§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. [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 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. Sātān) 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,
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 Mishîhē (<Syr. Mšîhâ, 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 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 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.
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

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。貞觀⼗有⼆年秋七月。詔曰道無常名。聖無常體。随方設教。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
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), unworliday 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
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
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 ater 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’).
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 reverenced 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 guided [29] his (imperial) carriage. The Sun of Wisdom was crystal clear, while a felicitous wind swept away the night. Happiness returned to the Imperial household and evil influences were forever removed. Turmoil was stilled, and uprisings suppressed; our Land of Xia (i.e. China) was thus able make a strong recovery.

§23h. Daizong who was filial and just, harmonized his virtues with heaven and earth. The people (lit. ‘the living’) were satisfied by his generosity. He dispensed his donations with benevolence. The valley of the sunrise appeared in dignity and the cave into which the moon sets was elaborately decorated. §23i. When Jianzong [30] succeeded to the throne, he proceeded immediately to cultivate shining virtue. His military might cleared the four seas, and his literary accomplishments subdued all lands. Like a torch (his virtue) penetrated the secrets of men, and all creatures were seen by him as if in a mirror. He revived the whole world, and all the frontier nations look to him for example.

§23j. The true doctrine, how profound! Its course is unknown! We strive to name it and to elucidate the Three in One. The sovereign is able to act while the servants can only record. We therefore erect this grand monument in praise of our great felicity.

[31] §24. This (monument) was erected in the second year of Jianzhong (period), of the Great Tang (Dynasty) (781 CE), astronomically the year being Zuōˈè, in the 1st month, being the Great Yāosēnwēn (Pth. əwšambt / ēwšambat) Day and (i.e. namely) on the 7th day, while the Patriarch Ningshu (i.e. Hananishu) had the charge of the Church (lit. ‘luminous congregations’) of the East.

[S2] In the time of the Father of Fathers, Mar Hananishu, the Universal (Catholicos) Patriarch.


§24. This (monument) was erected in the second year of Jianzhong (period), of the Great Tang (Dynasty) (781 CE), astronomically the year being Zuōˈè, in the 1st month, being the Great Yāosēnwēn (Pth. əwšambt / ēwšambat) Day and (i.e. namely) on the 7th day, while the Patriarch Ningshu (i.e. Hananishu) had the charge of the Church (lit. ‘luminous congregations’) of the East.

[S2] In the time of the Father of Fathers, Mar Hananishu, the Universal (Catholicos) Patriarch.
The Xi'an (Nestorian) Monument

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


[S16] Mar Sargis priest and Chorepiscopus


{On the left side of the Stele:}

{First row:}


[S22] [40] monk Rijin.

[S23] [42] monk Guângqîng.

[S24] [43] Chief Monk Yeli.
[S26] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [45] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S27] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [46] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S28] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ
[S29] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ
[S30] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [47] ܢܘܗܟܐ

{Second Row:}
[S31] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [48] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S32] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [49] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S33] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ
[S34] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ
[S35] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ
[S36] ܒܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ ܠܫܢܐ [50] ܢܘܗܟܐ

{Third Row:}
[S37] ܐܘܡܢܐ [51] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S38] ܐܘܡܢܐ [52] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S39] ܐܘܡܢܐ [53] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S40] ܐܘܡܢܐ [54] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S41] ܐܘܡܢܐ [55] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S42] ܐܘܡܢܐ [56] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S43] ܐܘܡܢܐ [57] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S44] ܐܘܡܢܐ [58] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S45] ܐܘܡܢܐ [59] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S46] ܐܘܡܢܐ [60] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S47] ܐܘܡܢܐ [61] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S49] ܐܘܡܢܐ [63] ܢܘܗܟܐ

{Fourth Row:}
[S50] ܐܘܡܢܐ [64] ܢܘܗܟܐ
[S51] ܐܘܡܢܐ [65] ܢܘܗܟܐ

{Chin.} [43] monk Héji.
{Syr.} [S25] mhêgêw̱nsp qêşê' the priest Mâhdâd Gušnasp
{Syr.} [S26] mêşê'dd qêşê' the priest Mêşêdâd {Chin.}
[45] monk Bâôdâ.
{Syr.} [S27] 'pryム qêşê' the priest Aprêm (Ephraim)
{Chin.} [46] monk Fûlîn.
{Syr.} [S28] 'by qêşê' the priest Abây (Abi).
{Syr.} [S29] dwêd qêşê' the priest Dêwîd (David).
{Syr.} [S30] mws' qêşê' the priest Môsê (Moses) {Chin.}
[47] monk Fûshôu.

{Syr.} [S31] bkws qêşê' yhêdy' the monk-priest Bakkôs
{Chin.} [48] monk Chônging.
{Syr.} [S32] 'ly' qêşê' yhêdy' the monk-priest Eliyê (Eijah)
{Chin.} [49] monk Yânèhê.
{Syr.} [S33] mws' qêşê' wêhêdy' the priest and monk Môsê
(Moses)
Syr. [S34] 'bdyêw' qêşê' wêhêdy' the priest and monk
'Abdêšô'.
{Syr.} [S35] šm'mn qêşê' dqêr' Šèm'ôn (Simon) the priest
of the tomb (i.e. the cemetery).
{Syr.} [S36] ywôns mšmên' wyô' Yôôannîs minister and
monk {Chin.} [50] monk Huitông.

{Syr.} [S37] 'hrwn Ahrôn (Aaron) {Chin.} [51] monk
Gânyôū
{Syr.} [S38] ptrws Petrôs (Peter) {Chin.} [52] monk
Yûnûyî.
{Syr.} [S39] 'yôb Iôb (Job) {Chin.} [53] monk Jîngûé.
{Syr.} [S41] nty Mattay (Matthew) {Chin.} [55] monk
Mîngûî.
{Syr.} [S42] ywôns Yôôannû (John) {Chin.} [56] monk
Xûânzhên.
{Syr.} [S43] ysw' mh Ísô'-'ammeh {Chin.} [57] monk
Rûnhû.
{Syr.} [S44] ywôns Yôôannû (John) {Chin.} [58] monk
Yôûyûăn.
{Syr.} [S45] sbryûw' Sabrîšô' {Chin.} [59] monk Zhôôdê.
{Syr.} [S47] lwq' Lûqû (Luke) {Chin.} [61] monk Wên-
zhên.
{Syr.} [S48] qwsôtynwš Qôôštônîôs (Constantine) {Chin.}
{Syr.} [S49] mwô Nôô (Noah) {Chin.} [63] monk Lîiûêî.

{Syr.} [S50] 'yzôsp 'lzaspê ' {Chin.} [64] monk Jingzhên.
{Syr.} [S51] ywôns Yôôannû (John) {Chin.} [65] monk
{On the right edge of the Stele}

\{First Row:\}
[75] ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[76] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ǒuyīn 王盛志 愧
[77] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ŋōn ŋōn 王盛志 王盛志
[78] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ǒuyīn ǒuyīn 王盛志 愧
[79] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ŋōn ŋōn 王盛志 王盛志
[80] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ǒuyīn ǒuyīn 王盛志 愧
[81] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ŋōn ŋōn 王盛志 王盛志
[82] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ǒuyīn ǒuyīn 王盛志 愧
[83] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ŋōn ŋōn 王盛志 王盛志
[84] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ǒuyīn ǒuyīn 王盛志 愧
[85] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó ŋōn ŋōn 王盛志 王盛志

\{Second Row:\}
[86] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[87] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[88] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[89] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[90] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志
[91] ŋōn ǎnshì ʒùmó 王盛志

Huǎnchún.

\{Syr.:\} [S52] 'mrsgys Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) \{Chin.:\} [66] monk Līngshōu.

\{First Row:\}
[75] 'mrsgys Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) \{Chin.:\} [75] the venerable Yējūmō.
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

[S79] سليمون [92] 僧利用
[S80] إفرام [93] 僧玄德
[S81] زكريا [94] 僧義濟
[S82] كرياق [95] 僧志堅
[S83] باتوش [96] 僧保國
[S84] مامعن [97] 僧明一
[S85] غابرييل [98] 僧廣德
[S86] يوحنان [99] 僧去甚
[S87] سليمون [100] 僧德建
[S88] إسحاق [101] 僧德建
[S89] يوحنان [102] 僧德建

{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
韓泰崙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.

MAIN EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS CONSULTED


Moule, A.C. *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London, 1930), pp. 35-52.


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.
[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 tarsā, Christian Sogdian trš’q or New Persian tarsā ‘fearer, shaker’. 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. 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 迦娑 and in a literary context which draws direct comparison between it and the jingshi 景士 i.e. priests of the jing teaching:

Among the dasuo 迦娑 (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

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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 tarsā 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).
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 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 Ricci\(^7\) 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.

\(^6\) 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 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).


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* (lit. ‘teacher or master of the law’). However, as I have pointed out in my earlier study, 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 a phonetic transcription for *fazhu* (a term used on the Monument (S2) to translate the Graeco-Syriac title of *p’tryrkys* (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, Ferreira 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.’ 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* ‘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’S*, i.e. ‘Pope’ (<Gr. *πάπας* <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). 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

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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. 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: BʾPŠYM TwyyN and in transcription Ńp’šym toyin which Hamilton correctly translates as ‘[A] mon Ńpši

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13 Lieu, op. cit., 230.
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

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. 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 remarkably close to the tu-(y)in of William of Rubruck) and used to denote a Daoist priest and Buddhist monk.

The enigmatic term PʾPŠY 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] documento ZYST’N: The Syriac part of the document contains three place-names which are of Iranian origin, viz. CYNST’N, KWMD’T 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. 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 – a name which though famous among the Chinese as the gate-way to the Silk Road was probably of foreign origin. The collection consisted of a small dossier of five letters

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written to friends and relatives at Loulan and Samarkand by Sogdian merchants who traded along the land-routes between Loulan 焉 蘭 (Sogd. kr’wr’n) and a number of key Chinese cities including Dunhuang (Sogd. drw’n),19 Luoyang 洛 阳 (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, CYNY’ which is found on line 12 of the Syriac,25 is abridgement for bt cyyny’ (‘the land of the Chins’) which is standard designation for China in Syriac literature.26 Why was Adam not entitled Papshi dbt cyyny’ on the first line of the Syriac part of the inscription but was designated instead as Papshi dy unst’n is an intriguing question which requires answers.

The form SYNST’N (or CYN(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 魏國 i.e. ‘State of Jin’ (265-420 CE) – 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 Σηρες (‘People of Silk’) and Σηρική (‘Land of

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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.
27 Lu Yuan, op. cit., 100.
Silk’) in Greek all derive ultimately from Qin 秦 and not from the Chinese word for silk (丝) 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 texts 30 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] 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 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 manuscript variant: Χουμεδάν) 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

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31 Taishō shinshu daizōkyō 大正新修大藏経 (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.

34 The adjectival form xwmt’nnew 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.

\[\text{[S18]} \quad \text{SRF (saray): Almost all scholars are agreed on the identification of SRF with Luoyang 洛陽 the Eastern capital of Tang China in the modern Henan 河南 Province, and the seat of a Chorepiscopos of the Church of the East, with SRG in the the Syriac text of the ‘Monument’ which is identical to srγ, the standard form for the city in Sogdian.}\footnote{The Sogdian version of the name srγ is found in Buddhist Sogdian writings in the form of sryc’nch kntdh ‘the town of Saray’. Cf. Sūtra of the condemnation of intoxicating drink, 1.34, ed. D.N. Mackenzie (ed. and trans.), *The Budhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*, Acta Iranica 3 (Leiden–Teheran, 1976), 10. Cf. I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Publication of the Philological Society (London, 1954) 156 (§1023).} \] 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.\footnote{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 冯承钧, *Jingjiaobei kao 景教碑考 (Study on the Nestorian Monument)* (Shanghai 1931) 60.}

35 Like Khumdan, the Sogdian toponym S(ar)(a)r(ay)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 Luoyang\footnote{P. Pelliot, ‘L’évêché nestorien de Khumdan et Sarag’, *T’oung-pao*, 25 (1928) 91. See also Moule, *op. cit.*, 48-49, note 45.} 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 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 which under the Jin Dynasty, the period of the Ancient Sogdian Letters, was also known as Sili. While Sili bears greater phonetic resemblance to Saraγ 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 Saraγ. However, we have no idea how sγʀ 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!

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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: 當然真寂
三常: 致三堂之門 7

大 da 'great, large, big'
大 4: 間平大於; 10: 聖非道不; 16: 下士大笑; 21: 至於方大而全
大德: 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 16: 大德及烈; 18: 與大德信和; 39: 大德昭輪
大帝: 15: 高宗大帝
大法主: 15: 鎮國大法主
大「23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫大將軍」: 今大將軍高力士送
大秦: 见under 秦
大施主: 22-23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫大將軍: 今大將軍高力士送
大惑: 8: 大惑存亡
大慶: 20: 大慶臨而皇業建

而 er 'and, by means of'

而 3: 先光而無元, …後後而妙有

法 fu 'law, rule, custom'
法 8: 法師風水; 15: 法非非不; 15: 法流十道
法主: 31: 法主僧齊怒; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主; 28: 式封法主; 時法主僧齊怒知東方之景眾也

法尊 14: 水性法界
法師 17: 法師智貌而更崇
法師 5: 青鸞法師

法堂 25: 或重慶法堂
舊法: 7: 國二十四聖有誡之舊法
法源 80: 僧法源

國 guo 'nation, country, kingdom'
國 7: 理家國於大獄; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主; 16: 國當休休
保國 96: 僧保國
中國: 17: 今書獨等五王親臨福宇建立壇場
中國: 18-19: 三教中國碑頌並序

後 hou 'posterior, behind, later'
後後: 3: 後後而妙有

寂 ji 'silence'
真寂: 3: 當然真寂
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
教景: 場: 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: 三一浄風無言之新教

景 jing as adj. 'luminous, bright, lustrous'; as nn. 'vista, view'
景 15: 法非非不
景風 13: 景風東偏
景福 16: 賜及景福
景教: 場: 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
景眾: 6:三一分身眾菩薩施誡
景力 22: 我景力能事之功用也
景門: 14: 英朗景門; 25: 更施景門
景士: 26: 白衣景士
景宿: 6: 於大秦景宿香
景日 7: 應景日以破暗府
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: 闡九疇以惟新頒御饌以光景眾
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- **ling** ‘spirit, spiritual’
  - 靈虛: 官然靈虛
  - 含靈: 金靈於事乎既濟
  - 靈鬼: 張元化以發靈閣
  - As part of a place-name
  - 靈(郡) 20: 禮文等五郡
  - As monk-title: 33: 僧靈寶; 35: 僧靈; 66: 僧靈德; 78: 僧寶靈

- **liu** ‘flow, diffuse’

- **miao** ‘wonderful, extraordinary’ in Chinese Manichaean texts the word is often used to mean ‘divine’

- **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.

- **ran** ‘then, certainly, therefore’; emphatic particle ‘extremely, deeply’

- **ruo** ‘and, if’

- **seng** ‘monk’
  - 僧: 13: 一等僧二十一人
  - 高僧: 16: 物外高僧;
  - 僧首: 16: 僧首羅含
  - 僧徒: 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒


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兮今能述

- **si** ‘monastery’
  - 大秦寺: 1: 大秦寺僧景淨述

- **song** ‘hymn, praise, paean’
  - 頌: 1: 一等僧兩羅含並序

- **wu** ‘no, none, without’


- 無言: 7: 拾三一經風無言之新教

- 無元: 3: 先先而無元; 無元真主阿羅诃; 26: 真主無元

- 先: xian ‘first, previous’

- 先先 3

- 先天未 16

- 行: xing ‘move, walk’
  - 流行: see under 流。

- 序: xu ‘prologue, series’
  - 序 1: 僧景流行中國碑頌並序

- **yao** ‘profound’

- 宜: 宜 3: 宜然靈虛

- 有: you lit. ‘to have, possess’, often used as a verb to be.

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元 yuan ‘cause, origin’

元 3: 支眾聖以元尊者; 3: 興元風而生; 4: 渾
元之性虛而不盈; 8: 张元化以發靈關;
16: 國富元休; 20: 元善費而福祥開
無元 3: 先光而無元; 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: 建豐碑今頌元吉
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 日
is sometimes used

真 zhen ‘true, genuine’

真 7: 練塵成真; 7 亭午昇真; 13: 寫真轉捉寺
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
真成 6: 戒隠真成
真寺 17: 窔真寺內安置
真玄 27: 成證真玄
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
‘father’: S2, S12, S37, S39, S54, S66

‘preaching of our fathers’: S12

by (Chin. equiv.: [49] 僧延和 (the Monk) Libên lit. ‘to erect or establish the fundamentals of (the doctrine?)’)

Adam’ (lit. ‘man, human race’) (Biblical): S1

Chen. equiv., not phonetic transcription: 僧景淨 (the Monk) Jingjing (lit. ‘luminous’ and ‘pure’); S14

‘Adam the minister’ (Chin. equiv.: [33] 僧崇敬 (the Monk) Lingbao lit. ‘precious spirit or soul’); S66 (Chin. equiv.: [80] 僧法源 (the Monk) Fãyuán lit. ‘fountain head of the Law (i.e. Dharma)’ (Buddh.))

‘hrrn’ (Chin. equiv.: [51] 僧乾祐 (the Monk) Gûnyû lit. ‘divine assistance’)

‘ywby’ (Chin. equiv.: [53] 僧敬真 (the Monk) Jinzhên lit. ‘reverent and virtuous’)

‘ydzsp’s’ (Chin. equiv.: [64] 僧文真 (the Monk) Jinzhên lit. ‘to revere the truth’ (Buddh.))

‘yshq’ (Chin. equiv.: [68] 僧英德 (the Monk) Yûngdé ‘courage-virtue’); S54

‘daily progress’; S54

Chin. equiv.: [73] 僧光漢 (the Monk) Guāngzhàn lit. ‘radiant and generous (towards the needy)’)

(Buddh.): S68

Chin. equiv.: [82] 僧和明 (the Monk) Hémíng ‘serene and radiant’ (Buddh.): S88 (no Chin. equiv.)

‘ly’ (Chin. equiv. (and partial phonetic transcription?): [49] 僧延和 (the Monk) Yûnhé lit. ‘prolonged peace’; S67:

‘&$’ (Chin. equiv.: [81] 僧主本 (the Monk) Libên lit. ‘to erect or establish the fundamentals of (the doctrine?)’)

[CSD 18a] ‘one thousand’: S3

‘mws (Chin. equiv.: [66] 僧崇敬 (the Monk) Lingshôu lit. ‘spirit (and) logevity’)

‘prym’ (Chin. equiv.: [93] 僧玄德 (the Monk) Xuândé lit. ‘profound virtue’)

[CSD 29b] (Gr. άγγελόμαρτος)

‘archdeacon’: S18

[CSD 33b] inseparable prep. prefix ‘by, with, to, into’: S10

bks (Gr. Βάσιλεσ <Lat. Bacchus) pr. n. (pers.) (name of a soldier-martyr under Diocletian and a major saint of the Church of the East); S31

Chin. equiv.: [48] 僧常敬 (the Monk) Chóngjìng ‘worshipful and reverential’; S83

Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. 僧保
Héjí lit. ‘serene and fortunate’

chosen probably for their phonetic

Persian saint and martyr: wargīs, i.e. George’

CPD ‘Gabriel’ (Biblical): S18

Monk and teacher’ (Chin. equiv.: [77] n (i.e. Chang’an) pr. n. pers. ‘Gabriel’ (Biblical): S18

strength’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Gabriel’ (Biblical): S18


gyw (<MPe gyg / gayg/ ’thief’ (?), CPD 36, cf. Dauvillier, op. cit. 60, fn. 2: ‘Gīg semble être Gēv > Gēg et parait bien iranien’) pr. n. pers. ‘Gīgōy’: S63

’ w’rdyywn dkwm’d’n wmmryn ‘Gīgōy priest and archdeacon of Kumdān (i.e. Chang’an) and teacher’ (Chin. equiv. [77] 僧玄覽 (the Monk) Xuānlăn lit. ‘dark gaze’ (Buddh.?)

gyw’rgys pr. n. (pers.) (< Gr. Γεώργιος later Γεώργος lit. ‘a farmer’ ‘Gīwargīs, i.e. George’ – name of important Persian saint and martyr: S24

Chin. equiv. [43] – using characters chosen probably for their phonetic resemblance to the Syriac: 僧和吉 (the Monk) Hējī lit. ‘serene and fortunate’)

dwyd (<Hebr. דוד pr. n. (pers.) ‘Dawīd, i.e. David’ (Biblical): S29

(no Chin. equiv.)

[CSD 104a] ‘this’: S9

(Yījī lit. ‘righteous and frugal’)

Hanānīšw’ (Syr. ‘the compassion of Jesus’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Hanashio’: S2 (no Chin. equiv.) – Hanashio II was Catholicos of the Church of the East from 774 to 779 CE.

(Yījī lit. ‘graced by God’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Yōḥānān, i.e. John’ (Biblical): S21

(Yāolūn lit. ‘a radiant or shining wheel’); S42

(Xuānzhēn lit. ‘profound truth’); S44

(Clin. phonetic transcription [58] 僧曜源 (the Monk) Yāoyuán lit. ‘a radiant or shining source’); S51 (Clin. equiv. or phonetic transcription (?): [65] 僧迵渙 (the Monk) Huánchún lit. ‘honest return’); S55

(Clin. equiv. or translation (?): [57] 沖和 Chōnghé lit. ‘on good terms’); S60

(Clin. equiv.: [74] 僧守一 (the Monk) Shōuyī lit. ‘defender of the one (true faith?)’); S70

(Clin. equiv.: [83] 僧光正 (the Monk) Guāngzhēng lit. ‘radiant and upright’); S76

(Clin. equiv.: [89] 僧至徳 (the Monk) Zhīdè lit. ‘attaining virtue’); S86

(no Chin. equiv.); S89 (Clin. equiv.: [100] 僧徳建 (the Monk) Déjiàn lit. ‘constructing virtue’)

ywḥnys pr. n. (pers.) (< Gr. ‘Yōḥānān, more commonly ’yōḥnī ‘Aram. Yōḥānān’ ‘Yōḥannīs, i.e. John’ (Biblical): S36

(Chin. equiv.: [50] 僧惠通 (the Monk) Huitōng lit. ‘pure and penetrating’ i.e. ‘thoroughly pure or virtuous’ (Buddh.)
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]:

*CSD 210b* ‘the only one, the only begotten one’, hence ‘solitary one, i.e. hermit’ S32, S33, S34 (no Chin. equiv.)

*yqwb* (<Hebr. יָשְׁבַי) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Ya’qōb (i.e. Jacob) (Biblical): S61

(Chin. title and phonetic transcription: 老宿 Laoxù; ‘lao xiù’ lit. ‘god saves!’) pr. n. (ethn.) ‘Yazdbouzid’

[CSD 210b] ‘day’: [CSD 190a] ‘stone’: S9

*kwmd’n* Sogdian pr. n. written in Syriac script (cf. ‘xwmt’ in 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. Χουβδάψ Theoph. Sim. Hist. VII.9.8: S5

[CSD 211a → 210b] ‘Chor-episcopos, a suffragan bishop (lit. ‘a country or regional bishop’ – one who ruled over

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and (enjoying) long-life’); S33 рок

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

mykyl (<Hebr. מיקה) lit. ‘one who is like God’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mikä’ēl (i.e. Michael)’ (Biblical): S23

mrsrgys (srgys <Gr. Σέργιος <Lat. Sergius) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mår (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 was Srsgws is attested in unpublished inscriptions from Central Asia): S16

mrşryš (no Chin. equiv.): S53 ров

mty (<Hebr. מתי) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mattay (i.e. Matthew)’ (Biblical): S41 Յուսեփ (Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. [55]僧明泰 (the Monk) Mingtài lit. ‘radiant and honourable’)

nvh (<Hebr. נוּח) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Nōh (i.e. Noah)’ (Biblical): S49 Նոահ (Chin. phonetic transcription: [63]僧来威 (the Monk) Laiwēi lit. ‘the coming of greatness (= Epiphany?)’)

Nyb (no Chin. equiv.)

sbnyšw’ lit. ‘Jesus Our Hope’ pr. n. ‘Sabramišo’ (cf. alternative form: in Thomas Marga, Book of Governors, i, 380.16, (?)) S17 թնվես (no Chin. equiv.)

sr (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...

bdyš (Syr. lit. ‘Workman or Servant of Jesus’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Abdiš’ (A very common name for members of the Church of...

[S35] *CSD* 402a ‘congregation, assembly, hence monastery’: S19 慈父 ‘abbot’ (Biblical) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Ammānā’el (i.e. Emmanuel’): S84 (Chin. equiv. (and partial phonetic transcription?): [97] 慈明一 (the Monk) Míngyī lit. ‘enlightened in everything’

[S36] *CSD* 489a ‘tomb, sepulchre’: S35 慈父 ‘Abba’ or transl. *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S37] *CSD* 494b ‘arise’, 慈父 *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S38] 慈父 ‘Abba’ or transl. *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S39] 慈父 ‘Abba’ or transl. *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S40] 慈父 ‘Abba’ or transl. *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S41] *CSD* 443a ‘a sacristan’. See also S1. See also 慈父

[S42] *CSD* 453b ‘papa’ or transl. *Aph.* ‘raise up’: S9

[S43] *CSD* 459a ‘saviour, preserver’: 慈父 ‘our saviour’: S11

[S44] *CSD* 478a ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S45] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S46] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S47] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S48] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S49] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13

[S50] 慈父 ‘Chinese’, pl. 慈父 ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as 雲呂中国). S13
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[CSD 522b] ‘elder, hence priest, monk’

Generally translated in Chinese on the Stele as 僧 seng (cf. Skt. śramana) ‘monk’ : S1, S4, S7, S16, S17, S18, S22, S23, S24, S25, S26, S27, S28, S29, S30, S31, S32, S33, S34, S35, S36, S61, S62, S63, S64, S65, S66, S67, S68, S69, S70, S71, S72, S76

[CSD 523b] loan word from Gr. καθολικός ‘universal’, hence Catholicos, title of the primate of the Church of the East’:

[CSD 539b] ‘head’, 僧奉真 (the Monk) Fèngzhēn lit. ‘one who reveres or upholds the truth’

[CSD 563a] ‘praise, honour, glory’, used as a pr. n. (pers.): S77

[CSD 588a] ‘year’: S3

[CSD 593b] ‘abbot’: S19

[CSD 563a] ‘praise, honour, glory’, used as a pr. n. (pers.): S77

[CSD 620a] ‘two’: S3

[CSD 622b] ‘nine’, pl. ‘ninety’: S3

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