於大秦。景宿告祥。波斯睹耀以來貢。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Angels proclaimed the glad tidings. A virgin brought forth the Holy one in Ta-Ts'in. A bright star announced the felicitous event. Persians saw its splendour and came with tribute.	An angel proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to {37} the sage in Ta-ch'in. A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts.	Angels proclaimed the Glad Tidings. A virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Ta-ch'in. A bright Star announced the blessed event. Persians saw the splendor and came forth with their tribute.	An angel proclaimed the joy. A virgin bore a sage in Syria (Ta-ch'in). A bright star was the propitious portent. Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts.

[6/7] 圓廿四聖有說之舊法。理家國於大猷。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He fulfilled the Old Law, as it was delivered by the twenty-four holy ones. He announced His great plans for the regulation of families and kingdoms.	He brought to completion the letter of the ancient law of the twenty-four sages, regulating the state on the great principle;	Fulfilling the old Law as it was declared by the twenty-four Sages, He (the Messiah) taught how to rule both families and kingdoms according to his own great Plan.	He fulfilled the Old Law of the Twenty-Four Sages' discourses, governing tribes and nations according to great principles.

[7] 設三一淨風无言之新教。陶良用於正信。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He appointed His new doctrines, operating without words by the cleansing influence of the Triune. He formed in man the capacity of good-doing by the correct faith.	he founded the new teaching unexpressed in words of the most holy Spirit of the Three in One, modeling the practice of virtue on right faith.	Establishing His New Teaching of Non-assertion which operates silently through the Holy Spirit, another Person of the Trinity, He formed in the capacity for well-doing through the Right Faith.	He established the New Religion of the Triune Holy Spirit's silence, refashioning good works according to right faith.

[7] 制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。開生滅死。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He defined the measures of the eight (moral) conditions, purging away the dust (of defilement) and perfecting the truth (in men). He threw open the gate of the three constant (virtues), thereby bringing life to light and abolishing death.	He laid down the rule of the eight conditions, cleansing from the defilement of sense and perfecting truth. He opened the gates of the three which abide, he disclosed life and abolished death.	Setting up the standard of the eight cardinal virtues, He purged away the dust from human nature and perfected a true character. Widely opening the Three Constant Gates, He brought Life to light and abolished Death.	He determined the salvation of the Eight Stages, refining the early and perfecting the heavenly. He revealed the gate of the Three Constants, unfolding life and destroying death.

[7/8] 懸景日以破暗府。魔妄於是乎悉摧。棹慈航以登明宮。含靈於是乎既濟。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He hung up the bright sun to break open the abodes of darkness. By all these things the wiles of the devil were defeated. The vessel of mercy was set in motion to convey men to the palace of light, and thereby all intelligent beings were conveyed across (the intervening space).	He hung up the brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved.	Hanging up the bright Sun, He swept away the abodes of darkness. All the evil devices of the devil were thereupon defeated and destroyed. He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light. Thereby all rational beings were conveyed across the Gulf.	He hung a brilliant sun which scattered the regions of darkness. The Devil's guile, lo, he has utterly cut off. He rowed Mercy's Barge which took him up to the courts of light. The souls of men, lo, he has already saved.

[8] 能事斯畢。亭午昇真。經留廿七部。張元化以發靈關。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
His mighty work being thus completed, at noonday He ascended to His true (place). He left behind Him the twenty-seven standard books. These set forth the great conversion for the deliverance of the soul.	His mighty works thus finished, he ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere. Of scriptures there were left twenty seven books which explain the great reformation to unlock the barriers of the understanding.	His mighty work being thus completed, He returned at noon to His original position (in Heaven). The twenty-seven standard works of His Sûtras were preserved. The Great means of Conversion (or leavening, i.e. transformation) were widely extended, and the sealed Gate of the Blessed Life was unlocked.	His mighty task once done, at noonday he ascended into Heaven. The Scriptures, left in twenty-seven books, take up the work of creation and open the spiritual realm.

[8] 法浴水風。滌浮華而潔虛白。印持十字。融四照以合无拘。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
They institute the washing of His Law by water and the spirit, cleansing away all vain delusions, and purifying men till they regain the whiteness of their pure simplicity.	The water and the Spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white.	His Law is to bathe with water and with the Spirit, and thus to cleanse from all vain delusions and to purify men until they regain the whiteness of their nature.	Holy baptism of wather and the Spirit cleanses from vanity and makes lean, innocent and white.

[8] 印持十字。融四照以合无拘。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
(His ministers) bearing with them the seal of the Cross, diffuse a harmonizing influence wherever the sun shines, and unite all together without distinction.	The figure of ten which is held as a seal lightens the four quarters to unite all without exception.	(His ministers) carry the Cross with them as a Sign. They travel about wherever the sun shines, and try to {56} re-unite those that are beyond the pale (i.e. those that are lost).	We hold as our seal the cross, which blends the four shinings, uniting all without distinction.

[8/9] 擊木震仁惠之音。東|礼趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外行。削頂所以无
內情

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
They strike their watch-wood, and at its sound {7} are stimulated to love and kindness. They turn ceremoniously to the east, and hasten on in the path to life and glory. They preserve their beards to show how their work lies without themselves; they shave their crowns to show that they have no inward affections of their own.	The wood struck awakes a sound of pity and kindness; the worship eastward hastens men along the road of life and glory. They keep {38} the beard because they maintain outward relationships; they shave the crown, because they have no inward passions.	Striking the wood, they proclaim the Glad Tidings (lit. joyful sounds) of Love and Charity. They turn ceremoniously to the East, and hasten in the Path of Life and Glory. They preserve the beard to show that they have outward works to do, whilst they shave the crown (tonsure) to remind themselves that they have no private selfish desires.	We strike the wood, a voice which quicknes loving-kindness. Worshipping towards the east, we hasten on the road to life and glory. We retain the beard to show that we have outward virtue. We shave the crown to show that we have no inner lusts.

[9] 不畜臧獲。均貴賤於人。不聚貨財示罄遺於我。齋以伏識而成。戒以靜慎為固。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
They do not keep or maltreat slaves, male or female. They make no distinction between noble and mean among men. They do not accumulate property or wealth, but give all they have to our (communities). They fast to subdue (the pride of) knowledge and become perfect; they keep the vigil of stillness and watchfulness to maintain (their minds) firm.	They do not keep male or female slaves, reckoning honourable and mean among men alike; they do not amass goods and wealth, displaying devotion and generosity among themselves. Purification is made perfect by seclusion and meditation; self-restraint grows strong by silence and watching.	They keep neither male nor female slaves. Putting all men on an equality, they make no distinction between the noble and the mean: They neither accumulate property nor wealth; but giving al l they possess, they set a good example to others. They observe fasting in order that they may subdue “the knowledge” (which defiles the mind). They keep the vigil of silence and watchfulness so that they may observe “the Precepts.”	We do not keep slaves, but in the outside world level the distinction, between noble and commoner. We do not amass possessions, but among ourselves declare utter renunciation. We fast in secret, and our senses have a guiding principle. We abstain in quietness, and our watchfulness makes us stable.

[9/10] 七時礼讚。大庇存亡。七日一薦。| 洗心反素

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Seven times a day they have worship and praise for the great protection of the living and the dead. Once in every seven days they have public service, cleansing their hearts and regaining their purity.	At the seven hours there is ritual praise, greatly helping the living and the dead; in seven days there is one offering, washing the heart to restore purity.	Seven times a day they meet for worship and praise, and earnestly they offer prayers for the living as well as for the dead. Once in seven days, they have “a sacrifice without the animal” (i.e., a bloodless sacrifice). Thus cleansing their hearts, they regain their purity.	Seven times a day we worship and praise, a great protection for the living and the dead. {138} Each seventh day we sacrifice to cleanse the heart and regain our purity.

[10] 真常之道。妙而難名。功用昭彰。強稱景教。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
6. This true and unchanging system of doctrine is mysterious and difficult to name. To display its manifest operation, we make an effort and call it the Illustrious Religion.	The true and eternal way is wonderful and hard to name; its merits and use are manifest and splendid, forcing us to call it the brilliant teaching.	This ever True and Unchanging Way is mysterious, and is almost impossible to "name. But its meritorious Operations are so brilliantly manifested that we make an effort and call it by the name of The Luminous Religion.	The True and Eternal Way (<i>tao</i>) is wondrous and hard to name. Its active energy is clearly manifest. Hence it may be called "The Illustrious Religion".

[10] 惟道非聖不弘。聖非道不大。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
But any (such) system without (the fostering of) the sage (sovereign) does not attain its full development, and a sage (sovereign) without the aid of such a system does not become great.	Yet the way without a prophet will not flourish; a prophet without the way will not be great. When way and prophet match and tally all under the sky is civilized and enlightened.	But, at any rate "The Way" would not have Spread so widely had it not been for the Sage, and the Sage would not have been so great were it not for "The Way."	If there is only a Way (<i>tao</i>) and no Sage, it will not expand. If there is a Sage and no Way, nothing great will result.

[10] 道聖符契。天下文明。太宗文皇帝。光華啟運。明聖臨人。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Let the sage (sovereign) and the (right) system come together like the two halves of a seal or covenant, and the world will become polished and enlightened. When the Accomplished Emperor T'âi Tsung (A. D. 627-649) commenced his glorious reign over the (recently) established dynasty (of T'ang), presiding over men with intelligence and sagehood,	When T'ai Tsung, the polished Emperor, was beginning his prosperous reign in glory and splendour, with light and wisdom ruling the people,	Ever since the Sage and "The Way" were united together as the two halves of an indentured deed would agree, then the world became refined and enlightened. When the accomplished Emperor T'ai-Tsung (627-649 A. D.) {57} began his magnificent career in glory and splendour over the (recently) established dynasty and ruled his people with intelligence, he proved himself to be a brilliant Sage.	When a Way and a Sage are found together, then the whole Empire is cultured and enlightened. At the time of T'ai Tsung, cultured Emperor, whose shining glory opened a propitious age, who was an enlightened Sage over his people,

[10/11] 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
in the kingdom of Tâ Ts'in there was a man of the highest virtue called Olopun.	there was in the land of Ta-ch'in one of high virtue called A-lo-pên,	And behold there was a highly virtuous man named A-lo-pên in the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in.	in Syria (Ta Ch'in) there was a Bishop (Lofty Virtue) named Alopen.

[11] 占青雲而載真經。望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀至於長安。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Guiding himself by the azure clouds, he carried with {11} him the True Scriptures. Watching the	who auguring by the blue clouds, carried the true Scriptures; watching the harmony of the winds,	Auguring (of the Sage, i.e. Emperor) from the azure sky, he decided to carry the true Sutras (of	Divining the bright clouds (of the eastern sky) he conveyed the true Scriptures, regarding the

laws of the winds, he made his way through difficulties and perils. In the ninth year of the period Chang-kwan (A.D. 635), he arrived at Ch'ang-an.	hastened to meet difficulties and dangers. In the ninth Chêng-kuan year (635) he came to Ch'ang-an.	the True Way) with him, and observing the course of the winds, he made his way (to China) through difficulties and perils. Thus in the Ninth year of the period named Chên-kuan (635 A.D.) he arrived at Ch'ang-an.	music of the wind, he rode through hardship and danger. In the ninth year of Chengkuan he arrived at Ch'ang-an.
---	---	---	---

[11] 帝使宰臣房公玄齡摠仗西郊賓迎入內。翻經書殿。問道禁闈。深知正真。特令傳授。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The emperor sent his minister, duke Fang Hsüan-ling, bearing the staff of office, to the western suburb, there to receive the visitor, and conduct him to the palace. The Scriptures were translated in the Library. (His Majesty) questioned him about his system in his own forbidden apartments, became deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, and gave special orders for its propagation.	The Emperor sent the Minister of State, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, to take an escort to the west suburb to meet the guest and bring him to the palace. When the books had been translated in the library and the doctrine examined in his private apartments, [the Emperor] thoroughly understood {39} their propriety and truth and specially ordered their preaching and transmission.	The Emperor despatched his Minister, Duke Fang Hsüan-ling, with a guard of honour, to the western suburb to meet the visitor and conduct him to the Palace. The Sûtras (Scriptures) were translated in the Imperial Library. (His Majesty) investigated "The Way" in his own Forbidden apartments, and being deeply convinced of its correctness and truth, he gave special orders for its propagation.	The Emperor sent the Chancellor, Duke Fang Hsuan-ling, to lead an escort to the western suburb, and received him as guest in the Palace. The Scriptures were translated in the Royal Library, and their doctrine examined in the Private Apartments. Knowing full well that it was right and true, the Emperor expressly commanded its propagation.

[11/12] 貞觀十有二年秋七月。詔曰。道无常名。聖无常體。隨方設教。密濟群生。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
In the twelfth Chang-kwan year {638}, in autumn, in the seventh month, the following proclamation was issued:— 'Systems have not always the same name; sages have not always the same personality. Every region has its appropriate doctrines, which by their imperceptible influence benefit the inhabitants.	In the twelfth Chêng-kuan year (A.D. 638), in the Autumn in the seventh month, it was decreed saying: The way has no unchanging name, sages have no unchanging method. Teaching is established to suit the land, hat all living may be saved.	In the Twelfth year of the Chêng-kuan period (A.D. 638) in the Seventh month of Autumn, the following Imperial Rescript was issued "The Way" had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame name; the Sage had not, at all times and in all places, the selfsame human body. (Heaven) caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved.	{139} In the autumn, the seventh month of the twelfth year of Cheng Kuan (638), he issued this proclamation: "The way (Tao) has no constant name, nor the Sage a constant form. According to its environment religion is set forth quietly affording salvation to all the living.

[12] 大秦國大德阿羅本。遠將經像來獻上京。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The greatly virtuous Olopun of the kingdom of Tâ Ts'in, bringing his	The man of great virtue, A-lo-pên of the land of Ta-ch'in, bringing books	Bishop A-lo-pên of the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in, bringing with him the	The Syrian (Ta Ch'in) Bishop (Great Virtue) Alopen, bringing

scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our High Capital.	and images from afar and offer them at the upper capital.	Sûtras and images, has come from afar and presented them at our Capital.	scriptures and images from afar, has come to present them in our Capital.
---	---	--	---

[12] 詳其教旨。玄妙无為。觀其元宗。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Having carefully examined the scope of his doctrines, we find them to be mysterious, admirable, and requiring nothing (special) to be done; having looked at the principal and most honoured points in them,	If we carefully examine the meaning the teaching it is mysterious, wonderful, full of repose. If we look at the fundamental principle	Having carefully examined the scope of his teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation. Having {58} observed its principal and most essential points,	If one studies the meaning of his religion, it is mysterious, wonderful, spontaneous. If one regards its ultimate goal,

[12/13] 生成立要。詞无繁說。理有忘筌。| 濟物利人。宜行天下。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
they are intended for the establishment of what is most important. Their language is free from troublesome verbosity; their principles remain when the immediate occasion for their delivery is forgotten; (the system) is helpful to (all) creatures, and profitable for men:— let it have free course throughout the empire.	it fixes the essentials of production and perfection. In its speech there is no multitude of words; in its principle there is [perfect accomplishment,] forgetting the means. It is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of men. It is right that it should have free course under the sky.	we reached the conclusion that they cover all that is most important in life. Their language is free from perplexing expressions; their principles are so simple that they “remain as the fish would remain even after the net (of the language) were forgotten. This Teaching is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to all men. So let it have free course throughout the Empire.”	it is producing perfection, establishing essentials. Its words contain no extravagant theories. It attends to facts – the fish caught rather than the trap. For the salvation of creatures and the benefit of man it ought to spread throughout the Empire.

[13] 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺。一所度僧廿一人。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
8. The proper officers forthwith, in the capital in the Ward of Righteousness and Repose, built a Tâ Ts'in monastery, sufficient {13} to accommodate twenty-one priests.	Let the local officers therefore build a Ta-ch'in monastery in the I-ning quarter at the apital with twenty-one men as regular monks.	Accordingly, the proper authorities built a Ta-ch'in monastery in the I-ning Ward in the Capital and twenty-one priests were ordained and attached to it.	The Office of Works is to build in the I-ning ward of the Capital one Syrian (Ta Ch'in) monastery, to house twenty-one monks”.

[13] 宗周德喪。青駕西昇。巨唐道光。景風東扇

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The virtue of the honoured House of Châu had died away; the rider in the green car had ascended to the west; the course of the great Tang was (now) brilliant; and the breath of the Illustrious (Religion) came eastward to fan it.	When the virtue of the ancestral Chou failed, the dark rider went up toward the west; now that the way of the great T'ang shines, a brilliant breeze blows toward the east.	The virtue of the honoured House of Chou had died away; the (rider on) the black chariot had ascended to the west. But (virtue revived) and “the Way” was brilliantly manifested again at the moment when the Great T'ang (Dynasty) began its	The virtue of the honoured Chou declined, and the black steed ascended to the west. Now that the great T'ang is bright, and the illustrious (Christian) influence comes wafted to the east.

		rule, whilst the breezes of the Luminous (Religion) came eastward to fan it.	
--	--	--	--

[13/14] 旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁。天姿汎彩。英朗|景門。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The proper officers were further ordered to take a faithful likeness of the emperor, and have it copied on the walls of the monastery. The celestial beauty appeared in its many brilliant colours, the commanding form irradiated the Illustrious portals;	{40} An order was published that the officers should have the Emperor's portrait copied on the walls of the monastery. The divine likeness full of beauty was a splendid ornament to the brilliant school;	Immediately afterwards, the proper officials were again ordered to take a faithful portrait of the Emperor, and to have it copied on the walls of the monastery. The celestial beauty appeared in its variegated colours, and the dazzling splendour illuminated the Luminous "portals" (i.e. congregation).	Then it was commanded that the officers take the Imperial portrait and hand it to be copied on the monastery walls its peerless beauty, passing elegant, shedding glory on the Illustrious portals its sage-like form,

[14] 聖迹騰祥。永輝法界。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
the sacred traces communicated a felicitous influence, for ever illuminating the precincts of the (true) Law.	the sage features overflowing with felicity were an eternal radiance to the religious community.	The sacred features (lit. foot-prints) (thus preserved) conferred great blessing (on the monastery), and illuminated the Church (i.e., the world of Law) for evermore.	radiating felicity, for ever lightening the sacred precincts.

[14] 案西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極眾寶之山。西望仙境花林。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
9. According to the Illustrated Record of the Western Regions, and the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Tâ Ts'in commences at the south with the Coral Sea, reaches on the north to the mountain of all Precious Things; on the west it looks towards the flowery forests on the Borders of the Immortals,	According to he <i>Hsi yü t'u chi</i> (Illustrated records of wesern lands) and the histories of the Han and Wei the land of Ta-ch'in is bounded on the south by the Shan-hu (coral) Sea, on the north it stretches to the Chung-pao Mountains, on the west it looks towards the Hsien-ching and Hua-lin.	According to the descriptive records of the Western Lands and the historical records of the Western Lands and the historical works of the Han and Wei dynasties, the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in is bounded on the south by the Coral Sea, and reaches on the north to the Mountain of all Precious Things; on the west it looks towards the Gardens of the Immortals and the Flowery {59} Forests.	According to the Geography of Western Countries and the history books of the Han and Wei dynasties. Syria (Ta Ch'in) to the south rules over the Coral (Red) Sea. Its northern limits are the mountains of many gems. It looks west to Fairyland and the Flowery Forest.

[14] 東接長風弱水。其土出火綉布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
and on the east it lies open to the long winds, and the weak water. The	on the east it borders on the Ch'ang-fêng and Jo-shui. The country	On the east it lies open to the Long Winds and the Weak Waters. The	Eastward it adjoins the constant winds and treacherous water

country produces the asbestos cloth, the soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls, and the night-shining gems.	produces fire-washed cloth (asbestos), spices that restore the soul, bright moon pearls, and rings that shine in the night.	country produces asbestos cloth, the soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls, and night-shining gems.	(literally, non-buoyant). That land produces asbestos cloth, life-restoring perfumes, moon-stones and luminous jade (emeralds?).
--	---	--	--

[15] 俗无寇盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣闊。文物昌明。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Robberies and thefts are unknown among the common people. Men enjoy happiness and peace. None but the Illustrious Religion is observed; none but virtuous rulers are appointed. The territory is of vast extent; its literary productions are brilliant.	The customs are without theft and robbery, the people have happiness and peace. No religion but the brilliant is practised, a ruler who is not virtuous is not established. The lands are extensive and broad, the civilization prosperous and enlightened.	Robberies and thefts are unknown among the common people, whilst every man enjoys happiness and peace. None but the Luminous teachings prevail, none but virtuous rulers are raised to the sovereign power. The territory is of vast extent; and its refined laws and institutions, as well as accomplished manners and customs, are gloriously brilliant.	Its common people know no noxious influences nor banditry, but men are happy and at peace. No laws but the Illustrious (Christian) are carried out. No lords but the Virtuous (Bishops?) are set up. Its territory is widespread. Its culture and its affairs are glorious and enlightened.

[15] 高宗大帝。克恭纘祖。潤色真宗。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
10. The great emperor Kao Tsung (650-683) reverently continued (the line of) his ancestors. A beneficent and elegant patron of the Truth,	The great Emperor Kao Tsung was well fitted to succeed his ancestors; he adorned and glorified the true principle.	The great Emperor Kaotsung (650 - 683 A.D.) succeeded most respectfully to his ancestors; and giving the True Religion the proper elegance and finish,	Kao Tsung the great Emperor was able to succeed his father. He added the final embellishment to the true sect

[15] 而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
he caused monasteries of the Illustrious (Religion) to be erected in every one of the Prefectures, and continued the favour (of his father) to Olopun, raising him to be Lord of the Great Law, for the preservation of the state.	Therefore he founded brilliant monasteries in every one of the departments (<i>chou</i>). An further he promoted A-lo-pên to be Great Spiritual Lord, Protetor of the Empire.	he caused monasteries of the Luminous Religion to be founded in every prefecture. Accordingly he honoured A-lo-pên by conferring on him the office of the Great Patron and Spiritual Lord of the Empire.	and in every prefecture established Illustrious monasteries. Wherefore he raised Alopen to the diginity of Metropolitan.

[15/16] 法流十道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The Religion spread through the Ten Circuits. The kingdoms became rich and enjoyed great repose. Monasteries filled a hundred cities; the (great) families multiplied in the possession of	The religion was spread over the ten provinces and the kingdoms were enriched with vast prosperity; monasteries occupied every city and the families enjoyed brilliant happiness.	The Law (of the Luminous Religion) spread throughout the ten provinces, and the Empire enjoyed great peace and concord. Monasteries were built in many cities, whilst every	The religion spread through the Ten Provinces (<i>Tao</i>). The country was rich and exceedingly prosperous. Monasteries filled a hundred cities. Families flourished in Illustrious blessedness.

brilliant happiness.		family enjoyed the great blessings (of Salvation).	
----------------------	--	--	--

[16] 聖曆年。釋子用壯。騰口於東周。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
11. In the period Shang-li (698, 699), the Buddhists, taking advantage of their strength, made their voices heard (against the Religion) in the eastern capital of Ch'au	In the Shêng-li years the Buddhists audaciously raised their voices in Eastern Chou;	During the period of Shêng-li (698-699 A.D.), the Buddhists, taking advantage of these circumstances, and using all their strength raised their voices (against the Luminous Religion) in the Eastern Chou,	In the year Sheng Li (698) the Buddhists (Sakya people) took advantage of their strength, and raised controversy in the Eastern Chou (Lo-yang).

[16] 先天末。下士大笑。訕謗於西鎬。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
, and in the end of the year Hsien-t'ien (712) some inferior officers greatly derided it; slandering and speaking against it in the Western Hào.	at the end of Hsien-t'ien the vulgar gentry gentry greatly mocked, blasphemed, and slandered in Western Hào.	and at the end of the Hsien-t'ien Period (712 A.D.) some inferior (Taoist) scholars ridiculed and derided it, slandering and speaking against it in the Western Hào.	In the year Tsien T'ien (712) the ignorant made great derision, and slandered us in the Western Kao (Ch'ang-An).

[16/17] 有若僧首羅含。大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振玄網。俱維絕紐。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
But there were the chief priest Lo-han, the greatly virtuous Chi-lieh and others, noble men from the golden regions, all eminent priests, keeping themselves aloof from worldly influences, who joined together in restoring the mysterious net, and in rebinding its meshes which had been broken.	There were however Lo-han, head of the {41} monks and Chi-lieh of great virtue, both noble sons of the Golden Quarter (the West), unworldly, eminent monks. They supported together the mystic cord and joined in tying the broken knot.	But there came the Head-priest (or Archdeacon) Lo-han Bishop Chi-lieh and others, as well as Noblemen from the Golden region and the eminent priests who had forsaken all worldly interests. All these men co-operated in restoring {59} the great fundamental principles and united together to rebind the broken ties	Such men as the Abbot Lo-han and Bishop Chi-lieh, all in the honoured succession from the west, unworldly monks of high position, joined to restore the mysterious order and together tied up its broken meshes.

[17] 玄宗至道皇帝。令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
12. Hsüan Tsung (713-755), the emperor of the Perfect Way, ordered the king of Ning and the four other kings with him to go in person to the blessed buildings, and rebuild their altars.	The most religious Emperor Hsün Tsung ordered the prince of Ning-kuo and the four other princes to go in person to the Temple of Happiness to build and set up the altars and courts.	The Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712 -755) who was surnamed "the Perfection of the Way," ordered the Royal prince, the King of Ning-Kuo, and four other Royal princes to visit the blessed edifices (i.e. monastery) personally and to set up altars therein.	When the most excellent Hsuan Tsung was Emperor he commanded the Prince of Ning, and four others of the royal house, to come down in person to the blessed shrine, to restore the altar and sanctuary.

[17] 法棟暫撓而更崇。道石時傾而復正。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The consecrated beams which had for a time been torn from their places were (thus) again raised up, and the Sacred stones which had for a time been thrown down were again replaced	The beam of the religion had been weak for a moment but was raised again; the stone of the Way had been thrown down for a time but stood upright once more.	Thus the "consecrated rafters" which had been temporarily bent, were once more straightened and strengthened, whilst the sacred foundation-stones which for a time had lost the right position were restored and perfected.	The sacred beams, for a time in ruins, rose still more sublime. The consecrated stones, once overthrown, were set back in their place.

[17/18] 天寶初。令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置。賜絹百[18]匹。奉慶睿圖。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
In the beginning of the period T'ien-pao (742-755), orders were given to the great general Kào Li-sze, to send faithful likenesses of the five sacred (emperors), and have them placed securely in the (original) monastery, with a gift of a hundred pieces of silk. The elegant pictures were presented with (the proper) congratulations.	At the beginning of T'ien-pao he ordered Kao Li-shih, the commander in chief, to take the portraits of the five sage (emperors) which were placed in the monastery, and to present a hundred rolls of silk, which were reverently received with salutations to the portrait of wisdom.	In the early part of the period T'ien-pao (742) he gave orders to his general Kao Li-shih to carry the faithful portraits of the Five Emperors and to have them placed securely in the monastery, and also to take the Imperial gift of one hundred pieces of silk with him, making the most courteous and reverent obeisance to the Imperial portraits.	At the beginning of the period of T'ien Pao (742), he commanded General Kao Li-shi to present the portraits of the Five Sages (Emperors) and place them in the monastery, and to give a hundred lengths of silk as congratulatory gifts to the august pictures.

[18] 龍髯雖遠。弓劍可攀。日角舒光。天顏咫尺

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Although the dragon (i.e. imperial) beard in them was too far off; the bow and sword could be touched with the hand; when the sun's horns (= rays) shed on them their light, the celestial countenances seemed to be within about a cubit (from the spectator).	Though the dragon's beard is far away, the bow and sword may yet be touched; while the sun's horns (emperor's face) diffuse light, the divine faces are not far off.	We feel as though "we were in a position to hang on to the Imperial bow and sword, in case the beard of the Dragon should be out of reach." Although the solar horns (i.e. the August and Majestic Visages) shine forth with such dazzling brilliance, yet the gracious Imperial faces are so gentle that they may be gazed upon at a distance less than a foot.	Although the Dragon's beard was far away, his bow and sword (looked as though they) might be drawn. {142} The crest of the sun unfolded light. The celestial face was very near.

[18] 三載大秦國有僧佶和。瞻星向化。望日朝尊。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
{19} In the third year of the same period (744), in the kingdom of Tâ Ts'in there was the monk Ch'ho. Observing the stars, he directed his steps to	In the third year there was in the land of Ta-ch'in the monk Chi-ho who gazing at the stars turned towards reformation, and looking at the sun did obeisance to	In the third year of the same period (744 A.D.) there was a priest named Chi-ho in the Kingdom of Ta-ch'in. Observing the stars, he decided to	In the third year (744) there was in Syria (Ta Ch'in) a monk, Chi-ho. Divining the stars he was attracted hither. Regarding the sun he

(the region of) transformation; looking to the sun, he came to pay court to the most Honourable (emperor).	the reverend one.	engage in the work of Conversion (lit. transforming influence) and looking toward the sun (i.e. eastward), he came to pay court to the most honourable (the Emperor).	presented himself at Court.
--	-------------------	---	-----------------------------

[18] 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人。與大德佶和。於興慶宮修功德。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
An imperial proclamation was issued for the priests Lo-han, P'û-lun and others, seventeen in all, along with this greatly virtuous Chî-ho, to perform a service of merit in the Hsing-ch'ing palace.	It was decreed that the monk Lo-han, the monk P'u-lun, and others, altogether seven men, with Chi-ho of great virtue, should practise meritorious virtue in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace.	The Imperial orders were given to the Head-priest (Archdeacon) Lo-han, priest P'u-lun and others, seven in all, to perform services {61} to cultivate merit and virtue with this Bishop Chi-ho in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace.	(The Emperor) summoned the monks Lo-han, P'u-lun, and others, in all seven, with the Bishop Chi-ho, to say Mass in the Hall of Joy (Palace).

[18/19] 於|是天題寺榜。額戴龍書。寶裝璀璨。灼爍丹霞

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
On this the celestial inscriptions appeared on the walls of the monastery, and its lofty front bore the dragon-writing. The precious lines were like the shining feathers of the kingfisher, and splendid as the ruby hues of the clouds about the sun.	Upon this the Emperor composed a motto for the monastery and the tablet bore the dragon writing. The {42} precious ornament was like a gem or a kingfisher, and was bright with the vermilion glow of sunset clouds.	Thereupon the monastery-names composed and written by the Emperor himself, began to appear on the monastery gates; and the front-tablets to bear the Dragon writing (i.e. the Imperial hand-writing). The monastery was resorted to by (visitors) whose costumes resembled the shining feathers of the kingfisher bird whilst all (the buildings) shone forth with the splendour of the sun.	The Emperor himself composed the monasteries' inscriptions. Their tablets bore the royal writing. These precious adornments glittered like the kingfisher, blazed and flashed like a glowing sky. The sage-like script, hung aloft, rose up as though aspiring to vie with the sun.

[19] 睿扎宏空。騰凌激日。寵賚比南山峻極。沛澤與東海齊深。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The tablets of wisdom filled each empty space, and their radiance rose up as if to provoke the sun. The gifts of favour were immense as the vast height of the southern hill; and the flood of rich benevolence like the depth of the eastern sea.	The writing of the wise one pervaded space, rising and leaping up in emulation of the sun. His gracious favour was like the Southern Mountain's towering peak; his overflowing kindness was as deep as the Eastern Sea.	The Imperial tablets hung high in the air and their radiance flamed as though vying with the sun. The gifts of Imperial favour are immense like the highest peak of the highest mountains in the South, and the flood of its rich benevolence is as deep as the depths of the Eastern sea.	His favours and rewards were as the Southern Mountains' loftiest height. His flood of grace was as the depth of the Eastern Sea.

[19] 道无不可。所可可名。聖无不作。所作可述。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
There is nothing which the right principle cannot effect, and whatever it effects can be named. There is nothing which a sage (sovereign) cannot do, and whatever he does can be related.	The Way is almighty, what it effects it is right to name; the Sage is never idle, what he does it is right to record. The Way is almighty, what it effects it is right to name;	There is nothing which "The Way" cannot effect through the Sage and whatever it effects, it is right for us to define it as such (in eulogy). There is nothing which the Sage cannot accomplish (through "The Way"): and whatever He accomplishes, it is right we should proclaim it in writing (as the Sage's work).	The Way (<i>Tao</i>) has nothing which it cannot achieve. Its achievements have a title to fame. The Sage has nothing which he dares not do. His deeds have the right to be recorded. The Way (<i>Tao</i>) has nothing which it cannot achieve. Its achievements have a title to fame.

[19/20] 肅宗文明皇帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The emperor Sû Tsung (756-762), Accomplished and Intelligent, rebuilt the monasteries of the Illustrious (religion) in Ling-wu and four other parts.	So Tsung, the polished and enlightened Emperor, refounded the brilliant monasteries in Ling-wu and four other departments (<i>chün</i>).	The Emperor Su-Tsung (756-762 A.D.), the Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt the monasteries of the Luminous (Religion) in Ling-wu, and Wu-chun.	Su Tsung, cultured and enlightened Emperor (756), re-established the Illustrious monasteries.

[19] 元善資而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
His great goodness (continued to) assist it, and all happy influences were opened up; great felicity descended, and the imperial inheritance was strengthened	Boundless goodness came to help and happy fortune began; great goodness came to help and happy fortune began; great prosperity came down and the Imperial estate was established.	The great Good Spirit continued to assist him and the happy reign began anew. Great blessings were given (to him and his people) and the Imperial inheritance was made secure.	Sovereign was the goodness that gave, as a blessed reign began. Great was the prosperity bestowed, as the Imperial throne was made secure.

[19] 代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事无為。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The emperor Tâi Tsung (763-779), Accomplished and Martial, grandly signaled his succession to the throne, and conducted his affairs without (apparent) effort.	The polished and martial Emperor Tai Tsung swelled and increased the imperial fortunes and conducted his affairs without exertion.	The Emperor Tai-Tsung, (763—779 A.D.), the Accomplished and Martial, greatly magnified the sacred Throne to which he succeeded. He observed the rule of non-assertion and walked in The Way of the Silent-operation.	Tai Tsung, cultured and warlike Emperor, enlarged and extended his inheritance of the Sage's office, discharging his affairs according to the principle of spontaneity.

[19] 每於降誕之辰。錫天香以告成功。頒御饌以光景眾。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Always when the day of his birth recurred, he contributed {21} celestial incense wherewith to announce the meritorious	Always on his birthday he presented divine incense to proclaim the perfection of merit; he offered a royal feast to	Every year when the (Emperor's) birthday recurred, {62} he bestowed celestial incense (on the priests)	Whenever his birthday came round he presented celestial incense and prayed for successful achievement. He made

deeds accomplished by him, and sent provisions from his own table to brighten our Illustrious assembly.	honour the brilliant congregation.	wherewith to report (to Heaven) the meritorious deeds accomplished by him. He distributed provisions from his own table and thereby gladdened the congregation of the Luminous Religion.	gifts of food for a banquet to brighten the Illustrious congregation.
---	------------------------------------	--	---

[20/21] 且|乾以美利故能廣生。聖以體元故能亭毒。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
As Heaven by its beautiful ministration of what is profitable can widen (the term and enjoyment of) life, so the sage (sovereign) by his embodiment of the way of Heaven, completes and nourishes (the objects of his favour).	Moreover heaven uses fair beneficence and so is able to extend life; the sage by clinging to the original principle is thus able to adorn and make perfect.	Moreover, Heaven blessed him with great blessings, and what he did cannot but reach far and wide. As the Sage is the Embodiment of the Original Way of Heaven, he completes and nourishes the objects of his favours.	Heaven because of its excellent benefits is able to produce on a vast scale. The Sage because he is the embodiment of Heaven is able to exert transforming influences.

[21] 我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景命。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
In this period of Chien-chung (780-783), our present emperor, Sage and Spirit-like, Accomplished alike for peace and war, develops the eight objects of government, so as to degrade the undeserving, and promote the deserving; and exhibits the nine of divisions of the scheme (of Royal government), to impart a new vigour to the throne to which he has illustriously succeeded.	Our safe, supernatural, cultured, and martial Chien-chung Emperor appointed the eight forms of government, removing the obscure and promoting the eminent; he published the nine articles that he might consider and renew the brilliant commission.	Our present Emperor who named the present period "Chien-chung" when he ascended the throne (in 780 A.D.) is most sacred and august alike in the works of Peace and War. He developed the Eight (objects) of Government, and degraded the unworthy whilst he promoted the deserving. He exhibited the "Nine divisions of the grand scheme of Imperial government; and thus imparted new life and vigour to his own Illustrious Mission.	Our present Emperor Chien Chung, sage-like and spiritual, enlightened and warlike, regards the eight objects of government (of the <i>Shu Ching</i>) in degrading the ignorant and promoting the intelligent. He illustrates the nine divisions of the Great Plan (in the <i>Shu Ching</i>) and is thus a renewal of Illustrious rule.

[21] 化通玄理。祝无愧心。至於方大而虛。專靜而恕。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
His transforming influence shows a comprehension of the most mysterious principles; (his) prayers give no occasion for shame in the heart. In his grand position he yet is humble; maintaining an entire stillness, he yet is observant of the altruistic rule.	In reformation he penetrates the mysterious principle; the priest [at the State prayers] is free from shame of heart. To attain to being perfect and great but yet humble, simple and tranquil and yet generous,	Conversion (i.e. the transforming influence) leads (the people) to the understanding of the most mysterious Principles. There is nothing to hinder us from offering our thanksgiving prayers for him. That those who are noble and exalted may behave humble-mindedly; that	In his work he comprehends (our) mysteries. In prayers (for him) there need be no qualms of conscience. That (men may be) complete, noble, and pure, tranquil, single-hearted and forgiving,

		those who are devoted to the Perfect Stillness may also be sympathetic and lenient to others;	
--	--	---	--

[21/22] 廣|慈救眾苦。善貸被群生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之階漸也。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
That with unrestricted gentleness he seeks to relieve the sufferings of all, and that blessings reach from him to all that have life is due to the plans of our (Illustrious Religion) for the cultivation of the conduct, and the gradual steps by which it leads men on.	to save with far stretching mercy all who are in misfortune, and to supply the needs of all living beings with righteous providence, this indeed is the great goal of our practice of virtue, the ladder of our advance.	and that they may thus seek, with boundless mercy, to relieve the sufferings of all, and with unselfish benevolence extend their helping hand to all mankind, these are our great plans for daily discipline and training, and gradual elevation of our life.	extending compassion to save all who are distressed, ready to offer pardon to all the living: (such are) our great principles of moral discipline (such is) the gradual process of drawing and leading on.

[22] 若使風雨時。天下靜。人能理。物能清。存能昌。歿能樂。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
That the winds and rains come at their proper seasons; quiet prevail through the empire; men be amenable to reason; all things be pure; those who are being preserved flourish, and those who are ready to die have joy;	If the winds and rains come in their seasons and the Empire is at peace; if men can be governed and all creatures be made good, if the living can flourish and the dead can rejoice;	Furthermore, in order that the winds and rains may come in their due season; that peace and tranquility may prevail throughout the Empire; that all {63} men may act reasonably; that all things may remain un defiled; that the living may flourish, and those who are dead (or dying) may have joy,	If winds and rains are seasonable, {144} if the Empire is tranquil, if men are able to act rightly, if creatures are able to be pure, if the living are able to prosper, if the dead are able to rejoice

[22] 念生響應。情發目誠者。我景力能事之功用也。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
every thought have its echo of response; and the feelings go forth in entire sincerity:— all this is the meritorious effect of its Illustrious power and operation.	when words echo truly the thought that is born, and the eye sincerely expresses the feelings that arise, this is the meritorious effect of the mighty acts of our brilliant strength.	that the words of the mouth may be in tune with their inmost thought as the echo follows the sound – all these are the meritorious fruits of the power and Operation of our Luminous Religion.	if thought produces its answering sound, and feeling its own sincerity, such is the mighty task and active energy of the influence of our Illustrious (religion).

[22/23] 大施|主金紫光祿大夫。同朔方節度副使。試殿中監。賜紫袈裟僧伊斯。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
A great benefactor to us is the priest Î-sze, a great officer of {23} the Banqueting Court, wearing the robe of purple wrought with gold, bearing also the seal of Associate Commissioner	Our great patron, Chintzu Juang-lu tai-fu, associate assistant chiehtu-shih of Shuo-fang, T'ien-chung-chien by examination and granted the purple kashāya, the monk I-ssü,	Our great Donor the priest I-ssü who had the title of Kuang-lu-ta-fu (i.e. one of the highest titles conferred on an Officer), with the decoration-rank of the Gold (signet) and the Purple Robe, and who	The great Benefactor is the gold and purple (robed) Warden of the Palace Gate, Vice-General of the Northern Marches, and joint probationary Imperial Chamberlain, who had received

for the Northern Regions, and, as overseer of the Examination Hall, gifted with the Purple Cassock;		was also the Lieutenant-Governor-General of the Northern Region, and the Assistant Over-Seer of the Examination Hall, was honoured with the purple clerical robe.	the Purple Robe (Kachaya), the monk I-Ssu.
---	--	---	--

[23] 和而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三代。藝博十全。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
— a man of courtesy and most kindly nature, who zealously carries into practice the (right) way when he hears it. From afar, from the city of Rajagriha, he came to Chung-hsia (i. e. to China). His science surpassed that of the three dynasties, and his arts were extensive and in all respects complete.	a man of harmonious nature and loving to do good, hearing the Way and diligently practising it, from afar out of the city of Wang-shê came all the way to Chung-hsia. The height of his learning was that of the Three Dynasties, the extent of his skill was perfectly complete.	He was mild in his nature and was naturally disposed to charity! Ever since he heard of “ <i>The Way</i> ,” he endeavoured to practise it. From afar, from the “City of the Royal Palace” he finally came to the Middle Kingdom. His fame of learning was highly exalted during the three generations, (i.e., the reign of the three Emperors), whilst he enjoyed the full development of knowledge and skill in all the Arts.	He is a mild man, loving gracious deeds. He heard the Way (<i>Tao</i>) and was diligent to walk therein. From the distant city of Balkh he finally came to China. His learning was high as that of the Three Dynasties, his skill wide as the Ten Perfections.

[23/24] 始效節於丹庭。乃策名於王帳。中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀。初摠戎於朔方也

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Performing at first certain duties in the palace, his name came to be entered in the pavilion of the kings. When the duke Ko Tsze-i, a secretary of state, and king of the division of Fun-yang, was first appointed to the charge of the military operations in the northern regions,	He first distinguished himself in the vermilion hall, and his name was indeed inscribed in the prince's tent. When the President of {44} Grand Council Due Kuo Tzŭ-i, Prince of the region of Fên-yang, first commanded the troops in Shuo-fang,	First performing certain faithful services to (the one who dwells in) the “Red Court” (i.e., the Emperor Su-tsung), he finally inscribed his name in the Imperial book (i.e., thus pledging himself to be a loyal subject). When the Duke Kuo Tsŭ-i, a Secretary of State and Viceroy of the Fên-yang Province, was first appointed to the charge of the military operations in the Northern Regions (750 A.D.),	First he proved himself at the Royal (Vermilion) Palace, then his name was inscribed in the Imperial tent. Duke Kwoh Tsu-i, Secretary of State and Prince of Feng-yang, was formerly General in command of the army in the north.

[24] 肅宗俾之從邁。雖見親於臥內。不自異於行間。為公爪牙。作軍耳目。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
(the emperor) Sŭ Tsung gave him this (î-sze) to accompany him to his command. Though he	Su Tsung ordered him to follow the expedition. Though treated with friendship in the	the Emperor Su-tsung ordered him (I-ssŭ) to accompany the Duke to his command. Although	{145} Su Tsung sent him to proceed (to the Duke). Although admitted to the intimacy of (the Duke's)

enjoyed (the duke's) favour in his sleeping-tent, he made no difference between himself and others on the march. He was claws and teeth to the duke, and was ears and eyes to the army.	(Prince's) bed-chamber, he did not think himself superior in the ranks. He was nails and teeth for the Duke, he was the army's eyes and ears.	he was so intimate with the Duke as to be admitted into his sleeping tent, yet so strictly and respectfully did he (I-ssü) behave that he made no difference between {64} himself and others on the march. He proved himself to be "claw and tusk" to the Duke; and "ear and eye" to the Army.	bedchamber, he assumed no privileges on the march. He was as claws and teeth to the Duke, as ears and eyes to the army.
---	---	--	---

[24/25] 能散祿賜。不積於家。獻臨恩之頗黎。布辭憩之金罽。或仍其舊寺。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He distributed his emoluments and presents, accumulating nothing in his own house. He made offerings (to the Illustrious Communities) of the glittering ornaments which he received as gifts; he spread out (in their halls) the carpets interwoven with gold as resting-places for the speakers; in some he repaired the old monasteries as they had been before;	He was mighty at scattering rewards and gifts; he did not lay up treasure in his own house. He made offerings of the crystal received from the Emperor's munificence; he gave away the cloth of gold received when he retired and sought rest. He both restored the old monasteries	He distributed all his salary as well as the gifts conferred on him, and did not accumulate wealth for himself and for his own family. He made offerings (to the monastery) of the Sphatika (i.e. crystal) which had been granted to him by the Emperor himself, and dedicated to the monastery the gold-interwoven carpets which (despite his humble refusal) had been given to him by the Emperor's own favour. He also restored the old monasteries to their former condition,	He was able to give away his allowances instead of amassing them for his family. He presented glassware which had been the gift of the Emperor to him. He distributed golden carpets (given to him) on retirement. Both by restoring the monasteries to their former state

[25] 或重廣法堂。崇飾廊宇。如翬斯飛。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
in others, he enlarged the preaching-halls, elevating and ornamenting their corridors and walls, till they appeared like pheasants {25} on the wing.	and doubled the size of the Churches. He raised and adorned the roofs of the galleries [and made them] like flying pheasants.	whilst he enlarged the worship-halls afresh. The corridors and walls were nobly ornamented and elegantly decorated; roofs and flying eaves with coloured tiles appeared like the five-coloured pheasant on the wing.	and by further extending the churches, he exalted and adorned their galleries and walls as fair as the kingfisher's flight

[25] 更效景門。依仁施利。每歲集四寺僧徒。虔事精供。備諸五旬。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Carrying out further the rules of the Illustrious Religion, he expended his acquisitions in deeds of benevolence. Every year he assembles the priests of all the monasteries,	He exerted himself beyond measure for the brilliant school; making benevolence his rule he dispersed his wealth. Every year he gathered the monks of the	Still further, ever since he took refuge in the Luminous Portals, he spent all his income in benevolent deeds. Every year he assembled the priests of the four	Still more did he devote himself to the Illustrious faith in love benefiting others. Every year he assembled the monks of four monasteries, for reverent service and

who engage in their reverent services and pure offerings for all the space of fifty days.	surrounding monasteries together; acting {45} recerntly, serving precisely, he provided everything for fifty days.	monasteries to have their reverent services and earnest offerings of prayers for fifty days.	proper worship to fulfil the whole of the Quinquagesima.
---	--	--	--

[25/26] 饑者來而飯之。寒者來而衣之。病者療而|起之。死者葬而安之。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The hungry come and are fed; the cold come and are clothed; the sick are cured and restored to health; the dead are buried and laid to rest in their graves.	He bade the hungry come and fed them; he bade the cold come and clothed them; he healed the sick and raised them up; he buried the dead and laid them to rest.	The hungry came to be fed the naked came to be clothed; the sick were cured and restored to health; the dead were buried and made to rest in peace.	The hungry came and they were fed. The cold came and they were clothed. The sick were healed and raised up, the dead were buried and laid to rest.

[26] 清節達娑。未聞斯美。白衣景士。今見其人。願刻洪碑。以揚休烈。詞曰。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Among the purest and most self-denying Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; but now the white-stoled members of the Illustrious Religion see it in this man. Wishing to engrave on a great monumental pillar our sense of the eminent and meritorious (events which we have related), we enter on it our eulogy as follows; —	Among the ta-so (<i>tarsā</i>) with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of; among the brilliant masters with the white robes we now see this man. We wish to engrave a great tablet to celebrate distinguished services. The words are:	Among the purest and most self-denying Ta-so (i.e. Tarsa or God fearing man) of the Lord such excellent examples were never heard of; but we see this very man amongst the white-robed scholars of the Luminous Religion! To the glory of God for all these eminent and meritorious events (above described), we engrave the following Eulogy in a form of poetical composition on this great Monument.	A pure and strict Christian (Ta-so, i.e. Tarsa), was never heard of his like. A white-robed Illustrious scholar, now that we do see such, we wish to carve a tablet to proclaim the noble hero. The Verse is as follows:

[26] 真主无元。湛寂常然。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
He, the true Lord, Himself uncaused. Profound and still, is aye the same.	The true Lord without origin, still serene, eternal,	{65} It is the true Lord who was Uncreated, And was ever profoundly firm and unchangeable.	{146} The True Lord, unoriginated, tranquil and still eternally abiding

[26] 權輿匠化。起地立天。分身出代。救度无邊。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The universe His handiwork, Earth rose and heaven received its frame. His separate Godhead * men then saw; His saving work no limits knew.	In the beginning fashioned and transformed; raised up the earth and set firm the heavens. The divided Person appeared on earth, redeeming and saving without bound.	He created the Universe after His own plan, And raised the Earth and framed the Heaven. Dividing His God-head, He took human form, And through Him, Salvation was made free to all.	in the beginning He created, raised the earth and set up heaven. He was incarnate and born into the world, for salvation unbounded.

[26/27] 日昇暗滅。咸證真玄 赫赫文皇。道冠前王

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The sun arose, the darkness fled, And all approved the mystery true. The Accomplished Sovereign gloriously Showed the old kings by him surpassed	The sun rose, darkness was destroyed; all bore witness to the true mysterious principle. The most majestic and culture Emperor in Truth excelled the former princes.	The Sun arising, the darkness was ended. All these facts prove that He is the True Mystery. The most Glorious and Accomplished Sovereign Surpassed all His predecessors in upholding "The Way."	The sun rose and darkness was destroyed; all witness the True Mystery. The glory of the cultured Emperor! His Way crowned that of the former Princes.

[27] 乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。明明景教。言歸我唐。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
His car o'er all disorder rode; Heaven grew more wide, and earth more vast. Our brightest Truth then came to T'ang; Its Scriptures spoke in Tang's own tongue;	Seizing the opportunity he put down disorder; heaven was magnified and earth enlarged. Brightly, brightly the brilliant teaching came to our T'ang.	Taking Time at its flood, He so settled all disorders. That Heaven was expanded and Earth widened. The brightest and most brilliant of all teachings – The teaching of the Luminous Religion – Took root deep and firm in our Land of T'ang.	By seizing his chances, dispersing disorders; heavenly powers were enlarged and earthly extended. The splendour of the Illustrious Religion! Its glory belongs to our T'ang dynasty.

[27] 翻經建寺。存歿舟航。百福偕作。万邦之康

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Its monasteries in grandeur rose; To save both quick and dead forth sprung Its ship. All blessings straight arose; The myriad regions had repose.	They translated books, they built monasteries; the living and the dead voyaged in the boat [of salvation]. Every happiness sprang up at once; all peoples came to prosperity.	With the translation of the Scriptures And the building of convents, We see the living and the dead all sailing in one Ship of Mercy. All manner of blessings arose, and peace and plenty abounded.	By translating the Scriptures and establishing monasteries; the living and the dead cross over in the Barge. All manner of blessings came upon us. Every state was at peace.

[27/28] 高宗纂祖。更築精宇。和宮敞朗。遍滿中土。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Kao Tsung succeeded to his sires. And built the dwellings Pure anew. Those palaces resplendent stood. Harmonious homes, the empire through.	{46} Kao Tsung, following his fathers, rebuilt the pure mansions. The palaces of harmony shining far and wide filled all the Middle Land.	Kao-Tsung succeeded to the Throne of his Fathers; He re-built the edifices for Holy use. Palaces of Peace and Concord stood resplendent far and near; The rays shining from them filled every part of the Empire.	{46} Kao Tsung, succeeded his ancestors. He rebuilt the spiritual shrines. The peaceful halls, spacious and resplendent, filled the whole of our Central Land.

[28] 真道宣明。式封法主。人有樂康。物无災苦。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The way of Truth was clearly preached, And one was made Lord of the Law. Men joyful owned its blessed peace; The land nor pain nor sorrow saw.	The true Way was preached and illumined. He ceremoniously appointed the spiritual lord. Men had joy and prosperity, creatures were free from calamity and misery.	The truths of "The Way" were made clear to all men. {66} Setting up a new institution, he created "the Lord Spiritual" And every man enjoyed most blessed peace and joy, Whilst the land saw neither pain nor grief.	The True Way was clearly proclaimed. He set the example of appointing a Metropolitan. Men enjoyed peace and happiness, creature knew no calamity nor distress.

[28] 玄宗啟聖。克修真正。御榜揚輝。天書蔚映。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Hsuan Tsung his sacred course began; His mind pursued the Truth and Right. His notices adorned our walls; His heavenly lines gave forth their light.	Hsüan Tsung opened his sage [career]; he was able to practise truth and uprightiness. An Imperial tablet displayed its glory, the divine writing was radiant and splendid.	When Hsuan-Tsung commenced his glorious career, With might and main, he pursued the Way of Truth. The temple-names written by the Emperor shone forth: The tablets of the celestial hand-writing reflected gloriously.	Hsuan Tsung was a well-instructed sage. He was able to repair the True and Right. {147} The Imperial lists flashed forth. The celestial writing reflected splendour.

[28] 皇圖璀璨。率土高敬。庶績咸熙。人賴其慶。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Pictures he sent like pendent gems; And reverence ruled throughout the land. All services were well discharged; Men hailed our Law a blessing grand.	The Imperial portraits shone like gems; the whole land paid high reverence. All his actions shone forth together; men trusted to his prosperity.	The Imperial Domain was embellished and studded with gems, While the least and the remotest places attained the highest virtue. All sorts of works undertaken by the people flourished throughout the land And each man enjoyed his own prosperity.	The Emperor's sparkled like gems. The leaders of the land showed high reverence. His various achievements were all successful. He made his people prosperous.

[28/29] 肅宗來復。天威引駕。聖日舒晶。祥風掃夜。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Sû Tsung's benignant reign then came; Majestic did his car appear. His sacred sun a crystal disk, Auspicious winds the night swept clear.	Su Tsung came to restore; divine majesty led his chariot. The sun of wisdom spread his brightness; a wind of good omen swept away the night.	When Su-Tsung finally was restored to the throne, The Celestial Dignity guided the Imperial vehicle; At length the sacred Sun sent forth its crystal rays; Felicitous winds blew, and the Darkness fled;	Su Tsung won back (his capital). Heavenly majesty led his chariot. The sun of wisdom shed its rays. Propitious influences swept away the night.

[29] 祚歸皇室。 祆氛永謝。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The imperial House again was blessed; The stifling vapours died away.	Happiness returned to the Imperial palaces; baleful vapours were expelled for ever.	Thus the precious Throne was made secure To the Imperial family of the great T'ang. The causes of calamity took flight – never to return;	Blessing returned to the Royal House. The baleful breath of demons for ever took its leave.

[29] 止沸定塵。 造我區夏

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Passions were stilled and tumults checked; Our Middle Hsiâ renewed its day.	He stopped the turmoil and laid the dust; he built up our land of Hsia.	Tumults were settled and men's passions subdued; The ideals of the Middle Kingdom were at last realized.	Tumults ceased. The dust of strife settled. Our land of Hsia (China) was made new.

[29] 代宗孝義。 德合天地。 開貸生成。 物資美利。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Tai Tsung was Filial and Just, Both heaven and earth were in him found. The open hand, by nature his. Dispensed his succours all around.	Tai Tsung was pious and righteous; his virtue joined heaven and earth. Scattering benefactions he produced and made perfect, and living beings enjoyed fair prosperity.	Tai-Tsung was filial to his parents and just to all. His virtues united with the great Plans of the Universe. {67} By his unselfish benevolence, he helped all mankind, Whilst the greatest blessings were realized in the abundance of wealth and prosperity.	Tai Tsung was filial and righteous. His virtue matched heaven and earth, generous and indulgent, producing Substance and property (showed his) excellent benefits.

[29] 香以報功。 仁以作施。 暘谷來威。 月窟畢萃。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Incense his merits told to Heaven; Benevolence aye marked his name. From the sun's rise men owned his might; From the moon's caves in crowds they came.	He repaid merit with gifts of incense; he practised liberality with benevolence. The valley of the sunrise came to his majesty; the caves of the moon all gathered together.	By burning fragrant incense, he showed his gratitude; With benevolence he distributed his gifts to the people. The Empire became so enlightened as though the glory of the Rising Sun in the Eastern Valley And the full Moon in her secret cave were brought together as one.	Incense served as a return for success. Benevolence was the reason of his gifts. The valley of the sunrise approached his majesty; the caverns of the moon all assembled.

[29/30] 建中統極。 聿修明德。 武肅四溟。 文清万域。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Our emperor of the present time, Has widest sway and	The Chien-chung [Emperor] attains the highest and proceeds	When our present Emperor ascended the Throne, He took the reins of	Chien-chung came to the throne. He straight away cultivated bright

<p>virtue bright. Within the seas all own his power; The myriad regions hail his light.</p>	<p>to perfect intelligent virtue. As a warrior he overawes the four seas; his culture enlightens all lands.</p>	<p>government and named the Chien chung (Period). He devoted himself to the cultivation of the Luminous Virtue. His military sway quelled the tumults of the Dark Sea in the Four Quarters, Whilst his peaceful rule of Enlightenment purified every part of the world.</p>	<p>virtue. His might cleared the four seas. His culture purified every region.</p>
---	---	---	--

[30] 燭臨人隱。鏡觀物色。六合昭蘇。百蠻取則。

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
<p>No secrets from his view concealed, His mirror all things well describes. The world from him gets life and light, A pattern to the rudest tribes.</p>	<p>With a torch he lights on the secrets of men; in a mirror he sees the likeness of creatures. The whole world is enlightened and restored to life; all the barbarians take [him as] a model.</p>	<p>As the light from a candle shines forth, so doth his glory penetrate the secrets of men. As the mirror reflects all things, so nothing is hid from his observant eye. The whole Universe gets life and light because of him. And even many of the rudest tribes outside the Empire take pattern by his govern- ment.</p>	<p>As with a candle he shone down on the secrets of men. As with a glass he surveyed the attributes of creatures. {47} All directions were revived by his radiance. All the barbarian tribes took him as their pattern.</p>

[30] 道惟廣兮。應惟密。強名言兮演三一。主能作兮臣能述。建豐碑兮
頌元吉

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
<p>How vast the system of our faith! Its answers come how secretly! Tis hard for us to form a name, To indicate our Trinity. Their lord can act; his ministers Can but relate. This stone we raise. Our monument we rear thus vast, And, greatly blessed, we bless and praise.</p>	<p>The Way is broad: its influence universal. We are compelled to name and speak it: to preach the Three in One. The Lord is able to do: The servant is able to tell. Set up a grand monument: praise the supreme felicity.</p>	<p>How vast and extensive is the True Way: Yet how minute and mysterious it is. Making a great effort to name it, {68} We declared it to be "Three-in-one"! O Lord nothing is impossible for Thee! Help Thy servants that they may preach! Hereby we raise this noble Monument, And we praise Thee for Thy great blessings upon us!</p>	<p>The Way (<i>Tao</i>) alone is far-reaching. Its course alone is unknown. We strive to find words to name it, and profound the Trinity. The Lord has power to perform. His ministers have power to declare it. We set up this splendid Tablet in praise for our great blessings.</p>

[30] 大唐建中二年歲在作噩太歲月七日大耀森文日建立

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Erected in the second	In the great T'ang dyn-	Erected in the Second	Set up in the great T'ang,

year of the period Chien-chung (A. D. 781) of the great T'ang dynasty, the year-star being in Tso-yo, on the seventh day of the first month', being Sunday.	asty, Chien-chung, second year, the solar period being in tso-o, the t'ai-tsou month, seventh day, the great yao-sên-wên day.	year of the Chien-chung Period (781 A.D.) of the Great T'ang (Dynasty). the year Star being in Tso-o, on the seventh day of the First month (the day being), the great "Yao-sên-wên" day	the second year of Chien-chung (781), astronomically the year being Tso-O, the first month, and the seventh day, being a great "Yao-sen-wen" day, (this tablet) was erected,
---	---	--	--

[30] 時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
The present Chief of our Law being the priest Ning-shû, charged with the care of the Illustrious Communities of the East.	At the time the spiritual lord the monk Ning-shu was presiding over the brilliant congregations of the East.	when the Spiritual Lord, the Priest Ning-shu (i.e. "mercy and peace"), was entrusted wit the care of the Luminous Communities of the East.	when the monk Ning-shu (Hnanisho) was Patriarch administering the Illustrious congregations in the east.

[S2] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ

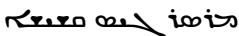
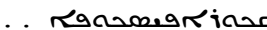
Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
In the days of the Father of Fathers, my lord Hanan-Yeshu, Katholikos, Patriarch.	In the days of our father of fathers, Mar Hananishu, Catholicos, Patriarch.	In the day of our Father of Fathers, my Lord Hanan-isho, Catholicos, Patriarch.	In the days of the Father of Fathers, the Lord Hnanisho, Catholicos and Patriarch.

[32] 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Written out by Lü Hsiû-yen, Secretary of State, formerly discharging the duties of military superintendent in T'ai-châu.	Lü Hsiu-yen, Ch'ao-i-lang, formerly Ssü-shih-ts'an-chün of T'ai chou, was the writer.	Written by Lü Hsiu-yen, with the title of Chao-i-lang (i.e., a court rank corresponding to the upper sixth rank of T'ang, and was the Superintendent of the Civil Engineering Bureau of T'ai Chou (i.e. a Department in Chekiang).	Written by Lu Hsui-yen, honoray assistant Secretary of State, and former Officer of Public Works in T'ai-chou.

- [S3] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S4] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S5] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S6] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S7] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S8] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S9] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S10] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S11] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S12] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [33] 僧靈寶 [S13] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S14] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ
- [S15] ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ



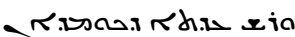

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
(In Sriac) In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092-311 = A. D. 781) my lord Yezdbüzid, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos of Kumdan the royal city, son of the departed Meles, Presbyter of Balḥ, city of Tehuristân, erected this stone tablet, wherein are written the disposition of our Saviour, and the preaching of our fathers to the kings of the Chinese. (In Chinese.) The priest Ling-pâo. (In Sriac) Adam, Deacon, son of Yezdbuzid, Chor-episcopos;	(In Syriac) In the year thousand and ninety and two of the Greeks (A.D. 781) My Lord Izd-buzid priest and country-bishop of Khumdan the metropolis, son of the late Milis priest, from Balkh a city of Tauristan (i.e. Tocharistan), set up that tablet of stone. The things which are written on it [are] the law of him our Saviour and the preaching of them our fathers to the kings of Zinaye. (In Chinese) Monk Ling-pao (In Syriac) Adam minister son of Izd-buzid country-bishop.	In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092 -311 = A.D. 781) my Lord Yazedbouzid, priest and chorepiscopos of Kumdan, the Royal city, son of the departed Milis, priest from Balkh, a city of Tahouristan, erected this Monument, wherein is written the Law of Him, our Saviour the Preaching of {69} our forefathers to the Rulers of the Chinese. (In Chinese) Priest Ling-pao. (In Syriac) Adam, deacon, son of Yazedbouzid, chor-episcopos; Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopos.	(In Syriac) In the year 1092 of the Greeks, the priest Lord Yazdbozid, Chorepiscopos of Kumdan (Ch'ang-An), son of the late priest, Milis, from Balkh, town of Tokhara, has erected this stone tablet whereon are inscribed the Law of our Saviour, and the preaching of the fathers to the rulers of China. (In Chinese) Monk Ling-pao (In Syriac) Adam, deacon, son of Yazdbozid Chorepiscopos.

[S16] 
 [S17] 

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Mar Sergius, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos.	Mar Sargis priest and country-bishop.	Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopos.	Mar Sergis, priest and Chorepiscopos.

[34/35] 檢校建立碑僧行通

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Examiner and Collator at the erection of the stone tablet, the priest Hsing T'ung.	Supervisor of the erection of the tablet the monk Hsing-t'ung.	The Examiner and Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Hsing-t'ung.	The monk Hsing-t'ung, assistant editor at the erection of the Tablet.

[S18] 
 [S19] 
 [S20] 
 [S21] 

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Sabran Yeshu, Presbyter; Gabriel, Presbyter and Archdeacon, and Head of the Church of Kumdin and of Sarag.	Gabriel Priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Khumdan (i.e. Ch'ang-an) and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).	Sabr-isho, priest; Gabriel, priest and archdeacon, and the Head of the Church of Khumdan and of Sarag	Sabran-isho, priest. Gabriel, Priest and archdeacon and head of the churches of Khumdan (Ch'ang-An) and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).

[36/37/38] 助檢校試太常卿賜紫袞裳寺主僧業利

Legge	Moule	Saeki	Foster
Assistant Examiner and	Assistant Supervisor: the	Assistant Examiner and	The monk Yeh-li,

<p>Collator, the Presbyter Yi-li, Chief of the Monastery, Director of the Sacrificial Court, and gifted with the Purple Cassock.</p>	<p>monk Yeh-li, t'ai-ch'ang-ch'ing by examination, granted the purple kashāya, abbot.</p>	<p>Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Yeh-li, the Head-priest of the Monastery, who is honoured with the purple-coloured ecclesiastical vestment, and who is the Director of the Imperial Bureau of Ceremonies, Music and Sacrifices.</p>	<p>assistant editor, probationary Grand Minister (on Board of Religious Rites?), recipient of the Purple Robe (Kachya), Abbot.</p>
--	---	---	--

APPENDIX III

THE STELE OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE BRILLIANT RELIGION OF TA-TS'IN IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

Translated from the French translation of Paul Pelliot
by Dr David Wilmshurst

[1] A EULOGY WITH AN INTRODUCTION [ENGRAVED ON] THE STELE OF THE PROMULGATION OF THE BRILLIANT RELIGION OF TA-TS'IN IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.

[2] Related by Ching-ching, a priest of the Ta-ts'in monastery.

[3] Yes, indeed! Eternal in his truth and his serenity, who was there before all things began but had no beginning; infinite in his spirituality and his impassivity, who will be there after all things end, a transcendent entity; who concentrated his mysterious power and created all things; who inspired the saints with his supreme majesty. Who is he, if not the transcendent person of our triune Unity, the True Lord, without beginning, A-lo-ho (Allaha)?

[THEOLOGICAL SECTION]

He drew a cross to fix the four cardinal points. He stirred up the primeval breath to produce [4] the two principles. Darkness and void were transformed, and heaven and earth appeared. The sun and the moon appeared, and days and nights existed. He opened and perfected ten thousand beings. He brought into existence and raised up the first man. He deliberately endowed him with excellent harmony (with himself?). He conferred on him dominion over the vastness of creation. The nature [of the man], in his original state, was impassive and not proud. His heart, entirely honest, was originally without lusts.

But it transpired that So-tan (Satan) used trickery, and adorned himself with garments of pure essence. He interposed the equality of greatness in the midst of [5] that [which was] good. He inserted the mysterious identity inside that [which was] evil. So three hundred and sixty-five sects, jostling one another and confounding their ruts, threw into disarray the thread of the Law. Some designated created things and invoked them as their gods. Others confused inanity with existence, and thereby confounded them both. Others offered prayers and sacrifices in their search for happiness. Others made a parade of virtue in order to gain power over their fellows. Their thoughts tormented them, and their passions pained them. Worn out with weariness, [6] they found nothing. Burned and tormented, one after another they consumed themselves. Surrounding themselves with darkness, they lost their way, and were long unable to retrace their steps to their former excellence.

Then the divided person of our threefold Unity, the venerable and brilliant Mi-che-ho (Messiah), putting aside and veiling his true majesty, came into the world in the likeness of men. An angel proclaimed the good news, and a Virgin gave birth to the Saint in Ta-ts'in. A brilliant star announced the happy event; Persia, seeing its radiance, came to offer gifts. [The Messiah] fulfilled the ancient law, [7] which had been formulated by the twenty-four saints to govern families and empires on the great model. He also established the new teaching, inexpressible in words, of the Holy Spirit of the triune Unity, to accustom men to virtuous practice in accordance with correct belief. He instituted the rules of the eight stations, purifying the soiled and perfecting truth. He opened the gate of the three constants, giving access to life and destroying death. He hung up his brilliant sun to smash the dominion of darkness, and the snares of the demon were all overthrown. He pushed to the bank [8] the bark of mercy, to ferry them up to the

palace of light. Creatures endowed with a soul were then truly saved. When all his possible work was completed, in broad daylight he rose up to Truth.

He left twenty-seven sacred books, in which he developed the Great Reform, so as to remove the bar of the closure of the spiritual [life]. As a law, [his disciples] baptize in water and the Spirit, washing away vain ornaments and purifying in simplicity and candour. They carry the cross like a seal, joining the four shining directions, united without distinction. By the wooden boards that they strike, they make resound the sounds of charity and kindness. By their worship towards the east [9], they travel along the road of life and glory. They grow their beards, because their activity is outwards. They shave the crown of their heads, because they are not subject to their inner passions. They do not possess slaves, and they make no distinction between the conditions of the rich and the poor. They do not amass wealth, but have set themselves the example of a complete renunciation. Their fasts are completed by retreat and meditation. Their prohibitions are strengthened by tranquility and vigilance. At seven o'clock in the morning, they sing ritual hymns which greatly aid the living and the dead. Every seven days they celebrate a service, [10] purifying the heart and restoring its brightness. This true and eternal teaching is transcendent, and thus hard to name. As its meritorious practice brings enlightenment, we are obliged to call it the Brilliant Religion.

[HISTORICAL SECTION]

But wisdom does not develop without a saint; and a saint does not grow without wisdom. When wisdom and saint are matched together, like two halves of a tally, the empire is protected and enlightened. When the accomplished emperor T'ai-tsung was inaugurating his [imperial] fortune in splendour and magnificence, and with forethought and sanctity was casting his gaze over men, there was in the realm of Ta-ts'in [a man of] superior virtue, named [11] A-lo-pen. Having observed the prognostications of the blue clouds, he took with him Scriptures that proclaimed the truth. Having examined the musical notes of the winds, he confronted difficulties and dangers. In the ninth *Cheng-kuan* year (635), he arrived in Ch'ang-an. The emperor instructed the minister of state, the honourable Fang Hsuan-ling, to go with the imperial guard to the Western Suburb, give [A-lo-pen] a hospitable welcome, and bring him into the palace. [The emperor] had the sacred books translated in the library. He questioned him on his teaching in his private apartments. He was completely convinced that the [teaching] was correct and truthful, and by a special edict ordered that it [should be allowed] to be preached. In the twelfth *Cheng-kuan* year, [12] in the autumn in the seventh month, an imperial edict decreed:

The Way has no eternal name; the saint has no eternal mode. They institute a teaching according to regions, and mysteriously save the living. The greatly-virtuous A-lo-pen, from the realm of Ta-ts'in, bringing from afar his sacred books and his images, has come to offer them in the supreme capital. If one studies the doctrinal tendency of these [sacred books], it is a mysterious and transcendent 'no movement'. If one grasps their fundamental principle, it establishes the essential truth concerning the creation and purpose of living things. In its propositions, [this teaching] has no redundant words; in its concepts, it dispenses with the means. [13] It saves living things and is profitable to men. It is appropriate that it should be spread within the Empire. Let the competent authorities immediately establish, in the I-ning quarter of the capital, a Ta-ts'in monastery, and let them recognise there the vows of twenty-one monks.

The virtue of the ancestral Chou disappeared, and the grey-blue carriage set off for the West. The wisdom of the great T'ang shone forth, and the brilliant breeze blew towards the East. Then the order was given to the authorities to reproduce the emperor's portrait on the wall of our monastery. His celestial beauty glittered in sparkling colours, and made the brilliant gates to shine sumptuously. [14] His blessed lineaments shed abroad their felicity, and constantly illuminated the domain of the Law.

According to the *Illustrated Records of Western Lands (Si Yu t'ou ki)* and the historical documents of the Han and Wei, the realm of Ta-ts'in stretches on the south as far as the Coral Sea, and on the north it reaches the Mountains of the Joyful. On the west it faces the Domain of the Immortals and the Flowery Forests, and on the east it touches the Violent Winds and the Weak River. This country produces stuff that bathes in fire, perfume that restores the soul, the pearl of the bright moon and the ring that shines at night. [15] As for its customs, brigandage is unknown, and the men enjoy contentment and joy. As for their teaching, only the Brilliant [teaching] is practised. As for their rulers, only the virtuous are chosen. Its territory is extensive, and its material civilization splendid.

The great emperor Kao-tsung respectfully followed the practice of his predecessors. He added new ornaments to the True Teaching, and also established a Brilliant monastery in each of the prefectures. He showed new favour to A-lo-pen, granting him the title of 'Great Lord of the Law, guardian of the realm'. The Law spread throughout the ten [16] provinces, and the realm flourished in immense felicity. Monasteries stood in a hundred cities, and families prospered in brilliant happiness.

In the *Sheng-li* years the sons of Shakya, taking advantage of their strength, enviously slandered us in the Eastern Chou. At the end of the *Hsien-t'ien* [years] the vulgar scholars, with gross accusations, spread calumnies in the Western Hao. Then there were found [among men] the chief priest Lo-han and the greatly-virtuous Chi-lieh, both sprung from a noble stock in the region of metal, eminent men detached from the world. Together, they sustained the mysterious cord; together, they retied [17] the broken knot. The Emperor of the Perfect Teaching, Hsuan-tsung, ordered the prince of Ning and the four other princes to go in person to the fortunate buildings and to rebuild the altars there. The master beam of the Law, which had momentarily sagged, again stood upright; the stones [of the foundation] of the Teaching, which had been temporarily thrown down, were again restored. At the beginning of the *T'ien-pao* [years], he ordered the great general Kao Li-shih to bring portraits of the five saints, which were placed inside the monastery, and he presented a hundred rolls of silk, [18] which we received, giving thanks to the wise images. Though the dragon's beard was far away, we could still grasp his bow and sword; the solar protuberance shone forth its radiance, and the celestial face [was no more distant] than eight inches or one foot. In the third year [of *T'ien-pao*] (744), in the realm of Ta-ts'in, there was a monk named Chi-ho. Observing the stars, he turned towards transformation; gazing at the sun, he came to pay homage to the venerable one. An edict ordered the monk Lo-han, the monk Pu-lun and other monks, seven in all, along with the greatly-virtuous Chi-ho, to celebrate a service of blessing in the Hsing-ching palace. [19] Then God raised up the vertical panels of the monastery, and the horizontal tablets bore the Dragon's writing. The precious cadres made their gems sparkle, and their radiance shone out in empurpled clouds. The wise symbols filled the air; dazzling, they made the brilliant sun seem pale. The gracious gifts stood higher than the Southern Mountains; the favours dispensed were as deep as the Eastern Ocean.

For wisdom, nothing is impossible, and what is possible can also be named. A wise ruler never rests, and what he achieves we are right to record. The cultivated and enlightened emperor Su-tsung [20] rebuilt the Brilliant monasteries in the five commanderies of Ling-wu and elsewhere. Supreme bounty came to his aid, and good fortune arose. Great Felicity drew near, and the imperial heritage was assured.

The cultivated and martial emperor Tai-tsung [762–79] greatly expanded his sacred lot, and applied himself to affairs without pursuing [particular] ends. On every occasion of the anniversary of his birthday, he made offerings of celestial perfumes to announce [to Heaven] the achievement of his task, and distributed imperial meals to honour the Brilliant assembly. Yea, [21] Heaven procures the magnificent

advantage, and by it propagates abundance. The saint models himself on the first [activity], and can thereby embellish and perfect it.

Our blessed, divine, cultivated and martial emperor *Chien-chung* [from his reign name], has extended the eight [objects] of government, so as to degrade the incapable and to promote men of merit. He has developed the nine divisions, so as to powerfully renew the brilliant mandate. His transforming work penetrates the mysterious organisation. Those who intercede for him are not ashamed in their hearts.

[THE GOOD WORKS OF I-SSU]

Of great knowledge, but also simple, absorbed in serenity but also sympathetic, he spreads abroad his [22] compassion to help all the unfortunate, and he excels in his generosity to sustain all the living. Such is the great vow which follows when we put our teachings into practice, and the gradual ascension by which we rise [towards salvation]. If the winds and the rain follow their seasons and the empire is at peace; if men obey their ruler and creatures allow themselves to be purified; if the living can prosper and the dead can rejoice; if a newborn thought finds an answering echo; if sentiments are openly expressed and glances are sincere: this is the meritorious result of the actions of which our Brilliant force is capable.

The great patron, [23] *kuang-lo ta-fu*, with the golden [seal] on the violet [ribbon], deputy commissioner of Shuo-fang, having passed the examination for administrator of the *tien-chung-[cheng]*, honoured with the violet *kasaya*, the monk I-ssu, is conciliatory and loves to [demonstrate] his benevolence. Having heard tell of the Way, he practises it zealously. From afar, from the City of the Royal Palace, he came to our Middle Hsia. His knowledge surpassed [that] of the Three Dynasties, and his erudition extended beyond the perfect number. He first distinguished himself in the Red Hall, and then wrote his name in a [24] princely tent. When the honourable Kuo Tzu-i, president of the Great Secretariat and prince of the Fan-yang commandery, was placed for the first time at the head of an army in Shuo-fang, Su-tsung ordered him [I-ssu] to accompany the duke to his command. Although he [I-ssu] was treated informally in the [sovereign's] sleeping-tent, he claimed no privilege for himself during the campaign. He served as teeth and nails to the honourable [Kuo Tzu-i], and was the ears and eyes of the army. He gave away all the rewards and imperial gifts [that he received], and did not accumulate them in his house. He offered the [glasses] of crystal which had been gifted to him, and extended [25] the golden [carpets] on which one rests after taking one's leave. He restored the old monasteries, and multiplied and extended the halls of the Law. He magnificently decorated the roofs of the galleries, so that they were flying like pheasants.

He used his wealth for the Brilliant Religion. Persevering in perfect virtue, he renders service through his generosity. Every year he gathers together the monks of the four temples. He treats them with respect and makes careful offerings for them, throughout the entire space of five decades. The hungry come, and he feeds them. The cold come, and he clothes them. He heals the sick, and [26] raises them up. He places the dead in coffins, and lays them to rest. Among the *ta-so (tarsa)* with their pure rules, such excellence has never been heard of; among the brilliant masters in their white robes, this man can still be seen today.

We wished to inscribe a great stele, to celebrate these high and excellent deeds.

The verse eulogy is as follows:

The true Lord is without beginning; profound and serene, he is eternal.

[He took] primitive matter and fashioned and transformed it; raising up the earth and framing the sky.

His divided body came into the world. He saved [beings] without limit.
The sun rose and the shadows [27] were dispersed. All recognised absolutely this truthful Mystery.

Majestic in truth, the cultivated emperor excelled the monarchs of old in his wisdom.
Seizing the moment, he suppressed disorders; heaven was widened and earth enlarged.
The Brilliant Religion, shining in truth, then came to our T'ang.
The sacred texts were translated and monasteries built; it was the ship [of salvation] for the living and the dead.
A hundred felicities appeared at once; there was contentment for the ten thousand realms.

Kao-tsung followed in the path of his ancestors; he rebuilt the dwellings of zeal.
Palaces of concord, shining splendidly, filled every part [28] of the Middle Kingdom.
The true teaching sent forth its light; the spiritual lord was duly appointed.
Men knew joy and contentment; creatures knew not calamity or grief.

Hsuan-tsung developed sanctity; he successfully practised truth and virtue.
The imperial panels sent forth their rays; the celestial writing shone magnificently.
The imperial portraits were glittering gems; the whole country showed him great respect.
All his works were splendidly concluded; men benefited from the felicity of [Hsuan-tsung].

Su-tsung came to restore; celestial majesty guided [29] his procession.
The blessed sun sent forth its light; a propitious wind swept away the night.
Prosperity returned to the imperial palace; the poisonous fumes ceased forever.
He stilled discontent and pacified faction; and established our empire of Hsia.

Tai-tsung was pious and just. His virtue joined itself to heaven and earth.
He lavished his aid for the production [of beings] and their completion, and beings benefited from this excellent profit.
He advertised his merits with incense, and distributed gifts with perfect virtue.
The valley of the rising sun approached his majesty; the caverns of the moon crowded around him.

Chien-chung [30] has succeeded to the throne. How splendid is the virtue he practises!
His prowess terrifies the four seas; his cultivation purifies the ten thousand lands.
He allows his illuminating gaze to fall upon the secret sufferings of the people. Examining them, he envisages the talents of men.
The six regions return to light and life; the hundred barbarians take him for their model.

[Concluding strophe]

How vast is our teaching, how subtle its influence!
As we are obliged to give it a name, we have explained the threefold unity.
What our Lord can do, his servant can relate.
We have erected a great stele to celebrate our immense good fortune.

[Colophon]

[31]

In the second year of *Chien-chung*, when the year was in *tso-o*, in the month of *t'ai-tsou*, on the seventh day, which was the day of the great *yao-sen-wen* (Sunday), this stele was erected. At this time the monk Ning-shu, Lord of the Law, was governing the brilliant assembly of the Eastern regions.

[32]

The *ch'ao-yi-lang* Lu Hsiu-yen, formerly military superintendent in T'ai-chou, wrote the text.

APPENDIX IV

ACCOUNT OF DISCOVERY IN 1625 AND EARLY LATIN TRANSLATION

(1) ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE XI'AN MONUMENT BY P. ALVAREZ SEMEDO (1643)

P. Alvarez Semedo, *Relazione Della Cina* (Rome, 1643) 197-98 (transcribed by Valentina Bottanelli):

Nell'anno 1625, facendosi una fossa per certa fabrica vicino la Città di Siganfù, Metropoli della Provincia di Xemsi, arrivarono li Zappatori ad una tavola di pietra lunga più di noue palmi, larga più di quattro, e grossa più che uno. La testa, cioè una dell'estremità della lunghezza, finisce in forma piramidale, con più di due palmi d'altezza, e più che uno di finimento ò base. Nel campo di questa Piramide vi è una ben formata Croce, le cui estremità finiscono in fiori come di gigli, al modo di quella che si riferisce essersi trovata scolpita in Meliapor, nella sepoltura dell' Apostolo S. Tomaso, e come anticamente s'usauano in Europa, delle quali Croci anche hoggidi ne vediamo alcune.

Cingono questa Croce alcune come nuuole, & al piede si vedono tre righe à trauerso, ognuna di tre lettere grandi, tutte, dell'vsate nella Cina, chiamamēte scolpita. Della medesima sorte di lettere comparisce scolpite tutta la superficie della Pietra, etiandio nella grossezza, la quale è differente però dal resto, perche alcune lettere in essa scolpite, sono forastiere, nè si conobbero quando si trouò.

A pena pulirono e riconobbero li Cinesi questa notabile antichità, che spinti dal brio della lor naturale curiosità, corsero al Gouvernatore, il quale molto festeggiante per tal auuiso, andò a vederla, e subito la fece collocare sopra un piedistallo di buon lauoro, sotto un Archetto, sostenuto dalli lati, & aperto d'auanti, accioche insieme e fusse difesa dall'ingiurie del tempo, e si potesse godere dagli occhi apprezzatori della venerabile antichità. Volle ancora che questo deposito fusse dentro del circuito d vn Tempio di Bonzi, non lontano dal luogo doue s'era levato.

Concorse à veder questa Pietra molta gente, parte per la sua antichità, parte per la nouità delli Caratteri stranieri, che si vedeuano in essa: e come che hoggi nella Cina la notitia della Legge nostra è molto sparsa, un Gentile molto amico d'un

H. Yule, revised by H. Cordier, *China and the Way Thither* (London, 1913) 235-57:

In the year of 1625, whilst the foundations of a house were a-digging in the neighbourhood at the city of Si-ngan fu, the capital of the province of Shen si, the workmen hit upon a stone slab more than nine palms long, by four in width and more than a palm in thickness, The head of this slab, *i.e.* one of the ends in its longer dimension, is finished off in the form of a pyramid more than two palms high with a base of more than one palm, and on the surface of this pyramid is a well-formed cross with floreated points, resembling those which are described to be sculptured on the tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur, and such as were also at one time in use in Europe, as we may see by some examples that have been preserved to the present day.

There are some cloudy marks round about the cross, and (immediately) below it three transverse lines, each composed of three large characters clearly carved, all of the kind employed in China. The whole (of the rest) of the surface of the stone is seen to be sculptured over with characters of the same kind, and so also is the thickness of the slab, but in the last the characters are different from the others, for some of them are outlandish, and their nature was not known at the time of discovery.

No sooner had the Chinese cleaned this notable piece of antiquity and seen what it was, than, with the vivid curiosity which his natural to them, they ran to tell the Governor. He came in all haste to see it, and straightway caused it to be set up on a handsome pedestal under an arch which was closed at the sides and open in front, so that it might at one be protected from weather, and accessible to eyes capable of enjoying and appreciating an antique of such a venerable kind. The place which he selected for it was also within the enclosure of a Bonze Temple, not far from where the discovery occurred.

Great numbers of people flocjed to see this stone, attracted in part by its antiquity and in part by the novelty of the strange characters that were visible on it. And as the knowledge of our religion has now spread far and wide in China, a

grave, Mandarino Christiano, chiamato Leone, trouandosi li intese il misterio di quella scrittura, e stimò per cosa gratissima all'amico, inuiargli vna copia di essa, benché fusse la distanza d'un Mese e mezzo di viaggio, habitando il Mandarino nella Città di Hamcheu, doue li nostri Padri s'erano quasi tutti ritirati, per la persecutione antecedente, della quale diremo a suo luogo. Si riceue con giubilo spirituale, e dimostrati oni eferiori di allegrezza, quella copia, testimonianza irrefragabile dell'antica Christianità Cinesè, tanto desiderata, e cercata; che questo conteneua quella scrittura, come diremo.

Doppo tre anni nel 1628, passarono alcuni Padri à quella Prouincia con l'occasione d'un Mandarino Christiano, chiamato Filippo, che li andaua. Alzarono e Chiesa e Casa nella Metropoli, perche Iddio benedetto, che volle fusse scoperta una si bella memoria del possesso preso in quel Paese della sua diuina legge, fù anche seruito, che si facilitasse la sua restititione nell'istesso luogo. Toccò à me d'essere delli primi; e stimai felice quella stanza, per l'occasione di vedere la Pietra; & arriuato d'altra cosa non mi curai. La viddi, la lessi, e tornai à leggerla e rimirla à bell'agio, & alla lunga; e considerando la sua antichità, ammirai, come fusse così intera, & hauesse le lettere così chiare, e nettamente scolpite.

Nella sua grossezza ha molte lettere Cinesi, le quali contengono molti nomi delli Sacerdoti, e Vescoui di quel tempo. Ve n'hà però altre molte, le quali non furono allora conosciute, perche nè sono Hebraiche, nè Greche, e che per quanto intendo, contengono li medesimi nomi; accioche se per auventura alcuno straniero non sapesse leggere l'altre del Paese, intendesse forse queste peregrine.

Passando per Coccino arrivai a Cranganor, residèza dell'Arciuescouo della Costa, per consultare sopra queste lettere col P. Antonio Fernandes della nostra Compagnia, peritissimo nelle lettere di quella Christianità di S.Tomasso. Mi disse, che le lettere erano Siriache, e quelle che li s'vsavano.

certain Pagan with a worthy Christian mandarin claeed Leo, when he discerned the bearing of this mysterious writing, thought he could not do his firend a greater pleasure than by sending him a copy of it. And this he did, although the Mandarin was a six weeks' journey off, residing in the city of Hang chau, whither most of our fathers had retired on account of the persecution that had occurred, of which we shall speak in its place. He received the transcript with pious joy, and visible demonstrations of delight, seeing the irrefragable testimony of the ancient Christianity of China which it contained (a thing such as had been much desired and sought for), as we shall explain.

Three years later, in 1628, some of the fathers had an opportunity of visiting the province in question in company of a Christian mandarin called Philip, who had gone thither. A church and a house (of the Society) were erected in that metropolis; for the Blessed God who had willed the discovery of so fine a monument of the ancient occupation of this country by His Divine Law, was also pleased to facilitate its restitution in the same locality. It was my fortune to be one of the first to thither, and I thought myself happy in having that post, on account of the opportunity it gave me of seeing the stone; and on my arrival I could attend to nothing else until I had seen it and read it again and examined it in a leisurely and deliberate manner. Considering its antiquity, I could not but admire that it was so perfect, and exhibited letters sculptured with such clearness and precision.

Looked at edge-wise there are on it many Chinese characters which contain a number of names of priests and bishops of that age. There are so many other characters which were not then known known, for they are neither Hebrew nor Greek, but which, as far as I understand, contain the same names in order that if by chance some one from abroad should come who could not read the writing of the country, he might, perhaps be able to understand the foreign characters.

Passing afterwards through Cochin on my way to Cranganor, the residence of the Archbishop of the Cast, I consulted on the subject of those letters Father Antonio Fernandez of our Society, who was very learned in the literature of those St. Thomas Christians, and he told me that the letters were Syriac, and the same as were in use by that body.

(2) LATIN TRANSLATION PUBLISHED BY ATHANASIUS KIRCHER
OF THE XI'AN MONUMENT IN 1677
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN (1987)

Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu China monumentis qua sacris quàm profanis, nec non variis naturæ & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata, (Amsterdam, 1677) cols. 29a-34b:

Eng. trans.: C.D. Van Tuyl, *China Illustrata by Athanasius Kircher, S.J.* (Muskogee, 1987) cols. 25b-30a:

INTERPRETATIO III

Seu

DECLARATIO PARAPHRASICA

Inscriptionis Sinicae, primùm è Sinico in Lustitanicam ex hac in Italicam, & demùm ex Italica in Latinam linguam de verbo ad verbum translate, et sequitur.

Declaratio *del Xiù Piu*, vel ut Commentator ait, facta a Sacerdote Regni Judæae, qui vocabatur *Kim Lim*.

I. Dico itaque hoc modo, ille qui semper verus fuit & quietus, omnis expers principii, intellectus profundissimi, & semper duraturi, eccellente potentiâ suâ ex nihilo creavit res p̄mnes, infinita majestate sua & santitate fecit Sanctos. Haec est essentia Divinia, trina in personis, & in substantia una. Dominus noster, verus sine principio, *Olò, ò yu* (quod in Chaldaeo idem ac Eloha significant) in figura Crucis fecit quattuor Mundi partes, commovit Chaos, fecit duo *Kis* (hoc est, duas virtutes, seu duas qualitates dictas *Inyam*; Commentator habet, duo principia) fecit mutationem in abyssonem, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coelum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis noctem et diem causarentur, res omnes fabricatus est. Verum creando primum hominem ei praeterea justitiam largitus est originalem, dominum eum constituendo totius Universi, qui de sua natura primo vacuus erat & vilis, seipso plenus, intellectu plano & aequali, & sine mistura nullum habens appetitum inordinatum.

II. Postquam vero Satanus fraudibus suis usus, effect; ut Adamus id quod ex se & sua natura purum erat & perfectum inficeret; hoc est, fecit ut maillia in ipsum intrare inciperet perturbatura pacem, & huius suae simplicitatis aequalitatem & discordiam {29b} illa fraude introduxit. Idcirco trecentis sexaginta quinque sectis una post alteram abortis, unaquaeque earum maximum quem poterat numerum ad se trahebat. Alii principium rerum omnium vacuum ponebant, & ens reale (alludit ad hoc secta Pagodum & Literatorum Sinensium) quoniam illi affserunt, quod principium, e quo omnia prodire, sit vacuum; quod idem illis est, ac subtile; sensibus imperceptibile, etiamsi in se reale sit & positivum principium. Literati vero dicunt, quod principium rerum non solum reale sit & positivum, sed paeterea quod reqlis sit figurae & corpulentiae, ut

INTERPRETATION III

or

PARAPHRASE

Of the Chinese Inscriptioni, which first translated literally into Portugese, then from that language into Italian and finally into Latin.

The Declaration of Xiu Piu, or as the commentator says, made by the priest of Judæa called Kim Lim.

I. So I say, He was always true and quiet, without any beginning, of profound intellect, destined to endure always. By his excellent power He created everything from nothing. In his infinite majesty and sanctity He made the Holy Ones. This is the Divine Essence, three persons in one substance, our Lord, true and without beginning. He is *Olò, ò yu* (which in Chaldaean means Eloha). He made the four parts of the world in the shape of a cross. He moved the chaos and made the two *kis* (this is, the two virtues of qualities called *Inyam*; the commentator calls them the two principles). He made Heaven and earth, and caused the sun and moon to indicate day and night by their movements. He created everything. Truly, in creating the first man He gave him his original justice and appointed {26a} him lord of the entire universe. At first he was by nature empty and vile, full of Himself, having a level and balanced intellect, without any mixture, and not having any excessive appetite.

II. Later Satan used his tricks and caused Adam to damage his pure and perfect nature. That is, he caused evil to begin to enter him to disturb his peace, and the equality of his simplicity, and by that fraud he introduced discord. Therefore 365 sects arose, one after another, and each attracted as many followers as it could. Some worshipped the created instead of the Creator. Others proposed that the Void is the basis of all things, and that it is a real thing. (This refers to the Chinese sect of the pagodas and the literati.) They assert that the principle from which everything proceeds is a void. To them this is subtle and imperceptible to the senses, but even so it is a real and positive principle. The literati, also, say that the principle of things is not only real and positive, but moreover that it has a form and substance so that it can be perceived. Some were searching for blessing in

sensibus comprehendi queat. Quidam safrificiis quaerebant beatitudinem. Quidam bonitate quadam gloriabantur ad decipiendos homines, qua in re omenm suam scientiam & industriam collocabantur, omni diligentia & sine prosectu, semper im pejus progredientes quemadmodum contingit iis, qui e vase cretaceo ignem elicere volunt, obscuritatem addentes obscuritati, & hoc ipso veram semitam perdentes ad viam vitae recerti nescientes.

III. Tunc una de Divinis personis sanctissimae Trinitatis dicta Messias restringendo tegendoque Majestatem suam, & se humanae naturae accommodando {30a} homo factus est. Quam ob rem ad hoc gaudium annunciandum Angelum ablegavit, & de Virgine in Judaea natus est. Stella magna felicitates hujus fuit annunciatrix. Reges ejus claritate perspecta numera oblaturi venerunt, ut Lex, & Prophetiae viginti quattuor Prophetarum adimplerentur. Gubernavit autem Mundum lege magna, condidit Legem Divinam, spiritualem sine verborum strepitu, fide vera consummavit: octo disposuit beatudines: res mundanas mutavit in aeternas: aperuit portam trium virtutum (Theologicarum), vitam dedit destruendo mortem. In persona sua ad inferos descendit, & omnia confudit daemonia; nave pietatis suae ad coelom conduxit bonos, & justorum animas in salute vindicavit. Hisce denique finitis sua potential circa meridiem in coelum ascendit, relinquens viginti septem Doctrinae tomos ad portam manae conversionis Mundi aperiendam. Baptismam ex aqua & spiritu instituit ad abluenda peccata, & Mundum ad paupertatem reducendum. Cruce utitur, ut omens absque exceptione comprehendat, exitat mones voce charitatis, reverentiam exhibere jubens versus Orientem, ut pergant in via vitae gloriae.

IV. Ministri ejus ornamenti exterioris causa barbam alunt, & coronas in capite faciunt (id est verticem radunt) ut ostendunt se nullo intus affectu malo teneri. Mancipiis utuntur: in alto & basso (id est, in prospero & adverso) sive humili omnibus se faciunt aequales: divitias non congregant, sed eas omnibus faciunt communes: jejunia {lunt} colunt cum ad mortificandas passiones, tum ad praecepta Divina servanda: magnificiunt homines supra se eleatos & (a rebus mundanis) abstractos; septies in die orationis tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis faciunt: septenis diebus semel ad animam a peccatis purgandam, puritatemque ei restituendam sacra faciunt. Quia Lex vera, & constans excellens est, difficile est ei congruum {30b} nomen reperire, cum ejus effectus sit illuminare, & Omnia claritate perfundere; unde necessarium fuit eam appellare Kim Kiao, hoc est, Legem claram & magnam.

sacrifices. Some glory in a certain goodness in order to deceive men. They bring all their knowledge and industry to bear and use their diligence and intent to serve their desires. In truth, they labour in vain and without profit, always becoming worse, just as happens to those who try to take fire from a clay vase. They increase the darkness and so lose the true path, and don't know how to return to the way of life.

III. Then the Messiah, who is one of the divine persons of the most holy Trinity, restrained and covered his majesty and accommodated himself to human nature and became a man. For this reason he sent an angel to announce this joy, and was born of a virgin in Judaea. A great star announced this felicity. Kings saw its brightness and came to offer gifts to fulfil the Law and prophets. He ruled the world with his Great Law and founded the Divine Law, which is spiritual and lacks the noise of words. He consummated it in true faith. He gave the eight beatitudes, He transformed worldly things into eternal ones. He opened the gate of the three (theological) virtues. He gave his life to destroy death. In person he descended into Hades and confounded all the demons. He took the good people to Heaven in his ship of piety, and vindicated the souls of the just and saved them. When these things had been accomplished by his power, about midday he ascended to Heaven, leaving twenty-seven volumes of doctrine for opening up the gate to the great salvation of the world. He instituted baptism by water and the spirit for washing away sins and restoring the world to purity. He used the cross to lay hold of all people without exception, to stir up everyone with the voice of charity, ordering them to show reverence toward the east, that they might walk on the way of a glorious life.

IV. His ministers wear beards for exterior ornament, and they make crowns on their heads (i.e., they shave the top) to show that they have no inner passions. They use (no) slaves. High or low (that is, in prosperity or adversity) they make themselves equal to everyone. They do not accumulate wealth, but have everything in common. They fast to mortify the passions and to keep the divine precepts. They magnify those over them and are removed from worldly matters. They pray seven times a day for the living and the dead. Once each seventh day they perform holy rites purifying their souls and restoring purity. Since the Law is true, constant and excellent, it is difficult to find a suitable name for it, since its effect is to illustrate and bathe everything with brightness. Hence, it was necessary to call it Kim Kiao, that is the Great and Bright Law.

V. Lex, ubi personae Regiae desunt, non extenditur, nec dilatur: quaquam magnificentur. Lege itaque, & Regibus concordantius, & in unam veluti rem coeuntibus illico Mundus illuminatur. Igitur Rege dicto *Tai cum veu huamtii* tempestate illa celebri, singulari prudential & sanctitate (Chinam) administrante, venit ex Judaea summae virtutis Vir vocatus *Olo puen*, qui a nubibus deductus etiam per ventos, & chaftas hydrographicas multa pericula & labores sustinuit, & tandem anno *Chiu quoni & ieu sie* (erat ille annus Christi sexcentusimulus trigesimus sextus) ad Curiam Regiam appulit. Rex vero famosos Calao*, qui *Fam Kieu lym* dicebatur, praecepit, ut accepto jumento obviam novo hospiti versus Occidentalem partem procederet, hoc est, versus Suburbium Civitatis, eumque omni benevolentia exceptum in Regiam introduceret. Iussit Rex traduci Doctrinam in Palatio, ibidemque una investigavit veritatem Legis. Intellexit Rex esse veram Legem, & serio per totum Regnum cum efficacia & honore jussit divulgari & dilatari, & in hoc anno 12 *Cin quoun* 7 mense Autumni (erat in annus Domini 636.) rescripsit in hunc modum. (Promulgationis tenor est iste, qui sequitur). Lex vera non habet nomen determinatum, nec sancti locum habent, ubi consistant, determinatum: excurrunt ad omnes partes, ut Mundum doceant, ad Mundo laboranti succurrendum, velis, remis ad utilitatem afferendam intenti. Ex hoc Regno *Tanicin* (sive Judaea) *Olo puen* magnae virtutis homo de locis adeo dissitis Doctrinam, & imagines Regiae nostrae Curiae praesentaturus asportavit. {31a} Cujus nos intentum docendi a fundamentis examinantes, invenimus doctrinam ejus admodum excellentem, & sine strepitu exteriori, fundata principaliter in Creatione Mundi. Doctrina ejus non est multorum verborum, nec superficialitenuis suam fundat veritatem, salute hominibus adferens & profectum: unde congruum est, ut toto nostro Imperio divulgetur. Mandarinis quoque, qui *Nim fam* dicuntur, in eo Curiae loco praecepit, magnam ut Ecclesiam exstruerent, eidemque viginti & unum Ministros deputarent. (Author *Kim Cim* laudat hic Regem) scilicet ad vires Monarchiae *Cheu Olad iu* (caput hoc est sectae *Stai iu*, alii *Tausu*) debilitandas. In curru nigro versus Occidentem, (hoc est extra Chinam) discessit. Verum ubi magnus *Tam* illustris factus est cum *Tao*, sanctum euangelium Chinae illatum est. Paulo inde Rex effigiem illius (*Olo puen*) qui, ut diximus, primus Euangelium attulit, depingi curavit, & muro appendi; excellens ejus figura resplenduit portis Ecclesiae, & memoria semper fulgebit in Mundo.

VI. Juxta Geographos, qui partium Occidentalium mentionem faciunt, juxta Historicos durorum Regnorum *Han & Guei*, Regnum *Tan cin* (id est Judaea) ab Austro confine est Mari rubro, ab Aquilone confine est Montes gemmarum, & Occidente Boco das

V. The Law does not extend or spread where royal persons are absent. Royal persons are magnified in vain when there is no Law. When the kings and the Law agree and come together as one, the world is illuminated. So when King *Tai cum veu huamtii* in that famous time administered (China) with great prudence and sanctity, a virtuous man named *Olo puen* came from Judaea, bringing the true doctrine from the clouds. Borne by the winds and with his marine charts he endured many labours and perils, and finally in the year *Chin quon* and *ieu sie* (A.D. 636) he reached the royal court. The king ordered the famous *colao Fam Kieu lym* to take a beast of burden and to go to a new hospice in the western part of the city, {27a} that is toward the suburbs, and when he had been received with all benevolence, to bring him into the royal court. The king ordered for the doctrine to be introduced into the palace, and at the same time he studied the truth of the Law. The king understood that there is a True Law, and he ordered it to be earnestly introduced and spread with efficacy and honour through his whole kingdom. In this twelfth year of *Cin quoun* in the seventh month of autumn (A.D. 636) he wrote like this: (i.e. the tenor of his edict is s follows): "The True Law does not have a fixed name, nor do the holy ones have a fixed place where they stay. They run everywhere to preach the word, and to help the affected in the world, and to help them. From this kingdom of *Tan cin* (or Judaea) *Olo puen*, a man of great virtue, came from far off carrying his doctrine and images to present them to the royal court. We have examined the content of their teaching from its very foundations, and we have found this doctrine is excellent and does not have external quarrelling, being based mainly on the creation of the world. The doctrine does not consist of a multitude of words, nor does it base its truth superficially, but it brings salvation and progress to men. Hence, it is fitting to be spread through our whole empire. He also ordered the mandarins of the court, who were called *Nim fam*, to build a large church and to appoint twenty-one servants in it. (The author *Kim Cim* praises the king here.) He did this especially for weakening the strength of the monarchy of *Cheu Olad iu* (which is the head of the sect of *Stai iu* or *Tausu*). He left, riding toward the west (that is outside China) in a black chariot. In truth, when the *great* Tam Dynasty was illustrious, the *Tao*, the holy Gospel, was carried into China. A little later the king ordered his (*Olo puen's*) portrait to be painted and hung on a wall. His excellent portrait shone on the gates of the church, and his memory will always shine in the world.

VI. According to the geographers who make mention of the west and according to the historians of the two kingdoms of Han and Gwei, the kingdom of *Tan cin* (Judaea) is bordered on the south by the Red Sea, on the north by mountains of gems, and on the west by

fullas (quod quid sit, difficile est conijcere, ego Carmelum suspicor esse) in prospectus versus Sanctos. Ab Oriente denique contermna est huic loco *Ciam fam* & aquae, quam mortuam dicunt. Haec terra cineres eructat igne calentes (forte intelligit Lacum Asphaltitum) producit balsamum, gemmas minutas & carbunculos (quibus insinuate Aegyptum cum reliqua Rubri maris, in qua praedicta reperiuntur). Latronibus caret & Assasinis, populous in pace vivit & gaudio; in Regnum non admittunt nisi Euangelium; dignitates nulli, nisi virtute meritis conferuntur: aedificia sunt grandia: (verbo) Regnum celebre est poesi, alii ordine, & bonis moribus.

VII. *Docao*, alii *Coazum*, *Cum*, filius *Tai cum*, gubernacula Regni abiit anno Domini 651. (continuando Author *Kim cim* haec dicit) *Cao vim*, alii *Caorum*, magnus Imperator minime virtutibus *Avi* sui degener, novit cum honore continuare intentum *Avi* sui, & dilatare & honorare res patris sui, praecipiens in omnibus Provinciis fieri Ecclesias, unique honorans *Olo puen* titulo Episcopi magnae Legis, quae gubernat Regnum Chinae. Tum lex Dei promulgata est per decem Provincias (quibus Sinense Regnum continebatur) & Regnum summa pace fruebatur, Ecclesiis replebantur omnes urbes, & domus felicitate Euangelii florebant.

VIII. In hoc anno dicto *Xim lie* (quintus annus Domini 699) Bontii Pagodum sectatores suis usi viribus extulerunt voces, (id est blasphemarunt nostrum sanctam Legem) in loco, qui dicitur *Tum cieu* (erat est forte in Provincia *Honan*) & in fine hujus alterius anni dicti *Sien tien* (qui respondet anno Domini 713) quidam privati homines in *Sieno*, quae erat antiqua Regia *Ven vam*, (Commentator vult esse *Siganfu*, in Provincia *Xensi*) ausi sunt nostrum sanctam Legem sannis, ludibrio & vituperio proscindere.

IX. Hoc tempore erat quidam princeps Sacerdotum (videtur fuisse Episcopus,) nomine *Joannes*, & alius magnae virtutis Vir, nomine *Kie Lie*. Hi duo cum aliis nobilibus popularibus suis non fama minus, quam rerum mundanarum contemptu celebribus, coeperunt iterum rite Euangelium suum excellens explicare continuando, & fila(militia Cacodaemonis) pridem ruptareficere. Rex dictus *Hiuen cum chi tao* (coepit hujus Imperium anno 719.) quinque Regulis praecepit, ut in persona adirent felicem domum (hoc est Elcesiam) & erigerent altaria. Tum columna Leges {32a} quae ad breve tempus jacuit prostrate, caepit rursus erigi, & incrementa sumere. In hoc principio anni *Tien Pao*, (quod erat anno Domini 743.) praecepit Rex *Ota Ciam Kuen* (nomen tituli) dicto *Cuolie sie* (erat is Eunuchus summa apud Regem gratia valens & autoritate) ut effigies versa quinque Regum

the *Boca das fullas* (the meaning of which is difficult to conjecture, but which I think is Mount Carmel) in the prospect facing the holy ones. On the east the boundaries are the placed called *Ciam fam* and the water which they call dead. This land vomits up cinders glowing with fire (possibly he means a lake of asphalt), and produces balsam and little gems and rubies (for which Egypt is known, along with the rest of the shore of the Red Sea, where they are found). It has no robbers or killers. The people live in peace and joy. Only the Gospel is found there. All the dignitaries are appointed because of their virtue and merits. The buildings are large. In short, the kingdom is famous for its poetry, order and good customs.

VII. *Docao*, also called *Coazum* or *Cum*, was the son of *Tai cum*, the governor of the kingdom, who had died in 651 A.D. (The author *Kim cim* continues to say these things.) *Cao vim* or *Caorum* was a great leader of no less virtue than his grandfather, and knew how honourably to continue the intent of his grandfather and to spread and give churches in all the provinces and he honoured *Olo puen* with the title of Bishop of the Great Law Which Rules the Kingdom of China. The Law of God was preached in the ten provinces (of the Chinese Empire) and the cities were filled with churches and the houses flourished with the happiness of the gospel.

VIII. In this year *Xim lie* (699 A.D.) the bonzes, followers of the pagodas, used their strength to raise up their voices (that is, they blasphemed our Holy Law) in the place called *Tum cieu* (which was possibly in the Honan Province) at the end of the year called *Sien tien* (which corresponds to A.D. 713). Certain private men in *Sieno* (which the commentator says is *Siganfu* in Xensi Province), dared to attack our Holy Law with mockery, ridicule, and vituperation.

IX. In this time there was a certain chief priest (evidently a bishop) named John and another man of great virtue named *Kie Lie*. These two, who scorned worldly matters as much as they were honoured by the nobles and people began again continually to explain the {28a} Gospel and to mend the threads broken by the malice of the blind demon. The king, called *Hiuen cum chi tao* (who began to reign in 719 A.D.) ordered his five subordinate kings to enter in person the happy house (that is, the church) and to erect altars. Then the column of the Law, which had a short while before been prostrate, was raised and capped again. In the beginning of the year *Tien pao* (A.D. 743) the king ordered the *Cuolie sie*, who had the title *Ota Ciam Kuen* (and who was a eunuch of great authority in the king's favour), to carry true likenesses of the five kings preceding him, his ancestors, and to place them

praedecessorum Avorum suorum deportaret, & in Ecclesia collocaret, unque centum pretiosarum reum cinelia in Ecclesiam deferret ad solemnitatem hanc celebrandam: (dicit author *Kim Cim* in laudem ipsorum Regum) Barbae longae Craconis etiamsi longe sint, nihilominus arcus & enses ejus minibus apprehendi possunt (alludit ad historiam quondam antiquam ejusdem Regis) qui fingebatur accendisse in aera Draconi infidens, quem servi, qui se dicebant ituros cum Rege, variis armorum generibus instruxerant; qui vero remanserant, barbam Draconis vellicantes, arma quaedam tulerunt, in memoriam Regis, in iis veluti praesentem eum intuentes. (Alludit itaque Author hujus scripturae ad hanc historiam, ut declaret effigies memoratorum Regum, Regi praesentium & viventium loco fuisse; ideo subjungit, Claritudo, quam reddunt hae imagines, ostendit eos nobis praesentes adesse.)

X. Anno tertio Tien Pao, (annus is erat Domini 745.) fuit in Judaea, alii in India, Sacerdos quidam *Kieho*, qui stellarum ope ductus in Chinam appulit, & respiciens Solem, (erat haec caerimonia eorum, qui ad Regis aditabantur colloquium) ad conspectum nostril Imperatoris intromissus est. Rex autem jussit, ut Sacerdos Joannes & Paulus cum aliis ejusdem professionis viris, & cum praesente tantae virtutis Viro *Kie ho* ad palatium *Him Kim* vocatum, ad adorandum, & ad sancta (devotionis) opera exerenda sese conferrent. Hoc tempore literae Regiae intabellis Ecclesiae servabantur, pretiose secundum ordinem ornatate, splendentes colore rubro & caeri;ep, & penna Regia replebat vacuum, ascemdems, & ad Solem usque pertingens: favour ejus & dona altitudini montis Austri comparantur, & abundantia beneficiorum profunditatem aequat maris Orientalis. Ratio non potest non probare approbatum, & memoratu dignum. Ideo Rex dictus *Sa Cum nen men* sive *Ven min* (qui regere coepit anno 757.) in hoc *Lim suu seu*, & quinque urbibus recenti mandato Ecclesias fieri jussit. Erat hic Rex eximiae indolis, sub quo porta felicitates toti Regno aperta est, hac felicitate, gaudio, & plausu existentibus, res gubernationis Regalis maxime elevatae sunt.

XI. Rex *Tai cum ven vu* (adiit Imperium anno 764) bonorum temporum particeps factus, negotia Regni fine difficultate administrabat, Festo nascentis Christi singulis annis in gratiarum actionem mittebat odoramenta coelestia, & ad honorandos hujus sanctae Legis ministros, rerum omnium, & annonae Regiae assignabat provisionem. Certe coelom Mundo tribuit pulchritudinem & perfectionem, & ideo liberaliter re producit. Hic Rex imitabatur coelom, idcirco noverat alere & sustentare suos.

XII. Rex *Kien cium xom ven vu*, (regnans anno 781.)

in the church and to carry a hundred precious things to celebrate this solemnity. The author *Kim Cim* says in praise of these kings that although the beard of the dragon is long, nevertheless bows and swords can be seized with hands. This is an allusion to an old story about the same king who was said to have risen up in the air sitting on a dragon. These servants said they would go with the king armed with various kinds of weapons. Those who were left behind, however, pulling hairs from the dragon's beard, bore them away as weapons in memory of the king, regarding him as being present in these. (So the author this writing refers to this history to show that effigies of the mentioned kings were like present and living kings. He adds that the brightness reflected by these images shows them to us as if present.)

X. In the third year of Tien Pao (this was the 745 year of the Lord), there was a certain priest named *Kieho* in Judaea or in India who used the stars to come to China. Looking at the sun (for this was the ceremony of those granted an audience with the king), he was admitted to the sight of our emperor. The king, however, ordered that the priest John and Paul and other men of their profession betake themselves to the *Him Kim* Palace with the virtuous man *Kie ho* for worship and sacred rites. At this time the royal letters were kept in the church's tablets, preciously adorned according to their rank, shining with red and blue. The royal pen, which climbed and reached the sun, filled the empty place. His favour and gifts are like the height of the Southern Mountain, and the abundance of this benefits equals the depth of the Eastern Sea. Reason cannot but approve what is approved and is worth of memory. so the king called *Sa Cum nen men* or *Ven min* (who started to reign in 757 A.D.) ordered for churches to begin in *Lim suu seu* and in five cities. He was a king of exceptional disposition under whom the gate of felicity was opened for the whole empire. With happiness, joy and applause the royal government was greatly exalted.

XI. The king *Tai cum ven vu* (who began to reign in 764 A.D.) enjoyed favourable times. He administered the affairs of the kingdom without difficulty. Each year at the festival celebrating Christ's birth, he sent celestial perfumes for thanksgiving and to honour the ministers of the Holy Law, and he assigned them provisions from the court. Certainly the sky gives beauty and perfection to the earth, and so it liberally produces things. The king imitated the sky, and so he knew how to nourish and support his own.

XII. The king *Kien cium xom ven vu* (reigning in 781

octo utebantur modis ad praemiandos bonos, & castigandos malos. Novas rationes ad Euangelii statum instaurandum, promovendumque instituit. Regimen ipsius erat admondum excellens. Rogamus Deum pro ipso, non verecundantes in hoc. Magnae virtutis erat, humilis, pacificus & doctus, tolerabat proximum, abundabat charitate ad omnes juvandos, & benefaciebat omnibus viventibus. Haec est vera via, & scala sanctae Legis nostrae, facere ut pluvial & enti solitis temporibus reverrantur, Mundus sit quietus, homines bene gubernati, res singulae recte dispositae, viventes bene vivant, defuncti gaudio perfruantur. Haec here in {33a} prompt, & rationem reddere, in veritate procedit ex nostra sancta fide, & omnes effectus sunt fortitudinis & potentiae sancti Euangelii nostril.

XIII. Rex Sacerdoti dicto *Usu* magno Legis promulgatori hosce titulos dedit *Kin iu, qum lo tai fu* (officium in Rgia aula) & *Sou fumcie tu fu lie* (officium extra aulam) *Xi tien thum Kien* (officium quoque aliud est, quorum explicationem non inveni in Exemplari.) Item dicto Sacerdoti magnae Legis promulgatori vestimentum Ecclesiasticum coloris caerulei (Italice *di color pavonazo*) donavit. Erat Sacerdos iste pacificus, alius benefacere gaudebar, virtutis opera summon studio peragendo. Advenit ille in Chinam regione remota e loco dicto *Vam xi ciu chim* regionis Pagodum, quod idem ac region longe diffita India. Ejus res gestae tres generationes famosas Chinae superarunt, & reliquas scientias perfecte dilatavit. In principio Regi in aula serviebat, post ejus nomen Libro quoque Regio illatum.

XIV. Regulus Fuen yam, dictus quoque *Co çu y*, titulo *Chum Xulim*, in principio bellicis studebat negotiis in partibus *Sofam*. Re vero dictus *So cum* praecepit *Ay su*, sive *Ysu*, ut *Co çu y* favourabilis caeteris promoveret (videtur quod Res jusserit eum esse Confiliarium *Co çu y*) etiamsi vehementer a Capitaneo amaretur, non curavit tamen stylum ejus ordinarium procedendi; erat enim ungues & dentes Reipublicae, oculi & aures Exercitus (phrasis Sinica) sciebat distribuere reditus suos, non domi accumulare. Obtulit Ecclesiae rem preciosam dicta Poli (videtur fuisse ex vitro) hujus loci *Cim reguen*, alii *Lintiguen*. Praeterea taperes auro inertextos hujus loci, *Cie Ki* dictos: refecit Ecclesias veteres de novo fundans, & stabiliens atrium & domum Legis: adornans domus, & hspitia splendentia instar phasianorum volantium, praetor exercitia sanctae Legis nostrae {33b} operbius studebat charitatis, quotannis quatuor Eccelsiarum Sacerdotes congregando, quibus toto corde inserviebat, de rebus omnibus necessariis providebat spatio dierum quinquaginta, adhuc famelicos saturabat, nudos cooperiebat, infirmos curabat, mortuos sepeliebat.

A.D.) used eight methods of rewarding the good and punishing the evil. He started to renew and advance the Gospel in new ways. His rule was excellent. We prayto God for him, not being bashful about this . He had great virtue, and was humble, peaceful, and learned. He was tolerant and abounded in charity for helping others. He benefited everyone living. This is the true way and the staircase of our sacred Law which makes the wind and rain return at their accustomed times. It makes the earth quiet, en to be well governed, each thing to be well ordered, the living to live well, and the dead to taste of joy. To have this readily and to give account of them proceeds from our holy faith, and all are effects of the strength and power of our holy Gospel.

XIII. To the priest called *Usu*, the preacher of the Great Law, the king gave the titles *Kin iu, qum lo tai fu* (an office outside the court) and *Sou fumcie tu fu lie* (office in the royal court) and *Xi tien thum Kien* (another office, of which I found no explanation in the copy). So he gave the blue ecclesiastical garment to the said priest, the preacher of the Great Law. (The Italian says '*di color pavonazo*') This priest was peaceful and delighted in helping {29a} others doing cvirtuous works with great joy. He arrived inChina at a place far from *Vam xi ciu chim*, the region of the Pagodas, which is also very far form India. His deeds surpassed three famous generations of China, and he perfectly spread abroad the other sciences. In he beginning he served the king in the court, and afterwards his name too was entered in the royal books.

XIV. The subordinate king Fuen yam, also called *Co çu y*. illustrious with the title *Chum Xulim*, at first gave his attention to military matters in the *Sofam* area The king called *So cum* ordered *Ay su* or *Ysu* to favour *Co çu y* over the others (it seems that the king ordered *Co çu y* to be counsellor.) Although he was loved by the captain, he did not proceed in the ordinary style. He was the nails and teeth of the state, the eyes and ears of the army. (These are Chinese expressions.) He knew how to distribute goods to his soldiers, and not to pile up wealth at home. He offered to the church the precious thing called Poli (which seems to have been made of glass) at the place called *Cim reguen* or *Lintiguen*. Moreover he brought precious carpets called *Cie Ki*, woven with the gold of this place. He completely restored the old churches and stabilized the hall and home of the Law. He adorned homes and hospices which shone like flying pheasants. Besides the practice of our holy Law, he was zealous in works of charity. Once a year he summoned four priests of the church and served them with all his heart, providing them with all necessities for fifty days. He also fed the hungry, clothed the naked, healed the sick,

and buried the dead

XV. Tempore *Ta so* cum omni parsimonia sua similis non est audita bonitas (erat *Ta so* Bontius secta Pagodus) qui in maxima quadam Congregatione Bonziroum, in qua agendum erat de rebus sectae suae, officio fungebatur hspotum expiendorum, & procurandarum rerum unicuique necessariorum (Ideo Author tractando de operibus charitatis *Oy sie* hunc *Tan so* anteponit.) Sed tempore hujus Euangelii similes homines videmus sanctus operibus vacantes. Idcirco, ut in lucem irent opera tam heroic, Lapidi huic magno, ea insculpere volui.

XVI. Dico itaque, Deus verus, expers principia, purus, quietus & immutabilis est, ille fuit primus Creationis artifex, aperuit terram, elecavit coelom; Una ex personis pro aeterna mortalium salute factus est homo, ascendit in altum Solis instar, destruens tenebrosam, & in omnibus profundam veritatem stabiliens.

XVII. Splendidissimus ille Rex, qui verssime primus primorum Regum fuit, opportunitate usus omnem sustulit difficultatem, coelom dilatatum est, terra extenda. Clarissimum est Euangelium nostrum, quod Regno *Tam* illatum est, asserendo doctrinam, Ecclesias erigendo, pro vivas & defunctis loco fuit navigii: omnem felicitatem exaltans, quietem dedit universe Mundo.

XVIII. *Cao çum* insistendo vestigiis Avi sui denuo ad novas Ecclesias extruendas animum adjecit. Tempa pacis alta & magnifica terram repleverunt omnem. Lex vera induit pulchritudinem. {34a} Titulo honoravit Episcopum, tranquillitate & gaudio populi sine laboribus potiti.

XIX. Sapiens Rex *Ni uen çum* novit ingredi vias versa & rectas: tabulae Regiae errant magnificae & illustres, literae Regiae in iis florebant & resplendebant. Figurae Regiae elucebant: Omnis populus profunde east venerabatur, Omnia dilatabantur, & homines ex eo gaudio summon perfruebantur.

XX. Hic Rex *So çum*, regnando in propria persona venit ad Ecclesiam; Sol sanctus resplenduit: nubes felices omnem caliginem & obscuritatem noctis dispulerunt. Felicitate in Regia domo aggregate, mala cessarunt, sublabatisque diffensionibus Imperium nostrum restitutum est.

XXI. Hic Rext *Tai çum fu* obediens fuit, virtute coelom aequavit & terram, dedit vitam populo, & rebus singulis progressum. Odoramenta in gratiarum actionem misit Ecclesiae, exercuit opera charitatis. Sol & Luna in ejus uniebantur persona, hoc est, omnes ad

XV. In the time of *Ta so* with all his parsimony there was unheard of goodness (for this *Ta so* was a bonze of the sect of the Pagodas.) He was in charge of certain activities of the sect. He had the office for receiving guests and procuring necessities for them. (So the author, when describing works of charity, places *Tan so* before *Oy sie*.) At the time of the Gospel we see similar men devoted to holy works. Therefore, I wanted to carve such heroic deeds in this stone to bring them to light.

XVI. And so I say, the true God is without beginning, pure, quiet, and immovable. He is the first craftsman of creation. He made the earth appear, and He elevated the sky. One of these persons was made man on behalf of the eternal salvation of men. He ascended on high like the sun, destroying darkness, and in everything stabilizing the profound truth.

XVI. Most splendid is that king, who truly is the first king of all. He used his opportunity and overcame every difficulty. He spread abroad the sky and extended the earth. Very bright is our Gospel, which was brought to the *Tam* kingdom, which by bringing the doctrine and building churches, is like a ship for the living and the dead. It raises up every felicity and gives quiet to the whole world.

XVIII. *Cao çum* insistendo stood in the footsteps of his grandfather and applied his mind to erecting new churches. Great and magnificent temples of peace filled the whole earth. The true Law was clothed in beauty. He honoured the bishop with a title, and the people obtained tranquillity and joy without labour.

XIX. The wise king *Ni uen çum* knew how to walk in true and straight ways. The royal tablets were magnificent and illustrious. The royal letters gleamed and shone on them. The royal figures were bright. The whole people deeply venerated them. They were all spread abroad, and men enjoyed them with great joy.

XX. King *So çum*, when he was reigning, came in person to the church. The holy sun shone. The happy clouds dispelled all gloom and darkness of night. Felicity was accumulated in the royal house, and evils ceased. Dissension vanished and our empire was restored.

XXI. King *Tai çum fu* was obedient and he equalled the earth and sky in his virtue. He gave life to the people and progress in every thing. He sent incense to the church as an act of gratitude. He did works of charity. The sun and moon were united in his person,

obedientiam ei praestandam advolabant.

that is, everyone hastened to obey him fully.

XXII. Hic Rex *Kien çum* in regimine constitutus claram reddebat virtutem, armis quatuor maria pacificavit: literis decem millia confinium illustravit: instar candelae secreta hominum illuminavit, & verlut in speculo detecta cernebat Omnia, totum resuscitavit orbem: cuncti Barbari regulam vivendi acceperunt.

XXII. King *Kien çum* in his reign showed bright virtue. He pacified the four seas with his arms. He illuminated ten thousand dark places with his letters. Like a candle he lit up the dark secrets of men. He saw everything just {30a} as it reflected in a mirror. He brought to life the whole world. All the barbarians accepted his rule of life.

XXIII. Lex, o quanta, quam perfecta, & quam ad Omnia sese extendit! volens eam nuncupare non potui non Legem Divinam appellare. Reges noverant res suas disponere, ego Vasallus eas possum enarrare, ideo reigo hunc Lapidem praedivitem, in praeconium magnae felicitatis.

XXIII. How greatly, how perfectly does the Law extend to everything! wanting to give it a name, I had to call it the Divine Law. The kings knew how to dispose things. I, a vassal can describe them, and so I raise this rich stone in praise of great felicity.

XXIV. In nostro Potentatu magni *Tam*, anno secundo hujus *Kien cium* (videlicet anno Domini 782.) die septimo mensis Autumni, die Dominica, hic Lapis erectus fuit, {34b} Episcopo *Him ciu* Ecclesiam Sinensem administrante, Mandarinus nomine *Liu sieci yen*, tituli erat *Ciao y cum*, alii *Chio y lam*, in quo officio ante eum fuit *Tai cieu sie su Can Kiun*, hanc sua manu confecit inscriptionem.

XXIV. In the Tam Dynasty, on the second year of *Kien cium* Period (i.e. A.D. 782), on the seventh day of the month in the Autumn, on the Lord's Day, this stone was erected, when the bishop *Him ciu* was ruling the church of China. A mandarin named *Liu sieci yen*. whose title was *Tai cieu sie su Can Kiun*, wrote this with his own hand.

LEXICAL CONCORDANCE

(I) WORDS IN CHINESE

阿 *a* character used in front of names to indicate kinship but used only in XM for phonetic transcription of *a-*, *ah-* etc.

阿羅本 (title or pers. name) 10: 大秦國有上德。

曰阿羅本

阿羅訶 (divine name) 3: 我三一妙身无元真主阿羅訶

安 *an* 'safe, safely'

安 26: 死者葬而安之

安置 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置
長安 (place-name) 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安

暗 *an* 'dark, shadowy'

暗空 4: 暗空易而天地開

暗府 7: 懸景日以破暗府

暗滅 26/7: 日昇暗滅

案 *an* 'according to, based on the evidence of'

案 14: 案西域圖記

八 *ba* 'eight, eighth'

八境 7: 制八境之度

八政 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明

白 *bai* 'white'

虛白 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白

白衣 26: 白衣景士

百 *bai* 'hundred; hundreds of'

百 17: 賜絹百匹

百城 16: 寺滿百城

百福 27: 百福偕作

百蠻 30: 百蠻取則

三百 5: 三百六十五

頒 *ban* 'bestow, benefit'

頒 20: 頒御饌以光眾眾

邦 *bang* 'kingdom, fiefdom'

万邦 27: 万邦之康

榜 *bang* 'board, announcement'

榜 19: 於是天題寺榜

御榜 28: 御榜揚輝

謗 *bang* 'defame'

訕謗 16: 訕謗於西鎬

保 *bao* 'defend, protect' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

保國 (monk-name) 96: 僧保國 (>Syr. ܒܐܟܘܨ Bakkōs / Bacchus [S85])

寶 *bao* 'treasure'

寶靈 (monk-name) 78: 僧寶靈 (>Syr. ܦܘܠܘܨ Pawlōs / Paul [S66])

寶裝 19: 寶裝璀璨

寶達 (monk-name) 45: 僧寶達 (Syr.+ MPE. equiv. ܡܫܝܗ'ܕܕ Mšīhādād [S27] See Index II)

靈寶 (monk-name) 33: 僧靈寶

天寶 (reign-title) 17: 天寶初

眾寶 14: 北極眾寶之山

碑 *bei* 'inscribed stele, head-stone'

碑 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流

中國碑頌並序; 34: 檢校建立碑僧行通

豐碑 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉

洪碑 26: 願刻洪碑

北 *bei* 'north, northern'

北 14: 北極眾寶之山

備 *bei* 'prepare, store'

備諸 25: 備諸五旬

被 *bei* 'extend, cover'

被 22: 善貸被群生者

本 *ben* 'origin, originally, primarily'; also used for phonetic transcription of *ban-*, *pan-* etc.

本 4: 本无希嗜

阿羅本 (pers. name or title) 11: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本; 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主

立本 (monk-name) 81: 僧立本

俾 *bi* 'appoint, enable'

俾 24: 肅宗俾之從邁

彼 *bi* 'the other, that, those'

彼 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內

比 *bi* 'compare to; hence more than'

比 19: 寵賚比南山峻極

壁 *bi* 'wall'

寺壁 13: 帝寫真轉摸寺壁

庇 *bi* 'help, protect'

庇 9: 大庇存亡

壁 *bi gem*; in the phr. 夜光壁 *yeguangbi* 'night-glistening gem'

夜光壁 14: 夜光壁

畢 *bi* 'conclude'

斯畢 8: 能事斯畢

畢萃 29: 月窟畢萃

邊 *bian* 'boundary, border, edge'

无邊 26: 救度无邊

遍 *bian* 'spread out, diffuse'

遍滿 27/28: 遍滿中土

別 *bie* 'separate, different, additional'

別賜 4: 別賜良和

賓 *bin* 'guest'

賓迎 11: 賓迎入內

並 *bing* 'together with, and also'

並 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序; 16: 並金方貴緒

病 *bing* 'ill'

病 25: 病者療而起之

博 *bo* 'extensive, broad'

博 23: 藝博十全

撥 *bo* 'stir up'

撥亂 27: 乘時撥亂

波 *bo* 'wave'. Only used in the XM in phonetic transcription for *bo-*, *pa-*, *pu-* etc. in the place-name

波斯 *bosi* 'Pars/Fars, i.e. Lat. Persia'

波斯 6: 波斯睹耀以來貢

不 *bu* negative particle 'not etc.'

不 4: 虛而不盈; 9: 不畜臧獲; 不聚貨財; 10: 惟道非聖不弘; 聖非道不大; 15: 法非景不行; 主非德不立; 19: 道无不可; 聖无不作; 24: 不自異於行間; 不積於家

布 *bu* 'cloth; spread' and in the phr. 火統布 *huowanbu* 'fire-proof cloth'

布 24: 布辭憩之金屬; 14: 其土出火統布

部 *bu* 'volume'

部 8: 經留二十七部

彩 *cai* 'colour'

汎彩 13: 天姿汎彩

財 *cai* 'treasure'

貨財 9: 不聚貨財示罄遺於我

參 *can* 'counsel'

參軍 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖 書

璨 *can* 'jewel, precious stone'

璀璨 28: 皇圖璀璨

策 *ce* 'record, inscribe'

策名 23: 乃策名於王帳

漢魏史策 14: 案西域圖記及漢魏史策

闡 *chan* 'institute, establish'

闡 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命

常 *chang* 'often, frequent'

常名 12: 詔曰道无常名

常體 12: 聖无常體

常然 3: 常然真寂; 26: 湛寂常然

三常 7: 啟三常之門

真常 10: 真常之道

太常 36: 助檢校試太常卿賜紫袞裳寺主僧業利

敞 *chang* 'spacious'

敞朗 27: 和宮敞朗

昌 *chang* 'glorious, prosperous'

昌 22: 存餘昌

昌明 15: 文物昌明

長 *chang* 'long, enduring'

長安 (name of Tang capital) 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安. See also 𐫪𐫹𐫷𐫶 *kwmd'n* in Index II.

長風 14: 東接長風弱水

朝 *chao* 'dynasty, hence emperor'

朝 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士

朝尊 18: 望日朝尊

臣 *chen* 'minister, lord'

臣 30: 主餘作兮臣餘述

宰臣 11: 宰臣房公玄齡

辰 *chen* 'morning; hence day'

辰 20: 每於降誕之辰

塵 *chen* 'dust'

鍊塵 7: 鍊塵成真

定塵 29: 止沸定塵

成 *cheng* 'success'

成 4: 匠成万物; 9: 齋以伏識而成

成功 20: 錫天香以告成功

成真 7: 鍊塵成真

生成 12: 生成立要; 29: 開貸生成

乘 *cheng* 'ride, ascend'

乘時 27: 乘時撥亂

城 *cheng* 'city, town'

城 23: 王舍之城

百城 16: 寺滿百城

澄 *cheng* 'illumination' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

內澄 84: 僧內澄

稱 *cheng* 'call, name, pronounce'

稱 10: 強稱景教

誠 *cheng* 'honest, sincere'

誠 22: 情發目 (for 自) 誠者

尺 *chi* 'a (Chinese) foot (measurement)' in the phr. 咫尺 *zhi chi* 'close at hand, in the proximity of' 'close at hand, in the proximity of'

咫尺 18: 天顏咫尺

持 *chi* 'hold, sustain'

印持 8: 印持十字

馳 *chi* 'pass through, steer'

馳 11: 望風律以馳艱險

寵 *chong* 'esteem, favour'

寵賚 19: 寵賚比南山峻極

崇 *chong* 'to honour'

崇 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主; 17: 法棟暫橈而更崇

崇飾 25: 崇飾廊宇

崇德 (monk-name) 85: 僧崇德 (Syr. equiv. ܝܥܘܕܐܝܢܐ Ya'qōb / Jacob [S74])

- 崇敬 (monk-name) 48: 僧崇敬 (Syr. equiv. ܐܚܚܒܐ Bakkōs / Bacchus [S33])
- 冲 *chong* 'pour water, infuse'
冲和 (monk-name) 69: 僧冲和 (Syr. equiv. ܝܘܗܢܢܐ Yoḥānān / John [S57])
- 重 *chong* 'again, once more'
重立 20: 重立景寺
重廣 25: 或重廣法堂
- 疇 *chou* 'division, class'
九疇 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命
- 出 *chu* 'produce, come out'
出 14: 其土出火綉布
出代 6: 同人出代; 26: 分身出代
- 初 *chu* 'first, original, beginning'
初 17: 天寶初; 24: 初摠戎於朔方也
初人 4: 然立初人
- 黜 *chu* 'demote, remove'
黜陟 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明
- 傳 *chuan* 'turn, change; hence propagate'
傳授 11: 特令傳授
- 淳 *chun* 'honest' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
還淳 65: 僧還淳 (monk-name) (>Syr. or equiv. ܝܘܗܢܢܐ Yōhannān / John [S53])
- 純 *chun* 'pure, upright'
純精 4: 鈿飾純精
- 慈 *ci* 'compassionate'
慈航 7/8: 棹慈航以登明宮
廣慈 21: 廣慈救眾苦
- 此 *ci* 'this, here'
此是 5: 此是之中
- 詞 *ci* 'sentence, language'
詞 12: 詞无繁說;
詞曰 26: 詞曰。真主无元
- 賜 *ci* 'grant, make gift, endow'
賜 23: 賜紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 卿賜紫袈裟寺主僧業利
賜絹 17: 賜絹百匹
別賜 4: 別賜良和
祿賜 24: 能散祿賜
- 辭 *ci* 'word, expression'
辭憩 25: 布辭憩之金罽
- 從 *cong* 'follow'
從事 20: 從事无為
從邁 24: 肅宗倅之從邁
- 蒺 *cu* 'frame on which silkworms spin' used only in the XM in the phr. 太蒺月 'the first month'
太蒺月 31: 在作靈太蒺月七日大耀森文日
- 纂 *cuan* 'succeed'
纂祖 27: 高宗纂祖
- 摧 *cui* 'break, shatter'
悉摧 7: 魔妄於是乎悉摧
- 璀 *cui* 'glittering' and in the phr. 璀翠 *cui cui* 'lustre of a kingfisher'
璀翠 19: 寶裝璀翠
璀璨 28: 皇圖璀璨
- 翠 *cui* in the phr. 璀翠 *cui cui* 'lustre of a kingfisher'
璀翠 19: 寶裝璀翠
- 萃 *cui* 'suffering'
月窟 29: 月窟畢萃
- 存 *cun* 'preserve'
存 22: 存能昌
存鬚 9: 存鬚所以有外行
存亡 9: 大庇存亡
存歿 27: 存歿舟航
- 大 *da* 'great, large, big'
大 8: 大庇存亡 10: 聖非道不大; 16: 下士大笑; 4: 間平大於此是之中; 21: 至於方於大而虛; 31: 大耀森文日
大德 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 16: 大德及烈; 18: 與大德倍和; 39: 大德曜輪
大帝 15: 高宗大帝
大法主 15: 鎮國大法主
大夫 22: 大施主金紫光祿大夫
大將軍 17: 令大將軍高力士
大秦 see under 秦.
大施主 22-23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫
大唐 31: 大唐建中二年歲
大猷 7: 理家國於大猷; 22: 我修行之大猷
大庇 8: 大庇存亡
大慶 20: 大慶臨而皇業建
- 達 *da* 'reach' and used in phonetic transcription for *da-*/*dar-*, *ta-*/*tar-*.
達娑 (phonetic transcription for Middle Persian *tarsā* see comm.) 26: 清節達娑
寶達 (monk-name) 45: 僧寶達
- 代 *dai* 'replace; (regal) period, generation'
代宗 (imperial-title) 20: 代宗文武皇帝; 29: 代宗孝義
出代 6: 同人出代; 26: 分身出代
三代 23: 術高三代
- 貸 *dai* 'grant, forgive; compassion'
善貸 22: 善貸被群生者
開貸 29: 開貸生成
- 丹 *dan* 'red, hence ruby'
丹庭 23: 始效節於丹庭
丹霞 19: 灼爍丹霞
- 殫 *dan* 'utmost, exhaustively' used only in XM as phonetic transcription for *dan-*, *tan-* etc.
娑殫 4: 洎乎娑殫施妄

- 誕 *dan* 'birth; be born'
 誕聖 6: 室女誕聖
 降誕 20: 每於降誕之辰
- 蕩 *dang* 'pure, simple'
 素蕩 4: 素蕩之心
- 盜 *dao* 'robber'
 寇盜 15: 俗无寇盜
- 禱 *dao* 'pray; prayer'
 禱祀 5: 或禱祀以邀福
- 道 *dao* 'way, philosophy; hence (the true) way; to reach (by road)'
 道 10: 真常之道; 惟道非聖不弘; 聖非道不大; 道聖符契; 12: 詔曰道无常名; 13: 巨唐道光 19: 道无不可; 23: 聞道勤行; 27: 道冠前王 30: 道惟廣兮
 道石 17: 道石時傾而復正
 問道 11: 問道禁聞
 十道 15/16: 法流十道
 至道 17: 玄宗至道皇帝
 真道 28: 真道宣明
- 得 *de* 'be able to; obtain'
 无得 6: 茫然无得
- 德 *de* 'virtue, virtuous'
 德 15: 主非德不立; 29: 德合天地
 德建 (monk-name) 100: 僧德建 (Syr. equiv. ܕܡܨܘܚܐ / Yohānān / John [S91])
 德喪 13: 宗周德喪
 大德 16: 大德及烈; 18: 與大德偕和; 39: 大德曜輪
 昭德 (monk-name) 59: 僧昭德
 明德 30: 聿修明德
 崇德 (monk-name) 85: 僧崇德
 廣德 (monk-name) 98: 僧廣德
 功德 18: 於興慶宮修功德
 敬德 (monk-name) 53: 僧敬德
 靈德 (monk-name) 67: 僧靈德
 上德 10: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本
 英德 (monk-name) 68: 僧英德
 玄德 (monk-name) 93: 僧玄德
 至德 (monk-name) 89: 僧至德
- 登 *deng* 'ascend'
 登 8: 棹慈航以登明宮
- 等 *deng* 'type, etcetera, and so forth'
 等 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場; 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人; 20: 於靈武等五郡
- 地 *di* 'earth'
 起地 26: 起地立天
 天地 4: 暗空易而天地開; 29: 德合天地
- 帝 *di* 'sovereign, emperor'
 帝 11: 帝使宰臣房; 13: 帝寫真轉摸寺壁
 大帝 15: 高宗大帝
 皇帝 10: 太宗文皇帝; 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 19/20: 肅宗文明皇帝; 20: 代宗文武皇帝; 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝
- 滌 *di* 'wash, bathe'
 滌 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白
- 殿 *dian* 'hall'
 書殿 11: 翻經書殿
 試殿 23: 試殿中監
- 定 *ding* 'steady, be steadfast, firm, solid'
 定 3: 判十字以定四方; 29: 止沸定塵
- 頂 *ding* 'top, hence crown (of the head)'
 削頂 9: 削頂所以无內情
- 東 *dong* 'east, orient'
 東 13: 景風東扇; 14: 東接長風弱水
 東周 16: 騰口於東周
 東海 19: 沛澤與東海齊深
 東方 31: 時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也
 東礼 8/9: 東礼趣生榮之路
 東扇 13: 景風東扇
- 棟 *dong* 'beam, structure'
 法棟 17: 法棟暫橈而更崇
- 陟 *dou* 'inefficient'
 黜陟 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明
- 度 *du* 'standard, measure; administer; hence to accommodate'
 度 7: 制八境之度; 13: 度僧廿一人
 救度 26: 救度无邊
 節度 23: 同朔方節度副使
- 毒 *du* 'poisonous or medicinal potion'
 毒 21: 聖以體元故能毒
- 睹 *du* 'see, gaze at'
 睹耀 6: 波斯睹耀以來貢
- 垂 *e* 'fierce' used only on the XM in the astronomical phr. 作垂 *zuo* 'e'.
 作垂 31: 作垂太簇月
- 額 *e* 'tablet'
 額 19: 額戴龍書
- 恩 *en* 'think, thought'
 恩 24: 恩之頗黎
 恩情 5: 恩情役役
- 耳 *er* 'ear' (ěr K 103a)
 耳目 24: 作軍耳目
- 二 *er* 'two, twice, second'
 二 6: 圓二十四聖; 8: 經留二十七部; 11: 貞觀十有二年秋七月; 13: 度僧廿一人
 二氣 4: 鼓元風而生二氣
 淪二 5: 或空有以淪二; 31: 大唐建中二年
- 而 *er* 'and, but, but yet'
 而 3: 先先而无元, ...後後而妙有; 摠玄樞而造化; 鼓元風而生|二氣; 暗空易而天地開 4: 日月運而晝夜作; 渾元之性虛而不盈; 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白; 9:

- 齋以伏識而成; 10: 妙而難名; 11: 占青雲而載真經; 15: 而於諸州各置景寺; 17: 法棟暫橈而更; 17: 道石時傾而復正; 20: 元善資而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建; 21: 至於方大而虛。專靜而恕; 23: 和而好惠; 25-26: 饑者來而飯之; 寒者來而衣之; 病者療而|起之; 26: 死者葬而安之
- 伐 *fa* 'make a show of'
伐善 5: 或伐善以矯人
- 法 *fa* 'law, rule, custom'
法 15: 法非景不行; 15: 法流十|道
法主 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主; 28: 式封法主;
31: 時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也法界 14: 永輝法界
法棟 17: 法棟暫橈而更崇
法羅 5: 競織法羅
法堂 25: 或重廣法堂
法浴 8: 法浴水風
舊法: 7: 圓二十四聖|有說之舊法
法源 80: (monk-name) 僧法源 (Syr. equiv. ܐܕܡ Ādām / Adam [S68])
- 發 *fa* 'expand, develop'
發 8: 張元化以發靈關; 22: 情發目(自?)誠者
- 反 *fan* 'turn, return, turn over; oppose'
反素 10: 洗心反素
- 汎 *fan* 'disseminate'
汎彩 13: 天姿汎彩
- 繁 *fan* 'complicated'
繁說 12: 詞无繁說
- 翻 *fan* 'turn over; hence examine'
翻經 11: 翻經書殿; 27: 翻經建寺
- 返 *fan* 'return, restore'; in the phr. *fanhunxiang* 返魂香 'soul-restoring incense'
返魂香 14: 返魂香
- 飯 *fan* 'cooked rice; hence to feed'
飯 25: 饑者來而飯之
- 房 *fang* 'room, chamber; also used as a surname'
房玄齡 11: 宰臣房公玄齡
- 方 *fang* 'region, place; direction'
方 12: 隨方設教
方大 21: 至於方大而虛
東方 31: 東方之景眾
金方 16: 並金方貴緒
四方 3: 判十字以定四方
朔方 23: 同朔方節度副使; 24: 初搃戎於朔方也
- 沸 *fei* 'insurrection'
止沸 29: 止沸定塵
- 非 *fei* 'unless, except for'
非 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內; 10: 惟道非聖不弘; 聖非道不大; 15: 法非景不行; 主非德不立
- 飛 *fei* 'flight'
飛 25: 如翬斯飛
- 分 *fen* 'divide; portion'
分身 6: 三一分身景尊彌施訶; 26: 分身出代
- 氛 *fen* 'omen'
袂氛 29: 袂氛永謝
- 汾 *fen* 'mixed, confused' used only in XM in the place-name 汾陽郡 *fenyangjun* 'the Fen Yang Prefecture'
汾陽郡 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
- 奉 *feng* 'offer'
奉慶 18: 奉慶睿圖
奉真 (monk-name) 90: 僧奉真 (Syr. equiv./trans. ܫܘܒܗܐ Šubhā l-Māran [S79]. See under Index II)
- 封 *feng* 'appoint, bestow honours'
式封 28: 式封法主
- 豐(豐) *feng* 'splendid'
豐 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉
- 風 *feng* 'wind, spirit'
風雨 22: 若使風雨時
風律 11: 望風律以馳艱險
長風 14: 東接長風弱水
祥風 29: 祥風掃夜
淨風 7: 三一淨風无言之新教
景風 13: 景風東扇
元風 3: 鼓元風而生|二氣
水風 8: 法浴水風
- 伏 *fu* 'overcome, control'
伏 9: 齋以伏識而成
- 副 *fu* 'assistant'
副使 23: 同朔方節度副使
- 夫 *fu* in the phr. 大夫 *dai fu* 'officer, minister'
大夫 23: 大施|主金紫光祿大夫
- 富 *fu* 'wealthy, prosperous'
富 16: 國富元休
- 府 *fu* 'house, mansion, residence; hence realm'
暗府 7: 懸景日以破暗府
- 復 *fu* 'recover'
復正 17: 道石時傾而復正
來復 28: 肅宗來復
休復 6: 積昧亡途久迷休復
- 拂 *fu* 'shake pff, brush off, refuse' used in XM only as part of a monk-name.
拂林 (monk-name) 46: 僧拂林 (>Syr ܐܦܪܝܡ Aprēm / Ephraim [S289])
- 浮 *fu* 'float, drift, insubstantial, ethereal'
浮華 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白
- 福 *fu* 'blessing, luck'
福 20: 元善資而福祚開
福宇 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇

- 邀福 5: 或禱祀以邀福
 百福 27: 百福偕作
 景福 16: 家殷景福; (monk-name) 87: 僧景福
 福壽 (monk-name) 47: 僧福壽 (Syr. equiv.
 ܡܘܫܐ Mōšē / Moses [S32])
 符 *fu* 'support, matching, tally, hence harmony'
 符契 10: 道聖符契
- 乾 *gan* 'divine, heaven' used only in XM as part of a
 monk-name
 乾祐 (monk-name) 51: 僧乾祐 (Syr. equiv.
 ܐܗܪܘܢ Ahrōn / Aaron [S 38])
 網 *gang* 'net'
 玄網 16: 共振玄網
- 告 *gao* 'announce, remind'
 告 20: 錫天香以告成功
 告祥 6: 景宿告祥
- 高 *gao* 'tall, lofty; hence exceed'
 高 23: 術高三代
 高力士 (pers. name) 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫
 真寺內安置
 高敬 28: 率土高敬
 高宗 (imperial-title) 15: 高宗大帝; 27: 高宗纂祖
 高僧 16: 物外高僧
- 各 *ge* 'every, various, individually'
 各 15: 而於諸州各置景寺
- 更 *geng* 'again'
 更 17: 法棟暫橈而更崇; 25: 更效景門
 更築 27: 更築精宇
- 供 *gong* 'offer, offering'
 精供 25: 虔事精供
- 公 *gong* 'a venerable person'
 公 11: 宰臣房公玄齡; 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子
 儀; 24: 為公爪牙
- 共 *gong* 'together'
 共振 16: 共振玄網
- 功 *gong* 'meritorious'
 功德 18: 於興慶宮修功德
 功用 10: 功用昭彰; 22: 我景力能事之功用也
 成功 20: 錫天香以告成功
 報功 29: 香以報功
- 宮 *gong* 'palace'
 明宮 8: 棹慈航以登明宮
 興慶宮 18: 於興慶宮修功德
 和宮 27: 和宮敞明
- 弓 *gong* 'bow (in archery)'
 弓劍 18: 弓劍可攀
- 恭 *gong* 'reverently'
 克恭 15: 克恭續祖
- 貢 *gong* 'present, donate, pay tribute'
 來貢 6: 波斯瞻耀以來貢
- 故 *gu* 'therefore, for this reason'
 以...故 21: 且乾以美利故能廣生; 聖以體元故
 能亭毒
- 谷 *gu* 'valley'
 暘谷 29: 暘谷來威
- 鼓 *gu* nn. 'drum'; vb. 'move, stir'
 鼓 3: 鼓元風而生二氣
- 冠 *guan* 'imperial headgear; hence above, superior to'
 道冠 27: 道冠前王
- 觀 *guan* 'gaze at, view'
 觀 12: 觀其元宗
 鏡觀 30: 鏡觀物色
 貞觀 (reign-title) 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安; 貞觀十有
 二年秋七月;
- 關 *guan* 'gate, pass'
 靈關 8: 張元化以發靈關
- 光 *guang* 'luminosity, bright, light'
 光 18: 日角舒光; 20: 頒御饌以光景眾
 光濟 (monk-name) 73: 僧光濟 (Syr. equiv.
 ܐܝܫܗܩ Īshāq [S61])
 光祿 22/23 大施主金紫光祿大夫
 光華 10: 光華啟運
 光正 (monk-name) 83: 僧光正 (Syr. equiv.
 ܝܘܗܢܢܐ Yōhannān / John [S71])
 和光 (monk-name) 88: 僧和光
 道光 13: 巨唐道光
 夜光壁 14: 夜光壁
- 廣 *guang* 'vast, broad'
 廣 25: 或重廣法堂
 廣生 21: 且乾以美利故能廣生
 廣兮 30: 道惟廣兮
 廣慈 21/22: 廣慈救眾苦
 廣闊 15: 土宇廣闊
 廣德 (monk-name) 98: 僧廣德 (Syr. equiv.
 ܓܒܪܝܐܠ Gabri'el / Gabriel [S87])
 廣慶 (monk-name) 42: 僧廣慶 (Syr. equiv.
 ܡܝܚܐܠ Mikā'el / Michael [S25])
- 歸 *gui* 'return'
 歸 27: 言歸我唐
 祚歸 29: 祚歸皇室
- 貴 *gui* 'noble'
 貴賤 9: 均貴賤於人
 貴緒 16: 並金方貴緒
- 國 *guo* 'nation, country, kingdom'
 國 7: 理家國於大猷; 16: 國富元休
 鎮國 15: 仍崇 f 為鎮國大法主
 家國 7: 理家國於大猷
 保國 (monk-name) 96: 僧保國
 寧國 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場

- 中國 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序
 大秦國 10: 大秦國有上德; 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海; 18: 三載大秦國有僧佉和
- 郭 *guo* 'suburb'; also a common surname and used only in the XM as a surname.
 郭子儀 (pers. name) 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
- 海 *hai* 'ocean'
 海 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海
- 含 *han* 'hold back, hold (in the mouth); also used in phonetic transcr. for *-han, -wan*'
 含靈 8: 含靈於是乎既濟
 羅含 (monk-name) 16: 僧首羅含; 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人
- 寒 *han* 'cold, wintry, freezing'
 寒 25: 寒者來而衣之
- 漢 *han* name of a dynasty
 漢魏史策 14: 案西域圖記及漢魏史策
- 航 *hang* 'sailing vessel, ship'
 慈航 7/8: 棹慈航以登明宮
 舟航 27: 存歿舟航
- 好 *hao* 'excellent; desire after, imitate'
 好惠 23: 和而好惠
- 鎬 (郾) *hao* in the place-name 西郾 Xihao – ancient city southwest of Chang'an.
 西鎬 16: 訕謗於西鎬
- 合 *he* 'to fit, harmonize'
 合 8: 融四照以合无拘; 29: 德合天地
 六合 30: 六合昭蘇
- 和 *he* 'peace, peaceful, harmony; and, together with'. Also used in phonetic transcription for *ra-, ri-* etc.
 和 23: 和而好惠
 和宮 27: 和宮敞明
 和吉 (monk-name) 43: 僧和吉 (>Syr. ܓܝܘܪܓܝܫ Gīwargīs, i.e. George [S27])
 和光 (monk-name) 88: 僧和光 (Syr. equiv. ܝܫܥܝܐ Ya'qōb / Jacob [S77])
 和明 (monk-name) 82: 僧和明 (Syr. equiv. ܝܫܥܝܐ Iṣhāq / Isaac [S70])
 太和 (monk-name) 86: 僧太和
 佉和 (monk-name, phonetic transcr. for Syr. 'Gabriel') 8: 大秦國有僧佉和; 18: 與大德佉和
 延和 (monk-name) 49: 僧延和
 良和 4: 別賜良和
 沖和 (monk-name) 69: 僧沖和
- 赫 *he* 'distinguished'
 赫赫 27: 赫赫文皇
- 訶 *he* 'to rail at'; used only in in XM for phonetic transcription of *he-, hi-* etc.
 彌施訶 (divine name) 6: 三一分身景尊彌施訶
- 宏 *hong* 'vast'
 宏空 19: 睿扎宏空
- 弘 *hong* 'spread, expand'
 弘 10: 惟道非聖不弘
- 洪 *hong* 'great, impressive'
 洪碑 26: 願刻洪碑
- 後 *hou* 'posterior, behind, later'
 後後 3: 後後而妙有
- 乎 *hu* 'from, hence; also interrog. and explan. particle'
 乎 7: 魔妄於是乎悉摧; 8: 含靈於是乎既濟
 洎乎 4: 洎乎娑磻施妄
- 瑚 *hu* in the term shanhu 'coral'
 珊瑚 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海
- 化 *hua* 'change, transform'
 化通 21: 化通玄理
 鎮化 4: 令鎮化海
 造化 3: 揔玄樞而造化
 向化 18: 瞻星向化
 元化 8: 張元化以發靈關
 匠化 26: 權輿匠化
- 花 *hua* 'flower, bloom'
 花林 14: 西望仙境花林
- 華 *hua* 'splendour, brilliance'
 浮華 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白
 光華 10: 光華啟運
- 統 *huan* in the phr. 火統 *huowan* 'fire-proof, fire-retardant'
 火統布 14: 其土出火統布
- 還 *huan* 'return' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
 還淳 65: 僧還淳 (monk-name) (>Syr. or equiv. ܝܫܥܝܐ Yōḥannān / John [S53])
- 皇 *huang* 'king, royal, sovereign'
 皇帝 10: 太宗文皇帝; 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 19/20: 肅宗文明皇帝; 20: 代宗文武皇帝; 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝
 皇室 29: 祚歸皇室
 皇業 20: 大慶臨而皇業建
 皇圖 28: 皇圖璀璨
 文皇 27: 赫赫文皇
- 恢 *hui* 'magnify, revive'
 恢張 20: 恢張聖運
- 惠 *hui* 'grace, virtue'
 好 23: 和而好惠
 仁惠 8: 擊木震仁惠之音; (monk-name) 57: 僧仁惠
 惠明 (monk-name) 44: 僧惠明 (Syr. / MPe. equiv. ܡܕܕܓܘܫܢܐ Mādādgwšnaāsp [S27]. See under Index II)

- 惠通 (monk-name) 50: 僧惠通 (Syr. equiv. ܝܫܘܥܢܐ Yōhannīs / John [S38])
- 翬 *hui* 'pheasant'
翬 25: 如翬斯飛
- 輝 *hui* 'shine, illuminate'
永輝 14: 永輝法界
揚輝 28: 御榜揚輝
- 渾 *hun* 'mixed, confused'
渾元 4: 渾元之性
- 魂 *hun* 'soul'; in the phr. *fanhunxiang* 返魂香 'soul-restoring incense'
返魂香 14: 返魂香
- 或 *huo* 'or, either ... or'
或 5: 或指物以託宗; 或空有以淪二; 或禱祀以邀福; 或伐善以矯人; 25: 或仍其舊寺; 或重廣法堂
- 火 *huo* 'fire'
火統布 14: 其土出火統布
- 獲 *huo* 'catch; hence slave-girl, maid-servant'
臧獲 9: 不畜臧獲
- 貨 *huo* 'possession'
貨財 9: 不聚貨財示罄遺於我
- 佶 *ji* 'strong, robust' used only in the XM for phonetic transcription of *ji/ja-* or *gi/ga-*.
佶和 (monk-name, phonetic transcr. for 'Gabriel'):
18: 三載大秦國有僧佶和; 與大德佶和
- 即 *ji* 'next, immediately'
即 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所
- 及 *ji* 'together with, and', also used in phonetic transcription for *g-, ga-, ji-, ki-* etc.
及 14: 案西域圖記及漢魏史策
及烈 (pers. name) 16: 大德及烈 (>Syr. Gabriel ?)
- 吉 *ji* 'goodness'
僧和吉 (monk-name) 43: 僧和吉
元吉 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉
- 家 *jia* 'family, home'
家 7: 理家國於大猷; 16: 家殷景福; 24: 不積於家
- 寂 *ji* 'silence'
真寂 3: 常然真寂
湛寂 26: 湛寂常然
- 戢 *ji* 'hide, mask'
戢隱 6: 戢隱真威
- 擊 *ji* 'strike'
擊木 8: 擊木震仁惠之音
- 既 *ji* 'as soon as, completely'; in the phr. 既濟 'completed crossing' (*Yijing*)
既濟 8: 含靈於是乎既濟
- 極 *ji* 'extreme, to reach the end'
極 14: 北極眾寶之山; 19: 龍賚比南山峻極
統極 30: 建中統極
- 汲 *ji* in the phr. 汲引 *ji yin* 'draw out, lead out'
汲引 22: 汲引之階漸也
- 洎 *ji* in the phrase *jifu* 洎乎 'but'
洎乎 4: 洎乎娑磻施妄
- 激 *ji* 'urge, provoke'
激 19: 騰凌激日
- 濟 *ji* 'aid, succor; succeed, completed'; in the phr. 既濟 'completed crossing' (*Yijing*)
濟物 13: 濟物利人
既濟 8: 含靈於是乎既濟
密濟 12: 密濟群生
光濟 (monk-name) 73: 僧光濟
普濟 (monk-name) 71: 僧普濟
義濟 (monk-name) 94: 僧義濟
- 積 *ji* 'accumulate'
積 24: 不積於家
積昧 6: 積昧亡途
- 績 *ji* 'exploit, achievement'
庶績 28: 庶績咸熙
- 罽 *ji* 'carpet'
金罽 25: 布辭憩之金罽
- 記 *ji* 'record'
西域圖記 14: 案西域圖記
- 迹 (跡) *ji* 'trace, evidence' in the phr. 聖迹 *shengji* 'miracle'
聖迹 14: 聖迹騰祥
- 集 *ji* 'gather together'
集 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒
- 袈 *jia* only in the phr. 袈裟 *jiasha* phonetic transcription for Skt. *kaṣāya* 'monk garment' (S 363b)
紫袈裟 23: 賜紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 助檢校試太常卿
賜紫袈裟寺主僧業利
- 駕 *jia* 'carriage'
青駕 13: 青駕西昇
引駕 28: 天威引駕
- 劍 *jian* 'sword'
弓劍 18: 弓劍可攀
- 堅 *jian* 'firm' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
志堅 (monk-name) 95: 僧志堅
- 建 *jian* 'build, erect'
建 20: 大慶臨而皇業建; 27: 翻經建寺; 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉
建立 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場; 31: 大耀森文日建立; 34: 檢校建立碑僧行通
建中 (reign-title) 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝; 29/30: 建中統極; 31: 大唐建中二年
德建 (monk-name) 100: 僧德建
- 檢 *jian* 'examine'
檢校 34: 檢校建立碑僧行通; 36: 助檢校試太常卿
賜紫袈裟寺主僧業利

- 漸 *jian* 'gradually, by degrees'
階漸 22: 汲引之階漸也
- 煎 *jian* 'fry, braise; hence harass'
煎迫 6: 煎迫轉燒
- 監 *jian* 'inspect, oversee'
中監 23: 試殿中監
- 肩 *jian* 'shoulder'
肩隨 5: 肩隨結轍
- 艱 *jian* 'difficult, difficulty'
艱險 11: 望風律以馳艱險
- 薦 *jian* 'present, recommend; fodder'
薦 9: 七日一薦
- 見 *jian* 'see, observe; observable, hence close'
見 26: 今見其人
見親 24: 雖見親於臥內
利見 (monk-name) 54: 僧利見
- 間 *jian* see 間 *xián*.
- 匠 *jiang* 'make, fashion, mould, sculptor'
匠 4: 匠成万物
匠化 26: 權輿匠化
- 將 *jiang* 'general (military rank); make use of, employ'
將 12: 遠將經像來獻上京
司將 13: 旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁
大將軍 17: 令大將軍高力士
- 降 *jiang* 'descend'
降誕 20: 每於降誕之辰
- 教 *jiao* as nn. 'teaching, sect, hence religion'; as vb. 'to teach'
教 12: 詳其教旨
景教 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序; 10: 強稱景教; 27: 明明景教
設教 7: 設三一淨風无言之新教; 12: 隨方設教
新教 7: 三一淨風无言之新教
- 矯 *jiao* 'suppress'
矯人 5: 或伐善以矯人
- 角 *jiao* 'horn'
日角 18: 日角舒光
- 郊 *jiao* 'region, countryside'
西郊 11: 摠仗西郊
- 戎 *rong* 'weapons, protect, warfare'
摠戎 24: 初摠戎於朔方也
- 戒 *jie* 'prohibition, commandment'
戒 9: 戒以靜慎為固
- 接 *jie* 'connect with, touch upon'
接 14: 東接長風弱水
- 潔 *jie* 'purity, cleanliness'
8: 滌浮華而潔虛白
- 界 *jie* 'boundary; hence country, region'
法界 14: 永輝法界
- 節 *jie* 'season, division; save on'; 朔方 *shuofang* 'northern quarter, northern region'; 節度使 *jiedushi* 'district commander'; hence 節 *jie* (vb.) 'serve as district commander'
節 23: 始效節於丹庭
節度使 23: 同朔方節度副使
清節 26: 清節達姿
- 結 *jie* 'knit, knot, put together, conclude'
結轍 5: 肩隨結轍
- 階 *jie* 'stepped, gradually'
階漸 22: 汲引之階漸也
- 禁 *jin* 'forbidden'
禁闌 11: 問道禁闌
- 進 *jin* 'enter' used only as part of a monk-name in the XM.
日進 (monk-name) 40: 僧日進
- 金 *jin* 'gold, golden'
金方 16: 並金方貴緒
金紫 23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫
金罽 25: 布辭憩之金罽
- 京 *jing* 'capital'
京 12: 遠將經像來獻上京; 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺
- 境 *jing* 'boundary, territory'
八境 7: 制八境之度
仙境 14: 西望仙境花林
- 敬 *jing* 'revere, respect'
敬德 (monk-name) 53: 僧敬德 (Syr. equiv. ܝܘܒ Ȫyōb / Job [S 40])
敬真 (monk-name) 64: 僧敬真 (Syr.+MPe. equiv. ܝܘܕܫܦܝܫܝܘܩ Izadspās [S52])
崇敬 (monk-name) 48: 僧崇敬
高敬 28: 率土高敬
- 景 *jing* as adj. 'luminous, bright, lustrous'; as nn. 'vista, view'
景 15: 法非景不行
景風 13: 景風東扇
景福 16: 家殷景福; (monk-name) 87: 僧景福 (Syr.+MPe. equiv. ܝܝܫܘܕܝܕܝܘܩ Yišō'dād [S76])
景教 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序; 10: 強稱景教; 27: 明明景教
景淨 (monk-name) 2: 大秦寺僧景淨 (Syr. equiv. ܝܕܡܝܢ Adam)
景尊 6: 三一分身景尊彌施訶
景力 22: 我景力能事之功用也
景門 14: 英朗景門; 25: 更效景門
景士 26: 白衣景士
景宿 6: 景宿告祥
景日 7: 懸景日以破暗府
景寺 15: 而於諸州各置景寺; 20: 重立景寺
景眾 20: 頒御饌以光景眾; 31: 東方之景眾

- 景命 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命
 景通 (monk-name) 76: 僧景通 (Syr. equiv. ܡܫܪܫܘܢ Mār Sargīs / Lord Sergius [S63])
- 晶 *jing* 'bright rays'
 舒晶 29: 聖日舒晶
- 淨 *jing* 'pure, undefiled'
 淨風 7: 設三一淨風无言之新教
 景淨 (monk-name) 2: 大秦寺僧景淨述
- 競 *jing* 'compete'
 競織 5: 競織法羅
- 精 *jing* 'fine, refined, precise, essence'
 精供 25: 虔事精供
 精宇 27: 更築精宇
 純精 4: 鈿飾純精
- 經 *jing* 'scripture, religious text'
 經 8: 經留二十七部
 經像 12: 遠將經像來獻上京
 翻經 11: 翻經書殿; 27: 翻經建寺
 真經 11: 占青雲而載真經
- 鏡 *jing* 'mirror'
 鏡觀 30: 鏡觀物色
- 靜 *jing* 'silence, tranquility'
 靜 21: 專靜而怒; 22: 天下靜
 靜慎 9: 戒以靜慎為固
- 久 *jiu* 'long, esp. a long time'
 久迷 6: 久迷休復
- 九 *jiu* 'nine'
 九祀 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安
 九疇 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命
- 救 *jiu* 'save, rescue, relieve'
 救 22: 廣|慈救眾苦; 26: 救度无邊
- 舊 *jiu* 'old; out-dated, out-moded'
 舊 25: 或仍其舊寺
 舊法 7: 圓二十四聖|有說之舊法
- 俱 *ju* 'united, together'; also used in phonetic transcription for *ju-*, *jiu-*.
 俱維 16: 俱維|絕紐
 耶俱摩 75: 老宿耶俱摩
- 居 *ju* 'abide, remain, dwell' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
 居信 (monk-name) 62: 僧居信 (Syr. equiv. ܡܫܪܫܘܢ [S50])
- 巨 *ju* 'great'
 巨唐 13: 巨唐道光
- 拘 *ju* 'restrain'
 无拘 8: 融四照以合无拘
- 聚 *ju* 'gather, assemble'
 聚 9: 不聚貨財示罄遺於我
- 絹 *juan* 'offer, present'
 賜絹 17: 賜絹百匹
- 絕 *jue* 'end; hence broken (end)'
 絕紐 17: 俱維|絕紐
- 均 *jun* 'equal, alike'
 均 9: 均貴賤於人
- 峻 *jun* 'steep, lofty'
 峻 19: 寵賚比南山峻極
- 軍 *jun* 'army'
 軍 24: 作軍耳目
 大將軍 17: 令大將軍高力士
 參軍 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖 書
- 郡 *jun* 'prefecture'
 五郡 20: 於靈武等五郡
 汾陽郡 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
- 開 *kai* 'open, begin; hence separate'
 開 4: 暗空易而天地開
 開生 7: 開生滅死
 祚開 20: 元善資而福祚開
 開貸 29: 開貸生成
- 康 *kang* 'healthy, healthiness'
 康 27: 万邦之康
 樂康 15: 人有樂康; 28: *ditto*
- 克 *ke* 'ably'
 克恭 15: 克恭繼祖
 克修 28: 克修真正
- 刻 *ke* 'inscribe, engrave'
 刻 26: 願刻洪碑
- 可 *ke* 'can be, be able to'
 可 18: 弓劍可攀; 19: 道无不可; 所可可名; 所作可述
- 空 *kong* 'emptiness, space, void'
 空 5: 或空有以淪二;
 暗空 4: 暗空易而天地開
 宏空 19: 睿扎宏空
- 口 *kou* 'mouth; i.e. voice'
 騰口 16: 騰口於東周
- 寇 *kou* 'thief'
 寇盜 15: 俗无寇盜
- 摳 *kou* 'raise up, gather up'
 玄摳 3: 摳玄摳而造化
- 窟 *ku* 'cave'
 月窟 29: 月窟畢萃
- 苦 *ku* 'suffering, hardship'
 災苦 28: 物无災苦
 眾苦 22: 廣|慈救眾苦
- 愧 *kui* 'ashamed'
 无愧 21: 祝无愧心
- 坤 *kun* 'female, feminine'
 坤張 27: 乾廓坤張

- 廓 *kuo* 'broad, wide'
乾廓 27: 乾廓坤張
闊 *kuo* 'broad'
廣闊 15: 土宇廣闊
- 來 *lai* 'come, arrive'
來 25: 饑者來而飯之; 寒者來而衣之
來貢 6: 波斯睹耀以來貢
來獻 12: 遠將經像來獻上京
聿來 23: 聿來中夏
來復 28: 肅宗來復
來威 29: 暘谷來威; (monk-name) 63: 僧來威 (>Syr. ܢܘܗ Nōh / Noah [S51])
- 賚 *lai* 'confer, bestow'
寵賚 19: 寵賚比南山峻極
- 覽 *lan* 'look at' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
玄覽 (monk-name) 77: 僧玄覽
- 廊 *lang* 'corridor, verendah; hence edifice, building'
廊宇 25: 崇飾廊宇
- 朗 *lang* 'bright, auspicious; secretary of state'
敞朗 27: 和宮敞朗
朝議郎 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士
- 老 *lao* 'old'
老宿 (monk-title) 75: 老宿耶俱摩
- 樂 *le* → 樂 *yue* (v. *infra*)
- 利 *li* 'benefit'
利人 13: 濟物利人
利用 (monk-name) 92: 僧利用 (Syr. equiv. ܫܡܥܘܢ Šem'ōn / Simeon [S81])
利見 (monk-name) 54: 僧利見 (>Syr. or equiv. ܠܘܩܐ Lūqā / Luke [S42])
美利 21: 且乾以美利故能廣生; 29: 物資美利
施利 25: 依仁施利
業利 (monk-name) 38: 僧業利
- 力 *li* 'power, strength'
景力 22: 我景力能事之功用也
高力士 (pers. name) 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置
- 理 *li* 'rule, govern, manage'
理 7: 理家國於大猷; 12: 理有忘筌; 22: 人能理
玄理 21: 化通玄理
- 礼 (禮) *li* 'rite(s)'
礼讚 9: 七時礼讚
東礼 8/9: 東礼趣生榮之路
- 立 *li* 'establish, erect'
立 4: 然立初人; 15: 主非德不立
立本 (monk-name) 81: 僧立本 (Syr. equiv. ܝܠܝܐ Iliyā / Elijah [S69])
立天 26: 起地立天
立要 12: 生成立要
- 建立 17: 建立壇場; 31: 大耀森文日建立; 34: 檢校建立碑
重立 20: 重立景寺
- 黎 *li* 'ornament'
頗黎 24: 獻臨恩之頗黎
- 鍊 *lian* 'refine'
鍊塵 7: 鍊塵成真
- 良 *liang* 'virtue, virtuous, righteous'
良和 4: 別賜良和
陶良 7: 陶良用於正信
- 療 *liao* 'heal, treat, restore'
療 25: 病者療而起之
- 烈 *lie* 'achievements, heroic deeds'; also used for phonetic transcription for *la-*, *li-*.
及烈 (pers. name) 16: 大德及烈 (>Syr. Gabriel ?)
休烈 26: 以揚休烈
- 林 *lin* 'forest, wood' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
拂林 (monk-name) 46: 僧拂林
- 臨 *lin* 'come to, arrive at'
臨 10: 明聖臨人; 20: 大慶臨而皇業建; 30: 燭臨人隱; 24: 獻臨恩之頗黎
親臨 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場
- 令 *ling* 'command, order'
令 4: 令鎮化海; 17: 令寧國等五王; 令大將軍高力士; 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀; 26: 今見其人
特令 11: 特令傳授
旋令 13: 旋令有司將帝
- 凌 *ling* 'traverse'
騰凌 19: 騰凌激日
- 靈 *ling* 'spirit, spiritual'
靈(郡) (place-name) 20: 於靈武等五郡
靈虛 3: 窅然靈虛
靈關 8: 張元化以發靈關
靈寶 (monk-name) 33: 僧靈寶 (Syr. equiv. ܐܕܡܐ Adam 'Adam the minister' [S13])
靈壽 (monk-name) 66: 僧靈壽 (Syr. equiv. ܐܢܘܫ Ānōš / Enosh [S54])
靈德 (monk-name) 67: 僧靈德 (Syr. equiv. ܡܪܫܘܩ Mār Sargīs [S55])
寶靈 (monk-name) 78: 僧寶靈
含靈 8: 含靈於是乎既濟
- 齡 *ling* 'age, seniority; also used as a personal name'
房玄齡 11: 宰臣房公玄齡
- 六 *liu* 'six, sixth'
六十 5: 三百六十五
六合 30: 六合昭蘇
- 流 *liu* 'flow, diffuse'
流 15: 法流十道
流行 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國

- 碑頌並序
留 *liu* 'leave behind'
留 8: 經留二十七部
龍 *long* 'dragon; hence imperial'
龍髯 18: 龍髯雖遠
龍書 19: 額戴龍書
呂 *lu* 'spine'; used only as a surname in XM.
呂秀巖 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書
律 *lu* 'law, regulation'
風律 11: 望風律以馳艱險
慮 *lu* 'plan, worry, exertion'
智慮 5: 智慮營營
祿 *lu* 'dignity'
祿賜 24: 能散祿賜
光祿 23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫
路 *lu* 'road, path'
生榮之路 9: 東禮趣生榮之路
亂 *luan* 'chaos, disturbance'
撥亂 27: 乘時撥亂
淪 *lun* 'to lose, drown, submerge'
淪二 5: 或空有以淪二
輪 *lun* 'wheel'; used only in XM for phonetic transcription of *nun*-.
曜輪 (monk-name) 39: 大德曜輪
羅 *luo* 'net'; also used in phonetic transcription of *l*-, *lw*-, *r*-, *r'*- etc.
法羅 5: 競織法羅
羅含 (monk-name) 16: 有若僧首羅含, 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人
阿羅本 (pers. name) 10: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本
阿羅訶 (divine name) 3: 我三一妙身无元真主阿羅訶
邁 *mai* 'journey, travel'
從邁 24: 肅宗倅之從邁
滿 *man* 'full, replete with'
滿 16: 寺滿百城
遍滿 27/28: 遍滿中土
蠻 *man* 'barbarian'
百蠻 30: 百蠻取則
茫 *mang* 'confusion, forgetfulness'
茫然 5: 茫然无得
昧 *mei* 'darkness'
積昧 6: 積昧亡途
每 *mei* 'every'
每 20: 每於降誕之辰; 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒
美 *mei* 'beautiful, beneficial'
美利 21: 且乾以美利故能廣生; 29: 物資美利
斯美 26: 未聞斯美
門 *men* 'gate, gateway, door'
門 7: 啟三常之門
景門 14: 英朗景門; 25: 更效景門
密 *mi* 'quietly, secretly, unostentatiously'
密 30: 應惟密
密濟 12: 密濟群生
彌 *mi* 'distant; to fill etc.'; used only in XM for phonetic transcription of *ma*-, *mi*-.
彌施訶 *mishihe* phonetic transcription for Syr. ܡܫܝܗܘܐ 'Messiah'
彌施訶 (divine name) 6: 三一分身景尊彌施
迷 *mi* 'confusion; be confused'
久迷 6: 久迷休復
妙 *miao* 'wonderful, extraordinary' in Chinese Manichaean texts the word is often used to mean 'divine'
妙 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者; 10: 妙而難名
妙有 3: 後後而妙有
妙身 3: 我三一妙身无元真主阿羅訶
玄妙 12: 玄妙无為
滅 *mie* 'vanquish'
滅死 7: 開生滅死
暗滅 26: 日昇暗滅
名 *ming* 'name'
名 10: 妙而難名; 19: 所可可名; 23: 乃策名於王帳; 30: 名言兮演三一; 主能作兮能述
常名 12: 詔曰道无常名
冥 *ming* 'darkness, obscurity'
隙冥 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內
命 *ming* 'law; life, fate'
景命 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命
明 *ming* 'light, illumination; to illuminate; illustrious' also used in phonetic transcription for *ma*-, *min*- etc.
明月珠 14: 明月珠
明德 30: 聿修明德
明宮 8: 棹慈航以登明宮
明明 27: 明明景教
明聖 10: 明聖臨人
明泰 (monk-name) 55: 僧明泰 (>Syr. ܡܬܬܝܡܬܬܝܡ Matthew [S43])
明一 (monk-name) 97: 僧明一 (>Syr. ܐܡܡܢܘܐ 'Ammānū'ēl / Emmanuel [S86])
昌明 15: 文物昌明
和明 (monk-name) 82: 僧和明
惠明 (monk-name) 44: 僧惠明
文明 10: 天下文明; 19: 肅宗文明皇
帝; (monk-name) 60: 僧文明 (Syr.+MPe. equiv. ܐܝܫܘܢ ܐܕܕ ܐܕܕ [S60])
和明 (monk-name) 82: 僧和明
幽明 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明
宣明 28: 真道宣明

- 溟 *ming* 'sea, ocean'
四溟 30: 武肅四溟
- 摩 *mo* 'rub, brush' used only in XM for phonetic transcription of *ma-*, *mo-* etc.
耶俱摩 (monk-name) 75: 老宿耶俱摩
- 摸 *mo* in the phr. 轉摸 *zhuanmo* 'transfer'
轉摸 13: 帝寫真轉摸寺壁
- 末 *mo* 'end'
末 16: 先天末
- 歿 *mo* 'die, perish; dying'
歿 22: 歿能樂
存歿 27: 存歿舟航
- 魔 *mo* 'devil (transcr. Skt. *mara*)
魔 7: 魔妄於是乎悉摧
- 木 *mu* 'wood'
擊木 8: 擊木震仁惠之音
- 目 *mu* 'eye'
目 (for 自): 22: 情發目 (corr. 自) 誠者 – see under 自.
耳目 24: 作軍耳目
- 乃 *nai* 'and then'
乃 23: 乃策名於王帳
- 南 *nan* 'south, southern'
南 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海
南山 19: 寵賚比南山峻極
- 難 *nan* 'difficult'
難 10: 妙而難名
- 內 *nei* 'interior, internal'
內 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內; 17: 寫真寺內安置
內澄 (monk-name) 84: 僧內澄 (Syr. equiv. ܝܢܥܘܨܐ Yōhannān / John [S72])
內情 9: 削頂所以無內情
臥內 24: 雖見親於臥內
入內 11: 賓迎入內
- 餓 *nei* 'hungry'
餓 25: 餓者來而飯之
- 能 (能) *neng* 'can, be able to; ability'
能 22: 人能理。物能清。存能昌。歿能樂; 24: 能散祿賜; 30: 主能作兮臣能述
能事 22: 我景力能事之功用也
以... 故能 21: 且乾以美利故能廣生; 聖以體元故能亭毒
- 廿 *nian* 'twenty' see under 二十 *ersi*.
- 年 *nian* 'year'
年 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七月; 16: 聖曆年; 31: 大唐建中二年
- 念 *nian* 'thought, memory; remember'
念 22: 念生響應
- 凝 *ning* 'connect to' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
凝虛 (monk-name) 70: 僧凝虛 (Syr. equiv. ܢܝܘܐ Mār Sargīs [S58])
- 寧 *ning* 'peace, tranquility; able to'; also used in phonetic transcription for *ni-*, *nin-* and also for *di-* etc.
寧國 (place-name) 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場
寧恕 (monk-name) 31: 法主僧寧恕 (phonetic transcription for Syriac ܢܝܢܝܫܘܗܐ Hananishu)
義寧坊 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所
- 紐 *niu* 'knot'
絕紐 17: 俱維絕紐
- 女 *nu* 'maiden, girl, female'
室女 6: 室女誕聖
- 判 *pan* 'separate, divide, discriminate'
判 3: 判十字以定四方
- 攀 *pan* 'seize, touch'
攀 *pan* 18: 弓劍可攀
- 沛 *pei* 'rich, copious'
沛澤 19: 沛澤與東海齊深
- 披 *pi* 'implement'
披 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明
- 破 *po* 'break, vanquish'
破 7: 懸景日以破暗府
- 迫 *po* 'pressurize; hence harrass'
煎迫 6: 煎迫轉燒
- 頗 *po* 'precious'
頗黎 24: 獻臨恩之頗黎
- 普 *pu* 'popular, common, widespread; also used of phonetic transcr. for *bu-*, *pu*, *pw*)
普論 (monk-name, phonetic transcr. for Syr./Sogd. ܡܘܠܘܨܐ Paolos) 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人
普濟 (monk-name) 71: 僧普濟 (>MPE. ܡܘܨܐ Pusāy [S59])
- 七 *qi* 'seven'
七日 9: 七日一薦; 31: 太蔭月七日
七時 9: 七時禮讚
七月 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七月
二十七 8: 經留二十七部
一七 18: 僧普論等一七人
- 其 *qi* 'he, she, it, the one, each one's, there etc.'
其 12: 詳其教旨; 觀其元宗; 14: 其土出火統布; 25: 或仍其舊寺; 26: 今見其人; 28: 人賴其慶
其唯 3: 其唯
- 契 *qi* 'contract, matching half'
符契 10: 道聖符契
- 憩 *qi* 'rest, leisure'
辭憩 25: 布辭憩之金罽

- 啟 *qi* 'open'
 啟 7: 啟三常之門
 啟聖 28: 玄宗啟聖
 啟運 10: 光華啟運
- 起 *qi* 'rise, raise, restore'
 起 25: 病者瘳而|起之
 起地 26: 起地立天
- 齊 *qi* 'level with, together with'
 齊深 19: 沛澤與東海齊深
- 乾 *qian* 'heaven'
 乾廓 27: 乾廓坤張
 乾祐 (monk-name) 51: 僧乾祐 (Syr. equiv. ܐܘܪܘܢ Ahrōn / Aaron [S 38])
 且乾 21: 且|乾以美利故能廣生
- 前 *qian* 'front, former'
 前行 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士
- 虔 *qian* 'sincere'
 虔事 25: 虔事精供
- 強 *qiang* 'strong'
 強 10: 強稱景教; 30: 強名言兮演三一密強
- 且 *qie* 'as, since'
 且乾 20: 且|乾以美利故能廣生
- 勤 *qin* 'zealous, diligent'
 勤行 23: 聞道勤行
- 秦 *qin* name of a dynasty which ruled China from 221 to 206 BCE hence 大秦 *Da Qin* 'Great Chin or China' i.e. the Roman Empire, more precisely the Roman East.
 大秦 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 6: 室女誕聖於大秦; 10: 大秦國有上德; 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所; 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海
 18: 三載大秦國有僧倍和
- 親 *qin* 'in person, a relative'
 親臨 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場;
 見親 24: 雖見親於臥內
- 傾 *qing* 'overthrow'
 傾 17: 道石時傾而復正
- 情 *qing* 'character, nature; affection'
 情發 22: 情發目 (for 自) 誠者
 內情 9: 削頂所以无內情
 恩 (corr. 恩) 情 5: 恩情役役
- 慶 *qing* 'celebrate, reward'
 慶 28: 人賴其慶
 興慶宮 18: 於興慶宮修功德
 大慶 20: 大慶臨而皇業建
 宣慶 6: 神天宣慶
 奉慶 18: 奉慶睿圖
 廣慶 (monk-name) 42: 僧廣慶
- 清 *qing* 'clean, clear, pure, untainted'
 清 22: 物能清
- 清節 26: 清節達婆
 文清 30: 文清万域
- 罄 *qing* 'simplicity'
 罄 9: 不聚貨財示罄遺於我
- 青 *qing* 'pale green'
 青雲 11: 占青雲而載真經
 青駕 13: 青駕西昇
- 秋 *qiu* 'autumn'
 秋 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七月
- 區 *qu* 'administration'
 區夏 29: 造我區夏
- 去 *qu* 'go, reach' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
 去甚 (monk-name) 99: 僧去甚 (Syr. equiv. ܣܠܡܘܢ Šlēmōn / Solomon [S89])
- 趣 *qu* 'advance, cherish; humour'
 趣 9: 東|禮趣生榮之路
- 取 *qu* 'take, regard'
 取則 30: 百蠻取則
- 全 *quan* 'extensive, broad'
 十全 23: 藝博十全
- 筌 *quan* 'trap'
 忘筌 12: 理有忘筌
- 群 *qun* 'multitude, numerous'
 群生 12: 密濟群生; 22: 善貸被群生者
- 然 *ran* 'then, certainly, therefore'; emphatic particle 'extremely, deeply'
 然 4: 匠成万物然立初人
 常然 3: 常然真寂; 26: 湛寂常然
 窅然 3: 窅然靈虛
 茫然 5: 茫然|无得
- 髯 *ran* 'whisker'
 龍髯 18: 龍髯雖遠
- 權 *rang* 'seize, take'
 權輿 26: 權輿匠化
- 撓 *rao* 'disregard'
 暫撓 17: 法棟暫撓而更崇
- 人 *ren* 'man, person, people in general'
 人 9: 均貴賤於人; 10: 明聖臨人; 11 一所度僧二十一人; 15: 人有樂康; 18: 僧普論等一七人; 22: 人能理; 26: 今見其人; 28: 人有樂康; 人賴其慶
 人隱 30: 燭臨人隱
 初人 4: 然立初人
 利人 13: 濟物利人
 矯人 5: 或伐善以矯人
 同人 6: 同人出代
- 仁 *ren* 'righteous; gentlemanly'
 仁 25: 依仁施利; 29: 仁以作施;
 仁惠 8: 擊木震仁惠之音; (monk-name) 57: 僧仁惠

設 *she* 'establish'

設教 7: 設三一淨風无言之新教; 12: 隨方設教

審 *shen* 'investigate' used only in XM as part of a monk-name and for phonetic transcription of *šem-*, *šen-* etc.

審慎 79: 僧審慎 (>Syr. ܣܡܫܘܢ Šemšōn / Samson [S67])

慎 *shen* 'firm, alert'

靜慎 9: 戒以靜慎為固

審慎(monk-name) 79: 僧審慎

深 *shen* 'deep, deeply'

深知 11: 深知正真

齊深 19: 沛澤與東海齊深

甚 *shen* 'very' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

去甚(monk-name) 99: 僧去甚

神 *shen* 'divine; god' (probably transl. Sogd. *by-* 'god' and *by'nyq* 'divine' in Christian doctrinal contexts)

神天 6: 神天宣慶

聖神 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝

身 *shen* 'body, limb, being'

分身 6: 我三一分身景尊彌施訶; 26: 分身出代

妙身 3: 其唯我三一妙身无元真主阿羅訶

昇 *sheng* 'rise, raise'

昇 8: 亭午昇真

日昇 26: 日昇暗滅

西昇 13: 青駕西昇

生 *sheng* 'to bring forth, produce, conceive; be born, grow, develop; life, living'

生 3: 鼓元風而生|二氣; 7: 開生滅死; 22: 念生響應

生成 12: 生成立要; 29: 開貸生成

生榮 9: 東|禮趣生榮之路

廣生 21: 且|乾以美利故能廣生

群生 12: 密濟群生; 22: 善貸被群生者

聖 *sheng* 'holy, sacred; sage'

聖 6: 圓二十四聖; 10: 惟道非聖不弘。聖非道不大。道聖符契; 12: 聖无常體; 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置 19: 聖无不作; 21: 聖以體元故能亭毒

聖日 29: 聖日舒晶

聖曆(reign-title) 16: 聖曆年

聖神 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝

聖運 20: 恢張聖運

聖迹 14: 聖迹騰祥

聖寫

啟聖 28: 玄宗啟聖

誕聖 6: 室女誕聖

眾聖 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者

事 *shi* 'work, matter'

能事 8: 能事斯畢; 22: 我景力能事之功用也

虔事 25: 虔事精供

從事 20: 從事无為

使 *shi* 'send; hence envoy'

使 11: 帝使宰臣房公玄齡; 22: 若使風雨時

副使 23: 同朔方節度副使

十 *shi* 'ten, ten times'

十 5: 是以三百六十五種; 6: 圓二十四聖|有說之舊法; 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七; 13: 一所度僧廿一人

十道 15/16: 法流十道

十字 3: 判十字以定四方; 8: 印持十字

十全 23: 藝博十全

史 *shi* 'history, historical record'

漢魏史策 14: 案西域圖記及漢魏史策

嗜 *shi* 'desire'

希嗜 4: 本无希嗜

士 *shi* 'scholar, minister, priest'

高力士 17: 大將軍高力士

景士 26: 白衣景士

司士 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士

下士 16: 下士大笑

始 *shi* 'at first, in the beginning'

始 23: 始效節於丹庭

室 *shi* 'room'

室女 6: 室女誕聖

皇室 29: 祚歸皇室

式 *shi* 'standard, model, trial'

式封 28: 式封法主

施 *shi* 'give, practise'; used also for phonetic transcription of *si-*, *shi-* etc.

施妄 4: 洎乎娑殫施妄

大施主 22/23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫

作施 29: 仁以作施

施利 25: 依仁施利

彌施訶(divine-title) 6: 彌施訶

是 *shi* vb. to be 'is/are'

此是 5: 開平大於|此是之中

是以 5: 是以三百六十五種

於是 6: 於是我三一分身景尊彌施訶; 7: 魔妄於是乎悉; 8: 含靈於是乎既濟; 18/19: 於是天題寺榜

時 *shi* 'time(s); also used to indicate periods of time during the day, the equivalent of hours'

時 17: 道石時傾而復正; 22: 若使風雨時; 31: 時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也

七時 9: 七時禮讚

乘時 27: 乘時撥亂

石 *shi* 'stone; hence tablet'

道石 17: 道石時傾而復正

示 *shi* 'show, manifest'

示 9: 不聚貨財示罄遺於我

試 *shi* 'oversee'

試殿 23: 試殿中監

檢校試 36: 助檢校試太常卿賜紫袞袞寺主僧業利

- 識 *shi* 'knowledge, learning'
伏識 9: 齋以伏識而成
- 釋 *shi* 'Buddhist'
釋子 16: 釋子用壯
- 飾 *shi* 'to decorate'; also in the phr. *tian shi* 鈿飾 'to deceive (with a golden flower)'
鈿飾 4: 鈿飾純精
崇飾 25: 崇飾廊宇
- 守 *shou* 'protect, defend'
守一 (monk-name) 74: 僧守一 (Syr. equiv. ܝܫܘܥ Yōhannān / John [S62])
- 授 *shou* 'teach'
傳授 11: 特令傳授
- 壽 *shou* 'birthday, age' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
福壽 (monk-name) 47: 僧福壽
- 庶 *shu* 'multitude, all, everyone'
庶績 28: 庶績咸熙
- 恕 *shu* 'forgive'; also used in the XM for transcription of *šū-* etc.; 寧恕 Ningshu (phonetic transcription for Syr.)
恕 21: 專靜而恕
寧恕 31: 法主僧寧恕
- 書 *shu* 'book, scripture; scribe; write, inscribe'
書 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書
書殿 11: 翻經書殿
龍書 19: 額戴龍書
天書 28: 天書蔚映
中書 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
- 舒 *shu* 'spread, send forth'
舒 18: 日角舒光; 29: 聖日舒晶
- 述 *shu* 'narrate, state'
述 1: 大秦寺僧景淨述; 19: 所作可述; 30: 名言兮演三一主能作兮臣能述
- 率 *shuai* 'all'
率土 28: 率土高敬
- 水 *shui* 'water'
水風 8: 法浴水風
弱水 14: 東接長風弱水
- 順 *shun* 'appealing, smooth, favourable' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
聞順 (monk-name) 72: 僧聞順
- 爍 *shuo* 'flashing' in the phr. 灼爍 *zhou shuo* 'brilliant'
灼爍 19: 灼爍丹霞
- 朔 *shuo* 'northern'; 朔方 *shuofang* 'northern quarter, northern region'
朔方 23: 同朔方節度副使; 24: 初摠戎於朔方也
- 說 *shuo* 'word, speech; to speak'
說 7: 圓二十四聖 | 有說之舊法
繁說 12: 詞无繁說
- 司 *si* 'minister to, in charge of'
司 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所司士 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士
司將 13: 旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁
- 四 *si* 'four, fourth'
四 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒
四溟 30: 武肅四溟
四照 8: 融四照以合无拘
四方 3: 判十字以定四方
二十四 6: 圓二十四聖 | 有說之舊法
- 寺 *si* 'monastery'
寺 16: 寺滿百城; 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置; 25: 或仍其舊寺; 每歲集四寺僧徒; 27: 翻經建寺
大秦寺 1: 大秦寺僧景淨述; 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺
景寺 20: 重立景寺
- 斯 *si* 'this, these; own; already, then' also used frequently in phonetic transcription for *si-*, *sy-* etc.
斯 8: 能事斯畢; 25: 如學斯飛
斯美 26: 未聞斯美
波斯 (place-name) 6: 波斯曙耀以來貢
伊斯 (monk-name) 23: 僧伊斯
- 死 *si* 'die; death'
滅死 7: 開生滅死
死者 26: 死者葬而安之
- 祀 *si* 'sacrifice; hence year'
九祀 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安
禱祀 5: 或禱祀以邀福
- 送 *song* 'give, present'
送 17: 令大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置
- 頌 *song* 'hymn, praise, paean'
頌 Titl.: 景教流行中國碑頌並序; 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉
- 俗 *su* 'custom, customary'
俗 15: 俗无寇盜
- 宿 *su* 'reside, resident'
景宿 6: 景宿告祥
老宿 (monk-title) 75: 老宿耶俱摩
- 素 *su* 'pure, simple'
素蕩 4: 素蕩之心
反素 10: 洗心反素
- 肅 *su* 'solemn, dignified'
肅 30: 武肅四溟
肅宗 (imperial title) 19/20: 肅宗文明皇 | 帝; 24: 肅宗俾之從邁; 28: 肅宗來復
- 蘇 *su* 'revive; hence rejoice'
昭蘇 30: 六合昭蘇

歲 *sui* 'year, hence age'

歲 31: 歲在作噩

每歲 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒

隨 *sui* 'follow'

隨方 12: 隨方設教

肩隨: 5 肩隨結轍

雖 *sui* 'though, even so'

雖 18: 龍髯雖遠; 24: 雖見親於臥內

娑 *suo* character used only in XM as phonetic

transcription for *sa-*, *sar-* etc.; 娑磔 *suōdān* phonetic transcription for Syriac *Satan* lit. 'the accuser', hence 'the Devil, Satan'; 達娑 phonetic transcription for Middle Persian *tarsā* see comm.

娑磔 4: 洎乎娑磔施妄

達娑 26: 清節達娑

所 *suo* 'by means of; all; house, building'; in the phr. 所

以 *suoyi* 'because of, as a result'

所 13: 所司即於義寧坊造大秦寺一所度僧廿一人; 19: 所作可述

所以 9: 存鬚所以有外行; 削頂所以無內情

台 *tai* 'platform'; also used as a name of a prefecture in the XM: 台州 *taizhou* (in modern 浙江 Zhejiang).

台州 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士

太 *tai* 'very' used only in the XM in the phr. 太蔭月 'the first month'

太和 (monk-name) 86: 僧太和 (Syr. equiv. ܐܒܕܝܫܘܐ 'Abdīšō' [S75])

太常卿 36: 助檢校試太常卿賜紫袞裳寺主僧業利

太蔭月 31: 在作噩太蔭月七日大耀森文日

泰 *tai* 'honourable, dignified' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

明泰 (monk-name) 55: 僧明泰

壇 *tan* 'altar for ancestral worship'

壇場 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場

唐 *tang* 'vast, exaggerate'; used only in XM as name of a dynasty, viz. the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE)

大唐 31: 大唐建中二年

巨唐 13: 巨唐道光

我唐 27: 言歸我唐

堂 *tang* 'hall'

法堂 25: 或重廣法堂

陶 *tao* 'practise, mould, fashion'

陶良 7: 陶良用於正信

特 *te* 'special, specially'

特令 11: 特令傳授

騰 *teng* 'vault, bound, mount up, raise, overcome'

騰祥 14: 聖迹騰祥

騰口 16: 騰口於東周

騰凌 19: 騰凌激日

題 *ti* 'inscribe'

天題 19: 於是天題寺榜

體 *ti* 'body, limb'

體元 21: 聖以體元故能亭毒

常體 12: 聖無常體

天 *tian* 'sky, heaven; day'

天 19: 於是天題寺榜; 26: 起地立天

天寶 (as Dynastic title) 17: 天寶初

天地 4: 暗空易而天地開; 29: 德合天地

天威 28: 天威引駕

天書 28: 天書蔚映

天下 10: 天下文明; 13: 宣行天下; 22: 天下靜

天香 20: 錫天香以告成功

天顏 18: 天顏咫尺

天姿 13: 天姿汎彩

神天 6: 神天宣慶

先天 16: 先天末

鈿 *tian* 'golden flower' in the phr. *tian shi* 鈿飾 'to deceive (with a golden flower)'

鈿飾 4: 鈿飾純精

亭 *ting* 'pavilion; raise, hold, stop'

亭午 8: 亭午昇真

亭毒 21: 聖以體元故能亭毒

同 *tong* 'together, similar to, comparable to'

同 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內; 23: 同朔方節度副使

同人 6: 同人出代

統 *tong* 'control; hence bounded; highest point'

統 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海

統極 30: 建中統極

通 *tong* 'communicate, lead to, comprehend'

化通 21: 化通玄理

景通 (monk-name) 76: 僧景通

行通 (monk-name) 35: 僧行通

惠通 (monk-name) 50: 僧惠通

圖 *tu* 'illustration'

西域圖記 14: 案西域圖記

皇圖 28: 皇圖璀璨

睿圖 18: 奉慶睿圖

土 *tu* 'earth'

土 14: 其土出火統布

土宇 15: 土宇廣闊

中土 28: 遍滿中土

率土 28: 率土高敬

徒 *tu* 'follower'

僧徒 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒

途 *tu* 'way, path, trail'

亡途 6: 積昧亡途

託 *tuo* 'trust, entrust'

託宗 5: 或指物以託宗

- 文物 15: 文物 昌明
濟物 13: 濟物 利人
- 兮 *xi* an interjection
兮 30: 名言兮演三一主能作兮臣能述; 道惟廣兮;
建臺碑兮頌元吉
- 希 *xi* 'rare, inordinate'
希嗜 4: 本无希嗜
- 悉 *xi* 'completely, comprehensively'
悉摧 7: 魔妄於是乎悉摧
- 洗 *xi* 'wash, bathe'
洗心 10: 洗心反素
- 熙 *xi* 'prosperous'
咸熙 28: 庶績咸熙
- 虛 *xi* 'emptiness' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
凝虛 (monk-name) 70: 僧凝虛 (Syr. equiv. ܡܪܝܢܐ Mār Sargīs [S58])
- 西 *xi* 'west, western'
西 13: 西望仙境 花林
西郊 11: 摠仗西郊
西昇 13: 青駕西昇
西域圖記 14: 案西域圖記
西鑄 16: 訕謗於西鑄
- 錫 *xi* 'offer'
錫 20: 錫天香 以告成功
- 隙 *xi* 'crack, fissure'
隙冥 5: 隙冥 同於彼非之內
- 下 *xia* 'below'
下士 16: 下士 大笑
天下 10: 天下 文明; 13: 宜行天下; 22: 天下 靜
- 夏 *xia* 'summer', also the name of an ancient (and utopian) dynasty.
區夏 29: 造我區夏
中夏 23: 聿來中夏
- 霞 *xia* 'hue, rosy clouds'
丹霞 19: 灼爍丹霞
- 仙 *xian* 'immortal'
仙境 14: 西望仙境 花林
- 先 *xian* 'first, previous'
先先 3
先天末 16
- 咸 *xian* 'every one, all'
咸 27: 咸證真玄
咸熙 28: 庶績咸熙
- 間 *xian* = 間 *jian* 'disrupt, separate'
間 4: 間平大於此是之中
行間 24: 不自異於行間
- 險 *xian* 'danger, dangerous'
艱險 11: 望風律以馳艱險
- 獻 *xian* 'present, donate, gift'
獻 24: 獻臨恩之頗黎
來獻 12: 遠將經像來獻上京
- 像 *xiang* 'image, effigy, statute'
經像 12: 遠將經像來獻上京
- 向 *xiang* 'towards'
向化 18: 瞻星向化
- 祥 *xiang* 'blessing, good fortune'
祥風 29: 祥風 掃夜
告祥 6: 景宿告祥
騰祥 14: 聖迹騰祥
- 詳 *xiang* 'carefully'
詳 12: 詳其教旨
- 響 *xiang* 'sound' in the phr. 響應 *xiang ying* 'echo'
響應 22: 念生響應
- 香 *xiang* 'fragrant, fragrance, incense'
香 14: 返魂香; 29: 香 以報功
天香 20: 錫天香 以告成功
- 孝 *xiao* 'filial'
孝義 29: 代宗孝義
- 校 (校) *xiao* 'supervise'
檢校 34: 檢校 建立碑僧|行通; 36: 助檢校 試太常|
卿賜紫袈裟寺主僧業利
- 效 *xiao* 'change, alter, improve'
效 25: 更效 景門
效節 23: 始效節 於丹庭
- 笑 *xiao* 'laugh at, scorn'
笑 16: 下士 大笑
- 偕 *xie* 'universal, all'
偕作 27: 百福偕作
- 寫 *xie* 'write, paint'
寫真 13: 帝寫真 轉摸寺壁; 17: 寫真 寺內安置
- 謝 *xie* 'thank'
永謝 29: 祇氛永謝
- 信 *xin* 'believe, faith' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
居信 (monk-name) 62: 僧居信
- 心 *xin* 'mind, heart'
心 4: 素蕩之心; 21: 祝无愧心
洗心 10: 洗心 反素
- 新 *xin* 'new, novel'
新景命 21: 闡九疇 以惟新景命
新教 7: 設三一淨風无言之新教
- 行 *xing* 'move, walk, pass through, diffuse; (nn.) conduct'
行通 (monk-name) 35: 檢校 建立碑僧|行通
行間 24: 不自異於行間
不行 15: 法非景不行
流行: Titl. 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國
碑頌並序
修行 22: 我修行 之大猷

- 勤行 23: 聞道勤行
 前行 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士
 外行 9: 存鬚所以有外行
 宜行 13: 宜行天下
- 性 *xing* 'character, nature'
 性 4: 渾元之性
- 星 *xing* 'star, planet'
 瞻星 18: 瞻星向化
- 興 *xing* 'prosperous'
 興慶宮 18: 於興慶宮修功德
- 休 *xiu* 'cease, rest, respite'
 休復 6: 久迷休復
 休烈 26: 以揚休烈
 元休 16: 國富元休
- 修 *xiu* 'practise, perform'
 修 18: 於興慶宮修功德; 30: 聿修明德
 修行 22: 我修行之大猷
 克修 28: 克修真正
 聿修 30: 聿修明德
- 秀 *xiu* 'elegant'; used only as part of a personal name in XM.
 呂秀巖 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書
- 序 *xu* 'prologue, series'
 序 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序
- 畜 *xu* 'rear, feed' probably meaning 蓄 *xu* 'store, collect'
 畜 9: 不畜臧獲
- 虛 *xu* 'pure, unsullied, simple'
 虛 4: 虛而不盈
 21: 至於方大而虛
 靈虛 3: 窅然靈虛
 虛白 8: 滌浮華而潔虛白
- 緒 *xu* 'people'
 貴緒 16: 並金方貴緒
- 宣 *xuan* 'proclaim'
 宣明 28: 真道宣明
 宣慶 6: 神天宣慶
- 懸 *xuan* 'raise, hang up'
 懸 7: 懸景日以破暗府
- 旋 *xuan* 'rotate; right away, thereupon'
 旋令 13: 旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁
- 玄 *xuan* 'profound, deep'
 玄樞 3: 玄樞而造化
 玄妙 12: 玄妙无為
 玄網 16: 共振玄網
 玄理 21: 化通玄理
 真玄 27: 咸證真玄
 玄真 (monk-name) 56: 僧玄真 (>Syr. or equiv. ܝܫܘܢ Yōḥannān / John [S 43])
 玄覽 77: 僧玄覽 (MPe. equiv. ܓܝܓܘܝܐ Gīgōy S65))
- 玄德 (monk-name) 93: 僧玄德 (Syr. equiv. ܐܦܪܝܡ Aprēm / Ephraim [S82])
 房玄齡 (pers. name) 11: 宰臣房公玄齡
 玄宗 (imperial title) 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 28: 玄宗啟聖
- 削 *xue* 'shave'
 削頂 9: 削頂所以无內情
- 旬 *xun* 'ten days'
 五旬 25: 備諸五旬
- 牙 *ya* 'teeth'
 爪牙 24: 為公爪牙
- 巖 *yan* 'cliff'; used only as part of a personal name in XM.
 呂秀巖 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書
- 延 *yan* 'extend' used only in XM as part of a monk-name
 延和 (monk-name) 49: 僧延和 (Syr. equiv. ܐܝܠܝܐ Eliyā / Eijah [S34])
- 言 *yan* 'word, speech'
 言 27: 言歸我唐
 名言 30: 名言兮演三一主
 无言 7: 設三一淨風无言之新教
- 顏 *yan* 'colour, image'
 天顏 18: 天顏咫尺
- 揚 *yang* 'proclaim'
 揚 26: 以揚休烈
 揚輝 28: 御榜揚輝
- 暘 *yang* 'sun'
 暘谷 29: 暘谷來威
- 陽 *yang* 'sunshine, bright' used only in XM in the place-name 汾陽郡 *fenyangjun* 'the Fen Yang Prefecture'. On Xianyang 咸陽 see ܫܝܢܝܐܢܝܐ and on Luoyang 洛陽 see ܠܘܝܝܐܢܝܐ in Index II.
 汾陽郡 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
- 曜 *yao* 'glorious, bright; a planet' only used in XM for phonetic transcription of *ya-*.
 曜輪 (monk-name) 39: 大德曜輪 (>Syr. ܝܫܘܢ Yōḥannān / John [S 21])
 曜源 (monk-name) 58: 僧曜源 (>Syr. ܝܫܘܢ Yōḥannān / John [S46])
- 祇 *yao* 'uncanny, bizarre'
 祇氣 29: 祇氣永謝
- 窅 *yao* 'profound'
 窅然 3: 窅然靈虛
- 耀 *yao* 'glory' and used also for phonetic transcription for *ya-, yu-* etc.; 耀森文 *yaosenwen*, phonetic transcription for Pa. *ywšmbt* 'Sunday' ('yw' 'one', *šmbt* 'Sabbath'; hence 'one (day) after Sabbath' = Sunday)
 耀森文 31: 大耀森文日
 曙耀 6: 波斯曙耀以來貢

用 *yong* 'use'

用 7: 陶良用於正信

用壯 16: 釋子用壯

功用 10: 功用昭彰; 22: 我景力能事之功用也

利用 (monk-name) 92: 僧利用

幽 *you* 'promote'

幽明 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明

有 *you* lit. 'to have, possess', often used as a verb to be.

有; 5: 或空有以淪二; 7: 圓二十四聖有說之舊法;

9: 存鬚所以有外行; 10: 大秦國有上德; 11: 貞觀

十有二年; 12: 理有忘筌; 13: 旋令有司將帝寫真轉

摸寺壁 15: 人有樂康; 16: 有若僧首羅含; 18: 三載

大秦國有僧佶和; 28: 人有樂康 妙有 3: 後後而妙

有

猷 *you* 'scheme, plan'

大猷 7: 理家國於大猷; 22: 我修行之大猷

祐 *you* 'protect' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

乾祐 (monk-name) 51: 僧乾祐

域 *yu* 'region, district'

万域 30: 文清万域

西域圖記 4: 案西域圖記

宇 *yu* 'terrain, ground, region; dwelling, building'

宇建 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇

土宇 15: 土宇廣闊

廊宇 25: 崇飾廊宇

精宇 27: 更築精宇

御 *yu* 'ward off, withstand; imperial'

御饌 20: 頒御饌以光景眾

御榜 28: 御榜揚輝

於 *yu* 'at, in'

於 4: 閒平大於|此是之中; 5: 隙冥同於彼非之內; 6:

室女誕聖於大秦; 7: 理家國於大猷; 陶良用於正信;

魔妄於是乎悉摧; 8: 含靈於是乎既濟; 陶良用於正

信; 9: 均貴賤於人; 不聚貨財示罄遺於我; 11: 貞觀

九祀至於長安; 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺;

15: 而於諸州各置景寺; 16: 騰口於東周; 訕謗於西

鎬; 18: 於興慶宮修功德; 20: 於靈武等五郡; 每於

降誕之辰; 23: 始效節於丹庭; 乃策名於王帳; 24:

雖見親於臥內。不自異於行間; 不積於家; 初摠戎

於朔方也

於是 6: 於是我一身分身景尊彌施訶; 8: 含靈於是

乎既濟; 19: 於是天題寺榜

至於 21: 至於方大而虛

歟 *yu* 'indeed'

歟 3: 我一妙身无元真主阿羅訶歟

浴 *yu* 'bathe, wash'

法浴 8: 法浴水風

聿 *yu* 'finally, eventually'

聿 23: 聿來中夏; 30: 聿修明德

與 *yu* 'together with'

與 18: 與大德佶和; 19: 沛澤與東海齊深

輿 *yu* 'earth'

權輿 26: 權輿匠化

雨 *yu* 'rain'

風雨 22: 若使風雨時

元 *yuan* 'cause, origin; harmony'

元 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者; 3: 鼓元風而生二氣; 16: 國

富元休; 20 元善資而福祚開

元化 8: 張元化以發靈關

元善 20: 元善資而福祚開

元一 (monk-name) 52: 僧元一 (Syr. equiv.

ܡܦܬܘܢ Petros / Peter [S 39])

元宗 12: 觀其元宗; (monk-name) 91: 僧元宗 Syr.

equiv. ܡܦܬܘܢ Mār Sargīs / Lord Sergius [S80])

體元 21: 聖以體元故能亭毒

渾元 4: 渾元之性

无元 3: 先先而无元; 我一妙身无元 真主阿羅

訶; 26: 真主无元

元吉 30: 建董碑兮頌元吉

圓 *yuan* 'round, round off, complete'

圓 6: 圓二十四聖有說之舊法

源 *yuan* 'source, origin'; used only in XM for phonetic transcription of *nun-*.

曜源 (monk-name) 58: 僧曜源

遠 *yuan* 'far, distant'

遠 12: 遠將經像來獻上京; 18: 龍髯雖遠;

23: 遠自王舍之城

願 *yuan* 'desire'

願 26: 願刻洪碑

曰 *yue* 'say, said; called' 10: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本; 12: 詔曰道无常名; 26: 詞曰。真主无元

月 *yue* 'moon, hence month'

月窟 29: 月窟畢萃

日月 4: 日月運而晝夜作

七月 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七月

太蔭月 31: 太蔭月七日

明月珠 14: 明月珠

樂 *yue* 'joy, happiness' (yuè K 578b)

樂 22: 歿能樂

樂康 15: 人有樂康; 28: ditto

粵 *yue* an initial particle for which the character 曰 is sometimes used

粵若 3

運 *yun* 'move, (for planetary bodies) to spin, change; hence luck, fortune'

運 4: 日月運而晝夜作

啟運 10: 光華啟運

聖運 20: 恢張聖運

雲 *yun* 'cloud'

青雲 11: 占青雲而載真經

在 *zai* 'at, on'

在 31: 在作噩太歲月七日大耀森文日

宰 *zai* 'minister, superintendent'

宰臣 11: 帝使宰臣房公玄齡

災 *zai* 'disaster, calamity'

災苦 28: 物无災苦

載 *zai* 'carry; year'

載 11: 占青雲而載真經

三載 18: 三載大秦國有僧佶和

暫 *zan* 'temporarily'

暫橈 17: 法棟暫橈而更崇

讚 *zan* 'praise'

禮讚 9: 七時禮讚

臧 *zang* 'store, collect; hence slave'

臧獲 9: 不畜臧獲

葬 *zang* 'bury'

葬 26: 死者葬而安之

造 *zao* 'make, create; erect'

造 13: 造大秦寺; 29: 造我區夏;

造化 3: 摠玄樞而造化

則 *ze* 'example'

取則 30: 百蠻取則

澤 *ze* 'pool, pond'

沛澤 19: 沛澤與東海齊深

扎 *zha* 'calligraphy'

睿扎 19: 睿扎宏空

齋 *zhai* 'vegetarian; hence religious meals'

齋 9: 齋以伏識而成

占 *zhan* 'observe, occupy'

占 11: 占青雲而載真經

湛 *zhan* 'profound, deeply'

湛寂 26: 湛寂常然

瞻 *zhan* 'observe'

瞻星 18: 瞻星向化

帳 *zhang* 'tent'

王帳 23: 乃策名於王帳

張 *zhang* 'expand, stretch, extend, expand'

張 8: 張元化以發靈關

恢張 20: 恢張聖運

坤張 27: 乾廓坤張

彰 *zhang* 'luminous'

昭彰 10: 功用昭彰

昭 *zhao* 'reflect, shine'

昭德 (monk-name) 59: 僧昭德 (MPe.+Syr. equiv.

ܣܪܝܕܘܫܘܐ Sabranīšō' [S47]. See Index II)

棹 *zhao* 'launch, row'

棹 7: 棹慈航以登明宮

照 *zhao* 'illuminate, display, reflect'

四照 8: 融四照以合无拘

昭彰 10: 功用昭彰

昭蘇 30: 六合昭蘇

爪 *zhao* 'claw'

爪牙 24: 為公爪牙

詔 *zhao* 'edict'

詔 12: 詔曰道无常名; 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論 等一七人

者 *zhe* 'the one, who is etc.'

者 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者; 22: 善貸被群生者; 情發目 (自?)誠者; 25: 饒者來而飯之; 寒者來而衣之; 病者療而|起之; 26: 死者葬而安之

轍 *zhe* 'track'

結轍: 5 肩隨結轍

振 *zhen* 'strengthen, reinvigorate, restore'

共振 16: 共振玄網

真 *zhen* 'true, genuine'

真常 10: 真常之道

真寂 3: 常然真寂

真道 28: 真道宣明

真威 6: 戰隱真威

真玄 27: 咸證真玄

真正 28: 克修真正

真宗 15: 潤色真宗

真主 3: 无元真主阿羅訶; 26: 真主无元

真經 11: 占青雲而載真經

成真 7: 鍊塵成真

奉真 (monk-name) 90: 僧奉真

敬真 64: 僧敬真

寫真 13: 寫真轉摸寺壁; 17: 寫真寺內安置

昇真 7: 亭午昇真

正真 11: 深知正真

貞 *zhen* 'pure chaste'

貞觀 (reign-title) 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安; 貞觀十有二|年秋七月

鎮 *zhen* vb. 'subdue, pacify'; nn. 'a provincial town'

鎮化 4: 令鎮化海

鎮國 15: 鎮國大法主

震 *zhen* 'shake, quake'

震 8: 擊木震仁惠之音

政 *zheng* 'law, government'

八政 21: 披八政以黜陟幽明

正 *zheng* 'correct, upright'

正信 7: 陶良用於正信

正真 11: 深知正真

真正 28: 克修真正

復正 17: 道石時傾而復正

光正 (monk-name) 83: 僧光正

姿 *zi* 'image'

天姿 13: 天姿汎彩

子 *zi* 'off-spring, son'

釋子 16: 釋子用壯

郭子儀 (pers. name) 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀

字 *zi* 'letter, word, sign, (Chinese) character'

十字 3: 判十字以定四方; 8: 印持十字

紫 *zi* 'purple'

金紫 23: 大施|主金紫光祿大夫

紫袈裟 23: 賜紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 助檢校試太常|卿

賜紫袈裟寺|主僧業利

自 *zi* 'self, from'

自: 23: 遠自王舍之城; 22: 情發目(自?)誠者; 24: 不自異於行間

資 *zi* 'grant, enrich'

資 20: 元善資而福祚開

物資 29: 物資美利

宗 *zong* 'principle, ancestor; worship, revere'

宗周 13: 宗周德喪

太宗 (imperial-title) 10: 太宗文皇帝

託宗 5: 或指物以託宗

元宗 12: 觀其元宗; (monk-name) 91: 僧元宗

高宗 (imperial-title) 15: 高宗大帝; 27: 高宗纂祖

玄宗 (imperial-title) 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 28: 玄宗啟

聖; 29: 代宗孝義

代宗 (imperial-title) 20: 代宗文武皇帝

肅宗 (imperial-title) 19: 肅宗文明皇帝; 24: 肅宗俾

之從邁; 28: 肅宗來復

真宗 15: 潤色真宗

摠 (總) *zong* 'in general, over all'

摠 3: 摠玄樞而造化

摠戎 24: 初摠戎於朔方也

摠仗 11: 摠仗西郊

祖 *zu* 'ancestor'

纂祖 27: 高宗纂祖

尊 *zun* 'lord, master, venerable'

元尊 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者

景尊 6: 景尊彌施訶

朝尊 18: 望日朝尊

作 *zuo* 'do, make, create, fashion, compose' and in the astronomical phr. 作靈 *zuo* 'e.

作 4: 日月運而晝夜作; 19: 聖无不作; 所作可述 24:

作軍耳目; 27: 百福偕作; 30: 名言兮演三一主 能作兮臣能述

作施 29: 仁以作施

作靈 31: 作靈太蔭月

祚 *zuo* 'blessing'

祚 29: 祚歸皇室

Yauna <Gr. Ἴωνες lit. 'the Ionians'): S4 ... ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (<MPe *yzdbwz(y)d* (<MPe *yzdbwzyd / yazadbōzyd* lit. 'god saves!') pr. n. (pers.) 'Yazdbouzid': S15
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 191b] 'the only one, the only begotten one', hence 'solitary one, i.e. hermit' S33, S34, S35 (no Chin. equiv.)
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (<Hebr. יַעֲקֹב) pr. n. (pers.) 'Ya'qōb (i.e. Jacob) (Biblical): S63 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. title and phonetic transcription: 老宿耶俱摩 Laoxiu Yējùmó 'the venerable (solitary?) Yējùmó – 老宿 *laoxiu* lit. 'the old lodger'; *y'qwb* is transcribed in Chinese Manichaean texts as 耶俱孚 Yējùfú, cf. *Hymnscroll* 215c); S77 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [88] 僧和光 (*the Monk*) Héguāng lit. 'peaceful and radiant'); S74 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *qwb qnky* 'Ya'qōb the sacristan' (Chin. equiv.: [85] 僧崇德 (*the Monk*) Chóngdé lit. 'to exalt virtue' (Buddh.?)
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *yšw'dd* (-*dd* <MPe -*dād* 'gave' i.e. 'Gift of Jesus' pr. n. (pers.) S76 Yišō'dād {Chin. equiv.: [87] (*the Monk*) Jǐngfú lit. 'luminous and fortunate' or 'a fortunate outlook')
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *yšw'mh* (Syr. lit. 'Jesus among us') 'Īšō'- 'ammeh' S45 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [43] 僧仁惠 (*the Monk*) Rénhui lit. 'righteous and gracious')
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 202a] 'stone': S9
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ *kwmd'n* Sogdian pr. n. written in Syriac script (cf. *xwmt'n Anc. Sogd. Lett.* II.15) which in turn is probably an ancient phonetic transcription of Xianyang 咸陽 the older capital of Qin Dynasty replaced by Chang'an 長安. Cf. Gr. Χουβδάν Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* VII,9,8: S5
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *kwr'pysqwp* [CSD 211a → 210b] (<Gr. χορεπίσκοπος) 'Chorepiscopus, a suffragan bishop (lit. 'a country or regional bishop' – one who ruled over village churches in the place of a bishop and appointed the lesser orders, but did not ordain priests nor deacons, and himself belonged to the priesthood [CSD 210b]) :
 S1 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 S5 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 S15 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 S16/17 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ

S64 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 225a] 'preaching' S11: ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 230a] 'to write' : S10 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 237b] 'tablet, writing tablet, here monument' : S9
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ *lwq'* (<Gr. Λουκάς, <Lat. Lucas) pr. n. (pers.) 'Lūqā (i.e. Luke)' (Biblical): S42 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription (?) [54] 僧利見 (*the Monk*) Lìjiàn lit. 'a profitable view'; S49 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [61] 僧文貞 (*the Monk*) Wénzhēn lit. 'pure word')
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 238b] prep. 'unto, towards'
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 252a] 'dispensation, (divine) guidance, *oikonomia* etc.' S10: ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ 'law of our Saviour'
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ [CSD 252b] 'city': S6, S8
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *mhdgdwšnsp* (<MPe. *m'd'dgwšn'sp* Mādāgdwšnaāsp '(warrior-)fire given by the moon' (?) cf. *CPD* 38) pr. n. (pers.) 'Māhdāgdwšnasp' (Zoroastrian) (It is important to note that the original pagan, i.e. Zoroastrian, name of the Persian saint Mar Gīwargīs has the closely related form of Mihrāmgwšnasp ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ *myhrmgwšnsp* (cf. Justi, *Namebuch* 204b) which means that ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ might have been used by Christians as a martyr-name in Iran in memory of Mar Gīwargīs): S27 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv. – probably also a partial translation: [44] 惠明 Huīmíng 'pure and bright' – term also used by Chinese Manichaeans for Pa. *mnwhmyd rwšn*, i.e. 'the Light-Nous')
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ *mws'* (<Hebr. מֹשֶׁה) pr. n. (pers.) 'Mōšē, i.e. Moses): S32 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [47] 僧福壽 (*the Monk*) Fúshòu 'fortunate and (enjoying) long-life'); S35 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ *mylys* (<Gr. Μύλλης) pr. n. (pers.) 'Milis' (The monk or presbyter Milis of the Monument was named probably after the Bishop of Susa who was martyred under Shapur II (Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* II,14, PG 67.968B), cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 206b): S7 ܝܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)

- ܡܝܟܐܝܠ *mykyl* (<Hebr. מִיכָאֵל lit. 'one who is like God') pr. n. (pers.) 'Mikā'el (i.e. Michael)' (Biblical): S25 ܡܝܟܐܝܠ (Chin. equiv.: [42] 廣慶 Guǎngqìng 'widespread celebration (of the true faith?)' (Budd.?) – Note that the Manichaeans in China phonetically transcribed the same Semitic name as *mihēyiluō* 弥訶逸囉. Cf. Ma Xiaohe, *op. cit.*, 248)
- ܡܠܟܐ [CSD 277b] 'king, ruler': S12 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝ ܚܝܢܐ 'the kings of Chinstan (i.e. China)'
- ܡܠܟܝܐ [CSD 277b] 'royal': S6 ܡܠܟܝܐ ܡܠܟܝܐ
- ܡܢ [CSD 280a] 'from': S7
- ܡܠܝܚܐ [CSD 298a] 'lord'; ܡܠܝܚܐ 'our lord': S2, S4, S22
- ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫ *mrsrgys* (*srgys* <Gr. Σέργιος <Lat. Sergius) pr. n. (pers.) 'Mār (Lord) Sargis' (Sergius was originally the name of an ancient Roman *gens* but more importantly it was the name of a soldier-martyr under Diocletian and a major saint of the Syriac church. A more Hellenized form of the name ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫ *srgyws* is attested in unpublished inscriptions from Central Asia): S16 ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ (no Chin. equiv.); S55 ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ (Chin. equiv.: [67] 僧靈德 (*the Monk*) Lingdé lit. 'virtuous spirit'); S58 ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ (Chin. equiv.: [70] 僧凝虛 (*the Monk*) Níngxū lit. 'concentrate on emptiness' (Buddh.)); S64: ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ *mrsrgys qšyš' wkwr'pysqwp' šy'ngtsw'* 'the Abbot (*shangzuo* 上座 lit. '(on) high seat') Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) priest and Chorepiscopos (Chin. equiv. [76] 僧景通 (*the Monk*) Jǐngtōng lit. 'thoroughly illuminated' (Buddh.)); S80 ܡܪܫܪܓܝܫܐ (Chin. equiv.: [91] 僧元宗 (*the Monk*) Yuánzōng lit. 'the complete (originating) principle' (Buddh.?)
- ܡܫܝܗܐ *mšyh' dd* (-*dd* <MPe -*dād* 'gave' i.e. part-Aramaic and part-MPe: 'Gift of the Messiah') pr. n. (pers.) 'Mšihādād': S28 (Chin. part equiv. (and part phonetic transcription?) [45] 寶達 Bǎodá 'arrival of the precious treasure (i.e. the doctrine?)' – the -*dá* part of the Chinese name was probably chosen because of its phonetic proximity to the MPe -*dād*)
- ܡܫܝܗܐ [CSD 308a] 'obedient' hence 'minister' (cf. Moule 49): S38 ܡܫܝܗܐ ܡܫܝܗܐ ܡܫܝܗܐ (Chin. equiv.: [50] 僧惠通 (*the Monk*) Huìtōng lit. 'thoroughly virtuous' (Buddh.))
- ܡܬܝܬܐ *mty* (<Hebr. מַתְתִּיחַ 'Gift of Yahweh', cf. Gr. Μαθθαίος) pr. n. (pers.) 'Mattay (i.e. Matthew)' (Biblical): S43 ܡܬܝܬܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. [55] 僧明泰 (*the Monk*) Míngtài lit. 'radiant and honourable')
- ܡܘܨܝܐ *nwh* (<Hebr. נֹחַ) pr. n. (pers.) 'Nōh (i.e. Noah)' (Biblical): S51 ܡܘܨܝܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription (?): [63] 僧來威 (*the Monk*) Láiwēi lit. 'the coming of greatness (= Epiphany?)')
- ܡܘܨܝܐ [CSD 338a] 'rest, calm'; ܡܘܨܝܐ 'departed spirit': S6
- ܡܘܨܝܐ [CSD 346b] 'soul, self': S6
- ܡܘܨܝܐ [CSD 357a] 'an old man': S73 ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
- ܡܘܨܝܐ ܫܒܪܢܝܫܐ *sbrnyšw* 'lit. 'Jesus Our Hope' pr. n. 'Sabranīšō' (cf. alternative form: ܡܘܨܝܐ ܫܒܪܢܝܫܐ in Thomas Marga, *Book of Governors*, i, 380.16, (?): S18 ܡܘܨܝܐ ܫܒܪܢܝܫܐ (no Chin. equiv.), S47 (Chin. equiv.: [59] 僧昭德 (*the Monk*) Zhāodé lit. 'reflecting virtue')
- ܡܘܨܝܐ *srg* Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: 'Sarag' (*sry Anc. Lett.* II.11 - the eastern capital of Tang China, i.e. Luoyang 洛陽): S21. See also under ܡܘܨܝܐ..
- ܡܘܨܝܐ ܒܕܝܫܐ 'bdyšw' (Syr. lit. 'Workman or Servant of Jesus') pr. n. (pers.) 'Abdišō' (A very common name for members of the Church of the East. Cf. D. Chwolson, *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie* (St.-Pétersbourg 1886) 133. Gr. Ἀβδιησοῦς, cf. Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II,13, PG 67.968A): S36 ܡܘܨܝܐ ܒܕܝܫܐ (no Chin. equiv.); S75 (Chin. equiv. [86] 僧太和 (*the Monk*) Tàihé lit. 'profound peace')
- ܡܘܨܝܐ [CSD 402a] 'congregation, assembly, hence monastery': S20 ܡܘܨܝܐ ܐܝ ܐܒܬܐ 'abbot'
- ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ (<Hebr. אֱמַנָּוּ 'God with us') (Biblical) pr. n. (pers.) 'Ammānū'el (i.e. Emmanuel)': S86 (Chin. equiv. (and partial phonetic transcription?): [97] 僧明一 (*the Monk*) Míngyī lit. 'enlightened in everything')

ܩܦܫܐ *p'pšy* either phonetic transcription of the Chinese term *fashi* 法師 [EMC *puap-srij*] 'priest, monsignor' (lit. 'Dharma Master') or miscopying of ܩܦܫܐ 'Papas [CSD 453b] (from Gr. πάππας and from Latin *papa* i.e. 'Pope, title used of the Bishop of Rome or the patriarchs of Alexandria and later Antioch): S1 ܩܦܫܐ ܕܝܢܗܘܢܐ 'the Priest (or Papa) of China'

ܩܘܠܘܣ *pwlws* (<Gr. Παυλός <Lat. paulus 'small, few') pr. n. (pers.) 'Pawlōs (i.e. Paul)' (Biblical): S66 ܩܘܠܘܣܐ (Chin. equiv. and partial phonetic transcription: [78] 僧寶靈 (the Monk) Bǎolǐng lit. 'precious soul' (Buddh.))

ܩܘܣܝܐ *pwsy* (<MPe. pws /pus/ 'son', i.e. son of a Christian captive settled in the Persian Empire) pr. n. (pers.) 'Pusāy' (Name of the martyred Bishop of Hormizd-Ardašīr under Shapur II. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 256a and *Acta martyrum et sanctorum Syriace*, ed. by P. Bedjan (Paris 1890–1897) ii, 208 f.) S59 (Chin. phonetic transcription [71] 僧普濟 (the monk) Pǔjì lit. 'wide-spread relief')

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *ptryrkys* [CSD 443a] a loan word into Syriac from Greek – πατριάρχης 'Patriarch': S2 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐܝܢܐ (Chin. transl. [31] 法主 *fazhu*, lit. 'Chief of Law or of the *dharma*. i.e. of the religion')

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *ptrws* (<Gr. πέτρος 'rock, boulder') pr. n. (pers.) 'Petros, i.e. 'Peter' (Biblical): S40 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ (Chin. equiv.: [52] 僧元一 (the Monk) Yuányī lit. 'complete entity')

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 459a] 'saviour, preserver'; ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ 'our saviour': S11 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐܝܢܐ

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 478a] 'Chinese', pl. ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ 'the Chinese, i.e. China' (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ) S13

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *cynst'n* Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: 'Chinstan i.e. China'. Cf. *Sogd. Anc. Lett.* II.14,16 (also Sogd. *cyn* <Chin. *qin* 秦) 'Chinese': S1. See also ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ.

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 489a] 'tomb, sepulchre': S37 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐܝܢܐ

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 494b] 'arise', ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ Aph. 'raise up': S9

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *qwsntynws* (<Gr. Κωνσταντῖνος <Lat. Constantinus lit. 'constant, steadfast') pr. n. (pers.) 'Qōstantīnōs (i.e. Constantine)' (Name of first Christian Roman Emperor and saint of the Greek Orthodox Church, often given in abridged form in Syriac as *kwšty*. Cf. Chwolson, *op. cit.* 133. Despite its similarity to the Sogdian word for a 'preacher', *kwšt'nz* remains a strong candidate for the female version of the name 'Constantia'): S49 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ (Chin. equiv. or transl.: [62] 僧居信 (the Monk) Jūxìn lit. 'dweller on (i.e. one who is constant in) faith' or partial phonetic transcription for *qwsntn*-. On the latter see H. Takahashi, 'Transcribed Proper Names in Chinese Syriac Christian Documents' in *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, N.J., 2008) 642.

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *kwrykws* (<Gr. Κυρίακος lit. 'like a lord, lordly' – name of a Christian martyr under Diocletian) 'Quryāqōs (i.e. Cyriac)': S84 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ (Chin. equiv. (and partial translation?): [95] 僧志堅 (the Monk) Zhìjiān lit. 'firm in purpose')

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 511a] 'a sacristan': S74 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐܝܢܐ

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 522b] 'elder, hence priest, monk' Generally translated in Chinese on the Stele as 僧 *seng* (cf. Skt. *śramana*) 'monk': S1, S4, S7, S16, S18, S23, S24, S25, S26, S27, S28, S29, S30, S31, S32, S33, S34, S35, S36, S37, S38, S63, S64, S65, S66, S67, S68, S69, S70, S71, S72, S73, S74, S76

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *qtwlyq'* [CSD 523b] loan word from Gr. καθολικός 'universal', hence *Catholicos*, title of the primate of the Church of the East': S2 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܣܬܐܝܢܐ

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ [CSD 539b] 'head', ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ 'abbot': S20

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *šwbh'* [CSD 563a] 'praise, honour, glory', used as a pr. n. (pers.): S79 ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *šwbh'* *lmrn* 'Praise be to our Lord' (Chin. equiv. (and partial translation?): [90] 僧奉真 (the Monk) Fèngzhēn lit. 'one who reveres or upholds the truth')

ܩܘܪܝܩܝܐ *šy'ngtsw'* (<Chin. *shangzuo* 上座 lit. '(on) high seat') 'abbot *vel sim.*'. Cf. P. Pelliot, P. Pelliot, 'Deux titres bouddhiques portés par des religieux nestoriens', *T'oung Pao* 12 (1911) 669-

70 and J. Dauvillier, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 2, 1, La Stèle de Si-ngan-fou, Pt. 2: Inscriptions syriaques de la Stèle de Si-ngan-fou, Œuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, (Paris, 1984) 73: S64

ܫܠܡܘܢ *šlymwn* (<Hebr. שְׁלֹמֹן from שְׁלוֹמֹן *shalom* ‘peace’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Šlēmōn (i.e. Solomon)’ (Biblical): S89 (Chin. equiv. [99] (*the Monk*) 僧去甚 Qùshèn lit. ‘withdrawal from excess’) – Chinese Christians in Yuan period phonetically transliterated the same Semitic name as 失里門 Shīlīmén, cf. S.N.C. Lieu *et al.*, *Medieval Christian and Manichaean Remains from Zayton (Quanzhou)*, (Turnhout, 2012) 297.

ܫܡܘܢ *šm'wn* (<Hebr. שִׁמְעוֹן) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Šem‘ōn (i.e. Simon or Simeon)’ (Biblical): S36 ܫܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܨܝܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.); S60 ܫܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܨܝܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [72] 僧聞順 (*the Monk*) Wénshùn lit. ‘hearing the appealing (message)’ (Buddh.?)); S73 ܫܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܨܝܢܐ *šm'wn qšyš' wsb'* ‘Šem‘ōn priest and elder’ (no Chin. equiv.); S81 ܫܡܘܢܐ (Chin. equiv. [92] 僧利用 (*the Monk*) Lìyòng lit. ‘of profitable use (to the religion?)’)

ܫܡܫܢ *šmšn* (<Hebr. שִׁשְׁבַּן ‘man of the sun’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Šemšōn (i.e. Samson)’ (Biblical): S67 ܫܡܫܢܐ ܩܘܨܝܢܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription.: [79] 僧審慎 (*the Monk*) Shěnsheñ lit. ‘to investigate prudently (the scriptures?)’)

ܫܘܒܐ [CSD 588a] ‘year’: S3 ܫܘܒܐ

ܫܘܒܐܢܐ *thwrstn* Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: ‘Tocharistan’ (cf. Sogdian *txw'r'k* (adj.)) (The region was more commonly known in Syriac as ܫܘܒܐܢܐ ܫܘܒܐ): S8 (no Chin. equiv.)

ܫܘܒܐܢܐ [CSD 620a] ‘two’: S3 ܫܘܒܐܢܐ

ܫܘܒܐܢܐ [CSD 622b] ‘nine’, pl. ܫܘܒܐܢܐ ‘ninety’: S3

