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Title	Chinese character glyphs as concrete textual examples vs. dictionary data
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Citation	Journal of the Graduate school of Letters, 8, 11-33
Issue Date	2013-03
Doc URL	https://hdl.handle.net/2115/52323
Type	departmental bulletin paper
File Information	02_IKEDA.pdf



Chinese character glyphs as concrete textual examples vs. dictionary data

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Abstract: The Hanzi Normative Glyphs Database (HNG) made it possible to document the orthographic standard of concrete examples used in printed and handwritten texts in different time periods and geographical regions. Based on this, this paper examines, taking the character 寂 and its variants as a case study, the relationship between character data recorded in dictionaries and concrete textual examples, and while making a distinction between the date of a dictionary's compilation and its copying, draws attention to the significance of studying orthography.

(Received on December 12, 2012)

1. The methodology of studying the history of orthography and dictionary data

1.1. Current state of research and the tasks at hand

With its opening to the public in 2004, the Hanzi Normative Glyphs Database (hereafter abbreviated as HNG; led by Ishizuka Harumichi 石塚晴通) provided tangible evidence that the orthographic standard of the *kai* script did not remain unaltered throughout history but changed in different time periods and geographical regions. Ishizuka (1999) put forward a model of orthographic evolution according to which at the formative stage of the *kai* script during the Nanbeichao 南北朝 and Sui 隋 periods character glyphs still varied and a standard became apparent only with the beginning of the Tang, whereas by the Kaicheng Stone Classics 開成石經 (837) of the late Tang this standard underwent extensive transformation, giving rise to the 'standard' (*zheng* 正), 'vulgar' (*su* 俗), 'common' (*tong* 通) and 'corrupt' (*e* 訛) glyphs. The HNG database fully substantiates this model. On the other hand, starting with Nishihara (1979), a series of studies on *ziyang* 字樣 character models demonstrated how the compilation of works such as the *Zhengming yaolu* 正名要錄 (Lang Zhiben 郎知本), the *Qunshu xinding ziyang* 群書新定字樣 (Du Yanye 杜延業) and the *Ganlu zishu* 干祿字書 (Yan Yuansun 顏元孫), which aimed at differentiating characters that are easily confused on grounds of graphical and phonetic similarities, led to the formation of the model of 'standard', 'vulgar', 'common' and 'corrupt' glyphs. From the point of view of methodology, the former (i.e. Ishizuka, HNG) represents an

inductive approach to the study of the history of Chinese orthography, whereas the latter (Nishihara), a deductive one. In the future, more in-depth studies are expected to appear using each of these approaches, as well as research that synthesizes and develops them further.

As to the term ‘orthographic standardization’ 字体規範, Nishihara (1995) uses it in the sense of ‘the norm used for differentiating the glyphs of the *kai* script during the Tang dynasty’, and further discusses the meaning of ‘standard’ 正, ‘commonly used’ 通用 and ‘inherited and concurrently used’ 相承共用 categories of the *Qunshu xinding ziyang*, as well as the ‘standard’ 正, ‘common’ 通 and ‘vulgar’ 俗 glyphs of the *Ganlu zishu*. The HNG database, on the other hand, assumes that characters used in standard texts by themselves are manifestations of the orthographic standard. In other words, they exhibit the standard through concrete examples.

1.2. The study of the history of orthography in connection with dictionary data and concrete textual examples

While character dictionaries (*zishu* 字書), rhyme dictionaries (*yunshu* 韻書), *yinyi* 音義 dictionaries and *ziyang* 字樣 character models also display the actual glyphs, it is the commentaries that categorize them as ‘standard’, ‘vulgar’, ‘common’, ‘corrupt’, etc. In this paper, character glyphs and various types of commentary remarks are called together ‘dictionary data’. ‘Dictionaries’ in the term ‘dictionary data’ include rhyme and *yinyi* dictionaries and *ziyang* character models; when used by itself, the word ‘dictionary’ simply means a character dictionary organized by *bushou* 部首 classifiers. ‘Concrete textual examples’ refer to actual occurrences in primarily Buddhist canonical texts. The HNG database incorporates standard texts or ones assumed to be such. When referring to the glyphs used in these texts, these are called ‘standard orthography’.

In order to examine the relationship between concrete textual examples and dictionary data, in this paper I use the case of the character 寂, the orthography of which exhibited changes in different time periods. As described in Ikeda (2011), the HNG database documents the evolution of the character 寂, which is written as 冢 in the Nanbeichao and Sui periods, as 𡩇 in the early Tang, and as 寂 in the late Tang. There is also an abundance of dictionary data. For example, the *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡 (997), by the Liao monk Xingjun 行均, records the information below, thus providing a useful way of comparing concrete examples with dictionary data. The small characters of double commentary lines are inserted into angle brackets < >; punctuation marks are inserted, when needed (the same applies for the rest of this paper).

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2.2. Additional examination: the Dunhuang and Shōsōin manuscripts

To complement the results obtained from the HNG database, I examine an array of Dunhuang manuscripts (from the Stein and Pelliot collections) and scrolls from the Shōsōin 正倉院 (Shōgozō 聖語藏). The selection of Dunhuang manuscripts is based on Fujieda (1960).

As shown below, all of the examined Dunhuang manuscripts from the Nanbeichao period (439–589) use 冢. Manuscripts from this period still preserve some characteristics of the clerical script (*lishu* 隸書), and 冢 is an inheritance from the orthography of the clerical script. I list the two manuscripts from the HNG database, i.e. <S.81> and <S.2067>, along with the others.

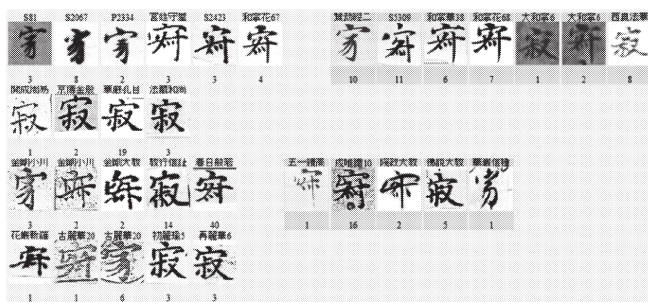


Figure 1 Search results of 冢 in the HNG database

S.81 <i>Daban niepan jing</i> 大般涅槃經, juan 11 <S.81> (AD 506)	冢 3 occurrences
S.2067 <i>Huayanjing</i> 華嚴經, juan 16 <S.2067> (AD 513)	冢 8 occurrences
P.2110 <i>Huayanjing</i> 華嚴經, juan 35 (AD 513)	冢 4 occurrences
P.2143 <i>Dazhidulun</i> 大智度論, Chapter 26 “Shilun” 釋論 (AD 532)	冢 10 occurrences
S.4366 <i>Daban niepan jing</i> 大般涅槃經, juan 12 (AD 550)	冢 1 occurrence
P.2106 <i>Dazhidulun</i> 大智度論, juan 8 (Nanchao manuscript)	冢 2 occurrences
P.2108 <i>Dajijing</i> 大集經, juan 24 (Beichao manuscript)	冢 12 occurrences
P.2140 <i>Busiyiguang pusa jing</i> 不思議光菩薩經 in 1 juan; <i>Fanmoyujing</i> 梵摩渝經 in 1 juan (Nanchao manuscript)	冢 15 occurrences

In addition to the Sui (581–618) scroll from Dunhuang that are included in the HNG database (<P.2334>), I examined two additional manuscripts, i.e. S.4020 and P.2199. I also included in my analysis all Sui scrolls (No. 1–8) from the Shōsōin collection. Among the Sui scrolls from the Shōsōin, No. 5 (*Da zhuangyan jing* 大莊嚴經) and No. 8 (*Naxian biqiu jing* 那先比丘經) contain no matches.

S.4020 <i>Siyijing</i> 思益經, juan 4 (588)	冢 2 occurrences
P.2199 <i>Dazhidulun</i> 大智度論, juan 51 (593)	冢 4 occurrences
Sui scroll <i>Xianjiejing</i> 隋經賢劫經, juan 2 (Shōsōin) < <i>Xianjiejing</i> 2> (610)	冢 10 occurrences
P.2334 <i>Miaofa linhua jing</i> 妙法蓮華經, juan 5 <P.2334> (617)	冢 2 occurrences
<i>Xianjiejing</i> 賢劫經, juan 1.2.5–9.11–13 (Sui scroll No. 1)	冢 98; 冢 3 occurrences
<i>Dazhidulun</i> 大智度論, juan 38 (Sui scroll No. 2)	冢 1 occurrence
<i>Shidijing lun</i> 十地經論, juan 1.8 (Sui scroll No. 3)	冢 10; 冢 1 occurrence
<i>Shidilun</i> 十地論, juan 7.9 (Sui scroll No. 4)	冢 7 occurrences
<i>Da zhuangyan lun</i> 大莊嚴論, juan 4 (Sui scroll No. 6)	冢 2 occurrences

She dasheng lun shilun 攝大乘論釋論, juan 2 (Sui scroll No. 7) 𡇗 1 occurrence

All three Sui scrolls from Dunhuang use 𡇗. In the Shōsōin Sui scrolls, however, even though 𡇗 is the dominant glyph, there are also cases when we see 𡇗. The examples of the character 𡇗 represent errors for 𡇗, since, according to Huang (2005), ‘the character 𡇗 is written with a vulgar orthography as 𡇗, and is thus easily confused with the character 𡇗 on accounts of graphic similarity.’

I include five manuscripts from Dunhuang dating to the early Tang (618–beginning of 8th c.), i.e. P.2056, S.238, S.456, S.4209 and P.2213.

P.2056 <i>Apitanpiposha</i> 阿毘曇毘婆沙, juan 52 (662)	𡇗 3 occurrences
S.238 <i>Jinzen yuguang bajing feijing</i> 金真玉光八景飛經 (692)	𡇗 1 occurrence
S.4209 <i>Miaofa lianhuajing</i> 妙法蓮華經, juan 3 (court sutra, 672)	𡇗 4 occurrences
S.456 <i>Miaofa lianhuajing</i> 妙法蓮華經, juan 3 (court sutra, 674)	𡇗 3 occurrences
Moriya copy, <i>Miaofa lianhuajing</i> 守屋本妙法蓮華經, juan 3 <Court Moriya> (675)	𡇗 3 occurrences
P.2213 Daoist scripture (mid or latter half of 7 th c.)	𡇗 5 occurrences

Although the HNG database contains only one manuscript from the high Tang (beginning of 8th c.–mid 8th c.), I also included in my analysis manuscript P.2255, where the glyph 𡇗 likewise occurs.

S.2423 <i>Yujia fajingjing</i> 瑜伽法鏡經 <S.2423> (712)	𡇗 3 occurrences
P.2255 <i>Laozi Daodejing</i> 老子道德經 (751)	𡇗 3 occurrences

We can surmise that from early to high Tang 𡇗 represented the standard orthography. But Zhang (1996) and Cai (2002) note that 𡇗 itself showed some variation. The list of examples of 𡇗 in image format is appended to the end of this paper. These images show that manuscripts from the early and high Tang, with the exception of S.238, exhibit the same orthography as court sūtras. For reasons of typesetting, in this paper I shall disregard their differences and write them all as 𡇗.

From the Shōsōin Tang scrolls (No. 1–30), scroll No. 3, which is the only one with a specific date (659), writes 𡇗 with the signific 穴 instead of 宀 (represented below as 𡇗β). The results from the other, undated, manuscripts (No. 1–4, No. 6–12) examined in this range are listed below. The scrolls with texts newly translated by Xuanzang are marked with an asterisk (*).

<i>Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing</i> 大乘大集地藏十輪經, juan 1–5 (Tang scroll No. 1*)	𡇗 7 occurrences
<i>Chengwei shilun</i> 成唯識論, juan 4 (Tang scroll No. 3*) (659)	𡇗β 2 occurrences
<i>Jinguangmingjing</i> 金光明經, juan 4 (Tang scroll No. 4)	𡇗 8 occurrences
<i>Sifenlü</i> 四分律, juan 16, 18, 53, 54 (Tang scroll No. 6)	𡇗 6 occurrences

<i>Shenmi jietuo jing</i> 深密解脫經, juan 1–5 (Tang scroll No. 7)	𡗗 24; 𡗗 7 occurrences
<i>Xianyang shengjiao lun</i> 顯揚聖教論, juan 11–13 (Tang scroll No.8*)	𡗗 13 occurrences
<i>Dasheng apidamo zajilun</i> 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論, juan 1, 11, 14, 15 (Tang scroll No. 9*)	𡗗 24 occurrences
<i>Mohe boreboluomi jing</i> 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, juan 1–10, 12, 15–18, 20–30, 34–40, 19, 31 (Tang scroll No. 10)	𡗗 50; 𡗗 14; 家 1 occurrence
<i>Qianshi sanzhuān jing</i> 前世三轉經 (Tang scroll No. 12)	𡗗 1 occurrence

In the Shōsōin Tang scrolls on the whole 𡗗 is the dominant orthography. In No. 7 and No. 10 家 is dominant, to some extent preserving the earlier way of writing. In addition, since the texts newly translated by Xuanzang use either 𡗗 or 𡗗β, we can surmise that in Xuanzang's time the glyph 𡗗 was in use. As to the list of examples of the character 𡗗 at the end of this paper, if we examine in detail the Shōsōin Tang scrolls, we can see that they vary in the number of dots and their location at the bottom of 𡗗, and appear more 'collapsed' than those in court sūtras.

The mid Tang (mid 8th c.-beginning of 9th c.) roughly overlaps with the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (786–848) and this is period when the influence of Central China was minimal. I have not had a chance to examine Dunhuang manuscripts from this period.

From the late Tang (mid 9th c.-907), we have an example of 寂 in the Kaicheng Stone Classics. The phrase 'still, without moving' 寂然不動 ("Xici" 繫辭 1) occurs in the *Zhouyi* 周易.

<i>Kaicheng shijing Zhouyi</i> 開成石經周易 <Kaicheng Zhouyi> (837)	寂 1 occurrence
<i>Yujia shidi lun</i> 瑜伽師地論, juan 30 <S.5309> (857)	𡗗 11 occurrences

Although 𡗗 occurs in <S.5309>, the year 857 belongs to the Guiyijun 歸義軍 period (848–1036) which began with the end of the Tibetan occupation; accordingly, the HNG database classifies <S.5309> as having been produced on China's peripheries.

As I have not had a chance to analyze texts produced in the Song, or on China's peripheries and in Japan, I merely list the results from the HNG database.

- Song

<i>Jingang borejing</i> 金剛般若經 (Kyōto National Museum) <KNM Jingang> (Northern Song?)	寂 2 occurrences
<i>Huayanjing neizhangmen deng za kongmu</i> 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目, juan 1 <Huayan kongmu> (1146)	寂 19 occurrences
<i>Fazang heshang zhuan</i> 法藏和尚傳 <Fazang heshang> (1149)	寂 3 occurrences

- China's peripheries

<i>Huayanjing</i> 華嚴經, juan 38 <Hening Hua 38>	𡗗 6 occurrences
<i>Huayanjing</i> 花嚴經, juan 68 <Hening Hua 68>	𡗗 7 occurrences
<i>Huayanjing</i> 花嚴經, juan 6 <Da Hening 6>	𡗗 2; 寂 1 occurrence
<i>Miaofa lianhua jing</i> 妙法蓮華經, juan 1 <Xixia Fahua> (1149)	寂 8 occurrences

Silla copy, *Huayanjing* 新羅本花嚴經, juan 8 <Huayan Silla> (754-755)

寂 1 occurrence

Jin print, *Huayanjing* 晉本華嚴經, juan 20 <Gu Lihua 20> (10th c.) 寥 6; 寂 1 occurrence

1st Koryō print, *Yujia shidi lun* 高麗初彫本瑜伽師地論, juan 5 <1st Koryō Yu 5> (11th c.)

寂 3 occurrences

2nd Koryō print, *Huayanjing* 高麗再彫本華嚴經, juan 6 <2nd Koryō 6> (13th c.)

寂 3 occurrences

- Japan

Ogawa copy, *Jingangchang tuoluoni jing* 小川本金剛場陀羅尼經 <Ogawa Jingang> (686)

寥 3; 寂 1 occurrence

Moriya copy, *Wuyue yiri jing Xu Gaosengzhuan* 守屋本五月一日經統高僧傳 <5.1 Xu Gao> (740)

寂 1 occurrence

Kōzanji copy, *Jingang dajiaowang jing* 高山寺本金剛大教王經, juan 1 <Jingang dajiao> (815)

寂 2 occurrences

Myōe's own hand, *Huayan xinzhongyi* 明恵自筆華嚴信種義 <Huayan xinzhong> (1221)

寥 1 occurrence

Shinran's own hand, *Jiaoxing xinzheng* 親鸞自筆教行信証, juan 4 <Jiaoxing xinzheng> (1224)

寂 14 occurrences

Jingang dajiaowang jing 金剛大教王經, juan 3 <Insei Dajiao> (e. 12th c.)

寂 2 occurrences

Foshuo dajiaowang jing 佛說大教王經, juan 1 (Tōzenji 東禪寺 copy) <Foshuo dajiao> (early 12th c.)

寂 3 occurrences

Kanji 2nd year print, *Chengwei shilun* 寛治二年刊本成唯識論, juan 10 <Chengwei Shi 10> (1088)

寂 16 occurrences

Kasuga print, *Da borejing* 春日版大般若經, juan 80 <Kasuga Bore> (e.12th c.)

寂 40 occurrences

2.3. The evolution of concrete textual examples of 寂

During the Nanbeichao and Sui periods the character 寂 appears in the form of the variant 寥, but by the early Tang the glyph 寂 becomes established. This newly established glyph is clearly manifested in Chang'an court sūtras (671-676). Before this, there are nationwide projects such as the compilation of the *Wujing zhengyi* 五經正義 (638-653) by Kong Yingda 孔穎達 and others or the translation of Buddhist sūtras (645-664) headed by Xuanzang 玄奘. In the *Wujing zhengyi*, it is only the *Zhouyi* 周易 where the phrase 'still, without moving' 寂然不動 ("Xici" 1) occurs but in Buddhist and Taoist manuscripts there are many examples of the character 寂. Judging from Xuanzang's new translations among the Shōsōin Tang scrolls, it seems that at this stage 寂 has become the standard orthography. Based on concrete occurrences in primary material, the glyph 寥 which had become established in the early Tang is replaced by 寂 in the Kaicheng Stone Classics (837).

3. The character 寂 in dictionaries

3.1. Ziyang character models

3.1.1. Former research

Nishihara (1979) and a series of his later studies have thoroughly explored the subject of ziyang character models. According to his definition, ‘Ziyang character models are works designed to distinguish characters which are likely to be mistaken’ (Nishihara 1984). The history of former research is described in detail in Nishihara (2000), here I will only summarize its main points. Of the character models before Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 *Yanshi ziyang* 顏氏字樣 we have Lang Zhiben’s *Zhengming yaolu* (594–601), which corresponds to the second half of manuscript S.388. On the first half of S.388 is Du Yanye’s *Qunshu xinding ziyang*, which can be identified on the basis of the recovered text of Chūsan’s 中算 *Miaofa lianhuajing shiwen* 妙法蓮華經積文, and which was written sometime between the *Yanshi ziyang* and Yan Yuansun’s *Ganlu zishu* (penned by Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 in 774). There are two types of character models, the *weijing* 為經 (‘by scripture’) for scholarly use and the *weizi* 為字 (‘by character’) for practical purposes. The *Yanshi ziyang* is of the *weijing* type, following the lineage of the *Wujing wenzi* 五經文字 (776). The *Ganlu zishu* is of the *wenzi* type, and can be traced back to the *Yanshi ziyang* through the intermediary stage of *Qunshu xinding ziyang*.

3.1.2. The *Zhengming yaolu* 正名要錄

The *Zhengming yaolu* explains 冢 as ‘old and conventional’ 古而典, and 冢 as ‘modern and essential’ 今而要.

崧嵩 𡵓坤 汜流 … 冢冢 … 錄籒

右字形雖別音義是同、古而典者居上、今而要者居下 (*Zhengming yaolu*, S.388, sheet 10, line 5 through sheet 12, line 11)

Since in characters where present, the component 叔 is written as 𡵓, we can assume that 冢 was the standard.

…替〈察〉…跲〈蹠〉…

右本音同字義各別例 (S.388, sheet 18, line 4 through sheet 19, line 5, 替 in the original has 日 in place of 目)

The *Zhengming yaolu* divides characters into the following six groups:

- (A) 雖是正體稍驚俗 —— 消息用 (e.g. 賢貴, 𡵓丘)
- (B) 正體 —— 訛俗 (e.g. 歸𡵓, 蓀𡵓)
- (C) 楷 —— 稍訛 (e.g. 觸𡵓)
- (D) 依脚注 (e.g. 章從音, 兒從白)
- (E) 右字形雖別音義是同、古而典者居上、今而要者居下 (e.g. 崧嵩, 𡵓坤)
- (F) 右本音雖同、字義各別例 (e.g. 連及聯 𡵓 累不絕)

Nishihara (1995) analyzed groups (A)–(D) and established that standard (雖是正体稍驚俗, 正体, 楷, 依脚注) and non-standard (消息用, 訛俗, 稍訛) glyphs were distinguished; that the orthographic standard in the *Zhengming Yaolu* conforms to that of the *Qunshu xinding ziyang* and later character models; and that although each character model introduced new variants, a consistent approach lay at the basis of the Sui and Tang orthographic standards. He did not specifically discuss groups (E)–(F) but from the drift of the argument it appears that he understood them as standard glyphs.

Although in Sui scrolls from Dunhuang only 冢 is used, there are only three relevant manuscripts in this category. In the eight Shōsōin Sui scrolls 冢 is the dominant orthography but in addition the new glyph 冢 is also used. While this is consistent with the information recorded in the *Zhengming yaolu*, more careful scrutiny is still necessary in this respect.

3.1.3. *Qunshu xinding ziyang* 群書新定字樣

The glyphs 冢, 寂 and 冢 are not listed in the *Qunshu xinding ziyang* (the first half of S.388) but there is data related to the character 叔, as the glyphs 叔 and 𠂇 both appear in a place that indicates their standard status.

叔 𠂇 〈二同〉 (*Qunshu xinding ziyang*, S.388, sheet 5, line 5)

3.1.4. *Wujing wenzi* 五經文字

Although 冢 is not in the *Wujing wenzi*, it records the glyphs 寂 and 冢, and traces 寂 back to the *Shuowen*. The glyphs 叔 and 𠂇 are treated the same way, as characters with the component 叔.

寂 冢 〈上說文下石經、今依說文〉 (official publication of 1810, juan 1.17, radical 宀, 30 recto)

叔 𠂇 〈上說文下石經、今經典並依說文作叔、凡字從叔者皆放此〉 (*Ibid.*, juan 2.113, radical 又, 27 recto)

The *Wujing wenzi* is a *weijing*-type compilation, unlike the *Zhengming yaolu* and the *Qunshu xinding ziyang*, which are character models of the *weizi*-type. In other words, it was necessary to record the correct characters appearing in the text of the classics. The glyphs 寂 and 叔 are identified as standard. The authorities cited are the *Shuowen* and the Stone Classics, although of these the *Shuowen* is regarded as the more important one.

3.1.5. *Ganlu zishu* 干祿字書

Although neither 冢, nor 寂 or 冢 appear in the *Ganlu zishu*, 叔 and 𠂇 are recorded.

𠂇 叔 〈上通下正〉 (*Ganlu zishu*, official publication of 1817, 44 verso)

The glyph 𠂇 is designated as ‘common’, and 叔 as standard. The preface explains that ‘characters with the same signifier are not listed as separate entries’ (偏旁同者不復廣出), thus we can deduce that 寂 and 冢 are omitted on this account. We can also surmise that not placing 叔 (and 寂) in the top register reflects the same classification as in the *Wujing wenzi*.

As is commonly known, the differences of the ‘vulgar’, ‘common’ and ‘standard’ glyphs are explained in the preface of the *Ganlu zishu*:

具言俗通正三體〈大較則有三體、非謂每字摠然〉、偏旁同者不復廣出〈謂忿受氏回白召之類是也〉、字有相亂因而附焉〈謂彤彤充禪禕之類是也〉、所謂俗者、例皆淺近、唯籍帳文案券契藥方非涉雅言、用亦無爽、儻能改革善不可加、所謂通者、相承久遠、可以施表奏牋啓尺牘判狀、固免詆訶〈若須作文言及選曹銓試、兼擇正體用之、尤佳〉、所謂正者、竝有憑據、可以施著述文章對策碑碣、將爲允當〈進士考試理宜必遵正體、明經對策貴合經注本文、碑書多作八分任別詢舊則〉 (*Ibid.*, 6 recto ~ 8 verso)

The text distinguishes between three types: ‘vulgar glyphs’ are superficial and do not occur in elegant writing; ‘common glyphs’ have been handed down for a long time; and ‘standard glyphs’ are based on an authority and represent the correct way of writing a character. Nishihara (1997) discusses in detail ‘what is meant by the term vulgar glyph 俗體’, claiming that ‘when Yan Yuansun introduced the concept of ‘vulgar glyph’, he did not refer to what is ordinarily meant by ‘vulgar character’ 俗字 but socialized the term through creating a new category of characters’. This point of view of ‘socialization’ applies not only to ‘vulgar glyphs’ but to ‘common’ and ‘standard’ ones as well.

3.1.6. *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡

The *Longkan shoujing* by the Liao monk Xingjun (997) is somewhat different in content from the above character models.

寂宗冢〈三正〉𡇗〈今亦通、情曆反、安也、靜也、四〉𡇗〈俗同上〉 (No. 1, 79 verso, radical 宀 31, Koryō edition)

In the *Ganlu zishu* the glyph 𡇗 is treated as ‘common’ but here it is explained as ‘nowadays also common’ 今亦通, which implies that it was nearly of the same status as the ‘standard’ glyphs. On the other hand, the glyphs 寂, 宗 and 冢 are all listed here as ‘standard’. Beside 冢, which is an old form from the Nanbeichao and Sui periods, and 寂, which appeared as a ‘standard’ glyph in the *Wujing wenzi* and the *Ganlu zishu*, 宗 is added as a third glyph, and all of them are listed as ‘standard’. So why are all three glyphs (寂宗冢) called ‘standard’? Since the glyph 宗 identified here as ‘vulgar’ does not occur in any character model, and in addition seems to difficult to be verified using concrete examples, in the following I will concentrate on the glyphs 寂宗冢 and 𡇗 to examine the data recorded in character dictionaries (*zishu* 字書), rhyme dictionaries (*yunshu* 韻書) and *yinyi* 音義 dictionaries.

3.2. Character books 字書

3.2.1. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字

In the *Shuowen jiezi* of Xu Shen 許慎 of the Latter Han 後漢, as presented in Duan Yucai’s 段玉裁 *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, we find the following data:

𡇗 無人聲、从宀永聲〈前歷切、古音在三部、口部作喲、宗今作寂、方言作冢、云靜也、江湘九嶷之郊謂之冢〉

𡩇 宗、或从言 (No. 7B, 9 verso, radical 讠)

The *Shuowen jiezi* records a small seal glyph of 宗 but there is no small seal glyph for 寂. Duan Yucai comments that 寂 is the modern orthography, whereas in Yang Xiong's 楊雄 *Fangyan* 方言 it appears as 冢. In the *Fangyan jianshu* 方言箋疏 by Qian Duo 錢鐸, we find the comments '冢 means quiet, in the outskirts of Jiuyi in the Jiangshuang region they say 冢' (冢、安靜也、江湘九嶷之郊謂之冢) and '冢 is the same in older editions, in the Dai edition it is written as 宗' (冢、舊本並同、戴本作宗). (The 'Dai edition' refers to the *Fangyan shuzheng* 方言疏証 by the Qing scholar Dan Zhen 戴震. The 'outskirts of Jiuyi in the Jiangshuang region' refers to modern-day Jiuyishan 九嶷山, located in Hunan Province.)

According to Qiu (1988, p. 140), 冢 is the result of removing the 人 component from 家, signifying the absence of people in one's home. It is clear that such an etymological explanation for the origin of 冢 had once existed.

3.2.2. *Yupian* 玉篇

Of the *Yupian* (543), compiled by Gu Yewang 顧野王 of the Liang 梁 dynasty, a partial scroll with juan 8, 9, 18, 22, 24 and 27 survived in Japan. In addition, there are also fragments among the Dunhuang manuscripts (i.e. S.6311 and Dx1399).

In the *Daguang yihui Yupian* 大廣益會玉篇 (hereafter: Song *Yupian*), 寂 and 宗 appear in juan 11 under the radical 讠; in the partial scroll this part did not survive. However, juan 9 of a Tang manuscript copy (in the collection of Waseda University) lists 𡩇 as a variant of 寂, and the commentary uses the variant 𡩇 in place of 寂.

𡩇 (徐歷反、說文、亦、𡩇字也、𡩇 [sic]、安靜也、漢 [sic] 也、在山部、或為𡩇字、在口部也) (radical 言 91, sheet 10, line 12)

In the reproductions of the Tōhō bunka gakuin and the digital images in Waseda University's online database of Chinese and Japanese classics, it seems that in the head entry 𡩇 the top part of the component 𡩇 used to be 山 but had been rubbed off and corrected to 上. In Li Shuchang's 黎庶昌 *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 (1882), which includes a facsimile reprint of the original, the components 讠 and 小 on the right side of 𡩇 are written as 上下; in the commentary 𡩇 (𡩇) appears as 𡩇, whereas the words '在山部' are written as '在讠部'; the words '說文亦𡩇字' in the commentary appears unchanged.

Part of juan 9 of the partial scroll of the *Yupian* is the Fukui Sūrankan 福井崇蘭館 copy which has recently become part of the collection of the Kyōto National Museum. In Kyōto National Museum (2011), it is dated by Akao Eikei 赤尾榮慶 to the Tang, to the 7-8th centuries. It consists of three sheets of paper, and has been separated from the Waseda University copy not later than the Edo period. It seems that 𡩇 in the commentary to 𡩇 (see above) reflects the orthography of the 7-8th centuries (early-high Tang). Since the *Yupian* has been compiled in 543, we would expect that in its original version 𡩇 in the phrase '說文亦𡩇字' to be written either in accordance with the standard Nanbeichao orthography as 冢, or using a clericized version of the small seal script as 宗. Ueda (1970) separates the partial scroll of the *Yupian* into A) juan 18

and 19 belonging to an older version and B) juan 9, 22 and 27 of a newer version. In addition, B can be further divided into juan 27 which is similar to the *Tenrei banshō meigi*; juan 22 which is somewhat similar; and juan 9 which is different. It seems that 𡗗 in juan 9 is an example of a newer version.

The Song *Yupian* (1013) records the three glyphs of 宗, 寂 and 𡗗, although 寂 is omitted from the commentary under 詠.

宗〈前的切、無聲也、又作詠〉寂𡗗〈並同上〉(No. 2, 3 verso, radical 宀 138)

詠〈疾歷切、靜也〉(No. 1, 86 verso, radical 言 91)

3.2.3. *Tenrei banshō meigi* 篆隸万象名義

The *Tenrei banshō meigi* (ca. 827–835), which is an abridged version of the *Yupian* survived in a 1114 (2nd year of Eikyū 永久) copy kept at the Kōzanji temple. This manuscript records 宗 as shown below. Once again, under 詠 we see 𡗗, reflecting the early Tang standard orthography. Both entries omit the small seal comment.

宗〈徐的反、靜也〉(Kōzanji edition, No. 3, 63 recto)

詠〈徐歷反、𡗗字、安靜也、嘆也〉(*Ibid.*, No. 3, 19 recto)

3.2.4. *Shinsen jikyō* 新撰字鏡

With regard to Shōjū's 昌住 *Shinsen jikyō* (898–901), its quotes from the *Yupian* have been thoroughly analyzed in Sadakari (1959, 1960, 1961). The Kunaichō shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部 version of 1124 (1st year of Tenji 天治) has the seal imprint 'Hōryūji Issaikyō' 法隆寺一切經, which makes it clear that it used to be part of the Hōryūji temple's collection.

𡗗宗𡗗〈三字同、徐的反、靜也味〉(Tenji edition, juan 11, radical 宀 122, 11 recto, the part quoting the *Yupian*)

We see that 𡗗 of the early Tang standard, 宗 of the *Shuowen jiezi* and 𡗗 of the Nanbeichao and Sui periods are all recorded as head entries. Since the *Yupian* dates to 543, it is fitting that 𡗗 of the Nanbeichao and Sui periods and 宗 from the *Shuowen jiezi* are recorded. But what about 𡗗? Dictionaries by nature are conservative, therefore it is hard to explain the occurrence of 𡗗 in the 6th century. One possibility is that this copy may have relied on an augmented copy of the *Yupian*, more specifically on Sun Qiang's 孫強 *Yupian*. Under 詠, we can see that a glyph similar to the early Tang standard 𡗗 is used:

詠〈徐歷反、𡗗𡗗字、安靜也、嘆也〉(Tenji edition, juan 3, radical 言 30, 10 recto, the part quoting the *Yupian*)

In the preface of Sun Qiang's *Yupian* we learn that 'Sun Qiang, a retired scholar from Fuchun, added characters on the 13th day of the 4th month of the 1st year of the Shangyuan reign (674), a *jiaxu* year' (唐上元元年甲戌年四月十三日南國處士富春孫強增加字). This is why his version

is also called Shangyuan copy. The year 674 corresponds to the time when court sutras were copied, when the standard orthography of the early Tang became established in contemporary society.

3.2.5. *Yupian* (Shangyuan copy)

Beside the version with Sun Qiang's added characters, we also know about other editions that did not survive, including the one revised by Xiao Kai 蕭愷 of the Liang dynasty, the *Xiangwen Yupian* 像文玉篇 by Shi Huili 釋慧力 of the Tang dynasty, etc. These have been studied in Okai (1933) and Ueda (1970). As to the Shangyuan *Yupian*, it has been treated in Ueda (1976), Inoguchi (1978), Nishihata (1978), Hu (1989) and Inoguchi (1994). Ueda (1976) examined the 'Kin-an' 今案 parts of Sugawara Koreyoshi's 菅原是善 *Tōkyū Setsuin* 東宮切韻 and the 'Sei shakuon' 正借音 [orthodox and borrowed pronunciations] section of the *Shinsen jikyō*, and claimed that 'the work quoted in the *Tōkyū Setsuin*, *Shinsen jikyō* and *Kongquejing yinyi* 孔雀經音義 is an unknown compilation which was primarily based on the Shangyuan *Yupian* and which recorded the characters' orthodox and borrowed pronunciations. Inoguchi (1978) analyzed the characters used for the *fanqie* spellings in the quotes from the *Yupian* in the *Shinsen jikyō*. For example, he points out that based on the presence or absence of Japanese-style character substitutions (*kaeji* 換字), such as writing the top *fanqie* character 蒲 (*Tenrei banshō meigi*) under the *bingmu* 並母 initial as 菩 (*Shinsen jikyō*), we can divide the *Yupian* quotes into two parts: ones that depart from the *Yupian* and ones that follow it faithfully. This is a cautious conjecture and does not connect the *Yupian* used as a source for the quotes with any particular *Yupian*. Nishihata (1978), observing that the sequence of characters matches that in the Song edition of the *Yupian*, and that in the semantic commentaries there are plenty of characters that do not match the partial scroll copy of the *Yupian*, raised the possibility that this might have been part of the augmented *Yupian* (compiled by Sun Qiang) lineage. In addition, in a posthumous note of Sadakari Itoku there are notes such as '3. characters used for *fanqie*, *kaeji* in quotes from the *Yupian* (suggesting a Japanese hand), features resembling a scroll format'; '4. etymological glosses in commentaries, *Banshō meigi* and Song *Yupian*'; '5. lack of quotes in juan 15 of the *Yupian*' (Ikeda 2008). These reflect the same point of view. Inoguchi (1994) examined the 125 references to the Shangyuan *Yupian* which have been identified in Hu (1989), and found three works where the references can be identified with the Shangyuan copy: 1) the *Zengxiu huzhu libu yunlue* 增修互註禮部韻略 by Mao Huang 毛晃 of the Song; 2) the *Longkan shoujing* by Xingjun of the Liao; and 3) the *Xu Yiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義 by Xilin 希麟 of the Liao. He further suggested that the 'Kin-an' 今案 part of the *Tōkyū Setsuin* must have been the original *Yupian*.

In the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T49.2035) by Zhipan 志磐 of the Song dynasty there is a note claiming that many of the characters added to the Shangyuan *Yupian* came from 'secular/vulgar writings' 俗書. It is likely that these 'secular/vulgar writings' mean the use of 'vulgar characters' 俗字.

是知孫強之增玉篇〈梁顧野王撰玉篇。唐孫強增字。多取俗書〉孫愷之增廣韻〈唐孫愷撰廣韻多收俗字〉與夫本朝丁度之撰集韻。皆泛引俗書雜揉正體。(p. 413c13-16)

In the postface to the *Shinsen jikyō*, we see the following comment: ‘抑所思慮者、從玉篇之内、擇出字跡之作、依有疑至于三本竝視出’ (Tenji copy, juan 12, 32 recto). As to the reference to ‘three versions’ 三本 mentioned here, Inoguchi (1978) explained it as ‘having examined the glyphs in three versions of the *Yupian*’, whereas Yuasa (1982) suggested that they may refer to three books, i.e. *Shuowen*, *Xiaoxuepian* 小学篇 and *Zhengming yaolu*. If we accept the first theory, it means that with the examination of three versions of the *Yupian* the glyphs 𡩊, 𡩋 and 𡩌 were deemed as equal (三同). But if we follow the second explanation, it means that 𡩌 and 𡩊 from the *Zhengming yaolu* were added to the 𡩋 which appears in the *Yupian* and the *Shuowen jiezi*. According to the division of Inoguchi (1978), ‘𡩊𡩋𡩌’ in the *Shinsen jikyō* represents a textual segment independent of the *Yupian*, which means that these glyphs were probably based on a version of *Yupian* that belongs to a different lineage than the extant ones. Judging from the point of view of orthography, it is not impossible that it was the Shangyuan *Yupian*. Nishihara (1983) pointed out that the *Zhengming yaolu* was not used in the *Shinsen jikyō* as much as it was projected in the “Preface” and raised the possibility that the words ‘𡩊𡩋𡩌 <三同>’ in the *Shinsen jikyō* reflect the *Yupian* which had been used as a source.

3.2.6. *Ruiju myōgi shō* 類聚名義抄

The *Ruiju myōgi shō* is a dictionary organized by radicals. It has survived in two different lineages, the original and the reorganized one. The former was compiled after 1081, at the beginning of the 11th century by a monk concurrently studying the teachings of the Faxiang and Shingon schools; whereas the latter was compiled around the latter half of the 12th century by a monk of the Shingon school. The Zushoryō edition of the original lineage consists of fragments ‘copied approximately between the end of the Heian period and the beginning of the Kakamura period’ (Hashimoto 1950). Although in the Zushoryō copy the section with the radical 宀 where 寂 is located did not survive, under the radical 水, in the commentary to the entry 寂漠, we see the glyph 𡩌:

寂漠 <音莫 (入聲濁) · 茲云一無人空无兒 (廣) · 中云一一猶家靜。或本作寞。一一靜也 (廣) · 東云沙一在北方。狄中地也。輕激也
清潔也謀也。北方流沙也怕也去也 (廣) · 猶家靜安也 (廣) · 一 𡩌 清靜而敬主也。茂盛也成就兒強兒。· 玉云凶奴南界定也治也
靜察也 (廣) · 一 𡩌 舒兒。 > (Reproduction, p.42; the punctuation is from the original)

This entry corresponds to the phrase ‘quiet and still, not a human sound’ 寂寞無人聲 from the chapter “Fashi” 法師 of the *Fahua jing* 法華經 (T9.262, p. 32b05). The characters 茲, 中, 東 and 玉 marked in boldface are abbreviations of personal names or book titles in the source text.

The character 茲 refers to the work of Ci'en Master Ji 慈恩大師基 (632–682), and originally it probably derived from the part marked below with a dotted line.

寂寞者空無貌 (Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan 妙法蓮華經玄贊, T34.1723, p. 811a07)

唵嘆 <上情亦反、下模博反、考聲云唵嘆無聲、易曰闢其戶闢其無人、亦靜嘿無人聲、經從𡩌作𡩌俗字也、從水作漠是沙漠字也、皆非本正也 > (*Fahua yinxun* 法華音訓 included in Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi* juan 27, Koryō edition 49 recto)

At the same time, it is directly based on Ci'en's comment in Chūsan's *Miaofa lianhuaqing shiwen* (976), marked below with a double underline:

寐漠〈慕各反、玉篇云一一猶寐寞靜也、慈恩云々々者无人空无之兒、或本作寞、字林云寐β寞靜也〉(Daigoji 醍醐寺 copy, 下3才; the Tenri Library copy is identical)

The underlined part in the Zushoryō, attributed to Chū 中, is a quote from the underlined part of the Daigoji copy but omitting the titles of the source texts: ‘玉篇云’ and ‘字林云’. (Although there is a small discrepancy in the Zushoryō copy as what appears here as ‘寞靜’ is written as ‘寐寞靜’ in the Daigoji and Tenri Library copies.) The Daigoji and Tenri Library copies date to around the Insei period (see below). The character 漠 in the lost text of the *Yupian* can be seen in Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*.

香漠〈上伊了反、說文云香冥也、從木曰聲、下茫博反、顧野王云漠猶寥(原作家)靜也、爾雅清明也、說文從水莫聲〉(juan 95, *Hongmingji juan 2*, Koryō edition 16 verso)

Although the error in the Koryō edition is apparent, it allows us to construe that it was 寥 that appeared in the *Yupian* used by Chūsan.

The next quote, attributed to Tō 東 (i.e. *Tōkyū Setsuin*), uses 寥 in the phrase ‘一猶寥靜安也’. While in Ueda (1984) this phrase appears as ‘一猶□靜安也’ (entering tone, rhyme 鐸, 漠), the missing character should be read as 寥.

The final *Gyoku* 玉 refers to the original *Yupian*, and the corresponding part appears in the *Tenrei banshō meigi* and the Song *Yupian* the following way:

漠〈模各反、凶奴南界定也、治也、清也〉(Kōzanji copy *Tenrei banshō meigi*, No. 5, 87 recto)
漠〈摩各切、寂也、又沙漠〉(Song *Yupian*, No. 2, radical 水 285, 74 verso)

In the reorganized *Ruiju myōgi shō* (Kanchi'in copy) it is recorded the following way:

寐〈徐的反 シツ^(上) カナリ シツ^(平) マ^(平) リ／ニタリ 禾シヤク〉
寂宗〈二正〉寥〈詠味三或〉寂寥〈谷〉寐〈未詳〉(法下24 recto, radical 宀 65)
寐〈寐字歟 シツカナリ〉(法下33 recto, radical 宀 67)

The main data for 寐 comprise the *fanqie* reading and the Japanese gloss and pronunciation, whereas ‘寂宗寥’ is merely orthographic commentary — we can surmise that for the person who reorganized the original work 寐 was a highly ordinary glyph, in other words, it represented the standard orthography.

Comparing it with the statement ‘寂宗寥〈三字同〉’ in the *Shinsen jikyō*, the glyph 宗 is assessed in a similar manner, while the fact that 寂 is identified as ‘standard’ and 寥 as ‘alternate’ or reveal that the *Ruiju myōgi shō* represents a newer standard.

The Japanese reading given for the entry for 家 (シツカナリ: ‘quiet’) must have been based on the Japanese reading of 寥.

家〈音嘉_(平) イ_(平) ヘ シツカナリ 禾ケ_(去)〉(法下27 verso, radical 宀 65)

3.3. Rhyme books 韻書

3.3.1. *Guangyun* 廣韻

In the *Guangyun* (1008) compiled by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 and others, 寂 appears under entering tone and the rhyme 錫, and 寂, 冢 and 宗 are taken as the same character.

○寂〈靜也、安也、前歷切、五〉冢〈同上〉宗〈亦同〉喟〈喟嘆也〉覲〈目赤、又音逖〉(juan 5, 39 recto)

3.3.2. The *Qieyun* 切韻 fragments

Of the *Qieyun*, there is a partial scroll where 冢 is listed as a head entry, and others where 寂 appears as a head entry.

冢〈昨歷反、或作冢、靜也、亦作[冢]宗、三〉(P.2011 *Kanmiu buque Qieyun* 刊謬補缺切韻, <Wang 1>, middle through late 8th c. copy)

寂〈昨歷反、亦冢、二〉(Imperial Household copy of the *Kanmiu buque Qieyun* 刊謬補缺切韻, <Wang 2>)

寂〈昨歷反、靜、三〉(Tang copy of Wang Renxu's 王仁昫 *Kanmiu buque Qieyun* 刊謬補缺切韻, <Wang 3>)

寂〈ㄣ 靜、本作[冢]、或作冢、前歷反、二加一〉(<Tang>)

Although in the *Shiyun huibian* 十韻彙編 <Wang 1> is transcribed as 寂, the original manuscript P.2011 matches the court sūtras perfectly in writing 冢. <Wang 1>, <Wang 2> and <Wang 3> are Wang Renxu's *Queyun*. The date of its original compilation is 706 (Tang Lan's 唐蘭 postface to <Wang 3>); Ueda (1956) believes it to date to the reign of Zhongzong 中宗 (684–709). There are several theories regarding <Tang> but Ueda (1973) believes that 'it is after all a version of the *Tangyun* 唐韻 and it is safer to refrain from associating it with Sun Mian 孫愐 and the *Guangyun*'.

Ueda (1956) scrutinized the recovered text of the *Tōkyū Setsuin* and arranged the 14 authors by date:

Lu Fayan 陸法言: 601 (1st year of Renshou 仁壽)

Cao Xian 曹憲: Daye 大業 reign (605–616), Sui dynasty (–618)

Guo Zhixuan 郭知玄: after the Yonghui 永徽 reign (650–655)

Mr. Shi 釋氏

Changsun Nayan 長孫訥言: 677 (2nd year of Yifeng 儀鳳)

Han Zhishi 韓知十

Wu Xuanzhi 武玄之: scholars of the reign of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (684–704)

Xue Xun 薛詢

Ma Gao 麻杲: 705 (1st year of Shengui 神龜)

Wang Renxu 王仁昫: compilation completed during the Zhongzong 中宗 reign (684–709)

Zhu Shangqiu 祝尚丘: 749 (8th year of Tianbao 天寶)

Sun Mian 孫愐: 751 (10th year of Tianbao)

Sun Zhou 孫旻: Kaiyuan reign (713–741)

Śramaṇa Qingche 沙門清徹: 742 (1st year of Tianbao)

Wang Renxu originally compiled the *Qieyun* around the very end of the early Tang, and based on concrete examples in surviving texts we expect the standard orthography at this time to be 𪛗, thus we surmise that <Wang 1> preserves its original appearance. The fact that the commentary of <Wang 1> mentions 𪛗, 𪛗 and 𪛗, but does not mention 寂, is also an indication that it preserves older traits. The facsimile reveals that <Wang 3> indeed used 寂 and may have been copied at a time when 寂 was the standard orthography. We cannot confirm whether <Tang> and <Wang 2> represent the original orthography.

Incidentally, Ueda (1981) showed that 𪛗 appears in the commentary of 寔 and 嘆 in manuscript Dx1372 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg) which he identified as Changsun Nayan's *Qieyun* (677). Although the facsimile edition there is 𪛗, the transcription uses 寂. Changsun Nayan lived in the early Tang and for this period the glyph 𪛗 is appropriate.

莫〈慕各反九…〉…寔〈𪛗…〉…嘆〈𪛗也〉 (Dx1372, entering tone, 鐸 rhyme)

3.4. *Yinyi* dictionaries

3.4.1. Xuanying's 玄應 *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義

Xuanying's *Yiqiejing yinyi* (c. 661), as evidenced in old Japanese manuscript copies, has examples of 𪛗.

𪛗聲〈又作𪛗（原作𪛗）𪛗二形同、情歷反、方言𪛗安聲也、𪛗嘆也〉 (Kunaichō shoryōbu copy No. 2, 35 recto, juan11, *Zhengfa nian jing* 正法念經 juan 10, 1128 (3rd year of Daiji) copy, Kongōji copy is the same, in the Koryō and Song editions, and in the edition used by Huilin, the character appears as 寂)

In the *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 (T17.721, p. 55a18) this appears in the phrase 'overwhelmed, unable to utter a sound' (𪛗聲不出), but in Yuan and Ming editions the character in question is written as 𪛗, which is inconsistent with Xuanying's head entry. This shows that Xuanying thought that 𪛗聲 was correct in the text of the scripture. It would be adequate in this place to have a comment such as '經文作𪛗・𪛗、非也'.

3.4.2. Huiyuan's 慧苑 *Huayanjing yinyi* 華嚴經音義

Although the *Xinyi Huayanjing yinyi siji* 新譯華嚴經音義私記, which was compiled at the end of the Nara period and survives as a manuscript copy in the Ogawa collection, is primarily based on Huiyuan's 慧苑 *Huayanjing yinyi* 華嚴經音義 (ca. 720), at the place corresponding to Huiyuan's work we find 𪛗. While the Song and Koryō editions of the *Huayanjing yinyi* and in the available copies of Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi* this is written as 寂, the Ogawa manuscript follows the archaic orthography:

恬然宴寢 〈恬田塩反、宴於見反、方言曰、恬然靜也、或曰、安居也、寢无聲也〉 (Ogawa copy, juan 25, p.79)
 恬然宴寢 〈恬田塩反、宴於見反、方言曰、恬然靜也、漢書音義曰、宴安居也、寢無聲也〉 (Song *Yiqiejing* in Kunaichō shoryōbu collection, Kaiyuansi printed copy)

3.4.3. Huilin's 慧琳 *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義

In Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi* (784–807), there are many examples worthy of our attention.

宗靜 〈經文作家（原作家）古字也亦作詵嗽今俗通作寢五體一正一俗三古〉 (juan 15, Koryō edition 4 recto, *Dabao jijing* juan 94)

Of the five underlined glyphs, 宗 is described as ‘standard’, 寢 as ‘vulgar’, and 冢, 詵 and 嗽 as ‘archaic’.

The phrase ‘quiet and still’ 寂靜 comes from the *Dabao jijing* 大寶積經 (T11.310, p. 533a15, translated in 713 by Bodhiruci) and is explained by Huilin as ‘經文作家’, revealing that in the *Dabao jijing* he used the character was written as 冢. Because the *Dabao jijing* juan 93–94 (“Shanbi pusa hui” 善臂菩薩會) incorporates the *Shanbi pusa jing* 善臂菩薩經 in the translation of the Later Qin monk Kumārajīva, it is no surprise that we find traces of archaic characters in it. The part immediately after this, i.e. ‘亦作詵嗽’, is close in content to the *Yupian*. The statement ‘今俗通作寢’ is inconsistent with the classification in the *Wujing wenzi* (776), which says that 寂 is from the *Shuowen* and 寢 from the Stone Classics (寂寢 — 上說文下石經今依說文). The reason why Huilin made 宗 a head entry is that this orthography comes from the *Shuowen jiezi* where it also appears as a head entry. This is, together with the fact that he did not use 寂 for a head entry, inconsistent with the classification recorded in the *Wujing wenzi*.

寂寥 〈上情歷反、俗字也、說文正作宗、無人聲也、從宀從戚省聲、或從言作詵、下…〉 (juan 41, Koryō edition 2 recto, *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing xu* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜多經序)

Although in this example 寂 is described as a vulgar character, this is probably not how Huilin wrote it originally, but the original 寢 had subsequently been changed to 寂. The *Dasheng liqu liu boluomiduo jing* has been translated by Prajña in 788 and we expect to see here 寢, which is the early Tang standard orthography. To some extent, we can also see this in the Japanese work *Dasheng liqu liu boluomi jing shiwen* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜經釋文 (see Section 3.4.4 below) which uses 寢 in this place. Huilin regarded 宗 as the standard, which is also seen in another example: ‘宗嚶 〈上情歷反、正體字也、論文作寂俗用字…〉’ (juan 66, Koryō edition 8 verso, *Apidamo fazhilun* 阿毘達磨發智論 juan 11). Since the *Apidamo fazhilun* was translated by Xuanzang, we can deduce that the phrase ‘論文作寂’ was originally written as ‘論文作寢’.

The *Shaoxing chongdiao Dazang yin* 紹興重彫大藏音, compiled by the Song śramaṇa Chuguan 處觀 of the Jingyan monastery 精嚴寺, follows Huilin in taking 宗 as the standard:

宗 〈寂音〉 (juan 2, 9, *Nihon kōtei Daizōkyō* 日本校訂大藏經)

The fact that Huilin regarded 宗 as the standard is inconsistent with the classification set

forward in the *Wujing wenzi* and the Kaisei Stone Classics, both of which record 寂 as the standard. Not only that, it is also inconsistent with the *Qieyun* in which both 寂 and 寢 appear as head entries. It is based on the *Shuowen jiezi* where 宗 appears as the head entry.

With regard to the background of Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*, Ōshima (1981) used a point of view of cultural history to examine the conditions responsible for the birth of a new phonetic model that violated that in the *Qieyun*. He saw three of them: 1) the change of times, as this was the period of the decline of the Tang; 2) Huilin was a foreign monk who had not been a recipient of the Confucian education of native Chinese; 3) the idiosyncrasies of his *fanqie* technique. Such concerns are certainly relevant once we acknowledge that Huilin's uniqueness with respect to orthography.

3.4.4. *Dasheng liqu liu boluomi jing shiwen* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜經釋文

The *Dasheng liqu liu boluomi jing shiwen*, compiled during the early Heian period by a Shingon monk, records 寂 the following way.

寢β寥 〈上、字苑、靖也、昨歷反、切、在歷反、无形也、又安静也、俗家、又寂、下、空也、落蕭反〉 (“Preface”)

This book is an old manuscript that goes back to the end of the Heian period, a *yinyi* dictionary of the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomi jing* 大乘理趣六波羅蜜經 brought back by Kūkai in 806. The underlined part is quoted from the *Qieyun*, and Ueda (1972) attributes this quoted *Qieyun* to a certain Mr. Shi 釋氏 whose name is mentioned in the recovered text of the *Tōkyū Setsuin*. The *Nihonkoku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 (ca. 891) lists a ‘*Qieyun* in 10 juan compiled by Shi Hongyan’ (切韻十卷釋弘演撰), while the *Hongjue waidian chao* 弘決外典鈔 (991) refers to a ‘Shi from the Hongyin monastery’ (弘演寺釋某). Since in the recovered text there are Empress Wu characters (武周新字), we know that it was compiled not much later than 689. The words ‘俗家、又寂’ in the commentary can be understood either as ‘in works of secular authors it is also written as 寂’ or, taking 家 for an error, as ‘in popular use it is written 寥 or 寂’. Because ‘Mr. Shi’ obviously refers to a Buddhist monk, the former reading is the correct one. But in either case it is clear that the words ‘又寂’ evidence a new orthography.

3.4.5. *Chūsan's Miaofa lianhuajing shiwen* 妙法蓮華經釋文

Although 寢 occurs in the *Fahua jing shiwen* (976) in the Zushoryō copy of the *Ruiju myōgi shō*, we can also find 寂 in another place:

寂 (入聲) 〈前歷反、釋氏云安静也、肇論疏云、無聲也〉 (Daigoji copy, juan 1, 20 verso, Tenri Library copy missing)

This corresponds to the phrase ‘寂然宴默’ (‘quietly and calmly’) in the “Preface” to the *Fahua jing* (T9.262, p. 3a28). The commentary attributes the gloss ‘calm’ 安静也 to a monastic commentator (釋氏), and this is identical to the *Qieyun* as quoted in the *Dasheng liqu liu boluomijing shiwen*.

Even though the Daigoji 醍醐寺 copy has a colophon by Shingō 真興 (933–1004), the

disciple of Chūsan, it is not written by Shingō himself but is a work of a later person. Juan 1 in the Daigoji copy is thought to have been written by another person than juan 2–3. The textual history of the Daigoji copy was studied in detail in Yoshida (1979). In juan 2 of the Tenri 天理 copy there is a colophon dated to 1187 (3rd year of Tenji). The Daigoji copy was probably also copied around that time, being influenced by the Kaicheng standard of 寂.

4. Explanation of 寂 and its variants in the *Longkan shoujing*

寂 宗 冢 〈三正〉 寂 〈今亦通、情曆反、安也、静也、四〉 宗 〈俗同上〉 (juan 1, 79 verso, radical 宀 31)

The Koryō edition of the *Longkan shoujing* is based on the Khitan edition (Liao edition). If, for the sake of comparison, we examine the *Dafang guang fo huayanjing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, juan 1A preserved among the fragments of the Liao Tripitaka (*Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), we can verify that the same 寂 is used there. The Kaibao Tripitaka (972–977), as it appears in the *Kaibao yizhen* 開寶遺珍 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010) has 2 examples of the character 寂 which match the one example in the *Fo benxing jijing* 佛本行集經, juan 19 (kept at the Nanzenji 南禪寺 temple, Kyōto) and the three examples in the *Dabao jijing* 大宝積經, juan 111 (kept at the National Library of China). According to Chikusa (2002), in the Liao Tripitaka from the period following the *Longkan shoujing*, 寂 was probably written in the same way as in the Kaibao Tripitaka.

In Xingjun's time the glyph 寂 used in Buddhist sūtras was the early Tang standard 寂, referred to as '今亦通', and this corresponds to what is called 'common' 通 in the *Ganlu zishu* (𣎵 叔 〈上通下正〉). Next let us look at the part '寂 宗 冢 〈三正〉'. In this, 寂 is identified as 'standard' in the Kaibao Tripitaka, the *Wujing wenzi* ('寂 寂 〈上說文下石經今依說文〉') and the *Ganlu zishu*. 宗 is regarded 'standard' in the *Shuowen jiezi* and Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*, which is based on it ('說文正作宗'). 冢 is attested in Nanbeichao and Sui manuscripts and can thus be assumed to have been 'standard'. The fact that there are examples of 冢 in the Jin copy of the *Huayanjing* 晉本華嚴經 juan 20, which was printed in the 10th century in Koryō, a neighbor of the Liao Empire, is yet another supporting evidence. As for 宗, it is an example analogous to miswriting 詠 as 詠 in Xuanying's *Yiqiejing yinyi* (Tenji copy, Kongōji copy).

As seen from the statement '寂 宗 冢 〈三正〉 寂 〈今亦通〉', the *Longkan shoujing* does not stipulate a single orthography as the standard. One of the reasons for this might have been that Xingjun was a Khitan monk and was not restricted by the cultural norms of native Chinese. It is because Huilin was a foreigner that he could, among other things, go against the phonetic model of the *Qieyun*. With regard to the 59 *jingyinyi* 經音義, *yinyi* 音義, etc. quotes in the *Longkan shoujing*, Chen (1974) compared Xuanying's *Yiqiejing yinyi* with that by Huilin and found that most of them agree with Xuanying. Yao (2003) reached the same conclusion. Nevertheless, there is one example of Master Lin 琳法師 (radical 心, character 懇), which confirms that Huilin's work itself was also consulted. Once we appreciate the similarities between the two and their shared classification, we should regard Huilin as a turning point in the evolution of orthography going from Tang *ziyang* dictionaries epitomized by the *Qunshu xinding ziyang* and the *Ganlu zishu* to the Liao *Longkan shoujing*.

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List of examples of the character 寐

P.2056 寐	S.238 寐	S.4209 寐	S.456 寐	P.2255 寐	Tang scroll No. 1 寐
Tang scroll No. 3 寐	Tang scroll No. 4 寐	Tang scroll No. 6 寐	Tang scroll No. 7 寐		
Tang scroll No. 8 寐	Tang scroll No. 9 寐	Tang scroll No. 10 寐	Tang scroll No. 12 寐		