

## Required Reading: Schopenhauer's Favorite Book

by Urs App (Paris)

### *Secretum Tegendum*

It is well known that Schopenhauer's favorite book was a Latin work called *Oupnek'hat*, id est, *secretum tegendum*. He called it "the most rewarding and uplifting reading in the world" and informed his readers that the *Oupnek'hat* "has been the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death."<sup>1</sup> In spite of Schopenhauer's exuberant praise, this "incomparable book" remains a mystery – a *secretum tegendum* (secret to be safeguarded), as its translator Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) explained the word *Oupnek'hat* in the very title of the work. Before Upanishad translations from the Sanskrit became available, quite a number of people studied Anquetil's Latin rendering – and they did so in spite of its style described by Max Müller as "so utterly unintelligible that it required the lynxlike perspicacity of an intrepid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth."<sup>2</sup>

While Anquetil's cryptic, rare, and expensive Latin *Oupnek'hat* was soon forgotten<sup>3</sup> and its Sanskrit-Persian-Latin "detour" replaced by direct translations from Sanskrit, the relationship between the Sanskrit Upanishads and their Persian translation (*Sirr-i akbar*) was sporadically studied.<sup>4</sup> Though Anquetil-Du-

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1 *Parerga und Paralipomena* §184; Critical edition p. 421; Zürich edition 10.436. Unless otherwise noted translations from German, French, and Japanese into English are by the author.

2 Müller, Max: *The Upanishads*. New York: Dover Publications 1962, vol. 1, pp. lviii-liv. For some of Schopenhauer's contemporaries who intensively studied the *Oupnek'hat* see App, Urs: *Schopenhauers Kompass*. Rorschach: UniversityMedia 2011 (English translation to appear in 2013, ISBN 978-3-906000-03-9).

3 Almost equally forgotten was an attempt, inspired by the translator's admiration for Schopenhauer, to make the *Oupnek'hat* known to a wider public: Mischel, Franz: *Das Oupnek'hat*. Dresden: C. Heinrich 1882. Mischel decided to translate only the Upanishads without notes and thus omitted more than half of Anquetil's work.

4 The first detailed study began to appear in Schopenhauer's lifetime in Weber, Albrecht: *Indische Studien* (1850, 247–302, 380–456; 1853, 1–111, 170–236) and was completed some years thereafter (1865, 1–54). Twentieth-century studies include Chand, Tara: Dara Shikoh and the Upanishads. In: *Islamic Culture* 17/1 (1943): 397–413; Göbel-Gross, Erhard: *Sirr-i Akbar. Die persische Upanishaden-übersetzung des Moğulprinzen Dārā Šukoh*. Marburg: Erich Mauersberger 1962; Dresden, Mark: On the Genesis of Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnek'hat*. In: *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*. Ed. by Ph. Gignoux & A. Tafazzoli. Louvain: Fondation Culturelle Iranienne 1974,

perron's Latin translation (*Oupnek'hat*) was once more used by Paul Deussen for his pioneering German translation of sixty Upanishads,<sup>5</sup> only intrepid fans of Schopenhauer such as Richard Wagner still managed to get hold of a copy of Anquetil's work; but even they shied away from actually studying it.<sup>6</sup> The same can be said about Schopenhauer researchers. Authors of recent books and dissertations about oriental influences on Schopenhauer used almost without exception "more reliable" translations of the Upanishads from Sanskrit.<sup>7</sup> The neglect of Schopenhauer's favorite book by specialists was partly caused by Arthur Hübscher's systematic downplaying of the book's importance. Though he knew better, he claimed that its influence had begun "late" and that of Buddhism "even later",<sup>8</sup> and in Hübscher's indispensable annotated bibliography of Schopenhauer's library the *Oupnek'hat* was described as follows:

Ex libris in both volumes. – Numerous lines, translations of single words and passages, indications of sources and references, column titles and remarks in the margins (mostly ink, the majority from early period, after 1816, partly also from later times).<sup>9</sup>

This brief description is followed by a total of three specific instances of Schopenhauer's handwriting in the *Oupnek'hat*. All stem from the first volume, and no handwriting in the second volume is mentioned:

Vol. I, 395. Schopenhauer [to the title "Oupnek'hat Eischavasieh, e Djedjr Beid"]:  
Vide etiam hujus Upanishad versionem Anglicam in Rammohun Roy libro  
"Translations of several books & passages of the Veds" editio 2<sup>da</sup> Lond: 1832 p.  
101 seq; etiam Gallicam, in Pauthier Livres sacrés de l'Orient p. 329. – Et aliam

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35–43; and Ernst, Carl W.: Muslim Studies in Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages. In: *Iranian Studies* 36 (2003): 173–195. My thanks to Jochen Stollberg for sending me a copy of the thesis by Göbel-Gross.

5 Deussen, Paul: *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1897.

6 Wagner ordered the *Oupnek'hat* on December 12 of 1873 in a letter to Judith Gautier: *Lettres à Judith Gautier*, edited by Léon Guichard. Paris: Gallimard 1964, 55. But it was only in July and August of 1882, after the appearance of Mischel's German translation, that Wagner and Cosima did some reading and had some discussions about it; see Wagner, Cosima: *Die Tagebücher*, vol. 2. München: R. Piper 1977, 977, 981, 986, 991.

7 For example, Werner Scholz does not even list the *Oupnek'hat* in its bibliography (Scholz, Werner: *Arthur Schopenhauer – ein Philosoph zwischen westlicher und östlicher Tradition*. Frankfurt/Bern: Peter Lang 1996), and Icilio Vecchiotti managed to never mention Anquetil-Duperron or the *Oupnek'hat* in his 600-page book about the genesis of Schopenhauer's doctrine and its relationship with Indian philosophy (Vecchiotti, Icilio: *La dottrina di Schopenhauer. Le teorie schopenhaueriane considerate nella loro genesi e nei loro rapporti con la filosofia indiana*. Roma: Ubaldini 1969). My thanks to Prof. Francesca Gambarotto for helping me to get hold of a copy of Vecchiotti's book.

8 Hübscher, Arthur: *Denker gegen den Strom. Schopenhauer: Gestern – Heute – Morgen*. Bonn: Bouvier 1973, 50.

9 Schopenhauer, Arthur: *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß*. Ed. by Arthur Hübscher. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985, vol. 5, 338.

Roerii, in Bibliotheca Indica: No. 41. p. 71. – Vol. I, S. 563, Schopenhauer [to the Valentinian fable of Bythus related by Irenaeus]: Ex hac fabula Jac: Böhm & deinde Schelling sua dogmata confecerunt. – On the cover sheets in the back of vol. I, tightly written index in Schopenhauer's hand.

The reader of these lines must assume that this reference to alternative translations, a remark about gnostic influence on Jacob Boehme and Schelling, and Schopenhauer's index are the only noteworthy traces in the *Oupnek'hat* of Schopenhauer's interest and that the rest only consists of some "lines, translations of single words and passages, indications of sources and references, column titles." This assumption was justified because in other cases (such as works by Kant in Schopenhauer's possession) Hübscher supplied very detailed lists of handwritten notes that sometimes fill six or more pages in small print. Other works in the Orientalia section, too, list many handwritten notes by Schopenhauer.<sup>10</sup>

Intrigued by those tantalizing "numerous lines," the "index in Schopenhauer's hand" and a strange contradiction in Hübscher's description<sup>11</sup> I wrote from Japan to the curator of the Schopenhauer Archive and fixed a date for a visit during the summer of 1995. But when I explained my wish to see the *Oupnek'hat* after my arrival in Frankfurt, the curator refused to let me see it because "everything noteworthy is already documented in Hübscher's bibliography." The following year I was luckier with the new curator, Jochen Stollberg, and was astonished to find that on some pages of the *Oupnek'hat* there seemed to be more notes in Schopenhauer's hand than printed text! My notes from the 1996 visit list a total of 137 pages from vol. 1 and 174 pages from volume 2 as "worth taking photos of" – a category that at the time excluded pages where only a word or a few words were underlined. When including such pages, I found that about 840 pages, i.e., almost half of the two-volume *Oupnek'hat*, contained some trace of Schopenhauer's interest.

While reporting some of my findings during lectures in 1997 at the Schopenhauer Society in Frankfurt,<sup>12</sup> the University of Zürich, and the University of California at Berkeley, I noted that henceforth studies about the genesis of Schopenhauer's philosophy would have to take Schopenhauer's favorite book into account. In 1998 and 1999, a Japanese student whom I had informed about

10 See for example Christian Lassen's *Gymnosophista sive Indicae Philosophiae Documenta* (no. 1130 of Hübscher's annotated bibliography; Handschriftlicher Nachlaß vol. 5, 331–332) where Hübscher filled more than a page in small type with sixteen notes by Schopenhauer.

11 Hübscher wrote in his annotated bibliography that Schopenhauer encountered the *Oupnek'hat* in 1814 and "purchased it probably in the same year" (p. 339). At the same time, Hübscher categorically states that notes date from "after 1816" (p. 338). I asked myself: why would someone who has the habit of copiously marking up his books buy one in 1814 and refrain from writing anything in it during the most intensive phase of his encounter with it?

12 App, Urs: Schopenhauers Begegnung mit dem Buddhismus. In: *Jb.* 79 (1998a), 39–42.

this unique source travelled twice to Frankfurt to find out more about it, but the resulting appendix to her dissertation hardly scratched the surface.<sup>13</sup> For the theme of *maya*, which was also the focus of Douglas Berger's dissertation,<sup>14</sup> an Italian study ignored by both of these authors is of far more interest: Mario Piantelli's 1986 article on the concept of *maya* in Schopenhauer's Upanishads.<sup>15</sup> Although the Italian indologist did not make use of Schopenhauer's annotated copy of the *Oupnek'hat* and was primarily concerned with the Indian background rather than its connection with Schopenhauer, his article is even today the only publication dealing with this aspect of Anquetil's *Oupnek'hat* that I consider important for Schopenhauer's reception.<sup>16</sup>

One hundred and fifty years after Schopenhauer's death, research about the one book that he prized above all others is thus still in its beginning stages. This dire state of affairs prompted me to propose to the Swiss National Science Foundation a research project entitled "Oriental influences on the genesis of Schopenhauer's philosophy" (SNSF project 101511–116443). The present article communicates some of the results of that project for whose funding by my fellow Swiss tax payers I am profoundly grateful.<sup>17</sup>

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- 13 Hashimoto, Chizuko: *Nihilizumu to Mu*. Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai 2004. The appendix about Schopenhauer and the *Oupnek'hat* is on pp. 168–184. Hashimoto cites and translates a total of sixteen brief excerpts from the *Oupnek'hat* to illustrate maya and the monism of Brahm, but her translations and reflections show that Anquetil's work is not suitable as a textbook for learning Latin. For example, Hashimoto translates (p. 181) the simple *Oupnek'hat* sentence "Et ille unus maïa, quòd qualitas volitionis (desiderii) τοῦ Brahm est, aeternus est" ("And that singular Maya, which is the quality of will [desire] of Brahm, is eternal") as "And because the character of will (desire) is Brahman, this singular Maya is eternal."
  - 14 Berger, Douglas: *The Veil of Maya: Schopenhauer's System theory of falsification: the key to Schopenhauer's appropriation of pre-systematic Indian philosophical thought*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services 2000. Published with some emendations as *The Veil of Maya: Schopenhauer's System and Early Indian Thought*. Binghamton, NY: Global Academic Publications, 2004. Berger made no use of the *Oupnek'hat*.
  - 15 Piantelli, Mario: La "Mâyâ" nelle "Upanishad" di Schopenhauer. In: *Annuario filosofico* (1986), 163–207. My thanks to Countess Iris Barzaghi for her help in obtaining this article.
  - 16 Piantelli recognized the importance of Islamic, Sufi, and Bhakti elements in the *Oupnek'hat* and sees it not as a problematic translation but rather as a text whose content and background is worth studying – unlike indologists who, in the manner of Lakshmi Kapani, use modern indological knowledge to criticize historical sources and their reception: Schopenhauer et son interprétation du "Tu es cela". In: *L'Inde inspiratrice. Réception de l'Inde en France et en Allemagne (XIXe & XXe siècles)*, ed. by Gérard Fussman. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996, 45–69. For a brief appraisal of the special character of the *Oupnek'hat* and its value as a source see App, Urs: OUM – Das erste Wort von Schopenhauers Lieblingsbuch. In: *Das Tier, das du jetzt tötest, bist du selbst... Arthur Schopenhauer und Indien*. Ed. by Jochen Stollberg. Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann 2006, 36–50.
  - 17 Four other publications of mine communicate additional results of this project. 1. William Jones's Ancient Theology. In: *Sino-Platonic Papers* 191 (2009): 1–125 deals with one of Schopenhauer's most trusted orientalist sources. 2. Schopenhauer and China: A Sino-Platonic Love

### *Secretum Legendum*

In a Freudian slip, the “secret to be safeguarded” of Anquetil’s title (*secretum tegendum*) has sometimes been misread *secretum legendum*, that is, “a secret one ought to read.” 150 years after Schopenhauer’s death the time has indeed come to begin with the study not of some modern translation of the Upanishads or even a virgin copy of Anquetil’s *Oupnek’hat* but rather of the very work Schopenhauer regarded as the solace of his life and death: his Indian Bible that he “opened for prayers” before going to bed.<sup>18</sup> Its two volumes, chock-full with proofs of Schopenhauer’s interest, are still almost totally unexplored. What I propose to do in this article is to present this former “secret” like a newly discovered fossil to the scientific community. First I will cut a slice out of it to identify internal layers; then I will summarily describe individual layers, their proportions, and age; and finally I will outline future tasks. This is a “physical” approach in the sense that it tries, as a first step, to measure the object and find out about its structure, provenance, and overall nature. Questions regarding the *Oupnek’hat*’s philosophical content, influence, etc. will thus be addressed elsewhere.

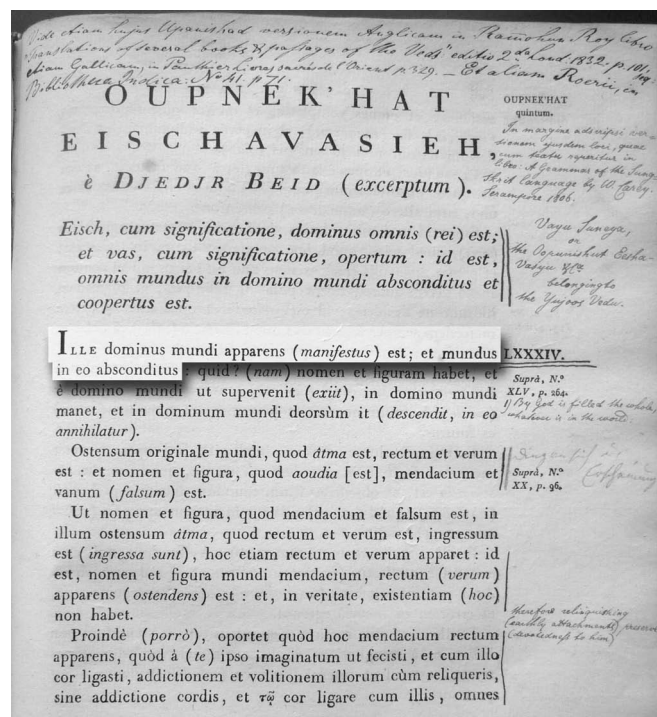
The “slice” or initial sample that will provide a first insight into our textual fossil is the first page mentioned by Hübscher in his *Oupnek’hat* description: page 395 of volume one. A glance at this sample immediately shows that Hübscher omitted a few important facts about it. What he quoted are only the three and a half lines Schopenhauer wrote at the very top of the page. Perhaps most importantly, Hübscher did not mention the pencil note in the margin below the middle of the page that reads “Ding an sich u. Erscheinung” (“Thing-in-itself and appearance”) – a remark that indicates Schopenhauer’s understanding of the corresponding paragraph or even the entire Upanishad and is thus of particular interest. But at this point we only want to get an overview of our sample and identify its different layers. The most striking and youngest textual layer, Schopenhauer’s handwriting, consists of four sub-layers: (A) notes at the top of the page in deep black ink; (B) notes in the margins in dark grey ink; (C) one note in the margin and an emphasis line in pencil; and (D) several emphasizing

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Affair. In: *Sino-Platonic Papers* 200 (2010): 1–160 examines the roles of Buddhism and East Asia. 3. The chapter on Anquetil-Duperron in *The Birth of Orientalism*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press 2010, 363–439 throws light on Anquetil-Duperron’s theological and philosophical background. 4. *Schopenhauers Kompass*, UniversityMedia 2011 (see footnote 2) discusses the influence of the *Oupnek’hat* and other important sources in the genesis of Schopenhauer’s metaphysics of will.

18 Schopenhauer’s friend Wilhelm Gwinner reported two years after Schopenhauer’s death: “Before going to bed he not infrequently opened his Bible, the *Oupnekhat*, in order to perform his prayers. This book, he said, would also be his final solace in the hour of his death.” Gwinner, Wilhelm: *Arthur Schopenhauer aus persönlichem Umgange dargestellt. Ein Blick auf sein Leben, seinen Charakter und seine Lehre*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus 1862, 215.

lines in deep black ink. The literature references in sublayer A (Roy's translation was published in 1832, Pauthier's in 1840, and Röer's in 1853) indicates, since the same ink and pen appear to have been used, that this sublayer stems from after 1853. Sublayer B consists of Schopenhauer's quotations from William Carey's *A Grammar of the Sungskrit language* (Serampore 1806), a book that Schopenhauer possibly owned but that is not mentioned in Hübscher's annotated *Orientalia* bibliography. Sublayer C, the above-mentioned remarks and line in pencil, possibly stems from the time when Schopenhauer's system was forming, that is, between 1814 and 1816. Sublayer D, the deep black lines, appear to be written with a thicker (top three) and thinner (bottom two) ink pen and might stem from different periods.



*Oupnek'hat* vol. 1, p. 395. The highlight in center page is obviously added.

The next layer consists of Anquetil-Duperron's printed text. On page 455 of volume 2, Anquetil states that he finished this translation on October 9 of 1795, but he might have emended the text while writing notes to this Upanishad (vol. 1, pp. 633–635) between 1795 and 1801, the year the first volume got

printed. The *terminus a quo* for this layer is the summer of 1787 when Anquetil finished revising his French translation and decided to publish the *Oupnek'hat* not in French but in Latin.<sup>19</sup>

As a basis for his initial French and ultimate Latin translations, Anquetil used a Persian manuscript that he received in December of 1775 from his friend Le Gentil, the French envoy at Oudh.<sup>20</sup> Anquetil assumed that the Persian layer of the *Oupnek'hat* represented a faithful, word-for-word translation of a Sanskrit text. But when comparing Anquetil's translation from Persian to Carey's translation from Sanskrit that he copied in the margins, Schopenhauer was unable to find corresponding passages for much of the text.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, on this entire page of "Upanishad translation," only the highlighted passage stems from the Sanskrit Upanishad as it appears in Patrick Olivelle's edition.<sup>22</sup> Most of page 395 of the *Oupnek'hat* represents a commentary layer consisting of explanations by Prince Dara, his religious guides, and his Indian pandits. Some such explanations can be traced to specific Indian sources such as Shankara's Upanishad commentaries while others have more of a Sufi flavor.

The first survey of a single slice of our fossil already showed that those who think they can use some modern translation or standard Sanskrit text to study the influence of the Upanishads on Schopenhauer (or compare Schopenhauer's philosophy with the "Indian" philosophy he knew) have a little problem. If so much of the text that Anquetil translated "word for word," and that Schopenhauer studied so intensively, does not stem from the Upanishads but rather from commentators, then studies of reception must obviously rely on the text Schopenhauer actually used and not some ideal, "unpolluted" source. In other words, it is the *Oupnek'hat* – and not just any *Oupnek'hat*, but Schopenhauer's annotated copy – that must be read. Instead of a secret to be safeguarded (*secretum tegendum*), Schopenhauer's *Oupnek'hat* must become *legendum*: required reading. The study of Schopenhauer's markup shows that, on this page, he was most interested in commentary, rather than Upanishad text. In one stroke, our sample thus puts in question most of what has been written about Schopenhauer

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19 Anquetil's French translation is extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Western manuscript section, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises (Fonds Anquetil-Duperron) no. 8857. The date of completion is marked on page 862 (March 18, 1787), as is the completion of revision (July 3, 1787).

20 He later received from Bernier a second manuscript that he occasionally quotes from in footnotes.

21 Of the two handwritten sentences in the margins of p. 395 of volume one of the *Oupnek'hat*, Schopenhauer quotes from Carey ("By God is filled the whole, whatever is in the world," and "therefore relinquishing (earthly attachments) preserve (devotedness to him)" only the first is a true correspondence.

22 There is no single standard version of Sanskrit Upanishads, and Olivelle's is not a critical edition. What is important to remember, however, is that modern translations as well as those consulted by Schopenhauer show many important differences with his reference text, the Latin *Oupnek'hat*.

and his reception of Indian philosophy and suggests that it would make sense to learn more about the book he so admired. For a start, let us look at the main layers of our fossil in some more detail.

### 1. From Sanskrit to Persian (1656–1657)

Crown prince Mohammed Dara Shikoh (1615–1659) was the eldest son of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1592–1666) and his favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal (1593–1631) whose mausoleum is the world-famous Taj Mahal in Agra. This monument's mixture of Persian and Indian elements echoes the crown prince's cultural and religious background. Since his youth Dara, whose mother tongue was Persian, had been interested in Sufism, and in his twenties he authored several books with biographies and teachings of Sufi masters.<sup>23</sup> But after meeting the famous *Muwahhid* (unitarian) Mullā Shah, Dara's interest in other religions and their sacred scriptures grew by leaps and bounds. So did his entourage of experts of religions such as Judaism, Christianity, and Hinduism that also included Yoga adepts, Islamic mystics, and other holy men. For his study of the religions of India the prince consulted with some of the country's most famous scholars and had them translate important texts such as the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Yogavāsishtha* into Persian.<sup>24</sup> In 1656 Prince Dara finished a book called *The Confluence of the Oceans* that lays out what he regarded as the common core of Hindu and Sufi teaching.<sup>25</sup> In the same year the prince assembled in Benares a team of experts for the first ever translation of fifty Upanishads from Sanskrit into Persian.<sup>26</sup>

The Upanishads stem from many different traditions and ages.<sup>27</sup> The two texts that our samples mainly draw from, the Isha and Mundaka Upanishads, represent the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. The exact procedure of Prince Dara's

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23 Hasrat, Bikrama Jit: *Dārā Shikūh: Life and Works*. Calcutta: Munshiram Manoharlal 1982.

24 For these and similar translation projects bridging the Islamic and Indian spheres see Ernst, Carl W.: *Muslim Studies in Hinduism?* Op. cit., 173–195.

25 Mahfuz-ul-Haq, M.: *Majma'-ul-Bahrain or The Mingling of the Two Oceans, by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shikūh*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal 1929. Reprint, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1990. See also Shayegan, Daryush: *Hindouisme et soufisme – Une lecture du confluent des deux océans: le Majma 'al-Bahrayn de Dārā Shikūh*. Paris: Albin Michel 1997; and Sengupta, Lalita: *Contribution of Darashikoh to Hindu-Muslim Philosophy*. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar 2004.

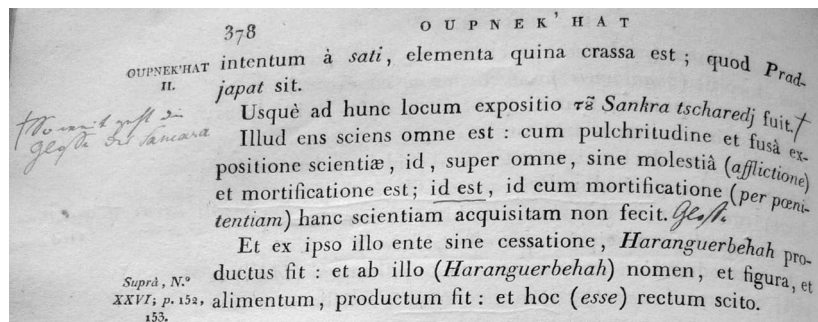
26 For detailed information about the genesis of the Persian Upanishad translation see Göbel-Gross, Erhard: *Sirr-i Akbar*, op. cit., 18–30; and Dresden, Mark: On the Genesis of Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnek'hat*, op. cit., 37–43. Useful background information is found in Rizvi, Saiyid Athar Abbas: *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1995.

27 For a concise introduction to the background and history of Upanishadic literature see Olivelle, Patrick: *The Early Upanishads*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998, 3–27.



six-month Upanishad translation project that took place in Benares from 1656–7 is unknown, but it is likely that a team of experts first made a draft translation which was then edited and put into elegant Persian by crown prince Dara.<sup>28</sup> The beginning of the Isha Upanishad that was mentioned above suggests that a basic Persian translation of the Sanskrit Upanishad texts was discussed by experts, some of whose remarks were woven into the translation that was then redacted by Prince Dara who added further explanations that reflect his Sufi background and philosophy. Whatever the procedure might have been: its result, titled *Sirr-i akbar* (The Great Secret), was finished in 1657 and is the first ever translation of Upanishads into a non-Indian language.

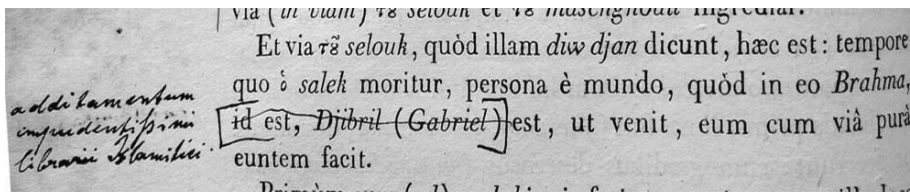
As I have observed with the *Oupnek'hat's* beginning of the Isha Upanishad, Dara's translation did not only include Upanishadic text but also various kinds of commentary. Usually such commentary is integrated in the text, which is why neither the translator Anquetil nor his reader Schopenhauer noticed its presence. But in some cases a commentator is mentioned. In the following example, a commentary is attributed to Shankara acharya ("Sankra tscharedj") and Schopenhauer noted in the margin that "the gloss of Shankara ends here" ("Soweit geht die Gloße des Sancara"). He also noticed a different kind of explanation that begins with "id est," which he underlined – a gloss whose presence is pointed out by Schopenhauer ("Gloße") but whose author remains unknown.



Glosses by Shankara and an unnamed author, marked by Schopenhauer (UP1.378)

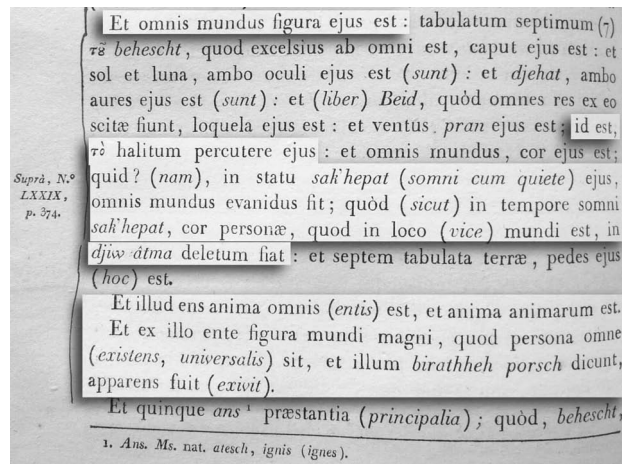
There are also numerous Islamic terms and names in the *Oupnek'hat*. Schopenhauer usually struck out what he identified as such or marked it by square brackets. In the case shown below, he did both and wrote in the margin "additamentum imprudentissimi librarii Islamitici" ("addition by the most imprudent Islamic copyist").

28 Göbel-Gross, *Sirr-i Akbar*, p. 29, calls this the "narrative" procedure.



Islamic elements in the *Oupnek'hat* identified and denounced by Schopenhauer (UP2.70)

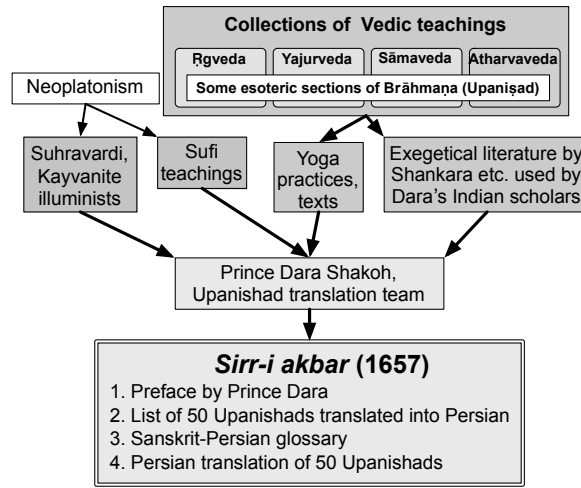
However, most commentaries and additions were integrated into the text and remained unnoticed.<sup>29</sup> The following example of the Mundaka Upanishad shows how intricately intertwined Upanishadic text, commentary, and translator's explanations can sometimes be. The commentaries marked by "id est" can be easily detected; but how could Schopenhauer know that explanations following "quid?" are usually by Dara or the translation team? This example also shows another kind of explanation, namely, the italicized words in parentheses. These were used by Anquetil as a device to explain the literal translation from Persian that precedes such parentheses. At times they explain a technical term (*sak'hepat* is explained as "somni cum quiete"), and at other times they add precision, as in "fuit (*exivit*)" or "præstantia (*principalia*).". In the following half page, everything highlighted is commentary, and text without highlight appears in Olivelle's Sanskrit text of the Mundaka Upanishad:



Intertwined Upanishad text and commentary (highlighted) in Mundaka (vol. 1, p. 382)

<sup>29</sup> Göbel-Gross, *Sirr-i Akbar*, contains a detailed analysis of such elements in the Praśna Upanishad.

The precise ratio of in-line commentary vs. Upanishad text is often, as here, guesswork because of our ignorance of the manuscript(s) used by Dara and his team. It also varies with each Upanishad and appears to reflect the interests of Prince Dara. Whereas philosophical passages (for example explanations about monism or maya) tend to include substantial amounts of commentary,<sup>30</sup> text related to ritual is often abbreviated or entirely cut. Using Olivelle's edition of the Mundaka Upanishad, it appears that about 18 % of the corresponding *Oupnek'hat* text consists of commentary. Of course there is no single "canonical" text of the Upanishads; but researchers who use modern translations for studies about Schopenhauer's reception ought to be aware of the many omissions, additions, and variations that characterize the *Sirr-i akbar* and consequently even more the *Oupnek'hat*.<sup>31</sup>



Upanishadic, commentarial, and translation layers of the *Sirr-i akbar*

In 1657, Prince Dara and his team of experts completed the translation of fifty Upanishads into Persian<sup>32</sup> and named it *Sirr-i akbar*: the Great Secret. It consisted of (1) Prince Dara's preface; (2) a list of translated Upanishads; (3) a Sanskrit-Persian glossary; and (4) the Persian Upanishad translation with much interwoven commentary. Shortly thereafter, Prince Dara lost the succession struggles to the Mughal throne and was in 1659 murdered by his younger

30 An extreme example of this is the beginning of the Isha Upanishad, as shown above (vol. 1, 395).

31 See the summary of findings regarding a single Upanishad in Göbel-Gross, op. cit., 205–208.

32 See the annotated list of translated Upanishads in Göbel-Gross, op. cit., 39–56.

brother Aurang-zeb. But Prince Dara's *Sirr-i akbar* survived and appears to have been copied many times.<sup>33</sup> In the next section we will see that as many as nine or ten copies were brought to Europe and that the first of these formed the basis of Anquetil's two-stage translation effort.

## 2. From Persian to French (1777–1787)

In December of 1775, Anquetil-Duperron received a manuscript of Prince Dara's *Sirr-i akbar*.<sup>34</sup> The first part that he translated into French was Dara's preface. It contained the confirmation that the Upanishads represent the essence of the long-sought Vedas and are regarded as the world's most ancient record of divine revelation. For nine years, from 1776 to 1787, Anquetil toiled with few reference materials to help him, and on March 18 of 1787 he finished his word-for-word translation of the entire *Sirr-i akbar* with a series of "OUM." On July 3 the revision was completed.<sup>35</sup> The result of this effort was a manuscript that is difficult to decipher but of great interest. It teems with revisions, corrections, notes made during translation, and later notes that Anquetil pasted onto its pages. Its study is of great help in explaining choices made by Anquetil in his later Latin translation and in understanding Anquetil's translation procedure and motivation. Furthermore, it aids in understanding what Anquetil added during the phases of Latin translation (1787–1795) and annotation (1795–1801) and throws light on his motivations and views. For example, a long note pasted on page 230 of Anquetil's French *Oupnek'hat* manuscript contains the following interesting statement:

33 For some references to information about extant Persian manuscripts see Dresden, "On the Genesis of Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnek'hat*," p. 37. The Persian text was first edited and printed in 1961: Muḥammad Riḡā Jalāli Nā'inī and Tārā Chand: *Upānīshād / tarjumah-i Muḥammad Dārā Shikūh az matn-i Sānskrīt; bā muqaddimah u havāshī u ta'liqāt u lughatnāmah u i'lām ba-sa'y u ihtimām-i Tārā Chand [va] Sayyid Muḥammad Riḡā Jalāli Nā'inī*. Tehran: Taban, 1961.

34 At a later point, Anquetil received a second Persian manuscript from the same envoy.

35 "Oupnek'hat, traduit littéralement du persan, mêlé du samskrétam." Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises no. 8857, p. 862. Apart from his two manuscripts of the *Sirr-i Akbar*, Anquetil communicated with Boughton-Rouse who also possessed two complete manuscripts. Taking into account that Halhed also had one complete and one incomplete copy, William Jones a complete one, Alexander Hamilton one, and Colebrooke two, we conclude that a total of at least ten manuscript copies made their way to Europe. For Halhed see Rocher, Rosane: Nathaniel Brassey Halhed on the Upanishads (1787). In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Diamond Jubilee Volume* (1977–78). Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1978, 279–289. For Jones see *The Works of Sir William Jones*, ed. by Anna Maria Jones. London: Robinson & Evans, 1799, vol. 6, 415. For Boughton-Rouse see Anquetil-Duperron: *Oupnek'hat* vol. 1, pp. vi–vii. For Colebrooke see Göbel-Gross, op. cit., 34. For Alexander Hamilton see his anonymous review: Anquetil's *Oupnek'hat*. In: *The Edinburgh Review* 2 (1803), 412–421 (here 415).

Les *Livres Zends* et l'*Oupnekhat* présentent les mêmes vérités que les ouvrages des Platoniciens; et peut-être ces philosophes les avaient-ils reçues des orientaux. Loin donc d'attaquer la religion, c'est la servir utilement que de publier ces monumens qui attestent le témoignage de deux grandes nations en faveur de l'existence, des attributs, des opérations du premier Être, des devoirs de l'homme et de sa destination.

The [Zoroastrian] *Zend books* and the *Oupnekhat* present the same truths as the works of the Platonics; and possibly these philosophers have received them from the Orientals. Far from attacking the [Christian] religion, the publication of these monuments is a useful service to her as it furnishes the testimony of two great nations in favor of the existence, attributes, and operations of the first Being, and of the duties and destiny of man.

In 1787, after completion of his French translation, Anquetil published under the title of "Fond de la Théologie Indienne, tiré des *Beids*" (Basis of the Indian theology, taken from the Vedas) his French translation of four relatively short Upanishads in a geographical work. He asked the geographers to pardon the interruption of his description of the course of the Ganges "as a favor to the Brahmins of Benares" of Dara's team who translated this Indian theology "word for word – these are the terms of the preface of the *Oupnekhat* – from Sanskrit into Persian."<sup>36</sup> This first ever publication of some Upanishads in a European language evoked a limited echo in France. But three years later these four Upanishads were already published in German translation in Switzerland.<sup>37</sup> Frustrated by his inability to forge a rigidly literal French translation while maintaining an acceptable degree of intelligibility, Anquetil in 1787 decided to translate the Persian *Sirr-i akbar* into Latin.

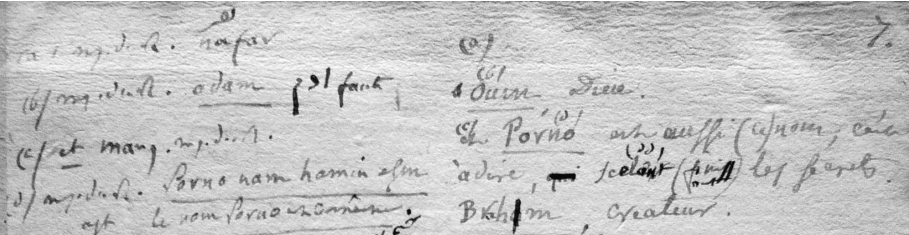
### 3. From Persian and French to Latin (1787–1795)

The decision to publish the *Oupnekhat* in Latin translation was severely criticized by the vast majority of readers because they rightly felt that Latin was in many respects less precise than French or other modern European languages. But the preparation of his draft French translation of four Upanishads for publi-

36 Anquetil-Duperron, Abraham Hyacinthe: Des Recherches historiques & géographiques sur l'Inde, & la Description du Cours du Gange & du Gagra, avec une très grande Carte. In: *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*. Ed. by Jean Bernoulli. Berlin: Pierre Bourdeaux 1787, 297–344. The request for pardon is on page 344 where Anquetil returns to the description of the Ganges.

37 Anquetil-Duperron, Abraham Hyacinthe: Vier Upnekhat, aus dem Samskrutamischen Buche die Upnekhat. In: *Sammlung asiatischer Original-Schriften. Indische Schriften*, 269–315. Zürich: Ziegler und Söhne, 1791.

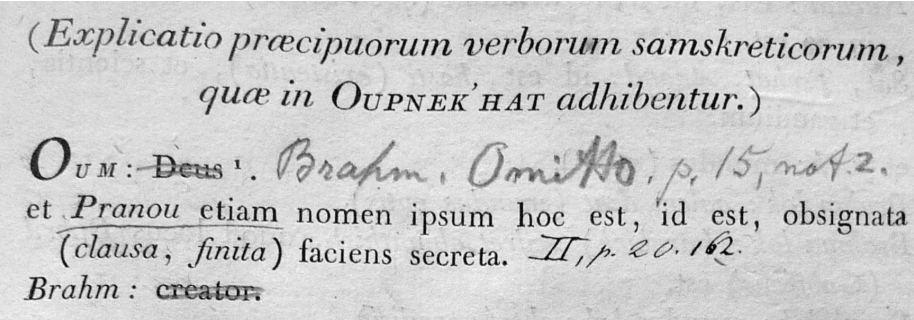
cation had convinced Anquetil that French was a poor choice for the world's oldest record of divine revelation. Yet the many Greek particles in Anquetil's *Oupnek'hat* show that he felt obliged to tune up Latin grammar in order to achieve a satisfactory level of faithfulness. Furthermore, he decided to use Sanskrit or Persian technical terms whenever possible, thus forcing his readers to constantly refer to the included glossary. A slice of the first page of Anquetil's glossary will now serve as one more window into the innards of our textual fossil.



French *Oupnek'hat* translation, Bibliothèque nationale NAF 8857, p. 7

<i>Oum</i> , Dieu et <i>Porno</i> est aussi (ce) nom, c'est à dire, scelant (finissant) les secrets.	<i>Oum</i> , God and <i>Porno</i> is also (this) name, i.e., sealing (finishing) the secrets
<i>Brahm</i> , createur	<i>Brahm</i> , creator

In the published Latin version graced with Schopenhauer's notes, these first lines appear as follows (*Oupnek'hat* vol. 1, p. 7):



1. De Guignes, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc. et bell. lett.* T. 26, p. 776, n. (h).

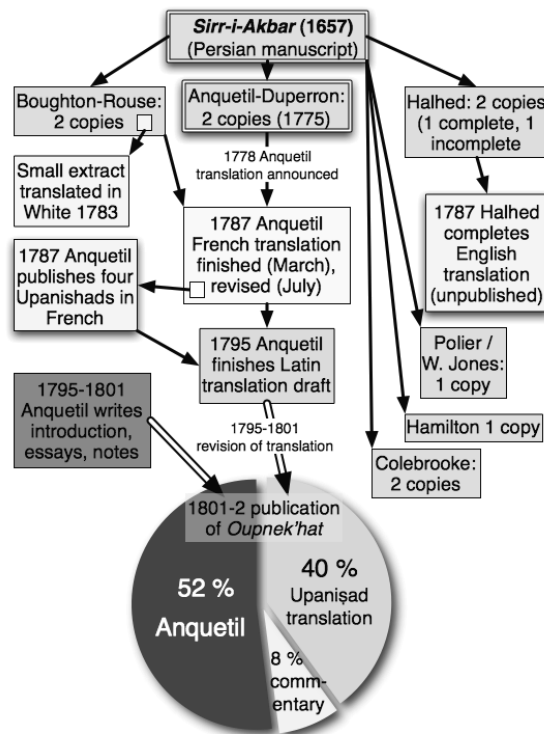
At one glance we can here observe five different strata: (1) the Sanskrit OUM that Dara translated as (2) “Allah” and that Anquetil rendered as (3) “Deus” (God). This definition is supported by a (4) footnote reference to an article of Joseph de Guignes about Buddhism.<sup>38</sup> Schopenhauer, the reader of this, (5) crossed out “Deus” and redefined OUM as “Brahm” and “Omitto.” He found his definition supported by Anquetil’s second note on page 15,<sup>39</sup> which he cross-referenced, and fended off the possibility of defining Brahm as creator God by striking out the definition of Brahm as “creator.” This thin slice of our textual fossil thus shows (1) the Sanskrit layer; (2) Prince Dara’s interpretation / translation layer; (3) Anquetil’s Latin translation layer; (4) Anquetil’s Orientalist annotation layer; and (5) Schopenhauer’s markup layer.

This tiny sample shows clearly how indispensable Schopenhauer’s marked-up copy of the *Oupnek’hat* is for the understanding of his reception of Indian thought. No amount of study of Sanskrit texts, of Indian philosophy, of accurate Upanishad translations, or even of an unmarked copy of the *Oupnek’hat* could produce the kind of insight into Schopenhauer’s reception that lies in this one line with its crossed out “God” and his preferred definitions. But there is an additional compelling reason for Schopenhauer researchers to use and study the *Oupnek’hat* rather than modern Upanishad translations: less than half of the text in Anquetil-Duperron’s two *Oupnek’hat* volumes actually consists of Upanishad translation. Taking into account that (based on the Mundaka ratio) about one-sixth of the translation consists of extraneous commentary, we can surmise that only approximately forty percent of Anquetil’s *Oupnek’hat* represent Upanishad translation. And these forty percent have been indelibly colored by Anquetil’s approach and understanding that found expression in his voluminous notes, commentary, and explanatory essays. Instead of being viewed as unnecessary baggage unrelated to the translation part or even as a hindrance to its understanding, this larger half of the *Oupnek’hat* is just as much in need of study.

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38 Guignes, Joseph de: Recherches sur les Philosophes appelés Samanéens. In: *Mémoires de Littérature tirés des Registres des Académie Royale des Inscriptions & Belles Lettres*, vol. 26. Paris: Imprimerie royale 1759, 770–804; here referred to is note h on p. 776 which furnishes (wrong) information about Omitto (Amitabha Buddha). The background of this surprising definition is explained in App, Urs: How Amida got into the Upanishads: An Orientalist’s Nightmare. In: *Essays on East Asian Religion and Culture*, ed. by Christian Wittern and Lishan Shi. Kyoto: Editorial Committee for the Festschrift in Honour of Nishiwaki Tsuneki 2007, 11-33 (freely downloadable as PDF on the internet).

39 Anquetil’s note explains the OUM at the beginning of the first Upanishad as Omitto (Amitabha Buddha, Japanese: Amida, Chinese: Omito). See previous note.

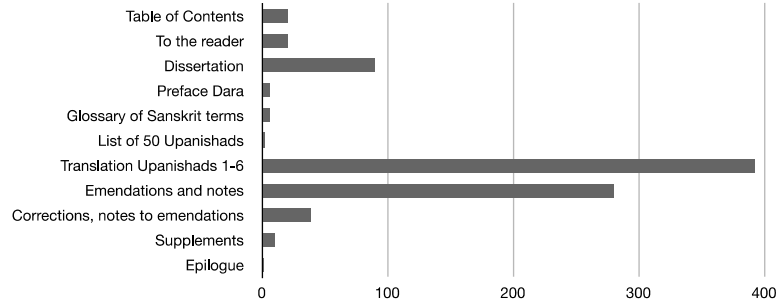


#### 4. Anquetil's Essays and Annotation (1795–1801)

I now turn to the fourth layer, a glimpse of whose importance we already caught in Schopenhauer's reference to "Omitto": Anquetil's annotation and essays. At least in terms of page volume, they are more important than the translation. According to Anquetil's note at the end of the *Oupnek'hat* translation part, he finished the draft of his Latin translation on October 9 of 1795, that is, after about eight years of labor during the turmoil of the French revolution. Rudiments of annotation – for the most part directly related to the text – are already found in the left column of Anquetil's manuscript French translation; but for the Latin translation we have no manuscript and cannot be sure when Anquetil wrote his notes. However, we can assume that the vast majority of non-translation material stems from the last years of the eighteenth century, i. e. from the period between the autumn of 1795 and the year 1800 when the extremely complicated process of bringing the huge, multilingual work to press had already begun.

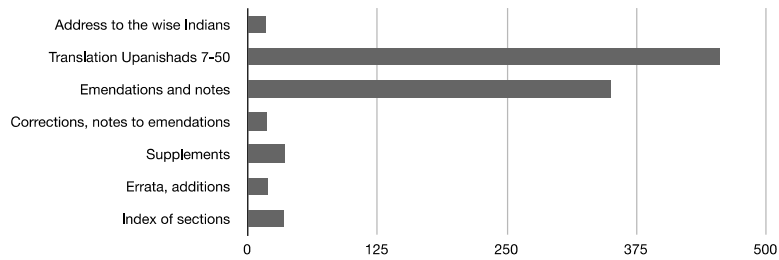


The two volumes of Anquetil's printed *Oupnek'hat*, the first of which appeared in 1801 and the second in 1802, add up to almost 1800 pages. The second volume is slightly larger. If Anquetil had put all his notes and essays in one volume they would fill the entire second volume, and the first volume would be filled with translation. But Anquetil chose a different architecture for his work. The 872-page first volume shows the following content distribution:



I have already noted the importance of the glossary of Sanskrit terms which is indispensable for understanding Anquetil's translation and overall approach as well as for the underlying vision of Prince Dara and his team. This glossary highlights the gulf separating ordinary translations of the Upanishads from this particular interpretative rendering. Anquetil's emendations, notes, and supplements (which surpass the volume of translated text) treat of so many topics that they cannot be listed here. In the table of contents, Anquetil mentions a total of 148 different themes that range from his reflections on emanation, Brahma, and maya to discussions of quietism, Rosicrucianism, cartography, and Kant's philosophy.

The second volume of the *Oupnek'hat* has its table of contents at the end, and its "additions" section on pp. 876–880 already contains Anquetil's response to three reviews of the first volume. This second volume has the following main sections:



I will now briefly analyze two samples. The first stems from the *Athrb sar* (Atharvaśira) Upanishad.<sup>40</sup> All that Göbel-Gross has to say about this text is that it “forms part of the Atharvaveda” and was “completely translated” by Dara’s team. But we now know that the Latin *Oupnek’hat* consists of far more than just translation from the Persian *Sirr-i akbar* and that the Persian and Sanskrit texts represent only two layers of the Latin *Oupnek’hat*. Here we are interested in Anquetil’s annotation. In the case of this Upanishad I found that Anquetil’s translation and his notes to the translation are dwarfed by the amount of his commentary that sometimes only tangentially relates to the Upanishads.

In terms of the ratio of Anquetil’s essays vs. translation and translation-related notes the *Athrb sar* is an extreme case;<sup>41</sup> but the content of the annotation of other Upanishads is no less colorful. For example, Anquetil’s 13<sup>th</sup> Upanishad (the “Sataster” or Śvetāśvatara Upanishad; vol. 2, pp. 547–568) has only slightly more annotation than translation text (39 pages versus 34) but Anquetil’s notes veer from ancient India to post-revolutionary France. He explains not only Brahm and maya (pp. 548–551), the Sanskrit alphabet (551–552), his publication plans of dictionaries and grammars (553–554), and monism (555–557), but also discusses the imitation of Christ according to Thomas of Kempis (561), the fourteenth-century mysticism of Jean Gerson (562–563), the platonism in Cudworth and Plotinus (565–568), emanation (569, 584–585), and meditation (583–584). In view of this the reader is hardly surprised to find, smack in the middle of Anquetil’s commentary to the *Athrb sar* Upanishad, ten pages on the reform of the French education system after the revolution (571–581)!

Anquetil’s annotation layer also features literature references, cross-references in notes or margins, explanations about textual variants of the two used manuscripts, explanations of words and terms in the footnotes, etc. In sum, this layer is not only dominant in terms of physical volume but also crucial for the reader’s comprehension of the translation. Though the translation strives to convey the impression of an extremely literal and faithful translation of an ancient text, the annotation inserts it into the eighteenth-century theological and philosophical discussion and relates it to the thought of eminent Europeans like Plotinus, Malebranche, Bayle, Leibniz, and in an appendix even to Kant. Thus Anquetil created a bridge between the world’s most ancient philosophy (that of the *Oupnek’hat*) and the endeavors and themes of modern philosophy that could not but interest someone like Schopenhauer.

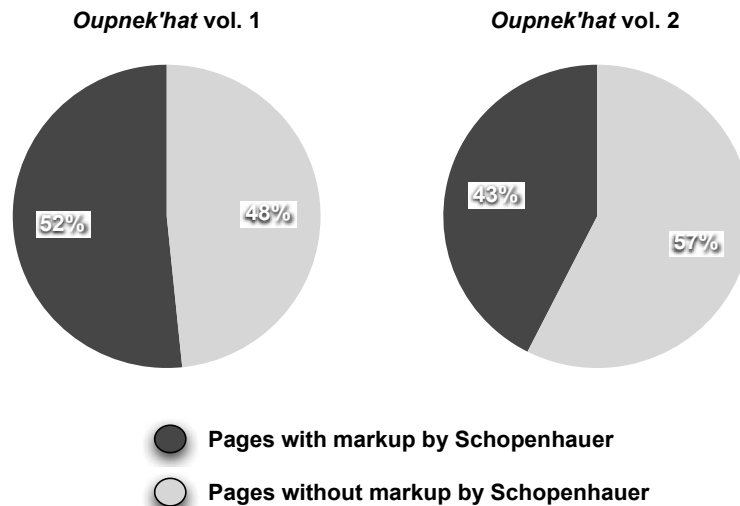
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40 In Anquetil’s *Oupnek’hat* the *Athrb sar* is Upanishad number nine.

41 The translation makes up 20 % of the pages devoted to this Upanishad, the notes to the translation 7 %, and the thematic essays by Anquetil no less than 73 %.

### 5. Schopenhauer's Markup (1814–1860)

I now return to the fifth layer that has occupied us to some degree from the beginning: Schopenhauer's markup of his copy of the *Oupnek'hat*. The number of pages that show traces of Schopenhauer's interest is very important in both volumes.



Our initial sample, the beginning of the Isha Upanishad (p. 395 of the *Oupnek'hat's* first volume), has shown that Schopenhauer's markup has several sublayers. That specific page contained four: (A) notes at the top of the page in deep black ink; (B) notes in the margins in dark grey ink; (C) one note in the margin and an emphasis line in pencil; and (D) several emphasizing lines in deep black ink. The detailed study of these and of additional layers of Schopenhauer's markup in his favorite book is an urgent desideratum and needs to be linked to the digitalisation and electronic markup of Schopenhauer's library that has barely begun. This effort will hopefully include the analysis of different inks, handwriting styles, etc., and encode all traces of Schopenhauer's interest to aid future students of Schopenhauer's favorite book.

The layers I distinguished in the initial sample relate to physical characteristics. But the same data can be categorized in multiple ways. For example, the ink lines on page 395 are related to Schopenhauer's appreciation of the printed text of the *Oupnek'hat*, and double lines indicate that he found some of this text

more interesting than what is marked with a single line. The above-mentioned remark in pencil “Ding an sich u. Erscheinung” is also related to Schopenhauer’s appreciation of the *Oupnek’hat* text but belongs to a different category since it spells out how Schopenhauer understood it. The three and a half lines at the top of the page that were transcribed by Hübscher point not to the *Oupnek’hat* text but rather to three alternative translations consulted by Schopenhauer. The dark grey ink writing in the margin belongs to an additional category because it furnishes not just a literature reference but actual quotations from an external source. Schopenhauer’s conclusions from comparisons of the *Oupnek’hat* with alternative translations, an example of which we saw in the first illustration of this contribution (*Oupnek’hat* vol. 1, pp. 398–399) form another category.

Apart from the categories gained from looking at our initial sample, I have already noted several additional types of Schopenhauer’s markup: text that is struck through (like “Deus” and “Gabriel”), text that is identified as commentary (“Gloße”), text that is identified as addition (“additamentum imprudentissimi librarii Islamitici”), cross-references (“p. 15, not. 2”), definitions (“Brahm. Omitto”), and critique. Further types include the philosopher’s indexes of technical terms, reminders for research, literature references, corrections of Latin style, corrections on the basis of other authors, summaries of other publications (for example of Colebrooke’s terminology on the back page of vol. 1 of the *Oupnek’hat*), reflections not directly related to the text, doubts (often in form of question marks), and tentative interpretations. Schopenhauer’s references to and quotations from literature show how eager he was to compare the *Oupnek’hat* to other translations that gradually appeared. This points to the role of developing orientalism in Schopenhauer’s *Oupnek’hat* reception and helps establishing a chronological stratification of Schopenhauer’s markup.

### *Initiations*

After almost two hundred years of neglect, ostracism, obfuscation, and derision, Anquetil-Duperron’s *Oupnek’hat* as well as the basis for its translation part, Prince Dara’s *Sirr-i akbar*, are beginning to reemerge as works that merit intensive study in their own right. They form crucial junctions in several encounters between East and West. Unlike earlier encounters whose study is difficult or impossible because of the lack of sources, Schopenhauer’s discovery of the Upanishads is documented to an extraordinary degree. The most precious source, of course, is the very book Schopenhauer used to read in at bedtime, that he defended so ardently against other translations purchased at great expense, and that he called the solace of his life and death. The study of its content, of its different strata, and of Schopenhauer’s markup will help us understand how Schopenhauer arrived at this conviction and how he came to name the Upani-

shads even before Kant and Plato among the three most important influences on the genesis of his metaphysics of will. Once this *secretum tegendum* really turns into a *secretum legendum*, we might also understand what both Dara and Anquetil meant by “secret” and why Schopenhauer wrote in the preface of the first edition of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*:

But if he [the reader] has enjoyed the benefits of the *Vedas*, access to which through the Upanishads constitutes the greatest advance of our still young century over previous ones, since I suspect that the influence of Sanskrit literature will exert as deep an influence as the revival of Greek literature in the fourteenth century – if the reader, I say, has already been initiated into ancient Indian wisdom and has received it with appreciation: then he will be optimally prepared to hear what I have to say to him. Then it [the Indian Wisdom as presented in the Upanishads] will not seem strange or even hostile, as it does to many. Would it not sound too conceited, I would even claim that each of the individual and disconnected utterances that the Upanishads consist of could be deduced as a consequence from the thought I am about to communicate, though conversely it [my thought] is by no means to be already found there [in the Upanishads]. (trans. Urs App)

Schopenhauer was here not writing about “Indian wisdom,” the “Vedas,” and “the Upanishads” *as we know them* or would like to see them today, but rather the Upanishads *as he knew them*. In other words, he meant the very Latin *Oupnek’hat* that he so consistently and ardently defended against all translations from the Sanskrit and that he so unwaveringly regarded, from his prime to his grave, as the only genuine expression of “age-old Indian wisdom.” Thus Schopenhauer’s double claim in the preface of his main work was that the reader OF THE *OUPNEK’HAT* would be well prepared to understand his philosophy, and that Schopenhauer’s philosophy would in turn provide the key to the *secretum tegendum* of India: its ancient wisdom AS PRESENTED IN THE *OUPNEK’HAT*. To understand what Schopenhauer meant by this, more layers need to be added to the history of his favorite book by students of the future who download its high-quality scanned version with all of Schopenhauer’s notes and marks, study its pages on screen or print them out, gain initiation to its secrets, and contribute to its continuing history by adding ever more layers: their own annotation.