大秦景教流行中國碑

STELE ON THE DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY (THE LUMINOUS RELIGION) FROM ROME (DA QIN) INTO CHINA (THE MIDDLE KINGDOM) ‘THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT’
ONGOING PROJECT – last update: 26.03.2022
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The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument as displayed in the Beilin Museum in Xi’an
(Photo Sam Lieu)
On cap-stone: 大秦景教流行中國碑
Stele (commemorating) the diffusion of the ‘Luminous’ Religion in the Middle Kingdom

[1] [Tit.] 景教流行中國碑頌並序
Stele (commemorating) the diffusion of the ‘Luminous’ Religion in the Middle Kingdom – an eulogy and preface

[2] 大秦寺僧景淨述
composed by the monk Jingjing of the Da Qin (Roman, i.e. Christian) Monastery.

§2. [3] “Thus the constant and true tranquility, preceding all and without beginning, all-knowing; everlastling and mysterious, the impenetrable core of creation, worthy of utmost reverence among the wonderful host of sages. Āluōhē (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. Sāṭānā) deceived him into a vain adornment of his pure essence. §3. On the surface this seemed reasonable [5] and correct, but hidden within was darkness and error. Thus arose three hundred and sixty-five different doctrines, each setting out on its determined route and striving to weave a network of laws. Some direct their petitions to objects, some consider the real and unreal as the two polarities of annihilation, some pray and offer sacrifice in order to request happiness, some make a show of goodness in order to deceive others. Their intellects fluctuate, and their thoughts are inconstant. All to no avail! [6] Chaos broke out on all sides; darkness, blindness and confusion arose again and again. §4. Thus, one of
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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。波斯睹耀以来貢。圓廿四聖有說之舊法。理家國於大猷。設三一淨風⽆⾔之新教。陶良用於正信。制⼋境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。開⽣滅死。懸景日以破暗府。魔妄於是乎悉摧。棹慈航以登明宮。含靈於是乎既濟。䏻事斯畢。亭午昇真。經留廿七部。張元化以發靈關。法浴⽔風。滌浮華⽽潔虛⽩。印持⼗字。融四照以合⽆拘。擊⽊震仁惠之⾳。東礼趣⽣榮之路。存鬚所以有外行。削頂所以⽆內情。不畜臧獲。均貴賤於⼈。不聚貨財示罄遺於我。齋以伏識⽽成。戒以靜慎為固。七時礼讚。⼤庇存亡。七日⼀薦。洗⼼反素。真常之道。妙而難名。功用昭彰。強稱景教。惟道非聖

the three, the radiant Mishīhē (<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 twenty-four sages. He regulated family and nation through his great plan; he established the new doctrine of the wordless [inspiration of the] pure (i.e. divine) spirit, one of the three. He formed good practice through correct belief; he created the principle of the eight frontiers (?); he refined the unworthy into the true. He opened the door of the three constants; he introduced life and eliminated death; he raised a bright sun to dispel the darkness. By this was demonic malevolence completely swept away; he steered [8] a compassionate course towards paradise. By this all living beings were succoured. When his duties were ended, at noon he arose into the ether. §5. He left behind twenty-seven books (lit. sūtras). He promoted a fundamental change in order to liberate captive souls. His law is to bathe, and the water has a spiritual effect; it washes away remaining defects and it purifies. As his emblem, the cross is taken up; its image illuminates all directions to bring to unity those who do not believe. Striking the wood causes the message of benevolence to resonate. In their ceremonies they face East, [9] in the direction of the path of life and glory. They preserve their beard as an external sign. They shave their head to show they have no internal desires. They do not keep slaves; all men, of high status and low, are equal. They do not accumulate possessions, but demonstrate their frugality by handing over their possessions to others. They abstain from meat to purify their minds and develop themselves. They hold their passions in check to practise restraint and to strengthen themselves. At the seventh hour of the day a ceremony of hymns (psalms?) is performed for the benefit of the living and the dead. Once in every seven days [10] they cleanse their hearts and return to a state of purity. §6. The way of the true constant is mysterious, and it is difficult to give it a name, but its merits are manifest, impelling us to call it the Luminous (or Illustrious) Teaching (Jingjiao, i.e. Christianity). If it is only a way and is not holy, then
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it is limited. If it is holy but is not the way, then it is not great. When the way and holiness match each other, then the world will be enlightened. §7. When Emperor Taizong’s reign (627–649 CE) began, he was wise in his relations with the people. In Da Qin there was a man of great virtue (bishop), known as [11] Ālōuběn, who detected the intent of heaven and conveyed the true scripture here. He observed the way the winds blew in order to travel through difficulties and perils, and in the ninth year of the Zhenguang reign (635 CE) he reached Chang’an. The emperor dispatched an official, Duke Fang Xuanling as an envoy to the western outskirts to welcome the visitor, who translated the scriptures in the imperial library. (The emperor) examined the doctrines in his apartments and reached a profound understanding of their truth. He specially ordered that they be promulgated. “In Autumn, [12] in the seventh month of the twelfth year of the Zhenguang reign (638 CE), the emperor proclaimed: §8. The way does not have a constant name, and the holy does not have a constant form. Teachings are established according to the locality, and their mysteries aid mankind. Ālōuběn, the virtuous man of Da Qin, has brought scriptures and images from afar and presented them at the capital. He has explained the doctrines, so that there is nothing left obscure. We have observed its basic teachings. They set forth the most important things for living, their words are not complicated, and their principles, once learnt, can easily be retained. Everything in them [13] benefits mankind. It is appropriate that it should spread throughout the empire”. As a result, a Da Qin temple (or monastery) was constructed in the capital, in the district of Yining. This monastery had twenty-one monks. §9. The virtue of the house of Zhou had come to an end, and the black chariot has ascended into the western heaven. The way of the great Tang dynasty shone forth, and the Luminous teachings spread into the East. It was decreed that the Emperor’s portrait should be copied onto the temple wall. His celestial image radiated colourful lights, giving a heroic aspect to [14] the luminous portal. His sacred countenance brought blessings upon it and cast glory upon the learned company. §10. According to the Illustrated records of the western
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姿汎彩。英朗[14]景門。聖迹騰祥。永輝法界。案西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極眾寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出⽕綄布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧。[15]俗无寇盗。人有樂康。法非景不⾏。主非德不⽴。⼟宇廣闊。⽂物昌明。§11. The Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–83 CE) duly succeeded his ancestor with deep piety and he was even more beneficent toward the institution of truth. He also commanded Luminous (Jingjiao i.e. Christian) monasteries to be built in all the prefectures. Furthermore he honoured Alouben (<Syr. Rabban ‘teacher’?) by making him the great master of doctrine for the preservation of the State. While this doctrine was established in the Ten Provinces, [16] the state became rich and tranquility abounded. Because every city was full of monasteries, the (ordinary?) families enjoyed ‘luminous’ (or illustrious) (jing) fortune. §12. In the Shengli year (697 CE) the Buddhist priests, used their power and influence to arrogantly raise their objection in the eastern capital (i.e. Luoyang). At the end of the Xiantian year (713 CE), lower-ranked scholars (i.e. Daoists) ridicule (us) and spread slander in the western capital (i.e. Chang’an). At that time there was the Abbot Lohan, the Bishop Jilie (i.e. Gabriel), both noble sons from the golden regions (i.e. the West), who harmoniously restored the mystic order and tied up [17] the broken knot. §13. The devout emperor Xuanzong (712–56 CE) ordered the prince of Ning and four other princes to visit the sacred shrine and restore the altar and sanctuary. The consecrated timbers that had been temporarily cast down rose still more sublime and the holy tablets, which had for some time been desecrated, were re-erected. In the early Tianbao period (742 CE) orders were given to the great general Gao Lishi to send a sacred portrait of the five sage-emperors and have it placed in the temple; and a gift of a hundred [18] bales of silk came with this picture of wisdom.
Although the dragon’s (i.e. the Emperor’s) beard was then remote, their bows and swords could still be held; while the solar horns diffuse light, and his celestial visage seem close at hand. §14. In the third year (744 CE) the priest Jihe (Gabriel) of the kingdom of Da Qin, while observing the stars noticed the changes, and following the sun, came to pay court to the most honourable (i.e. the Emperor). The Emperor commanded the priest Luohan (Abraham), the priest Pulun (Paul), and others, seven in all, together with the Bishop Jihe, to perform a service of merit in the Xingqing palace. [19] The Emperor then composed mottoes on the side of the temple, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; and the precious gems were like a kingfisher, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds. The writings of the wise pervaded in space and their rays are like radiant reflections of the sun. The munificent gifts exceeded the height of the Southern Mountains; the tide of favours was as deep as the Eastern Sea. §15. The Way (dao) is omnipotent, and what is possible can be named; nothing is beyond the power of the sage, and that which is practicable may be explicable. §16. The cultured and martial Emperor Suzong [20] rebuilt the Luminous monasteries in Lingwu and four (i.e. five in all) other commanderies; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great prosperity descended, and the imperial state was strengthened. §17. The cultured and martial Emperor Daizong revived the imperial fortunes, and smoothly conducted the affairs of the state. On the morning of his birthday, he made a gift of incense to pray for success; he distributed food from imperial banquets to brighten the Luminous Assembly. [21] The divine (emperors) disseminate blessings fairly, whereby the benefits are extended. Sages embody the original principle of virtue, therefore they are able to counteract noxious influences. §18. Our reigning sacred and excellent Emperor (Dezong) established in the Jianzong era (780-83 CE) the eight principles of government, according to which he downgraded the dull and advanced the intelligent. He opened up the nine categories, by means of which he issued new ‘luminous (or illustrious)’ decrees. His transforming influence penetrates the most abstruse...
陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景命。化通玄理。祝无愧心。至方大而虚。专静而恕。广慈救众苦。善贷被群生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之阶渐也。若使风风雨时。天下静。人祛理。物祛清。存祛昌。殁祛乐。念生响应。情发目诚者。我景力事之功用也。大施主金紫光禄大夫。同朔方节度副使。试殿中监。赐紫袈裟僧伊斯。和而好惠。闻道勤行。远自王舍之城。⾟来中夏。术髙三代。艺博全。始效节於丹庭。乃策名於王帐。中书令汾阳郡王郭公子仪。初揔戎於朔方也。肃宗俾之从迈。虽见亲於臥内。不自异於行间。为公爪牙。作军耳目。祛散禄赐。不积於家。献临恩之颇黎。布辞憩之金罽。或仍其旧寺。或重广法堂。崇饰廊宇。如翚斯飞。更效景门。依仁施利。每岁集四
He exerted himself beyond the portals the Luminous (Religion) and he dispersed his wealth for just causes. Every year he assembled the monks from the four monasteries, and provided for them for fifty days. The hungry came and were fed; the naked (lit. ‘the cold (ones)’) came and were clothed. The sick were attended to and healed. The dead were buried with all due respect. Among the dasuo (tarsā) with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of; but we see this among the white-robed Luminous priests (jingshi). We have desired to engrave a grand tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of such great deeds. 

{Ode:} §23a. The true Lord is without beginning, serene, still and unchangeable; with power and capacity to perfect and create. He created the earth and established the heavens. §23b. A part of his divided-self entered the world to bring salvation to all without limit. The rising sun dispels the darkness and bears witness to the divine principle. §23c. Then the excellent and cultured Emperor (i.e. Taizong), surpassing the previous rulers in achievements, took control of the political situation and put an end to chaos. Heaven was spread out and earth was enlarged. §23d. When the pure, bright Luminous Religion was introduced to our Tang (Dynasty), scriptures were translated and monasteries built, and both the living and the dead sailed in the vessel (of mercy). Every kind of blessing was then received, and all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace. §23e. When Gaozong succeeded to his ancestral estate, he rebuilt the edifices of purity. Palaces of concord, spacious and bright, covered the length and breadth of China (lit. ‘middle earth’). The true doctrine was preached, leaders of religions were duly appointed. The common people enjoyed happiness and peace while creatures were exempt from disasters and suffering. §23f. When Xuanzong commenced his sacred reign, he applied himself to the cultivation of the true doctrine. His imperial decrees (lit. ‘tablets’) were radiant and the celestial writings were splendid. The imperial portraits glittered like gems, and the entire world 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...
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日舒晶。祥風掃夜。祚歸皇室。祅氛永謝。⽌沸定塵。造我區夏。代宗孝義。德合天地。開貸⽣成。物資美利。香以報功。仁以作施。暘⾰來威。月窟畢萃。建中統極。⾰修明德。武肅四溟。⽂清万域。燭臨⼈隱。鏡觀物⾊。六合昭蘇。百蠻取則。道惟廣兮。應惟密。強名⾔兮演三⼀。主䏻作兮臣䏻述。建薦碑分頌元吉
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. The material he provided was rich and the profits were pleasing. He rewarded meritorious deeds with gifts of incense. He dispensed his donations with benevolence. The valley of the sunrise appeared in dignity and the cave into which the moon sets is elaborately decorated. §23i. In the Jianzhong era (780-83 CE) when [30] (the Emperor) came to power, 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.

§24. This (monument) was erected in the second year of Jianzhong era (i.e. 781 CE) of the Great Tang (Dynasty), astronomically the year being Zuö’e, in the first month, being the Great Yàosênwén (Pth. ʿywymology / ʿywšambat) Day and (i.e. namely) on the 7th day, while the Patriarch Monk 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 (Catholico) Patriarch.

[S2] Written by Lü Xiuyan, Secretary to Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Taizhou.
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{At the bottom of the Stele reading from left to right:}


[S16] Mar Sargis priest and Choreiscopos

[S17] mrsrgys qsyš’

[S18] wkwr’y pysqwpw’

[S19] gbryl qsyš’ w’rkdywn

[S20] wrṣ ‘dt’ dkwm’d’n

[S21] wdsrg

[S22] dhabanta (John)

[S23] n (i.e. Chang’an) {S20} Xingtong.

[S24] n (i.e. Luoyang).

[S25] mykyl qšyš’ the priest Mīkā’ēl (Michael)

{On the left side of the Stele:}

{First row:}

[S22] In the year One Thousand and Ninety and Two [S23] of the Greeks (1092 Sel. = 781 CE) My Lord Yazdbuzd priest [S24] and Choreiscopos of Kumdn [S25] the metropolis, son of the [S26] late Milis priest, from [S27] Balkh a city of Tahuristan (i.e. Tocharistan), [S28] set up that tablet of stone. [S29] The things which are written on it [S30] are the law of him (who is) our Saviour and the preaching [S31] of them (who are) our fathers to the kings [S32] of Zinaye (i.e. the Chinese). {Chin.} [33] Monk Lingbao {Syr.} [S34] Adam minister [S35] son of Yazdbuzd Chor-episcopos.

{First row:}


[S24] yw’l qšyš’ the priest Yōʾēl (Joel)

[S25] mykyl qšyš’ the priest Mīkāʾēl (Michael)

[S26] Gabriel Priest and an Archdeacon [S19] and Abbot of Kumdn (i.e. Chang’an) [S20] and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).
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{Second Row:}

{Third Row:}

{Fourth Row:}

{Second Row:}
[S34] ܠܒ'y ܩŞ ܝましょう ܐaldo'ydy' the monk-priest Eliyā (Elijah) [Chin.] [49] monk Yánhè.
[S35] ܡܘš ܩŞ ܝましょう ܘaldo'ydy' the priest and monk Mōše (Moses) [Chin.] [50] monk Huitōng.
[S36] ܒܕ'ywš ܩŞ ܝましょう ܐaldo'ydy' the priest and monk 'Abdīšō'.
[S37] ܫמ'mwš ܩŞ ܝましょう ܐaldo'ydy' the priest and monk 'Semôn (Simon) the priest of the tomb (i.e. the cemetery).
[S38] ܝܘחמ'n ܡܡšn ܝaldo'ydy' Yōhannīs minister and monk [Chin.] [50] monk Huitōng.

{Third Row:}
[S40] ܦܛ unsus ܘㅅpès Petrôs (Peter) [Chin.] [52] monk Yuányī.
[S41] ܝwš ܠ_follows (Job) [Chin.] [53] monk Jìngdé.
[S43] ܡܛ'y Mattay (Matthew) [Chin.] [55] monk Míngtài.
[S44] ܝwחn Yôhannān (John) [Chin.] [56] monk Xuánzhēn.
[S46] ܝwחn Yôhannān (John) [Chin.] [58] monk Yuányī.
[S50] ܩۋ $$$km$ ܩۋشnantînôs (Constantine) [Chin.] [62] monk Jùxin.
[S51] ܠh ܢ_Alôh (Noah) [Chin.] [63] monk Láiwēi.
{On the right edge of the Stele}

{First Row:}
[S63] .XR. ḫrn ėbš 75 老宿耶俱摩
[S64]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš orgot 76 僧景通

[S65]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 77 僧玄覽

[S66]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 78 僧寶靈
[S67]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 79 僧審慎
[S68]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 80 僧法源
[S69]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 81 僧立本
[S70]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 82 僧和明
[S71]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 83 僧光正
[S72]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 84 僧内澄
[S73]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 85 僧崇德

{Second Row:}
[S74]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 85 僧崇德
[S75]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 86 僧太和
[S76]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 87 僧景福
[S77]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 88 僧和光

[S78]  XPAR. ḫrn ėbš 89 僧守一

Jingzhēn.


{Syr.} [S54] ’ǹs Ānōš (Enosh) {Chin.} [66] monk Līngshòu.

{Syr.} [S55] mrsrgys Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) {Chin.} [67] monk Līngdē.

{Syr.} [S56] yshq Īsḥāq {Chin.} [68] monk Yīngdē.


{Syr.} [S58] mrsrgys Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) {Chin.} [70] monk Ningxiā.

{Syr.} [S59] pwsy Pusāy {Chin.} [71] monk Pǔjī.

{Syr.} [S60] šm’wn Šem’ōn (Simon) {Chin.} [72] monk Wēnshūn.

{Syr.} [S61] yshq Īsḥāq (Isaac) {Chin.} [73] monk Guāngjī.

{Syr.} [S62] ywhn Yōhannān (John) [74] monk Shōuyī.

{First Row:}

{Syr.} [S63] y’qwb qīṣy’ the priest Ya’qōb (Jacob) {Chin.} [75] the venerable Yējūmó.

{Syr.} [S64] mrsrgys qīṣy’ wkw’rpyṣqwp’ šy’ngṣw’ Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) priest and Chorepiscopos and Abbot (šy’ngṣw’ ? <Chin. shāng-zuò 上座 “(on) high seat”) {Chin.} [76] monk Jīngtōng.

{Syr.} [S65] gygwy qīṣy’ w’rkdąyqwn dkwmd’n wmqryn’ Gīgūy priest and archdeacon of Kumdān (i.e. Chang’an) and teacher {Chin.} [77] monk Xuǎnlán.

{Syr.} [S66] pwlwṣ qīṣy’ the priest Pawlōs (Paul) {Chin.} [78] monk Bǎolíng.

{Syr.} [S67] šmšn qīṣy’ the priest Šemšōn (Samson) {Chin.} [79] monk Shēnhēn.

{Syr.} [S68] ’dm qīṣy’ the priest Ādām (Adam) {Chin.} [80] monk Fǎyuán.

{Syr.} [S69] ’ły qīṣy’ the priest LIylā (Elijah) {Chin.} [81] monk Lībēn.

{Syr.} [S70] yshq qīṣy’ the priest Īsḥāq (Isaac) {Chin.} [82] monk Hémíng.

{Syr.} [S71] ywhn qīṣy’ the priest Yōhannān (John) {Chin.} [83] monk Guāngzhēng.

{Syr.} [S72] ywhn qīṣy’ the priest Yōhannān {Chin.} [84] monk Nèichēng.

{Syr.} [S73] šm’wn qīṣy’ wsb’ Šem’ōn priest and elder. {Second Row:}

{Syr.} [S74] y’qwb qnky’ Ya’qōb (Jacob) the sacristan {Chin.} [85] monk Chōngdē.


{Syr.} [S76] ysw’d’d Yīsō’dād {Chin.} [87] monk Jīngfǔ.

{Syr.} [S77] y’qwb Ya’qōb (Jacob) {Chin.} [88] monk Hēguāng.

{Syr.} [S78] ywhn Yōhannān (John) {Chin.} [89] monk...
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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韩泰崙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.

S78] ܙܟܪܝܐ [91] 僧元宗
[S79] ܠܡܪܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ [92] 僧奉真
[S80] ܡܪܣܪܓܝܣ [93] 僧玄德
[S81] ܫܡܥܘܢ [94] 僧利用
[S82] ܒܟܘܣ [95] 僧利宗
[S83] ܐܦܪܝܡ [96] 僧保國
[S84] ܙܟܪܝܐ [97] 僧玄德
[S85] ܦܪܡ [98] 僧明一

{Third row:}
[S87] ܓܒܪܝܐ [99] 僧去甚
[S88] [100] 僧建德
[S89] ܐܝܣܚܩ [101] 僧保國
[S90] ܝܘܚܢܢ [102] 僧德
WORKS CITED


DISCOVERY AND PROVENANCE

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

Fortunately rubbings of the text of the inscription (of both Chinese and Syriac sections) are on sale at the souvenir shop of the museum. As the rubbing is a faithful reproduction of the original inscribed text, it is of immeasurable value to scholars who need regular access to the text in Chinese and Syriac scripts. Because the inscribed lines of the main (i.e. Chinese) part of the inscription are exceedingly long, a photographic reproduction of the text is of limited value to scholars. A recent edition of the text in a Chinese publication including segmented photographic reproductions of the text is fiendishly difficult to consult as the vertically inscribed lines are not numbered at the top of each photograph.² The need to arrive at an agreed system of numbering of the lines of the text, both Chinese and Syriac, has long been felt. The translation of Pelliot is the only modern one that includes line-numbers (in egregious Roman numerals) and the same applies to the appended text of original in Chinese script. As Pelliot’s translation and edition is still little used by scholars in China because the translation and commentary are both in French, I have made available on-line a preliminary edition of the original Chinese and Syriac text based on that of Saeki and my own copy of the rubbing of the inscription with the same line numbers as given in Pelliot’s translation and edition but in less obtrusive Arabic numerals.

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

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

² Lu Yuan 路遠, Jingjiao yu Jingjiao bei 景教與“景教碑” (Nestorianism and the “Nestorian Monument”) (Xi’an, 2009) 330-348. I am grateful to Dr Sally Church, Fellow of Wolfson College Cambridge, for drawing my attention to this recently republished and important work on the history of the Church of the East in China and for lending me her own copy of the work.
COMMENTARY
on lines the title and lines 1-3 of the
Syriac and Chinese Text by
SAMUEL N.C. LIEU

[1] 景教 jingjiao lit. ‘luminous teaching’: In my 2009 study I have made the bold suggestion that the character jing 景 in the official title of the Church of the East in China which is often translated as ‘luminous’ was originally a calque for a Chinese word meaning ‘fear’ as Christians in Central Asia had long been known by the Middle Persian name of tarsāg, Christian Sogdian ʦr’sq 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 Jingjiao Symposium at Salzburg: ‘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 扈 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 逥娑 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 逥娑 (tarsā) with their rule of purity, such excellence has not yet been heard of; but we see this among the white-robed jingshi 景士.

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

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

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 (Guanzu, i.e. Guan Yu). What has hindered us from knowing of them until now is that they are not called by their race of Terza (i.e. Tarsā), which seems to be the name of the country from which they came to China, and by the religion of the xezu (shizi), which means 'of the sign of ten' which in Chinese writing is a perfect cross like this †; for in appearance and features and in not worshipping idols they were like the Moors and Jews and were only distinguished by the fact that they ate pork and all kinds of flesh, making over it a cross with the hand.

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

anocora ve ne resta grande vestigio in molti luoghi. ... Adesso sapessimo che nel mezzo della Cina, longi da qui mezzo mese, et altre tanto di Nanchino, nella provincia di Honan, e nella metropoli che si chiama Caifun fu, vi sono cinque o sei famiglie di cristiani, che per avere già parecchi anni che della chiesa fecero tempio di un iolo, che si chiama Quanguam. Quello che ci impedisce a sapervi sin ora fu non si nominare loro per nome de cristiani, ma per gente de Terza; pare nome del regno donde vennero alla Cina, e dalla lege de xezu, che vuol dire della lettera de 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 Giuede; solo erano diversi, che mangiavano carne de 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).


⁹ Lieu, Epigraphica, 230.

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

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

(1) It is a transliteration of the commonly encountered Chinese religious title fashi 法師 (lit. ‘teacher or master of the law’). However, as I have pointed out in my earlier study,⁹ I made a close inspection of the relevant word on the ‘Monument’ itself when I visited Xi’an in 2007, and I am fairly certain that the inscribed text gives P’PŠ and not P’PŠY. This has led me to
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 πτρυρκύς (i.e. Patriarch). (Cf. Lieu 2009: 230-31) Such a solution, however, can not answer the question as to why Adam would have used a form of an ecclesiastical title loaned into Chinese at the beginning of the Monument and the correct original in Syriac at the bottom of the stele. In any case, Ferreira10 has rightly observed that the final letter in S1 is an uncommon way of writing a final yōd but it is a yōd nevertheless which puts pay to any possibility of the term being read as a phonetic transcription for fazhu. Moule, a strong proponent of the fashi solution states in a foot-note: ‘Dr L.D. Barnett has very kindly found the sounds in question written phab shi in a contemporary bilingual MS in the Stein collection.’11 Unfortunately Moule did not tell us what languages were used in this bilingual text nor did he give us its manuscript signature. The example, if genuine, would have solved the problem of the medial –p- in P’PŠY as P’-ŠY would have been a more natural phonetic transcription of the Chinese fashi for speakers of Modern Standard Chinese. However, the problem of the medial –p- is a contemporary one and not one which would bother a Chinese speaker in the Tang period as the characters fashi 法師 ‘teacher of law’ was pronounced piuap-ši in Middle Chinese and fa-p-ši in Late Middle Chinese.

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

13 Lieu, op. cit., 230.
to be a suffix (either –y or –š) 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 (Uyghur) in a contemporary document. Among the texts in Uyghur brought back by Paul Pelliot from Dunhuang at the beginning of the last century and published by the late Dr. James Hamilton in 1986 is a fragmentary letter addressed to a Buddhist priest. The first preserved half line reads in the Uyghur script TWYYN and in transcription βʾpšym toyin which Hamilton correctly translates as ‘[Á] mon βʾpši (maître de la Loi) …’. The term is also found with the exact same spelling in a Uyghur 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 remarkable close to the tu-(y)in of William of Rubruck) and used to denote a Daoist priest and Buddhist monk. As the Uyghur script was also used to write Sogdian, the word ب’پشی BʾPŠY / βapšy would have easily been written as پ’پشی PʾPŠY/ papšy in Christian Sogdian which used the Syriac script and we have the word in a Manichaean text (M74) given in the Manichaean script (with is based on the Syriac script) as ܦܡšy / famšyy (with the standard m/b interchange). The Christian priests who erected the Xi’an Monument were no doubt fluent in Sogdian and as merchants were probably also in Old Turkish (Uyghur) and would have no problem in using this well-attested Christian title (like Monsignor in the modern Catholic Church)

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

The enigmatic term P’PŠY in the Syriac part of the Xi’an Monument is none other than the standard transliteration and transcription of a Chinese religious title into Central Asian languages in the Tang Era. The reason why the ‘Papal solution’ has remained popular among scholars of the Monument is simply that it makes apparent sense to Syriac scholars and the Monument is too often studied jointly by Syriac scholars of the Monument is simply that it makes apparent sense to Syriac scholars and the

The Syriac part of the inscription interestingly uses two names for China. The first of these, CŶNY’ which is found on line 12 of the Syriac, is abridgement for *bt cŷny’* (‘the land of the Chins’) which is standard designation for China in Syriac literature. Why was Adam not entitled *cūb nāy āzād papshi dbt cŷny’* on the first line of the Syriac part of the

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17 The standard edition of all five letters remains H. Reichelt (ed.), *Die sogdischen Handschriften-reste des Britischen Museums*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1928-1931), ii, though famous among the Chinese as the gateway to the Silk Road was probably also of foreign origin. The collection consisted of a small dossier of five letters written to friends and relatives at Loulan and Samarkand by Sogdian merchants who traded along the land-routes between Loulan 焉耆 (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. *cwn*),23 and Jincheng 金城 (Sogd. *kmzn*).24

The Syriac part of the inscription interestingly uses two names for China. The first of these, CŶNY’ which is found on line 12 of the Syriac, is abridgement for *bt cŷny’* (‘the land of the Chins’) which is standard designation for China in Syriac literature.26 Why was Adam not entitled *cūb nāy āzād papshi dbt cŷny’* on the first line of the Syriac part of the

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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.


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 *Σηρική* (‘People of Silk’) and *Σηρική* (‘Land of 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 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] ܟܘܡܕܢ 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 SRG. Their Sogdian equivalents are also found in the Ancient Sogdian Letters and they are so

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27 Lu Yuan, *op. cit.*, 100.  
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. 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. *Χούβδαν*) was the local name for a major city in China (Gr. *Ταυγάστ* < Turk. *Tawγast*) founded by Alexander the Great. The Greek form of the name *Χούβδαν* (which has a manuscriptal variant: *Χουμαδάν*) is an excellent example of the b/m switch due to nasalisation widely attested in Altaic languages. Chumbdan (Sogd. *’xwmt’n* or *γwmt’n*), 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 Xi’anyang 咸陽, the capital of the more ancient Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE) which was situated only a few kilometres upstream (west) from Chang’an.

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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 冯承钧, *Jingjiaobei kao 景教碑考 (Study on the Nestorian Monument)* (Shanghai 1931) 60.

*S(a)r(a)γ* bears little phonetic relation to the original Chinese city-name of Luoyang. Paul Pelliot has suggested that *Sarag* might have been a phonetic transliteration of the ‘luo’ part of *Luoyang* but such a suggestion cannot explain the initial *s*- unless the Sogdians had experienced difficulty in pronouncing the initial *l*- of the Chinese name and had to transliterate the name *Luoyang* orally into something like *(s)l’a(n)g*. An alternative way of solving the problem is to discover if Luoyang had been historically associated with another name, especially one that might have been in use when the Sogdians first came to know the city through trade. For much of its long history Luoyang was in the prefecture of Henan 河南 and the modern city with the same name is still in a province also with the same name – the association of Luoyang with Henan is therefore of long duration. However, at some point in its long history, the prefecture of Henan was called Sizhou 司州 which under the Jin Dynasty, the period of the Ancient Sogdian Letters, was also known as Sili 司隸. While Sili bears greater phonetic resemblance to *Sarag* 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 Sarag. However, we have no idea how *srg* was vocalized in Sogdian and in Sili we do have the possibility of a new line of historical and linguistic inquiry.

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

PAUL PELLIOT  
(1878-1945)  

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

[PROLOGUE]  
2 (2) 粤若 yueruo (yue-jo) On this formula of solemn prologue, see Havret, III, 10. The first four chapters of the current Shuijing (Chou king) begin with 曰若稽古 yueruo jigu (yue-jo ki-kou), obscure formula, whose interpretations vary (see Legge, Chinese Classics, III, I, 16). Note also that this formula was only added as header of the second of the four chapters at the end of the VIth century, and the 3rd chapter is entirely special in the review of the pseudo-Kong Anguo (K’ong Ngan-kouo), and consequently eminently suspicious. Fr. Havret says that 粤 is the guwen (kou-wen) form of 曰; this is not entirely correct. Without doubt, while the current Shujuin (Chou king), as it was fixed graphically by 閔包 Wei Bao (Wei Pao) in 744, has 曰, the so-called text in guwen (kou-wen) that 李遇孫 Li Yusun (Li Yu-souen) republished in the early XIXth has 粤. But this only means that such was the lesson in the alleged Shuijing (Chou king) in guwen (kou-wen) reconstituted in the XIIth century by 薛季宣 Xue Jixuan (Siue Ki-siuan) (1125-1173), or perhaps even in the edition of Shuijing (Chou king) in guwen (kou-wen) given in 1082 by 呂大防 Lü Dafang (Liu Ta-fang) [1027-1097]; these editions were used at the beginning of the XIIIth century by 蔡沈 Cai Chen (Ts’ai Tch’en) [1167-1230], whose 書經集傳 Shuijing jizhuan (Chou king tsi tchouan) is here the source from which Fr. Havret was inspired. And it is also true that some manuscripts of the VIIth century must have had the reading 粤 in the text of Shuijing (Chou king). In 658 李善 Li Shan (Li Chan) gives it twice by quoting the Shuijing (Chou king) in his commentary of 文選 Wenxuan (Wen siuan) (chap. 1, on the 東都賦 Dongdu fu (Tong tou fou) of 班固 Ban Gu (Pan Kou); Chap. 11, on the 魯靈光殿賦 Luling guangdian fu (Lou ling kouang tien fou) of 王延壽 Wang Yanshou (Wang Yen-cheou). But in 676-678, the commentary of Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou) (chapter 70 下, f° 2 r°) writes 曰. On the other hand, the fragmentary manuscript of 經典釋文 Jingdian shiwen (King tien che wen) that is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris shows that 曰 is not a graph due to Wei Bao (Wei Pao), and that this was already, towards the year 600, the usual reading of the text in guwen (kou-wen) of the pseudo-Kong Anguo (K’ong Ngan-kouo) (on this ms. of Jingdian shiwen [King tien che wen], see my article of Mém. concernant l’Asie orientale, vol. II [1916], pp. 123-177; for the spellings 粤 and 曰, see also 古文尚書 註異 Guwen shangshu zhuang yi [Kou wen chang chou tchouan yi] of 段玉裁 Duan
Yucai [Touan Yu-ts’ai] [1735-1815], in the 皇清經解 Huangqing jingjie [Houang ts’ing
king kiai], chapter 567, f°l r° and v°). The script used by the author of our inscription,
and which is found in other Tang (T’ang) inscriptions, would therefore seem to be
archaic not only in relation to Wei Bao’s (Wei Pao’s) Shujing (Chou king), but also in
relation to the text that was glossed in the VIIth century by 陸德明 Lu Deming (Lou Tö-
ming) and 孔穎達 Kong Yingda (K’ong Ying-ta); I am not sure that this is so, and that
one of the spellings is really more “guwen” (“kou wen”) than the other. Anyway, on this
point, it seems to me certain that it is not without intention that our author, summar-
izing from a Christian point of view the history of the world since the creation, places
in the heading of his story the two same words with which the Shujing (Chou king) opens
and, with the Shujing (Chou king), the history of the world according to ancient Chinese
tradition.

3 (3) There is an absolute parallelism between the two members of the phrases beginning
with “eternal” and “inaccessible”. Most of the attributes that our text gives to the person of
God are borrowed, as terminology, from Laozi (Lao-Tseu), who characterized by them
the dao (tao), the Way. See Havret, III, 11-12. The same terms will be found partly in line
XXVI, in the first stanza of the versified eulogy. Of all the earlier translations, that of
Fr. Havret is the only one which, in this passage, took into account the details of the
Chinese construction. Still, I cannot agree with Fr. Havret that 真 zhen (tchen) should be
understood adverbially here. Mr. L. Giles (Bull. Sch. Or. Lang., 1917, p. 93) has
proposed translating zhen (tchen) here by “pure”. It is certain that, in Daoism, the word
zhen (tchen) includes the idea of “non-mixing”; the zhenren (tchen-jen), the “true
man”, is the one who has arrived at the truth of his nature by rejecting all that could trouble
him. Fr. Havret already rightly referred to this point in chap. 31 of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu)
(see Legge, The Texts of Taoism, II, 198,
Wieger, Taoïsme, II, 487). But I do not see why, at least in French, we have to renounce
the usual translations of zhen (tchen) by “vérité” (truth) or “véritable” (true), which are
well adapted to these nuances, and many
others, for example that of “surnaturel” (supernatural) that the Daoist “vérité” (truth)
also implies (see Alekseev, Kitaïskaya poëma
o poëté, p. 7). When the Ascension is rendered
in Chinese by “he ascended to Truth” (line 8),
we would gain nothing by translating as “il s’élève à la Purite” (he ascended to Purity).
Both are only explained in terms of Chinese
philosophical or religious theories, which may
diverge more between themselves than the
poverty of an apparently identical technical
vocabulary may lead us to believe. As for the
word 寂 ji (tsi), it responds to the ideas of
“calm” and sometimes “silence”; the versified
part of the inscription uses in the parallel
passage, the dual expression 湛寂 zhanji
(tchan-tsi), which has the same meaning. Fr.
Havret quoted, from the 佩文韻府 Peiwen
yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou), two examples where
the words zhen (tchen) and ji (tsi) are used
side by side. The translation of ji (tsi) by
“firm”, adopted by Mr. Saeki, is without
foundation.

4 (3a) No one has yet reported any other ex-
ample of 先先 xianxian (sien-sien) or 後後
houhou (heou-heou), but I consider it to be
practically certain that the first xian (sien) and
the first hou (heou) must be taken to have a verbal function. Fr. Havret is right to recall here Sec. 25 of the Daodejing (Tao tō king) on the dao (tso) that existed “before the heaven and the earth” (先天地生). “Any-origin” (“toute-origine”) and “any-end” (“toute-fin”) must not only be understood as the appearance and disappearance of individualized beings, but of all aspects of things.

5 (3 bis) 宮然靈盧 yao ran ling xu [yao-jan ling hiu], “The far-seeing perfect intelligence” (Wylie); “incomprehensible in His intelligence and simplicity” (Legge); “inaccessible and pure spirit” (Havret). Mr. L. Giles (ibid., p. 93) proposed “profoundly immersed in spiritual vacancy”, and added that, in agreement with a passage of the Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) where the commentary indicates for 宮然 a pronunciation mianran (mien-jan), it was probably necessary to read here also mianran (mien-jan) and not yaoran (yao-jan) (as Fr. Havret had read). I am not convinced that these remarks by Mr. L. Giles are valid, either from a semantic or a phonetic point of view. In the passage in question of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu), the phonetic glosses that are also ancient (they came down to us through the intermediary of 经典释文 Jingdian shiwen (King tien che wen), which dates from the first half of the VIIth century) hesitate between yao (yao) and mian (mien), and I cannot currently see any decisive reasons for choosing between them. As for the meaning of yaoran (yao-jan) or mianran (mien-jan) in the Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu), the gloss preserved in the Jingdian shiwen (King tien che wen) is 恐然 changran (tch’ang-jan), “disappointed”, and it is this one that has passed into the K’angxi zidian (K’ang-hi tseu tien). The paraphrase of Fr. Wisege (Taoïsme, II, 213 “he recognized that he had ruined everything”) is perhaps less inaccurate in substance than it is in form, compared to the already older translation of Mr. H. Giles who said that the emperor Yao (Yao) “was plunged in abstraction”. As for the version of Legge (The Texts of Taoism, II, 172), where yaoran (yao-jan) is rendered “his deep-sunken oblivious eyes”, I doubt that would convince anyone. But, that said, for the passage of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu), it does not seem to me that our inscription is inspired from this. A well-chosen allusion should not only reflect the terms but also evoke reconciliation with the whole text from which it is drawn. Yet, there is no reason to apply to God the Father an epithet concerning the Emperor Yao (Yao) when the eyes of this same have just opened to the truth. Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) commentary (while quoting the passage from Zhuangzi [Tchouang tseu]) gives for the inscription the pronunciation yao (yao) with the meaning of “deep and distant”. This explanation seems to me to be the right one. Apart from the passage of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) quoted above and where 宮然, taken in a very special sense, may perhaps have read mian (mien), the expression yaoran (yao-jan) is found in other texts of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) as an epithet of dao (tso), and it is from this use of the expression that our inscription is certainly inspired. Mr. Alekseev, who found yaoran (yao-jan) in the fifth of the “Twenty-four poems” of 司空圖 Sikong Tu (Sseu-k’oung T’ou), already quoted (Kitaïskaya poêma o poëtë, p. 78) these passages of the Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) (chapter 22, Wieger, Taoïsme, II, 392, 398); Legge (The Texts of Taoïsme, II, 63, 70) translated yaoran (yao-jan) by “deep” both times; Mr Alekseev himself adopted “without
substance”. This only pays attention to a part of the gloss “deep and far”. Besides, it seems to me that in this usage, 㝠 yao (yao) is the equivalent of 㝠 yao (yao); the possibility of this equivalence is evidenced by the fact that 㝠 ｙao (yao-yao) and 㝠 yao (yao-yao) are written indiscriminately. Yet we read in Liezi (Lieu tseu) (chapter 6, see Wiegear, Tâoïsme, II, 156-157) 窈adamente “infini et sans contours, le tao céleste se rassemble spontanément; immense et sans divisions, le tao céleste se meut spontanément” (infinite and without contours, the celestial dao gathers spontaneously; immense and without divisions, the celestial dao moves spontaneously). I do not otherwise guarantee the detail of this translation of the Liezi (Lieu tseu); in particular it may be that yao (yao) could have been translated as “insaisissable” (elusive) and not by “infini” (infinite); I only claim that the yao (yao) of the inscription is the same as that of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) and Liezi (Lieu tseu); the attributes of God the Father, here again, are those of the celestial dao (tao). Only leaving lingxu (ling-hiu). Since Mr. L. Giles, and rightly in my opinion, sees in zhenji (tchen-tsi) two adjectives juxtaposed in the first sentence member, it must in principle be the same here; I cannot therefore support “spiritual vacancy”. The word ling (ling) designates the divine quintessence of the soul; it is the definition of the commentary of Shijing (Che king) by Zheng Xuan (Tchoung Huan), recalled here by Pan Shen (P’an Chen) 神之精明者稱靈; see Shisanjiong zhushu (Che san king tchou chou), ed. 1815, Shijing (Che king), XVI, V, 4 v°; Legge, Chinese Classics, IV, II, 456). As for xu (hiu), with a literal meaning of “empty”: it is one of the most difficult terms of Daoist philosophy to render. Legge has rendered it here by “simplicity”; Fr. Havret (III, 11) used “independence” once; Mr. L. Giles spoke of “absolute” and “unconditional”. The 1st chapter of Liezi (Lieu tseu) (Wiegear, Tâoïsme, II, 76-77, and especially the commentary of Zhang Zhan (Tchang Tchan) in the edition of the “Ten Philosophies”, Ch. 1, f° 9 r°) renders xu (hiu) as a state that is neither being nor non-being, neither action nor inaction. My translation by “impassibilité” (equanimity) is mainly inspired by the beginning of the 20th section of Hanfeizi (Han fei tseu). Fundamentally, the idea of this phrase seems to me to be in keeping with Fr. Havret’s somewhat free translation: God is a “pur esprit” (pure spirit).

6 (4) 窈有 miaoyou (miao-yeou). Fr. Havret (III, 13) pointed out the commentary that 王弼 Wang Bi (Wang Pi) gave of this expression, in the IIIed century, in his commentary of Laozi (Lao tseu). “On appelle (le dao [tao]) l’Etre transcendant. C’est que si on veut dire qu’il est, on ne voit pas sa forme; ce n’est donc pas l’être; aussi le qualifie-t-on de ‘transcendant’. Si on veut dire qu’il n’est pas, c’est de lui que les choses tirent leur origine; ce n’est donc pas le non-être; aussi le qualifie-t-on d’être. Ainsi c’est l’être dans le non-être. On l’appelle l’Etre transcendant” (One calls (le dao [tao]) the transcendent Being. It is as if one wants to say that it is the being, one does not see its form; it is therefore not the being; we also refer to it as ‘transcendent’. If one wants to say that it is not, it is from it that things derive their origin; it is therefore the non-being; we also refer to it as a being. So, it is the being in the non-being. It is called the transcendent Being.) The word 有 you (yeou) normally means “the being”. 窈 Miao (Miao) has the
meaning of “admirable” adopted by Fr. Havret, but also that of “ténu” (fine), “subtil” (subtle). The commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) to the first paragraph of Laozi (Lao-tseu) glosses miao (miao) by “the extremity = of subtlety” (妙者極之徵也) the 10th lithographic reissue of the Wenxuan [Wen siuan] published by Hongwen shuju [Hong-wen-chou-kiu], and which is the one I currently have, has here in chap. 11, f° 2 r°, 妙者極之徵也 which must be a simple mistake. I therefore think that the translation that I have decided on is sufficiently justified; it has a technical meaning, and the word miao (miao), as we shall see, enters into the very expression by which the Chinese Nestorians designated the first person of the Trinity; concerning line XII Pan Shen (P’an Chen) gloss miao (miao) by 不可思議 buke siyi (pou k’o sseu-yi), which is the usual translation of acintya, “inconceivable”. However, there is a question of rather surprising origin arises concerning the expression miaoyou (miaoyeou) that we have here. Fr. Havret, without referring, it seems, to Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) own commentary, borrowed the passage from the citation made by Li Shan (Li Chan) in 658, chap. 11 of his commentary of Wenxuan (Wen siuan), concerning a phrase of 遊天台山賦 Yu Tiantaishan fu (Yeou t’ien t’ai chan fou) of 孫绰 Sun Chuo (Souen Tch’o (6th C; and not of the prince Zhao Ming [Tchao-Ming] of the Liang [Leang], as Fr. Havret says); but this passage is not found in Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) commentary of Laozi (Lao-tseu) that we currently have. In the commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) to the 14th paragraph, we certainly have a similar text (欲言無耶而物由以成。欲言有耶而不見其形。 故曰無狀之狀 無物之象也) but from where the characteristic expression of miaoyou (miaoyeou) is absent. On the other hand, the Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou) cites, with some variations of form, the text that Li Shan (Li Chan) attributes to Wang Bi (Wang Pi), but by putting it in the account of Laozi (Lao-tseu) himself. This is certainly an error, although it probably goes back to compilations which preceded the Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou); the text in question is not found in Laozi (Lao-tseu), and moreover has all the appearance of a gloss; except that this gloss supposes in the commentary text the very expression of miaoyou (miaoyeou), which itself is not found in the Daodejing (Tao tö King). I can only come up with provisional solutions. The text of the Daodejing (Tao tö King), even since the VIIth century, has undergone certain alterations (especially Sec. 31), and there have also been several reviews; it is possible that one of the reviews contained the expression miaoyou (miaoyeou). As for Wang Bi’s (Wang Pi’s) commentary, the oldest of the current commentaries of Laozi (Lao-tseu) (see on this subject T’oung Pao, 1912, 399-400), all the modern editions are derived from an edition of the 12th C, the shortcomings and imperfections of which were acknowledged by the author itself; it is therefore possible that the passage invoked by Li Shan (Li Chan) disappeared from this commentary between the 7th and 12th C, precisely because the expression miaoyou (miaoyeou) was no longer in the review of Laozi (Lao-tseu), called the Heshanggong (Ho-chang-kong), who took it out. We shall see further on, by a passage of line XXI, that the author of our inscription seems to have known the Daodejing (Tao tö King) in a review different to that of 河上公 Heshanggong (Ho-chang-kong), and which would be precisely that of
Wang Bi (Wang Pi). The manuscripts of Dunhuang (Touen-houang) contain ancient texts of Laozi (Lao-tseu); perhaps they will allow us to arrive at more precise solutions. Be that as it may, the expression *miaoyou* (*miao-yeu*) was very popular under the six Dynasties and under the Tang (T’ang); I cite for example the great poet of the 8th C, Li Bo (Li Po), reproduced by the Peiwen yunfu (*P’ei wen yun fou*), and where we find expressions that our inscription also uses: “L’Etre transcendant a divisé les deux principes” (The transcendent Being has divided the two principles).

7 (5) In the current characters, the forms of the inscription correspond to the 總玄摳 *zong xuan kou* (*tsong huien chou*); Fr. Havret (III, 13) corrected Legge’s reading error. The form of the Xi’anfu (Si-ngan-fou) inscription for the first character is expressly noted, next to others, in the 碑別字 *Bei bie zi* (*Pei pie tseu*) of 羅振鋆 Luo Zhenyun (Lo Tchen-yun) (chap. 3, f° 1 r°); other variants are to be found in the 碑別字補 *Bei bie zi bu* (*Pei pie tseu pou*) of Mr. Luo Zhenyu (Lo Tchen-yu) (chap. 3 f° 1 r°) and in the 金石文字辨異 *Jinshi wenzi bianyi* (*Kin che wen tseu pien yi*) of 邢澍 Xing Shu (Hing Tchou) (ed., of Juxuxuan congshu [Tsiu hio hiuan ts’ong chou] chap. 7 ff. 1-2). This last work (chap. 2, f° 13 r°) also cites, but according to other inscriptions, examples of the form that the 3rd character has in our text. The translations have varied considerably: “operating on primordial substance” (Wylie); explorant, de ses mains puissantes, les abîmes ténébreux du monde” (exploring, with his powerful hands, the dark abysses of the world) (Pauthier); “souverain moteur, il a pris en mains le mouvement originel” (sovereign engine, he took the original movement in hand) (Dabry de Thiersant); “with His hands operating in the mysterious (abyss of space)” (Legge); “sustinet mysticum cardinem” and “détendant en ses mains une mysterieuse puissance” (holding a mysterious power in his hands) (Havret); “the holder of the mysterious source of life” (Moule); “holding the Secret Source of Origin” (Saeki); “that which controls the hidden axis of the Universe” (L. Giles). Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) commentary glosses *zong* (*tsong*) by 聚 *ju* (*tsiu*), “gather”, and *xuanshu* (*hiuan-chou*) by the “unfathomable divine power” (玄謂神妙莫測之權能也). I hesitated for quite a long time. I was first inclined to take 摳 *kou* (*chou*) in its literal meaning of “axis” (by thinking of the “dao” axis” of Zhuangzi (*Tchouang tseu*), chap. 2, see Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 218), as Fr. Havret did (in his literal Latin translation) and especially Mr. L. Giles. As for *zong* (*tsong*), here I leaned towards the translation of “tenir en main” (hold in the hand) which is that of Mssrs. Moule and Saeki. The phrase “tenir en main l’axe méystérieux” (hold the mysterious axis in the hand) would then have had a precise value. In ancient Chinese cosmogony there was a column supporting the sky or a “column of Heaven” (天柱 *tianzhu* [t’ien-tchou]) that had been broken during the revolt of Gonggong (Kong-kong) at the time of Nüwa (Niu-wa) (see Chavannes, *Memoires historiques*, I, 11-12, Liezi (*Lie Tseu*), in Wieger, *Taoïsme*, II, 131, Huainanzi (*Houai nan tseu*), ed. of “Cent philosophes” (Hundred philosophers), chapter 6, f° 4 r°). Under the Tang (T’ang), Empress Wu (Wou) had erected the 天摳 *tiankou* (*t’ien-chou*), or “axis of the sky”, which will be discussed in another chapter, and this *tiankou* (*t’ien-chou*) was a huge column of bronze. The Chinese regarded
the world as turning around an axis, whose stars near the pole marked the extremity; hence the name of tiankou (t’ien-chou) has been extended to several of these stars (see Schlegel, Uranographie chinoise, pp. 503, 525); Fr. Havret already wondered whether there was not a connection to be made between these stars and the xuanshu (hiuan-chou) of the inscription. In the end, I think we have to give up on this explanation. Let us first note that xuanshu (hiuan-chou) has never yet been found for tiankou (t’ien-chou) (Mr. Saeki says that xuanshu (hiuan-chou) is a common expression; it would have been good if he had indicated some reference); there is therefore no identification to be made here.

But above all, the meaning of zong (tsong) does not seem to me to be reconcilable with this hypothesis. The word zong (tsong), to my knowledge, has never been used in the simple sense of “hold in the hand”, like 持 chi (tch’e), or 乘 bing (ping) or 軍 zhi (tche); zong (tsong) literally means “to gather into a bundle”, from where arises the figurative meaning of “to gather under one’s authority”, “to direct”, “to be [or to be placed] at the head of”; we will see this meaning again in lines XI and XXIV. Mr. L. Giles felt the difficulty when he adopted “controls” and not “holds”. But it is obvious that for the unique axis of the world, “controls” has little imagery and that one would specifically expect there to be a word in Chinese that really means “hold in the hand”. We are also in the very first stage of the Creation; the “axis of the sky” does not exist yet. The word 抱 kou (chou), apart from its literal meaning of “axis”, is used in its figurative meaning of “power which causes action, which sets in motion” (主轉動者 为主 with Pan Shen [P’an Chen] has said); this seems to me to be the case here. God draws creation from himself; it is in a way the concentration, the concretisation of his power; in other words, he “gathers his power” in order to make Creation. It seems to me that this translation, which has the advantage of being justified from the point of view of the Chinese language, fits better than any other with the development as a whole.

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

9 (7) 妙眾聖以元尊 miao zhongsheng yi yuan zun (miao ichong cheng yi yuan tsouen). The Latin and French versions of Fr. Havret are not absolutely identical: “mirificat omnes sanctos, ipse prior venerandus”, and “admirable dans ses saints, lui le premier digne d’hommages” (admirable in his saints, he the first worthy of homage). For the expressions, see Havret, III, 14. It is certain that miao (miao) has a verbal function here; Legge and Havret are right in admitting that the author was inspired by this passage of the Appendices of Yijing (Yi king) (ed., 1815 of Ruan Yuan (Jouan Yuan), chapter 9, 1° 6 r°): which Legge translates (Sacred Books, vol. XVI, p. 427): “When we speak of Spirit we mean the subtle (presence and operation of God) with all things”. The comments leave no doubt as to what the Chinese of the Tang
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

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

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

12 (10) 三人 sanyi (san-yi), see supra.

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

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

[DOCTRINAL SECTION]

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

10 (8) On the construction 者。其唯 … 慕 see Havret, III, 14-15.
the author of the inscription was inspired by the very symbolism of the cardinal points to insinuate that, from the Creation, God had revealed the importance of the Christian sign. This is also the opinion of Dr J. Steele (Bull. Sch. Or. Lang., 1918, p. 16). The cross will reappear, always in relation to the cardinal points, in the Nestorian inscription of Zhenjiang (Tchen-kiang), written in 1281. Certain Gnostic sects seem, moreover, to have given a value to the cross in their cosmogonic speculations; see for example Pugnon, Inscriptions mandaites, p. 222: “[Les adeptes de Battai] disent que la croix est le secret de la limite entre le Père de la Grandeur et la terre inférieure” ([The followers of Battai] say that the cross is the secret of the boundary between the Father of Greatness and the lower earth.) Some modern works concerning Eastern religions and containing notions similar to this one had to be translated into Chinese, undoubtedly by the Protestant missions, because Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) insists here on the role that the cross would have played in the Eastern religions prior to Christianity; he sees Nestorianism as having borrowed, through the intermediary of the Gnostic sects, the role of the cross in determining the cardinal points, and finally that Jingjing (King-tsing) has invoked here “the two principles” because in China he found the yin and yang, that is to say, a dualism analogous to that which had influenced him in Persia. All this, adds Yang, has nothing to do with the true Christianity. While there may be some truth in Yang Rongzhi’s (Yang Jong-tche’s) reasoning, it may be exaggerated, and the detail of the arguments is often imprecise.

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

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

18 (15) 匠成万物 jiangcheng wanwu (tsiang-tch’eng wan-wou). See the parallels of Havret, III, p. 25. The form 万 of 萬 wan is frequent from the Han onwards. For the first term, together with the indications of Fr. Havret the end of the commentary of Wang Bi (Wang Pi) in the 41st paragraph of Laozi. I
found Jiangcheng (tsiang-tch’eng) in a poem by [陸龜蒙] Lu Guimeng (Lou Kouei-mong) (Quan Tang shi [Ts’iuan t’ang che], ed. lithograph of 1887, chap. 23, f° 38 v°): 魚骼匠成尊 “A cut was made from a fish bone”. I translated wanwu (wan-wou) by the “dix mille êtres” (ten thousand beings); wu (wou) designates all of the shapeless objects, the animate and inanimate, therefore beings as well as things, although this latter meaning is more usual today; man is generally a category apart; see the expression 人物 renwu (jen-wou), “men and things”. Wanwu (Wan-wou) is found frequently in the Yijing (Yi king), in Laozi (Lao-tseu), etc.

19 (16) 然立初人 ranli churen (jan-li tch’ou-jen). I adopted, without much conviction, the explanation of Fr. Havret for the first expression, for want of anything better. One could be tempted to explain 然 ran (jan) in the sense of “then only”, “next”; God created all beings, and “next” he erected the first man. The meaning would be excellent, but the parallelism of this clause and of the precedent would then be very defective. On the other hand, the gloss of ran (jan) by cheng (tch’eng), “réaliser” (to achieve), “achever” (to complete), invoked by Fr. Havret, would require confirmation by texts. But I cannot agree with the hypothesis of ran (jan) taken here to mean “to light up”, “to endow with the spark of life”, which was proposed by Mr. L. Giles. Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) commentary (while glossing ran [jan] by “next” here, as does Yang Rongzhi [Yang Jong-tche] also) says that this word is not right (未安) and argues that there is some fault in the inscription; nor is this a very probable solution either. Churen (Tch’ou-jen) is clear but has not been found elsewhere; the expression could have been made up by Jingjing (King-tsing) or his collaborators; I would rather believe that it was part of the technical vocabulary of the Chinese Nestorians under the Tang (T’ang). Li, “to erect”, normally applies to the action of the heaven over beings (see 聲冠子 He guanzi [Ho kouan tseu], ed. of Cent philosophes, Sec. 6, f° 10 v°: 天者萬物所以得立也).

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

21 (17) 化海 huahai (houa-hai), “creaturarum universitas”, “l’immensité des créatures” (the immensity of creatures), says Fr. Havret (III, 22, 25-26); such was already the version of Wylie; such was also that of Mssrs. Moule and Saeki. A very different interpretation can be found in Pauthier (“les
mers transformées” [the transformed seas]), Dabry de Thiersant (the “quatre mers” [four seas]), and Legge (“the ocean depths [now] transformed [into the earth]”), which invoke on this subject the first chapter of Genesis. The expression of our inscription is not attested to in this way anywhere else. Theoretically, it can be interpreted as “transformed seas” or “ocean of transformations”. But, on the one hand, hua (houa), when a word like 变 (pien) is not joined to it, indicates a moral transformation rather than a material one; in addition hai, “sea”, “ocean”, is constantly used to design all that is vast, abundant: one has 法海 fahai (fa-hai), the “ocean of the doctrine”, as well as 韵海 yunhai (yun-hai), the “ocean of rhymes”. I therefore agree with Fr. Havret and propose that our inscription is here employing a figurative language and refers to the “l’ocean des [êtres] qui se transforment” (the ocean of [the beings] that are transformed), that is to say, all creatures. But I do not believe, contrary to what Fr. Havret would suggest, that the author may have wanted to suggest at the same time, on a subsidiary level, the transformation of the oceans. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says of huahai (houa-hai). “[This term] remains unexplained; it must designate the world (世界 shijie (che-kiai)); Pan Shen (P’an Chen) simply glosses by shijie (che-kiai).

22 (18) 淵元之性 hunyuan zhi xing (houen-yuan tche sing). See Havret, III, 26. The expression hunyuan (houen-yuan) is used frequently in ancient Chinese texts to designate the world at its beginning, but it was part of the Chinese Nestorian vocabulary; it will be seen later that it enters into the title of one of the Christian works which had been translated into Chinese under the Tang (T’ang) and whose list was preserved for us after the Hymn to the Holy Trinity.

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

24 (20) 素蕩之心 sudang zhi xin (sou-tang tche sin). The expression sudang (sou-tang) is awkward; it has not been found elsewhere. It has been rendered by “unsullied and expansive” (Wylie); “pur, large” (“pure, broad” (Dabry de Thiersant); “unstained and capacious” (Legge); “simplex magnusque” (Havret); “unstained and unostentatious”
(Saeki). Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says that su (sou) is “pure whiteness” and that dang (tang) is equal to tanthang (t’an-tang), “peaceful”. Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) commentary interprets su (sou) by “white colour” (白色) and dang (tang) by “rejecting defilements” (去垢穢). Su (Sou) means “off-white”, “undyed”, “white”, and, in the figurative sense, “simple”. All the translations, except that of Mr. Saeki, have given dang (tang) a meaning that I only know for the compound word 扇扇 dangdang (tang-tang), yet, in literary language the meaning of these dual expressions is not self-evident from the isolated word. The “reject the defilements” of Pan Shen (P’an Chen) is not attested to except in combination with 洗di (tì), “to wash”. On the other hand, dang (tang) is found in ancient times in connection with “heart”, but then it has a sense of “overflow [with agitation]”, “to spread”, which, from the point of view of the ancient conceptions of Chinese philosophy, implies a fault and not a quality. Thus, in the Zuozhuan (Tso chouan) (4th year of the duke Zhuang [Chouang]; Legge, Chinese Classics, X, 76-77; Couvreur, Tch’ouen ts’iou, I, 133-134), King Wu [Wou] of Chu [Tch’ou] comes to tell his wife: “Mon coeur déborde [d’agitation] 余心蕩)” (My heart is overflowing [with agitation]); and his wife then predicts his imminent end, adding: “Ce qui est plein déborde; telle est la voie du Ciel” (What is full will overflow; this is the way of Heaven) (i.e. the natural order of the world) (盈而蕩。天之道也); we will note how much the terminology of the Zuozhuan (Tso Chouan) is here close to that of Laozi (Lao tseu). The Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou) (s.v. 心蕩xindang [sin-tang]) cites a passage of 新論 Xinlun (Sin-louen) of 劉勰 Liu Xie (Lieou Hie) (early VIth century) which is no less specific: 神靜而心和。心和則形全。神躁而心蕩。[心蕩]則形傷 “Quand l’esprit est calme, le coeur est harmonieux, et si le coeur est harmonieux, le corps est intact; quand l’esprit est agité, le coeur déborde, et si le coeur déborde, le corps est endommagé” (When the spirit is calm, the heart is harmonious, and if the heart is smooth, the body is intact; when the mind is agitated, the heart overflows, and if the heart overflows, the body is damaged.) It does not seem, therefore, that the dang (tang) is a very appropriate epithet to characterise the happy and peaceful state of man before sin. That is why, without guaranteeing that my explanation is the right one, and possibly accepting that of Pan Shen (P’an Chen), but not that of the European translators, I think that the important word of the binomial sudang (sou-tang) must be su (sou), “candid”, and dang (tang) would only be connected to it as a secondary word, and by analogy with the expressions 平蕩 pingdang (p’ing-tang), 坦蕩 tandang (t’an-tang), 凊蕩 yidang (yi-tang), where the first term has the meaning of “uni”, and in this secondary value leads to the second term. The parallelism between the two phrases which are about “nature” and “the heart” is imperfect, in any case.

25 (21) 婆娑 Suodan (So-tan) (*Sa-tan) regularly transcribes the Syriac form Satanna. This is so far the only example of this name that is found in ancient Chinese texts. There is no need to look for a secondary semantic value in the Chinese phonetic transcription, contrary to what Fr. Heller supposed (p.44) on the faith of Bridgman. The notes of Mgr Maurice, inserted in Havret, II, 111 et seq., mention Xi’anfu (Si-ngan-fou), in a Lamaist
temple, “a temple of Sa-tan, Sa-tan-tien”, and it seems that Mr. Maurice thought of the name of Satan; but it is almost certain that it is a modern Chinese transcription of a Tibetan name whose first element must be its “land” (Sa-Idan?).

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

27 (22) 飾純精 tianshi chunjing (t’ien-che chouen-tsing). “To deteriorate his purity of principle” (Wylie); “revêtant des formes seduisantes, a attaqué sa simplicité, sa purété naturelle” (taking on seductive forms, attacking his simplicity, his natural purity) (Dabry de Thiersant); “a glamour was thrown over that pure and fine nature” (Legge); “seine ursprüngliche Reinheit zu entstellen” (to distort his original purity) (Heller); “se para de l’ornement emprunté d’une pure essence” (dissimulates himself by borrowing the ornament of a pure essence) (Havret); “borrowing the adornment of pure spirit” (Mold); “Man’s pure and stainless [nature] was deteriorated” (Saeki). The translations are thus divided into two groups: most translators relate chunjing (chouen-tsing) to the “purity” of the first man before sin and give tianshi (t’ien-che) the meaning of “to deteriorate”. Fr. Havret, followed by Mr. Moule, see it as consisting of the appearance of purity given by Satan, who is transfigured into “angel of light”, and Fr. Havret invokes that tian (t’ien) designates an “ornement de metal” (ornament of metal) and that shi (che) means “chercher à paraître ce qu’on n’est pas” (trying to appear what one is not). a Tchen also said that tian (t’ien) designates an “ornament made with golden flowers”, but simply gives shi (che) the meaning of “to be adorned”. In reality, the value given by Fr. Havret to shi (che) could only be a derivative meaning necessitated by the context, as tianshi (t’ien-che) has a defined and quite different meaning. The true meaning of shi (che) is “to decorate”, “to adorn”. As for tian (t’ien), it does in principle designate an ornament of metal, but in the era of the Tang (T’ang), it combined with shi (che) into an expression tianshi (t’ien-che) which meant “to decorate by enchasing (or watermark, or inlay)” and was also written 填飾 tianshi (t’ien-che). Both forms are recorded and glossed in the 音義 yinyi (yin-yi) of the Chinese Tripitaka: for example, that of our inscription in chap. 40 of 一切經音義 yi qie jing yinyi (yi ts’ie king yin-yi) of 慧琳 Huilin (Houei-lin) (but in a part dating back to the middle of the VIIth century, Tripitaka of Tōkyō, 為, IX, 51 r°), the second in the 大方廣佛花嚴經音義 dafang guangfo huayanjing yinyi (ta fang kouang fo houa yen king yin yi) of 慧苑 Huiyuan (Houei-yuan), almost contemporaneous with our inscription (Tripitaka of Tōkyō, 為, X, 131 v°, 137 v°). As an example, I will quote this gloss which is
from Huilin (Houei-lin) himself (circa 800 AD), and is in chap. 54, (f° 121 r°) of his yin-yi (yin-yi), in connection with the expression 珠柄拂 zhubing fu (chou-ping fou), “pearl-handle fly swatter”: “If we say ‘pearl-handle’, it is because we adorn the fly swatter by enchasing tianshi (t’ien-che) the handle with pearls and jade”. In the Jiu Tangshu (Kieou t’ang chou) (chap. 45, f° 1 r°), it concerns leather inlaid with gold and jade (金玉細飾). There is therefore no reason to adopt the meaning of “seeking to appear what one is not” put forward by Fr. Havret; tianshi (t’ien-che) only means “adorn with ornaments”. Only leaving chunjing (chouen-tsing), whose interpretation is more doubtful. At the end of his gloss of this paragraph, Pan Shen (P’an Chen) says that Satan “has given himself the appearance of good without mixing” (橋裝純善), thus seeming to approach that of Fr. Havret, but before that he gives a completely different interpretation. Pan Shen (P’an Chen) cites a passage from a commentary on Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) Dongdu fu (Tong tou fou), where, on the subject of the appearance of a wonderful white pheasant, this commentary says: “The bird is the essence jing (tsing) of the pure luminous [principle] chun (chouen)” 羽為純陽之精 and Pan Shen (P’an Chen) adds, reasoning by analogy: “The serpent can likewise be called the essence jing (tsing) of the pure obscure [principle] chun (chouen)” (按蛇亦可矜純陰之精也). Thus “pure essence” would not be that of man before sin, nor the luminous essence borrowed by Satan, but his own “essence” of “pure” darkness. Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) reasoning has not convinced me. First, his quote is inaccurate. It is true that in the “poetry on the white pheasant” which ends the Dongdu fu (Tong tou fou) of Ban Gu (Pan Kou) Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou), chap. 70 下 f° 5 r°; Wenxuan (Wen siuan), end of chap. 1), it is said that this bird is “lighter and brighter than pure essence” (容潔朗兮於淪精, such is the text in Hou Hanshu [Heou han chou] and in the ed. of works by Ban Gu [Pan Kou] in Han wei liuchao bosan mingjia ji [Han wei liou tchi’ao po san ming kia tsii]; the Wenxuan [Wen siuan] has 純 chun [chouen] for the penultimate character; these two words are frequently used interchangeably). It is in this respect that the commentary of Hou Hanshu (Heou Han Chou) cites a phrase from 孝經元命包 Xiaojing yuan ming bao (Hiao king yuan ming pao): “The raven is the essence of the luminous [principle]” (鳥者楊之精). There is no mention of the bird in general (鳥 niao [niao]), but of the raven 鳥 wu (wou), and this phrase of Xiaojing yuan ming bao (Hiao king yuan ming pao) (which is also cited in the Peiwen yunfu [P’ei wen yun fou], s.v. 阳精) does not contain the word chun (chouen). If the commentary invokes it, it is to explain the metaphor of “pure essence” by which Ban Gu (Pan Kou) has just recalled another auspicious bird, the 素鳥 suwu (sou-wou), “white raven”, which was briefly discussed above in his poem (for a passage from the Songshi [Song che] where the use next to 素鳥 suwu [sou-wou] and 純精 chunjing [chouen-tsing] is visibly cited from Ban Gu’s [Pan Kou’s] poem, see Peiwen yunfu [P’ei wen yun fou], s.v. 玉鳥 ). Thus, it is not birds in general that are “the essence of the luminous principle” but the raven. And this privilege is because there is a raven in the sun; yet the sun and the fire are “the essence of the luminous principle”, just as the moon and the water are “the essence of the obscure principle”. Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) 純精 chunjing (chouen-tsing) is understandable only because he has
spoken of the raven before and there is a tradition relating the raven to the “essence of the male principle”: that is to say the sun. But, in our inscription, Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) hypothesis would assume that the serpent is metaphorically designated as the “essence of the principle [implied: obscure]”, whereas there has been no mention of a serpent before, and that, to my knowledge, no text exists that makes the serpent into a special emanation of the obscure principle. Instead, Wang Chong (Wang Tch’ong) in the 1st century placed the serpent in relation to fire, that is to say, with the male principle (see Forke, *Lun-hêng*, I, 105; Chavannes in *T’oung Pao*, 1906, 79-80).

I do not mean to say that we could not find texts talking about the serpent, like that about the turtle, the cold, the North, the darkness, etc., but there is nothing characteristic enough about it to be able to state it in the present case. On the other hand, the expression of 純精 *chunjing* (*chouen-tsing*) is known outside of the special value it takes on in Ban Gu’s (Pan Kou’s) text. Fr. Havret had already referred to two examples given in the *Peiwen yunfu* (*P’ei wen yun fou*) (s.v. 純粹精). The oldest is drawn from the “Dissertation sur les qualites et les defauts des fondateurs des deux dynasties Han (Han)” (Dissertation on the qualities and defects of the founders of the two Han dynasties), that is, Gaozu (Kao-tsou), of the Western Han (Han), and Guangwu (Kouang-wou) or Shizu (Che-tsou), of Eastern Han (Han); this piece is from 曹植 Cao Zhi (Ts’aiou Tche) (192-232), and it reads: 世租體乾靈之休德。稟貞和之純精 “Shizu (Che-tsou) incarnated the excellent virtue of the celestial soul, he was endowed with the pure essence of virtuous harmony”. The other example is part of a piece of 楊炯 Yang Jiong (Yang Kiong) (late VIIth century), and it says: 風雷海岳之純精。天地陰陽之正氣. “Wind and thunder are the pure essence of seas and mountains; heaven and earth are the unaltered emanations of *yin* (*yin*) and *yang* (*yang*)”.

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

28 (23) 閒平大於此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內 jian ping dayu ci shi zhi zhong; ximing tongyu bifet zhinei (kien p'ing-ta yu ts'eu che tche tchong; k’i ming-t’ong yu pei fei tche nei). These two parallel clauses have deservedly appeared very obscure. Here are the principal previous translations: “the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious” (Wylie); “a breach wide and great was made in its judgements of what was right, and it was drawn, as through an opening, into the gulph of (Satan’s) perversities” (Legge); “diduxit rectitudinis dignitatem ab hujus boni medio, admisitque confusionis similitudinem cum suae perversitatis statu”, et “ouvrant une brèche dans cette grandeur morale, au milieu de cet heureux état, il y introduisit la ressemblance de la confusion” [opening a breach in this moral greatness, in the midst of this happy state, he introduced the resemblance of confusion] (Havret); “disturbed the great (moral) equilibrium in (man’s) goodness by the introduction of the likeness of confusion (which was) in his own wickedness” (Moule); “the perfect attainment of goodness on the one hand, and the entire exemption from wickedness on the other became alike impossible for him” (Saeki); “[Satan] cunningly held out hopes of happiness greater than that to be found in this [i.e. Adam’s] state of righteousness, but introduced darkness similar to that existing in his own state of sin” (L. Giles). To all these versions, I will add that of Palladius, of which we have never spoken about before. Palladius explained this passage in his article Starinnye slédy Khristianstva v Kitaé (Ancient traces of Christianity in China) (Vostočnýi sbornik [Eastern collection, vol. I, p. 8]). His literal translation is: “He [Satan] has set aside the greatness of equality in what is so (v tom čto tak); he has opened the confusion in what is not so (v tom čto ne tak); and he glosses: “In other words, [Satan] made man forget that by executing the [divine] commandments he would maintain equality with the Divinity (the divine image and likeness), and promised him that by disobedience to the commandments, he would be identical to God”. Of all these interpretations, and not to mention other even worse aberrations of which I have said nothing, that of Fr. Havret, inspired by the old Chinese commentary of Fr. Diaz and followed in turn by Mr. Moule, and on the other hand by that of Palladius, are the only ones to construct the Chinese sentence correctly. The rigorous parallelism of the two sentences makes it necessary to see in 閒 jian (kien) and 隙 xi (k’i) two words which respond to each other, and the construction itself leaves no doubt that these two words are taken verbally here. Jian (Kien) means “interval”, “separation”, and xi (k’i) is literally a “crevice” in a wall. The two words unite into one expression jianxi (kien-k’i) which means in the figurative sense either “occasion”, or more rarely “leisure” (cf. jianxi (kien-k’i), “occasion”, in sec. 27 of Mouzi (Meou tseu) [[see T‘oung Pao, 1920, 317]], or the developed expression 伺間候隙 “watch out for the occasions”), or “disaccord” (see the dictionary of Giles). The existence of this expression suffices to show that, in our text, the two words must not only play the same grammatical role, but have, in my opinion,
virtually identical meanings. The translation of Palladius and that of Fr. Havret gives *xi (k'i)* a meaning roughly opposite to that of *jian (kien)*; I think this is wrong. The two words must mean “to move apart”, that is to say to have for regime the object itself that one dislocates, or on the contrary “to interpose”, that is to say applied to what one inserts into the slot of the dislocated object. To come to a decision, let us look at the rest of the two sentences. The expression *cishi (ts'eu che)* and *bei fei (pei fei)* are clear enough, if not as to what they mean here, at least as far as their literal meaning is concerned. Fr. Havret has already recalled the analogous expressions of Zhuangzi (*Tchouang tseu*) (Chapter 2) and Liezi (*Lie tseu*); the comparison in fact is necessary and we find it in the commentary of P’an Tchen. *Cishi (Ts'eu che)* is “this which is good”; *bei fei (pei fei)* is “that which is bad”. Leaving the two other expressions that correspond to each other, *pingda (p'ing-ta)*, literally ‘equal size’, and *mingtong (ming-t'ong)*, literally ‘mysterious identity’. Mr. L. Giles was wrong, I think, in trying to dissociate *pingda (p'ing-ta)* and *mingtong (ming-t'ong)*, (Bull. Sch. Or. Lang., 1917, 95-96; 1918, 17), and previous translators have not all “strangely missed” the grammatical construction of this passage. If we cut it, as Mr. Giles proposes, *ping (p'ing)* and *ming (ming)* remain all alone and insufficiently determined; the meaning of *jian (kien)* no longer corresponds to that of *xi (k'i)*; finally, *zhizhong (tche tchong)* and *zhinei (tche nei)* not only have no reason any longer to be at the end of the clause, but even hinder the grammatical construction if we do not add *者 zhe (tchô)* or an analogous word to their sequence. Moreover, although the Chinese are often mistaken in the interpretation of a text, it is rarer that they misunderstand its construction and its rhythm, and the two commentaries of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and of Pan Shen (P’an Chen) have been well-constructed like those of most European translators. We will therefore keep *pingda (p'ing-ta)* and *mingtong (ming-t'ong)*. *Pingda (P’ing-ta)* is not attested to elsewhere in the texts. I had thought for a moment, considering the frequent ancient use of 大 da (ta) for 太 tai (t’ai), to read *pingtai (p’ing-t’ai)*, and to compare it with the 平太 *pingtai (p’ing-t’ai)* (Wangbi’s [Wang Pi’s] text) or 平泰 *pingtai (p’ing-t’ai)* of Sec. 35 of Daodejing (*Tao tô king*); but the inscription regularly distinguishes da (ta) and tai (t’ai), and there is no reason to assume that this passage is an exception. So, finally, I am settling on *pingda (p’ing-ta)*, a new expression which was probably part of the technical vocabulary of the Nestorians under the Tang (T’ang); *ping (p’ing)* is determinative of da (ta) as 平 bing (ping) would be; in the same way we have 平行 *pingxing (p’ing-hing)* and 平行 *bingxing (ping-hing)*, 平肩 *pingjian (p’ing-kien)* and 平肩 *bingjian (ping-kien)* etc. Having acquired these literal translations, what do they mean? Yang Rongzhi’s (Yang Jong-tche’s) commentary gave a complicated and bizarre explanation. *Cishi (Ts’eu che)* would mean “this [heart there that] holds for false [the words of Satan]”, and *bei fei (pei fei)* would mean “this [heart there that] holds for true [the words of God]”. The word *jian (kien)* would signify “to interpose” and the word *xi (k'i)* “to open the road of discord”. (開嫌隙之路) The “equal greatness” would be “equality with God” (侔於上帝) promised by Satan to Adam. The “mysterious identity” would be the “secret” “obscure identity”; Satan promised man that he would be the equal of God,
but “in reality [man] thus becomes secretly identical to the demon” (而暗中實同於魔鬼也). The commentary of P’an Tchen, where we find the expression 乘間伺隙 seems to have interpreted  
 Jian (kien) and xi (k’i) with the meaning of “take advantage of”, “take the pretext for”. Cishi (Ts’eu che) is for him man faithful to the orders of God; bei fei (pei fei) is man after he has given in to the advice of the demon. Pingda (P’ing-ta) is the equality with God promised by the demon (可與上帝並大). For mingtong (ming-t’ong), P’an Tchen proposes a singular theory. We have in Huainanzi (Houai nan tseu) and in [文中子] Wen zhongzi (Wen tchong tseu), two very similar passages, in which primitive man, uncertain of himself (瞑瞑 mingming), with an unsteadiness of gait, still in ignorance of the early ages of (侗然 tongran [t’ong-jan]); P’an Tchen proposes 昧同 mingtong (ming-t’ong) to be 昧侗 mingtong (ming-t’ong); we will not decide on this hypothesis which is not based on anything. Let us now see what there is to be taken from these different interpretations. The first point of importance seems to me to be the explanation of pingda (p’ing-ta) by “equality with God”. Palladius had already adopted this literal version but understood by this to be the mere resemblance of “ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit ilium”. I believe that Palladius’s gloss is incorrect; pingda (p’ing-ta) really implies “equal greatness”, not simple “resemblance”, and it seems to me that Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and Pan Shen (P’an Chen) are right to see the “equality to God” promised by Satan to our first parents. This promise is such a characteristic feature of the temptation that it is quite natural to see it recalled here; on the other hand, its very importance would justify the adoption, on this subject, by the Nestorians of the Tang (T’ang), of a technical term which only the almost complete disappearance of the Nestorian versions of the holy books has prevented us from finding elsewhere so far. But this meaning, if we adopt it, also determines the value we must give to the verb jian (kien). There can no longer be any question of “putting aside”, “making a breach”, since this is something new that Satan brings; we will therefore adopt for jian (kien) the meaning of “insert”, and thereby we will decide on the identical meaning that xi (k’i) must have at the beginning of the clause; we will render xi (k’i) by “insert”. Grammatically, we will even gain a construction that is more natural for the end of the clauses; the Chinese text does not only have simple locatives with yu (yu), but compound expressions that specify that the act is done “in the middle of” and “in the interior of”; it is possible to insert, to make penetrate into “the middle of”; but we separate or remove “from the middle of”; in the ablative sense, the construction adopted by the author of the inscription would not be right, and it would have been better to stick to 於 yu (yu) alone, without zhizhong (tche tchong) or zhinei (tche nei). We therefore have for the first clause a construction and an interpretation which I believe satisfactory: “He inserted the same greatness into the middle of this that was good”. What is meant by the following parallel sentence: “Will he insert the mysterious identity into what was bad”? Fr. Havret has already pointed out that the expression mingtong (ming-t’ong), “mysterious identity”, is found in a poem quoted by Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou): 轉條象數外。有無自冥同 "Beyond the ruinous characteristics of things, the being and the non-being are in
themselves mysteriously identical”. Mingtong (Ming-t’ong) seems to me moreover to be similar to 同 xuantong (huan-t’ong), “the mysterious identity” with the dao (tao), which is mentioned in Sec. 56 of the Daodejing (Tao tō king) (see also Alekséev, Kitaïskaya poëma o poëtê, p. 356). There is no reason to look for an allusion to hell. In these conditions, is there any reason to think here of the equality of God promised by the demon, as Palladius proposed, or of the confusion with Satan’s state of perversity, as Fr. Havret supposed? I do not think so. Let us first remember that there must be opposition between cishi (ts’eu che) and bei fei (pei fei). Since cishi (ts’eu che) designates the state of man before the temptation, bei fei (pei fei) necessarily applies to the state of this same man after the fall. But then the two clauses can apply at different times, and not at the sole moment when Satan seduces Adam and Eve. They do not seem to have noticed that the following sentence, which will speak of the various beliefs, begins with a “that is why”, of which the previous versions do not render an adequate account. In my opinion, the author of the inscription, which recounts a shortened history of humanity, has only consecrated one clause to the temptation in the earthly Paradise; the second clause is aimed at man already fallen and chased away from Paradise. Satan’s action then continues, and he is the one who inspires these beliefs where man, imagining the world system within the limits that his intelligence allows him, strives to establish a “mysterious identity” between the world of appearances and the eternal principle, or, if you will, between the creature and the Creator. This identity, moreover, is no less artificial than the equality with God promised by Satan during the temptation. Both are those false “ornaments” by which Satan has deteriorated the primitive nature of man. Such is, in the interpretation I propose, the economics of the whole passage, which is thus closely related to what precedes it, while at the same time announcing what follows it. We will see further examples of the care that the author of the inscription has made in managing his transitions.

29 (24) It is obvious, although Legge only proposed it by way of hypothesis, that this figure is based on the number of days in the year. Whether it is about sects or not about types of errors notwithstanding any general doctrine, it would not be necessary to recall whether Mr. Saeki had supported the contrary. When Buddhism talks of 95 or 96 zhong (tchong), it is indeed 95 or 96 doctrinal sects; it is the same here. The comparison with the number of days of the year may be an image due only to the author of the inscription. Similarly, one of our colleagues recently said that the Pekinese transcriptions are in number “as great as that of the days of the year” (B. Karlgren, Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise, 16). But it is also possible that the author of the inscription is inspired by Chinese or foreign examples. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) says that the figure of 365 must be taken by Jingjing (King-tsing) from the Zoroaster religion. Pan Shen (P’an Chen) states that this figure of 365 remains unexplained, and only compares the passage of Jiayu (Kia yu) (section 25), which distinguishes 360 kinds of beings in each of the following categories: feathered beings, hairy beings, carapaces beings, scaly beings and naked beings, the man being the head of this last class. Fr. Havret recalled (III, 30) that Confucius had indicated, in the Appendices of the Yijing (Yi
King), the round number of 360 as that of the days of the year and supposes that it is from this passage that the inscription was inspired. The borrowing is not obvious, since many other traditions in the Chinese literature support these same figures, and that moreover the inscription uses 365 instead of the 360 of Confucius. In India, they counted 360 bones for the body of man; Chinese literature itself contains a whole series of texts which recognise in the microcosmic man the correspondence of the macrocosm and attribute to him, among other things, opposite correspondence of the macrocosm and microcosm. The days of the year could play a role in their stories, since we see that the legend of Bar Šaba, bishop of Merv, had 365 Christian temples built in this city (see F. Nau, in J.A., Sept.-Oct. 1913, p. 452). For the theory of the microcosmic man in the Nestorians, see Badger, The Nestorians, II, 388.

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

31 (25) 競織法羅 jingzhi faluo (king tche fa lo). The shape of the character king given in the inscription is recorded in the Jinshi wenzi bianyi (Kin che wen tseu pien yi) (chapter 10, f° 42 v°), which cites another example in another inscription of the Tang (T’ang), that of the 少林寺 Shaolin si (Shao-lin-sseu). Fr. Havret has already pointed out that we have the expression 競作羅 jing zuo luo (king tso lo) in the Zuo zhuang (Tso tchouan) (see Legge, Chinese Classics, V, II, 435; Couvreur, Tch’ouen ts’iou, II, 228). I do not see any reason, contrary to what Mr. L. Giles thinks, to prefer “false doctrines” to the word “law” or “laws”; we often use “law” in the sense of “religious law”, and the usage has
consecrated such title as the Lotus of the Good Law. The “net of the Law” braided by the 365 sects extends over Heaven and Earth, says Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche), “like the celestial net and the terrestrial nets?” (如天羅地網).

32 (26) 或指物以託宗 [huozhi wuyi tuozung (houo tche wou yi t’o tsong)]. Zhi (Tche) means “designate by pointing the finger”, but also sometimes “take a witness”, “swear by”, as Fr. Havret says; for example, he cites (per Fr. Couvreur’s dictionary), we can add the usual expression 指天 zhi tian (tche t’ien), “to show the sky” (which usually means “to take the sky as witness”), or the more complete formula 指天誓日 “show the sky and swear by the sun” given by the dictionary of Giles. The word wu (wou) designates any kind of animate or inanimate “object”. The verb tuo (t’o) means “to rely on”, “to confer”. Only leaving zong (tsong) remaining, which is less clear. Most translations have rendered the word by “lord”, “master”; it is also by “lord” 主 zhu (tchou) that the word is glossed, just as in the former commentary of Fr. Diaz, in the notes of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and Pan Shen (P’an Chen). Fr. Havret, while approving the gloss of Fr. Diaz, replaced “lord” by “principle” in his translation; this is undoubtedly because the Lord is also the “principle” of his creatures; the word zong (tsong) contains both meanings. Perhaps the text is aimed at phrases like that of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu): 以天為宗 but it is doubtful. Mr. L. Giles proposed the following translation: “One sect pretended that Matter was the ultimate principle of the universe”, assuming that they are skeptics like Wang Chong (Wang Tch’ong). But wu (wou) does not designate here matter in general; these are specific objects. On the other hand, it is natural that our inscription, as Fr. Havret says, is referring to the cults existing in China; the scepticism of thinkers like Wang Chong (Wang Tch’ong) had no reason to be invoked, especially before any other doctrine. Fr. Havret admits that this concerned here the naturalist cults of Daoism. Mr. L. Giles, starting from his idea of materialism, objects that the teaching of Laozi (Lao-tseu) is not materialistic, and proposes looking for Daoism in the following sentence. But we will see that it is Buddhism that this next sentence is certainly referring to. On the other hand, it is not a question of the philosophical theories of Laozi (Lao-tseu), but of the worship which, under the Tang (T’ang), the Daoists rendered to “objects”, that is, to Heaven to Earth, to mountains, to rivers, etc. We thus have no choice but between Daoism and Confucianism, since Buddhism is out of the question. We know the special favour for Daoism under the Tang (T’ang). For my part, I propose that it is mentioned first here, and it is possible that the text simultaneously targets all the idolatrous cults in the world.

33 (27) 或空有以淪二 huo kong you yi lun er (houo k’ong yeou yi louen eul). In other words, they identify and deny both the being and the non-being. Everyone, including the Chinese commentators, and except Mr. L. Giles, who prioritised Daoism, seems to have suggested that the inscription here refers to Buddhism without any mention of an example of kongyou (k’ong-yeou). Fr. Havret translated lun’er (louen-eul) by “plunging into superstition”, which his commentary itself does not make it seem likely to me. I do not see any reason to permit the “were swept into
devious paths” proposed by Mr. L. Giles. Mr. Saeki understood “insisted on ignoring the duality”, and Mr. L. Giles “thus obliterating the duality of Nature”. My translation, which sees in er (eul) the being and non-being, agrees with the former Chinese commentary of Fr. Diaz. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) understands lun (louen) in the sense of “to sink down”, “bury” (埋沒) and explains er (eul) by the “two principles” yin (yin) and yang (yang). Pan Shen (P’an Chen) glosses lun (louen) by 牽率不分 “pull together without distinguishing them”, that is, merge them; in er (eul), he sees, like Fr. Diaz and myself, the being and the non-being. As for the intention of our author, it is easy to specify; it is sufficient to show what source he has drawn from. At the end of the chapter that he devoted to the countries of the West in his Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou), Fan Ye produced a dissertation widely read in China, and in which he strives among other things to show that Buddhism is overrated, and in short, is inspired by Daoism; it is the one theory which has retained partisans even up to modern times. Yet, among the expressions used in this text to characterize the Buddhist doctrine, we have 空有兼遣之宗 kong you jian qian zhizong (k’ong-yeou kien-k’ien tche tsong), which Chavannes translated (T’oung Pao, 1907, 219) by: “Et quant aux principes du vide de l’être et de leur non-existence simultanée…” (And as to the principles of the emptiness of being and of their simultaneous non-existence ...), but that the very commentary of 676 is rendered more precisely by “quant au principe de la suppression simultanée du non-être et de l’être…” (as to the principle of the simultaneous suppression of non-being and being). It is obvious that our inscription here copies the Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou), so it is indeed Buddhism, characterised by the negation of both being and non-being.

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

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

36 (20) 茫然無得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途。久迷休復 (mangran wude, jianpo zhuanshao, jimei wangtu, jiumi xiufu [mang-jan wou-tö tsien p’o tchouan chao, tsi-mei wang-t’ou, kieou-mi hieou-fou]). Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) gives the following explanations: 茫然 mangran (mang-jan) is “to see nothing”; 煎 jián (tsien) is like an object that is fried; 迫 po (p’o) is like being questioned in justice; 轉 zhuan (tchouan) is to turn around; 燒 shao (chao), is to burn in the fire; it is as if one were turning in a burning pit; ... 亡 wang (wang) is to lose; ... 休復 xiufu (hieou-fou) comes from the Yiijing (Yi king), gua (koua) 復
fu (fou), and here marks the return to God. Here are now the glosses of Pan Shen (P’an Chen): mangran (mang-jan), is to have an air of weariness (罷倦貌); jian (tsien), is to be withered by fire (火乾); ... xiu (hieou), is not being able ( 不得); in other words, the followers of these sects “toiled in vain without obtaining anything; their heart was burnt as if they had been burned in the fire; as the one who loses his way in the darkness, they were lost for a long time and could not return to their place of origin”. For his part, Fr. Havret translated: “Dans cette activite febrile qui restait sans effet, pousse à bout par ces soucis devourants, et même consumé, on accumulait les ténèbres dans cette voie de la perdition, et l’on éternisait cet eloignement du retour vers le bien”. [In this febrile activity which remained without effect, pushed to the end by these devouring worries, and even consumed, the darkness was accumulated in this path of perdition, and this distance from the return to goodness was eternal]. The translation of Legge here is much inferior to that previously given by Wylie, but Fr. Havret is the first to have, I believe, precisely interpreted xiufu (hieou-fou) by “le retour excellent” [the excellent return], or “le retour vers le bien” [the return to goodness]; the expression is borrowed from the Yijing (Yi king). However, it seems to me that Fr. Havret, who had the right concern for parallelism and took good advantage of it, was mistaken here, perhaps for the only time in his entire translation, in seeking this parallelism where there was none. Taking these four members of sentences two by two, Fr. Havret spoke of “defective parallelism” between the first and the second, then contested, in the name of this same parallelism, that wang (wang) could be in verbal function in the third, since xiu (hieou) is an adjective in the fourth. The double difficulty vanishes if we approach the text differently, by establishing the parallelism between the first and third members of the sentence, then secondarily between the second and the fourth; the correspondence is then less imperfect, and wang (wang) can have the verbal meaning of “losing” than the mere reading of the text would naturally suggest. Mr. L. Giles, who saw the difficulties resulting from the false parallelism established by Fr. Havret, kept it however and was thus led to take up the meaning of “not being able to return” for xiufu (hieou-fou) (Mr. H. Giles did the same in Confucianism, p. 202); this is, in my opinion, impossible, and the commentary of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) is here better than that of P’an Tchen. On the other hand, in my translation, I agree with Pan Shen (P’an Chen) about rendering mangran (mang-jan) by “wearied with fatigue”. Mr. Moule, who had adopted “weared”, is the only one of the earlier translators of the inscription who understood as I do. But we find the same translation of mangran (mang-jan) for a passage of Sima Qian (Sseu-ma Ts’ien) (Shiji [Che ki], chapter 44, f° 6 v°) in Chavannes, Memoires historiques, V, 176; Mr. Chavannes even gave this meaning to the expression mangmangran (mang-mang-jan) in the passage of Mencius cited by Fr. Havret, and for which the translations of Legge (Chinese Classics, II, 191) and Couvreur (Les quatre livres [The Four Books], p. 365) preferred the meaning of “stupide” (stupid), “nigaud” (foolish). Mangran (mang-jan) is still read in the Shang linfu (Chang lin fou) of Sima Xiangru (Sseu-ma Siang-jou) (Shiji [Che ki], chapter 117, f° 10 v°; Qian Hanshu [Ts’ien han chou], chapter 57 上, f° 11 r°; Wenxuan [Wen siuan],
chapter 8, f° 47 of the photolith edition of *Hong wen shuju* [*Hong-wen-chou-kiu*]; the meaning is not obvious. Mr. H. Giles rendered the second sentence member by “the fire that oppressed men became a scorching flame”; I do not think that here 转 zhuàn (tchouan) can have the meaning of “became”.

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

38 (31 bis) For other examples of the form that the word 戱 ji (tsi) has in the inscription, see Havret, III, 40, and especially, for the era of the Tang (T’ang), the Jinshi wenzi bianyi (*Kin che wen tseu pien yi*), chap. 12, f° 36 v°. The words 真威 zhenwei (tchen-wei), “True majesty” have a technical value; zhen (tchen) has the same meaning as in line III; wei (wei) enters into 三威 sanwei (san-wei), the “three Majesties” which is the name of the Trinity in the Nestorian hymn found in Dunhuang (Touen-houang). Even more so, in the same text of 645 or 646, we find an expression 出俗 chusu (tch’ou-sou), and there again I adopted the equivalence of su (sou) with shi (che) (p. 412). It is therefore the same expression chushi (tch’ou che) as in our inscription, but with a different taboo. The reason is that chushi (tch’ou che) has two meanings; in that of “to be born”, we wrote chudai (tch’ou-tai) in that of “to leave the world” (to enter into religion), we had to choose another equivalence chusu (tch’ou-sou).

39 (32) See Havret, III, 40. Fr. Havret already pointed out that the use in the inscription of 出俗 chudai (tch’ou-tai) for “to come into the world”, here and in the parallel passage of line XXVI, instead of the usual 出世 chushi (tch’ou che), comes from the fact that, under the Tang (T’ang), the character che, tabooed for having been part of the personal name of Emperor Taizong (T’ai-tsong) (李世民 Li Shimin [Li Che-min]), was replaced by tai. This detail is also noted in our text by the author of 新編中國歷史全書 Xinbian Zhongguo lishi quanshu (*Sin pien tchong kouo li che ts’iiuan chou*), 8th part, app., ff. 1-5. It happened, moreover, that a single character could not cover all the meanings of the tabooed character; this is precisely the case for shi (che) and dai (tai); so another substitute character was used. Thus, in a report of 645 or 646 relating to the Sanskrit translation of the *Daodejing* (*Tao t’i king*) I proposed (T’oung Pao, 1912, p. 413) considering 順俗 shunsu (chouen-sou) as the equivalent of 順世 shunshi (chouen-che), lokāyata, but without perceiving the reason for this variant; it is clear, however; it is still due to the taboo of shi (che); but dai (tai) did not go well here; hence the use of su (sou).

40 (33) 神天 shentian (chen-t’ien). See Havret, III, 41; shentian (chen-t’ien) is in the Shuijing (Chou king). The current name of the angels, in Catholic terminology, is 神天 shentian (chen-t’ien), “the celestial spirits”, but it is a modern term, and there is no reason to suppose, as does Heller, that two words were erroneously interchanged in the inscription. I do not want to take up again in detail here the discussion of this word, tian (t’ien), which has been the subject of so many writings over past centuries. Suffice it to recall that tian (t’ien) is not only the material sky, but also the divinity. On this subject, we cannot neglect the testimony of all the peoples
who have had ancient relations with China and whose languages distinguished the word “sky” from the word “god”. Our habits are somewhat confusing when we translate 天子 tianzi (t’ien-tseu) as “Son of the Heaven”. The Emperor is at the same time truly divine, and the Hindus have rendered the title by devaputra, “Son of the Gods”, the Iranians by Baghaputhra, Fagfur, “Son of God”, the Turks and Mongols by Tängri qaghan, “Divine Emperor”. Similarly, Buddhism called tian (t’ien) the svarga or material sky of India, but also the deva or gods. If Indra is sometimes called 天主 tianzhu (t’ien-tchou), it is not like Lord of Heaven, which is the meaning of the name of Tianzhu (T’ien-tchou) given today to God in the Chinese terminology of Catholicism, but because he is devendra, that is, “lord of the deva”. If therefore our inscription, conforming probably to the usual vocabulary of the Chinese Nestorians, uses zhentian (tchen-t’ien) to mean angel, it is undoubtedly necessary not so much to see a precise memory of the Shujing (Chou king) for example but an adaptation of the meaning of deva which tian (t’ien) had in Buddhism; the angels have become spirits-deva or divine deva; I agree with Legge on this point; I cannot agree with the duplication of “spirits and devas” by Mr. H. Giles (Confucianism, p. 202). I will have to return to shen (chen) about the Nestorian manuscript preserved today in Japan, whose singular terminology seems quite different from that of the texts known until now; God the Father is called 一神 yishen (yi-chen), the “One God”. All the translations of the inscription have spoken of “angels” in the plural. But in the text, the sentence follows the incarnation and precedes the birth of Christ; so, I do not think it consists here of the concert of angels at the birth of Christ, but only of the Annunciation.

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

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

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

44 (37) 圓廿四聖有說之舊法 yuan ershisi sheng youshuo zhi jiufa (yuan eul-che-sseu-cheng yeou-ch ouo tche kieou-fa). The “old law” is naturally the Old Testament, whose “twenty-four saints” are supposed to be the authors. See Havret, II, 213-214; III, 44-45. Renaudot had already given an exact note (Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, 244) about the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, where Fr. Kircher (nowadays followed by Dabry de Thiersant) believed, but wrongly, that there was originally a series of twenty-four prophets. In the enumeration of the holy personages or “kings of the Law”, Jews and Christians, which follows the Hymn to the Holy Trinity, we shall see again the “kings of the Law [who are] the twenty-four saints” (廿四聖法王 niansisheng fawang [nien-sseu-cheng fa-wang]). Fr. Havret, in the name of parallelism, wanted to show that a word had gone missing following “saint” during the engraving (or the copy for the engraving) of our inscription. Indeed, taking
the text as it is written, we have niansisheng (nie-s-seu-cheng), which is only three words, to respond to the sanyi jingfeng (san-yi tsing-fong) found in the following sentence. Mr. Moule further noted that cheng was at the end of the column, where it is easier for a word to get omitted. P’an Tchen’s commentary also states that he suspects a gap before or after sheng (cheng). This is not impossible, but I think another solution should be considered. Nian (Nien) (*nyep) is one of the rare Chinese compound words, derived from 二十 ershi (eul-che) (*n’i-z’ep), and the graphic form in one character can, if necessary, be read in disyllable just as the two-character form can be read in monosyllable (see B.E.F.E.-O., VI, 411). Duan Yucai (Touan Yu-ts’ai) gives reasons of this theoretical pronunciation, which has not survived.

45 (38) We have seen above (pp. [204-205, note 39]) that one character was replaced by another in the expression “to come into the world” due to an imperial taboo. Here we have a similar case, and it is surprising that it has not been indicated. The same citations of Fr. Havret (III, 45) show that we should have 治 zhi (tche) at the beginning of this phrase and not 理 li (li). But under the Tang (T’a-ng), the character zhi (tche) was tabooed and replaced by li (li), since it had been the personal name of 李治 Li Zhi (Li Tche), that is to say, Gaozong (Kao-tsong), the son and successor of Taizong (T’ai-tsong); for another example of this same taboo, see below.

46 (39) 設三一净風無言之新教 she sanyi jingfeng wuyan zhi xin jiao (ch'o san-yi tsing-fong woyen tch sin-kiao). On the true translation of Jingfeng (Tsing-fong), which is the Holy Spirit, see above, p. [missing]; the Chinese commentaries, whether those of Fr. Diaz or those of Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) and P’an Tchen, have in fact never been wrong. Wuyan (Wou-yen), “without words”, has already been likened by Fr. Havret (III, 46) to this sentence of St. Paul (I Cor. II, 13): “Loquimur, non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in doctrina Spiritus”. As for the Chinese parallels, as much as the “I do not want to speak anymore”, of Confucius put forward by Fr. Havret and Pan Shen (P’an Chen) (Lunyu [Louen Yu], XVII, 19; Legge, Chinese Classics, I, 326), I believe, with Legge and Mr. L. Giles, that it is necessary to bring into play here the 不言之教 buyan zhijiao (pou-yen tche-kiao), the “doctrine without words”, which is mentioned twice by Laozi (Lao tseu) (§ 2 and § 43), and which reappears in chap. 5 and 22 of Zhuangzi (Tchouang tseu) (Wieger, Taoïsme, II, 242, 388).

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

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

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

50 (42) 啟三常之門 qi sanchang zhi men (k’i san-tch’ang tche men). See Havret, III, 48. There are sanchang (san-tch’ang) like bajing (pa-king), technical terms that have not survived. The current Chinese language contains a series of 五常 wuchang (wou-tch’ang), “five constant [virtues]”. Since Fr. Diaz, we identify, and almost surely rightly, the “three constants” to be the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity. The expression of sanchang (san-tch’ang) has had other uses, in meanings that are very different, in the Guanzi (Kouan Tseu) (see Havret, III, 48); in the Bei qi shu (Pei ts’i chou) (see H. Giles, Adversaria Sinica, vol. II, p. 55; Confucianism, pp. 202-203); in Manichaeism (see J.A., Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 552). Mr. L. Giles was quite right in rejecting (pp. 22-23) the application to our text of the political meaning of Bei Qi shu (Pei ts’i chou) proposed by Mr. H. Giles, and even more the fanciful interpretation of the trividhadvara of Buddhism of Mr. Saeki.
51 (42 bis) For the analogous passages of the Scriptures, see Havret, III, 49. It seems to me that the author of Xi’anfu’s (Si-nga-fou’s) inscription has taken the idea of the preceding sentences in the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, there where it concerns the career of Čākyamuni. I cite one under the other the two parallel texts; A designates the inscription of the Dhūta Temple, B the inscription of Xi’anfu’s (Si-nga-fou’s):

A. 憾五衍之軾。拯弱逝川。開八正之門。
大庇交喪。

B. 制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。
開生滅死。

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

52 (43) 懸景日以破暗府 xuan jingri yipo anfu (hiuan king-je yi-p’o ngan-fou). I believe that Fr. Havret is right to see in this sentence a reminiscence of Christ “sun of justice” of Hebr., I, 3, and to remind, moreover, that Saint Augustine applied to Christ and to the apostles the passages of the Psalms XVIII: “In sole posuit tabernaculum suum”, etc. St. Augustine himself and the Chinese texts also make us aware that, according to the Manichaean doctrine, Christ was enthroned in the sun and in the moon (see J.A., Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 556). Especially if one compares to the present passage the corresponding passage of the versified part, it is clear that, in the inscription, the “radiant sun” is Christ himself; we understand, then, that Fr. Diaz thought he recognised in the “he was suspended” of the text an allusion to the Passion; this is also the opinion of Pan Shen (P’an Chen). It should be noted however that the “suspended sun” is found elsewhere, for example in this verse of the inscriptions Guan Xiu (Kouan Hieou), cited in the Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou) (s.v. 佛日): 瞳瞳懸佛日, “Gleaming at the dawn, the sun of the Buddha is suspended”. Fr. Havret has already pointed out an older use of jingri (king-je), “radiant sun” in the Jinshu (Tsin chou) (chapter 51, f° 5 v°), but gives an inaccurate translation of it; we should understand: “He made the radiant sun shine to reflect the shapes [of the objects]” (明景日以鑑形兮). Mr. H. Giles (Adversaria Sinica, II, 56, and Confucianism, p. 203) had proposed translating: “He was suspended like a bright sun”; but I share the objections that Mr. L. Giles has raised against this interpretation. In any case, the image comes from the fact that the Chinese considered the stars as suspended in the firmament; see the inscription of the temple of Laozi (Lao tseu) by 薛道衡 Xue Daoeng (Siue Tao-heng): “We lifted the cables of the sky and we suspended the sun and the moon”; (舉天維而懸日月; Legge, The Texts of Taoism, II, 312, has “curtain” instead of “cable”; without doubt he confused 魚 wei [wei] and 魚 wei [wei]). Anfu (Ngan-fou), “the empire of darkness”, designates the infernal regions, and there is probably here, as Fr. Havret says, an allusion to “descendit ad inferos”. Whether it is hell itself or limbo (see Badger, The Nestorians, II, 72-74), we see that the inscription does not use here the Buddhist expression of 地獄 diyu (ti-yu). It is only indirectly that the po anfu (p’o-ngan-fou)
recalls the Buddhist and modern Daoist ceremonies of po yu (p’o yu), “to break the hell” (see Havret, III, 49). The Chinese Manichaean, on the contrary, had adopted the Buddhist term of diyu (ti-yu) (see J.A., Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 533); taking it as a whole, the vocabulary of Chinese Nestorianism in the VIIIth century appears to us to have penetrated Buddhist terms less than it did the Manichaean vocabulary of the same era.

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

54 (45) 棠慈航以登明宮 zhao ci hang yi deng ming gong (tchao ts’eu-hang yi teng ming-kong). Ci hang (Ts’eu-hang), “the boat of mercy” is found in the VIth century in a poetry of the prince Zhaoming (Tchao-ming) of the Liang (Leang), describing a “meeting of the law” in the 開善寺 Kaishanxi (K’ai-chan-seu): “The wheel of the law illuminates the dark room; the sea of wisdom lets the boat of mercy pass”. See also Havret, III, 50-51, and two other examples in Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) commentary. Fr. Havret did not find the expression of minggong (ming-kong), “luminous palace”. But today we know that in Turkish Manichaism, the sun and the moon were called the “two luminous palaces”, and the Manichaean treaty of Beijing uses for their subject the same word gong (kong), “palace” (see J.A., Nov.-Dec. 1911, p. 516). We have seen in a previous note how Christ was associated with the sun; the sun can therefore be the “luminous palace” referred to by our text; this “palace” must also be identified with the Celestial Jerusalem. In agreement with Mr. L. Giles, I understood deng (teng) in the causative sense, which is perfectly admissible, and I translated by “faire monter” (to be raised up) instead of “s’élever” (to rise up) of Fr. Havret; such was already the translation of Wylie and Legge. It seems clear to me that the “boat of mercy” has no reason to be for Christ himself, but only for those he takes with him. We thus avoid seeking in this passage, in agreement with Pauthier, an allusion to the Resurrection; it could only in fact be the Ascension, but the Ascension is clearly indicated further on. As for the image of the boat of salvation, we still find it in Chinese Manichaism (see J.A., Nov.-Dec. 1911, pp. 531-533).

55 (46) 含靈 hanling (han-ling). In his commentary (III, 51), Fr. Havret simply rendered the expression by “l’âme, l’être spirituel” (the soul, the spiritual being); this seems to be an inadvertence that his translation of p. 44 does not reproduce; hanling (han-ling) means “[the beings] endowed with a soul”; the expression is very usual (see on this subject B.E.F.E.-O., IX, 385), and its omission can only be fortuitous in the dictionary of Couvreur as well as that of Giles. Mr. L. Giles says that hanling (han-ling) are the souls in limbo “et non tous les êtres intelligents, comme le dit Legge” (and not all the intelligent beings, as Legge says); I am not convinced that this is in fact true, and, in any case, in no way does the term hanling (han-ling) imply this. Perhaps hanling (han-ling) is moreover simply one of the borrowings made by our Inscription from the Dhūta Temple, where the expression is found.
56 (47) 既濟 jiji (ki-tsi). Borrowing from the 63rd hexagram of the Yijing (Yi king). Ji (Tsì) means “to be saved”, but in the literal sense “to cross”, and thus the image of the boat of salvation continues.

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

58 (49) It is obviously the Ascension, but “monter à la Vérité” [ascending to the Truth] designates the death of the saints in the Daoist vocabulary (see Shengzhen (Cheng-tchen) in a Daoist cave name cited by Chavannes, Le jet des dragons, 154). Fr. Havret (III, 48) and the commentary of Pan Shen (P’an Chen) precisely reminded of the fact that from the 1st half of the IIth century, one of the meanings of Shuowen (Chouo wen) is zhen (tchen) (“truth”) that of “immortal who transforms himself and ascends to heaven”; the “immortal” xian (sien) is transformed into a “true” zhen (tchen) man, and this same is transformed into “divinity” (神 shen [chen]). In recounting the life of Christ, the inscription composed in 1655 for the church of Fuzhou (Fou-chou) on behalf of the viceroy 佟國器 Tong Guoqi (T’ong Kouo-k’i) (see Courant, Catalogue, No. 1202) is obviously inspired by the inscription of Xi’anfu (Si-ngan-fou) but avoids the Daoist nuance by writing 停午上昇 “at midday he rose up”. Similarly, the graduate Zhang Geng (Tchang Keng), whom has been mentioned above, when he speaks of the death in 1623 of his young son Denis, [supra, p. 16], says (Courant, Catalogue, No. 1016, IX) that 越停午而厭世神乃上昇 “at midday he separated from the world and his soul rose up”.

59 (50) 經留廿七部 jing liu nianqi bu (king lieou nien-ts‘i pou). In agreement with Mr. Moule, I began here a paragraph, because it is a new subject; Fr. Havret had already suspected this division, but without adopting it (III, 53). It seems to me that the very rhythm obligates us. This sentence and the following two are constructed on a uniform model. The number alone of nianqi (nien-ts‘i) creates an obstacle, but we must consider of nianqi (nien-ts‘i) as here having, from the point of view of parallelism, the value of a single word. This is a reason which, by analogy, makes uncertain, but does not condemn, the hypothesis that I made above (line VII), when the word nian (nien), which should be read ershi (eul-che), was already found concerning the “24 saints”. The number of 27, for the New Testament books, also corresponds to the Canon of the Catholic Church. This is the solution which had been accepted by all, until recently; it was, however, attacked a few years
ago by the Abbot Nau (J.A., Sept.-Oct. 1913, p. 454, note 2). “Ce passage, à notre connaissance, dit M. Nau, n’est pas expliqué de manière satisfaisante. Il ne s’agit pas des 27 livres du Nouveau Testament, que les nestoriens n’ont jamais reconnus; on a eu tort de conclure des jacobites qui les connaissaient aux nestoriens qui les connaissaient peu. Il s’agit de la division en 27 livres (24 pour l’Ancien et 3 pour le Nouveau) connue par un auteur musulman de Babylonia du IXᵉ au Xᵉ siècle, par le Fihrisṭ et par un manuscrit arabe du Sinai” (“This passage, to our knowledge”, says Mr. Nau, “is not explained in a satisfactory manner. It is not about the 27 books of the New Testament, which the Nestorians never recognised; we were wrong to conclude that the Jacobites were known to the Nestorians, who knew them little. This is the division into 27 books (24 for the Old and 3 for the New) known by a Muslim author of Babylonia of the IXᵉ to the Xᵉ century, by the Fihrisṭ and by an Arabic manuscript of the Sinai”. A little later (Ann. du Musée Guimet, conferences of 1913, p. 358), Mr. Nau spoke a little differently. While maintaining that this consisted of the entire Bible, he notes that the Nestorians “ont connu a certaine epoque le dernier canon des apotres traduit du grec en syriacque ou l’on peut compter 27 livres, puisque l’Apocalypse qui manque est remplacée par les 8 livres de Clement (Octateuque ou Constitutions apostoliques), mais nous ne savons si ce canon a eu grande diffusion chez les nestoriens” [knew at a certain era that about the last canon of the Apostles translated from Greek into Syriac where 27 books can be counted, since the apocalypse which is missing is replaced by the 8 books of Clement (Octateuque or Apostolic Constitutions), but we do not know if this canon was widely distributed among the Nestorians.] I do not have the required competence to discuss what went into the New Testament of the Persian Nestorians in the VIIIᵉ century. But it seems that the twenty-four books of the Old Testament are out of the question; they have been mentioned above. It can only consist here of the books considered to have been left by the Messiah, hence the New Testament. The only conclusion to be drawn from them is that the Nestorians knew more about the division of the New Testament into twenty-seven books than we supposed. Most of the Eastern Nestorian manuscripts have disappeared, and the history of their Cannon can only be followed with difficulty. Mr. Saeki translated jing (king) by sūtra, there is no more reason to speak of Nestorian sūtras than of Confucian or Daoist sūtras; jing (king) is a purely Chinese word.

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

61 (52) 以發靈關 yi fa lingguan (yi fa ling-kouan). Contrary to what Fr. Havret says (III, 52), Legge is not alone in having misread the last character; it is the same with Wylie, Pauthier, Dabry de Thiersant [[also Schlegel, Die chines. Inschrift, 123]]; but the rectification of Fr. Havret and the punctuation he adopts are no more justifiable. It still needs to be translated. Fr. Havret hesitated and his unfinished French version leaves the last word blanked out; in Latin, he gives “ad aperienda spiritualia claustra”. Fr. Diaz had glossed lingguan (ling-kuan) by “l’axe essentiel de la vraie doctrine” (the essential axis of the true doctrine) (正道之要樞), and he added: “Quand la grande reforme n’avait pas
commence, la vraie doctrine rencontrait beaucoup d’obstacles” (When the great reform had not begun, the true doctrine encountered many obstacles) (大化未開。正道多阻) (Mr. Saeki translated our phrase by “the sealed Gate of the Blessed life was unlocked”. Guan (Kouan) literally designates the crossbar used to close a door (I think that this is the meaning that must be adopted for example instead of that of the complicated “serrures” (locks), in Chavannes, Religieux éminents, 55); This is how Pan Shen (P’an Chen) seems to understand it here. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) seems to incline to the very usual meaning of “mechanism” that the word has in the expression 機關 jiguan (ki-kuan) today, but ancient (see B.E.F.E.-O., IX, 168), judging by its gloss (靈關。良心發動之機關。聞道立信之樞紐). I first thought to translate by “déclencher les ressorts de l’âme” [trigger the springs of the soul], but finally the meaning adopted by Fr. Diaz seems to me more natural. The New Testament removed the closing bar which had up to then forbidden access to the spiritual life. This interpretation seems to me to be confirmed by another argument: it is to my mind that the author of Xi’anfu (Si-ntag-fou)’s inscription was probably inspired, here again, by the inscription of the Dhūta Temple, or, concerning the teaching of the Buddha, it is about the “dark bar” 玄關 xuanquan (hiuan-kouan) and the “mysterious lock” (幽捷 youjian [yeou-kien]), where the second word is equivalent to 捷 jian [kien]).

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

64 (55) We find here, as during the creation, the symbolism of the cardinal points determined by the “character ten”, that is to say by the cross; see supra, pp. [188-189, note 15], and Havret, III, 54-55. Fr. Heller (p.45) proposed referring to the present passage as an allusion to the confirmation, which the Nestorians immediately conferred after baptism (see Badger, The Nestorians, II, 153); but it does not seem to me very likely that it is the confirmation, a secondary ceremony in the eyes of the Nestorians, that is mentioned here. The “sceau” “seal” seems to me to have been taken here in the figurative sense, as in the Traité manichéen [Manichaean treatise] (J.A.,
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1911, II, 588; 1913, I, 379-380); I do not see in this solution the difficulties mentioned by Mr. L. Giles (Bull. Sch. Or. Lang., 1918, 25-26). As for the passage of line III, Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) sees this to be a heretical opinion specific to the Nestorians; nothing could be less certain. Personally, it seems to me that this “seal”, which unites the four directions, is indeed the cross in general, but also and more specifically the sign of the cross, which played a great role in Nestorianism and which constituted, the authors say, the “seal” of the other sacraments (see Badger, The Nestorians, II, 132, 162). I do not believe in the version of Legge and Mr. Saeki that these are the disciples visiting the four cardinal points. The four cardinal points are here designated by the expression 四照 sizhao (sseeu-tchao) [thus written in the inscription; there is no reason to adopt, as does Fr. Havret, III, 53, 54, and Mr. L. Giles, Bull. Sch. Or. Lang., 1918, 25, a 聞 zhao (tchao) orthography], which means “the four luminous [directions]”, and of which Fr. Havret was probably right to research the origin in a passage of the Yijing (Yi king); this is also Pan Shen’s (P’an Chen’s) opinion. But Mr. L. Giles has also pointed out (page 26) a passage from the Shanhaijing (Chan hai king) concerning a plant, similar in appearance to a cereal, whose flowers are “tournées vers les quatre directions lumineuses” (turned towards the four luminous directions) (四照之花) and whose name is “céréale de l’égare” (cereal of the astray) (迷穀 migu [mi-kou]), “en la portant à la ceinture, ajoute le texte, on ne s’égare pas” (by wearing it at the belt, adds the text, we do not go astray). Mr. Giles refrained from commenting. This is not, however, the first time that this text is related to the inscription of Xi’anfu (Si-gnan-fou): Pauthier, in 1858, bravely translated this passage of the inscription by “la croix qui s’étend vers les quatre points lumineux, comme la fleur Sizhao (Sseu-tchao)” (the cross which extends towards the four luminous points, like the flower Sizhao (Sseu-tchao), and Dabry de Thiersant undoubtedly had in view something analogous when he spoke of the “croix s’étendant avec quatre pointes brillantes” “cross extending with four luminous points). At first sight, it may seem bold to return to such a comparison. But in fact, almost all the examples of Sizhao (Sseu-tchao) cited in Peiwen yunfu (P’ei wen yun fou) mean the Sizhao (Sseu-tchao) plant. Moreover, it turns out that “la fleur des quatre directions lumineuses” (the flower of the four luminous directions) (四照之花) is mentioned in this Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, to which the inscription of Xi’anfu (Si-gnan-fou) owes so much. In this state of affairs, I am very much leaning to proposing that our author took the sound Sizhao (Sseu-tchao), which on the one hand associated the cross with a word meaning “luminous” and, on the other hand, evoked something which, “carried at the belt, prevented one from going astray”. We must not forget that the cross of our inscription, with its terminal pearls, is luminous.

65 (56) Here, the precious commentary of Fr. Havret was interrupted by his death. The “wood that is struck”, 擊木 jimu (ki-mou), is not, as Pan Shen (P’an Chen) believes, an allusion to the 木鐸 “metal bell struck with wood” but designates the wooden board that was struck and which served as a bell in the ancient Greek Church and among the Nestorians it was called [σήμαντρον] in Greek. Its use among Nestorians is perfectly
attested. In the IX\textsuperscript{th} century, for example, we read in Thomas of Marga (\textit{The Book of Governors}, ed. Budge, II, 244; also I, LI\textsuperscript{-}LV, and Moule, \textit{Christian Monument}, p. 102): “And when the sacristan rose up to strike the board to summon the congregation for the office of the night...” In the XIII\textsuperscript{th} century, William of Rubruck, finding himself in the courtyard of Sartaq, said: “Habet etiam circa se nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam et cantant officium suum” (d’Avezac, \textit{Recueil de voyages}, IV, 263), and elsewhere, concerning the temples of China, the same traveller believes to have found the reason why the Nestorians do not use bells; the Chinese idolaters “habent campanas magnas sicut nos: ideo credo quod orientales christiani noluerunt h\textsuperscript{a}bere eas. Ruteni autem habent et Greci in Gazaria” (ibid., Fr. 284); see concerning these passages the interesting notes of Rockhill, \textit{The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck}, pp. 116-117, 145. But Mr. Rockhill was misled by the translation of Quatremère, when he invoked a passage from the \textit{History of the Mongols} (pp. 94-95) stating that sometimes the Nestorians used real bells. In the text of Rachid ud-Din, the Persian word is naqus, and the translation of “bell” given by Quatremère is too absolute. Naqus can mean a real bell but applies just as well to the call to prayer board (see Reinaud, \textit{Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l’Inde et la Chine} [Stories of travels made by Arabs and Persians in India and China], II, 6). Likewise, Mr. Chabot (\textit{Histoire de Mar Jabalaha}, III, pp. 94, 106) speaks of “bells”, but is careful to warn us in note that these are not real bells, but small boards of prayer. In 1600, Fr. Gabriel de San Antonio sees among the “Christians of St. Thomas” “de longs tronçons de bois suspendus en Pair sur lesquels ils frappent avec des cornes de cerf” (long pieces of wood suspended in pairs upon which they strike deer horns) and which take the place of bells (A. Cabaton, in \textit{Documents relatifs à l’Indochine française}, 1914, page 187). For a mention of the same instrument in the Armenian history of Etienne Orbélian, see Старинные Слѣды христіанства въ Китаѣ, по китайскимъ источниковь (Ancient traces of Christianity, according to Chinese sources), 2\textsuperscript{nd} book, St. Petersburg, 1873, pp. 64 and 97. It remains only for the use of the bells in the Nestorians, this passage of the letter of Sembat: “Pulsant campanas et percutiunt tabulas”. But perhaps the bells heard by Sembat in the camp of the Mongol ruler were those of Buddhist or Daoist religious persons, and not that of Nestorians. D’Avezac (\textit{Recueil}, IX, 591) says that the Christians of the Küyük camp “sonnaient les cloches aux heures d’usage, suivant le rite grec” [sounded the bells at the hours of use, according to the Greek rite]; but the original text of Plan Carpin (p. 767) is less formal: “Pulsant ad horas secundum morem Graecorum”; we can possibly understand this to be any naqus. China had bells, as was reported in Rubruck; but it also had the board. Fr. Heller (p. 45) says, on the authority of Julian and Eitel, that the Chinese name of this board, 羁稚 jianzhi (kien-tche), corresponds to a Sanskrit ghaṇṭa. In fact, ghaṇṭa is a barbarism, and if we take into account the ancient pronunciation of jianzhi (kien-tche) and other transcriptions of the word, we see that it can only be an original gaṇḍī or gaṇḍi; see the work of Baron A. de Staël-Holstein, \textit{Kien-ch’ui-fan-tsan} (Gaṇḍīstotragāthā), St. Petersburg, 1913, forming vol. XV of the \textit{Bibliotheca Buddhica}; we find at p. XXI, the drawing of a gaṇḍī. Today the board still
exists, but the call in the Buddhist temples of China is done mainly by means of a more considerable apparatus in wood, hollow inside, and that we call 木鱼 muyu (mou-yu), “wooden fish”. The expression jimu (ki-mou) of our inscription is attested to from the Han onwards; the ancients knocked on wood and stones as a sign of rejoicing. The Chinese authors recognise that 伽倻 gaṇḍī has the same amphibology that we have seen for naqus: sometimes they render it by “sound bells and stones” (鍾磬 jinsheng), and sometimes by 撞木聲 jimusheng (ki-mou-cheng), “sound of wood that is struck”, thus employing the very expression of jimu (ki-mou) which our inscription has; see on this subject the section 杂紀 zaji (tsa-ki) in the 3rd chapter of 隋氏要覽 Shishi yaolan (Che che yao lan) completed in 1024. 任惠 (Jen-houei) is no less ancient, both in historical texts and in philosophical literature; it still appears as a religious name on one of the lateral faces of the stele. I am quite led to suggest that, since wood is struck in relation to the recitation of the sacred texts, these are themselves the “sounds of charity and beneficence”.

66 (57) 東禮趣生榮之路 dongli qu shengrong zhi lu (tong-li ts’iu cheng-jong tarde lou). Dongli (Tong-li) is very clear but appears to have been struck for the needs of the Nestorian cult. On the habit of praying turning to the East, see Ebed-jesu (ʿAbd-išoʾ), in A. M[ai], Scriptorum veterum nova collectio, t. X, p. 361; Thomas de Marga, The Book of Governors, II, 274; Badger, The Nestorians, II, 413. The Christian inscription of Zhenjiang (Tchen-kiang), in 1281, insists a bit much on only two points of the Nestorian religion: prayer to the East and the use of the cross. The expression cheng-jong is freely imitated from Lunyu (Louen yu) (XIX, xxv, 4), and not from Mencius, as Pan Shen (P’an Chen) says: 其生也榮, “During his life he would be glorious”.

67 (58) This curious symbolism does not appear to be of Chinese inspiration; a Western parallel has not so far been pointed out, at least as regards the wearing of the beard. For Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche), it is the ancient usages of Syria and Persia that have contaminated the Christianity of these regions. Mr. Nau (Ann. Musée Guimet, Confér. de 1913, p. 359) says that the tonsure was introduced to Nestorian monks by Abraham of Kaškar “towards the year 502”; and he refers, inter alia, to Mr. Labourt (Le christianisme dans l’empire perse, p. 321) which says of the Persian monks: “Leur signe distinctif était la tonsure. Les nestoriens la portaient en forme de croix pour se distinguer des jacobites. Au dire de Thomas de Marga, c’est à Abraham lui-même qu’il faut faire remonter cette innovation” (Their distinctive sign was the tonsure. The Nestorians wore it in the shape of a cross to distinguish themselves from the Jacobites. According to Thomas de Marga, it is to Abraham himself that this innovation must be traced.) I am not a Syriac literary specialist, but it seems to me that he has let some errors slip into these opinions. If we refer to the introduction made by Mr. Budge at the head of the Thomas de Marga edition, and in the very passage of the text concerning the tonsure (The Book of Governors, vol. I, p. CXXXIV; vol. II, pp. 37, 40-41), we will see that Abraham can hardly have introduced the tonsure at 502 due to the simple fact that he was baptized in 502; he must have been very young in age in 502 since he lived until the end of the VIth century (Mr. Budge’s
indications did not conform to the dates of 491-2 to 586 given by Mr. Labourt, pp. 316-317), and, on the other hand, it was only a new type of tonsure which henceforth distinguished the Nestorians from the partisans of Severus, that is, from the Jacobites. Moreover, the text is definite in saying that this new tonsure was in the shape of a crown, and this is contrary to that of the Jacobites, according to the notes of Mr. Budge, which is in the shape of a cross. The formulas pronounced when one tonsured the monk, and which are cited by Mr. Budge (“the world is already dead for you”, “Christ will wash away the impurity of your sins”) agree with the symbolism found in the inscription. The Nestorians, again according to Mr. Budge, also knew the “Greek tonsure”, where the whole head was shaved. Our text shows that the Nestorians in China did not practise this in the VIIIth century. It will be noted that this is a rule of interest to the monks, and not the secular clergy; this is an important point for the history of the Nestorian communities in China. We know, on the other hand, that the bonzes are completely shaved and shorn.

68 (59) 不畜臧獲 bu xu zanghuo (pou hou tsang-houo). Theoretically, zang (tsang) and huo (houo) [[the original meaning is uncertain]] are two abusive names applying respectively to male and female slaves; that is why Legge translated: “They do not keep or maltreat slaves, male or female”. But this etymological explanation, which was not agreed upon prior to the Tang (T’ang), does not prevent zanghuo (tsang-huo) from having taken very early on, before the Han (Han), the meaning of slaves in general, and without suggesting the idea of ill-treatment; it is certainly this common usage that we must hold on to. Nor, in my opinion, is it necessary to retain the distinction between “esclaves” (slaves) and “captifs” (captive) of Fr. Havret, nor to specify the gender of slaves, as most translators do.

69 (60) 示罄遺於我 shi qingyi yu wo (che k’ing-yi yu wo). All the translations previous to that of Fr. Havret are poor in this respect; Legge, in particular, has totally misunderstood by understanding it as “but give all they have to our (communities)”. It is obvious that wo (wo), “me”, is opposed here to ren (jen), “others”, of the preceding sentence, and that the text, after showing the attitude of the Christians towards others, goes on to refer to their conduct to each other. Fr. Havret translated “montrant en eux-memes l’exemple du devouement et de la generosité” (showing in themselves the example of dedication and generosity). The only difficulty comes from an expression that I read qingyi (k’ing-yi) and which until now has not been attested otherwise. The second word, meaning “to make gifts”, literally reads wei (wei); in the hypothesis of Fr. Havret, we should therefore read qingwei (k’ing-wei) rather than qingyi (k’ing-yi). But yi (yi) means “to leave”, “to put aside”, “to detach from”. As for qing (k’ing), the word means “exhausted”, “empty”. In the end this expression must have been part of the technical vocabulary of the Nestorians, since it enters into the Chinese title of one of the Christian works (perhaps the Book of Job?) enumerated following the Hymn to the Holy Trinity. Without being able to prove that my
translation is the right one, I adopted it because it seems to me to be word for word a more rigorous translation than that of Fr. Havret. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) strives at length to show that the rules laid down in these two sentences by the inscription are too imperative, and that Christianity strictly imposes neither the return of slaves nor the abandonment of goods. But, without discussing this point, it seems to me that here again we have a series of rules which are aimed not at the laity but at the clergy, and perhaps even at the monks.

70 (61) I do not believe that Fr. Havret, although since then followed by Messrs. Moule and L. Giles, improved the old versions by replacing the words that have generally been translated, as I do here, by “fast” and “by defences” with the vague words of “purification” and “circumspection”. These words 齋 zhai (tchai) and 戒 jie (kiai) have always been grouped into an expression zhaijie (tchai-kiai) whose dissociation is here merely superficial. No doubt, and following the Chinese commentators, they are vaguely translated as “purification” in the oldest texts, those of the Yijing (Yi king) or Liji (Li ki), perhaps sometimes due to lack of a precise tradition on the ritual of these purifications. The expression is to be found in the biography of Qin Shi Huangdi (Ts’in Che-huang-ti) in Shiji (Che ki) (the Peiwen yunfu [P’ei wen yun fou] gives a false reference to the chapter of the fang [fang] and shan [chan] sacrifices), again it is the vague translation “après nous être purifiés” [after we have been purified] which was adopted by Mr. Chavannes (Mémoires historiques, II, 152), but nothing guarantees it. In any case, when zhaijie (tchai-kiai) is found again, concerning Buddhism, in the last passages of chap. 118 of the Hou Hanshu (Heou han chou), Mr. Chavannes did not fail this time (T’oung Pao, 1907, p. 219 ) to render zhaijie (tchai-kiai) by “les abstinences et les défences” (the abstinences and the defences); this is the translation of upavasatha and qiksapada, the two notions were, moreover, quite similar so that, in Turkish Buddhism, the second word plays at the same time the role of the first. On the modern value of “abstinence” and “continence”, see B.E.F.E.-O., III, 467. I think that Nestorianism very naturally took its disciplinary terminology from Buddhism, in the same way as it borrowed the titles of its religious persons here; I have therefore translated as I would have done for a Buddhist text. The Chinese commentaries are moreover unanimous here, that of Fr. Diaz as those of Pan Shen (P’an Chen) and Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche). Pan Shen (P’an Chen) even specifies that there is indeed the general meaning of Yijing (Yi king), but that zhai (tchai) means “fast” in a religious text like this; and as for jie (kiai), “defences”, he glosses it by 誡 jie (kiai), and sees in it the Decalogue, just as Fr. Diaz had formerly, and Mr. Saeki had recently. Yang Rongzhi (Yang Jong-tche) understands zhaijie (tchai-kiai) as “fast and abstinence”, and adds that these are not the practices of early Christianity, but that they had already begun in Jingjing (King-tsing). In fact, it will be noticed that there are very precise instructions throughout this passage. Yet there are few Christian communities where, even nowadays, the fast is observed as rigorously as among the Nestorians (see Badger, The Nestorians, III, 187-188, 417); there is nothing surprising about it being mentioned in the inscription. Before Fr. Havret, Wylie is the only one who
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seems to me to have understood the expression 伏識 fuzhi (fou-tche), which I translated as “the retreat and the meditation”. Other translators, and Legge in particular, have understood 伏 fou in the sense of “subduing”; “They fast to subdue (the pride) of knowledge”, says Legge. Although the fuzhi (fou-tche) is not attested, the expression seems inspired by 默⽽識之 mo er zhi zhi, “remembering in silence”, from Lunyu (Louen yu), VII, 2, especially since mo (mo) also has the meaning of “withdrawn”, “distanced”. All this, assuming that this is the fast, agrees with the 5th Canon of Abraham of Kaškar: “During the forty-day fast, a brother should not leave his cell without necessity, or without the permission of the community” (Budge, The Book of Governors, I, cxxxviii).

As to the defences, I do not see why they should be limited to the Decalogue alone; the Christian precepts for the laity and the clergy are also concerned here, and if they consist of monks, their monastic rule must be added.

71 (62) These seven daily prayers were later reduced to four, at least for the laity. See Badger, The Nestorians, II, 16-18; Budge, The Book of Governors, I, LV, cxxxvi; Labourt, Le christianisme dans l’empire perse, p. 322; Chabot, in Ann. Du Musée Guimet, Confér de 1913, p. 360. The Manicheans also had seven moments of prayer every day; see J.A., March-April 1913, p. 338. Concerning prayers for the dead in the Nestorian liturgy, see Chabot, loc. laud., p. 360; Badger, The Nestorians, II, 321; the affirmations of Mr. Saeki, The Nestorian Monument in China, p. 201, seem to me without authority. The expression 存亡 cunwang (ts’ouen-wang) for “the living and the dead” is found from the Yijing (Yi king) onwards. As for 大庇 dabi (ta-pi), “to help greatly”, I believe that it is a new borrowing from the Inscription of the Dhūta Temple, where it is said that the Buddha, by “opening the door of the eight corrections”, 大庇交喪 dabi jiaosang (ta-pi kiao-sang) “greatly helped those who get mutually lost” (that is, doctrine and the beings).

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

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

{To be continued …}
APPENDIX I

大秦景教流行中國碑
A MONUMENT TO THE SPREAD OF
THE SYRIAN BRILLIANT TEACHING
IN CHINA

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


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

[S1] ‘d’m qšyš’ wqw’ryswp’ wp’pšy dzynst’n
Adam, priest, country-bishop, and spiritual father of China.41

[3] 粤若。常然真寂。先先而無元。寂然靈虚。後後而妙有。總玄扼而造化。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。洎乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾純精。間平大於此是之中。

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

41 Adam qshisha w’kurapisqupa w’papash d’Sinistan. Sinistan is a well-attested Persian name for China. The normal Syriac name for China was Beth Sinaye, ‘the country of the Chinese’. The term Sinaye, ‘Chinese’, occurs in the phrase malke d’Sinaye, ‘rulers of the Chinese’, in paragraph 24a. The term papash, ‘pope’ or ‘spiritual head’, is equally rare.
42 A-lo-ho, a transliteration of the Syriac Allaha, ‘God’.
43 Sa-tan, a transliteration of the Syriac Tsatana, ‘Satan’.
§3. Unity and harmony departed, and there were countless quarrels between men of different ideas, some teaching one thing and others another. Some men set up material things as the objects of their worship; some said that all existence was meaningless and did not distinguish between right and wrong; some tried to find happiness through rituals and sacrifices; some rejected goodness altogether and sought only power over other men. Their minds were in torment and their hearts were in agony. [6] They longed for escape from the fires of guilt which tormented them. But the more they struggled, the deeper they sank into darkness. At last, in despair, they stopped looking for truth.

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

§5. He left twenty-seven books of scripture, which explain how men can reform their hearts and find salvation. [9] They tell us that if a man is washed in water and the spirit, he will become clean and pure. We, his ministers, carry the Cross (Chin. 十字 shìzi lit. ‘the character ten’) to symbolise that our teaching is open to men in all four quarters of the world. We strike wooden gongs to

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44Mi-shi-ho, a transliteration of the Syriac Mšiha, ‘Christ’ (literally ‘the anointed one’). Cf. English ‘Messiah’.
45The sole reference to the Crucifixion in the Sian Tablet inscription, and deliberately oblique. Elsewhere the Christian cross is explained as a symbol of the universality of the Christian message, representing the four cardinal compass points (paragraph 5).
46‘Twenty-seven’. The figure is presumably a mistake, as the East Syrian church recognised the canonical twenty-three books of the New Testament.
awaken feelings of love and kindness.\(^{47}\) We worship towards the [9] east to show that we are travelling along the road of life and glory. We grow our beards to show that our duties are towards others, and we shave the crown of the head to show that our thoughts are not centred on ourselves. We do not keep slaves,\(^{48}\) and we honour rich and poor equally. We do not amass goods and wealth, and we share all we have among ourselves. We seek to purify ourselves by fasting and meditation. We worship seven times a day, and pray for the salvation of both the living and the dead. Once every seven days we hold a public service [10] to cleanse our hearts and rededicate ourselves to purity.

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

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

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

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

\(^{49}\)Perhaps representing the Syriac name Yahballaha, ‘Gift of God’.

\(^{50}\)An extraordinary mark of respect. Fang Hsuan-ling was T’ai-tsung’s prime minister at this period, and most important decisions were taken by a closed triumvirate consisting of the emperor himself, Fang Hsuan-ling, and Wei Cheng.
§8. Truth can be recognized, whatever its name. Wisdom can be discerned, whoever its possessor. Every region has its own appropriate doctrine, which by its pervasive influence benefits the inhabitants. The Syrian bishop Aluoben (A-lo-pen) has come to our great capital from afar with the ‘brilliant teaching’. We have carefully examined this teaching, and find it challenging, humbling, and comforting. We have studied its principles, and are satisfied that they lay stress on the essentials of life. Its language is spare and elegant, and its thought is coherent. It is without doubt a helpful doctrine: let it be admitted to our empire. Let a monastery be built in our capital by the relevant board in the I-ning ward, and let twenty-one monks be appointed there. 

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

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

案西域圖記及漢魏史策。大秦國南統珊瑚之海。北極眾寶之山。西望仙境花林。東接長風弱水。其土出火綖布。返魂香。明月珠。夜光璧。[14] 俗無寇盜。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣濮。文物昌明。

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

高宗大帝。克恭缵祖。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。

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

52 An interesting and daring passage which links the Han and T’ang (Tang) dynasties and unfavourably compares Taoism with Christianity. The Han dynasty, which had exalted the teachings of the Taoists, modelled itself on the fancied glories of the Chou dynasty, and its extinction in the second century (“the glory of the Chou dynasty departed”) had resulted in three centuries of chaos in China, which were only ended with the establishment of the T’ang (Tang) dynasty. The author implies that the teachings of Lao Tzu were unable to prevent the collapse of the Han, and goes on to suggest that the founder of the T’ang (Tang) dynasty was favoured by a ‘brilliant breeze’ from the West; in other words that the present dynasty, which had restored peace and order to China, was under the patronage of the Christian God.
§11. The great emperor Gaozong (Kao-tsung) (r. 649–83 CE) piously followed the policy of his predecessors. A generous and elegant patron of the truth, he caused brilliant monasteries to be built in all the departments. He also raised Alouben (A-lo-pen) (<Syr. Rabban ‘teacher’?) to the rank of Great Spiritual Lord for the protection of the state. The brilliant teaching spread through the ten [16] provinces and the kingdom enjoyed great prosperity. Monasteries occupied a hundred cities, and the people enjoyed brilliant happiness.

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

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

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

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\(^{53}\)Lo-yang. Reign of empress Wu (Chou dynasty), 690–705.  
\(^{54}\)Literally ‘the inferior scholars’. A Taoist term of abuse for their opponents, here ironically turned against them.  
\(^{55}\)Ch’ang-an. Reign of Jui-tsung, 710–12.  
\(^{56}\)Perhaps ‘Abraham’, ‘Abraham’.  
\(^{57}\)Perhaps ‘Gabriel’.
sunset clouds. All could see the wise emperor’s words, which shone like the rising sun. His charity was higher than the southern mountain: his kindness was deeper than the eastern sea.

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

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

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

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

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

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

59 Te-tsung [779–805].
obey their ruler and all creatures seek to master their weaknesses; that the living can flourish and the dying can face death with confidence; that men speak and act with sincerity, without disguising their true feelings: all this is due to the beneficial influence of our ‘brilliant teaching’.

§20. We acknowledge our great patron [23] the monk Yisi (I-ssu, i.e. Yazdbuzid) officer of the banqueting hall, deputy military governor of Shuo-fang, overseer of the examination hall, and companion of the order of the purple robe. Good-natured and virtuous, a zealous believer, he came from the royal city[60] all the way to China (Chin. Zhongxia / Tsung-hsia). He was more knowledgeable than the doctors of the Three Dynasties, and his manners were polished in every respect.

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

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

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

真主無元。湛寂常然。權輿匠化。起地立天。
The true God is without origin, profound, unmoving, ever the same.
The universe is the work of his hands.
Through him the earth arose and heaven was framed.

分身出代。救度無邊。日昇暗[27]滅。咸證真玄

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

赫赫文皇。道冠前王。乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。

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

明明景教。言歸我唐。翻經建寺。存歿舟航。百福偕作。萬邦之康

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

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

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

玄宗啟聖。克修真正。御 словам輝。天書蔚映。皇圖璀璨。率土高敬。庶績咸熙。人賴其慶

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

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

Suzong (Su-tsung) came to avenge him, [29] riding a majestic chariot.
He rose like the sun and rekindled the light.
A kind wind swept away the darkness.
Discontent was stilled and faction muzzled.
China recovered its former glory.

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

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

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

Set up in the Great T’ang (Tang), on the seventh day of the t’ai-tsou month of the second year of Jianzong (Chien-chung) (24 February 781). The year-star was in Zuò’è (ts-o-o), and the day was the great day of the Sabbath (Chin. Yào-sénwên / Yao-sen-wen) (&Pe. yakšambah). Our spiritual director the monk Ningshu (Ning-shu) was presiding over the brilliant congregations (i.e. the Church) of the East.

{Syr.} bywmy b’ d’bht mry hnnysw qtwlyq ptryrkys

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62 Evidently the Chinese name of the East Syrian patriarch Hnanisho II (773–80). See the following sentence in Syriac.
63 The Church of the East called its members ‘easterners’, distinguishing them from the ‘western’ Christians of the Roman empire. The ‘brilliant congregations of the East’ refers not only to the East Syrian communities in China itself but also to Church of the East generally, which at this period had over a hundred dioceses in Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, India, China, and Tibet.
In the days of the father of fathers Mar Hnanisho\textsuperscript{c} catholicus and patriarch.\textsuperscript{64}

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

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

\begin{align*}
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
[S16] & \text{mrṣgps qṣyš } [S17] \text{wkwr’pqyswp’ } \\
& \text{Mar Sargis priest and country-bishop.}\textsuperscript{67}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
24b. & \text{Supervisor of the erection of the tablet: the monk Hsing-tung.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\{\text{Syr.}\} & [S17] \text{srnyśw’ qṣyš’ } \\
& \text{Sabranisho’}, \text{ priest.}\textsuperscript{68}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
[34] & \text{检核建立碑僧[35]行通}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
& \text{24b. Supervisor of the erection of the tablet: the monk Hsing-tung.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\{\text{Syr.}\} & [S17] \text{srnyśw’ qṣyš’ } \\
& \text{Sabranisho’}, \text{ priest.}\textsuperscript{68}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
[36] & \text{助检核试太常[37]卿赐紫袈裟寺[37]主僧業利}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\textsuperscript{64} & \text{B’yawmi aba d’abahatha Mar Hnanisho’ qatoliqa patrirqis. A standard East Syrian dating formula with numerous parallels in other Syriac documents, naming the reigning patriarch. In fact the patriarch Hnanisho’ II (776–80) died early in 780, and his successor Timothy I (780–823), according to the Chronography of Eliya of Nisibis, was consecrated in Baghdad on Sunday 7 May 780. The East Syrian Church in China was evidently still unaware of these events in February 781. The name Hnanisho’ means ‘Grace of Jesus’.}
\textsuperscript{65} & \text{B’shanat alap w’tesḥ’in w’tartîn d’Yawnaye; Mar Yazdbuzid qshisha w’kurapisqua d’Kumdan mdînîoth malkutha, bar nîh napsa Milis qshisha d’men Balkh mdînîtha d’Takhurstan, aqîm luḥa hana d’kifâ. D’ktiban beh mdabramatheh d’paɾuqan w’karuz̄̄uθun d’abahā’in d’lwat malke d’Sinaye. Until recently the East and West Syrian churches have normally used a dating system counting from 311 BC, the date of the founding of the Greek Seleucid kingdom in the Middle East by one of the generals of Alexander the Great. This system is variously known as the ‘Seleucid era’, the ‘era of the Greeks’, or the ‘era of Alexander’.}
\textsuperscript{66} & \text{Adam mshamshana bar Yazdbuzid kurapisqua.}
\textsuperscript{67} & \text{Mar Sargis qshisha w’kurapisqua.}
\textsuperscript{68} & \text{The name means ‘Jesus is our hope’}.}
\end{align*}
24c. Assistant supervisor: the monk Yeh-li, chief of the monastery, director of the sacrificial court, honoured with the purple robe.

{Syr.} [S18] gbryl qšyš’ w’rkdyqwn [S19] wrš ‘dt’ dkwmd’n [S20] wdsrg

Gabriel, priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Khumdan and Sarag. 69

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

{Syr.} [S21] mry ywlnn ‘pysqwp’

Mar Yohannan, bishop 70

Bishop Yàolún (Yao-lun)

[S24] ’ysḥq qšyš’

Ishaq, priest 71

Monk Rìjìn (Jih-chin)

[S25] yw’yl qšyš’

Joel, priest

Monk Yáoyuè (Yao-yuè)

[S25] mykyl qšyš’

Mikha’il, priest 72

Monk Guàngqìng (Kuang-ch’ing)

[S26] gyw’rgys qšyš’

Giwargsî, priest 73

Monk Héjí (Ho-chi)

[S27] mhddgwšnsp qšyš’

Mahadad Gushnasap, priest 74

Monk Huìmíng (Hui-ming)

[S28] mšybd’dqšyš’

Mshihadad, priest 75

Monk Bǎodá (Pao-ta)

[S29] ’pym qšyš’

Ephrem, priest

Monk Fúlín (Fu-lín)

[S30] ’by qšyš’

Abi, priest

[S31] dwyd qšyš’

Dawid, priest 76

Monk Fúshòu (Fu-shou)

[S32] mws’ qšyš’

Mushe, priest

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

[S33] bkws qšyš’ yhydy’

Bakos, priest, monk 77

Monk Ch’ung-ching (Ch’ung-ching)

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69. Gabriel qshisha w’arkdiqun w’rish ‘idta d’Khumdan w’d’Sarag. ‘Khumdan’ is certainly to be identified with Ch’ang-an (paragraph 24a) and ‘Sarag’ very probably with Lo-yang, the two northern capitals of China during the T’ang (Tang) dynasty.
70. The Syriac form of the biblical name John.
71. The Syriac form of the biblical name Isaac.
72. The Syriac form of the biblical name Michael.
73. The Syriac form of the name George, the name of a famous Christian martyr.
74. One of the few monks with a Persian name, Gushnasap. The Syriac name Mahadad seems to be a shortened form of Mshihadad, ‘Christ has given’.
75. The name means ‘Christ has given’.
76. The Syriac form of the biblical name David.
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

[S34] 'ly’ qšyš’ yḥydy’
Eliya, priest, monk
[S35] mws’ qšyš’ wyḥydy’
Mushe, priest, monk
[S36] ‘bdyśw’ qšyš’ wyḥydy’
‘Abdisho’, priest, monk
[S37] šm’wn qšyš’ dqbr’
Shem’on, priest of the sepulchre
[S38] ywḥnys mšmšn’ wyd’
Iwanis, deacon and secretary

[On the left side of the stone; third row]
[S39] ’hrwn
Ahron
[S40] ptrws
Patros
[S41] ’ywb
Iyub
[S42] lwq’
Luga
[S43] mty
Mattai
[S44] ywḥnn
Yohannan
[S45] ysw’mh
Isho’ammeh
[S46] ywḥnn
Yohannan
[S47] sbryśw’
Sabrisho
[S48] ysw’dd
Isho’dad

[51] 僧乾祐
Monk Gänyòu (Ch’ien-yu)
[52] 僧元一
Monk Yuányī (Yuan-i)
[53] 僧敬德
Monk Jingdé (Ching-te)
[54] 僧利見
Monk Liujiàn (Li-chien)
[55] 僧明泰
Monk Míngtài (Ming-t’ai)
[56] 僧玄真
Monk Xuánzhēn (Hsuan-chén)
[57] 僧仁恵
Monk Rénhuì (Jen-hui)
[58] 僧曜源
Monk Yàoyuán (Yao-yuan)
[59] 僧昭徳
Monk Zhāodé (Chao-te)
[60] 僧文明
Monk Wěnmíng (Wen-ming)

The Syriac form of the name Bacchus, a famous fourth-century Christian martyr.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Elijah.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Moses.
The name means ‘Servant of Jesus’.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Simon.
A variant Syriac form of Yohannan, the biblical name John.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Aaron.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Peter.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Job.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Luke.
The Syriac form of the biblical name Matthew.
The name means ‘Jesus is with him’.
The name means ‘Jesus is hope’.
S49] lwk’  [S50] qwstntynws  [S51] nwh  
Luqa  Quastantinos  Nuh

[S49] Monk Wénzhēn (Wen-cheng)
[S50] Monk Jǔxin (Chu-hsin)
[S51] Monk Láiwēi (Lai-wei)

[On the left side of the stone; fourth row]
[S52] ‘yzdsp’s  [S53] ywţnn  [S54] ‘nwsc  
Izadsafas  Yohannan  Anush

[S52] Monk Jingzhēn (Ching-chen)
[S53] Monk Huānchún (Huan-shun)
[S54] Monk Língshòu (Ling-shou)

[S55] mrsrgys  [S56] ‘yŝhq  
Mar Sargis  Ishaq

[S55] Monk Lǐngdé (Ling-te)
[S56] Monk Yingdé (Ying-te)

[S57] ywţnn  
Yohannan

[S57] Monk Chōnghé (Chung-ho)

[S58] mrsrgys  
Mar Sargis

[S58] Monk Níngxū (Ying-hsu)

[S59] pwsy  
Pusāi

[S59] Monk Pǔjī (P’u-chi)

[S60] ŝm’wn  
Shem’on

[S60] Monk Wénshūn (Wen-shun)

[S61] ‘yŝhq  
Ishaq

[S61] Monk Guāngjī (Kuang-chi)

[S62] ywţnn  
Yohannan

[S62] Monk Shǒuyī (Shou-i)

[On the right side of the stone; top row]
[S63] y’qwb qšyš’  
Yâ’qob, priest

[S63] Monk Jǐngtōng (Ching-t’ung)

[S64] mrsrgys qšyš’ wkwr’pysqwp’ ŝy’ngtsw’  
Mar Sargis, priest and country-bishop of Shiangtsua

[S64] Monk Jǐngtōng (Ching-t’ung)

90 The name means ‘Jesus has given’.
91 The Syriac form of Constantine, the name of the first Christian Roman emperor.
92 The Syriac form of the biblical name Noah.
93 One of the few monks with a Persian name.
94 The Syriac form of the biblical name Enos.
95 The Syriac form of the Roman name Sergius. Sergius was a famous fourth-century Christian martyr.
96 The Syriac form of the biblical name Isaac.
**The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>Monk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gigoï, priest</td>
<td>Monk Xuānlān (Hsuan-lan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polos, priest</td>
<td>Monk Bāolíng (Pao-ling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šmšn qšyś’</td>
<td>Monk Shēnshēn (Shen-shen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, priest</td>
<td>Monk Fāyuán (Fa-yuan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliya, priest</td>
<td>Monk Libēn (Li-pen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishaq, priest</td>
<td>Monk Hémíng (Ho-ming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohannan, priest</td>
<td>Monk Guāngzhèng (Kuang-cheng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohannan, priest</td>
<td>Monk Nèichéng (Nei-ch’eng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yqwb qänky’</td>
<td>Monk Zhìdé (Chih-te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya’qob, sacristan</td>
<td>Monk Chǒngdé (Ch’ung-te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’bdýsw’</td>
<td>Monk Tāihé (T’ai-ho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’Abdisho’</td>
<td>Monk Jingfú (Ching-fu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yšw’d</td>
<td>Monk Héguáng (Ho-kuang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Išho’dad</td>
<td>Monk Zhidé (Chih-te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yqwb</td>
<td>Monk Fēngzhēn (Feng-chen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yqob</td>
<td>Monk Yuánzōng (Yuan-tsung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ywñnn {Chin.}</td>
<td>Monk Liyòng (Li-yung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ywñnn</td>
<td>Monk Xuándé (Hsuan-te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shubhalmaran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Sargsis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shem’ôn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephrem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

98 The Syriac form of the biblical name Paul.

99 *Ya’qob qankaya*. The Syriac form of the biblical name Jacob.

100 The name means ‘Servant of Jesus’.

101 The name means ‘Praise Our Lord’.

---
The Syriac form of the biblical name Zacharias.

The Syriac form of the name Cyriacus.

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

The Syriac form of the biblical name Solomon.

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

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

[Title:] 大秦景教流行中國碑

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[34] A Monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch’in.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[53] A monument commemorating the Propagation of the Ta-ch’in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[134] The tablet of the spread of the Ta Ch’in (Syrian) Illustrious Religion in China.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The eulogistic verses on the stone monument (commemorating) the diffusion of the Illustrious Religion in the Middle Kingdom, with prefatory notice. Handed down by Ching-Tsing a priest of the Ta-Ts’in monastery.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The eulogy on the monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching: with an orderly account. Recorded by Ching-ching a monk of the Ta-ch’in monastery.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eulogy on a Monument commemorating the Propagation of the Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom, with a preface to the same, composed by Ching-ching a priest of the Ta-ch’in monastery.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[S1] ܐܕܨܝܢܒܬܐܢܘܦܐܦܫܝܘܟܘܪܐܦܩܘܦܐܩܫܝܫܐܕܐܡ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Presbyter and Chor-episcopos, and Papas of China.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam priest and country-bishop and fapshi of Zinistan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, Priest and Chor-episcopos, and Papash’ of China.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, priest and chor-episcopos, and Fapshi of Sinestan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[3] 粹若。常然真寂。先先而無元。窅然靈虛。後後而妙有。

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

[3] 總玄樞而造化。妙眾聖以元尊者。其唯我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶歟。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who, with His hands operating in the mysterious (abyss of space), proceeded to create, and by His spirit to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he who holds the mysterious source of life and creates, who in his original majesty imparts his mysterious nature to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who holding the Secret Source of Origin, created all things, and who surpassing all the Holy ones, is the only unoriginated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who gathered the abysmal forces and created; who inspired all the Sages, primordial Honoured One: {135}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[3/4] 故判十字。以定四方。鼓元風而生|二氣。暗空易而天地開。日月運而晝夜作。

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

[4] 匠成萬物然立初人。別賜良和令鎮化海。

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

[4] 浑元之性虛而不盈。素蕩之心本無希嗜。

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

[4/5] 沾乎姿殫施妄。錦飾純精。間平大於|此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內。
through an opening into the gulph of (Satan’s) perversities.
introduced [the theory of] the mysterious identity [of being and not being] into the evil that had resulted.
‘in this place’), and what is fundamentally identical (with wickedness) was abstracted from that which is named wrong on the other (lit. ‘in that place’).
way which was excluded by the other prohibitions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>是以三百六十五種。肩隨結轍。競織法羅。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legge</td>
<td>Moule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this way there arose (among men) 365 different forms (of error), closely following one another, and treading in the same ruts, striving to weave the nets of their several ways.</td>
<td>In consequence of this three hundred and sixty five sects followed side by side crossing one another’s tracks, vying one with another in weaving the web of religion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 5/6 | 智慮營營。恩情役役。茫然 | 无得。煎迫轉燒。積昧亡途久迷休復。 |
|---|---|
| Legge | Moule | Saeki | Foster |
| with their wisdom they anxiously tasked themselves, labouring with their fondest feelings; but all in vain. The heat of their distress was turned into a scorching flame. They made the darkness greater and lost their way; and after going long astray, they ceased any further search (for the truth). | The thoughts of the mind never rested, the passions of the heart were ever in motion. For all their activity they attained nothing, being consumed by their own feverish zeal. They deepened darkness on the road of perdition, and wandered long from the [way of] return to happiness. | (Thus) the intellect and the thoughts of Men fell into hopeless confusion; and their mind and affections began to toil incessantly; but all their travail was in vain. The heat of their distress became a scorching flame; and self-blinded, they increased the darkness still more; and losing their patch for a long while they went astray and became unable to return home again. | Wise counsels were a-buzz. Thoughts and feelings were a-toil. Far and wide (they went) without achievement The dry hastened to turn to burning. As darkness gathered they lost their way, until confusion was beyond return. |
[6] 於是我三一分身景尊彌施訶。戢隱真威。同人出代。

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

[6] 神天宣慶。室女誕聖於大秦。景宿告祥。波斯睹耀以來貢。

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

[6/7] 圜廿四聖|有說之舊法。理家國於大猷。

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

[7] 設三一淨風無言之新教。陶良用於正信。

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

[7] 制八境之度。鍊塵成真。啟三常之門。開生滅死。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He defined the measures of the eight (moral) conditions, purging away the dust (of defilement) and perfecting the truth (in men). He threw open the gate of the three constant (virtues), thereby bringing life to light and abolishing death.</td>
<td>He laid down the rule of the eight conditions. cleansing from the defilement of sense and perfecting truth. He opened the gates of the three which abide, he disclosed life and abolished death.</td>
<td>Setting up the standard of the eight cardinal virtues, He purged away the dust from human nature and perfected a true character. Widely opening the Three Constant Gates, He brought Life to light and abolished Death.</td>
<td>He determined the salvation of the Eight Stages, refining the early and perfecting the heavenly. He revealed the gate of the Three Constants, unfolding life and destroying death.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### [7/8] The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

**Legge**

He hung up the bright sun to break open the abodes of darkness. By all these things the wiles of the devil were defeated. The vessel of mercy was set in motion to convey men to the palace of light, and thereby all intelligent beings were conveyed across (the intervening space).

**Moule**

He hung up the brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved.

**Saeki**

Hanging up the bright Sun, He swept away the abodes of darkness. All the evil devices of the devil were thereupon defeated and destroyed. He then took an oar in the Vessel of Mercy and ascended to the Palace of Light. Thereby all rational beings were conveyed across the Gulf.

**Foster**

He hung a brilliant sun which scattered the regions of darkness. The Devil’s guile, lo, he has utterly cut off. He rowed Mercy’s Barge which took him up to the courts of light. The souls of men, lo, he has already saved.

---

### [8] 錫事斯畢。亭午昇真。經留廿七部。張元化以發靈關。

**Legge**

His mighty work being thus completed, at noonday He ascended to His true (place). He left behind Him the twenty-seven standard books. These set forth the great conversion for the deliverance of the soul.

**Moule**

His mighty works thus finished, he ascended to midday to the spiritual sphere. Of scriptures there were left twenty seven books which explain the great reformation to unlock the barriers of the understanding.

**Saeki**

His mighty work being thus completed, He returned at noon to His original position (in Heaven). The twenty-seven standard works of His Sûtras were preserved. The Great means of Conversion (or leavening, i.e. transformation) were widely extended, and the sealed Gate of the Blessed Life was unlocked.

**Foster**

His mighty task once done, at noonday he ascended into Heaven. The Scriptures, left in twenty-seven books, take up the work of creation and open the spiritual realm.

---

### [8] 法浴水風。滌浮華而潔虛白。印持⼗字。融四照以合⽆拘。

**Legge**

They institute the washing of His Law by water and the spirit, cleansing away all vain delusions, and purifying men till they regain the whiteness of their pure simplicity.

**Moule**

The water and the Spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white.

**Saeki**

His Law is to bathe with water and with the Spirit, and thus to cleanse from all vain delusions and to purify men until they regain the whiteness of their nature.

**Foster**

Holy baptism of water and the Spirit cleanses from vanity and makes lean, innocent and white.

---

### [8] 印持⼗字。融四照以合⽆拘。

**Legge**

(His ministers) bearing with them the seal of the Cross, diffuse a harmonizing influence wherever the sun shines, and unite all together without distinction.

**Moule**

The figure of ten which is held as a seal lightens the four quarters to unite all without exception.

**Saeki**

(His ministers) carry the Cross with them as a Sign. They travel about wherever the sun shines, and try to {56} re-unite those that are beyond the pale (i.e. those that are lost).

**Foster**

We hold as our seal the cross, which blends the four shinings, uniting all without distinction.
### The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

#### [8/9] \[\text{擊木震仁惠之音。} \text{東} \text{礼趣生榮之路。存鬚所以有外行。} \text{削頂所以無内情} \]

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

#### [9] \[\text{不畜藏獲。均貴賤於人。} \text{不聚貨財示罄遺於我。} \]

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

#### [9/10] \[\text{七時礼讚。} \text{大庇存亡。} \text{七日一薦。} \text{洗心反素} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven times a day they have worship and praise for the great protection of the living and the dead. Once in every seven days they have public service, cleansing their hearts and regaining their purity.</td>
<td>At the seven hours there is ritual praise, greatly helping the living and the dead; in seven days there is one offering, washing the heart to restore purity.</td>
<td>Seven times a day they meet for worship and praise, and earnestly they offer prayers for the living as well as for the dead. Once in seven days, they have a sacrifice without the animal” (i.e., a bloodless sacrifice). Thus cleansing their hearts, they regain their purity.</td>
<td>Seven times a day we worship and praise, a great protection for the living and the dead. Each seventh day we sacrifice to cleanse the heart and regain our purity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### [10] 真常之道。妙而難名。功用昭彰。強稱景教。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. This true and unchange-</td>
<td>The true and eternal way</td>
<td>This ever True and Un-</td>
<td>The True and Eternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ing system of doctrine is</td>
<td>is wonderful and hard to</td>
<td>changing Way is mysteri-</td>
<td>Way (\textit{tao}) is won-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mysterious and difficult</td>
<td>name; its merits and use</td>
<td>ous, and is almost impos-</td>
<td>drous and hard to name. Its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to name. To display its</td>
<td>are manifest and spleen-</td>
<td>sible to &quot;name. But its</td>
<td>active energy is clearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manifest operation, we</td>
<td>did, forcing us to call it</td>
<td>meritorious Operations</td>
<td>manifest. Hence it may be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make an effort and call it</td>
<td>the brilliant teaching.</td>
<td>are so brilliantly mani-</td>
<td>called &quot;The Illustrious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Illustrious Religion.</td>
<td></td>
<td>fested that we make an</td>
<td>Religion&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### [10] 惟道非聖不弘。聖非道不大。

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

### [10] 道聖符契。天下文明。太宗文皇帝。光華啟運。明聖臨人。

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

### [10/11] 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the kingdom of Tà</td>
<td>there was in the land of</td>
<td>And behold there was a</td>
<td>in Syria (Ta Ch’in) there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts’in there was a man of</td>
<td>Ta-ch’ìn one of high</td>
<td>highly virtuous man</td>
<td>was a Bishop (Lofty Virtue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the highest virtue called</td>
<td>virtue called A-lo-pên,</td>
<td>named A-lo-pên in the</td>
<td>named Alopen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olopon.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kingdom of Ta-ch’in.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### [11] 占青雲而載真經。望風律以馳艱險。貞觀九祀至於長安。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guiding himself by the</td>
<td>who auguring by the blue</td>
<td>Auguring (of the Sage,</td>
<td>Divining the bright clouds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azure clouds, he carried</td>
<td>clouds, carried the true</td>
<td>i.e. Emperor) from the</td>
<td>(of the eastern sky) he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with {11} him the True</td>
<td>Scriptures; watching the</td>
<td>azure sky, he decided to</td>
<td>conveyed the true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scriptures. Watching the</td>
<td>harmony of the winds,</td>
<td>carry the true Sutras (of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scriptures, regarding the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
laws of the winds, he made his way through difficulties and perils. In the ninth year of the period Chang-kwan (A.D. 635), he arrived at Ch’ang-an.

fastened to meet difficulties and dangers. In the ninth Chêng-kuan year (635) he came to Ch’ang-an.

the True Way) with him, and observing the course of the winds, he made his way (to China) through difficulties and perils. Thus in the Ninth year of the period named Chên-kuan (635 A.D.) he arrived at Ch’ang-an.

music of the wind, he rode through hardship and danger. In the ninth year of Chengkuan he arrived at Ch’ang-an.

---

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

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

[11/12] 貞觀十有二年秋七月。詔曰。道無常名。聖無常體。隨方設教。密濟群生。

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

---

[12] 大秦國大德阿羅本。遠將經像來獻上京。
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Script</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our High Capital.</td>
<td>and images from afar and offer them at the upper capital.</td>
<td>Sūtras and images, has come from afar and presented them at our Capital.</td>
<td>scriptures and images from afar, has come to present them in our Capital.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[12]** 詳其教旨。玄妙無為。觀其元宗。<br>**Legge**<br>Having carefully examined the scope of his doctrines, we find them to be mysterious, admirable, and requiring nothing (special) to be done; having looked at the principal and most honoured points in them,<br>**Moule**<br>If we carefully examine the meaning the teaching it is mysterious, wonderful, full of repose. If we look at the fundamental principle<br>**Saeki**<br>Having carefully examined the scope of his teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation. Having {58} observed its principal and most essential points,<br>**Foster**<br>If one studies the meaning of his religion, it is mysterious, wonderful, spontaneous. If one regards its ultimate goal, |

**[12/13]** 生成立要。詞無繁說。理有忘筌。| 濟物利人。宜行天下。|<br>**Legge**<br>they are intended for the establishment of what is most important. Their language is free from troublesome verbosity; their principles remain when the immediate occasion for their delivery is forgotten; (the system) is helpful to (all) creatures, and profitable for men:— let it have free course throughout the empire.<br>**Moule**<br>it fixes the essentials of production and perfection. In its speech there is no multitude of words; in its principle there is [perfect accomplishment,] forgetting the means. It is the salvation of living beings, it is the wealth of men. It is right that it should have free course under the sky.<br>**Saeki**<br>we reached the conclusion that they cover all that is most important in life. Their language is free from perplexing expressions; their principles are so simple that they “remain as the fish would remain even after the net (of the language) were forgotten. This Teaching is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to all men. So let it have free course throughout the Empire.”<br>**Foster**<br>it is producing perfection, establishing essentials. Its words contain no extravagant theories. It attends to facts – the fish caught rather than the trap. For the salvation of creatures and the benefit of man it ought to spread throughout the Empire. |

**[13]** 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺。一所度僧廿一人。<br>**Legge**<br>8. The proper officers forthwith, in the capital in the Ward of Righteousness and Repose, built a Tā Ts’in monastery, sufficient {13} to accommodate twenty-one priests.<br>**Moule**<br>Let the local officers therefore build a Ta-ch’ìn monastery in the I-ning quarter at the apital with twenty-one men as regular monks.<br>**Saeki**<br>Accordingly, the proper authorities built a Ta-ch’ìn monastery in the I-ning Ward in the Capital and twenty-one priests were ordained and attached to it.<br>**Foster**<br>The Office of Works is to build in the I-ning ward of the Capital one Syrian (Ta Ch’in) monastery, to house twenty-one monks”. |

**[13]** 宗周德喪。青駕西昇。巨唐道光。景風東扇。<br>**Legge**<br>The virtue of the honoured House of Châu had died away; the rider in the green car had ascended to the west; the course of the great Tang was (now) brilliant; and the breath of the Illustrious (Religion) came eastward to fan it.<br>**Moule**<br>The virtue of the ancestral Chou failed, the dark rider went up toward the west; now that the way of the great T’ang shines, a brilliant breeze blows toward the east.<br>**Saeki**<br>The virtue of the honoured House of Chou had died away; the (rider on) the black chariot had ascended to the west. But (virtue revived) and “the Way” was brilliantly manifested again at the moment when the Great T’ang (Dynasty) began its<br>**Foster**<br>The virtue of the honoured Chou declined, and the black steed ascended to the west. Now that the great T’ang is bright, and the illustrious (Christian) influence comes wafted to the east.
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

An order was published that the officers should have the Imperial portrait copied on the walls of the monastery. The divine likeness full of beauty was a splendid ornament to the brilliant school; immediately afterwards, the proper officials were again ordered to take a faithful portrait of the Emperor, and to have it copied on the walls of the monastery. The celestial beauty appeared in its variegated colours, and the dazzling splendour illuminated the Luminous “portals” (i.e. congregation).

The proper officers were further ordered to take a faithful likeness of the emperor, and have it copied on the walls of the monastery. The celestial beauty appeared in its many brilliant colours, the commanding form irradiated the Illustrious portals;

According to the Illustrated Record of the Western Regions, and the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Tâ Ts’in commences at the south with the Coral Sea, reaches on the north to the Mountain of all Precious Things; on the west it looks towards the Gar- dens of the Immortals and the Flowery Forests.

According to the Geography of Western Countries and the historical works of the Han and Wei dynasties. Syria (Ta Ch’in) to the south rules over the Coral (Red) Sea. Its northern limits are the mountains of many gems. It looks west to Fairyland and the Flowery Forest.

and on the east it lies open to the long winds, and the weak water. The Eastward it adjoins the constant winds and treacherous water
| country produces the asbestos cloth, the soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls, and the night-shining gems. | produces fire-washed cloth (asbestos), spices that restore the soul, bright moon pearls, and rings that shine in the night. | country produces asbestos cloth, soul-restoring incense, the bright-moon pearls, and night-shining gems. | (literally, non-buoyant). That land produces asbestos cloth, life-restoring perfumes, moonstones and luminous jade (emeralds?). |

| 10. The great emperor Kao Tsung (650-683) reverently continued (the line of) his ancestors. A beneficent and elegant patron of the Truth, | The customs are without theft and robbery, the people have happiness and peace. No religion but the brilliant is practised, a ruler who is not virtuous is not established. The lands are extensive and broad, the civilization prosperous and enlightened. | Robberies and thefts are unknown among the common people, whilst every man enjoys happiness and peace. None but the Luminous teachings prevail, none but virtuous rulers are raised to the sovereign power. The territory is of vast extent; and its refined laws and institutions, as well as accomplished manners and customs, are gloriously brilliant. | Its common people know no noxious influences nor banditry, but men are happy and at peace. No laws but the Illustrious (Christian) are carried out. No lords but the Virtuous (Bishops?) are set up. Its territory is widespread. Its culture and its affairs are glorious and enlightened. |

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

[15] 俗无寇盗。人有樂康。法非景不行。主非德不立。土宇廣闊。文物昌明。 |  |  |  |

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

[15] 高宗大帝。克恭缵祖。潤色真宗。 |  |  |  |

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<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. The great emperor Kao Tsung (650-683) reverently continued (the line of) his ancestors. A beneficent and elegant patron of the Truth,</td>
<td>The great Emperor Kao Tsung was well fitted to succeed his ancestors; he adorned and glorified the true principle.</td>
<td>The great Emperor Kao Tsung (650 - 683 A.D.) succeeded most respect fully to his ancestors; and giving the True Religion the proper elegance and finish,</td>
<td>Kao Tsung the great Emperor was able to succeed his father. He added the final embellishment to the true sect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[15] 而於諸州各置景寺。仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主。 |  |  |  |

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

[15/16] 法流十道。國富元休。寺滿百城。家殷景福。
brilliant happiness. family enjoyed the great blessings (of Salvation).

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. In the period Shang-li (698, 699), the Buddhists, taking advantage of their strength, made their voices heard (against the Religion) in the eastern capital of Châu.</td>
<td>In the Shêng-li years the Buddhists audaciously raised their voices in Eastern Chou;</td>
<td>During the period of Shêng-li (698-699 A.D.), the Buddhists, taking advantage of these circumstances, and using all their strength raised their voices (against the Luminous Religion) in the Eastern Chou,</td>
<td>In the year Sheng Li (698) the Buddhists (Sakya people) took advantage of their strength, and raised controversy in the Eastern Chou (Lo-yang).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. In the period Shang-li (698, 699), the Buddhists, taking advantage of their strength, made their voices heard (against the Religion) in the eastern capital of Châu. In the Shêng-li years the Buddhists audaciously raised their voices in Eastern Chou; during the period of Shêng-li (698-699 A.D.), the Buddhists, taking advantage of these circumstances, and using all their strength raised their voices (against the Luminous Religion) in the Eastern Chou, during the period of Shêng-li (698-699 A.D.), some inferior officers greatly derided it; at the end of the year Hsien-t’ien (712) a some inferior officers greatly derided it; at the end of the year Hsien-t’ien (712) the vulgar gentry greatly mocked, and at the end of Hsien-t’ien the vulgar gentry greatly mocked, and at the end of the year Hsien-t’ien Period (712 A.D.) some inferior scholar ridiculed and derided it, and slandered in the Eastern Hao. | and at the end of the Hsien-t’ien Period (712 A.D.) some inferior (Taoist) scholars ridiculed and derided it, and slandered in Western Hao. | and at the end of the Hsien-t’ien Period (712 A.D.) some inferior (Taoist) scholars ridiculed and derided it, and slandered in Western Hao. | and at the end of the Hsien-t’ien Period (712 A.D.) some inferior (Taoist) scholars ridiculed and derided it, and slandered in Western Hao. |

16/17 有若僧首羅含。大德及烈。並金方貴緒。物外高僧。共振⽭網。俱維絶紆。 | But there were the chief priest Lo-han, the greatly virtuous Chi-lieh and others, noble men from the golden regions, all eminent priests, keeping themselves aloof from worldly influences, who joined together in restoring the mysterious net, and in rebinding its meshes which had been broken. | But there were however Lo-han, head of the {41} monks and Chi-lieh of great virtue, both noble sons of the Golden Quarter (the West), unworldly, eminent monks. They supported together the mystic cord and joined in tying the broken knot. | But there came the Head-priest (or Archdeacon) Lo-han Bishop Chi-lieh and others, as well as Noblemen from the Golden region and the eminent priests who had forsaken all worldly interests. All these men co-operated in restoring the great fundamental principles and united together to rebind the broken ties. | Such men as the Abbot Lo-han and Bishop Chi-lieh, all in the honoured succession from the west, unworldly monks of high position, joined to restore the mysterious order and together tied up its broken meshes. |

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

[17] The consecrated beams which had for a time been torn from their places were (thus) again raised up, and the Sacred stones which had for a time been thrown down were again replaced.

The beam of the religion had been weak for a moment but was raised again; the stone of the Way had been thrown down for a time but stood upright once more.

Thus the “consecrated rafters” which had been temporarily bent, were once more straightened and strengthened, whilst the sacred foundation-stones which for a time had lost the right position were restored and perfected.

The sacred beams, for a time in ruins, rose still more sublime. The consecrated stones, once overthrown, were set back in their place.

[17/18] At the beginning of the period T’ien-pao (742-755), orders were given to the great general Kao Li-sze, to send faithful portraits of the five sage (emperors) which were placed in the monastery, and to present a hundred rolls of silk, which were reverently received with salutations to the portrait of wisdom.

In the early part of the period T’ien-pao (742) he gave orders to his general Kao Li-shih to carry the faithful portraits of the Five Emperors and to have them placed securely in the monastery, and also to take the Imperial gift of one hundred pieces of silk with him, making the most courteous and reverent obeisance to the Imperial portraits.

At the beginning of the period of T’ien Pao (742), he commanded General Kao Li-shih to present the portraits of the Five Sages (Emperors) and place them in the monastery, and to give a hundred lengths of silk as congratulatory gifts to the august pictures.

[18] Although the dragon (i.e. imperial) beard in them was too far off; the bow and sword could be touched with the hand; when the sun’s horns (= rays) shed on them their light, the celestial countenances seemed to be within about a cubit (from the spectator).

Though the dragon’s beard is far away, the bow and sword may yet be touched; while the sun’s horns (emperor’s face) diffuse light, the divine faces are not far off.

We feel as though “we were in a position to hang on to the Imperial bow and sword, in case the beard of the Dragon should be out of reach.” Although the solar horns (i.e. the August and Majestic Visages) shine forth with such dazzling brilliance, yet the gracious Imperial faces are so gentle that they may be gazed upon at a distance less than a foot.

Although the Dragon’s beard was far away, his bow and sword (looked as though they might be drawn. {142} The crest of the sun unfolded light. The celestial face was very near.

[18] In the year of the same period (744), in the kingdom of Tâ Ts’in there was the monk Chi-ho. Observing the stars, he directed his steps to the land of Ta-ch’in.

In the third year of the same period (744 A.D.) there was a priest named Chi-ho in the Kingdom of Ta-ch’in. Observing the stars, he decided to look at the sun did obeisance to it.

In the third year (744) there was in Syria (Ta Ch’in) a monk, Chi-ho. Divining the stars he was attracted hither. Regarding the sun he...
(the region of) transformation; looking to the sun, he came to pay court to the most Honourable (emperor).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Xi'an (Nestorian) Monument</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>engage in the work of Conversion (lit. transforming influence) and looking toward the sun (i.e. eastward), he came to pay court to the most honourable (the Emperor).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presented himself at Court.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[18] 詔僧羅含僧普論等一七人。與大德佶和。於興慶宮修功德。

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

[18/19] 於是天題寺幡。額戴龍書。寶裝璀翠。灼爍丹霞

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

[19] 睿扎宏空。騰凌激日。寵賚比南嶽峻極。沛澤與東海齊深。

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The tablets of wisdom filled each empty space, and their radiance rose up as if to provoke the sun. The gifts of favour were immense as the vast height of the southern hill; and the flood of rich benevolence like the depth of the eastern sea.</td>
<td>The writing of the wise one pervaded space, rising and leaping up in emulation of the sun. His gracious favour was like the Southern Mountain’s towering peak; his overflowing kindness was as deep as the Eastern Sea.</td>
<td>The Imperial tablets hung high in the air and their radiance flamed as though vying with the sun. The gifts of Imperial favour are immense like the highest peak of the highest mountains int he South, and the flood of its rich benevolence is as deep as the depths of the Eastern Sea.</td>
<td>His favours and rewards were as the Southern Mountains’ loftiest height. His flood of grace was as the depth of the Eastern Sea.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[19] 道无不成就，圣无不作。所作可述。

**Legge**
There is nothing which the right principle cannot effect, and whatever it effects can be named. There is nothing which a sage (sovereign) cannot do, and whatever he does can be related.

**Moule**
The Way is almighty, what it effects it is right to name; the Sage is never idle, what he does it is right to record. The Way is almighty, what it effects it is right to name;

**Saeki**
There is nothing which “The Way” cannot effect through the Sage and whatever it effects, it is right for us to define it as such (in eulogy). There is nothing which the Sage cannot accomplish (through “The Way”): and whatever He accomplishes, it is right we should proclaim it in writing (as the Sage’s work).

**Foster**
The Way (Tao) has nothing which it cannot achieve. Its achievements have a title to fame. The Sage has nothing which he dares not do. His deeds have the right to be recorded. The Way (Tao) has nothing which it cannot achieve. Its achievements have a title to fame.

---

[19/20] 肅宗文明皇帝。於靈武等五郡。重立景寺。

**Legge**
The emperor Sû Tsung (756-762), Accomplished and Intelligent, rebuilt the monasteries of the Illustrious (religion) in Ling-wu and four other parts.

**Moule**
So Tsung, the polished and enlightened Emperor, refounded the brilliant monasteries in Ling-wu and four other departments (chün).

**Saeki**
The Emperor Su-Tsung (756-762 A.D.), the Accomplished and Enlightened, rebuilt the monasteries of the Luminous (Religion) in Ling-wu, and Wu-chun.

**Foster**
Su Tsung, cultured and enlightened Emperor (756), re-established the Illustrious monasteries.

---

[19] 元善資而福祚開。大慶臨而皇業建

**Legge**
His great goodness (continued to) assist it, and all happy influences were opened up; great felicity descended, and the imperial inheritance was strengthened

**Moule**
Boundless goodness came to help and happy fortune began; great goodness came to help and happy fortune began; great prosperity came down and the Imperial estate was established.

**Saeki**
The great Good Spirit continued to assist him and the happy reign began anew. Great blessings were given (to him and his people) and the Imperial inheritance was made secure.

**Foster**
Sovereign was the goodness that gave, as a blessed reign began. Great was the prosperity bestowed, as the Imperial throne was made secure.

---

[19] 代宗文武皇帝。恢張聖運。從事无為。

**Legge**
The emperor Tai Tsung (763-779), Accomplished and Martial, grandly signaled his succession to the throne, and conducted his affairs without (apparent) effort.

**Moule**
The polished and martial Emperor Tai Tsung swelled and increased the imperial fortunes and conducted his affairs without exertion.

**Saeki**
The Emperor Tai-Tsung, (763—779 A.D.), the Accomplished and Martial, greatly magnified the sacred Throne to which he succeeded. He observed the rule of non-assertion and walked in The Way of the Silent-operation.

**Foster**
Tai Tsung, cultured and warlike Emperor, enlarged and extended his inheritance of the Sage’s office, discharging his affairs according to the principle of spontaneity.

---

[19] 每於降誕之辰。錫天香以告成功。頒御饌以光景眾。

**Legge**
Always when the day of his birth recurred, he contributed [21] celestial incense wherewith to announce the meritorious

**Moule**
Always on his birthday he presented divine incense to proclaim the perfection of merit; he offered a royal feast to

**Saeki**
Every year when the (Emperor’s) birthday recurred, (62) he bestowed celestial incense (on the priests)

**Foster**
Whenever his birthday came round he presented celestial incense and prayed for successful achievement. He made
deeds accomplished by him, and sent provisions from his own table to brighten our Illustrious assembly.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>honour the brilliant congregation.</strong></td>
<td><strong>wherewith to report (to Heaven) the meritorious deeds accomplished by him. He distributed provisions from his own table and thereby gladdened the congregation of the Luminous Religion.</strong></td>
<td><strong>gifts of food for a banquet to brighten the Illustrious congregation.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[20/21]** 且乾以美利故舐廣生。聖以體元故舐亭毒。

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<tr>
<td><strong>As Heaven by its beautiful ministration of what is profitable can widen (the term and enjoyment of) life, so the sage (sovereign) by his embodiment of the way of Heaven, completes and nourishes (the objects of his favour).</strong></td>
<td><strong>Moreover, Heaven blessed him with great blessings, and what he did cannot but reach far and wide. As the Sage is the Embody of the Original Way of Heaven, he completes and nourishes the objects of his favours.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Heaven because of its excellent benefits is able to produce on a vast scale. The Sage because he is the embodiment of Heaven is able to exert transforming influences.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**[21]** 我建中聖神文武皇帝。披八政以黜陟幽明。闡九疇以惟新景命。

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<tr>
<td><strong>In this period of Chien-chung (780-783), our present emperor, Sage and Spirit-like, Accomplished alike for peace and war, develops the eight objects of government, so as to degrade the undeserving, and promote the deserving; and exhibits the nine of divisions of the scheme (of Royal government), to impart a new vigour to the throne to which he has illustriously succeeded.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Our present Emperor who named the present period “Chien-chung” when he ascended the throne (in 780 A.D.) is most sacred and august alike in the works of Peace and War. He developed the Eight (objects) of Government, and degraded the unworthy whilst he promoted the deserving. He exhibited the “Nine divisions of the grand scheme of Imperial government; and thus imparted new life and vigour to his own Illustrious Mission.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Our present Emperor Chien Chung, sage-like and spiritual, enlightened and warlike, regards the eight objects of government (of the Shu Ching) in degrading the ignorant and promoting the intelligent. He illustrates the nine divisions of the Great Plan (in the Shu Ching) and is thus a renewal of Illustrious rule.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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**[21]** 化通玄理。祝無愧心。至於方大而虛。專靜而恕。

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

**The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument**

**93**
### [21/22] 廣業救眾苦。善貸被群生者。我修行之大猷。汲引之階漸也。

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

### [22] 若使風雨時。天下靜。人敟理。物敟清。存敟昌。歿敟樂。

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

### [22] 念生響應。情發目誠者。我景力斆事之功用也。

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>for the Northern Regions, and, as overseer of the Examination Hall, gifted with the Purple Cassock;</td>
<td>was also the Lieutenant-Governor-General of the Northern Region, and the Assistant Over-Seer of the Examination Hall, was honoured with the purple clerical robe.</td>
<td>the Purple Robe (Kachaya), the monk I-Ssu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[23] 和而好惠。聞道勤行。遠自王舍之城。聿來中夏。術高三代。藝博十全。

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

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

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

[24] 肅宗俾之從邁。雖見親於臥內。不自異於行間。為公爪牙。作軍耳目。
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

enjoyed (the duke’s) favour in his sleeping-tent, he made no difference between himself and others on the march. He was claws and teeth to the duke, and was ears and eyes to the army.

(Prince’s) bed-chamber, he did not think himself superior in the ranks. He was nails and teeth for the Duke, he was the army’s eyes and ears.

He was so intimate with the Duke as to be admitted into his sleeping tent, yet so strictly and respectfully did he (I-ssū) behave that he made no difference between himself and others on the march. He proved himself to be “claw and tusk” to the Duke; and “ear and eye” to the Army.

He distributed all his salary as well as the gifts conferred on him, and did not accumulate wealth for himself and for his family. He presented glassware which had been the gift of the Emperor to him. He distributed golden carpets (given to him) on retirement. Both by restoring the monasteries to their former state and by further extending the churches, he exalted and adorned their galleries and walls as fair as the kingfisher’s flight.

He exerted himself beyond measure for the brilliant school; making benevolence his rule he dispersed his wealth. Every year he gathered the monks of the four monasteries, for reverent service and
who engage in their reverent services and pure offerings for all the space of fifty days.

surrounding monasteries together; acting \{45\} recently, serving precisely, he provided everything for fifty days.

monasteries to have their reverent services and earnest offerings of prayers for fifty days.

proper worship to fulfil the whole of the Quinquagesima.

| [25/26] 餍者來而飯之。寒者來而衣之。病者療而起之。死者葬而安之。 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Legge** | **Moule** | **Saeki** | **Foster** |
| The hungry come and are fed; the cold come and are clothed; the sick are cured and restored to health; the dead are buried and laid to rest in their graves. | He bade the hungry come and fed them; he bade the cold came and clothed them; he healed the sick and raised them up; he buried the dead and laid them to rest. | The hungry came to be fed the naked came to be clothed; the sick were cured and restored to health; the dead were buried and made to rest in peace. | The hungry came and they were fed. The cold came and they were clothed. The sick were healed and raised up, the dead were buried and laid to rest. |

| [26] 清節達娑。未聞斯美。白衣景⼠。今見其人。願刻洪碑。以揚休烈。 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Legge** | **Moule** | **Saeki** | **Foster** |
| Among the purest and most self-denying Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; but now the white-robed members of the Illustrious Religion see it in this man. Wishing to engrave on a great monumental pillar our sense of the eminent and meritorious (events which we have related), we enter on it our eulogy as follows; — |
| Among the purest and most self-denying Ta-so (tarsā) with their rule of purity such excellence has not yet been heard of; among the brilliant masters with the white robes we now see this man. We wish to engrave a great tablet to celebrate distinguished services. The words are: |
| Among the purest and most self-denying Ta-so (i.e. Tarsa or God fearing man) of the Lord such excellent examples were never heard of; but we see this very man amongst the white-robed scholars of the Luminous Religion! To the glory of God for all these eminent and meritorious events (above described), we engrave the following Eulogy in a form of poetical composition on this great Monument. |

| [26] 真主⽆元。湛寂常然。 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Legge** | **Moule** | **Saeki** | **Foster** |
| He, the true Lord, Himself uncaused. Profound and still, is aye the same. |
| The true Lord without origin, still serene, eternal, |
| {65} It is the true Lord who was Uncreated, And was ever profoundly firm and unchangeable. |
| {146} The True Lord, unoriginated, tranquil and still eternally abiding |

| [26] 權舆匠化。起地立天。分身出代。救度⽆邊。 |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Legge** | **Moule** | **Saeki** | **Foster** |
| The universe His handiwork, Earth rose and heaven received its frame. His separate Godhead * men then saw; His saving work no limits knew. |
| In the beginning fashioned and transformed; raised up the earth and set firm the heavens. The divided Person appeared on earth, redeeming and saving without bound. |
| He created the Universe after His own plan, And raised the Earth and framed the Heaven. Dividing His God-head, He took human form, And through Him, Salvation was made free to all. |
| in the beginning He created, raised the earth and set up heaven. He was incarnate and born into the world, for salvation unbounded. |
### [26/27] 日昇暗滅。咸證真玄 赫赫文皇。道冠前王

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

### [27] 乘時撥亂。乾廓坤張。明明景教。言歸我唐。

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

### [27] 翻經建寺。存致舟航。百福偕作。万邦之康。

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

### [27/28] 高宗纂祖。更築精宇。和宮敞朗。遍滿中土。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legge</th>
<th>Moule</th>
<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kao Tsung succeeded to his sires. And built the dwellings Pure anew. Those palaces resplendent stood. Harmonious homes, the empire through.</td>
<td>Kao Tsung, following his fathers, rebuilt the pure mansions. The palaces of harmony shining far and wide filled all the Middle Land.</td>
<td>Kao-Tsung succeeded to the Throne of his Fathers; He re-built the edifices for Holy use. Palaces of Peace and Concord stood resplendent far and near; The rays shining from them filled every part of the Empire.</td>
<td>Kao Tsung, succeeded his ancestors. He rebuilt the spiritual shrines. The peaceful halls, spacious and resplendent, filled the whole of our Central Land.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

#### [28] 真道宣明。式封法主。人有樂康。物无災苦。

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

#### [28] 玄宗啟聖。克修真正。御榜揚輝。天書蔚映。

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

#### [28] 皇圖璀璨。率土高敬。庶績咸熙。人賴其慶。

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

#### [28/29] 肅宗來復。天威引駕。聖日舒晶。祥風掃夜。

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

### [29] 祉歸皇室。祆氛永謝。

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

### [29] 止沸定塵。造我區夏

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

### [29] 代宗孝義。德合天地。開貸生成。物資美利。

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

### [29] 香以報功。仁以作施。暘⾕來威。月窟畢萃。

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

### [29/30] 建中統極。聿修明徳。武肅四溟。⽂清万域。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Saeki</th>
<th>Foster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our emperor of the present time, Has widest sway and</td>
<td>The Chien-chung [Emperor] attains the highest and proceeds</td>
<td>When our present Emperor ascended the Throne, He took the reins of</td>
<td>Chien-chung came to the throne. He straight away cultivated bright</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>virtue bright. Within the seas all own his power; The myriad regions hail his light.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to perfect intelligent virtue. As a warrior he overawes the four seas; his culture enlightens all lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>government and named the Chien chung (Period). He devoted himself to the cultivation of the Luminous Virtue. His military sway quelled the tumults of the Dark Sea in the Four Quarters, Whilst his peaceful rule of Enlightenment purified every part of the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>virtue. His might cleared the four seas. His culture purified every region.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### [30] 道惟廣兮。應惟密。強名言兮演三一。主觥作兮臣觥述。建夔碑兮颂元吉

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

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### [30] 大唐建中二年歲在作噩太蔟月七日大耀森文日建立

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

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### [30] 矗臨人隱。鏡觀物色。六合昭蘇。百蠻取則。

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>No secrets from his view concealed, His mirror all things well describes. The world from him gets life and light, A pattern to the rudest tribes.</td>
<td>With a torch he lights on the secrets of men; in a mirror he sees the likeness of creatures. The whole world is enlightened and restored to life; all the barbarians take [him as] a model.</td>
<td>As the light from a candle shines forth, so doth his glory penetrate the secrets of men. As the mirror reflects all things, so nothing is hid from his observant eye. The whole Universe gets life and light because of him. And even many of the rudest tribes outside the Empire take pattern by his government.</td>
<td>As with a candle he shone down on the secrets of men. As with a glass he surveyed the attributes of creatures. All directions were revived by his radiance. All the barbarian tribes took him as their pattern.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

| Year of the period Chien-chung (A.D. 781) of the great T’ang dynasty, the year-star being in Tsō-yo, on the seventh day of the first month, being Sunday. | Asty, Chien-chung, second year, the solar period being in tso-o, the t’ai-tou month, seventh day, the great yao-sên-wên day. | Year of the Chien-chung Period (781 A.D.) of the Great T’ang (Dynasty). The year Star being in Tso-o, on the seventh day of the First month (the day being), the great “Yao-sên-wên” day. | The second year of Chien-chung (781), astronomically the year being Tso-O, the first month, and the seventh day, being a great “Yao-sên-wên” day, (this tablet) was erected. |

| [30] 時法主僧寧恕知東方之景眾也 | The present Chief of our Law being the priest Ning-shû, charged with the care of the Illustrious Communities of the East. | At the time the spiritual lord the monk Ning-shû was presiding over the brilliant congregations of the East. | when the Spiritual Lord, the Priest Ning-shû (i.e. “mercy and peace”), was entrusted with the care of the Luminous Communities of the East. | when the monk Ning-shû (Hnanisho) was Patriarch administering the Illustrious congregations in the east. |

| [S2] כַּעַלּ יְהוָֹה בֶּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵּל בִּשְׁלֹשָׁ֔ים | In the days of our father of fathers, my Lord Hananishu, Catholicon, Patriarch. | In the days of our father of fathers, Mar Hananishu, Catholicon, Patriarch. | In the day of our Father of Fathers, my Lord Hananishu, Catholicon, Patriarch. | In the days of the Father of Fathers, the Lord Hnanisho, Catholicon and Patriarch. |

| [32] 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書 | Written out by Lü Hsiû-yen, Secretary of State, formerly discharging the duties of military superintendent in T’ai-chåu. | Written by Lü Hsiû-yen, with the title of Chao-i-lang, formerly Ssü-shih-ts’an-chün of T’ai-chou, was the writer. | Written by Lü Hsiû-yen, with the title of Chao-i-lang (i.e., a court rank corresponding to the upper sixth rank of T’ang, and was the Superintendent of the Civil Engineering Bureau of T’ai Chou (i.e. a Department in Chekiang). | Written by Lu Hsui-yen, honoray assistant Secretary of State, and former Officer of Public Works in T’ai-chou. |

| [S3] ܢܘܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܒܫܢܬ |  |  |  |
| [S4] ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐܕ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܪܣܬܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S5] ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐܕ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܪܣܬܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S6] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐܕ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘמרחק ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S7] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S8] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S9] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S10] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S11] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S12] ܦܛܪܝܲܪܟܝܤ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܚܢܢܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܐܬ ܗܒ ܐﺩ ܒܐܝܡ ܡܪܝ ܒ ܬܚܘܡܪܬܐ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܠܚ |  |  |  |
| [S13] ܐܬ ܗܒ ܗܢܐ ܠܘܚܐ ܩܝܡ ܕܟܐܦܐ |  |  |  |
| [S14] ܐܬ ܗܒ ܗܢܐ ܠܘܚܐ ܩܝܡ ܕܟܐܦܐ |  |  |  |
| [S15] ܐܬ ܗܒ ܗܢܐ ܠܘܚܐ ܩܝܡ ܕCKERܐ |  |  |  |
### The Xi’an (Nestorian) Monument

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(In Syriac) In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092-31 = A.D. 781) my lord Yezdbuzid, Presbyter and Chorepiscopos of Kumdan the royal city, son of the departed Meles, Presbyter of Balh, city of Tehuristan, erected this stone tablet, wherein are written the disposition of our Saviour, and the preaching of our fathers to the kings of the Chinese. (In Chinese) The priest Ling-pao. (In Syriac) Adam, Deacon, son of Yezdbuzid, Chorepiscopos;</td>
<td>(In Syriac) In the year thousand and ninety and two of the Greeks (A.D. 781) My Lord Izd-buzid priest and country-bishop of Khumdan the metropolis, son of the late Milis priest, from Balkh a city of Tahruristan (i.e. Tocharistan), set up that tablet of stone. The things which are written on it are the law of him our Saviour and the preaching of them our fathers to the kings of Zinaye. (In Chinese) Monk Ling-pao (In Syriac) Adam minister son of Izd-buzid country-bishop.</td>
<td>In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks (1092 -31 = A.D. 781) my Lord Yazedbouzid, priest and chorepiscopus of Kumdan, the Royal city, son of the departed Milis, priest from Balkh, a city of Tahouristan, erected this Monument, wherein is written the Law of Him, our Saviour the Preaching of {69} our forefathers to the Rulers of the Chinese. (In Chinese) Priest Ling-pao. (In Syriac) Adam, deacon, son of Yazedbouzid, chorepiscopus; Mar Sergius, priest and chorepiscopus.</td>
<td>(In Syriac) In the year 1092 of the Greeks, the priest Lord Yazdbozid, Chorepiscopos of Kumdan (Ch’ang-An), son of the late priest, Milis, from Balkh, town of Tokhara, has erected this stone tablet whereon are inscribed the Law of our Saviour, and the preaching of the fathers to the rulers of China. (In Chinese) Monk Ling-pao (In Syriac) Adam, deacon, son of Yazdbozid Chorepiscopos.</td>
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#### [S16] 
#### [S17] 

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#### [34/35] 捡扱建立碑僧行通

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Examiner and Collator at the erection of the stone tablet, the priest Hsing T’ung.</td>
<td>Supervisor of the erection of the tablet the monk Hsing-t’ung.</td>
<td>The Examiner and Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Hsing-t’ung.</td>
<td>The monk Hsing-t’ung, assistant editor at the erection of the Tablet.</td>
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#### [S18]  
#### [S19]  
#### [S20]  
#### [S21]  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabran Yeshu, Presbyter; Gabriel, Presbyter and Archdeacon, and Head of the Church of Kumdan and of Sarag.</td>
<td>Gabriel Priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Khumdan (i.e. Ch’ang-an) and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).</td>
<td>Sabr-isho, priest; Gabriel, priest and archdeacon, and the Head of the Church of Khumdan and of Sarag</td>
<td>Sabran-isho, priest. Gabriel, Priest and archdeacon and head of the churches of Khumdan (Ch’ang-An) and of Sarag (i.e. Luoyang).</td>
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</tbody>
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#### [36/37/38] 助撿挍試太常|卯賜紫袈裟寺|主僧業利

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Examiner and</td>
<td>Assistant Supervisor: the</td>
<td>Assistant Examiner and</td>
<td>The monk Yeh-li,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Collator, the Presbyter Yi-li, Chief of the Monastery, Director of the Sacrificial Court, and gifted with the Purple Cassock.

Monk Yeh-li, t'ai-ch'ang-ch'ing by examination, granted the purple kashāya, abbot.

Collator at the erection of the Stone Tablet, priest Yeh-li, the Head-priest of the Monastery, who is honoured with the purple-coloured ecclesiastical vestment, and who is the Director of the Imperial Bureau of Ceremonies, Music and Sacrifices.

Assistant editor, probationary Grand Minister (on Board of Religious Rites?), recipient of the Purple Robe (Kachya), Abbot.
APPENDIX III

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

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

BRILLIANT RELIGION OF TA-TS’IN IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.


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

[THEOLOGICAL SECTION]

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

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

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

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

[HISTORICAL SECTION]

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

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

The virtue of the ancestral Chou disappeared, and the grey-blue carriage set off for the West. The wisdom of the great T’ang shone forth, and the brilliant breeze blew towards the East. Then the order was given to the authorities to reproduce the emperor’s portrait on the wall of our monastery. His celestial beauty glittered in sparkling colours, and made the brilliant gates to shine sumptuously. [14] His blessed lineaments shed abroad their felicity, and constantly illuminated the domain of the Law.
According to the Illustrated Records of Western Lands (Si Yu t’ou ki) and the historical documents of the Han and Wei, the realm of Ta-ts’in stretches on the south as far as the Coral Sea, and on the north it reaches the Mountains of the Joyful. On the west it faces the Domain of the Immortals and the Flowery Forests, and on the east it touches the Violent Winds and the Weak River. This country produces stuff that bathes in fire, perfume that restores the soul, the pearl of the bright moon and the ring that shines at night. [15] As for its customs, brigandage is unknown, and the men enjoy contentment and joy. As for their teaching, only the Brilliant [teaching] is practised. As for their rulers, only the virtuous are chosen. Its territory is extensive, and its material civilization splendid.

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

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

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

The cultivated and martial emperor Tai-tsung [762–79] greatly expanded his sacred lot, and applied himself to affairs without pursuing [particular] ends. On every occasion of the anniversary of his birthday, he made offerings of celestial perfumes to announce [to Heaven] the achievement of his task, and distributed imperial meals to honour the Brilliant assembly. Yea, [21] Heaven procures the magnificent
advantage, and by it propagates abundance. The saint models himself on the first [activity], and can thereby embellish and perfect it.

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

[THE GOOD WORKS OF I-SSU]

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

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

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

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

The verse eulogy is as follows:

The true Lord is without beginning; profound and serene, he is eternal. 
[He took] primitive matter and fashioned and transformed it; raising up the earth and framing the sky.
His divided body came into the world. He saved [beings] without limit.
The sun rose and the shadows [27] were dispersed. All recognised absolutely this truthful Mystery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Concluding strophe]

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

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

[32]

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

ACCOUNT OF DISCOVERY IN 1625 AND EARLY LATIN TRANSLATION

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

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

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

No sooner had the Chinese cleaned this notable piece of antiquity and seen what it was, than, with the vivid curiosity which his natural to them, they ran to tell the Governor. He came in all haste to see it, and straightway caused it to be set up on a handsome pedestal under an arch which was closed at the sides and open in front, so that it might at one be protected from weather, and accessible to eyes capable of enjoying and appreciating an antique of such a venerable kind.

The place which he selected for it was also within the enclosure of a Bonze Temple, not far from the tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur, and such as were also at one time in use in Europe, as we may see by some examples that have been preserved to the present day.

In Europa, delle quali Croci anche in Europe, as we may see by some examples that have been preserved to the present day.

No sooner had the Chinese cleaned this notable piece of antiquity and seen what it was, than, with the vivid curiosity which his natural to them, they ran to tell the Governor. He came in all haste to see it, and straightway caused it to be set up on a handsome pedestal under an arch which was closed at the sides and open in front, so that it might at one be protected from weather, and accessible to eyes capable of enjoying and appreciating an antique of such a venerable kind.

The place which he selected for it was also within the enclosure of a Bonze Temple, not far from where the discovery occurred.

Great numbers of people flocjed to see this stone, attracted in part by its antiquity and in part by the novelty of the strange characters that were visible on it. And as the knowledge of our religion has now spread far and wide in China, a
Dopo tre anni nel 1628, passarono alcuni Padri à quella Prouincia con l’occasione d’un Mandarino Christiano, chiamato Filippo, che li andaua. Alzarono e Chiesa e Casa nella Metropoli, perche Iddio benedetto, che volle fusse scoperta una si bella memoria del possesso preso in quel Paese della sua divina legge, ò fù anche seruto, che si facilitasse la sua restituzione nell’istesso luogo. Toccò à me d’esser dei primi; e stimai felice quella stanza, per l’occasione di vedere la Pietra; & arrivato d’altra cosa non mi curai. La viddi, la lessi, e tornai à leggerla e rimarlarla à bell’agio, & alla lunga; e considerando la sua antichità, ammirai, come fusse così intera, & hauesse le lettere così chiare, e nettamente scolpite.

Nella sua grossezza ha molte lettere Cinesi, le quali contengono molti nomi dell’ Sacerdoti, e Vescou di quel tempo. Ve n’ha però altre molte, le quali non furono allora conosciute, perché né sono Hebraiche, né Greche, e che per quanto intendo, contengono li medesimi nomi; accioche se per avventura alcuno straniero non sapesse leggere l’altra del Paese, intendesse forse queste peregrine.

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

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

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

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

Passing afterwards through Cochin on my way to Cranganor, the residence of the Archbishop of the Cast, I consulted on the subject of those letters Father Antonio Fernandez of our Society, who was very learned in the literature of those St. Thomas Christians, and he told me that the letters were Syriac, and the same as were in use by that body.
Paeterea quod reqlis sit figurae & corpulentiae, ut principium rerum non solum reale sit & positivum, sed & positivum principium. Literati vero dicunt, quod subtile; sensibus imperceptibile, etiamsi in se quo omnia prodiere, sit vacuum; quod idem illis est, ac Sinensium quoniam illi affserunt, quod principium, e reale (alludit ad hoc secta Pagodum & Literatorum principium rerum omnium vacuum ponebant, & ens Aliqui creaturam Creatoris loco habebant. Alii maximum quem poterat numerum ad se trahebat. 

fraude introduxit. Idcirco trecentis sexaginta quinque simpicitatis aequalitatem & discordiam illa intrare inciperet perturbatura pacem, & hoc perfectum inficeret; hoc est, fecit ut malitia in ipsum ut Adamus id quod ex se & sua natura purum erat & sine appetitu inordinatum. 

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

I. Dico itaque hoc modo, ille qui semper verus fuit & quietus, omnis expers principii, intellectus profundissimi, & semper duraturi, excellente potentia suâ ex nihilo creavit res pmnes, infinita majestate sua & sanctitate fecit Sanctos. Haece est essentia Divina, trina in personis, & in substantia una. Dominus noster, verus sine principio, Olô, ô yu (quod in Chaldaeo idem ac Eloha significant) in figura Crucis fecit quattuor Mundi partes, commovit Chaos, fecit duo Kis (hoc est, duas virtutes, seu duas qualitates dictas Inyam; Commentator habet, duo principia) fecit mutationem in abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, mutavit tenebras, comparuit coellum & terra, fecit ut Sol & Luna motibus suis nocte abysso, id est, 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sensibus comprehendi quaeat. Quidam saeficiis quaerebant beatitudinem. Quidam bonitate quadam gloriaabantur ad decipienda homines, qua in re omenm suam scientiam & industrias collocabantur, omni diligentia & sine proscest, semper im pejus pro-gredientes quemdmodum contingit is, qui e vase cretaceo ignem elicere volunt, obscurationem addentes obscuritati, & hoc ipso veram semitam perdesentes ad viam vitae recerti nescientes.

III. Tunc una de Divinis personis sanctissimae Trinitatis dicta Messias restringendo tegendoque Majestatem suam, & se humanae naturae accommo-dando {30a} homo factus est. Quam ob rem ad hoc gaudium anunciandum Angelum ablegavit, & de Virgine in Judaea natus est. Stella magna felicitates hujus fuit annonciatrix. Reges ejus claritate perspicata numerata oblaturi venerate, ut Lex, & Prophetiae viginti quattuor Prophetarum adimperentur. Gubernavit autem Mundum lege magna, condedit Legem Divinam, spiritualem sine verborum strepitu, fide vera consummavit: octo disposuit beatudines: res mundanas mutavit in aeternas: aperuit portam trium virtutum (Theologicarum), vitam dedit destruend mortem. In persona sua ad inferos descendit, & omnia confudit daemonia; nave pietatis suae ad coelum conduxit persona sua ad inferos descendit, & omnia confudit daemonia; nave pietatis suae ad coelum conduxit personas sanctissimae Trinitatis dicta Messias restringendo tegendoque Majestatem suam, & se humanae naturae accommodando {30a} homo factus est. Quam ob rem ad hoc gaudium anunciandum Angelum ablegavit, & de Virgine in Judaea natus est. Stella magna felicitates hujus fuit annonciatrix. Reges ejus claritate perspicata numerata oblaturi venerate, ut Lex, & Prophetiae viginti quattuor Prophetarum adimperentur. Gubernavit autem Mundum lege magna, condedit Legem Divinam, spiritualem sine verborum strepitu, fide vera consummavit: octo disposuit beatudines: res mundanas mutavit in aeternas: aperuit portam trium virtutum (Theologicarum), vitam dedit destruend mortem. In persona sua ad inferos descendit, & omnia confudit daemonia; nave pietatis suae ad coelum conduxit persona sua ad inferos descendit, & omnia confudit daemonia; nave pietatis suae ad coelum conduxit

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

IV. Ministri ejus ornamenti exterioris causa barbam alunt, & coronas in capite faciunt (id est verticem radunt) ut ostendndant se nullo intus affect malo teneri. Mancipii utuntur: in alto & basso (id est, in prospero & adverso) sue humilium omnem scientiam & industriam to bear and use their diligence and intent to serve their desires. In truth, they labour in vain and without profit, always becoming worse, just as happens to those who try to take fire from a clay vase. They increase the darkness and so lose the true path, and don’t know how to return to the way of life.

IV. His ministers wear beards for exterior ornament, and they make crowns on their heads (i.e., they shave the top) to show that they have no inner passions. They use (no) slaves. High or low (that is, in prosperity or adversity) they make themselves equal to everyone. They do not accumulate wealth, but have everything in common. They fast to mortify the passions and to keep the divine precepts. They magnify those over them and are removed from worldly matters. They pray seven times a day for the living and the dead. Once each seventh day they perform holy rites purifying their souls and restoring purity. Since the Law is true, constant and excellent, it is difficult to find a suitable name for it, since its effect is to illustrate and bathe everything with brightness. Hence, it was necessary to all it Kim Kiao, that is the Great and Bright Law.
V. Lex, ubi personae Regiae desunt, non extenditur, nec dilatatur: quaquam magnificantur. Lege itaque, & Regibus concordantius, & in unam veluti rem coeuntibus illicus Mundus illuminatur. Igitur Rege dicto Tai cum veu huamtil tempestate illa celebri, singulari prudentiae et sanctitatis (Chinam) administrans, venit ex Judaea summae virtutis Vir vocatus Olo puen, qui a nubibus deductus etiam per ventos, & chaftas hydrographicas multa pericula & labores sustinuit, & tandem anno Chiu quon i & ieu sie (erat ille annus Christi sexcentesimus trigesimus sextus) ad Curiam Regian appulit. Rex vero famosus Calao*, qui Fam Kieu lyn dicebatur, præcepsit, ut accepto jumento obviam novo hospiti versus Occidentem, hic Regem) scilicet ad vires Monarchiae & unum Ministros deputarent. (Author Nim fam dicuntur, in eo Curiae loco præcepit, nostro Imperio divulgetur. Mandarinis quoque, adferens & profectum: unde congruum est, ut toto Doctrina ejus non est exteriori, fundata principaliter in Creatione Mundi. trinam ejus admodum excellentem, & since strepitu docendi a fundamentis examinantes, invenimus doc

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

V. The Law does not extend or spread where royal persons are absent. Royal persons are magnified in vain when there is no Law. When the kings and the Law agree and come together as one, the world is illuminated. So when King Tai cum veu huamtil in that famous time administered (China) with great prudence and sanctity, a virtuous man named Olo puen came from Judaea, bringing the true doctrine from the clouds. Borne by the winds and with his marine charts he endured many labours and perils, and finally in the year Chin quon i and ieu sie (A.D. 636) he reached the royal court. The king ordered the famous colao Fam Kieu lyn to take a beast of burden and to go to a new hospice in the western part of the city, {27a} that is toward the strength of the monarchy of

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

VII. Docao, alii Coazum, Cum, filius Tai cum, gubernacu Regni abit anno Domini 651. (continuando Author Kim cim haec dicit) Cao vim, alii Caozum, magnus Imperator minime virtutibus Avi sui degener, novit cum honore continuare intentum Avi sui, & dilatare & honorare res patris sui, praecepti in omnibus Provinciis ferei Ecclesias, unique honorans Olo puen titulo Episcopi magnae Legis, quae gubernat Regnum Chinae. Tum lex Dei promulgata est per decem Provincias (quibus Sinense Regnum continentur) & Regnum summa pace fruebatur, Ecclesias replebantur omnes urbes, & domusfelicitate Euangelii decem Provincias (quibus Sinense Regnum continuatur). Anno Domini 651 (continuando) Author dicit: necesse est regnum regnums non admittu caret & Assasinis, populous in pace vivit & gaudio; in Rubri maris, in qua praedicta reperiuntur). Latronibus carbunculos (quibus insinuata Aegyrum cum reliqua Asphaltitium) producit balsamum, gemmas minutas & aquae, quam mortuam dicunt. Haec terra cineres Ciam fam (nomen tituli) dicto suspetit. [71x96]VII. Docao, also called Coazum or Cum, was the son of Tai cum, the governor of the kingdom, who had died in 651 A.D. (The author Kim cim continues to say these things.) Cao vim or Caozum was a great leader of no less virtue than his grandfather, and knew how honourably to continue the intent of his grandfather and to spread and give churches in all the provinces and he honoured Olo puen with the title of Bishop of the Great Law Which Rules the Kingdom of China. The the Law of God was preached in the ten provinces (of the Chinese Empire) and the cities were filled with churches and the houses flourished with the happiness of the gospel.

VIII. In hoc anno dicto Xim lie (quicum annus Domini 699) Bontii Pagodum sectatores suis usi viribus extulerunt voces, (id est blasphemarunt nostrum sanctam Legem) in loco, qui dicitur Tum cieu (erat est forte in Provincia Honan) & in fine hujus alterius anni dicit Sien tien (qui respondet anno Domini 713) quidam privati homines in Sieno, quae erat antiqua Regia Ven van, (Commentator vult esse Siganfu, in Provincia Xensi) ausi sunt nostrum sanctam Legem sannis, ludibrio & vituperio proscindere. (Hoc tempore erat quidam princeps Sacerdotum nominis Joanne) nomine Kie Lie. Hi duo cum alii nobilibus popularibus suis non fama minus, quam rerum mundanarum contempt celebribus, coeperunt iterum rite Euangelium suum excellens explicare continuando, & filia(militia Cacodaemonis) pridem rupturificare. Rex dictus Hiuen cum chi tao (coepit hujus Imperium anno 719, quinque Regulis praecepit, ut in persona adirent felicem domum (hoc est Elcesiam) & erigerent altaria. Tum columna Leges {32a} quae ad breve tempus jacuit prostrate, caepit rursum erigi, & incrementa sumere. In hoc principio anni Tien Pao, (quod erat anno Domini 743) praecepit Rex Ota Ciam Kuen (nomen tituli) dicto Cuolie sie (erat is Eunnuchus summa apud Regem gratia valens & authoritye) ut effigies versa quinque Regum the Boca das fullas (the meaning of which is difficult to conjecture, but which I think is Mount Carmel) in the prospect facing the holy ones. On the east the boundaries are the placed called Ciam fam and the water which they call dead. This land vomits up cinders glowing with fire (possibly he means a lake of asphalt), and produces balsam and little gems and rubies (for which Egypt is known, along with the rest of the shore of the Red Sea, where they are found). It has no robbers or killers. The people live in peace and joy. Only the Gospel is found there. All the dignitaries are appointed because of their virtue and merits. The buildings are large. In short, the kingdom is famous for its poetry, order and good customs.

IX. Hoc tempore erat quidam princeps Sacerdotum (videtur fuisse Episcopus,) nomine Joannes, & alius nonnulli, nisi virtute meritis conferuntur: aedificia sunt hort, the kingdom is famous for its poetry, order and good customs. In s

IX. In this time there was a certain chief priest (evidently a bishop) named John and another man of great virtue named Kie Lie. These two, who scorned worldly matters as much as they were honoured by the nobles and people began again continually to explain the {28a} Gospel and to mend the threads broken by the malice of the blind demon. The king, called Hiuen cum chi tao (who began to reign in 719 A.D.) ordered his five subordinate kings to enter in person the happy house (that is, the church) and to erect altars. Then the column of the Law, which had a short while before been prostrate, was raised and capped again. In the beginning of the year Tien pao (A.D. 743) the king ordered the Cuolie sie, who had the title Ota Ciam Kuen (and who was a eunuch of great authority in the king’s favour), to carry true likenesses of the five kings preceding him, his ancestors, and to place them...
praedecessorum Avorum suorum deportaret, & in Ecclesia collocaret, unique centum pretiosarum reum cineliea in Ecclesiam deferret ad solemnitatem hanc celebrandum: (dicit author Kim Cim in laudem ipsorum Regum) Barbæ longe Craonis etiamsi longe sint, nihilominus arcus & enses ejus minibus apprehendi possunt (alludit ad historiam quondam antiquam ejusdem Regis) qui fingebatur acedendisse in aera Draconi infidens, quem servi, qui se dicebant ituros cum Rege, variis armorum generibus instruxerant; qui vero remanserant, barbam Draconis velicantes, arma quædam tulerunt, in memoriam Regis, in his veluti praesentem eum intuentes. (Alludit itaque Author hujus scripturæ ad hanc historiam, ut declarat effigies memoratorum Regum, Regi praesentium & viventium loco fuisse; ideo subjungit, declaret effigies memoratorum Regum, Regi itaque Author hujus scripturae ad hanc historiam, veluti praesentem eum intuentes.)

X. Anno tercio Tien Pao, (annus is erat Domini 745.) fuit in Judæa, aliī in India, Sacerdos quidam Kieho, qui stellarum ope ductus in Chinam appuplit, & respiciens Solem, (erat haec caerimonia eorum, qui ad Regis aditibantur colloquium) ad conspectum nostril Imperatoris intromissus est. Rex autem jussit, ut Sacerdos Joannes & Paulus cum aliis ejusdem professionis viris, & cum praesente tantae virtutis Viro Kie ho ad palatium Him Kim vocatum, ad adorandum, & ad sancta (devotionis) opera exerenda sese conferrent. Hoc tempore litteræ Regiae intabellis Ecclesiae servabantur, pretiose secundum ordinem ornatae, splendentes colore rubro & {32b} caeri; ep, & penna Regia replebat vacuum, ascendetem, & ad Solem usque pertingens: favour ejus & dona altitudini montis Austri comparantur, & abundantia beneficiorum profunditatem aequat maris Orientalis. Ratio non potest non probare approbatum, & memoratu dignum. Ideo Rex dictus Sa Cum nen men sive Ven min (qui regere coepit anno 757.) in hoc Lim suu seu, & quinque uribus recenti mandato Ecclesias fieri jussit. Erat hic Rex eximiae inaequalis, sub quo porta felicitates toti Regno aperta est, hac felicitate, gaudio, & plausu existentibus, res gubernationis Regalis maxime elevatae sunt.

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

XII. Rex Kien cium xom ven vu, (regnans anno 781.) in the church and to carry a hundred precious things to celebrate this solemnity. The author Kim Cim says in praise of these kings that although the beard of the dragon is long, nevertheless bows and swords can be seized with hands. This is an allusion to an old story about the same king who was said to have risen up in the air sitting on a dragon. These servants said they would go with the king armed with various kinds of weapons. Those who were left behind, however, pulling hairs from the dragon’s beard, bore them away as weapons in memory of the king, regarding him as being present in these. (So the author this writing refers to this history to show that effigies of the mentioned kings were like present and living kings. He adds that the brightness reflected by these images shows them to us as if present.)

XI. In the third year of Tien Pao (this was the 745 year of the Lord), there was a certain priest named Kieho in Judaea or in India who used the stars to come to China. Looking at the sun (for this was the ceremony of those granted an audience with the king), he was admitted to the sight of our emperor. The king, however, ordered that the priest John and Paul and other men of their profession betake themselves to the Him Kim Palace with the virtuous man Kie ho for worship and sacred rites. At this time the royal letters were kept in the church’s tablets, precious adorned according to their rank, shining with red and blue. The royal pen, which climbed and reached the sun, filled the empty place. His favour and gifts are like the height of the Southern Mountain, and the abundance of this benefits equals the depth of the Eastern Sea. Reason {28b} cannot but approve what is approved and is worth of memory. so the king called Sa Cum nen men or Ven min (who started to reign in 757 A.D.) ordered for churches to begin in Lim suu seu and in five cities. He was a king of exceptional disposition under whom the gate of felicity was opened for the whole empire. With happiness, joy and applause the royal government was greatly exalted.

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

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

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

XV. Temproe Ta so cum omni parsimonia sua similis non est audita bonitas (erat Ta so Bondius secta Pagodus) qui in maxima quaedam Congregatione Bonziroum, in qua agendum erat de rebus sectae suae, officio fungebatur hsportum expiNDARdorum, & procurandum rerum uniuque necessariarum (Ideo Author tractando de operibus charitatis OY SIE hunc Tan so anteponit.) Sed tempore hujus Euangelii simul homines videmus sanctus operibus vacantes. Idcirco, ut in lucem irent opera tam heroic, Lapidi huic magno, ea insculpere volui.

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

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

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

XVII. Splendidissimus ille Rex, qui versse prime primorum Regum fuit, opportuntate usus omnem sustulit difficultatem, coelom dilatatum est, terra extendea. Clarissimum est Euangelium nostrum, quod Regno Tam illatum est, asserendo doctrinam, Ecclesias erigendo, pro vivas & defunctas loco fuit navigii: omnem felicitatem exaltans, quietem dedit universe Mundo.

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

XVIII. Cao çum insistendo vestigiis Avi sui denuo ad novas Ecclesias exstruendas animum adjectit. Templapacis alta & magnifica terram replerent omnem. Lex vera induit pulchritudinem. {34a} Titulo honoravit Episcopum, tranquillitate & gaudio populi sine laboribus potiti.

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

XIX. Sapiens Rex Ni uen çum novit ingredi vias versa & rectas: tabulae Regiae errant magnificaë & illustres, literae Regiae in its floreant & resplendebant. Figurae Regiae elucebant: Omnis populus profunde east venerabatur, Omnia dilatabantur, & homines ex eo gaudio sumon perfreubantur.

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

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

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

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

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

**XXII.** Hic Rex *Kien çum* in regimine constiturus claram reddbat virtutem, armis quatro maria pacificavit: literis decem millia confinium illustravit: instar cadelae secreta hominum illuminavit, & verlum in speculo detecta cernebat Omnia, totum resuscitavit orbem: cuncti Barbari regulam vivendi acceperunt.

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

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

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

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

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

(I) WORDS IN CHINESE

阿 a character used in front of names to indicate kinship but used only in XM for phonetic transcription of a-, ah- etc.
阿羅本 (title or pers. name) 10: 大秦國有上德
曰阿羅本
阿羅訶 (divine name) 3: 我三一妙身元真主阿羅訶
安 an ‘safe, safely’
安 26: 死者葬而安之
安置 17: 今大將軍高力士送五聖寫真寺內安置
長安 (place-name) 11: 貞觀九年至於長安
暗 an ‘dark, shadowy’
暗 4: 暗空易而天地開
暗府 7: 暗府易而天地開
暗滅 26: 日昇暗滅
案 an ‘according to, based on the evidence of’
案 14: 齊西域圖記
百 bai ‘hundred; hundreds of’
百 17: 百福齊集
百城 16: 百福齊集
百 26: 百福齊集
頒 ban ‘bestow, benefit’
頒 20: 頒御饌以光景眾
邦 bang ‘kingdom, fiefdom’
邦 27: 万邦之君
榜 bang ‘board, announcement’
榜 19: 於是天題寺榜
御榜 28: 御榜榜揚
詭 bang ‘defame’
詭 16: 詭詭於西鎮
保 bao ‘defend, protect’ used only in XM as part of a monk-name
保國 (monk-name) 96: 僧保國 (Syr. ܒܟܘܣ Bakkōs / Bacchus [S85])
寶 bao ‘treasure’
寶靈 (monk-name) 78: 僧寶靈 (Syr. ܦܘܠܘܣ Paul / Paul [S66])
寶裝 19: 寶裝璀翠
寶達 (monk-name) 45: 僧寶達 (Syr. ܡܫܝܚܐܕܕ Mšhādād [S27] See Index II)
靈寶 (monk-name) 33: 僧靈寶
天寶 (reign-title) 17: 天寶初
眾寶 14: 北極眾寶之山
碑 bei ‘inscribed stele, head-stone’
碑 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行
中國碑頌並序; 34: 濟拔建立碑僧行通
贊碑 30: 建讚碑兮頌元吉
洪碑 26: 頒刻洪碑
北 bei ‘north. northern’
北 14: 北極眾寶之山
備 bei ‘prepare, store’
備詣 25: 備詣五句
被 bei ‘extend, cover’
被 22: 善賜被群生者
本 ben ‘origin, originally, primarily’; also used for phonetic transcription of ban-, pan- etc.
本 4: 本無希嗜
阿羅本 (pers. name or title) 11: 大秦國有上德
曰| 阿羅本; 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為
鎮國大法主
立本 (monk-name) 81: 僧立本
俾 bi ‘appoint, enable’
俾 24: 肅宗俾之從邁
彼 bi ‘the other, that, those’
彼 5: 險冥同於彼非之内
比 bi ‘compare to; hence more than’
比 19: 寘黃比南山嶽極
壁 bi ‘wall’
寺壁 13: 寺寫真轉模寺壁
庇 bi ‘help, protect’
庇 9: 大庇存亡
壁 bi ‘gem’; in the phr. 夜光壁 yeguangbi ‘night-glistening gem’
夜光壁 14: 夜光壁
畢 bi ‘conclude’
斯畢 8: 斯事斯畢
畢萃 29: 月麗畢萃
邊 bian ‘boundary, border, edge’
邊 26: 數度無邊
邊 bian ‘spread out, diffuse’
遍 27/28: 遍| 演中土
別 bie ‘separate, different, additional’
別賜 4: 別賜良和
經留四十七年，方為鎮國大法主。阿羅本為鎮國大法主，為信眾崇敬。

阿羅本為鎮國大法主，為信眾崇敬。
從 (monk-name) 48: 僧從 (Syr. equiv. Yohānān / John [S57])

冲 chōng ‘pour water, infuse’

重 chōng ‘again, once more’

重 20: 重立景寺

重慶 25: 或重慶法堂

詣 chōu ‘division, class’

詣 21: 闕詣以惟新景命

出 chu ‘produce, come out’

出 14: 其土出火絞布

出 26: 同人出代; 26: 分身出代

初 chu ‘first, original, beginning’

初 17: 天寶初; 24: 初德成於朔方也

初人 4: 然立初人

點 chu ‘demote, remove’

點 21: 被入政以點迷幽明

傳 chuān ‘turn, change; hence propagate’

傳授 11: 特令僧行

淳 chuān ‘honest’ used only in XM as part of a monk-name

淳 65: 僧還淳 (monk-name) (>Syr. or equiv. Yohānān / John [S53])

純 chuān ‘pure, upright’

純精 4: 僧純精

慈 ci ‘compassion’

慈航 7/8: 慈航以登明宮

廣慈 21: 廣慈眾苦

此 ci ‘this, here’

此是 5: 此是之中

詞 ci ‘sentence, language’

詞 12: 詞無詩說;

詞 26: 詞曰。真主无元

賜 ci ‘grant, make gift, endow’

賜 23: 賜紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 鄕賜紫袈裟僧 主僧業利

賜絝 17: 賜絝百匹

別賜 4: 別賜良和

緣賜 24: 猴賜緣賜

辭 ci ‘word, expression’

辭憩 25: 僧辭憩之金屬

從 cong ‘follow’

從仕 20: 從仕無為

從遇 24: 慶宗從之從遇

肄 cu ‘frame on which silkworms spin’ used only in the XM in the phr. 太蔟月 ‘the first month’

太蔟月 31: 在作雀太蔟月七日大躍森文日

暴 cuan ‘succeed’

暴祖 27: 高宗暴祖

摧 cu ‘break, shatter’

摧 7: 婆妄於是乎摧摧

璀 cuī ‘glittering’ and in the phr. 璀璀 cuī cuī ‘lustre of a kingfisher’

璀璀 19: 寶裝璀璀

璀璀 28: 皇圖璀璀

璀 cuī in the phr. 璀璀 cuī cuī ‘lustre of a kingfisher’

璀璀 19: 寶裝璀璀

璀 cuī ‘suffering’

璀 29: 月窟璀璀

存 cun ‘preserve’

存 22: 賜幾昌昌

存 9: 存眾所以有外行

存亡 9: 大庇存亡

存 27: 大庇存航

大 da ‘great, large, big’

大 8: 大庇存亡 10: 聖道不有; 16: 下士大笑; 4: 間平大賢; 此是之中; 21: 正於方於太而虛; 31: 大躍森文日

大唐 12: 大秦國大德阿羅本; 16: 大德及烈; 18: 與大德佐和; 39: 大躍瞻輪

大帝 15: 高宗大帝

大法 15: 鎮國大法主

大將 22: 大施主王紫光崇大夫

大將軍 17: 今大將軍高力士

大秦 see under 秦.

大唐 31: 大唐建中二年

大獻 7: 理家國於大獻; 22: 我修行之大獻

大庇 8: 大庇存亡

大庇 20: 大庇臻而弘業建

達 da ‘reach’ and used in phonetic transcription for da- / dar-, ta- / tar-

達娑 (phonetic transcription for Middle Persian tarsā see comm.) 26: 清節達娑

賀達 (monk-name) 45: 賀賀達

代 dai ‘replace; (regnal) period, generation’

代宗 (imperial-title) 20: 代宗文武皇帝; 29: 代宗孝義

代出 6: 同人出代; 26: 分身出代

三代 23: 術商三代

賜 dai ‘grant, forgive; compassion’

賜 22: 賜賜被群生者

賜 29: 賜賜出成

丹 dan ‘red, hence ruby’

丹庭 23: 始效節於丹庭

丹霞 19: 灼燦丹霞

煒 dan ‘utmost, exhaustively’ used only in XM as phonetic transcription for dan-, tan- etc.

娑煒 4: 洩乎娑煒施妥
皇帝登至德⽞德英德上德灵敬德功德崇德明德昭德德丧德建德⽆德真道⾄道⼗道道⽯聖符契道(由road)祷祀寇盗素荡降诞誕聖

帝 6: 室女誕聖
降誕 20: 每有降誕之辰

談 dan 'birth; be born'

道 dao 'way, philosophy; hence (the true) way; to reach (by road)'

德 de 'virtue, virtuous'

德 15: 主非德不立; 29: 德合天地
德建 (monk-name) 100: 德建 (Syr. equiv. ḤoYohnān / John [S91])
德表 13: 重德德
大德 16: 大德及类; 18: 与大德信和; 39: 大德羅翰昭德 (monk-name) 59: 德昭德
明德 30: 幸明德
崇德 (monk-name) 85: 崇德德
廣德 (monk-name) 98: 崇德德
功德 18: 於興慶宮修功德
敬德 (monk-name) 53: 崇敬德
靈德 (monk-name) 67: 靈德德
上德 10: 大秦國有上德。日阿羅本
英德 (monk-name) 68: 僧英德
玄德 (monk-name) 93: 僧玄德
至德 (monk-name) 89: 僧至德

登 deng 'ascend'

登 8: 終慈航以登明宮

等 deng 'type, etcetera, and so forth'

等 17: 令守國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場; 18: 題僧維宏貴善論等七十一人; 20: 於靈武等五郡

地 di 'earth'

地 26: 起地立天

帝 di 'sovereign, emperor'

帝 11: 帝使宰臣房; 13: 帝寫真詔撰寺壁大帝 15: 高宗大帝
大帝 10: 太宗文皇帝; 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 19/20:

蕭宗文明皇帝; 20: 代宗文武

皇帝 21: 代建中聖文武皇帝

帝 di 'wash, bathe'

帝 8: 洗浮華而潔虚白

殿 dian 'hall'

殿 11: 翻經書殿

試殿 23: 試殿中監

定 ding 'steady, be steadfast, firm, solid'

定 3: 判十字以定四方; 29: 止沸定鼎

頂 ding 'top, hence crown (of the head)'

頂 9: 顶顶所以无内情

東 dong 'east, orient'

東 13: 景風東扇; 14: 東接長風弱水

東周 16: 耳口於東周

東海 19: 渎澤與東海齊深

東方 31: 時法主僧寗怒知東方之景眾也

東向 89: 東向造生榮之路

東向 13: 景風東扇

桿 deng 'beam, structure'

桿 17: 桿樁智姚而更崇

辝 dou 'inefficient'

辝 21: 披八政以辝辝幽明

度 du 'standard, measure; 'administer; hence to accommodate'

度 7: 制八境之度; 13: 度僧廿一人

度 26: 度度无遜

節度 23: 同朔方節度副使

毒 du 'poisonous or medicinal potion'

毒 21: 聖以體元故珪珪

睹 du 'see, gaze at'

睹耀 6: 波斯睹耀以來貢

庭 e 'fierce' used only on the XM in the astronomical phr. 作庭 zuo 'er'

作庭 31: 作庭太脣月

額 e 'tablet'

額 19: 頭載龍書

恩 cn 'think, thought'

恩 24: 恩之顔黎

恩情 5: 恩情役役

耳 er 'ear' (ér K 103a)

耳目 24: 作軍耳目

二 er 'two, twice, second'

二 6: 圖⼆十四聖; 8: 經留二十七部; 11: 貞觀十有二年秋七月; 13: 度僧廿一人

二氣 4: 敬元風而生二氣

論二 5: 或空有以論二; 31: 大唐建中二年

而 er 'and, but, but yet'

而 3: 先先而元无，…後後而妙有; 得玄福而造化;

解元風而生二氣; 晴空易而天地開; 4: 日月運而晝夜作; 濟元之性虛而不盈; 8: 濟浮華而潔虚白; 9:
法 fei ‘flight’

飛 25: 如舜斯盛

分 fen ‘divide; portion’

分身 6: 三一分身旁尊镧 giọng; 26: 分身出代

氛 fen ‘omen’

妖氛 29: 弱氛永謝

汾 fen ‘mixed, confused’ used only in XM in the place-name 汾陽郡 fenyangjun ‘the Fen Yang Prefecture’

汾陽郡 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀

奉 feng ‘offer’

奉慶 18: 奉慶睿圖

奉真 (monk-name) 90: 僧奉真 (Syr. equiv./trans. ܡܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܪܢ_SUBHĀ l-Māran [S79]. See under Index II)

封 feng ‘appoint, bestow honours’

式封 28: 式封法主

薈(堂) feng ‘splendid’

薈 30: 建薈碑分頃元吉

風 feng ‘wind, spirit’

風雨 22: 若使風雨時

風律 11: 望風律以勉艱險

長風 14: 擇長長風弱水

祥風 29: 祥風歸夜

淨風 7: 一淨風元言之新教

景風 13: 景風東扇

元風 3: 元風而生l二氣

永風 8: 法浴永風

伏 fu ‘overcome, control’

伏 9: 前以伏識而成

副 fu ‘assistant’

副使 23: 同安方節度副使

夫 fu in the phr. 夫大 dai fu ‘officer, minister’

丈夫 23: 夫主金紫光祿大夫

富 fu ‘wealthy, prosperous’

富 16: 國富元休

府 fu ‘house, mansion, residence; hence realm’

暗府 7: 暗府日以破暗府

復 fu ‘recover’

復正 17: 道石時傾而復正

復潮 28: 肅宗來復

休復 6: 宗休亡延久述休復

拂 fu ‘shake pff, brush off, refuse’ used in XM only as part of a monk-name.

拂林 (monk-name) 46: 僧拂林 (>Syr. ܐܦܖܝܡ ĖPOM Aprêm / Ephraim [S289])

浮 fu ‘float, drift, insubstantial, ethereal’

浮華 8: 浮華華而潔華白

福 fu ‘blessing, luck’

福 20: 元善寶而福祚開

福字 17: 令宰國等五王親臨福宇
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弓 gong 'present, donate, pay tribute'

來責 6: 波斯睹耀以來責

故 gu ‘therefore, for this reason’

以…故於 21: 且|乾以美利故於廣生; 圣以|體元故

更 gong 'repeat'

谷 gu ‘valley’

陽谷 29: 聖谷未成

鼓 gu nn. ‘drum’; vb. ‘move, stir’

鼓 3: 鼓元風而生二氣

冠 guan ‘imperial header; hence above, superior to’

道冠 27: 道冠前王

觀 guan ‘gaze at, view’

觀 12: 覽其元宗

鏡觀 30: 鏡觀物色

貞觀 (reign-title) 15: 貞觀九祀於長安; 貞觀十有

二年秋七月;

關 guan ‘gate, pass’

靈關 8: 藥元化以發靈關

光 guang ‘luminosity, bright, light’

光 18: 日角舒光; 20: 顯御鏡以光景眾

光濟 (monk-name) 73: 蔣光濟 (Syr. equiv. Ishaq [S61])

光祿 22/23 大施|主紫光祿大夫

光華 10: 光華散運

光正 (monk-name) 83: 蔣光正 (Syr. equiv. Yohannan / John [S71])

和光 (monk-name) 88: 蔣和光

道光 13: 巨唐之道光

夜光璧 14: 夜光璧

廣 guang ‘vast, broad’

廣 25: 或重慶法堂

廣生 21: 且|乾以美利故於廣生

廣兮 29: 道惟廣兮

廣慈 21/22: 廣慈救眾苦

廣閭 15: 土宇廣閭

廣德 (monk-name) 98: 蔣廣德 (Syr. equiv. Gabriel [S87])

廣慶 (monk-name) 42: 蔣廣慶 (Syr. equiv. Mikael / Michael [S25])

歸 gui ‘return’

歸 27: 言歸我唐

祥歸 29: 祥歸皇室

貴 gui ‘noble’

貴 9: 原尊猶於人

貴 16: 並金方貴纊

國 guo ‘nation, country, kingdom’

國 7: 理家國於大猷; 16: 國富元休

鎮國 15: 仍崇f為鎮國大法主

家國 7: 理家國於大猷

保國 (monk-name) 96: 蔣保國

寧國 17: 令|寧國等五王親臨福祝建立壇場
海 hai 'ocean'

寒 han 'cold, wintry, freezing'

汉 han name of a dynasty

汉魏史策 14: 梁成帝、梁武帝记及汉魏史策

航 hang 'sailing vessel, ship'

向化 18: 贤明向化

舟航 27: 存效舟航

好 hao 'excellent; desire after, imitate'

好患 23: 和而好患

鎬 (郭) hao in the place-name 西郭 Xiāohào - ancient city southwest of Chang'an.

西鎬 16: 許誼於西鎬

合 he 'to fit, harmonize'

合 8: 釁四照以金元首; 29: 德合天地

六合 30: 六合昭蘇

和 he 'peace, peaceful, harmony; and, together with'.

Also used in phonetic transcription for ra-, ri- etc.

和 23: 和而好患

合 27: 和堂昭朗

和吉 (monk-name) 43: 聖和吉 (Syr. Yohannān / John [S53])

和光 (monk-name) 88: 聖和光 (Syr. euchv. Ḥāqīq / Jacob [S77])

和明 (monk-name) 82: 聖和明 (Syr. euchv. Isḥāq / Isaac [S70])

太和 (monk-name) 86: 聖太和

信和 (monk-name, phonetic transcr. for Syr. 'Gabriel') 8: 大秦國有僧信和; 18: 與大德信和

延和 (monk-name) 49: 僧延和

良和 4: 別賜良和

沖和 (monk-name) 69: 僧沖和

赫 he 'distinguished'

赫赫 27: 赫赫文皇

河 he 'to rail at'; used only in in XM for phonetic transcription of he-, hi- etc.

河施訶 (divine name) 6: 三一分身景尊河施訶

弘 hong 'vast'

弘 8: 虎座弘空

弘 hong 'spread, expand'

弘 10: 挟道非聖弘

洪 hong 'great, impressive'

洪 26: 頜刻洪碑

後 hou 'posterior, behind, later'

後後 3: 後後世妙有

乎 hu 'from, hence; also interrog. and explan. particle'

乎 7: 魏安於乎? 擊 8: 合隆於是乎 擊乎 4: 擊乎安施施

瑚 hu in the term shanhu 'coral'

珊瑚 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海

化 hua 'change, transform'

化通 21: 化通玄理

化 4: 令鎮化海

化造 3: 德玄悟化造化

向化 18: 贤明向化

元化 8: 張元化以發靈關

化 26: 權興化

花 hua 'flower, bloom'

花林 14: 西望仙境花林

華 hua 'splendour, brilliance'

華 8: 淵華筆而悟華筆

光華 10: 光華致達

統 huan in the phr. 火綄 huowan 'fire-proof, fire-retardant'

火綄 14: 其上出火綄布

道 huan 'return' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

道 65: 僧還 (monk-name) (>Syr. or equiv. Yohannān / John [S53])

皇 huang 'king, royal, sovereign'

皇 10: 太宗文皇; 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 19/20: 肅宗文明皇帝; 20: 代宗文武

皇 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝

皇 29: 祎師皇室

皇 20: 大慶臨而皇業建

皇圖 28: 皇圖璀璨

文皇 27: 赫赫文皇

恢 hui 'magnify, revive'

恢張 20: 恢張聖運

惠 hui 'grace, virtue'

好 23: 和而好患

仁惠 8: 擊木哀仁惠之音; (monk-name) 57: 僧仁惠

惠明 (monk-name) 44: 僧惠明 (Syr. / MPe. euchv. Mađādgwasnāsp [S27]. See under Index II)
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ji 'strong, robust' used only in the XM for phonetic transcription of ji/ya- or gi/ga-

ji 'next, immediately'

ji 'together with, and', also used in phonetic transcription for g-, ga-, ji-, ki- etc.

ji 'as soon as, completely'; n the phr. 既濟 'completed crossing' (Yijing)

ji 'aid, succor; succeed, completed'; in the phr. 既濟 'completed crossing' (Yijing)

ji/ja 'carriage'

ji 'carpet'

ji 'record'

ji 'trace, evidence' in the phr. 聖跡 shengji 'miracle'

ji 'gather together'

ji 'firm'

ji 'draw out, lead out'

ji 'but'

ji 'urge, provoke'

ji 'a aid, succor; succeed, completed'; in the phr. 既濟 'completed crossing' (Yijing)

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渐 jian 'gradually, by degrees'
阶渐 22: 迟引之阶渐也
煎 jiān 'fry, braise; hence harrass'
煎进 6: 煎进转烧
监 jiān 'inspect, oversee'
中监 23: 暂殿中监
肩 jiān 'shoulder'
肩随 5: 肩随结缘
艼 jiān 'difficult, difficulty'
艼险 11: 坚风律以驰艼险
薦 jiān 'present, recommend; fodder'
薦 9: 七日一薦
見 jiàn 'see, observe; observable, hence close'
見 26: 今见其人
見觀 24: 見觀於臥内
利見 (monk-name) 54: 僧利見
間 jiān see 間 xiān.
匠 jiàng 'make, fashion, mould, sculptor'
匠 4: 匠成万物
匠化 26: 權與匠化
將 jiāng 'general (military rank); make use of, employ'
將 12: 逸將经像来献上京
司將 13: 侯令有司將帝写真转撰寺壁
大將軍 17: 今大將軍高力士
降 jiàng 'descend'
降诞 20: 每於降诞之辰
教 jiāo as nn. 'teaching, sect, hence religion'; as vb. 'to teach'
教 12: 講其教旨
景教 Tít.: 大秦景教流行中国碑 1: 景教流行中國碑頌并序 10: 張稱景教
設教 7: 這三一淨風無言之新教 12: 随方設教
新教 7: 三一淨風無言之新教
嬌 jiāo 'suppress'
嬌人 5: 或扰以嬌人
角 jiǎo 'horn'
日角 18: 日角舒光
郊 jiāo 'region, countryside'
西郊 11: 擔仗西郊
戎 róng 'weapons, protect, warfare'
戎 24: 初戎或於兩方也
戎 jie 'prohibition, commandment'
戎 9: 或以 spécialisé為國
接 jie 'connect with, touch upon'
接 14: 東接長風弱水
深 jie 'purity, cleanliness'

8: 深浮華而潔慮白
界 jie 'boundary; hence country, region'
法界 14: 永輝法界

節 jie 'season, division; save on'; 朔方 shuófang
'northern quarter, northern region'; 節度使 jièdùshǐ
'district commander'; hence 節 jie (vb.) 'serve as
district commander'
節 23: 始效節於丹庭
節度使 23: 同朔方節度副使
清節 26: 清節遂稟
結 jie 'knit, knot, put together, conclude'
結繩 5: 肩隨結繩
階 jiē 'stepped, gradually'
階渐 22: 迟引之阶渐也
禁 jīn 'forbidden'
禁闈 11: 間道禁闈
進 jìn 'enter' used only as part of a monk-name in the XM.
日進 (monk-name) 40: 僧日進
金 jīn 'gold, golden'
金方 16: 並金方寶緒
金紫 23: 大施主金紫光緯大夫
金鵞 25: 布(辭緒之金鵞
京 jīng 'capital'
京 12: 逸將經像來獻上京 13: 所司即於京義 宅坊
迺大寺
境 jìng 'boundary, territory'
入境 7: 制入境之度
仙境 14: 西望仙境花林
敬 jìng 'revere, respect'
敬德 (monk-name) 53: 僧敬德 (Syr. equiv. Tiób / Job [S 40])
敬真 (monk-name) 64: 僧敬真 (Syr. + MPe. equiv. Izāzpās [S 52])
崇敬 (monk-name) 48: 僧崇敬
敬高 28: 率土敬高
景 jǐng as adj. 'luminous, bright, lustrous'; as nn. 'vista, view'
景 15: 法非景不行
景風 13: 景風東 方
景福 16: 家殷景福; (monk-name) 87: 僧景福
(Syr. + MPe. equiv. Yišţʼād [S 76])
景教 Tít.: 大秦景教流行中國碑 1: 景教流行中國碑頌並序 10: 張稱景教 27: 明明景教
景淨 (monk-name) 2: 大秦寺僧景淨 (Syr. equiv. Šō' Adam)
景尊 6: 三分一景尊播施訥
景力 22: 我景力徒事之功用也
景門 14: 英朗景門 25: 更效景門
景士 26: 白衣景士
景宿 6: 景宿告祥
景日 7: 懸景日以破暗府
景寺 15: 而於諸州各置景寺 20: 重立景寺
景罪 20: 頒御額以光景罪 31: 東方之景罪
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景命 21: 闡九疇以惟新景命

景通 (monk-name) 76: 僧景通 (Syr. equiv. Mār Sargīs / Lord Sergius [S63])

晶 jing ‘bright rays’

舒晶 29: 聖日舒晶

浄 jing ‘pure, undefiled’

浄風 7: 設三一浄風无言之新教

競 jing ‘compete’

競織 5: 競織

精 jing ‘fine, refined, precise, essence’

精供 25: 虛事精供

精宇 27: 親精宇

絹 juan ‘offer, present’

賜絹 17: 賜絹

紐 jiu ‘end; hence broken (end)’

絕紐 17: 俱維

均 jin ‘equal, alike’

均 9: 均貴戚於人

峻 jun ‘steep, lofty’

峻 19: 寧貴比南山峻極

軍 jun ‘army’

軍 24: 作軍耳目

軍 32: 朝議郞前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖 書

郡 jun ‘prefecture’

郡 20: 於靈武等五郡

汾陽郡 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭子儀

閱 kai ‘open, begin; hence separate’

閱 4: 暗空而天地開

閔生 7: 閔生滅死

閔開 20: 元善資而福開

開 20: 使開

開 29: 開貨生成

康 kang ‘healthy, healthiness’

康 27: 万邦之康

樂康 15: 人有樂康; 28: ditto

克 ke ‘ably’

克恭 15: 克基鐘祖

克修 28: 克修真正

刻 ke ‘inscribe, engrave’

刻 26: 開創洪碑

可 ke ‘can be, be able to’

可 18: 弓劍可攀; 19: 道無可可; 所可可名: 所作可述

空 kong ‘emptiness, space, void’

空 5: 或空有以淪空

空 4: 暗空而天地開

宏空 19: 童空無空

口 kou ‘mouth; i.e. voice’

騰口 16: 腾口於東周

寇 kou ‘thief’

寇盜 15: 俗無寇盗

蔻 kou ‘raise up, gather up’

玄樑 3: 捕玄樑而造化

窪 ku ‘cave’

窪 29: 月窪畢萃

苦 ku ‘suffering, hardship’

災苦 28: 物無災苦

眾苦 22: 廣普眾苦

愧 kui ‘ashamed’

無愧 21: 焦無愧心

坤 kun ‘female, feminine’

坤張 27: 乾坤坤張
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廊 kuo 'broad, wide'

闊 kuo 'broad'

來 lāi 'come, arrive'

利 li 'benefit'

樂 yue (v. infra)

利 li 'benefit'

利利 li 'power, strength'

寂里 13: 漸物利利

利利 (monk-name) 92: 僧利利 (Syr. equiv. Sem'an / Simeon [S81])

利利 (monk-name) 54: 僧利利 (>Syr. or equiv. Lūqā / Luke [S42])

美利 21: 且以利以美利故其廣生; 29: 物資美利

施利 25: 依仁施利

業利 (monk-name) 38: 僧業利

力 li 'power, strength'

樂 le → 樂 yue (v. infra)

利 li 'benefit'

利人 13: 漸物利人

利利 (monk-name) 92: 僧利利 (Syr. equiv. Sem'an / Simeon [S81])

利利 (monk-name) 54: 僧利利 (>Syr. or equiv. Lūqā / Luke [S42])

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美利 21: 且以美利故其廣生; 29: 物資美利

施利 25: 依仁施利

業利 (monk-name) 38: 僧業利

力 li 'power, strength'

景力 22: 我景力故其之功用也

高力士 (pers. name) 17: 今大將軍高力士送五百載真寺內安置

理 li 'rule, govern, manage'

理 7: 理家國於大獄; 12: 理有志者; 22: 人智理

玄理 21: 化通玄理

礼 (禮) li 'rite(s)'

礼讃 9: 七時礼讃

束礼 8: 束礼故生榮之路

立 lì 'establish, erect'

立 4: 立地初人; 15: 主非德不立

立本 (monk-name) 81: 僧立本 (Syr. equiv. Iliyā / Elijah [S69])

立天 26: 起地立天

立要 12: 生成立要

建立 17: 建立壇場; 31: 大聖森文日建立; 34: 捡校建立碑

重立 20: 重立景寺

利 li 'ornament'

顏 24: 献懿之顏

利 li 'refine'

悦 7: 献禮成真

良 liang 'virtue, virtuous, righteous'

良和 4: 良等和

陶良 7: 陶良用於正信

療 liao 'heal, treat, restore'

療 25: 病者療而起之

利 lie 'achievements, heroic deeds'; also used for phonetic transcription for la-, li-

及利 (pers. name) 16: 大德及利 (>Syr. Gabriel ?)

休烈 26: 以楊休烈

林 lin 'forest, wood' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

林林 (monk-name) 46: 僧林林

臨 lin 'come to, arrive at'

臨 10: 明聖臨人; 20: 大聖臨而皇業建; 30: 献聖臨人

昭臨 17: 今寧國等五王昭臨福宇建立壇場

令 ling 'command, order'

令 4: 金鎮化海; 17: 今寧國等五王; 今大將軍高力士; 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子; 26: 今見其人

特令 11: 特令傳授

旋令 13: 旋令有司將帝

凌 ling 'traverse'

騰凌 19: 假凌激曰

靈 ling 'spirit, spiritual'

靈 (郡) (place-name) 20: 於靈武等五郡

靈 3: 献然靈處

靈 8: 張元化以發靈開

靈 (monk-name) 33: 僧靈 (Syr. equiv. 'Adam the minister' [S13])

靈 (monk-name) 66: 僧靈 (Syr. equiv. Anôš / Enosh [S54])

靈德 (monk-name) 67: 僧靈德 (Syr. equiv. Már Sargis [S55])

寶靈 (monk-name) 78: 僧寶靈

含靈 8: 含靈於至善世

齡 ling 'age, seniority; also used as a personal name'

房玄齡 11: 宰臣房公玄齡

六 liu 'six, sixth'

六 5: 三百六十五

六合 30: 六合昭蘇

流 liu 'flow, diffuse'

流 15: 法流十道

流行 Titl.: 大秦景教流行中土碑; 1: 景教流行中國
碑颂并序
留 liu ‘leave behind’
留 8; 經留二字七部
幾 long ‘dragon; hence imperial’
龍 18: 龍聲難遠
龍書 19: 頭裁龍書
呂 lu ‘spine’; used only as a surname in XM.
呂秀巖 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖書
律 lu ‘law, regulation’
風律 11: 望風律以馳艱險
虐 lu ‘plan, worry, exertion’
智慮 5: 智慮營營
祿 lu ‘dignity’
祿賜 132: 賜祿皆滿
祿賜 5: 祐祿廣生
路 lu ‘road, path’
生榮之路 9: 使勉生榮之路
亂 lun ‘chaos, disturbance’
攝亂 27: 乘時攝亂
淪 lun ‘to lose, drown, submerge’
淪 2: 所有有以淪 二
輪 lun ‘wheel’; used only in XM for phonetic transcription of nun-
暇輪 39: 大德暇輪
羅 luo ‘net’; also used in phonetic transcription of l-, lu-, l’, r’, etc.
法羅 5: 鑿鑿法羅
羅含 16: 有若僧首羅含, 18: 詔僧羅
含僧普論等一七人
阿羅本 (pers. name) 10: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本
阿羅訶 (divine name) 3: 我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶
臨 mii ‘vanquish’
滅死 7: 開生滅死
暗滅 26: 日昇暗滅
名 ming ‘name’
名 10: 妙而難名; 19: 所可可名; 23: 乃眾名於王帳; 39: 名言矣演三一; 主徒作兮敘述
常名 12: 詣曰道常名名
冥 ming ‘darkness, obscurity’
陰冥 5: 陰冥同於彼非之內
名 ming ‘law; life, fate’
景名 21: 閃九略以惟新景命
明 ming ‘light, illumination; to illuminate; illustrious’
也 used in phonetic transcription for ma-, min- etc.
明月珠 14: 明月珠
明德 30: 丰德明德
明宮 8: 捧惑|皆 以登明宮
明月 27: 明明景教
明聖 10: 明聖諸人
明泰 (monk-name) 55: 僧明泰 (>Syr. 56 Mattay / Matthew [S43])
明一 (monk-name) 97: 僧明一 (>Syr. 56 ‘Ammānuʾel / Emmanuel [S86])
明昌 15: 文物明昌
和明 (monk-name) 82: 僧和明
惠明 (monk-name) 44: 僧惠明
文明 10: 天下文明; 19: 肅宗文明皇
帝 (monk-name) 60: 僧文明 (Syr. t-MPe. equiv. 58 Isō’dād [S60])
和明 (monk-name) 82: 僧和明
光明 21: 拔八政以點明
宜明 28: 真道宜明
凝念年餧內難南乃目末摸溟

念建中二年能使及事散禄赐餧入內臥內內

念二⼗年; 30: 太蔟月七日

七 qi ‘seven’

七日 9: 七日一審; 31: 太蔟月七日

七時 9: 七時礼讚

七月 12: 貞觀十有二年秋七月

二十七 8: 陰陽二十七部

一七 18: 聖普論等一七人

其 qi ‘he, she, it, the one, each one’s, there etc.’

其 12: 誠致敬旨; 觀其尤宗; 14: 其土出火統布; 25: 或仍其舊寺; 26: 今見其人; 28: 其家慶幸

其 3: 其唯

契 qi ‘contract, matching half’

符契 10: 造聖符契

憩 qi ‘rest, leisure’

憩 25: 布[辭憩之金屬]
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秦 \( qin \) 'open'

秦 7: 乾三常之門

秦 28: 宗法盛聖

秦 10: 光華易運

起 \( qiu \) 'rise, raise, restore'

起 25: 疊者盛而起之

起地 26: 起地立天

齊 \( qie \) 'level with, together with'

齊深 19: 沛澤與東海齊深

乾 \( qian \) 'heaven'

乾 27: 乾旋坤張

乾祐 (monk-name) 51: 僧乾祐 (Syr. equiv. \( Šlēmōn \) / Solomon [S89])

且乾 21: 僧乾以美利故執廣生

前 \( qian \) 'front, former'

前行 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士

虔 \( qien \) 'sincere'

虔事 25: 虔事精供

強 \( qiang \) 'strong'

强 10: 強誇擊鼓; 30: 強名言今演三一 密强

且 \( qie \) 'as, since'

且乾 20: 僧乾以美利故執廣生

勤 \( qing \) 'zealous, diligent'

勤行 23: 閒道勤行

秦 \( qin \) name of a dynasty which ruled China from 221 to 206 BCE hence 大秦 Da Qin 'Great Chin or China' i.e. the Roman Empire, more precisely the Roman East.


18: 三載大秦國有僧僧和

親 \( qin \) 'in person, a relative'

親臨 17: 令寳國等五王親臨福字建立壇場; 見親 24: 雖親於內

傾 \( qing \) 'overthrow'

傾 17: 道石時傾而復正

情 \( qing \) 'character, nature; affection'

情發 22: 顯發目(自)誠者

內情 9: 則頂所以無內情

恩 (corr. 恩)情 5: 恩情役役

慶 \( qing \) 'celebrate, reward'

慶 28: 人賴其慶

慶 18: 於慶廟修功德

慶 20: 大慶臨而皇案建

慶 6: 神妃慶

慶 18: 僧慶家園

慶 (monk-name) 42: 僧慶慶

清 \( qing \) 'clean, clear, pure, untainted'

清 22: 物牲清

清節 26: 清節連榮

文清 30: 文清萬域

齋 \( qing \) 'simplicity'

齋 9: 不積貨財於我

色 \( qing \) 'pale green'

青雲 11: 占青雲而載真經

青駕 13: 青駕西昇

秋 \( qiu \) 'autumn'

秋 12: 皇佑十有二|年秋七月

區 \( qu \) 'administration'

區夏 29: 造我區夏

去 \( qu \) 'go, reach' used only in XM as part of a monk-name

去甚 (monk-name) 99: 僧去甚 (Syr. equiv. \( Šlēmōn \) / Solomon [S89])

起 \( qu \) 'advance, cherish; humour'

起 9: 起|礼起之章之路

取 \( qu \) 'take, regard'

取則 30: 百萬取則

全 \( quan \) 'extensive, broad'

十全 23: 十博十全

筌 \( quan \) 'trap'

忘筌 12: 理有忘筌

群 \( qun \) 'multitude, numerous'

群生 12: 密濟群生; 22: 善貸被群生者

然 \( ran \) 'then, certainly, therefore'; emphatic particle

然 4: 始成万物然立初人

常然 3: 常然真寂; 26: 湊寂常然

窮然 3: 寧然虛處

茫然 5: 茫然|无得

髯 \( ran \) 'whisker'

髯髯 18: 龍髯難逢

權 \( rang \) 'seize, take'

權輿 26: 權輿匠化

執 \( rao \) 'disregard'

執執 17: 法執賢曇而更崇

人 \( ren \) 'man, person, people in general'


人恩 30: 燹恩人恩

初人 4: 然立初人

利人 13: 濟物利人

僧 5: 萬善以僧人

同人 6: 同人出代

仁 \( ren \) 'righteous; gentlemanly'

仁 25: 依仁施利; 29: 仁以作施;

仁恵 8: 擊木震仁恵之音; (monk-name) 57: 僧仁恵
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三 san 'three, three times, threerd'
三日 ri ‘sun, hence day’
三生 san 'heavily wooded forest'; used only in the XM for phonetic transcription for san-, sen- etc.;
桑文森 31: 在作桑太茨月七日大桑文森日
僧 seng 'monk'
僧侣 16: 僧志羅含
僧侣 25: 每桑四寺僧侣


桑 sha only in the phr. 桑袈裟 jiasha phonetic transcription Skt. kaśāya 'monk garment' (S 363b)
紫袈裟 23: 聖紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 助撾授試太常师卿

善 shan 'goodness, compassion, kindness'
善貨 22: 善貨被群生者
伐善 5: 或伐善以嬌人
元善 20: 元善貢而福祚開

山 shan 'hill, mountain'
山 14: 北極眾寶之山; 19: 寵負比南山峻極
山 shan 'fan, to fan'

東 shan 13: 景風東扇
珊瑚 shan in the term shanhu 'coral'
珊瑚 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海

說 shuo 'tell'
說 16: 論迦讞於西經

上 shang 'above, superior; present, submit'
上 12: 遠將經像來獻上京都
上德 10: 大秦國有上德。曰阿羅本
<上座> S64: "syngotsw' (shanzuo)
燒 shao 'burn'
轉軸 6: 轉軸轉妙
舍 she 'residence'
王舍 23: 王舍之城
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Tai  'platform'; also used as a name of a prefecture in the XM: 台州 taizhou (in modern Zhejiang).

Tai ‘very’ used only in the XM in the phr. 太蔟月 ‘the first month’

Tai 和 (monk-name) 86: 僧太和 (Syr. equiv. ܐܒܕܝܹܫܘܥ ‘Abdīšā) [S75]

太常卿 31: 位立於京義亭坊遠大秦寺一所度僧廿一人

寺牓 17: 今寧國等五王龍騎禪堂建寺

寺 19: 於是天題寺牓

體 21: 聖以體元故託亭度

常體 12: 聖元常體

天 19: 於是天題寺牓; 26: 起地立天

天寶 (as Dynastic title) 17: 天寶初

天 4: 晝空易而天地間; 29: 德合天地

天咸 28: 天咸引駕

天書 28: 天書詩映

天下 10: 天下文明; 13: 宜行天下; 22: 天下靜

天香 20: 天香以告成功

天顔 18: 天顔咫尺

天姿 13: 天姿俊彩

神天 6: 神天宜慶

先天 16: 先天末

紉 tian ‘golden flower’ in the phr. tian shì 紉‘to deceive (with a golden flower)’

紉 4: 紉飾純精

亭 ting ‘pavilion; raise, hold, stop’

亭午 8: 亭午昇真

亭度 21: 聖以體元故託亭度

同 tong ‘together, similar to, comparable to’

同 5: 總冥同於彼非之內; 23: 同朗方節度副使同人 6: 同人出代

統 tong ‘control; hence bounded; highest point’

統 14: 大秦國南統珊瑚之海

統極 30: 建中統極

通 tong ‘communicate, lead to, comprehend’

通 21: 通通玄理

景通 (monk-name) 76: 僧景通

行通 (monk-name) 35: 僧行通

惠通 (monk-name) 50: 僧惠通

圓 tu ‘illustration’

圓 14: 西域圖記

皇圖 28: 皇圖瑣瑣

圓 18: 奉慶靈園

土 tu ‘earth’

土 14: 其土出火銅布

土宇 15: 土宇廣闊

中土 28: 途中土

桑土 28: 桑土高敬

徒 tu ‘follower’

僧徒 25: 每歲集四寺僧徒

途 tu ‘way, path, trail’

通途 6: 穴督通途

託 tao ‘trust, entrust’

託 5: 代指物以託宗
問 "we" 'quest; inquiry'
闈 "wan" 'ten thousand, myriad'
為 "wei" 'dignity, power'
亡 "wang" 'lose (one's way), be lost'
存 "wei" 'exist, remain'
妄 "wang" 'deceit'
望 "wang" 'gaze at'

唯 "wei" assertive particle 'verily'

文 "wen" 'smell; inquire'
聞 "wen" 'quarters, chamber, private room'
問 "wen" 'ask, inquire into'
問 "wen" 'literature, literate'; also used in the XM for phonetic transcription for wan-, wen- etc.;

文皇 27: 赫赫文皇
文明 10: 天下文明; (monk-name) 60: 僧文明
文武 20: 代宗文武皇帝; 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝
文貞 (monk-name) 61: 僧文貞 (Syr. equiv. ܫܡܥܘܢ / Simon [S60])
文武 15: 文物昌明

文 10: 太宗文皇帝; 19: 肅宗文明皇帝

外 wai 'external'
外行 9: 存盛所以有外行
物外 16: 物外高僧
万 (萬) wan 'ten thousand, myriad'
万邦 27: 万邦之康
万域 30: 文清万域
万物 4: 匠成万物

宮 wang 'lose (one's way), be lost'
亡途 6: 精昧亡途
存亡 9: 大庇存亡
妄 wang 'deceit'
魔王 7: 魔王者乎悉推
施妄 4: 激乎虚推施妄
忘 wang 'forget'
忘妄 12: 理有忘妄

望 wang 'gaze at'
望 11: 廬風律以驰顧陰; 14: 西望仙境花
望 18: 望日朝皇

王 wang 'king, prince'
五王 17: 令寧國等五王親臨福宇建立壇場;
王帳 23: 乃策名於王帳
王舍 23: 王舍之城
郡王 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
前王 27: 道冠前王
天威 6: 天威真威
天威 28: 天威引駕

唯 wei assertive particle 'verily'

唯 3: 其唯我三一妙身元無真主阿羅訶;
惟 29: 聖谷惟成; (monk-name) 63: 僧來威
惟 10: 唯道非聖不弘; 21: 閩九時以惟新景命; 30: 道惟廣兮。應惟密

未 wei 'never'
未 6: 未聞斯美
為 wei 'being'
為 9: 我以靜慎為; 15: 仍崇阿羅本為鎮國大法主;
為 24: 為公爪牙
為 12: 為妙為; 20: 從事為為

維 wei 'brace, attach; tie'
俱維 16: 俱維|縛綬
蔚 wei 'polished'
蔚映 28: 天書蔚映
闈 wei 'quarters, chamber, private room'
問闈 11: 問問闈
問 wen 'ask, inquire into'
問道 11: 問問道
文 wen 'literature, literate'; also used in the XM for phonetic transcription for wan-, wen- etc.;
文 10: 太宗文皇帝; 19: 肅宗文明皇帝
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玄摳 旋令 懸 星 虚 白 畜 修 序 秀 修 修 穆 宜 行 外 行 前 行 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士

呂 秀 崗 32: 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士 參 軍 吳 秀 崗 書
序 xu ‘prologue, series’

序 1: 景 教 流 行 中 國 碑 頌 總 譯 碑 頌

呂 秀 崗 32: 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士 參 軍 吳 秀 崗 書
序 xu ‘prologue, series’

秀 xiu ‘elegant’; used only as part of a personal name in XM.

呂 秀 崗 32: 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士 參 軍 吳 秀 崗 書
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序 1: 景 教 流 行 中 國 碑 頌 總 譯 碑 頌

呂 秀 崗 32: 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士 參 軍 吳 秀 崗 書
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呂 秀 崗 32: 朝 議 郎 前 行 台 州 司 士 參 軍 吳 秀 崗 書
序 xu ‘prologue, series’

秀 xiu ‘elegant’; used only as part of a personal name in XM.
以 yao 'distant'
遥 & (monk-name) 41: 僧遥 & (Syr. ܝܘܐܝܠ / Joel [S23])
遥 yao 'obtain'
遥 f5: 或齊祀以邀遥
也 ye final and emphatic particle
也 22: 汰引之階漸也; 我景力鉅事之功用 
也 24: 初德或於朔方也; 31: 時法主僧 完武東之景原也
夜 ye 'night' and in the phr. 夜光璧 ye guang bi 'night-glistening gem'
夜 29: 祥風掃夜
夜光璧 14: 夜光璧
晝 4: 日運而晝夜作
業 ye 'leaf; establish, hence estate, establishment'; also used for phonetic transcription of ya-, ye-
業利 20: 大慶臨而業業建
業利 (monk-name) 38: 僧業利 'Elijah' (?)
耶 ye interrogative particle used for phonetic transcription of ya-, ye- etc.
耶俱摩 (monk-name) 75: 老宿耶俱摩 (Syr. Ḥ zabūzīd / Jacob [S63])
依 yi 'according to, depending on'
依 25: 依仁施利
一 yi 'one; single; all; once'
一 9: 七日一薦; 13: 一所度僧百二十一人
一 18: 論僧緋羅合僧普論等一七人
ー 13: 遂大秦寺一所
一 3: 我一妙身元無真主阿羅訶; 6: 我二一分身; 30: 名言今演三一主
一 13: 度僧廿二人
「一」 (monk-name) 97: 僧明一
守 (monk-name) 74: 僧守一
元 (monk-name) 52: 僧元一
以 yi 'by means of, in order to, is/are etc.'
以 3: 造眾聖以元尊者; 3: 判 十字以定四方; 5: 是以三百六十五種; 以託宗; 或空有以淪二; 或 褂祀
以邀福; 或伐善以善人; 6: 波斯睹耀以來 賜; 7: 懷 景日以破暗府; 8: 悦感|航以登明宮; 张元化以發
靈鬚|陰以合光無拘; 9: 存藏所 以有外行; 剃頂 所以無內情; 與以伐施而成; 成以訓慎為因; 11: 望
風律以施龍陰; 20: 錫天 香以告成功; 領御鎖以光
景栄; 21: 且|韓以表 利故徒廣生; 聖|體元故徒停
毒; 披入故以點|莎明; 嘉章以惟新景命; 26: 以
楊休烈; 29: 以報功; 仁以作施
伊 yi 'this, that etc.'; phonetic transcription for ya- in
Yazdbouzid (yazd bōzīd) masūr (S 15)
伊斯 23: 聖紫袈裟僧伊斯
儀 yi 'ceremony' – only used as part of a personal name
在 XM.
郭子儀 (pers. name) 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀
宜 yi 'suitable, appropriate'
宜 13: 宜行天下
易 yi 'change, alter'
易 4: 順空易而天地開
異 yi 'strange, different'
異 24: 不自異於行開
義 yi 'righteous'
義寧坊 (place-name) 13: 所司即於京義寧坊造大秦寺一所
義寧 (monk-name) 94: 僧義寧 (Syr. equiv. ܙܟܪܝܐ / Zechariah [S83])
孝義 29: 代宗孝義
藝 yi 'accomplishment, skills'
藝 23: 報博十全
衣 yi 'clothes, garment; to clothe'
衣 25: 寒來而衣之
白衣 26: 白衣景士
議 yi 'council'
議 32: 朝議郎前台州司士
遣 yi 'leave behind'
遣 9: 不聚貨財示遣於我
音 yin 'sound; music'
音 8: 擊木震仁惠之音
印 yin 'imprint, seal'
印 8: 印持十字
殷 yin 'to prosper; abundant, full'
殷 16: 家殷景福
隱 yin 'hide, cover, shadow'
隱 6: 淹隱真威
引 yin 'lead' and in the phr. 沢引 ji yin 'draw out, lead out'
引駕 28/29: 天咸引駕
引 22: 沢引之階漸也
應 ying 'reply, answer, response; influence' in the phr.
響應 xiàng yìng 'echo'
響應 22: 向生響應; 30: 應惟密
映 ying 'vivid, shiny, luminous'
映 28: 天書映映
映 ying 'hasten, agitated, confused'
營 5: 智慮營營
營 ying 'overfilled, inflated'
盈 4: 虛而不盈
英 ying 'heroic; hence very, excessively'
英朗 13: 英朗景勝
英德 (monk-name) 68: 僧英德 (Syr. equiv. ܐܝܣܚܩ / Ishāq [S56])
迎 ying 'greet, welcome'
迎 11: 常迎入內
永 yong 'forever'
永輝 14: 永輝法界
永世 29: 古來永謝
雲 yun ‘cloud’
青雲 11: 占青雲而載真經

在 zai ‘at, on’
在 31: 在作靈太蔟月七日大耀森文日
宰 zai ‘minister, superintendent’
宰臣 11: 帝使宰臣房公玄齡
災 zai ‘disaster, calamity’
災苦 28: 物元災苦
载 zai ‘carry; year’
載 11: 占青雲而載真經
三載 13: 三載大秦國有僧佶和
暫 zan ‘temporarily’
暫橈 17: 法棟橈而更崇
贊 zan ‘praise’
贊 9: 七時贊讃
藏 zang ‘store, collect; hence slave’
藏獲 9: 不畜藏獲
葬 zang ‘bury’
葬 26: 死者葬而安之
造 zao ‘make, create; erect’
造 13: 造大秦寺; 29: 造室區夏; 造化 3: 德玄橈而造化
則 ze ‘example’
則 30: 百變則則
澤 ze ‘pool, pond’
沛澤 19: 沛澤與東海齊深
張 zhang ‘expand, stretch, extend, expand’
張 8: 張元化以發靈閣
張 20: 前張聖運
坤張 27: 乾廓坤張
彰 zhang ‘luminous’
昭彰 10: 功用昭彰
昭 28: 克修昭正
昭德 (monk-name) 59: 僧昭德 (Mpe.+Syr. equiv. Sabranīšū) [S47]. See Index II
棹 zhao ‘launch, row’
棹 7: 鑲繪航以登明宮
照 zhao ‘illuminate, display, reflect’
昭彰 8: 融四照以合元拘
昭蘇 10: 功用昭蘇
昭蘇 30: 六合昭蘇
爪 zhao ‘claw’
爪牙 24: 為爪牙
詔 zhao ‘edict’
詔 12: 詔日道無常名; 18: 詔僧羅含僧普論 等一七人
者 zhe ‘the one, who is etc.’
者 3: 妙眾聖以元尊者; 22: 善貨被群生者; 情發自己(自?)誠者; 25: 慈者來而飯之; 至者 朱而衣之; 病者療而起之; 26: 死者葬而安之
捷 zhe ‘track’
轍 5: 肩隨結轍
振 zhen ‘strengthen, reinvigorate, restore’
共振 16: 共振玄網
真 zhen ‘true, genuine’
真常 10: 真常之道
真寂 3: 常然真寂
真道 28: 真道宣明
真威 6: 戟隱真威
真玄 27: 成證真玄
真正 28: 克修真正
宗 15: 溝源真宗
真主 3: 无元真主阿羅訶; 26: 真主无元
真經 11: 占青雲而載真經
成真 7: 極盡成真
奉真 (monk-name) 90: 僧奉真
敬真 64: 僧敬真
寫真 13: 写真轉模寺壁; 17: 写真寺內安置
昇真 7: 升真昇真
正真 11: 深知正真
貞 zhen ‘pure chaste’
貞覲 (reign-title) 11: 貞覲九祀至於長安; 貞覲十有二年秋七月
鎮 zhen vb. ‘subdue, pacify’; nn. ‘a provincial town’
鎮化 4: 令鎮化海
鎮國 15: 鎮國大法主
震 zhen ‘shake, quake’
震 8: 擊木震仁惠之音
政 zheng ‘law, government’
入政 21: 入政以點畫明
正 zheng ‘correct, upright’
正信 7: 陶良用於正信
正真 11: 深知正真
真正 28: 克修真正
復正 17: 道石時傾而復正
光正 (monk-name) 83: 僧光正
證 zheng ‘witness, testimony’

証 27: 成証真玄

之 zhi possessive particle ‘of’; also perfect participle
之 4: 處元之性; 素育之心; 5: 此是之中; 隙冥同於
彼非之內; 7: 有說之舊法; 无言之新教; 制八 境之
度; 稽三常之門; 8: 仁惠之音; 9: 生榮之 路; 10: 真
常之道; 14: 大秦南統珊瑚之海; 北極眾寶之山;
20: 降誕之辰; 22: 我修行之大 獸; 汲引之階漸也;
祛事之功用; 23: 王合之城; 24: 僞之從過; 獻臨恩
之顧馨; 25: 有/銘織之金屑; 饮者來而飲之; 罪者
來而衣之; 26: 病者 療而愈之; 死者葬而安之; 27:
万邦之庚; 31: 東方之景眾也

制 zhi ‘create, set up, establish’ 北極

指 zhi ‘finger; point to, direct’

咫 zhi ‘a length of unit, about 8 inches’ used in the phr.
咫尺 zhi chi ‘close at hand, in the proximity of’
咫尺 18: 天咫咫咫

志 zhi ‘purpose’ used only in XM as part of a monk-
名志坚 (monk-name) 95: 菩志堅 (Syr. equiv. Ṣawād
Quryāqūs / Cyriac [S84])

旨 zhi ‘purpose, intention’

旨 12: 敦其教旨

智 zhi ‘wisdom, thinking’

智應 5: 智慮善善

止 zhi ‘stop, cease’

止沸 29: 止沸定應

知 zhi ‘to know, recognize; hence to be in charge of’

知 31: 時法主僧意怒怒; 東方之景眾也

深知 11: 深知正真

織 zhi ‘weave’

織織 5: 織織法眾

置 zhi ‘establish, erect’

置 15: 而於諸州各置景寺

安置 17: 置真寺內安置

至 zhi ‘reach, attain’

至德 (monk-name) 89: 菩至德 (Syr. equiv. ܡܡܐ
Yoḥānān / John [S78])

至道 17: 玄宗至道皇帝

至於 11: 貞觀九祀至於長安; 21: 至於方大而虚

中 zhong ‘middle’

中 5: 開平大於|此是之中

中國 Titi: 大秦景教流行中國碑; 1: 景教流行中國
碑頃並序

中監 23: 試殿中監

中夏 23: 春末中夏

中書令 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子儀

中土 28: 通|中土

建中 (dynastic title) 21: 我建中聖神文武皇帝;

29/30: 建|中統極 31: 唐建中二年

眾 zhong ‘multitude, mass, assembly, congregation’

眾聖 3: 神聖聖以元尊者

眾聖 14: 北極眾寶之山

眾聖 20: 御絳以光景眾; 31: 東方之景眾也

眾苦 21: 廣|慈救眾苦

種 zhong ‘type, race’

種 5: 是以三百六十五種

周 zhou name of an ancient dynasty

周宗 13: 宜周德虞

東周 16: 勝周於東周

州 zhout prefectoral’

州 15: 而於諸州各置景寺

台州 32: 朝議郎前行台州司士參軍呂秀巖 書

畫 zhout ‘day as opposed to night’

畫夜 4: 月運而畫夜作

舟 zhout ‘ship, vessel’

舟航 27: 存損舟航

主 zhout ‘principal, lord’

主 15: 主不德不立

法主 28: 式封法主; 31: 法主僧希怒

一三一主 30: 名言亦演一主法作今臣梵述

寺主 37/38: 寺主僧業利

大法主 15: 襄國大法主; 28: 式封法主

大施主 20/23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫

真主 26: 真主無元

助 zhout ‘assist, assistant’

助授試 36: 助授試太常|御賜紫宸裳寺|主僧業

利 zhout ‘pearl’

明月珠 14: 明月珠

祝 zhout ‘pray, implore, celebrate’

祝 21: 祝無愧心

築 zhout ‘construct’

築 27: 築基精宇

諸 zhout ‘all, various; store’

諸 15: 而於諸州各置景寺; 25: 價諸句五句

尊 zhuan ‘become, turn to, specialize in’

尊 21: 崇靜而怨

轉 zhuan ‘turn, rotate, change’

轉頭 13: 帝寫真轉護寺壁

轉頭 6: 辛故轉護

齋 zhuan ‘food, fine food, banquet’

齋 20: 朝齋以光景眾

壯 zhout ‘strong, strength’

壯 16: 釋子用壯

裝 zhuan ‘adorn’

裝 19: 窮裝眾眾

灼 zhout ‘burn, roast’ in the phr. 灼煬 zhou shou
‘brilliant’

灼煬 19: 灼煬丹霞
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姿 zi ‘image’
天姿 13: 天姿汎彩
子 zi ‘off-spring, son’
释子仪 (pers. name) 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子仪
字 zi ‘letter, word, sign, (Chinese) character’
十字 3: 十字以定四方; 8: 印持十字
紫 zi ‘purple’
金紫 23: 大施主金紫光祿大夫
紫袈裟 23: 贼紫袈裟僧伊斯; 37: 助撿校試太常卿
赐紫袈裟寺|主僧業利
自 zi ‘self, from’
自: 23: 远自王舍之城; 22: 情發目(自?)誠者; 24: 不自異於行間
資 zi ‘grant, enrich’
資 20: 元善黃而福祚開
物資 29: 物資美利
宗 zong ‘principle, ancestor; worship, revere’
宗周 13: 宗周德表
太宗 (imperial-title) 10: 太宗文皇帝
託宗 5: 或指物以託宗
元宗 12: 觀其元宗; (monk-name) 91: 僧元宗
高宗 (imperial-title) 15: 高宗大帝; 27: 高宗暴祖
玄宗 (imperial-title) 17: 玄宗至道皇帝; 28: 玄宗啟聖; 29: 代宗孝義
代宗 (imperial-title) 20: 代宗文武皇帝
肅宗(imperial-title) 19: 肅宗文文明皇|帝; 24: 肅宗倖之從邁; 28: 肅宗來復
真宗 15: 潤色真宗
揔 (總) zong ‘in general, over all’
揔 3: 挹玄揚而造化
揔或 24: 初揔或於朗方也
揔仗 11: 揔仗西郊
祖 zu ‘ancestor’
暴祖 27: 高宗暴祖
尊 zun ‘lord, master, venerable’
元尊 3: 抄眾聖以元尊者
景尊 6: 景尊彌施訶
朝尊 18: 望日朝尊
作 zuo ‘do, make, create, fashion, compose’ and in the astronomical phr. 作噩 zuo ‘e’.
作 4: 日月運而晝夜作; 19: 聖无不作; 所作可述 24:
作軍耳目; 27: 百福偕作; 30: 名言今演三一主 魁作
今臣述
作施 29: 仁以作施
作岳 31: 作岳太蒼月
祚 zuo ‘blessing’
祚 29: 祚歸皇室

姿 zi ‘image’
天姿 13: 天姿汎彩
子 zi ‘off-spring, son’
释子仪 (pers. name) 24: 中書令汾陽郡王郭公子仪
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代宗 (imperial-title) 20: 代宗文武皇帝
肅宗(imperial-title) 19: 肅宗文文明皇|帝; 24: 肅宗倖之從邁; 28: 肅宗來復
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今臣述
作施 29: 仁以作施
作岳 31: 作岳太蒼月
祚 zuo ‘blessing’
祚 29: 祚歸皇室
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(II) INDEX TO WORDS IN SYRIAC

ܐܗܪܘܢ [CSD 1b] ‘father’: ܐܒܐ (no Chin. equiv.)

ܒܟܘܣ (CSD 3b) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Abay’ (Chin. equiv., not phonetic transcription: 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Yánhé lit. ‘to erect or establish the fundamentals (of the doctrine?)’)

ܒܗ [CSD 18a] ‘one thousand’: S3

ܒܗ [Hebr. יوحد] ‘my father’ also exists as a name in Parthian Ab, cf. Justi, Namenbuch 2a.) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Abay’; S30 ܐܒܐ (no Chin. equiv.)


ܒܟܘܣ ‘ywb [Hebr. יوحد] pr. n. (pers.) ‘Yōb (i.e. Job)’ (Biblical): S41 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [53] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Jingjè lit. ‘reverential and virtuous’)

ܒܟܘܣ ‘yzdsp’s [MPe yzd /yazad/ ‘god’, ‘sp’s /ispās/ ‘service, thanksgiving’ lit. ‘service of or thanksgiving to God’) pers. n. ‘Yazadspās’: S52 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [64] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Jingjèn lit. ‘to revere the truth’ (Buddh.))

ܒܟܘܣ ‘yshq [Hebr. ישח] lit. ‘(he) will laugh’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Yshaq’ (i.e. Isaac) (Biblical): S23 (Chin. equiv. not transl. [40] 僧日造 (the Monk) Rijin ‘daily progress’); S56 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [68] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Yingmé ‘courage-virtue’); S61 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [73] 僧光浹 (the Monk) Guāngjī lit. ‘radiant and generous (towards the needy)’ (Budd.)); S70 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [82] 僧和明 (the Monk) Hēmìng ‘serene and bright’ (Budd.)); S90 ܐܒܐ (no Chin. equiv.)

ܒܟܘܣ ‘ly [Hebr. יוי] lit. ‘my God is Yahu’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Eliyā, i.e. Elijah’ (Biblical): S34 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv. (and partial phonetic transliteration?): [49] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Yándhé lit. ‘prolonged peace’); S69 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [81] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Libèn lit. ‘to erect or establish the fundamentals (of the doctrine?)’)

ܒܟܘܣ ‘nwš [Hebr. שָנָה lit. ‘mortal man’ pr. n. (pers.) ‘‘Anōš (i.e. Enosh)’ (Biblical): S54 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [66] 僧敬浹 (the Monk) Lingshōu lit. ‘spirit (and logevity)’)

ܒܟܘܣ ‘psqwp’ [Gr. ἐπίσκοπος] lit. ‘bishop’


ܒܟܘܣ ‘prym [Hebr. יורד] pr. n. (pers.) ‘Aprèm (i.e. Ephraim)’ (Biblical, name found for the second son of Joseph and Asenath in the Old Testament, also used for the land of Israel. More importantly Ephraim was the name of the most famous hymn-writer a major saint throughout Syriac-speaking Christianity): S29 ܐܒܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription: [46] 僧拂林 (the Monk) Fǔlín, lit. ‘brushing-away forest’ (the characters are not intended to convey any real meaning in Chinese; the same two Chinese characters were also used in the Tang period for the phonetic transcription of Pa. hrwm and Sogd. frwm i.e. ‘(the) Roman (Empire)’); S82 (Chin. equiv. [93] 僧玄德 (the Monk) Xuándé lit. ‘profound virtue’)

ܒܟܘܣ ‘rkdykwzn [CSD 29b] [Gr. ἀρχιδιάκονος] ‘archdeacon’: S18 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [48] 僧崇明 (the Monk) Chóngmíng ‘worshipful and reverential’).

ܒܟܘܣ ‘bkws [Gr. Βάκχος <Lat. Bacchus] pr. n. (pers.) (name of a soldier-martyr under Diocletian and a major saint of the Church of the East): S33 ܐܒܐ (Chin. equiv.: [48] 僧崇明 (the Monk) Chóngmíng ‘worshipful and reverential’); S85 ܐܒܐ (Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. 僧保國 (the Monk) Bāoguó lit. ‘defend one’s own country’)

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53a ‘son’: S6, S14


ggyw (MP gyg / gagy ‘thief’ (?), CPD 36, cf. Dauvillier, op. cit. 60, fn. 2: ‘Gīg semble être Gēv > Gēg et paraît bien iranien’) pr. n. pers. ‘Gīgōy’: S65 (Chin. equiv.: [99] lit. ‘graced by God’) – using characters chosen probably for their phonetic resemblance to the Syriac: 僧和吉 (the Monk) Huìnándē lit. ‘serene and fortunate’

dwyd (<Hebr. דוד) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Dāwid, i.e. David’ (Biblical): S31 (no Chin. equiv.)

[CSD 104a] ‘this’: S9


hwnnw pr. n. (pers.) (<Gr. Ἡιβάς, more commonly Ἡφαῖνος) ‘remembered by God’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Zkaryā (i.e. Zechariah)’ (Biblical): S83 (Chin. equiv.: [94] 僧義濟 (the Monk) Yījī lit. ‘righteous and frugal’)

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

<ywhw> (<Hebr. יהוה lit. ‘Yahweh Is God’) pr. n. (pers.) Yō’ēl, i.e. Joel’ (Biblical) S24 (Chin. phonetic transcription [41] 僧遥越 (the Monk) Yáoyuè lit. ‘remote-exceed’)

<Hebr. יְהֹוָה lit. ‘graced by God’) pr. n. (pers.) Yōḥānān, i.e. John’ (Biblical): S22 (Chin. phonetic transcription [39] 僧曜輪 (the Monk) Yàolún lit. ‘a radiant or shining wheel’); S44 (Chin. equiv.: [44] 僧玄真 (the Monk) Xuánzhēn lit. ‘profound truth’); S45 (Chin. phonetic transcription [58] 僧曜瑰 (the Monk) Yáoyuèn lit. ‘a radiant or shining source’); S53 (Chin. equiv. or phonetic transcription (?): [65] 僧還淳 (the Monk) Huánchún lit. ‘honest return’); S57 (Chin. equiv. or translation (?): [69] 沖和 Chōnghé lit. ‘on good terms’); S62 (Chin. equiv.: [74] 僧守一 (the Monk) Shǒuyī lit. ‘defender of the one (true faith?)’); S71 (Chin. equiv.: [83] 僧光正 (the Monk) Guāngzhèng lit. ‘radiant and upright’); S72 (Chin. equiv.: [84] 僧澄內 (the Monk) Néichén lit. ‘inner illumination’); S78 (Chin. equiv.: [89] 僧至德 (the Monk) Zhídé lit. ‘attaining virtue’); S88 (no Chin. equiv.); S91 (Chin. equiv.: [100] 僧建德 (the Monk) Dějiàn lit. ‘constructing virtue’). Cf. the form Yū-hàn-nán(nân) 瑜罕難 in the disputed *DSTZGFZ*. 12.

ywnn ‘(CSD 190a) ‘day’: ⽇ ‘in the days of’: S2
Yauna <Gr. Τοιες lit. ‘the Ionians’): S4 … S5

yazdwbzw(y)d (<MPe yazdbzwyd /yazadbozyd lit. ‘god saves!’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Yazdoubizid’: S15

[CSD 191b] ‘the only one, the only begotten’, hence ‘solitary one, i.e. hermit’ S33, S34, S35 (no Chin. equiv.)

y qwbd (<Hebr. יִשְׁמָעֵל) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Ya’aqob (i.e. Jacob) (Biblical): S63 (Chin. title and phonetic transcription: 老宿耶俱摩)

Laoxiu Yējūmó ‘the venerable (solitary?) Yējūmó – 老宿 laoxiu lit. ‘the old lodger’; y qwb is transcribed in Chinese Manichaean texts as 老宿乎 Yējūfū, cf. Hymnscr. 215c); S77 (Chin. equiv.: [44]僧和光 (the Monk) Héguāng lit. ‘peaceful and radiant’); S74 (Chin. equiv.: qwb qnyk ‘Ya’aqob the sacristan’ (Chin. equiv.: [85]僧崇德 (the Monk) Chóngdé lit. ‘to exalt virtue’ (Buddh.?)

yśw’d (–dd <MPe –dād ‘gave’ i.e. ‘Gift of Jesus’) pr. n. (pers.) S76 Yiśǒ’dād {Chin. equiv.: [87] (the Monk) Jingfū lit. ‘luminous and fortunate’ or ‘a fortunate outlook’)

yśw’mh (Syr. lit. ‘Jesus among us’) ‘Īsḥ’-‘ammeh’ S45 (Chin. equiv.: [43]僧仁恵 (the Monk) Rénhuì lit. ‘righteous and gracious’)

[CSD 202a] ‘stone’: S9

kwmd’n Sogdian pr. n. written in Syriac script (cf. ḫwmt’n Anc. Sogd. Lett. II.15) which in turn is probably an ancient phonetic transcription of Xianyang咸阳 the older capital of Qin Dynasty replaced by Chang’an 长安. Cf. Gr. Χορῆδαν Theoph. Sim. Hist. VII.9:8: S5

kwrd’ypsqwp’ [CSD 211a → 210b] (<Gr. χορηπισκοπος ‘Choreispocus, 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 [Chin. equiv.: [56]牧师 (no Chin. equiv.) S5 [Chin. equiv.: 聖人 (no Chin. equiv.) S15 [Chin. equiv.: 聖人 (no Chin. equiv.) S16/17 [Chin. equiv.: 聖人 (no Chin. equiv.)

S64 [CSD 225a] ‘preaching’ S11: [Chin. equiv.: 聖人] S66 [CSD 230a] ‘to write’: S10 [Chin. equiv.: 聖人]

[S9] hwq’ (<Gr. Λουκας, <Lat. Lucas) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Lūqā (i.e. Luke)’ (Biblical): S42 (Chin. phonetic transcription (?) [54]僧利見 (the Monk) Lìjiàn lit. ‘a profitable view’); S49 (Chin. equiv.: [61]僧文貞 (the Monk) Wénzhēn lit. ‘pure word’)

[CSD 238b] prep. ‘unto, towards’


[CSD 252b] ‘city’: S6, S8

mhdągwńsp (<MPe. m’dęgwśn sp Mādādģwśnāasp ‘(warrior-)fire given by the moon’ (?) cf. CPD 38) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Māhdādģwśńsp’ (Zoroastrian) (It is important to note that the original pagan, i.e. Zoroastrian, name of the Persian saint Mar Ġwargis has the closely related form of Mihrānguśńsp)

myhrmgwśnsp (cf. Justi, Namebuch 204b) which means that Mihrānguśńsp might have been used by Christians as a martyr-name in Iran in memory of Mar Ġwargis): S27 (Chin. equiv. – probably also a partial translation: [44]惠明 Huímíng ‘pure and bright’ – term also used by Chinese Manichaean for Pa. mwkhmyd rwśn, i.e. ‘the Light-Nous’)

mws’ (<Hebr. יָשָׁע) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mōše, i.e. Moses): S32 (Chin. equiv.: [47]僧福寿 (the Monk) Fúshòu ‘fortunate and (enjoying) long-life’); S35 (no Chin. equiv.)

Myłys (<Gr. Μύλης) 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 (Sosomenus, Hist. Eccl. II.14, PG 67.968B), cf. Justi, Namenbuch 206b): S7 (no Chin. equiv.)
mykyl (<Hebr. מִיכָאֵל lit. ‘one who is like God’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mikā’ēl (i.e. Michael)’ (Biblical): S25 <Chin. phonetic equiv.: [42] מִיכָאֵל lit. ‘one who is like God’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mikā’ēl (i.e. Michael)’

mpē <CSD 277b> ‘king, ruler’; S12 <Chin. phonetic equiv.: [42] מַלְכָּה lit. ‘the kings of Chinstan (i.e. China)’

mbt <CSD 277b> ‘royal’; S6 מַלְכַּה lit. ‘the kings of Chinstan (i.e. China)’

[CSD 280a] ‘from’: S7

[CSD 298a] ‘lord’; כֶּ֥ם ‘our lord’: S2, S4, S22

mrsṛgys (sṛgys <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 Σέργιος is attested in unpublished inscriptions from Central Asia: S16 מַר סֵרֶגִיוס (no Chin. equiv.); S55 מַר סֵרֶגִיוס (Chin. equiv.: [67] 僧靈德 (the Monk) Lingdé lit. ‘virtuous spirit’); S58 מַר סֵרֶגִיוס (Chin. equiv.: [70] 僧凝虚 (the Monk) Jingtong lit. ‘concentrate on emptiness’ (Buddh.)); S64 מַר סֵרֶגִיוס (Chin. equiv.: [67] 僧靈德 (the Monk) Lingdé lit. ‘virtuous spirit’)

mrsṛgys qyś ’wkwr pysqwp śy’ngtsw ‘the Abbot (shāngzuo 上座 lit. ‘(on) high seat’) Mār Sargīs (Master Sergius) priest and Chorepiscopos (Chin. equiv. [76] 僧景通 (the Monk) Jingtong lit. ‘thoroughly illuminated’ (Buddh.)); S80 מַר סֵרֶגִיוס (Chin. equiv.: [91] 僧元宗 (the Monk) Yuánzōng lit. ‘the complete (originating) principle’ (Buddh.))

mshy’dd (-dd <MPe –dād ‘gave’ i.e. part-Aramaic and part-MPe: ‘Gift of the Messiah’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mšhādād’: S28 (Chin. part equiv. (and part phonetic transcription?)) [45] 寶達 Bādó ‘gift’ (i.e. the doctrine?) – the –dā part of the Chinese name was probably chosen because of its phonetic proximity to the MPe –dād

[CSD 308a] ‘bedient’ hence ‘minister’ (cf. Moule 49): S38 מָשְׂשָׁה lit. ‘thoroughly virtuous’ (Buddh.)

mty (<Hebr. מֵת ‘Gift of Yahweh’, cf. Gr. Ματθαίος pr. n. (pers.) ‘Mattay (i.e. Matthew)’ (Biblical): S43 מֵת (Chin. phonetic transcription and equiv. [55] 僧明泰 (the Monk) Míngtài lit. ‘radiant and honourable’

[CSD 357a] ‘an old man’: S73 מַר כָּה (no Chin. equiv.)

sbrnyśw lit. ‘Jesus Our Hope’ pr. n. ‘Sbaramišō’ (cf. alternative form: מַר כָּה) in Thomas Marga, Book of Governors, i, 380.16, (?): S18 מַר כָּה (no Chin. equiv.), S47 מַר כָּה (Chin. equiv.: [59] 僧昭德 (the Monk) Zhānodé lit. ‘reflecting virtue’)

srg Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: ‘Sarag’ (sry Anc. Lett. II.11 - the eastern capital of Tang China, i.e. Luoyang 洛陽): S21. See also under מַר כָּה...


[CSD 402a] ‘congregation, assembly, hence monastery’: S20 מַר כָּה ‘abbot’

[Nestorian] Monument (<Hebr. מִיכָאֵל lit. ‘God with us’) (Biblical) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Ammānūʾēl (i.e. Emmanuel)’: S86 (Chin. equiv. (and partial phonetic transcription?): [97] 僧明一 (the Monk) Míngyī lit. ‘enlightened in everything’
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The Chinese term *fashi* (法師) in EMC *puq-prij* ‘priest, monsignor’ (lit. ‘Dharma Master’) or miscopying of *papas* [CSD 453b] (from Gr. πάππας and from Latin *papa* i.e. ‘Pope, title used of the Bishop of Rome or the patriarchs of Alexandria and later Antioch): S1 *Father (or Papa) of China*.

*[Classical Syriac]* (*pwsy* [CSD 443a] a loan word into Syriac from Greek – πατριάρχης ‘Patriarch’: S2 *פָּרֹכָה* [CSD 459a] ‘saviour, preserver’; 2005 *our* ‘saviour’: S11)

*[Greek]* (*pws* [CSD 478a] ‘Chinese’, pl. *pws* ‘the Chinese, i.e. China’ (the land China is more commonly given Syriac as *șmmt* ܫܡܥܘܢ) S13


*[CSD 489a]* ‘tomb, sepulchre’: S37

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

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

šm’wn (Hebr. ‘Simon or Simeon’) (Biblical): S36 (no Chin. equiv.); S60 (Chin. equiv.: [72] (the Monk) Wénsùn lit. ‘hearing the appealing (message)’ (Buddh.)); S73 Šem’ōn priest and elder’ (no Chin. equiv.); S81 (Chin. equiv. [92] (the Monk) Liyòng lit. ‘of profitable use (to the religion?)’

šmšn (Hebr. ‘man of the sun’) pr. n. (pers.) ‘Šmšn (i.e. Samson)’ (Biblical): S67 (Chin. phonetic transcription.: [79] (the Monk) Shěnsìn lit. ‘to investigate prudently (the scriptures?)’

thwrstn Sogdian pr. n. (geog.) written in Syriac script: ‘Tocharistan’ (cf. Sogdian twr’rk (adj.)) (The region was more commonly known in Syriac as ṭḥwšt]:) S8 (no Chin. equiv.)

[CSD 620a] ‘two’: S3 ṭhršt ‘nine’, pl. ṭhršti ‘ninety’: S3