Article

Liaoye—a Chinese Ligature in Uigur Manuscripts from the 13th and 14th Centuries*

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The Chinese *liaoye* 了也 means 'it is finished'. Confining myself here mainly to Uigur Buddhist texts, among which several use Chinese characters as logographs, I would like to point out that this expression often occurs at the end of chapters, books or other text units of a given work. It was most frequently translated into Turkic as *tükädi*, meaning 'it is finished'. In one case, we also find a phonetic transcription of the Chinese: lyw y-'[1] (Fig. 1). This transcription corresponds well to the expected pronunciation *lew' jia'*[2]. The pronunciation of the first character as *leu* [lyw] is also preserved in a different context in a fragment of the St. Petersburg Collection edited by M. Shōgaito.[3]

In Chinese, these two characters are written one after the other as is also the case in several Uigur manuscripts using Chinese characters in a mixed system. One example is a manuscript which contains a passage about auspicious and inauspicious days ending in 了也[4] (Fig. 2). At the end of the fragment Ch/U 7475, we find *liao ye* written horizontally according to the Chinese order (from right to left) (Fig. 3).[5] However, in some Uigur manuscripts, all of which belong to the late period of Uigur Buddhist culture, i.e. the Yuan or more roughly the Mongol period (in the 13th and 14th centuries), we find instead of these two characters a special form which looks like a combination of both in one character. One may regard it as a ligature of both. This character could only have come into existence if the Uigur direction of writing is followed, i.e. from left to right. Recently, M. Shōgaito has edited some examples of Chinese texts which also show this 'Uigur' feature.[6]

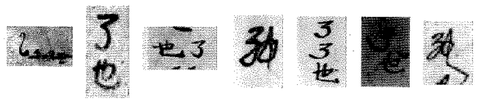


Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3 Fig. 4 Fig. 5 Fig. 6 Fig. 7

The first scholar to explain this special character was Tōru Haneda 羽田亨, when he studied the London manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārtha* written in Uigur script and mixed with Chinese characters used as logographs for Uigur words. On folio 86a of the manuscript Or. 8212/75A, we find both modes: in line 10 (= 2582) the special sign is used (Fig. 4). It is followed in line 11 (= 2583) by the two characters written separately (the first is doubled) (Fig. 5). T. Haneda[7] explained the character under discussion as a ligature of *liaoye*. Later, when M. Shōgaito studied this manuscript,[8] he adopted Haneda's statement. On the other hand, G. Kara and P. Zieme[9] referred to the same solution without having received knowledge of Haneda's and Shōgaito's results. In the so-called *Totenbuch*, *liaoye* is written separately on two occasions[10] (Fig. 6), but once as a ligature[11] (Fig. 7).

* I would like to express my thanks to Mr Wang Ding and Mr Yutaka Yoshida who provided valuable comments on several matters. My colleague Ms Simone-Christiane Raschmann helped me to find relevant data from among the Uigur documents. Most of the manuscripts cited here can be found as digital images in the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) or on the 'Turfan Studies' website of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW/Turfanforschung).

1 U 3280 (T III M 174) described in Raschmann 2009, No. 551.

2 Pulleyblank 1991, pp. 193, 363.

3 Shōgaito 2003, p. 130: *lyw*. Now also Shōgaito 2008, p. 51 fn. 64. Recently, Aydar Mirkamal proposed this explanation also for the following syntagma *uzatı lyw lwk ögdirlig orunta turup* '(they) may stay for long *lyw lwk* at this praised place' in the Mogao Northern Grottoes text B 157:13, cp. Mirkamal 2008, pp. 85–86. Abdurishid Yakup gave no interpretation for this word, but considered it as the first part of the unexplained juncture *lyw ögdir*, cp. Yakup 2006, pp. 28–29.

4 Ch/U 6796 + Ch/U 6238 verso line 11, edited by Zieme 2002, p. 388.

5 Ch/U 7457 recto line 5. The text has been identified by Rong 2007, p. 442; it corresponds to the Chinese Tantric text T. 878 (Wang Ding located the parallels in vol. 18, p. 337 a13, 15–17, 21). On the verso side is a Tantric text in Uigur which is unrelated to the one on the recto side.

6 Shōgaito (forthcoming).

7 Haneda 1958, pp. 166–167. I am grateful to Ms Yukiyo Kasai for her help.

8 Shōgaito 1974, p. 044.

9 Zieme / Kara 1978, p. 10.

10 Or. 8212/109, fol. 55b (ed. 1222), Or. 8212/109, fol. 58b (ed. 1297a).

11 Or. 8212/109, fol. 46a (ed. 1001).

Recently, Geng Shimin published parts of a newly found manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārtha* from Lanzhou in which the ligature also appears. But he concluded:

> 'Here, as to the special sign [12], I don't think it is a ligature consisting of two Chinese characters 了也 (as Profs Haneda and Shōgaito did it). It would be a sign of 'goodness' put at the end of a chapter or a book. It seems to me that it is a deformed swastika _ put at the end of a book (like the Mongolian Buddhist scriptures). It would have the same meaning like the Chinese '善哉 shanzai (good)' and the Sanskrit '薩[13]土 sādhu (good)' after it. In addition, in LM, after this special sign two Chinese characters 了也 (liao ye 'finished') are added. This point also proves that it is only a sign denoting the 'auspiciousness' at the end of a book or chapter.'[14]

This example shows that both forms were used, firstly the ligature, secondly the normal form.

It is also found in another Uigur manuscript edited by Semih Tezcan in 1974.[15] After my 2006 article on some quotations in the *Insadi-sūtra* appeared[16], I discussed one passage with Masahiro Shōgaito during his stay in Berlin. Following the suggestion presented by Geng Shimin in 2002 I concluded that in the *Insadi* manuscript, too, the character in question can be interpreted as a form of the *svastika*. Thus I read the character 卍 preceding the ligature as 萬 *wan* 'ten-thousand'. M. Shōgaito rejected this reading, and I looked into my previous study of 1991, where I had already given the correct reading and interpretation of the sentence.[17] Thus the sentence has to be read as follows 我正心誦 學了也 (Fig. 8) wo *Zhengxin songxue liaoye* 'I, Zhengxin (= Old Uigur Čisim), have recited and learned (it). It is finished.'

The recto side of the Chinese Buddhist scroll Ch/U 6845[18] contains some Uigur attempts at copying Chinese characters taken from the original text. To the right of the character on the upper margin, the scribe used the special character (Fig. 9).

In the composite booklet U 5335, which contains a selection of poetical Chinese texts written only in Uigur script, Chinese characters are rarely used. One of these cases is *liao* which appears seven times[19], while only two times in a transcriptional form: *lyv*[20] different from the one cited above (*lyw*). The Chinese character *liao* could be used in the same way as *liaoye*.



Fig. 8 Fig. 9 Fig. 10 Fig. 11

As the ligature, i.e. the combination of two single characters *liao ye* is not known from Chinese or other traditions using the Chinese script, one has to conclude that it was introduced by the Uigurs, possibly induced by other words written in this way such as *ymäter* 'one also says' known from the mixed Chinese/Uigur *Āgama* and *Abhidharma* texts (Fig. 10). Not only were these words written as one word, they were also combined in a kind of ligature written side by side (from left to right) (Fig. 11).

12 I would like to express my thanks to Professor Geng Shimin for having provided me with a copy of the original text.

13 Written wrongly 莎.

14 Geng 2002, pp. 79–80. I would like to explain the repetition of *liaoye* written with two separate characters rather as an attempt to make the matter clear in the event of the ligature being unknown.

15 Tezcan 1974.

16 Zieme 2006, p. 11.

17 Zieme 1991, p. 316.

18 Cp. Raschmann 2009, No. 502.

19 U 5335: p. 3 l.4, p. 21 l. 5, p. 24 l. 6 and 10, p. 26 l. 2, p. 27 l. 6, p. 28 l. 11.

20 U 5335: p. 15 l. 1, p. 28 l. 8.

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Article

Of Critical Editions and Manuscript Reproductions: Remarks apropos of a Critical Edition of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* Chapters 1 and 2*

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1. Introduction

It is regularly lamented that too few Sanskrit texts have been critically edited.[1] This is true, and I agree wholeheartedly that good critical editions by editors with learning and sound judgement are sorely needed, and that the production of such editions is one of the most important ways to advance the field. It should always be remembered, however, that a critical edition is, properly considered, a hypothesis (about some particular state of a text, not necessarily, as is often assumed, its original form, though that is no doubt the most usual case). This does not mean that it is 'not scientific' or 'ahistorical';[2] on the contrary, the forming and the refining of hypotheses is arguably the most important task of science and scholarship, be it in the natural sciences or in the humanities, including history and philology. But a 'definitive critical edition', popular though that phrase seems to be, is almost a contradiction in terms; and the production of even an excellent critical edition, by the most learned and discriminating of scholars, cannot mean that other scholars and students of a text will cease to consider the primary evidence of the manuscripts themselves, to test, critically, the editor's hypothesis, and to form their own conclusions and hypotheses.

It is, of course, a fundamental task of the editor to provide information concerning the evidence on which that hypothesis is based, or at least to report (in the critical apparatus) the principal documentary evidence that does not directly support it, i.e. variant manuscript readings. But this alone will not be (or should not be) quite sufficient for all. Just as, in other fields, a scholar or scientist will not rest content merely with a colleague's reporting of the evidence (data or observations) on which a proposed hypothesis rests, but will wish, sooner rather than later, to examine the evidence (or make the relevant observations and perhaps experiments) for himself or herself, so other scholars engaged in studying the same work will wish to examine for themselves the documentary (i.e. manuscript) evidence on which the hypothesis that the critical edition is is based.

To these general considerations, which I would hold to be relevant not to Indologists alone, I shall now try to give some support and specificity by the examination of a recent publication. In the latter half of 2007 a book appeared which for multiple reasons should be, and has been, received with special rejoicing, in particular by Sanskritists and all those interested in Buddhist thought. It is the first edition to be published of the Sanskrit original of the first two chapters

* This paper has grown out of a review article which had grown out of a review of Steinkellner 2007. Though I have allowed myself to be persuaded to give the paper a more general title in view of the fact that indeed it seeks to make a general point relevant and, I think, of some importance, far beyond the field of the book that was my starting point, it retains nonetheless in many respects the nature of a review article. To save space, I use as far as possible the same sigla and abbreviations for sources (whether manuscripts, editions or secondary literature) as Steinkellner does, and ask readers to refer to his bibliography for details. I thank Prof Michael Friedrich (Hamburg), Prof Dominic Goodall (Paris/Pondicherry), Dr Albrecht Hanisch (Hamburg/Kathmandu) and Prof Jonathan Silk (Leiden) for their comments on a draft of this paper.

[1] Thus e.g. Witzel 1997, p. vi. The requirement, which Witzel clearly implies, that a critical edition should be one 'with a stemma' is, however, one which many, including myself, would not agree with. Whether or not a stemma (which is itself, after all, only a representation of a hypothesis about the relationship of the manuscripts, and sometimes other sources) can be plausibly constructed does not determine whether an edition can with justice be deemed critical. Furthermore, the so-called 'stemmatic method' or 'Lachmannian method' is far more problematic (both in theory and in application), and less unanimously agreed on, than is often realized. See Timpanaro 2005, as just one example from a large body of relevant literature.

[2] As is sometimes implied, e.g. by Schoening. pp. 179ff. Schoening's surprisingly vehement rejection of critical editions in favour of diplomatic editions reflects a kind of lack of confidence (emendation being regarded with suspicion, although in fact it is often necessary, just as much in reading ancient texts as it is in reading contemporary texts from our own culture, in which everyone routinely emends on the basis of familiarity with language and subject-matter), rather limited familiarity with textual criticism and with the extensive literature on its theory and methods, and a narrow conception of science/scholarship, in which no place seems to be left for hypotheses. For a more balanced view see e.g. Tanselle 1995, pp. 9–32.

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