BUDAPEST MONOGRAPHS IN EAST ASIAN STUDIES

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STUDIES IN CHINESE MANUSCRIPTS: FROM THE WARRING STATES PERIOD TO THE 20TH CENTURY

EDITED BY

IMRE GALAMBOS

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SERIES EDITOR: IMRE HAMAR

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IMRE GALAMBOS

INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES, EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY
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Preface

Archaeology is a discipline concerned with the material culture of the past. Yet, as is the case with most academic subjects, it is influenced by a series of economic, political and ideological motivations. History can obviously never be an exact and impartial record of what happened at particular times and places in the past; instead, it is constructed anew by each generation, and this inevitably involves the projection of a range of current preconceptions and attitudes onto what on the surface aspires to be an accurate image of the past. China is a country where the motives shaping the development of archaeology and historiography have undergone particularly dramatic changes over the past century or so. Starting with excavations conducted by foreign explorers at the beginning of the 20th century, from the late 1920s, as a result of nationalistic sentiments struggling to reassess the country's historical past and to define a new identity for it, archaeology increasingly became an issue of public concern. The collections of artefacts and manuscripts that had been taken out of the country were from then on regarded as lost national treasures, and foreign explorers, once admired for their determination, became rebranded as thieves and imperialist spies. Subsequently, the turmoil of war and decades of internal political struggles put a halt to large-scale excavations until the 1970s, when we again witness the start of what has become a stream of startling new developments in the field. What is more, China's spectacular economic growth has created an entirely new academic and cultural atmosphere in which the significance of archaeological artefacts has changed once again. No longer simply accidental discoveries of things buried in the ground, many of the finds have surfaced at politically opportune moments, providing much needed ideological support for key public figures.

Manuscripts represent a special case among archaeological materials. The reason for this is that they contain writing, and in the Chinese context writing has always been regarded as symbolic of civilization. It is an essential element of the fabric of history, an extremely powerful cultural

metaphor that connects the past with the present and shapes time into a coherent narrative. The Chinese script was one of the greatest inventions of Chinese culture and remains a key aspect of national identity today. Thus manuscripts and other written materials – steles, seals, inscriptions on mirrors and other bronze objects – have long been the primary targets of archaeological excavations. They serve to fit sites and artefacts into an existing historical narrative or to allow the re-interpretation of that narrative in new ways.

The past forty years have yielded an unprecedented amount of early Chinese manuscripts. Written on wood, bamboo and silk, they date from the late Warring States period through the Qin and Han dynasties. Many of them are administrative documents, but it has been those texts, in particular, with parallels in transmitted literature that have ignited public interest, showing that the ability to demonstrate the continuity of traditional civilization is indeed one of the main reasons why archaeological finds matter to contemporary society. The discovery of Han dynasty copies of the *Laozi* 老子 and *Zhouyi* 周易 manuscripts in 1974 at Mawangdui was one of the highlights of the decade for the entire field of early China studies. While there were a number of other important finds in the following years, it was the discovery of a Warring States version of the *Laozi* in 1993 that became the next sensational find. Other texts unearthed in the meantime, albeit important for researchers, captured the public's attention to a significantly lesser degree. Alongside archaeologically excavated texts, several important collections of manuscripts have been acquired by institutions from the antique market through dealers. While the provenance of these is understandably open to question, many have been judged by leading specialists to be genuine, and have come to be presented alongside the archaeologically excavated material as authentic sources from early China. These judgments, however, are disputable in some cases and the motivations behind them are also worthy of investigation. The most spectacular of these collections is the large group of Warring States bamboo slips acquired by the Shanghai Museum in 1994, which included another version of the *Zhouyi*. Very recently, in 2008, a large collection of Warring States bamboo slips were acquired by Qinghua University, and these include, among others, texts parallel with or related to the *Shangshu* 尚書. All of these finds probably came from looted tombs and thus lack archaeological context, yet they are rapidly becoming part of the main stream corpus of early Chinese manuscripts.

The study of medieval manuscripts has also significantly advanced over the past decades. Although the Dunhuang manuscripts were discovered over a century ago, they subsequently became widely scattered and

remained largely inaccessible in libraries and museums around the world. Even if some holding institutions boasted liberal access policies to promote research, travel costs, visa regulations and language barriers effectively prohibited access to them for most researchers. One major steps forward in this regard was the publication of the 140 volumes of the *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 which began in 1981. Even though the facsimile copies of this edition were based on microfilms, and consequently their quality was less than ideal, they made tens of thousands of manuscripts from major collections available to the general public for the first time. More recently, Chinese publishers such as *Shanghai guji chubanshe* have begun publishing high quality facsimile copies of Dunhuang manuscripts, significantly improving the legibility of many manuscripts and making others readable for the first time. But perhaps the most important step forward was the establishment of the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) based at the British Library, which has been digitizing manuscripts from Dunhuang and other sites in Western China since 1995. Although the digitization of the complete corpus will require many more years, a sizeable portion of the material is already accessible over the Internet free of charge to anyone with a computer terminal. Manuscripts from ongoing discoveries in the region of Turfan are also being rapidly made accessible both in printed and digital form, which has led to the rapid development of a new academic field called Turfan studies.

These advances are taking the study of Chinese manuscripts into a new era. The increasing availability of high-quality photographic images, along with the possibility of visiting the collections in person, has encouraged researchers to move beyond merely studying the texts to examining all aspects of their physical form. This growing attention to the physicality of written materials will no doubt enhance our understanding of the social contexts of these writings, shedding light on who wrote them and why, who read them, how they were used and why they came to be preserved. Scholars are gradually beginning to realize that texts were almost never written down for the sake of being preserved, at least not as part of the traditional model of textual transmission. Instead, in most cases they were created as by-products of a social (e.g. administrative, economic, religious, educational) activity, even if, from the modern point of view, this activity at times seems to have been directed towards textual production. Consequently, the physical aspects of manuscripts at times can provide a wealth of additional information which is lost once the texts have been transcribed or are examined solely for the sake of their textual content. Although China has a rich and highly advanced tradition of studying editions of printed texts, the discipline of manuscript studies – as we know it from

Western and Japanese parallels – has not developed apace. One of the main reasons for this has been that manuscripts in large quantities simply did not survive into our modern age, a situation that has changed dramatically over the past century.

The papers in this volume represent an effort to study Chinese manuscripts including their physical aspects. Some of them were presented initially at a workshop on Chinese manuscripts held at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, Hungary on 31 May–2 June, 2010. Generous funding from the Chiang Chin-Kuo Foundation enabled a small group of scholars working on manuscript material to gather together and discuss their research. Rather than limiting the time range, we tried to bring together researchers from different historical periods in order to see how their interactions could enrich our understanding of Chinese manuscript culture. The experience proved highly rewarding and for most of us the contrasts between the early, medieval and modern periods resulted in new insights into our own particular fields of study. As some of the original participants in the workshop were unable to contribute to the volume, new contributors were invited to become involved and thus the papers of this volume only partially reflect the content of the original workshop. Also, because of this successive rearrangement of contributors, the volume now has a much stronger emphasis on the medieval period than originally intended. Nevertheless, it is hoped that these studies will contribute to the development of Chinese manuscript studies and enrich our understanding of how manuscripts were produced, used and stored throughout history.

In closing, I would like to thank all those who have helped this project along the way. I would like first to express my gratitude to the Chiang Chin-Kuo Foundation for their financial support. Thanks also go to the staff and students of the Department of East Asian Studies of the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest for their help in organizing and holding the original workshop. In particular, I am most grateful to Imre Hamar, Chair of the Department, for his continuous support for the workshop and this volume. Special thanks go to Erzsébet Tóth for typesetting and preparing the manuscript of this volume for publication, and to John Moffett for proofreading this Preface. Finally, I would also like to thank those scholars who were not able to contribute to this volume but who were present at the original workshop and provided valuable comments and input: Michael Friedrich, Dirk Meyer, Matthias Richter and Ding Wang.

Imre Galambos

Why So Many *Laozi*-s?

WILLIAM G. BOLTZ

The first "Tomb Text Workshop" was convened in the Spring of 2000 at the University of Hamburg. Professor Michael Friedrich, who had the initial idea for such a workshop, proposed that the central question we might consider was "why are texts put in tombs?" Needless to say, many different possible (and mostly partial) answers were suggested at the time and continue to be suggested, but no one has come up with, nor does anyone expect to come up with, a single answer that would explain all of the texts that have been found in all Warring States and Han period tombs. After more than a decade since the question was first raised in this way we still cannot say with complete confidence why even one text was placed in even one tomb.[1] We can only speculate.

Among texts that have been discovered in tombs from this early period, the *Laozi* 老子 has turned up more frequently than any other work to date. We have two different *Laozi* manuscripts on silk from Mawangdui, one dating from just before the establishment of the Han dynasty and one from just after, three separate manuscripts from the Guodian corpus (*ca*. 300 B.C.E.) that carry texts matching in the aggregate about forty percent of the transmitted *Laozi*, and now, as recently reported by the Chinese press, a virtually complete *Laozi* among the large Warring States and early Han bamboo strip manuscript collection acquired by Peking University.[2] Just as we cannot say with certainty why any text was put in a tomb, so we cannot say with certainty why we find so many *Laozi* texts in tombs. To phrase the question slightly differently, focusing on production and

[1] Except, of course, for those texts that are by definition 'tomb specific', such as the tomb inventories know as *qiăncè* 遣冊.

[2] See, for example, the articles that appeared on the *Xinhua gangzonghe* 新華岡綜合 website for 06 November 2009 and in the *Guangming ribao* 光明日報 for the same date.

function rather than interment, why was the *Laozi* text copied so often? Or, more generally, why is any text copied in the first place? The answer to this question is likely to be just as elusive as the answer to the first question, why were texts put in tombs. But again, we can speculate.

Few people would disagree, I suspect, with the description of the *Laozi* as a work with a kind of "religious" or "philosophical" doctrinal content and character. Certainly this is how the work has been regarded in the long Chinese literary tradition, and surely it is a major part of the reason that the text remains so popular today. I write "religious" and "philosophical" with "scare" quotes because these are not well-defined terms in this context, at this stage of the discussion. They are, all the same, terms that carry some measure of a widely agreed upon general meaning and to that extent may serve our purpose. Sometime after the ostensible revelation received by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 from the deified Laozi (known as *Laojun* 老君) at Heming shan 鶴鳴山 (modern Sichuan province) in 142 C.E. and the consequent founding of the Tianshi 天師 'Celestial Master' school of Taoism, the earliest form of Taoism that we can identify as a religion *sensu stricto*, the *Laozi* indeed becomes what can fairly be called a religious scripture.[3] Prior to this we cannot speak of a Taoist religion in any meaningfully specific or concrete sense. Whether the *Laozi* text prior to the founding of Celestial Master Taoism is to be identified as a religious text or not is uncertain, but we nevertheless can recognize that the *Laozi*, and many similar pre-Han and early Han texts, had some kind of doctrinal significance and were likely invoked in whole or in part as proselytical tools by advocates of one or another "religious" or "philosophical" points of view.[4]

[3] Exactly when it is accurate to call the *Laozi* a religious scripture is a difficult question to answer, not only because it demands a precise definition of 'religious', but also because the early history of both the text and the religion are not yet completely clear. In his brief sketch of the history of the text, centered mostly on the post-Han periods, Kristofer Schipper refers to it in summary fashion as "the [Taoist (WGB)] religion's foremost scripture" (Schipper 2004: 57).

[4] Kristofer Schipper says that "[a]lthough primary sources are scarce, there is enough evidence to show that before Chang Ling [*i.e.*, Zhang Daoling (WGB)] there were many earlier organized religious groups that were seen as Taoist, both by the groups themselves and by others" (Schipper 1993: 10). Terry Kleeman says "[t]he founding of the Way of the Celestial Masters … during the 2nd century CE marks the formal establishment of the Taoist religion. The movement traces its origins to a dramatic revelation to Zhang Daoling in 142 CE, when Laozi descended to him atop mount Heming … in order to establish a new covenant between the true gods of Taoism and the people" (Kleeman 2008: 981–982).

The important distinction here is the one between ‘in whole’ and ‘in part’. Whatever the explanation for the two Mawangdui *Laozi*-s turns out to be, they are “whole” *Laozi*-s, and whatever purpose they served, it was presumably served effectively by a text that we think of on the basis of the transmitted, received version of the work as the complete *Laozi*. There are, to be sure, textual differences between the A and the B versions of the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts, and there are differences between these two manuscripts on the one hand and the received text on the other. The chief difference of the latter kind is the fact that the two parts of the received *Laozi* text are found in the order “Dao jing ” – “De jing” (hence the alternative name of the received text, *Dao De jing* 道德經) whereas the order in both of the Mawangdui manuscripts is the reverse, *viz*., “De jing” – “Dao jing”.[5] Apart from this, sections (identified traditionally as *zhāng* 章) eighty and eighty-one of the received text (hereafter abbreviated R) come between what correspond to R sections sixty-six and sixty-seven in the Mawangdui manuscripts; otherwise the order of the Mawangdui manuscript sections matches that of the received *Laozi*. The twin Mawangdui *Laozi*-s present a close enough match in structure and content to that of the received work that each can legitimately be called a version of the *Laozi*. Given the overall close match between the Mawangdui *Laozi* manuscripts and the received *Laozi*, the reverse order of the “Dao jing” – “De jing” parts, while certainly calling for an explanation, does not in itself constitute the kind of difference that would preclude us from seeing these as two variant recensions of the same work that we are familiar with in its transmitted form as the *Laozi, Dao De jing*. Still less does the differing placement of R sections eighty and eighty-one in the MWD manuscripts *vis-à-vis* the received text introduce any measure of doubt in seeing these as two versions of the *Laozi*.

The Guodian manuscripts present us with a different picture. As is well known, there are among the Guodian corpus three physically separate manuscripts, called generally A, B, and C, that carry passages matching the received *Laozi* text.[6] The A manuscript consists of thirty-nine bamboo

[5] The “De jing” – “Dao jing” order is said also to be that found in the Western Han bamboo strip manuscript that is described as a part of the recently announced Beida corpus.

[6] These are called *jiă* 甲, *yĭ* 乙 and *bĭng* 丙 respectively in Chinese studies. When necessary to distinguish the Guodian manuscripts A, B and C from other *Laozi* texts we will call them GD:A, GD:B and GD:C respectively, collectively simply as GD. Similarly, we will refer to the two Mawangdui manuscripts as MWD:A and MWD:B, or just MWD when the reference is to both or either indiscriminately.

strips, falling into four coherent groups plus one single strip isolate, that have a content matching nineteen sections of the received *Laozi*.[7] The B manuscript consists of eighteen strips, in three coherent groups, matching eight sections. And the C manuscript consists of fourteen strips, in four coherent groups, matching five sections of the received *Laozi*.[8] The following tables list the textual correspondences for each of the three manuscripts by Guodian strip number (as numbered in Jingmen shi Bowuguan 1998) and the corresponding section number of the received *Laozi*.[9]

Guodian manuscript A	**:**	***Laozi* matches**[10]
Coherent group I:		
strip 01: text matching *LZ* R		19
strip 02:		19, 66
strip 03:		66
strip 04:		66
strip 05:		66, 46
strip 06:		46, 30
strip 07:		30
strip 08:		30, 15
strip 09:		15
strip 10:		15, 64
strip 11:		64
strip 12:		64
strip 13:		64, 37
strip 14:		37, 63
strip 15:		63, 02

As mentioned above, we will follow convention and refer to the received (edited) version of the *Laozi* text as R.

[7] A 'coherent group' is a group of bamboo strips where the internal order, that is, the order of the strips with respect to one another, is determined by content, chiefly by syntactic or other contextual connections between the end of one strip and the beginning of the next, and is therefore fixed and unambiguous. A single strip 'isolate' is one self-contained strip that cannot be connected unambiguously with any others on the basis of syntax, context or any other objective internal evidence. Within a given Guodian manuscript the order of the coherent groups with respect to one another and with respect to any isolate cannot be objectively determined, and is therefore open to interpretation and conjecture.

[8] See Boltz 1999 for a further discussion and analysis of the arrangement and contents of the Guodian "Laozi" manuscripts.

[9] These tables are revised versions of those first presented in Boltz 1999.

[10] The GD : R "matches" may, and often do, include textual variants.

strip 16:	02
strip 17:	02
strip 18:	02, 32
strip 19:	32
strip 20:	32

Coherent group II:

strip 21:	25
strip 22:	25
strip 23:	25, 05

Isolate I:

strip 24:	16

Coherent group III:

strip 25:	64
strip 26:	64
strip 27:	64, 56
strip 28:	56
strip 29:	56, 57
strip 30:	57
strip 31:	57
strip 32:	57

Coherent group IV:

strip 33:	55
strip 34:	55
strip 35:	55, 44
strip 36:	44
strip 37:	44, 40, 09
strip 38:	09
strip 39:	09

Guodian manuscript B : *Laozi* matches

Coherent group I:

strips 01–02: text matching *LZ* R	59
strip 03:	59, 48
strip 04:	48, 20

strip 05:	20, 13
strips 06–07–08:	13

Coherent group II:

strips 09–10–11–12:	41

Coherent group III:

strip 13	52, 45
strip 14:	45
strip 15:	45, 54
strips 16–17–18:	54

Guodian manuscript C : *Laozi* matches

Coherent group I:

Strip 01: text matching *LZ* R	17
Strip 02:	17, 18
Strip 03:	18

Coherent group II:

Strips 04–05:	35

Coherent group III:

Strips 06–07–08–09–10:	31

Coherent group III:

Strips 11–12–13–14:	64

As can be seen from the tables, the only section of the received *Laozi* that occurs more than once among the three manuscripts is number 64. The portions of section 64 that occur on strips 10–11–12–13 in group I of manuscript A and on strips 25–26–27 of group III are entirely non-duplicating. From the Guodian perspective they reflect two separate and formally unrelated textual units. The fact that they are combined into a single section, number 64 of the received *Laozi*, does not change the fact of their textual independence from each other in the Guodian text. The four strips of coherent group III of Guodian manuscript C correspond to a part of section 64 of the received text, and this does in fact duplicate (imperfectly)

that portion of section 64 on strips 10–11–12–13 of manuscript A. Apart from this small overlap, none of the sections in any of these three Guodian manuscripts is duplicated in any other. In other words, the content of each of these three manuscripts is, except for a couple of lines of section 64, mutually exclusive with respect to the other two.

The three Guodian manuscripts are not overtly divided into sections the way the R text is, rather the text is continuous and unbroken within each coherent group.[11] Nevertheless, each of the three Guodian manuscripts matches in its entire content parts of the received *Laozi*, as set out in the preceding table. On the one hand this is not surprising, since the modern editors who first identified, named and determined the groupings of the Guodian manuscripts restored their structure in these three cases on the basis of matches with the R *Laozi* in the first place. On the other hand the nature of the matching between these Guodian manuscripts and the R *Laozi* is not entirely inconsequential, because there is no single coherent group of Guodian bamboo strips that includes passages matching sections of the R *Laozi* and at the same time passages not found in the R *Laozi*. Beyond the seventy-one strips that make up the three Guodian "Laozi" manuscripts, there are fourteen separate bamboo strips among the Guodian corpus that can readily be identified as part of the same collection of bamboo strips that make up the Guodian : C "Laozi" manuscript on the basis of physical evidence alone. These fourteen strips fall into two coherent groups, one of six strips, which on the basis of content has been called "Tian dao" 天道 and which we can call Guodian : TD, and one of eight, which on the same basis has been called "Tai Yi sheng shui" 大一生水 and which we will call Guodian : TY. In spite of the clear physical match with the Guodian : C "Laozi" manuscript, these two coherent groups have not generally been considered part of that manuscript, presumably because their content does not appear in the R *Laozi* text.[12] If we recognize the

[11] Like many bamboo and silk manuscripts known from the Warring States and early Han periods, these GD bamboo strips often have "punctuation dots." Sometimes these dots divide the text at places corresponding to section divisions in R, but nearly as often they divide sentences within what is in R a single section. In any case, the majority of places in the manuscripts that correspond to section breaks in R, and the majority of individual sentences throughout, are not marked by any kind of punctuation. Whatever their intended function or purpose may have been, the punctuation dots do not generally serve to divide the manuscripts into sections akin to those of the received text.

[12] The physical evidence referred to includes such features as the length of the bamboo strips, the shape of their tips, the number and position of the ties, the handwriting, *etc*. See Boltz 1999: 595–596 *et passim*.

Guodian : TD and TY strips as part of a single Guodian : C manuscript, which is a completely unobjectionable perspective on the basis of the physical nature of the manuscript and the empirical evidence of the Guodian corpus overall, it would no longer make sense to call Guodian : C a *Laozi* manuscript, unless we were prepared to argue that the *Laozi* text originally included passages matching the TD and TY material, and that those passages have been lost in the received version of the work. No one proposes this, and rightly so, because there is no evidence for it. By the same token there is no evidence in any of the three Guodian "*Laozi*" manuscripts themselves to suggest that what we have is only a part of a larger whole relative to the received *Laozi*. Except for our prior knowledge of the received *Laozi*, in other words, we have no reason to regard these manuscripts as parts of any larger contemporaneous work. Our "prior knowledge" of what the received *Laozi* looks like, known from evidence no earlier than about 200 B.C.E., ought not to be allowed to override the direct evidence from an analysis of a manuscript from a century earlier or to influence a decision about textual structure or textual identification based on that direct evidence. In the aggregate the three Guodian "*Laozi*" manuscripts contain passages matching thirty-one of the total eighty-one sections of the received version of the *Laozi* text, about forty percent.[13] Nowhere do the names "De jing" or "Dao jing" appear, much less the name *Laozi*. While the content of an individual section of the received text, when it has a match in the Guodian materials, usually (but not always; see below) matches fairly closely the text of the corresponding Guodian passage, the order of the section arrangement in the received *Laozi* version is altogether different from the order that we find in the respective Guodian versions, as can clearly be seen from the preceding tables of textual correspondences.

Given (a) that the order of the Guodian manuscript passages with *Laozi* parallels is completely different from the order of the corresponding sections of the received *Laozi* itself, (b) that there is nothing internal to these manuscripts to suggest that they are parts of any larger single work, (c) that there is no extant manuscript (or other) evidence of any kind for the textual existence of the received *Laozi* in its entirety as early as 300 B.C.E., and (d) that the Guodian : C manuscript includes in its physical structure two relatively lengthy coherent sections that are not found in the received *Laozi*, we must acknowledge that there is no objective basis for

[13] By section the proportion is 40% (31 of 81), but by actual character (= "word") count, the proportion of the received *Laozi* represented in the three GD manuscripts taken together is only about 33% (about 1700 characters of the approximately 5100 characters of the received *Laozi*. See Wang Bo 1999: 150.

assuming that the Guodian manuscript materials are a "version" of the *Laozi*. By the same token, we have no basis for claiming that the sixty-percent of the *Laozi* not found in the Guodian manuscripts existed as a coherent text this early at all. To claim that there was a *Laozi* text as early as 300 B.C.E., with the structure and contents that we know from the received text called the *Laozi*, is simply a textual and literary anachronism, and is on the extant evidence, an indefensible proposition. We have only a single "*Laozi*-like" set of manuscripts from this period, *viz*., the Guodian materials, and they reflect in the aggregate only about forty-percent of the received *Laozi*. There may have been other similar manuscripts about which we know nothing. And of course the "missing sixty-percent" may have existed in 300 B.C.E., in a form closely matching the received text or in fragmentary form akin to what we find in the Guodian manuscripts. Based on the present evidence of discovered and transmitted texts alike we have no way of attesting to any of these possibilities, and we are certainly not in a position to say, except as an article of faith, that the complete *Laozi* as we know it in its received form existed before the end of the 3rd century B.C.E. Irrespective of whatever one's faith might compel him to believe, the everyday work of textual criticism and the study of textual histories must proceed on the basis of objective evidence and thoughtful reasoning, and on that basis, we cannot sustain a claim for the existence much before about 200 B.C.E. of the *Laozi* as the single text that we know from the received literary tradition.

This consideration about whether or not to call the Guodian materials a "*Laozi*" manuscript is not simply an exercise in terminological tedium or quixotic quibbling; it bears fundamentally on how we understand the origin, compilation and function of early Chinese texts overall. And that in turn bears on our understanding of the role of texts, written or oral, in the society of the pre-imperial period. A large part of the evidence of recently excavated pre-Han and early Han manuscripts suggests that to think we will find "originals" of well-known works, which can be identified from the outset as single texts composed by a single author at a single time is an unwarranted presumption. The manuscript evidence suggests instead that early Chinese texts often are not comparable to, for example, early Greek or Latin texts where we typically find a clear authorial identity and a stable compositional structure, whatever internal "corruption" the text may have suffered in the course of its transmission. We cannot always expect to be able to recover the original form of a received early Chinese text, identified with a known author, the way a Latinist, for example, can use mediaeval manuscripts of Cicero or Virgil to recover versions of those literary works as close as possible to what Cicero or Virgil originally

wrote.[14] This is so not just for want of sufficient manuscript evidence, but because the circumstances surrounding the compilation and composition of early Chinese texts seem often to have been different from those of the Mediterranean west. For a given received work there may not have been an identifiable original author in the first place. Texts seem often to have evolved from unidentifiable starting points through repeated additions, subtractions and alterations of many kinds to their textual substance as they were revised and restructured for whatever reasons in the early course of their transmission. To be sure, such alterations did not happen by themselves; they were the result of changes made to the work by known or unknown individuals (usually unknown). But those individuals were not authors as much as they were users of the work. The manuscript evidence that has become available to us in the past three or four decades is testimony to the form a particular text had at some point in the time-line of its evolution, but not necessarily as a discrete, isolable and identifiable step between a presumed "original" and a known *receptus*. We must guard against assuming that the nature and role of texts in early China was comparable in all respects to what we are familiar with in the classical west.[15]

Objectively and methodologically we must accept the direct evidence of the manuscript materials and their context as the primary basis for establishing the text, independently of what we might know of later textual circumstances or what we might prefer to believe on the basis of the received tradition. Only when such an independent assessment has been made, based on the direct primary evidence of the manuscript(s) in question, is it in order to look at the evidence of later transmitted materials to determine what the relation between the manuscript(s) and that later material might be. To do otherwise is to put the cart before the horse and to skew the results of the primary textual analysis subjectively, and perhaps misleadingly, in the direction of a preconceived assumption about

[14] For a concise résumé of this aspect of the study of classical texts in the west see Reynolds & Wilson 1991 [1968]. For an especially detailed and precise example of a single Latin text see Housman 1930.

[15] The tradition of textual criticism in the west includes as a fundamental part of its task the matter of stemmatics, that is, the identification of where manuscripts and, later, printed versions of a text fit in relation to one another on a "family tree" that purports to represent stages of the "descent" of the received text from its original. This *Stammbaum* model has become the unquestioned basis for understanding textual history in the west, just as its linguistic parallel has for language "family" relations. For a discussion of the implications these models may have in the historical context of European encounters with non-European languages and cultures, see Errington 2008: 56–60.

textual history and textual relationships. This one group of manuscripts and their relation to the transmitted *Laozi* does not provide a perfect universal model for the nature and structure of Warring States period literary works overall, but it does, when objectively scrutinized and understood, provide an example of how a certain kind of text seems to have taken form as a composite of at least some pre-existing textual "pieces," what are sometimes called textual "building blocks." Recognizing this structure compels us to ask what the explanation for such a process of textual composition might have been, and that in turn may lead to an answer that shows something of the role of the text within Warring States period society in a new light.

If the Guodian manuscripts are not evidence that the transmitted *Laozi* text as we know it already existed by the late 4th century B.C.E. and was being copied and used for some presumably doctrinal purpose as early as 300 B.C.E., what then is an alternative explanation for these manuscripts, which seem so clearly to reflect the work that we know as the *Laozi*? One possible answer emerges from an analysis first suggested by Wang Bo 王博 at the Dartmouth College Workshop on the Guodian *Laozi*, more than a decade ago.[16] Wang identified common thematic content among the Guodian passages, as they are found in coherent groups, suggesting that they fall into two categories, (i) those dealing with state governance (*zhìguó* 治國) and (ii) those concerned with 'self-cultivation' (*xiūshēn* 修身). Two of the coherent groups in GD:A are category (i) and three are category (ii); all of GD:B is category (ii), and all of GD:C is category (i).[17] Thus, what seems to show an inexplicable order of sections relative to the received *Laozi* in fact turns out to constitute logical groupings based on content according to this thematic analysis. Wang Bo interpreted this to mean that these Guodian manuscripts were comprised of "selections" (*xuǎnjí* 選輯) of sections chosen to reflect these particular themes, taken from the complete *Laozi*, which he assumes to have existed at this early date.[18]

We can preserve Wang Bo's proposal that the sections as they are found in coherent groups in the Guodian manuscripts represent purposeful selections of passages, chosen to reflect particular themes, without sub-

[16] Convened by Sarah Allan in May, 1998, at Dartmouth College. See Allan & Williams 2000.

[17] See Allan & Williams 2000: 154.

[18] Wang Bo later published an expanded version of his discussion in which he has revised slightly the thematic labels he uses, but the analytical import of his study remains as originally set out. See Wang Bo 1999.

scribing to the assumption that the complete *Laozi* was already in existence at this time. Instead we have only to assume an "inventory" or "textual reserve" of short passages, the so-called textual "building blocks," of diverse and indeterminate origin in circulation at this time from which the passages were in some sense selected. Irrespective of its origin, each building block has in principle to be regarded as textually independent of the others until explicitly shown to be otherwise. Out of such a textual reserve one could select items according to any desired theme or focus, to assemble a composite work, for whatever momentary or transient purpose such textual material might be called upon to serve. There is no need to assume that such an inventory of passages had already been edited into a single text called the *Laozi* with the form that we know from a century later, or in fact into any other single text. The building blocks were the "raw textual materials," so to speak, available for use in whatever form and for whatever teaching, preaching or personal contemplative purpose might be deemed suitable.[19]

The further assumption, not explicitly stated by Wang Bo, but implied in his comments all the same, is that each of the groupings that he has identified thematically is a compilation of these textual "building blocks," produced by someone who intended to use the selections for some purpose centered on the theme represented by their contents. While he assumes that the passages that we are here calling "building blocks" had already been edited into a *Laozi* text by this time, such an assumption is not necessary to the "thematically based selection" argument to explain the structure of the Guodian manuscripts. We would suggest instead that the "building block" text inventory was still no more than a collection of textually independent passages available for such combinations and re-combinations as might suit anyone's purposes. This hypothesis provides an explanation for the appearance of the two coherent groups that we called Guodian : TD and Guodian : TY in the Guodian : C manuscript. We need only recognize these as two more "building block" passages, which were incorporated into the C manuscript for whatever purpose the compiler of that manuscript may have had in mind. We cannot say anything about who actually did the selecting and compiling or what the nature of the use for any of these manuscripts actually was, but we can speculate that the manuscripts defined by these selections may have been created as textual

[19] I have proposed this "building block" hypothesis about Warring States period texts as a more general proposition, suggesting that many of these texts were in origin composite in nature, having been assembled at least in part from pre-existing textual materials. See Boltz 2005.

adjuncts to a program, perhaps chiefly oral, of doctrinal teaching, preaching, persuading or advising, sometimes to rulers of states, other times to individuals of the aristocratic class, or perhaps that they are reflective of personal contemplative or meditation practices. In this respect such manuscript compilations may well have seen a very limited use, both in time and place, constituting a kind of ephemeral, localized textual residue of a particular doctrinal program about which, except for these manuscript artifacts, we know nothing. Yet within the limited sphere in which they were compiled and used they were deemed important enough to be preserved in someone's tomb.

As speculative as the foregoing proposal may seem, it finds some measure of corroboration in the actual content of some of the discovered manuscript passages that match sections of the received *Laozi*. In a few instances the Guodian manuscript version of an individual *Laozi* section seems to carry a message different from what we are familiar with in the received work. And this could be explained by a practice of compiling texts *ad hoc* deliberately for proselytizing or other doctrinal purposes. Just as a decision of what to include and what to leave out from among a reservoir of "building block" passages may in the aggregate reflect a certain preferred perspective, the text of a single "block" might be edited in a certain way to convey a particular doctrinal message, or to serve a particular doctrinal purpose, in a particular circumstance that is markedly different from the sense of the same passage that we see in its transmitted version as a part of the received *Laozi*. One of the most striking examples of this kind of variation among the passages available to us in the Guodian manuscripts is probably that part of GD : A that matches section 19 of the received *Laozi*, especially the first three lines of this section. The lines in question as they appear in the well-known received text are as follows:

(1) 絕聖棄知 民利百倍。(2) 絕仁棄義 民復孝慈。(3) 絕巧棄利 盜賊無有。

These are usually understood and translated something like:

(1) "Cut off sagacity, abandon knowledge; the people will benefit a hundredfold."
(2) "Cut off Humaneness, abandon Propriety; the people will return to being filial and caring."
(3) "Cut off craftiness, abandon profit; brigands and thieves will exist no more."

The sentiment conveyed by these lines, especially lines one and two, taken at face value seems surprisingly fulsome, even given the sometimes anti-rational tone of the *Laozi*. Line two in particular, seems a harsh re-

jection of the central orthodox Ruist doctrines of social morality, *rén* 仁 'Humaneness' and *yì* 義 'Ethical Propriety'.[20] As a consequence nearly every commentator and translator adds an explanation, really a kind of rationalization, as a counterweight to the seemingly rebarbative sense of the message. Most of these rationalizations center on emphasizing that *rén* 仁 and *yì* 義 are specifically "Confucian", *i.e.*, Ruist, virtues, which in origin they of course are, and implying therefore that finding them presented in an indecorous light in the *Laozi* is not surprising. Beyond this, they add to the list of objectionable traits *shèng* 聖 'sagacity' qualified explicitly as the sagacity of the Ruists and sometimes even *zhì* 知/智 'wisdom' implicitly intended to be taken as the wisdom only of the Ruists, however that might have been understood. The whole message then becomes, when qualified with these kinds of eisegetical notes, clearly an anti-Ruist philippic.

The corresponding Guodian A text is:[21]

[20] The word *yì* 義 'Propriety' is nearly universally translated in the popular literature as 'righteousness', but this is simply wrong. The word never primarily had a meaning that matches the absolute sense that English 'righteousness' typically has. Rather, as Boodberg showed long ago, *yì* < ***zngraj-s** 義 is closely related to the word *yì* < ***zngraj-s** 誼 'suitable, proper, appropriate behaviour' (Boodberg 1953: 329–330). Both *yì* 義 and *yì* 誼 are nominal derivatives of the verb *yí* < ***zngraj** 宜 'to be suitable, appropriate, proper'. The noun *yì* 誼 has the basic sense of 'proper, responsible behaviour' and *yì* 義 is that same meaning now used in a more prescriptively ethical and moral sense, adherence to what is ethically appropriate to an individual relative to his circumstances, thus 'Propriety, Appropriety'. The lexical relation between the twin nouns and the verb is explicable in clear derivational terms; both nouns *yì* < ***zngraj-s** are derived from the verb *yí* < ***zngraj** 宜 'to be appropriate' by the Old Chinese suffix ***-s**, a morphological process now widely recognized as accounting for numerous such derivations. (See Gassmann & Behr 1997, 2005; vol. 3: 440–442.) The difference between the two nouns is that where *yì* 誼 means 'suitable, appropriate behaviour' with respect to one's personal duty or responsibility in an everyday, routine sense, *yì* 義 has this same meaning now with a specific reference to the moral and ethical aspects of one's personal social responsibility, that is, one's 'proper behaviour', as dictated especially by the expectations or "rules" that are associated with a person's elite or privileged status within the highly stratified society of the Warring States period, hence 'Propriety'. The sense of *yì* 義 in this regard, having been essentially invented by Confucius, is a particularly Ruist concern, necessary from the traditional conservative Ruist perspective to safeguard the stability of a society rapidly losing its respect for and appreciation of the class system of centuries past.

[21] The manuscript characters have been transcribed into *kǎishū* 楷書 components that conform structurally to the actual manuscript graphs, so as not to introduce any implicit or a priori judgments about what word or what conventional character the manuscript graph might represent.

(1) 㡭𣉻弃攴民利百伓。(2) 㡭攷弃利覜惻亡又。(3) 㡭𢡺弃慮民复季子。

Two things are immediately obvious upon first inspection of the GD text. First, it has the same number of characters as the received text. Second, many of those characters are different from the corresponding characters in R. A third thing is almost as immediately obvious, *viz*., GD lines two and three correspond to R lines three and two respectively, that is to say, the order of these two lines in the GD version is the inverse of their order in R. Three questions now demand answers: (a) which, if any, of the different characters of the manuscript write words different from the corresponding words in the received text (lexical variation) and which are merely different ways of writing the same words as in the received text (graphic variation), (b) if the words written in the manuscript and those of R differ, what are the differences and how, if at all, can we account for them, and (c) based on the answers to the first two questions, to what extent does the meaning of the received text differ from or conform to that of the manuscript passage overall. Answering such questions as these is the primary focus of the practice of textual criticism.

Three kinds of variation are seen in the R : : Guodian comparison of these lines:

(i) GRAPHIC VARIATION, *i.e*., variation between two different ways of writing the same word; *e.g*., R: 棄 : : GD: 弃 for *qì* 'abandon', R: 倍 : : GD: 伓 for *bèi* 'times, -fold', R: 復 : : GD: 复 for *fù* 'return to', and R: 無有 : : GD : 亡又 for *wú yǒu* 'will not exist'. The match R: 盜賊 : : GD: 覜惻, although perhaps not immediately obvious, is also graphic variation, both phrases standing for the lexical expression *dào zéi* 'brigands and thieves'.[22]

(ii) POSITIONAL VARIATION, *i.e*., variation where the same line or phrase appears in a different order or position in two different versions of the same text, here seen in the fact that line (3) of R is the counterpart to line (2) of Guodian and seemingly *vice versa*.

(iii) LEXICAL VARIATION, *i.e*., variation between two different words in matching places in two versions of the same text. Of the variants not listed already in (i) above, only the pairs R: 聖 *shèng* 'sagacity' : : GD: 𣉻 *zhì* 'knowledge' and R: 孝 *xiào* 'filial' : : Guodian: 季 *jì* 'youngest of four siblings' > 'last in a series' seem unambiguously to be cases of lexical variation, and even the second of these two presents something of an

[22] See Boltz 1999: 600–601.

interpretive problem; all of the others are uncertain in one respect or another.

In principle any one of these three kinds of variation could have some implication for the meaning of the passage, but the likelihood of suggesting a significant semantic difference increases for each kind in the order from (i) graphic to (ii) positional to (iii) lexical. Lexical variation can be expected almost by definition to entail a different meaning in one version from the other; positional variation may entail a difference in meaning, for example, in a text structured as a sorites, but just as often will not imply much of a difference. Except when the graphic forms suggest something of the origin of the written version in question or of the orthographic habits of a particular scribe, and when those considerations bear on the interpretation of the text, graphic variation will generally not call forth a meaning different in one version of a text from that in another. For the text here it seems that neither the positional variation nor the graphic variants listed above have any significant impact on the meaning of the passage. Only those variants that we can identify as lexical are likely to have any consequence for how we understand the lines.

Within the text of these three lines there are six variants remaining that we have not yet identified as graphic or lexical. In each case the decision either involves an unfamiliar character in the GD manuscript and therefore the choice between graphic and lexical variation is not immediately obvious or what would at first seem to be the obvious choice turns out when considered for a second moment not to be as clear-cut as supposed.[23] These six correspondences are:

1. R: 絕 : : GD: 𢇍.
2. R: 知 : : GD: 叏.
3. R: 仁 : : GD: 𢡺.
4. R: 義 : : GD: 𢝊.
5. R: 慈 : : GD: 子.
6. R: 巧 : : GD: 攷.

Of the six, numbers two, three, and four seem likely to be lexical variants, since even a cursory inspection will show, once the unfamiliar characters have been analyzed, that there is nothing that would suggest that the two graphs in each pair could stand for the same word.

[23] In Boltz 1999: 598–601 I discussed these variants once already. Some of the notes given here will repeat parts of that discussion, some of them will be new.

2. **R:** 知 **: : GD:** 𠭥.

The 𠭥 of correspondence number two, in itself a character not found in the transmitted writing system, looks like it should be analyzed as consisting of the two components 卞 and 又 arranged vertically, the former above the latter. In fact the character 卞, though well attested in transmitted texts in two senses, (i) standing for the word *biàn* ‘harried, agitated’ and (ii) as a graphic variant of 弁 *biàn* ‘ceremonial cap’, is not registered in the *Shuo wen* and cannot be documented as a pre-Han graphic form. The better analysis of the GD character is into a two-stroke top part, 二 or 亠, with 攴 (Kangxi classifier 066, *pū* < ***ppʰok**) on the bottom. Qiu Xigui identifies 𠭥 graphically with 𠊨, given in the *Shuo wen* as the *guwen* graph for 鞭 *biān* < ***pen** ‘buggy whip’ (*SWGL* 1185), and understands this lexically as *biàn* < ***bren-q** ‘to dispute, debate’ (written 辯 in the received writing system.)[24] The phonophoric component of 鞭 *biān* < ***pen** is of course 便 *biàn* < ***ben-s**. According to the *Shuo wen*, 便 is analyzed as 从人更 “derived from 人 and 更,” a formula that looks suspiciously like it has suffered a deleted 聲 at the end.[25] (*SWGL* 3560) The graph 更 as an independent character is of course read *gēng*, *gèng* < ***kkrang(-s)**, a pronunciation that does not seem to fit as a possible phonophoric in 便 *biàn* < ***ben-s**. All the same, graphically it is clear that the character 更, standing by itself and as a component in 便, is indeed constituted of 攴 on the bottom, with another component, identified in the *Shuo wen* as 丙, on the top, thus 㪅.[26] (*SWGL* 1338) Whatever the phonological implications of 更 (*gēng*, *gèng*) as a component in 便 *biàn* might be, Qiu Xigui’s identification of the GD graph 𠭥 with 𠊨, the *guwen* form of 鞭 *biān*, seems well founded. This establishes a “phonological shape” for the unfamiliar graph 𠭥, but it does not tell us unambiguously or explicitly what word the character stands for; it is unlikely that the intended word is *biān* ‘buggy whip’.

A “phonological shape” is an abstract representation of the set of actual pronunciations that can be associated with a given character according

[24] *Wang Shan Chujian* 1995: 116, n. 16.

[25] For a discussion of the hypothesis of the deleted 聲, see Boltz 1993: 433.

[26] The character 丙 *bǐng* < ***prang-q** is not impossible to see as a phonophoric in 更 / 㪅 *gēng*, *gèng* < ***kkrang(-s)**; both are in the *Shijing* “*yang*” rime group (陽部), and an alternation between velar and bilabial initial consonants, while not yet satisfactorily explained in phonetic details, is not unknown in other *xié shēng* 諧聲 series characters. Such an alternation may reflect something comparable to the Indo-European labiovelar that is reconstructed to account for the /kʷ-/ (orthographically QU) ~ /p-/ sound correspondences in such cognate pairs as Lat. QUINQUE ~ Gk. πέντε ‘five’ and Lat. EQUUS ~ Gk. ἵππος ‘horse’.

to the conventions of the writing system at a particular time. Functionally, we usually understand this to mean the range of pronunciations that we find represented in a typical *xié shēng* 諧聲 series, and this is usually taken as equivalent to the scope of allowable pronunciation diversity in the use of "loan" characters (*jiă jiè zì* 假借字). It is thus an empirically understood phenomenon and not something that has been specified explicitly by phonological definition or theory.[27] Perfect homophones are, of course, the functional "ideal" in proposing that a particular word W is intended by a character G for which a pronunciation P has been established. When the pronunciation of W is identical with the P established for G, there will be little question about the possibility that G writes W.[28] All other things being equal, the closer a pronunciation is to the homophonic ideal, the better. Qiu Xigui's proposed lexical identification of 支 as *biàn* < ***bren-q** 'to dispute, debate' does not quite reflect the homophonic ideal. Graphically the identification was with 夋 / 鞭 *biān* < ***pen** ['buggy whip'], lexically it is with *biàn* < ***bren-q** 'to dispute, debate', so the "pronunciation disparity" in this case is that between OC ***pen** and ***bren-q**, a difference that falls well within what is regarded on empirical grounds as allowable. Accepting Qiu Xigui's identification of 支 as *biàn* < ***bren-q** 'to dispute, debate', the GD : : R correspondence thus becomes *biàn* 'to dispute, debate' *vs*. 知 *zhī* / *zhì* < ***tre(-s)** 'to know' (*zhī*), 'knowledge' (*zhì*). There is no basis for regarding this as graphic variation, since any instance of graphic variation is in effect a kind of *jiă jiè zì* and is therefore governed by the same "allowable pronunciation diversity" constraints that we have already mentioned. Clearly the *biàn* < ***bren-q** : : *zhī* / *zhì* < ***tre(-s)** correspondence falls outside those constraints and must therefore constitute a case of lexical variation.

[27] In setting out this brief description I have admittedly swept a number of significant problems and unanswered questions under the rug. Especially central to the problem is determining in principle or theory, rather than empirically, the limits of "allowable pronunciation diversity" in connection with both *xié shēng* series structure and *jiă jiè zì* practices. Establishing the phonetic parameters of a "phonological shape" empirically on the basis of "typical" *xié shēng* series is in effect circular, since it presupposes that we know what is and what is not a *xié shēng* series to begin with. This approach would preclude identifying any *xié shēng* contact, and thus any set of allowable pronunciations associated with a "phonological shape," that has not already been attested in the writing system. And this in turn promises that no new understanding of what might or might not constitute a *xié shēng* contact will ever be recognized.

[28] Clearly the pronunciations in question must be contemporaneous with the date of the text and character at issue.

3. **R:** 仁 **: : GD:** ⿱為心.

The GD graph ⿱為心 is, in spite of its seeming unfamiliarity, readily identifiable as the pre-Han form of the character 為 with the 'heart-mind' component 心 added at the bottom, thus ⿱為心, a character unattested in the received writing system. The *Zi hui* 字彙 dictionary (comp. 1615) records a character ⿰忄為, read 居偽切 (which would give *guì* in modern Chinese, if the character / word were viable), with no attested textual usage and otherwise unknown, prompting the *Kangxi zidian* editors (sec. 61.12) to say that they do not know what the *Zi hui* entry was based on. It is often the case that the 心 component on the bottom of a character in its pre-Han manuscript form shows up as 忄, its "left-side" combining form, in the received orthography. This means that ⿱為心 and ⿰忄為 could easily have been graphic variants of each other, both standing for the same word. Whatever that word might have been, it can be expected to conform to the "phonological shape" defined by the set of words written with 為 *wéi* / *wèi* < ***w**(**r**)**aj**(**-s**) as a phonophoric. The word 仁 *rén* < ***znin** of the corresponding R text clearly does not fit that phonological shape, and therefore the possibility of graphic variation is effectively excluded; the variation must be lexical. The prevailing explanation of the anomalous graph ⿱為心 is that it is a variant of 偽 *wèi* (modern *wěi*) 'to act deliberately, consciously, expressly', often in a contrived or artificial way, hence 'to feign', 'to adopt a behavioral pretense', 'to posture'.[29] Acting "deliberately, consciously, expressly" or "artificially, pretentiously" can be seen as a semantic specification, a kind of semantic "narrowing," of the more general word 為 *wéi* 'to act, behave' in any natural, benign way. To the extent that deliberate, artificial or pretentious acting has a conscious mental as well as physical dimension, writing the character with the 心 semantic component to reflect this nuance is as appropriate as writing it with 人.

Alternatively, there is a well-recognized pattern in the composition of characters in pre-Han manuscripts where we see a regular form of graphic variation characterized by the 心 'heart-mind' component alternating with the 言 'speech' component as a semantic determinative, suggesting that 'speech' was seen as a reflection in some sense of 'thought'. In this respect

[29] See, *e.g.*, Liu Zhao 2005: 4–5. Historically, it may be preferable to think of 偽 *wèi* (modern *wěi*) nominally as 'deliberate action, conscious (> contrived) behaviour'; the reading *wèi* then is the historically "correct" one, from OC ***w**(**r**)**aj-s**, which would appear to be a nominal derivation in ***-s** from the verb ***w**(**r**)**aj** (為) 'to act'. Modern Chinese *wěi* for this character and word is anomalous relative to the expected consequence of the pertinent sound change "laws".

the unfamiliar GD character would be the graphic equivalent of 譌 *é* < ***N-ww**(**r**)**aj** ‘to deceive, lie, falsify’.[30] Clearly the two words 僞 *wèi* (modern *wěi*) < ***w**(**r**)**aj-s** ‘to act in a contrived or artificial way; to feign’ (but see note 29) and 譌 *é* < ***N-ww**(**r**)**aj** ‘to lie, falsify’ have an underlying semantic feature in common, *viz*., the sense of “faking” something, either behaviourly (僞) or verbally (譌). Either word could in principle be written with either character, according to the conventions of the writing system, and this in turn means that we can read the unfamiliar GD character as writing either the word *wèi* < ***w**(**r**)**aj-s** ‘to feign’ or the word *é* < ***N-ww**(**r**)**aj** ‘to falsify’. On the one hand, given the semantic “common denominator” of the two, no matter which word we opt for, we will end up with very much the same overall sense. On the other hand, these are after all two different words in the 3rd-century B.C. (and later) language, and the writing system itself does not provide us with any reliable, objective guideline whereby we might know which of these two words was actually intended in this text.

4. **R:** 義 **: : GD:** ⿱虘心.

The GD character ⿱虘心 is, as with the preceding example, unattested in the received writing system. The graph without the ‘heart-mind’ component on the bottom, *i.e.*, written 虘, is found in dictionaries, but without any known extant textual usage. The *Shuowen* enters it as 虎不柔不信也 ‘the ungentle, untrustworthy nature of a tiger’, a somewhat fanciful meaning that seems as much based on the 虍 ‘tiger’ classifier of the character as on anything else (*SWGL* 2102).[31] The *Ji yun* 集韻 (comp. 1039) registers it with a reading 才何切, which implies something like ***N-tts**(**r**)**a**(**j**) for OC and which would give modern Chinese *cuó* were the word to exist in the modern language. It cites the *Shuowen* definition but provides no further data on the character’s lexical viability (*píng* 3.8). Though unattested when standing by itself for any real word, the same graph 虘 is not infrequently seen as a phonophoric component in derivative characters, e.g.,

[30] The character 譌 is conventionally taken as a graphic variant of 訛, both characters standing for the word *é* < ***N-w**(**r**)**aj** ‘to deceive, lie, falsify’. The implication of this pair of variants is that 為 and 化 can serve interchangeably as phonophorics, an implication born out by the fact that we find the word *huò* ‘trade goods, commodities’, conventionally written 貨 in the received writing system, written ⿱為貝 in early manuscripts.

[31] Duan Yucai’s comment (*ibid*.) on this definition is a succinct 剛暴矯詐 ‘obdurate, violent, haughty and deceitful’, still with no textual citation.

樝 *zhā* < ***ttsra** 'kind of "craggy" tree, hawthorn', 皻 / 齇 *zhā* < ***ttsra** 'pimple on the nose', also *cǔ* < ***ttsha-q** 'scabby skin', 䶥 *zhā* < ***ttsra** 'irregular teeth', 蔖 *zhā* < ***ttsra** and *cuó* < ***N-ttsa** 'kind of dry, thorny grass', 謯 *zhǎ* < ***ttsra-q** in 謯訝 *zhǎ yà* 'to scold, ridicule', and 摣 *zhā* < ***ttsra** 'a hand-span'. Several of these characters seem to have either graphic variants or closely related lexical doublets written with the 乍 *zhà* < ***N-ttsrak** phonophoric in place of 虘 *cuó* < ***N-tts(r)a(j)**, *e.g.*, 樝 ~ 榨, 皻 ~ 痄, 摣 ~ 拃, 謯 ~ 謯 and 䶥 ~ 齚.[32] In view of this seemingly regular alternation or interchange of phonophorics and the equally regular alternation in pre-Han manuscripts of the semantic determinatives 心 'heart-mind' and 言 'speech', Qiu Xigui suggested that the unfamiliar GD character 𢜺 should be understood as writing the same word as that written by the character 詐 in the received writing system, namely, *zhà* < ***ttsrak-s** 'dishonest(y), deceit(ful)'.[33] Understanding the character in this way precludes the possibility that the R: 義 : : GD: 𢜺 correspondence is simply graphic variation for the same word and clearly requires that we see the match as a case of lexical variation, along the order of R: 義 *yì* 'proper behaviour, propriety, commitment to duty' *vs*. GD: 𢜺 *zhà* 'deceit, dishonesty'.

Each of the remaining three correspondences, *viz*., numbers one, five and six of the list given above, allows, when the textual and lexical data are analyzed in some depth, for either the possibility of lexical variation or that of graphic variation, according to how we prefer to judge the evidence. In none of these three cases is the choice between the two alternatives readily apparent; each case must be judged subjectively on the weight of conflicting evidence.

1. **R:** 絕 **: : GD:** 𢇍.

This correspondence is routinely taken as a case of graphic variation, where both characters stand for the word *jué* 'to cut off'. The principal basis for this understanding is the correspondence between the unfamiliar GD character and its matching character in the received text of the *Laozi*.

[32] See Zhang Ru & Liu Yuqing 2001: 369–370 for additional examples. The OC phonetic alternation *-**a**(**j**) ~ *-**ak** remains to be explained.

[33] Qiu Xigui subsequently changed his mind about this identification, calling it an error, and opting instead to read GD 𢜺 as equivalent to 慮, standing for the word *lǜ* 'to deliberate, ponder'. See Qiu Xigui 2004: 230–241.

But this is, procedurally, putting the cart before the horse.[34] The *Shuowen jiezi* gives the *guwen* graph for *jué* ‘to cut off’ as 𢇍 while in the immediately following entry 繼 *jì* ‘to continue’ is analyzed as 从糸㡭 “derived from 糸 and from 㡭 (as phonophoric?)” The same *Shuowen* entry for 繼 adds a note saying 一曰反𢇍為繼 “one opinion says that reversing 𢇍 gives 繼.” (*SWGL* 5805) Note also the appearance of 㡭 in 斷 *duàn* ‘to cut’. The *xiăo zhuàn* 小篆 ‘small seal’ form of the character given in the *Shuowen* is 𣃔, which is then analyzed as 从斤从𢇍 “derived from 斤 and from 𢇍.” Here again the graph 𢇍 is identified as the *guwen* graph for *jué* 絕. (*SWGL* 6378) The approximate synonymy of 斷 (small seal form 𣃔) *duàn* ‘to cut’ with 絕 (*guwen* form 𢇍) *jué* ‘to cut off’ suggests that at least within the *Shuowen*’s own orthographic system the graph 𢇍 is associated with ‘cutting (off)’ and the reversed graphic form 㡭, as the main component in 繼 *jì* ‘to continue’, is associated with a “reversed” semantic sense, to wit, ‘continuing’. The appearance of the “silk” semantic classifier in the transmitted orthography for both 繼 *jì* ‘to continue’ and 絕 *jué* ‘to cut off’ lends a nuance of “linearity” to the meanings ‘continue’ and ‘cut off’. The data given in Xu Zaiguo’s *Chuanchao Guwenzi bian* 傳抄古文字編 are consistent with this distinction between 絕 *jué* and 繼 *jì*.[35] The GD graph in question, 𢆰, is not of course identical with either 𢇍 or 㡭, but it is structurally more consistent with 㡭 than with 𢇍. All other things being equal, this would suggest a reading as *jì* ‘continue’, not as *jué* ‘cut off’. The question is, clearly, are “all other things equal”? Or, more concretely, are there data that would suggest the opposite reading?

As we mentioned at the outset, the fact of a clear match between GD: 𢆰 and R: 絕 seems to be enough for many scholars simply to accept the identification of the former as an a graphic variant for the latter with no further analysis. Baoshan bamboo manuscript strips 249 and 250 have a graph written as 𢇁, which is usually taken as a variant of the GD graph 𢆰.[36] The transcription of these strips by Peng Hao and his colleagues renders this character as 繼 *jì* ‘to continue’ in both of its occurrences (Bao-

[34] The unfamiliar graph 𢆰 occurs also in the Wangshan manuscripts where it is also said to stand for the word *jué*, but that reading may be influenced by the presumption that the graph is *jué* here in the GD manuscripts. See Teng 2008: 1080.

[35] See Xu Zaiguo 2006: 1296–1297.

[36] The editors of the first publication of the GD manuscripts have noted that in their opinion 𢆰 and 𢇁 are both allographs for 絕 *jué* and are said to be “ways of writing 絕 particular to Chu.” Jingmen shi Bowuguan 1998: 113, note 1. But note that 𢇁 can be taken as a variant of 𢆰 without identifying both as standing for the word *jué*.

shan 1991: 369, 391 & plate 199), but Zhang Shouzhong's *Baoshan Chujian wenzi bian* 包山楚簡文字編 gives the same occurrences of the same graph as 絕 *jué* 'to cut off' (Zhang Shouzhong *et al*. 1996: 189). Li Shoukuei by contrast agrees with the Peng Hao *et al*. transcription and identifies it as 繼 *jì* in these same two occurrences. (Li Shoukui 2003: 722.) The graph 㡭 also occurs three times in GD manuscripts for which we have transmitted counterparts, once in the passage that matches chapter 20 of the received *Laozi* and twice in the *Ziyi* 緇衣 text. (Li Shoukui 2003, *loc. cit*.) In all of these cases the transmitted version has 絕 *jué* 'to cut off'. The *Laozi* 20 occurrence comes in a line that is very reminiscent of the *Laozi* 19 line with which we are concerned here and either might easily have been influenced by the other, so this correspondence cannot be regarded as fully independent testimony. The *Ziyi* occurrences are more difficult to explain.

The textual data, as distinct from editorial opinions, provide evidence of two kinds: (a) textual correspondences in transmitted documents and (b) graphic structure. Ideally these two kinds of evidence will both point to the same conclusion; in this case that is not so. The textual correspondences suggest that both 㡭 and [𠃊+幺] are variants of 絕 *jué* 'to cut off'; the graphic structure of both 㡭 and [𠃊+幺] implies that they are graphic variants of 繼 *jì* 'to continue'. We cannot confidently say that the word is unambiguously one or the other, in spite of the predominant published opinions of Chinese and Western scholars in favor of *jué* 'cut off'.[37] If we recognize that the wording of any text often changes in the course of its transmission and at the same time allow that the "systematic" *Shuowen* graphic distinction 𢇍 *jué* 'cut off' ~ 㡭 *jì* 'continue' obtains in the GD manuscripts, we would then be predisposed to take [𠃊+幺] as *jì* 'to continue', a reading that gives a sense to the line very different from how its received counterpart is understood.

5. **R:** 慈 **: : GD:** 子.
6. **R:** 巧 **: : GD:** 攷.

Numbers 5 and 6 present comparable data and up to a point can be discussed together. Unlike the first four correspondences, none of the graphs in 5 or 6 is unfamiliar; all of them are readily recognizable as standing in the transmitted writing system for well-known words, *viz*., R: 慈 *cí* < ***N-tsə**

[37] Western scholars often just adopt the prevailing Chinese opinion and to this extent their decisions do not count as independent research results in this regard.

'childing love' : : GD: 子 *zǐ* < ***tsə-q** 'child' and R: 巧 *qiǎo* < ***khru-q** 'crafty' : : GD: 攷 *kǎo* < ***kkhru-q** 'to beat, strike'; 'advanced age', '[deceased] father'.[38] Allowing once again for "all other things being equal," there is a first presumption that the practices of the writing system of the manuscripts in these cases will conform to the conventions of the transmitted writing system, and therefore the words written by these characters in the manuscripts will be the same words as the characters conventionally write in transmitted texts. This is a kind of "Occam's razor" principle for dealing with textual variants, often summarily referred to as reading a passage "as written" (in Chinese commentaries, 如字). On this basis we would have to recognize that each of numbers 4 and 5 represents lexical rather than graphic variation and read the lines accordingly.

The question here, as above, is again "are all other things really equal?" As soon as we try to read the GD lines according to the "first presumption," we see that perhaps all other things are not quite equal. Some of the phrases do not make much sense when read "as written." The first consideration beyond the analysis of individual characters and the words they write is context. Context is what changes the "all other things being equal" presumption to one where all other things are not equal; specifically, some readings make more sense than others in a given context, and some readings may not make sense at all. When a reading "does not make sense at all," we are naturally free to disregard it and to look for an alternative explanation for what is written. The tricky part is being sure that indeed the reading "does not make sense at all." "Not making sense at all" is not the same thing as not making sense on the basis of our preconceived assumptions about what the text "ought" to mean. Even in choosing among readings that "do not make much sense" and those that seem to "make better sense" we must be careful not to allow our preconceived notions of what the passage "should" mean to skew our judgment. We must, in other words, guard against falling into the trap that A. E. Housman described this way: "People come to this field [*i.e.*, textual criticism (WGB)] bringing with them prepossessions and preferences; they are not willing to look all the facts in the face, nor to draw the most probable conclusion unless it is also the most agreeable conclusion" (Housman 1961 [1921]: 135).

[38] The small "extra" horizontal stroke in the top left of 攷 does not, I suspect, prevent most readers from recognizing this as equivalent to 攷, itself a common variant for 考, standing for *kǎo* (i) 'to beat, strike; (ii) 'advanced age, [deceased] father'. That kind of "extra" horizontal stroke is a distinctive orthographic feature of many characters in these manuscripts.

It is easy to see how the problem of context multiplies itself. When there are two or more instances of ambiguity in a given line, the combination of possible readings from among which the critic must choose is multiplied accordingly. Even adhering to the “as written” principle we encounter a problem in line two with 攷 *kǎo* < ***kkhru-q** ‘to beat, strike’; ‘advanced age’, ‘[deceased] father’, since the same character in the transmitted writing system can stand for two different and apparently unrelated words.[39] In all three lines of the GD manuscript text we have so far left the preferred reading of the first character, 𢇍, undecided; is it *jué* ‘to cut off’ or *jì* ‘to continue, perpetuate’? Couple this with the uncertainty of 攷 in line two, and we have in principle altogether four possibilities, *viz*.:

(2) 𢇍攷弃利 覜惻 亡又。

(2a) “***Cut off*** respect for advanced age, abandon profit; brigands and thieves will exist no more.”

(2b) “***Perpetuate*** respect for advanced age, abandon profit; brigands and thieves will exist no more.”

(2c) “***Cut off*** beating / striking, …

(2d) “***Perpetuate*** beating / striking, …

Of the four, (2a) and (2d) do not seem to present reasonable or coherent propositions, and on that basis the textual critic is justified in setting them aside.[40] Both (2b) and (2c) do seem to make reasonable sense, though perhaps not in equal measure; one wonders at the apparent need to inveigh against “beating and striking”. The picture becomes still more complicated

[39] I assume that the two meanings ‘advanced age’ and ‘[deceased] father’ are related to each other. It seems also likely that the word *kǎo* < ***kk^{h}u-q** ‘to beat, strike’ is related to the word *qiāo* < ***kk^{h}ruk** ‘to beat, strike’ (written either 敲 or 毃). The *Wang Li gu Hanyu zidian* 王力古漢語字典 under the entry for 攷 *kǎo* notes that this graph is not interchangeable with 考 for the word *kǎo* ‘advanced age’, ‘[deceased] father’ (Wang Li 2000: 407). While this may be so for those particular texts so far examined, there is in principle no obvious reason why this must be the case in any absolute sense.

[40] Note that a claim that something does not present a coherent or reasonable proposition, *i.e.*, does not “make sense” **on its face** is not to be equated with a claim that something does not make sense because it does not agree with a preconceived interpretation or assumption. The textual critic, like every other reader, is free to invoke common sense when it applies. This is not the same thing as a “free pass” for whatever reading someone may wish to claim; it is rather a reflection of that part of the text critical enterprise that Housman called ‘art’, to wit, the ability to exercise good judgment (Housman 1961 [1921]: 131, 150 *et passim*).

when we find that in the transmitted literature the character 攷 (*i.e.*, 攷 as written in the GD ms.) is a recognized "loan character" for 巧, standing for the everyday word *qiǎo* 'crafty, clever', precisely the word we find in the received counterpart.[41] This alternative for the line adds two more possible readings:

(2e) "***Cut off*** craftiness, …

(2f) "***Perpetuate*** cleverness, …[42]

The received version of the line, familiar as 絕巧棄利 盜賊無有 "Cut off craftiness, abandon profit; brigands and thieves will exist no more" must be recognized as only one of several possible readings of the GD manuscript line. The fact that this has become the form that the line takes in the transmitted version of the *Laozi* gives it a "privileged" status in regard to *Laozi* exegesis proper, but that is not decisive in regard to interpreting pre-*Laozi* sources such as this GD passage. Just the contrary, it is precisely the fact that the sources may have existed and been circulated in alternate forms with alternate meanings, forms and meanings that were "weeded out," so to speak, as the "building blocks" came to be assembled and edited into what we have become familiar with as the received *Laozi*. To decide *ex cathedra* that the source lines must have the same meaning, expressed to the extent that the text allows in the same words, as the received lines is not only premature, it is unjustified when we can identify plausible alternative interpretations, and it fails to take into account the complex nature of how much of the corpus of classical Chinese literature evolved.

In the conclusion to his study of the *Wenzi* 文子, analyzing both the receptus and its manuscript counterpart, Paul van Els has pointed out that traditional textual studies tend to enshrine a "…belief that in Chinese philosophy, author, text and protagonist are one. If one of the three elements is problematic, all three become suspect"[43] (van Els 2006: 228). In the case of the *Wenzi*, the consequence was to question the authenticity of the text overall. For the *Laozi*, the consequence was in a sense just the opposite. Because the actual relation between the early manuscripts and the received text was unclear, and because the *Laozi* has been such a high profile work for two thousand years, the response to the discovery of these manuscripts

[41] See Bai Yulan 2008: 56.

[42] Taking the somewhat unappealing nuance of the word *qiǎo* 'crafty, clever' in (2e) and the more agreeable nuance in (2f) as a matter of intrinsic, reasonable likelihood.

[43] I am grateful to Paul van Els for a number of very helpful suggestions in connection with this part of the thesis of this paper.

was to identify them uncritically as in fact "the *Laozi*." Van Els goes on to recognize that these three things (author, text and protagonist)

> … need not be one; and in the *Wénzǐ*'s case they are not one … many publications see the Ancient *Wénzǐ* and the Received *Wénzǐ* as one text. In my view, if two persons – author and editor – in different historical periods, for different audiences, out of different motives and with different notions of authorship, create two fundamentally different *Wénzǐ*'s, then these should not be seen as two versions of one text, but as two distinct texts, even if they have the same title. (*ibid.*)

Very much the same thing can be said *mutatis mutandis* for the *Laozi*. I think, in van Els's words (altered only to refer to the *Laozi* instead of the *Wenzi*) that we should regard the *Laozi* and its ostensible manuscript sources the same way, namely, "if two persons – author and editor – in different historical periods, for different audiences, out of different motives and with different notions of authorship, create two fundamentally different *Laozi*'s, then these should not be seen as two versions of one text, but as two distinct texts." This view happens also to conform to what a formal text critical analysis suggests. In the *Laozi* case the GD manuscript texts do not carry the name *Laozi*, except as it has been imposed on them anachronistically, and we should not assume that they are the same text with the same meaning as the received *Laozi*.

Based on the analyses laid out above, we can propose a plausible reading of the GD lines as follows, very different from the sense of the received text, yet not in any respects an impossible understanding:

(1) 𢇍智弃支民利百伓。(2) 𢇍 攷弃利覜恳亡又。(3) 𢇍愄弃慮 民复季子。

(1) Perpetuate knowledge, abandon disputation; the people will benefit a hundredfold.
(2) Perpetuate respect for advanced age, abandon profit; brigands and thieves will exist no more.[44]

[44] My assumption here is that the notion of 'respect for advanced age' entails an implicit admonition against youth taking advantage of the elderly, whether by physical force or deceptive tricks. The notion is pervasive in, for example, the *Mencius*, though it is rarely referred to by the term *kǎo* 考, which is in the transmitted literature used chiefly as the formal, respectful designation of a deceased father, a technical sense evident primarily in bronze inscriptions. The word-family links

(3) Perpetuate deliberate actions,[45] abandon dishonesty; the people will return to behaving as proper aristocratic juniors.[46]

It is not my intention to insist that this is the only possible understanding of the GD line to the exclusion of all others. Rather, I wish to show that there is at least one reasonable, and textually defensible, understanding of the passage that is significantly different from the received version, and that this is possibly an example of how different the *Laozi* source texts, the so-called "building blocks," might have been from the transmitted text with which we are familiar. This in turn suggests that the manuscripts might constitute "philosophical" texts built out of the same reservoir of source texts as the received *Laozi*, but edited to a different end from that work. Attributing content variation between the manuscripts and the received text to editorial differences is consistent with suggesting that the major structural differences in the occurrences and order of sections of the

among *kǎo* < ***kk^{h}ru-q** 考, *xiào* < ***xxru-s** 孝, *hǎo* < ***xx(r)u-q** 好, and *lǎo* < ***krru-q** 老 remain yet to be determined precisely.

[45] The 'deliberate actions' for 𢡺 (*i.e.*, 為, understood as *wěi* 偽) is intended in the sense well-known from the *Xunzi*, ch. 23 passage 人之性惡其善者偽也 "Man's nature is repulsive; his goodness is the result of deliberate (artificial) efforts."

[46] The phrase 季子 matches 孝慈 in the received text. Although very different in meaning from each other, the two phrases are both lexically straightforward, and we can follow the "Occam's razor" principle and read them as they are written respectively in the manuscript and the received text. It is natural, of course, to look for an explanation of how one of them could have "turned into" the other. Such a question presumes that one of the two was the "original" or at least the earlier phrase and the other was the later changed wording. It may also presume that the variation arose "accidentally." Neither of these two presumptions is necessarily correct; the implications of each must be examined directly. It may be, for example, that the two versions are on a par, both descended from the same source with a still different third reading, rather than one from the other. And it may also be that the change was deliberate on the part of an editor who preferred, *e.g.*, 孝慈 "filial and compassionate" over 季子 "(behaving as) a proper aristocratic junior," or *vice versa*. At this point we have no way of knowing these things.

As it happens, most scholars have recognized that (*i*) the character 季 and the character 孝 look similar enough to each other to allow for a graphic mistake of one for the other, and (*ii*) the pronunciation of 子 (OC ***tsə-q**) and the pronunciation of 慈 (OC ***N-tsə**) seem similar enough to each other to allow for a lexical mistake of one for the other. Both of these observations are valid and both of them may ultimately figure in the explanation for the relation between the two versions of the line; in neither case can we say with any certainty which might have been the correct original and which the mistake. At this point explaining this aspect of the relation between the two versions is something distinct from proposing a reading of either the received line or the manuscript line and need not play a role in the present analysis.

texts that we see between the GD manuscripts and the received *Laozi* also reflects editorial differences.

Why Were Manuscripts Put in Tombs?

We have to wonder if the reason manuscripts were placed in tombs might not be because what we have been referring to as "editorial differences" in fact represent certain significant doctrinal positions different from those that later became established in transmitted versions of the texts, positions that were advocated or adopted by the tomb occupant, perhaps as parts of philosophical or doctrinal disputes or debates. They may have been teachings that were in some sense local and ephemeral, perhaps responding to historical contingencies in a limited area for a limited period of time, but not teachings or beliefs that became a general part of the received tradition. Kristofer Schipper, writing in 1982 when the implications of the Mawangdui manuscripts of the *Laozi* were only starting to be recognized and long before the discovery of the GD manuscripts, said of the received *Laozi*, *Daode jing*

> The *Tao-te ching* is a philosophical text … Many passages … betray the influence of the philosophical schools of the late classical period, in particular … of the Legalists (*fa-chia*) and of the Logicians (*ming-chia*). … Those who wrote the *Tao-te ching* – we do not know their names, … wanted to give a comprehensive summing up of the thought which tradition attributed to the Old Master, but in a version purified of mythical elements and detached from its historical context … The book of the Old Master does not belong to any particular "school". … It is most likely that the tradition which produced, over a number of centuries, the aphorisms of the *Tao-te ching* was not that of "philosophers", but rather reflects the wisdom which originated among the diviners and the astrologers, the scribes and annalists … the book is … the final result of a long development (Schipper 1993: 184–185).

Even without the evidence of recently excavated manuscripts Schipper recognized from his impressions of the content of the received *Laozi* and how it came to be the scripture *par excellence* of the Taoists that it was far from a homogeneous work of a single person. The Guodian manuscripts that carry passages matching parts of the received *Daode jing* may well represent examples of particular "textual moments" in the "long de-

velopment" that Schipper describes, its contents constituting one example of an assemblage of aphorisms and passages from those unnamed "diviners and the astrologers, the scribes and annalists" that Schipper suggests as the source of the text's "wisdom." We have no way of knowing what particular circumstances may have motivated these non-transmitted compilations, or how they were used in the doctrinal and philosophical world of 300 B.C.E., but whatever those circumstances were and whatever that use might have been, it is easy to think that it all may have been important enough to someone intimately involved with this text to have the manuscript placed in his tomb as a token of his devotion to the enduring significance and value of the text's message.

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The *Qièyùn* Manuscripts from Dūnhuáng

FRANÇOISE BOTTÉRO

Introduction

As the first known systematical work providing pronunciations for Chinese characters, the *Qièyùn* 切韻 holds an important place in the history of Chinese phonology. It was lost long ago, forcing modern scholars to base their analysis on later versions of the text, such as the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* 刊謬補缺切韻 (706) (and *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻, 1008). With the discovery of a few *Qièyùn*'s manuscripts at the beginning of the 20th century in Dūnhuáng, we now possess different versions of what could be Lù Fǎyán's 陸法言 text, as well as enlarged or annotated versions. Their study provides useful information on the original organisation of the *Qièyùn* before modifications were added to it. I shall give a detailed description of their presentation and organisation and show that the *Qièyùn* differed quite significantly from the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*. Then I shall discuss some criteria that can be used for a better understanding of the historical development of the text in a manuscript tradition.

1. The *Qièyùn*

1.1. General Presentation of the Qièyùn According to Lù Fǎyán's Preface

The *Qièyùn* was a five *juàn* 卷 rhyme book. According to the preface, it was based on discussions of a group of at least eight scholars[1] twenty

[1] Liú Zhēn 劉臻 (527–598), Yán Zhītuī 顏之推 (531–591), Lù Sīdào 盧思道 (531–582 or 536–586), Wèi Yànyuān 魏彥淵, Lǐ Ruò 李若, Xiāo Gāi 蕭該 (*ca*. 535–*ca*. 610), Xīn Déyuán 辛德源, Xuē Dàohéng 薛道衡 (540–609).

years[2] before it was written down by the young Lù Fǎyán (581?–618?) in 601. The *Qièyùn* was lost long ago, but Lù Fǎyán's preface was reproduced in different later versions.[3] We know that most of these scholars, including Lù Fǎyán's father who is not mentioned in the preface[4] belonged to the Academy of the Northen Qí (*Wénlín guǎn* 文林館) and were Northerners. Yán Zhītuī and Xiāo Gāi, who were decisive in choosing most of the pronunciations, were southerners. The preface tells us that all of them decided to establish standard readings for literary texts and proposed a compromise between the Northern and Southern capitals' (Yè 鄴 and Jīnlíng 金陵) literary pronunciations.[5] The *Qièyùn* was a referential book for literary composition; it classified characters under the four tones, 193 rhymes[6] and initials, and indicated their pronunciations with *fǎnqiè* 反切 spellings.

Since the text was lost, modern studies of the *Qièyùn* were based on the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 (1008) compiled by Chén Péngnián 陳彭年 and others, until a complete version of the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* 刊謬補缺切韻 written in 706 by Wáng Rénxù 王仁昫 was found in 1947 in the Imperial Palace in Běijīng. As we shall see, if these rhyme books preserved the original phonological categories of Lù Fǎyán,[7] they cannot really be used to represent Lù Fǎyán's text.

[2] During the Kāihuáng 開皇 (581–600) era of the Suí 隋 (581–618).

[3] E.g. the *Guǎngyùn*, *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*, and a few manuscripts from Dūnhuáng: S.2055, P.2017, P.2129, etc.

[4] When the crown prince was dismissed in 600, Emperor Wén's 文帝 held Lù Fǎyán's father responsible, Lù Shuǎng 陸爽 (539–591), who had been his son's counsellor. Since Lù Shuǎng was already dead, Emperor Wén took vengeance on Lù's family and excluded all of its members from government service. Lù Fǎyán was expelled and he could not list the name of his father in his preface as one of the authors of the book. C.f. Wang Lien-tsien 1957: 55.

[5] In his *Fēng shì wénjiàn jì* 封氏聞見記, Chapter 2 "Shēngyùn" 聲韻 (1933: 33), Fēng Yǎn 封演 notes: "It was during the Suí that Lù Fǎyán, Yán [Zhītuī], Wèi [Yànyuān] and other gentlemen have settled the northern and southern pronunciations and composed the *Qièyùn*. With its 12,158 characters, it was a model for literary work. But since it distinguished between the rhymes *xiān* 先 and *xiān* 仙, the rhymes *shān* 刪 and *shān* 山, educated men suffered from its rigourous precision".

[6] Manuscript P.2017, which corresponds to the end of the preface, provides the list and the total number of rhymes per tone: 54+51+56+32.

[7] Even if the total number of rhymes differed, *i.e.* 193 in the *Qièyùn*, 195 in the *Kānmiù bǔquē* (*ibid*. in the *Tángyùn* 唐韻 by Sūn Miǎn 孫愐 [2nd edition 751]) and 206 in the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻, the phonological system was preserved (c.f. Norman 1988: 25, Baxter 1992: 38–39).

1.2. Manuscripts from Dūnhuáng and Turfan

At the beginning of the 20th century fragmentary manuscripts of the *Qièyùn* were discovered in Dūnhuáng 敦煌 as well as in Turfan. These fragments are extremely valuable for a better understanding of the real nature of the *Qièyùn* before it was enlarged, and provide us with a better idea of the original text.

In his *Táng wǔdài yùnshū jí cún* 唐五代韻書集存 (2 vols; 1983), Zhōu Zǔmó 周祖謨 has studied the remnant rhyme books from the Táng 唐 and the Five Dynasties 五代. Basing himself on the fact that these manuscripts have less characters, no annotation and no "added characters" (*jiā* 加), he considered that 6 fragments from Dūnhuáng (P.3798, P.3695/P.3696, S.6187 and S.2683/P.4917; Zhōu 1983: 36–64), and 2 from Turfan (1 from Otani and 1 from Lie TID; Zhōu 1983: 70–71) could correspond to copies of the original *Qièyùn*.

1.3. The Characteristics of the Original *Qièyùn*

The texts chosen by Zhōu as copies of the original *Qièyùn* share a certain number of characteristics, not necessarily shared by later versions.

1) The first thing we note is that there was no dot used to introduce groups of homophonous characters under each rhyme in the *Qièyùn*. This is the case for P.3695/P.3696 and S.6187, but also for later versions such as S.2071, S.2055 and P.2017[8]. Therefore I think that the manuscripts S.2693/P.4917 and P.3798, considered by Zhōu Zǔmó as copies of the original *Qièyùn*, were in fact later copies with dots added to them.

2) Rhymes were made visible, either in the upper margin (P.3695/P.3696 and S.6187), or in a separate column with two thirds left in blank (P.3798).

3) Glosses always preceded *fǎnqiè* spellings, as well as the total number of homophonous characters subsumed under the same *fǎnqiè* formula.

4) Glosses were scarce. Rhymes and current expressions went unglossed. As we can see in P.3798, the rhyme *dōng* 冬 and the entries *kōng* 空, *lóng* 籠, but also *lái* 來, *wú* 吾, *āi* 哀 and *shī* 詩 in P.3696 were not commented upon but only added phonetic *fǎnqiè* formula.[9] This is also the case in

[8] This is an important thing to notice for the evolution of the text, because to my knowledge the *Qièyùn* has always been presented as having these dots.

[9] *Dōng* 冬: 都宗反二, *kōng* 空: 苦紅反, *lóng* 籠: 盧紅反, *lái* 來: 落哀反六; *wú* 吾: 五胡反十; *āi* 哀: 烏開反三; *shī* 詩: 書之反.

S.6187 (*xún* 尋: 徐林反, *chén* 沉: 除深反), P.4917 (*yǎng* 養: 餘兩反), and S.2683 (*shèn* 腎: 時忍反; *cǔn* 忖: 倉本反). The *Qièyùn* was not meant to be a language dictionary.

5) And the corollary of this is that some characters could follow each other without any gloss. In P.3695, under the rhyme *hāi* 咍, and the 'small rhyme' *cái* 裁, in the first chapter, one can see the four homophonous characters *cái* 財才材䊷 listed together without any gloss in the following way: 裁: 昨來反六 纔: 僅或作裁 財才材䊷. There are also many examples of characters listed together without glosses or dots, but with different initials. This must have been confusing for readers. In the same manuscript (P.3695) under the same rhyme (*hāi* 咍), the two characters 哉 and 猜 are listed together, but the first one is to be pronounced *zāi* (祖才反) and the second *cāi* (倉才反)[10].

These manuscripts have many scribal errors. One can easily understand the use of dots to separate groups of characters with different initials. A counting mistake could engender a different reading of a graph.[11] Therefore, it seems to me that the need for a better distinction between groups of homophonous characters must have been felt quite early, for copyist of S.2693/P.4917 and P.3798, considered by Zhōu Zǔmó as copies of the original *Qièyùn*, have already invented or added dots.[12]

6) In the original *Qièyùn*, one finds examples of ancient graphic variants *gǔ zuò* X, 古作X[13], or synchronic graphic variants *huò zuò* X, 或作X[14].

[10] *Zāi* 哉 is classified under the 'small rhyme' *zāi* 灾: 祖才反三, whereas *cāi* 猜 is a 'small rhyme' glossed as 'to doubt': 疑倉才反二. All the original copies of the *Qièyùn* have characters listed together without gloss: P.3798 (Chapter 1, rhyme *zhōng* 鍾: *yōng* 庸 and 墉; 鏞 and 鄘), in S.6187 (Chapter 2, rhyme *qīn* 侵: *jīn* 今 and *jīn* 黔); in S.2693/P.4917 (Chapter 3, rhyme *chǎn* 產: *jiǎn* 柬 and *jiǎn* 揀), etc.

[11] For example, in P.3695, under the rhyme *hāi* 咍, one can read that the *fǎnqiè* given under the character *gāi* 該 is to be applied for 9 homophones (該: 古哀反九). But, in fact, there are only 8 characters in the text with *gāi* (該: 豥垓荄郂 剴陔), since the next one has a different *fǎnqiè*.

[12] In P.4917, under the rhyme *yǎng* 養 (Chapter 3), the 'small rhyme' *zhàng* 丈 gathers the character *zhàng* 杖 immediately followed by 昶 *chǎng*, but a small red dot in-between helps visualising the distinction between their different pronunciations: 丈直兩反二杖。昶通丑兩反.

[13] They correspond to seal style graphs, like in P.3696: *méi* 眉古作𥃩 (Chapter 1, rhyme 6 *zhī* 脂; Zhōu 1983: 49).

[14] They represent other ways to write the graph in the clerical script (*lìshū* 隸書): *cái* 纔: 僅或作裁 (P.3695, Chapter 1, rhyme 16 *hāi* 咍, Zhōu 1983: 55).

But the formula *sú zuò* X, 俗作X, for "vulgar" or "popular" graphs does not seem to be used.[15]

7) The original *Qièyùn* has no comment of any kind,[16] except when Lù quotes the ancient rhyme books he used as a a basis for his work to indicate a different treatment of the rhymes from their authors.[17]

As for the "small rhymes" (*i.e.* the initials) in the *Qièyùn*, the fragmentary state of the manuscripts prevents us from knowing their order. But it seems that Wáng Rénxù quite faithfully reproduced it in his *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*.

2. The Characteristics of the First Enlarged Versions of the *Qièyùn*

Among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, we find about ten enlarged versions of the *Qièyùn*: S.2071, S.2055, P.3693/P.3694/P.3696(7)/S.6176, S.5980, P.3799, P.2017, S.6013, S.6012, P.4746 and S.6156. They include more characters, more glosses, and sometimes annotations or corrections to Lù Fǎyán's text.

1) Most of the enlarged *Qièyùn* have read dots introducing the small rhymes. But dots are still absent in some manuscripts: S.2071, S.2055, and P.3799, probably because their author have simply reproduced the original *Qièyùn*.

2) Rhyme headings are not placed in the upper margin. They are usually written within the text, preceded by red or black numbers, and a blank

[15] Note that in manuscript P.3695 (Zhōu 1983: 55), the graphs are written in the "current" (*tōng* 通), and "vulgar" (*sú* 俗) style. We have seen it with *cái* 麸 "ferment for brewing" written as 麦+才, but it is also the case with *lái* 來 written 来, and with *kāi* 開 written with *jǐng* 井 instead of *kāi* 开, etc. But was this Lù Fǎyán's original way of writing?

[16] Note that in P.4917, under the gloss given for *qiǎng* (搶: 頭搶地出史記), the text indicates that this character appears in the *Shǐjì* 史記 (Chapter 3, rhyme 35 *yǎng* 養).

[17] We only know these comments from the later *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*'s versions: e.g. Chapter 3, rhyme 1 *dǒng* 董: 多動反. 呂與腫同夏侯別, 今依夏侯 (Zhōu 1983: 470) "*dǒng* is read *duō-dòng*. Lǚ (Jīng) [in his *Yùnjí* 韻集] associates it with the *zhǒng* 腫 rhyme, Xiàhóu [in his *Yùnlüè* 韻略] distinguishes them. I follow Xiàhóu."

space.[18] In S.2071, small dots or little crosses have been added in the upper margin to help locate the rhymes in the text.

3) In certain manuscripts (S.2071, S.5980, P.3799) glosses are given before the *fǎnqiè*, whereas in some other ones they sometimes precede it, sometimes follow it (S.2055, S.6013). This, I think, can be explained by the fact that authors of annotated versions followed Lù's text, and could only add glosses after the original text. So when there was only a *fǎnqiè* spelling, they usually added their gloss after it, creating the impression of some kind of confusion or disorder in the text.

4) Authors of the annotated *Qièyùn* versions have increased the number of entries. They usually indicate new entries with the term *jiā* 加 "added [characters]", or *xīn jiā* 新加 "newly added [characters]." They sometimes specify their source: 'coming from the *Shuōwén*' 出說文.

They have also added glosses. Some authors only provided glosses from the *Shuōwén* (P.3693/P.3694/P.3696[7]/S.6176), while others also used a larger number of texts or commentators: *Ěryǎ* 爾雅, *Fāngyán* 方言, *Shǐjì* (P.4746), *Shàngshū* 尚書 (S.6012), *Yùpiān* 玉篇 (P.2011), Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄(云), etc.

5) Although there is an increasing number of glosses, one can still find series of characters without them (S.2071, S.2055, P.3693/P.3694/P.3696[7]/S.6176, S.5980, P.2017, P.4746). Note that among these manuscripts, S.2071, S.2055, and P.3799 have still no dots. In manuscript S.2055, which corresponds to Zhāngsūn Nèiyán's 張孫訥言 annotated *Qièyùn* from 677, we have a few examples of characters with different initials listed together without glosses, such as *zhōng* 忠 and *chóng* 蟲 (Chapter 1, rhyme 1 *dōng* 東),[19] or *xī* 欷 and *qī* 郪 (Chapter 1, rhyme 6 *zhī* 脂).[20]

6) Enlarged versions of the *Qièyùn* often use the formula *sú zuò* 俗作X, "the vulgar graph is written X", or the formula *tōng zuò* 通作X, "the current graph is written X." Indeed we find, in S.2055, examples such as *wēi* 微:

[18] P.2017 includes the list of all the rhymes under the four tones, and nearly the first four columns of the first chapter. The first rhyme *dōng* 東 is not placed in the upper margin but introduced by the character *píng* 平 half visible in the upper margin (see Zhōu 1983: 225–228).

[19] The text writes: *zhōng* 中: 桉(按?)說文和也. 陟隆反. 又陟仲反. 三衷: 桉說文裏褻衣也 忠蟲: 桉說文有足虫. 直隆反. 四. The number three 三 (in the 14th position) indicates that with *zhōng* 中 the 3 characters 中, 衷, 忠 are pronounced with the same *fǎnqiè* 陟仲, whereas the number four 四 under *chóng* 蟲 shows that the 3 following characters (冲, 种, 盅) are pronounced with the same *fǎnqiè* 直隆 provided under 蟲 (Zhōu 1983: 150). In other words according to Yu Naewing 1993: 24 the difference is between the initials [ṭ-] and [ḍ-].

[20] The text writes: 欷郪 … 取私反. 三加一 (Zhōu 1983: 153).

無非反. 妙. 通. 俗作散. 六. "*Wēi* is pronounced *wú-fēi*. Subtle. It is the current [graph], the vulgar [graph] is written 散. [There are] 6 [homophonous characters]" (S.2055, Chapter 1, rhyme 8 *wēi* 微, Zhōu 1983: 155).

We also find the formula *zhèng zuò* X 正作X, "the orthodox graph is written X" in the enlarged *Qièyùn*. In manuscript P.4746, mostly written with current (*tōng* 通)[21] graphs, the author specifies that the graphs *guó* 國 and *huò* 或 are the orthodox (*zhèng* 正) graphs for the words *guó* and *huò* written in the text with the constituent 厶 instead of 口.[22]

Zhāngsūn Nèiyán, the author of an enlarged *Qièyùn* dating from 677 (S.2055), also indicates the 'correct' or the 'proper' graphic structure of the characters in his work, so as to avoid mistakes. He naturally bases himself on the analysis of the *Shuōwén*, therefore we see many examples of the use of the formula *cóng* 從 X "[the graph] has the (semantic) constituent X" in his text. Under the first rhyme *dōng* 東, after Lù's *fǎnqiè*, Zhāngsūn Nèiyán adds, for example, a gloss taken from the *Shuōwén* and gives the graphic structure of *dōng* according to Xǔ Shèn: 東 德紅反二. 桉[*sic*]說文春方也動也. 從日又云日在水[23]中 "I observe that according to the *Shuōwén*, *dōng* corresponds to spring, and represents movement. [The graph] has 'sun' as a [semantic] constituent. According to another interpretation, it represents the 'sun' in the middle of 'water'" (S.2055).[24]

7) In some enlarged versions of the *Qièyùn*, observations have been added. These are sometimes introduced by the term *àn* 案 "I observe", also written as 桉 or 按. We have already seen the example of *dōng* 東 above: 桉說文 "I observe that according to the *Shuōwén*." In S.2055, the author also uses the expression *jīn wéi* 今為 to indicate a contrast with an older interpretation or with that of the *Shuōwén*. *Tóng* 僮: 古作童子今為僕 "*tóng*: in the past it qualified a 'boy', today it represents 'a servant'"; *zhōng* 終: 按說文緑絲也. 今為終始字. 職隆反十 "*Zhōng*: according to the *Shuōwén*, it is a 'tight silk thread', today it represents the character meaning '(to) end'. It is pronounced *zhí-lóng*. [There are] 10 [homophonous characters]" (Chapter 1, rhyme 1 *dōng* 東).

[21] For definitions of "orthodox," "current" and "vulgar" graphs, see note 37.

[22] In the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*, *guó* and *huò* are written with "orthodox" graphs as 國 and 或, respectively.

[23] Apparently there is no mistake here, other versions have *shuǐ* 水 (and not *mù* 木 like in Xú Xuàn's 徐鉉 version), see P.2017 in Zhōu 1983: 150–160 and 226–228, and see the following note.

[24] Xú Xuàn's version of the *Shuōwén* (1963: 6A 24b) is slightly different: 東動也. 从木. 官溥說, 从日在木中.

Authors usually do not quote their source, but when they do, they use various references: *Fāngyán*, Zhāng Yàn 張晏 (3rd century) in P.4746; *Zhèngmíng* 正名, *Zìyàng* 字樣 in P.3693, etc.

In some enlarged versions of the *Qièyùn*, Lù Fǎyán's mistakes or omissions have been pointed out with the formula *Lù qiàn* 陸欠 "Lù is incomplete."[25] In the small fragment P.4746 (16 columns only), there are at least six mentions of this formula (*cf*. Zhōu 1983: 232–234).

3. The *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*

There are at least three versions of Wáng Rénxù's *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* available.

1) An incomplete manuscript from Dūnhuáng at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF): P.2011, consisting of 21 fragmented leaves, reproduced with a transcription in Zhōu 1983: 246–358 and 359–433.

2) A complete version found in the Imperial Palace in 1947, also reproduced in Zhōu 1983: 434–527. This edition is called *Sòng lián bá běn* 宋濂跋本.

3) Another incomplete version found in the Imperial Palace in 1920 by Luó Zhènyù 羅振玉 (1866–1940), in the library of emperor Pú Yí 溥儀 (1906–1967). This edition is called *Nèifǔ běn* 内府本. A traced copy of it appears in Liú Fù's 劉復 (1891–1934) *Shí yùn huìbiān* 十韻彙編. Since it comprises many more characters, it is probably a later version (Wang Lien-tseng 1957: 110; Liú Fù 1963: 34).

4) There is also P.2129, a small fragment at the BnF, with Wáng Rénxù's preface (Zhōu 1983: 242–245).

The *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* comprises a total of 195 rhymes, because Wáng Rénxù has added two rhymes missing in the *Qièyùn*: *yǎn* 广 and *yàn* 嚴 in the 2nd and 3rd tones. They correspond to Lù's first tone rhyme *yán* 嚴.

[25] See, for example, S.6012 (chap. 5, rhyme *zhí* 職): *shì* 䁞: 傷也. 見尚書陸欠 "*Shì* is to injure. See *Shàngshū*. Lù is incomplete"; or (Chapter 5, rhyme *duó* 鐸) *zuò* 飵: 楚人食麥饘謂之飵見方言陸欠 "*Zuò*: the wheat porridge eaten by Chǔ people is called *zuò*. See *Fāngyán*. Lù is incomplete." *Fāngyán* 方言 1. 31 (1993, 9) has the following gloss: 餥飵食也. 陳楚之內相謁而食麥饘謂之餥, 楚曰飵. 凡陳楚之郊南楚之外相謁而飧, 或曰飵, 或曰; while *Shuōwén* 5B 4b, the following one: *zuò* 飵: 楚人相謁食麥曰飵从食乍聲 (Tāng Kějìng 湯可敬 1997, 696).

With a few exceptions, the *fǎnqiè* glosses in the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* are identical to those in the *Qièyùn* (Zhōu 1983, vol. 2, 888 *sq*). Still, as we shall see later on, Wáng Rénxù made a few modifications and added several characters after each group of homophones. (According to his preface, his additions were written in red.)

1) Wáng Rénxù included the red dots.

2) Rhymes are not placed in the upper margin, but introduced using red numbers. In the complete version of the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* (Zhōu 1983: 434–527), the rhymes are either at the beginning of a column, or within the text preceded by a blank space. Their numbers are usually placed in the upper margin, which makes it easier to find them in the text. In P.2011 (Zhōu 1983: 246–433), all the rhymes seem to be located at the beginning of a column, with a red numbering on the upper margin.

3) Wáng Rénxù systematically gives the *fǎnqiè* first, before the gloss and the total number of homophones.

4) He provides a gloss for every character.

5) Consequently, there are no more series of characters without glosses.

6) Like his predecessor Zhāngsūn Nèiyán (in S.2055), Wáng identifies different types of graphic variants: "current", "vulgar", "standard", "contemporary", etc. Therefore there are several formulae in his text: *yì zuò* 亦作, *yòu zuò* 又作, *huò zuò* 或作X "is also written X", *běn zuò* 本作X "The original [graph] is written X"; *sú zuò* 俗作X, "the vulgar graph is written X"; *jīn zuò* 今作X "is now written X." We also find typical formulae from the *zìyàng*-type manuals: *tōng sú zuò* 通俗作X, "current [graph], the vulgar [graph] is written X"; *shàng tōng zhèng zuò* 上通, 正作X "the above (character) corresponds to the current graph, the orthodox graph is written X", etc.

Like Zhāngsūn Nèiyán, Wáng also indicates the proper way to write certain graphs, using the formula *cóng* 從X "has the constituent X." There is an interesting example in which Wáng adds a gloss inside a gloss (Zhōu 1983: 440): *chí* 趍: 說文趨趙, 久. 玉篇為趨字. 失. 後人行之大謬(?)不考. 趍從多音支聲… "*Chí*, the *Shuōwén* says 'as in "to walk slowly", is to take time.' The Yùpiān takes it for the character *qū*. It is a mistake. It was used by later people but it is a big mistake(?). [The graph] has the constituent *duō* pronounced *zhī* as the phonetic constituent"[26] (Chapter 1, rhyme *zhī* 支, Zhōu 1983: 359 [P.2011]).

[26] In this case, by providing the reading of the phonetic constituent which is not given in the *Shuōwén*, Wáng adds a gloss inside a gloss. In the *Shuōwén chí* 趍 is glossed: 趨趙, 久也〔小徐本「趨」作「趍」〕。从走多聲。直离切 "*chí*, as in *chízhào*, is to walk slowly (in Xiǎo Xú's edition 趨 is written as 趍). [The graph] has 走 as a semantic constituent and *duō* 多 is the phonetic; *zhí-lí*." (*Shuōwén* 2A 19a).

7) Wáng Rénxù criticises Lù for his mistakes or omissions. Zhōu (1983, vol. 2, 875–876) has counted ten such instances. In Chapter 3, rhyme 6 *zhǐ* 止, under character *fàn* 氾, Wáng writes: 陸訓不當, 故不錄 "Lù's gloss is inappropriate, thus I do not record it" (Zhōu 1983: 470); in Chapter 4, rhyme 56 *yán* 嚴, Wáng has the following note: 嚴: 魚俺反陸無此韻目失 "*Yán* is pronounced *yú*+*ǎn*. Lù does not have this rhyme, it is an omission" (Zhōu 1983: 489). Note that Wáng uses the term *shī* 失, and not *qiàn* 欠. He also mentions Lù's omission under rhyme 33 *gē* 歌 (same Chapter 1): character *xuē* 韡 … 陸無反語 "… Lù has no *fǎnqiè* formula" (*ibid*., 459).

4. Reflections on the Evolution and Use of the Above Manuscripts

Through the study of *Qièyùn* fragments and the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* manuscript we were able to get a better idea of the original *Qièyùn*. We now understand to what extent the *Qièyùn* differed from the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*. We have also seen that there were many variations between what could have been the original *Qièyùn* and the various other versions. Some of their differences provide interesting information concerning the development of the *Qièyùn*. We can use these differences to outline a general course of evolution among these versions, and we can also recognize that these texts were most probably copied and developed for personal use.

1) Dots, for example, provide interesting information concerning the development of the *Qièyùn*. Since the extant *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* and *Guǎngyùn* all have dots, Lù Fǎyán's text is usually presented as having those. But among the earliest copies of the *Qièyùn* found in Dūnhuáng, at least three fragments, P.3695/P.3696 and S.6187, do not contain dots. This is also the case for later versions such as S.2071, S.2055 and P.2017. Dots represented a useful device for clearly delineating groups of characters with different initials. As such they helped avoiding readers' mistakes. These manuscripts abound in examples of characters with different initials listed together without glosses, we can easily imagine how confusing this must have been for readers.

The addition of dots must have taken place quite early since the S.2071, S.2055 and P.2017 already included them. Dots turned out to be so useful that most *Qièyùn* copyists made sure that they reproduced them in their own copies.

Once dots were introduced into the *Qièyùn*,[27] two *Qièyùn* traditions started competing: the original one without dots, and a new one with dots. This explains why some later versions (S.2071, S.2055 and P.2017) still do not have dots, whereas most of the other ones have them. In the long term, the tradition favoring dots replaced the original *Qièyùn* tradition. This exemplifies how a tradition, in the course of a practical use of a text, can be replaced and disappear.

2) The number of characters included in the different versions is also instructive for the history of the text. Under each small rhyme, we find the total number of characters sharing the same *fǎnqiè* spelling. These numbers can be useful for a better understanding of the development of the texts. If we compare manuscripts S.2071 and S.2055, which are two different copies coming from the same *Qièyùn* tradition without dots, S.2071 appears anterior to S.2055 because it typically includes less characters than S.2055. On the other hand, both of these copies are probably earlier than the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* (KM) since they have fewer characters:

支 : 章移反九 (Chapter 1, rhyme 5 *zhī* 支; S.2071; Zhōu: 74)
: 章移反十按說文去竹之枝也從又持半竹 (S.2055; 677 A.D.; Zhōu: 152)
: 章移反計十五 (KM; 706 A.D.; Zhōu: 438)
其 : 渠之反十八 (S.2071)
: 渠之反十八加一按說文作此舉也 (S.2055; Zhōu: 155)
: 渠之反語第正作二十一 (KM; Zhōu: 441)

In the following example, we compare the three characters presented as having the same *fǎnqiè* spelling 以淺反 (*yǎn*) in S.2071 and P.3693 (Chapter 3, rhyme 26 *xiǎn* 獮; Zhōu 1983: 95 and 168). S.2071 was probably copied from the original *Qièyùn*, whereas P.3693/P.3694/P.3696(7)/S.6176 was most likely copied from the other tradition that retained dots. Both of them have the same number of characters under *yǎn* 演 and the same glosses, but P.3693 also includes information from the *Shuōwén*:

S.2071	演: 廣以淺反三	衍: 達	縯: 長 踐: 疾演反三
P.3693R	演: 廣以淺反三按說文作此演長流	衍: 達按說文水朝宗於海故從水行	縯: 長 踐: 疾演反三加一

[27] As we have seen this was probably quite early, since S.2693/P.4917 and P.3798, considered by Zhōu Zǔmó as copies of the original *Qièyùn*, already have them.

We note that in P.3693 the author also added a graph under *jiàn* 踐 and made it explicit with the term *jiā yī* 加一 "one addition." Therefore, compared to S.2071, P.3693 probably represents a later version.

At the same time it is important to distinguish between a simple copy and a new or a personalized version of a text, which might include all sorts of additions. If we now compare S.2071 and P.3799 (both without dots), we realize that not only characters but also glosses have been added to the latter.

S.2071 及: 其立反二 蟄: ゝ虫直立反二
(Chapter 5, rhyme 26 rhyme *jī* 緝)
P.3799 及: 与也其立反二 蟄: ゝ蟲隱也靜也直立反二

We also find examples of added characters in S.2071:

The character *zhuó* 犳: 山海經文首名[犳][28]曰隄山有獸犳而[29] (Chapter 5, rhyme 27 rhyme *yào* 藥) is absent in P.3799.[30] This absence suggests that P.3799, which is to some reason larger, is not a copy of S.2071.

3) Glosses:

We have noticed that in the earliest *Qièyùn* versions most of the characters were not semantically glossed. Therefore the absence of a gloss in one copy and its presence in another tends to imply that the second copy is a later version. This corroborates what we have seen before regarding the chronological sequence of S.6187, S.2071 and S.2055:

S.6187 針: — (Chapter 1, rhyme 46 *qīn* 侵; Zhōu 1983: 63):
S.2071 針: 案文作鍼 "*zhēn* is written 鍼 according to [*Shuō*] *wén*."
(Zhōu 1983: 91)
S.2071 非: 不; 衣: — (Chapter 1, rhyme 8 *wēi* 微)
S.2055 非: 不是 衣: 服裳

[28] The underlined passage is curiously written upside down. It seems that the scribe started by inserting a reference to the *Shānhǎijīng* and left some empty space for the relevant quote. Coming back to this task at a later time, he started writing the words 曰隄山有獸犳而 at the top of the second half-size commentary column but ran out of space on this second column and finished adding the sentence upside down at the remaining empty space on the first one.

[29] This quoted part comes from the "Běishānjīng" 北山經 chapter of the *Shānhǎijīng*, where it is presented in a different wording: 又北百七十里曰: 隄山, 多馬, 有獸焉，其狀如豹，而文首名曰：狕.

[30] The *Guǎngyùn* has the same character under rhyme 18 *yào* 藥 and writes: 犳: 獸名 ("name of an animal").

In most cases, P.3799 seems to have more glosses than S.2071. Under *ruò* 若, for example, the text is damaged in S.2071, and apparently there is only room for a *fǎnqiè* spelling, whereas in P.3799 glosses have been added.

S.2071 若: □灼 (Chapter 5, rhyme 27 *yào* 藥)
P.3799 若: 順也善也辞也詩禁御不若而灼反七.

On the other hand, a gloss written after a *fǎnqiè* spelling equally shows that this is a later addition and not the original *Qièyùn* version. Zhōu (1983: 834–835) notes that in the passage concerning the rhyme 8 *wēi* 微 (Chapter 1) in S.2055, the *fǎnqiè* is given first before the glosses, and the text matches that of the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*. According to him, this can be explained by the fact that the original text of this 9th-century version was damaged, so the copyist used the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* (706) to restore the missing parts. It is difficult to tell whether S.2055 or P.3799 is an earlier version, since they represent different approaches. S.2055 is more concerned with the way characters should be written (as it is illustrated below), whereas P.3799 resembles a dictionary with as many glosses as possible.

4) The use of certain terms suggests a later version of the *Qièyùn*

The particle *yě* 也 is almost absent in the original *Qièyùn*.[31] Indeed what was important in the *Qièyùn* was the pronunciation (*fǎnqiè*), whereas semantic glosses were secondary, they were only given to identify characters, but not necessarily to explain their exact meaning.

Compared to S.2071, the character 笘 has been added in P.3799 (Chapter 5, rhyme 25 *tiē* 怗), with glosses taken from the *Zìlín* 字林 and the *Shuōwén* followed by the particle *yě* 也: 笘: 字林箔也說文竹□斫牒[32]. The pattern seems to be that when a gloss is added in P.3799 the author also added the particle *yě* 也 after each new gloss. This is also the case for

[31] There are of course some exceptions: P.3695: *tái* 邰: 地名在始平或作駘也 "Toponym, located in Shiping, also written *tāi* 駘" (*Shuōwén*: 邰: 炎帝之後, 姜姓所封, 周棄外家國 … 右扶風斄縣是也.《詩》曰: 有邰家室); S.6187 *yīn* 愔: 靖也 "is to be appeased;" *qián* 黔: 黑而一曰[*sic*]黃黔首眾也 "Black and [yellow] according to another source *qiánshǒu* 黔首 refers to the people." (S.6187). This gloss has been reproduced in the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* (Zhōu 1983: 468): 黔: 黑而黃一曰黔首眾. (*Shuōwén*: 黔: 黎也。从黑今聲。秦謂民 爲黔首, 謂黑色也。周謂之黎民。《易》曰: 爲黔喙).

[32] According to DXB *Shuōwén* 5A 7a: *tiē* should be read *shān* and is glossed the following way 笘: 折竹箠也.

other versions, e.g. S.2055: 東 德紅反二. 桉[*sic*]說文春方也動也. 從日又云日在水中.[33]

Some expressions only appear in certain versions or can be associated with specific authors. For example:

– *àn* 案 "I observe", sometimes written 桉, or 按. Cf. the example of *dōng* 東 above: 桉[*sic*]說文.
– *jīn wéi* 今為. Both of the two above terms are used by Zhāngsūn Nèiyán, the author of S.2055, but are not seen in earlier copies.
– *qiàn* 欠 (e.g. *Lù qiàn* 陸欠 "Lù is incomplete") is used in P.4746[34] and in S.6012.[35] But in the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn*, Wáng Rénxù only employs the term *shī* 失 "wrong, mistake."

5) Graphic variants

In the early *Qièyùn* manuscripts, we have a few examples of diachronic graphic variants: *gǔ zuò* X 古作X for small seal style graphs, and synchronic graphic variants: *huò zuò* 或作X[36] for *kǎishū* graphs. Indeed, Lù Fǎyán was not interested in the style of graphs, he focussed on pronunciations. But some of the enlarged versions have introduced a variety of graphic variants in common use at the time, especially "vulgar" and "current" graphs (*sú zuò* 俗作, *tōng zuò* 通作), as well as *yì zuò* 亦作, *yòu zuò* 又作 ("is also written X"). We also find the formula *zhèng zuò* 正作X ("the orthodox [graph] is written X") in the enlarged *Qièyùn*, and typical formulae from the *Models of characters* (*Zìyàng*), such as *Y tōng sú zuò X*: Y通俗作X ("Y is current [graph], the vulgar [graph] is written X"), *shàng tōng zhèng zuò X* 上通, 正作X ("above is the current [graph], the orthodox [graph] is written X").

This innovation probably goes back to Zhāngsūn Nèiyán's enlarged *Qièyùn* of 677. In his preface (see S.2055), Zhāngsūn Nèiyán specifies that when he was young, he often glanced through Yán's *Zìyàng* 字樣. According to the *Gānlù zìshū* 干祿字書, we know that Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 (581–645), grandson of Yán Zhītuī, was asked in the Zhēnguān 貞觀 era (627–649) to organize the Classics and, in the course of this, he also composed

[33] The situation is different with the *Kānmiù bǔquē Qièyùn* because Wáng Rénxù usually gives simple glosses, in this case: 東德紅反木方二 "*Dōng* corresponds to the direction related to wood." Wáng does not quote the source of his gloss. But we know that he has completely reorganized the text and used a different title from the *Qièyùn*.

[34] Zhōu Zǔmó counted 6 mentions of this formula (Zhōu 1983: 232–234).

[35] See note 25 above.

[36] See notes 13 and 14 above.

the *Yán shì zìyàng* 顏氏字樣 in which he recorded some standard graphs from the Classics, as well as often mistaken characters. At the end the of the 7th century, Yán Yuánsūn 顏元孫 (660/669–732), also a descendant of Yán Zhītuī, compiled another famous *zìyàng* called *Gānlù zìshū* in which he clearly defines the three kinds of graphs: "popular", "current", "orthodox". The purpose of this *zìyàng* was to help candidates for imperial examinations avoid confusion and write in the proper style.[37]

As we can see from the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, the original *Qièyùn* was most probably written with "popular" or "current" graphs. In P.3695 (Zhōu 1983: 55), *cái* 麸 is written as 麦+才; *lái* 來 as 来; *kāi* 開 with *jǐng* 井 inside instead of *kāi* 开; *chóng* 蟲 as 虫; *gōu* 句 as 勾, etc.

Conclusion

As a reference work, the *Qièyùn* was meant to be copied. It was also enlarged and annotated on numerous occasions. The most striking thing for a 21st-century observer is that a single title could in fact designate different versions, and in some cases even quite different texts. Dūnhuáng manuscripts S.2071, S.2055, and P.3696 (Zhōu 1983: 99, 150, 177) all bear the title *Qièyùn*, even though their texts differ significantly. In his 9th-century Japanese bibliography *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (891), Fujiwara Sukeyo 藤原簾佐世 records no less than 16 authors for one single *Qièyùn* title!

Approximately by the 9th century, the *Qièyùn* stopped referring to an individual text. It referred to a type of text and became a generic tittle. This might well have been the case for other texts in the manuscript tradition.

[37] The three styles are defined the following way: "'popular' (俗) graphs are for simple texts, book accounts, administrative documents, medical prescriptions, they are not elegant but they are non erroneous; the 'current' (通) graphs have a long history, they are use to write memorials to the Emperor, judicial / court complaints, so as to avoid misinterpretation; 'orthodox' (正) graphs are used in descriptive and literary compositions, political texts, and steles" (*Gānlù zìshū* 干祿字書, Chapter 4, 1972: 169). In the *Gānlù zìshū*, for example, *nián* 年 is the "current graph," whereas 秊 is the "orthodox" one, and both *lǐ* 禮 and 礼 are "orthodox graphs."

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On the Emendation of the *Datang Xiyuji* during Gaozong's Reign

An Examination Based on Ancient Japanese Manuscripts

TAKATA TOKIO

Introduction

The Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 returned to Chang'an in the spring of the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 period (645), after spending 17 years in India. On his arrival, he was taken immediately for an audience with the Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) in Luoyang. Taizong was so impressed by Xuanzang's journey that he commended him highly, rewarded him with treats and requested that he write a detailed account of India and Central Asia, based on his personal experiences and knowledge.[1] By the next year, the twentieth year of the Zhenguan period (646), Xuanzang had completed his account, and on July 13 he presented it to the throne.[2] It is this account – the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 – that will be discussed in this essay.

It is probable that Xuanzang's most pressing concern, after his return to China, would have been undertaking the translation of the 657 Buddhist scriptures – all stored in 520 boxes – that he had taken great pains to bring back. However, due to the fact that the completion of the account of his journey was an earnest request of the emperor, it was imperative that he finish compiling this before embarking on anything else. This account was intended to be part of the wider project of extending the influence of the Tang dynasty into Central Asia. Xuanzang gave the *Datang Xiyuji* to the throne on the very same day that the translations of five scriptures in

[1] *Da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, juan 6. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, 129.

[2] *Jin Xiyuji biao* 進西域記表 included in the *Sanzang fashi biaoqi* 三藏法師表啓, manuscript kept in Chion'in 知恩院 temple, Kyoto. The *Ci'en zhuan* puts the date as the day *yiwei* 乙未, i.e. July 5, but I do not accept that here.

58 juan, including the *Da pusazang jing*[3] 大菩薩藏經 in 20 juan, were also presented. It seems clear that the compilation of the account was executed very hurriedly between his translation works. It is well known that Xuanzang did not write the *Datang Xiyuji* by himself but that he had help from Bianji 辯機, a talented young priest who participated in the translation of the scriptures and who later died a tragic death at the hand of the emperor.[4] While it is impossible to know the details of the participation of Bianji, the postface of the *Datang Xiyuji* leaves us in no doubt that he prepared the original draft, based on the material and dictation offered by Xuanzang. Nonetheless, it is not clear whether Xuanzang made any corrections to Bianji's text, and if did, to what extent. This situation of unclear authorship casts a considerable shadow on the textual tradition of the *Datang Xiyuji* in the Tang period. In order to seriously assess the historical value of the *Datang Xiyuji* it is crucial that the original text be identified. However, no serious attempt has yet been made because, until the modern period, this work has received little attention. In this context, it is no exaggeration to say that the Kyoto University edition[5] was an unprecedented work, in that it gathered many old manuscripts that had been kept in Japan together with all the previous known versions of the Tripitaka. At present we have an excellent new Chinese edition of the *Datang Xiyuji* by Ji Xianlin 季羡林 *et al*.[6] However, excellent as this edition is, it still fails to offer an improvement in terms of assessing the original text of the *Datang Xiyuji*. Indeed, it is one hundred years since the publication of the Kyoto edition of the *Datang Xiyuji* and already there has been a remarkable change in the resources and techniques available to scholars. In recent years, we have been able to gain more and more ready access to ancient Japanese manuscript texts of the *Datang Xiyuji*. In addition, we also have the Dunhuang manuscripts for reference. These developments mean that, to a certain extent, we can attempt to recover the original Tang text. This paper discusses the emendation that the *Datang Xiyuji* underwent during Gaozong's 高宗 (r. 649–683) reign, on the basis of evidence garnered from Japanese manuscript texts.

[3] 大菩薩藏經 *Mahāboddhisattvasūtra*, later incorporated by 菩提留支 (Bodhiruci) into *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 as its 12th *hui* (pitaka), 大菩薩會.

[4] *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, juan 4, Xuanzang zhuan 玄奘傳; Bianji's postface to the *Datang Xiyuji*.

[5] *Daitō saiikiki, fu kōi sakuin* 大唐西域記坿考異索引, 2 vols. (Kyoto Imperial University, Faculty of Letters Collection Vol. 1.) Tokyo, Dainippon Tosho Co., 1901. It was Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 who was in charge of the collation work.

[6] *Datang xiyuji jiaozhu*大唐西域記校注. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

Fan Xiangyong's Theory on the Two Different Versions

Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 first proposed the possibility of the circulation of two different versions of the *Datang Xiyuji* in the Tang period. He proposed this new theory in his 1982 article,[7] on the basis of the considerable amount of passages that are cited in Tang works but do not appear in the present editions. In addition, the *Ci'en zhuan* 慈恩傳 tells us that, in the first year of the Xianqing 顯慶 period (656), the Emperor Gaozong 高宗 ordered Yu Zhining 于志寧, among others, to revise or improve the texts of Xuanzang's translation. According to this theory, the first of the two versions would have been the text that Xuanzang submitted to the throne in 646 and the second would be the final version revised by Yu Zhining and others in the early years of the Xianqing period. This is not the only evidence that supports the two version hypothesis, indeed, there are obvious differences between the prefaces of the present editions. Some editions have the preface composed by Jing Bo 敬播 and others have that composed by Yu Zhining. Theoretically, these two prefaces should correspond to the two above-mentioned versions. However, the texts of the two versions are, in fact, identical. How can this be explained? Fan postulates that the first version was circulated only in a limited group because after it had been submitted to the emperor, its reproduction was not permitted. In contrast, the revised version was recognized as authoritative and, accordingly, copying was freely permitted. As a result, only the revised version was circulated. Yu Zhining's preface was not completed in time for the publication of the revised version and so the first preface – written by Jing Bo – was used at the beginning of the revised version to serve the purpose temporarily.[8] In other words, the text of the *Datang Xiyuji* as we have it today is only the revised version published during the Gaozong reign, the first version having been lost in the early stages. Passages cited in the Tang editions that do not appear in the present edition are the fortunate examples of remnants that were handed down from the first version. Herein is a broad outline of Fan's theory.

Fan's theory is very interesting. There is no doubt that, from the passages cited in the Tang works, two different versions of the *Datang Xiyuji*

[7] "*Datang Xiyuji* quewen kaobian" 《大唐西域記》闕文考辨. *Wenshi* 文史 Vol. 23, 1982: 73–97.

[8] Originally Yu Zhining's preface was not accompanied by his name but only with his title: *shangshu zuopuye Yanguogong* 尚書左僕射燕國公. Somebody replaced later Jing Bo's preface with this much more attractive title.

existed during the Tang period. Nonetheless, if Fan's theory is to be accepted completely then further evidence, which was not given sufficient attention by Fan, will need to be assessed, evidence that includes the Japanese and Dunhuang manuscripts.

Ancient Japanese Manuscripts and the Dunhuang Manuscripts

In order to restore the original Tang text of the *Datang Xiyuji*, the best approach at present is to begin by investigating the ancient Japanese and Dunhuang manuscripts. The first printed Chinese Tripitaka, the so-called *Kaibaozang* 開寶藏, was printed far from the capital, in Sichuan province, a fact that casts significant doubt upon the authenticity of the text; the same questionable authenticity can be seen in the Korean Tripitaka and the Jin Tripitaka – both of which are based on the *Kaibaozang*. The southern tradition that emerged after the Fuzhou edition exhibits significant differences to the Tang original.

The compilers of the Kyoto University edition of the *Datang Xiyuji* also made use of some of the ancient Japanese manuscripts. However, as the edition selected the Korean Tripitaka as its base text, it focused only on presenting the Japanese manuscripts as variants. Recognition has not yet been made of real value of the ancient Japanese manuscripts. Now that we are aware of the full potential of the Japanese manuscripts, we are able to conduct a fuller investigation into the Tang original by making full use of them.

The ancient Japanese manuscripts we used are as follows:

(1) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1, manuscript of the fourth year of the Enryaku 延暦 era (1102), now kept in Kōshōji 興聖寺 temple, Kyoto.

(2) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1, manuscript of the fourth year of the Kōwa 康和 era (1102), now kept in the Kyoto National Museum.

(3) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1, juan 3 through juan 11, manuscript of the first year of the Daichi 大治 era (1126),[9] kept in Hōryūji 法隆寺 temple, Nara.

(4) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1 through juan 8, manuscript of the first year of the Chōkan 長寛 era (1163), kept in Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 temple, Otsu city, Shiga prefecture.

[9] Juan 2, formerly owned by the late professor Kanda Kiichirō, fell to the Library of Otani University, Kyoto. I could not access it but utilized the collation of the Kyoto University edition.

(5) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 2 through juan 9, juan 11 and 12, manuscript of the fifth year of the Ho'en 保延 era (1139), kept in Kongōji 金剛寺 temple, Kawachi-nagano city, Osaka.

(6) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1 through juan 3, juan 5 through juan 8, manuscript of the second year of the Chishō 治承 era (1179), kept in Nanatsu-dera 七寺 temple, Nagoya.

(7) *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1 through juan 12, complete. Manuscript of the late Heian or the first Kamakura period (corresponding to the 12th and early 13th centuries). Ancient property of Tachibana-dera 橘寺 temple, Nara, and once owned by the late professor Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎, now kept in the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University.

In addition to these Japanese manuscripts, the following Dunhuang manuscript fragments were consulted:

(1) S.2659Va: *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1 (lacks the beginning)

(2) P.3814: *Datang Xiyuji*, juan2 (lacks the beginning)

(3) S.958: *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 3 (only 16 lines preserved)

(4) P.2700bis: *Datang Xiyuji*, juan 1 (small fragment of the table of contents, which can be united with S.2659Va)

Among these, from evidence gleaned from the fragments, we can approximately date S.2659Va to the early 10th century. We can say this with a relative degree of certainty as we know that it was a possession of the monk Zhiyan 智嚴 who returned from India and arrived at Dunhuang in the third month of the second year of the Tongguang 同光 era (924). Therefore, it is of a much later date than the Japanese Kōshōji manuscript.

If we compare the texts of the ancient Japanese manuscripts and the Dunhuang manuscripts on the one hand and the text of the Korean Tripitaka on the other hand, there are no significant differences between them, although there are minor discrepancies between some characters forms. On the whole, while we can safely say that both versions are essentially the same, and neither version includes the lost passages which are cited in the Tang works, nevertheless, it is true that there is a systematic difference between them, which cannot be overlooked. The difference in question is that the phrase "wen zhu xianzhi" 聞諸先志 (to hear from old records) in the Korean Tripitaka and other editions is replaced by "wen zhu qijiu (wen zhi qijiu)" 聞諸耆舊 / 聞之耆舊 (to hear from old men) or "wen zhu tusu" 聞諸土俗 (hear from local tradition) in all the ancient Japanese manuscripts. It is an astonishing and remarkable fact that there is no exception in this phrase pattern. In other words, the words "qijiu" and "tusu" in the ancient texts were rewritten as "xianzhi" in the Korean Tripitaka and later editions of the Tripitaka. This can be clearly seen in Table 1.

	Korean Tripitaka	Kōshōjī	Kyoto Museum	Tachibana-dera
01-14	聞諸先志	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊
01-15	聞諸先志	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊
01-36	聞諸先志	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊
01-38	聞諸先志	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊
01-40	聞諸先志	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊
01-43	聞諸先志	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗
02-21	聞諸先志			聞諸土俗
02-29	聞諸先志			聞之耆舊
03-15	聞諸先志			聞之土俗
03-16	聞諸先志			聞諸土俗
04-16	聞諸先志			聞諸耆舊
06-24	聞諸先志			聞諸耆舊
07-11	聞諸先志			聞諸土俗
07-16	聞諸先志			聞諸耆舊
08-37	聞諸先志			聞之土俗
10-27	聞諸先志			聞諸先志
11-17	聞諸先志			聞諸耆舊
11-20	聞諸先志			聞之耆舊
11-23	聞諸先志			聞之耆舊
11-32	聞諸先志			聞之耆舊

Table 1. Comparison table of the phrase “聞諸先志” etc. which appear in the Japanese manuscript texts and Dunhuang manuscripts. Each number refers to the volume and the page of the Kyoto University edition. For example, 01-14 means the page 14 of the *juan* 1.

Ishiyama-dera	Horyuji	Nanatsu-dera	Kongo-ji	Dunhuang
聞之者舊	聞之者舊	聞之者舊	(缺)	聞之者舊
聞之者舊	聞之者舊	聞之者舊	(缺)	聞之者舊
聞之者舊	聞之者舊	聞之者舊	(缺)	文之者舊
聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	(缺)	聞之其舊
聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	(缺)	聞之耆舊
聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	(缺)	聞諸土俗
聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	
聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞諸先志
聞之土俗	聞之土俗	聞之土俗	聞之土俗	
聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	
聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊		聞諸耆舊	
聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	
聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	聞諸土俗	
聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	
聞之土俗	聞之土俗	聞之土俗	聞之土俗	
	聞諸先志	聞諸先志		
	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	聞諸耆舊	
	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	
	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	
	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	聞之耆舊	

The same may be said of *juan* 1 of the Dunhuang manuscript. Apart from a few anomalous use of characters such as: “wen zhi” 文之 for “wen zhi” 聞之 and “qijiu” 共舊for “qijiu” 耆舊, the text is identical to that of the ancient Japanese manuscripts. In fact, the difference between “zhu” 諸 and “zhi” 之 is not rigid; they are free variations. We can conclude that *juan* 1 of the Dunhuang manuscript and the ancient Japanese manuscripts can be traced back to one and the same text. As for *juan* 2 of the Dunhuang manuscript, there is only one example that can be compared, due to defects in the manuscript. In the Dunhuang manuscript “xianzhi” is written, as it is in the Korean Tripitaka, but the ancient Japanese manuscripts have “qijiu” instead. It therefore must mean that *juan* 1 and *juan* 2 of the Dunhuang manuscripts belong to a different tradition.

What was the Nature of the Emendation during the Gaozong’s Reign?

According to Fan Xiangyong’s theory outlined above, the first version of the *Datang Xiyuji* must have included passages that are cited in Tang works, passages that were eliminated completely in the revised version. Was the revision of the *Datang Xiyuji* during Gaozong’s reign really on such a large scale? Indeed, Gaozong’s imperial order “you bu wenbian chu, ji suishi runse” 有不穩便處, 即隨時潤色 (if there is any passages that are improper, embellish them) does not seem to require any addition or elimination of passages in the original text. In the *Yiqiejing yinyi* (*Zhongjing yinyi*) 一切經音義 (衆經音義) of Xuanying 玄應 – a specialist in philology who joined Xuanzang’s translation team – there are nine passages cited in total from the *Datang Xiyuji*, but only three appear in the present edition. How can this be explained? Xuanying died between the first year of the Longshuo 龍朔 era (661) and the third year of the Longshuo era (663),[10] and the last five *juan* of his *Yinyi* were spent solely working on the scriptures that had been newly translated by Xuanzang between the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan era (645) and the fifth year of the Yonghui 永徽 era (654). In other words, the *Yiqiejing yinyi* was completed before the fifth year of the Yonghui era. It is therefore clear that the *Datang Xiyuji* cited in his *Yinyi* was an edition from before the imperial

[10] Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎. 1933. “Shiryū no nidai shōgakuka” 緇流の二大小學家. *Shinagaku* 支那學 7-1.

emendation order executed by Yu Zhining *et al*. in the first year of the Xianqing era.

However, if we accept Fan Xiangyong's theory that all six passages from the first version were eliminated during the emendation, the revision would be on a far greater scale than has yet been suggested. Nonetheless, I propose that the changes made to the original text were limited to an "embellishment of the passage" and the theory that such a large-scale alteration of the text occurred cannot be accepted. I suggest that the changes that did take place would have been in the manner of the example above, i.e. from "qijiu" to "xianzhi." If this is the case, then the evidence seems in tune with the scholarly consensus about the compilation of the *Datang Xiyuji*.

Xuanzang provided Bianji with not only his travel diary but also with an Indian source book. The latter is referred to as "zhiji" 志記 in Bianji's postface. In the revised and authoritative edition, it was necessary to mention this "zhiji." This is exactly why "qijiu" and "tusu" in the ancient Japanese manuscripts and Dunhuang manuscript (*juan* 1) were systematically replaced with "xianzhi" or "xianji" 先記. Besides this, we find "Yinduji" 印度記 four times in the present edition, of which two examples are written as "xianxianji" 先賢記 in the ancient manuscripts; one example of "xianxianji" in the present edition is written as "tusuji" 土俗記 in the ancient manuscripts. It may be helpful to point out that "tusuji" is given the Japanese reading "dozoku no shirushi-te" (local tradition says) in the Tachibana-dera manuscript. If we use this analogy, it seems quite likely that "xianxianji" was also read as "senken no shirushi-te" (old sage says). On the other hand, it is impossible for "Yinduji" to be read as "Indo no shirushite" and therefore it must be interpreted as a rewrite, executed in order to stake a claim for the existence of such a book. If these changes were executed at the time of the revisions by Yu Zhining *et al*. during Gaozong's reign, then we can conclude that there was just such a purpose behind the amendments.

If the amendments made during Gaozong's reign were confined to the above-mentioned examples, then how can we explain the fact that there are quite a few missing passages that are cited in Tang works, passages such as Xuanying's *Yiqiejing yinyi*? It is impossible to regard these passages as originating from works other than the *Datang Xiyuji*. If this were the case, we would be obliged to suppose that there had been another draft of the *Datang Xiyuji*, which was prepared by Bianji. Xuanzang, eliminating those parts he deemed unnecessary, hastily compiled a temporary fixed version and presented it to the throne. Bianji, having already predicted beforehand that Xuanzang would make deletions, made the draft copy much

longer than usual. Bianji's draft copy was useful because it contained an abundance of content that was circulated among the members of the translation team. This can explain why missing passages often appear in editions by monks such as Xuanying and Daoxuan 道宣. There is even a possibility that the draft copy was known as "Bianji's Xiyuji" among his fellow monks. Indeed, many people felt sympathy for him.

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Tang Political Treatise from Dunhuang

“Heavenly Instructions” (*Tian xun*)

IRINA POPOVA

Introduction: Tang Emperors’ Instructions

In 1937, the eminent Chinese scholar Wang Zhongmin 王重民 (1903–1975) found in the Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France an untitled fragment of a Chinese work bearing the pressmark P.5523. He tentively identified the work as the family admonition of the Tang Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (650–683) entitled “Heavenly Instructions” (*Tian xun* 天訓) that had long been considered lost.[1] The manuscript consisted of two conjoining parts of 97 and 90 lines of characters of the main text and after the restoration these two parts constituted a single scroll lacking beginning and end with dimensions of 27.3 × 449.5 cm. The main text was written in large *kai* 楷 script with 17 characters per line, while the commentaries were written in double lines with 22 characters. The discovered copy of the text was dated to the reign of Empress Wu (684–705) on the grounds that the characters 日, 月 and 國 appeared in the form introduced by her. The reverse side of the scroll bore the postface (*houyu* 後語) to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), and the text contained numerous variant readings and therefore differed from its received version.

The Tang period was the time of genuine flourishing and splendor of the Chinese empire and engendered numerous works dedicated to issues of governing the state. Some of those works belong to a special genre of emperors’ instructions (*huangdi xunjie* 皇帝訓誡). Their authorship is ascribed to Tang emperors who, having unified the empire’s territory after 400 years of disunity, wanted their descendants to inherit the principles of rule they had introduced. In 684, shortly after his enthronement, Taizong

[1] Wang 1958: 188–190; Twitchett 1966: 3.

太宗 (627–649) expounded his political tasks in the work titled *The Golden Mirror* (*Jin jing* 金鏡).[2] In 648, at the very end of his life, he handed his son, the future Emperor Gaozong, the didactic treatise *Rules for an Emperor*" (*Di fan* 帝範). In 675, Empress Wu composed her *Rules for Subordinates* (*Chen gui* 臣軌) in model of *Di fan*, addressing the treatise to courtiers and officials of the highest rank.[3] The subsequent destiny of these two works was not easy: *Chen gui* had been considered lost under the Southern Song until its complete version was discovered in Japan.[4] *Di fan* had also been partly lost in the Song period but was reconstructed by the Yuan scholar and commentator Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297–1340) who discovered a complete text of the treatise in Yunnan Province.[5]

The full title of the *Tian xun* is *Yuan shou, qian xing, wei cheng, gugong lun* 元首前星維城股肱論 [The Discourse about the Ruler, His Heir, Ruling Clan and Counselors]. It was compiled by Gaozong in the sixth month of the second year of Xianqing 顯慶 era (657) and initially consisted of two parts: "*Yuan shou, jing xing, wei cheng, gugong jie*" 元首荊星維城股肱誡 and "*Gugong lun*" 股肱論. By the Emperor's order, a commentary on the text was written under the direction of Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592–672) who held the post of the Minister of Rites and was a member of the Institute for the Advancement of Literature (*Hongwenguan xueshi* 弘文舘學士). He introduced the commentary with his preface. The work *Tian xun* by Gaozong in four *juan* is mentioned in the bibliographic treatises of the two Tang histories,[6] in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要[7], in the Song *leishu* 類書 encyclopedias such as the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜[8] and the *Yuhai* 玉海.[9]

The *Tian xun* was obviously lost after the Song period and was subsequently discovered only among the manuscripts of the Dunhuang cave

[2] Tang Taizong's *Jin jing* was translated into Russian by A. G. Vladykin in 1805 (See Archives of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, fond 88, unit 6, ff. 19–26v).

[3] For the English translation of *Jin jing* and *Di fan*, see Twitchett 1996: 18–33, 50–92. The Russian translation of *Di fan* can be found in Popova 1995: 44–73, and Russian translation of *Chen gui* in Popova 2001: 130–167.

[4] Franke 1982: 180.

[5] *Siku quanshu jianming mulu*: 343.

[6] *Jiu Tang shu*, ch. 47.27: 2026; *Xin Tang shu*, ch. 59.49: 1512.

[7] *Tang huiyao*, ch. 36: 656.

[8] *Cefu yuangui*, ch. 40: 452. In place of character *qian* 前 ('front'), here the title of the treatise has *jing* 荊, which can mean 'my wife': 元首荊星維城股肱.

[9] *Yuhai*, ch. 28: 26b.

library. From this apparently large work only four chapters (*pian* 篇) survive: chapters 20–23 but of these chapters 20 and 23 are incomplete. Chapter 20 is devoted to the virtuous conduct of rulers towards their families. Examples of two virtuous women, the wife of Ling gong 靈公 (613–600 B.C.), the Prince of Wei, and the wife of the official Shan Tao 山濤 (205–283), are cited as paragons of wifely understanding and support. The text states that harmony in the family is achieved by daily efforts of its members, but in fact it is easy to perturb; the lack of harmony in the emperor's family may bring disaster upon all under heaven. Showing respect towards his spouse is an indispensable virtue of the ruler, while recklessly indulging women's whims is a clear demonstration of weakness. The last tyrant rulers of the Xia and Yin dynasties perished owing much to their unbridled passion for their concubines, and the decline of the Zhou and Han ruling houses were also connected with the growing influence of women.

Chapter 21 entitled "The Genuine Rectitude" (*Zhen Zheng* 貞正) says that the essence of true rectitude manifests in different ways in the conduct of the ruler, the official and the ordinary man. The monarch's rectitude manifests itself by way of extending his harmonizing influence all over the universe. The improvement of the universe is in the ruler's power because he is essentially one with nature; he adopts and embodies the most important elements of the world. It is from the ruler that universal moral transformation begins. Honesty and moral loftiness proper to the monarch, as well as his skillful conduct form the basis for real order in the country. Only a ruler endowed with genuine rectitude is able to foster a wise official. The genuine rectitude of the official comprises honesty, an unbiased outlook and skillful ways of showing the ruler his imperfections. The mutual understanding between ruler and official and the honesty of their cooperation constitute the foundation for governing the people. The genuine rectitude of the common subject is decency, charity, modesty and contentedness.

Chapter 22 "The Pure Caution" (*Qing Shen* 清慎) is devoted to the principle moral qualities of the official, i.e. unselfishness or disinterestedness. The official should be prudent and of impeccable conduct, he should care for what others may say about him. He should engage in altruistic deeds without the thought of reward. His avarice and rush for wealth cause harm to others; they may bring about themost evil consequences and are worse than natural calamities.

Chapter 23 "To Look into Responses" (*Zheng Gan* 徵感) has come down to us incomplete. It states that the monarch's actions cause immediate response of natural forces. Virtuous rule causes favourable phenomena

while cruelty and tyranny result in natural calamities. As "all disasters come from human race," the harmonious state of natural forces, a condition of orderly labour, depends on the ruler's deeds.

The *Tian xun* has a stylistic, categorical and genre affinity with emperors' instructions of the early Tang period. The works *Jin jing* and *Di fan* by Taizong, as well as the *Chen gui* by Empress Wu were written in the "pair style" of rhythmical prose (*pian wen* 駢文) in keeping with the metre of 4 or 6 characters. Chapter titles in accordance with the style of pair constructions are composed of two characters. By its genre the *Tian xun* may certainly be placed among the "family instructions" (*jia xun* 家訓). Works instructing children and relatives had been wide spread in China since ancient times and the earliest of them *Ji Dan jia xun* 姬旦家訓 is ascribed to Shu Dan 叔旦, the Duke of Zhou 周公, who was the younger brother of King Wen 文王. During the reign of the Han and the Six Dynasties, family instructions were created by elders of large houses, but instructions on the imperial level began to spread only from the early Tang period. The earliest of such writings were expressly didactic in character, focusing on moral postulates related to the essence of emperor's power, while rarely discussing practical issues of governing the state.

The political ideology of the Tang dynasty emphasized pragmatic objectives of statecraft. Administering the state began to be viewed as a morally motivated but nevertheless essentially rational and effective activity accomplishing tasks other than ideal of appeasement (*taiping* 太平 or *anding* 安定). Tang imperial ideology was striving to find rational ways of understanding politics and to elaborate categories and concepts fit to enunciate new ideas of state power and administration. Endeavours to base current political decisions on historical precedents typical of Chinese ideology became more concrete and pragmatic. Roles and duties of the emperor himself, his relatives, high-ranking dignitaries and officials became much more articulate. The ideological changes mentioned aboveconditioned the spread of the imperial family instructions in the early Tang period.

Imperial family instructions became especially widespread during the reigns of the Ming and Qing dynasties. The year 1395 saw the completion of the treatise *Imperial Ming Ancestral Instructions* (*Huang Ming zu xun* 皇明祖訓), expounding the main political principles proclaimed by Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), the founder of the Ming dynasty. Subsequently, during the Qing dynasty reign, almost every ruler would hand down to his successors an ample encyclopedic corpus of works on statecraft written in the genre of the emperor's sacred instructions (*huangdi sheng xun* 皇帝聖訓). The august writers of such works mostly focused on

the practical aspects of governing, such as the system of the palace guard service, the daily schedule of imperial family, the system of legal proceedings, the relationship with neighboring states, etc.

Wang Zhongmin noted that the *Tian xun* was close to the *Di fan,* but it is evident that their contents differed considerably. Chapter titles in the *Di fan* present a declaration of a sort of a program, while in the *Tian xun* they are rather moral admonitions. In its contents the *Tian xun* is closer to the *Chen gui* of Empress Wu. Her treatise, though it does not belong to the genre of family instructions (*jia xun* 家訓), focuses on the moral qualities rather than functions of ruler and official.

In the *Chen gui*, Empress Wu emphasizes that the ruler and his official are one in essence, which is conditioned by the ultimate wisdom of existence, in the same way loyal and uninterested service of the subjects to their ruler is as natural and trustful as the service of children to their parents. The problems of roles and functions of high-ranking bureaucracy touched upon in Taizong’s *Di fan* were not discussed in the *Chen gui*. The treatise of Empress Wu, with its detailed treatment of the role of the official in governing the state, certainly was a response on the part of the Empress to the covert discontent of dignitaries who were, during her reign, deprived of the opportunity to take important political decisions and engage in advisory activities. Therefore in her detailed description of the qualities of an ideal official, Empress Wu focused on inner harmony, modesty, prudence, renunciation, reticence, skillful ways of maneuvering, persuasion, hinting, avoiding conflicts, and putting one’s thoughts in the mouth of the ruler, rather than on personal talents and abilities that should serve the benefit of the state. In the *Chen gui* the Empress emphasized the commitment to the Dao, and the knowledge of skillful ways to serve the ruler as the most important qualities of the high-ranking official. These ideas accorded with the principles of her political regimen and served to support the validity of her political norms. The theory of statecraft during the reign of Empress Wu generalized and analyzed political practice by means of ethical categories, while the social ideology of the period brought to the foreground the evaluation of political and social statuses rather than functions of power.

Works in the genre of rulers’ family instructions were also popular in Europe, e.g. the *Admonition to Children* (ca. 1099) by Prince Vladimir Monomach (1053–1125). This work, like many other writings of this kind, is related to the Greek and Byzantine traditions and to didactic Christian literature aimed at fostering righteous Christians and at elucidating moral admonitions.

Translation of the "Heavenly Instructions"

The Lord of Wei [Ling gong] recognized [Qu] Boyu[10] from a distance [by the sound of the coach approaching] to the gate. Shan gong without quitting [his] chamber was able to outargue [Ruan] Sizong.[11] So what is the way to achieve harmony, which is like the [sound] of zither and harp, or the unanimity in a magpie's nest?[12] It is not something to covet, while lack of restraint appears only in one's desires when one is tormented by a passion for songstresses[13] and dancers and starts illegal connections. To aim at transforming [the people] when trouble threatens all under heaven comes from the [emperor's] chambers – oh, how difficult this is!

[10] In the *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 there is a story about the wife of the ruler of Wei kingdom Ling gong 衛靈公 (613–600 B.C.). One night Ling gong heard a coach approaching the front palace used by high-ranking dignitaries. The coach stopped for a moment and then proceeded to another gate that was not meant for solemn occaions. Ling gong asked his spouse who that might have been. She answered that it was chancellor Qu Boyu 蘧伯玉. Ling gong inquired how she managed to know that. His spouse answered: "I have heard that in accordance with the rite of passing through the gate [intended for] junior dukes one should have princely horses for higher esteem. However, loyal dignitaries and respectful sons would never accept ostentatious honoring and would never make inexcusable mistakes. Qu Boyu is a wise dignitary. [He] is humane, clever and shows respect [to the seniors] in his actions. My Lord, a man like him would never act in an ignorant way upsetting the rite. Judging from that I have recognized him" (*Lienü zhuan*, ch. 3: 4a–4b).

[11] Shan gong 山公 or Shan Tao 山濤 (205–283) was a dignitary of the Western Jin dynasty, one of the Seven Virtuous Men of the Bamboo Grove (*Zhulin qi xian* 竹林七賢). The other six members of the group were Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263 A.D., second name Sizong 嗣宗), Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–262 A.D.), Xiang Xiu 向秀, Liu Ling 劉伶, Ruan Xian 阮咸 and Wang Rong 王戎. These seven gentlemen exhibited behaviour unrestrained by social conventions, and often gathered together in bamboo groves to discuss philosophy, compose poetry, make music and drink wine. The spose of Shan Tao was a lady from the Han 韓 family. Once, when Ruan Ji came to Shan Tao's place she suggested to him to stay overnight, after that Shan Tao said that he could completely outargue Ruan Ji in all of their discussions (*Tian xun*, commentary).

[12] Here we find images from the *Shijing* 詩經: the 'magpie's nest' (*que chao* 鵲巢) is a symbol of wifely virtues, and 'zither and harp' (*qin se* 琴瑟) are a symbol of family unanimity. A commentary on the poem "Que chao" states: "Magpie's nest is a symbol of virtues of the spose" 鵲巢夫人之德 (*Shijing*, ch. 1: 10a). The poem "Chang di" 常棣 says: "The harmony of love of wife and children is like a [joint] sound of zither and harp" 妻子好合, 如鼓琴瑟 (*Shijing*, ch. 9: 4b).

[13] Here the character 哥 should be read as 歌, which could be used for the verb 'to sing' or the noun 'songstress' in Classical Chinese.

Close and distant, wise and simple, all want to avoid suffering and to attain happiness. In remote ages and now [all] want it the same way. Once the Chu [Zhuang] wang wanted to receive Xia Ji[14] [in his house]. Wuchen dissuaded him and Zhuang wang decided not to receive her. Xia Ji brought the disaster on the kingdom of Chu entering Wuchen's house. Wuchen was loyal to the state of Chu and did not take care for himself. Was that not the reason why he discarded his initial plan?

Only having come to know about the firmness of Yang Bing[15] and the purity of [Liuxia] Hui[16] it is possible to become an eternal moral paragon for future generations.

The Dao of a state's fall and of a family's decay lies not only from profligacy, though much evil, no doubt, arises from it. Moxi and Daji influ-

[14] Xia Ji 夏姬, a girl of rare beauty, was the daughter of Mu gong 穆公 (625–606 B.C.), ruler of the kingdom of Zheng. First she was married to Yu Shu 御叔, the chancellor of the kingdom of Chen, and gave birth to a son named Zhengshu 徵舒. After the death of Yu Shu she started connections with the Chen ruler Ling gong 靈公 (613–599 B.C.) and the dignitaries Kong Ning 孔寧 and Yi Xingfu 儀行父. Zhengshu killed Ling gong, and Kong Ning together with Yi Xingfu fled to Chu and asked Zhuang wang (613–591 B.C.), the ruler of Chu, to attack Chen. Xia Ji was captured, brought to Chu and given in marriage to the official Xiang Lao 襄老. After his death through mediation of Shen gong Wuchen 巫臣 (Qu Wu 屈巫) she was taken back to her native kingdom of Zheng. At the end of her life she was in involved with Wuchen and fled with him to the kingdom of Jin where Wuchen was elevated to the rank of *xing dafu* 刑大夫. Fan, ruler of Chu, who also coveted Xia Ji, destroyed Wuchen's entire family. Seeking revenge, Wuchen achieved that the kingdoms of Jin and Wu allied themselves against Chu and conquered it. In a commentary to the *Tian xun* an episode from the *Zuo zhuan* is cited (Chapter 12, "Cheng gong" 成公, part I), illustrating Wuchen's fidelity to Zhuang wang, who wanted to attack Chen to capture Xia Ji: "Zhuang wang wanted to capture Xia Ji. Sheng gong Wuchen said: 'It is impossible. You, my Lord, usually [summon] the *zhuhou* 諸侯 to punish crimes. Now [you want] to capture Xia Ji because you lust after her. Lust is a vice, and vice is a grave crime. 〈…〉 To summon the *zhuhou* in order to commit a grave crime means not to care about them. That is what you, my Lord, are aiming at.' Thereafter the king discarded his plan" (*Zuo zhuan*, ch. 12: 9a–9b).

[15] Yang Bing 楊秉, an official in the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.), held the posts of the regional inspector (*cishi* 刺史) and defender-in-chief (*taiwei* 太尉). His name was recorded in history owing to his utterance: "I can stand firm against three temptations: vine, women's charms, and wealth" 我有三不惑, 酒色財也.

[16] Liuxia Hui 柳下惠 (720–621 B.C.) was a righteous official who served in the kingdom of Lu during the Chunqiu period. He has become a paragon of a chaste gentleman (*Kongzi jiayu*, ch. 2: 10a).

enced the fate of the Xia and Yin[17] [dynasties], the woman of the Di [tribes][18] and [Zhao] Feiyan[19] caused the downfall of the Zhou and Han [houses]. All these paths to Lu, the Qi maidens, [trysts] in mulberry groves and over the Qi [River][20] influence people's morals and cause them to be changeable as wind. When vicious life is openly led at court and [the noblemen] commit adultery with wives of close relatives, start connections with women of [higher] rank, find favourites among women of lower rank, and openly [indulge in adultery], they are worse than animals! As for women of captivating appearance[21] they are surely made favourites!

[17] Moxi 妺嬉, the favourite concubine of the tyrant Jie 桀, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty, was a beautiful but dissipated woman. It is generally accepted that it is mainly due to the fact that Jie became enamoured of her and indulged her whims that he had lost his state. She perished from the hands of Cheng Tang together with Jie (*Lienü zhuan*, ch. 7: 1a–1b). Daji 妲己, the concubine of Zhou 紂, the last ruler of the Yin dynasty, who also became notorious for her disgraceful behavior and her negative influence on the ruler, was killed by King Wu, founder of the Zhou dynasty (*Lienü zhuan*, ch. 7: 1b–2b).

[18] The principle wife of Zhou Xiang wang 襄王 (651–619 B.C.) belonged to the Di tribes. In 636 B.C., Xiang wang decided to dispose her, and in the end the Di people attacked Zhou, killed the dignitary Tangbo and the councilor Fuchen. Xiang wang fled to Zheng and his wife enthroned her son Shudai. In 635 B.C., Wen gong, the ruler of the Jin kingdom brought Xiang wang back to his capital and killed Shudai (*Shiji*, ch. 4: 23b–24a).

[19] Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 (d. 1 B.C.), the spouse of Emperor Cheng (32–7 B.C.) and the daughter of Chengyang hou Zhao Lin 趙臨, was accepted to the palace as a concubine titled Lady of Handsome Fairness (*jieyu* 婕好). After the empress was disposed she became the principle wife of Emperor Cheng. For more than 10 years Zhao Feiyan and her sister Zhao Zhaoyi 趙昭儀 were favourites of Emperor Cheng. They were childless and therefore people said that 'the Zhao kin sowed discord in the emperor's family'. After Emperor Ping 平帝 (1–5 C.E.) ascended the throne, Zhao Feiyan was deprived of all ranks and committed suicide.

[20] The poem from the *Shijing* entitled "Zai lin" 載臨 is dedicated to the departure of Wenjiang 文姜, Princess of Qi, to the house of her husband, Lu Huan gong 桓公 (711–694 B.C.) (*Shijing*, ch. 5: 6b–7a). The Princess was reputed to be having an incestuous relations with her brother. The images of trysts in mulberry groves (*sang zhong* 桑中) and over the Qishui River (*Qi zhi shang* 淇之上) were also borrowed from the *Shijing* (see the poem "Sang zhong" 桑中 (*Shijing*, ch. 3: 3b–4a, Legge 1861–1872, vol. IV, part 1: 78). The commentarial tradition associates the poem with the princes of Wei Xuan gong 瑄公 (718–698 B.C.) and Hui gong 惠 公 (699–697 B.C.) notorious for their utmost profligacy.

[21] 'Captivating appearance' (*zhi rong*治容) is an image from the *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳: "Captivating appearance induces profligacy" (*zhi rong hui yin* 治容誨淫) (*Yijing*, ch. 3: 109).

When the palace is a wild of lust, and the country neglects the affairs of ruling.[22] When people do not see virtues [of the senior], and the rite and moral code lose their power. Even if one wants to avoid mortal danger is it possible to achieve that? The admonitions of the *Shu*[*jing*] and *Shi*[*jing*] are not just empty words!

[Chapter] 21. The Genuine Rectitude

The *Yi*[*jing*] says that the merit of creation lies in firmness.[23] The *Shu*[*jing*] contains such words: "The path of the ruler is right and straight".[24] And thus said Confucius: "The essence of ruling consists in correct actions".[25] Oh, how deep the meaning of genuine rectitude is!

To rule the vast area without having passion for even a little thing, to equal in virtue to Heaven and Earth, to equal in brightness to the Sun and Moon,[26] to listen with the ears of all under heaven, to look with the eyes of all who live amidst the seas, to deny the music of Zheng [kingdom] and to estrange flatterers,[27] to cut short vices and passion for luxuries and to forbid foreign things,[28] to inevitably punish for crime, to always reward for good deeds – this is what the genuine rectitude of the perfectly wise ruler is.

[22] The first part of the phrase is a citation from the *Shangshu* where in "Wu zi zhi ge" 五子之歌 we find: "When the palace is a wild of lust, and the country is a wild for hunting" 内作色荒，外作禽荒 (*Shangshu*, ch. 3.3: 12a; Legge 1861–1872, vol. III, part 1: 159).

[23] "Creation. Elementary accomplishment. Firmness is favourable" 乾. 元亨利貞 [*Yijing*, ch. 1: 1; Schutsky 1997: 242].

[24] "Without perversity, without one-sidedness, the royal path is right and straight" 無反無側, 王道正直 (*Shangshu*, ch. 7.6: 4a; Legge 1861–1872, vol. III, pt. II: 332).

[25] Citation from the *Lunyu* in J. Legge's translation: "To govern means to rectify" 政者正也 (*Lunyu*, ch. 6.12: 18b; Legge 1861–1872, vol. I: 122).

[26] The *Xici zhuan* contains a phrase: "*Dao* of the Sun and Moon is a pure light" 日月之道. 貞明者也 (*Yijing*, ch. 3: 120). The term 貞 *zhen* is one of those most widely used in the "Book of Changes" and is interpreted as "firmness" and "being" (Schutsky 1997: 534).

[27] The *Lunyu* says: "Banish the song of Zheng, and keep far specious talkers. The Zheng songs are licentious, specious talkers are dangerous" 放鄭聲遠佞人. 放鄭淫佞人殆 (*Lun yu*, ch. 8.15: 4a; Legge 1861–1872, vol. I: 162).

[28] Chapter "Lü ao" 旅獒 of the *Shangshu* says: "When he (the prince) does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him" 無寶遠物則遠人格也 (*Shangshu*, ch. 7.7: 7b; Legge 1861–1872, vol. III, part II: 349).

To serve devotedly one's sovereign and to remain loyal [to him] after his death, to be useful to one's state, to work for the benefit of the people, to advise openly, to voice one's opinion truthfully, to expose [ruler's] faults frankly, to indispensably admonish, to preserve the laws of the Empire, to distrust one's emotions, to find the wise within the state's borders, to be unbiased towards both familiars and strangers, to be ready to face death without hesitation for the sake of one's service[29] – this is what the genuine rectitude of the wise official is!

To adhere to the Dao[30] by following one's nature [given by Heaven], to be humane and impartial, not to eat food when it is said: "Come on, eat!"[31], to regard devotion and loyalty as the most precious things, to get awards without striving to win them, to look on riches and grandeur as if they were clouds floating by, to be content with one's home, to enjoy [the people's] customs,[32] when fishing not to rival [with the waves], when tilling land not to encroach on [others' land] – this is what the rectitude of a respectable man is!

When the *qi* is right [one is able] to become an emperor, and this truly follows from the aforesaid. And it is also known from the instructions of the past that hero tigers reveal their presence in due time.[33] Therefore if the *qi* lacks rectitude, the perfectly wise sovereign cannot appear. The sovereign who lacks rectitude is unable to foster the wise official. If there is no rectitude [in the cooperation] of the ruler and his officials, [they] will be

[29] The *Zuo zhuan* says: "If for the sake of his lord one is ready for everything he is a loyal [subject]. If for the sake of his service one is ready to face death without hesitation, he is a true [subject]" 公家之利知無不為忠也. 送往事居偶俱無猜貞也 (*Zuo zhuan*, ch. 5: 16b).

[30] A hidden citation from the *Zhongyong* 中庸: "What Heaven has conferred is called the nature, in accordance with this nature is called the path" 天命之謂性. 率性之謂道 (*Zhongyong*, ch. 1.1: 1a; Legge 1861–1872, vol. I: 247).

[31] A hidden citation from the *Liji* 禮記: "[I] would not take food when they say 'Come on, eat!'" 嗟來不食) which means never accepting help offered in contemptuous tone, with insulting pity, and without signs of respect. "There was a great famine in the [kingdom] of Li. [A certain] Qian Ao 黔敖 made some food and waited beside the road to offer it to the hungry. A hungry man hiding his face with his sleeve approached him tottering and begged for alms. Qian Ao offered him some food with his left hand and a drink with his right hand saying 'Come on, eat!' [The man] looked up to him and said: 'I would never take food when they say 'Come on, eat!' And that is all!' [He] refused to take food, went away, and later died of starvation" (*Liji*, ch. 3.4: 18a–18b).

[32] "To be content with their dwellings, and rejoice in their customs (*an qi ju*, *le qi su* 安其居. 樂其俗) is a citation from chapter 80 of *Laozi*, ch. 2: 26.

[33] Literally: "The wind rises from the tigers' roar" 虎嘯風生.

unable to convert the people to goodness. If the people lack rightness it will be impossible to secure the succession of the throne.

Looking at the downfall of the Xia and Yin [dynasties] and at the end of the Zhou and Han the rulers should try not to be like their [last] emperors, who appeared when the *qi* was lacking rectitude. The true gentlemen had been removed from service, and mean people had held their posts,[34] thus it was impossible to foster wise officials. If the sage-ruler is not in power, [the state] posts are held by unworthy officials, troublous and dangerous times begin, morals degenerate, customs become vicious. First the superior ones start to follow evil ways and, finally, doing so turns into a deep-rooted habit and becomes a usual practice, and it is impossible to convert the people to goodness.

And if the right and just Dao gets lost, vices reveal themselves: the powerful oppress the weak, the crowd injures the ingenuous, the punishment for crimes comes to exposing dead bodies of the executed, atrocities reach their extreme. The dead cannot remain in peace, while the living cannot find any mainstay. Therefore the people are unable to support the succession of the throne.

However, when the ruler avoids immoral thoughts, when he is impartial, even if pure genuineness[35] will not be achieved, is it so difficult to act in accordance with the true Dao? The *Shi*[*jing*] says: “Shall the spirits hearken you, if the right and honest are with you!”[36] How true this is!

[Chapter] 22. The Pure Caution

Heaven and Earth are divided and have different *qi* – clean and turbid. But is it true that only the superior and the sage are always kin to Heaven while the inferior and the stupid are completely bound to Earth?

[34] The phrase from the commentary to the poem “Xi sang” 隰桑 in the *Shijing*: 君子在野 , 小人在位 (*Shijing*, ch. 15: 8a).

[35] With ‘true genuineness’ we translate the Chinese term *tai qing* 太清, as the commentary refers to the treatise of *Huainanzi* 淮南子, where the term is interpreted as ‘nature’, ‘primordial nature’, ‘Dao of Heaven’.

[36] The altered citation from the poem “Xiao ming” 小明 from the *Shijing*: “…Associating with the correct and upright, so shall the spirits hearken to you” 正直是與. 神之聽之 (*Shijing*, ch. 13: 8b; Legge 1861–1872, vol. IV, part II: 366).

How […] flows in all directions! […] amidst the seas […] and in the splendour of the jade palace rooms. [Not to be content?] with tithe […] and to sell ranks [without] restrictions[37].

When the [ruler] knows that Jie and Zhou despised Yao and Shun for their humble origin and the two Han emperors – Huandi and Lingdi[38] derided Cheng Kang's poverty, looking at the rise of some and the downfall of others, he understands how deep the gap between the ignorant and the wise is. And if [he] has come to understand [it], he will appoint to high posts the best men, he will follow the Dao and will not be afraid of missing wealth, like Yan Ying,[39] or of valuing jewels, like Zihan.[40]

The Dao of Heaven avoids plentitude, the Dao of Man injures completeness.[41] If one has thoughts like those of a wolf or a tiger and feels thirst like that of a dry ravine, if one abandons oneself in gluttony and knows no measure in profit-seeking, then even without natural disasters one will be visited by misfortune.

And even if the designs of Heaven are inconceivable and deep, boundless and swift, it is difficult to expect people to be afraid of might and power. If punishments are executed in plenty, only [outstanding] personalities and rare talents will remain. There had always been those who

[37] It is impossible to reconstruct the meaning because of the lacunae in the Chinese manuscript.

[38] Emperor Huan 桓帝 (147–167 C.E.) and Emperor Ling 靈帝 (168–188 C.E.) became notorious for their truant and profligate lives; their reigns heralded the beginning of the downfall of the Han.

[39] Yan Ying 宴嬰 (d. 500 B.C.) or Yanzi 宴子, the chancellor and scholar of the Qi state, the author of the treatise *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋, earned fame for his frugality and temperance, e.g. he wore his only winter robe lined with fox fur for 30 years. Once the ruler of Qing decided to award Yanzi with a serf city but Yanzi refused to accept it. The ruler said: "Wealth is what people are trying to obtain. Why won't you accept it?" Yanzi replied: "An undeserved award and unfairly obtained wealth are causes of miseries. I do not want it at all." (*Yanzi chunqiu*, ch. 2: 35b–36a).

[40] Zihan 子罕 lived in the times of the Qin Xiang gong 襄公 (777–766 B.C.). The *Zuo zhuan* records the following story: "A certain man from the state of Song purchased a piece of jade to present it to Zihan. Zihan would not accept the present. The giver said: 'I showed the jade to a jeweler and he said that it was precious. Therefore I decided to present it [to you].' Zihan replied: 'I am not a lover of jewels. You consider this piece of jade to be precious, but if you give it to me you will lose it. It is better if [each] man keeps his own jewel.'" (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, ch. 15: 26b–27a).

[41] The text of the *Yijing* is slightly different: "The Dao of Heaven lacks completeness, the Dao of Man injures completeness" 天道虧盈, […] 人道惡盈 (*Yijing*, ch. 1: 28).

would refuse to move to a quiet lodging,[42] who would let the Han emperors to be engaged with family affairs,[43] who having lost their horses would walk on foot,[44] and who would refuse to take a new born calf.[45] Zhang Pan, when on the post of regional inspector would take away dainties from his son,[46] while Hu Wei living in the district would ask his father about the piece of silk.[47] It is not due to squeeze [all] juices [out of the people],[48] one should constantly remember that all that is clandestine [finally] becomes known;[49] one should be ready for self-sacrifice for the sake of good name, and then one may avoid misfortune.

Those higher military and civil officials who lived a life of noble poverty and did not support the poor and the sick fecklessly, merely out of

[42] Yan Ying (i.e. Yanzi), who lived not far from the market, refused to move to a quieter place saying that only ignoble people settle in the vicinity of the market as all day long they think only of their profit.

[43] This is a reference to Huo Qubing 霍去病 (140–117 B.C.), general of Han dynasty. He is credited with the words: "How can [one] engage in family affairs as yet the Xiongnu have not been destroyed?" 匈奴未灭, 何以家爲.

[44] Zhang Xi 張翕 was a commandery aide (*juncheng*) 郡丞 of the Yuesui 越巂 county in the Eastern Han dynasty. He earned fame for his modesty and temperance, wore simple clothes, and ate only vegetables. A carriage and pair was allocated to him in accordance with his rank. When one of his horses died and the other fell ill, he walked on foot.

[45] In the Eastern Han dynasty there was a man called Shi Miao 時苗 who held the post of district magistrate (*ling* 令). He rode a cart to which a yellow buffalo cow used to be harnessed. One day the buffalo cow bore a calf. On the expiry of his service Shi Miao would not take the calf claiming that when he had begun his office the buffalo cow had not had a calf.

[46] Zhang Pan 張磐 was an official in the reign of Emperor Huan 桓帝 (147–167 C.E.) of the Eastern Han dynasty. He held the post of regional inspector (cishi 刺史) of Jiaozhi 交阯 and earned fame for his decency and noble manners.

[47] Hu Wei 胡威 was the son of the oficial Hu Zhi 胡質. In the Three Kingdoms period Hu Zhi held the post of regional inspector (*cishi*) of Jingzhou 荊州 in the state of Wei. When Hu Zhi was going to pay some visits, Hu Wei told him: "The families we are going to visit in our town are poor. They cannot afford grooms. I will drive our donkey myself and will go alone with you." They paid more than ten visits and when they were back Hu Zhi handed his son a piece of silk. Hu Wei, bending one knee, said: "You, my father, are famous for your lofty virtue. Why are you doing that?" Hu Zhi replied: "This is part of my salary, I give it to you in reward for your services" (*Tian xun,* commentary).

[48] The utterance "It is not due to squeeze [all] juices [out of the people]" (*zhi gao bu run* 脂膏不潤) belongs to the dignitary Kong Fen 孔奮 who lived during the reign of Han Emperor Guangwu (25–57 C.E.).

[49] Literally "[One] should always apprehend that the four know" (*chang wei si zhi* 常畏四知). The four who know are Heaven, Spirits, I and you (天, 神, 我, 子).

benevolence, received unanimous praise when retired from service. Therefore it happened that [some] deplored the fact that disinterested men neither showed avarice, nor abused their power, nor searched everywhere for jewels or rarities. [They] gave away money, made all they could to serve their sovereign, and attained fame and respect. Therefore the avaricious and the vicious derided the disinterested and the prudent.

To achieve perfect order is really difficult!

When awards and punishments in a state are [properly] distinguished, the avaricious become unselfish and the timid turn resolute.[50]

[Chapter] 23. To Look into Responses

Yin and *Yang* are immeasurable, [their] true essence is difficult to define. [One] flows around, [the other] goes upwards, [they] come together and get pushed [apart].[51] Because human actions take the path of good and evil, they get favourable or unfavourable responses from [good and evil] ghosts and spirits. When mountains were falling down, the bell was heard,[52] when wine was pouring,[53] not everybody obeyed [the omens]. It was because they knew that the superior lord was wise, saw all and extended far [his] audition. The sharp eyesight of Li Zhu could not be compared to his vision and the audition of Ziye cannot excel his audition.[54] Therefore the

[50] A hidden citation from the *Mengzi*, chapter "Wan zhang" 萬章, part II. In J. Legge's translation: "The corrupt became pure, and the weak acquire determination" 頑夫廉, 懦夫有立志也 (*Mengzi*, ch. 10: 1a; Legge 1861–1872, vol. I: 245–246).

[51] "The homogeneous come together, and the heterogeneous get pushed [apart]" 方以群分, 物以類聚 (*Yijing*, ch. 3: 99).

[52] During the reign of Emperor Wu (140–85 B.C.) of the Han it happened that the bell installed in front of the Weiyang palace was ringing for three days and three nights without an obvious reason. It was interpreted as a sign of war soon to begin, however the chancellor Dongfang Shuo (東方朔 154–93 B.C.) claimed that it was not the case. As copper from which the bell was made was in control of the element of *yin*, the landfall far in the mountains, as Dongfang Shuo said, caused the bell's response, and that was the reason why it was ringing for three days and three nights (*Tian xun*, commentary).

[53] Lavishly pouring wine (*jiu zhan yi* 酒湛溢) is one of the symbols of how the world of sacred responds to human deeds (*Huainanzi*, ch. 6: 2b).

[54] Li Zhu 離朱 (or Li Lou 離婁) could discern the thinnest hair from one hundred steps' distance. Ziye 子野 (or Kuang 曠) was a blind teacher of music who lived in the Jin kingdom during the reign of Ping gong 平公 (557–532 B.C.). Both of them are mentioned in particular in the *Mengzi* (Chapter "Li Lou," part I): "Mengzi said:

sage attains the Mandate of Heaven; if, when ruling, he achieves the order predetermined by spirits, and exerts his teachings; if he sees the signs of blame, he perfects [his] Dao; if he feels [their] anger, he refrains from arrogance. Heaven had granted a jade thumb ring, but after that [the archer] Yi perished.[55] A hawk had hatched out in a sparrow's [nest], but [the apanage ruler] Song Kang [wang] ruined his prinsipality.[56] Oh, if only such awards could be avoided! After an earthquake in the [state of] Zhou Wen wang prospered [for many years];[57] [in the sky] above the kingdom of Song the stars had betokened misfortune, but Jing gong was not overtaken by disaster.[58] Oh, if only we could perfect ourselves in virtue!

'The vision faculty of Li Lou and the skill of Gong Shuzi 公輸子 cannot make squares and circles without compasses and a square. Even the audition of such musician as master Kuang cannot discern the five pitches without the pitch-tubes." Shuzi or Luban 魯班 was an outstanding technician who lived in the Lu kingdom at the time of Confucius (551–479 B.C.).

[55] Yi 羿 was the ruler of the kingdom of Jun during the Xia dynasty. He was famous for his skills in archery and perished from the hands of the member of his household Pang Meng 逄蒙. The treatise *Mengzi* (Chapter "Li Lou," part II) states: "Pang Meng studied archery under Yi. Having mastered the art of Yi, Pang Meng thought that there was only Yi in the whole empire who was superior to himself in archery and therefore he killed Yi."

[56] The *Xinshu* 新書 by Jia Yi 賈誼 says: "In the times of Kang wang 康王, [the ruler of] Song, a hawk hatched out in a sparrow's nest. [It happened] in an outskirt district of [the Song] capital, and therefore the predictors decided: 'The small has engendered the great, and therefore *ba*, the great leader, will certainly appear under the Heaven'. Kang wang rejoiced, but finally perished."(*Xin shu*, ch. 6: 9b–10a).

[57] The *Lü shi chunqiu* 吕氏春秋 (Chapter "Zhi yue" 制樂) says that in the sixth moon of the eighth year of his rule the Zhou Wen wang fell ill and took to his bed. On the fifth day of his disease an earthquake happened that did not spread farther than the Zhou capital. The predictors said that earthquakes could be controlled by rulers and began to supplicate Wen wang to divert this calamity. As a means to do this, they advised him to start a construction, to gather multitudes of people and to begin to overbuild the walls of the capital. Wen wang answered: "It is impossible! Heaven sends the omens to punish the wrongdoer. I have obviously committed certain crimes, and therefore Heaven punishes me. If I begin the large-scale works, gather multitude of people and start to overbuild the walls of the capital I will only aggravate my faults. No, it is impossible! I should better look into my behaviour and engage in good deeds, and then the calamity may recede." After that Wen-wang reviewed the rites, revised his edicts and monitions, and perfected the statecraft, doing much good to many of his subjects. Thus he dispelled the consequences of the bad omen and continued ruling for more than 43 years (*Lü shi chunqiu*, ch. 6.4: 7b–8a).

[58] This episode is also described in the "Zhi yue" chapter of the *Lü shi chunqiu*: "In the times of Jing gong 景公 (516–451 B.C.) from the kingdom of Song, the fire star

[It sometimes happens that] natural calamities do not cause harm. Happiness and misfortune come from the human race,[59] and bad omens do not arise by themselves.[60] The one who wanted his shadow straight first [should have made] straight himself. It has a verification. In the times of the Xia ruler a lake was made amidst the high mountains, in the times of the Yin sovereign the sky fire burned the palace.[61] In the times of the Zhou [You]-wang an earthquake happened in the Sanchuan;[62] in the times of

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Yinghuo 熒惑 appeared in the constellation of Xin 心. Overtaken by fear Jing gong summoned [the astrologer] Zi Wei 子韋 and inquired: 'What does Yinghuo in Xin mean?' Zi Wei said: 'Yinghuo is the judgment of Heaven. Xin is the sphere of the kingdom of Song. A misfortune will befall you, my Lord. Still, the guilt may be ascribed to the minister.' Jing gong replied: 'We govern the country together with the minister and if he [alone] is put to death it will be a bad sign.' Zi Wei said: 'May be it is the guilt of the people?' Jing gong answered: 'If [all] the people die, whom will I govern then? I would rather die myself!' Zi Wei said: 'Maybe the harvest failure is in fault?' Gong said: 'In a year of famine the people, of course, will die out because of the harvest failure. To be the ruler and to kill my subjects to survive myself – who will acknowledge me as the ruler after that? No, it is a monition of fate and I accept it. You [may] say nothing more.' " The text of *Lü shi chunqiu* explains further that Zi Wei was about to quit but turning around he said that Jing gong had thrice expressed the perfect virtue, in his words, and therefore Heaven should have awarded him thrice. After that Yinghuo had really moved three dwellings (*she* 舍) away and Jing gong continued to live for 21 more years (*Lü shi chunqiu*, ch. 6.4: 8b–9a).

[59] A hidden citation from the *Zuo zhuan* (Chapter "Xi gong" 僖公, part II): "Good luck and misfortune come from mankind" 吉凶由人 (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, ch. 6: 1b).

[60] The *Zuo zhuan* (Chapter "Zhuang gong" 莊公) says: "The inconceivable comes from the humans. The humans do not get omens about it. Bad omens do not occur by themselves" (*Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, ch. 3: 13a).

[61] Jie, the last ruler of the Xia Dynasty, took much time and effort to pierce the Qushan Mountain and to draw off the water of the local rivers to an artificial lake. It caused the shallowing of the rivers and a great drought. (See: *Tian xun,* commentary). Zhou, the last sovereign of the Yin Dynasty, perished in the fire on the Lutai terrace in his capital.

[62] In 780 B.C., in the second year of the reign of the King You 幽王 (781–771 B.C.), an earthquake occurred in Sanchuan 三川 district, in the centre of the Zhou kingdom, in the area of the rivers Jingshui, Weihe and Luohe. Interpreting this event Bo Yangfu 伯陽甫 noted: "The collapse of Zhou is nearing! [It is known that] the relationship of the forces of Heaven and Earth does not lose its order. If this order gets perturbed, the people rebel. [When] the force of *yang* is thrown down and is unable to come up, when it is suppressed by the force of *yin* and is unable to soar, earthquakes occur. Today in Sanchuan an earthquake occurred and it means that the force of *yang* has lost its inherent position and has been suppressed by the force of *yin*. [When] *yang* loses [its position] and comes under the pressure of the

the Han Emperor [Cheng] all around got folded in heavy mist.[63] And that betokened unhappy end. When the comedians danced to unseemly music [at the court], when the loyal and respectable were burnt alive,[64] the flatterers were most prosperous, and the favourites were very powerful – and that was the source of misfortunes!

In the times of Tang [Yao], the stars betokening happiness engendered winged [phoenixes]; in the times of Yu [Shun] the multicolored clouds reflected in the rivers; there was the granting with the black sceptre during the times of Xia [Yu]; there were white clouds during the reign of Yin [Tang]; in the times of [Zhou] Cheng wang the wind did not stir the trees, and in the times of [the Han] Emperor Guangwu the ailing got cured in sweet springs.[65]

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force of *yin*, [river] sources inevitably get occluded; if the sources have got occluded, the state falls.” (*Shiji*, ch. 4: 23b).

[63] The *Qian Han ji* 前漢紀 (Chapter “Xiaocheng huangdi” 孝成皇帝, part I) says that in the fourth month of the first year of the reign of Emperor Cheng 成帝 (32 B.C.) of the Han it so happened that yellow mist enshrowded all around 黃霧四塞 and covered the earth like loess dust. Answering the question of the sovereign about the meaning of this event the predictors said that *yin qi* was advancing on *yang qi* 陰氣侵陽氣. The event was considered to be a response of Heaven to an exorbitant elevation of the maternal relatives of the emperor. However Emperor Cheng failed to come to right conclusions. (*Qian Han ji*, ch. 7.24: 3a)

[64] The *Shangshu* (Chapter “Tai shi” 泰誓, part I) says about the tyrant rulers: “[They] burnt alive the loyal and good, and ripped up pregnant women” 焚炙忠良. 刳剔孕婦 (*Shangshu*, ch. 6.1: 1b).

[65] Here the auspicious signs of the perfect reign and virtue are named, such as the white clouds, (*bai yun* 白雲) symbolizing the immaculate whiteness; the auspicious, benevolent and great stars (*jing feng* 景星) engendering the winged phoenixes (*yi* 翼 and *feng* 翼鳳) and the five coloured clouds (*rong guang* 榮光). The black colored or Heaven colored (*xuan gui* 玄珪) sceptre was granted to the Xia Yu in token of his great deeds (*Shangshu*, ch. 3.1: 10a).

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Appendix

Chinese text of “Heavenly Instructions” (*Tian xun* 天訓) from Dunhuang (P.5523)

衞君闕下，懸知伯玉，山公室內，□辯嗣宗。何以和比琴瑟，叶鵲巢□□？此弗求思。唯欲是縱，嚬嗟為寵，哥儛而稱姸。欲使化自宮中，刑於海 內難矣哉！

疏物親己，賢愚共情，避禍求福，古今一揆。昔楚王欲納夏姬，巫臣致諫，莊王不納，巫臣納之。夏姬迴楚國之殃，入巫臣之室。巫臣忠于楚國，不愛於身。豈曰本圖心迷故也？方知楊秉不或，柳下惠清貞，可以永垂不朽作範來世。

亡國虧家，其道非一淫亂之事，多或由之。妹嬉丶妲己傾复殷之業，狄女丶飛燕虧周漢之紀。兼魯道丶齊子丶桑中丶淇上，鼓動流俗，為化如風。或宣淫於朝，或竊妻於室，上烝下孌，帷薄不修，斯故禽獸之不若。況冶容入寵女謂仍成！

內作色荒，外怠庶政，民不見徳，礼教斯頽，欲弗危亡其可得也？

詩書所戒，豈虛言乎也！

貞正第二十一

易曰：“乾徳貞幹”。書曰：“王道正直”。故孔子曰：“政者正也”。貞正之義大矣哉！

君臨萬方，無私一物，與天地合其德，與日月合其明，以兆民之耳而聽，四海之目而視，放鄭聲而遠佞人，絕淫巧而禁遠物，有惡必罰，有善必賞。此聖主者貞正也。

一心事君，死且不貳，有益於國，有利於民，正議昌言，犯顏必諍，守天下之法，不從喜怒，舉域中之賢，不私內外，事生送死偶居無猜。此賢臣之貞正也。

率性蹈道，惟仁與義，嗟來不食，顾忠信而為寶，無功之賞，視富貴如浮雲，安其居，樂其俗，漁者不爭，田者不侵。此善人之貞正 也。

正氣為帝，實炳前文。虎嘯風生，又聞往誥，是則氣不正，不能生聖主。主不正，不能養賢臣。君臣不正，不能化民以善。民不正，不能以受終。觀夏殷之衰，周漢之季，君不似帝，非正氣之所生也。君子在野，小人在位，是不能以養賢臣。朝無聖君，任匪賢臣，世亂時危，風澆俗弊。始則上率為惡，終乃積習生常，是不能化民以善。正至道既喪，姦為滋彰，以強陵弱，以眾暴原，刑法窮殺戮之威，盜賊盡毒螫之志，死者不得其死，生者固不聊生，是民不能以受終也。

君人者罷耶僻之心，無偏黨之意，太清之化雖未可追，直道之行豈伊難及？詩云：“神之聽之正直是歟”。信哉也！

清慎第二十二

天地既分，清濁殊氣。豈才為上聖，悉繫於天，質曰下愚，咸繫於地？何□□ □□□□□□□流者矣！然則□□，四海□〈...〉□及瑤臺之華。〈...〉十一而稅，□□賣官之侈。則知桀，紂兩君鄙堯，舜之陋，桓，靈二 帝笑成康之貧。觀其興喪，方覺愚智之遠也。既覺而任優，道而不 行，畏失晏嬰之富，當惜子罕之寶。

天道忌滿，人道害盈。若豺虎其心，谿壑厥志，肆吃饕之暴，縱聚斂之情，不有大災，必殆人禍。

雖復天心玄遠睬促，難期人懼威權。暫稽斧鉞，惟身及世罕或存者。故有辞齊侯之宅，讓漢帝之家，馬死步歸，產犢仍棄。張磐在郡奪子之甘，胡威至州，問其父之絹。脂膏不潤，常畏四知，非正殉名，蓋然避禍。

將吏清貧，不蒙寵撥窮老，謝事取美邑里，故使廉潔之士悔不為貪，專擅威權，廣求珍異。散金，輸玉座到榮顯。故貪濁之人嗤鄙清操。欲求到治，斯實難乎！

為國者明於賞罰，則貪夫廉，儒夫立志也。

徵感第二十三

陰陽不測，真味難源。流漫就爆，類聚群分。以人事善惡之塗，成鬼神休咎之驗。山頽鐘響，酒溢未從方之。故知上帝聰明，高目下耳。離朱之視，不得比其察，子野之聽，不得比其聽。所以聖人受天命，以君臨假神道而設教，有謫見而修道，感憤既而不驕也。天賜玉玦，若羿殘其身，有雀生鶉，宋康滅其國。苟無益矣。周之地振，文王以興，宋分星妖，景公無患。苟能修德。

災無害焉。吉凶由人，妖不自作，欲求影正先直其。表然其，夏君之高山為澤，殷君之天火燒宮，周王之震三川，漢帝之霧四塞，是禍之末也。其倡優爛漫，焚炙忠良，巧佞已行，權臣大盛，是災之本也。

在唐之景星生翼，在虞之榮光映河，有夏玄珪賜，有殷白雲之下，成王之時，風不鳴條，光武之時，醴泉愈疾。

Huayan Texts in Dunhuang

IMRE HAMAR

The Huayan School of Buddhism

The Huayanzong 華嚴宗 is one of the schools of Chinese Buddhism that is regarded as a product of a long process usually called Sinification, which refers to the way in which this originally foreign religion was adopted in China. However, it was not easy to internalize the foreign concepts and beliefs. Huayan is an example of fully fledged Chinese Buddhism, which was preceded by the transmission of the basic text, the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, and the meticulous interpretation of this scripture by Chinese monks. During this exegetical analysis, the Chinese interpreters formulated the ideas of Huayan philosophy, such as the dependent arising of dharma-dhātu, the ten mystical gates, the six characters, the four dharma-dhātus, the classification of teachings, etc.[1] Those who wish to understand Huayan philosophy automatically turn to the essays written by Chinese exegetes that elaborate all these concepts in a clear way, but which are often unrelated to the *Huayan jing* source text. It is not surprising that the modern study of Huayan Buddhism focuses on the works of the Chinese patriarchs (Du Shun 杜順, Zhiyan 智儼, Fazang 法藏, Chengguan 澄觀 and Zongmi 宗密), and tends to neglect the earlier history of Huayan, which can be traced back to Central Asia, where this new insight on the Buddha-dharma was born.

Kojima Taizan 小島岱山, the Japanese scholar of Huayan Buddhism, proposed that Huayan Buddhism had two centres or branches in China: the Wutaishan 五臺山 and the Zhongnanshan 終南山. Zhiyan (602–668), Fazang (643–712) and Huiyuan 慧苑 (674–743) belonged to the Zhongnanshan lineage, while Lingbian 靈辯 (477–523), Jietuo 解脫 (561–642),

[1] For a summary of the main Huayan tenets, see Hamar (forthcoming).

Mingyao 明耀 (?) and Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) represented the Wutaishan lineage.[2] Kojima Taizan suggests that the masters of Zhongnanshan were immersed in meticulous exegetical study of the *Huayan jing*, composing very elaborate commentaries on this scripture, while the masters of Wutaishan preached the Buddhist teaching to the populace. Before Chengguan, the most outstanding master of the Wutaishan lineage was Li Tongxuan, who although he was a lay hermit was respected as a Buddhist saint in the Wutaishan region, where many shrines were built for him.[3] Li Tongxuan also wrote a commentary on the *Huayan jing*, but his work is more inspirational than scholastic. The main feature of his philosophy was the elaboration of two important Huayan tenets: nature origination (*xingqi* 性起) and the non-obstruction of principle and phenomena (*lishi wu'ai* 理事無 礙). These doctrines describe how the phenomenal world originates from the absolute, and underline that the absolute principle is the foundation of all phenomenal existence.[4] Kojima argues that the masters of the Zhongnanshan lineage emphasized the interrelated existence of phenomena (*fajie yuanqi* 法界緣起). It was the fourth patriarch, Chengguan, who first stayed on Wutaishan and wrote his commentaries on the *Huayan jing*, and later moved to Chang'an where he was appointed the teacher of emperors and became a renowned master of his time. Chengguan is said to have merged the two lineages; he proposed the theory of the four dharma-dhātus: the dharma-dhātu of principle, the dharma-dhātu of phenomena, the dharma-dhātu of non-obstruction of phenomena and principle, and the dharma-dhātu of non-obstruction of phenomena.[5] This theory comprises both the tenet of nature-origination and the doctrine of the interrelated existence of phenomena.

Huayan in Central Asia

However, it would be erroneous to suppose that Huayan Buddhism was exclusively a Chinese innovation. Even if the Chinese understanding of *Huayan jing* was essential to the formation of Huayan Buddhism, and indigenous Chinese ideas and concepts played an important role in estab-

[2] Kojima 1991.
[3] On Li Tongxuan, see Gimello 1983.
[4] See Hamar 2007.
[5] See Hamar 1998.

lishing Huayan thought, we cannot ignore the fact that all the concepts reflected in the *Huayan jing* were originally created in Central Asia, in the oasis cities of the Taklamakan Desert. All these concepts were later further elaborated by Chinese exegetes under the influence of indigenous Chinese thought and the earlier achievements in interpreting Buddhist philosophy. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the early history of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia, as the beginning of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the origin of Mahāyāna sūtras are also unclear. We have no sources on the history of Huayan Buddhism and the Central Asian interpretation of the *Huayan jing*. In the case of Chinese Buddhism the historical records preserved the names of the monks who studied the *Huayan jing*, the Huayan lineage of five patriarchs was established, and many works attributed to these monks are extant, thus we naturally tend to assume that the Huayan school was created in China. However, the absence of sources does not mean that Huayan Buddhism was not influential in Central Asia.

First of all, the origin of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* might be traced back to Central Asia. Although some scholars suspect that the voluminous Mahāyāna sūtra was actually compiled in India or China, most scholars believe that this scripture was written in Central Asia, most probably in Khotan. We have to bear in mind that at this time, the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., people living in Central Asia had a tradition of using Indic languages so it was possible for them to compose scriptures in Sanskrit.[6] The Chinese exegetical tradition records the legendary origin of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.[7] The legend says that this scripture had lain hidden in the serpent king's palace for six hundred years before Nāgārjuna, the founder of Madhyamaka philosophy, brought it from the palace into the human world. He decided to take the shortest version, consisting of 100,000 *śloka*s[8] and 48 chapters, leaving behind the longest version, which consisted of *śloka*s identical in number to the specks of dust in the great universe and chapters identical in number to the specks of dust in the four worlds, and the middle version which contained 498,800 *śloka*s and 1200 chapters.

[6] Nattier 1990.

[7] *Huayan jing nei zhangmen deng za kongmuzhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 T 1870: 45.586c23–26, *Huayan jing zhigui* 華嚴經旨歸 T 1871: 45.593b10–15, *Huayan jing guanmai yiji* 華嚴經關脈義記 T 1879: 45.656c1–22, *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 T 1735: 35.523a10–22.

[8] The Chinese *jie* 偈 and *song* 頌 are translations of the Sanskrit *ghātā* and *śloka*. If it is a measure of length, *śloka* is the appropriate Sanskrit term. Gómez 1967: XXV. n. 1.

The Chinese historiographical records and the history of the transmisson of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* in China offer hints about the provenance of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Before the first complete translation of this scripture in 420 by Buddhabhadra, several chapters of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* were translated and circulated as independent sūtras. The earliest translation of one chapter from the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* as an independent sūtra was *Fo shuo dousha jing* 佛說兜沙經[9], translated by Lokakṣema between 178 and 189. Lokakṣema came from the Central Asian country of Yuezhi. As Jan Nattier showed, this sūtra and two other independently preserved sūtras, the *Bodhisattvas ask about the fundamental activity of Buddha sūtra* (*Zhupusa qiu fo benye jing* 諸菩薩求佛本業經)[10] and the "Practices of the ten stages of the Bodhisattvas" chapter (Pusa shizhu xingdao pin 菩薩十住行道品), used to be one scripture, but they became separated through the transmisson of the text.[11] The original scripture which contains these three sūtras is a different recension of the sūtra entitled *The fundamental activity of a bodhisattva as related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經), which Zhi Qian 支謙 translated between 222 and 228. This sūtra is very important in terms of the development of the complete *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, as it includes parallel texts to the following chapters in the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*: "The names of Tathāgata" (Rulai minghao pin 如來名號品), "Enlightenment through the light" (Rulai guangmingjue pin 如來光明覺品), "Pure practice" (Jinxing pin 淨行品), "The ascent of Buddha to the peak of Mount Sumeru" (Fo sheng Xumiding pin 佛昇須彌頂品), "The bodhisattvas gather as clouds in the Palace of the Glorious Victory and recite poems" (Pusa yunji miaosheng dianshang shuojie pin 菩薩雲集妙勝殿上說偈品) and "The ten abodes of the bodhisattvas" (Pusa shizhu pin 菩薩十住品).[12] The fact that a monk of Yuezhi translated this sūtra clearly shows that this scripture was popular in Central Asia in the 2nd century A.D., and Central Asia could be the place where many of those concepts which were reflected in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* were devised.

The most important translator in the history of Chinese Buddhism before the arrival of Kumārajīva (401) was Dharmarakṣa (239–316), whose ancestors also came from the Yuezhi, but whose family settled down in Dunhuang, where he received a Chinese education. He translated many important Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Lotus Sūtra* or the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*.

[9] T 280.
[10] T 282.
[11] T 283.
[12] For a comparison of the texts, see Sakamoto 1964: 301–314.

In his early thirties he is said to have travelled with his master to Central Asia to search for Mahāyāna texts. During his trip he mastered many Central Asian languages and brought back Buddhist scriptures. This is probably when he brought back the following scriptures which he translated later:[13]

1. *Crossing the world* (*Du shi pin jing* 度世品經)[14] 27 May 291.
2. *The appearance of Tathāgata as related by Buddha* (*Fo shuo rulai xingxian jing* 佛說如來興現經)[15] 31 January 292.
3. *Gradually obtaining the virtue of omniscience* (*Jianbei yiqie zhi de jing* 漸備一切智德經)[16] 21 December 297.
4. *The ten abodes of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shizhu jing* 菩薩十住經) 9 November 302.[17]
5. *The ten stages of the Bodhisattva* (*Pusa shidi jing* 菩薩十地經) 28 December 303.[18]
6. *The bodhisattva of the Equal Eyes asks about the ten samādhis* (*Dengmu pusa suowen sanmei jing* 等目菩薩所問三昧經)[19] 284–308.?

Not only the partial translations of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, but also the three complete translations (two Chinese, one Tibetan) might be connected to Central Asia. In his *Huayan jing zhuanji* 華嚴經傳記 Fazang writes that the Sanskrit manuscript of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* was received by Zhi Faling 支法領 from King Liye 歷葉 of Zhejupan 遮拘槃[20], who greatly respected this sūtra. This version, which consisted of thirty-six thousands *śloka*s, was translated by Buddhabhadra in 420. The Chinese exegetes thought that a new translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* was needed, thus Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (623/625–705), who gave generous support to Buddhism, and especially to the Huayan Buddhist school, learned that the original manuscript of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* could be found in Khotan and so she sent envoys to collect it. The new transla-

[13] For the dates of the works, see Boucher 1996: 33.
[14] T 292.
[15] T 291.
[16] T 285.
[17] The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *CSJ*. It is therefore uncertain.
[18] The date of this work can only be found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the *CSJ*. It is therefore uncertain.
[19] T 288.
[20] Zhejupan can be idetified as Karghalik, present-day Yecheng 葉城 in Xinjiang. See Chen Jinhua 2007: 107, n. 60.

tion was carried out under the leadership of Śikṣānanda, who settled at the Dabian 大遍 monastery in the eastern capital. This Sanskrit manuscript was longer than the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* by 9,000 *śloka*s and consisted of a total of 45,000 *śloka*s. The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* also survives in a Tibetan translation entitled *Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo*.[21] This Tibetan translation was made in the first quarter of the 9th century by two Indian masters, Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi, as well as the Tibetan master Ye-shes-sde. We have no sources concerning the arrival of a Sanskrit manuscript in Tibet, but since the Tibetans enjoyed active ties with Khotan it is possible that the manuscript was brought from there.[22]

The provenance of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* seems to show that this scripture was probably compiled in Central Asia and was highly respected by political leaders and the populace. Even if we have no written sources on the history of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia, we do posses many artworks and ritual objects that reflect the cult of *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. It is important to bear in mind that the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is extremely visionary in nature, thus it is an ideal topic for visual art. This sūtra is preached by Vairocana Buddha, but in fact it is most often bodhisattvas who preach after receiving empowerment through light emitted by Buddha. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra bodhisattvas very frequently play this role in the sūtra. These three celestial beings form the Huayan trinity, where Vairocana represents the aim of Buddhist practice, the state of enlightenment, Samantabhadra is the symbol of Buddhist practice, while Mañjuśrī is the representative of wisdom. This Huayan trinity is described in different ways by artists in Central and East Asia. Vairocana Buddha is a central topic in the exegetical tradition of Huayan in China: the patriarchs of the Huayan school regarded him as the representation of absolute truth. This absolute truth is none other than the real nature of all phenomena; that is, emptiness. In turn, this emptiness is revealed by the Buddhist teaching of dependent arising which is elaborated as the dharma-dhātu dependent arising in the Huayan school. The sūtra emphasizes the identity of Vairocana, emptiness and dependent arising:

[21] P 761.

[22] Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (704–754) had a Chinese wife as well, who interceded for the monks who had fled in large numbers from Khotan. It is owing to this that they were able to settle here and that seven monasteries were built for them. Three years later, however, after the death of the queen, they were driven out. See Snellgrove and Richardson 1986: 77.

Clearly know that all dharmas
Are without any existence in their own being.
To understand the natures of dharmas in this way
is to see Vairocana.[23]

The appearance of Vairocana images in Central Asia strongly suggests that Huayan Buddhism was popular in this region. We have to bear in mind that at the beginning Buddha was not the object of any art, and it was only in the Gandhara art of Buddhism under Hellenistic influence in the 1st–2nd centuries that Buddha images first appeared. At first Shākyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was described, but later bodhisattvas and celestial buddhas appeared. The most popular celestial beings who were shown by early images were Amitābha, Bhaiṣajyagura and Akṣobhya. However the cult of all these beings was a later development of Buddhism in Central and East Asia.[24] A very important example of this cult seems to be a Vairocana figure in Cave no. 17 of Kizil, which is situated at Kucha, the northern route of the Silk Road. In the headlight and on the body of the Buddha small buddhas are seen, thus some scholars reached the conclusion that it must be Vairocana Buddha. Other scholars raised doubts about this and identified it as the cosmic Buddha of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Li Ruizhe thinks that the Buddha of this cave is a Buddha of the Hīnayāna Buddhism, and only a similar Buddha in cave 123 represents Vairocana Buddha.[25] He argues that the Buddha in cave 17 includes only images of small buddhas and not other beings, while the Buddha in cave 123 also includes the images of other beings. Vairocana with other beings on his body became a standard representation of Vairocana in Central and East Asian Buddhist Art as Vairocana and the dharma-dhātus.[26] This reflects the basic narrative of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*: that Buddha manifests himself in different locations, in the whole dharma-dhātu, without leaving his earlier abodes. Thanks to his magical power Buddha is able to multiply and manifest himself simultaneously without obstruction in various locations. This basic concept of the sūtra probably inspired Chinese exegetes to formulate the theory of non-obstruction of phenomena and absolute, a key concept in Huayan philosophy.

[23] Cook 19721: 413–414.
[24] Schopen 2004.
[25] Li Ruizhe 2009.
[26] Sorensen 2004.

Huayan in Dunhuang

The commercial and cultural center at the eastern end of the Silk Road, Dunhuang also testifies to the influence of Huayan Buddhism in Central Asia. The image of Vairocana with the dharma-dhātu appears in 13 caves; the earliest painting can be dated to the 6th century, but most of the images were made under the Tang dynasty.[27] It is interesting to note that in several cases Vairocana with dharma-dhātu is shown in the context of the *Buddha Recompenses the Favour Sūtra* (*Baoen jing* 報恩經). It is possible that later Huayan transformation tableaux became the standard visual description of the *Huayan jing*, thus Vairocana with dharma-dhātu was connected with the *Buddha Recompenses the Favour Sūtra*.[28] The Huayan transforamation tableaux shows the seven locations and nine assemblies where Buddha taught the *Huayan jing*.[29]

Fortunately, the frescos, statues and painting are not the only sources that enable us to detect the impact of Buddhism, and draw conclusions about the spread of Buddhism in different periods in Dunhuang. The famous cave library of Dunhuang preserved many sources that shed light on the history of Chinese Buddhism. Eighty-eight percent of the materials found in Dunhuang are Buddhist texts that can be divided into eight categories, according to Fang Guangchang:[30]

1. Canonical works (zhengzang 正藏)
2. Extracanonical works (biezang 別藏)
3. Tiantai works (tiantai jiaodian 天台教典)
4. Vinaya works (pinizang 毗尼藏)
5. Chan Canon (chanzang 禪藏)
6. Popular works propagating Buddhism (xuanjiao tongsu wenshu 宣教通俗文書)
7. Documents of Monasteries in Dunhuang (Dunhuang siyuan wenshu 敦煌寺院文書)
8. Apocryphal sūtras (yiwei jing 疑偽經)

The Huayan texts include translations of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, commentaries on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and treatises on Huayan philosophy

[27] Yin Guangming 2001 and 2002.
[28] Yin Guangming 2002.
[29] Wong 2007.
[30] Fang Guangchang 1998: 88–93.

written by Huayan patriarchs. These texts belong to the first two categories established by Fang Guangchang. In terms of numbers, it is true that *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is far behind the Mahāyāna sūtras like the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*s, or the *Diamond Sūtra* which have thousands of copies in Dunhuang. Altogether 149 manuscripts of the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the later complete Chinese translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, are found in the Dunhuang library, and only fifteen manuscripts preserved the earlier translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*.[31] However we must bear in mind that the number of the texts found in Dunhuang does not necessarily reflect the importance of a certain scripture in Chinese Buddhism. Some scriptures, due to their content, served votive purposes, thus believers asked professional copyists to copy scriptures for the benefit of their family, or for protection. The *Huayan jing* could also be used for this purpose, as a story in the *Account of Stimuli and Responses Related to Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Dafangguang fo huayan ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳), compiled shortly after 783 by Hu Youzhen 胡幽貞 (?–783+), clearly shows.

> In the Zhengsheng period (695) Deng Yuanying (originally Yuanshuang) of Huayin had a close friend who suddenly was infected with a disease, and suffered from this disease. He came back to life after seven days. He told Yuan Shuang: "I saw that the official of the underworld was about to chase your father, and the order was soon to be issued. You should accumulate merit to avoid this disaster. Yuanying was frightened and asked: "What kind of merit do I need for my father to avoid this fate?" He replied: "You should hurry to copy the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*! Don't be late, the date of your father's death is not far!" Yuanying went to the market, and bought paper. He went to the Chan shrine of the neighbouring monastery, and asked the Chan master to introduce him to a scribe of sūtras who lived a pure life according to the Dharma, and can start to write right away. He finished the copying of the whole sūtra in less than ten days. They celebrated it with a vegetarian feast. This way he could avoid this calamity. Yuanying subsequently followed the custom of observing the mourning period for his deceased mother, which kept his sorrow keen in his heart. In that winter in the eleventh month the withered plants on his mother's grave that had been planted a long time before suddenly started to blossom and grow

[31] Li Haifeng 2008.

> leaves. The grave became covered with fragrant and beautiful flowers. It must have been the effect of copying the sūtra. The officials of that region wrote memorials about this. Empress Wu Zetian greatly appreciated it, and presented him with a gate of filial piety with the imperial inscription.
>
> 證聖年中， 花陰鄧元英(有本名元爽)有一親友， 忽染時患。死經七日却穌， 謂元爽曰：“見冥道宮吏將追君父， 文案欲成， 急修功德以禳之。” 元英驚懼曰：“修何功德， 而疾獲免？” 彼人云：“急寫《大華嚴經》一部，若遲大期不遠。” 元英乃遽市買紙，向隣寺伏禪師院，請禪師與名召經生，如法護淨，一時書寫。 未俞旬日， 經已周畢，辦齋慶之。 於後遂免斯厄。元英仍依母服, 哀切在懷。 至其冬十一月中， 於母墳所舊種寒枯之莖， 忽生花葉。 芳[廾/(麩-夫+玉)]榮艶， 五彩含英。 斯蓋寫經之感也。 洲縣以之聞奏， 則天嗟異， 賜立孝門，降勅 旌表。[32]

In fact, we find some evidence that the manuscripts of the *Huayan jing* were made in order to gain merit, and even the names of the donors were preserved in colophons to some of the manuscripts.[33] The colophon of S. 6476 says that the manuscript was made as an offering (*gongyang* 供養) by bhikṣu Deren 德仁. S. 1608 was copied as an offering by bhikṣu Daoxiang 道祥, S 2245 by bhikṣu Tanwei 曇威, S. 5361 by bhikṣu Tanyong 曇詠. All these examples would suggest that the *Huayan jing* was mostly popular among monks, probably due to the abstruse teachings proclaimed in this voluminous Mahāyāna sūtra. However, we find an example of a layman called Gao Bi 高弼, who made a copy of the sūtra (S. 4252) for his deceased wife Yuan Shengwei 元聖威.

Nonetheless the *Huayan jing* was certainly not as popular as the other above mentioned Mahāyāna sūtras in terms of copying for gaining merit. Examining the reconstructed *Huayan jing* from Dunhuang manuscripts in *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 we find that nine fascicles are missing from the eighty-fascicle *Huayan jing* (11–14, 18, 20, 49, 51–52), and also nine from the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing* (3, 6–7, 10–13, 29–30, 32).

[32] T51, no. 2074: 177, a10–21.
[33] For the colophons, see Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 2000.

The Manuscripts of the Chapter “Baowang rulai xingqi pin” 寶王如來性起品 in Dunhuang

In order to ascertain the textual differences between the Dunhuang manuscripts and the transmitted scripture found in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon we select the thirty second chapter of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*: “The nature-origination of the Jewel King Tathāgata” (Baowang rulai xingqi pin 寶王如來性起品).[34] This chapter is preserved in the following five manuscripts owned by the Beijing National Library:

1. 北 21 (冬 80): T. 9, no. 278: 627a16–631a18. (fascicle 35)
2. 北 22 (號 89): T. 9, no. 278: 616a20–b9. (fascicle 34)
3. 北 23 (洪 40): T. 9, no. 278: 616 b17–c9. (fascicle 34)
4. 北 24 (師 98): T. 9, no. 278: 617c11–618a29. (fascicle 34)
5. 北 25 (闕 89): T. 9, no. 278: 623a5–631b5. (fascicles 35–36)

At first sight it is very obvious that these five manuscripts must originally have belonged to at least two different manuscripts, as the texts of the first and fifth manuscripts overlap. However, if we compare the styles of writing it turns out that these five manuscripts were written by four copyists. 北 22 and 北 23 were written by the same person.[35]

21	22	23	24	25

[34] On the significance of this chapter in the *Huayan jing* and its Chinese interpretation by the Huayan school, see Hamar 2007.
[35] I relied on Imre Galambos’ experties in making this conclusion.

There are many orthographic variations in these manuscripts: some of them are the traditional simplifications called *suzi* 俗子 like 学, 花, 乱, 礼, 号, 无, 与, others are special variations also found in other Dunhuang manuscripts.

Collating with the Taisho edition of the text we find examples that prove these three of the five texts are not the same recension of the sūtra as the one that the Taisho edition was based on; i.e. the Korean edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon. The Beijing 21, 22 and 25 include six alterations that are also found in the Song, Yuan and Ming editions of the sūtra, according to the philological examination conducted by the editors of the Taisho edition. It is interesting to compare Dunhuang manuscripts with a manuscript found in Japan. This text is the *Dafangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* 大方廣如來性起微密藏經, which seems to be an independent sūtra, but is in fact identical with the "Rulai xingqi pin" of the sixty-fascicle *Huayan jing*, the text under consideration here. It is probable that this chapter was so popular under the Tang dynasty that it was circulated as an independent text. The *Dafangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* was lost in China, but has been recently discovered at the Nanatsudera temple in Nagoya.[36] The text of *Dafangguang rulai xingqi weimizang jing* found in Nagoya was published by Kimura Kiyotaka.[37] In the first case the Japanese manuscript agrees with the Korean edition, while it confirms the Dunhuang versions in the other cases. In the comparative tables below we have added the Taisho punctuation to the Dunhuang manuscripts in order to facilitate comparison, even if there is no punctuation in the Dunhuang texts. In addition we use the regular characters even where the Dunhuang manuscripts display orthographic variations.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taisho
B22: 所謂除滅眾惡。長養善法。 慧光普照	所謂滅惡饒益。長養善法。普照饒益[38]
B21/B25: 而轉淨法輪	而轉正法輪[39]
B21/B25: 當知不以一剎 示現涅槃故。	當知不以一佛剎示現涅槃故。[40]

[36] See Ochiai 1991.
[37] Kimura 1999.
[38] T09, no. 278: 616, b5, Kimura 1999: 583.
[39] T09, no. 278: 628, a20; Kimura 1999: 648.
[40] T09, no. 278: 628, c21–22; Kimura 1999: 651.

B21/B25: 於如來所。少殖善根。	於如來所。少植善根。[41]
B21/B25: 從諸如來種性 家 生。	姓 從諸如來種姓家生。[42]
B25: 譬如有一人 呑服 小金剛	譬如有一人 呑服少金剛[43]

However, we also find cases where one of the Dunhuang manuscripts differs from the others, but its reading is confirmed by other Chinese manuscripts transmitted to Japan, according to the notes in the Taisho edition. This attests to the fact that in Dunhuang region different recensions of this sūtra were circulated.

B21:悉離語言道 不可為譬喻	悉離語言道 不可為譬論[44]
B 21: 不可為論。何以故。如來不可思議過思議故。但隨所應佛為作論。	不可為論。何以故。如來不可思議過思議故。但隨所應佛為作論。[45]
B 21: 東踊西沒。	東涌西沒。[46]
B 25: 不可言說。不可思議。我說小喻。	不可言說。不可思議。我說小論。[47]
B 25: 唯除如來法王真子。從諸如來種性家生。	唯除如來法王真子。從諸如來種姓家生。[48]

We can also find cases where Dunhuang manuscripts might have preserved recensions that none of the transmitted recensions can confirm. Using other characters than in the transmitted text results in changes to the meaning of the text; however, these changes are acceptable in the context of the sūtra.

B 25: 刹外有風起 名曰障散壞 若無此散壞 十方悉磨滅	刹外有風起 名曰障散壞 若無此風者 十方悉磨滅[49]

[41] T09, no. 278: 629, b19–20; Kimura 1999: 655.
[42] T09, no. 278: 630, a7; Kimura 1999: 658.
[43] T09, no. 278: 630, b11.
[44] T09, no. 278: 629, b8.
[45] T09, no. 278: 629, c17–19.
[46] T09, no. 278: 630, b24.
[47] T09, no. 278: 625, b3.
[48] T09, no. 278: 630, a6–7.
[49] T09, no. 278: 624, c29–625, a1.

B 25: 安住大乘行 無量德莊嚴 除受記菩薩 一切莫能見	安住大乘藏 無量德莊嚴 除受記菩薩 一切莫能見[50]
B 25: 念出無量佛 又放無量光 光有無量華 華有無量佛	念出無數佛 又放無量光 光有無量華 華有無量佛[51]
B 25: 答言。	答曰。[52]
B 25: 如是微妙法 無量劫難聞	如是微密法 無量劫難聞[53]
B 25: 流出不斷龍王。	流注不斷龍王。[54]
B 21: 譬如無量劫 念念化諸佛 若化若不化 皆悉等無量	譬如無量劫 念念化諸佛 若化若不化 皆悉等無異[55]
B 21: 三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法 諸根心心法 一切虛空法	三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法 諸根心心法 一切虛妄法[56]
B 25: 捨離虛空顛倒。	捨離虛妄顛倒。
B 25: 是故離放逸 一心常奉行	是故離放逸 一心常奉持[57]

In addition to providing information on textual history, the Dunhuang manuscripts are also invaluable sources because of the light that they shed on the tradition of copying texts. The colophons give us clues about the donors, the individuals who copied, the purpose of the donation and the time when the copying took place.[58] The donor and the copyist might be the same person, but the donor also could hire someone else specialized in copying sūtras (jingsheng 經生). The copyist could be a lay person, or a monk. In the story above, we learn that Deng Yuanying bought the paper and ink and hired a monk from a Chan monastery to copy the *Huayan jing* in order to save his father from death. The Dunhuang manuscripts certainly reveal the proficiency of the copyist: the style of the calligraphy and the mistakes in the manuscripts indicate the skill of the person who copied the sūtra.

One of the most frequently made mistakes is the omission of characters. However, we should bear in mind that the copyist also depended on a

[50] T09, no. 278: 624, b26–27.
[51] T09, no. 278: 629, a29–b1.
[52] T09, no. 278: 627, a15.
[53] T09, no. 278: 631, a25.
[54] T09, no. 278: 625, b16.
[55] T09, no. 278: 627, b22–23.
[56] T09, no. 278: 627, c1–2.
[57] T09, no. 278: 631, b5.
[58] Lin Congming 1991.

manuscript which might already contain that omission, thus he was only repeating mistakes, and not generating them himself.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taisho
B 21: 如來菩提身。 無處不至。 無處有故。	如來菩提身。無處不至。 無處不有故。[59]
B 21: 時有眾生善根熟者。見如來身。 心調伏。	時有眾生善根熟者。見如來身。心皆調伏。[60]
B 21: 若有者眼得清淨。	若有見者眼得清淨。[61]
B 21: 具足成就一切智智。	具足成就一切智智。[62]
B 21: 雨眾華雲。勝過諸天。雨寶衣雲。蓋雲。幢雲。幡雲。香。塗香雲。	雨眾華雲。勝過諸天。雨寶衣雲。蓋雲。幢雲。幡雲。香 雲。塗香雲。[63]
B 21: 我承佛神力故。	我等承佛神力故。[64]
B 23:常放無量無礙智慧光。	常放無量無礙智慧光明。[65]
B 25: 能過聲聞辟支佛地。	能過聲聞辟支佛地。究竟佛地。[66]
B 25: 知心境界是如來境。	知心境界是如來境界。[67]
B 25: 彼如來智慧無來處	彼諸智慧悉無來處[68]
B 25: 如是二萬五千河水。	如是二萬五千九百河水。[69]
B 25: 於來無量智海	於如來無量智海[70]
B 25:日月周行虛空。不作是念。我虛空。	日月周行虛空。不作是念。我行虛空。[71]
B 25: 菩薩摩訶	菩薩摩訶薩[72]

[59] T09, no. 278: 627, a28–29.
[60] T09, no. 278: 629, a2–3.
[61] T09, no. 278: 629, b28.
[62] T09, no. 278: 630, a28.
[63] T09, no. 278: 630, b29–c1.
[64] T09, no. 278: 631, a9.
[65] T09, no. 278: 616, b19–20.
[66] T09, no. 278: 623, c21–22.
[67] T09, no. 278: 625, a24.
[68] T09, no. 278: 625, a29.
[69] T09, no. 278: 625, b8.
[70] T09, no. 278: 625, c13–14.
[71] T09, no. 278: 626, b10–11.
[72] This omission appears twice: T09, no. 278: 627, a24, T09, no. 278: 627, c25.

B 25: 當如是知如般涅槃。	當如是知如如般涅槃。[73]
B 25: 虛空界。	如虛空界。[74]
B 25: 彼人即清淨色身。	彼人即得清淨色身。[75]
B 25: 此諸寶等自然散。	此諸寶等自然散滅。[76]
B 25: 是菩薩摩訶薩。聞此經者。歡喜恭敬頂戴受持。	是故菩薩摩訶薩。聞此經者。歡喜恭敬頂戴受持。[77]
B 25: 如是句。如是味。如是相貌。	如是句。如是味。如是行。如是相貌。[78]
B 25: 欲說如來功德。	欲說如來無量功德。[79]
B 25: 欲生一切菩薩無量本行。	欲出生一切菩薩無量本行。[80]

Some of the omissions seem to consist in shortening a two-character word into one character, for example *guangming* 光明 becomes *guang* 光, or *jingjie* 境界 becomes *jing* 境, or *sanmie* 散滅 becomes *san* 散, which do not detract from the meaning of the text. Some of the omissions cause more serious damage to the text, as information can be lost by leaving out two or three characters, while omitting the word of negation (bu 不) gives the sentence the opposite meaning. It is very clear that the copyist was not careful enough when he omitted the last character of the well-known technical term *pusa mohesa* 菩薩摩訶薩 (bodhisattva mahāsattva).

Another very frequent alteration in manuscripts is to use a different character than in the transmitted text. However, in some cases this does not corrupt the text as the character used in the manuscript has the same meaning, even if one of its radicals is different.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taisho
B 21: 往詣道場菩提樹下。處師子坐。	往詣道場菩提樹下。處師子座。[81]

[73] T09, no. 278: 628, b8–9.
[74] T09, no. 278: 628, b10.
[75] T09, no. 278: 629, c9.
[76] T09, no. 278: 630, a5.
[77] T09, no. 278: 630, a11–12.
[78] T09, no. 278: 631, a8–9.
[79] T09, no. 278: 631, a13.
[80] T09, no. 278: 631, a19.
[81] T09, no. 278: 627, b1.

B 21: 各有寶師子坐。一一坐上。 各有如來結跏趺坐。	各有寶師子座。一一座上。各有如來結跏趺坐。[82]
B 25: 普現三世一切諸佛悉現前故。	普見三世一切諸佛悉現前故。[83]
B 21: 菩薩讚嘆雲。	菩薩讚歎雲。[84]
B 25: 照曜菩薩不善波浪。	照耀菩薩不善波浪。[85]
B 25: 我當懃作方便破彼微塵。	我當勤作方便破彼微塵。[86]
B 22: 譬如日出世閒。	譬如日出世間。[87]
B 25: 皆悉熾燃燒盡無餘。	皆悉熾然燒盡無餘。[88]
B 25: 清淨甚深智如來姓中生	清淨甚深智如來性中生[89]
B 25: 開發示現如來種姓。	開發示現如來種性。[90]
B 25: 知見法輪如嚮。	知見法輪如響。[91]
B 25: 青琉璃色。	青瑠璃色。[92]

In other cases the difference of one radical in a character results in a character which has a different meaning which does not fit into the text.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taisho
B 21: 維除第一夫人所生太 子。	唯除第一夫人所生太子。[93]
B 25: 無想。無行。無退。	無相。無行。無退。[94]
B 21: 亦復不起二不二相。	亦復不起二不二想。[95]
B 25: 滅除疑或。	滅除疑惑。[96]

[82] T09, no. 278: 628, c28–29.
[83] T09, no. 278: 628, b16–17.
[84] T09, no. 278: 630, c2.
[85] T09, no. 278: 623, a11.
[86] T09, no. 278: 624, a10–11.
[87] T09, no. 278: 616, a27–28.
[88] T09, no. 278: 623, c4.
[89] T09, no. 278: 624, c17.
[90] T09, no. 278: 629, c23–24.
[91] T09, no. 278: 627, c12.
[92] T09, no. 278: 625, c8–9.
[93] T09, no. 278: 630, a2–3.
[94] T09, no. 278: 626, c11.
[95] T09, no. 278: 628, b17–18.
[96] T09, no. 278: 626, c11.

B 21: 一切法輪無所轉。	一切法轉無所轉。[97]
B 21: 若有八十不可說百千億那由他世界微塵等如來。	各有八十不可說百千億那由他世界微塵等如來。[98]
B 25: 波诵流水。	彼涌流水。[99]
B 25: 三世一切劫 佛刹及諸劫	三世一切劫 佛刹及諸法[100]

Sometimes it is very obvious that the mistake is a consequence of careless copying.

Dunhuang manuscripts	Taisho
B 21: 彼一一心。悉能 化作 恒河如來。無色無形。如是河沙等劫。常化不絕。	彼一一心。悉能化作恒沙如來。無色無形。如是恒沙等劫。常化 不絕。[101]
B 21: 譬如文字。 於無量無所劫。 說不可盡。	譬如文字。於無量無數劫。說不可盡。[102]
B 21: 譬如轉輪聖王 所有七寶。因此寶故。 行轉聖王法。聖王七寶無堪持者。	譬如轉輪聖王所有七寶。因此寶故。行轉輪王法。聖王七寶無堪持者。[103]
B 23: 乃是深山幽谷無不普照。	乃至深山幽谷無不普照。[104]
B 25: 一切諸智慧 悉知誓智	一切諸智慧 悉依善逝智[105]
B 25: 若無此四寶 天地四漂沒	若無此四寶 天地悉漂沒[106]
B 25: 樹單越內。流出一萬河水。	欝單越內。流出一萬河水。[107]
B 25: 從歡喜故乃至究竟無礙智地故。	從歡喜地乃至究竟無礙智地故。[108]

[97] T09, no. 278: 627, c7.
[98] T09, no. 278: 630, c7–9.
[99] T09, no. 278: 625, c8.
[100] T09, no. 278: 627, c1.
[101] T09, no. 278: 627, a12–14.
[102] T09, no. 278: 627, c15–16.
[103] T09, no. 278: 630, a1–2.
[104] T09, no. 278: 616, b26.
[105] T09, no. 278: 624, b4.
[106] T09, no. 278: 624, c1.
[107] T09, no. 278: 625, b7.
[108] T09, no. 278: 625, c20.

B 25: 聲聞學無學 辟如佛無量	聲聞學無學 辟支佛無量[109]
B 25: 十方世界中 一切眾生類 無上菩提海 而海而不現	十方世界中 一切眾生類 無上菩提海 無法而不現
B 25: 悉能照明一切世界一切世界一切眾生。	悉能照明一切世界一切法界 一切眾生。[110]
B 25: 若有念如來者。即念佛三昧。	若有念如來者。得念佛三昧。[111]

We also find cases where due to the mistake of the copyist the text contains one or more extra characters.

B 21: 悉能除滅無量眾生病。	悉能除滅無量眾病。[112]
B 21: 東涌西沒。西沒涌東沒。	東涌西沒。西涌東沒。[113]
B 21: 照明一切如來功德。讚歎一切如來功德。讚歎一切如來正法。	照明一切如來功德。讚歎 一切如來正法。[114]
B 25: 彼諸如來智慧無來處。	彼諸智慧悉無來處。[115]
B 25: 成就如是平等功德。	成就如是等功德。[116]
B 21: 雖無量億那那由他劫。行六波羅蜜。修習道品善根。未聞此經。	雖無量億那由他劫。行六波羅蜜。修習道品善根。未聞此經。[117]
B 21: 若見見聞如來 恭敬及供養	若見聞如來 恭敬及供養[118]
B 21: 各作作是言。	各作是言。[119]

In the last three cases one character, *na* 那, *jian* 見, or *zuo* 作 has been duplicated in the text, which can be attributed to carelessness. All three

[109] T09, no. 278: 626, a13.
[110] T09, no. 278: 628, b29.
[111] T09, no. 278: 629, c10.
[112] T09, no. 278: 629, c2.
[113] T09, no. 278: 630, b24–25.
[114] T09, no. 278: 631, a1–2.
[115] T09, no. 278: 625, a29.
[116] T09, no. 278: 630, b4–5.
[117] T09, no. 278: 630, a14–16.
[118] T09, no. 278: 630, b7.
[119] T09, no. 278: 631, a5.

cases appear in manuscript B 21, which also includes a very special kind of error. We find four cases where the order of two characters is changed, even if the second character forms a term with the third character. For example, *ci sanmei* 此三昧 means "this samādhi" in the original text, but B 21, by changing the order of *ci* and *san*, gives *san ci mei* 三此昧 which is clearly wrong. Based on these mistakes we might suspect that this was probably not a professional copyist but a non-professional devotee who copied this sūtra as an offering.

B 21: 道場成菩提 逮得三此昧	道場成菩提 逮得此三昧[120]
B 21: 若有得見如來色身。眼清得淨。	若有得見如來色身。眼得清淨。[121]
B 21: 譬如乾積草 等彼須彌山	譬如乾草積 等彼須彌山
B 21: 爾時十方各過十不可說百千億那由佛他刹微塵等世界之外。	爾時十方各過十不可說百千億那由他佛刹微塵等世界之外。

Conclusion

As we have seen, Huayan Buddhism had a considerable impact in Central Asia, as it is attested by visual art and scriptures found in Dunhuang. Even if the *Huayan jing* was not as popular for votive purposes as some other sūtras, Chinese miraculous stories and colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts prove that this sūtra was also copied to gain merit for the donor or his/her relatives. This shows very clearly that Huayan Buddhism was not only a scholastic school of Chinese Buddhism, but also a form of Buddhism that was widely practiced among the populace in Tang China.

By collating the Dunhuang manuscripts with the transmitted text, we have found that various recensions of this sūtra are preserved by the former. Some of these recensions are confirmed by the transmitted texts, others are recensions that have been lost during transmission. These Dunhuang manuscripts are invaluable sources for reconstructing the textual history of a sūtra, as they preserve certain variations that are not found in

[120] T09, no. 278: 627, b27.
[121] T09, no. 278: 629, c4–5.

the transmitted text, and can confirm others that are found in the transmitted versions.

However, these manuscripts also include mistakes that occurred during the process of copying: even if the copyist is supposed to copy the sacred text with full attention, there are limits to human capacity and error can never be avoided. It also reminds us that if there is no transmitted text, and only the manuscript is extant, we must exercise great caution with these manuscripts, as the text may indeed be corrupt.

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A Correction to the Chinese Manichaean *Traité*

GÁBOR KÓSA

It has been a century since the discovery of the three Chinese Manichaean manuscripts of Dunhuang, and though the edition of the textual corpus is available, there are still minor problems with the interpretation of some characters. In this paper I question the presently accepted reading of a simple character, which appears at the end of a major Chinese Manichaean text, the so-called *Traité* (*Bosijiao canjing* 波斯教殘經 [BD00256; T2141B: 1281a–1286a]).[1] Besides summarizing the general technique of corrections appearing in this Manichaean scripture, I endeavour to explore the possible motivations that led to the presently accepted reading of this character.

1. The Great Sea of Fire

In their translation of the *Traité* (hence abbreviated as T in the quotations) published in 1911 in the *Journal Asiatique*, Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot relied entirely on epigrapher Luo Zhenyu's 羅振玉 (1866–1940) transcription of the text.[2] At the end of this Chinese Manichaean text, one can read a highly poetical eulogy to the Great Saint (*dàshèng* 大聖) by the high-ranking *mushe*s 慕闍, i.e. "teachers", and others as a grateful reply to a previously expounded cosmogonical narrative. The supplication, full

[1] The present essay was completed with the help of a postdoctoral scholarship from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (PD003-U-09). The Chinese Manichaean texts are quoted according to the column of manuscript (T = *Traité*, H = *Hymnscroll*), though I also give the Taishō Canon references. I also thank Gunner Mikkelsen, Imre Galambos and Lyndon Arden-Wong for suggesting some changes in the text. The translation of all Chinese texts, unless otherwise indicated, is mine (G.K.).

[2] Chavannes and Pelliot 1911: 500–501, 591–617.

of metaphors with elaborate plasticity, contains a problematic Chinese sentence which was translated by Chavannes and Pelliot as follows:

> T338. 緣此明網於 / 大海中，撈渡我等，安置寶舩。[3]
>
> "Nous nous servirons de ce filet de lumière et le mettrons dans la vaste mer pour nous recueillir, nous sauver et nous déposer dans le bateau précieux."[4]
>
> "Using the net of Light and throwing it into the vast sea, so that you could collect us, save us and place us in the precious ship!"

Chen Yuan's edition of the text (1923) records the same Chinese sentence.[5] In their article published in 1926, E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz translated the sentence as follows:

> "Mit diesem Lichtnetz, in das grosse Meer gesenkt, zieh uns heraus und bring uns hinüber! In das Edelsteinschiff setz uns!"[6]
>
> "With this Light-net sunk in the great sea, pull us out and take us over! Place us into the jewel-ship!"

The Chinese sentence also appears in this form in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (1924–1932). Much later, Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, whose German translation of the entire Chinese Manichaean corpus was based on the Taishō edition, apparently also using the above-mentioned translation by Chavannes and Pelliot, and especially that by Waldschmidt and Lentz, gave the following rendering of the sentence in question:

> "Mit dem Lichtnetz, in das grosse Meer gesenkt, fische uns heraus und setze uns über! Setze uns in das Edelsteinschiff!"[7]
>
> "Using this Light-net sunk in the great sea, fish us out and put us over there! Place us into the jewel-ship!"

H. Schmidt-Glintzer's volume also includes a dictionary where at the entry of *dàhǎi* 大海 one can find the reference to the passage above.[8] Though the Chinese text of the *Traité* had several former editions, in 1987 Lin Wushu 林悟殊 edited the Chinese Manichaica with emended readings

[3] Chavannes and Pelliot 1911: 591.
[4] Chavannes and Pelliot 1911: 588.
[5] Chen 1980 [1923]: 391.
[6] Waldschmidt and Lentz 1926a: 48.
[7] Schmidt-Glintzer 1987: 103.
[8] Schmidt-Glintzer 1987: 160.

of the texts.[9] On page 229, we find the above sentence with the expression *dàhăi* 大海 ("great sea", "ocean") in it.[10] The same author re-edited these texts in a volume published in Taibei with a number of general corrections and emendations, including more accurate and reliable readings of the text.[11] The sentence in question appears unchanged in this edition, too.[12] One of the recent milestones of the research on Chinese Manichaeism was the dictionary compiled by Gunner Mikkelsen (2006), which makes the entire word-stock of the Chinese Manichaica accessible to the researchers. At the entry of *dàhăi* 大海 one finds the reference to col. 338 of the *Traité*, which contains the sentence under discussion.[13] Similarly, in Rui Chuanming's 芮傳明recent edition of the text, the characters are also rendered as *dàhăi* 大海.[14]

The monotonous enumeration of these data would be, of course, unnecessary if col. 338 of the manuscript (Table 4) did not, as I will contend, contain the Chinese characters *huŏhăi* 火海 ("sea of fire") instead of *dàhăi* 大海 ("great sea", "ocean").

The Chinese characters *dà* 大 and *huŏ* 火 are indeed similar, and are often difficult to distinguish. However, in this manuscript, I think, this is not the case, as the scribe rather consistently uses a straight line without further additions for *dà* 大 (with a minor one in col. 94) and writes *huŏ* 火 in a differing, though not homogeneous, way. To make the difference more visible, in Tables 1–2 I give all the occurrences of these two characters (*dà* 大, *huŏ* 火) in the *Traité* (also see Table 3).[15]

At this point one is thus faced with the question if these two characters in this manuscript were not contrasted earlier. To answer this question one must return in time to the first French translation.

2. Aurousseau's Remark

As mentioned above, É. Chavannes and P. Pelliot based their translation on Luo Zhenyu's transcription of the Chinese text. At that time there was

[9] Lin 1987a.
[10] Lin 1987: 229.
[11] Lin 1997: 268–316.
[12] Lin 1997: 282
[13] Mikkelsen 2006: 12.
[14] Rui 2009: 377.
[15] The numbers designate the columns in the original manuscript.

Table 1
The character *dà* 大 in the *Traité*[16]

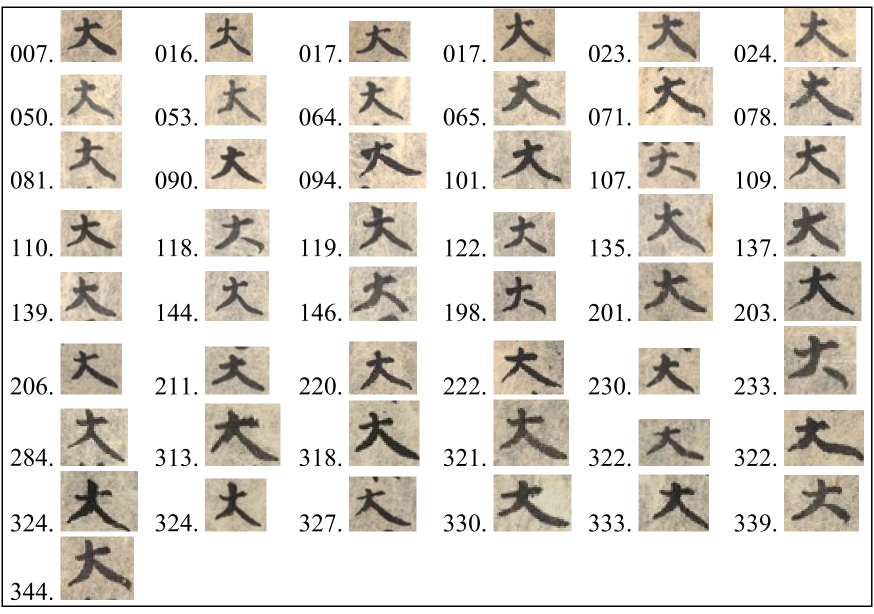
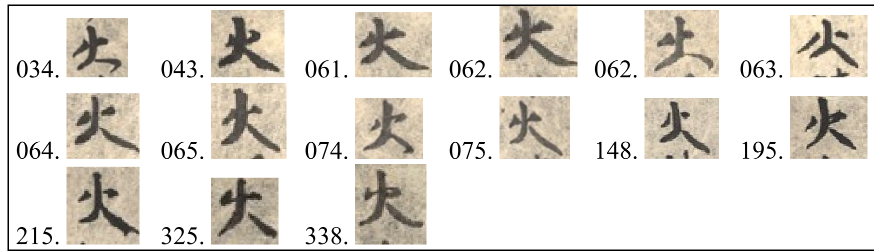


Table 2
The character *huǒ* 火 in the *Traité*



[16] The digital version of the manuscript can be found at the website of the International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk), the characters in the present article are cut out from these on-line images.

Table 3
The characters *dà* 大 and *huǒ* 火
appearing side by side in the *Traité*

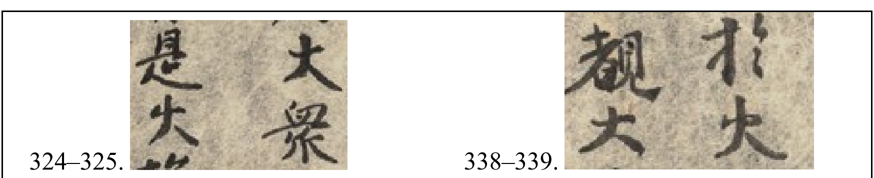
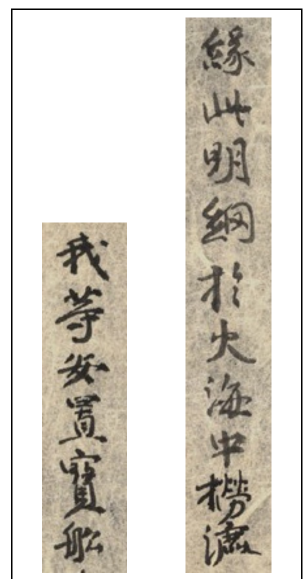


Table 4
The sentence in question from the manuscript



only one single European scholar who could inspect the manuscript itself: Léonard Aurousseau (1888–1929), a student of Chavannes. In 1912 the 24 years old Aurousseau made several critical remarks on Luo Zhenyu's transcription, thus also contributing to an improved translation.[17] In connection

[17] Aurousseau 1912, cf. Mikkelsen 2000: 18–19.

with this particular sentence, he states explicitly that "le ms. écrit *houo-hai* 火海, « mer de feu », au lieu de *ta-hai* 大海, « océan »"[18].

Thus, although the mistake was discovered by a scholar in the following year (1912) after the first publication of the text (1911), the presently accepted transcription and rendering persisted until now. One of the reasons behind the translations is perhaps the fact that Aurousseau's complete remark runs as follows:

> "Col. 3, le ms. écrit *houo-hai* 火海, « mer de feu », au lieu de *ta-hai* 大海, « océan », *Houo-hai* est probablement une erreur."[19]
>
> "Col. 3, the manuscript has *huohai* 火海 'sea of fire', instead of *da-hai* 大海 'ocean', *huohai* is probably a mistake."

Therefore Aurousseau noticed the mistake in Luo Zhenyu's transcription, but supposed that Luo Zhenyu's version actually matched the intended meaning. Consequently, according to Aurousseau the scribal error was counterbalanced by Luo Zhenyu's amendment of the character. In the following part of this paper I will explore the possibility raised by Aurousseau, namely, that the scribe was mistaken in using the character *huǒ* 火.

3. Error and Correction

The question remains: what was Aurousseau's motivation to assume that the evidently well-versed scribe of the text could confound the two simplest Chinese characters, especially at the end of a long manuscript in which he wrote both *dà* 大 (49 times) and *huǒ* 火 (18 times) correctly throughout? Moreover, he must have also assumed that the same scribe, or the person who supervised him, did not notice the mistake and did not make an attempt to correct it.

As for the latter, a brief excursus is perhaps useful here to enumerate the different types of amendments in the *Traité*. The present manuscript contains a number of scribal errors; however, these are of different nature, and were subsequently corrected by the scribe. There are altogether four types of errors and corrections in the manuscript of the *Traité*:

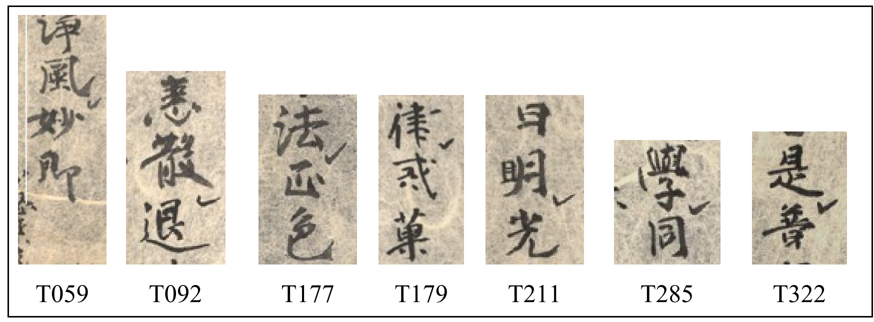
[18] Aurousseau 1912: 62.
[19] Aurousseau 1912: 62.

1. If the order of two characters were to be flipped, the scribe added a small tick between them on their right-hand side.[20]
2. Characters omitted during the process of writing were inserted afterwards between the columns in smaller size.[21]
3. If a character was superfluous in the text, it was indicated by three dots on its right side.[22]
4. Characters were sometimes superimposed by being scraped off and simply overwritten.[23]

As it is evident from Aurousseau's remark and I. Galambos' study, all of these methods of later amendments match those applied in other Dunhuang manuscripts (Table 5).[24]

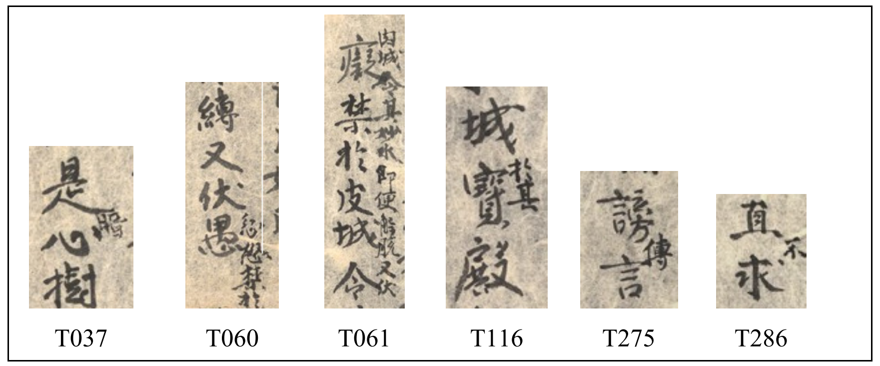
Table 5
Examples of corrections in the manuscript of the *Traité*
(with their total number in parantheses)

1. Correction type I in the *Traité* (7): 1. Interchange of characters indicated by a tick

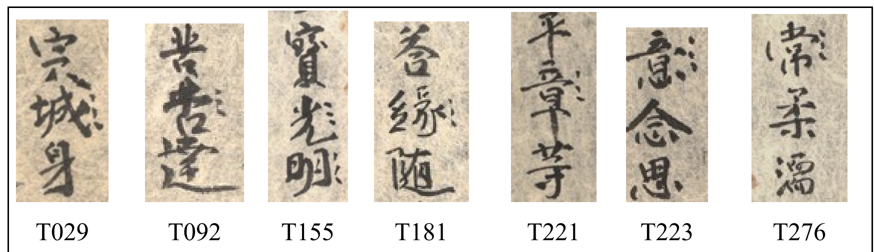


[20] Galambos 2013: category 3.
[21] Galambos 2013: category 1.2, 8.
[22] Galambos 2013: category 4.
[23] Galambos 2013: category 2.2, 2.3.
[24] Cf. Aurousseau 1912: 57; Galambos 2013.

2. Correction type II in the *Traité* (16): Character(s) added later on the right side of the column. Further examples: T003, T093, T114, T158, T196, T199, T202, T280, T286, T297.



3. Correction type III in the *Traité* (11): The three dots on the right indicate that the character is superfluous. Further examples: T251, T270, T320, T340.

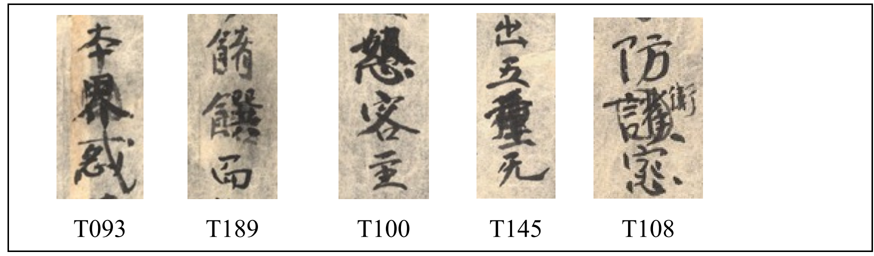


4. Correction types IV in the *Traité* (12):

4.1. The wrong character is scraped off and another is written over it (T093, T189);

4.2. Part of the character is corrected by overwriting it (T100, T145);

4.3. A circle mark is put on the wrong character, and the correct one is written on the right side (T108). Further examples: T019, T084, T093, T155, T228, T282, T312.



It is perhaps worth noting that by comparing the subsequently inserted small characters with the main text, one can conclude that they are in the same hand, showing it was the scribe himself who corrected his own text (Table 6).

Table 6
Two examples of comparing inserted smaller characters with those in the main text

Thus the errors and their adjustments in the manuscript do not substantiate Aurousseau's opinion: one can hardly imagine that a qualified scribe would not only confuse these two simple characters but would not have noticed this mistake afterwards. The only possibility to defend Aurousseau's assessment would be to assume that the mistake was already present in the manuscript the present scribe was copying. In this case he would not be "guilty" of making such a fundamental mistake, while his other corrections would amend real departures from the original. In order to justify such a claim, one must consider two hypotheses: 1. The present manuscript was copied from another one. 2. This "original" manuscript could not contain the expression in question because it is not part of the Manichaean vocabulary. Although the first hypothesis is probably correct, one has to deal with the second possibility separately. Though the young French scholar's remark evidently referred to the present manuscript, it is worth examining

the conformity of the expression to the entire Chinese Manichaean corpus. This might give further evidence for both the remark and the expression itself, more precisely, its inclusion in or exclusion from the corpus.

4. The "Sea of Fire" in the *Traité*

Aurousseau's opinion was, I assume, based on a very simple reason: this rather unique compound ("sea of fire" or "fiery sea") does not appear in the *Traité* at all, while *dàhăi* 大海 ("ocean") appears in the manuscript several times:

> T013–017. "The Pure Wind and the Benign Mother – using the skilful means – created the ten heavens, next they placed (there) the Wheel of Deeds [Zodiac] and the palaces of the Sun and the Moon. They also (established) the eight earths below, the Three Garments, the Three Wheels and also the Three Calamities [Ditches] and the Four Courtyards with the iron enclosure, the Weilaojufu [Sumeru] mountain and all the minor mountains, the ocean and the rivers."
> 1281b07–12‖013‖ 其彼淨 014‖ 風及善 / 母等，以巧方便，安立十天; 次置業輪及日月 / 宮，并 ‖015‖ 下八地、三衣、三輪乃至三災、 鐵圍四 / 院、未勞俱孚山，及諸 ‖016‖ 小山、**大海**、江河。

> T024–026. "The Wheel of Deeds [Zodiac] and the constellations, the Three Calamities [Ditches] and the Four Courtyards, the oceans and the rivers, the two earths of dryness and wetness, grasses and trees, wild beasts and birds, (…) all of them was following the pattern of the universe."
> 1281b20–23‖024‖業輪/星宿、三災、四圍、**大海**江河、‖025‖乾濕二地、草木 / 禽獸 (…) ‖026‖ (…) 无有一法不像世界。

> T198–199. "(This is) also the narrow path which leads by the side of the great ocean of afflictions of the three worlds."
> 1284a08–09‖198‖亦復三界煩 / 惱**大海**側足狹 ‖199‖路 …

> T323–325. (The Great Saint) "is the Wonderful Air that can encompass all forms, and also the highest Heaven which embraces everything, and also the Earth of Truth which produces the fruit of truth, the sweet-dew ocean of sentient beings, and also the vast, fragrant mountain with jewels, and also the diamond jewel-column which supports everyone."

1285c28–1286a05‖323‖亦是妙 / 空能容眾相，亦是上天包羅一切，亦是實地 / ‖324‖能生實果，亦是眾生甘露**大海**，亦是廣大眾 / 寶香山，亦是‖325‖任眾金剛寶柱。

All citations above refer either to a neutral natural phenomenon (T016, T024) or to the ocean connected with a Buddhist-like expression, thus carrying the notion of "a great amount" (cf. Skt. *sāgara*): "the ocean of sufferings of the Three Worlds" (T198), "the sweet-dew ocean of the sentient beings" (T324). Nevertheless, these four occurrences might have convinced Aurousseau that he simply found a fifth example, especially that the fourth example appeared only 14 columns before the supposed fifth one.

Considering all these occurrences it might have seemed logical to assume that the expression in column 338 also refers to the ocean, thus it was only an error. It was most probably reinforced by the fact that the slightly Buddhist-like compound "sea of fire" (aside from two much later, and thus irrelevant examples)[25] does not appear in the Taishō Canon.

Moreover, there must have been a further reason for Aurousseau's opinion: similarly to Chavannes, Pelliot and Luo Zhenyu, he did not know about the Chinese Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (*Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚 [S 2659; T2140: 1270b–1279c]). Though the text itself was found in 1907, i.e. five years before Aurousseau's corrections, the Manichaean content of this text was not known until Keiki Yabuki's 矢吹慶輝 (1879–1939) discovered this in the summer of 1916.[26] This fact is extremely important, because unlike the *Traité*, the *Hymnscroll* contains this particular compound several times, thus if Aurousseau had known these hymns, he would have evidently arrived at a different conclusion. All these reasons, i.e. the numerous examples of *dàhǎi* 大海 in the *Traité* and the complete lack of *huǒhǎi* 火海 in any known Manichaean (and Buddhist) texts, must have jointly contributed to Aurousseau's statement.

5. The "Sea of Fire" in the *Hymnscroll*

As mentioned above, the expression "sea of fire" does appear in the *Hymnscroll*, altogether six times, four of which can be found in the first two hymns addressed to Jesus.

[25] *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 T50, 2061: 0759a16; *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳 T51, 2099: 1104c17–18.

[26] Yabuki 1988: 25. Also see Stein 1921: 922; Waldschmidt and Lentz 1926b: 117.

H019. “Now I sincerely implore and supplicate that we should be removed from the poisoned fire-sea of the body of flesh, / its soaring waves are boiling and bubbling ceaselessly, the makaras surface and submerge to gulp (my) vessel. H020. This is the palace of Māra, the country of *rākṣasa*, dense forests, the marsh of reeds and rushes, where all the evil wild beasts jostle intermingled, where the poisonous insects and venomous snakes gather. H021. This is also the body of the Demon(ess) of Greed, and also Pēsūs[27] [*Beisusi*] with many forms, the fivefold pit of the land of darkness, and also the five courtyards of the lightless poisons. H022. And also the three merciless, poisoned seedlings, and also the five poisonous springs of ruthlessness. (…) H025. The armour and the weaponry of all demon-kings, the poisonous net of all the adversary teachings, which sinks the precious goods and the merchants, which can encloud the light-buddhas of the Sun and Moon. H026. The gates of all hells, the roads of all rebirths, in vain do they agitate against the eternally established nirvāṇa king, in the end they will be burnt and imprisoned in the eternal hell.”
1270c25–a02‖我今懇切求哀請，願離肉身毒火海。/ 騰波沸涌无暫停，魔竭出入吞舩舫。/ 元是魔宮羅刹國，復是稠林籚葦澤。/ 諸惡禽獸交横走，蘊集毒虫及蚖蝮。/ 亦是惡業貪魔躰，復是多形卑訴[訢]斯; / 亦是暗界五重坑，復是无明五毒院; / 亦是无慈三毒苗，復是无惠五毒泉。 (…) 一切魔王之甲仗，一切犯教之毒網，/能沈寶物及商人，能翳日月光明佛。/ 一切地獄之門戶，一切輪迴之道路，/ 徒搖常住涅槃王，竟被焚燒囚永獄。

H029. “Beneficent and glorious Jesus buddha, raise (your) great compassion and forgive my sins! Listen to these words of suffering and pain, and deliver me from this poisoned sea of fire!”
1271a16–17‖廣惠庄嚴夷數佛，起大慈悲捨我罪。/ 聽我如斯苦痛言，引我離斯毒火海。

H032. “I wish you would still the huge waves of the sea of fire! Through the curtain of dark clouds and dark mist let the sun of Great

[27] On the identification see Lieu 1995: col. 368. Cf. Boyce 1951: 911: “Pēsūs has evidently been aggrandized like her mate, and appears not only as the mother of mankind but also as Hyle personified.” Also see M741 V 11a: “the sinful, dark Pēsūs” (bzkr pysws t’ryg); M741 V 16b: “all demons of wrath, the sons of that Pēsūs” (h(rw)yn ‘šmg’n z’dg’n cy hw pysws) (on these and other occurrences see Sundermann 2005: 210–211).

Law shine everywhere, that our hearts and soul would be always bright and pure!"
1271a22–23‖願息火海大波濤! 暗雲暗霧諸繚蓋，/ 降大法日普光輝，令我心性恒明淨。

H047. "Power in the power of the Unsurpassable Honoured of the Lights, King in the wisdom of the unsurpassable sweet dew, who gives cintāmaṇi universally to sentient beings, and leads them out of the deep sea of fire!"
1271b22–23‖无上明尊力中力，无上甘露智中王! / 普施眾生如意寶，接引離斯深火海。

H085. "We should resolutely choose and peacefully concentrate on the gate of true teaching, (we must) diligently seek for nirvāṇa to cross the sea of fire!"
1272b12‖決定安心正法門，勤求涅槃超火海。

H363. "Rescue the light-nature from all perils that it should be able to leave the huge waves of the sea of fire, the whole community wishes that it may be so forever!"
1278b24–25‖請救普厄諸明性，/ 得離火海大波濤，合眾究竟願如是!

In all these cases, it is evident that a sophisticated metaphor is used to express the sufferings of the soul in the human body, which was conceived as the product of the Evil principle in the Manichaean system.[28] Most importantly, the expression itself is attested six times which is enough to prove that it was a well-known metaphor for the Chinese Manichaeans. We have some evidence which shows that probably not only for them, but also for the Inner Asian believers.

It is a commonly acknowledged fact that unlike the *Compendium*, the Chinese *Traité* and the *Hymnscroll* were translated from a Middle Iranian language, most probably Parthian.[29] In the case of the *Traité*, the Parthian and the Sogdian parallels support this hypothesis, while in the colophon of the *Hymnscroll* it is unambiguously stated that the hymns were translated.

H416–418. "From the 3,000 pieces of the original *fàn* text, I translated more than twenty. Though the texts, the eulogies, the songs and the prayers were originally composed according to the four regions, the translations by Daoming were based entirely on the *fàn* text."

[28] On the religious content of this metaphor, see Kósa 2011.
[29] See Sundermann 1996: 104, 118.

1279b29–c02‖梵本三千之 / 條，所譯二十餘道; 又緣經、讚、唄、願，皆依四 / 處製焉。但道明所翻譯者，一依梵本。

This postscript of the *Hymnscroll* makes it clear that this collection of hymns were translations, even if its reference to *fàn* 梵 does not directly infer the Parthian language. *Fàn* originally denoted Sanskrit or some kind of Indian language; however, in this case this possibility can be ruled out, since there is no trace of any Manichaean text in Sanskrit. This usage seems to be much more a strategy to legitimize the sacred origin of the Manichaean hymns than objectively describing their historical origin. The *Hymnscroll* abounds in Buddhist-like expressions, and it is evident that Daoming 道明, the translator, wanted to impregnate them with a strong Buddhist flavour in order to win over the favour of the emperor. This is evident from the sentences following those cited above: they wish the Emperor a long reign, loyal officials and a peaceful and contended empire.[30]

Thus, it is clear that these hymns, which feature the compound "sea of fire", were translated from a foreign language. Though we have extant Parthian parallels of some of the Chinese Manichaean hymns,[31] unfortunately, none of the aforementioned six examples, which feature the "sea of fire" motif, have been preserved. This being the case, it is still worth searching for this metaphor among the Parthian Manichaean scriptures, even if they are not the precise originals of these particular hymns. Sure enough, there is one exact and another looser analogy in one of the famous Parthian Manichaean hymn-cycle, the *Angad rōšnān*:

> "Their [demons', enemies'] fury gathered, like a sea of fire, / The seething waves rose up that they might engulf me."[32]
>
> "It was tossed and troubled as a sea with waves. Pain was heaped on pain, whereby they ravage my soul. / On all sides the anguish reached (me); fire was kindled, and the fog (was full) of smoke. / The wellsprings of Darkness had all been opened. The [giant] fishes transfixed me with fear."[33]

[30] H421–422: 唯願 / 皇王延祚，寥寀忠誠; 四海咸寧，万人安樂!

[31] Bryder 1999.

[32] Trans. M. Boyce 1954: 117. *Angad rōšnān* I,19 (Boyce 1954: 116): ’wd ’mwšt hwyn dybhr ° / cw’gwn zr(y) ’dwryn / ’wd pdr’št wrm h’wyndg ° / kw ’w mn ngwhynd.

[33] Trans. M. Boyce 1954: 115. *Angad rōšnān* I,13–15 (Boyce 1954: 114): ‖13‖’wd ’(’)šyft ’wd pšyft ° / cw’gwn zryh pd wrm / ’wd drd ’mwšt ° / kw mn gryw wyg’nynd ‖14‖’c hrw ’’rg ° / hw ’njwgyft pryft / pdyd ’dwr ° / ’wd nyzm’n dwdyyn ‖15‖[’w](d) wyš’d bwd ’hynd ° / hrwyn t’r x’nyg / [……m’]sy’g’n ° / pdgryft hym pd trs.

In these quotations the situation is very similar to those described in the *Hymnscroll*: the soul confronts the forces of Darkness, the demons in both cases are associated with sea and fire, in one case precisely the "fiery sea" or "sea of fire". These examples demonstrate that the Chinese image of the "sea of fire" was not necessarily the invention of the Chinese translators, but an expression which was most probably present already in the Parthian original. Since the *Traité*, as with the *Hymnscroll*, was most likely also translated from a Parthian original, and it followed the original even more faithfully than the *Hymnscroll*,[34] thus it is not implausible to assume that the Parthian original of the *Traité* could have also featured this expression, even if this part of the original is now lost.

The seven Chinese and the at least one exact Parthian parallel prove that this image was known among Eastern Manichaeans. Even though the *Traité* features this expression only once, it is safe to assume that it was not a mistake made by the scribe of this manuscript or any earlier ones, but it was the original intended meaning, probably already in the original Parthian.

In conclusion, there is ample evidence that Aurousseau was wrong when he suggested that *huǒhǎi* was an error in the manuscript. Even if this was a logical assumption at that time, the Manichaean context, the lack of the scribe's later correction, the six occurrences of this expression in the *Hymnscroll* and one in a Parthian parallel all suggest that the intended meaning was "sea of fire" (*huǒhǎi* 火海).

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[34] Sundermann 1992.

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Was the Platform Sūtra Always a Sūtra?

Studies in the Textual Features of the *Platform Scripture* Manuscripts from Dūnhuáng

CHRISTOPH ANDERL

Among the manuscripts found at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, there are several copies and fragments of the so-called *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*,[1] one of the key texts of Chinese Chán Buddhism. This text had a crucial role in creating the image of the 'Southern School' of Chán, establishing Huìnéng 慧能/惠能 – described as an illiterate lay person who became enlightened intuitively when he heard the recitation of the *Diamond Sūtra*[2] – as the Sixth Patriarch. In addition, the sūtra was also significant for constructing a transmission lineage of Indian and Chinese patriarchs (based on previ-

[1] I want to express my special gratitude to Sam van Schaik and Carmen Meinert for providing many insightful comments on a draft version of the paper. I am also very much indebted to Imre Galambos for his helpful comments and editing suggestions. The illustrations of manuscript S.5475 (i.e. Or.8210/S.5475) are reproduced with kind permission of the British Library. When quoting secondary literature, in order to maintain consistency of presentation, the transcription of terms and proper names have been transferred to pīnyīn; occasionally, additional information such as Chinese characters are provided in square brackets within citations.

[2] As Jorgensen (2005: 772) phrases it:

> "Huìnéng was made an illiterate child of déclassé parents who lived among semi-barbarians in the remote South, yet was still a buddha, rising from obscurity to the rank of an 'uncrowned king' like Confucius. In this way Huìnéng simultaneously represented meritocracy and a natural aristocracy of the enlightened. […], access to Huìnéng was through his *sūtra*, the *Platform Sūtra*, and transmission approval was by verses."

John McRae (2000: XV) describes the figure of Huìnéng the following way:

> "By the time of the *Platform Sūtra*, interest in factionalist rivalry had passed and the goal was to unify the burgeoning Chán movement under the standard of Huìnéng. Why Huìnéng? Not because he was an important historical figure, or even a well-known teacher. Rather, Huìnéng was an acceptable figurehead for Chinese Chán precisely because of his anonymity. Anything could be attributed to him as long as it would fit under the rubric of subitism."

For a translation of an early biography of Huìnéng in *Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集 (*Collection From the Patriarchs' Hall*, 952 A.D.), see Anderl 2004, vol. 2: 768–787.

ous lineage systems) which has survived nearly unaltered until modern times and became the very basis of Chán/Zen identity.

Prior to the discovery of the Dūnhuáng texts around 1900, only Sòng and Yuán versions of this text were known. In addition, several versions have been discovered in Japanese temple libraries during the 20th century. The discovery of the *Platform Sūtra* among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts triggered a new interest in the text among scholars. For a long period, these studies have been dominated by Japanese researchers, to which a few Western scholars have added their contribution. In recent years, however, Chinese scholars have also shown a growing interest in the *Platform* scripture, particularly after the discovery of several additional Dūnhuáng manuscripts with the text in Chinese libraries. Despite the large number of studies published in recent years on the different versions of this scripture, there is still much disagreement concerning the textual development of the text, its authorship, and a series of other questions. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra*, with a focus on the Stein manuscript and the lesser known Dūnbó (an acronym for Dūnhuáng bówùguǎn 博物館) manuscript kept at the Dūnhuáng Museum. In addition, I briefly review aspects of recent scholarship on the subject and discuss textual and linguistic features of the Dūnhuáng texts. I also argue that a thorough philological approach to the text and its structure, in combination with an analysis of its socio-religious context, might enable us to uncover additional information concerning its origin and function.

Part I: Sources for the Study of the *Platform Sūtra*

1.1 The *Platform Sūtra* Manuscripts from Dūnhuáng

1.1.1 Manuscript S.5475

The *Platform Sūtra* in manuscript S.5475 (Or.8210/S.5475) from the British Library was the second identified among the Dūnhuáng versions of the text. The text is nearly complete, with only three lines missing in the middle portion.[3] The manuscript is bound in the form of a booklet consist-

[3] For a description of the context and textual history of this manuscript, see Yampolsky 1967: 89–121 and Schlütter 2007: 386–394. Based on a number of inconsist-

ing of 52 pages (including six blank pages: pp. 1, 44, 49–52, and two half-blank pages: pp. 2 and 48).[4] Each page is stitched in the middle and typically consists of 14 lines, 7 on each half-page. The text begins on the left half-page of page 2 of the manuscript and the title consists of 3 lines. Characters on the front page are larger than those on subsequent ones (on details of the title, see below). Characters are often vertically not aligned. Each line consists of 19 to 24 full-size characters, but smaller size characters are occasionally inserted in the text. Stanzas (*ghātā*s) are visually distinguished by the insertion of empty spaces between the verses. The manuscript seems to have been copied in a hurry and little consideration was paid to character alignment and spacing, or other aspects of atheistic presentability. It also contains many corrupt passages and a particular system of loan characters.[5] Based on these textual features, Chinese scholars have referred to this copy as the 'bad copy' (*èběn* 惡本), and contrasted it to the more recently identified Dūnbó version of this text.

The Stein manuscript served as the source text for Philip Yampolsky's English translation.[6] He described the manuscript the following way:

> "[…] it is highly corrupt, filled with errors, miscopyings, lacunae, superfluous passages and repetitions, inconsistencies, almost every

encies in the text, Schlütter discerns several layers. Inconsistencies can be found in the 'autobiographical' section of the text (this will be discussed later in this paper), the description of the monk Shénhuì (the de facto creator of the notion of 'Southern School of Chán'), the persons who received the transmission of the text, the role of transmission symbols such as Huìnéng's robe, etc. For a short description of the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra* manuscripts, see also Jorgensen 2005: 596–602.

[4] Reference to the Stein manuscript is given according to 'full' page-numbers (rather than the folded half-pages), line and character number.

[5] For a list of loan and corrupt characters across all extant manuscripts, see Anderl *et al*. 2012: 33–44. There is a strong influence of contemporary Northwestern dialects in the system of phonetic loans, especially in S.5475.

[6] The manuscript was identified by the Japanese scholar Yabuki Keiki 矢吹庆辉 in 1923 at the British Library. The first facsimile reproduction appeared in Yabuki 1933: 102–103 and is also the source of the Taishō edition (T.48, no. 2007: 337a01–345b17; this edition, however, contains many mistakes and misleading punctuation). The Stein manuscript is also the source for the critical edition and translation in Yampolsky 1967. The other Dūnhuáng manuscripts were rediscovered much later and thus Yampolsky could only use later Sòng versions for correcting and amending the Stein manuscript, particularly the Kōshōji version (see below). Yampolsky also structured the text by dividing it into sections introduced in Suzuki and Kuda 1934, as well as the translation of Chan 1963. An edition of the Stein manuscript was also published by Suzuki and Kuda 1934 (in 57 sections) and Ui 1939–1943, vol. 2: 117–172.

conceivable kind of mistake. The manuscript itself, then, must be a copy, written hurriedly, perhaps even taken down by ear, of an earlier, probably itself imperfect, version of the *Platform Sūtra*. What this earlier version was like we have no way of knowing."[7]

Yampolsky dates the copy of the text between 830 and 860, based on an analysis of its calligraphic style.[8] The text also employs particular types of phonetic loans which are thought to reflect a Northwestern regional dialect of that period.[9]

1.1.2 Manuscript Dūnbó 77

Manuscript Dūnbó 77[10] is presently kept at the Dūnhuáng City Museum.[11] The text is preserved as a 93-page booklet in butterfly binding, which con-

[7] Yampolsky 1967: 89.

[8] *Ibid*.: 90. The calligraphic style was analyzed by Akira Fujieda. According to Fujieda, the calligraphic style, the writing tools and the paper are important methods of dating. He analyzed more than five thousand Dūnhuáng manuscripts and his method of dating seems to be especially accurate for the period of Tibetan occupation (786–846). He also noticed that during this period (and until 860) usually bamboo styli were used instead of brushes (for bibliographic references, see Sørensen 1989: 120, fn. 17; on a similar attempt by Ueyama Daishun to date the Chán manuscripts, see Meinert 2008: 216).

[9] For details on the linguistic aspects of the manuscripts, see Anderl *et al*. 2012. "Textual and phonological evidence suggest that the Stein and Lǚshùn Museum texts are later, probably dating from the Cáo clan administration of the Guīyì [歸義] army at Dūnhuáng. The Cáo struggled with the Zhāng [張] for control from 914, and they fell to the Tangut Xīxià state soon after Cáo Yánlù [曹延祿] was assassinated in 1002." (Jorgensen 2005: 597).

[10] References to manuscript Dūnbó 77 are given according to the page number in the facsimile edition Gānsù 1999. The *Platform Sūtra* starts on page 94–46 and ends on page 94–87. As in the case of S.5475, the numbering refers to 'full' pages and not to the folded half-pages.

[11] The Dūnhuáng Museum (Dūnhuáng bówùguǎn 敦煌博物館) is situated in the modern city of Dūnhuáng (presently, a new Museum building is under construction, and the Museum has been closed in 2010). The collection of Dūnhuáng manuscripts stored at this institution is relatively small (81 items) but contains some important manuscripts. The ca. 700 Chinese Dūnhuáng scrolls and fragments held in Gānsù 甘肅 Province are scattered among 11 institutions (most importantly, the Dūnhuáng yánjiūyuàn 敦煌研究院, i.e. the Dūnhuáng Academy situated at the site of the Mògāo 莫高 caves; the Academy has 383 items in its collection). Facsimiles were published in 6 volumes under the title *Gānsù cáng Dūnhuáng wénxiàn* 甘肅藏敦煌文獻 (Gānsù 1999). For a history of the manuscripts which remained in Gānsù and a discussion on their authenticity, see Gānsù 1999: 1–6.

tains five texts, three of them authored by Shénhuì 神會 and/or his disciples, plus the *Platform Sūtra* and a commentary on the *Heart Sūtra* by the Northern School master Jìngjué 淨覺 (683–ca. 750). The manuscript seems to have been in a private collection for some time. A certain Rèn Zǐyí 任子宜 obtained it in 1935 in a temple at Qiānfó shān 千佛山. The text is first mentioned in 1940 by the scholar Xiàng Dá 向達 who catalogued it in his Xīzhēng xiǎojì 西征小記.[12]

Jorgensen (2008: 596) thinks that the texts were combined into a book in Dūnhuáng, since at the end of the 8th century a disciple of Shénhuì by the name of Móhēyán 摩訶衍 ('Mahāyāna') tried to harmonize the teachings of 'Northern' and 'Southern' Schools. Manuscript P.2045 contains the three Shénhuì texts in the same order and it is generally assumed that the texts were written about the same time, during the period when Dūnhuáng was under the Tibetan administration.[13] Zhōu Shàoliáng (1999: 1) points out that the paper of Dūnbó 77 is not typical for the Dūnhuáng area but thicker than usual. He suggests that the copy was not produced at Dūnhuáng but came from a more humid place in the southern region of China.[14]

One of the special features of the Gānsù mansucripts is their early origin, including many copies dating back to the Northern Dynasties period (*Ibid*.: 6). As such, they are also of great value for the study of the development of scribal conventions and calligraphic styles. Most of the manuscripts consist of canonical Buddhist sūtras (and very few *śāstra*s or *vinaya* texts), including some early tantric scriptures, a few apocryphal Buddhist scriptures and the Chán texts on Dūnbó 77. A few manuscripts include administrative and historical texts (for a list of these texts, see *ibid*.: 8).

[12] In Xiàng Dá 1957. See also Fāng Guǎngchāng 2001: 483; the manuscript was eventually given to Lǚ Wéi 呂澂 who published an article on Jìngjué's commentary to the *Heart Sūtra* in *Xiàndài fójiào* 現代佛教 (Lǚ 1961). It is actually not quite clear where the manuscript was kept in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1983 it was 'rediscovered' at the Dūnhuáng Museum by Zhōu Shàoliáng 周紹良. The first major study appeared in 1993 (Yáng Zēngwén 1993).

[13] See Jorgensen 2002: 399–404 and Jorgensen 2008: 597. Evidence suggests that the two manuscripts were not copied during the same period. Judging from the calligraphic style, Ui Hakuju proposed a rather late date of the Stein copy (around 960; see Jiǎng Zōngfú 2007: 85).

[14] These special features of the paper could raise doubts concerning the authenticity of the Dūnbó copy, however, as far as I know there are no doubts or questions raised in secondary literature concerning the authenticity of the Dūnbó or Běijīng copies. At other occasions, particularly Prof. Akira Fujieda has raised more general concerns about the authenticity of many manuscripts stored in the Chinese Dūnhuáng collections; forgeries are often produced with an astonishing degree of mastery. For a more general discussion of Dūnhuáng forgeries see Susan Whitfield, "The Question of Forgeries" (International Dunhuang Project: http://idp.bl.uk/education/forgeries/index.a4D).

Dūnbó 77 countains the following five texts:

(1) *Pútídámó nánzōng dìng shìfēi lùn* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 (*Treatise on Determining Right and Wrong Concerning Bodhidharma's Southern School*)[15]

(2) *Nányáng héshàng dùnjiào jiětuō Chánmén zhí liǎo xìng tányǔ* 南陽和尚頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 (*The Platform Sayings of Preceptor Nányáng on Directly Understanding the [Buddha-]Nature in the Chán Teaching of Liberation [based on the] Sudden Teaching*)[16]

(3) *Nánzōng dìng xiézhèng wǔgēng zhuǎn* 南宗定邪正五更轉 (*Meditation at the Fifth Night Watch on Determining the Wrong and Right of the Southern School*)[17]

(4) *Nánzōng dùnjiào zuì shàng dàshèng móhēbōluómì-jīng Liùzǔ Hùinéng dàshī Shàozhōu Dàfànsì shī fǎ tánjīng yī juàn* 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師韶州大梵寺施法壇經一卷[18]

[15] This text by Shénhuì records the polemic attack on the 'Northern School' initiated in 732. In fact, this is the first text which uses the labels 'Northern' and 'Southern' Schools (see McRae 1986: 8). The text is also found in P.2045 and P.3047.

[16] This text is also found in P.2045.

[17] This text is also preserved in other Dūnhuáng manuscripts, e.g. BD00018, S.2679, S.4634V, S.4654, S.6923 (verso), P.2045, P.2270, P.2948V. For a useful edition of the Shénhuì material, see Yáng Zēngwén 1996. These texts are also important material for linguists since they contain many examples of Táng colloquialism, vernacular phonetic loans and vernacular syntactic constructions. The Shénhuì texts were originally discovered by the famous Chinese scholar Hú Shì 胡適 during a trip to London and Paris and their publication (Hú Shì 1930) triggered an interest in early Chán, especially among Japanese scholars. Based on Hú Shì's publication, the Shénhuì texts were revised and translated into French by Jacques Gernet (1949).

Jorgensen (2005: 596) thinks that the various texts in Dūnbó 77 were combined in Dūnhuáng and reflect an effort to harmonize the 'Southern' and 'Northern' branches of Chán (see below my alternative view). One driving force behind these efforts was a disciple of Shénhuì by name of Móhēyǎn 摩訶衍. According to Jorgensen (2005: 597) P.2045 contains these Shénhuì texts in the same sequence, dating from the time when Dūnhuáng was under Tibetan administration. There seems to have been an increased interest in Chán during that time and many copies of scriptures were ordered, probably for private libraries: "As the cult of Huìnéng grew, with celebrations of his birthday being fêted from at least 832 onwards, monasteries began to make cheaper copies, and the texts were altered to allow easier comprehension in the local Héxī dialect, which is evident in the Stein copy especially." (*Ibid*.: 598). Jorgensen assumes that other versions of the *Platform Sūtra* probably existed during the Táng period (for the evidence suggested, see *Ibid*.: 598).

[18] For an analysis of the title of the *Platform Sūtra*, see below.

(5) *Jìngjué zhù Bōrěbōluómìduō xīnjīng* 淨覺註般若波羅蜜多心經 (Commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā Hṛdaya Sūtra* by Jìngjué) [19]

The first five pages of the manuscript are missing but the remaining part, including the *Platform Sūtra*, is complete. It is interesting to note that while the first four texts belong to the 'Southern' branch of Chán, the last text is usually connected with the 'Northern' School.

1.1.3 Manuscript BD.48

BD.48 (8024) verso is the manuscript preserved at the National Libary of China (NLC).[20] This version of the text is in the form of a scroll, several parts in the beginning are missing and only about one third of the original manuscript is extant. The text is written on the back of an apocryphal sūtra, the *Wúliàng shòu zōngyào jīng* 無量壽宗要經. This version of the text was probably produced somewhat later than Dūnbó 77. BD.48 was already listed by Chén Yuán 陳垣 in his *Dūnhuáng jiéyú lù* 敦煌劫餘錄,[21] but did not attract any attention. The manuscript was mentioned again by Huáng Yǒngwǔ 黃永武 in 1986 in the catalogue called *Dūnhuáng zuìxīn mùlù* 敦煌最新目錄, as well as in publications by the Japanese scholar Tanaka Ryōshū 田中良昭.

There is another copy of the text at the NLC (BD.79, 8958), this fragment, however, only has four and a half lines of text.[22]

[19] Also found in S.4556. The Northern School Master Jìngjué is also the author of one of the earliest Chán transmission texts, the *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 (*Records of the Teachers and Disciples of the Laṇkā[vatāra]*, P.3436, P.3537, P.3703).

[20] Formerly called Běijīng Library 北京圖書館. The shelfmark of the *Platform* manuscript in the collection is BD04548. Jorgensen (2005: 597) thinks that this manuscript was copied somewhat later than the Dūnbó manuscript: "It is incomplete, with both ends of the *Platform Sūtra* broken off, and it is possible the copyist was confused or was transcribing from a faulty copy. Only about a third of the *Platform Sūtra* remains." For a facsimile reproduction, see Lǐ Shēn and Fāng Guǎngchāng 1999: 233–246. In total, 153 lines are extant; in some places, the characters are very condensed. The calligraphy is rather awkward and inconsistent, sometimes even coming close to a xíngshū 行書 style. In the 'condensed' parts, there are typically 26 to 29 characters per line, in other parts between 21 and 25.

[21] Reprinted in Chén Yuán 2009.

[22] The size of the page is 17 cm × 25.3 cm. 10 vertical lines are outlined, but only the first 5 contain text (18/18/17/18/6 characters). For a facsimile reproduction see Lǐ Shēn and Fāng Guǎngchāng 1999: 232.

1.1.4 The Lǚshùn Manuscript

This manuscript was preserved at the Lǚshùn 旅順 Museum (Lǚshùn bówùguǎn 旅順博物館) near Dàlián 大連 (Liáoníng Province), which previously housed part of the Ōtani Collection.[23] In 1954, 620 Dūnhuáng scrolls were moved from the Dàlián Museum and are now part of the NLC collection. Only nine scrolls remain at the museum together with the bulk of ca. 20,000 fragments from Central Asia (mostly from Turfan and Kharakhoto). In reality, the text on the Lǚshùn manuscript was the first Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra* to be discovered. It was originally described as a booklet bound in a butterfly format, consisting of 45 folios, folded into 90 pages. It is the only *Platform* text which is dated (959), and is probably the most recent copy among the surviving manuscripts.[24] Until very recently, only one photograph of the beginning and the end were known.[25] These photographs have been taken at Ryūkoku University when the manuscript was still in Japan.

However, in the beginning of 2010 the Chinese press announced the rediscovery of the complete manuscript and an exhibition at the Lǚshùn Museum.[26] This rediscovery is sensational and the study of this manuscript will no doubt have a significant impact on our understanding of the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.[27]

[23] The Dūnhuáng manuscripts were collected during the three expeditions to Central Asia organized by Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞 (1876–1948; he participated personally only in the first expedition) between 1902 and 1914. Following a financial scandal which forced him to leave Japan, the items brought back from Dūnhuáng became dispersed and found their way into various collections in China, Korea and Japan. Important collections include those in the Lǚshùn Museum and Ryūkoku University, Kyōto.

[24] Early mention can be already found in *Dàgǔ Guāngruì shì jìtuō jīng mùlù* 大谷光瑞氏寄託經目錄 (published between 1914–1916). There is also mention of this version of the *Platform Sūtra* in Yè Gōngchuò 1926. For bibliographical details, see Fāng Guǎngchāng 2001: 481.

[25] For facsimile reproductions of the photographs, see for example Zhōu Shàoliáng 1997: 106–107.

[26] For some photographs of this rediscovered manuscript, see http://blog.sina.com.cn (2010-01-28 17: 05: 51) where several low-resolution pictures were published.

[27] For a press release, see, for example, http://www.chinareviewnews.com from January 30, 2010. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see a copy of the manuscript since only a few pictures have been published in the Chinese press. According to the available information, the manuscript is in the form of a stitched booklet in butterfly binding, containing 52 full and 105 folded pages. Prior to the discovery, it was assumed that it consisted of 45 full pages – folded into 90 half-pages (Jorgensen 2005: 597). The copy of the text is dated with *Xiǎndé wǔ nián yǐwèi suì*

1.2 Later Editions of the *Platform Sūtra*[28]

1.2.1 The Huìxīn Edition

This is the earliest version that had been known prior to the discovery of the Dūnhuáng texts. The Huìxīn 惠昕 edition is usually dated to 967 (5th year of the Qiāndé 乾德 era) and introduces the title *Liùzǔ tánjīng* 六祖壇經 (Yanagida 1976). The text is divided into two fascicles. The original version is not extant and only indirectly known through versions discovered in Japanese monastery libraries. This version of the *Platform Sūtra* is attributed to the monk Huìxīn 惠昕.[29] It was printed in the 23rd year of the Shàoxìng 紹興 era (1153) and is also referred to as the Cháo Zǐjàn 晁子健 version.[30] It was transmitted to Japan, where one of its related versions survives at the Kōshōji 興聖寺 Monastery.[31] The Huìxīn version

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顯德五年乙未歲 (‘*yǐwèi* year of the 5th year of the Xiǎndé era’). This is probably a mistake for 顯德六年, the 6th year of the Xiǎndé era which is A.D. 959. In addition, the manuscript includes another text, the apocryphal *Dà biàn xiézhèng jīng* 大辯邪正經. A special feature of this manuscript version concerns the punctuation marks added in red ink. According to a press release at http://www.gg-art.com (January 29, 2010), the manuscript is one of the items taken by the Ōtani expedition from Dūnhuáng. During the 1950s, when objects from the museum were moved by the Department of Cultural Objects, the scroll became lost. When the collection at Lǚshùn Museum was re-examined in 2003, the manuscript was actually photographed but nobody recognized it as being of particular value. In December 2009 it was ‘rediscovered’ and, following an evaluation by a group of scholars, its authenticity was confirmed. Originally, the Lǚshùn manuscript had been the first copy of the *Platform Sūtra* recognized as early as 1912, long before it was transferred to the Lǚshùn Museum.

[28] For a more thorough discussion of these later editions, see Schlütter 2007: 394–405. Here, only a brief overview is provided in order to place the Dūnhuáng manuscripts in a historical context.

[29] He was a resident of the Huìjìn 惠進 Monastery, situated at Mt. Luóxiù 羅秀 in Yǒngzhōu 邕州.

[30] According to Schlütter 2007: 386, this edition was also the basis of the longer versions of the text, with amendments from the *Jǐngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 (*Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jǐngdé Era*, 1004).

[31] In addition, the Koryŏ 高麗 print from 1207 is also based on this version. According to Yampolsky, the Huìxīn edition is known from a handwritten preface (copied in 1599 by the monk Ryōnen) to the Kōshōji edition (which is in turn based on the Gozan 五山 edition, stemming from the Northern Sòng edition of 1153). In the preface, Huìxīn states that “the text was obscure, and students, first taking it up with great expectations, soon came to despise the work. Therefore he revised it, dividing it into eleven sections and two *juàn*.” (Yampolsky 1967: 99–

is also the basis for other editions discovered in Japanese temples, including the Tenneiji 天寧寺, Daijōji 大乘寺[32] and Shinfukuji 真福寺 editions. There has been much discussion concerning the sources behind the Huìxīn edition, since Huìxīn states that he used an 'old edition' (*gǔběn* 古本) which he characterizes as *fán* 繁, the exact meaning of which is still ardently discussed among scholars (on this term, see below).[33]

1.2.2 The Qìsōng Edition

This refers to the edition produced by Qìsōng 契嵩 beween 1054 and 1056 (the Zhìhé 至和 era during Rénzōng's 仁宗 reign). He changed the title to *Liùzǔ dàshī fǎbǎo tánjīng Cáoqī yuánběn* 漕溪大師法寶壇經曹溪原本 (*The Platform Sūtra of the Dharma Treasure of the Great Master Cáoqī – the Original Cáoqī Edition*), usually referred to as Cáoqī yuánběn 曹溪

100). The second preface to the Kōshōji edition dates from 1153 and is attributed to Cháo Zǐjiàn 晁子健. This edition is possibly part of the manuscript dated to 1031 and which had been copied by Cháojiǒng 晁迥 (Wényuán 文元) from the Huìxīn version (*Ibid*.: 100).

[32] This edition is another version going back to the Northern Sòng (the preface states that it is based on the second printing from 1116). It is similar to the Kōshōji text but less polished and contains more errors. The preface is written by Cúnzhōng 存中. Some researchers assume that the Daijōji edition is identical with the Huìxīn edition:

"I am inclined to believe, and this again is purely speculation, that both the Daijōji and Kōshōji texts represent edited versions of Huìxīn's manuscript edition of 967. […] There is, apart from the differences already alluded to, one significant place where the two texts are at variance: this is in the theory of the twenty-eight Indian Patriarchs. The Kōshōji text, with certain changes, follows largely the version found in the Dūnhuáng manuscript. The Daijōji version, on the other hand, is based on the *Bǎolín zhuàn* [寶林傳 dating from 801]. […] Thus what had been a text of comparatively small distribution became available to all branches of the sect and to the Sòng literati in general by virtue of Huìxīn's edition. The Daijōji version may then represent the text as adopted by one of the Chán schools which derived ultimately from the schools of Nányuè [南嶽] and Qīngyuán [清原], and the Kōshōji text may well represent the text as taken up by the Sòng literati, among whom a refined copy of the text was more important than such details as the accuracy of the transmission of the then accepted patriarchal tradition" (Yampolsky 1967: 101–104).

[33] For an overview of doctrinal differences between the Dūnhuáng manuscripts and the Huìxīn version, see Jorgensen 2005: 600. Jorgensen also thinks that the *Fǎbǎo jì tánjīng* mentioned by the Japanese pilgrim Ennin 圓仁 (and supposedly transmitted to Korea in 826) might have been an earlier version of the Huìxīn stemmata of the text.

原本 (Yanagida 1976). The Qìsōng edition itself is not extant but seems to be a version of the text between the Huìxīn and the Northern Sòng versions (upon which the Kōshōji and Daijōji versions were based).[34] The text is in one fascicle, subdivided into 20 *pǐn* 品, consisting of ca. 20,000 characters, as contrasted to the ca. 12,000 characters in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, and the ca. 14,000 characters in the Huìxīn version.

1.2.3 The Kōshōji Edition

The edition is preserved at the Kōshōji temple 興聖寺, Kyōto, and was discovered in the 1930s. This version of the text is mostly based on the Huìxīn edition, and is much longer than the Dūnhuáng manuscripts discussed above.[35]

1.2.4 The Zōngbǎo Edition

The Zōngbǎo 宗寶 edition dates from 1291 and has the title *Liùzǔ dàshī fǎbǎo tánjīng* 六祖大師法寶壇經 (*The Dharma Treasure Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*).[36] Zōngbǎo states in his postface that he had compared and revised three previous versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.[37] The text was published in Southern China, independent of the Déyì 德異 edition (see below). This largely expanded version of the original *Platform Sūtra*

[34] On details of the history of this edition, see Yampolsky 1967: 104–106. Qìsōng's edition seems to have been the basis for the enlarged Yuán Dynasty editions (1290 and 1291):

"These two editions are very similar, and have obviously been based on the same work, which must be presumed to have been Qìsōng's missing text, or possibly a later revision of it. The two Yuán editions are greatly expanded, and include much new material not previously associated with the *Platform Sūtra*. Thus Qìsōng's version, which is listed as being in three *juàn*, must also be presumed to have been an enlarged text" (*Ibid*.: 106).

[35] On the Kōshōji, see Ui 1939–1943, vol. 2: 113; reproduced photolitographically by Suzuki 1938; for an edited and comparative version see Suzuki and Kuda 1934. There is also a facsimile reproduction from 1933, Kyōto (*Rokuso dankyō* 六祖壇經). The Kōshōji version is also the basis of the edition of Nakagawa Taka (1976), heavily annotated and including translations into classical and modern Japanese.

[36] This edition is not divided into fascicles and is the source text for the Taishō edition (T.48, no. 2008: 245–265). It has been translated into English in Luk 1962: 15–102, and more recently in McRae 2000.

[37] For the postface, see T.48, no. 2008: 364c9–365a4.

became the most popular one, and was integrated into the Míng Buddhist canon (together with the preface of the Déyì edition).

1.2.5 The Déyì Edition

The Déyì 德異 edition is another printed version from Yuán times, dating from the 27th year of the Zhìyuán 至元 era (1290), and it represents the basis for a Koryŏ print from 1300.[38] This edition is closely related to the Qìsōng edition. Although the Déyì and Zōngbǎo prints appeared nearly simultaneously, they do not seem to be based on each other but rather share a common source.[39]

1.2.6 The Xīxià Editions

The extant parts of the Xīxià 西夏 edition can be found in Shǐ Jīnbō 1993. In 1929, more than 100 manuscripts from the Xīxià Buddhist canon were discovered at Běijīng University, including 5 pages of the *Platform Sūtra.*[40]

In addition to the above versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, we have references to other versions that are no longer extant, for example in the lists made by the Japanese pilgrims Ennin 圓仁 (in 847)[41] and Enchin 円珍 (in 854, 857 and 859).[42]

[38] See Gen En'yū 1935: 1–63. There is another reprint from Míng times (the 7th year of the *chénghuà* 成化 era, i.e. 1471), the printing was actually done at Cáoqī. Other reprints were made in 1573, 1616 and 1652. The Qìsōng, Zōngbǎo and Déyì versions all consist of ca. 20,000 Chinese characters.

[39] It appears that Déyì used a version in the stemmata of the Huìxīn edition, in addition to a version of the Qìsōng edition:

"Both Yuán editions divide the text into ten sections; there are certain differences within the sections, and the titles given to each section are at variance. […] The chief difference in the two Yuán texts lies in the amount of supplementary material that is attached. Déyì includes only his preface and the one attributed to Fǎhǎi. The Zōngbǎo edition contains Déyì's preface, Qìsōng's words in praise of the *Platform Sūtra*, Fǎhǎi's preface, the texts of various inscriptions, and Zōngbǎo's postface" (Yampolsky 1967: 107).

[40] A translation into modern Chinese and reproductions of photographs was published in Luó Fúchéng 1932. For facsimile reproductions of the 5 fragments found at the Běijīng University, see Lǐ Shēn and Fāng Guǎngchāng 1999: 250–252.

[41] The text is referred to as *Cáoqī-shān dì-Liùzǔ Huìnéng dàshī shuō jiànxìng dùnjiào zhí liǎo chéng Fó juédìng wúyí fǎbǎo-jì tánjīng* 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記檀(=壇)經 (T.55, no. 2167: 1083b8).

[42] Referred to as *Cáoqī-shān dì-Liùzǔ Huìnéng dàshī tánjīng* 曹谿(=漕溪)山第六祖惠能大師壇經 (T.55, no. 1095a19); *Cáoqī Néng dàshī tánjīng* 曹(=漕)溪能大師

1.3 Notes on the Relationship between the Different Versions of the *Platform* Texts

In recent years, several controversies concerning the relationship between the Dūnhuáng manuscripts and the later editions have re-emerged. Eversince the discovery of the Dūnhuáng texts, one of the central issues discussed among scholars was the question whether the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra*s were the earliest versions of this text. Another concern is whether there is an 'Urtext' from which all the other versions derive, or whether several versions circulated simultaneously. All the extant Dūnhuáng copies seem to belong to the same text family. However, there is much disagreement whether these copies are already expanded or different versions of an earlier *Platform Sūtra*. Other frequently discussed questions are the authorship of the *Platform Sūtra* and its relationship to the monk Shénhuì.

As for the sequence of the copies, Zhōu Shàoliáng (1999: 5) thinks that the Běijīng manuscript is the earliest copy (also based on features of the paper) and that it was produced in Dūnhuáng. The remaining three copies belong to the same stemmata of texts and are all interrelated. Zhōu Shàoliáng also argues that the discrepancies with the Huìxīn version are the result of the interpolation of later material, as well as the misunderstanding of many passages of the Dūnhuáng versions, rather than of the existence of an earlier version of the *Platform Sūtra* known to Huìxīn (for a more thorough discussion of some of these differences, see below).

Ui Hakuju (1996) assumes that there was an original version of the *Platform Sūtra* from ca. 714, written immediately after Huìnéng's death, which reflected his teachings as recorded by Fǎhǎi. Several textual layers were added to this text, most likely by students of Shénhuì, until the present manuscript version was completed in ca. 820.[43]

Hú Shì regards the Dūnhuáng manuscript as a copy of an earlier version but attributes the text to Shénhuì and/or his disciples, rather than to Huìnéng or Fǎhǎi. Hú Shì's view was challenged already in 1945 by Qián Mùshǒu 錢穆首 who attributed the original version of the *Platform Sūtra* to Fǎhǎi, recording the teachings of Huìnéng (as such accepting the information provided in the Dūnhuáng copies). Jiǎng Zōngfú 蔣宗福 also argues against Hú Shì by comparing the *Platform Sūtra* with the texts attributed to Shénhuì.[44]

壇經 (T.55, no. 2172: 1100c25) and *Cáoqī Néng dàshī tánjīng* 曹(=漕)溪能大師檀(=壇)經 (T.55, no. 2173: 1106b21), respectively.

[43] Yampolsky 1967: 89.

[44] He argues that some passages directly contradict each other and that the *Platform Sūtra* therefore cannot be a product by Shénhuì and/or his disciples. One example

During the last 15 years a growing interest has developed among Chinese scholars towards the *Platform Sūtra*, rediscovered as a kind of 'national treasure', resulting in many new studies and critical editions. Probably the best of these new editions is the collated and annotated edition of the Dūnhuáng manuscript Dūnbó 77 by Dèng Wénkuān and Róng Xīnjiāng (Dèng and Róng 1999). Other editions include Guó Péng 1981, Guó Péng 1983, Zhōu Shàoliáng 1997, and Lǐ Shēn and Fāng Guǎngchāng (1999: 29–91). Studies by Chinese scholars have also been concerned with the textual history of the Dūnhuáng *Platform* copies and the parts changed and added by later editors (specifically by Huìxīn).[45] Another concern has been whether the Dūnhuáng *Platform* is the earliest version of this text,[46] or whether there had been an 'Urtext' which served as a basis for the different versions that circulated during the Táng dynasty.

Chinese scholars such as Zhōu Shàoliáng (1999: 4–5) argue against the existence of an earlier version of the *Platform Sūtra* which would have significantly differred from the extant Dūnhuáng versions. One of the arguments used for the existence of an earlier version has been Huìxīn's remark 古本文繁 "the text of the old edition is *fán*". The word *fán* 繁 has been interpreted in various ways. For example, one opinion was that it

focuses on the role of the robe in the transmission of the teaching: the monk's robe plays a central role in the transmission scheme of Shénhuì whereas it is downplayed in the *Platform Sūtra* which emphasizes the transmission of the scripture itself (Jiǎng Zōngfú 2007: 86–87). In my opinion, although the arguments of Jiǎng Zōngfú are valid, his conclusions are not necessarily true. Considering the complex structure of the manuscripts, certain contradictions are only natural. Sørensen (1989) already observed the multilayered composition of many Chán treatises and poems, often assembled in the form of a 'Baukasten' system the elements of which were used in several texts. For a case study of text fabrication by assembling 'text blocks' in the works attributed to the meditation master Wòlún 臥輪, see Meinert 2008. More generally on the structure of Chán texts, see Anderl 2012: 46f.

[45] Some of these studies are concerned with which parts of the text 'should not have been changed' by Huìxīn and later editors. Although these studies provide useful information concerning the textual development of the *Platform* scripture, they sometimes betray a judgmental undertone in discussing these developments and a reluctance to include considerations of historical and doctrinal developments. For example, the idea that the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra* would not have fit into the doctrinal framework of Sòng Chán and the inferior literary quality, the abundance of mistakes and inconsistencies in the manuscripts would not have been accepted by the Sòng literati readership. For this kind of textual studies, see for example Zhōu Shàoliáng 1997: 175ff; for a list of textual passages "which should not have been changed but have been changed" (*bù dāng gǎi ér gǎi zhe* 不當改而改者), see Lǐ Shēn 1999b: 127–137.

[46] E.g. Lǐ Shēn 1999c.

means 'numerous', which is in conflict with the usual assumption that the early versions of the *Platform Sūtra* – as evidenced by the Dūnhuáng manuscripts – were shorter than the later Sòng versions. Schlütter translates the term as "troublesome" (2007: 395):

> There has been considerable disagreement about what Huìxīn might have possibly meant with this term. Since *fán* can mean 'many' or 'excessive' some have argued that Huìxīn abbreviated a longer text. (*Ibid*.: 395, fn. 43)

Theoretically, the Dūnhuáng copies could have been based on a later version of the text than the Huìxīn version. However, there is not enough evidence at this point to reach conclusive decisions concerning this point. Zhōu Shàoliáng (1999: 22) interprets *fán* as 'vexatious' or 'confusing' (instead of referring to a longer version which was abridged).[47] Nányáng Huìzhōng 南陽慧忠 (675–?), the famous Táng monk and rival of Shénhuì, thus attacked the Dūnhuáng versions as 'altered' and abridged versions. Jorgensen thinks that the interpretation of *fán* as 'troublesome; difficult [to read]' is more likely because of the many vulgar and corrupt characters in the manuscript texts.

An analysis of the usage of *fán* in pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist literature reveals that the word hardly ever means 'to be numerous' in a literary or rhetorical context. Although one of the basic meanings of *fán* is 'to be/become numerous; become abundant; proliferate/multiply; flourish; etc.', it is usually used ideomatically with quantifiable concrete items such as plants, animals, and humans. Moreover, it seldom refers to abstract nouns in the sense of 'numerous', and when it does, the nouns typically signify 'punishment', 'litigation', 'taxes', etc.[48] Another typical meaning of *fán* is 'to be multifaceted; complex (such as patterns, design or colors); (over-) elaborate (such as rituals); diverse; detailed; > blended/intermingled; etc'. In contexts referring to speech acts, literature, and rhetorics, *fán* virtually never has the meaning 'numerous' (in terms of the amount of words, etc.).[49] Based on the evidence of the typical usage of *fán*, I conclude

[47] See also Jorgensen 2005: 601.

[48] E.g. 則刑乃繁 'then punishments will be *numerous*' (Guǎnzǐ 管子 1.1). The analysis of *fán* is based on searches in the *TLS* database.

[49] E.g. 文辭繁重 'the style is *elaborate* and heavy' (*Bǎiyú jīng* 百餘經 93.3); 樂繁 'the music is *elaborate*' (*Guōdiàn yǔcóng* 郭店語叢 1.21); 多言繁程 'if one makes many words and offers *detailed* pronouncements' (*Hánfēizǐ* 韓非子 3.1/2); 繁於文采 'be *elaborate* in one's rhetorical style' (*Ibid.*); 繁辭 '*elaborate* formulations' (*Ibid*.: 6.4/1); 繁說 '*diverse* explanations' (*Ibid*.: 32.14/2); 繁文 '(*over*-)

that Huìxīn's remark probably did not refer to the length of this 'old text' but rather to its textual, literary or dogmatic structure.

In the past decade several important studies by Western scholars appeared, discussing the relationship between the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. In particular, Morten Schlütter, one of the most prominent *Platform* specialists in the West, recognizes a distinct influence by the Shénhuì faction in the formation of the text (Schlütter 2007), and at the same time discerns other layers in it, hence the ambivalent picture of this important monk, which is reflected in the early versions. Schlütter also tries to approach the textual problems more systematically by applying the methodology of textual criticism. Concerning the relationship between the Dūnhuáng versions and the Huìxīn edition, he writes:

> […] we cannot know for sure what Huìxīn changed and what was already different from the Dūnhuáng version in the edition or editions of the *Platform Sūtra* that Huìxīn used. The Huìxīn version pretty much follows the general outlay of the Dūnhuáng version. Overall, its biggest contribution to the text is in its 'cleaning up' the text and fixing miswritten characters as well as clarifying and expanding the many obscure or corrupt passages. However, the Huìxīn version also augments the text of the *Platform Sūtra* with various additions. (Schlütter 2007: 395)

Another problem discussed by scholars is the comment by Nányáng who accuses disciples of Southern providence (*nánfāng zōngtú* 南方宗徒) of having altered the original version of the *Platform Sūtra*.[50]

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elaborate formulations' (*Hánshī wàizhuàn* 韓詩外傳 6.6/3); 不假繁辭 'not get idly involved in *elaborate* discussions' (*Zǔtángjí* 祖堂集 3).

[50] This criticism is recorded in *Jǐngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 from 1004 (T.51, no. 2076: 438a CBETA):

是南方宗旨。把他壇經改換。添糅鄙譚削除聖意惑亂後徒。 豈成言教。苦哉吾宗喪矣。 若以見聞覺知是佛性者。 淨名不應云法離見聞覺知。 若行見聞覺知是則見聞覺知非求法也。

This teaching/doctrine of the South altered that *Platform Sūtra* by adding and mixing in vulgar expressions, the saintly intent was removed and mislead later generations of disciples. How could that constitute the spoken teaching [of the Sixth Patriarch]? How painful that my teaching has been destroyed in this manner! If one regards the processes of perception (lit., seeing, hearing, cognition, knowing) as being Buddha-nature then Vimalakīrti certainly would not have stated that the dharma is separate from seeing, hearing, cognition and knowing! If one practices seeing, hearing, cognition and knowing then seeing, hearing, cognition and knowing certainly is not searching for the dharma.

Because of the many mistakes and inconsistencies in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, Yampolsky (who only knew the Stein version of the text) regards the Northern Sòng versions as more representative of the text. The Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra* consists of ca. 12,400 characters whereas the later 'orthodox' versions consist of ca. 20,000 characters. The Dūnhuáng version consists of two main parts, the record of the sermon at the Dàfàn Temple and secondly conversations between Huìnéng and some of his disciples.

Jorgensen[51] dates the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra* to ca. 781 (Jorgensen 2005: 577): "Evidently popular despite its parochial claims, it helped usher in a new form of 'pien-wen-style' [*biànwén* 變文] hagiographies that captivated 'Chán' audiences." Regarding the authorship of the *Platform Sūtra*, he puts forward the following argument:

> I surmise from this evidence that initially a text that Huìzhōng called a 'platform sūtra', probably connected to a sermon by Huìnéng, was produced. However, later, changes were made due to a misunderstanding of the doctrine. It was this altered text Huìzhōng criticised before 774 as the corrupted text containing the Southern heresy. The *Cáoqī Dàshī zhuàn* and Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra* have linked some of this with Shénhuì, and perhaps Dàyì in turn was attacking this material as a product of Shénhuì followers. It is possible then that this text was compiled by Zhēnshū [甄叔, d. 820] or Chéng-

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However, this criticism does not appear in the biographic entry on Huìzhōng in the earlier *Zǔtáng jí* (952), where the criticism is rather directed towards the teachings of Shénhuì (for a study of Huìzhōng's entry in *Zǔtáng jí* and his criticism of a 'Chán Master of the South' [i.e. Shénhuì], see Anderl 2004a: 149–224; for a translation of his biographic entry in *Zǔtáng jí*, see Anderl 2004b: 603–634) and the assumption that there is an eternal soul which survives the physical body. On Chinul's 知訥 (1158–1210) reaction to this criticism, see Jorgensen 2005: 598f.

[51] The recent monumental publication (close to 900 pages) of John Jorgensen (2005) on the evolution of the hagiography of the Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng provides a wealth of details on relevant material concerning the development of the early Chán School. Although the arguments are often overly complicated and not always presented in a very reader-friendly way, it is exactly this kind of meticulous scholarship which is needed at this point in medieval Buddhist studies. One of the important features of Jorgensen's work is that he tries to place the development of the Chán school within the broader context of historiography, political developments, factional and ideological disputes between Buddhists, and more generally of contemporary Buddhist and secular literary production.

> guǎng [乘廣, 717–798], leaders of the southern branch of Shénhuì's lineage. (Jorgensen 2005: 627)[52]

On the other hand, Ibuki Atsushi maintains that Fǎhǎi recorded a sermon by Huìnéng which did not reflect Shénhuì's ideas. These ideas were eventually inserted at a later date by Shénhuì's disciples (including dialogues between Huìnéng and his disciples and the hagiography of Huìnéng predicting Shénhuì). In addition, the lineage of the patriarchs was added, as well as the verses of transmission. These parts were the basis of the Dūnhuáng copies of the *Platform Sūtra*.[53]

However, Jorgensen argues that it is not likely that Shénhuì authored the *Platform Sūtra* since the Dūnhuáng versions contain criticism of Shénhuì and his teaching of *wúniàn* 無念 ('no-thinking'). It is also linked to a lineage headed by Fǎhǎi.

> Therefore, the *Platform Sūtra*, at least in its Dūnhuáng version, was not written by Shénhuì, and yet it was likely used by Shénhuì's disciples, if not composed by them. Possibly, these students were connected with Wùzhēn, the last name in the transmission list from Fǎhǎi in the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra*. A monk named Wùzhēn (816–895) was renowned in Dūnhuáng and elsewhere, especially Cháng'ān, and it was in Dūnhuáng that we find the earliest extant copies of the *Platform Sūtra*. (Jorgensen 2005: 633)

Jorgensen tries to reconstruct the complicated textual history of the *Platform Sūtra*. Some of his most important conclusions are as follows:

(a) Shénhuì influenced the ideas of the *Platform Sūtra* but did not author it directly.
(b) Based on Huìzhōng's comments, an original version of the *Platform Sūtra* had already been altered before 774.
(c) An original version was mainly based on a sermon by Huìnéng and influenced by Shénhuì's *Platform Talks* (*tányǔ* 壇語).
(d) Another version with additions from scriptural sources was maybe produced by Chéngguǎng, i.e. the 'heretical' version attacked by Huìzhōng.
(e) Based on lineage disputes, the 'autobiographical' part was added. In addition, ideas of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī 馬祖道一 (709–788) and others were incorporated. This is how the *Fǎbǎo jí tánjīng* version was created.

[52] According to the Chán and Huáyán scholar Zōngmì 宗密, Shénhuì's lineage was considered orthodox in 796 by Emperor Dézōng 德宗.

[53] According to Jorgensen 2005: 632.

(f) As early as the 8th century, different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* were in circulation.[54]

(g) One of these versions possibly evolved into the Dūnhuáng version between 850 and 880, another version into the *Fǎbǎo jí tánjīng* version. This would be the version which the Japanese monk Dōchū mentioned as having been sent to Korea in 826 and brought to Japan in 847.

(h) The *Fǎbǎo jí tánjīng* version influenced the Daijōji, Qìsōng and Kōshōji editions.

(i) Jorgensen concludes that at least three version of the *Platform Sūtra* circulated during the Táng Dynasty:[55]

> Yet Ennin's evidence, and that of Dōchū, proves that a *Fǎbǎo jì tánjīng*, a version with a title different to that of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, was in circulation before any of the extant Dūnhuáng manuscripts were copied. The title is unusual, reflecting possibly the hagiographical section (*fǎbǎo jì*), as in the earlier hagiographical collections like the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì*. To this was added the '*Platform Sūtra*' or sermon section. Moreover, the title differs from the Dūnhuáng version in that it stressed 'seeing the nature' and 'becoming Buddha' rather than the 'Mahāprajñāpāramitā' and 'Supreme Vehicle.' Thus, three versions of the *Platform Sūtra* at least circulated during the Táng dynasty, one found in Cháng'ān, another in Dūnhuáng, and yet another in the South or Cáoqī. (Jorgensen 2005: 601–602)

One of the most fascinating aspects of the text is its title, which asserted that this was a sūtra, a claim which must have felt outrageous at the time:[56]

> The authors of this text, implying that Huìnéng was a Buddha, called it a *sūtra*/*jīng*, and whole-heartedly adopted the stance of the Indian Buddhist cult of the book, which saw itself superior to the cult of relics. (Jorgensen 2005: 670)

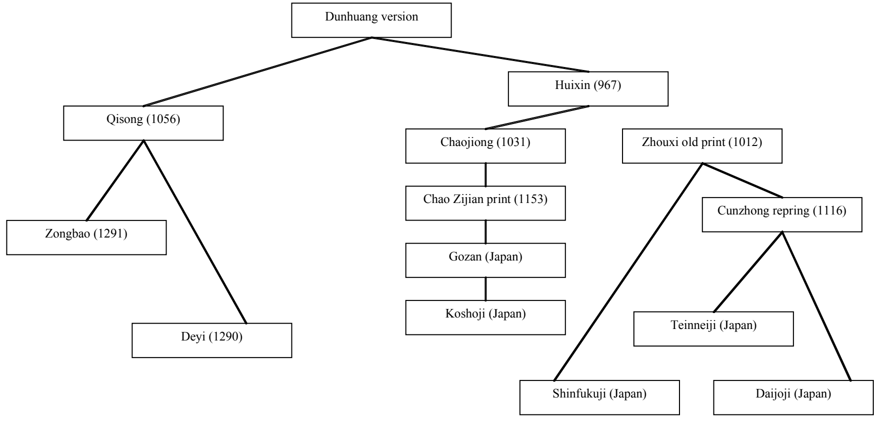
[54] "In contrast, Dàyì attacked a northern version of the *Platform Sūtra* associated with other disciples of Shénhuì for making the *Platform Sūtra* a symbol of transmission and incorporating the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* material from the late works of Shénhuì, thereby downgrading and removing the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. Thus, Dàyì, probably between 786 and 806, alleged also that a *Platform Sūtra* was formed or 'created' by followers of Shénhuì" (*Ibid*.: 636). In contrast with this view, I believe, as it will be discussed later in this paper, that the *Vajracchedikā* materials were the core of the at least the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra*.

[55] For another well-grounded article tracing the evolution of the *Platform Sūtra* and discussing the different later versions, see Schlütter 2007.

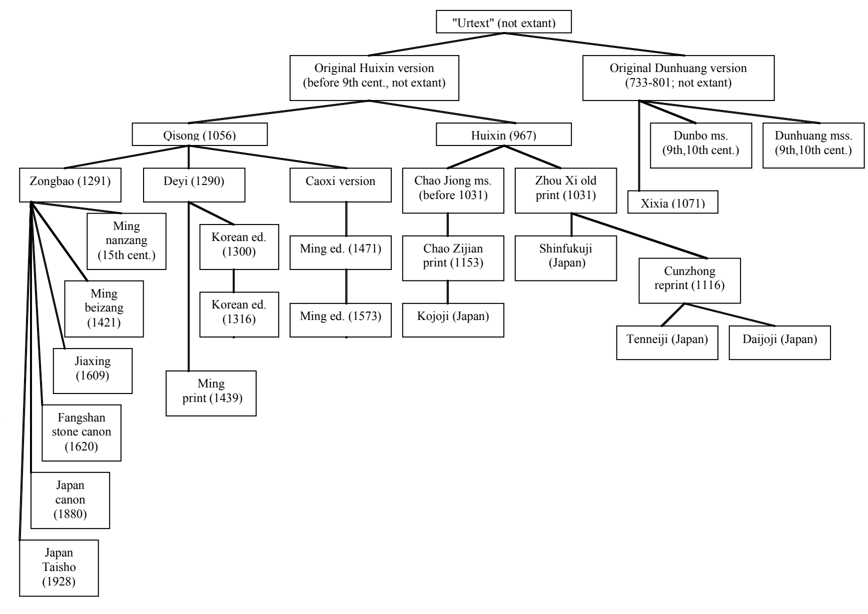
[56] In the third part of this paper, I will argue that this interpretation might not necessarily apply to the early versions of the text.

1.4 Diagrams of the Evolution of the Platform Sūtra

1.4.1 Ishii Shūdō's Theory (Diagram 1):

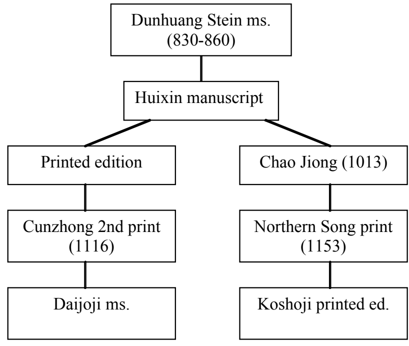


1.4.2 Yáng Zēngwén's Reconstruction of the Textual Evolution of the Platform Sūtra (Diagram 2):[57]

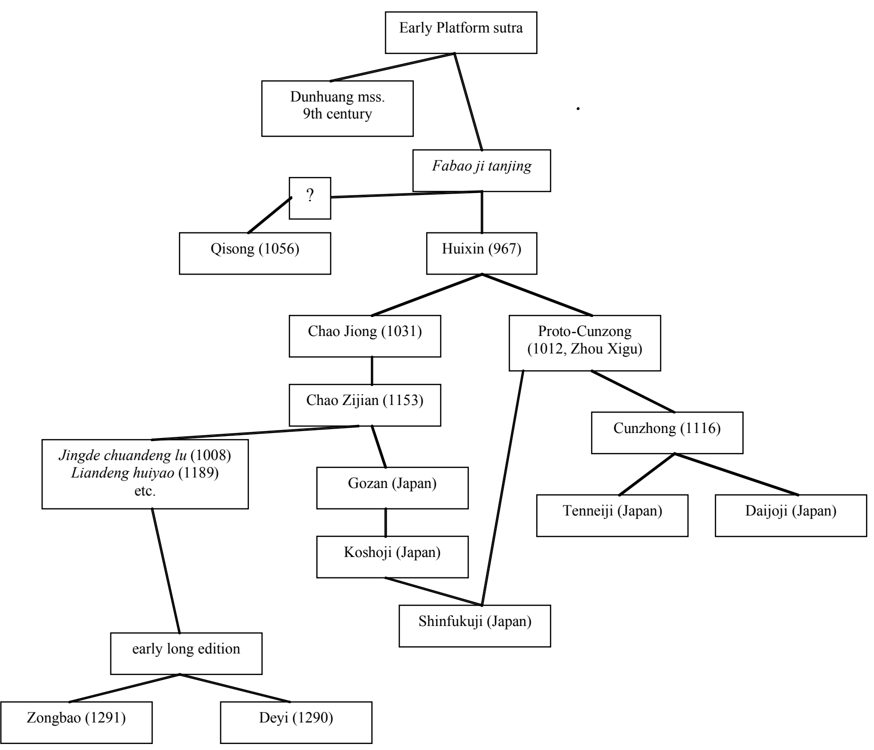


57 Yáng Zēngwén 1993: 297 and Lǐ Shēn 1999a: 19.

1.4.3 Yampolsky's (1967) Theory (Diagram 3):



1.4.4 Genealogy of the Platform Sūtra According to Morten Schlütter (Diagram 4):[58]



[58] Based on Schlütter 2007: 385.

Part II:
The Textual and Visual Features of the Manuscripts

In particular manuscript S.5475 from the Stein collection is characterized by having been copied rather sloppily, without much consideration for the aesthetic outcome. There are many copying mistakes, the characters are often not aligned, their size differs, and their number per line varies considerably. There are also variations in the number of lines on a page (for example 8 lines per half-page on page 20 as compared to 7 lines on most other pages), or – as on page 31 of the Stein manuscript – 6 lines on the right half-page and 5 lines on the left half-page. After the blank page 54, the number of lines is reduced to 5 per half-page.

In contrast with other manuscripts where the verses are usually aligned correctly, in our case some poems seem to have been copied in a great hurry (e.g. S.5475: 27 and 28, see Figures 1 and 2), with significant differences in spacing, and a number of missing or amended characters.

The calligraphy on Dūnbó 77 is much more tidy and visually appealing, with 6 lines per half-page and 24 to 26 characters per line. By and large, the text is vertically aligned, and on some pages we can still discern the vertical grid lines which aid the copyist in keeping the text aligned. As in the Stein manuscript, the verses are visually distinct from the narrative parts and the copyist uses repetition markers. At the same time, there are fewer insertions and scratched out characters.

2.1 Markers and Scribal Interventions[59]

The *Platform Sūtra* manuscripts use a variety of markers, including spaces, varying character size, repetition markers, sequence markers, and added or deleted characters. These scribal interventions, which in most cases were probably added by the owner or reader of the text, are an important feature of the manuscripts. Below is a short enumeration of some of these features.

[59] For a general study of scribal markers in Dūnhuáng texts see Galambos (forthcoming). The markers used in the *Platform Sūtra* manuscripts are typical of those used in Dūnhuáng manuscripts, yet it is surprising how many of them are used here in one text. In addition, the 'boxing in' of characters in the Běijīng manuscript appears to be particular.

2.1.1 Repetition Markers

Repetition markers can be inserted between more than one character, as in the following example where four repetition markers inserted after four characters indicate that the string of these four characters (and not each character separately as 弘弘忍忍和和尚尚) is to be repeated:

弘忍和尚 弘忍和尚 (S.5475: 04.03–04.04; see Figure 3)

Curiously, the same repetition marker also appears in Dūnbó 77 (94-47.08; see Figure 4), in the phrase inserted in small characters on the right side of the text. Repetition markers can be also be inserted beyond (unmarked) phrase borders:

各作一偈呈吾。吾看汝偈。。。 (S.5475, see Figure 5)

The following is an interesting way of using repetition markers (rm):

甚rm甚rm難rm難rm

The phrase should be read:

甚難 甚難 甚難 甚難

In the Dūnbó parallel passage (94–49) the markers look somewhat different (and there is only one repetition; see Figure 6). However, a repetition marker may or may not be used when two identical characters follow each other. In the following passage the first repeated character is written out whereas the second one is marked by a repetition marker:

修修行rm > 修行修行 (S.5475: 47.07; see Figure 6)

2.1.2 Scratched Out Characters

In the Stein manuscript, characters are occasionally scratched out (e.g. S.5475: 03.01and S.5475: 20.04.03). The Dūnbó manuscript copyist usually avoided this technique for deleting characters, probably because it is visually unappealing.

2.1.3 Empty Spaces Inserted in the Text

In S.5475, besides the spaces inserted in the title, only poems are marked by an insertion of a new line; spaces are also inserted between each verse of the poems, as in S.5475: 06.06–06.07 (see Figure 8); 06.09 (see Figure 9) and 23.08–12 (see Figure 10).

In Dūnbó 77, spaces are sometimes inserted in the text, for example before the beginning of the introduction of direct speech (spoken by Huìnéng: 大師說/言 'the Master said…' 94–63; 94–65; 94–68) or before a new section in the narrative (94–76.11 時有 'at that time there was…', or 94–77.05 又有一僧 'there was another monk who…'). BD.48 rarely has spaces inserted, and these sometimes indicate the beginning of direct speech by the Sixth Patriach (e.g. BD.48: 29, 31, and 76, before the word *shànzhīshí* 善知識 'good friends'), or between verses of poems (e.g. BD.48: 121–124). There are also some occurrences where the text is 'boxed in' (e.g. BD.48: 46 佛者覺也 'Buddha means *awakened*;' 127: 西國第一師宗旨大師; and right at the top of line 128: 達摩祖師 'Patriarch [Bodhi]dharma').

2.1.4 Inserted Characters

Occasionally, missing characters are inserted in small writing, usually to the right side (e.g. S.5475: 10.03, see Figure 11). On rare occasions they may also be added at the top before the first character of a line.

In S.5475: 20.06 the passage reads 少(小)根智(之)人 'persons of dull capacity (lit. 'small roots;' see Figure 12):[60] the inserted small character is a phonetic loan (智 for 之). This somewhat unusual loan might have been motivated by the wording of the phrase right above containing a 智 (大智上根人 'persons of superior roots with great wisdom'). The insertion of 智 was really not necessary, since 小根人 'persons of minor capacity' also makes sense. The 智 was probably inserted in an attempt to construct the phrase parallel to the previous phrase. However, strictly parallel, the passage should have read 小智下根人 ('person of minor wisdom and inferior roots'). Not surprisingly, the passage 此是最上乘法，為大智上根人說，小根智人若聞法，心不生信 was rephrased in later editions, i.e. T.48, no. 2008: 350c12–13(CBETA):

> 此法門是最上乘。為大智人說。為上根人說。小根小智人聞。心生不信。
>
> This teaching is the Superior Vehicle (Mahāyāna) and is expounded for persons with great wisdom, is expounded for people with superior capacity. If persons of minor capacity and small wisdom listen [to this teaching] their minds will produce disbelief.

[60] For other examples of inserted characters see Figure 13 (S.5475; 汝心不見 '…your mind does not understand…' > 汝心迷不見 '…[if] your mind is confused it does not understand…;' see Figure 13) and Dūnbó 77: 94–69 where the conjunction *yǔ* is inserted after Huìnéng (Figure 14).

2.1.4 Small-sized Characters

Small characters can have the function of marking a new section in the text such as in 下是法 'below is [an account of his] teachings' (S.5475: 10.07.03; see Figure 15), introducing the section dealing with the teachings of Huìnéng and concluding the biographical section. Occasionally, small characters are also used to indicate to the reader how the text should be used in ritual contexts, e.g. how often a passage should be read aloud. As such, they function as a sort of 'performance marker.'

In the following example from S.5475, two missing characters are inserted in the text. This shows that the text was either checked by the copyist after copying (which I consider unlikely because of the presence of many other mistakes) or that the text was compared to another text and amended accordingly:

萬法人興 > 萬法本從人興 (see Figure 16) '…the 10,000 dharmas arise from men'

Both in the Stein and Dūnbó manuscripts a few characters are singled out and defined as the 'correct teaching' by a phrase inserted afterwards in small characters:

已上十六字是正法 'the above 16 characters are the correct teaching' (see Figure 17)

Stein has a mistake (which would render the passage oblique without the existence of other copies): 家 'family' instead of 字 'character'; the mistake is generated by a certain graphical similarity of the two characters. By the above method the preceding 16 characters are marked as especially important: 諸佛世尊唯以一大師因緣故出現於世 (S.5475: 32.01, see Figure 18 and Dūnbó 94–75.10). It is not quite clear why these characters are singled out. Possibly, they played an important role in the rituals connected to the use of the *Platform Sūtra* or to the bestowal of formless precepts.

Generally, the size of characters is much more even and consistent in Dūnbó 77 as compared to the Stein manuscript. It is quite obvious that aesthetic considerations were more important for the copyist of the Dūnbó manuscript.

2.1.5 Missing Characters

The textual features of the manuscripts are further complicated and some passages appear to be corrupted because of missing characters. As described above, missing characters were occasionally amended. However, especially in the Stein manuscript there are many missing characters with no omission marked. The most likely reason is that they were overlooked by the

copyist. If the omissions remained undetected, such mistakes could accumulate by being transmitted from one copy to the next. For example, in S.5475: 21.08.01–03 there is a missing 人 (see Figure 19) and the passage should read 皆因人置 'all are established based on men', the way this occurs in the other manuscripts.

2.1.6 Superfluous Characters

There is a superfluous 法 in the phrase on Dūnbó 77: 94–47.11 (see Figure 20). In addition, the small 未 inserted on the right side does not seem to fit. Such superfluous characters are a common feature of manuscripts.

2.1.7 Marking Superfluous Characters

The marker indicates a mistaken character that should be deleted from the text as the 國 in Dūnbó 77: 94–48.02.05 (see Figure 21): 心量國大 > 心量大. The marker is also used in the Stein manuscript, e.g. the character 座 is deleted (S.5475: 47.02.19, see Figure 22). Although this method seems to have the same effect as scratching out a character it might be sometimes preferred as an aesthetically more appealing way.

2.1.8 Marker for Reversing the Sequence of Characters

The marker indicates that two characters have to be read in reversed sequence. For example, in Dūnbó 77: 94–47.06 (see Figure 23): 吾弘祖忍 > 吾祖弘忍 'our patriarch Hóngrěn' and Dūnbó 77: 94–52.03 (see Figure 24) 法受 > 受法 'receive the dharma.' This marker is used frequently in all three manuscripts.

2.2 Textual Discrepancies

The following are specific textual features of the *Platform Sūtra* manuscripts:

(1) Considering the relatively short length of the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra*, it has a large number of phonetic loans. Interestingly, many loans seem to be based on the language spoken in the Northwestern regions during the late Táng Dynasty.[61] It is also interesting that there are 'clusters' of loan characters.

[61] For a list of these phonetic loans and other features of the characters, see Anderl *et al*. 2012: 30–44.

(2) Another feature is the large number of corrupted characters, usually generated by the close resemblance of handwritten forms of some characters.

In S.5475 the number of horizontal strokes in square 'boxes' that form the structural part of characters is often reduced; for example, 自 ('oneself') is often written as 白 ('white'), e.g. S.5475: 05.02.10 白 (> 自).

In S.5475: 10.04.18 奪 ('steal') should be 寮 (> 僚 'official').

S.5475: 11.08 has *shùn* 順 'accord with' for *xū* 須 'should', which appears correctly in the Dūnbó and Kōshoji versions. Examples like this are numerous, particularly in the Stein manuscript.

(3) In all manuscripts – but particularly in the Stein one – there are passages where characters are *left out*, *superfluous*, or written in a *wrong sequence*.

There is a superfluous 作 in the right vertical line (S.5475: 04.6.13; see Figure 25) which in the Stein manuscript may be explained by an appearance of another 作 in the line to the left. This form of miscopying is not unusual in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts since the copyist in the process of copying occasionally inserts a character which appears to the right or left in the adjacent line ('mistake generated by the context'). However, this interpretation would not work in this case since this 作 also appears in the Dūnbó manuscript (and in the later Huìxīn version).[62] Yampolsky (1967: 127, fn. 19) explains the 作 the following way:

> The text reads: *wéi qiú Fó-fǎ zuò* [為求佛法作]. Since we have a series of four-character phrases, it would seem best to regard the *zuò* as an extraneous character. Kōshōji, however, renders the clause: *wéi qiú zuò Fó* 為求作佛 (I seek only to become a Buddha), and since later in this section of the Dūnhuáng text we read: 'How can you become a Buddha?' it would appear very likely that the original wording of the clause is as found in the Kōshōji edition.

In the following passage, a superfluous 買 is inserted (Dūnbó 77: 94–53.01; see Figure 26). In S.5475:10.04 (see Figure 27) a superfluous 來 is inserted below 人.

In the passage 內外一種 'inside and outside are of one kind (i.e. the same)' (S.5475: 11.02; see Figure 28) there is a superfluous 眾 'mass (of

[62] The explanation might still work if the Dūnbó 77 manuscript was copied on the basis of the Stein manuscript, however, the Dūnbó manuscript is usually regarded as an earlier copy.

people)' homophone to the correct 種 'kind; sort' following it. The loan character 眾 is not marked as superfluous.[63] The Dūnbó has the correct phrasing 內外一重.

A quite common mistake is the *wrong sequencing* of characters. Also this mistake can sometimes be explained by the process of fast copying: certain combinations of Chinese characters have been internalized by the copyist and are performed automatically in the process of copying ('mistake generated by internalized conventions'). In the following example, the frequently used compound 自心 'one's own mind'[64] is found in a wrong sequence of characters: 自心淨神 should be 自淨心神 'one's own pure mind.'

The same might also apply to the following passage in S.5475: 於一切法無上有執著 (S.5475: 11.07; see Figure 29), correctly written as 於一切法上無有執著 'towards all dharmas there is no grasping' in Dūnbó 77: 94–54.04. Yampolsky follows Kōshōji in skipping 上 which in the Dūnhuáng text is used as part of a somewhat unusual coverbal construction (於…上) 'localizing' (and as such topicalizing) an abstract object: 一切法 'all dharmas.' Kōshōji opts for a more 'regular' construction by omitting 上, and in addition preserving a 4+4 characters sequence.[65] As for changing the sequence, the copyist might have unconsciously done so since the sequence 無上 'unsurpassed, unexcelled' is a very frequently used compound term in Buddhist texts.

In S.5475: 11.10 (see Figure 30) we have the following phrase: 心住在 (=在住)[66]即通流住即彼縛 'If the mind is in stagnancy then it is in free flow; if it is stagnant (abiding) then it is tied up (bound)' which seems to be corrupt in both manuscripts. The (reconstructed) Huìxīn reading is 心不住… 'if the mind is not abiding (stagnant)…' which fits the context well.[67] The pronoun 彼 should probably also be read as passive marker 被 (according to Suzuki's edition), since the two characters look similar in handwriting and can be easily confused. Yampolsky regards the Dūnhuáng version as not readable and adopts the stylistically elaborate Kōshōji version of the passage (which also uses a 4+4+4+4 characters structure):

[63] According to Dèng and Róng (1999: 402, n. 5) this is a North-Western dialect loan.

[64] The sequence 自心 'one's own mind' is very common in Buddhist texts and specifically in Chán texts (a count in CBETA amounts to nearly 4,700 occurrences).

[65] A typical example of 'text sanitation' in order to make it acceptable among educated Sòng readership.

[66] The reverse reading is marked by a diacritic on the right side in Stein, making the passage identical with Dūnbó 77: 94–54.06.

[67] See Dèng and Róng 1999: 256, n. 13.

心不住法　道即通流　心若住法　名為自縛

If the mind does not abide in things the Tao circulates freely; if the mind abides in things, it becomes entangled.

(Yampolsky 1967: 136)

(4) Occasionally, whole passages are corrupted and rendered illegible by such features. During the 1960s, when Yampolsky translated the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra* into English, only the Stein manuscript was available. Thus, many passages remained unresolved. Since then, based on comparisons with the Dūnbó 77 and Běijīng manuscripts several passages were successfully resolved or alternative readings established. Below are only a few examples:

五祖忽見惠能但()即善知識大意 (S.5475: 09.01)

Yampolsky considers the passage corrupt and translates it as "The Fifth Patriarch realized that I had a splendid understanding of the cardinal meaning." (Yampolsky 1967: 132).

The parallel passage in Dūnbó clarifies the meaning, at least to a certain degree:

五祖忽來廊下見惠能偈即知識大意 (Dūnbó 77: 94–51.12)

The Fifth Patriarch unexpectedly came to the lower part of the corridor and when he saw Huìnéng's *ghātā* he immediately knew that he had realized the cardinal meaning.

The corruption in the Stein manuscript might be partly due to mistakenly copying 但 (‘only’) in place of 偈 (‘verse’). In addition, through automatism in the copying process, the frequently used 善知識 ‘good friend/teacher’ replaced the rarer combination 知識 (‘knew that [he] realized’).

In the passage 欲擬頭惠能奪於(衣)法 (S.5475: 09.11.12) ‘… planned to hurt Huìnéng and steal his robe and dharma’ the copyist mistakenly wrote 頭 ‘head’ which possibly resembled 損 ‘damage’ in the manuscript. In the Yampolsky edition the phrasing is as such: 欲擬害惠能 (Yampolsky replaces 頭 with 害, another word for ‘to damage’). The parallel passage in the Dūnbó manuscript 欲擬損惠能奪衣法 (Dūnbó 94: 52.09) is correct, however, a space is mistakenly inserted between 損 and 惠 (ironically turning 惠能 into the subject of the phrase: 惠能奪衣法 ‘Huìnéng stole the robe and dharma’ instead of ‘…wishing to hurt Huìnéng and steal the robe and the dharma’).

The next passage has a particular phrasing:

能於嶺山上便傳法惠惠順順得聞言下心開 (see Figure 31)

It shoud read …惠順惠順[68] … ‘Thereupon [Huì]néng transmitted the dharma to Huìshùn on top of Mt. Líng. When Huìshùn heard it he became enlightened.’ The sequence 惠順惠順 possibly derives from the fact that in an earlier version repetition markers were used after 惠 and 順 in order to mark the repetition of the whole phrase. However, in the process of copying the repetition was resolved in a mistaken way, instead of repeating the two characters as a whole each of them was repeated individually. This is supported by the fact that Dūnbó uses repetition markers (see Figure 32).

The last part of the ‘autobiographic’ section has several textual problems.[69] At the same time, although there are problems, some passages in the Dūnhuáng versions do make sense:

Stein (10.06-07) has the following phrasing:

願聞先<u>性</u>教者各須淨心聞了願<u>白餘</u>迷<u>於</u>先代悟

Compare this with the phrasing in Dūnbó (94-53.03-04):

願聞先<u>聖</u>教者各須淨心聞了願<u>自除</u>迷<u>如</u>先代悟

性 ‘nature’ is a (dialectal) phonetic loan for 聖 ‘sage;’ in previous passages, the Stein copyist often wrote 自 similar to 白 ‘white’ or ‘to say’ (as a comparison of character forms reveals, the Stein calligraphy tends to reduce the number of vertical strokes in ‘boxes’). In addition, in Dūnhuáng manuscripts determinatives in the characters are frequently exchanged (in this case 餘 > 除 which obviously leads to a mistaken reading). 於 is a (dialect) loan for *rú* 如 ‘be like; resemble’, however, I suspect that it also could be read as loan for *yī* 依 ‘be based on’ (as exemplified in other passages). Thus, a tentative translation of the passage would be as below:

> “If you wish to listen to the teaching of the former sages each of you has to purify the mind and after having listened [to the teaching] you will produce the wish to eradicate your delusions by yourself and be enlightened in the same way as the former generations” (or a possible reading in Stein: “be enlightened in accord to the former sages”).

The passage in the Yampolsky edition, amended with Kōshōji, is as follows:

[68] In later editions the name of the person is Huìmíng 惠明.

[69] Yampolsky 1967: 134, fn. 51: “The Dūnhuáng text is unreadable here; Kōshōji, p. 18, has been followed.”

願聞先聖教者各須淨心聞了願自除迷如先代聖人無別

"If you wish to hear the teachings of the sages of the past, each of you must quiet his mind and hear me to the end. Please cast aside your own delusions; then you will be no different from the sages of the past." (Yampolsky 1967: 134; ed. page 五)

The following passage is of great interest since the differences between the Stein and Dūnbó manuscripts are usually rather minor. However, in this case 18 characters are missing from Stein. This suggests that probably a complete line was omitted by the copyist (or by a copyist of an earlier copy, and the omission was preserved in this particular line of text transmission):

善知識遇悟即成智 (S.5475: 10.09)

And here is the Dūnbó version:

善知識愚人知人仏性本亦無差別只緣迷悟迷即為愚悟即成智

There are a few passages where both Stein and the other manuscripts are corrupt, as it is the case in the following example. Both S.5475: 10.12 and Dūnbó 77: 94–53.09–10 have 此義即是惠等 which makes little sense. Kōshōji resolves the passage in the following way:

此義即是惠定等 "[…] this means that wisdom and meditation are alike." (Yampolsky 1967: 135)

Part III: A Few Textual Problems and Reflections on the Background of the *Platform Sūtra*

3.1 The Problem of the Title Page

Although the title of the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Sūtra* is the part which was transformed most radically in later versions of the text – abbreviated to the simple title *Liùzǔ tánjīng* is some editions – it poses numerous problems and there are surprisingly few studies on it.[70] Problems

[70] There is, for example, a study by Fāng Guǎngchāng (1999), primarily discussing the question into how many sections the title should be divided, which phrases/parts

are already encountered in the visual presentation of the title on the title page. Characters on the title page of the Stein manuscript (see Figure 33; for the Dūnbó 77 title, see Figure 34) are of larger size as compared to the following pages. The title consists of three parts:

南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經
六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經一卷
兼受無相戒弘法弟子法海集記

Yampolsky translates the title the following way:[71]

"*Southern School Sudden Doctrine, Supreme Mahāyāna Great Perfection of Wisdom:*
The Platform Sutra Preached by the Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng at the Dàfàn Temple in Shàozhōu, one roll,
recorded by the spreader of the Dharma, the disciple Fǎhǎi, who at the same time received the Precepts of Formlessness."

In the Stein manuscript the title consists of three lines, the first beginning on the top of the page, whereas the other two are indented, probably indicating that copyists considered the first part as the 'primary' title and the other two as 'secondary' ones. Interestingly, all the Dūnhuáng manuscripts have a break after 兼受無相 'all received the formless…' (the

belong together, and where spaces should be inserted. He concludes that the title should be read in two parts:

南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經
六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經一卷兼受無相戒弘法弟子法海集記

He also thinks that the small characters of 兼受無相 possibly indicate the 'topic' of the scripture and that the space inserted after the phrase symbolizes 'emptiness' (i.e. the 'formless' precepts; another interpretation is 'honorific space' after an important term; this was suggested by Christian Wittern in a personal discussion). However, these conclusions by Fāng Guǎngchāng remain tentative.

[71] Yampolsky 1967: 125. Although the contents of the *Platform Sūtra* is not the focus of this article, it should be noted that the self-reference '*jīng* 經' ('*sūtra*') must have felt outrageous to many contemporary readers, since there was no precedence for calling the work of a Chinese monk by this name (of course, *jīng* has been used many times previously for apocryphal scriptures which pretended to be translations of *sūtra*s but were in reality authored by Chinese monks), thus directly placing the sermon of the monk Huìnéng on the same level as the words of the Buddha. Even hundreds of years later, at a time when the Chán School had become deeply rooted in Chinese society, the monk Qìsòng had to justify the reference to this scripture as '*sūtra*' (see Yampolsky 1967: 125, fn. 1), and the scripture was in addition purged by a Liáo emperor because of this reason.

Stein version uses also smaller characters for the phrase),[72] although the break should be after 戒 and the phrase should read 兼受無相戒 'simultaneously received the formless precepts.' On the one hand, this seems to be a clear indication that the manuscripts belong to the same text family. In addition, it might also indicate that the copyist could not make sense of the phrase either. 'Formless precepts' was a relatively new term which had arisen as part of the practice of administering the Buddhist vows to lay persons during large congregations (壇 referring to the raised platform for delivering sermons and administering the precepts) and might have been unknown to the copyists. On the other hand, 無相 'formlessness' (Skr. *alakṣaṇa*) was a Mahāyāna Buddhist term frequently used in medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures. This sequencing possibly reflects an attempt to make sense of the phrase. Since this break appears in all extant manuscripts it could be that the initial mistake, *if* it was indeed a mistake, became customized by successive copyists or that it was eventually even regarded as a special feature of the title. These conclusions, however, are tentative.[73]

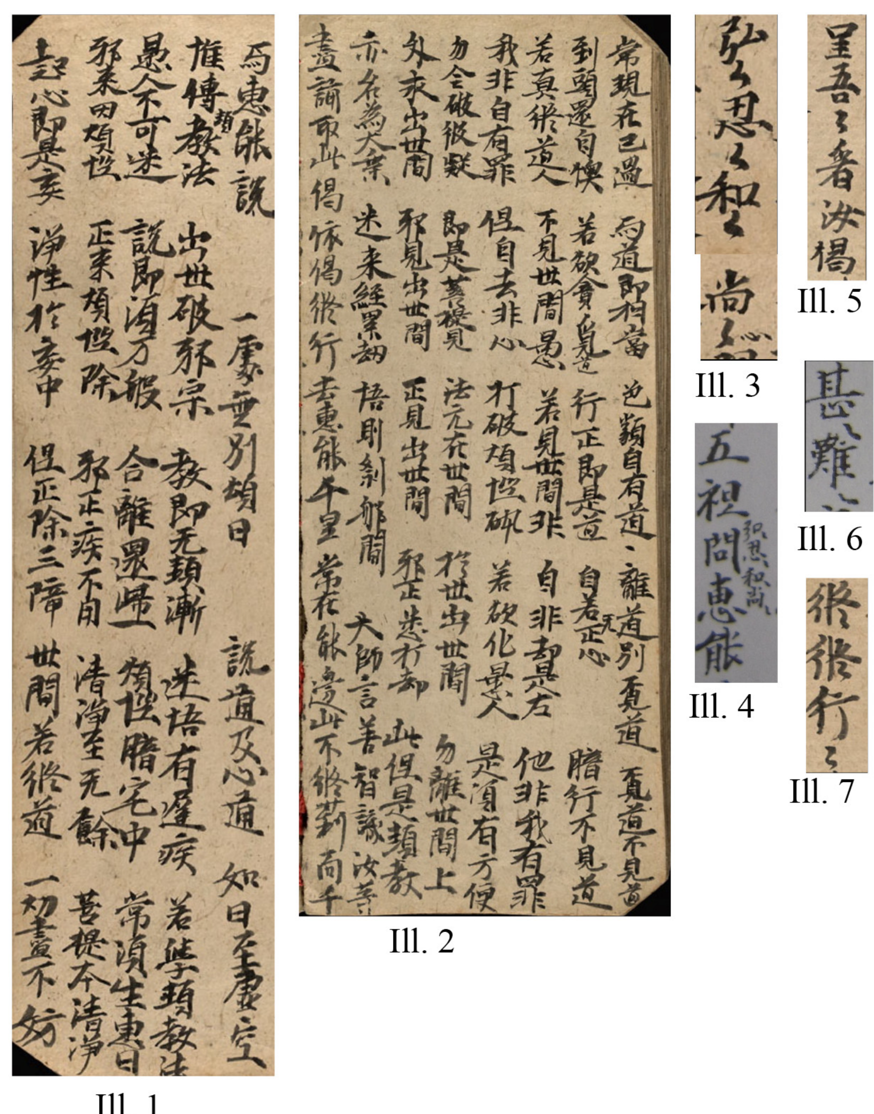
There are also problems related to the translation of the title by Yampolsky. The word 受 'to receive' in 兼受無相戒 is most probably a phonetic loan for 授 'to bestow', and as such it should be read as 'to bestow the formless precepts.' This reading is also supported by the starting section and some other passages in the text:[74]

> 惠能大師於大梵寺講堂中昇高座說摩訶般若波羅蜜法受 (＝授) 無相戒 (S.5475: 02.04.01–03.01.10)
>
> Great Master Huìnéng ascended the high-seat at the lecture hall of the Dàfàn Temple and expounded the teaching of the Great Perfection

[72] In manuscript Dūnbó 77 兼受無相 is directly connected to the second part of the title, written in regular size letters. After an empty space of about 5 characters the phrase 戒弘法弟子法海集記 is added in smaller letters. The title in Dūnbó 77 consists of 2 lines. The title of the Lǚshùn manuscript consists, similar to the Stein manuscript, of three lines, all in large characters. The second line is indented and starts two characters below the first. The third part of the title is further indented and starts two characters below the second, suggesting a 'hierarchy' of titles. Above the second and third lines markers are inserted (in order to mark the separate titles in addition to the new line?). The title page of the Běijīng manuscript has not survived.

[73] On the other hand, the very length and unclear structure of the title invites ambiguity. Another rather outrageous feature of the title section is the inclusion of a conjunction (*jiān* 兼) which usually has the function of coordinating verbal phrases.

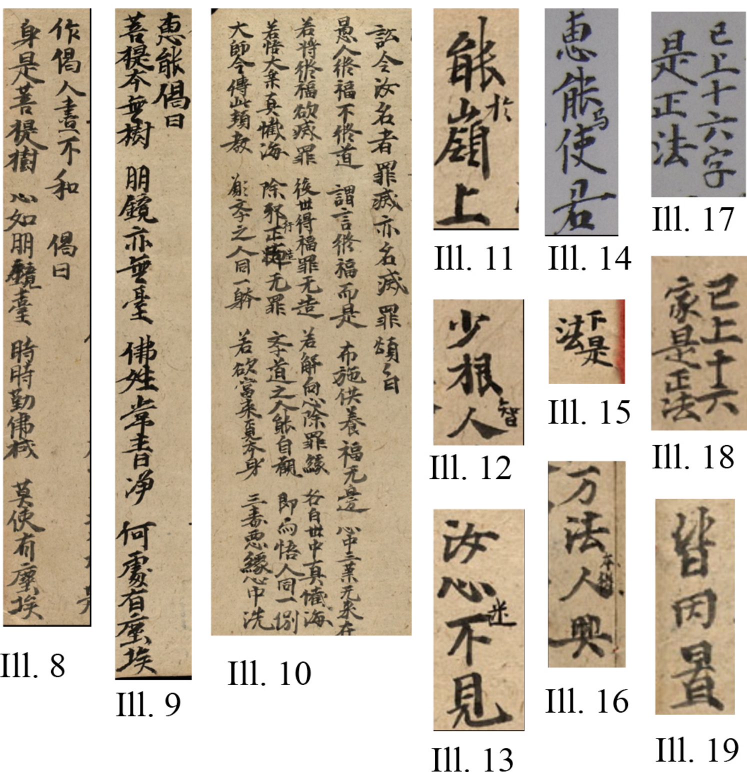
[74] On this point, see also Dèng and Róng 1999: 217–218, n. 2.



Figures 1–7.

of Wisdom (Skr. *mahāprajñāpāramitā*) and *bestowed the Formless Precepts*.

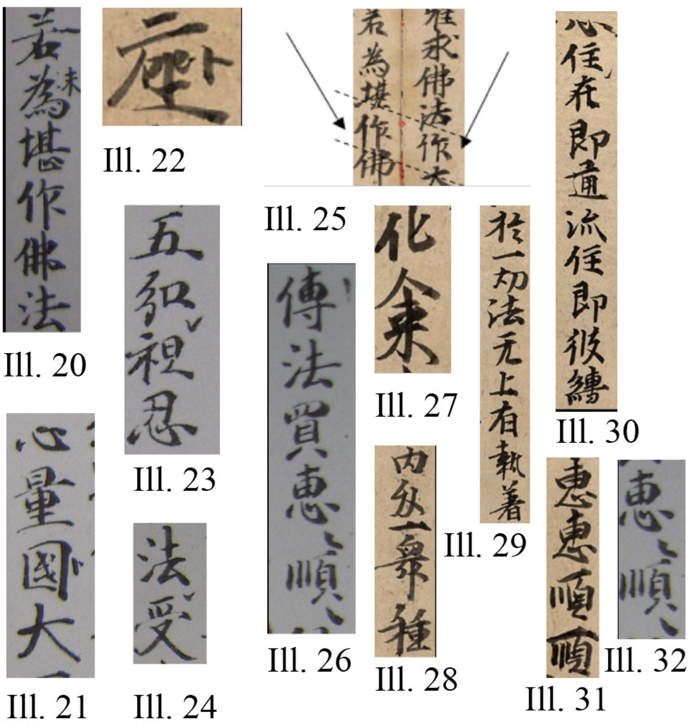
Indeed, a more thorough philological/linguistic analysis of the title reveals that its meaning and structure is by no means trivial and straightforward. It is also possible that the first line of the title (i.e. 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經) does not refer to Huìnéng's text at all. Indeed,



Figures 8–19.

it is unlikely that the *Platform Sūtra* would categorize itself as a *prajñā-pāramitā sūtra* which is a clearly defined category of scriptures in Indian and Chinese Buddhism. I think that this line – which is also the main part of the title – raises the possibility that it refers to the *Diamond Sūtra* (in one fascicle!) which constitutes the central doctrinal framework[75] of the text, as well as other texts in Dūnbó 77 where its doctrine and the *sūtra* itself is described with the highest attributes (see below). Thus, the first part of the title might have originally referred to the central scripture of the

[75] Also, Jorgensen thinks that the parts concerning the *Diamond Sūtra* are among the earliest in the build-up of the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra*: "Therefore, although it is not possible to definitely produce a sequence in Shénhuì's corpus, it is most unlikely that the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* was interpolated into his works. Rather, it was a core foundation for his practice, and it therefore came to influence some elements of the creation of the *Platform Sūtra*, at least in its Dūn-huáng versions." (Jorgensen 2005: 611).

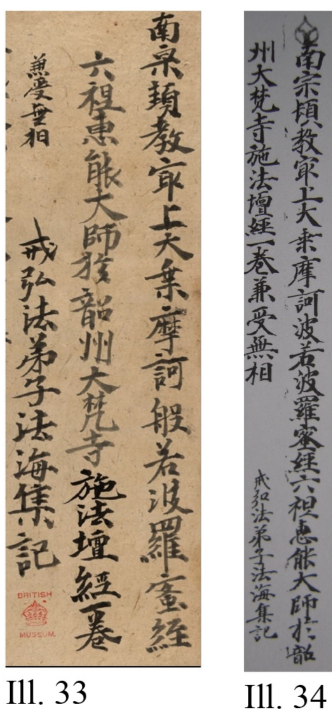


Figures 21–32.

text which also provides the doctrinal framework of the ‘Southern School’, i.e. the *Diamond Sūtra*. This sūtra also plays a crucial role in the rituals surrounding the bestowal of the precepts. The phrase 最上大乘[76] is in fact rare in canonical literature.[77] A possible reading of the first part of the

[76] It should be also noted that in the text itself the teaching of the *Diamond Sūtra* is referred to as 最上乘法 ‘the teaching of the Highest/Supreme Vehicle’!

[77] There is also external evidence for this: in the commentary text *Xiāoshì Jīngāng jīng kēyí huìyào zhùjiě* 銷釋金剛經科儀會要註解 the term ‘最上大乘’ is directly interpreted as referring to the *Diamond Sūtra* (CBETA, ZZ. vol. 24, no. 467: R092_p0434a18); see also *Ibid*.: R092_p0437b18: 夫欲了最上大乘。須具金剛正眼 ‘If you want to understand/complete the Supreme Mahāyāna you are obliged to be fully endowed with the *Diamond*-like True Eye (i.e. true understanding);’ and *Ibid*.: R092_p0438a05: 夫欲了最上大乘。金剛經者。此經乃大乘終實之教。即般若大慧也 ‘If you wish to understand/complete the Supreme Mahāyāna, [this is] the *Diamond Sūtra*; this *sūtra* is the ultimately real teaching of Mahāyāna, it is the great wisdom of *prajñā*.’ The phrase also appears in other commentaries to the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Jīngāng jīng zhùjiě* 金剛經註解 (CBETA, ZZ. vol. 24, no. 468:R038_p0845a03) and the *Jīngāng jīng yǐng shuō* 金剛經郢說 (CBETA,



Figures 33–34.

ZZ. vol. 25, no. 488: R039_p0624a16). In canonical literature, the phrase appears for example in the *[Mahā]ratnakūta* (*Dàbǎojí jīng* 大寶集經), T.11, no. 310: 543a3. However, most frequently the term appears in texts of 'esoteric' Buddhism, for example in the *Dàshèng yújiā jīngāng xìnghǎi mànshūshìlì qiānbì qiānbō dàjiào wáng jīng* 大乘瑜伽金剛性海曼殊室利千臂千鉢大教王經.

"The *Dàshèng yújiā jīngāng xìnghǎi mànshūshìlì qiānbì qiānbō dàjiào wáng jīng*. 10 fascicles (T 1177A.20.724–776), abbreviated as *Great Tantra of Mañjuśrī* 文殊大教王經, and as *Thousand Bowls Sūtra* 千鉢經, trans. unknown (attributed to Amoghavajra 不空 and Hyecho 慧超 in colophon). The unique form of Mañjuśrī it describes is represented in art dating from the late Táng, Xīxià and Northern Sòng. […] this is an apocryphon based partly on the *Avataṃsaka* 華嚴, […] The account given in the colophon (probably also apocryphal) states Hyecho was working on it with Vajrabodhi for several years when Vajrabodhi died, the later sections still untranslated. Per Vajrabodhi's instructions, the Sanskrit text was sent back to India. Subsequently Hyecho worked on this text with Amoghavajra, with whom the translation was completed. Hyecho's relation with Amoghavajra is on firmer footing, confirmed by additional primary sources, although there is no confirmation of their having worked on the *Mañjuśrī Sūtra*" (*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* [I. Sinclair, D. Lusthaus]).

title[78] would be 'The Supreme *Mahāyāna Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (referring to the *Diamond Sūtra*) of the Southern School's Sudden Teaching.' Since the hybrid structure of extant versions of the Dūnhuáng *Platform* scripture suggests that certain parts had been added later (e.g. the 'autobiographical' part,[79] the transmission verses), the passages with *prajñāpāramitā* text references and teachings must have been the very nucleus of the text.

Seen from a linguistic point of view, even the second part of the title could be interpreted as containing no direct reference to Huìnéng as the author of the *Platform Sūtra*. Along the lines of the interpretation of the first part of the title one could interpret it as referring back to the *prajñāpāramitā* (*Diamond*) *sūtra* mentioned in the first line:

> [This is] the *sūtra* [used at the occasion] *of the Platform* [precept ceremonies] (or: the *Platform Sūtra*, meaning the *Diamond Sūtra*) in one fascicle [used by] the Sixth Patriarch Great Master Huìnéng when bestowing the dharma at the Dàfàn Temple in Shàozhōu.

I also want to challenge the translation of the third line by Yampolsky ("*…recorded by the spreader of the Dharma, the disciple Fǎhǎi, who at the same time received the Precepts of Formlessness*"). As mentioned above, 受 'to receive' is probably 授 'to give, to bestow', as evidenced by later parts of the text. Thus, the scope of the conjunction 兼 has to be interpreted differently:

Bùkōng 不空 (i.e. Amoghavajra), the alleged translator of this esoteric text, was active in the Northwestern area (Héxī 河西) around the year 753. Could it be that the compilation of the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra* was directly influenced by 'esoteric' Buddhist practices? This interpretation seems even more likely considering the status of the *Diamond Sūtra* described as important mantra in the *Platform Sūtra* and the other texts on Dūnbó 77.

Most prominently – and in combination with the term 金剛 'Diamond' – the phrase appears many times in the late tantric text *Zuìshàng dàshèng jīngāng dàjiào bǎowáng jīng* 最上大乘金剛大教寶王經 (T.20, no. 1128; *Vajragarbharatnarājatantra*?, translated in the late 10th century by Fǎtiān 法天).

[78] Yampolsky avoids the problem of the title's first line by (rather arbitrarily) separating it into two parts.

[79] This part is embedded as direct speech by the Sixth Patriarch, although it is written partly in the style of Buddhist historiographical writings. Suspicious is also the self-reference 'Huìnéng' instead of the pronoun 我 which is used in later parts of the text when direct speech of Huìnéng is recorded (sometimes the pronoun 吾 is also used and this seems to have an emphatic function is many Chán texts). In addition, the structure of the 'autobiographical' part is unresolved, being featured as direct speech in which other layers of direct speech are embedded.

[…] and [at the same time of bestowing the dharma he] administered the Formless Precepts; [the sermon helt at that occasion of] being recorded by his disciple Fǎhǎi.

3.2 Prajñā Thought in the *Platform Sūtra*

References to the *Diamond Sūtra* and *prajñā* thought are abundant:[80]

[…] 同請大師說摩訶般若波羅蜜法 (S.5475: 03.02.18–03.03.07)

[…] [they] all asked the great master to expound the *prajñāpāramitā* teaching

能大師言：“善知識，淨心念摩訶般若波羅蜜法。” (S.5475: 03.05.06–03.06.01)

Master Huìnéng said: "Good friends, purify your minds and recite/contemplate the *prajñāpāramitā* teaching."

In the episode where Huìnéng as a boy sells firewood and gets enlightened when hearing the *Diamond Sūtra* being recited by a customer:

卻向門前忽見一客讀金剛經；惠能一聞心名（明）便悟。(S.5475: 03.09.17 –03.10.16)

Just when turning towards the front of the gate I saw a customer reciting the *Diamond Sūtra*; the moment I heard it my mind cleared up and thereupon was awakened.

The passage continues with Huìnéng inquiring from where the customer had brought the scripture, whereupon the man informs him that he had brought it from Mt. Huángméi, the residence of the Fifth Patriarch Hóngrěn. Thus, this scripture plays a crucial role in directly connecting Huìnéng with his future teacher. The customer continues telling Huìnéng about his visit at Hóngrěn's and the large assembly gathered there. Again, he stresses the central role of the *Diamond Sūtra in one fascicle* (remember the title!) and concludes:

我於彼聽見大師勸道俗但持金剛經一卷即得見性直了成佛。[81]

[80] If not otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

[81] Note this construction: indirect speech embedded in a pivot construction, the whole being part of direct speech (by the 'customer'); this direct speech is again embedded in direct speech (by Huìnéng)!

At that place I heard the Great Master [Hóngrěn] convincing monks and lay persons that by just reciting/upholding the *Diamond Sūtra* in one fascicle they would be able to see their nature, gain direct understanding and become a Buddha.

五祖夜知(至)三更喚惠能堂內說金剛。惠能一聞言下便伍(悟)

When the night reached the third watch the Fifth Patriarch called Huìnéng into the Hall and expounded the *Diamond Sūtra* [for him]. The moment when Huìnéng heard it he was enlightened by its words.

Also the section on Huìnéng's teachings, immediately following the 'autobiographical' section, is introduced with a reference to *prajñāpāramitā*:

惠能大師喚言："善知識，菩提般若之知世人本自有之

Great Master Huìnéng called [his students] and said: "Good friends, the knowledge of *bodhi-prajñā* is something which all persons are naturally endowed with."

Note the multilayered (and redundant) usage of 'knowledge/wisdom' in this phrase: enlightenment (菩提, Skr. *bodhi*), wisdom (般若, Skr. *prajñā*), and 知 (knowledge/wisdom);[82] it seems as if the author was playing with the foreign sounding transliterations here; there is additional emphasis by topicalizing this phrase at the beginning of the sentence; it is resumed as an object by 之 after the main verb 有.

In the following passage, *prajñā* is defined as the absence of thinking processes:

何名「般若」？般若是智惠。一時中，念念不思，常行智惠，即名般若行。

What is called '*prajñā*'? *Prajñā* is wisdom. At all times and every thought moment one does not engage in reflection (thinking) but constantly practices wisdom; this is called the practice of *prajñā*.

何名「般若波羅蜜」？此是西國梵音，唐言彼岸到。

[82] The combination 菩提般若 is also very rare in Buddhist literature. There is an example in the *Jīngāng sānmèi jīng* 金剛三昧經論 (attributed to the Silla monk Yúanxiǎo元曉, T.34, no. 1730: 974c09) in the term *ānòuduōluó-sānmiǎosānpútí-bōrě* 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提般若.

> What is called '*prajñāpāramitā*'? This is a Sanskrit sound (lit. 'Brahma-sound') from the Western country (i.e. India), in the language of the Táng (i.e. Chinese) [it means] 'arrived at the other shore.'

The *Diamond Sūtra* is also described as essential for entering the ultimate Dharma-realm and the '*prajñā-samādhi*' (based on S.5475):

> 善知識， 若欲入甚深法界， 入般若三昧者， 須修般若波羅蜜行，但持《金剛般若波羅蜜經》一卷，即得見性入般若三昧。當知此人功德無量。 [...] 此是最上乘法， 為大智上根人 說。

> Good friends! If you wish to enter the very deepest Dharma-realm and to enter the Samādhi of Prajñā you have to cultivate the practice of *prajñāpāramitā*. Just keep in mind (lit. hold; i.e. to recite) the *Vajracchedika prajñāpāramitā sūtra* in one fascicle and you will be instantly able to see your [Buddha-]nature and enter the Samādhi of Prajñā. You should know that such a person's merits are countless. [...] This is the dharma of the Supreme Vehicle and expounded for men of great wisdom and superior capacity.[83]

[83] Compare the later version in T.48, no. 2008: 350a10–23:

師陞座。 告大眾曰。總淨心念摩訶般若波羅蜜多。復云。善知識。菩提般若之智。世人本自有之。 只緣心迷。 不能自悟。 須假大善知識。 示導見性。當知愚人智人。佛性本無差別。 只緣迷悟不同。 所以有愚有 智。吾今為說摩訶般若波羅蜜法。 使汝等各得智慧。 志心諦聽。吾為汝 說。善知識。 世人終日口念般若。不識自性般若。猶如說食不飽。口但說空。萬劫不得見性。 終無有益。善知識。摩訶般若波羅蜜是梵語。此言大智慧到彼岸。此須心行。不在口念。口念心不行。如幻． 如化．如露．如電。口念心行。 則心口相應。本性是佛。離性無別佛。何名摩訶。摩訶是大。心量廣大。猶如虛空。

The master ascended the seat and addressed the assembly, saying: "All of you, purify your mind and recite the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra.*" He continued and said: "Good friends! As for the wisdom of *bodhi-prajñā*, worldly people are naturally bestowed with it, they are just deluded because of their mind and are unable to be enlightened themselves. They have to rely on a great teacher who guides them to see their [Buddha-] nature. You should know that Buddha-nature of an ignorant person and a wise person is fundamentally not different. Only in terms of 'delusion' and 'enlightenment' they differ [from each other]. Therefore there exists ignorance and there exists wisdom. Today, I expound the dharma of *prajñāpāramitā* to you, causing all of you to attain wisdom. Concentrate your mind and listen carefully, I am going to expound [it] for you. Good friends, worldly people recite *prajñā* in their mouth until the end of their days and they are not aware of that their own nature is *prajñā*. It is like talking about food but not being satiated. If one talks about emptiness only with one's mouth then one will not be able to see one's Nature for 10,000 kalpas and there will be no profit in the end. Good friends,

S.5475: 20.08.05-17 (Dūnbó 77: 94-125.03.05-17):

若大乘者，聞說《金剛經》，心開悟解。

As for the Great Vehicle, if one listens to the *Diamond Sūtra*, the mind opens and one is awakened.

S.5475: 21.06-08 (Dūnbó 77: 94-127.03-04):

心修此行，即與般若波羅蜜多心經本無差別，一切經書及文字，小大二乘，十二部經，皆因人置。

[If] one cultivates this practice in the mind, then there is fundamentally no difference to the *Heart Sūtra* (*Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*); all scriptures and written words, the Small and Great Vehicle, the scriptures in the twelve divisions, all are established based on men (i.e. they are expedient means). [?]

Interestingly there are also differences in the concluding phrase of the *Platform Sūtra* texts: Dūnbó 77 has 南宗頓教最上大乘壇經一卷 'The *Platform Sūtra* in one fascicle of the Greatest Vehicle of the Sudden Teaching of the Southern School', whereas the Stein manuscript has 法 inserted after 壇: 'The sūtra of the *teachings of* the *Platform* [i.e. *Diamond Sūtra* in my interpretation]…', in other words a sermon held on the occasion of lecturing on the *Platform Sūtra* and administering the precepts.

3.2 *Prajñā* Thought in the Writings of Shénhuì

The great interest in the *Diamond Sūtra* is also reflected in texts attributed to or associated with Shénhuì. In the *Pútídámó nánzōng dìng shìfēi lùn* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 the importance of the *Diamond Sūtra* is described the following way:[84]

mahāprajñāparāmitā is a Sanskrit word. It means 'to reach the other shore with great wisdom.' It should be practiced in the mind and not only recited in the mouth. If one recites it in the mouth and does not practice it in one's mind it is like a delusion, like a transformation, like dew, like lightening. If one recites it in one's mouth and practices it in one's mind then mind and mouth correspond. The original Nature is Buddha, apart from the Nature there is no other Buddha. What does '*mahā*' mean? '*Mahā*' means 'great.' The mind capacity in vast and great, like empty space."

[84] Dūnbó 77, based on the collated edition Dèng and Róng 1999: 63–66.

師曰：『禪何行？』和上答：『修般若波羅蜜法，行般若波羅蜜行。』遠法師問曰：『何故不修餘法，不行餘行？唯獨修般若波羅蜜法（+行般若波羅蜜行）？』和上答：『修學般若波羅蜜者，能攝一切法，行般若波羅蜜行，是一切行之根本。金剛般若波羅蜜，最尊最勝最第一，無生（+無）滅無去來，一切諸佛從中出。』和上言：『告諸知識，若欲得了達甚深法界，置入一行三昧者，先須誦持《金剛般若波羅蜜經》，修學般若波羅蜜。何以故？誦持《金剛般若波羅蜜經》者，當知是人不從小功德來。譬如帝王生得太子，若同俗例者，無有是處。何以故？為從最尊最貴處來。誦持《金剛般若波羅蜜經》，亦復如是。[…]

The master said: "What does one practice in Chán?" The Preceptor answered: "One cultivates the *prajñāpāramitā* dharma (teaching) and performs the *prajñāpāramitā* practice." Dharma Master Yuán asked: "Why does one not cultivate any additional dharma and performs any additional practices? Does one exclusively cultivate the *prajñāpāramitā* dharma (teaching) and perform the *prajñāpāramitā* practice?" The Preceptor answered: "If one engages in the cultivation and study of *prajñāpāramitā* one will be able to combine all dharmas (teachings) [in this practice]; to perform the practice of *prajñāpāramitā* is the foundation of all practices. The *Vajracchedikā (Diamond)-prajñāpāramitā* is the most honoured, the most excellent, the ultimate, it does not arise and does not perish and without leaving and coming, all buddhas emerge from it." The preceptor said: "Good friends, I tell you: If you want to thoroughly understand the very profound dharma-realm and directly enter the One-Practice *samādhi*, you first have to recite and (mentally) hold on to the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), cultivate and study the *prajñāpāramitā*. What is the reason for this? As for those reciting and (mentally) holding on to the *Diamond Sūtra*, you should know that this person does not come from [a position of] minor merits. It can be likened to a king who gives birth to a prince. [This prince] being equal to regular people, there is no such a thing (i.e. this is utterly impossible)! What is the reason for this? It is because [the prince] comes from a place (i.e. origin) which is most excelled and most noble. Reciting and (mentally) holding on to the *Diamond Sūtra* is exactly like this! […]"

The text continues[85] with a thorough account of the merits accumulated through the possession, recitation and concentration (誦持), practice and

[85] See *Ibid*.: 66–94.

study (修學) of the *Diamond Sūtra*, with citations from *prajñāpāramitā* literature. Among other aspects *prajñāpāramitā* and especially the *Diamond Sūtra* are likened to a 'precious jewel' (如寶), 'unchangeable' (不變異), pertaining to 'thusness' (如如), 'beyond all duality, form and no-form' (離相無相), 'transcending thought' (遠離思量) and 'going beyond written words' (過諸文字), being the foundation for collecting unfathomable merit (所獲功德不可思量), the 'mother scripture' of all buddhas (一切佛母經), the 'patriarch of all dharmas' (一切諸法祖師), the 'secret repository of all buddhas' (一切諸佛秘密藏), the 'dharma of magical formula' (Skr. *dhāraṇī*, 總持法), the 'spell/*dhāraṇī* of great magical power' (大神咒), the '*dhāraṇī* which is unsurpassed' (無上咒) and 'without equal' (無等咒), capable of removing all suffering; 'real and not unsubstantial' (真實不虛), the foundation of the 'supreme enlightenment' (阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, Skr. *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi*) of all the buddhas, etcetera. The *Diamond* scripture is also said to have the power of extinguishing all sin in every person practicing its teaching (是人其罪即滅) and eventually enables a person to receive the prediction of enlightenment and become a Buddha himself. The text continues elaborating the merits which are gained by teaching the *Diamond Sūtra* to others.

The interest in *prajñāpāramitā* thought might be also the reason why a text by an author who was usually associated with the 'Northern School' of Chán was appended to Dūnbó 77. Thus the sequence of the texts compiled in this manuscript might not only be motivated by the wish to harmonize the teachings of the northern and southern branches (as was suggested by a number of scholars) but the text was rather appended since it was a commentary on a *prajñāpāramitā* text. As such, Dūnbó 77 is a collection of treatises and sermons connected to *prajñāpāramitā* teachings. As was already noted by Yáng Zēngwén, Jorgensen, and other scholars, *prajñāpāramitā* thought plays a prominent role in the *Platform Sūtra* and other texts related to early Chán school. There is also great emphasis on the notion of textual transmission which is usually interpreted as a shift away from 'concrete' transmission symbols such as the monk's robe and monk's bowl to (moveable and easily reproducible and distributable) texts in the form of the *Platform Sūtra*. It is well-known that in medieval China the possession and reproduction of texts was of paramount importance in the practice of Buddhism and associated with the accumulation of great merit.[86] An analysis of the build-up of the Dūnhuáng *Platform*

[86] The importance of text reproduction is evidenced by the large number of copies of canonical scriptures among the Dūnhuáng findings. Also 'non-canonical' apoc-

Sūtra suggests that its composition is layered and that it is not the 'original' version of the text. What is striking is the length of the title and that there is a definite ambiguity concerning the way the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra* uses the word 'sūtra'. In several passages it does not seem quite obvious whether the 'sūtra' is referring to itself or rather to the *Vajracchedikā* which is the central doctrinal foundation of the text. Is it possible that originally the text was not meant to constitute the 'sūtra' spoken by the Sixth Patriarch at all? Was it rather a sermon given on the occasion of administering the precepts at large gatherings of lay believers, with other elements being eventually added to it (such as parts of the 'biographical/autobiographical' section and, for example, sections concerning Huìnéng's students)? As was demonstrated above, *prajñāpāramitā* thought, and specifically the *Vajracchedikā*, were of great importance for the early Chán community and especially the circle around the monk Shénhuì, as well as being connected to precept rituals mixed with esoteric elements. It seems possible that the *Vajracchedikā* was used as central texts at these gatherings, being recited and lectured upon. Thus it seems possible that the original reference to a text to be transmitted signified the *Vajracchedikā* in one fascicle rather than the sermon itself. The structure of the title supports this possibility: First, the title is constructed in a way that it is not obvious at all whether the text refers to itself as 'sūtra'; second, the wording is unusual and ambiguous in terms of the referent. It should be noted that the title of the text was the part which was most radically restructured and changed when the text was expanded and altered during the Sòng dynasty, finally leaving no doubt that 'sūtra' refers to the text itself. However, this probably was a gradual development and motivated by changes within the Chán movement's doctrinal and ideological framework.

It should also be noted at this point that this transformation – which gives evidence to a radically changing self-image and public perception of Chán – is also notable in the development of new literary genres and the status of the 'Chán master'. Parallel to the development of the *Platform Sūtra* into a scripture on the level of those spoken by the very Buddha, we see a transformation of the image of the Chán master – following in the footsteps of Huìnéng – into a person embodying the very mind of the Buddha, this mind being transmitted from generation to generation as outlined in the Chán transmission texts. One of the causes of this develop-

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rypha enjoyed enormous popularity and many of these scriptures provide detailed instructions concerning their copying as well as the merits resulting from it.

ment is possibly found in the *prajñāpāramitā* scriptures which were so important for Chán adherents during the 8th century and later periods.

Although there might have been several versions of the *Platform Sūtra* circulating during the Táng, there is no indication that the text was widely known and there are very few sources connecting Huìnéng to a *Platform Sūtra* dating from the Táng Dynasty.[87] Probably its influence was restricted to certain factions of Chán (such as the faction of Shénhuì and his disciples) or was circulating only in local environments such as in the Dūnhuáng region.[88] In addition, a scripture authored by a Chinese monk and boldly claiming to be a 'sūtra' without doubt had caused strong reactions within Buddhist communities in Táng China, occasionally generating responses during the Sòng dynasty.[89] As was demonstrated above, in the Dūnhuáng version of the Táng dynasty the title of the text is constructed in a way that Huìnéng's 'authorship' is not easy to deduct. In contrast to this, later versions clearly refer to the text as *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriach* (*Liùzǔ tánjīng* 六祖壇經), leaving no doubt that Huìnéng was considered the author of the sūtra. During that time the text was already edited, polished, and expanded, making it acceptable to the Chán community in terms of the doctrinal framework, and to Sòng literati in terms of its literary structure. As was noted previously, the *Platform Sūtra*'s use of poetry in particular had a lasting influence on Chán literary expression. Although the text's claim of being a 'sūtra' entailed sporadic reactions during the Sòng Dynasty, this claim must have had a different impact when advanced by the Chán School than during the Táng Dynasty. By Sòng

[87] The question whether there were several versions of the text circulating during the Táng dynasty remains unresolved.

[88] A possible explanation for the fact that the text is not mentioned in Táng sources could be that it started circulating in Dūnhuáng during the period after the Tibetan invasion, when communication between the region and other parts of China was cut off.

[89] For example, the scripture was banned from the Buddhist canon (together with the *Bǎolín zhuàn* 寶林傳 from 801) shortly after Qìsōng's death (Yampolsky 1967: 106). Several hundred years after the emergence of the Dūnhuáng version of the text, in the postface to the Zōngbǎo edition the appellation 'sūtra' is justified the following way:

六祖大師平昔所說之法。 皆大乘圓頓之旨。故目之曰經。其言近指遠。詞坦義明。

"The Dharma always preached in the past by the Sixth Patriarch, the Great Master, was entirely the perfect and sudden teaching of the Mahāyāna. Therefore, it is called a 'sūtra'. Its words [use] what is close to point to what is remote; its phrases are straightforward (literally, 'level') and its meaning clear." (T.48, no. 2008: 364c; tr. in McRae 2000: 108)

times Chán had become the dominant Buddhist school, with close ties to the court and the literati, as well as an organized institutional framework. By contrast, Chán during the Táng dynasty was by and large a phenomenon associated with different factions and places, particular practices and doctrinal frameworks often being tied to certain localities, often with only regional significance. These groups were engaged in factional disputes and competed with many other equally influential Buddhist schools of thought.

4.3 Some Final Reflections

Although these conclusions must remain tentative, an analysis of the textual features of the *Platform Sūtra* suggest the following possibilites:

It is possible that the *Platform Sūtra* in an earlier (and shorter) form was not composed as a 'sūtra' spoken by the Sixth Patriarch at all, but was rather a transcription of a sermon given at the occasions of mass congregations centered around the bestowal of precepts, with rituals focused on the immensely popular *Diamond Sūtra*[90] and its mantric power of salvation. These rituals were in accordance with Buddhist practices connected to the bestowal of the Bodhisattva precepts to large congregations. Accordingly, this was the 'sūtra' used at the occasion of the Platform precept ceremo-

[90] "For instance, Yáng Zēngwén thinks that Huìnéng's *Platform Sūtra* made use of the *Vajracchedikā* name and ideas, something also found in the works of Dàoxìn and Hóngrěn. Yáng considers that Shénhuì developed this use much further because of its increased popularity due to imperial sponsorship of the *Vajracchedikā* from 732, and that Shénhuì hoped to gain court approval thereby." (Jorgensen 2005: 607, based on Yáng Zēngwén 1993: 274–275). "Indeed, the *Vajracchedikā* was most popular in the Táng, with at least several thousand copies or fragments found in the Dūnhuáng collections" (*Ibid*.: 607). The importance of the *Diamond Sūtra* in the teachings of Shénhuì is described in the following way by Jorgensen:

"Shénhuì's use of the *Vajracchedikā* shows he was also aware of the 'popular' conceptions of the magical properties of the sūtra. […] he states that a reader or reciter of the *Vajracchedikā* can remove all previous evil karma and gain supreme insight (*anuttarasamyaksambodhi*). He mentions its magic properties as a great *dhāranī* and *mantra*, and that by faithfully accepting it one will have limitless merit. He called it the mother of all sūtras and the 'patriarchal teacher of all the dharmas.' Only by reciting it could one directly enter into the *yìxíng sānmèi* (Samadhi) [一行三昧 'One Practice Samadhi' referring to an important term in the early Chán School] etcetera." (Jorgensen 2005: 609; based on Yáng Zēngwén 1996: 35–36 and Dèng and Róng 1998: 66–73.)

nies.[91] The extant Dūnhuáng versions of the text reflect a transitional state of the text with ambiguous references to 'sūtra', a hyper-complex title (as

[91] For a very good description of these mass congregations, see Adamek 2007: 67ff. As van Schaik has pointed out, 壇 (Skr. *maṇḍala*, Ch. *màntúluó* 曼荼羅) refers to the raised platform which was built for rituals related to the bestowal of the precepts (van Schaik, forthcoming: 16). These practices (described in the *Lìdài fǎbǎi jì* 歷代法寶記) were an important part of the Bǎotáng 寶唐 School of Chán: "These practices included mass ordinations into the lineage of the bodhisattva vow, performed at night on rituals platforms referred to as maṇḍala." (*Ibid*.). This Sìchuān lineage of Chán had a great impact on Tibetan Chán. In terms of the connection between Chán and the *Diamond Sūtra*, it is noteworthy that Pelliot tibétain 116, one of the most important manuscripts for the reconstruction of Tibetan Chán, contains in addition to Chán materials a copy of the *Vajraccedika* (*Ibid*.).

On these platforms the precepts were conferred during the *guàndǐng* 灌頂 (lit. 'sprinkling water on the forehead'; Skr. *abhiṣeka*) ceremony (an activity which the charismatic monk Shénhuì was known for). In his article on Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts, Sørensen discusses the syncretic features of many Dūnhuáng Chán scriptures and mentions a rather long text which seems to be an almalgation of practices conventionally referred to as Esoteric and Chán Buddhism. This scripture (claiming to be authored by the Esoteric Master Amoghavajra) on P.3913 with the elephantine name (which I will not attempt to translate here…) *Jīngāng jùnjīng jīngāng dǐng yīqiè rúlái shènmiào mìmì jīngāng jiè dà sānmèiyé xiūxíng sìshíèrzhǒng tánfǎjīng zuòyòng wēi fǎ yízé dà Pílúzhēnà jīngāng xīndì fǎmén mìfǎ-jiè tánfǎ yízé* 金剛峻經金剛頂一切如來甚妙秘密金剛界大三昧耶修行四十二重壇法經作用威法儀則大毗盧遮那金剛心地法門秘法戒壇法儀則 is written in the style of a sūtra but has been indentified as an apocryphon probably dating from the late Táng. The text is more concisely also referred to as 'Ritual Guidelines for the Platform dharma' (*Tánfǎ yízé* 壇法儀則). The text is divided into thirty-five sections, each section dealing with a specific function of the Platform ceremonies. The instructions are very detailed and include the exact size and material for building the platforms, as well as the dates when the rituals should be performed for the specific purposes. In addition, the decoration and the rituals to be performed are described in great detail, as well as the merits achieved through the perfomance of the rituals. In many sections the role of the ruler is emphasized and many rituals are connected to the protection of the state (*hùguó* 護國) and its people. The last part of the text is the longest and most elaborate and deals with the transmission of Chán (from page 113, line 5 onwards in the Dūnhuáng booklet). After the description of the transmission of the Indian patriarchs, the Six Chán patriarchs from Bodhidharma (the 32rd Patriarch, page 138 of the booklet) to Huìnéng (37th Patriarch) are described. It is interesting that not the appellation *zǔ* 祖 'patriarch' (or *zǔshī* 祖師) is used, as it is typically done in Chán transmission texts, but the rather long appellation *fù fǎzàng rénshèngzhě* 付法藏仁聖者 'benevolent sage transmitting the Dharma-treasure'. The transmission between the patriarchs takes place after they ascended to the 'Diamond Realm of Vairoccana' (*Dà pílú jīngāng jiè* 大毗盧金剛界). As such, Chán transmission is placed in a somewhat esoteric framework. The transmission is also placed at the stage of attainment of the '8th

commonly also found in esoteric scriptures), and additional elements rather clumsily integrated in the text (especially parts of the section with Huìnéng's autobiography, but also the lineage list and the transmission verses, and possibly the passages eluding to the inferior practices of the Northern School). Subtracting all these parts, the sections on precept rituals and the *Diamond Sūtra* with its teachings and powers become the core message of the text.[92] The Dūnhuáng versions also contain specific markers which indicate the ritual function of the text in the performance of the precept bestowal. After the introductory section with the (auto)biographical information and the account of the 'poem competition' with Shénxiù, the text focuses on the 'Formless Precepts.' The 'performance markers' (written in small characters) indicate how many times specific parts of the text have to be chanted *unisono* (by the congregation). The conferral of the precepts is performed in several stages, each section followed by a short sermon in which the precepts are explained with metaphorical language and in terms of the functioning of the mind/nature. First, the bestowal of the 'formless precepts' is invocated three times: 於自色身歸衣 (依) 清淨法身佛，於自色身歸衣 (依) 千百億化身佛，於自色身歸衣 (依) 當來圓滿報身佛。已上三唱 "'I take refuge in the pure Dharmakāya Buddha in my own physical body. I take refuge in the ten thousand hundred billion Nirmāṇakāya Buddhas in my own physical body. I take refuge in the future perfect Sambhogakāya Buddha in my own physical body. I take refuge in the future perfect Sambhogakāya Buddha in my own physical body.' *Recite the above three times*." (S.5475, ed. Yampolsky 1967: 八, tr. in *Ibid*.: 141; emphasis added). During the next step the 'four great vows' (四弘大願) are invocated three times: 衆生無邊誓願度，煩惱無邊誓願斷，法門無邊誓願學，無上佛道誓願成。三唱。 "'[Although] the sentient beings are countless I vow to save them [all]; [although] the afflictions are countless, I vow to cut them [all]; [although] the dharma teachings are countless I vow to study them [all]; I vow to complete the unsurpassed Way of the Buddha.' *Chant three times*." (S.5475, ed. Yam-

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level of Bodhisatvahood'. After the description of this transmission the text returns to the 'Platform dharmas' (the text enumerates 42 of these) as the essence of the Buddhist teachings and the foundation of attaining 'unexcelled bodhi' (*wúshàng pútí* 無上菩提). More along the line of esoteric interpretations, the object of transmission is identified as 'the secretely transmitted mind-seal' (蜜傳心印地相, p. 142); see also Anderl 2012: 5, fn. 9.

[92] At a second thought it seems even more unlikely that such a text stripped down to a version including so many passages dealing with *prajñāpāramitā* thought should claim to be a 'sūtra' in its own right!

polsky 1967: 九). During the last part the 'formless repentances' (無相懺悔) are invoked three times.[93] Central terms in the explanation of the precepts and in the following passages are the apophatic *wúniàn* 無念 ('no thought'), *wúxiàng* 無相 ('no-form; formlessness') and *wúzhù* 無住 ('non-abiding'), expressions which also figure prominently in the Bǎotáng School and the teachings of Shénhuì.[94]

The extant textual features also suggest that all Dūnhuáng versions belong to the same original stemmata, although there are significant differences in their use of phonetic loans and other textual features. The Dūnhuáng versions indicate that the text had distinctly oral features and was copied in this context. Of special interest are the passages where *all* manuscripts are corrupt. This is on the one hand proof of the interdependence of the manuscripts, on the other hand the textual features also witness of an extended process of copying and the accumulation of mistakes. Since mistakes and corrupted passages are only fragmentarily identified and corrected by respective copyists and/or readers there is a progressive degeneration of the textual features in the course of time. Naturally, the Stein manuscript contains most textual problems.[95] This brings up the more general question in what context were the manuscripts copied and how they were used, since the many corruptions render extensive part of the manuscripts unintelligible?

Another feature of the Dūnhuáng *Platform Sūtra* discussed here is its close connection to precept practices[96] and esoteric practices, an aspect which deserves a more elaborate investigation in the future studies. More generally, in his study of Chán Dūnhuáng texts, Sørensen emphasizes the textual problems related to many Chán texts as well as their hybrid and syncretic features:

[93] This passage contains many corruptions in the S.5475 version. For a translation see Yampolsky 1967: 144.

[94] Compare, for example, the central terms in the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì*: *wúyì* 無憶 ('no-recollection'), *wúxiǎng* 無想 ('no-thought'), and *mòwàng* 莫妄 ('not allow the unreal') (van Schaik, forthcoming: 16).

[95] It will be exiting to compare the textual features of the newly discovered Lǚshùn manuscript which is also of late origin (10th century).

[96] E.g. the many references to the *Diamond Sūtra* and its power of salvation, the many sections aimed at promoting its recitation and worship of the text. A common feature with esoteric scriptures is the very title of the *Platform* Dūnhuáng version, including its length and terminology. In the Shénhuì sermon immediately preceding the Platform scripture in the Dūnbó manuscript, references to the mantric power of the *Diamond Sūtra* are even more numerous and direct.

> One of the main characteristics of the Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts is their great diversity in terms of literature. Despite the fact that several manuscripts testify to a relatively high literary standard, a large number of them have been written in a decidedly provincal or even countrified form, not to mention the countless basic scribal errors, something which can only be explained as a lack of proper schooling on the part of the writer. (Sørensen 1989: 117)[97]

As such, the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra* possibly constitute a transitional phase in the formation of the text. A phase when originally 'external references' to 'sūtra' (i.e. directly referring to the *Diamond Sūtra*) gradually shifted or were interpreted as 'internal references' (i.e. identifying the sermon/text as 'sūtra' itself). The structure of the title, the terminology used, as well as the performative instructions in the text and the prominent role of the mantric power of the *Diamond Sūtra* suggest a close connection to practices centered around rituals performed at the occasion of the bestowal of Bodhisattva precepts at large congregations of lay followers. As was demonstrated, this connection of Dūnhuáng Chán and Platform ceremonies can be evidenced by a number of other Dūnhuáng texts. This amalgation of Chán and esoteric practices might have been a feature typical for Dūnhuáng Chán and needs further investigation in future studies. This regional signifance of the *Platform* texts in Dūnhuáng and their gradual development into a 'sūtra' – which was maybe triggered and accompanied by other factors in the development of the Chán schools during the late Táng and the Five Dynasties period – may also explain the nearly complete absence of references to this text during Táng times.

It should also be noted that seen from a doctrinal and even literary viewpoint, the *Platform Sūtra* in its Dūnhuáng versions must have been

[97] Based on the studies of Tanaka Ryōshū (e.g. 1983: 135–166), Sørensen focuses on the esoteric features found in many Dūnhuáng Chán texts. Esoteric masters such as Amoghavajra (705–774) enjoyed immense popularity from the 8th century onwards and the influence of Zhēnyán 真言 (Jap. Shingon) teachings spread also to the Northwestern region. Dūnhuáng Chán received initial influence from the Sìchuān Bǎotáng Chán School (Sørensen 1989: 129) and many copies and fragments of the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 can be found among the Dūnhuáng Chán treatises. The Chán master Móhēyán (Mahāyāna) was a second generation disciple of the Northern School master Shénxiù 神秀 (which figures as the famous antagonist of Huìnéng in the *Platform Sūtra*) and spent several years in Dūnhuáng during the 8th century. More recently, the convergence of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism is elaborated on by Van Schaik (forthcoming: 26–31).

rather unappealing for Chán adherents at the beginning of the Sòng. Consequently, the text had to be heavily revised and 'spiced up' with dialogues in the style of the *Recorded Sayings* and other materials from *Transmission Texts* (the two core genres of the Chán School and focus of attention for the literati during the Sòng period). As such, the 'sūtra's' significance during Sòng times was symbolical, cementing the image of the illiterate but genial Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng as founder of the 'Southern School of sudden enlightenment', being the last in a sequence of Indian and Chinese patriarchs who transmitted the mind of the Buddha.

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Visible and Invisible Codicological Elements in Manuscript Copies of Commentaries on the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* from Dunhuang*

COSTANTINO MORETTI

Amongst the great number of texts found in Dunhuang, a series of manuscripts produced a few years after the period of the Tibetan rule (latter part of the 8th–mid-9th century)[1] and containing two commentaries of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*, "Treatise on the Stages of Yoga Practice," *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (*T.* 1579, XXX),[2] are exceptionally interesting from a codicological point of view. One of the most striking features of this corpus is the rich punctuation system, which provides us with a wider range of information on these texts themselves and on their specific function, as well as leading us to more general considerations on punctuation practices in manuscript texts of that period.

It is true that due to their specific "regional" character, different religious texts found in Dunhuang have captured the attention of specialists in Buddhist studies. Some of these texts were introduced to central China

* The present work is based for the most part on the author's previous paper in French: "« Notes » et « Catégories doctrinales » du *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*," in Drège, Jean-Pierre (dir.), *La fabrique du lisible : la mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris, IHEC (forthcoming). I would like to thank Professor J.-P. Drège for his valuable comments and suggestions regarding this work.

[1] For the Tibetan occupation see Che 1984. This period is usually dated from 781 to 848, but we should point out that the Tibetans continued to work in the Dunhuang region after 848 and that the Tibetan language continued to be used even on administration documents, see for instance Uray 1981.

[2] In 100 *juan*, this text has been translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) during the Tang dynasty, namely between the 20th and 22nd year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (646–648), at the Hongfu monastry 弘福寺 (cf. the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, "Register of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled during the Kaiyuan era [713–741]," by Zhisheng 智昇[669–740]: *T.* 2154 [8], LV, 556b7) or, according to other sources, at the Daci'en monastery 大慈恩寺 (see the *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, "Register of the Texts Included [in the Official Buddhist Canon] of the Great Tang Dynasty," by Daoxuan 道宣 [596–667]: *T.* 2149 [6], LV, 294b22–23).

at a much later period, whereas others remained solely in the Dunhuang area and did not spread east of this region. Specific to this geographical context, was the religious activity led by the Sino-Tibetan master Facheng 法成/Chos-grub (d. 860)[3], who is particularly well known for his preaching sessions of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* in the region of Shazhou 沙州 during and after the Tibetan rule of the area. Facheng was possibly a sinicized Tibetan born in the region of Dunhuang, although controversy exists as to his precise origins.[4] The colophons of different manuscripts found in Dunhuang caves inform us that Facheng's preaching started around 855 and continued until 859 when most likely he became ill and had to put an end to his religious activities.[5]

Facheng's preaching of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* was put down in writing and gave life to a couple of commentaries of this text, entitled "Notes on the *Yogacāra[bhūmi]-śāstra*" (*Yuqie lun shouji* 瑜伽論手記) and "Doctrinal categories of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*" (*Yuqie shidi lun fenmen ji* 瑜伽師地論分門記), which have been preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Both of these texts have similar content. The first commentary offers a kind of explanatory synthesis of some specific aspects of complex doctrinal points of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*, while the second mostly aims to present in a more schematic way the conceptual hierarchies of the teachings provided by the treatise. Indeed, the manuscripts containing these two texts present common formal characteristics, notably the signatures of the scribes who produced the copies. Those scribes were possibly also the owners of these same manuscripts. The manuscripts also contain massive corrections performed in a second phase of redaction, as well as notes often produced with a different ink color on the *recto* or on the *verso* of the manuscript. Moreover, this corpus shows a particularly interesting punctuation system, rich in ornamental marks and functional in scope. Copies of these texts almost always include in their title or in their subtitle the indication "*suiting* 隨聽," which can be understood as

[3] Cf. Wu 1984: 383–414.

[4] According to Pelliot he was Tibetan (Pelliot 1914: 142–144); according to Ueyama he was Chinese (Ueyama 1990: 92 and ff.).

[5] Facheng's preaching sessions of the *Yuqie shidi lun* started on the 15th day of the 3rd month of the 9th year *yihai* 乙亥 of the Dazhong 大中 era (855) and continued until the end of the 13th year of the same era (859). At least forty Dunhuang manuscripts can be linked to his preaching activity. However Rong Xinjiang, taking into account the dates recorded in the colophons of various copies belonging to this corpus, has recently argued for the existence of a number of forged manuscripts, particularly in "minor" collections (Rong 2005: 65–74).

"according to the teaching of…" or "based on what has been heard from…" This informs us that the preaching sessions by master Facheng were recorded by his disciples who put into writing these "notes" on the basis of the oral presentation given by their Sino-Tibetan master. We can also assume that the text was given and written down at a pace of one or two *juan* per month.[6]

Some other texts found among the Dunhuang manuscripts and clearly linked to Facheng's preaching activities, carry the same indications "*suiting*" or "*shouji*" in the title. Examples include the *Dacheng baifa suiting shouchao* 大乘百法隨聽手抄[7] and the *Dacheng daogan jing suiting shou jing ji* 大乘稻芉經隨聽手鏡記. Even if it is impossible to state precisely how these *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* preaching sessions were conducted, nevertheless it can be argued that this method of recording the word of the master took place in a relatively tense context that could give rise to a series of mistakes. Comparing different copies of the "Notes" and the "Doctrinal categories" that contain the same parts of the text, we notice that in some manuscripts a number of passages have been forgotten. In some cases whole sentences are missing, while in other copies certain sentences have been summarized and marks indicating additions or deletions have been added to the text.

Signatures

Several copies of these texts carry the signatures of the monks who produced the copy and who were possibly also the owners of the manuscript. In some cases the signatures are affixed on the *verso* of the manuscript, notably on the join between different sheets. Facheng probably gave textual and structural explanations at the same time during his preaching sessions. Each scribe recorded either the first or the second series of data,

[6] We can assume this because in manuscript P.2035 the 13th *juan* bears the date of the 24th day of the 1st month of the year *bingzi* 丙子, i.e. 856, while the colophon of the 15th *juan* is dated the 13th day of the 4th month of the same year. We also know that *juan* 28 was completed on the 3rd day of the 5th month of the 11th year of Dazhong Era (857).

[7] See Drège 2007: 76, mentioning manuscript P.2328(2). This manuscript contains a commentary of the *Da cheng daogan jing* 大乘稻芉經 (P.2328[1]) and various notes written with red ink and referring to some *juan* of the *Yuqielun* 瑜伽論 (P.2328V°).

producing the "Notes" or the "Doctrinal categories" respectively: the former commentary gives an explanatory synthesis of the *śāstra*, the latter specifically concerns its structure and its doctrinal classifications. Some copies of the "Notes" bear the signatures of two monks called Tanxun 談迅 and Fuhui 福慧. Other copies bear the signature of Hongzhen 洪真 or Fajing 法鏡. Several copies of the "Doctrinal categories" have also been signed by Tanxun and Fuhui, or by Yizhen 一真.[8] Moreover, copies of the *Yuqie shidi lun* itself bear the signatures of Zhihuishan 智慧山, Mingzhao 明照 and Heng'an 恒安 in their colophon or below the head or end titles of the various *juan*, confirming the participation of the manuscript owners in Facheng's preaching sessions. These copies contain the *śāstra* itself but not the notes based on the oral teachings of the master. In addition, they are written in both regular and standardized forms (see for instance manuscript S.5309). As a result, Ueyama suggests that they were personal copies of the "Treatise" that these monks brought with them to the preaching sessions to help them follow the oral commentary. In contrast to the other disciples who recorded the exegesis, these monks merely added the punctuation to the manuscript and divided the text into conceptual sections.[9]

In a sense, the practice of affixing a signature of the person responsible for writing the text shown on the *recto,* to the join of the sheets on the *verso* of the manuscript, seems to correspond to a similar practice found in a rather different context, i.e. that of administration. In fact, among the administrative manuscripts of the Turfan region there are many examples of this kind of practice:[10] the signatures have the same function as a seal, certifying the document's authenticity, preventing any alteration and indicating at the same time the name of the person who "certified" the authenticity of the data recorded in the document itself. We find examples of this practice in population registers from Turfan.[11] This technique is also found in several manuscripts from Dunhuang. Let us look at some examples. Manuscript P.(3021+)3899V° is an administrative document, a request for a refund, bearing the signature of the relevant authority on the join of the sheets on the *recto*. Manuscript P.2803 R° in a similar way also

[8] According to Ueyama, a number of manuscripts linked to Facheng's preaching of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* and belonging to the Ōtani Collection (actually preserved at the National Library of China), namely two copies bearing Yizhen's signature, are possibly forged manuscripts (Ueyama 2002).

[9] Ueyama 1968: 175–176.

[10] See for instance the document analyzed by Trombert and De La Vaissière 2007: 2.

[11] See for example the manuscript 64 TAM 35: Yamamoto and Yoshikazu 1984: 107.

presents a series of signatures on the joins of the sheets, certifying the official documents written on the *verso*. On the other hand, in a more religious context, manuscript P.2280 presents the character *jin* 金 on the *verso* of the sheet joins, indicating that this manuscript belonged to the Jinguangming 金光明 monastery. P.2854, a sort of Buddhist prayer collection, bears the signature of Heng'an on the join of every sheet of the *verso*, and in some cases that of the "Dharma master" Kang 康法師. Another religious text presenting excerpts of different Buddhist scriptures, manuscript P.3000, bears the character Ze 則 in the same position, which is also most likely a signature. Manuscript P.4597, where Huiyong 惠永 has placed his signature in the same position, demonstrates a slightly different use of this practice. In this specific case Huiyong is the owner of the manuscript, which is a collection of different texts, possibly constituting a kind of preaching manual.

This practice is paralleled by the practice of affixing a seal on the join of the manuscript sheets, which is possibly more "official" in nature than a simple signature. These seals can be observed either on the *recto* or on the *verso* of the manuscript. An example of a manuscript bearing a seal on the *recto* is P.2638, a document presenting monastery accounts that is authenticated on the upper part of the sheet joins by the "Seal of the Director of Saṃgha of Hexi" (*Hexi du Sengtong yin* 河西都僧統印). Another example can be seen in manuscript P.3103, where a barely visible seal is affixed to "certify" a prayer for the ceremony called the "Bathing of the Buddha" (*yufo* 浴佛).[12] In manuscript P.3354, a Dunhuang census that records the families living in the region and the lands allocated to them, an orange ink color seal on every sheet join is used to certify the document. In manuscript P.2654 the seals are affixed to the *verso* to certify this document containing accounts of a government granary. We should also mention a series of manuscripts presenting different Buddhist *sūtra*s and invariably bearing on the join of the *verso* sheets, but also below the head and end titles, the "Seal of the Great King of Guazhou and Shazhou" (*Gua-Shazhou Dawang yin* 瓜沙州大王印). This seal is visible for instance in manuscripts P.2177, P.2413, P.2318 and P.2209. In this case, we are probably dealing with texts belonging to a royal private collection, most likely that of Cao Yijin 曹義金, who governed these two regions from 914 to 935[13].

[12] On this ritual see Liu 1995: 37–38.
[13] Drège 1984: 55.

The above-mentioned examples seem to indicate that this kind of practice could be used in slightly different ways: the signature could be used to mark the authenticity of the text and prevent alterations, but could also be used as a mark of possession by an institution or by an individual. The first type of usage is more frequent on administrative and business documents, while the second is more commonly seen on doctrinal texts.

Figure 1: P.2039 V°, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the case of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*, some of these copies seem to give us information concerning the owner of the manuscript as they often indicate "copy of…" […*ben* 本]. On the other hand, Ueyama suggests that Facheng's disciples may have taken a few blank sheets to every preaching session, and the manuscript was only assembled later on.[14] Similar to putting together an administrative dossier, the scribes may also have placed their signature on the sheet joins to avoid confusion if the sheets were separated or to indicate the completion of a section of the work. Fajing, for example, has affixed his red ink signature on the *verso* of 13 sheet joins in the copy of the *Shouji* recorded in manuscript P.2036, and on 5 sheets in P.2134. However, his signature does not appear in manuscript P.2061, where his name is written only under the end title of *juan* 2 and *juan* 3. Some manuscripts even bear the signatures of two scribes on the *verso* sheet joins, specifying that both scribes were owners of the document. Copies bearing the signatures of Fuhui and Tanxun are particularly interesting, because they also provide us with valuable information on the process of how these texts were written. In fact, the presence of two signatures in a single manuscript suggests that this work has been produced as a collaboration of at least two scribes. The signatures of these two monks sometimes alternate, as shown in manuscript P.2038. Their name is firstly written under the title of the different sections. Then, on the joins between the sheets we find the signature of Fuhui in black ink, alternating with that of Tanxun.

Only in one case, on the joins between sheets #19 and #20, is the signature produced with red ink. Manuscript P.2039 presents the same feature on the *verso* (Figure 1), or alternatively a statement that reads "common copy

[14] Ueyama 1968: 166.

belonging to the monks Tanxun and Fuhui" (談迅福慧二人同一本).[15] Surprisingly we find only one red ink signature of Fuhui on the *verso* of sheet #14 of manuscript P.2122, also a copy of the *Fenmen ji*. A collaboration between two scribes would enable the production of a more efficient and accurate record of the material. The notes could be taken in a shorter time, possibly avoiding a number of mistakes that could arise during the transmission process, or at least enable the correction of such errors.[16] An example of this kind of collaboration can also be seen in manuscript S.1154, bearing the signatures of Fajing and Fahai 法海 at the end of *juan* 54.[17]

Punctuation Marks and Ornamental Signs

Even if at first glance the punctuation marks of this corpus appear ornamental in nature, the main goal of these signs is for the most part functional. In fact, the practice of affixing ornamental signs as an *incipit* or as a textual element is meant to facilitate the comprehension of a text. These ornamental signs, in Dunhuang manuscripts, are characteristic of the period of Tibetan rule[18] and are also well known in Tibet.[19] As for the "Notes" and "Doctrinal categories," the main purpose of this ornamentation is not to enrich the aesthetics of the page, which is sometimes quite neglected, but rather to play an active role in the articulation of the various parts of the text by emphasizing them. Generally speaking, these ornamental signs respect the well-established hierarchical system of the various sections of text they are meant to highlight. The motives represented are standardized. Nevertheless, the decorative vocabulary is relatively limited, being produced in monochrome ink (frequently red) and therefore often different from the color of the text. Li Zhengyu, taking as an example manuscript

[15] This manuscript at its very beginning also shows the seal of the library of the Jingtu monastery (*Jingtusi cang jing* 淨土寺藏經). For more on this manuscript see Tanaka 1983: 196–198.

[16] Cf. Ueyama 1990: 227.

[17] The signatures of these two monks appear also in the colophon of the manuscript S.5972, a commentary of the "Vimalakīrti *Sūtra*" (cf. Drège 1984: 54). This text was also a basis for Fajing's preaching sessions.

[18] Ishizuka links this practice to the writing tool used during the period of Tibetan rule (Ishizuka 1992: 258).

[19] Cf. Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002: 191–194.

Figure 2: Manuscript P.2247 (detail), BnF.

Figure 3: Manuscript P.2134 (detail), BnF.

Figure 4: Manuscript P.2247 (detail), BnF.

Figure 5: Manuscript P.2053 (detail), BnF.

Figure 6: Manuscript P.2247 (detail), BnF.

P.2247, found marks corresponding to four hierarchical levels,[20] but if we consider the whole corpus from a more general point of view, the punctuation system is often even more complex. To begin with, we can distinguish a sign reproducing the shape of a (lotus?) flower having four or more petals, which appears as an "indicating-mark" at the beginning of a section (Figure 2). Generally speaking, it is larger in size and more conspicuous compared to other signs. It is often shown on the upper margin of the page (where more space is available) and corresponds to the beginning of a major section or a new paragraph; frequently it is also written above the head or end title of the text. In some manuscripts belonging to this corpus there is yet another symbol having the same function of the previous one (see Figure 3: P.2134). This symbol resembles a lotus bud with three petals and is very frequent in other manuscripts dating from the period of the Tibetan rule or later, notably from the 10th century.[21] A lower textual hierarchy is highlighted by a sign resembling a spiral or a circle containing a smaller circle inside (Figure 4) with occasionally a short attached line continuing upward (see for instance manuscript P.2053: Figure 5). We also find a smaller mark, very similar to an empty circle (Figure 6), and finally a simple dot, doubtless the most frequent mark, which generally is used to separate one sentence from another.

These elements highlight some parts of the text in order to make reading easier and to help the reader find the beginning of a passage. Reading corresponds to the act of separating characters and sentences by distinguishing and identifying different units. As such, these signs are meant to facilitate the consultation of the text, and therefore they are mainly aimed at those who will use the text in practical terms. This has, in a sense, an explanatory purpose, helping the potential reader to interpret the text, in other words, guiding the reader.

[20] Li 1988: 99.

[21] This symbol appears for instance in manuscripts P.2079, P.2156, P.2162V°, etc.

Figure 7: Manuscript P 2035 (detail), BnF.

It appears, at first glance, that the use of ornamental signs to separate the different parts of the text and establish the hierarchies within the text's content, contrasts with the general presentation of the manuscript, which is quite disorganized. However, we notice that even the addition of punctuation marks has been performed in quite a hasty fashion. The various conceptual elements listed in the texts are arranged in order and distinguished from one another by numbers. In some manuscripts, the scribe who defined the textual hierarchies, in fact, seems to have placed the signs or marks in a quite hurried and mechanical way, notably drawing a dot mark next to the appearance of any number in the text. We notice for instance that, in some cases, the scribe has made a dot-mark next to a number that is simply an integral part of a sentence rather than an indication of a category.

It is easy to argue that the purpose of separating the text into categories by the means of these ornamental signs was not planned in advance, but rather was carried out in a second phase. It is clear, that the different marks have been added at a later time as they sometimes "touch" the Chinese characters (see manuscript P.2035, Figure 7). In some manuscripts the characters have been written so close together that there is often not enough space for even the smallest punctuation marks that are used to separate the different parts of long sentences. Manuscript P.2036 is a good example of this kind. Quite frequently the simple dot-mark is positioned in the middle of two characters and touches the characters it is supposed to separate. Sometimes it is placed in the very middle of a character or, due to the lack of space, is even written on the right hand edge of the column.

Some recent studies by Japanese scholars have pointed out that glossing, revising and punctuating a text is sometimes not as easy to detect as one may naively imagine. According to Kobayashi Yoshinori, several manuscripts belonging to this small corpus present paratextual elements that were achieved by applying a technique consisting of drawing marks or glosses with a dry-point writing tool, known in Japan as *kakuhitsu* 角笔. In fact, a similar instrument was used in Dunhuang, notably during the period of the Tibetan government.[22] This technique has been the subject of various studies, notably in Japan, where it is frequently found in Buddhist manuscripts.[23] This writing was done without ink and allowed the recording

[22] For more on this topic see Fujieda 1969: 36–38.
[23] See Girard 2005: 571–577.

of elements on the sheet in a much less visible and undoubtedly non permanent way. The work could be completed at a later time (if desired) by filling in these paratextual elements with black or red ink. Kobayashi, analyzing Dunhuang manuscripts, also showed the use of this technique in several copies belonging to the corpus we are interested in, for instance in manuscripts S.5309, S.3927, S.735, S.6483 and S.4011.[24] These marks and glosses, produced without ink and possibly drawn with the handle end of a brush, are difficult to make out even when examining the actual manuscript. In some cases these marks have been filled in with red ink. According to Kobayashi, these elements have been added by the disciples recording Facheng's preaching. In all likelihood, the disciples first made a note of the required punctuation using this technique and later, when reviewing the material, they filled in these markings with red ink accordingly.[25] Similar techniques have been noted in European medieval manuscripts presenting the so-called "dry-point" glosses. The exact function of these notes is unclear, however, it seems that their main function was the same as that of the notes produced using ink.[26] Some scholars have also pointed out that this technique could be linked to economic and practical constraints of the time, particularly regarding the availability of ink or of the instruments necessary to produce the manuscript outside a *scriptorium*.[27] Based on their characteristics, some of these kinds of glosses in European manuscripts seem to be the work of one or more students analyzing a text.[28] However in other contexts they can have an alternative significance.[29] Concerning the practice of producing "dry-point" glosses in China, Kobayashi Yoshinori has also pointed out that manuscript S.5556, dated 948 and containing a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra*, according to its colophon, was punctuated by the very same copyist in order to facilitate its being read aloud. Moreover, when this copyist had a doubt about the correctness of a character, he crossed it out with the handle end of the brush, that is to say by applying a "dry point" mark, in a perceptible but not permanent way.[30] Even though the context is very different from that of Medieval Europe mentioned above, it can be observed that the monks who took part in Facheng's preaching

[24] Kobayashi 1997: 27–29; and Kobayashi 1999: 7–13.
[25] Kobayashi 1997: 28.
[26] Lendinara 1999: 4.
[27] See Rusche 1994: 196–197.
[28] Rusche 1994: 199–201.
[29] See the examples concerning particular manuscripts from the 8th and 9th centuries from the Freising monastery mentioned by Costa Sousa 2008: 49–50.
[30] Kobayashi 1995: 3–4.

sessions were also disciples (i.e. similar to students in Medieval Europe) who later might became masters. As for the present corpus, these manuscripts were possibly personal copies used for learning and teaching or for future preaching sessions. We know for example that one of the abovementioned monks, Fajing, later on was himself leading preaching sessions of the "Vimalakīrti *Sūtra*." His activity gave life to written texts produced by the same method of "taking notes" used for the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*, i.e. the *Jingming jing Guanzhong shichao* 凈名經關中釋抄. The colophon of manuscript P.2079, containing a copy of this text, states that Master Cao 曹, namely Fajing, went to the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺[31] on the 1st day of the 1st month of the *renchen* 壬辰 year (872) to preach the "Vimalakīrti *Sūtra*" (*Weimo jing* 維摩經). At that time, another monk, Zhihui 智惠, "on the basis [of what he] heard [from]" (*suiting* 隨聽) Fajing, started to commit to paper his preaching and carried on this work until the 23rd day of the 2nd month of the same year.[32] Another colophon, found in manuscript BD14093 (formerly known as Bei *xin* 新 293) and containing the same text, records another step of the preaching sessions led by Fajing. At the same time, a document containing a tribute to Fajing, dated 883 (manuscript P.4660 [4]) and copied by the aforementioned Heng'an,[33] refers to the role of Fajing in spreading the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*, the *Baifa mingmen lun* 百法明門論 and the *Jingming jing* 凈名經.[34] Taking into account that Heng'an was a disciple of Facheng along with Fajing, the fact that he took part in Fajing's preaching sessions in a later period suggests that Fajing had a more prominent position among the disciples of Facheng even at the time when he signed the manuscripts containing the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra* commentaries.[35]

Conclusions

The problem of defining the modalities and the circumstances within which these kinds of ornamental signs were produced takes us back once more to

[31] The same place where Facheng performed his preaching sessions of the *Yogacārabhūmi-śāstra*. For more on this monastery see Demiéville 1952: 213.
[32] Cf. the French translation of this colophon by Drège 2007: 84.
[33] For more on this monk see Qu 2004: 116–119.
[34] See Ueyama 1990: 349–350.
[35] See Rong 1996: 271–273 and Chen 2000: 236.

some more general questions concerning the punctuation of ancient Chinese manuscripts. The modern reader, faced with an ancient manuscript, frequently tends to approach it as if he was dealing with a printed text, where the different textual and codicological elements have been planned in a (generally speaking) logical and – above all – *definitive* way. However the reality is quite different. Despite the assertion of "*scripta manent*," we have to acknowledge that, in a manuscript context, data are not completely fixed, static and incontrovertible. Thus, different kinds of questions arise when dealing with the text of a manuscript. In fact, sometimes it is rather difficult, or often almost impossible, to identify and define the different formal revisions carried out by unknown persons or the different alterations introduced into the "original" copy. The scribe or the person who put the text into writing may have done this work in different steps and the punctuation may have been added at a later period. But who was responsible for these changes? Are we dealing with the same person who produced the "original" manuscript or with a reviewer; with a scholar or with a standard reader? And most of all, what period of time has elapsed between the revision phase and the production of the first original version? As for the present corpus, it would seem that the punctuation marks are the work of the scribes themselves. The various ornamental signs added to the manuscripts were meant to indicate logical breaks in the discourse, suggesting the shift from one section to another according to the contents of the text. As a result, it can be assumed that these elements were produced to facilitate comprehension and reading, for the copyists themselves. Thus, we are dealing with a form of paratextual aid consisting of a fairly well developed system of marks. This also indicates that these manuscripts were most likely intended to be of practical use, such as for study or reading, and were not simply meant to be stored in a library or used as copying models.

In conclusion we point out that some of the symbols we discussed above still appear on some manuscripts dating from the 10th century. As a result, we can argue that the ornamental signs and the punctuation marks we have presented were possibly also part of an ornamental repertory, which was quite familiar to the copyists who produced these manuscripts. We can also conclude that in old Chinese paper manuscripts the relationship between the different structural parts of the objects used for creating the manuscript, i.e. the pages or the sheets constituting a manuscript, and the codicological elements, not only changed according to the times and to the various needs of specific kinds of texts, but possibly also varied according to the taste and the fashion of specific epochs, as well as the evolution of reading techniques.

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Correction Marks in the Dunhuang Manuscripts

IMRE GALAMBOS

With their span of six hundred some years, the Dunhuang manuscripts are a valuable witness of the process of textual transmission in medieval China. Beside looking at this process from the perspective of texts and their many versions or editions, the examination of less deliberate scribal habits in manuscripts can also be meaningful. In this paper I look at the way medieval scribes corrected mistakes and show that although we have practically no evidence that the notation used for this purpose would have been part of an official teaching curriculum, it nevertheless remained surprisingly consistent over the centuries. This diachronic stability of the notation system reveals the direct continuity of the scribal tradition, which is at times less evident in the transmission of texts.

Claims put forward in modern scholarship regarding the multitude of mistakes in Chinese texts and manuscripts are at times problematic. In practice, this attitude often proves to be a convenient way of manipulating texts in order to make them fit better our own understanding of what they should have said. Yet the Dunhuang manuscripts also contain many mistakes which were corrected, either by the scribe while writing or by an editor during a subsequent proofreading. These were undoubtedly mistakes recognized as such by contemporary people, who also took the time to correct them using a consistent system of notation. There are several excellent studies on the practice of textual editing and collation, which also talk about the types of mistakes found in texts.[1] However, these studies mostly deal with printed texts where the mistakes of one generation are identified by later scholars in order to restore an assumed original or uncorrupted version, in order to arrive at a more faithful edition. In manuscripts,

[1] In English, see Susan Cherniack's (1994) influential study which concentrates on printed works and includes an appendix with the main types of mistakes occurring in textual transmission. She also lists the most important Chinese works on the subject.

however, we can witness the mistakes that have been identified and corrected during the act of copying, or shortly after that. These corrections show the processs of textual transmission in action, as it happened in real life on the level of individual copies.

The Dunhuang corpus comprises tens of thousands of texts with a rich variety of content. In order to avoid the unnecessary "noise" caused by the diversity of the material, I shall mainly use for my examination copies of Buddhist texts, only occasionally citing examples from Daoist or literary works. These texts for the most part consist of multiple copies of well-known texts, thus they represent an ideal material for the study of palaeographic matters without the need to address problems of textual criticism. By limiting the scope of study to such material we are able to observe these patterns in a relatively homogenous environment. The examples listed here are not so much about the types of mistakes made in medieval China but rather the ways of correcting those. Thus I am not interested in the psycho-linguistic aspects of contemporary literacy but rather in the ways of dealing with mistakes within the scribal tradition. An immediate difficulty in identifying corrections arises from the fact that we can only recognize examples were the intervention is still visible today, whereas we know that in some cases scribes and editors attempted to conceal the traces of subsequent editing. As a result, some of the corrections inevitably escape our attention and we only find traces of more obvious cases.

Most of the manuscripts are copies of pre-existing versions of the same texts, and this is especially true for Buddhist sūtras. The copyists of sūtra scrolls were trying to preserve the integrity of the text by producing a nearly identical copy to the original which they used as their source text. Unlike in philological scholarship, this original in most cases was not an abstract entity that had to be reconstructed but an actual manuscript that lay in front of them.[2] No textual decisions had to be made, there was no ambiguity regarding the identity of a character or how it should be written; in general, the mistakes were scribal errors committed during the process of copying. This, however, does not mean that mistakes are rare on manuscripts. On the contrary, they are quite frequent and only very few complete manuscripts are void of them. Even sūtras commissioned by the court, which were copied with utmost care in the most meticulous handwriting, have mistakes and corrections.

[2] We should also note that in a number of cases manuscript copies were made from printed works and, less frequently, from inscriptions (e.g. Galambos 2009). These copies would from there on be transmitted as part of the manuscript tradition.

Of the fragmentary references to the notation of corrections in traditional sources, the description of Chen Kui 陳騤 (1128–1203) should be singled out as one of the more complete ones. He explains several techniques as part of the editing (*jiaochou* 校讎) process as follows:

> 諸字有誤者，以雌黃塗訖，別書。或多字，以雌黃圈之；少者，于字側添入；或字側不容注者，即用朱圈，仍於本行上下空紙上標寫。倒置，於兩字間書一字。
>
> When errors occur in characters, paint them out with *cihuang* and then write the new text over them. If there are interpolated characters, mark them with a circle of orpiment; if there are missing ones, insert them by the side of the text. Or if there is not enough space for comments by the side of the text, then use a vermillion circle and write your note on the empty margins at the top or bottom of that line. When two characters are reversed, write the character 乙 between them.[3]

All of these techniques were used in medieval manuscript culture, although there are also other types not mentioned here. An earlier source describing some correction methods is the *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談 by the renown Northern Song scholar and scientist Shen Gua 沈括 (1031–1095):

> 館閣新書淨本有誤書處，以雌黃塗之，嘗校改字之法。刮洗則傷紙，紙貼之又易脫，粉塗則字不沒，塗數遍方能漫滅，唯雌黃一漫則滅，仍久而不脫。
>
> Whenever clean copies of new books in the libraries and offices had errors, they were painted over with *cihuang*, which has been the traditional method of correcting characters. Scraping or washing the characters off would damage the paper; pasting paper over them would allow the paper detach easily; applying powder over them would not make them disappear and it would take several layers to make them fully fade away. Only *cihuang* is capable of making them fade away at once, and yet stay on for a long time without falling off.

Although Shen Gua explains that the application of *cihuang* is the best way for correcting character errors, he also lists a number of other – less ideal – methods which were undoubtedly in use as well. All of the techniques mentioned here are intended to make the mistake disappear completely, while more visible interventions, such as crossing out a character or inserting omitted ones on the side, are not mentioned at all. Obviously,

[3] Chen Kui 陳騤, *Nan Song guange lu* 南宋館閣錄 "Jiaochou shi" 校讎式.

correction techniques also depended on the environment, the necessity for producing a clean and aesthetically immaculate copy.

Among the material found in the Dunhuang cave library, the manuscripts striving for such a high degree of visual integrity are sūtras commissioned by the Tang court. At the end of such scrolls, we always find a colophon listing the name of the proofreaders and supervisors. For example, manuscript Or.8210/S.84 is a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* dated to 671. It lists all those involved in creating the scroll, including three persons who proofread (*chujiao* 初校, *zaijiao* 再校 and *sanjiao* 三校) the manuscript, the first of whom is the scribe who copied the sūtra, and four different higher monks from another monastery who carefully perused (*xiangyue* 詳閱) the finished product.[4] Less formal manuscripts allowed more intrusive types of corrections, some of which suggest that the text was created for personal use.

Since the tens of thousands of Dunhuang manuscripts display an extraordinary variety of scribal notation, a full list of these would fill volumes. In this place I will concentrate on the common and typical examples and identify the following main types of mistakes and corrections.[5]

1. Omitted Characters

When an accidental omission of a character is noticed either by the scribe during the process of writing or by a proof reader later on, the mistake is corrected by one of the following methods.

1.1. Inserting the Omitted Character Inline

The easiest method of correcting an omission is to squeeze in the omitted character between the preceding and following ones. Due to the limitations

[4] This manuscript is a set of three *Lotus Sūtra* scrolls all copied in the same year, partially involving the same people. For a full translation of one of their colophons, see Giles 1935: 14–15.

[5] Some of these types of correction listed here are also described by other authors (e.g. Kósa, Moretti, Anderl) in this volume, although mostly with regard to particular manuscripts. Many of them are also mentioned in Lin Congming 1991: 245–269 and papers on the punctuation used in Dunhuang manuscripts, e.g. Li Zhengyu 1988, Galambos (forthcoming).

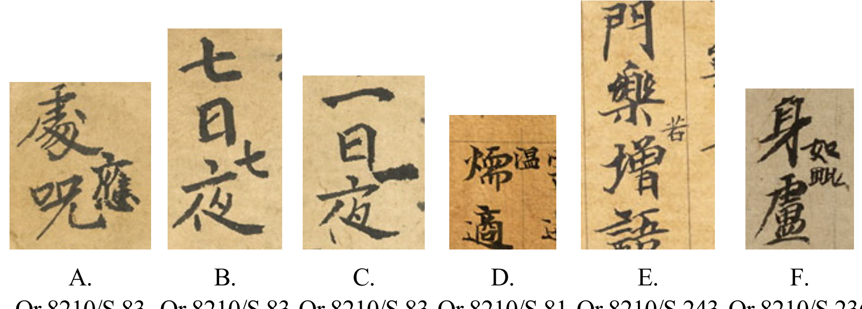
A. Or.8210/S.2136 B. Or.8210/S.2295 C. Or.8210/S.2067

Figure 1: Insertion of characters in smaller script between full-sized characters.

of space, the inserted character is often smaller in size. For example, in manuscript Or.8210/S.2136 (Figure 1A), a fine copy of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* dated to 708, the first character 聲 of the word *shengwen* 聲聞 (śrāvaka, disciple) was omitted, and this was corrected by inserting it in a slightly smaller script. When space is limited, the missing character can be very small in size, as it is seen in Or.8210/S.2295 (Figure 1B), a copy of the *Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經 from 612, where the character 則 appears as a tiny insertion between 進 and 帝. A similar example is the insertion of the character 淨 between 嚴 and 一 in Or.8210/S.2067 (Figure 1C), to form the phrase "the glorious and pure all…" 嚴淨一切. In this last case it is nearly impossible to detect the insertion without carefully reading the text. Undoubtedly, such miniscule interventions also served an aesthetic purpose as they betray an effort to minimize the disruption of the visual appearance of the manuscript.

1.2. Writing the Omitted Character on the Side

When there is not enough space to insert the character in line, the corrector can write it on the right side of the line, between the characters preceding and following characters. This is by far the most common way of rectifying an omission. For example, in Or.8210/S.83 (Figure 2A) the character



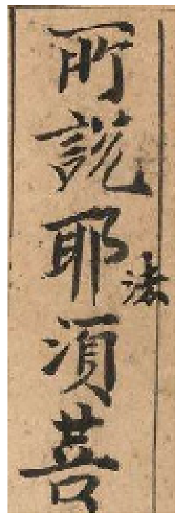
A. Or.8210/S.83 B. Or.8210/S.83 C. Or.8210/S.83 D. Or.8210/S.81 E. Or.8210/S.243 F. Or.8210/S.236

Figure 2: Insertion of omitted characters on the side.

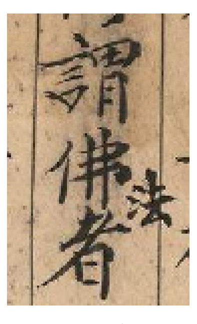
應 is inserted between the characters 處 and 呪. A few lines later in the same manuscript the second 七 is omitted from the phrase “seven days and seven nights” 七日七夜 (Figure 2B). An analogous mistake is made a few lines later when the second 一 is left out from the phrase “one day and one night” 一日一夜 (Figure 2C). In all cases the missing character is appended in smaller script to the right, indicating its location in the text.

In Or.8210/S.81 (Figure 2D), an early copy of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* from 506, the missing character 溫 is inserted to the right of the following character 煗, a variant form of 暖. We can see that the corrector observed the top grid line and refrained from writing the character on the top margin. Once again, we can be certain that this was done for the sake of not disrupting the visual appearance of the manuscript. For the same reason, sometimes the inserted character is written in a very small script, as it is the case in the copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Or.8210/S.243 (Figure 2E), where the omitted character 若 is inserted between 樂 and 增. Since the character is written on the side, we cannot attribute its size to spatial limitations alone. Finally, the same technique of correction can be applied if more than one character is omitted, as in the case of the late 10th-century manuscript Or.8210/S.236 (Figure 2F) where the characters 如毗 are written in small script on the right, indicating that they were meant to be placed between the characters 身 and 盧.

A slight variation to this technique is when sometimes the missing character is inserted not where it was omitted but one character lower, after the following character. From our modern point of view this appears to be imprecise but this use is not exceptional. In manuscript Or.8210/S.5646, a copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* from 969, there are several such examples. The character 法 inserted in the first example (Figure 3A), should actually go not after the character 耶 but before it, being part of the phrase “explaining the dharma” 說法. In the second case (Figure 3B), the char-



A. Or.8210/S.5646



B. Or.8210/S.5646

C. Or.8210/S.5646

Figure 3: Examples of characters inserted a character later in the text.

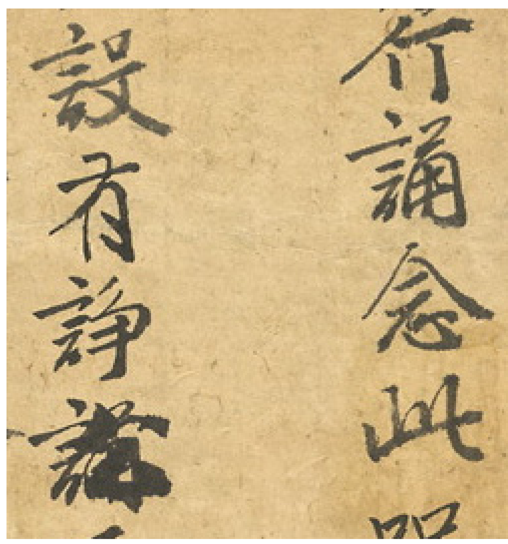
acter 法 comes after 謂. Having said that, the same manuscript usually inserts omitted characters using the “orthodox” method, where they suppose to go. Thus in the third example (Figure 3C), the character 眼 is correctly inserted after 佛, forming the phrase “the Buddha’s eyes” 佛眼. Thus it is not inconceivable that the first two cases of corrections are actually mistakes themselves. More examples are needed to establish the validity of this method.

2. Wrong Characters

Writing the wrong character can happen as a result of a variety of reasons, including graphical or phonetic similarity, influence from context. Such mistakes are typically corrected using one of the following techniques.

2.1. Writing Over the Wrong Character

In Or.8210/S.83 (Figure 4), the copyist originally wrote the word *zhengsong* 諍訟 (“dispute”) as 諍誦, accidentally replacing the character 訟 with the homophonous 誦, which is a more common character and is written



Or.8210/S.83

Figure 4: Correction by writing over the wrong character.

with the same signific. Beside the similar pronunciation, the copyist was obviously also influenced by the character 誦 appearing on the right, in the previous line. Once the wrong character was committed to paper, someone, the copyist or a subsequent corrector, corrected the mistake by writing the character 訟 over it in bold script.[6]

2.2. Scratching Out the Wrong Character

Sometimes the wrong character is smudged and scratched out. Scratching out used to be a common procedure for early Chinese wooden and bamboo slip manuscripts, where the wrong character could be simply shaven off the surface of the wood or bamboo. With paper manuscripts, this was obviously not possible anymore and the scratching produced an unattractive smudging on the writing surface. In his subcommentary to the *Zhouli* 周禮義疏, Jia Gongyan 賈公彥 (fl. 650) wrote about the use of the *xue* 削, a knife designed to scratch off mistaken characters:

[6] To be exact, only the right side component was written corrected, since the signific 言 on the left is identical in both 訟 and 誦.

> 古者未有紙筆，則以削刻字。至漢雖有紙筆，仍有書刀，是古之遺法也。
>
> In ancient times before paper and brush appeared, [the book knife] was used for shaving off engraved characters; since the Han paper and brush became accessible but the book knife is still in use as a tradition from the past.”[7]

Despite the origin of this technique, it is likely that in medieval manuscripts most of such corrections were not done with a knife but something softer, perhaps at times with a finger. Regardless of how it was done, it is certain that this was an extremely common way of making corrections. For example, in Or.8210/S.243 (Figure 5A) the characters in the phrase “existence and emptiness” 有空 are clearly a correction of something else. The original characters were smudged and rubbed off and the new ones written over it. We cannot discern the original characters but the correction left obvious traces on the surface of the paper. In the next line of the same manuscript (Figure 5B), the character 無 in the phrase “having form and no form” 有相無相 is once again written over a rubbed off character. We can only see small traces of the original character but based on these it is not impossible that it was the character 增 in the word “designation” 增語 (Skt. *adhivacanâhvaya*), which follows in the text. According to this scenario, the copyist, when writing the words 有相無相增語, skipped over the characters 相無 and instead continued from the second 相. If this was really the case and the erased character was indeed 增, then the mistake was caught and corrected not by a later proof reader but by the copyist himself as soon as he wrote the character 增.

In Or.8210/S.5646 (Figure 5C), a collection of Buddhist sūtras from the late 10th century bound in a notebook format, the character 往 in the phrase “coming and going” 往來 is written over a smudged and erased character which had been there earlier.

[7] Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien (2011: 65–66) translates the phrase *yi xue ke zi* 以削刻字 as “the book knife was employed for engraving characters” and thus concludes that Jia Gongyan mistakenly believed that the *xue* was used for engraving. Yet since this is an explanation attached to the text of the *Zhouli* and its commentary, which mention the book knife, the phrase in question should be understood as “[the book knife] was used for shaving off engraved characters.” In other words, the subject is omitted because it is already mentioned in the text to which this comment refers to. This reading, while being fully grammatical, completely eliminates the need to Tsien’s claim that Jia Gongyan and others had mistaken assumptions about the use of this tool.

A. Or.8210/S.243 B. Or.8210/S.243 C. Or.8210/S.5646

Figure 5: Scratching off mistaken content.

2.3. Crossing Out the Wrong Character

One of the common and most obvious ways of correcting a mistake is to cross out the wrong character and write the correct one beside it. For example, in manuscript Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2 (Figure 6A), the copyist had erroneously written "in one dharma" 於一法 instead of "in eight dharmas" 於八法. To rectify this, the corrector put a circle mark on the character 一 and wrote the small character 八 to the right of it.[8] In BD02126 (Figure 6B), the character 大 "big" is crossed out and the correct character 不 ("not") is written on the side in smaller script. The mistake was likely caused by the anticipation of the character 大 from two characters lower. In Or.8210/S.1020 (Figure 6C), only the component 鬼 was crossed out in the lower part of the character 魔 and replaced on the side with the component 毛, effectively changing the whole character to 麾. In Or.8210/S.373 (Figure 6D), a collection of poems, the copyist accidentally wrote the character 崇 instead of the correct 宗, and rectified the problem by

[8] The reason why a circle mark is used for crossing a character out is that there is no easy way of crossing out the character 一 with another stroke without running the risk of creating confusion.

A. Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2 B. BD02126 C. Or.8210/S.1020 D. Or.8210/S.373

Figure 6: Crossing out mistaken characters.

crossing out 崇, and writing the correct character on the side. Yet even in his correction, he made a mistake and had to correct that once more, eventually writing the right character slightly below.

2.4. Coloring Out the Wrong Character

Similar to our modern correction fluids (e.g. Wite-out), the wrong character could be erased by painting over it with a dye, and the correct character would be written over this. This is the method described in Chen Kui's description above as "when errors occur in characters, paint them out with *cihuang* and then write the new text over them." Shen Gua goes as far as claiming that this is the only truly good technique for corrections.[9] We can see an example of such a technique in Or.8210/S.2295 (Figure 7A), the *Laozi bianhua jing* from the early 7th century, where the character 胎 is written over a not-too-subtle yellow correction. On the other hand, we should also entertain the possibility that the corrections in many cases are more visible today because over the centuries the dye might have undergone color change or partially came off. In other words, what appears to be an unaesthetic correction today (e.g. Figure 7A) may have been nearly invisible for contemporary users. Yet there are interventions which are

[9] Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591) in his *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 also mentions the use of *cihuang* for editing books and advises to be cautious with its use without properly comparing different editions: "Before one has seen all books under heaven, one should not carelessly apply *cihuang*" 觀天下書未遍， 不得妄下雌黃.

A. Or.8210/S.2295 B. Or.8210/S.5765 C. Or.8210/S.1

Figure 7: Coloring out mistaken content.

not immediately apparent even today without examining the original manuscript. Such an example is Or.8210/S.5765 (Figure 7B), a fragment of the *Buddhapitakasūtra*, where a long string of characters has been painted over and replaced with new content.

An interesting case of an "unfinished" correction is seen in Or.8210/S.1 (Figure 7C), a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, where the wrong character had already been eliminated but the new one was never written over it. On this example, only a subtle trace of the first character is visible, which would have become practically untraceable if the correct one was supplied. This also implies that the number of corrections in the manuscripts might be higher than we can see today, as many changes are simply not visible, especially when looking at reproductions. In this particular case, the missing character is 便 ("then, immediately after that") from the phrase "he then told the venerable Shariputra, saying …" 便告具壽舍利子言, and the canonical version of the text (T05.220) makes it obvious that a character is indeed missing here. At the same time, traces of the deleted character show that initially it was not 便 but something else, perhaps a character with the 言 signific. This example helps us to

A. Or.8120/S.520

B. Pelliot chinois 3835

Figure 8: Corrections written on paper slips.

document the process of correction, showing that, at least sometimes, the characters were not corrected one by one but done in batch stages performed on the entire manuscript or a group of manuscripts.[10]

2.5. Adding Corrections on Paper Slips

As a means of covering unwanted content, in some cases a strip of paper was pasted over the wrong string of characters, and the new characters were written on this strip. In Or.8210/S.520 (Figure 8A), a bulletin from the 10th century issued by local monasteries, a name was pasted over using a strip of paper with the new name of Tu Daohui 圖道惠 on it. Because the seal of the *Hexi dusengtong yin* 河西都僧統印 (Seal of the Chief Monk of the Hexi Region) was stamped over the original name, the paper strip used for the correction now also covers part of the seal impression. The correction was written on the paper strip after it was glued on the document, as it is evidenced by the fact that the first strokes of the new name

[10] Thus the wrong characters may have been identified in one stage throughout the entire manuscript, then painted over in another stage, then corrected in yet another. Perhaps these stages were even done by different people.

extend outside the paper.[11] In manuscript Pelliot chinois 3835 (Figure 8B) bound in a notebook format, a long paper slip with two lines of text was glued to the bottom of the page and folded inside, thus effectively creating a three-dimensional insertion.[12]

3. Flipped Characters

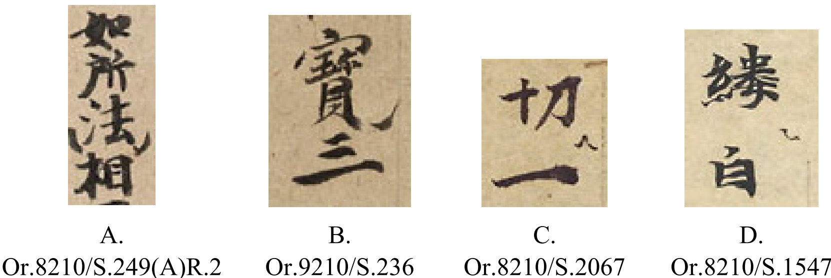
One of the relatively common mistakes we encounter in medieval manuscripts is the reversal of two sequential characters. For example, manuscript Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2 (Figure 9A) has the characters 相 and 法 flipped in the phrase 如所相法, erroneously writing 如所法相. To rectify the problem, there is a small check mark between 相 and 法, indicating that they should be reversed. In this particular case, the mistake was obviously caused by the overall frequency of the phrase *faxiang* 法相 ("characteristics of the dharma") in Buddhist literature. The check mark used here is the most common notation used for correcting flipped characters. In manuscript Or.8210/S.236, to cite another example, the characters in the phrase "Three Treasures" 三寶 were accidentally reversed and then corrected the same way. Less commonly we see the same mark upside down, as in Or.8210/S.2067 (Figure 9B), or appear in the form of the character 乙, as in Or.8210/S.1547 (Figure 9C).[13] Sometimes these three variant versions of the reversal mark were used within the same manuscript, as it is the case in Or.8210/S.2067.

The position of the reversal mark is also important: it is invariably placed on the right side of the line, between the flipped characters. It should be distinguished from the check mark that is often identical in appearance but appears in the middle of the line, and is part of the notation used for segmenting text. Although used consistently, when the latter appears in manuscripts, it is placed over the first character of a new segment, and thus

[11] This way of correction was commonly used in later times for proofreading books before their final printing. The manuscript copy of the *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府 kept at Princeton University Library is believed to be a pre-publication copy used for proofreading, and there are lots of paper strips glued to the pages, both for correcting existing content and inserting missing text.

[12] The image here only shows the place where the paper slip was glued to the bottom of the manuscript. The fold line is along the bottom edge of the original scroll.

[13] This is the mentioned in the description of Chen Kui quoted above: "When two characters are reversed, write the character 乙 between them."



A.	B.	C.	D.
Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2	Or.9210/S.236	Or.8210/S.2067	Or.8210/S.1547

Figure 9: Correcting flipped characters using a check mark.

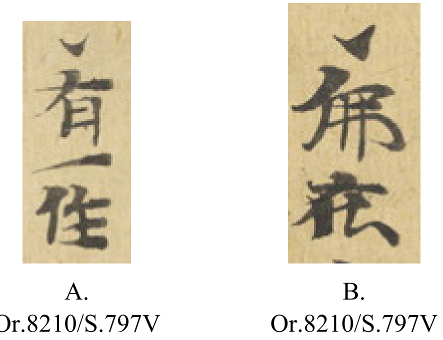
generally corresponds to our modern notion of a new paragraph. In other words, this is a check mark that marks a new paragraph. Examples of this can be seen in manuscript Or.8210/S.797V (Figure 10).

4. Redundant Characters

Interpolations and extra characters are another common type of mistakes. For example, Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2 (Figure 11A) has the phrase 何用别餘依 in which the character 餘 is superfluous. The redundant character was subsequently marked with four dots, which indicates that it should be understood as not not being there. The same technique could be used when marking longer strings of text to be deleted, as in Or.8210/S.797V (Figure 11B). Usually three or four dots are placed next to each character but there are cases when only a single dot is used, as it is the case in Or.8210/S.321 (Figure 11C) where characters 城惡 are eliminated.

In rare instances the deletion mark appears in red, as in manuscript Or.8210/S.2067 (Figure 12A), which is certainly the sign of a subsequent proof reader, who checked the manuscript for errors independent of the copyist. Beside the dots, another common mark used for deletion was a cross-like mark, only the horizontal stroke does not extend to the left side of the vertical stroke; in modern Chinese scholarship it is usually referred to as the mark in the form of the character 卜 (*bu*).[14] A use of this mark can

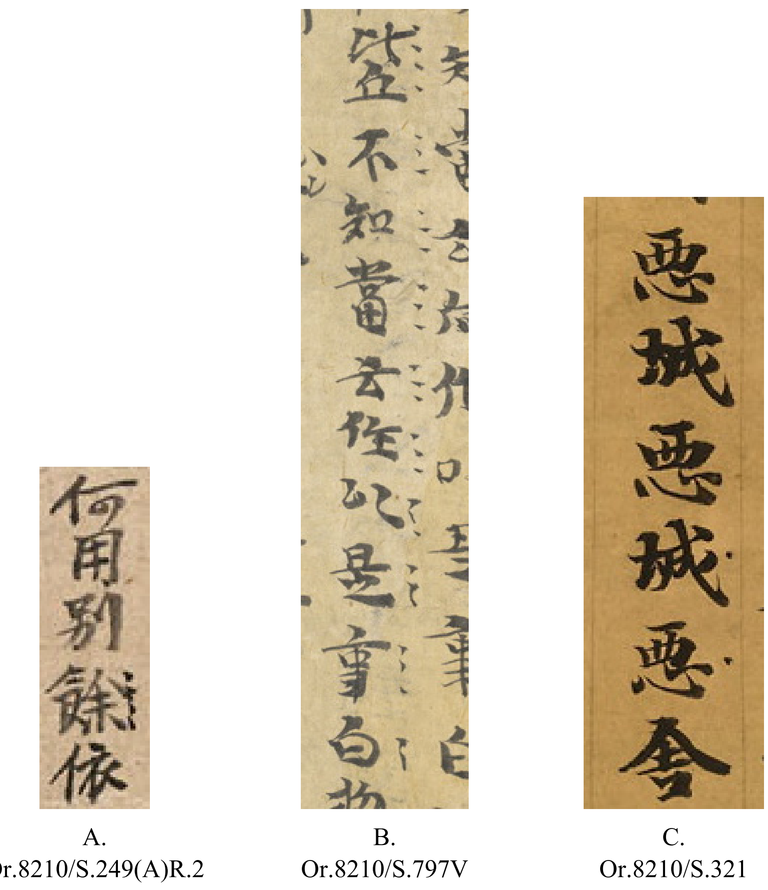
[14] On the use of this mark, see, for example, Zhang Xiaoyan 2003. Interestingly, in Tangut manuscripts from Khara-khoto from the 11th–12th centuries, which use much of the notation from Chinese manuscript culture, this deletion mark typically appears in the form of a full cross, with the horizontal stroke extending to both sides of the vertical one.



A. Or.8210/S.797V

B. Or.8210/S.797V

Figure 10: Check marks indicating a “new paragraph.”

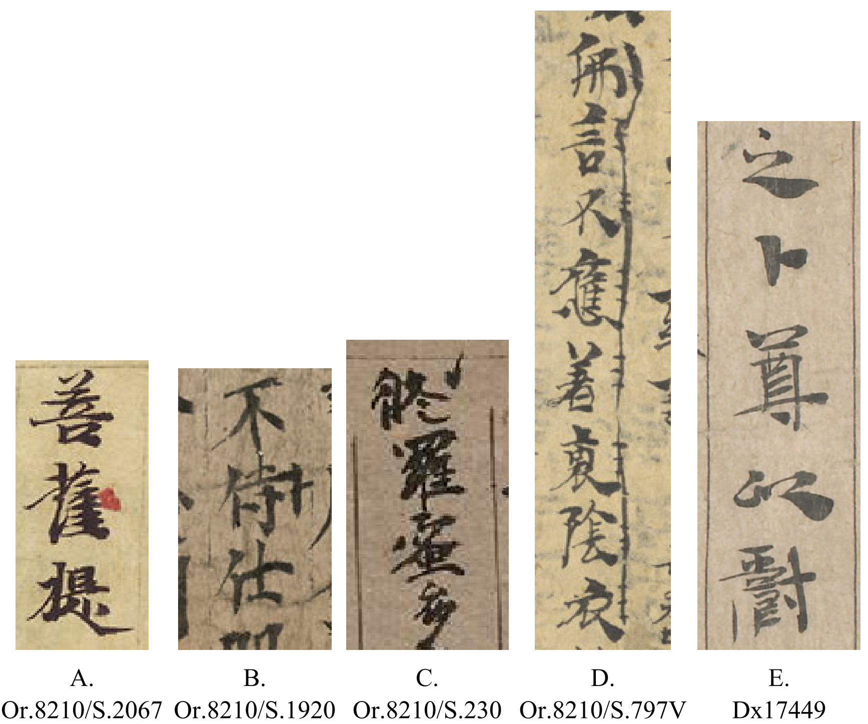


A. Or.8210/S.249(A)R.2

B. Or.8210/S.797V

C. Or.8210/S.321

Figure 11: Deletion of redundant characters (1).



A. Or.8210/S.2067 | B. Or.8210/S.1920 | C. Or.8210/S.230 | D. Or.8210/S.797V | E. Dx17449

Figure 12: Deletion of redundant characters (2).

be seen in manuscript Or.8210/S.1920 (Figure 12B). In addition, the check mark could also be used to indicate deletion, as in the case of Or.8210/S.230 (Figure 12C) where the character 修 is deleted from the top of the line. As a final example, in Or.8210/S.797V (Figure 12D) we can see a case where a correction is annulled. After eight characters were marked using three-dot deletion marks, the corrector realized that he made a mistake in deleting these characters and crossed out his own corrections.

Another interesting phenomenon is shown manuscript Dx17449 (Figure 12E), a pre-Sui copy of the *Huang shi gong sanlüe* 黃石公三略, where we see the character 卜 used for deletion being incorporated into the main text. The copyist who was responsible for this manuscript obviously did not understand the meaning of the 卜 deletion mark which was placed next to the redundant character 之. As a result, he copied both 之 and 卜 as part of the main text, thus adding two unnecessary characters and creating the phrase 之卜尊以爵 which is not part of the text.[15]

[15] This phenomenon is pointed out in Fujii 2011: 124.

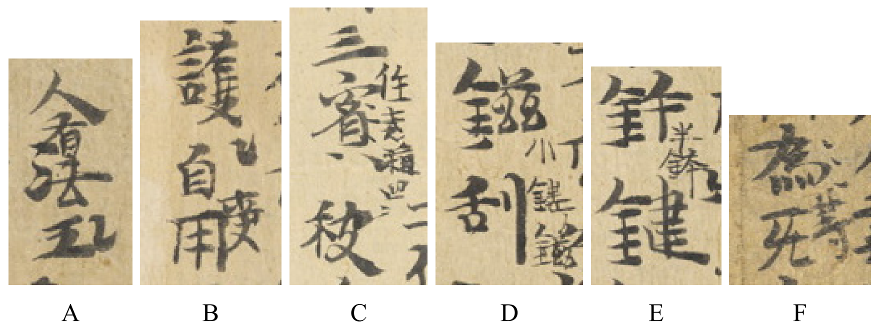


Figure 13: Correction marks used in combination in manuscript Or.8210/S.797V.

5. Combination of Marks

The above examples demonstrate the main categories of correction marks used for basic types of mistakes. Since we can compare the manuscript with canonical versions of the same Buddhist texts, it is relatively easy to determine the function of individual marks, even if one sees them the first time. Yet there are cases where some of these marks are used in combination, creating complex configurations that are at times hard to interpret. For example, in manuscript Or.8210/S.797V, we can find numerous cases of such composite scenarios. In example A, we see how the original string 人法五 is converted into the correct 人有五法 ("there are five ways of … for a person") by inserting a the character 有 after 人 and reversing 法五. The rest of the examples in Figure 13 all show similar combinations of different types of corrections from the same manuscript. It is evident that in such cases it was important to be clear about the functionality of the notation, otherwise it would not have been possible to read the text correctly.

Conclusions

Medieval manuscript culture in China used a highly developed notational system for correcting mistakes. This system has been remarkably consistent through the centuries and part of it continued to be used well beyond the time frame of the Dunhuang manuscripts. In fact, some of them are still in use today, even if handwritten texts are rapidly losing their domi-

nance in society. This diachronic consistency has two major implications. First, in general there are only several types of scribal mistakes and thus a relatively small set of marks was sufficient to address these. Therefore, while we may instinctively regard mistakes as random or arbitrary deviations from a pattern, i.e. the contemporary norm or standard of writing, in reality these errors themselves exhibit a pattern and thus can be classified into a limited number of well-defined categories. Second, the consistency of notation over the course of several centuries demonstrates the continuity of scribal tradition. To some extent the use of writing already implies such a continuity, since literacy is passed down from one generation to another without interruption, yet scribal notations provide a much more direct evidence for this. The marks used for corrections were not learnt from books but were acquired through gaining an apprenticeship from older scribes. Finally, we should note that mistakes in medieval manuscripts are far from being rare. Practically every longer scroll has corrections, even court-commissioned sūtras where the quality of paper, calligraphic skills, and the overall aesthetic appeal of the manuscript were manifestly important. This reveals that in contemporary society the mistakes were acctepted as an integral part of texts, as long as they were corrected.

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Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital

What Lies behind the Name *Tong Kun*?

SAM VAN SCHAIK

The Letter

In the late 960s a Chinese Buddhist monk made his way towards the holy land of India. On his pilgrimage he passed through the Sino-Tibetan borderlands of northern Amdo (modern Qinghai province). As he travelled, the monk requsted letters of passage, and kept a copy of each letter on his personal scroll. The letters were written in Tibetan, and around them the monk wrote his own notes, in Chinese. To this scroll he also added a sheet containing a Chinese inscription that he had copied at a temple in Liangzhou 涼州, dated to the year 968, and signed with his own name, Daozhao 道昭. He also added another scroll, gluing it to the back of the letters of passage, which contained a Chinese sūtra on one side, and Tibetan tantric texts on the other. This manuscript, IOL Tib J 754, came from the 'library cave' at Dunhuang and is now kept at the British Library, and has recently been the subject of a monograph-length study.[1]

This unique Sino-Tibetan manuscript sheds light on both Chinese and Tibetan history, and in particular, helps us to understand better the interface between Chinese and Tibetan cultures during the second half of the 10th century. In this paper I will look at one of the many fascinating questions raised by the manuscript: the identity of the Chinese emperor who is named in Tibetan in one of letters of passage. The etymology of the title given to this emperor has puzzled Tibetan scholars for centuries; the manuscript suggests an answer to their question, one that was not previously considered.

[1] See van Schaik and Galambos 2012. The author would like to thank Imre Galambos and Dan Martin for their invaluable help, without which this paper could not have been written.

The letters of passage in the manuscript IOL Tib J 754 are written to the heads of monasteries and contain requests for escorts for the pilgrim. In one of the letters there is a reference to the fact that the pilgrim began his journey with the blessings of the emperor:

> A monk coming from the presence of the Chinese emperor [of] *tong kun*, a great ascetic and a particularly fine scholar, is going to India to see the face of Śākyamuni. Up to this point we the monks of the Serpa thousand district have escorted him stage by stage. From this point onward, since he should [not be caused] mental strain, consider your commitments. Not to conduct him to the monastic estate of Longxing would be improper. It would be improper for any in the religious and secular spheres not to consider likewise.[2]

The presence of the emperor in this letter is particularly interesting. If the emperor in question is the Song emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960–976), this would link the monk to the large group of pilgrims whose travel was authorized by the emperor. In 966, Taizu issued a decree commissioning a large-scale pilgrimage. In the decree he wrote that, "the road through Qin and Liang has become passable, and thus it is possible to send monks to India in search of the dharma."[3] These words imply that the stability provided by Taizu had made pilgrimage possible again. But the number of pilgrims departing with the emperor's blessing at this time suggests that the movement was organized and coordinated by the emperor as part of the legitimating strategy for his new dynasty. As Sem Vermeesch has said, Buddhism was for Taizu, "an integral part of the state-building project" and he utilized it in order to justify his "rise to power and claim to legitimacy."[4]

So the emperor mentioned in this letter of passage is almost certainly Taizu. The phrase we have translated as "the Chinese emperor [of] Tong kun" is *tong kun rgya rje*. We have good precedents for taking the title *rgya rje* to refer to the Chinese emperor. Several old sources, including

[2] IOL Tib J 754, recto, letter 4, ll. 6–10: *slad nas tong kun rgya rje'i spya nga nas / hwa shang dka thub ched po mkhas pa'i phul du phyin pa cig* [7] *rgya gar gi yul du shag kya thub pa'i zhal mthong du mchi ba lags / 'di tshun chad du bdag cag gser ba stong sde'i* [8] *dge slong rnams kyis kyang / bskyal rim pas bgyis / de phan chad du yang de bzhin thugs khral* [9] … *nas / thugs dam la dgongs pa ste / lung song gi lha sde'i stsam du myi bskyal du myi rung // //* [10] *lha myi phyogs kyang de bzhin du myi dgongs su myi rung //.*

[3] *Fozu tongji* (T2035): 395b.

[4] Vermeesch 2004: 9.

the *Old Tibetan Annals*,[5] the Zhol Pillar and the Lhasa Treaty Pillar use *rgya rje* to denote the emperor of Tang China.[6] This use would have been well known to Tibetans. Later, for example in the document Pelliot tibétain 1111 (l. 19), we find *rgya rje* used to refer to other Chinese rulers.

The other part of the name, *tong kun* is more mysterious, though it is also found in later Tibetan literature, where it is often spelled *stong khun*. Since the occurrence in our manuscript from the 960s represents the earliest appearance of the term which has previously gone unnoticed, it may be worthwhile to see if it might help us to understand its significance. This *(s)tong k(h)un* is almost certainly a loan-word from Chinese, as most Tibetan commentators have recognised. The question has most recently been addressed by the contemporary Tibetan scholar Skal bzang thogs med (2005). However, his treatment does not consider IOL Tib J 754, and he ultimately reaches the same conclusion as many previous Tibetan scholars.

Now, possible readings of the Chinese characters behind *tong kun* are:
(i) Tangjun 唐君: “Ruler of the Tang”
(ii) Dongjun 東君: “Ruler of the East”
(iii) Dongjing 東京: “Eastern capital”

I will deal with the first suggestion only briefly, as it seems a remote possibility. It was suggested in passing, and only as a possibility, by R. A. Stein:

> On l’appelle aussi Tang-kun rgyal po avec la même épithète (Stein, *L’épopée de Gesar*…, p. 78) ou encore Tong-khun, sTong-khun (’khun) [dKar-chag du Tang-jur de Dergué, 274*a*, 282*b*, 318*a*]. Ca dernier nom est peut-être une transcription de chinois T’ang-kiun 唐君, “souverain des T’ang.”[7]

Given the content of the letter of passage in IOL Tib J 754, which dates to well after the collapse of the Tang dynasty, this reading is rather unlikely. It is conceivable that the Tibetan neighbours of China’s 10th century dynasties continued to refer to Chinese emperors with the name of the old Tang dynasty, but as this name is not attested in any Tibetan writings from the Tang period, this would be a very speculative conclusion. Let us now turn to the second interpretation.

[5] See Or.8212/187, ll. 49, 54, 80.
[6] See the Zhol Pillar (South face), l. 46 in Li and Coblin 1987: 144); and the Lhasa Treaty Pillar (West face, l. 13) in Li and Coblin 1987: 38.
[7] Stein 1961: 29 n. 70.

The Ruler of the East

The reading of *tong kun* as Dongjun 東君, the mythical "ruler of the East," is the most commonly accepted reading in the Tibetan tradition, and is given by the modern Tibetan–Chinese dictionary *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, in which *tong khun* is equivalent to *tūng kus*, the transliteration of 東君. This the dictionary defines as a term of respect.[8] This interpretation of *tong kun* was originally suggested in the 14th century by the fourth Karma-pa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1340–1383).

The term became famous in Tibet through verses of praise written for the Indian teacher Atiśa, by his disciple Nag-tsho (1011–1064). These verses became very well known through being included in the first pages of Tsong-kha-pa's famous *Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path*.[9] The phrase occurs in a description of the Indian king who was Atiśa's father, whose wealth is compared to that of this Stong khun king:

> To the East, in the supreme country of Zahor,
> There lies the great city Vikramaṇipur.[10]
> At its centre is a royal palace,
> A vast extensive mansion,
> Known as 'Having Golden Banners'.
> Its pleasures, power and riches
> Rival that of the king of Stong khun in China.[11]

[8] In addition, a modern dictionary of archaic terms, the *Bod yig brda rnying tshig mdzod* has an entry for *tong kun smad* ('lower' *tong kun*), which it defines as either a place-name for Khotan, or as *rkong nyang*, the ruler of Khotan. This would seem to be a specific meaning created by adding *smad* ('lower').

[9] On Nag-tsho's hymn, see Eimer 2003. For Tsong-kha-pa's text, see Tsong-kha-pa 2000: 36 (f. 4), and 377 n. 8. See also *Blue Annals* 297; translation in Roerich 1996: 31. The Tibetan text is cited in Skal bzang thogs med 2006: 270. The same phrase appears in a 17th-century Tibetan history which mentions a Kho yo Mkhan rgan ("Old Abbot Khoyo"), a disciple of Stag lung thang pa (12th c.) at the court of *rgya nag stong khun rgyal po*. See Stag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *Stag lung Chos 'byung*, Bod ljongs Mi rigs Dpe skrun khang (Lhasa 1992), 230.

[10] This may refer to Vikramaṇipura or Vikrampura, the ancient city now known as Bikrampur, located in the Munshiganj of Bangladesh. See Chattopadhyaya 1967: 60.

[11] From *Jo bo rje'i bstod pa brgyad cu pa*, ll. 1–5 (Eimer 1989: 25): *shar phyogs za hor yul mchog na / / de na grong khyer chen po yod / / bi kra ma ni pu ra yin / / de yi dbus na rgyal po'i khab / / pho brang shin tu yangs pa yod / / gser gyi rgyal mtshan can zhes bya / / longs spyod mnga' thang 'byor pa ni / / rgya nag stong khun rgyal po 'dra /.*

A 19th-century printed copy of the prayer glosses *stong khun* as “meaning ‘eastern ruler’ in the language of China.”[12] If true, we would have to retranslate the final line of the verses cited above as “The king who is the Ruler of the East, China.” Skal-bzang thogs-med, in his study of the term, also favours this interpretation:

> This term *stong khun* is not a genuine Tibetan word. It means “a king of eastern China,” as stated by the all-knowing Rol-pa’i rdo-rje. Later it was transliterated into Tibetan. Based on the methods for doing this, the Chinese characters 東君 were transliterated as *stong khun* and the like, based on their sound. As the phrase was widespread, minor regional differences appeared in the way it was written – this is certainly the reason. That is why, if one tries to understand the Tibetan word on its own merely according to the method of etymology, then surely it need hardly be said that one will naturally fall down the precipitous cliffs of meanings.[13]

The strength of this interpretation of *(s)tong k(h)un* as “eastern ruler” is that it offers a close approximation of the pronunciation of Dongjun 東君 in the 10th century. Yet there is a problem here: none of the above sources suggest conclusively that *(s)tong k(h)un* was a personal epithet rather than the seat of the emperor, and in fact Tibetan syntax suggests the latter. The phrase *stong khun rgyal po* has exact parallels in Tibetan literature with titles like *sde dge rgyal po* “the king of Derge” in which the first part of the title indicates the seat of the king’s power. Furthermore I have not as yet found a Chinese source identifying any Chinese emperor by the epithet Dongjun 東君. So it seems reasonable to step outside the received interpretations of the term, and look at whether *(s)tong k(h)un* was not a person, but a place.

The Eastern Capital

Throughout the 10th century there were several dynasties based in Kaifeng 開封, which contributed to the city becoming the economic hub of central China. The city was first given the name Eastern Capital (Dongjing 東京) in 938 during the Later Jin. Prior to this, this name had referred to the city

[12] *stong khun ni rgya nag skad de shar rgyal po zer /.*
[13] Skal bzang thogs med 2006: 277 (translated from the Tibetan).

of Luoyang 洛陽.[14] The Later Zhou (951–960), who briefly preceded the Song dynasty, unified much of northern China, and contributed to the construction of Kaifeng and the surrounding regions.[15] The outer walls of Kaifeng, which greatly expanded the city, were built in 954. At the advent of the Song dynasty emperor Taizu would have been merely the next in a line of recent imperial dynasties based at what was already known as the Eastern Capital.[16]

It is interesting that the term *tong kun* does not appear in any Tibetan writings from Tibet's imperial period (7th to mid-9th centuries, during the rule of the Tang dynasty); here the Chinese emperor is always referred to simply as "Chinese emperor" (*rgya rje*). Thus the emergence of the Tibetan phrase "*tong kun* Chinese emperor" may be a result of the fragmentation of power in China, when the term "Chinese emperor" could refer to a number of different rulers. It would have specified which Chinese emperor was intended by reference to the fact that he was based at the Eastern Capital and distinguish him from other emperors such as the Khitan emperors of the Liao dynasty (907–1125), whose capital was at Shangjing 上京 or the Turkic emperor of the Northern Han dynasty (951–979) based at the capital Taiyuan 太原.[17]

Tibetan contacts with the emperor of the Eastern Capital are attested in the Song Annals from as early as 1002, when the ruler of Liangzhou, Panluozhi 潘羅支, sent five thousand horses to the city as a tribute to the emperor.[18] Kaifeng continued to be the most important mercantile city in China during the 11th century, when there was a liberalization of regulations regarding travel and trade which made the city into a new kind of urban centre.[19] The city produced a vast amount of fine produce, including silk and porcelain goods. After Kaifeng fell to the Jurchens in the 12th century, it remained the southern base of the new Jin dynasty. It was only in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1378) that Kaifeng lost the title of "Eastern Capital" and was renamed Bianliang 東梁. This also marked the beginning of the city's decline.

[14] *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大辭典 4: 834; *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 I: 692. My thanks for Valerie Hansen for pointing out these reference sources.

[15] See Gernet 1996: 268, 300–301, 317.

[16] See for example Gernet 1996: 268, 300–301, 317.

[17] On Tibetan contacts with the Liao dynasty, see Petech 1983: 179.

[18] Petech 1994: 175. Petech suggests that the Tibetan behind the Chinese rendering of this figure's name may be Phan bla rje, and that his may have been from the Rlangs clan.

[19] Grenet 1996: 316–318.

If *tong kun* is really the magnificent Eastern Capital of the Song dynasty, we ought to find other references to it in Tibetan literature from the Song period (960–1279). And we do – for example, in a biography of the first Karma-pa, Dus-gsum Mkhyen-pa (1110–1193), there are several stories told by the Karma-pa about the past lives of his teachers and disciples. Dus-gsum Mkhyen-pa had some familiarity with the Chinese political and geographic landscape; he was in contact with the Tangut court, and sent students to attend there. His name, "Knower of the Three Times," alludes to his clairvoyant ability to see into the past and future.[20] In one of Dus-gsum Mkhyen-pa's stories about his own teachers we find a reference to Tong kun as a famous site:

On another occasion he had the thought that it was important to get a view of Tong kun. He was immediately seized with a burning desire to go there.[21]

In another biography of Dus-gsum Mkhyen-pa there is mention of an Indian teacher who "traveled down from India to *tong kun*, and then again back up from there, bringing a Chinese letter."[22] We also find a reference in the works of 'Jig-rten Mgon-po (1143–1217), to the "seat of Tong kun (in) China" (*rgya nag tong kun gyi gdan*):

> The painted vases from of the seat of *tong kun* in China are completed with precious stones, and are beautifully completed sometimes with embossed decorations, sometimes with [colored] powders.[23]

[20] See Sperling 1987: 38.

[21] yang dus cig tu / tong kun lta ba cig byed dgos snyam tsam na / deng tsha 'khar du phyin zin (p. 18 in *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa*). The specific text is *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po*, attributed to a Bde chung ba. In another story in this text there is a reference to an Indian alchemist who was invited to China by the "king of Tong kun" (*tong kun rgyal po*) and met him at Wutaishan (p. 30).

[22] a tsa ra rgya cig rgya gar nas mar song tong kun nas bskyar yar 'ongs pas rgya yig cig 'ongs (pp. 75–76 in *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, attributed to a Sgang lo tsa ba and found in the *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa*).

[23] rgya nag tong kun gyi gdan gyi rtsi ba las grub pa'i snod rin po che rnams gang ba dang / p[h]ur mar byas pa dang / ma byas pa dang / phye mar byas pa dang / phye mar ma byas pa legs par gang bar rdzangs. See vol. 4, p. 95 of *The Collected Writings (Gsung-'bum) of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*. On the same page there is also a reference to "the land of Po in China" *(rgya nag po'i yul)*. It is clear in both cases that these are toponyms (unless we

Though it is not clear here whether *tong kun* is a place or personal name, it is interesting to note that the seat of *tong kun* is mentioned as a place where particularly beautiful vases are made. This provides another association with the Eastern Capital.[24]

In later Tibetan literature, the term continues to appear as a toponym. The spelling in these later instances is generally *stong khun*. The metamorphosis of *tong kun* to *stong khun* seems to follow a common trajectory seen with other Chinese loan-words in Tibetan. In terms of actual meaning, *stong khun* makes little sense, as Skal-bzang thogs-med has shown. Most of the later references to *stong khun* are in a similar context to 'Jig-rten Mgon-po's discussion of the fine vases produced there. For example the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) mentions fine varicolored silks:

> This patriarch commissioned a copy of the Bka'-'gyur (the essence of the Sugata's words) written in melted gold, and sacred images made from the multicolored silks fashioned by the dextrous fingers of the skillful ladies of *stong 'khun*.[25]

The skill of Chinese women in making fine cloth was famed in Tibet.[26] Over a century later, the well-known scholar Dngul-chu Dharmabhadra (1772–1851), also uses *stong khun* as a toponym in a flowery conclusion to one of his letters. He mentions the silk produced by the "magical fingers" of the young ladies of *stong khun*:

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take *rgya nag po* to be an extended version of *rgya nag*). Note that this follows the standard form of Tibetan toponyms, where a specific location can be prefixed by a more general location for the sake of clarification. For some discussion of the activities of 'Jig-rten-mgon-po see Sperling 1987.

[24] Helmut Eimer (2003: 20–21) has suggested that Stong khun may refer to the former name of Hanoi, Đông Kinh (東京). These are of course the same characters used for the Song capital at Kaifeng. However, Hanoi was not known by this name until the 15th century, much later than our early Tibetan references to *(s)Ton k(h)un*. See Ooi Keat Gin 2004: vol. II, 562.

[25] gong ma 'di nyid kyis bde bar gshegs pa'i gsung gi snying po gser zhun ma'i khu bas bris pa'i bka' 'gyur dang / stong 'khun mdzangs ma'i sor mo'i 'du byed las bskrun pa'i gan gos kha dog sna tshogs las grub pa'i sku brnyan bzheng ba.The full title of this historical work is *Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther/ rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*. See vol. 11 of the *Gsung 'bum*, pp. 5–228. The lines quoted here are from p. 172, l. 6.

Translation in Ahmad 2008: 122. In a foonote Ahmad notes that *stong 'khun* cannot refer to a Chinese emperor here, and simply translates it as "China".

[26] See Martin 2008.

This letter is a cloud raised up
Like the silken scarf which arises
In the magical fingers of the *stong khun* ladies
Raining down praises like thunder and lightning.[27]

It is interesting, considering the importance Kaifeng once had as a source of fine Chinese goods, that the term *stong khun* is still associated here with particularly fine silk. A final example from another of Dngul-chu's short works will show that *stong khun* was still in use as a toponym, though clearly meaning simply "China" in the 19th century. Here in a text on pilgrimage, Dngul-chu mentions medicines made from objects collected from the sacred sites of four countries: India, Nepal, Tibet and *stong khun*:

The secret ingredients – earth, stones, and wood from the usual famous sites
Of the great countries, the Noble Land (India), Nepal, Tibet and Stong khun –
Are well mixed in flowing water by the magical fingers
Of those skilled in the production of arts and crafts,
Becoming a fragrant medicine filled with powdered gems.[28]

In this context it is clear that Stong khun is simply China. Thus in the latter phase of its career, the term *(s)tong k(h)un* seems to have entered the lexicon of obscure poetic words used by the Tibetan literati, as alternative term for China.

We can now see that there is a strong case for identifying the original source of the Tibetan loan-word *(s)tong k(h)un* with the Eastern Capital 東京, the city of Kaifeng. Moreover the use of the term as a Chinese place-name by other Tibetan writers during the Song period shows that Eastern Ruler 東君 is not a satisfactory explanation for the term. Some explana-

[27] zhes pa'i zhu mchid nam mkha'i ta ma la / / 'degs byed stong khun mdzes ma'i sor 'phrul la // byung ba'i lha rdzas 'jug pa brgya pa can / / bsngags pa'i sprin gyi sgra dbyangs sgrog pa zhig Dngul chu Dharmabhadra (1772–1851). This appears in a collection of his letters, *Zhu 'phrin gyi rim pa phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa kha ba'i dus kyi me tog* (*Gsung 'bum*, vol. 5, f. 3a).

Full text edition at http://aciprelease.org/r6web/flat/S6397M_T.TXT.

[28] bzo rig mthar son mkhas bsdus sor 'phrul gyis / / 'phags yul bal bod stong khun yul gru che'i / / yongs grags gnas chen phal gyi sa rdo shing / / gsang 'bru chu snas sbrus pa'i 'jim bzang la / / sman spos rin chen phye mas sbags pa'i rgyur /. The text is *Byams mgon gsar bzhengs dkar chag*, found in the collection of texts on temples and pilgrimage practices, *Dkar chag dang skor tsad kyi rim pa phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa* (*Gsung 'bum* vol. 4, 555/f. 20a).

Full text edition at http://aciprelease.org/r6web/flat/S6371M_T.TXT.

tion for the inexactitude of the rendering of Eastern Capital 東京 may be found in its origin in the 10th century, a chaotic period of fragmentation for Tibet, when we should not expect to see the clear and relatively standard transliterations of Chinese names and places that occur in the Tibetan imperial period.

Conclusion

The Sino-Tibetan document IOL Tib J 754, once the personal possession of a Chinese pilgrim, has provided us with a vital clue for interpreting the mysterious term *tong kun*, one that was not available even to the earliest Tibetan scholars who attempted to interpret it. We know from Chinese historical sources that the first Song emperor Taizu sponsored large groups of pilgrims in the 960s. By this time he had established his capital at Kaifeng, known as Eastern Capital 東君. As we have seen, a letter of passage in IOL Tib J 754 mentions that this particular pilgrim came from the presence of the "Chinese emperor [of] *tong kun*" (*tong kun rgya rje*). This was probably a reference to Taizu, and as I showed above, in the usual syntax of Tibetan royal titles, where the ruler's seat is given before the title, and the name afterwards, *tong kun* ought to refer to the emperor's capital.

The evidence provided by IOL Tib J 754 is supported by other instances of the term in Tibetan literature. As we have seen, first reference to *tong kun* (or as it appears in the extant versions, *stong khun*) after our manuscript is in an 11th-century prayer by the West Tibetan translator and traveler Nag-tsho, in which "the king [of] *stong khun* [in] China" (*rgya nag stong khun rgyal po*) is mentioned only for his fabled wealth. That this might still refer to the Song emperor is not unlikely, considering that the Song dynasty and Kaifeng were at the height of their magnificence in this period, and that the Tibetan petty kingdoms of Amdo engaged in diplomatic relations with the dynasty. Nag-tsho's text shows that if the use of the loan-word *tong kun* began in Amdo, it had already spread to other parts of Tibet by this time.

The clear evidence that *tong kun* was used by Tibetans to refer to a place, rather than a person occurs in less well-known appearances to the term as a toponym in the work of two 12th-century Tibetan scholar monks who had diplomatic relations with the Tangut dynasty and other Chinese rulers. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, founder of the Karma bka' brgyud school, refers to *tong kun* as a place visited by Indian religious teachers, while 'Jig-rten mgon-po, the founder of the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud school, refers

to the fine things made in Tong kun. It is worth noting that Kaifeng (still known as the Eastern Capital) was the premier merchant city of East and Central Asia at this time, and it seems likely that *tong kun* continued to signify the city.

Though many later Tibetan writers seem to have been unaware of these uses of *(s)tong k(h)un* as a toponym, and to have favoured the interpretation of the term as "Eastern Ruler" some Tibetan writers from the 17th and 19th centuries continued to use *stong khun* as a toponym referring to a place famous for fine silks. By this time Kaifeng was a shadow of its former imperial glory, and these references may be indicate merely the perpetuation of an ancient memory of the Eastern Capital and its fine products preserved in Tibetan literature. On the other hand, we should perhaps not entirely forget that Kaifeng continues to be a centre for silk production to this day.

In short, the pilgrim's letters of passage in IOL Tib J 754 show us that the Tibetan term *tong kun* was being used in Amdo in the 10th century to refer the Eastern Capital, and the emperor of the Song as the ruler of the Eastern Capital. By the 11th century, at the height of the Song, the fabled wealth and glory of the king of the Eastern Capital had spread to other parts of Tibet. In the 12th century it was known as a city famous for its arts and crafts, and this reputation continued to be crop up in references to *stong khun* in Tibetan literature right through to the 19th century. In the end, it became a place of myth and fable, its original link to the Eastern Capital forgotten – so much so that many Tibetan scholars did not even consider the possibility that the term referred to a place at all.

Appendix

The Letter of Passage

This is addressed to the lords of the teachings and the monastic community, they who unite the sun and the moon, the sublime ornaments of Jambudvīpa, the assembly of teachers who [venerate] their precious enlightened masters and who single-mindedly carry out their commitments: a petitioning letter from Dmog 'Bum-bdag. According to what has been said in the previous letters that have gone back and forth [between us], your meditative activities of maintaining all the vehicles, … becoming accomplished and single-mindedly [carrying out] your vows have not fatigued your bodies. I hear that your precious bodies, as valuable as gemstones, are free from infirmity. I request with devotion a letter from the thirty great emanations.

On to other matters. A monk coming from the presence of the Chinese emperor [of] *tong kun*, a great ascetic and a particularly fine scholar, is going to India to see the face of Śākyamuni. Up to this point we the monks of the Gser-pa thousand district have escorted him stage by stage. From this point onward, since he should [not be caused] mental strain, consider your commitments. Not to conduct him to the monastic estate of Longxing would be improper. It would be improper for any in the religious and secular spheres not to consider likewise.

1 @ bstan pa {dang dge' 'dun} gi mnga' bdag / gnyi zla 'od sbyor gi rkyen / 'dzam bu gling [rgya]n dam pa' / slob ched po byang chub
2 rin po ches …r du mdzad pa / thugs dam rtse gcig du mdzad pa'i dg[e ba'i bshes gny]en sde tsogs kyi zha sngar // //
3 dmog 'bum bdag gis mchid gsol bas / / snga slad 'drul ba las mchid kyis {rmas} pa / / spyi'i theg pa bskyang
4 ba dang ['grub mang po] {chen po} {rkyen} du 'gyur ba dang / thugs dam rtse gcig du mdzad pa'i dgongs pas sku mnyel ba ma lags
5 pa / {sku ri}n po che dbyigs gces pa ma snyun [myi mnga' ba] khums / 'sprul chen sum cu las gus par snying gsol
6 {bar} mchis / / [sla]d nas tong kun rgya rje'i spya nga nas / hwa shang dka thub ched po mkhas pa'i phul du phyin pa cig
7 {rgya gar gi} yul du shag kya thub pa'i {zhal} mthong du mchi ba lags / 'di tshun chad du bdag cag gser ba stong sde'i
8 {dge slong} rnams kyis kyang / bsu <deletion> bskyal rim pas bgyis / <deletion> de phan chad du yang de bzhin thugs khral
9 … nas / thugs dam la dgongs pa ste / lung song gi lha sde'i stsam du myi bskyal du myi rung // //
10 lha myi phyogs kyang de bzhin du myi dgongs su myi rung //

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Liao Influence on Uigur Buddhism*

KŌICHI KITSUDŌ

During the Liao 遼 period (Khitan 契丹, 916–1125), Buddhism flourished under the protection of royal clans. The stūpas standing alone today in the steppes of Inner Mongolia and northeast China are silent witnesses to the religious enthusiasm of the Khitans. Buddhism acquired a position equivalent to national religion,[1] and the Esoteric and Huayan 華嚴宗 schools were studied together as the principle doctrines. In addition, the Chan 禪宗[2] and Faxiang 法相宗[3] schools also produced a number of eminent monks.

Among the Buddhist projects of the Liao, of the biggest and most important was the compilation and printing of the Buddhist Canon during the Zhongxi 重熙 reign (1032–1055).[4] The result of this enterprise is known as the *Khitan Tripitaka*, of which until recently no actual examples were known, only a small number of references in historical records. In 1974, however, twelve scrolls of the *Khitan Tripitaka* were found inside the figure of the Buddha enshrined in the stūpa at Fogongsi 佛宮寺 (Ying County 應縣, Shanxi Province).[5] The discovery provided much needed material for the codicological and historical study of the *Khitan Tripitaka*.[6]

* This paper is based on my talk presented at the Center for Eurasian Cultural Studies (18 August 2008). Images in this paper for manuscripts Ch 1904, Ch 2122, Ch 2384, Ch 2980, Ch 5546, Ch 5555, Ch/U 6781, Ch/U 7319, Mainz 728 are used with the kind permission of Turfansammlung der Berlin Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

[1] Kamio 1937 and Nogami 1953.

[2] Chikusa 2010.

[3] Chikusa 1983.

[4] Subsequently, newly selected commentaries were printed and finished in the 4th year of Xianyong 咸雍 (1068). See Chikusa 2000: 95.

[5] *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Shanxi sheng wenwuju and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 1991).

[6] Chikusa 2000.

In recent years, Khitan Buddhism has been re-evaluated in terms of its influence on Buddhism in East Asia, especially in Koryŏ 高麗 and Japan.[7] The *Koryŏ Tripitaka* was printed between 1011 and 1087 emulating the style of the *Kaibao Tripitaka* 開寶藏, known as the first block-printed Buddhist Canon of the Song dynasty. Unfortunately, the *Koryŏ Tripitaka* was burnt during the war with the Mongols. Soon after the war, in 1236 Emperor Kojong 高宗 (r. 1213–1259) ordered a second edition to be printed. In the course of the compilation of this new edition, the *Khitan Tripitaka*, which had been presented to the Koryŏ by the Khitans on several occasions, was also used as a source of reference. In addition, commentaries written by Liao monks were collected and printed by Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101), Munjong's fourth son who became a Buddhist priest.

Japan also tried to acquire up-to-date knowledge about Chinese Buddhism via Koryŏ. As part of this effort, the commentaries printed by Uicheon were brought to Japan. During the period between the end of the 11th and the early 12th centuries, Japan imported Uicheon's edition at least four times. The commentary on the *Huayanjing* 華嚴經 (i.e. *Dafangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yanyichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔) by Chengguan 澄觀 preserved at the Tōdaiji 東大寺 temple is an example of Uicheon's edition brought to Japan.[8] Thus it is reasonable to suppose that medieval Japan imported and studied the works of Khitan Buddhism indirectly via Koryŏ, including both esoteric and non-esoteric branches of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[9]

Turning our attention to the west of the Liao, the Uigurs, having been attacked by the Khirgiz, left their homeland in Mongolia and moved to the Eastern Tianshan range, where they founded the West Uigur kingdom around the mid-9th century. In due course, they converted to Buddhism from their original creed of Manichaeism. In this respect, the Uigurs were influenced by Tokharian and Chinese Buddhism. Starting from the 10th century, the Uigurs began translating Buddhist scriptures from Tokharian and Chinese into Old Turkic. One could say that the Uigurs matched the Khitans in their appetite for Buddhist literature and knowledge.

In view of the significance of Liao influence on Buddhism in East Asia, it would be unreasonable to suppose that it had no impact on Uigur Buddhism. Considering the mutual dispatching of envoys and economic interactions between the Liao and the West Uigur kingdom, it would be

[7] Chikusa 2000, Kamikawa 2001 and Yokouchi 2008.
[8] Ōya 1937.
[9] Kamata 1973 and Sueki 1998.

hard to deny the existence of cultural and religious contacts. In this paper I would like to draw attention to Khitan influences on Uigur Buddhism through the examination of Uigur and Chinese manuscripts discovered in the region of Turfan.

1. Uigurs in the Liao Dynasty

At the time of its foundation, the West Uigur kingdom was under significant pressure from the Liao state. The Uigurs frequently dispatched envoys to the Liao court, although these were no doubt mainly aimed at softening the Liao pressure. Over time, their relationship grew less strained. At this time the Uigurs were known as traders and cultural intermediaries rather than warriors.[10] Uigur traders played an important role in both East and West Asia. The Liao established a colony for Uigur envoys and traders in their Upper Capital (i.e. Shangjing Linhuangfu 上京臨潢府) at the original homeland of the Khitans. Lü Tao 呂陶, an envoy from the Song, reported on the activities of Uigur traders in the Liao state,[11] claiming that they not only conducted trading but were also engaged in espionage and traveled to the Song intermingled with Liao envoys. Apparently, they could recognize Chinese envoys by sight.

As to the role of Uigurs as cultural intermediaries, it is well known that the characters of the Khitan script were modeled after the Uigur characters. Yet modern researchers have been unable to determine the exact relationship between the two scripts.

Buddhism also played an important role in political affairs. In 1001, the Uigurs sent eminent Indian monks and skilled doctors as a gift to the Liao. Li Youtang 李有棠, the compiler of *Liao shi jishi benmo* 遼史紀事本末, noted that the monks might have been concerned with the compilation of the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑, a dictionary of Chinese characters found in Buddhist scriptures. Unfortunately, we are unable to ascertain the reliability of this statement.

In fact, Uigur monks, well-trained in Sanskrit language and the Brāhmī script,[12] had indeed been sent to the Liao. Letters from two Uigur monks

[10] Moriyasu 2004 and Matsui 2009.

[11] *Jingdeji* 淨徳集 vol. 5. Hataji 1974 studied this material and provided a detail introduction.

[12] See Maue 1996.

who stayed in the Liao state at this time are recorded in the complete works of Uicheon from Koryŏ. Their names are Gaochang guo Huanshi Shiluomodi 高昌國幻釋尸羅嚩底 and Gaochang guo Chuanjie Shamen Botuoluoxian 高昌國傳戒沙門鉢陁羅仙.[13] Both of these names are Sanskritized. The first name may be reconstructed as Middle Chin. *śi̯er lâ b'i̯wak tiər* < Uig. **Šilabakti* < Skt. **Śīlabhakti*; and the second, as Middle Chin. *pwât tâ lâ siɛn* < Uig. **Badrasen* < Skt. **Bhadrasena*. Such Sanskrtized names for Uigurs individuals are frequently attested in Uigur manuscripts from Turfan.[14]

Hong Hao 洪皓 who was a Song envoy to the Jin court was detained by the Jurchens from 1129 to 1143. His report contains unique information about the Uigurs who stayed in the Yanshan 燕山 region:[15]

> The Uigurs eagerly believe in Buddhism. They have built a temple together with a statue of Buddha made from plaster. On every service, they sacrifice a sheep and engage in hard drinking. Dipping their fingers into the blood of sheep, they spread it on the Buddha's lips. They hold up the Buddha's foot and wail at it. They call this manner 'intimate worship'. When chanting, they clothe themselves in ceremonial robes (Kāṣāya) and chant in Indian language.
>
> 奉釋氏最甚. 共爲一堂塑佛像. 其中每齋必刲羊酒酣. 以指染血塗佛口. 或捧其足而鳴之. 謂爲親敬. 誦經則衣袈裟作西竺語.

Apart from the curious Buddhist service that must have originated in nomadic rituals, their ability of using an Indian language is very interesting.

[13] *Taegak-kuksa oejip* 大覺國師外集, vol. 8, in *Hanguk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書, vol. 4: 581–582 (see Furumatsu 2006a: 56, 2006b: 34, fn. 64). I find the first half of their names curious. Gaochang (i.e. Turfan) was obviously their homeland, thus this part poses no difficulty. The word *chuanjie* 傳戒 'the transmitter of Buddhist precepts' in the second name can probably be reconstructed as Skt. Śīlavanti, a term frequently attested in Uigur manuscripts. The word *huan* 幻 in the second name, however makes no sense in a Buddhist context. If this is not merely a mistake for another Chinese character, I would like to propose to read 幻 in Uigur, and take it as a transliteration of a Uighur word. In this case, 幻 was pronounced as *q'n* /xan/, meaning 'king' or 'ruler' in Uigur. Thus the monk who stayed in the Liao state may have been a Uigur nobleman belonging to the royal clan. Yet it is still unclear to me why his name was written with the Chinese character 幻.

[14] For example; Uig. *Pratinarakšit* < Skt. *Prajñāraksita*, who was the translator of *Maitisimit* from Tokharian into Uigur. Uig. *Šilazin* < Skt. *Śīlasena*, Uig. *Sangazin* < Skt. *Saṃghasena*, etc.

[15] *Songmo jiwen* 松漠紀聞, in *Liaohai congshu* 遼海叢書, ed. Zhang Bai 張百.

Modern researchers presume that Uigur monks were treasured by the Liao because of their knowledge of Sanskrit and the Brāhmī script.[16]

But what did people in the West Uigur kingdom need from the Liao in terms of Buddhist knowledge? Regrettably, there are no records on this in Chinese historical sources. Perhaps, as in Koryŏ and Japan, it was the *Khitan Tripitaka*, as well as the current Buddhist doctrines developed by Liao monks. On the following pages I would like to demonstrate traces of Liao influence on Uigur Buddhism.

2. The *Khitan Tripitaka* Used by Uigurs

First I would like to describe briefly the unique features of the printing style and layout of the *Khitan Tripitaka* based on the material discovered at Fogongsi. The sheets are 27–30 cm long and 50–56 cm wide, each sheet has 27–28 lines and 17 characters per line. On the right side of the sheet are, imprinted in small characters, the short title, the *juan* number, the sheet number and the *Qianziwen* 千字文 character corresponding to the number of the box (*zhi* 帙) used for storing the volume (Figure 1).[17] The title of the sūtra at the beginning and the end is partitioned by a vertical line (Figure 2), although this is not always the case. Beside these, the most distinguishing feature of the printed sheets is the sharp-ended style of Chinese characters.

Owing to these distinctive features, we can easily distinguish examples of the *Khitan Tripitaka* among the fragments unearthed in the Turfan region. Using this method, many fragments from Turfan have been recently identified as belonging to the *Khitan Tripitaka*.[18] These discoveries ascertain that this canon was used by not only the Chinese but also the Uigurs.

Ch 5555 (Figure 3) is the last sheet of *juan* 3 of the *Zengyi Ehan jing* 增一阿含經 from the *Khitan Tripitaka*. Written on the blank margin, a colophon in the Uigur script reads as follows:

[16] As to the Brāhmī script written by the Uigurs, see Maue 1996.

[17] Li 2002: 91.

[18] Lüshun-Ryūkoku 2006, Chikusa 2006, Nishiwaki 2009a and 2009b. See also the entries of the Berlin collection on the website of the *International Dunhuang Project* (http://idp.bl.uk).

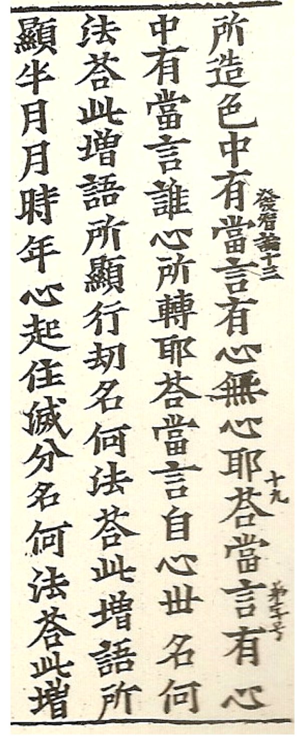
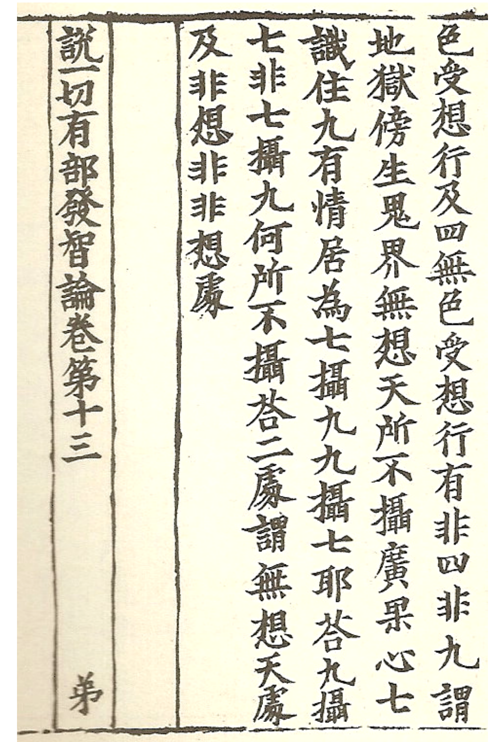

發智論十三
十九
所造色中有當言有心無心耶答當言有心
中有當言誰心所轉耶答當言自心世名何
法答此增語所顯行刧名何法答此增語所
顯半月月時年心起住滅分名何法答此增

Figure 1:
The right side of the 19th sheet[19]


色受想行及四無色受想行有非四非九謂
地獄傍生鬼界無想天所不攝廣果心七
識住九有情居為七攝九九攝七耶答九攝
七非七攝九何所不攝答二處謂無想天處
及非想非非想處

說一切有部發智論卷第十三　弟

Figure 2:
The last sheet of *juan* 13[20]

For the merit (Skt. puṇya) of my master, Venerable Lisuin, I, Tolu-tutung, ventured to read this *Zengyi Ehan jing*. Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Dharma! Homage to the Saṃgha!

yeg üstünki lisuin baxšım-nıng qutın-ta buyanın-ta bo seng ir xamnı mn tolu tutung qy-a oqıyu tägindim. namobud namodram namosang.

Judging from the proper name *tolu tutung*, the owner of this text was a Uigur monk. The term *tutung* comes from the Chinese *dusengtong* 都僧統 who managed the temples and the monks – later it became a common title for Buddhist monks among the Uigurs.[21] The name *Lisuin* is likely to refer to

[19] *Yingxian muta Liaodai mizang* (Shanxi sheng wenwuju and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 1991): 73.
[20] *Ibid*.: 73.
[21] Oda 1987.

Figure 3: Ch 5555 recto

a Chinese monk.[22] Therefore this colophon suggests that there was a master-disciple relationship between Chinese and Uigurs in Turfan. A. v. Gabain interpreted this sentence as follows: '*Hier hat also ein Uigure einen buddhistischen Text auf Chinesisch gelesen*.'[23] In addition, three other Uigurs wrote their names on the verso of this fragment, as a proof of having read the text.[24]

The second example I would like to draw attention to is Ch 2122 + Ch 2384 (Figures 4, 5). This is the same sheet as Ch 5555, *juan* 3 of *Zengyi Ehan jing*. Peter Zieme has deciphered the colophon which appears twice on the verso the following way:[25]

a) 此增一阿含之三卷我開奴都通誦
b) 此增一阿含之三卷我開藏奴都通誦

Perhaps a) was miswritten, as b) appears to be the correct and complete form. The reader of this text, Kaizang-nu Dutong 開藏奴都通 was of course a Uigur monk. Dutong 都通 is a variant for 都統, i.e. Uig. *tutung*,

[22] Gabain 1967 interpreted this name as *Lisayi*. Later Zieme-Kudara 1983 corrected to *Lisuin*. Prof. Yoshida Yutaka and Dr. Peter Zieme kindly suggested to me that *Lisuin* may correspond to Chinese Lengquan 冷泉.
[23] Gabain 1967: 29.
[24] Their names are Tolu Tutung, Bäg Burxan Tutung and Šačuyol Tu. See Gabain 1967 and Zieme-Kudara 1983.
[25] Zieme 1994.

Figure 4: Ch 2122 + Ch 2384 recto

Figure 5: Ch 2122 + Ch 2384 verso

thus it is certain that the person in question is a Uigur monk. This is the reason why it is written in Chinese in an unusual word-order. It means ‘I, Kaizang-nu Dutong, chanted this *juan* 3 of the *Zengyi Ehan jing*.’

Kaizang in our fragment can be reconstructed as Qaitso according to the inherited Uigur pronunciation of Chinese characters.[26] The name Qaitso also appears in Uigur contracts[27] believed to date to the Mongol period. If Kaizang is the same person as Qaitso, it is likely that this fragment was read in the Mongol period.

In addition, it is also noteworthy that common components appear in the proper names of Uigurs and Khitans. The component *-nu* 奴 (slave) is attested frequently in proper names in Chinese documents from Turfan. For example, Guanyin-nu 觀音奴 ‘The Slave of *Avalokiteśvara*’, Sanbao-nu 三寶奴 ‘The Slave of Three Jewels’, Huayan-nu 華嚴奴 ‘The Slave of the *Huayan*(*jing*),’ etc. Peter Zieme has demonstrated that the Chinese component *-nu* came from Skt. *-dāsa* and was subsequently written in Uigur as *-du* and *-daz* or *-taz*. Later on, it also appears as Uig. *-qulı*.[28] Therefore

[26] Shōgaito 2003. For 開 see p. 128 and for 藏 p. 42.

[27] *qytso tutung*, *qaytso-tu* and *qyytso tutung* in SJ O/54. *qyytso tutung* in SJ O/70. See SUK2: 116 and 124.

[28] Zieme 1994. Recently Matsui Dai (2004: 45) identified more examples of Uigur names containing *-du*. According to his study, a Uigur Buddhist resident in a Toyoq cave had the two consequtive components of *-du* and *-taz*, i.e. *pusardu-taz* ‘Slave of Bodhisattva’. Such combinations became popular as proper names.

the Uigurs used for proper names an array of different components with the same meaning.

The component *-nu* was also commonly used among the Khitans. For example, the fifth emperor Shengzong 聖宗 bore the Buddhist name Wenshu-nu 文殊奴, whereas his brothers were called Puxian-nu 普賢奴 and Yaoshi-nu 藥師奴.[29] Furthermore, the names Sanbao-nu 三寶奴, Dabei-nu 大悲奴 and Guanyin-nu 觀音奴 also appear in Chinese and Uigur documents from Turfan.[30] Although these might have the same origin, their exact etymology is obscure.

The two above examples testify to the fact that at least two sets of the *Khitan Tripitaka* had been imported to the West Uigur kingdom. In addition, on the verso of Ch 3294 a colophon by a Uigur monk is written in Chinese.[31]

As Takata Tokio pointed out, the Uigurs chanted Chinese Buddhist scriptures in Chinese.[32] Wugusun Zhongduan 吾古孫仲端, a Jin envoy to the Mongols, visited the West Uigur kingdom and in his report called *Beishiji* 北使記 he tells us that the Uigurs could chant Buddhist scriptures in Chinese:[33]

> To contracts and binding agreements they attached Uigur characters (to the Chinese document?). They use reed stalk as their writing instrument. Their language differs from Chinese. They do not cremate their dead and bury them without coffin, they place the body with head toward the west. Their Buddhist monks do not shave their hair. There are no paintings and clay figures in their temples. Their liturgical language also differs from Chinese. Only in Hezhou (Turfan) and Shazhou (Dunhuang) do their temples and the sculptures resemble those of China. The monks (in Turfan and Dunhuang) chant the Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

> 其書契約束并回紇字．筆葦其管，言語不与中国通．人死不焚，葬無棺槨．比斂，必西其首．其僧皆髪，寺無絵塑．経語亦不通．惟和沙洲寺像如中国，誦漢字佛書．

[29] Nogami 1943: 158.

[30] These names in Uigur read as follows: *Pukindu* 普賢奴, *Yaqšıdu* 藥師奴, *Sambo(q)du* 三寶奴.

[31] Ch 3294 is *juan* 42 of the *Zengyi Ehan jing*. The colophon reads 四十二卷我海王奴都[通]. Therefore the colophon must have been written concerning to the recto.

[32] Takata 1985, 1990.

[33] *Beishiji* is included in *Guiqianzhi* 歸潛志 vol. 13. See Liu 1997: 167–169.

The above statement in the *Beishiji* about the use Chinese texts by Uigur monks is also corrobrated by texts excavated in the Turfan region. Texts containing Chinese pronunciation written in the Uigur script have been studied by Shōgaito Masahiro. He has been successful in reconstructing the inherited Uigur pronunciation of Chinese characters. Relying on his study, I would like to show an example.

The small fragment MIK III 7256 (T III M128) contains a Chinese text written in the Uigur script, with sporadic Chinese characters in between. It has been identified as passages similar to those from the *Zengyi Ehan jing*. The text and reconstruction in Chinese as follows:[34]

01 [ ] ši vi soi žen cuŋ 王 vi
詩 爲 最 人 中 王 爲
02 [ ] cyn 月 vi sen qome 日 ti
? 月 爲 先 光明 日 第
03 [ ] 物 : 天 及 ši qan žen
物 天 及 世 間 人
04 [ ] 其 fuγ ča : tou küŋ yo 三
其 福 者 當 供 養 三

Judging from the examples cited above, it is likely that the text of the *Khitan Tripitaka* was also used as text for chanting.

In the followings, I would like to look at how Uigurs used the *Khitan Tripitaka* for textual studies. Mainz 728 (Figures 6, 7) is a fragment of the Chinese *Abhidharmakośabāṣyā* from the *Khitan Tripitaka*.[35]

Judging from the colophon written in the Uigur script on the blank margin of the last sheet (Figure 6), it is obvious that this text was owned by a Uigur person.[36] Currently 31 lines survive, plus the title. Between the lines we can see several instances of the Chinese characters *wen* 問 and *da* 答 written in red ink. (Figure 7) They break down the sentences into a question-answer format. We can reconstruct the fragmented text as follows:

[34] Shōgaito 2010.

[35] This fragment was edited in Shōgaito 2008 based on information provided by the present author. Note that the fragments Дх 17143, Дх 17156, Дх 17164, Дх 17165, Дх 17249, Дх 17302 and Дх 17372 also belong to the same text, even though they are currently disconnected. See *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collection* 俄藏敦煌文献 vol. 17.

[36] According to Shōgaito 2008: 21, the colophon reads as follows: /// *yıl üčünč ay toquz ygrmikä /// bıratı atly tüzülmiš töz ///*. "On the 29th day of the third month in the year of …, *bıratı* by name, namely the equatibity …".

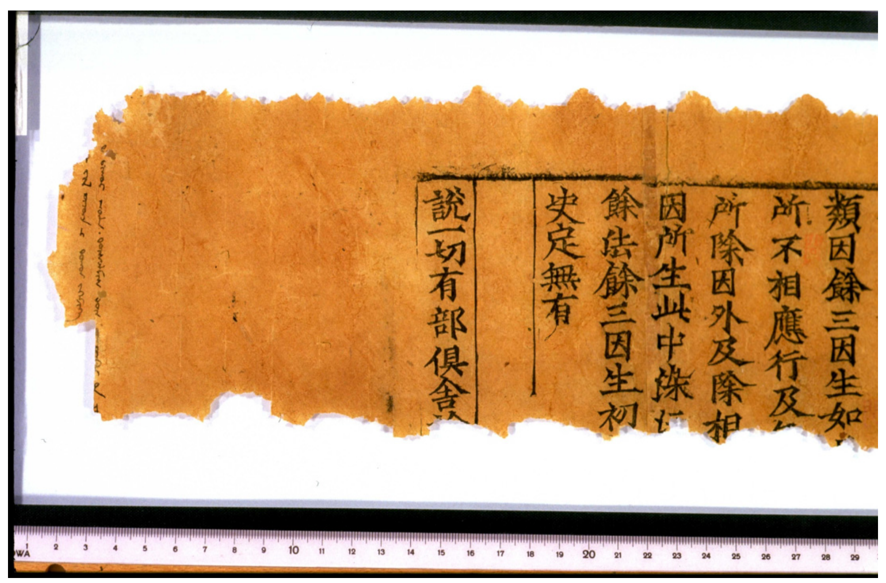

類因餘三因生如
所不相應行及
所除因外及除相
因所生此中染
餘法餘三因生初
决定無有
說一切有部俱舍

Figure 6: Mainz 728

如水輪為風輪果乃
行果謂如無生智等
果謂如眼識等為
化心等為諸靜慮
上果攝說因果已
所生法略有四謂
法三所餘法餘法
除初無漏諸餘善
染汙異熟生餘初聖
此謂心心所餘及除
論曰諸染汙法除
除遍行因餘五因
行二因餘四因生
類因餘三因生如

Figure 7: Mainz 728

Figure 8: Ch 5546 recto

問：[此中何法幾因]所生．答：法略有四謂[染污法異熟生法初無漏]法三所餘法.
問：如[是四法爲説何等．答：謂心心]所．問：不相應行及[色四法復幾因生].

The Uigur *Abhidharma* texts are also arranged in a question-answer format by inserting the Chinese characters *wen* 問 and *da* 答. Shōgaito concludes that these Chinese characters that are not part of the original text had been inserted by Uigur monks in the course of using the texts.[37]

My last example, manuscript Ch 5546 contains *juan* 22 of the *Chang Ehan jing* 長阿含經 in Chinese. (Figure 8) This is not a block print, but a handwritten copy. Yet it seems to have been copied from the *Khitan Tripitaka* by a Chinese scribe. Under the title on the last sheet, we can see the small characters 十六 and 簿; the former represents the sheet number

[37] Shōgaito 2008: 19–22.

and the latter is the *Qianziwen* character corresponding to the number of the box used to store the manuscript. The *Qianziwen* character here matches the ones in the *Khitan Tripitaka*, because it also matches those listed in the *Xinji Zangjing Yinyi Suihan Mulu* 新集藏經音義隨函目錄 compiled by Kehong 可洪. This material is evidence to the significance and wide circulation of the *Khitan Tripitaka*. The Nanatsudera 七寺 temple in Nagoya preserved a manuscript copied from the *Kaibao Tripitaka*. Ch 5546 was eventually handed down to an Uigur monk; the colophon in Chinese reads: 吾法奴誦 'I, Fanu (i.e. Skt. Dharmadāsa) recited …'. On the verso, several colophons written in the Uigur script also testify to the fact that this manuscript was used and read by Uigurs.[38]

It is noteworthy that among the texts of the Berlin Turfan collection there are many fragments of *Āgama* and *Abhidharma* texts from the *Khitan Tripitaka*. We may presume that the *Khitan Tripitaka* was used as a main textbook for learning and reading among a particular Uigur Buddhist sect. Another important point is that Chinese characters are often arbitrarily inserted in Uigur *Āgama* and *Abhidharma* texts. These texts were translated using the original Chinese word order, resulting in an awkward sentence structure for an Uigur text. Shōgaito calls such manner of translation "quasi-Chinese word formation."[39] Perhaps this strange word order can be explained if we assume that Uigurs used Chinese texts for reading and studying.

3. Chinese Characters Written by the Uigurs

As shown above, there is some evidence to show that the Uigurs made use of the *Khitan Tripitaka*. The Uigurs could read, pronounce and write Chinese characters. At this point, I would like to examine the influence of the *Khitan Tripitaka* on the style of Chinese characters written by Uigurs.

We have already seen from the account recorded by Wugusun Zhongduan that the Uigurs wrote with a reed pen, thus we may speculate that it must have been difficult for them to emulate Chinese characters written

[38] One colophon reads as follows: ud yıl *üčünč ay tört otuz-qa mn yıɣmıš-qya bo čoo-a-ɣam-nı toquz yašım-ta oqıyu tägintim burxan bolalın yamu*. "On the 24th day of the 3rd month in the year of Ox, I, Yıɣmıš-qya, ventured to read this *Chang Ehan jing* 長阿含經 at the age of nine years." Zieme and Kudara 1983. Kasai 2008 proposes that the colophon in the Uigur script was written in the Mongol period.

[39] Shōgaito 2008: 112–122.

with a brush. On the other hand, Chinese characters in the printed *Khitan Tripitaka* are angular and have sharp endings, which makes them suitable for copying using a reed pen.

The shape of the component 氵 in the *Khitan Tripitaka* is very distinctive. The first stroke goes from top right to bottom left, and the three strokes are joined together as if forming a single stroke. The same feature is evident in Chinese characters written by Uigurs (Table 1). To cite another example, in the Chinese manuscripts written by Uigurs the character *pan* 槃 in the word *niepan* 涅槃 (Skt. *nirvāṇa*) is never written in the usual 槃 form, but invariably as 盤, the way it also appears in the *Khitan Triptaka* (Table 2). To date, I have been able to compare only a limited number of characters, but further comparisons may supply more accurate data on the style of Chinese characters written by Uigurs.

4. Buddhist Commentaries Written by Liao Monks

Above, I have tried to demonstrate some of the formal influences of Khitan Buddhism on Uigur Buddhism. At the same time, such stylistic features in themselves may provide insufficient ground for claiming that the Buddhist doctrines and practices in the Liao state exerted a deep influence on Uigur Buddhism.

Recently, Nishiwaki Tsuneki identified a number of Chinese fragments from Turfan with commentaries written by the Liao monk Quanming 詮明 (926 or 930–982 or 1012), a master of the Faxiang School. He added further notes to the commentaries written by the Great Master Ji of the Ci'en Temple 慈恩大師基 who was a leading disciple of Xuanzang 玄奘 and the founder of the Faxiang school. Therefore Quanming was the successor of Ji's doctrine and a scholar-monk specialized in *Vijñāptimātratā* doctrine (i.e. *Weishi* 唯識). Quanming's commentaries and biography have been discovered relatively recently: his commentaries were included in the *Jin* and *Khitan Tripitaka* which were discovered in 1933 and 1974, respectively.[40] Quanming took part in the printing of the *Khitan Tripitaka* as an editor.[41] Following is the list of the commentaries by Quanming from Turfan.

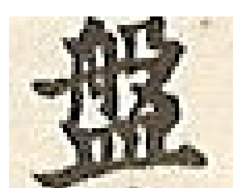
[40] Tsukamoto 1936 introduced Quanming's commentary belonging to the *Jin Tripitaka* and showed that the Faxiang school was active in the Jin and Liao periods.

[41] Zhang and Bi 1986.

Table 1

fa in the *Khitan Tripitaka* (Mainz 728 recto)	*fa* in Ch 1904 recto	*nie* in Ch 2980	*ting* in Ch/U 6781 recto[42]

Table 2

			
pan in the *Khitan Tripitaka*	*pan* in the *Insadi-sūtra*[43]	*pan* in Ch 2980	*pan* in Ch/U 7319

1. *Fahuajing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinchao*, 法華經玄賛會古通今新抄.[44] This is a commentary on the *Miaofalianfajing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄賛written by Great Master Ji of the Ci'en Temple.
2. *Shanshengjing shu huigu tongjin xinchao* (hereafter *SSHTX*), 上生經疏會古通今新抄.[45] This is a commentary on *Guan Milepusa shansheng Doushuaitian jing zan* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經賛 (hereafter *GMSDJZ*) written by Great Master Ji.

[42] Takata 1996. Ch/U 6781 is a phonetic dictionary which reflects the inherited Uigur Pronunciation of Chinese character. This manuscript however may have been written by a Chinese copyist.
[43] Tezcan 1974 and Tafel XXXIII.
[44] Nishiwaki 2007, 2009a and 2009b.
[45] Nishiwaki 2008, 2009a and 2009b. At the Eurasian Cultural Center in 18 August 2008 I also presented the same information, including details not mentioned in Nishiwaki 2008. As a result, some of this information was incorporated into Nishiwaki 2009a and 2009b.

3. *Shanshengjing shu kewen*, 上生經疏科文.[46] This is a guide book for the readers of the *GMSDJZ*, in which every theme in the paragraph was drawn and chained by lines as if in a genealogical tree.

A commentary by Quanming was also discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts.[47] In addition, fragments of the *Xu Yiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義 (a phonetic dictionary of Chinese characters in Buddhist scriptures) edited by the Liao monk Xilin 希麟 and the *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑 were also unearthed from Turfan.[48] Judging from these fragments we can be certain that up-to-date Buddhist texts and doctrines written by Liao monks also made their way to Dunhuang and Turfan. The Faxiang school was already present around this time in the Turfan area,[49] and it is likely that the monks were interested in new doctrines coming from the Liao.

In addition to the above examples, I have been able to document the influence of Quanming's commentaries on Uigur Buddhist literature. I have previously identified some Uigur fragments with the *GMSDJZ* written by the Great Master Ji.[50] The Uigur *GMSDJZ* contains some sentences which do not correspond to the Chinese original. Comparing the Uigur sentences with those in the *SSHTX*, I was able to find parallel comments on the same passage. First, I present the text and the translation of the Uigur *GMSDJZ*:

Mainz 77 (TI. L.2) Seite2 + Mainz 78 (TI. L.2a) Seite 1

Transcription

01 [ ] bolmıš
02 [ ] ◎ [ ]//wm
03 [ ]p yeti ◎ t*uγu*m-luγ
04 temiš täg ,, ◎ birök činin*čä*
05 öz-inčä tutsar antrabav birlä

[46] Nishiwaki 2008, 2009a and 2009b. This was presented in my lecture (see previous note).
[47] Pelliot 2159 v is *juan* 2 of *Miaofalianhuajing xuanzan kewen* 妙法蓮華經玄贊科文. See Chikusa 2000.
[48] Nishiwaki 2002: 40–41, Nishiwaki 2001: 49 and Takata 2010: 8.
[49] Wang 2007.
[50] Kitsudō 2008. After publishing the text, I realized that this Uigur commentary was actually not the *GMSDJZ* itself, but an extract from the *GMSDJZ* which appeared as a chapter in a larger work on the *Vijñāptimatratā* doctrine of the Faxiang school. These Uigur fragments are catalogued as *Lehrtext* in the Turfanforschung of BBAW, comprising more than one hundred fragments in total. I am currently organizing the text and preparing a translation for publication.

06 qamaγ tört tuγum bolur ,, č[ın]
07 ät'öz qodup tuž-it-da t[üšüp]
08 barmıš-daqı bir antrabav [ ]
09 [ ] tuγmıšı birlä [ ]
10 [bilmi]š k(ä)rgäk ,, [ ]
11 [ ]k' t*uγγ*alı kälmiš [ ]
12 [ ] munta tuγmıšı [ ]
13 [bodis]tv tep [ ]
14 [ ] birlä [ ]
(Lacking about nine lines)
24 [ ]//,,
25 [ ]t[ ]
26 [t(ä)n]gri yerintä
27 [ ] ////// ,,
28 [ä]rür ,, antra[bav] birlä
29 [ya]rım tuγum tep temäki
30 [t(ä)ngr]i až-unınta ärkän
31 [ortun bo]lmaq-lı öngrä
32 [bolmaq]-lı ikigü yarım tuγum
33 [ärür ,,] ortun bolmaq ärsär
34 [beš yapıγ] ärür ,, öngrä bolmaq
35 [ärsär] ölüm bolmaq-da öngtün-
36 [ki] *tü*š bolmıš be[š] yapıγ ärür ,,

Translation

(03–04) …. as if one says that it is seven lives. (04–06) According to the truth, it becomes four lives together with Antarābhava. (06–10) One should know thus, …. with the birth …, an Antarābhava while a human abandons his true body and descends down from Tuṣita heaven. (11) …. came to be born …. (12) …. born here …. … (named) as the Bodhisattva …. (14) …. together with … from the heavenly world …. (28) Together with Antarābhava (29) …. the half life is … (30–33) … both of the Antarābhava in the Heavenly world and Pūrvakālabhava are the half life. (33–34) The Antarābhava is (the five Skandhas). (34–36) The Pūrvakālabhava is the five Skhandhas, which became the former effect, in the Maraṇabhava.

The original Chinese text reads:

有說. 彌勒菩薩名一生者. 住在人中名一生. 一大生故. 如七生等. 據實并中有合有四生. 若說天中唯有半生并中有二生.

(*GMSDJZ*, T38.274c14–16)

The underlined sentences indicate the corresponding parts between Uigur and Chinese versions. The Chinese original explains the three kinds of Buddha Bodies (Trikāya) as a general statement in the opening of the Commentary. The Uigur text of the *GMSDJZ* was embelished with additional explanations about four kinds of lives 四生 (Skt. *caturyoni*). Unfortunately, lines 11~18 with no pararell in the *GMSDJZ* are so damaged that it is impossible to reconstruct the complete sentences. On the other hand, lines 22–25 can be aligned with the explanation of *Antarābhava* 中有, one of the four lives, in *SSHTX*.

The *Abhidharmakośabāṣya* explains the Antarābhava as follows: Between Maraṇabhava 死有 and Upapattibhava 生有, there are the five Skhandhas. To sum up (the explanation in *Abhidharmakośabāṣya*), the Saṃsāra closely related to the four lives, namely Antarābhava, Upapattibhava, Pūrvakālabhava and Maraṇabhava. Antarābhava comes after Maraṇabhava and before Utpattibhava. Between these two existences, there are the five Skhandhas. For the sake of getting to the existence, they raise their body. Because of the existence between two existences, it is called as Antarābhava.

> 言中有者俱舍云. 死生二有中有五蘊, 名中有. 惣論生死不離四有. 謂中生本死. 言中有者在死有後. 居生有前. 二有中間有五蘊. 起爲至生處. 故起此身. 二有中間故名中間. (*SSHTC*)

The commentator Quanming quotes the explanation of *Antarābhava* from the *Abhidharmakośabāṣya* in a comment on the passage 據實并中有合有四生. 若説天中唯有半生并中有二生 of the *GMSDJZ*. The Uigur *GMSDJZ* also gives the same explanation to the same passage.

> The Pūrvakālabhava is the five Skhandhas, which became the effect on getting the former life, in the Maraṇabhava.
> (Uigur *GMSDJZ* ll. 23–25)

Considering the fact that the *SSHTX* was known to the monks in Turfan, it is likely that the Uigur monks also used this commentary in their own writings.

5. Concluding Remarks

As Chikusa pointed out, at the time the Khitan state was the Buddhist center of East Asia.[51] Considering the traces of Khitan Buddhism in manu-

[51] Chikusa 2000: 99.

scripts from Turfan, we may extend its sphere somewhat farther west, especially since *Khitan Tripitaka* fragments represent the majority of block printing fragments from Turfan.

I am still uncertain of the possible scenarios of how the *Khitan Tripitaka* reached ordinary Uigur monks. As a gift from the Khitans, it must have been treated as a national treasure in the West Uigur kingdom, and common monks would have had no access to it. As we have seen, at least two sets of the *Khitan Tripitaka* were imported. It is probable that one of them was not part of the *Triptaka*, but a separate print which has been arbitrary selected. If so, the Uigurs or Chinese in the West Uigur kingdom imported the separate print as they wanted, making access to the *Khitan Tripitaka* easy. At the same time, the proper names and cursive characters in the colophons suggest that these texts reached the Uigurs during the Mongol period. At any rate, it is certain that the *Khitan Tripitaka* had some import in the Turfan Buddhist community over the course of several generations.

We should be careful, however, not to overestimate the influence of the *Khitan Tripitaka*. From the archaeological point of view, the *Khitan Tripitaka* is not the only printed Tripitaka which found its way to the West Uigur kingdom. The first block print for the Uigurs was the *Kaibao Tripitaka*, which was imported from the Song in 1037. In spite of the small number of *Kaibao Tripitaka* fragments from Turfan, these highly valuable for the study of both the development of printing and the history of Uigur Buddhism.[52] In addition, there are also some fragments of the *Jin Tripitaka* 金藏 from Turfan. Interestingly, the illustrations on the Uigur block prints are of the same design as those in the *Jin Tripitaka*.[53] These are thought to have been recycled and printed in the Yuan period.[54] Those Uigurs who stayed in large cities throughout the Yuan empire commissioned prints of Buddhist scriptures there and sent some of these back to their homeland, Turfan. Thus Uigurs became gradually accustomed to using block prints and eventually began printing Buddhist scriptures themselves in their native tongue.

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[52] Wang 2008.
[53] Dang 1999.
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Towards a Critical Edition of Feng Zhi's Last Poem

Considerations Drawn from Three Draft Manuscripts

RAOUL DAVID FINDEISEN

1 The Setting

The poet Feng Zhi 馮至 (1905–1993) is not just a casual figure as many among his generation who happened to write some poems during the 1920s and 1930s. He has, above of all, succeeded to assimilate the form of the sonnet into the Chinese language, henceforth labelled *shisihang shi* 十四行詩 ('fourteen-liner'), after failed attempts by Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897–1931), Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋 (1903–1987) and others. He achieved this most convincingly in his collection *Shisihang ji* 十四行集 (1942), written under most adverse conditions during the war period, emphatically beyond the dominant political and ideological speech of his contemporaries and much indebted to intimate knowledge of the sonnets by Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926).

Rereading the "Goddesses" 重讀《女神》 is the last poem Feng Zhi wrote. It was written on September 17, 1992, when the author was expected to attend the Fifth Conference of the Chinese Association for the Study of Literature in German, held in Shanghai, where a research prize named after him was to be conferred for the first time (see Zhou Mian 1993, 435). However, already frail health kept him in Beijing where later the same month he was hospitalized for six weeks, before another crisis in late January led to his death (Feng Zhi 1999, 12: 690–693). Among the few texts of essayist prose written briefly afterwards there is one with reflections about his experience while repeatedly staying at the Peking Union Hospital (Xiehe yiyuan 協和醫院), reserved for the *nomenklatura,* namely about the books various patients present to each other: Feng Zhi implicitly muses about literary canon-making by mentioning that he received collections from the woman writer Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904–1986) and the linguist Lü Shuxiang 呂叔湘 (1904–1998), to name but two examples; in libraries, the books would stand far distant from each other,

but thanks to his own memories, they happen to be shelved side by side on the writer's board.[1]

The poem was intended for a special issue of the 'central' poetry journal *Shikan* 詩刊 on the occasion of the centenary of Guo Moruo's 郭沫若 (1892–1978) birth, then still carrying the title in Guo Moruo's calligraphy, and was published when Feng Zhi was in hospital, not only writing the piece mentioned above, but also, as we may assume, "over and over again rereading with greatest pleasure what I have written, as soon as it is published in a newspaper or journal – a habit I have not abandoned until the present day".[2] Rereading the "Goddesses" can be, therefore, read as a *summa* of the poet's creative life, in various respects: Feng Zhi confesses to have been inspired to write his first poem when reading Guo Moruo's famed collection at the age of not even 16, at the time of its publication in 1921, i.e. roughly seven decades earlier, which correspond to Feng Zhi's own writing career. It should also be noted that Guo Moruo had been, as the president of the then Chinese Academy of Sciences, the superior of Feng Zhi who was heading the Institute for Foreign Literatures since 1964. The poem displays a clearly critical attitude towards Guo Moruo, and also marks a generational gap between the two poets: The older one belonged to those who had originally received a traditional training and at one time rose to the ranks of the leading writers of the New Culture movement, not least for the poems (written 1918–1921) collected in his Goddesses, while Feng Zhi was among the teenagers who assiduously read the May Fourth journals while having enjoyed a 'reformed' education – Feng Zhi was born in the year when the imperial examination system was abolished, in 1905.

Moreover, Guo Moruo had been directly involved in the publication of Feng Zhi's first poem, written in 1921 – that is in providing him the pleasure of seeing his works printed, as he described above. According to Feng Zhi's account, it was during his first year at Beijing University's preparatory course, when "reading all books and journals published by the Literary Research Association and by the Creation Society", that in 1922 he showed some of his poems to his literature teacher Zhang Fengju 張鳳舉

[1] Feng Zhi, "Bingyou zeng shu – wentan bianyuan suibi zhi ba" 病友贈書 — 文壇邊緣隨筆之八 [Book Presents from Friends in Hospital – Casual Notes from the Margins of the Literary Scene, Part 8; Nov 6, 1992], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 5: 30–33.

[2] Feng Zhi, "Shiwen zixuan suoji (daixu)" 詩文自選瑣記（代序） [Irrelevant Notes to my Own Selection of Poems and other Writings (as a Preface); 1983, written for *Feng Zhi xuanji* 選集 (1983)], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 166; cf. also Feng Zhi 1959, in Feng Zhi 1999, 6: 339: "To see the own articles and poems typeset and printed in a little booklet made me feel pleased."

(1895–1996?) who then proposed them to the Creation Society for publication.[3]

Feng Zhi gives various different accounts of his earliest motivation to write poetry.[4] Nowhere does Guo Moruo's *Nüshen* 女神 collection figure prominently which might be just a further indication that the last poem was in fact a kind of Œdipal labour. It is revealing in this context to have a look at Feng Zhi's greatly differing assessment of the May Fourth movement, expressed in a number of poems written in various periods: In 1947, Back Then… subtitled with "A Man in the Middle of his Life and his Account of the Years After 'May Fourth'", opens with: "Back then, we thought we had suddenly awakened", and goes on with

> Back then, we used simple
> Writing
> And wrote simple poetry
> Back then, we used childish
> Writing
> And expressed childish ideas.
>
> What we wrote was childish
> And what we thought was innocent.

The poem concludes with a bleak prospect and a disillusioned assessment:

> Back then, where did we
> Seek to go?
> […]

[3] Feng Zhi, "Zizhuan" 自傳 [Autobiography; 1979/88], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 12: 606. The eight poems written 1921–23 were published in *Chuangzao jikan* 創造季刊 2,1 (May 1923), and later included with heavy amendments and modified titles in Feng Zhi's 1927 collection *Zuori zhi ge* 昨日之歌 [Songs from Days Past] (see Feng Zhi 1999, 1: 3–16).

[4] See, e.g., an interview conducted by Tong Wei 童蔚 for the Hong Kong journal *Shi shuangyuekan* 詩雙月刊 [Poetry Bi-Monthly] on Oct 2nd, 1990, for a special issue on Feng Zhi, and published there as "Tan shige chuangzuo" 談詩歌創作 [On Poetic Creation] in July 1991 (Feng Zhi 1999, 5: esp. 244–245). Elsewhere, Feng Zhi indicates that he was inspired to write his first poem about the 'man dressed in green', the postman topical in many a love-letter collection of the time ("Lüyiren" 綠衣人, in: Feng Zhi 1999, 1: 3–4), when on one of his daily walks through Beijing's *hutong* he had a chance encounter, ornamenting it with existentially flavoured considerations of how the contents of one single letter in the heap on the postman's arms might change the course of the addressee's life ("Houji" 後記 [Postface; 1957] intended for *Xijiao ji* 西郊集 [Collection from the Western Suburbs; 1958], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 131–132).

Until now, the plain and the heavens [i.e. China]
As before
Are still awaiting a new perspective.[5]

The tune is, not surprisingly, quite different some decade later, in a poem "written for a 'wall-newspaper' of the Beijing University Students' Association" in May 1958":

We commemorate May Fourth
And need the same heroic mind.
Led by the Party we are
Humans touching heaven and grounded on earth.[6]

As marked by its title, the whole poem is a genuinely intertextual venture: The topic is a collection of poems that has had a distinctive significance for the author, as sketched above, and by its medium, as well as thanks to the poem's biographical position, is becoming not only an act of reverence but an attempt at drawing the balance of a life through poetry, thus becoming a kind of poetological testament. However, Feng Zhi had already written an essay about his reading of *Nüshen,* more than three decades earlier and in the very same official national poetry magazine *Shikan* (Feng Zhi 1959). There he discloses that he had in fact written and also published poetry some time earlier, texts he judged to be of such minor quality that "if submitted to any newspaper or journal, I believe that none would have published them" (Feng Zhi 1959: 339). This juvenile production has been later rejected by the author (cf. Zhou Mian 1993: 395; Lu Yaodong 2003: 28–35[7]), retaining as the first 'regular' (*zhengshi* 正式), i.e. self-canonized, poem The [Post-] Man Dressed in Green mentioned above and written in 1921, that is after reading *Nüshen.* This means that Guo Moruo's poetry collection also inspired Feng Zhi to initiate a new course in his writing – and abandon the typical mode of the immediate May Fourth aftermath of forming a literary association editing a journal, together with

[5] "Nashi… – yi ge zhongnianren shushuo 'wusi' yihou de na ji nian" 那時 – 一個中年人述說“五四”以後的那幾年 [included in *Feng Zhi shiwen xuanji* 詩文選集 (1955)], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 5–9.

[6] "Juexin xinxin he yongxin" 決心信心和雄心 [Resolved in Faith and Courage], included in *Shi nian shichao* 十年詩抄 [Poems from a Decade; 1959], in: Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 139–140. – The term *dazibao* 大字報 was not yet common at the time. This is why Feng Zhi uses *qiangbao* 牆報, accordingly rendered here.

[7] Note that also the biographers of Feng Zhi only quote from second hand, i.e. from what the poet himself related about the texts published in the journal he edited as a high-school student; see also note below.

some fellow-students, in this case with the often-used speaking name *Qingnian* 青年 (Youth).[8]

It also comes out that in fact Feng Zhi drew decisive inspiration from the correspondence between Guo Moruo, the playwright Tian Han 田漢 (1898–1968) and the philosopher Zong Baihua 宗白華 (1897–1986), published as *Sanyeji* 三葉集 (Trifoil Collection, with German Subtitle "Kleeblatt"; 1920):

> Although its authors until now might not consider the volume an important work of theirs, but at that time it was a poetic revelation to me. From these letters exchanged between three friends and replete with passion, I understood for the first time what a poem actually is. […] Referring to the 'Werther fever' that arose in Germany after the publication of *The Sorrows of Young Werther,* the authors in their preface express the hope that a 'Trifoil fever' may surface in China. I am unaware which was the response to the Trifoil Collection among general readers, yet in my heart, it elicited a 'fever' indeed. (Feng Zhi 1959: 339–340)

Moreover, we learn that Feng Zhi had well taken notice of various first publications of several of Guo Moruo's poems in the Shanghai *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報 (New Paper on Current Events) literary supplement *Xuedeng* 學燈 (The Study Lamp), later to be included in the *Nüshen* collection, namely The Nirvana of the Feng and Huang ("Fenghuang niepan" 鳳凰涅盤) and Celestial Dog ("Tiangou" 天狗). In the course of his eulogy, Feng Zhi also mentions the poems The Good Morning ("Chen'an" 晨安) and Bandits ("Feitu" 匪徒) – two of the poems he would make reference to in his own very last. His general testimony reads as follows:

> I was a youngster in his teens who had no instruction and no friends, who did not see any way ahead and who was groping in the dark, who said he wanted to make literature, but had no idea what literature actually is and how he could produce it, and was just obsessed with the hunger and thirst to get hold of the freshest journals, after all I was at a total loss. When *Nüshen* came out, it was such a precious present to me!
>
> The impact *Nüshen* had on me first of all was to make me realize how broad the scope of poetry actually is. (Feng Zhi 1959: 340)

[8] The fortnightly has survived in one single Chinese library, and appeared in just four issues, in March and April, 1920, with the publisher's indication "Qingnian xueshe" 青年學社 (see Wu Jie 2000, #17575, 1: 1223b).

In the following, Feng Zhi identifies three aspects in Guo Moruo's collection that had left a particularly deep impression on him: first, the descriptions of nature he sees in sharp contrast not only to traditional poetry, but also to anything else in New Poetry and actually seemed absolutely "novel and innovative" (xinxian 新鮮); second, Feng Zhi confesses to have realized for the first time the core function of the musicality of language and imagery; and third, he declares to have only understood after reading *Nüshen* how poems should be written, and that they also had revolutionary potential. In sum, he concludes that "we meanwhile have quite a comprehensive understanding of *Nüshen,* and see clearly that the collection established a firm basis for New Poetry in China and made it leave its childish and immature superficial state" (Feng Zhi 1959: 340–343, quote from 343). Read against the clear distance separating Feng Zhi from *Nüshen* and possibly from Guo Moruo as a person in this poem, these declarations sound at least ambiguous, if not 'commissioned' – which would be quite plausible in the political and ideological context of 1959.

The final version of the 1992 poem, given in facsimile of the first print in Plate 1 below, somehow inverts the likewise ambiguous but dominant *ad hominem* mode in many of Guo Moruo's *Nüshen* poems, leaving it open whether the poem's first person is addressing the collection as a text or its author – which is additionally emphasized by the page's heading, devoted to Guo Moruo the poet, and evidently could hardly have been intended by Feng Zhi.

The six stanzas of six verses each may be grouped as follows: In the first part (stanzas 1 and 2) the dialogue with the author of the Goddesses is established as a retrospection, with each stanza initiated by the words "Seventy years…", also implying a certain ambiguity with regard to the addressee. With such a strong intertextual point of departure, it will not be surprising that *verbatim* quotations from Guo Moruo's collection play a prominent role. As a consequence, the opening phrase is followed by the second person in the first stanza, modified by the past, operating as a temporal complement (*qian* 前), and by the first person in the second, linking the past to the present (*nei* 內). The first stanza refers to the the second part of Guo Moruo's Prefactory Poem ("Xushi" 序詩; 1921) from *Nüshen* in which Guo Moruo addresses his own collection in the second person, and expresses the hope it may go right into the hearts of the "beloved brethren and sisters" (Guo Moruo 1982–1991, 1: 3), vaguely specified to 'some youngsters' (*yi xie qingnian* 一些青年) in Feng Zhi, and thus unmarked as a quotation, but followed by the marked "In order to touch their hearts' strings / And to enflame their minds' light." In the second part (stanzas 3 to 5), the ambiguous second person is further elaborated

纪念郭沫若诞辰一百周年

重读《女神》

冯至

七十年前，你在一些青年的胸中，
"把他们的心弦拨动，
把他们的智火点燃。"
我作为那些青年中的一个，
你开扩了我的眼界，指引我
走上又甜又苦的诗的途程。

七十年内，我们有时接近，有时疏远，
我有时忘记你，也有时思念，
我们见面的机会少，分离的岁月长。
七十年后的今天，我们偶然重逢，
你向我问长问短，
显示出无限的关怀。

你问我，还能不能陪伴你
向祖国壮丽的河山，
向宇宙的奇观，
向崇高的人物和事业
接连不断地祝贺"晨安"？
我回答说，我还能。

你又问我，还愿不愿意陪伴你
向有巨大引力的
孕育万物的地球，
为了报答她的深恩，
接连不断地呼唤"我的母亲"？
我回答说，我愿意。

你继续问我，是否还想陪伴你
对那些被称为"匪徒"的
人类进步的推动者
连呼"万岁"？
我回答说，我不喊"万岁"，
却说他们永垂不朽。

你听了我的回答感到满意，
你却不无遗憾地说，
我已不是七十年前的那个青年。
我说，请允许我再一次陪伴你
歌颂那一对自焚的凤凰，
它们在火焰里得到新生。

1992. 9 .17.

附注：《女神》于1921年首次出版，我在1921年写出我后来收入我的第一本诗集里的第一首诗。

Plate 1: First print of "Chongdu 'Nüshen'"
in *Shikan* no 282 (11/1992), 6 [P1].

to the extent that both the particular poems referred to and Guo Moruo as a person are transposed into a possible biographical and thus poetological dimension. The three verses are connected by an incremental anaphor, appearing in the first and the last verse, respectively – and in fact culmi-

nating by dissolution in the last two verses of stanza 5: "You are asking me…", "You are further asking me…" and "You keep asking me…", paralleled to "… I may", "… I am eager" and finally "… I am not…". Stanzas 4 and 5 are citing the poems Good Morning (see above) and "Wo de muqin" 我的母親 (My Mother), standing for the topical range in poetry of humans and their labour, and of nature, respectively. Bandits, also cited above, from which the triple refrain *wansui* 萬歲 ('long life to…') is quoted in addition, in turn stands for eulogies of great men. It is hard not to see an allusion to the considerable amount of poetry Guo Moruo produced to hail Mao Zedong and other leaders, with exactly the same *wansui*, far after his *Nüshen* collection. The refusal in the last two verses of the group of stanzas reads:

> I am answering that I am not shouting "long live…",
> Yet rather say they will ever remain immortal
> [*yongchui buxiu* 永垂不朽].

This can be read as a poetological reflection about the technique of the *ad hominem* – in other words: about the ambiguity of the addressee in the second person. It might also be transposed into a statement of the kind 'I shall not say "long live Guo Moruo", but rather state what he wrote will remain immortal'.

In the conclusive third part, stanza 6, a respectful step back from outright refusal is offered: Despite the fact that the poem's first person has changed ("I am not the youngster of seventy years ago any longer.") which may imply that the addresseee has changed as well when he started to write the eulogic poetry mentioned above.

> I am saying, please allow me joining you again
> And hail the pair of Feng and Huang who are burning themselves.

This in turn refers to the long scenic poem in *Nüshen* (Guo Moruo 1982–1991, 1: 34–53) in which, after their self-destruction modelled within an imagery borrowed from Western traditions, Feng and Huang are born again and unite in a common song in which they do not differentiate from each other, culminating in mutual identification:

> There is you inside me, and there is me inside you.
> I am you.
> You are me. (1: 43)

Feng Zhi's reference, however, does not reach this point, but in his allusion stays at the decline of Feng and Huang and its "praise", clearly situated before their duet in Guo Moruo's verses. So what might follow

destruction could still be imagined ahead, given that Feng Zhi was, in his individual existence, actually facing death while knowing that his counterpart had already passed away, i.e. their *gengsheng* 更生 ('re-birth') before 'chanting together' is placed into an indeterminately distant future.

Should be added in conclusion that another poem by Feng Zhi, written some year previously and explicitly titled Autobiography,[9] also ventures summarizing a poet's life, using a similar mode of expression structuring creative experience in decades; it has to be read as a prologue to Rereading of the "Goddesses", as it enounces the biographical background to 're-reading' in an abbreviated way:

> In the thirties, I rejected my poems of the twenties,
> In the fifties, I rejected my creations of the fourties,
> And in the sixties and seventies, I said everything from the past was an error.
> In the eighties, I felt remorse to have rejected so many actions and things.
> […]
> When the nineties began, I was in some way awakening
> And understood that the most difficult thing to achieve in life was 'knowledge of
> oneself'.

The last poem discussed in some detail above may well be considered the expression of this 'knowledge of oneself'. How this was acquired during a complex writing process and how Feng Zhi's procedures may be made transparent will be the scope of the following sections.

2. Description of Witnesses

Evidently the first thing to do in order to prepare the critical edition of a text is to assess all extant witnesses, both hand-written and printed as well as assess their authenticity, their date and whether they depend on each other, that is, whether they are genetically connected and how. In the case of Feng Zhi's last poem, there is a total of six witnesses, as follows:

[9] "Zizhuan" 自傳 (Mar 25, 1991), in Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 291.

hand-written

1) M1 First draft, dated Sep 17, 1992, in last note-book, 4 pp. unnumbered (pp. 20–23).
2) M2 Second draft, Sep 17, 1992 or later, in last note-book, 3 pp. unnumbered (pp. 24–26).
3) M3 Clear copy, dated Sep 17, 1992, on draft manuscript paper of the Institute for Foreign Literatures, CASS ("中國社會科學院外國文學研究所稿紙"), 3 sheets.

printed

4) P1 First publication in *Shikan* 詩刊 no 282, issue In Commemoration of the Centenary of Guo Moruo's Birth "紀念郭沫若誕辰一百週年" (11/1992), 6.
5) P2 Collected in posthumous volume of writings *Wenxue bianyuan suibi* 文壇邊緣隨筆, ed. by Feng Yaoping 馮姚平 (Shanghai shudian, Aug 1995).
6) P3 Collected in *Feng Zhi quanji* 馮至全集, 12 vols., ed. by Han Yaocheng 韓耀成 *et al*. (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, Dec 1999), 2: 294–296.

With the exception of the word *fuzhu* 附註 for 'auxiliary note' put into square brackets for the print P3 in the Complete Works, leaving it open whether it is the author's or an editors' note, the texts of all prints are strictly congruent, including punctuation – if we do not consider the distinctive page layout in P1 with a column break after the first verse of the fourth stanza, which is obviously owed to the journal editors' desire to display Feng Zhi's poem in a monumentally prominent way, that is, on a single page.

The first two manuscript versions of the poem are drafted in a notebook exclusively used for the composition of poetic writings. Feng Zhi's prose writings were usually written on separate sheets, also those mentioned above that date later than his last poem. The ruled notebook measures *ca.* 90 × 144 mm, with 16 lines separated by a space of 8 mm and a slightly larger space in footing and heading. As a consequence of the functional differentiation of the medium according to the genre of writing and its techniques of composition, becoming more pronounced towards the end of his life (earlier notebooks also contain reading-notes and excerpts), the two drafts of Rereading the "Goddesses" are also the last entry in the booklet. Accordingly, we find the single draft for the chronologically pre-

ceding poem, written for the "Paradise Poetry Magazine", dated August 22, 1992,[10] on the left-hand side and opposite to the space where Rereading the "Goddesses" was begun, i.e. on pages 20 and 21 in the sequence.

On the basis of the two drafts M1 and M2 which occupy seven pages (pp. 20–26) in Feng Zhi's last note-book, the following writing process may easily be reconstructed (however, here and in the following, most of the detailed elaboration will concentrate on the first double page of M1, i.e. pp. 20–21 (see Plate 2), taking into consideration the following pages of the drafts only as far as they are relevant to establishing solid criteria for a critical edition): When setting out, the writer started a new page (p. 21) in his booklet. After having sketched the first two stanzas, including a number of interventions constituting up to five textual layers (see below), he rewrote both stanzas. As a result, the second stanza was rewritten two times, and for the convenience of having preceding versions in view he used the space to the left-hand side, left blank and originally not intended as writing space, as he began a new page for the poem. Two distinct types of scratching as metalinguistic signs denoting 'erasure' can be identified. On p. 21, stanzas 1 and 2 seem to have been erased briefly before or after the author's hand moved to the left to write them out again in full. The strokes are strong and slightly inclined to the left. The second type of scratching occurs in the second full version of stanza 1, the third of stanza 2 (p. 20), and the first versions of stanzas 3 (p. 21) and 4 (pp. 21–22) – to mention only the instances visible on the facsimile below – and is executed in visibly lighter strokes, possibly in pencil, whereas the rest is written with a fountain pen. If they are roughly vertical on p. 20, but slightly inclined to the right on p. 21, it is due to the movement the author's right hand, ruled by a basically stable position of the elbow; these erasures are most likely applied when the author set out to rewrite the whole poem on pp. 24–26, thus producing M2.

As for the dates, M1 clearly carries 'September 17, 1992.' There is no evidence that the two drafts M1 and M2 were not written on the same date; moreover, when stanza 6 from M2 (p. 25) is fully rewritten on p. 26, the respective date indication in the form "1992,9,17" is emphatically and separately erased, to be rewritten on p. 26, along with the the additional 'auxiliary note.' This is not so obvious for the clear copy M3 (p. 3), visibly executed with less sketchy characters. And if "17" in the date was scratched and rewritten, it possibly happened for better legibility of the two numerals originally written too close together. It is well conceivable that this implicit

[10] "Ti 'Leyuan shikan' " 題《樂園詩刊》, in Feng Zhi 1999, 2: 33.

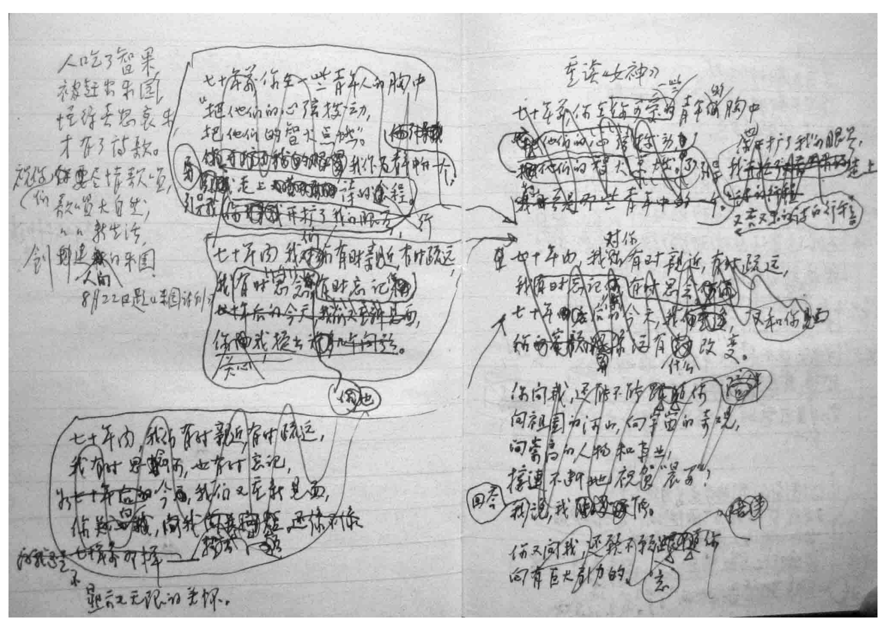

Plate 2: First draft of "Chongdu 'Nüshen' "
in author's notebook, double-page, unnumbered (pp. 20–21)
[M1] – *Private collection, Beijing.*

emphasis hints to a date indication that has already turned symbolic, that is indicating the date of the earliest conceptual elaboration on M1, rather than the actual date of the record in M3.

The clear copy M3 (see Plate 3) may also be considered the first step into a restrained public sphere: it is clearly designed as the text intended for the *Shikan* editors, and moreover (unlike the notebook drafts) to a certain extent links the author to the collective identity represented by his work unit (*danwei* 單位) that provided the paper. Except for minor interventions and the substitution of miswritten characters (such as 鳳 for 風 *feng* in stanza 6, verse 5, p. 3), in stanzas 5 and 6, the two last verses are reworded, actually restituting an early version from M1. It should be noticed that in all likelihood there has also been a second clear copy, hypothetically M4, i.e. the manuscript actually sent to the publishing house and kept there, as in many similar instances.[11]

[11] There is no trace of such a manuscript so far, but it may not be ruled out that it may one day surface from another private collection.

第 3 页

你继续问我，是否还想陪伴你
对那些被称为"匪徒"的
人类进步的推动者
连呼"万岁"？
我回答说，我不喊"万岁"，
却说他们永垂不朽。

你听了我的回答感到满意，
你却不无遗憾地说，
我已不是七十年前的那个青年。
我说请允许我再一次陪伴你
歌颂那一对自焚的凤凰，
它们在大焰里得到新生。

1992，9，17

（附注）《女神》于1921年首次出版，我在1921年写出我后来收入我的第一本诗集里的第一首诗。

15×20=300 中国社会科学院外国文学研究所稿纸

Plate 3: Third draft of "Chongdu 'Nüshen'" (clear copy), on draft manuscript paper of the Institute for Literature, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, p. 3
[M3] – *Private collection, Beijing.*

The situation of these two lines may be presented as follows (for the notation, see explanations in the sample edition below):

VI.5

M3
1.1 歌頌那一對｜新生｜的｜風凰,
1.2 歌頌那一對｜自焚｜的｜鳳凰。

VI.6

1.1 它們｜在｜自焚的｜火焰裡｜展翅飛翔。
1.2 它們｜在 火焰裡｜得到新生。

Clearly, in the poet's understanding, to insert *zifen* ('to set fire to oneself') precluded usage of the same compound in the following verse, whence the intervention may be classified as compulsory.

3. Methodological Considerations

Before presenting a proposal how these manuscripts may be edited in a way that the visibly complex writing process is appropriately reflected and kept transparent to the greatest possible extent, some preliminary reflections seem in place. How the most meaningful modes of representation of such a critical edition should look like has been been, and still is, fairly controversial. Much of what will be said in the following might be seen in light of a distinctively diverse perspective of older texts. In the Chinese tradition, this simply means that in many instances the assumed origin of a text predates the oldest extant witness by several centuries, even when solid auxiliary evidence for its date of origin is available.

In editing, two main traditions may be identified, one with the aim of producing a reliable and final text (or even reconstructing it, if witnesses are scarce or fragmentary – the most prominent example from the Western tradition are the Presocratic philosophers), the other with the ambition not to claim a textual situation that might never have existed, that is to document comprehensively how witnesses are (or may be) interdependent. These traditions can roughly be attributed to Anglo-Saxon philological traditions for the former, and to continental European for the latter. Inspired by French poststructuralism and confronted with large quantities of modern

avant-garde texts in which fragmentation is pushed to the degree that even the linearity of text is radically questioned, and conventional editorial tools of both traditions identified above are inadequate, the school of the *critique génétique* emerged, with a German counterpart in Dieter E. Sattler and his successors who developed similar patterns of representation when editing Hölderlin's (1770–1843) poetry, though with less theoretical ambition. In both these schools the emphatic refusal of any teleology implied in presenting the supposedly 'final' version of a text is dominant – the reader should not only be enabled, but ideally compelled to follow the most complex writing process, without an authoritative editor imposing one option to the detriment of all others.

Obviously, there is a rich editorial tradition in China as well, with sophisticated methods developed much earlier than the European Renaissance. Its purpose was, indeed, chiefly reconstruction, and/or assessment of the authenticity of transmitted texts. This is why it has tended to favour emendations based on as many witnesses as possible (*jiaokan* 校勘) and resulting in a single final version, giving critical comments separately in an *apparatus*.[12] As a consequence, despite the wide range and specialicization in the respective Chinese terminology, the closer texts to be edited are to the present, the less the traditional *apparatus* is fit to sort out systematically a manuscript situation, and even less to represent a creative process.[13] In this perspective, the most neutral denotation appears to be most appropriate, i.e. to name the manuscript versions of Feng Zhi's poem *yi gao, er gao, san gao* 一、二、三稿 ('first', 'second', 'third draft' etc.), partly in consideration of the possibility that there might well be a *si gao* 四稿, and thus reserve qualifications such as 'clear copy' (*qinggao* 清高) to a level below.

Similarly, the varying terms to denote textual operations on single witnesses, ranging from 'insertion' and 'deletion' to 'inversion', 'substitution', 'revision', 'emendation' and the like are not conducive. In fact, any intervention in the text may be broken down to the basic operations of 'removing' and 'adding', no matter whether single characters or whole chapters or paragraphs (and in this cases: stanzas) are affected. The portions being removed and added constitute 'segments' which are marked by vertical strokes in the edited text below.

[12] For an excellent overview confronting and merging Chinese and classicist Western traditions, see Roth 1993.
[13] See Findeisen 2009, esp. 273–277, and 2010, esp. 128–143.

4. Procedures

There are two basic editorial procedures with regard to a given (manuscript) text, the genetic and the diplomatic transcription. The genetic edition disregards the spatial organisation of a manuscript or printed text, and instead concentrates on temporal aspects that need, of course, a preceding assessment, whereas the diplomatic transcription abstains from judgements about the chronological sequence of the writing, and instead aims at approximating the spatial arrangement of the manuscript – implying that "chronological" conclusions should be drawn by the involved read.

For the last poem by Feng Zhi presently under discussion, I choose a genetic representation of the text. This means that any modification of the text is transcribed as a new full version, standing for a 'layer' of the text. It should be noted that a sequence of interventions that appear to belong to the same layer, on the basis of the position in the manuscript space, may have been applied in a sequence opposite to the direction of the running text – in other words, interventions constituting the same textual layer usually (i.e. if no scriptural devices, such as different writing tools, can be identified) can hardly be attributed to a specific time. This is not taken into consideration – simply for the fact that commonly (as in this case) no evidence can be provided for the posteriority of an intervention appearing in a passage before another intervention, and vice versa. In this respect, the genetic principle of transposing the assessment of spatial organization into a mode of representation showing temporal organization meets its limits. In the case of Feng Zhi's poem, the fully rewritten stanzas clearly present distinct 'stages' of the writing process.[14]

It may be argued that the several rewritten stanzas attributed to one single witness here should be considered distinct witnesses. Yet as the author has clearly constituted the entity of 'work' beforehand by putting the title ahead, I have chosen to attribute those stanzas to stages of the same witness. M2, the second handwritten edition, though using the identical medium of the notebook, is in turn considered a distinct witness, as the poem's title was rewritten.

In order to clarify the manuscript situation, I list the number of completely rewritten versions for each stanza on the two (draft) witnesses in the following:

M1 1: 2, 2: 3, 3: 2, 4: 1, 5: 2, 6: 1
M2 1: 1, 2: 1, 3: 1, 4: 1, 5: 1, 6: 2

[14] For the terminology, cf. Grésillon 1994/1999, appendixes.

If the criteria hypothetically mentioned above were applied, five witnesses for stanza 2 should be postulated.

For the transcription, I am choosing to write out characters in their full form, based on the following considerations: Though the writer has clearly adopted official simplifications, there are at least three 'idiographic' (i.e. individual pecularities of the handwriting, not "ideographic") devices that call for a representation in full characters, namely 1) important ones are written in their non simplified form, such as *jielian* 接連; 2) simplified characters appear mostly where the respective determinative has long been established in handwriting, such as *men* 門 in *wen* 問 or *women* 我們; 3) the frequently occuring determinative *yanzipang* 言 is executed in three strokes, with a clearly separate *heng* 横 in the upper part, instead of the two strokes in the simplified form. 'Idiographic' devices may, however, serve to identify different 'stages' among a multitude of 'layers' in the same witness with a single running text.[15]

The following attempt concentrates on the first stanza, i.e. the one on M1 first drafted on p. 21, then rewritten on p. 20 of the same double-page. The stages are not integrated but represented separately. However, a sketch shall first illustrate the situation in the writing space, thus applying a procedure from diplomatic transcription on the level of stanzas (Plate 4).

I.1	stanza.verse
M1 (1)	witness (version [here equivalent to stage])
1.1	stage.layer
｜	segment
〈｜〉	implicit segment
/	line-break in MS
〔〕	editorial insertion due to author's omitted compulsory modification

I.1

M1 (1)

1.1　七十年前，你在｜你可愛的｜青年　們　腦中
1.2　七十年前，你在　　　　｜的｜青年｜們｜腦中
1.3　七十年前，你在　　　　一些　青年　的　腦中

I.2

1.1　“｜把｜他們的心弦　撥動，
1.2　“｜把｜他們的心弦｜撥動，了

[15] In Findeisen 2004: 168–172, I have attempted to determine different writing speeds in a Mao Dun manuscript and concluded they may be attributed to various stages.

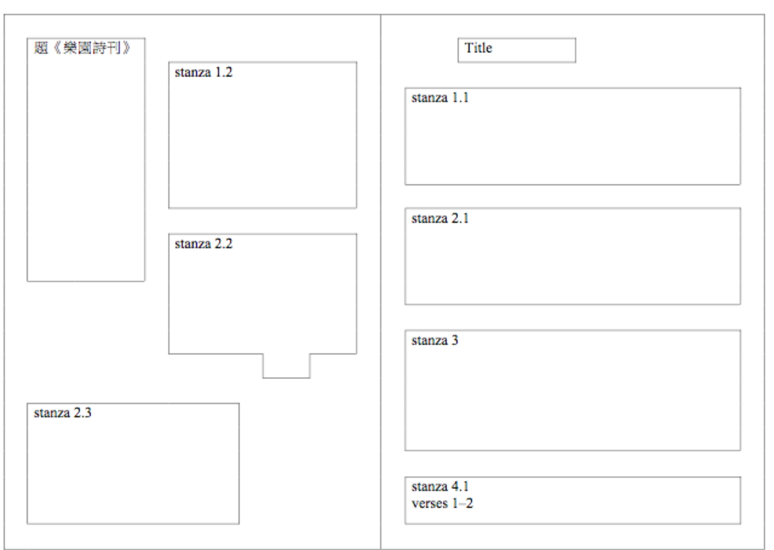

Plate 4: Scheme for the arrangement of stanzas' versions
on M1, pp. 20–21 of author's notebook.

1.3　“　　　　　　　｜撥動〔,〕了｜他們的心弦｜撥動,
1.4　“｜把｜他們的心弦｜撥動,　｜了
1.5　“｜把｜他們的心弦｜撥動,

I.3

1.1　｜把｜他們的智火　點燃,”
1.2　｜把｜他們的智火｜點燃,　　了
1.3　　　　　　｜點燃〔,〕　了｜他們的智火｜撥動,
1.4　｜把｜他們的智火｜點燃,　｜了
1.5　｜把｜他們的智火｜點燃,

I.2–3

1.6　I.3-2

I.4

1.1　我｜也｜就是那些青年中的一個。
1.2　我　　　就是那些青年中的一個。

I.5

1.1　你｜也｜開擴了我的眼界,
1.2　你　　　開擴了我的眼界,

I.6

1.1 我〈｜〉開拔了又苦又樂的／詩的行程
1.2 走上／又苦又了的｜詩的行程。
1.3 詩的行程｜又苦又樂的

M1 (2)
I.1

2.1 七十年前，你在一些青年人的腦中

I.2

2.1 “把他們的心弦撥動，

I.3

2.1 把他們的智火點燃。”

I.4

2.1 你開擴了我的眼界｜
2.2 我作為青年中的一個，
2.3 我作為青年中的一個，｜你引導我
2.4 我作為青年中的一個，

I.5

2.1 你｜引導｜我｜開擴了我的眼界

I.6

2.1 引｜我｜走上｜又苦又樂的｜詩的｜途｜程。
2.2 導｜我｜走上｜又苦又樂的｜詩的｜途｜程。
2.3 引導｜我｜走上｜又苦又樂的｜詩的｜途｜程。
2.4 引導｜我｜走上｜又苦又樂的｜詩的｜行｜程。

5. Conclusions

The first and most obvious conclusion from the above editorial procedure is the “paradox that critical editions may result in an amount of text larger than what the author has ever written”.[16] This is evidently due to somehow

[16] Cf. Groddeck *et al*. 1995.

didactic devices employed in producing a genetically transparent text – and thus of course contradicts the implicitly raised claim to reach the utmost possible fidelity and proximity to the manuscript or printed text, no matter from how many witnesses it is compiled. It is also obvious that such editorial processing is not only far from resulting in easy legibility and requires a number of additional metalinguistic signs in order to represent unambiguously the relationship between various layers and stages, but it is also certainly not appropriate for any text type and for any manuscript, yet rather offers itself in the case of multiple and complex interventions, spread among several witnesses and possibly even using ontologically distinct media. The most frequent such instance in modern times are handwritten interventions on proofs. This is why writers notorious for their rewriting after the typesetting is completed, or even after (also second or third) publications, offer themselves to be transcribed in a genetic mode, such as Montaigne and Flaubert.[17] Single poems that have undergone repeated reworking visible on various witnesses, as is the case in this last one by Feng Zhi, invite experimental modes of editorial representation; and it is clear that the immediately preceding poem by the same author (M1, p. 20 top left) would not gain anything, were it to be dealt using the same procedure.

As for the three printed versions of Feng Zhi's poem, the latter two are in addition posthumous, thus not authorized. If they differed from the first publication, they could not really be taken into consideration – but as they do not, except for minor details mentioned above, they present no problem at all. However, it should be noted that unauthorized editions may be published even during an author's lifetime: most prominent are the many reprints of 'modern classics' in Hong Kong, after 1949, but also any censured book edition after 1931 or in Manchuria under Japanese control. Finally, uninvited critical editions, such as the one mentioned below, are not authorized either.

Scholars who have attempted to create critical editions of modern Chinese texts so far have usually concentrated on variance in printed editions – not least for the lack of or the difficult access to manuscripts – and thus produced *huijiaoben* 匯校本, to put it in traditional terms, that is a collation of interventions (see Jin Hongyu 2004).[18] They usually proceed along

[17] See the Flaubert 1994 and Montaigne 2003, the former with a sophisticated notation that does not invite to reading, the latter with giving the respective section of the *Essais* eight times, with intervention marked in colour, complemented by notes in margin.

[18] The most prolific scholar in the field is Gong Mingde 龔明德 who under his own name and his pen-name Xu Zhifen 胥智芬 has published a *huijiaoben* 匯校本 of

the conventionalized pattern of giving the latest authorized edition (labelled *xiudingben* 修訂本 or *dingben* 定本 and the like) and compile interventions as notes. First printed editions of manuscripts are of course elaborated now and then, but there is only one systematically presented critical edition I know of (Mikszáth 1991) – as a piece, however, that falls out of the pattern of a creative process, being the manuscript of a translation of *Szent Péter esernyője* (St. Peter's Umbrella; 1895) by the Hungarian writer Kálmán Mikszáth (1847–1910), translated by Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885–1967) from an English translation and corrected by his brother Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881–1936).

With a few rare exceptions of *zhuming zuojia* 著名作家 whose works are made accessible in facsimiles, although usually for other purposes, publications of texts systematically going back to the manuscript stage for the purpose of critical edition have been virtually inexistent for modern literature, both due to restrictive access policy to manuscripts in specialized archives and libraries, and to an emerging market for autographs with a similar effect. Therefore, manuscript studies of modern texts, including the tentative assessment of traditions dating back to Song times for that purpose, are just about to emerge. Sooner or later, however, when neither official quarters nor potentially offended family members will oppose close scrutiny of earliest textual witnesses (i.e. manuscripts), it will be possible to reach a new stage in the study of corpora, making necessary considerations as exemplified in the present article.

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