COLLECTED WORKS OF JAO TSUNG-I: XUAN TANG ANTHOLOGY

Treasured Oases

A Selection of Jao Tsung-I's Dunhuang Studies

Translated and Edited by

David J. Lebovitz

BRILL

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Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology

Series editors

Chen Zhi
Nicholas Morrow Williams
Adam C. Schwartz

VOLUME 2

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河湟入夢若懸旌，	Huang and Yellow Rivers enter dreams like trailing banners;
鐵馬堅冰紙上鳴。	On the page, sounds of iron horses and hard ice.
石窟春風香柳綠，	Stone caves, a spring breeze, green of fragrant willow trees;
他生願作寫經生。	Next time round, I wish to lead a sutra scribe's life.

JAO TSUNG-I 饒宗頤, "Inscribed on the Wall at Mogao Caves" (Mogao ku tibi 莫高窟題壁; *Wenji* v. 20, 673)

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Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology – Series Introduction

Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (1917–2018, studio name Xuantang 選堂) was one of the most remarkable scholars of the 20th century, in any country. He combined erudition in his own language with polyglot awareness of the major European languages and a mastery even of Sanskrit; he was a tireless, prolific researcher, who produced important books and articles without cease throughout seven decades; and he possessed phenomenal powers of memory to which the familiar adjective "photographic" barely does justice, since he had immediate recall of whole books of history, of calligraphic forms in all the different Chinese scripts, of millennia of music and painting and poetry. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable thing about Jao Tsung-i as a scholar is that his achievements were not at all limited to scholarship. He was a true artist in the manner of the literati of past ages, whose paintings, poetry, and especially calligraphy grace museums and collections around the world.

Though scholarship was just one of the domains in which Jao excelled, then, it is this polymathic and polymorphic creativity that lies at the foundation of Jao's achievement as a scholar as well. As a scholar he combined a restless curiosity extending to more or less every domain of Chinese culture and beyond, with a depth of insight and fastidious attention to detail that led him to break new ground in each of the topics he addressed. His scholarly work is often fearsomely technical, as he is willing to devote page-long footnotes to clarifying distinctions among textual variants or different graphical forms of a single Chinese character. But it is also dazzlingly broad, as he surveys vast topics like the creation myths of all ancient cultures, or the relationship between morality and rhetoric. Despite his whole-hearted love of China's traditional culture, he is never content to rest with facile generalizations about that culture, but always pursuing a more nuanced understanding of its particular facets at different historical moments.

Jao was a scholarly prodigy who had already published an independent article under the editorship of one of the leading historians of the era, Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980), before he was twenty years old. Yet his earliest scholarly production, coauthored with his father at the age of seventeen, was a *Bibliography of Literary Productions of Ch'ao-chou*, included in the local gazetteer of his hometown of Chaozhou in Guangdong province.[1] Jao later edited

1 On Jao's life see Chen Zhi and Adam Schwartz, "Jao Tsung-i (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917–2018)," *Early China* 41 (2018): 1–7; Yan Haijian 嚴海建, *Rao Zongyi zhuan: Xiangjiang hongru* 饒宗頤傳：香江鴻儒 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2012).

the complete gazetteer of Chaozhou, published in 1949, and throughout his life drew inspiration from the culture of his hometown. In the same year, though, he relocated to Hong Kong, where he would reside for most of his life and teach at both the University of Hong Kong and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. From that time on his scholarly work took full advantage of the international opportunities afforded to him there. In 1959 he was awarded the prestigious Prix Stanislas Julien from the College de France for his massive study of diviners in the oracle bone inscriptions. He studied Dunhuang manuscripts in Paris and collaborated on a still-unmatched bilingual study of Dunhuang lyrics with the Swiss scholar Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), published in 1971. And yet his scholarly horizons continued to expand after that, as he continually visited Japan to identify precious Chinese texts preserved there, and spent many months memorizing Vedas in India.

By the year 2003, Jao's scholarly works were collected into a twenty-volume set encompassing well over 10,000 pages, the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集, published first in Taipei and then reprinted in Beijing in 2009. Though this collection is not quite comprehensive, as Jao remained prolific up to his passing in 2018, it provides convenient access to his main scholarly achievements. The main topics covered are the origins of Chinese civilization, the oracle bone inscriptions, bronze inscriptions, Buddhism, Daoism, historiography, Sino-foreign relations throughout history, Dunhuang studies, classical poetry and other literary forms, Chaozhou history, musicology, art history, and many other fields as well. Last but not least, the final volume contains Jao's own classical Chinese compositions, in itself a vast corpus of iridescent poetry and prose.[2] The fact that Jao was one of the great modern masters of classical Chinese composition is not irrelevant to evaluating his scholarship, for Jao's scholarly studies are written in elegant prose that is often closer to classical Chinese than the modern, colloquial register.

Indeed, Jao's scholarship is necessarily daunting even to many Chinese readers or to professional sinologists today, for three fundamental reasons: his oeuvre is composed in highly allusive and erudite prose; it comprises an extraordinary large quantity of publications in diverse domains; and finally, it employs extensive quotation of primary sources, many of them in themselves quite obscure for the modern reader. For these reasons, Jao scholarship has often been admired at a safe distance but not necessarily studied as closely as it deserves by other scholars, both in China and the West. Moreover, although the *Rao Zongyi ershi shiji xueshu wenji* has made his scholarship accessible to

2 For a selection of these works in English, see Nicholas Morrow Williams, trans., *The Residue of Dreams: Selected Poems of Jao Tsung-i* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell East Asia Series, 2016).

readers throughout greater China, there are relatively few works introducing or adapting his key insights into Western languages.

In light of the great value of Jao's scholarship and its relative lack of appreciation in the West, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology, Hong Kong Baptist University has decided to produce a series of volumes translating key scholarly works by Jao into English, with annotation and explication making them accessible to 21st-century readers in the West. The first volumes will introduce major articles on Chinese musicology, Dunhuang studies, cosmology and origins of Chinese civilization, literature and religion, and oracle bone inscriptions. Future volumes will continue to highlight key areas of Jao's accomplishment. The translation series is by no means comprehensive; a complete translation of Jao's collected works would easily occupy fifty English tomes and is not conceivable at present. Instead, these volumes introduce key insights from Jao's scholarship and provide a gateway to his intellectual universe, showing the potential of a cosmopolitan vision that is never unfaithful to the demands of Chinese tradition.

First and foremost, the Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology and the project team would like to extend our sincere thanks to The Jao Studies Foundation for their generous support in funding this ambitious translation project and heroic efforts to make Professor Jao's lifelong scholarship accessible to a worldwide readership. From its outset, this project has received the full blessing of the Jao (rendered Yiu in Cantonese) family, most notably Professor Jao's daughters Ms Angeline Yiu and Ms Veronica Yiu, Permanent President and Permanent Administrative Director respectively of The Jao Studies Foundation.

Throughout the years, the Academy has been fortunate enough to be surrounded by like-minded people from all walks of life and benefited from their friendship and wisdom. A special mention goes to Dr and Mrs Simon Siu Man Suen, BBS, JP. Dr Suen is a remarkable entrepreneur, connoisseur of the arts, and champion of the humanities, whose generous support has enriched our work immeasurably.

The voluminous project that came to be known as *Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology* was first set up under the aegis of Hong Kong Baptist University and the leadership of former President Professor Roland Tai-hong Chin, BBS, JP. It continues to thrive under the auspices of the research-led, liberal arts University under the Presidency of Professor Alexander Ping-kong Wai. We would like to express our gratitude to both Presidents and the University.

The Academic Advisory Committee of world-class Sinologists, namely Ronald Egan, Bernard Fuehrer, David R. Knechtges, William H. Nienhauser, Jr., Lauren Pfister, and Edward L. Shaughnessy, offered us timely advice at different

stages of preparation and implementation. The Editorial Board, composed of leading academics in their own fields, has also served as a bank of expertise and experience for guidance and assistance.

It has been a delight to publish the *Xuantang Anthology* with the Leiden-based academic publisher Brill and to work side by side with Acquisitions Editor-cum-Managing Director Dr Shu Chunyan, whose professionalism and know-how were instrumental in making the process both smooth and efficient.

Last but not least, we have our professional team translators and proof-readers to thank. Since our team continues to grow with the addition of new volumes, full credit for individual contributions will be given in individual volumes, but special thanks go to the Senior Research Assistant of the project, Dr Linda Yuet Ngo Leung, for her meticulous work in post-editing and further proofreading for the entire series.

Nicholas M. Williams
Adam C. Schwartz
Chen Zhi

Translator's Preface

This volume is the product of over two years of labor, begun during the Hong Kong protest movement in the autumn of 2019, and completed during the fifth wave of the coronavirus pandemic in 2022. During that time, the Jao Studies Foundation generously supported my research at Hong Kong Baptist University's Jao Tsung-i Academy of Sinology. Although my own field of expertise lies primarily in early Chinese philology, the series editors have asked me to translate a volume on Dunhuang studies—a task that challenged me to learn some of the tools and sources of a second, medieval research field. Considering that breadth of knowledge is one of the most striking features of Jao's scholarship, it is both fitting and perhaps inevitable that this project has greatly contributed to my own breadth. It is also arguably the case that Jao's polymathic intelligence is nowhere more evident than in a multidisciplinary, transcultural field such as Dunhuang studies, and it is precisely this quality that I hope to convey with this volume of translated works.

This series is primarily focused on presenting translations of scholarly works. Nonetheless, owing to Jao's particular connection to Dunhuang, and to the nature of "Dunhuang studies" as a research field, I have found it necessary to consider Jao as a painter, a musician, an author of literature, and a master of Chinese traditional letters and arts. Thus in addition to showcasing the broad-ranging intellect that penetrated these many domains, I also hope to convey the emotional depth of his fascination with Dunhuang, as a place, as a conduit of cultural exchange, as an archaeological site, a locus of historical imagination, and a repository of lost traditions. Art and scholarship may be regarded as separate realms, but it is especially hard to draw a line between these categories in Jao's writings on Dunhuang,[1] and, moreover, it seems to me that doing so would obscure the nature of his contribution to the humanities. For that reason, I have included a few pieces that challenge the boundaries between analytical scholarship, belles-lettres, and art.

The body of Jao's work that might fall under the rubric of "Dunhuang studies" is vast and difficult to circumscribe. I have left much of that task to Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, whose essay "Next time round, I wish to lead a sutra scribe's

1 Jesse Wang and Travis Chan observe the same phenomenon: "Prof. Jao Tsung-i is known for his dual pursuit and 'amalgamation of scholarship and art,' and Dunhuang has proven to be the confluence point of his academic research and artistic creation," cited in Jao's obituary by Chen Zhi and Adam Schwartz, "Jao Tsung-I (Rao Zongyi) 饒宗頤 (1917–2018)," *Early China*, 41 (2018), 7.

life: Jao Tsung-i and Dunhuang studies,"[2] serves as this book's introduction, providing the reader with a comprehensive summary of Jao's scholarship in Dunhuang studies. Other anthologies that collect Jao's Chinese works on Dunhuang have brought some subset of these pieces together, although only about half of the items I have selected for this volume are found, for example, in "Dunhuang studies," volume eight in the twenty-volume collection *Rao Zongyi Ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集 (Collected [Twentieth Century Written] Works of Jao Tsung-i; hereafter "*Wenji*"); some items are found in volumes devoted to other areas of scholarship, such as art history or religion, whereas others were published in the productive years Jao enjoyed after the *Wenji* was released in 2003.[3] To faithfully translate works on such a wide range of topics demands either Jao's own polymathic talent or an overabundance of confidence. Considering the format of this book and the limitations of my own knowledge, some areas of Jao's scholarship are not represented in my translations. I have left the study of medieval music charts from Dunhuang, for example, to Colin Huehns, an expert in Chinese musicology.[4] Other areas, such as Jao's study of the Xiang'er *Laozi*, are already slated for future volumes in this series. These and numerous other topics are surveyed in Rong Xinjiang's introduction.

Another criterion for inclusion in this volume is the extent to which a work is translatable. A translator must juggle a number of competing concerns. In addition to considering the nature, topic, register, and mode of discourse in the source text, he or she must also attend to the purpose and background knowledge of the text's foreign audience, while calibrating what sort of interpretive intervention to make. For a scholarly article to be translatable usually assumes some certainty in interpreting the source text, although this can hardly be taken for granted with the premodern materials that Jao cites, and it is even less straightforward with Dunhuang manuscript materials, which frequently deviate from standard orthography. One must also ask "translatable for whom?" For example, although some Chinese scholars have argued that *Facang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑精華 (Essential anthology of

2 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Ta sheng yuan zuo xiejingsheng: Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yu Dunhuangxue yanjiu" 他生願做寫經生：饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 2018, 1:9–17. First published as "Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yu Dunhuangxue yanjiu" 饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究, in *Xinbao caijing yuekan* 信報財經月刊 May 1993.

3 Some works I select are reprinted in another anthology, Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Xuantang Jilin Dunhuangxue* 選堂集林敦煌學 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju, 2015), which is also not comprehensive.

4 Huehns Colin trans., *Harmoniousness: Essays in Chinese Musicology*. In *Collected Works of Jao Tsung-i: Xuantang Anthology*, vol.1. (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

Dunhuang calligraphy) represents the pinnacle of Jao's accomplishments in the realm of Dunhuang studies,[5] much of the content of that work consists of notes on calligraphic style, or the philological details of variant writings of this or that Sinograph. Notwithstanding the problems of phonetically rendering variant graphs whose corresponding words (and thus romanization) are in dispute, even if such notes can be translated into English, they might seem quite obscure to an audience who does not have a good grasp of Chinese, or some experience reading and writing East Asian calligraphy.[6] At very best, one might argue, a translation of such notes provides some veiled access to the otherwise hidden mechanics of Chinese textual philology, or the aesthetic considerations of calligraphic style. At worst, one might argue that Jao's best work is untranslatable. For better or worse, this volume tests some of the boundaries of translatability.

As with *Facang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua*, in a number of Jao's works, a contribution to Chinese scholarship consists in Jao having got hard-won access to an inscribed object or overseas manuscript, which he then transcribed into standard Chinese, annotated and published. This is the case for topics well beyond Dunhuang, from Shang oracle bones to the Chu Silk manuscript [from Zidanku 子彈庫], in which solving the thorny problems of transcription are in themselves a significant achievement. However, since the starting point for any English translation is the Chinese text produced by that highly interpretive process of transcription, translation may conceal the difficult interpretive work that Jao has done. And, moreover, because it is often difficult to tell exactly how Jao interpreted many of the passages he transcribed (aside from some sparse philological notes), translating these passages as if they represent Jao's interpretation may obscure the difficult work that the translator has done in Jao's name. This problem is actually quite pervasive, because regardless of whether Jao is studying manuscripts or transmitted texts, his core mode of synthesis is collation; Jao makes use of his encyclopedic knowledge of a broad range of texts, bringing together those sources that shed light on a particular topic. This process often produces a novel and insightful creation, but it does not always reveal how Jao understood his sources, or how he arrived at his conclusions.[7] On the one hand, to exclude such works from this translation

5 Jao Tsung-i, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑精華, 8 vol. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993). Collected in *Wenji*, 8:301–614, as "Fajing suocang Dunhuang Qunshu ji shufa tiji" 法京所藏敦煌群書及書法題記.

6 For an excerpt of this work that contains Jao's notes on the *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 manuscripts, see this volume, 180–8.

7 In some cases, the conclusion may be a delightful non-sequitur. See for example, "Another Look at the Dunhuang Manuscript of 'Deng lou fu' (Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower)

would not do justice to Jao's encyclopedic, wide-ranging associative process, nor would it be representative of the way he wrote; to include them, on the other hand, risks imputing to Jao interpretations he may not have held. I have sought where possible to strike a compromise between these two extremes by choosing works that tend to the discursive, even though this skews the representativeness of the works I collect.

Yet another criterion in selecting Jao's works for this collection is to translate essays that are still relevant to ongoing discussions about Dunhuang, or bring to light topics worthy of further exploration, years after their initial publication. The audience that I have in mind for these translations is an academic reader, advanced student of Chinese studies, or scholar in some other—perhaps comparative—field of the humanities who wishes to learn more about particular topics. It is partly for that reason that I have deemed it necessary to add detailed annotations, providing in all cases more complete bibliographic data for the works Jao cites, and pointing the reader to other sources, including translations or studies on the topic that may be of interest for further reading. Moreover, to translate the premodern sources that Jao often cites at length has required a certain amount of decipherment and research on my part, and the annotations provide some record of that process, which I hope will be of use to the readers mentioned above. Since Jao does not write primarily for these readers, I have also appended my own prefatory comments, as necessary and in varying detail, to most of the translations.

I would like to emphasize, however, that while the annotated translations conform more tightly to the conventions of modern Western-language Sinological scholarship, and are commensurate in that Jao's writing conformed to conventions of the times, venues, and languages in which he published, the translations do not always give an accurate sense of the manner in which Jao wrote. Jao must have written quite furiously, churning out research articles and books daily or weekly. His terse notes provide enough detail for someone with his level of knowledge to find sources easily, but no more. When Jao returned to his prior works to republish or anthologize it, as he often did, his main concern appears to have been unification. Much like his own stated historical methodology, which strings together, makes inter-penetrant, or unifies (*guantong* 貫通) disparate realms of history,[8] unification, in conjunction with

敦煌寫本登樓賦重研, which Jao concludes by transcribing a previously unattested poem from Dunhuang, and "Did Men of Tang Belt Out 'Tang ci'?," both translated in part four of this volume.

8 See the quotations in this volume's translations of Rong (p.11) and Jao (p.27) on his own "unifying, syncretic method."

collative processes of collection and recombination, took precedence over other aspects of revision, such as enumerating sources, correcting typographical errors, or revisiting the details of prior arguments. Jao's body of work in the original Chinese thus has a more expansive and less finished tendency than these translations, which inevitably reduce, constrain, and encapsulate his work. This, again is a somewhat unavoidable trade-off of the format and effects of translation.

Here and below, I outline the contents of this volume. Part 1, "Jao and Dunhuang studies," includes two overviews of Jao's engagement with Dunhuang studies. The first is Rong Xinjiang's "Next time round, I wish to lead a sutra scribe's life," which as mentioned above provides an overview of Jao's work in the realm of Dunhuang studies, including a biographical sketch of Jao. In the second piece, "Dunhuang Studies and me," Jao offers his own first-person perspective on the same topic, complementing rather than repeating what Rong wrote.

Part 2, "Dunhuang as inspiration and source," translates three of Jao's writings in which art and scholarship converge: "Turfan—the Bodhisattva whose head came off," is a travelogue and reflection on comparative religions; the "Author's Preface" to Jao's study of the Xiang'er *Laozi*, is at once a work of artful parallel prose and a microcosm of an entire scholarly book; "The Northwest School of Chinese landscape painting" first compares Chinese and Indian legends of the geographic center of the world and then proposes a new method for depicting the landscapes around Dunhuang.

Part 3, "Medieval multimedia," translates two works that consider visual art juxtaposed with text or speech. The first, "On the Relationship Between Bianwen 變文 and Illustration, from the Perspective of the *Shanbian* 睒變 (Śyāma Transformation)," examines the manifestations and audio-visual performance context of a Buddhist Jataka tale. The second, "Postface to the Two Dunhuang Manuscript Fragments of the *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖 (White Marsh's Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies)", studies an ancient illustrated demonography extant only in fragments at Dunhuang.

Part 4, "Dunhuang poetry," translates essays on literati poetry and vernacular song lyrics found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The first of these, "Another Look at the Dunhuang Manuscript of 'Deng lou fu' 登樓賦 (Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower)," reconsiders compositional context, textual variance, and conventions of prosody in a fragment of the *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature) anthology. The second essay, "Did Men of Song Belt Out 'Tang *Ci*' 唐詞?" brings together three of Jao's prior writings on song lyrics found at Dunhuang, to argue for a historical continuity between the *ci* 詞 (lyrics) of the *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 (Cloud ballad collection) manuscripts, and the later, mature

literati *ci* 詞 genre of the Song dynasty. To this I also append a short entry from Jao's (possibly untranslatable) collection of Dunhuang calligraphy mentioned above, *Facang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua*, which discusses codicological features and graphic variants of the two manuscripts of the *Yunyao ji*.

The concluding section, "Reorienting Dunhuang studies," translates Jao's essay "Dunhuang Studies should be broader in its scope," which demonstrates how Han-era slips from the early empire's northwest frontier can be used as supplemental sources of history, and expresses Jao's desire that Dunhuang studies expand beyond art and manuscripts from Mogao caves.

Although I hope that this book can serve as an introduction to Jao's oeuvre, or reinvigorate study of some of the topics to which he was drawn, the sum of these translations hardly does justice to the breadth of Jao's study or the range of topics that inspired him. As the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 says, "Our lives have their bounds and knowledge has none; to pursue the boundless with the bounded is perilous indeed! 吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯隨无涯，殆已.[9] So it is with this translation and with Jao's studies of Dunhuang.

David J. Lebovitz

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9 Opening lines to "Yang sheng zhu" 養生主 (ch. 3) in Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961 [2006]), 2B:115. Jao echoes this sentiment in "Dunhuang studies and me": "to pursue infinite knowledge with one's miniscule life is a project impossible to complete." 以渺小之身，逐無涯之智，工作是永遠做不完的, in this volume, p.37.

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I would like to express my gratitude to the Jao Studies foundation and the Jao Tsung-i Academy of Sinology at Hong Kong Baptist University, both of which provided financial and institutional support for this project. The translations in this book were greatly improved by Prof. Nicholas M. Williams, who read and commented on drafts of all the translations. Profs. Adam Schwartz and Joern Grundmann served as a sounding board for a number of editorial, translation, and stylistic issues that arose during the course of the project; Prof. Chen Zhi and Travis Chan provided helpful feedback on individual translations; May Lai and Wang Xintong helped in all administrative aspects of planning and publication. I would like to extend special thanks to Prof. Rong Xinjiang, who kindly agreed to let me include his article on Jao's Dunhuang studies, and carefully reviewed a draft of my translation. The greatest debt, however, is to Dr. Linda Leung, who compared the Chinese and English versions, commenting with great care. She also labored extensively to bring Jao's citations up to date, and acquired copyright permissions for all the texts and images in this volume.

D.J.L.
17 March 2022

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Title	Edition
DZ	*Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏	Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1924
SBCK	*Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊	Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1919–1937
SKQS	*Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書	Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏, Compiled by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al.	Tokyo: Daizo Shuppansha, 1988
Wenji	*Rao Zongyi* [Jao Tsung-i] *ershi shiji xueshu wenji* 饒宗頤二十世紀學術文集, Edited by Shan Zhouyao 單周堯 et al.	Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2003
XTJS	*Xuantang jilin shilin* 選堂集林·史林	Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982
XXSK	*Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書	Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995
ZYYX	Jao Tsung-i, *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian xitan xue xulun* 中印文化關係史論集語文篇—悉曇學緒論	Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong; Sanlian shudian, 1990

Conventions

All transliterations are into Hanyu pinyin, with the exceptions of names well known in English (Sun Yat-sen, Hong Kong, etc.). Citations in Jao Tsung-i's articles have been supplemented wherever possible, with reference to specific standard paper editions. Notes of the translator beyond this supplementary bibliographic information are marked as such (i.e. "tr. note:"), usually on a separate line, except when they occur within the italicized translator's prefaces to individual articles, or where otherwise noted. Translations of official titles follow those in Charles Hucker's *Dictionary of Official Titles*. In some cases, for the sake of clarity, passages cited in the original Chinese have been expanded to elaborate the context for a foreign reader. Jao's own parenthetical remarks are rendered as footnotes where appropriate.

PART 1

Jao and Dunhuang Studies

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"Next Time Round, I Wish to Lead a Sutra Scribe's Life": Jao Tsung-i and Dunhuang Studies
他生願作寫經生:饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究

Rong Xinjiang 榮新江

1 Introduction[1]

Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 (Hanyu pinyin: Rao Zongyi), also known as Xuantang 選堂, or Gu'an 固庵, was born in 1917 in Guangdong 廣東 province, in the county of Chao'an 潮安.[2] His father, Jao Ok 饒鍔 (Rao E; 1891–1932), had collected quite a wealth of books, and was the author/compiler of *Chaozhou yiwen zhi* 潮州藝文志 (Chaozhou catalogue of arts and letters), among other works. From a young age, Jao Tsung-i applied himself to the family's deep reservoir of learning, becoming well-versed in the records and anecdotes of southern China, while also developing a profound appreciation for the study of the Chinese classics, histories, and the scriptures of Buddhism and Daoism. This afforded Jao an excellent scholarly foundation.

After the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), Jao undertook the compilation of local and state records in the two southern provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi, and aided Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1888–1968) in compiling *Quan Qing ci chao* 全清詞鈔 (Complete *Ci* of the Qing dynasty). Jao was also later invited by Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (1893–1980) to edit volume eight of the serial *Gushi bian* 古史辨 (Disputations on ancient history), and he wrote a *Xinmang shi* 新莽史 (History of Wang Mang's Xin dynasty).[3] After 1949 he moved to Hong Kong, where over the years he taught in the Chinese departments at Hong

1 Tr. note: previous versions of this article have been published as Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yu Dunhuangxue yanjiu" 饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究, in *Xinbao caijing yuekan* 信報財經月刊 May 1993, revised in *Zhongguo Tangdai xuehui huikan* 中國唐代學會會刊 4 (1993), 37–48. Also reprinted in Fudan daxue zhongwen xi 復旦大學中文系 ed., *Xuantang wenshi lunyuan—Rao Zongyi xiansheng ren Fudan daxue guwen jiaoshou jinian wenji* 選堂文史論苑—饒宗頤先生任復旦大學顧問教授紀念論文集, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 265–277. Here translated as "Ta sheng yuan zuo xiejingsheng—Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yu Dunhuangxue yanjiu" 他生願做寫經生：饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛學研究 (2018), 1:9–17.

2 Tr. note: Chaoan is now a district of Chaozhou 潮州 city.

3 Tr. note: Jao's *Xinmang shi* 新莽史 is unpublished. See Wang Zhenze 王震澤, *Rao Zongyi xiansheng xueshu nianli jianbian* 饒宗頤先生學術年曆簡編 (Hong Kong: Yiyuan chubanshe, 2001), 17.

Kong University and The Chinese University of Hong Kong. He also chaired the Chinese department at the National University of Singapore for a time, and took visiting research posts at a number of other places: the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, India; Le Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris; Yale University in the United States; the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Paris; Kyoto University in Japan; and a number of others. After retirement, Jao took up an honorary chair professorship in the Institute of Chinese Studies and Department of Art History at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Jao was accomplished in scholarship as well as in the arts, and his work was well-known early on at home and abroad. Nonetheless, because mainland China was closed off for so many years, and it was very difficult for mainland scholars to obtain what Jao had published in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and abroad, many were less aware of his work. Since the 1980's, as Jao began traveling to the mainland to give lectures and participate in conferences, and as his works were constantly being published by presses in Beijing and Shanghai, we can now say that among mainland scholars today, there is no one who does not know of Jao Tsung-i.

Because, as fate would have it, I came to work in the field of "Dunhuang studies" (*Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學), I became aware of Jao's publications early on. When, in recent years, I have traveled for study or research in Europe and Japan, I have taken every opportunity to buy and read Jao's books. Jao's research, however, is so broad that it seems to hardly know boundaries, and his works are scattered in all directions, such that it is difficult to get them all collected in a single place. Now, though, I have had the opportunity to come to Hong Kong, to obtain Prof. Jao's personal guidance, to experience in person his exemplary style and character, and to read my fill of his many works on "Dunhuang studies." There is no way that I can encompass Jao's encyclopedic knowledge here; thus, below I will just sketch a few points relating to what I know about this field called "Dunhuang studies."

"Dunhuang studies," strictly speaking, cannot properly be considered a field of research. Dunhuang is really just a huge, invaluable cache of caves, wall paintings, sculptures, and—in particular—tens of thousands of lost documents in manuscript form. As they became dispersed, the documents, whose contents encompass every domain of knowledge imaginable, attracted the attention of a vast cohort of scholars who treasured, pored over, and studied these materials, each doing what they were most able to do. It is precisely this activity that has engendered "Dunhuang studies."

The lost manuscripts are dispersed across collections in Britain, France, Russia, Japan, and other places, so that prior to the publication of the British and French catalogs on microfilm in the 1960's and early 1970's, conducting

research on them was hardly a simple task. What is more, because the volume of these manuscripts is so immense, and their assorted contents so varied (the largest category being Buddhist sutras), in order to select from them the documents of particular scholarly significance, one need not only be a scholar of tremendously broad learning—one need also have the manuscripts before one's discriminating eyes.

2 Setting Free Ancient Secrets; Drilling Open Primal Chaos (Hundun 混沌):[4] Research on Daoism

In April of 1956, Jao released his first work on Dunhuang studies with the publication of the *Laozi xiang'er zhujiaojian* 老子想爾注校箋 (The Xiang'er *Laozi*, annotated, collated and explained),[5] which addresses this unbelievably rare thousand-year relic of early Celestial Masters Daoism, now held in the London collection. Jao's book transcribes, annotates, and collates the entire manuscript text, explaining in detail the discourses on Laozi in the traditions of Eastern Han seekers of deification and immortality. The book also compares the *Xiang'er* commentary with that of Heshang gong 河上公 and the *Daodejing* 道德經 copied by Suo Dongxuan 索洞玄 (fl. early 8th c.), as well as the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (Scripture of great peace); it collects lost passages of the Xiang'er commentary, and it studies and accounts for Zhang Daoling's 張道陵 (34–156 CE) other writings. In sum, it is a huge contribution to the study of Daoist religion.[6] Soon after this, Max Kaltenmark, the great authority on Chinese religions in France, used this book in training all his students. The fact that his disciples later had a program in Daoist studies in the United States and Europe is due in part to Jao's book.

After the publication of *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaojian*, the number of scholars east and west working on the Xiang'er commentary grew and grew, and a number of works on the history of Daoist religion make use of Jao's explications.[7]

4 Tr. note: "drilling open Primal Chaos" 鑿破混沌 alludes to the Hundun 混沌 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子; see *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, comp. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, punc. and coll. Wang Xiaoyu 王孝魚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961[2006]), 3B.309.

5 Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang liuchao xieben Zhang Tianshi Daoling zhu Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaojian: Daoling yuanshi sixiang chutan* 敦煌六朝寫本張天師道陵著老子想爾注校箋—道陵原始思想初探 (Hong Kong: Dongnan shuju, 1956).

6 See Anna Seidel, "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West, 1950–1990," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989–1990), 230, 235.

7 Such as Tang Yijie 湯一介, *Wei-Jin Nanbeichao shiqi de Daojiao* 魏晉南北朝時期的道教 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1998).

Several Japanese scholars raised doubts some about Jao's dating of the Xiang'er commentary.[8] Jao in the following years supplemented his research findings, writing "Xiang'er *Laozi* jiujie yu sanheyi" 想爾老子九戒與三合義 (The significance of the Xiang'er *Laozi*'s nine proscriptions and three convergences),[9] and "*Laozi* Xiang'er zhu xu lun" 老子想爾注續論 (Continued discussion on the Xiang'er *Laozi*),[10] both of which are now reprinted in the expanded Shanghai guji chubanshe edition entitled *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng* 老子想爾注校證 (The Xiang'er *Laozi*, annotated, collated and verified), along with "Si lun Xiang'er zhu" 四論想爾注 (Four points on the Xiang'er commentary).[11] This latter work compares the text of the subsequently excavated Mawangdui silk manuscripts of the *Laozi*, dispelling the doubts about Daoist discourses on *qi* 氣 (vapor) raised by Japanese scholars, and reinforcing Jao's original arguments.

Because Jao is so familiar with the *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), he was able to identify works—and indeed works of significance for answering questions—among the fragmentary bits and pieces found at Dunhuang. He also made a number of discoveries in regard to works that are extant in the *Daozang*, such as with his identification of the fragment P.2732 as containing a variant part of Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 (456–536) note on Yang Xi's 楊羲 (b. 330) method for ingesting mist (*fuwu fa* 服霧法) in the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret method for ascending to perfection): the word *qi yun* 七韻 (seven rhymes) and annotations counting the rhymes are missing from the received edition.[12] Also, although the texts in his *Dunhuang shufa congkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 (Collected works of calligraphy from Dunhuang) are selected primarily on calligraphic criteria, a number of the editions and texts that Jao has included in the *Daoshu* 道書 (Daoist writings) volumes (vols. 27–29) are of great value as reference sources, and include the Tang Xuanzong Emperor's 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756) imperially sponsored annotation to the *Laozi Daodejing*, Ge Xuan's 葛玄 (164–244)

8 See Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹, *Rōshi densetsu no kenkyū* 老子傳說の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1979), ch. 6; Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫,"'Rōshi sōjichū' ni tsuite" 「老子想爾注」について, *Tōhō gaku-hō* 東方學報 57 (1985), 75–107; and Kobayashi Masayoshi 小林正美, *Rikuchō Dōkyō shi kenkyū* 六朝道教史研究, (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1991), ch. 3.

9 Jao Tsung-i, "Xiang'er *Laozi* jiujie yu sanheyi" 想爾老子九戒與三合義, *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 4 (1964), 2:76–84. *Wenji* 5:542–554.

10 Jao Tsung-i, "*Laozi* Xiang'er zhu xu lun" 老子想爾注續論 in Fukui hakase shoju kinen Tōyō bunka ronshu kankōkai 福井博士頌壽記念論文集刊行會編 ed., *Fukui hakase shoju kinen Tōyō bunka ronshu* 福井博士頌壽記念東洋文化論集 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppan-bu, 1969), 1155–1171. *Wenji* 5:555–575.

11 Jao Tsung-i, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng* 老子想爾注校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991). *Wenji* 5:415–640. Tr. note: the "Zi xu" 自序 preface to this work is translated in part two of this volume, 46–59.

12 Jao Tsung-i, "Lun Dunhuang canben dengzhen yinjue (P.2372)" 論敦煌殘本登真隱訣（P.2732）, *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 4(1979), 10–22. *Wenji* 5:200–218.

non-annotated five-thousand graphs edition of the *Daodejing*, the *Zhuangzi jieben* 莊子節本 (Abridged version *Zhuangzi*), the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao duren shangpin miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶度人上品妙經 (Utmost-high cavern of obscurity Lingbao [numinous jewel] marvelous scripture of salvation of the highest order) manuscript of the *Duren jing* (Scripture of salvation), *Taixuan zhenyi Benji jing* 太玄真一本際經 (Utmost obscurity true singularity scripture of original convergence), the *Wushang miyao* 無上秘要 (Unsurpassable secret essentials), *Er jiao lun* 二教論 (Discourse on the two teachings), *Yue zi lu yi* 閱紫錄儀 (Rite of inspecting [the] purple [palace] register), and the *Xuanyan xin ji minglao bu* 玄言新記明老部 (Faithful record of obscure words, section on comprehending *Laozi*), and others. All of these are important records for the history of Daoist religion, and are of profound value for reference. Jao once bemoaned that "people have long ignored Daoist canons and writings, and at present the greatest contributions are being made by foreign scholars."[13] And thus in the interim he has labored, producing outstanding results. At the moment, research on Daoism in China has already seen wide ranging expansion, although there is still not extensive research on the Daoist texts from Dunhuang. See for example the volumes of *Daojia wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究 (Cultural research on Daoism) printed in 1992 by Shanghai guji, in which volumes one and two do not have a single paper on Dunhuang manuscripts.

3 Tracing the Beginning and Grasping the End, Seeking and Searching above and below:[14] Research on Literature, Music, and Dance

In his early years, Jao studied the *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of Chu), and he carefully collated the Dunhuang manuscript of "*Chuci yin*" 楚辭音 (*Yin*-poem on the *Chuci*) by the monk Daoqian 釋道騫.[15] Jao said of himself: "Day by day I pursue my studies, what I love is changing and alternating; from youth I delighted in letters, taking rest and nourishment from Xiao Tong's *Wenxuan*"

13 Huang Zhaohan 黃兆漢, "Rao Xu [Jao's preface]" 饒序 in *Daojiao yanjiu lunwenji* 道教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: CUHK Press, 1988), 1.

14 Tr. note: "To trace the beginning and grasp the end" (原始要終), cites *Zhouyi* 周易 "Xici xia" 繫辭下 *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, comm. Wang Bi 王弼, subcomm. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 8.372.; "seeking and searching above and below" (上下求索) cites *Chuci, Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注, comm. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983 [2006]), 1.27.

15 Collected in Jao Tsung-i, Chuci *shulu* 楚辭書錄 (Hong Kong: Suji shuzhuang, 1956) 105–116; reprinted in Jao Tsung-i, *Wenzhe: Wenxueshi lunji* 文轍—文學史論集 2 vols. (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1991) 1:123–130. *Wenji* 11:314–321.

平生治學 所好迭異 幼嗜文學 寢饋蕭選.[16] A more important starting point for Jao's work on the literature preserved at Dunhuang was his 1957 publication of "Dunhuangben Wenxuan jiaozheng" 敦煌本文選斠証 (Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Wenxuan*, collated and corrected), parts one and two.[17] Soon after this, London published their entire cache of more than six thousand manuscripts on microfilm, and Jao put up the money to purchase a copy, through which he meticulously combed, discovering a number of precious and solitary books, like the *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The literary mind and the carving of dragons), of which today there is only a single manuscript. Jao had it printed for the first time in 1962, and discovered that one sheet of the manuscript had been omitted from the microfilms.[18] Now, although the manuscript has been reprinted multiple times elsewhere,[19] Jao's, contributions are still not obsolete. Jao also carefully studied the manuscript version of "Denglou fu" 登樓賦 (Rhapsody on climbing the tower) against the received edition, making some supplementary notes and an examination of its dating.[20] Additionally, in relation to the S.4327 manuscript, "Manyu hua" 謾語話, Jao discussed the origin of *hua* 話 story scripts.[21]

In the domain of Dunhuang literature, Jao's greatest accomplishment probably lies in research on *quzi ci* 曲子詞 (lyrics to a tune). In 1971, Jao completed *Dunhuang qu* 敦煌曲, for which the French Sinologist Paul Demiéville (1894–1979) made an adaptation into French and translation of the poems, published by CNRS alongside Jao's text in a single French-Chinese volume, *Airs de Touen-houang=Touen-houang k'iu: Textes à chanter des VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècles manuscrits reproduits en fac-similé*.[22] Prior to *Dunhuang qu*, Jao had worked on *ci* of

16 Jao Tsung-i, "Xuantang zishuo" 選堂字說, in *Gu'an wenlu* 固庵文錄 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1989), 325. *Wenji* 14:166.

17 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuangben *Wenxuan* jiaozheng" 敦煌本文選斠証, *Xinya xuebao* 新亞學報 3:1 (1957), 333–403; and *juan* 3:2 (1957), 305–328, (4 figures). *Wenji*, 11:549–641.

18 Jao Tsung-i, Wenxin dialong *yanjiu zhuanhao* 文心雕龍研究專號 (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue zhongwenxuehui, 1962); See Jao's related "Tang xieben *Wenxin diaolong* longjingben ba" 唐寫本文心雕龍景本跋 collected in Jao, *Wenzhe*, 1:407–8.

19 See Pan Chonggui 潘重規 *Tang xieben* Wenxin diaolong *hejiao* 唐寫本文心雕龍合校 (Hong Kong: Xinya yanjiusuo 1970); Lin Qiyan 林其琰 and Chen Fengjin 陳鳳金, *Dunhuang yishu* Wenxin diaolong *canjuan jijiao* 敦煌遺書文心雕龍殘卷集校 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1991).

20 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang xieben 'Denglou fu' chongyan" 敦煌寫本登樓賦重研, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 special issue 2 (1962), 511–514. *Wenji*, 11:532–540. Translated in this volume, 189–206.

21 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuangben 'Manyu hua' ba," 敦煌本謾語話跋, *Dongfang* 東方 (1968). *Wenzhe*, 1:443–449. *Wenji*, 8:234–240.

22 Paul Demiéville and Jao Tsung-i, *Airs de Touen-houang=Touen-houang k'iu: Textes à chanter des VIII^{e}–X^{e} siècles manuscrits reproduits en fac-similé*, Mission Paul Pelliot.

the Qing dynasty, tracing their origins back through the Song and Ming, and publishing *Ciji kao* 詞籍考 (Bibliographic examination of *ci*). With this deep foundation in *ci* studies, and with the excellent working conditions and direct access to manuscripts that he enjoyed in Paris and London in 1965, Jao was able to print clear facsimiles of a number of Dunhuang *quzi ci* poems never before seen, including two Russian manuscripts of *quzi ci* that were otherwise very hard to obtain.[23] *Dunhuang qu* was thus a great contribution to scholarship.

In addition to *quzi ci* and *za qu* 雜曲 (mixed [line-length] *qu*), *Dunhuang qu* also collected a number of *zan* 贊 (encomia), *ji* 偈 (*gāthās*), and other Buddhist poems that Wang Zhongmin's 王重民 *Dunhuang quzi ci ji* 敦煌曲子詞集 (Collected *quzi ci* from Dunhuang) did not include.[24] It also provided collation notes and corrected a number of errors that were a significant improvement on prior sources. The new materials in *Dunhuang qu* were also of great benefit to the study of history, as, for example, with the poem "Kai Yutian" 開于闐 (Open Khotan) to the tune of "Ye Jinmen" 謁金門 (Paying homage at the golden gate), which is an important and previously unattested source for the history of relations between Dunhuang and the kingdom of Khotan.[25] Moreover, *Dunhuang qu* provides a practical treatment of a number of topics: the dating of *qu* at Dunhuang; problems of *qu* authorship; the origins of *ci*; the relationship between *ci* and Buddhist *qu*; musical and dance performance; the music of Kucha; and a number of other topics. The book also has indexes that reference the chronology of Dunhuang *qu*, a rhyme chart, a tune-name index for the manuscripts, and other such tools for the reader's convenience; in sum, it is an essential source for any further research in Dunhuang *qu*.

Documents conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale ; 2 (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971). Chinese version, *Dunhuang qu* 敦煌曲 collected in *Wenji*, 8:679–926.

23 See Yang Liansheng's 楊聯陞 review of *Airs de Touen-houang*, "Rao Zongyi, Dai Miwei hezhu 'Dunhuang qu'" 饒宗頤、戴蜜微合著敦煌曲, *Qinghua xuebao* 14:2 (1972), 224–8, found in Yang Liansheng, *Yang Liansheng lunwenji* 楊聯陞論文集, (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 242–7; Su Baohui 蘇寶輝, "'Dunhuang qu' pingjie" 敦煌曲評介 *Xianggang zhongwen daxue zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 香港中文大學中國文化研究所學報 7:1, reprinted in *Dunhuang lunji xubian* 敦煌論集續編 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1983), 301–320.

24 Wang Zhongmin 王重民, *Dunhuang quzi ci ji* 敦煌曲子詞集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1950).

25 See Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Guanyu Dunhuang chutu Yutian Wenxian de niandai jiqi xiangguan wenti" 關於敦煌出土于闐文獻的年代及其相關問題, *Jinian Chen Yinke xiansheng danchen bainian xueshu lunwenji* 記念陳寅恪先生誕辰百年學術論文集, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989), 291.

Nonetheless, Jao was not satisfied with this accomplishment, and he continued to fill in gaps and supplement omissions, further authoring many subsequent articles on the topic: "Quzi 'Ding xi fan'—Dunhuang quzi shibu zhi yi" 曲子定西蕃—敦煌曲子拾補之一 (A supplementary point on the Dunhuang *qu* to "Ding xi fan"),[26] and "'Chang'an ci,' 'shanhuazi' ji qita—Daying bowuyuan cang S.5540 Dunhuang dace zhi quzici" 長安詞、山花子及其他—大英博物院藏 S.5540 敦煌大冊之曲子詞 ("Chang'an *ci*," "Shan huazi" and others—the big book of *ci*, in the British Museum collection, S.5540).[27] Jao also further elaborated on a number of additional topics, in several articles, including "Xiaoshun guannian yu Dunhuang foqu" 孝順觀念與敦煌佛曲 (The concept of filial piety and Dunhuang Buddhist *qu*),[28] "Dunhuang quzi zhong de yao mingci" 敦煌曲子中的藥名詞 (Drug names in Dunhuang *quzi*), "Fa quzi lun—cong Dunhuang ben 'San gui yi' tan 'changdao ci' yu quzi ci guanshe wenti" 法曲子論—從敦煌本〈三皈依〉談 "唱道詞" 與曲子詞關涉問題 (On "Fa *quzi*" [dharma *quzi*]—a discussion of the relationship between "Changdao ci" [lyrics for Singing about the Way] and the Dunhuang manuscript of "San gui yi" [the three pillars of faith]), and others. Ren Bantang's 任半塘 1989 *Dunhuang geci zongbian* 敦煌歌詞總編 made a few inaccurate points of criticism about *Dunhuang qu*.[29]

In recent years, Jao has often reexamined the topic of *quzu ci* and a number of related questions. His subsequent writings include "Hou Zhou zhengli yuezhang yu Song chu cixue you guan zhu wenti" 後周整理樂章與宋初詞學有關諸問題 (On questions related to the editing of *yuezhang* in the Latter Zhou and *ci* scholarship in the early Song);[30] "Cong Dunhuang suo chu 'Wang

26 Jao Tsung-i, "Quzi 'Ding xi fan'—Dunhuang qu shibu zhi yi" 曲子《定西蕃》—《敦煌曲》拾補之一, *Xinshe xuebao* 新社學報 5 (1973), 1–3. *Wenji*, 8:932–934.

27 Jao Tsung-i, "'Chang'an ci,' 'shanhuazi' ji qita—Daying bowuyuan cang S.5540 Dunhuang dace zhi quzici" 長安詞、山花子及其他—大英博物院藏 S.5540 敦煌大冊之曲子詞, *Xinya xuebao* 新亞學報 11:1 (1974), 49–59. For French translation see Jao Tsung-i, Hélène Vetch, tr., "Note sur le Tch'ang-Ngan Ts'eu," *T'oung Pao* 60 (1974), 1–3. *Wenji*, 8:950–959.

28 Jao Tsung-i, "Xiaoshun guannian yu Dunhuang foqu" 孝順觀念與敦煌佛曲, *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 1 (1974), 69–78. *Wenji*, 8:935–949.

29 Tr note: This refers to notes in Ren Bantang 任半塘 [Ren Na 任訥], *Dunhuang geci zongbian* 敦煌歌辭總編, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), especially pp. 1–58, on *Yunyao ji*, and throughout.

30 Jao Tsung-i, "Hou Zhou zhengli yuezhang yu Song chu cixue you guan zhu wenti—you Dunhuang wupu tan Hou Zhou zhi zhengli yuezhang jian lun Liu Yong 'Yue zhang ji' zhi laili" 後周整理樂章與宋初詞學有關諸問題—由敦煌舞譜談後周之整理樂章兼論柳永〈樂章集〉之來歷, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo jikan* 中國文哲研究所集刊 [Taiwan] 1 (1991), 25–38. *Wenji*, 12:207–226. Translated in this series as "Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories in the Later Zhou Dynasty and Issues relating

Jiangnan,' 'Ding fengbo' shenlun quzi ci zhi shiyongxing" 從敦煌所出〈望江南〉、〈定風波〉申論曲子詞之實用性 (A discussion on the practical uses of lyrics to tunes, emerging from lyrics to the tunes "Wang Jiangnan" and "Ding fengbo");[31] "'Tangci' bianzheng" 唐詞辯正 (A disputation setting "Tang *ci*" straight);[32] "Dunhuang ci zhaji" 敦煌詞札記 (Notes on Dunhuang *ci*),[33] and others. He also edited and reprinted the rare book, *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan* 李衛公望江南 (Li Weigong's [collection of lyrics to the tune of] "Wang Jiangnan") preserved at National Central Library in Taipei, in which he clarified his own view on *quzi ci*.[34] As Jao once said,

> 念平生為學，喜以文化史方法，鉤沉探賾，原始要終，上下求索，而力圖其貫通；即文學方面，賞鑑評騭之餘，亦以治史之法處理之。
>
> I yearn to learn for my whole life, and take joy in methods of cultural history, casting my hook deep into mystery, tracing the beginning and grasping the end, seeking and searching above and below, striving forcefully to link it all together. As to literature, in addition to appraising and appreciating it, I also approach it with historical methods.[35]

In the realm of *quzi ci*, he has done exactly as he says.

My expertise lies outside the study of *ci*, so regarding Ren Bantang's criticisms, I do not dare to make any pronouncements of my own. However, as to Ren's periodization of some of the lyrics, like those of the *Wutaishan quzi ci* 五台山曲子詞 (*quzi ci* on Mount Wutai), based on a historical approach to these works, one can only say that these works are products of the Later Tang

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to the Study of Lyric Song at the Beginning of the Song Dynasty: from Dunhuang Dance Scores discussing the Later Zhou Dynasty's Rearrangement and Reorganisation of Musical Repertories together with the Origins of Liu Yong's Anthology of Musical Repertories," in Jao Tsung-i, Colin Huehns tr., *Harmoniousness: Essays in Chinese Musicology* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), vol.1: 276–311.

31 Jao Tsung-i, "Cong Dunhuang suo chu 'Wang Jiangnan,' 'Ding fengbo' shenlun quzi ci zhi shiyong xing" 從敦煌所出〈望江南〉、〈定風波〉申論曲子詞之實用性, *Di er jie Dunhuangxue guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 第二屆敦煌學國際研討會論文集, (Taipei: Taiwan Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1991), 395–400; reprinted in *Wenji* 8:1068–1094.

32 Jao Tsung-i, "'Tangci' bianzheng" 唐詞辯正, *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 4:4 (1992), 109–118. A version of this essay is translated in this volume, pp. 147–179.

33 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang ci zhaji" 敦煌詞札記, *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 4:4 (1992): 119–20. *Wenji* 8:1095–7.

34 Jao Tsung-i ed., *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan* 李衛公望江南 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1990). "Xulu" 序錄 preface in *Wenji*, 12:227–232.

35 *Wenzhe*, "Xiao yin," i.

dynasty (923–937), rather than the Wu Zhou 武周 (690–705).[36] Jao's contributions to Dunhuang literature are multifaceted, the fruits of which are collected in *Wenzhe* 文轍 (Patterned [i.e. literary] cart-tracks), published by Taiwan Xuesheng shuju in 1991.[37]

Jao is an expert player of the *guqin* 古琴, and has a mastery of music theory. As early as the 1960's, he noticed that there were some very precious music charts (*yuepu* 樂譜) and dance charts (*wupu* 舞譜) among the lost writings preserved at Dunhuang, so he wrote "Dunhuang pipapu duji" 敦煌琵琶譜讀記 (Reading notes on the Dunhuang *pipa* charts)[38] "Dunhuang wupu jiaoshi" 敦煌舞譜校釋 (Collation and explanation of the Dunhuang dance charts),[39] becoming one of the pioneers in this field of research. Since the 1980's, Jao has published a series of articles, including "Dunhuang pipapu 'Huan xi sha' canpu yanjiu" 敦煌琵琶譜浣溪沙殘譜研究 (Research on the fragmentary *pipa* chart of "Huan xi sha");[40] "Dunhuang pipa pu yu wupu zhi guanxi" 敦煌琵琶譜與舞譜之關係 (The relationship between Dunhuang *pipa* charts and dance charts);[41] "Dunhuang pipapu xiejuan yuanben zhi kaocha" 敦煌琵琶譜寫卷原本之考察 (Inspecting the original Dunhuang *pipa* chart manuscript);[42] "Lun '□ ·' yu yinyue shang zhi 'ju tou' [dou]" 論□ ·與音樂上之「句投」（逗）(A discussion of [rectangle, dot] and the pause in musical punctuation);[43] "Dunhuang pipapu shishi de lailongqumai" 敦煌琵琶譜史事的來龍去脈 (The Dunhuang *pipa* charts in the context of surrounding historical events),[44] and

36 See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Dunhuang wenxian he huihua fanying de Wudai Songchu zhongyuan yu xibei diqu de wenhua jiaowang" 敦煌文獻和繪畫反映的五代宋初中原與西北地區的文化交往 *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 2 (1988), 55–62.

37 Jao, *Wenzhe*.

38 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang pipapu duji" 敦煌琵琶譜讀記, *Xinya xuebao* 4:2 (1960), 243–277. *Wenji*, 8:1333–1368.

39 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang wupu jiaoshi" 敦煌舞譜校釋, *Xianggang daxue xueshenghui jinxi jinian lunwenji* 香港大學學生會金禧紀年論文集 (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue xueshenghui, 1962).

40 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang pipapu 'Huan xi sha' canpu yanjiu" 敦煌琵琶譜浣溪沙殘譜研究, *Zhongguo yinyue* 中國音樂 1 (1985): 50–51. *Wenji* 8:1369–1375.

41 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang pipa pu yu wupu zhi guanxi" 敦煌琵琶譜與舞譜之關係, Presented at "Guoji Dunhuang Tulufan xueshu huiyi" 國際敦煌吐魯番學術會議 (International conference on Dunhuang and Turpan studies), (Hong Kong, June 1987).

42 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang pipapu xiejuan yuanben zhi kaocha" 敦煌琵琶譜寫卷原本之考察, *Yinyue yishu* 音樂藝術 4 (1990): 1–2. *Wenji*, 8:1162–4.

43 Jao Tsung-i, "Lun '□ ·' yu yinyue shang zhi 'ju tou' [dou]" 論□ · 與音樂上之「句投」（逗）, *Zhongguo yinyue* 3 (1988) 3 (1988): 5–6. *Wenji*, 8:1247–1254.

44 First published as Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang pipapu de lailongqumai sheji de shishi wenti" 敦煌琵琶譜的來龍去脈涉及的史實問題, *Yinyue yanjiu* 3 (1987): 47–49. Collected in *Wenji*, 8:1290–1297, as "Dunhuang pipapu shishi de lailongqumai" 敦煌琵琶譜史事的來龍去脈.

a number of others. Jao's greatest contributions in these articles lie in the periodization of *pipa* charts and in analyzing the structure of *qu* forms.

All of Jao's articles on these topics are also collected in the volumes *Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜 (*Pipa* charts from Dunhuang)[45] and *Dunhuang pipapu lunwenji* 敦煌琵琶譜論文集 (Collected essays on *pipa* charts from Dunhuang).[46] Two articles on the subject, Li Jian's 黎鍵 "Rao Zongyi guanyu Tang-Song gupu jiepai jiezou jihao de yanjiu" 饒宗頤關於唐宋古譜節拍節奏記號的研究 (Jao Tsung-i's research on the rhythm and meter notation in Dunhuang *pipa* charts);[47] and Chen Yingshi's 陳應時 "Du Dunhuang pipapu—Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yanjiu Dunhuang pipapu de xin jilu" 讀敦煌琵琶譜—饒宗頤教授研究敦煌琵琶譜的新記錄 (Reading *Dunhuang pipa pu*; Prof. Jao Tsung-i's new research works on Dunhuang *pipa* charts),[48] have both discussed Jao's work in this domain in detail, so I will not say any more here.

4 In Worm-Scripts and Bird-Words, Seeking Texts; for Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa, Sourcing Discourse—Research on History and Languages

In the domain of historical research as well, Jao has used Dunhuang manuscripts in ways that have gained the close attention of the scholarly world and opened up new fields of study. The introduction of Chan Buddhism to Tibet is a key topic in the history of cultural interaction between the Tibet and China, yet prior to Jao, most research in this area was conducted by scholars from Japan, Europe, and North America. Beyond Demiéville's publication translating and annotating the "Dunwu Dasheng zhengli jue xu" 頓悟大乘正理決序 ([Wang Xi's] preface to "The Judgement on sudden enlightenment being the true principle of the Great Vehicle") manuscript held at Paris,[49] Jao found the S.2572 manuscript in London and wrote "Wang Xi dunwu dacheng zhengli jue

45 Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1990).

46 Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang pipapu lunwenji* 敦煌琵琶譜論文集 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1990). *Wenji*, 8:1129–1385.

47 Li Jian 黎鍵 "Rao Zongyi guanyu Tang-Song gupu jiepai jiezou jihao de yanjiu" 饒宗頤關於唐宋古譜節拍節奏記號的研究, *Dunhuang pipapu*, 155–171. *Wenji*, 1304–1329.

48 Chen Yingshi 陳應時, "Du Dunhuang pipapu—Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yanjiu Dunhuang pipapu de xin jilu" 讀敦煌琵琶譜—饒宗頤教授研究敦煌琵琶譜的新記錄, *Jiuzhou xuekan*, 4:4 (1992), 121–125.

49 Tr. note. This text is preserved in P.4646; for a French translation and study see Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa : Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de La Chine au VIII^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, (Paris: Collège de France, 1952), 23–43.

xushuo bing jiaoji" 王錫頓悟大乘正理決序說並校記 (Comments and collation notes on Wang Xi's preface to the "Judgement on sudden enlightenment being the true principle of the Great Vehicle").[50] In this work, on the basis of manuscripts and related Chinese and Tibetan language materials, Jao undertakes a deep investigation of the doctrinal discourse, history, geography, and chronology of Chan Buddhism's introduction to Tibet. Jao also authored two other articles on this topic: "Shenhui menxia Moheyan zhi ru Zang jian lun Chanmen Nanbei zong zhi tiaohe wenti" 神會門下摩訶衍之入藏兼論禪門南北宗之調和問題 (On the entry of Shenhui's disciple Moheyan to Tibet, and on problems of reconciliation between northern and southern schools of Chan Buddhism);[51] and "Lun Dunhuang xianyu Tubo zhi niandai" 論敦煌陷於吐蕃之年代 (On the chronology of Dunhuang becoming part of Tibet).[52] The former is important in that it discusses the origins of Moheyan's methods, the latter in that it uses documents from Dunhuang to substantiate Demiéville's claim that Dunhuang became part of Tibet in year three of the Tang dynasty's Zhenyuan reign period 貞元三年 (787).[53] The last three articles mentioned above belong to a seminal period of research works on this very complicated question. And from just this example it is readily apparent that Jao's mode of study has often enabled him to grasp the key problems in a new scholarly paradigm and produce foundational works.

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50 Jao Tsung-i, "Wang Xi dunwu dacheng zhengli jue xu shuo bing jiaoji" 王錫頓悟大乘正理決序說並校記, *Chongji xuebao* 崇基學報 9:2 (1970), 127–148. Also collected in Jao, *Xuantang jilin, shilin* 選堂集林·史林 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 2:713–770; *Wenji* 8:104–171.

51 Jao Tsung-i, "Shenhui menxia Moheyan zhi ru Zang jian lun Chanmen Nanbei zong zhi tiaohe wenti" 神會門下摩訶衍之入藏兼論禪門南北宗之調和問題, *Xiangang daxue wushi zhounian jinian lunwenji* 香港大學五十周年紀念論文集 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University department of Chinese, 1964), 173–181; reprinted in *Wenji* 8:86–103.

52 Jao Tsung-i, "Lun Dunhuang xianyu Tubo zhi niandai" 論敦煌陷於吐蕃之年代 (On the chronology of Dunhuang becoming part of Tubo) *Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化 9:1 (1971), 1–57; Collected in Jao, *Xuantang jilin*, *shilin* 2:672–696. *Wenji* 8:60–85.

53 This claim is more or less correct; although it is only Zhenyuan year three 貞元三年 (787) when relying on a calculation of twelve full years [from a prior event] recorded in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書; in fact to do so overcalculates by one year. See Ikeda On 池田溫, "Chō-nen junigatsu Sō Ryūzō chō" 丑年十二月僧龍藏牒, *Yamamoto hakusi kanreki kinen Tōyōshi Rōnso*山本博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1972), 737n.6. At present, the scholarly consensus [for the start date of the Tibetan period at Dunhuang] is Zhenyuan year two (786), see Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, "Toban shihai jidai" 吐蕃支配時代, *Tonkō no rekishi* 敦煌の歷史 (Tokyo: Daitōshuppansha, 1980), 197–198; and Chen Guocan 陳國燦, "Tangchao Tufan xianluo Shazhoucheng de shijian wenti" 唐朝吐蕃陷落沙州城的時間問題, *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 1 (1985):1–7.

If one fans through *Xuantang jilin—shilin* 選堂集林·史林, which starts in the Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周 periods [*c.*20th through 10th c. BCE] and runs through the Ming 明 and Qing 清, [up to 1912] what is discussed therein is broad-ranging in the extreme. And in several of the papers, even when Jao is not directly discussing Dunhuang manuscripts, the sources are always there at his fingertips, ready to hand whenever they come to mind. Like for example in Jao's "Lun guwen Shangshu fei Dongjin Kong Anguo suo biancheng" 論古文尚書非東晉孔安國所編成 (The ancient-text *Revered Documents* canon was not compiled by Kong Anguo of the Eastern Jin),[54] he cites the P.2549 manuscript of the "Guwen Shangshu kongzhuan mulu" 古文尚書孔傳目錄 as evidence to show that it was compiled by Kong Anguo 孔安國 (b. mid-2nd c. BCE), the governor of Linhuai 臨淮, during the Western Han. In "Muhu ge kao" 穆護歌考 (Investigation of "Muhu ge"), he draws widely from historical sources and theories about the Zoroastrians and Manicheans at Dunhuang, to present a number of novel viewpoints.[55] Another paper, "Weizhou zai Tang-fan jiaosheshi shang zhi diwei" 維州在唐蕃交涉史上之地位 (The status of Weizhou in the history of the Tang-Tibetan relations), uses the P.2522 manuscript "Zhenyuan shidao lu" 貞元十道錄 (Record of the ten circuits in the Zhenyuan [785–805] period) to make some examinations and corrections.[56] Jao's "Lun qiyao yu shiyiyao—Dunhuang Kaibao qinian (974) Kang Zun piming ke jianjie" 論七曜與十一曜—敦煌開寶七年（974）康遵批命課簡介 (On the Seven Luminaries and Ten Luminaries—An introduction to the "Kang Zun fortune telling session" from Kaibao year seven [974]),[57] uses the P.4071 manuscript to argue that the [astral divination text] *Yusi jing* 聿斯經 (Yusi Canon) is from the Dulai River 都賴水 in the western regions. Moreover, using materials from Dunhuang as evidence, he examines and advances the argument that *qi yao* 七曜 (Seven

54 Jao Tsung-i, "Lun guwen Shangshu fei Dongjin Kong Anguo suo biancheng" 論古文尚書非東晉孔安國所編成, *Xuantang jilin, shilin*, 1:398–410. *Wenji*, 4:175–187.

55 Jao Tsung-i, "Muhu ge kao" 穆護歌考, *Xuantang jilin, shilin*, 2:472–509; *Wenji* 12:7–43.

56 Jao Tsung-i, "Weizhou zai Tang-fan jiaosheshi shang zhi diwei" 維州在唐蕃交涉史上之地位, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, Academia Sinica] 39:2 (1969): 87–94.; rpt. *Xuantang jilin, shilin* 2:656–671; *Wenji* 8:42–59.

Tr. note: for a description of these unique *Shidao lu* 十道錄 geographical works, see Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, Imre Galambos, trans. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 375–7.

57 Jao Tsung-i, "Lun qiyao yu shiyiyao—Dunhuang Kaibao qinian (974) Kang Zun piming ke jianjie" 論七曜與十一曜—敦煌開寶七年（974）康遵批命課簡介 (Les sept planètes et les onze planètes: étude sur un manuel astrologique daté de 974 par K'ang Tsouen, le manuscrit P. 4071), in M. Soymié, éd., *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang* (Genève: Droz, 1979), 77–85. Rpt. *Xuantang jilin; shilin*, 771–793; *Wenji*, 8:172–196.

Luminaries) has two meanings, one deriving from the Manichean concept of Seven Luminaries (*qi yao* 七曜) and one deriving from the traditional Chinese concept of *qi zheng* 七政 (Seven Rulers). Another article, "Sanjiao lun jiqi haiwai yizhi" 三教論及其海外移殖 (The doctrine of the three teachings and its transplantation abroad), cites the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Xin ji xiaojing shiba zhang* 新集孝經十八章 (New compilation of the *Classic of Filial Piety* in eighteen chapters) to demonstrate the Tang court's philosophy of blending the Three Teachings [Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism]; he also shows that manuscript S.5645 of Liu Yan's 劉晏 (*c.*716–780) *Sanjiao buqi lun* 三教不齊論 (Discourse on the Three Teachings not being equal), is the text that the Japanese monks Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kūkai 空海 (774–835) took back to Fusang 扶桑 (Fusō; i.e. Japan).[58]

Ever since the Eastern Han (25–220 CE), when books in Sanskrit and other Western and Northwestern languages were circulated to China, their influence on the Chinese language has been tremendous. Nonetheless, in the time following Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969), scholars of Chinese history have rarely been familiar with Sanskrit. Jao once studied at India's Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and from the senior and junior Paranjpe undertook the study of the Brahmin classics,[59] including the *Rig Veda*, becoming conversant in Sanskrit and Pali. It is for this reason that Jao was able to reveal that Liu Xi's 劉熙 (fl. *c.*200 CE) *Shiming* 釋名 (Explanations of names) derives from the Brahmin classic, the *Nirukta*,[60] or that Han Yu's 韓愈 (768–824) "Nanshan shi" 南山詩 (Poem on South Mountain) was influenced by Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacharita*,[61] and other such discoveries not previously uncovered by others. Jao also used the Dunhuang manuscript of *Xitan zhang* 悉曇章 (Siddham tables), laying out

58 Jao Tsung-i, "Sanjiao lun jiqi haiwai yizhi" 三教論及其海外移殖, *Xuantang jilin; shilin*, 1207–1248; *Wenji*, 5:61–100.

59 Tr. note: Jao became acquainted with the son, Vasant Vasudeo (V.V.) Paranjpe (1921–2010) in Hong Kong; later, he traveled to Pune to study with the father, Vasudev Gopal (V.G.) Paranjpe (1887–1976).

60 Jao Tsung-i, "Niluzhilun yu Liu Xi de Shiming" 尼廬致論（Nirukta）與劉熙的《釋名》, *Zhongguo yuyan xuebao* 中國語言學報 [Journal of Chinese Linguistics] 2 (1985), 49–54; also in Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄 ed., *Koten no hen'yō to shinsei* 古典の変容と新生 (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1984), 1190–1196; also in Jao Tsung-i, *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian—xitan xue xulun* 中印文化關係史論集語文篇—悉曇學緒論 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shuju, 1990), 1–10; *Wenji*, 5:653–663.

61 Jao Tsung-i, "Han Yu 'Nanshan shi' yu Tanwuchan yi Maming 'Fosuoxing zan'" 韓愈南山詩與曇無讖譯馬鳴佛所行贊, [*Kyōto daigaku*] *Chūgoku bungaku-hō* [京都大學] 中國文學報19 (1963), 98–101. Rpt. in Jao, *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian—xitanxue xulun*, 118–122; *Wenji*, 12:123–127.

a discussion of the profound influence the four liquid sounds of Sanskrit, Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ had on Chinese literary works through history.[62]

Moreover, as to the meaning of *bian* 變, as found in the term *bianwen* 變文 [usually translated as "transformation texts"], which has been discussed abundantly in the field of Dunhuang studies, Jao points out in his article "Cong 'shanbian' lun bianwen yu tuhui zhi guanxi" 從「睒變」論變文與圖繪之關係 (On the Relationship Between Bianwen 變文 and Illustration, from the perspective of *Shanbian* 睒變 [Śyāma transformation]), that the term *shenbian* 神變 is a translation of Sanskrit *prātihārya* (miracle; wonder).[63] Later, when the American scholar Victor H. Mair examined in detail the Indian origin of the term *bian* 變 in his two books, *Tang Transformation Texts* and *Painting and Performance*,[64] it in fact did not really go far beyond the scope of what Jao wrote in this piece.[65] Many more short pieces are collected in Jao's *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwen pian—xitan xue xulun* 中印文化關係史論集語文篇—悉曇學緒論 (Collection of papers on the history of Sino-Indian cultural connections—publications on language—introduction to East Asian Sanskritology), which although short in length, are long in innovation.

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62 Jao Tsung-i, "The four liquid vowels Ṛ Ṝ Ḷ Ḹ of Sanskrit and their Influence on Chinese Literature (Note on Kumarajiva's *T'ung yun*, Tun-huang Manuscript S.344," *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 31–32 (1967–8; Dr. V. Raghavan Felicitation Volume); translated onto Chinese by Xu Zhangzhen 許章真, as "Fanwen si liumuyin Ṛ Ṝ Ḷ Ḹ yu qi dui Zhongguo wenxue zhi yingxiang" 梵文四流母音 Ṛ Ṝ Ḷ Ḹ 與其對中國文學之影響, in Guowai xuezhe kan zhongguo wenxue 國外學者看中國文學, ed. Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong tuixing weiyuanhui 中華文化復興運動推行委員會 (Taipei: Zhongyang wenwu gongying she, 1982), 179–94.; reprinted in Xu Zhangzhen, *Xiyu yu fojiao wenshi lun ji* 西域與佛教文史論集 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989), 203–18; and collected in Jao, *Zhong-Yin wenhua guanxishi lunji yuwenpian—xitanxue xulun*, 29–38; also collected in *Xuantang jilin—shilin*, 3: 1445–67; and in *Wenji* 5:733–744. There is also a Japanese translation by Kin Bunkyō 金文京 (Kim Mun'gyŏng) in *"Sasosukuritto no yottsu no ryū boin Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ, to sono Chūgoku bungaku e no eikyō—kumarajū no `tsūin' ni tsuite"* サソスクリットの四つの流母音 Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḷ, Ḹ, とその中國文學への影響–鳩摩羅什の「通韻」について, in *Chūgoku bungaku-hō* 32 (1980): 37–46.

63 Jao Tsung-i, "Cong 'shanbian' lun bianwen yu tuhui zhi guanxi" 從「睒變」論變文與圖繪之關係, in Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen jigyōkai 池田末利博士古稀記念事業會, ed., *Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen Tōyōgaku ronshū* 池田末利博士古稀記念東洋學論集 [Studies on East Asia Commemorating Dr. Ikeda Suetoshi's seventieth birthday] (Hiroshima: Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen jigyōkai, 1980), 627–40; reprinted in *Zhongyin wenhua guanxishi—yuwenpian-Xitanxue xulun*, 123–137.

64 Victor H. Mair, *Tang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Boston: Brill, 1989); and Victor H. Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis*. (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Pr., 1988).

65 Tr. Note: see Mair, *Tang Transformation texts*, ch. 3, especially 48–9, 190–1 n. 80, 88.

5 "Next Time Round, I Wish to Lead a Sutra Scribe's Life": Research on Calligraphy and Illustration

Of the art found at Dunhuang, it is the illustrations that the majority of people find most tantalizing, and the majority of researchers on the topic pay attention only to the wall paintings and silk scrolls. Jao, on the other hand, has the mind of a craftsperson, and noticed a number of illustrated materials in the manuscripts. Jao researched and annotated two of these manuscripts, P.2682 and S.6261, writing "A Postface to the Two Dunhuang Manuscript Fragments of the *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖 (White Marsh's Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies)."[66] Later, while he was in Paris, he collected stray line drawings, chalk-dust stencils (*fenben* 粉本), sketches, and other research materials of utmost importance, in the monograph "Dunhuang baihua" 敦煌白畫 (*Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang; The Line Drawing* [sic] *of Dunhuang*).[67] This bilingual French-Chinese edition, translated by Ryckmanns, with a preface and appendix by Demiéville, contains both pictures and explanations, draws together a clearer history of painting, and provides many lucid clarifications on the style, methods, and themes employed at Shazhou 沙州 [i.e. Dunhuang]. Jao later supplemented the book with some explanation on the meaning of *bai hua* 白畫 (line drawings), in his "Wei 'Xuanshi baihua' lun" 魏玄石白畫論 (On the Wei era 'dark stone painted in white').[68] Overall, the book fills an important lacuna in the study of Dunhuang paintings. In recent years, as Jao was able to visit Dunhuang several times in person and see the cave paintings with his own

66 Jao Tsung-i, "Ba Dunhuang ben *Baize jingguai tu* liang canjuan" 跋敦煌本《白澤精怪圖》兩殘卷, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 41:4 (12/1969), 539–543, reprinted in Jao Tsung-i, *Huaning: Guohua shi lunji* 畫韺—國華史論集 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1993), 199–208; *Wenji* 13:329–338.
Tr. note, translated in this volume, 119–144.

67 Jao Tsung-i, *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang: Manuscrits reproduits en fac-similé, d'après les originaux inédits conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris; avec une introduction en chinois par Jao Tsong-yi ; adaptée en français par Pierre Ryckmans ; préface et appendice par Paul Demiéville*, trans. Pierre Ryckmans (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1978); translated into English as Jao Tsung-i, *The Line Drawing* [sic] *of Dunhuang*, Christine To Ying-wah 杜英華 trans. (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-i Petite Ecole, University of Hong Kong, 2010). Chinese text in *Wenji*, 8:615–678.

68 Jao Tsung-i, "Wei 'Xuanshi baihua' lun" 魏玄石白畫論, *Xuantang jilin—shilin* 1:308–10; *Wenji*, 6:753–5.

eyes, he wrote a succession of articles on iconography of Liu Sahe 劉薩訶,[69] the vedas,[70] and Gaṇeśa.[71]

Many of Jao's works on the history of illustration are now collected in the book *Hua ning* 畫頸 (Painting's crown).[72] One of these, which is especially worthy of mention is the paper, "Wuxian Xuanmiaoguan shichu hua ji" 吳縣玄妙觀石礎畫跡 (Notes on the plinth illustrations from the Xuanmiaoguan in Wu county).[73] Based on a close study of the pillar plinth illustrations from the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 temple in Wu county 吳縣玄妙觀 [modern-day Suzhou 蘇州], preserved at Academia Sinica's Institute of History and Philology, Jao discusses the *Lingbao duren jing bianxiang* 靈寶度人經變相 (*Bianxiang* [transformation tableau] for the Lingbao *Scripture of Salvation*). While many are familiar with the *jingbian* 經變 (sutra transformation) paintings of Buddhism, Jao here reveals the relationship between *bianxiang* and *jingbian* in Daoist religion, citing also the *Daojiao tianzun bian* 道教天尊變 (Daoist Celestial Worthy *bian*) mentioned in the P.4749 manuscript, yet neglected by much of the broader discourse on *bianwen* and *bianxiang*.

Relatively speaking, Jao's most pathbreaking work on Dunhuang art is his systematic presentation of Dunhuang calligraphy. Early on, in 1961, Jao wrote "Dunhuang xiejuan zhi shufa" 敦煌寫卷之書法 (Calligraphy in the Dunhuang scrolls);[74] using the available images of the Stein collection scrolls, Jao printed the most excellent manuscripts as *Dunhuang shupu* 敦煌書譜 (Chart of Dunhuang writings). Later in 1964 and 1974, when he visited Paris, he also looked over the Pelliot collection and selected its most valuable pieces, under an expanded rubric, this time including representative examples of rubbings,

69 Jao Tsung-i, "Liu Sahe shiji yu ruixiang tu" 劉薩訶事跡與瑞像圖, *Yijiubaqi nian Dunhuang shiku yanjiu guoji taolunhui lunwenji* 1987 年敦煌石窟研究國際討論會文集 (Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1990), 336–349.

70 Jao Tsung-i, "The Vedas and the Murals of Dunhuang," Orientations 20.3 (1989), 71–76. Chinese version published as "Weituo yu Dunhuang bihua" 圍陀與敦煌壁畫, *Dunhuang-Tulufanxue yanjiu lunwenji* 敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1990), 16–26; *Wenji* 13:273–285.

71 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang shiku zhong de E'nisha" 敦煌石窟中的誐尼沙, *Jinian Chen Yinke jiaoshou guoji xueshu taolunhui wenji* 紀念陳寅恪教授國際學術討論會文集 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1989), 478–83.

72 Jao Tsung-i, *Huaning: Guohuashi lunji* 畫頸：國畫史論集 (Taipei: Taibei shibao chubanshe, 1993). Second edition reprinted by the University of Hong Kong, Jao Tsung-i Petit Ecole, 2016.

73 Jao Tsung-i, "Wuxian Xuanmiaoguan shichu hua ji" 吳縣玄妙觀石礎畫跡 *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* [Academia Sinica IHP Bulletin] 45:2 (1974), 255–309; reprinted in *Huaning*, 310–344; and *Wenji*, 13:376–410.

74 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang xiejuan zhi shufa" 敦煌寫卷之書法, *Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化 5 (1961), 41–44, plates I–XXIV; *Wenji*, 13:37–67.

canons and histories, etiquette manuals (*shuyi* 書儀), official reports/petitions (*diezhuang* 牒狀), poems and lyrics, sutra copies, and Daoist books. From these, Jao produced a twenty-nine volume collection, *Dunhuang shufa congkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 (Thicket of Dunhuang calligraphy), which printed the manuscripts in actual size (1:1), and was published between the years 1983 and 1986 by the Japanese publishing house Nigensha.[75] This series blended the most exquisite writings of the highest order into a single collection.

In every volume, Jao reveals the artistic value of each of the selected works. From a few examples, we can get a sense of what he says about the style of model calligraphic hands from every era:

> P.4506, *Jinguang mingjing* 金光明經 (Golden light sutra) from N. Wei Huangxing year five 皇興五年 (471 CE):
>
> > 結體盪，行筆逋峭，《刁遵》、《高湛碑》之勁美，兼而有之。論其書法藝術，頓挫行陣之中有一片渾穆氣象，謂為標準之魏法，可以當之無愧
> >
> > The composition of the characters has a swaying motion; the movement of the brush a precipitous grace. It possesses the power and beauty of the Diao Zun 刁遵 [grave tablet; inscribed 510 CE] and the Gao Zhan stele 高湛碑 [539]. As to its calligraphic art, in its cadence and formation of lines there is an atmosphere of unadorned simplicity; if one were to call for a standard Wei model, this could unabashedly serve that role.
>
> P.3471, *Renwang borejing xu* 仁王般若經序 (Preface to the *Humane Kings Wisdom Sutra*):
>
> > 書寫於陳世，必在天嘉以後，堅挺秀整，開唐人之先河，勁古而不媚俗，孰謂經生書為無足觀耶？
> >
> > Written during the Chen 陳, or Southern dynasty (Nanchao 南朝; 557–589), and it must be after the Tianjia 天嘉 period (550–566); its firm, erect, straight, and elegant lines are like the source that opened—like that trickle that became the great Tang river. It has an archaic vigor that does not pander to common tastes. Now who says the calligraphy of sutra scribes is not worth looking at?

75 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊, 29 vols., edited by Jao Tsung-i, (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1983–6).

P.2508 *Nanhua zhenjing Guo Xiang zhu* 南華真經郭象注 (Guo Xiang commentary to the *True Scripture of the Southern Sinosphere* [i.e. the *Zhuangzi*])

> 為唐初道書之精寫本。自袁桷誤題《靈飛六甲經》為鍾紹京筆，後人悉目此為經生書。此卷當亦屬經生書，〔《徐無鬼》卷〕意態飛動，尤為妍秀。因知經生書體類多姿，非僅《靈飛六甲經》一路而已也。
>
> A superb example of an early Tang Daoist manuscript. After Yuan Jue 袁桷 (1267–1327) mistakenly attributed the *Lingfei liujia jing* 靈飛六甲經 (Scripture of the six-*jia* pairs for summoning the Numinous Flyers) to Zhong Shaojing 鍾紹京 (659–746), later scholars all regarded it as work of a sutra scribe. This scroll must likewise be the calligraphy of a sutra scribe. [The "Xu wugui" 徐無鬼 chapter scroll] has a demeanor of drifting grace which is especially beautiful. Since we know that sutra scribes wrote in a diversity of hands, the case of the *Lingfei liujia jing* can hardly be an isolated example.

P.3994 *Ci wu shou* 詞五首 (Five *ci* poems)

> 字極拙重健撥，在歐、柳之間，毫鋒取勢，可與王《汝帖》第十二卷所收李後主書、《江行初雪》畫卷趙幹題字相頡頏，可定為五代時書風，在書法史上應為極難得之妙品。
>
> The graphs are bold and plain in the extreme, robust and jabbing, somewhere in the realm between Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641) and Liu Gongquan 柳公權 (778–865), concentrating power from the tip of the brush. It rivals the inscription written by Li Houzhu 李後主 (937–978) on his contemporary Zhao Gan's 趙幹 (fl. *c.*970) "Jiangxing chuxue" 江行初雪 (Traveling the river at first snow), [or Li's calligraphy] collected in *juan* twelve of Wang Cai's 王寀 (b. 1078) *Rutie* 汝帖 (Ruzhou rubbings). It is definitively a Five Dynasties calligraphic style, a marvelous work and exemplar of utmost rarity in the history of calligraphy.[76]

76 Tr. note: To arrive at my interpretation of this passage I have inserted a *dunhao* "、" prior to the title "Jiangxing chuxue" 江行初雪. Rong has transcribed the passage as per Jao's original, for which publications and republications read to the effect that Li Houzhu's 李後主 inscription on "Jiangxing chuxue" 江行初雪 is collected in the *Rutie* 汝帖, which is not the case. "Jiangxing chuxue" 江行初雪 is held by the Palace Museum in Taipei; the *Rutie* collects another example of Li's calligraphy. Jao cites *juan* 5 of Taibei Gugong

To be able to refer to these eloquent notes of commentary and appreciation while viewing at the accompanying prints is truly a great aesthetic enjoyment; the Japanese translation, however, often misses the subtle, literary charm of Jao's comments. These flaws have now been resolved in the revised Chinese edition, "Facang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua" 法藏敦煌書苑精華 (Essential anthology of Dunhuang calligraphy), [with Jao's notes in the original Chinese].[77]

Jao's rubric for including works in this anthology has three criteria, namely that the works: 1) possess aesthetic value as calligraphic art; 2) include concrete records as to their calligrapher or date of inscription; or 3) have historical value as documents or are representative of important books or documents. The manuscript texts collected include the following:

Exceptional works of calligraphy:

Three inscription rubbings, including: "Wenquan ming" 溫泉銘 (Hot springs inscription); "Huadusi ta ming" 化度寺塔銘 (Huadu temple pagoda inscription); and "Jingang jing" 金剛經 (Diamond Sutra)[78]

"Shiqi tie" 十七帖 (Thirteen models for calligraphy)
"Zhiyong zhencao qianziwen linben" 智永真草千字文臨本 (Handcopy of "Zhiyong's *zhencao*-style *Thousand Character Classic*")

Classical books and records:

Zhou yi 周易 (*Zhou Changes*)
Mao shi 毛詩 (Mao-recension *Classic of Odes*)
Guwen Shang shu 古文尚書 (Ancient-script recension *Classic of Documents*)
Shiji 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian)

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bowuyuan 台北故宮博物院, *Gugong shuhua lu* 故宮書畫錄 for the painting, so this is probably an error of editing. See Jao Tsung-i, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑精華, 8 vol. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993) 5:177. Collected in *Wenji*, 8:301–614, as "Fajing suocang Dunhuang Qunshu ji shufa tiji" 法京所藏敦煌群書及書法題記.

77 Jao, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua*. (see previous note.)

78 For the three preceding *tie* 帖 (calligraphy models; inscriptions) see Jao Tsung-i, "Lun Dunhuang shiku suochu san Tang ta" 論敦煌石窟所出三唐拓, *Yijiubasan nian quanguo Dunhuang xueshu taolunhui wenji; wenshiyishu bian* 1983 年全國敦煌學術討論會文集文史遺書編 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1987) 1:298–304.

Hanshu 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty)
Jin Chunqiu 晉春秋 (Jin recension *Spring and Autumn Annals*)[79]
Datang xiyuji 大唐西域記 (Great Tang record of the Western regions)
Shazhou tujing 沙州圖經 (Illustrated guide to Shazhou)
"Shu yi" 書儀 (Etiquette manuals)

Literati poetry and vernacular literature:

Wenxuan 文選 (Selections of refined literature)
Yutai xinyong 玉臺新詠 (New songs from the Jade terrace)
Gaoshi shi 高適詩 (Poems of Gao Shi)
Yunyao ji 雲謠集 (Cloud ballad collection)[80]
Wang Zhaojun bianwen 王昭君變文 (*Bianwen* on Wang Zhaojun)

Important writings and letters:

"Feng Changqing xiesi biao" 封常清謝死表 (Feng Changqing's memorial to the emperor made on the verge of death)
"Shazhou baixing shang Huihu kehan zhuang" 沙州百姓上回鶻可汗狀 (Petition to the Uighur Khan from the people of Shazhou)
"Cao Yuanzhong zhuang" 曹元忠狀 (Petition to Cao Yuanzhong)
"Dayunsi An Zaisheng die" 大雲寺安再勝牒 (Official report from An Zaisheng regarding the Dayun temple)

Buddhist sutras:

"Jinguang mingjing" 金光明經 (Golden light sutra), written on yellow silk[81]
"Dongdu fayuanwen" 東都發願文 (Vow of the eastern capital)[82]

79 For details on this title see Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang yu Tulufan xieben Sun Sheng Jin Chunqiu jiqi'chuan zhi waiguo' kao" 敦煌與吐魯番寫本孫盛晉春秋及其「傳之外國」考, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 4:2 (1986), 1–8; *Wenji*, 8:30–41.

80 Tr. Note: see Jao's notes to this translated in the present volume, 180–187.

81 Jao Tsung-i, "Le plus ancien manuscrit, date (471) de la collection Pelliot chinois de Dun-huang, P.4506, une copie du Jinguangming jing" 金光明經, *Journal Asiatique*, 269 (1981), 109–118; Chinese version published as "Bali cang zui zao zhi Dunhuang xiejuan, Jingangmingjing ba" 巴黎藏最早之敦煌寫卷《金光明經》跋, *Xuantangjilin—shilin*, 1:411–420; *Wenji*, 8:5–13.

82 Jao Tsung-i, "'Le voeu de la capitale de l'Est' 東都發願文 de l'Empereur Wu des Liang 梁武帝," *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang* vol. III (Paris: Ecole francaise d'extreme-orient, 1984), 143–154, pl. XVIII.

"Sheng jing" 生經 (Tales of the Buddha's origins; Jātaka nidāna)
"San jie fo fa" 三階佛法 (The Three Degrees Buddhist dharma)
"Yin ming ren zhengli lun" 因明入正理論 (Introduction to logic)
"Dacheng qixin lun lueshu" 大乘起信論略述 (Summary narration of The Awakening of Faith)

... And a number of others (for examples of Daoist scriptures, see those mentioned above).

For each of these manuscripts, Jao has included his philological notes, all of which have something inventive to add. Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 says: "these more than one hundred fifty summative notes are erudite and meticulous, crystallizing Jao's many years spent studying Dunhuang; this cannot be considered just an ordinary book on calligraphy."[83] Liu Cunren 柳存仁 says: "from 'Dunhuang calligraphy,' as [Jao] has examined and discerned it, one sees also the soundness of his consideration and completeness of his exploration."[84] Others have said of Jao that "his achievements excel at the six arts; his talents exhaust the nine capacities."[85] In my view, this Dunhuang calligraphy series is most representative of Jao's scholarship.

石窟春風香柳綠， Stone caves, a spring breeze, green of fragrant willow trees;
他生願作寫經生。 Next time round, I wish to lead a sutra scribe's life.[86]

These two lines of Jao's poetry, inscribed on a painting, truly and succinctly express the passion he had for Dunhuang art.

A few concluding words:

When Jao undertook his research on the lost books found at Dunhuang, his gaze was usually fixated on the big problems of Sinology. Nonetheless his

83 Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, "Yi bu yanjiu Dunhuang xiejing shufa de zhuanzhu" 一部研究敦煌寫經書法的專著, *Renmin ribao* 人民日報, 28 August, 1986.

84 Liu Cunren 柳存仁, "Xu" 序, *Qingzhu Rao Zongyi jiaoshou qishiwu sui lunwenji* 慶祝饒宗頤教授七十五歲論文集 (Xianggang: Xianggang zhongwen daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1992), i–ii.

85 Su Wenzhuo 蘇文擢, "Foguo ji hou xu" 佛國集後序, *Xuantang shiciji* 選堂詩詞集 (Hong Kong: Xuantang jiaoshou shiwen bianjiao weiyuanhui, 1978), 12.

86 Jao Tsung-i, "Mogao ku tibi" 莫高窟題壁, *Xuantang shiciji* 選堂詩詞集, 157; *Wenji*, 14:673.

discussion was rarely limited to Sinophone materials. Throughout antiquity or modernity, within China or the world beyond—wherever Jao's mind roams, his sources are ready to hand, and that is why he has so many inventive things to say. Jao's study of the Dunhuang materials makes it clear: he is unquestionably someone who "can lead the vanguard in today's field of Sinology."[87]

87 Shi Yuequn 施岳群 "Zai Rao Zongyi guwen jiaoshou pinshu banfa yishi shang de jianghua" 在饒宗頤顧問教授聘書頒發儀式上的講話, speech at Fudan University, November, 1992. Published in *Lun Rao Zongyi* 論饒宗頤, ed. Zheng Weiming 鄭煒明 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1995), 457–8.

Dunhuang Studies and Me 我和敦煌學

Jao's Own Autobiographical Account of His Journey through the Realm of Dunhuang Studies Research[1]

Dunhuang studies was set in motion early on in China. When I wrote *Xiejing bielu* 寫經別錄 (Notes on some written sutras, by scroll) back in 1987, I pointed out that in his *Yuan du lu riji* 緣督廬日記 (Diary from the Yuandu hut),[2] Ye Changchi 葉昌熾 (1849–1917) had already paid close attention to the discovery and dispersal of scriptures from the grottos, and made several important reports. Recently, Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 explained all of this much more thoroughly in his article, "Ye Changchi: Pioneer of Dunhuang Studies," published in *IDP News* 1997, issue 7.

In the 20th century, from the 80's up to now, Dunhuang studies in China has gradually come into its own as a prominent research field, and [Chinese] scholars, in their dash to catch up, have produced vibrant and stunning results. Publications, including curated photographic reproductions of collected scriptures from all manner of domestic and overseas collections such as the British, Russian, French, and Heishui (Khara-Khoto) collections, have come on like a deluge, nurturing and invigorating a new vanguard. Years ago, Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 bemoaned Dunhuang research as a history of scholarly heartbreaks. Now, however, it has become more proactive, having fought to regain much of its dignity. From now on, with facsimiles of overseas collections coming out one after the other, scholars need not travel thousands of miles overseas; anyone can take part in this research.

I have always thought of scrolls and artifacts from the Dunhuang Grottos as nothing other than supplementary historical materials. My research does not afford the leisure for detailed description and comparison of individual

1 First published as Jao Tsung-i, "Wo he Dunhuang xue" 我和敦煌學, in *Xuelin chunqiu—zhuming xuezhe zixu ji* 學林春秋—著名學者自序集, Zhang Shilin 張世林 ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 596–604; *Wenji*, 8:291–299.

2 Tr. note: "Yuandu lu" 緣督廬 (Yuandu hut) names Ye Changchi 葉昌熾, also known as Yuan 緣, but also points to a somewhat obscure proposition for self-preservation in chapter three "Yang sheng zhu" 養生主 in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "take tracing and observation as your warp-thread" (*yuan du yi wei jing* 緣督以為經) traditionally interpreted as "take following the center as your constant" 順中以為常; Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961 [2006]), 2B:115–7; Burton Watson tr., *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi* (New York: Columbia, 2013), 19, "Follow the middle; go by what is constant."

artifacts, because there are already a number of catalogues before us, like the British and French ones, which already have such detailed records. There is no need to redo this work. I like to use a unifying, syncretic method of reconstructing cultural history, using [the scrolls and artifacts] as ancillary historical sources, showing their significance for a particular problem of history; this is one aspect of how my focus differs from others'.

I received a couple of letters from Zhang Shilin 張世林, asking me to write "Dunhuang studies and me," but since I could hardly see myself fit for the honor, it took me quite some time to take up my brush. Rong Xinjiang has already written a critical overview of my research on Dunhuang, which can be found in *Xuantang wenshi lunyuan* 選堂文史論苑, published by Fudan University (pages 265–277).[3] See this article for a description of my important works and influence on scholarship; there is no need to repeat it all here. So here I will just discuss some lesser details worth recording, and try to recollect how I first encountered Dunhuang materials.

I first became fatefully entwined with Dunhuang studies when I undertook the work of collating the *Daodejing* 道德經. I began teaching in the Chinese department of Hong Kong University in 1952, at which time the *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 was an extremely uncommon rare book (*shanben*). I still remember when my friend He Guangzhong 賀光中, on behalf of the University of Malaya Library, purchased a copy from Tokyo, punctuated by Oyanagi Shigeta 小柳氣司太, for a truly exorbitant price. At that time, in Hong Kong and overseas, there were only two copies of the *Daozang*—it was truly a book of the utmost rarity. Because I took over for Tang Junyi 唐君毅, teaching his class on Laozi and Zhuangzi for three years altogether, I also studied the Suo Dan 索紞 *Laozi* manuscript, dated to the *jianheng* 建衡 reign period [269–271 CE], performing a very detailed collation and comparison of editions. I was very close to Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽, who was a forceful proponent of Dunhuang studies, and who, having personally seen over a thousand Dunhuang manuscripts, felt that there was no doubt whatsoever about [the authenticity of] the Suo Dan manuscript.[4] This study [of the Suo Dan *Laozi*

3 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Rao Zongyi jiaoshou yu Dunhuangxue yanjiu" 饒宗頤教授與敦煌學研究, in *Xuantang wenshi lunyuan—Rao Zongyi xiansheng ren Fudan daxue guwen jiaoshou jinian wenji* 選堂文史論苑—饒宗頤先生任復旦大學顧問教授紀念論文集, Fudan daxue zhongwen xi 復旦大學中文系 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 265–277.

Tr. note: this is an earlier version of the preceding article in this volume; see p.1 n.1.

4 See 葉公綽, "Jin Suodan xie taishang xuanyuan *Daodejing* juan ba" 晉索紞寫太上玄元道德經卷跋, *Juyuan yumo* 矩園餘墨 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 103.

fragment] was the foundation for my later, detailed investigation of the *Laozi Xiang'er zhu* 老子想爾注 (Xiang'er commentary to the *Laozi*). Precisely at this time, Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄 was shooting the microfilms of Aural Stein's collection, and Zheng Dekun 鄭德坤 was teaching at the University of Cambridge, I received the help of my friend Fang Jiren 方繼仁, and having entrusted him to purchase a set [on my behalf], I became, in the 1950's, the only person abroad who had this microfilm. [Against the microfilm,] I went through and collated Xiang Da's 向達 preliminary notes on Dunhuang manuscripts from the London collection in his *Tangdai Chang'an yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Tang Dynasty Culture in Changan and the Western Frontier).[5] This helped me build a bit of a foundation for Dunhuang studies. Also, when teaching *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (Literary mind and the carving of dragons), I provided the London grass-script manuscripts written by Tang scribes as a reference for my students. In 1962, Hong Kong University's *Zhongwen xuehui niankan* 中文學會年刊 published a special issue on the *Wenxin diaolong*, and at the end we printed this set of manuscripts, just as they were in the microfilm, as an appendix. At the time, I already suspected that between Enoki's photographs of page one and page two, there was an image missing. In 1964 when I was employed in Paris, I again went to London to compare the originals and found that indeed there was an omission. This reproduction in the special issue was in fact the first photomechanical print (albeit with missing pages) of a Tang edition, so it would be unfair to speak of editions without mentioning this one.

Bianwen 變文 originally refers to works accessory to the sutras. The genre originates from the *shuo* 說 (discourse) of a prior era; as Lu Ji's 陸機 *Wen fu* 文賦 (*Fu* on literature) says, "The discourse (*shuo*) dazzles and glitters, but is deceptive and deceitful."[6] As the *shuo* linked up with the teaching and chanting of Buddhists, and followed the development of Buddhism in China, it gradually evolved into a completely new transformed species of literature. But tracing backwards from the concept of *bian* 變 (transformation), literature has transformed species, art also has transformed species, and the two develop in lockstep, just as the phonetic and pictographic elements of a Chinese character accompany one another. The evolution of a character's pictographic elements are like the *xingwen* 形文 (imagistic aspect of literature); the evolution of a character's phonetic elements are like the *shengwen* 聲文 (sonic aspect of literature). Of the three literary aspects that Liu Xie 劉勰

5 Xiang Da 向達, *Tangdai Chang'an yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Beijing: sanlian shudian, 1957).

6 Tr. note: This line from Xiao Tong, ed., *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, trans. David R. Knechtges, 3 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), v. 3, 219.

(fl. late 5th c.) pointed out, *xingwen*, *shengwen*, and *qingwen* 情文 (affective/intellectual aspect of literature), the former two should both be understood in terms of graphs and characters. What we call *bianwen* should in fact encompass the twin imagistic transformation (*xingbian zhi wen* 形變之文) and sonic transformation (*shengbian zhi wen* 聲變之文) aspects of literature, and yet up to now those who discuss *bianwen* are still stuck on explaining its imagistic aspect. Ancient *yuefu* 樂府 lyrics still preserve the term *bian* 變, and all preaching and propounding of the sutras belongs to *shengbian* (sonic transformation). The diagram below attempts better illustrate the point:

FIGURE 1 Relations among imagistic and sonic transformations in *bianwen* 變文

I wrote an article in the inaugural issue of *Dongfang wenhua* that explains this in more detail,[7] to which Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 responded in the first issue of *Huaxue*.[8] *Changdao* 唱導 (public chanting) is vocal singing and chanting of Buddhist scriptures; what I call "the sonic transformation aspect of literature" (*shengbian zhi wen* 聲變之文) of *bianwen* is of this same type. While everyone is heatedly discussing *bianxiang* 變相 in relation to the imagistic transformation aspect of literature (*xingbian zhi wen* 形變之文), they are just discussing one aspect of *bianwen*; the sonic transformation aspect of literature remains relatively obscure, and even misunderstood. Wang Xiaodun 王小盾 has a profound awareness of this; it is too bad that many people to this day still cannot see it clearly. What Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494), the king of Jingling during the Southern Qi, discussed with the clergy at his residence at Mount Jilong,

7 Jao Tsung-i, "Cong *Jingbai daoshi ji* di yi zhong *Di shi* (*tian*) *yue ren banzhe qin ge bai* lianxiangdao ruogan wenti" 從《經唄導師集》第一種 "帝釋（天）樂人般遮琴歌唄" 聯想到若干問題, *Dongfang wenhua* 東方文化 1 (1993): 56–58.

8 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Bianwen de nanfang yuantou yu Dunhuang de changdao fajiang" 變文的南方源頭與敦煌的唱導法匠, *Huaxue* 華學, issue 1 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1995), 149–163.

was the problem of *zhuandu* 轉讀 (melodic incantation); this was in the interest of improving vocal skill and had nothing at all to do with tone. By the time of the Tang dynasty, the Music Office possessed a large number of vocalists who could be awarded to important ministers. The *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang) records a list of gifts that the Xuanzong emperor awarded to An Lushan 安祿山, among which is a category of vocalists; the number of vocalists in the "Yinyue zhi" 音樂志 of the new and old Tang official histories is in the tens of thousands.[9] The music agency (*yueying* 樂營) at Dunhuang had an agency director named Zhang Huaihui 張懷惠 (see P.4640) who was paired with Dong Baode 董保德, the head artisan in the painting profession and painting academy (see S.3929): one was tasked with vocal transformation, the other with imagistic transformation (i.e. *bianxiang*), and the two worked together. The aspect of sound in *bianwen* still requires more thorough investigation.

Another important area of interest for me is music and dance performances at Dunhuang, and when I first arrived in Paris in 1956, I saw manuscript P.3808, and I wrote a special article to supplement the previously unknown musical composition, "Pin nong" 品弄, which had been omitted from Hayashi Kenzō's 林謙三 photos. When word got out about my research in Ohara, Japan, I became acquainted with Hayashi Kenzō and Mizuhara Iko 水原渭江—the senior and junior, and conducted a bit of research on *wupu* 舞譜 (dance charts). In early 1997, I first suggested that the research problems of dance charts and music charts should be studied in unison, and when I lectured on the *pipa pu* 琵琶譜 (pipa charts) from Dunhuang, I carefully examined the original documents in the Paris collection and their brush marks. In fact [the charts] contain fragments written at three different time periods, which are glued together to make a long scroll, and it was in the fourth year of the Changxing 長興 reign period (933 CE) when the *jiangjingwen* 講經文 (sutra exposition text) was written on [the scroll]; it is a certainty that the *pipa* chart was written before this, and so [the manuscript] cannot be treated as a unitary work. Ye Dong 葉棟 is mistaken in treating these as one big *qu*-song. This view of mine has already received the affirmation of musicians.

My proposal that music, dance, and singing should be linked together attracted the attention of Xi Zhenguan 席臻貫, who facing grave illness had immersed himself in the study of music and dance, resurrecting it. Because he had a musical dance troupe, and I served as a consultant for him, he invited me to his performances on two of his visits to Hong Kong. During both times we took great joy in exchanging our views. On September 6th, 1994, I arrived in

9 Tr. note: Jao here refers to the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 and *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 histories.

Beijing, and was at my hotel reading the culture section of *China Daily* when I was deeply saddened by the terrible news that he was critically ill. When in July of 1995, a dance troupe from Dunhuang arrived in Hong Kong to give a performance in connection with an exhibition on the Mogao caves, I wrote a poem in regulated verse to commemorate him, which reads:

賀老纏絃世所誇	Here's to old twined-string, pride of the world,
紫檀掄撥出琵琶	Out of purple sandalwood, a *pipa* waves and plucks.
新翻舊譜〈胡相問〉	I read anew the old chart "*Hu* asks *hu*."[10]
絕塞鳴沙不見家	Sands sing past the border, no home seen.[11]
孤雁憂思生羯鼓	From the lone goose's troubles rise a *Jie*-drum beat,
中年哀樂集羌笳	A mid-life's joy and pain wells within the *Qiang*-flute.
潛研終以身殉古	He steeped in study, sacrificed his life for antiquity,
嘆息吾生信有涯	Alas, our lives do have their watery limit.

By this I expressed my grief.

Among my favorite things are the many varieties of art at Dunhuang, but especially the wall paintings. My many years working and traveling abroad has made it difficult to visit Dunhuang for extended periods of time to conduct in-depth research; I have only been able to do piecemeal studies of items that made their way overseas, and grope about a bit in topical issues. My studies primarily lie in the two domains of sketches and calligraphy. I feel profoundly the loss of true traces of Tang dynasty illustration; those works we attribute to Wu Daozi 吳道子 or Wang Wei 王維 are all later hand copies. In 1964, when I was working in Paris at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) I proposed two areas of research to Paul Demiéville, one of which was Dunhuang sketches. Later, I eventually completed *Dunhuang baihua* 敦煌白畫 (Line drawings from Dunhuang), published by l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 遠東學院. When I was young I studied portrait painting, sketching from live models, so I had a little bit of experience. I was especially inclined

10 Tr. note: this would seem to refer to a tune called "Ji hu xiang wen" 急胡相問, more literally, "The *hu*-barbarians ask one another, *allegro*," indicating a faster tune or section, found in the Dunhuang music charts, and in particular P.3808.

11 In a Dunhuang manuscript held by Zhuang Yan 莊嚴, the first line to a lost *ci* the tune of "Huan xi sha" reads "ten thousand miles of distant outposts, no sign of home; a yellow ribbon of road, exhausting the Mingsha (Singing sands) desert"《浣溪沙》佚詞，起句云「萬里迢亭不見家，一條黃路絕鳴沙」.

to investigate Tang dynasty techniques, and in Paris there were actual hole-pricked *fenben* 粉本 sketches to examine. And as I should also point out, it was only then that I realized that intermittent marks distributed above the holes were to aid in sketching the outline. This is why they are called *fenben* (chalk stencils; lit. chalk books). Recently, I read Sarah E. Fraser's *Dunhuang de fenben he bihua zhijian de guanxi* 敦煌的粉本和壁畫之間的關係,[12] which on the basis of my own research classifies five types of draft sketches, and identifies four types of wall paintings: silk banner paintings, *zaojing* 藻井 ceiling panels, and mandala paintings. Silk banner paintings I divide into two types of copying, *lin* 臨 live sketching and *mo* 摹 copying/tracing. Live sketching is done in accord with a model but does not trace a precise outline, whereas copying traces an outline completely. Paintings can be done in part by copying and in part by live sketching, and this is not exclusive to silk banner paintings.

As soon as I encountered all of Stein's microfilms, I gained a much greater appreciation of calligraphy and immediately wrote the article, *Dunhuang xiejuan de shufa* 敦煌寫卷的書法 (Calligraphy in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), which I attached to the *Dunhuang shupu* 敦煌書譜 (Chart of Dunhuang writings), published in 1961 by Hong Kong University in *Dongfang wenhua, juan* 5. Later, when I was living in Paris, I arranged some days to go to the Far Eastern department of the Bibliothèque nationale and read Dunhuang documents. First I carefully researched the earliest Northern Wei manuscript of the *Jinguang mingjing* 金光明經 (Huangxing 皇興 reign year five; 471 CE), and the *yonghui* 永徽 era (650–655 CE) rubbing of Tang Taizong's *Wenquan ming* 溫泉銘 inscription. This later expanded into a number of key sutra manuscripts, producing a number of topical research works, and aside from general explanations of a number of manuscripts, I also paid attention to a variety of calligraphic styles. After the autumn of 1980, when I was in Japan, [the publishing house] Nigensha 二玄社 invited me to edit the *Dunhuang shufa congkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 (Collected calligraphy from Dunhuang) series, a monthly which was printed three years in total, topic by topic, producing twenty-nine volumes.[13] Each of the works covered was subjected to a detailed study and analysis, although since the texts were translated into Japanese, it did not circulate broadly in China. Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 repeatedly told the authors that "the explanations of each document should be carried out with the utmost thoroughness—this should be a series of monograph topics that could each stand alone." To this day, I have still not had the time to carry this out. The series, however, has been reprinted in eight volumes by Guangdong

12 Hu Suxin 胡素馨 (Sarah E. Fraser), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 3 (1997), 437–443.

13 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Tonkō shohō ōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊, 29 vols. (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1983–6).

renmin chubanshe, as *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑菁華 (Exemplary writings from the French collection of Dunhuang manuscripts).[14]

In 1963 I published the book *Ciji kao* 詞籍考, and Paul Demiéville, aware of my meager studies of *ci* 詞 poetry, arranged to collaborate with me to write *Dunhuang qu* 敦煌曲. Because Ren Bantang's 任半塘 *Dunhuang qu jiaolu* 敦煌曲校錄 (Dunhuang *qu*, collated and transcribed) contained many emendations that did not accord with the original scrolls, and needed to be re-collated and compiled, I personally went to England to examine the original manuscripts, and made a few important discoveries, such as the collation of "Kai yu tian" 開于闐 with *Ye jin men* 謁金門, or the interlinking of the Wutai Mountain *qu* pieces, and so forth. Ren Bantang's later *Zongbian* had some points of disagreement with my work, especially in regard to *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 and the works of the Tang emperor Zhaozong 唐昭宗; I discuss these matters in a number of topical articles collected in my *Dunhuang qu xulun* 敦煌曲續論.[15] Another Dunhuang research topic I have worked on is the *Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 (Prince Zhaoming's collection of refined literature). The first thing I published on the topic was a unified index of Dunhuang *Wenxuan* manuscripts, and a detailed collation study of the "Xi jing fu" 西京賦 (Rhapsody on the western metropolis). Now I am incorporating related Turfan manuscripts and attaching some beautiful photos and a preface that will appear in the final monograph, coming out on Zhonghua shuju.[16]

The preface to the *Wenxuan* 文選 includes the phrase "After portraiture, the *zan* flourished," 圖像則贊興. I have explored this in detail, and in *Dunhuang baihua*, I have a chapter discussing the whole story of the *miaozhen zan* 邈真贊 (*zan* works on portraits). My friend in Paris, Chen Zuolong 陳祚龍 collected the three Dunhuang manuscripts containing the largest number of *miaozhen zan* works, P.3556 (on nine individuals), P.3718 (seventeen individuals), P.4660 (thirty-nine individuals), as well as a number of other records. With these, he put together a monograph, *Tang Wudai Dunhuang mingren miaozhen zan ji* 唐五代敦煌名人邈真贊集, initiating a new research topic, on which Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 and Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林 each continued to write. In 1991 and 1992, I again arranged with Xiang Chu, Jiang Boqin, and Rong Xinjiang

14 Jao Tsung-i, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑菁華, 8 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993).

15 Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang qu xulun* 敦煌曲續論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1995).

16 Tr. note: later published as Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Dunhuang Tulufan Wenxuan* 敦煌吐魯番文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000).

to do a new collection and collation, and we edited *Dunhuang miaozhen zan jiaolü bing yanjiu* 敦煌邈真讚校錄並研究.[17]

What we commonly call "Dunhuang studies," narrowly speaking, referred originally to the sculptures, murals, and documents from the Mogao Grottos. From a broader perspective, however, the term ought to encompass the history of the Dunhuang region and its artifacts. During the Han dynasty, the center of the Dunhuang region was the Hexi Four Cantons area (Hexi si jun 河西四郡), where a very significant number of slip documents from the Qin and Han eras have been recently excavated. There is also a huge cache of Western Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms era ceramics from Qijiawan 祁家灣. Documents excavated at Turfan also include epigraphs on Buddhist sutras from Ming'an 冥安 county, under the jurisdiction of Dunhuang canton. Thus, Dunhuang studies should be promoted in its broader sense—it should not be limited to the materials from the Mogao Grottos.

In 1987, I received assistance from the Hong Kong Institute for Promotion of Chinese Culture to convene an international conference on Dunhuang, in collaboration with the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In August of 1992, the center also helped me initiate a research project, establishing the Hong Kong Institute of Dunhuang and Turfan Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong's New Asia College, to recruit Chinese scholars to come to Hong Hong for research on specialized topics. There, I served as chief of collected publications and edited a special periodical. Formerly, I created the series *Dunhuangxue zhuan hao* 敦煌學專號 (Special topics in Dunhuang studies), published in *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊, which ran for four or five issues. Later, in collaboration with the Society for Dunhuang and Turfan Studies in Beijing, the Peking University Center for the Study of Ancient Chinese History, and the Research Institute for Chinese Culture in Thailand's Huachiew Chalermprakiet University, I ran a periodical called *Dunhuang tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, edited by Ji Xianlin 季羨林, Jao Tsung-i, and Zhou Yiliang. Each issue is about 300,000 characters, and so far we have published *juan* one (1996), *juan* two (1997), with *juan* three going to press now. Aside from this, the Hong Kong Institute of Dunhuang and Turfan Studies has subsequently published a series of monographs under my direction, for which we have eight publications so far. I proposed to compile *Bu Zizhitongjian shiliao changbian* 補資治通鑑史料長編 (Chronological series supplementing the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Governance* with historical materials), which collects loose and fragmentary documents by year of creation, beading them together like loose change

17 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, Xiang Chu 項楚, and Rong Xinjiang 荣新江, *Dunhuang miaozhenzan jiaolu bing yanjiu* (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1994).

into cash strings. After a few years of work, we already have some recognizable accomplishments.

Here I list the titles already published by the Hong Kong Institute of Dunhuang and Turfan Studies:

1) Jao Tsung-i, ed., *Dunhuang pipa pu* 敦煌琵琶譜 (Pipa charts from Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1990.
2) Jao Tsung-i, ed., *Dunhuang pipa pu lunwen ji* 敦煌琵琶譜論文集 (Collection of papers on Dunhuang pipa charts). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1991.
3) Xiang Chu 項楚, Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Dunhuang miaozhen zan jiaolu bing yanjiu* 敦煌邈真贊校錄並研究, edited by Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤. (Collated transcription and research on *miaozhen zan* [*zan*-poems on commemorative portraits] from Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1994.
4) Rong Xinjiang, ed. au., *Yingguo tushuguan cang Dunhuang hanwen fei fojiao wenxian canjuan mulu* (S.6981–13624) 英國圖書館藏敦煌漢文非佛教文獻殘卷目錄 S.6981–13624 (Catalog of non-Buddhist manuscript fragments from the Dunhuang collection in the British Library, nos, S.6981–13624). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1994.
5) Zhang Yongquan 張涌泉, *Dunhuang suzi yanjiu* 敦煌俗字研究 (Research on non-standard orthography from Dunhuang). Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996.
6) Huang Zheng 黃征, *Dunhuang yuwen congshuo* 敦煌語文叢說 (Thicket of [methodological] expositions on language and writing at Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1997. (Winner of the Dong Jianhua Humanities Prize 董氏文史哲獎勵基金)
7) Zhao Heping 趙和平, *Dunhuang Gantangji yanjiu* 敦煌本甘棠集研究 (Research on the *Birch-leaved Pear Collection* from Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2000.
8) Yang Ming 楊銘, *Tubo tongzhi Dunhuang yanjiu* 吐蕃統治敦煌研究 (Research on the Tibetan period at Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1997.
9) Jao Tsung-i, ed., *Dunhuang wensou* 敦煌文藪 (Essays on Dunhuang). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1999.

There are eight titles published so far in the series *Bu Zizhitongjian shiliao changbian gao xilie*, edited by Jao Tsung-i, as follows:

1) Wang Hui 王輝, *Qin chutuwenxian biannian* 秦出土文獻編年 (Excavated documents from the Qin dynasty, in chronological order). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2000.
2) Jao Tsung-i and Li Junming 李均明, *Dunhuang Hanjian biannian kaozheng* 敦煌漢簡編年考證 (Chronological Examination of Dunhuang wood slip documents). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1995.

3) Jao Tsung-i and Li Junming, *Xinmang jian Jizheng* 新莽簡輯證 (Collection of slip document evidence from Wang Mang's Xin dynasty [9–23 CE]). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1995.
4) Wang Su 王素, *Tulufan chutu Gaochang wenxian biannian* 吐魯番出土高昌文獻編年 (Gaochang documents excavated at Turfan, in chronological order). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1997.
5) Wang Su 王素 and Li Fang 李方, *Wei-Jin Nanbeichano Dunhuang Wenxian biannian* 魏晉南北朝敦煌文獻編年 (Dunhuang documents from the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, in chronological order). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1997.
6) Liu Zhaorui 劉昭瑞, *Hanwei shike wenzi xinian* 漢魏石刻文字繫年 (Stone inscriptions by year for the Han and Wei dynasties). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2001.
7) Chen Guocan 陳國燦 *Tulufan chutu Tangdai wenxian biannian* 吐魯番出土唐代文獻編年 (Tang dynasty documents excavated from Dunhang, in chronological order). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2002.
8) Li Junming, *Juyan Hanjian biannian* 居延漢簡編年 (Juyan Han slips, in chronological order). Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 2004.

Other titles now in progress are as follows:[18]

Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, *Loulan wenshu biannian* 樓蘭文書編年
Jiang Boqin, 姜伯勤, *Tangdai Dunhuang zongjiao wenxian biannian* 唐代敦煌宗教文獻編年
Rong Xinjiang and Yu Xin 余欣, *Wan Tang Wudai Song Dunhuang shishi biannian* 晚唐五代宋敦煌史事編年

Scriptures, scrolls, and pictures stored at the Mogao cave have been scattered in all directions, such that a rough account would put their total number at several tens of thousands. We are now doing a survey investigation that will provide comprehensive figures. These writings of utmost rarity have added no small number of research topics for our nation's cultural history; they have likewise opened up new disciplines of study and demanded the attention of scholars worldwide. In Europe, in recent years, and especially in London, there is now a periodical called *Newsletter of the International Dunhuang Project*

18 Tr. note: two titles listed here as "in progress" have not yet come out. The first is likely a revision of two articles by Hu Pingsheng 胡平生, "Weimo Jinchu Loulan wenshu biannian xilian (shang)" 魏末晉初樓蘭文書編年系聯(上), *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究, 1991 issue 1, pp. 67–77; and "Weimo jinchu loulan wenshu biannian xilian (xia)" 魏末晉初樓蘭文書編年系聯(下), *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究, 1991 issue 2, pp. 6–19.

(IDP). In addition to Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 of Japan, I have both been included as an [overseas] editor—for which I am somewhat embarrassed: I have been so occupied with studies of oracle bones and bamboo and silk manuscripts, that I have merely been able to list my name, follow their lead, and make my best effort to help promote their work.

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for the support of so many young Chinese scholars who have helped with the works discussed above, and hope that those with energy can further aid our efforts, so that we can continue to realize our shared aspirations. To pursue infinite knowledge with one's miniscule life is a project impossible to complete. The [foregoing] trickle of accomplishments is hardly worth speaking about, so I have hurriedly dashed this off with a deep sense of fear. I will stop here, in any case; it is time already to hand in this exam.

1998

PART 2

Dunhuang as Inspiration and Source

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Turfan—the Bodhisattva Whose Head Came Off
吐魯番—丟了頭顱的艹艹（菩薩）

This short essay, reflecting on a trip to Turfan, Dunhuang scribal practices, and violence in the name of faith, was first composed as Jao's address to an international conference on paleography at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.[1]

As soon as we arrived in Turfan, we took shelter under a grape trellis. Although outside the winds stirred up by the Crimson Flame Mountains (Huoyanshan 火焰山) reached over forty degrees Celsius, under this canopy of fresh, dewy greens and reds, people floated melons and immersed plums; our numinous palace still preserved some refreshing cool.[2] "War bones buried in the wasteland beyond" 戰骨埋荒外, was the price of the Tang Dynasty, for which Han families could import their grapes.[3] Now, ordinary people are accustomed to watering their own garden plots, but they can come to enjoy this inch of space, a verdant oasis in the desert, a realm of indescribable beauty.

Hanging high up above in the museum, what grabs my attention are Fuxi 伏羲 and Nüwa 女媧 with their tails entwined—dozens of images altogether—taken from Tang dynasty tombs, in which they originally were used to cover coffins. It reminds me of what is said in the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Classic of Converting the [Western] Hu-barbarians):

陰陽相對共相隨，	*Yin* and *yang* face each other, mutually trace each other
衆生享氣各自為。	All beings consume *qi*; each acts for itself
…	
劫數滅盡一時虧，	Multiple aeons extinguish one lifetime of loss,[4]

1 First published as Jao Tsung-i, "Tulufan—diule toulu de pusa" 吐魯番—丟了頭顱的艹艹（菩薩）, *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊 (1993) 9:39. Also collected in Jao Tsung-i, *Wenhua zhi lü* 文化之旅 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997), 41–3; *Wenji* 14:235–7.

2 Tr note: "Numinous palace" (*ling fu* 靈府) can refer also to one's inner place of reflection, the mind.

3 Tr. note: This phrase comes from the Tang poem "Gu cong junxing" 古從軍行 (Following Ancient Campaigns) by Li Qi 李頎 (690–751), collected in *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, comp. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998[1979]), 33.485.

4 Tr. note: *Jieshu* 劫數 may refer to the passage of multiple *kalpas* [aeons], but also is commonly used to describe one's inexorable fate.

洪水滔天到月支， Towering floodwaters reach to Yuezhi,
選擢選民留伏羲。 Picking out the chosen people, Fuxi's left behind.[5]

The ancient societies of the Western frontier also had their age of great floods, just like that in the *Bible*. Fuxi and Nüwa are the ancestors of humankind, just like Adam and Eve. That this story from Han soil was transmitted to the far Northwest is an especially fascinating surprise. Having passed through several graveyards, and having seen a few excavated Tang paintings, the work of craftspeople seems vibrant, multicolored, prismatic. It is truly "Wuchang's blue Azurite, Shu Canton's flowers of white cerussite, Linyi and Kunlun's yellow orpiment … distilled and refined into deep colors, and put to luxuriant use" 武昌之扁青，蜀郡之鉛華，林邑昆侖之黃（雌黃）……煉煎並為重采，鬱而用之—the words of Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 [fl. 9th c.] do not at all overstate it.

As we cross riotous thickets, ridges and ranges, dipping and rising along the mountain spine, the sun begins to fear the golden sands. Eyes blinded, tiring, it ducks down to hide, crimson instantly turning night-black. Just as when [King] David wrote psalms of protest and God took darkness as his hiding place. If "Heaven" does this, how much more does man! With halting, sluggish footsteps we clamber into the grotto. All around we see sculptures, almost all of which have had their heads chopped off; all that remain are the incomplete bodies, shocking and eerie. Sometimes [the tune] *Pusaman* 菩薩蠻 (Bodhisattva barbarian) is written as *Pusaman* 艹艹曼 in Dunhuang texts. In Buddhist classics, sutra scribes often lazily abbreviate *pusa* 菩薩 (bodhisattva) as *pusa* 艹艹, which is always striking. It's as if they are trying to emphasize the bodhisattva's head. It is a shame that as soon as [the bodhisattvas] fell into the embrace of Islam, [the conquerors] so cruelly chopped off their heads; this is a narrowminded expression of religion. From Turfan west and in caves throughout Kucha, there are no bodhisattvas that did not suffer this fate. The tenets of Islam do not tolerate outside religions. Does not the Quran say: "… lo! Allah (Him-self) is an enemy to the disbelievers" [2:98]?[6]

Some years ago, when I began to study Sanskrit with an Indian friend, reciting Brahminic classics, my friend once told me sternly: "Your Qin Shihuang Emperor's burning of books and burying of scholars is nothing but child's play. We experienced a trial by fire under Arab power; all the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jainist clergy were murdered and the scriptures completely burned. Thankfully,

5 *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經, *juan* 10, *T* 2139 54:1269, see also Dunhuang, P.2004 in Huang Yongwu 黃永武 ed., *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏, comp. (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng, 1981), 112: 40.

6 Marmaduke William (Muhammed) Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* (New York; Knopf, 1930; rpt. Beltsville, MD, Amana Publications, 1999) 2:98.

the ancient practice of reading in India was not to ask the meaning of the texts, but purely to memorize them inside and out. Scholars were willing to spend thirty-six years of their lives memorizing the Four Vedas, which later they were able to recite and write down completely."

I replied: "The Mongols originally had planned to attack India. In 1221 Genghis Khan stationed soldiers at Tiemenguan 鐵門關 (Iron Gate Pass) in eastern India, and a one-horned beast appeared. Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 said to [Genghis Khan]: 'This beast is called a *jiaoduan* 角端, it is a portent to detest killing; would that you abide by the will of Heaven and spare the people of these countries.'" (See the *Yuanshi* 元史 "Taizu ji" 太祖紀 and *Chucai Shendao bei* 楚材神道碑).[7] Genghis Khan then withdrew his army. Yelü Chucai's "Liu xi shi" 柳溪詩 (Willow creek poem) thus has the line "The *jiaoduan* appeared—auspicious! The imperial battalion moved 角端呈瑞移禦營."[8]

If it hadn't been for this strange beast, I'm afraid India would early on have been etched into Mongolian territory, there might never have been the Arabian apocalypse, and history would have to be rewritten. What would be gained? What would be lost? Who could tell the difference?

The Chinese have established their nation by means of tolerance (*kuan-rong* 寬容), and Laozi's spirit of "He who tolerates, rules" (*rong nai gong* 容乃公) has had a profound effect on the mindset of the ruler. During the Li clan's Tang Dynasty, the adherents of the three teachings, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism, could mock and ridicule each other at court, yet at the same time could pursue dialogue with one another. This is totally impossible in the Islamic world. On the other hand, Han Yu's directive [about the Buddhist and Daoist clergy] to "turn their men into [lay]men and their books into ashes" 人其人，火其書 seems very narrow minded in comparison. During the Northern Wei, Cui Hao 崔浩 (d. 450) rejected and resisted Buddhism, and as retribution he was strapped to a crude cart and drowned [in urine].[9] It is no

7 "Yelu Chuchai" "Yelü Chucai" 耶律楚材, biography no. 33, in Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *juan* 146, 3456. Stone inscription in *Yuan mishi zhu* 元祕史注, comm. Li Wentian 李文田, 13.49b, in *XXSK* 312: 482.

8 *Yuan shi jishi* 元詩紀事, comp. Chen Yan 陳衍, coll. and punc. Li Mengsheng 李夢生 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 4.51.

9 Tr. note: The term *nikou* 溺口, literally to "drown in one's mouth" may allude to the pronouncement in the *Liji* 禮記 that "A common man drowns in water; a nobleman drowns in his words" (*xiao ren niyu shui; junzi niyu kou* 小人溺於水，君子溺於口). The same graph used as "drown," read *niao* 溺, also means "to piss." According to Cui Hao's biography in the *Weishu* 魏書, as retribution for some political transgressions, he "was placed in a cage and delivered to the city's south, where some tens of Wei soldiers were made to urinate on him, and his cries of 'Ao Ao!' were heard along the road" 被置檻內，送於城南，使衛士數十

wonder that the histories left behind by Buddhists have written volumes about him, tarring and feathering him in vivid detail.

The phenomenon of different faiths massacring each other due to mutual intolerance is a historical one that persists even in today's scientific cultural era. If we flip open Hebraic history, for extended periods, it reads simply as a history of religions chopping away at one another. Due to differences of faith, humanity has seen innumerable heads come clean off—even the Buddha can't seem to keep them on. "Like a clay *pusa* (bodhisattva) crossing a river" 泥菩薩過江, hardly able to save himself—that's precisely it! To think of facing such circumstances truly makes a person shudder.

人溲其上，呼聲嗷嗷，聞於行路. *Juan* 35, *liezhuan* 23, "Cui Hao" 崔浩 in Wei Shou 魏收 comp., *Weishu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 35.826.

Preface to *The Xiang'er Laozi, Annotated, Collated and Substantiated* 老子想爾注校證・自序

This piece, which appears at the beginning of Jao's philological study of the Xiang'er Laozi *and commentary from Dunhuang, is written entirely in literary Chinese, and mostly in parallel prose. In addition to blurring the line between literature and scholarship, it also serves to demonstrate the deep emotional connection that Jao had with his topics of research. The piece opens Jao's book on the Xiang'er, but in the original format it is most accessible to those that have already read the book cover to cover. In some cases, Jao annotated his own literature, but the notes below are those of the translator, many of which are based on Chen Wei's Chinese annotation of the text.*[1] *Parallel phrases are aligned to convey a sense of the structure.*

夫	As to
三元八會之說，	discourses on the Three Primordials and Eight Nodes,[2]
	and
四輔七籤之編，	writings of the Four Auxiliaries and Seven Labels—[3]
玄哉邈乎，	How mysterious they are!
奧不可議。	Are they not profound—too obscure to discuss?

1 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 and Chen Wei 陳偉 ed. ann, *Rao Zongyi cifu pianwen jianzhu* 饒宗頤辭賦駢文箋注 (Guangzhou, Jinan: JNU Press, 2016), 165–172.

2 The exact identity of *San yuan ba hui* 三元八會, or "three primordials and eight nodes" is, as Jao suggests, "obscure." In an early Shangqing context, they are probably connected to the *san cai* 三才, or trinity of heaven, earth and man, which added to the five elements (*wu xing* 五行) or five virtues (*wu de* 五德), makes eight, for "eight nodes." The numerology probably derives from the *bagua* 八卦 (eight trigrams) of Han apocryphal traditions. *Qi* from the primordials and nodes is understood to have condensed as celestial writs. For a detailed discussion see Wang Chengwen and Gil Raz tr., "The Revelation and Classification of Daoist Scriptures," in Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 AD) (2 Vols.) (Boston: Brill, 2010), 785–898, especially 776–781.

3 The Four Auxiliaries (*si fu* 四輔) and Three Caverns (*san dong* 三洞) make up the Daoist canon, in seven parts, of which the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Labels from the Cloud-Satchel; see note 4) is a series of extracts.

然表詮至理， Yet "posit correct truths to attain the ultimate pattern,"
語託乎紫微； are words from the mouth of Purple Tenuity;[4]
決定了知， when [the blockade] is fully channeled and understanding achieved,[5]
義通乎玉訣。 intentionality penetrates the Jade Secrets.[6]

而 And although
歷離日月， ordering and dividing the days and months,
雖遠溯於軒轅； may be traced back to Xuan Yuan,[7]
象物窈冥， how image and substantial things arise by means dark and dim,
終建言於苦縣。 were in Ku county finally set down in sayings.[8]

4 The phrases "the *writs* of the Three Primordials and Eight Nodes 夫三元八會之書" and "by positing correct truths, [one can] attain ultimate pattern" … 能表詮至理 are found in the *Yunji qiqian*, in which they are attributed to the Ziwei Furen 紫微夫人 (The Lady of Purple Tenuity) in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (DZ 1032, YJQQ 6: 20a–20b). On the origins of writing, see also a related passage in the *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected; DZ 1016, 1:8a–9a). For translations, see Wang and Raz, "The Revelation and Classification of Daoist Scriptures," 787, and Jihyun Kim, "Daoist Writs and Scriptures as Sacred Beings," *Postscripts* 10, no. 1–2 (August 2, 2019): 122–43, 126.

5 The term *jueding* 決定 can mean "to decide," although I read the component *jue* 決 (lit. "to channel through a blockade") here, as related to the often interchangeable *jue* 訣 (art, knack, secret method) used in the next line, and the imagery of *tong* 通 (non-obstruction).

6 *Yujue* 玉訣 (Jade Secrets) here is a blanket term for Daoist spells, incantations, and secret, occult methods.

7 The phrase, "ordering and dividing the days and months" 歷離日月, is found in the "Wudi de" 五帝德 (Virtue of the Five Emperors) chapter of the *Dadai liji* 大戴禮記, in a passage describing the Yellow Emperor, identified here by his personal name, Xuan Yuan 軒轅. See Huang Huaixin 黃懷信 et al. ed. ann., *Dadai liji huijiao jizhu* 大戴禮記匯校集注 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2004), 734–5.

8 According to the *Shiji* 史記, Ku County 苦縣, in the preimperial state of Chu 楚, is the birthplace of Li Er 李耳, i.e. Lao Dan 老聃, the historical Laozi. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, comm. Pei Yin 裴駰, notes Sima Zhen 司馬貞, subcomm. Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), "Laozi Hanfei liezhuan" 老子韓非列傳 no. 3, 63.2139.

The tern *Jianyan* 建言 established [= set-down] sayings, appears in *Laozi* ch. 41, for which see Lou Yulie 樓宇烈, *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經注校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018), 41.111.

That which
閱眾甫而不去， observes how things start and never departs,[9]
先天地以自生。 is born of itself before heaven or earth.[10]

是以 Thus,
玄覽之士， those who mirror the dark-mystery[11]
知所折衷； know what serves as the proper model;[12]
方術之流， those who practice [occult] methods and arts
隨時斟酌。 have poured and ladled it with the times.[13]
韓非顯〈喻〉， Han Fei revealed his *Illustrations* of it;
淮南著〈應〉。 Huainan composed his *Responses* to it.[14]
鄰氏抽其墜緒， Mr. Lin gathered its fallen thread-ends;[15]
安丘發其幽宗。 Anqiu issued its profound meaning.[16]
中壘祕閣， Zhonglei, in the palace library,
猶說四篇； discussed it in four bamboo books.[17]

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9 This line is based on *Laozi* chapter 21: "Those with the comportment of great virtue follow only the *Dao*. As to the *Dao*'s being a thing … from antiquity to now, its name has not departed, so that the origin of all things can be seen." 孔德之容，唯道是從。道之為物……自古及今，其名不去，以閱衆甫.
Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi 21.52–53.

10 Refers to *Laozi* ch. 25, *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi*, 25.62.

11 *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經注校釋, 10.23.

12 Here reading *lan* 覽 (examine) as *jian* 鑒 (mirror), following Gao Heng 高亨 and the Mawangdui manuscript variant. See Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 and Laozi., *Laozi gu jin* 老子古今 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 2009), 162.

13 *Fangshu* 方術 (methods and arts) encompasses divination, magical formulas, and other occult or technical arts. *Zhenzhuo* 斟酌, literally to ladle or pour wine into a cup, means figuratively to contemplate or ponder, although it implies here also borrowing or use.

14 *Illustrations* and *Responses* refer respectively to Han Fei's 韓非 (280–280 BCE) "Yu Lao" 喻老 (Illustrating the *Laozi*'s Meaning) and the prince of Huainan 淮南, Liu An's 劉安 (179–122 BCE), "Dao Ying" 道應 (Responses to the *Dao*) chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子.

15 This alludes to an early Lin lineage 鄰氏 *Laozi* containing a canon and commentary in four *pian*-scrolls 四篇, recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書 bibliography but otherwise lost. See Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, comm. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 [2013]), 30.1729.

16 Anqiu Wangzhi 安丘望之 (1st c. BCE) is known as the author of an early *Laozi* commentary in two *juan*, see Jao Tsung-yi 饒宗頤, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng* 老子想爾注校證 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991), 83.

17 Zhonglei 中壘 (capital garrison) is a name for Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), who served as Zhonglei xiaowei 中壘校尉 (Commandant of the Capital Garrison). Liu Xiang is discussed here in relation to the *Liu Xiang Shuo* Laozi in four *pian*-scrolls 劉向說老子四篇, listed in the *Hanshu*, 30.1729.

季長絳帳，　　Jizhang of the crimson canopy
有注成卷；　　had annotations on silken scrolls;[18]
世代悠遠，　　for generations into the distant past
曠乎莫傳。　　their non-transmission was vast.

至若　　Yet as for
輔嗣析其名數，　　Fusi, who analyzed its name and numbers,
知凡有皆始於無；　　and knew that "all being starts from non-being,"[19]
and
河上致其淵微，　　Heshang, who attained its profound wellspring,
謂不死在於玄牝。　　and found deathlessness in dark feminality,[20]
魏氏以來，　　ever since the Wei lineage [ruled China],
傳茲二學，　　these two schools have been transmitted.[21]
譬長夜之逢曉，　　Like when a long night encounters dawn;
亦　　or
萬派所朝宗焉。　　when the myriad tributaries approach their sea.[22]

降而下之，　　Down have they come,
代有明哲，　　with each generation they gain more wisdom,
講論彌精，　　with each discussion their refinement brims,

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18 Jizhang 季長 is the style name of Ma Rong 馬融 (79–166), known for having annotated the *Laozi*, among many other works. See Ma Rong's biography in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, comm. Li Xian 李賢 et al., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 60A.1953; see also same source 60A.1972.

19 Fusi 輔嗣 is the style name of Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), and the claim that "all being starts from non-being" 凡有皆始于無 is from Wang's commentary to *Laozi* ch. 1, in *Laozi* Daodejing *zhu jiaoshi* 1.1.

20 This refers to the Heshang Gong 河上公 commentary, in particular that to *Laozi* ch. 6, "The valley spirit does not die, this is called dark feminality" 谷神不死，是謂玄牝, to which the Heshang Gong commentary says: "This is to say that the way of deathlessness resides in the *xuanpin* 玄牝 (dark feminality; mysterious femininity). Darkness/mystery is heaven, and in the body corresponds to the nose; feminality is earth, and in the body corresponds to the mouth …" 言不死之道，在於玄牝。玄，天也，於人為鼻。牝，地也，於人為口. See *Laozi Daodejing Heshanggong zhangju* 老子道德經河上公章句, punc. and coll. Wang Ka 王卡, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 6.21, 23n.6.

21 The (Cao) Wei (曹) 魏 dynasty (220–266) marks the beginning of China's medieval period of disunity. "Two schools" refers to the dominant Heshang Gong and Wang Bi commentaries to the *Laozi*.

22 The term *chaozong* 朝宗, more literally, "to face the ancestral temple," here alludes to the "Yu Gong" 禹貢 (Tribute of Yu) in the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Venerated Documents), which contains the phrase "The Yangtze and Han River face their ancestor at the sea" 江漢朝宗於海, see Kong Yingda 孔穎達 ed. ann., *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 6.176.

記述益富，　　with every account their wealth increases,
遂盈閣而牣居，　　until it fills chambers and stuffs houses,
同充車而被軫，　　jams carriages and piles over carts;[23]
何其盛哉。　　Is it not magnificent!

緬惟安期受教，　　Recollect, if you will, how Anqi received the teaching;
事著於史傳；　　in the scribes' biographies the story is made clear.[24]
When
宮崇詣闕，　　"Gong Chong visited the imperial palace,"
語雜於巫覡。　　[his book] mixed in words of witches and warlocks.[25]
謂太平其可致，　　It said the Great Peace could indeed arrive
《青領》成書；　　when the *Blue-Green Headings* became a book;
豈漢之將終，　　How could the Han's luck not soon end,
黃巾發難。　　when the Yellow Turbans' began their revolt?[26]

23 From "With each generation …" to "… piles over carts": much of this language is borrowed from Sengyou's 僧祐 (445–518) "Zaluxu" 雜錄序 (Preface on assorted records) in *juan* 2 of *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (Collected notes from the [translation of the Tripitaka]) *T* 2145: 55.82c.

24 Anqi 安期 is a transcendent known from Han historical biographies, according to which he lived in Qi 齊, selling medicine by the seaside. One story relates a visit paid him by the Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 emperor (r. 221–210 BCE); another tells that he received his teaching from Heshang Gong. See Wang Shumin 王叔岷 ed. ann., *Liexian zhuan jiaojian* 列仙傳校箋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 1.70. and *Shiji* "Yue Yi liezhuan" 樂毅列傳 no. 68, 80.2427.

25 According to the *Houhan shu* 後漢書, during the reign of the Han Shun Emperor 漢順帝 (r. 125–144) a figure named Gong Chong 宮崇 visited the Imperial palace, to deliver a book his master, Gan Ji 干吉 (or Yu Ji 于吉), had discovered at Quyang Springs 曲陽泉, entitled the *Taiping qingling shu* 太平青領書 (Book of Great Peace with Blue-Green Headings). The book, described as "a work of the school of *Yin-yang* and the five phases" 以陰陽五行為家, "often mixed with the words of witches and warlocks" 多巫覡雜語, was collected by palace official and reported to the emperor as a "preposterous and unorthodox work" 妖妄不經. "See "Xiang Kai liezhuan" 襄楷列傳 (Biography of Xiang Kai), in *Hou Han shu*, 30B.1084. See also Kristopher Schipper, "The *Taiping jing*" in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, 1: 277–280.

26 The "Xiang Kai liezhuan" also indicates that the *Taiping qingling shu* presented by Gong Chong, eventually came into the hands of Zhang Jue 張角 (d. 184), whose Taiping Dao 太平道 movement led the Yellow Turban rebellion (184–185), contributing to the collapse of the Eastern Han in 220 CE. For some of the key sources, see Jao, *Xiang'er Laozi zhujiao-zheng*, 89, 90–91n.2.

丁三百五十年之厄，　Facing three hundred fifty years of hardship
為一百七十卷之文，　these hundred and seventy scrolls of text were made,[27]
大順陰陽，　following in great accord with *yin* and *yang*,[28]
用弭災異。　to suppress disasters and deviant events.

And then
乃有鶴鳴道士，　there was the Daoist Master of Crane Call Mountain,
造作鬼教。　who invented a demon religion.[29]
They
著三官之手書，　made handwritten petitions to the Three Offices,
置五斗之義舍；　and established charity lodges from five pecks;[30]

27 In 127 CE, also during the reign of the Han Shun Emperor, Yang Hou 楊厚 (72–153), a figure known for his omenological and astronomical knowledge, was summoned to court. Yang is said to have "laid out [predicted] three hundred and fifty years of hardship for the Han" 陳漢三百五十年之厄, and prescribed a number of changes in law, statute, and conduct. One hundred seventy is the number of scrolls in the *Taiping qingling shu*. The origins of the Celestial Masters sect relied on a form of millenarian utopianism, which posited a period of disasters followed by peace, see Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, comm. Li Xian 李賢 et al., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 30A.1048–1049; The figure of 350 may owe more to numerology than chronology.

28 The *Shiji*'s "Taishi gong zixu" 太史公自序 (Grand Scribe's Self-Narration) describes the "art of *yin* and *yang*"陰陽之術, as "to follow with the *dashun* 大順 (great flow; great accord) of *yin* and *yang*, adopting what is good from Ruism and Mohism, taking the key points of legalism and the school of names, and to move or adapt with the times, responding to the transformation of things, establishing customs and undertaking affairs, such that nothing is ever inappropriate …" 因陰陽之大順，采儒墨之善，撮名法之要，與時遷移，應物變化，立俗施事，無所不宜. *Shiji*, 130.3289.

29 This refers to Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (2nd c. CE), known as the founder of the Celestial Masters sect of Religious Daoism, and who according to scripture received a revelation from Laozi while on Heming shan 鶴鳴山 (Crane Call Mountain) in 142 CE. See Terry Kleeman, "Tianshi dao" 天師道 (Way of the Celestial Masters) in Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), v. 2, 981–986.

30 *Sanguan shoushu* 三官手書 (Handwritten documents for the three offices) were handwritten appeals for absolution from sin submitted to the three spiritual offices of heaven, earth, and water.

Wu dou 五斗 (five pecks; ~9 liters) of rice was the yearly tithe of the Celestial Masters, which was thus also known as "The Way of Five Pecks." The tithe was used in part to support *yishe* 義舍 (charity lodges) that provided meals to those in need and served as community centers. See Kleeman, "Tianshi dao," 984–5.

they
因五千文而都習，　followed the *Five Thousand Characters*, which everyone learned,
設廿四治以登真。　and set up twenty-four parishes, to ascend, perfected.[31]

They
敷揚妙義，　spread and promoted their marvelous doctrines,
風行蜀中，　which swept through the state of Shu;
they
翼讚玄言，　advanced and exalted mysterious sayings,
託遘《想爾》。　for which purpose they composed the Xiang'er.[32]

They
闡守一之旨，　explained the gist of guarding the One
攜契天人，　and the tally held by celestial beings;
they
勸長生之方，　encouraged methods for pursuing longevity,
先挫忿怒。　by first blunting vexation and anger;[33]

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31 Followers of the Celestial Masters read and memorized the text of the *Daodejing*, known also as the *Wu qian wen* 五千文 (Five Thousand Characters), starting with the core text, then studying the Heshang Gong and finally the Xiang'er commentary. See Jao, in *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng* 老子想爾注校證, 151.

The Celestial Masters established a system of twenty four (later twenty-eight and thirty-six) *zhi* 治 (parishes).

32 As Chen Wei 陳偉 points out, the language here is borrowed from the biography of Zhang Gang 張綱 in the *Hou Hanshu*, although the meaning Jao creates is quite different. Jao and Chen, 168. *Hou Han shu*, 56.1817.

33 As described in the the Xiang'er commentary to *Laozi* ch. 21, *shou yi* 守一 (guarding the One) is accomplished by properly establishing, promulgating, and observing the *jie* 誡 (戒; precepts, commandments) of the Way. Closely related to this is another Xiang'er comment to *Laozi* 20, which links the importance of guarding *jing* 精 (essence) in the body to proper conduct: "Whoever desires to treasure the essences needs to practice one hundred sorts of action and accomplish ten thousand sorts of merit. One should harmonize the five phases and banish all joy and anger. When on the left tally of the celestial officers, one has extra counts of life, the essences will maintain them" 夫欲寶精，百行當備，萬善當著，調和五行，喜怒悉去。天曹左契，算有餘數，精乃守之 (tr. Bokenkamp). The store of *jing* in the body, protected by following precepts and regulating the emotions, is watched over by a spiritual bureaucracy in which celestial officers keep a tally that confers longevity. As to regulation of emotions, negative ones are especially important, for which see also the Xiang'er commentary to "Blunt its sharp edges; regulate its vexations" 挫其銳，節其忿 in *Laozi* ch. 5', to which the Xiang'er says: "The 'sharp edge' refers to the heart as it is plotting evil. 'Vexations' means anger. Both of

they
本無為以去惡， regarded not-doing [bad] as the root for dispelling evil,[34]
立道教之元胎。 and planted Daoism's primordial seed.

係師定本， In the Lineage Master's recension,[35]
語助從刪， auxiliary graphs were kept or deleted,
such that
仙士可期， transcendent masters can expect
安平大樂。 peace, stability and great happiness.[36]

珠囊懸解， In the *Pearl Satchel*, as Xuan explains
傳三洞之複文； the transmission of the Three Caverns' talismanic writs;[37]

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these are things in which the Dao takes no delight. When your heart wishes to do evil, blunt and divert it; when anger is about to emerge, forgive and release it. Do not allow your five viscera to harbor anger and vexation. Strictly control yourself by means of [*jie* 戒] precepts of the Dao; urge yourself on with [the hope of] long life." 銳者，心方欲圖惡。忿者，怒也。皆非道所喜。心欲為惡，挫還之，怒欲發寬解之，勿使五藏忿怒也。自威以道誡，自勸以長生， See Jao *Xiang'er Laozi zhu jiaozheng*, 27–29, 58–9, 7; translations from Bokenkamp *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 114, 116 (see also notes), 80.

34 See *Laozi* ch. 37, "the Dao never does [bad], such that nothing is left undone" 道常無為而無不為. *Wuwei* 無為 in this passage is usually read as "effortless action," or "to do without trying," although the Xiang'er reads it as "to do [bad]," and alters a related phase in its version of *Laozi* ch. 3. See *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 46, 78; cf. Bokenkamp, 140–1 and notes, which seems to read *wei* 為 (to act; to do) as *wei* 偽 (to dissimilate; be false) in the text of the *Laozi* but not the commentary: "Since the Dao never acts falsely, nothing is left undone" 道常無為而無不為.

35 The Lineage Master, or Xishi 係師, is a name for Zhang Lu 張魯.

36 Jao notes that this phrase, made by combining two phrases in *Laozi* ch. 35', is a unique product of the Xiang'er commentary, yielding a reference to *shen dale* 甚大樂 (utmost great happiness), and the *le zhi fa* 樂治法 (method of happy governance) found in the *Taiping jing* 太平經. Jao 44, 59–61, 78; cf. Bokenkamp 138, 148 n. 59.

37 This seems to refer to Wang Xuanhe's *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 (Pearls Satchel of the Three Caverns), a collection of excepts that preserves important early textual fragments (see Charles Benn, "Sandong Zhunang," in Pregadio ed. *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 832–3). Jao, *Laozi Xiang'er zhu jiaozheng*, 90–91 n. 2, mentions that a fragment of the *Daoxue zhuan* 道學傳 (Biographies of Daoist Scholars) pertaining to the textual history of the *Taiping jing*, is found in the *Sandong zhunang*. *Juan* 1 mentions a Huan Kai 桓闓, who in the early Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557) had a copy of Gan Ji's *Taiping* [*qingling*] *jing* in three volumes. See *Sandong zhunang* 1.17a (DZ 1139,v. 25, 303).

真蹟宗門，　　The true traces of the ancestral teaching,
著卅輻之減字。　　are manifest in the missing graphs of "thirty spokes."[38]

惜乎　　How sorrowful it is:
時有夷隆，　　that there are times of flourishing and decline;
道有顯晦。　　that the Way may be revealed or obscured.

重以　　And to make things worse:
五季喪亂，　　in the chaos and destruction of the Five Aftermaths,[39]
祕軸揚灰，　　secret scrolls were turned to ash,
元憲焚經，　　Möngke Khan burned scriptures,[40]
玄都一炬；　　the City of Dark-Mystery was torched;[41]
遂使　　to the extent that
丹訣惟《北斗》之可徵，　　of [immortality's] cinnabar secrets, only the *Northern Dipper* is known,[42] and

38 This alludes to a quote of Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 preserved in Liu Dabin's 劉大彬 *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志, which discusses recensions of the *Laozi* that are exactly 5,000 or 4,999 characters long, the difference being whether "thirty spokes" is written as two characters or three (卅輻 vs. 三十輻, respectively). See also Jao, "'Sa fu' yu Zhang Zhennan ben" 卅輻 與張鎮南本, where Jao reconsiders the problem in light of the Mawangdui *Laozi*.

39 Here *wu ji* 五季 (five seasons), or "Five Aftermaths," refers to the *Hou Liang* 後梁 (Latter Liang), *Hou Tang* 後唐 (Latter Tang), *Hou Jin* 後晉 (Latter Jin), *Hou Han* 後漢 (Latter Han), *Hou Zhou* 後周 (Latter Zhou), all dynasties named after former periods of flourishing.

40 In 1256, the Mongol ruler Möngke Khan (here referred to by his posthumous Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368) title, Xianzong 憲宗), ordered Daoist monks from over two hundred monasteries to return to the laity and destroyed the texts and woodblocks of the *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on [Laozi's] Conversion of the Barbarians). In 1280 and 1281 under Kublai Khan, edicts called for the destruction of texts and printing block of all Daoist books other than the *Laozi*. See "Zhiwen chanshi taming" 至溫禪師塔名 in Yu Ji 虞集, *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道園學古錄 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), vol. 6, 48.803–805; and *Daoyuanxue gulu* 道園學古錄 and "Shizuji" 世祖記 in Song Lian 宋濂 et al., *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 11.222. Citations follow Chen Wei, 170 n. 48.

41 *Xuandu* 玄都 (City of Dark-Mystery) here refers to a legendary place of Daoist transcendents and gods.

42 Zhang Daoling has a *Taishang xuanling beidou benming yansheng jing* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生經 (Uppermost Dark-Mystery Numinous Northern Dipper Scripture for Extending Predestined Life; DZ 622). This text may preserve some early Celestial Masters material. See Jao, *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng*, "Zhang Daoling zhushu kao" 張道陵著述考, 95–6; Schipper and Verellen, 952–3.

《黃書》共西日而偕沒。 the *Yellow Writs*, as if accompanying the westbound sun, have disappeared.[43]

神隱子諒所未收， There were indeed [texts] Shenyinzi did not gather, and
正統《藏》於焉缺載。 it is there the *Zhengtong Daozang* comes up blank.[44]
鎮南古本， Zhennan's ancient book
空存其名； left nothing but its name;[45]
「想余」殊稱， the odd title "Xiang-yu"
靡由審辨。 could not be explained.[46]

Those who
陳篇黮闇， unfolded scrolls in inky darkness,
搜考無從， to search and research with no clue to trace;
嗜古之徒， those who love the ancient past—
蓋其閔矣。 must have lamented it indeed.

But,
清季莫高石窟， in the autumn of the Qing, at Mogao's caves of stone,
祕室啓扃。 the bar that sealed a secret room was thrown.
淹中佚禮， Lost *Rites* of Yanzhong, in the end,[47]

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43 This refers to a *Huang shu* 黃書 (Yellow writs or Yellow Book), attributed to Zhang Daoling but lost. See Jao *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng*, "Zhang Daoling zhushu kao" 張道陵著述考 93–4.

44 Chen Wei, 170, n. 51, locates this reference to a figure called Shenyinzi 神隱子 (Master Spirit Recluse) in the *Daozang lidai zunjing gangmu* 道藏曆代尊經綱目, which says: "After the chaos of the Huang Chao rebellion (874–884), what remained from the burning and scattering of the numinous texts and secret scrolls was dispersed and disordered. Fortunately, there was Shenyinzi, who assembled the remaining cinders, picked up the lost fragments, filled in lacunae, and restored the *Three Caverns Canons*" 黃巢之亂，靈文秘軸焚盪之餘，散無統紀。幸有神隱子收合餘燼，拾遺補闕，復為《三洞經》。 See "Daozang zunjing lidai gangmu" 道藏尊經歷代綱目, *Daozang quejing mulu* 道藏闕經目錄, 2, *DZ* 34: 516.

45 Zhang Zhennan 張鎮南 is the Celestial Master's founder figure, Zhang Lu 張魯, whose *guben* 古本 (ancient book; probably a recension, in this case), is mentioned in Tao Hongjing's *Dengzhen yinjue*.

46 The title "Xiang-yu zhu" 想余注, a miswriting of "Xiang'er zhu" 想尒（尔／爾）注, is recorded in Lu Deming's *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文, and was perplexing until the discovery of the Xiang'er *Laozi*.

47 *Yanzhong* 淹中 is a place name in the state of Lu 魯 during the Spring and Autumns period, corresponding to modern-day Qufu 曲阜 in Shandong 山東, Confucius' native place. *Yili* 佚禮, means literally "lost rites," or "lost etiquette," and refers to lost texts known as the *Yili* 儀禮 or *Li gu jing* 禮古經 (Ancient-script Rites Canon), allegedly recovered from the wall of Confucius's ancestral home during the W. Han. See *Hanshu* 30, 1709–1710.

竟隨橐駝而西征；　followed camel tracks on conquests west;[48]
《化胡》遺經，　and the lost scripture, *Converting the Barbarians*,[49]
亦逐青牛而東指。　which trailed the blue ox there, now gestured east.
天寶舊卷，　An old scroll from Tianbao times
足辨分毫；　suffices to discern a hair's half breadth;[50]
玄英《開題》，　The *Topical Introduction* by Cheng Xuanying
復資發覆。　allows the shadowy veil to lift again.[51]
　　But, most fortunately,
尤喜《想爾》殘注，　this partial *Xiang'er* commentary
歷劫猶新；　is after eons lost, now as if new;
於是　and thereupon,
正一明威之道，　the Way of the Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity,
晦而復彰；　once obscure, is now again revealed;[52]
　　so as to
三天柱下之注，　Three Heavens's commentary on *Below the Pillar*,[53]
微言弗墜。　its subtle words will never fall.

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48 This refers to explorers, most notably Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot, who removed artifacts from Dunhuang in the early twentieth century.

49 The *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on Converting the Barbarians) first composed around 300 CE by Wang Fu 王浮, a libationer of the Celestial Masters, tells the legend of the historical Laozi going west (driven by a blue ox) to convert the barbarians, (and thereby also becoming the founder of Buddhism). The text was at the center of polemical debates between Buddhist and Daoist clergy, and was banned and burned at times during the Tang and Yuan dynasties. Important fragments of the text were found in the Dunhuang library cave, including on manuscripts S.1857 and P.2007.

50 This refers to a *Laozi* manuscript fragment on P.2417 from Dunhuang, dated to 751 CE (*tianbao shizai* 天寶十載).

51 Cheng Xuanying's 成玄英 (fl. 631–50) *Laozi Daodejing kaiti* 老子道德經開題 (Topical Introduction to the Laozi's *Daodejing*), is an important preface to the *Lazi* now extant only in the Dunhuang manuscript P.2453. The reference to *fafu* 發覆 (uncovering; "lifting the veil") is from a dialogue in the "Tianzifang" 田子方 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, in which Confucius is illuminated by Laozi's wisdom; Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961 [2006]), 7B.716.

52 Reading *meng* 盟 (covenant) for *ming* 明 (clarity); *Zhengyi mengwei* 正一盟威 the Dao of Covenant with the Powers of Orthodox Unity, as it appears elsewhere throughout Jao's book.

53 Zhang Daoling's commentary on Laozi. "Three Heavens" stands in for Zhang Daoling; the Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 *Daode zhen jing shu waizhuan* 道德真經疏外傳 lists a Xiang'er "annotated by Zhang Daoling, Doctrinal Master of the Three Heavens" 三天法師張道陵所注. According to legend, Laozi served as a *zhuxia shi* 柱下史 (Scribe Below the Pillar) during the Zhou dynasty.

[I]

發南極之奧，　Unleash [Lady] Southernmost Pole's profundity,
眾音貴和；　and in the many tones esteem harmony;[54]
and
披《呂覽》之篇，　unfurl the *Lü lan's* scroll-book;
與元同氣。　so as to match primordial *qi*.[55]

頤以庸淺，　I nourish myself by means of rustic simplicity;[56] and
敢樂虛無。　dare to take joy in vacuous non-being.

Yet,
未絕學而生憂，　since I have not cut off learning, troubles arise;[57]
惟周行而不殆。　they are active everywhere and never slacken.[58]

爰以　So here I
講席閒時，　take idle time left after lectures,
to
廣事稽覽，　labor broadly and ferret things out;
短識與寸陰爭晷，　my scant percipience grapples with the sundial for an inch of shade,
like
駑馬同頹影競馳。　an old nag in hot pursuit of his haggard shadow.

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54 This points to a dialogue that Jao identifies in the *Zhen'gao* 真誥, between the Nanji Furen 南極夫人 (Lady Southernmost Pole) and the Taishang Zhenren 太上真人 (Utmost Perfected One), in which mastery of the Dao is compared to playing the *qin* 琴, a stringed instrument. Lady Southernmost Pole describes achieving centered harmony (*de zhonghe* 得中和) as a state in which "all tones come together in harmony, like a subtle performance of the eight tones" 眾音和合，八音妙奏矣. See Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, Zhengao 真誥, punc. and coll. Zhao Yi 趙益 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 6.102. To the phrase "The Dao is centered, and when implemented ..." 道沖而用之 in *Laozi* ch. 4, the Xiang'er comments "the Dao esteems centered harmony" 道貴中和. Jao, *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng*, 61–2.

55 This line quotes the *Lü lan* 呂覽, or *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, which attributes it to Huangdi 皇帝 (the Yellow Thearch). See Jao *Laozi Xiang'er zhujiaozheng*, 138; *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi* 呂氏春秋集釋, annot. Xu Weiyu 許維遹, coll. Liang Yunhua 梁運華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018), 13.287.

56 This line seems also to say "I, [Jao Tsung-] I, being rustic and simple," although the translation reads *yi* 頤 as "to nourish" so as to preserve grammatical parallelism.

57 *Laozi* ch. 20: "Cut off learning and there will be no troubles" 絕學無憂. *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 20.46.

58 *Laozi* ch. 25: "... active everywhere and never slackens" 周行而不殆. *Laozi daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 25.63.

稠適上遂，　　Are attuning and adapting so as to reach great heights[59]
奚以白心，　　a goal attainable by the pure of heart?
天地將傾，　　Heaven and earth on the verge of collapse are
欲問黃繚。　　What I wish to ask Huang Liao about.[60]

循誦此書，　　As I follow along and recite these writings
良資先覺，　　I rely indeed on luminaries past;
遊目棲神，　　where the spirit of my roaming gaze alights,
薄有微悟。　　I may meagerly enjoy a glancing insight
稍為軫發，　　These modest efforts to examine and pronounce
共數十事，　　make topics altogether ten in number.[61]

導彼渾灝，　　To guide us through this oceanic murk
等鑿竅於混沌；　　drills apertures that Hundun did not have;[62]
申其詰屈，　　to explain [the text's] contorted turns of phrase
肆雌黃于亥豕。　　dabs orpiment to cover both "roots" and "swine."[63]

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59 This line quotes the "Tianxia" 天下 (The World) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, where it is a comment on Zhuang Zhou's 莊周 grasp of the *zong* 宗 (ancestor; school): "As for the Ancestor, he may be said to have tuned and accommodated himself to it and to have risen on it to the greatest heights" 其於宗也，可謂稠適而上遂矣, from *Zhuangzi jishi*, 10B.1099; tr. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi* (New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 2013), 296.

60 *Zhuangzi*, "Tianxia": "... there was an eccentric from the south called Huang Liao, who asked [Hui Shi 惠施] why heaven does not fall and earth does not sink, and asked what causes wind rain and claps of thunder" 南方有倚人焉，曰黃繚，問天地所以不墜不陷，風雨雷霆之故. Hui Shi is portrayed as a sophist who holds forth on mysteries without humility or knowledge; Huang Liao thus serves as a foil. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, 10B.1112; Watson, *Zhuangzi*, 299.

61 Jao's book was originally divided into ten chapters.

62 This refers to the closing segment of the "Ying di wang" 應帝王 chapter of the *Zhuangzi*:

"The emperor of the South Sea was called Shu [Brief]; the emperor of the North Sea was called Hu [Sudden]; and the emperor of the central region was called Hundun [Chaos]. From time to time, Shu and Hu came together for a meeting in the territory of Hundun, and Hundun treated them very generously. Shu and Hu discussed how they could repay his kindness. 'All men,' they said, 'have seven openings so they can see, hear, eat, and breathe. But Hundun alone doesn't have any. Let's trying boring him some!'

Every day they bored another hole, and on the seventh day Hundun died" 南海之帝為儵，北海之帝為忽，中央之帝為渾沌。儵與忽時相與遇於渾沌之地，渾沌待之甚善。儵與忽謀報渾沌之德，曰：「人皆有七竅，以視聽食息，此獨無有，嘗試鑿之。」日鑿一竅，七日而渾沌死, from *Zhuangzi jishi*, 3B.309; tr. Watson, *Chuang-tzu*, 59.

63 Orpiment was used as correction fluid to cover errors.

In a story preserved in the "Cha zhuan" 察傳 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu*, Confucius's disciple Zixia, corrects a local of Wey 衛 who incorrectly reads "The Jin troops' three boars

To thus

蠡測管窺，　assess the sea with a calabash, and the heavens by peering through a pipe[64]

深慚博練。　makes me deeply ashamed before the learned and adept.

亦知　And especially, since I know that

百里之內，　within a radius of a hundred *li*;

芳草非無；　fragrant herbs are never lacking;[65]

and

千祀以外，　beyond a thousand years

蘭菊未絕。　[spring] thoroughworts and [autumn] chrysanthemums will not be cut short.[66]

冀微啓於今茲，庶有藉於來哲云爾。

Written in the hope that this might provide some small stimulation for scholars today, and so as to provide an aid for those to come.

丙申清明饒宗頤選堂序於香港大學中文系。

This preface inscribed by Jao Tsung-i (Xuantang), on Tomb Sweeping Day in the year *bingshen* (April 5th, 1956), in Hong Kong, at Hong Kong University's Department of Chinese.

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crossed the [Yellow] River" 晉師三豕涉河 for "The Jin troops crossed the [Yellow] River in the year of *jihai* [year 36 of 60]" 晉師己亥涉河. *Shi* 豕 (swine) is miswritten as *hai* 亥 (twelfth of the twelve earthly branches; grass "roots") "Roots" and "Swine" are thus here a graph and its graphic error, respectively. *Lüshi Chunqiu jishi*, 22.619.

64 This saying derives from the *Hanshu* biography of Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, in *Hanshu* 漢書, 65.2867.

65 The term "fragrant herbs" (*fang cao* 芳草) alludes to moral character or talent in the "Li sao" 離騷, and in numerous later works. See *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注, comm. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983 [2006]), 1.40. 何昔日之芳草兮，今直為此蕭艾也。 Cf. Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 76, lines 309–10, "Why have all fragrant flowers of days gone by/ Now all transformed themselves into worthless mugwort?"

66 This alludes to the last poem of the "Jiu ge" 九歌 section of the *Chuci* 楚辭, "Li hun" 禮魂 (tr. Hawkes, "Honouring the Dead"): "The rites are accomplished to the beating of the drums/ The flower-wand is passed on to succeeding dancers/ Lovely maidens sing their song, slow and solemnly/ Orchids in spring and chrysanthemums in autumn/ So it shall go on until the end of time" 成禮兮會鼓，傳芭兮代舞，姱女倡兮容與。春蘭兮秋菊，長無絕兮終古. Tr. David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1985), 118. *Chuci buzhu*, 2.84.

On the Northwest School of Chinese Landscape Painting 中國西北宗山水畫說

"Chinese landscape painting," is customarily used to translate the term shanshuihua 山水畫, *which means literally "mountain and water painting." Jao opens this essay by exploring the mountains and waters of northwest China that are the source of China's major rivers,*[1] *and were believed to lie at the center of the world. The term* Xibeizong *is translated here as referring to a "Northwest School" of landscape painting, but it also echoes the theme of source. The word* zong 宗, *or "school," refers to a source in the genealogical sense, most literally to the temples in which ancestors were worshipped, but metonymically to ancestors from which genealogies flow. One might perhaps understand the term* Xibeizong *to encompass a geological theory of the "ancestral northwest," from which China's rivers descend. Nonetheless, as an accident of the centrality of ancestor worship in the history of Chinese religion, the term* zong *also refers to religious "schools," which are in turn associated with schools of painting. Jao's "Northwest School," is defined in contrast to the "Northern" and "Southern" schools of landscape painting, associated respectively with the Northern and Southern schools of Chan* 禪 (*Zen*) *Buddhism. The "Northern" and "Southern" schools of landscape painting are stylistic rather than geographic distinctions* (*that is, one can practice Northern School painting in the south and vice-versa*). *In contrast, Jao is proposing a new school that* is *indeed rooted in the specific geography of northwest China and Central Asia, but is also stylistic in that its techniques address the unique landscapes of the northwest.*

1 The Concept of Land's Center and the Convergence of Chinese and Indian Geographic Knowledge

Sang Qin's 桑欽 (3rd c.) *Shuijing* 水經 (Water Classic) opens with the Yellow River, about which it says:

> 崑崙墟在西北，去嵩高五萬里，地之中也。其高萬一千里。河水出其東北陬，屈從其東南流，入于渤海。

1 This article was first published in Dunhuang yanjiu 敦煌研究, 6 (2006), 1–4, 10–12, 229. The Chinese version was edited by Hu Tongqing 胡同慶.

> The slopes of Kunlun, which lie in the northwest, fifty thousand *li* from the peak of Mt. Song, are the center of the earth [i.e. the center of land]. Its height is eleven thousand *li*, and the waters of the Yellow River emerge from its northeast foot, bending and flowing to the southeast, where it enters the Sea of Bohai[2]

The "Terrestrial Forms" 地形 chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 also says that "the slopes of Kunlun must be the center of the earth" 崑崙之丘，蓋地之中也.[3] The *Yellow river Chart*, "Images Enclosing the Earth" (*Hetu kuodi xiang* 河圖括地象) of the Han *Apocrypha* (*Weishu* 維書) says: "Mount Kunlun is the Heavenly Pillar, through which *qi* ascends unhindered to the heavens; Kunlun is the center of earth" 崑崙山為天柱; 氣上通天，崑崙者，地之中也.[4] Sang Qin lived in the Eastern Han, and saw Mount Song as the center of the Huaxia cultural sphere, whereas Kunlun, its peer or rival in the northwest, is the earth's center, and thus provides a removed perspective from which one might view Mt. Song at a distance. The "Treatise on Waterways and Canals" (Gouxu zhi 溝洫志) in the *Hanshu* 漢書 reads as follows:

> 齊人延年上書言:「河出昆侖，經中國，注勃海，是其地勢西北高而東南下也。可案圖書，觀地形……

> Yan Nian 延年 of Qi 齊 submitted a report which said: "The Yellow River comes out of Kunlun, passes through the Central Kingdoms and flows into the Sea of Bohai. This is because it is high in the northwest and low in the southeast; one can observe the earth's shape in the *tu* 圖 and *shu* 書.[5]

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2 Ming *Guang Han-Wei congshu* 廣漢魏叢書 print edition, collected by He Shizhen 何士鎮.
Tr. note: Some editions read *xu* 虛 (void) for *xu* 墟or *xu* 圩 (embankment; boundary; "slopes"); in the interpretation of Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, this refers to the source of the river in the Congling 蔥嶺 or Pamir high plateau. See Li Daoyuan 酈道元, 楊守敬 Yang Shoujing, and Xiong Huizhen 熊會貞, *Shuijing zhushu* 水經注疏 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1989), 1.

3 He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018), *juan* 4, 328–9.
Tr. Note: Jao omits a significant ellipsis; the passage refers to a place above Kunlun that "must be the center of the world" 蓋天地之中; cf. John Major et al., *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 157, which translates *gai* 蓋 as meaning "to cover" in this phrase "… forms a canopy over the center of the world."

4 Xu Jian 徐堅 et al., *Chuxue ji* 初學記 [*juan* 5] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 87.

5 Ban Gu 班固 comp., Yan Shigu 顏師古 annot., *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983 [2013]), *juan* 29, 1686.

Here, *tu* 圖 (charts) and *shu* 書 (books) refer to the *weishu* 緯書 (weft-texts, or apocrypha). When Yan Nian 延年 wrote his letter toward the end of the Han Wu Emperor's 漢武帝 reign (141–87 BCE), the Western Regions (Xiyu 西域) were already broadly traveled, the geography of India was known, and Buddhist religious tales had already entered the Sinosphere long before. Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 (*c.*466–527) commentary on the Yellow River entry in the *Shuijing* cites Kang Tai's 康泰 (2nd c.) *Funan zhuan* 扶南傳, which says:

> 恒水之源，乃極西北，出崑崙山中，有五大源，諸水分流，皆由此五大源。枝扈黎大江出山西北流，東南注大海。
>
> The source of the Ganges is in the northwest extreme. Emerging from the center of Mt. Kunlun are the five great sources. Every river that divides and flows comes from these five great sources. The Zhihuli dajiang 枝扈黎大江 (i.e. Ganges or Kati-Ganga), emerges from the mountain's northwest and flows southeast to the great sea.[6]

In the time of Sun Quan 孫權 (182–252), when Kang Senghui 康僧會 (d. 280) wrote the *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 (Six Pâramitâs Collection Sûtra), he used the "four great continents" to explain the location of the "seven treasures." This shows how Master Kang imported geographical knowledge from Sanskrit soil. Theories of four rivers or five rivers were current, as found in India's *Dīrgha Āgama* (Long Discourses)[7] and *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra* (Great Exegesis of Abhidharma).[8] The idea that Mt. Kunlun is the source of five rivers derives from these narratives. The Mt. Anouda mentioned in the Buddhist monk Dao'an's 釋道安 (312–385) *Xiyu ji* 西域記 (Record of the Western Regions) refers also to Mt. Kunlun, which in the Tang was called Wurenao 無熱惱 ("no anguish"; Skt. Anavatapta, "unheated").[9] Vasubandhu's (4th–5th c.)

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6 Li Daoyuan 酈道元 ann., Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, Xiong Huizhen 熊會貞 comm., *Shuijing zhushu* 水經注疏 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989), *juan* 1, 22.

7 Tr. note: The citation here is uncertain; The Chinese article identifies a *Chang ahan qishijing* 長阿含起世經, although the punctuation may be incorrect. The *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dīrgha Āgama*), *juan* 18; *T* 1: 1.117, reads "… these four great lakes emerge from the four great rivers" 彼四大池各出四大河. There is apparently a different translation of the text preserved in in *juan* 18–22 of the *Qishi jing* 起世經 (*Aggañña Sutta*), *juan* 1, which also mentions the "four great rivers"; *T* 24: 1.314.

8 *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (*Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra*), *juan* 2; *T* 1546: 28.14c.

Tr. note: The passage cited above mentions "five great rivers."

9 Tr. note: Wurenao 無熱惱 is usually understood as referring to Wurenaochi 無熱惱池, or Lake Anavatapta, known as the center of the world in Indian traditions. Here Jao seems to

[*Abhidharma*] *kośakārikā* (Abhidharma Storehouse Treatise; Chin. *Apidamo jushelun* 阿毗達磨俱舍論) refers to this as Gandhamadana (Ch. Xiangzuishan 香醉山), which is located in the Himalayas of Tibet. Much of this I have already written about; my article "Lun Shishi zhi Kunlun shuo" 論釋氏之崑崙說 (On The Buddhist Account of Kunlun Mountain) discusses it in detail.[10] The foregoing provides just a glimpse of the pattern formed by the intermingling of Chinese and Indian knowledge.

Gansu used to have a Kunlun zhang 昆侖障, also known as Kunlun Pass (Kunlun sai 崑崙塞), or "Little Kunlun" (Xiao Kunlun 小昆侖). According to the *Hanshu* "Dilizhi" 地理志 (Treatise on Geography), in Dunhuang Commandery, a commandant was established at Yihe 宜禾, to control Kunlun Pass.[11] Ma Ji 馬岌 (fl. 3rd c.) reported that there was a Xiwangmu temple 西王母宮 (Queen Mother of the West Temple) at Kunlun Pass, and there are numerous other accounts of the situation with Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368–433) and the Queen Mother of the West Temple, detailed in scroll thirty of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽.[12]

In Yin-Shang times (2nd millennium BCE) when Di Dawu 帝大戊 sent Wang Meng 王孟 to pick herbs, he left from Xiwangmu.[13] Ever since Han times, the Xiwangmu temple has been a key strategic point in the northwest. Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, Yang Xiong 揚雄, and others all passed through this point on the way from Sichuan to Chang'an, as is recorded in the *Daren fu* 大人賦 (Rhapsody on the Great Man) and the *Shudu fu* 蜀都賦 (Rhapsody on the Capital of Shu).[14] The ruins of the Xiwangmu temple is a place of great significance in China's northwest.

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read it as the name of a mountain associated with the lake. According to Yang Shoujing, the *Xiyu ji* 西域記, cited in the *Shuijing zhu*, seems to refer to the lost work sometimes called *Xiyu zhi* 西域志 attributed to Dao'an 道安. *Shuijing zhushi* 水經注釋, comp. Zhao Yiqing 趙一清, 1.5a, in *SKQS*, 575: 18.

10 Jao Tsung-i: "Lun Shishi zhi Kunlun shuo" 論釋氏之崑崙說, *Xuantang jilin shilin* 選堂集林・史林 (Xuantang Anthology, Historical Works) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), vol. 1, 446–458; *Wenji*, 5:257–268.

11 *Hanshu* [*juan* 28], 1614.

Tr. note: The Chinese is punctuated in a way that suggests this is the text of the *Hanshu*, but Jao here appears to be reading from Ban Gu's commentary.

12 Tr. note: I cannot find mention of this reference in the *Yulan* 御覽, which does not mention of Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368–433) and the Queen Mother of the West Temple in *juan* 30. There is, however a citation in Zhang Yushu 張玉書 et al., *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府 (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1886), *juan* 63, 63.

13 Guo Pu 郭璞 annotation to *Shan hai jing* 山海經, "Zhangfu guo" 丈夫國 section, in Yuan Ke 袁珂 annot., *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 [*juan* 7] (Beijing: Beijing lianhe chuban gongsi, 2014), 199.

14 See *Daren fu* 大人賦, in Chen Renzi 陳仁子 comp., *Wenxuan buyi* 文選補遺 [*juan* 31, 25] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 1360:507. See also *Shudu fu* 蜀都賦

2 Some Background on the Origin of the "Northwest School"

In July of 2000, as part of the Mogao Caves Centennial celebrations, Prof. Ji Xianlin 季羨林 and I were conferred the Dunhuang wenwu baohu yanjiu teshu gongxian jiang 敦煌文物保護研究特殊貢獻獎 (Prize Recognizing Extraordinary Research Contributions to the Preservation of Dunhuang Artifacts) by the National Ministry of Culture and the Peoples' Provincial Government of Gansu. After the ceremonies were completed, I retired to chat with the culture minister, Sun Jiazheng 孫家正. Duan Wenjie 段文杰, Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 as well as the heads and colleagues from all the ministries were all present. There I mentioned that the shape of Mt. Sanwei 三危山 is very particular, and with Sanwei in view, I suggested that there should be a "Northwest School" (*Xibei zong* 西北宗) of Chinese landscape painting. I wanted to elaborate in writing, but a moment's insight is often lost as time races by, and I have not until now raised my pen to the topic.

In recent years, however, I have been convalescing behind closed doors, declining visitors for some time. I have in idle days become focused rather earnestly on this problem, so I decided to explore it in more detail. In my prior writings, wherein I demonstrated that during the Yin (Shang) times, there were not only records of Xia wei 下危 but rather also of Shang wei 上危, I realized that accounts of the Three Miao tribes (Sanmiao 三苗氏) in the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Documents Canon) and the *Mutianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of Prince Mu) were reliable.[15] This view has long since achieved a consensus in academic circles. The Jade Cong 玉琮 artifacts found recently in Sichuan help supplement our knowledge of how Yue 越 peoples blanketed the west.

In the last letter that Fan Jinshi sent me, she resurrected the topic. I asked Jinshi to share a video of Sanmiao Mountain (Sanmiao shan 三苗山) from afar; she, in turn, urged me to write something up. And because over the years I had accumulated some short pieces here and there on the topic, I have stitched them together to make this essay, for which I humbly seek the feedback of generous scholars.

In the Ming dynasty, Chan Buddhism enjoyed a sudden resurgence, greatly influencing elite intellectual culture. Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), inspired by Mo Shilong 莫是龍 (1539–1587), discussed art in terms of some select, key concepts of Chan, pointing out a number of new methods.[16] Dong's

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in Yang Xiong 揚雄, Zhang Zhenze 張震澤 annot., *Yang Xiong ji jiaozhu* 揚雄集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 9.

15 Tr. note: see Jao Tsung-i, "Buci zhong zhi weifang yu xingfang" 卜辭中之危方與興方, *Wenji*, 2: 1600–1608.

16 For "methods" as translated here, Jao uses the term *famen* 法門 (dharma gates).

influence, for the most part, was greatest in his discussions of calligraphy, although second to this was his influence on the art of painting. Because Dong was in fact a collector, his network extended broadly to artists everywhere, from north to south. Dong was adept in the subtleties and allegory of Chan, which he first brought to bear on his inkwork (*mofa* 墨法), following the path of Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) and son, Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1151), ultimately tracing his way back to Wang Qia 王洽 (also recorded as Wang Mo 王默; d. 805). Dong worked mostly with a wet brush, emphasizing a style that was fecund, vigorous, and fluid, yet not overbearing. With this style he paved the way for the Southern School (*nan zong* 南宗) of landscape painting. It seems to me that in order to found a new movement in landscape painting, a painter must have an intentionality that encompasses the universe—an attitude, perhaps, that "the myriad things are all complete in us" 萬物皆備於我,[17] or that "a few dotted plum blossoms" 數點梅花 can evoke "the heart of heaven-and-earth" 天地之心.[18] This is to say nothing of the endless desert wastes within which the azure sky and indistinct wilds are "boundless, boundless, [like] ten thousand mountains on mountains" 莽莽萬重山,[19] extending outwards for thousands of miles. Such spaces, which have been occupied by Chinese and non-Chinese, overlapping stratum on stratum, can hardly be encompassed by northern and southern schools (*nanbei liang zong* 南北兩宗) of landscape painting. This is also one of the reasons I have come up with the separate idea of the "Northwest School."

3 The Art Historical Background of the "Northwest School"

Scrolls thirty-six through seventy-five in the in the "Earth" section (*di bu* 地部) of the Song dynasty compendium, *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, are devoted to systematically discriminating different mountain ranges. Scroll nine in the Earth section regards the mountains from Shuhan 蜀漢 through the Guanzhong 關

17 *Menicus*孟子 "Jin xin shang" 盡心上, in Zhao Qi 趙岐 ann., Sun Shi 孫奭 ann., *Mengzi zhushu* 孟子注疏 [*juan* 13], (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 414a.

18 Tr. note: the line "A few dotted plum blossoms are the heart of heaven-and-earth" 數點梅花天地心 appears in the winter 冬 poem in Weng Sen's 翁森 "Sishi dushu le" 四時讀書樂, in *Songshi shiyi* 宋詩拾遺 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 2:333. See also an earlier poem by Shao Yong 邵雍 "Poem on Plum Blossoms" 梅花詩 for which the tenth verse reads "A few dotted plum blossoms make heaven-and-earth into spring" 數點梅花天地春, Shao Yong 邵雍, "Meihua shi" 梅花詩, collected in in Yasui Kouzan 安居香山, Nakamura Shouhachi 中村璋八 comp., *Weishu jicheng* 緯書集成 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1994), 3:1661.

19 This line is from a poem by Du Fu 杜甫, the seventh of a series of twenty poems entitled "Qinzhou zashi"秦州雜詩, in Du Fu 杜甫, Yang Lun 楊倫 ann., *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡銓, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), *juan* 6, 242.

中 plain as one range; scroll fifteen in the same section regards the Longshan 隴山 pass and all mountains beyond the seas as one range.[20] In regarding Longshan as the boundary between the Sinosphere and the Xirong 西戎 (Western Nomads), it follows Zhang Heng's 張衡 (78–139) "Fu on the Western Metropolis" (*Xijing fu* 西京賦), which says "to the right there is the gap of Longdi [i.e. Longshan], which partitions China from Barbarian lands" 右有隴坻之隘，隔閡華戎.[21]

I think it is appropriate for the Northwest School to have "Longshan as its dividing watershed." For the most part we can say that everything west of Longshan is the great northwest. This was originally the domain of the Xirong, although the peopling of this area was extremely complex, and the cultural blending that occurred there has produced something very heterogenous and tangled. The multi-laminate cultural exchanges that happened here, like the vast scenery of its mountains and rivers, make it very distinct from what is found east of Longshan.

When Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) traveled from Qinzhou 秦州 to Chengdu 成都, he "left and entered again at the pass; everyplace yellowing reeds and grass" 出塞復入塞，處處黃蘆草,[22] the poems he wrote are like models for painting. It is a shame that although he was able to put pictures into his poems, he was unable to translate his poems into pictures; those who came later can only transmit his "Danqing yin" 丹青引 (*Yin*-Poem on a Brilliant Painting).[23]

Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) uses the word *huo* 或 (or) some fifty times to describe the beauty of Mt. Zhongnan 終南山 (also Mt. Taiyi 太一), from as many perspectives,[24] as if borrowing rhetorical techniques from Aśvaghoṣa (Ma Ming 馬鳴; fl. early 1st c. CE), and inserting them into poems, producing a timeless work of poetic art. If only he had been able to make the poem into a painting, he would have created a completely new movement in painting,

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20 "Dibu jiu Guanzhong Shu-Han zhushan" 地部九 關中蜀漢諸山, in *Taiping yulan*, 44.1a (209).

"Dibu shiwu Longsai ji haiwai zhushan" 地部十五 隴塞及海外諸山, 50.1a (243).

21 Xiao Tong 蕭統 comp., Li Shan 李善 annot., *Wen Xuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), *juan* 2, 49.

Tr. note: English translation from David R. Knechtges ed. tr., Xiao Tong, ed., *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 1:186.

22 Tr note: I cannot find this line attributed to Du Fu, although it occurs in a poem of Wang Changling 王昌齡 (698–756), in "Sai xia qu" 塞下曲, in *Guo xiu ji* 國秀集 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), 3:9a.

23 *Dushi jingquan* [*juan* 11], 529.

24 "Nanshan shi" 南山詩, in Han Yu 韓愈, Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 comp., *Han Changli shi xinian jishi* 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984), [*juan* 4], 432–435.

outshining the glory even of Jing Hao 荊浩 (850–911), Guan Tong 關仝 (907–960), and their northern school of landscape painting.

Of Tang painters who took the mountains of the central plains and Sichuan as their subject matter, there is Wang Zai 王宰, who "made many paintings of the mountains of Sichuan, with void and hollows exquisitely wrought, with ingeniously precipitous, rugged terrain" 多畫蜀山，玲瓏窈窕，巉差巧峭.[25] There is Bi Hong (fl. 742), who "was famous in his time for his trees and stones" and began "a new path that transformed the ancient styles of depicting trees" 樹石擅名於代，樹木改步變古，自宏始也.[26] There is also Wei Jian's 韋鑑 son Wei Yan 韋鷰 (both 8th c.), who

> 鑒子鷰，工山水、高僧奇士、老松異石，筆力勁健，風格高舉
>
> ... worked on landscapes, eminent monks and eccentrics, old pines and unusual stones. His brushwork was vigorous and bold, and his style was elevated.[27]

These masters, however, all worked on landscapes in the central plains and Sichuan; none of them painted scenery from the northwest.

When Dong Qichang spoke of the northern school (*beizong* 北宗), he took Fan Kuan 范寬 (950–1032) as exemplary—as someone whose style was "not one people like myself can easily study" 非吾曹易學.[28] Fan's style is set apart by his use of pepper-dot (*hujiaodian* 胡椒點) technique. He painted all the mountains in the Taihang 太行 and Taihua 太華 ranges, using heavy, hooking brush strokes to create the peaks and ridges outlining the terrain. "His brush came down with a majestic stiffness that truly captured the mountain's bones" 落筆雄偉老硬，真得山骨.[29] And Guo Xi 郭熙 (d. 1090), "... on the blank faces of great halls, set his hand to making tall cypresses and giant trees, serpentine rivulets and sheer cliffs, crags and caves plummeting abruptly, ascending peaks and towering ridges" 於高堂素壁放手作長松巨木，回溪斷崖，岩岫纔絕，峰巒秀起.[30] In his book, *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 (The Apex of Woods

25 Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016). [*juan* 10], 196.

26 *Lidai minghua ji*, 196.

27 *Lidai minghua ji*, 197.

28 Dong Qichang 董其昌, *Huachanshi suibi* 畫禪室隨筆 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2012) 2.76.

29 Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930) [*juan* 3], 37.

30 *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜, *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), *juan* 11, 303.

and Springs), Guo discussed his compositional techniques, such as the "three principles of perspective" (*san yuan* 三遠),[31] and "the relative size of three subjects [i.e. mountains, trees, and people]" (*san da* 三大), which are still used by traditional Chinese landscape painters much as Guo originally intended. Dong Qichang and Guo Xi both painted northern landscapes, of terrain that was "more rock than soil," and were famous artists in their time. Yizhou has from antiquity produced a lot of painters, all of which are recorded in *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄.[32] And yet, in all these books and records of works, there are no illustrations of the scenery that unfolds in the northwest.

Chang Dai-chien 張大千 (1899–1983), a native of Neijiang 內江, Sichuan who was at one point detained for several years at Dunhuang, did not set foot west of the Huangshui River 湟水 or areas corresponding to Qiuci 龜茲. He did however, make it to India's eastern edge. When we were in Darjeeling, he gave me a painting of his, at which time he had already started using his splashed-ink method. Nonetheless, although the subjects that he covered include flying *apsaras*, robes billowing in the wind, [like those seen in Dunhuang murals], his works are still insufficient to express the "special character of northwest landscape painting" 西北山水之奇特.[33] Thus when I was in the Americas I wrote a *ci*-poem on the painting [to which the second verse reads]:

高闕長橋，又髣髴	Long bridge to High Tower, also indistinct;[34]
西風殘照	as west wind and sunset's afterglow
拂澹猶新	sweep through peacefully, it looks as if renewed.
麻皮異昔	Its hemp-chaff speckles differ from the style of old;
董源非老	the source of Dong [Qichang] does not slow.[35]

Tr. note: this quote is also found in Guo Xi's 郭熙, *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致, compiled by his son Guo Si, 郭思, in *Quansong biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2017), vol. 8 no. 10, *juan* 10, 160–161.

31 Tr. note: see below n. 33.

32 Huang Xiufu 黃休復 comp., *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄 (Chengdu: Cungu shuju, 1915).

33 Tr. note: the quotation marks are Jao's or the editors, but seem to for emphasis, rather than reference.

34 Gaoque 高闕, translated here as "High Tower," may refer also to the Gaoque sai 高闕塞 (Gaoque Fortress) ruins in Urad Rear Banner (Yulate houqi 烏拉特後旗), neither Jao's inscription nor the painting Chang gave to Jao indicate any specific place.

35 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, "Dizhou diyi" 氐洲第一, in *Xizhou ji* 睎周集, *Wenji*, 14:618–619.

Tr. note: The painting, entitled "Mojie shan tu" 摩詰山圖 (Image of Mt. Vimalakīrti), and Jao's inscription are also preserved in Yang Chuntang 揚春棠 ed., *Yixin bainian: Yitaoju cang ershi shiji zhongguo huihua* 一新百年：一濤居藏二十世紀中國繪畫 (Hong Kong: Yixin meishuguan, 2015), 58–59.

Other painters, such as Zhao Wangyun 趙望雲 (1906–1977), or my old friends Wu Zuoren 吳作人 (1908–1997) and Liang Huangzhou 梁黃胄 (1925–1997), have taken subject matter from the northwest. They all are known for depicting the region's minority peoples, as well as camels, donkeys, horses, and other animals. Wu Guanzhong 吳冠中 (1919–2010) once painted a work called "Jiaohe gucheng" 交河故城 (Jiaohe [Yarkhoto] Ruins), which enjoyed a period of fame, but he never developed the theme any further. Afterwards he became more enamored with village landscapes of Jiangnan 江南, which he painted in a novel style. So these painters also did not emphasize landscapes of the northwest, nor did they pioneer trails in that direction. Thus when I advocate for the Northwest School, it is still a new revelation.

4 Tentative Proposal for a Set of "Northwest School" Painting Techniques

4.1 *Preliminary Recommendation for Revising the "Three Principles of Perspective"*

In my humble opinion, although what Guo Xi wrote in *Linquan gaozhi* regarding the "three principle of perspective," level-distance (*pingyuan* 平遠), high-distance (*gaoyuan* 高遠), and deep-distance (*shenyuan* 深遠) are applicable when painting mountains, rivers, and plains north and south of the Yangtze, they cannot do full justice to the beauty of the northwest, with its high ridges, peaks, slopes, and ravines.[36] By Guo Xi's own account,

> 春山澹冶而如笑，夏山蒼翠而如滴，秋山明淨而如妝，冬山慘澹而如睡。
>
> Spring mountains have a pastel charm, as if smiling
> Summer mountains have a jade verdure, as if dripping
> Autumn mountains have a crisp purity, as if wearing make-up
> Winter mountains have a desolate peace, as if sleeping.[37]

But in the northwest, where mountain paths have undergone a long, wind-blown transformation, giving them stratified cliffs and layered rocks, the lay of

36 Tr. note, Guo Xi's "three distances" refer to, respectively, the techniques of depicting a view across a broad and level expanse; scenery of a mountain rising up as viewed from below; and depth beyond tall mountains.

37 *Xuanhe huapu*, *juan* 11, 303.

Tr. note: this quote is also found in the "Shanshui xun" 山水訓 section of *Linquan gaozhi*, in *Quansong biji*, vol. 8, no. 10, 10.157.

the mountain sticks out here and there like swords and pikes. The mountains have a powerful, rigid, tense, and vigorous *qi*, and their dense profusion gives rise to a sense of awe. The trees grow in clumps, standing out proudly, fiercely, with the tenacity to withstand centuries of blowing sand, which gives them a sort of bizarre, otherworldly appearance (see plates).[38]

Because the hard peaks and ridges rise and dip, making for very uneven terrain, it is also extremely easy to get a view of this three-dimensional space from above.

Thus we need a new "three principles of perspective" to deal with the composition of these subjects:

Kuangyuan 曠遠	vast, expansive	remote, with no traces of habitation
Diaoyuan 窎遠	far-off	boundless, with endless repetition of things
Huangyuan 荒遠	desolate	deserted and desolate

We might understand this better by recourse to the mountains of Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), whose peaks and ridges are like a thicket of swords and pikes, where night and day change unpredictably, with brilliant rays of color in flux. This very unusual scenery is difficult to paint according to the usual principles of composition.

4.2 *Developing New Methods for Texturing Brushwork* (cunfa 皴法)

When the ancients developed their brushwork, they did so according to the mountains they saw; they examined their lines and patterns, which they depicted with brush and ink. When Bi Hong marveled at what Zhang Zao 張璪 (fl. Late 8th c.) had painted, and asked Zhang where he had learned his technique, Zhang said "for what is outside me, I learn from the creator; for what is within, I grasp the wellspring of my heart-mind" 外師造化，中得心源.[39] This is indeed the experience of a painter, rather than just idle talk. By learning from the creator with regard to what is outside, one can apprehend the principle of things, and after contemplation, render those things with brush and ink. I have traveled to Dunhuang several times and have been in and out of Turfan; I have seen the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭 (Krorän) and the deserted ramparts of Kucha. All that I have seen there—mountains layered range on range, deserted ramparts

38 Tr. note: In the original publication of this essay, references to paintings that Jao provided were inserted by the editors. Here, the editors refer to reader to fig. 1, in which what Jao has said about rendering trees is not clearly evident. For that reason I have simply removed the editors' references to specific paintings.

39 Zhang, *Lidai minghua ji*, 198.

cloaked in weeds—I attempt to paint when I return. In these landscapes, I perceive "mountains and rocks, long transformed by winds, like broken layers stack upon stack, extending in all directions, like veins, like channels, like warp and weft, with south- and north-facing ridges cutting light from dark, as if the crude carts of the stone age were still with us…." 山石久經風化，斷層纍纍，而脈絡經緯，如陰陽之割昏曉，大輅椎輪仍在.[40] It is clear that without a new texturing brushwork technique, there is no way to render this perception.

Through repeated trial and error, I figured I could use brushwork techniques of *luanchai* 亂柴 (jumbled firewood) *zafupi* 雜斧劈 (random axe-splitting) or long *pima* 長披麻皴 (hemp-splitting) brushwork techniques to first set the outline and topography, and then use ink-splash (*pomo* 潑墨) technique to apply the color and set the shadows. The brushwork uses a parched brush with lumbering strokes; as I have written elsewhere, "texturing brushwork should move purely with the *qi*" 皴法純以氣行 (see plates).[41] I have also tried some other methods: using a thatch-grass brush (*maolongbi* 茅龍筆); using heavy, vigorous texturing brushwork to get the desired effect; harmonizing the pigments with silver and gold; or by using *goule* 鉤勒 (hook and bind) strokes to make outlines. These can be seen in figures four through six. Such is the view from this brush; I hope some wise masters will set me straight.

4.3 *Some Recommendations for Capturing the Spirit in a Painting*

Ever since the Tang dynasty, the road that carried merchants through the northwest frontier has slowly shifted, such that footsteps became ever fewer. Year in, year out, the wind, sand, and elements have baked and blasted this vast land, giving its appearance a unique sense of indeterminate vastness and desolation. Its ruined city walls, leftover ramparts, rugged cliffs, heights, and ravines all give the place an imposing grandeur of its own. This is something that one can experience directly and internalize when visiting the place, after which it is possible to render both spirit and image with ink and brush. It is not just the shape, lighting, and color of the mountain that one depicts—it comes

40 Inscription on my 2005 painting, "Xixia jiuyutu" 西夏舊域圖 (Picture of the old Western Xia domain), figure 2. See Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, "Relics of the Xixia Dynasty" 西夏舊域, *Rao Zongyi yishu chuangzuo huiji* 饒宗頤藝術創作匯集 (Hong Kong: Jao Tsung-i Petite Ecole, The University of Hong Kong, 2006), 3:132 [no. 85].

41 Self-inscription to my 2005 painting of the "Qiuci daxiagutu" 龜茲大峽谷圖 (Great Valley of Kucha), see fig. 4 and inscription. Jao, *Rao Zongyi yishu chuangzuo huiji*, 3:131 [no. 84].

Tr. note: The editors' inserted references refers the reader to fig. 3; the quote concerning the parched brush is inscribed on the painting to figure 4.

to life on paper, with the sound of the wind howling through the pass and the impending snowstorm all manifest in the painting.

With modern technologies of photography and film, people can enjoy any sort of imagery in the world while sitting safely at home. Nonetheless, it still seems to me that if you truly want to create a realistic image of the northwest, there is something that will always be missing from photos or film, because from them one doesn't get a sense of the shifting seasons, or of the mercurial fluctuations of light and shadow. The great painter Shi Tao 石濤 (1642–1707) was highly accomplished in the art of composition, but he was even more adept at capturing the spirit of a landscape. Unfortunately, though, he left no traces beyond the domain running from the southwest to Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and his landscapes are relegated primarily to Lushan in Jiangxi, the Yandang mountains, and Huangshan. In a lifetime, his footsteps never crossed beyond border passes. Thus, in sum, I think if we dare to say it rather directly, even if we were to bring him back to life today, his methods would still not be sufficient to address the great northwest.

Moreover, if we want to open a new domain in painting the northwestern landscapes, it is essential that one experience the place in person.

4.4 *Some Aspirations*

Recently the Qinghai-Tibet railway has been completed, opening up the northwest and making its sights and scenery visible to the eyes of painters. Painters can thus draw from its subjects and themes without limit.

The great northwest has from the beginning been a place of conflict between the Chinese and tribal peoples, a great belt of trade that connected China with the outside world, and a melting pot of cultures. That the Romans came here from the east, bringing their culture into contact with that of China, has created a zone blending of China and the outside world.

I hope that photographers can apply the logic of painting to their art, by first visiting the important historical sites, and photographing them to provide a preliminary reference for painters. Feng Qiyong's 馮其庸 (1924–2017) work on Silk Road photography,[42] is a forerunner in this regard. Moreover, if more people can use photography to introduce the northwest, by publishing photo books, it will also be a great help to promoting the development of the northwest school of landscape painting.

42 Feng Qiyong 馮其庸, *Hanhai jiechen* 瀚海劫塵 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1995).

PLATE 1

"Huoyan shan" 火焰山 (Huoyan Mountains; "Crimson Flame Mountains")[43]
Color inkwash on paper
22 × 243 cm
1985

Inscription:

恨少幽并氣，	Annoyed by a lack of gallivanting,
故作雪山行。	to snow-clad mountains, I made my line.
故人千里相望，	Old friends face to face, a thousand miles between;
玉樹倚風清。	jade trees sway, by winds made fine.
過却流沙鬼磧，	Desert ghost-shoals, through *kalpas* of sand flows,
贏得霜塵滿面，	acquire a visage full of frost and dust,
依舊太瘦生。	still as gaunt today as anytime.
三度全羊宴，	Thrice convened for whole-lamb feasts,
冠蓋擬神京。	the capped and covered planned this city of gods;
高昌壁，	Yet Gaochang's walls
餘磊塊，	are now these ruined ramparts;
意難平。	the states [of past and present] seem at odds.
誰抱雷琴到此，	Would someone bring a Lei *qin* here,
添箇胡笳聲。	and nomad's flute to harmonize its strings,
遠睇蒼茫雲海，	gaze afar to the vast cloud sea—
都道關山月好，	the capital road; pass and mountains; beauty of the moon—
不盡玉關情。	it can't express the feeling Jade Gate brings.
處處坎兒井，	All around are wells to the qanat
聊可濯吾纓。	in which to rinse the tassels [of my hat].[44]

水調歌頭，寫西域所見。乙丑，選堂。
To the tune of "Shuidiao getou" 水調歌頭, describing what I saw in the Western Regions. *Yi chou* year (1985), Xuantang.[45]

43 Collected in Jao *Rao Zongyi yishu chuangzuo huiji* 3:118–9 as "Huoyanshan suojian" 火焰山所見 (Seen at Huoyanshan), although this title is given more explicitly in other paintings of this series.

44 Tr. note: Allusion to "Canglang ge" 滄浪歌 in "Li lou shang" 離樓上, *Mengzi zhushu*, 232–3.

45 Tr. note: See *Wenji*, 14:750 for a version that varies slightly from this inscription.

PLATE 2

"Xixia jiuyu" 西夏舊域 (Old Domain of the Western Xia Dynasty)[46]
Color inkwash on paper
68 × 138 cm
2005

Inscription:

> 余倡山水畫，宜建西北宗。自隴坻以西，山石久經風化，斷層壘壘，而脉絡經緯，如陰陽之割昏曉，大輅椎輪仍在。宜別創一皴法，庶幾能盡其神理。此青海貴德縣之丹霞地貌，西夏格薩爾王陵，近在咫尺，試圖其梗概。歲乙酉冬日，八十九叟選堂附識，時寓雪萊。

I propose a "northwest school" of Chinese landscape painting. From Longshan westwards, there are mountains and rocks, long transformed by winds, like broken layers stack upon stack, extending in all directions, like veins, like channels, like warp and weft; with south-and north-facing ridges cutting light from dark, as if the crude carts of the stone age were still with us.

We also need to create a different texturing brushwork technique, that might more completely express the spirit of these landscapes.

This is a Danxia 丹霞 landform from Gui'de 貴德 county in Qinghai, right near the Xixia Gesaer wangling 西夏格薩爾王陵 (Western Xia King Gesar grave mound). I have tried to sketch a rough outline of the place.

Inscribed by Xuantang on a winter day of *yi-you* year (2005), at age 89, while in Sydney.

46 Jao, *Rao Zongyi yishu chuangzuo huiji*, 132.

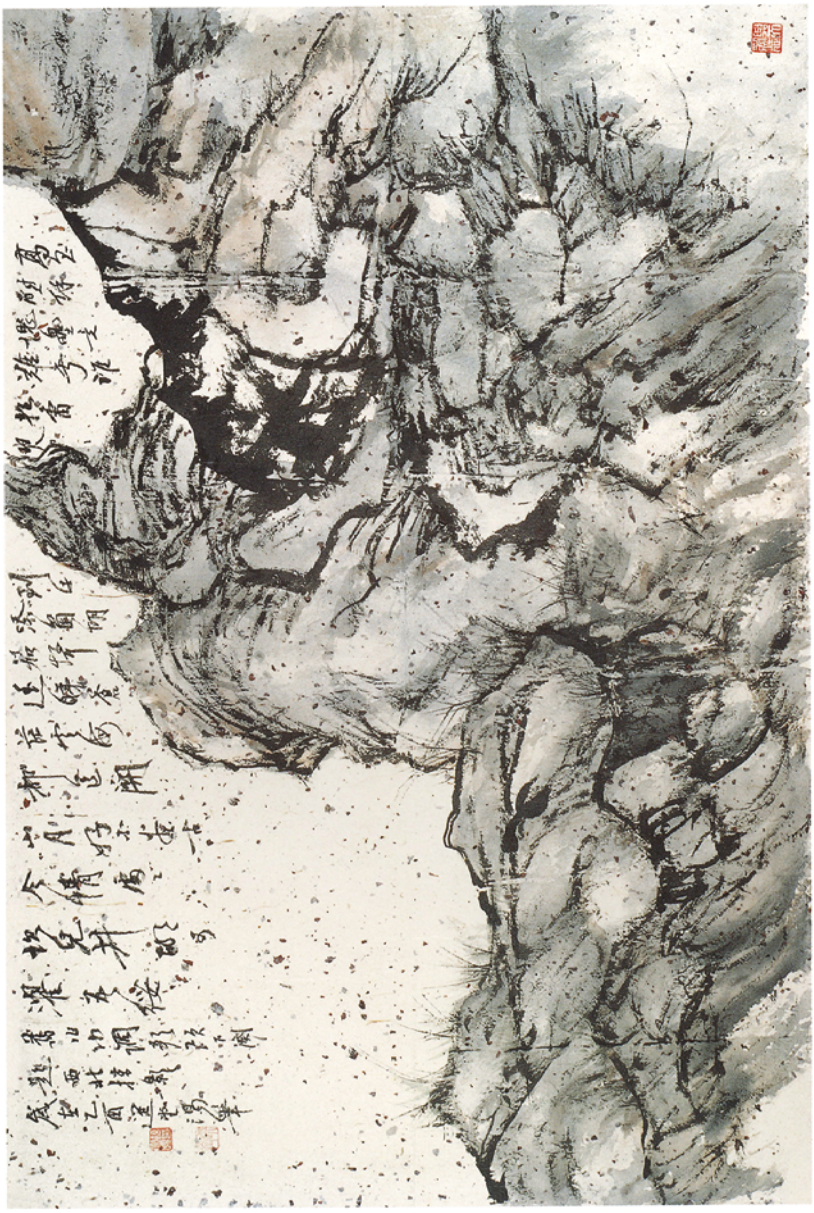

PLATE 3

"Gaochang shibi" 高昌石壁 (Rock Cliff at Gaochang)
Color inkwash on paper
60 × 90 cm
2005

Inscription:

高昌壁，	That Gaochang's walls
餘塊壘，	are now these ruined ramparts;
意難平。	is hard to make peace with.
誰抱雷琴到此，	Would someone bring a Lei *qin* here,
添個胡笳聲。	and with a *hujia* harmonize its strings,
遙睇蒼茫雲海，	gaze distantly to the vast cloud sea—
都道關山月好，	the capital road; pass and mountains; beauty of the moon—
不盡古今情。	it still could not express the past and present feelings.
處處坎兒井，	All around are wells to the qanat
聊可灌吾纓。	in which to rinse the tassels [of my hat].

舊作水調歌頭下闋，題西北掠影。歲在乙酉，選堂渴筆。
Long ago, I composed a piece to the tune "Shuidiao getou" while coming down from the pass, here inscribing a glimpse of the northwest. The year is *yi-you* (2005), Xuantang, using a parched brush.

PLATE 4

"Qiuci da xiagu" 龜茲大峽谷 (Great Canyon in Qiuci)
Color inkwash on Paper
138 × 68 cm
2005

Inscription:

> 二千禧年，余在莫高窟，蒙國家頒授敦煌研究獎，曾語文化部長孫公：三危山巖壑之美，國畫應拓展西北宗一路。近時復與馮其庸、樊錦詩覷縷言之。馮君遠示龜茲大峽谷圖，因奮筆寫之。皴法純以氣行，為余西北宗創作之權輿，茲紀其來由於此。甲申選堂
>
> At a millennial celebration in 2000, I was at the Mogao Caves, where the nation suffered me to confer a Dunhuang Studies research prize. There I once mentioned to Culture Minister Sun [Jiazheng]: Mt. Sanwei's peaks and valleys have such a particular beauty; Chinese painting should develop a new Northwest School direction. More recently I have brought up the topic with Feng Qiyong 馮其庸 and Fan Jinshi. Mr. Feng provided images from afar of the Qiuci Canyon, which I depicted with an old brush. Texturing brushwork (*cunfa* 皴法) moves purely with the *qi*. This is one of the inaugural works of the Northwest School, so I record its origins here. *Jia-shen* (2004), Xuantang.

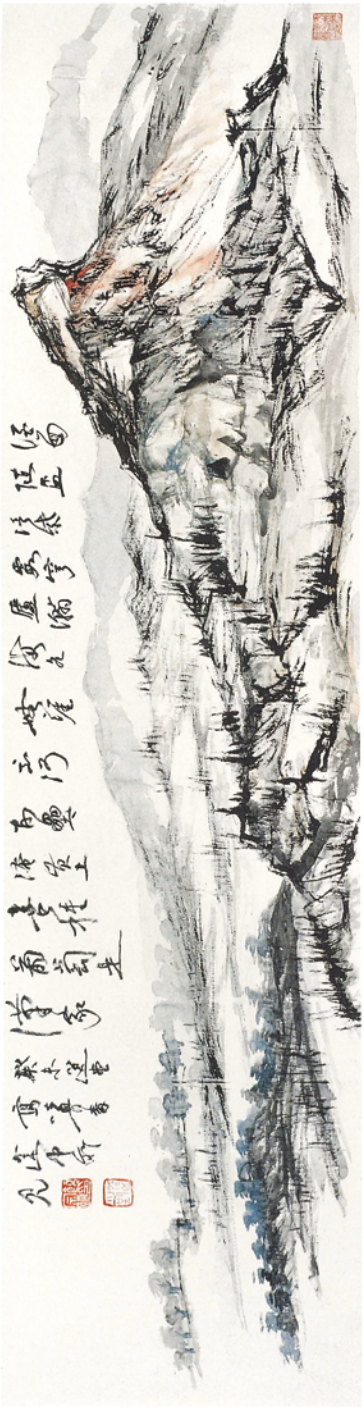

PLATE 5

"Tulufan shanjing" 吐魯番山徑 (Mountain Path to Turfan)
Color inkwash on paper
40 × 138 cm
2003

Inscription:

酒面隨杯泛紫霞，	Cheeks aflush, I follow my wine cup, floating on purple-dusk clouds;
穹廬瀚海各無涯；	my sky-hut [=felt tent] and the desert sea both extend without limit.
交河故壘淹黃土，	Yarkhoto's old ramparts are submerged in yellow earth;
喜種葡萄是漢家。	Luckily, the Han now plant their own grapes.[47]

癸未，選堂寫吐魯番途中所見
Gui-wei year (2003), Xuantang, depicting a scene on the way to Turfan.

47 Tr. Note: Jao's poem is "Tulufan Xiyan" 吐魯番夕宴 (Evening feast at Turfan) *Wenji*, 14:676. Reference to grapes recalls the Tang poem "Gu cong junxing" 古從軍行 (Following Ancient Campaigns) by Li Qi 李頎 (690–751), preserved in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), vol. 4, *juan* 133, 1348. Grapes as a symbol of subjugation derives ultimately from the *Shiji* "Dayuan liezhuan" 大宛列傳 in *Shiji* in *Shiji* no. 63, 123.3157–80. See also "Tulufan, the Bodhisattva Whose Head Came Off" p. 41 n.3.

PLATE 6

"Loulan yizhi" 樓蘭遺址 (Ruins of Ancient Loulan)
Color inkwash on paper
34 × 132 cm
2006

Inscription:

> 樓蘭遺址。李柏文書出土處。丙戌，選堂寫。
>
> The ruins of ancient Loulan, where Li Bai's 李柏 letters were discovered. *Bing-xu* year (2006), painted by Xuantang.[48]

48 Tr. note: Jao here is referring to the *Li Bai wenshu* 李柏文書 (letters of Li Bai), dated to 328 CE and found near Luolan by Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超 (1890–1968) on expeditions sponsored by Ōtani Kozui 大谷光瑞 (1902–14). The documents are now held by Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. For some background, see Imre Galambos and Kitsudō Kōichi, "Japanese Exploration of Central Asia: The Ōtani Expeditions and Their British Connections," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75, no. 1 (February 2012): 113–34.

PART 3

Medieval Multimedia

∴

On the Relationship between *Bianwen* 變文 and Illustration, from the Perspective of the *Shanbian* 睒變 (Śyāma Transformation) 從「睒變」論變文與圖繪之關係

This piece,[1] *originally published in a festschrift for Ikeda Suetoshi's* 池田末利 *seventieth birthday, is of historical interest in that it records part of Jao's engagement with the larger scholarly debate on the nature of* bian 變, bianwen 變文, *and* bianxiang 變相 *as phenomena or genres of medieval multimedia rediscovered at Dunhuang. Although Jao did not have the first or last word in these debates, this article represents what is probably the most exhaustive and eclectic account of the varied manifestations of Śyāma jataka tales. This gives the piece an intrinsic encyclopedic value, while also modeling the breath of reading and range of sources that might be brought together in a single case study.*

Ever since the Dunhuang manuscripts were discovered, in scholarly circles east and west, there has hardly been a lack of scholars intensely researching the topic of *bianwen* 變文 (transformation texts); one might even say it has become a hot topic in recent years. If we look at written records that use the graph *bian* 變, in illustration there is the term *bianxiang* 變相 (transformation tableau), and in *yuefu* 樂府 (Music Bureau) poems there is the term *biange* 變歌 (variant songs),[2] although the use of *bian* in the former is probably not related to that in the latter.[3] Xiang Da 向達 (1900–1966) and Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 (1898–1986) have already given very detailed accounts of *bianwen* literary form, and Japanese scholars have already interpreted *bianxiang* and *zhuanbian* 轉變

1 Originally published as "Cong 'bian' lun bianwen yu tuhui zhi guanxi" 從「變」論變文與圖繪之關係, in Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen jigyōkai 池田末利博士古稀記念事業會 [Committee for Commemorating Dr. Ikeda Suetoshi's Seventieth Birthday], ed., *Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen Tōyōgaku ronshū* 池田末利博士古稀記念東洋學論集 [Studies on East Asia Commemorating Dr. Ikeda Suetoshi's seventieth birthday]. Hiroshima: Ikeda Suetoshi hakase koki kinen jigyōkai, (Hiroshima, 1980), 627–40; translated here as reprinted in Jao Tsung-i, *ZYYX*, 123–37.

2 Xiang Da 向達 *Tangdai sujiang kao* 唐代俗講考, (Beiping: Yanjing daxue Yanjing xuebao she, 1934).

3 Zhou Yiliang 周一良 "Du *Tangdai sujiang kao*." 讀唐代俗講考, *Weijin Nanbechao shi lunji* 魏晉南北朝史論集, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 377–386.

(transformation), for which there are numerous explanations.[4] Nonetheless, as yet it has not been easy to fully excavate the meaning of *bian* in the term *bianwen*, and so the discussion has not reached a satisfactory conclusion. I thought that the discourse of Wang Wei's 王維 (701–761) on the *Xifang bian* 西方變 (*Bian* from the West) was very valuable in this regard, and could offer a glimpse of the pattern as seen from a Tang dynasty perspective. Recently, in Paris, I participated in a conference on Dunhuang, where I got to know the Japanese scholar Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄 (1910–1993). It is to him that I am greatly indebted for providing the much needed encouragement to write this article, in which I further discuss the topic of *bianwen* and illustration. Here, in spite of my humble knowledge of the topic, I seek to roughly sketch my ideas, in the hope that someone will correct them.

1

Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 says that the meaning of *bian* is *bianyi* 變異 (to vary). He also says that the term *jingbian* 經變 (sutra *bian*) first appears in the "Funan zhuan" 扶南傳 (Accounts of Funan)[5] in the *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of Liang).[6] Actually though, Faxian 法顯 (337–*c.*422) brought up the term *bianxian* 變現 in his *Foguoji* 佛國記 (Record of Buddhist Kingdoms), and moreover uses it to refer to a color painting of the *Shanzi bensheng* 睒子本生 (Skt. Śyāma Jātaka; Pali Sāma Jātaka) tale, called the *Shanbian* 睒變 (Śyāma *bian*). He says:

> 佛齒常以三月中出之。未出十日。[王莊校大象。] 使一辯說人，著王衣服，騎象上，擊鼓唱言:菩薩從三阿僧祇劫，苦行不惜身命，以國、妻子及挑眼與人，割肉貿鴿，截頭布施，投身餓虎，不悋髓腦，如是種種苦行，為眾生故。……
>
> 却後十日，佛齒當出，至無畏山精舍……

4 For the work of Japanese scholars, see Umezu Jiro 梅津次郎 "Hen to henbun—etoki no kaigashi teki kōsatsu sono ni" 變と變文—繪解の繪畫史的考察その二 (On Bian and Bianwen), *Kokka Art Journal* 國華 760 (1955): 191–207, and Kanaoka Shoko 金岡照光, "On the word 'Pien'", *Toyo University Asian studies* 1 (1961):15–23, in which prior research is described in more detail than I offer here.

5 Tr. note: Funan 扶南: Khmer "Nokor Phnom"; Vietnamese "Phù Nam." The etymology is uncertain, although the term refers to civilizations centered on the Mekong Delta.

6 Sun Kaidi 孫楷第 "Du Bianwen" 讀變文, in *Cangzhou ji* 滄州集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 1:46–47.

如是唱已，王便夾道兩邊作菩薩五百身已來種變現，或作須大拿，或作睒變，或作象王，或作鹿、馬，如是形像，皆彩畫莊校，狀若生人。然後佛齒乃出，中道而行。

The Buddha's tooth always is brought forth in the middle of the third month. Ten days before the procession, the king grandly caparisons a large elephant, on which he mounts a man who can speak distinctly (*bian shuo ren* 辯說人), and is dressed in royal robes, to beat a large drum, and make the following proclamation:—"The Bodhisattva, during three *asaṃkhyeya-kalpas*, manifested his activity, and did not spare his own life. He gave up kingdom, city, wife, and son; he plucked out his eyes and gave them to another; he cut off a piece of his flesh to ransom the life of a dove; he cut off his head and gave it as an alms; he gave his body to feed a starving tigress; he grudged not his marrow and brains. In many such ways as these did he undergo pain for the sake of all living …

Behold! ten days after this, Buddha's tooth will be brought forth, and taken to the Abhayagiri-vihāra …"

When this proclamation is over, the king exhibits, so as to line both sides of the road, each of the five hundred different *bian xian* 變現 (transmogrified representations; bodily forms; figures) in which the Bodhisattva has in the course of his history previously appeared: here as Sudana, there as Sāma [i.e. Śyāma]; now as the king of elephants, and then as a stag or a horse. All these figures are brightly coloured and grandly executed, looking as if they were alive. After this the tooth of Buddha is brought forth, and is carried along in the middle of the road.[7]

From this passage we can deduce several points: 1) there was a *bian shuo ren* 辯說人 ("man who can speak distinctly") who beat a drum and recited Jātaka sutra tales; 2) lining the sides of the road were all sorts of color illustrations of the *bian xian* (transmogrified representations) from the Jātaka tales; and 3) these festivities were held in connection with the excursion of the Buddha's tooth. Fa Xian arrived in the Kingdom of Sinhala (in Ceylon or modern Sri Lanka) in the Yixi 義熙 reign period of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (405–419).[8] He personally witnessed the custom of lining the road with illustrations in the

7 Shi Faxian 釋法顯, Zhang Xun 章巽 ann., *Foguoji* 佛國記, (Beijing: Zhongguo lüyou chubanshe, Shangwu yinshuguan, 2016), pp. 146–147. Translation modified from James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien, of His Travels in India and Ceylon, Translated and Annotated with a Corean Recension of the Text* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), 105–6.

8 See Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, (Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1957–1958), 2:162, n. 97.

ancient kingdom of Lanka, and he used the term *bian* 變 to describe them. Moreover, this use likely predates that cited by Sun in the *Funan zhuan*.

Jātaka tales were also spread by popular storytelling forms, and they must have been transmitted to China at the same time as Buddhist chanting (*fan bai* 梵唄). Huijiao's 慧皎 (CE 497–554), *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks) says:

> 原夫梵唄之起亦兆自陳思。始著〈太子頌〉及〈睒頌〉等。因為之製聲。吐納抑揚並法神授。今之皇皇顧惟蓋其風烈也。
>
> If we probe the origins of Buddhist chanting (*fan bai*), it first emerged in the time of the Cao Wei king, Chen Si 陳思 [Cao Zhi 曹植; r. 232–237], who first wrote the *Taizi song* 太子頌 (Prince's Encomium), the *Shan song* 睒頌 (Śyāma Encomium), and others, according to which [*fan bai*] sounds were made. Their breathing rhythms and pitch modulations emulate those conferred by the gods. Today's "Huanghuang gu wei" 皇皇顧惟 must be of this style.[9]

What is here called the *Shan song* is just the Śyāma story that has been composed in the form of a gāthā. The two texts of Cao Zhi's that Huijiao mentions are not found in Ming dynasty compilations of his works, so Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 suspects the attribution is false.[10]

It was probably during the Three Kingdoms period (220–280) that the Śyāma story was transmitted to China. In *juan* five of the *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 (Six pāramitā collection sutra; *T* 152) translated by Kang Senghui 康僧會

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9 "Jingshi pian zonglun" 經師篇總論 (Summary statement on the hymnodists' chapter), in, Shi Huijiao 釋慧皎 and Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (ed., ann.), *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 530–531.

Tr. note: Jao's text puts the phrase *Huanghuang gu wei* 皇皇顧惟 in quotes; Chen Yinke (see below note 10) punctuates it as a song title. The *Hanyu dacidian* in contrast reads Huanghuang as the title and guwei 顧惟 as something like "it seems likely," which here seems unlikely. See Hanyu dacidian bianzuan chu 漢語大詞典編纂處 ed., *Hanyu dacidian dingbu* 漢語大詞典訂補, (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2010), p. 1323.

10 See Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Si sheng san wen" 四聲三問 *Qinghua xuebao* (*Shehui Kexue ban*) 清華大學學報 （社會科學版） 2 (1934) 275–87. Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Si sheng san wen" 四聲三問 *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 2 (1934), pp. 275–87; reprinted in Chen Yinke, *Chen Yinke wenji—Jinmingguan conggao chubian* 陳寅恪文集—金明館叢稿初編, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), p. 340.

(d.280) of Wu 吳, the third chapter, "Ren ru du wu ji" 忍辱度無極 (*Pāramitā* of enduring disgrace without limit) says:

> 昔者菩薩厥名曰睒。……將其二親處于山澤，父母年耆兩目失明，睒為悲楚，言之泣涕。二親時渴，睒行汲水，迦夷國王入山田獵，彎弓發矢……射山麋鹿，誤中睒胸……（其父母）呼曰:『天神地神、樹神水神，吾子睒者，奉佛信法，尊賢孝親……若子審奉佛至孝之誠上聞天者，箭當拔出重毒消滅子獲生存……帝釋身下，謂其親曰:『斯至孝之子，吾能活之。』……佛告諸比丘……時睒者，吾身是。國王者，阿難是……天帝釋者，彌勒是也
>
> Long, long ago the Bodhisattva was named Shan 睒 [i.e. Śyāma].... and he cared for his parents in the wilderness. His mother and Father were elderly, and neither could see clearly. Shan was saddened by this, and cried when he spoke of them ... [One day, because his parents were thirsty,] Shan went to fetch some water. The King of Kashi had entered the hills on a hunt, and while shooting an elk, accidentally struck Shan in the chest [with a poison arrow].... [Shan's parents, pounding on their chests and tearing at their cheeks] called out:
>
> "Gods of the sky, earth, trees, and water! Our son Shan prayed to the Buddha and believed the Dharma; he was respectful to worthies and filial to his parents. ... If the truths of our son's devotion to the Buddha and of his perfect filiality are known to the gods above, the arrow should be removed, the poison neutralized, and our son should be saved." ...
>
> Lord Buddha himself descended, and said to his parents: "I can bring this son of perfect filiality back to life." ...
>
> The Buddha told all the monks: I myself (*wu shen* 吾身) was Shan at the time; the King was Ananda; ... and the Heavenly Lord Buddha was Maitreya.[11]

The *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 (*Lalitavistara Sutra*) translates a "Shema xianrenzi bensheng" 奢摩仙人子本生 (Śyāma Transcendent Jataka) in which Śyāma is transliterated as "Shema" 奢摩 rather than "Shan" 睒,[12] as seen in the "Yinyue fawu pin" 音樂發悟品 (Musical Stimuli to Enlightenment section) in *juan* five, the encomium says:

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11 *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 (*Six pāramitā collection sutra*), *juan* 5; *T* 152: 3.24–5.

12 *Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 (*Lalitavistara Sutra*), *juan* 5; *T* 187: 3.566b.

昔作奢摩仙子時	Long, long ago, when he was the Shema transcendent,
父母居山同苦行，	living with his parents in the hills ascetically,
王以毒箭誤而中，	and the King's poison arrow struck him mistakenly,
抱慈無恨歡喜死。	he embraced compassion, dying without resentment.[13]

This was translated into Chinese by the Tang monk Divākara (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅 613–687), and it is also known as the *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (*Lalitavistara Sutra*).[14] The same text was translated in the state of Shu 蜀 (221–263) but subsequently lost, so although the original text was not transmitted, the story of Shema [i.e. Śyāma] must have circulated throughout China by the Three Kingdoms period (220–280).

Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (fl. 547) described an "Azhoutuo ku" 阿周陀窟 in the vicinity of Mount Dandaka (Shanchi Shan 善持山), "and place where Shanzi lived when he cared for his blind father and mother" 阿周陀窟及閃子供養盲父母處.[15] The name Shanzi 閃子 is miswritten as Menzi 門子 in all editions; the graphs *shan* 閃 and *shan* 睒 are homophones with different meanings according to the *Guangyun* 廣韻.[16]

The Śyāma jataka is told in a number of sutras translated after Wu times, as seen here in table 1:

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13 *T* 187: 3.566b.

14 Tr. note: *T* 186; this appears to be a different translation, by the Yuezhi 月氏 translator Zhu Fahu竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa; 233–310).

15 Tr. note: this passage is from the Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 *juan* 4. See Wang Yi-t'ung 王伊同 tr., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang* (Princeton: Princeton university Press, 1983), 234. The identification of mount Dandaka (also known as Mt. Dantaloca) is based on the variant Tante Shan 檀特山; Soothill, 286 identifies Azhoutuo 阿周陀 as Mulian 目連, or the rishi, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, although Azhoutuo ku 阿周陀窟 likely refers to Ajuta Caves.

16 *Shan* 睒 is under "Shangsheng" 上聲 50 *yan* 琰, glossed as *zanjian* 暫見 (briefly apparent [*zanjian*]; briefly look), *fanqie* pronunciation of *sh*[*i-r*]*an* 失冉; *shan* 閃 is in "Qusheng" 去聲 no. 54, glossed as *houshi* 候視 (wait see; seen shortly?) with a pronunciation of *t*[*ul*]*an* 吐濫. Thus the meanings differ. See Xu Shen 許慎, Tang Kejing 湯可敬 ann., *Shuowen jiezi jinshi* 說文解字今釋, (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1997), p. 463.

TABLE 1 Śyāma jataka versions

W. Jin (265–316)	Sheng Jian 聖堅 (fl. 389), tr.	*Foshuo shanzi jing* 佛說睒子經	*T* 175: 3.438
W. Jin	Anonymous, tr.	*Foshuo pusa shanzijing* 佛說菩薩睒子經	*T* 174: 3.436
Tuoba Wei (386–534)	Kekaya 吉迦夜 & Tanyao 曇曜	*Zabao zang jing* 雜寶藏經 "Wangzi yi rou ji fumu yuan" 王子以肉濟父母緣 (How the prince used [his own] flesh to get past his parents' condition) records a "Xiao zi Shanmojia (i.e. Śyāma)" 孝子睒摩迦	*T* 203: 4.448
Former Qin (351–394)	Senqiebacheng 僧伽跋澄 (Saṁghabhūti)	*Sengqieluocha sou ji jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經上 (Collected sutras of Saṅgharakṣa), upper. "In the Kingdom of Kosala, there lived a hermit-scholar named Shanshi" 拘薩羅國處隱學士名曰睒施.	*T* 194: 4.116

Shanmo 睒摩 was the son of Dukhula; Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) writes "Shangmojia" 商莫迦, and in section on Gandhāra in his *Xiyuji* 西域記 (Records of the Western Regions), he says

> 化鬼子母北行五十餘里，有窣堵波，是商莫迦菩薩 ([自注] 舊曰睒摩菩薩，訛也) 恭行鞠養，侍盲父母，於此採菓，遇王遊獵，毒矢誤中；至誠感靈，天帝注藥，德動明聖，尋即復穌。
>
> Some fifty *li* north of [where the Buddha] transformed the Guizimu 鬼子母 (Hārītī; the Devil-Mother), there is a stupa. This commemorates the bodhisattva Shanmojia 睒摩迦 who respectfully nurtured and cared for his blind parents (internal note: it used to be said that Shanmojia is the bodhisattva Shanmo 睒摩 [i.e. Śyāma]; this is wrong). Upon going to pick fruits, he encountered the king on a hunt and was accidentally hit by a poison arrow. His perfect sincerity resonated with numinous powers, and

> a celestial deity applied medicine. His virtue moved the percipient sages, and he was soon revived.[17]

Although Xuan Zang claims the attribution to Śyāma is false, it is quite clear that the story derives from the *Shanmo bensheng* 睒摩本生 (Sama-Jataka) in the *Nanchuan dazangjing* 南傳大藏經 (Southern canon; *Pali Tipiṭaka*).[18] Research by Western scholars has concluded that this is a variation of a story in the *Ramayana*, in which Ramayana's father, the Mahārāja Daśaratha (*Shiche wang* 十車王) accidentally shoots and kills a hermit's only child.

Ceylon's *Da shi shu* 大事書 (*Mahāvastu*) has a Śyāmaka jataka;[19] in the Pali Text Society's edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (*Suoxing zang jing* 所行藏經; "Basket of Conduct" Canon), the name Shanmo 睒摩, is used to translate the name Sāma in "Suvaṇṇasāma" in number thirty-three,[20] which is definitely correct. In all versions of the story, it is Śyāma's filiality (*xiao* 孝) that resonates with heaven and earth, and because filiality was widely advocated during the Han dynasty, this story was emphasized. Kang Senghui's translation in particular developed the filiality element of the story, and from the time it entered China at the end of the Han it spread quickly. Given the story's popularity and process of adaptation, it is hardly unexpected that someone would eventually make a "Śyāma Encomium" or insert the story into *fanbai* chants.

From the Śyāma *bian* ("Shan bian" 睒變) that Faxian saw in Ceylon—the Śyāma *bianxiang* illustrated in color—we can deduce that by the Eastern Jin it was already customary to refer to a type of Buddhist jataka stories as *bian*; or,

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17 Xuanzang 玄奘, *Datang xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 254–255.

18 Recorded in *juan* 38 of the *Baliwen jingdian* 巴利文經典 (Pali canon), text no. 540 (Fausböll #540); Yuanhengsi hanyi nanchuan dazangjing bian yi weiyuanhui 元亨寺漢譯南傳大藏經編譯委員會, Huiyue fashi 慧嶽法師 ed., Wuxing 悟醒 tr., "Shanmo xianzhe bensheng tan" 睒摩賢者本生譚, *Hanyi Nanchuan Dazangjin* 漢譯南傳大藏經 [*Chinese Translation of the Pali Tipiṭaka*], (Gaoxiong: Yuanhengsi miaolin chubanshe, 1996), Xiaobu jingdian 小部經典 no. 16, Bensheng jing 本生經 no. 11, 41:1–40.

19 *Da shi shu* 11, pp. 209–231; Katarzyna Marciniak, "Śyāmaka jātaka", in *The Mahāvastu: A New Edition* (Tokyo: Soka University, 2020), 2: 273–87.

20 Tr. Note: Jao refers here to an edition of the "Bali wenxuehui" 巴利文學會, which is certainly the "Pali Text Society" 巴利聖典協會. This work is found in book three, no. 13 of the *Cariyāpiṭāka* transcribed in Rev. Richard Morris ed., *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭāka* (London: Henry Frowde for The Pali Text Society, 1882), 101; the same story is number no. 33 in the inclusive sequence (counting all three books) of the *Cariyāpiṭāka*, and is translated in I.B. Horner, trans., *The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, Part III: Basket of Conduct* [*Cariyāpiṭāka*] (London: Pali Text Society, 1975). p. 46. Chinese translation of the Pali text is found in Wuxing tr., *Suoxing zangjing* 所行藏經, collected in Shi Tongmiao et al. eds., *Hanyi Nanchuan Dazangjing*, 44: 266–307.

bianjing 變經 (sutra *bian*), owing to the fact that they arise from jataka stories in the sutras. In later times, all illustrations made from Buddhist sutras could be called *bian*. In India, the Śyāma jataka was made into engravings very early on, and was engraved on the western wall of the Great Stupa in Sanchi, established late in the reign of Aśoka (268–232 BCE). The engravings date roughly to the two centuries flanking the common era. The Śyāma jataka also shows up later in caves at Gandhara,[21] details of which are also seen in *Luoyang qielan ji*, *juan* five, which quotes Huisheng's 惠生 account of the Queli stupa 雀離浮圖 at the city of Gandhara.[22] Huisheng once "saved part of his travel budget, carefully selecting a skilled craftsman to copy in bronze the [jataka engravings] of the Queli stupa as well as the four *ta-bian* 塔變 (pagoda-*bian*) of Shakyamuni. ……減割行資，妙簡良匠，以銅摹寫雀離浮圖儀一軀及釋迦四塔變.[23] What are here identified as examples of *ta-bian* 塔變 narrate the Thatāgata: 1) cutting out his own flesh to save a dove; 2) giving up his eyes; 3) giving up his head; and 4) offering his body to feed a starving tiger. The engravings found at the Sanchi pagoda are examples of precisely this sort of *ta-bian*.

When the Northern Wei carved out cave nine at Yungang Grottoes 雲岡石窟, and when the Kucheans carved out their caves at Kizil, they all painted their caves with Śyāma jataka themes.[24] In the Dunhuang caves, the Śyāma jataka in cave 299 (according to the new numbering system) was also painted in the Northern Wei. Cave nine at Qianfodong 千佛洞 (Thousand Buddhas Grotto) has a Śyāma jataka as well, for which a caption on the southern wall reads:

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21 See Alfred Charles Auguste Foucher: *L'art gréco-bouddhique de Gandhâra tome I*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905); Albert Von le coq and Ernst Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische Spät-Antike in Mittel-Asien*, (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1922).

22 Jao here refers to an account of the Buddhist pilgrims Huisheng 惠生 and Song Yun 宋云 who were sent on a journey to India to collect sutras, leaving in 518 and returning in 522. Their accounts, now lost, are quoted extensively in *Luoyang qielan ji* as the *Daorong ji* 道榮記, for which see Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 ed., Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之, *Luoyang qielanji jiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), p. 182, 243 n. The "Queli" Stupa is probably the Kanishka Stupa, first erected to commemorate the Kushan emperor, Kanishka the Great (d. 150 CE). The "City of Gandhara" 乾陀羅城 presumably refers to Puruṣapura near modern Peshawar, Pakistan, mentioned in Zhou and Yang, 209; Wang, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, 238–9 and 239 n. 175, 178.

23 Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 ed., Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之, *Luoyang qielanjijiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1963), 254; Wang Yi-tung, 243.

24 Seiichi Mizuno 水野清一, *Chūgoku no Bukkyō bijutsu* 中国の仏教美術 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968), 149 lists the materials related to the Śyāma jataka, including cave 9 at Yunganag Grottos 雲岡石窟.

睒子將盲父母到山，作草屋，採甘菓，供養父母時.

Shanzi brought his blind parents to the mountain, made a grass hut, and foraged for fruits.

The time when [the Thatāgata] was caring for his parents.[25]

The foregoing examples should make it clear just how widely this tale circulated. Table 2 below summarizes the variant versions Śyāma narratives.

TABLE 2 Transliterations of the name Śyāma

Transliteration	**Text name**	***Taishō* number**
Shanmo pusa 睒摩菩薩 (Shan daoshi) (睒道士)	*Liu du ji jing* 六度集經	*T* 152: 3.24–5
Shanzi 閃子	*Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記	*T* 2092: 51.1020
Shanshi 睒施	*Sengqieluocha suo ji jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經	*T* 194: 4.116
Shema 奢摩	*Fangguang dazhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經	*T* 187: 3.566
Shanmojia 睒摩迦	*Zabao zangjing* 雜寶藏經	*T* 203: 4.448
Shangmojia 商莫迦	*Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記	*T* 2087: 51.881

2

According to the *Funan ji*: "[the Liang Wu emperor 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) expanded and remodeled Buddhist temples, and] during the *Datong* 大同 (535–546) reign period, the *jingbian* that were painted [in these temples] were all from the hand of Zhang Yao, from Wu commandery 大同中……[諸寺] 其圖諸經變，並吳人張繇運手."[26] The Zhang You 張繇 mentioned here is the famous painter Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (b. 479). During the Southern Dynasties, *jingbian* that were painted in temples for which we have records, also include those of the very famous image of Vimalakīrti (Weimojie 維摩詰); the *Liangshu*'s "Shiziguo zhuan" 師子國傳 (Account of the Kingdom of Sinhala) says:

25 Xie Zhiliu 謝稚柳, *Dunhuang yishu xulu* 敦煌藝術敘錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1957), 431.

26 Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu* 梁書, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), p. 793.

> （瓦官）寺先有徵士戴安道手製佛像五軀，及顧長康維摩畫圖，世人謂為三絕
>
> [In addition to an exquisite Buddha carved in Jade that the Kingdom of Sinhala had presented the Jin 晉 court, and was by the time of the Liang located in the Waguan Temple 瓦官], at the fore of the temple were five sculptures of the Buddha, cut by the hand of the recluse Dai Andao 戴安道 (4th c.) and Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 (345–406) painting of Vimalakīrti. People of the age regarded these as the three greatest works of art.[27]

Xiang Da points out quite clearly that "among the stone engravings at the Longmen Grottoes is one 'Niepan bian' 涅槃變 (Nirvana *bian*) from the time of the Tang empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705), which is the earliest of known Tang Dynasty *bianxiang*."[28] Here below I will identify all the paintings by pre-Tang artists in the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Catalog of famous paintings by dynasty) and other such works, whose titles contain *bian* or *jingbian*:[29]

TABLE 3 *Bian* paintings organized chronologically

Era	Painter	Title	Place	Source
	Zhang Mo 張墨 (317–420)	*Weimojie bianxiangtu juan* 維摩詰變相圖卷		*Zhenguan gongsi huashi* 貞觀公私畫史; Zhang Mo was the disciple of Wei Xie 衛協
Jin 晉	Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (345–411)	*Weimojie xiang* 維摩詰像	Waguan si 瓦官寺 (Waguan temple)	The *Lidai minghua ji* collected by Mi Fu 米芾 has a "Weimo tu" 維摩圖 two *chi* in length

27 Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu*, 800.

28 Xiang Da, "yinyan" 引言 [Introduction] in Wang Zhongmin 王重民 et al., *Dunhuang Bianwen ji* 敦煌變文集, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1957), p. 4.

29 See Zhu Zhuyu 朱鑄禹, *Tangqian huajia renming cidian* 唐前畫家人名辭典, (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961).

Tr. Note: Jao here seems to be responding to Xiang Da's claim that the earliest instance of a *bianxiang* is the Tang dynasty *Niepan bian* 涅槃變.

TABLE 3 *Bian* paintings organized chronologically (*cont.*)

Era	Painter	Title	Place	Source
	Yuan Qian 袁倩 (420–478)	*Weimojie bian* in one *juan* 維摩詰變一卷		*Lidai minghua ji* 6 note
Liu Song 劉宋	Liu Tanwei 劉探微	*Annan Weimo tu* 阿難維摩圖		*Lidai minghua ji* 6 note
Liang 梁	Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇	*Zhujing bian* 諸經變		*Liang shu* 梁書 "Funan zhuan" 扶南傳
		Weimojie 維摩詰		*Zhenguan gongsi huashi*; there is also a *Xidataizi taizi nafei tu* 悉達太子納妃圖 (Image of Prince Siddhartha taking a wife)
	Zhang Shanguo 張善果	*Baoji jingbian* 寶積經變		Zhang Shanguo is the son of Sengyao
Sui 隋	Zheng Fashi 鄭法士	*Fo miedu bianxiang* 佛滅度變相 (*Niepan bian* 涅槃變)	Yongtai si 永泰寺	*Minghua ji*; same for below
	Sun Shangzi 孫尚子	*Weimojie* 維摩詰	Dingshui si 定水寺	
	Yang Qiedan 楊契丹	*Benxing jing* 本行經	Guangming si 光明寺	
		Fo niepan bianxiang 佛涅槃變相	Baocha si 寶剎寺	*Lidai minghua ji* notes that he has a *Za Fo bian* 雜佛變
		Weimojie bian 維摩詰變	Baocha si 寶剎寺	
	Yuchi Bazhina 慰遲跋質那	*Jiangmo bian* 降魔變	Guangzhai si 光宅寺	

TABLE 3 *Bian* paintings organized chronologically (*cont.*)

Era	Painter	Title	Place	Source
		Jingtu jingbian 淨土經變	Dayun si 大雲寺	
	Dong Boren 董伯仁	*Daojing bianxiang* 道經變相		See *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜
		Mile bianxiang 彌勒變相		*Zhengguan gongsi huashi*

From Table 3, we can see that painters in the Jin dynasty had already begun to make *bianxiang*, starting with the generation of Zhang Mo 張墨; it did not start with Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇. Of all the *jingbian* those done on Vimalakīrti were most numerous. As for the "Niepan bian" and "Jiangmo bian" 降魔變 (*Bian* on Subduing the demon [Māra]), painters had already depicted them in murals during the Sui.

In Eastern Jin and Six Dynasties accounts, there are what Fa Xian calls the *Shanbian* 睒變 and Yang Xuanzhi's *Tabian* 塔變, which just use the single graph *bian* 變. In Tang texts, *bian* 變 and *bianxiang* 變相 seem to be used indiscriminately, and there are also those who write *bianxiang tu* 變相圖 (such as Zhang Mo's writings), or use the term *tubian* 圖變, as it appears, for example, in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄.[30]

In manuscripts from Dunhuang, there are sixteen scrolls altogether in which the beginning or ends of the scrolls call the works *bian* 變 or *bianwen* 變, there are nine that call them *bian* and seven that call them *bianwen*. As Kanaoka has pointed out, interspersed throughout these texts are often formulaic references such as "... and look at [such and such]" 且看……處 "to circulate the tale faithfully" 謹為轉說, "if one were to relate the tale" 若為陳說, that tell us this type of *bianwen* is a scroll used in chantefable (*jiangchang* 講唱; perfoming mixed song and storytelling) performance, in conjunction with pictorial images.[31]

30 Zhi Sheng 智昇(fl. 7th c.), *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, *juan* 10, has an entry regarding a book compiled by the 7th century monk Jing Mai 靖邁, entitled *Da Tang gujin shijing tuji* 大唐古今繙譯經圖紀（記）, in four *juan*, about which is commented: "In the sutra translation hall of the Da Ci'en Monastery, walls were painted with the past and present, and *tubian* 圖變 were translated" 大慈恩寺翻經堂內壁畫古今翻譯圖變. *T* 2154: 55.578c.

31 Kanaoka, "On the word 'Pien'".

There are *bianwen* which are labeled with the words "one *pu*" 一鋪 at the scroll-end, such as the *Wang Ling bian* 王陵變 (P.3627), or the *Wang Zhaojun bianwen* 王昭君變文, which have the phrase "end of the scroll-text corresponding to the standing image (*lipu* 立鋪)." In both cases, the term *pu* is a measure word for pictorial images that is not limited to picture scrolls—Buddhist sculptures also use the same measure word.[32] The merit of a painted work can also be referred to as *pu* (as in P.4638). The *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番國志 (Record of Foreign Kingdoms in the Western [i.e. Indian] Ocean) records that

> 有人盤膝坐地，以圖畫立地上，展出一段，則朝前用番語高說此段來歷，眾人環坐而聽之，或笑或哭，如中國說平話然.
>
> ... in the kingdom of Java, there are people who sit cross-legged on the ground, and using a picture standing on the ground, exhibit a section of it. Then facing [the audience] before them, they project loudly in their foreign language the story of how things [depicted] in this section have come to be. The multitudes sit around in a circle, laughing or crying—much like the presentation of *pinghua* 平話 popular stories in China[33]

This and the phenomenon of the chantefable on the "standing image" (*lipu* 立鋪) mentioned above must be somewhat similar to one another.

Other have suggested previously that *bian* 變 is short for *bianxiang* 變相, but this gets the directionality of things exactly backwards: there should have first been a word *bian* 變, to which later was added *xiang* 相 (likeness; image; aid) or *tu* 圖 (figure; picture; chart), so as to form the compound words, *bianxiang* 變相 and *tubian* 圖變. Written stories that evolved from this type of *bian* 變 oral tale were called *bianwen*. When illustrating Jataka tales or other stories from sutras, the term used is *Jingbian* 經變, as in Figure 2 below:

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32 See the work of my student, Ma Tailai (Tai-loi) 馬泰來, "Shi li pu" 釋立鋪 [Explaining "Li pu"], in *Rao Zongyi jiaoshou nanyou zengbie lunwenji* 饒宗頤教授南遊贈別論文集 [Essays Dedicated to Professor Jao Tsung-i], (Hong Kong: Rao Zongyi jiaoshou nanyou zengbie lunwenji bianji weiyuanhui, 1970), 147.

33 Gong Zhen 鞏珍, Xiang Da 向達 ann., *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番國志, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 10.

Tr. note: For the sake of clarity, the translation provides some of the passage Jao omits.

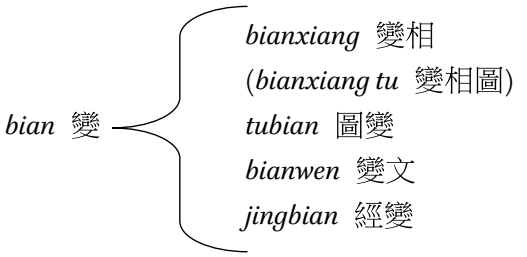

FIGURE 2 Variations of *bian* 變

In the *Wusheng gequ* 吳聲歌曲 (Songs from the state of Wu) there is a "Liu bian" 六變 (Six *bian*), a "Zhangshi bian" 長史變 (Administrator's *bian*), and a "Huanwen bian" 歡聞變 (Pleased to hear *bian*); there are also some *biange* 變歌 songs by someone known as Ziye 子夜 as well. All of these are cases of *yuefu* 樂府 poems that use the term *bian* in their titles. The *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Collection of Music Bureau poems) preserves a quote from the *Songshu* 宋書 (History of Song) "Treatise on Music" 樂志 that says "… all the songs of the *liu bian* were made in response to events" 六變諸曲，皆因事製歌.[34] It also quotes the *Gujin yuelu* 古今樂錄 (Ancient and contemporary records on music) as saying:

> 《子夜變歌》，前作「持子」送，後作「歡娛我」送。《子夜警歌》無送聲，仍作變，故呼為變頭，謂六變之首也。
>
> In the "Ziye bian ge" 子夜變歌 (*bian* songs of Ziye [Ms. Midnight]) the first has the tune "Chizi" 持子 (Holding the child) as its harmonic coda (*song* 送), whereas the last has "Huan yu wo" 歡娛我 (Amuse me) as its harmonic coda.[35] The "Ziye jing ge" 子夜警歌 (Warning songs of Ziye) does not have a harmonic coda section (*songsheng* 送聲) but is still regarded as part of the *bian*, and thus is called the "head of the *bian*" (*biantou* 變頭), and regarded as the beginning of the "Liu bian" 六變 (Suite of six bian).[36]

34 Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 ed., *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 655.

35 These two songs, "Chizi" 持子 and "Huan yu wo" 歡娛我 seem to be orchestral interludes that are now lost or otherwise unknown, so their title translations are tentative. The titles likely refer to melodies associated with these songs.

36 Guo, *Yuefu shiji*, 655.

The term *bian* here refers to the change in form of a *yuefu* poem, and thus has no relation at all with *bianwen*. Nonetheless, as to the *Song shu*'s claim that "all the songs of the *liu bian* were made in response to events," there are indeed songs, for example, like the "Changshi bian" 長史變, Wang Qian 王廞 (fl. 397) composed in response to his imminent defeat. In regard to the term *bian*, as it may relate to concrete events, the "Great Preface" 詩大序 to the *Shijing* 詩經 says: "[the historians of the states] … were fully conversant with the *shi bian* 事變 (changes in affairs) and yearned for the customs of old." 達於事變而懷其舊俗者也.[37] If we consider that the terms *bian* and *shi* 事 (affairs) can be brought together in the term *shi bian* 事變, then it makes perfect sense that the "Liu bian" 六變 were made in response to events.

In 1963 I traveled to a number of Buddhist countries, from India, through Ceylon, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Siam. Wherever I alit from car or boat, I had to see the wall paintings. In every place one finds avatars (*avatāra*; *chui ji* 垂跡) that mark the incarnations of the Buddha in the Jataka sutras, although those at Kandy in Ceylon or Bagan in Myanmar make it especially easy to linger and hard to leave. These four kingdoms all followed Pāli language Theravāda traditions, and their cultures are especially permeated by Jataka tales.

The Buddha's teaching has three vehicles (*cheng* 乘 in Chinese; *Yāna* in Pāli), by which a sentient being can cross to the other bank, and cast off the cycle of life and death, or escape from the circulating sea of Samsāra. The first of these is that of the *pratyekabuddha* (*Pizhi Fo* 辟支佛; Pali *Pacceka-Bodhi*), or "solitary enlightenment" (*du jue* 獨覺; *yuan jue* 緣覺); the second belongs to the *śrāvaka* (*sheng wen* 聲聞; Pali *Sāvaka*), the "hearers" or disciples of Buddhism; and the third is the way of *sammāsaṃbodhi*, (*wu shang zhengue* 無上正覺) or "unsurpassed perfect awakening." A *pratyekabuddha*, who has undergone solitary enlightenment, is seen in Jataka tales like the *Dhajavihetha* jataka (*Dishitian bensheng* 帝釋天本生),[38] or in the *Chaddanta* jataka (*Liuyaxiang bensheng* 六牙象本生),[39] which are hardly isolated examples.

I once read the work of a Burmese writer on the Jatakas of Myanmar, from which I learned that until today it has been customary to read and memorize

37 *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 18.

38 J.391 [Jataka tale #391].

Tr. note: Jao simply refers to, but is probably working from English translation by H.T. Francis and R.A. Neil in Edward B. Cowell et al., *The Jātaka, or, Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 3:189–191.

39 J.514 [Jataka tale #514];

Tr. note: See Francis and Cowell, *The Jātaka*, 5:20–31. Jao's references to the *Pratyekabuddha* are obscure; some may be found, for example, in the *Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經 *juan* 1; *T* 205: 4.504.

the *Vessantara Jātaka* (*Xudana taizi bensheng* 須大拏本生; Jataka of Prince Sudana). Literature transmitted from the ancient Pyu city-states is in many cases based on jataka tales, and the kings of Myanmar also happen to have composed historical poems, which are mostly based on jataka stories, like that of king Shin Aggasamādhi, which transforms the Śyāma and Nimi jatakas (*Wentuojie bensheng* 文陀竭) into two very famous poems.[40]

In Thailand, jataka stories are made into wall painting, dispersed all throughout the Buddhist temples of Bangkok; these have already been reproduced by hand-copying and published in a collection.[41]

In the thought and art of the Indianized kingdoms in Southeast Asia, Jataka stories were a major cultural pillar. In China, however, the influence of jataka tales was more limited to Buddhist art.

3

From the Sui and Tang onwards, "Mile bian" 彌勒變 (Maitreya *bian*) and "Xifang bian" 西方變 (*bian* of the west) became ever more deeply engrained in popular culture. Already by the Sui paintings by the famous Dong Boren 董伯仁 included a "Mile bian," although the same theme was already well-established at Dunhuang. In regard to the meaning of *bian* 變, Wang Wei 王維 (699–759) has a eulogy (*zan* 讚) called "Eulogy on the *bian* of the Amitābha [Buddha's] Western [Pure] Land painted at the Pagoda of the Xiaoyi temple, [sponsored] by the supervising secretary Dou Shao for his deceased younger brother, the

40 Sama and Nimi jatakas are J.540 (Suvannasamajatakam) and J.541 (Nimijatakam) respectively [tr. note: see translation work in note above]; U. Lu Pe Win, lists many examples, which I will not discuss here exhaustively. See U. Lu Pe Win, "The Jatakas in Burma," in Ba Shin et al., eds., Essays Offered to G.H. Luce by His Colleagues and Friends: In Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, Artibus Asiae. Supplementum 23 (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae, 1966), 2:94–108. See also G.H. Luce, "The 550 Jātakas in Old Burma," *Artibus Asiae* 19, (1956) 3–4: 291–307.

Tr. note: J.540 are translated into Chinese in *Hanyi nanchuan dazangjing*, 41:1–40; J. 541 in 41: 41–83.

41 Jao cites "L. Phra Vanarat, *The Life of the Buddha According to Thai Temple Paintings*."

Tr. note: the bibliography of this is uncertain; I find a record of Rudolf W.E. Hampe illust., Kurt F. Leidecker au., *The Life of the Buddha According to Thai Temple Paintings*. (Bangkok: United States Information Service, 1957), with a foreword by Somdech Phra Vanarat, but at time of press I am unable to consult the book.

former commandant escort" 給事中竇紹為亡弟故駙馬都尉於孝義寺浮圖畫西方阿彌陀變讚.[42] The preface reads as follows:

> 《易》曰「遊魂為變」，《傳》曰「魂氣則無不之」，固知神明更生矣。輔之以道，則變為妙身，之於樂土……
> 得無法者，即六塵為淨域；繫有相者，憑十念以往生。……
> 尚茲繪事，滌彼染業。

> The *Changes* says that "the roaming soul (*hun* 魂) is *bian* 變 (transformation)"; a tradition says that "there is nowhere that the roaming soul's *qi* does not reach." Thus we know that spiritual intelligence renews life, and aids it by way of the *Dao*. Thus *bian* becomes the marvelous body and reaches the Happy [i.e. Western Pure] Land
>
> ... to those who have attained no-dharma, the six dusty [sense fields] are like the Pure Land; but those tied to form must rely on the ten recitations [of Amitābha] to be reborn there.
>
> ... To present this painted work [of the *Bian* of the West] is to cleanse that defiled karma ...[43]

This is very representative of how people in the Tang dynasty understood the meaning of *Xifang bian* (*bian* on the west); Wang Wei was himself a great painter, and so his view on this is certainly worth emphasizing. Employing the phrase in the *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳 (Commentary on the attached phrases) of the *Classic of Changes*, "the roaming *hun*-soul is *bian*" (*you hun wei bian* 游魂為變), without explaining the term *bian*, is certainly not unreasonable. As Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648) writes in his *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義 (Correct Meaning of the Zhou *Changes*):

> 游魂為變者，物既積聚，極則分散，將散之時，浮游精魂，去離物形，而為改變，則生變為死，成變為敗，或未死之間，變為異類也。

> As to the meaning of *you hun wei bian* 游魂為變, a being having assembled together, upon reaching its pole of inflection, will ultimately divide

42 *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, comp. Dong Gao 董誥, 325.17a–18a (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 3300. "Jishizhong Dou Shao wei wang di gu fumaduwei yu xiaoyisi futuhua xifang Amituo bian zan" 給事中竇紹為亡弟故駙馬都尉於孝義寺浮圖畫西方.

Tr. Note: For a study of this work, see Taraneh Aghdaie, "Transforming the Spirit: Wang Wei's Encomium on a Pure Land Bianxiang" (M.A. thesis, Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, 2017).

43 Wang Wei, *Wang Weijijiaozhu* 王維集校注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 989–993.

> and disperse. Just prior to dispersing, the pure essence of the *hun*-soul 魂, which floats and roams, departs from the being's [physical] form, and becomes **change** (*gaibian* 改變) [itself]. Thus life changes (*bian*) to death, success changes (*bian*) to failure, and on the brink of its demise, a thing **changes into another type [of thing]**.[44]

What Wang Wei seeks to here thus is to conflate the concept of transformative reincarnation with the concept of *bian* in the *Xici* commentary's "the roaming *hun*-soul 魂 is *bian* 變 (transformation)."

Wang's encomium (*zan* 讚) says:

> 生因妄念， Life is born of deluded thoughts;
> 沒有遺識。 there is no conscious residue [of prior lives].
> 憑化而遷， By transformation (*hua*) it circulates;
> 轉身不息。 **shifting** ceaselessly **body to body**.
> 將免六趣， To evade the six destinies [of rebirth],
> 惟此十力。 there are just these ten powers [of the Buddha].[45]

Precisely because by way of the Buddhist dharma one is able to evade the six destinies of bitter reincarnation, painting and sculpture can be employed as a means of transcendence. A number Tang figures wrote encomia on *xifang bian* 西方變. Quan Deyu 權德與 (759–818; courtesy name Zaizhi 載之) has a "Hua xifang bian zan" 畫西方變讚, which says:

> 惟西方有極樂之國……惟孝子信士，仰為冥助，則像設之，綵繪之，用申罔極之報。今茲西方變即……范公之孤……為先妣……博陵崔夫人，既練所畫也。
>
> In the west there is a kingdom of unsurpassed happiness ...
>
> Filial sons and lay devotees turn their gaze aloft for spiritual aid, and so they set down its images; they illustrate it in color, to appeal for recompense from the ultimate.

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44 Wang Bi 王弼 ann., Kong Yingda 孔穎達 ann., *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 313.

Tr. note: emphasis is Jao's.

45 Wang Wei, *Wang Wei ji jiaozhu* 王維集校注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 969.

Tr. Note: Emphasis is Jao's. "Six destinies" (*liu qu* 六趣 or *liu dao* 六道; Skt. *ṣaḍ-gati*) refer to six types of rebirth; "ten powers" (*shi li* 十力; Skt. *daśa-balāni*) refers to a scheme of ten powers possessed by the Buddha.

> Now the *Xifang bian* at hand … is presented by the orphans of the Elder Mr. Fan 范公… for their late mother, Lady Cui 崔夫人 [of the Boling 博陵 clan], painted after the period of mourning.[46]

Li Bai (701–762) has a *Jinyin ni hua xifang jingtu bianxiang zan* 金銀泥畫西方淨土變相讚 (Encomium on a *bianxiang* of the Western Pure Land in gold and silver paint), which reads:

……	…
天花散香閣。	heavenly blooms perfume the pavilion.
圖畫了在眼，	The illustrations are lucid to the eye;
願托彼道場。	if only I were entrusted to that place of worship.
以此功德海，	In [traveling] this sea of merit,
冥祐為舟梁。	Spiritual aid is boat or bridge.
八十一劫罪，	Eighty-one kalpas of sin,
如風掃輕霜	like wisps of frost swept off by wind.[47]

This also shows quite clearly that painting works of the *xifang bian* was done expressly to seek fortune in rebirth, and Li Bai calls the work a *bianxiang* 變相. Ren Hua 任華 (fl. *c.*760) also has a *Xifang bian hua zan* 西方變畫讚 (Encomium on a painting of the *bian* of the Western [Pure] Land), which refers to a work as "the Marvelous dharma Lotus *bian*, venerably painted in one *pu*-image 敬畫《妙法蓮華變》一鋪," and a line in the encomium's preface says "show the *jingbian*" 見示變,[48] so it is apparent that the two terms *bian* and *jingbian*, can be used interchangeably.

When Wang Wei writes "… aids it by way of the Dao, so that *bian* becomes the *miaoshen* (marvelous body)" 輔之以道，則變為妙身, what does he mean by *miaoshen* 妙身? In the Liang dynasty (502–557) the Zhaoming Prince 昭明太子 (Xiao Tong 蕭統; 501–531) has a "Lingzhi jie fashen yi" 令旨解法身義 (Decree explaining the meaning of the *fashen* [dharma body]), in which Fa Yun 法雲 of the Guangze temple 光澤寺 enquires: "When the sutras explain 'permanence,' they treat it as 'marvelous function' (*miaoyong* 妙用), if this is a figurative explanation, then what is the meaning of *miaoyou* 妙有?" 經說常

46 *Xinkan Quan Zaizhi wenji* 新刊權載之文集, 28.12a–12b, in *XXSK*, 1309:208–9.

47 Li Bai 李白, "Jinyin ni hua xifang jingtu bianxiang zan" 金銀泥畫西方淨土變相讚, *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 3544 (*juan* 350).

48 Ren Hua 任華, "Xifang bian hua zan" 西方變畫讚, in *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, 376.17a–18a (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 3824–25.

住，以為妙用；如其假說，何謂妙有.[49] To this the decree replies "[the sutras provisionally] entrust the meaning to what can be spoken or seen, so they call it 'marvelous existence' (*miaoyou* 妙有); however if one knows to sever what can be spoken or seen, what existence would marvelous have?" 寄以名相 故說妙有 理絕名相 何妙之有.[50]

The Buddhists have three bodies: 1) the *fashen* 法身, or dharma body; 2) the *baoshen* 報身, or recompense body; and 3) the *huashen* 化身 or transformation body. In the stories related in the *Liu du ji jing*, the main protagonist-boddhisattvas are portrayed as transformation bodies of the Buddha. This we see in the story of Śyāma's filial treatment of his blind parents, in which the Buddha says to all the monks "I myself (*wu shen* 吾身; lit. 'my body') was Śyāma at the time" 時睒者吾身是. Other instances can also be regarded in the same way.[51] The same general principle is seen in the "Pu men pin" 普門品 (Universal gateway) section of the *Fahuajing* 法華經 (Lotus Sūtra), wherein Avalokiteśvara has thirty-two transformation bodies that manifest in numerous forms and traverse the various kingdoms, so as to liberate all sentient beings. In Vaishnavite tradition of Hinduism, these are called *avatara*; in Shaivite traditions, they are called *vasa*.[52]

It is not a simple matter to trace back the Sanskrit for the term *bian*. There are those, such as Guan Dedong 關德棟 (1920–2005) that believe *bian* comes from *mandala* (lit. circle; diagram). Zhou Yiliang 周一良 (1913–2001) and others think that *xiang* 像 (image; likeness) is from *pratima* (image; likeness) and *bian* 變 may derive from *citra* (painted; spotted; variegated). The meaning of these two words is as follows:

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49 Tr. note: The speaker here seems to be Fa Yun 法雲 (467–529; lit. Dharma Cloud) of the Guang Zhai Temple 光宅寺, whose biography is recorded in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, *juan* 5.

50 *Wen xuan* 文選 *juan* 5; Xiao Tong 蕭統, *Liang Zhaoming taizi wenji* 梁昭明太子文集, *SBCK*, 595:70.

51 Tr. note: Jao's phrase beginning "Other instances …" appears to have the meaning translated here, but also quotes the *Diamond Sutra*. *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經; *T* 235: 8.752b.

52 See Hikata Ryūshō 干潟龍祥, *Honshōkyō rui no shisōshiteki kenkyū* 本生経類の思想史的研究, Tōyō Bunko ronsō 東洋文庫論叢 35 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1954), 76, 158.

pratima	Rig Veda: "image"; "likeness"[53]
citrá	Rig Veda: "variegated"
	Prakrit: *citta*, "picture"
	Kati: *citre*, "malte-coloured"[54]

In entry 1753 of the *Fanyi mingyi daji* 翻譯名義大集 (Great compendium of translated meanings; Skt. Mahāvyutpatti, "Great Detailed Explanation"), the Sanskrit name for *huihua* 繪畫 (illustration; painting) is listed as *mānanā-paryāyāḥ*; one item contains *bao huihua* 寶繪畫 (treasured illustration), which in Sanskrit is *bahu-mana*, in which *bahu* may mean "many," "great," or "very."[55] Thus from the above we know that the Sanskrit term for *huihua* (illustration) is *māna*, and *huashen* 化身 is *nirmāṇa-kāyaḥ*.[56] If we look again to R.L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary*, we find that the following two terms have exactly the same meaning:

nirmāṇa	"measuring,"[57]
mā´na	"measure"[58]

The meaning of *bian* 變 derives from the term "transformation body" (*huashen* 化身), and the Sanskrit term for "painting" or "illustration" is *māna*, which also has the same meaning of "measuring" as the Sanskrit term *nirmāṇa* ("measuring"; "making") found in the term "transformation body" *nirmāṇa-kāyaḥ* (*huashen* 化身). Thus we know that Han translators translated *māna* as *bian* 變, which would have a been a very standard translation of the meaning.

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53 Entry, 8585, from R.L. (Sir Ralph Lilley) Turner, *A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962–1966), 485.

54 Turner, 261, entry #4803.

55 Turner, 519 entry #9186.

Tr. note: Jao does not specify his source for the *Fanyi mingyi daji* 翻譯名義大集. The glosses of Sakaki Ryōzaburō 榊亮三郎, *Bon-Zō-Kan-Wa yon'yaku taikō Hon'yaku myōgi taishū* 梵藏漢和四譯對校翻譯名義大集 [Kyōto Bunka daigaku-zōhan 文科大學藏版] (Kyōto: Teikoku Daigaku, 1916), lists *mānanā-paryāyāḥ* as entry 1753 (p.139), which it glosses uncertainly as "terms for illustration (?)" (諸繪畫（？）名目) and more certainly as "terms for respect/offerings" (諸供奉名目); indeed, *mānanā-paryāyāḥ* would seem to be the thematic heading for a number of terms contained within the section. However, Sakaki's entry 1756 (p.139), *mānanā*, is glossed as "to illustrate" (作畫), and in entry 1784 (p.141) *Bahu-mānam* is glossed as "treasured illustration, to serve, or translated as 'to respect'" (寶繪畫、承侍、或翻尊敬).

56 Sakaki, *Hon'yaku myōgi taishū*, 8 [entry 118].

57 Turner, 417 entry #7368; note that the Pali is *nimmāna*.

58 Turner, 577 entry #10041.

4

The term *bian* 變 is also used in Daoism, where it carries forward the meaning just described. The Dunhuang manuscript P.2004, *Laojun shiliu bianci* 老君十六變詞 (Lord Lao's Sixteen *bian* lyrics) contains altogether eighteen poems, of which the thirteenth says:

十三變之時，	During the time of his thirteenth change (*bian*),
變形易體在罽賓，	he **transformed** (*bianxing*) into a **different** body in the land of Jibin.
從天而下無根元，	He descended from the heavens with no root or origin,
號作彌勒金剛身……	and was called the Diamond body of Maitreya.[59]

Adherents of Daoism imitated Buddhist Sutras, which is why there are also *bian* 變 for Daoist scriptures, which were made into illustrations. These we can find, for example, in the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Record of famous paintings by dynasty), which has a work of the famous Sui dynasty painter Dong Boren 董伯仁 (fl. mid-6th c.) called "Daojing bianxiang" 道經變相 (*bianxiang* of a Daoist scripture).

The supernatural transformations of Buddhist sages have a specific terminology in the Buddhist sutras, where there are called *shenbian* 神變. The *Fanyi mingyi ji* has an entry for a *sanshenbian* 三神變 (Skt. *trīṇi prātihāryāṇi*; entry #231).[60] The Kumārajīva translation of the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa* [*Sūtra*] (*Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說) has a "Foguo pin" 佛國品 (Section on the Buddhist Kingdoms) in which a hymn intones:

既見大聖以神變，	We have seen the great sage work miraculous transformations (*shenbian*)
普現十方無量土	showing us all the countless lands in ten directions.[61]

59 Dunhuang manuscript P.2004.
Tr. Note: Emphases in bold are Jao's; transcriptions can be found in Lu Qinli 逯欽立, *Xianqin Han Wei-Jin Nanbeichao shi*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), v. 3, 2254. The source for these is identified as the *Laozi huahu jing* [*juan*] ten.

60 Sakaki, *Hon'yaku myōgi taishū*, 22.

61 *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* (*Weimoji suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經); *T* 475: 14.537. English translation adapted from Burton Watson, *The Vimalakirti Sutra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008), 21.

The term *shenbian* 神變 is *pratihārya* in Sanskrit.[62] In Bodhiruci's 菩提流志 Tang dynasty translation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* (*Dabao jijing* 大寶積經; Great Heap of Treasures Sutra), a line reads:

現種種希有神變	… manifesting every type of rare miraculous transformation (*shenbian*);
放大光明普照世界	magnifying bright clarity, to illuminate every corner of the world.[63]

Xuan Zang's 玄奘 (602–664) translation of the [*Shorter*] *Sukhāvatī-vyūha Sūtra* (*Chengzan jingtu fo sheshou jing* 稱讚淨土佛攝受經; Sutra in Praise of the Buddha's Embrace in the Pure Land), contains the line "[all the Buddhas] reside in this [Pure] Land, manifesting great miraculous transformations (*shenbian*) 各住本土，現大神變."[64] The term *shenbian* also appears in the title of the *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經 (*Amoghapāśa Kalparāja Sutra*; "*Dhāraṇī* sutra of Amoghapāśa with the unfailing snare").[65] In the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* the spiritual powers of the protagonists exceed all customary limits,[66] which is probably what makes it an especially enchanting favorite among sutras.

In Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) translation of the *Genben shuo yiqie you bu pinaiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (*Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya*; Original monastic code of the Sarvāstivāda School) below a line of verse stating that "the temple should be painted all throughout" 寺中應遍畫, the Buddha's comment on interior decorations is presented as follows:

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62 See note in the French translation, Etienne Lamotte, *L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*). (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1962), 106.

63 *Dabao jijing* 大寶積經 *juan* 18, *T* 310: 11.101.

64 Jao cites the Nanjō Bunyū 南條文雄 edition, which compares five translations; the Chinese text is found in *T* 367: 12.351a.

65 *T* 1092: 20.227. In cave 15 [tr. note cave 18 under the current numbering system] of the Western Thousand Buddha Grottoes there is an "Amoghapāśa Guanyin with the unfailing lasso … image" 不空羂索觀音……像 on the south wall.

Tr. note: Jao cites 301–2, although 227 seems to be the first instance. The Chinese would seem to attribute this to the 8th c. translator Bukong 不空, but the Taisho lists this text as a translation of Bodiruci. Amoghapāśa, also identified as Lokeśvara, is a form of Avalokiteśvara, or Guanyin 觀音 in popular in tantric traditions.

66 Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Dunhuang ben weimojiejing Wenshushili wenji pin yanyi ba" 敦煌本維摩詰經文殊師利問疾品演義跋, *Che Yinke ji* 陳寅恪集, *Jinmingguan conggao erbian* 金明館叢稿二編, (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2015), 3:204.

> 佛言:長者！於門兩頰應作執杖藥叉，次傍一面作大神通變，又於一面畫作五趣生死之輪，簷下畫作本生事。佛殿門傍畫持鬘藥叉，於講堂處畫老宿苾芻宣揚法要，於食堂處畫持餅藥叉，於庫門傍畫執寶藥叉，安水堂處畫龍持水瓶著妙瓔珞，浴室火堂依天使經法式畫之，并畫少多地獄變，於瞻病堂畫如來像躬自看病，大小行處畫作死屍形容可畏，若於房內應畫白骨髑髏。
>
> The Buddha said: Head Monk! Flanking the door on each side you should make *yaksa* demons grasping their cudgels, then to one side of this make a great *bian* of the [Buddha's] ubiquitous, miraculous powers. On the other side make [a series of images depicting] the five destinations of rebirth in the cycle of life and death. Under the eaves you should paint Jataka stories …
>
> The fire hall of the bathhouse should be painted according to the dharma of the *Tianshi jing* 天使經 (Sutra of the heavenly messengers);[67] and paint some *bian* depicting the hells … if indoors, you should paint white-boned skeletons.[68]

A number of others have already cited this particular passage, which offers very detailed guidelines for painting the inside of a temple. Moreover, in the instruction to paint a "great *bian* of the [Buddha's] ubiquitous, miraculous powers" (*da shentong bian* 大神通變), it is apparent that the graph *bian* refers to what is generally known as *prātihārya*.[69] For the etymology of this word, see the *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (*Lalitavistara Sūtra*); in Prakrit it is *paḍihāriya*, meaning "magic for getting things back."[70]

As to the phrase in the *Changes*, "the roaming *hun*-soul is *bian* (transformation)" (*you hun wei bian* 游魂為變), a number of Han writers have mentioned the related term *bianguai* 變怪. In the *Hanshu* "Yiwenzhi" (Treatise on arts and letters) bibliography, there are several works in the section on "miscellaneous schools of divination" (*zazhan jia* 雜占家) that employ *bianguai* in their titles, as follows:

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67 This may refer to the *Yanluo wutianshizhe jing* 閻羅五天使者經 (Sutra of Yama's five heavenly messengers) *Taisho*, v. 1, no. 43, translated by Hui Jian 慧簡 (407–458) during the Liu Song dynasty [T0043].

68 *Taisho*, v. 24 (no. 1451), 283.

69 Tr. note: The sense of the term *prātihārya* Jao intends here is unclear; in addition the dictionary entry, "magic for getting things back," that he cites below, the term is used broadly to refer to miraculous works of the Buddha. Ci Yi 慈怡 ed., *Foguang dacidian* 佛光大辭典, (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe), 4:3410.

70 Turner, 501, entry #8938.

Zhenxiang bianguai 禎祥變怪, 21 *juan*
(Propitious omens and deviant changes)
Ren gui jingwu liuchu bianguai 人鬼精物六畜變怪, 21 *juan*
(Deviant changes of people, ghosts, spirit-entities, and the six domesticated animals)
Bianguai gaojiu 變怪誥咎 13 *juan*[71]
(Forewarning against deviant changes)

These three *bianguai* works amounted to some fifty-five *juan* altogether, but unfortunately none of them survive, so we know little about their contents. Cao Zhi has a *Gaojiu wen* 誥咎文 (Forewarning of the inauspicious), for which the preface reads:

> 五行致災，先史咸以為應政而作。天地之氣，自有變動，未必政治之所興致也。
>
> As to calamity being brought about by the *wu xing* 五行 (five phases; five conducts; five elements), the historians of former ages all regarded [calamity] as a response to political events. But the *qi* vapors of heaven and earth have their own **transformative movements** (*biandong* 變動); they are not necessarily aroused in response to politics.[72]

Thus we have here another interpretation of *biandong* 變動 (transformative movements). A section on *yao yi* 妖異 (demonic and aberrant events) in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial overview of the Taiping reign) has a subheading of *bianhua* 變化 (transformations).[73] As to the *jingwu bianguai* 精物變怪 (devious changes of spirit-entities) mentioned in the book title above, Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓 has already pointed out the example of the *Bai ze tu* 白澤圖 (White Marsh diagrams). Now there is a Dunhuang manuscript held at Paris called *Bai ze jingguai tu* 白澤精恠（怪）圖 (White Marsh spirit-deviants diagram; White Marsh Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies), from which we can speculate about the origin of calling things *jingguai*.

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71 Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 [2013]), 30.1772.
Tr. Note: due to the loss of these texts, the translation of these titles must be tentative.

72 Cao Zhi 曹植, *Cao Zijian ji* 曹子建集 [juan 9], *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編, (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936) [jibu 集部], 585;1.
Tr. note: emphasis Jao's.

73 *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, 887.6a, *yaoyibu san* 妖異部三; Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960 [1995]), 3942.

The term *hua* 化 (change; transformation), is a commonly used concept in pre-Qin Masters' literature. For example, it is defined inductively in the "Jing shuo shang" 經說上 (commentary to canon, part one) of the *Mozi* 墨子: "*hua* 化 (transformation): as in a frog turning into a quail" 化:若鼃為鶉.[74] There are a number of ancient philosophical discussions of the "transformation of things/beings" (*wuti zhuanhua* 物體轉化), such as those regarding the incipience and transformation in "several types of seeds" (*zhong you ji* 種有幾) found both in the "Zhi le" 至樂 (Perfect Joy) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子,[75] and in the "Tianrui" 天瑞 (Omens of Nature) chapter in the *Liezi* 列子,[76] as well as the "transformation of things" (*wuhua* 物化) in the "Qiwu lun" 齊物論 (Discourse on Making Things Equal) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*.[77] Jia Yi's 賈誼 *Funiao fu* (Rhapsody on the Owl) says:

萬物變化兮	The myriad things change and transform (*bianhua*),
固無休息	Verily without cease or rest.
……	...
形氣轉續兮	Matter and spirit follow one another,
變化而嬗	Changing, transforming (*bianhua*), and transmuting.
……	...
千變萬化兮	A thousand changes (*bian*), a myriad mutations (*hua*),
未始有極	Never is there an end.
忽然為人兮	If one perchance becomes a man,
何足控摶	How is this worth clinging to?
化為異物兮	If one be transformed (*hua*) into something other,
又何足患	How is this worthy of concern?[78]

In the Sui dynasty, Li Shiqian 李士謙 (523–588) interpreted this rhapsody in terms of the Buddhist theory of cyclic reincarnation. He said:

74 Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, Sun Qizhi 孫啟治 punc., *Mozi jiangu* 墨子閒詁, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 340.

75 Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 comp., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961 [2006]), 6B.624–625.

76 Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, Liezi jishi 列子集釋, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 12.

77 Guo, *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1B.112.

78 Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*, 605, 607.

Translation adapted from "Rhapsody on the Houlet" by David Knechtges, in Xiao Tong, ed., *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, trans. David R. Knechtges, 3 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982–1996), v. 3, 41–47.

> 佛經輪迴五道，無復窮已，此則賈誼所謂千變萬化未始有極，佛道未東，賢者已知其然。
>
> In the five destinies of the cycle of reincarnation, there is no returning and no cease; this is what Jia Yi means by "A thousand changes (*bian*), a myriad mutations (*hua*); never is there an end." Thus even before Buddhism came east [to China], worthy men knew it was so.[79]

This conflates the Buddhist theory of reincarnation with early Han theories of the transformation of things (*wubian* 物變).

Buddhist and native Chinese thought often dovetail in interesting ways, as can be seen below, for example, passages in the *Zhuangzi* and in the Jataka stories often seem to cohere. A comparison of passage in the "Qiwu lun" 齊物論 and the *Chaweiwang jing* 察微王經 (King Chawei sutra)[80] of the *Liu du ji jing* makes for an apt example:

> "Qiwu lun" 齊物論
> 夢飲酒者，旦而哭泣；夢哭泣者，旦而田獵。方其夢也，不知其夢也。夢之中又占其夢焉，覺而後知其夢也。且有大覺而後知此其大夢也。
>
> He who dreams of drinking wine finds himself sobbing at daybreak; he who dreams of sobbing find himself hunting in the fields at daybreak. The dreamer does not know it is a dream—in the dream he might even divine about another dream! Only on awakening does he know he was dreaming. And all the more does someone who has had a Big Awakening know that this was all one big dream![81]
>
> *Chawei wang jing* 察微王經
> 翁曰:前飲爾酒湎眩無知，今始寤耳。夢處王位……夢尚若斯，況真為王乎

79 Cited in Wang Qinruo 王欽若 et al., compiled, *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2006) [*juan* 821], 10:9557.

80 Tr. note: Chawei 察微 is presented in the sutra as the King's name, although the meaning is attested in Han texts as meaning to thoroughly "perceive all subtleties." See "Wudi Benji" 五帝本紀 in Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1.13.

81 *Zhuangzi jishi*, 1B.104.

> Before, when I drank your wine, I was in a drunken stupor, and am only now beginning to come to my senses.[82] I dreamed that I was king …
>
> If to dream of being king is this [intolerable], how much more [intolerable] must it be to actually *be* king![83]

If we compare the two passages, there is much the two have in common. The concept of *bian* 變 is something that was already around in China, so when Buddhism came east, the term *hua* 化 was used to translate "transformation body" (also *huashen* 化身; Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*) under the Buddhist theory of rebirth; the compound *shenbian* 神變 was used to translate *pratihārya*; and the word *bian* 變 was used to express the meaning of *māna*, "painting," or "illustration." These examples all seem to match the practice of *geyi* 格義 (matching concepts; categorizing concepts), which is well worth further rumination.

5

From Sui and Tang times until now, temples have all kept *huayang* 畫樣 (models or templates), to be used for reference when making paintings. Duan Chengshi 段成式 (d. 863), in his *Sita ji* 寺塔記 (Record of Temples and Stupas), notes that Yang Facheng 楊法成 (fl. 722) kept some fifteen *juan* of these templates.[84] Official books of the Sui dynasty in the *Zhenguan gongsi huashi* 貞觀公私畫史 (History of Public and Private Paintings compiled in the Zhenguan reign period [626–649]), included various types of templates.[85] Guo Ruoxu's 郭若虛 (fl. 1070) *Tuhua jianwenzhi* 圖畫見聞志 (Record of Illustrations Seen and Reported) records that "… during the chaotic final years of the Tang dynasty, … Zhao Yuande 趙元德 [fl. 904] …, obtained over a hundred illustration templates (*huayang* 畫樣) from the hands of famous master painters, and so his study was refined and broad" 趙元德……於唐季喪亂之際，得隋唐明手畫樣

82 Tr. note: At this point in the larger narrative, the king has visited a cobbler who thinks a king's life is easy, so the king gets the old man drunk, and temporarily trades places with him. Some days later, the cobbler is plied with drink again and returned to his home, after enduring the suffering of kingship (e.g. hearings at court; ministerial criticism) as well as disorientation and multiple hangovers.

83 *Liu du ji jing, Taisho* v. 3 (no. 152), 51.

84 Duan Chengshi 段成式, *Sita ji xia* 寺塔記下 preserved in *Youyang zazu xuanji* 酉陽雜俎選輯, *juan* 5, in Lan Jifu 藍吉富 ed., *Dazangjing bubian* 大藏經補編, (Taipei, Huayu chubanshe, 1985), v. 17 (no. 90), 432.

85 Pei Xiaoyuan 裴孝源, *Zhenguan gongsi huashi* 貞觀公私畫史, 2a–20a, *SKQS*, 812:20–29.

百餘本，故所學精博.[86] It seems clear from that these templates were highly prized works of art. Guo also provides the following account:

> ……大相國寺行廊阿育王等變相，暨熾盛光，九曜等，有位置小本，藏於內府後寺廊。兩經廢置，皆飭後輩名手依樣臨仿。
>
> [An edict was issued to paint] *bianxiang* 變相 of utmost radiance, including one of a King Ashoka, in the hall of the Daxiangguo Temple 大相國寺. For the [paintings of the] *Jiuyao* 九曜 (Nine Brilliant Stars/Deities; Skt. Navagraha) there was a "little design manual" (*weizhi xiao ben* 位置小本), which was later stored in the imperial depository. When the hall later was twice abandoned and restored, the subsequent generations of famous craftsmen were in both cases directed to reproduce the paintings from the models.[87]

He notes also that:

> 治平乙巳歲雨患，大相國寺……東門之南，王道真畫給孤獨長者買祇陁太子園因緣。東門之北，李用及與李象坤合畫牢度义鬬聖變相。西門之南，王道真畫誌公變十二面觀音像。西門之北，高文進畫大降魔變相。今並存之，皆奇蹟也。其餘四面廊壁皆重修復，後集今時名手李元濟等用內府所藏「副本小樣」。重臨仿者，然其間作用，各有新意焉。
>
> In the year 1065 there were torrential rains [and] the Daxiangguo Temple [was damaged heavily by flooding. By way of restoration,] to the south of the east gate, Wang Daozhen 王道真 painted the episode in which Anāthapiṇḍika purchased Prince Jeta's gardens [to build the Jetavana Monastery]. On the east gate's northern side, Li Yongji 李用及and Li Xiangkun 李象坤 collaborated in painting the *Laoduyi dou sheng bianxiang* 牢度义鬬聖變相 (Raudrākṣa battles the Sage *bianxiang*).[88] South

86 Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 2.19a–19b, *SKQS*, 812:528.

87 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi*, 535.

88 Tr. note: Laoduyi 牢度义 as rendered in the source appears to be an obscure transliteration of the name Raudrākṣa, more frequently seen as Laoduyi 勞度義 or Laoducha 勞度差. This story of Raudrākṣa battling Śāriputra is present in Dunhuang manuscripts and paintings. See Victor H. Mair, "Śāriputra Defeats the Six Heterodox Masters: Oral-Visual Aspects of an Illustrated Transformation Scroll (P4524)," *Asia Major* 8, no. 2 (1995): 1–55. The story and its mode of narration in visual culture is discussed also in Wu Hung, "What

> of the South gate,[89] Wang Daozhen 王道真 painted the "Zhigong *bian*" 志公變 and the "Twelve-faced Guanyin *bian*." North of the west gate, Gao Wenjin 高文進 painted the "Subduing the demon [Māra] *bianxiang*" Today they still exist, as outstanding traces of the past. After the other four faces and corridor walls were repaired, the famous contemporary master-painter Li Yuanji 李元濟 and others were assembled to use the "little helper template manual" (*fuben xiao yang* 副本小樣) in the imperial collection. In the process of recopying (*chonglin* 重臨) the murals, each one was conceived anew.[90]

From the two passages above, we can see that the Song imperial court always kept "little design manuals" (*weizhi xiao ben* 位置小本) or "little helper template manuals" (*fuben xiao yang* 副本小樣), so that wall paintings could be copied freehand (*lin* 臨) or traced (*mo* 摹) in the process of repair or restoration.

My good friend Luo Yuanjue 羅原覺 (1891–1965) used to have a copy of the *Chaoyuan xianzhang tu* 朝元仙仗圖 (Banners of Immortals for their Audience with the Primordials), which was later obtained by C.C. Wang (Wang Jiqian 王季遷; 1907–2003), and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. According to the opinion of Xu Bangda 徐邦達 (1911–2012), the work is a "little helper template manual" from a Daoist temple.[91] When I was at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I found a number of sketches in their collection of Dunhuang manuscripts, which I studied in *Dunhuang baihua* 敦煌白畫 (Line Drawings from Duhuang).[92] Among these, there is a fragmentary model of a *Lauduyi dou sheng bian* 勞度义鬥聖變 (Raudrākṣa battles the Sage *bianxiang*) that perfectly matches the wall painting,[93] so we can see clearly that these sketches are in fact precisely the "little design manuals" for *bianxiang*

Is Bianxiang?—On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, (1992) 1:111–92.

89 Tr. note: I suspect that "south of the south gate" is an error in the source text, as the description seems to split the four sides into two sections flanking each gate for a total of eight, four of which were damaged and four of which are here accounted for.

90 Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* [*juan* 6], 567.

91 Xu Bangda 徐邦達, Cong bihua fuben xiaoyang shuodao liang juan Songhua—Chaoyuan xianzhang tu 從壁畫副本小樣說到兩卷宋畫—朝元仙仗圖, *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物參考資料, 1956 issue 2, 57–58.

92 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang*, (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient: Dépositaire, A. Maisonneuve, 1978).

93 Tr. note: It is not clear whether Jao intends "paintings" here in the plural or not. According to Mair, 1995, there are some nineteen occurrences of this theme in murals at Dunhuang and nearby cave complexes, the earliest of which are cave 10 at Xi Qianfodong (mid 6th c.) and Mogao cave 335 (pre-686). See Mair 1995, 35 and note.

murals, a type of template for painting. *Bianwen* are stories, and *bianxiang* are illustrations; others have already said much about the interrelation between the two. How is it that the Dunhuang caves could produce these fragmentary Buddhist images and templates for *bianxiang*? In fact, it's really not so difficult to see how: these are just a few "little design manuals" that served a practical use for painting in their day, and just happen to have been preserved until now.

Postscript

Kanaoka Shoko 金岡照光 has pointed out that in the transition between the Northern Wei to Northern Zhou, there are merely four instances of Jakata *bianwen*; after which they seem to disappear. Actually, however, of these four, the "Sheshen pin" 舍身品 (Section on selfless abandonment) of the *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 (Skt. Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtrendrarājaḥ; Golden light, Supreme King of Sutras), should be properly considered a sutra rather than *bianwen*. This is an example of how sutras are often misidentified as *bianwen*. A lot of Jataka stories are painted onto walls, whereas those made into *bianwen* literature are in contrast quite few. Near Taiping Lake in Malaysia there is a late-Qing era temple that was established by the Chinese community. On its walls are a Śyāma story, which shows just how far throughout both South and Southeast Asia the "Śyāma *bian*" has traveled.

Postface to the Two Dunhuang Manuscript Fragments of the *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖 (White Marsh's Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies; P.2682, S.6261) 跋敦煌本《白澤精怪圖》兩殘卷 (P.2682, S.6261)

This article, originally published in 1969,[1] *appears to be the first article to identify two fragmentary scrolls—one in the Pelliot collection in Paris and the other in London's Stein collection—as originally belonging to the same set of diagrams. This identification has gained wide acceptance.*[2] *The Pelliot manuscript text is*

1 Originally published as: Jao Tsung-i, "Ba Dunhuang ben *Baize jingguai tu* liang canjuan" 跋敦煌本《白澤精怪圖》兩殘卷, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica) no. 41 part 4 (December 1969), 539–543, reprinted in Jao Tsung-i, *Huaning: Guohua shi lunji* 畫額—國華史論集 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1993), 199–208, and in *Wenji*, 13:329–338.

2 Other studies on this manuscript include Chen Pan 陳槃, "Gu chenwei shulu jieti er," 古讖緯書錄解題二, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishiyuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 12 (1947), 35–47; rpt in Chen Pan, *Gu chenwei yantao jiqi shulu jieti* 古讖緯研討及其書錄解題 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan), 1991, 273–292; Lin Congming 林聰明, "Bali cang Dunhuang ben Baize Jingguai tu ji Dunhuang *Ershi yong* kaoshu" 巴黎藏敦煌本白澤精怪圖及敦煌二十咏考述, *Dongwu wenshi xuebao* 東吳文史學報 2 (1977): 97–102; and Gao Guofan 高國藩, *Dunhuang minsu xue* 敦煌民俗學. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1989, 342–368. For a study and transcription of the Pelliot fragment, see Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一, "Tonkō hon *Haku-taku seikai zu* kan" 燉煌本白澤精怪圖卷, *Kokka* 國華 770 (1956): 135–47. For a physical/codicological account of Pelliot manuscript, Catherine Despeux, "Auguromancie," in Marc Kalinowski, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: Étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de la British Library* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 431–470. For an overview related texts see Donald Harper, "The Textual Form of Knowledge: Occult Miscellanies in Ancient and Medieval Chinese Manuscripts, 4th Century BCE to 10th Century CE" in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, eds. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2016), 305–354. For the recent view that the two fragments may belong to similar but not necessarily the same manuscript or set of manuscripts, and for a more thorough account of prior research, see Sasaki Satoshi 佐々木聡, "'Haku-taku sei-kai zu' saikō—s. 6261 o chūshin to shite"『白澤精怪圖』再考—S.6261 を中心として, *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 11 (2017): 57–71.

For a passage on Baize in a Russian manuscript of the *Baize tu* not discussed by Jao, and for images of Baize, including a painting found in Dunhuang manuscripts, see "Pictures of Baize/Hakutaku 白澤 (White Marsh): Ephemera and Popular Culture in Tang China and Edo Japan," forthcoming in *École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Études thématiques*, ed. Marianne Bujard, Donald Harper, and Li Guoqiang.

inscribed with the title Baize jingguai tu 白澤精怪圖 (*White Marsh's Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies*). *Both manuscript fragments, in addition to containing beautiful illustrations, are a vital source for understanding folk religion and occult knowledge as it circulated in medieval and ancient China. Jao emphasizes herein the early origins of the manuscript text: in his view, the text must have predated Ge Hong* 葛洪, *who lived in the third century* CE, *and is the putative author of the* Baopuzi 抱朴子 (*Master of Embracing the Unhewn*), *which cites knowledge from a similar* Baize tu. *Whatever can be said about the relation between the text Ge Hong saw and the fragments found at Dunhuang* (*of which many of the passages are identical or very close*), *it is certainly the case that individual passages in the* Baize tu *and their underlying magico-religions practices have some precedent in even earlier occult traditions, stretching back to Qin China and probably even before.*[3]

1

There is a scroll of the *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖 (White Marsh's diagrams of spectral prodigies) that came out of the library cave at Dunhuang, and is now in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where it is numbered P.2682 in the Pelliot collection. The text is identified as the *Jingcun tu* 精洅圖 or *Jinghua tu* 靜話圖 by some bibliographers, both of which are wrong. If we examine the original manuscript scroll, it is labeled 精恆圖, which is read as *Jingguai tu* 精怪圖 (Diagrams of spectral prodigies).

The text of the manuscript has a passage that reads "Of spectral prodigies, there are one hundred [?]-ty nine …" 精恆有壹佰□拾玖, and another that says "When a person feels fear for no reason, it is in all cases brought about by ghosts and specters or mutant prodigies" 人家無故恐者，皆是諸鬼精變恆使然. That these pronouncements refer to a diagram depicting spectral prodigies (*jing guai* 精怪) is quite clear. If we examine the section recording miscellaneous divination works (*za zhan jia* 雜占家) in the *Hanshu* 漢書 bibliographic treatise, we see the following titles:

3 For a discussion of some parallels to *Qin* dynasty demonographic texts discovered at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in 1975, see Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 2 (Dec. 1985): 459–98, especially pp. 491–8; and Donald Harper, "A Note on Nightmare Magic in Ancient and Medieval China," *Tang Studies* 6, no. 1 (1988): 69–76.

禎祥變恆二十一卷。

Zhen xiang bianguai ershiyi juan (Propitious signs and mutant prodigies), 21 *juan*

人鬼精物六畜變恆二十一卷。

Rengui jingwu liuchu bianguai ershiyi juan (Spirit entities of humans and ghosts; mutant prodigies of the six domesticated animals), 21 *juan*

變恆誥咎十三卷。

Bianguai gaojiu shisan juan (Pronouncements of misfortune on mutant prodigies), 13 *juan*.[4]

As to what is said regarding spectral beings and mutant prodigies (*jing wu bian guai* 精物變怪), the "Xici" 繫辭 (Appended words) commentary to the *Yijing* 易經 says: "spectral *qi* turns into beings, roving *hun*-souls turn into mutants" 精氣為物，遊魂為變.[5] Although in Han times many of these miscellaneous divination schools wrote copiously about mutant prodigies, their books have all disappeared and are now lost.

A couple of faint written lines of the P.2682 manuscript read as follows:

已前三紙無像。道昕記，道僧併攝，俗姓范。

The preceding three sheets have no pictures. Recorded by Daoxin, assembled together by a monk with the worldly name [i.e. birthname] of Fan.

白澤精恆圖一卷，冊一紙成。

White Marsh's Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies, one *juan*, completed with forty-one sheets.[6]

4 Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, comm. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 [2013]), 30.1772.

5 *Zhouyi zhengyi* 周易正義, comm. Wang Bi 王弼, subcomm. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 7.313.

6 Tr. note: these words are the leftmost two lines, and function as the postface of the manuscript.

Apparently the original diagrams were on unbound sheets, of which there were forty-one. The first three sheets had no diagrams, and in the present version, which was re-mounted by someone at a later time, these first three sheets were mounted next to the scroll-end, so this scroll is definitely not complete.

The S.6261 manuscript sheet fragment in the Stein collection at the British Museum should be recognized as a fragment of the same set of diagrams.[7] It is on cotton paper, which is extremely damaged, and has already been re-mounted.

The diagrams have black and green columns, the calligraphy is exceptional, and the illustrations are exquisite. The portion that begins (on the rightmost end) of the Pelliot scroll has both illustrations and written explanations separated into upper and lower registers; the subsequent (leftmost) portion has only written explanations, without illustrations. Altogether it records nineteen items, whereas the Stein manuscript preserves only six. Judging from the statement that the complete chart should have "one hundred and [?]-ty nine" items, there is still quite a lot missing.

2

The bibliographic section on "Secret books and treasured diagrams" (*mishu zhentu* 秘書珍圖) in Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 (*c.*805–*c.*877) *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Famous paintings by historical dynasty), records a *Baize tu* 白澤圖 (White Marsh diagrams) with three hundred and twenty items.[8] The *Nanshi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties) records a *Xinzeng Baize tu* 新增白澤圖 (Newly expanded White Marsh diagrams) in five *juan*;[9] the *Sui shu* 隋書 treatises (*zhi* 志) also record a *Baize tu* 白澤圖 in one *juan*;[10] the *Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song) bibliography records a *Baize tu* in one *juan*, attributed to Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670) of the Tang dynasty.[11] There are differences in

7 Tr. note: The meaning is not entirely clear here: Jao writes "S.6261 should be a fragment of this same diagram" 列史坦陰目 6261 殘紙，與此應為同一圖之斷片, but it is uncertain whether *tu* 圖 means "diagram," "diagrams," or "[*White Marsh*] *Diagrams*." It is mentioned clearly above that the illustration sheets, which were originally separate, have been remounted and that some are missing.

8 Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 2016), 3.78.

9 Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 8.233.

10 Wei Zheng 魏徵, Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Suishu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 34.1039.

11 Tuo Tuo 脫脫 et al., "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志, *Songshi* 宋史, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 206.5239.

the number of *juan* among these sources, from which the manuscript text to hand differs yet again.

In the "Xuanyuan benji" 軒轅本紀 (Basic annals of Xuan Yuan [i.e Huang Di 黃帝, the Yellow Thearch]) section of the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven labels from the cloud-satchel), it says:

> 帝巡狩，東至海，登桓山，於海濱得白澤神獸。能言，達於萬物之情。因問天下神鬼之事。自古精氣為物、游魂為變者凡萬一千五百二十種，白澤言之，帝令以圖寫之，以示天下。
>
> The Thearch was pursuing a hunting expedition, eastward to the sea in the east, and ascending Mount Huan. At the seashore he found the spirit-beast White Marsh (*Baize*), who could talk, and had complete mastery in the facts of the myriad beings. Thus [the Yellow Thearch] asked him about matters of spirits and ghosts throughout the world. On "spectral *qi* turning into beings and roaming *hun*-souls turning into mutants," in all its eleven thousand five hundred and twenty types, White Marsh spoke. The Thearch ordered that they be depicted in diagrams, so as to show the world.[12]

This claim to more than ten thousand types of spectral prodigies represents quite an elaboration on those in the earlier works on which it is based. The Mount Huan 桓山 named is the Mount Wan 丸山 named in the "Wu di benji" 五帝本紀 (Record of the five thearchs) in the *Shiji* 史記.[13] The "Ji yan" 極言 (Ultimate in speech) chapter of the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master of Embracing Simplicity) says of the Yellow Thearch that "to examine attacks and warfare, he acquired the slip-scrolls of the five tones; to exhaustively master spirits and demons, he recorded the words of White Marsh" 審攻戰則納五音之策，窮神奸則記白澤之辭.[14] In the "Deng she" 登涉 (Ascending [mountains] and crossing [streams]) chapter, when Baopuzi is asked how to ward off the hundred

12 Zhang Junfang 張君房 comp. *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 100.2177.

13 Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, comm. Pei Yin 裴駰, ann. Sima Zhen 司馬貞, subcomm. Zhang Shoujie 張守節 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), "Wudi benji" 五帝本紀 no. 1, 1.6.

14 Ge Hong 葛洪, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋, annot. Wang Ming 王明, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 13.241.

Tr. note for a full English translation to passages in *Baopuzi*'s inner chapters, including Ch. 13 "The Ultimate in Speech," see James R. Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion, in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei p'ian of Ko Hong* (*Pao-p'u Tzu*) (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1966).

types of ghosts, he answers that first, one should first to use various talismans and tallies (*fu qi* 符契); and, "in addition, one should follow the discourses in the registers of the hundred ghosts, and be cognizant of the names of ghosts in the human realm, including those in the *White Marsh Diagrams* and the *Jiu ding ji* 九鼎記 (Record of the Nine Cauldrons), and all the ghosts will of their own accord stay back" 其次則論百鬼錄，知天下鬼之名稱，及白澤圖、九鼎記，則眾鬼自卻.[15] Thus, the appearance of the *White Marsh Diagrams* predates the lifetime of Ge Hong 葛洪 (b. 283); its practical use was to illuminate the spirits and demons and reveal ghostly beings.

3

In the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Discussing the graphs and explaining compound characters), below the entry to the graph *gao* 臯, it says "great white marsh; deriving from *da* (great) and *bai* (white), in archaic scripts it is used as *ze* (marsh)" 大白澤也。从大从白，古文以為澤字.[16] *Gao* 臯 is more canonically written as *gao* 皋, which is explicated as equivalent to the former. In the *Maoshi* 毛詩 (Mao school canon of poetry), the Mao comment to the line "the crane calls from the ninth *gao* 皋" 鶴鳴于九皋, says "*gao* 皋 is *ze* 澤 (marsh)."[17] Baize 白澤 is the name of a beast; in the "Fu rui zhi" 符瑞志 (Treatise on omens and portents) of the *Songshu* 宋書 (History of the Liu Song) it says [of the Yellow Thearch's encounter on the hunt], "out came Marsh Beast, who was able to speak, and was accomplished in his knowledge of the *jing* 精 (essence; specters) of the myriad beings" 澤獸出，能言，達知萬物之精.[18] In the *Songshu*, the creature is just called "Marsh Beast" (Ze shou 澤獸); the character for "White" is left out. In the "Da sheng" 達生 (Mastering life) chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, it says "in the wilds are found the *panghuang* 彷徨 (wriggle-wraggle); in the marsh is found the *weishe* 委蛇 (curvy-snake)."[19] In

15 Ge Hong, *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 17.308.
Tr. note: see also Ware, *Alchemy, medicine, religion*, ch. 17 for this and citations below.

16 Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, punc. and coll. Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 10B.215.

17 *Xiaoya* 小雅, "Ji ming" 鶴鳴, in *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義, comm. Mao Heng 毛亨, notes Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, subcomm. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 11.781–782.

18 "Furui xia" 符瑞下, in Shen Yue 沈約, *Songshu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 29.865.

19 *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, comp. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, punc. and coll. Wang Xiaoyu 王孝魚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961[2006]), 7A.652.

the "Jingguai" (Spectral prodigies) chapter of the *Fengsu tong*[*yi*] 風俗通 [義] (Comprehensive [meaning] of customs and mores) it says: "… this so-called 'Marsh Spirit' (Zeshou) is the *weishe*" 此所謂澤神委蛇者也.[20] If we set out the names Zeshou (Marsh Beast) and Zeshen (Marsh Spirit), it becomes apparent the Baize could also be called Ze 澤 (Marsh) for short. Elsewhere, he is also called Baiyi 白睪;[21] the Soviet [Dunhuang manuscript] of the *Weimo suijin* 維摩碎金, it says:

第十:	Number ten:
牛生白睪者，	When the ox gave birth to Baiyi [=Baize],
氣嘏嘏而喘。	Heave-heaving did he gasp for breath.
……	…
牛王能墾大荒田，	The ox king ably cultivated the great barren fields;
苗稼豐饒萬類安。	his sown crops rich and plenty, the myriad kinds at peace.
白睪本來天界住，	Baiyi [=Baize] lived originally in the realm of heaven,
託生牛腹向人間。	but entrusting his life to the ox's belly, went to be among men.
……	
妙德降於堪忍界，	Marvelous virtue descended on this realm we bear and endure;
靈禽瑞獸悉皆歡。	the numinous birds, the lucky beasts, each and every one was glad.[22]

The Qing dynasty Tiantai Buddhist Zhang Hengwu 張亨梧 (1633–1708); styled "Juren" 菊人) has a *Ganwu yin* 感物吟 (*Yin*-chants in resonance with beings) in five *juan*, which includes a poem on White Marsh:

20 Ying Shao 應劭, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi* 風俗通義校釋, annot. Wu Shuping 吳樹平 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1980), 9.328.

21 Tr. note: the graph 睪 differs here, and there are several possible readings of 白睪, which may also have been read as "Baize."

22 Jao note: the end of this scroll reads "Recorded by the lecturing śramaṇa Kuangyin of the Lingchuan Longxing temple 靈川龍興寺講經沙門匡胤記."

Tr. note: This poem is transcribed in Zhang Xihou 張錫厚 ed., *Quan Dunhuang shi* 全敦煌詩 (Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 2006), Vol. 15, 183.6839.

桓山白澤智殊倫	Mount Huan White Marsh's knowledge was a cut above;
黃帝東巡問鬼神	the Yellow Thearch tracked him east to inquire about ghosts and spirits.
精氣遊魂千五百	Spectral *qi* and roaming *hun*-souls, one thousand five hundred [kinds]
不須前席賈生頻	What need had he to poise at his mat-edge, leaning in to Jia Yi?[23]

I append this related record as a reference for further study.

4

In the Yuan print edition of Ying Shao's 應劭 (d. c. 203) *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義, *juan* nine is a chapter on "the prodigious and spiritual" (Guaishen pian 恠神篇), which says:

> 傳曰:神者申也，恠者疑也。孔子稱土之恠為墳羊。《論語》:子不語恠力亂神，故采其晃著者曰恠神也。
>
> The tradition says: Spirits (*shen* 神) are what is extended (*shen* 申); prodigies (*guai*) are what is questionable (*yi* 疑). Confucius stated that prodigies of the earth are grave-anima. The *Analects of Confucius* says: "Confucius did not speak; a prodigious force was disordering the spirits."[24] Thus under the rubric of the "prodigious and spiritual" (*guaishen* 恠神) we collect those which are notable.[25]

In the same chapter we see items such as:

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23 Zhang Wenyu 張文郁, *Duyu ting ji xinbian* 度予亭集新編, comp. Zhang Shaodong 張紹棟 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2016), 2.232.

Tr. note: This poem alludes to a scene in which the Han Wen Emperor 漢文帝 summoned Jia Yi 賈誼, and inquired of him late into the night about ghosts and spirits, while poised intently (or, perhaps, lacking poise) on the tip of his mat. "Qu Yuan Jia sheng liezhuan" 屈原賈生列傳 no. 24, in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, 84.2481–2504. See also the poem by Li Shangyin 李商隱, "Jia sheng" 賈生, rpt. in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, comp. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 540.6208.

24 *Lunyu zhushu* 論語注疏, comm. He Yan 何晏, subcomm. Xing Bing 邢昺 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 7.102.

25 Ying Shao 應劭, *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi* 風俗通義校釋, annot. Wu Shuping 吳樹平 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1980), 9.325.

世間多有狗作變恆，朴（扑）殺之，以血塗門戶，然衆得咎殃

In this world there are often mutant prodigies arising from dogs. If they are culled and their blood used to paint windows and doors, then all will obtain misfortune and calamity.[26]

…

世間多有精物妖怪百端。

In this world there are often spectral beings, demons, and prodigies of a hundred sorts.[27]

…

世間多有虵作恆者

In this world there are often mutant prodigies arising from snakes.[28]

These and other such examples are corroborated by the *Baize tu*. A citation of *Fengsu tong* in the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperial readings of the Taiping era) no. twenty-three, reads as follows:

夏至著五綵，辟兵，題曰:「游光厲鬼」，知其名者無溫疾。永健中，京師大疫，云厲鬼字野童遊光。亦但流言，無指見之者。其後歲歲有病，人情愁怖，復增題之，冀以脫禍。

At the summer solstice the five-colored cloth is displayed. To ward off [the five] weapons, it is inscribed: *Youguang ligui* 遊光厲鬼 (Roam-gleam demon). If one knows its name there is no warmth ailment. During the Jianzhong reign (126–132 CE) there was an epidemic in the capital, for which it was said the demon was called *Yetong youguang* 野童遊光 (Wilds-child roam-gleam), this was however just a rumor, and there was no one who could point out a sighting. Subsequently, year after year there was illness, peoples' mood was anxious and frightened, and they sought to re-inscribe or add to it, in hope of escaping disaster.[29]

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26 *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 9.349.

27 *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 9.353.

28 *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi*, 9.360.

29 Song Fang 宋昉 et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 23.6b (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960 [1995]), "Shixu bu"時序部, 8.111.

Tr. note: The excerpts are collected with commentary in Wang Liqi 王利器 ed. ann., *Fengsu tong yi jiaozhu* 風俗通義校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 605–6.

A lost passage from the *Jing Chu suishi ji* 荊楚歲時記 (Jing Chu record of the seasons) says:

> （五月）五日以艾縛一人形，懸於門戶上，以辟邪氣。以五綵絲繫於臂上，辟兵厭鬼，且能令人不染瘟疫。口內常稱游光厲氣四字，知其名則鬼遠避。
>
> On the fifth day of the fifty [lunar] month, bind human effigies with mugwort and suspend them above windows and doors to ward off malicious *qi*. Attaching a five-color silk to the forearm wards off weapons and loathsome ghosts, and can prevent infection by warmth illness. In the mouth, often state the four graphs *You guang li qi* 遊光厲氣 (Roam-gleam malicious *qi*); know its name and the ghost will keep its distance.[30]

Now, according to the current *Diagrams of Spectral Prodigies*:

> 夜行見火光，下有數十□□（小兒），頭戴火車。此一物兩名，上為遊光，下為野童。見是者天下多疫，死兄弟八人……
>
> While traveling at night one sees a gleaming fire; below there are some tens of young children, who on their heads carry a flaming chariot. This is one thing with two names: above is the *You guang* (Roam-gleam); below are the *Yetong* (Wilds-children). For one who sees this the world will be full of sickness; his siblings will die eight people ...[31]

As depicted in the diagram, the *Youguang*'s form is that of small children who carry a flaming chariot on their heads, which can aid our understanding of the topic.[32]

---

30 Cited in Gao Lian 高濂, *Zunsheng bajian jiaozhu* 遵生八牋校注, annot. Zhao Lixun 趙立勛 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1994), 4.114.

31 Tr. note: The translation revises the transcription in the original article, which does not indicate the lacunae and reads as follows: 「夜行見火光，下有數十小兒，頭戴火車。此一物而名口為遊光，下為野童。見是者天下多疫，死兄弟八人。」 Jao appears to interpolate "young children" (小兒) on the basis of the picture, which the translation tentatively follows, although there are eight boys depicted in the accompanying diagram, rather than "some tens," and it is uncertain whether "eight people" begins a new sentence, (perhaps in reference to the eight boys), or how many graphs, if any, are missing at the end (although it appears to be between zero and five).

32 Tr. note: see image.

The *Baopuzi* claims that the *Baize tu* and the *Jiu ding ji* can repel ghosts. A lost passage says:

> 按《九鼎記》及《青靈經》言:人物之死，俱有鬼，馬（？）鬼嘗以晦夜出行，狀如炎火。
>
> Note: the *Jiu ding ji* and the *Qingling jing* say "when a person or being dies, there is always a ghost; a horse ghost usually sets out in the dark of night, with a form like fiery flames."[33]

Another source, the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma), cites also a *Xia ding zhi* 夏鼎志 (Treatise of the Xia cauldrons), which says:

> 掘地而得狗，名曰賈　When you dig earth and get a dog, it is called a *jia*;
> 掘地而得豕，名曰邪　When you dig earth and get a pig, it is called a *ye*;
> 掘地而得人，名曰聚　When you dig earth and get a person, it is called a *ju*.[34]

The "Wu xing zhi" 五行志 of the *Song shu* 宋書 records:

> 《夏鼎志》曰:「掘地得狗，名曰賈。」《尸子》曰:「地中有犬名曰地狼」。同實而異名也
>
> The *Xia ding zhi* says:
> "When you dig earth and get a dog, it is called a *jia*."
> The *Shizi* (master of exorcism) says:
> "When in the earth there is [buried] a canine, it is called a *di lang* (earth-wolf)."
> These are two names for the same thing.[35]

---

33 *Taiping yulan* "Shengui bu" 神鬼部 no. 3, 883.7a (3924).
Tr. note: Jao inserts a question mark after "horse" (馬), probably to indicate that "horse" may be a sound loan or error for something else here. The passage might also begin "When a person (*renwu* 人物) dies …".

34 Shi Daoshi 釋道世, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校注, annot. Zhou Shujia 周叔迦, Su Jinren 蘇晉仁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 6.220.

35 *Songshu*, 31.923.

Note that in the S.6261 sheet fragment of the *Jingguai tu*, it says "When you dig earth and get a person, it is called a *qu* 取" 掘地而得人名曰聚; a *qu* 取 is precisely the *ju* 聚 [of the *Xia ding zhi*]. S.6261 also has "When you dig earth and get a dog, it is called a *ye*" 掘地而得狗名曰耶; *ye* 耶 here is precisely *ye*邪 of the *Xia ding zhi*, which differs in that *ye* is a pig, whereas in the diagram it is a dog. The *Baopuzi* relies on citing both the *Jiu ding ji* and the *Baize tu*; the diagram [S.6261], in contrast, inserts text from the *Xia ding zhi* directly into the *Baize jingguai tu*.[36]

5

In the category of Baize diagram works, there is also a *Baize dijing jing* 白澤地鏡經 (Classic of White Marsh's earth-mirror). The "Zhiguai" 志怪 (Record of the prodigious) chapter of the *Jinlouzi* 金樓子 (Master of the golden chamber) says:

> 《地鏡經》凡三家，有《師曠地鏡》，有《白澤地鏡》，有《六甲地鏡》。三家之經，但說珍寶光氣。
>
> As to the *Earth Mirror Classic*, there are three scholastic traditions: there is a Shi Kuang *dijing* (Master Kuang's earth-mirror); there is a Baize *dijing* (White Marsh's earth-mirror); and there is a *Liujia dijing* (Six *jia*-pairs [of the sexagenary cycle] earth-mirror). The classics of all three schools speak only about the gleaming *qi* of gold and gems.[37]

For the earth-mirror texts, one can consult the "Wuxing" 五行 (five agents) category in the treatises (*zhi* 志) of the *Sui shu*,[38] which originally also included diagrams cited repeatedly in the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (Primer for beginners) and *Taiping yulan*. Ma Guohan 馬國翰 collected and recorded one *juan* of *dijing* citations, as found in the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* 開元占經 (Kaiyuan era omen classic); those that can be compared with the *Jingguai tu* include the following entries:

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36 Tr. note: The logic here is not entirely clear, given the difference between the sources Jao just mentioned (one has "pig"; the other "dog"). He may be implying that there were fewer sources available to the *Baize tu*, than to Ge Hong.

37 Xiao Yi 蕭繹, *Jinlouzi jiaojian* 金樓子校箋, annot. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), "Zhiguan pian" 志怪篇 no. 12, 5.1188.

38 *Suishu*, 34.1038.

革帶夜有光	A leather belt gleams at night.
	…
鷄夜鳴	A rooster calls in the night.
	…
蛇無故入人家	A snake enters someone's house for no reason.
	…
鼠上樹	A rat climbs trees.
	…
鼠羣行則有大水	Rats swarm and there is flooding.
	…
魚從水上流下	A fish swims downstream.
	…
釜鳴	A kettle calls out.[39]

… and other such prodigies, are all seen in *dijing* texts, so we can state with categorical certainty that the manuscripts to hand take their material from the *Baize dijing*.

The "Zhiguai" chapter of the *Jinlouzi* says:

> 山中有寅日稱虞吏者，虎也。稱當路者狼也。辰日稱雨師者，龍也。知其物則不能為害矣。
>
> In the mountains when there is an *yin* 寅 [no. 3 of 12] day, he who claims to be on watch (*yu li* 虞吏) is a tiger; he who claims to be on duty (*dang lu* 當路) is a wolf. On a *chen* 辰 [no. 5 of 12] day, he who claims to be a master of rain (*yu shi* 雨師) is a dragon. Know these beings [by name] and they cannot do harm.[40]

These few pronouncements are also found in the Pelliot manuscript. The "Dengshe" chapter of the *Baopuzi* says:

> 抱朴子曰:　山中有大樹有能語者，非樹能語也，其精名曰雲陽，呼之則吉

39 Ma Guohan 馬國翰, *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), "Zibian wuxing lei dijing" 子編五行類《地鏡》, 2890–2897.

40 *Jinlouzi jiaojian,* "Zhiguan pian" 志怪篇 no. 12, 5.1170.

> Baopuzi said: "In the mountains, when there is a great tree having the capacity for speech, it is not the tree that can speak; this specter is called the *Yunyang* 雲陽, and to call it out [by name] is lucky."[41]
>
> [山中夜見火光者，皆久枯木所作，勿怪也。山中夜見胡人者，銅鐵之精。見秦者，百歲木之精。勿怪之，並不能為害。山水之閒見吏人者，名曰四徼，呼之名即吉。山中見大蛇著冠幘者，名曰升卿，呼之即吉。山中見吏，若但聞聲不見形，呼人不止，以白石擲之則息矣；一法以葦為茅以刺之即吉。山中見鬼來喚人，求食不止者，以白茅投之即死也。山中鬼常迷惑使失道徑者，以葦杖投之既死也。]
>
> [In the mountains, when at night one sees gleaming fire, it is always brought about by old dead wood; do not regard as a prodigy. In the mountains when at night one sees a barbarian (*huren* 胡人), it is a specter of bronze and iron; when one sees a *qin*-tree (*qin* 秦) it is the specter of a centuries old tree. Do not regard as a prodigy; it surely cannot do harm. When in mountain streams one sees a local clerk (*liren* 吏人), it is a Four-patroller (*sijiao* 四徼). To call out its name is lucky. When in the mountains one sees a large snake wearing a hat or headscarf, it is called Ascending-Minister (*shengqing* 升卿); to call it out is lucky. When in the mountains one sees a clerk (*li* 吏), if only its sound is heard and its form is unseen, and if it calls out to people without stopping, by hurling a white rock at, it will cease; one method is by taking a reed (*wei* 葦) as thatch (*mao* 茅) and pricking it, which is lucky. When in the mountains one sees a ghost that comes crying out to people, requesting food without stopping, by throwing white cogongrass (*bai mao* 白茅) at it, it will die. In the mountains, ghosts often confuse [people], causing the path to be lost, by throwing a reed cane at it, it will die.[42]]

From there, it enters the cycle of descriptions [cited above] from "in the mountains when there is an *yin* 寅 [no. 3 of 12] day, he who claims to be on watch (yu

41 *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 17.304.

42 *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 17.304.

Tr. note: Jao's original article here summarizes the *Baopuzi*: "In the following section, there is mention of other prodigies, the *Si jiao* 四徼 and *Sheng qing* 升卿; below that, it tells about a *Shan gui* 山鬼 (mountain ghost) calling out to people and confusing them." In both the original and reprinted versions of this article, this summary is mistakenly presented as part of the *Baopuzi* citation. I have replaced part of Jao's summary by lengthening the *Baopuzi* quotation (in square brackets), so as to make Jao's subsequent notes comprehensible.

li 虞吏) is a tiger;" running thorough [similar pronouncements, one full cycle of twelve branches], reaching "when there is a *chou* 丑 [no. 2 of 12] day, what is called *Shu sheng* 書生 is an ox" 丑日稱書生者牛也.[43]

This whole passage is found in the Pelliot manuscript, albeit with some minor variations. For example, the *Baopuzi*'s *qin*-tree 秦, is written as "a person from *Qin*" (*qinren* 秦人) in the Pelliot manuscript, adding the graph *ren* 人. Taking notice and comparing the preceding term "barbarian" 胡人, "a person from *Qin*" must be correct. Where the *Baopuzi* writes *Sijiao* 四徼 (Four-patroller) the manuscript has *Siji* 四激 (Four-surger); for the phrase "taking a reed (*wei* 葦) as thatch (*mao* 茅) and pricking (*ci* 刺) it" in the *Baopuzi*, the Pelliot manuscript has "taking a reed (*wei* 葦) as a lance (*mao* 鉾) and pricking (*ci* 刺) it," which is correct. In the two *Baopuzi* phrases that describe "throwing [something] at it" (*tou zhi* 投之), in the Pelliot scroll, one says "grasp it" (*zhou zhi* 捉之) and the other reads "strike it" (*da zhi* 打之).

As to the different names of the twelve branches, The *Baopuzi* starts on an *yin* 寅 day [3 of 12] and ends on a *chou* 丑 [2 of 12] day, whereas the Pelliot scroll starts on *zi* 子 [1 of 12] and ends on *hai* 亥 [12 of 12]. For the day of *si* 巳 [6 of 12], *Baopuzi* adds the phrase "he who claims to be Lord of Seasons (*Shijun* 時君) is a tortoise" 稱時君者龜也. The Pelliot scroll omits this, and is also missing the entry for *wu* 午 [7 of 12], "he who claims to be [of the] three great ministers (*Sangong* 三公) is a horse" 午日稱三公者馬也, which should be supplemented. For the day of *xu* 戌, the Pelliot scroll has "he who claims to be the senior or elder [of?] Chengyang (*Chengyang wengzhong* 成陽翁仲) is a fox 成陽翁仲者狐也; he who claims to be called by someone's name (*renzi* 人字) is gold and jade" 稱成陽翁仲者狐也; 稱人字者金玉也. Here the *Baopuzi* has the "gentleman of Chengyang" (*Chengyang gong* 成陽公 rather than "the senior or elder [of?] Chengyang"; it also has "[when there is a] *hai* 亥 day, she who claims to be a person's wife (*furen* 婦人) is gold and jade" 亥日稱婦人者金玉也, which differs from the Pelliot scroll.[44]

The *Taiping yulan* section on *jing* 精 (specter; essence) cites the *Baize tu* some twenty-two times, which must be how the *Baize jingguai tu* got *jing* in its name.[45] The *Yulan* also cites *Baopuzi*'s "Dengshe" a number of times, including many of the [parallel] passages cited above, for which it does not cite the *Baize tu*, even though they are all found in the *Baize jingguai tu* manuscript. Chen Pan 陳槃 has previously said that these are lost passages from the *Baize tu*,

43 *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 17.304.

44 Tr. note: in the manuscript, the entry for *hai* 亥 is damaged.

45 *Taiping yulan*, "Yaoyi bu" 妖異部 no. 2, 886.3b–9a (3936–3939).

which demonstrate that Ge Hong must have seen the *Baize tu*. In light of this scroll, his claim is indeed credible.[46]

The *Taiping yulan* entry no. 918 on *ji* 雞 (rooster) cites the *Baize tu*: "When an old rooster can call out peoples' names, kill it and it will cease" 老雞能呼人姓名， 殺之則止.[47] The manuscript has "when at night it calls out an elderly woman's name, this is an old rooster. Spread horse urine on peoples doors to prevent it; if this does not prevent it, kill it dead and it will stop" 夜呼長婦名者，老雞也。馬尿塗人戶，防之；不防之，死煞則已.[48] The two versions are largely the same.

There are lost passages from the *Baize tu* not found in the manuscript, such as that in the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Records in search of spirits) says:

> 吳諸葛恪為丹陽太守，嘗出獵，兩山之間，有物如小兒，伸手欲引人。恪令:「伸之乃引去故地。去故地，即死。」既而參佐問其故，以為神明。恪曰:「此事在白澤圖內；曰:『兩山之間，其精如小兒，見人，則伸手欲引人，名曰「傒囊」，引去故地，則死。』無謂神明而異之。諸君偶未見耳。」

> When Zhuge Ke [203–253] was serving as the governor of Danyang, he once went on a hunt. Between two mountains, there was a being like a young child, who reached out his hand wishing to pull on people. Ge commanded:
>
> > "Reach out you hand and you will be pulled to your former place; if pulled to your former place, you will die!"
> >
> > Thereupon the assembled attendants asked what brought this about, assuming that it was gods or deities. Ge said:
> >
> > "This phenomenon is in the *Baize tu*, which says:
> >
> > > '[…] between two mountains, their prodigy resembles a young child. Upon seeing a person, it reaches out its hand wishing to pull him; it is called the Snatcher-sack (*Xinang* 傒囊), and pulls a person to his former place, where he dies.'

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46 Tr. note: Jao preseumably is referring to Chen Pan, "Gu chenwei shulu jieti er."

The edition of this paper in the *Wenji* here adds:

"For the ninth image [in the manuscript, the] five-colored bird, see also P.2005, 'Shazhou du dufu tujing' 沙州都督府圖經 [which reports that] in Tianshou 天授 year two of the Wu Zhou Dynasty, it was seen in Pingkang villiage."

47 *Taiping yulan*, "Yuzu bu" 羽族部 no. 5, 918.4074.

48 Tr. note: I have revised the transcription and punctuation according to my interpretation of the manuscript text.

> This cannot be called an aberrance of gods and deities; it is merely that you gentlemen have encountered something you have never seen before.[49]

The Zhenghe 政和 era (1111–1118 CE) edition of the *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (Materia medica confirmed by class) has the title *Baize tu* among the canons, histories, and occult works from which it collects excerpts. In *juan* nineteen, under nine-headed avian ghosts, it collects one item cited from the *Baize tu*: "*Canggeng* 蒼鵴: long ago, it was seen by Confucius and Zixia, so they sung about it; its picture has nine heads" 《白澤圖》云:蒼鵴，昔孔子與子夏所見，故歌之，其圖九首。.[50] One can compare it to [the similar citation] in *Beihulu* 北戶錄 (Record of Bei[xiang]hu).[51]

6

The *Baize tu* used to be listed in the category of five agents and omenological works (*wuxing zhan lei* 五行占類), although the text has long been lost. Two prior collections of excerpts are found in Ma Guohan's (1794–1857) 馬國翰 *Yuhan shanfang yi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Collected lost books of the Jadecase mountain lodge) and Hong Yixuan's 洪頤煊 (1765–1837) *Jingdian jilin* 經典集林 (Grove of collectanea from the classics and canons).[52] Chen Pan's *Gu chenwei yantao jiqi shulu jieti* 古讖緯研討及其書錄解體 (Research, discussion, and bibliographic explanations of ancient augury and weft texts), volume two, records the *Baize tu*, and has a very detailed account of the evidence; the appendix also records the basics of the Pelliot scroll.[53]

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49 Gan Bao 干寶, *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 12.150.

Tr. note: Jao's original IHP bulletin article and the reprint in the *Wenji* vary in the amount of this citation they provide. I have provided the entire passage for the sake of coherence. The passage is preserved in *Taiping yulan* 886.5a, 3937.

50 Tang Shenwei 唐慎微, *Chongxiu Zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草, rpt. in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), Vol. 384, 19.27b.

Tr. note: under the heading *Guiche* 鬼車.

51 Duan Gonglu 段公路 comp., *Beihu lu* 北戶錄, annot. Cui Guitu 崔龜圖 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 1.3.

52 Ma Guohan 馬國翰, *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), "Zibian wuxing lei baize tu" 子編五行類《白澤圖》, 2879–82; Hong Yixuan 洪頤煊, *Jingdian jilin* 經典集林, coll. Sun Tong 孫彤, 1.7a, in *XXSK*, 1200: 380.

53 Chen Pan "Gu Chenwei shulu jieti (er)."

This scroll and the *Ruiying tu* 瑞應圖 (Diagrams of propitious response; P.2683), both of which are painted in color, can be said to be twin treasures. In this scroll the calligraphy and illustration are extremely well-matched; the brushstrokes are full and smooth, with right and left-falling strokes; archaic, unadorned, and forceful. The style and brushwork in the *Baize tu* are different—more intricate—from those in the *Ruiying tu*; the two manuscripts appear to be done by different hands.

As to the method of painting, the brushwork is very fine yet made with force. In the Six dynasties through Tang, painted scrolls depicting objects and living things, like in Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 (*c.*344–406) *Nüshi zhentu* 女史箴圖 (Admonitions of the court instructress), with its subtle, indistinct execution, agile, delicate, and fine, sometimes like hair or drifting silk; when depicting the plumage or fur of animals, sometimes [the Pelliot scroll] uses a dry brush, concentrating dryness and expressing a crisply depined form. The feet of the chickens have a part that is left white; the wings are done in double-hook outline, with light coloring, in straight and fine lines. When depicting fire, red only is used for the shape—heavy above and light below. In depicting the eight human forms of the *Youguang* the brush movements are lively; the feet of two figures are done in a heavier brush, whereas the rest are elegant, thin and implicitly spare. Of the eight figures, no two facial expressions are the same. In the rat climbing a tree section the leaves of the tree are painted as which is truly charming. The pictures are all done with color; in the Stein scroll, to the dog is applied a light yellow ochre color, obviating the need for dark grays or blues. Parts of uneven ground are also expressed using different colors; all of them show evidence of care and craft. If examined carefully, this fragmentary scroll reveals areas of wonderfully subtle brushwork.

Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一 has already printed the P.2682 in *Kokka* 國華 770 (1956) along with a transcription of the text,[54] which has a number of errors and omissions; *dao xin* 道昕 mistranscribed as *dao suo* 道所 is just one example.

During the Six Dynasties period, there were people who took Baize as a personal name: the crown prince Wenhui of Qi 齊文惠太子, Xiao Zhangmao 蕭長懋 (459–493), was nicknamed Baize 白澤.[55] This is like the case of Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) who had "Lingbao" 靈寶 as one of his nicknames,[56] taken

54 Matsumoto Eiichi, "Tonkō hon *Haku-taku seikai zu* kan."

55 Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙, *Xiaoming lu* 小名錄 2.25, in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 叢書集成新編 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1984), 99:410.

56 Lu, *Xiaoming lu* 1.10, *Congshu jicheng xinbian*, 409.
Tr. note: The *Xiaoming lu* calls him Shen Lingbao 神靈寶.

from the Daoist scriptures. According to *juan* twenty-five of the *Wei shu* 魏書 (History of the Northern Wei), the grandson of Zhang Gun 張袞 (339–410) was named Zhang Zhongkui 張鍾葵 at birth, but the Xianwen Emperor 獻文帝 (465–417) renamed him as Baize.[57]

In the Tang, Baize was used as the name of a banner, and the *Tang liudian* 唐六典, Baize is one of the thirty two banners.[58]

Baize has also been used in an apotropaic function. In the Tang, Empress Wei's 韋皇后 (d. 710) younger sister, Qiyi 七姨, who was wed to the general Feng Taihe 馮太和 is said to have used a Baize pillow to ward off evil spirits.[59]

Juan forty-five of the *Fayuan zhulin* has a *Baize tu yan* 白澤圖驗 (Examination of the *Baize tu*),[60] which records in detail the outhouse prodigy and numerous others.[61]

Plates 7–12: P.2682 manuscript, *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖

57 Wei Shou 魏收, "Lie zhuan di shier Zhang Gun" 列傳第十二張袞, in *Wei shu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), *juan* 24, 2:616.

58 Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, Li Linfu 李林甫 et al. ed., *Tang Liudian* 唐六典, punc. and coll. Chen Zhongfu 陳仲夫 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 16.462.

59 Liu Xu 劉昫 et al., "Wu xing zhi" 五行志, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 4:1377.

60 *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, *juan* 45, "Shencha pian" 審察篇 *T* 2122 53:633–4.

61 Tr. note: the final four paragraphs are not in the original IHP publication. Jao also provides the entire text of the *Fayuan zhulin*'s *Baize yan* as an appendix, not translated here.

PLATE 7 P.2682 manuscript, *Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖 (White Marsh Diagram of Spectral Prodigies)
IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE [BNF]

PLATE 8 P.2682 manuscript, continued
IMAGE COURTESY OF BNF

PLATE 9 P.2682 manuscript, continued
IMAGE COURTESY OF BNF

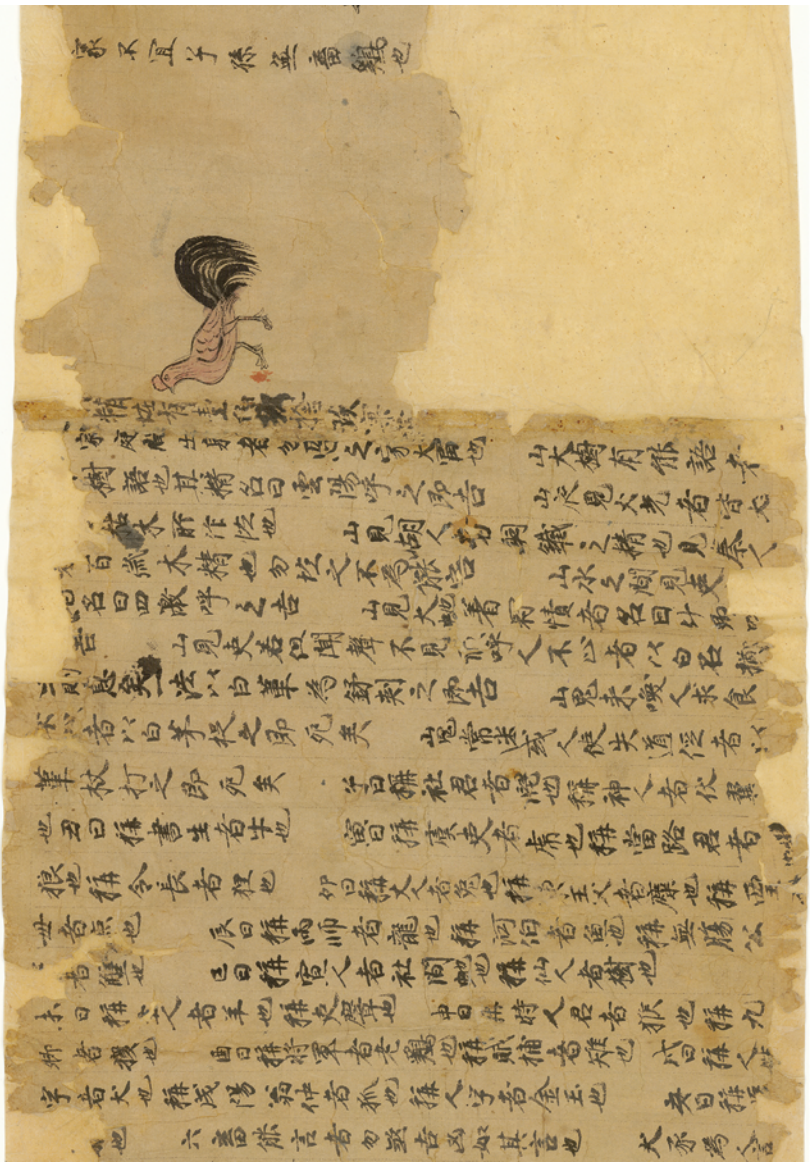

PLATE 10 P.2682 manuscript, continued
IMAGE COURTESY OF BNF

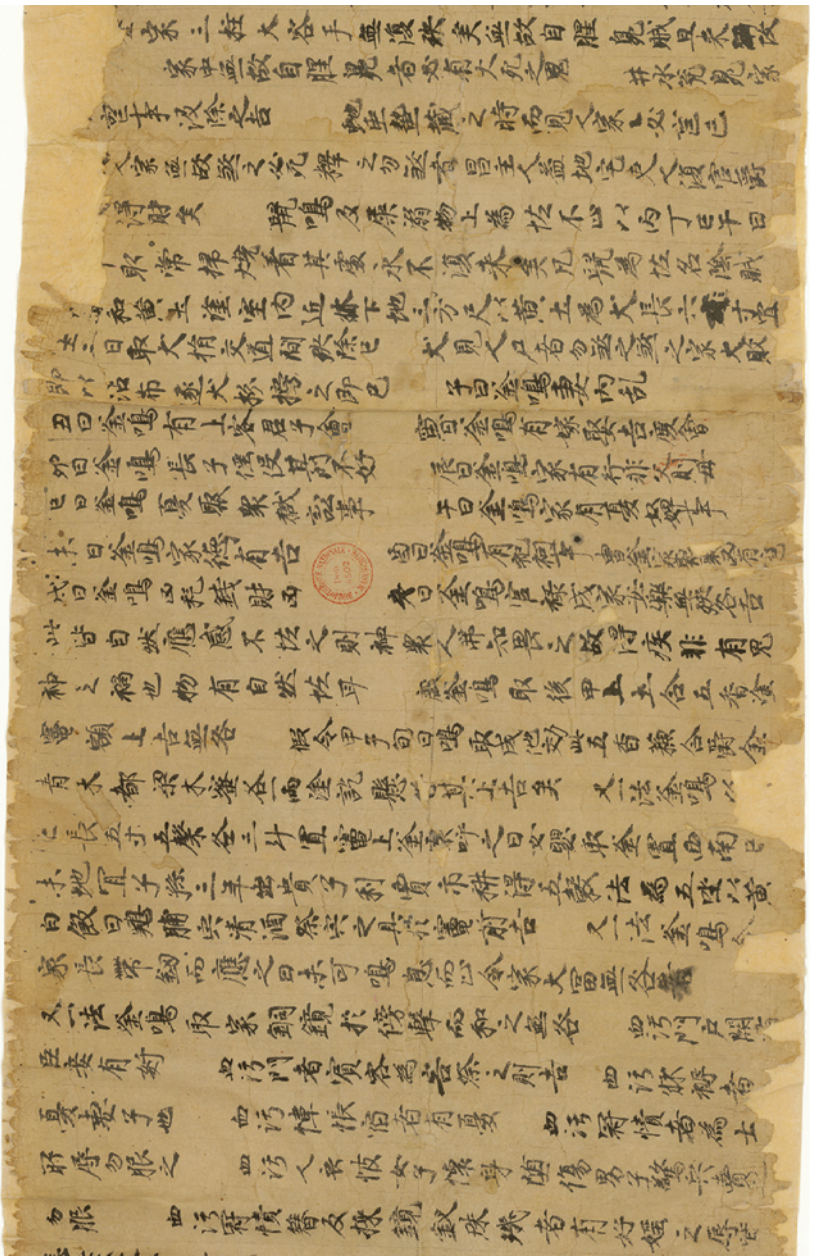

PLATE 11 P.2682 manuscript, continued
IMAGE COURTESY OF BNF

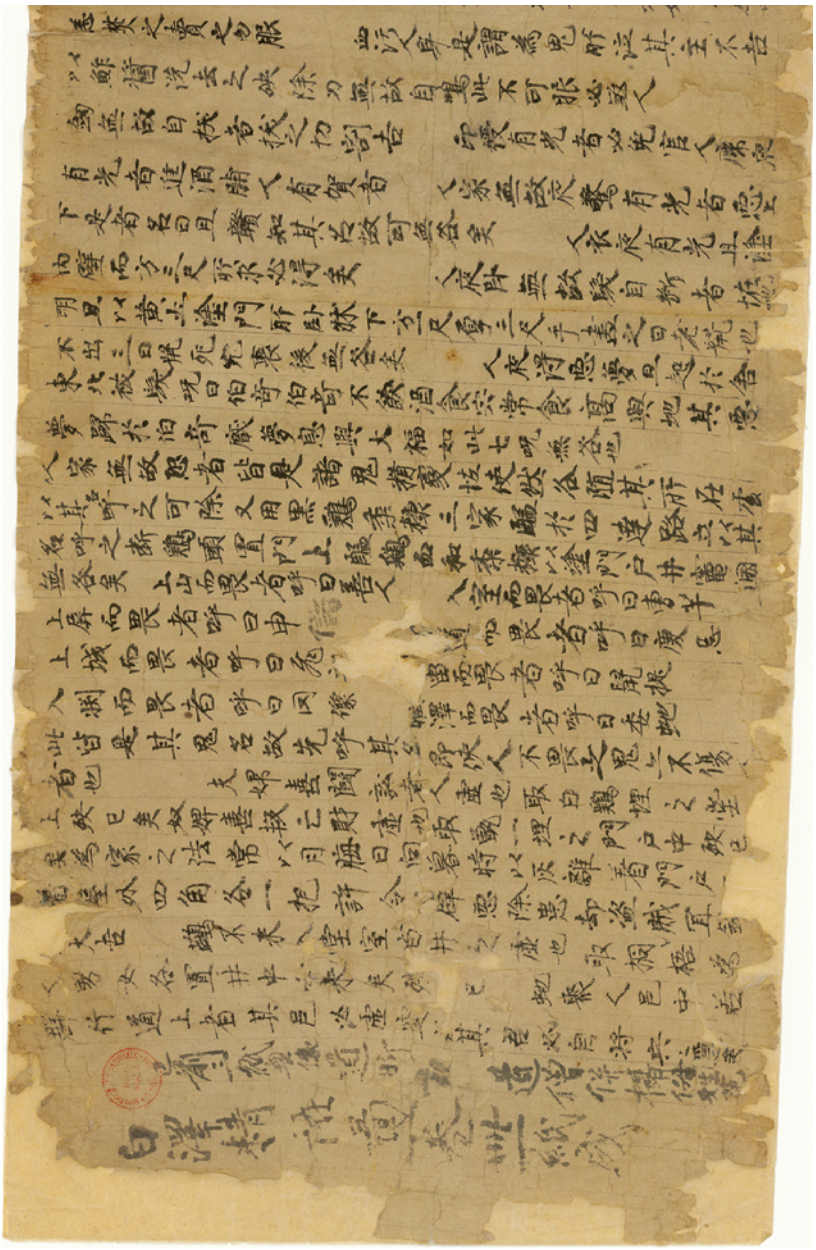

PLATE 12 P.2682 manuscript, continued
IMAGE COURTESY OF BNF

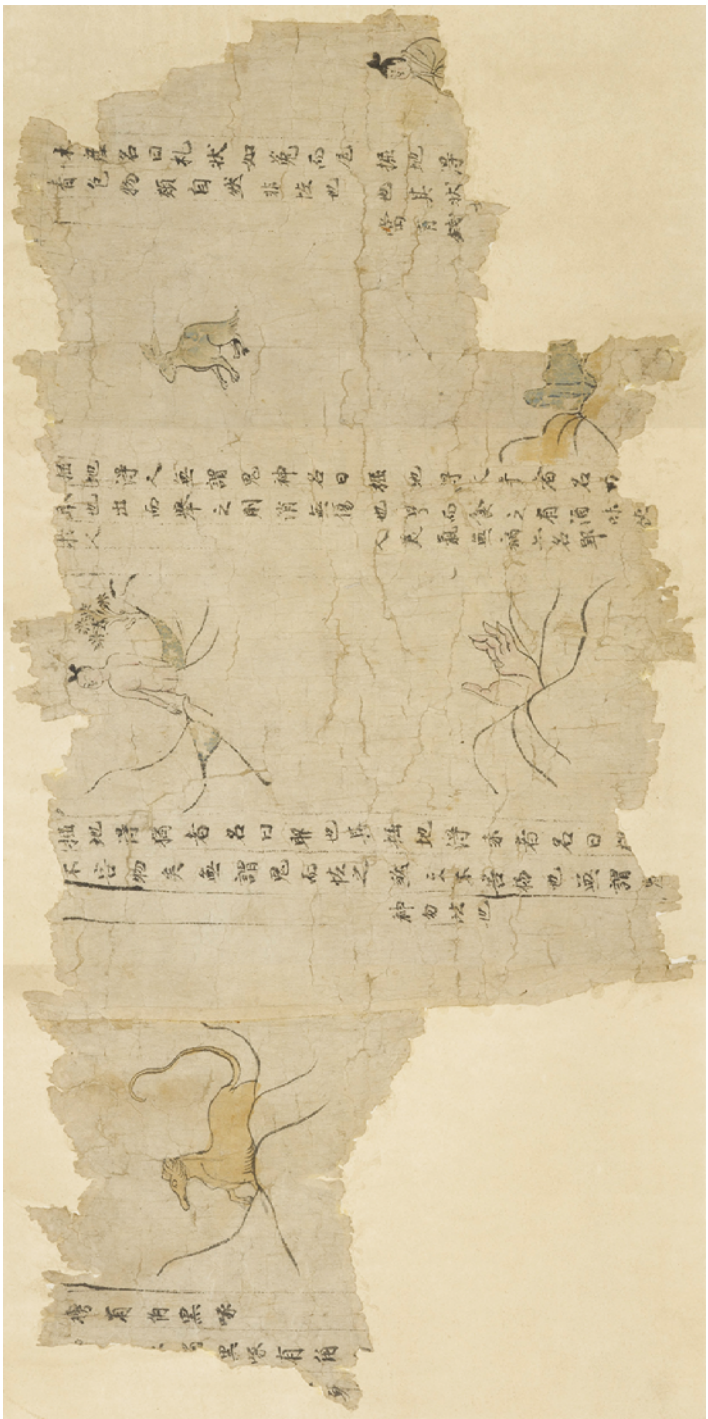

PLATE 13 S.6261 manuscript fragment

PART 4

Dunhuang Poetry

∵

Did Men of Song Belt Out "Tang *Ci*"? An Explanation of the Poem "I Only Fear the Spring Breeze Will Chop Me Apart" 「唐詞是宋人喊出來」的嗎？ 說「只怕春風斬斷我」

This essay, originally published in Chinese under the title "Tang ci bian zheng" 「唐詞」辯證 (*Discriminations and corrections on the term "Tang* ci*"*),[1] *is assembled and revised from three prior articles on song lyrics discovered in the Dunhuang manuscripts.*[2] *It represents the culmination of a heated debate about the Tang origins and identity of the* ci *genre that unfolded between Jao and Ren Bantang* 任半塘 *[1897–1991] in the late 1980's and early 1990's. The debate, however, is difficult to untangle from a prior discourse traceable to Wang Guowei* 王國維 *and Hu Shi* 胡適 *a generation earlier.*[3] *Jao's position in the following essay emphasizes the continuity of both the term* ci 詞 *and its referent, which may*

1 First published as Jao Tsung-i, "'Tang *ci*' bian zheng" 「唐詞」辯證, *Jiuzhou yuekan* 九州月刊, 4 (1992): 160–162, which was revised from "Wei 'Tang *ci*' jin yi jie" 為「唐詞」進一解, *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊, 11 (1989): 97–100; "Tang *ci* zai bian—tan yin xing *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan* de zhiqu he quzici de xinshang wenti" 唐詞再辯—談印行《李衛公望江南》的旨趣和曲子詞的欣賞問題, *Mingbao yuekan*, 12 (1990): 46–48; and "'Zhan chun feng' de chudian" 「斬春風」的出典, *Mingbao yuekan*, 2 (1991): 56–57.

2 The title as reprinted in Jao Tsung-i, *Wenhua zhi lü* 文化之旅 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997), 122–136, and translated here, alludes to a saying allegedly coined by Qi Gong 啟功: "Before the Tang, poetry was germinated; Tang folks' poetry vociferated; Song folks' poetry cogitated; post-Song poetry imitated" 唐以前詩是長出來的，唐人詩是嚷出來的，宋人詩是想出來的，宋以後詩是仿. Qi Gong 啟功, "Tangdai wenxue di yi jiang" 唐代文學第一講, *Qi Gong jiangxue lu* 啟功講學錄, in Qi Gong quanji 啟功全集 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 8:3.

"Men of Song" (Song ren 宋人; or "Song folks")—"blockheads," perhaps—are also a frequent target of ridicule in Warring States literature (where Song refers to a pre-imperial state, rather than a dynasty). It is not clear whether Jao intends it as a pun, but it adds another fitting dimension to the title.

3 For an outline of the debate, and a discussion of the role of Dunhuang manuscripts in illuminating the role of popular songs in the development of elite literature, see Marsha L. Wagner, *The Lotus Boat: The origins of Chinese* tz'u *poetry in T'ang popular culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 2–6. For a more in-depth analysis of the formal and stylistic features that separate the popular songs of the Dunhuang manuscripts from later literati *ci* genre, see Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang To Northern Sung* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 15–32; for the Tang social context of *ci*-lyricizing addressed by the claims and creation of the *Huajian ji* 花間集, see Anna M. Shields,

be either "lyrics" to a tune, generally speaking, or a specific genre of poetry. Jao argues that Tang ci*, and in particular the poems of the* Yunyao ji 雲謠集 (Cloud ballad collection) *discovered in Dunhuang manuscripts,*[4] *are an integral part of* ci *history; poems made to tunes and called* ci *in the Tang are inseparable from the genre that flourished as a literati form in the Song, and* ci *poetics is thus rooted firmly in the Tang. Placing the vernacular Tang* ci *on equal footing with literati Song* ci *is corollary to a larger historiographic shift that wrests the sole authority possessed by transmitted texts* (*official histories, critical anthologies, elite textual traditions*) *as legitimate historical sources, and empowers manuscript sources to rewrite history.*[5]

Broadly speaking, this essay showcases Jao's detailed philological engagement and his conversance with a broad range of sources; more narrowly speaking, in its analysis of some of the more difficult material in the Dunhuang corpus, the essay also represents a contribution to the basic challenges of reading and interpreting Dunhuang poetry. Section III of the essay, in particular, which revises the transcription of the manuscript's non-standard orthographies and brings Chan 禪 gongan 公案 *literature to bear on the interpretation of one of the Yunyao ji's more difficult poems, provides a more satisfying reading of the poem than is found in Ren's* Dunhuang geci zongbian 敦煌歌辭總編.[6]

Although this piece is in many ways one of Jao's more accessible and discursive essays on the topic, the key terms, such as ci 詞 (*lyrics*), quzi 曲子 (*tune*), quzi ci 曲子詞 (*lyrics to a tune*), daling 打令 (*drinking game song; drinking dance*)*—especially in their incipience as bounded, categorical terms—present problems of interpretation and translation, largely because terms overlap and may be used metonymically across the interconnected domains of music, written lyrics, and*

Crafting a Collection: The Cultural Contexts and Poetic Practice of the Huajian Ji (*Collection from among the flowers*) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), ch. 1.

4 The collection is found in Dunhuang manuscripts P.2838 and S.1441, which are complementary in reconstructing the whole collection. See Jao's notes, first published in Japanese as Jao Tsung-i ed. ann., 饒宗頤, *Tonkō Shohō Sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊, 29 vols. (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1983–6) 5: 52–60, 74–76 (manuscript images Jao's notes, respectively); reprinted in the original Chinese as Jao Tsung-i ed. ann., *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑菁華 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993) 5: 102–110, 175.

5 Wagner, *The Lotus Boat*, 5–6, identifies Jao's pivotal role in tracing the influence of earlier *yuefu* 樂府 and Buddhist poetic forms on an emerging *ci* genre, and in helping make medieval popular culture a valid domain of study in its own right.

6 *Dunhuang geci zongbian* 敦煌歌辭總編, 1:537–9.

dance.[7] *Although Jao's discussion did not benefit from a later discourse on focal features that might better discriminate among senses of the word* ci (*e.g. conventions of prosody and form in later anthologies, the social context of* ci *authorship, the role of literati authors in reifying or legitimizing a recognizable genre, etc.*), *his collation of the relevant sources in sections I and II of this essay, and his commentary on those sources, is still a valuable starting point for exploring the use and continuity of the term* ci. *Indeed, it is only by comprehensive study of these sources that the origin of* ci *can be addressed from a genre-history perspective. For the sake of transparency, the Chinese terms are used in the translation below, where ambiguities remain unresolved. Some ambiguity is also productive, however, for Jao's point that the term* ci 詞 *appears to coalesce as poetic genre in the Tang dynasty; or to take a more defensive stance, one cannot rule out that the term* could have *identified a genre prior to the Song.*

DJL

1

It is generally the case that in scholarship, the more distinctions we make, the clearer things get. However, it is also possible to overdo it, such that not only do we miss the forest for the trees, we miss the tree for its branches. Or we set out to spin silk into thread and end up with more separate strands than we started with. One example of this tendency, which deserves reexamination, is evident in recent scholarship on Tang *ci* 唐詞 (Tang dynasty lyrics). The cave library at Dunhuang preserves an anthology called *Yunyao ji za quzi* 雲謠集雜曲子 (Cloud ballad collection of mixed *quzi*-tunes). Because it is a general anthology of works made according to musical tunes, many people assume it to be a primitive precursor of *ci*-poetry collections (*ci ji* 詞集), but the collection names itself *za quzi* 雜曲子 (mixed *quzi*-tunes), using neither the term *ci* 詞, nor the term *quzi ci* 曲子詞. For this reason, the identity of the *Yunyao ji* has given rise to a number of new theories.

In the introductory remarks to his *Dunhuang geci zongbian* 敦煌歌辭總編 (General collection of song lyrics from Dunhuang), Ren Bantang 任半塘 (1897–1991) makes very clear from the beginning that:

7 For a nuanced discussion of these features and the problems of the multivalence of *ci*, see Shields, "Song lyrics in the Tang: Problems of definition," in *Crafting a Collection*, 48–65 and 24n.15.

> 此編堅決肅清「宋帽唐頭」之「唐詞」意識，而尊重歷史，用「唐曲子」及「唐大曲」兩種名稱代之。
>
> This edition resolutely purges the anachronistic consciousness of the term "*Tang ci* 唐詞," which "puts a Song dynasty hat on a Tang dynasty head." Instead, I respect history by employing the terms *Tang quzi* 唐曲子 and *Tang daqu* 唐大曲.[8]

Ren's aim is to eliminate the term *Tang ci*, with no room for compromise, and he devotes himself to attacking everyone since Wang Guowei 王國維 who has used the term. His reasoning is as follows:

> 夫「詞」，乃趙宋雜言歌辭體之專名也。蔣氏（禮鴻）倘認《雲謠·鳳歸雲》等之體即趙宋之「詞」，即趙宋有詞並盛行時，唐人逝矣！逝矣！安從預曉預行此體，而規橅之歟？故「敦煌詞」一名立足不穩，王國維誤人！「雲謠集」三字下原本寫「雜曲子」，唐人用對大曲言，不云「雲謠集曲子詞」。「曲子詞」初盛唐有之，此名始見〈《花間集》序〉。王重民誤認伯二八三八既寫於朱梁間，雲謠各辭即作於朱梁間，故借用晚唐、五代達官貴人自命所作之「曲子詞」名，以名唐代民間作品，已覺未合。而《雲謠》諸作中，國人早已識其有盛唐作品在，今復肯定其數，且在半數之上，顧尚可貿貿然捨棄原選原寫之名，而妄易以二百年後始見之名乎？
>
> *Ci* 詞 is the terminology for a genre of song lyrics with mixed line lengths. Jiang Lihong 蔣禮鴻 [1916–1994] seems to identify "Feng gui yun" 鳳歸雲 (Clouds of Phoenix Returning) in the *Yunyao ji* and other such works as *ci*-poetry of the Song dynasty, although by the time Song *ci* arose and flourished, people of the Tang had already passed away. Already passed away! What recourse would [Song lyricists] have possibly had to any foreknowledge or prior examples of this form, whereby to make it a model? Therefore, the term *Dunhuang ci* 敦煌詞 (*ci* from Dunhuang) does not have a firm leg to stand on; Wang Guowei led us astray! Below the three graphs *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 was originally written *za quzi* 雜曲子 (mixed [line-length] *quzi*), which Tang people used in correspondence to *daqu* 大曲 (grand-*qu*; big suite); it does not read "*Yunyao ji quzi ci*" 雲謠集曲子詞 (*quzi ci* of the cloud ballad collection). The term *quzi ci* 曲子詞 (lyrics

8 Tr. Note: this is the very first point in Ren's opening "Fanli" 凡例 (General principles); Ren Bantang 任半塘 [Ren Na 任訥], *Dunhuang geci zong bian* 敦煌歌辭總編, 3 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 1:1.

> for a tune) was in use during the early or flourishing Tang (*c.*618–755), and is first witnessed in the preface to *Huajian ji* 花間集 (Collection from among the flowers). Wang Zhongmin 王重民 (1903–1975) mistakenly assumed that the P.2838 manuscript [containing the *Yunyao ji*] was written during the Latter Liang dynasty [907–923], and that each of the lyrics of the *Yunyao* were composed contemporary to the collection. It is for that reason that he borrowed the term *quzi ci* that accomplished literati officials of the late Tang and Five Dynasties used to name their own works. To use this same term to name popular Tang folk compositions already seems problematic. Moreover, some of our countrymen noticed early on that the *Yunyao* includes a number of works from the flourishing Tang. Here I confirm that this number accounts for more than half the collection. How then can we really just rashly discard the name given in the original title of the collection, and recklessly exchange it for one unattested until two hundred years later?[9]

This criticizes Jiang Lihong's decision to call the works "Dunhuang *ci*" rather than using the original name [in the manuscript], *Yunyao ji za quzi*, as inappropriate. Ren opines that *ci* is a term used exclusively for the Song-era form with mixed line lengths, and that it cannot be used to name the works of *Yunyao ji*. Nonetheless, we must consider whether or not the term *ci*, as used for works that rely on music, was entirely limited to the Song dynasty. Did people in the Tang truly never use this term? And with regard to the use of the term "Tang *ci*," only if it began with Wang Guowei can we say that people were influenced by his error. Ren knows all well that the term *quzi ci* is present in the preface to *Huajian ji*, and that this term contains the word *ci*. Now, although the term *ci* is found in one of the *ci*- poems of the Five Dynasties-era compilation *Huajian ji*, the poem itself, which comes from the hand of Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯 [896–971], was written prior to the Five Dynasties. If we reason from this point alone, how can we say the term *ci* was used only in the Five Dynasties? Is it not self-contradictory? Ren is quite insistent on blaming Wang Guowei's use of the general concept of *Tang ci* in *Renjian cihua* 人間詞話 (On *ci*-lyrics in the human realm):

> 王氏見〈鳳歸雲二首〉、〈天仙子〉一道而已，即出其自己創造之唐詞概念，以強加於唐代民間之作品，可乎？

9 Ren, *Dunhuang geci zong bian*, 1:94–5.

> Wang regards [*Huajian ji*'s] "Feng gui yun er shou" 鳳歸雲二首 (Returning phoenix, two poems) and "Tian xianzi" 天仙子 (Heavenly transcendent), as a singular path, emerging from his own invented concept of "Tang *ci*," which forces them into the realm of Tang dynasty popular works. Can this be acceptable?[10]

The way he puts it, the concept of "Tang *ci*" is an invention of Wang Guowei, and so he reasons that Wang has lead all other scholars astray. Although in actuality, this is an entirely subjective viewpoint, without any substantiating evidence! Quite early on, the first *juan* of Zhu Zhutuo's 朱竹垞 (1629–1709) *Ci zong* 詞綜 (Hub of the *ci*), listed some sixty-eight "Tang *ci*." Moreover, prior to Zhu, during the Ming Wanli 萬曆 era [1573–1620], Dong Fengyuan 董逢元 of Changzhou 常州 compiled a book called *Tang ci ji* 唐詞紀 (Notes on Tang *ci*), in sixteen *juan*, and even though the preface to the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 did not have a kind assessment of this book, it provides a clear precedent for the use of the term "Tang *ci*," so we know that the term was already in use as early as the Ming dynasty! There's no need to belabor the point with further examples here; the foregoing already proves that the term is certainly not Wang Guowei's idolatrous creation.

The term *ci* comes up repeatedly in Five Dynasties writings. Another author of poems collected in the *Huajian ji*, Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 [896–968], in his *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (Idle talk from North Meng) regarded the contents of Wen Tingyun's 溫庭筠 [*c.*812–*c.*870] *Jin quan ji* 金荃集 (Golden calamus collection) as *ci*; the original reads as follows:

> 其詞有金荃集，取其香而軟也。

> ... his *ci*-poetry includes the *Jin quan ji*, which selects the most fragrant and soft.[11]

Wen Tingyun's works are also described in Liu Xu's 劉昫 [888–947] edition of the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old book of Tang):

> 能逐絃吹之音， 為側（仄）艷之詞

10 Ren, *Dunhuang geci zong bian*, 1:93.

11 See Long Muxun 龍沐勛, "Citi zhi yanjin" 詞體之演進 [Evolution of the *ci* genre], *Cixue jikan* 詞學季刊, 1933, debut issue, 34, which quotes *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言. It is not, however, found in the edition collated by Lin Aiyuan 林艾園; Sun Guangxian 孫光憲, *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言, coll. and punc. Lin Aiyuan 林艾園 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012).

> … *ci* with elegant, oblique tones, that can follow along with the sounds of strings and ensemble.[12]

Both of these instances use the term *ci* to categorize Wen's works, rather than the terms *quzi* or *za quzi*. With regard to the term *quzi ci*, aside from the preface to *Huajian ji*, Sun Guangxian's *Beimeng suoyan* also says:

> 晉相和凝少時好為曲子詞，布於汴、洛。洎入相……終為艷詞玷之。契丹入夷門，號為曲子相公。
>
> When the Jin minister He Ning 和凝 [898–955] was young, he was fond of making *quzi ci*, which were dispersed along the Bian and Luo rivers. After becoming prime minister … he was in the end faulted for his amorous *ci*. When the Khitan people entered the Yi gate, they called him the Quzi Xianggong (Duke-minister of *Quzi*-tunes).[13]

In his letters, he repeatedly used the term *ci*, as is recorded below:

> 唐路侍中巖……鎮成都日，……以官妓行雲等十人侍宴。移鎮渚宮日，於合江亭離筵贈行雲等《感恩多》詞，有「離魂何處斷，煙雨江南岸。」至今播於倡樓也。
>
> In the Tang, the day that Lu Yan [829–874; honorific title, *shizhong* 侍中, "Director of the Chancellery"], was garrisoned at Chengdu … he was attended upon at banquets by ten dancing girls, including one named Xingyun 行雲 ("Drifting cloud"). When he moved his garrison to Zhugong [i.e. Jiangling 江陵, modern-day Jingzhou, Hubei], he held a parting feast held at the Hejiang Pavillion, at which he presented Xingyun and the dancers with a *ci* called "Gan en duo" 感恩多 (Much gratitude). One line reads "Where does the departing *hun*-soul break off?/ In the rain and haze of the Yangtse's southern shore." And, to this day, [the song] is performed in places of musical entertainment.[14]

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12 *Juan* 119 lower, in the *Bai na ben* 百衲本 [critical edition] reproduction of the Ming era "Wen Renquan fusongben" 聞人詮覆宋本 edition.

Tr. note, this passage is found in Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 190.5079.

13 *Juan* 6, paragraph 110, Sun Guangxian 孫光憲, *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言, punc. and coll. Jia Erqiang 賈二強 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 6.135.

14 *Juan* 3, paragraph 32, Sun, *Beimeng suoyan*, 3.51.

In the *Huajian ji*, Niu Qiao 牛嶠 [fl. 878], has two poems to the tune of "Gan en duo," judging from which the line above from Lu Yan's poem must be the opening line. The *Beimeng suoyan* also records the following:

> 天復三年……移都東洛，既入華州，百姓呼萬歲……沿路有《思帝鄉》之詞，乃曰:
>
> In the third year of *Tianfu* (903), [the Tang Zhao emperor] moved to the eastern capital of Luoyang, and upon entering Huazhou, the common people cheered for him to rule forever … on the road there was a *ci* called "Si di xiang" (Village of the gracious emperor), which says:

紇乾山頭凍殺雀	Sparrow frozen dead atop Hegan Mountain,[15]
何不飛去生處樂	why do you not fly to the joys of your birthplace?
況我此行悠悠	All the more for us, who on this unending journey,
未知落在何所	still don't know where our place of landing is.[16] [don't yet know in what place Luoyang is]

We can see that in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties, the graph *ci* was in very common use. The *ci* that [Sun] recorded, "Gan en duo *ci*," and "Si di xiang" *ci*, both are *duanju* 斷句 [i.e. *jueju* 絕句] forms. Lin Dachun's 林大椿 [1812–1863] book records only four poems of Tang Zhaozong. There is no mention therein of this "Si di xiang" *ci*. If we check Wen Feiqing or Wei Zhuang 韋莊 [836–910], they both have works to "Si di xiang" rhyming on level tones (*ping yun* 平韻), with a different phrasing structure. During the Five Dynasties, in the beginning of the Latter Tang Mingzong 明宗 emperor's Tiancheng 天成 reign period [926–930], Sun Guangxian went to Jiangling 江陵 and served the Gao 高 family in Jingnan for three generations. Sun's book was written while he was in Jingnan, around the time of Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯, and the two authors both use the term *quzi ci* without any clear mutual influence.

If we then investigate again the use of terminology in Dunhuang manuscripts, we find that a good number of *daqu* and *quzi* add the graph *ci* after the name of the tune (*quming* 曲名), as is seen for example in the S.3271 and S.6517 manuscripts, which have the following titles:

15 Tr. note: Heganshan 紇乾山 refers to Cailiangshan 採涼山 in modern Shanxi province.
16 Sun, *Beimeng suoyan*, 15.294.

S.3217:		
"Fan longzhou ci"	泛龍洲詞	Floating on Dragon Islet *ci*
"Zheng Langzi ci"	鄭郎子詞	Young Master Zheng *ci*
"Shui diao ci"	水調詞	Water Melody *ci*
"Le Shi ci"	樂世詞	Taking Joy in this Age *ci*
S.6517:		
"Jian qi ci"	劍器詞	Sword and Weapons *ci*[17]

That Ren Bantang's *Jiao lu* deletes the word *ci* in each of these cases is just not faithful to the text! As a matter of fact, the graph *ci* was quite often encountered in the Tang at banquet settings. The Tang poet Meng Qi's 孟棨 [fl. 875] *Ben shi shi* 本事詩 (Storied poems) has a section on the poet Shen Quanqi 沈佺期 [656–729], which reads:

> 沈佺期以罪謫，遇恩，復官秩，朱紱未復。嘗內宴，群臣皆歌《回波羅》，中宗命群臣撰詞起舞，因是多求遷擢。
>
> [Shen Quanqi was punished by exile [to the provinces], but he found favor again and returned to the ranks. Before his vermillion sash [of office] was restored, there was once a palace feast at which all the ministers sung "Hui bo luo" 回波羅 (Wave-echo music). The Zhongzong emperor ordered the ministers to compose lyrics and dance. Many used this event to request promotion
>
> 佺期詞曰:
>
> Shen Quanqi's *ci*-lyrics said:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 迴波爾時佺期， | The time resounds that I, Quanqi, |
> | 流離嶺外生歸。 | was sent beyond the five peaks, to live and to return. |
> | 身名已蒙齒錄， | My name and person are fortunate to have been reappointed; |
> | 袍笏未復牙緋。 | my gown and tablet not yet restored to ivory and crimson silk.[18] |

17 See Jao Tsung-i, *Airs de Touen-Houang*, trans. Paul Demiéville (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971), 41.

18 Meng Qi 孟棨, *Ben shi shi* 本事詩, 7.27a–27b, reprinted in *Jin dai mi shu* 津逮秘書 (Shanghai: Bogu zhai, 1922), 29.

Meng Qi's preface is labeled with a date of Guangqi 光啟 year two (886), and a title of Director, Bureau of Merit Titles 司勳郎中, so he lived in the time of the Tang Xizong 僖宗 emperor [873–888]. "Hui bo luo" 迴波羅 should be read as "Hui bo yue" 迴波樂, which is here called a *ci* rather than a *quzi*. Moreover, the *quzi* written by the Tang Zhaozong 唐昭宗 emperor are all referred to as *ci* in the "Ben ji" 本紀 (Basic Annals) of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old history of Tang), as follows:

> ……送御製《楊柳枝》詞五首賜之
>
> ... [the Emperor ordered that Zhu Quanzhong 朱全忠 (852–912)] ... be conferred a gift of five imperially sponsored *ci* to the tune of "Yangliu zhi" 楊柳枝 (Willow branches) ...[19]
>
> ……令樂工唱御制《菩薩蠻》詞
>
> [the Emperor] ... ordered the music officials to sing imperially sponsored *ci* to the tune "Pusa man" 菩薩蠻 (Bodhisattva barbarian) (Jao note: this refers to Zhu Pu 朱樸 (fl.896)) ...[20]

Writing the word *ci* after the title of a tune makes clear that these types of creations are called *ci*, and in Tang writings, we see this all the time. In Bai Juyi's 白居易 "Zuiyin Xiansheng zhuan" 醉吟先生傳 (Biography of Mr. Drunkenchant), it says that:

> 若歡甚， 又命小妓歌《楊柳枝》新詞十數章，放情自娛。
>
> Whenever Mr. Drunkenchant was immersed in his pleasures, he might also tell the little dancer girls to sing some dozen or more new verses to the tune of "Yang liu zhi," to amuse himself however he wished.[21]

We have ten of Bai Juyi's poems to the tune of "Yangliu zhi"; Mr. Drunkenchant's penchant for more verses echoes Bai's lines to the first poem in the series:

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19 Liu Xu 劉昫, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 20A.776.

20 Liu, *Jiu Tang shu*, 20A.762.

21 Bai Juyi 白居易, "Zuiyin xiansheng zhuan" 醉吟先生傳, *Baishi changqing ji* 白氏長慶集, 61.31a, rpt. in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 744.

古歌舊曲君休聽　Quit listening to those ancient songs and dated tunes
聽取新翻楊柳枝　Listen to my newly arranged [lyrics] to "Willow Branches."[22]

Bai himself calls his creations new *ci*. Fan Shu's 范攄 (fl. 874–879) *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 (Friendly discussions from cloud creek), writes:

裴郎中誠，晉國公次弟子也，足情調，善談諧。舉子溫岐為友，好作歌曲。迄今飲席，多是其詞焉。裴君既入臺，而為三院所謔曰:

Director Pei Xian 裴郎中誠 [of the Bureau of Operations, fl. mid-9th c.],[23] second son of the Duke of Jin, was a man of style and charm who excelled at comic banter. He was a friend of the provincial graduate, Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 [812–870; born Wen Qi 溫岐], and loved to make songs (*gequ* 歌曲). Even up to the present day, a number of the works performed at banquets are his *ci*. When Pei entered the Headquarters, [colleagues of] the Three Bureaus poked fun at him, saying:

能為淫艷之歌，　He who can make bawdy and colorful songs,
有異清潔之士也。　has what differs from those pure and clean nobles.

裴君《南歌子》詞云:

Pei's *ci* to "Nan gezi" 南歌子 (Southern Melody) said:

不是廚中弗，　I'm not a skewer in the kitchen
爭知炙裏心。　how do I know a roast's inner heart?
井邊銀釧落，　A silver bracelet dropped by the well side,
展轉恨還深。　Tossing and turning, my dolour still deep.[24]

22 Zeng Zhaomin 曾昭岷, et al. eds, *Quan Tang Wudai ci* 全唐五代詞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), 1.66.
Tr. note, the first two are translated and discussed in Shields, *Crafting a Collection*, 17–19.

23 Tr. note: Sometimes written Pei Cheng 裴誠.

24 Tr. note: Or, perhaps, "Tossing and turning, resenting its return to the depths."

又曰:

Another says:

不信長相憶， Not trusting that we will miss each other long,
抬頭問取天。 I raise my head to ask it of the heavens.
風吹荷葉動， The lotus's leaves move in the breeze,
無夜不搖蓮。 on no night do its flowers not sway.

又曰:

Another says:

簳蠟為紅燭， It takes stem and wax to make a red candle;
情知不自由。 I know full well that I am not self-sufficient.
細絲斜結網， Fine silk forms its web at oblique angles;
爭奈眼相鉤。 how will our eyes latch on to one another's?

二人又為新添聲《楊柳枝》詞，飲筵競唱其詞而打令也。詞云:

Both men composed lyrics (*ci*) to the tune of "Yangliu zhi." At drinking parties they battled back and forth with these lyrics (*ci*) in drinking performance games (*da ling* 打令). They said:

思量大是惡因緣， I lament how great are these evil causes;
只得相看不得憐。 that we can just see one another, but cannot love.
願作琵琶槽那畔， I yearn to be that fretted *pipa* yonder,
美人長抱在胸前。 ever clasped at that beauty's bosom.

又曰:

Another said:

獨房蓮子沒人看， A lotus pod, alone, and seen by no one,
偷折蓮時命也拚。 when you pluck a stolen lotus you risk your life.
若有所由來借問， If interested parties should come to inquire,
但道偷蓮是下官。 just say the lotus thief is a junior officer.

溫歧曰:

Wen Tingyun's said:

一尺深紅朦麴塵，	A length of deep red obscured by barm- or willow-yellow;
舊物天生如此新。	can the old thing, by its nature, compare with the new?
合歡桃核終堪恨，	The peach and its pit, their consummate joy, ending in profound regret;
裏許元來別有人。	inside, it turned out, was somebody else.

又曰:

Another said:

井底點燈深燭伊，	In the bottom of a well I light a torch, to deeply illuminate it (deeply implore you);
共郎長行莫圍碁。	in my love's company, we do long walks, not encircling chess (when you, my love, travel long, don't violate your return date)
玲瓏骰子安紅豆，	Is the tinkling of dice not like that of red beans? (What are those red dots on exquisitely wrought dice?)
入骨相思知不知？	Do you know of pining for each other from within your very bones?[25]

湖州崔郎中芻言，初為越副戎，宴席中有周德華。德華者，乃劉採春女也。雖《羅嗊》之歌，不及其母；而《楊柳枝》詞，採春難及。崔副車寵愛之異，將至京洛。後豪門女弟子從其學者眾矣。溫裴所稱歌曲，請德華一陳音韻，以為浮艷之美，德華終不取焉。

25 Tr. note: Translations here made partly on the basis of the interpretations in Mou Huaishen, *Rediscovering Wen Tingyun: A historical key to a poetic labyrinth* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2004), 179–180.

> The Director of Huzhou 湖州郎中, Cui Chuyan 崔芻言 [d. 862], was originally the vice general of Yue, and had Zhou Dehua 周德華 at his banquets. Dehua was the daughter of [the singer] Liu Caichun 劉採春 [dates unknown]. Although Dehua did not outdo her mother in the song "Luo-gong" 囉嗊, Caichun could not match her in *ci* to "Yangliu zhi." Cui was extraordinarily enamored with her and brought her to the capital Luoyang.[26] Later on, the female disciples of prominent families who came to study with her were numerous indeed. Dehua was invited to intone a set of those songs for which Wen Tingyun and Pei Xian were well known, but since she regarded their allure as garish, she in the end did not accept the invitation.[27]

Fan Shu 范攄 was from Wu. A note in the "Treatise on Bibliography" of the *Tang shu* says that he lived during the *xiantong* 咸通 reign period [860–874].[28] He lived in Ruoye Xi (Ruoye stream valley) in Guiji 會稽, and was contemporary to Fang Gan 方干 [809–888].[29] He overlapped in time with Wen Tingyun. The record above uses the term *ci* several times, about which we can make the following four notes:

(1) The songs (*gequ* 歌曲) by Pei Xian and Wen Tingyun are referred to as *ci* 詞.
(2) The term *ci* is added after the name of the melody (*ci pai* 詞牌), as in "Nan gezi" *ci*, "Xin tian sheng Yangliu zhi" *ci*, and "Yangliu zhi" *ci*.
(3) What gets sung on the drinking mat is called *ci*, and this is at the same time a *da ling* 打令 (drinking game or dance).
(4) The two poets' works are all referred to "the *ci* goes," or "the *ci* says."

This passage in the *Yunxi youyi* is extremely important in that it does not use the two-graph term *quzi* 曲子 at all; it only uses *ci*. From this it is sufficient to see that *ci*, as used to refer to songs was not only a developing convention of the time, it was becoming a new genre. This is confirmed by the *Yuefu jiwen* 樂府紀聞 (Heard at the Music Bureau), which says:

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26 Tr. note: For what I translate as "Cui," the text here reads "Cui Fuche" 崔副車, lit. "Chariot Assistant Cui," which here seems to function as a term for someone close to the emperor.

27 Fan Shu 范攄, "Wen Peichu" 溫裴黜, *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議, C.13b–14b, rpt. in *Sibu congkan xubian* 四部叢刊續編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 349.

28 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 59.1542.

29 See Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Siku tiyao bianzheng* 四庫提要辨證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 17.1027.

> 宣宗愛唱《菩薩蠻》詞，令狐綯假溫庭筠手，撰二十闋以進
>
> [The Tang] Xuanzong Emperor loved to sing Pusaman 菩薩蠻 *ci*, so Linghu Tao 令狐綯 [b. 795], entrusted the hand of Wen Tingyun, who composed twenty verses to present [to the emperor].[30]

In the time of Wen Tingyun, the term *ci* was already widely used, and could be used just as well as the term *quzi*. This is not at all inconsistent with its use simultaneous to the term *quzi* during the Five Dynasties [907–960] and Northern Song [960–1127] periods. This is exactly why [the great *ci* poet] He Ning 和凝 [898–955] was referred to as "Minister and Duke of *quzi*" 曲子相公; the situation of Liu Yong's 柳永 [987–1053] collection of musical verse containing a "Xu tian" 續添 *quzi* is exactly the same.

In light of the facts raised above, we cannot categorically claim that *ci* is a product of the Song dynasty, or that only Song dynasty works can be called *ci*. From the late Tang to the Five Dynasties, the terms *ci* and *quzi ci* were both similarly put to broad use; what need is there to forcibly divide these fields of use, or to obstinately insist that in the Tang dynasty there were only *quzi* and never *ci*?

Pei Xian's *ci* to "Nan gezi" are of a pentasyllabic, four-line form, with lines of even length, which as Fan Shu made clear are *ci*. The "Nan gezi" of long and short uneven line lengths in Dunhuang manuscript P.3836 reads:

夜夜長相憶	Night after night I yearn for you
知君思我無	But do you think of me?
……	...
漫畫眉如柳	Inundated with makeup, my brow like willow (left behind);
虛勻臉上蓮	in vain I straighten out the lotus flowers (longing) on my face ...
……天天天	My heavens, heavens, heavens!
因何用以偏	Why must we stray?

The theme it unfolds would seem to derive from Pei Xian's lines, but what is the connection? This is left for us to ponder and explore.

30 Tr. note: The translation here follows the text Jao quotes from the *Yuefu ji wen* 樂府紀聞, although that book is lost and his source of the quotation is not clear. A similar quotation, also employing the term *ci* is found in Sun, *Beimeng suoyan*, 4.89.

Up until the Yuan dynasty "Yangliu zhi" was still called a *ling qu* 令曲; in Yuan times, Hu Sanxing 胡三省 [1230–1302] wrote in his *Tongjian zhu* 通鑑注 (Annotations to the Comprehensive Mirror [in Aid of Governance]):

> 《楊柳枝》即今之令曲也。今之曲如《清平樂》、《水調歌》、《柘枝》、《菩薩蠻》、《八聲甘州》，皆唐季之餘聲。又唐人多賦《楊柳枝》，皆七言四絕，相傳以為出於開元梨園樂章。
>
> "Yangliu zhi" is now what we call a *ling qu* 令曲, Melodies today like "Qingping yue" 清平樂 (Qingping music), "Zhe zhi" 柘枝 (Melonberry branch), "Pusa man," and "Basheng Ganzhou" 八聲甘州 (Ganzhou in eight rhymes) are all sounds passed down from the late Tang. And moreover, Tang writers often made compositions to "Yangliu zhi," which are all heptasyllabic quatrain forms, thought to have come out of the *yue zhang* 樂章 (music chapters) of the Liyuan 梨園 (Pear Garden) theatre academy during the *kaiyuan* period [713–741].[31]

We can see that Yuan writers still called "Yangliu zhi" a *ling qu*, which is exactly the same as what Fan Shu meant by *ci er da ling* 詞而打令 (write lyrics (*ci*) and play drinking games). Of Tang poets who wrote to the tune of "Yangliu zhi," the poet Chen Zi'ang's 陳子昂 [661–702] is earliest, and intones on affairs of the Sui Yang Emperor 隋煬帝 (r. 604–618):

萬里長江一帶開	The Yangtse's belt of ten thousand miles unfolds,
岸邊楊柳幾千栽	the banks lined by many thousands willows.
錦帆未落干戈起	Before the embroidered sails come down, staffs and halberds lift;
惆悵龍舟去不回	I am anxious and troubled that this dragon boat may not return.[32]

Pei Xian and Wen Tingyun's new lyrics to "Yangliu zhi" were still heptasyllabic quatrains, which when sung would just have been filled in with auxiliary syllables [to match the rhythm] rather than meaningful words. Only the versions of "Yangliu zhi" in Dunhuang manuscripts P.2809 and that in the private

31 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, comp. Sima Guang 司馬光, annot. Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 264.8605.

32 Note that this work is not collected in Lin Dachun 林大椿, *Tang Wudai ci* 唐五代詞 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1963).

collection of Hashikawa Tokio 橋川時雄 have a 7-4-7-5-7-4-7-5 verse structure, so words would be added. The text is as seen here below:

春去春來春復春，	Spring comes, spring goes, spring springs anew;
寒暑來頻。	Cold and heat come repeatedly.
月生月盡月還新，	Moon born, moon gone, moon again new;
又被老催人。	Once more urged on by aging.
只見庭前千歲月，	The millennium-moon before the courtyard is all I see,
長在常存。	Always there, ever present.
不見堂上百年人，	the centenarians above me in the house have disappeared,
盡總化為塵。	ever in the end transformed to dust.[33]

If we just read the seven-character lines, they couple perfectly and are parallel with one another, such that they form a complete *jueju* 絕句 quatrain. The rest are really just words filled-in for symmetry. Gu Xiong's 顧敻 (fl. 10th c.) poem to "Yangliu zhi" has a 7-3-7-3-7-3-7-3 verse structure, also different from what we see above.[34] Yet if we consider compositional technique, Gu's is still not as moving and elegant as those above. It is really too bad that we don't know from whose hand such excellent verses came.

Ren Bantang, whose book discards the term *ci* 詞 and changes it to *ge ci* 歌辭 (song words; song lyrics), puts primary emphasis on the musical aspect rather than the literary aspect of the text—in this he is extremely resolute. But we need to consider that these songs from Dunhuang do not necessarily all have to be accompanied by music. In fact, lyrics (*ge ci*) and music are two separate things. In the Latter Zhou, in year seven of the Xiande 顯德 reign period [960], Hu Sanxing made the following note:

> 廣順中，太宰卿邊蔚奏:敕定前件祠祭、朝命舞名、樂曲歌詞，寺司含有薄籍。伏恐所令與新法曲調，聲韻不叶，請下太常寺檢詳校試。若或乖舛，請本寺依新法聲調，別撰樂章、舞曲、令歌者誦習，從之。

33 Tr. note: This manuscript is in the collection of Hashikawa Tokio, and is transcribed in Hashikawa Tokio橋川時雄, "Dunhuang qu xie ben shu ying" 敦煌曲寫本書影 (also titled "Tang ren xieben quzi" 唐人寫本曲子 under the pseudonym of Shi Yong 時雍), *Cixue jikan* 詞學季刊, 1.4 (1934): 206.

34 Tr. note: Gu Xiong 顧敻, "Yangliu zhi" 楊柳枝, in Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Ci zong* 詞綜, 3.3a–3b, in *SKQS*, 1493: 454.

> In the *guangshun* period [951–953] the high minister and great steward Bian Wei 邊蔚 presented the following report [to the emperor]:[35]
>
> > The temple authority has a register of the aforementioned imperially mandated sacrifices, court prescribed dance names, tunes, and song lyrics. [I, your] prostrated [servant], fear that those [now] mandated are not in tonal harmony with the song melodies of the new tuning system. Please request that [this concern] be referred down to the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, so they may make detailed examinations, comparisons, and tests. If there are any discrepancies, please request that the same Court compose new *yue zhang* 樂章 (music chapters) and *wu qu* 舞曲 (accompanying music for dances), in accordance with the new tuning system, and mandate that singers memorize their parts accordingly.[36]

This passage that Hu cites as Bian Wei's words, actually comes from a petition by the War Minister Zhang Zhao 張昭 [894–972] during the same period [954–960], which is added as an excerpt. From Bian Wei's petition above, it can be seen that tunes (*yuequ* 樂曲) and song lyrics (*geci* 歌詞) are two actually separate things. And so these "song lyrics" are just written texts that can be sung; they need not necessarily accompany music. In the Latter Zhou came reordering projects of the "new tuning system" (*xinfa qudiao* 新法曲調) and "composing new *yue zhang*" 別撰樂章.

As to the term *yue zhang* (here tentatively "music chapters"), Wang Yinglin's 王應麟 [1223–1296] *Yuhai* 玉海 (Sea of Jade) cites a work by Xu Jing'an 徐景安, who served as Chief Musician during the Tang, which says: "as to *yue zhang* 樂章, they are *sheng shi* 聲詩 (musicalized poems)."[37] As to Ren's book, *Tang sheng shi* 唐聲詩 (Musicalized Poetry in the Tang), if we pursue the etymology of the term *sheng shi*, Xu's statement cited above is the earliest source in which we find it. As Xu says, *sheng shi* are precisely *yue zhang*, and in the Latter Zhou dynasty when these *yue zhang* were being reordered, they were compared and

35 Tr. note: The context here seems to be that the tuning system for temple bells has been changed, and the tuning of wind instruments and other accompaniments are being brought into line with them.

36 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, comp. Sima Guang 司馬光, annot. Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 294.9594.

37 Xu Jing'an 徐景安, *Lidai yue yi* 歷代樂儀 (Music and Ceremony by Dynasty) in thirty *juan* (now lost), "Yuezhang wenpu" 樂章文普, cited in Wang Yinglin's 王應麟, *Yuhai* 玉海, Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Yu hai* 玉海 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2003), 3: 1922 (105.24a).

edited in accordance with the new tuning system. Another of Hu Sanxing's notes already cited above says that "Yangliu zhi" comes from the *yue zhang* of the Liyuan 梨園 (Pear Garden) theatre academy during the Kaiyuan period [713–741] of the Tang, thus *yue zhang*, larger court music traditions (*da qu* 大曲), and *quzi* tunes are all intimately connected. This is why Liu Yong's later collection is called *Yue zhang ji* 樂章集 (*Yue zhang* Collection). All of this shows that there is a significant difference between the senses implied by the terms *ge ci* 歌詞 and *yue qu* 樂曲 or *yue zhang* 樂章. "Yangliu zhi" was a *yue zhang* from the Pear Garden theater academy, and in the flourishing Tang era, *yue zhang* was the precursor of the term *ci* 詞. For Ren to ridicule the concept of "Tang *ci*" as anachronistic, he must be unaware that *ling ci* 令詞 are also *yue zhang*; *da ling* 打令 can also be called *ling ci* 令詞, adding the character *ci* 詞 after *ling* 令, just as *quzi* 曲子 are made into *quzi ci* 曲子詞 by adding *ci*. The structure of the term *ci'er* 詞兒 is yet another example of the same phenomenon.[38] so why glue the bridge of the zither or mark the boat's hull [where the sword dropped in the water], as this just adds to our troubles? For this reason, and not for the sake of being quarrelsome, I make the corrections above.

2

In recent years a new factional view has arisen in the field of *ci* studies: because the title of *Yunyao ji* in the Dunhuang manuscripts uses the words *za quzi* 雜曲子, there are some who have proposed that in Tang times, the term *ci* 詞 was not yet in use, and there were at the time only the terms *quzi* 曲子 or *daqu* 大曲. If we look at the recent issue six of the journal *Ci xue* 詞學 (*Ci* Studies), in the special volume commemorating Xia Chengtao 夏承燾 [1900–1986], Ren Bantang loudly and harshly criticizes Xia, raising the mantra of "resolutely rejecting [the idea of] Tang *ci* 唐詞." Therein, Ren says "'Tang *ci*' is what men of Song belted out!" 唐詞是宋人喊出來的. He also says:

> 依調填詞的詞，並非始於北宋。初唐李靖早有七百首格調一律的《兵要望江南》。
>
> *Ci*, made by filling in words to a tune, definitely did not start in the Northern Song. Early on in the beginning of the Tang, Li Jing 李靖 [571–649], wrote seven hundred poems to the same tune in *Bing yao Wang*

38 Tr. note: Jao here may be alluding to the relationship between *ci* 詞 and *cihua* 詞話 a form of novel that incorporates poetic verse.

> *Jiangnan* 兵要望江南 ([Verses on the] Essentials of Warfare [to the Tune of] Looking [Back] to Jiangnan).[39]

In the Tang dynasty, is it the case that there were absolutely no *ci* made according to tunes? To address this question, I wrote an article entitled "Wei Tang ci jin yi jie" 為唐詞進一解 (A proposed explanation of "Tang *ci*"),[40] in order to clarify the problem. Later, I also did some collations of the hand-copied edition in Taiwan's National Central Library of the *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan* 李衛公望江南 (The Duke of Wey, Li [Jing's], [verses to the Tune of] Looking [Back] on Jiangnan), which was later published by Xin wenfeng publishing.[41] This book, whose contents are very disordered, collects seven hundred and twenty-six poems in total, which is two hundred and forty-one more than editors Zhang Zhang 張璋 and Huang She 黃畬 have collected in *Quan Tang Wudai ci* 全唐五代詞 (Complete *ci* of the Tang and Five dynasties) under the title *Bing yao Wang Jiangnan*.

This work, attributed to Li Jing 李靖 [571–649], is a big jumble, containing all sorts of things related to "Wang Jiangnan." The book must have been collected in the Song dynasty, and cannot be viewed as Li Jing's own work. As I have already pointed out in the preface to my collated edition, bibliographic works of the Song dynasty have the following entries for "Wang Jiangnan":

> Wang Yongzhao 王永昭 *Wang Jiangnan fengjiao ji* 望江南風角集 ("Looking to Jiangnan" corners of the wind collection), two *juan* 二卷.[42]
>
> Bao Zhenjun 包真君 *Wang Jiangnan ci* 望江南詞 ("Looking to Jiangnan" *ci*), one *juan* 一卷.[43]
>
> *Zhou yi duan gua meng Jiangnan* 周易斷卦夢江南 (*Zhou Changes* judgements on hexagrams, "Dreaming of Jiangnan")[44]

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39 Ren Bantang 任半塘, "Jianjue feichu 'Tang ci' mingcheng" 堅決廢除「唐詞」名稱, *Ci xue* 詞學 6 (1988): 253.

40 Jao Tsung-i, "Wei Tang ci jin yi jie" 為唐詞進一解, *Mingbao yuekan* 明報月刊, 11 (1989): 97–100.

41 Jao Tsung-i ed., *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan* 李衛公望江南, (Taipei: Xin Wenfeng, 1990).

42 "Yiwenzhi, Wuxing lei" 藝文志·五行類, in *Song shi* 宋史, comp. Tuo Tuo 脫脫 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 159.5245.

Tr. Note: *feng jiao* 風角, or "corners of the wind" is a military divination practice.

43 *Daoshu wang Jiangnan* 道術望江南 in one *juan* is listed in *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, comp. Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 et al., 9.22a, in *SKQS*, 674:114.

44 See *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, comp. Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 et al., 8.4b, in *SKQS*, 674: 93; and Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi ershi lüe* 通志二十略 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), "Yiwen lüe 6" 藝文略第六, 1680.

Da dao meng Jiangnan 大道夢江南 (Great Dao "Dreaming of Jiangnan")[45]

If we search for some of the topics listed above in the version entitled *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan*, the category of *fengjiao* 風角 (Corners of the wind divination) is listed in section two, with a total of thirty-two poems; twenty-one poems of "*Zhou yi* zhan hou" 周易占候 (*Zhou yi* prognostications and observations) are in section twenty-six. I suspect that this book is in fact just collecting together those divination and magic works to "Wang Jiangnan" that were extant during the Song dynasty. The same *Li wei gong* version has a commentarial postface (*bawen* 跋文) that came to be appended at the beginning of the book, which says: "postfaced cautiously by Liu Xun of Xiu'an, in the third year of the [Later Liang dynasty's] Zhenming reign period [917]," 貞明三年中，休安劉剰謹跋.[46] The graph *xun* 剰 is in fact an error for *xun* 鄩; Liu Xun 劉鄩 [d. 920] was from Anqiu 安丘 in Mizhou 密州, and was a great general during the Later Liang who has dedicated biographies preserved in the *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Former history of the Five dynasties) and *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (New history of the Five dynasties).[47] The attribution of the postface, as with the attribution of the contents to Li Jing, is also false.

Now that this *Li Wei gong* version of the book is in print, people can see the truth of the matter for themselves, and familiarize themselves with the varied contents from different periods relating to "Wang Jiangnan" that were collected in this book. There is absolutely no way this is the work of an Early Tang author.

In May of 1990, I gave a talk at Harvard's East Asian Languages and Cultures department, in which I discussed the practical aspect of *quzi ci*; most of what I discussed should be subsumed under the category of *za wenxue* 雜文學 (assorted, mixed literature), and shouldn't be casually regarded as *chun wenxue* 純文學 (pure literature). The over seven hundred works to "Wang Jiangnan" are a good example of these assorted forms, and can help show the extent to

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Tr. Note: "Meng Jiangnan" 夢江南 (Dreaming of Jiangnan) appears to be an alternate name for the same tune.

45 Ye Dehui 葉德輝, *Song Shaoxing mishu sheng xubian dao siku que shumu* 宋紹興秘書省續編到四庫闕書目 (Changsha: Yeshi guan'gu tang, 1903), 2.12a.

46 Jao ed., *Li Weigong Wang Jiangnan*, xiv. Jao notes that the name Xun 剰 is repeated, by mistake.

47 Xue Juzheng 薛居正 et al., *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 23.307; Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史, annot. Xu Wudang 徐無黨 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 22.225.

which things became chaotic, mixed, and disordered when *quzi ci* were used as a practical or mnemonic tool for rhyming formulae.[48]

We cannot blithely regard all of these "Wang Jiangnan" works as those of Li Jing; the matter awaits much more detailed study. So it would indeed be rash to judge with any certainty that the early Tang figure Li Jing had already written several hundred "Wang Jiangnan" works. Aside from providing early *wu xing* 五行 (five phases) or *shu shu* 數術 (numerology and technical arts) materials of a rhyming formulaic or mnemonic nature, made to musical forms, I think the publication of this book has made some contribution towards understanding the practical circumstances behind the origin of *quzi ci*.

Another point not yet made above, regards rulers of the Five Dynasties period who were capable in the realm of *ci*: in addition to the last two rulers of the Southern Tang, which everyone knows about, there were other rulers who wrote enchanting *quzi*; among them the Later Tang Zhuangzong 莊宗 emperor, Li Cunxu 李存勗 [r. 908–923]. The *Wudai shi bu* 五代史補 (Supplement to the *History of the Five Dynasties*) says:

> 莊宗為公子時，雅好音律，又能自撰曲子詞。其後凡用軍，前後隊伍皆以所撰詞授之，使揭聲而唱，謂之「御製」。至於入陣，不論勝負，馬頭纔轉，則眾歌齊作。
>
> When the Zhuangzong emperor was a prince, he always took pleasure in music, and also composed *quzi ci* of his own. Later, whenever he undertook military campaigns, he composed and presented [his *ci*] to all the brigades, having them exhibited and sung, and calling the works "imperially composed" (*yu zhi* 御製). When the troops were deployed, no matter whether they won or lost, as soon as they returned to the docks, they all burst into song together.[49]

Ren assumes that the Zhuangzong emperor was just a warlord—how could he have authored such ornate and subtle sounds, like "rippling flags yielding to the breeze" (*fengliu yini* 風流旖旎)? Ren erroneously explains [the song] "Nei jia jiao" 內家嬌 (Palace Lovelies) as akin to the Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 emperor reciting the poems of consort Yang Taizhen 楊太真 (Yang Guifei 楊貴妃), even

48 Tr. note: See Jao Tsung-i, "Cong Dunhuang suo chu 'Wang Jiangnan,' 'Ding fengbo' shenlun quzi ci zhi shiyongxing" 從敦煌所出《望江南》、《定風波》申論曲子詞之實用性, in *Dunhuang xulun* 敦煌續論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1996), 149–157.

49 Tao Yue 陶岳, *Wudai shi bu* 五代史補, 2.91, rpt. in *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2017), 8:91.

though it is unmistakably labeled as "imperially composed" (*yu zhi* 御製).[50] In order to deny the clear implication that at the time, Li Cunxu's works were said to be "imperially composed," Ren even goes as far as to say that "as to regarding 'Nei jia jiao' as a military song imperially composed by Zhuangzong as he surveyed his brigades, what we must most resolutely disagree with is first and foremost to take it as [the work of] the Zhuangzong emperor, Li Cunxu, himself" 將內家嬌視為莊宗御製之臨陣軍歌，則堅決不同意者，首先當為莊宗李存勗本人.[51] Ren devotes a great deal of space to dealing with this topic, and yet surprisingly still forgets that the *Zun qian ji* 尊前集 (Before the goblet collection) collects as many as four *ci* by Zhuangzong, including one to the tune of "Yi xianzi" 憶仙姿 (Recalling transcendent beauty;), and a second to "Yi ye luo" 一葉落 (One leaf falls), the style of which is quite akin to that of Wei Zhuang 韋莊 or Qin Guan 秦觀.[52] Su Shi's 蘇軾 preface to "Yi xianzi," (a tune also known as "Ru meng ling" 如夢令 [Like a Dream]), says:

> 此曲本唐莊宗製，名《憶仙姿》，嫌其名不雅，故改為《如夢令》。蓋莊宗作此詞，卒章云:「如夢如夢，和淚出門相送」，因取以為名。
>
> This *qu*-tune was originally composed by the Tang Zhuangzong emperor, by the name "Yi xianzi" (Recalling transcendent beauty). However, because the name was considered inelegant, it was changed to "Ru meng ling" (Like a dream). This is probably because when Zhuangzong wrote these *ci*-lyrics, the closing line says: "Like a dream, like a dream; come out of the gate, bid farewell in tearful harmony" 長記欲別時，和淚出門相送.[53]

Note that Su's record contains an error—that is, people in the Song dynasty assumed that [the tune, "Yi xianzi"] came from the hand of Zhuangzong.[54] Both Zhuangzong's poems to "Yi ye luo" and "Ru meng ling" are preserved in Zhu

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50 Ren Bantang 任半塘, *Dunhuang geci zong bian*, 1:230, 235–6.

51 Ren Bantang 任半塘, *Dunhuang geci zong bian*, 1:247.

52 That to "Yi xianzi" 憶仙資 begins "Remember always when we are about to part ways, to come out and bid farewell in tearful harmony" 長記欲別時，和淚出門相送; that to "Yi ye luo" 一葉落 starts "Cold moonlight on the painted tower, west wind billowing in the gauze screen" 畫樓月影寒，西風吹羅幕. *Zun qian ji* 尊前集, comp. Anonymous, A.2a–3a, in *SKQS*, 1489:69.

53 Su Shi 蘇軾, *Dongpo ci* 東坡詞, 1b, *SKQS*, 1487:102.

54 Tr. note: The referent here inserted in brackets is unclear, but given the logic of the passage, Jao seems to be saying that Su Shi was mistaken in assuming, as people did in the Song dynasty, that Zhuangzong wrote the tune as well as the lyrics.

Yizun's 朱彝尊 [1629–1709] *Ci zong* 詞綜 (Gathering the *ci*).[55] These popular and fine compositions by Zhuangzong are in fact lyric pieces, and there are not any war songs that have been transmitted. Ren's assumption that Zhuangzong would only have written in the "masculine voice" of war songs derives purely from his own biased view of the matter—it seems he has consulted neither *Zun qin ji* nor *Ci zong*, and this degree of carelessness is startling indeed!

Ren's *Dunhuang geci zongbian* has a number of strange new views made, perhaps, for the sake of novelty. One example is as follows. In the S.329 manuscript there is one *quzi* poem "Mulan hua" 木蘭花 (Magnolia blossoms).[56] For this poem there are only the three graphs *quzi ming* 曲子名 (*quzi* name) but no tune name, "Mulan hua," explicitly recorded. Nonetheless, going just on the song structure and the inclusion of a line with the words "once the magnolia blossoms fall" (*mulan hua yi duo* 木蘭花一墮), there is absolutely no doubting that the song must have be done to the tune of "Mulan hua." An attempt to transcribe [and to translate] the text is as follows:

十年五歲相看過。	Since we last met it's been fifteen years;
為道木蘭花一墮。	magnolias a ruin on the road to here.
九天原（願）地覓將來，	I seek the future as from heaven's peak,
餘將後遠（院）深處坐。	while stuck sitting deep in the garden's rear,
又見蝴牒（蝶）千千箇。	watching those thousands of butterflies near,
由（遊）住尖（簷）良（梁）不敢坐（侳）。	daring not rest, from roof to beam they veer.
傍人不乃（耐）苦項須，	No one else suffers our pining for each other;
恐怕春風斬斷我。	the spring breeze will chop me apart, I fear.[57]

This is a forthright and unembellished poem, very moving in its affect, one of a very few compositions of rare quality among the Dunhuang *quzi ci*. Ren's book makes a number of emendations to it on the basis of graphic form and similarity of sound. His readings of *duo* 墮 (fall) as *duo* 朵 (flower; blossom) or *yuan di* 遠地 (distant land) for *yuande* 願地 (to desire [in such-and-such a way]), are both emendations based on his own subjective judgements. *Hua yi duo*, rather than meaning "one blossom" 花一朵, should mean "… [magnolia] blossoms a [fallen] ruin" 花一墮, the meaning of which goes a level deeper. The graph

55 Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Ci zong* 詞綜, 2.1b–2a, *SKQS*, 1493:444.

56 Tr. Note, this piece is found in *Dunhuang geci zongbian* 敦煌歌辭總編, 1:537–9.

57 Tr. note: The translation follows Jao's paraphrase below, which indicates that *wo* 我 here is a first-person singular pronoun, although it may intended as plural "the spring wind will cut us apart, I fear."

di/de 地 is a grammatical particle, and in other lyrics we often see examples such as *zuode* 坐地 (to sit [in such-and-such a way]) or *lide* 立地 (to stand [in such-and-such a way]), so here it can be similarly explained. However, the graph *zuo* 坐 comes up repeatedly as a rhyme word, which is tricky. In the *Guangyun* 廣韻 *zuo* 侳 is glossed as *an* 安 (to rest; to be at peace) 侳，安也,[58] which makes sense here as a loan-word, that is the speaker is flying here and there, unable to rest safely. Ren says the graph *die* 蝶 (butterfly) is written as *die* 牒 (slip of wood or paper for writing), as the form is seen as well further down in the manuscript [below the graphs 虞候], so that we know the sound-loan for "butterfly" is correct. He is right about this. I speculate that *jian* 尖 (tip; point) is close to that of *yan* 簷 (eaves; ledge) and *liang* 良 (good) is a loan for *liang* 梁 (roof beam). The two-graph sequence *xiang xu* 項須 does not make sense; Ren emends to *xiang xu* 相須 (need each other).[59] My method of collation is whenever possible to preserve the original text, rather than to arbitrarily change it according to my own subjective inclinations. The last line of the poem has inspired significant debate. Ren's explanation is as follows:

> 右辭寫一少女被掠，患難中之危急心情。反映社會現實，錄下奴隸痛苦，遠非《花間》人物陷在荒淫腐朽生活者比。極可貴！
>
> The lyrics transcribed above write of a young girl being plundered, and her state of mind while suffering this ordeal. This reflects the practical situation of society [at the time], records the bitter struggle of a slave, and is far cry from figures in the *Huajian* [*ji*] being caught up in a dissolute and decadent lifestyle. Indeed it should be treasured![60]

He also cites Wang Youran's 王悠然 "Xuyu ouji" 序餘偶記 (Random remarks remaining [after writing the] preface) as follows:

> 看來她是十五歲的女孩，被人自遠地拘來，深深關鎖，都無自由，她悶對一樹盛開的玉蘭。那無知的蝴蝶，紛紛擾擾，似還自由。……她生怕遭到春風的處決，和花同盡！春風對萬物何嘗都是哺育？生機中原正寓殺機！這樣話，文人歌辭中見過麼？編者（按指任氏）責「詞學究」們，知要花間，不知要民間，兩「間」區別究在何處？曰:

58 *Guangyun* 廣韻 number 39 三十九過, under *guo* 過 Chen Pengnian 陳彭年, *Ju Song guangyun* 鉅宋廣韻 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017), 4.330.

59 Tr. note: For lack of a clearer plausible alternative, the translation above follows Ren's reading.

60 Tr. note: Ren, *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 1:538.

> 正在此耳！花間五百首內，能見此一「斬」字否？從來未見，亦不能見。
>
> It appears that she is a fifteen year-old girl, captured by someone and brought from a distant place, locked deep away, without any freedom at all. With angst she faces a magnolia tree in full bloom. That unknowing butterfly, fluttering chaotically here and there, appears as if still free.... She fears for her life that she will encounter the spring wind's punishment and meet her end, just as the flower did! Why should the spring wind always be a nurturing force?[61] It is precisely in the incipience of life that incipient death resides! Have we ever seen this type of expression in literati lyrics before? The editor chastises "*Ci* scholars," for knowing the essence of *Among the Flowers* (*Huajian* [*ji*]) but not knowing the essence of "among the people"—so what is the distinction between this "among" and that? The answer resides precisely in this [poem]. In the five hundred poems of *Among the Flowers*, do we see this term *zhan* 斬 (chop; sever)? We never have and never can.[62]

This *quzi* poem receives quite a surprising reading here as an expose of a slaveholding society, due to the fact that the interpreter's head is filled with all sorts of slavery-related imagery. The main protagonist of the poem has even been assigned a clear identity, and on the whole, the reading cannot avoid the appearance of comic nonsense. Wang gives a very vivid depiction here, describing how this girl has been locked deeply away and so forth. Literary works are of course open to all sorts of subjective interpretations, but this is far too bold indeed!

The foregoing interpretations are also unaware that the phrase *zhan chun feng* 斬春風 (chop the spring breeze apart) is a commonly used Buddhist term. When the Japanese poet-monk, Sesson Yūbai 雪村友梅 [1290–1347], of the *gozan bungaku* 五山文學 (Five Mountains literature) movement, was incarcerated in a Sichuan prison at age twenty-four, he wrote a poem with the line "Within a lightning flash, the spring breeze is chopped apart." 電光影裏斬

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61 Tr. note: *chun feng* 春風, elsewhere translated as "spring breeze," is in Wang Youran's interpretation a violent force, thus here "spring wind."

62 Quoted in Ren, *Dunhuang geci zongbian*, 1:539.

Tr. note: Jao notes the "editor" identified in this quote is Ren himself, but he does not specify the source. Wang Youran 王悠然 seems to be the pen name of Ren's wife, Wang Zhiyuan 王志淵, although I am unable to locate the source of the quote.

春風.[63] I remember also that Paul Demiéville wrote a translation and commentary on poems that Buddhist monks wrote on the verge of death, the first poem of which was written by a Six Dynasties period monk, and already uses this same term, "chop the spring breeze apart." I unfortunately do not have this book to hand right now, but I will supplement the source later. [Tr. note: Jao discusses this in detail in section III.] The term *zhan duan ge teng* 斬斷葛藤 (sever the kudzu vine) is used extremely commonly in Chan 禪 poetry; so there is nothing unusual at all about the graph *zhan* 斬 (sever). The spring breeze can sever a person, or it can be severed by a person; it can be active or passive, and a poet can express his literary art as he or she pleases. What sort of person is in the poem then? Is it a man or a woman? A monk or a slave? There is really no basis on which to judge. Literature by Chan monks customarily uses popular sayings, but we cannot say that it derives entirely from a folk milieu. And what is more, why invite trouble by revering one thing and denigrating the other, or by drawing arbitrary lines in the sand between what is *Among* this and "among" that?

In the transitional period from the Five Dynasties to Song, the tune "Mulan hua" was a dirge or elegiac tune. The *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄 (Rustic Records from Xiangshan) says:

> 錢思公謫居漢東，日撰一曲:城上風光鶯語亂，城下煙波春拍岸。……挽鐸中歌木蘭花，引紼為送。
>
> Duke Qian Si 錢思公 was banished east of the Han [river], where every day he wrote a *qu*:
>
> In airy splendor above the ramparts, raptors cry in chaos;
> the misty ripples below the ramparts strike the shore in spring …
>
> … while pulling the bell [at his funeral] they sang "Mulan hua," towing the rope to deliver him.[64]

Qian Weiyan 錢惟演 [977–1034] was the son of the King of Wuyue 吳越, Qian Chu 錢俶 [r. 948–978], whose posthumous name after serving the Song was Qian Si 錢思. From the record above, we know that "Mulan hua" was a tune

63 Sesson Yūbai 雪村友梅, *Mingashū* 岷峨集 in two *juan* (hand-written edition prepared by Hayashi Kuhee 林九兵衛 in the seventh year of Japan's Yuanlu Era [1694], preserved at Daruma-ji Temple 大和國達磨寺, Japan), B.1b.

64 Tr. note: Shi Wenying 釋文瑩, *Xiangshan yelu* 湘山野錄, A.15a–15b, *SKQS*, 1037:233.

that could be sung during a funeral procession. If we ponder carefully the lyrical meaning of the poem in S.329, it can be explained something like this: much time has passed by since we last saw one another, and the flowers have now withered and fallen; in this vast universe, I pursue the distant future; fortunately I can sit in repose in the back yard waiting; [I see] countless butterflies flying to and fro among the eaves and roof beams, unable to perch safely (this part is profoundly evocative). Then it continues: although others cannot bear to see it, [you and I] bitterly rely on each other; I fear the spring breeze will cut me apart. If we pursue the deep meaning of the tune, it would seem to be lamenting the inconstancy of things. People have but one time on this earth; since it uses the symbolic presentation of "spring breeze severing" (*chun feng zhan duan* 春風斬斷), it is very possible that this is the same "Mulan hua" sung at funeral processions, which would have been a very fitting elegy. This speculation of mine might be right in some regard, so I cannot help but bring it up here, although I hope others will correct me where I am wrong.

The sentiment of affection in this poem is extremely poignant and sad, and although it does not possess the elaborately wrought, elegant lines of *Huajian ji*, the image of the thousand butterflies is still replete with the ingenious spirit of invention, identified by Ouyang Jiong as "singling out the [dragon-weavers'] best work, from the woven floss of the springs' depths" (*du shu jizhu zhi gong* 織綃泉底，獨殊機杼之功).[65] The binome *huajian* 花間 (among the flowers) was often used by writers of the Five dynasties period. The "Gong ci" 宮詞 (Palace *ci*) of Madame Within-the-Petals' (Huarui Furen 花蕊夫人),[66] contains the phrase "Entering, among the flowers [*huajian*] comes a gust of perfume" 進入花間一陣香.[67] Good *quzi* are not limited to the *Huajian ji* or *Yunyao ji*; this poem [to "Mulan hua"] has a literary mood that is found in neither collection. This should be made especially clear. How should there be a clear demarcation between what is *Among the Flowers* and what is "among the people"? The reason people regard *Among the Flowers* as so important is merely because at the time, the book happened to be the only one preserved in transmission. And why, moreover, must one erroneously pile on shallow nonsense, just to make a revisionist history that conforms to the present-day mentality? Consider Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374; also Ni Yunlin 倪雲林) of the Yuan dynasty, who "was completely without an air of the dusty realm and can be situated among Tao

65 Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯, "Huajian ji xu" 花間集敍 [Preface to *Huajian ji*], *Huajian ji zhushi* 花間集注釋, annot. Li Yi 李誼 (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi chubanshe, 1986), 1.

Tr. Note: Translation adapted from Shields, *Among the Flowers*, 152; see 150–153 for the complete preface.

66 Tr. note: Huarui Furen 花蕊夫人 is Xu Huifei 徐慧妃, or the Queen Consort Hui.

67 *Sanjia gongci* 三家宮詞, comp. Mao Jin 毛晉, B.11b, *SKQS*, 1416:679.

[Qian] and Wei [Yingwu]" 無一點塵俗氣……可置之陶、韋……間.[68] He also appreciated the *Huajian ji*, and in his poem "'Shui xianzi' yin guan *Huajian ji* zuo" 水仙子因觀《花間集》作 (Written to the tune of "Water Transcendent" on reading the *Huajian ji*), he writes the following line:

繡簾風暖春醒	Warm breeze in embroidered curtains, spring awakens;
煙草粘飛絮	smoky mist bogs flying willow-down;
蛛絲罥落英	spider's silk snares falling blossoms;
無限傷情	unending are these mournful feelings.[69]

3

Above, as already mentioned, in the *quzi* "Mulan hua" from Dunhuang there is a line that says "I fear that the spring breeze will chop me apart" 恐怕春風斬斷我, which derives from the phrase "chopping the spring breeze apart" (*zhan chun feng* 斬春風) that is found in poems that monks of the Six Dynasties period wrote on their deathbeds. When I first set out to write this article, I was just relying on my memory, and was not able to specify the source of the phrase. It is found in the *Jingde chuan deng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Record of the transmission of the lamp from the *jingde* [1004–1007] period), in a section that recounts the passing of the Chan Master Sengzhao 僧肇 [384–*c.*417].[70]

> 或問僧:「承聞大德講得《肇論》是否。」曰「不敢。」曰:「肇有物不遷義是否?」曰:「是。」或人遂以茶盞就地撲破曰。「遮箇是遷不遷?」無對。
>
> Someone asked the Monk: "It is rumored that you, most virtuous, can comprehend the discourses of Sengzhao. Is this true or not?"
>
> He replied: "I dare not presume to say."
>
> Someone asked: Does Sengzhao have a sermon on the "Immutability of Things" or not?
>
> He replied: "Yes."

68 Qian Pu 錢溥, "Xu" 序, *Qing bi ge quan ji* 清閟閣全集, 2a, *SKQS*, 1220:153.

69 Ni Zan 倪瓚, *Qing bi ge quan ji* 清閟閣全集, 9.5a–5b, *SKQS*, 1220:295.

70 Shi Daoyuan 釋道原, "Zhu fang za ju zheng nian dai bie yu" 諸方雜舉徵拈代別語, in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, 27.13b, in *Sibu congkan sanbian zibu* 四部叢刊三編子部 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1985), 58. *Jingde chuan deng lu* 景德傳燈錄, *juan* 27. Also in *Taisho* v. 51 (no. 2076), 434.

Thereupon someone flung a teacup to the ground, shattering it, and said: "is this one mutable or immutable?"

There was no reply.

Following this, in the section are two other passages that discuss Sengzhao. One of them says:

僧肇法師遭秦主難。臨就刑說偈曰。

Dharma Master Sengzhao ran into trouble with the ruler of the [Later] Qin. On the eve of attending his execution, he wrote a *ji* 偈 (*gāthā*), which said:

四大元無主	The four elements have no master;
五陰本來空	the five heaps are empty to start.
將頭臨白刃	Putting my head to that naked-white blade
猶似斬春風	is like chopping the spring breeze apart.[71]

A note to this cites Xuansha 玄沙 [835–909] as saying:

大小肇法師臨死猶寱語

In the greater and lesser [vehicles], "Sengzhao facing death" is like an *yiyu* 寱語 (sleep mumbling).[72]

This, then, shows how the term "chopping the spring breeze" (*zhan chun feng* 斬春風) came to be. I have also mentioned that there is nothing out of the ordinary with regard to the way *zhan* 斬 (chop) is used here. Here I would also like to examine some supplementary passages in the same scroll of the *Chuandeng lu* cited above:

罽賓國王秉劍詣師子尊者前，問曰:「師得蘊空否？」師曰:「已得蘊空。」曰:「既得蘊空離生死否。」師曰:「已離生死。」曰:「既離生死就師乞頭還得否。」師曰:「身非我有，豈況於頭。」王便斬之，出白乳。王臂自墮。

71 *Taisho* v. 51 (no. 2076), 435.

72 *Ibid.*

The King of Jibin grasped his sword, summoned Āryasimha (Shizi Zunzhe 師子尊者; d. 259) to audience, and asked him:

"Do you get that the [five] heaps [i.e. *skandhas*] are empty?"

The Master said: "I get that the heaps are empty."

[The king] said: "Since you get that they are empty, have you escaped [the cycle of] life-and-death?"

The Master said: "I have escaped life-and-death."

[The king] said: "Since you have escaped life-and-death, then if you beg for your head, will you get it or not?"

The Master said: "My body is not something I have—all the less my head!"

The King thereupon chopped [Āryasimha's] head off, and out [of his body] came white milk. The King's arm self-destructed.[73]

To which the annotation says:

玄覺徵云:「且道斬著斬不著。」

Xuanjue 玄覺 is cited as saying: "And one might ask if the chopping chops or chops not."[74]

[玄]師初受請住梅谿場普應院。中間遷止玄沙山。自是天下叢林海眾皆望風而賓之。閩帥王公請演無上乘。待以師禮。學徒餘八百室戶不閉。師上堂良久謂眾曰:「我為汝得徹困也還會麼。」僧問:「寂寂無言時如何?」師曰:「寱語作麼?」曰:「本分事請師道。」師曰:「瞎(瞌)作麼。曰:「學人即瞎(瞌)睡和尚如何。」師曰:「爭得恁麼不識痛痒。」又曰:「可惜如許大師僧,千道萬里行脚到遮裏;不消箇瞎(瞌)睡寱語便屈却去。」

Master Xuan[sha] was first invited to reside at the Puyingyuan 普應院 in Meixichang 梅谿場, and he later relocated to Xuansha Mountain 玄沙山. From that time on, every monastery from the forests to the seas eagerly awaited his visits. The Kingdom of Min's 閩 princes and dukes invited him to demonstrate the Peerless Vehicle,[75] treating him in the custom of

73 *Jingde chuan deng lu*, *juan* 27, *Taisho*, v. 51 (no. 2076), 434.

74 *Ibid.*

75 [Jao's note] What is here "princes and dukes" 王公 may refer specifically to the Min Emperor, Wang Shenzhi 王審知 [r. 909–925].

a great teacher; and although his disciples numbered over eight hundred, no door or room was closed to them.

After the master had entered the hall for a long while, he asked the audience:

"I have got you to pass though distress. Why are you still assembled here?"

A monk asked: "When we are silent and not speaking, what should we do?"

The Master said: "How about making sleep-mumblings (*yiyu* 寱語)?"

[The monk] said: "May we ask the master to propound on the matter of our primary occupation [i.e. meditation]?"

The Master said: "Why don't you doze off?"

[A monk] said: "Scholars simply doze off, but what about monks?"

The Master said: "[a monk] must struggle for a way to not perceive the pain and itching."

[The Master] also said: "Would it not be a shame if so many eminent monks, who have walked here on foot, along a thousand roads for ten thousand miles, would have no use for sleep-mumbling [to prevent] dozing off, and thus leave here feeling cheated?"[76]

From the above, we can see that "sleep-mumbling" (*yiyu* 寱語) refers to *koutou chan* 口頭禪 (Chan-in-name-only; a Zen *kōan*/Chan *gong'an* 公案 or aphorism that pays lip service to Chan theories without any real, underlying attainment in practice). Xuansha 玄沙 manifested extinction [i.e. died] at the age of seventy-four, in 908, during the Later Liang dynasty's *kaiping* 開平 year two. He lived during the late Tang and early Five Dynasties period, and he criticized Sengzhao's *gāthā*, discussed above, as "dreaming sleep mumblings" (*meng yiyu* 夢囈（=寱）語). [Since this criticism was directed at popular sayings], we know that the line in Sengzhao's *gāthā*, "like chopping the spring breeze apart" (*you si zhan chun feng* 猶似斬春風), was widely employed among monastic communities in Xuansha's time. Moreover, in Dunhuang manuscript S.329, the same scroll that contains the line "the spring breeze will chop me apart, I fear" 恐怕春風斬斷我 records a date in 892 CE,[77] during the reign of the Tang Zhaozong emperor, and corresponding precisely to the time when Sengzhao's *gāthā* would have been transmitted and recited in Chan communities.

76 *Jingde chuan deng lu*, *juan* 27, *Taisho*, v. 51 (no. 2076), 434.

Tr. note: This is found not in the *Taisho*'s annotations, but rather in *juan* 18 of the same work, under "Fuzhou Xuanshashi bei Chanshi" 福州玄沙師備禪師, in *Jingde chuan deng lu*, *juan* 18, *Taisho*, v. 51 (no. 2076), 345; 2. For greater coherence, I have added several sentences Jao left out.

77 Dashun san zai renzi sui er yue ri 大順三載壬子歲二月日.

Sengzhao's biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 records that "Sengzhao died at the age of thirty-one in the year ten of the Jin dynasty Yixi 義熙 reign [414]," but there is no mention of the poem written on the eve of his death. Whereas above I made the claim about "monks of the Six Dynasties" [using the phrase "sever/chop the spring breeze"], to be more specific, the period should start in the Eastern Jin.

As to Paul Demiéville's translation of the Sengzhao's *gāthā* in *Poèmes chinois d'avant la mort*,[78] the line *si zhan chun feng* 似斬春風 is translated as "pour decapiter le vent du printemps." Is that not lovely to the utmost! The Chinese text is, however, misprinted in this poem, and the graph *zhi* 之 should be corrected to read *yuan* 元.

The *Wu deng hui yuan* 五燈會元 (Assembled fundamentals from the five lamp chronicles), written by Puji 普濟 [Jin Zongchi 金總持; fl. 1053] in the Song dynasty, includes an entry for Sengzhao's "chopping the spring breeze apart" *gāthā*. The *Fojiao dianji xuankan* 佛教典籍選刊 (Selected Buddhist canons) edition of this book includes Xuansha's note on this poem, but records his name incorrectly as Xuanmiao 玄妙. Moreover, it seems that Puji did not recognize who Sengzhao was, because the entry is listed under the rubric of "[monks of] unknown transmission lineages" 未詳法嗣.[79] A commentary to Sengzhao's *Zhao lun* (Discourses of Sengzhao) had already been written by the Song dynasty, and was the basis for *Zhao lun xin shu you ren* 肇論新疏遊刃 (New roving-the-blade sub-commentary on the discourses of Sengzhao), which has a print edition from the Wanli 萬曆 period [of the Ming dynasty; 1573–1620]. In any event, the commentator "Xuanmiao" is clearly an error for "Xuansha," so I point that out. Collating and proofreading books is like sweeping up fallen leaves; reading books is truly not an easy task. Someone said long ago that "to spend a day pondering a miswritten character is indeed a joy" 日省誤書，亦是一適.[80] It is a shame that people today do not have this same conception of leisure; avoiding mistakes is not simple.

The matter of whether *ci* 詞 existed during the Tang dynasty is an important topic of literary history. The present article was originally divided into three parts, published in the same journal. Here, having edited and combined the three together into a single piece, I would like again to invite edifying responses from experts in the field.

78 Paul Demiéville, Poèmes chinois d'avant la mort (Paris: l'Asiathèque, 1984), 15.

79 "Senchao *fashi*" 僧肇法師, adjacent to entry for "Chanyue Guanxiu" 禪月貫休; note on "Xuansha" 玄沙, in Puji 普濟 *Wudeng hui yuan* 五燈會元, *Fojiao dianji xuankan* 佛教典籍 edition Su Yuanlei 蘇淵雷 ed., *juan* 6, 345. Pu Ji 普濟, *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元, punc. and coll. Su Yuanlei 蘇淵雷 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 6.355.

80 Tr. note: a similar phrase "As to miswritten characters, to think of them is indeed a joy." 且誤書思之，更為一適, which appears in Li Baiyao 李百藥, *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), 36.479.

Notes on the *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 (Cloud Ballad Collection) Manuscripts P.2838 and S.1441

This piece is found in Jao's collection of Dunhuang manuscripts, first published in Japan as Tonkō shohō sōkan 敦煌書法叢刊, (*Collected Calligraphy from Dunhuang*), *and later as* Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua 法藏敦煌書苑菁華 (*Exemplary works of calligraphy from the Dunhuang collection in Paris*).[1] *The piece presented below is an exception to the former title, in that neither manuscript discussed is written in exceptional calligraphy, and to the latter title, in that the S.1441 manuscript is in the Stein collection in London, rather than Paris. Nonetheless, neither manuscript is an exception to Jao's principles of anthology, in which the research value and novelty of a manuscript are also important selection criteria. These manuscripts are the sole extant sources for the* Yunyao ji 雲謠集 (*Cloud ballad collection*), *and they are complementary in reconstructing the whole collection. This entry shows the close philological and codicological study that Jao brought to the source texts as objects, which also is the basis of the preceding study.*

P.2838 was originally a single long scroll, and the thirty poems of *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集 (Cloud ballad collection), come written on the verso of a *die* 牒 (petition; report) document with a text dated to 844 (plates 14–16).[2] Preceding *Yunyao ji* on the verso are two texts from the Jinshan guo 金山國 period [906–914],[3] which can be regarded as the upper limit of this *Yunyao ji*'s time of writing.[4] It cannot date prior to 906, when Zhang Chengfeng 張承奉 [r. 906–914] declared himself emperor, although it must be prior to Ouyang Jiong's 歐陽炯 [896–971]

1 Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Tonkō Shohō Sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊, 29 vols. (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1983–6); Jao Tsung-i, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑菁華 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993). The text is also reprinted under a third title, although without the high-quality images: *Fajing suo cang Dunhuang Qunshu ji shufa tiji* 法京所藏敦煌群書及書法題記 (Notes on Selected Dunhuang documents and calligraphy from the Paris collection), in *Wenji*, 8:301–613.

2 Tr. note: The recto text is *Zhonghe si nian Shazhou shang zuo ti yuan deng die* 中和四年沙洲上座體圓等牒 (Report from the Shazhou Abbess, Tiyuan, et al., 884). Jao here refers the reader to his notes on *diezhuang* 牒狀 documents in *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* v. 4, although I find no more specific reference to this document.

3 The two preceding texts are *Qing fan wen* 慶幡文 and *Kai jing wen* 開經文.

4 Tr. note: Jao here uses the term *shang xian* 上限 (upper limit), which in context seems to refer to the upper limit of the text's antiquity, rather than its latest date of composition.

preface to the *Huajian ji* 花間集 (Among the flowers collection), dated to 940,[5] which would make it the earliest collection of mixed *quzi ci* lyrics.

S.1441 (plates 17–18), in the London corpus, also contains the *Yunyao ji*, copied on the verso of Wang Boyu's 王伯瑜 [n.d.] *Li zhongjie chao* 勵忠節鈔 (Extracts encouraging loyalty and integrity). While the title, *Yunyao ji za quzi gong sanshi shou* 雲謠集雜曲子共三十首 (Cloud ballad collection mixed *quzi*, totaling thirty poems), is identical to that in P.2838, S.1441 in fact records just eighteen poems, starting from "Feng gui yun" 鳳歸雲 (Clouds of phoenix returning), and ending with only the tune name for "Qingbei yue" 傾盃樂 (Goblet tipping music; Bottoms up music), after which the remaining poems are missing. And although the titles are identical in both versions, the Paris manuscript actually records only twenty-four [of the thirty mentioned], so it is also not a complete scroll. Nonetheless, if we put the poems of the two scrolls together, eliminating the repetitions, we get exactly thirty poems in total.

In this [S.1441] manuscript, the first group of poems to the tunes "Feng gui yun" and "Gui yuan" 閨怨 (Yearnings of the boudoir) were written by the same hand. The following parts from "Qingbei yue" onwards was written by someone else. Below the tune title "Feng gui yun" 鳳歸雲 is the graph  , which should be *gui* 閨 (boudoir); Pan Zhonggui (Chong-gui) 潘重規 says it should be *jie* 街 (street; lane), which is wrong. The second poem is labeled "You yuan" 又怨 (Again [?] yearning), in which the graph 怨 is a variant of *yuan* 怨. In my book *Dunhuang qu* 敦煌曲 (*Airs de Touen-hoang*), I note that:

> 斯、伯兩卷俱題作「鳳歸雲」；「」乃「閨」字，寫卷「門」字多作「」，閨怨為二詞共用之題目，蓋一題分寫兩處。
>
> Both the Pelliot [P.2838] and Stein [S.1441] manuscripts have the sequence "Feng gui yun " 鳳歸雲, in which is *gui* 閨 (boudoir). Often in manuscripts scrolls, the *men* 門（门） component is written as . "Gui yuan" 閨怨 is in any case the theme of the two *ci* poems [following the label "You yuan"], and the tune title must have become written in two places.[6]

5 Dated *guangzheng* year three [940] of Meng Chang's 孟昶 [r. 934–965] reign in the Later Shu dynasty孟昶後蜀廣政三年. Ouyang Jiong 歐陽炯, "Huajian ji xu" 花間集序, *Huajian ji jiaozhu* 花間集校注, comp. Zhao Chongzuo 趙崇祚, annot. Yang Jinglong 楊景龍 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 1–2.

6 Paul Demiéville and Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, *Airs de Touen-houang* [*Touen-houang k'iu* 敦煌曲]*: Textes à chanter des VIII^e–X^e siècles manuscrits reproduits en fac-similé*, (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971), 61 n. 4. See also *Wenji*, 8:490, 767 n. 39.

Others have previously read them together as "Feng gui yun bian" 鳳歸雲徧, in which *bian* 徧 is a misreading of *gui* 閨.

Over the years, this scroll has been collated and corrected by a number of scholars, many of whom think little of emending here or there according to their contextual interpretation, but this is an especially unreliable practice. In the text there are sound loans, like *xie* 榭 (pavilion) for *she* 麝 (musk deer), *lan* 攔 (restrain; bar) for *lan* 蘭 (*eupatorium*; "orchid"). Emendations have included writing the [interrogative particle] *me* 麼 for *mo* 磨 (grind; polish). Then there are cases that are clearly errors, such as miswriting the line "clarity that cuts like a knife" (*ming ru dao ge* 明如刀割), which should read "eyes that cut like a knife" 眼如刀割. The line below it, which reads "mouth like crimson cinnabar" (*kou si zhu dan* 口似朱丹) clearly makes a parallel construction [opposing "eye" with "mouth"], so we know that yan 眼 (eye) was miswritten as ming 明 (clarity). This is borne out in another poem in the series which has the line "two eyes like knives" (*liang yan ru dao* 兩眼如刀).

There are some other particularly interesting examples, such as in a poem to "Pao qiu yue" 拋毬樂 (Ball-tossing music), in which the phrase "pearly tears fragrantly dampen fine silk" (*zhu lei fenfen shi qiluo* 珠淚芬芬溼綺羅) uses the graph *fen* 芬 (fragrant) as a loan for *fen* 紛 (profusion) [so that it should read "pearly tears in profusion dampen fine silk"]. Actually, we see this in pre-Qin texts as well: the *Mozi* 墨子 has the line "to be righteous: one's intent takes all-below-heaven as its *fen* 芬" 義:志以天下為芬, to which Wang Kaiyun 王闓運 [1833–1916] writes "the graph *fen* 芬 (fragrance) is *fen* 紛 (profusion; tangles)" 芬即紛字.[7] We see the same phenomena in the line "release its entanglements" (*jie qi fen* 解其芬) of the *Laozi Dao jing* 老子道經, chapter four: in the Mawangdui B manuscript we find *fen* 芬, whereas the A manuscript version writes *fen* 紛 for the same word.[8]

Moreover, in the Stein manuscript [S.1441], the first poem to the tune "Tian xianzi" 天仙子 (Heavenly transcendent), has the phrase "*shou* 香 riotous colors" (*shou lan man* 香爛漫); the first poem to "Zhu zhi zi" 竹枝子 (Bamboo branch) has "there is only burning *shou* 香 and praying to the heavens" (*zhi shi*

7 See Wang Kaiyun 王闓運, "Mozi Jingshuo shang" 墨子經說上 no. 42, in *Xiangqi lou quanshu* 湘綺樓全書, 66:3.

Tr. note: Jao does not specify an edition in his citation; Wang's note in the edition cited above reads: "[the graph *fen* 芬] is *fen* 分 (portion; separation)" 芬即分字. It may be that this claim should be attributed to another commentator and/or edition. In general, the phenomenon of graphic variance to which Jao gestures is not controversial.

8 Huang Sheng 黃生, *Zigu yifu hejiao* 字詁義府合校, comp. Huang Chengji 黃承吉, punc. and coll. Bao Dianshu 包殿淑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 20–21. Qiu Xigui 裘錫圭 ed., *Changsha Mawangdui Han mu jian bo ji cheng* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014) 4:205.

fen shou daogao tian 只是焚香禱告天). In both poems [of S.1441], the graph *shou* 香, which contains the *tian* 田 element, is *xiang* 香 (incense; perfume).

In the Japanese *tenryaku* 天曆 year two [948] manuscript of the *Han shu* 漢書 "Biography of Yang Xiong [53 BCE–18 CE]" (Yang Xiong *zhuan* 揚雄傳), the line "majestic is the wind-strewn sweet aromatic *ling* 苓" (*yang yeye zhi fen ling* 颺曄曄之芬苓), to which a comment by Jin Zhuo 晋灼 says "this sympathizes with Qu Yuan's brilliant *shou* 香" 愍屈原光香; to which Yan Shigu 顏師古 [581–645] comments "*lingxiang* 苓香 is a fragrant herb." Thus, again, *xiang* 香 (fragrance; perfume) is written *shou* 香.[9]

The manuscript containing *Yunyao ji* has already been reproduced a number of times, in the Paris publication of *Airs de Touen-houang*, in the Taiwan publications of *Yunyao ji xin shu* 雲謠集新書 and in *Dunhuang cihua* 敦煌詞話,[10] none of which match the quality of the present reproduction, which presents the manuscripts in their original size. For that reason, the current reproduction of *Yunyao ji* should be considered the best of those produced to date.[11]

9 According to the Kyoto Imperial University manuscript facsimile edition 京都帝國大學影印本.

10 Demiéville and Jao, *Airs de Touen-houang*; Pan Zhonggui (Chong-gui) 潘重規, *Dunhuang Yunyao ji xinshu* 敦煌雲謠集新書 (Taipei: Shimen tushu, 1977); Pan Zhonggui (Chong-gui) 潘重規, *Dunhuang cihua* 敦煌詞話 (Taipei: Shimen tushu, 1981).

11 Tr. note: This book reprints new, high resolution scans of these manuscript images obtained from the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the British Library, although they are not presented here in a 1:1 scale. The images in *Tonkō Shohō Sōkan* and *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* are still to my knowledge the best print publications in which to consult these manuscripts.

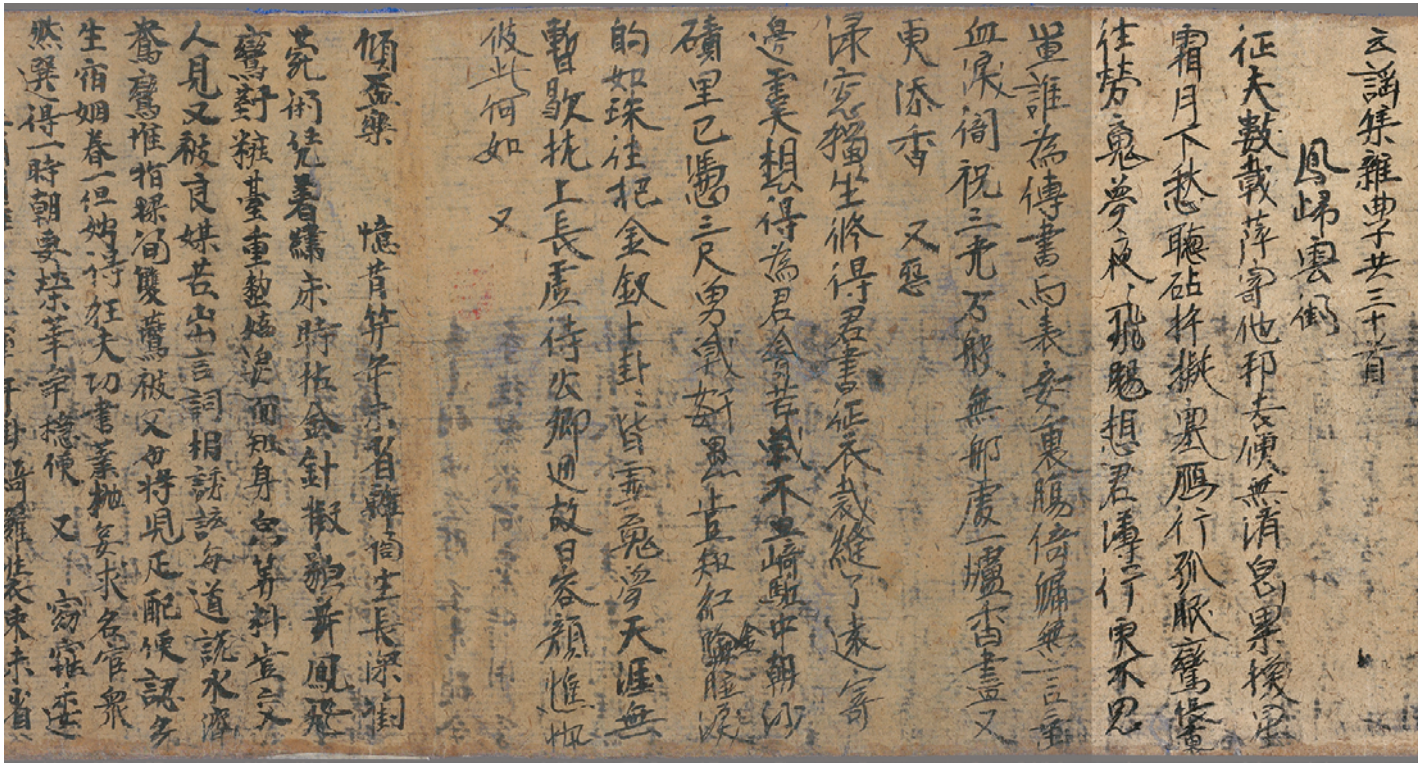

PLATE 14 *Yunyao ji* 雲謠集, in manuscript P.2838 recto
IMAGE COURTESY OF BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE (BNF)

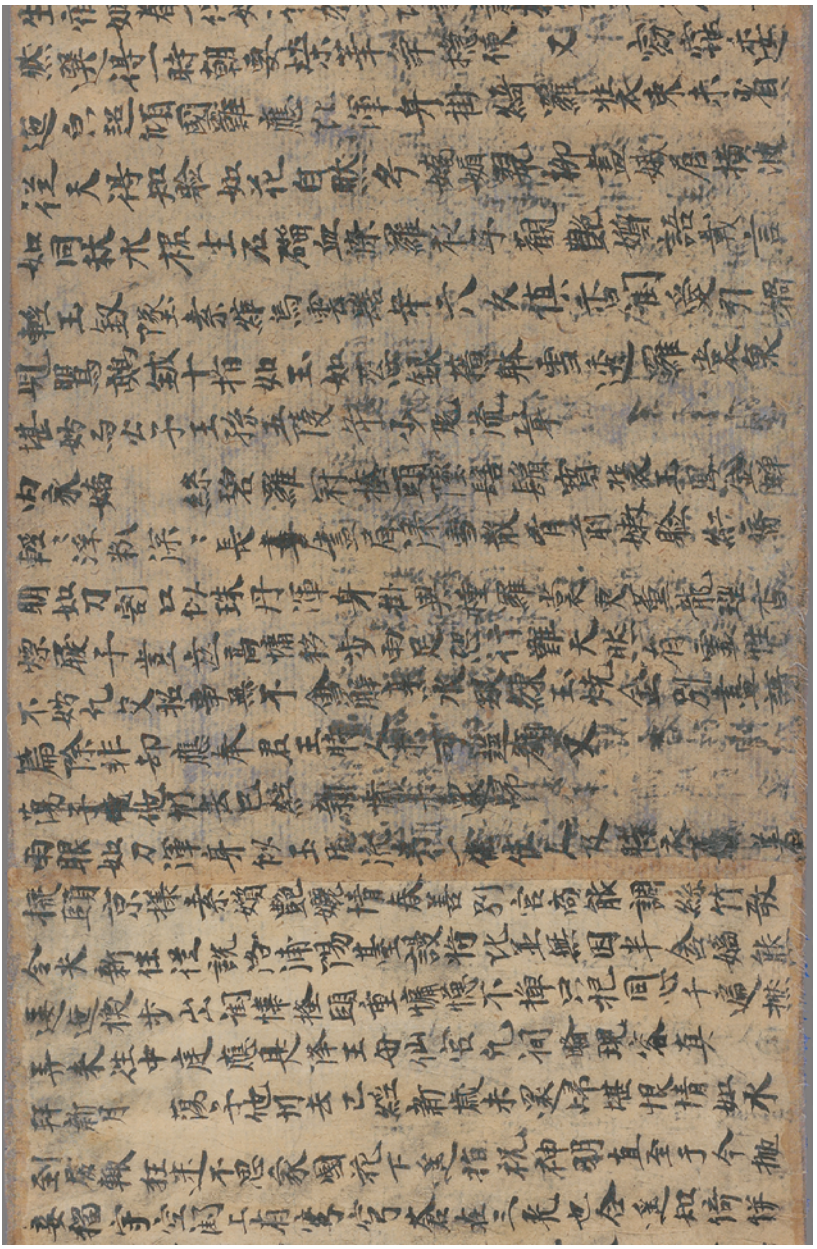

PLATE 15 *Yunyao ji*, P.2838, continued
IMAGE: BNF

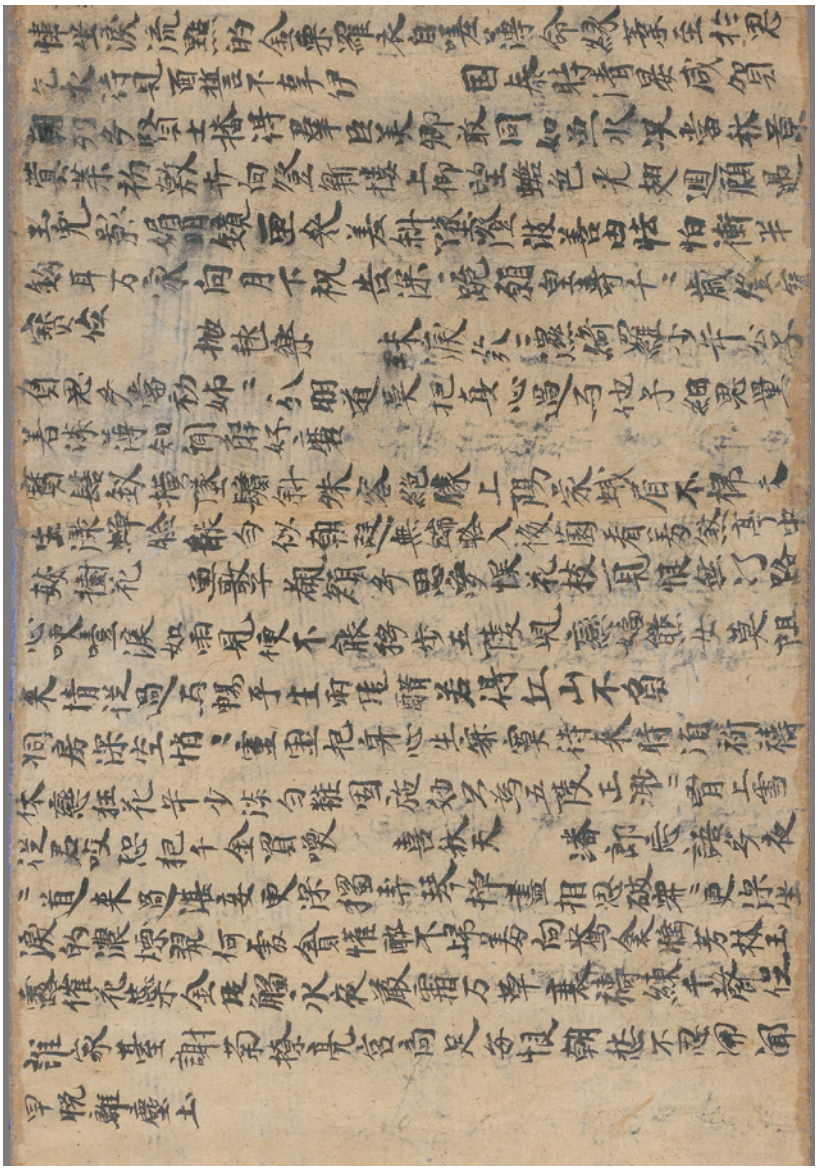

PLATE 16 *Yunyao ji*, P.2838, continued
IMAGE: BNF

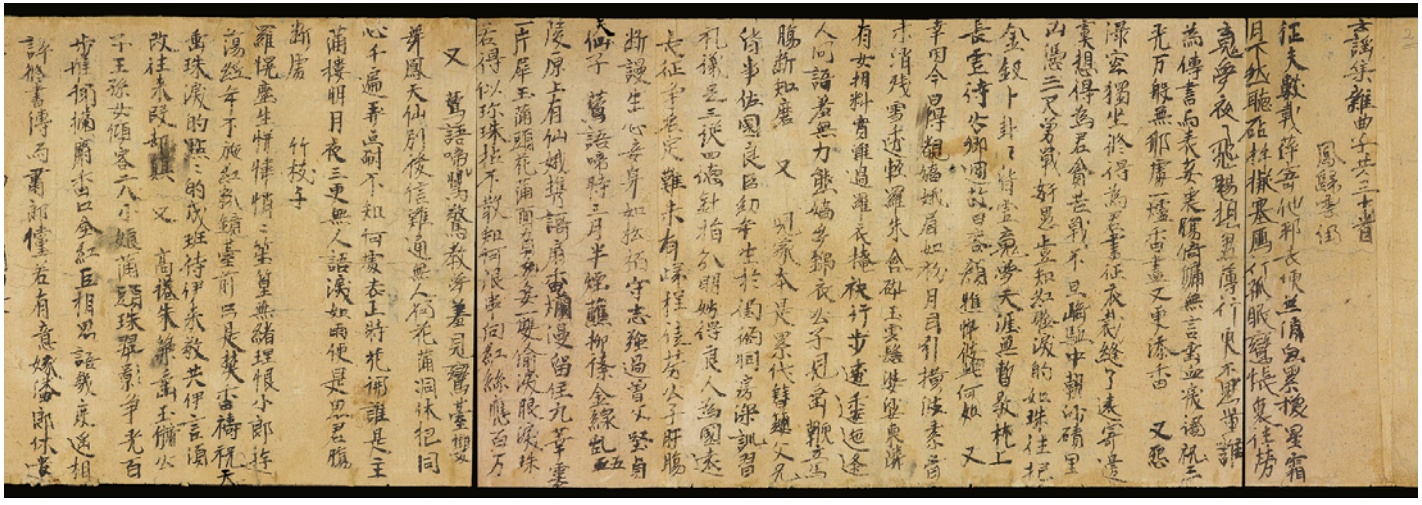

PLATE 17 S.1441 manuscript, verso, *Yunyao ji*

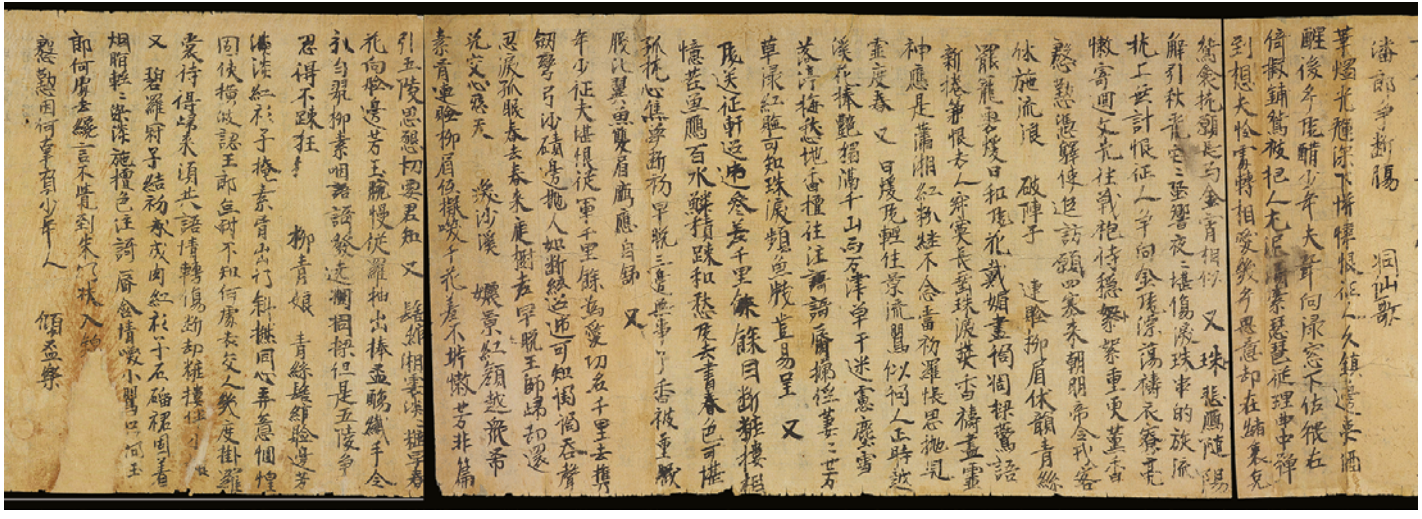

PLATE 18 S.1441 verso, *Yunyao ji*, continued
IMAGE: BL

Another Look at the Dunhuang Manuscript of "Deng lou fu" 登樓賦 (Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower) 敦煌寫本登樓賦重研

This article, first published in 1962,[1] *illustrates the type of philological engagement that Jao pursued with Dunhuang manuscripts and secondary scholarship at the time. It studies just one of the works of classical literature preserved in Dunhuang manuscripts of Xiao tong's* 蕭統 *(501–531)* Wen xuan 文選 (Selections of [refined] literature)*, whose collation and study were the topic of Jao's earlier 1957 "Dunhuangben* Wenxuan *jiaozheng"* 敦煌本文選斠証 (*Dunhuang manuscripts of the* Wenxuan*, collated and corrected*),[2] *and his later* Dunhuang Tulufan ben Wen xuan 敦煌吐魯番本文選 (*Dunhuang and Turfan manuscripts of the* Wenxuan).[3] *The poem of focus, authored by Wang Can* 王粲 *(177–217; styled Wang Zhongxuan* 王仲宣*), is entitled "Deng lou fu"* 登樓賦 (*Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower*)*, and is found in fragmentary form on the P.3480 manuscript held at Paris. The topics Jao explores range from the use of the caesura* (xi 兮) *in written editions of rhapsodic poetry to the historical geography of Wang Can's presumed compositional context. Jao closes the article with a poetic surprise from the Dunhuang manuscripts, which in addition to creating an opportunity for literary translation, exemplifies the topical focus Jao placed on manuscripts as codices worthy of study in their own right, and the mode of discourse found throughout many of his scholarly works. Translations of "Deng lou fu" below are based on those of David R. Knechtges,*[4] *altered to reflect Jao's explicit interpretation or textual variants found in different versions of the text he consults.*

The P.3480 manuscript from Dunhuang, held in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, contains Wang Zhongxuan's 王仲宣 "Deng lou fu" 登樓賦 (Rhapsody on Climbing the Tower), a poem of altogether fourteen lines, recorded in Lu Xiang's 陸翔 *Bali tushuguan Dunhuang xieben mulu* 巴黎圖書館敦煌寫本目錄 (Catalog of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Bibliothèque

1 Originally published as Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang xieben 'Deng lou fu' chongyan" 敦煌寫本登樓賦重研, *Dalu zazhi* 24.6 (1962), 2: 511–14.

2 Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuangben *Wenxuan* jiaozheng" 敦煌本文選斠証, *Xinya xuebao* 新亞學報 3 (1957), 1:333–403; and *juan* 3 (1957), 2:305–328, *Wenji*, 11:549–641.

3 Jao Tsung-i, *Dunhuang Tulufan ben Wen xuan* 敦煌吐魯番本文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000).

4 David R. Knechtges tr., Xiao Tong, ed., *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, trans., 3 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 1:236–242.

nationale). On my travels to Paris, I was able to see the original manuscript, and made some notes on it, which I attached to my "Dunhuang ben *Wenxuan* jiaozheng zhi er" 敦煌本《文選》斠證之二 (Collation notes on the *Wen xuan* from Dunhuang manuscripts, part II).[5] My friend Chen Zuolong 陳祚龍 wrote a separate article, "Dunhuang xieben *Deng lou fu* jiaozheng" 敦煌本《登樓賦》斠證 (Collation notes on the "Deng lou fu")[6] in which he pointed out that the graph *xi* 兮 is not used as a rhythmic particle in this manuscript's version of "Deng lou fu," because, as he says, "when the Wei Emperor [i.e. Cao Cao 曹操, 155–220] discoursed on the *fu*, he disapproved of repeating syllables, and excelled at changing the rhyme" 魏武論賦 嫌於積韻 而善於資代.[7] Chen also suggested that "before Zhongxuan wrote this poem, he may have already been deeply influenced by the Wei Emperor" and "in not using *xi* 兮 as a particle or extra sound, he may have pandered to the sentiments of the Wei Emperor." Chen compared three commonly seen editions: Hu Kejia's 胡克家 [1757–1816] print edition of the *Wen xuan*, Zhang Tuan's 張溥 *Han Wei bai san ming jia ji* 漢魏百三名家集, and Yan Kejun's 嚴可均 [1762–1843] *Quan sanguo wen* 全三國文. He also said that the graph *xi* 兮 that appears in these editions was due to later alteration. We will see presently, however, that according to *juan* sixty-three of the *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Topical collections of arts and letters), under the entry for *lou* 樓 (tower), the citation of Wang Can's "Deng lou fu" also omits the graph *xi*.

Here I provide the text as it appears in the facsimile of the *Shaoxing* 紹興 edition [of the *Yiwen leiju*] (compared against the Ming-era small print edition transmitted to and prefaced by Hu 胡):

> [Tr. note: English translations adapted from Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*;[8] bracketed, indented sections are omitted from the *Shaoxing Yiwen leiju* version provided by Jao but found in the transmitted *Wen xuan*]
>
> 登茲樓以四望， I climb this tower and gaze in the four directions,
> 聊暇日以銷憂。 Briefly stealing some time to dispel my sorrows.
> 覽斯宇之所處， I scan the site on which this building rests:
> 實顯敞而寡仇。 Truly spacious and open, rare is its peer!

5 *Xinya Xuebao* 新亞學報 3 (1958), 2:305.

6 *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 21 (1960), 5:1–6.

7 Tr. note: This quotation is from the "Zhang ju" 章句 section of Liu Xie's *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍. Liu Xie 劉勰, *Wenxin diaolong zhu* 文心雕龍註, annot. Fan Wenlan 范文瀾 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 7.571.

8 Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, 1:236–242.

接清漳之通浦， It receives the intersecting channel of the clear Zhang,[9]
倚曲阻之長洲。 Rests upon the long sandbars of the twisting Ju,
[背墳衍之廣陸兮， Backs upon a broad stretch of hillock and plain, [...]
臨皋隰之沃流。 Faces toward the rich flow of river margin and marsh,]
北彌陶牧， North extends to Tao's pasturage,
西接昭丘。 West touches Zhao's barrow
[華實蔽野，黍稷盈疇 Flowers and fruit cover the plain, Millets fill the fields.]
雖信美而非吾土，Though truly beautiful, it is not my home!
曾何足以少留。 How can I remain here even briefly?
[遭紛濁而遷逝兮， Encountering tumult and turmoil, I wandered afar;
漫逾紀以迄今。 A long decade has passed until now.
情眷眷而懷歸兮， With my heart longing and languishing, I cherish a return;
孰憂思之可任？ Who can bear such anxious thoughts?]
憑軒檻以遙望， Leaning on the grilled railing, afar I gaze,
向北風而開襟。 Face the north wind and open my collar.
平原遠而目極， The plain distantly stretches as far as the eyes can see,
蔽荊山之高岑。 But it is obscured by Jing Mountains' high ridges.
路逶迤而修迥， Roads sinuously snake, distant and far;
川既漾而濟深。 Rivers are long, fords are deep.
[悲舊鄉之壅隔兮， I am sad to be blocked and cut off from my homeland;
涕橫墜而弗禁。 Tears stream down my face, and I cannot hold them back.]
昔尼父之在陳， Of old, when Father Ni was in Chen,
有歸歟之歎音。 There was his sad cry "Let us return!"
鍾儀幽而楚奏， When imprisoned, Zhong Yi played a Chu tune;
莊舄顯而越吟。 Though eminent, Zhuang Xi intoned the songs of Yue.
人情同於懷土， All men share the emotion of yearning for their lands;
豈窮達之異心！ How can adversity or success alter the heart?

惟日月之逾邁， Thinking how days and months pass quickly by,
俟河清其何極。 I wait for the River to clear, but it does not.

9 Here both the P.3480 manuscript and transmitted edition read *jia* 挾 (to clasp under the arm). Knechtges reads "hugs" for "receives."

冀王道之一平， I hope for the King's Way at last to be smooth,
假高衢而騁力。 And to take the high road to try my strength.
[懼匏瓜之徒懸 I fear hanging uselessly like a gourd,
畏井渫之莫食。 Dread being a cleaned well from which no one drinks.]

步棲遲以徙倚， Walking slow and sluggish, I pace to and fro;
白日忽其西匿。 The bright sun suddenly westward sets.
風蕭瑟而並興， The wind, soughing and sighing, rises all around;
天慘慘而無色。 The sky, pale and pallid, has lost all color.
獸狂顧以求群， Beasts, wildly gazing, seek their herds;
鳥（胡小字本作烏）相鳴而鼓翼， Birds, crying back and forth, raise their wings.
原野闐其無人， The plains and wilds are deserted, unpeopled;
征夫行而未息。 Yet wayfarers march on, never resting.
[心悽愴以感發兮， My heart, sad and sorrowful, bursts with pain;
意忉怛而慘惻。 My mood, somber and sullen, is doleful and drear.]
循階除而下降， As I descend the steps,
氣交憤於胸臆。 I feel my spirit troubled and tormented within my breast.
夜參半而不寐， The night reaches midpoint, yet I do not sleep;
悵盤桓以反側。 Pensively brooding, I toss and turn.[10]

A number of phrases are missing from this version of the poem and there are also many graphs that differ from the *Wen xuan* version. The *Yiwen leiju* was collected by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, Pei Ju 裴矩, and Chen Shuda 陳叔達 in response to an imperial edict issued by Tang Gaozu in the seventh year of the *wude* 武德 reign period [624 CE]. "Deng lou fu" on this Dunhuang manuscript scroll is preceded by Liu Xiyi's 劉希夷 [651–680] punctuated "Dai baitou yin" 代白頭吟 (In place of 'Lament of the White-haired one'),[11] so the manuscript must have been written after *Yiwen leiju* was compiled. This version of the "Deng lou fu" omits the graph *xi* 兮, which shows that the Dunhuang version was not the first to write it this way. Scanning and turning this scroll's variants

10 *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, comp. Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢, coll. Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 63.1131–32.

11 The song ends at "In a blink, what was brilliant is swan-white, chaotic, silk-like; One can only see that place the ancients sang and danced." 須臾鶴妖亂如絲，但看故（古）來歌舞, after which there is a lacuna. For the entire poem, see *Souyu xiaoji* 搜玉小集, *Tangren xuan Tangshi* 唐人選唐詩 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), 706.

about, I find there are still several things to say about them; below I will roughly sketch them out.

1 On Exhaustively Removing the Graph *xi* 兮 as a Convention in *shi* and *fu* Poetry from the Han Onwards

Where *shi* 詩 and *fu* 賦 contain the auxiliary graph *xi*, variants from the Han onwards have often omitted it. For example, in the three lines of "Da feng ge" 大風歌 (Song of the great wind), as written in the Japanese Heian-period 平安朝 *Wen xuan* 文選 manuscript held by Kujō Michihide 九條道秀, there is no *xi* 兮 graph.[12] As to the "Tianma ge" 天馬歌 (Song of the Heavenly Horse), the *Shiji* 史記 version has got *xi* whereas the *Hanshu* 漢書 version omits it; Wang Xianqian's annotation says that it should have *xi*.[13] The poem "Shan gui" 山鬼 (The mountain spirit) of the *Jiuge* 九歌 (Nine songs) has "There seems to be someone *xi*/ On the mountain slope" 若有人兮山之阿, whereas the song "Chu ci" 楚詞 to the tune of *Moshangsang* 陌上桑 in the "Yue zhi" 樂志 (Record of music) section of the *Songshu* 宋書 (History of Song) copies it as "Now there is someone/ On the mountain slope" 今有人，山之阿, completely getting rid of the graph *xi* (see my "*Chuci* yu ciqu yinyue" 楚辭與詞曲音樂 [The *Chuci* and the music of ci-tunes]). In the case of "Luoshen fu" 洛神賦 (Rhapsody on the descending spirit), as written in the Song Gaozu 宋高祖 emperor's grass script version, many of the lines end without *xi*. These are all prominent examples. In the beginning of the Han, Jia Yi's 賈誼 "Funiao fu" 鵩鳥賦 (Rhapsody on the Owl) differs as to how it is recorded in the *Hanshu* and *Shiji*. The *Shiji's* "Qu Jia zhuan" 屈賈傳 (Biography of Qu Yuan and Jia Yi) has:

單閼之歲兮	In the year of *Chan ye xi*,
四月孟夏	In the fourth month, beginning of summer
庚子日施兮	In the spreading light of a *gengzi* day *xi*
鵩集予舍	an owl perched in my home.

All the lines have the graph *xi*. In the *Hanshu* "Yi zhuan" 誼傳 (Biography of Jia Yi), it is written:

12 See Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, "Guanyu Han Gaozu zhi 'Da feng ge'" 關於漢高祖之大風歌, *Zhongguo wenxuebao* 中國文學報 2 (1955), 33.

13 See Lu Qinli 逯欽立, *Hanshi bielu* 漢詩別錄, in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan minzuxue yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院民族學研究所集刊 [*Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, Academia Sinica] 13 (1948): 315.

單閼之歲	In the year of *Chan ye*
四月孟夏	In the fourth month, beginning of summer
庚子日斜	In the slanting light of a *gengzi* day
服集余舍	an owl perched in my home,

with four graphs per line, omitting *xi*.[14] The version of "Funiao fu" in the *Wuchenben* 五臣本 (five scholars' annotations) version of the *Wenxuan* also omits the graph *xi*.

The foregoing all suffice to show that *xi* was removed from *fu* poetry in the Western Han, but there were also cases where the *xi* was moved to a different position. A passage of the "Diao Qu Yuan fu" 弔屈原賦 (Rhapsody lamenting Qu Yuan) as quoted in the *Shiji* reads "I gasp in lament, speechless (*xi*), at the arbitrariness of life" 于嗟嘿嘿兮，生之無故; the same passage in the *Hanshu* reads "I gasp in lament, speechless, at the arbitrariness of life (*xi*)" 于嗟默默，生之無故兮. This is just one example, where we see *xi* moved to the end of the following line.

Literati in the Six Dynasties period often cite the *Chuci* 楚辭, and they often omit the graph *xi*. Liu Xie 劉勰, in the "Ming shi" 明詩 (Elucidating *shi*-poetry) section of his *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons), starts his discussion of five-character *shi*-poetry by saying: "note that 'Xing lu' 行露 in the *Shijing*'s 'Shaonan' 召南 section inaugurated [five character verse in] the half-stanza; the child's 'Canglang' 滄浪 was a completely [five-character] song." As to the "Canglang zhi ge" 滄浪之歌 (Song of the Canglang River) to which Liu Xie refers, as it is found cited in the discussions of the "Li lou" 離婁 chapter of the *Mencius* 孟子, the "Yu Fu" 漁父 of the *Chuci* 楚辭, and the *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 (Commentary on the Water Classic), all versions of the child's song read "When the Canglang's waters are clear (*xi*)" 滄浪之水清兮; they all include *xi*. Zhong Rong's 鍾嶸 [d. 518] preface to the *Shipin* 詩品 says: "A song of the Xia 夏 says 'Dense with sorrows is my heart' 鬱陶乎余心, a ditty of Chu says 'He names me "Correct Model"' 名余曰正則; the

14 Only the lines that quote the *Laozi* 老子, the two beginning with "misfortune (*xi*), is what fortune depends on" 禍兮福之所倚, and a quote of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "His life (*xi*) is like drifting" 其生兮若浮 retain the graph *xi*; all the rest are removed. Also the "Biography of Boyi" in the *Shiji* 史記伯夷列傳 quotes the lines "The greedy man gives his life for riches; the heroic man gives his life for fame. The ambitious man would die for power; the common man covets life." 貪夫徇財，列士徇名；夸者死權，品庶馮生, which, as in the *Hanshu* version do not have *xi*, whereas the *Shiji*'s "Yi zhuan" 誼傳 does, and thus differences are found even within the same book. See Sima Qian, *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 84.2497–2500; and Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 [2013]), 48.2226–8.

poems from which these lines come, although not extant in complete form, are the fountainhead of five-character verse." I note that the *Lisao* 離騷 line, "He named me 'Correct Model (*xi*)'" 名余曰正則兮, originally had the graph *xi*, which is omitted here. The "Xia shui zhu" 夏水注 (Annotations to the Xia river) entry of the *Shuijing* says: "[It is what] Qu Yuan was referring to by 'passing the head of the Xia, and drifting west; looking to Dragon Gate but not seeing it" (過夏首而西浮 顧龍門而不見). This is from the poem "Ai Ying" 哀郢 (Grieving for Ying) in the "Jiu zhang" 九章 section [of the *Chuci*], which originally had a *xi* that goes omitted here. The "Yinyi Zhang Wenxu zhuan" 隱逸 ·張文詡傳 (biographies of hermits, Zhang Wenxu biography) in the *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) cites "As old age creeps upon me, its arrival imminent, I fear the fame I have pursued will not stand firm" 老冉冉而將至 恐修名之不立, which also omits a *xi*.[15]

In some cases [*xi*] is changed into a different auxiliary word: in the "Liu Mian zhuan" 劉勔傳 (Biography of Liu Mian) in the *Nanshi* 南史, Liu Liang 劉諒 quotes "The Child of God descends on the northern bank" 帝子降于北渚 [tr. note: from the *Chuci* poem "Xiang furen" 湘夫人, or "Lady of the Xiang" in the *Jiuge*, wherein *yu* 于 ("on," in the line as translated above) reads as *xi* 兮 in the *Chuci* version];[16] [in the following line] the Eastern Xiang King 湘東王 says "[her] eyes look distantly in concern for me" 目眇眇以愁予 wherein *yi* 以 (in; so as to) originally was written as *xi* 兮. These all show that in citations of *fu* lines, the auxiliary words can often be changed or omitted. "Deng lou fu," when quoted during the Six Dynasties, likewise always omits the *xi* 兮. In the "Biography of Wang Hua" 王華傳 in the *Songshu* 宋書 (History of Song) it says "whenever [Wang] Hua lived in reclusion, reciting and singing, he often intoned Wang Can's 'Deng lou fu,' which says: 'I hope for the King's Way at last to be smooth, And to take the high road to try my strength'" 冀王道之一平，假高衢而騁力.[17] The "Li ci" 麗辭 (Parallel phrasing) chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong*, says: "Zhongxuan's [i.e. Wang Can's] 'Deng lou fu' says: 'When imprisoned, Zhong Yi played a Chu tune; Though eminent, Zhuang Xi intoned the songs of Yue' 鍾儀幽而楚奏，莊舄顯而越吟; these are examples of *fandui* 反對 (using opposed words to express similar meanings)."[18] The "Zhangshui zhu" 漳水注 (Annotations to the Zhang river section) in the *Shuijing* says: "The Zhang River then turns south, crossing Dangyang county 當陽縣, then again

15 Tr. note: This line is found in the seventh stanza of the *Lisao* 離騷. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖, *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983[2006]), 1.12.

16 It is unclear whether or not this *yu* 于 is a graphic error for *xi* 兮. *Chuci buzhu*, 2.64.

17 Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, 1:241.

18 Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, 1:239.

south crossing Maicheng 麥城;[19] Zhongxuan ascended its southeast bend, faced the Zhang River and intoned (*fu* 賦) it, saying: 'It hugs the intersecting channel of the clear Zhang, Rests upon the long sandbars of the twisting Ju'[20] 夾清漳之通浦，倚曲沮之長洲是也, it is this [Zhang river to which the *fu* refers]." To omit *xi* while quoting a text is in fact quite common. If one reexamines each of the *fu* that Wang Can authored, those without the graph *xi* 兮 include the following:

"Huaishu fu"	槐樹賦	(Rhapsody on the scholar tree);
"Liu fu"	柳賦	(Rhapsody on the willow);
"Baihe fu"	白鶴賦	(Rhapsody on the snow crane);
"He fu"	鶡賦	(Rhapsody on the pheasant);
"Yingwu fu"	鸚鵡賦	(Rhapsody on the parrot); and
"Ying fu"	鶯賦	(Rhapsody on the oriole).

Those that do include *xi* in the middle or end of a line include the following:

"You hai fu"	遊海賦	(Rhapsody on traveling the seas);
"Fu huai fu"	浮淮賦	(Rhapsody on floating on the Huai River);
"Chufu fu"	出婦賦	(Rhapsody on the cast-off wife);
"Guafu fu"	寡婦賦	(Rhapsody on the widow);
"Chu zheng fu"	初征賦	(Rhapsody on the first expedition);
"Yulie fu"	羽獵賦	(Rhapsody on accompanying the emperor's hunt);
"Midie fu"	迷迭賦	(Rhapsody on rosemary); and
"Manao lei fu"	瑪瑙勒賦	(Rhapsody on the agate horse-bridle)

And so on. Thus in light of Wang Can's other *fu* poems, in which he frequently uses the graph *xi*, it becomes quite clear that he was not conforming to the Wu Emperor's style.

2 Collation Notes to Variants in the Dunhuang Manuscript

The Dunhuang manuscript version has quite a number of variant graphs, most of which Chen Zuolong has pointed out, so here below I supplement Chen's work as follows:

19 Tr. note: The *Sibu congkan* version, a facsimile of the Shanghai Hanfenlou 景上海涵芬樓 collection's Wu Yingdian juzhen edition 武英殿聚珍版本, *juan* 32, (and several other versions consulted) read "East of Maicheng" 麥城東.

20 Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, 1:237.

2.1 *liao xia/jia* 聊暇

Note that the graph *jia* 暇 is the same as in the Hu edition; below the graph, Li Shan 李善 says that it is pronounced as *jia* (i.e. *gu-ya* 古雅 in *fanqie* 反切 transliteration). He also notes: "暇 (*xia*; 'leisure') may be *jia* 假 (borrow; use; cf. 'stealing' above, line 2); the *Chuci* says: '…, but he falters, halts and will not gallop; so I briefly use the days to pass time,' 遷逡次而勿驅，聊假日消時." Xu Xunxing's 許巽行 *Wenxuan biji* 文選筆記 (Notes on the *Wenxuan*) quotes [Yan] Shigu 顏師古 as follows:

> 楚詞云:「聊假日以偷樂。」此言遭遇幽厄，中心愁悶，假延日月苟為娛樂耳。今俗猶言借日度時。今之讀者改假為暇，失其意矣。
>
> The *Chuci* says: "*liao jia ri yi tou le* 聊假日以偷樂." This is to say that he has encountered troubles and worries, and his heart is stifled and gloomy, so he briefly delays some days, merely for the purpose of entertaining himself. These days the unrefined read it as meaning "borrowing days to pass the time" 借日度時. And readers now change *jia*假 to *xia* 暇, how indeed have they lost the meaning!

In light of this, we can see that since both the *Leiju* and Tang manuscript versions write 暇, it is not necessarily the case that later readers changed it.[21]

2.2 *lan si yu* 覽斯宇

This line (see line 3) is missing in the Dunhuang manuscript. The *Leiju* also writes *lan* 覽 (scan), as does the *Wenxuan*. Zhang Bo 張溥 writes *jue* 覺 (sense; feel), which cannot be substantiated.

2.3 *gua qiu* 寡求

Note that the word *qiu* 求 in the *Wen xuan* version appears as *chou* 仇 (adversary; foe; cf. Knechtges "peer"). *Qiu* 求 is often read for *qiu* 逑 (match; mate), as in the *Shijing* line "A good *qiu* 逑 (match) for our Lord" 君子好逑. The Mao commentary says "*qiu* 逑 means *pi* 匹 (mate)." The "Shigu" 釋詁 (Explaining old words) chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 says "*chou* 仇 means *pi* 匹 (mate)." The Guo 郭

21 Tr. note: Jao's argument in this gloss seems to be that the writing of *xia* 暇 is demonstrably early, although given that the *Leiju* and Tang manuscript versions are not clearly earlier than Yan Shigu's comment, the meaning is unclear. It is, however, common to read the graphs *jia* 假 and *xia* 暇 as interchangeably. Li Shan's *fan-qie* 反切 transliteration of *gu-ya* 古雅 would seem to indicate a reading of *jia*. Knechtges notes that Li Shan reads *xia* 暇, which is true of Li Shan's text but not the gloss that Jao cites here; *xia* would be *hu-jia* 胡駕 in *fan-qie* transliteration. It is also difficult to tell from the fragment precisely what sense Yan Shigu is rejecting, since *jia* 假 and *xia* 暇 are both polysemous.

commentary cites the *Shijing* as "A good *chou* 仇 for our lord." The "Xuan ce" 玄測 (fathoming) of the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 [*nei* 內] says: "Cautious in *fei qiu* 謹于婓求," to which the Fan Wang 范望 [late 3rd c.] commentary says "*qiu* 求 means *pi* 匹 (mate)." The [*Jingdian* 經典] *Shiwen* 釋文 says "*fei* 婓 means *fei* or *pei* 妃 (mate; spouse); *qiu* 求 is pronounced as *chou* 仇." So, *chou* 仇, *qiu* 逑 and *qiu/chou* 求 are also identical. The Tang manuscript, which writes *qiu* 求, is a sound loan [for mate; peer] that omits a graphic element.

2.4 *jia qing zhang* 挾清漳

The Hu print of the *Wen xuan* has *jia/xie* 挾 (to carry under the arm), the citation in the "Zhangshui zhu" 漳水注 annotation in the *Shuijing* 水經 has the [loan equivalent graph *jia* 夾], the *Leiju* edition has *jie* 接.

2.5 *qu ju* 曲沮

The reading of the graph *ju* 沮 concurs with the *Wen xuan*. The "Jushui zhu" 沮水 annotation in the *Shuijing* says: "The Ju river again turns south, passing the grave of King Zhao of Chu, facing Maicheng to the east. Thus when Wang Zhongxuan composed the *fu* 'Deng lou,' saying 'west touches Zhao's barrow,' it refers to this [river]" 沮水又南，逕楚昭王墓，東對麥城，故王仲宣之賦《登樓》云「西接昭丘」是也. Writing Ju 沮 is correct; I am afraid that the *Leiju*'s 類聚 writing of Qu 曲 is wrong.

Moreover [as cited above] the *Shuijing*'s "Zhangshui zhu" says: "The Zhang River then turns south, crossing Dangyang county, then again south crossing Maicheng; Zhongxuan ascended its southeast bend, faced the Zhang River and intoned (*fu* 賦) it, saying: 'It hugs the intersecting channel of the clear Zhang, Rests upon the long sandbars of the twisting Ju,' it is this [Zhang river to which the *fu* refers]." To this, Xiong Huizhen's 熊會貞 *Shuijing zhu shu* 水經注疏 says:

> 《沮水注》敘昭王墓東對麥城隨引《登樓賦》「西接昭丘」以證之，意以所謂西接者，就麥城言，已隱隱以仲宣所登為麥城之樓矣。此於麥城更鑿鑿言之，曰「仲宣登其東南隅，臨漳水而賦之」，且揭出夾清漳、倚曲沮二語，以麥城在沮、漳間也。是不從盛弘之當陽城樓之說，酈氏必有所據，今不可考矣。

> The "Jushui zhu" in the course of narrating [the matter of] the grave of King Zhao "facing Maicheng to the east," cites the "Deng lou fu" as saying "west touches Zhao's barrow" 西接昭丘, to confirm it. The meaning expressed by the words "west touches" regards Maicheng; [the *Shuijing zhu*] seems to indicate faintly that the tower Wang Zhongxuan ascended was in Maicheng. Here, what is expressed much more unmistakably in

> relation to Maicheng, is that "Zhongxuan ascended its southeast bend, faced the Zhang River and intoned (*fu* 賦) it," which it follows with the two lines "hugs the … clear Zhang" 夾清漳 and "rests upon … the twisting Ju" 倚曲沮, which would place Maicheng between the Ju and Zhang rivers. This does not follow Sheng Hong's 盛弘 account that the tower concerned was in Dangyang 當陽. Mr. Li must have relied upon something [in reaching his conclusions], but there is currently no way to tell.[22]

Note that regarding the ancient traces of Zhongxuan's tower, a comment by Li Shan cites Sheng Hong's "Jingzhou ji" 荊州記 to the effect that the tower was in the city of Dangyang, which differs from Li's account. Also, the Liu Liang's 劉良 commentary in the Wuchen 五臣 edition of the *Wenxuan* says that [Wang Can] "ascended a tower in the city of Jiangling" 登江陵城樓, thus in the Ming, Wang Shizhen 王世貞 [1526–1590] said it was in Xiangyang 襄陽. This is a later account and is unreliable.

2.6 *Taomu* 陶沐

The *Yiwen leiju* and *Wenxuan* versions have *Taomu* 陶牧, which is also identical to the citation in the *Shuijing zhu*. It is not clear where Taomu 陶牧 is located. Zhang Xian's 張銑 note in the Wuchen edition says "Tao is the name of a village township; [the place] beyond the outskirts is called the *mu* 牧 (pasturage)," but he does not state the location. The Li Shan annotation quotes Sheng Hongzhi's 盛弘之 "Jingzhou ji," which says "to the west of Jiangling county there is a Taozhu Gong 陶朱公 grave, at which a stele reads, [here lies] Fan Li 范蠡 [536–488 BCE] of Yue 越, who ended [his life] in Tao 陶." However, this explanation is certainly wrong; Li Daoyuan 酈道元 has already corrected it in the "Xiashui zhu," of his *Shuijing zhu*:

> [夏水] 歷范西戎墓南，王隱《晉書·地道記》曰:陶朱冢在華容縣，樹碑云是越之范蠡。《晉太康地記》、盛弘之《荊州記》、劉澄之《記》，竝言在縣之西南，郭仲產言在縣東十里。檢其碑，題云:故西戎令范君之墓。碑文缺落，不詳其人，稱蠡是其先也。碑是永嘉二年立，觀其所述，最為究悉，以親逕其地，故違衆說，從而正之。

> [The Xia River] passes to the south of the Fan Xirong 范西戎 grave.[23] Wang Yin's 王隱 "Di dao ji" 地道記 (Record of terrestrial conduits) in the *Jinshu* 晉書 says: "the Taozhu 陶朱 (i.e. Fan Li 范蠡) burial mounds

22 Shuijing zhu shu 水經注疏, 32:74–5.

23 This grave is now in the northwest of current-day Jianli county 監利縣.

> are in Huarong county 華容縣, where a stele has been erected, saying "[here lies] Fan Li of Yue." The *Jin Taikang di ji* 晉太康地記 (Record of Locations in the Jin Dynasty, Taikang [280–290] Era), Sheng Hongzhi's 盛弘之 *Jingzhou ji* 荊州記 (Record of Jingzhou), and Liu Chengzhi's 劉澄之 [Jingzhou] *Ji* 記 all read "to the county's southwest"; Guo Zhongchan 郭仲產 says it is "ten *li* to the county's east." Upon examination, the stele inscription says "… therefore the grave of the Xirong ling 西戎令 (Commander of the Western Barbarians), Lord Fan…," although the text is fragmentary, and it is unclear who this Lord Fan] is, it claims that Fan Li was his ancestor. The stele was erected in the second year of *yongjia* [308 CE], and its description is most complete. So as to visualize [the Xia River's] path, we go against the many other accounts and follow this one, which we deem as correct.

Guo Zhongchan has a *Nan Yongzhou ji* 南雍州記, and according to its survey, this grave of Fan Xirong is the grave of Lord Fan, Commander of the Western Barbarians, and has nothing to do with the Taozhu Gong grave of Fan Li, and so Li Daoyuan's rejection of all other conflicting accounts is correct. The "Yue shijia" 越世家 (Prominent families of Yue) section of the *Shiji* 史記 cites the *Kuodi zhi* 括地志, which says: "In Qizhou, in east of Pingyin county 齊州平陰縣東, five *li* south of Tao Mountain 陶山 lies a Zhu Gong burial mound 朱公塚; also three *li* to the southeast of Jiyin county in Caozhou, 曹州濟陰縣, there is a Taozhu Gong burial mound 陶朱公塚."

The Dunhuang manuscript reads *Taomu* 陶沐, and we suspect strongly that *mu* 沐 may be a variant of *mu* 木 (wood).[24] Ancient place names with *mu* in the name include Manmu 槾木 (*Zuozhuan*, "Zhuang year four" 左·莊四年), Dumu 杜木 (Gebo gui 格伯簋（簋）), Langmu 桹木, and Chumu 楮木 (San shi pan 散氏盤), in which the *mu* refers to the trees that demarcated boundaries around the four boundaries of a walled city. Taomu 陶木 in juxtaposition with Zhao qiu 昭丘 ("Zhao's barrow") must refer to the trees planted around the boundary of Tao. For the moment at least, this presents one possible interpretation.

2.7 *Tong yu huai tu* 通于懷土

For *tong* 通 all editions write *tong* 同. According to the *Shiming* 釋名, *tong* 通 means *tong* 同. The two graphs can *tong* 通 (be used interchangeably). As to

24 The "Jie zang" 節葬 (Thrift in funerals) chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子, says: "To the east of Yue there is the state of Mu 沐." The "Tang Wen" 湯問 (Tang Questions) chapter of the *Liezi* 列子 says: "… Thereupon the state of Mu 木 …" These examples show that *mu* 木 and *mu* 沐 can be used interchangeably. See Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, *Mozi jiangu* 墨子閒詁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju),187; Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 166.

huai tu 懷土, Lu Ji 陸機 has a *Huaitu fu* 懷土賦 (Rhapsody on yearning for one's native soil), which can be consulted.

3 *Deng lou fu*'s Date of Composition

The *fu* reads: "Encountering tumult and turmoil, I wandered afar; A long decade has passed until now. With my heart longing and languishing, I cherish a return; Who can bear such anxious thoughts?" 遭紛濁而遷逝兮，漫逾紀以迄今.[25] Li Shan's annotation cites the Kong Yingda 孔穎達 commentary (to the "Command to Bi" 畢命 chapter of the *Shang shu* 尚書), which says "twelve years is called a *ji* 紀 (generation)." Note, then, that this text must have been composed after the tenth year of the *Jian'an* 建安 reign period [205 CE].

Sanguo zhi 三國志 *juan* twenty-one, the "Biography of Wang Can" 王粲傳 says:

> 年十七，司徒辟，詔除黃門侍郎，以西京擾亂，皆不就。乃之荊州，依劉表。表以粲貌寢而體弱通俊，不甚重也。
>
> At seventeen years of age, the Minister of Education (*situ* 司徒) recruited [Wang Can], and he was employed as the Attendant Gentleman (*shi lang* 侍郎) by imperial order. [However], due to disorder in Chang'an, he did not assume the post, but went instead to Jingzhou, where he became attached to Liu Biao 劉表. Liu Biao found him unattractive, sickly, and too unrestrained to be concerned with minutiae, so did not particularly esteem him.[26]

According to Lu Bi 盧弼 (1876–1967), "when Wang Can was seventeen, it was the fourth year of the Han Xian Emperor's 漢獻帝 Chuping 初平 reign period (193 CE)"; he also says, "in the eight month of Jian'an year thirteen (208 CE), Liu Biao died, at which time Wang Can was thirty-two, and had been in Jingzhou for sixteen years."[27] So if Wang Can got to Jingzhou in Chuping year four (193),[28] by Jian'an year nine (204), he would have been in Jingzhou for precisely twelve years. In the seventh month of that year, Cao Cao 曹操 defeated Ye 鄴, taking the pasturelands of Jizhou 冀州牧. When the *fu* says "a generation has passed"

25 Tr. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan*, 239.

26 Lu Bi, *Sanguozhi jijie* 三國志集解 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 1647–1650.

27 Lu Bi, *Sanguozhi jijie* 1647–1650.

28 Tr. note: Jao here writes "Xingping year four" (Xingping *si nian* 興平四年); the translation emends according to *Sanguozhi jijie* 三國志集解.

逾一紀,[29] it must speak from a time between 204 and when Liu Cong 劉琮 surrendered to Cao Cao in the ninth month of *jian'an* year thirteen (208). The Wang Can biography also says:

> 表卒。粲勸表子琮，令歸太祖，太祖辟為丞相掾，賜爵關內侯。太祖置酒漢濱，粲奉觴賀曰:「方今袁紹起河北，杖大衆，志兼天下，然好賢而不能用，故奇士去之。劉表雍容荊楚，坐觀時變，自以為西伯可規。士之避亂荊州者，皆海內之儁傑也；表不知所任，故國危而無輔。明公定冀州之日，下車即繕其甲卒，收其豪傑而用之，以橫行天下。及平江、漢，引其賢俊而置之列位，使海內回心，望風而願治，文武並用，英雄畢力，此三王之舉也。
>
> [Liu] Biao died, and [Wang] Can advised his son, [Liu] Cong, telling him to align himself with the *Taizu* [i.e. the "Great Ancestor," Cao Cao of Wei]. The *Taizu* employed [Wang Can] in the office of his Counselor-in chief, conferring on him the title of Marquis of Guan-nei 關內侯. [Cao Cao] hosted a feast at on the banks of the Han, at which Wang Can raised his goblet in praise, saying: "Now Yuan Shao 袁紹 [154–202] has raised forces north of the Yellow River 起河北，仗大眾 and intends on merging All-under-Heaven. He loves the worthy but does not know how to make use of them so the outstanding ones have all left. Liu Biao holds Jingzhou, unruffled, observing the transformations of the day, apparently thinking himself to be the Western Earl.[30] The nobles who seek refuge from chaos at Jingzhou are the most eminent talents within the [four] seas. And [yet] Liu Biao does not know how to employ them, so the country is on the brink of disaster with no one to help. The day you, the Perspicacious master [i.e. Cao Cao] pacified Jizhou 冀州, reordering the ranks, collecting the eminent and fine among them and employing them to traverse All-below-Heaven. When he brought peace to the Jiang and Han rivers 江漢, he raised up the worthy and eminent there, placing them into suitable positions, winning back the hearts of all within the seas, watching vigilantly and aspiring to order, using culture and military might in equal measure, with heroic effort. These are the means undertaken by the Three Kings [i.e. the founders of Xia, Shang, and Zhou].[31]

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29 Tr. note: "A long decade has passed until now" 漫逾紀以迄今, as per Knechtges op. cit.

30 Tr. note: The "Western Earl" (Xibo) 西伯 refers to the Western Zhou founder, King Wen 周文王, on the eve of Zhou conquest over the Shang.

31 Lu Bi, *Sanguozhi jijie*, 1647–8.
Tr. note: For context and clarity, I have supplemented phrases Jao omits.

In the *fu*, the words "I hope for the King's Way at last to be smooth, And to take the high road to try my strength" 冀王道之一平 假高衢而騁力 seem to originate from the time Cao Cao employed the talented and eminent of Jizhou 冀州; [translator's note: Jao implies here that the first half of this couplet, *Ji wang dao zhi yi ping* 冀王道之一平 is an intended pun for the Ji Wang 冀王 (Jizhou King; i.e. Cao Cao)]. In the ninth year of the *Jian'an* period [i.e. 204 CE], Cao Cao took Jizhou, where he had already won the hearts of many among the ranks. At this time, Wang Can had been relying on Liu [Biao] for precisely one *ji* 紀 (generation, *i.e.* 12 years), and was now twenty-nine years old. When he wrote this *fu*, Cao Cao had not yet come down to Jingzhou. This means of dating is also sufficient to demonstrate that the omission of the particle *xi* 兮 from the Dunhuang manuscript version of the *fu* has nothing to do with the stylistic preferences of the Wei Wu emperor, Cao Cao.

4 Closing Thoughts

Wang Can was expert at literary *fu* compositions. The Wei Wen Emperor (魏文; Cao Pi 曹丕) said "his *Chu zheng* 初征 (Initial Campaign), *Deng lou*, and *Huai fu* 槐賦 (Rhapsody on the Pagoda Tree), are unsurpassed, even by Zhang [Heng] 張衡 and Cai [Yong] 蔡邕 (see the "Lun wen" 論文 chapter of the *Dian lun* 典論). Moreover, Lu Yun 陸雲 (262–303) said "the reputation of *Deng lou* is lofty, and I am afraid to say it is unsurpassable." He also wrote that Wang Zhongxuan's "*Deng lou*, while in the beginning is extremely elegant, the remainder is ordinary and fails to capture the emotions" 仲宣登樓，前即甚佳，其餘平平，不得言情處 (see *Yu xiong Pingyuan shu* 與兄平原書; "Letters to my brother, Pinyuan").

The *fu* has already been transmitted and recited for ages, and there are also a number of imitations. For example, Sun Chu 孫楚 [220–293] of the Jin, has a "Deng lou fu", in which a line reads "Briefly stealing some time to amuse my heart/mind" 聊暇日以娛心.[32] Zao Ju 棗據 [?–289?] also has a "Deng Lou fu" which reads:

> ……登茲樓而逍遙，聊因高以暇望……桑麻被野，黍稷盈畝……懷桑梓之舊愛，信古今之同情，鍾儀慘而南音，莊舄感而越聲。

32 Tr, note: Here and below, I cleave, where possible, to Knechtges's "Deng lou fu" translation in rendering these similar lines. In the photo available from the International Dunhuang Project, Jao's second lacuna mark appears to read *shao* 少 (few).

> … I climb this tower and ramble in ease; briefly relying on heights to steal a gaze … Mulberries and hemp cover the plain; millets fill the acres … I yearn for the old love of mulberry and catalpa; I believe in the similar emotions of present and past. When in misery, Zhong Yi intoned a southern tune; when sentimental, Zhuang Xi intoned the sounds of Yue.

Not only are there those that copy its form—there are also those that copy its lines; the poets that have cloaked and capped themselves with this *fu* hardly belong to a single generation. And, moreover, through all the recitation and chanting that this poem enjoyed, it also made its way to the frontier, at Dunhuang. It is a shame that my somewhat clumsy efforts in the preceding pages are somewhat superficial; it is precisely because of Chen Zuolong's excellent work that I have set out again on this topic, and I hope indeed he still has more to teach me.

The same scroll, P.3480 in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, records an assortment of *shi* and *fu* poems, and in the space after this *fu* by Wang Can, there is a work called the *Luo hua pian* 落花篇 (On falling blossoms). The lyrics are as follows:

仲春欲半風始暄	As middle spring approached halfway the wind began to warm;
澹蕩先來吹菓薗	As it blew the orchard, swaying came first, easy and unrestrained.
薗裏□花開不歇	In the yard […Peach?] blossoms opened tirelessly;
桃花未盡梨花發	Before the peach blossoms finished, pear ones shot forth.
蛾眉無數春園裏	And countless moth-browed beauties within the spring garden
共愛春風滿園起	were all in love with winds of spring; the entire garden took wing.
欲舉紅樹弄芳花	Wishing to lift the crimson trees, to tease the fragrant blooms,
更起因風乘洛花	Again they rose and with the wind the fallen blossoms rode.[33]
花洛因風不因折	The blooms that fell went with the wind (they were not broken off).
飛滿空中下如雪	The air is filled with blooms awing, [the ground] below like snow.

33 Tr. note: Reading *luo* 洛 as *luo* 落.

散衡玉面點凝妝	Scattered across jade faces, dots of rouge condense
亂着羅衣碎成纈	disordered gowns of gauzy silk, ripening riotous tie-dyes.[34]
紛紛林裏滿林芳	A profusion is the forest—a forest filled with fragrant [bloom];
一迴風起一迴香	with every whirling gust of wind a flurry of perfume.
半着羅裙人掩得	One half can cloak the wearer in skirts of silken gauze;
半飛紅沼水漂將	the other half a flight of red, to be buoyed up by pond waters.
晚來零落花漸稀	When later on [the trees were] bare, and blossoms growing scarce,
見在收將且送歸	I gathered up what still remained, about to send them back.
怀中擎得□兼□	What I could take up in my cape were … [?] … and [few];[35]
袖裏捻看畏欲飛	I saw them twirled inside my sleeves and feared they wished to fly.
歸去明朝須早來	Return! Go [back]! Bright tomorrow is at hand;
且廢新粧事鏡臺	abandon your new make-up to serve the mirror stand!
忽愁一夜風吹盡	And in one night, a blink of gloom, the wind had blown them clean away;
一般吹盡一般開	[but] just as they blow clean away, likewise do they bloom.

The lyrical style is vivid and elegant, but we do not know whose hand it came from. So as to add to the record, I have appended it here, for your enjoyment, and, moreover, to await those who know it.

Originally published in the second issue of the 1962 special edition of Dalu zazhi 大陸雜誌

34 *Sui* 碎 (smash; fracture; "riotous") here may be paronomasia for *zui* 醉 (drunken) as in 醉眼纈 (drunken-eyed tie dye).

35 Tr. note: Reading Jao's transcribed *pi* 怀 (troubled?; angered?) as *pei* 帔 (cape/skirt/shawl).

PART 5

Reorienting Dunhuang Studies

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Dunhuang Research Should Be Broader in Its Scope
敦煌應擴大研究範圍

This essay,[1] *written as Jao looked back on a long career in Dunhuang studies, expresses his vision for the field: namely, that Dunhuang research expand to incorporate the early period for which archaeological excavations in the region have produced a large volume of wood-slip documents.*

The editor of *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Journal of Dunhuang and Turfan studies), Prof. Hao Chunwen 郝春文, wrote me to ask if I would write a little something for volume nine, a special edition commemorating the journal's tenth anniversary. Although I am identified as one of the journal's editors, in actuality I am nothing more than a member of the old guard, who has forded the river and cannot cross back.[2] I am also somewhat embarrassed by the undeserved kindness and misplaced praise Prof. Hao has bestowed on me, which is altogether a bit much. Originally, there was really nothing I had to say, but since I realized that there was no good way to refuse, I have just managed to oblige in a perfunctory fashion, and have dispatched my duty with this short piece, which nonetheless expresses a few aspirations I have for the field of Dunhuang studies.

From the 1980's until now, Dunhuang studies has grown into a fully international and widely recognized field of knowledge. I find great consolation in the fact that the field's center of gravity now lies squarely in China.

Nonetheless, in regard to the current state of affairs, I still have an opinion to share: I think "Dunhuang" and "Dunhuang studies" should both be seen in an expanded perspective.

If we consider the broader meaning of "Dunhuang" then our focal points should not just be limited to the Dunhuang grottos, but include also the surrounding places, their history and geography, the peoples and cultural traditions that have appeared and evolved there throughout time, and so on. If we just focus on the stone caves, then what we are researching is just the

1 [Tr] First published as Jao Tsung-i, Zheng Weiming 鄭煒明 ed., "Dunhuang ying kuoda yanjiu fanwei" 敦煌應擴大研究範圍, *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 1–5. The translation is authorized by Beijing Zhonghua shuju.

2 [Tr] Jao calls himself a *guo he zuzi* 過河卒子 (river crossing soldier), which refers to the soldiers in Chinese chess (*xiang qi* 象棋) that can only move forwards and not retreat after crossing the first point.

contents of those caves, such as Buddha statues, paintings, and manuscripts of the scriptures.

Likewise, then, if we consider the broader meaning of "Dunhuang studies," research in the field should include Dunhuang during all time periods and Dunhuang as it can be examined from any and all types of source materials. The most important research periods in Dunhuang studies can be divided into at least three major ones:

1. An ancient period, ranging from the time before and after the allied Xiongnu 匈奴 authority, encompassing the time prior to the establishment of the four Han commanderies in the Hexi Corridor region, up until the Jin 晉 [266–420] and Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 [304–439] period.
2. An early period, from the end of the Sixteen Kingdoms to the flourishing Tang [650–755], and up to the An Lushan Rebellion 安史之亂 [755–763].
3. A later period, from the time of the Tibetan occupation [787–848], through the Five Dynasties [907–989], and up to the Northern Song [960–1127]. (Of course, we can also study Dunhuang after the Northern Song).

This periodization of mine considers primarily the fact that during these periods Dunhuang experienced completely different changes to its cultural environment. Moreover, if we consider the topic from the availability of different source materials, at present the two main foci of Dunhuang studies are the manuscript scrolls from the library cave and the wall paintings from Dunhuang grottos; this represents a regrettable oversight.

In my opinion, we still need to wholeheartedly emphasize the bamboo and wood slip materials. At present we have been excavating cache after enormous cache of slips relating to Dunhuang, from the Western and Eastern Han, Wei, and Jin periods, which can precisely address the history and culture of the early period at Dunhuang. Research on this early period, including research on Dunhuang wood slip documents, is still in its infancy, and it is just waiting to be further developed. My proposal then, is first and foremost that the field of Dunhuang studies should bring this early period, including the Xiongnu era, Han, Wei and Jin dynasties, under the rubric of Dunhuang studies. It is in this way that we might inaugurate a new phase of research.

In what follows I will just raise one example to clarify and substantiate what I have said so far.

In recent years the Dunhuang studies field has been particularly attentive to the influence of Sogdian culture at Dunhuang, and scholars have argued forcefully that religion at Dunhuang was not Buddhist, but was rather much more deeply connected to Zoroastrianism. In fact though, Dunhuang religion was a hybrid. Because the Dunhuang locale was originally the domain of the

Xiongnu, the seeds of hybridity were planted early on. Below I would like to say a few words about the Nine Surnames of Zhaowu (Zhaowu *jiu xing* 昭武九姓).

Prof. Yutaka Yoshida 吉田豐 has cited Edward Pulleyblank's claim that the name Zhaowu 昭武 is seen first in the *Sui shu* 隋書, and that relevant materials date to the Sui or early Tang. Moreover, citing the fact that the historical accounts regarding [the Central Asian state of] Kangguo 康國 and the Nine Surnames of Zhaowu in the *Beishi* 北史 and *Weishu* 魏書 are identical to those found in the *Suishu*, they further assume that the two former accounts were simply copied from latter, and thus place the origin of the Nine Surnames of Zhaowu in the Sui or early Tang.[3] Yu Taishan 余太山 also opines that the "Kangguo zhuan" 康國傳 (Narrative of Kangguo) is something that "some later person … injudiciously altered" to accord with the *Suishu* account, and that the narrative contents date to sometime in *daye* 大業 reign period [605–618] of the Sui dynasty.[4]

Nonetheless, it seems that this has ignored all the Han through Jin slip materials excavated from Xuanquanzhi 懸泉置, and to completely neglect these sources is perplexing indeed. The cache of slips excavated between 1990 and 1992, from the Xuanquanzhi 懸泉置 archaeological site, three kilometers southeast of Tianshuijing 甜水井 in current day Dunhuang, contains over 23,000 written slip documents, including extremely clear historical sources that already mention the name Zhaowu.

Among the Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi slips is one text known as the "mileage chart," which contains the following passage:

> 小張掖去姑臧六十七里，姑臧去顯美七十五里……氐池去觻得五十四里，觻得去昭武六十二里府下，昭武去祁連置六十一里，祁連置去表是七十里。
>
> From Xiaozhangye 小張掖 to Guzang 姑臧 is sixty-seven *li*; from Guzang to Xianmei 顯美 is seventy-five *li* … from Dichi 氐池 to Lude 觻得 is fifty-four *li*; from Lude to Zhaowu 昭武 is sixty-two *li* to the repository; from Zhaowu to Qilianzhi 祁連置 is sixty-one *li*; from Qilianzhi to Biaoshi 表是 is seventy *li*.[5]

3 Yutaka Yoshida 吉田豐, "On the Origin of the Sogdian Surname Zhaowu 昭武 and Related Problems," *Journal Asiatique* 291 (2003), 1&2:36–37.

4 Yu Taishan 余太山, "*Weishu* 'Xiyu zhuan' yuanwen kao" 《魏書·西域傳》原文考, *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 90–1.

5 "Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi licheng jian" 敦煌懸泉置里程簡, slip no. 60 in Hu Pingsheng 胡平生 and Zhang Defang 張德芳, *Dunhuang Xuanquanzhi Hanjian shicui* 敦煌懸泉漢簡

This Zhaowu, it is now clear, is the same as that listed under the ten counties of Zhangye 張掖 commandery in the *Hanshu* 漢書 "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on geography).[6] There, the counties are listed in the following order: Lude, Zhaowu, Shandan 刪丹, Dichi, Wulan 屋蘭, Rile 曰（日）勒, Lijian 驪靬, Fanhe 番和, Juyan 居延, and Xianmei 顯美. The *Houhanshu* 後漢書, "Junguo zhi" 郡國志 (Treatise on Commanderies and Kingdoms), has the following record for Zhangye commandery:

> 八城，戶六千五百五十二，口二萬六千四十:觻得、昭武、刪丹（弱水出）、氐池、屋蘭、日勒、驪靬、番和。
>
> Eight cities, 6,552 households, population 26,040: Lude, Zhaowu, Shandan (Source of the Roushui), Dichi, Wulan, Rile, Lijian, Fanhe.[7]

Of all the counties under the jurisdiction of Zhangye commandery, there are those that took their names from local tribes, like Lude, whose name was given by the Xiongnu; Dichi 氐池 (lit. "Di pond") is a place where the Di tribe had once lived; Lijian is another place that was at some point touched by Qin dynasty trade and a settlement, for which the five "amber beast" (*hupo shou* 琥珀獸) artifacts from the Leitai 擂台 site in Gansu, Wuwei 甘肅武威, provide some material evidence.[8]

Also, below the place name "Zhaowu," in the Tang prince Zhanghuai 張懷, Li Xian's 李賢 [655–684] annotation to the *Houhan shu*'s biography of Liang Jin 梁慬 [d. 112 CE], it says "[Zhaowu] is a county name; it belonged to Zhangye commandery; the old city is in the northwest of present day Zhangye county in Ganzhou" 縣名，屬張掖郡，故城在今甘州張掖縣西北也.[9]

釋粹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 56. Note that in the name Dichi 氐池, the graph *di* 氐 is written with a *tu* 土 (earth) component below it, which can be read as *di* 氐.

6 Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, comm. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 [2013]), 28B.1613.

7 "Junguo zhi" 郡國志, no. 23 in Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, comm. Li Xian 李賢 et al., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 3520.

For an explanation of these passages, and supplementary sources, see Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 and Li Junming 李均明, *Dunhuang Hanjian Biannian Kaozheng* 敦煌漢簡編年考證 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng, 1995), 18–21, 106–108.

8 See Gansu sheng bowuguan 甘肅省博物館, "Wuwei leitai Hanmu" 武威雷台漢墓, *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 2 (1974): 87–109; see also chapter five, of the doctoral dissertation of my student, regarding the *hupo shou* 琥珀獸, Xu Xiaodong 許曉東, "Study of amber in Qidan culture and art" 契丹琥珀藝術研究 (Ph.D diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), 123–54.

9 "Ban Liang liezhuan" 班梁列傳, *Hou han shu* no. 37, 47.1592.

According to the same source,

> （永初）二年春，還至敦煌。會眾羌反叛，朝廷大發兵西擊之，逆詔憘留為諸軍援。憘至張掖日勒。羌諸種萬餘人攻亭候，殺略吏人。憘進兵擊，大破之，乘勝追至昭武，虜遂散走，其能脫者十二三。及至姑臧，羌大豪三百餘人詣憘降，並尉譬遣還故地，河西四郡復安。
>
> In the spring of *yongchu* year two [107 CE], [Liang Jin] returned to Dunhuang. A coalition of the Qiang revolted, and the [Han] court sent an army to strike it mightily in the west, issuing an edict for Liang Jin to remain and help the other generals. Liang Jin went to Rile in Zhangye, where Qiang tribes of all kinds had attacked the sentry stations with over ten thousand troops, killing and plundering the Han servicemen. Liang Jin attacked, greatly defeating them, and riding the crest of victory, routed them as far as Zhaowu. Rebels were thereupon scattered, of whom two or three in every ten were able to escape. When they arrived at Guzang, three hundred powerful Qiang leaders surrendered to Liang Jin, who made a compassionate example by dispatching them to their former lands. The four commanderies of Hexi were again peaceful.[10]

This shows clearly that Prince Zhanghuai, Li Xian, would have known about the existence of Rile, Zhaowu, and other places in northwest Zhangye, during the Latter Han period.

Zhaowu, then, was a county under the jurisdiction of Zhangye commandery, for which the old city is Zhaowu village, fifteen kilometers northeast of modern day Linze county 臨澤縣. Qilianzhi was where modern Linze county meets Gaotai 高臺.[11]

According to the *Jin shu jiaozhu* 晉書斠注 (History of Jin, collated and annotated), there is an entry for Linze, about which is said: "this was the Han county of Zhaowu, which was renamed to avoid a taboo on the Jin Jing Emperor's 晉景帝 [208–255] name" 漢昭武縣，避景帝諱改也.[12] Thus we know that in the Jin and later times, Linze is what was known as Zhaowu during the Han. Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 [1842–1917] *Hou han shu jijie* 後漢書集解 (Collected explanations to the *Book of Later Han*) also already points this out in a section discussing Zhangye commandery, Zhaowu, about which is said: "The *Jin zhi*

10 "Ban Liang liezhuan" 班梁列傳 no. 37, in *Hou Han shu*, 47.1592.

11 See *Dunhuang hanjian shi cui*, 58 n. 6, 7.

12 *Jinshu jiaozhu* 晉書斠注, comp. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., comm. Wu Shijian 吳士鑑, Liu Chenggan 劉承幹 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 14C.17 (291).

晉志 changed its name to 'Linze'; the *yi tong zhi* 一統志 [Treatise on unified geography] says 'the old city is in the northwest of Zhangye county'" 《晉志》改曰臨澤；《一統志》:故城今張掖縣西北.[13]

Also, in the slip manuscripts, other place names like Guzang, Xianmei, Dichi, Lude, and so on, can all be checked against the *Han shu*, *Hou Han shu*, and other historical records predating the Sui and Tang. Not only is the geography perfectly consistent with versions of "Kangguo zhuan" preserved in the *Suishu*, *Beishi* 北史, and *Weishu* 魏書, stating that "[the inhabitants of Kangguo] formerly lived north of Mt. Qilian in the city of Zhaowu" 舊居祁連山北昭武城,[14] as well as the Xuanquanzhi slip document's account that "from Zhaowu to Qilianzhi is sixty-one *li*,"—it likewise accords with Li Xian's geographical notes in the *Hou han shu*.

Qilianzhi is the same as Mt. Qilian 祁連山; although Yu Taishan has opined that "Qilian" in Han times referred to what is now Tianshan 天山,[15] such a proposition is not reliable; we can see from the slip that it is not Tianshan.

Thus on the basis of the foregoing, we can say that sources relevant to the origins of Zhaowu and the Nine Surnames of Zhaowu go back as far as the Xuanquan Han slip materials; it would be a bit overly conservative to abide scrupulously to the old reasoning that locates the earliest sources sometime in the Sui or early Tang. This gives us just a glimpse of how important the Xuanquanzhi materials from Dunhuang are.

I am certain that during the Xiongnu period, before the Western Han and the establishment of its four commanderies within the Hexi Corridor, there must have been a number of important people that traded at Dunhuang, establishing the Dunhuang of the Xiongnu period. The field of Dunhuang studies should seize the present moment to illuminate this Xiongnu period at Dunhuang, and more deeply study the nature and context of interactions there with foreign tribes and kingdoms. And it is also the case that the many new slip documents and other material from the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties can now provide us

13 *Jinshu jiaozhu*, 14C.17 (291); "Yitong zhi" 一統志, in *Hou Hanshu jijie* 後漢書集解, comp. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 23A.38 (1287).

14 "Kangguo zhuan" 康國傳, in Wei Zheng 魏徵, Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, *Suishu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 83.1848; Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Beishi* 北史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 85.3233; Wei Shou 魏收, *Weishu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 102.2281.

According to the Ershiwu shi biankan ren shou ben yinben 二十五史編刊館仁壽本印本 version, the last page of *lie zhuan* 列傳 no. 90 says that the Wei dynasty version of the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 was lost and the present [*Wei shu*] version is copied from the *Bei shi* version.

15 Yu Taishan 余太山, *Saizhongshi yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), 53–56.

with wealth of new relevant source materials. Such an embarrassment of treasures before us is something we absolutely cannot lightly neglect or ignore.

In regard to the Dunhuang region prior to the Sui and Tang, and the many tribes there that at times fought with China or made peace with it, at times revolting and at others surrendering, the *Jinshu* 晉書 also contains a number of records that deserve more careful examination. Here I would like to present a few examples of such passages from the *Jinshu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 (Annals of Emperor Wu) and "Huidi ji" 惠帝紀 (Annals of Emperor Hui), as a reference for researchers to consult:

1) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

> （泰始三年）夏四月戊午，張掖太守焦勝上言，氐池縣大柳谷口有玄石一所，白畫成文，實大晉之休祥，圖之以獻。詔以制幣告于太廟，藏之天府。
>
> In the *taishi* era, year three [267], day *wuwu* [fifty-five of sixty] in the fourth month, the governor of Zhangye, Jiao Sheng 焦勝 [fl. 267], made a report: In Dichi county, near the mouth of Daliu gorge 大柳谷, was found a mysterious dark stone, inscribed with white writing, which is indeed an auspicious sign for the great Jin. [Jiao Sheng] had it depicted so as to present [to the emperor]. An edict ordered that silk be made for it and that it be offered in the imperial temple and stored in the Temple of Heaven.[16]

This shows that the place name "Dichi" was already present in pre-Sui imperial histories, and the place it refers to must be in the vicinity of Zhangye, most likely coming under Zhangye's jurisdiction.

2) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

> （咸寧二年秋七月）鮮卑阿羅多等寇邊，西域戊己校尉馬循討之，斬首四千餘級，獲生九千餘人，於是來降。
>
> [276] The Xianbei, Aluoduo 阿羅多, and others were plundering the border regions. The Commandant of the Center, Ma Xun 馬循 punished them, beheading over four thousand of them, whereas over nine thousand were spared. Thereupon they surrendered.[17]

16 Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jin Shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974), v. 1, 55.

17 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.66.

This can demonstrate that in the Wei and Jin periods, there were Xianbei tribes at the western frontier.

3) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

> （咸寧三年）是歲，西北雜虜及鮮卑、匈奴、五溪蠻夷、東夷三國前後十餘輩，各帥種人部落內附。
>
> This same year [277], assorted Lu 虜 [tribes] from the northwest, Xianbei 鮮卑, Xiongnu, *yi*-foreigners from the five River Valleys, and the three kingdoms of eastern *yi*-foreigners arrived in more than ten chariot-teams; each led their own tribespeople to pay tribute [to the Jin].[18]

From this passage, we can see that there were a number of tribes and peoples in the western frontier region.

4) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

> （咸寧四年六月）涼州刺史楊欣與虜若羅拔能等戰于武威，敗績，死之。
>
> [278] The Regional Inspector of Liangzhou, Yang Xin 楊欣 waged war against the northern barbarian Ruoluobaneng and others at Wuwei. [Yang Xin] lost and died for it.[19]

5) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

> （咸寧）五年春正月虜帥樹機能攻陷涼州。乙丑，使討虜護軍武威太守馬隆擊之
>
> Year five [279], first month of spring, the northern barbarian general Shujineng attacked and seized Liangzhou. On the day of *yichou* (day two in the sexagenary cycle), the governor of Wuwei and general for protecting against the northern barbarians, Ma Long 馬隆 was sent to strike them.[20]

18 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.68. Note that the Song edition says "more than ten" chariots, whereas other editions say "more than a thousand."

19 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.69.

20 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.69.

6) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

（咸寧五年）冬十月戊寅，匈奴餘渠都督獨雍等帥部落歸化。

In winter, the tenth month [of 279], day of *wuyin* (fifteen in sexagenary cycle), the Xiongnu Commander in Chief of Yuqu 餘渠, Du Yong 獨雍 and others led their tribes to submit their allegiance [to Jin].[21]

7) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

（太康六年冬十月）龜茲、焉耆國遣子入侍。

In winter, the tenth month [of 285], the kingdoms of Kucha and Karasahr sent their sons to serve and support.[22]

8) *Jin shu* "Wudi ji" 武帝紀:

（泰康八年十二月）南夷扶南、西域康居國各遣使來獻。

[In 287], in the twelfth month, the foreign kingdoms of Funan to the south and Kangju in the western regions each sent envoys to pay tribute.[23]

9) *Jin shu* "Huidi ji" 惠帝紀:

（永平六年五月）匈奴郝散弟度元帥馮翊、北地馬蘭羌、盧水胡反，攻北地，太守張損死之……秋八月，雍州刺史解系又為度元所破。秦雍氐、羌悉叛，推氐帥齊萬年僭號稱帝，圍涇陽。

[In 296], in the fifth month, Hao Duyuan 郝度元 of the Xiongnu, younger brother of Hao San 郝散, led the Pingyi and Beidi Malan Qiang, and the Lushuihu in a revolt, attacking Beidi [commandery]. The governor, Zhang Sun 張損 died at their hands ...

... In the autumn, during the eight month, the Regional Inspector of Yongzhou, Jie Xi, was also attacked and subdued by Hao Duyuan. The Qin and Yong Di tribes and the Qiang all revolted, and appointed the Di

21 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.70.
22 *Jin shu*, v. 1, 3.76.
23 *Jin Shu*, v. 1, 3.78.

general Qi Wannian 齊萬年, who usurped the title of emperor and surrounded Jingyang 涇陽.[24]

Note that this passage can be compared to Pan Yue's 潘岳 [247–300] "Ma Qiandu lei" 馬汧督誄 (Eulogy for Supervisor Ma Dun), in the *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature).[25] The line "The Qin and Yong Di tribes and the Qiang all revolted, and appointed the Di general Qi Wannian, who usurped the title of emperor," suffices to demonstrate that from the Han all the way through the Wei and Jin periods, the Di and Qiang tribes had quite significant power. This can be verified also by the *Hou hanshu* biography of Liang Jin cited above, which recounts the facts of his repeated military struggles in the Dunhuang region. Moreover, *Dunhuang Xuanquan Hanjian shicui* 敦煌懸泉漢簡釋粹 (Explanations of exemplars from the Dunhuang Xuanquan Han slips) has some fifty-five relevant slip documents related to the various activities of the Qiang tribes in the Dunhuang region.[26]

For many years I have chaired the Hong Kong Institute of Dunhuang and Turfan Studies, where we have published Chronological Series Supplementing the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Governance* with historical materials. This has been one of our core projects, for which we have already published a number of volumes, each of which studies and arranges materials in chronological order, centered on the following source types and topics: slip document evidence from Wang Mang's Xin dynasty [9–23 CE]; Dunhuang wood slip documents; Dunhuang documents from the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties; excavated documents from the Qin dynasty; stone inscriptions from the Han and Wei dynasties; Gaochang documents excavated at Turfan; Juyan Han slips; and several other topics, each of which constitutes a title in the series.[27] In fact, these topics reflect quite plainly the points for which I have so consistently advocated:

1) Dunhuang studies should transcend the chronological bounds of the Sui and Tang periods, and so I wish to point out how essential it is that we carefully study the period from the Qin through the Wei, Jin, Northern, and Southern dynasties.

24 *Jin Shu*, v. 1, 4.94.

25 Pan Anren 潘安仁, "Ma Qiandu lei" 馬汧督誄, in *Wen xuan* 文選, comp. Xiao Tong 蕭統, comm. Li Shan 李善 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 57.2454–2464.

26 For more details see Chu Shibin 初世賓, "Xuanquan Hanjian Qiangren ziliao bushu" 懸泉漢簡羌人資料補述, *Chutu wenxian yanjiu* 出土文獻研究 6 (2004): 167–89.

27 Tr. note: for a complete list of these titles with Chinese and pinyin, see "Dunhuang studies and me," this volume, 35–6.

2) Dunhuang studies must also transcend its restrictive focus on the manuscript sources and visual arts discovered in the Dunhuang grottos, and thus I advocate the study of slip documents, stone inscriptions, and other sources.

Moreover, these two points should also be further integrated with one another. These aspects are just now awaiting the involvement of a number of scholars. This is precisely my hope for "Dunhuang studies," more broadly conceived.

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