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Sanskrit Fragments of Mahāprajñāpāramitā (SI 2097, SI 3017, SI 3331/5) in the Serindia Collection (IOM RAS)

Abstract: The present paper deals with the previously unstudied Sanskrit manuscript fragments of Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra ("Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom in 25 000 lines"), kept in the St. Petersburg Serindia Collection (IOM RAS) under the call numbers within the "N.F. Petrovsky Subcollection" (SI 2097, SI 3017) and the "M.I. Lavrov Subcollection" (SI 3331/5). Sharing a set of codicological and paleographic features the two new fragments SI 3017 and the fragment SI 2097 are attested to be the parts of a single pothi-type folio of paper containing the sutra's Sanskrit text recorded in the so-called South Turkestan Brāhmī script. The paleography allows to trace the origin of the manuscript localizing it to Khotan and dating it to the 8th–9th cc. AD. The uniqueness of another Prajñāpāramitā fragment (SI 3331/5) lies in the fact that it belongs to the most ancient examples of Sanskrit manuscripts copied directly in Khotan, and, therefore, to the oldest Prajñāpāramitā texts written on Central Asian paper in the so-called Early Turkestan Brāhmī script variation used for recording Buddhist texts in the 5th–6th cc. AD in Serindia. This paper includes a description of the fragments, transliteration, correspondences with the critical edition, an English translation and a facsimile.

Key words: Buddhism, Central Asia, Khotan, Mahāyāna, Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Sankrit manuscripts, Serindia Collection, IOM RAS

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Introduction

Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia constitute one of the most ancient and badly preserved parts of the Serindia Collection kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS).

Though, according to current data, the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection includes 667 items registered in inventory books, a significant number of them consist of piles of tiny fragments. Thus, at present, the actual number of Sanskrit manuscripts cannot be counted accurately. The Serindia Collection is characterized by extreme heterogeneity in terms of volume and composition: the Serindia artifacts have come down to us, for the most part, in a rather fragmented and scattered condition. Generally, under separate call numbers the Sanskrit collection contains various parts of pothi-folios, palm, birch bark, and paper fragments, including numerous scattered pieces of half-decayed manuscripts, often containing almost no text.

Approximately 100 items of the Sanskrit segment of the Serindia Collection, relatively complete manuscripts with research potential, have been introduced into scientific circulation by Russian and foreign scientists, but a large array of texts has not been covered yet in scholarly publications. In this regard, relying on the St. Petersburg manuscript collection as a source base to reconstruct and study the Sanskrit Buddhist canon is a scholarly task of utmost relevance, although it is still very far from being accomplished.

Among the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia collection that have not been studied yet, fragments of the fundamental works of Mahāyāna Buddhism — the Sūtras on Perfect Wisdom, or the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras — undoubtedly occupy an honorable place (both in terms of quantity and quality of preservation). Analysis of the repertoire of Sanskrit texts from Khotan (the medieval Central Asian center of Buddhism most richly endowed with Sanskrit sources) indicates that since the middle of the 1st millennium AD Mahāyāna became the leading trend in Serindia (the historical territory on the periphery of India, China and Tibet within the borders of modern-day Xinjiang). Following the introduction and spread of Central Asian paper as the main writing material, since the 5th–6th cc. Mahāyāna canonical texts were being actively copied in Khotanese monastic scriptoria, and local Buddhists accepted as their basic philosophical premise the Mahāyāna doctrine of emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*), which had been elaborated particularly in the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras.

Prajñāpāramitā designates a category of sutra texts of varying length that expound the doctrine of "perfect wisdom" (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā*) — one of the most important Mahāyāna concepts, closely related to the understanding of emptiness as the true nature of reality and human existence. Sankrit texts of Prajñāpāramitā in the Serindia Collection are represented by a large number of separate folios and fragments (more than 60 items), indicating the un-

doubtful popularity of texts of this category in Serindia, in general, and particularly in Khotan. Among them the manuscripts of Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, or "Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom in 25 000 lines" are predominant. Mentioning the number of lines in the titles of prose texts of the Prajñāpāramitā series can be considered a convention that helps to distinguish these works from one another, since the texts are largely repetitive and contain the same formulations regarding the emptiness of all dharmas (elements of existence). This applies particularly to Sūtras in 18 000, 25 000, and 100 000 lines, which are regarded as variants of a single text — Mahāprajñāpāramitā, or the "Larger Prajñāpāramitā".[1] Sometimes it is not possible to clearly correlate a manuscript with a specific Prajñāpāramitā work, since sūtras often repeat each other verbatim, and most of the fragments contain very brief passages. Nevertheless, the manuscript fragments under study were identified quite accurately, and the identification of the fragments with Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā was facilitated by the analysis of the manuscripts' external characteristics.

Description of the fragments

The vast majority of the Sanskrit Serindia materials was obtained with the assistance of Russian officials in Central Asia. Among them, of outstanding importance are the Consul General in Kashgar Nicolai F. Petrovsky (1837–1908) and the Secretary of the Consulate in Kashgar Mikhail I. Lavrov (1877–1934). Their collections were accumulated through acquisition of manuscripts discovered in the southern part of Serindia, so the area of circulation of the manuscripts under study is considered to be the southern branch of the Great Silk Road, primarily the city-oasis of Khotan, the stronghold of Mahāyāna in the 5th–9th cc. AD. This is confirmed by the varieties of Brāhmī script attested in these Sanskrit Buddhist fragments, and paleography makes it possible to attribute the manuscripts to specific periods in the history of Buddhism in Khotan.[2]

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[1] CONZE 1978: 10.

[2] For further information about the stages of the spread of Buddhism in Khotan in correlation to the changes of external characteristics of Sanskrit manuscripts see: MESHEZNIKOV 2023.

Fragments SI 3017 + SI 2097.

SI 3017 — fragment 1 (Pl. 1a–b) and fragment 2 (Pl. 2a–b) are written on light yellowish-brown laid paper in South Turkestan Brāhmī script, dating to the 8th–9th cc. based on paleography. Fragment 1 (12.3×21.7 cm) belongs to the right part of a pothi-folio, containing 6 lines on both sides with equal line spacing (1.9 cm). Fragment 2 (15.5×13.4 cm) presents the left part of the folio, which preserved 8 lines on each side with the same distance between lines (1.9 cm), its left margin (2.5 cm) and pagination ("140") on the recto-side.
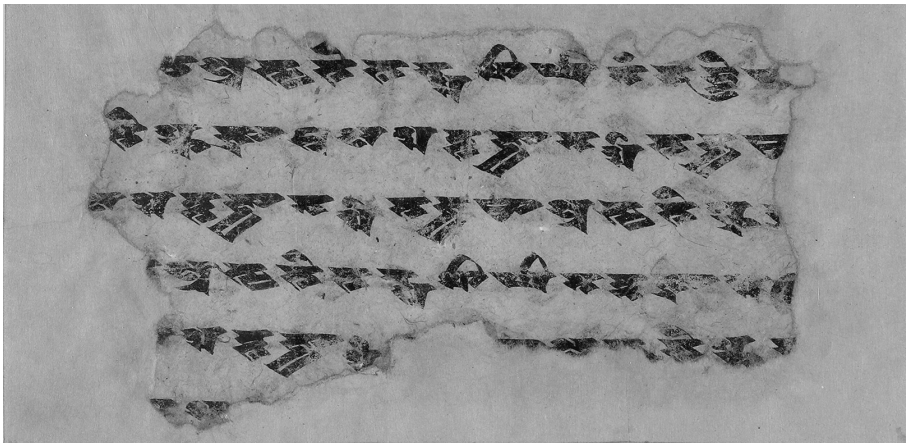
Pl. 1a:
SI 3017 fragment 1 (recto), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.
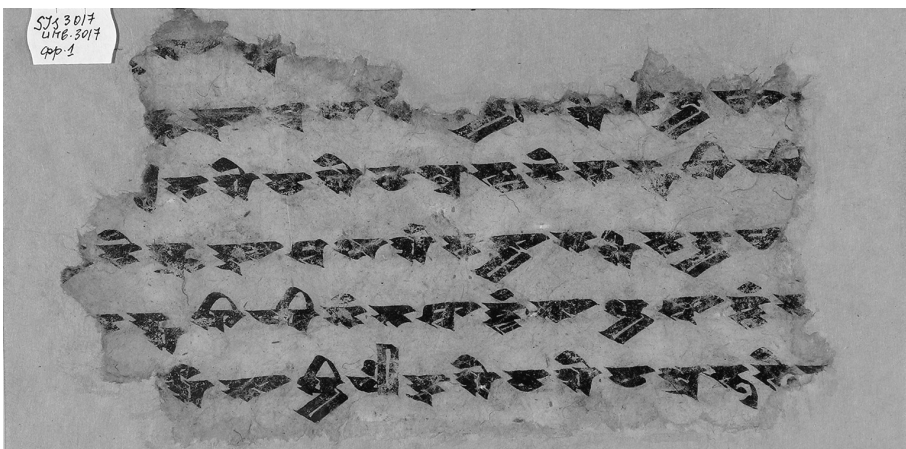
Pl. 1b:
SI 3017 fragment 1 (verso), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

Pl. 2a:
SI 3017 fragment 2 (recto), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.
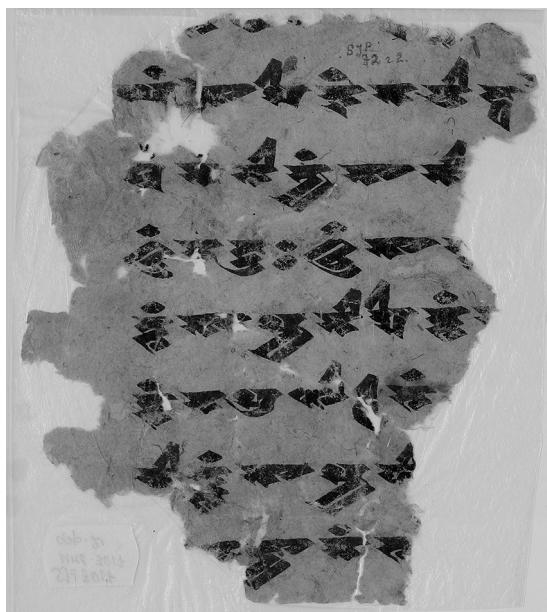
Pl. 2b:
SI 3017 fragment 2 (verso), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

SI 2097 fragment (Pl. 3a–b) 15.5×16.9 cm in size presents the central part of the leaf, containing a partially preserved decorative circle with diameter ≈ 3.7 cm. Judging from the preserved number of lines (7 on both sides) and the decorative circle, generally placed at an equal distance from the upper and lower edges of the leaf, it can be assumed that the manuscript initially included 12 lines. All the external features are similar to those of the fragments SI 3017: the lower edge of the folio (when viewed from the recto-side) is damaged, the text is copied on light yellowish-brown paper in South Turkestan Brāhmī script, the line-spacing measures 1.9 cm. Based on the set of external characteristics and the analysis of their contents, SI 2097 and the fragments SI 3017 should be considered three parts of a single pothi-folio with dimensions 15×45 cm (Pl. 4a–b).

Pl. 3a:
SI 2097 (recto), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

Pl. 3b:
SI 2097 (verso), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

Pl. 4a:
Fragments SI 3017 + SI 2019 (recto), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.
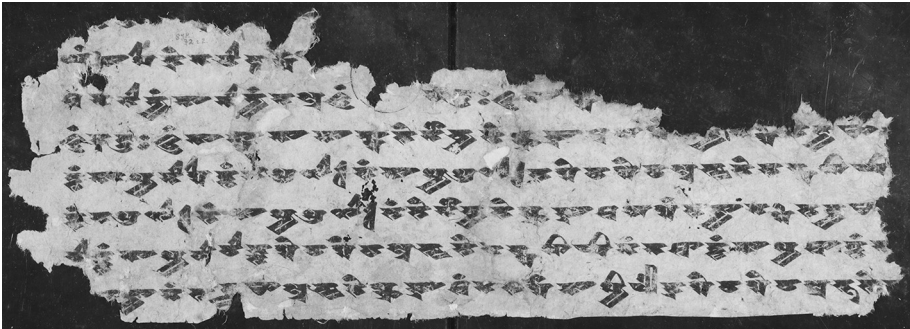
Pl. 4b:
Fragments SI 3017 + SI 2019 (verso), Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.

Fragment SI 3331-5

SI 3331-5 fragment (Pl. 5a–b) 11.4×14.7 cm in size is written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2) — graphic variation of the Indian Brāhmī script, which was in use in the 5th–6th cc. AD for recording texts in Sanskrit and the local Khotanese-Saka language on paper. The formation of Early Turkestan Brāhmī coincided with the beginning of active use of paper as the main writing material in Serindia. The introduction of paper in Serindia eliminated the need to import manuscripts and writing materials (birch bark and palm leaf) from India to Khotan. Production of local writing material, Central Asian paper, stimulated the development of book culture in Khotan and led to the formation of Central Asian varieties of Brāhmī. As a consequence, Early Turkestan Brāhmī became the earliest Central Asian variety of Brāhmī in Khotan. Thus, fragment SI 3331-5 belongs to the most ancient examples

of Sanskrit texts copied directly in Khotan and, therefore, to the oldest manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitā written in Brāhmī script on paper.

SI 3331-5 fragment constitutes the central part of a pothi folio.[3] Part of a decorative roundel with a colorful miniature (Buddha image) has been preserved on the verso-side; ≈ 5.6 cm in diameter. The text is written on a pale brown paper: the fragment bears 8 lines of writing on both sides with the same interlinear distance (1.3 cm). Given the textual and external similarities, it is possible to assume that the fragment under study could belong to the same manuscript as several other Prajñāpāramitā fragments kept in the Serindia Collection (SI 2019, Pl. 6),[4] (SI 3650, Pl. 7)[5] and in the British Library Collections (Or.8212/174, Pl. 8),[6] (Or.15001/6, Pl. 9),[7] which will be discussed below.[8]
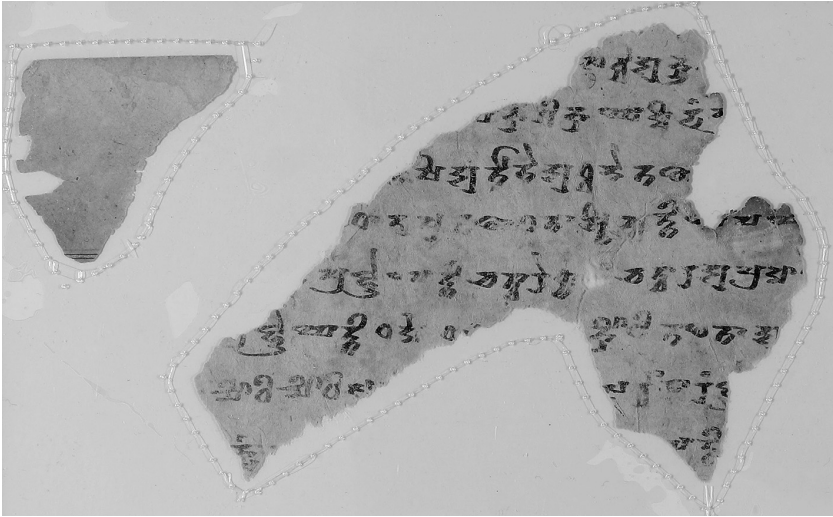
Pl. 5a:
SI 3331-5 (recto) Serindia Collection, Lavrov Subcollection, IOM RAS.

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[3] Besides the Prajñāpāramitā fragment there is a small piece of paper under the same call number SI 3331-5. It does not contain any traces of akṣara signs or any other information to link it to the fragment under study.

[4] Published in: BONGARD-LEVIN & VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSAKAYA & TIOMKIN 2004: 221–243.

[5] The study of the fragment is presented in: MESHEZNIKOV 2024.

[6] ZWALF 1985: 57; BONGARD-LEVIN & VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSAKAYA & TIOMKIN 2004: 211–212.

[7] KARASHIMA & WILLE 2009: 36–37.

[8] The digital images of the British Library Sanskrit fragments were taken from the International Dunhuang Project database.
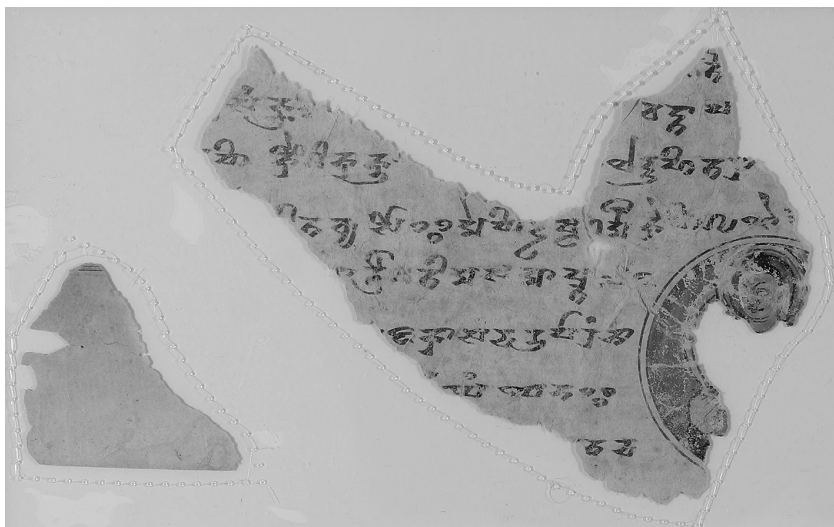
Pl. 5b:
SI 3331-5 (verso) Serindia Collection, Lavrov Subcollection, IOM RAS.
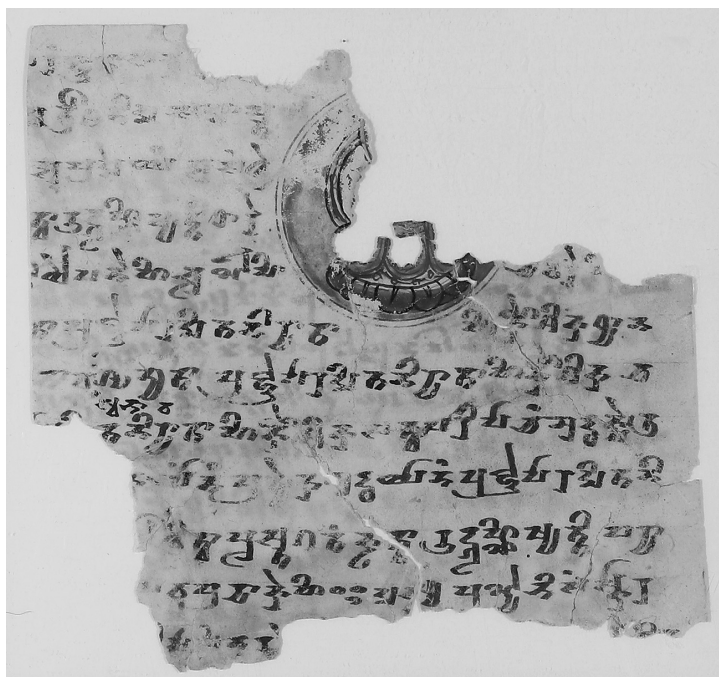
Pl. 6:
SI 2019 from the Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.
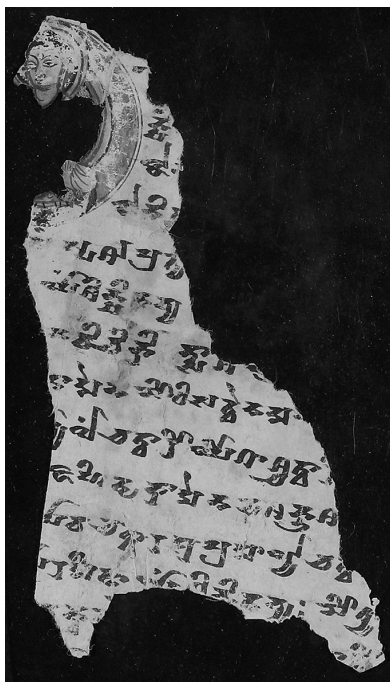
Pl. 7:
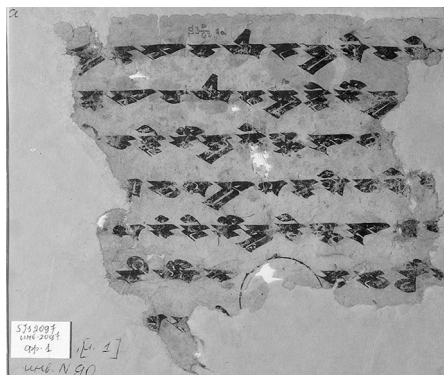SI 3650 from the Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Subcollection, IOM RAS.
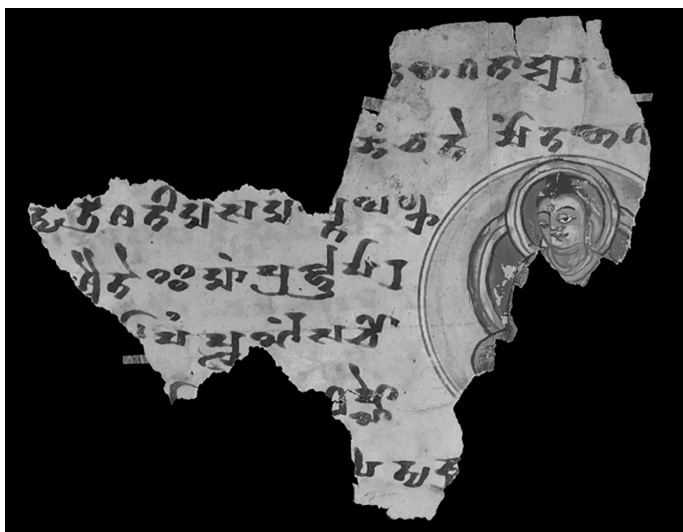
Pl. 8:
Or.8212/174 from the British Library Stein Collection.
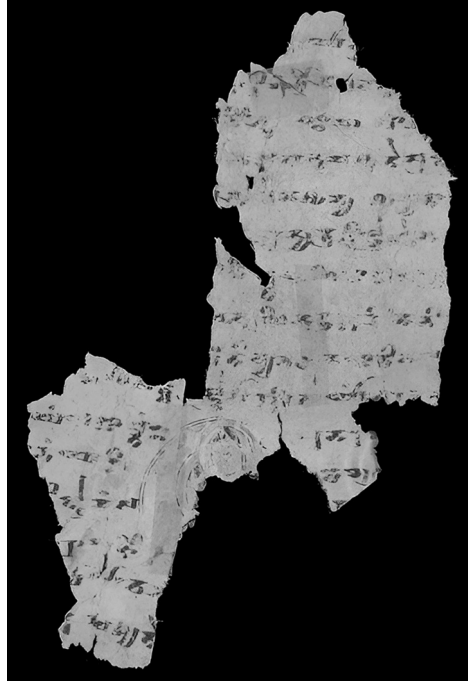
Pl. 9:
Or.15001/6 from the British Library Hoernle Collection.

Contents of the fragments

The examined fragments were identified with Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra with the help of two groups of Sanskrit texts representing different versions of the Sūtra. Various versions of the Sanskrit Mahāprajñāpāramitā (conventionally designated as 'revised' and 'not revised') represent different stages of the text's development. The 'revised' version is attested in the later Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal, which form the basis for T. Kimura's edition,[9] and represents a newer, optimized variant of the Sūtra: its text is rearranged to conform to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*[10] and,

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[9] Kimura T. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā I–VIII. Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin 1986–2009.

[10] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* ("Ornament of/for Realization[s]"), which is said to have been compiled by Asaṅga in the 4th c. AD, is a commentary treatise expounding the essence of the Sūtras on Perfect Wisdom. In terms of the order of the topic's presentation, this treatise is most closely related to the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. (KARASHIMA 2016: ix).

thus, is divided into eight extensive chapters, or topics including subtopics. The second version did not undergo revisions in accordance with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and contains the older variant of the Sūtra, preserved in the 7th c. AD birch bark manuscripts from Gilgit. The inner structure of the Gilgit manuscripts is somewhat different and the text consists of over 80 chapters.

According to the 'revised' version, the fragment SI 3331-5 corresponds to the text in the middle of the 2nd chapter (topic) *Mārgākārajñatā* ("Knowledge of the Paths") within the 6th subtopic *Adhimukti* ("Resolute faith"). However, in terms of dating and, presumably, in terms of the text's structure, manuscript SI 3331-5 is closer to the 'not revised' Sanskrit version. The fragment from Khotan coincides with a passage at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th chapter in the Gilgit manuscript.[11] In the Gilgit text, at the end of the 19th chapter (the 9th line on the verso-side of the f. 147), there is the ending marker: the chapter's number ("19") written in Brāhmī numerals is put between two chakra (disc) symbols enclosed with double daṇḍas (punctuation marks). Such a marker is a shortened alternative variant of the standard final phrase that can be found at the end of other chapters in the Gilgit text, for example: *prajñāpāramitāyāñ caturthaḥ parivartaḥ* ("[Thus ends] the 4th chapter of the Prajñāpāramitā").[12] These phrasal units, marking the end of chapters, are missing in the 'revised' Prajñāpāramitā text of the T. Kimura's edition.

In the Khotanese manuscript SI 3331-5 the principle of dividing the text into chapters appears closer to the Gilgit version. The examined fragment contains the abovementioned decorative roundel and the ending phrase indicating the chapter's number on the 5th line of the verso-side: (*dv*)[*ā*]*trīśatima samāpta 32* ("Thus ends the 32nd [chapter]"). Therefore, we know that the fragment includes excerpts from the 32nd and 33rd chapters. Moreover, such a rare codicological detail as a colorful miniature in the Serindia Sanskrit manuscripts served as an indicator of one chapter's end and the next one's beginning. This is confirmed by the above mentioned Prajñāpāramitā fragments (SI 2019, SI 3650, Or.8212/174, Or.15001/6) decorated with Buddha images in circles, since all of them contain transitions between two different chapters. It should be especially emphasized that all five fragments (including SI 3331-5) are written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2) dating back to the 5th–6th cc. AD. Considering that colorful illustrations are

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[11] Karashima 2016: 144.
[12] Karashima 2016: 57.

practically not found in Sanskrit manuscripts of this period of time, it is reasonable to assume that these 5 fragments (3 from the Serindia Collection IOM RAS and 2 from the British Library) could be parts of the same manuscript copy of Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.

The Gilgit and Khotanese manuscripts contain only chapter numbers and the chapters are untitled. However, the titles of chapters identical in content are preserved in Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: as translated by E. Conze,[13] the Gilgit's 19th chapter (the 32nd chapter in SI 3331-5 fragment) can be titled "The proclamation of a Bodhisattva's qualities" and the 20th chapter (the 33rd chapter in the fragment under discussion) — "The heretics".[14] As for their contents, the chapter 19 (32) indicates beneficial properties of the text itself, as is common in Mahāyāna sūtras. Those living beings who aspire to attain Buddhahood following the Bodhisattva path will receive manifold good qualities for performing various kinds of actions with the Sūtra of Perfect Wisdom (reading aloud, memorizing, copying, etc.). Some of these qualities are mentioned in the fragment presented below. The next chapter, 20 (33), begins with a hundred wanderers, followers of other religious sects (parivrajakas), going towards Buddha with some evil intentions. Noticing the approach of parivrajakas, the leader of the gods, Śakra (Indra), remembered and repeated what he had learned from Buddha in the sermon on Prajñāpāramitā; he repeated this sermon many times in order to hinder those wanderers. At last parivrajakas respectfully saluted Bhagavān and went on their way. This can be understood to mean that the followers of the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine are invincible to followers of other sects.

As for the folio compiled of three fragments (SI 3017 fragment 2 + SI 2097 + SI 3017 fragment 1), it contains excerpts of the text belonging to the first chapter (topic) *Sarvākārajñatā* ("Knowledge of all modes") in the 'revised' version of the Sūtra, specifically to the 10th subtopic *Niryāṇa-pratipatti* ("The action of going forth"). Regarding the Gilgit manuscript, the examined fragment corresponds to the text of the 11th chapter.[15] According to the E. Conze's translation of Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā chapters, the text in question belongs to the chapter entitled "Surpassing".[16] This chap-

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[13] CONZE 1975: xiv, 236–242.

[14] What E. Conze translates as "The heretics" is called in Sanskrit by the term *parivrājaka* ("a wandering religious mendicant"), that is, itinerant preaching monks of ancient India, religious teachers holding views of a Brahmanist or anti-Brahmanist orientation.

[15] KARASHIMA 2016: 99–105.

[16] CONZE 1975: xiii, 182–187.

ter, and the examined manuscript in particular, speaks of the highest knowledge (attainable by a Bodhisattva), which enables one to surpass other living beings, including men, Gods, Asuras, etc., and lies in the principle that all the elements of existence (dharmas) are the same in essence. *Niryāṇapratipatti* signifies the final aspect of *Sarvākārajñatā*, which makes a Bodhisattva understand the intimate nature of things and the sameness of the universe. Thus, this fragment lists various common features to underline the sameness of space and of the Great Vehicle.

Conclusion

Any comprehensive research on the functioning of original Buddhist texts and the history of Northern Buddhism in the ancient and early medieval periods is not possible without taking into account Sanskrit manuscript materials from Serindia. Central Asian written texts kept at the St. Petersburg manuscript collection of the IOM RAS contain highly valuable textual sources, and their introduction into scientific circulation is very important in the context of the study of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the history of which still has significant gaps. Thus, publication of the new fragments of Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā makes it possible to fill the lacunas and confirm the readings of its notable editions and already published manuscript texts, and helps researchers move forward in the study of the written heritage of the Mahāyāna tradition in Central Asia. The publication of fragments SI 3331-5 and SI 3017 + SI 2097 provides researchers with new material for analyzing Serindia written monuments of the Larger Prajñāpāramitā from the textological and codicological points of view. It offers additional data for development of problematics of the source studies on the history of Northern Buddhism related not only to reconstruction of Khotanese versions of Mahāyāna works, but also to the study of the functioning of the local Buddhist manuscript tradition.

A comprehensive study of the published manuscripts, taking into account their external features and the analysis of the textual repertoire, makes it possible to establish that the three fragments (two of them under the call number SI 3017 and the third one — SI 2097) not only constitute a single manuscript copy, but can also be united into a single paper folio with the text written in South Turkestan Brāhmī in Khotan and dated (on paleographic grounds) to the 8th–9th cc. AD. The folio corresponds to the textual excerpts from the

10th subtopic of the first chapter (topic) *Sarvākārajñatā* ("Knowledge of all modes") in the 'revised' version of Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā.

The other fragment under study (call number SI 3331-5) copied in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2) represents one of the oldest paper manuscripts of the Sanskrit Mahāprajñāpāramitā written in Central Asia. Moreover, the fragment possesses some external and textual similarities with four other Prajñāpāramitā fragments kept in the Serindia Collection and the British Library, so that all the five fragments may have once been parts of a single manuscript. The examined fragment contains the text from the 6th subtopic of the second chapter *Mārgākārajñatā* ("Knowledge of the Paths").

A transliteration of the fragments, English translation, correspondences to the T. Kimura's critical Sanskrit text, and a facsimile of manuscripts are provided below.

Transliteration, correspondences, and English translation

Symbols used

( )   — restored akṣara(s) in the parts lost or utterly illegible
[ ]   — damaged akṣara(s) or uncertain readings
+   — a lost akṣara
..   — an illegible akṣara
.   — a single element of an illegible akṣara
///   — beginning or end of a fragment when broken off
•   — punctuation mark
◯   — decorative circle marking the hole for binding
◎   — a circle with miniature marking the end of a chapter

SI 3017 fragment 2 + SI 2097 (*in italics*) + SI 3017 fragment 1 (***in bold italics***)

Recto (pagination 140)

1.   /// [s](ā)kṣīkarta*(v)[y](a)n na bhāvayitavyam evam e**va subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ na jñe[y](aṃ)*** ///

2.   sākṣīkartavya*n na bhāvayitavyan tenocya**te ākāśasaman tad yānam* tadyathā*** ///

3.   rmi • peyālaṃ y*āvat tenocyate ākāśa**saman tad yānam* tadyāthā subhūte ā[k](ā)*** ///

4. ryāpannan nārūpya*dhātuparyāpannam evam eva* **subhūte tan mahā-
yānan na kāmadhā** ///

5. rūpyadhātuparyā*panaṃ tenocyate ākāśa(sa)man tad yām** + + **thā
s(u)(bhū)te ā[k](ā)** ///

6. na dvitīyo na tṛtīyo na ◯ *caturtho na pa* ///

7. cyate • evam eva *[su]bh(ū)(t)e* ◯ ///

8. /// .e .. (t)e(n)o(cya)(t)[e] ///

PvsP(K)1–2, 124–125:[17] (*Śāriputra:*) tadyathāpi nāma subhūte ākāśaṃ na jñeyaṃ nājñeyaṃ na parijñeyaṃ na parijñātavyaṃ na prahātavyaṃ na **sākṣātkartavyaṃ na bhāvayitavyaṃ**, **evam eva subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ na jñeyaṃ** nājñeyaṃ na parijñeyaṃ na parijñātavyaṃ na prahātavyaṃ na **sākṣātkartavyaṃ na bhāvayitavyaṃ tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam** iti.

tadyathāpi nāma subhūte ākāśaṃ na vipāko na vipākadharmi, evam eva subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ na vipāko na vipākadha**rmi tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam** iti.

tadyathāpi nāma **subhūte ākā**śaṃ na kāmadhātuparyāpannaṃ na rūpadhātupa**ryāpannaṃ nārūpyadhātuparyāpannaṃ, evam eva subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ na kāmadhā**tuparyāpannaṃ na rūpadhātuparyāpannaṃ nā**rūpyadhātuparyāpannaṃ tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam** iti.

tadyathāpi nāma **subhūte ākā**śe na prathamacittotpādo **na dvitīyo na tṛtīyo na caturtho na pa**ñcamo na ṣaṣṭho na saptamo nāṣṭamo na navamo na daśamaś cittotpādaḥ, **evam eva subhūte** tatra mahāyāne na prathamacittotpādo na dvitīyo na tṛtīyo na caturtho na pañcamo na ṣaṣṭho na saptamo nāṣṭamo na navamo na daśamaś cittotpādas **tenocyate** ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam iti.

Translation

(*Śāriputra:*) "Just as, Subhūti, space is not cognizable, not uncognizable, not comprehensible, not to be fully known, not to be forsaken, **not to be realized, not to be cultivated, in the same way, Subhūti, the Great Vehicle is not cognizable**, not uncognizable, not comprehensible, not to be fully

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[17] Hereinafter, the examined fragments are compared with the e-text of T. Kimura's Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā edition (PvsP(K)) found in the "Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages" (http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/). Since there are some losses in the texts of the published fragments, all omitted parts have been translated based on T. Kimura's edition. The correspondences of the fragments under discussion with this critical edition are highlighted in bold.

tadyathāpi nāma subhūte ākāśaṃ na śūnyaṃ nāśūnyaṃ na nimi**ttaṃ nānimittaṃ na praṇihitaṃ nāpraṇihitaṃ, evam eva subhūte tan mahāyā**naṃ na śūnyaṃ nāśūnyaṃ na nimittaṃ nānimi**ttaṃ na praṇihitaṃ nāpraṇihitaṃ tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam** iti,

tadyathāpi nāma subhūte ākāśaṃ na vi**viktaṃ nāviviktaṃ** nāloko nāndhakāraḥ, **evam eva subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ** na viviktaṃ nāviviktaṃ nāloko nāndhakāras tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ **tad yānam** iti,

tadyathāpi nāma **subhūte ākāśaṃ** na labhyate nopalabhyate, **evam eva subhūte ta**n mahāyānaṃ na labhyate nopalabhyate tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam iti,

tadyathāpi nāma subhūte ākāśaṃ na pravyāhāro nāpravyāhāraḥ, evam eva subhūte tan mahāyānaṃ na pravyāhāro nāpravyāhāras tenocyate ākāśasamaṃ tad yānam.

iti samatāniryāṇam

Translation

Subhūti, just as **space is not permanent or impermanent, pleasure or suffering, self** or selfless, calm or uncalm, in the same way the Great Vehicle is not permanent or impermanent, **pleasure or suffering, self or selfless**, calm or uncalm. **Therefore, it is said: "The same as space is this Vehicle"**.

Just as space is not empty or non-empty, **with a sign or signless, with purpose or purposeless, in the same way the Great Vehicle** is not empty or non-empty, with a sign or **signless, with purpose or purposeless. Therefore, it is said: "The same as space is this Vehicle".**

Just as space is neither **isolated nor not isolated**, neither light nor darkness, **in the same way the Great Vehicle** is neither isolated nor not isolated, neither light nor darkness. Therefore, it is said: "The same as space is **this Vehicle**".

Just as space is neither attainable nor perceivable, **in the same way** the Great Vehicle is neither attainable nor perceivable. Therefore, it is said: "The same as space is this Vehicle".

Just as space is neither expressible nor inexpressible, in the same way the Great Vehicle is neither expressible nor inexpressible. Therefore, it is said: "The same as space is this Vehicle".

Such is the going forth through sameness.

SI 3331/5

Recto

a. /// sarvva aku ///
b. /// .. k[au]śika 'yam idam [pr](a) ///
c. /// .. ṣā atīte adhvane tathā ///
d. /// dhātuṣu tathāgatā sthāpanti [y](ā)pa[y](a) ///
e. /// prajñāyanti catvāre dhyā(nāṃ) catvāra apramā ///
f. /// (p)[r](a)jñāyanti dharmadhā +++ koṭitathatā [a] ///
g. /// bodhi bodhisa /// - /// sarvākāraṃ [jñ](a) ///
h. /// kṣaṃ /// - /// [y]anti ///

PvsP(K)2–3, 70–72: (śakra:) <…> prajñāpāramitāyā mārṣā udgrahītayā dhāritayā vācitayā paryavāptayā **sarve 'ku**śalā dharmāḥ parihīyante kuśalā dharmā vivardhante. <…>

atha khalu bhagavān śakraṃ devānām indram etad avocat: udgrahāṇa tvaṃ kauśika prajñāpāramitāṃ dhāraya vācaya paryavāpnuhi tvaṃ kauśika prajñāpāramitām. tat kasya hetor? yadā kauśika asurāṇām evaṃ samudācārā bhaviṣyanti devais trāyastriṃśaiḥ sārdhaṃ saṃgrāmayiṣyāma iti tadā tvaṃ **kauśika imāṃ pra**jñāpāramitāṃ samanvāhareḥ svādhyāyeḥ evaṃ teṣām asurāṇāṃ te samudācārā antardhāsyanti. <…>

(śakra:) <…> ye **'tīte 'dhvani tathā**gatā arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhā abhūvan, yeṣāṃ śrāvakā nirupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau pratiṣṭhitās te 'pīmām eva prajñāpāramitām āgamyānuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddhāḥ. <…> ye 'pi caitarhi daśadiśi loke pratyutpanne 'dhvani **tathāgatā** arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhā bhagavantaḥ sa śrāvakasaṃghās **tiṣṭhanti** dhriyante **yāpaya**nti sarve te ihaiva prajñāpāramitāyāṃ śikṣitvānuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyante.

(bhagavān:) <…> imām eva prajñāpāramitām āgamya daśakuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ **prajñāyante, catvāri dhyānāni catvāry apramāṇāni** <…> 'ṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ **prajñāyante**. trīṇi vimokṣamukhāni aṣṭa vimokṣā navānupūrvavihārasamāpattayaḥ ṣaḍ abhijñā **dharmadhā**tur bhūta**koṭitathatā** <…> loke prajñāyate.

<…> **bodhisattvaṃ** punaḥ kauśikāgamya daśa kuśalāḥ karmapathā loke prabhāvyante <…> **sarvākārajñatā** loke prajñāyate.

Translation

(Śakra addressed the deities of the retinue of the Four Great Kings, and the other gods of the great trichiliocosm:) "O friends, when the Prajñā-pāramitā is taken up, retained, recited, and mastered, **all the unwholesome** dharmas diminish, and the wholesome dharmas increase". <…>

Then, indeed, Bhagavān said this to Śakra, the lord of gods: "Kauśika, take up the Prajñāpāramitā, retain it, recite it, master it. For what reason? **Kauśika**, when the Asuras have intentions of fighting with the Thirty-three gods, then, if you apply yourself **to this Prajñāpāramitā** and contemplate it, those intentions will disappear". <…>

(Śakra:) "Those, who **in the past period** were Tathāgatas, Arhats, Samyaksaṃbuddhas and their disciples, they, by relying upon this very Prajñāpāramitā, established in the realm of Nirvāṇa with no remainder left and awakened to the unsurpassed and complete enlightenment. <…> And those **Tathāgatas**, Arhats, Samyaksaṃbuddhas with their congregation of disciples, who at the present time **dwell**, remain, **maintain** themselves in the ten directions of the world, all of them, having trained in this very Prajñā-pāramitā, awake to the unsurpassed and complete enlightenment".

(Bhagavān:) Thanks to this very Prajñāpāramitā, the ten wholesome ways of action, **the four trances, the four Unlimited** <…> and the eighteen unique qualities of a Buddha **are known.**[18] The three doors to deliverance, the eight deliverances, the nine successive meditative attainments, the six superknowledges, **the single emptiness**, **the culmination of reality, the suchness** are known in the world. <…>

Kauśika, also by relying on **the bodhisattvas**, the ten wholesome ways of action are brought about <…> and so is **the knowledge of all modes**…"

Verso

a. /// .t. ///
b. /// saṃkkra[m]. /// - /// vantā pa ///
c. /// .. hi kauśika ku /// - /// laduhitarā ///
d. /// +itavya so imehi dṛṣṭadharmikehi guṇe.. ///
e. /// (dv)ātrī[ś]atima samāpta 32 ◎ ///
f. /// jakā sada upāraṃbhā ◎ ///
g. /// .. yaṃ yana i ◎ ///
h. /// tad a ◎ ///

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[18] For numerical lists with basic concepts of Buddhism appearing in the Prajñāpāramitā text see: CONZE 1975: 667–671.

PvsP(K)2-3, 74: (*bhagavān:*) <…> sa ākāṅkṣaṃ buddhakṣetreṇa buddhakṣetraṃ **saṃkram**iṣyati, tān buddhān bhaga**vataḥ pa**ryupāsituṃ dharmaṃ ca śrotuṃ buddhakṣetreṇa buddhakṣetraṃ saṃkrāman sattvāṃś ca paripācayati, buddhakṣetraṃ ca pariśodhayiṣyati.

tasmāt tar**hi kauśika ku**laputreṇa vā ku**laduhitrā** vā prajñāpāramitā udgṛhītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā yoniśaś ca manasikar-tavyā sarvajñatācittena cāvirahitena bhav**itavyaṃ**. **sa etair dṛṣṭadhārmikair guṇaiḥ** sāṃparāyikair guṇair avirahito bhaviṣyati yāvan nānuttarā samyaksaṃbodhir abhisaṃbudhyate iti.

atha khalv anyatīrthikānāṃ parivrā**jakānāṃ śatam upārambhā**bhiprāyāṇāṃ yena bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkrāmati sma.

Translation

(Bhagavān:) "As he *(the Bodhisattva)* plans, **he will travel** from Buddha-field to Buddha-field, in order **to honor** the Buddhas, **the Blessed Ones**, and to hear the Dharma. Moving from Buddha-field to Buddha-field he will bring to perfection living beings and purify the Buddha-field.

Therefore then, Kauśika, a son **or a daughter of good family** should take up the Prajñāpāramitā, retain it, recite it, master it, keep it in mind prop-erly, and **should** not lack the thought about the knowledge of all modes. They will not lack **the benefits in this very lifetime** and in the future life, until they awake to the unsurpassed and complete enlightenment".

Thereupon, indeed, **a hundred** adherents **of** other sects, **wandering reli-gious mendicants**, **intending to cause trouble**, were approaching to where Bhagavān was.

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Youngsil Lee

Characteristics of the Term Bodhisattva in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: Bodhi-saTTva vs Bodhi-saTvan

Abstract: In his Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra [*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*], Seishi Karashima describes a 開士 (*kāi-shì*) as "a man, who is on the way to enlightenment". The term 開士 (*kāi-shì*) is generally accepted to be an older translation of 菩薩 (*pú sà*; Bodhisattva). The question remains as to why the words 開士 and 菩薩 are distinguished in Dharmarakṣa's version, even though both meanings are Bodhisattva. How was a Bodhisattva understood when Dharmarakṣa made his translation in 286 CE? In this study, I will present the characteristics associated with these usages, and examine the differences between Sanskrit manuscripts (Central Asian manuscript SI P/5 and Gilgit manuscript No. 44 in Delhi collection) and manuscripts in other languages, such as Tibetan. Then, I will present my hypothesis that the root of the difference is related to the rendering of Bodhi-saTTva as Bodhi-saTvan.

Key words: Bodhisattva, 開士, anupasthita, anuprārthika, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Dharma-rakṣa, IOM RAS.

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According to Jan Nattier,[1] in Sengyou's categorizations in his early sixth-century work, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 『出三藏記集』, he treats terms found in sources contemporary with one another as if they belonged to different periods: 舊 (old) 經「扶薩」[fú sà] 亦云「開士」[kāi-shì] or 新 (new) 經「菩薩」[pú sà][2] However, this categorization by Sengyou is only seen from the perspective of characteristics of the Chinese language, and not from the

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[1] NATTIER 2008: 6 n. 2.
[2] **T**: *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* 『大正新脩大藏經』 The Chinese Buddhist canon, vol. 55 no. 2145, 5a15.

content of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* itself. As is generally known, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has been translated into many languages throughout different periods from 3 CE to 18 CE. In this study, I will examine characteristics associated with the term "Bodhisattva" in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* using older and newer Chinese translations, as well as in Sanskrit manuscripts and, if necessary, Tibetan translations.[3]

Part 1. What does the term 開士 mean?
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter I
① One who reveals the Buddha-yāna (佛乘): Verse 23.
Dr[4] (Dharmarakṣa: 竺法護) T 64c08:
吾復瞻見{開士}之黨: 英雄儔疋出入山谷, 分別講説演諸佛乘[5].
Kj[6] (Kumārajīva: 鳩摩羅什) T 3a20:
又見{菩薩}: 勇猛精進入於深山, 思惟佛道.
CA (IOM RAS : SI / P5)[7] 18b6:
paśyāmy ahu <u>bodhisatvā</u>: praviśitva **vīrā**[8] girikandareṣu• vibhāvayanta ima **buddhayānaṃ**
Ga (NAI)[9] 5a5:
paśyāmy ahaṃ ○<u>bodhisatvāṃ</u> praviśya **vīrā** girikandareṣu• vibhāvayaṃto imu **buddha jñānaṃ**
KN (Kern Nanjio)[10] 12.1:

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[3] Research on Tibetan and Nepalese manuscripts in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* has already been discussed in detail by many researchers. This paper uses very few Tibetan and Nepalese manuscripts. The reason is: "Probably in the 7th century and later, the old Buddhist literature was remodeled and written down in Sanskrit before the Tibetans introduced it into their country through translation". WINDISCH 1917: 120. "The Nepalese, as Hodgson found, held the Tibetans in high esteem in religious matters". BROUGH 1948: 339.

[4] **Dr**: Dharmarakṣa's translation *Zheng fa hua jing* 正法華經, *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* vol. 9, no. 263.

[5] The very fact that this 開士 is interpreted as preaching the "**Buddha-vehicle**" [**佛乘**] distinguishes him from other "Bodhisattvas".

[6] **Kj**: Kumārajīva's tranlation *Miao fa lian hua jing* 『妙法蓮華經』, *Taishoshinshudaizokyo* 9: no. 262.

[7] **CA**: *Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences* [IOM RAS]・Soka Gakkai・Institute of Oriental Philosophy.

[8] **PW**: (*Böhtlingk and Roth Grosses Petersburger Wörterbuch*), *vīra* (m.): Mann; esp. **a powerful man**; hero.

[9] **Ga, Gb, Gc**: *Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts from the National Archives of India* [GMNAI]・Soka Gakkai・Institute of Oriental Philosophy.

[10] **KN**: H. KERN & B. NANJIO. eds. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Bibliotheca Buddhica X, 1908–1912.

paśyāmy ahu <u>bodhisattvān</u> girikandareṣu praviśyanti **dhīrāḥ** ¹¹ |
…vibhāvayanto imu **buddha jñānaṃ**

I (the Buddha) have seen some 開士 who are <u>brave</u> [英雄/勇猛] (**Dr/Kj**)
[*vīra*] (**CA, Ga**), <u>reveal</u> [*vibhāvayat*]¹² (**CA, Ga**) [分別講説演] (**Dr**) (except
Kj 思惟: consider) this <u>Buddha vehicle/path</u> [*yāna*] [佛乘/佛道] (**Dr/Kj** and
CA) / <u>Buddha-knowledge</u> [*jñāna*] (**Ga, KN**). Yet, it is said in Chapter II that
Buddha knowledge is possessed only by Buddhas.

② One who comprehends (逮) the unexcelled correct and true Path
(無上正眞道), and achieves (成) the supremely correct Bodhi (成最正覺),
has a Buddha-name, and attains (至) true and correct Bodhi (眞等正覺):
KN 21.13

Dr 66b11: 吾滅度後「首藏開士」當逮無上正眞道成最正覺, 號「離垢
體如來」至眞等正覺.

Kj 4b03: 入無餘涅槃時有菩薩名曰「德藏」… 是德藏菩薩, 次當作佛,
號曰「淨身多陀阿伽度阿羅訶三藐三佛陀.」

CA 29a1: śrīgarbho <u>bodhisatvo mahāsatvo</u> mamānantarād anuttarā
samyaksaṃ bodhim abhisaṃbuddhyati• <u>vimalanetro</u> nāma tathāgato'rhāṃ
samyaksaṃbudddho loke bhaviṣyati•

Gb ¹³ 7a8: śrīgarbho <u>bodhisatvo</u> mamān antaram anuttarāṃ
samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃ bhotsyate (b1)///

KN 21.13: śrīgarbho <u>bodhisattvo</u> mamāntaram anuttarām samyaksaṃ-
bodhim abhisaṃbhots yas te <u>vimalanetro</u> nāma tathāgato 'rhansamyaksaṃ-
budddho bhaviṣyati||

After Buddha's (candrasūryapradīpa) extinguishment, this 開士 (**CA** add
mahāsatva) is called <u>Śrīgarbha</u> [首藏/德藏] (**Dr/Kj**) and is given the name of
a Buddha, called <u>Vimalanetro</u> [離垢體/淨身] (**Dr/Kj**). What is noteworthy
here is **Kj**'s use of the transliteration [多陀阿伽度] (tathāgata) instead of
[如来].

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter III
③ One who attains / will attain true Bodhi (至眞覺): **KN** 60.4

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¹¹ **PW**: *dhīra* (√*dhar*): constant, firm.

¹² **PW**: *bhū* — vi causative. to reveal, to show; *vibhāvayan* (= *prakāśayan*); to perceive.

¹³ It is generally considered that there are three types of Gilgit manuscripts (**Ga, Gb, Gc**).
The author is particularly researching the specificity of **Ga**, but some parts of **Ga** ms. are
incomplete.

Dr 73b08: 所以者何. 常從佛, **聞**法説{化導**諸菩薩乘**[14]}, 見餘開士聽承**佛音德**至眞覺, 甚自悼感 (śoc), 【**獨不豫及**】心用灼惕 (saṃtap), {所示現議所不紹逮}[15] 我已永失 (bhraṣṭa) 如來之慧.

Kj 10c02: 所以者何. 我昔從佛, **聞**如是法, 見**諸菩薩授記作佛**, 【而我等**不豫**斯事】甚自感傷(śoc), 失(bhraṣṭa)於如來無量知見.

Why is this so? Since long ago I have followed the Buddha, heard teachings of this kind from him, and seen <u>bodhisattvas</u> being assured of becoming buddhas while I and others were not included in such matters—and I have felt extremely distressed that I would not be able to attain the immeasurable knowledge and insight of a tathāgata [J. Logan][16]

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 64b5–65a2 (pl. 1):
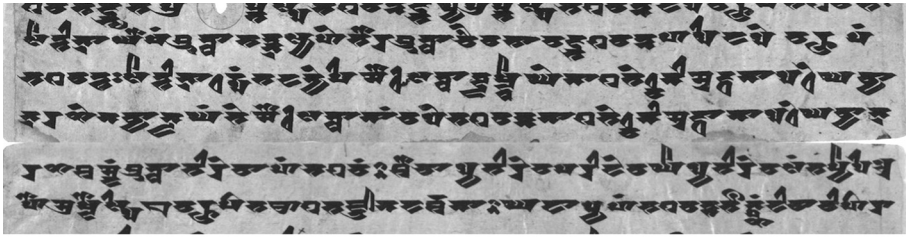
Pl. 1 from IOM RAS/Soka Gakkai/IOP

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[14] This Bodhisattva-vehicle [菩薩**乘**] (**Dr**: 73b09) in example ③ is found only in **Dr**. There is no equivalent term in other texts. What is important is that **Kj** does not have the term [菩薩**乘**] but it is sometimes uses the translation as [菩薩**道**] (Bodhisattva-**path**). Furthermore, the contents of the [三乘] (three vehicles) first mentioned in Chapter III are as in the following Chinese translations: (**Dr**: 76a7) [聲聞・縁覺・**菩薩之道**, 以是三乘開化] (Śrāvaka-Pratyekabuddha-<u>Bodhisattva-Path</u>) similar as in Sanskrit and Tibetan, while only (**Kj**: 13b9) [三乘：聲聞・辟支佛・**佛乘**] (Śrāvaka-Pratyekabuddha-<u>Buddha-Vehicle</u>). cf. KARIYA 1983: 258 n. 79; cf. MATSUMOTO 2010: 271ff. "Since Bodhisattva seeks the Buddha knowledge, but **Bodhisattva does not seek the knowledge of Bodhisattva,** the term **Bodhisattva-yāna [菩薩乘]** is established **later than Buddha-yāna [仏乘].** However, it is thought that this term was coined when it came to be understood as a path of **Bodhisattva-caryā [菩薩行] (Bodhisattva practice),** the path to Bodhi", KARASHIMA 1993: 170f. There are many views that the term Buddha-yāna [仏乘] (Buddha-Vehicle) came first, and later transformed into the Bodhisattva-yāna [菩薩乘] (Bodhisattva-Vehicle). **Dr**'s use of [菩薩乘] in example ③ is unique, and his use [覩心信樂喜菩薩乘] in Chapter IV (81a19) corresponds to <u>Bodhisattva-śabda</u> (name with Bodhisattva) in **CA**, **Ga**, and **KN** 110.6. It can be assumed that **Dr** [菩薩乘] (Bodhisattva-yāna) was one of the [三乘] (three vehicles) and already had the concept of [Bodhisattva-yāna]. However, it should be judged from this study that this concept is the path leading to Bodhi/Buddha (vehicle) i.e. [一乘] (one vehicle), and not the path used by **Dr** as the path to Bodhisattva.

[15] There is no Sanskrit equivalent here. The meaning is "not succeed [紹逮] to the instruction of the <u>Bodhisattva-yāna</u> [所示現議]" This is a free translation by **Dr**.

[16] LOGAN Joseph's *Flowering Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma Sūtra*, [forthcoming].

tat kasya hetor **aśrutvā** caiva tāvad bhagavann aham idam evarūpaṃ (6)bhagavantaḥ sāntikā dharmaṃ tad <u>anyepi</u> <u>bodhisatvān</u> dṛṣṭvā <u>yenāgatedhvani</u> buddha**nāmadheya-vyā**(7)**karaṇena** (= **Kj**: 授記作佛) vyākryaṃte bodhisatvānāṃ ca me bhagavann anāgatedhvani buddhā-**nāmadheya-vyāka** (1)**raṇa-śabdaṃ** (= **Dr**: 佛音德) śrutvātirevāhaṃ bhagavaṃn* śocāmy atireva paridevayāmy atireva saṃtapyāmi a(2)ho braṣṭosmi evarūpā tathāgatajñānadarśanān*[17]

*The reason [why Śāriputra is amazed] is, Bhagavat, first of all, I **had not heard (aśrutvā)** a dharma such as this (idam) [while] near the Bhagavat. **Thus (tad),** [I] saw <u>others (anye), who were BodhisaTTvas/ others who will attain Bodhi</u>[18] who (ye) will be given **by prophecy** the name of a Buddha in the future, and O Bhagavat! when I heard **a voice that was a prophecy** to the Bodhisattvas about their future designation as Buddhas, O Bhagavat! I felt separated (bhraṣṭa) from the Knowledge of the Tathāgata — and I am so sad (śoca), so grieved (paridiv), and so tormented (saṃtap).*

Gb[19](GMNAI) 19b8–9 (pl. 2):

tat kasya hetor **aśrutvaiva** tāvad ahaṃ bhagavann imam evaṃrūpaṃ bhagavatontikā(9)d dharmaṃ tad <u>anyān bodhisatvān</u> dṛṣṭvā bodhisatvānāṃ cānāgatedhvani **buddhanāmaṃ** śrutvātīva śocāmy atīva santapye bhraṣṭosmy evaṃrūpāt[20] tathāgatajñānadarśanāt*

*The reason [why Śāriputra is amazed] is, Bhagavat, first of all, I **had not heard** a dharma such as this (imam) [while]near the Bhagavat. **Thus (tad),** I saw <u>other BodhisaTTvas/others who will attain Bodhi</u>; and hearing the name of the Buddhas those Bodhisattvas will have in the future, I felt separated (bhraṣṭa) from the Knowledge of the Tathāgata. I am greatly grieved (śuc), greatly tormented.*

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[17] * = virāma.

[18] From the previous examples ① ②, it will be understood that in the case of the translation of 開士, the explanation is given using adjectives used **for Buddhas** rather than for Bodhi-sattvas in general. From this point onwards, <u>the Sanskrit corresponding to this 開士 will be compared by adding different meanings as **bodhisaTTva [bodhisattva]/ bodhisaTvan [will attain bodhi]**.</u> The reason I apply my hypothesis here is that **the root of the difference lies in the meaning of saTvan** rather than the inflexion. If we read bodhisaTTva as bodhisaTvan, the inflexion requires **bodhi-saTvanaḥ**. However, many manuscripts have different inflexions. Look at **CA**'s [anye]. When used as a demonstrative pronoun for [Bodhisattvān], [anyān] would be correct according to classical Sanskrit inflexion.

[19] **Ga** 24a8 /// (24b1) vaṃrūpaṃ bhagavato (')ntikād dharmaṃ tad **anyā** bodhisatvāṃ dṛṣṭvā bodhisatvānāṃ cānāgate (')dhvani bu[ddha]///

The right side of the manuscript is damaged and needs about 35 syllables.

[20] **KN** add. *tathāgatajñāna[gocarājñāna]darśānāt|*
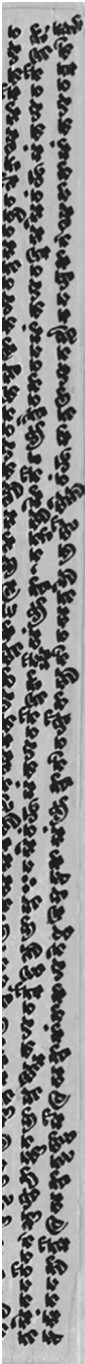
Pl. 2 from GANAI/Soka Gakkai/IOP

Those who will receive the title of *Buddha* in the future (**CA** adds the predictions [vyākaraṇa]) refers to <u>other *BodhisaTTvas*</u>, as **Dr** translates "<u>other</u> [餘開士]," and are those who <u>attain / will attain Bodhi (至眞覺) [bodhi-saTvan]</u>. In Sanskrit, it is only expressed as having attained <u>the title of Buddha</u> [buddha-nāma]*,* but if we read the word *BodhisaTTva* as <u>attaining *Bodhi*</u>, it is the same as the understanding of [開士] by **Dr**.

Chapter III begins with Śāriputra's expressing his joy at the words of the Bhagavat, who said, "Even *śrāvakas* will become a Buddha"[21] in Chapter II.

In meaning ③ above, [tat kasya hetoḥ] expresses the reason why Śāriputra is delighted. The problem is that Sanskrit [Skt.] and Tibetan [Tib.] differ from both Chinese translations. In the Skt. and Tib.,[22] Śāriputra says, [aśrutvā] "I had not heard",[23] and both Chinese translations say, [聞] "I had heard"— **Dr**: "Constantly from Buddha, I heard <u>teaching</u> [法]", and **Kj**: "Since long ago I heard from Buddha <u>such a teaching like this</u> [我昔從佛聞如是法]". Therefore, **Dr** and **Kj** insert the reason, "it has not been <u>bestowed</u> [不豫] upon us [我等] i.e. [Śāriputra] and those with him". **Dr** explains that what Śāriputra heard from Buddha is the guidance of <u>Bodhisattva-vehicles</u> [化導諸菩薩乘].[24] **Kj** seems like a kind of the same interpretation; [如是法] is the teaching for Bodhisattvas, since his translation "us" [我等] means śrāvakas, apart from Bodhisattvas.

[Chin.]

1. I **heard such a teaching,** i.e., the guidance of bodhisattva-vehicles — [**Dr**: 法説{化導諸菩薩乘}] / teaching for bodhisattvas [**Kj**: *如是法*]) — from the Buddha.

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[21] Chapter II, verse 133: "On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, **will all of them become Buddhas.**" (Kern's trsl.). Even in Chapter II, scholars' opinions are divided: (Matsumoto 2010) says that the Prose of Chapter II has the oldest ideas, and (Karashima 1993) says that the Verse of Chapter II has the oldest ideas. For me, no unified thought can be discerned from the 145 gāthās. However, if Śāriputra himself is a "Śrāvaka," we have no choice but to choose the pleasing teachings on "Śrāvaka" that are preached in the Verse.

[22] **Tib. D** (MS. of Derge Kanjur, No. 113, vol. 51, mDo de, Ja.) 24b བཅོམ་ལྡན་ འདས་བྱུང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་གཞན་དག་ཀྱང་**མ་ཐོང** (saw)... སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་མཆན་ཡང་**ཐོས་**ཏེ (heared)། འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ཆོས་ནི་ (such dharma) བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ལས་བདག་གིས་**མ་ཐོས་ལ** ། (not heard.) Same for **Tib. Hem** 34a6 (MS. of Hemis I Kanjur, He 58.1, mDo de, pha).

[23] "For when, **before I had heard** of this law from the Lord". **Kern trsl.** Kern 1884. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or The Lotus of the True Law.* Oxford: Clarendon.

[24] This plural form expresses the distinction among Bodhisattvas-yāna by **Dr**.

2. I saw the <u>other Bodhisattvas</u> [**Dr**: 餘開士*]* who <u>will attain Bodhi</u> [**Dr**: 至眞覺*]* / I saw Bodhisattvas who have a <u>prophecy</u> of becoming a Buddha [**Kj**: 授記作佛*]*.

3. However, I [Śāriputra] was not bestowed [Dr/Kj 不豫*]* in that matter — I felt that I had lost [失] the wisdom of the Tathāgata.

As a result, now I am delighted since I **heard** such a teaching (in Chapter II).

[Skt./Tib.]

1. I **had not heard (aśrutvā) such a teaching** — i.e., that śrāvakas will become Buddhas, from the Buddha.

2. However, I saw other Bodhisattvas who have the prophecy of becoming a Buddha (**CA**) / who received the title of Buddha (**Ga**).

3. I felt so sad that I was far from the knowledge of the Tathāgata.

As a result, now I am delighted since I **heard** such a teaching (in Chapter II).

Comparison between [Chin] and [Skt. Tib.]

The reference of [1. **such a teaching**] is different. From the view of text flow, [1. **such a teaching**] refers to the whole of Chapter II. However, [1. **such a teaching**] [**Dr** 法説 {化導諸菩薩乘} / **Kj** 如是法] in Chinese refers to the teaching for Bodhisattvas only. Then [2. other Bodhisattvas] with the title of Buddha does not appear in Chapter II, because there is no need to preach the Buddha's teachings to those who have the title of Buddha. Therefore, in my opinion, the inference contained in the phrase "other 開士", as distinguished from the Bodhisattvas mentioned in Chapter II, is that of having already attained Bodhi.

④ One who attains / will attain Bodhi (至無上正眞之道): **KN** 60. 10

Dr 73b15: 所講演法, 大聖等心, 爲開士歎思奉尊者, 爲受第一如來訓典, 堪至無上正眞之道. 我等所順而被衣服所建立, 願不以頻數. 唯然世尊! 鄙當爾時用自剋責, 晝夜寢念.

Kj 10c07: 所以者何: 若我等待説所因成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提者, 必以**大乘**而得度脱. 然我等, 不解方便隨宜所説, 初聞佛法遇便(by chance), 信受思惟取證. 世尊! 我從昔來終日竟夜每自剋責.

*Why is this so? If we had waited for your teachings with regard to that on which attainment of the full dynamic of ultimate enlightenment is founded, we surely would have had **the Great Vehicle** with which to gain emancipation. But we did not understand that you were skillfully expounding with means that were appropriate for us then. When we first heard the Buddha's teachings, we immediately took them to heart, focused our minds on them, and attained a*

realization. World-honored One! I have spent long days and nights intensely
questioning and struggling with myself. [J. LOGAN]

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 65b3–66a1 (pl. 3):
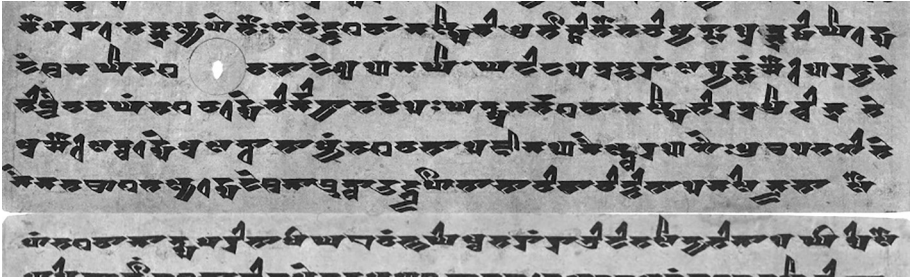
Pl. 3 from IOM RAS/Soka Gakkai/IOP

tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavāṃn asmābhi pratīkṣitobhaviṣyat sāmutkarṣiyā
dharma(4)deśanayā bhaga○vatā deśyamānayā• yad idam anuttarāṃ
samyaksaṃbodhim ārabhya **te**(5)**bhiś** [25]caiva vayaṃ **bhagava-dharmebhir**
(= Kj 大乘?) niryā bhavema: yat punar bhagavān asmābhir [26]anuprārthika
te(6)ṣu bodhisatva-dharmeṣu sandhābhāṣyaṃ bhagavatāṃ ajānamānais
tvaramāṇaiḥ prathamabhaṇite(7)naina [27] tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā śrutvā
udgṛhītā bhāvitā cintitā manasikṛtā so (66a1)haṃ bhagavān ātmaparibhāṣāya
evaṃ bhūyiṣṭhatarāṃ rātriditasāny atināmayāmi

Why is this so? [Why is this not the Buddha's fault?] If, Bhagavat, we had
waited (pratīkṣita) for "the most excellent exposition of Dharma to be shown
by the Bhagavat," then, we would be liberated (niryā) by none other than
"those Dharmas of the Bhagavat" *which aim, namely, for anuttarāṃ*
samyaksaṃbodhim. Moreover (yat), although the Bhagavat desired
(anuprārthika) these BodhisaTTva-dharmas for us,/ desired the dharma
of attaining Bodhi (bodhi-saTvan) for us (teṣu bodhisatvadharmeṣu)*, and*
moreover (punar) if the Bhagavats' purposeful intention is [what was being

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[25] *tebhiś< te+ebhis = taiḥ*

[26] **PW**: ***prārthya*** adj. what someone (instr. gen.) desires. (WATANABE 1966–71: 99) says,
"When we did **not seek [anuprārthika]** the Bodhisattva Dharma". However, *anuprārthika* is
not [**an-u**pārthika]; it is [**anu-**prārthika] (anu-pra-arthin) instead. Regarding the Prākrit form of
[prārthita] (KARASHIMA 1993: 189 (14) states that it is [prasthita]. There is no question that the
singular suffix *-ika* in [anu-prārth-ika] (one who is desired) refers to Bhagavat, even if it is
interpreted as [prasthita] (set forth).

[27] *-bhaṇitenaina< -bhaṇite+anaina (anena).*

expressed] we didn't know it. [At the time] "the first preached by him (anena)"
we hastily heard as it was "the Exposition of the Dharma by the Tathāgata,"
and we caught, imagined, thought, and took it to heart. As such, I spend most
of my time day (di<u>ta</u>sāni read di<u>va</u>sāni) and night criticizing myself.

Gb[28] 20a2–5 (GMNAI) (pl. 4):

tat kasya hetoḥ saced bhagavān asmābhiḥ pra(3)tīkṣitaḥ syāt
sāmutkarṣikī [29] dharmadeśanā katha yamāno yad idam anuttarāṃ
samyaksaṃbodhim ārabhya **teṣv** eva vayaṃ bhagavan **dharmeṣu** niryātāḥ
syur [30] yat punar bhagavān [31] asmābhir <u>anupasthiteṣu</u> [32] bo(4)dhisatveṣu
sandhābhāṣyaṃ bhagavatojānamānair [33] atvaramāṇaiḥ prathamabhāṣitā eva
tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā śrutā [34] udgṛhītā [35] bhāvitā cintitā manasīkṛtā•
sohaṃ bhagavann ātma pari(5)bhāṣayā [36] eva bhūyiṣṭhena rātṛndivāny [37] ati-
nāmayāmi•

Why is this so? [Why is this not the Buddha's fault?] If we had expectations
that the Bhagavat would express "the most excellent exposition of the
Dharma," that is, with Anuttarasamyaksambodhi as the aim, [then] Bhagavat,
we would have emerged from "those dharmas". In other words (yat punar),
[we are] not grasping the Bhagavat's purposeful intention, what the
Bhagavat first preached <u>when the BodhisaTTvas were not present (anupast-
hita)/ to those whose desire for Bodhi (bodhi-saTvan) was incomplete (anu-
pasthita)</u>, was carefully (Gb: atvara-) / hastily (Ga, KN: tvara-) heard by us
as "the exposition of the Tathāgata's Dharma," and we received it, pondered
it, and took it to heart. I spend most of my time day and night criticizing myself
for that.

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[28] Text corresponding to this passage in **Ga** manuscript is incomplete.

[29] cf. *sāmutkarṣikī**ṃ** dharmadeśanā**ṃ*** **KN**.

[30] cf. *syāma* (Optative.1st. plural) **KN**.

[31] cf. *bhagavann* **KN**.

[32] **PW**: *sthā* "anupasthita **unvollständig** (**incomplete**) Śat. Br. 2, 3, 1, 13". cf. (EGGELING
1882: 330) said 2, 3, 1, 13: *tad etad **anupasthitam** agnihotraṃ* "Hence that Agnihotra is
unlimited". The author believes that PW: unvollständig (incomplete) fits better than EGGE-
LING: unlimited. *agnihotra* offerings are used in the sense of being incomplete, that is, not all of
them are there.

[33] **Ga** 24b5 ○bhagavato *jānamānais **tvar**[a]////.*

[34] **KN** *śrutvo*.

[35] **KN** adds *dhāritā*.

[36] **KN** *bhāṣaṇayaiva* (-bhāṣaṇā f. singular. Instrumental).

[37] **KN** *rātriṃ divāny*.

Pl. 4 from GANAI/Soka Gakkai/IOP

The expression [anupasthiteṣa bodhisattveyu] (Kern's translation:[38] at the moment of the <u>Bodhisattvas not being assembled</u>) is one of the important discussions in Chapter III.[39] However, [an-upasthita] is just **one example** throughout *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,[40] and there is no translation into either Chinese translation. In Tibetan, it is �བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་མ་ཚོགས་པར [byang chub sems dpa'] (bodhisattva) [ma tshogs par] (assembled[41]), but in Tibetan, it is usually translated as [upasthita]: [**ñe** bar lhags] (IV v.19), [**ñe** gnas] (XVII v. 4), [**ñe** bar 'ongs pa] (XXIV v. 10), the word [**ñe**] (near) is used. This may not be considered as the negation [upasthita] as [**ñe bar mi**]. As we have seen in example ③, the use of [<u>antika</u>] is an example of the use of the fixed phrase "I heard the Dharma while <u>near</u> the Bhagavat." Furthermore, the Tibetan translation "when the bodhisattvas were not present",[42] and Kern's translation cannot explain the point in time when Bodhisattvas were not present. Thus, the use of "Bodhisattva" in examples ③ and ④ above is surprising.[43] Looking at the contents of Chapter I, 1,200 śrāvaka(s), 80,000 bodhisattvas and other living beings have already gathered before the Buddha. In the verse, the śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas are mentioned as those **who seek Bodhi.** In Chapter II, Buddha-knowledge (jñāna) and Buddha-vehicle (yāna) are men-

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[38] KERN, J.H. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, or The Lotus of the True Law.* Oxford: Clarendon.

[39] What is the meaning of "Bodhisattvas not being assembled"? (KARIYA 1983: 250 n.6) says, "Before the emergence of [Mahā-yāna] and [Bodhisattva-yāna]. The temporal order in which the two vehicles of [Śrāvaka-yāna] and [Pratyekabuddha-yāna] were mentioned first, and then the [Mahā-yāna/Bodhisattva-yāna] appeared". This view probably stems from historical thinking. According to the traditional interpretation, the [Mahā-yāna] is later than the [Śrāvaka-yāna] (the Vehicle of the Disciples). However, in the Text, before Chapter III, Bodhisattvas are already mentioned. If one thinks of it as a continuation of the story, the idea of "Bodhisattvas not being assembled" feels like it does not follow the flow.

[40] SP Index (*Index to the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra -Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese-*. Tokyo 1985–1993.) p. 45.

[41] *accumulation*; '*kinds' of perception*. JÄSCHKE, Heinrich August. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. 1881. (Reprint, Kyoto, 1993.) p. 451.

[42] "If we had stayed when the Bhagavān was teaching the excellent Dharma, commencing with the highest, complete enlightenment, then, Bhagavān, we also would have been liberated in that Dharma. Also, Bhagavān, <u>when the bodhisattvas were not present,</u> we did not understand the Bhagavān's teaching that had an implied meaning. We immediately heard…" https://84000.co/collections/kangyur cf. **Tib. Hem** 34b5: *byang chub sems **dpa'i** ma tshogs par* (MS. of Hemis I Kanjur, mDo de, pha).

[43] cf. MATSUMOTO 2010: 35. According to Matsumoto's philosophical critical research, "the verses in Chapters II and III were also established later than the prose part in III, and the prose part in III is based on the [Mahā-yāna] thought, that is, the discriminatory idea that [Eka-yāna] = [Mahā-yāna] inherited the position".

tioned significantly. Then verses 8–17 say, even śrāvaka(s), pratyekabuddha(s), avaivartika-bodhisattva (below example ⑥) <u>cannot reach the realm (viṣaya) of the knowledge of Buddhas</u> (verse 17). However, the final verse part contradicts that by saying that both śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas <u>will become buddhas</u>. In other words, both śrāvaka(s) and bodhisattvas **seek Bodhi**. This is the result of the Buddha's work in his exposition of the Dharma [dharmadeśanā]. If we also consider the manuscripts, the sentence "Bodhisattva were not present" does not exist in **CA** ms. The word corresponding to the negative term [an-upasthita] (**Ga**) is [anu-prārthika] (**CA**). This singular form [anu-prārthika] does not correspond to bodhisattvas [teṣu bodhisatvadharmeṣu],[44] i.e., the plural form — that is, there is no negative connotation. This is the same for both Chinese translations. For comparison:

[Chin]

1. The Bhagavat's impartial mind inspires respect in <u>him [開士]</u>, and he receives the Tathāgata's first instruction [如來訓典] and attains Bodhi [堪至無上正眞之道].

2. Although we [Śāriputra] follow this and base [建立] ourselves on it.

3.

4. …we do **not aspire** [願] to it (Bodhi) constantly [頻數].

As a result (**Dr**): he criticized [自剋責] himself.

1. We [Śāriputra] thought that we would attain Bodhi [成就阿耨多羅三藐三菩提]

2. …<u>by attaining liberation through a Mahāyāna [大乘]</u>.

3.

4. But at that time we did not understand the skilful means [方便]. When we first heard the Buddha's teachings [佛法], we immediately accepted them.

As a result (Kj): he criticized [自剋責] himself.

[Skt.]

1. If we had waited for his exposition of dharma [dharmadeśanā] with the aim of Bodhi [anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi]. (**CA/Gb**)

2. Thought that we had <u>attained liberation through the dharmas</u> *of the Bhagavat [bhagava-dharmebhir]*. (**CA**)

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[44] This reading is unique to the CA manuscript. cf. example ⑦. In the KN edition, bodhisattva-dharma exists only in Chapter XIV in KN 309.6, as it also exists in the Gilgit manuscripts (Ga) and CA ms. In addition, bodhisattva-dharma also appears in Chapter IV of the **CA** manuscript only, while the corresponding reading in Gilgit manuscripts (**Gb**) is *eṣu dharmeṣu*, and in **KN** it is *buddha-dharmeṣu*. Although it is difficult to determine which reading is correct, it would be clear that the **CA** manuscript reading prefers *bodhisattva(dharma)* to *Buddha (dharma)*.

3. What the Buddha underlined desired [**anuprārthika**] was aimed at the Bodhisattva dharma [bodhisatva**dharmeṣu**] (**CA**) / When the Bodhisattvas were not present [**anuptasthiteṣu** bodhisatveṣu] (**Gb**)

4. Not understanding the intentions of the Buddhas / the Buddha (**CA/Gb**), heard hastily that what was "first preached" was "the Tathāgata's exposition of Dharma" [tathāgatasya dharmadeśanā]. (**CA/Gb**)

As a result (CA/Gb): he criticized [atināmayāmi] himself.

Interpretations are already divided between the two Chinese translations. **CA**-2 and **Kj**-2 are slightly similar. **CA**-2 says: 'I thought I had attained **Bodhi** through the [**Dharma***s of the Bhagavat] (it means Kj-2 Mahāyāna?),* without knowing that it was meant to be **CA**-3 [Bodhisattva's **Dharma**]'. Perhaps the **CA** explains that ***"those Dharmas of the Bhagavat"*** are [Bodhisattva's **Dharma**] *and sandhābhāṣya.* However, there are no texts other than the **CA** that *have the interpretation* a *Bodhisattvadharma*. This is also clear from a comparison with the Gilgit manuscript.

The context is easier to understand if 2 and 4 are connected, as Chinese translations do. In other words, in **Gb**: 'We thought it was a Dharma to Bodhi, but it was the exposition of the Dharma [dharmadeśanā] by the Tathāgata'.

Now, let me interpret **Gb-3** based on my hypothesis. The first is presented as bodhisaTTva and the second as bodhisaTvan.

[bodhisaTTva]

(1) We expected it to be the exposition of dharma to lead to Bodhi. (4) Hastily heard it as the exposition of the Dharma by the Tathāgata, without knowing that it was (3) by intention when the Bodhisattvas were **not present** [anupasthiteṣu bodhisatveṣu].

[bodhisaTvan]

(1) We expected it to be the exposition of Dharma to lead to Bodhi. (4) Hastily heard it as the exposition of Dharma by the Tathāgata, without knowing that it was (3) by intention for people whose aspirations for bodhi were **incomplete**[45] [**anupasthiteṣu** bodhi-satveṣu].

According to the above, being incomplete in the aspiration for Bodhi can be interpreted to mean being a śrāvaka, i.e. Śāriputra. This "aspire" [saTvan > √*san*] suggests 4. **Dr** [願] in the Chinese above. This is because it is understood in SP that a śrāvaka was seeking Nirvāna but not Bodhi [anuttarā samyaksaṃbodhi].

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[45] See note 32 *anupasthita*.

Pl. 5
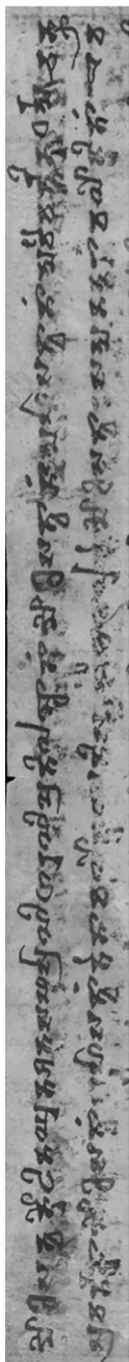
Pl. 6

From the British Library Collection: IOL San 489 and 490

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter X

⑤ One who became a Tathāgata

Dr 100b14: 爾時世尊告八萬菩薩, 因藥王<u>開士</u>縁, 諸<u>菩薩</u>等寧察斯四部衆…

In the first half of Chapter X, "藥王如來品[46]" (**Dr**: 99a25-100b13) **Dr**'s translation only, this content said that "the crown prince [善蓋] (shàn gài) who gave a memorial service to King of Medicines Tathāgata [藥王如來], and after the extinguishment of King of Medicines <u>Buddha</u> [藥王佛] he will be a preacher of the *sūtra* named *King of Medicines* <u>Tathāgata</u> [藥王如來], and lead [開化] all the people of the world." As a result, Chapter X, "藥王<u>開士</u>" which follows that text refers to the King of Medicines Tathāgata who became a Buddha and is distinguished from other Bodhisattvas.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XII (**Dr/Gb/KN**): Chapter XIII (**CA/Kj**)

⑥ One who comprehends [逮] the Dhāraṇīs [諸總持], who preaches [講] the never retrogressing Dharma wheel: **KN** 270.8

Dr 106c15 (XII): 於時世尊, 顧眄八十億姟百千, **逮諸總持**<u>開士</u>講「不退轉法輪.」時諸菩薩見佛照臨.

Kj 36b08 (XIII): 爾時世尊, 視八十萬億那由他<u>諸菩薩摩訶薩:</u> 是諸菩薩, 皆是阿惟越致,[47] 轉「不退法輪」**得諸陀羅尼**.

IOL San[48] 489v8–490 (XII) (pl. 5, 6):

atha khalu bhagavā [ye]na tāny aśīti(1)bodhisatvakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇi **dhāraṇipratilabdhānāṃ**[49] bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānā[ṃ]m avaivarttika-dharmacakkra-(2)pravartakā-bodhisatvāṃ [ma]hāsatvāṃ tenāvaloka[ya]ti sma atha khalu te bodhisatvā: …

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[46] Cf. Maegawa 2015: 157.

[47] This word is used in only two instances. In Chapter XV, **Kj**'s [<u>阿惟越致</u>-地] (42b21) is thought to be a transliteration of [<u>avaivartya</u>-bhūmi] (stage of <u>never-retrogressing</u>). Although **Dr** translates it as [<u>不退轉</u>-地] (113b18), **Kj**'s translationin Chapter II is as [<u>不退</u>-諸菩薩] (6a16) for [<u>avaivartika</u> bodhisattva].

[48] Photo by IDP International Dunhuang Programme. https://idp.bl.uk/collection/. This corresponding Reading in **CA** (SI P/5, SI P/10) cannot be found. Although, Toda, Hirofumi in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text.* Tokushima 1981: 133 shows. "atha khalu bhagavāṃ yena tāny aśītibodhisatvakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇi **pratilabdhānāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ mahāsatvānā** avaivartika-dharmacakra-pravartakā-bodhisatvā-mahāsatvās tenāvalokayati sma|| atha khalu te bodhisatvāḥ." It is not known which manuscript he used.

[49] Hoernle without number; edition Wille, Klaus. "Weitere kleine *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*-Fragmente aus der Sammlung Hoernle (London)" *Indica et Tibetica* 35, Swisttal-Odendorf 1998: 248: 2 /// [h] (a) sr[ā] + <<**dhāraṇī**>>[p]r(a)tilabdhānām bodhi + /// **dhāraṇī** is inserted interlinearly.

Gb (GMNAI) 74a4 (XII):

atha khalu bha(5)///++++++[śī]tiṃ bodhisatvaśatasahasrāṇi **dhāraṇīpra○ti labdhānāṃ** <u>bodhisatvānāṃ</u> avaivartya-dharmacakra-pravartakānāṃ tenāvaloka yāmāsa:)) atha khalu te bodhisatvā mahāsatvā…

KN 270.8 (XII):

atha khalu bhavagān yena tāny aśītibodhisattvakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇi **dhāraṇīpratilabdhānāṃ** <u>bodhisattvānāṃ</u> avaivartikadharmacakra-pravartakānāṃ tenāvalokayāmāsa| atha khalu te bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ...

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. <u>BodhisaTTvas</u> who were endowed with Dhāranī and were able to move forward the never-retrogressing Dharma wheel. Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. They were endowed with Dhāranī, <u>achieved(saTvan) Bodhi</u>, and were able to move forward the never-retrogressing Dharma wheel.

In the Gilgit manuscript, the number of Bodhisattvas is the same as 80,000 [[śī]tiṃ…śatasahasrāṇi] Bodhisattvas in Chapter I, which explains the characteristics of Bodhisattvas. For this part, **Dr** translates; 1) [菩薩八萬 (80,000) 皆不退轉 (never retrogressed), 堅住無上正眞之道] and 2) [逮總持法 (comprehends Dharma of a magical formula[50]) 得大辯才, 常讚歎不退轉法輪] (63a15, in Chapter I). As seen in ⑥ [八十億姟百千] is more than 80,000. **Dr** may have distinguished the characteristics of the Bodhisattvas who never retrogressed [不退転][51] and ⑥ [開士] who have comprehended Dhāraṇi [總持] and also preach the [不退轉法輪].

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XIV(**Dr/Gb/KN**): Chapter XV(**CA/Kj**)

⑦ One who obtains the Great Path (成大道): **KN** 309. 4

Dr 112a21: [諸菩薩大士衆…(a22)皆集]忍界吾始逮無上正眞道成最正覺時, 勸悦斯等, 立不退轉, **使成大道**教授化立, 族姓(kulaputrā)<u>開士大士</u>[52]之衆, 處于下方而於其中.

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[50] KARASHIMA's Dictionary. *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra.* The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology Soka University, Tokyo 1998.

[51] "The Bodhisattva confirmed that he will become a Buddha and attain complete enlightenment, and who will never turn back from that state". WATANABE 1966–71: 106.

[52] Although there are many terms, [開士大士] appears over 100 times in Dharmarakṣa's *Guang zan jing* (GZJ) 『光讚經』 Taisho No. 0222, Vol. 08, (147a–16b), they can be found in <u>Chapter 3 [last]</u> [行空品第三下] (156a). Unfortunately, this part is not in the scope of ZACCHETTI'S [2005] very detailed annotated translation. According to his research, Chapter 1 in the GZJ portion is entirely made up of phrases shaped in the form "**the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who wishes to [do or <u>achieve</u> a certain thing]**" should train himself in the *prajñāpāramitā*

Kj 41b02: 我於是娑婆世界得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提已, 教化示導是<u>諸菩薩</u>, 調伏其心**令發道意**. <u>此諸菩薩皆於是娑婆世界之下此界虚空中住</u>.

I taught, nurtured, instructed, and guided these <u>bodhisattvas</u> in this Sahā world after I attained the full dynamic of ultimate enlightenment. I disciplined their hearts and minds, and caused them to awaken a will for the Way. All of these <u>bodhisattvas</u> have been living in the realm of space beneath the ground of this Sahā world. [J. Logan]

CA (IOM RAS SI P/5) 296a7:

mayai (1)/// ++ ajita <u>bodhisa(tvā ma)hāsatvā</u> sarve iha sahe lokadhātāv anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃ bo(2)[dhi]m abhisaṃbuddhya samā[da]pitā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau pariṇāmitā mayā (3)eva ajita **ete bodhisatvā** atra **bodhisatvadharmeṣu** paripācitā niveśitā• (4)pratiṣṭhā pitā○parisaṃsthāpitā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau• avatāritāḥ (5)[pa]ribodhitā• **ete** cājita **bodhisatvā mahāsatvā**• sarve iha sahāyāṃ lo-kadhā(6)tau heṣṭi-m-ākāśadhātuparigrahe prativa+nta///

Ga (GMNAI) 112b7:

mayaiva te ajita sarve te <u>bodhisatvā mahāsatvā</u> asyāṃ sahāyāṃ lokadhātāv anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhi(8)m abhisaṃbudhya [53] samādāpitānuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau• pari ṇāmitā mayaiva **te kulaputrā**[54] asmiṃ **bodhisat-vadharme** paripācitāḥ pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ niveśitāḥ parisaṃ sthā(113a)pitā: avatāritāḥ paribodhitā: **ete** cājita **bodhisatvā mahāsatvā:** asyāṃ sahāyāṃ lokadhātāv adhastād ākāśadhātu-parigrahe prativasate sma•

*Ajita! Indeed, ever since I realized anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim in this Sahā world, all of those <u>great Bodhisattvas</u> have been established and developed toward anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim. By me, **O kulaputrā! They** are the ones who have been fulfilled (pari-pac), inspired (pra-sthā), entered into (ni-viś), stimulated (parisaṃ-sthā), and crossed over to (ava-tar) and awakened (pari-budh) in this **BodhisaTTva Dharma / Dharma of attaining (saTvan) Bodhi**. And Ajita! These **Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas** filled and resided in the realm of space beneath the ground of this Sahā world.*

(ZACCHETTI 2005: 45). He called this **"textual module,"** and says it allows the text to easily give sections and modify them by repeating, adding, or removing. If my hypothesis allows, in this module in Chapter 1, the subject is *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva* [菩薩摩訶薩], which is continued in <u>Chapter 3 [first]</u> [行空品<u>第三上</u>]. And after the training in <u>Chapter 3 [first]</u> i.e., in the *prajñāpāramitā*, the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva* [菩薩摩訶薩] will be called [開士大士] in <u>Chapter 3 [last]</u>.

[53] **KN** added *samuttejitāḥ saṃpraharṣitā*.

[54] Although we can read *kulaputrā* as a Vocative, the following sentences describe it as a Nominative. However, **CA** interprets only this *kulaputrā* as *bodhisattva*.

Usually in SP, [kulaputrā] (people of good intent) is used as a vocative case to express an audience. In Chapter XIV, it is necessary to distinguish between *Bodhisattvas* who rose and emerged from beneath [族姓開士大士之衆] (**Dr**) and *Bodhisattvas* such as *Maitreya* [諸菩薩大士衆] (**Dr**). Therefore, after the Buddha called *Ajita* (Maitreya), the former became vocative as kulaputrā [族姓]. The problems are: 1) The following **bodhisattva-*dharma* [**使成大道/令發道意**] (Dr/Kj**) is the Sanskrit word that only appears here throughout *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.[55] 2) Both Chinese give the translation of way [道], no translation of dharma [法], despite the many translations with [菩薩法]. The first problem can be attributed to the fact that in the second half of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the term "Bodhisattva" gradually becomes more prominent. Of these, a unique interpretation of the **CA** manuscript can be seen in ④. The strong tendency towards the term "Bodhisattva" is accompanied by the flowering of Bodhisattva thought in Khotan.[56]

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter XIX, XXII, XXVI
They are all Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas ⑧ who give statements for Bodhisattva practice ⑨ who acquire Samādhi ⑩ who acquire the total command of wondrous capabilities
⑧ Chapter XIX (**KN** 377.12):
This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Sadāparibhūta* (Never Belittle Bodhisattva[57])
Dr (XIX) 122c23: 何故名之**常被輕慢**, 其<u>開士</u>見比丘比丘尼清信士清信女, 每謂之日: 諸賢無得憍慢自高.
⑨ Chapter XXIII (**KN** 435.11):
This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Gadgadasvara* (Wondrous Sound Bodhisattva)
Dr (XXII) 128b28: 其諸菩薩與**妙音**<u>開士</u>俱發來者. 尋時皆逮現入衆像三昧正定.
⑩ Chapter XXVI (**KN** 472.1):

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[55] SP Index: 743.

[56] "Khotan was a major center of **Mahāyāna studies**…That Buddhism flourished there in the ninth and tenth centuries we know from Khotanese sources... it is not surprising that virtually all the surviving literature is Buddhist in content and that even the secular documents are usually in some way colored by Buddhism". EMMERICK 1979: 5. Cf. See note 14 KARASHIMA 1993: 170f.

[57] This translation is given in LOGAN Joseph's *Flowering Lotus of the Wondrous Dharma Sūtra*, [forthcoming].

This is the *Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Samantabhadra* (All-embracing Goodness Bodhisattva):

Dr (XXVI) 132c22: 承其開士其大神足無極變化.

From the above examples, **Dr**'s distinction between [開士 kāi-shì] and [菩薩 Bodhisattva] should be clear. The origin of the idea of "Bodhisattva" is still difficult to elucidate,[58] but the meaning that appears in the translation [kāi-shì] is the same for all of the previous examples ① to ⑩. That is, someone who attains Bodhi and is certain to become a Buddha. The author compared the Sanskrit word corresponding to [kāi-shì] as meaning "Bodhisattva" [saTTva] and "obtaining Bodhi" [saTvan] using both interpretations. As you can see, **Dr** has distinguished Bodhisattvas who attain Bodhi by calling them [kāi-shì]. In this way, a [kāi-shì] is one who can attain Bodhi. The meaning of obtaining Bodhi, reaching Bodhi, and attaining Bodhi can be said to correspond to the meaning of [saTvan] from √*san*.

Part 2. saTTva from √*as* (participle sant) or saTvan from √*san*

In Central Asian manuscripts and Gilgit manuscripts from the 5th to 7th cc., [saTTva] is always written as [saTva]. The same is true of the older Nepalese manuscripts after the 11th century.[59] The redactor in the edition had no doubt restored the [saTva] written in manuscripts to [saTTva] by convention. Even by convention, [tatva] is also written as [tattva], but since there is no word [tatvan], we will not discuss it here. The Pāli [satta] is due to the phonology with -tta as an assimilation of -tva.[60] In the Pāli dictionary **PED**[61] [satta] is explained: "(**cp,** Vedic sattva living being, **satvan 'strong man, warrior,'** fr. sant),[62] (1) m. a

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[58] "I believe that the idea of a Bodhisattva was conceived in response to the Buddha's prediction of the Dīpaṃkara (燃燈仏授記). Shākyamuni who obtained the prediction sought Bodhi and attained Buddhahood, and he knows this himself, but he is not yet a Buddha. He is distinguished from those who have **not received the prediction.** The word "Bodhisattva" may have been coined out of necessity for this distinction... However, **the combination Shākyamuni-Bodhisattva was not used** much in the Record of the predictions of the Buddha". HIRAKAWA 1968: 170.

[59] However, there is no need to prove it strictly from the manuscript, since the proofreader will never doubt the word, *Bodhisattva*.

[60] PISCHEL § 298 Suffix *tta = -tva*. PISCHEL R. *Grammatik Der Prakrit-Sprachen*. Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg.

[61] **PED** (*Pāli English Dictionary*. Pali Text Society. London 1921–1925.)

[62] Regarding the dictionary differences about the root of satvan; In **PED**: satvan is derived from √*sant* (**atthi, being, existing**). The root is the same as in **GW** (GRASSMANN, H.G. *Grassmann Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda*. Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1873): sátvan explained from √**sát (as, sein, existieren)**. However, the meaning of the root and satvan is completely different.

living being, (2) nt. soul."[63] The Ṛg-veda dictionary **GW**: "√*san* is divided into two: 'acquire' and 'gift,' especially where gods are the subject. It is difficult to decide between the two, since according to the Vedic view, obtaining from the gods also results in giving".[64] It is possible that √*san* was also considered the actual notation, especially in the Gilgit manuscript. Accordingly, I do not think that the sense of [saTvan] (warrior) as a noun is not used as much as Har DAYAL states.[65] I think that the meaning of √*san,* to "acquire," was strongly retained in [saTvan]. √*san* also has the additional meaning of "reach your goal happily, achieving what you desire".[66] In other words, √*san* was probably constructed as a -van suffix adding /t/: and was mostly understood as agent-words, adjectives, nouns and action-nouns.[67] Language changes from moment to moment, depending on the region and the times. It cannot be said to be used in Buddhism in

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GW's usage of satvan is: [rv01.173.05 *tam u ṣṭuhīndraṃ yo ha* **satvā** *yaḥ śūro maghavā yo ratheṣṭhāḥ* | Diesen Indra preise, der ein **Soldat,** der ein freigebiger Held, der ein Wagenkämpfer ist, (Praise this Indra, who is a **soldier,** who is a generous hero, who is a chariot warrior).] In this example, *satvā* and *maghavā* both use the **suffix -van**. And satvan is an expression of praise to Indra. It seems unlikely that a word expressing such *strength* could be derived from the √*sat* (**being**). According to **PW**: *satvan* is derived from √*san* (**win, obtain**). I agree with this.

[63] [(2) neutral. soul] of Pāli satta is the same as Ardhamāgadhī satta, but Ardhamāgadhī also includes the meaning of **strength** equal to satvan. *Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary* vol. 4 (Muni Ratnacandraji. *An Illustrated Ardha-māgadhī Dictionary.* Probsthain & Co. London 1977: 567): satta (satva) neutral. (1) The four immobile souls viz the earth etc. (2) Being, (3) Enthusiasm, **(4) Prowess, strength.** In Jainism, which flourished at the same time as Buddhism, satta is a neuter noun, and it is also an important word from Jainist thought. Especially, (1) means Non-souls. All existing things are roughly divided into souls and non-souls, and the latter is further divided into four types: conditions of motion, conditions of rest, void, and matter, and together they are called "the five masses of existence". YAJIMA 1987: 184.

[64] **GW** p. 1465 √*san*: Der Begriff spaltet sich in die zwei: „erlangen" und „schenken", und bisweilen, namentlich wo Götter Subject sind, hält es schwer, zwischen beiden zu entscheiden, da nach vedischer Anschauung das Erlangen von Seiten der Götter auch das Schenken zur Folge hat.

[65] DAYAL 1932: 4–9. He analyzes the existing theories on the word Bodhisattva, especially sattva, **into seven categories.** "Now [bodhisatta] **in the Pāli** texts seems to mean **'a bodhi-being.'** But [satta] here does not denote a mere ordinary creature. It is almost certainly related to **the Vedic word [satvan],** which means 'Krieger,' a strong or valiant man, hero, warrior".

[66] **GW** p. 1465 √*san*: 1) **acquire** [A., once, 416.7, partitive gen.] 2) to acquire, capture, win through battle [A.]; 3) **to obtain something** [A.] from someone [L., Ab.], to receive it as a gift; 4) Receive good things (without obj.); 5) **reach your goal happily, achieve what you want**; 6) give something [A.] to someone [D., once (1018,10) L.]; 7) give [A.]; 8) Give well, donate (without obj.).

[67] WHITNEY: § 1169. WHITNEY W.D. *A Sanskrit Grammar.* Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig 1879. cf. **MW** p. 1465 √*san*: san in a compound for √sat. (MONIER William. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. The Clarendon Press. Oxford 1899.)

the same sense as it is used in the Ṛg-veda. Confusion between the double meanings of bodhisattva, [saTTva], and [saTvan] may also have been the cause, as might be expected from the differences found in **Dr**'s translations.

The following usage examples are from *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Chapter VII and illustrate the difference in usage and different interpretations of [saTTva] and [saTvan] from √*san*.

[**Ga** (GMNAI) 71b2]

tataḥ [sa] deśiko **tāṃ puruṣāṃ** viśrāntāṃ viditvā **tam** ṛddhimayaṃ nagaram anta[rdhā]payeyam antardhāpayitvā ca **tān puruṣānn** evaṃ vaded āgacchaṃtu bhavaṃtaḥ <u>satvā</u> abhyāśe sa mahāratnadvīpaḥ idam tuṃ mayā **mahā**nagaraṃ yuṣmākaṃ viśrāmaṇartham abhinirmitam iti

*Therefore, the guide, knowing that **the people (puruṣa) have rested: [I (=guide)] will make the magic city disappear, and after it has disappeared, [he] will say to **the people**. "Go ahead! sirs, <u>Obtaining (saTvan) is near, this **great** treasure island,*[68]* but this, which is a **great** city, was made by me to give you rest"*.

[**KN** 188. 8]

tatas **tān** sa deśiko viśrāntān viditvā **tad** ṛddhimayaṃ nagaraṃ antardhā-payed antardhāpayitvā ca tān puruṣān evaṃ vadet| āgacchantu bhavantaḥ <u>sattvā</u> abhyāsanna eṣa mahāratnadvīpaḥ| idaṃ tu mayā nagaraṃ yuṣmākaṃ viśrāmaṇartham abhinirmitam iti||

*After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear and says to them: 'Come, sirs, there <u>you see (saTTvā)</u> the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this **great(!)** city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.' [Kern trsl.]*

Throughout this parable, puruṣa is used to refer to travellers. The word "see" in Kern's translation is not in Sanskrit. Regarding the reading of **Ga**, I think [mahā] (great) is used to emphasize the Great Treasure Island [mahā-ratnadvīpaḥ] and Great Magic City [mahā-nagaram], the same as CA. In this parable, there is no conclusion of arriving at Treasure Island. This is because Treasure Island is Buddha-knowledge [Buddha-jñāna]. To obtain that great Buddha-knowledge they were made to see a great Magic City in order to rest.

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[68] Which means "To reach the treasure island is near".

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter VII, Verse 79 can be considered as the meaning of the Vedic word [saTvan] as a noun mentioned by Har DAYAL[69].

[**Ga** (GMNAI) v. 79]

yathā vayaṃ lokavidū bhavema yathaiva tvaṃ sarvajinānam uttama: ime ca <u>satvā</u> bhavet[70] sarva evaṃ yathaiva tvaṃ vīra-m-anantacakṣuḥ

How shall we [śrāmaṇera] become knowers of the world, as if we were the highest of all living beings, like you? And shall they (ime) all be so <u>vigorous (saTvan)</u>, as brave, and with infinite eyes, as you?

[**KN** 193.1 v. 79]

yathā vayaṃ lokavidū bhavema yathaiva tvaṃ sarvajinānam uttama| ime ca <u>sattvā</u> bhavi sarvi eva yathaiva tvaṃ vira viśuddhacakṣuḥ

'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all Jinas, and that all these <u>beings (saTTvā)</u> may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one.' [Kern trsl.]

In the following example, the term **Bodhisattva** is intentionally **omitted.** This is because what the Śrāvaka seeks is the knowledge of the Tathāgata, not the knowledge of the Bodhisattvas.[71]

[**Ga** (GMNAI) 70b2]

ca mama parinirvṛtasyānāgatedhvani śrāvakā bhaviṣyanti• <u>bodhisatvacaryāṃ</u> ca śroṣyanti• na cāvabhotsyante• kiṃ cāpi bhikṣavaḥ…

And at the time of my Parinirvṛta in the future, [they] will become śrāvaka and [will] hear <u>the deeds of those who attain Bodhi</u>.[72] On the other hand, they will not realize [Bodhi].

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[69] DAYAL 1932: 7. (7) "Sattva" may mean *satvan* "strength, energy, **vigour,** power, courage".

[70] From my research, there are many cases where **KN** [bhavi] corresponds to **Ga** [bhave] as a singular form. This third-person singular of **Ga** [bhavet] will also validate my research. Regarding [ime] and [satvā], occasionally the verb will agree with the noun-predicate when adjacent to it, instead of agreeing with the subject. cf. *Sanskrit Syntax* § 27, 2. SPEIJER, J.S. (*Sanskrit Syntax.* Motilal Banarsidass, 1886 (Reprint, Delhi, 1998). According to the **CA**, after [bhavet], it is read as [evam], not [sarva].

[71] See note 14, KARASHIMA 1993: 170f.

[72] This translation is for [bodhi-saTvan-caryāṃ]. Because only **Ga** does not have an object of the verb [avabhotsyante] (to realize). **KN**, **CA**, and **Gc** 3a8 (Seen note 73) have an object, which means that we do not realize that "**we are bodhisattvas**". However, this object term is not found in either of the two Chinese translations. [**Dr** 92b12: 當來末世, 或有發意學弟子乘 (Śrāvakayāna), 成爲聲聞. 後不肯聽受菩薩之<u>教</u> (bodhisattva<u>caryā</u>?), 不解佛慧, 不行<u>菩薩</u>] *In future lives, those who become śrāvaka through intent to learn the śrāvakayāna. Later, they are unwilling to listen to the Bodhisattvas's teaching, will not understand the wisdom of Buddha, and will not <u>practice the Bodhisattva(?)</u>.* [**Kj** 25c13: 我滅度後未來世中, 聲聞弟子是也. 我滅

[**KN** 186.3]

ye ca mama parinirvṛtasyānāgatedhvani śrāvakā bhaviṣyanti <u>bodhisattvacaryāṃ</u> ca śroṣyanti na cāvabhotsyante **bodhisattvā vayam iti**| kiṃ cāpi te bhikṣavaḥ…

*And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvâna, shall learn <u>the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas</u>, without conceiving **the idea of their being Bodhisattvas. And, monks… [Kern trsl.]***

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chapter VII, Verse 81

Although [saTvan] does not appear in the following example, it is given to show the intentional **omission of the word** *Bodhisattva* in only the **Ga**[73] among Gilgit manuscripts. **Ga** v. 81 has only two sentences, "a" pāda and "c" pāda. Many verses in the Gilgit manuscripts have skipped readings due to the repetition of the same letters. However, there are no similar words here. In this context, its verbs [prakāśayī] (v. 80) and [darśayi] (v. 81) are considered to be causative aorist form.[74] As the prose shows, the process by which Jina leads the princes to such a state and creates such a situation is 'depicted' by the princes' gradual shift from persuasion to conviction.[75] In other words, the timing of the monologue is during the explanation given by *Buddha*, and not when the princes are in action.

The reasons for the lack of the word *Bodhisattva* in **Ga** are as follows:

1) In prose, princes are called *Bodhisattvas* when they preach the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* at their respective Dharma seats (**KN** 182.9).

2) Verses 80 to 83 (**KN** 193.3-8) are scenes in which *Jina* explains *Bodhi* to the princes, so it would be impossible to explain that *Jina* is a *yathā Bodhi-sattva*.

度後復有, 弟子不聞是經, 不知不覺<u>菩薩所行</u>] *along with those who will be shrāvaka-disciples in the future after I have left this shore. Following my extinguishment there will also be followers who will not have heard that sutra, and they will neither know nor be aware of <u>the practices of bodhisattva</u>.* (J. Logan). The Chinese translation (and **KN**) suggests that after becoming a śrāvaka, he becomes a bodhisattva. However, the conclusion of the text continues, "Through producing their concepts of parinirvāṇa possessed by the <u>śrāvaka</u>, they will attain parinirvāṇa". In conclusion, the word bodhisattva does not seem to be necessary.

[73] cf. **Gc:** GNOLI 1988. "The Gilgit Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram*" Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, 1987. **Gc** 4a7 (verse. 81) hetu sahasrair upadarśayanto abhijñajñānaṃ ca **prakīrtayanta•** bhūtāṃ cariṃ darśayi lokanātho ya + + + nto **vidubodhisatvā•**). Since **CA** 186a7 has only "a" pāda (verse. 81) hetu sahasrair upadarśayanta. This **CA** reading further reinforces the **Ga** reading. Moreover, it strengthens the work of the author who argues in favor of the specificity of the **Ga** reading.

[74] cf. **KSG** § 424ff. KIELHORN, Franz. *A grammar of the Sanskrit language.* 1888.

[75] This represents an aspectual function that I discussed. https://komazawa-u.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/2033918

[**Ga** (GMNAI) 73a2]

so caj-jino āśayu jñatva teṣāṃ kumārabhūtāna tathātmajānām* prakāśayī
uttamam agrabodhiṃ dṛṣṭāntahetūnayutair anekai:)) ||80||

hetū sahasrair upadarśayaṃta: bhūtāṃ [ca]rin darśayi lokanātho ||81||[76]

idam eva saddharmasupuṇḍarīkaṃ vaipulyasūtraṃ [bha]ga[vā]n uvācaḥ

*And, knowing their intentions, by means of many myriads of parables
(dṛṣṭānta) and causes (hetu) the highest superior enlightenment was ex-
plained (prakāśayī) by the Jina for his own young sons [80]*

*By making [the young sons] see (upadarśayaṃtaḥ) by means of thousands
of causes, The Protector of the World has shown (darśayi) true practice. [81]*

This is the True Lotus Sūtra of great extent, delivered by the Blessed One.

[**KN** 193.5 v. 81]

so cā jino āśayu jñatva teṣāṃ kumārabhūtāna tathātmajānām*| prakāśayī
uttamam agrabodhiṃ dṛṣṭānta koṭīnayutair anekaiḥ ||80||

hetū sahasrair upadarśyanto **abhijñajñānaṃ ca pravartayantaḥ**| bhūtāṃ
cariṃ darśayi lokanātho yathā caranto vidubodhisattvāḥ ||81||

idam eva saddharmasupuṇḍarīkaṃ vaipulyasūtraṃ bhagavān uvāca|

*And the Jina, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained
the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of kotis of
illustrations. [80]*

Demonstrating [77] *with thousands of arguments and elucidating **the
knowledge of transcendent wisdom**, the Lord of the world indicated the
veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas. [81]*

*This very Sûtra of great extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by
the Lord delivered. [Kern trsl].*

Conclusion

The term BodhisaTTva does not have the meaning of being a Buddha. If the
term bodhi-saTvan (<u>attains / will attain</u> Bodhi) existed first, it would have the
same meaning as becoming a Buddha. In light of this, the meaning of bo-
dhi-saTvan [開士], which expresses the person who is certain to become a
Buddha in the future, i.e. someone who <u>attains </u>Bodhi, was probably concealed

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[76] Both *pādas* are the same *Triṣṭubh* metre.

[77] Kern uses [the Lord of the world] as the subject and agent of this present tense [upadar-
śay**anto**]. However, this present tense is plural, and the persons who are acting, the ones who
had to see it, were Princes [kumārabhūtā].

in the term bodhi-saTTva [菩薩], until the term bodhi-saTTva came to have its distinct characteristics.

What is important in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka is "Buddha knowledge" [Buddha jñāna], and the way to that attainment is expressed as "Buddha vehicle" [Buddha yāna]. "Buddha vehicle" indicates a way toward Bodhi rather than merely toward nirvāṇa.

In **Dr**, [開] is used to mean guiding (someone): [開化] for [vinaya] (leading), [開導] for [paripac] (bringing to maturity). For this reason, **Dr** [開士], refers to someone who leads like a Buddha. Even in the 『光讚経』 [78] Guang zan jing, translation of the Larger Prajñapāramitā, from the same period as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the distinction between [菩薩摩訶薩] (great bodhisattva) and [開士] (one who attains Bodhi / is certain to become a Buddha) is clear across its Chapters.

In the editions we currently use, it is customary for saTva to be seen as saTTva, so it is unlikely that we will ever find an example of usage based on √*san*. However, in the **CA** manuscripts, which are written as saTva, there is a strong tendency toward the use of Bodhisattva.[79] Looking at the title of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,[80] the words "instructing Bodhisattvas" [bodhisatvāvavādaṃ (**Ga**)] in Gilgit and Nepal manuscripts have all become "creating

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[78] Taisho vol. 8 no. 222.

[79] DAYAL 1932: 11. "There are three yānas or 'ways', which lead an aspirant to the goal. The third yāna was at first called the **Bodhisattva-yāna**, but it was subsequently re-named **mahā-yāna**. The other two yānas were spoken of as the Hīna-yāna. In the later treatises, the term **Bodhisattva-yāna is very rare**, as mahā-yāna has taken its place. This is sometimes called the Tathāgata-yāna". Although his research refers to Sanskrit (**KN**) and some Tibetan, in his statements we see several terminological developments (unfortunately his example for *Tathāgata-yāna* shows *mahā-yāna* only). Still, the last term, *Tathāgata-yāna* is not found in SP. Cf. KARASHIMA 1993: 154ff.; MATSUMOTO 2010: 282ff. However, the following only appears in the **CA** manuscript: [tṛtīyaṃ parinirvāṇaṃ vā anyatra **tathāgatayānaṃ** eva **tathāgata-parinirvāṇaṃ** eva (VII, **CA** 181a1)] *there are not three Parinirvāṇa, neither the other Tathāgata's vehicle nor the other Tathāgata's Parinirvāṇa.* Before this proposition, **CA** says [ekam evetad yānaṃ yad idaṃ tatathāgataparinirvāṇam (**CA** 180b7)] *There is only one vehicle, the Tathāgata's Parinirvāṇa.* That is, **CA** interprets is [One vehicle = Tathāgata's Parinirvāṇa] and states that it was implied (sūca) by [tathāgata yāna]. Still, there are also additions in other places that can only be known through **CA**'s interpretation. In other words, a whole translation based only on **CA** would be necessary.

[80] [saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ nāma dharmaparyāyaṃ sūtrāntam mahāvaipulyaṃ bodhisattvā-vavādaṃ sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ] v. l. ①saddharma puṇḍarīkaṃ ②dharmaparyāyaṃ ③sūtraṃ (**CA**) / sūtrāntaṃ (G) ④mahāvait*ulyaṃ* (**CA**) / mahāvai*pulyaṃ* (G) ⑤**bodhisatvotpādaṃ (CA)** / **bodhisatvāvavādaṃ (G)** ⑥sarvabuddhaparigrahaṃ) this sentence appeared in Chapters I, III, VII, and XX in SP. especially ⑤ G means "instruction for *Bodhisattvas*," while **CA** means "creating *Bodhisattvas*".

Bodhisattvas" in **CA** [bodhisatvotpādaṃ]. On the other hand, in the Gilgit Manuscripts, where the word <u>saTva</u> is also written, the inflexion of van-stem is used when (Bodhi)<u>saTTva</u> (a-stem inflexion) has been omitted because it does not match the context.[81] HIRAKAWA [82] states the Abhidharma Mahā-vibhāṣā Śāstra (T1545), and Abhidharma kośabhāṣya (T1558) which are like encyclopedic works on Abhidharma, do not mention the [Bodhisattva-<u>yāna</u>]. Even though these treatises were created after Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka itself has existed throughout many years in various linguistic texts. In this way, there is a large amount of linguistic material available. Since there are regional and chronological differences in the interpretation of <u>saTva</u> between the Gilgit manuscripts from the 6th to 7th cc. and the **CA** manuscripts from the 7th to 10th cc. when Bodhisattva ideas were dominant, what is imperative is individual comparison and understanding.

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[81] As in the example in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* Chapter VII above.

[82] HIRAKAWA 1982: 8 菩薩乗と仏乗 (Bodhisattvayāna and Buddhayāna) https:// cir.nii.ac.jp/crid/1050850556203405056. Many words of *Bodhisattva* appear in *Mahāvibhāṣā*, HIRAKAWA's concludes that "Around the time of the 150 AD, when the *Mahāvibhāṣā* by Sarvāstivāda of Kaśmīra was established, important early Mahāyāna sūtras had already been established. The Sarvāstivāda adopted the term *Bodhisattva* later than other schools, but due to other influences later on, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* adopted the term *Bodhisattva* and developed many *Bodhisattva*-theories". HIRAKAWA 1991: 463ff.

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Tatsushi Tamai

Hōryūji's Dhāraṇī Texts Preserved
in Tokyo National Museum

Abstract: The article comprises an analysis of a manuscript fragment stored in the Manuscript Collection of the Hōryūji Monastery (Japan). The manuscript contains excerpts from the "Heart Sutra of Perfect Wisdom" (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*) and *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*. The study of the manuscript text allows us to speak about the synthesis of Buddhism and Śaivism in the Serindia oases. The author of the article concludes that this manuscript is of particular importance for the study of the history of Central Asian Buddhism.

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Provenance

The Tokyo National Museum Collection contains a manuscript known as the "Dhāraṇī text of Hōryūji" (hereafter Ho.Ms.), preserved along with the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (多心経, *duōxīnjīng*) *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* (仏頂, *fódǐng*) and an Akṣara list. According to Müller, "We have good evidence, showing that these leaves were brought to Japan in 609 A.D., and that they came from China. <…> in China they (= Ho.Ms.) belonged to the monk Yashi, who died in 577 A.D., and before him to Bodhidharma, who emigrated from India to China in 520 A.D."[1] And then this Sanskrit manuscript was kept at the Hōryūji temple in Nara.

The Ho.Ms. was presumably written on a poor-quality plant leaf or hemp paper, the fiber of which can be seen on the published photo. Apparently, it is not written on good-quality paper, e.g. so-called *Cai Hou paper* (蔡侯紙 Chin.

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[1] MÜLLER & NANJIO 1884: 64.

càihóuzhǐ Jap. *saikōshi*) which was supposedly produced since 105 CE. In Dunhuang, the quality of paper began to deteriorate after the Tibetan invasion, as Yoshida mentions.[2] Nowadays, such low-quality paper is still produced in Khotan or in Bhutan.

The script is so-called '*Siddham*' (悉曇文字 Chin. *xītánwénzì* Jap. *shittanmoji*) which was developed from the Gupta script around the 6th c., and used especially in esoteric Buddhism. Siddham developed further to the *Nāgarī* script in the 7th c., and then to Devanāgarī in the 10th c. According to Müller, the alphabet with 'wedges' (e.g. at the top of vertical lines) existed in the fourth century and perhaps earlier.[3] A reed pen could be used to write the Sanskrit text because of the wedges,[4] but the photo makes it clear that a brush was used for the Chinese characters *duōxīnjīng* 多心経 and *fódǐng* 仏頂 at the beginning of the Sanskrit text. They were likely written as a memo, because they are positioned vertically from left to right alongside the Sanskrit sentence, i.e. rotated 90 degrees, and their ink seems lighter than the one used for the Sanskrit characters.

The size is 4.9×28 cm with two string holes which are not necessary for so small a manuscript, and without numbers on both folios.

Some scholars supposed that Ho.Ms. is a fake, e.g. Matsuda mentions that it is not written on genuine palm leaf, not written by a specialist judging from poor script, and written later than the 9th c. based on its paleographical features. Therefore, Ho.Ms. is not the oldest manuscript in Japan, as claimed, and is surely a 'fake manuscript', because it was not written in India.[5] I, however, cannot understand his argument or grounds. There are many Mss. written with unskillful letters by novices or not specialists, but Ho.Ms. was written skillfully, in my opinion, although admittedly it contains some mistakes, as happens often in manuscripts.

Yaita mentions that the same ink was used both for the Sanskrit text and the Chinese characters *duōxīnjīng* 多心経 and *fódǐng* 仏頂. Therefore, he suggests, Ho.Ms. must have been written in China, Japan or Korea. However, there were many Chinese monks in Central Asia or Serindia, who studied Buddhism, such as the famous Xuánzàng (cf. 小野玄妙 G. Ono 1923 pp. 115–132). And also Yaita mentions[6] that the writing mistake *pāra-* →

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[2] YOSHIDA 2009: 291.
[3] MÜLLER & NANJIO 1884: 94.
[4] Ibid.: 66.
[5] MATSUDA 2010: 129.
[6] YAITA 2001: 9.

prā- was caused by Chinese sound/pronunciation (漢音 *hànyīn*) → Sanskrit letter (梵字 *fànzì*), but it could also be explained easily by the influence of Tocharian phonology on the scribe. It possessed no long vowels as phonemes and showed a peculiar accent system, i.e. the second syllable of more than 3 syllables was always accented, and unaccented *ā* (grapheme) became *a* (phoneme), and unaccented *a* became *ä*, and often disappeared (syncope). Therefore, we get *pāra → prā* in r7. Other examples in Serindia: in Khot. we can see the change *dār > drā* in *śśandrāmata* '*devatā*-deity, Skt. *śrī*[7] or a back formation of Skt. **pra**mukhā / Pāli **pā**mokkhā / Chin. 波羅無呵 **pwâ lâ** mju xâ.[8] It is also possible to see an assimilation with <prajñā> or it could be explained by a general "r-metathesis".

Another doubt was raised by J. Silk[9] with regard to the character 仏 instead of 佛,[10] which is thought to be evidence for Japanese production, but this 仏 appeared already during the Six Dynasties (六朝 Liùcháo 220–589 CE) in Chinese texts as *suzi* (俗字, popular or vernacular character) of the formal character *fó* 佛.[11] Later the character 佛 was used in Buddhist literature because of its dignity.

The material, script and form of Ho.Ms. are very similar to the ones seen in Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the China Ethnic Library in Beijing (5×48 cm with two string holes), which were published by Ye Shaoyong in 2021.[12] According to him they were brought from Tibet and date paleographically to the 8–9th cc. And the letters of Ho.Ms. are also similar (especially -*y* of ligature) to those in Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection at the IOM RAS in St. Petersburg (SI 1943, etc.) published by Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya and Tyomkin as "Fragments of Sanskrit Manuscripts on Birch-Bark from Kucha" in *Manuscripta Orientalia* 1998, although its script is old southern Brāhmī (not Northern Brāhmī used in Kucha). From these facts, I suppose that the 'Siddham script' could be derived from those of the Serindia area.

Ho.Ms. is small in size, half the normal length (28 cm to 48 cm), but with two string holes, although one is enough for such a small size, i.e. it could mean that this is a portable manuscript as mentioned by Yoshida: "The

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[7] Cf. BAILEY 1979: 395; ITO 1979: 309.

[8] Cf. KARASHIMA 1994: 128.

[9] SILK 2021: 106, fn.33.

[10] Both characters sound in Japanese as *hotoke* ('Buddha').

[11] XU 2021: 240.

[12] YE SHAOYONG 2021: 1054.

smaller size of the manuscript may indicate that it was carried by its owner as a sort of talisman. One may be reminded that when Xuanzang lost his way in the Taklamakan desert, he prayed earnestly to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara".[13] It could mean that Ho.Ms. was an 'amulet' as suggested by Silk.[14]

Since the backsides contain no writing,[15] these two manuscripts were originally a single folio, i.e. normal recto/verso style, but double sheets made the materials stronger for portable usage. This can also be inferred from the fact that no number is written on two folios. This separation of doubled materials happens when the glue loses its adhesiveness, as is often seen in the case of birch bark and paper.

1. A study of Ho.Ms. with detailed observations

Transliteration of Ho.Ms.-1 *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* **with Chinese parallel in** *Táng Sānzāng Fǎshī Xuán Zhuāng yì Pánruò-bōluómì-duōxīn-jīng* 唐三蔵法師玄裝譯 般若波羅蜜多心經 **('The Heart Sūtra of Prajñāpāramitā translated by Tang Tripiṭaka Master Xuán Zhuāng')**

Notes: parts in italics show that there are no correspondences in the parallel version; bold marks are mistakes; (←) indicates corrections. T refers to Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大蔵経.

recto

1. (Siddham) <u>*namas sarvajñāya*</u> *āryā*valokiteśvara bodhisatvo ganbhīraṃ(←āyāṃ?) prajñāpāramitā**ya**(←ā)ṃ caryāṃ caramāno vyavalokayati(*examines carefully*) sma paṃcaskandhās *tāś ca* svabhāvaśūnyaṃ *paśya-*
観自在菩薩行深般若波羅蜜多 *時*、照見五蘊皆空 *度一切苦厄*。 (T0251_.08.0848c06)

2. *ti sma iha* śāriputra *rūpaṃ śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpaṃ* rūpān na pṛthak, śūnyatā śūnyatāy*ā* na pṛthag rūpaṃ yadrūpaṃ sā śūnyatāyā śūnyatā tadrūpaṃ
舎 利 子 。 色 不 異 空 。 空 不 異 色 。 色 即 是 空 。 空 即 是 色 。 (T0251_.08.0848c07-08)
evameva veda-

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[13] YOSHIDA 2009: 296.
[14] SILK 2021: 112.
[15] YAITA 2001: 13, as well as personal communication from the curator of the Tokyo Museum.

3. nā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānāni iha śaripu◯tra sarvadharmā śūnyatālakṣaṇā anutpannā **yu**(←a)nir*ū*ddhā amarā vimalā nonā na paripūrṇa (reversed) tasmāc *chāriputra* śūnyatā-

受想行識亦復如是。舍利子。是諸法空想。不生不滅不垢不淨。不增不減。是故空中 (T0251_.08.0848c08-10)

4. yāṃ na rūpaṃ na vedanā <na> saṃjñā na saṃskārā na ◯ vijñāni na cakṣu-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manā[m]si na rūpaṃ-śabda-gandha-◯rasa-spraṣṭavya-dharmā na cakṣurdhātu yāvan na ma-

無色無受想行識。無眼耳鼻舌身意。無色聲香味觸法。無眼界。乃至無 (T0251_.08.0848c10-12)

5. nodhātu *na vidyā* nāvidyā *na vidyākṣayo* nāvidyākṣayo yāvan na jarāmaraṇaṃ na jarāmaraṇakṣayo na duḥkha-samudaya-nirodha-mārga na jñānaṃ na prāptitvaṃ bodhisattva*sya* prajñāparami-

意識界。無無明。亦無無明盡。乃至無老死。亦無老死盡。無苦集滅道。無智亦無得。*以無所得故*。菩提薩埵 *依*般若波羅蜜多 *故*。(T0251_.08.0848c12-14)

6. tām *āśṛtya*(√śṛ 'resort'+ tya / *āś***ri**tya 'having recourse to, practicing') *viharati* citta*varaṇaḥ*(√vṛ 'choose'; 'enclosing'? 中村 **a**-citt**ā**) cittāvaraṇa nāstit[v]ād atrasto vipary[ā]s('overturning'顛倒)ātikrāntaḥ('surpassed'遠離) niṣṭ<h>a(←ā 究竟)nirvāṇaḥ try*adhvavyavasthitā* (道・住 way-situated) sarvabuddhāḥ prajñāpāramitām āśṛtyānuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhi-

心 *無*罣礙（妨げ）。無罣礙故。無 *有*恐怖。遠離 *一切*顛倒 *無想*。究竟（結極)涅槃。三 *世*諸佛。依般若波羅蜜多故。得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。(T0251_.08.0848c14-17)

7. sambuddhā [t]asmā jñātavyaṃ prajñā**prā**(←pāra)mitā mahāmaṃtrā mahāvidyāmaṃtraḥ anuttaramaṃtra asa-

故 知 般 若 波 羅 蜜 多 。 *是 大 神 咒* 。 *是 大 明 咒* 。 *是 無 上 咒* 。 (T0251_.08.0848c17-18)

verso

1. mas{r}amamaṃtra sarvaduḥkha*praśamanaḥ* satyam amithy**etvāk,** (← -ātvāt)

prajñāpāramit*āyām* ukto maṃtraḥ tadyathā gategate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhisvāhā || : || prajñāpāramitahṛ(da)ya *samāptā*

是無等等咒。*能*除一切苦。眞實不虛故。説般若波羅蜜多咒。即説 *咒曰*。揭帝 揭帝 般羅揭帝 般羅僧揭帝 菩提僧莎訶 般若波羅蜜多心經 (T0251_.08.0848c18-23)

There are so many discrepancies between the Sanskrit and Chinese versions including a lack of mutual correspondence that it is clear that one is not a direct translation from the other. Presumably this *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* could be an interpretation citing *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* § 1 and § 2,[16] but it is very difficult to find any synchronic and diachronic relationship with regard to the problem of its authenticity, e.g. "The Sūtra of the dhāraṇī of the Great Enlightenment" (大明呪経 *Dàmíng zhòu jīng*) by Kumārajīva could be close to Xuanzang's "The Heart Sūtra [of Prajñāpāramitā]" (心経 *Xīn jīng*) as discussed by Harada,[17] but I am not sure that we can decide a relationship or problem of authenticity only based on usage of words or sentences in texts. There were always changes (corruptions or developments with addition or deletion of words and sentences) of texts from time to time and place to place, e.g. we can find some texts in Tocharian which are so changed or corrupted from originals that we can recognize only personal names in original texts.[18]

The Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya in Ho.Ms. was shortened in order to make a portable small text, e.g. *evam eva vedanā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānāni* without explanation one by one of 4 of the 5 *skandha*s, or only one *bodhi* instead of multiple *bodhi*s in other texts.[19]

Transliteration of Ho.Ms.-2 *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* and 仏陀波利訳 **仏頂 尊勝陀羅尼**, Jap. *Buddhahari yaku butchō-sonshō-darani* ('The Dhāraṇi dedicated to the Buddha's growth on his head (←a topknot; one of 32 *lakṣaṇa*s of the Buddha) translated by Buddhahari').

Notes: I transliterate the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* in Ho.Ms. and correct it using Unebe's model,[20] which is based on Melzer's transliteration of the Gilgit Ms. now kept in Miho Museum, and Unebe's supplement of the collated text. I cite Unebe's model for comparing the Sanskrit text and its Chinese version (T.967_19.352a26).

(←) indicates corrections, i.e. when the actual writings are mistakes; < > indicates text written in the model; { } indicates text not written in the model; [ ] indicates uncertain readings; ( ) indicates possible readings; ◯ represents a string hole.

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[16] Harada 2010: 13.
[17] Harada 2010: 48.
[18] Tamai 2022: 1181–1183.
[19] Harada 2010: 383.
[20] Unebe 2015: 25.

v e r s o

2. (Siddham) namas trail[o]kya prativis(←ś)iṣṭāya buddhāya bhagavate tadyathā oṃ vis(←ś)odhaya sama-samantāvabhāsa-spharana(←ṇa)-gati-gahana-svabhāva-śuddhe(←i) abhiṣiṃca{tu} {māṃ} sugatavacanāmṛtābhiṣe-

3. ke <ā>harāharā āya(←yu)ḥ-saṃntā(←dhā)raṇi śodhaya śodhaya gagana -vis(←ś)uddhe uṣṇ[ī]ṣa-vijaya-s(←ś)uddhe sahasra<ka>-ramyi(←raśmi)-saṃcodite sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭ<h>ānādhiṣṭhita(←e) mudre vajrā-kāya-saṃhatana-s(←ś)uddhe

4. sarva(←ā)varana-<bhaya>-vis(←ś)uddhe pratinivartaya-āyu-◯s (←ś)uddhe samayādhist<h>ite man(←ṇ)i man(←ṇ)i tathā(←a)tā-bhuta-{kuta}k(o)ṭi {•} paris(←ś)uddhe visphut(←ṭ)ā-◯buddhi-śuddhe jā(←a)ya jā(←a)ya vijā(←a)ya vijā(←a)ya sp(←sm)ara sarva(←smara) bu-

5. ddhādhiṣṭ<h>ita-s(←ś)uddhe vajre(←i) vajrā(←a)-garbhe vajraṃ bhavatu mama sarva-satvānāṃ ca kāya-vis(←ś)uddhe sarva-gati-parisuddhe sarva-tathāgatā(←a)- samās(←ś)vāsādhiṣṭhite bu<d>dhya bu<d>dhya bodhaya {vi}bodhaya {sādhaya

6. visodhaya sarvakarmavaraṇāṇi sama}samanta-paris(←ś)uddhe sarva-tathāgatādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite svāhā || : || uṣṇīṣavijā yathārani sama(←ā)ptā ☐ ☐ || ||

The Sanskrit text[21]

(1) namo bhagavate trailokya-prativisisthaya buddhaya bhagavata. (2) tadyathā oṃ (3) viśodhaya samasamantāvabhāsa-spharaṇa-gati-gahana-svabhāva-śuddhi. (4) abhiṣiñca sugata-vacana-amṛtâbhiṣeke āhara āhara āyu-saṃdhāraṇi. (5) śodhaya śodhaya gagana-viśuddhe uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-śuddhe sahasraka-raśmi-saṃcodite sarva- tathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite mudre vajra-kāya-saṃhatana-śuddhe sarvāvaraṇa- visuddhe (6) pratinivartaya-āyu-śuddhe samayadhiṣṭhite. maṇi maṇi tathatā-bhūta-koṭi- pariśuddhe (7) visphuṭa-buddhi-śuddhe jaya jaya vijaya vijaya smara smara (8) buddha-adhiṣṭhita-śuddhe vajri vajra-garbhe vajraṃ bhavatu mama (9) sarva-satvānāṃ ca kāya-viśuddhe sarva-gati-pariśuddhe sarva-tathāgata-samāśvāsādhiṣṭhite. budhya budhya bodhaya bodhaya samanta-pariśuddhe sarva-tathāgatâdhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite (10) svaha

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[21] UNEBE 2015: 24; SASAKI 2009: 226; MELZER 2007: 109.

The Chinese version T967.19.352a26 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經, *Fó dǐng zūn shèng tuóluóní jīng*[22]

a28: (1) 那莫薄伽跋帝 啼隸路迦–鉢囉底 毘失瑟咤㖿 勃陀耶 薄伽跋底 (2)怛姪他唵(3)毘輸陀耶 娑摩-三漫多皤婆娑-娑破囉拏-揭底-伽訶那-娑婆皤-輸躓地(4)阿鼻詵者 蘇揭多-伐折那-阿嘌㗚多毘曨爾 阿訶羅 阿訶羅 阿輸-散陀羅尼(5)輸馱耶 輸馱耶 伽伽那-毘躓提-烏瑟尼沙-毘逝耶-躓提 娑訶 娑囉喝-囉濕弭-珊珠地帝薩婆-怛他揭多地瑟咤那-頞地瑟恥帝慕㗚隸 跋折囉-迦耶-僧訶多那-躓提 薩婆伐羅拏-毘躓提(6)鉢羅底 儞伐怛耶 阿瑜躓提 薩末耶-阿地瑟恥帝 末禰 末禰 怛闥多-部多-俱胝-鉢唎躓提(7)毘薩普咤-勃地-躓提社耶 社耶 毘社耶 毘社耶 薩末囉 薩末囉(8)勃陀頞地瑟恥多-躓提 跋折梨 跋折囉-揭鞞 跋折濫 婆伐都麼麼 [受持者於此自稱名] (9)薩婆-薩埵鳴 迦耶-毘 躓提 薩婆-揭底-鉢唎躓提 薩婆-怛他揭多-三摩濕婆娑-遏地恥帝 勃陀 勃陀 蒲馱耶 蒲馱耶 三漫多-鉢唎躓提 薩婆-怛他揭多地瑟咤那-頞地瑟恥帝(10)娑婆訶

The Japanese monk Jōgon 浄厳 (1639–1702) stated the following: The text for the most part agrees with all the eight Chinese translations by 佛陀波利 Buddhapāla (A.D. 676), 杜行顗 (A.D. 679), 地婆訶羅 Divākara (two versions A.D. 682), 義浄 I-jing (A.D. 710), 無畏 Śubhakarasiṃha (A.D.716–735), 不空 Amoghavajra (A.D. 741–774), 逍宋 (of Tang dynasty A.D. 618–907), and 法天 (Dharmadeva? A.D. 973–981, of the Kao family A.D. 960–1127); though it is still not certain which translator used this text.[23]

After the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* begins on f. 52v3 in Reel No. A 39-5 of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project as follows:

○ ❖ namo budhāya || oṃ namo bhagavate○ sarvatrailokyaprativiśiṣṭāya buddhāya bhagavate namaḥ || tadyathā oṃ śidhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya samasamantāvabhāsasya raṇagati ○ gaganasvabhāvaviśuddhe abhiṣiñcantu māṃ śrībodhiguptasya sarvatathāgatās sugatāvaravacanāmṛtābhiṣekaiḥ mahāmudrāmantrapadaiḥ | āhara āhara āyusaṃdhāraṇi śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya gaganasvabhāvaviśuddhe uṣṇīṣavijayapariśuddhe sahasraraśmisaṃcodite etc. (f. 52v3)

sahasrakṛtvaḥ pradakṣiṇīkṛtya bhagavataḥ purata sthitvā tathaiva codānayi ○ tvā bhagavataḥ purato niṣaṇṇā dharmaśravaṇāya | atha bhagavān suvarṇṇabāhuṃ pra○sārya supratiṣṭhitaṃ devaputraṃ samāśvāsya dharma-deśanām akarot || yāvad buddhatve tam vyākṛtavān iti || ❀ || (f. 56r2–3)

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[22] UNEBE 2015: 25.

[23] MÜLLER & NANJIO 1884: 15–16.

Transliteration of Ho.Ms. (Akṣara list)

7. (Siddham) siddhaṃ a ā i [ī] u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ Ḹ e ai o au aṃ aḥ ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la [v]a śa ṣa sa ha llaṃ k[ṣ]a (51 Akṣaras) + + + (3–4 ligatures?)

The Akṣara list is important, as mentioned in 声字実相義 *Shō-ji-jissō-gi* 'The meaning of the true state of voice and letters' written by Kūkai 空海 (around 820 CE): we can see various teachings in *Bījākṣara*s (the 'seed syllables'or first syllables of a mantra or spell), and also in other Sanskrit texts, many descriptions for the learning of syllables, e.g. in Lalitavistara *lipiṃ śiṣyante* 'they study a letter (one by one)',[24] or in *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra* 'The Tathāgata's Secret Sūtra' (如来秘密経 Nyorai-himitsu-kyō): *vākkarmāṇy ākāraḥ (阿字) karma karoty* 'the character of 'a' operates on functions of the words'.[25] And in esoteric Buddhism, *Bījākṣara*s 種子 show the names of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and so on, and also could be an object of meditation.[26] The syllable theory is developed based on *śunyatā* 'emptiness' thought of *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and also in the Dainichi-kyō 大日経, (Skt. *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*).[27]

This Akṣara list shows the normal 50 Akṣaras (opposed to "Aparacana" with 42 Akṣaras) plus ligature <llaṃ> which can be seen in the Tocharian writing system, and <ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, Ḹ> are treated as vowels, which are written at the end of the list of 50 Akṣaras. We can see lacunae with 3 or 4 Akṣaras in our Ms., which could be filled with <tsa, ska, śca>, if the scribe was influenced by Tocharian, because in Tocharian <lla> is written as an example of a typical ligature. According to Yamamoto,[28] the ligature list of *arapacana* <ṣṭa, śva, kṣa, sta, jña, rtha, sma, hva, tsa, ska, ysa, śca> were not proper syllables in Sanskrit, and Salomon argues that the origin of "Arapacana" with ligatures is Gāndhārī,[29] but I suppose that there were no ligatures originally in Gāndhārī, but ligatures were eventually constructed out of necessity with Kharoṣṭhī signs because of Sanskrit texts. I cannot find <jña, hva, tsa, ska, ysa, śca> in the list in "Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions 1920." <hva, ysa> were used in Khotanese as local usage, <tsa, śca> are often found in Tocharian, and <jña, ska> are

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[24] Hokazono 1994: 528.
[25] Ikuma 2019: 891.
[26] Yamamoto 2006: 99.
[27] Yamamoto 2006: 101.
[28] Yamamoto 2006: 88.
[29] Salomon 1990：257.

common in Sanskrit. From these ligatures, I cannot understand the Kharoṣṭhī character <j̄> (horizontal line over <j>) for YSA and <c̄> (horizontal line over <c>) for ŚCA in Salomon's study.[30] The horizontal straight line over characters is very much disputable,[31] and I suppose that this sign shows a gemination, but it is not clear.

"Arapacana" could be a list of syllables of local usage for their local language including those found in Sanskrit texts.

The shape of the approximant (earlier known as semi-consonant and semi-vowel) /l/ in the Akṣara list is very similar to the so-called '*Fremd Zeichen*' /lä/ (consonant /l/ plus shwa /ä/) in Tocharian, and I have never considered it a vowel in Tocharian. This shape came presumably from the earliest Brāhmī written in Aśokan inscriptions. As it is difficult to think that Siddhamātṛkā /l/ came directly from Aśokan Brāhmī, it is natural that the shape of /l/ came from Tocharian. Then, also taking into account /lla/, Ho.Ms. and Siddham script could have been produced in Serindia, including Gilgit, Nepal and Tibet. Here we must disagree with what Jōgon 浄厳 wrote in 1694: "four letters of *ri* etc. (= *rī*, *li*, *lī*) are added. It shows that these are the Brahma letters (梵字) of Central India."[32]

J. Silk writes: "The Hōryūji leaves are not the only place that the *Heart Sūtra* and the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* appear together. They also appear inscribed together on so-called *dhāraṇī* pillars, *ching-ch'uang* 經幢 'sūtra banner', or, apparently more usually, *shih-ch'uang* 石幢 'octagonal stone monument' in China".[33]

As a sub-conclusion, Ho.Ms. appears to be a pure Dhāraṇī text with the essence of Prajñāpāramitā-philosophy, i.e. *Śūnyatā* and so on, which prevailed as the main Buddhist teaching.[34] And it was necessary to make it portable for reading, reciting and writing at any place or time in order to protect the man who carried it from every kind of misery. For example, it is written in the 'Legend of Buddhist priest who masters Tripiṭaka' 三蔵法師伝 that Xuánzàng could not get rid of demons by praying to Avalokiteśvara, but he could do it by reciting the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*.[35] We can recognize this story from a Sogdian document,[36] and the text of "Dhāraṇī ring" (陀羅尼輪

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[30] Salomon 1990: 269.
[31] Brough 1962: 62–63.
[32] Müller & Nanjio 1884: 16.
[33] Silk 2021: 108.
[34] Silk 2021: 116, Appendix 3; Harada 2010: 48.
[35] Watanabe 2018: 265.
[36] Yoshida 2009: 296.

tuóluóní lún) from Dunhuang: 'If a man <u>carries</u> it with him, he can destroy his sin…' (若<u>帶持</u>者罪滅, *ruò dài chí zhě zuì miè*),[37] and also one could get merit, for example, as in the case of *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (*KV*): the one will be happy who addresses *KV*, makes others write *KV*, makes others accept *KV*, makes others recite *KV*, makes others hold *KV* as memorial service, and makes others ponder.[38]

2. Diachronic and synchronic investigation of Avalokiteśvara

Karashima writes: 'An illustrative example of this sort of misunderstanding is *Avalokitasvara* and *Avalokiteśvara*. There are at least eight old Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia which bear the name *Avalokitasvara*, as well as one fragment from Kizil, which has (*Apa*)*lokidasvara*. These older forms agree with the early Chinese renderings "One who observes sounds" and "One who observes sounds of the world"(窺音, 現音聲, 光世音, 觀世音), which were made between the 2nd and 5th cc., while the newer form *Avalokiteśvara*, which first appears in a Mathurā inscription of the Gupta year 148 (467/468 C.E.) and later in the Gilgit manuscript of the Lotus Sutra, dating back to the 7th c., agrees with the newer Chinese renderings "One who observes the sovereignty of the world" and "One who observes sovereignty" (觀世自在, 觀自在) from the 6th c. onwards. We cannot say for certain that the older forms are "corruptions" of the newer ones'.[39]

Mironov proved that 観(世)音, *Guān(shì)yīn* in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* was not a mistake, because he found *avalokitasvara* in manuscripts which were brought from Xīnjiāng by the Ōtani Expedition, now kept in Lüshun.[40]

Until the 5th c., *svara* (Chin. 音, *yīn*) — 'sound' — was mainly written, i.e. 光世音普門品, *Guāng shì yīn pǔ mén pǐn* ('Guangshiyin, the Bodhisattva of Compassion or Goddess of Mercy') in 'The Lotus Sūtra' by Dharmarakṣa (286 CE) (T263.09.128c19) or 妙音菩薩品, *Miàoyīn púsà pǐn* 'The section of the Wonderful Sound Bodhisattva' in Kumārajīva's translation of the same Sūtra (T262.09.56c03), and then *īśvara* (Chin. 自在, *zìzài*) was written by Xuánzàng (602–664 CE).

The chronological change is: *Ābhā-loka-svara* (in 'The lotus Sutra' by Dharmarakṣa) → *Ava-lokita-svara* (Kumārajīva) → Avalokiteśvara (Xuán-

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[37] WATANABE 2018: 96.
[38] SAKUMA 2021: 814.
[39] KARASHIMA 2015: 113–114.
[40] MIRONOV 1927: 243.

zàng), but Avalokitasvara (Chin. 観音 *Guānyīn*) became common within China and Japan.

I suppose that *ābhā-loka-svara* would be the original form when we see the Tocharian expression, as Karashima mentions: Toch. *apa-lokita-svara* shows the Tocharian phonology, i.e. no long vowel (unaccented '*ā*' could be written as '*a*') and no aspirated voiced sound ('*bh*' → '*p*').

The Tocharian word '*apa*' is either the same as Pāli *apa* ('apart') + *lokita* (Chin. 求聽 *qiú tīng* 'seeking to hear' or 照見 *zhào jiàn* 'clearly seeing'[41]), or *ava* + *lokita* 'looking down' in Sanskrit. It is difficult to determine the Tocharian form, but I suppose that the Toch. was /*ābhā-lokita-svara*/ because of the original Tocharian phonology and Skt. '*v*' being written as '*w*' in Tocharian.

A diachronic development could be: ***ābhā-loka-svara*** (Chin. 光世音 *Guāng shì yīn*) according to Dharmarakṣa → Toch. ***apa*** ('*bh*'→'*p*')-***lokita*** (from '*āloka*'?)-***svara*** (4–5th cc. based on Toch. paleographical analysis)[42] → ***avalokita-loka-svara*** (Chin. 觀世音, *Guānshìyīn*), according to Kumārajīva, who might have been familiar with Toch. '*avalokita-svara*', because he came from Kizil, and also he knew '*loka*' in Dharmarakṣa's version and presumably used it in his translation. Another possibility is to see '*avabhā-loka*' → '*avāloka*' → '*avalokita*'. Anyway '*bh*' and '*v*' were confused, as Karashima mentions: "We find an example which suggests that the translator confused -v- and -bh-: Z 63a3 光 (ābhā) 世 (loka) / K34 Avalokiteśvara (v.l. Avaloki-tasvara). The alternation of -bh- / -v- is common in Gāndhārī, but it is seen also in Pāli saṃvidā / saṃbhidā: not only a confusion between meanings, but also a phonetic (or writing) confusion".[43]

Moreover, as for -bh- and -v- in '*Ābhālokasvara*' (Chin. 光世音, *Guāng shì yīn*) in Dharmarakṣa's "Lotus Sūtra", when the original language was so-called Gāndhārī or some Prākrit in Northern India, *ābhā-* 'light' could be written instead of *ava-*, but according to Brough,[44] -bh- was written as *bh, vh, v, h* in Gāndhārī, i.e. -v- could not be Gandh. -bh-, and moreover -sv- appeared as -sv-, -s- (not -śp-) in Gandh., and -śv- is represented by *śv, śp* and *ś* in Gandh. Therefore, *ābhâlokasvara* would be the original, and -bh- changed to -p- in Toch., then to -va-, as showed above. Another possibility: Toch. -p- was from -b- which was from -v-. In this case, this could show that -ava- was the original, and Dharmarakṣa could have seen *avabhā-*.

[41] MIZUNO 2005: 31.
[42] TAMAI 2011: 372.
[43] KARASHIMA 1992: 268.
[44] BROUGH 1962: 96–97.

The translated Chinese word 大自在天, *dàzìzàitiān* for '*Maheśvara*' by Kumārajīva was used instead of the name of Indra and other Indian gods with supernatural power in his 'Lotus Sūtra' translation, and the Bodhisattva appeared as *Īśvara* or *Maheśvara* in order to rescue and enlighten laymen. One example of Kumārajīva's free translation: 復聞, 諸佛有**大自在**神通之力 ("<…> again it is heard that every Buddha has supernatural power of the ***maheśvara***")[45] which corresponds to Skt. *vṛṣabha-tā*.

Xuánzàng mentioned in his "Great Tang Records on the Western Regions" (大唐西域記, *Dà táng xīyù jì*) as follows:

大唐西域記卷第三 八國 三藏法師玄奘奉 詔譯 烏仗那國鉢露羅國 (Butkara?)
有**阿 縛 盧 枳 低 濕 伐 羅**菩 薩 像 唐 言 觀 自 在 。 合 字 連 聲 。 梵 語 (T2087_51.0883b23)上。分文散音。即阿縛盧枳多。譯曰觀。伊濕伐羅。 譯曰自在。舊譯爲光世音。或云觀世音。或觀世自在皆訛謬也。"There is a statue of **Avalokiteśvara** which is called by a useless (or 'unclear'? for 唐) word 觀自在 'looking at will'. <e> is Sandhi of /ā̆/ + /ī/ in Skt. i.e. Avalokita is translated as 'looking', Īśvara as 'freely, at will'. Formerly it was translated as 'light-world-sound' or 'looking world-sound' or 'looking-world-at will', all are mistakes".[46]

Xuánzàng used 観自在 *Guānzìzài* (*Avalokiteśvara*), although he knew 光世音 *Guāngshìyīn* and 觀世音 *Guānshìyīn*. It could mean that Xuánzàng took the new name *Īśvara* instead of *svara* because of Kumārajīva's *Maheśvara* (Chin. 大自在, *Dàzìzài*) in order to follow the new conception which fitted well his time, as *Īśvara* prevailed in the Serindia area after a long cultural history in India (see the next section). Nevertheless, 觀(世)音, *Guān(shì)yīn* ('[One, who] Looking at the sound') is very popular in China and Japan. Thereafter, Avalokiteśvara faith with Tantrism became very popular. Thus, *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, extolling the virtues and powers of Avalokiteśvara, was compiled at the end of the 4th century or beginning of the 5th c. It introduces the mantra *Om maṇi padme hūm* and also teaches the important *Cundi dhāraṇī*, recitation of which causes a pore in Avalokiteśvara's body to open and reveal in brilliant illumination a vast multitude of world systems. This sūtra probably originated in Kashmir, since it has similarities with Kashmiri tantric traditions of the time and with *Avataṁsakasūtra* earlier associated with Central Asian regions.

[45] My translation for T0262_.09.0027b19-20.
[46] My translation.

As for the change /avāloka/ → /avalokita/, which I take from the meaning 'looking' (Chin. 観 *guān*), I will try to find other possibilities: /lokita/ is not the past part. (pass.) of √lok 'to look' + *-ita*, but *lokī* (nom. of *lokin* 'possessing a world') + *-tā* (abstract suffix) or *lokya* 'conducive to the attainment of a better world' + *-tā* (abstract suffix). /ī/ or /ya/ could become /i/, when these syllables are not accented, e.g. there was no /ī/, and /i/ was written as <yä> (unaccented) in Tocharian.

Karashima had mentioned that there was a confusion between /svara/ and /smara/ in Gāndhārī,[47] but he had hesitated to claim that the meaning of /svara/ changed from confused '念 thinking' and '声 voice' to the original '声 voice'.[48] There is no example of /svara/ and /smara/, nor /sma-/ in Gāndhārī. According to Brough, m/v is rare in Gāndhārī, but the Dharmapada shows a clear preference for *-m-* in place of *-v-* (including original /-p-/; cf. § 36), and Skt. (*sm*) to *sv* was not normally attested, but shows the assimilated form, e.g. *sadaṇa* for Skt. *smṛta* 340 or *sacita* for Skt. *svacitta* in Gāndh. Dharmapada, or the historical spelling *-sm-*, as in *vanasma* for P. loc. *-smiṃ*, *svadi* for Skt. *smṛti*; § 53).[49] Therefore, a linguistic confusion between *smara* and *svara* did not happen, but the translators were confused because of diachronic and synchronic changes.

A problem is *avalokitā*. It is not the adj. form of past part. passive (in the case of transitive verb), because the past part. passive shows a completion or state as its result. Judging from the compound form *avalokitêśvara*, *avalokita* would be a nominalized participle with active function, or a noun with abstract suffix /-tā/ which is a nom. form of /-tṛ/. Here *pāram-itā* is feminine of nominalized part. because of the fem. form of its predicate. The compound /ābhā-loka-svara/ is a Bahuvrīhi 'man of possessing light, world and sound' and /avalokiteśvara/ is appositional Karmadhāraya '(clearly) looking īśvara'. Another possibility of /avalokiteśvara/ is the binomen 'dominator-īśvara', as is in B-Tocharian /pud-ñäkte/ 'Buddha-God' and A-Tocharian /puttiśpar/ 'Buddha-īśvara(?)' used to make the word semantically clear.

The well-known word *olo'iśpare* in *dhamitrasa olo'iśpare danamukhe budhamitrasa amidahe*,[50] together with its sculpture, is a fake, in my opinion. Evidence is as follows:

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[47] WATANABE 2018: 133; HARADA 2010: 31.
[48] KARASHIMA 1999: 61.
[49] BROUGH 1962: 102.
[50] BROUGH 1982; SALOMON & SCHOPEN 2002.

1) Palaeography: The first akṣara <bu> is not written, although there is enough space for two akṣaras (see next *budha-*); <mu> in <danamukhe> is not precise (see other <m>); the second <budhamitrasa> is surplus (or no space for <danamukhe>); <mi> or <mṛ> is an unknown akṣara (similar form can be found in the "Indoskript" online database made by H. Falk, but it is quite uncertain), <śp> cannot be found in the "Indoskript" until the 3rd century, suggesting that this inscription was written after the 4th c., although other akṣaras show 3rd c. forms. I see the penmanship as typical fake writing (Prof. Nasim Khan's opinion is the same, Internet communication on Dec. 26, 2023).

2) Phonology and grammar: *olo'iśpare* is a hapax legomenon, which is dangerous to accept as a proper word. Gāndh. /olo/ from Skt. /avalo/ is not attested, although /o/ for Skt. /ava/ is common in Gāndhārī and other Prākrits. No document including *ologispara* and *ologemana*, which are speculated by the author(s) of "A Dictionary of Gāndhārī", is mentioned. According to "A Dictionary of Gāndhārī", *ologemana* is written as *avaloyayamaṇa* (Skt. avaloka-yāman??) in Split Collection 2, site B line 20, but this is uncertain.

/kita/ of /avalokita/ could not disappear, it should have remained as /'iδa/, because /i/ of *īśpare* could not be deleted. Moreover, I cannot understand the cases of the ending <-e> of *olo'iśpare* and *amidahe* (*danamukhe* 'gift' is nom.). The dative is better in this context, but it could be *olo'iśparae* and *amidahae*. According to "A Dictionary of Gāndhārī" *olo'iśpare* is loc. which is cited from the research of Salomon and Schopen (with <?>),[51] but it is also uncertain. It should be the nom. sg. m. in my opinion.

3) Iconography: The head with wavy hair of *Amitahe* is old-fashioned, but it is mismatched with newer style of the face, the revealed right shoulder and a sole of the foot on his thigh. He is not sitting on the lotus directly. What is depicted between the Buddha and the lotus? If the small monk with a hand that seems too big is *Budhamitra*, as suggested by the name of donor engraved under him, its figure cannot be depicted, because *Budhamitra* is a donor of this sculpture. Then who is he? The statue *olo'iśpare* sits on a cane chair under a canopy with curious flowers or fruits, but his foot is on a lotus pedestal, and his position is higher than that of the Buddha, which is impossible in the Buddhist thought. The statue *olo'iśpare* has a lotus between his fingers (but which fingers?). According to C. Bautze-Picron, the lotus is the major attribute of Avalokiteśvara. It becomes, however, a permanent element only after the 5th c.[52] Early images from the Northwest and Mathurā, or from the 5th c. at Ajanta, do not necessarily intro-

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[51] SALOMON & SCHOPEN 2002: 27.
[52] BAUTZE-PICRON 2004: 233–234.

duce the flower, and in Gāndhāra he can hold a wreath. The depiction of lotus here is not suitable for a sculpture made in the 2nd–3rd cc.

The name *Avalokiteśvara* is not attested in Gāndhāra. Amitābhā or Amitāyus did not exist in Gāndhāra, as Prof. Rhi Juhyung stated in 2022 at the Met Museum in the USA (he kindly sent me the video). Therefore, we should not trust the word *olo'iśpare*.

It is possible to see /īśvara/ as a confusion with /svara/ because of their phonetic similarity, and the word /īśvara/ became popular because of the prevalence of the *Īśvara*-belief together with *Dhāraṇī* in Serindia. We can see the name of *Īśvara* in Tocharian documents (see below), and its paintings can be seen in Khotan and China as Susan Whitfield commented in 1985 on the votive panel No. 1907, 1111.71 in the British Museum (on the Internet: "Curator's comment" at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1907-1111-71):

"The triple-headed deity (from Dandan-oilik), with one fierce grotesque head and one feminine or benign one, is ithyphallic and holds the sun and moon, a vajra and another object. He has been identified by Joanna Williams[53] as Maheśvara, the name by which Śiva appears in Khotanese texts. As such he is seated on the vehicle of Śiva, the bull Nandin. Śiva's presence at Khotan shows the influence of tantric Buddhism and Śaivism from India: forms of Siva, which reached both Yungang (Cave 8, Northern Wei, late fifth century A.D.) and Dunhuang (Cave 285, Western Wei, early sixth century A.D.) are referred to by Williams. In the case of Cave 285, he is shown with three heads and six arms, holding aloft the sun and moon discs and seated on a blue bull. The early date at which these Śiva images made their appearance in China might lead one to question whether this image, and indeed the other wooden painted plaques from the Khotan area, may not also be dated nearer the sixth century than the eighth that is generally accepted (because of numerous finds of eighth-century Chinese coins) as the terminus ante quem for both the wall paintings and the votive plaques".[54]

3. On "*īśvara*"

Īśvara is composed from *īś-*, meaning in different contexts 'to be capable of' and 'owner, ruler', and the suffix *-vara*.[55]

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[53] WILLIAMS 1973: 142–45.

[54] I cite Whitfield's comment on the internet: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1907-1111-71

[55] DEBRUNNER 1954: 906.

I prefer to view *īś-* as a secondary Present of an old reduplicated Perfect[56] rather than Stative or Root-present Middle[57] because I see too few illustrations to set up one category Stative.

The second part *-vara* means, depending on context, 'best, excellent, beautiful', 'choice, wish, blessing, boon, gift', and 'suitor, lover, one who solicits a girl in marriage'. The word *īś-vara* means literally 'owner of best, beautiful', 'ruler of choices, blessings, boons', or 'chief suitor, lover'.

According to Amano, *īśvara* was used in *Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā* (900–700 BCE) together with gen./abl.-infinitive meaning 'to be able or fear to do (in negative sense)'.[58] The meaning 'president, leader' can be seen in Atharvaveda, and *lokeśvará* means "Ātman" (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 14.7.2).

The word *Īśvara* does not appear in the Ṛgveda, but the verb *īś-* does (absent in Sāmaveda, rare in Atharvaveda). It appears in Saṃhitas of Yajurveda with contextual meaning neither God nor supreme being, as the ancient Indian grammarian Pāṇini explains: *yasmād adhikaṃ yasya ceśvaravacanam …| "*to which (*yásmāt*) there is an excess (*ádhikam*) and about which (*yásya*) **rulership** is stated (*īśvara-vácanam*), <…>" (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.3.9).

The word *Īśvara* appears in numerous ancient Dharmasūtras (600–200 BCE), in which it could not mean 'God', but means 'Veda', or could alternatively mean 'king', with the context literally asserting that the Dharmasūtras are as important as *Īśvara* (the king) on matters of public importance.

The term is used as part of the compounds *Maheśvara* ('The Great Lord') and *Parameśvara* 'The Supreme Lord', the names of Viṣṇu and Śiva. In Mahāyāna Buddhism it is used as part of the compound 'Avalokite**śvara**', who was a Bodhisatva revered because of his compassion. When referring to the divine as a female, particularly in Śaktism, the feminine *Īśvari* is sometimes used.

In the Advaita Vedānta school, *Īśvara* is a monistic Universal Absolute which connects to the Oneness in everyone and everything.

Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta and Nyāya schools of Hinduism discuss *Īśvara*, but assign different meanings to it. *Īśvara* is a metaphysical concept in the Yogasūtras of Patañjali, in which *Īśvara* is mentioned not as a deity, nor as any devotional practices (*bhakti*), nor as *īśvara*-characteristics typically associated with a deity. In the Yoga school of Hinduism, *Īśvara* is neither a

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[56] Mayrhofer 1992: 207.
[57] Gotō 1997: 184–185.
[58] Prof. Amano at the Kyoto University kindly gave me her personal suggestion.

creator God nor the universal Absolute of the Advaita Vedānta school of Hinduism. In Śaivism, *īśvara* is an epithet of Śiva. In Vaiṣṇavism, it is synonymous with Viṣṇu. As a concept, *īśvara* in ancient and medieval Sanskrit texts variously means God, Supreme Being, Supreme Self, Śiva, a king or a ruler, a husband, the god of love, one of the Rudras and the number 'eleven'. Śiva in Hinduism was based on the Veda and, mixed with Āryan culture and native faith, was also called *Naṭarāja* 'dancing God'.[59]

In *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (300–200 BCE), the ruler was the only one God called Maheśvara, and also Rudra, Śiva, who created the entire cosmos with phantom power *māyā*.[60] After late Upaniṣad (*Maitrāyaṇiya-Upaniṣad* 200 CE), many Upaniṣadas were produced, and we can find Upaniṣad which shows the Śiva-God worship in the teaching of six kinds of Yoga.[61] In the epic poetry like Mahābhārata, Trimūrti (three great Gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) were especially worshiped.[62]

We can recognize the great Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara) as a kind of supreme lord of the cosmos and as the progenitor of various heavenly bodies and divinities, such as the Sun and Moon, the deities Śiva and Viṣṇu.[63]

Īśvara prevailed so strongly synchronically and diachronically in India that it exerted a great influence on Serindia (Gāndhāra and Central Asia) together with Brahmanism and Buddhism. We can find *iśpara* as the title of the king Seṇavarma in the gold relic inscription of Seṇavarma, king of Oḍi,[64] in some recently excavated statues made from white marble in the Greater Gāndhāra (I found it in Pakistan, and Prof. Yokochi suggested that it might exist in Afghanistan), and even in B-Tocharian we can find *īśvara* in the name *īśvara-datte*, and 36 instances of *putt-iśpar* 'Buddha-Īśvara' → 'Buddhawürde' in A-Tocharian.[65]

Conclusion

The Hōryūji Manuscript is very important, not only for investigating Buddhism in the Serindian area, but also for Indian religious history. It shows

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[59] NAKAMURA 1956: 82–83.
[60] NAKAMURA 1956: 85.
[61] NAKAMURA 1956: 100.
[62] NAKAMURA 1956: 102.
[63] NAKAMURA 1956: 139–140.
[64] BAUMS 2022: 18.
[65] TAMAI 2017: 257.

a mixture of Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism with phonological influence of the languages in Serindia, especially of Tocharian, when we observe writing mistakes and the typical Tocharian characters <ḷ> and <lla> in the Akṣara list.

Judging from the half size with two string holes (normal for large mss.) and no folio numbers, the Hōryūji Manuscript was likely portable for reciting at any time and place.

The name of the main subject of the Hōryūji Manuscript, *Avalokiteśvara*, shows a development from a compound /ābhālokasvara/ or /avabhālokasvara/ 'brilliant world sound', i.e. /ābhā/ 'light' or /avabhā/ 'sheen' became /ava-/ judging from Toch. /apa/; /-ā/ of the preceding /ābhā/ with /loka/ became /āloka/ 'looking' and further /lokita/ due to Skt. sandhi /-a/ + /ī-/ → /-e-/ as a sanscritization for higher prestige instead of /avalokita-īśvara/ without sandhi in Serindia; /svara/ changed to /īśvara/ because of phonetical similarity and also because of prevailing *īśvara* faith. If this hypothesis is correct, the Hōryūji Manuscript was written in Serindia.

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Olga M. Yastrebova

Pre-History of a Collection:
Owners' Marks in the Manuscripts
of Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī[1]

Abstract: The history and sources of the manuscript collection of Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810–1861), an Egypt-born professor at the St. Petersburg University, are studied in this article through ownership statements and other notes found on the pages of the books. They demonstrate numerous ties that link the manuscripts with the historical, educational and cultural landscape of the 16th–19th cc. Egypt and contribute to our understanding of the importance of this collection as a whole entity. It does not just reflect Ṭanṭāwī's personal scholarly interests, but rather provides a wider scope of vision encompassing the intellectual background that formed the Sheikh's personality.

Key words: Arabic manuscripts, codicology, Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī, history of manuscript collections

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In 1871 the St. Petersburg University acquired manuscripts that had belonged to Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Sulaymān ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Shāfiʿī (1810–1861), a collection of unique character in Russia, created by a man of unusual destiny. Born in Nijrid near the town of Tanta in the Nile Delta, Ṭanṭāwī received his education at the famous Cairo University of al-Azhar and began his teaching career there. In 1840 he came to St. Petersburg "with

the highest permission... for teaching Arabic literature at the Educational Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs",[2] and in 1847 started teaching at the University as an extraordinary professor.

The Ṭanṭāwī collection was formed predominantly in Egypt, most of its manuscripts the sheikh brought with him to Russia in 1840, adding some books in 1844 during his only voyage to his homeland after the relocation. Both their appearance and content reflect the peculiarities of the region's book culture in the early 19th c. The overwhelming majority of the collection consists of books copied in Egypt, in the Syro-Palestinian region and North Africa. This is indeed the feature that distinguishes the Ṭanṭāwī collection from those formed on the territory of Russia, which consisted of Islamic manuscripts produced and circulated in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the region of Volga and Western Siberia. The collection of the first dean of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University, Alexander Kazembek, kept at the University library and acquired in the same year 1871 is a good example. The repertory of the works collected by Ṭanṭāwī is obviously dictated not only by the tastes and interests of the owner, but reflects the range of texts that were studied and circulated in the scholarly environment of Egypt in the early 19th c. Many of the authors are from Egypt and North Africa, and several manuscripts are copied in the characteristic Maghribi handwriting.

Notes left on the pages of these manuscripts by the Sheikh himself became one of the sources for writing his biography, which was compiled by I.Iu. Krachkovskii.[3] Before the books entered Ṭanṭāwī's possession, however, most of them had changed many owners, some of whom left traces of their ownership on their pages. In this article, we focus on such earlier notes, among which we found some left by rather famous people.

Ms. O. 737 — Abū Bakr b. Rustam b. Aḥmad al-Shirwānī and ʿAzmī-zāda Ḫālatī (Azmizade Haleti)

This manuscript, Ms. O. 737, was previously described in detail in an article on the attribution and dating of its binding[4]. Its most interesting feature is that the body of the manuscript, containing the text of a *Qaṣīda* by the fa-

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[2] KRACHKOVSKII 1958: 256.
[3] KRACHKOVSKIJ 1929 (reprinted 1958).
[4] YASTREBOVA 2024.

mous philologist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī known as Ibn Durayd (c. 837–933), was copied 10 *Shaʿbān* 945 / 8 February 1539, whereas the binding is much older and once belonged to a multi-volume manuscript, most probably of the Qur'an. Two other book-covers from the same set are now in the possession of the Khalili collection[5] and the Berlin State Library (Wetzstein II 423).[6] The first page (Pl. 1) of this small manuscript (18.0×13.5 cm, 17 ff.) bears two interesting inscriptions. The one in the up-per left corner of the page is the statement of ownership written by the Ottoman learned bibliophile, calligrapher and statesman Abū Bakr b. Rustam b. Aḥmad al-Shirwānī (d. 1135/1722)[7]: حسبى الله من كتب ابى بكر بن رستم بن احمد الشروانى – "God is sufficient for me! From the books of Abū Bakr b. Rustam b. Aḥmad al-Shirwānī". A number of manuscripts that once belonged to his very important and rich collection have been detected in the National Library of France[8] and in other places.

A philological remark in the upper central part is accompanied with an in-scription that attributes it to the hand of ʿAzmī-zāda (هذا بخط عظمي زاده), who can be identified with the Ottoman scholar, statesman and poet who used the pen-name Ḥālatī (1570–1631). Coincidentally, his life at the early stage of his career was for a while connected with Egypt, where he occupied the po-sition of *qāḍī* of Cairo and district governor (kaymakam, *qāʾim-maqām*). Later, in 1621, after performing judicial duties in Bursa, Edirne, Sam and Istanbul he returned to Cairo as a judge for some time, but did not stay there long. His private library reportedly consisted of 4000 volumes of books and 100 collected manuscripts, and it is also known that he often wrote marginal notes.[9]

Ms. O. 685 — Muḥammad al-Shurunbābilī

The manuscript (21.0×15.0 cm, 243 ff.) (Pl. 2), written on white laid pa-per with chain-lines, watermarked with a six-pointed star (which can be seen on ff. 123–130, 122–131, 164 and some others), contains a number of colo-phons, although none of them mention the date of copying. It is a collection

[5] James 1992: 30, 31–32.
[6] AHLWARt 1894, no. 8347: 331; WEISSWEILER 1962, no. 133, 117, Abb. 17.
[7] RICHARD 1999; FU'AD SAYYID 2003: 21–22.
[8] RICHARD 1999: 81.
[9] AÇIL 2019: 432–433.
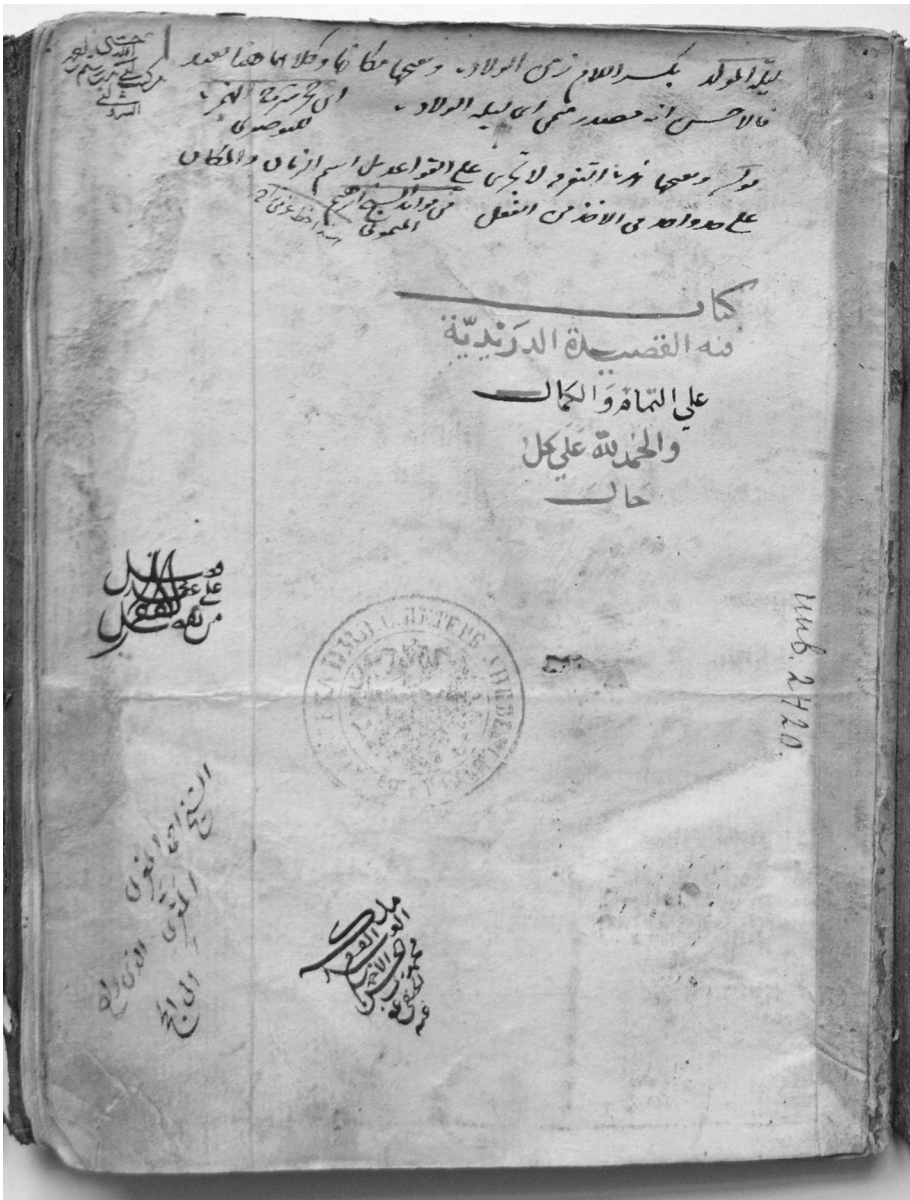
Pl. 1.
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, *al-Qaṣīda al-Duraydiyya*. Egypt or Syria,
10 *Shaʿbān* 945 / 8 February 1539. M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU,
Call No. Ms. O. 737, f. 1r. Courtesy of the Library.

وجود وأن الوجود مشهود تقضى بعدم الحجاب
عند ذوى الألباب فكيف يصح التعويل على هذا السبيل
والجواب ما ذكرنا الله وعولنا فيما تقدم غنى
ومؤاتى الخلق لا يتعلق به بصرف الذات اذ هو غير معقول
لأحد من المخلوقات كما اشار الله للخبر وصح عنداهل النظر
فى الجند والله لا يعرف الا الله فالقول بأن الذات
العلية هى الوجود من حيث التعلق والشهود والا فمن
اللخر الأصم المعمى والكنز المطلسم اسمى هكذا ينبغى أن
يفهم والله سبحانه وتعالى أعلم لم نجعله ومقت جعلا
فقير رحمة رب النور المبين محمد بدله أدرى سبط محمد تركين
الثنا بلج جامعا ومصلا ومستلا وخسلا وكوفلا
تمت هذه الرسالة المسماة بالقول
المستبد المشهود فى بيان وحدة الوجود
على يدجامعها غفرالله له
ولوالديه ولجميع
المسلمين
والحمد لله رب
العالمين

خلاهل الارض
والسموات

خوالأخمى

الحميد
بدرى
أبو

Pl. 2.
Collected manuscript. Egypt, before 1768. M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU,
Call No. Ms. O. 685, f. 234v, colophon. Courtesy of the Library.

Pl. 3.
Abū'l-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī,
Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār fī sharḥ ṭawāliʿ al-anwār. MENA region, 15th c.
M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU, Call No. Ms. O. 688, fol. 1r. Courtesy of the Library.

of 27 texts, mostly connected with different aspects of Sufism, transcribed by its owner, compiler and copyist who mentions his name in a number of colophons as Muḥammad b. Badr al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shurunbābilī, or Sibṭ al-Shams (i.e. the grandson of Shams al-Dīn). Its contents was studied by O.B. Frolova[10] who stressed the fact that the compiler of the book, who happens to be also the author of some texts included in the collection, had strong interest in mysticism and the philosophy of *taṣawwuf*, as well as an inclination to occult sciences.

Information about the compiler's background and biography can be found in the work *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār fīʾl-tarādjim waʾl-akhbār* by the famous Egyptian historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī (1753–1825). He reports that Sibṭ al-Shams was a scholar, *imām*, writer and poet, the grandson and son of the authoritative Egyptian theologians Shams al-Shurunbābilī and Badr ad-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī. The family apparently came from a settlement located northeast of Tanta (modern name Shubra Babil). He studied with prominent sheikhs of his era, and his works were widely disseminated. He was especially interested in linguistics and genealogy, and in addition, wrote treatises refuting the views of Ibn ʿArabī. Djabartī mentions that one of these texts was burnt, together with other books, right after its composition when al-Shurunbābilī's house caught fire in the middle of the night, but the author would not take it as a warning and did not change his views. He died in Muharram 1182 / May-June 1768 and was buried next to his grandfather, Shams al-Shurunbābilī.[11]

Ms. 688 — Ibn ʿIrāq

A copy of *Maṭāliʿ al-anẓār fī sharḥ ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* by the 14th c. theologian and philologist Abūʾl-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī lacks a colophon and thus its exact date of copying is unknown. The manuscript (27.3×9.0 cm, 168 ff.), written on Oriental laid paper with groups of three chain-lines, can be dated by its codicological features to the 15th c. On the first page (Pl. 3) there are several inscriptions related to the history of the manuscript and its owners, from which we can draw the conclusion that the book could be copied in Syria, or at least was circulating there for some time. The most striking inscription, written in bold calligraphic *thuluth* script, is accompanied with a lobed hexagonal stamp. Unfortunately, both

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[10] FROLOVA 1987.
[11] DJABARTĪ 1997: II, 496.

the stamp and the name in the inscription are erased, but what remains of the note reads as follows: "The — ملكه العبد الفقير... الكافل بدمشق الشام رحمه الله تعالى امين property of the poor servant... the protector in Damascus, Syria, may God Almighty have mercy on him. Amen!" The title *al-kāfil* — "protector" may indicate that the owner of the manuscript was one of the Mamluk governors of Damascus.

Of the other three possession notes one bears the name of certain Muḥammad al-Dāwudī (في نوبة العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد الداودي عفى عنه وغفر له امين — "In the turn of the poor servant of God Almighty, Muḥammad al-Dāwudī, may God forgive him and pardon him. Amen!"); in another the owner's name is blacked out (... (؟) الحمد له تعالى من من ذي البقاء والوجود على محمد — "Praise be to God Almighty! From the bounty of the One who is Eternal and Everlasting, upon Muḥammad(?)…").

Finally, the most interesting inscription says: في نوبة الفقير شمس الدين بن عراق المدرس بخاتونية حماء — "In the turn of the poor Shams al-Dīn b. ʿIrāq, the teacher at [madrasah] Khātūniyya, Hama". The person who wrote it was obviously Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ʿIrāq (sometimes also called Ibn ʿArrāq), who had the *laqab* Shams al-Dīn (878–933/1473–1526).

He was born in Damascus into a family of a Circassian princess. After marrying and his father's death, he moved to Beirut. Being a wealthy man, he was engaged in trade and agriculture, and enjoyed horse riding, archery, chess, and other entertainments. In Damascus, he met Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Nādjī, joined the circle of his students, and became a Sufi. In 905/1499–1500, he went to Egypt, where he continued his education with eminent scholars of the time. Upon returning to Damascus, he asked his mother's permission to perform the Hajj. Upon returning from the Hajj, he lived in Beirut until 910/1504–1505, then moved with his family to Damascus. In 911/1505–1506, one of his Sufi mentors, ʿAlī b. Maymūn, who had traveled to preach in Anatolia, returned and summoned Ibn ʿIrāq to Hama, where he stayed for four months. During the following years, he lived in Beirut, Damascus, Majd al-Maush, Ghouta, and Safad. He then again went on Hajj and from 924/1518–1519 lived in Medina and Mecca, where he died and was buried. He left behind a number of works on mysticism, and two of his children, Shaykh ʿAlī and Shayikh ʿAbd al-Nāfiʿ, were also scholars and literati.[12]

In the owner's note Ibn ʿIrāq calls himself a *mudarris* in the *madrasa al-Khātuniyya* in Hama; apparently, the note dates back to his stay in that city in 911/1505–1506.

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[12] ZIRIKLĪ 2002: VI, 290; "Ibn ʿIrāq".
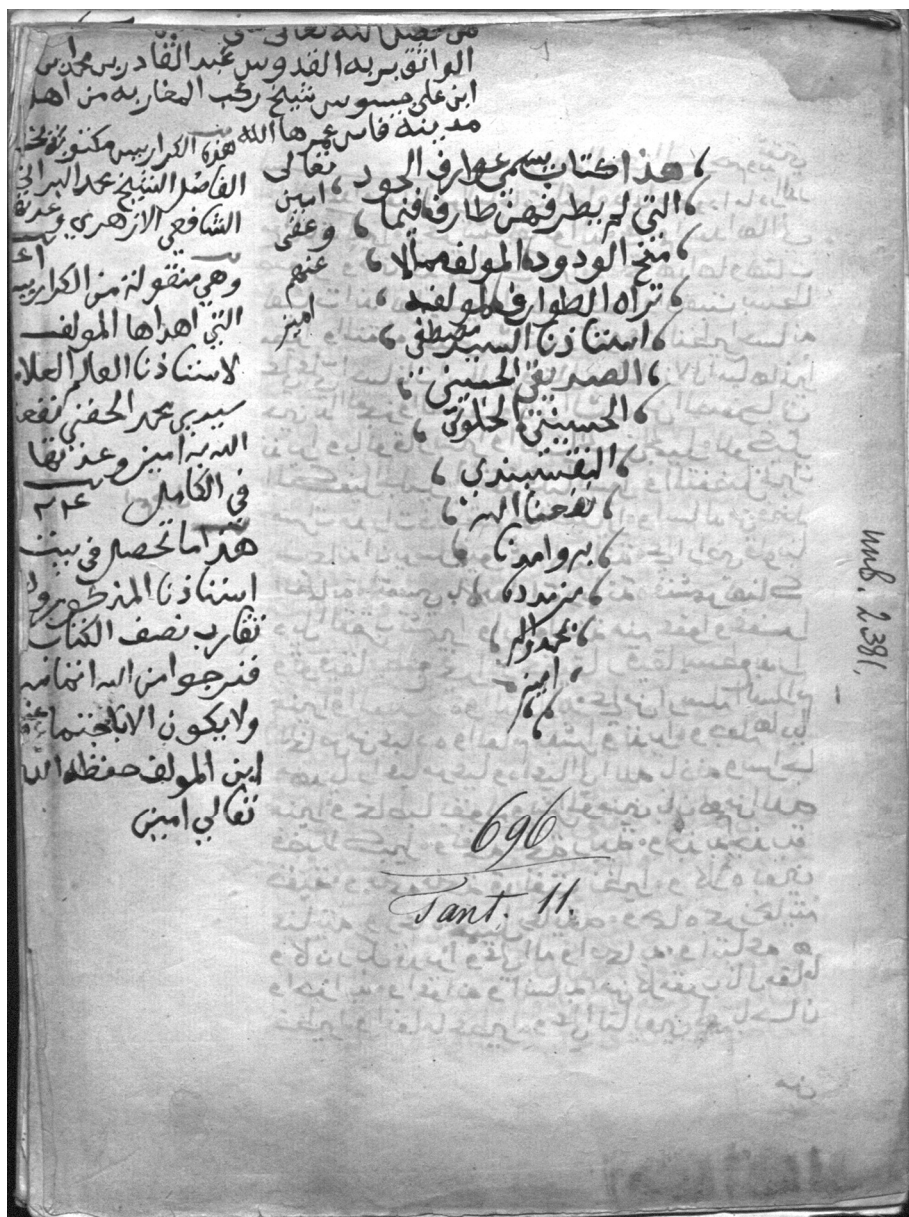
Pl. 4.
Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Bakrī, ʿ
ʿAwārif al-jūd allatī lam yaṭraqahunna ṭāriq fī-mā manaḥa'l-wadūd. Egypt, 18th c.
M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU, Call No. Ms. O. 696, f. 1r. Courtesy of the Library.
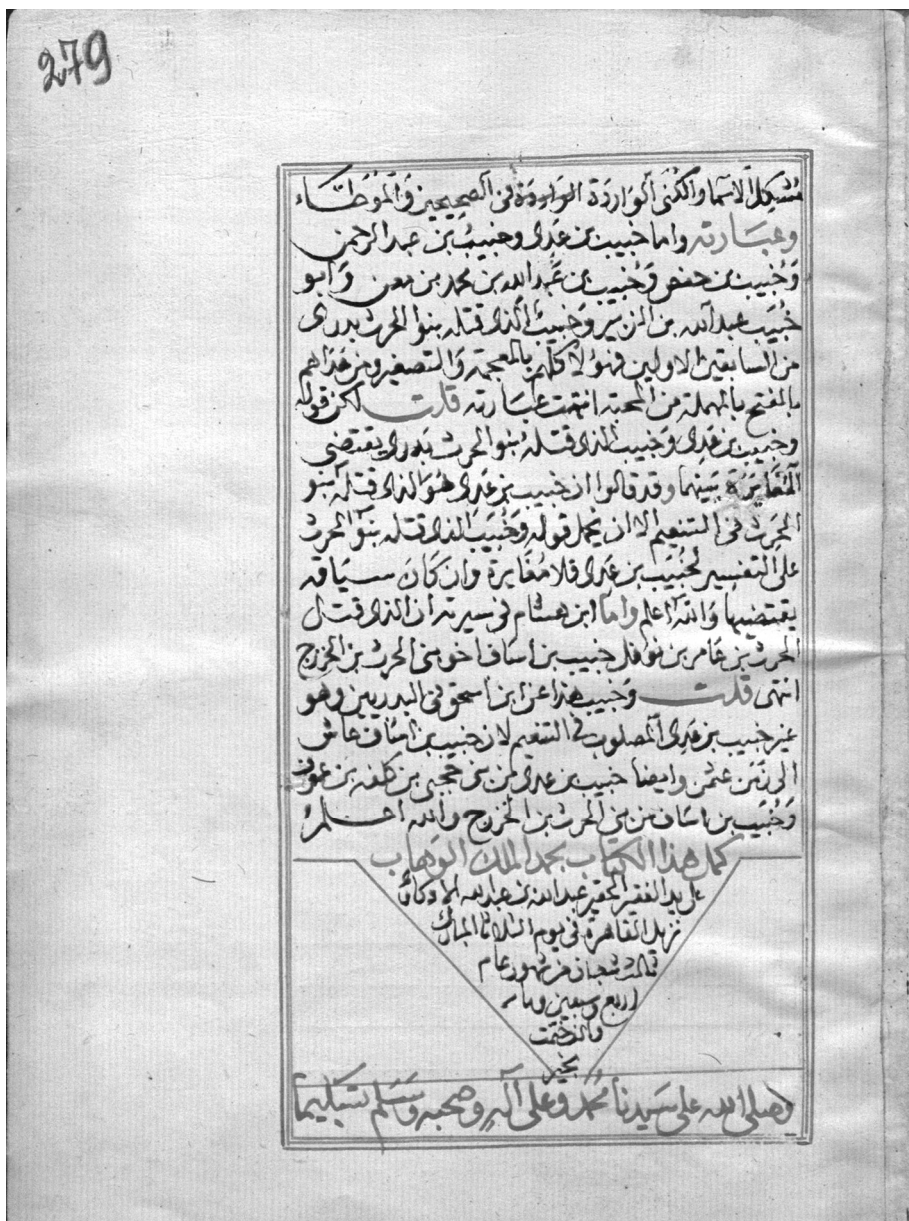
Pl. 5.
Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿĀmir al-Shāfiʿī Ḥiṣn al-Saʿdī al-Ḥaḍramī, *Sharḥ al-ṣadr fī asmāʾ ahl Badr*. Cairo, 8 Shaʿbān 1174 / 14 March 1761. M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU, Call No. Ms. O. 704, f. 279r, colophon. Courtesy of the Library.

Ms. O. 696

A text's quality based on reliable protographs has always been an important issue for learned men. Books containing evidence that their text goes back directly or indirectly to the author's autograph are quite rare and were undoubtedly valuable to scholars such as Ṭanṭāwī. An example is the manuscript of *ʿAwārif al-jūd allatī lam yaṭraqahunna ṭāriq fī-mā manaḥa al-wadūd*, by Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Bakrī (1099–1162/1688–1749). The note on the first page of the book states as follows:

من تحصيل الله تعالي علي الواثق بربه القدوس عبد القادر بن محمد ابن ... ابن علي جسوس شيخ ركب المغاربة من اهل مجينة فاس عمرها الله تعالى امين وغفر عنهم امين هذه الكراريس مكتوبة بخط الفاضل الشيخ محمد البراني الشافعي الازهري وعدده ٤١ وهي منقولة من الكراريس التي اهداها المولف لاستادنا العالم العلامة سيدي محمد الحفني نفعه الله به امين وعدتها في الكامل ٢٤ هذا ما تحصل في بيت استاذنا المذكور و... تقارب نصف الكتاب فنرجوا من الله اتمامه ولا يكون الا باجتماع عن ابن المولف حفظه الله تعالى امين

"From whatever God Almighty has bestowed on the one who is confident in his Holy Lord, ʿAbd al Qādir b. Muḥammad b. ...Ibn ʿAlī Djasūs, the Sheikh of the Moroccans' caravan, from the people of the city of Fez, may God Almighty make it prosperous, amen! And forgive them, amen! These quires are written in the handwriting of the virtuous Sheikh Muḥammad al-Barānī al-Shāfiʿī al-Azharī, and their number is 41. They are copied from the quires that the author presented to our master, the scholar, the eminent Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥafnī, may God benefit him through it, amen! Their number in total is 24. This is what was collected in the house of our aforementioned teacher, and... it is close to half of the book, so we ask God for its completion, and it will not be except by a joint effort from the author's son, may God Almighty protect him, amen!" (Pl. 4)

The text in the manuscript consisting of 409 ff. (in fact, constituting 41 quires) is incomplete. The work was transcribed from the copy given by the author to Muḥammad al-Ḥafnī who was the sheikh of al-Azhar between the years 1171–1181/1757–1767.

Ms. O. 704, 765 and 798 — ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkāwī and Aḥmad al-Idkāwī

There are at least three manuscripts connected with Djamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkāwī, known as al-Muʾadhdhin (1104–1184/

1692–1770), Egyptian poet from Idku village near Rosetta who lived most of his life in Cairo.[13] Being a part of intellectual elite of the time, he praised contemporary scholars and theologians under whom he studied. Among those to whom he dedicated his poems, Djabartī names the same sheikh Muḥammad al-Ḥafnī who was mentioned in connection with the preceding manuscript.

The first of the three books, Ms. O. 704 (21.3×14.8 cm, 280 ff.) (Pl. 5), is copied in his own hand and contains *Sharḥ al-ṣadr fī asmā' ahl Badr*, a work on hadith by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿĀmir al-Shāfiʿī Ḥiṣn al-Saʿdī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. ca. 1666) copied 8 *Shaʿbān* 1174 / 14 March 1761 in Cairo. Another one, Ms. O. 765 (23.8×14.7 cm, 216 ff.), copied by al-Idkāwī in 1165/1752, contains the poetic anthology *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr* by ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī (d. 467/1075).

The third book, Ms. O. 798 (18.0×10.7 cm, 14 ff.) (Pl. 6), is a copy of extracts from al-Zamakhsharī's commentary on the *urdjūza* by ʿAbd Allāh Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj, compiled by ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkāwī and written down by his son Aḥmad, who mentioned his name in the colophon, but not the date of copying.

Ms. O. 721 — Ibn al-Akfānī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Awḥadī

The manuscript of the *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid* (18.3×13.0 cm, 64 ff.), an encyclopedic essay containing an overview of 60 different sciences, according to the undated colophon was copied for its author: كتبه نور الدين علي البنهاوي كان ناسخا لمصنفه رحمه الله تعالي – "Written by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Banhāwī, who was copying the book for its compiler, may God Almighty have mercy on him!" (f. 63v).

The compiler, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sāʿd al-Anṣārī known as Ibn al-Akfānī, was an Egyptian physician and encyclopedist who wrote about 22 books, about half of which are devoted to medicine, while others are on logic, *tafsīr*, astrology, mathematics, etc. He was born in Sinjar and died in Egypt during the plague in 1348. This should also be the year around which the manuscript was copied, as the praising formula "رحمه الله تعالي" in the colophon usually accompanies the names of deceased persons.

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[13] Djabartī 1997: I, 552 ff.

اختار من ما عظ عظت عظاظا
موضع بالبصر الاجمعا ظا مشدة العدد وعظ عظظ نا ئ
أضطررت بلهم
بلهم وفصدقوا الوعاظا
وعددوا الاخوته مرأيقاظا
اى وعظى رجل فقال ان ذهبنهم حكتم فكان كذلك
والايقاظ جمع يقظ
لما رأيت ما منعم مغتاظا
تعروفونيه اللوم والفظاظا
من الغيظ
تجدينيه مغنا الغربين أنتاظا
اذا الضمية رست قطا الاوشاظا
جديم تعطيه قوت طعنا الحدا اى لم يكن من ذا الطى
قدر ما بتلم طاب بالكات طعنا تما الصغير الكريم
الاوشاظ جمع وشيظ وهو اكسبس كلمات بحمد راسه
تعالى على يد الغقر ابن جامع
لغا نها احد الادها ور غذاس
له ولوالديه ولجميع المسلمين
أجمعين واحمد لله
رب العالمين
آمين

Pl. 6.
ʿAbd Allāh al-Idkāwī, extracts from al-Zamakhsharī's commentary on the *urdjūza*
by 'Abd Allāh Ru'ba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj. Egypt, 18th c. M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU,
Call No. Ms. O. 798, f. 13v–14r, colophon. Courtesy of the Library.
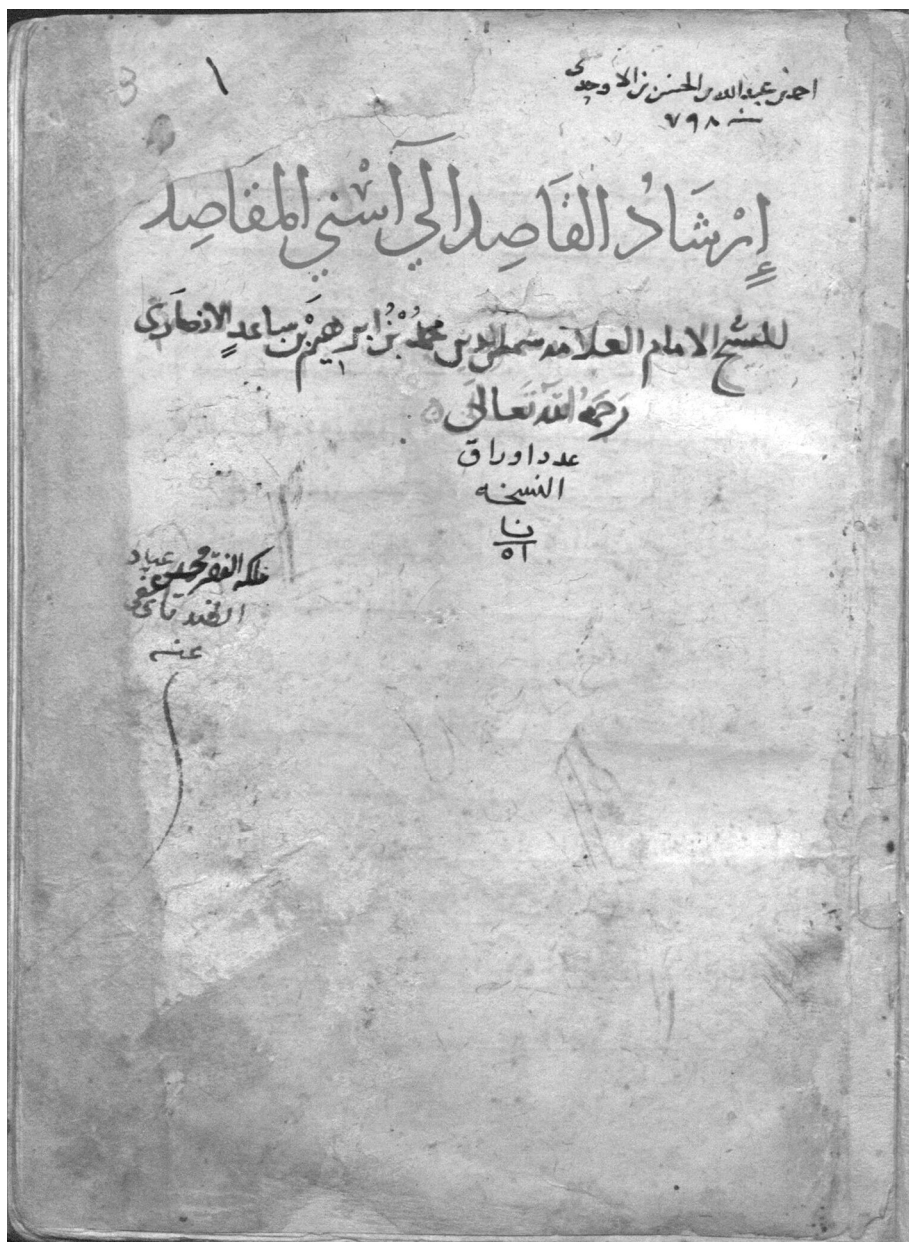
Pl. 7.
Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid*. Egypt, ca. 1348. M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU, Call No. Ms. O. 721, f. 3r. Courtesy of the Library.

The ownership statement in f. 3r (Pl. 7) supports the early dating of the manuscript, saying: احمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الاوحدي سنة ٧٩٨ — "Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan Ibn al-Awḥadī, 798 AH (1395–1396 AD)". He can be identified as Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Awḥadī (761–811/1360–1408), who wrote a historical topography of Cairo that then served as a basis for the famous book *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa'l-iʿtibār fī-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār* by his famous contemporary Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī,[14] who was even sometimes accused of plagiarism for this.[15] Indeed, the handwriting of the short note looks quite similar to the writing on certain pages of the Topkapı manuscript (MS E. Hazinesi 1405) of al-Maqrizi's holograph, which had been identified as the hand of al-Awḥadī, and to the specimens of al-Awḥadī's signatures on several other manuscripts.[16]

Ms. O. 722, 754 and 758 — Ḥasan al-Djabartī

These three manuscripts have possession notes of Ḥasan al-Djabartī, the father of the historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Djabartī. His full name was Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Zīlʿī al-Djabartī, and similar to many persons mentioned in this article, he was a scholar whose interests were not limited to theology, and he taught at al-Azhar. His family was of Somalian origin, and he is mostly remembered in connection with his famous son, the chronicler of Egypt of the late 18th — early 19th cc.

The first manuscript, Ms. O. 722 (24.0×15.8 см, 325 ff.) (Pl. 8), is a copy of al-Djawharī's Arabic lexicon *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī'l-lugha*, not dated, copied in the 16th c. or earlier. The note on f. 2r says: في ملك الفقير اليه تعالي حسن الجبرتي الحنفي عفى الله عنه بمنه — "In the possession of the poor one before Him, Who is the Most High, Ḥasan al-Djabartī al-Ḥanafī, may God forgive him by His grace!" It is accompanied with a print of an oval-shaped stamp, which is illegible.

The second manuscript, Ms. O. 754 (20.3×15.3 cm, 20 ff.), is a 1115/1703 copy of the popular poetic anthology *Aṭbāq al-dhahab* by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Hibat Allāh al-Iṣfahānī. The note of al-Djabartī on f. 1r is identical to the previous one, although there is no seal imprint.

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[14] BAUDEN 2014: 169.
[15] KRACHKOVSKIJ 1957: 476–477; BAUDEN 2010.
[16] BAUDEN 2010: 176, 179.
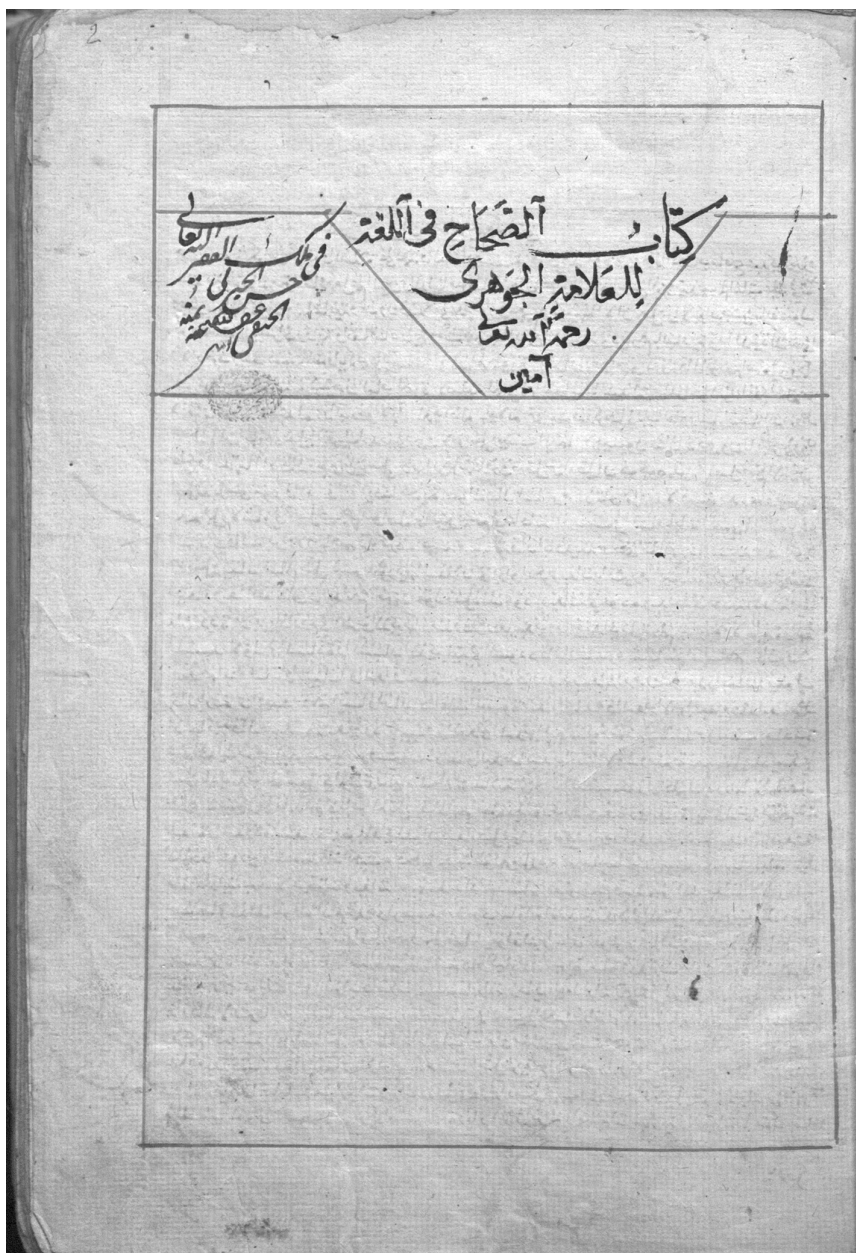
Pl. 8.
al-Djawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī al-lugha*. Egypt, 16th c. or earlier. M. Gorky Scientific Library of
SPbU, Call No. Ms. O. 722, f. 2r. Courtesy of the Library.

Ms. O. 758 (20.7×14.2 cm, 48 ff.), apart from being the oldest dated manuscript in the Ṭanṭāwī collection (copied 4 *Ramaḍān* 712 / 10 January 1313), contains the text that seems to be unique. It is a treatise on logic by an unknown author who states in the preface that is was dedicated to one of the emperors of Rum and entitled *Kitāb al-laṭāʾif al-malakiyya al-inbiraṭūriyya*. Ḥasan al-Djabartī's signature is in f. 1r.

These are just several examples of manuscripts from the collection that contain information on their history linking them with personalities that played notable roles in the cultural and political life of Egypt. We have not tried to cover all the notes, many of which are either fully or partly erased, or smudged, which makes their reading a difficult or even impossible task. Some of the legible names, not included here, may also be of interest to historians who specialize in the area. They, however, will become available for study and interpretation through an online catalogue of the collection that has been prepared within the framework of the project supported by the Russian Scientific Foundation and contains full copies of manuscripts that can be consulted online.

These notes and inscriptions, however inconspicuous they may seem, in fact demonstrate how these handwritten texts, through their owners, are woven into the historical fabric of the era. Not only does the Ṭanṭāwī collection contain many works created in the 18th c. Egypt and North Africa by the personalities who were part of Egyptian intellectual landscape, it holds manuscripts that went through their hands, were copied or owned by them. This likely increased the value of the manuscripts in the eyes of the collector even more, as they are the material embodiment of his spiritual ties with the generations of scholars, mystics and literati who created the intellectual environment in which he was raised and which shaped him intellectually. Evidence suggesting eventful past of manuscripts was probably yet another reason to include them in the scholar's personal library, and this constitutes an additional important aspect of the collection.

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Timur Slesarev

Asrār-nāma: a Sufi Manuscript Treatise
from the Collection of Muhammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭantāwī
at the M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU

Abstract: The paper deals with the brief Ottoman Sufi treatise *Asrār-nāma* included in the 18th c. handwritten *madjmū'a* (collection of works) kept at the Scientific Library of SPbU (call number Ms.O. 701). The traditional attribution of the work to the Naqshbandī *shaykh* 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī (d. 1491) looks highly doubtful. The author of the treatise was under profound influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's "Unity of Being" (*waḥdat al-wudjūd*) doctrine, of which the work is a simplified presentation. Some details of the Sufi Path described in the treatise indicate that its author was also familiar with the teaching of the Khalwatiyya brotherhood. The article gives a general description of the manuscript, an outline of the contents of *Asrār-nāma*, as well as brief characteristics of the first three texts gathered in the *madjmu'a*.

Key words: Ottoman manuscripts, Ottoman translated literature, Sufism, Khalwatiyya brotherhood, Oneness of Being doctrine, al-Ṭantāwī collection, M. Gorky Scientific Library of SPbU

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The collection of Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭantāwī (1810–1861), which was purchased by the St. Petersburg Imperial University in 1871, comprises 157 manuscripts in Arabic script, both handwritten books and scholarly materials of the owner, who was a professor of Arabic at the University from 1847 to 1861.

All manuscripts contain texts in Arabic except for a single one, an Ottoman *madjmū'a* (collection) of Sufi works that is examined in this paper. It should be noted that Turkic manuscripts of the University collection in general remain uncatalogued, all available information about them being limited to a list of titles which are not always given correctly. Thus, the

manuscript in question (Ms.O. 701) is mistakenly described as *Risāla-i shaykh Aḥmad* (sic!) *'Ayn al-Quḍāt fī asmā' Allāh ta'ālā*[1] ("Epistle by *shaykh* Aḥmad 'Ayn al-Quḍāt on Names of Almighty God").

The manuscript comprising four texts has two colophons after texts 2 (f. 29r) and 4 (f. 56r). The copyist, a certain Darvīsh Yūsuf Khalwatī (i.e. a member of the Khalwatiyya brotherhood), notes that he has finished the second text on 10 Ṣafar 1168 [26 November 1754]. The fourth text had been copied a month earlier, on 10 Muḥarram [27 October 1754]. All texts, except for the third one, are enclosed in a red frame; the unframed third text seems to be a supplement. On the whole, it seems that the manuscript's two fragments were bound not in the order in which they had been copied, but this is impossible because the third and the fourth texts belong partly to the same quire. The only explanation that can resolve this contradiction is that a protograph was bound in a wrong way and the manuscript in question is its exact copy. Thus, it turns out that the colophons belong to the protograph and not to the manuscript which is, in fact, undated.

On f. 2r there is an inscription written in the same hand as the main text of the manuscript, stating that: "its owner (*ṣāḥib*) is the Sultan of Knowers (*sulṭān al-'ārifīn*) *sayyid shaykh* Muḥammad Afandī Dimyāṭī Khalwatī Sinānī,[2] may God bless his beloved tomb and make his grave full of light". The last formula shows that this Muḥammad Afandī had already left this world by the moment when the inscription was made, and could have been its owner only in the sense that he had gathered the texts into the *madjmū'a*. One of the meanings of the word *ṣāḥib* in Arabic does allow for this interpretation.

As for the place of copying, the following remarks can be made. One of the *nisbas* of the "owner" indicates that he belonged to the Sinaniyya branch of the Khalwatiyya brotherhood. Since Istanbul was the main centre of Sinaniyya's activity,[3] it is highly likely that the manuscript was copied in that city. Consequently, al-Ṭanṭāwī may have purchased it when passing through Istanbul on his way from Egypt to St. Petersburg in 1840, 1842 or 1844.

The manuscript consists of 58 ff., measured 208*147 mm. Ff. 56v–58v are blank. The number of lines per page is 17. The script is a very good, almost calligraphic *naskh*, its density varies depending on the text from an average of 39–40 (text 4) to 50–51 letters (texts 2 and 3) per line. The text is

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[1] SALEMANN & ROSEN 1888: 22.

[2] I could not identify this person.

[3] BAHA TANMAN 1994: 6.

written in black ink, fully vocalized Arabic quotations are overlined in red in texts 1 and 2, and written in red in texts 3 and 4.

The paper is of European origin, thick, watermarked with three crescents. The Ottoman binding with a flap is covered with dark brown leather and decorated with oval stamped medallions with floral motifs on the outside of both covers and the flap.

This paper focuses on the fourth text of the *madjmūʻa*, but before discussing it, a brief description of the first three is given below.

1) F. 2v–26v (circa 35200 letters). A Turkish translation of the Persian treatise *Tamhīdat* ("Preludes") by ʻAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (1098–1131).

The text is headed *Hadhā Risāla-i shaykh Muḥammad ʻAyn al-Quḍāt quddisa sirruhu al-ʻazīz* ("This is the Epistle by *Shaykh* Muḥammad ʻAyn al-Quḍāt, be his beloved tomb blessed"). The title of the "*risāla*" is given in the foreword and appears as <…> *al-ḥaqāyiq wa kashf al-daqāyiq* (<…> of Reality and Unveiling of Subtleties). The lost initial word must have been *zubdat* (cream), which ʻAyn al-Quḍāt himself used, or *kanz* (treasure), which Ottoman scholars preferred to use in order not to confuse ʻAyn al-Quḍāt's Persian work with his Arabic treatise entitled *Zubdat al-ḥaqāyiq*. The Persian treatise, however, is most commonly referred to simply as *Tamhīdāt*.

The person who had translated the treatise into Ottoman was identified quite recently. The following argumentation does look convincing. In the foreword to the Ottoman version of Farīd al-Dīn ʻAṭṭār's *mathnawī Mukhtār-nāma* some details of its translator's biography are mentioned, which correspond with those of the poet Uskudārlī ʻAshqī (d. 1576/77). At the same time, a compiler of *Tamhīdāt* translation points out that prior to the treatise of ʻAyn al-Quḍāt he had translated *Mukhtār-nāma*.[4] Consequently, the translator of *Tamhīdāt* and Uskudārlī ʻAshqī must have been the same person.

The translation has been published in facsimile and Turkish transcription.[5] It contains roughly 100 000 letters, that is, almost three times more than the text of the manuscript under discussion. Its compiler has not only abridged the text, but also regrouped several paragraphs of chapters 8 and 10 (chapter 9 was fully removed). It should be added that ʻAshqī himself has significantly shortened his translation: in the original Persian text of *Tamhīdāt* there are about 242 000 letters. Thus, the text in the *madjmūʻa* can be called an abridgement of the abridged translation of *Tamhīdāt*.

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[4] YAZAR 2011: 380–381, 384–385.
[5] SANDİKÇİ 2009: 61–144.

2) F. 26v–29r (circa 4300 letters). A short text headed *Dar bayān-i ḍiyafat-i al-'ulamā'-i marḥūm sulṭān Muḥammad khān* ("Explanation of the Visit of Scholars by the Deceased Sultan Meḥmed-khan"). This is a story telling how Sultan Meḥmed II consulted a certain *shaykh* Ilāhī about Allāh's Beautiful Names (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*).

The identity of "*shaykh* Ilāhī" raises no doubt. This is the famous 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī who contributed greatly to the spread of Naqshbandī teaching in Turkey.[6] He was so famous that Sultan Meḥmed II himself invited him to Istanbul. Ilāhī accepted this offer, though not immediately, and moved to Istanbul only in 882 [1477/78]. Meḥmed was still alive then, and his meeting with the shaykh could have taken place in theory.[7]

3) F. 29v–32v (circa 5400 letters). A short text headed *Hadhā sharḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* ("This is a Commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God"), containing interpretation of the God's name in the Turkish language. Despite the fact that in the introduction the number of the Most Beautiful Names of God is given as 99, there are 100 names commented on in the main body of the text. The "extra" name not included in the commonly accepted list is *al-djamīl* (the Handsome).

As for the fourth treatise, it is found on f. 33r–56r (circa 29100 letters). As this copy lacks the heading and initial lines, the text starts in the mid-sentence. Its first folio was obviously lost. Fortunately, the title of the treatise is preserved:

"[I have decided] to compile (lit., "bring to form") this *Asrār-nāma* [The Book of Secrets] for it to be a reminder to those seeking the Absolute".

A search in the database of Turkish literary works produced a quick result.[8] It became clear that the *Asrār-nāma* in question is commonly ascribed to 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī, the same person who met with Sultan Meḥmed II in the second part of the *madjmū'a*.

The treatise has already drawn attention of researchers,[9] who mention in total almost 50 of its copies. The oldest dated one was written in 1061 [1651].[10] Three copies have been published, two of them both in transcription and facsimile,[11] and the third one, bearing the greatest similarity to the

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[6] For detailed information on this person see: KARA & ALGAR 1988.

[7] KARA 1988: 366–367.

[8] UYAN 2022.

[9] YAVUZER 1988; ÖZKAN 2006; SAVAŞ 2013; ÇELEBİOĞLU 2014.

[10] ÖZKAN 2006: 30.

[11] ÖZKAN 2006: 55–82, 94–121; SAVAŞ 2013: 58–103; 12–57.

text discussed here, only in transcription.[12] Comparative analysis has revealed the following peculiarities of the *madjmuʿa* copy. Firstly, the missing fragment at the beginning contains circa 300 letters. Secondly, the copyist[13] has mixed up two fragments, both containing circa 460 letters. Thirdly, another short fragment (circa 370 letters) is omitted.[14] This fragment draws an analogy between the human body and the state, the mind being likened to a *vazīr* etc.

There is a disagreement over attribution of the treatise to ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī.[15] In my opinion, at least four remarks on the question can be made.

Firstly, the conception of the so-called "seven stages of soul" (*aṭvār-i sabʿa*),[16] which is presented in the treatise in a brief and highly simplified form, is much more associated with practices of the *Khalwatī* order,[17] rather than with those of the *Naqshbandī* one. Moreover, in one of the works attributed undoubtedly to ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī, entitled *Maslak al-ṭālibīn wa-l-vāṣilīn* ("A way of those who seek [for God] and reach"), the author only deals with the three stages of the soul that are mentioned in the *Qurʾan*.[18]

Secondly, the treatise in question and the aforementioned one present a concept of the Perfect Human, but in very different ways. In *Maslak al-ṭālibīn* an extremely detailed description of the Perfect Human is given.[19] On the contrary, the Perfect Human of *Asrār-nāma* is a traditional abstraction in which all attributes of God are gathered. Although the author believes that this state can be reached by an ordinary human,[20] none of the 23 qualities of perfectness listed in *Maslak al-ṭālibīn* are even mentioned.

Thirdly, the description of the Sufi Path in *Asrār-nāma* seems so vague and general that it is hard to imagine that it was compiled by such an experienced Sufi *shaykh* as ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī. In fact, the author of our work con-

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[12] YAVUZER 1988: 43–105.

[13] Given the above, the copyist of the protograph must have done it.

[14] This mistake could obviously be made both by the copyist of the *madjmuʿa* manuscript and the copyist of the protograph.

[15] In YAVUZER 1988 and ÖZKAN 2006 the traditional attribution is neither questioned, nor somehow proved. In SAVAŞ 2013 and ÇELEBİOĞLU 2014 other attributions are offered, but no arguments against the attribution to ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī are adduced.

[16] A Sufi way of becoming the Perfect Human by means of a successive transition through seven states of the soul, each of them being a complex of certain qualities. See, for example: ALESKEROVA 2015: 196.

[17] ALESKEROVA 2015: 196; USTA 2015: 10.

[18] ÖZÇELİK 1990: 84, 149.

[19] Ibid.: 231–253.

[20] An appeal to find *murshid-i kāmil* (a perfect teacher) runs like a red thread through the text. On the Perfect Human in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought see: MORISSEY 2020.

fines himself to recommending a reader to find a teacher in order to transform the character. The fundamental practices of the Path such as, for instance, retreat (*khalwa*) and *dhikr* (remembrance of God) are, even if mentioned, dealt with only briefly and superficially.

Fourthly, there are 16 poetic passages, both whole poems and fragments, in the text of the treatise. Eleven fragments, containing 14 *bayts* in total, are preceded with a reference to their authors, namely Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273), Mahmūd Shabistarī (1288–1340), Yūnus Emre (12th–13th cc.) and ʿImād al-Dīn Nasīmī (1369–1417). The remaining five poems are *ghazals* given without attribution, but the last *bayt* in each of them contains the *takhalluṣ* (pen name) Laṭīfī (in one case in a form of Luṭfī).[21] In total, these *ghazals* contain 37 *bayts* (circa 2000 letters), that is, almost three times the entire amount of those belonging to aforementioned renowned masters of poetry. Considering that the content of the *ghazals* ideally corresponds to those fragments of the text which they are meant to illustrate, it is logical to assume that they were intentionally composed for the treatise by a certain Laṭīfī, or that he was himself the compiler of the treatise.

Two scholars have made assumptions about the identity of this mysterious Laṭīfī. One of them asserts, without any proofs, that it was the most famous among those bearing this *takhalluṣ*, Qastamūnī Laṭīfī Chalabī (d. 1582).[22] Another argues for a little-known poet Ṭūṭī-i Lāṭif Būrṣawī (d. 1565), who became interested in Sufism toward the end of his life, but had never been a member of any order.[23] Taking into account the above remarks, this candidacy seems quite probable. Nevertheless, the problem of the authorship of *Asrār-nāma* can by no means be considered solved.

The author of *Asrār-nāma* was deeply influenced by views of the great Sufi thinker Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʿArabī (1165–1240) whose core ontological and anthropological ideas as explicated in the treatise are the following.

All existing things are manifestations of the Absolute (*al-ḥaqq*, lit. "the truth", or "the reality"). It has created things, so to say, from within Himself through a chain of entifications (*taʿayyunāt*; lit., "making oneself a particular, individual entity"[24]). The Human is the last creature to have been created,

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[21] According to H. Yavuzer, the verses must have been a later addition: YAVUZER 1990: 27.

[22] SAVAŞ 2013: 10.

[23] ÇELEBİOĞLU 2014: 6.

[24] In this context the term *tadjallī* ([Divine self-]manifestation) is more common: *tadjallī-i awwal* (the first manifestation) etc. *Taʿayyun* is a particular way of *tadjallī*. See: IZUTSU 1984: 152. The term *tadjallī* is used by the author of *Asrār-nāma* in the sense of mystical visions of the Absolute (see below).

and in this sense he is the aim of Creation. However, the idea of the human, or to put it in another way, the human as an ideal abstraction, appeared within the Absolute before all other things;[25] in this sense the human is the reason of Creation.[26] This abstraction is commonly referred to as the Muḥammadan Reality (*ḥaqīqat-i muḥammadiyya*), or the Perfect Human (*insān-i kāmil*), encompassing all attributes (*ṣifāt*) of the Absolute or all traits of the world, i.e. a microcosm.[27] Consequently, self-knowledge becomes the main duty of a human, because knowing himself enables him to know the Absolute,[28] but only by means of a "transformation of character" (*tabdīl-i akhlāq*) so that his qualities which are, in fact, identical to those of the Absolute, reach a state of perfection and the Absolute can witness them in the human. Actually, the Absolute's desire for self-knowledge is the very goal of Creation. It is no coincidence that the author of the treatise began his work with a quote from one of the most famous *ḥadīths*: "I [i.e. the Absolute] was a Hidden Treasure (*kanz makhfī*), and I wished to be known, so I created a creature".

Below I give an outline of the contents of the treatise.

The traditional praise to God foreshadows the main theme of the work and looks as follows:

"Praise and thanks to the Knower of the Absent of the Absents (*ʿālim-i ghayb al-ghuyūb*) who brought His Perfectness and Power that had been the Hidden secret (*sirr-i khafāʾ*), from the World of the Absent of the Absents (*ʿālam-i ghayb al-ghuyūb*) into Being (*wudjūd*), by means and for the reason of the Muḥammadan Reality! Peace and prayer to the Pure light (*nūr-i pāk*) of the Muḥammadan rational soul (*nafs-i nātiqa-i muḥammadiyya*), which is a reason of two Beings (*kawnayn*) and existence of two Worlds (*ʿālamayn*)!"[29]

The narration itself begins with a statement that the first duty of a believer is knowledge of God's existence (*varliq*) and oneness (*birlik*). The Absolute Essence (*dhāt*) is one and indivisible, but due to Its attributes It seems multi-

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[25] The *ḥadīth* "The first thing God created was my spirit (*rūḥ*)" is quoted in the text twice.

[26] The *ḥadīth* "If you had not been, I would not have created the heavens" occurs in the treatise three(!) times.

[27] It is the "comprehensive being" (*al-kawn al-djāmiʿ*) mentioned in the first chapter of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūs al-ḥikam* ("The Bezels of Wisdom"). See: ZUTSU 1984: 219.

[28] The *ḥadīth* "Whoever knows himself knows his Lord" is quoted in the text twice. For its philosophical interpretation see: ZUTSU 1984: 40–41.

[29] The initial fragment which our manuscript is lacking is translated from: YAVUZER 1988: 43.

ple. First of all, the Absolute subsisted in a hidden (*bāṭin*) state, "a stage of oneness" (*martaba-i aḥadiyya*), "purified" (*munazzah*) from all kinds of forms (*ṣūrāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*), but being their source. Then, the so-called "first entification" (*al-taʿayyun al-awwal*) follows, it encompasses "names (*asmāʾ*), attributes and levels (*marātib*)" and is also referred to as "Muḥammadan reality", or "reality of Ādam" (lit., "the real Ādam", *Ādam-i ḥaqīqī*). The "second entification" (*al-taʿayyun al-thānī*)[30] is most commonly known as "permanent archetypes"[31] (*aʿyān-i thābita*), which are further to be embodied in visible things from celestial bodies to minerals, plants, animals and humans.

Thus, the Human is the last (*ākhir*) creature to have descended onto the Earth. Therefore, the ultimate aim of the Creation can be said to be the existence of the Human. At the same time, the Divine manifestation as the Human is determined by the fact that "the first (*awwal*) of all appearances and entifications is the Reality of the Human (*ḥaqīqat-i insān*)". To clarify this idea the author offers the following allegory. A gardener plants an apricot seed. The tree grows, its elements begin to differ from one another and obtain their own names, such as branches, leaves, flowers; but the ultimate aim of the gardener is the fruit. The gardener is the Absolute, the tree in all its forms stands for the multiple world, the fruit is the human; but in fact, all of this is nothing but the initial seed, which represents the "Reality of Muḥammad".[32]

Just as some unripe apricots can fall down and rot, some people "who have not saved their souls from the gloom of nature (*tabīʿat ẓulmati*) are worse than animals". Here the author articulates his core ethical idea, namely that the principal duty of a believer is to save his soul from qualities of animals and to develop qualities of God which must be revealed so that the Absolute can contemplate them, because "the jewels of the Hidden Treasure are entrusted to Human essence (*insāning dhāti*), being secretly reflected in his mirror".

God's attributes belong to two groups, namely Kindness (*lutf*) and Violence (*qahr*), both necessary for a believer, but only if he tries to comprehend his rational soul. Otherwise, even mother's milk is forbidden (*ḥaram*)

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[30] For these two stages in terms of *fayḍ* ([Divine] emanation) see: Izutsu 1984: 152–158.

[31] For the permanent archetypes see: Izutsu 1984: 159–196.

[32] Likening a human being to a fruit is rather common in Sufi literature. Like the human in the context of Creation, fruits are both the reason (since they contain seeds) and the goal of planting trees.

for him and everything he does is nothing but hypocrisy. Such a state is a kind of disease which can be cured by means of a forty-day retreat from the world. In any case, one must first find a perfect teacher (*murshid-i kāmil*) so that he, like a skillful doctor (*ṭabīb-i ḥādhiq*), diagnoses the disease.

There are seven diseases of the soul, *shaykhs* call them "attributes of fire" (*ṣifāt-i nāriyya*): pride (*kibr*), arrogance ('*udjb*), hatred (*kīn*), lust (*shahwa*), wrath (*ghaḍab*), envy (*ḥasad*), greed (*hirṣ*), all having origin in love for the Lower world (*ḥubb-i dunyā*).

The author lists seven stages of developing qualities of God, namely the [evil] commanding soul (*nafs-i ammāra*), the soul reproaching [itself] (*nafs-i lawwāma*), the inspired soul (*nafs-i mulḥima*), the reassured soul (*nafs-i muṭma'inna*), the pleased soul (*nafs-i rāḍiyya*), the pleasing soul (*nafs-i marḍiyya*), the perfect soul (*nafs-i kāmila*).[33] Some people, whom God leads by means of His power, are able to move from one stage to another on their own, they are known as "attracted wayfarers" (*sālik-i madjdhūb*);[34] all others need an intermediary in the person of a perfect teacher.

Shaykhs teach, "the path to God is two steps long, the first being annihilation of the self, the second — subsistence with God. <…> [The first step] is called *fanā fī-llāh*, [the second one] — *baqā' bī-llāh*". Actually, both are called "transformation of the character". Wayfarers are sometimes honored with an ability to contemplate a manifestation of the Absolute's essence (*tadjallī-i dhāt*) that can be of three kinds, namely, "manifestation via acts" (*tadjallī-i āthār*), "manifestation via attributes" (*tadjallī-i ṣifāt*) and "manifestation via images" (*tadjallī-i ṣūrī*).[35] The process is so complicated that everyone needs a perfect teacher to identify it, even if it concerns attracted wayfarers.

The author likens the Lower world to an ugly woman wearing a *niqāb*. She is an evil witch turning youths, seduced by her, into different animals; in other words, she gives them attributes of animals. The perfect teacher is, in turn, likened to Prophet Khiḍr who is able to wash off the witchcraft with "water of knowledge" (*āb-i ma'rifa*).

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[33] Each stage is a complex of certain qualities. The qualities given by our author almost entirely coincide with those in ÇELIK & YILDIRIM 2018. For example, the qualities of nafs-i lawwāma are given in both texts as enthusiasm (*havas*), cunningness (*makr*), arrogance ('*udjb*), lust for carousals ('*ishrat*), [excessive] desire (*tamannī*), and violence (*qahr*).

[34] For detailed information on *djadhba* ([a way of Divine] attraction) see: KHISMATULIN 1996: 36–63.

[35] See note 21.

The transformation of character can be made only in the Lower world. Everyone is creating his own Hereafter (*ākhira*) by his actions here (*bunda*): "The Lower world exists by means of existence, the Hereafter exists by means of attributes". Explicating this thought the author lists 14 acts that can be performed in the Lower world, and 14 awards that correspond to them in the Hereafter. For instance, "if love for God has a hold over one's soul, he will be given some "pure wine" (*sharab ṭahūr*), will get drunk with God's manifestation and see nothing but Him", or "reflection on the nature of things (*fikr-i ḥaqā'iq-i ashyā'*) here [i.e. in the Lower world] turns [in the Hereafter] to jewels, rubies and corals". The final award, which comprises all previous ones, is Presence with God; it can be earned only by the Perfect Human (*insān-i kāmil*).[36]

The source of good and bad deeds lies in what one eats (*ghidā*) and with whom one communicates (*muṣāḥaba*). Alcohol is forbidden, since it fills the soul with attributes of fire and death (*ṣifāt-i rādiya*). Different kinds of meat are also forbidden. For example, pork makes the eater lazy, lion meat increases pride, bear meat affects lust. At the same time, the allowed kinds of meat, such as lamb, poultry and pigeon meat, strengthen good qualities, namely calmness and piety, intelligence, *dhikr* and reflection on God. Just as food can give good or bad attributes, so can a person you communicate with exercise influence on them. If one talks with Perfect persons, his heart is getting inclined to God; if one talks with ignorant people, he is gradually influenced by their qualities.

There are two more concepts of considerable importance, namely word and thought. The importance of word is explained through an example of *shahāda* (testimony).[37] It has the power to raise the dead, that is to say, to convert unbelievers to Islam. On the contrary, as soon as one denies God, one dies. Another applications of word are *dhikr* and speaking about Divine wisdom (*ḥikmat-i ilāhī*), prophets and saints, all of them being spiritual food. As for thought, its significance is confirmed with two quotations from the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīths*.

After presenting his recommendations the author returns to the main anthropological idea of the treatise, that of the Human as a "comprehensive being" combining all divine attributes. Taking the attributes "the Evident" (*ẓāhir*) and "the Hidden" (*bāṭin*) as examples, he explains what they mean

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[36] Cf.: IZUTSU 1994: 247–261. The Japanese researcher explains that the Perfect Human, or the Saint (*walī*) is one whose heart becomes unified with the Absolute, so that the latter witnesses itself in itself.

[37] Declaration that there is no deity but God, the first of the Five Pillars of Islam.

with regard to people who are evident in terms of their bodies and hidden in terms of their souls. Moreover, the author states that such attributes of Essence (*ṣifāt-i dhāt*), as "the Living" (*ḥayy*), "the Hearing" (*samīʿ*), "the Powerful" (*qādir*) and "the Willing" (*murīd*), correspond to four humors in the human body, namely blood (*qān*), yellow bile (*ṣafrāʾ*), phlegm (*balgham*) and black bile (*sawdāʾ*).

Further, the author expresses his views on the so-called "three born [kingdoms]" (*mawālīd-i thalātha*), presenting their structure as "plants–animals–people".[38]

"Till the age of forty the perfectness which is [hidden] in the Human is ready to manifest itself (*ẓuhūr*). But we have been dealing so long with animals, that their qualities became our nature (*tabīʿa*). In fact, however, being in the treasury of God's wisdom, we have got accustomed to God and His qualities have entered our nature, but only in generalized (*idjmāl*) form. For this reason, the Human has descended (*tanazzul*) [onto the Earth] to bring these generalized qualities of God to perfection by means of existence. But, in fact, he has been captured (*maḥbūs*) by qualities of animals".[39]

Then, an extensive fragment follows that contains an outline of traditional Islamic views on the nine heavens, "fixed" stars and planets, as well as an explanation of their astrological role.

Having emphasized a special role of water in the Creation,[40] the author of the treatise turns again to Sufi cosmology. With reference to certain "men of knowledge" (*ʿirfān ahli*), he lists the well-known hierarchy of worlds, including those of *lāhūt*, *djabarūt*, *malakūt*, *mulk* and *nāsūt*,[41] and immediately adds that there are, in fact, only the "Sea of the Evident" (*baḥr-i ẓāhir*), the "Sea of the Hidden" (*baḥr-i bāṭin*) and the "Isthmus" (*barzakh*) between them. The Muḥammadan Reality is double-faced.[42] The first face is turned to the world of oneness (*ʿālam-i waḥda*), which is the source of all attributes of

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[38] Traditionally minerals, animals and people are regarded as three kingdoms. In our opinion, people have been added to this scheme as a separate kingdom, and minerals were excluded from it in order to draw a clearer distinction between people and animals and to underline once more that humans should save their souls from animal qualities cultivating the qualities of God.

[39] The idea of a strong connection between the three kingdoms has been put forward by Avicenna. See: NASR 1997: 38–39.

[40] For water in Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought see: IZUTSU 1984: 141–151.

[41] For a three-component variant of this hierarchy offered by Ibn al-ʿArabī and given below see: TERRIER 2023: 287–289.

[42] For the Muḥammadan Reality as the intermediary level (*barzakh*) between the Absolute and the visible world see: IZUTSU 1984: 236.

the Absolute. The second face looks at the world of multiplicity (*'ālam-i kathra*), in which the attributes manifest themselves and come to existence, so that things become "locus of manifestation" (*maẓhar*) for attributes, the attributes, in turn, becoming essential qualities (*māhiyya*) of things. Thus, the Muḥammadan Reality is the essence gathering all attributes. At the same time, the name Allāh is a repository (*mustajmaʻ*) of all attributes plus the attribute of being the repository of all attributes, which is inherent to the Muḥammadan Reality. Therefore, the name Allāh encompasses all levels of the world. For this reason believers say, "God is the most great" (*Allāh akbar*). So, Being (*varliq*) of the God is the One.

There are eight attributes, on which the Noble Essence (*dhāt-i sharīf*) of God is based, namely "the Living" (*ḥayy*), "the Eternal" (*bāqī*), "the Knower" (*'ālim*), "the Powerful", "the Willing", "the Speaking" (*mutakallim*), "the Hearing" and "the Seeing" (*bāṣir*). All other attributes are those of acts (*ṣifāt-i afʻālī*).[43]

Further, the author informs the reader about spiritual significance of *namāz* (prayer), *zakāt* (charity), fasting (*ṣawm*) and *ḥadjj* (pilgrimage) for a lover (*'āshiq*).

Namāz is necessarily preceded by ablution (*ghusl*), which means washing off love for the Lower World and the Hereafter. Clasping the hands when praying stands for removing them from all being except God. Facing the *Qibla* (the direction towards the *Kaʻba*) is turning to one's own heart which is the Mecca of Divine love (*Makka-i 'ishq-i ilāhī*). A sign that one's prayer is heard is seeing God's beauty (*djamāl*).

Keeping the fast shows that the lover refrains from everything except God. As for *zakāt*, it stands for giving one's soul on the path to God.

The most interesting interpretation is that of the *ḥadjj*. The spiritual pilgrimage is described as follows:

"The *ḥadjj* of lovers is to leave the homeland of love for the Lower World (*vaṭan-i maḥabbat-i dunyā*) to turn to the believer's heart which is the Divine and True Mecca (*Makka-i ilāhī-i ḥaqīqī*), and to perform *ṭawāf*[44] seven times, since there are seven stages of the soul. For every round of *ṭawāf* a special sign appears. That of the first stage is a green light, that of the second round is a blue light, that of the third round is a red light, that of the fourth round is a yellow light, that of the fifth round is a white light, that of the

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[43] The division of attributes into those of essence and those of acts is widely known. See: IBRAHIM & SAGADEEV 1991: 210.

[44] Walking around the *Kaʻba*, one of the practices of *ḥadjj*.

sixth round is a black light. The sign of the seventh round is a colorless, absolute light".[45]

In the final part of the treatise the author divides wayfarers into three types. Those who are imbued with Divine Love (*'ashīq*), are able to endure all hardships and to overcome all obstacles, which occur on the Path. They are equally indifferent both to the Lower World and to the Hereafter, since love for the former is a "veil of darkness" (*parda-i ẓulmānī*), while love for the latter is a "veil of light" (*parda-i nūrānī*). The "attached ones" (*muḥibb*) are mainly fond of the Hereafter. When hardships become excessive, they cannot bear them. The third type, namely "imitators" (*muqallid*), having seen a lover, they feel enthusiasm, but their attachment to the Lower World is too strong.

The treatise ends with yet another appeal to interaction with the Perfect Human.

To conclude, the notes on the treatise can be summarized in the following way. *Asrār-nāma* presents, in a highly simplified form, the main ontological and anthropological ideas of the Oneness of Being teaching, combining them with an explication of some traditional Islamic ideas. Information on the Sufi Path in the treatise is very scant, which is an indication that its compiler could not have been an experienced Sufi teacher. Some details, however, suggest that he was familiar with the teachings of the Khalwatiyya brotherhood. Despite its traditional attribution to ʿAbd Allāh Ilāhī and attempts to propose a different author, the work should be considered anonymous. The treatise was quite popular because of the simplicity of its language and style.

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[45] Another sequence of lights is given in ÇELIK & YILDIRIM 2018 and ALESKEROVA 2015: 96: 1) blue; 2) yellow; 3) red; 4) white; 5) green; 6) black; 7) colorless. These colors mark the stages of the aforementioned seven-step Khalwatī way of developing the soul.

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Abstract: The *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 is considered the largest and most comprehensive traditional encyclopedia of the world; it had 22937 chapters (*juan* 卷) and was clearly and beautifully written and drawn, in large size format. It was commissioned by the Emperor Chengzu 成祖 (reigned 1402–1424, with the reign title 永樂, perpetual happiness), the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, in 1403 and completed in 1408. For unknown reasons it was never printed and disappeared without leaving a trace, fortunately only after a copy had been made in 1557. Even this copy was ill-fated, it was gradually decimated by the Second Opium War, the Anglo-French invasion of Peking and the Boxer Rebellion so that today only around 400 volumes are known to exist. The *Yongle dadian* is not arranged by subjects like the much better known and still extant *Tushu jicheng* 圖書集成 with "only" 10.000 *juan*, of 1726/28 (date of printing), but by phonetical criteria, namely by the rhymes of the 洪武正韻 *Hongwu zhengyun* rhyme dictionary (1375, named after the reign period of the founder of the dynasty). In contrast to European encyclopedias, like the French *Encyclopédie*, or the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, it did not consist of explanatory texts written by scholars for that purpose, but consisted of quotations of the original texts, the sources, often giving the full text of a book (this type of reference is known in China as *leishu* 類書). The story of the *Yongle dadian* is well known in outline. When the Chinese Republic was established, the cultural heritage as preserved in the imperial palaces, was surveyed and evaluated. Efforts were also made to track down the remaining extant volumes of the *Yongle dadian* which were dispersed in a number of countries. Today many are available in electronic format on the Internet. Scholars mainly focused on studying the contents of the individual volumes which presented in many cases quotes from sources no longer extant. The investigation of the <u>compilation</u> of this huge "encyclopedia" was left to the librarians, and there were several instructive articles by book experts like Yuan Tongli 袁同禮 (1895–1965; director of the Peking Library, later National Library) and Lɪ Zhengfen 李正奮. The latter article is given here in English translation by Michael J. Hagerty (1876–1951),[2] of the US Department of Agriculture, and his lettré H.C. Ho.[3] They worked on the campus of

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[1] For the original Chinese publication see Lɪ 1926.

[2] On him see the introduction to Hᴀɢᴇʀᴛʏ 2024.

[3] No information on H.C. Ho was found.

the University of California, Berkeley, under the supervision of the botanist Walter Tennyson Swingle (1871–1951),[4] and Hagerty was mainly kept busy with translating Chinese source material on cultivated plants, like citrus and lychee. Swingle worked in close connection with the Library of Congress and for a number of years supplied the descriptions of new acquisitions in East Asian languages.[5] Thus, library matters were also of importance for his small research unit. The present paper (preserved among the Michael Joseph Hagerty papers of the Bancroft Library, University of Berkeley, California, call. no. BANC MSS 79/113 zLOCAL) was revised for publication, and the transcription was changed to the pinyin system. While the paper is now a historical document, it still gives a reliable picture of the compilation and development of *Yongle dadian*, not easily available otherwise in Western languages.

Down through the successive dynasties, the literary works suffered the greatest during the Qin period (B.C. 255–209) and they flourished most abundantly in the Sui and Tang periods (A.D. 581–905). During the flourishing time of the Sui dynasty, there were in the palace library 270.000 *juan* or books. During the period of Kaiyuan 開元 (A.D. 713–741) there were 80.000 or more. In the beginning of the Song period there were 10.000 or more books; and during the reigns of Zhen 真 and Ren 仁 [Zhenzong, A.D. 997–1022, and Renzong, 1023–1063] they continued this interest, attaching greater importance to the making of an extensive collection. See in the book catalogue entitled *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, where there were 30.669 books in all. Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (A.D. 1100–1119) had already purchased the preserved books from the scholars and people and had supplied the works missing from the Sanguan 三館 or Three Libraries. The books in the Bige 秘閣 or Imperial Library then became very abundant [For all of the above, see the *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 or Bibliographical section of the History of the Song dynasty.]

After the fall of Emperor Jingkang 靖康 [the last emperor of the Northern Song] all the preserved books in the libraries called Taiqing-lou 太清樓 and Longtu-ge 龍圖閣, within the Xuanhe Palace 宣和殿 fell into the hands of

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[4] Walter Tennyson Swingle, 1871–1952. On his life and works see VENNING 1977.
[5] WALRAVENS 2021.

the Yan 燕 [the Yuan or Mongol dynasty] [see Rongzhai suibi 容齋隨筆 or Random notes from the Rong Studio][6]. The period of the Yan [Yuan dynasty] really combined all that were preserved in the Song, Jin, and Yuan — three dynasties and formed them into a collection of the books of one dynasty. The number was estimated at 1.000.000 *juan* [see Chunmingmeng yulu 春明夢餘錄 or Description of Beijing].[7] Then those preserved during the period of the Yan [Yuan dynasty] were about two or five times greater than those of the Sui and Tang periods.

When the Ming dynasty first conquered Yan [Yuan dynasty], Emperor Hongwu 洪武 ordered his Commander-in-Chief, Xu Da 徐達 to gather all the books preserved in the Bige or Imperial Library and transfer them to Nanjing. When the Yan [Yuan dynasty] was entirely subjugated he also issued an edict requesting the people to give him the preserved books. At that time, of the Song dynasty carved editions, there were sometimes ten or more copies [of each work] obtained [see Yehuobian 野獲編 or Inofficial matters of the Wanli era and: Chunmingmeng yulu 春明夢餘錄 or Description of Beijing].[8] Therefore, we see that the preserved books of the Ming dynasty again surpassed those of the Yan period. Shortly after Emperor Jianwen 建文 ascended the throne, civil wars broke out and the Prince of Yan[9] entered Nanjing, proclaimed himself emperor and changed the reigning title to Yongle 永樂. At that time, an unsettled state of affairs existed throughout the empire and the Prince of Yan, realizing that he could not pacify by force, tried to neutralize these contentions by means of books. Lu Wenyu 陸文裕 compares him to Emperor Taizong (A.D. 976–997), who he very closely approached.

The *Chengzu shilu* 成祖實錄 or Veritable records concerning the reign of Chengzu (Yongle, 1403–1424) state: «On the *bingzi* 丙子 day of the 7th month of autumn in the 1st year, there was a sacrificial ceremony in the Imperial Temple when the emperor issued an edict to the Chancellor of the Hanlin 翰林 Academy, Xie Jin 解缙 [1369–1415], which read: ‹The ancient and modern affairs of the world have been recorded here and there in the various works but the books are very many and it is not easy to carefully read them. I desire to gather and classify all materials from all works and ar-

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[6] See Hong Mai.

[7] See Sun Chengze.

[8] See Shen Defu & Sun Chengze.

[9] [This is the fourth son of Emperor Hongwu, whose claim to the succession was set aside in favor of the grandson, who reigned as Emperor Hui. Yanwang 燕王, the Prince of Yan, by force of arms seized the throne from Huidi and began to reign as Chengzu, with the *nianhao* or reigning title Yongle].

range them according to rhyming characters so that to search will be as convenient as taking an object from a bag. I once saw the *Yunfu* 韻府 and *Huiqi* 回溪,[10] two works in which the subject matter was orderly, but the selections were not extensive and the records were too abridged, therefore I desire that you follow me. From the time contracts were made in writing down to the classics, histories, philosophical works and belles-lettres, and the works of all the various writers down to the writings dealing with astronomy, geography, divination by use of *yin* and *yang*, medicine, divination by lot and tortoise, Buddhism, Taoism, arts and crafts, etc., all these are to be prepared and compiled into one work. Do not become tired because of its immensity[11]».

On the *dingsi* 丁巳 day of the 11th month of the 2nd year [1404] the Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, with the annexed title, Supervisor of Instruction, Xie Jin and others, presented the work which they compiled and arranged according to rhymes. The emperor gave it the title *Wenxian dacheng* and after presenting XIE Jin and the other one hundred and forty-seven men with their respective awards, he spread a banquet in the Libu 禮部 or Board of Ceremonies building.

After the presented work had been reviewed many parts were found to be imperfect therefore the emperor ordered it revised and instructed the Junior Preceptor of the Heir Apparent, Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 [1335–1418] and the Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, Liu Jichi 劉季篪 and XIE Jin to superintend the work. He also ordered the Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, Wang Jing 王景, the Reader of the Hanlin Academy, Wang Da 王達, the Libationer Hu Yan 胡儼, the Groom of the Library, Yang Pu 楊溥, and the Literatus Chen Ji 陳濟 to be Chief Compilers. The Reader of the Hanlin Zou Ji 鄒緝, the Hanlin Compilers Wang Bao 王褒, Liang Qian 梁潛,

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[10] The *Siku zongmu* catalogue states that this [Huiqi] is identical with the *Huiqi shiyun* 回溪史韻. [The Yunfu referred to here is the *Yunfu qunyu* 韻府羣餘 by Yin Shifu 陰時夫 of the Song dynasty].

[11] In the biography of Chen Ji 陳濟, given in the *Ming waishi* 明外史, it states that when Chengzu was preparing the *Yongle dadian* Chen Ji, a scholar without any degrees, through the recommendation of a high official, was summoned to be Duzongcai 都總裁 [chief compiler?]; and Zeng Qi 曾棨 and others to be Vice Chief Compilers. Those in charge of the compiling and the students of the Imperial Academy of Learning employed, amounted to several thousand persons. Those who were to examine the several million *juan* or books found them so vast that there seemed to be no beginning or end. Chen Ji and the Grand Preceptor of the Heir Apparent, Yao Guangxiao and several other persons prepared the Introductory rules for using the work and classified and examined the whole so that it became systematized. When the copyists had doubts they often asked Chen Ji when he would answer them without hesitation. When finished he was promoted to be Assistant Secretary of the Supervisorate of Instruction.

Wu Pu 吳溥, Li Guan 李管, Yang Gou 楊覯, Zeng Qi 曾棨, the Hanlin Compiler Zhu Hong 朱紘, the Hanlin Graduates Wang Hong 王洪, Jiang Ji 蔣驥, Pan Ji 潘畿, Wang Cheng 王稱,[12] Su Bohou 蘇伯厚, Zhang Boying 張伯穎, the Recorders Liang Yongxing 梁用行, the Hanlin Bachelor Yang Xiang 楊相, the Secretary of the Supervisorate Yin Changlong 尹昌隆, the Registrar of the Imperial Clan Court Gao Deyang 郭得暘,[13] the Secretary of the Board of Civil office Ye Di 葉砥, the Provincial Judge of Shantung Yan Bi 晏璧, were all made Vice Chief Compilers. The Emperor ordered the members of the Libu 禮部 or Board of Ceremonies[14] to select from the officials within the capital and outside, profound scholars of literary ability to be compilers; and to choose from members of the Guozijian or Imperial Academy of Learning and from scholars and students in the schools in outside prefectures and districts those who were good in penmanship to serve as calligraphers. He then opened a bureau in the Wenyuange 文淵閣 and ordered the Guanglusi 光綠寺 or Banqueting Court to supply the daily food.

On the *yichou* 乙丑 day of the 11th months of the 5th year [1407], the Junior Preceptor of the Heir Apparent, Yao Guangxiao, and others presented the revised edition of the *Wenxian dacheng*. In all they numbered 22,211 *juan*, and 11,095 volumes.[15]

Again [the Emperor] gave it the title *Yongle dadian* 文獻大成. The Emperor personally wrote a preface to head the whole work, which reads as follows: «In ancient times the saintly rulers in their government of the world fully carried out the principles of penetrating the purpose of all phenomena and bringing to fruition the affairs of the universe, and to the highest degree

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[12] [The second character of Wang Cheng's name 稱, is written 偁 fu but this is an error. See Imperial catalogue j. 137:7, and account given by SUN 1929: 209].

[13] [The first character of Guo Deyang's name is written 尙, but this is an error. See the two above works].

[14] [Our text gives Lidu, but this is an error and should be Libu].

[15] As given by SUN Chengze, the number of *juan* and volumes is the same. The *Gujin tushu jicheng* or Chinese Imperial Encyclopedia, quoting the *Minghuang zhaoyun ji* 明皇肇運紀, writes 22,927 *juan*. The *Yehuobian* 野獲編 gives 22,900 or more *juan* and 11,095 volumes. The *Yunshizhai bitan* 韻石齋筆談 by JIANG Shaoshu gives 22,011 *juan* and 11,095 volumes. The *Mingshi yiwenzhi* 明史藝文志 gives 22,900 or more *juan*. Yao Guangxiao and others presented a memorial and original preface; in both the number was given as 22,937 *juan*. The *Siku zongmu* 四庫總目 or Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Emperor Qianlong of the Manchu dynasty, and the *Xu tongkao* 續通考 by JI Huang 嵇璜, the *Rixia jiuwenkao* 日下舊聞考 by YU Minzhong, *Mingji* 明紀 and LONG Wenbing's *Ming huiyao* 龍文彬明會要 all give the same number. The *Shijiazhai yangxinlu* 十駕齋養新錄 by QIAN Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804) quoting the statement by Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎 also gives the same number. Therefore, we rely upon this number [22,937].

fulfilled the duty of perfecting and assisting. They cultivated manners, ceremonies and music and illumined culture. They expounded the supreme principles and propagated civilization.

Fuxi 伏羲 (the first of the legendary emperors) first drew the *bagua* 八卦, penetrated the transcendental virtues and classified the natures of physical phenomena. He made books in order to change from the knotted-cords methods of dealing. Shennong 神農 conferred the benefits of the law in order to teach the world. When Huangdi 黃帝, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 succeeded to the throne, they changed the methods in order to avoid tiring the people; they inspired and converted them so that they grew accustomed to these changes. They let fall their robes and the world was governed. When Emperor Yu 禹 promulgated his *jiuzhou* 九州 (Nine Divisions of the Great Plan of the Book of History), Tang 湯 [Cheng Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty, who reigned B.C. 1766–1752] established the bonds that hold men together. The saintly men continued the extreme supernatural mysteries and were rulers of creative ability. All that could be called formulating doctrines and promoting benevolent rule's principles had not been mentioned by man. When Wenwang 文王 and Wuwang 武王 succeeded to the throne, what the father (Wenwang) did, the son recorded. When these two preceding dynasties [Xia and Shang] are examined, one sees how refined was their civilization. Confucius was born at the end of the Zhou 周 dynasty. He possessed virtues but held no office. He came after several saintly men, and the creation of principles had been already completed. Therefore, he eulogized the *Yijing* 易經, prefaced the *Shujing* 書經, and wrote the *Chunqiu*, collecting together the great achievements of the sages. One may call this performance really greater than that of the creators. When the Chou dynasty came to an end, it was succeeded by the Zhanguo 戰國 or Contending States, when the spacious words of those who advocated alliance and isolation, and militarism and pacifism [between states] were influential.

The writers were heterodox; the people were heretics; and the traces of benevolent rulers' principles were entirely lost. When we come to the Qin dynasty, there was the disaster of the burning and prohibiting of the books, so that these principles were brought to an end, while in the middle of the course. When the Han dynasty arose the teaching of the six arts gradually spread and the classics which were saved could be studied. From the Han to the Tang, and from Tang to the Song, the writings were continuous and prolific, and of this we have sufficient proof. But since the three dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou], the brilliant civilizations worthy of praise were none other than those of the Han, Tang, and Song. Lofty and great was our Taizu gao

huangdi 太祖高皇帝 [founder of the Ming dynasty]. When he received the divine decree he united the empire, using the gift of divine virtue to extend the profundities of writings. He created decorum and music and established the standards of literature, so that they were comparable in their thoroughness and comprehensiveness to the effects of the principles of the enlightened and saintly emperors. Since I have inherited the foundation of the empire, I have given intense thought to compilation and narration.

In a time of great confusion there must be a literary work of systematic character to make orderly political affairs; to standardise human customs; to record the transmitted teachings of the hundred benevolent rulers and to summarize the writings of the successive dynasties. The period covered is remote and of long duration, and as the books and writings are abundant, we often regret the difficulty of making them into one. Even in the study of an insignificant thing, the extensive reading necessary, one cannot cover. In seeking the realities of a thing, even though one exhausts his energy, he cannot exhaust the truth. This is comparable to washing out gold from sand, and gathering pearls from the sea — things difficult to do. Therefore, I have ordered the officials in charge of literature to compile together the books of the *Siku* 四庫 [Four treasuries of Literature] and to purchase the transmitted books of the world. Beginning with those of ancient times and continuing down to the present, they were widely gathered and extensively selected. Some were classified and some were separated and compiled into a comprehensive work. *Qi* 氣 [vapor?] was the beginning of the universe. When there was *qi* they began to have sound. When there was sound, they began to have words, therefore, the rhymes should be used to link up the characters, and characters used to tie together the facts. When the essentials are brought out, the details must necessarily be clear. If one makes the beginning clear, the end will become manifest. This work comprehends the immensity of the universe and in it are systematically gathered the similarities and differences between the ancient and the modern, the important, and insignificant, the refined and coarse — all being included. The rest, including the words of miscellaneous writers, are also added for reading so as to gather everything and preserve all for research. By means of rhymes, the reader can search for the characters, and by means of the characters he may investigate the facts. From the source one traces the stream as surely as the arrow hitting the target. When one opens the volumes nothing will be hidden. The work was started in the autumn of the 1st year [1403] and completed in the winter of the 5th year [1407], the total number amounting to 22,937 *juan*. The work has been given the title *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, and at the request of my

subordinate officials, I have written a preface to head the work. I have formally maintained that before there were saintly men, the principles of righteousness pervaded the universe; and before we had the Six Classics, the principles of righteousness were embodied within the saintly men. As soon as the Six Classics came into being, the principles of the saintly men became manifest. The so-called principles of righteousness put the universe in order, and they influenced the ancient and modern periods. When systematized, they became but a single truth; when scattered, they become a myriad things. When separated and diffused, they are in a state of confusion. When there is nothing to systematize them, they cannot be unified. When the scattered parts are gathered together and the various ramifications have been summarized, we realize the vastness of the principles of righteousness in which all in the universe are included. I have made a deep study of the precepts of the sages, aimed at the principles which are manifested, and I have also discussed them. However as the government of all things is very complicated, it is really worthy of careful and repeated study. Therefore, I attempt a description of it and place it at the head of this work. This I hope will be transmitted to eternity, so that it may be of some trivial service».

The emperor gave to Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 and others, 2169 in all, salaries of different amounts.[16] While it would seem that those employed at that time were of this number, still SUN Chengze 孫承澤 gives the following: «Directors general, 3; Vice Directors general, 25; Compilers, 347; additional hired Compilers, 5; Bianxie 編寫 [Editors of the Manuscript], 332; Kanxiang 看詳 [Proofreaders], 57; Copyists, 1381; Xusong jiaoshou 續送教授 [alternately employed Directors of Studies?], 10; Banshi guanli 辦事官吏 [managing officials], 20; making a total of 2180 men» [see Chunmingmeng yulu 春明夢餘錄 or Description of Beijing].[17] Compared with the total given in the *Shilu* 實錄 [*Chengzu shilu*], this is 11 more. Is this difference due to the fact that at the time the 10 jiaoshou were regarded as *xusong* and were not given salary? However, search in various other works shows that among those who filled the positions of Vice Directors General there also were the two persons, Wang Jin 王璡 and Zhao Youtong 趙友同 [see Yehuobian 野獲編 or Inofficial matters of the Wanli era],[18] Xu Xu 徐旭 [see Yehuobian 野獲編 or Inofficial matters of the Wanli era],[19] Hu Guang 胡廣

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[16] In Wang Shihan's 汪師韓 work entitled *Hanmen zhuixue*, the number given is 2119 men. In Shen Defu's *Yehuobian*, it is the same.

[17] See SUN Chengze.

[18] See SHEN Defu.

[19] See SHEN Defu.

[see Yunzhizhai bitan 韻石齋筆談 or Brush notes on rare books],[20] Jin Shi 金實, Wang Ruyu 王汝玉, Zheng Ci 鄭賜, Chen Jingzong 陳敬宗, Wei Ji 魏驥, Li Changqi 李昌祺, Huang Zongzai 黃宗載, Zhang Hong 張洪, LIN Hong 林鴻, Wang Cheng 王稱, Shen Du 沈度 [see Inofficial Ming history],[21] Seng Dahui 僧大回 [see Documents of the year bingchen from the Zhangbao Studio][22] (a Buddhist named Dahui), Jiang Qi 姜啓, Jing Xiuru 敬修如, Gui Zhinan 珪指南 [see Hanmen zhuixue 韓門綴學 or Studies of Wang Shihan whose pseudonym was Hanmen, on different subjects][23], and others, 19 in all.

Of those from schools in outside prefectures and districts engaged in copying drafts who may be identified, there were only Mr. Gao Ming 高明 and others from Nanyang, Jiaxian and such districts [see Veritable Records of Emperor Chengzu].[24] Therefore, it is clear that what has been stated by JIANG Shaoshu 姜紹書 concerning Emperor Chengzu's ordering scholars and officials to revise the *Yongle dadian* and its completion within ten or more years; and what has been stated in ZHU Yunming's 祝允明 work concerning the incompletion of the compilation were merely the echoes of statements by others and, therefore, quite untrustworthy.

In the 6th year of Yongle he ordered that one copy be written [see Xu tongkao 續通考 or Sequel to General History].[25] But afterwards due to the enormous expense this plan was abandoned [see Chronicle of the Hanlin Academy in Beijing in Ming times].[26] Then the statements by ZHAO Youtong that the emperor also ordered the whole set to be copied; that it was taken to be printed; and that it was finished in the 10th month of the 7th year of Yongle [see ZHAO Youtong's collected works],[27] were really regarding a tentative plan which was in fact never carried out. Note Mr. SHEN Defu's 沈德符 statement: «In the 23d year of Wanli (1595), the Nan[jing] jijiu 南京祭酒[28] or Libationer of Nanjing Lu Kejiao 陸克教 published a memorial to the emperor which read: «The *Yongle dadian* which was compiled by Wen-

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[20] See JIANG Shaoshu.

[21] See *Ming waishi* 明外史.

[22] See *Zhangbaozhai bingchen zhapei* 章寶齋丙辰劄配.

[23] See WANG Shihan.

[24] See the *Chengzu shilu* 成祖實錄.

[25] See JI Huang.

[26] See the work *Jiujing cilin zhi* 舊京詞林志.

[27] See ZHAO Youtong's collected works entitled *Cunxuan ji* 存軒集, where he requests Liu Gongfu 劉公復, the Second Class Secretary of the Board of Ceremonies, to write a preface.

[28] [In this context, as given by SUN 1929: 211, this title is given as *Nanjing jijiu*, therefore, we have supplied a word here].

huangdi [Yongle] is never seen by people in the world. The work should be apportioned among the travelling censors, each to be responsible for one kind of function, and they should collate and completely classify it. Copies should be kept in the Liang Yong 兩雍 [Two Imperial Colleges of Antiquity], thereby completing a magnificent achievement for this dynasty. The emperor agreed to put this plan into effect, but up to the present time it has not been published». Regarding this, the books written reached to 20,000 or more *juan*. Coming to the time of Emperor Shizong 世宗 (1522–1566), it was again copied in order to provide against some unforeseen calamity. Not until the time of Muzong 穆宗 (1567–1572) was it completed. From this we can be relieved of doubt [regarding its printing].

Now examine the following from the *Shizong shilu* 世宗實錄: «On the *yi-chou* 乙丑 day of the 8th month of the 4th year of Jiajing (1562), the Emperor ordered that the *Yongle dadian* be again copied. He ordered the Senior Vice-President of the Board of Ceremonies, Gao Gong and the Secretary of the Supervisorate of Instruction, with the additional titles of Chancellor of the Imperial Academy and Tutor, Zhang Juzheng 張居正, each to resume their original duties [in the compilation of the *Yongle dadian*] and enter the bureau to compare the manuscript copies. Gao Gong 高拱, Vice-President of the Board, still using his title with the annexed title, Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, together with the Secretary of the Supervisorate of Instruction and Attendant and Reader to the Emperor with the annexed title Sub-Reader of the Hanlin Academy, Qu Jingchun 瞿景淳, were appointed to fill the positions of Zongjiao-guan [Proofreaders-in-Chief?]. Zhang Juzheng retaining his title of Secretary of the Supervisorate of Instruction had annexed the title, Hanlin Compiler, 7a Class, and together with the Hanlin Compilers, 6b Class, Lin Lian 林爜, Ding Shishan 丁士善, Xu Shixing 徐時行 and the Hanlin Compilers, 7a Class, Lü Min 呂旻, Wang Xilie 王希烈, Zhang Siwei 張四維, Tao Dalin 陶大臨, Hanlin Graduates of the 3rd degree, Wu Kexing 吳克行 and Ma Zijiang 馬自強, filled the positions of Fenjiao-guan 分校官 [Associate Editors].[29] In the early part of the reign of Wenhuangdi [Yongle], he ordered the scholars and officials to make selections from the books in the Imperial Library and classify this material according to rhymes in order to make it convenient to examine. In this task of compiling, there were in all

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[29] At that time, among those additional men who filled the position of *zongjiao* [Editor in Chief], there were in fact, Chen Yiqin 陳以勤, Wang Daren 王大任, Qin Minglei 秦鳴雷, and Hu Zhengmeng 胡正蒙: while among the names of those filling positions of proofreader, there were in addition Sun Ting 孫鋌, Hu Jie 胡杰, and Ding Shimei 丁士美. These facts may all be seen in the fragmentary volumes of the *Yongle dadian* which are at present preserved.

3.000 or more men and the *juan* or books numbered in all 30.000 and some odd. It was entitled *Yongle dadian*. When the work was finished it was stored in the library called Wenlou 文樓.[30] The book covers were very large. The emperor in the early years liked matters concerning the ancient rites and literature, and at that time he made investigations and had a very high regard for them. Henceforth, when he had doubts he would carefully search [in the *Yongle dadian*], using the index of rhymes. On his table there were always one or two cases of books.[31]

When the three palace halls were on fire the emperor heard of it and was startled. He at once ordered those about him to quickly ascend to the Wenlou Library and rescue the Y*ongle dadian*. Within the *jiaye*[32] or first night watch [7–9 p.m.], he had this order transmitted three or four times and as a result the books were not destroyed. The emperor wished to have another set copied and stored in a different place in order to provide against another catastrophe; and of this he very frequently spoke to the library officials. Now he ordered[33] the Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, Xu Jie in the following: «Formerly I planned to again copy the *Yongle dadian* so that it would be in two places. Now, being in the cool of autumn, this may be done». Then he selected from among the scholars in the Board of Ceremonies those who were clever in writing each kind of the *jieshu* or clerky style, such as CHENG Daonan 程道南, and others — a hundred or more men, to go to the Historiographers Library to share in the copying and ordered GAO Gong and others to proofread it. On the *jiawu* day of the 3rd month of the 45th year (1566), the Chief Proofreader, QU Jingchun 瞿景淳 died. On the jiayin 甲寅 day he changed the Imperial Academy Tutor HU Jie 胡杰 to the position of Secretary in the Supervisorate of Instruction and had him share in the proofreading of the Y*ongle dadian*».

JIANG Shaoshu 姜紹書 also says: ‹In the 36th year (1557) of Jiajing there was a fire in the imperial palace. Emperor Shizong wrote an order to rescue the books from the fire and fortunately they were not burned. He also issued an imperial decree to the library official named Xu Jie 徐階 [1503–1583],

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[30] The *Siku zongmu* catalogue says that this is identical with the present Hongyige 宏義閣. [A pavilion annexed to the Throne Hall of the Imperial Palace known as the Taihedian].

[31] The work *Yehuobian buyi* 補遺 by Shen Defu says: «Of the former emperors none have been known to care for opening and reading books, excepting Shizong (1522–1566) who sincerely liked them. Glancing inside the palace one would always find several tens of cases of books on the top of his table».

[32] The *Yunmen zhuoxue* writes it [八+申]夜 [which is the old form of 甲夜]. [Typographic character not found].

[33] The original text erroneously wrote *lun* 論 [instead of *yu* 諭, order, decree, etc.].

with the posthumous title Wenzheng 文貞, ordering him to have the literati copy the work according to the style of the original. At that time the copyists were 108 in number, and each man daily copied three folios. During the time from the 41st year (1562) of Jiajing down to the 1st year (1567) of Longqing 隆慶 they first announced the completion of the work» [see Yunzhizhai bi-tan 韻石齋筆談 or Brush notes on rare books].[34] Zhu Guozhen 朱國禎 also says: ‹When the three palace halls were on fire, Emperor Shizong ordered his officials to immediately go into the Wenlou Library and rescue the books. During the night he issued these orders three or four times and accordingly the books were saved from destruction. Also, in the following year they again wrote a copy and stored it in another place [see Shijiazhai yangxinlu 十駕齋養新錄 or Qian Daxin's reading notes].[35] The statement of the *Siku zongmu*, ‹He again made an authentic (*zheng* 正) and a duplicate (*fu* 副) — two sets»,[36] evidently based upon the above, is an error. Also, the following statement from the *Jiujing cilin chih* 舊京詞林志: «Then they sent the origi-nal set to Nanjing», I fear cannot be entirely relied upon; for if at that time they already had made two additional copies, they surely would first send the recopied set away because they certainly would not place the valuable things of the imperial ancestors in such a remote and abandoned place. Moreover, the *Shilu* or Veritable Records, clearly mentions one copy. But the *Siku zongmu*, in its desire to combine or harmonize the statement in the *Chun-mingmeng yulu* 春明夢餘錄, «The *zheng* [first authentic copy made from the original] was kept in the Wenyuange and the *fu* [or duplicate copy] was stored in the Huangshicheng 皇史宬 or Imperial Archive» did so without making careful investigation, but merely mentioning the recopied *zheng* and *fu* sets — two copies. Subsequent people accepted this entire statement and wrongly regarded it as meaning that at that time they already had three sets, that is, the *yuanben* or original, *zhengben* [or a first authentic copy of the yuanben], and a *fuben* or a second copy [either made from the yuanben or zhengben]. They certainly did not know that the *zhengben* was identical with the *yuanben* and that the *fuben* was identical with the recopy [of the original set]. The things could not change, but those who recorded these matters, in their quotations, used these terms [*yuan*, *zheng*, and *fu*] interchangeably so that the meanings were not the same.

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[34] See JIANG Shaoshu.

[35] See QIAN Daxin.

[36] A note states that this incident may be seen in the *Ming shilu*; but all the present editions of the *Shilu* or Veritable Records are lacking this text.

The copy was first stored in the Bige 秘閣 or Imperial Library [see Ye-huobian buyi 野獲編補遺 or Supplement to Inofficial matters of the Wanli era];[37] and after the capital was removed to Peking, the books were removed and kept in the Wenlou.[38] In the time of Hongzhi (1488–1505) they were kept in metal boxes [in the Imperial Ancestral Temple?] [see Yunzhizhai bitan 韻石齋筆談 or Brush notes on rare books].[39] In Jiajing's time they were again removed to the Wenlou. When the three palace halls were burned, they were removed to the Shiguan or Historiographers Library [see Veritable Records of Emperor Shizong].[40] When the duplicate copy was finished, one set was stored in the Wenyuange and one was stored in the Huangshicheng [see Rixia jiuwenkao 日下舊聞考 or Research on old news on Beijing, and: Shuntian fuzhi 順天府志 or Gazetteer of Shuntian Prefecture].[41] This coincides with what was said about the storing of the books in two places. Since the reigns of Long and Wan [Longqing, 1567–1572, and Wanli, 1573–1619] troubles with bordering countries were frequent. The rulers were corrupt and the officials degraded and no one seemed to care about these matters. If one reads LI Weizheng's 李維楨 condemnations of the official corruption [see Hanmen zhuixue 韓門綴學 or Studies of Wang Shihan],[42] he may see all about this. As a result of this laxity there were 12 volumes badly damaged and 15 stolen. Although it does not clearly speak of the *Dadian*, still it could hardly be expected that the *Dadian* was kept intact.[43] Fang 方以智 Yizhi and Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 were both born during the latter part of the Ming dynasty, and were regarded as men of unusual learning. Mr. FANG sighed because he was unable to see this [*Yongle dadian*] [see *Tongya*].[44] Mr. GU regarded all

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[37] See SHEN Defu, *buyi*.

[38] See previous note.

[39] See JIANG Shaoshu.

[40] See *Shizong shilu*.

[41] See YU Minzhong and the *Shuntian fuzhi* 順天府志.

[42] See WANG Shihan.

[43] The *Siku zongmu* says: «Since the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, the Nanjing original copy and the Huangshicheng or Imperial Archive copy were both damaged by fire». But Li Qinwang's 禮親王 work entitled *Xiaoting zalu* 嘯亭雜錄 says: «I heard Xu Kunshan 徐崑山 and Li Mutang 李穆堂, the Vice President of a Government Board, speak of the Huangshicheng having a complete set of the *Yongle dadian*, which, compared with the set kept in the Hanlinyuan, contained over 1000 volumes more. This is the first one which Yao Guangxiao and Xie Jin 解縉 compiled. The copying was of fine workmanship and the Longqing copy could not equal it. It is pitiful that in those days they were careless in observing the proprieties and did not carefully investigate whether the books were really preserved or not».

[44] See *Tongya* 通雅, an encyclopedic linguistic work by Fang Yizhi 方以智 of the Ming dynasty.

the sets as lost. So, the real condition at that time is not difficult to imagine. At the downfall of the Ming dynasty, the original copy of the *Yongle dadian* could not be seen; while the duplicate copy also lacked 2422 *juan* [see Critical catalogue of the Imperial Library Siku quanshu].[45] When the Manchu dynasty scholars compiled the Ming history they mentioned this [*Yongle dadian*] but gave no details, one merely seeing its title among the *Leishu* or Encyclopedias in the Bibliographical records section. Qian Daxin 錢大昕 has said: «What Guozhen [ZHU Guozhen] speaks of as being recopied, is identical with the one stored in the Hanlin Imperial Academy; but they do not mention Hanlin, but speak of another place. So, really the copy first written was kept in the Imperial Palace. In the Manchu dynasty period it was removed from the Hanlin Academy and now it has been again removed and is kept in the Wenhua-dian 文華殿» [see Shijiazhai yangxinlu 十駕齋養新錄 or Qian Daxin's reading notes][46].

An investigation shows that Mr. QIAN 錢 won his *jinshi* degree in the 19th year (1754) of Emperor Qianlong, being about the same time as Liu Tongxun 劉統勳, Xu Zujing 許祖京, ZHU Yun 朱筠, Sun Xingyan 孫星衍, and various other men. In the 38th year (1763) of Qianlong, ZHU Yun, the Director of Studies, of Anhui Province, sent a memorial to the emperor as follows: «Your servant in the Hanlin Academy has constantly read the *Yongle dadian* of the former Ming dynasty. The books' collation is lacking in order, sometimes they are separated from the various books in order to classify under another system. But of old works in their complete form, which the people of the world do not ordinarily see, many are in this collection. I request that a selection be made of the old works which are complete in so many copies; that they be separated and copies be written in order to prepare them for publication». When Gaozong read this memorial he marveled at it;

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[45] See *Siku zongmu*. The *Xu tongkao* 續通考 by JI Huang says, «...At present the original work is still preserved, and the part lacking is a bare one-tenth». Now if we reckon the entire work according to this, a tenth part should be about 2422. The *Ciyuan* says: «The Manchu Emperor Shizu (1644–1661), removed the *zheng* copy to the Qianqing-gong. In Jiaqing *ding-si* (1797), the Qianqing-gong was burned and the *zheng* copy was also destroyed by fire». This is also without fact. In the Manchu dynasty among the leaders with a liking for ancient literature, there was no one equal to Emperor Gaozong (Qianlong 1736–1795). In Gaozong's time he established a bureau for compiling the books of the Siku (*Siku quanshu*), practically all the works being examined and selections made; therefore, after one glance at the petition of Zhu Yun 朱筠 requesting the *Dadian* to be examined, he immediately pushed aside all other proposals and sent persons who carefully investigated it. Ji Yun and other frequently sighed because of its missing parts and incompleteness. Could they have had stored at that time the original copy in the palace and not one official appointed to select and compile from this collection?

[46] See QIAN Daxin.

he gave it to a Minister of the Council of State for deliberation and action, and wrote a seven-character line poem in eight rhymes [or sixteen lines] in order to commemorate this event [see Zhu Sihe ji 朱筍河集 or Zhu Sihe collection].[47] The Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, Liu Tongxun delegated Xu Zujing to go and investigate this matter. Xu Zujing went to the Hanlin Academy and examined several tens of volumes, and reported back to LIU Tongxun as follows: «These books, although very extensive, yet many [most?] are works written after the Tang period. Furthermore, they have been cut and mutilated causing the material to be scattered and diffused so that it cannot be again compiled» [see Collection of the Jianzhishui Studio].[48] Liu Tongxun, following this, sent a petition to the emperor, in which he maintained, «that this has been removed and kept for many years, and since then many have become damaged or lost. Also, the plan of arrangement of the original work was according to a division of the rhymes». Really at that time the *Yongle dadian* was certainly kept in the Hanlin Academy building and I do not know what authority Mr. QIAN had when he spoke in this manner. Shortly after, Gaozong issued an edict to Liu Tongxun and others ordering that the original work be examined in detail and carefully compared, as a result of which Liu Tongxun and others again petitioned the emperor as follows: «Now we have examined the prefaces and first part of the *juan* or books of the original copy; and its writings have been selected and examined. It may with certainty be called extensive and be regarded as a link to connect with the *Siku quanshu*. An examination of the contents of the books shows that they separated the whole into *bu* or sections and divided the parts in boxes. The material was compiled according to rhymes and subdivided according to characters, their sole purpose being to compile the utmost bulk. It is nothing more than an imitation of the encyclopedias, therefore, it resulted in confusion and contradiction, and owing to its style of compilation, it is inadequate. Even in their use of rhyming characters for arranging their material they did not follow the old rhyming characters of the Tang and Song periods, but selected the rhymes of the *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻 as their determinants, so already one perceives the evil of disorderly arrangement. Moreover, the classical teachings comprise the root and source of all books; but in this arrangement of material according to rhymes there is confusion, as in the *Yi[-jing]* or Book of Changes, the first entry is Menggua; in the *Shi[jing]* or Book of Odes, the first entry is Dadong; and in the *Zhouli*

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[47] See ZHU Yun. See also *Zhizuzhai ji* 知足齋集 (Collection of the Zhizu Studio)ю
[48] See *Jianzhishui-zhai ji* 鑑止水齋集.

or Ritual of the Zhou dynasty period, the first entry is Dong-guan.[49] Furthermore, in using the characters [to make their subdivisions of the material under each rhyme] they do not have regard for the natural order of the *Yijing*, *Shijing, Shu[jing]* or Book of History, *Li* or Rituals and *Chunqiu* or Spring and Autumn Annals, therefore, there is misarrangement. Still worse in their entries the *liushu* 六書 or six scripts,[50] the *zhuan* or seal, *li* or ancient official, *zhen* or clerky, and *cao* or grass style of characters, they have added the patterns of these as written by Mi Fei 米菲 and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫[51] as if in sketching a head to add horns. It is absurd and nonsensical. In the works outside the Confucianist writings, there is entered without authority the Buddhist canon and Taoist Classics; and under entries on the ancient censors comes care of library books. Judged by the principle of orderly arrangement, it is very much like a case of the hole and the handle not matching». Emperor Gaozong, because of its vastness, only selected what could be recorded as useful and what might serve to enlarge the collections in the Imperial Library. Then, from each department he appointed the following Hanlin Compilers: Liu Jiaozhi 劉校之, Liu Yoyun 劉躍雲, Chen Changtu 陳昌圖, Li Shouqian 勵守謙, Lan Yingyuan 藍應元, Zou Yuzao 鄒玉藻, Wang Jiazong 王嘉曾, Zhuang Chengjian 莊承篯, Wu Shouchang 吳壽昌, Liu Mei 劉湄, Wu Dian 吳典, Huang Xuan 黃軒, Wang Zeng 王增, Wang Erlie 王爾烈, Min Sizheng 閔思誠, Chen Changqi 陳昌齊, Sun Chendong 孫辰東, Yu Dayou 俞大猷, Ping Shu 平恕, Li Yaodong 李堯棟, Zou Bingtai 鄒炳泰, Zhuang Tongmin 莊通敏, HUANG Shouling 黃壽齡, YU Ji 余集, Shao Jinhan 邵晉涵, Zhou Yongnian 周永年, Dai Zhen 戴震, Yang Changlin 楊昌霖, Mo Zhanlu 莫瞻菉, Wang Tanxiu 王坦修, Fan Zhong 范衷, Xu Zhaochun 許兆椿, Yu Ding 于鼎, Wang Chunxu 王春煦, Wu Dingwen 吳鼎雯, Wu Shenglan 吳省蘭, Wang Ruyang 汪如洋, Chen Wanqing 陳萬青, Zhu Kun 祝堃 — thirty nine men in all, to go ahead and examine and to fill the positions of Jiaokan [Comparers and Collators] of the *Yongle dadian* and

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[49] [This happened because *dong*, the first rhyme in the *Hongwu zhengyun* dictionary is the rhyming character of *meng* and *dong*. What the critic has in mind is that these entries are necessarily random, whereas the study of the Classics should be progressive from the beginning of the *Yijing* or Book of Changes to the end of the last of the Classics].

[50] [These are the six classes of Chinese characters. See GILES 1912, under *liu*, for explanation concerning these].

[51] [Mi Fei, 1051–1107, and Zhao Mengfu, 1254–1322, were two of China's famous calligraphers. As given in this context, this reference is terse; but in the *Yongle dadian kao* article by SUN 1929 a similar account is accompanied by an explanatory footnote which enables us to make this part clearer].

to compile and share in the work of editing.[52] He also additionally appointed Wang Jihua 王際華 and Qiu Yuexiu 裘日修 Directors General. He also ordered «both to select assistants to share in the comparing and correcting and with one mind deliberate concerning the rules and regulations to be used in a careful and detailed comparison and revision of the *Yongle dadian*. Also, those works at present in current circulation and all works which, although classed with the ancient books, still have import lacking connection with the classical essentials, must not again be extracted and copied. Those works of which there are few in circulation, but are such as to open up the minds of future scholars and extend knowledge and information, should have their titles selected and their main essentials extracted and presented to me with an arranged catalogue to be deleted and arranged by me and then handed over to the printer. Of those works in the [*Dadian*] which cannot be extracted, and the titles of which should not be entirely ignored, it is only necessary to make an abridged analysis of their contents in order to help those from generation to generation to investigate and do research».[53] At that time, those parts which men extracted from the Y*ongle dadian* and compiled into complete works altogether amounted to 66 classical works, 41 historical works, 103 philosophical works, and 175 belles-lettres, a total of 365 works and 4926 *juan*.[54] Emperor Gaozong also thought that the *Siku [quanshu]* was too voluminous and could not be carved, therefore, he accepted the proposal of Jin Jian 金簡 to use movable type and select those writings which concerned governmental affairs for the use of future scholars, which totalled 122 works. These were to be printed with the font of type called Wuyingdian juzhenban 武英殿聚珍版 and to be entitled *Juzhenban congshu*, and the title *Yongle dadian* was to be added in the *Leishu cunmu* 類書存目 (Preserved encyclopedias) section of the *Zibu* or Philosophical works in the *Siku zongmu* catalogue. From this time on the custom of compiling missing works daily increased; and Hanlin scholars such as Shao Jinhan, Sun Xingyan, and others, according to their personal likes, compiled collections from time to time. Those which may be examined today total 554 kinds.[55] Mr. Sun furthermore said: «I consider that these old works which were quoted in [the *Dadian*] were the books in the palace of the Northern Song rulers which

[52] See names of officials in charge of compiling in the *Siku zongmu* catalogue.

[53] See edicts concerning this in the *Siku zongmu* catalogue.

[54] In different parts of the *Siku zongmu* catalogue these are now preserved. [See in the Imperial catalogue, Dadong shuju edition, 1926, j. 137:7, where the total given is 4946].

[55] A detailed catalogue of these has been separately published.

were seized by the Jin Tartars». I suspect that we still have some other transmitted works in the world from which quotations were not made [see Collectanea of Wenjing Hall].[56] But it is to be regretted that the *fuben* or duplicate set kept in the Hanlin Academy was destroyed in the catastrophe of the *gengshen* year (1860) of Emperor Xianfeng.[57] When it was examined in the *yihai* year (1875) of Emperor Guangxu it was found that there were no more than 5000 volumes. In the *bingzi* year (1876) there were only 3000 or more volumes; and in the *kuisi* year (1893) there were barely 600 or more volumes.[58] During the disorder in the *gengzi* year (1900),[59] the whole work was scattered and lost and nothing can be learned about them.[60] When the allied armies of eight nations entered the capital, some took the works to barricade themselves against the rain of bullets; and some of the books were abandoned in the gutters.[61]

When conditions gradually became peaceful, the people of each country that gradually came to know the value of these books in many instances took some back to their own countries as mementos. Now the libraries in Europe, United States, and Japan, each contain from one to up to ten or more volumes.[62] At the end of the Manchu dynasty, the Department of Education delivered to the Metropolitan Library 60 volumes. Later on this library also obtained 3 volumes from a certain bookstore. The Department of Education has 4 volumes still in its possession, and at present the bookstore [in Peiping] known as the Liulichang Shugutang 琉璃廠述古堂 also has 2 volumes. All these are of the set again copied during the Jiajing period (1522–1566).[63] During the 8th and 9th years (1919–1920) of the Republic, Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥[64] was Superintendent of the Library. He borrowed copies from Fu Yuanshu 傅沅叔, Ye Yuhu 葉玉虎, and the Department of Education and

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[56] See *Wenjing-tang congshu* 問經堂叢書.

[57] [This is a reference to the capture of Peking by the joint French and English forces].

[58] All mentioned above may be seen in the *Ciyuan* 辭源.

[59] [This is the year of the Boxer uprising and consequent reprisals by foreign troops].

[60] See *Jingshi tushuguan shanben shumu zhi (Catalogue of fine editions in Metropolitan Library, Peiping, China)*.

[61] At present there are many venerable men in the capital who can relate the story of this.

[62] See the contemporary writer Liang Qichao's *Zhongguo shixue yanjiu fa* (Methods of research in Chinese history).

[63] At the end of each *juan* there is the name of the *zongjiao* [chief editor] and fujiao [assistant editor], copyist, and punctuators, with their official titles. But as there is no distinction made between the *zhonglu zhengben* [first recopied authentic set] and a *zhonglu fuben* [second recopied duplicate set], this is further proof that during those days there was but one set recopied.

[64] [Former Chinese Minister to Japan].

recopied anew 10 volumes. At the same time the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Putnam of the United States Library of Congress, also sent a photostat copy of one volume. Altogether the Metropolitan Library has 74 volumes. Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 of Shangyu [district in Shaoxing Prefecture, Zhejiang], in his edition of the *Jishian congshu* 吉石菴叢書, also has a photographic copy of a volume. Mr. Luo states in his postface: «During the coup d'etat in the *xinhai* year (1911), this volume circulated into Japan, and by chance was purchased by my friend, Mr. Fukuoka 富岡. Of the other [volumes of the *Dadian*], some are in libraries in private families, and they are unwilling to allow me to see them. Some are in the hands of booksellers who keep them as rarities and are waiting for a high price. Of all these we have been unable to obtain any information».

The number of *juan* of the *Yongle dadian* kept in Europe, United States, and various countries, may be seen in the article by Yuan Tongli 袁同禮 entitled "Yongle dadian kao" (in the *Xueheng zazhi* 學衡雜誌 No. 26) and the *Zhonghua tushuguan xiehui huibao* 中華圖書館協會會報 (Bulletin of the Library Association of China), no.4.

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