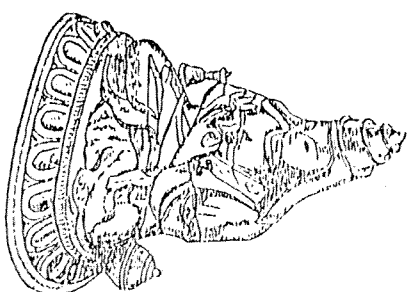


# Suhrllekḥāḥ

Festgabe für Helmut Eimer

Herausgegeben von

Michael Hahn, Jens-Uwe Hartmann  
und Roland Steiner



SWISTAL-ODENDORF • 1996

Corrections to "Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur"  
(Most of these are courtesy of my friend Karashima Seishi 幸嶋静志):

163, n. 33, and 175, l. 8 from the bottom 遺 > 遣;

175, last line, and 176 first line: 微 > 徽;

186, l. 4 from bottom: 疆 > 疆;

175, l. 3, punctuate ... 化導群類. 非上 ...; line 6, punctuate 蔽. 此...;

186, l. 7, punctuate ... 厥事. 蓋仁慈 ...;

192, l. 1: Hakyu > Hakyū; Hadano 1974b seems not to exist, or at least the reference is

wrong. Thanks to Prof. Akamatsu Akihiko 赤松明彦, I have now seen a copy of *Manasarowara*

(so read) 1, which however does not contain any article on the Yung-to Kanjur. The whole issue

of this privately distributed journal, published by the Chibetto Butten Kenkyūkai チベット佛典

研究会 (Tibetan Buddhist Text Society) of Sendai, is devoted to studies of the *Lankāvatāra-*

*sūtra*.

With respect to p. 163, n. 33, Karashima also informed me of the Chinese term 壽梓, which

means "to engrave."

## Notes on the History of the Yongle Kanjur\*

Jonathan A. Silk

The so-called Yongle 永樂 edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, dating from 1410 (in the Yongle reign period of the Chinese Ming 明 dynasty), is not only the first printed edition of the Kanjur, the collection of Buddhist sūtras in Tibetan translation, but one of the first printed Tibetan books of any kind so far known. While this edition is surely one of the most important sources for any study of Tibetan translations of canonical Buddhist literature, and therefore a vital witness for text-critical studies, the very existence of the Yongle Kanjur is important for what it tells us about the evolution of the Tibetan canonical collections on the one hand, and the political and religious relations between Tibet and China in the fifteenth century on the other.<sup>1</sup>

It is still sometimes believed that there are no extant copies of this Yongle edition of the Kanjur. In fact, two nearly complete copies of the Yongle Kanjur are known to exist in Lhasa, Tibet—copies, amazingly enough, of which the provenance is known.<sup>2</sup> Another

\* Some ten years ago, this study started life as a collaborative effort with Bruce Cameron Hall, like me a grateful recipient of Dr Eimer's assistance and encouragement. Dr Hall is no longer working in the field, but I want to state for the record that much of the early work on this project, including all the work on the Harvard-Yenching collection, and the discovery of the Michigan Yongle leaf, are entirely his. I am very grateful for his generosity in handing over to me his materials, and for his encouragement to proceed with the project on my own (which I have, perhaps foolishly, done). It goes without saying that he is not to be held responsible for this study's errors. For sinological assistance I originally turned to Yuet-keung Lo (Grinnell College), also to have been one of the collaborators in this study, and to my present colleague Victor Xiong. I received additional helpful comments from Raoul Birnbaum. For locating and helping me to understand some Japanese materials, I thank my friends Satoshi Hiraoka and Tomoko Koda. In Tibetological matters I am grateful for the assistance of Yael Bentor, Dan Martin and, especially, Leonard van der Kuip. The editors of this volume, Michael Hahn, Roland Stamer and Jens-Uwe Hartmann, moreover, corrected a large number of my misunderstandings and oversights. To them too go my warmest thanks. When I have chosen not to follow all this good advice, I have probably erred. It remains to thank my wife, Yoko 陽子, for her great assistance in the preparation of the plates and creation of supplemental fonts.

Unless otherwise noted, the punctuation of Chinese and Tibetan quotations follows the sources exactly. <sup>1</sup> We are not concerned here with the Tanjur, which was not printed in China until 1724.

<sup>2</sup> Actually, the existence of what must be these exemplars of the Yongle in monasteries in Lhasa was reported 87 years ago by LAUFER 1909: 572, note 4, on no less an authority than that of the Dalai Lama.

copy was reported more than fifty years ago to exist in China, on Wutai-shan 五臺山, but the present situation of this exemplar is uncertain. The provenance of this copy is also known. I will, in addition, report here that one leaf from this 1410 edition has been identified in the Special Collections Library at the University of Michigan. This seems to be the only confirmed portion of this edition extant in the West.

In what follows I will attempt to bring together as much information on the Yongle Kanjur as is presently available to me. Since, however, I have had no access to the Kanjur itself, I cannot yet speak of its value for text criticism per se. Moreover, I am neither a Sinologist nor a Tibetologist, but rather primarily a student of Buddhist literature, and thus the following survey may prove unsatisfying in many respects to specialists in Chinese and Tibetan history, among others. Although I am no doubt somewhat overstepping the bounds of my competence in this paper, I do hope that it will be neither too absurdly mistaken nor superficially obvious to be of some interest to Dr. Helmut Eimer, to whom it is offered with respect and admiration. Dr. Eimer has almost single-handedly created the field of Kanjur studies, and through his generosity and enthusiasm has nurtured many scholars who became interested in the problems he himself first raised. I am proud to count myself among those whom he has inspired and aided, and grateful to have this opportunity to express my appreciation in some concrete, albeit imperfect, form.

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The early history of the Tibetan Kanjur, despite recent important studies, remains obscure. The putative source of all later Kanjurs is an early 14th century "Old Narthang" manuscript, or more likely collection of manuscripts. One "copy" of this was the so-called Tshal pa edition, produced at the Tshal Gung thang monastery in East Central Tibet (Dbus), completed in 1349 and consecrated in 1351.<sup>3</sup> This was apparently carried out under the supervision of Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, also known as Si tu Dge ba'i blo gros (1309-64).<sup>4</sup> Neither of these early versions (in whatever form they actually existed) has survived, although certainly copies of the Tshal pa manuscript were produced for distribution. We do possess, however, at least one very old version, or better yet succession

<sup>3</sup> HARRISON 1994: 205, 298.

<sup>4</sup> EIMER 1983a: 91-92, 1988a: 67. Almost 20 years earlier HADANO 1966: 50, and somewhat less clearly RUCOJ 1966: 21-22, had also referred to this fact on the basis of the Narthang Kanjur *dkar chag*, folio 26 [not available to me]. Others have of course also mentioned this information. (Note that HADANO 1966: 63 offers the opinion that the Narthang Kanjur *dkar chag*'s discussion [folio 26] of the reliance of the Chinese edition on the Tshal pa refers to the Kangxi, and not the Yongle, Kanjur.) As far as I know, the most detailed study so far of the problems related to the Old Narthang is HADANO 1966, 1971, although it is, as the author confesses, 1966: 83, note 2, much abbreviated from what he originally wrote, and most references have been elided, making for somewhat maddening reading.

of versions, which seems to have been originally based on the Tshal pa edition, no doubt on the basis of one of these distribution copies; this is constituted by the editions and prints which are commonly referred to as the "Peking line".

Two main editions of the Tibetan Kanjur were printed in Peking, China. The first is represented by the Ming versions, the 1410 Yongle edition (in red ink)<sup>5</sup> and its 1606 Wanli 萬曆 era reprint (in black).<sup>6</sup> The second is represented by the Qing 清 dynasty re-edition and its reprints: during the Kangxi 康熙 period in 1684/92, 1700, 1717/20, and during the Qianlong 乾隆 period in 1737 and a post-1765 print, all but the last being printed in red. These are sometimes somewhat imprecisely referred to as the Kangxi and Qianlong editions, although strictly speaking it is only the first Qing edition which is an "edition", the others being more or less corrected, adjusted and augmented "reprints".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Eimer 1988a: 69 has pointed out that the word *mishal*, cinnamon, which designates the color of the ink used in the Yongle edition, is homophonous with the first word in the term *Tshal pa*.

<sup>6</sup> We know that the Wanli edition is a reprint because the Wanli emperor tells us so in his edict of December 2, 1606, connected with the publication of the forty-two volume addendum to the printing. He has set aside, he tells us, "a certain amount of money whereby the government offices concerned have examined, set in order, and washed clean the old printing blocks, republishing and printing (整理清洗舊板 重刊印造) 105 volumes, adding an additional 42 volumes, in order to make the number complete, and donating sets to temples both inside (? China? the capital?) and outside (? ditto), letting both the Tibetan and Chinese canons circulate together so that they can go down through time eternally without decline . . ." (It seems to me more likely that "inside and outside" means inside China and outside in foreign regions, such as Tibet.) For the complete text of the edict, see Appendix II.

<sup>7</sup> With regard to the distinction between re-edition and re-printing, the question is this: were the blocks used to print the exemplars in question the same or different? The quality and size of the paper, and even the color of the ink used, tell us nothing; it is quite easy to change these while printing from the same set of blocks, thus producing exactly the same contents. This type of reproduction is "re-printing". Only if new blocks are prepared can the result be said to be a "re-edition". However, often we have versions which seem to be printed from the same blocks, aside from often very subtle differences. This is due to what Eimer 1988b: 151 has called the "technical identity" of the versions: "For preparing the second set of wooden blocks", Eimer explains, "printed copies from the first served as master copies, i.e. the master copy which was pasted with starch glue on the prepared wooden planks was a one-side[ed] print prepared from the old set of blocks". (The process and some technical definitions are discussed in detail in Eimer 1970 and 1980.) It is of course common for some new blocks to be prepared all the time, either because of damage to existing blocks (cracking and so on) or because some corrections are made. Sometimes these are on a rather large scale, even the insertion of an entire text, and strictly speaking these alterations produce a new "edition". However, in these cases I prefer to speak only of a revised and corrected edition. I reserve the term "re-edition" for a re-carving of the entire set of blocks, a process which, of course, may well entail a contemporaneous correction and revision of the contents.

It is in the context of his own definitions that Eimer 1988b: 151 has suggested that "In this respect there is only one Peking edition, which was changed to some extent from issue to issue". I would prefer to say, with Eimer 1986: 4, that "there exists a special identity between the earliest and the later Beijing Kanjurs". Since versions of the Peking Kanjurs subsequent to the Yongle were reproduced from "master

The most detailed study of these Peking editions yet available in a western language is the excellent study of Yoshino IMAEDA [1977].<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, more remains to be said on the topic, partly due to the availability of new evidence. The most noteworthy change in our state of knowledge took place a mere eight years after the publication of Imaeda's study.

In an article published in the Chinese journal *Wenwu* in 1985 [Jia et al. 1985], a group of Tibetan scholars reported the discovery of two nearly complete editions of the Yongle Kanjur.<sup>9</sup> Here I present a summary, and in places a translation, of their publication.<sup>10</sup> This information can be directly supplemented by the results of SAKAI Shintei's investigations of the Yongle editions kept on Wutai-shan [SAKAI 1944a]. One copy of the Kanjur was found by the Tibetan scholars in the Potala Palace, and the other at Sera monastery. The copy in the Potala was originally stored in Sakya monastery, but transferred to the Potala during the Cultural Revolution. According to other reports, this exemplar is at present kept in Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery.<sup>11</sup> As we will discuss below, the provenance of these two copies is well known, the first having been given to Chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis (1349 - 1425), the head of the Lha Khang branch of the Sa skya pa, by order of the emperor Ming Chengzu 成祖 in 1414, and the second to Byans chen chos rje Shākya ye shes (1352/54 - 1435), the founder of Sera monastery, by the

<sup>8</sup> There is certainly a "technical identity" between the Yongle/Wanli prints and the Kangxi/Qianlong prints, they constitute together an original and a re-edition, and therefore two editions, rather than one.

<sup>9</sup> IMAEDA 1977 was written nominally in response to KAMAKI 1975. Other western studies which contribute to our knowledge of the Peking editions include EIMER 1970, 1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1986, 1988a, STRÄL-HOLSTEIN 1934, 1936, and LAUFER 1909. However, it is Japanese scholars who have contributed the most to our knowledge of the Peking group, although the majority of their works remain regrettably inaccessible to most western Tibetologists.

The earliest reference I know of in modern scholarship to the Yongle edition is found in PANDER 1889: 201. PANDER knew that the edition was produced upon imperial command in the eighth year of Yongle (wrongly converted by him, however, as 1411—see LAUFER 1914: 1129, note 4). He added: "The emperor personally wrote a Preface to this work, which overflows with praise for Lamaism. A complete exemplar of this Kanjur no longer exists". It is obvious that PANDER, at the time Professor at Peking University, was familiar with the work, and had actually read the Preface (or been reliably informed of its contents).

<sup>10</sup> Actually, these copies were seen, but not examined in detail, by SAKAI Shintei in August 1980 [SAKAI 1981], and by a team of Japanese scholars in July 1984 [OCHI 1985].

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Yuet-keung Lo for his translation of this article.

<sup>12</sup> SAKAI 1981: 7, and OCHI 1985: 2, and 9, note 2. SAKAI saw the Imperial Postface in Chinese and Tibetan in the Tshogs chen assembly hall at Sera, and an unidentified volume of the text on the second floor of the Sgo mang hall at Drepung. See SAKAI 1981: 7, with the correction in OCHI 1985: 8-9, note 2. As mentioned above in note 2, with hindsight we can realize that these copies had been reported already in 1909.

same emperor in 1416. Neither of the two copies is complete, the Potala copy having 106 volumes, that at Sera 103. The complete Kanjur should contain the sanctified number of 108 volumes, according to the index.<sup>12</sup>

Each volume is bound in wooden boards by leather bands with carved patterns. The boards are 3 cm thick, 72.8 - 73.3 cm long and 26.4 - 27.1 cm wide. They are constructed of smaller boards dovetailed and glued together. The middle piece seems to be made of sandalwood. These boards are painted with red lacquer upon which a design has been traced in gold. In the middle of the top board of the Sera copy there is a "precious pearl in flames" painted in gold. In the middle of the top board of the Potala copy there is also a similar precious pearl in flames, flanked by four of the Eight Treasures of Good Fortune—the dharma wheel, the dharma banner, the double fish and the precious vase. These all fringed with lotus petals traced in gold. The vertical faces of the four edges are patterned with flowers with intertwined twigs. The pattern of the bottom board is basically the same as that of the top, but the remaining four Treasures—umbrella, dharma conch shell, lotus and fortune knot—flank the precious pearl. The inside of the top board in both copies has patterns carved on the frame, and a catalogue of the volume written in both Chinese and Tibetan in a neat hand.<sup>13</sup>

The formats of the two copies are identical. Both are printed in cinnamon, on very thick mulberry bark paper of Tibetan manufacture. The paper is 69.5 cm long and 24.3 cm wide,<sup>14</sup> each side printed with eight lines of regular Tibetan script. The printed area is enclosed by vertical bars on both right and left, but not on top or bottom; this feature is one distinguishing graphic difference between the Yongle/Wanli Kanjurs and the later re-editions, which enclose the entire text in a box. The script seems a little elongated and rounded. The *ya-blogs* is very much elongated, and looks similar to that normal in the 11th century. The titles of the sūtras, the chapters and the page numbers are printed vertically in Chinese in the right margin, and the Tibetan volume and page numbers horizontally in the left margin. There are quite a few graphic errors, and *da* and *nga*, and *pa* and *ba*, are not clearly distinguished. Moreover, words are often wrongly divided or combined with misplaced *tshegs*, the copyists perhaps being not too familiar with Tibetan.

<sup>12</sup> SAKAI's information disagrees with this, however, as noted below.

<sup>13</sup> It is, however, possible that not all the volumes are stored in such elegant cases. EIMER 1983b: 21 reports that Dieter Schun, who visited the Jo Khang in July, 1983, saw a Ming edition which he remarked was stored in red wooden boxes. The color photograph I have seen of the Yongle edition taken by Prof. Shirasaki Kenjō in 1984 seems to depict a similar wooden box, although the box itself is not clearly visible in the photo. Black and white photographs were published in Jia et al. 1985, but they are of poor quality.

<sup>14</sup> OCHI 1985: 2 says 70 × 21 cm, which amounts to much the same thing.

Each volume contains (or should contain, for some of the leaves are in disarray) a copy of the Imperial Laud (at the beginning of the volume) and Postface (at the end), in both Chinese and Tibetan.<sup>15</sup> According to OCHI [1985: 2], these constitute a total of 9 pages, being printed on one side of a page only, as follows:

<i>lung gyis mdzad ba 'i bka' gyur bstod ba gcig, gyis, gsum</i>	3 leaves
御製藏經贊第一、第二、第三	3 leaves
御製後序一 / <i>lung gis mdzad ba 'i bstod ba phyi ma / gcig</i>	1 leaf
御製藏經勅諭第一、第二	2 leaves

Both the Laud and the Postface are transcribed and translated below.<sup>16</sup>

Both copies of the Kanjur have catalogues (*dkar chag*), but at least in 1985 only the Chinese catalogue of the Potala copy and the Tibetan catalogue of the Sera copy had been found.<sup>17</sup> The former sustained water damage, and had not, as of the publication ten years ago, yet been opened. SAKAI [1944a: 57] reported the Chinese catalogue as being 32 pages long. The Tibetan catalogue is 100 pages long, two of which are flap pages, the catalogue itself being 98 pages, printed on both sides (the flap pages printed on only one side, thus giving 194 total printed pages).<sup>18</sup> The number of volumes in each division of the Kanjur and the total number of volumes have been written on the inner side of the second cover page with a fountain pen. This ink-written summary looked to the Tibetan scholars to be twenty or thirty years old. The contents are broken down as follows:

division	volumes
<i>rgyud</i>	27
<i>phar phyin</i>	24
<i>phal po che</i>	6

<sup>15</sup> See the Laud itself (Materials I, below), SAKAI 1944a: 50, 57, and HADANO 1974a: 84. HADANO 1974a is a detailed study of the Yongle edition (with, however, only sparse references), but unfortunately it could not be used by IMAEDA, as he noted 1977: 37. HADANO 1975 is a sketchy summary of HADANO 1974a. I have not been able to locate a copy of HADANO 1974b.

<sup>16</sup> The last listed item on two leaves seems to be the Wani edict, quoted in Appendix II, below, but it is not clear to me why this is listed together with the Yongle materials by OCHI. Does this mean there is also an exemplar of the Wani print in Lhasa, with which OCHI confused the Yongle?

<sup>17</sup> IMAEDA 1977: 27, n. 17 reports that "TADA Tokan closely examined this exemplar of the Kanjur during his stay in Sera monastery, and he copied there the Chinese and Tibetan titles. This unique catalogue dated to the summer of 1924 at Sera is currently in the possession of Mr. KIRAMURA of Tokyo". My inquiries in this regard to Prof. Hajime KIRAMURA have yielded the unfortunate reply that he cannot at present locate the materials among his library. Should the Yongle Kanjur itself be published soon, the importance of this catalogue would be much reduced, but given the current situation, it is a shame it cannot be located.

<sup>18</sup> This is what JIA et al. 1985: 88 says, but the arithmetic confuses me.

<i>dkon mchog brtsegs pa</i>	6
<i>theq pa chen po 'i mdo sde tshogs</i>	32
including: <i>myang das kyi mdo</i> (3)	13
<i>'dal ba</i>	108
TOTAL	108

According to SAKAI [1944a: 50], the Chinese catalogue inverts the order of the *phal po che* and the *dkon brtsegs*, which is in fact the order followed by the Kangxi and Qianlong Kanjurs. As detailed in Appendix I, below, SAKAI gives the total number of volumes as 106 rather than 108, counting 24 volumes in the *rgyud* plus one volume of the *dkar chag*. The Wani emperor's edict quoted in Appendix II, below, refers to 105 volumes of the Kanjur, obviously omitting the *dkar chag*. Given this, I consider SAKAI's figures to be more probably correct, and do not understand the number of 27 volumes for the *rgyud*.

The catalogue accompanying the Lhasa exemplar is titled on its first page *Bide bar gshes pa 'i gsung*<sup>19</sup> *rab rin po che 'i dkar chag bstan pa rgyas pa 'i nyi 'od*, "Catalogue of the Sugata's Precious Scriptures, [called] the Sun Beams which Promote the Growth of the [Lotus-like] Teaching". SAKAI [1944a: 50] quotes the shortened version of the title, *Bstan pa rgyas pa 'i nyi 'od*, and gives the Chinese title as *Guangde jiaoshi riqiang* 廣大教示日光. The Chinese title looks to be a literal translation of the Tibetan. The resemblance of this title to that of the catalogue of the Old Narthang, *Nyi ma 'i 'od zer*, is very suggestive.<sup>20</sup> The first seven pages of the catalogue contain a history of Buddhism in India and Tibet, and a history of the compilation and translation of the sūtras. The catalogue proper runs from page 7 to 97. The catalogue is divided according to the six divisions listed above. For each sūtra the title, name(s) of translator(s), and a brief mention of the contents and degree of completeness are provided. The last two pages describe the state of Sino-Tibetan relations from the time of Tang Taizong 唐太宗 and Strong btsan sgan po up until the author's time. These pages emphasize the close relations between China and Tibet. There is an ode on the last page which JIA et al. speculate was probably written by a Tibetan on the occasion of Ming Chengzu's printing of the Kanjur.

The Potala copy contains a handwritten catalogue called the *Rgyal ba 'i bka' gyur rin po che 'i dkar chag mdor bsdas bshigs* or "Abridged catalogue of the precious Translated Word [Kanjur] of the Victor". At the end it is stated: *'shal pa 'gyur gzhir gzhag pa 'i glegs bam brya dang bryad kyi so so 'i nang tshang du bzhangs kyi dkar*

<sup>19</sup> JIA et al. 1985: 88 cite the title with *gsal* here, which does not make any sense. I owe the suggestion for the emendation to YAEL BENTOR.

<sup>20</sup> See IMAEDA 1977: 26.

*chag rags rim tsam zhiq nyer mkhor zhiq bris su bkod pa dge legs 'phel*. "A mere outline catalogue contained in each of the 108 volumes on the basis of the Tshal pa [Kanjur being indispensable, it is set down in writing. May prosperity increase!"

As for the catalogues, the Yongle catalogue consists of 32 leaves in Chinese and 98 in Tibetan and, as mentioned above, attached to each volume is a copy of the Imperial Laud and Postface, both of these in Chinese and Tibetan. The Wani print contains in addition to this a 42 volume addendum called *Xilianzang* 續添藏, accompanied by an Imperial edict, the *Yuzhi zangjing chiyu* 御製藏經勅諭, in Chinese and Tibetan (the Chinese version is quoted in full in Appendix II, below). According to the latter, dated to December, 1606, the emperor was inspired by his mother's addition of 41 volumes to the second Northern Ming edition of the Chinese canon (北藏) to add 42 volumes to the Wani Kanjur. The first Northern Ming edition was completed during the Yongle period (1410-1440), but revised by the monk Mizang Daokai 密藏道開 during the Wani period (1584-85) with the addition of 41 volumes, and the reference is to this augmentation. The contents of the additional Tibetan volumes seem to be devoted entirely to ritual materials [Sakai 1944a: 50-51, 58].<sup>21</sup>

Sakai personally examined one copy of the Yongle edition, kept in the Dawenshu-dian 大文殊殿 temple on the summit of Pusading 菩薩頂 (also known as the Zhenrong-yuan 真容院), and two copies of the Wani, kept in the Luohou-si bentang 羅喉寺本堂 (formerly in the Puan-si 普安寺 [Sakai 1944a: 58]) and the Pule-yuan bentang 普樂院本堂 temples, also on Pusading.<sup>22</sup>

The circumstances under which the first printed edition of the Tibetan Kanjur was produced cannot be determined with complete certainty, but a rough account can be pieced together. It is necessary to begin by examining the political and religious situation at the Ming court in the time of the Emperor Ming Chengzu. For it is clear that the

<sup>21</sup> Attention was drawn by Pelliot 1931:105 to the *Minggong-shi* 明宮史 in which, among the holdings of the Imperial library, is mentioned a Tibetan canon (番經一藏). At least in terms of the number of volumes, it corresponds exactly to the supplemented Wani edition (105 + 42 = 147). In the edition of the *Minggong-shi* included in the *Xuejin taoyuan* 學津討原 the passage is found on folio 11b (*juan* 5, my punctuation): 一百四十七函、十五萬七十四葉。共用腰子白鹿紙一萬三千六百四十三張 (I cannot understand the subsequent numbers. The complete 147 volumes should contain approximately 45,000 leaves.) This cannot be, as Pelliot apparently thought, a reference to the Yongle. One should also note the discussion in *juan* 2 of the same text concerning the Tibetan *sitra* repository 番經藏 (not referred to by Pelliot).

The Kangxi edition contains four catalogues in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan. Since this is widely available in the Japanese reprint edition of the Peking, there is no need to detail the contents here.

<sup>22</sup> Sakai noted 1944a: 51 that his earlier attribution 1941: 109 of the Pule-yuan print to the Yongle edition was in error. This copy of the Wani lacks the 42 supplementary volumes.

original idea for the creation of a printed Kanjur, and the organization of the effort to produce it, came from the Chinese, and not the Tibetans. Although this was not the first printed Tibetan book, there can be no doubt that the Tibetans learned the art of printing from the Chinese. The Chinese had known woodblock printing since at least the ninth century, and by Ming times Chinese woodblock printing was an advanced art.<sup>23</sup>

The Ming dynasty was founded in 1368 by the emperor Ming Taizu 太祖. Sperling [1980, 1983], upon whose work the following account is closely based, has drawn our attention to the degree of genuine religious devotion felt by the early Ming emperors.<sup>24</sup> In his youth Taizu spent several years as a Buddhist monk. He himself occasionally delivered sermons, and he dispatched a mission to Tibet to obtain scriptures. With the death of the emperor's consort in 1382, Taizu appointed a number of monks to recite *sūtras* for various princes. The future emperor Ming Chengzu (the Yongle emperor) was assigned the monk Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝, and the latter became a trusted and intimate advisor. Chengzu took the throne in 1402, in large part thanks to Yao's strategic advice, and Yao was consistently in the emperor's favor until Yao's death in 1418. Sperling [1980: 282] suggests that "there was a considerable degree of Buddhist influence at the courts of both Ming T'ai-su and Ming Ch'eng-tsu". Due to his genuine interest in Buddhism, then, and not only for political motives,<sup>25</sup> Chengzu invited the fifth Karma-pa, De bzhin gshogs pa, to visit the Ming court in Nanjing, where he arrived in February of 1407.<sup>26</sup> There is a certain irony in the circumstances of this for, as Sperling [1980: 283] notes, "Yao Kuang-hsiao's introduction into the court of the future emperor was due to the desire of Ming T'ai-su to have Buddhist rites performed for the recently deceased empress Ma. Interestingly enough, it was for the salvation of his deceased parents, Ming

<sup>23</sup> Tsen 1985: 146ff., 172ff. It is much to be regretted that Tsen's treatment of Chinese printing of non-Chinese materials is very deficient. In fact, his treatment of Buddhist materials in general is rather poor. The text is disfigured by a number of easily detectable misprints in Sanskrit, and little effort seems to have gone into verifying Buddhist information. A serious review of this work from the standpoint of the history of Buddhist literature in Chinese and neighboring languages is a desideratum, especially since the reviews that have come to my attention all deal with the traditional sinological aspects of the work (and in this regard they are very positive).

<sup>24</sup> In addition to Sperling 1982 and 1983, I am also indebted to Hadano 1974a and IMAEDA 1977 for what follows.

<sup>25</sup> This is not the opinion of SATO 1963b: 550-51, however. For a survey of opinions, see Sperling 1983: 54, note 1. It is one of the goals of Sperling 1983 to demonstrate that some of SATO's more general conclusions are not correct.

<sup>26</sup> The Ming emperor's letter to the Karma-pa is extant only in Tibetan, but is referred to in Chinese sources. It has been translated and edited several times, but since the Kanjur is not mentioned in the letter we can simply refer to the available studies: KARMAV 1975: 75-76, 115-16; RICHARDSON 1958-59: 10-11 (Appendix B-5); SPERLING 1983: 74-75; SATO 1963b: 540-41; SCHUB 1977: 180-81.

T'ai-tsu and the very same empress Ma, that Ch'eng-tsu urged the Karma-pa, in the letter of invitation, to hasten to court to perform the necessary ceremonies."<sup>27</sup> Both Chinese and Tibetan sources note that the Karma-pa did in fact perform ceremonies for the sake of Chengz'u's parents. We will see below that this information fits in very nicely with Chengz'u's own statements in the Imperial Laud attached to the Yongle (and Wanli) Kanjur(s).

There is not enough information available at present to know exactly how the Chinese obtained the texts which served as the basis for the Yongle Kanjur. In his Laud (translated in full in Materials I, below), the Yongle emperor states that he sent an ambassador to the West, and that this ambassador returned with a Kanjur, which the emperor subsequently had published. This appears to be the only known contemporary record, but in the same context we may quote a very interesting sixteenth century Chinese document, the *Fanjingchang-yi* 番經敕記 "Account of the Tibetan Sūtra Repository", by Zhang Juzheng 張居正, at the time one of the most powerful men in China.<sup>28</sup>

The Tibetan sūtras came from *Dbus-Gtsang* (Central Tibet), and these days they are known as the Lamaist teachings which Bodhidharma considered the side-streams and ancillary chambers [of Buddhism].<sup>29</sup> Emperor Chengz'u sent a letter to the Grand Precious Dharma King of the West [De bzhin gshegs pa, the fifth Karma-pa] to summon the Esteemed Teacher.<sup>30</sup> Fazun 法尊 and others to the court. [The emperor] took their sūtras and had them copied and circulated.<sup>31</sup> Although the

<sup>27</sup> SPERLING 1983: 78. It seems that Chengz'u stressed his filial ties to Taizu and the empress exactly since his own place in the Imperial succession was not quite clear, and he took positive steps to reinforce an image of himself as the son of both Taizu and the empress. According to HUCKER 1978: 77, however, "he was probably the natural son of a Korean concubine in T'ai-tsu's palace".

<sup>28</sup> In the *Rixia jiuwenkao* 日下舊聞考, juan 39 (reprinted Taipei: Guangwen shujuy 廣文書局, 1968, as *Qinding Rixia jiuwenkao* 欽定日下舊聞考, vol. 6, 8a-8b; my punctuation): 番經來自烏思藏, 卽今喇嘛教達摩目爲旁支曲寶者也。成祖文皇帝昭晝西天大寶法王廷致法尊尚師等。取其經繕寫以傳。雖貝文梵字不與華同、而其義在戒貪惡殺宏忍廣濟。卽所謂海潮一音、醍醐同味者也。敕在禁內東偏、興漢經並列。歲久亦漸朽矣。穆宗莊皇帝嘗出帑金、命司禮監修葺。今上登大寶、復以慈聖皇太后之命、命終其事。經始隆慶壬申至八月而告成事。因爲文鏡于石、垂諸久遠焉。萬曆元年四月八日。建極殿大學士張居正撰。 This is part of the additional section edited in 1774 by the Qing official Ying Lian 英廉 (1707-1783) and others. The passage was noted already by SAVO 1963a: 99, note 4, and IMAEDA 1977: 25. This passage was translated for me by Yuet-keung Lo, and modified by Victor Xiong and myself.

<sup>29</sup> It is, of course, an anachronism to suggest that Bodhidharma (if there ever was such a person) could have known anything of Tibetan Buddhism. But surely such minutiae did not disturb the Ming author of this passage.

<sup>30</sup> 尚師 = bla ma. See SPERLING 1983: 66, note 29.

<sup>31</sup> It is also possible that the passage is to be punctuated differently, as IMAEDA 1977: 25 has apparently

Tibetan script on *pothi*-format leaves is different from Chinese, yet the principle [of the sūtras] is to prohibit greed, loathe killing, broaden forbearance and extend relief. So it is said that the sea and the tide make the same sound, and the finest cream and the richest butter have the same taste.<sup>32</sup> The [sūtra] repository was situated in the east wing of the palace, and [the Tibetan sūtras] were put there together with the Chinese sūtras. A long time elapsed and the repository began to gradually crumble. Emperor Muzong [r. 1567-72] once used the Imperial funds to order the Directorate of Ceremonial to supervise the renovation [of the repository]. Having ascended the throne, the present emperor [Wanli, Muzong's son] under the order of [his mother] the Empress Dowager Cisheng, commanded the renovation to be finished. [The project] began in the *renshen* 壬申 year [1572] of the Longqing 隆慶 period and was finished in the eighth month [of that year]. I therefore wrote this account and had it inscribed in stone so that [this event] would be known in the distant future. The Grand Academician of the Jianji Palace, Zhang Juzheng, wrote this on the eighth day of the fourth month of the first year of the Wanli period [May 8, 1573].

This document, composed prior to the Wanli reprinting of the Kanjur but still more than 150 years after the creation of the Yongle edition, suggests that the Chinese emperor explicitly sought out Tibetan scriptures to use as a basis for his edition. This interpretation is supported by another source, a local gazetteer concerning Wutai-shan called the *Qingliangshan-xinzhì* 清涼山新志, which contains the following very interesting passage:<sup>33</sup>

done. We would then understand: The emperor invited the Karma-pa to court. "The Esteemed Teacher Fazun and others took his sūtras, and copied them for circulation". If we knew who Fazun was, it might help us understand the passage. I have tentatively followed Inacada in understanding Fazun as a proper name, but I wonder whether 法尊尚師 might not be a title or epithet.

<sup>32</sup> See the *Hōbōgirin* s.v. *daigo* (pp. 640-651, by Anna Seiberl).

<sup>33</sup> DU 1985: 160.6-8, *juan* 3, 6b (my punctuation): 辛巳春。上遣中官侯顯及大智法王如西土求經。得梵英藏經簿。勅繕梓於番經殿。先一藏送臺山菩薩頂供養 (I do not understand the word 番 in this passage; Raoul Biswas has suggested the possibility that it be understood adverbially: "eventually", or "for all time"? This is cited by SAKAI 1944a: 63, note 4c and 2b, as coming from the *Qingliangshan-zhì* 清涼山志, 4.8, but I could not find it in my copy of that text. HADANO 1974a: 88 also cites the passage with this reference. (SAVO 1963b: 579, note 52, cites it merely as from *juan* 4 of the *Qingliangshan-zhì*.) The history of the *Qingliangshan-zhì* and the *Qingliangshan-xinzhì* is very complicated. The former is listed in the *Bushio Kaisetsu Daizūten* (Osno 1932-35: 10.299) as a work of 10 *juan*, which apparently refers to the original extent of the work. The edition to which I have access (a 1980 Taiwanese reprint, itself a facsimile reproduction of the 1933 edition) has only 8 *juan*. The original work is credited to the Ming scholar Zhen Cheng 震聲 (1547-1617), and possesses a preface dated 1596 萬曆行甲. (Du 1980: 9). The *Qingliangshan-xinzhì* is a sort of revision by the Tibetan (?) monk Laozang Danba 老藏丹巴—its preface dates to 1695 (DU 1985: 82), but it apparently circulated alongside the *Qingliangshan-zhì*. Another revision of the latter is dated 1701. Moreover, the edition of the *Qingliangshan-zhì* to which I have access, the 1933 revision, actually contains a biography of Laozang Danba (DU 1980: 171; *juan*

In the Spring of 1401, the emperor sent the eunuch Hou Xian and the Dharma Regent Dazhi [= Zhi Guang 智光]<sup>34</sup> to the West to search for sutras. They obtained a [Tibetan] canon written in the Indian format [= *pothi* shape], and returned [with it to China]. [The emperor] ordered that it be engraved at the Tibetan sūtra repository.

[After it was completed,] first of all one copy<sup>35</sup> was presented to the Pusading [temple] on [Wulajai-shan as a worship offering.

It is odd, however, that if the dating of this passage is correct, the future emperor dispatched his envoys while he was still crown prince, two years before ascending the throne. But the dating is probably erroneous.<sup>36</sup>

These sources indicate that the Yongle emperor sent for Tibetan sūtras, and then had them engraved on blocks and printed. If we are to understand the emperor's reference in his laud to his ambassador (or envoy: *geer yig pa*, 使) strictly, it may be taken as a reference to the eunuch Hou Xian, who was in fact Chengzu's ambassador to Tibet and Nepal. This would fit in well with what we know of Hou Xian's travels.<sup>37</sup>

The memory of this publishing activity was still alive more than 250 years later, in subsequent Kanjur catalogues. The *dkar chag* to the Kangxi Peking Kanjur, for example, specifies that it is a re-edition, saying:<sup>38</sup> "The great merit for re-engraving the Kanjur blocks. . . ." Almost immediately following this passage we read:<sup>39</sup>

3.39a, explicitly mentioned as a figure of the Qing dynasty. All in all, it is perhaps best to say here simply that the textual history of these gazetteers is extremely complicated, and beyond my present ability to sort out. (Qingliang-shan is, by the way, another name for Wutai-shan.)

<sup>34</sup> Zhi Guang (died 1435) was a disciple of Sahajāsī, and putative translator of one of his lost works. He served at court and was awarded honorific titles. See GOODRICH and FANG 1976 s.v. Panthia.

<sup>35</sup> Or: "the first copy"? But the meaning is the same.

<sup>36</sup> SPEERUNG 1983: 184, note 59, remarks that the *Qingliangshan-zhi* seems not to be always entirely reliable. Moreover, he observes 1983: 49 that "there is little specific information . . . on the future emperor's attitude toward Buddhism prior to his ascent to the throne". In addition, Chengzu sent Hou Xian to Tibet in 1403 to invite the fifth Karma-pa (Speerung 1983: 74ff.). This was his first mission. Therefore it is hardly possible that he had previously been sent in search of texts. It is however possible that as part of the invitation assignment Hou Xian was also to search for texts, but in any case, it seems almost certain that the date of 1401 is in error. Compare HADANO 1974a: 87.

<sup>37</sup> See SPEERUNG 1982. See also GOODRICH and FANG 1976 s.v. Hou Hsien.

<sup>38</sup> *Mdzad byang slar zhu ba i yig* 2b7 (Peking reprint 3-3.7): *bka'* 'gyur gyis par yang slar brkos ba i phan yon chen po ni /; at *Mdzad byang zhu ba i yig* 1b7 (Peking reprint 2-2.7) the equivalent is: *bka'* 'gyur gyis par brkos bas phan yon chen po i.

覆請字疏 1.32 = *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄 1: 1037c26-27 = SAKURABE 1930-32, Introduction 9.5-6 = 請字疏 1.30 = *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 1: 1038c12-13 = SAKURABE 1930-32, Introduction 8.8-9. In the Chinese versions we find (my punctuation): 特沛鴻慈、重刊諸藏名經、用廣利益。Here 重刊 must refer to the carving of new blocks, not to a mere reprinting from already existing blocks.

In the Yongle period, the great Kanjur having been thoroughly corrected, it was engraved. All of these [texts, which were printed] at the prosperous time of the beginning of the new reign, were arranged into sections according to the Tibetan tradition.<sup>40</sup>

In the same *dkar chag*, we also find the following:<sup>41</sup>

The Ming period [emperor] Chengzu had the great Kanjur zealously corrected and engraved. And having written successive prefaces [to be placed] at the beginning of the teachings, [prefaces which include] the Laud to the Kanjur, and [those prefaces attached to] the *Rulai zhengzong dajue miao-jing*, the Four-part sūtra, the *Avatamsaka*, and the [Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṅgīti, they were placed in [all] Kanjur volumes.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Mdzad byang slar zhu ba i yig* 3a2 (Peking reprint 3-4.2) = Chinese 覆請字疏 2.5-6 = *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 1: 1038a2-3 = SAKURABE 1930-32, Introduction 9.8; *yung lo i dus su bka'* 'gyur chen po zhu dag zhib par byas nas brkos pa / 'di thams cad mnga' 'bangs rgyas pa i yar ishes la / bod kyi lugs srol gyi brtags mngon par byas so //.

In another version, the text is arranged differently. *Mdzad byang zhu ba i yig* 2a3.4 (Peking reprint 2-3.3-4) = 請字疏 2.3.4 = *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 1: 1038c18-19 = SAKURABE 1930-32, Introduction 8.12; *yung lo i dus su 'di thams cad mnga' 'bangs rgyas pa i yar ishes la bka'* 'gyur zhu dag byas nas par du brkos / bod kyi lugs srol gyi brtags mngon par byas so //.

In the Chinese we have (my punctuation): 永樂中校刻大藏真經。皆當開國盛時、表章梵典。Here and below, the Tibetan is clearly based on the Chinese, and when the sense is questionable I have tended to follow the assumption that the Tibetan intends to reflect the sense of the Chinese. Unfortunately, limitations of space prevent a detailed consideration of the interesting problems this type of Tibetan language raises.

<sup>40</sup> Here *bod kyi lugs srol gyi brtags mngon par byas so* must be equivalent to 表章梵典. The first part of the Tibetan expression, *bod kyi lugs srol*, seems to literally mean "established customs of Tibet". In ZHANO 1985: 1852b, *bod lugs* is defined as *bod kyi lugs srol*, 藏式、藏俗、西藏習俗. Cf. HADANO 1974a: 65. The use of 梵 for both Sanskrit (and India) and Tibetan (and Tibet) is well established (e.g. LAUFFER 1909: 573, note 1, and see HADANO 1974a: 87-86), although I have not found it in any of the dictionaries I have consulted. Probably *brtags* is equivalent to *brtag pa*, one meaning of which is "chapter", or "section of a text". Still, the translation of the passage is somewhat tentative.

<sup>41</sup> *Mdzad byang slar zhu ba i yig* 3b2.4 (Peking reprint 3-5.2-4): *Ming dus kyi cheng tsu bka'* 'gyur chen po zhu dag nan tu [read: nan tan du] byas nas par du brkos / bka' 'gyur gyi bstod tshegs dang mdkhyen rab gzhung lugs dam pa i chos gzung rab glegs bam bzhil / phal po che / mshan bryal rim pa i mdzad sbyang gi yi ge namas chos kyi dbar 'bri nas bka' 'gyur gi po tir bzhung yod / = Chinese 覆請字疏 3.17-20 = *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 1: 1038a15-18 = SAKURABE 1930-32, Introduction 9.16-17. See HADANO 1974a: 85, note, & p. 67 both with numerous misprints. Chinese reads (my punctuation): 明成祖校刻大藏真經、有藏經讀及正宗大覺妙經、四部經、華嚴經、真實名經諸序并諸梵冊俱載顯。

<sup>42</sup> The reference is to a series of prefaces composed by the Ming Emperor. See Ono 1932-35: 7.499d-500a, and *Shōwa hōbō sōmokuroku* 2:1427-1428. I have not been able to determine the identity of the 如來正宗大覺妙經. The Four-part sūtra is said to contain the 本行 (T.1907), 因果 (T. 1897), 釋迦讚 (T. 1927) See Ono 1932-35: 2.256cd), and *Mirvāna-sūtra* 涅槃經. The *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* preface is found in Chinese at T. 1190 (XX) 826a10-b15. Aside from the Kanjur Laud, I do not know if any of the



Texts other than those directly related to the Peking editions also record similar information. The *dkar chag* of the Derge Kanjur, written by Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gras (1699/1700-1774), has the following:<sup>43</sup>

[This Derge edition] is more excellent than the edition of the entire Kanjur prepared formerly in China by the emperor, the great Yongle of the Da Ming, and its original, [the manuscript] prepared by the King of [Yang] sa tham, and others, and [therefore] wise people think it worthy of their confidence.<sup>44</sup>

The information above tells us, then, that the Yongle emperor arranged for the first printed Kanjur edition to be created on the basis of materials gathered in Tibet, probably at his order, and that the memory of this feat lasted for hundreds of years. Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gras, at least, seems to have been aware of this Kanjur's source. (So too were the Narthang editors, mentioned above in note 4.) In terms of the provenance of the known copies of the Yongle Kanjur, we have been informed by the *Qingliangshan-xinzhi* in the passage quoted above that the first exemplar was presented to the Pusading temple on Wutai-shan. This is confirmed by the *Qingliangshan-zhi* 清凉山志 and by another section of the *Qingliangshan-xinzhi*, both of which contain the following passage:<sup>45</sup>

In the first years of the Yongle reign period of the Ming dynasty, the emperor ordered the reconstruction of the Dawenshu temple, and commanded the presentation of the *pothi*-format sacred texts, the Tibetan canonical scriptures, in red letters written horizontally, and [the composed] an Imperial Postface and Laud. Each volume

prefaces actually exist in Tibetan.

<sup>43</sup> Derge Kanjur *dkar chag* 111a5-6: *sngon ci na'i yul du gong ma ta min g-yung lo chen pos bla' gyur ro cog gi par behngs pa dang / di nyid kyi ma phyi sa tham 'rgyal pos behngs pa 'di sog's las khyad par du phags shing dpyod lan gyis yid ron pa'i gnas sa 'as par sems so //*. See EIMER 1983a: 109-110. I am not absolutely certain I have understood this passage correctly.

<sup>44</sup> Or perhaps, "[Si tu] think it suitable for wise people to place their confidence in"? As Iwaida 1982: 177 and following him Eimer 1983a: 110 have pointed out, the royal house of Yang sa tham was closely connected with the Karma-pas already in the fifteenth century. This is important in relation to the question of the source of the Yongle Kanjur's original and the early visit of the fifth Karma-pa to China.

<sup>45</sup> Du 1980: 71; 2.16a: 明永樂初，勅旨改建大文殊寺、勅賜貝葉靈文、梵文藏經，朱書橫列，御製序讀。每帙盛以錦囊、護以綺影。(Quoted, although without any indication of source, already by Miaoziou 1934: 785.) The *Qingliangshan-xinzhi* (Du 1985: 138-39; 2.9b-10a) reads the passage slightly differently (my punctuation): 明永樂初，奉勅改建大文殊寺、頒賜貝葉靈文、梵書龍藏、御製序讀 (and ending here). HARANO 1974a: 86 quotes the passage from the *Qingliangshan-zhi* (without reference) in the following form: 國朝永樂初，勅旨改建大文殊寺、勅賜貝葉靈文、梵文藏經、朱書橫列、御製序讀。每帙盛以錦囊、約以錦條、護以薄毡。He points out that the 龍藏 of the *Qingliangshan-xinzhi* must be an error, or in any case refer to the Kanjur. 龍藏 generally designates the Qing dynasty edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. See also SAKAI 1944a: 63, note 2a.

was elegantly ornamented with brocade wrapping, bound with brocade tape, and protected by a crimson weaving.

There can be little doubt that the Kanjur referred to here is the very copy examined by Sakai Shintan at the very same temple, the Dawenshu-dian on the summit of Pusading. The reference to "red letters written horizontally" makes it certain that the text is in Tibetan, not Chinese, as does the reference to the shape of the pages. We can be virtually certain, then, that the exemplar of the Yongle Kanjur found on Wutai-shan was presented, immediately upon its completion, to the Dawenshu temple by the Yongle emperor. The history of the other two known exemplars is almost equally clear.

Three Tibetans stand out in early Ming-Tibetan relations: De bzhin gshlegs pa, Kun dga' bkra shis, and Shakya ye shes. These three are the only Tibetans awarded the title Dharma King (*lawang* 法王) by the Ming (the first two by Ming Chengzu, the last by his grandson Ming Xuanzong 宣宗 in 1434),<sup>46</sup> and their special religious, as opposed to primarily political, relationship with Ming Chengzu is indicated by the element "Dharma" in their titles [SPEERLING 1990: 79]. Although De bzhin gshlegs pa may, in the overall scheme of things, have been a more important figure, as far as we know now he does not appear to have been connected with the Yongle Kanjur project. We will turn, therefore, to his successors in the Ming court, Kun dga' bkra shis and Shakya ye shes. The former arrived in Nanjing on January 17, 1413, apparently subsequently travelling with the court during its move to Peking [SPEERLING 1983: 141].<sup>47</sup> Much is known about his sojourn in China, but what is of interest to us is that according to Chinese historical records he received canonical texts as presents. At an audience on March 10, 1413, among other objects he was presented with a "canon" (*zangjing* 藏經).<sup>48</sup> However, the entry for January 1, 1414, the date on which Kun dga' bkra shis departed the court, also mentions the presentation of "Buddhist scriptures" (*fojing* 佛經).<sup>49</sup> Probably it is the former entry which refers to the Yongle Kanjur but, in any case, Kun dga' bkra shis quite obviously received a copy of the newly printed edition, and equally obviously

<sup>46</sup> See SPEERLING 1983: 150-51.

<sup>47</sup> Actually the court was fairly mobile during the Yongle period, moving between Nanjing and Peking, with the emperor moreover often away on campaigns. See FARKNER 1976: 118.

<sup>48</sup> *Ming shilu*, 明實錄 (*Daming Taizong Hen Huangdi shilu* 大明太宗文皇帝實錄), juan 137 (page 1665; my punctuation): 永樂十一年二月戊午，高思昆澤巴[read 高澤思巴]入見。賜藏經、銀、鈔、絲幣、鞍馬、茶、米等物。Translated in SPEERLING 1983: 144; see also KARMAV 1975: 55. The *Taizong Hen Huangdi shilu* dates to 1430.

<sup>49</sup> *Ming shilu*, (*Daming Taizong Hen Huangdi shilu*), juan 147 (page 1725-26; my punctuation): 永樂十二年春正月壬午[or: 子]，正覺大乘法王昆澤思巴[read 昆澤思巴]入見。賜藏經、衣服、文綺、儀仗、鞍馬、金銀器皿等物、命中官護送。Translated in SPEERLING 1983: 144.

carried this collection home with him to Tibet.

Shākya ye shes arrived in Peking on February 3, 1415, having been sent by Tsong kha pa after the latter declined the Ming emperor's letter of invitation for he himself to visit China.<sup>50</sup> He stayed in the Fayuan-si 法淵寺, which is the temple in which the Tibetan sūtra repository (along with the neighboring Chinese sūtra repository), mentioned in several passages above, was located. The Fayuan-si was part of the Songzhu-si 嵩祝寺 temple complex, located within the Imperial compound.<sup>51</sup> Again according to Chinese sources, upon departing on June 5, 1416, Shākya ye shes was also presented with, among other things, "Buddhist scriptures" (*fojing* 佛經).<sup>52</sup> There can be little question that these scriptures were or included the Yongle Kanjur. We can be almost certain about this because we know from Tibetan sources what Shākya ye shes brought back to Tibet.

In a work of 1744, the *Grya sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tsul Pad dkar 'phreng ba* of Phur bu leog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682-1762), we find the following reference to what is obviously the Yongle Kanjur:<sup>53</sup>

Taking the wonderful presentation edition of the Kanjur, newly engraved for the first time in China, printed in cinnamon, the front page set up in layers and written in gold letters, [Shākya ye shes] went to *Dbus*.

A subsequent passage concerning the objects preserved in Sera monastery adds additional information:<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> SPERLING 1982: 107; 1983: 148.

<sup>51</sup> SATO 1963a: 206, referring to the *Yoidzaya ser po* of Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, cited from the edition of LOKESH CHANDRA page (?) 118 [not available to me]. See also MAOZHOU 1934: 7.62.

<sup>52</sup> *Ming shih*, (*Daming Taizong Wen Huangdi shih*), *jian*176 (page 1924; my punctuation): 永樂十四年五月辛丑, 妙覺圓通慈慧輔 [read 普] 德輔國師教蓮頂弘善西天佛子大國師釋迦地 [read 也] 失譯號。御製寶跣之、並賜佛像、佛經、法器、衣服、文綺、金銀器皿 Translated in SPERLING 1983: 152. Although YAZAKI 1973 knows this and other relevant sources, he does not seem to have understood their importance for Kanjur history.

<sup>53</sup> DENO 1970: folio 31b3-4: *rgya nag tu bka' 'gyur par hog mar brkos pa'i par phul mshad par them skas can glong la gser gyi yi ge bris pa ngo mshar can bsums nas dhus su phebs /*

See IMAEDA 1977: 27, and note 17, HARASO 1966: 66-67, and 1974a: 74-73. IMAEDA gives the reference as folio 29b. I do not know if this is an oversight, or if the edition he used had a different pagination. His reference to the passage below at 40ab, however, agrees with the text I used.

The work is listed in *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism* (Sendai: Seminar of Indology, Tohoku University, 1953): No. 6194. Its contents are described by VOSTROKOV 1970: 218, note 630. The title may be translated "History of the four great colleges in 'Bras spungs, Se ra, Dga' ldan and Bkra shis lhan grub, and two tantric centers of Stod and Smad'".

<sup>54</sup> DENO 1970: folio 40ab: *bka' 'gyur lha khang du ren gyi gso bo byams chen chos rje la gong ma tā*

In the Kanjur hall [at Sera] the principle object of worship, the wonderful Padmarāga Kanjur presented to Byams chen chos rje [Shākya ye shes] by the emperor Da Ming . . . .<sup>55</sup>

In a later work, the *Hor chos 'byung* (History of Buddhism in Mongolia) of 1819, Dbyangs can sgye pa'i blo gros ('Jigs med ng pa'i rdo rje) says of Byams chen chos rje Shākya ye shes:<sup>56</sup>

At that time, complying with the Precious Master's [Tsong kha pa] order to him that, in order to restore the teaching this Master [Shākya ye shes] erect the Rgyud grwa and construct the Sera Theg chen gling, he erected the Dpal ldan Rgyud smad grwa tshang, and in the earth-pig year [1419] constructed the Sera Theg chen gling. Within that monastery were established [images of] the Teacher [the Buddha] together with the sixteen [great] disciples, and the upāsaka Heshang [Mahāyāna], made from

*ming rgyud pos phul ba'i padma rā ga'i bka' 'gyur ngo mshar can /*. It is possible that *padmarāga*, "ruby", refers to the bright red color of the ink in which the Kanjur is printed.

According to HARASO 1966: 67, at the time Ngag dbang byams pa wrote his work in 1744, of the many Kanjurs in Lhasa, the only printed example was the Yongle, the remainder (and there were many) being manuscripts.

<sup>55</sup> The interesting passage continues (DENO 1970: folio 40ab-6b): *gong ma tā ming rgyud po'i nang blon sbyi mang la khung je tā bzhin / chos mang pa nā ra ka shi zhes pas bryud stong pa'i don nam ji lha ba bzhin shes nas / ta la i lo ma bris pa'i rgya gar kyi dpe la / ma phyi byas nas gser 'ba 'zhig las lamzsha'i yi ges bryud stong pa tshar gnyis bzhangs pa'i ge'ig rgya nag shar phyogs su bzhangs / ge'ig rgya gar du gdan 'den mtzad rsis mtzad pa de 'tir bzhangs pa 'ti'i dkar chag rgyu yig dang bod yig gnyis ka yod par gsal ba liar dang / rgyud zhabs rin po ches ghang ba'i bka' 'gyur / bstan 'gyur bris ma nying pa tshar ge'ig dang / ni dbang jun dbang pho lha gnas kyi guang pa'i bstan 'gyur par ma ge'ig / 'bum la sog pa gsum rdz mang du bzhangs / za dam karma'i chos rjod nas gdan drangs pa'i gos sku gling gsum ma chen po / khul kha san khang gis phul ba'i gnas bcu'i gos sku gling gsum ma / tā ming rgyud pos byams chen chos rje'r phul ba'i gnas bcu'i gos thang che ba / rje rin po che / thub pa longz sku ma / gong sa lnga pa / pan chen blo bzang chos kyi rgyud mshar / byams pa'i ldem bcas kyi gos thang chung ba re nam bzhangso //*

<sup>56</sup> Folio 68b1-4 (= LUEN 1981: 46.1.1-4): *de'i tsho rje rin po ches bstan po'i gsoz su dgonz te rje 'di la rgyud grwa nam dag 'dzangs pa dang / se ra theg chen gling 'debs dgos pa'i bka' 'guang ba liar dang du blangs te / dpal ldan rgyud smad grwa tshang 'debs pa dang / su phag gi lor se ra theg chen gling 'debs bar mtzad / gisug lag khang de'i nang du chos rje ba rang nyid kyi rgya nag nas bsums te phebs pa'i ston pa gnas brtan bcu drug / dge bnyen hwa shang dang bcas ba tsan dan dkar po las grub pa nang zhags su bzhangs pa'i smon sku khyud par can bzhangs / rgya nas bsums pa'i bka' 'gyur / 'gyur abdul below line in small letters) *ngo mshar can namz 'yog pa guang nas lo gnyis tsam gyi bar du chos kyi 'khor lo bkor /* HERR 1896: 197-98 translated the passage: "Zu dieser Zeit erteilte die nri-po-c'e, auf die Reformierung der Lehre bedacht, diesem Herrn den Befehl, er solle eine echte Tantra-Schule errichten und Sera-t'eg-c'en gliin gründen. Der leisterte diesem Auftrag Folge und gründete dpal-ldan Rgyud-smad grwa-t'san und, im Erde-Schweine-Jahr (1418). Se-ra-t'eg-c'en gliin. Im Innern dieses Vhāra stellte C'ose-rje-ba aus weissen Sandelholz gefertigte, in Behältern steckende ausserzeichnete Klene Figuren, die er selbst aus China mitgebracht hatte, auf: den Lehrer und die sechzehn Shavraya's, den Kōci-bshen, den Hwa-san u.s.w.: er liess wundervolle bkā-'gyur-Exemplare, die er aus China gebracht hatte, hincinschaffen".*

white sandal inside of which were installed special images made from clay mixed with herbs, [all] brought by the Dharmā Master [Shākya ye shes] himself from China. Having dedicated the wonderful Kanjurs [sic plural!] he had brought from China,<sup>57</sup> he taught the Dharmā for about two years.

Now, as HADANO [1974: 79] notes, although the Karma-pa received copious gifts, there is no record of him being presented a Kanjur or sūtras. This suggests that by 1408 the Kanjur was still incomplete [see also KARMAV 1975: 55]. But by 1413 Kun dga' bkra shis had received a copy. The 1410 date of the Imperial Postface fits in very well with this information. Work was probably begun on the edition around 1406.<sup>58</sup>

So far we know of mention of three exemplars of the Yongle Kanjur, and we can trace all three. It is possible that more were produced, but I know of no mention of others. The Wani emperor's edict, in fact, explicitly states that the Yongle Kanjur had not been widely circulated (但施發傳布未廣). HADANO [1974a: 77] has suggested the possibility that Chengzū's special relation with Wurai-shan and with the Tibetan hierarchs to whom he presented the Kanjur led him to create what was essentially a private publication, never intended for wide distribution. Although this hypothesis is suggestive, it cannot be proved at present. In any case, almost 200 years later the Wani emperor took up the task of reprinting the edition from the blocks Chengzū had stored in the Palace Treasury (殿祖帝取存野內府). As mentioned above (note 6), he had the blocks washed, cleaned up, and reprinted. It is not known how many copies of this reprint were produced, but at least two copies existed on Wurai-shan, and portions were found in Tokyo University and the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, both of the latter now destroyed. A few volumes of the Supplement exist in Harvard. (See Appendix II.)

<sup>57</sup> Noted by YAZAKI 1973: 11-12, and 1974: 1, but see HADANO 1974a: 76, note. HASHIMOTO 1940: 214 misunderstood the passage, which he translated as if the Kanjur had been brought from India. Without context this might be a way to understand the text's *rgya mas*, especially since only a line or two earlier we have *rgya nag mas*, but the context makes it clear that China is to be understood.

GRONWALD 1900: 74 was perhaps the first to put the information in this passage together with reports of the Yongle Kanjur and suggest that it was in fact this very Kanjur that Shākya ye shes had presented to Sera.

<sup>58</sup> According to my calculations, based on SAKAI's data, the Kanjur would have required approximately 65,770 wooden printing blocks (or sides, if the blocks were double-sided). If we assume, with HADANO 1974a: 79, note, that approximately 70 blocks could be carved per day (though I do not know the basis for this estimate), we should also conclude, with HADANO, that the actual carving probably took some three to four years. Accepting the *Jinglangshan-zhi*'s date of 1401 for the future Chengzū's dispatch of his envoys in search of texts to serve as the basis of an edition, HADANO concludes that the entire work took about ten years to complete. Above I have rejected the 1401 date, however, and so working backwards from the 1410 date of the emperor's Laud and Postface, it seems reasonable to suggest that work was begun on the Kanjur in at least 1406, although an earlier date is also possible.

With regard to the question of why the Chinese went to the trouble of producing a xylographic edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, it is worth remarking that there is no doubt an issue of prestige and authority related to printing itself. In a recent study, Susan CHERNACK [1994] has explored some of the tensions between manuscript and printed textual traditions in Song dynasty China. While publication was no longer a state monopoly under the Ming, official publications retained a certain prestige, and Imperial publications had of course a special authority (deserved or not, from the textual point of view). What is perhaps equally interesting and important for us is that, as CHERNACK [1994: 32] says, "printing had the effect of degrading the authority of pre-print manuscript texts and eventually sending most of them into oblivion". The printed word—as in our day—carried a charismatic authority that the handwritten word did not.<sup>59</sup> With the evidence we have, it is perhaps going too far to suggest that the Chinese emperor, by printing the Tibetan canonical collection of the Buddha's word in China, wished to shift the locus of religious authority from Tibet to China.<sup>60</sup> But that he wished to doubly impress the Tibetans—with the new technology of printing, and with the Chinese respect for the Tibetan canonical tradition—would be difficult to doubt. SPERLING has shown, I believe, that the overall attitude of Ming Chengzū toward the Tibetans was sincere, although obviously he was not a politically naive man.<sup>61</sup> It is beyond my capacity to evaluate the effectiveness of Chengzū's gift from the political point of view, but it is perhaps worth pointing out that it was apparently not until 1608-21 that a Kanjur was printed in a Tibetan (or quasi-Tibetan) area, this being the 'Jang sa tham/Lhiang Kanjur.<sup>62</sup> This was, like the Yongle, based on a copy of the Tshal pa Kanjur.

At present we still have no access to the Yongle Kanjur itself, with one small but significant exception. According to an unpublished Handlist prepared in 1986 by Bruce CAMERON HALL, "Tibetan Manuscripts and Xylographs in Michigan Collections", several items in the Special Collections Library at the University of Michigan were received in 1924 from Edward BARKETT, a New York fur trader who travelled in China in the 1920s, and as a sideline sold "Oriental curiosities", mostly books and printing blocks. Among these is the single sheet identified by HALL as belonging to the Yongle Kanjur, catalogued as "Central Asian Collection 1".<sup>63</sup> It is blockprinted in red, measures 24.2 × 68 cm, and

<sup>59</sup> This is not to say that hand copying lost its appeal, either in China or Tibet. At least as far as religious texts go, in both cultures one can still in the present day generate great merit by copying sūtras.

<sup>60</sup> The true locus of authority of course was and always remained in India—or, as seen by both the Chinese and the Tibetans, the "western regions".

<sup>61</sup> See SPERLING 1983: 88.

<sup>62</sup> The exact dates are not certain. See HARRISON 1996: 81, who prefers 1609-14.



ba yin gyis / chos thams cad legs bar dpyad<sup>a</sup> ba ni / rang gi sems \* nyid la thug ste / de  
 bzhin du sgrubd na / grol zhing dam pa thob te / mi g-yo' bar riag tu gnas shing / gang  
 gis kyang sgrub bar mi nus ba / de ni snyigs ma i dus \* kyi sgröl ba i lam dang zam pa  
 la bu / nged rgyal khams bdag ba dang / gdan sa chen po la gnas pa ni / bdag gis<sup>y</sup> yab  
 yun gyis dzin chen po dang / rab \* rin pas phan btags pas / de i dzin bsob par dka' ba i  
 don gyis / gser yig ba mngags nas / nub phyogs nus kha' b' gyur gdan drangs' ong<sup>s</sup> \*  
 [2] nas<sup>?</sup> bar du bsgrubd nas / kun la sbyin ba i phan yon gyis<sup>†</sup> yab yun gnyis 'dren bar  
 bya ba dang / sems can kun gyi mi 'dzad<sup>d</sup> ba i bsod nams \* thob par byad<sup>e</sup> ba i phyir du /  
 de la bu i phan yon ni brjod kyi mi langs / don dam ba i sems nyid 'khrul bus / myon  
 mong ba i bag chags gyis bcings pa gang yang \* mi shes bar 'thoms shing / de la bu ni  
 / chos 'di i gter mdzod kyi ma dpyad<sup>f</sup> ba ni / don dam ba i sems nyid thob bar mi 'gyur  
 te / de dang gi don yang rtoqs \* bar<sup>g</sup> mi 'gyur ro / de i don sems kyi dpyad<sup>h</sup> ba ni 'khor  
 ba ba nams la 'dren zhing / 'khor ba las lung ba nams la ang sgröl ba / de nyid de  
 bzhin gshegs pa i \* byams ba i smon lam yin gyis / de i phyir bstod ba byas shing chos  
 gyi du na bris bas / chos kyi grogs su / phyi rabs ba nams la rgyud do // ) // \*

9 / bstod ba ni ?

- de bzhin gshegs bas بدن با i don bstod ba i //  
 chos kyi sgra dbyangs kun la khyab gyur te // (1)  
 gang ga i klung gi bye snyed 'jig rien khams //  
 re re nas \* kyang yongs su gang par 'gyur // (2)  
 sems can kun la 'dul bar mdzod ba yis //  
 thams cad sangs rgyas go 'phang thob bar 'gyur // (3)  
 zag pa rdul dang bcas ba nams la yang </> \*  
 thams cad rig ba i rgya mtshor gol bar 'gyur // (4)  
 grangs med bskal ba du ma nams su yang //  
 rgya chen thabs kyi sgo mo rab dbye' bas // (5)  
 'khrul bas nam mkha' e \* [3] ~a / / me tog 'dzin ba la //  
 thams cad rtoqs bus gal bar gyur ba ni // (6)  
 gal te cig gis sangs bar ma gyur bar //  
 bdag gis<sup>l</sup> kyang ni sangs \* rgyas mi mdzod<sup>k</sup> zhes // (7)  
 bdag nyid bsam ba sems can nams la yang //  
 rgya chen chos kyi don ni bstod bar bya // (8)  
 nged kyi sems ni skad cig tsam la yang //  
 thams cad \* byang chub go 'phang thob par smon // (9)  
 gong du yab yun gnyis kyi dzin bsob dang //  
 'og nams la yang phan' bar bya ba i phyir // (10)  
 lhan cig bla med sangs rgyas thob gyur cing // \*  
 'dod dang zag bcas thams cad zhi nas su // (11)

- don dam rgyal ba i sems nyid thob byed zhing //  
 snyigs dus sems can kun la phan ba dang // (12)  
 de la bu yis rgya chen gsang ba i \* don //  
 nub gi phyogs nams su'ang legs bar sbyin // (13)  
 ka la bing ka ngag<sup>m</sup> ni ishangs ba i dbyangs //  
 shin tu sryan bus bsam gyis mi khyab ba i // (14)  
 dper na phyogs bcur nga bo \* brdungs<sup>n</sup> ba yis //  
 sgra ni gang du ang thogs ba med bar 'gyur // (15)  
 rna ldan kun gyis yongs su thos gyur ba i //  
 tshor bas thams cad sangs rgyas thob byas shing // (16)  
 legs bar yang \* dag brtan ba mi g-yo' bar //  
 riag tu 'khor bar yongs su mi lung ngo // (17)  
 'jig rien ngon bos dbang bo mdzod ba dang //  
 de bzhin du ni bstod pa byas ba yis // (18)  
 de i phan yon bsam \* gyis mi khyab bar / </>  
 sems can yun ring rgyun du spyod bar shog // (19)  
 yun lo brygad ba i lo zla pa gsum ba i ishes dgu i nyin // //

a) dpyad b) bko' c) drings d) yad e) thob nga-ra-bya f) dbyad g) bang h) dbyad i)  
 kya j) gas k) mjad l) ban m) ngang n) brdus

#### 大明皇帝御製藏經贊

朕惟如來爲一大事出現演三藏十二部之玄言。所以指教垂義者尚矣。自其言流于  
 中土。翻譯其義以化導群類非上根圓智之士鮮能以通之。而得其要者成寡矣。夫  
 治心修身所以成道。心也者虛靈明妙。燦然洞徹。該貫萬理而無所遺也。是故啓  
 多聞必由於藏海。原萬法本歸於一心。以是修證。超乎圓妙。常住不動。無有所  
 蔽此誠末世之津梁迷途之明炬也。朕撫臨大統。仰承鴻基。念

皇考

皇批生育之恩。垂緒之德。劬勞莫報。乃遣使往西方取藏經之文。刊梓印施。以  
 資爲薦揚之典。下卑一切生靈。均沾無窮之福。如是功德有不可名言。若夫世之  
 由迷惑真。交羅故業。茫然而莫之所歸者。不究竟於斯。亦莫能得其體而返其真  
 也。推是心以濟拔流轉。引援沈淪者。亦如來慈悲之願也。用是爲贊以揭于卷首。  
 且以翼流通於無窮焉。贊曰。

- |       |       |     |       |       |     |
|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-----|
| 如來演義諦 | 法音徧克周 | (1) | 世界恒河沙 | 一切皆具足 | (2) |
| 化導於群類 | 咸得成正觀 | (3) | 有漏諸微塵 | 悉超於覺海 | (4) |
| 歷阿僧祇劫 | 廣開方便門 | (5) | 迷妄執空華 | 一切了明微 | (6) |

有一非微者	誓不成佛陀	(7)	我今念眾生	是故廣演說	(8)
深心奉塵刹	俱願證菩提	(9)	上報二重恩	下濟諸途苦	(10)
並登無上覺	欲漏盡消除	(11)	成就勝妙心	以拯諸末劫	(12)
廣此密因義	布施於竺乾	(13)	類伽大梵音	至妙不思議	(14)
如十方擊鼓	無礙於音聲	(15)	有耳皆獲聞	聞者即成覺	(16)
堅固無動轉	永不墮輪迴	(17)	世尊為證明	作如是贊歎	(18)
功德不可說	永披於生靈	(19)			

永樂八年三月初九日

萬曆三十三年十二月吉日奉

旨重刊印造

*The Laud of the Kanjur Composed by the Tai-Ming Emperor*<sup>67</sup>

I considered: The Tathagata appeared for the great purpose.<sup>68</sup> He taught the profound doctrine [*don*] contained in the Three Baskets and the Four Classes of Tantras.<sup>69</sup> After the teaching of this doctrine had gone on for a long time,<sup>70</sup> it [eventually] reached my Middle Country of the East. Relying on the translated doctrine of these [texts], [the translators worked to] discipline beings. Except for those of sharp intellect and clear intelligence, the [very] words of those [texts] were difficult to understand. How much more so their profound meaning! In order to grasp that [profound meaning], it is necessary to become perfected in the disciplining of mind and body. The mind itself being without hindrance and very clear, and possessed of light, it is realized to be the complete true condition of all things. Therefore the necessity of extensive learning is arisen from the treasury of the Dharma, and the examination of all dharmas reaches one's very own

<sup>67</sup> The translation offered here is made from the Tibetan text. On my approach to translating this type of Tibetan, see note 39, above.

<sup>68</sup> Chinese: "one great purpose". The locus classicus for the expression is found in the *Saddharma-piṇḍarīka*, T. 262 (IX) 7a21-22: 諸佛世尊唯以一大事因緣故出現於世。KERN-NANJO 1908-12: 39.13-40.1: *skatyayena śāriputratākarāṇyena iathāgato 'īhan samyaksaṃbuddho loke upadhyate mahāyayena mahākarāṇyena*. Tibetan reads (Peking Kanjur 19a2-3): *shā ri i bu bya ba ge cig dang byed pa ge cig dang bya ba chen po dang byed pa chen po i phyr / de bzhin gste ges pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa i sangs' rgyas 'jig ren du 'byung ba i phyr ro //*.

<sup>69</sup> Chinese: "contained in the twelve divisions of the Tripiṭaka". This led HADANO 1974a: 80 to speculate that the Chinese version was possibly written for the Northern Ming edition of the Chinese canon, and the Tibetan version for the Kanjur in Tibetan. In the multilingual Imperial Introduction to the *Śāriṅgama-sūtra* of 1763, both the Tibetan and Chinese versions say "three baskets [and] twelve-fold preaching"; *sde snod gum dang gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis kyi chos*, 三藏十二部。In STAHL-HOLSTEIN 1936, plate 1.

<sup>70</sup> Chinese: "in order to make known his teaching and transmit his doctrine", and reading it with the previous clause.

mind. If one practices thus, one will be liberated and attain the ultimate. Always dwelling immovably, one cannot be defiled by anything at all. That [practice] is like the path and the ford to liberation in the degenerate age.

I who govern the realm and rest in the great foundation [established by the previous emperor, my father], I [think]: [I.] greatly benefited by my Father and Mother, and bound together by the most excellent [Imperial] line, with the difficult goal of repaying their kindness, sent an ambassador, and after his return from the West bringing a Kanjur, had it executed in print<sup>71</sup> as a beneficial gift for all, in order to benefit both my Father and Mother and cause all beings to obtain inexhaustible merit. Such benefit is inexpressible. Since the mind is deluded about ultimate truth, one is bound by the latent tendencies of defilements and dozes in the state of knowing absolutely nothing. Likewise, one who has not examining [things] through the treasury of this teaching [= Kanjur] will not obtain the mind of ultimate truth nor will he comprehend the meaning of those [texts]. Therefore, mental examination guides wandering beings and liberates them from their wandering [in saṃsāra] and from sins, because that verily is the Tathāgata's compassionate vow. Therefore composing a Laud and having it written down at the head of [each volume of] the Teaching, I will transmit it to friends of the doctrine in later generations.

The Laud:

The sound of the Dharma whose true meaning was taught by the Tathāgata penetrates everywhere. (1)

It completely fills each and every one of the world realms, innumerable like the sands of the river Ganges. (2)

It disciplines all beings so they will all attain Buddhahood. (3)

Even for those stained by the outflows, it will cause them all to cross over the sea of knowledge.<sup>72</sup> (4)

Through innumerable many kalpas it will open the noble door of<sup>73</sup> vast skillful means. (5)

[Even] for those who out of delusion grasp at sky-flowers,<sup>74</sup> having understood [through this Kanjur] everything will become clear. (6)

If [even] one does not become awakened, I too will not be a Buddha—so it was said. (7)

<sup>71</sup> Reading *bar dir as par du*, as indicated by Chinese 刊梓印施.

<sup>72</sup> Understanding *gol = rgo!*.

<sup>73</sup> Chinese suggests "of", *kyi for kyis*; I follow this.

<sup>74</sup> That is, non-existent objects.

I myself thought: I will preach to all beings the meaning of the vast dhama.

(8)

I wish that all beings may attain the state of bodhi in but an instant. (9)

In order that I may repay the generosity of my parents above and benefit the

realms below, (10)

Having attained the highest awakening after everything containing desires

and depravities has calmed down, (11)

One obtains the Victor's mind of highest truth and benefits all beings in the

defiled age. (12)

In this manner the vast secret meaning was given throughout the western

quarters. (13)

[Like] the voice of the kalavinka, it is a pure song, very sweet and so incon-

ceivable.<sup>75</sup> (14)

It is like the sound of drums beating in the ten directions, which will not be

impeded anywhere. (15)

All who have ears will thoroughly hear, and all of them having heard will

become buddhas. (16)

Being completely firm and immovable, they will never fall into saṃsāra.

(17)

The World Protector having made me Lord, accordingly I offer this Laud.

(18)

Its virtue being inconceivable, sentient beings will forever come to enjoy it.

(19)

The eighth year of Yongle, third month, ninth day [April 12, 1410].<sup>76</sup>

## Materials II

Equally of interest is the Postface. The marginal title of the Imperial Postface in Tibetan is *Lung gis mdzad ba'i bstod pa phyi ma*, and in Chinese *Yuzhi Houxu* 御製後序.<sup>77</sup> We read:

<sup>75</sup> The xylograph's reading *ngang* is problematic; I emend to *ngag*, and translate accordingly. For the comparison of the voice of the kalavinka to the *brahmanvara*, see *Höbögirin* p. 134 (s.v. bonnon).

<sup>76</sup> The Chinese adds here: "Reprinted in the thirty-third year of Wanli, twelfth month, first day [January 9, 1606]".

<sup>77</sup> The Chinese is found in the *Shōwa hobō sōmokuroku* 3: 1428a22-29 and 2: 298a1-10. SAKA 1944a: 67, and 1956: 2, and Jia et al. 1985: 87. A facsimile was published in SAKA 1981: 6. (Illegible black and white photos were published in Jia et al. 1985: plate 4, and Furuta 1985: 13. I received a color enlargement of the latter from the photographer, Prof. SHIRASAKI Kenjō, however, for which I thank him. It is from the

Ta'i ming rgyal po rang gis mdzad<sup>a</sup> ba'i bstod pa phyi ma / de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos  
kyi gter ni / shin du legs<sup>\*</sup> pa ni dpag par dka' ba / rab du mtho ba ni 'gran zla med pa /  
shin du rgyas zhing mtha' las 'das pa / rgya msho la bur mtha'<sup>\*</sup> yang med cing / zab  
pa ni bsum gyis ni khyab pa / che ba ni gnam sa kun la ma khyab pa med pa / 'pha ba  
ni kun la 'jug cing / \* yon tan gyi mtha' dpag du med pa / bsum gyis ma khyab pa'o //  
khaus gsum las sgröl pa'i lam des pa yin no // 'gro ba \* kun la 'dren par byed pa'i lam  
chen po'o // dge ba 'dis drin chen po bsab pa dang / kun la phan par byed cing / thams  
cad<sup>\*</sup> bskal ba snyigs ma las grol ba / gal te sems can la la byang chub kyi sems bskyed  
nas / ryan dam klog gam bshad pa \* dang / bsum pa ni lam kun la ma rlogs ba med pa  
dang / yon tan kun la ma sbyin ba med pa / bsod nams kun \* la ma khyab ba med pa'o //  
theg pa gsum gyi tshul yang rnam bar rlogs cing / rnam pa thams cad du de bzhin \* nyid  
la gchal pa dang tshang rgya bar 'gyur ro // rgyal ba'i bstan pa yun ri<ng><sup>b</sup> du rgyud  
cing gnas par 'gyur ba'o' //  
yung lo brygad ba'i lo zla ba gsum ba'i tshes dgu'i nyin //<sup>c</sup>

a) Looks like *mngad*. b) The *nga* is missing in the xylograph. c) This line is written one or two words at a time stacked one above the other vertically down the center of the page.

如來法藏。至妙難測。至高無等。至廣莫極。淵而無際。深不可量。大包天地。  
細入無間。功德無量無邊。不可思議。誠超三城之平路。濟衆庶之夷途。以此弘  
善。用報重恩。普濟一切。悉拔贖劫。若衆生發菩提心。受持懺誦。演說思惟。  
則道無不洽。德無不施。福無不充。了悟三乘之宗。總解真如之旨。即成正覺。  
永紹佛陀。

永樂八年三月初九日

### *The Postface Composed by the Tai-Ming Emperor Himself<sup>78</sup>*

The dharmā treasure of the Tathāgata is: Excellent and difficult to measure; lofty and without rival; extensive and endless; like the ocean without any end at all; [so] deep that it is inconceivable; [so] great that in all the sky and earth there is nothing it does not fill; [so] subtle that it penetrates all. The extent of its virtue is measureless; it is inconceivable. It is the excellent path of deliverance from the three realms. It is the great path which carries along all beings. By this virtuous act [of printing the Kanjur] I have repaid the great kindness [of my parents], benefited all, and liberated all from the degeneracy of [this] age. If every being, having produced the mind of enlightenment, hears, or reads, or

<sup>78</sup> *mdo*, printed in a lovely vermilion color.) The *Shōwa hobō sōmokuroku* texts have the date differently as the ninth year of Yongle, twelfth intercalary month 永樂九年閏十二月 [January 14 - February 11, 1412]. I do not know why this is so.

<sup>79</sup> This translation is also made from the Tibetan text.

expounds and contemplates it, then the path will not be misunderstood, good qualities will be bestowed everywhere, and merit will pervade everywhere. Having understood the practices of the three vehicles, and weighed them in every respect in accord with reality, they will be awakened. The teachings of the Victor will be transmitted, and will remain, for a long time.

The eighth year of Yongle, the third month, the ninth day.

## Appendix I

A few points concerning the number of volumes given in the account from Lhasa [Jia et al. 1985] are contradicted in the extremely detailed listings given by SAKAI, who had the opportunity to study all of the Peking editions and prints on Wutai-shan. I reproduce here the comparative tables given by SAKAI [1944a: 52-58, 1944b: 15-20]. Until access to an exemplar of the Yongle or Wani Kanjur becomes available, this is all we have:

	Yongle	Wani	Kangxi <sup>79</sup>	Qianlong
<i>rgyud</i>	24	24	25	25
<i>sher phyin</i>	24	24	24	24
<i>phal po che</i>	6	6	(9)6	(9)6
<i>dkon brtsegs</i>	6	6	(9)6	(9)6
<i>mdo sde</i>	32	32	32	32
<i>'dul ba</i>	13	13	13	13
<i>dkar chag</i>	(9)1	(9)1	(9)1	(9)1
TOTAL:	106	106	107	107

(a): Kangxi and Qianlong invert the order of the *Phal po che* and the *Dkon brtsegs*. So does the Chinese catalogue attached to the Yongle edition, in disagreement with the Tibetan catalogue. See SAKAI 1944a: 50.

(b): Chinese and Tibetan.

(c): Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu.

In the following list, each entry lists the volume, number of texts and number of pages.<sup>80</sup> The ditto marks are to be read horizontally. The tilde ~ indicates that no new text is included in the volume, which is only a continuation of the same text from the previous volume.

	Yongle	Wani	Kangxi	Qianlong
<i>Rgyud</i>				
1			<i>om</i> , 1, 285 <sup>81</sup>	"

<sup>79</sup> The *Kalai Dazangjing zongmulu* 如來大藏經總目錄 is apparently a catalogue of the Kangxi edition. Originally composed in Tibetan, the Chinese text is a translation. It is very defective. See SAKURABE 1930.

<sup>80</sup> Duplicated pages are indicated in the notes. I follow the listing of SAKAI, who indicates these in almost all cases for the Qianlong only, as he does for the additional texts in the *Dkon brtsegs*. However, the latter at least is actually an error, since the *Dkon brtsegs* was added to in the 1700 Kanjur, as noted below. It is possible that SAKAI thought the *Om* Kanjur catalogued by SAKURABE 1930-32 to be a Qianlong print, but it is rather a 1711/20 Kanjur. Therefore, the duplicated page indications may well belong to one or more of the Kangxi Kanjurs as well.

<sup>81</sup> Starting with the edition of 1700, in which it is first inserted, volume *om* in Kangxi and Qianlong is in fact the displaced volume 2a of the Yongle and Wani (23, below). That is, the *om* volume contains the



2	<i>ka</i> , 2, 329	"	"	"	"
3	<i>kha</i> , 6, 358	"	"	"	"
4	<i>ga</i> , 9, 357	"	"	"	"
5	<i>nga</i> , 43, 330	"	"	"	"
6	<i>ca</i> , 17, 320	"	"	"	82
7	<i>cha</i> , 10, 320	"	"	"	"
8	<i>ja</i> , 15, 255	"	"	"	"
9	<i>nya</i> , 3, 311	"	"	"	"
10	<i>ta</i> , 8 + 1, <sup>83</sup> 323	"	"	"	"
11	<i>tha</i> , 7, 304	"	"	"	"
12	<i>da</i> , 9, 286	"	"	"	"
13	<i>na</i> , 24 + 2, <sup>84</sup> 299	"	"	"	"
14	<i>pa</i> , 13, 283	"	"	"	"
15	<i>pha</i> , 109, 321	"	"	"	"
16	<i>ba</i> , 80, 310	"	"	"	"
17	<i>ma</i> , 5, 304	"	"	"	"
18	<i>tca</i> , 33, 332	"	"	"	"
19	<i>tsha</i> , 49, 323	"	"	"	85
20	<i>dza</i> , 5, 342	"	"	"	"
21	<i>wa</i> , 5, 313	"	"	"	"
22	<i>zha</i> , 17, 291	"	"	"	"
23	<i>za</i> , 1, 285	"	"	"	"
24	<i>'a</i> , 101, 279	"	"	"	"
25	<i>ya</i> , 159, 283	"	"	"	"

*Gang sngags rgyud sde bzh'i 'i gzunggs sngags dang snying po byin brlabs can namas phyogs gcig tu rin po che bu ston pas bkod pa stod na bla me rgyud pa 'i mtshan 'bum mang po dang bcas pa*, which is found in volume *za* in the Yongle and Wani. Instead, volume *za* in the Kangxi and Qiantong editions contains the *Rol pa gyen brlabs ky'i rlog pa chen po // Byang chub sems dpa' chen po 'i nam par 'phrul pa le 'u rab byams las / bcom idan 'das ma 'phags ma sgrul ma 'i rtsa ba 'i rlog pa zhes bya ba*, a text which is not included in the Yongle and Wani Kanjurs. See STRÄL-HOLSTEIN 1934: 2, 13, and 18, note 23, SAKAI 1944a: 51, and 64, note 9, and IMAEDA 1977: 29.

<sup>82</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 80; see SAKURABE 1930-32, page 22, note 4 to text 79. I have only been able to check the *Dkon brtsegs* section, but there the Kyoto reprint presents the duplicated pages at the end of each section.

<sup>83</sup> If I have understood SAKAI 1944a: 53's note correctly, Qani 115 is to be counted as two texts, 115 and 115-bis. See also SAKURABE 1930-32: 40, in the notes.

<sup>84</sup> According to SAKAI 1944a: 53, note, two texts are inserted after Qani 153, namely Qani 492 and 493. In the Qani University Kanjur, volume *na* was missing so SAKURABE 1930-32 could not describe the actual contents. Note that these texts are not found after Qani 153 in the Berlin manuscript Kanjur, however. This should cast doubt on their presence in the Yongle.

<sup>85</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 245.

<sup>86</sup> See the note above to volume 1.

First Larger <i>Sherphyin</i>			
26	<i>ka</i> , 1, 319	"	"
27	<i>kha</i> , ~, 330	"	"
28	<i>ga</i> , ~, 339	"	"
29	<i>nga</i> , ~, 326	"	"
30	<i>ca</i> , ~, 339	"	"
31	<i>cha</i> , ~, 330	"	"
32	<i>ja</i> , ~, 326	"	"
33	<i>nya</i> , ~, 367	"	"
34	<i>ta</i> , ~, 353	"	"
35	<i>tha</i> , ~, 375	"	"
36	<i>da</i> , ~, 323	"	"
37	<i>na</i> , ~, 310	"	"
38	<i>pa</i> , ~, 356	"	"
39	<i>pha</i> , ~, 320	"	"
Second <i>Sherphyin</i>			
40	<i>ka</i> , 1, 300	"	"
41	<i>kha</i> , ~, 311	"	"
42	<i>ga</i> , ~, 312	"	"
43	<i>nga</i> , ~, 282	"	"
Second Larger <i>Sherphyin</i>			
44	<i>kah</i> , 1, 282	"	"
45	<i>kah</i> , ~, 281	"	"
46	<i>gah</i> , 1, 317	"	"
47	<i>ngah</i> , ~, 317	"	"
Third <i>Sherphyin</i>			
48	<i>ka</i> , 1, 312	"	"
<i>Sherphyin sna tshogs</i>			
49	<i>ka</i> , 25, 302	"	"

<sup>87</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 16.

<sup>88</sup> Plus three duplicated pages, 16, 311, 312.

<sup>89</sup> Plus three duplicated pages, 215, 266, 269.

<sup>90</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 194.

<sup>91</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 235.

<sup>92</sup> Plus three duplicated pages, 111, 112, 113.

<sup>93</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 232.

<sup>94</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 26. See SAKURABE 1930-32, page 205, note 1. In the 1692 Harvard Kanjur, at least, folia 280b-281b have nine lines per side, not the standard eight.

<sup>95</sup> In the 1692 Harvard Kanjur, at least, folio 316b has nine lines.

<i>Dkon bntsegs</i> <sup>96</sup>				
50	<i>ka</i> , 5, 308	"	<i>tshi</i> , " "	" 97
51	<i>kha</i> , 7, 321	"	<i>dzi</i> , " "	"
52	<i>ga</i> , 3, 339	"	<i>wi</i> , " "	"
53	<i>nga</i> , 4, 333	"	<i>zhi</i> , 5, 350 <sup>98</sup>	"
54	<i>ca</i> , 16, 357	"	<i>zi</i> , " "	" 99
55	<i>cha</i> , 12, 288	"	<i>i</i> , 13, 311 <sup>100</sup>	"
<i>Phal po che</i>				
56	<i>ka</i> , 1, 264	"	<i>yi</i> , " "	" 101
57	<i>kha</i> , ~, 272	"	<i>ri</i> , " "	"
58	<i>ga</i> , ~, 277	"	<i>li</i> , " "	"
59	<i>nga</i> , ~, 239	"	<i>shi</i> , " "	"
60	<i>ca</i> , ~, 292	"	<i>si</i> , " "	" 102
61	<i>cha</i> , ~, 253	"	<i>hi</i> , " "	"
<i>Mdo sde</i>				
62	<i>ka</i> , 1, 376	"	<i>i</i> , " "	"
63	<i>kha</i> , 4, 313	"	<i>ku</i> , " "	"
64	<i>ga</i> , 2, 334	"	<i>khu</i> , " "	"
65	<i>nga</i> , 5, 314	"	<i>gu</i> , " "	"
66	<i>ca</i> , 4, 321	"	<i>ngu</i> , " "	"
67	<i>cha</i> , 3, 337	"	<i>cu</i> , " "	"

<sup>96</sup> As noted above, in the order of the Yongle and Wanli this and the following *Phal po che* sections are reversed. For ease of reference, since the second Peking edition is numbered continuously I have followed its ordering here.

<sup>97</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 141.

<sup>98</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 74. This volume has added *Ramakāya* text 20, the *Vidyapratipadapariṣecchā*. The entire volume is unfortunately missing in the 1692 Harvard Kanjur, but the text is absent in the Berlin manuscript Kanjur, which is manifestly based on the Wanli Kanjur. See Beckx 1914: 20. The addition of both this and *Ramakāya* text 39 (see below) was noted by STRAË-HOLSTEN 1934: 3, 17-19, notes 22-24, and plate VIII. See STRAË-HOLSTEN 1936: 146, and note 32, who attributes the augmentation to the general editor of the 1700 revision, Prince Fu Quan 福全 (on whom see STRAË-HOLSTEN 1934: 5, note 1). See also SAKAI 1944a: 52. Probably IMAEDA 1977: 30 is wrong to say the 1700 Kanjur did not contain *Ramakāya* texts 20 and 39. He may have based himself on SAKAI 1944b: 11.

<sup>99</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 13.

<sup>100</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 38. This volume has added *Ramakāya* text 39, the *Bhadrapāṭakareṣiḥi*. In the Harvard 1692 Kanjur the text is absent, as it is in the Berlin manuscript Kanjur (Beckx 1914: 24). The contents and pagination of the Harvard volume are as follows: Text # 37: 1b1-4b6; # 38: 4b6-50b6; #39: a; #40: 50b7-61a6; #41: 61a7-74a8; #42: 74b1-77b2; #43: 77b3-115a6; #44: 115a7-123b4; #45: 123b5-150b1; #46: 150b2-180b8; #47: 181a1-234a8; #48: 234b1-262a7; #49: 262a8-288a6 (end).

<sup>101</sup> Plus one duplicated page, 131.

<sup>102</sup> Plus three duplicated pages, 221, 222, 223.

68	<i>ja</i> , 6, 325	"	<i>chu</i> , " "	"
69	<i>nyā</i> , 1, 363	"	<i>ju</i> , " "	"
70	<i>ta</i> , ~, 355	"	<i>nyu</i> , " "	"
71	<i>tha</i> , 7, 308	"	<i>tu</i> , " "	"
72	<i>da</i> , 5, 344	"	<i>thu</i> , " "	"
73	<i>na</i> , 9, 321	"	<i>du</i> , " "	"
74	<i>pa</i> , 9, 307a5	"	<i>nu</i> , " "	"
75	<i>pha</i> , 6, 329	"	<i>pu</i> , " "	"
76	<i>ba</i> , 14, 331	"	<i>phu</i> , " "	"
77	<i>ma</i> , 9, 311	"	<i>bu</i> , " "	"
78	<i>sa</i> , 19, 309	"	<i>nu</i> , " "	"
79	<i>tsa</i> , 19, 323	"	<i>su</i> , " "	"
80	<i>da</i> , 19, 310	"	<i>tsu</i> , " "	"
81	<i>wa</i> , 7, 331	"	<i>tsu</i> , " "	"
82	<i>zha</i> , 5, 327	"	<i>dzū</i> , " "	"
83	<i>za</i> , 19, 327	"	<i>wu</i> , " "	"
84	<i>a</i> , 5, 352	"	<i>zhu</i> , " "	"
85	<i>ya</i> , 21, 332	"	<i>zu</i> , " "	"
86	<i>ra</i> , ~, 334	"	<i>u</i> , " "	"
87	<i>la</i> , ~, 324	"	<i>yu</i> , " "	"
88	<i>sha</i> , 13, 335	"	<i>ru</i> , " "	"
89	<i>sa</i> , 40, 322	"	<i>lu</i> , " "	"
90	<i>ha</i> , 1, 330	"	<i>shu</i> , " "	"
91	<i>a</i> , 4, 316	"	<i>su</i> , " "	"
92	<i>am</i> , 4, 310	"	<i>hu</i> , " "	"
93	<i>aḥ</i> , 14, 294	"	<i>u</i> , " "	"
		"	<i>ke</i> , " "	"

*Dulba*

94	<i>kha</i> , 1, 290	"	<i>khe</i> , " "	"
95	<i>kha</i> , ~, 294	"	<i>ge</i> , " "	"
96	<i>ga</i> , ~, 275	"	<i>nge</i> , " "	"
97	<i>nga</i> , ~, 277	"	<i>ce</i> , " "	"
98	<i>ca</i> , 2, 269	"	<i>che</i> , " "	"
99	<i>cha</i> , ~, 265	"	<i>je</i> , " "	"
100	<i>ja</i> , ~, 268	"	<i>nye</i> , " "	"
101	<i>nyā</i> , 1, 253	"	<i>te</i> , " "	"
102	<i>ta</i> , 2, 290	"	<i>the</i> , " "	"
103	<i>tha</i> , 1, 293	"	<i>de</i> , " "	"
104	<i>da</i> , ~, 316	"	<i>e</i> , " "	"
105	<i>na</i> , 2, 283	"	<i>pe</i> , " "	"
106	<i>pa</i> , 18, 317	"	<i>phe</i> , " "	"

<sup>103</sup> Lacking access to the sources, I cannot explain this discrepancy.

## Appendix II

Attached to the Wanli Kanjur is the two page *Yuzhi zangjing chiyu* 御製藏經勅諭 in Chinese, dated December 2, 1606. It reads:<sup>104</sup>

大明皇帝御製勅諭

□□□<sup>105</sup> 寺住持及僧衆人等

朕惟自古帝王以儒四道治天下而儒術之外復有釋教相翼並行。朕以冲昧嗣承大統、迄今三十有四揆天下和平、臣民樂業、仰思

天眷

祖德、洪庇良由大公同善之因。況

國初建置僧錄司職掌厥事蓋仁慈清靜、其功德不殊神道、設教千化誘爲易

祖宗睿謨意深遠矣。佛氏藏經舊刻六百三十七函。我

聖母慈聖宣文明肅貞壽端獻恭嘉皇太后、續刊四十一函、業已全備。朕既恭序其

端、而又以通行印施、序其前後。勅諭護持所以錫考類流

慈恩也。茲者朕仰體

祖宗德教、

聖母慈仁萬機之暇、因思恭已無爲之教。化清虛有用之具詮檢閱番大藏經源流出

自西域、乃我

成祖命取存貯內府、譯誦刊布、流通以廣。仁慈法願、導化群迷、輔翼德教、甚聖心也。但施發傳布未廣、朕今繼續續述。謹發善誠、特給工費、爰命所司查理

清洗舊板、重刊印造、共一百五函、續添四十二函、用足全數、施給中外

各處寺院、俾番漢二藏大經同傳、永垂不朽、用表朕敬

天法、

祖尊親之意、發致施仁、普濟之心、祝延

宗社、永享無疆之福壽而華義共樂有道之太平。此經頒布之處、本寺僧衆人等、

其務齋心禮誦、敬奉珍藏、不許褻玩、致有毀失。特賜禮勅、以垂永久。

欽哉故諭

大明萬曆三十四年八月吉日

<sup>104</sup> I give the text as it is printed in SAKAI 1944a: 68-69, and 1956: 2-3. There are, however, some discrepancies between the two transcriptions, and occasionally the sense of the text is not clear. I have given what seems the more reasonable reading in those cases. I have not retained the exact line breaks, which suggest that the text was originally written vertically on a rather narrow page, such as a Tibetan-style *pothi*. I have, however, retained the peculiarity that certain characters are always placed above (here to the left of) all others. The punctuation has been added. I am grateful to Victor Xiong for his assistance with this text.

<sup>105</sup> SAKAI 1956 gives two missing characters, 1944a three.

The most important points from this document have been mentioned above. It states that the Yongle edition did not have a wide circulation, that the Wanli "edition" is in fact a reprint, made from the same blocks as the Yongle, and that the 42 volume supplement added to this print was inserted under the inspiration of the emperor's mother's supplement of 41 volumes to the Northern Ming edition of the Chinese canon. It also clarifies that the Yongle/Wanli Kanjur contains 105 volumes, obviously not taking account of the *dkar chag*.

Two volumes of the 42 volume supplement to the Wanli print are missing in the only known nearly complete exemplar, that in the Luohou-si 羅喉寺 temple on Wutai-shan. There is also a catalogue of this addendum called the *Xuian rulai dazangjing bini lanchang-jing sishier-han zongmulu* 續添如來大藏經秘密壇場經四十二函總目錄.<sup>106</sup> "Comprehensive catalogue of the supplemental forty-two volumes of secret *mandala* sūtras [belonging to] the *Rulai dazangjing*", which consists of five leaves in Chinese and fifteen in Tibetan [SAKAI 1944a: 58].

Here is a listing of the contents of the volumes of this supplement.<sup>107</sup> For each the following are given: I) the volume label; II) the number of texts in the volume, according to the catalogue, which sometimes disagrees with the actual state of the exemplar examined by SAKAI; III) the number of pages extant when SAKAI examined the edition—the catalogue does not note the end page, and many folia are missing, so that the number does not necessarily represent the original extent of the volume; IV) the title of the volume; and V) the title of the first text in the volume.

I, II, III	IV	V
1 <i>ka</i> , 6, 300	內無量壽壇場經	吉祥無量壽佛中國壇場經等
2 <i>kha</i> , 6, 325	大乘妙法華經	大乘妙法華經等
3 <i>ga</i> , 6, 299	聖星曜佛母壇場經	聖星曜佛母中國壇場經等
4 <i>nga</i> , 5, 296	樂師琉璃光王佛壇場經	樂師琉璃光王佛中國壇場經等
5 <i>ca</i> , 5, 300	釋迦牟尼佛增長經	釋迦牟尼佛增長壇場經等
6 <i>cha</i> , 14, 295	秘密孔雀壇場經	秘密佛母大孔雀明王經上卷等
7 <i>ja</i> , 2, 300	護國人王佛陀羅尼經	大千護國人王佛陀羅尼經等
8 <i>mya</i> , 1, 300	秘密明咒陀羅尼經	秘密明咒陀羅尼
9 <i>ta</i> , 5, 300	隨求佛母陀羅尼經	隨求佛母陀羅尼壇場經等
10 <i>ha</i> , 2, 307	寒林孔雀陀羅尼經	寒林孔雀陀羅尼經等

<sup>106</sup> The reading at SAKAI 1944a: 51, 續添如來大藏秘密壇場經四十二函總目錄, must be an error.

<sup>107</sup> Copied from SAKAI 1944a: 58-59, 1944b: 30-31.

11	<i>da</i> , 6, 310	喜金剛九佛壇場經	吉祥喜金剛壇場經等
12	<i>na</i> , 6, 300	大輪十八佛壇場經	大輪十八佛壇場經等
13	<i>pa</i> , 6, 305	大白蓋傘壇場經	大白蓋傘壇場經等
14	<i>pha</i> , 7, 300	尊勝佛母壇場經	尊勝佛母壇場經等
15	<i>ba</i> , 8, 300	救度佛母壇場經	聖救度佛母壇場經等
16	<i>ma</i> , 11, 300	普覺衆明主壇場經	普覺衆明主壇場經等
17	<i>sa</i> , 8, 300	阿閼佛母壇場經	阿閼佛母壇場經等
18	<i>sha</i> , 6, 300	唾盤答葛十三佛壇場經	唾盤答葛十三佛自增壇場經等
19	<i>dza</i> , 8, 312	延壽無量佛經	內延壽無量佛十三佛壇場經等
20	<i>wa</i> , 31, 300	廣大慶讚壇場經	廣大慶讚壇場經等
21	<i>zha</i> , 6, 301	吉祥上樂輪壇場經	上樂輪壇場經等
22	<i>za</i> , 6, 300	吉祥六十二佛壇場經	吉祥六十二佛壇場經等
23	<i>'a</i> , 10, 287	祝壽景命壇場經	祝壽景命壇場經等
24	<i>ya</i> , 6, 301	文殊密聚王壇場經	文殊密聚王壇場經等
25	<i>ra</i> , 1, (lost)	(三時功課諸品經咒)	三時功課諸品經咒
26	<i>la</i> , 17, 295	薰壇蕩穢經	薰壇蕩穢經等
27	<i>sha</i> , 1, 299	觀音普門品經	觀音普門品經
28	<i>sa</i> , 1, 281	金剛般若陀羅尼經	金剛般若陀羅尼經
29	<i>ha</i> , 1, 300	佛說阿彌陀經	佛說阿彌陀經
30	<i>a</i> , 6, 292	消災陀羅尼經	消災陀羅尼經等
31	<i>an</i> , 10, 293	涅槃陀羅尼經	大般涅槃陀羅尼經等
32	<i>ah</i> , 11, 294	龍王請問經	龍王請問經等
33	<i>ā</i> , 6, 300	大布雲陀羅尼經	大布雲陀羅尼經等
34	<i>ki</i> , 7, 302	眼明金光明經	眼明金光明經等
35	<i>ka</i> , 1, 299	遺囑安位慶讚經	遺囑安位慶讚經等
36	<i>ke</i> , 1, 300	放生延壽經	放生延壽經
37	<i>ko</i> , 16, (lost)	(金剛集輪五方步吒經)	金剛集輪五方步吒經等
38	<i>kam</i> , 1, 302	百拜千佛懺悔經	百拜千佛懺悔經
39	<i>khi</i> , 1, 302	吉祥眞實明經	吉祥眞實明經
40	<i>kau</i> , 1, 301	冥府十王功德經	冥府十王功德經
41	<i>kha</i> , 4, 300	放河燈普濟功德經	放河燈普濟功德經等
42	<i>kho</i> , 10, 300	增月數功德經	增月數功德經等

In these titles, which are obviously directly translated from Tibetan and not identifiable on the basis of the available Chinese titles,<sup>108</sup> 壇場 means *mandala*, and the number of

<sup>108</sup> Even when they seem to be clear. This is because the length cited for the texts does not correspond with what we would expect. For instance, text 27 would seem to be the *Avalokiteśvara* chapter of the

buddhas indicated in items 11, 12, 18, and 22 refer also to *mandalas*. Perhaps only an examination of the originals themselves will allow us to identify the contents with certainty.

We are in the fortunate position of possessing two of these volumes in a western library. The Harvard-Yenching Library owns what can now be identified as volumes *tsa* and *ku* of this supplementary section of the Wani Kanjur.<sup>109</sup> These two volumes lack their title pages, and I have seen photocopies of only folio 2a of the *tsa* and 42a of the *ku*. (In neither case is the volume number visible on the recto. The versos should be examined, however.) The text titles written on these rectos correspond perfectly to those reported from Sakai's catalogue. The Tibetan on the left of *tsa* 2a reads *mi 'yhrags ba'i* [space] *gnyis*, while that on *ku* 42a reads *rab du gras bzhi'i gny'i/s*. The former obviously corresponds with the Chinese title, rendering \**Aksobhya*, while the latter, rendering something like \**pratisāra*), seems to correspond only to the second element in the Chinese title. No doubt a careful examination of these two volumes will yield considerable information.

Thirty-seven volumes of what was once thought to be the Yongle edition were kept in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, but these were lost (having apparently been destroyed) at the end of World War II.<sup>110</sup> However, according to Eimer [1983b: 7, n. 8], this print was in black, and therefore the volumes must have belonged to the Wani and not the Yongle.<sup>111</sup>

At least one additional portion of the Wani Kanjur existed until the 1920s. On December 15, 1916, at 1:00 P.M., in the faculty reading room in the library of Tokyo Imperial University, Izumi Hōkei 泉芳環 set down his brush, having finished writing a catalogue of the library's holdings of canonical Tibetan literature [Izumi 1916]. These materials were brought to Japan by TERAMOTO Enga 寺本婉雅, one of the great pioneer

Lotus sūtra, and 29 the Smaller *Sukhāvatīya* sūtra, merely on the basis of the Chinese titles. Neither of these texts, however, would we expect to take 299 or 300 pages to print.

<sup>109</sup> Again, these should be listed, according to HALL's 1979 system, under Tib 1803.7/12 (Wani), rather than the incorrect Tib 1803.7/11 (Yongle).

<sup>110</sup> LAUFER 1914: 1130, for example, thought these volumes belonged to the Yongle. What this may suggest is that the Berlin Wani "preface and postscript [= our Laud and Postface]", photos of which were made for LAUFER, did not have the additional line found in the Chinese versions of the Laud I examined, namely "Reprinted in the thirty-third year of Wani, twelfth month, first day", or that LAUFER consulted only the Tibetan version, which does not contain any additional note.

<sup>111</sup> These volumes were brought from Peking by Eugen PANDER, apparently in 1889. PANDER himself (1889: 201) writes that he was lucky enough to obtain the last 27 volumes, of which 24 belonged to the Tantra. Apparently 27 (so printed in Arabic numerals) is, however, a misprint for 37, according to the remarks of LAUFER 1914: 1129 (who writes out "thirty-seven"), and EIMER 1983b: 7, note 8.

Tibetologists, and presented to the Imperial Household, and thence to Tokyo Imperial University. (So much is stated in the front of Izumi's catalogue.) The value of this catalogue itself is revealed in the note added inside the last page, written on July 10, 1943, which states (not entirely coherently):<sup>112</sup>

On the first of September, 1923, all of this canonical Tibetan literature was reduced to ashes by the fire of the Great Tokyo Earthquake. Alas, we cannot even know what items existed. Since this catalogue is a record of the state of the collection in 1916, anyway, as the sole source which allows us to know what was there, it is a record which ought to be highly valued.

In addition to various manuscript versions of canonical texts, several incomplete printed Kanjurs are included in Izumi's list. One of these, printed in black, seems to correspond to the Wanihi edition. While some of the volumes cannot be identified with certainty, it seems that the set contained volumes 4, 5, 8, 10, 17, 42, 43, 51, 54, 59, 60, 63, 64, 86, 69, 70, 71, and 84, in addition to 4 volumes of Vinaya which I cannot identify, and an additional 12 volumes of sūtras I likewise cannot identify. The key volumes, 53 and 55, which would have told us without a doubt that this was a Wanihi exemplar rather than a post-1765 Qianlong (also printed in black), are unhappily missing. However, TEAMORO himself [1984: 300] in a document dated to April 1911 states clearly that the volumes belong to the Wanihi Kanjur. Moreover, he informs us that he obtained them from the Huang-si 黃寺, a temple in northeast Peking located in the Andingmenwai 安定門外 district, and that he was able to acquire these and other texts due to the state of unrest prevailing at the time in North China.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> 大正十二年九月一日東京大震災ニヨリテ此ノ西藏經典ハ全部尙有二翻セリ 可惜 爾等ノ品々存在セシカラ知ルヌラ能ハズ 此ノ目錄ハ大正五年ノ現状ヲ記録セルモノナレバ セメテ何ガ有リシカラ知り能フ唯一ノ資料ニシテ最モ尊重スベキ記録ナリトス。This catalogue is noticed by IMAEDA 1977: 27, note 18.

<sup>113</sup> In fact, the account of the destruction of temples and murder of monks is itself most disturbing, and the entire document, "Introduction to the Comprehensive Catalogue of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka", *Chibeto Issaikyō Somokuroku Jo* 西藏一切経録目錄序, should be translated.

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### Explanation of the Plates

- Plate I: Left recto of folio 12 of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* from, above, the Yongle Kanjur and, below, the 1692 Kanjur. In line 7 of the 1692 Kanjur, the first *śhad* has been added by hand.
- Plate II: Right recto of folio 12 of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* from, above, the Yongle Kanjur and, below, the 1692 Kanjur. In line 1, compare the use of *śhad* after *ga* in the upper left corner.
- Plate III: Left verso of folio 12 of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* from, above, the Yongle Kanjur and, below, the 1692 Kanjur.
- Plate IV: Right verso of folio 12 of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* from, above, the Yongle Kanjur and, below, the 1692 Kanjur.

The photographs of the Yongle leaf are reproduced courtesy of the Special Collections Library, University of Michigan, and one of the 1692 Kanjur leaf courtesy of the Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University.

### Addendum

Thanks to the kindness of Prof. G. M. NAGAO, I am able to correct a mistaken rendering on page 163, line 3-4. I would now render the sentence in question: "So it is said that the roar of the ocean [though it makes many different sounds nevertheless] is a unitary sound, and rich ghee all has the same flavor." The terminology appears to allude to that in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (KERN & NANJIO 1908-12), chapter 24 verse 24, *jāladharaḡarjita* (= Chinese T. 262 [IX] 58a26). The sense is apparently that, despite the different expressions of the dharma, whether in Tibetan or Chinese, the dharma itself remains one. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* passage refers to the voice of Avalokiteśvara, and the meaning there is clear, that the "roar of the ocean" is the voice of this bodhisatva, which is the preaching of the dharma. Ghee, the symbol for the best of its kind, has the same taste always and everywhere, as does the dharma which has always and everywhere the taste of salvation.