

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE JADE-LIKE MODELS: A CASE STUDY OF A LITURGICAL
ANTHOLOGY FROM DUNHUANG

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

LING CHAN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2023

Table of Contents

List of Tables	iv
Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
1. The Study of Buddhist Liturgical Texts in the Dunhuang Manuscripts	2
2. The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i>	6
3. The Current Study	9
Chapter One: Defining the <i>Zhaiwanwen</i>	12
1. The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> Manuscripts	12
1.a P.2547	17
2. The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> Text	26
2.a The Preface	26
2.b Table of Contents	33
2.c The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> Text in P.2547	40
3. Conclusion	47
Chapter Two: The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> in Liturgical Anthologies	48
1. Structure and function of Buddhist <i>zhai</i> liturgies	48
2. The Manuscripts	55
2.a P.2867 and Φ342v	56
2.b P.3772, P.3541, and P.2991	66
2.c Outlying Examples	80
3. Conclusion	89
Chapter Three: Beyond Anthologies of Liturgical Models	91
1. Parallel Prose	91
2. The Opening Praise	92
2.a The Manuscripts	95
2.b Textual Variation	102
2.c Implications	106
2.d Mogao Cave 192 Inscription	109
3. P.2481r	114

3.a	The Nature of P.2481 and P.2481r	114
3.b	Observations	136
4.	Conclusion	141
	Conclusion	143
	Bibliography	146

List of Tables

Table 1.1 The <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> Table of Contents	33
Table 1.2 Contents of the P.2547 <i>Zhaiwanwen</i>	41
Table 2.1 S.2832(25) Transcription and Partial Translation.....	50
Table 2.2 Manuscripts Bearing Textual Overlap with the P.2547 <i>Zhaiwanwen</i>	55
Table 2.3 Comparison of P.2547, P.2867, and Φ342v	60
Table 2.4 The <i>District Magistrate</i> section in P.2867	62
Table 2.5 Comparison of P.2547 and P.2867, Part 2.....	64
Table 2.6 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 1	67
Table 2.7 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 2.....	68
Table 2.8 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 3.....	68
Table 2.9 Comparison of P.3541, P.3772, P.2547, and the <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> Table of Contents	70
Table 2.10 Comparison of P.2991v, P.2547, and P.3772	73
Table 2.11 <i>Three Months of Abstinence</i> in P.2547 and P.3772	76
Table 2.12 <i>Portrait Painting, Lamp-Lighting, Releasing of Animals</i> in P.3772	77
Table 2.13 <i>Making Offerings at the Grave</i> in P.2991v.....	79
Table 2.14 Content of Дх-1309 group fragments and correlation to other manuscripts	82
Table 2.15 Comparison of Дх-1309/1316 List with P.2867 and P.2547 partial section order.....	83
Table 2.16 Models seen in both D192 and <i>Zhaiwanwen</i> –affiliated manuscripts	86
Table 2.17 Comparison between versions of <i>District Defender</i>	87
Table 3.1 Manuscripts containing the <i>Opening Praise</i>	95
Table 3.2 Textual Variation in the <i>Opening Praise</i>	102
Table 3.3 Comparison between P.3772 and P.2481r <i>Buddhist Monks and Nuns</i>	123
Table 3.4 Comparison between P.3773 <i>Buddhist Monk</i> and P.2481r <i>Stealing</i>	126
Table 3.5 Textual Variation between P.2940 <i>Blessings</i> and P.2481r <i>Omens</i> Part 1.....	128
Table 3.6 Comparison between P.2940 <i>Blessings</i> and P.2481r <i>Omens</i> Part 2	132
Table 3.7 Comparison between P.2940 <i>Blessings</i> and P.2481r <i>Omens</i> Part 3	135

Abstract

The *Jade[-like Models for use in] Zhai Rituals* is an anthology of Buddhist liturgical models preserved in a group of eighth to tenth century manuscripts from the excavated Dunhuang corpus. This work, which contains a distinctive organization scheme and a comprehensive collection of modular components in a variety of themes, is significant to the current understanding of liturgies performed in the widespread *zhai* rituals in Middle Period China, a nebulous genre of texts which survive only rarely in transmitted material dating from this period. This dissertation aims to contextualize the *Jade-like Models* through combined codicological and textual analyses of this group of manuscripts, to paint a fuller picture of the production, circulation, and usage of liturgies, liturgical models, and model anthologies in Chinese manuscript culture.

The earliest extant *Jade-like Models* was likely compiled by a religious specialist affiliated with local authorities based in the Liangzhou region before the mid-eighth century. In the following two centuries, while versions of the work continued to circulate in the Dunhuang region with a consistent selection and arrangement, religious specialists were also actively recombining and editing models to produce specialized anthologies in more variable formats to suit different needs and preferences. These processes were possibly encouraged by the layers of modular structure inherent in liturgies and also the heavy focus of model anthologies on descriptive parallel prose, especially descriptions of individuals acting as donors or primary ritual subjects and depictions of desired ritual outcomes, over effective and functional elements crucial to performed liturgies. Instances of parallels discovered between the *Jade-like Models* and other established genres including administrative documents, commemorative texts, and court literature, indicate that Buddhist liturgies may have assimilated compositions created for

other purposes. These findings illustrate the fluidity of production and transmission of literary and religious knowledge in Middle Period China, and highlight the value of manuscripts as individual material and textual objects for fruitful investigation.

Acknowledgements

I must direct my thanks above all to my dissertation committee. To Paul Copp, my advisor, for his patient guidance through the years and for introducing me to the vast, fascinating world of Buddhist studies. To Donald Harper, whose astute observations whether in class or in paper comments always led to crucial materials or venues of research. Their work and support have been instrumental to my thinking on manuscript culture and religious practice. I am grateful for Imre Galambos for joining my committee on short notice and graciously lending his expertise to my project.

Of all the colleagues and peers who have helped and inspired me, I would like to thank especially H.S. Sum Cheuk Shing (Shum), for his faith in my abilities, encyclopedic knowledge, and for being game about random questions fired at strange times, no matter how trivial. I also thank Bruce Winkelmann for his enthusiastic support in conceptualizing arguments and all kinds of formatting. Both read numerous versions of drafts, and helped immensely in teasing structure and direction from a jumble of ideas, as well as vanquishing dreaded run-on sentences and pointless meanderings. Finally, discussions with Zhu Ronghu during our frequent chance encounters in the Reg never fail to stimulate my thoughts.

I thank the Gamma Alpha Graduate Co-operative for housing security and occasions to learn important life skills such as mending window screens, planting crops on the roof, and managing food and toilet paper logistics during a worldwide pandemic; and to past and present members of the House (as we like to call the place) for a diverse, supportive, and occasionally chaotic community. I will think fondly of the informal dinner parties and spontaneous conversations, scholarly and not, which often sprang up in the communal kitchen.

My special thanks to Abhishek Bhattacharya, for his forbearing friendship which made me a better person, and for the constant exchanges of ideas from the earliest formative stages of this dissertation project to its end, which made me a better scholar. To Kévin-Orly Irakóze, whose constantly refreshing perspectives, heavenly cooking skills, and extraordinary generosity of spirit nourished both my mind and my body; and Misha Appeltová, for reading my dissertation proposal and encouraging me to persevere with all the gravity of her professional expertise.

I am endlessly grateful to Anne Flannery of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) Museum and Karen Yu of the East Asian Collection at the University of Chicago Library for believing in my capabilities and extending to me opportunities to develop professional experience, skills, and connections in a new field in which I have little prior standing. I will always treasure their mentorship.

Outside of the immediate UChicago community, there is Larissa Fardelos, multi-talented artist and stalwart friend, and Gladys Chan, who strived to maintain our connection since we first met at around seven years old. Thank you for checking on me during long dark silences and for countless other instances of mutual support in times of hardship. May we all find a happy, fulfilling path in life.

Finally, I must dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Peter Chan Ping Kuen and Leung Ngan Ming, who have sacrificed much to give me the opportunities they never had, and supported me on my unfilial wanderings away from home.

Introduction

It is the custom of Tang China that whenever a feast is prepared, a separate amount of cash¹ is set aside in addition to the food. When the feast is about to end, according to the number of the assembly, this accompanying cash is divided equally and given to the monks. But to the person who composed the *zhaiwen* (text recited at the feast), additional money is added separately to the amount. If thirty cash is given to each of the monks, the person who composed the *zhaiwen* is given four hundred cash, and this is called “donation money.”²

唐國之風，每設齋時，飯食之外，別留料錢。當齋將竟，隨錢多少，僧眾僧數，等分與僧。但贈作齋文人，別增錢數。若於眾僧各與卅文，作齋文者與四百文，並呼道「餽錢」。³

So wrote the Japanese monk Ennin 円仁 (794-864 CE) in his diary after attending one of several *zhai* 齋 rituals during his travels in Tang China. We know from Ennin’s diaries and other contemporary sources that sponsored rituals including *zhai* play a significant role in both monastic and lay religious life in Middle Period China (fifth to eleventh century)⁴, and the piece to be recited at the ritual is clearly a component of special importance, given the extra amount of

¹ *Liaoqian* 料錢, money or material given in addition to customary payment, a term usually used for allowances allotted to government officials apart from their salary.

² *Chenqian* 餽錢, *chen* 餽 or 襯 is a shortening of *dachenna* 達嚩拏 or *dachen* 達嚩, a transliteration of *dakṣiṇā*, “donations to Buddhist monastics.”

³ Ennin 円仁 *Nittō guhō junreikōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 ed. Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenzue, 1992), 71; Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 ed., *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡禮行記の研究, (Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1964), 284-286. For an alternate English translation please see *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, trans. Edwin O. Reischauer (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1955), 56.

⁴ Otani Kosho 大谷光照, *Tōdai no Bukkyō girei* 唐代の佛教儀禮 (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1937), 47-64; Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏, *Shina chūsei bukkyō no tenkai* 支那中世仏教の展開, (Tokyo: Shimizu Shoten, 1947), 732-764; more recently Sylvie Hureau, “Buddhist Rituals” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)* ed. by John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1215–1254; Robert Ford Company, “Abstinence halls (*zhaitang* 齋堂) in lay households in early medieval China,” *Studies in Chinese Religions*, Vol. 1, No. 4(2015), 323–343.

cash its composer receives. Though we know that collections of such compositions circulated in the period,⁵ Buddhist *zhaiwen* and other associated ritual texts were neither established as a genre in Chinese high literature nor considered a part of the Buddhist canon, and were subsequently not preserved in the transmitted tradition before the eleventh century CE. Only a few isolated pieces are extant in encyclopedic or focused anthologies such as the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 or the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 due to the literary reputation or elevated social status of their authors or patrons.

1. The Study of Buddhist Liturgical Texts in the Dunhuang Manuscripts

Only with the rediscovery of the sealed Cave 17 at Dunhuang, which contained upwards of fifty thousand manuscripts sealed away since the eleventh century CE, have *zhaiwen* and associated ritual compositions from the Middle Period once again been made accessible for study. As a considerable proportion are preserved in the condition of their original production and use, including draft, composite, or heavily damaged or unfinished manuscripts, the unfamiliarity of these miscellaneous texts and their tendency towards structural and textual complexity led to an incomplete understanding of their nature. For instance, registration in modern catalogues of Dunhuang materials are often arbitrary, at times labeling the texts as epistolary models and examples of writing practice, or misleading, since they indiscriminately use titles attached by their copyists, which span a wide range of specificity.

⁵ For example, Saichō's 最澄 (767–822 CE) *Dengyō daishi shōrai daishū-roku* 傳教大師將來臺州錄 and Ennin's *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 both record multiple entries of *zhaiwen* 齋文 or *zhaiyi* 齋儀 which they obtained in China. See T 2159: 55.1056c17, T 2167: 55.1086c23–24.

What is clear, however, is that these compositions contain valuable information on a variety of subjects. Apart from documenting religious practice in the region of Dunhuang, they were frequently composed for occasions reflecting different social customs, and often reference historical institutions, figures, and events of Dunhuang regimes which are seldom detailed in official dynastic histories. Given their importance as source material and their unsystematized, disorganized status, it is unsurprising that early scholarly attention focusing on these materials was concentrated in two directions — efforts to produce usable critical editions of texts of particular interest⁶, and the definition and classification of the genre⁷.

The most representative cumulation of both approaches is the publication of Huang Zheng 黃征 and Wu Wei's 吳偉 *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集 in 1995. An ambitious collection of around six hundred collated entries in two volumes, Huang and Wu chose *yuan* 願, the prayer or vow element, as the preeminent defining feature of their selection and the entry point to understanding this body of material.⁸ Under this criterion, structural or stylistic features and occasional context remain secondary considerations and the *yuanwen ji* contains texts composed in very different formats and used in dissimilar circumstances. Huang and Wu's approach is opposed by Hao Chunwen 郝春文, an influential figure in the study of non-canonical Dunhuang manuscripts, who published two articles on the nature of these ritual

⁶ E.g., Wang Shuqing 王書慶, *Dunhuang foxue: foshi bian* 敦煌佛學. 佛事篇, (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995).

⁷ E.g., Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, "Tan fojiao de fayuan wen 談佛教的發願文," *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 4(1999): 477–87.

⁸ Huang Zheng 黃征 and Wu Wei 吳偉, eds. *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集. (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995), 1–5.

compositions also in the 1990s.⁹ Focusing mainly on emic labels seen in the manuscripts themselves, Hao believes that *zhaiwen* should be used as a genre label instead as it is better attested and more inclusive to the known material, and additionally makes the important observation that *zhaiwen* can be divided into models and practical texts. These discussions have not abated even in recent years,¹⁰ especially with the compounding issue of potential comparison with the corresponding but much better-established Japanese genre of *ganmon* 願文.¹¹

Wang San-ching 王三慶 is another major contributor to the description and clarification of complex *zhaiwen* and their availability for further study. Through the late 1990s and the 2000s, he conducted several studies on distinct subtypes¹² and large anthologies, the latter collected in the 2009 volume *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究.¹³ These studies are characterized by unprecedented scope, surveying Dunhuang manuscripts in different collections, and their meticulously produced full collations. In addition, Wang wrote extensively on the interactions and transformations of Buddhist and indigenous Chinese customs and practices in another collected volume, *Cong Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenxian kan fojiao yu*

⁹ Hao Chunwen 郝春文, “Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen ji qi yangshi de fenglei yu dingming” 敦煌寫本齋文及其樣式的分類與定名. *Beijing shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 北京師範學院學報(社會科學版), no. 3 (1990): 91–97; “Guanyu Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen de jige wenti 關於敦煌寫本齋文的幾個問題” *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 首都師範大學學報(社會科學版) no. 2 (1996): 64–71.

¹⁰ Huang Zheng, “An Overview of Yüan-Wen from Tun-Huang.” *Acta Asiatica* 105 (2013): 1–17.

¹¹ Kim Moonkyong 金文京. “Introduction: Towards Comparative Research on ‘Written Prayers’ (Yüan-Wen / Ganmon) in China and Japan.” *Acta Asiatica*, 105 (2013): iii–xiv.

¹² Eg. Wang San-ching 王三慶 and Wang Ya Yi 王雅儀, “Dunhuang wenxian yinshafowen de zhengli yanjiu 敦煌文獻印沙佛文的整理研究” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 26 (2005): 45–74.

¹³ Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng Print Co., 2009), 45-125.

Zhongguo minsu de ronghe 從敦煌齋願文獻看佛教與中國民俗的融合 based on these materials.¹⁴

In the last two decades, Western scholars have also turned their attention to *zhaiwen* or *yuanwen* in the Dunhuang corpus. Starting in the late 2000s, Stephen Teiser published the first dedicated studies of this material in English, which he terms “liturgies”. Primarily working with liturgies for healing, he penned a series of articles on the aforementioned broader issues and introduced two important new perspectives to the discussion of *zhaiwan* genre and function. The first is the focus on the performative aspect of liturgies and their ritual context, especially merit generation and direction, reflected in their linguistic and literary characteristics as central to their understanding and definition.¹⁵ The second is the recognition of the codicological features of the manuscripts containing texts of interest and the variance observed between versions as meaningful information to illustrate their production and circulation.¹⁶

Most recently, Yi Ding published a comprehensive history of the Buddhist *zhai* in China, surrounding practices, and the compositions performed at such rituals from the third to the tenth

¹⁴ Wang San-ching, *Cong Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenxian kan fojiao yu Zhongguo minsu de ronghe* 從敦煌齋願文獻看佛教與中國民俗的融合 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng, 2009).

¹⁵ Stephen Teiser, “Lun zhaiwen de biao-xianxing 論齋文的表演性” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, no. 10 (2007): 295–308; “Ornamenting the Departed: Notes on the Language of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Texts.” *Asia Major* 22, no. 1 (2009): 201–237; “The Literary Style of Dunhuang Healing Liturgies” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, no. 14 (2014): 355–378; “Curing with Karma and Confession: Two Short Liturgies from Dunhuang” from *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources* ed. by C. Pierce Salguero, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017), 322–335.

¹⁶ Stephen Teiser, “A Codicological Study of Liturgical Manuscripts from Dunhuang” in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. By Irina Popova and Liu Yi (St Petersburg: Slavia, 2012), 251–56.; “The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism” in *Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen: Nichieibun bunsatsu* 高田時雄教授退職記念: 日英文分冊, (Kyoto: Rinsen Book, 2014), 416–437.

centuries, including the most substantial investigation seen so far into their Indian origins and contemporary material preserved in Japan in two articles in 2019 and 2021.¹⁷

With the considerable expansion of general understanding into Buddhist liturgical texts in the Dunhuang corpus and available methodologies to analyze them, I believe this is a good time to revisit one of the more important liturgical works and its associated group of manuscripts in a detailed case study. Even with more than three decades of consistent discussion of this material, there is still a lack of contextualization of individual *zhaiwen* or *zhaiwen* anthologies as functional documents, their specific processes of production and circulation, and the space they inhabited in the religious and literary culture of Dunhuang and the wider Sinosphere in the Middle Period.

2. The *Zhaiwanwen*

The particular work I am interested in is an anthology of Buddhist liturgical models known as the *Zhaiwanwen* 齋琬文 (*Jade[-like Models for use in] Zhai Rituals*). I chose this work firstly because it contains several distinctive elements which give a unique perspective into the understanding of Buddhist liturgies and their assemblage and organization into anthologies.

For instance, the use of the character *wan* 琬 (“jade; jade-like”) in the title is unusually stylized. Extant manuscripts bearing liturgical texts seldom have overarching titles, likely due to their commonly damaged condition and their status as informal personal productions, and the rare occurrences tend to be generic and functional such as *Zhuzhawen* 諸雜文 (*Various*

¹⁷ Yi Ding, “The Transformation of Poṣadha/Zhai in Early Medieval China (Third-Sixth Centuries CE).” *Buddhist Studies Review* 36, no. 1 (2019): 71–98; “Ornamenting Liturgies—Scripts for a Zhai Feast and Their Liturgical Context (6th–10th Centuries).” *Tang Studies* 39 (2021): 41–67.

Miscellaneous Texts) seen in S.5638. Evidently curious enough to prompt discussion in the anthology's first appearance in a scholarly work — Naba Toshisada 那波利貞 remarked in his 1939 essay that the literal meaning of *wan* as fine jade shaped into a ritual implement may represent the selective, exemplary quality of the collected texts, while the extended metaphor of *wan* as stelae for inscriptions could convey hope of their unending transmission to future generations.¹⁸ Other opinions on the title have arisen over the years, including interpretations of *wan* as a phonetic loan of *wan* 惋 (“regret; mourning”)¹⁹, *yuan* 願 (“vow; wish”), or *yuan* 苑 (“garden”, as in *fayuan* 法苑, the Garden of the Dharma),²⁰ none of which have gained widespread acceptance. Regardless of the exact intended meaning, it is clear that the *Zhaiwanwen* title is meant to convey a certain quality to the anthology and points to it being a more formal, cohesive work than most surviving examples of *zhaiwen* anthologies.

Indeed, the second distinctive element is the presence of a lengthy preface which is closely associated with the title in extant versions, which also suggests a definite identity to the work. This preface is a rare statement by a contemporary religious specialist on the use of Buddhist liturgies and editorial intent in the compilation of an anthology, and describes the *Zhaiwanwen* as a comprehensive collection with material suitable for all imaginable occasions. A table of contents with chapters and listed sections follows, showing an organization and classifying scheme which, true to the claims of the preface, includes a large variety of themes.

¹⁸ Naba Toshisada 那波利貞. “Bukkyō shinkō no motozukite soshiki seraretaru chūban Tō-Godai jidai no shayū ni tsukite (jō)” 佛教信仰に基づきて組織せられたる中晩唐五代時代の社邑に就きて (上). *Shirin* 史林 24, no. 3 (1939): 546–547.

¹⁹ Huang Zheng and Wu Wei, *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 4.

²⁰ Jao Tsung-i, “Tan fojiao de fayuanwen”, 486.

Clearly, these two features are immensely useful in clarifying the nebulous genre of liturgical texts found in the Dunhuang corpus as well as illustrating the scope of their applicability.

This brings us to the second factor for focusing on the *Zhaiwanwen* — due to these unique features, the *Zhaiwanwen* has attracted considerable scholarly attention which led to the work's substantial role in the general understanding of *zhaiwen* among scholars utilizing Dunhuang manuscripts as source material. The *Zhaiwanwen* and its table of contents is often considered representative of the genre and the practices and customs reflected in its collected texts, for instance in the introduction to the *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*²¹ and Zhanru's 湛如 study of Vinaya and ritual regulations in Dunhuang Buddhism.²²

Given this recognition of the *Zhaiwanwen*'s importance, it is unsurprising that the work has been subject to a series of studies focused on collating a critical edition from incomplete and fragmented manuscripts found in the Dunhuang corpus. Early attempts include Chen Zuo-long's 陳祚龍 1975 article²³ and the corresponding entry in the *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*²⁴, both of which makes use of only two manuscripts. Two later projects surveyed manuscripts on a much larger scale and consulted upwards of ten different documents, which resulted in a longer and much more complex text. Unfortunately, the first project, a collaboration between Paul Magnin and Zhang Guangda 張廣達, never produced a complete final collation, though the two scholars individually published progress reports listing the identified manuscripts, preliminary thoughts on the *Zhaiwanwen* and its significance, and even a partial but heavily annotated translation into

²¹ Huang and Wu, *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 4–5.

²² Zhanru 湛如, *Dunhuang fojiao liyi zhidu yanjiu* 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 306–311.

²³ Chen Zuo-long 陳祚龍. *Dunhuang Xuehai Tanzhu* Volume 2. 敦煌學海探珠(下). (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 臺灣商務印書館, 1979), 322–332.

²⁴ Huang and Wu, *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 66–72.

French on Magnin's part in the late 1990s.²⁵ The second project is one of the series conducted by Wang San-ching on Dunhuang liturgical anthologies and collected as the second chapter in the *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*²⁶, with a 2012 addendum due to the discovery of more manuscripts containing relevant material.²⁷ The Wang project remains the only fully transcribed and collated version of the *Zhaiwanwen* and the most detailed study of the work.

3. The Current Study

In the current study, I primarily build upon the previous identification and reading of affiliated manuscripts by Wang San-ching in combination with the focus on codicological data and textual variance introduced by Teiser, in order to paint the fullest picture possible of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

The first chapter introduces five manuscripts bearing the three distinctive elements — the title, the preface, and the table of contents, and investigates what clues their textual content, variations, and codicological features can provide about the production of these manuscripts and the provenance and nature of the *Zhaiwanwen* anthology. Particular attention will be given to P.2547 whose potential retaining of substantial portions of a full *Zhaiwanwen* copy made it the

²⁵ Paul Magnin, "Donateurs et joueurs en l'honneur de Buddha" in *De Dunhuang au Japon: Etudes chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soymié*, edited by Jean Pierre Drège, (Genève: Droz, 1996), 103–138; "Genju P.2547 hao xieben dui Zhaiwanwen de fuyuan he duandai 根據 P.2547 號寫本對齋琬文的復原和斷代" *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no. 2 (1999): 50–55; Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "'Tianfo' yu 'Tanzhai': Guanyu Dunhuang wenshu zhong de Zhaiwanwen de ji ge wenti '嘆佛' 與 '嘆齋': 關於敦煌文書中的齋琬文的幾個問題" in *Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huadan lunwenji* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授九十華誕論文集, edited by Tian Yuqing 田餘慶, (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), 60–73.

²⁶ Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 45–125.

²⁷ Wang San-ching, "Zhaiwanwen yijuan de zai yanjiu yu bujiao 齋琬文一卷的再研究與補校" *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 29 (2012): 1–15.

backbone of reconstruction efforts and thus central to current understanding of the text, especially its structural complexity and the discrepancy of its surviving models with the table of contents.

The second chapter revisits seven other manuscripts of liturgical anthologies from Dunhuang identified as containing material corresponding to known *Zhaiwanwen* copies. Primarily used in the previous studies of Magnin, Zhang, and Wang to fill in the damaged gaps in the P.2547 text, their different degrees of overlap and conformity with the manuscripts discussed in Chapter One have resulted in issues of interpretation in producing a singular critical edition of the *Zhaiwanwen*. In the current study, I will describe the collection and arrangement of models in each manuscript in combination with their codicological features, in order to investigate the probable relationship between anthologies and the processes of transmission and individual choice involved in their production. Through examining the language and the composition in the different formats of these *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models, I also aim to illustrate the selection focus of modular liturgical anthologies and how they likely functioned as manuals aiding religious specialist in constructing full liturgies for actual use in performing *zhai* rituals.

The final chapter focuses on two occurrences of a *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated model circulating beyond modular liturgical anthologies. The first involves the only model introductory passage known to be used in fully assembled compositions, as seen in four manuscripts and a Mogao cave inscription. The second case focuses on two subsections of the *Zhaiwanwen* comprising of different liturgical components which see heavy parallels in another anthology in the Dunhuang corpus that was likely administrative or legal in nature. In both cases, I will discuss the textual variations between versions, the different physical and textual media carrying

the passages, and their connections with other material both in the Dunhuang corpus and the transmitted tradition. Through this discussion, I will reflect on the probable origins and applications of Buddhist liturgical models, and their position in the wider literary culture of Middle Period China.

Chapter One: Defining the *Zhaiwanwen*

What is the *Zhaiwanwen* 齋琬文? As mentioned briefly in the Introduction, *zhaiwan* 齋琬 or *Jade(-like Models for use in) Zhai Rituals* is a stylized title of an anthology of Buddhist liturgical models associated with a unique preface which is a rare statement of an individual's editorial intent in compiling *zhai* liturgies, and a table of contents which reveals contemporary modes of classifying and organizing the texts in question.

In this first chapter, manuscripts from the Dunhuang corpus that contain these interesting components to different extents will be introduced in order to give an understanding of extant *Zhaiwanwen*, with a particular focus on P.2547 which is the most complete and complex surviving manuscript. Both codicological and textual characteristics of these manuscripts will be examined in detail in order to develop a comprehensive picture of the probable historical context behind the compilation, use, and circulation of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

1. The *Zhaiwanwen* Manuscripts

Of the four manuscripts which bear the *zhaiwan/zhaiwanwen* title, P.2940 has been understood to be the most important, as it preserves the largest portion of the text. On account of this, the P.2940 copy has, until recently, been regarded as the base text.¹ Furthermore, its unique title, “the *Zhaiwanwen* in one volume with preface” (*Zhaiwanwen yijuan bing xu* 齋琬文一卷並

¹ E.g., in Chen Zuolong 陳祚龍, “Xinjiao chongding ‘Zhaiwanwen’ 新校重訂‘齋琬文’” in *Dunhuang xuehai tanzhu volume 2*. 敦煌學海探珠 (下) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1979), 322–332 and Huang Zheng 黃征, and Wu Wei 吳偉, eds. *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995), 66–72.

序), is still taken as the common name of this anthology in all major studies.² It is the only text on the recto of the manuscript, a relatively short scroll consisting of only four sheets of paper, with a fifth sheet cut away uncleanly leaving just a sliver still attached. Copied for eighty columns in total, the preface (in twenty-one columns), the table of contents (listing ten chapters in ten columns), and the first chapter (in thirty-one columns), are included in full, while the second chapter (in the twenty-two columns remaining), was abandoned two characters into copying the fourth and final subsection, a few columns into the fourth sheet of paper.

The *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang* (hereafter *Catalogue*) states that the manuscript is ruled from columns 18–80,³ but this is very difficult to discern from the photographic reproduction. Regardless, the handwriting is neat and regular and follows straight columns with few observable corrections. Care is evident in the copying and the manuscript, which seems to have been made or adapted to copy the *Zhaiwanwen* text, a feature that makes it unique among the four manuscripts introduced in this section. Unfortunately, there are no obvious clues to the date of P.2940, including the few paragraphs of exposition of Buddhist terms on the verso which were written in a different hand. The dimensions of the four sheets (27 to 27.8 × 41.5 to 42.4 cm) and irregular quality of the paste in the paper tentatively points to the

² Most notably Zhang Guangda 張廣達. “‘Tanfo’ yu ‘Tanzhai’: Guanyu Dunhuang wenshu zhong de zhaiwanwen de ji ge wenti ‘嘆佛’ 與 ‘嘆齋’: 關於敦煌文書中的《齋琬文》的幾個問題” in *Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huadan lunwenji* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授九十華誕論文集, edited by Tian Yuqing 田餘慶 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei Education Press, 1997), 60–73 and Wang San-ching 王三慶, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng Print Co, 2009), 45–125; “Zhaiwanwen yijuan de zai yanjiu yu bujiao 《齋琬文》一卷的再研究與補校” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 29 (2012): 1–15.

³ Accessed through “Pelliot chinois 2940,” the International Dunhuang Project. http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=31706144914;recnum=60148;index=5

Guiyijun period (mid-ninth to tenth century CE), but without corroborating evidence it is difficult to be certain.⁴

In the three remaining manuscripts, the text under discussion is titled the *Zhaiwan yijuan bing xu* 齋琬一卷並序 (*Zhaiwan* in one volume with preface) without the character “text” (*wen* 文) and only consists of a few columns of the preface. The least complex occurrence of the three is in BD14111, a mid-sized scroll consisting of thirty sheets of paper originally used for a non-canonical version of the *Sifenlü biqiu hanzhu jieben* 四分律比丘含注戒本 (*Bhikṣuprātimokṣa of the Dharmaguptakavinaya with Commentary*) and its attached preface by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667 CE). The *Zhaiwan*, as the sole text copied on the verso, does not start at either end of the scroll but from one of the internal edges where individual sheets are pasted together, and is abandoned mid-column near the end of that sheet.⁵ A false start can be seen at the preceding edge where only the title is copied. The text is again unruled while the writing is passably neat with a few visible corrections. The *Catalogue of Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Chinese National Library* describes the *Zhaiwan* text of BD14111 as ninth or tenth century reuse of an eighth or ninth century scroll.⁶

The third manuscript, P.2104, is also a mid-sized scroll consisting of 28 sheets. The recto text is a copy of a *Shidi yishu* 十地義疏 (*Commentary on the Daśabhūmikāsūtra-śāstra*) which has an informative colophon giving a mid-sixth century date of compilation. More relevant to our study is another rougher colophon following it which was written while “copying sutras in

⁴ Jean-Pierre Drège, “Dunhuang papers: preliminary morphological analysis of dated Chinese manuscripts,” in *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*, ed. Susan Whitfield (London: The British Library, 2002), 134.

⁵ Which edges exactly is difficult to tell with 100% certainty from reproductions.

⁶ Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed. *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書, (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005), 3.

the Zhai family” and mentioned a date in a *gengchen* 庚辰 year, which is confirmed by writing exercises in the same hand on the start of the verso as the fifth year of *Taiping Xinguo* period 太平興國五年歲次庚辰 (980 CE). The five columns of the *Zhaiwan* in this manuscript appears as the third in a group of texts that appears to the left of the writing exercises, presumably copied around or after 980 CE, which makes it our only text with a clearer if not definite date.

This large group of texts on the verso (P.2104v2–13) looks to be all written in one other hand, and includes various spells, chan poetry, a visualization technique, as well as a few pieces of liturgical prose. The neatness of the writing varies through the group, with ruling lines appearing starting with the *Zhaiwan* text. Interestingly, all texts except the *Zhaiwan* and an incomplete praise of a monk are heavily marked with characteristic section marks, separation marks, and corrections in red ink. The group seems to be a personal collection of practical texts, and the few lines of the *Zhaiwan* preface preserved here, abandoned mid-column for whatever reason like our other examples, may not be as directly applicable as the neighbouring material and are therefore less annotated.

The last manuscript P.2178 is a scroll consisting of 16 pages, with the last page trimmed to half of the size of others. The recto text is one volume of a general commentary on the (possibly Sarvāstīvādin) Vinaya of unknown provenance.⁷ Ruled like the recto, the verso starts with a copy of the *Consecration Sutra*, followed by twenty-five copies of the same lamp-lighting liturgy with variations, a *Commentary on the Heart Sutra* by Zhishen 智詵 (609–702 CE), and finally the sixteenth chapter of the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sutra*. Several of the verso texts are unfinished, often switching to the following text after a last column is completely filled. The last

⁷ “Pelliot chinois 2178,” the International Dunhuang Project.
http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=31690253214;recnum=59244;index=7

text is intercepted by six columns of the *Zhaiwan* written in the opposite direction starting from the final sheet of the scroll, both in the same hand according to the *Catalogue*.⁸ The entire scroll is damaged by fire and grease, most likely inflicted when the scroll was stored rolled up, while writing exercises and notes in various hands not directly related to the columned texts are seen throughout the recto and the verso. As complex and heavily used this manuscript apparently was, it also contains no obvious clues to the copying date for its various components, except that the verso texts (including the *Zhaiwan*) are unlikely to be earlier than eighth century based on *Zhishen's Commentary*.

As we can see above, information about the *Zhaiwanwen/Zhaiwan* extracted from the four manuscripts bearing the title is important to understanding aspects of its circulation but remains limited. For instance, the text is unsurprising associated with various types of Buddhist material, through the access of individual copyists to already produced scrolls of exegesis and Vinaya commentary, and its inclusion in a personal collection of a variety of spells and other useful writings. We also know that the *Zhaiwan* was still circulating as a distinct work as late as the end of the tenth century through P.2104, though it is unknown if this extends to text beyond the first two chapters or even just the preface, as all of the discussed manuscripts above preserve only a tiny portion of the entire work considering the extent of the table of contents seen in P.2940.

Fortunately, one more manuscript, P.2547, has been discovered that, though it is missing its title due to damage, contains three half-columns of the preface and five half-columns of the table of contents directly corresponding to their counterparts in P.2940, identifying it as

⁸ Ibid. Unclear from reproductions which was written first, the drawn upper margin of the verso disappears a few columns before the *Zhaiwen* columns.

including a copy of the *Zhaiwanwen*. Although the manuscript is fragmented, with large portions missing from the middle, the copy potentially covers segments through the full ten chapters, which significantly expands the volume of extant *Zhaiwanwen* text and provides a clearer framework of the entire work. P.2547 is thus crucial to any study of the *Zhaiwanwen*, and the two major reconstruction efforts, one by Zhang Guangda and Paul Magnin,⁹ and another by Wang San-ching¹⁰ both regard the P.2547 text as the base or master copy, interpretations that have in turn heavily influenced our current understanding of the *Zhaiwanwen*. In the following sections, we will examine the structure and contents of P.2547 in detail.

1.a P.2547

1.a.i *Structural Complexity*

In its current form, P.2547 is a manuscript consisting of twenty-seven pages bound with string to a wooden stick. Its pages are heavily fragmented, with severe damage leading from the outside edges of the pages to the point that none retain their original lengths; all are mounted on supporting sheets of modern paper for conservation purposes. Better preserved around its center fold, the pages measure approximately 27.8 cm in height. One additional page, catalogued as P.4072(2), was identified as detached from the end of P.2547. All pages are thick, good quality mulberry paper, neatly ruled throughout into columns close to 2 cm, with at least three texts

⁹ Paul Magnin, “Genju P.2547 hao xieben dui Zhaiwanwen de fuyuan he duandai 根據 P.2547 號寫本對《齋琬文》的復原和斷代”, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no. 2 (1999): 50–55 and “Donateurs et joueurs en l’honneur de Buddha” in *De Dunhuang au Japon: Etudes chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soymié*, edited by Jean Pierre Drège (Genève: Droz, 1996), 103–138; Zhang Guangda 張廣達. “‘Tanfo’ yu ‘Tanzhai’: Guanyu Dunhuang wenshu zhong de zhaiwanwen de ji ge wenti.”

¹⁰ Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhayuan wenben yanjiu*; “*Zhaiwanwen yijuan de zai yanjiu yu bujiao.*”

copied in the same tidy hand, the first of which is clearly punctuated and corrected throughout with red ink. Edges where sheets of paper were pasted together are visible on many of the pages, indicating that it was originally a scroll and later transformed into its current bound form. As its binding method is highly unusual, its structural complexity and fragile condition requiring special consideration, P.2547 became the subject of an investigative conservation project instigated by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, where it is housed. Reports of the project, penned by Françoise Cuisance,¹¹ on which the following descriptions of the manuscript greatly rely, detail the layers of processing P.2547 has undergone and provides valuable insight into the context and use of the manuscript.

Sometime after the construction of the original scroll, P.2547 was cut into at least fifteen leaves with no apparent regard to the dimensions of the paper sheets, as can be seen from the different positions of joining edges on each leaf. These leaves are then folded inwards in half making pages. Strips of paper, measuring around 27.8×5 cm to fit the height of the leaves, were cut from a second manuscript and pasted to the back of the fold of the leaves, forming guards to extend the area of the collected folds. The guard manuscript is made of mulberry similar to the original scroll but seems to be relatively soft.¹² Fragmented writing from it can be read from several places on the back of the leaves, notably the phrase “Register from the sixth year of the *Tianbao* era” (*Tianbao liuzai ji* 天寶六載籍) on the verso of sheet 14, which is repeated on the verso of sheet 3 along with mentions of the Dunhuang Commandery (*Dunhuang jun* 燉煌郡) and

¹¹ Cuisance, Françoise. “Manuscript 2547 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Chinese Pelliot Collection (Study and Restoration Project)” *Manuscripta orientalia* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 62–70; “Undoing Old and Doing New Conservation on Pelliot Chinois 2547 and 2490” *IDP News* No. 33 (Spring 2009): 4–7.

¹² Cuisance, “Manuscript 2547”, 65.

Dunhuang District (*Dunhuang xian* 燉煌縣). Several occurrences of an official district seal (縣之印), likely that of Dunhuang District, are also visible, indicating that it was originally a land registry or cadastre of the Dunhuang area compiled in 747 CE.¹³

Following the attachment of the guards, the leaves were stacked and the guarded edges sandwiched inside a split tamarisk branch of 32.6 cm long, which was covered in a red lacquer-like substance. The entire manuscript was finished by stitching the folded leaves to the branch with two types of thread at both ends and the center, which also stiffens it so that it is unlikely to be comfortably rolled around the branch. The result is a unique format which is not otherwise attested in surviving manuscripts, and it may have been an early experiment on the path to increased portability, which led to the appearance of the similarly bound codex form in the ninth century.¹⁴

Scientific examination of the tamarisk branch points to a local origin in or near the Taklamakan desert, and a short interval between its detachment from the tree to being used to contain the manuscript, with radiocarbon analysis dating it to between 662-781 CE.¹⁵ These characteristics and the nature of the guard manuscript suggest that the secondary process of transforming P.2547 from a scroll to a bound form took place in the Dunhuang region around 747-781 CE. Cuisance speculates this date may even be narrowed to after the mid-760s, as local

¹³ This same cadastre apparently survives in P.2593v, P.3354v, and S.3907.

¹⁴ For codices in the Dunhuang manuscripts see Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang", in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang*, edited by Michel Soymié (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 17–28 and Imre Galambos, *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 32–66. We will meet several examples in Chapter Three.

¹⁵ Richardin, Pascale, Françoise Cuisance, Nathalie Buisson, Victoria Asensi-Amoros, and Catherine Lavier. "AMS Radiocarbon Dating and Scientific Examination of High Historical Value Manuscripts: Application to Two Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, no. 4 (2010): 398–403.

administrative documents such as cadastres should be kept for at least fifteen years, and the advancement of Tibetan forces in the Hexi region and forced the relocation of the Area Administrative offices to Dunhuang in 766 CE.¹⁶

The use and repair of P.2547 continued to leave traces after its transformation from a scroll. Pieces of thicker, homogenous mulberry paper, recycled from various other administrative manuscripts, were pasted to the blank backs of the assembled leaves including over the reachable portions of the guards, apparently to reinforce the pages. According to Cuisance, the first modern descriptions of P.2547 described the first and last pages as being almost entirely covered by these pieces of backing paper, and this process renders the entire manuscript extremely inflexible to further folding or rolling.¹⁷

Fragments of this backing paper with writing were removed by the first modern conservation attempt in 1954; their original positions were not recorded, and some are currently separately preserved as P.2547 pièces 1–10. Many of these pieces contain interesting clues to the context of their original production. For example, pièce 2, which has a partial date likely referring to 741 CE,¹⁸ mentions a former Military Commissioner of the Hanhai Garrison¹⁹ (*qian Hanhai jun jinglueshi* 前瀚海軍經略使), and is covered with seals from the Bureau of Merit Titles,²⁰ may have been a patent of office conveying rank advancement. Similarly, Cuisance

¹⁶ Cuisance, “Manuscript 2547”, 69; Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures*, 37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ [?]元廿九年正月廿八日, most probably Kaiyuan 開元 for having at least twenty-nine years to the reign.

¹⁹ The Hanhai Garrison of the 8th century CE is the central force of the Beiting Protectorate and stationed near modern Beshbalik. Administrative documents concerning this garrison is both preserved in the Dunhuang corpus and excavated from Turfan sites. See Sun Jimin 孫繼民, *Tangdai Hanhaijun wenshu yanjiu* 唐代瀚海軍文書研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 2002) for a study of related manuscripts.

²⁰ 尚書司勳 [告身之印]

identified three fragments of an ordination certificate among the backing, which was filled in between 756 and 758 CE and stamped with Office of Sacrifices at the Department of State Affairs.²¹ As ordination certificates needed to be returned via local government after the death or defrocking of the individual they belonged to, Cuisance believes the backing paper of P.2547 was likely applied after Dunhuang was cut off from the Chinese heartlands in 776 CE.

In addition to the application of backing paper, the original guard of the first leaf was also replaced without removing the stitches.²² This new guard was cut from yet another manuscript made of thick hemp or flax paper.²³ Although in a fragile condition like the rest of the manuscript with only two readable columns, the text described by the *Catalogue* as a “fragment d'un texte bouddhique” and Cuisance as Buddhist exegesis can be identified as Tankuang’s 曇曠 *Dacheng baifa mingmen lun kaizong yiji* 大乘百法明門論開宗義記 (*Commentary on the Treatise of the Illuminating Gates to the Hundred Dharmas of the Mahayana*). According to the *Commentary*’s preface as seen in other manuscripts, it was composed in Dunhuang after Tankuang’s return to the Hexi area between 755 and 762 CE, but before 774 CE when he compiled further annotations to it.²⁴ The *Commentary* seems to have been immensely popular in the region with around fifty copies from the eighth to tenth centuries extant in the Dunhuang corpus.²⁵ It is unclear when exactly this replacement of the guard took place or if it was done in

²¹ Cuisance, “Manuscript 2547,” 69; this may or may not include pièce 3. It is difficult to tell from reproductions and I have not been able to find the fragments which completely correspond to her description of this certificate among the other pieces.

²² Cuisance, “Manuscript 2547,” 65.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, “Donkō to Tonkō no bukkyōgaku 曇曠と敦煌の仏教学”, *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報, no. 35 (1964): 150.

²⁵ Wang Zhaoguo 王招國 and Wang Xue 王雪, “Dunhuang ben ‘Dacheng baifamingmenlun kaizong yiji canjuan zhuihe yanjiu 敦煌本《大乘百法明門論開宗義記》殘卷綴合研究” *Tushuguan zazhi* 圖書館雜誌, no. 8 (2021), 116–122.

conjunction with any other repair effort, but the nature of the manuscript again suggests a late eighth century and local hand.

In summary, P.2547 underwent a series of transformations and repair which was undertaken in the Dunhuang area and concentrated during the late eighth century. These processes were likely necessary due to constant demands of use. The incorporation of what amounts to various relatively recent administrative records in this process points to close affiliation with the local seat of the Chinese government, or alternatively proximity and access to such records in the aftermath of the Tibetan takeover of 787 CE.

1.a.ii Textual Complexity and Further Context in P.3535

Apart from the *Zhaiwanwen*, which is clearly identifiable by the preface and table of contents on the first sheet, P.2547 also contains two other texts. The first to be recognized occurs in the four columns of text on the last sheet of P.2547 and extends through the later identified single page of P.4072(2). A fuller but still incomplete version of this text can be found on another manuscript, P.3535, where it bears the lengthy title of *Da Tang Kaiyuan shiliunian qiye sari chi wei Dahui chanshi jianbei yu ta suoshe zhaizan yuanwen* 大唐開元十六年七月卅日敕為大惠禪師建碑於塔所設齋讚願文 (*Prayers for the Feast [Celebrating] the Construction of a Stele at the Stupa of Chan Master Dahui by Imperial Decree on the Thirtieth Day of the Seventh Month of the Sixteenth year of the Kaiyuan Era of the Great Tang*).²⁶ Dahui is an alternate writing of the posthumous title of the eminent monk Yixing 一行 (687-727 CE), and the *Prayer*

²⁶ See Wang Zhaoguo 王招國. “Dunhuang yishu suojian Daoyin ‘Shezhai zanyuanwen’ jiqi yanjiu jiazhi 敦煌遺書所見道氤《設齋贊願文》及其研究價值,” *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 華東師範大學學報：哲學社會科學版, no. 1 (2016): 39–44 for an updated transcription and study of this text.

was composed by his contemporary Daoyin 道氤 (668–740 CE) during rites conducted at the site of his stupa near Chang’an in 728 CE, as commanded by their patron the Emperor Xuanzong. This episode is recorded in the Daoyin’s entry in the *Sung gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks Composed in the Sung*), where it was also said that the Grand Chancellor and famed literatus Zhang Yue 張說 grasped Daoyin’s hand after the ceremony and proclaimed his own fortune in obtaining a transcription of the ritual composition (very likely this very *Prayer*) in his casket²⁷, which subsequently became popular through the realm through this recognition of its excellence.²⁸

The second non-*Zhaiwanwen* text is slightly more ambiguous. Comprising ten columns of text in sheet 14 of P.2547, the *Catalogue* did not identify it as a separate text but regards it as the final section of the preserved *Zhaiwanwen*. Though Wang San-ching’s study does not consider it original to the *Zhaiwanwen*, he attached its transcription to his critical reconstruction and other scholars of Dunhuang manuscripts still occasionally consider it a part of the *Zhaiwanwen*.²⁹

Interestingly, like the *Vow* discussed above, a more complete version of this second text can also be found in P.3535, where it appears as a relatively long, multi-paragraph piece under the label “Military Commander” or “Head of Garrison” (*junshi* 軍使).³⁰ Its contents reveal it to be a ceremonial text celebrating a high-level military officer being sent from the capital to take up office on the western frontiers of the empire. The *junshi* text is followed by a series of shorter

²⁷ *Qiesi* 篋笥, a woven container usually used for documents or clothing.

²⁸ Zanning 贊寧, *Sung gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 98.

²⁹ For example, Wang Zhaoguo in “Daoyin ‘Shezhai zanyuanwen’”, 39–40.

³⁰ This title, which indicates direct command of an army/garrison unit, is heavily associated with Military Commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使) in the Tang.

descriptive pieces labeled with locations in the Hexi region, including the seat of the Prefectural and Area Administration at Liangzhou (*Liangfu* 涼府) and Dunhuang itself, each ending with praise of the benevolent influence of the emperor or “the Great Tang.” This entire section was evidently compiled for use before the Hexi region fell out of Chinese control in the mid-eight century.

The labeled short geographical passages have very similar content structures and read like interchangeable modules for attaching to the main *junshi* text depending on where the officer in question was appointed. The note “and so forth” (*yunyun* 云云) written after several paragraph components in *junshi* also indicates its probable function as a composition model. Additionally, though very little distinct ritual language common in later *zhai* texts is used and both Confucius and Laozi are briefly invoked in the introductory opening passage, the overwhelming and lengthy praise given to the Buddha suggests that it was meant for use in a Buddhist-aligned ritual like the *Zhaiwanwen* models, which explains its similarity with the latter text.

In summary, the three texts present on P.2547 align in function and nature; they can all be considered models or references for the composition of Buddhist liturgies, which also corresponds with the physical reconstruction and reinforcement of the manuscript indicating regular consultation and use. Further insight may perhaps be gained by a closer examination of P.3535, which apart from being the only other known manuscript to contain the *Prayer* or the *junshi* text, also exhibits production and copying styles visibly alike to P.2547. For instance, the paper sheets used in P.3535 also measure around 27 cm in height and are ruled neatly into columns of 1.6 cm in width, and the writing is similar in style and its small and tidy execution, leaving ample space before and behind in-column section labels. Both manuscripts look to be produced with a comparable level of care. The *Catalogue* tentatively dates P.3535 to the ninth to

tenth centuries, but again there is no obvious mark of age on the manuscript itself, and it is not improbable that it was produced in the eighth century, perhaps in connection with the individuals or workshop which created the P.2547 scroll.

P.3535 consists only of a single sheet of worn paper detached from a larger scroll. The entire manuscript is copied in the same hand, and apart from the texts we already discussed, two more texts are present. The first, preserved in two and a half columns on the recto from where the edge broke off, is a fragment of a Buddhist liturgy known from other manuscripts³¹ as intended for *zhai* rituals sponsored by both central and regional government (*guanzhai xingdao* 官齋行道) for the death anniversary of the Emperor Taizong (died 649 CE). The second is an untitled ceremonial text compiled for the Emperor Xuanzong's birthday, which is referred to in the text as the "Thousand-year Celebration" (*qianqiu* 千秋), the official title of the occasion only from 729–748 CE.³² Like death anniversaries, the emperor's birth anniversary also requires both central and regional hosting of official *zhai* rituals.³³

Considered together with the two other liturgical texts in common with P.2547, particularly the *junshi* document, the original P.3535 scroll was likely an anthology compiled by a religious specialist affiliated with Hexi regional authorities of the early to mid-eighth century, responsible for composing liturgies for official and semi-official sponsored rituals. In association, it also seems probable that the creator and potential subsequent users of P.2547 were

³¹ P.2991, which we will meet in the next chapter.

³² Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 193; 222.

³³ For the practice of official feast rituals for death anniversaries for deceased emperors and empresses, and a brief description of the involved activities please see Zhanru 湛如, *Dunhuang fojiao lüyi zhidu yanjiu* 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 283–285.

in similar positions, given the discussed access to various governmental documents used to reconstruct and repair the manuscript.

2. The Zhaiwanwen Text

2.a The Preface

In the following section, we will turn our focus from the surrounding context provided by manuscripts containing and associated with the *Zhaiwanwen* to the text itself, starting with the preface. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, we only have one full copy of the preface from P.2940, while all other occurrences including in P.2547 are highly incomplete, ranging from around 1/3 to less than 1/10 of the text. For this reason, the full transcription and translation below will use the P.2940 version as a base text and indicate observed variations in round brackets and footnotes.

To elucidate: Since the sun of the Buddha's wisdom descended in the west, miraculous deeds are recorded by profound decrees; as the mysterious winds³⁴ are propagated to the east; sagely teachings are preached by discerning individuals. Thus the fervent Mātāṅga³⁵ toured the imperial capital driving a dragon chariot³⁶; and the eloquent Kang Senghui³⁷ revealed the golden visage and dazzled the Emperor's territories.³⁸ There is none among them who have not swung the sword of wisdom³⁹ in solitary battle, and walking unparalleled, sounded the conch of Dharma⁴⁰— is destroying falsehood and rectifying truth not within these [acts]?

³⁴ Usually written *xuanfeng* 玄風: the mysterious teaching; the Way; Buddhism.

³⁵ Kāśyapa Mātāṅga 迦葉摩騰 (?–73 CE) Central Indian monk, traditionally part of the group who first transmitted Buddhism to China in 67 CE, invited by Emperor Ming of the Latter Han Dynasty.

³⁶ Referring to Matanga's alleged exploits in Luoyang, the capital of the Latter Han.

³⁷ Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?–280 CE). A Three Kingdoms era translator-monk, originally from Jiaozhi.

³⁸ Kang Senghui's deeds in Jianye 建業, the capital of the Eastern Wu kingdom. The “revealing of golden visage” may specifically refer to his using a relic to convert the ruler Sun Quan 孫權 as recorded in the *Biography of Eminent Monks*.

³⁹ The sword of wisdom that cuts away affliction.

⁴⁰ The conch which calls sentient beings to the pursuit of Buddhism.

詳夫慧日西沉，紀神功者奧旨；玄颿東扇，隆聖教者哲人。於是慷慨摩騰，御龍車而遊帝里；抑揚僧會，啟金相而耀皇畿。莫不搖智劍以孤征，警法蠹而獨步，摧邪辨正，其在茲乎？

Until now, there has been Nagarjuna, who put forth excellence and whose flourishing achievements crowned a millennium⁴¹; and Aśvaghōṣa, whose surpassing reputation astounded the ages with enduring grace. Upon Mount Lu⁴², willow and camphor⁴³ has thrived and become dense forest; in the clear river⁴⁴ the waves are as a mirror reflecting talents⁴⁵ – it can be said that exceptional individuals intermittently emerge, and gifted persons sprout forth. Whipping their long monk’s staves, they spread pure airs; submerging the round bowl, they disperse the waters of virtue.⁴⁶ In receiving the transmission (they) hold true⁴⁷ to the Three Treasures; in rectifying and proselytizing⁴⁸ they are worthy of offerings from the ten directions. The lamp [of Dharma] is passed down through the ages and the receptacle of the teachings is endlessly inherited; to uncover the knowledge of things and accomplish human endeavors⁴⁹ – beneficial to man and heaven indeed.

洎有龍樹抽英，冠千齡而擢秀；馬鳴馳譽，振萬古而流光，廬山則杞梓(梓)成林，清河則波瀾藻鏡，可謂異人間出，髦彥挺生。振長錫而播清風；沉圓杯而浮德水。紹繼則住而(持)三寶；主(匡)化則應供十方。奕葉傳燈，蟬聯寫器，開物成務，近益人天者焉。

⁴¹ A clever wordplay on the literal meaning of Nagarjuna – the Dragon-tree, who puts forth shoots of excellence.

⁴² Mount Lu, especially Donglin Monastery 東林寺, famed Buddhist center home to eminent monks, most notably Huiyuan 慧遠 (314–416 CE).

⁴³ Metaphor for abundance of exemplary individuals – more commonly written “willow and catalpa” *qizi* 杞梓 as seen in BD14111v and P.2178vA.

⁴⁴ Qinghe 清河, unclear reference – perhaps a reference the Qinghe region as home of several medieval high clans, or otherwise the Oxus as a metaphor for the Buddhist community?

⁴⁵ Zaojing 藻鏡, also written 藻鑑, to discern and evaluate talent.

⁴⁶ Unclear reference.

⁴⁷ *Zhu'er* 住而 from P.2940 makes less sense than *zhuchi* 住持 (“to maintain; to hold firmly on”), the variation seen in BD14111v and P.2178vA. I chose the latter for the translation.

⁴⁸ Again, the P.2940 *zhuhua* 主化 makes less sense than *kuanghua* 匡化, the BD14111v and P.2178vA variant.

⁴⁹ Referencing the *Yijing xici shang* 易經繫辭上 (*Commentary on the Appended Words from the Book of Changes*): 夫易，開物成務，冒天下之道，如斯而已者也。

But as times shifted from the periods of true and semblance teachings⁵⁰, (the habits of) humans changed and shallow airs displaced honest customs.⁵¹ [They] either relied on rectifying terms⁵² to seek truth, or attempt to awaken to the Way (by means of) cultivating⁵³ good reputation⁵⁴. For this purpose, the technique of expedient means is established, accompanied by the guiding practices; to demonstrate the methods of inducement, and transmit the teachings according to individual capacities.

但為代移正象，人變澆淳；或藉名教以尋真，或斂(假)聲光而悟道。所以為設善權之術，徧施誘進之端，示其級引之方，授以隨宜之說。

And so the virtuous worthies of the distant past have already made model rites for *zhai* rituals, hoping to demonstrate the protocols of the hidden path and prudently opening the path to the bridge of guidance.⁵⁵ Though their words are awe-inspiring and resonant,⁵⁶ and their rhetoric soar to the heavens, [the models] are still incomplete in recording worldly matters, and yet deficient in speaking of mundane conditions, causing those who come to learn to remain untaught and ignorant – they have no exterior guides of criteria, and lack the skill of adaptation within. [Those] elevated to expounding the Way frequently became tongue-tied at grand occasions;⁵⁷ [those entrusted] to propagate and exalt [Buddhism] are often unable to part their lips before the pure assembly. Not only [does this] invite slander and abuse, but furthermore may also undermine the mysterious teaching⁵⁸ – just as submerging the dignified light emanated from sagely traces and disappointing the aspirations of sentient beings.

故乃遠代高德，先已刊制齊儀，庶陳弊道之規，董啟津梁之軌。雖是詞驚擲地，辯架譚天；然載世事之未周，語俗緣而尚缺。致使來學者未受瞳蒙：外無繩准之規；

⁵⁰ *zhengxiang* 正像, i.e., *zhengfa* 正法, the period of true teaching and *xiangfa* 像法, period of semblance teaching.

⁵¹ Quoting Falin's 法琳 (572–640 CE) *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 (*Treatise on Discerning Correctness*): 良以代移正像，人變澆淳，直路難登，邪途易入。

⁵² *mingjiao* 名教: usually the Confucian teaching in reference to the ethical code where names/terms are rectified and define social order. Unclear here if broadly referring to Confucianism or only the philosophical approach.

⁵³ The BD14111v variant *jia* 假 (“by means of”) parallels better than the P.2940 *zhuhua* 斂 (“to gather; or to restrain”), but both meanings seem to make sense here, so I translated both.

⁵⁴ *shengguang* 聲光, literally sound and light. Usually refers to outstanding individual fame or charismatic character.

⁵⁵ *jinliang* 津梁, a bridge, metaphor for a guide across obstruction.

⁵⁶ *zhidi* 擲地 often used to describe literary texts so well composed that they emit resonating sounds when thrown to the ground like something made of precious metals.

⁵⁷ *hongsui* 宏遂, unknown compound. This may be another of P.2940's variations which read as mistakes in context. I interpret this as “grand audience” in parallel with the follow phrase.

⁵⁸ A character probably missing in this phrase. Wang San-ching believes it may be *feng* 風, as in the “mysterious airs” from the first paragraph.

內乏隨機之巧。擢令喝道，多卷舌於宏遂；推任宣揚，競緘唇於清眾。豈直近招譏謗，抑亦遠墜玄[?]。猶沉聖跡之威光，缺生靈之企望者。

[I am]⁵⁹ but a decayed husk within the dark-clad pillars of the monastic community, light dust [upon] the path to enlightenment. [My] learning is lacking and there is much [I have] not heard of; unwise [despite my] many talents. Frequently [composing] as if divining from repeating snail-whorls,⁶⁰ and producing characters just as insects chewing on wood —⁶¹ ambitious and unrestrained with literary flourish,⁶² [such material is] hereby edited into a volume of texts to exalt the Buddha: from the proclamation of sagely virtues, ending with the blessing and protection of various beings. Within [the texts] will concurrently be literary style and essential truth⁶³, both form and substance. From all that may be seen and heard and what myself have humbly experienced, all that may be prayed for I have arrayed here in detailed record.

但緇林朽穢，寂路輕埃；學闕未聞，才多不敏。輒以課茲螺累，偶木成[?]，狂簡斐然，裁為歎佛文一部。爰自和宣聖德，終乎庇祐群靈。於中兼俗兼真，半文半質。耳目之所歷，竊形跡之所經，應有所祈者，並此詳載。

In all there are more than eighty entries gathered into ten groups. They follow previous models, with selections edited from former examples – now divided into upper, middle,

⁵⁹ The previous character *zhe* 者 is usually understood as the last character of the previous phrase and paragraph, i.e., “that which disappoints the sentient beings.” For example, see Wang Sanching’s reconstruction in *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 72. However, this part is only extant in P.2940 and given its track record of variations that are likely copying mistakes, this character may be a miscopying of *mou* 某, the first-person pronoun “I”, and the subject of the following sentences. Otherwise, this may be a continuous reference to the incapable preachers as described in the previous paragraph.

⁶⁰ This entire phrase is extremely confusing. My tentative guess is based heavily upon my interpretation of the next phrase, please see following footnote.

⁶¹ This phrase is almost certainly missing its last character. *oumu* 偶木 may refer to a popular Buddhist metaphor of insects chewing on wood, which occasionally result in legible characters while the insects themselves are not literate, namely demonstrating correct form but not true understanding. Eg. in *Dazhidaolun* 大智道論 (*The Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*): 諸外道中，設有好語；如虫食木，偶得成字。Based on these occurrences I suspect the missing character to be *wen* 文 or *zi* 字, meaningful text or characters, instead of the usual guess of *lin* 林 forest, and the entire phrase to imply non-Buddhist source material. This metaphor seemed to have entered wider literary culture in the positive sense of “insight without artifice” during the Five Dynasties via Chan poetry, but that meaning is probably not relevant here.

⁶² Allusion to *the Analects*. 論語公冶長：子在陳曰：歸與歸與！吾黨之小子狂簡，斐然成章，不知所以裁之！

⁶³ *zhensu* 真俗, the Buddhist concepts of absolute truth and conventional appearance. I interpret this to mean the elegant prose “packaging” and the Buddhist message conveyed in liturgical passages.

and lower sections, for passing down future ages. All the groupings and entries are laid out to the left:

總有八十餘條，撮一十等類。所則舊例，獻替前規，分上中下目，用傳來葉。其所
有類號，勒之於左：

2.a.i Analysis

Before heading into a discussion of the contents, a note on observed textual variance between versions of the preface is helpful to understand the potential limitations of the surviving text. Though data is sparse, the few minor occurrences point to the P.2940 as relatively different from other versions. All examples involve the use of uncommon characters in compounds: in the second paragraph above, where P.2940 uses *zhu'er* 住而 and *zhuhua* 主化, both BD14111v and P.2178vA has *zhuchi* 住持 and *kuanghua* 匡化, which is more comprehensible in context.

Similarly, the allusion “willow and camphor” *qizhang* 杞樟 in P.2940 is written “willow and catalpa” *qizi* 杞梓 in BD14111v and P.2178vA, the latter form far better attested in transmitted materials. As P.2940 also has missing characters in the fifth and sixth paragraphs, as detectable by broken parallel structure, I suspect that the P.2940 text was subjected to more copying mistakes or other alterations in its transmission history, which its unique title *Zhaiwanwen* instead of *Zhaiwan* as seen in all other manuscripts may also reflect. In a sense, it may have been less representative of the original composition than other copies in circulation at the time.

Regardless, the preface text we have is still informative to the perception of *zhai* liturgies and editorial intent of the compiler of the *Zhaiwanwen* anthology. As stated in the fifth paragraph, this compiler identifies as a member of the monastic community, which agrees with contemporary records of Buddhist monks as usually responsible for composing liturgies used in

zhai rites.⁶⁴ Largely written in ornate parallel prose and utilizing literary allusions referring to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources, the style of the preface indicates that the compiler likely received traditional literati education as well as training in Buddhist scholarship.

Unfortunately, their name was not preserved and little else about their life can be directly known from the text.

The preface begins by invoking two of the earliest Buddhist advocates in China, Mātanga and Kang Senghui, followed by a description of the flourishing transmission of Buddhism among talented individuals in the spirit of the Indian greats Nagarjuna and Āśvaghōṣa. This background is then used to position “*zhai* rites” or “*zhai* standards” (*zhaiyi* 齋儀) as a form of expedient means in the third paragraph, having evolved out of necessity after the shift from periods of true and semblance Dharma induced difficulty in engaging effectively with Buddhist teachings. In other words, the compiler seemed to view *zhai* rites primarily as a proselytizing vehicle for the Buddhist message, which is further highlighted in the compiler’s assessment of available liturgies. Apparently, their deficiencies caused embarrassing inadequacy among those entrusted to preach, particularly when verbally expounding the Buddhist teaching before expectant audiences, which in turn invited criticism and thus undermined Buddhism as described in the fourth paragraph. Interestingly, the question of efficacy, or the role of *zhai* rituals and liturgies in

⁶⁴ Daoyin discussed above is a handy example. Ennin’s *Nittō guhō junreikōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 [*Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Dharma*] ed. Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenxue, 1992), 70-72, which contains one of the fullest descriptions of a Tang *zhai* ritual performance and quoted partially in the Introduction of this study, also implies the composer of the liturgy is one of the monastic assembly, who is then compensated for his effort by extra cash and dining with monastery leaders and the donor after the ceremony. Another fragmented Dunhuang *zhaiwen* anthology, P.3129, collects a certain Master Daoguang’s 道光大師 *zhai* compositions commissioned by high-ranking officials in late tenth century Chang’an.

merit generation or redirection, seemed not to be a defining function necessary for discussion here.

As for the motive for producing the *Zhaiwanwen*, the compiler believes that existing *zhai* models are unsatisfactory because they may be well-written but were unable to meet the full range of demands concerning “worldly matters” or “mundane conditions” (*shishi* 世事; *suyuan* 俗緣). No specific examples of such are given in the preface, but in context the compiler likely meant rituals catering to lay society, in contrast with practices confined within the monastic community. This description may reflect an ongoing proliferation of life events adopting corresponding *zhai* rituals during the *Zhaiwanwen*’s compilation. Accordingly, the *Zhaiwanwen* aims to be comprehensive in its collection and include all applicable topics understood by the compiler to motivate “prayers”, ranging from the exaltation of elevated figures to the more practical protection of individuals. Unfortunately, the phrase that describes the selection of material is slightly garbled and also utilizes unfamiliar vocabulary, perhaps due to unavoidable processes in textual transmission, but the method seems to have involved choosing texts for their “unbridled” literary merit, some possibly of non-Buddhist origin, and editing them into elegant and balanced conveyors of Buddhist truth.

At the end of the preface, the compiler briefly introduces the organization of their selection of more than eighty entries into ten large groups and three divisions, all of which are listed in the following table of contents, to which we will now turn our attention.

2.b Table of Contents

Table 1.1 The *Zhaiwanwen* Table of Contents

1 一	<i>In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues</i> 嘆(讚)佛德	a. Birth at the palace b. Leaving the kingdom and renouncing lay life c. Transmitting (Turning) the miraculous Dharma-wheel d. Demonstrating the final refuge of Nirvana 王宮誕質 踰城出家 傳(轉)妙法輪 示歸寂滅
2 二	<i>Celebrating Imperial Rule</i> 慶皇猷	a. For the endurance and prosperity of the state b. Auspicious omens presenting blessings c. For [celebrating] the deference of barbarians from the four directions d. For plentiful harvest of the five grains 鼎祚遐隆 嘉祥薦祉 四夷奉命 五穀豐登
3 三	<i>Inaugurating⁶⁵ Taking Office</i> 序臨官	a. Prefect b. [Prefectural] aide c. Assistant administrator d. [Head of] the six [prefectural] sections e. District magistrate f. Vice magistrate g. Assistant magistrate h. District defender i. Garrison ⁶⁶ [commandant] (j. Garrison vice commandant k. Head of the garrison military section) ⁶⁷ 刺史 長史 司馬 六曹 縣令 縣承 主簿 縣尉 折衝 (果毅 兵曹)
4 四	<i>Receiving Appointment in the Borderlands⁶⁸</i> 隅受職	a. Civil b. Military 文武
5 五	<i>Conferring Felicitous Vows</i> 酬慶願	a. Buddhist monks and nuns b. Daoist priests c. Daoist priestesses 僧尼 道士 女官
6	<i>Reciprocating Grace Bestowed on Travels⁶⁹</i>	a. Envoys: east, west, south, north b. Military campaigns: (east, west, south, north)

⁶⁵ *xu* 序 I understand as introducing or “prefacing” the actual taking up of duties after arriving at the post of appointment.

⁶⁶ *Zhechong*, abbreviation of *zhechong fu* 折衝府 (Assault-resisting Garrison), official name for local military and administration units in the Tang Garrison Militia System (*fubing* 府兵) from 636 CE onwards.

⁶⁷ Translations for the subsection titles of Chapter Three rely heavily on Hucker’s Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.

https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/cbdb/files/hucker_official_titles_ocr_searchable_all_pages.pdf

⁶⁸ The use of *ou* 隅 is curious here because the first character of all other chapter titles are verbs, and it is difficult to interpret this character as an appropriate verb.

⁶⁹ The meaning of this chapter title is unclear. I interpret *bao* 報 as the verb “to reciprocate,” the P.2940 variant *xingdao* 行道 as “on the road,” and the P.2547 variant *xing'en* 行恩 as “fortune or grace received while traveling,” where liturgies would be performed after the patrons arrive at or return from their destination. On the other hand, the first character 報 is rarely attested as an

Table 1.1 The Zhaiwanwen Table of Contents (continued)

六	報行道(恩)	被使東西南北征討(行)(東西南北)
7	<i>Mourning the Dead</i>	a. Buddhist monk b. Buddhist nun c. Dharma-master d. Vinaya-master e. Meditation-master f. Laypeople g. Deceased father h. Deceased mother i. Men j. Women
七	悼亡靈	僧尼法師律師禪師俗人考妣男婦女(俗人)
8	<i>Recounting Merit</i>	a. Making embroidered images b. Fine woven textiles c. Stone inscriptions d. Colorful paintings e. Wood carvings f. Metalworks g. Making banners h. Copying sutras i. Constructing a cloister j. Constructing a stupa (k. Constructing a cooking wheel l. Commencing a lecture m. Concluding a lecture n. Yupen ⁷⁰ o. Bathhouse)
八	述功德	造繡像 織成 鑄石 彩畫 雕檀 金銅 造幡 造經 造龕 造浮圖 (造炊輪 開講 散講 盂盆 溫室)
9	<i>Offering Prayers and Praises</i>	a. Praying for rain b. Giving thanks for rain c. Giving thanks for snow d. Full month (since birth) e. Birthday f. School break g. Flickering characters ⁷¹ h. Hiding the hook ⁷² i. Concluding a lecture j. The three months of abstinence k. Peace and stability l. Association records m. Escape from calamity ⁷³ n. Illness o. Receiving precepts p. Giving thanks for precepts q. Moving into a new dwelling
九	賽祈讚	祈雨 賽雨 賽雪 滿月 生日 散學 閃(睽)字 藏鉤 散講 三長 平安 邑載 脫難 患差 受戒 賽入宅 (賽戒 入宅)
10	<i>Protecting the Myriad Beasts</i>	a. Freeing captive animals b. Purchasing captive animals c. Death of horses d. Death of cows e. Death of camels f. Death of donkeys g. Death of goats/sheep h. Death of dogs i. Death of pigs
十	祐諸畜	放生 贖生 馬死 牛死 駝死 驢死 羊死 犬死 豬死

Note: P.2940 as the base text and textual variations from P.2547 expressed in round brackets.

alternate writing of *fu* 赴 (“to go; to head towards”), which would indicate rituals performed before the delegation or army sets off.

⁷⁰ Yupen can be a rare abbreviation of Yulanpen 盂蘭盆. However, in context a literal meaning of receptacle or basin to match the following entry of “bathhouse” seems more appropriate.

⁷¹ Unknown reference.

⁷² *Canggou* 藏鉤, a group game where a hook or ring is hidden inside a participant’s closed fist and others guess at the holder. Often played as a drinking game during banquets, particularly during New Year celebrations. See Dong Yongqiang 董永强, “Dunhuang Tulufan xieben suo jian Tang ren de canggou 敦煌吐魯番寫本所見唐人的藏鉤.” *Tangshi Luncong* 唐史論叢, no. 2 (2019): 169–85 for a recent summary of research on *canggou* and its appearances in Dunhuang and Turfan manuscripts.

⁷³ Wang San-ching interprets *tuo* 脫 is an alternate writing for *mian* 媿, i.e., *miannan* 媿難 “childbirth”, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 73.

2.b.i *Textual Variation*

Unlike the preface, the table of contents of the *Zhaiwanwen* is preserved only in P.2940 and P.2547. Due to the damage to the paper, the P.2547 copy a) only retains small scraps of incomplete section titles for Chapter Two and Chapter Five, b) lost Chapter Nine's title and several of its sections, and c) its Chapter One, Seven, Eight, and Ten are left damaged though mostly legible. What remains does correspond roughly to its full counterpart in P.2940: the count and order of the ten chapters all agree and their titles are mostly identical except for two occurrences of character variations, namely a synonymous *zan* 讚 instead of *tan* 嘆 for Chapter One and the character *en* 恩 in place of *dao* 道 for Chapter Six in the P.2547 copy.

Beyond the chapter level, P.2547 contains two and five additional sections in Chapter Three and Chapter Eight respectively, in both instances appearing at the end of the section string common to both versions. Additionally, in Chapter Six the first section “envoy” has no specifications for the four directions and section 7f “laypeople” is the last entry instead of the sixth among ten in P.2547, but these two variations may be due to different representation of section titles in the manuscripts. In P.2940 each chapter title apart from Chapter One starts a new column and its section titles mostly follow in single columns, but P.2547 has section titles listed in double columns with small characters, and they may have interpreted the order and association of the titles from source material differently due to placement. Lastly, the section of Chapter Nine in P.2940 *sairuzhai* 賽入宅 seems likely to be a mistaken combination of separate entries (9p *saijie* 賽戒 and 9q *ruzhai* 入宅) as seen in P.2547, given the overall propensity for two-character section titles, and I chose to translate them as distinct entries.

Taking a closer look at the chapter titles will reveal that they are each a summation of the occasional theme of the liturgies contained in the chapter, and share a common structure of three

characters with the first characters mostly operating as verbs to describe the corresponding function performed by the rituals. These titles are more stylized and standardized than the few examples of curated section labels observed in other *zhaiwan* collections or anthologies, such as the direct *Huanwen disi* 患文第四 (*Part Four Healing Liturgies*) and *Zhuzapian diliu* 諸雜篇第六 (*Part Six Miscellaneous Section*) from the S. 1441 *Zazhaiwen* 雜齋文 (*Miscellaneous Liturgical Texts*), and reflect a touch reminiscent of the similarly stylized *Zhaiwan* designation. Moreover, the ten extant chapter titles correspond with the organization of “ten large groups,” just as the topics of the first and the last chapters echo the proposed range of “the proclamation of sagely virtues and the blessing and protection of various beings” mentioned in the preface. Therefore, I believe that the chapter titles and organization of themes are original to the compiler’s vision of the anthology.

Whether the section titles are preserved in their intended arrangement is more difficult to ascertain. The structure of these titles seems to consciously share construction principles within a chapter, most noticeably in first two chapters where neat four-character phrases are used, but are not obviously standardized like the chapter titles. The most expansive count, including all unique sections from P.2547 and the Chapter Six direction specifications in P.2940, does result in a total of over eighty sections which seems to adhere to the “more than eighty entries” in the preface, but more restrictive and realistic tallies barely reach this number. However, given the strong thematic adherence to the chapter themes and the general correspondence between our only two versions, I interpret the sections as mostly intact with some loss and alteration incurred in transmission, which allows the study of the tables of contents as a whole for exploring the nature of the *Zhaiwanwen*’s compilation and subsequent use.

2.b.ii Observations

As we can see in the transcription above, the sections named with the most formality are collected in Chapter One *In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues* and Chapter Two *Celebrating Imperial Rule*. The former group is for the commemoration of the Sakyamuni Buddha's life events which are significant to the establishment of his teaching. Interestingly, according to contemporary sources, the Buddha's renunciation of lay life (1b) and start to preaching (1c) did not seem to be major foci of ritual activity in the middle period unlike his birth (1a) and nirvana (1d), and even when associated dates became festivals they did so under other pretexts.⁷⁴ Barring the possibility of unattested or specific institutional and regional focus on these circumstances, it is possible that Chapter One and its sections are less of an accurate reflection of actual demand than a prescriptive list, perhaps to exhibit the preeminence of the Buddha's defining life events above all other occasions. Similarly, the Chapter Two section titles, centered around celebrations of the state cult, are difficult to corroborate as distinct Buddhist-affiliated ritual occasions in extant records,⁷⁵ and may have been topical designations to insert into *zhai* hosted for other primary motives. Regardless, the inclusion and placement of Chapter Two may indicate a certain connection with official authorities, the nature of which can be further elucidated by Chapters Three, Four, and Six.

Chapter Three, *Inaugurating Taking Office*, is a collection of liturgical components for rituals of assuming office differentiated by different governmental positions, which are exclusively on prefectural (3a-d), district (3e-h), and garrison (3i-k) levels and contain no

⁷⁴ See Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 9–14 for a brief summary of historical sources and interesting confluences with indigenous and Daoist festival traditions.

⁷⁵ See Zhanru, *Dunhuang Fojiao lüyi zhidu yanjiu*, 282-290 for a list of documented state initiated or sponsored *zhai* occasions.

reference to any roles in the central administration system. This seems to have some overlap with Chapter Four, which is dedicated to official appointments specifically in the “borderlands” and have no further sub-divisions apart from the broad categories of civil and military. The difference that necessitates separate chapters is uncertain: Chapter Three may have focused on institutional structures more concentrated in the Chinese heartlands. In any case, it is clear from these two chapters that the *Zhaiwanwen* was intended for use in a provincial, semi-official environment with considerations of posting to the periphery of the empire. Additionally, Chapter Six deals with expeditions of envoys or military campaigns, which indicate a heavily trafficked location as well as association with government authorities. From these characteristics, which again corresponds with context provided by the physical and textual structure of the P.2547 manuscript, it is probable that the *Zhaiwanwen* was compiled locally in the Hexi region, likely in a seat of power such as Liangzhou to partially cater to the Prefectural or Area Administration Offices.

Chapter Five, whose title I translate as *Conferring Felicitous Vows*, is another part where the application is not entirely clear. It is also curious in having Daoist priests and priestesses along with Buddhist monks and nuns in its section list. Wang San-ching interprets it as a collection of liturgies composed by the religious professionals in question during “felicitous” *zhai* rituals,⁷⁶ which seems strange as the majority of liturgies for a variety of topics, as previously discussed, must have been produced by them. Given Chapter Five’s position between two other chapters dealing with official operations, its inclusion of Daoists, and its function as *chou* 酬 “to fulfill; to repay,” I speculate its selections may accompany governmental occasions

⁷⁶ Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 66.

for recognizing individuals from both Buddhist and Daoist groups, perhaps in confirming ordination status (the “vows”), or otherwise express patronage or support for rendered services.

The remaining chapters are directed at more familiar occasions. Chapter Seven consists of funerary and commemorative liturgies for the deceased, where monastics are slightly prioritized with sections for different specializations (7c-e) while laypeople are only differentiated by their gender and if parents (7g/h) are the subject of the ritual. Chapter Eight focuses on the dedication of material production which directly generate merit, including objects for veneration such as images and copied sutras and construction to support the daily activities of the monastery. The P.2547 version puts the events of commencing and concluding lectures (8l-m) in this chapter, perhaps in connection with their usual monastic setting.

Chapter Nine is a miscellaneous collection of occasional liturgies, ranging from appeals for favorable weather conditions (91-c) to the healing of sickness (9n) and even to general prayers for peace and stability (9k). This entire chapter seems to be geared towards community-facing ritual services, which could apply to both monastic and lay patrons through common observed practices such as the three months of abstinence, or shared life experiences such as birthdays and illnesses. Interestingly, notable liturgical sub-genres attested in the Dunhuang corpus such as lamp-lighting⁷⁷ (*randeng wen* 燃燈文) or sand-stamping⁷⁸ (*yinshafo wen* 印沙佛文) texts are not mentioned as such in this section or included in the entire table of contents,

⁷⁷ On lamp-lighting practices in Dunhuang please see Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, *Dunhuang suishi wenhua daolun* 敦煌歲時文化導論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1998), 21–2 and Ma De 馬德, “Dunhuang yishu mogaoku suishou randengwen jishi 敦煌遺書莫高窟歲首燃燈文輯識,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no. 3 (1997): 63–72.

⁷⁸ For sand-stamping please see Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, “Yinsha, Tuofu, Tuota 印沙·脫佛·脫塔,” *Dunhuang Xue* 敦煌學 1 (1989):19–29 or Wang San-ching and Wang Ya Yi 王雅儀, “Dunhuang wenxian yinshafo wen de zhengli yanjiu 敦煌文獻印沙佛文的整理研究,” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 26 (December 2005): 45–74.

probably because they have yet evolved to their later prominence and were not relevant to the time and location where the *Zhaiwanwen* was compiled. A final chapter, Chapter Ten, is dedicated to non-human creatures, specifically the practice of releasing captive animals for merit and death rituals for livestock.

In short, the *Zhaiwanwen* table of contents as seen in P.2940 and P.2547 is likely close to the original arrangement and selection of the compiler also responsible for the preface, and point to his identity as a religious specialist affiliated with provincial governmental authorities in the Hexi region active during or before the mid-eighth century. Although it was created with comprehensive collection as a goal, the organization of the table of contents probably reflects the specific needs of the compiler's position, time, and location, as well as their personal ideological considerations regarding the most important religious and state ceremonies as seen most obviously in Chapters One and Two.

2.c The *Zhaiwanwen* Text in P.2547

Important and informative as the table of contents is, the actual main text in P.2547 does not correspond to it completely, which creates interesting issues of interpretation in previously mentioned past studies where parallel versions of texts found in other manuscripts are mapped onto P.2547 using its fragmented body as a base structure. In this section, we will examine the *Zhaiwanwen* text as observed in P.2547 and how it relates to the table of contents in order to study its context of circulation and use.

Table 1.2 Contents of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen*

Leaf	Corresponding Chapter(s)	Content labels
2	One	In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues. [- Birth at the palace] 嘆佛德第一 [王宮誕質]
3	Two/Three	[- For plentiful harvest of the five grains] - Text for praising the Buddha [- Prefect] [五穀豐登] 嘆佛文 刺史
4	Three	- [Head of] the six [prefectural] sections - District magistrate - Vice magistrate 六司 縣令 縣丞
5	Three?	- Dismissal from office - Departure for a litigation position - Obtaining the services of a scribe - Composing a stele inscription - Entire family safe and sound during military posting in Ganzhou – Making offerings 罷任 出聽訟官 得書手 撰碑文 甘州任家口平安 供奉
6	Four?	[- Text for praising the Buddha] – Regional Prince - Commander-in-chief of Hanhai, the Uighurs, and so forth [嘆佛文?] 藩王 瀚海及迴紇等都督 [?]
7	Eight	[- Producing an image] [- Copying sutras] - Associations - Association levy [造像] [造經] 社邑 課邑
8	Nine	[- Playing a board game?] - Hiding the hook - Beasts Destructive and Locusts Devouring Fields – Infectious Disease – Three months of abstinence: the first month, the first day of the year, the fifth month, the ninth month, conclusion - Various periods of abstinence: the eighth day of the second month, mid-second month [棋博?] ⁷⁹ 藏鉤 獸暴蝗食田 疫病 三長月: 正月 元日 五月 九月 總結云 諸齋月: 二月八日 二月半
9	Seven	[- Empress Dowager] - Empress - Crown Prince - Princess - Prince - Civil officials - Commander-in-chief - Prefectural aide and assistant administrator - Supervisor of the bureau and so forth - District magistrate, vice magistrate, defender, assistant magistrate [太后] 皇后 皇太子 妃 王 文官 都督 刺史 長史 司馬 判司等 縣令 縣丞 尉 主簿

⁷⁹ This title is inferred from mentions of Weiqi/Go 圍棋 and Shuanglu 雙陸 which both use chess board/pieces in connection to gambling in the text. *Liubo* 六博 in Magnin, “Donateurs et joueurs,” 128-132.

Table 1.2 Contents of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* (continued)

10	Seven	[- Deceased mother] - Portrait Painting, Lamp-lighting, Releasing of Animals – [Used for both deceased father and mother] - [Used for various elderly relatives, male and female] - Burning Incense on the road [- Making Offerings at the Grave] [妣?] 畫像燃燈放生 [考妣通用] [諸親長男女等通用] 在道燒香 [臨壙追祠]
11	Seven	[- Death of an elder brother] – Death of a younger brother - Used for both elder and younger brothers – Young brother - Death of wives of both officials and commoners [兄亡] 弟亡 兄弟通用 弟 官庶之妻亡
12	Ten/Seven	[- ?] – Death of beasts – Death of a horse – Death of a cow - Death of parrot; scarlet-beaked crow - Death of Buddhist monks and nuns [無?] ⁸⁰ 禽獸等亡 馬死 牛死 鸚鵡赤嘴鷓鴣死 僧尼亡
13	Seven	- Vinaya Master – Sutra Master – Vinaya Master (Nun) [- Abbot (Nun)] – Death of male and female novices - Daoist priest 律師 經師 尼法師 尼律師 [尼寺主] 僧尼弟子亡 道士

Note: Square brackets denote sections with lost, missing, or unclear labels. Working labels are derived from a parallel text in other manuscripts or from literary context, and are explained in footnotes when necessary. Bold characters are used for entries that do not appear in the table of contents.

The first half of the leaves (2–8) roughly follows the chapter order and subjects as described in the table of contents, particularly towards the beginning where surviving entries correspond directly: the Chapter One title *In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues* can even be partially seen near the center fold of Sheet 2,⁸¹ indicating that this part of the text likely adheres closely to the original organization scheme. However, though the section containing the transition between chapters is preserved on Leaf 3, but the beginning of what should be Chapter Three is not marked in any way.

⁸⁰ From textual context, this entry is a funerary liturgy for individuals who died during military service on the north-west frontier, with the ritual sponsored by comrades-in-arms or immediate superiors.

⁸¹ Only visible from the facsimile reproductions edited by Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 Volume 13 *Shogi* 書儀 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1986), 6.

Starting with Leaves 5 and 6 things become more uncertain as none of the extant labels occur in either version of the table of contents. They are likely entries sorted under Chapter Three or the Civil or Military sections in Chapter Four *Receiving Appointment in the Borderlands*, as some passages such as *Chu tingsongguan* 出聽訟官 (*Departure for a Litigation Position*) obviously has to do with official appointment.⁸² However, others such as *Zhuan beiwen* 撰碑文 (*Composing a Stele Inscription*) seems relevant only in particular conditions, and most entries depart from the previously concise labeling style with the most egregious examples being *Ganzhou ren jiakou ping'an* 甘州任家口平安 (*Entire family safe and sound during military posting in Ganzhou*) in Leaf 5 and *Hanhai ji Huihu deng dudu* 瀚海及迴紇等都督 (*Commander-in-chief of Hanhai, Uighurs, and so forth*) in Leaf 6. These last two entries are also interesting in that they introduce geopolitical terms which gives a south-eastern Hexi focus to their inclusion: Ganzhou is a jurisdiction headquartered at Zhangye 張掖, while the Hanhai Commander-in-chief is a Chinese-styled title granted to the leader of the Uighurs in 646 CE which became hereditary.⁸³ The branch bearing the title migrated across the Gobi into the Ganzhou/Liangzhou area towards the end of the 7th century,⁸⁴ and the majority of this group

⁸² For instance, Wang San-ching puts the contents of Leaves 5 and 6 in Chapters Three and Four respectively in *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 86. Magnin agrees and believes the fragmented columns observed in Leaf 6 before *Fanwang* 藩王 (*Regional Prince*) may be an introductory section for the whole chapter in “Donateurs et joueurs,” 110.

⁸³ “貞觀二十年...太宗為置六府七州，府置都督，州置刺史，府州皆置長史、司馬已下官主之。以回紇部為瀚海府，拜其俟利發吐迷度為懷化大將軍，兼瀚海都督...永隆中獨解支，嗣聖中伏帝匍，開元中承宗、伏帝難，並繼為酋長，皆受都督號以統蕃州，左殺右殺分管諸部。” From Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 5196–5198.

⁸⁴ “武后時，突厥默啜方疆，取鐵勒故地，故回紇與契苾、思結、渾三部度磧，徙甘、涼間.....” From Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 6114.

withdrew back to the steppes in the late 720s after a fatal conflict with the Chinese Commissioner-in-chief of Liangzhou,⁸⁵ though an Uighur Hanhai Commissioner-in-chief may have maintained a minor presence in the region through the Anshi Rebellion of 755 CE.⁸⁶ Many of these passages seem to be tailored to more specific patrons and circumstances than the selection in the table of contents suggest, and may have been excerpts or adaptations from other fully compiled liturgies added to the *Zhaiwanwen* for future reference by the copyist of P.2547 or their immediate sources.

More signs suggestive of post-compilation insertion and rearrangement can be observed in the following Leaves 7 and 8. Leaf 7, which bears fragments describing the production of images and sutras and thus could be understood as representing Chapter Eight *Recounting Merit*, do not adhere to the ordering present in both extant versions of the table of contents. These passages are directly followed by the labeled entries *sheyi* 社邑 and *keyi* 課邑, the latter of which clearly focuses on an act of group donation among association members that was no doubt thematically appropriate, but which was not directed towards a material creation as most other sections listed in Chapter Eight. Similarly, while some extant labeled texts such as *Canggou* 藏

⁸⁵ “開元中，迴鶻漸盛，殺涼州都督王君奭，斷安西諸國入長安路，玄宗命郭知運等討逐，退保烏德健山，南去西城一千七百里，西城即漢之高闕塞也。” From Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu*, 5198.

⁸⁶ At least one post-quarrel Hanhai Commander-in-chief (which happened during the time of Chengzong 承宗, who died in exile over an earlier stage of the conflict) Fudi’nan 伏帝難 is recorded in the *Jiu Tang shu* (see note 81). Fudi’nan may be the same figure as or a relative of a Huihe Qiong 回紇瓊 attested from an epitaph as the last known Hanhai Commander-in-Chief, who died in Chang’an aged 55 in 760 CE. Despite having participated in the Uighurs’ decisive intervention in the Anshi Rebellion, Huihe Qiong seems to have been completely passed over by the Tang court in favour of his (literal) cousins from the Uighur Khaganate. Whatever Uighur groups under the umbrella of the Hanhai Area Command remaining in Hexi during the mid-8th century are not well attested and likely not as influential compared to earlier periods. See Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), 681: 大唐故迴紇府君墓銘.

鈎 (*Hiding the Hook*) on Leaf 8 correspond directly to section titles in Chapter Nine, the list order is not preserved and unattested entries such as *Shoubao huangshitian* 獸暴蝗食田 (*Beasts Destructive and Locusts Devouring Fields*) are also possibly later additions to the *Zhaiwanwen* text.

The last and most striking difference between the presentation in the table of contents and the actual text in the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* is the significant expansion of death related liturgical components. No longer confined to a Chapter Seven near to the middle of the work, highly specialized funerary and commemorative sections extend through the latter half of the manuscript in Leaves 9-13 and utilizes its own organization scheme that differs from the table of contents: sections for laypeople are listed first, starting with individuals belonging to the imperial family and then to officials of provincial and local government from highest to lowest status in Leaf 9, followed by texts for parents and elderly relatives in Leaf 10 and same-generation family or unit members in Leaf 11 and the start of Leaf 12. A group reserved for deceased animals, including an oddly specific passage for a “parrot; scarlet-beaked crow,”⁸⁷ is placed after the laypeople sections, as opposed to making up a separate and final Chapter Ten. The last liturgies seen in Leaves 12 and 13 are for members of religious communities, listing generic passages for Buddhist monks and nuns, then for specialized roles within monks and nuns, for novices of both genders, and finally a section for Daoist priests before the page breaks off.

Apart from the greatly increased specialization according to the status and identity of the subject of the liturgy in the death-related collection, texts also seem to reflect a wider range of

⁸⁷ From textual context, a funerary *zhai* liturgy for someone’s beloved pet magpie. A “scarlet-beaked bird” is recorded as a pet and a source of income for its owner in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 quoting from the *Chaoye qianzai* 朝野僉載. Li Fang, *Taiping guangji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 3796.

practices involved in funeral and commemorative services, particularly in Leaf 10 for parents and elderly relatives which is likely to be the most widely applicable. For example, the section labeled *Linkuang zhuici* 臨壙追祠 (*Making Offerings at the Grave*) must be a liturgy for use during the offering of sacrifices at the head of the rested coffin by surviving descendants after arrival at the gravesite before burial, a practice attested in P.2622, an *Jixiong shiyi* 吉凶書儀 (*Etiquette Manual for Auspicious and Inauspicious Occasions*) copied in 859 CE.⁸⁸ The section *Huaxiang randeng fangsheng* 畫像燃燈放生 (*Portrait Painting, Lamp-lighting, Releasing of Animals*) from the same leaf may seem to be an oddity in this section, but its last paragraph on releasing animals indicates that the merit generated is meant for “releasing the dark souls”⁸⁹ of the dead, while portrait painting and lamp-lighting may refer to commemorative rituals, hence its inclusion here.

In summary, a comparison of the liturgical components preserved in the main text of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* and to the original organization and selection scheme of the work represented in its table of contents reveal occurrences of continuous change in the process of its circulation. This process may involve the retaining and rearrangement of material transmitted from previous copies of a *Zhaiwanwen* compilation such as in Chapters One, Three, and Nine, as well as the incorporation of texts from other sources most notably in Chapter Four and the death-related sections corresponding to Chapters Seven and Ten. Observed adaptations are likely based

⁸⁸ For a brief introduction to funerary practices including *linkuang* attested in Dunhuang manuscripts, particularly in ritual and liturgical texts, please see Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, “Sanjiao ronghe de Dunhuang sangsu 三教融合的敦煌喪俗,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 no. 3 (1991): 72–80.

⁸⁹ 用薦幽魂

on the needs and experiences of individual copyists and/or religious specialists in reflection of the evolving practices and demands from the communities and institutions they served.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, the current understanding of the *Zhaiwanwen* is informed mainly by P.2547 and to a lesser extent P.2940. A detailed examination of the texts on these two manuscripts, especially its unique preface and table of contents, reveal that the *Zhaiwanwen* was a comprehensive anthology of Buddhist liturgical models most probably compiled by a well-educated religious specialist affiliated with local authorities, likely based in the Hexi region before the mid-eight century. P.2547, a complex multi-text manuscript, may have been produced as a scroll in Liangzhou or Ganzhou for use by religious specialists in a similar position as the original compiler and then taken to Dunhuang in the wake of the Tibetan expansion in the 760s, where it was reconstructed and repaired using recycled government administrative documents.

Similar to hypothetical earlier versions of the text in circulation, including the original compilation of the anthology associated with the preface and the table of contents, the *Zhaiwanwen* as seen in P.2547 was a product of specific circumstances and represents a snapshot of the continuous transformation of texts in circulation in a manuscript culture, a process no doubt accentuated by its modular nature which we will investigate further in the following chapter.

Chapter Two: The *Zhaiwanwen* in Liturgical Anthologies

In the previous chapter, we investigated the likely circumstances of the *Zhaiwanwen*'s origins and nature through examining manuscripts which bears the distinctive title, preface, and table of contents of the model anthology. We know that P.2547, the only manuscript which potentially contains segments from the entire work, is highly damaged which prevents a thorough understanding of the *Zhaiwanwen*'s contents. Previous studies have focused on identifying manuscripts of *zhaiwen* anthologies carrying substantial overlapping text to reconstruct the full text.

In this chapter, we revisit these other affiliated manuscripts not only as providers of lost material for restoring a critical edition of the *Zhaiwanwen*, but as unique windows into the dynamic history of its transmission. Through comparing and analyzing individual codicological features and the different selection and arrangement of labeled sections, I hope to elucidate the probable relationship between the manuscripts and how religious specialists produced, organized, and connected *zhaiwen* model anthologies and their involved elements.

Secondly, by surveying the ritual and literary function and composition of models included in these *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated anthologies, I wish to identify the possible collection focus of the works and illustrate how they were likely used as manuals to compile full liturgies for use in different *zhai* rituals. To this end, I start by introducing the current understanding of structure and function in Buddhist *zhai* liturgies.

1. Structure and function of Buddhist *zhai* liturgies

All scholarly discussions of *zhaiwen* structure and function are heavily informed by the rare notes remarking on distinct sections within a textual model collected in an anthology found

on S.2832. Apart from its importance to our current understanding of *zhaiwen*, this model is also a suitably succinct example of *zhaiwen* form and language and will be discussed here to provide context to subsequent examinations of *Zhaiwanwen*(-affiliated) anthologies.

The S.2832 anthology is a treasure trove of material on funerary and festive customs and commonly cited in relevant studies,¹ but the manuscript itself is not well investigated. Entirely written in one hand, there are no obvious indications the manuscript's date: Teiser tentatively dates it to around 650 or 759 CE based on mentioned official titles and calligraphy style.² The model in question, hereafter S.2832(25), is the twenty-fifth text in the long and complex anthology,³ and judging from context intended for use in a "Great Auspicious" (*daxiang* 大祥) ceremony performed three years after the death of the patron's parents, which marks the end of the mourning period with the removal of mourning clothing (*tuofu* 脫服). Like the rest of the manuscript, the text in S.2832(25) is partitioned into sections by empty space and conspicuous large dots drawn in the middle of columns, both of which also act as reference marks before titles. Brief notes are written in small characters after most of the sections and before the section marks. A transcription and partial translation of S.2832(25) is represented below for clarity.

¹ For example, prominently in Tan Chanxue's work such as *Dunhuang suishi wenhua daolun* 敦煌歲時文化導論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1998).

² Teiser, "Most Common Healing Liturgy," 428.

³ Here I use the numbering scheme of texts in S.2832 of the *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* as it is the only full transcription attempt of this manuscript. Huang Zheng 黃徵, and Wu Wei 吳偉, eds. *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集. (Changsha: Yuelu Publishing House 岳麓書社, 1995), 73–123.

Table 2.1 S.2832(25) Transcription and Partial Translation

	The recitation for a <i>zhai</i> feast is divided into sections. 夫歎齋分為段。	
1	爰夫金鳥旦上，逼夕幕而藏輝；玉兔霄明，臨曙光而匿曜。 春秋互立，冬夏遞遷，觀陰陽上有施謝之期，況人倫豈免去留者。	
2	Then what intention is stated by Master Anonymous this morning? (These are) proffered as arrangements for the Great Auspicious ceremony of his deceased father and mother. 則今晨某乙公所陳意者何？奉為考妣大祥之所設也。 The late souls were endowed with vast depths of talent, with refined airs and outstanding ability; they were courteous and modest, replete with fidelity and filial piety. 惟靈天資冲邈，秀氣英靈，禮讓謙和，忠孝俱備	Above is a recitation of virtues 已上歎德
3	者，為巨椿比壽，龜鶴齊年。何期皇天罔佑，掩降斯禍。日居月諸，大祥俄屆。 Master Anonymous thus respectfully followed the standard of previous worthies, and end the period of mourning after three years. The white garments were discarded this morning, while clothes of restrained colors will be worn for a time. 公乃奉為先賢之則，終服三年。素衣霸於今晨，淡服仍於旬日。 Then on this morning reverently (sponsors a) feast and offers blessings. 爰於此晨，崇齋奉福。	Purpose of the feast ritual 齋意
4	On this day, the residence is cleaned, and white drapes are spread; images look upon their golden visage and eminent monks ⁴ are invited. Sutras are opened upon their palm leaf pages, and chanting is performed as heard upon Mount Yu. ⁵ Delicacies are fully displayed, and the incense from the censer is fragrant. 是日也，嚴清甲弟，素幕橫舒。像瞻金容，延僧白足； 經開貝葉，梵奏魚山。珍羞具陳，爐香芬馥。	Ritual space 道場
5	The merit as (generated) above are offered as use to ornament the spirits of the departed. 如上功德，奉用莊嚴亡靈。 May they soar to the wondrous realm, and be reborn upon the lotus dais of the highest order; to hear the pure true Dharma before the Buddha hall. 願騰神妙境，生上品之蓮台；寶殿樓前，聞真淨之正法。	Ornamentation 莊嚴

⁴ *Baizu* 白足, a courtesy name of eminent monk Tanshi 曇始 (late-fourth century–early-fifth century), used as a favorable reference to Buddhist monks.

⁵ *Yushan* 魚山, Mount Yu, where the poet Cao Zhi 曹植 allegedly heard and recorded Indian-style music from the heavens, starting the dissemination of such music in China. See Daoshi 道世, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 1171.

As seen above, S.2832(25) has no descriptive label of ritual purpose or occasion as is common in other liturgical models. Instead, the model starts with a short phrase that states the text to be recited at the *zhai* ritual (*tanzhai* 歎齋) is divided into sections, of which there are five in total. The first section, which does not have a note attached, is an introduction invoking broader concepts of the passage of time and its impact on natural cycles and human relations as a lead-in to the more specific circumstances of the *zhai* ritual, a common technique in literary prose writing. The second section includes the initial establishment of the purpose of the ritual gathering and praises of the deceased parents as the subjects of the ritual, which is then followed by the notes “above is a recitation of virtues.”

The third section narrates the happenings which led to the current performance of the *zhai* ritual, from the death of the parents, the passing of the three years of mourning, to the immediate change into regular clothing. This part is identified as the “purpose of the feast ritual” (*zhaiyi* 齋意) in the following notes. The fourth section, with the note “ritual space” (*daochang* 道場), is a depiction of the prepared scene where the ritual takes place, while the fifth and last section with the note “ornamentation” (*zhuangyan* 莊嚴) directs the merit generated and describes its desired effect on beneficiaries.

Of course, the sections outlined above are best not taken as a full and defined representation of structure in compiled liturgies, whether they are models or meant for direct practical use: if we look closer at the boundary between sections 2 and 3 of S.2832(25), it is clear that the run of the paragraph and even phrase is split between sections, which may indicate the possibility of arbitrariness in the recording of the division. The summaries of function in the notes are also not necessarily distinct, exclusive, and universally adopted terms for corresponding components of liturgies. *Zhuangyan* may be seen in several anthologies as part of

labels for models that portray desired outcomes of rituals, usually in combination with the beneficiary's identity,⁶ which reflects "native categorization" as stated in Teiser's important study of the term,⁷ but *daochang* and *zhaiyi* are not known to denote functional segments in other manuscripts in this way. Moreover, while elements of the first note, especially *tan* ("to praise; to recite") do appear as labels in compounds similar to *zhuangyan*, they are flexible and can refer to individual sections of either an introduction or praises for beneficiaries, and even to the entirety of compiled liturgies.⁸ Indeed, as we have seen previously in the *Zhaiwanwen* in Chapter 1, most passages collected in liturgical anthologies are labeled for their occasions or beneficiaries and their structural or ritual functions are not often outright indicated like in S.2832(25).

Given the lack of a widely attested self-described system in Dunhuang *zhaiwan* manuscripts, scholars have attempted to distill consistent patterns of *zhaiwen* construction based on S.2832(25)'s notes and other liturgical material both from Dunhuang and beyond. Notable examples include Song Jiayu's close adherence to the four annotated parts described above,⁹ Hao Chunwen's inclusion of the introductory passage into a total of five essential sections,¹⁰ and

⁶ Such as S.343r(11) *Ornamenting a Buddhist Monk* (*Zhuangyan seng* 莊嚴僧) and multiple occurrences in S.5639–5640.

⁷ Stephen Teiser, "Ornamenting the Departed: Notes on the Language of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Texts." *Asia Major* 22, no. 1 (2009): 278.

⁸ For example S.SS74a(10) *Recitation (upon the) grave* (*tankuang* 嘆壙) is a mostly compiled liturgy, S.5639–5640(19) and (20) *Praise of Civil Virtue* and *Praise of Martial Virtue* (*wende tan* 文德嘆 *wude tan* 武德嘆) are short praises of the beneficiary, and P.2867, which we will meet later in this chapter, bears a *Praise of the Buddha* (*tanfowen* 嘆佛文) which is an introductory passage; the use of *tan* in liturgy and liturgical component labels likely reflects contemporary understanding of *zhaiwen* as a performative genre, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

⁹ Song Jiayu 宋家鈺. "Fojiao Zhaiwen Yuanliu Yu Dunhuang Ben Zhaiwen Shu de Fuyuan 佛教齋文源流與敦煌本《齋文》書的復原". *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (1992):71.

¹⁰ Hao Chunwen 郝春文, "Guanyu Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen de ji ge wenti 關於敦煌寫本齋文的幾個問題." *Shoudu shifan daxue xue bao (shehui kexue ban)* 首都師範大學學報：社會科學版, no. 2 (1996): 67.

Teiser's seven-part model based on the additional consideration of different language registers used in healing liturgies.¹¹ Additionally, Wang San-ching analyzed several relevant manuscripts in Japanese collections to illustrate the adaptability in component parts and the post-tenth century transformation of the genre.¹² The most important consensus among these studies is the modular design observed in the construction of liturgies, regardless of the exact number and nature of reasonably defined components.

Modularity is a broader concept which has been widely applied to the study of Chinese material culture and art production.¹³ In the study of ritual and liturgical manuscripts from Dunhuang, Paul Copp has described the production of manuals for practices surrounding talisman-seals and devotional chanting through the adaptation and combination of modular elements readily seen in other disparate sources.¹⁴ Similarly, in the current context of texts associated with merit-generating *zhai*, full liturgies are constructed out of a number of functional units or modules corresponding roughly to the annotated sections in P.2832(25), which are assembled in a conventional order according to literary and ritual logic. Upon this basic structure, compositions that perform a loosely similar function but comprising of different internal literary structures and contents can be interchanged to compile suitable liturgies for use

¹¹ Stephen Teiser, "The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism," in *Tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū: Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book, 2014).

¹² Wang San-Ching. 王三慶“Dunhuang wenxian zhaiyuan wenti de yuanliu yu jiegou 敦煌文獻齋願文體的源流與結構” *Journal of Chinese Literature of National Cheng Kung University* 成大中文學報, no. 54 (2016), 27–58.

¹³ The foundational study is of course Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

¹⁴ Paul Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang: Buddhist Seals and Their Manuals." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011), 193–226; "Writing Buddhist liturgies in Dunhuang: Hints of ritualist craft" In *Language and Religion* edited by Robert Yelle, Courtney Handman and Christopher Leirich. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2019), 68-86.

in different specific occasions. For example, in the narrow context of a liturgy for a Great Auspicious ceremony such as S.2832(25) quoted above, the generic praises for the beneficiaries in section two can be swapped for text more tailored to the individual, such as descriptive gender- or age-specific set phrases, or more complex stylized narratives of their life experiences. Modules can also be easily duplicated as a compilation technique in liturgies, especially in ornamentation sections where generated merit may be directed several times, resulting in the parallel addition of groups of phrases dedicated to different beneficiaries put together in the same fashion.

In conceptualizing liturgies as intrinsically modular constructions, anthologies of *zhaiwen* models found in Dunhuang manuscripts can be understood as collections of individually labeled or sorted modules, and the various combinations of modular components into longer compiled forms. These different modes are often found in the same anthology: for instance, while S.2832(25) discussed above is assembled with different components and missing only the insertion of personal details, S.2832(20) is a group of short, self-contained sections describing desired ritual outcomes for beneficiaries¹⁵ and S.2832(26–28)¹⁶ are individually labeled passages explaining ritual circumstances.¹⁷ This variety may be generated by the dynamic processes of production and transmission of such anthologies by ritual specialists, who were likely actively selecting and recombining different formats of circulating *zhaiwen* material into reference manuals according to different access, needs and preferences, perhaps even encouraged by the flexibility afforded by the modular structure of the genre itself.

¹⁵ As clearly indicated by the characters *weiyuan* 惟願 “(we) indeed vow (that)” which marks the beginning of each unit in this section.

¹⁶ S.2832(26) *wangnü shi* 亡女事, S.2832(26) *lüshi shi* 律師事, S.2832(26) *yin canwang shi* 因產亡事.

¹⁷ See Chapter 3: Passage 2 Auspicious Omens for a fully transcribed example.

Other features important to the understanding of *zhaiwen* models are their structural and ritual function, at times indicated by annotations similar to those in S.2832(25). In Teiser’s study on the most common healing liturgy, performative phrases composed in a different language register are considered distinct textual units from the highly structured parallel prose which make up the majority of compiled liturgies.¹⁸ Examples of the two different modes can also be seen in S.2832(25) transcribed above: the bolded parts in sections 2, 3, and 5 are written in unstructured prose, relatively succinct, and state the effective purpose and actions in the conducting of the ritual, as opposed to the ornate descriptive language in the rest of the text. The critical function of these effective sections, especially the *zhuangyan*, in the performance of the *zhai* ritual has been extensively investigated by Teiser,¹⁹ but it is interesting to see if their importance is similarly realized in *zhaiwen* model anthologies such as the *Zhaiwanwen*, or if these works have different priorities in their creation and application.

2. The Manuscripts

A total of seven manuscripts containing substantial lengths of texts also attested in the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* will be examined in this chapter, with their characteristics summarized in the table below.

Table 2.2 Manuscripts Bearing Textual Overlap with the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen*

Mss.	Format	Nature	Date	P.2547 L	ZWW Ch
P.2547	Bound form	ZWW	Mid-8th C		
P.2867	Bound form?	ZWW (?)	?	3–5	3–4?
Φ342v	Scroll	ZWW (?)	10th C	3–4	2–3
P.3772	Scroll?	ZWW (?)	9th C?	8–10	7, 5, 9?
P.3541	Scroll?	Specialized Anthology	10th C?	8, 7, 13, 10	9, 8, 7

¹⁸ Teiser, “The Most Common Healing Liturgy,” 419.

¹⁹ Teiser, “Ornamenting the Departed,” 229–232.

Table 2.2 Manuscripts Bearing Textual Overlap with the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* (continued)

P.2991v	Composite Scroll	Specialized Anthology	10th C	10, 11	7
Дx-1309 group	Bound form?	ZWW (?)	?	4, 7	3, 7, 4, 9
D192	Scroll	<i>Essential Collections</i>	Late 8th C?		

The majority of these manuscripts are physically damaged and only partially preserved, perhaps due to their nature as documents in practical use: as we will see in the detailed descriptions later in this chapter, their original form or if they contained more than one distinct text is often not completely clear, and most have no obvious date of production. Also, none carry texts that correspond to the entire range of materials or themes seen in P.2547, perhaps due to their fragmentary nature, and seem to concentrate for the large part on consecutive “chapters” or leaves in each manuscript. For ease of analysis and presentation, I divide these manuscripts into three sections: (a) P.2867 and Φ342v which contain models seen in P.2547 Leaves 3 to 4, (b) P.3772, P.3541, and P.2991v roughly corresponding to Leaves 7–13, and (c) Дx-1309 group and D192 which form an outlying group as the final two manuscripts do not present a continuous overlapping body of text for study.

2.a P.2867 and Φ342v

P.2867 is a relatively short manuscript measuring around 28 × 78 cm, consisting of two paper sheets of good quality pasted together. Stained with moisture or grease, and showing clear signs of wear, its most striking physical characteristic is the row of ten holes made in regular intervals in the ample margin parallel to its right edge, indicating it may have been originally bound with string on that edge which led to the more marked damage on its opposite left edge

where sizable holes are present. There is no obvious indication of construction date on this manuscript.²⁰

The main text of P.2867 starts with the section labelled *Tanfo wen* 嘆佛文 (*In Praise of the Buddha*) which corresponds to the start of the *Zhaiwanwen*'s Chapter Three as seen in P.2547 Leaf 3 and extends to the recto concluding with the section *Chu tingsongguan* 出聽訟官 (*Departure for a Litigation Position*) which corresponds to the second section of P.2547 Leaf 5. This text is entirely written in one hand with excellent calligraphy in small characters and a style visibly similar to P.2547, along with reading marks and several corrections made in red ink. Neither side of the manuscript is ruled with ink lines, but there seems to be a marked effort to keep the columns of text straight and equally distanced, apart from a small section towards the end where the copyist heavily compressed the final five columns to finish the text despite running out of space, indicating that no following sheet was attached when the text was copied. This suggests that P.2867 was a self-contained or final leaf of the hypothetical bound form it detached from, where component leaves were cut to shape before adding the text.

Considering that P.2867 is more akin to P.2547's leaves in size than most other known codices in the Dunhuang corpus, this unknown but likely more planned type of construction may point to an equally early and experimental bound form like P.2547 where the aim could be to produce more portable *zhai* model anthologies for reference. Nevertheless, P.2867 likely circulated in some fashion either before the row of holes were made, or more probably after it detached from any binding, as an extremely faint second hand can be seen referring to the well-

²⁰ Codicological information for this manuscript comes mostly from the *Catalogue*, accessed through "Pelliot chinois 2867," http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=2594069518;recnum=60048;index=8

attested Golden Light Monastery (*Jinguangming si* 金光明寺) of Dunhuang in a column of writing spanning the right margin area, as well as some scribbles between the main text in the first several columns of the recto.

Φ342v is a structurally more complex manuscript than P.2867. According to its placement in the Shanghai facsimile reproductions²¹ and the *Catalogue of Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* (hereafter the *Tai Catalogue*),²² Φ342 is the last of three pieces detached from the same scroll, with the other two catalogued as Φ319 and Φ361. This detail is important as it allows the joint consideration of several clues to the manuscript's provenance: the recto, which is all written in the same hand, bears a student-written end colophon dating to a *xinhai* 辛亥 year,²³ and its primary text, the popular song cycle *Shi'er shi puquan sizhong yijiao xiuxing* 十二時普勸四衆依教修行, mentions the reign title *Zhonghe* 中和 (881–885 CE) which limits the possibility to 891, 951, or 1011 CE. Moreover, in the *zhaiwen*-like text attached to the front of the *Shi'er shi* in the damaged head of the scroll, the incomplete official title *si*-司[?], —likely *sikong* 司空 (Minister of Works) or *situ* 司徒 (Minister of Education)²⁴ — is a primary beneficiary listed immediately after the emperor. Both titles were

²¹ Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House ed., *Eluosi Kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo cang Dunhuang wen xian* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌文獻, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 5:160–167, 255–258.

²² Tai Huili 邵惠莉, and Ma De 馬德. *E Cang Dunhuang Wen Xian Xu Lu* 俄藏敦煌文獻叙錄, (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2019), 46.

²³ 辛亥年正月八日學郎米定子自寫之耳.

²⁴ The second character, of which only 1.5 strokes remain, looks to me like *kong* 空, making *sikong* Minister of Works. Mai Xiaoying 賈小英, in a study of this manuscript, believes the title to be *situ* as the only overlap of either title with a *xinhai* year is during Zhang Huaiding's reign in 891 CE. However, I see no reason that the copyist must be confined to texts composed in the current year especially since it is a “self-initiated copy” (自寫之), so I did not take this view here. “E cangben ‘Shi’er shi puquan sizhong yijiao xiuxing jiaokan he yanjiu’ 俄藏本《十二時

used by a series of leaders of the Guiyijun regime in Dunhuang from approximately 861 to 950 CE, pointing to a late ninth century to mid-tenth century date.

The singular text of Φ 342v, the topic of our discussion, is written in a different hand than the recto text and was copied at a different and presumably later time likely in the tenth century, which seem to indicate, along with P.2940, that a significant portion of the *Zhaiwanwen* was still circulating as a distinct and cohesive text nearly two centuries after its earliest attested manuscript P.2547. Unlike the recto text, Φ 342v is unruled and looks disorderly from its inconsistent column width as well as featuring no discernable top or bottom margin throughout the text. Its characters are written in a rougher style with uneven breaks that mostly do not align with natural segments or phrases, and it is clearly a less formal production. The text starts at the right edge of the fragment with a label which is not physically distinguished from the following text — *The Deference of Barbarians from the Four Directions to the Emperor* (*Huangdi siyi fengming* 皇帝四夷奉命), which is nearly identical to the third section title of Chapter Two of the *Zhaiwanwen* as seen in the P.2940 table of contents, and indeed continues uninterrupted until it stops at the end of the seventy-seventh column in mid-phrase of a *Defender* (*wei* 尉) section from Chapter Three. Descriptions of Φ 319 + Φ 361 make no mention of verso text, but it is possible that the Φ 342v text is missing its original beginning portions given the discontinuous nature of the three fragments.

2.a.i *Comparison and Analysis*

普勸四眾依教修行》校勘和研究,” *Lanzhou daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 蘭州大學學報 (社會科學版) 30, no. 3 (2002): 27.

As discussed briefly above, all three manuscripts likely included extensive selections of liturgical models associated with the *Zhaiwanwen* in their original production. The first part of the analysis below, however, will mainly highlight sections corresponding to Chapter Three *Inaugurating Taking Office*, as they consist of the main overlapping portion and may share characteristic features with similar collections.

Straightforward section labels denoting different official positions are similarly defined by preceding empty space in all three manuscripts and additionally marked with red ink dots and following space in P.2867 and P.2547. Almost all known sections contain several modular textual units, each of which can be easily identified by red marks in P.2867 and P.2547 or by following the natural paragraph in the less differentiated Φ342v. Modular paragraphs in this overlapping portion are often followed by notes, which are written in double columns of smaller characters in P.2547 and P.2867. The labels and contents of the sections which overlaps in all three manuscripts are represented in the table below for comparison.

Table 2.3 Comparison of P.2547, P.2867, and Φ342v

P.2547 L3	Notes	P.2867 1/2	Notes	Φ342v	Notes
[缺]				皇帝四夷奉命	
五穀豐登				五穀豐登	
歎佛文		歎佛文		歎像文	
刺史 1	[缺]	刺史 1		刺史 1	
		刺史 2	須緣某事云云	刺史 2	須緣某事又云
		刺史 3	須緣某事	刺史 3	須緣某事
		刺史 4		刺史 4	
		都督 1	須緣某事云云	都督 1	
		都督 2			
		長史司馬 1	須緣某事云云	長史司馬 1	事又云須緣其
		長史司馬 2	須緣某事云云	長史司馬 2	云功德如上 須緣其事

Table 2.3 Comparison of P.2547, P.2867, and Φ342v (continued)

P.2547 L4	長史司馬 3	長史司馬 3
六司 1 [缺]	六司 1 須緣某事云云	六司 1 事即云須緣其
六司 2 須緣某事云云	六司 2 須緣某事云云	六司 2
縣令 1 須緣某事云云	縣令 1 須緣某事云云	縣令 1 事又云須緣其
縣令 2 須緣某事云云	縣令 2 須緣某事云云	縣令 2 須緣其某事云云
縣令 3 功德如上	縣令 3 功德如上	文官 1 功德如上
縣令 4	縣令 4	文官 2
縣丞 1 [缺]	縣丞 1 須緣某事云云	縣丞 1 須緣某事云
	縣丞 2 須緣某事云云	縣丞 2
	主簿 1 須緣某事云云	主簿 1 須緣某事
	主簿 2	主簿 2
	尉 1 須緣云云	尉 1 [缺]
	尉 2 功德如上	
	尉 3	

From the representation above, we can see that the three manuscripts are highly uniform in both the naming and organization of sections and models. After the singular, customary praise of the Buddha's intercessory powers, presumably applicable as the introductory passage of any liturgy compiled using the following models, sections dedicated to different provincial positions are ordered from the prefectural to district administrations and from higher to lower importance in all versions. The count is very similar to the section list of Chapter Three as seen in the *Zhaiwanwen* Table of Contents apart from the appearance of Commander-in-chief (*dudu* 都督) section. Collected models in each section of the three manuscripts represented in the same row are identifiably versions of the same text with the same number of couplets, albeit littered with minor variations of either homophonic, synonymic, and alternate characters, or clear copying omissions breaking phrasal structure that do not alter the general meaning of the text.

Table 2.4 The *District Magistrate* section in P.2867

縣令 1	惟公蟬聯茂緒，奕葉崇宗，寔朝野之元龜，信人倫之藻鏡。 於是任光墨綬，職綰銅章，製錦一同，調絃百里。扇仁風而訓俗，青鷺已翔；宣惠化以字人，白鳥俄集。 加以翹誠奈苑，會緇侶於槐庭；聳慮香園，獻芳珍於蘭供。	須緣某事 云云
縣令 2	明府公志業冲遠，風神警悟：珪璋特達，梓杞蕭森。 既而撫化一同，狎雉之風再闡；宣條百里，翔鸞之美克融。	須緣某事 云云
縣令 3	惟公以榮高銅墨，位屈絃歌，下車流撫字之恩，振筆動雷風之迅。 加以深崇妙覺，展敬如宗，頃屬某緣，冥心起願。故於	功德如上
縣令 4	惟願九煩霧卷，七障煙晞，般若意珠，意常清意海；涅槃妙樂，永沃神衷。 門闕克昌，家聲載遠，中外支屬，協千慶以凝貞；隨喜見聞，延百福而昭泰。 <u>控蓮臺而放白豪，而照十方者，諸佛縱神力，甄金散寶[?]搖動，坐桂殿以臨紫微，而朝萬國者，我聖主揚化；公[缺]光。練三魔而滿三祇，拔三塗而出三界；置九州而[缺]聖主之慈悲，功德福田，詎知崖岸者矣！</u>	

Apart from the introductory passage near the beginning, collected models in this section of texts under discussion belong to two different types of modules often combined in one section as demonstrated by the transcription of the District Magistrate section above. The majority are similar to DM1–3, which introduces the patron with “indeed, the good sir” (*weigong* 惟公) or more simply “Master of the Enlightened Office” (*mingfu gong* 明府公, an epithet for District Magistrate), and consist of praises of the patron’s virtue and talent as a scholar-official composed in ornate, structured prose. Different lengths and combinations of elements can be seen even in the limited selection here, for example the last sentences of DM1 and DM3 leading into the patron’s participation in Buddhist activities such as making offerings and vow-making, which is not seen in DM2.

The first half of DM4 may represent the second module type, which all start with the phrase “(we) indeed vow (that)” (*weiyuan* 惟願) and are placed last in the section. They are

mostly descriptions of the desired outcomes of the ritual, usually expressed in terms of personal salvation and wishing for the continued prosperity of the patron's familial clan. Although these vow passages are different in each section when they appear, the phrasing seldom include outright indication of the patron's assumed identity as an official, and there is also no functional direction of merit included as in S.2832(25)'s "ornamentation" section.

Interestingly, most of the patron praise module have notes following them in all three manuscripts. These notes in turn have two patterns, the first being variations of a phrase that I interpret as "necessary on account of anonymous' (the donor's) deeds et cetera" 須緣某事云云²⁵ and the second "merit as above" 功德如上. The first may be a straightforward reminder to tailor and insert the specific circumstances of the patron within the praise, while the second pattern, which appears only in the last praise models before vow passages, is reminiscent of the functional phrase "the merit as (generated) above as use to ornament..." in the *zhuangyan* section of S.2832(25) and may be a shorthand or placeholder for similarly formulaic direction of merit. This shorthand seems to be the only reference to functional phrasing in the entire series of models under discussion and may point to the anthology's focus on ornate language of specific descriptions rather than the more generic, effective components in relatively unstructured prose.

The combination of praise and vow modules with the former accompanied by the note "merit as above" persists into the following corresponding parts of P.2867 and P.2547 Leaf 5

²⁵ *xuyuan* 須緣, the most confusing part of the phrase, is a combination that appears extremely rarely in transmitted texts outside of Buddhist exegesis on causes and conditions. *Yuan*, however, is known to be used formulaically in practical documents from Dunhuang in combination with other elements to designate the cause for stated actions or circumstances as observed by Galambos in "She Association Circulars from Dunhuang" in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 862. My gratitude to Donald Harper for bringing the various vernacular uses of *yuan* 緣 to my attention (again!)

wherever more than one passage is collected in a labeled section; both seem to be the collection focus of models for *zhai* rituals concerning official positions.

Table 2.5 Comparison of P.2547 and P.2867, Part 2

P.2867 2/2	加官	錄事參軍 ₁	錄事參軍 ₂	御史	畿外官 ₁	畿外官 ₂	文貢 ₁	文貢 ₂	赴任 ₁	赴任 ₂	罷任	出聽頌官 ₁							
P.2547 Leaf 5	Damage											出聽頌官 ₁	出聽頌官 ₂	得書手	撰碑文	甘州任家口平安	供奉	Damage	

In an account of variation between the three manuscripts, nearly all significant occurrences divide Φ342v and the other two. For instance, an addition label “Civil Officials” (*wenguan* 文官) is written between DM2 and DM3 in the District Magistrate section only in Φ342v, which is strange because it is not attested in the relevant portions of the *Zhaiwanwen* table of contents and seems redundantly unspecific in a list of sections intended for primarily civil officials. In addition, literary allusions in DM3 such as “bronze seal with a black ribbon” (*tongmo* 銅墨)²⁶ do refer specifically to the District Magistrates. This may be a mistaken transplant by the copyist of Φ342v or their immediate sources, perhaps from similarly labeled, *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated passages for death rituals that we will discuss later in this chapter.

Further down the page, well-wishes in DM4 in only P.2867 and P.2547 are followed by elaborate praises of the Buddha’s power and beneficence which uses a markedly looser phrasal

²⁶ Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 742–743, “縣令、長, 皆秦官, 掌治其縣。萬戶以上爲令, 秩千石至六百石……秩比六百石以上, 皆銅印黑綬。”

structure than preceding sentences. Reading differently than the preceding text stylistically and content-wise, it is unknown if these praises were compiled into the anthology in combination with the vow module as one unit, or if they were insertions in parallel traditions which nevertheless were not preserved in later circulations of the text such as Φ342v. Moreover, a second model in the Commander-in-chief (*dudu* 都督) section extant in P.2867 is absent in Φ342v, which may be due to the section's relative instability due to it being a later addition to the original compilation of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

One final aspect of the overlapping text which sees interesting variations is the annotations to the models discussed above. While the association of note to model is overall consistent, which may indicate their intentional preservation as meaningful instructions, Φ342v often differs from P.2867 and P.2547 in the exact phrasing particularly with the first pattern. As the Φ342v variant does not seem to make coherent sense, this departure is likely due to the Φ342v copyist or their immediate sources' misinterpretation of the direction of text or otherwise a garbling of its source material, which may have presented its notes in double columns like P.2867 and P.2547.

In the two extant manuscripts P.2867 and Φ342v that contain significant overlapping texts with the first half of P.2547, particularly Leaves 3 and 4 that correspond to the *Zhaiwanwen*'s Chapter Three *Inaugurating Taking Office*, the organization and selection of models remain largely consistent both within and between manuscripts. P.2867 shares close similarities in both textual and codicological characteristics with P.2547, particular reading marks and experimental binding which signifies active use and may have been produced in proximity to the latter's mid-eighth century Hexi origin. Φ342v, on the other hand, dates to the tenth century and unsurprisingly displays more variations from the other two manuscripts in the

absence of several collected models. Φ342v also seems to be produced with some lack of care or regard for the meaning of the text, as evidenced by the lack of formatting, the garbling of the notes, and multiple skipped-over characters that break parallel structure in the models, which indicates that it was not meant to be a functional manual. Though this portion of the *Zhaiwanwen* survives in circulation a century and a half after our earliest known manuscript, it may no longer have been used for the purpose of compiling full liturgies.

2.b P.3772, P.3541, and P.2991

In the second part of this chapter, we will discuss three manuscripts, P.3772; P.3541; and P.2991v, which contain models intended for abstinence periods, death and commemorative rituals, and other miscellaneous occasions corresponding to those seen in P.2547 Leaves 8 to 13. As we will see, the greater range of themes is accompanied by a wider variety and complexity in the arrangement and composition of models in these different *zhaiwen* anthologies.

2.b.i P.3772

P.3772 is a single page measuring 27.8×76 cm showing heavy moisture and insect stains as well as minor wear around the edges. Reminiscent of P.2867, it contains a single text copied in a neat hand in relatively small characters which continues directly to the verso, and is similarly dotted with red reading marks and ruled in uneven ink without clearly defined top and bottom margins. Beginning mid-phrase close to the right edge of the sheet and remaining unfinished at the end of the last column on the leftmost edge of the recto, the run of the text indicates that P.3772 was detached from a preceding sheet, either as the last page of a scroll or a component leaf among others. The page is marked with vertical folds as well as several fainter

horizontal lines that cut across the page, indications that it may have been compressed in some way during its lifetime. Given its physical likeness to P.2547 and P.2867, I speculate that it may have been folded or tightly rolled for portability in use. There are no obvious signs of age, but the *Catalogue* dates the manuscript to the ninth century.

Table 2.6 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 1

					一	二	三	四	五	六	七	八	九	十	十一	十二	十三	十四	十五
P.3772 (1/3)					(元日)	五月	九月	總結云	諸齋月	二月八日	正月半	二月半	四月八	七月半	臘月八	總云	僧尼道士女官	僧	尼
P.2547 L8	藏鉤	獸暴蝗食苗	疫病	二長月	正月	元日	五月	九月	總結云	諸齋月	二月八日	(正月半)	二月半	Damage					

The text starts with models — also occurring in P.2547 Leaf 8 — concerning rituals held during periods of abstinence, gathered in two distinct groups with concluding passages. A section labeled *Sengni daoshi niguan* 僧尼道士女官 (*Buddhist Monks and Nuns, and Daoist Priests and Priestesses*) follows, which includes models for the Buddhists but interestingly not the mentioned Daoists. This section is missing in P.2547 likely due to its damaged condition, but appears to be a partial selection of the *Zhaiwanwen* Chapter Five *Conferring Felicitous Vows* as it bears identical labels to the corresponding chapter in the Table of Contents. Indeed, the extant models mainly praise the renunciation of lay life and ordination into their respective orders, which supports my speculation in the previous chapter that these models may have been intended for the recognition of official religious status.

Table 2.7 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 2

	嘆亡文									文官					武官
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
P.3772 (2/3)	(藏山未遠)	(泡幻不停)	帝崩	太后	皇后	皇太子	妃	王	都督	刺史	長史司馬	判司等	縣令	縣丞尉主簿	將軍
P.2547 L9	Damage			(太后)	皇后	皇太子	妃	王	都督	刺史	長史司馬	判司等	縣令	縣丞尉主簿	Damage

Table 2.8 Comparison of P.3772 and P.2547, Part 3

	凡庶考妣兄弟子女等考					兒女幼稚父母俱亡			妣		像燈放生															
	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46										
P.3772 (3/3)	(疏神王轎)	(演慶昌源)	(仁風雅智)	(寔迺依仁)	(稟質英靈)	(嚴蔭早違)	(早隔嚴規)	(幼年嬰禍)	(四德光備)	(門風積善)	(四德含章)	(柔範居懷)	(孝誠淺來)	(像燈放生)	(又飛禽之類)	(高攀愛網)										
P.2547 L10	Damage										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
											(四德含章)	(柔範居懷)	(孝誠淺來)	(像燈放生)	(又飛禽之類)	(高攀愛網)	(竭誠無感)	(不謂柯條)	(不謂陰陽驟改)	在道燒香	(臨壙追祠)					

The remainder of the text consists of *zhaiwen* models for funerary and commemorative rituals, including two introductory texts and clearly defined sections dedicated to the members of the imperial family and civil and military provincial officials. This is followed by models

intended for “commoner deceased parents, brothers, and children et cetera”²⁷, with a consistent and overarching organization scheme from high to low social rank. As we can see in the comparison with P.2547 in the tables above, wherever the extant text overlaps through the substantial length and range of themes, the two manuscripts correspond fully in both the collection and the order in which the texts are arranged. P.3772 is therefore very likely close in relationship to P.2547, especially considering their codicological similarities. Even the later parts of the text which almost certainly changed significantly from the *Zhaiwanwen*’s original compilation align — arguably indicating that the new assemblage of models found enough demand to be transmitted with significant cohesion in further copies.

2.b.ii P.3541

P.3541 is an extremely damaged manuscript which survives as two sizable fragments. The text of interest to this study is concentrated on the recto of the first fragment, which comprises of four paper sheets of different widths and measures around 22.6 × 114 cm in total, with clear signs of breakage on both edges and several holes on the page. The manuscript is not ruled but the columns are reasonably neat and copied with a uniform hand slightly looser than that of P.3772, and several corrections can be observed. There are no clear indications of dating on the recto, but the verso — written in a different hand — contains what seems to be a portrait eulogy (*miaozhen zan* 邈真贊) for the monastic leader Zhang Shancai 張善才. Presumably composed in the early tenth century,²⁸ the eulogy’s mostly complete presence suggests that this verso text may have been copied after the initial disjoining of the manuscript. Additionally,

²⁷ 凡庶考妣兄弟子女等

²⁸ Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, Xiang Chu 項楚, and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Dunhuang miaozhen zan jiaolu bing yanjiu*. 敦煌邈真讚校錄并研究 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1994), 20.

though the connection to the first fragment is not entirely clear, the second fragment is scribbled with liturgical components and writing exercises in several other hands on the verso. The Lingtu Monastery 靈圖寺 of Dunhuang is mentioned in a later layer, indicating that it was likely heavily circulated and recycled in a monastic context.

Table 2.9 Comparison of P.3541, P.3772, P.2547, and the *Zhaiwanwen* Table of Contents

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
P.3541	(元日)	五月	九月	總結云	二月八日	二月半	四月八日	七月半	臘月八日	願文	入宅	造幡	抄經	造像	僧患	法師	律師	禪師	尼師	(臨壙追祠)
P.3772	1	2	3	4	6	8	9	10	11											
P.2547 Leaf	8						Dam.		?	?	?	7	?	?	Damage?		13	10		
ZWW ToC	Ch. 9									?	9	Ch. 8		9	Ch. 7					

The recto text of P.3541 under discussion is interesting because it departs significantly from both P.2547 and P.3772 in its collection and arrangement of *zhai* models. Its starting portions dedicated to periods of abstinence (1–9) adhere only partially to corresponding sections in the other two manuscripts, missing three sections in the second group: the head (*zhu zhaiyue* 諸齋月), occasional phrases for the fifteenth of the first month, and the concluding passage (P.3772: 5, 7, 12). The wording of the labels is also slightly different with the character *ri* 日 affixed to each numerical designation for specific days, which is absent in P.2547 and P.3772. Immediately following is a relatively generic assembled model (10) praying for personal longevity simply titled “vow-text” (*yuanwen* 願文), which stands out from its neighbors in form, labeling style, and intended occasion. This text is not attested in any other *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated

manuscript, though elements of it can be seen in other liturgical anthology manuscripts which in turn do not contain other *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated passages.²⁹ This suggests that the text may have been taken from other circulating traditions of *zhaiwen* models and inserted into P.3541 by the copyist.

The latter half of P.3541 continues with passages for moving into a new dwelling (11), dedications of material production for merit generation (12–14), a healing liturgy (15) and death ritual texts for monastics (16–19), and finally fragments of a passage for funerary grave offerings (20). All are either known from *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated manuscripts or at least have their labels attested in the Table of Contents. What is curious, however, is that passages for different purposes neither exhaust the known collected number of models nor follow the rough order of themed groups commonly seen in other *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated anthologies. For instance, compared to P.2547, the selection in P.3541 jumps from those found in Leaf 8 to Leaf 7 and then further to Leaves 13 and 10. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the order of themes in P.3541 also do not match up to that in the Table of Contents. It seems likely based on these characteristics that the copyist of P.3541 may not have had access to the full range of texts copied in earlier comprehensive anthologies like P.2547 and P.3772, or more possibly P.3541 was assembled as a more streamlined selection of models according to the copyist's personal needs and preferences, drawing mainly from *Zhaiwanwen* sources but also including the “vow-text” from other anthologies.

²⁹ For example, the entirety of the P.3541 “vow-text” is also seen in the P.2226 anthology among similarly titled models while its introductory passage is used in a number of different compiled liturgies for various occasions, including a healing liturgy in S.5584 which has a colophon dating to 935 CE, and an association dedication of images to the local monastery dating to the Guiyijun period in S.474.

2.b.iii P.2991v

P.2991 is a long composite scroll consisting of five distinct manuscripts of likely disparate origins, with different qualities of paper and copied in different hands. All five contain Buddhist ritual or commemorative texts and often feature hasty writing with frequent corrections, suggesting the scroll may have been a personal collection of recycled discarded drafts for reference. Several examples of recto texts record names of known historical figures, such as merit records composed by the mid-ninth century monk-official Zhizhao 智照³⁰ and a Grand Councilor Zhang of the Western Han Jinshan Kingdom (ca. 910–914 CE)³¹ signify the compiler's possible interest and access to religious pieces involving the elite of Dunhuang.

The text of our current discussion (hereafter P.2991v) is spread across the verso of several of the component manuscripts and is evidently copied after the scroll's production in the tenth century or later. The copying was most likely undertaken by its compiler as it shares the same hand as the recto text of the second component manuscript, which interestingly contains the previously discussed liturgy commemorating the death anniversary of the Emperor Taizong, also seen in P.3535. The writing, as in the rest of the scroll, is relatively rough and its unruled columns appear uneven, indicating a less formal production than manuscripts like P.2547. The beginning of the P.2991v text looks to be completely preserved, with the first column containing in its lower half what seems to be a label or annotations to the following passages: *Liturgy for the*

³⁰ Zhizhao 智照, here titled 瓜沙境大行軍都屈節度衙幕府判, is also attested in P.3726 as serving in some kind of diplomatic position 釋門大番瓜沙境大行軍衙知兩國密遣判官. He also dedicated P.2285, a copy of the *Foshuo fumu enzhong jing* 佛說父母恩重經 to his deceased mother in 847 CE.

³¹ 西漢金山國頭聽大宰相清河張公, i.e. Zhang Wenche 張文徹, an important figure in the Zhang Guiyijun regime and at least nominally the foremost official of the Jinshan government. Also attested in P.3633, P.3718, S.5394, and P.5039.

Ceasing of Offerings at the Third Anniversary (of Death) — Deceased Father and Mother — Taking All (?) 三周畢供文 考妣 一切取。 True to this start, the entire P.2991v text consist of models intended for death and commemorative *zhai* rituals for family members, most of which are also copied in P.2547 Leaves 10 and 11, though it remains unfinished and breaks off mid-column.

Table 2.10 Comparison of P.2991v, P.2547, and P.3772

P.2547 L10				7	8	9	10						1	2	3	4	5	6	11	
P.3772 No.	16							35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	
									兒女幼稚 父母俱亡							畫像燃 燈放生				
P.2991 v (1/2)	1 (藏山易遠)	2 (藏開錦像)	3 (疏神王嶠)	4 (孝誠無感)	5 (不謂柯條)	6 (不謂陰陽驟改)	7 (在道燒香)	8 (稟質英靈)	9 (嚴蔭早違)	10 (早隔嚴規)	11 (幼年嬰禍)	12 (四德光備)	13 (門風積善)	14 (四德含章)	15 (柔範居懷)	16 (孝誠淺來)	17 (像燈放生)	18 (又飛禽之類)	19 (高攀愛網)	20 (臨壙追祠)

								兒女及孩子 并新婦等亡	
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
P.2991v (2/2)	為孝妣起塔	兄亡	弟亡	兄弟通用	官庶等妻亡	老長	少長	兒	孫子
P.2547 L11	Damage	兄亡	弟亡	兄弟通用	官庶等妻亡	(老長)	(少長)	Damage	

When comparing the list of P.2991v's collected models with the other manuscripts above, we can see that it draws heavily from the same pool of models as P.2547 and P.3772, though

significant variations can be observed. Several series of models in P.2991v — namely (4–7), (8–19), and (22–29) — display the same configuration as their counterparts in other manuscripts. However, the order of these series varies, for example P.2547 places P.2991v (14–20) directly before (4–7), and some series seem to cut through longer groups seen in other manuscripts such as P.2991v (8), which is collected as the last passage of a five model *Deceased Father* section in P.3772. Other sections such as P.2991v (21) *Making Offerings at the Grave* have less connection with surrounding models: it is seen in P.3541 following models for deceased monastics which do not appear in P.2991v, and while its preceding passage in P.2547 *Burning Incense on the Road 在道燒香* (7) is included, it is placed after the *Portrait Painting, Lamp-Lighting, Releasing of Animals* group in P.2991v (17–20) instead. Lastly, in the curious case of the beginning sections (1–3), P.2991v seemed to have taken the first of two introductory passages seen in P.3772 (1) and combined it with different and otherwise unattested modular components describing the ritual space and intention (2), as well as the deceased ritual subject (3) to form a mostly compiled liturgical model.

From the title and extant contents of the P.2991v text, it was clearly produced as a document specializing in funerary and commemorative liturgies for family members of sponsors who do not necessarily have official appointments and not a comprehensive anthology like P.2547 or P.3772. Though some kind of organization scheme seems to exist in P.2991v, it is not followed as closely as P.2547 and P.3772, and groups of models for similar functions are less clearly defined by section labels, which points to a less formal production than the other manuscripts, a scenario corroborated by its codicological characteristics. With the lack of more extant materials making use of these observed liturgical models, it is difficult to extrapolate more details about their circulation and appearance in different types of *zhaiwen* anthologies. Given

the relatively late date of P.2991v and the high degree of overlap with *Zhaiwanwen* manuscripts, it seems likely that it was assembled mainly drawing from anthologies in the *Zhaiwanwen* tradition, with only very minor contributions from other circulating models, similar to P.3541.

2.b.iv Structure and Function of Models

As outlined briefly in the investigation of the nature of the three *zhaiwen* anthologies above, collected models correlating to the later portions of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* exhibit a much wider variety in presentation, function, and cohesiveness between sections. Some extant series of texts do seem to conform to an overarching framework similar to that of models dedicated to official positions discussed in the first part of this chapter: a few introductory passages are placed in the beginning of the series, followed by consistently labeled and structured sections arranged in an order of descending importance of the model subject. This organization scheme may have been developed by the original compiler of the *Zhaiwanwen*. The majority of the sections for funerary and commemorative models seen in P.2547 (L9–11), P.3772 (16–43), and P.2991v (8–16, 23–39) — which uniformly contain one to two passages describing the exemplary qualities of the deceased as applicable to their station and lamenting their untimely demise — adhere to this pattern, which also includes a distinct lack of effective and unstructured elements. Other models, however, seemed to be arranged in different formats and form distinctive units within the discussed manuscripts.

For instance, each of two groups of models intended for periods of abstinence as seen in P.2547 (L8), P.3772 (1–12), and P.3541 (1–9) seem to be self-contained units in the sense that they provide stylistically consistent templates for compiling several different modules, including both constant and interchangeable pieces in the same section apart from surrounding models. The

first group, labeled the *San changyue* 三長月 (*Three Months of Abstinence*) is the more extensive and is transcribed below as an example.

Table 2.11 *Three Months of Abstinence* in P.2547 and P.3772

三長月	惟施主冀百日而無恙，終四序而常宜，五形不虧，三長靡綴。	A
正月	故以太皞君臨之始，勾芒蒞政之初，香捻金爐，供陳瑤席。	B
	惟某冀形隨景媚，齒逐年新；宅宇禎祥，尊卑保豫。	A
	故以居諸會臨之始，陰陽曆選初；懸羊助氣之辰，吞雞練形之日。 []瑩堂宇，陳綺[缺]。獻歲元辰，蕩煩籠於故月；[缺]燭景，光法會於新年。	B
元日	當今吞雞練形之日，懸羊助氣之辰；拂華宇而列綺筵，燻寶香而陳清供。	B ?
	功德如上	
	唯願永逢元日，恆保上春，壽等松筠，富深江海。 忠臣孝子，震響青蒲；德婦女儀，揚暉素豪。綠珠黃髮，左右(磨肩，紺)馬青牛，欄牢蝶足。隨珠趙璧，鎮滿階庭；綺服羅裊，常盈篋司。	C
五月	故於景臨鶉首，律中蕤賓；擬天廚，參海岸。	B
九月	每至九秋氣爽，(千里月華)；滌蕩七支，燻修十善。功德如上	B
總結云	唯(願諸佛益長齡之筭)，龍天贈不死之符； 盛德將山岳而齊高，英名與煙霞而共遠。 兒郎昆季，(節槩松筠；姐)妹夫娘，妍華桃李。 寶衣天降，明珎岳浮；釜積虹金，倉盈瓊粟。	C

Notes: Follows the P.2547 version except in brackets, where the damaged or illegible portions are filled in with P.3772.

As marked in the above table, three modules are included in *Three Months of Abstinence*: the leading passage introduces the donor's (*shizhu* 施主 or simply anonymous *mou* 某) initiative and the nature of the occasion (A), while short passages specific to each of the three months elaborates upon the time period with literary and astronomical allusions, followed in two cases by the action of conducting the ritual (B). The “concluding” segment (*Zongjie yun* 總結云), is the vow or desired outcomes of the *zhai* (C). Presumably, A and C can be used in rituals held in all three months, with the compiler only needing to switch out the options for B. An entry

labeled *First Day of the Year* (*Yuanri* 元日) is placed after the section for the first month, and contains texts specific to the day in all three modules with what seems like two choices for B, forming a secondary self-contained manual within this segment.

In interesting similarity with most of the models in the surveyed manuscripts, if an assemblage of all three modules is compared with S.2832(25), we can see that two elements are missing: the introductory passage and phrases for effective ritual action. Introductory passages make up only a small proportion of textual models in the surveyed manuscripts, perhaps due to smaller demand for introductory models since the module is relatively more generic and applicable to different occasions. Effective phrases may be represented by the familiar shorthand “merit as above” appearing in the last passages before the vow text in both the sections for the three months and the first day of the year, but are otherwise absent.

Table 2.12 *Portrait Painting, Lamp-Lighting, Releasing of Animals* in P.3772

像迺金容挺照，月面圓明；如從忉利之天，似超菩提之座。
將疑說法，未閉丹果之唇；狀欲經行，猶峙蓮華之步。
燈迺香油鏡水，高樹侵雲；花映七輪，光輝八達。
放生迺免陳平之執秤，息朱亥之操刀，方隨長者之車，不入胡兒之騎。
又飛禽之類，刷繡羽於花林；水陸之儔，濯錦鱗於翠沼。
以斯勝祉，用薦幽魂，面月光臨，即申奉慶。庶使萬德奇相，俯導魂區；千日威光，遐清識路，長揮毒箭，永出煩林。聞葉教而登仙，坐花臺而證忍。
又持此福莊嚴夫人貴體，福裕彌昌，祥靈自遠，昭擇鄰居之美訓，娟閭扇之芳規，流媛則於中閨，掩柔風於懿戚。
...?

Another example is the *Huaxiang randeng fangsheng* 畫像燃燈放生 (*Portrait Painting, Lamp-Lighting, Releasing of Animals*) section seen in P.2547 L10 (4–6...), P.3772 (44–46...), and P.2991v (17–19...). A structurally and stylistically similar short passage of two to three couplets is listed for each dedicatory activity, which is then followed by a significantly longer passage which only obliquely refers to the releasing of animals in the first couplet and is mainly

focused on two layers of merit direction, first towards the salvation of unspecified “dark souls” (*youhun* 幽魂), then towards a lady (*furen* 夫人) who may be the primary deceased subject of the ritual.

Rarely among *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models, effective statements are included in the merit directions in this section, and the technical term *zhuangyan* “ornamentation” is even used in the second layer. Attached to the short passages only with the conjunction *you* 又 “in addition”, this longer passage clearly stands out in terms of content and function, and I speculate that it may have been individually extracted from a liturgy already compiled for actual use and added as reference for unspecified purposes. Indeed, in S.1522(A)r, an extremely damaged manuscript containing several roughly copied liturgical models, the unlabeled two short passages of this section are directly associated with a non-*Zhaiwanwen* attested description of the laments of “those most filial pious” (*zhixiaodeng* 至孝等)³² without merit directional phrases. This entire section of *Portrait Painting, Lamp-Lighting, Releasing of Animals* may have been incorporated within series of models dedicated to deceased mothers in the surveyed manuscripts due to this addition.

The final example is *Linkuang zhuici* 臨壙追祠 (*Making Offerings at the Grave*), seen in P.2547 L10 (11), P.3541(20), and P.2991v (20). This section has been noted to have less fixed associations with neighboring sections in previous discussions, being placed behind different sections in each occurrence. In P.2547 and P.3541, it is unfortunately located close to the damaged edge of a page and is therefore very incompletely preserved. But even in these two

³² A term often used to refer to the sponsors of rituals dedicated to deceased parents, presumably their children.

cases, enough remains that the text is clearly intended for a funerary ritual sponsored by the filial pious. I outline the fullest version from P.2991v below.

Table 2.13 *Making Offerings at the Grave* in P.2991v

A	蓋聞無餘繫涅，金棺永謝；有為生死，火宅恆然。 但以世界無常，光陰遷變，故有二時運轉，四相奔流。明暗相摧，昏晨遞謝；電光飛而暫曜，風驚燭以推明。似上苑之花凋，等祇園之葉落。
B	然今亡考受盡今生，形隨物化；捨若白日，奄就黃泉，體逐時移，魂沉出壤。
C	孝等攀號擗踴，五內分崩。戀慕慈顏，痛摧心髓。 於是龍輻獻駕，送靈識於荒郊，素蓋分行，列凶儀於互道。 存亡永隔，追念殫身，悲叫號咷，哀聲滿路。 故益兆地以安墳，擇吉祥而置墓，謹延清眾就荒郊，奉為亡靈臨擴追福。
D	仰惟亡考風神俊穎，儀宇蕭清；妣舛體崇蘭，志鮮凝露何圖代逐風塵，魂歸北壟。
E	孝等望山門而擗踴，俯泉路而號咷，揚推梵冀導幽靈，燻寶香薦陪冥駕。
F	願使云云。
G	惟孝子追惟罔極，痛結窮途，擗厚地以纏哀，仰窮倉而泣血。將申卜里宅，或啟泉扃，龜[]楚，奠瘞斯畢。故能遷僧勝紹，請佛真圈，俯泉穴以閉筵，邇荒途而敬席。留驂引梵，響遍行雲；變鶴往經，聲和天韻。
H	惟願

Making Offerings at the Grave, like the *Three Months of Abstinence*, also appears to form a self-contained manual to compile a full liturgy. The text, however, includes an introductory passage (A) but lacks the vow or ritual outcome module (F and G), whose presence is indicated by the opening phrases “may it be that” (*yuanshi* 願使) and “indeed, (we) vow (that)” (*weiyuan* 惟願) though the text of the models themselves are omitted. The focus of this section seems to be the stylized statements of the death of the ritual subject (B and D), one of which includes a choice of phrasing for either deceased father or mother, and descriptions of the bereaved family’s grief and subsequent performance of the funerary rites (C, E, G). Although relatively succinct statements of ritual intention are included among the latter, passages in this section are clearly more concerned with the more ornate components of the liturgy, similar to almost all of the *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models we have examined so far.

From the three examples discussed here, we can see that the sections of liturgical models corresponding to the second half of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* often display a wider variety of formats, selection focuses, and assembling strategies, which differs from the more consistent, chapter-wide organization scheme of earlier portions. In a sense, they seem to be less processed into uniform modular units and may even exhibit characteristics hinting at their disparate source material, which is perhaps unsurprising given these sections, especially those intended for funerary and commemorative occasions, are also the most likely to have undergone significant transformations from the original compilation of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

2.c Outlying Examples

In the last part of the chapter, I introduce and analyze two manuscripts, the 㒶x-1309 group and D192, which do not provide a continuous text containing *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models for different reasons. They do, however, display unique characteristics which document interesting occurrences in the circulation process of these models and a discussion about them is therefore necessary to this study.

2.c.i *Untangling the 㒶x-1309 group*

The sixth anthology manuscript associated with the *Zhaiwanwen* models survives as a group of fragments. Catalogued as 㒶x-1309, 1310, 1316, 2969, 3016, 3024, 3153, and 3159,³³ the largest fragment in the group 㒶x-1309/1316 only measures 29 × 26 cm, while most of the others are very small pieces and not well described, with no clear consensus as to their order or

³³ The largest fragment has both 㒶x-1309 and 㒶x-1316 written on it, while the second and third biggest are apparently both labeled 㒶x-1310, though they are not connectable.

which of the text-bearing sides dates earlier.³⁴ Although the exact dimensions and form of the original manuscript is not known, the Dx-1309 group fragments exhibit visible similarities with P.2547 in the ruling of the columns as well as the size and calligraphic style of the characters in the first and dominant hand, which may indicate a temporal or geographical proximity to the latter's mid-eighth century Hexi origin. A second, messier, hand in spotty ink can be seen in Dx-1309/1316(8-2) in the empty space between sections of the original text, likely from a later recycling of the manuscript.

Given the condition of these fragments, it is fortunate that Wang San-ching, the foremost expert on *Zhaiwanwen* manuscripts, made substantial efforts to piece the Dx-1309 group together and collate the text with his critical edition of the *Zhaiwanwen*.³⁵ One interesting observation he made is that the text copied by the second hand — though reading as liturgical segments — does not correlate with any text from other manuscripts that he regards as part of the *Zhaiwanwen* collection, but instead to models from other anthologies such as S.1441. These portions will not be included in the comparisons below for better focus and clarity but should still be considered valuable anecdotal evidence for the life cycle of *zhaiwan* anthologies where later owners, apart from presumably making use of the existing materials, also intersperse selections from other sources to produce a multi-layered manuscript.

³⁴ The *Tai Catalogue*, 143, only gives the number of fragments and number of remaining columns, while the *Russian catalogue* contains a description of the three largest fragments without indicating which description corresponds to which catalogue number. Codicological information about this group mostly comes from the *Russian catalogue* in reference to the Shanghai reproductions. See L. N. Menshikov et al, *Eluosi Kexueyuan Dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo cang Dunhuang Hanwen xiejuan xulu* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌漢文寫卷敘錄, trans. Yuan Xizhen 袁席箴 and Chen Huaping 陳華平 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe: 1999), 604–605 and *Eluosi Kexueyuan dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo cang Dunhuang wen xian*, 8:77–80.

³⁵ Wang San-ching, “Zhaiwanwen yijuan de zai yanjiu yu bujiao 《齋琬文》一卷的再研究與補校,” *Dunhuang Xue* 敦煌學, no. 29 (2012): 1–15.

Table 2.14 Content of ㄉx-1309 group fragments and correlation to other manuscripts

Fragment	Contents	Other Mss.	ZWW ToC
1309/1316(8-1)	List , 六司 (2) 縣令 (4) 縣丞 1	P.2547 Leaf 4	3: Inauguration
1309/1316(8-2)	?, 王及親任官, 長史司馬(3)	P.2867, Φ342v	3: Inauguration
1310 (8-3) + 2969a	考(仁風雅智) (寔迺依仁) (稟質英 靈) 兒女幼小父母俱亡(嚴蔭早違)	P.3772 (33–36)	7: Deceased Father, Parents
1310 (8-3) + 2969b	兒 (3) 孫 (1)	P.2991v (29–30)	7: Deceased Children
1310 (8-4) + 3159a	(征行)?	?	4: Military Campaign?
1310 (8-4) + 3159b	(課邑)	P.2547 Leaf 7	9: Association
3024+3153a	(官齋行道?) (散講?)	?	?
3024+3153b	考(疏神王轎) (演慶昌源)	P.3772 31–32	7: Deceased Father

Notes: Due to not having official recto and verso designations, each side of the fragments will be indicated by the numbers given to its facsimile reproduction in the Shanghai volumes. Where both sides are represented by the same number, I use “a” and “b” for the right and left image respectively.

Based on the Shanghai reproductions and Wang’s reading of the fragments, I present their contents in the above table. The themes of the collected models span several types of occasions, and the majority is attested in other manuscripts discussed in this chapter, indicating that it is a comprehensive liturgy anthology which drew heavily from the models heavily associated with the *Zhaiwanwen*.

Table 2.15 Comparison of ㄉx-1309/1316 List with P.2867 and P.2547 partial section order

P.2867 Partial Section Order	歎佛文 刺史 都督 長史司馬 六司 縣令 縣丞 主簿 尉 加官 錄事參軍 御史 畿外官 文貢 赴任 罷任 出聽頌官
P.2547 Leaf 5 Section Order	罷任 出聽頌官 得書手 撰碑文 甘州任家口平安 供奉
ㄉx-1309/1316 (8-1) List	六司 明府 縣丞 主簿 主官副 尉 慶官 選得官 得郎佐官 重得官 御史 畿縣 文貢 赴任 罷任 出聽訟官 得書手 撰碑文 家口平安 供奉 醫得官 武官 六司

The most interesting feature of this manuscript is a list of sections preceding the main text on ㄉx-1309/1316 (8-1). Copied after a stretch of empty space, it was preserved in its entirety and clearly does not cover all collected models in the original manuscript, and probably served as a summary for a chapter or sub-unit of the anthology. This list corresponds somewhat to parts of P.2867 and P.2547 Leaf 5, with both minor variations in terminology used in labels such as Enlightened Office (*mingfu* 明府) as an epithet for District Magistrate, and also more significant differences in collected sections: two are unique to P.2867 while at least four are unique to the ㄉx-1309/1316 (8-1) list, even not counting the ending passages which may be lost to damage in the other manuscripts.

If considered in reference to both P.2867 and the Chapter Three section list in the table of contents of the *Zhaiwanwen*, the ㄉx-1309/1316 (8-1) list seems to start mid-chapter leaving out the introductory passage and sections for several offices. Curiously, the last section before the cut off, *Zhangshi sima* 長史司馬 (*Aide and Assistant Administrator*), can be seen on the opposite side of the fragment in ㄉx-1309/1316 (8-2) following two other unique passages, one labeled *Wang ji qinrenguan* 王及親任官 (*Prince and Directly Appointed Officials*) and a preceding, heavily damaged model. Because the manuscript is so fragmentary, it is difficult to say with certainty what is happening here in the arrangement of models related to official appointment,

which is known in other manuscripts to be largely standardized and cohesive. Nevertheless, it seems likely that significant reorganization of material has occurred in the D_x-1309 group.

Lastly, at least two fragments of the manuscript, D_x-1309/1316 and 1310 (8-3) + 2969, contain models of a similar theme on both the recto and verso. If we assume that the D_x-1309 group organizes such models in close proximity as seen in all *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated manuscripts so far, the D_x-1309 group may not have been a single, continuous scroll barring a truly unforeseen arrangement of its models. I speculate that the D_x-1309 group may have consisted of individual leaves like P.2867 which were possibly copied on both sides after the sheets had been cut to shape, allowing for more occasions where same themed “chapters” could have appeared on both sides of the page.

2.c.ii *D192 Essential Collection*

D192, the final manuscript under discussion, is unique in being the only *zhaiwen* model anthology to draw extensively outside the pool of *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated passages in its collection and is clearly a distinct work apart from the other manuscripts. A scroll comprising of seven sheets of paper pasted together, the beginning of the first sheet is slightly damaged but most of the text appears intact. Most importantly, the recto text of the scroll bears an informative end colophon *Zhuwen yaoji yijuan* 諸文要集一卷 (*Essential Collection of Various Texts in One Volume*), supposedly written by the student Li Ying in the third month of the second year of the Dali era (767 CE)³⁶ which conveniently provides the manuscript’s nature and provenance. However, scholars studying student copyists of Dunhuang manuscripts have long suspected that

³⁶ 諸文要集一卷 大曆二年三月學仕郎李英寫

the colophon was forged as the term *xueshilang* 學仕郎 used for student was not attested so early.³⁷ This observation was not acknowledged by the many transcription attempts and studies on D192 as an anthology of functional models³⁸ though the Shanghai reproduction description does mention that the writing of the final lines differ from most of the text.³⁹ While the date and identity of the copyist may be spurious, the recto text, as we will see, does read like a curated collection drawn from a variety of materials.

The model anthology under discussion is written in unrefined handwriting following ruled columns and offers the impression of an effort towards neatness. An overarching organization scheme is somewhat employed through the text: the first ten extant models are introductory and concluding passages clearly stated by their labels such as *Chanshi haotou* 禪師號頭 (*Opening Cap for Chan Master*) and *Huancha haowei* 患差號尾 (*Ending for [a Liturgy for] Illness*). A wide variety of individually labeled models then follow, including praises dedicated to provincial officials, ordination and funerary passages for Buddhist monastics, generic praises and commemorative models for relations, dedicatory texts for material construction, healing liturgies, and even a couplet for herding sheep (*Fangyang* 放羊).

³⁷ Li Zhengyu 李正宇. “Dunhuang xuelang tiji jizhu 敦煌學郎題記輯注.” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊, no. 1 (1987): 27; Galambos. *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium*. (Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 95.

³⁸ Bai Huawen 白化文 and Li Dingxia 李鼎霞. “Zhuwenyaoji canjuan jiaolu 《諸文要集》殘卷校錄.” *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化, no. 1 (1990): 26; Zhao Heping 趙和平, “Zhuwenyaoji xingzhi chutan 《諸文要集》性質初探”, in *Zhou Shaoliang xiansheng xinkai jiuzhi qingshou wenji* 周紹良先生欣開九秩慶壽文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 275; Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究, (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban youxian gongsi, 2009), 127–152.

³⁹ Peking University Library and Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House. *Beijing Daxue tushuguan cang Dunhuang wenxian* 北京大學圖書館藏敦煌文獻 Vol 2. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), Appendix 27.

Interestingly, the verso also bears three separate short pieces of writing in different hands, with the first including phrases from the same *Making Offerings at the Grave* text discussed in previous sections.⁴⁰

According to Wang San-ching, of the fifty-six passages that survive in the anthology, thirty-three are attested in other manuscripts. Furthermore, ten among the thirty-three can also be observed in several of the *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated anthologies listed in this chapter.⁴¹

Table 2.16 Models seen in both D192 and *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated manuscripts

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
D192	歎刺使德政	上佐	六曹	縣令	丞	主簿	尉	文	武	僧	禪尼	律師
P.2547 P.2867 Φ342v	刺使 一	長史司馬 一	六司 一	縣令 一	縣丞 一	主簿 一	尉 一					
P.3772										14 僧	15 尼	
P.3541												17 律師

From the table above, we can see that the first seven overlapping models — which constitute a consecutive group after the introductory and concluding passages in D192 — seems to coincide with the first model from each of the Chapter Three *Inaugurating Taking Office* sections of the *Zhaiwanwen*, apart from those concerning the garrison military. The section labels vary from their counterparts in P.2547, P.2867, and Φ342v with the use of epithets in the case of *Prefectural Aide* (12) and the *Six Sections* (13), and a more descriptive *Praising the Benevolent Rule of the Prefect* (11) for the first model. The following overlapping models are

⁴⁰ *Beijing daxue tushuguan cang Dunhuang wenxian* Vol 2., 211–215, Appendix 27

⁴¹ Wang San-ching, *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 132.

those praising Buddhist monks (20) and nuns (21) departing lay life seen in P.3541 which are associated with Chapter Five *Conferring Felicitous Vows*. Between these two groups are two passages labeled *Civil* and *Military* describing the advancement in rank due to outstanding merit for civil and military officials respectively. Though they are not known to be attested in any *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated manuscript, their location in the D192 sequence and the correspondence of their labels to the list in the Table of Contents leads to the suspicion that these are versions of models from the lost Chapter Four *Receiving Appointment in the Borderlands*. The copyist of D192 possibly extracted the first part of the *Essential Collection* directly from a source retaining substantial elements of the organization and model collection of the original compiled *Zhaiwanwen*.

The final overlapping model is a passage intended for commemorating a deceased Vinaya master (22), also observed in P.3541. Curiously, while this model belongs to groups of similarly commemorative texts for specialized monastic figures in both manuscripts, the other collected models all differ from each other and may indicate that either *Vinaya Master* in P.3541 was drawn from another *zhaiwen* tradition, or that it was transmitted to D192 through a non-*Zhaiwanwen* source.

Table 2.17 Comparison between versions of *District Defender*

Φ342V 尉 1	P.2867 尉 1	D192 尉
惟公登苑芳枝， 荊巖潤玉。 躍鱗爵海，騰繡質於龍門； 振羽克雲，播英聲於鳳闕。 於是位陪[缺]	惟公鄧苑芳枝， 荊巖潤玉。 躍鱗爵海，騰繡質於龍門； 振羽克雲，播英聲於鳳闕。 於是位陪製錦， 匡藻化而楊輝； 職輔調弦，奏清規而逸韻。 思流百里，灑春露於毫端； 威勵四民，輝秋霜於簡際。	惟公鄧苑芳枝， 荊巖潤玉。 位陪製錦， 匡藻化而揚輝； 職輔調弦，奏清規而逸韻。 思流萬里，灑春露於豪端； 威勵四人，輝秋霜於簡際

Table 2.17 Comparison between versions of *District Defender* (continued)

	由是嘉聲載遠，令問攸宣； 加以藻慮金園，馳誠寶 地。須緣云云	是以嘉聲遠振，令名被宣； 藻慮金園，馳誠寶地。
--	--------------------------------------	----------------------------

Finally, while the corresponding models are recognizably the same text due to the number of shared elements in all versions identified in the above table, the D192 versions often display relatively significant variations from their counterparts in *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated manuscripts. As in the example of the *District Defender* model transcribed above, apart from (a) synonymic, homophonic, alternate, and clearly mistaken characters and (b) opening compounds, the D192 version is also lacking a couplet seen in both other versions. The *Six Sections* (13), *District Magistrate* (14), *Vice Magistrate* (15), *Buddhist Monk* (20), *Buddhist Nun* (21), and *Vinaya Master* (22) models in D192 all seem to differ from *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated versions in similar patterns, particularly in the omission or rearrangement of couplets or their component phrases. In the majority of cases, the D192 versions appear shorter than their counterparts, and this phenomenon is most likely due to D192's nature as a personal collection of "essentials", where the copyist may have pared down or edited selected texts to suit their own preferences.

In short, D192 is similar to P.3541 and P.2991v in their documentation of the continued selection and reorganization of *zhaiwen* models into new works even after they have been compiled into well-structured anthologies like the *Zhaiwanwen*. D192, which seemed to have sourced the majority of its collection from non-*Zhaiwanwen* traditions, nevertheless hints at the availability and appeal of *Zhaiwanwen* material to extract for personal use among copyists who presumably had access to wider ranges of practical texts.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined seven manuscripts of liturgical model anthologies containing substantial overlapping texts with the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen*. Unlike past studies which focused on using these manuscripts to fill in lost and damaged sections to reconstructing a single critical edition of the *Zhaiwanwen*, the individual consideration of each manuscript's unique codicological and textual features in this chapter has revealed multiple facets of the models' historical circulation and use. From P.2867, Φ342v, and P.3772, we know that significant portions of the selection and arrangement of the *Zhaiwanwen* as seen in the mid-eight century P.2547 was consistently preserved in circulation until the tenth century, though the latest manuscript Φ342v seems not well understood by its copyist and was probably no longer in use. At the same time, religious specialists and other interested individuals were actively recombining and editing *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models to produce more specialized anthologies to suit their own needs and preferences in examples like P.3541, P.2991v and D192. Interestingly, apart from D192 and one example in P.3541, *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models seem to show strong in-group variation and form a relatively well-defined pool of material, where models seen extensively in other manuscripts are seldom included even in specialized anthologies. Though this phenomenon may be due to bias induced by the surviving material, I suspect that the transmission of different *zhaiwen* manuals may have been confined to connected but not completely overlapping groups based on different lineage or monastic communities, resulting in more restricted circulation between traditions.

Secondly, in investigating the arrangement and composition of sections in these *zhaiwen* anthologies, I believe that the original compilation of the *Zhaiwanwen* may have utilized large-scale organization schemes in some chapters, in some sense making a chapter one large manual

for compiling specific types of liturgies. Most models in P.2867, Φ342v, and P.3772 may have reflected this arrangement for Chapter Three *Inaugurating Taking Office* and Chapter Seven *Mourning the Dead* respectively. In these collections, a heavy focus is put on modular components of liturgies written in ornate structured prose, especially descriptions of individuals acting as donors or primary ritual subjects and the vow depictions of desired ritual outcomes. Introductory texts, though also present, are much fewer in number, probably due to their less specialized and therefore more flexible nature. Effective, functional phrases written in unstructured prose, in particular the “ornamentation” or direction of merit, are seldom included and only sometimes appear in shorthand. This focus seems to have extended also to models corresponding to the later sections of the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen*, which is likely to have undergone more alterations and display more variable formats and assembling strategies. This feature may extend to all modular *zhaiwen* anthologies and is perhaps unsurprising, as effective phrases are concise and highly formulaic, presumably taking considerably less training to comfortably compose than structured prose laden with dense literary allusions, particularly when the latter are often depictions of *zhai* sponsors and their loved ones.

One final note on this chapter: the seven surveyed anthologies are certainly not exhaustive of *Zhaiwanwen*-affiliated models in the Dunhuang corpus. Through my research, I came across several other anthologies that seemed to contain familiar sequences of passages but are too fragmented or inadequately described to fit in the current study. Further investigations including such materials may be possible in the future and would likely change or refine our understanding of the circulation and transformation of the *Zhaiwanwen*. On the other hand, *zhaiwen* models were intended to be compiled into full liturgies and may also be associated with other types of literary models. We will discuss these occurrences in the following chapter.

Chapter Three: Beyond Anthologies of Liturgical Models

Until this point, the study has focused on studying the *Zhaiwanwen* in its capacity as an anthology of modular Buddhist liturgical models, albeit a constantly changing one. In this chapter, we will turn to investigate the circulation of collected passages beyond a presence as models in anthologies, namely their application as components in assembled liturgies and the context of their appearance in non-liturgical documents. Through this approach, I wish to gain insight into whether and how the *Zhaiwanwen* worked in its intended function, and also how the *zhaiwen* models themselves may have been constructed and selected, to cumulate in a better understanding of the role and significance of the *Zhaiwanwen* in liturgy composition and broader manuscript and literary culture.

The chapter identifies two cases of manuscripts containing passages also included in manuscripts closely associated with the *Zhaiwanwen*. In each case, codicological information will be considered in tandem with textual variance between manuscripts to study the historical processes and contexts of circulation. Relevant portions of the text will be translated to better engage with their content and to highlight connections between versions and potential external material.

1. Parallel Prose

Many observations in this chapter are only made possible by the specific prose style these manuscripts are mostly written in, which merits a brief note here before we proceed.¹ Parallel

¹ For extended introductions to parallel prose in English, see David R Knechtges, “Han and Six Dynasties Parallel Prose”, *Renditions* nos.33-34 (September 1990): 63–110 and James R. Hightower, “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose” in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata: Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Søren Egerod (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1959), 60–91.

prose is a mode of writing that heavily utilizes parallelism. In its simplest form, Chinese characters are arranged predominantly in four- or six-character phrases, which may then be combined into a unit in four-six-character formation. Two metrically, grammatically, and even thematically parallel² units are then paired to form the couplet, a basic building block with which paragraphs are constructed. Ornate language incorporating a large number of literary allusions is another defining characteristic of the style. From the perspective of text circulation in a manuscript culture, parallel structure and dense language may have helped to preserve consistency, as irregular character counts or departures from valid corresponding textual units are very obvious in writing.

Originating from rhapsody (*fu* 賦) writing techniques popular in the Han Dynasty, parallel prose greatly proliferated during the Six Dynasties (third to sixth centuries CE) across diverse genres. By the Tang, when the *Zhaiwanwen* was likely compiled, parallel prose had become the style of choice for a wide range of forms in both literary and practical writings, including administrative documents, commemorative inscriptions, and ritual liturgies, all of which are relevant in this study.

2. The Opening Praise

In the first half of the chapter, I track the only known example of a model passage from the *Zhaiwanwen* seen in circulation in fully assembled liturgical texts. The passage in question is associated with the *Zhaiwanwen* through its inclusion in P.2940, a previously discussed scroll featuring a partial copy of a self-titled *Zhaiwanwen* text. Itself untitled, the model passage is placed just after the heading of Chapter 1 *In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues with four entries*

² Tonal parallelism is also present in parallel prose but will not be discussed in this study.

(*Tan fo gongde diyi sitiao* 讚佛功德第一四條) and before the model intended for celebration of the Buddha's birth. Judging from its position in P.2940 and its contents, the text (hereafter the *Opening Praise*) was likely intended to function as an opening *haotou* 號頭 (tailored cap) for passages from the first chapter. I translate the entire P.2940 version below:

Humbly: as the true nature³ coalesce in emptiness, displaying subtle forms according to circumstances; the Dharma body⁴, being profound and devoid of afflictions, responds⁵ to exterior stimuli and relays various shapes. Both the hidden and the manifest hope for their intercession⁶; both men and gods rely upon them for advancement.

竊以實相凝空，隨緣以呈妙色；法身湛寂，應物感而播群形。幽顯冀其津梁，人天資其吸引。

Since [the Buddha] became enlightened among auspicious omens beneath the bodhi-tree, the traces of his manifestations are immeasurable; as [He] traveled to Rājagṛha⁷ in exaltation, the principles of his miraculous transformation are unfathomable. Vowing [to bring salvation to all sentient beings] in Deer Park⁸, the ocean of awakening flows amid the trichiliocosms; his light shines in the Crane Forest⁹, the beacon of wisdom radiating concealed within the ten billion worlds. [He] condescends to wield the power of skillful means; and opens wide the gates of expedient teachings.

自祥開道樹，變現之迹難量；捧駕王城，神化之規叵測。發願鹿野，覺海浮浪於三千；光照鶴林，智矩潛輝於百億。俯運善權之力；廣開方便之門。

Abstract and far-seeing but capable of benevolence: how profound the Enlightened One is!

邈以能仁，遐哉覺者也！

³ The true and unchanging original nature as illuminated by enlightenment.

⁴ One of the three bodies of the Buddha; the body of truth that lacks form; absolute existence.

⁵ Sympathetic response or resonance, a significant concept in Chinese thought.

⁶ A bridge, path of guidance, metaphor for help in overcoming obstructions.

⁷ Where the Buddha delivered many important sermons.

⁸ Mṛgadāva in Sārnāth where the Buddha first preached.

⁹ Śāla Forest, the site of the Buddha's nirvana.

As we can see above; the *Opening Praise* has a three-part structure. It begins with a typical introductory expression for official documents or petitions addressed at superiors: “Humbly (I believe/speak) that” (*qieyi* 竊以) and invokes the miraculous responsive capability of the Buddha as eternal principle. More specific allusions then follow, here a series of significant events in the Buddha Sakyamuni’s life and the establishment of his teaching including his enlightenment, preaching, and death. These allusions are fitting because Chapter 1 also includes model passages for commemorating occasions of the Buddha’s renunciation of secular life, first sermon, and nirvana. Finally, an ending exclamation again highlights the Buddha’s intercessional powers and uses a literal translation of “Sakyamuni” to proclaim his universal yet humane nature. This structure is a common pattern seen in liturgy caps.

Unfortunately, the *Opening Praise* cannot be definitively proven to be included in any other extant versions of the *Zhaiwanwen*: as previously discussed, most titled *Zhaiwanwen* copies are abandoned far before this point. On the other hand, P.2547 as presumably our earliest and most complete manuscript suffers a break in the paper after the first chapter title and tantalizingly resumes with the first phrases of the model for the Buddha’s birth (subsection 1) on the other side of the central binding. An unknown volume of paper may have been crushed in the central binding or otherwise became displaced between the two observable phrases. From the limited space available from the break, however, the *Opening Praise* was possibly never included in P.2547.¹⁰

¹⁰ Though the area is in such bad condition it is difficult to ascertain through looking at available reproductions alone. As it is much less visible in the colour photographs made available in 2019 from Gallica (the digital platform of the Bibliothèque nationale de France), I rely on the older greyscale reproductions in the Jao publication. Other issues with this part of the manuscript are discussed in Chapter 1.

If the *Opening Praise* was indeed absent from P.2547, this absence would indicate a much more fluid makeup in circulating *Zhaiwanwen* copies even towards the beginning of the text than all reconstruction efforts so far assume— a scenario that analyses in the previous chapter would suggest is the norm rather than the exception for *zhaiwen* anthologies. Regardless, the appearance of the passage in question in the P.2940 *Zhaiwanwen*, along with several other manuscripts and texts in distinct contexts remain useful in studying the circumstance of *zhaiwen* units in circulation and usage. Additionally, these texts provide insight into the actual usefulness of the *Zhaiwanwen* collection.

2.a The Manuscripts

The *Opening Praise* appears in a total of 5 manuscripts in the Dunhuang corpus that we know of. I summarize information about each of them in the table below.

Table 3.1 Manuscripts containing the *Opening Praise*

	Title(s)	Format	Nature	Neighbour(s)	Date
P.2940 r (A)	<i>Zhaiwanwen: In Praise of the Buddha's Virtues: [Opening Praise]</i>	Scroll (5)	Textual module model anthology	N	?
P.3262 r (B)	[Cave Opening Liturgy for Cao Yijin]	Sheet	Assembled Liturgy Draft	N	~ 914- 918 CE
P.2733 r (C)	[Maitreya Dedication Liturgy for Cao Yuanzhong]	Sheet	Assembled Liturgy Draft	N	966 CE
S.5638 r1 (D)	<i>Various Miscellaneous Texts : Buddha Hall Liturgy</i>	Codex (6)	Assembled model anthology	Title Page Drawing; Various Buddhist Liturgies	~> 9 th C CE
S.5573 r7 (E)	Liturgy for Opening to the Light within the Buddha Hall	Codex (14)	Miscellaneous Anthology	Various Buddhist Liturgies Songs	~> 9 th C CE

2.a.i P.3262 and P.2733

The first two occurrences of the *Opening Praise* (B and C) appear as the caps to two different assembled liturgies composed for defined ritual occasions on behalf of specific donors. Both manuscripts consist of a single liturgy on a single sheet of paper of questionable quality — the ink of the writing shows through to the other side. P.3262 (B) measures only 30 × 24.8 cm, with both its left and right edges unevenly cut. The writing is guided by folding and not from drawn lines, and the text stops abruptly mid-column just before the left edge, leaving the liturgy unfinished. P.2733 (C) is a larger sheet of 30.5 × 42.6 cm, approximately the same dimensions as a standard sheet from the Tang and after.¹¹ It is completely unruled, and the writing is smooth but also haphazard enough to slant and cram visibly, especially towards the end of the page, where the last half line ran over to the verso. Both have visible corrections in the text. Based on these characteristics, P.3262 and P.2733 are likely drafts or copies of drafts and not afforded the care and conventions of officially produced documents, even though they are connected to rituals for large projects patronized by the ruling family of Dunhuang.

Neither manuscript is dated or has discernable titles or colophons, but personalized portions of the liturgies contain sufficient information to point to known historical figures and events: P.3262's primary donor is referred to as the Military Commissioner of Hexi and Minister (of Personnel) (*Hexi jiedushi shangshu* 河西節度使尚書), and his main wife as Princess (*gongzhu* 公主). This identification corresponds to the first de-facto ruler of Dunhuang from the

¹¹ Without seeing these manuscripts in person, it is difficult to comment on the grain or the make of the paper to speculate too much about the significance of the dimensions. See Jean-Pierre Drège, “Dunhuang papers: preliminary morphological analysis of dated Chinese manuscripts,” in *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*, ed. Susan Whitfield (London: The British Library, 2002), 115–179. It is also unclear to me from reproductions whether P.2733 has been significantly trimmed.

Cao family Cao Yijin 曹議金 (?–935 CE) and his strategic marriage to a daughter of the Khagan of the Ganzhou Uighurs.

The liturgy also lists the “Emperor of the Great Liang,”¹² to whom Cao has repeatedly reached out for recognition, as a titular beneficiary of the ritual: “may his will shine upon the borderlands and his bestowments increase without obstruction.”¹³ Explicitly mentioning the “benevolent king” and officials admiring “numinous caves,” and the commissioning of good workers to excavate stone chambers, this liturgy was likely composed for a groundbreaking ritual for the magnificent Mogao Cave 98 around 914–918 CE.¹⁴ A different and untitled ritual or commemorative text partially preserved on P.3781 refers to a further stage in the same construction in the completion of the ceiling murals. The excavation of Cave 98 itself may have been a direct commemoration of Cao successfully obtaining official appointment, and therefore political legitimacy, from the Liang court through the expedition of 918 CE. The famous inclusion of Cao’s predecessors, officials, and extended marital alliances among the painted donors in the cave represented a cementing of his authority.¹⁵

Similarly, P.2733’s primary donor is the Commandery Governor, the Great Prince (*Fuzhu dawang* 府主大王), styles adopted by Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 (? – 974 CE), a younger son of Cao Yijin, after 964 CE while his wife was titled the Lady of Liang (*Liangguo furen* 涼國夫人),

¹² the Later Liang (907–923 CE) of the Five Dynasties. The dominant state controlling the Chinese heartlands at this time.

¹³ 願照邊陲；恩加無滯

¹⁴ Ma De 馬德, “Caoshi san da ku yingjian de shehui beijing 曹氏三大窟營建的社會背景,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* no. 1 (1991):19; Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, “Guan yu Caoshi Guiyijun shou ren jiedushi de jige wenti 關於曹氏歸義軍首任節度使的幾個問題,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* no. 2 (1993): 49-51; Shao Qiangjun 邵強軍 and Liu Quanbo 劉全波, “Mogaoku di jiu shi ba ku yingjian niandai zai lun 莫高窟第 98 窟營建年代再論,” *Gansu guangbo dianshi daxue xuebao* 甘肅廣播電視大學學報 27, no. 2 (January 2017): 6-14.

¹⁵ Ibid.

otherwise known as Lady Zhai 翟氏.¹⁶ The specific occasion for the ritual is described as “increasing ten thousand-fold the good works within the realm; to deliver Maitreya within the jeweled monastery”¹⁷ and the patron’s specific deed to bring forth merit as “to support raising an image,”¹⁸ perhaps referring to the repair of the base of the colossal Cave 96 Maitreya in the sixth month of the fourth year of *Qiande* 乾德四年 (966 CE) recorded in an untitled commemorative text on Ch.00207v (BM.SP77v).

If so, it is curious that the Ch.00207v account, though hugely detailed in the instigation and process of the repair, does not mention the dedicatory ritual which P.2733’s liturgy was presumably written for, and the descriptive terms of the obtained merit for the patrons are markedly different. Regardless, the two accounts agree on wishing for general peace and prosperity as is typical for liturgies: In P.2733 the reigning Chinese Emperor is again listed as a titular beneficiary, and praise for Cao’s piety in his sponsorship of Buddhism is matched by that of his military defense of the state. It is willed that Cao “long enliven the good teaching, as a king who maintains the sagely (faith); forever reign over the gates to the west, be as father and mother to the masses.”¹⁹

2.a.ii S.5638 and S.5573

The other two occurrences (D and E) of the *Opening Praise* appear as a part of the same assembled model liturgy, copied in two different codices of collected texts— S.5638 (D) and S.5573 (E). These two codices are both much smaller than the similarly bound P.2547,

¹⁶ Rong Xinjiang, “Shazhou Guijiyun li ren jiedushi chenghao yanjiu 沙州歸義軍歷任節度使稱號研究,” *Dunhuang xue* no.19 (October 1992): 15-67.

¹⁷ 增萬善於國郡之中；送彌勒於寶剎之內。

¹⁸ 以滋擊像

¹⁹ 長隆善教，作定聖之國王；永寶西關，為萬人之父母。

measuring only 14.5cm × 13.5 cm and 13cm × 13.4 cm respectively. They were likely constructed by halving or cutting standard sized paper in a process similar to the depiction in Galambos’s discussion of Dunhuang book formats.²⁰ Neither of the two are dated, but as the earliest dated codex is from 899 CE, and the form itself likely developed after the Dunhuang region came under Tibetan rule and lost connection to the Chinese heartlands in the late eighth century,²¹ S.5638 and S.5573 were likely produced not earlier than the ninth century.

S.5638 consists of six remaining sheets of paper glued back-to-back (i.e., “butterfly” binding) while S.5573 is thicker at 14 sheets sewn together with thread. The corners of both codices are trimmed probably to protect them from damage.²² S.5638 also exhibits traces of a large vertical fold, indicating it may have been held or stored bent even smaller in half.²³ S. 5638 looks to be ruled by folding, while S. 5573 has rough ink-drawn rules. The writing in both manuscripts is rushed or casual throughout and features many corrections. These characteristics indicate that they were likely portable manuals intended for private reference by ritual specialists.

S.5638 is titled *Zhuzawen yiben* 諸雜文一本 (*Various Miscellaneous Texts in One Volume*) on its front cover (the right back of the first sheet), alongside an ink scribble of a demon minion driving a horse near a stupa. The title *Various Miscellaneous Texts*, with the unit replaced by *One Scroll* (*yijuan* 一卷) is reiterated in the first page and directly followed by the first text on the manuscript – the self-titled *Fotang wen* 佛堂文 (*Buddha Hall Liturgy*) which bears the

²⁰ Imre Galambos, *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 43.

²¹ Galambos, *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture*, 32 and 36 note 79; Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang,” in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang* (Genève: Droz, 1979), 18.

²² Galambos, *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture*, 35.

²³ *Ibid*, 33-35.

Opening Praise. Two other liturgies are included in the codex: a *Qingxiang wen* 慶像文 (*Liturgy for Celebrating [the Dedication/Completion of] an Image*) and a *Randeng wen* 然燈文 (*Liturgy for the Lighting of Lamps*), the last of which extends to the back cover and is left unfinished, perhaps by the original remaining pages falling away. The entire manuscript is written in the same hand and was probably made and used by one individual.

The longer S.5573 does not bear a general title for the entire manuscript and contains a wider variety of eight titled texts in its longer body, including two *Wangzhai wen* 亡齋文 (*Ritual Liturgies for the Dead*) and a *Wutaishan zan* 五臺山讚 (*Wutai Mountain Hymn*). Unique among the five manuscripts, S.5573 is entirely written with a stylus, probably by more than one hand. The copyist(s) responsible for the texts at the beginning seemed unfamiliar with the structure of Chinese characters, but the handwriting improves somewhat in the texts towards the end; the manuscript is also dotted by reading marks whose style differ from text to text.²⁴ S.5573 may have passed through several affiliated ritual specialists who continuously added to the pages, perhaps as a treasured manual transmitted from a master who learned Chinese as a secondary language to increasingly locally educated pupils. The *Opening Praise*, the main subject of this study, acts as a cap for the seventh text, titled *Fotang nei kaiguangming wen* 佛堂內開光明文 (*Liturgy for Opening the Light [of the Eye] within the Buddha Hall*).²⁵

As expected for a model, the *Buddha Hall Liturgy* is a more generic text than the Cao family liturgies: the patron is praised with ideal but nonspecific qualities such as being accomplished in both civil and military matters and dutiful to obligations of home and state. The

²⁴ Colour of reading marks unknown – no access to colour photographs.

²⁵ This title is used for the critical edition of this text in Huang Zheng 黃征 and Wu Wei 吳偉, eds. *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集. (Changsha: Yuelu Publishing House 岳麓書社, 1995), 423.

perfunctory invoking of protective Buddhist deities and earthly authorities by beneficiaries is parallel to sections of the Cao liturgies and points to conventions of the genre which have developed by this time— similar to the following wishes for personal health, wealth, and the deliverance for themselves and seven generations of ancestors.

The most embellished part of the D and E liturgy, apart from the *Opening Praise*, is the description of the donor's laudable contribution in constructing the Buddha Hall. The S.5573 title for this liturgy is curious if we consider the exact nature of these contributions. As I understand, the "opening the light (of the eye)" is a ritual where an image or statue's eyes are touched up to invoke the spirit of its deity.²⁶ However, while the liturgy extensively describes the architectural components and ornamentation of the Buddha Hall, no mention is made of any image for veneration. It seems that, unless *kaiguangming* refers to another type of dedicatory ritual centering on the building itself in some way, the copier of this text in S.5573 was mistaken or otherwise unconcerned about the exact context the liturgy was originally compiled for.

After taking measure of the assembled liturgies and manuscripts which includes the *Opening Praise*, it is apparent that the occurrences fall into three groups from both liturgical and codicological contexts: as caps to single liturgy drafts for Cao family patronized rituals on single sheets (P.3262 and P.2733), as an attached cap to a Buddha Hall Liturgy in manual codices (S.5573 and S.5638), and lastly as an unattached textual module model in a *Zhaiwanwen* scroll (P.2940). Yet, how are the manuscripts connected? How did the same passage find its way into these different contexts spanning at least half a century apart? How consistent are the passages,

²⁶ For examples of studies on *kaiguangming* and other consecration rituals of Buddhist images please see Richard Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image," *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1966), 23 – 36; Michelle C. Wang, "Early Chinese Buddhist Sculptures as Animate Bodies and Living Presences." *Ars Orientalis* 46 (January 1, 2016): 13–38.

and are there any telling differences among the versions that can help clarify these issues? To this end, I turn to textual variation between the manuscripts in the next section.

2.b Textual Variation

The textual variations between the five manuscripts are presented in the table below:

Table 3.2 Textual Variation in the *Opening Praise*

	P.2940 (A)	P.3262 (B)	P.2733 (C)	P.5638 (D)	P.5573 (E)
1	竊以實相凝空 隨緣以呈 妙 色	竊聞實相凝空 隨緣以呈 妙 色	夫 實相凝空 隨緣以呈 妙 色	竊以實相凝空 隨緣 妙 以呈 色	實相凝空 隨緣以呈 妙 色
2	法身 湛 寂 應物感而播群 形	法身 湛 寂 應物感而播群 形	法身 湛 寂 應物感而播群 形	法身 湛 寂 應物感而播群 形	法身 湛 寂 應物感而播群 形
3	幽 顯冀其津梁	幽 顯冀其津梁	幽 顯冀其津梁	<u> </u> 顯冀其津梁	幽 顯冀其津梁
4	人天資其 級 引	人天資其 級 引	人天資其 汲 引	人天資其 吸 引	人天資其 吸 引
5	自 祥 開道樹 變現之 迹 難量	自 祥 開道樹 變現之 跡 難量	自 祥 開道樹 變現之 跡 難量	自 常 開道樹 變現之 跡 難量	自 祥 開道樹 變現之 跡 難量
6	捧駕王城 神化之規 叵 測	捧駕王城 神化之規 叵 測	捧駕王城 神化之規 叵 測	捧駕王城 神化之規 叵 測	捧駕王城 神化之規 叵 測
7	發願鹿野 覺海浮浪於三 千	加以發 原 鹿野 覺海浮浪於三 千	發 原 鹿野 覺海浮浪於三 千	加以發 原 鹿野 覺海浮浪於三 千	加以發 原 鹿野 覺海浮浪於三 千
8	光照鶴林 知炬 潛 輝於百 億	光照鶴林 知炬 潛 輝於百 億	光照鶴林 智炬 潛 輝於百 億	光照鶴林 知炬 <u> </u> 輝於百 億	光照鶴林 知炬 潛 輝於百 億
9	府運善權之力	俯運善權之力	俯運善權之力	俯運善權之力	府運善權之力
10	廣開方便之門	廣開方便之門	廣開方便之門	廣開方便之門	廣開方便之門
11	邈矣能仁	邈以能仁	邈以能仁	邈大能人	邈矣能仁
12	遐哉 <u> </u> 覺者也	遐哉 妙 覺者也	遐哉 妙 覺者也	傾哉罕測者也	傾哉罕測者也

Note: Bold characters indicate occurrence of variance.

Overall, I believe there is indeed considerable consistency maintained between the versions as the order and number of couplets, as well as the literary structure of the passage remain completely the same. Of the 102 characters in the most expansive count (B), 18 characters see variation, consisting of approximately 17.6% of the text.

The largest class of variations is homophonic and alternate characters, with 8 occurrences (44% of variation) in all: A (5,7) and C (4, 8) have 2, and D (5, 11x2) have 3 unique variants each not seen in other manuscripts. Variants between individual manuscripts number from 2 to 7 in the following order: B:C (2) < A:E = B:E (3) < A:B = B:D = C:E (4) < D:E (5) < A:C (6) < A:D (7). We can see from this comparison that B and C are most similar to each other, which is not surprising as they share a format (sheet) and context of use (Cao family liturgies), confirming that they probably also share a history distinct from the other versions. However, other patterns of overlap do not point to clear relationships between the rest of the manuscripts, perhaps because our text is short, and we have only an extremely limited part of its circulation history available.

Introductory or transitory expressions, which I have counted separately, are also susceptible to variation, especially in line 1 as the opening to the entire liturgy: Only P.2940 (A) and P.5638 (D), which differs most by homophonic and alternate variants, share “Humbly (I believe/speak) that,” while P.3262 (B) uses a different verb “Humbly (I have) heard” (*qiwen* 竊聞). P.2733 (C) chooses the unrelated and more nonspecific auditory expression *fu* 夫, and P.5573 (E) omits the expression completely. Near the middle of the text (line 7), “in addition” (*jiayi* 加以) is only seen in Manuscripts B, D, and E. It may be that customizing or adding these expressions do not impact the tight structure nor the densely woven allusions of the parallel prose and therefore have more freedom to change. Given that the same specialists compile and perform the liturgies, individuals may also have adjusted such expressions to suit the occasion or their own preference. We will see similar examples in other analyses in the chapter, but to test this hypothesis would require more large-scale studies of *zhaiwen* circulation in manuscripts.

Of the third type of variation — “missing” characters which are identifiable by breaks in parallel structure, three out of four occur in P.5638 (D), a manuscript which also seems prone to outright mistakes, for example the unique variant *da* 大 in D11 that does not seem coherent in context. Another curious feature of the text occurs in the second column of the page, represented in the chart above as D1: the character *miao* 妙, which would be three places down in other manuscripts, is written then crossed out, with *yi* 以, the “correct” character following as a small addition on the right side of the first column. Similarly, *fa* 法 in D2 was originally left out and added in smaller script. As with the rest of the writing, the same hand undertakes the corrections, and parallel-breaking omissions are also present in other texts of the manuscript. This indicates to me that the copyist of D had access to the properly paralleled configurations common across other manuscripts in writing, but were unable to parse the language and identify the compound vocabulary and/or parallel elements in each couplet while they were directly copying it. This observation seems to align with the rougher make and use of the manuscript discussed above.

The only meaningful variants occur in the final phrase of the passage (line 12) and broadly split the manuscripts into three groups, coincidentally aligning with the main divide between formats. A, B, and C adhere to the meaning translated earlier in the chapter, “how **profound** the **Enlightened** One is!” P.2940 (A) is notable for the absence of the description of enlightenment as “miraculous” *miao* 妙, which conveys a direct parallel between Shakyamuni (*Nengren* 能仁) and Enlightened One (*juezhe* 覺者), while B and C, in the second group, may have interpreted *zhe* 者 as **part of the ending auxiliary particle, thus “How abstract is he who is capable of benevolence; how profound is he who (achieved) miraculous enlightenment!”**

The third group of D and E, while conforming to six characters in the phrase same as B and C, uses completely different wording in line 12: either “How **staggering** the **Unfathomable** One is!” in relation to the preceding “abstract and far-seeing but capable of benevolence” in reference to the Buddha, otherwise “How **staggering** that which is **unfathomable!**” The reading here, in my understanding, is awkward in context as “overwhelming; or, to admire” (*qing* 傾) does not seem complimentary to abstractness or benevolence. Moreover, while “unfathomable” (*hance* 罕測) or variations thereof are far from uncommon in final exclamations of *zhaiwan* caps, the compound is usually used for qualities or objects and not for individual persons or even deities.

Interestingly, D and E’s turn of phrase is also found in the final phrase of cap of the third text in D’s manuscript S.5638, the *Lamp Lighting Liturgy*, where the complete couplet states “**conspicuous is that which is difficult to name; how staggering that which is unfathomable!**.”²⁷ This couplet is attested widely circulating in the same cap and liturgy in multiple manuscripts.²⁸ The parallelism fits more naturally in this arrangement between “difficult to name” and “scarcely fathomed,” and the second half is no longer tied to describing the Sakyamuni Buddha but the expansive power of Buddhist wisdom to illuminate the darkness of delusion, which is the overarching imagery used in the cap as befitting a ritual for lamp-lighting celebrations.

²⁷ 赫矣難名，傾哉罕測者也！

²⁸ Including but not limited to P.2058v(19), P.2341v(4), and P.3545v(1). The phrase also has multiple variants, the most intriguing being “how **pensive** is that which is unfathomable!” 悠哉罕測者在 P.2341v(4), which seem to me the best fit of all. A discussion and translation of this liturgy can be found in Chen Huaiyu, “Multiple Traditions in One Ritual: A Reading of the Lantern-Lighting Prayers in Dunhuang Manuscripts” in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange* ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2014), 233-258.

Therefore, I believe that the wording in D12 and E12 is a transplant from the *Lamp Lighting Liturgy* cap, as we know from the D manuscript that they could be circulating in proximity. D and E are already similar in format and usage, and the same carrier of the *Opening Praise* in the *Buddha Hall Liturgy*. It is conceivable that D and E originated from the same source, likely a fully assembled *Buddha Hall Liturgy* available to aspiring specialists, whose compiler was particularly creative or absent-minded in this phrase. This possibility corresponds to the observation in the previous section that the transmission in the manuals D and E are indeed distinct from the drafts B and C, as well as from the *Zhaiwanwen* version in A.

2.c Implications

As we have seen from the study above, apart from confirming the high level of consistency between the versions of the *Opening Praise*, distinctive features between the versions in the three groups, and exploring how variations in *zhaiwen* can emerge, questions remain regarding the primary form of the text that was accessible to ritual specialists. We know from B and C that the *Opening Praise* could be circulating as its own unit from the 910s through the 960s, and from D and E that it was selected for personal ritual manuals in assembled form — are there any missing pieces in the puzzle, and did the *Zhaiwanwen*, a module model anthology, necessarily played any active part in the circulation process and liturgy writing in this period during the tenth century?

Looking beyond the manuscripts directly connected to the *Zhaiwanwen* texts, I came across a manuscript which casts some insight on the issue. Also a draft for assembled liturgies for comparable patrons, P.3457 is very similar to B and C. The first text P.3457a is a liturgy for Cao Yuanshen 曹元深, the second son of Cao Yijin to follow as ruler of Dunhuang and elder

brother of Cao Yuanzhong. The liturgy was again compiled for the excavation of a cave temple between 939–942 CE,²⁹ close to the midpoint in the five decades between the B and C manuscripts. Lacking a cap, the first section of P.3457a, a statement of ritual intention in five parallel prose couplets is nearly completely the same as that of B except for a) the swapping out of seasonal phrases to reflect the time of the ritual and b) embellishments at the end of the passage connecting descriptive parallel prose to the more functional ritual language introducing the patron. It is again clear from this occurrence that the ritual specialists who composed and presided over liturgies for the top of Dunhuang society had access to passages previously used in similar contexts over considerable periods of time.

The more interesting detail about P.3457, however, is that it is a multi-page, multi-text composite manuscript: three sheets of paper, distinct in size, stain, and make, each with an incompletely assembled liturgy draft written on it and pasted together to form a single scroll of 83.5 cm. The last two sheets were written in the same hand, while the first sheet, in a slightly different hand, shows more wear accumulated before the scroll was put together. The three sheets are likely contemporary, as the third sheet again references the Uighur princess and one of the two elder Cao brothers (referred to as a Minister of Works) as patrons (~935 –942 CE).

P.3457 reads as an attempt to collect rough drafts from different compilers and preserve them for easier consultation, in a sense constructing a model scroll not through copying desired passages from existing anthologies like the majority of manuscripts discussed in Chapter 2, but directly and physically putting wanted texts together like P.2991. This points to a clear availability of such drafts to secondary rounds of processing after their initial creation, as well as continued interest in them. It is highly probable that the drafts were circulating in parallel

²⁹ Ma De, “Caoshi san da ku yingjian de shehui beijing,” 23.

alongside and formed an interacting pool of material with the compiled single scroll, assembled liturgy anthologies (notable examples being Φ 263v and Φ 326v) or equivalent codices (D and E) of the tenth century — most certainly within the circles responsible for composing liturgies for the ruling elite. Given the abundance of such unofficially produced and highly personalized drafts and assembled liturgy anthologies extant in the Dunhuang corpus, including four of our discussed manuscripts in this chapter, over the scarcity of tidy and formal module anthologies in the style of the *Zhaiwanwen* during this period, it seems likely that the former was the primary vehicle in the transmission of liturgical texts of varying units, even among those who were the most likely to appreciate the heavily edited, cream-of-the-crop selection of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

A second point to consider is that all three liturgies containing the *Opening Praise* were compiled for occasions of specific construction projects, with none associated with celebratory gatherings dedicated to the Sakyamuni Buddha's life events or any reference to such. In other words, the surviving usage of the *Opening Praise* is completely detached from what its position in P.2940's *Zhaiwanwen* would dictate, indicating that the intentional categories of the *Zhaiwanwen* had no bearing on the compilers' decision to choose this particular cap for the three liturgies. Though we know from P.2547 that the *Zhaiwanwen* saw extensive local consultation perhaps in the eighth century, and from P.2104 and Φ 342v that it still exists as a distinct work in some fashion in the tenth century, the evidence suggests that *Zhaiwanwen* and its model style may have been uninfluential in active *zhaiwen* creation and circulation in this period.

The *Opening Praise* certainly could have originally entered the sphere of liturgy composition in Dunhuang through its inclusion in the *Zhaiwanwen* as its style and contents fit well in that selection. It is however still unclear why or how this cap was chosen for use in our extant assembled liturgies, for as discussed above the theme of the *Opening Praise* does not find

resonance in the remaining sections of the texts. This level of disassociation does not seem overly common in Dunhuang liturgies, particularly in examples that take care to incorporate more elaborate sections of parallel prose. For example, in the healing liturgy extensively studied by Teiser, the cap invokes the Buddha's final illness despite his perfect body and speaks of the inevitability of living things falling sick as they construct their forms from the elements.³⁰

My own speculation is that *zhaiwan* circulation in specific personalized drafts and anthologies may have been limited to connected but not completely overlapping groups of specialists: the group responsible for the Cao family liturgies, having obtained the *Opening Praise* from the *Zhaiwanwen* and transmitted it through the generations, may have regarded it as one of the more elegant choices in their repertoire and thus repeatedly used it in occasions which demanded high standards of polished prose. In other groups, who may have been less concerned with literary intricacies and whose habits of writing and material demands of anthology manuals differ considerably from the first group, the *Opening Praise* became attached completely to a Buddha Hall liturgy and diffused through codices, resulting in the curious state of the only extant legacy of the *Zhaiwanwen*.

2.d Mogao Cave 192 Inscription

One last occurrence of the *Opening Praise* is known, again acting as a cap but this time to a lengthy inscription written above the doorway of the main chamber of the mid-sized Mogao Cave 192. This inscription, titled *Fayuan gongde zanwen bing xu* 發願功德讚文並序 (*Encomium of the Merit in Making Vows with Preface*, hereafter *Encomium*), is particularly

³⁰ Stephen Teiser, "The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism," in *Tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū: Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen* (Kyoto: Rinsen Book, 2014), 423-424.

interesting to our study for two reasons: Firstly, it has a definite date and author and provides additional clues to provenance. Secondly, it is unique in not being from a manuscript nor self-defined as *zhaiwen*, model or otherwise, which gives a different context to its use.

Unfortunately, I was unable to find photograph reproductions of the inscription itself and rely heavily on He Shizhe's 1993 re-transcription and study: apart from on-site observation (by candlelight!) and prior transcription attempts, he also references P.3262 (B) for the "unclear portions" of the cap section.³¹ The extent of the correction or adjustments He made in his version is unclear, therefore I have not included this version of the *Opening Praise* to the previous study in textual variation. A comparison with Pelliot's original notes, however, reasonably assure us that the *Encomium* cap is again the same passage with the same order and number of couplets. Interestingly, according to Pelliot, the opening expression could be "humbly (I believe/speak) that", and the last phrase comprising of five characters³², both variations associated with A, a *Zhaiwanwen* manuscript.

The *Encomium* was composed by the Buddhist monk Mingzhao 明照 from the Dunhuang Longxing Monastery (*Dunhuang Longxingsi* 燉煌龍興寺) and inscribed in the second month of the eighth year of the Xiantong era 咸通八年 (867 CE). This date is another half a century earlier than our earliest datable manuscript P.3262 (B), pushing the existence and circulation of the *Opening Praise* into the mid-ninth century, during Zhang family control of the region. The Longxing Temple was the official state-sponsored and largest monastery of Dunhuang, and seat

³¹ He Shizhe 賀世哲, "Mogaoku di yi jiu er ku fayuan gongde zanwen chong lu ji you guan wen ti 莫高窟第 192 窟發願功德讚文重錄及有關問題," *Dunhuang yanjiu*, no.2 (1993): 1.

³² Apparently a very difficult to make out "遐?佛?覺者也." Paul Pelliot, *Grottes De Touen-Houang: Carnet De Notes De Paul Pelliot: Inscriptions Et Peintures Murales*, ed. Nicole Vandier-Nicolas and Monique Maillard (Paris: Collège de France, Instituts d'Asie, Centre de recherche sur l'Asie centrale et la Haute Asie, 1981) Vol 2: 16-17 and 66.

of the supervisory offices serving the local monastic community from at least the Tibetan period: it enjoyed high status, a considerable library collection, and housed many well-connected and well-educated religious professionals.³³

Mingzhao, though his life is not well known, was evidently one of them. Colophon attestations from the Dunhuang corpus reveal that he was a fully ordained monk by 857 CE, attending a series of lectures on the *Yogācārabhūmi-Śāstra* by the eminent Tibetan monk Facheng 法成 for a minimum of two years and produced nine elegant scrolls of that work with reading marks. S.1947 named his involvement in the management of monastic property in some leadership capacity under the Chief Monastic Overseer (*sengtong* 僧統) around 863 CE.³⁴

By 867 CE when the *Encomium* was composed, Mingzhao was likely an established figure in the community, well trained in different kinds of religious writing, and had good access to monastic collections. It is unknown his exact relation to the donors of Cave 192, the Qinghe Association (*Qinghe she* 清河社). He may have been a member, or one of an outside group of religious professionals hired for cave dedication rituals, or even merely to compose the *Encomium*. Either way, he can be understood as an earlier representative of the line of individuals responsible for producing B and C half a century later, which may have centered on Longxing Monastery and its collections or community. Considering the probable similarities of the *Encomium* cap to A, it may have been accessed from a *Zhaiwanwen* copy or an adjacent text, with the *miao* “妙” addition being introduced later in the half century between it and B.

³³ Rong Xinjiang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 119; Chen Dawei 陳大為, “Dunhuang Longxingsi yu qi ta siyuan de guanxi 敦煌龍興寺與其他寺院的關係,” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 1, no. 1 (2009): 52-64 for a brief summary.

³⁴ He Shizhe, “Mogaoku di yi jiu er ku fayuan gongde zanwen chong lu ji you guan wen ti,” 3.

The *Encomium* is an unusually long inscription with at least five distinct sections. About half of its contents, namely the cap, the following introductions of the patrons with their charitable intentions (presumably the “vow-making” referred to in the title), and the ornamentation of merit on beneficiaries are very similar to corresponding sections from other liturgies, often using typical functional language among ornate parallel prose. The other half, like a detailed list of all executed murals and the ending section with four-charactered verse, seems more in-line with the traditions of commemorative literature. Indeed, in the remaining parts of its title, “encomium” or “eulogy” (*zan* 讚 or *zan wen* 贊文) calls upon established pre-Buddhist performative ritual genres in the Chinese literary canon³⁵, while “merit” (*gongde* 功德) points to “records of merit” (*gongdeji* 功德記), which are originally descriptive narratives composed in the tradition of epitaphs and stele inscriptions, meant to document the grand deeds of patrons and their families for future generations witnessing their generous contributions.³⁶

There is indeed ambiguity between liturgies and records of merit from Dunhuang, especially in relation to the construction of cave temples. Zheng Yinan and Zheng Binglin identified a transformational process ending in the Cao period that saw a complete takeover of the traditional descriptive narrative structures by liturgy influenced forms.³⁷ The *Encomium* may have been an experimental piece in this process, which its date certainly allows for. However, we

³⁵ The *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, the 5th century work on literary theory, discusses the history and aesthetics of *zan* paired with odes (*song* 頌) in its second volume.

³⁶ Notable early examples include the Lord Li Stele 李君莫高窟佛龕碑 and the *Record of the Merit of Construction at Mogao Caves by the Li Family* 大唐隴西李氏莫高窟修功德記 seen in P.3608 and S.6203.

³⁷ Zheng Yinan 鄭怡楠 and Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, “Dunhuang Caoshi Guiyijun shiqi xiu gongdeji wenti de yanbian 敦煌曹氏歸義軍時期修功德記文體的演變,” *Dunhuang xue jikan*, no. 1 (2014): 1-11.

know from manuscripts that even in the Cao period the two genres likely did not functionally merge into one. For example, the previously mentioned Ch.00207v, though including the direction of merit to wishes of prosperity, is clearly a commemorative text with a strong focus on recording events, whereas P.2733 (B) is a separate liturgy with specific functional language for what was presumably the same event.

The study on the P.3262 (A) and P.2733 (B) drafts above indicate that most liturgies assembled for specific events were primarily produced as one-use ephemera, and not intentionally designed to be long-term documents. The *Encomium*, on the contrary, was meant to stand the test of time. Apart from the fact that it was inscribed on a cave wall, the *Encomium* dictates a list of rituals to be performed at the cave temple, including full scale offerings³⁸ during the three months of abstinence³⁹ and lamp-lighting for the first fifteenth days of the year, “year after year offering unending.”

Regardless of the influence of liturgical conventions on the *Encomium*, the text was not a liturgy and served a separate function. It is interesting to see how Mingzhao chose the *Opening Praise* as cap for this composition, as all its other occurrences in manuscripts associate it tightly with specific kinds of ritual texts. Given that the *Opening Praise* was characterized separately as a “preface” in the title, which indicates a certain detachment of the piece, the inclusion may indicate a kind of flexibility to the “descriptive” components of ritual texts written in parallel prose to be adopted into different types of texts with different functions. In the following section of this study, we will look at a more conspicuous example.

³⁸ How I translated 具足供養, offering with full sets of implements for worship.

³⁹ Discussed briefly in the previous chapter. The first, third, and fifth months of the year when abstinence is practiced by not eating after noon in Chinese Buddhism.

3. P.2481r

The second half of the chapter focuses on P.2481, an undated scroll written on both sides with an excellent⁴⁰ but informal hand. The single text on the recto (hereafter P.2481r) is of interest to our study because it contains passages also found in the self-titled *Zhaiwanwen* from P.2940, which we introduced in Chapter 1, and the untitled partial *zhaiwen* model anthology from P.3772, whose construction we discussed extensively in Chapter 2.

More importantly, P.2481 represents the only example of passages known primarily from *zhaiwen* circulating in non-liturgical or religious compilations and disconnected from any such function. Though we can only speculate on the specific relationship between the manuscripts P.2481, P.3772, and P.2940 given the scarcity of materials, investigation into the appearance of these shared passages in texts of such distinct function surely offer insight on the origin of *zhaiwen* passages, the complex phenomena surrounding their circulation and use, and the roles of parallel prose in broader contexts in the Chinese manuscript culture of the middle period.

3.a The Nature of P.2481 and P.2481r

P.2481 is a scroll comprising of six sheets of paper of approximately 44 to 30.5 cm each, all with unevenly cut edges. At least one further sheet is missing from the beginning of the scroll, leaving the singular text on the recto (hereafter P.2481r), the text under discussion, with its original title (if any existed) and a good part of its first section missing. The end of P.2481r is also unfinished, abandoned mid-line before the end of the sixth sheet, only a few lines into the seventh section of the text.

⁴⁰ Jao Tsung-I ed. *Tonkō shohō sōkan* Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1986), 72.

The verso of the manuscript is a collection of nine texts, including prefaces and exegesis to Buddhist sutras and commemorative and functional pieces on monastic figures and occasions. These writings, especially presentations of eminent preachers to their audience and a record of a construction project undertaken by a high Guiyijun official Lord Cao, point heavily to a local, tenth century, and monastic background of production. Interestingly, the *Catalogue* states that the entire verso is written in the same hand as the recto text, and that they do share characteristics such as being written in unlined columns with occasional haphazardly crossed out mistakes, which will inform our understanding of P.2481r. These characteristics also indicate that the entire manuscript was likely an unofficial document of amassed texts meant for personal use.

Considered on its own, P.2481r, like many other “miscellaneous” texts, for example liturgical *zhaiwen* as discussed in the Introduction, is commonly considered a collection of general literary models in catalogues of Dunhuang materials. For instance, the *Catalogue* labels it a “recueil de modèles de formules littéraires”⁴¹ while the *Zongmu suoyin xinbian* calls it an “writing/epistolary model” *shuyi* 書儀.⁴² However, growing understanding of established epistolary model traditions and peculiarities within P.2481r itself necessitated more detailed investigations into its nature.

The extant text of P.2481r is divided into seven sections by numbered titles. The title of the first section is missing along with the title of the entire text, but Jao Tsung-I has reconstructed it as “Part One - Daoist Practitioners” *Daoshi diyi* 道士第一 from the content of the remaining lines and in the style of the following extant titles: “Part Two - Buddhist Monks

⁴¹ “Pelliot chinois 2481,” the International Dunhuang Project.

http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?recnum=60018&index=5&uid=1129606177&

⁴² Shi, Pingting ed. *Dunhuang yi shu zong mu suo yin xin bian*. 敦煌遺書總目索引新編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2000), 238.

and Nuns” *Sengni di'er* 僧尼第二; “Part Three - Confucian Scholars” *Ruxue disan* 儒學第三; “Part Four - Auspicious Omens” *Xiangrui disi* 祥瑞第四; “Part Five - Commendations and Bestowments” *Qingshang diwu* 慶賞第五; “Part Six - Rituals and Sacrifices” *Ciji diliu* 祠祭第六; and “Part Seven - Rites and Ceremonies” *Liyi diqi* 禮儀第七.

Subsection titles are listed below each section title in double column with smaller script, which is followed by the instruction “the [number of subsections] entries above use the same openings and ending passages.”⁴³ Each subsection consisting of a single passage has their titles marked horizontally in the upper margin, starting with the opening cap *dutou* 都頭, followed by subsections named for different occasions, and finishing with the concluding passage *duwei* 都尾. Lexical glosses are often inserted following their subject of explanation in smaller script in single, doubled or even tripled columns, while stand-in pronouns such as *anonymous* (*mou yi* 某乙) are present in a few cases as the subjects of the texts in question. P.2481r is evidently some sort of manual used to construct documents with a modular structure, similar to known *zhaiwen* models like the *Zhaiwanwen*.

However, from the titles alone we can see that this text operates differently from other kinds of Buddhist ritual text by including practitioners of all three institutionalized teachings as well as state rituals and ceremonial affairs. Moreover, the subsections of the first three sections all refer to misconduct mostly specific to the group. For example, in “Part Two – Buddhist Monks and Nuns,” the subsections are “unauthorized ordination” *sidu* 私度; “preaching to the masses” *jujiang* 聚講; “accumulating wealth” *zhucai* 貯財; “stealing” *daowu* 盜物; “leaving the

⁴³ 已(以)上[六/十]道同一頭尾

monastery without permission” *shanlisi* 擅離寺; “over participation in ritual feasts” *guozhaixing* 過齋行.

Phrases in the named sections and associated notes, such as the admonition in the concluding *duwei* of “Buddhist Monks and Nuns” — “by reason they should be treated with strict penalties, may they be punished for their idle crimes”⁴⁴ also indicate a clear judicial or legal rather than liturgical or ritual function of the text; while “(for) the province where (the auspicious omens) appeared, the capital (will) commend in combination (and) issue documents to the original province, according to the established ordinances,”⁴⁵ a note from the concluding *duwei* of “Part Four - Auspicious Omens”, which specifically takes the tone of higher-ranked or central offices issuing documents to lower-ranked or local counterparts, points to the its administrative, governmental origin.

Indeed, in a preliminary study of P.2481r, Zhao Heping 趙和平 suggests that it is a model for composing an “in-bureau regulation”⁴⁶ (*liusi ge* 留司格) — administrative or legal instructions specifically for use in the Headquarter and Sacrifice Bureaus *libusi* 禮部司 *sibusi* 祠部司 of the Ministry of Rites *libu* 禮部, which would be responsible both for monitoring “Confucian scholars” and “Buddhist and Daoist Practitioners” (students of the Imperial

⁴⁴ 理宜置以嚴刑，庶將懲其慢犯。

⁴⁵ 所見出州，都邑並合褒優，各下牒本州，任準常式。

⁴⁶ Part of the Tang legal system of “codes, statutes, regulations, and ordinances” *lü ling ge shi* 律令格式, regulations are meant to supplement the established codes and statutes and regularly updated with decisions from imperial edicts. They are divided into two major types: “distributed regulations” for use throughout the state, and “in-bureau regulations” retained for use within the central administration. For an overview of the Tang legal code and regulations please refer to Zheng Xianwen 鄭顯文, *Tangdai luling zhi yanjiu* 唐代律令制研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2004.)

Academy and religious professionals operating under state licenses respectively) and issuing guidelines on state rites and ceremonies.⁴⁷ He argues that the judicial language with a lack of specific punishments for misconduct and the overall directing tone corresponds to regulations' stated function to "prohibit violations and halt aberrancy" (*jinwei zhixie* 禁違止邪), which leaves the practical execution of orders or sentencing for crimes to local jurisdictions.

Tang regulations were not transmitted to the present day in their original form. Scholarly consensus is that some fragments are preserved in large compilations such as the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (*Collected Documents of Tang*) or later Japanese legal codes.⁴⁸ Additionally, a few scrolls containing Tang regulations can be found in the Dunhuang corpus, most notably a *Xingbu sanban ge* 刑部散頒格 (*Distributed Regulations of the Ministry of Justice*) compiled by Su Gui 蘇瓌 and others in 705 CE as seen in P.3078+S.4673.⁴⁹ A brief perusal of these materials, along with extant Tang codes and statutes, can demonstrate that they are all written in a distinct concise language and do not use the ornate parallel prose so characteristic of P.2481r and *zhaiwan* we have examined. Therefore, although the identification of the specific offices as likely originators of P.2481r is insightful, Zhao Heping's argument is not entirely convincing.

Alternatively, Zhao Xingtao 趙興濤 proposes that P.2481r is a model for mock decision (or "judgement" texts) *pan/panci* 判/判詞, after brief comparisons with extant Tang *pan*

⁴⁷ Zhou Yiliang 周一良 and Zhao Heping, *Tang Wudai shuyi yanjiu* 唐五代書儀研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), 281.

⁴⁸ most relevant to the present study — a majority of the *Statutes for Buddhist Monks and Nuns* 僧尼令 of the early 8th century Yōrō code (*Yōrō-ritsuryō* 養老律令) seemed to borrow heavily from Tang regulations for Daoist and Buddhist clergy; Zheng Xianwen, *Tangdai luling zhi yanjiu*.37-44; 286-298.

⁴⁹ Subjected to many studies, for example Denis Twitchett, "A Note on the Tunhuang Fragments of the T'ang Regulations (Ko)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30, no. 2 (1967): 369–381.

anthologies the *Longjin fengsui pan* 龍筋鳳髓判 (*Quintessential Decisions*) and the *Jiayi pan* 甲乙判 (*Anonymous Decisions*) by famed literati Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (657 – 730 CE) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772 – 846 CE) respectively. He points out that they share the use of ornate parallel prose and a threefold textual structure: the aforementioned *dutou*— main section— *duwei* structure seen in P.2481r and undifferentiated in decision anthologies.⁵⁰

Decision texts played an important role in the lives of all Tang dynasty educated who aspired to become officials. On one hand they were functional documents crucial to daily administration at all levels of government.⁵¹ On the other hand, maybe due to ubiquitous use, decision-writing ability became one of the four, and perhaps most important, criteria for recruiting civil servants. Candidates sat for formal examinations where they composed decisions in response to hypothetical scenarios and were assessed for their literary prowess on top of administrative capability.⁵² As a result, “mock” decisions are written in elaborate prose, widely recognized as a literary genre, and survive in great numbers in both personal and comprehensive anthologies such as the *Wenyuan Yinghua* 文苑英華.

It is undeniable that passages from P.2481r greatly resemble extant mock decision texts in the use of ornate parallel prose, the density of literary allusions, and mostly importantly the judicial admonitions towards the conclusion of the text, especially with examples from the

⁵⁰ Zhou Xingtao, “Dunhuang xie ben P.2481r hao xingzhi zai tan 敦煌寫本 P.2481 號性質再探,” *Nantong hangyun zhiye jishu xueyuan xuebao* 8, no. 2 (2009): 52–55.

⁵¹ Yang Jidong, “The Making, Writing, and Testing of Decisions in the Tang Government: A Study of the Role of the Pan in the Literary Bureaucracy of Medieval China,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 29 (December 2007): 134-138.

⁵² P. A. Herbert, *Examine the Honest, Appraise the Able: Contemporary Assessments of Civil Service Selection in Early Tang China*. (Canberra: Bibliotech, 1988); Wang Xuncheng 王勳成, *Tangdai quanxuan yu wenxue* 唐代銓選與文學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001).

Quintessential Decisions whose compiler Zhang Zhuo was particularly renowned for his expertise in writing and excellent performance in examinations⁵³. Zhao Heping dated the P.2481r text to the mid to late 7th century through the distribution of naming taboos,⁵⁴ which if accurate may explain its stylistic correspondence to the roughly contemporary *Quintessential Decisions* over the less flowery *Anonymous Decisions*. At least one later example, the so-called *Kaiyuan Decisions* (from a fragmented P.2593) seemed to have continued stylistically in the former tradition.

However, notes in unstructured language in P.2481r, such as the previously quoted instructions to issue commendations to provinces in Part Four, appear practical beyond customary literary admonitions and are absent in mock decisions anthologies, indicating actual administrative application. Yet comparisons to extant examples of Tang functional decisions, consisting mostly of cursory quotations in brush-notes and incomplete anthologies from excavated material,⁵⁵ finds a marked difference in language as known functional decisions, even when written in four-six character lines and occasionally utilizing parallelism and allusion, tend to be written in simpler and even colloquial styles which result in pieces of far less literary density.

⁵³ Zhang Zhuo does not have an individual biography in the dynastic histories – his exploits are instead recorded in the biography of his grandson, Zhang Jian. In the *Jiu Tang shu*, it is said that “In all (Zhang Zhuo) attended the appraisals four times, and his decisions were regarded the best of the selection...remarked that the compositions of Zhang (Zhuo) are as copper coins, when offered (even) for ten thousand occasions they will always be chosen, and it is unheard of that they will fall out of style.” From Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 4023-4024.

⁵⁴ Zhao Heping, *Tang Wudai shuyi yanjiu*, 268-270.

⁵⁵ Yang, “Decisions in the Tang Government,” 143–147; an example is P.2754 i.e., the *Linde Anxi panji* 麟德安西判集 (*Decisions for the Anxi Protectorate from the Linde Era* [664-662 CE]) from Liu Junwen 劉俊文, *Dunhuang Tulufan Tangdai fazhi wenshu kaoshi* 敦煌吐魯番唐代法制文書考釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 464–478.

Nevertheless, social pressure to employ more sophisticated techniques such as full-blown parallel prose in such daily administrative compositions is documented in humorous anecdotes from brush-notes, mocking officials who unwittingly revealed their uncouthness when attempting to flaunt their skills in practical decision-writing, or showing dissatisfied superiors impressed by elegant, quick decision-writing in the office.⁵⁶ This may have resulted in more elaborately composed functional decisions similar to P.2481r through adopting the characteristics of their mock counterparts or otherwise, which are now completely lost to us.

A further curiosity in considering the P.2481r texts as functional decisions is the lack of scenarios or statements of the case to be decided on, which is commonly written in non-structured prose and an intrinsic part of decision texts in all surveyed anthologies. This may be due to P.2481r's approach to sorting themed but generic opening and closing passages, as well as distinct projected situations into broader categories, which is more efficient in laying out the appropriate textual modules to slot into the correct position. P.2481r can be understood as a manual to the assembling process whose output is the completed pieces corresponding to specific scenarios that we see collected in both mock and functional decision anthologies, in a clear parallel to the roles respectively undertaken by textual module models such as the *Zhaiwanwen* and assembled model anthologies in the construction of *zhai* ritual texts.

Leaving aside P.2481r's exact classification, another pressing question for our study is how a practical manual of clear supervisory authority over state rites and practitioner conduct of all three traditions fit into a manuscript likely produced in Guiyijun Dunhuang by an individual heavily affiliated with, if not outright belonging to the Buddhist clergy. It is unclear to me

⁵⁶ Yang, "Decisions in the Tang Government," 143–148, examples from the *Chaoye qianzhai* 朝野僉載 by our same Zhang Zhuo, the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 and the *Datang xinyu* 大唐新語.

whether a regulatory body with responsibilities corresponding to the Ministry of Rites existed in the Cao Guiyijun government, and certainly debatable that if it had, someone like the copyist of P.2481 would be tasked with administrative decision writing there. Moreover, several occasions presented in P.2481r seemed unlikely to apply to a regional regime with no absolute imperial pretensions, most notably the entire Part Six that deal with the highest level of state rituals such as (the Emperor's) Ceremonial Plowing of the Field (*jitian* 籍田) and (the Empress's) Sacrifice to the First Sericulturist (*xiancan* 先蚕). In all likelihood originally compiled for functional use in a central government bureau far in the Chinese heartlands, it is doubtful that the P.2481r text was copied onto P.2481 for direct use in the same spirit.

If we take a closer look at the nine texts on the verso of P.2481 in reconsideration of this issue, one common feature leaps to the eye: regardless of origin or genre, considerable portions of the chosen passages are composed in parallel prose of a density comparable to P.2481r, and in extension the *Zhaiwanwen*. Certainly, parallelism and literary allusion remain common elements in prose writing up to this period, and selection of eclectic material do point to interest beyond form, but I find it probable that the assembling of the entire manuscript was partially motivated by providing models of exemplary and useful compositions, with the more relevant sections of P.2481r meant to be further adapted for suitable applications. The implicit journey of the P.2481r text from a mid to late seventh century Chang'an bureau to tenth century Dunhuang is unfortunately untraceable with limited material, but the characteristic processes of variation and individual customization in manuscript transmission may also partly account for the oddities we discovered earlier.

3.a.i *Buddhist Monks and Nuns*

In the following sections, we take a closer look at the textual variation and literary context of the passages that are found in both known *Zhaiwanwen*(-affiliated) anthologies and P.2481r and investigate the implications on our understanding of their use and circulation.

The first passage of interest from P.2481r is the opening *dutou* from Part Two - Buddhist Monks and Nuns. The corresponding passage from P.3772, titled “Buddhist and Daoist Monks and Nuns,” is located in the middle of the recto of the manuscript, the first of a group which may also have formed part of the *Zhaiwanwen* Chapter Five *Conferring Felicitous Vows* containing models intended for official recognition of ordination status. Though not directly named as such, the P.3772 passage’s position in this group and its general content indicates it also performs as an opening cap or *dutou/haotou* to following texts.

Table 3.3 Comparison between P.3772 and P.2481r *Buddhist Monks and Nuns*

	P.3772	P.2481r
A	<i>Buddhist Monks and Nuns, and Daoist Priests and Priestesses</i> 僧尼道士女官	<i>Part Two – Buddhist Monks and Nuns</i> Opening Cap 僧尼第二 都頭
1	竊以妙力難思，神功罕測； 趣包生滅，理會有無。	妙力難思，神威罕測； 趣包生滅，理會有無。

Table 3.3 Comparison between P.3772 and P.2481r *Buddhist Monks and Nuns* (continued)

2	As for the Awakened One, (he) spreads (his) compassion throughout the trichiliocosm of worlds, taking on sagely avatars ; 至若正覺流慈，遍三千而顯聖；	Thus, the marks of enlightenment shine individually throughout the trichiliocosm of worlds, revealing their characteristics ; 是以覺相分輝，遍三千而顯相；
3	The Great Hero ⁵⁷ expounds on wisdom ; surpassing the uncountable multitudes to signify his eminence. 大雄演智，冠百億以標尊。	The Dharma-body leaves its mark ; surpassing the uncountable multitudes to signify his eminence. 法身留號，冠百億以標尊。
4	泊乎漢夢宵通，微言再闡； 周星夜隕，至教遐宣。	泊乎漢夢宵通，微言載闡； 周星夜隕，至教遐[]。
5	由是 慧 日流暉，慈雲布潤。	由是 惠 日流輝，慈雲[]潤。
6	化 城 易憩，變現之力良多；	化 成 易憩，變現之力良多。
7	朽宅難居，誘引之門不一。	火宅難居，誘諭之門不一。
8		Anonymous drifts one's life upon the sea of suffering, and entrust one's breaths to mundane afflictions ; 某乙浮生苦海，寄息塵勞。
9		One knows that the web of banality constrains the body, and realizes that the Dharma-vessel can deliver oneself. 知俗網之嬰身，悟法船之運己；

As we can see in the table above, these two passages are remarkably similar in that we may consider them the same text — with the sheer number of aligned and specific couplets, it is very unlikely that they were composed from scratch independently. A good amount of textual variance is scattered throughout the passages as represented in the table as bolded characters, mostly in the form of alternate characters or homonyms (A5 *huiri liu hui* 慧日流暉 versus 惠日流輝) and synonyms (A1 *shengong* 神功 versus *shenwei* 神威; A7 decaying mansion *xiuzhai* 朽宅 versus fiery mansion *huozhai* 火宅), with few copying errors apart from missing characters that break parallelism in A4 and A5 of P.2481r.

⁵⁷ Mahā-vīra i.e., the Buddha.

The most obvious difference between the two versions occurs in lines A2 and A3. Among the three components of the parallel couplets, namely a) the introductory expression, b) the first component phrases of four characters, and c) the second component phrases of six characters, the first two are completely distinct while the last is mostly the same except for the last character in A2. As seen in my translation above, though the specific meaning of the phrases differs in the variation, the overall flow, richness, and sentiment of the language do not diverge greatly, and the couplet retains its function as a customary proclamation of the Buddha's extraordinary power seen in *haotou/dutou*, showing the potential flexibility of phrasal components as modular building blocks in parallel prose, a phenomenon which we have already seen in the previous discussions in this chapter and also Chapter 2.

Like the translated couplet above, the remaining lines of the text are comprised entirely of literary allusions specific to the Buddhist tradition: for example, A4 contains direct references to Emperor Ming of Han's dream and astronomical movements during the reign of King Mu of Zhou,⁵⁸ both well-studied apocryphal accounts of China's first contact with Buddhism, while the conjured city of A6 and the fiery or decaying mansion of A7 are well-known parables from the *Lotus Sutra*. This is certainly fitting to P.2481r's usage of the passage as a *haotou* for a section dedicated to the misdemeanors of Buddhist clergy, but P.3772's title "Buddhist Monks and Nuns and Daoist Priests and Priestesses" is more mystifying. As we have seen in Chapter 2, none of the studied manuscripts as well as P.3772 itself seem to actually include any texts for Daoists within this group. The close relationship between P.3772 and the P.2547 *Zhaiwanwen* has been described previously in Chapter 2. Could the compiler of P.3772 have obtained the label from a

⁵⁸ Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: the spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*, 3rd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 22; 273.

more comprehensively oriented anthology like the original *Zhaiwanwen* but omitted pieces tailored for Daoist practitioners due to their own preferences, only leaving behind the inaccurate label as evidence for the adjustment?

Table 3.4 Comparison between P.3773 *Buddhist Monk* and P.2481r *Stealing*

	P.3772	P.2481r
B	<i>Buddhist Monk</i> 僧	<i>Stealing</i> 盜物
1	As he rests the spirit (by/on) the bodhi tree; and baths his's thoughts in the pool of meditation 惟其棲神道樹；浴想禪池。	One may rest the spirit (by/on) the bodhi tree; and bath one's thoughts in the river of meditation 自可棲神道樹；浴想禪河。
2	(He) knows that the net of attachment constrains the body, and realizes that the vessel of wisdom can deliver oneself. 知愛網之嬰身；悟智舟之運己。	
3	Whereupon (he) focuses the heart-mind on the four truths; respectfully contemplates the three vehicles 於是凝心四諦，欽念三乘。	Focus the four truths in the mind-field; (and) ride the three vehicles upon the path of enlightenment. 凝四諦於深田，運三乘於覺路。
4	故得解素披緇，法眼舒而六天喜；	何得輕行貪冒，屢盜錦於人間；
5	抽簪落發，慧刀奮而四魔驚。	輒肆奸回，希惠縑於梁上。
6	參勝侶於金園；廁高名於寶地。	至怪自身之物；曾無意於檀波。
7	迴超三界；獨枕四流。	□愛他人之財，專有情於盜竊。
8	為品物之津梁，成法門之枝幹。	

Another interesting phenomenon occurs in the last two lines (A8 and A9) of the P.2481r Part 2 *dutou*. These phrases are absent in the corresponding passage in P.3722. However, a structurally identical but synonymic version of the second couplet (A9) appears in the immediately following text titled “Buddhist Monks” (B2), nestled between two other couplets that in turn see loose variation in P.2481r — though not in its following text but in the fourth subsection of Part 2 meant for stealing. In this case the association between the two versions of the phrases are not as strong. Apart from the more regular variation in the introductory

expression and a synonym in the last character in B1, the last couplet of the three (B3) is especially notable where only the core concepts invoked (the four noble truths and the three vehicles) are shared while both the number of characters and structure of the component phrases are completely different.

Considered together with the meaningful difference earlier in the passage, it seems likely that the occurrences of this passage in the two manuscripts is due to drawing from a singular source which was then reworked, including attaching or detaching couplets (A8), swapping out phrasal components and synonyms (A2 and A3; A9/B2), shifting couplet order and rearranging of section divisions (A9/B2), and expanding/contracting couplets (B3). The latter part of this group also serves as transitions to a very different following segments (B4–8) in the two sections as quoted in the above table. In the P.3772 version, a description and praise of a Buddhist monk as a subject of a *zhai* ritual, the text expands on his meditation and revelations to further actions of leaving lay life and being ordained, while in P.2481r the discussed couplets are simply taken as statements of the rulebreaker’s monastic status which then turns to lament their committing of a crime despite it.

Curiously, the division between different textual modules of Part 2 in P.2481r, expressed as A and B above, cuts through a natural paragraph (A8, A9, B1, B2) that would form when a complete text is assembled: the first half of this description of the anonymous rulebreaker is included in the *dutou*, while the latter half of two couplets are attached to subsections specific to different misconduct charges and would be switched out as the occasion demands. The individual phrasing of the latter two couplets as seen in the six subsections seemed designed to broadly resonate with their associated misconducts, for example pointing out the ability or expectation of pursuing Buddhist cultivation “with the heavens as curtains and the earth as a

mat”⁵⁹ in the third subsection for accumulating wealth. This feature of implementing modular units across natural divisions is only seen in Part 2 among the seven sections of P.2481r, which I speculate to be a remnant of the original structures of the unknown texts selected and adapted into the administrative manual.

3.a.ii *Auspicious Omens*

The second passage of interest occurs in Part Four – Auspicious Omens (hereafter *Omens*) in P.2481r and the second subsection *Jiexiang jian zhi* 嘉祥薦祉 (*Auspicious Omens Presenting Blessings*, hereafter *Blessings*) of the second chapter *For Celebrating Imperial Rule* in the *Zhaiwanwen* as seen in P.2940. The correspondence between the two passages extends beyond one paragraph, and I quote the complete sections from the two manuscripts below, roughly dividing *Blessings* into three parts according to natural transitions and mapping to them P.2481r’s Part Four *dutou*, labeled subsections, and *duwei* for clearer presentation. The first part, a comparison between the opening passages of P.2481r and P.2940, is as below.

Table 3.5 Textual Variation between P.2940 *Blessings* and P.2481r *Omens* Part 1

	P.2940	P.2481r
C	<i>Auspicious Omens Presenting Blessings</i> 嘉祥薦祉	<i>Part Four Auspicious Omens Opening Cap</i> 祥瑞第四 都頭
1	竊以道格圓穹，天無秘寶； 惠覃方礪，地不潛瑜。	道格圓穹，天不秘寶； 惠覃方礪，地不潛瑜。
2	故使錄錯摛 ⁶⁰ 英，式表雙瞳之德；	故淥錯摛華，式表雙瞳之德。
3	玄珪效祉，爰標三漏之功。	玄珪效祉，爰標三漏之功。
4	莫不列穀金編；流芳玉篆。	莫不列穀金編；流芳玉篆。
5	聖上風高驟帝；化軼馳王。	聖上風高驟帝，化軼馳王。

⁵⁹ I.e., without material possessions.

⁶⁰ Wan San-ching reads this character as 攝, *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究 (Taipei: Shin Wen Feng Print Co., 2009), 75.

Table 3.5 Textual Variation between P.2940 *Blessings* and P.2481r *Omens* Part 1 (continued)

6	動植霑恩；飛沉賴慶。	動植霑恩；飛沉沐慶。
7	故使昭彰瑞牒，書殫東郭之豪；	故使昭彰瑞籙，書殫東郭之豪。
8	鬱藹祥圖，紀盡南山之竹。	鬱藹祥圖，紀盡南山之竹。
9		史題府納，朝夕相趨。至如某奏申稱，頗符玄契。

As we can see above, the *dutou* of P.2481r *Omens* and the equivalent lines of P.2940 *Blessings* (C1-8) are again undoubtedly the “same” passage with the same number and order of distinctive couplets. Similar to passages discussed in earlier parts of the chapter, some textual variation is expressed by differences in introductory or transitional expressions (C1 Humbly) and homonyms or alternate characters (C2 *lu* 錄 versus *lu* 淥). The largest category are synonyms ranging from the simple (C1 *wu* 無 versus *bu* 不) to substitutions which may have been consciously chosen for aesthetic or functional reasons, such as “official document; permit” *die* 牒 (*Blessings*) versus “registers” *lu* 籙 (*Omens*) in C8. An extra line (C9) is included at the end of *Omens* in P.2481r: “The scribes take record as the office receives (reports as they) roll in day and night. It is as *anonymous* submits/claims, that (the auspicious omen) accords quite well with the mysterious tally,” which is certainly a functional note to formal administrative format as discussed earlier. Overall, no significant division in structure or meaning can be observed between the two versions.

This *dutou* is the main overlapping portion of the entire section. To investigate what kind of material can be used in two texts of such diverse function without considerable differences, I translated the entire cap below: P.2940 *Blessings* is treated the primary version, and variants from P.2481r are noted in the Chinese original with meaningful examples fully translated, both presented in round brackets.

Humbly: The Way defines the spherical dome of the heavens, which does not obscure its treasures; benevolence pervades the square expanse of the earth, which does not hide its marvels. Thus, literary eloquence is unfurled upon ornamented registers⁶¹, to exhibit the sagely virtues of he with the double pupils⁶²; blessed fortune is shown [written] in mysterious ink⁶³, to display the imperial feats of he with the thrice-punctured ears.⁶⁴ Without exception, traces are left upon golden slips and fragrance flows through the jade characters.

竊以道格圓穹，天無(不)秘寶；惠覃方礪，地不潛瑜(珍)。故(使)錄(淶)錯摛英(華)，式表雙瞳之德；玄珪效祉，爰標三漏之功。莫不列穀金編，流芳玉篆。

His Majesty's manner is so superior such that even the Three Sovereigns will swiftly converge towards him; his teachings excel to the extent that even the Five Emperors will assemble around him. Both animal and plants are bedewed by his grace; both birds and fishes are glad to rely on (bath in) his blessings. Thus [the abundance of omens] are made manifest upon auspicious documents (registers), exhausting the brushes made of rabbit hair⁶⁵; [they are] exuberantly recorded in auspicious diagrams, [so much that] the bamboo from the southern mountains is depleted.

聖上風高驟帝，化軼馳王。動植沾恩，飛沉賴(沐)慶。故(使)昭彰瑞牒(籙)，書殫東郭之豪；鬱藹祥圖，記盡南山之竹。

As fitting for the introductory passage to a section meant for reporting or celebrating auspicious omens, which are regarded as responses to excellent governance, the text is a praise

⁶¹ *lucuo* 錄錯: A document heavily associated with auspicious signs. A rare example of usage from Lu Sidao's 盧思道 *Liaoyang shan si yuanwen* 遼陽山寺願文: The sagely ruler... receives the ornamented registers at the numinous river and is initiated to the golden slips at the immortal mountains. 受錄錯於靈河，開金簡於仙嶽。

⁶² metaphor for exemplary imperial virtue, as the sagely ruler Shun 舜 allegedly had double pupils. Eg. from the *Lun heng* 論衡 (*Balanced Inquiries*): "...Yao's eyebrows were in eight colours; Shun's eyes had double pupils; Yu had three openings in each ear..." Wang Chong 王充, *Lun heng* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 24.

⁶³ 玄珪, a dark jade tablet given to those who achievement exemplary deeds – also metaphor for ink. Probably the ink.

⁶⁴ *San lou* 三漏 three openings, short for "having three openings in each ear" *er san lou* 耳三漏, extraordinary marks of the sagely emperor Yu 禹. See Note for double pupils.

⁶⁵ Dongge seems to be an allusion to the swift, cunning rabbit Dongge Qun 東郭逡 from a parable in the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策齊策三: "韓子廬者，天下之疾犬也；東郭逡者，海內之狡兔也。"

of the superior virtues of the Son of Heaven. Unlike any of the previous studied *dutou/haotou*, the passage does not invoke any Buddhist concepts or figures, but instead draws on indigenous Chinese traditions to portray ideal kingship such as attunement with the natural order and the mythical Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors. Other vocabulary like the various terms for documents recording imperial deeds, such as the auspicious diagrams and documents *xiangtu ruidie* or *lu* 祥圖瑞牒/籙 and “golden slips” and “jade characters” *jinbian yuzhuan* 金編玉篆 are less associated with any kind of Buddhist writing than court or even Daoist literature.⁶⁶

Many of the phrasal components see interesting applications in other extant literary material, most notably the bamboo from the southern mountains seen in C8. Perhaps true to its origin in the *Lushi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lü*), where all the bamboo of the Jing and Yue areas are said to be unable to document the array of inauspicious omens that plague a country with improper governance,⁶⁷ the idiom mostly describe deeds of an unmistakably negative nature. For instance, Xiao Yi 蕭繹 invoked the inadequacy of the bamboo along with all the brushes made from the rabbits of the western mountains for writing down the transgressions of the “the traitorous subject Hou Jing 侯景” in his call to arms against the latter (552 CE).⁶⁸

As seen in the above example, the bamboo of the southern mountains does not necessarily or even usually have “brushes of Dongge (literally Eastern City)” (C7) as a parallel

⁶⁶ By which I mean that searches in Scripta Sinica database result in relatively high hits in rhapsodies, odes, memorials, petitions etc. written by scholarly officials, commonly at court, and to a lesser extent the Daoist Canon, over the Buddhist canon.

⁶⁷ 呂氏春秋卷六明理:…此皆亂國之所生也，不能勝數，盡荆、越之竹，猶不能書。

Retrieved from the Scripta Sinica Database. <https://hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/ihp/hanji.htm>

⁶⁸ Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liang shu* 梁書, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 123: 梁元帝討侯景檄文.

element like in *Omens* or *Blessings*, and tracking down a second occurrence leads us to the most intriguing example of all. In the *Jiuchenggong song* 九成宮頌 (*Ode of the Nine-fold Palace*), a praise of kingly deeds and virtues submitted to the Emperor Gaozong of Tang by the renowned poet Wang Bo 王勃 (650–676 CE), the rare combination of southern bamboo and “eastern” brushes are exhausted to produce documents for recording auspicious omens, which arose from the sagely designs and great achievements of the imperial house causing “the heavens not being covetous of (its) treasures and the earth not obscuring (its) marvels,”⁶⁹ a close variation of the second phrases of the C1 couplet. The correlation in reasoning and adjacent use of similar specific phrasing between this section of the *Ode* and the *Omens/Blessing* opening seems too close to be complete coincidence, and I strongly suspect the *Ode* or a similar source was consulted by whoever originally put together the opening texts, which is certainly possible given both the *Zhaiwanwen* and P.2481r’s tentative mid to late-eight century date.

The following table is a comparison between the middle portion of P.2940 *Blessings*, which is a descriptive list of various auspicious omens, and the nine labeled subsection modules for slotting between the *dutou* and the *duwei* in P.2481r *Omens*.

Table 3.6 Comparison between P.2940 *Blessings* and P.2481r *Omens* Part 2

D	P.2940 <i>Blessings</i>	E	P.2481r <i>Omens</i>
1	(White Qilin) 斯乃素麟踐野，挺一角以呈祥；	1	[Qilin 騏驎] 騰姿踐野，標一角以流芳； 曜質呈奇，飛五蹄而表慶。
2	(Cinnabar Fenghuang) 丹鳳栖同，楊九色而表瑞。	2	(Fenghuang 鳳凰) 珍禽六象，感上澤以棲桐； 靈鳳九包，應貞明而食竹。

⁶⁹ Dong Gao 董誥 et al edited, *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 1815.

Table 3.6 Comparison between P.2940 *Blessings* and P.2481r *Omens* Part 2 (continued)

3	(Sweet Dew; Iridescent Clouds) 甘露凝珠而綴葉； 慶雲瑩玉而霏柯。	3	[Clearing of the Yellow River 見河清] 滔滔湛碧，激五色以浮榮； 淼淼凝清，映千尋而見底。
4	(Intertwining Trees; Auspicious Grain) 連理則合幹分枝；嘉和則殊苗共 穎。	4	[Sweet Dew 甘露] 冷瓏似玉，飛若醴於金莖； 皎潔凝珠，灑如醇於玉掌。
5	(White Wolf) 百狼躑躅，驚皓質於翻霜；	5	[Intertwining Trees 片柯] 分柯布葉，影疊壁之重光； 合幹踈條，表連珠之積曜。
6	(Vermillion Bird) 赤雀紛綸，奮朱毛而皎日。	6	[Auspicious Grain 嘉禾] 芳齊異畝，遠符唐叔之年； ⁷⁰ 穎結殊苗，遙葉馭王之瑞。 ⁷¹
7	(Clearing of the Yellow River) 河清一代，湛碧浪而浮榮。	7	[Iridescent Clouds 慶云] 氛氳若霧，絢五色於天莊； 蕭索如煙，爛九光於日路。
8	(Numinous Excrescence) 芝草千莖，擢紫英而絢彩。	8	[Numinous Excrescence 芝草] 靈芝耀秀，間青紫以楊輝； 仙菌抽華，雜玄黃而絢彩。
		9	[Vermillion Bird 赤雀] 銜書神鳥，翻 ⁷² 丹翻以翔霞； 變蛤靈禽，散朱毛而皎日。
		9	[White Wolf 白狼] 皓姿靈異，皎玉雪以分暉； 素質呈奇，奪璿霜而耀彩。

Note: The subsection labels from the upper margin of P.2481r are represented in square brackets. Identified omens are noted in round brackets before the line they appear in. Since the length of the phrases allotted to each omen varies in the two manuscript, two different systems of numbering are assigned.

From form alone, we can tell that there is much less association between the two manuscripts in this part: individual omens are assigned to distinct subsections (the E2 title mistaken omitted) and a four-six-character couplet in the subsections of *Omens*, while in

⁷⁰ 唐叔得禾異畝同穎 is written here in small characters. This and the following two occurrences are intra-linear lexical glosses.

⁷¹ 漢馭而有嘉禾 is written here in small characters.

⁷² 音鱗飛音 is written here in small characters.

Blessings they are described in only half a couplet. Specific wordings used to describe the same omen are very different even for common attributes, except for a few closer parallels such the Qilin “treading upon the wilds” and brandishing its singular horn to manifest good fortune in the second component phrases of D1 and E1, or the Vermillion Bird flailing its crimson feathers to rival the sun in brightness in the second component phrases of D6 and E9.

Content-wise, the two texts seem to draw on a relatively narrow pool of common knowledge as the list of described omens completely overlap, while other common signs in the tradition⁷³ such as any color of dragon or dragon-horses (the latter attested in Wang Bo’s *Ode*) are not mentioned, the selection also unaffected by divisions in grading categorizations for recognizing omens as seen in the *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 (*Six Administrative Compendiums of the Tang*).⁷⁴ From these characteristics and the correspondence in other sections of the two manuscripts, it is possible to imagine the compilers of the two texts consulting similar or related sources for omens to include, which is then followed by the incorporation of other imagery and further adjustment of the phrasing to arrive at the desired lengths and combinations.

⁷³ Referenced Tiziana Lippiello, *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China: Han, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties* (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2001), 135-149 for the auspicious omen tradition in pre-Tang China and of course the section for the Ministry of Rites in the *Tang liu dian* 唐六典: 凡祥瑞應見, 皆辨其物名...; also Yu Xin 余欣, “Furui yu difang zhengquan de hefaxing goujian : Guiyijun shiqi Dunhuang ruiying kao 符瑞與地方政權的合法性構建: 歸義軍時期敦煌瑞應考,” *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, no. 4 (2010): 325–378, 403.

⁷⁴ Namely the tiers of the great omens *darui* 大瑞, superior omens *shangrui* 上瑞, intermediate omens *zhongrui* 中瑞, and lesser omens *xiarui* 下瑞. Administrative procedures of reporting sighted omen differed by which grade they belong to.

Table 3.7 Comparison between P.2940 *Blessings* and P.2481r *Omens* Part 3

F	P.2940 <i>Blessings</i>	G	P.2481r <i>Auspicious Omens</i>
1	There are none (of these omens) that will not accord blessings through the ages, and correspond good fortune to one man; 莫不祥符萬古 ⁷⁵ ; 福應一人。	1	Ending Passage 都尾 Thus, blessings will be accorded through the ages, and good fortunes correspond to one man; 斯乃禎符萬代; 福應一人。
2	Eternally in concord with the jadeite regalia ; perpetually in harmony during the treasured era. 永契璿儀; 長階寶歷。	2	Divining the Seven Luminaries within (his) golden radiance , perpetually in harmony during the treasured era; 洞七耀於金暉, 長諧寶曆;
3	某等恭齊圓首 ⁷⁶ , 仰載皇猷 ⁷⁷ ;	3	Coordinating the four seasons with the jade candle , eternally in concord upon the jadeite steps . 叶四時於玉燭, 永契璿階。
4	擊壤馳權, 何酬聖澤?	4	壽軼南山; 尊隆北極。
5	敢陳清供, 式慶嘉祥。	5	理可書芳簡冊; 遍誥環瀛。
6	薦輕露於福原; 獻纖塵於壽岳。	6	明至德之玄通; 悟幽靈之叶贊。
7	惟願集木徵於宇宙; 藻佳氣於環瀛。	7	所見出州都邑並合褒優, 各下牒本州, 任準常式。
8	契福資宸, 共圓穹而等祚;		
9	通祥青陸, 與輪月而同高。		
10	花萼興徭, []隆於棣屏;		
11	肅維成德, 永茂於禮輝。		

The last comparison is between the *duwei* of P.2481r *Omens* and the remaining portions of P.2940 *Blessings*. Correspondence between the two is once again overt in the starting two couplets: the first (F1/G1) is phrased the same apart from the introductory expression, while the two halves of the F2 couplet are positioned as the second components in the G2 and G3 couplets in reverse order. In this second couplet, we can see another method of modifying parallel prose

⁷⁵ Wang San-ching reads this character as 右, *Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu*, 75.

⁷⁶ Wang San-ching reads this character as 苟, *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Wang San-ching reads this character as 壽, *ibid.*

in expanding or contracting a couplet by inserting or removing matching phrases, in addition to the techniques we identified in the analysis of B. Similar to the opening passages (C), the wording in these two couplets is unique enough among extant materials that they likely originated from the same source, with synonymous characters (F1 *xiang* 祥 versus G1 *zhen* 禎; F2 *yi* 儀 versus G3 *jie* 階) and homonyms or alternate characters (F2 *jie* 階 versus G3 *xie* 諧) occurring as variations in equal numbers.

The immediate remaining lines in the *Blessings* begin to take on more functional language, including the appearance of the anonymous “we” (*moudeng* 某等) as the performers of the ritual in F3, the action of “daring to present pure offerings to respectfully celebrate the auspicious omens” in F5, and lastly the signature “(we) only wish (that)” (*weiyuan* 惟願) in F7 to indicate the desired effect of the ritual, a phrase particularly abundant in *zhaiwen*. Perhaps due to this change in character and a subsequent need for other types of sources for compilation, the *Blessings* has no more direct instances of association with the *Omens* text, though descriptive parallel prose is still used for aesthetic elaboration in the former, and the latter continues for three more couplets before the administrative note at its end.

3.b Observations

After a detailed study of the P.2481r text alongside the *Zhaiwanwen* (-associated) excerpts from P.3772 and P.2940, two observations come to mind. The first is a reflection on the processes of variation that parallel prose texts can undergo during their circulation in manuscripts, and the implications on both our understanding of prose compilation and the nature of the overlapping texts.

Looking at the comparisons between the manuscripts, it is clear that a large percentage of the quoted passages share an origin yet have visible differences which are unlikely to be introduced only by straightforward copying errors such as omission, character disordering, and the accumulation of homonyms, simple synonyms, and alternate characters. In particular, the passages for *Buddhist Monks and Nuns* (A and B) and the latter parts of the *Auspicious Omens* (F, G and to a lesser extent in D) show examples of text being shaped in several different scales of units within the structure of parallel prose: entire couplets can be relocated, four-six-character phrases can be attached or detached from other phrases to form new couplets, meaningful compound synonyms can be substituted in phrases, and different introductory or transitory expressions can be inserted or extracted according to need.

As described in the introduction to this chapter, a parallel prose text can be thought of as consisting of layers of modules, building up from the character and compound level to the four-six-character phrase to the couplet, which in turn form paragraphs, the last and only conspicuously noted layer of interchangeability in *zhaiwen* or administrative manuals. We know from the study in the first half of the chapter that these paragraph-level modules, or at least opening caps, do see circulation in different assembled texts while retaining remarkable consistency, an observation corroborated by Teiser's and Copp's work on healing texts and ritual manuals respectively.⁷⁸ However, there is at least one example of phrasal transplantation in the *Opening Cap* between liturgies. Could modular processes on the lower level of phrasal components serve a similar but less prominent function in the formation of parallel prose passages in liturgies and beyond?

⁷⁸ Teiser, "the Most Common Healing Liturgy", 429; Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture", 221.

After further consideration of the variations in the parallel prose of this nature observed between our target manuscripts, I find that relatively few variations that can be argued as specifically adaptive to the different functions of P.2940 and P.3772 as manuals for Buddhist liturgies and P.2481r as a manual for administrative documents, except perhaps the rearrangement of couplet order between A8 and B4 for a more balanced and tailored attachment point between the *dutou* and the exposition of misconduct charge. This seem to indicate that most of the sections that appear in both texts are deemed suitable in their original form, and texts of disparate function do not require specialized adjustment in substantial portions of their parallel prose components.

Which bring us to the second observation: that *Omens* and *Blessings* of the second study are strikingly un-Buddhist texts. Attempts to understand the meaning behind the language, as I have alluded to in some sections above, led me to predominantly non-Buddhist and pre-Buddhist sources; not only did the system of auspicious omens seen here and their conception as responses to kingship hail directly from indigenous Chinese traditions, but even the descriptive vocabulary used for the environment, the offerings, and the desired outcome (the latter two only in *Blessings*) seem to have little discernable influence from Buddhist writings.⁷⁹

While this would raise no eyebrows in the case of *Omens* in P.2481r, the inclusion of *Blessings* in the *Zhaiwanwen* is slightly odd, as neighboring comparable passages in the same chapter *For Celebrating Imperial Rule*, which are arguably similar in their occasions' alignment to the state cult, all display skillful incorporations of Buddhist concepts and imagery into the main theme of the ritual. For instance, in *For the Endurance and Prosperity of the State*, the emperor's benevolence is described as encompassing the four formless realms (*sikong* 四空) and

⁷⁹ The only exception may be ornamented registers *lucuo* 錄錯 (see footnote on the term).

the trichiliocosm (*qianjie* 千界), including the high dominions of material or limitless existence,⁸⁰ which are obviously terms drawn from Buddhist cosmology. Similarly, in *For (Celebrating) the Deference of Barbarians from Four Directions*, the submission of all under heaven to the throne is conflated with conversion to the Buddhist teaching: “all looking to the wind (sweeping from) Vulture Peak, (they) abruptly established images (?) at the gates of compassion;⁸¹ casting their eyes at the sun⁸² in (the seat of the empire in) Chang’an, they aroused their minds (to attain enlightenment) at the imperial capital.”⁸³

Moreover, we know that the indigenous systems of auspicious omens as seen in the *Blessings* were certainly not isolated from interactions with Buddhist perspectives during the middle period, though the latter possessed a counterpart tradition centering on miracle narratives.⁸⁴ In an early example, eminent monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?–280 CE) once famously co-opted the notion of auspicious omens, including the aforementioned vermilion crow and double-eared grain, as responses to virtuous rule to illustrate the concept of karmic retribution.⁸⁵ More contemporary to the proposed period for the compilation and circulation of the *Zhaiwanwen*, rulers ranging from Wu Zetian⁸⁶ (624–705CE) to Zhang Yichao⁸⁷ (799–872

⁸⁰ 有頂之區; 無邊之城

⁸¹ Buddhism, the Buddhist teaching.

⁸² Probably a metaphor for the emperor.

⁸³ 莫不瞻風鷲嶺，驟建影於慈門；望日長安，轉發心於帝里。

⁸⁴ See Lipiello, *Auspicious Omens* Chapter Four for pre-Tang Buddhist miracles; Wu Hung, “Rethinking Liu Sahe: The Creation of a Buddhist Saint and the Invention of a ‘Miraculous Image,’” *Orientalis* 27, no. 10 (November 1996): 32–43 as an example of the numerous studies on Buddhist auspicious images (*ruixiang*).

⁸⁵ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. Ed. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 17.

⁸⁶ Foundational study of Wu Zetian’s incorporation of Buddhist “omens” in English is Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, Seminario di studi asiatici, 1976).

⁸⁷ Yu Xin, “Furui yu difang zhengquan de hefaxing goujian”, 334

CE) combined indigenous and Buddhist elements in invoking auspicious omens to legitimize their power.

After considering the context of the subject matter and the rhetoric seen in other *Zhaiwanwen* selections, the presence of the *Blessings* in a collection of textual models for Buddhist liturgies remains curious. I speculate that it was a near wholesale adoption from a document initially composed with no Buddhist concerns in mind, such as a piece of court literary writing like the *Odes*, or perhaps even an administrative output of a manual such as P.2481r, with only minor adaptations to include functional/ritual language towards its end. While such blatant borrowing of non-Buddhist sources in Buddhist material (and vice versa) is not in itself surprising,⁸⁸ this occurrence seems interesting as the compiler of the *Zhaiwanwen* saw ideal liturgies primarily as proselytizing vehicles for the Buddhist message. In this perspective, perhaps non-Buddhist material judged to be of particularly fine literary value can be understood as expedient means without further insertion of Buddhist imagery or language.

Nevertheless, as we can see from the first observation discussed above, parallel prose compiled for different functions seemed to need little substantial adjustment to be seamlessly incorporated into the descriptive component of liturgies, at least in this mid-Tang anthology whose compiler confessed to selecting material of particularly “unbridled” literary merit.⁸⁹ Could any of the other passages included in the *Zhaiwanwen* beyond the *Blessings* have originated from non-liturgical compositions, Buddhist or otherwise, in this way? If so, and assuming the compiler of the *Zhaiwanwen* was not engaging in unique behavior, assimilation of existing material on any

⁸⁸ The topic has been addressed at length by many scholars. A prominent example is Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

⁸⁹ Please see the translation of the *Zhaiwanwen* preface in Chapter 1.

modular level and their literary conventions, particularly from genres with ritualistic origins like odes or share similar construction methods like decisions, may have played an important part in the development and expansion of the genre during the Tang Dynasty. Given the known widespread adoption of vocabulary and the literary allusions from pre-Buddhist and non-Buddhist materials in the entire genre of *zhai* liturgies,⁹⁰ such assimilation attempts may have left a legacy on the development of liturgy writing into the tenth century, beyond the immediate relevance of the *Zhaiwanwen* itself.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we investigated two cases where *Zhaiwanwen* models are found circulating outside of Buddhist liturgical anthologies. Firstly, we studied the only known instance of a *Zhaiwanwen* model used in assembled liturgies and concluded that though the *Opening Praise* may have been moderately popular in elite monastic circles, the *Zhaiwanwen* itself was unlikely to be influential in liturgy writing in tenth century Dunhuang. Secondly, in studying a manual for constructing administrative texts with substantial overlaps with *Zhaiwanwen* models, we discovered that the *Zhaiwanwen* may have selected and adapted non-Buddhist and non-liturgical texts during its compilation. In both cases, we documented examples where variations between versions are heavily represented by manipulation of the modular units in parallel prose. Lastly, we observed that *Zhaiwanwen* segments, in particularly caps of liturgies, seem related to

⁹⁰ Examples abound in Min Chunfang 敏春芳, *Dunhuang yuanwen cihui yanjiu* 敦煌願文詞匯研究 (Beijing: Minzu hubanshe, 2013). Also see *Liaoyangshansi yuanwen* 遼陽山寺願文 as quoted in a previous footnote.

and even interchangeable with prose from a variety of other literary and functional genres, and proposed that Buddhist liturgies may have assimilated text written for other purposes.

Conclusion

In this study, we have managed to uncover tantalizing glimpses into the life cycle of the *Zhaiwanwen* from what is undoubtedly only a small fraction of all manuscripts ever produced in association with the anthology — from the intention and arrangement of its original compilation, to its time serving as portable, frequently consulted manuals for religious specialists living in eighth century Liangzhou and Dunhuang, and its continued transmission and likely falling into disuse in the tenth century. We know that even as a distinct compilation, the *Zhaiwanwen* is a constantly evolving entity, and the modular components collected within its pages, while disposed to cohesiveness, can also be flexibly reassembled into more personalized collections, applied in a variety of liturgical compositions, and see connections with other types of practical and literary writings. I believe this experimental case study has been a fruitful endeavor, having demonstrated the value of detailed investigations into manuscripts as individual material and textual objects, and contributed to the understanding of the production and transmission of literary and ritual knowledge in Middle Period China.

Of the findings unearthed during research into this project, the most unexpected and thought-provoking for me has been the *Zhaiwanwen* models' multiple correlations and necessary references to other established genres of material, both in the traditional classifications of transmitted literature and the specialized categories of Dunhuang manuscripts. Examples span a large range in form and function, including practical legal codes, ornate compositions designed to flatter the emperor, and the particular selection of materials copied by students in Dunhuang. The study of these genres is inevitably siloed to some extent, which leads to a lack of discernable dialogue or consensus when elements needed to be considered in tandem: should we take the D192 colophon seriously like the *zhaiwen* specialists or discard it from consideration as scholars

of student copyists do? Are the painstakingly collected Tang judicial texts in contemporary anthologies representative of all historical applications of the format?

Naturally, some of this dilemma is caused by obvious differences between contemporary and historical modes of knowledge transmission and literary production — people composing poetry in the Tang court and liturgies in Dunhuang likely inhabited a vastly different but still common literary culture, and no modern academic should be expected to be familiar with every expression of pre-modern writing, many of which are no doubt lost to us now. Yet we have other tools at our disposal which can transcend individual limitations — as mentioned briefly in the footnotes, databases like Scripta Sinica, SAT-DB, Gallica, the International Dunhuang Project, and other digital depositories of text and images have been invaluable to the current study, particular in the potential for discovery of connections in hitherto unimagined directions. If there are ever considerations to expand the close examination of variant texts and search for literary contexts conducted in the current study to excavated material on a larger and more comprehensive scale, my hope lies in the application of digital tools for text analysis.

I am (painfully) aware of the many difficulties inherent in such a project. The most glaring obstacle is the generation of suitable “data”, i.e., the transcription of handwritten material into machine readable formats, which is labor intensive and subjected to unavoidable bias during the conversion. While a substantial volume of material has already been processed through existing scholarship (for example the *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*), further issues arise surrounding copyright and differing opinions on how to interpret and represent alternate, homophonic and synonymic characters, omissions and corrections, shorthand, multiple layers, and other features characteristic of manuscripts. The linking of “metadata” such as codicological characteristics of individual manuscripts to the data is another aspect that I believe should not be discarded but

must be tricky to implement, along with various technical complications not immediately obvious now.

Even with all these issues, the possibility of searching through large portions of the Dunhuang corpus, especially non-canonical and miscellaneous manuscripts, in conjunction with known transmitted texts and/or other bodies of excavated material without the constraints of imposed genre classifications has exciting potential to widen the scope of study and provide new connections for human analysis. I look to the future in hope of contributing to such a project.

Bibliography

- Abe Yasurō. "Aspects of Ganmon in Medieval Japanese Buddhist Rites: Ganmon as Core Religious Texts." *Acta Asiatica* no.105, no. 105 (August 1, 2013): 57–79.
- Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史. "Dunhuang ben *Zhaiwanwen* deng zhu zhaiyuanwen xieben de yanbian – yuqi yu changdao wenxue de guanxi weizhu 敦煌本《齋琬文》等諸齋願文寫本的演變 – 以其與唱導文學的關係為主." *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 29 (2012):119 – 145.
- Bai Huawen 白化文 and Li Dingxia 李鼎霞. "Zhuwenyaoji canjuan jiaolu 《諸文要集》殘卷校錄." *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化, no. 1 (1990): 20–26.
- Ban Gu 班固, *Han Shu*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France. *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang: Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque nationale*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale.
- Cerquiglini, Bernard. *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Chen Dawei 陳大為, "Dunhuang Longxingsi yu qi ta siyuan de guanxi 敦煌龍興寺與其他寺院的關係," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 1, no. 1 (2009): 52–64.
- Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇. "Multiple Traditions in One Ritual: A Reading of the Lantern-Lighting Prayers in Dunhuang Manuscripts" in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Tansen Sen, 233-258. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2014.
- Chen Zuo-long 陳祚龍. *Dunhuang Xuehai Tanzhu* Volume 2. 敦煌學海探珠(下). Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 臺灣商務印書館, 1979.
- Company, Robert Ford. "Abstinence halls (zhaitang 齋堂) in lay households in early medieval China," *Studies in Chinese Religions*, Vol. 1, No. 4(2015): 323–343.
- Copp, Paul. "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang: Buddhist Seals and Their Manuals." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011), 193–226.
- . *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- . "Writing Buddhist liturgies in Dunhuang: Hints of ritualist craft" In *Language and Religion* edited by Robert Yelle, Courtney Handman and Christopher Lehigh, 68-86. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2019.

- Cuisance, Françoise. “Manuscript 2547 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Chinese Pelliot Collection (Study and Restoration Project)” *Manuscripta orientalia* 8, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 62–70.
- . “Undoing Old and Doing New Conservation on Pelliot Chinois 2547 and 2490” *IDP News* No. 33 (Spring 2009): 4–7.
- Daoshi 道世, *Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu* 法苑珠林校注. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003.
- Dagenais, John. *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Ding, Yi. “The Transformation of Pośadha/Zhai in Early Medieval China (Third-Sixth Centuries CE).” *Buddhist Studies Review* 36, no. 1 (2019): 71–98.
- . “Ornamenting Liturgies—Scripts for a Zhai Feast and Their Liturgical Context (6th–10th Centuries).” *Tang Studies* 39 (2021): 41–67.
- Dong Gao 董誥 et al edited, *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.
- Dong Yongqiang 董永强, “Dunhuang Tulufan xieben suo jian Tang ren de canggou 敦煌吐鲁番寫本所見唐人的藏鈎.” *Tangshi Luncong* 唐史論叢, no. 2 (2019): 169–85.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre. *Les Bibliothèques En Chine Au Temps Des Manuscrits: (jusqu'au Xe Siècle)*. Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991.
- . ‘Papillons et tourbillons’, in *De Dunhuang au Japon, Études chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soymié*, 163–178. Genève: Droz, 1996.
- . “Dunhuang papers: preliminary morphological analysis of dated Chinese manuscripts,” in *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*, ed. Susan Whitfield, 115–179. London: The British Library, 2002.
- Ennin 円仁. *Ru Tang qiu fa xun li xing ji jiao zhu* 入唐求法巡禮行記校注, ed. Ono Katsutoshi, trans. Bai Huawen 白化文, Li Dingxia 李鼎霞, Xu Denan 許德楠, and Zhou Yiliang 周一良. Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 2007.
- Forte, Antonino. *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*. Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, Seminario di studi asiatici, 1976.
- Galambos, Imre. “Non-Chinese Influences in Medieval Chinese Manuscript Culture” in *Frontiers and Boundaries: Encounters on China’s Margins*, edited by Zsombor Rajkai & Ildikó Bellér-Hann. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.

- . “Taboo characters in Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang.” In *Zhonggu shidai de liyi, zongjiao yu zhidu* 中古時代的禮儀、宗教與制度 edited by Yu Xin 余欣, 109-125. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013.
- . “Correction marks in the Dunhuang manuscripts.” In Imre Galambos, ed. *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, edited by Imre Galambos, 191-210. Budapest: ELTE University, Department of East Asian Languages, 2013.
- . “Punctuation marks in medieval Chinese manuscripts.” In *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* edited by Jörg Quenzer and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, 341–357. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2014.
- . “New incarnations of old texts: Traces of a move to a new book form in medieval Chinese manuscripts.” In *Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen: Nichieibun bunsatsu* 高田時雄教授退職記念: 日英文分冊, 369–389. Kyoto: Rinsen Book, 2014.
- . “She association circulars from Dunhuang.” *History of Chinese Epistolary Culture*, edited by Antje Richter, 853–877. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- . “Composite Manuscripts in Medieval China: The Case of Scroll P.3720 from Dunhuang.” In *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, edited by Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, 355–78. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.
- . *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Gombrich, Richard. “The Consecration of a Buddhist Image.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (November 1, 1966): 23–36.
- Harper, Donald. “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*, edited by Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke, 305–54. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Hao Chunwen 郝春文. “Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen ji qi yangshi de fenglei yu dingming” 敦煌寫本齋文及其樣式的分類與定名. *Beijing shifan xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 北京師範學院學報(社會科學版), no. 3 (1990): 91–97.
- . “Guanyu Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen de jige wenti 關於敦煌寫本齋文的幾個問題” *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 首都師範大學學報(社會科學版) no. 2 (1996): 64–71.
- He Shizhe 賀世哲. “Mogaoku di yi jiu er ku fayuan gongde zanwen chong lu ji you guan wen ti 莫高窟第 192 窟發願功德讚文重錄及有關問題,” *Dunhuang yanjiu*, no.2 (1993): 1–4.

- Herbert, P. A. *Examine the Honest, Appraise the Able: Contemporary Assessments of Civil Service Selection in Early Tang China*. Canberra: Bibliotech, 1988.
- Hightower, James R. “Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose” in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata: Sinological Studies Dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Søren Egerod, 60–91. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1959.
- Huang Zheng. *Dunhuang yuyan wenzi xue yanjiu* 敦煌語言文字學研究. Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.
- . “An Overview of Yüan-Wen from Tun-Huang.” *Acta Asiatica* 105 (2013): 1–17.
- Huang Zheng and Wu Wei 吳偉, eds. *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995.
- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. Edited by Tang Yongtong 湯用彤. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.
- Hureau, Sylvie. “Buddhist Rituals” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)* ed. by John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi 呂鵬志, 1215–1254. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, edited. *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 Volume 13 *Shogi* 書儀. Tokyo: Nigensha, 1986.
- . “Tan fojiao de fayuan wen 談佛教的發願文,” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 4 (1999): 477–87.
- Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, Xiang Chu 項楚, and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江. *Dunhuang miaozhen zan jiaolu bing yanjiu*. 敦煌邈真讚校錄并研究. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1994.
- Kim Moonkyong 金文京. “Introduction: Towards Comparative Research on ‘Written Prayers’ (Yüan-Wen / Ganmon) in China and Japan.” *Acta Asiatica*, 105 (2013): iii–xiv.
- Knechtges, David R. “Han and Six Dynasties Parallel Prose”, *Renditions* nos.33-34 (September 1990): 63–110.
- Ledderose, Lothar. *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記. Beijing; Zhonghua shuju, 1961.

- Li Zhengyu 李正宇. "Dunhuang xuelang tiji jizhu 敦煌學郎題記輯注." *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊, no. 1 (1987):26–40.
- Lippiello, Tiziana. *Auspicious Omens and Miracles in Ancient China: Han, Three Kingdoms and Six Dynasties*. Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2001.
- Liu Junwen 劉俊文. *Dunhuang Tulufan Tangdai fazhi wenshu kaoshi* 敦煌吐魯番唐代法制文書考釋. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989.
- Liu Xu 劉昫. *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Lowe, Bryan D. *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Ma De 馬德. "Caoshi san da ku yingjian de shehui beijing 曹氏三大窟營建的社會背景," *Dunhuang yanjiu* no. 1 (1991):19–24.
- . "Dunhuang yishu mogaoku suishou randengwen jishi 敦煌遺書莫高窟歲首燃燈文輯識," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no. 3 (1997): 63–72.
- Magnin, Paul. "Donateurs et joueurs en l'honneur de Buddha" in *De Dunhuang au Japon: Etudes chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soymié*, edited by Jean Pierre Drège, 103–138. Genève: Droz, 1996.
- . "Genju P.2547 hao xieben dui Zhaiwanwen de fuyuan he duandai 根據 P.2547 號寫本對齋琬文的復原和斷代" *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no. 2 (1999): 50–55.
- Mai Xiaoying 買小英. "E cangben 'Shi'er shi puquan sizhong yijiao xiuxing jiaokan he yanjiu' 俄藏本《十二時普勸四眾依教修行》校勘和研究," *Lanzhou daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 蘭州大學學報 (社會科學版) 30, no. 3 (2002): 20–28.
- Menshikov, L. N. et al. *Eluosi Kexueyuan Dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo cang Dunhuang Hanwen xiejuan xulu* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌漢文寫卷敘錄, translated by Yuan Xizhen 袁席箴 and Chen Huaping 陳華平. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe: 1999.
- Min Chunfang 敏春芳, *Dunhuang yuanwen cihui yanjiu* 敦煌願文詞匯研究. Beijing: Minzu hubanshe, 2013.
- Mollier, Christine. *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

- Naba Toshisada 那波利貞. “Bukkyō shinkō no motozukite soshiki seraretaru chūban Tō-Godai jidai no shayū ni tsukite (jō)” 佛教信仰に基づきて組織せられたる中晩唐五代時代の社邑に就きて (上). *Shirin* 史林 24, no. 3 (1939): 546–547.
- Nugent, Christopher. *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Producing and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年 ed. *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡禮行記の研究. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1964.
- Otani Kosho 大谷光照. *Tōdai no Bukkyō girei* 唐代の佛教儀禮. Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1937.
- Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Pelliot, Paul. *Grottes De Touen-Houang: Carnet De Notes De Paul Pelliot: Inscriptions Et Peintures Murales*, edited by Nicole Vandier-Nicolas and Monique Maillard. Paris: Collège de France, Instituts d'Asie, Centre de recherche sur l'Asie centrale et la Haute Asie, 1981.
- Peking University Library and Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House. *Beijing Daxue tushuguan cang Dunhuang wenxian* 北京大學圖書館藏敦煌文獻 Vol 2. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995.
- Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 ed. *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005.
- Richardin, Pascale, Françoise Cuisance, Nathalie Buisson, Victoria Asensi-Amoros, and Catherine Lavier. “AMS Radiocarbon Dating and Scientific Examination of High Historical Value Manuscripts: Application to Two Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang.” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11, no. 4 (January 1, 2010): 398–403.
- Richter, Antje. *Letters and Epistolary Culture in Early Medieval China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.
- Rong Xinjiang, “Shazhou Guijiyun li ren jiedushi chenghao yanjiu 沙州歸義軍歷任節度使稱號研究,” *Dunhuang xue* no. 19 (October 1992): 15-67.
- . “Guan yu Caoshi Guiyijun shou ren jiedushi de jige wenti 關於曹氏歸義軍首任節度使的幾個問題,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* no. 2 (1993): 46–53.
- . *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, translated by Imre Galambos. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Saint Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House edited. *Eluosi Kexueyuan dongfang*

- yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo cang Dunhuang wen xian* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌文獻. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1992.
- Shao Qiangjun 邵強軍 and Liu Quanbo 劉全波, “Mogaoku di jiu shi ba ku yingjian niandai zai lun 莫高窟第 98 窟營建年代再論,” *Gansu guangbo dianshi daxue xuebao* 甘肅廣播電視大學學報 27, no. 2 (January 2017): 6–14.
- Shao Wenshi 邵文實. “Dunhuang suwenxue zuopin zhong de pianli wenfeng 敦煌俗文學作品中的駢儷文風.” *Dunhuang xue jikan*, no. 2 (1994): 42–50.
- Shi, Pingting 施萍婷 edited, *Dunhuang yi shu zong mu suo yin xin bian* 敦煌遺書總目索引新編. Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2000.
- Shi, Vincent Yu-chung, trans. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons: A Study of Thought and Pattern in Chinese Literature*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983.
- Song Jiayu 宋家鈺. “Fojiao Zhaiwen Yuanliu Yu Dunhuang Ben Zhaiwen Shu de Fuyuan 佛教齋文源流與敦煌本《齋文》書的復原”. *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (1992): 70–83.
- Sun Jimin 孫繼民, *Tangdai Hanhaijun wenshu yanjiu* 唐代瀚海軍文書研究. Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 2002.
- Tai Huili 邰惠莉, and Ma De 馬德. *E Cang Dunhuang Wen Xian Xu Lu* 俄藏敦煌文獻叙錄. Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2019.
- Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪. “Yinsha, Tuofu, Tuota 印沙·脫佛·脫塔,” *Dunhuang Xue* 敦煌學 1 (1989):19–29.
- . “Sanjiao ronghe de Dunhuang sangsu 三教融合的敦煌喪俗,” *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 no. 3 (1991): 72–80.
- . *Dunhuang suishi wenhua daolun* 敦煌歲時文化導論. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1998.
- Teiser, Stephen. *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- . “Lun zhaiwen de biao xianxing 論齋文的表演性” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, no. 10 (2007): 295–308.

- . “Ornamenting the Departed: Notes on the Language of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Texts.” *Asia Major* 22, no. 1 (2009): 201–237.
- . “A Codicological Study of Liturgical Manuscripts from Dunhuang” in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. Irina Popova and Liu Yi, 251–56. St Petersburg: Slavia, 2012.
- . “The Literary Style of Dunhuang Healing Liturgies” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究, no. 14 (2014): 355–378.
- . “The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism” in *Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen: Nichieibun bunsatsu* 高田時雄教授退職記念: 日英文分冊, 416–437. Kyoto: Rinsen Book, 2014.
- . “Curing with Karma and Confession: Two Short Liturgies from Dunhuang” from *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources* ed. by C. Pierce Salguero, 322–335. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017.
- Tian, Xiaofei. *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Twitchett, Denis. “A Note on the Tunhuang Fragments of the T’ang Regulations (Ko),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30, no. 2 (1967): 369–381.
- Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, “Donkō to Tonkō no bukkyōgaku 曇曠と敦煌の仏教学,” *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報, no. 35 (1964): 150.
- Wang Chong 王充, *Lun heng* 論衡. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
- Wang Chongmin 王重民 edited. *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin* 敦煌遺書總目索引. Beijing: Shang wu yin shu guan: 1962.
- Wang, Michelle C. “Early Chinese Buddhist Sculptures as Animate Bodies and Living Presences.” *Ars Orientalis* 46 (January 1, 2016): 13–38.
- Wang San-ching 王三慶. *Dunhuang fojiao zhaiyuan wenben yanjiu* 敦煌佛教齋願文本研究. Taipei: Shin Wen Feng Print Co., 2009.
- . *Cong Dunhuang zhaiyuan wenxian kan fojiao yu Zhongguo minsu de ronghe* 從敦煌齋願文獻看佛教與中國民俗的融合. Taipei: Shin Wen Feng, 2009.
- . “Zhaiwanwen yijuan de zai yanjiu yu bujiao 齋琬文一卷的再研究與補校” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 29 (2012): 1–15.

- . “Dunhuang wenxian zhaiyuan wenti de yuanliu yu jiegou 敦煌文獻齋願文體的源流與結構” *Journal of Chinese Literature of National Cheng Kung University* 成大中文學報, no. 54 (2016), 27–58.
- Wang San-ching and Wang Ya Yi 王雅儀. “Dunhuang wenxian yinshafowen de zhengli yanjiu 敦煌文獻印沙佛文的整理研究” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學, no. 26 (2005): 45–74.
- Wang Shuqing 王書慶. *Dunhuang foxue: foshi bian* 敦煌佛學. 佛事篇. Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995.
- . “Dunhuang Wenxian Zhong de Zhaiwanwen 敦煌文獻中的齋琬文.” *Dunhuang yanjiu*, no. 1 (1997): 141–147.
- Wang Xuncheng 王勳成. *Tangdai quanxuan yu wenxue* 唐代銓選與文學. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001.
- Wang Zhaoguo 王招國. “Dunhuang yishu suojian Daoyin ‘Shezhai zanyuanwen’ jiqi yanjiu jiazhi 敦煌遺書所見道胤《設齋贊願文》及其研究價值,” *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 華東師範大學學報：哲學社會科學版, no. 1 (2016): 39–44.
- Wang Zhaoguo and Wang Xue 王雪, “Dunhuang ben ‘Dacheng baifamingmenlun kaizong yiji canjuan zhuihe yanjiu 敦煌本《大乘百法明門論開宗義記》殘卷綴合研究” *Tushuguan zazhi* 圖書館雜誌, no. 8 (2021), 116–122.
- Wu Hung, “Rethinking Liu Sahe: The Creation of a Buddhist Saint and the Invention of a ‘Miraculous Image,’” *Orientalism* 27, no. 10 (November 1996): 32–43.
- Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏. *Shina chūsei bukyō no tenkai* 支那中世仏教の展開. Tokyo: Shimizu Shoten, 1947.
- Yang Jidong, “The Making, Writing, and Testing of Decisions in the Tang Government: A Study of the Role of the Pan in the Literary Bureaucracy of Medieval China,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 29 (December 2007): 129–167.
- Yao Silian 姚思廉. *Liang shu* 梁書. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- Yu Xin 余欣, “Furui yu difang zhengquan de hefaxing goujian : Guiyijun shiqi Dunhuang ruiying kao 符瑞與地方政權的合法性構建: 歸義軍時期敦煌瑞應考,” *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢, no. 4 (2010): 325–378, 403.
- Zanning 贊寧, *Sung gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

- Zhang Chengdong 張承東. “Shilun Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen de pianwen tese 試論敦煌寫本齋文的駢文特色.” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 92–102.
- Zhang Guangda 張廣達, “‘Tianfo’ yu ‘Tanzhai’: Guanyu Dunhuang wenshu zhong de Zhaiwanwen de ji ge wenti “嘆佛” 與 “嘆齋”: 關於敦煌文書中的齋琬文的幾個問題” in *Qingzhu Deng Guangming jiaoshou jiushi huadan lunwenji* 慶祝鄧廣銘教授九十華誕論文集, edited by Tian Yuqing 田餘慶, 60–73. Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997.
- Zhang Muhua 張慕華. “Dunhuang xieben Zhaiwanwen de wenti shizhi ji bianzuan tili 敦煌寫本齋琬文的問題實質及編纂體力” *Jinan xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 暨南學報 (哲學社會科學版) no. 12 (2015): 30–37.
- Zhanru 湛如 “Lun Dunhuang zhaiwen yu fojiao xingzhi 論敦煌齋文與佛教行事” *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊, no. 1 (1997): 66–78.
- . *Dunhuang fojiao liyi zhidu yanjiu* 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011.
- Zhao Heping 趙和平. “Zhuwenyaoji xingzhi chutan 《諸文要集》性質初探”, in *Zhou Shaoliang xiansheng xinkai jiuzhi qingshou wenji* 周紹良先生欣開九秩慶壽文集, edited by Bai Huawen et al, 275–281. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997.
- . edited. *Dunhuang biao zhuang jian qi shuyi ji jiao* 敦煌表狀箋啓書儀輯校. Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997.
- Zhao Xinhua 趙鑫曄. “Dunhuang yuanwen ciyu kaoshi zhaji 敦煌愿文詞語考釋札記.” *Dunhuang xue ji kan* 敦煌學輯刊, no. 2 (2006): 29–33.
- Zheng Xianwen 鄭顯文, *Tangdai luling zhi yanjiu* 唐代律令制研究. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2004.
- Zheng Yinan 鄭怡楠 and Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, “Dunhuang Caoshi Guiyijun shiqi xiu gongdeji wenti de yanbian 敦煌曹氏歸義軍時期修功德記文體的演變,” *Dunhuang xue jikan*, no. 1 (2014): 1–11.
- Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, *Tangdai muzhi huibian xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001.
- Zhou Xingtao 周興濤. “Dunhuang xieben P.2481 hao xieben xingzhi zaitan 敦煌寫本 P.2481 號性質再探” in *Xue bu ji* 學步集, 105–111. Kunming: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, 2013.

Zhou Yiliang 周一良 and Zhao Heping, *Tang Wudai shuyi yanjiu* 唐五代書儀研究. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996.

Zurcher, Erik. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: the spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*, 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2007.