

乾隆满文大藏经绘画

# 藏传佛教众神

TIBETAN BUDDHIST PANTHEON  
FROM MACHU KANJUR

故宫博物院编



紫禁城出版社

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# 序

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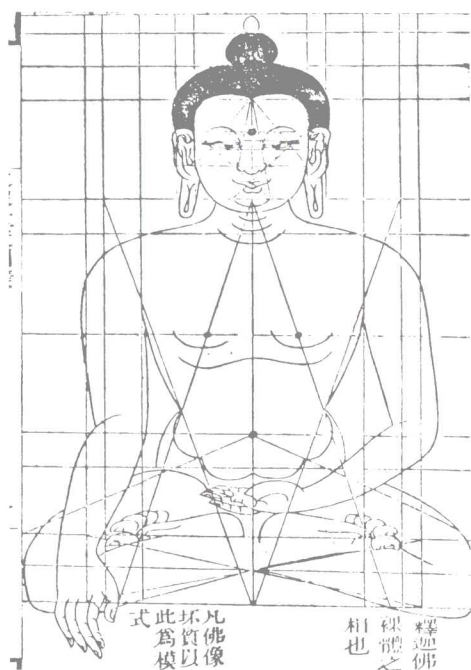
**乾**隆《满文大藏经》，最近已由紫禁城出版社重新刊行，确实是令人高兴的盛举。紫禁城出版社为此付出了艰辛的劳动，将尘封了两个多世纪的北京故宫博物院所藏数万块经版，重新清理修补刷印，并将残缺部分以北京故宫及西藏布达拉宫两处所藏经函补足，印成目前最为完整的《满文大藏经》。这部《满文大藏经》，原刊行于乾隆三十八年至五十五年（1773~1790年）。刊行缘由并不仅是宗教信仰，而有其文化和政治内涵。当时满族建立清王朝已逾一又四分之一世纪之久，汉文、蒙文大藏经均已刊行，却还缺乏自己民族文字的藏经，是令清朝皇帝颇感难堪的缺陷。乾隆帝为补此缺陷，于乾隆三十八年特颁谕旨，开清字经馆，进行满文翻译，历时18年，终于完成。共编译佛教经典699种，共计2535卷，是目前传世的唯一满族文字大藏经。当时仅印行12部，又深藏诸皇家寺院，且受民族语言局限，故并未在世间流通散播，所以当时《满文大藏经》在宗教和文化方面的意义远逊于政治意义，或者说《满文大藏经》的编纂实际上是为统治蒙藏的需要，而大藏经本身却成为保持中华帝国统治民族自尊的文化象征物。时至今日，确有其重要的历史价值和文物价值。

《满文大藏经》的装帧亦极精美，为贝叶夹装，经页双面朱印，在上下经夹板上裱有纸本彩

画。在上经夹板上沥金书经名等内容的两侧各绘一尊佛像，下为束腰仰覆莲座，以佛菩萨等尊神为主；下经夹板分绘四或五个尖椭圆拱形龕，龕内各绘一尊像，或立或坐，下为覆莲座，以护法、女尊和本地神为主。诸像造型生动，色彩浓重艳丽，重细部描绘，手印、体姿及衣饰法器均精致明晰，四周边饰为红地泥金番草纹，构图庄重富丽。上经夹板中沥金书大字经名用满文阿礼嘎礼字，其余小字经名为满汉蒙藏四体，佛教尊像分别标注藏满名号。这些造像造型均明显表现出藏传佛教尊像的特征。据统计，经夹板上所绘尊像计709尊，除去其中重复的内容，各种尊神的数量仍超过500尊之多，确是清乾隆时藏传佛教造像艺术之瑰宝。

《满文大藏经》的内容虽然以大乘小乘经居多，与藏文蒙文大藏经比较，其中密教内容为少，但经夹板佛画则全为藏传佛教造像，这种内容和经夹板画反差明显的现象并非偶然，正反映出当时清朝皇室虔信藏传佛教的现实情况。清朝皇室贵胄虔信藏传佛教的事迹毋须赘述，仅观清宫诸佛堂供奉的尊像多为藏传佛教造像即可见一斑。雍正帝继位前府第于乾隆九年（1744年）改为藏传佛教庙宇——雍和宫，为目前北京地区最大的喇嘛庙，更为突出实例。在乾隆年间，对于藏传佛教造像的艺术造型深有影响的事，有两件特别值





釋迦佛  
著衣之  
相也  
凡化身  
相除手  
及坐法  
幟之外  
以是作  
像

《造像量度经》释迦牟尼佛插图

得注意。一是国师章嘉胡土克图拣选藏传佛教诸佛，排列尊次，编列字号，形成系统，由庄亲王绘编成册，是为《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》。一是刊行由工布查布译述的《造像量度经》，经前有乾隆七年（1742年）国师章嘉的序及乾隆十三年（1748年）庄亲王序，这也是目前所知的关于造像量度的唯一经典。二者都与国师章嘉和庄亲王有关，可见其间是有联系的，前者是对藏传佛像的宗教图像系统研究，体现了清廷供奉的藏传佛教神学体系，也是清代第一部有汉文名的藏传佛教图像集；而后者则是“因见佛像传塑规仪未尽”，为了规范宗教造像的造型而译述，使匠师具体掌握造像本身的比例关系和造型规律，以制作出合乎仪轨的各类尊像。该经指出制作佛像体肢大小节分，竖横制度，以自手指为基本度量单位，按比例度量，如“肉髻崇四指”等等，然后按比例放写，使造像皆合仪轨。也规定了佛、菩萨、护法诸像的高低比例关系，佛和正觉菩萨为十搽度、初地菩萨以下依次为九搽度、八搽度，等等。量度经的出现，一改此前绘制佛像仅由匠师口传心受的师徒相承的

习惯做法，正应合乾隆时大量造像的需要。以《满文大藏经》经夹板上的佛像，对照《造像量度经》所附造像量度图样之释迦佛裸体之相与著衣之相来看，确均与该经所示仪轨相符合，也说明正是遵照规范的造型仪轨，才能顺利完成多达700余尊藏传佛教造像的浩大又细致的绘制工程。

《满文大藏经》经夹板所绘藏传佛教造像被重新刊行，确使今人得以欣赏这些创作于两个世纪以前清乾隆时藏传佛教艺术珍品。但其学术意义更在于这些图像均榜题有藏满名号，这就为研究清代藏传佛教诸尊神系提供了准确的图像学资料。遗憾的是所题藏满名号今人难以释读，故令人有虽入宝山却只能空手而归之感。幸而青年学者罗文华知难而上，不畏艰辛，将全部藏满名号译读，并还原为相应的梵文名号，为阅读本书的人提供了极大的帮助。由于这项工作甚为艰巨，难免有疏误之处，但已为进一步探研开辟了通路。我们相信，《满文大藏经》经夹板绘画的刊印，将在国内外的藏传佛教图像学研究者中产生重大影响，必将推进研究势头，取得新的学术成就。

# 前言

罗文华

## 一、《满文大藏经》概述

**乾**隆《满文大藏经》，原题：清文翻译全藏经，是清代继《四库全书》之后的又一巨大传世文化工程，共编译佛教经典699种，计2535卷。贝叶夹装，经页长73厘米，宽24.5厘米，双面朱印，分为108函。此工程始于乾隆三十八年(1773年)，完成于乾隆五十五年(1790年)，历时18年之久，共刷印出12套，分藏各处。

乾隆三十八年下谕旨：“大藏汉字经函刊行已久，而蒙古字经亦俱翻译付镌，惟清字经文尚未办及。揆之阐教同文之义，实为缺略，因特开清字经馆，简派皇子、大臣于满洲、蒙古人员内择其通晓翻译者，将藏经所有蒙古字、汉字两种悉心校核，按部翻作清文，并命章嘉国师董其事，每得一卷即令审正进呈，俟朕裁定。今据章嘉国师奏称，唐古特甘珠尔经一百零八函，俱系佛经，其丹珠尔经内有额纳特珂克(Enedkeg，蒙文，指天竺一引者注)得道大喇嘛等所传经二百二十五部，至汉字甘珠尔则西方喇嘛及中国僧人所撰全行列入，今拟将大般若、大宝积、大集、华严、大般涅槃、中阿含等经及大乘律全部翻译，其五大部支派等经八种，并小乘律皆西土圣贤撰集，但内多重复，似应删繁就简，若大乘论、小乘论共

三千六百七十六卷，乃后代祖师在此土撰述，本非佛旨，无庸翻译等语，所奉甚合体要，自应照拟办理。”(《乾隆朝上谕档》第735条，中国第一历史档案馆编，档案出版社，1991年)

今检《满文大藏经》目录与上述完全吻合：三藏中仅译经和律两部分，未收论。经由大般若部、大宝积部、大集部、华严部、大般涅槃部、小乘阿含部组成，戒律为大乘戒律，与汉文大藏经的结构多有重合之处，其体例所依可以明晰。而且乾隆序中也明确提到这部大藏经是“国语(即满文)译汉全藏经”，“将藏经所有蒙古字、汉字两种悉心校核，按部翻作清文”，可见满语大藏经应以汉文大藏经为底本，对比蒙文藏经翻译而成。由于章嘉国师兼通梵藏蒙汉，熟悉经典，且有蒙文词汇和经典可以借鉴，所以如此庞大的工程得以迅速完成；此大藏经的另一个特色是大乘小乘经的内容居多，较藏文和蒙文大藏经，其密教的内容要少得多，这与章嘉对《满文大藏经》经典的删定标准是一致的。

乾隆对此艰巨工程的顺利完成感慨颇多，曰：

“为事在人，成事在天。天而不佑，事何能成，人而不为，天何从佑。”



“予所举之大事多矣，皆赖昊乾默佑，以致有成，则予之所以感赋奉行之忱，固不能以言语形容，而方寸自审，实不知其当何如也……若夫订四库全书及以国语译汉全藏经二事胥举于癸巳年六旬之后，既而悔之，恐难观其成。越十余载而全书成，兹未逮二十载而所译汉全藏经又毕藏。夫耳顺古稀已为人生所艰致而况八旬哉？兹以六旬后所并为之典，逮八旬而得观国语大藏之全成，非昊乾嘉庇，其孰能与于斯，而予之所以增惕钦承者，更不知其当何如矣。”（见《满文大藏经》的御制序）

一位八旬老人的激动之心情溢于言表。

《满文大藏经》从其诞生之日起就开始了它多舛的命运。乾隆五十五年（1790年），译经处清字经馆遭遇火灾，部分藏经版和印出经页被焚，其中被毁的经版有7600余块。一些经版重刻或补刻，一些经页重刷，直到乾隆五十九年才最后完成了12套大藏经的刷印和装订工作（《乾隆朝上谕档》第1492条和1500条）。

由于《满文大藏经》只印刷了12部，且多数深藏盛京、承德、京师皇家寺庙中，鲜为人知。尽管当时三地均有专门的满族寺庙规定必须诵读满文经咒，如京师地区的东陵隆福寺、西陵永福寺、香山宝谛寺、圆明园正觉寺、功德寺等五庙，承德有殊像寺和盛京的北塔法轮寺等[《故宫珍本丛刊·钦定理藩院则例》（道光朝），第321页，故宫博物院编，海南出版社，2000年]，而且规定其中的各级喇嘛管理人员均从内部选出，以保持其语言的纯洁性，但是这毕竟是官方行为，而且封闭的环境使其脆弱的生命力进一步受到伤害。以至于到19世纪末20世纪初的时候，很多学者甚至怀疑真的有《满文大藏经》存在。直到北京故宫博物院成立，这些经典才广泛为世人所知，并陆续发现了五部之多，以后历经抗战的动荡和自然

灾害（韩儒林《青海佑宁寺及其名僧》，第336—337页，此文录于《藏事论文选》，西藏人民出版社，1985年），现在仅有两套侥幸存世。其中一套一分为二，分别藏于北京故宫博物院、计76函，台北故宫博物院、计32函。另一套基本完整，存于西藏布达拉宫的三界殿（Sa-gsum lha-khang）。《满文大藏经》原雕经版共48211块，故宫现存尚能使用的有25862块，紫禁城出版社此次重印出版的《满文大藏经》即是将故宫现存经版重新清理刷印，不足之处，据北京故宫所藏经函和布达拉官所藏经函补充而成。这是目前所能见到最为完整的《满文大藏经》。对于此书编译的缘起，乾隆在《满文大藏经》的序中谈到：

“至于国语译大藏，恐人以为惑于祸福之说则不可不明示其义。夫以祸福趋避教人，非佛之第一义谛也。第一义谛佛且本无而况于祸福乎？但众生不可以第一义训之。故以祸福引之，由渐入深而已。然予之意仍并不在此。盖梵经一译而为番，再译而为汉，三译而为蒙古。我皇清主中国百余年，彼三方久属臣仆而独阙国语之大藏可乎？以汉译国语，俾中外胥习国语，即不解佛之第一义谛而皆知尊君亲上、去恶从善，不亦可乎？是则朕以国语译大藏之本意在此不在彼也。”对于《满文大藏经》的翻译与刊行，当时颇有反对之声，这与乾隆长期崇佛，尤其是推崇黄教颇受非议的情况一样。这一番辩解之辞颇可以与乾隆五十七年（1792年）他写的《喇嘛说》对照而看。

在《喇嘛说》中，他将崇佛的初衷归结为统治蒙藏的政治需要，并反击道：“使予徒泥汰沙之虚誉，则今之新旧蒙古畏威怀德，太平数十年可得乎？”而在上文中，他将引导众生尊君亲上，去恶从善的社会教化作为其中理由之一，更重要的是，他胸中澎湃着的民族主义情绪促使他以耄耋之年主持这一工程。满民族统治着汉蒙藏等民

族，建立强大的帝国和稳固的统治，这种民族的自豪感和优越感时时激打着他的心灵，所以他指出一个如此优越的民族理当有自己母语的大藏经，这一点在逻辑上虽然不甚有说服力，但却颇有感召力，令人无法否定。

无论从何种理由解释，乾隆本人对佛教的虔信，才是《满文大藏经》之所以能够翻译完成的最重要的理由，而支持他翻译《满文大藏经》的思想深处还有民族自豪感的情结的影响。

## 二、《满文大藏经》的绘画

**在**《满文大藏经》共108函的上下经夹板上裱有纸本的彩色绘画，内容多是与经典有关的佛教尊神。一般格式是：上经夹板正中是靛青纸沥金书满文阿礼嘎礼字拼读梵文礼敬佛法僧三宝和本函所含第一部经的经名，文字的两边各有佛教尊神一幅，两幅彩图的两侧分别以四体文字书写本函所含第一部经经名：左侧一幅左边书满文经名，右边书藏文经名；右侧一幅左边书蒙文经名，右边书汉文经名。下经夹板有彩图四幅或五幅，在整个画面的两侧仅以满文和汉文书经名。

上下经夹板中每一幅尊像左下角书满文尊名，右下角书藏文尊名。上经夹板所绘尊神以下面几类为主：

1. 印度祖师；2. 本尊、五方佛及无量寿佛；3. 三十五忏悔佛；4. 过去七佛；5. 贤劫千佛；6. 十方佛；7. 药师佛；8. 佛顶尊；9. 八大菩萨及观音菩萨和文殊菩萨变化身；10. 佛十大弟子；11. 女尊：般若母变化身、度母变化身、准提母、持世菩萨、无我佛母等。

下经夹板所绘尊神主要有：1. 四大天王；2. 八方守护神，如梵天、火天等；3. 十大印度教来源的低级神，如遍入天，大自在天等；4. 九大王

星尊；5. 大黑天；6. 密教坛城十方守护尊；7. 八大龙王；8. 二十八宿尊；9. 药叉大将；10. 威罗瓦金刚变化身；11. 吉祥天母及侍从；12. 摩里支天及侍从；13. 值四季母；14. 持八宝母；15. 供养母；16. 长寿五仙女；17. 阎摩变化身及侍从；18. 持世菩萨；19. 空行母；20. 毗卢佛坛城内诸菩萨；21. 八大救难观音菩萨；22. 十自在母；23. 十二波罗蜜母；24. 十地菩萨；25. 四无碍母；26. 八大菩萨，等。

概言之，上经夹板以佛菩萨身份的尊神为主，下经夹板以护法、女尊和本地神中的组合神为主。与蒙古文和藏文大藏经的绘画内容相比，其密教神的成员明显要少很多，除著名的吉祥天母、大黑天、阎摩、药叉大将、四大天王等常见的忿怒尊以外，其它如空行母等类极具密教色彩的尊神数量很少，而以平和像的成员居多，甚至于本尊类双身像这种藏传佛教中极为常见的形象都极少见到，只有喜金刚一尊。这与上文提到的《满文大藏经》重大小乘佛典轻密典有直接的关系。

从绘画风格的角度来看，画面四周大红底色以连续不断的金泥绘番草纹装饰。画框内诸尊身光之外有云纹装饰。上下经夹板诸尊的身光不同。上经夹板中诸尊均是卵形宝饰身光，身光内为五色光线或金泥绘细密光线。下经夹板中诸尊有宝饰拱门式身光，根据身份的不同，诸尊身光内的装饰图案也不同。大部分平和像身光中以祥云或金泥绘细密光线装饰；忿怒像诸尊则多以各色火焰纹装饰。

虽然目前并没有发现《满文大藏经》翻译、抄写和彩图装饰等方面的档案，但是比较乾隆三十七年至五十九年间清官中正殿所绘唐卡中的云团形式可以基本确定，描绘这些彩图的工匠很显然有来源于清官中正殿的喇嘛，但大部分的绘画可能是外雇的画工所为，因为其绘画风格并不统一，



而且水平相差很大。如前14函可能就是中正殿画佛喇嘛所为，其它诸函各方面与之有明显的差异。这与官中大规模工程中造像与插图模式的一贯性有显然不同。

### 三、满藏梵文之说明

由于《满文大藏经》中绘画的图像学价值非常高，所以各尊神名号的考定至关重要。前文提到，《满文大藏经》上下经夹板的绘画诸尊均标注有藏、满文名号。通过研究，我们发现，藏文中多为西藏传统义译的诸尊名号，也有部分用藏文转读系统按梵文音拼写的名号。相反，满文名号则多以阿礼嘎礼字标注梵文音名号，只有少数传统满文义译名号，而且，同一尊神在不同的地方分别用两种不同系统的名号标注的现象也为数不少。在编辑过程中，我们将所有尊神的藏满文名号忠实地转写出来，以方便学者的进一步研究。我们从现存雕版中，将有上下经夹板彩图内容的雕版共116面刷印成线图并收录进来，与现存《满文大藏经》中相应经函的彩图一一比较勘，如遇有与后者不同之处，在相应的单词后面给出并加括号和\*号标明；由于时间有限，编者并未对其中满藏文名号作过全面的订正，只在诸尊名号转写时，将满藏文中一些明显属于笔误或者拼写不规范的单词给出正确拼写，在该词后面以括号标明。对于辨识不准的名号均以括号加问号标明。汉文名号中遇有同一尊神有不同汉译名的情况，其主要译名以章嘉国师的《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》为准，其它译名则在括号内尽可能全部标出。

满文全藏共有108函，编为001—108序号，每一函中，由上经夹板到下经夹板上的尊神，由左向右，依次编号为1—6，或1—7分号。按照规律，1—2为上经夹板，3—6或3—7为下经夹板，以标

明某尊在经板上的具体位置。藏文名号以大写字母T(Tibetan)表示；满文名号以大写字母M(Manchu)表示；梵文名号以大写字母S(Sanskrit)表示；汉文名号以大写字母C(Chinese)表示。

示例如下：

059-1 T: 'Jam dbyang(dbyangs) dkar  
po(Si ta Mañdzu shrī\*)

M: Shanyan manjusiri fucihi

S: Sita-Mañjughoṣa

C: 大白文殊菩萨

表明此尊是在第59函，上经夹板，左边第一尊。其藏文名号中 'Jam dbyang dkar po 是手写尊名，其中 dbyang 有拼写错误，正确拼写是 dbyangs。经版刷印的图像中，此尊的名号与手写内容完全不同，作 Si ta Mañdzu shrī。

另外，还要专门解释一下满文阿礼嘎礼字的情况。乾隆十三至十五年(1748—1750年)谕令和硕庄亲王领衔，由章嘉国师亲自主持制定了佛经咒语中的读音标准注音系统，其中包括满文的标音系统。这是满文首次建立直接针对梵文的标音系统，通过借一部分蒙古字母，用以完善其所缺音韵。这个系统就叫满文阿礼嘎礼字(Alikali，即元音和辅音的意思)。这项工作完成之后汇编成书，这就是我们所知的《同文韵统》一书(《故宫珍本丛刊·御制同文韵统》，海南出版社，2000年)。此书成为我们正确识读满文阿礼嘎礼字母以及还原梵文名号最重要的依据。此满文阿礼嘎礼的转写系统第一次大规模严格使用是在乾隆二十三年至三十八年编著的《御制满汉蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒》一书中。根据二书，可以推定梵藏文字母表中的每一个字母与满文阿礼嘎礼系统字母的对应关系，为我们正确识读《满文大藏经》里的诸尊名号提供了可能。

现将梵藏满及其转写体系列如表一：



表一：梵藏满字母对照表

S	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	व	वृ	ऋ	ॠ
T	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	व	वृ	ऋ	ॠ
R.S	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	rī	l	lī
M	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	व	वृ	ऋ	ॠ
R.M	a	aa	i	ii	u	uo	ri	rii	li	lii
S	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः	क	ख	ग	घ
T	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः	क	ख	ग	घ
R.S	e	ai	o	au	aṁ	aḥ	ka	kha	ga	gha
M	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः	क	ख	ग	घ
R.M	e	ei	o	oo	aṁ	aḥ	g'a	k'a	ga	gha
S	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ	ड	ढ
T	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ	ड	ढ
R.S	ṇa	ca	cha	ja	jha	ña	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha
M	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ	ड	ढ
R.M	nga	ts'a	tsa	dza	dzha	niya	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha
S	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	भ
T	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	भ
R.S	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na	pa	pha	ba	bha
M	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न	प	फ	ब	भ
R.M	ṇa	d'a	ta	da	dha	na	p'a	pa	ba	bha
S	म	य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह	क्ष

T	ᠮ	ᠤ	ᠷ	ᠯ	ᠪ	ᠰ	ᠱ	ᠰ	ᠬ	ᠭ
R.S	ma	ya	ra	la	wa	sha	ṣa	sa	ha	kṣaḥ
M	ᠮ	ᠤ	ᠷ	ᠯ	ᠪ	ᠰ	ᠱ	ᠰ	ᠬ	ᠭ
R.M	ma	ya	ra	la	wa	sha	ṣa	sa	ha	g'ṣaḥ

缩写字母注释:

M: Manchu 满文

R.M: Romanized Manchu 满文转写

S: Sanskrit 梵文

R.S: Romanized Sanskrit 梵文转写

T: Tibetan 藏文

由于编者能力的限制,本书并未将满文转写与梵藏文的转写统一起来,目前也未见有相关的成果可以参考,所以本书至少有满藏梵三种转写系统并存。表一中,梵文转写基本依据 George L. Hart III 的 Rapid Sanskrit Method 一

书中采用的体系。藏文采用的基本与 Michael Hahn 的 Lehrbuch der Klassischen Tibetischen Schriftsprache 的转写体例一致,并稍作修改,将喉音(cutturals)中的鼻音 ṅ 用 ng 代替,腭音(palatals)中的鼻音 ñ 用 ny 代替(表二)。

表二:藏文字母及罗马转写对照表

ᠠ	ᠨ	ᠭ	ᠷ	ᠴ	ᠬ	ᠵ	ᠨᠠ	ᠲ	ᠳ
Ka	kha	ga	nga	ca	cha	ja	nya	ta	tha
ᠳ	ᠨᠠ	ᠫ	ᠫᠤ	ᠪ	ᠮ	ᠴᠤ	ᠴᠤᠰ	ᠳᠵ	ᠰ
da	na	pa	pha	ba	ma	tṣa	tṣha	dza	wa
ᠵᠠ	ᠵᠠ	ᠠ	ᠤ	ᠷ	ᠯ	ᠰ	ᠱ	ᠬ	ᠭ
zha	za	'a	ya	ra	la	sha	sa	ha	a

满文基本采用的是季永海等编写的《满语语法》(下文简称季书)的罗马转写体系,只是在个别字母上作了变通,如:

季书	本书
ṣ	sh
ts'a	tṣa
c'y	tṣha
jy	ḍa

在遇有可能混读的复合辅音,如: g 与 h, s 与 h, d 与 h 则以一断开作: g-h, s-h, d-h, 如 038-2, 048-2 中的 Sing-ha 等。这种情况是借鉴藏文转

写中 gy 复合结构与 g-y 加以区别(这其中前者 y 是下加字,后者 y 是发音辅音)的先例。由于季书并未涉及满文阿礼嘎礼字的内容,所以字母转写并未全备,故本书所补充的字母转写完全采用梵文转写的字母。如:卷舌音(retroflexes)中的 ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, 啞音中的 ś, ṣ, 休止字母(final letter)ḥ 等。其它喉音,腭音,齿音(dentals)和唇音(labials)则借用发音相近的同组字母,加 ' 号区别。

需要特别提醒的是,根据我们的研究,满文阿礼嘎礼字诸尊名号极少拼读藏文音,而是直接读梵文音,如果没有相应的梵文知识和佛学知识,

其中的单词即使对于一个精通满文的人来说,无异于天书。这一点也极大地限制了满文阿礼嘎礼字的流行。从《满文大藏经》诸尊名号来看,这个标音系统并没有得到严格遵循,这其中除了有抄写人员的笔误成份以外,也与此系统并不为人所熟悉而广泛采用有很大关系。所以我们可以看到,有时一些应该使用新造字母的地方,往往用其它发音相近,但更常用的字母所代替。如ᠨᠠ经常被na换用。有时满文转写的名号与梵文发音差距很大,对于这一点需要进一步的研究,但是藏文及蒙古文对梵文读音之间的差距(如用ba, wa代替va)以及古老中亚方言的读音透过蒙古文影响了满文对梵文的拼读可能是重要的原因。另外,《满文大藏经》是章嘉国师参与主编的,但是直到他去世(乾隆五十一年,1786年)这项庞大的工程并没有结束,他的去世对《满文大藏经》后期工作的影响是显而易见的,如第51函圆觉经下经夹板中的藏文字迹潦草不堪,几乎无法辨认,而且其它部分藏满文书写错误往往可见。这一点十分耐人寻味。

#### 四、结 论

西方学者从19世纪末至20世纪都在大规模搜求更多的图像学资料,先后刊印出版,以方便研究。在各个相关的领域都能见

到这些学者们探索的身影,他们的出版物中著名的有《三百佛像集》、《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》、《宝相楼》、《五百佛像集》等,已经成为我们研究藏传佛教图像学案头必备之参考书。《满文大藏经》的插图是迄今为止这一研究领域中唯一的处女地,从来没有任何的学者做过这方面的研究,甚至很少提到过这些极有价值的资料。这与《满文大藏经》长期养在深闺人未识有关系。2000年在德国召开的汉学讨论会吸引了很多研究满学的学者参加,但是以满文佛经为研究主题的论文几乎没有一篇,更不用说有关它的绘画了。可见《满文大藏经》长期封闭的状态已经严重影响了学术界的研究进展。此外,《满文大藏经》经夹板上共绘有佛教尊神709尊,除去其中重复的内容,各种尊神的数量不少于500余尊。现今我们所知绘尊神最多的图像学著作是《五百佛像集》,二者在数量上大致相当,但是后者为雕版印刷,民间工艺,全部为黑白线描图,图像学特征模糊。《满文大藏经》中的插图不仅色彩鲜艳,而且诸尊的法器、手印和坐姿均清晰如新,其图像学研究的价值之高是不言而喻的。此次将《满文大藏经》108函经夹板上的彩图全部刊行出来确实是满文和藏传佛教图像学和艺术研究的一件大事,它必将在佛学界和满学界引起强烈的反响。





## INTRODUCTION

Luo Wenhua

### 1. An Brief Introduction to Manchu Kanjur

**M**anchu Kanjur, originally entitled **A Manchu Translation Of All The Buddhist Canons**, is a tremendous cultural achievement sequent to the **Si Ku Quan Shu (The Complete Library in Four Divisions)**, in which a total of 108 cases inclusive of 699 kinds of Buddhist canons numbered 2535 volumes in all, are translated into Manchu. Each page of Manchu Kanjur measured 73 by 24.5 cm, is printed in red on both sides and mounted by Tibetan Tradition. It is recorded that 12 sets of Manchu Kanjur were printed as xylography and bestowed to the imperial monasteries or temples as well as other important Tibetan Buddhist centres, such as Potala palace, in Tibet, after the 18 years arduous work from the 38<sup>th</sup> year (1773) to the 55<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1790).

In his 38<sup>th</sup> year Qianlong instructed: “Chinese Tripiṭaka has been reprinted for years and Mongolian one has also completely been finished translation and gone to press. However, nothing has been done for Manchu one. It is truly a lacuna in respect of the principle that Buddhist teaching should be

preached by various languages. Thereby, **Manchu Text House** was established in particular and a prince and the Manchu and Mongolian ministers who are good at translation are selected to examine all the Chinese and Mongolian Tripiṭakas in order to translate them into Manchu part by. State Preceptor ICang-skyā Hutuktu was appointed to manage the project. After every volume has been finished and, then, has been gone through and emended by him, it was submitted to me for ultimate approval. According to State Preceptor ICang-skyā's proposal, all the 108 cases in Tibetan Kanjur are sūtras, while Tibetan Tanjur deals with 225 kinds of texts, which were transmitted by great Indian Monks. As to Chinese Kanjur, in which all the writings of Indian and Chinese Monks are also collected, such divisions of it as Mahāprajñāpāramita, Mahāratnakūṭa, Mahāsannipāta, Avataṃsaka, Mahāparinirvāṇa and Āgamas as well as Mahāyāna-Vinaya should be translated, the others, however, such as eight kinds of texts from the branches of the first five parts and Hīnayāna-Vinaya, although being without exception great In-

dian saints' writings, seem to have to be adopted after cutting out the repeated contents. As regards Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist Abhidharma with 3676 volumes in all, known as the great monks' works locally composed in the later time, there is no need to translate them into Manchu as the Buddha's teachings. I agree to ICang-skyā's proposal, so all will be going on by his idea."

Through examining the catalogue of Manchu Kanjur, it is clear that ICang-skyā's idea was strictly performed in the process of the whole project: of the Tripiṭaka, only Vinaya and Sūtra have been compiled, viz. Mahāprajñāpāramitā, Mahāratnakūṭa, Mahāsannipāta, Avataṃsaka, Mahāparinirvāṇa, Āgamas, and Mahāyāna-Vinaya as well. It appears that its organization is based on the Chinese Kanjur on account of their amazing similarities of structure of texts. Contrasted with the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs, Manchu Kanjur embodies a small amount of Tantric texts. Owing to ICang-skyā's profound knowledge on Sanskrit, Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese and Buddhist texts, and, further, adoption of Mongolian terms in large amounts during their translation into Manchu, the tough compilation finished at a stunning speed.

Emperor Qianlong remarked with deep feeling in his foreword for Manchu Kanjur: "Man proposes; but Heaven disposes. Without the Heaven's helps, nothing can be completed; conversely, if nothing has been executed, how could Heaven help?"

"All of such great achievements what I have

executed rest on Heaven's help so much that I can hardly express my attitude in words and, in my heart of hearts, I don't know how should I. ... As to **Si Ku Quan Shu** and translating Kanjur into Manchu, the two projects began in my 60. I became regret soon after the beginning because I was afraid that I could not live to the time of their accomplishments. **Si Ku Quan Shu**, unexpectedly, accomplished in ten years and Manchu Kanjur also finished translating from Chinese no more than 20 years. It is said that it is difficult to live over 60 years, let alone 80 years. For me, I projected them at my 60 and enjoy their accomplishments at my 80. Who could do these if Heaven has not favored me? I became so cautious and indebted that I could not know what I should do."

What an 80-year-old man's excited monologue!

Unfortunately Manchu Kanjur has been suffering its mishaps since its publication. In 1790, more than 7600 of blocks and parts of the printed pages were burned to ashes in the fire accident of the **Manchu Text House**. It was not until the 59<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign(1794)reign that the 12 sets of Manchu Kanjur were accomplished printing after the re-engraving and reprinting of the burned parts.

Since it is believed that only 12 sets of Manchu Kanjur have been printed and all of them were bestowed to preserve in the imperial temples or monasteries in Shengjing, Jehol, Beijing, they have little been known beyond the court. Although some special temples, such as Long-Fu Temple in Eastern Imperial Mausoleum (Dong-Lin), Yong-

Fu Temple in Western Imperial Mausoleum (Xilin), Hebei Province, Bao-Di Temple in Xiangshan, Zheng-Jue Temple and Gong-De Temple in Yuan-Ming Garden, Beijing, Shu-Xiang Temple in Jehol and Fa-Lun Temple in Shengjin etc. was obliged to chant Manchu Buddhist texts and, even, the high-ranking Lamas must be selected from the memberships of these temples in order to maintain the holiness of Manchu. Such kind of official protection and interior closed condition brought hurt to the frail vitality of Manchu so serious that, to 1920s, scholars commonly suspect if there is certainly a set of Manchu Kanjur once existing in the world. Not until the foundation of The Palace Museum, these copies became well known after five of them were found successively. From then on going through the second world war or suffering from natural disaster, two of the five sets of Manchu Kanjur survived: one collects separately in The Palace Museum in Taipei (32 cases) and The Palace Museum in Beijing (76 cases); another one is displayed in Sa-gsum lha-khang in Potala palace, Tibet. Thereby, the Forbidden City Publishing House reprinted the complete Manchu Kanjur on the basis of 25862 pieces of the cleaned old wooden blocks (originally 48211 pieces are engraved for Manjur Kanjur) preserved in the Palace Museum in Beijing, and the complementary parts of Manchu Kanjur collected in Potala palace.

As to the reasons of the translation and compilation of Manchu Kanjur, Emperor Qianlong also remarked in his foreword: “The reason why we must have a Manchu translation of Kanjur have to be ex-

plained here since I worry about some misunderstanding that my purpose of compilation of Manchu Kanjur focuses on the avoidance of misfortune and pursuit of fortune. The teachings of the avoidance of misfortune and of pursuit of fortune are not virtually the ultimate truth of Buddhism. Buddha, even, is regarded as nothing in the ultimate truth, let alone misfortune and fortune! But the common people could not be taught by the ultimate truth at the beginning but have to be led by the teachings of misfortune and fortune so as that they could gradually understand its profundity; even so, my purpose, however, does not focus on this point. The Indian Buddhist texts were translated into Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian, and the people in the three areas have been subjected to Qing Dynasty for a long time, (even like those people who have their own language Buddhist Tripiṭakas), is it convincible that we have no our own? Isn't it beneficial that all the other people in the empire tend to learn the state language (Manchu) after translating Chinese Kanjur into Manchu? Even if they could not understand the ultimate Buddhist truth, at least they could realize the virtue to pledge loyalty to emperor and to respect the old as well as to do away with evil and return to good. So my purpose compiling the Manchu Kanjur focuses on this point instead of on the other.”

The compilation and printing of Manchu Kanjur cause a lot of criticisms exactly like the condition that he indulged in Buddhism, in particular in Tibetan Buddhism. His explanation here ought to be compared with his another famous inscription, written in the 57<sup>th</sup> year of his reign



(1792), entitled **On Lamas (La-Ma Shuo)**, on a stele set up in Yong-He-Gong, Beijing.

In this context he contributes his belief in Buddhism to the needs of state policy and retorts: "If I were forced to exert strict control on Tibetan Buddhism just for good fame as an Emperor, how could you enjoy the peace and tranquility of the empire with new and old Mongolian fearing the imperial power and appreciating imperial charity for several decades."

Although in his foreword the Virtue to pledge loyalty to emperor and to respect the old as well as to do away with evil and return to good was emphasized, the more important reason that he at his 60 made a decision to translate and compile the Manchu Kanjur is a kind of strong nationalist enthusiasm always full of his heart. Manchus, as a weak and small race, establishes a mighty and stable empire, ruling Mongolian, Hanese and Tibetan. Such kind of ethnocentrism is constantly inspiring him to complete the Manchu Kanjur. Although his reason seems logically not to be so convictive but impressive, it is impossible to be disproved when it was colored with nationalism.

Whatever his explanations are, it was convinced that the emotion of strong ethnocentrism as well as his pious belief in Tibetan Buddhism are the real important motivations he started and supported such a hard project.

## 2. Illuminations in Manchu Kanjur

**T**he contents of the colored hand-painted illuminations mounted on insides of the top and bottom wooden

covers in 108 cases of Manchu Kanjur are associated with the first text in their respective cases. The general forms of the top and bottom covers are as follows: on the top cover the centre is a rectangle ornamenting with projecting Manchu Alikali characters written with golden juice with contents on Homage to Buddha, dharma and Saṅgha and the title of the first text in the case, on both sides of which two pictures are separately painted with quadrilingual text titles: on both sides of the left painting are Manchu (left) and Tibetan (right), while on both sides of the right are Mongolian (left) and Chinese (right). On the bottom cover there are four or five pictures painted with the bilingual text titles in Manchu (left) and Chinese (right) written on both sides of the page. In each picture Manchu name of every divinity is signed on bottom left-hand corner and Tibetan name are on bottom right-hand corner.

All the figures on the top covers can generally be classified into 11 divisions as follows: 1. Indian priests; 2. Yi-dams, Five Dhyāni-Buddhas and Amitayus; 3. Thirty-five Confessional Buddhas; 4. Seven Past Buddhas; 5. Thousand Buddhas; 6. Ten directions Buddhas; 7. Medicine Buddhas; 8. Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas; 9. Eight Bodhisattvas and Avalokiteśvara's and Mañjuśrī's attendants; 10. Buddha's 10 disciplines; 11. Feminine deities: Prajñāpāramitā, Tārā, Cuṇḍā, Vasudhārā, Nairātmā, etc. On the bottom covers are divinities as follows: 1. Four Dharmapālas; 2. Eight Dikpālas: such as Brahman, Agnī, etc., 3. Ten Principal Hindu Deities; 4. Nine planets; 5. Mahākālas; 6. Ten protectors of Maṇḍala; 7. Eight Nāgarājas; 8. Twenty-

eight constellations; 9. Māhayakṣasenāpatīs; 10. Vajrabhairavas; 11. Kalīdevī and her attendants; 12. Mārīcī and her attendants; 13. Four seasons goddesses; 14. Eight precious Holding Goddesses; 15. Worshipping Goddesses; 16. Five longevity Goddesses; 17. Yāma and his attendants; 18. Vasudhārā; 19. Ḍākiṇīs; 20. Bodhisattvas in Vairocana Maṇḍala; 21. Avalokiteśvaras who save from eight fears; 22. Ten Īśvaradevī; 23. Twelve Pāramitās; 24. Ten Bhumis; 25. Four Pratisaṃvit; 26. Eight Bodhisattvas.

Generally saying, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are mostly depicted on the top covers, while groups of feminine deities, Dharmapālas and inferior local deities are delineated on the bottom covers. The membership of fierce deities except for the famous Dharmapālas, such as Śrīdevī, Mahākālas, Yamas, Māhayakṣasenāpatīs, four Dharmapālas are obviously less than those in Tibetan Kanjur and Mongolian Kanjur, in particular the Tantric membership, such as Yi-dam, only Hevajra could be observed. This pantheon has a close relation to the principle of the compilation of Manchu Kanjur that Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist texts are much more exalted than Tantric ones.

In respect of artistic styles of these illuminations, there are decorations with continuous red floral patterns around the central frame and clouds around the divinities in the frame. The aureoles of divinities on the top covers are different from those on the bottom: On the former the divinities are decorated with jewelry olivary aureoles and five colors rays or fine and dense rays painted with cold

gold around the figures, while on the latter they have aureoles like jewelry arches, in which auspicious clouds and golden rays are painted for peaceful divinities and colored flames for fierce ones.

Although no Qing Court archive on the translation and painting of Manchu Kanjur has been discovered, it is not difficult, by comparing with the clouds in Thangkas produced in Qing Court during the 37<sup>th</sup> -59<sup>th</sup> years of Qianlong reign, to draw a conclusion that most illuminations in Manchu Kanjur are most likely painted by the artisans temporarily employed from the folk workshops, and only those of the first 14 cases (viz. from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> case of Mahāprajñāpāramitā) are executed by Lama painters in Zhong-Zheng Hall (the imperial temple in Forbidden City) or painters in the Imperial Household, for their sophisticated ornaments and vivacious colors obviously excel the others. These differences in style and technology break the tradition that the unified model should be strictly obeyed in the great court projects: modelling statues or painting illuminations.

### 3. Remarks on Manchu, Tibetan and Sanskrit

It is extremely primary and important to affirm the suitable names of all the divinities before the original material is accessible to all. As is stated above, the names of the divinities of the illuminations on the top and bottom covers are signed in Manchu and Tibetan. It is definite according to our study that the traditional Tibetan names of divinities

appear more times than their Tibetan transliteration of Sanskrit. In Manchu the condition is reversed. The Manchu Alikali are used more frequently, sometimes some deities also with such two kinds of names respectively used in different places. In this catalogue the Manchu and Tibetan names of the divinities are faithfully transliterated in order that scholars can make further study. Besides, 116 block-reprinted pages, on which the divinities of those painted on top and bottom covers are delineated, are found out and edited in this book. Any differences of the names in the reprinted pages from those in the relevant handwritings in paintings are noted with (\*). Due to the limited time, it is impossible to examine all the Tibetan and Manchu names, but some obvious misspelling and miswriting words are amended, and signed the correct spelling with ( ). Some uncertain or illegible names are marked with (?). As to Chinese, a deity's different names are lists with parentheses behind the main one on the basis of the third incarnation of ICang-skyā Hutuktu's work, **Chu-Fo-P'u-Sa-Sheng-Hsiang -Tsan**.

108 cases of Manchu Kanjur are numbered from 001 to 108, and then, in each case, all the divinities from the top cover to the bottom cover, from left to right, run from 1 to 6 or to 7. Regularly, divinities from 1 to 2 mean those on the top cover; while those from 3 to 6 or to 7 refer to the divinities on the bottom cover. By this way the exact site of each figure can be easily pointed out. And, in the context T is abbreviation of Tibetan, and S means Sanskrit, and M indicates Manchu, and C refer to Chinese.

For example as follows:

059-1 T: 'Jam dbyang(dbyangs) dkar po  
(Si ta Mañdzu shrī\*)

M: Shanyan manjusiri fucihi

S: Sita-Mañjughoṣa

C: 大白文殊菩萨

It reveals this figure lies on the left of the top cover, viz. the first of the 059<sup>th</sup> case. Its handwriting Tibetan name is 'Jam dbyang dkar po, of which dbyang is a misspelling and dbyangs is a given amendment. According to its block-reprinted page, its name is differently read as Si ta Mañdzu shrī.

Here it is necessary to make a brief explanation to Manchu Alikali. Yun-Lu, He-Shuo-Zhuang Qin-Wang (Emperor Qianlong's uncle), and the third Incarnation of ICang-skyā Hutuktu were appointed to unify the spelling system of Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1748-1750). By borrowing some absent letters from Mongolian alphabet, Manchu spelling system finally becomes perfect. It is the first time that Machu spelling system directly corresponding to Sanskrit alphabet was established. After the project, a book was compiled, entitled **Tong-Wen-Yun-Tong (The Transliteration Systems of Sanskrit)**. This Manchu system is taken as Manchu Alikali. Since then, the compilation of **Da-Zang-Quan-Zhou (All Mantras in Mahāpiṭaka)** during the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1758-1773) is the first practice of Manchu Alikali in a large scale. By the two books, the