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## UNIQUE TANGUT MANUSCRIPTS ON MORAL AND ETHICAL REGULATIONS IN THE TANGUT SOCIETY

Each society requires an idea or a system of ideas, which make its existence reasonable. Different cultures follow different religious systems (polytheism, monotheism, the Heaven as the supreme divine power of the Chinese and Central Asian cultures), but no culture is able to avoid the problem of supernatural. Common ideology unite the whole society or some of its strata, providing the basis of its existence, regulating the society, explaining to ordinary people its origin and destination.

It will not be an exaggeration to say, that one of the basic ideas propagated by the extant Tangut texts was the concept of “hsiao”, traditionally rendered as “filial piety”, or, in a broader sense, the reverence of the younger towards the older, and the elder's love towards the younger. The Chinese classic on “hsiao”, the “Hsiao-ch'ing”, attributed to Confucius himself, states: “The filial piety is the root of all goodness. You receive your body, hair and skin from your father and mother — so, you dare not do any harm to them — that is the foundation of filial piety. To establish yourself on the Way, to glorify your name through generations to come in order to demonstrate to the world the goodness of one's father and mother is the supreme implementation of filial piety” [1]. Confucius instructed: “A young man must be an obedient son in his parents' home, an industrious laborer outside, careful and trustful in his speech, hospitable and polite to his relatives. If there are any resources left after he answered all these requirements, these resources must be devoted to learning” [2]. And: “It is not likely to happen, that people devoted to filial piety and reverence to their elders would start a riot. A decent man concentrates on the foundation. When the foundation is strong, there emerges the Right Way. Filial piety and respectfulness to the elder — that is the basis of humanity in this world” [3].

Though the concept of “hsiao” included love of the elder towards the younger, the foundation of “hsiao” was the love of children for their parents, the reverence of the younger generation for the elder generation, as well as the respect of the lower classes towards superior social strata, obedience of a subject to his ruler. The concept of “hsiao” is universal, but only in China and in the Far-Eastern cultures it was carefully investigated and accepted as a philosophy. Initially the concept of “hsiao” implied a non-

Chinese idea of reverence, devotion, service and obedience of children to their parents. Children respect and obey parents, parents love children and take care of them. Confucius instructed: “Be tender and tolerant while dealing with parents. If you see, that your intentions contradict theirs, still obey and do not go against their desires. Though you may be exhausted, still dare not be angry with them” [4]. And further on: “While your father is alive, follow his wishes, when your father is dead, follow his deeds, if within three years you do not change your father's ways, you may be called the one who fulfilled his filial duty” [5]. V. A. Rubin once wrote: “Confucius attributed crucial importance to filial piety, since he considered it to be the foundation of all other merits, first of all of humanity. According to Confucius, among the family merits respect for the elder brothers (t'i) holds the second place. Since in his time those, who fed their parents were considered model children, Confucius complained: “Dogs and horses are fed too. If it is not done with deep reverence, what is the difference?” ...Confucius believed that pity must be expressed in obedience to parents in conformity with the “li” principle while they were alive, and in a proper funeral and due sacrifices on their graves when they were dead” [6]. A Chinese scholar Hsie Wu-wei wrote, that the doctrine of “hsiao” “penetrated into every corner of Chinese life, penetrated into all the activities of the Chinese people” [7].

In a very remote past the doctrine of “hsiao” was transferred from the family relations into the sphere of relations between a ruler and his subjects. “Staying in the family, revere the elder, being on service, devote yourself to the ruler” [8]. Confucius instructed: “Filial piety starts with the service and continues in the service to the sovereign” [9]. “A man receives the order of Heaven... At home there are family relations between father and son, elder and younger. Outside there are relations between a ruler and the subject, the higher and the lower” [10].

The Tangut state of Hsi-hsia (982—1227) emerged on the western border of the Sung China. The culture and ideology of this multinational state included three major components: the traditional culture of the Tanguts (and also Chinese, Tibetans, Uighurs), the culture and ideology of Buddhism, and the general culture and ideology of the Hsi-hsia state and society. As for the dominant Tangut

nation, its most deeply rooted ideological strata were connected with the concepts of the origin of the nation and the genealogy, both real and mythical, of the ruling dynasty. Buddhism was the dominant religion, even if not proclaimed as such. It fulfilled the task of bringing together and unifying the polyethnic elements of the society through common beliefs (Buddhist texts that were considered to be of all-state importance were published in the Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan languages). Buddhism protected the dynasty and the state and provided ritual services for everyday life (birth, funeral ceremonies, prayers etc.). It was the Tangut state, where the institution of “*ti-shi*” (the imperial preceptor in Buddhism) first emerged. Later it was introduced in the Mongol Yuan Empire. This fact testifies to a deep penetration of Buddhism into the sphere of state affairs.

To strengthen family relations, to regulate connections between the elder and younger generations, between a ruler and his subjects, the Confucian doctrine of “*hsiao*” was used. Since this doctrine was non-ethnic, it was able to bring together various peoples, as well as all Buddhist and non-Buddhists schools. We may be sure that a certain number of Nestorian Christians and Moslems resided within the Hsi-hsia territory. Since the doctrine of “*hsiao*” took no serious notice of any ethical and religious divergence, it united the citizens to serve the needs of the state and the dynasty.

Among the monuments of the Tangut script, discovered in the dead city of Khara-khoto, there are several text dedicated to the propagation of the doctrine of “*hsiao*”. First comes the translation of the “Classics of Filial Piety” — “*Hsiao-ch’ing*”. As it was established by N. A. Nevsky, the preface to this treatise had been dated by 1095. In his paper “The Tangut Scripts and its Funds” N. A. Nevsky wrote: “...the Confucian ethics, its basic idea being to teach a ruler to rule and his subjects — to obey, was also transplanted to the Tangut soil”. Judging by “The History of the Sung”, the Tangut emperor Yuan-hao (1032—1048) was the first to start the translation of the Chinese classics. It was probably by him that the classical book on the filial piety — “*Hsiao-ching*” and ancient classical dictionary “*Ehr-ya*” have been translated. Among this kind of books in our collection, we can mention a secondary translation of the “*Hsiao-ching*” with commentaries. This manuscript is almost complete (only the end of the last 18th chapter is missing). The text is written in a cursive script and is hardly comprehensible, and it is also quite difficult to figure out the name of the author of the commentary. However, the detailed examination of the basic text, which turned out to be the so called “new text” (*ch’in-wen*), helped to become used to the manner of the translator and to read through the author's preface. The colophon of the preface is dated by the second year of Sheng-shao (1095), there it is mentioned that the author of the commentary was a famous Sung scholar Lui Hui-ching, to whom belongs also the text of a commentary on “*Chuang-tzu*”, found in our collection. The name of the translator is not mentioned anywhere [11].

After the publication of the Chinese classics in Tangut translation [12] by Prof. V. S. Kolokolov and myself Prof. E. Grinstead translated the preface to “*Hsiao-ch’ing*” into English [13]. There it is mentioned, that “*Hsiao-ch’ing*” contains Confucius's discourses with Tseng Shen. Lui Hui-ching advocates the idea, that if love and respect prevail in each family, peace and tranquillity will spread like an

ocean. He also believes, that Tseng Shen is the ideal follower of “*hsiao*” and serves a model for the generations to come. Even the fire of Chin (a hint on the burning of Confucian books in the reign of Chin shi Huang-t’i) could not burn “*hsiao*” out of the hearts of the Chinese. “*Hsiao*” is the imitation of the ways of the perfect ancient rulers, it is a proper conduction for sacrifices both on the state level, in the Mingtang temple, and in town and village temples. E. Grinstead also mentions, that the preface is dated by the 10th month (31.10—10.11) of the second year of Shao-sheng, *i. e.* November 1095.

Unfortunately, a whole chapter on “*hsiao*” from the “*lei-shu*” — “The Wood of Categories” has not survived. Originally it probably belonged to the second *juan* of the text. As the publisher of this text K. B. Keping suggests, only one page of this chapter has survived [14]. But for us it is important to mention, that such a chapter existed at all.

One more book devoted to the “*hsiao*” histories has partially survived (only the last, 3d chapter is available). The book is titled “The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older”. It was compiled by Tsao T’ao-an, who held the position of “one receiving orders” (*cheng-zhi*) in the Administration of the Capital Region, a full-time tutor in the High School of Tangut script. Tsao T’ao-an compiled another book, whose title may be translated as “On Decent Behavior”, or, following N. A. Nevsky, as “Notes on Virtuous Conduct” (or, perhaps, to be even more correct “Notes on how to behave in conformity with the benevolent power of *te*”). N. A. Nevsky wrote about this monument: “The Tanguts themselves produced compilations from various Chinese books in order to instill into students the Chinese Confucian ethics. Such is a manuscript compilation in our collection titled “The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older”. This book represents a compilation of various stories about decent sons, brothers, women, collected from different dynastic histories. The compiler of this book was probably a Chinese, whose name was Tsao Tao-an or Tao-le. Original Tangut books of this sort resemble these compilations. They are full of quotations from the Chinese classics on moral subjects. These quotations were also published xylographically in a separate volume” [15].

To the same group of texts N. A. Nevsky attributed “Notes on virtuous conduct”. According to his suggestion this compilation was probably “prepared especially for the emperor himself and for the highest noblemen, since it is dedicated to the raising of an ideal Confucian monarch since his earliest age etc.” [16].

Concerning “The Newly Collected Notes on Love to the Younger and Piety to the Older”, we should note that K. B. Keping, the publisher of the text, believes that this book “is not a translation of a specific Chinese text, but a compilation of a number of stories, extracted from various Chinese sources and then translated into Tangut” [17]. This idea is probably true, but still the existence of such a collection, once popular, but now not extant, can not be fully denied. The collection of “*hsiao*” stories from Tun-huang testify to this.

Another Tangut *lei-shu*, titled “The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints”, was supposed to play an important role in the propagation of “*hsiao*”. This book is an official government edition, dated 11 July 1182. The structure of

the text resembles the structure of an explanatory dictionary. First comes the basic concept, printed in large characters, then come two lines of a commentary, printed in smaller characters. In those cases when “hsiao” is touched upon, it is explained through episodes, borrowed from Chinese books. These episodes begin with the formula “long time ago”, “once” and are rendered in brief form, with no reference to the source. What is most important, is that basic concept of this compilation is concentrated on the principal characteristics of “hsiao”. All the rest is omitted [18].

In “The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints” we encounter “hsiao” as a state doctrine. “There are three forms of hsiao: its supreme manifestation is the action of the ruler. The ruler under the Heaven spreads the benevolent power of te and raises hsiao and ritual (li) in the World. If hsiao and li spread all over the state, this is the hsiao of the ruler. Next comes the hsiao of officials. If someone sincerely and meritoriously follows the laws and li, does not have a bad reputation, does not seek awards from his ruler, reverently serves his parents, then this is the hsiao of an official. If strong and able people use their strength and abilities in filial piety and service to their parents, this will be the manifestation of hsiao of the people of the state”.

Among the officials special importance was ascribed to the military exercises. A man had to be able to handle weapons and to fight, everybody was obliged to serve in the army — both strong and weak, because the army service makes the weak stronger.

The “decent people”, the literati, were able to “estimate the merits of Chinese books”, including books on “hsiao”. They “follow the teaching of Buddha, adhere to “hsiao”, they are reserved and serve there, where they are sent by a ruler”. The real treasurers of “hsiao” were people full of humanity (ren). Once Confucius was asked: “What is humanity?” He replied: “To Love people”. Confucius explained the contents of humanity in his famous maximum: “Do not do to the others what you do not wish to be done to you” [19].

“Hsiao” was to be fully applied to family affairs. The “hsiao” of parents implies that mother takes care of her child in her womb, thinks only of good while she is pregnant, “carefully walks and sits”, forgets about herself producing a baby and swaddles and bathes the baby after he is born. Father takes care of children, “thinks of how to feed and dress them, makes them study, looks that they are no less descent and brave than other children, helps them to win good fortune”.

Parents teach daughters motherhood, the skill of making clothes and dress properly. “The sons over fifteen years old are taught how to bring home a wife, parents make them learn the martial arts”, “teach them to control their body, to avoid the disasters of fire and water, to protect against shameful diseases”.

The “hsiao” of children towards their parents included a permanent reverence of the parents, since the merits of them are higher than the Heaven itself. A child is obliged to take care of his health. Since the body is given to him by his parents, he should not damage his “bones and flesh”. Children possessing filial piety “should take a boat to cross the river, so that not to disturb their parents by anxious thoughts, whether they will cross successfully or not”. A child should be brave in combat or carrying out his parent's

order. “Children that revere their parents never talk about the difficulty or impossibility of the parent's order. Even if the order is deadly dangerous, they do not avoid it and do not violate the order”. Dutiful children must refrain from committing crimes, especially from those punished with death.

A permanent service to parents is the children's duty. Children “wake up early, before the cocks sing, reverently prepare clothes and shoes for their parents, keep close to their father and mother. When parents wake up, children offer them clothes and shoes, in mild voice ask about the state of their health”. “In winter provide them with a warm room”, “in the evening, when father and mother go to bed, wish them a good sleep”.

Children should do their best not to disturb their parents by anything — neither by their health problems nor by deeds and behavior. They leave home only if parents allow, obey their father's and mother's orders, never violate the parent's will, do not utter evil or dirty words. If parents enjoy longevity, children are happy too. Those children who follow “hsiao” should not remind their parents of their old age.

Children must always seek work. When they grow up, they should work or enter state service, but not fool around and spend life in idle joy. The one who does not serve or work does not deserve the name of a dutiful son. “The children, who revere their parents do not loose their good fame in those places, where they are sent. They await the ruler's orders and sincerely follow them. They are attentive at service, make friends with each other, are trustful and sincere, bravely fight in combat. The dutiful children are those, who fulfill these five duties and do not defame their parent's name”. “A man must follow the established orders, be sincere and devoted to the service. If he holds an official position, then he is capable to settle affairs. When he seeks the love of his relatives, he should be sincere. When the ruler sends him to the enemy settlement, he should behave bravely and courageously”.

Children should not use the family properties without their parents' permission, and when they grow up and have their own family they should not leave their parents, if they do not agree. “If children avoid pliable speech and say “yours” and “ours” about the family property, they will not win the name of dutiful children even if they kill a sheep every day and invite the parents to the feast”. In full accordance with such views, the law prohibited a son to go away from his parents against their will. For such deed one could be sentenced to one year of penal servitude. Also a violent use of the family properties by children and by other members of a family was subject to criminal penalty [20].

Dutiful children must respect all elders; it was strictly prohibited to curse and swear in their presence. In everyday life it was forbidden to occupy the place, where one's parents sat or slept. To put on parent's clothes or talk about the way parents were dressed was considered disrespectful. If a son's career was more successful than his father's and if he was offered a higher rank than his father had, the son was obliged to reject it politely.

“When parents are sick, their children are possessed by sorrow, do not comb the hair, do not put on new clothes, do not make singing and dancing, do not drink wine or take delicious food, do not express joy or rage but engage themselves in preparations of a medicine to cure the dis-

ease. When the parents take the remedy, dutiful children personally offer it to them". "When parents die, their children do not confine their duties to the days of remembrance and the three years of mourning, but even after that term continue to carry out the duties of reverence".

The doctrine of "hsiao" paid great attention to relations between elder and younger brothers. "Elder brother loves the younger, the younger reveres the elder". Brothers support each other just like arms and legs do. They treat the other men of their generation like brothers, love the younger and revere the elder.

Brothers do not leave their family unless it is necessary, do not raise property separately. The younger does not try to exceed the elder in rank, while the elder is alive. Brothers are obliged to live in harmony.

The "hsiao" of nephews required that they should revere their father's brothers, *i. e.* their paternal uncles, who were considered the closest relatives after the parents themselves. Nephews must not exceed the rank of their paternal uncles. The reverence of maternal uncles also came after parental reverence. Maternal uncles were connected with the mother "the source of birth", therefore the nephews had to revere them also. Maternal uncle was supposed to protect his nephews, the children of his sister.

As far as women are concerned, they had their specific regulations of "hsiao". A woman was considered to play an important role in the family harmony. A woman should be decorated with four merits: good behavior, good speech, beauty and industry. "They say that a woman must speak in soft and pleasant voice, must look at ease fulfilling her duty, be always bright and cheerful, be able to carry out all work assigned to a woman".

A woman was supposed to obey "the three": "Staying in her mother's home, she should obey her father and brothers, after marriage she obeys her husband and after he is dead, she obeys her sons". "A girl, while at home, replies "I obey" to her father's order, after she gets married says "I obey" to the father and mother-in-law's orders, she replies "I obey" and remembers all the orders well". The text of "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints" provides us with an example of female beauty: "The shapes of a woman's body are not similar. If a woman is not small, her face is white, lips are red, teeth are white and straight, hair is black and shining, eyes are clear and joyful, her deeds are noble, speech is tender, she is smart, walks and sits beautifully, then we say that she possesses all the three features of noble conduct: filial piety, respect to the friends and obedience to the elder".

In a big family where were several married brothers, daughters-in-law were required to respect each other. If this was not so, then naturally, there happened quarrels.

The "hsiao" of the daughter-in-law to her parents-in-law was the same as the children's reverence to their parents. "A daughter-in-law wakes up early, before the dawn. She combs her hair, puts her clothes and shoes on and stays close to her parents-in-law. As soon as they wake up, she waits for their directions, offers them water and towels to wash themselves, waits for orders, offers tea and wine, cooks tasty food". A daughter-in-law waits upon her husband's mother "politely asks about the state of her health, asks: "Are You well?" and prepares everything the mother-in-law likes and enjoys".

As for a son-in-law, he was supposed to revere his parents-in-law as his paternal uncle and maternal aunt. Once

in a season, as the ritual required, he offered reverence to them and waited for their directions.

At the same time, the wife's parents were not required to treat their son-in-law like their natural son, because "even a good son-in-law, however industrious he is in revering the parents of his wife, can not be compared with their own son, even if he is evil".

Married sisters, if they were able to do so, were required to help their brothers. In difficult circumstances they were requested to take care of their nephews as of their own children.

When choosing a wife, a young man was supposed to take into consideration not only the girl's beauty, but first of all her character and behavior. A husband was to give orders, and his wife had to obey. A wife was expected to do her best to produce sons (in folklore a man who had no sons was considered childless: "If you got ten daughters, you won't avoid the name of a childless"). A wife should not be jealous if her husband has other women (*e. g.* concubines in noble and wealthy families). She was supposed to treat the children of concubines as her own children.

Such were the "hsiao" principles, which the members of the Tangut society were required to follow.

As it was mentioned above, in the encyclopedia "The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints" every item was illustrated with an example from literature. Here we offer some of these examples: first the Chinese original version is provided, then comes its Tangut rendering.

The "hsiao" of daughter-in-law: "Wang Tzu was a man from Hoyen. In the years K'ai-yuan (713—741) he participated in a military expedition to Hu-chou and stayed away for ten years. His new wife was extremely reverent to the elders. The family was poor and she had to weave and make shoes every day to earn her living. Her husband's mother suffered from tuberculosis for a long time. Someone said: "If you manage to get human flesh, eat it and you will survive". The daughter-in-law heard his words and sliced a piece of flesh from her hip and offered it to Wang Tzu's mother. She took it, and the disease soon passed away. The governor of Ho-nan submitted a report..., and both mother and daughter-in-law were awarded honorary titles, and their deeds were recorded in annals" [21].

"In ancient times there lived a daughter-in-law, very reverent to the elders. Her mother-in-law had long been sick. She was treated with different medicines, but none of them were effective. A doctor said: "If she takes human flesh, she will survive". The reverent daughter-in-law secretly sliced a piece from her right hip, cut it into small pieces and offered to her mother-in-law. The mother recovered, but the daughter's wound festered and was very painful. Once the mother asked why the daughter looked so unwell. The really reverent daughter-in-law replied: "While the mother-in-law was sick, I, your daughter-in-law, cut a piece of flesh from my hip. Because of the wound I look so bad". The mother examined the wound and said: "Are there still daughters so reverent?" and cried. Because of the great merit, the daughter's wound healed. The ruler came to know about this and awarded the daughter a honorary title and her name became wide-known".

Original Chinese stories could circulate in more or less detailed versions. The Tangut authors omitted names and dates, so a Tangut reader not familiar with the Chinese

literature, could imagine that the whole story comes from the history of his own Hsi-hsia state.

One more example: “Lao Lai-tzu. A man from Ch’u. At the age of seventy [he] never called himself old in order not to hurt his mother. [He] put on a coat of many colors to show that he was a child and to make mother happy. He even played child’s games before his mother and slept on his belly, or was sleeping together with the mother by the feet of his benevolent nurse. He twisted legs and arms and cried like a baby. The ruler of Ch’u came to know about this and awarded him a gift of gold and appointed him a ling-yi, but Lai-tzu rejected the appointment” [22].

“In ancient times there lived a son eighty years old. His parents were a hundred years old. To demonstrate his piety, this son was playing like a baby. After his father had died, filial piety became his supreme goal. The ruler came to know about this and invited him to come, but he did not, also rejected all titles and awards and dwelled in mountains. He spent the rest of his life, demonstrating the piety to his source and warmth”.

Such stories, both real and imaginary, are quite numerous in Chinese dynastic histories and various collections of “hsiao” stories. For example a son covers his mother while she is asleep with his own body to protect her from mosquito bites; mother often punished her son beating him with a staff and he never cried. Once he cried because he realized that his mother became weak and could not beat him strong anymore and soon would die. Some stories are fantastic: a mother (or a grandmother) was sick and wanted to eat some bamboo sprouts in winter. Her son (grandson) cried, because he could not fulfill her wish. Suddenly bamboo grew out of ice. There is a similar story with a fish appearing on ice once out of the blue. There is a story about a daughter, who persuaded a tiger to eat herself instead of her father. Such were the sources from which Tangut authors selected didactic examples. Sometimes there occur references to the Tangut mythology.

“Revere your father and mother” — thus was the instruction of our ancestors. Respect of children towards their parents, older relatives, especially elder brothers and sisters, relatives of father and mother (first of all towards paternal and maternal uncles and aunts) was in the past characteristic of almost every nation. And not only in China the obligation to respect the elder was transferred to relations between a ruler and his officials or subjects. But in China this universal rule, rooted in the regulations of behavior from the level of animal communities, was incorporated into the national philosophical teaching and developed through more than two thousand years, absorbing both general concepts and practical examples, not always imaginary, from the rich Chinese history. Thus a specific literary genre of “hsiao chuan” came into being. This genre dealt mainly with the biographies of those who were especially adhered to the regulations of filial piety. Since the 4th century A.D., after Buddhism had penetrated to China, Buddhist ideas came into a conflict with “hsiao”. A monk-hermit abandoned the world and dwelt in a monastery, thus breaking his family relations, refused to prolong his race and to some extent renounced the state. His asceticism harmed his body. Therefore Confucians accused Buddhism of “three harms” — *i. e.* of the body, of the family and of the state. Family was the foundation to which Chinese ideology used to compare the state; in its turn family was compared to the Universe. Diplomatic documents and in-

ternational treaties of the 1st millennium A.D. often contain the formula “The Universe is one family”, and China’s relations with the outside world were expressed in terms of family relations of the Chinese emperor with the ruler of a neighboring country. These relations were defined as connections between “father and son”, “grandfather and grandson”, “uncle and nephew”, etc. It would have been wrong to consider this system ineffective — more than that, it was often supported by real marriage connections — Chinese princesses were married to the rulers of neighboring states.

It is well-known, however, that Buddhism safely adapts itself to local circumstances. To reject the accusation of the violation of “hsiao”, Chinese Buddhists announced that Buddhism, in fact, was the ultimate manifestation of “hsiao”, since Buddhism spreads love and respect on all living beings and cares about the universal salvation. Thus “hsiao” left the confines of family, of state and even ... the realm of mankind [23]. Chinese Buddhist of the 4th century Sun Ch’o declared that the doctrines of Buddha and of Confucius were the same, but “Confucius cured the evil which is right on the surface, while Buddha cleared its source” [24]. There appeared a Chinese apocrypha — “Sutra on the Power of Family Love”.

Both in the everyday life and in the realm of ideology Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism coexisted and by the Sung period (contemporary with the existence of the Tangut State) constituted an integrated entity of “san-chiao”, *i. e.* of the above mentioned three teachings. This triple unity served as the spiritual basis of medieval Chinese society. In the “hsiao” literature and treatises this teaching does not come across Buddhism which is quite evident from the monuments of Tangut literature. In real life, however, Buddhism and “hsiao” amalgamated — for instance, such a respected and popular ritual as the distribution of Buddhist texts accompanied the order of funeral ceremonies and other mourning rituals conducted by dutiful “hsiao” — full sons. It was practiced even by the members of the imperial household. “Hsiao” manifested itself in the wish of good reincarnation in the Pure Land of Amittabha for deceased parents.

It should not be omitted that in the sphere of state activities “hsiao” produced certain negative impact. Family relations interfered into local administration system, the community became divided according to the family principle, in the central administration “hsiao” resulted in the practice of giving privileged appointments to relatives. This was accompanied by the custom of hereditary appointments. The state apparatus was thus damaged by family corruption. Chinese legal regulations were modified to fight against it. Such norms as regular rotation of officials (once in three years), prohibition on service in the native area, marrying a subject, loans from a subject, etc. were adopted by the Tanguts [25]. At the same time the popular morals of “hsiao” contained many useful ideas.

The breakdown of family links usually results in moral degradation of a society as the whole. “Hsiao” turned out to be effective in the industrial and postindustrial societies — the current success of Japanese economy, the industrial growth of the South-Asian countries with their large Chinese settlements and strong Chinese capital — Taiwan, Hong-Kong and Singapore, even successful reforms in the mainland China could be partially explained by “hsiao”. Application of family relations to the relations within a

company or an enterprise (the owner, manager is treated like a father) devotion to one's company (*i. e.* the second family), care of the owners about their personnel impregnated with the spirit of "hsiao" (examination of their family situation, common feasts, etc.), agreement of an employee to limited one week leave (it is considered shameful not to fully exhaust oneself for the benefit of the second family-company) make their work very effective. This special effectiveness can hardly be achieved in such countries of Europe, the USA, Russia. "Hsiao" and individualism can hardly coincide. Their clash is still in the future. This item is especially crucial for Russia, where again we have a discussion on what is better for the country: society-

community and communal coexistence or individualism and market economy rooted in it.

As for the Tangut state, we can make several conclusions:

1. The Tangut society adopted the doctrine of "hsiao".
2. Being Buddhist in character, the Tangut society saw no principal contradictions between "hsiao" and Buddhism.
3. "Hsiao" managed to exist in harmony with the traditional Tangut clan ideology.
4. The state itself attached crucial importance to the propagation of "hsiao". This is surely testified by the available now Tangut literary monument.

### Notes

1. *Bian'wen' o vozdaianii za milosti. Rukopis' iz dun'huanskogo fonda Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Pienwên about Requital for Favor. A Manuscript from the Dunhuang Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies). Part 1. Facsimile edition, research, translation from Chinese, commentaries and tables by L. N. Men'shikov — *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka* (Literary Monuments of the Orient, XXXIV) (Moscow, 1972), p. 72.
2. V. V. Maliavin, *Konfutsii* (Confucius) — *Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei* (Lives of Illustrious Personalities) (Moscow, 1992), p. 146.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
4. L. S. Perelomov, *Konfutsii, zhizn', uchenie, sud'ba* (Confucius, Life, Teaching, Fate) (Moscow, 1993), p. 216.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
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