

大秦景教流行中國碑

Stele on the diffusion of the Luminous Religion of Da Qin (Rome) in the Middle Kingdom
Translated by Dr L. Eccles and Prof. Sam Lieu of the *SERICA* Team (27.7.2016).



§1. [1] 景教流行中國碑頌並序

[1] [Tit.] Stele (commemorating) the diffusion of the ‘Luminous’ Religion Chang in the Middle Kingdom (China) –

[2] 大秦寺僧景淨述

[2] an eulogy and preface composed by the monk Jingjing of the *Da Qin* (Roman) Monastery.

ܐܕܡ ܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܝܢܐ

{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。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

§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 365 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,

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。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。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。

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 the three, the radiant Míshīhē (<Syr. Mšīhā, 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 Bosi (i.e. Persia) they saw the brilliant light and brought offering, thus [7] fulfilling the old law as told by the 24 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 27 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

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。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。宗
 周德喪。青駕西昇。

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 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 Syria there was a man of great virtue (bishop), known as [11] Aluoben, 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 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. Aluoben, 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 be easily retained. Everything in them [13] benefits man. "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 temple had 21 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

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。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。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
 振玄網。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。

light, 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 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 mild waters. Its earth produces asbestos, restorative fragrances, moon pearls, and jade that glows in the dark. [15] There is 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 commanded Luminous (*Jingjiao* i.e. Christian) temples to be built in all the prefectures. He also 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(s) (698/9 CE) the Buddhists, 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), unworldly senior monks, 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 which had been temporarily cast down rose still more sublime and the holy stones which for a time had been desecrated were re-erected. In the early Tianbao

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
 。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。
 道無不可。所可可名。聖無
 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。

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. 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 great virtuous (i.e. 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 temples in Lingwu and five (i.e. four) 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 (emperor)s 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 Jianzong, established the eight principles of government, according to which he downgraded the

聖以體元故能亭毒。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。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。
 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
 。

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 principles, while his prayers are offered with a clear conscience. §19. Though elevated he is humble and because of his inner tranquillity 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 which our Luminous Religion labour to attain. §20. Our great benefactor, [23] Yisi (i.e. Yazdbozid), the Priest of the Imperial-conferred 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. He at first distinguished himself in the duties of the palace, [24] but after 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 (Yizi) 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

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。餓者來而飯之。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。真主無元。湛寂常
 然。權輿匠化。起地立天。
 分身出代。救度無邊。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。萬邦之康 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 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。

honoured and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of a pheasant in full flight. 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 temples, 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*). 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 origin, 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 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). Its Scriptures were translated and temples built, and both the living and the dead sailed in the vessel (of mercy). Every kind of blessing was then obtained, 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, large and bright, covered the [28] length and breadth of China (lit. 'middle earth'). The true doctrine was preached, abbots of the monasteries 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 earth revered him. All his undertakings were exceptionally successful and the people benefited from his success.

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

[S3] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S3] bšnt 'lp wtš'yn wtr̄tyn	[S3] In the year One Thousand
[S4] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S4] dyw̄ny' mry yzdbwzyd qšyš'	and Ninety and Two [S4] of the
[S5] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S5] wkwr'pysqwp' dkwmd'n	Greeks (1092 Sel. = 781 CE)
[S6] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S6] mdynt' mlkwt' br nyḥ	My Lord Yazdbuzid priest [S5]
[S7] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S7] npš' mylys qšyš' dmn	and Chorepiscopos of Kumdān
[S8] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S8] blḥ mdynt' dth̄wrstn	[S6] the metropolis, son of the
[S9] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S9] 'qym lwh' hn' dk'p'	[S7] late Milis priest, from [S8]
[S10] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S10] dkt̄ybn bh mdr̄brwth	Balkh a city of Tauristan (i.e.
[S11] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S11] dpr̄wqn wqr̄wzwhwn	Tocharistan), [S9] set up that
[S12] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S12] d'bhyn dlwt mlk'	tablet of stone. [S10] The things
[S13] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S13] dc̄ȳny' [33] 僧靈寶	[are] the law of him (who is)
[S14] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S14] 'd'm mšmšn' br	our Saviour and the preaching
[S15] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S15] yzdbwzyd kwr'pysqwp'	[S12] of them (who are) our
		fathers to the kings [S13] of
		Zinaye (i.e. China). {Chin.}
		[33] <i>Monk Lingbao</i> {Syr.}
		[S14] Adam minister [S15] son
		of Yazdbuzid Chorepiscopus.
[S16] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S16] mrsrgys qšyš' [S17]	[S16] Mar Sargis priest and
[S17] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	wkwr'pysqwp'	Chorepiscopos
[S18] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S18] gbryl qšyš' w'rkdyqwn	[S18] Gabriel Priest and an
[S19] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S19] wrš 'dt' dkwmd'n	Archdeacon [S19] and Abbot of
[S20] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S20] wdsrg	Kumdān (i.e. Chang'an) [S20]
		and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).
[S21] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S21] mry ywḥnn 'pysqwp'	[S21] Our Lord Yōḥannān
[S22] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S22] 'yshq qšyš' the priest 'Ishāq (Isaac)	{Chin.}
[S23] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S23] mykyl qšyš' the priest Mīkā'ēl (Michael)	{Chin.}
[S24] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S24] gyw'rgys qšyš' the priest Gīwargīs (George)	{Syr.}
[S25] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S25] mry ywḥnn 'pysqwp'	{Syr.}
[S26] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S26] mdynt' mlkwt' br nyḥ	{Syr.}
[S27] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S27] npš' mylys qšyš' dmn	{Syr.}
[S28] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S28] blḥ mdynt' dth̄wrstn	{Syr.}
[S29] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S29] 'qym lwh' hn' dk'p'	{Syr.}
[S30] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S30] dkt̄ybn bh mdr̄brwth	{Syr.}
[S31] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S31] dpr̄wqn wqr̄wzwhwn	{Syr.}
[S32] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S32] d'bhyn dlwt mlk'	{Syr.}
[S33] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S33] dc̄ȳny' [33] 僧靈寶	{Syr.}
[S34] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S34] 'd'm mšmšn' br	{Syr.}
[S35] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S35] yzdbwzyd kwr'pysqwp'	{Syr.}
[S36] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S36] mrsrgys qšyš' [S37]	{Syr.}
[S37] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	wkwr'pysqwp'	{Syr.}
[S38] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S38] gbryl qšyš' w'rkdyqwn	{Syr.}
[S39] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S39] wrš 'dt' dkwmd'n	{Syr.}
[S40] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S40] wdsrg	{Syr.}
[S41] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S41] mry ywḥnn 'pysqwp'	{Syr.}
[S42] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S42] 'yshq qšyš' the priest 'Ishāq (Isaac)	{Syr.}
[S43] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S43] mykyl qšyš' the priest Mīkā'ēl (Michael)	{Syr.}
[S44] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ	[S44] gyw'rgys qšyš' the priest Gīwargīs (George)	{Syr.}

{On the left side of the Stele:}

{First row:}	{First row:}
[S21] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ [39] 大德曜	{Syr.} [S21] mry ywḥnn 'pysqwp' Our Lord Yōḥannān
輪	(John), the Bishop {Chin.} [39] Great Virtue (<i>dade</i> <Skt.
[S22] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ [40] 僧日進	<i>dhabanta</i>) Yàolún.
	{Syr.} [S22] 'yshq qšyš' the priest 'Ishāq (Isaac) {Chin.}
[S23] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ [42] 僧廣慶	[40] monk Rijin.
	{Syr.} [S23] mykyl qšyš' the priest Mīkā'ēl (Michael)
[S24] ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ ܩܘܢܝܢ [43] 僧和吉	{Chin.} [42] monk Guǎngqìng.
	{Syr.} [S24] gyw'rgys qšyš' the priest Gīwargīs (George)

[S25] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [44] 僧惠明	{Chin.} [43] monk Héjǐ. {Syr.} [S25] <i>mhddgwšnsp qšyš'</i> the priest Māhdād Gušnasp
[S26] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [45] 僧寶達	{Chin.} [44] monk Huimíng. {Syr.} [S26] <i>mšyḥ 'dd qšyš'</i> the priest Mšḥādād {Chin.} [45] monk Bǎodá.
[S27] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [46] 僧拂林	{Syr.} [S27] <i>'prym qšyš'</i> the priest Aprēm (Ephraim) {Chin.} [46] monk Fúlín.
[S28] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ	{Syr.} [S28] <i>'by qšyš'</i> the priest Abāy (Abi).
[S29] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ	{Syr.} [S29] <i>dwyd qšyš'</i> the priest Dāwīd (David).
[S30] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [47] 僧福壽	{Syr.} [S30] <i>mws' qšyš'</i> the priest Mōšē (Moses) {Chin.} [47] monk Fúshòu.
{Second Row:}	
[S31] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [48] 僧崇敬	{Syr.} [S31] <i>bkws qšyš' yḥydy'</i> the monk-priest Bakkōs {Chin.} [48] monk Chóngjǐng.
[S32] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [49] 僧延和	{Syr.} [S32] <i>'ly' qšyš' yḥydy'</i> the monk-priest Eliyā (Eijah) {Chin.} [49] monk Yánhé.
[S33] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ	{Syr.} [S33] <i>mws' qšyš' wyḥydy'</i> the priest and monk Mōšē (Moses)
[S34] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ	Syr.} [S34] <i>'bdyšw' qšyš' wyḥydy'</i> the priest and monk 'Abdīšō'.
[S35] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ	{Syr.} [S35] <i>šm'wn qšyš' dqbr'</i> Šem'ōn (Simon) the priest of the tomb (i.e. the cemetery).
[S36] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [50] 僧惠通	{Syr.} [S36] <i>ywhnys mšmšn' wyd'</i> Yōḥannīs minister and monk {Chin.} [50] monk Huitōng.
{Third Row:}	
[S37] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [51] 僧乾祐	{Third Row:} {Syr.} [S37] <i>'hrwn</i> Ahrōn (Aaron) {Chin.} [51] monk Gānyòu
[S38] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [52] 僧元一	{Syr.} [S38] <i>ptrws</i> Petrōs (Peter) {Chin.} [52] monk Yuányī.
[S39] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [53] 僧敬德	{Syr.} [S39] <i>'ywb</i> Īyōb (Job) {Chin.} [53] monk Jǐngdé.
[S40] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [54] 僧利見	{Syr.} [S40] <i>lwq'</i> Lūqā (Luke) {Chin.} [54] monk Lǐjiàn.
[S41] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [55] 僧明泰	{Syr.} [S41] <i>mty</i> Mattay (Matthew) {Chin.} [55] monk Míngtài.
[S42] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [56] 僧玄真	{Syr.} [S42] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [56] monk Xuánzhēn.
[S43] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [57] 僧仁惠	{Syr.} [S43] <i>yšw 'mh</i> Īšō'-'ammeh {Chin.} [57] monk Rénhuì.
[S44] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [58] 僧曜源	{Syr.} [S44] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [58] monk Yàoyuán.
[S45] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [59] 僧昭德	{Syr.} [S45] <i>sbryšw'</i> Sabrīšō' {Chin.} [59] monk Zhāodé.
[S46] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [60] 僧文明	{Syr.} [S46] <i>yšw 'dd</i> Īšō' dād {Chin.} [60] monk Wénmíng.
[S47] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [61] 僧文貞	{Syr.} [S47] <i>lwk'</i> Lūqā (Luke) {Chin.} [61] monk Wénzhēn.
[S48] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [62] 僧居信	{Syr.} [S48] <i>qwsntynws</i> Qōstantīnōs (Constantine) {Chin.} [62] monk Jūxìn.
[S49] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [63] 僧來威	{Syr.} [S49] <i>nwh</i> Nōḥ (Noah) {Chin.} [63] monk Láiwēi.
{Fourth Row:}	
[S50] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [64] 僧敬真	{Syr.} [S50] <i>'yzdsp's</i> Izadspās {Chin.} [64] monk Jǐngzhēn.
[S51] ܩܘܪܝܢܐ [65] 僧還淳	{Syr.} [S51] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōḥannān (John) {Chin.} [65] monk

[S79] ܘܨܡܘܢ [92] 僧利用	{Syr.} [S79] <i>šm'wn</i> Šem'ōn (Simeon) {Chin.} [92] monk Liyòng.
[S80] ܘܦܪܝܡ [93] 僧玄德	{Syr.} [S80] <i>'prym</i> Aprēm (Ephraim) {Chin.} [93] monk Xuándé.
[S81] ܘܙܚܪܝܐ [94] 僧義濟	{Syr.} [S81] <i>zkry'</i> Zkaryā (Zechariah) {Chin.} [94] monk Yiji.
[S82] ܘܩܘܪܝܩܘܫ [95] 僧志堅	{Syr.} [S82] <i>kwrykws</i> Quryāqōs (Cyriac) {Chin.} [95] monk Zhijiān.
[S83] ܘܒܚܘܫ [96] 僧保國	{Syr.} [S83] Bakkōs (<Lat. Bacchus) {Chin.} [96] monk Bǎoguó.
[S84] ܘܐܡܡܢܘܘܠ [97] 僧明一	{Syr.} [S84] <i>'mnw'yl</i> 'Ammānū'ēl (Emmanuel) {Chin.} [97] monk Míngyī.
{Third row:}	{Third row:}
[S85] ܘܒܪܝܘܠ [98] 僧廣德	{Syr.} [S85] <i>gbry'yl</i> Gabrī'ēl (Gabriel) {Chin.} [98] monk Guǎngdé.
[S86] ܘܝܘܗܢܢ [99] 僧去甚	{Syr.} [S86] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōhannān (John).
[S87] ܘܫܠܘܡܘܢ [99] 僧去甚	{Syr.} [S87] <i>šlymwn</i> Šlēmōn (Solomon) {Chin.} [99] monk Qùshèn.
[S88] ܘܝܫܩ [99] 僧去甚	{Syr.} [S88] <i>'yshq</i> Īshāq (Isaac).
[S89] ܘܝܘܗܢܢ [100] 僧德建	{Syr.} [S89] <i>ywhnn</i> Yōhannān (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.

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- 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.
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- 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.S. *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 Monument' is by far the most popularly visited item in the Xi'an Forest of Inscribed Stelae Museum (*Xi'an beilin bowuguan* 西安碑林博物館), now part 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 Monument' has no shortage of translations into European languages although printed editions of the Chinese (and Syriac) are considerably fewer by comparison. Of the translations listed below (in chronological order according date of first publication) only those by Legge, Saeki and Pelliot are accompanied by editions of the original Chinese text and the text-edition accompanying the translation of Pelliot does not give the sections in 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. As 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. I have used standard transliteration for the Syriac text in addition to the Estrangelo Edessa © font as the transliterated forms (being in Unicode) should allow for easier word-searches than

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.

those in the Syriac script by researchers
who cannot read Syriac.

COMMENTARY

ON-GOING



[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 Conference: ‘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.

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*].

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

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

community with its own synagogue, Matteo Ricci wrote:⁶

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

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 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 fisionomia 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).

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 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 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 or P'PŠ' in line (S)1 and ŠY'NGTSW' in line (S)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

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 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.

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 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 ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ *ptryrkys* (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-ʃi* in Middle Chinese and *fap-ʃi* 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

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.

⁹ Lieu, *Epigraphica*, 230.

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

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 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 Uighur 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 transliteration: B'PŠYM TWYYN and in transcription *β'pšym toyin* which Hamilton correctly translates as '[Á] mon β'pšī

¹³ Lieu, *op. cit.*, 230.

(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.

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] ܙܢܨܬܢ 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 gate-way to the Silk Road was probably of foreign origin.¹⁸ The collection consisted of a small dossier of five letters

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 Handschriftenreste 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.

¹⁴ Or. 8212(181) l.1, ed. J. Hamilton, *Manuscripts ouïgours du IX^e-X^e siècle de Touen-houang. Textes établis, traduits et commentés*, 2 vols. (Paris: Peeters, 1986) I nr. 27, p. 141 (text), 142 (trans.) and II pl. 27, p. 313 (photograph).

¹⁵ 'Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biographie' *SBBerlin*, 1938, I. 2152.

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, CŸNY' which is found on line 12 of the Syriac,²⁵ is abridgement for *bt cÿny'* ('the land of the Chins') which is standard designation for China in Syriac literature.²⁶ Why was Adam not entitled *ܩܝܢܝܫܬܐ ܕܒܬ ܥܝܢܝܐ* *papshi dbt cÿny'* on the first line of the Syriac part of the inscription but was designated instead as *ܩܝܢܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ* *papshi dcynst'n* is an intriguing question which requires answers.

The form ŞYNST'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, though 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 (i.e. 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 Qin Dynasty but 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 *Σῆρες* ('People of Silk') and *Σηροική* ('Land of

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.

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 粟特文古信劉漢譯與注釋 (Ancient epistolary document in Sogdian language: Chinese translation and commentary)' *Wenshi* 文史 67 (2004/ii) 82.

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] 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 **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 SRT. Their Sogdian equivalents are also found in the Ancient Sogdian Letters and they are so 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. *Χουβδάβν*) 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 *Χουβδάβν* (which has a manuscriptal variant: *Χουμαδάβν*) is an excellent example of the b/m switch due to nassalisation 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

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 daizōkyō* 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.

³² On Sogdian names of the Chinese principal Silk Road cities see N. Sims-Williams, 'Towards a new edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letter I' 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.

situated only a few kilometres upstream (west) from Chang'an.³⁵

[S18] 𐭪𐭥𐭮 SRΓ (*saray*): Almost all scholars are agreed on the identification of *SRΓ* 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 *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

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 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'nch 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 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.

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.

To be continued –watch this space!

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.

LEXICAL CONCORDANCE

(I) WORDS IN CHINESE

** ON-GOING **

碑 *bei* 'inscribed stele, head-stone'

碑 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

並 *bing* 'together with, and also'

並 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

常 *chang* 'often, frequent'

常然 3: 常然真寂

三常: 啟三常之門 7

大 *da* 'great, large, big'

大 4: 間平大於; 10: 聖非道不大; 16: 下士大笑; 21: 至於方大而虛

大德 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 16: 大德及烈;

18: 與大德信和; 39: 大德曜輪

大帝 15: 高宗大帝

大法主 15: 鎮國大法主

大夫 23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫

大將軍 17: 令大將軍高力士送

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

而 *er* 'and, by means of'

而 3: 先而無元, ... 後後而妙有

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; 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: 法棟暫橈而更崇;

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。專靜而怒; 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。死者葬而安之

法 *fa* 'law, rule, custom'

法 8: 法浴水風; 15: 法非景不行; 15: 法流十道

法主 31: 法主僧寧恕; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮

國大法主; 28: 式封法主; 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

舊法 7: 圓二十四聖有說之舊法

法源 80: 僧法源

國 *guo* 'nation, country, kingdom'

國 7: 理家國於大猷; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國

大法主; 16: 國富元休

保國 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:

三載大秦國有僧信和

後 *hou* 'posterior, behind, later'

後後 3: 後後而妙有

寂 *ji* 'silence'

真寂 3: 常然真寂

湛寂 26: 湛寂常然

先教 *jiao* as nn. 'teaching, sect, hence religion'; as vb. 'to teach'

教 12: 隨方設教; 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

新教 7: 三一淨風無言之新教

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

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 2: 大秦寺僧景淨.

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: 於大秦景宿告祥

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: 關九疇以惟新景命

靈 *ling* 'spirit, spiritual'

靈虛3: 窅然靈虛

含靈8: 含靈於是乎既濟

靈關 8: 張元化以發靈關

As part of a place-name

靈(郡) 20: 靈武等五郡

As monk-title: 33: 僧靈寶 66: 僧靈壽; 67: 僧靈德, 78: 僧寶靈

流 *liu* 'flow, diffuse'

流行 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

妙 *miao* 'wonderful, extraordinary' in Chinese Manichaean texts the word is often used to mean 'divine'

妙 3: 後後而妙有; 10 真常之道。妙而難名

妙眾 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者

妙身 3: 我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶

玄妙 12: 玄妙無為

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: 於大秦景宿告祥; 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; 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海; 18: 三載大秦國有僧佶和

然 *ran* 'then, certainly, therefore'; emphatic particle 'extremely, deeply'

然 4: 匠成萬物然立初人

常然 3: 常然真寂, 26: 湛寂常然

窅然 3: 窅然靈虛

茫然 5: 茫然無得

若 *ruo* 'and, if'

若 22: 若使風雨時

粵若 3

有若: 有若僧首羅舍 16

僧 *seng* 'monk'

僧 13: 一所度僧二十一人

高僧 16: 物外高僧;

僧首 16: 僧首羅舍

僧徒 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒

As title: 2: 僧景淨; 18: 僧佶和; 18: 僧普論; 23: 僧伊斯; 31: 法主僧寧恕; 33: 僧靈寶; 34-35: 僧行通; 36: 僧業利; 40: 僧日進; 41: 僧遙越; 42: 僧廣慶; 43: 僧和吉; 44: 僧惠明; 45: 僧寶達; 46: 僧拂林; 47: 僧福壽; 48: 僧崇敬; 僧延和; 50: 僧惠通; 51: 僧乾祐; 52: 僧元一; 53: 僧

敬德; 54: 僧利見; 55: 僧明泰; 56: 僧玄真; 57: 僧仁惠; 58: 僧曜源; 59: 僧昭德; 60: 僧文明; 61: 僧文貞; 62: 僧居信; 63: 僧來威; 64: 僧敬真; 65: 僧還淳; 66: 僧靈壽; 67: 僧靈德; 68: 僧英德; 69: 僧沖和; 70: 僧凝虛; 71: 僧普濟; 72: 僧聞順; 73: 僧光濟; 74: 僧守一; 76: 僧景通; 77: 僧玄覽; 78: 僧寶靈; 79: 僧審慎; 80: 僧法源; 81: 僧立本; 82: 僧和明; 83: 僧光正; 84: 僧內澄; 85: 僧崇德 86: 僧太和; 87: 僧景福; 88: 僧和光; 89: 僧至德; 90: 僧奉真; 91: 僧元宗; 92: 僧利用; 93: 僧玄德; 94: 僧義濟; 95: 僧志堅; 96: 僧保國; 97: 僧明一; 98: 僧廣德; 99: 僧去甚; 100: 僧德建

述 *shu* 'narrate, state'

1: 大秦寺僧景淨述; 19: 所作可述; 32: 名言今演三一主能作今臣能述

寺 *si* 'monastery'

大秦寺 1: 大秦寺僧景淨述

頌 *song* 'hymn, praise, paean'

頌 Titl.: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

無 *wu* 'no, none, without'無 4: 素蕩之心本無希嗜; 6: 茫然 | 無得; 8: 融四照以合無拘; 9: 削頂所以無內情; 12: 詔曰道無常名; 聖無常體; 玄妙無為; 詞無繁說; 15: 俗無寇盜; 19: 道無不可; 聖無不作; 20: 從事無為; 21: 祝無愧心; 26: 救度無邊; 28: 物無災苦
無言 7: 設三一淨風無言之新教
無元 3: 先先而無元; 無元真主阿羅訶; 26: 真主無元**先** *xian* 'first, previous'

先先 3

先天末 16

行 *xing* 'move, walk'

流行 see under 流.

序 *xu* 'prologue, series'

序 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

窅 *yao* 'profound'

窅 3: 窅然靈虛

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

有 3: 後後而妙有; 7: 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; 12: 理有忘筌; 13: 旋令有司將帝寫真轉摸寺壁; 15: 人有樂康; 16: 有若僧首羅舍; 18: 三載大秦國有僧佶和; 28: 人有樂康

元 *yuan* 'cause, origin'

元 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者; 3: 鼓元風而生; 4: 渾元之性虛而不盈; 8: 張元化以發靈關; 16: 國富元休; 20: 元善資而福祚開
無元 3: 先先而無元; 我三一妙身無元
真主阿羅訶; 26: 真主無元
元故 21: 聖以體元故能亭毒
元吉 30: 建豐碑兮頌元吉
元宗 (as imperial title): 元宗 12: 觀其元宗; (as monk-name); as monk-names
S40: 僧元一; S80 僧元宗

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

粵若 3

真 *zhen* 'true, genuine'

真 7: 鍊塵成真; 7 亭午昇真; 13: 寫真轉摸寺壁
真經 11: 占青雲而載真經

真常 10: 真常之道

真寂 3: 常然真寂

真道 28: 真道宣明

真威 6: 戢隱真威

真寺 17: 寫真寺內安置

真玄 27: 咸證真玄

真正 28: 克修真正

真宗 15: 潤色真宗

真主 3: 無元真主阿羅訶; 23: 真主無元

正真 11: 深知正真

中 *zhong* 'middle'

中國 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序

ܡܝܪ [CSD 190a] ‘day’: ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ‘in the days of’: S2
ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *ywny*’ [CSD 190a] pr. n. (ethn.) ‘Greek, a
Greek’ (derived originally from Old Persian
Yauna <Gr. Ἴωνες lit. ‘the Ionians’): S4 ...

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *yzdbwz(y)d* (<MPe *yzdbwzyd /yazadbōzyd*
lit. ‘god saves!’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Yazdbouzid’:
S15 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 191b] ‘the only one, the only
begotten one’, hence ‘solitary one, i.e. hermit’
S32, S33, S34 (no Chin. equiv.)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *y’qwb* (<Hebr. יַעֲקֹב) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Ya’qōb
(i.e. Jacob) (Biblical): S61 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ
(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); S75 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ (Chin. equiv.:
[S75] 僧和光 (*the Monk*) *Héguāng* lit.

‘tranquil and radiant’); S72 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

qwb qnky ‘Ya’qōb the sacristan’ (Chin.
equiv: [85] 僧崇德 (*the Monk*) *Chóngdé* lit.
‘to exalt virtue’ (Buddh.?)); S75 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ
(Chin. equiv.: [88] 僧和光 (*the Monk*)
Héguāng lit. ‘tranquil and radiant’)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *yšw’d* (-*dd* <MPe -*dād* ‘gave’ i.e. ‘Gift
of Jesus) pr. n. (pers.) *Yišō’dād* {Chin. equiv.:
[87] (*the Monk*) *Jǐngfú* lit. ‘luminous and
fortunate’ or ‘a fortunate outlook’)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *yšw’mh* (Syr. lit. ‘Jesus among us’)
‘Īšō’-‘ammeh’ S43 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ (Chin. equiv.:
[43] 僧仁惠 (*the Monk*) *Rénhuì* lit. ‘righteous
and gracious’)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 202a] ‘stone’: S9

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *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. Χουβδάβ Theoph. Sim. *Hist.*
VII,9,8: S5

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 211a → 210b] ‘*Chor-*
episcopus, 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 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

S5 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

S15 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

S16 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 225a] ‘preaching’ S11: ܡܝܪܝܢܐ
ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 230a] ‘to write’ : S10 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 237b] ‘tablet, writing tablet, *here*
monument’ : S9

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *lwq*’ (<Gr. Λουκᾶς, <Lat. Lucas) pr. n.
(pers.) ‘Lūqā (i.e. Luke)’ (Biblical): S40 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ
(Chin. phonetic transcription (?) [54] 僧利見
(*the Monk*) *Lìjiàn* lit. ‘a profitable view’; S47
ܡܝܪܝܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [61] 僧文貞 (*the Monk*)
Wénzhēn lit. ‘pure word’)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 238b] prep. ‘unto, towards’

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 252a] ‘dispensation, (divine)
guidance, *oikonomia* etc.’ S10: ܡܝܪܝܢܐ
ܡܝܪܝܢܐ ‘law of our Saviour’

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ [CSD 252b] ‘city’: S6, S8

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *mhddgwšnsp* (<MPe.

m’d’dgwšn(’)sp ‘(warrior-)fire given by the
moon’ (?) cf. *CPD* 38) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Māhdād-
gušnasp’ (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 Mīhrāngušnasp

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *myhrmgwšnsp* (cf. *Justi,*

Namebuch 204b) which means that

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ might have been used by

Christians as a martyr-name in Iran in
memory of Mar Gīwargīs): S26 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ

(Chin. equiv. – probably also a partial
translation: [44] 惠明 *Huimíng* ‘pure and
bright’ – term also used by Chinese
Manichaeans for Pa. *mnwhmyd rwšn*, i.e. ‘the
Light-Nous’)

ܡܝܪܝܢܐ *mws*’ (<Hebr. מֹשֶׁה) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mōšē,
i.e. Moses): S30 ܡܝܪܝܢܐ (Chin. equiv.:
[47] 僧福壽 (*the Monk*) *Fúshòu* ‘fortunate

- and (enjoying) long-life'); S33 ܡܠܝܣܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
- ܡܠܝܣܢܐ *mylys* (<Gr. Μίλλης) 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 ܡܠܝܣܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
- ܡܝܟܝܠ *mykyl* (<Hebr. מִיכָאֵל lit. 'one who is like God') pr. n. (pers.) 'Mikā'ēl (i.e. Michael)' (Biblical): S23 ܡܝܟܝܠܐ (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 *mīhēyiluō* 弥訶逸啰. Cf. Ma Xiaohē, *op. cit.*, 248)
- ܡܠܟܐ [CSD 277b] 'king, ruler': S12 ܡܠܟܐܢܐ 'the kings of Chinstan (i.e. China)'
- ܡܠܟܝܐ [CSD 277b] 'royal': S6 ܡܠܟܝܐܢܐ
- ܡܠܟܐ [CSD 280a] 'from': S7
- ܡܠܝܟܐ [CSD 298a] 'lord'; ܡܠܝܟܐ 'our lord': S2, S4, S21
- ܡܠܝܟܝܐ *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 ܡܠܝܟܝܐ *srgyws* is attested in unpublished inscriptions from Central Asia): S16 ܡܠܝܟܝܐܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.); S53 ܡܠܝܟܝܐ (Chin. equiv.: [67] 僧靈德 (*the Monk*) Língdé lit. 'virtuous spirit'); S56 ܡܠܝܟܝܐ (Chin. equiv.: [70] 僧凝虛 (*the Monk*) Níngxū lit. 'concentrate on emptiness' (Buddh.?): S62: ܡܠܝܟܝܐܢܐܢܐ *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.)); S78 ܡܠܝܟܝܐ (Chin. equiv.: [91] 僧元宗 (*the Monk*) Yuánzōng lit. 'the complete (originating) principle' (Buddh.?)
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ *mšyh'dd* (-*dd* <MPe -*dād* 'gave' i.e. part-Aramaic and part-MPe: 'Gift of the Messiah) pr. n. (pers.) 'Mšīhādād': S26 (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*)
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ [CSD 308a] 'obedient' hence 'minister' (cf. Moule 49): S36 ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐܢܐ (Chin. equiv.: [50] 僧惠通 (*the Monk*) Huìtōng lit. 'thoroughly virtuous' (Buddh.))
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ *mty* (<Hebr. מַתָּתַי 'Gift of Yahweh', cf. Gr. Μαθθαίος) pr. n. (pers.) 'Mattay (i.e. Matthew)' (Biblical): S41 ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. [55] 僧明泰 (*the Monk*) Míngtài lit. 'radiant and honourable'
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ *nwh* (<Hebr. נֹחַ) pr. n. (pers.) 'Nōh (i.e. Noah)' (Biblical): S49 ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription: [63] 僧來威 (*the Monk*) Láiwei lit. 'the coming of greatness (= Epiphany?)')
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ [CSD 338a] 'rest, calm'; ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ 'departed spirit': S6
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ [CSD 346b] 'soul, self': S6
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ [CSD 357a] 'an old man': S71 ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ *sbrnyšw* 'lit. 'Jesus Our Hope' pr. n. 'Sabranīšō' (cf. alternative form: ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ in Thomas Marga, *Book of Governors*, i, 380.16, (?): S17 ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ (no Chin. equiv.)
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐ *srg* Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: 'Sarag' (*srg* *Anc. Lett.* II.11 - the eastern capital of Tang China, i.e. Luoyang 洛陽): S20. See also under ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ
- ܡܫܝܗܐܢܐܢܐ *'bdyšw* (Syr. lit. 'Workman or Servant of Jesus') pr. n. (pers.) 'Abdīšō' (A very common name for members of the Church of

