

INFORMED TEXTUAL PRACTICES?

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A STUDY OF DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS OF CHINESE
BUDDHIST APOCRYPHAL SCRIPTURES WITH COLOPHONS

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ABSTRACT

Taking Buddhist texts with colophons copied at Dunhuang (4th–10th century C.E.) as a sample, my dissertation investigates how local Buddhists used Chinese Buddhist apocrypha with respect to their contents, and whether they employed these apocrypha differently than translated Buddhist scriptures. I demonstrate that not all of the practices related to Buddhist scriptures were performed simply for merit in general or that they were conducted without awareness of scriptures' contents. Among both lay Buddhist devotees and Buddhist professionals, and among both common patrons and highly-ranking officials in medieval Dunhuang, there were patrons and users who seem to have had effective approaches to the contents of texts, which influenced their preferences of scriptures and specific textual practices. For the patrons that my dissertation has addressed, apocryphal scriptures did not necessarily meet their needs more effectively than translated scriptures did.

I reached these arguments through examining three sets of Buddhist scriptures copied in Dunhuang manuscripts with colophons. In Chapter One, I explore the relationships between colophons for, and the contents of, three Chinese Buddhist apocryphal scriptures. In Chapter Two, I focus on a *bhikṣuṇī* local to Dunhuang and her commissioning of a set of Buddhist scriptures (including both apocryphal and translated scriptures) for her aspirations to become a man, and to achieve Buddhahood. Lastly, in Chapter Three, I concentrate on a prince, who had control over Dunhuang, and his commissioning of the *Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings* as well as other Buddhist texts at different occasions, in order to explore his rationale for invoking the Heavenly Kings by employing these Buddhist texts for his own aspirations.

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Abbreviations for Dunhuang Manuscripts

BD = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館, Beijing

Beida 北大 D = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Beijing daxue tushuguan 北京大學圖書館

Дх (Dh) = Dunhuang manuscripts in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia

Φ (F) = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Fyodorovich collection in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia

Ganbo 甘博 = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Gansusheng bowuguan 甘肅省博物館

Gotō = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Gotō bijutsukan 五島美術館

Guobo 國博 = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館

Hane 羽 = the Haneda 羽田 collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Kyōu shooku 杏雨書屋 in Japan

Jintu 津圖 = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Tianjin tushuguan 天津圖書館

KUM = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Kyōto daigaku sōgō hakubutsukan 京都大学総合博物館

Moriya 守屋 = the Moriya collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都國立博物館

Nakamura 中村 = the Nakamura collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan 台東区立書道博物館

P. = the Pelliot collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the National Library of France

S. = the Stein collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the British Library

Shangtu 上圖 = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館

Taitu 台圖 = Dunhuang manuscripts in the Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 國立中央圖書館 in Taipei

Abbreviations for Chinese Buddhist Canons

CNC = Song-dynasty Chongning 崇寧 canon (1080–1112 C.E.)

FSC = Stone Canon from Fangshan 房山 (Seventh to seventeenth century C.E.)

JXC = Ming-dynasty Jiaxing 嘉興 canon (1589–1721 C.E.)

KFC = Korean first canon (1011–1029 C.E.)

KSC = Korean second canon (1236–1251 C.E.)

NYC = Ming-dynasty Northern Yongle 永樂 canon (1419–1440, 1577–1584 C.E.)

PLC = Song-dynasty Pilu 毘盧 canon (1112–1151 C.E.)

PNC = Yuan-dynasty Puning 普寧 canon (1277–1290 C.E.) (refer to *ZH*)

QLC = Qing-dynasty Qianlong 乾隆 canon (1735–1738 C.E.)

QSC = Song-dynasty Qisha 磧砂 canon (1216–1322 C.E.)

SJC = Ming-dynasty Southern Jianwen 建文 canon (1399–1402 C.E.)

SXC = Song-dynasty Sixi 思溪 canon (1126–1138 C.E.)

SYC = Ming-dynasty Southern Yongle 永樂 canon (1413–1420, 1550, 1602, 1661 C.E.)

T no. = *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Full citations from the *Taishō* canon are given in the following fashion: title and fascicle number (where relevant); *Taishō* text number; volume number; page, register (a, b or c), line number(s). E.g., *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經卷第二 (the second fascicle of Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā): *T* no. 671, vol. 16, 521c18–527b21.

ZH = *Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經

ZJC = Jin-dynasty Zhaocheng 趙城 canon (1149–1178 C.E.) (refer to *ZH*)

Conventions

- All transliterated Chinese terms are rendered in pinyin, and when citing modern authors who have used other systems I have silently converted any relevant words to pinyin.

- All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. With regard to Buddhist terms of Sanskrit origin, I have generally tried to translate into English words that rely on the semantic value of Chinese characters and maintain the Sanskrit for those transliterated into Chinese.
- I have converted all years to approximate western equivalents. I have not converted days and months to the Gregorian calendar.

Introduction

Taking texts with colophons copied at Dunhuang (a pivotal city on the Silk Roads) from the fourth to the eleventh century C.E. as a sample, I investigate how local Buddhists used Chinese Buddhist apocrypha with respect to their textual contents, and whether their uses of these apocrypha differed from their uses of the translated Buddhist scriptures.

Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha

The term “Chinese Buddhist apocrypha” refers to works of Chinese Buddhist literature that claim to be translations of Indic Buddhist texts. The cataloguer Dao’an 道安 (312–385 C.E.) first identified such works with the term *fei-fojing* 非佛經 (scriptures that were not [spoken by] the Buddha), and later Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 C.E.) labelled them as *yijing* 疑經 (doubtful scriptures) and *weizhuan* 偽撰 (spurious compositions) (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 38b7–16, 38c17–39a5). Modern Western scholars of Chinese Buddhism often borrow the word “apocrypha” from Biblical Studies to describe these texts. The parallel is not exact since Chinese Buddhist canons, unlike the Bible, remained open for a long period (Buswell 1990, 4–5). Modern scholars continue to refine the identification of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha and the criteria to determine their identity. Since we now know more about the historical process of translating Buddhist texts into Chinese, the modern category of “Chinese Buddhist apocrypha” covers more scriptures than those originally deemed spurious or dubious by medieval catalogues.

Chinese Buddhist apocrypha began to emerge in the mid-second century C.E., and their number continued to grow for at least eight centuries, with the final number of texts produced

approximating 550 (Tokuno 2004, 25, 26). Makita (1976, 23–27) shows that the 392 “doubtful and spurious scriptures” (1055 fascicles) identified in Zhisheng’s 智昇 (fl. ca. 730 C.E.) major catalogue *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era [730 C.E.]) constitute around one third of the total number of the texts (and around one fifth of the total number of their fascicles) included therein. Scholars of Chinese Buddhism often attribute the rise and popularization of the Chinese Buddhist apocrypha to these texts’ ability to meet the practical needs of Chinese Buddhists, especially those of the laity (Mizuno 1961, 402; Tokuno 2004, 26; Yang Mei 2006, 60; Zhang Miao 2007, 128; Mollier 2008, 6; Fang Ling 2010, 1015; Wang Meng 2016, 18). Coming to terms with the putative needs of these medieval Chinese Buddhists, I am wondering: how did composers of apocrypha try to meet these needs, if indeed they did? Did the apocrypha meet these needs well, or at least better than translated Buddhist scriptures did? How different are the apocrypha from the translated scriptures regarding their use and their status in the whole Chinese Buddhist corpus?

Dunhuang Manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist Scriptures with Colophons

The primary sources I will employ in investigating these related questions are Chinese Buddhist manuscripts with colophons from Dunhuang. Over 58,000 manuscripts (including fragmentary manuscripts) were discovered in the Dunhuang cave library in 1900 C.E., and over ninety percent of them are Buddhist manuscripts, including thousands of manuscripts in languages other than Chinese (Lin, Liu, and Yang 2013, 3, 12; Jiang 1998, 14–17). Dating from the fourth to the eleventh century C.E., the Dunhuang manuscript versions of Buddhist texts usually represent an earlier stage of scriptural development when compared to their

extant woodblock-printed and some stone-inscribed counterparts, which makes them valuable sources for researching medieval Chinese Buddhism (Fang and Xu 1996). For studying Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, Dunhuang manuscripts are exceptionally important because they preserve more than one hundred apocryphal texts, many of which are not extant in woodblock-printed or stone-inscribed editions (Fang 2011, 1).

A considerable number of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures include notes appended to, in the midst of, or prior to the scriptures themselves.¹ These notes often contain the dates upon which the manuscripts were copied, the aims guiding their production (e.g., patrons' aspirations for commissioning the scriptures), the names and identities of the patrons and the beneficiaries, as well as the method(s) in which the scriptures were intended to be used. Sometimes, they also indicate the places where the manuscripts were produced, the amount of paper that had been consumed in their production, the provenance of the text, and people who participated in producing the scriptures (e.g., the scribes and the proofreaders) and producing the manuscripts (e.g., people who mounted the paper). Essentially, these notes are a type of paratext according to Gérard Genette's (1982, 9) identification of "paratext."²

These notes in Dunhuang manuscripts are now generally called *tiji* 題記 (inscribed note) in Chinese scholarship (Zhu 2016, 29). According to Zhu Yao (2016, 21), the earliest use of the word *tiji* is found in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 (Chronicle of Books) of the *Suishu*

¹ As estimated by Ikeda (1990, 13), nearly ten percent of Dunhuang manuscripts include these notes. Dou Huaiyong (2009, 26) claims that merely 1200 out of 60000 Dunhuang manuscripts include these notes. Zhu Yao (2016, 47) asserts that she has collected 2248 of these notes from Dunhuang manuscripts, although she does not enumerate them. Usually the notes are appended to the scriptures. For detailed introduction to the positions of these notes in Chinese manuscripts, see Zhu Yao (2016, 80–90).

² According to Genette (1982, 9) (translated by Rambelli [2007, 126]), paratext is "title, subtitle, intertitles, prefaces, postfaces, advertisements, forewords, etc.; marginal notes, footnotes, endnotes; epigraphs; illustrations; ... as well as other types of accessory signals, autograph or allograph, that provide the text with an entourage (variable) and at times a commentary, official or unofficial."

隋書 (History of Sui [Dynasty] [581–618 C.E.]), where it is used to refer to an inscription for an image. With respect to Dunhuang manuscripts, Zhu Yao (2016, 29) suggests that it was Xu Guolin (1937) who first used the term *tiji* to signify this type of notes in the manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures, and now it is widely accepted by Chinese scholars of Dunhuang Studies. Perhaps it is because the word *tiji* 題記 includes the character *ti* 題, which does not only mean “to inscribe,” but also “title,” some scholars (e.g., Lin Congming [1991, 272–280]) include the title(s) of the text in Dunhuang manuscript (either ahead of or behind the text) as part of the *tiji*. Zhu Yao (2016, 31–32) argues that, for studies of the *tiji* in Dunhuang manuscripts, the scope would become too wide if it also included the title(s) of the text. Also, Zhu Yao (2016, 33) argues that it would be confusing to include the *xu* 序 (preface) or the *ba* 跋 (postface), which are commentarial paratexts to the text, for the studies of the *tiji* in Dunhuang manuscripts (such as Xie Huixian [1993, 4] states in her thesis). I agree with Zhu’s argument regarding this narrowing of the scope of the term *tiji*, as it applies to Dunhuang manuscript studies. In Japanese scholarship, Ikeda (1990, 9) suggests that *shikigo* 識語 (inscribed words) is the most accurate word to signify this type of notes, since the word *daiki* 題記 is not included in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (Japanese Language Dictionary), and therefore has been rarely used in Japan. Scholars writing in English on Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g., Giles [1957]) usually use the word “colophon” to signify such paratextual notes. As defined in Collins dictionary, “colophon” could mean “an inscription at the end of a book or manuscript, used especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, giving the title or subject of the work, its author, the name of the printer or publisher, and the date and place of publication.” Giles (1957, x–xi) equates the colophon in Dunhuang manuscripts to

the “tail-piece,” and states that the main purpose of these colophons is “to make known the person who has acquired ‘merit’ by having the copy made at his own experience, and the beneficiary (usually deceased) in whose direction he wishes the merit to flow.” Zhu Yao (2016, 31) argues that the scope of Giles’s definition of “colophon” in context of Dunhuang manuscripts is too narrow, which I agree. Although these notes do not exactly parallel to the “colophon” as defined in Collins dictionary or by Giles, neither do they only appear at the end of Dunhuang manuscripts, for ease of use, I will use the term “colophon” in this dissertation to signify the paratextual notes in the manuscripts that I am studying.

The earliest collection of Dunhuang colophons was compiled by Luo Fuchang ([1921] 1986), which was later supplemented by his younger brother, Luo Fubao. This catalogue includes 147 colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Now, there are several cardinal catalogues (either of Dunhuang colophons in particular or of Dunhuang manuscripts) that are available for studies of Dunhuang colophons. For example, Wang Meng’s (2016) catalogue includes the colophons of over one hundred Chinese Buddhist apocrypha in Dunhuang manuscripts; the catalogue edited by Dunhuang Academy (2000) includes colophons of all the Dunhuang manuscripts from the Stein collection, the Pelliot collection, and the collection at the Beijing Library;³ Ikeda’s (1990) catalogue includes 2623 colophons in Chinese manuscripts (mainly in Dunhuang manuscripts) dated before early eleventh century C.E., which is the most comprehensive catalogue of Dunhuang colophons to date; Menshikov’s ([1963] 1999) catalogue introduces around three thousand Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Russia, and includes colophons found in these manuscripts; and

³ The Beijing Library: nowadays National Library of China.

Giles's (1957) catalogue introduces 8102 Dunhuang manuscripts from the Stein collection, and includes over 380 colophons, among which over 200 colophons have been translated into English by Giles.

Research Questions

The colophons of Dunhuang manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist scriptures are valuable source material for studying Buddhist textual practices of medieval China, especially because they shed light on common people's practices, which are rarely recorded in official historical accounts.⁴ These practices include, but are not limited to, copying and dedicating scriptures with aspirations, using scriptures in various ways (e.g., reciting, memorizing, upholding, worshipping, circulating, or even posting them on doors), combining different scriptures for use, and making more than one copy of a scripture in a single scribal act.

Through comparing the aims for copying Chinese Buddhist apocrypha and translated scriptures stated in the colophons, I was planning to determine whether there were indeed differences in the ways that these two types of scriptures were received by contemporary Chinese Buddhists, and thereupon, to explore the reason(s) why apocryphal scriptures were fabricated, and became popular. After a survey of Dunhuang manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha with colophons and Dunhuang colophons that record apocryphal scriptures, I collect ninety-two informative colophons from manuscripts of forty-three Chinese Buddhist apocrypha. Then, I realized that it is impossible to answer the aforementioned questions and thus determine the reason for the rise and popularity of

⁴ The only primary sources for studying Buddhist textual practices of medieval China that may be comparable to Dunhuang colophons are epigraphic colophons appended to stone scriptures.

Chinese Buddhist apocrypha until I first clarify the fundamental but often ambiguous relationships between specific textual practices and the contents of Buddhist scriptures. Therefore, I focus on three sets of Buddhist scriptures copied in Dunhuang manuscripts with colophons in three body chapters of this dissertation respectively. These three sets of scriptures are either constituted of apocryphal scriptures exclusively, or are combinations of apocrypha and translated scriptures. The patrons or users of the first set of scriptures include both lay Buddhist devotees and monks, but none of them seem to be officials of high rank. The patron of the second set of scriptures is a nun, and the patron of the third set of scriptures is the highest-ranking official in the Dunhuang area. I wonder to what extent the textual practices indicated in the colophons are connected to the contents of the texts in these sets of scriptures. How much do patrons (or the agents who selected texts on their behalves) or users of different backgrounds seem to understand the contents of these scriptures, based on their selections of texts and/or the uses to which they are put? Did the patrons (or their agents) commission specific texts according to their contents in order to match their aspirations? Did the owners of the scriptures use them as instructed in the texts? Conversely, do these individuals, when engaging with Buddhist textual practices, do so in order simply to generate a sort of generalized merit, disregarding the specific contents of the texts in question? As a side project, I also clarify whether there is any difference on the use of apocrypha and translated scriptures in the latter two sets of scriptures that include both types of scriptures.

The Scholarly Context

It is well known that Buddhists (especially Mahāyāna Buddhists) regularly engage in the reproduction and/or commissioning of scriptures for merit. Nearly half a century ago,

Gregory Schopen ([1975] 2005, 51) described this prominent feature of Mahāyāna Buddhism as “the cult of the book.” Later he elaborates that, in this cult, “sacred texts functioned not as sources of information, but as sacred objects and sources of power that were to be ritually approached, handled, and recited.” (Schopen 2005, 348) Here he seems to separate the function of Buddhist scriptures as ritual objects from their function as sources of information. Based on Schopen’s theory of “the cult of the book,” focusing on Chinese Buddhism, John Kieschnick (2003, 164) argues that the statement in Buddhist texts that producing scriptures can generate merit contributes to the importance of books in Chinese Buddhist tradition. While David Drewes (2007) admits that Schopen’s views have been widely accepted, he suggests that “the cult of the book” began before Mahāyāna Buddhism, and doubts the particular importance of textual practices for Mahāyāna.

Going further on the question of the function of Buddhist scriptures, Reginald A. Ray (1985, 148) writes that “Buddhism avers that the sacred text has, in and of itself, no particular value. Its worth depends entirely on what is done with it.” Concentrating on devotional uses of Buddhist texts in Chinese narratives from the late third to the seventh centuries, Robert Campany (1991, 29, 54) confirms Ray’s observation that, when scriptures are represented as central objects for veneration at Buddhist practices, the doctrinal contents of these texts have rarely been appreciated. Campany (1991, 54) continues: “And this veneration, even when it takes the form of recitation, is not essentially a literary act but an act of faith and of a certain quality of mind.” However, he realizes that it is “the texts themselves that set up this functional way of appropriating them,” although “they do not enjoin readers to ignore their teachings and simply commodify them as objects of veneration.” (Campany 1991, 54) Yet,

the opinion that Buddhist textual practices could be observed independently from contents of the texts seems to pervade the field of Buddhist studies. In the entry “Scripture” in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, José Cabezón (2004, 757) divides the practices of Buddhist scriptures into two categories. The first refers to “magical” or “popular” uses, wherein the sound and the material quality of the texts are the principle focus of the practices, which “have nothing to do with their meaning.” The laity, monks and nuns all engage in this category of practices. The other category is the “more elite” uses, wherein the focus is the content or meaning of the text, and the practitioners are religious virtuosi.

Moreover, this opinion is not limited to studies of Indian Buddhism or Chinese Buddhism. Daniel M. Veidlinger (2006, 5) divides the uses of Buddhist texts in Lan Na, an area located in Northern Thailand, into two categories: “cultic” and “discursive,” and suggests that the former term signifies using Buddhist manuscripts as physical icons (e.g., worshiping them by offering flowers), whereas the latter requires the actual reading of the texts. Fabio Rambelli (2007, 89–91) delves into the uses of Buddhist texts in premodern Japan. He defines ritual interactions with Buddhist texts (e.g., chanting and copying) as “nonhermeneutic” uses (or “performative” uses), while defining reading texts for meaning as “hermeneutic reading” (or “informative” uses). Treating the materiality of Buddhist texts as their “primary characteristic” rather than as “a secondary effect of their being ‘reading matter,’” he emphasizes texts’ functions as “sacred commodities” (e.g., talismans) that are “imbued with sacred power.” In the context, Rambelli (2007, 128) has argued that “hermeneutic meaning can be almost (or completely) irrelevant to their use and appreciation.”

Coming to terms with Dunhuang colophons as instances of textual practices, Luo Tinglin (1991) notes that most patrons commissioned Buddhist texts aspiring for benefit(s) in the present life by the means of the power derived from copying them. She argues that these textual practices are contrary to the teachings in Buddhist texts that deny the present life and pursue the transcendence from worldliness. Nevertheless, she indicates that, although these colophons may not be able to grasp the sacred essence of the Buddhist texts, they play the role of medium between the sacred religion and the secular patrons. Investigating a related issue, Liang Liling (1999) focuses on Dunhuang colophons to Chinese Buddhist scriptures dated to the Six Dynasties (220–589 C.E.) that are included in Ikeda's (1990) catalogue. She admits that the conception that copying scriptures generates merit is derived from Buddhist texts. For example, Liang (1999, 122–123) quotes the colophon in Nakamura144 dated to 553 C.E., in which *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Jianhui 道建輝 writes: “I have heard a scripture says: ‘As for cultivating the field of merit, nothing is comparable with erecting a *stūpa* or copying out a scripture.’”⁵ In contrast to Luo Tinglin, Liang (1999, 132) finds that in the colophons that she studies, either for the lay Buddhists or for the Buddhist clerics, patrons are less interested in seeking benefits of the present life, and are more interested in the post-mortem goals, for example, not falling into the three evils paths, beholding the Buddha and hearing his teachings, and attaining unexcelled bodhi. Liang (1999, 132–133) also sorts the scriptures commissioned by the patrons according to the different aspirations held by them, as indicated in the colophons to these scriptures. Taking the aspiration for beholding Maitreya at the three assemblies (Mile *sanhui* 彌勒三會) as an example, she finds that the contents of the texts

⁵ I discuss this colophon at some length in Appendix I.

commissioned for the attainment of this aspiration are almost unrelated to the aspiration itself. Therefore, she contends that there are no close relationships to be found between the reasons for Dunhuang Buddhists' commissionings and the doctrines taught in the texts, and suspects that Buddhist teachings were conveyed to people through some other methods, for example, miracle tales related to these scriptures, since these stories often concentrate on particular scriptures, and were sometimes copied with and circulated with the scriptures. Liang (1999, 133–134) refers to Hou Xudong's (1998) argument on the epigraphic inscriptions for Buddhist statues that there are usually no doctrinal connections between Buddhist images and inscriptions for these images, and she believes that it is likewise that the Buddhist texts' contents are disconnected from the aspirations for copying them. Yet, she notes that this situation changed later in the Sui dynasty (581–618 C.E.) and Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.), when most patrons aspire for present-life benefits in their colophons, and some scriptures came to be associated with specific functions: for instance, the *Golden Light Sūtra* was often copied for repentance and eliminating misdeeds, and the *Diamond Sūtra* was copied when aspiring for exemption from disasters. However, Liang has not provided any examples of copying these two scriptures for the purpose of attaining such aspirations, nor has she studied any colophons dated to these two dynasties.

A most recent investigation of Buddhist textual practices in the Dunhuang area is Zhao Qingshan's (2019) monograph. In the section "Binghuan chaojing" 病患抄經 (Copying Scriptures for Diseases), Zhao (2019, 308–360) collects forty-five colophons to Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang manuscripts dated between the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the eleventh century, all of which include aspirations for healing, and argues

that, since the scriptures commissioned for this type of aspirations are diverse, each scripture is equally effective at serving this function of healing for the contemporary patrons. Zhao (2019, 404–405) also suggests that some scriptures were thought to be more fertile sources of merit, and therefore were more worth copying and worshipping. For example, he argues that some scriptures are prominent in Buddhist canons (e.g., the *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law*, the *Scripture of Vimalakīrti*, and the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*), and their status in canons could guarantee profound merit. Zhao explains that it is because common people care about the status of a scripture instead of its doctrine, therefore they preferred to commission such texts for merit. Zhao (2019, 405–406), following Liang Liling, also believes in the function of miracle tales of Buddhist scriptures (e.g., the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Scripture of Guanyin* [i.e. “Chapter of the Universal Gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara” of the *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law*]) to persuade patrons to commission these scriptures. Especially, a Dunhuang local miracle tale of the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa (Pishamen tianwang 毗沙門天王) motivated patrons to copy scriptures which include this Heavenly King (e.g., the *Scripture of Golden Light*). Moreover, Zhao (2019, 406–407) contends that scriptures that include heavenly beings who feel sympathy for people’s sufferings and are always ready to help them, are particularly favored by patrons. For instance, he thinks that the *Scripture of Golden Light* and the *Scripture of Guanyin* were popular because they include the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa and Bodhisattva Avalokitasvara/Avalokiteśvara respectively, both of whom are described as compassionate and willing to help.

Other than studies of Dunhuang colophons, scholarship on epigraphic inscriptions for

Buddhist statues can be used as a reference for my research of the relationship between Chinese Buddhist textual practices and the contents of specific texts. As the aforementioned work of Hou Xudong (1998, 96) demonstrates, in the inscriptions for Buddhist images, there is often no doctrinal relationship between the theme of the image that the patron selected (i.e. the object whom the patron worshiped) and the aspirations indicated in the inscription. Hou (1998, 102) ascribes this phenomenon to lay Buddhists' superficial or distorted understanding of doctrines, and interprets this inconsistency as Chinese Buddhists' creativity in the reception of Buddhist teachings: they did not uncritically accept all the doctrines, but autonomously selected teachings to weave their own beliefs and, thereupon, expressed their own aspirations. Accordingly, he suggests that scholars should explore the patrons' motivations based on patrons' practices, instead of relying on the doctrines, and should study the themes of Buddhist images and the aspirations in the inscriptions separately.

Studies of Cabezón (2004, 757) and Rambelli (2007, 89–91) that stress a distinction between Buddhist textual practices and the contents of the texts themselves, whether focusing on Dunhuang colophons or not, are informative, but they fail to represent the complexity of the connection between the texts themselves and practices centering on them. As Company (1991) and Liang Liling (1999) have noted, some major methods of textual practices (e.g., producing and worshipping scriptures for merit) apparently stem from the instructions in the texts themselves. Thus, this gives rise to a question: inasmuch as patrons have been commissioning or producing Buddhist scriptures in the light of the teaching of merit in these texts, is it possible that other textual practices are also influenced by the teachings of the texts that include, but are not limited to the overall logic of merit? I assume that, other than the

well-known medium named “merit,” there could be more links that connect Buddhist texts’ contents with the practices of these texts, although these links are neither universally applicable to, nor easily identifiable in, each textual practice. In other words, I suspect that sometimes Buddhist devotees’ textual practices could be informed by, rather than remain ignorant of, the content of these texts, collapsing the “hermeneutic” / “nonhermeneutic” distinction. Although devotees did not necessarily obtain the information through reading the texts in person, the sources of the information could be eventually traced back to the texts themselves. For example, I hypothesize that scriptures commissioned for copying could be purposely selected by patrons, or recommended by agents based on the connection between patrons’ aspirations and the information from the texts, instead of being randomly chosen merely for merit. Likewise, we may discover rationales for specific “performative” uses of texts between the lines of the texts themselves.

Among the scholars that I have mentioned above, some have sensed such indistinct links, and attempted to illuminate them. For instance, Liang (1999) and Zhao (2019) suspect that Buddhist teachings were conveyed to people through miracle tales. Zhao (2019) also suspects that the length of the texts, the status of the texts in Buddhist canons, and the heavenly beings included in the texts may all influence patrons’ choices when selecting specific texts to copy. These assumptions are all beneficial to our understanding. However, none of them have thoroughly dug into these questions, but simply provided a few examples without further analysis, which cannot elucidate these links. Zhao’s (2019, 308–360) argument that each scripture was equally effective at serving the function of healing for the contemporary patrons, based on forty-five colophons to different Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang

manuscripts, does not seem solid to me either: (1) the pool of his samples is too small for making such a large claim; (2) neither has he sorted these scriptures according to their contents (e.g., according to whether the text addresses healing directly), (3) nor has he provided numbers of copies of each text. Liang (1999) refers to Hou's (1998) argument on the epigraphic inscriptions for Buddhist statues, and believes that it is also the case that the Buddhist texts' contents are often disconnected from the aspirations for copying them. It is helpful to use epigraphic inscriptions as references when studying Dunhuang colophons, since, as I demonstrate in Chapter Two, the structure of epigraphic inscriptions and that of Dunhuang colophons resemble each other. However, it is worth noting that the information contained in Buddhist texts is much richer, clearer and more specific than that conveyed by Buddhist statues. Weak connections between Buddhist images and the inscriptions for these images do not imply that the links between Buddhist texts and the colophons to these texts are also weak. Hou's (1998, 102) suggestion to study the themes of Buddhist images and the aspirations in the inscriptions separately should definitely not be applied to studies of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures with colophons.

In contrast to the studies that tend to examine Buddhist texts and textual practices separately (as discussed above), there are a few works that propose a method that vitiates this dualist approach. Shiga Takayoshi (1965), quoting the example of monk Yuanhui's 願惠 use of the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku 'nan jing* 救諸衆生苦難經 (Scripture on Saving All the Multitudinous Beings from Sufferings) aspiring to be exempted from disasters in S.1185 (which I discuss in Chapter One), suggests that it was not only lay people, but also Buddhist professionals (who probably studied Buddhist texts and understood their doctrines), who used

scriptures to cope with this-worldly problems. He suggests that studying the scriptures copied for merit and aspirations can shed light on questions such as the degree to which people understood Buddhism in the contemporary Dunhuang area. Shiga (1972, 83) realizes that the colophons that he studies were influenced by the texts to which they were appended, and that the aspirations in these colophons reflect lay patrons' understanding of Buddhism.

Stephen F. Teiser (1994, 102), in his study of patron Zhai Fengda's 翟奉達 commissioning of the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* with other scriptures as a set, notes that these scriptures were copied exactly in accordance with the instructions laid out in the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* itself, especially with regard to the timing of copying the scriptures. He also notes that some patrons obeyed the instructions of this scripture by commissioning it “in preparation for their own demise,” since this text teaches “to be cultivated in preparation for rebirth in the Pure Land” (*yuxiu wangsheng jingtu* 預修往生淨土) (Teiser 1994, 159, 197).

Bryan Lowe (2017, 171–208) studies Japanese Queen Consort Kōmyōshi's 光明子 (701–760 C.E.) patronage of three Chinese Buddhist scriptures, including a Chinese indigenous scripture that was stricken from the contemporary Japanese Buddhist canons, and argues that patrons carefully selected texts for their purposes often because of the contents, and these three scriptures were chosen as a set to address common problems because they share similar elements. Lowe (2017, 7, 175) does not think patrons selected texts randomly, since he believes “sutra copying was always an interpretative act in the sense that specific doctrines were put to use for particular purposes,” and the patrons' practice was “itself hermeneutic,” therefore he highlights “the connection between the content of the texts and the

practices directed toward them.” Meanwhile, he notes that, in order to motivate patrons, texts praise reproducing them as a behaviour of piety while threatening patrons who do not copy them with punishment (Lowe 2017, 210).

Both Teiser’s and Lowe’s prominent works inform much of my research. Teiser’s monograph concentrates on the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*. While he introduces the contents of all the scriptures commissioned by Zhai, he has not yet explored the connections between the contents of each text and Zhai’s aspirations or specific rituals. Lowe’s study of the Japanese royal member’s textual practice is suggestive evidence against the dualist approach that I addressed above. In this dissertation, I expand on Teiser’s and Lowe’s discoveries with reference to a larger group of patrons and users of different social backgrounds from medieval China with respect to their various textual practices of more Buddhist scriptures.

There are some other studies on Dunhuang colophons to Chinese Buddhist scriptures, or in Chinese manuscripts in general, that helped to inform my research. Lin Congming (1991) introduces the production of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures, the scribes of the manuscripts, the purposes for producing scriptures, and the patterns of dedicating the merit. Xie Huixian (1993) sorts Dunhuang colophons according to their structures, contents, scribes, provenances and dates, then introduces their value for studies of manuscripts, literature, history and society. Mei Yingyun (1996) explores the background of Yuan Rong 元榮, the inspector (*cishi* 刺史) of Dunhuang from 525 to 542 C.E. during the Northern Wei dynasty, a patron that I discuss in Chapter Three. Wei Guohui (2009, 81–88) argues that an important reason for the massive copying of three apocryphal works, which I discuss in Chapter One, is that these texts threaten those who do not copy the scriptures with death and even the deaths

of their entire families. Zhu Yao (2016, 116–182) has studied the colophons of some Chinese Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang by sorting them according to the backgrounds and aspirations of the patrons found in the colophons. However, as Zhu Yao (2016, 245) concedes in her conclusion, she does not relate the themes of the scriptures to patrons' aspirations.

Methodological Considerations

1. Why Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha with Colophons?

As introduced above, some scholars attribute the popularization of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha to these texts' ability to address the practical needs of Chinese Buddhists. Many apocryphal scriptures have been excluded from Chinese Buddhist canons, although some were canonized later. Teiser (1994, 162) attributes the proliferation of the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* to its teaching of the “cult of the dead” as inscribed in its text, since he does not think its noncanonical status can assure its reproduction. Under this theory, a prerequisite for the possibility of Chinese Buddhists' needs being met by apocryphal scriptures is that the patrons (or their agents) and/or the users of these texts know enough about these texts' claims to preferentially choose them over translated scriptures. If this assumption is correct, it makes Chinese Buddhist apocrypha the best material for exploring the connections between textual practices and the contents of the texts.

Campany (1991, 69) calls on explorations of the relationship between the devotional understandings in textual practices and Mahāyāna doctrines. Teiser (1994, 137) takes aspirational prayers in medieval Chinese colophons as a significant but little studied literary genre that can offer “a relatively unfiltered glimpse of religious practice.” So far, no one has

written a monograph devoted to exploring the relationship between textual practices and textual contents (e.g., Buddhist doctrines) that employs colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist scriptures as primary sources. That is precisely what I venture to do in this dissertation.

2. Agents

In choosing to investigate the issue of links between patronage and textual contents in medieval China, the reading proficiency of Buddhist patrons is a question that I cannot avoid, since it is assumed that a large portion of patrons (especially lay Buddhists among common people) would have been illiterate. For studying textual practices of illiterate patrons or patrons who know little of the contents of the texts they were sponsoring, I need to introduce potential agents acting for them, possibly selecting texts on their behalves, or advising them on which texts corresponded with their aspirations. We cannot easily identify these agents based on the information provided by colophons. Yet, according to scholars' reasonable conjecture, agents could be Buddhist professionals, official consultants (if the patron is a high-ranking official or a royal member), copyists, or sellers of Buddhist scriptures if only they know more about the texts than the patrons do. Furthermore, these identities are not mutually exclusive, which means that an agent could be both a Buddhist professional and an official consultant, or be both a copyist and a seller.

Teiser (1994, 161) reminds us that “the multiplication of a text did not entail the obligation to read it,” as only the copyists but not the patrons were required to be literate. Again, in his study of the patronage of Zhai Fengda, Teiser (1994, 116) concedes that

“Although I have written as if Zhai⁶ personally chose each scripture for inclusion in the set, it is impossible to decide whether the selection of texts rested with Zhai himself or a specific temple in Dunhuang...” Lowe (2017, 174) believes that Japanese Queen Consort Kōmyōshi’s advisers helped her carefully select unique scriptures to cope with the particular historical situation.

Concerning common Buddhist faithful in medieval China, the *New Bodhisattva Scripture* (*Xin pusa jing* 新菩薩經),⁷ an apocryphal scripture that I discuss in Chapter One, may provide a glimpse into the role of agents in selecting texts. It is written in this scripture that “monks and nuns will visit every house to exhort [people] to copy this scripture in order to circulate the sage’s true words.” From this account, we learn that it was likely for Buddhist professionals to visit potential patrons to promote certain scriptures, and I guess they may also request donations for these scriptures.

In addition to activities of human agents, it is also the case that Buddhist narratives, such as miracle tales that promote specific Buddhist scriptures, could play the role of “agent,” by leaving readers or listeners with the impression that textual practices related to specific scriptures can benefit patrons or users. Robert Campany (1991), Liang Liling (1999) and Zhao Qingshan (2019) have all delved into these tales. In order to facilitate our understanding of how an agent, especially a nonhuman agent, works behind a patron, I will now consider a modern example of the sponsorship of the production of Dunhuang manuscript images of a Buddhist apocryphon.

⁶ I transform Teiser’s Wade-Giles Pinyin into Hanyu Pinyin.

⁷ T no. 2917 A and T no. 2917 B in vol. 85 are transcriptions of Dunhuang Ms. S.136-2 and S.622 respectively as two of the versions of the *Xin pusa jing*.

The International Dunhuang Project's (hereafter IDP) program of digitizing the manuscripts of the Stein collection at the British Library requires funding. Thanks to patrons' donations, a considerable number of images of manuscripts are now available to readers for free on IDP's website, and many of these patrons left their dedication lines on the website telling their aspirations for the patronage. Among these patrons, a lady left the following dedication line "I sponsor this particular sutra in the hope that I will be reborn with musical talent. Sadly such talent by-passed me this time round." for the digitization of the manuscript of the *Foshuo Yanluo wang shouji sizhong nixiu shengqizhai wangsheng jingtu jing* 佛說閻羅王授記四衆逆修生七齋往生淨土經 (Scripture Spoken by the Buddha to the Four Orders on the Prophecy Given to King Yama Rāja Concerning the Sevens of Life to Be Cultivated in Preparation for Rebirth in the Pure Land).⁸ Since the patron wrote that she sponsored "this particular sutra," I assume that she knew the content of this scripture, and deliberately chose it for her aspiration—to be reborn with musical talent.⁹ I understand that she selected this text wishing to be reborn, because we can tell that this text addresses the preparation for rebirth in the Pure Land from its title. However, it seems perplexing that she chose this text to in hopes of fulfilling her aspiration for future musical talent, since I cannot find any specific passage related to musical talent in this text. In order to interpret her understanding of this text, I managed to contact her by email after I searched for her on internet, and fortunately she responded.

This patron explains that twenty-five years ago, she read Teiser's (1994) book *The*

⁸ The translation of this scripture's title is taken from Teiser (1994, 197, 218).

⁹ It is also worth noting that the patron's choices of manuscript(s) for patronage was influenced to some extent by which manuscripts were in the queue for digitization. That said, both in medieval China and in this contemporary scenario, the patron's choices are often neither single nor unlimited.

Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism. She thinks that there is a footnote somewhere in this book noting a belief that “those who sponsor copying this particular text will be born next time round into wealthy and highly cultured families and will develop exceptional musical and artistic ability,” and this is the main reason why she aspired to be reborn with musical talent through this sponsorship. However, I cannot find such a footnote in Teiser’s book, and this text merely promises that one will be reborn into a powerful, rich, and devout family by cultivating the commissioning of this scripture (Teiser 1994, 208). The only possible passage that might leave her such an impression is Teiser’s (1994, 118) explanation of the “humanities” (*liuyi* 六藝, literally “six arts”) that comprise ritual, music, archery, charioteering, writing, and mathematics. Yet, the “humanities” are not promised for commissioning this scripture, but merely mentioned in a poem of the patron Zhai Fengda, and this poem was not composed particularly for this scripture. When I suggest that maybe it was this passage which left her an impression that the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* promises a rebirth with musical talent, the lady agrees that it “may well be the case.”

In this case, this modern patron definitely understands the text to some degree. At least, she knows that a prominent theme of this text is rebirth. Nevertheless, I do not think she read the manuscript carefully before she sponsored it, or she may not have cared much about the exact content of this text, since it is not specifically pertinent to the issue of musical talent. Instead, she was strongly influenced by Teiser’s monograph on this scripture, although her understanding of this scripture’s functions deviated from Teiser’s writing. Based on her own understanding of Teiser’s writing, the patron made an aspiration that was partially connected

to the scripture. If we reflect on the medieval patrons' understandings and uses of the scriptures that they commissioned in light of this modern patron's sponsorship, we may imagine that many medieval patrons learned about the scriptures from Buddhist clerics, professional copyists, or even miracle tales related to these scriptures, without reading the texts painstakingly themselves, as was the case with this patron influenced by Teiser's book. These medieval patrons probably had rough impressions of the theme(s) and functions of the scriptures that they commissioned. When they laid out their aspirations, some may have been related to theme(s) present in the texts of their chosen scriptures, but others may have been based on their own understandings of the texts, or on the teaching of merit in general. As for Teiser with his book, in this example of modern patronage, they play the role of agent.

3. Influence from Popular Scriptures, and Methods for Identifying Links between Texts and Practices

In regard to the question of what informed patrons' selection of texts, there is always a potential concern: what if they simply chose the most popular texts for merit? Liang (1999, 128) notes that, during the Six Dynasties in the Dunhuang area, the *Da[ban] niepan jing* 大[般]涅槃經 (Scripture on the Great Extinction) was the most popular Buddhist text to copy, and the second most popular text was the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law). Lin Shitian, Yang Xueyong, and Liu Bo (2013, 30–46), based on Ikeda's catalogue, attempt to list the popular scriptures during different periods in the Dunhuang area, however, they enumerate too many scriptures (e.g., ninety scriptures)¹⁰

¹⁰ Among these scriptures, the *Quanshan wen* 勸善文 (Prose on Exhorting Virtue) and the *Quanshan jing* 勸善經 (Scripture on Exhorting Virtue) are regarded as two separate texts (Lin, Yang, and Liu 2013, 45), but actually they are the

during the Guiyi Commandery under the Cao clan's reign [Caoshi Guiyijun 曹氏歸義軍] [914–1036 C.E.]), which makes their lists less useful.

I agree that many patrons, and even some agents, may have blindly followed the contemporary trends related to the commissioning or use of Buddhist scriptures. Human beings' minds are always complex, and there could possibly be some inconceivable factors that may influence patrons when they chose scriptures. Moreover, since medieval patrons have long since passed away, their motivations are more intangible than those of modern patrons that we may consult directly, as in the case of the patron who sponsored the digitization of a specific Dunhuang manuscript (discussed above). Consequently, it would be too idealized if I assume that each text that I study will contain certain content that can unilaterally account for the patron's choice of this text by referring to the patron's aspirations. That said, there is still significant value in exploring the potential links between texts and textual practices. The lists of the popular scriptures during different periods in the Dunhuang area provided by Lin, Yang, and Liu (2013, 30–46) leave me with the impression that, other than a few widely acknowledged scriptures that were enormously popular in the Dunhuang area (e.g., the *Daban niepan jing* and the *Miaofa lianhua jing*), there were many other scriptures that pervaded Dunhuang during different eras. This means that medieval patrons in Dunhuang had plenty of options of “popular” scriptures, and they had to make choices among these scriptures on many occasions. This logic leads to a major question that I will be discussing in this dissertation: did the contents of these texts influence the choices of patrons and/or their agents? On the other hand, if we attribute the commissionings of some scriptures

same text with different titles. See Chapter One of this dissertation.

to their popularity, have we reflected on what made them popular? In this dissertation, I explore this question by using the first-person accounts provided in colophons to consider possible explanations for the popularity of certain texts.

Now, I briefly describe my approach for identifying the links between specific texts and textual practices. In Chapter One, I will explore a case where several patrons or users all employed one scripture (which, however, was copied twice or thrice sometimes as a single scribal act), or a set of two scriptures. For each patron or user, the aspirations or practices are simple. For these cases, I try to determine the proportion of patrons or users whose textual practices are closely related to the contents of the texts. In Chapter Two, a Buddhist nun commissioned seven scriptures for two interrelated aspirations, and I attempt to determine the proportion of these scriptures which contain contents that are related to these two aspirations. The case in Chapter Three is more complex, where a high-ranking official commissioned scriptures on several occasions for various aspirations. Sometimes he ordered one scripture, while the other times he ordered series of texts. Yet, for each commissioning, he dedicated the merit generated from these acts of patronage to the Heavenly Kings, invoking them to realize his own aspirations. Accordingly, I propose four criteria for measuring the degree to which each text is related to the Heavenly Kings, as well as to estimate the proportion of the texts that are related to them. Generally speaking, higher proportions of the texts that are relevant to textual practices indicate more substantial links between the texts and the practices. In addition to estimating these proportions, I pay special attention to the texts that provide unambiguous evidence of the advocacy of textual practice with them: for example, the *Jiu*

*zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing*¹¹ in KUM2744 and the *Xin pusa jing* in BD8108 in Chapter One, five scriptures in Chapter Two, the *Scripture of Golden Light* and the *Mahāyāna Scripture* in Chapter Three. After all, my goal is not to justify the option of each text used for practice, but to demonstrate that we can interpret textual practices and choices of texts for these practices from more than one perspective—the merit.

4. Categorizing the Colophons

Since there are a considerable number of Dunhuang colophons, some scholars have attempted to categorize them. Shiga Takayoshi (1965), based on eighteen Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures with colophons found in the Ōtani collection in Japan, generally classifies the scriptures discovered in Dunhuang into three types: (1) official scriptures that were copied by integrated scribal organizations for imperial aspirational prayers, then were included in the canons preserved at monasteries; (2) scriptures for Buddhist clerics' daily use (e.g., copying, reciting, and lecturing) at monasteries; (3) scriptures for worshiping, which were privately copied for merit that was dedicated to patrons' ancestors, or for patrons' own aspirations. He further divides official scriptures into scriptures that were copied in the capital, Chang'an, and that were copied in the Dunhuang area, both of which Fujieda (1961; 1969) has addressed. In terms of the scriptures copied for the purpose of worshiping, Shiga notes that they were commissioned by patrons from different social classes, ranging from the crown prince to common people, and including Buddhist professionals as well as lay Buddhists, whose acts of patronage were all largely directed toward this-worldly benefits.

¹¹ *The Taishō Newly Compiled Canon* (Takakusu 1924–1932, hereafter *T*) includes this scripture as no. 2915 in vol. 85 based on one Dunhuang manuscript (hereafter Ms.) S.136-1.

Lin Congming (1991, 281–290) sorts Dunhuang colophons into three categories according to their length: (1) long colophons that consist of over twenty sentences, which usually appear in manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures, and sometimes in Daoist scriptures. These colophons mostly introduce the patrons, and articulate their aspirations for copying the scriptures. For example, Lin classifies Yuan Rong’s 元榮 colophon in P.2143, which I discuss in Chapter Three, as a long colophon; (2) medium colophons that consist of over ten sentences, which are usually found in manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures and Daoist scriptures as well. The number of medium colophons is greater than those of long colophons, and the contents of these two sorts of colophons are similar; (3) short colophons that consist of fewer than ten sentences, which can be found in manuscripts of all types of contents. The number of short colophons is the largest among these three types, and the contents of short colophons are the most diverse. For instance, Lin classifies Wenquan’s 文詮 colophon in S.1066, which I address in Chapter One, as a short colophon.

Liang Liling (1999, 122–123) sorts the colophons that she studies according to the identities of the patrons (four royals, nine officials, sixty-eight Buddhist clerics, and thirty-six common people), and found that the colophons ascribed to patrons of higher social rank are longer, and their dictions and discourses read more literary and courtly. Liang (1999, 128–132) also categorizes the colophons according to the types of beneficiaries (e.g., imperial family, patrons themselves, the deceased, all sentient beings, etc.), attempting to explore the relationships between the patrons, the beneficiaries, and the aspirations, but she acknowledges that these relationships are too complicated.

Zhu Yao (2016, 49–80) categorizes Dunhuang colophons into (1) colophons that record

the translation of the text, the production of the manuscripts, practices related to the text, and the circulation of the text; and (2) colophons that record patrons' aspirations. Yet, Zhu Yao (2016, 49) also admits that many colophons could be classified into both categories.

Although I acknowledge that the colophons that I am studying in this dissertation could also be classified, I do not endeavor to categorize them, since, unlike Shiga (1965), Lin (1991), Liang (1999), or Zhu Yao (2016), my research does not involve analyzing many colophons, but instead focuses on thoroughly studying a few colophons. That said, the colophons that I study do not include those appended to official scriptures that were copied by integrated scribal organizations for imperial aspirational prayers. The lengths of the colophons which I study vary to a large degree. Liang's (1999) experiment, which categorizes the colophons according to the types of beneficiaries in an attempt to explore the relationships between the patrons, the beneficiaries and the aspirations, deserves credit. Although her method has not yet produced any substantive conclusions, the relationships between the patrons, the beneficiaries and the aspirations are worth exploring. In Appendix II, I begin to investigate such connections through the use of network analysis and visualization software, to consider these relationships based on a database that is larger than the one that had been employed by Liang.

5. Sets of Scriptures

Local Buddhists in the medieval Dunhuang area often grouped some typical Chinese Buddhist scriptures together for use when seeking certain aims. These clusters of scriptures sometimes included both translated scriptures and apocrypha. Scholars, such as Makita

Tairyō (1976, 340), Teiser (1994, 95–99) and Weng Biao (2015), have discussed the question of sets of Buddhist scriptures copied conterminously (*rensha* 連写) on one document.

Copying scriptures conterminously does not mean that Buddhists used these scriptures together; the practice may have just been intended to make full use of the available paper.

However, if a set of scriptures share a single colophon, it does suggest that Buddhists used them together, even if these scriptures had been copied onto separate manuscripts. In this dissertation, most of the scriptures that I discuss are copied with other scriptures in sets.

Many of the scriptures are not literally copied in the same manuscript, and some copies of the scriptures are even not extant, especially the scriptures that I examine in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. I link these scriptures up through the clues of colophons, which either directly enumerate the scriptures that are included in these sets, or appear with different scriptures that were copied in sets. In Appendix II, I use the same network analysis and visualization software to depict the relationships between these scriptures. It is a preliminary step in a future project in which I will explore patterns underlying combining Buddhist scriptures for use as well as using Buddhist apocrypha together with translated scriptures.

6. Forgeries

Since Fujieda (1966, 14–15) asserts that over ninety percent of Dunhuang manuscripts preserved in Japan that he has seen (other than those in Ōtani's collection) are forged, the authenticity of manuscripts became a hot topic for studies of these manuscripts from Dunhuang. Much ink has been spilled on this topic, and there are many perspectives from which one can examine the authenticity of a Dunhuang manuscript: e.g., the provenance, the

paper, the format, the ink, the script, the colophon, and the seal (if the manuscript includes a colophon and seals). Among them, the colophon is an indispensable factor to inspect, since previous studies (e.g., Shi 1999, 4; Drège 2002, 42) have shown us that forgers prefer to add colophons to manuscripts in order to make them appear more valuable. Also, since my dissertation employs colophons to investigate patrons' uses of manuscripts, here I mainly introduce previous studies of Dunhuang colophons, especially the colophons to Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

Ikeda On has contributed much to the study of the authenticity of Dunhuang manuscripts. He tags 106 colophons in his catalogue that he suspects to be dubious, yet he does not provide his reasons for doubting their authenticity (Ikeda 1990). He introduces the social context in which Dunhuang manuscripts may have been forged (including the forging of colophons), major scholarship of authenticating Dunhuang manuscripts, and dubious manuscripts discovered to date (Ikeda 1992, 720–731). Susan Whitfield (2002, 1) hosted a workshop focusing on problematic Dunhuang manuscripts in 1997, which “is the first public discussion of this issue,” and edited a volume entitled *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*. Ikeda (2013) summarizes studies of the authenticity of Dunhuang manuscripts after Whitfield's volume was published.

In terms of identifying Dunhuang manuscripts, Fang Guangchang (2002, 86) identifies “Dunhuang documents” as “ancient paper documents and related items (such as rollers, toggles, labels, unscribed paper fragments, covers, ties etc.) found or yet to be found in the Dunhuang area,” which include “items from Cave 17, from other caves at Mogao and from other non-cave sites in Dunhuang, such as stupas.” Additionally, he confirms that manuscripts

dated later than the first half of the eleventh century cannot be from Cave 17 (Fang 2002, 86). Ueyama (2002, 320) suggests to distinguish items that were deliberately forged from those old manuscripts that are not from the library cave.

As for Dunhuang manuscripts in prominent collections, Ishizuka (2002, 216–221) suggests that manuscripts in the Stein collection, the Pelliot collection, and the original Beijing collection acquired before 1910 are genuine, which could be used as baseline for authenticating other Dunhuang manuscripts. Fang Guangchang (2002, 93–94) suggests that it awaits further study to determine whether the manuscripts Stein collected in 1913 on his second trip to Dunhuang contain forgeries. Likewise, manuscripts that were sent directly from Dunhuang to the National Library of China are unlikely to be forgeries, whereas there are some forgeries among the Dunhuang manuscripts that this library purchased later.¹² Ueyama (2002, 320) is certain that the Ōtani collection includes forged Dunhuang manuscripts.

Regarding the methods for authenticating Dunhuang manuscripts, Fang Guangchang (2002, 90) divides forgeries into partial forgeries, referring to fake colophons, and complete forgeries, referring to entire manuscripts that had been forged. Fang (2002, 90) also noted several forgeries that were produced by imitating genuine Dunhuang manuscripts, but that are betrayed by the forgers' ignorance of the social context of genuine colophons. Regarding the seals in many Dunhuang manuscripts, he argues that all the items with a genuine seal are not necessarily genuine and vice versa, therefore readers should focus on the manuscript itself (Fang 2002, 93). Dou Huaiyong (2009) suggests that scholars should discriminate between

¹² The pressmarks of these newly purchased manuscripts include *xin* 新 (new).

three types of colophons when they are studying Dunhuang manuscripts: (1) miscellaneous notes on the verso of the text that are irrelevant to the texts; (2) colophons added by modern cataloguers or collectors, for example, Jiang Xiaowan 蔣孝琬 (?–1922 CE), who assisted Stein to obtain Dunhuang manuscripts; (3) modern colophons that were forged to increase the price of manuscripts. He suggests that it is important to compare the script of the colophon with that of the text. Zhu Yao (2016) suggests that it is very difficult to forge a whole manuscript since a forger has to imitate the genuine premodern manuscripts from all aspects (e.g., paper, ink, script, etc.), therefore forgers prefer to fabricate colophons.

I believe that authenticity of manuscripts is the premise for studying them. Hence, utilizing the methods introduced in these previous studies, I have authenticated every manuscript, especially their colophons, before including them in my discussion. I outline the forged and the dubious colophons that I have discovered in Appendix I.

Outlines of the Three Body Chapters

In Chapter One, I explore the relationships between colophons for, and the contents of, manuscript versions of three Chinese Buddhist apocryphal scriptures: the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing* 救諸衆生苦難經 (hereafter *Jiu jing*), the *Xin pusa jing* 新菩薩經 and the *Quanshan jing* 勸善經 (Scripture on Exhorting Virtue).¹³ First, I clarify the three versions of the *Xin pusa jing*, and their relationships with the *Quanshan jing*. Then, I examine the connections between the colophons and the texts by sorting the colophons according to the types of aspirations or practices as indicated in the colophons. Also, I investigate the reasons

¹³ T no. 2916 is a transcription of S.417, a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Quanshan jing*. This scripture is also titled *Quanshan wen* 勸善文 (Prose on Exhorting Virtue), for instance, in P.3624.

that the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* were frequently copied as one set, and the reasons for the repeated copying of the *Xin pusa jing*.

In Chapter Two, I focus on Jianhui 建暉, a *bhikṣuṇī* local to Dunhuang, and her commissioning of a set of Buddhist scriptures (including both apocryphal and translated scriptures) for her aspirations to become male, and to achieve Buddhahood. Specifically, I explore her selection of texts alongside her aspirations for copying them in order to explore her knowledge, as a Buddhist professional, of the Buddhist texts that she used. In this chapter, I also consider some other Buddhist nuns' aspirations, noting that all of these female Buddhist clerics detest the “female filth” (*nīhui* 女穢).

Finally, in Chapter Three, I discuss Yuan Rong, the highest-ranking official in Dunhuang, and his use of the *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings, *T* no. 245, vol. 8)¹⁴ and other Buddhist texts that he commissioned at different occasions. By examining the connections between these texts and the colophons appended to them, I explore Yuan Rong's rationale for invoking the Heavenly Kings by employing these Buddhist texts for his own aspirations as indicated in his colophons.

The present research focuses on textual practices as a form of reception of Chinese Buddhist texts, in contrast to most previous studies of Buddhist texts that concentrate on the production of the texts. In terms of the colophons appended to Buddhist texts in Dunhuang manuscripts which I explore as the main primary sources, previous scholarship has been largely confined to the colophons themselves, whereas I employ these colophons to study

¹⁴ Two versions of this scripture survived, yet all the extant Dunhuang manuscripts of this scripture are of *T* no. 245.

textual practices related to Buddhist scriptures through analyzing them with respect to the contents of the scriptures. My method bridges the gap between the text and the paratext in studies of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, and therefore expands our understanding of both Chinese Buddhist texts and Dunhuang colophons.

Chapter One: Three Short Chinese Indigenous Buddhist Scriptures

Introduction

In this chapter I study the relationships between the colophons for, and the contents of, manuscripts of three Chinese indigenous Buddhist scriptures discovered in Dunhuang. These scriptures are the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing* 救諸衆生苦難經 (Scripture on Saving All the Multitudinous Beings from Sufferings, hereafter *Jiu jing*),¹⁵ the *Xin pusa jing* 新菩薩經 (New Bodhisattva Scripture),¹⁶ and the *Quanshan jing* 勸善經 (Scripture on Exhorting Virtue).¹⁷ I also explore why the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* were frequently copied as one set, and then look at the reasons for the repeated copying of the *Xin pusa jing*. By analyzing the information in the colophons, such as the patrons' aspirations, the users' notes, the scribes' practices, and their backgrounds, with reference to the contents of the scriptures, I contextualize the scriptures in their social background and textual context. This approach will allow me to shed light on medieval Dunhuang Buddhists' understandings and uses of these three scriptures as well as the stories that stand behind their reproduction.

In the Dunhuang corpus, there are fifty-one copies of the *Jiu jing* in fifty-one manuscripts; eighty-three copies of the *Xin pusa jing* in sixty-eight manuscripts,¹⁸ which could be divided into three versions; and forty-seven copies of the *Quanshan jing* in forty-six

¹⁵ This scripture is also titled *Jiu zhuzhongsheng yiqie ku'nan jing* 救諸衆生一切苦難經 (Scripture on Saving All the Multitudinous Beings from All Sufferings). *The Taishō Newly Compiled Canon* includes this scripture (*T* no. 2915, vol. 85) based on one Dunhuang manuscript S.136-1.

¹⁶ *T* no. 2917 A and *T* no. 2917 B in vol. 85, as two of the *Xin pusa jing*'s three versions, are transcriptions of Dunhuang Ms. S.136-2 and S.622 respectively.

¹⁷ *T* no. 2916 is a transcription of S.417, a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Quanshan jing*. This scripture is also titled *Quanshan wen* 勸善文 (Prose on Exhorting Virtue), for instance, in P.3624.

¹⁸ In thirteen manuscripts there are at least two copies of the *Xin pusa jing*, and in one manuscript there are three copies. Since some of the thirteen manuscripts are fragmentary, they may have contained more than two copies if they were intact.

manuscripts.¹⁹ Twenty-nine of these manuscripts are combinations of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, and one is a combination of the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing*. All the twenty-nine copies of the *Xin pusa jing* that are combined with the *Jiu jing* are the third version.²⁰ I list these manuscripts in the bibliography, and here I provide English translations of collated editions of these scriptures.²¹

Scripture on Saving All the Multitudinous Beings from All Sufferings

There is a teacher on Mount Tiantai whose age is probably nine hundred years. In the first and the second month, [this] heavenly god wept sadly with blood shedding from his eyes, and chanted: “Miserable, miserable, the multitudinous beings [will] die completely.” Disciple Huitong, joined his palms together, paid homage with his head [to the teacher] with tears shedding from his eyes, and started to speak: “Given the existence of such a disaster, how can one be exempted?” The teacher answered Huitong: “I see that the multitudinous beings of *Jambudvīpa* will die and vanish. [If we] universally recollect [the name of] Maitreya, [we can] save the multitudinous beings. The area of Xiang and Wei to the north of the Yellow River in the central country will be exactly amidst it. Foolish fellows are not aware of [this disaster], or have not recognized [it]. In the third month and the fourth month, the demon army will chaotically rise, which will be boundless. From the eighth month and the ninth month, it will be the great final age. If the multitudinous beings act wholesomely, the demon army will perish of its own accord. [Although] the sky and the earth will get dark, [the multitudinous beings] will be exempted from this disaster. If one copy is written, one’s whole family will be exempted; if two copies are written, [one’s] six relatives²² will be exempted; if three copies are written, the entire village will be exempted. Whoever circulates this scripture is a disciple [of the Buddha]; whoever defames this scripture will enter the *avīci* hell without a moment to exit; whoever has seen this scripture but does not copy it will cause one’s whole family to die; whoever chants with the sincerest mind will achieve the buddha-way.”

The dark wind will start from the Northwest, and the demon army will rise in the

¹⁹ In one manuscript there are two copies of the *Quanshan jing*.

²⁰ Except the version of one copy (Hane697-1) that cannot be identified, since only its title has survived.

²¹ Goble (2017, 265–78) has translated one version of the *Xin pusa jing* (T no. 2917 A) and the *Quanshan jing* (T no. 2916) into English. Since these two texts included in *The Taishō Canon* are based on a single Dunhuang manuscript respectively, they fail to represent some significant textual variants in the other manuscripts, and contain mistakes due to erroneous readings of the manuscripts, which have caused a considerable number of misinterpretations in Goble’s translations. Therefore, I have produced these new translations by referring to Goble’s translations.

²² The definition of *liuqin* 六親 has changed throughout Chinese history. In this text, it should denote members of one’s extended family.

southeast.

Forever the sky and the earth will be dark, so how could one's heart not be frightened?
One must first abstain from wine and meat, let alone to give rise to craving and aversion.
If one could be cautious about this issue, [one will] walk on the buddha-way
immediately.

救諸衆生一切苦難經²³

天台中有一老師，年可九百歲。正月二月天²⁴神悲哭，眼中泣血，唱言：“苦哉，苦哉，衆生死²⁵盡。”²⁶弟子惠通合掌頂禮，眼中泣淚，啟言：“有此²⁷災難，如何得免？”師報言惠通：“我見閻浮提²⁸衆生亡沒。普念彌勒，救諸衆生。中國黃河²⁹已（以）³⁰比（北），³¹相³²魏之地，正在其中。愚癡之子，不覺不知。³³三月四月，鬼兵亂起，無邊無際。八月九月已（以）來大³⁴末劫。³⁵衆生行善，鬼兵自滅，天地黑闇，得免此災（災）。³⁶寫一本，免一門；寫兩本，免六親；寫三本，免一村。流傳者是弟子；謗此經者入阿鼻地獄，無有出期；見此經不寫者滅門；至心讀誦者得成佛道。”

黑風西比（北）起，東南興³⁷鬼兵。

永常天地闇，何得心不驚。³⁸

²³ Yuankong (1992, 62) has transcribed the *Jiu jing* based on S.5256-1 by referring to BD7338-1, P.2653-3, P.3857-1, S.1185-1, S.3126-1, S.3696. Zhao Qingshan (2019, 311–312) has transcribed the *Jiu jing* based on Beida D108 without referring to other copies. Neither Yuankong nor Zhao has pointed out specific problems in the *Taishō* version, and Zhao only uses one manuscript that cannot present varieties in this text, therefore I transcribe this scripture based on the *Taishō* version of S.136-1 (*T* no. 2915: see figure 1.1.), with reference to the other Dunhuang manuscripts for collation in order to demonstrate the hazards of interpreting a text by merely reading its *Taishō* version or by reading one single manuscript. I am transcribing manuscripts with common traditional Chinese characters, except when significant variant characters require annotation.

²⁴ 九 is fragmentary, and 百歲正月二月天 is missing in S.136-1, which I have added by referring to manuscripts such as S.1184, Hane697-2, and S.4479-1.

²⁵ Zhao Qingshan (2019, 311) erroneously transcribes *si* 死 (die) as *e* 厄 (adversity).

²⁶ The first 哉 is fragmentary, 苦哉衆生死盡 is missing in S.136-1.

²⁷ 泣淚 is fragmentary, and 啟言有此 is missing in S.136-1.

²⁸ 我 is fragmentary, and 見閻浮提 is missing in S.136-1.

²⁹ 救諸衆生中國黃河 is missing in S.136-1. Here *zhongsheng* 衆生 (the multitudinous beings) (e.g., in Hane697-2 and Beida D108) is sometimes written as *cangsheng* 蒼生 (all beings under heaven) (e.g., in S.1184 and S.4479-1). Although both of these two words make sense in the context, I choose the former since the term *jiu zhu zhongsheng* 救諸衆生 corresponds to the title of this scripture.

³⁰ *Yi* 已 (complete) is a phonetic alternative for *yi* 以 (from).

³¹ *Bi* 比 (than) in S.136-1 is a variant form for *bei* 北 (north), which *T* no. 2915 simply transcribes it as *bi* 比.

³² There is only one character *xiang* 相 in S.136-1, but *T* no. 2915 erroneously adds another *xiang* 相. Zhao Qingshan (2019, 311) reads *bei xiang* 北相 as one word, which does not make sense since *Xiang* 相 and *Wei* 魏 are both names of places.

³³ 愚 is fragmentary, and 癡之子不覺不知 is missing in S.136-1.

³⁴ 已（以） is fragmentary, and 來大 is missing in S.136-1.

³⁵ Though Yuankong (1992, 62) transcribes *mojie* 末劫 (the great final age) as *weijie* 未劫 (the future age), it does not make sense in this context.

³⁶ 此災（災） is fragmentary in S.136-1, and is taken together as one missing character in *T* no. 2915. *Demian cizai* 得免此災 (to be exempted from this natural disaster) in S.136-1, Hane697-2 and Dx1609+2035-1 is written as *demian zainan* 得免災難 (to be exempted from disaster) in S.1184, S.3417-1, S.3696, S.4924, S.5060-1, S.5256-1 and BD8108-1, as *demian zai* 得免災 (to be exempted from the natural disaster) in S.4479-1 and P.3857-1, and as *demian cinan* 得免此難 (to be exempted from this catastrophe) in Guobo57-2.

³⁷ *Xing* 興 (rise) in S.136-1, Hane697-2 and S.4479-1 is written as *zhen* 鎮 (suppress) in S.1184, S.5256-1, BD8108-1, and Beida D108. Both Yuankong (1992, 62) and Zhao Qingshan (2019, 311) transcribe it as *zhen* 鎮. *Xing* 興 makes more sense than *zhen* 鎮 does in this context.

³⁸ 不驚 is missing in S.136-1.

先須斷酒肉，貪嗔更莫生。
人能慎此事，佛道一時行。³⁹

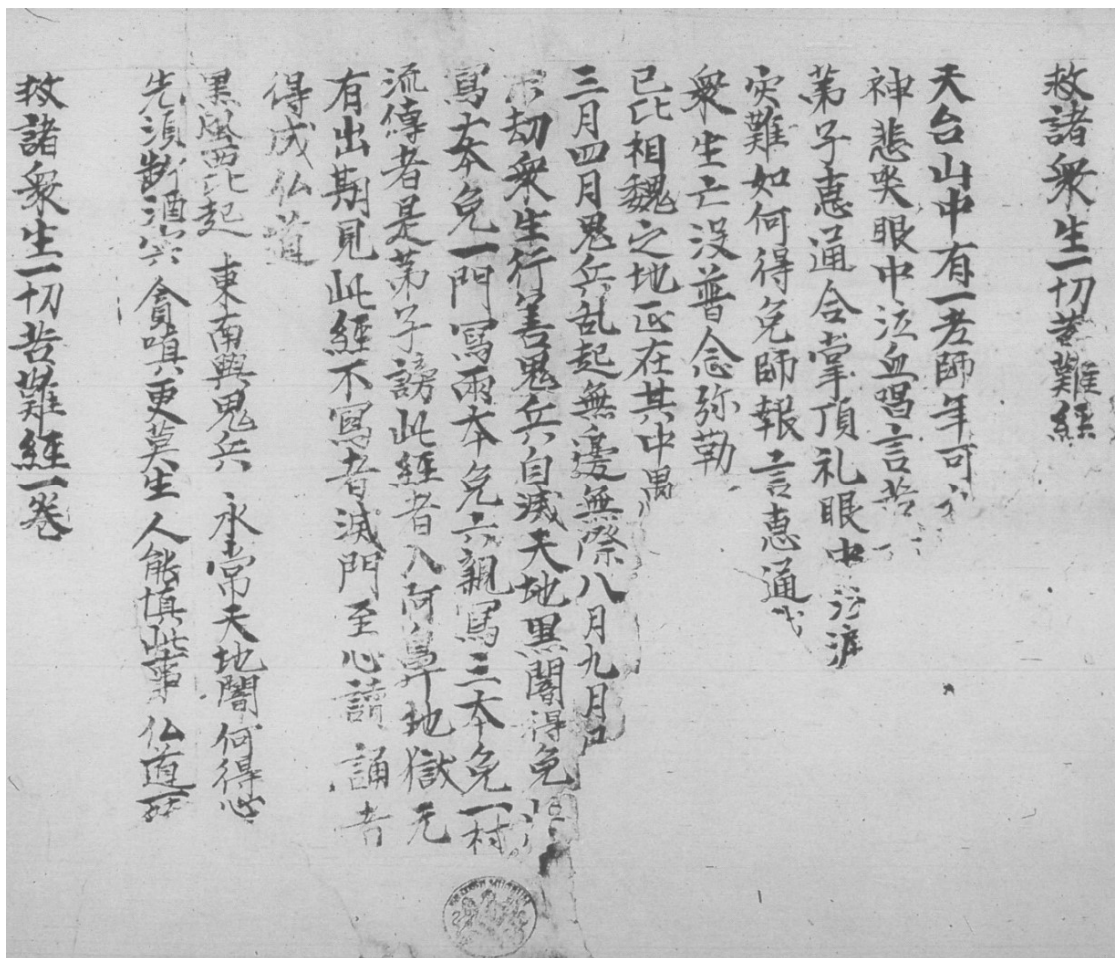


Figure 1.1 S.136-1 (Fang and Wood 2011, 3:34b)

New Bodhisattva Scripture in One Fascicle

Jia Dan⁴⁰ has promulgated that the multitudinous beings in all prefectures should recite [the name of] Amitābha Buddha⁴¹ one thousand times every day, and eliminate evil and act wholesomely. This year, there will be a great harvest, [however] no one will reap it. There will be several types of death due to diseases. The first type of death is due to the

³⁹ 時 is fragmentary, and 行 is missing in S.136-1. Yuankong (1992, 62) notes that there are three copies of the *Jiu jing* in P.2653, and none of them contain this *jiyu* 偈語 (verse). Actually, there is only one copy of this scripture at the very end of P.2653 after two other texts. The handwriting and the colour of ink of the *Jiu jing* are different from that of the other two texts. It seems that someone made use of the space at the end of P.2653 to copy this scripture, and that there was not enough space to include this concluding verse.

⁴⁰ Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805 C.E.): a “*zuopuye* 左僕射” (Left Chief Administrator) of the Tang dynasty.

⁴¹ Amitufo 阿彌陀佛 may also refer to the Buddha Amitāyus.

disease of malaria,⁴² the second type of death is due to the heavenly prevalent disease, the third type is sudden death, the fourth type of death is due to the disease of edema, the fifth death is due to [women’s] labour, the sixth death is due to the disease of the abdomen, the seventh death is due to bloody abscess, the eighth death is due to the disease of yellow wind, the ninth death is due to the dysentery of water, the tenth death is due to the disease of the eyes. Exhort all the multitudinous beings that if one copy is written, one [who copies it] will be exempted; if two copies are written, one’s whole family will be exempted; if three copies are written, the entire village will be exempted. Whoever does not copy it will cause one’s whole family to be exterminated. [If one] posts it on the door, [one will] be able to pass this disaster. Just look, in the seventh and the eighth month, three families will use a single ox, and five men will share one woman. Monks and nuns will visit every house to exhort [people] to copy this scripture. As for the scripture [itself], when it was at the peak of noon on the second day of the first month in Liangzhou in the west, the thunder roared twice, and a rock fell down which is as big as a *dou* measurer.⁴³ It then [split into] two pieces, and this scripture was found [in it]. Announce it to the multitudinous beings, and [they] will be exempted from the disaster this year.

新菩薩經一卷⁴⁴

賈耽⁴⁵頒下，諸州衆生每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，斷惡行善。今年大熟，⁴⁶無人收芻。有數種病死。第一瘧病死，第二天行病死，第三卒死，第四腫病死，第五產坐死，第六患腹死，第七血癰死，第八風黃病死，第九水裏（痢）⁴⁷死，第十患眼死。勸諸衆生，寫一本免一身，寫兩本免一門，寫三本免一村。若不寫者，滅門。門上傍（膀）⁴⁸之，得過此難。但看七八月，三家使一牛，五男同一婦。僧尼巡門，勸寫此經。其經西涼州⁴⁹正月二日盛中時，雷鳴兩聲，⁵⁰有一石下，大如⁵¹

⁴² “Malaria” is a possible identification of *nüebing* 瘧病. Similarly, “disease of edema” and “dysentery of water” below are possible identifications of *zhongbing* 腫病 and *shuili* 水痢 respectively.

⁴³ *Dou* 斗: around six litres.

⁴⁴ Among three versions of the *Xin pusa jing*, I choose to translate version three, the most developed and complete version, which is also the version that has often been copied together with the *Jiu jing*. Whenever necessary, I will describe the other two versions in reference to this version. Yuankong (1992, 60–61) has transcribed the third version based on P.3857-2 by referring to S.4479-2, S.5256-2, and BD7606-2, and Zhao Qingshan (2019, 313) has transcribed the third version based on S.407-1 without referring to other copies. My transcription is based on T no. 2917A of S.136-2 (figure 1.2.) with reference to the other manuscripts.

⁴⁵ In other manuscripts, such as in BD8108-2, S.1066, S.3417-2, S.5060-2, S.5256-2, there is a word *chi* 勅 (decree) that begins this scripture.

⁴⁶ *Shu* 熟 (harvest) in S.136-2 is erroneously transcribed as *re* 熱 (hot) in T no. 2917A.

⁴⁷ *Li* 裏 (inside) seems to be a mistake for *li* 痢 (dysentery), as it is correctly used in BD8108-2, S.3417-2, S.5060-2, S.5256-2. *Li* 痢 has also been mistaken as *li* 李 (plum) in S.1066.

⁴⁸ *Bang* 傍 (accompany) in S.136-2 is a mistake for *bang* 膀 (post), as it is correctly used in BD8108-2, S.3417-2, S.5060-2, and S.5256-2.

⁴⁹ Fang Ling (2010, 1012) suspects that Xi Liangzhou 西涼州 is a former name of Zhangye 張掖, which is located west to Liangzhou (present-day Wuwei 武威). Funayama (2011, 38) suggests that Xi Liangzhou refers to the same place as Liangzhou 涼州. Funayama’s argument makes more sense.

⁵⁰ *Leiming liangsheng* 雷鳴兩聲 (the thunder roars twice) is transcribed as *leiming yusheng* 雷鳴雨聲 (roar of thunder and sound of rain) in T no. 2917A. Although this character seems to be *liang* 兩 (two) in S.136-2, in other manuscripts, such as BD8108-2, S.1066, S.3417-2, it is difficult to differentiate *liang* 兩 (two) from *yu* 雨 (rain) in cursive writings, and both phrases make sense in this context.

⁵¹ *Ru* 如 (as) in S.136-2 is written as *er* 而 in another version such as in BD8108-2 and S.5256-2. Both of these two words

斛等，石遂兩片，即見此經。報諸衆生，今載⁵²饒患。

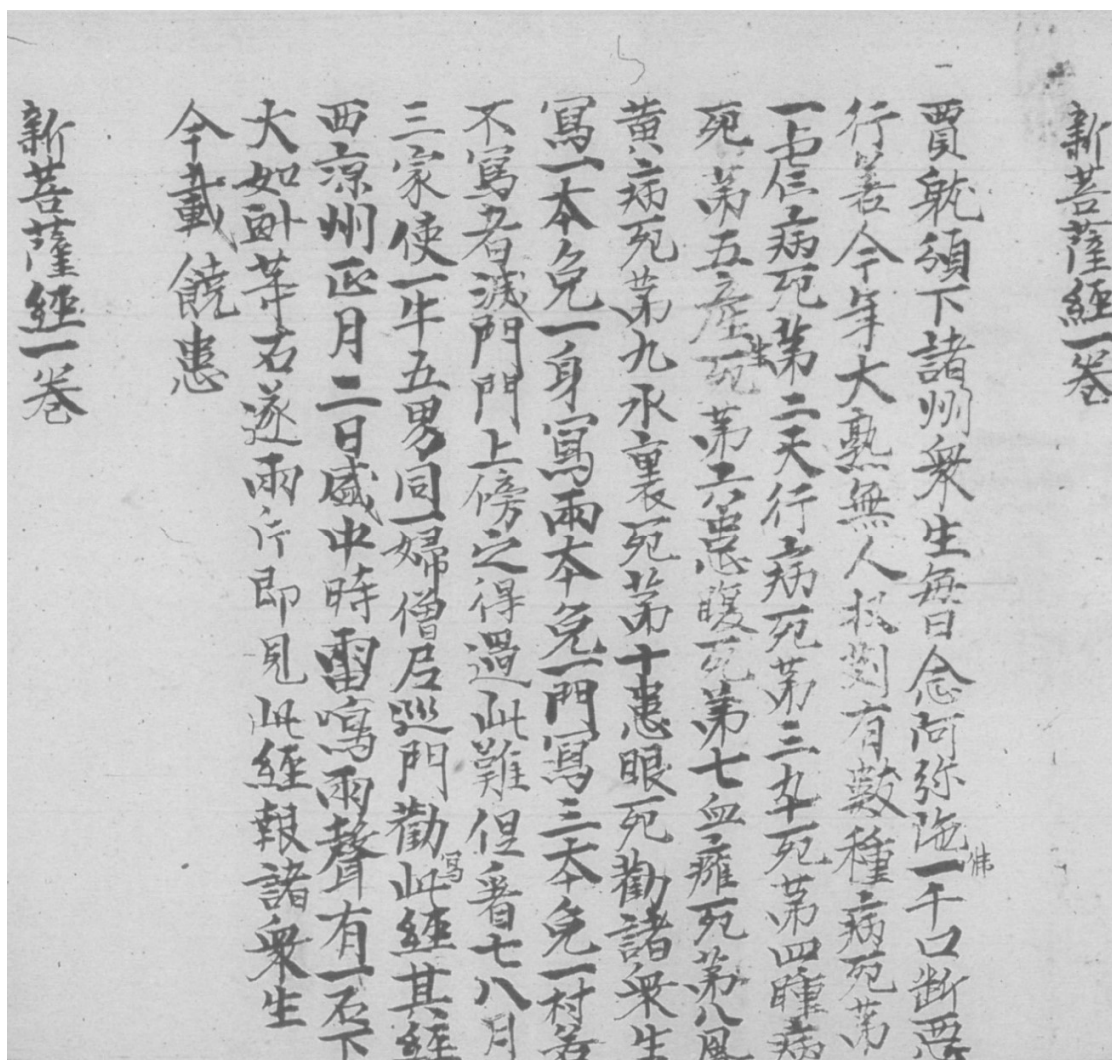


Figure 1.2 S.136-2 (Fang and Wood 2011, 3:35a)

Scripture on Exhorting Virtue in One Fascicle

Decree

The Left Counselor-in-chief, Jia Dan, has promulgated to all prefectures, in order to exhort virtue to all the multitudinous beings. Every day recite [the name of] Amitābha Buddha one thousand times, and eliminate evil and act wholesomely. This year, there will be a great harvest, [however] no one will reap it. There will be several types of death due to diseases. The first type of death is due to the disease of malaria, the second type of death is due to the heavenly prevalent disease, the third type of death is due to the disease

make sense in this context. *Jingzhuān shìcí* 經傳釋詞 (Explaining Words in the Classics): 而，猶若也。若與如古同聲，故而訓為如，又訓為若。(Er, approximately the same as ruo. Ruo and ru were phonetically same in historical terms. Therefore, er is glossed as ru, also is glossed as ruo” (Wang Yinzhì [1819] 1939, 1260 [2]:94).

⁵² Zai 載 (year) in S.136-2 is erroneously transcribed as dai 戴 (wear) in T no. 2917A.

of dysentery of red and white, the fourth type of death is due to the disease of red eyes, the fifth death is due to the disease of women's labour, the sixth death is due to the disease of malaria of water, the seventh death is due to the disease of wind. Now exhort the multitudinous beings to copy this scripture. One copy allows one's whole family to be exempted from the disaster, and writing two copies allows the six relatives to be exempted. Whoever has seen this scripture but does not copy it will cause one's whole family to be exterminated. [If one] posts it on the door, [one] will be able to pass this disaster. One who does not have fortune cannot see this scripture. This scripture is from the south. On the eighth day of the first month, there was a thunder storm, and a child in the sky who was four years old. Also, an aged man was seen on the road, who saw a serpent as long as hundreds of millions *chi*⁵³ with a human head and bird's feet. It called the aged man, and said: "Mount Tai will collapse, which will need hundreds of millions of women, and must take hundreds of millions of oxen, and it will be difficult for people who get sick to recover. Whoever copies this scripture will be exempted from this disaster. For those who do not believe, just look, on the first day of the fourth month, three families will use a single ox, and five men will share one woman. Monks and nuns will visit every house to exhort [people] to copy this scripture in order to circulate the sage's true words. If [this scripture] is blown off [the door] by an impure wind, one will not be exempted from this disaster. To exhort each other to Amitābha Buddha, and before long you may see an era of great peace.

勸善經一卷⁵⁴

勅 左丞相賈恍（耽）⁵⁵頒⁵⁶下諸州，勸善之（諸）衆生。⁵⁷每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，斷惡行善。今年大熟，⁵⁸無人收苽。有數衆（種）⁵⁹病死。第一瘡病[死]，⁶⁰第二天行病死，第三赤白痢病死，第四赤眼病死，第五[女]人產病死，⁶¹第六水痢

⁵³ *Chi* 尺: "foot," measure of length, of which exact measurement varied over time.

⁵⁴ Yuankong (1992, 61) has transcribed the *Quanshan jing* based on S.1349-2 by referring to BD4304, BD6922, BD8421, P.2608, P.3036, P.3463, P.3498, P.3624 (he miswrites it as P.2624), P.4872, S.417, S.912, S.1185-2, S.2882, S.3687, S.4739, S.4923 (he miswrites it as S.4927). Zhao Qingshan (2019, 312–313) has transcribed the *Quanshan jing* based on Beida D110 without referring to other copies. My transcription is based on the *Taishō* version of S.417 (*T* no. 2916: see figure 1.3.), with reference to the other Dunhuang manuscripts for collation.

⁵⁵ Jia Huang 賈恍 in S.417 is a mistake for Jia Dan 賈耽. In other Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Quanshan jing*, *dan* 耽 has variant forms such as *dan* 𧇗 in P.3463 and P.3624. *Dan* 𧇗 was probably later transformed into *dan* 恍, such as in BD6922, P.2608, and P.3036, by changing the left radical *shen* 身 (body) into *ren* 人 (person). Then, *dan* 恍 was further changed into *guang* 恍, such as in S.5113. Finally, *guang* 恍 was written as *huang* 恍 in S.417. *T* no. 2916 punctuates between Jia 賈 and Huang 恍, which does not make sense.

⁵⁶ Zhao Qingshan (2019, 312) erroneously transcribes *ban* 頒 (promulgate) as *dao* 道 (speak).

⁵⁷ In S.417, 勸善之衆生 is missing in the first column but added to the low-right to 頒下諸州. *T* no. 2916 lost *quan* 勸 in its transcription. However, *zhi* 之 (to) in 勸善之衆生 should be a mistake for *zhu* 諸 (all), as it is correctly used in Jintu137, BD6922, and S.3687, since the former phrase does not make sense grammatically. *Quanshan zhu zhongsheng* 勸善諸衆生 (exhort virtue to all the multitudinous beings) is written as *quan zhu zhongsheng* 勸諸衆生 (exhort all the multitudinous beings) as in P.2608, P.3036, P.3463, P.3498, and as *puquan zhongsheng* 普勸衆生 (universally exhort the multitudinous beings), as in S.1349-1, S.1349-2, S.5113, P.3624. All these three phrases make sense in this context.

⁵⁸ *Shu* 熟 (harvest) in S.417 is erroneously transcribed as *re* 熱 (hot) in *T* no. 2916.

⁵⁹ *Zhong* 衆 (multitudinous) in S.417 is a mistake for *zhong* 種 (type), as it is correctly used in the other manuscripts.

⁶⁰ *Si* 死 (death) is lost in S.417 as compared with the other manuscripts, but is suggested by the context.

⁶¹ *Ren chanbing si* 人產病死 (death due to the disease of human labour) should be *nüren chanbing si* 女人產病死 (death due to the disease of women's labour) such as in P.3624. *Nüren chanbing si* 女人產病死 is also written as *nüren chansheng si* 女人產生死 (death due to women's labour) such as in S.1349-1, S.1349-2, and S.5113.

病死，第七風病死。今勸衆生寫此經[一本]⁶²免一門難，寫[兩]⁶³本免⁶⁴六親，⁶⁵見此經不寫者滅門。門上傍（膀）⁶⁶之，得過此難。無福者不可得見此經。其經從南來。正月八日，雷電霹靂。空中有一童子，年四歲。又見一老人在路中，見一蛇身[長]⁶⁷萬[萬]⁶⁸尺，人頭鳥足。⁶⁹遂呼老人，曰：“為太山崩，要女人萬萬衆，須得牛⁷⁰萬萬頭，⁷¹著病者⁷²難差。寫此經者得免此難。不信者但看四月一日，三家使一牛，五男同一婦。僧尼巡門，難（勸）⁷³寫此經，流傳聖人真言。若被⁷⁴雜風吹却，不免難。相勸阿彌陀佛，不久見太平時。”⁷⁵

⁶² *Yiben* 一本 (one copy) is added by referring to the other manuscripts such as Jintu137, BD6922, S.1349-1, S.1349-2, S.5113, S.3687, P.3463.

⁶³ *Liang* 兩 (two) is added by referring to the other manuscripts such as Jintu137, BD6922, S.1349-1, S.1349-2, S.5113, S.3687, P.2608, P.3036, P.3463, P.3498, P.3624.

⁶⁴ *Mian* 免 (to have...be exempted from) is lost in *T* no. 2916's transcription.

⁶⁵ In S.417, before *liuqin* 六親 and *deguo cinan* 得過此難 in the next column, the scribe left space for around five characters respectively. I suspect that this space was reserved for a small illustration, such as formatted in S.2646, a manuscript of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* with an illustration of a buddha in the middle of the texts.

⁶⁶ *Bang* 傍 (accompany) in S.417 is a mistake for *bang* 膀 (post), as it is correctly used in S.1349-1, S.1349-2, BD6922, S.5113, S.3687, P.3463, P.3624.

⁶⁷ *Chang* 長 (as long as) is added by referring to the other manuscripts.

⁶⁸ *Wan* 萬 (ten thousand) is added by referring to the other manuscripts.

⁶⁹ *T* no. 2916 takes *zu* 足 (feet) as a missing character.

⁷⁰ *Niu* 牛 (oxen) is erroneously transcribed as *pian* 片 (piece) in *T* no. 2916.

⁷¹ *Tou* 頭 (counter for oxen) is erroneously transcribed as *yuan* 願 (vow) in *T* no. 2916.

⁷² *Zhe* 者 (people) is added by referring to the other manuscripts.

⁷³ *Nan* 難 (disaster) in S.417 seems to be a mistake for *quan* 勸 (exhort), as it is correctly used in Jintu137, S.1349-1, S.1349-2, S.5113, S.3687, P.2608, P.3036, P.3463, P.3624. Either the transcriber of *T* no. 2916 or Zhao Qingshan has noted this mistake. Both of them read *sengni xunmen nan* 僧尼巡門難 as a clause, which does not make sense in the context.

⁷⁴ *Bei* 被 (passive marker) is erroneously transcribed as *fu* 被 (a type of clothes; or a variant form of *fu* 被 [purge]) in *T* no. 2916.

⁷⁵ Except that four fragmentary manuscripts that have lost their ends (Dx1786, Dx5193D, Dx7234, and Hane197), and three manuscripts collected at Tōyō Bunko Library, Yūrinkan Museum, and Palace Museum in Beijing respectively that have not been published, in all the other thirty-nine manuscripts of the *Quanshan jing*, after the word *liuchuan* 流傳 (circulate), it continues 若被雜風吹却，不免此難。聖人流傳真言，報諸衆生，莫信邪師。見聞者，遞相勸念阿彌陀佛，不久即見太平時。(If [this scripture] is blown off [the door] by an impure wind, one will not be exempted from this disaster. The sage circulates true words, and announces to the multitudinous beings that do not trust in devious teachers. Whoever saw or heard about [this scripture] should exhort each other to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha, and before long you may see an era of great peace.) Zhao Qingshan (2019, 312) reads *moxin xieshi. Jianwenzhe* 莫信邪師。見聞者 as *moxinxie. Shijianwenzhe* 莫信邪。師見聞者, which divides *xieshi* 邪師 (devious teachers) into two words, and does not make sense in the context.

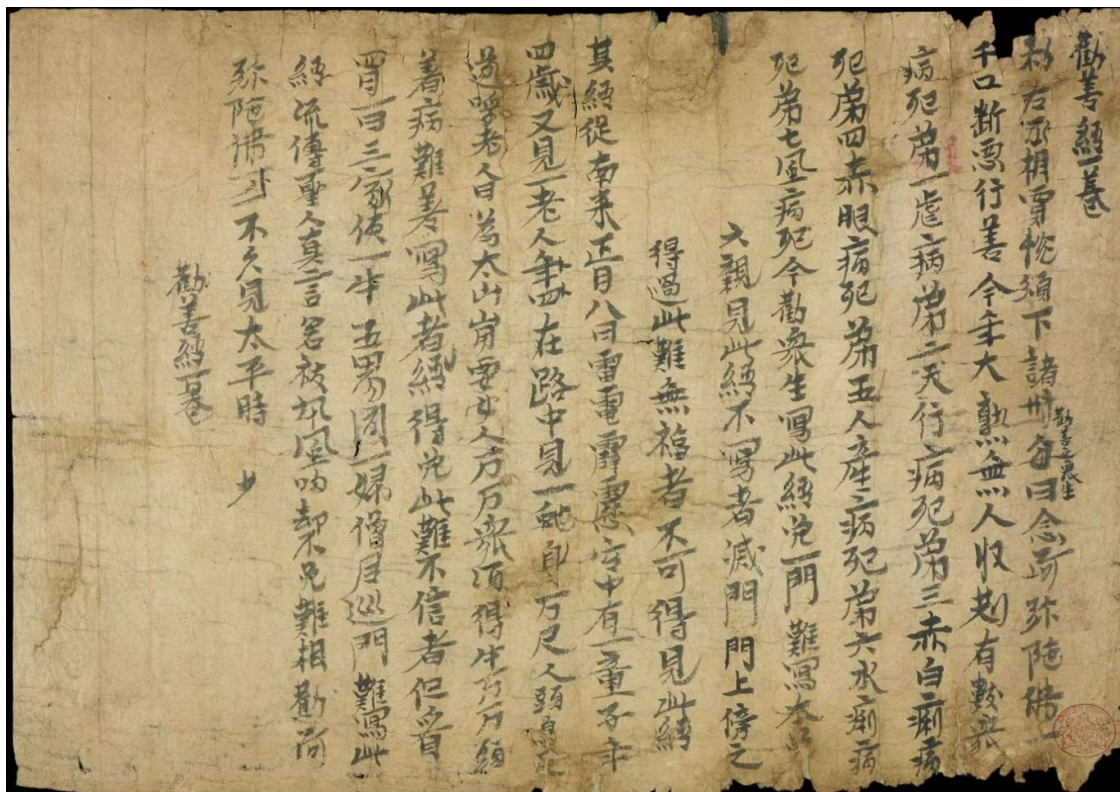


Figure 1.3 S.417 © British Library Board

These three scriptures have some superficial similarities to translated Buddhist scriptures: for example, they are described as *jing* 經 (Skt. *sūtra*) in their titles; they urge readers to invoke Maitreya and Amitābha Buddha; and the title of the *Xin pusa jing* even includes the word *pusa* 菩薩 (bodhisattva), even though it does not show up in the text of any version of this scripture. However, they do not have the status to be considered *sūtras*, which, in its most general Buddhist sense, is a discourse of a buddha (Cabezón 2004, 755). Also, they mention specific Chinese places, such as Mount Tiantai 天台, Yellow River, Xiangzhou 相州, and Weizhou 魏州 (the *Jiu jing*), Liangzhou 涼州 (the *Xin pusa jing*), and a Chinese historical figure, Jia Dan 賈耽 (the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*). Undoubtedly, these scriptures are indigenous texts.

Previous Studies

Several previous studies have discussed these three scriptures, and here I selectively introduce primary scholarship that is relevant to this chapter. None of these three scriptures are included in traditional Chinese Buddhist catalogues. Modern scholars agree that they are indigenous works and have offered various explanations regarding the circumstances of their historical composition and circulation. Regarding the nature of these three scriptures, Li Zhenggang⁷⁶ ([1923] 1985, 355) comments that they are *wenyi chuanmiu* 文義舛謬 (the meanings of the texts are divergent and fallacious), and therefore characterizes them as doubtful and spurious. Makita (1976, 77) includes the *Quanshan jing* in the category of “doubtful scriptures marked with names of specific contemporary living individuals,” and notes that the Buddha does not appear in this scripture even though it claims to be a *jing* 經 (Skt. *sūtra*). Yang Mei (2006, 97–98) argues that these three scriptures are developments and transformations of a prototype of Buddhist scripture.

Concerning the background and composition dates of these scriptures, since the *Jiu jing* mentions a teacher living on Mount Tiantai, and it encourages its audience to recollect the name of Maitreya, Ogasawara (1963, 1–13) argues that, in the later period of the founding of the Tiantai school (i.e. the early Tang), belief in Maitreya was more popular than the belief in Amitābha; therefore, he argues that the *Jiu jing* was composed in this period. Because the *Xin pusa jing* makes use of the name of Jia Dan from the reign of Dezong 德宗 (779–805 C.E.), and encourages recitation of the name of Amitābha, he speculates that it appeared after the mid-Tang,⁷⁷ and thereafter the *Quanshan jing* appeared (Ogasawara 1963). Fang

⁷⁶ Also known as Li Yizhuo 李翊灼.

⁷⁷ It is not clear which period Ogasawara refers to as the mid-Tang.

Guangchang (1992, 127; 1998, 741) argues that the *Xin pusa jing* was composed in Northwest China since it mentions Liangzhou, and that the *Jiu jing* was circulated in the Hebei 河北 area since it mentions there will be a disaster to the north of the Yellow River. Yu Gengzhe (2006, 69) suggests that the author(s) of the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* were from Northern China, since these two scriptures only use the word *nüe* 瘧, which was common in Northern China, but not *zhang* 瘴, which was used in Southern China to refer to a similar disease. Wu Yijie (2006, 260) argues that Huitong from Mount Tiantai in the *Jiu jing* is from the period of Dezong according to *Kuaiji zhi* 會稽志 (Chronicle of Kuaiji).⁷⁸ Zhang Zikai and Zhang Qi (2009, 219–20) argue that the date in S.4924 of the *Jiu jing*, “貞元九年正月廿三日” (the twenty-third day of the first month of the ninth year of the Zhenyuan era [i.e. 793 C.E.]), is the time when this manuscript was copied, but not when this scripture was composed. They further claim that this scripture was composed at the end of the first month of the fifteenth year (756 C.E.) of the Tianbao 天寶 era (742–765 C.E.), just before An Lushan’s rebel army conquered Xiangzhou and Weizhou, which suggests that this army is meant to be identified as the “demon army” in the text.⁷⁹ Fang Ling (2010, 1012) relates the appearance of the serpent with a human head and the prediction of the collapse of the Taishan in the *Quanshan jing* to an event recorded in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old Book of Tang) in 634 C.E., in which the mountain collapsed and a serpent appeared. Zhao Qingshan (2019, 319–21) argues that the date “Zhenyuan” is more likely to be the time when the *Quanshan*

⁷⁸ According to the *Kuaiji zhi* (Shi [1201] 1983, 16:23b), Huitong was actually active during the Kaiyuan era (713–41 C.E.) of the period of Xuanzong. *Fenli oucun* 分隸偶存 (Unexpectedly Preserved Fen and Li Scripts) (Wan [n.d.] 1983, 2:43a) also records that Huitong is from the period of Minghuang 明皇 (i.e. Xuanzong) of the Tang dynasty.

⁷⁹ There is a character *xia* 下 after 貞元九年正月廿三日. Zhang and Zhang argue that *xia* 下 means “right now” but not “issued.”

jing claims to have been issued, but not when it was copied.⁸⁰ Wang Meng (2016, 128–30) thinks Ogasawara’s conclusion that the *Jiu jing* is related to Mount Tiantai because the text mentions it is arbitrary; Zhang Zikai and Zhang Qi’s conclusions on the author of *Jiu jing* with its social context and date of composition are forejudgements.

As for the functions of these three scriptures, Yabuki ([1933] 1980, 2:315) suggests the *Jiu jing* shows the contemporary folk belief in *fuchen* 符讖 (amulet and prophecy). Similarly, Makita (1976, 77) suggests that the *Quanshan jing* functioned as a type of talisman. Yang Mei (2006, 98) argues that the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* were both used as talismans since they encourage people to post them on the door, and the *Jiu jing* had a similar function to the *Xin pusa jing* because they were often copied together. Fang Ling (2010, 1002) addresses four apocryphal scriptures, including the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, for their value to our knowledge of the conceptions of disease and healing in Chinese Buddhism, the relationship between medicine and religion, and between diseases and the society in medieval China. She argues that sticking short scriptures on doors as talismans, which are easy and inexpensive to copy, probably attracted many people to use these texts to seek prevention and cure of diseases (Fang 2010, 1037). Both Wei Guohui (2009, 88) and Zhao Qingshan (2019, 315) argue that an important reason for the massive copying of these three scriptures is that they threaten those who do not copy them with death or even the deaths for their whole families. These studies discuss the functions of these scriptures based on their contents only, but neglect the actual ways in which they were used as indicated in

⁸⁰ Zhao argues that, since the *Quanshan jing* claims to be a decree from Jia Dan, it is reasonable that *xia* 下 in this date means “issued.” He notes that, in addition to the date Zhenyuan 貞元, both P.3036 and S.1349 of the *Quanshan jing* include another different date, which means that the date “Zhenyuan” is more likely to be the time when the *Quanshan jing* claims to have been issued. I agree with Zhao’s interpretation of *xia* 下.

their colophons. This chapter explores their functions with a more solid method: comparing the colophons with the contents.

With regard to versions of the *Xin pusa jing*, and the relationship between the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, T. no. 2917B transcribes S.622 as a version of the *Xin pusa jing*. Giles (1957, 164) suggests that S.622 is somewhat similar to the *Xin pusa jing* (S.407) and the *Quanshan jing* (S.417) in wording. Ogasawara (1963, 10–13) argues that the *Quanshan jing* derives from the *Xin pusa jing*, and suspects that S.622 is a version of the *Quanshan jing* instead of the *Xin pusa jing*. Yuankong (1992, 51–52) divides Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Xin pusa jing* into three versions, and identifies S.622 as the only extant manuscript of the first version. He argues that the *Quanshan jing* was developed from the third version of the *Xin pusa jing*, and cites the *Xin pusa quanshan jing* 新菩薩勸善經 (New Scripture on Bodhisattva's Exhorting Virtue, S.5929)⁸¹ as evidence (Yuankong 1992, 55). Gen (2012) identifies S.622 as the *Taishan jing* 太山經 (Scripture of Mount Tai), a scripture that was copied in Ms. Ch2010 from Turfan, and argues that S.622 is merely a prototype, but not necessarily a version of the *Xin pusa jing* or the *Quanshan jing*. She divides the *Xin pusa jing* into two versions (A and B) according to whether they use the name of Jia Dan, which correspond to Yuankong's versions two and three respectively. After comparing all the relevant scriptures that the previous studies have involved, I agree with Yuankong's division of three versions of the *Xin pusa jing*.

Scholars have been progressively updating the amount of the Dunhuang manuscripts of these three scriptures. Among them, Zhang Xiaoyan and Wang Meng have collected the most

⁸¹ This is a tentative English translation of the title based upon my provisional understanding of the scripture.

manuscripts:

Table 1.1 Numbers of the Dunhuang manuscripts of three scriptures

Scripture Scholar	<i>Jiu jing</i>	<i>Xin pusa jing</i>			<i>Quanshan jing</i>
		Version One	Version Two	Version Three	
Zhang (2015)	51 pieces	S.622	14 pieces (20 copies)	54 pieces (61 copies)	42 pieces (43 copies)
Wang (2016)	49 pieces	S.622	15 pieces (21 copies)	52 pieces (57 copies)	48 pieces (50 copies)

In addition, Gen (2012) enumerates three copies of the *Xin pusa quanshan jing*.⁸² Zhao Xinye (2014, 331–332) pieces two fragmentary manuscripts of the third version of the *Xin pusa jing* together. Zhang Xiaoyan (2015) pieces fourteen fragmentary manuscripts of these scriptures together into seven combinations, and suspects that there are the most copies of the third version of the *Xin pusa jing* because this version includes the greatest number of diseases (ten) that could be avoided through the practice of scripture copying.

The previous studies on these three scriptures are informative, yet imperfect. First, most of the studies focus on their texts without sufficient attention to their colophons. Although some scholars have tried to determine the dates of these scriptures by analyzing the dates in the colophons, few of them have studied the colophons systematically. In other words, the previous scholarship focuses mostly on the production of the texts, but rarely involves their reception. Second, many of the scholars discussed above have not consulted enough material (especially Dunhuang manuscripts) in their studies. The incompleteness of their sources undermines the reliability of their conclusions. Having collected all the extant Dunhuang manuscripts of these scriptures, in this chapter I discuss their colophons with respect to their

⁸² Two (S.1592 and S.5929) of them belong to version three of the *Xin pusa jing*, and the other (Дx4034+5155) is version two of this scripture.

contents in order to explore how these scriptures were received.

S.622 and the Relationship between the *Xin Pusa Jing* and the *Quanshan Jing*

Before I closely examine the manuscripts with colophons of these three scriptures, I would like to add my understanding of the identification of S.622 and the relationship between the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, which remain unclear and controversial. Clarifying the relationship between these scriptures will facilitate the subsequent discussion of the connections between the scriptures and their colophons. Here I bring all these scriptures involved together and divide their texts into sections according to the ideas included therein, as Yuankong has tried to do with the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* in his paper, as follows:

Table 1.2 Comparison of S.622, the *Xin pusa jing*, the *Quanshan jing*, the *Taishan jing* and S.2713

Pressmark /Title Section	S.2713 (Untitled)	Ch2010 (<i>Taishan jing</i>)	S.622 (Untitled)	Version Two (or A) of the <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	Version Three (or B) of the <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	<i>Quanshan jing</i>
1	咸亨元年，揚州僧瓊寶向山採藥，見一人，身長三丈五尺，面闊九寸，如金佛，救衆生。瓊寶即藏。語寶言：“我	南陽明寺僧寶 ∕..... 二丈，面闊八尺，面 ∕ (似)莫怕，我 ∕∕∕∕ (是空虛) ...	九下 (?) □□□□ □□□□  ⁸³ □□□□ □□□大 小念百万 口阿弥陁佛，五百 身中不入 □□。	新菩薩經救諸衆生大小，每日念阿弥陁佛一百口。	賈耽(耽)頒下，諸州衆生每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，斷惡行善。	勅 左丞相賈恍(耽)頒下諸州，勸善之(諸)衆生。每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，斷惡行善。

⁸³ T. 2917B identifies this fragmentary character as *shuai* 率 while Yuankong (1992) identifies it as *nian* 年 (年). Gen (2012) cannot identify this character due to its missing context.

	是定光佛菩薩。”故來救衆生。	...				
2	今年太山崩壞，須鬼兵万万九千，須告衆。	須人𠄎𠄎（万万）衆，須𠄎（牛）.....	菩薩說今𠄎（年）八𠄎（月）九𠄎（月）太山崩，須九万億𠄎（𠄎[人] ⁸⁴ ），亦須九千億牛。	今年大熟，須人万万億，須牛万万頭。勸諸衆生，斷惡脩善。禾豆無人收菑。	今年大熟，無人收菑。	今年大熟，無人收菑。
3	無福人但看，三月四月五月，風從太山來，即得病，二日即死。	信者但看正月.....九月病者死多𠄎	第一患死，第二卒死，第三產坐死，第四不持齋戒 ⁸⁵ 死，第五腸肚熱死，第六自絞死。	第一病死，第二卒死，第三赤眼死，第四腫死，第五產死，第六患腹死。	有數種病死。第一瘧病死，第二天行病死，第三卒死，第四腫病死，第五產坐死，第六患腹死，第七血癱死，第八風黃病死，第九水裏死，第十患眼死。	有數衆（種）病死。第一瘧病[死]，第二天行病死，第三赤白痢病死，第四赤眼病死，第五[女]人產病死，第六水痢病死，第七風病死。
4	若寫一通免一身，寫二通免一家，寫三通免一村。我是定光佛菩薩，故來化衆生。傳流者壽	（寫）.....寫三本，免苦難.....不信者看正𠄎（月）.....	今𠄎（年）禾荳熟，恐無𠄎（人）收。	有眼衆生，寫一本免一身；寫兩本免一門；寫三本免一村。若不信	勸諸衆生，寫一本免一身，寫兩本免一門，寫三本免一村。若不寫者，滅門。門上傍（𠄎）之，得過此難。	今勸衆生寫此經[一本]免一門難，寫[兩]本免六親，見此經不寫者滅門。門上傍（𠄎）之，得過此難。無福者不可得見此經。

⁸⁴ This fragmentary character should be 𠄎, a Chinese character introduced by Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 684–705 C.E.). *T. no. 2917B* and Gen (2012) have both missed it. Yuankong (1992) identifies it as *ren* 人 yet without explaining its original form 𠄎 in the manuscript.

⁸⁵ The character *jie* 戒 is added to the lower right of the character *zhai* 齋 in a smaller and lighter script, which *T. no. 2917B* and Yuankong (1992) have both missed while Gen (2012) has added.

	命一百年，不信者滅門，寫者過一難。			者，即滅門。		
5	若不信者，但看定光佛菩薩指為定。		度今垂（年）即好。信者寫一通免身，寫二通免合家，寫三通免一村。若聞不寫，即滅門。若有轉讀此經者，皆度苦難。不信即身滅。	此經從西涼州來，正月二日盛中時，雷鳴兩聲，有一石下，大如斗，遂兩片，即見此經。	但看七八月，三家使一牛，五男同一婦。僧尼巡門，勸寫此經。	其經從南來。正月八日，雷電霹靂。空中有一童子，年四歲。
6			經從西涼州縣 ⁸⁶ 來，在彼城東門口，四匝（月）雷鳴兩，下一石如斗，破兩片，遂是此經。	報諸衆生，今載饒患。	其經西涼州正月二日盛中時，雷鳴雨聲，有一石下，大如斗等，石遂兩片，即見此經。	又見一老人在路中，見一蛇身[長]萬[萬]尺，人頭鳥足。遂呼老人，曰：“為太山崩，要女人萬萬衆，須得牛萬萬頭，著病者難差。寫此經者得免此難。
7			轉示衆生，得福无量。		報諸衆生，今載饒患。	不信者但看四月一日，三家使一牛，五男同一婦。僧尼巡門，難（勸）寫此經流傳，若被雜風吹却，不免此

⁸⁶ “Xi Liangzhou” 西涼州 (Liangzhou in the west) should be a fixed phrase. “Xian” 縣 (county) in “Xi Liangzhou xian” 西涼州縣 (county in Liangzhou in the west) should be a redundant character.

						言。若被雜風吹却，不免難。	難。聖人流傳真言，報諸衆生，莫信邪師。
8			長安四季 五匝 (月)十 五匝 (日)			相勸阿彌陀佛，不久見太平時。”	見聞者，遞相勸念阿彌陀佛，不久即見太平時。”

Let us begin with the titles of these scriptures. Ogasawara (1963) argues that the title of the *Quanshan jing* is given because of the instruction *duan'e xingshan* 斷惡行善 (to eliminate evil and act wholesomely) in its text,⁸⁷ which seems plausible. Yet, few scholars have asked “why the *Xin pusa jing* is so named.” Version two (or A) and version three (or B) of this scripture do not mention a bodhisattva at all, though they both encourage readers to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha. Yuankong (1992) argues that Jia Dan is deified as the Han people’s saviour in version three (B) of the *Xin pusa jing* and in the *Quanshan jing*, which is a controversial argument. I do not think either Amitābha Buddha or Jia Dan is the putative bodhisattva in the *Xin pusa jing*. S.622 provides us with a clue. In its second section, a bodhisattva brings a message: the collapse of Mount Tai in August and September this year will eradicate nine thousand billion people as well as nine hundred billion cattle.

In contrast to S.2713 and Ch 2010 (the *Taishan jing*), versions two and three of the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* are much closer to S.622. In the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, regardless of the order, we can find most of the ideas of S.622 except the idea that a bodhisattva brings the message of the collapse of Mount Tai.⁸⁸ Therefore, I would agree with Wang Meng (2016, 139) that Gen’s (2012) identification of S.622 as the *Taishan jing* is

⁸⁷ In section one in Table 1.2.

⁸⁸ In the *Quanshan jing* (section six), a serpent brings this message.

inappropriate. Among S.622, the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, S.622 is more similar to version two of the *Xin pusa jing* while version three of the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* are close to each other from the perspective of their contents. So I prefer Yuankong's identification of S.622 as an early version of the *Xin pusa jing*, and doubt Ogasawara's suggestion that S.622 is a version of the *Quanshan jing*. Moreover, if we identify S.622 as the *Xin pusa jing*, it makes sense that this scripture is so named since S.622 includes a bodhisattva's message. Then, we may conjecture that versions two and three of the *Xin pusa jing* lost the bodhisattva's message during circulation along with the transformation of the text while still keeping the title of the bodhisattva. As for the *Quanshan jing*, it is much more informative and detailed than version three of the *Xin pusa jing*. If the *Quanshan jing* is a later version of the *Xin pusa jing*, as Yuankong has argued, the editor may have noticed the missing bodhisattva, and therefore changed the title. S.5929 of version three of the *Xin pusa jing* mentioned by Yuankong, and 卩x5155 of version two, and S.1592 of version three of this scripture added by Gen are all titled *Xin pusa quanshan jing*, which may be a transitional title between the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing*.

If S.622 is the *Xin pusa jing*, it gives rise to a new question: who is this bodhisattva? Gen has shown some similarities between S.622 and S.2713: the date of S.622 (704 C.E.) is close to the date in the text of S.2713, *Xianheng yuannian* 咸亨元年 (the prime year of the Xianheng era, i.e. 670 C.E.); and both S.622 (section five) and S.2713 (section four) use *tong* 通 instead of *ben* 本 in the other versions of the *Xin pusa jing* (section four) and in the *Quanshan jing* (section four) as the counter for copying scriptures. I would like to point out that both S.622 (section two) and S.2713 (section one and two) introduce a bodhisattva

foretelling that Mount Tai will collapse this year, which we cannot see in the other four scriptures. This bodhisattva in S.2713 is named “Dingguangfo pusa” 定光佛菩薩 (Lamp-light Buddha Bodhisattva), who is also known as “Randeng fo” 燃燈佛 (Light-causer Buddha, i.e. Dīpaṃkara Buddha), the twenty-fourth predecessor of Śākyamuni Buddha. Hence, it is possible that the “Pusa” (bodhisattva) in the title *Xin pusa jing* is referring to Dīpaṃkara.⁸⁹

Yet, does the title *Xin pusa jing* mean “new scripture of the bodhisattva” or “scripture of a new bodhisattva”? In the former understanding, what is the “old scripture of the bodhisattva”? In the latter understanding, who is the old bodhisattva? By referring to titles of scriptures such as *Xin Guanshiyin jing* 新觀世音經 (New Scripture of [the One who] Observes the Sounds of the World [i.e. *Avalokiteśvara*]) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 677c11), *Xin Weimojie jing* 新維摩詰經 (New Scripture of *Vimalakīrti*) (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 10c22), and *Xin Hailongwang jing* 新海龍王經 (New Scripture of the Dragon King of the Ocean) (*T* no. 2146, vol. 55, 117a19), I intend to interpret the title of the *Xin pusa jing* as “New Scripture of the Bodhisattva.”

Now, I move on to the colophons of these three scriptures. For analytical purposes, I sort these colophons based upon the types of aspirations or practices mentioned in them.

⁸⁹ Lin Shitian and Liu Bo (2011, 306–318) introduces an undated manuscript (BH1-11) of a scripture titled *Guanshiyin pusa quanrangzai jing* 觀世音菩薩勸攘災經 (Scripture on Bodhisattva [Who] Observes the Sounds of the World [i.e. *Avalokiteśvara*] Exhorts Eliminating Disasters), which is an apocryphal scripture unearthed in Hotan, Turfan. Lin and Liu demonstrate that it was probably composed between 742 and 763 C.E., which was later than S.622. They also argue that this text combines the belief of Mount Tai and the belief of *Avalokiteśvara*. Since I find contents of both the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* in this text while the *Xin pusa jing* does not contain the content of *Avalokiteśvara*/*Avalokitasvara* that is remarkable in this text, I suspect that this text was generated by combining the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, and further adding the factor of *Avalokiteśvara*. Thereupon, I tend to believe that the bodhisattva in the *Xin pusa jing* is Dīpaṃkara instead of *Avalokiteśvara*.

For Pestilence or Disease

There are four Dunhuang manuscripts that contain both the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, which are all dated to the seventh month of a *dingmao* 丁卯 year, and were all copied for pestilence or disease as indicated in their colophons: Dx1708+2399 (figure 1.4),⁹⁰ S.3417 (figure 1.5), KUM2744 (figure 1.6), and Hanc578 (figure 1.7).

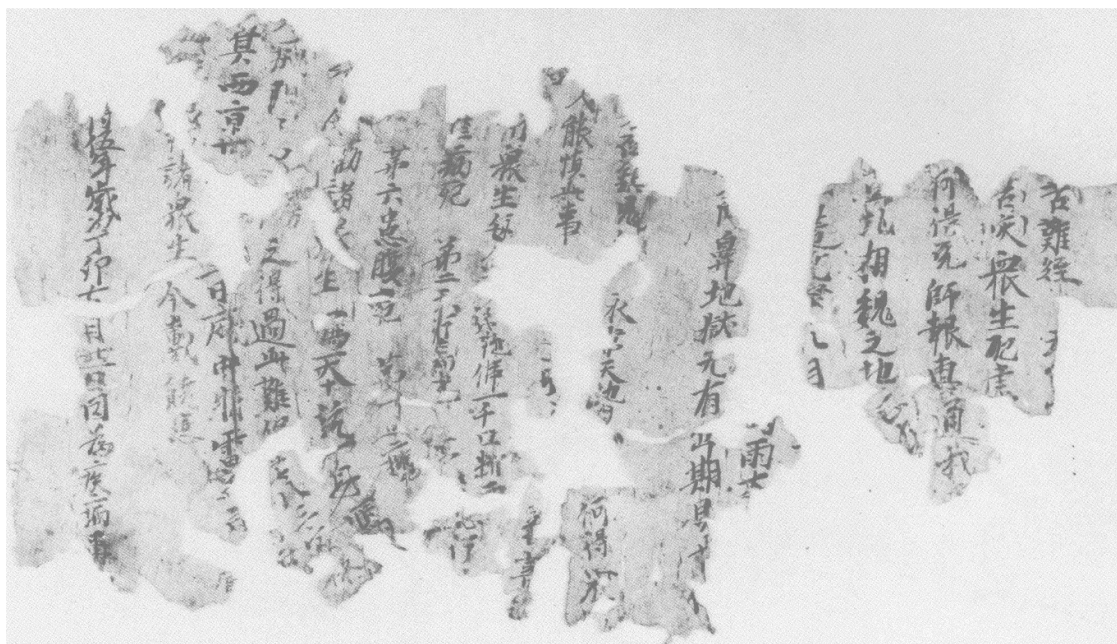


Figure 1.4 Dx1708+2399 (St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, The Central Department of Oriental Literature, “NAUKA” Publishing House, and Shanghai guji chubanshe 1997, 8:306a)

⁹⁰ “+” means that Dx1708 and Dx2399 have been pieced together as one manuscript: Dx1708+2399.

救諸眾生苦難錄 天台山中有一老師年九百歲
 眼半空鳴言善惡災難生死盡弟子惠通合掌頂
 有災難如何得免善報急道亦見開淨提
 佛救諸蒼生中團荷河北相觀之地正其
 知三月四月鬼兵亂起无邊无際八月九月已來大末劫眾生行善
 鬼兵自感天地黑闇得免災難馬一本說一門馬雨本說六親馬
 三本說一封流傳者是弟子請此經者入阿鼻地獄无有少期
 一經不寫戒門至心讀誦者得成佛道
 一風西苑去 東南鎮鬼兵 永常天地間 何得心不發
 一須知酒肉 貪瞋更莫生 人能悔此是 佛道一時行
 一甚隆慈卷 勸曾就猶下諸州眾生每念河孫地獄一千
 一惡行善今年大熟無人收刈有數種病犯 並虛說 並三
 第三女病犯 弟四腫痛犯 弟五狂生犯 弟六患腹犯 弟七曲癩犯
 弟八風黃瘦 弟九水痢痢犯 弟十患眼病犯 今勸諸眾生馬一本
 一此身馬雨本說一門馬三本說一封若不信者病門戒、上病
 一之得過此難但六月三日家使中在男同一婢僧戶門前寫此經其
 一西京州正月二日歲中晴雷鳴雨聲有一石下大如肘石遂雨行
 一即見此經報諸眾生今事就惠
 乳像佐李歲次丁卯月廿二日同為疾病再馬此經記月

Figure 1.5 S.3417 © British Library Board

救諸眾生苦難錄 天台山中有一老師年九百歲正月二月天神悲哀服中
 血馬言苦災難眾生死盡若子惠通合掌頂禮眼
 泣展啓言有災難如何得免善報急道亦見開淨提
 淨根眾生之毀盡全稱佛救諸蒼生中團荷河北相觀
 之地正在其中愚癡多子不與子救言四月鬼兵亂起
 天地黑闇得免災難馬一本說一門馬雨本說六親馬
 一此封流傳者是弟子請此經者入阿鼻地獄又有
 一見此經不寫者就門至心讀誦者得成佛道 黑風西
 一越若南鎮鬼兵 永常天地間 何得心不發 先期
 一內貪瞋更莫生 人能悔此事 佛道一時行
 一新甚隆慈卷 勸曾就猶下諸州眾生每念河孫地獄一千
 一施佛一千口新惡行善今年大熟無人收刈有數種
 一死 弟一患腹犯 弟二天行後死 弟三水痢痢犯 弟四
 一死 弟五產生死 弟六患腹犯 弟七患眼犯
 一弟八風黃瘦 弟九水痢痢犯 弟十患眼犯 今勸
 一諸眾生馬一本說一門馬三本說一封若不信者病門戒、上病
 一信者戒門、上勝不得過此難但七月八月月三夜
 一一半五男同一婢僧足門前寫此經身西京州正月二
 一報諸眾生今事就惠
 乳像佐李歲次丁卯月廿二日同為疾病再馬此經記月

Figure 1.6 KUM2744 (Kyōto daigaku bungakubu 1963, 3:268)

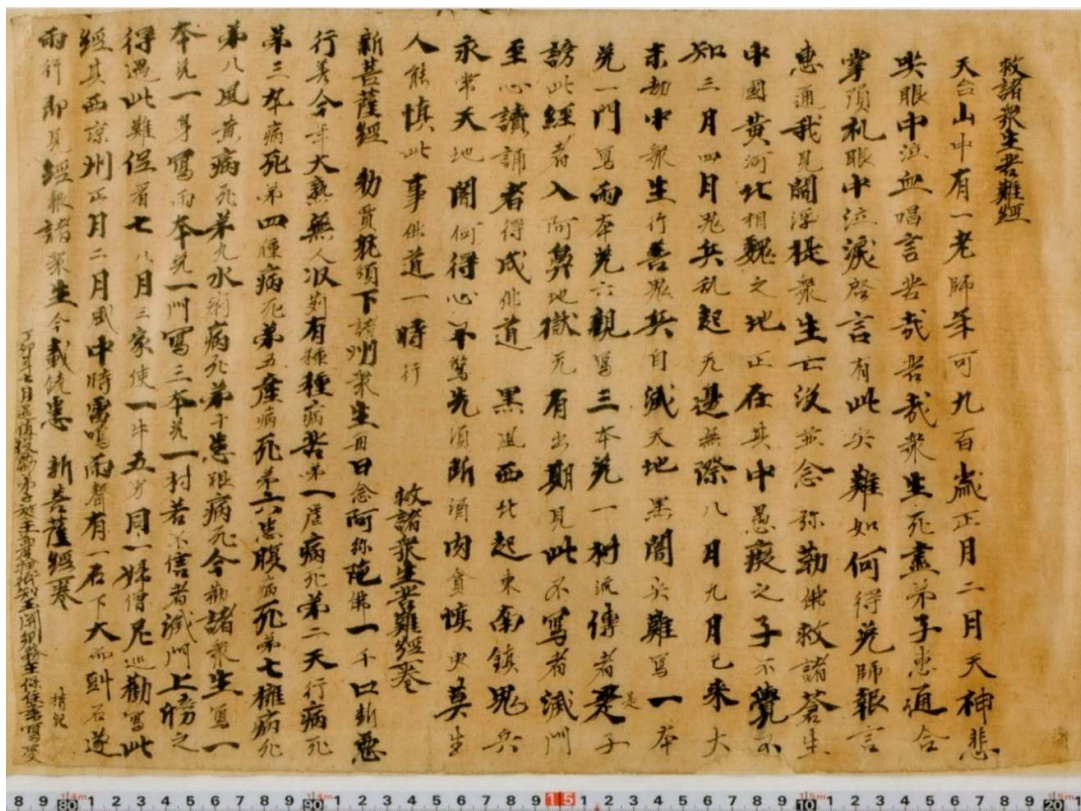


Figure 1.7 Hane578 © Kyōu shōku

Among these four manuscripts, S.3417 and KUM2744 are specifically, and ㄩx1708+2399 is probably, dated to Qiande wunian 乾德伍年 (the fifth year of the Qiande era [of the Northern Song dynasty], i.e. 967 C.E.). Are there any connections between these four manuscripts? In order to answer this question, I make a brief comparison of them as follows:

Table 1.3 Comparison of four manuscripts of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*







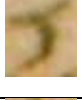




Pressmark	ㄩx1708+2399 (figure 1.4)	S.3417 (figure 1.5)	KUM2744 (figure 1.6)	Hane578 (figure 1.7)
Characters per Column	26–32	25–28	19–24	20–25
Date	□得伍年歲次丁卯七月廿一日 ⁹¹	乾德伍季歲次丁卯七月廿一日	乾德伍年丁卯歲七月廿二日 ⁹² (The	丁卯年七月 (The seventh month of the <i>dingmao</i> year)

⁹¹ “□” stands for a missing character due to the damage of a manuscript.

⁹² *Nianerri* 廿二日 (the twenty-second day): both Luo Fuchang ([1921] 1986, 1255) and Ikeda On (1990, 501) transcribe it as *nianerri* 廿二日, but Takata Tokio (2019, 29) transcribes it as *nianyiri* 廿一日 (the twenty-first day), who follows the transcription in the *Kyōto daigaku bungakubu hakubutsukan kōkogaku shiryō mokuroku* 京都大学文学部博物館考古学資料目録 (Kyōto daigaku bungakubu 1963, 3:269). I agree with Luo and Ikeda.


















	(The twenty-first day of the seventh month of the fifth year of the [?]de era, the sequence of years is <i>dingmao</i>)	(The twenty-first day of the seventh month of the fifth year of the Qiande era [i.e. 967 C.E.], the sequence of years is <i>dingmao</i>)	twenty-second day of the seventh month of the fifth year of the Qiande era, the <i>dingmao</i> year)	
Patron	No	No	No	弟子施主節度押衙知玉關鄉務王保住 (a disciple [of the Buddha], the patron, the prefectural lackey who is in charge of the town affairs of the Yu [Yumen 玉門] pass, Wang Baozhu)
Purpose in the Colophon	因為疾病，再…… (Due to the disease, again…)	因為疾病，再寫此經 (Due to the disease, copy this scripture again)	疫疾寫經，榜門上 (scriptures copied for pestilence, posted on the door)	遇值疫勵 (癘)；書寫受持 (there was a pestilence; copying and upholding)
Parallel Text	□□□□□	年九百歲	年九百歲	年可九百歲
	□□□□	苦灾，苦灾	苦灾	苦哉，苦哉
	師報惠通	師報惠通	師報言惠通	師報言惠通
	□□□□□	見此經不寫	見此經不寫者	見此不寫者
	□□□□□	黑風西北去	黑風西□ (北) 起	黑風西北起
	□□□□□	有數種病死	有須種病死 ⁹³	有種種病苦
	血癱	血癱	血癱	擁病
	其西凉州	其西凉州	其西凉州	其西凉州
	□□□	大如蚪	大如蚪	大而蚪
	□□	兩片	兩片	兩行
	□□□	即見此經	即見此經	即見經

Table 1.4 Comparison of the scripts in four manuscripts of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*

Pressmark		Δx1708+2399	S.3417	KUM2744	Hane578
Colophon	<i>de</i> 德/ <i>de</i> 得	 (1/1) ⁹⁴	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	□
	<i>ding</i> 丁	 (1/6)	 (1/7)	 (1/5)	 (1/1)
	<i>mao</i> 卯	 (1/7)	 (1/8)	 (1/6)	 (1/2)

⁹³ *Xu* 須 may be a phonetic alternative for *shu* 數.

⁹⁴ “(1/1)” means that this character is the first character in the first column of this colophon in the manuscript.

	<i>qi</i> 七	 (1/8)	 (1/9)	 (1/8)	 (1/4)
	<i>yin</i> 因	 (1/13)	 (1/14)	□	□
Text	<i>bao</i> 報	 (3/5)	 (3/10)	 (4/14)	 (4/19)
	<i>jing</i> 京/ <i>liang</i> 涼	 (15/3)	 (17/2)	 (20/18)	 (20/4)
	<i>pian</i> 片/ <i>hang</i> 行	□	 (17/25)	 (21/17)	 (21/2)

None of the four extant manuscripts has ruled lines that many formal Dunhuang manuscripts have. Further, the number of characters in a column varies considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Based on these two features, we may determine that these manuscripts were not produced formally in one batch.

Дx1708+2399 and S.3417 were probably copied by the same scribe. These two manuscripts are both dated on the twenty-first day of the seventh month, and even show an identical pattern for the date, i.e. era+year+sequence of years+*dingmao*+month+day, which is different from the other two dates. In *Qiande* 乾德, the era title of the date of S.3417, the character *de* 德 is a correction from *de* 得.⁹⁵ This correction means that the scribe realized that 德, but not 得, is the correct glyph for the contemporary era title. Likewise, the character 德 was also erroneously written as 得 but without a correction in Дx1708+2399 although the character is fragmentary in this manuscript. Also, the purposes for the patronage of these two manuscripts seem identical: 因為疾病，再寫此經 (due to disease, again copy this scripture) although, again, the sentence in Дx1708+2399 is not complete. Moreover,

⁹⁵ Refer to Table 1.4.

these two manuscripts are textually and calligraphically similar. All of these clues suggest that the scribe may have copied S.3417 after x1708+2399 on the same day, and that it was the scribe’s second time copying these two scriptures. The *Xin pusa jing* copied by the scribe foretells that ten deadly diseases will occur, which will result in no one managing to reap the great harvest that year. The text also instructs that making copies of it is the way to be exempted from diseases, which is probably why the patron produced it.

The colophon in KUM2744 could be the most significant one among these four colophons. In a brief introduction to Dunhuang manuscripts collected at Kyoto University Museum, Takata (2019) delineates that the size of this manuscript is 32 cm in height, and 46 cm in width; its paper is particularly thick, and is slightly black with visible dirt; and that the manuscript was mounted with paper. He suggests that this manuscript was mounted in order to be posted, as instructed in its text, and was exposed outdoors for a long period. Takata’s description and suggestion make sense to me. This colophon not only reveals that KUM2744 was written for protection from pestilence, but also suggests that it actually had been posted on the door, exactly as instructed in the *Xin pusa jing*.

Although these manuscripts are all dated to the seventh month of the *dingmao* year, Hane578 is special, not only because it is composed alternately in scripts of two sizes, but also because the date in Hane578 includes neither an era year nor a specific day. Having compared Hane578 with S.3417 and KUM2744, I found some significant textual discrepancies (as underlined in Table 1.3), suggesting that they were not copied from each other directly.⁹⁶ If the provenance of Hane578 can actually be traced to the Dunhuang grotto,

⁹⁶ There are another two Dunhuang manuscripts that combine the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, but their colophons do not indicate that they were copied for pestilence or disease: S.5256 dated to 丁卯年七月廿三日 (the twenty-third day of the

Wang’s colophon reveals the reason it was copied: *yuzhi yili* 遇值疫勵（癘）（encountered a pestilence). Among the ten diseases in the *Xin pusa jing*, the second disease is named *tianxing bing* 天行病 (heavenly prevalent disease). According to Yu Gengzhe (2006, 66) and Li Wenze (2001, 109–10), *tianxing* 天行, from the Tang dynasty to the Song dynasty, is a general term for epidemic diseases. For instance, Li (2001, 109) notes that fascicle three “Tianxing ershiyi men” 天行二十一門 (Twenty-one Solutions to the Heavenly Prevalent [Diseases]) of the *Waitai miyao* 外臺秘要 (Arcane Essentials Collected by a Regional Censor), a medical encyclopedia compiled by Wang Tao 王燾 (670?–755 C.E.) ([752] 1955), includes quite a few symptoms of and therapies for the *tianxing bing*. Other diseases included in these ten types, such as “malaria” and “dysentery of water,” could also be identified as *yili* 疫癘 (pestilence). In addition, the phrase *shuxie shouchi ji* 書寫受持記 (makes a record for writing and upholding) in this colophon sounds as if Wang wrote and upheld this manuscript himself. Since the scripture urges people to copy it in order to be exempted from these diseases, the patron’s reasons correspond to the content of the scripture, which means he probably understood it himself.

Including S.5256 and Guobo57, I have found six copies of the combination of these two scriptures produced by five patrons in the seventh month of a *dingmao* year. Among these six copies, four are specifically dated to the fifth year of the Qiande era, and four clarify in their colophons that they were copied for pestilence or for disease. It suggests that, in the seventh

seventh month of the *dingmao* year) and Guobo57 dated to 乾德伍年丁卯歲七月廿四日 (the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the fifth year of the Qiande era [i.e. 967 C.E.], the *dingmao* year). These two manuscripts are not textually or calligraphically similar to any of the four manuscripts outlined in Table 1.3. I also cast doubt on the authenticity of Hane578 in Appendix I due to its peculiar format, the signature of its patron Wang Baozhu 王保住 (which is not identical with another signature of the same name in Dunhuang manuscript P.3443), and the controversial provenance of Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Japan.

month of a *dingmao* year, possibly the year 967 C.E., there was probably a prevalent pestilence in the Dunhuang area, and it was popular to copy these two scriptures together in order to invoke the protection from this disease.

In addition to the copies made in a *dingmao* year, there is also a manuscript of these two scriptures that describes having been commissioned in a *jiaxu* 甲戌 year, whose anonymous patron also aspired to eradicate a serious disease.



Figure 1.8 Hane697 © Kyōu shōoku

Hane697 (figure 1.8) features some differences from the manuscripts that I have introduced above: there are ruled lines for the text, and the *Jiu jing* seemingly was copied after the *Xin pusa jing*, although only the end title of the *Xin pusa jing* is extant in the first column of this

manuscript due to its fragmented condition. The script of the text and that of the colophon in this manuscript are both cursive to some extent, and were likely written by the same person, who is not necessarily the patron.⁹⁷ In *Tonkō hikyū*, the colophon of this manuscript is transcribed as:

On the twenty-fourth day of the eighth month of the *jiaxu* year, with the decree arrived, may the serious disease be eliminated. Act urgently according to this statute.

甲戌年八月廿四日奉 勅達重病消除急々⁹⁸如律令。(Kyōu shooku 2013, 9:92)

If the *chi* 勅 (decree) in this colophon literally refers to the one issued by Jia Dan as claimed in the *Xin pusa jing*, it suggests that the scribe understood the content of the scriptures. Yet, the phrase *jiji ru lüling* 急急如律令 is originally found in the official documents from the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), and later has been often used in Daoist talismans to command the spirits to implement the statutes (Sakade 2003, 75–96). Since *chi* 勅 is semantically close to *lüling* 律令, *feng chi da* 奉勅達 and *jiji ru lüling* 急急如律令 may have been used together as a formulaic expression in this colophon. For example, in a Chinese medical work, *Rumen shiqin* 儒門事親 (Serving the Parents in the Ruist Community) (Zhang Congzheng [1228] 1983, 191a), there is such an incantation for wounds:

Today is not propitious, just wounded by something. First, adjure that it will not be painful. Second, adjure that it will not hurt. Third, adjure that it will not suppurate or become bloody. Act urgently according to this statute. Undertake the decree deferentially

⁹⁷ It is not yet possible to determine whether the scribe of the manuscript is the patron merely based on the consistency of the script of the colophon and that of the text. Even if the scribe is not the patron, I regard the scribe as an agent acting for the patron.

⁹⁸ 々 is a ditto mark duplicating a character or a phrase immediately before this mark. In this colophon, 々 represents the character *ji* 急, and the phrase reads *jiji ru lüling* 急急如律令. *Tonkō hikyū* leaves a space before the character *chi* 勅 (decree) in its transcription to indicate a typographical device, *nuotai* 挪抬 (move and shift), in Chinese writing, which denotes the scribe's respect for the word after the space (here for the “decree”).

and serve faithfully.

今日不祥，正被某傷。一禁不疼；二禁不痛；三禁不膿不作血。急急如律令。奉勅攝。

In any case, the aspiration in this colophon, eliminating disease, is closely relevant to the theme of the *Xin pusa jing* that the patron has commissioned.

For healing diseases, sometimes the patron did not copy both scriptures, but only the *Xin pusa jing*, which, when compared with the *Jiu jing*, is more notable for its fuction of averting diseases. One example is S.1066 (figure 1.9).

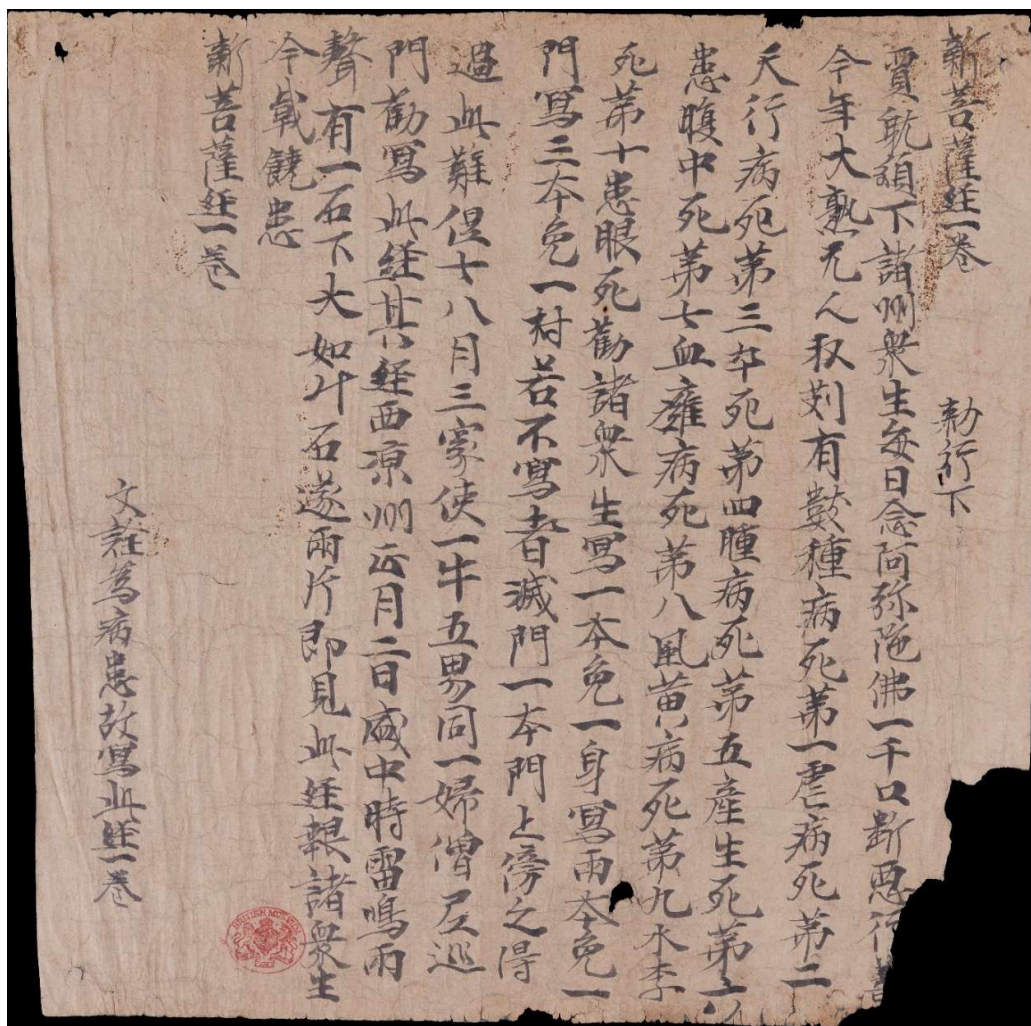


Figure 1.9 S.1066 © British Library Board

According to Fang and Wood (2011, 17:15), this manuscript is complete both at its beginning and at its end except for minor damage at bottom right. The script in the text and that of the colophon seem consistent. Therefore, the patron, Wenquan 文詮, probably only copied the *Xin pusa jing*, and writes 為病患故，寫此經一卷 (Because of [my] disease, [I] copied this scripture in one fascicle). This patron's aspiration is also tightly connected to the theme of the scripture.

For Safety or for Exemption from Disaster

S.1185 (figure 1.10) is a manuscript of the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing* and the *Quanshan jing*.

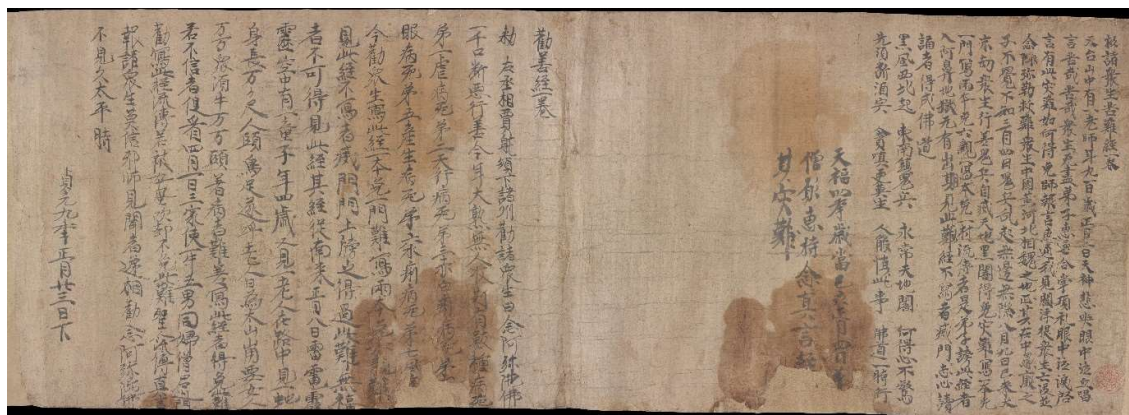


Figure 1.10 S.1185 © British Library Board

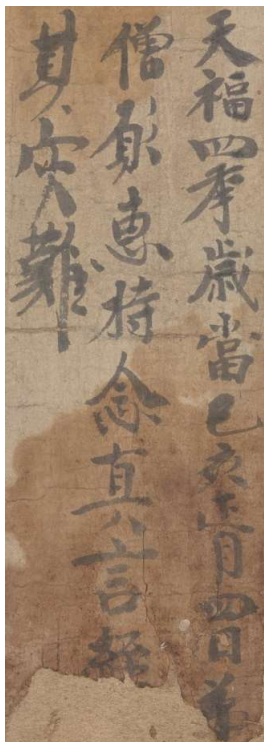


Figure 1.11 S.1185-colophon

Giles (1957, 155) states that “the above two *sūtras* are written on different sheets, stuck together to form a roll.” Fang and Wood (2013, 19:4) write that “in this manuscript, the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, two *yiwei jing* 疑偽經 (doubtful and spurious scriptures) with similar features and written in similar scripts, were copied conterminously, which probably were copied by the same person.” Here is their transcription of the colophon at the end of the *Jiu jing* and my translation:

In the fourth year of the Tianfu era [i.e. 939 C.E.], when the sequence of years is *jihai*, on the fourth day of the first month, a disciple [of the Buddha], monk Yuanhui, upholds and recollects the scripture of true words [in order to be exempted] from disaster.

天福四年歲當己亥正月四日弟[子]僧願惠持念真言經，[免]/其災難。






























Fang and Wood (2013, 19:4) argue that this colophon is different from the text in the script used and the colour of the ink, therefore the colophon and the text were not written by the

same person or at the same time, and the date of copying the text should be earlier than 939

C.E.

In order to clarify the relationships among the *Jiu jing*, Yuanhui's colophon, and the *Quanshan jing* in this manuscript, I compare some of their characters below:

Table 1.5 Comparison of the scripts in S.1185

	<i>Jiu jing</i>	Colophon	<i>Quanshan jing</i>
	Sample (Column no. / Character no.)		
<i>tian</i> 天	 (11/13)  (2/17)	 (1/1)	 (4/8)
<i>hui</i> 惠	 (3/12)  (4/13)	 (2/3)	N/A
<i>nian</i> 念	 (5/1)	 (2/5)	 (2/16)  (14/15)
<i>qi</i> 其	 (5/19)	 (3/1)	 (8/8)
<i>zai</i> 灾	 (7/17)  (4/4)	 (3/2)	N/A
<i>jing</i> 經	 (1/7)  (9/13)	N/A	 (1/3)  (6/7)
<i>zhong</i> 衆	 (1/3)  (3/6)	N/A	 (2/13)  (6/3)
<i>sheng</i> 生	 (3/7)  (4/21)	N/A	 (5/7)  (14/4)

After comparing the script of the *Jiu jing* and that of the colophon, I (unlike Fang and Wood) do not feel that they are apparently different although they are of different sizes. Yet, due to the limited samples from Yuanhui's colophon,⁹⁹ I cannot determine whether the *Jiu jing* was

⁹⁹ There are other records of monk Yuanhui in the Dunhuang corpus, such as monk Yuanhui from the [金?]光明寺 (Jinguangming Monastery) in a loan note in BD16096A; monk Yuanhui from the 大乘寺 (Dasheng Monastery), where he is also known as Wang Falü 王法律 (Preceptor Wang), in P.2944; monk Yuanhui from the 乾元寺 (Qianyuan Monastery), where he appears as a newly ordained monk on 丙戌年五月七日 (the seventh day of the fifth month of the *bingxu* year) in P.3423 (Dohi 2015, 819). It is difficult to determine whether the monk Yuanhui in S.1185 is one of these three historical individuals or, instead, a different person entirely.

also copied by Yuanhui. Again, opposed to Fang and Wood’s observation, by comparing the script of the *Jiu jing* and that of the *Quanshan jing*, I would argue that these two scriptures were written by different scribes. In any case, these two scriptures had been stuck together to form a scroll, perhaps by Yuanhui, which means they would have been used together.

In his colophon, monk Yuanhui aspired to be exempted from disaster by upholding and recollecting the *zhenyan jing* 真言經 (scripture of true words). It is understandable that Yuanhui wished to avoid disaster by using this manuscript since both the scriptures in this manuscript teach readers how to avoid calamity. It is also easy to understand why Yuanhui would recite the scripture, as the *Jiu jing* claims 至心讀誦者得成佛道 (the one who chants with the sincerest mind will achieve the buddha-way). That said, why did Yuanhui call the text *zhenyan jing* 真言經 (scripture of true words)? One possibility is that it reflects Yuanhui’s actual way of using these scriptures as “true words”: a term that means “mantra” in esoteric Buddhist contexts (Nakamura [1975] 2001, 2:949), which would reflect his belief that their power will ward off disaster. Another possibility is that Yuanhui noticed the *Quanshan jing*’s claim that 聖人流傳真言 (the sage circulates true words), which means that he might have chosen to consciously echo the text in his colophon. As a Buddhist cleric, the monk Yuanhui seems to have had a good understanding of the contents of these two scriptures, allowing him to use them in an informed way to escape disaster.

There are patrons who copied the *Xin pusa jing* alone, aspiring more generally for safety or for exemption from disaster.

新菩薩經一卷

新菩薩救衆生大小念阿彌陀佛一百口今載大熟頭人万、隨誦千万、功德諸

衆生新惡從善未豆無人收對第病死 第二卒死 第三亦死 第四睡死

第五產死 第六眼衆生寫一本免一身寫兩本免一門寫三本免一相若不信者

戒門此經從西京州管月二日城中雷鳴雨聲有一石下大如叶遊雨片

即見此經報諸衆生今載既患

某年一月七日佛弟子趙什德謹依原本寫經一卷願合家大小永保平安法界衆生同

Figure 1.12 S.11521 © British Library Board

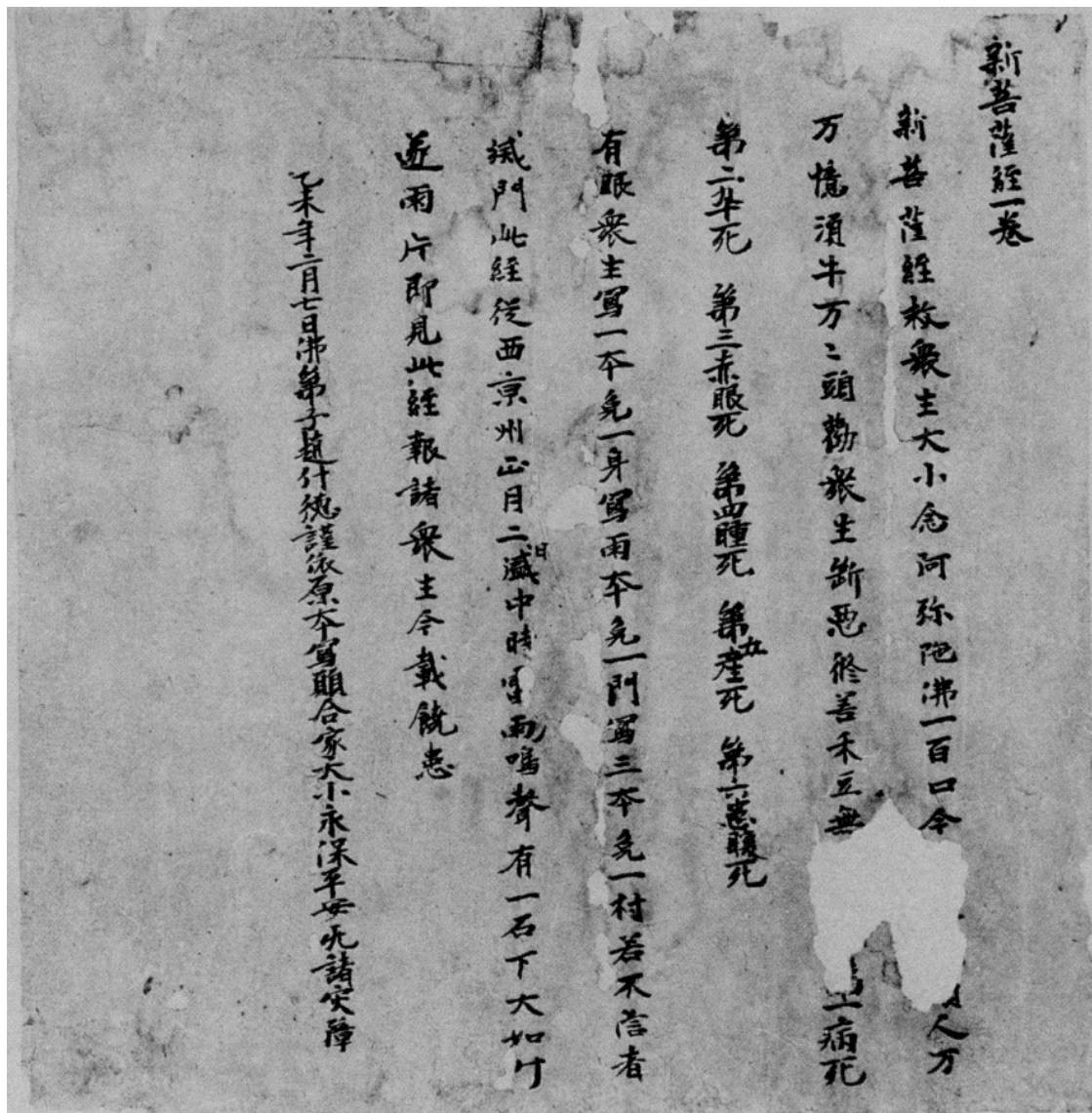


Figure 1.13 Φ215 (St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, The Central Department of Oriental Literature, “NAUKA” Publishing House, and Shanghai guji chubanshe 1993, 4:247a)

S.11521 (figure 1.12) and Φ215 (figure 1.13) are two manuscripts of the *Xin pusa jing* copied by the same patron, Zhao Shide 趙什德,¹⁰⁰ on the same day mainly for the safety of his family. Their colophons read as follows:

On the seventh day of the second month of the *yiwei* year, a disciple of the Buddha, Zhao Shide, respectfully conforming to the master copy, copies this scripture in one fascicle.

¹⁰⁰ Zhao Qingshan (2019, 315) erroneously transcribes Zhao Shide 趙什德 as Zhao Xingde 趙行德.

May the whole family forever remain safe, and the multitudinous beings in the dharmarealm be imbued with this merit together.

乙未年二月七日，佛第（弟）子趙什德謹依原本寫此經一卷。願合家大小永保平安，法界衆生同霑此福。（S.11521）

On the seventh day of the second month of the *yiwei* year, a disciple of the Buddha, Zhao Shide, respectfully conforming with the master copy, copies [this scripture]. May the whole family forever remain safe, and be free from all calamities and obstructions.

乙未年二月七日，佛第（弟）子趙什德謹依原本寫。願合家大小永保平安，无諸灾障。（Φ215）

Comparing the script of these colophons with those in the two texts, it seems that these two manuscripts were written by Zhao himself. The *Xin pusa jing* that Zhao copied is the second version, which contains the essential content that the third version presents: reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha;¹⁰¹ occurrence of diseases and the result that no one reaps the great harvest;¹⁰² copying the scripture in order to be exempted from this disaster; as well as the origin of this scripture. A notable discrepancy between these two versions is that the second version does not begin with Jia Dan's decree.

Which year is this *yiwei* year? Who is Zhao Shide? In addition to Φ215, Yuankong (1992, 56) has collected another two Dunhuang manuscripts of the second version of the *Xin pusa jing* that are dated to a *yiwei* year: S.3442 and BD7120. S.3442 is dated the 乙未年三月廿日 (the twentieth day of the third month of the *yiwei* year), and BD7120 is dated the 大蕃乙未年正月二日 (the second day of the first month of the *yiwei* year of great Tibet).

Yuankong (1992, 52) determines the date of BD7120 as 815 C.E. based on the timing of the Tibetans' occupation of Dunhuang area from 781 C.E. to 848 C.E. His calculation should be

¹⁰¹ One hundred times in the second version rather than every day one thousand times in the third version.

¹⁰² Six diseases in the second version rather than ten diseases in the third version.

correct. However, he simply extends this conclusion to the *yiwei* year in Φ 215 and S.3442, which is not convincing. The name Zhao Shide also appears in another two Dunhuang manuscripts. One is S.5824, an official account book for vegetable supplies for a *jingfang* 經坊 (scripture atelier). In this account book, Zhao Shide is listed among the scribes who work at a scripture atelier, and whose vegetables were supplied by the *simian buluo* 絲綿部落 (district of silk floss) that was organized by the Tibetans. According to Zhao Qingshan (2013, 50), the Tibetan *zinian* 子年 (*zi* year, associated with the rat as emblematic animal) in S.5824 should be 796 C.E. or 808 C.E., and the date of S.5824 should thus be between 797 C.E. and 809 C.E. Therefore, if the Zhao Shide in S.11521 and Φ 215 is identical with the one in S.5824, he would be a scribe who was active during the Tibetan reign in Dunhuang, and who copied S.11521 and Φ 215 in the *yiwei* year of 815 C.E. The other Dunhuang manuscript that includes the name Zhao Shide is P.3249. On the verso of P.3249 is a fragmentary military register, where Zhao Shide is listed as probably a soldier. Feng Peihong (1998, 143) argues that the soldiers listed in this register are the remaining troops who recaptured Liangzhou from the Tibetans after three years of war (858–61 C.E.), and they are under the command of *Guiyijun jiedushi* 歸義軍節度使 (Military Commissioner of Guiyi Circuit), Zhang Yichao (799–872 C.E.), who led a rebellion in Dunhuang, and overthrew the Tibetan reign in the Dunhuang area in 848 C.E. Therefore, Feng (1998, 143) dates P.3249v to 861 C.E. If the Zhao Shide in S.11521 and Φ 215 is the soldier in P.3249v, the *yiwei* year when Zhao made these two copies for his whole family is more likely to be 875 C.E. but not 815 C.E. since 875 C.E. is fourteen years after Zhao came back from the war in 861 C.E. while 815 C.E. is forty-three year before Zhao went to the war in 858 C.E. In the latter situation, Zhao would

be too old to serve in the army. To summarize, Zhao Shide could be a scribe who worked at a scripture atelier around 815 C.E., or he could be a soldier who lived around 875 C.E.¹⁰³

Zhao wrote two copies of the *Xin pusa jing*, wishing that his family remain safe and be free from calamities and obstructions. In this scripture, there are some instructions that directly connect copying this scripture with the exemption from disaster (i.e. the six deadly diseases introduced in the scripture): “If one copy is written, one [who copies it] will be exempted; if two copies are written, one’s whole family will be exempted; if three copies are written, the entire village will be exempted.” So far I have only found two copies written by Zhao Shide. If he wrote just two copies deliberately for his family’s safety, which corresponds to the text’s instruction exactly, it suggests that Zhao may have understood it, and taken it literally. Regarding Zhao’s aspiration that “the multitudinous beings in the dharma-realm be imbued with this merit together” in S.11521, it sounds more like a formulaic expression that also appears in many other colophons for copying Buddhist scriptures.

For Reciting the Name of Amitābha Buddha

Other than clearly stating the aspirations in the colophons, some anonymous users merely made simple notes in the manuscripts that combine the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*. For example, BD8108 (figure 1.14) includes the *Jiu jing*, the third version of the *Xin pusa jing*, and two notes.

¹⁰³ Due to the limitation of extant material, Zhao’s identity awaits further exploration.

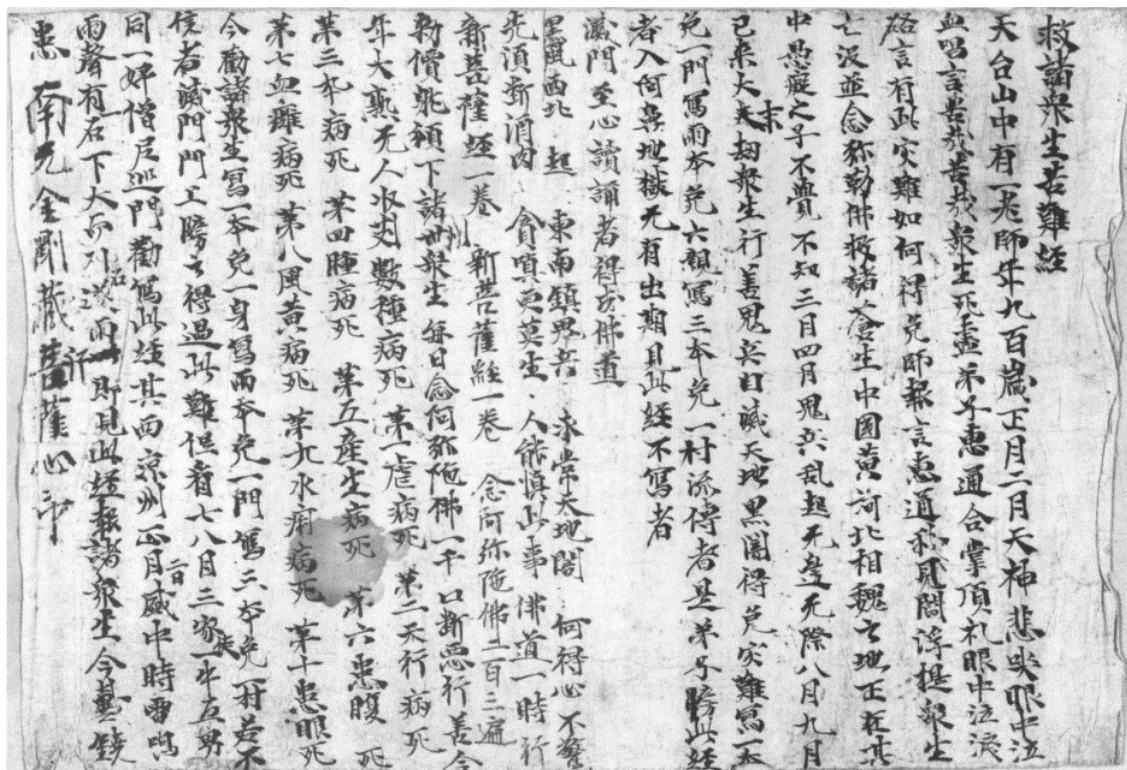








































Figure 1.14 BD8108 (Ren 2008, 100:309–10)

The first note appears in the thirteenth column of this manuscript, after the title of the *Xin pusa jing*, which says: 念阿彌陀佛二百三遍 (recite [the name of] Amitābha Buddha two hundred and three times). Before this note, the title of the *Xin pusa jing* has been written twice, which Fang and Wood (2008, 100:32) have noted, but have not addressed. I have not seen the title of this scripture written twice in other manuscripts. The other note, 南無金剛藏菩薩心印 (Homage to the mind-seal of the Diamond-Store Bodhisattva), is at the end of the *Xin pusa jing* (in the last column). The script of this note is distinctively larger than that of the text and that of the first note. In order to clarify the relationships among the text, the titles of the *Xin pusa jing*, and the notes, I compare their scripts as follows:

Table 1.6 Comparison of the scripts in BD8108

	Two Scriptures with Their Titles	Second Title of the <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	First Note	Second Note
Sample (Column no. / Character no.)				
<i>xin</i> 新	 (13/1)	 (13/7)	N/A	N/A
<i>sa</i> 薩	 (13/3)	 (13/9)	N/A	 (22/8)
<i>jing</i> 經	 (13/4)  (21/15)	 (13/10)	N/A	N/A
<i>yi</i> 一	 (2/6)  (14/17)	 (13/11)	N/A	N/A
<i>juan</i> 卷	 (13/6)	 (13/12)	N/A	N/A
<i>nian</i> 念	 (5/4)  (14/12)	N/A	 (13/13)	N/A
<i>a</i> 阿	 (9/3)  (14/13)	N/A	 (13/14)	N/A
<i>mi</i> 彌	 (5/5)  (14/14)	N/A	 (13/14)	N/A
<i>tu</i> 隨	 (14/15)	N/A	 (13/15)	N/A
<i>fo</i> 佛	 (5/7)  (14/16)	N/A	 (13/16)	N/A
<i>san</i> 三	 (6/10)  (16/2)	N/A	 (13/19)	N/A
<i>nan (na)</i> 南	 (11/7)	N/A	N/A	 (22/2)
<i>wu (mo)</i> 無	 (6/18)  (7/9)	N/A	N/A	 (22/3)
<i>xin</i> 心	 (10/4)  (11/18)	N/A	N/A	 (22/9)

It seems that the second title of the *Xin pusa jing* and the first note were written by the same scribe, who is not the scribe of the scriptures and the first title of the *Xin pusa jing*. The scribe

of the second note is also different from the scribe of the text, but I cannot determine if these two notes were written by the same person due to the limited number of samples. In any case, the user(s) who made these two notes probably is not the scribe of these two scriptures in this manuscript.

Reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha is one of the instructions in the *Xin pusa jing* (found in the fourteenth column of the manuscript, just one column after the first note about reciting the name of Amitābha Buddha). The first note's correspondence to the instruction suggests that the user is likely using this scripture with an understanding of its content. Yet, this scripture advises the user to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha one thousand times every day while the note only says two hundred and three times. Two hundred and three is not a typical number in Buddhist practices, therefore the user might pause reciting at two hundred and three times with such a mark to facilitate resuming the recitation practice next time. The second title written by the user may indicate that this note is specifically for the *Xin pusa jing*, but not for the *Jiu jing* since only the *Xin pusa jing* includes the instruction to recite the name of Amitābha Buddha in this manuscript. If that is the case, the user is likely to have been familiar with the texts, and rather serious about the practices promoted in this manuscript.

Fang and Wood (2008, 100:32) identify the second note as a *zaxie* 雜寫 (miscellaneous writing), which I think underplays its significance. I suspect that expressing homage to the mind-seal of the Diamond-Store Bodhisattva is also a practice related to these scriptures. In esoteric Buddhist teachings, the “Jin’gangzang pusa” 金剛藏菩薩 (Diamond-Store Bodhisattva; Skt. *Vajra-garbha*) is one of the sixteen honoured ones in the *xianjie* 賢劫

(Good Eon; Skt. *Bhadra-kalpa*) (Mochizuki [1936] 1983, 2:1338), and *xinyin* 心印 (mind-seal) means to realize all the effects or activities of the Buddha's mind in oneself (Nakamura [1975] 2001, 2:938). Although it is not clear whether the person who wrote this note is referring to the bodhisattva in the title of the *Xin pusa jing* as the Diamond-Store Bodhisattva, this note sounds like an invocation calling upon the Diamond-Store Bodhisattva's power, which may be an example of using the combination of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* as an invocation.

In short, these two notes reflect that the user(s), who was not the scribe of these two scriptures, was using this manuscript in the ways that were consistent with their contents.

For Protection of the House

Most of the aspirations or practices in the colophons that I have discussed are closely related to the contents of these scriptures. However, the colophons of S.4479 (figure 1.15) and P.3857 (figure 1.16) suggest that the patron was aspiring to protect the house: a practical benefit that is not mentioned in any of these texts.

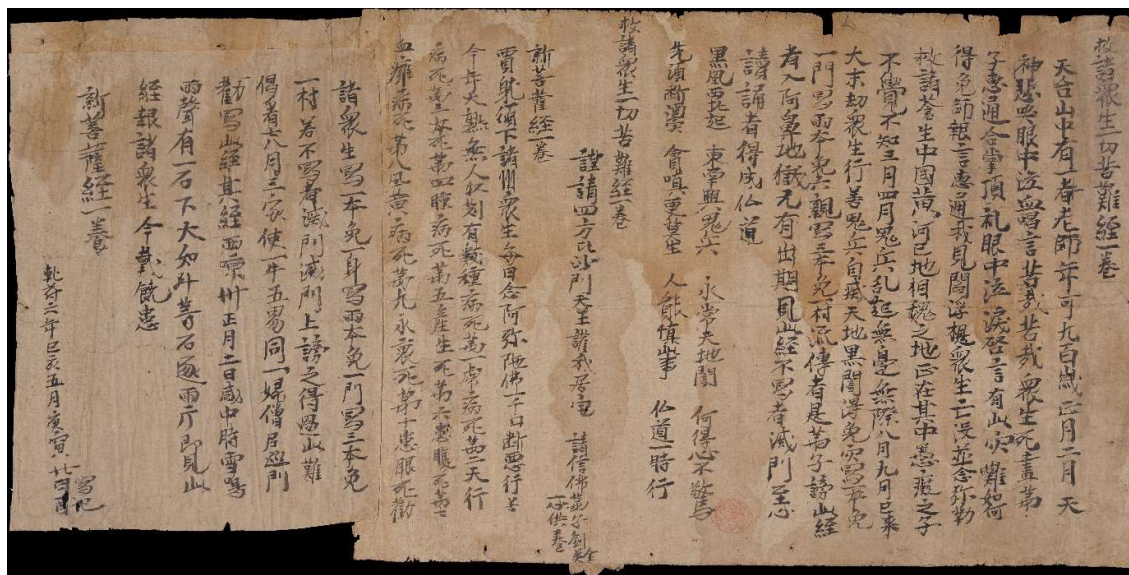


Figure 1.15 S.4479 © British Library Board

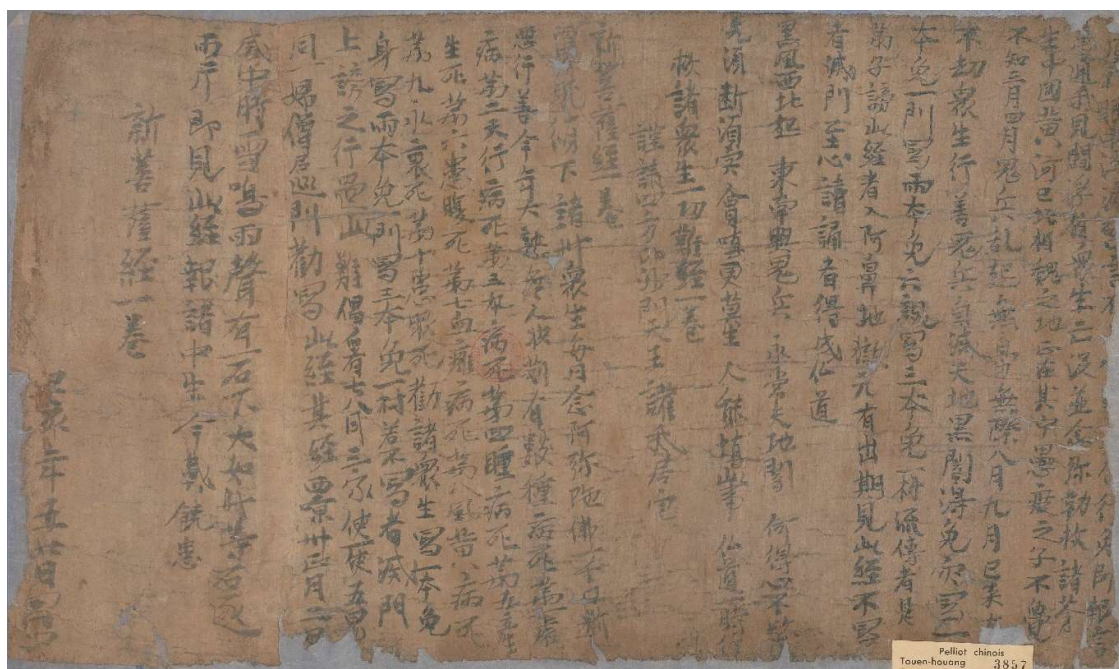


Figure 1.16 P.3857 © Bibliothèque nationale de France

In S.4479, between the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, there is a colophon:

Respectfully inviting the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa of four directions to protect my dwelling-house; a disciple of the Buddha with pure faith, Liu Yingquan, worships with a single mind.

謹請四方比（毗）沙門天王護我居宅 請（清）信佛第（弟）子劉英全¹⁰⁴一心供養。

At the end of S.4479, there is a date: 乾符六年己亥五月庚寅[朔]廿日[己]酉寫記¹⁰⁵

(copying recorded on the twentieth day, the *[ji]you* [day], of the fifth month, of which the

first day is *gengyin* [day], of the sixth year, the *jihai* [year], of the Qianfu era [i.e. 879 C.E.]).

The content and the format of P.3857 are almost the same as that of S.4479 except that (1) the

beginning of the *Jiu jing* in P.3857 is lost since it is a fragmentary manuscript; (2) the

colophon between these two scriptures in P.3857 does not include the name of the patron but

only the aspiration to protect the house; (3) the date at the end of P.3857 simply says: 己亥年

五[月]廿日寫記 (copying recorded on the twentieth day of the fifth month of the *jihai*

year). The scriptures, the colophons and the dates in both manuscripts suggest that they were

written by the same person.¹⁰⁶ I suspect that the patron Liu Yingquan copied two manuscripts

of these two scriptures, and wrote his own colophons, in order to invite the heavenly King

Vaiśravaṇa to protect his house. Since the colophons and the dates in P.3857 are shorter than

that in S.4479, and the handwriting in P.3857 is more casual than that in S.4479, P.3857 may

have been copied after S.4479.

Wang Meng (2016, 125) reads *Sifang bishamen tianwang* 四方比（毗）沙門天王 (the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa of the Four Directions) as a mistake for *Xifang bishamen*

tianwang 西方比（毗）沙門天王 (the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa of the West). Neither of

¹⁰⁴ Zhao Qingshan (2019, 315) erroneously transcribes the patron's name Liu Yingquan 劉英全 as Liu Mojin 劉莫金.

¹⁰⁵ Ikeda (1990, 432) notes that *shuo* 朔 (the first day of a month) is missing after *gengyin* 庚寅 in the manuscript, indicating that *gengyin* refers to the sequence of the first day of *wuyue* 五月 (the fifth month). Ikeda also adds *ji* 己 before *you* 酉 (although he seems to have forgotten to indicate that *ji* 己 is actually missing in the manuscript), meaning that *jiyou* 己酉 is the sequence of *nianri* 廿日 (the twentieth day). Ikeda's notes make sense, since they conform to the template for designating dates in medieval China. See Zhang Yantian (2019, 12–13).

¹⁰⁶ Yu Xin (2006, 236) confirms that these two scriptures, the colophon and the date were written by the same person in S.4479 by reading the physical manuscript, yet he does not mention P.3857.

these two readings makes sense to me since the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa is supposed to protect people living in the north. As for inviting the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, an Indian god of wealth, to protect the house, Li Song (2002, 106–136) argues that heavenly kings became door gods in China after the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581 C.E.), and that distinctions were not drawn between specific heavenly kings. Dang Yanni (2005) demonstrates that from the late Tang dynasty to the early Song dynasty,¹⁰⁷ the belief in Vaiśravaṇa was popular in Dunhuang, where he was understood as a deity who not only brings wealth, but also guards the country, and responds to various invocations. Based on the fact that Liu Yingquan calls Vaiśravaṇa the Heavenly King of the Four Directions (as opposed to the North), the identification of Vaiśravaṇa probably had changed a lot by Liu’s time in the Dunhuang area; then it is understandable for Liu to invoke Vaiśravaṇa for protecting the house.

Regarding Liu’s choice of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* for protecting the house, Yu Xin (2006, 235–236) suspects that it is because these scriptures claim the power to protect individuals and families from disaster. I think it may be also because the *Xin pusa jing* encourages people to post it on the door, just as the patron has stated in the colophon in KUM2744. Later users could have interpreted this practice as being related to exempting homes from disaster, which could have inspired them to copy it for house-protection.

For Other Purposes

In addition to the sorts of major aspirations and practices that I have already discussed, there

¹⁰⁷ The sixth year of the Qianfu era could be identified as the late Tang period.

are some Dunhuang Buddhists who merely made simple notes in the manuscripts of these three scriptures to indicate how they used these scriptures. Here are six examples:

Table 1.7 Six brief notes of using the three scriptures

Ms.	Scripture(s)	Date	Patrons or Users	Notes
S.3696	<i>Jiu jing</i>	戊戌季十二月廿五日 (On the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of the <i>wuxu</i> year)	清信弟子羅什德 (A disciple [of the Buddha] with pure faith, Luo Shide)	一心受持讀誦 (Upholds and recites with a single mind)
S.3687	<i>Quanshan jing</i>	戊戌季十二月廿五日 (On the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month of the <i>wuxu</i> year)	清信弟子索遷 (逸?) 奴 (A disciple [of the Buddha] with pure faith, Suo Qian [Yi?]nu)	一心供養 (Worships with a single mind)
Jintu137	<i>Quanshan jing</i>	戊戌年十二月三十日 (On the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the <i>wuxu</i> year)	清信弟子董在奴 (A disciple [of the Buddha] with pure faith, Dong Zainu)	一心供養 (Worships with a single mind)
S.5256	<i>Jiu jing</i> and <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	丁卯年七月廿三日 (On the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the <i>dingmao</i> year)	N/A	寫此經流傳 (Write this scripture to circulate)
S.5060	<i>Jiu jing</i> and <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	N/A	永安寺僧戒護 (Monk Jiehu from the Yong'an Monastery)	自寫 (Copies on his own)
BD14804	<i>Jiu jing</i> and <i>Foshuo zhaifa qingjing jing</i> 佛說齋法清淨經 (Scripture of the Pure Meal Precepts Spoken by the Buddha) ¹⁰⁸	顯德柒年庚申歲次正月三日 (On the third day of the first month of the seventh year of the Xiande era [i.e. 960 C.E.], the sequence of years is <i>gengshen</i>)	信士弟子姚賢者 (The male devotee, a disciple [of the Buddha], Yao Xianzhe)	信心讀誦 (Recites with faith)

S.3696 was copied for upholding and reciting, while S.3687 and Jintu137 were copied for worshipping as indicated in their colophons. Both of these purposes are encouraged in these specific scriptures, as well as in many other Mahāyāna scriptures. These three manuscripts

¹⁰⁸ T no. 2900, vol. 85.

are all dated at the end of the twelfth month of a *wuxu* year. Due to the limited background information on their users, it is difficult to determine whether these *wuxu* years refer to the same year.

In S.5256,¹⁰⁹ the patron writes that this manuscript was copied in order to be circulated. Since the *Jiu jing* claims that whoever circulates this scripture is “a disciple [of the Buddha],” and threatens those who have seen this scripture but do not copy it with death for their whole families, the patron’s aspiration is relevant to the content of this scripture.

In S.5060, monk Jiehu from Yongan Monastery simply relates that he copied the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* himself. There are two colophons of Buddhist clerics and a female cook from the Yongan Monastery written for making a copy of the *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (Great Jewel-heap Scripture; Skt. *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*) dated 太平興國三年戊寅歲次三月十五日 (the fifteenth day of the third month of the third year of the *Taipingxingguo* era [i.e. 978 C.E.], the sequence of years is *wuyin*) in ㄉx1362 and Shangtu88v (1) respectively. There is a Jiehu 戒護 among these clerics from the Yongan Monastery, and his title is *fashi* 法師 (dharma master). Since ㄉx1362, Shangtu88v (1) and S.5060 are all from the Dunhuang corpus, the Yongan Monastery in ㄉx1362 and Shangtu88v (1) is probably the same Yongan monastery mentioned in S.5060, and therefore, monk Jiehu who copied the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* may be the dharma master Jiehu who participated in the patronage of the *Dabaoji jing*. Then, why did Jiehu write that he copied these two scriptures himself? Is he trying to emphasize his sincerity or does he mean that this manuscript was copied for his own

¹⁰⁹ Giles (1957, 156) suspects, and Ikeda (1990, 453) determines that the *dingmao* year in S.5256 is 907 C.E. while Xu Jun (2000, 434) and Zhang Xiuqing (2010, 62) suggest that it is 967 C.E. However, none of them can provide solid evidence for their dating.

use instead of for other patrons?

As for BD14804, Yao Xianzhe copied the *Jiu jing* with the *Foshuo zhaifa qingjing jing* for recitation: a usage that also complies with the instructions found in the *Jiu jing*. This combination means the *Jiu jing* was not always copied with the *Xin pusa jing* or with the *Quanshan jing*. It is not clear whether Xianzhe 賢者 (a worthy) is the name or the title of the user Yao. If it is a title, does it suggest that he is a well-educated person?

Although these notes are brief, and the actions in these notes, such as upholding, reciting, worshipping, and copying, are common practices centering on Buddhist scriptures, these actions are still consistent with the instructions found in these three scriptures themselves.

Combining Scriptures and Making More than One Copy of a Scripture

Referring to copying the *Jiu jing* in combination with the *Xin pusa jing*, Yang Mei (2006, 98) notes thirteen manuscripts that include both scriptures, Zhang Zikai and Zhang Qi (2009) note twenty-two manuscripts, Fang Ling (2010, 1010) notes fourteen manuscripts, and Zhao Qingshan (2019, 316) notes twenty-four manuscripts, in which the former scripture is always placed ahead of the latter one. Zhang and Zhang (2009) offer three reasons for this phenomenon: first, the main functions of these two scriptures are the same—namely, warding off disaster; second, the scribes express faith in both Maitreya in the *Jiu jing* and Amitābha in the *Xin pusa jing*; third, Maitreya was more important than Amitābha in the contemporary Dunhuang area, which explains why the *Jiu jing* would have been copied before the *Xin pusa jing*. Gen (2012) does not agree with their third reason, arguing that people do not necessarily place the most important thing first. She notes the *Jiu jing* is always copied with the *Xin pusa*

jing that includes Jia Dan,¹¹⁰ and asks why there is not a combination of the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, given that the *Quanshan jing* is similar to *Xin pusa jing* and also includes Jia Dan. However, S.1185, which I have discussed above, is a combination of the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, and S.4923 and S.4924 are probably a combination of these two scriptures copied in separate manuscripts. As for the order of scriptures in a given manuscript, in both Hane697 and BD10024, the *Jiu jing* was copied after the *Xin pusa jing*. Zhang Xiaoyan (2015) notes twenty-five, and Wang Meng (2016, 132) notes twenty-six manuscripts that include both the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*. By combining Zhang's (2015) and Wang's (2016) collections, and adding KUM2744, which has been noted by Takata, I conclude that there are twenty-nine manuscripts of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*. Yet, there are also probable combinations of these two scriptures copied in separate manuscripts, such as Hane252 (figure 1.17) and Hane253 (figure 1.18); Hane313 (figure 1.19) and Hane314 (figure 1.20).

¹¹⁰ I.e. the third version of the *Xin pusa jing*.

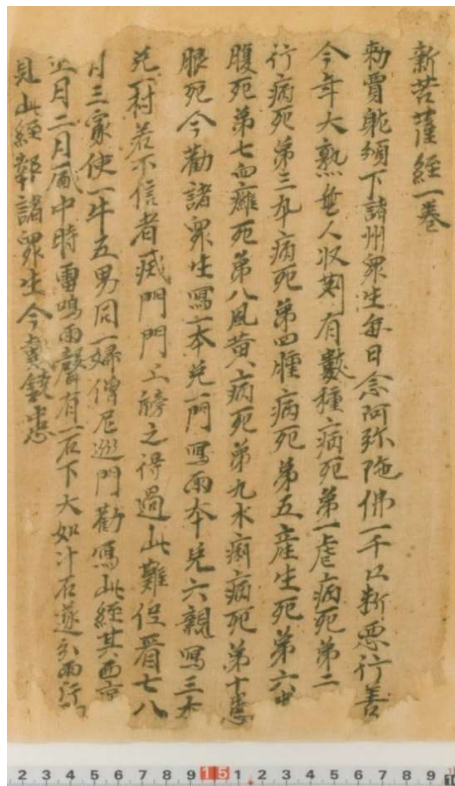


Figure 1.17 Hane252 © Kyō shooku

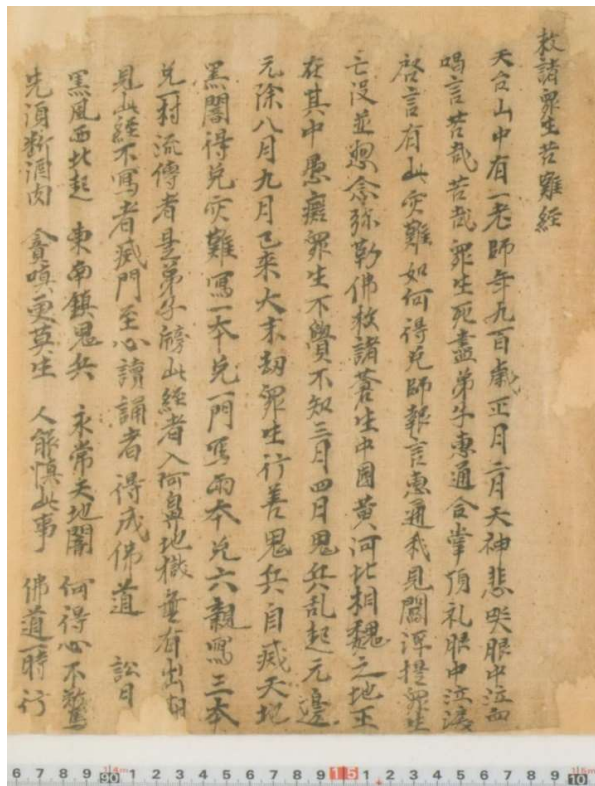


Figure 1.18 Hane253 © Kyō shooku

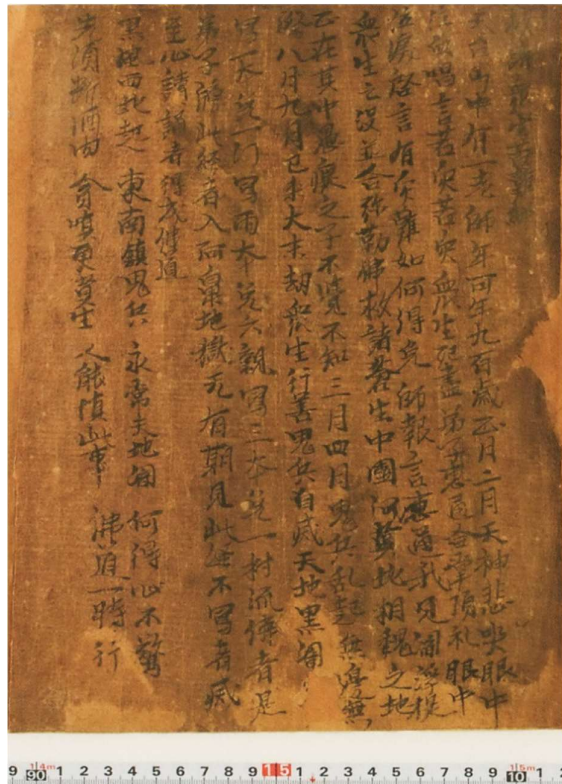


Figure 1.19 Hane313 © Kyō shooku

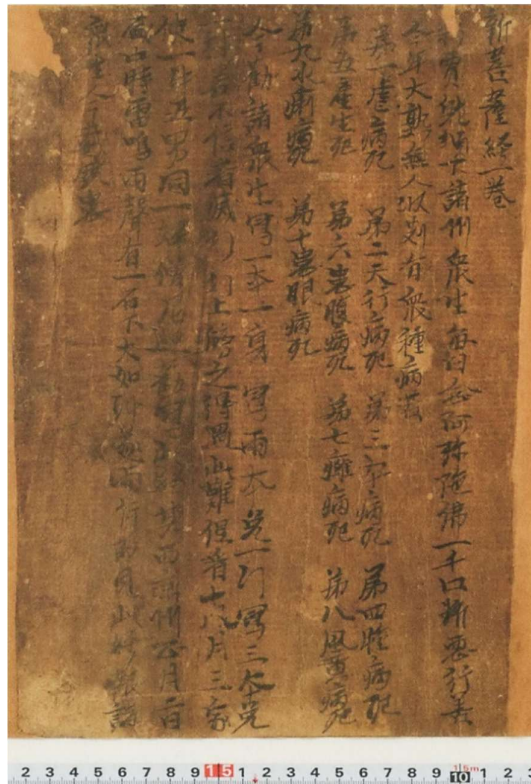


Figure 1.20 Hane314 © Kyō shooku

Similarities in the contents of these two scriptures may be a reason that they were brought together: both of them claim that a disaster will happen; that there are specific ways of being exempted from disaster (e.g., acting wholesomely, copying the scripture, and reciting a buddha's name [Maitreya in the *Jiu jing* and Amitābha Buddha in the *Xin pusa jing*]); and that the entire families of the unbelievers, slanderers and people who have seen the scripture but do not copy it will be exterminated. Yang Mei (2006, 96) suggests that all of these scriptures are developments and transformations of a prototype of Buddhist scripture that had been circulated in folk society. Although it is difficult to verify Yang's suggestion, I suspect that people copied these two scriptures as one set partly because their contents are so similar: both of them focus on eschatology and ways of protection.

In contrast to the twenty-nine manuscripts of the combination of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, there is only one manuscript that includes both the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing* in the Dunhuang corpus. I suspect the length of the scripture contributes to the discrepancy between the different numbers of these two types of combinations. Among the twenty-nine manuscripts, there are twenty-three manuscripts of one single sheet, with around 30 cm in height, and 37.5 cm to 46 cm in width, with nineteen to twenty-six columns,¹¹¹ and with nineteen to twenty-six characters per column.¹¹² In these twenty-three manuscripts, the *Jiu jing* (around 240 characters) usually occupies nine to thirteen columns while the *Xin pusa jing* (around 191 characters) often takes seven to eleven columns. In the other six manuscripts, there are often fewer than twenty characters per column, which requires more

¹¹¹ These columns include colophons, and blank columns between two scriptures, between the titles and the texts, and between the scripture and the colophon if there are ruled lines.

¹¹² Except that Shangtu61's width is 30 cm (fifteen columns; around thirty-five characters per column).

columns (from twenty-six to thirty-four columns) and means that they cannot be copied onto a single sheet. In other words, if a scribe copies the *Jiu jing* together with the *Xin pusa jing* on a regular sheet of paper, it is not difficult to accommodate both scriptures.¹¹³ The *Quanshan jing* (mostly around 279 characters)¹¹⁴ is probably a modified edition of, and is much longer than, version three of the *Xin pusa jing*. Dunhuang copies of the *Quanshan jing* usually take up thirteen to twenty columns,¹¹⁵ which would make it difficult to be copied alongside the *Jiu jing* on one single regular sheet of paper. Even S.1185, the only extant manuscript that includes both the *Jiu jing* and the *Quanshan jing*, consists of these two scriptures copied on separate sheets and then glued together. Similarly, the combination of S.4923 of the *Quanshan jing* and S.4924 of the *Jiu jing* sees them copied in two separate manuscripts. The high percentage (twenty-three out of twenty-nine) of manuscripts in which the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* were copied on one single sheet is consistent with the practice of using these two scriptures together as a talisman, since this mode of copying makes it more convenient to carry them or to post them on a door.

Why is the *Jiu jing* only combined with version three of the *Xin pusa jing* (around 191 characters), but not version one (around 172 characters) or version two (around 147 characters), given that these two versions have similar content and are of a shorter length? Any set of scriptures must be formed by chance to some extent. Also, I suppose that some combinations are conservative: once a combination is formed, the later scribes usually tend to

¹¹³ As the two probable combinations of these two scriptures, Hane313 (22.8×30.3 cm [width × height]) with Hane314 (21.3×30.1 cm); Hane252 (18×31.3 cm) with Hane253 (24.5×31.3 cm), they were copied on separate, half-size sheets of paper.

¹¹⁴ Fang Ling (2010, 1007) states that this text is of about two hundred and seventy characters, which is close to my count.

¹¹⁵ Except that Ganbo16A has twenty-five columns (ten to twelve characters per column), and Shangtu95 has twenty-six columns (nine to eleven characters per column).

simply copy these sets of scriptures, but not to divide or change them. Therefore, the *Jiu jing* happened to be combined with version three of the *Xin pusa jing*, and, since this combination was compatible with contemporary Buddhist practices, it became a popular, stable set of scriptures.

In addition to the thirty-one copies of the *Xin pusa jing* that are combined with the *Jiu jing* (either on the same manuscript or not), the remaining fifty-two copies of the *Xin pusa jing* (in all of its versions) can be subdivided as follows: twenty-one (40.4%)¹¹⁶ copied individually, twenty-eight (53.8%) copied in pairs (i.e. each of the thirteen manuscript consists of two copies, except that S.11521 and Φ215 are two separate copies made by the same patron as I have discussed above), and three (5.8%) copied as a group in one manuscript. Among forty-six copies of the *Quanshan jing* that are not combined with the *Jiu jing*, there are forty-four (95.7%) copied individually, only two (4.3%) copied as a pair in a single manuscript. As for the copies of the *Jiu jing* that are not combined with the *Xin pusa jing* or the *Quanshan jing*, none of them were copied in pairs. Although these manuscripts do not include colophons detailing the patrons' reason for copying them repeatedly, Fang and Wood (2011, 6:18; 2011, 8:14; 2013, 21:13–14; 2013, 26:13–14) suggest that there is inherent relation between two copies of the same scripture in one manuscript, which should be read as a whole; the patrons who copied the *Xin pusa jing* or the *Quanshan jing* twice wished for the safety of their families following the instructions of the texts. Zhang Xiaoyan (2015) also mentions that copying the *Xin pusa jing* or the *Quanshan jing* two or three times in one single manuscript should be interpreted in light of the instructions in the scriptures themselves. Fang

¹¹⁶ Once combined with the *Jiu jing*, neither the *Xin pusa jing* nor the *Quanshan jing* has been copied repeatedly. Therefore, I take fifty-two, the number of the *Xin pusa jing* that is not combined with the *Jiu jing*, as the denominator.

and Wood's and Zhang's points are suggestive, and I would like to add two points. First, S.11521 and Φ215, two copies of the *Xin pusa jing* that I have discussed above, are not written in one single manuscript, but they could still be regarded as stemming from one scribal act since they share the same colophon. By using colophons to trace the intentions of scribes and patrons in the creation of linked manuscripts (like S.11521 and Φ215), this case study broadens the scope of the type of analysis proposed by Fang and Wood, as well as Zhang, and therefore provides a broader perspective on medieval Dunhuang Buddhists' practice of copying scriptures. Second, although there are instructions in the *Quanshan jing* advising patrons that copying this scripture at different times will produce different merits, these instructions are not identical with those in the *Xin pusa jing*. Specifically, in the *Xin pusa jing*, making one copy can only guarantee that one will personally be exempted from the disaster, whereas two copies can allow one's whole family to be exempted, and three copies can allow an entire village to be exempted. In contrast, in the *Quanshan jing*, one copy can exempt one's whole family (which is equivalent to two copies of the *Xin pusa jing*), whereas making two copies will extend this benefit to the six relatives. The *Jiu jing* also instructs readers that making one copy can guarantee the safety of one's whole family. Why might patrons prefer to copy the *Xin pusa jing* in pairs but the *Quanshan jing* and the *Jiu jing* individually? In addition to the reason that the latter two scriptures are longer than the *Xin pusa jing*, it may be because the patrons were concerned the most about their families, and copying the *Xin pusa jing* two times or the other two scripture one time could literally rescue their families.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Zhao Qingshan (2019, 315–316) notes that there are more manuscripts of two copies of the *Xin pusa jing* than manuscripts of three copies of this scripture, and suggests that it may be because patrons care more about their family than

Conclusion

This chapter first clarifies the three versions of the *Xin pusa jing* and its relationship with the *Quanshan jing* by comparing them with the *Taishan jing* and the untitled Ms. S.2713, and thereby suggests that the *Pusa* (bodhisattva) in the title *Xin pusa jing* probably is referring to Dīpaṃkara Buddha.

By reading Dunhuang colophons of the *Jiu jing*, the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* with reference to their texts, I find that the rationales and textual practices described therein (i.e. aspirations for copying these scriptures and the ways of using them) are mostly consistent with the scriptures' contents. Although most of these aspirations or textual practices are also found in other Buddhist scriptures' colophons, I contend that the more frequently the aspirations or the ways of use agree with the content, the more possible these two bodies of information are inherently connected. In other words, although they cannot represent patrons of all indigenous Buddhist scriptures, it seems that most of the patrons and/or users of these three scriptures who wrote colophons had some knowledge of the contents. A good example is the colophon in KUM2744: the patron explicitly wrote that the scriptures were to be posted on the door, which is exactly as the *Xin pusa jing* instructs, and is not a common practice with other Buddhist scriptures. Another example is the note in BD8108 telling that the user of this manuscript was probably counting the number of times they had recited Amitābha Buddha's name: a practice that is echoed in the text of the *Xin pusa jing* itself.

about the village. Unfortunately, he has not systematically examined all these scribal practices to present convincing data that could support his argument. Also, he claims S.5929 includes two copies of the *Quanshan jing*, but, as I have explained before, the two scriptures in S.5929 are actually version three of the *Xin pusa jing* that are titled *Xin pusa quanshan jing*. Then, he claims that S.1184 includes two copies of the *Jiu jing*, but in fact there is only one copy of this scripture in S.1184.

Also, I suggest that the well-attested practice of combining the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* into a single manuscript is attributable to three factors: similarities in their contents, the lengths of the texts, and chance combination. In addition to the reason of the lengths of the texts, concerns for one's own family, and the directly relevant instructions in the scriptures may have made patrons prefer to copy the *Xin pusa jing* twice, but the *Quanshan jing* or the *Jiu jing* once as a single scribal act.

By conducting a hermeneutic study of textual practices of these three short Chinese indigenous Buddhist scriptures, I demonstrate that common patrons and users from medieval Dunhuang seem to have their own effective approaches to the contents of texts, which may include reading the texts, reading or listening to Buddhist narratives, listening to Buddhist preachings, or to recommendations from professional scribes. Yet, the conclusions concerning common patrons' and users' knowledge of Buddhist texts are so far limited to these three short Chinese indigenous Buddhist texts. How much did medieval Chinese Buddhists know about long scriptures that they had also used? What about their knowledge of translated scriptures in contrast to that of the apocryphal scriptures as reflected in their uses? Did Buddhist clerics, who are supposed to have more profound knowledge of the texts, use scriptures differently than lay people did? Did different social statuses influence patrons' and users' understanding of Buddhist texts? In the following chapters, I am exploring more examples in an attempt to shed light on these questions, which will add to our picture of Buddhist textual practices.

Chapter Two: A *Bhikṣuṇī* Commissions Scriptures for Becoming a Man and a Buddha

Introduction to, and Analysis of *Bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's Colophons

In this chapter, I investigate *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's 建暉 commissioning of Buddhist scriptures along with her aspirations for copying them. In so doing, I explore her knowledge, as a Buddhist cleric and a patron, of the Buddhist texts that she used. In this chapter, I also refer to the aspirations of some other Buddhist nuns with respect to their uses of scriptures. In exploring these sources, I noted that all of these female Buddhist clerics expressed similar aspirations that are specific to their gender—detesting “female filth” (*nūhui* 女穢). Jianhui further aspired to become a man, and to attain Buddhahood together with the multitudinous beings in the realm of reality. Some Buddhist texts in particular, especially Mahāyāna scriptures, make a point to address the issues of “female filth,” gender transformation, and women attaining Buddhahood. Likewise, female patrons' aspirations concerning “female filth” and gender transformation are also highlighted in colophons. Moreover, given the fact that these patrons, who commissioned scriptures for reasons connected with gender, are *bhikṣuṇīs*, i.e. Buddhist clerics who are more likely to understand their texts than common patrons do, this series of colophons is an ideal sample for studying the elite reception of Chinese Buddhist scriptures (either translated or apocryphal) that concentrate on the notion of gender.

Bhikṣuṇī Jianhui and the other Buddhist nuns' backgrounds are obscure based on extant material. Yet, the colophon ascribed to Jianhui is dated the second year of the Datong 大統

era (i.e. 536 C.E.), and the colophon ascribed to Dao Rong 道容 (one of three major *bhikṣuṇīs* whose colophons I am studying in this chapter) is dated the sixteenth year of the Datong era (550 C.E.). In other words, both of them are probably nuns from the Dunhuang area during the Western Wei dynasty (535–556 C.E.). In the introduction to her translation of the *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (Biographies of *Bhikṣuṇīs*),¹¹⁸ a collection of biographies of sixty-five Chinese Buddhist nuns from the fourth to the sixth century C.E., Kathryn Tsai ([1972] 1994, 1, 7) notes that “the women of China ardently embraced Mahāyāna Buddhism and its large number of texts, although only a small number of these scriptures became extremely popular”; and “fifty-three of the sixty-five biographies mention the woman’s ability to read and write.” Yet, Tsai ([1972] 1994, 7–8, 12) concedes that, since the biographies suggest that many of these nuns were probably from the upper-class, they cannot inform us about “ordinary” Buddhist nuns’ lives during this period. Also, it is worth noting that these biographies are all accounts of nuns from south China, which could only be read as references for studying nuns from the Western Wei dynasty in north China. In contrast, Stephanie Balkwill (2015) focuses on Buddhist women from the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534 C.E.), a dynasty located in north China, which immediately precedes the Western Wei dynasty. By using inscriptional material, she explores “the close alignment between Buddhism and courtly life seen in the lives of Buddhist women in the Northern Wei,” and finds “many inscriptions attesting to women’s real-life abilities and freedoms, ones that suggest a rather high social status.” (Balkwill 2015, 28, 126) Both Tsai’s introduction to nuns in south China and Balkwill’s study of Buddhist women in north China provide us some

¹¹⁸ The *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (*T* no. 2063, vol. 50) was compiled by Shi Baochang 釋寶唱 (fl. 495–516? C.E.).

insights into the social and religious context of Chinese *bhikṣuṇīs* from the fourth to the sixth century. I am adding one piece to the puzzle of Chinese nuns' lives and practices through manuscripts commissioned by *bhikṣuṇīs* from Dunhuang, a pivotal city on the Silk Roads that was distant from the contemporary political center in north China. By investigating whether the scriptures that Jianhui commissioned are textually connected to problems of “female filth,” or becoming a man or a buddha from a female body, I explore the extent to which she may have understood these texts, and how she may have intentionally selected certain texts to match her aspirations.

There are two manuscripts with colophons that are related to *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui in Dunhuang manuscripts: Nakamura51, BD15076, and one manuscript with a colophon that is related to *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Jianhui 道建輝: Nakamura144. Since Dao Jianhui's colophon to Nakamura144 does not mention “female filth,” and since I cannot determine whether Dao Jianhui is identical to Jianhui, I do not discuss Nakamura144 in this chapter, but in Appendix I.

Nakamura51 is a manuscript of the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Scripture on the Great Extinction). Below are images of the beginning and the end of this manuscript:

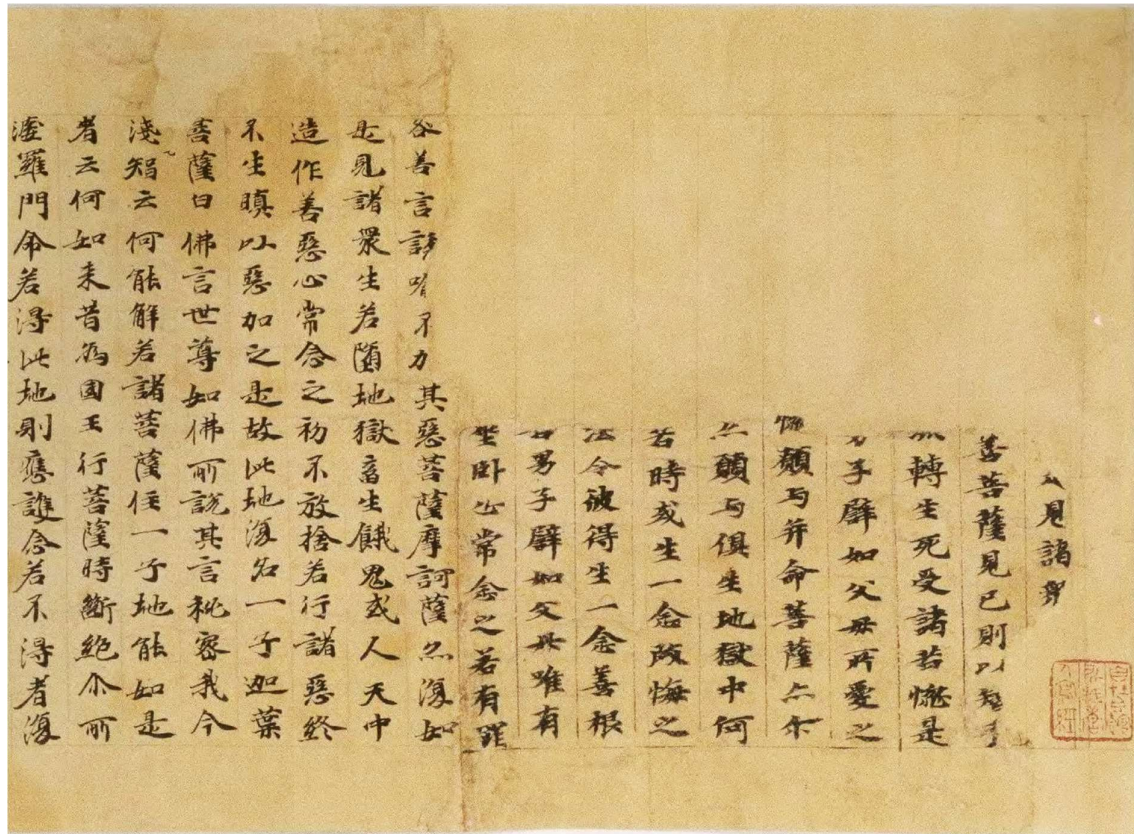


Figure 2.1 Beginning of Nakamura51 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

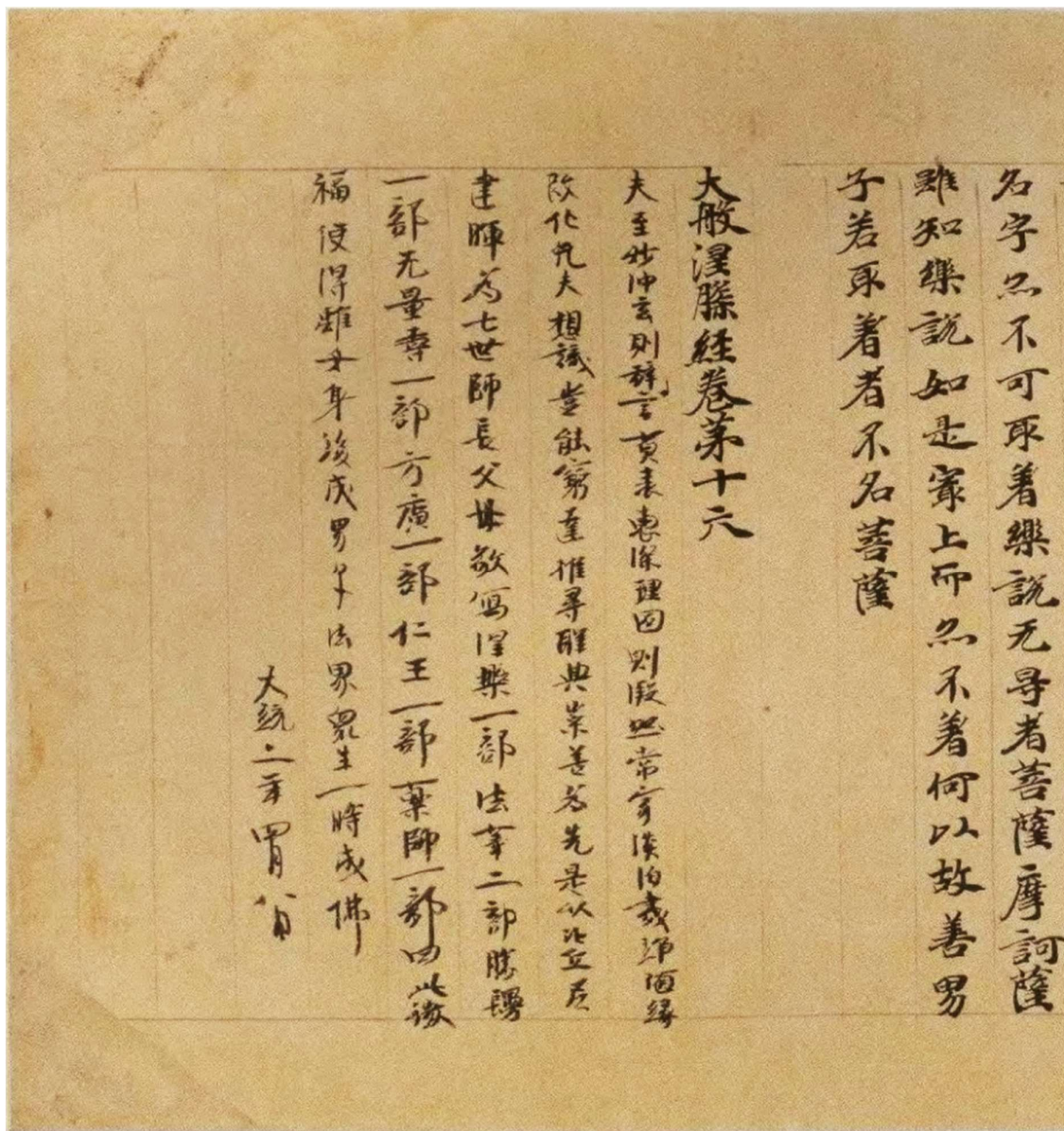


Figure 2.2 End of Nakamura51 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

Based on its format, this manuscript seems to have been formally produced and professionally processed, unlike many of the manuscripts of the *Jiu jing*, the *Xin pusa jing* and the *Quanshan jing* that I discussed in the first chapter. This manuscript is mounted, and at the beginning of the mounting paper there is a seal reading *zizaixiang guan suocang tangren xiejing* 自在皂（香）館所藏唐人寫經（Tang People’s Manuscripts of Scriptures Collected at Building of Unimpeded Fragrance). However, this manuscript is dated to the Western Wei

dynasty (535–557 C.E.) in its colophon, which is almost one century before the founding of the Tang dynasty. The owner of this seal is probably Zhang Peiyi 章佩乙 (1886–1971 C.E.), a famous Chinese collector of books and paintings who presumably once owned this manuscript. According to Li Xizhai (2010, 52), there are fourteen manuscripts with this seal in Nakamura’s collection.

The text basically runs in parallel with *T* no. 374, vol. 12, 459a6–463a14 or *T* no. 375, vol. 12, 701b4–705b18. The end title of this manuscript states that its text is *juan dishiliu* 卷第十六 (the sixteenth fascicle) of the *Daban niepan jing*. The page range of the first of these canonical versions (i.e. *T* no. 374) includes the majority of the sixteenth fascicle, and part of the seventeenth fascicle of the “northern version” of this scripture, which is attributed to the translator Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (385–433 C.E.). The second selection (i.e. *T* no. 375, vol. 12, 701b4–705b18) is part of the fifteenth fascicle of the “southern version” of this scripture, which was compiled by Huiyan 慧嚴 (363–443 C.E.), Huiguan 慧觀 (fl. 4–5 century C.E.), Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433 C.E.), and others. Therefore, from the perspective of chapter-division, the text of Nakamura51 is close to the “northern version” of the *Daban niepan jing*.¹¹⁹

There is a colophon after the text at the end of Nakamura51:

Generally speaking, the ultimate subtlety and the abstruse cannot be expressed in words. The profound wisdom and the firm truth are changeless and permanently tranquil. To be calm and to be peaceful, to change and transform according to the conditions—how can mundane people’s conceptualizing consciousness thoroughly understand this? When examining and searching the sacred texts, [I found that] the priority is to esteem goodness. Therefore, [I,] *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui, for [my] masters, the elderly, and [my] parents of seven generations, respectfully make one copy of the [*Scripture on the Great*]

¹¹⁹ For scholarship on the Northern and Southern editions of the *Daban niepan jing*, see Jing Shengxuan (2009).

Extinction, two copies of the [*Scripture of*] *Law-blossom*, one copy of the [*Scripture of Queen of*] *the Wondrous Garland*, one copy of the [*Scripture of the Buddha of*] *Immeasurable Life*, one copy of the *Extensive [Scripture]*, one copy of the [*Scripture for*] *Humane Kings*, and one copy of the [*Scripture of*] *the Medicine Master*. By this little merit, [I aspire] to become male after leaving this female body, and for the multitudinous beings in the realm of reality to become buddhas at the same time.

The eighth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Datong era [of the Western Wei dynasty] (i.e. 536 C.E.).

夫至妙冲玄，則言辞¹²⁰莫表；惠（慧）深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。是以比丘尼建暉為七世師長、父母敬寫《涅槃》一部，《法華》二部，《勝鬘》一部，《无量壽》一部，《方廣》一部，《仁王》一部，《藥師》一部。因此微福，使得離女身後成男子，法界衆生，一時成佛。

大統二年四月八日。

The other manuscript potentially connected to Jianhui is BD15076: a manuscript of the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 (Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā). The text (*T* no. 671, vol. 16, 521c18–527b21) in this manuscript is *juan dier* 卷第二 (the second fascicle) of this scripture, the first part of the *Ji yiqie fofa pin disan* 集一切佛法品第三 (The Third Chapter: Collection of All the Buddha's teachings). Here is the colophon to this manuscript:

¹²⁰ In the manuscript, *yanci* 言辞 (words) is written as *ciyan* 辞言 (words), then these two characters are reversed by a *gouyihao* 鈎乙號 (transposition-sign) added to their right. Yet, *yanci* 言辞 and *ciyan* 辞言 can be used alternatively for the same meaning in this context.

夫至妙冲玄，則言辞莫表；惠深理固，¹²¹則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改¹²²化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。是以比丘¹²³建暉既集¹²⁴因殖，¹²⁵稟¹²⁶形女穢，嬰罹病疾，抱難當今。仰惟此苦，¹²⁷无由可拔。遂即¹²⁸減割衣資 ([I,] *bhikṣu* Jianhui, having accumulated causes and seeds, received the form of a filthy woman, encountered and suffered from illnesses, and bear troubles in the present life. Looking up to this suffering, there is no way to be drawn out from it. Thereupon, I cut down my expenditure on clothing), 為七世父母、先死後亡 (who have passed away before and after), 敬寫《入楞伽》一部 (one copy of the [Scripture on the Buddha's] *Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā*), 《法華》一部 (one copy of the [Scripture of] *Law-blossom*), 《勝鬘》一部, 《无量壽》一部, 《仁王》一部,¹²⁹ 《方廣》一部, 《藥》¹³⁰二部。因此微善 (virtue), 使得離¹³¹女身後成男子, 法界衆生, 一時成佛。

大代大魏永平二年八月四日比丘¹³²建暉敬寫訖, 流通供養。 The fourth day of the eighth month of the second year of the Yongping era of the Great Wei of Great Dai dynasty [i.e. 509 C.E.], *bhikṣu* Jianhui completes the respectful writing, circulates and venerates it.)¹³³

In particular, the “introduction” sections of these two colophons (from 夫至妙冲玄 to 崇善為先) are exactly the same. Ikeda (1990, 100) doubts the authenticity of BD15076 without

¹²¹ Ikeda (1990, 100) and Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) identify this character as 固 without a gloss; Huang and Wu (1995, 809) identify it as *gu* 固 (firm), which is a plausible reading.

¹²² Ikeda (1990, 100) and Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) identify this character as *min* 愍 (commiserate); Huang and Wu (1995, 809) identify it as *gai* 改 (change), which seems correct.

¹²³ Huang and Wu (1995, 809) add a character *ni* 尼 here, which suggests that Jianhui is a *bhikṣuṇī* but not a *bhikṣu*. They argue that the scripts of the colophon of BD15076 and that of Nakamura51 are similar, therefore, these two manuscripts are both sponsored by the same person, *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui 建暉 in Nakamura51, who is also named *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Jianhui 道建暉 in Nakamura144.

¹²⁴ Ikeda (1990, 100), Huang and Wu (1995, 809) identify this glyph as *ji* 集 (accumulate); Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) identifies it as two characters *zhubu* 住不, indicates that *zhu* 住 is a mistake for *wang* 往, and reads *wang* 往 with *ji* 既 as *jiwang* 既往 (previously). My reading agrees with that of Ikeda, Huang and Wu.

¹²⁵ Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) reads *yinzhi* 因殖 (causes and seeds) as a mistake for *zhiyin* 植因 without a gloss, which I do not agree with.

¹²⁶ Ikeda (1990, 100) identifies this character as *ke* 窠 (burrow) while Huang and Wu (1995, 809), Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) read it as *bing* 稟 (receive), which is likely correct.

¹²⁷ Ikeda (1990, 100) identifies this character as *ruo* 若 (if) while Huang and Wu (1995, 809), Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) read it as *ku* 苦 (suffering), which is a plausible reading.

¹²⁸ Ikeda (1990, 100) identifies these two characters as *ji* 迹 and *ji* 既 respectively, and read *baji* 拔迹 as a word without a gloss; Huang and Wu (1995, 809) read them as *suiji* 遂即 (thereupon); Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) reads these two characters as *shuji* 述即. Although I am not certain about the reading of these two characters, Huang and Wu's reading makes the most sense to me.

¹²⁹ Huang and Wu (1995, 809) miss the text from 法華 to 仁王一部 in their transcription.

¹³⁰ Ikeda (1990, 100), Huang and Wu (1995, 809) add character *shi* 師 (master) after *yao* 藥 (medicine), suggesting that this scripture is the *Scripture of the Medicine Master*.

¹³¹ Ikeda (1990, 100), Huang and Wu (1995, 809) read this character as *sui* 雖 (although) while Ren jiyu (2010, 138:10) reads it as *li* 離 (leave), which should be correct.

¹³² Huang and Wu (1995, 809) also add a character *ni* 尼 here.

¹³³ Above the colophon, there is a short note: 用緝十九張 (Nineteen sheets of paper used). It is confusing that, except the cover-sheet (18.8 cm), this manuscript consists of 20 sheets of paper, which are all of similar length (from 39.3 cm to 41.6 cm) according to Ren's descriptive catalogue, and according to the images, but this note claims that only 19 sheets of paper are used. Is it because the scribe only uses 7 out of 22 columns in the last sheet for writing the text?

offering any evidence for why, while Huang and Wu (1995, 809), Dang Yanni (2013, 210) and Chen Dawei (2014, 198–199) tend to believe that the patron of BD15076 and of Nakamura51 is the same person, which means that they treat this colophon as genuine. I have demonstrated that this colophon is forged mainly because by 509 C.E., the year that this colophon is dated, the *[Scripture on the Buddha's] Entering [the Island of] Lankā* listed in this colophon probably had not yet been translated.¹³⁴ Other evidence also undermines the authenticity of this colophon as I discuss in Appendix I. For example, the title of the patron, *biquuni* 比丘尼 (*bhikṣuṇī*), is written as *biqu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*) in her prayer for becoming a man. However, BD15076's colophon is close to the colophon of Nakamura51, and its ideas mostly make sense. Therefore, the forger may have composed the colophon of BD15076 based on Nakamura51's colophon by changing the *Niepan jing*, the first scripture that Jianhui commissioned in Nakamura51's colophon, to the *Ru lengqie jing* according to the text of BD15076, and by making some other modifications. Or, the forger may have composed the colophon of BD15076 based on other colophons as yet unknown to me. In any case, the following discussion is built on the colophon of Nakamura51, while I also refer to the forged colophon of BD15076 as necessary.

The wording of the “introduction” of these two colophons also shows up in another Dunhuang colophon ascribed to another patron. At the end of Nakamura65, a copy of the *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經 (Scripture of Merits of the Original Vows [Made by] the Thus-come One Medicine Master [Ornamented by] Vaiḍūrya Light), there is a colophon ascribed to *bhikṣu* Huida 惠達:¹³⁵

¹³⁴ See Appendix I.

¹³⁵ For the image of this colophon, see Isobe (2005, 2:3).

夫至妙冲玄，則辭言莫表；惠深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。是以比丘惠達為七世師僧、父母虔造《藥師琉璃光經》一部。因此微福，願使遊神淨土。逮及法界衆生，一齊成佛。大唐開國武德二年四月八日。

...¹³⁶Thereupon, [I,] *bhikṣu* Huida, for master-monks and parents of seven generations, respectfully produce one copy of the *Scripture of the Medicine Master [Ornamented by] Vaiḍūrya Light*. By this little merit, may their spirits drift in the Pure Land. [May the merit] extend to the multitudinous beings in the realm of reality so that they become buddhas together.

The eighth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Wude era, the state-founding era, of the Great Tang dynasty (i.e. 619 C.E.).

I place these three colophons in one table, deconstruct them, and use a simple template to map their structures. I underline the words in BD15076 and Nakamura65 that are different from those found in Nakamura51.

Table 2.1 Comparison of the colophons in BD15076, Nakamura51, and Nakamura65

Pressmark	BD15076 (Forged)	Nakamura51	Nakamura65
Colophon	1. Introduction 夫至妙冲玄，則言辭莫表；惠（慧）深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。	夫至妙冲玄，則言辭莫表；惠（慧）深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。	夫至妙冲玄，則辭言莫表；惠（慧）深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。
	2. Patron's Identity and Name 是以比丘建暉	是以比丘尼建暉	是以比丘惠達
	3. Rationale and Process of the Patronage <u>既集因殖，稟形女穢，嬰罹病疾，抱難當今。仰惟此苦，无由可拔。遂即減割衣資，</u>		
	4. Beneficiary 為七世父母、 <u>先死後亡，</u>	為七世師長、父母	為七世師僧、父母
	5. Scripture 敬寫 <u>《入楞伽》</u> 一	敬寫《涅槃》一部，	<u>虔造《藥師琉璃光</u>

¹³⁶ Since the “introduction” of Huida’s colophon is almost the same as that of Jianhui’s colophon, here I omit the translation of the “introduction.”

	Copied	部,《法華》一部,《勝鬘》一部,《无量壽》一部,《仁王》一部,《方廣》一部,《藥》二部。	《法華》二部,《勝鬘》一部,《无量壽》一部,《方廣》一部,《仁王》一部,《藥師》一部。	經》一部
	6. Aspiration	因此微善,使得離女身後成男子,法界衆生,一時成佛。	因此微福,使得離女身後成男子,法界衆生,一時成佛。	因此微福,願使遊神淨土。逮及法界衆生,一齊成佛。
	7. Date	大代大魏永平二年八月四日。(i.e. 509 C.E.)	大統二年四月八日。(i.e. 536 C.E.)	大唐開國武德二年四月八日。(i.e. 619 C.E.)
	8. Signature and the Way to Use the Scripture	比丘[尼]建暉敬寫 訖,流通供養。		

Here, it would be useful to look beyond colophons to other Chinese Buddhist compositions in order to see what we can learn from them. Satō Chisui (1977) studies inscriptions on Buddhist statues in the period of the Northern dynasties (439–581 C.E.). He categorizes these inscriptions into two types (A and B) according to their structures, deconstructs them based on their contents, and composes templates for both types (1997, 1424–5). Hou Xudong (1998, 87–91) tries to refine Satō’s templates. My template for Dunhuang manuscript colophons in this table is inspired by Satō’s and Hou’s templates for inscriptions on Buddhist statues, since the structure of these three colophons (especially BD15076’s) is almost the same as the structure of the type-B inscription investigated by Satō (1997, 1425), except that the former includes a signature at the end while the latter does not. This similarity suggests that Dunhuang colophons for Buddhist scriptures and inscriptions on Buddhist statues probably share the same genre, and that studies of these inscriptions can offer a useful point of reference for understanding Dunhuang colophons.

Satō (1997, 1425) labels the first part of template B 仏法の意義と造像の意味 (the significance of the Buddha’s teachings and the meaning of making statues), and suggests that

it explains the depth of the true meaning of the Buddha and the Buddha's teachings as a starting point by presenting it in high literary Chinese. Hou Xudong (1998, 91) adds that texts described by template B often begin with a statement about the Buddhist significance of the statues, such that they often start with the word *fu* 夫 (generally speaking; in principle; overall).¹³⁷ The “introductions” of these three Dunhuang colophons also begin with *fu* 夫, and are composed in parallel prose, which gives them a literary quality.¹³⁸ The gist of this section is that it is difficult for mundane people to gain insight into the ultimate subtlety and profound wisdom of the Buddha, since it is changeless, tranquil and inexpressible in words. Also, according to the Buddhist canon, *shan* 善 (goodness) is the priority. This may reflect contemporary formulaic writing—at least for Dunhuang colophons—since *bhikṣu* Huida was active around one century later than *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui according to the dates in these colophons. The rationales for their textual practice, their aspirations for copying these texts, and even the scriptures they selected vary considerably.

The only difference between the “introduction” in *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's colophon and the one in *bhikṣu* Huida's colophon is that *yanci* 言辭 (words) in the former is written as *ciyan* 辭言 in the latter, which does not change the meaning. In addition to the similarity in the “introduction,” the general frameworks of these two Buddhist clerics' colophons are very close to each other: the order of their sections is exactly the same, and they share a considerable amount of phraseology. All these resemblances convince me that this template was probably popular as a colophon pattern among Buddhists in Dunhuang, at least from the

¹³⁷ Sentence-initial modifier indicating that the substance of the sentence applies to any individual case or any instance of the sentence topic or subject (Kroll 2015, 117).

¹³⁸ For scholarship on the literary quality of ritual compositions, see Lowe (2017, 62–66).

beginning of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh century.

Many scholars (e.g., Teiser 2007; Lowe 2017, 57–79; Zhu Yao 2016, 67–78) have noted that aspirational prayer texts (including some colophons) could be rather formulaic (or stylized). In terms of prayer texts, Lowe (2017, 60) admits that “it is difficult to decide how much control the author had over the message and how much may have been dictated by the patron...while prayers may have been composed by a hired hand, they are typically written as if spoken by the patron.” Given the fact that templates are widely used in Dunhuang colophons of Buddhist scriptures, is it still meaningful to study these colophons? The answer is “yes.” Again, taking Jianhui’s and Huida’s colophons as an example, although they use the same template, their rationales and aspirations diverge, and the scriptures that they sponsor vary, too. This difference means that patrons do not simply copy the colophons, but adapt these formulaic paratexts according to their own situations. In Appendix II, I map graphically the relationships between the scriptures and the aspirations that the scriptures are copied for. This mapping demonstrates that even though many colophons are formulaic, the variety of the aspirations expressed therein is still very rich, which therefore makes these relationships worth exploring.

Previous Scholarship

In the template above, the section that we can only find in the colophon of BD15076 is the third section, “Rationale and Process of the Patronage.” Although this colophon is probably forged, in this section, the rationale of BD15076’s colophon mentions *nīhui* 女穢 (female filth), which, although it does not appear in Nakamura51’s colophon, is an essential concern

to Jianhui, and, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, is a common topic in Buddhist nuns' colophons to scriptures. Due to her detestation of "female filth," Jianhui aspired to transform her gender. She also wished that the multitudinous beings might attain Buddhahood together. Although this may appear to be a formulaic aspiration, I believe that she includes herself among these multitudinous beings, because becoming a buddha is significant for her as a Buddhist cleric, and is closely related to gender transformation in many Buddhist texts. Therefore, I think becoming a buddha is also one of Jianhui's essential aspirations. Here, I provide a brief summary of scholarship on "female filth," as well as gender transformation and women's attaining Buddhahood.

In terms of the origin of "female filth," and the evolution of the theory of the attainability of Buddhahood by women in India, Kajiyama (1982) distinguishes five historical stages regarding Buddhist attitudes towards female awakening: (1) primitive Buddhism under Gautama and his direct disciples made no distinction between men and women with regard to attaining arhatship; (2) probably in the first century B.C.E., in Nikāya Buddhism, the belief arose that a woman is unable to become a buddha; (3) after Mahāyāna Buddhism appeared around the beginning of the Common Era, sympathizing with the plight of women, buddhas such as Akṣobhya and Amitābha vowed to save them; (4) Early Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, developed the idea that a woman can be awakened by transforming herself into a male through the philosophy of emptiness; (5) the mature philosophy of emptiness and universal buddha nature declares that a woman can be awakened yet remain female. Ueki (2004) makes several arguments: women have faced extreme discrimination in India; although primitive Buddhism made no distinction between men and women with regard to

attaining arhatship, after Gautama passed away, disciples with a brāhmanical background, who constituted the majority of the saṃgha, introduced their discrimination towards women; the Mahāyāna Buddhist movement gradually overcame this discrimination by preaching that women could transform their bodies into males; and that according to later Mahāyāna scriptures, a woman could receive a prophecy from the Buddha and become a buddha directly, such as the Queen of the Wondrous Garland. He argues that, in the *Lotus Sūtra*, gender transformation is not an indispensable necessity for the dragon girl to attain Buddhahood, since, in the same scripture, Mahāprajāpatī (the Buddha's aunt) with six thousand *bhikṣuṇīs* also receive a prophecy from the Buddha that they will become dharma teachers, gradually attain the path of bodhisattva, and finally become buddhas, and this prophecy does not mention gender transformation (Ueki 2004, 373–374; *T* no. 262, vol. 9, 36a12–24). Lin Hsin-Yi (2008) argues that female bodies are deemed “filthy” in Buddhism because lust was regarded as the most serious defilement in Buddhist practices; in Mahāyāna Buddhism, in addition to the embodiment of lust and filth, the female body became an expedient manifestation for preaching emptiness and the bodhisattva's benevolence.

Focusing on gender equality in Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, Kasuga (1966) enumerates nineteen examples of women becoming buddhas and eight methods for women to become men in various Buddhist scriptures, and suggests that these texts not only teach attaining Buddhahood, but also preach gender equality. Schuster (1981) argues that because Mahāyāna Buddhist writers recognized that both maleness and femaleness are empty, while a strong tradition in Buddhism had imposed spiritual limits on women because of their gender, therefore sutra composers tried to handle this conflict. The method in which they handled this

conflict was to develop the theme “transforming the female body,” which was motivated by compassion (Schuster 1981). Hirakawa (1989, 376–398) finds that “women attain Buddhahood” is a common topic in early Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, but is rarely addressed in Theravāda Buddhist texts. Therefore, he argues that, in contrast to the communities of Theravāda Buddhism, where men occupy the central role while women are denigrated, in the communities of Mahāyāna Buddhism, there were probably a considerable number of female members who carried authority. Tang Jia (2011, 216–18) suggests that many translated texts attributed to Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (230?–316 C.E.) of the Western Jin dynasty advocate that men and women are relatively equal in Mahāyāna Buddhism. For example, in these texts, women are often bodhisattvas who manifest in female bodies in order to rescue worldly people. Therefore, she argues that these texts motivated the growth of the number of female Buddhists, and, in the light of the considerable number of these texts, the social status of women was relatively high during the late Western Jin dynasty.

In contrast, Fujita ([1971] 1975) argues that, although Mahāyāna Buddhist texts emphasize gender equality, it does not mean that the sexual discrimination in contemporary Indian society had been eradicated. Paul (1981) does not agree that women were elevated to equal (or near equal) status in Mahāyāna society, and argues that the generalization about Theravāda being wholly antagonistic towards women, or at least more antagonistic than the Mahāyāna is overstating the case. She points to an implied misogyny in the literary motif of “sexual transformation,” and to the fact that women must acknowledge that being female is ranked lower than being male as a requirement for religious advancement. The egalitarian view of bodhisattvahood that is devoid of innate sexual traits in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was

never actually practiced in society at large in either India or China (Paul 1981).

As for the reception of the concept of “female filth” and gender transformation outside India, Liu Shaoxia (2005, 174) argues that, in China, *nūhui* originally refers to women’s afterbirth, and later became a term generally applied to all women’s bodies, and is even used by women themselves. Tang Jia (2011, 360) argues that the gender transformation advocated in the *Zhuannüshen jing* 轉女身經 (Scripture on Transforming the Female Body) (T no. 564, vol. 14) refers to transformations that are expected to occur in the next life. Balkwill (2016) argues that the *Zhuannüshen jing* is a Chinese apocryphal scripture, and points to a unique reason for women to transform gender found in this scripture: women of early medieval China were used and abused, therefore becoming *bhikṣuṇīs* could let them escape from worldly problems and desires, and then later become men to be sovereigns of their own bodies. Balkwill suggests that this scripture does not position the problem of the female body in its impurity but in the fact that women are not self-sovereign, and Buddhist women may in fact have produced this scripture themselves. Ohara ([1990] 1998) argues that, in Japan, the acceptance of the theory that women have to transform their gender to become buddhas happened before the tenth century, and it was facilitated by contemporary Confucian ideas.

With respect to the colophons that I am studying in this chapter, Lin Hsin-Yi (2008) mentions Jianhui’s colophons in BD15076 and Nakamura51, but she neither realizes that the colophon in BD15076 is forged, nor does she analyze the colophon in Nakamura51 by referring to the texts listed in this colophon. Liu Shaoxia (2005, 174) lists [*bhikṣu*]ṇī Dao Mingsheng 尼道明勝 in S.1329, *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Rong 比丘尼道容 in S.4366,¹³⁹ *bhikṣuṇī*

¹³⁹ Liu Shaoxia miswrites S.4366 as S.4633.

Sengyuan 比丘尼僧願 in the colophon of a Turfan manuscript,¹⁴⁰ and “woman of pure faith” (i.e. female devotee) Zhang Azhen 清信女張阿真 in Moriya82¹⁴¹ as examples of patrons who apply the concept “female filth” to their own bodies in their colophons but she provides no further analysis.

Regarding the previous studies, as Balkwill (2016, 144–145) comments, scholars have looked to “Indic notions of sex and the body” to explain the “ineligibility of the female body for Buddhahood within the texts of the Indian Buddhist tradition.” In contrast, she examines “how those notions were popularized and written about within the creative period of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, the Six Dynasties.” Coincidentally, here I mainly focus on *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui, a female Buddhist cleric also from the Six Dynasties period, who commissioned a set of scriptures to aspire to transform her gender. In contrast to Balkwill’s study of the composition of a Buddhist scripture, I would like to explore the use of these Buddhist texts, and seek possible explanations for their popularity. I do this by examining the texts ordered by Jianhui with respect to her aspirations as indicated in her colophon, and with reference to other patrons’ colophons that express similar aspirations.

Three Dunhuang Nuns Commission the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*

Now, we have learned that “female filth” was a commonly indexed anxiety for female Buddhists in the medieval Dunhuang area. Echoing this anxiety, in section six, “aspirations” of the colophon in Nakamura51, Jianhui clearly states her aspirations: to be transformed into a man after leaving her current female body, and to become a buddha. In order to assuage this

¹⁴⁰ Ikeda (1990, 138) has transcribed the colophon of this Turfan manuscript.

¹⁴¹ Ikeda (1990, 138) suggests that Moriya82 is suspicious.

burning anxiety and realize her aspirations, what scriptures did Jianhui commission?

Nakamura51 is a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, which comes first on Jianhui's list of scriptures. Aspirations related to *nīhui* often seem to appear in the colophons to this scripture. Other than Jianhui, *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Mingsheng, *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Rong and *bhikṣuṇī* Sengyuan all choose the *Daban niepan jing* alone for their aspirations regarding gender. Fang Guangchang (1998, 694–695) comments that the colophons of these manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing* produced by Buddhist nuns often include laments about 受穢女身 (suffering from the filth of a female body). Here, I select colophons of the Buddhist nuns Dao Mingsheng and Dao Rong in Dunhuang manuscripts to discuss alongside the colophon of Jianhui.

I have noticed two manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing* with similar colophons attributed to Dao Mingsheng in the Dunhuang corpus: Nakamura33 and S.1329.

除一切无量重罪是即今在王舍八城隍願
 大王法至其所王若見者衆罪消除時王各
 言善能如是滅除我罪我當歸依

大般涅槃經卷第六

夫大聖真慈神妙道先清淨尊元祖舍己身先救度妙首道釋尊
 深難慈道清徹方之虛空應育聖恩慈親也左道朋族自怕
 法猶不純生當王化現羅生死難道地臣祇女身各迷長溜莫由能返
 福聞聖教乃改當生極神方亦莫若現今染淨三寶故以流剛衣資
 寫契懺悔罪經一部請誦受持供養尊重諸善以此之福
 躬上瞻劫即宗七世父母渡名舍命抱誠有利之物衆生同獲此善
 復彰現在各以方便消衆苦難與衆生不造惡惡乃任頌曰
 聖化乘運含善極普及日月復善分別罪惡現 會朝誦勅

Figure 2.4 End of Nakamura33 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan


























































Figure 2.5 End of S.1329 (Fang and Wood 2013, 21:26a)

Below is a brief comparison of the formats and scripts of these two manuscripts:¹⁴²

Table 2.2 Comparison of the formats and scripts of Nakamura33 and S.1329

Pressmark	Nakamura33	S.1329
Patron	尼道明勝 ([<i>bhikṣu</i>]nī Dao Mingsheng)	尼道明勝 ([<i>bhikṣu</i>]nī Dao Mingsheng)
Date	N/A	N/A
Size (height×length)	26.1 cm×832 cm	24 cm×464 cm
Sheets No.	24	13
Ruled lines	Yes	Yes
Character number per	17	17

¹⁴² The data of Nakamura33 is provided by Isobe (2005, 1:i, 1:341), and that of S.1329 is provided by Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3).

Column (around)				
Parallel Text	T no. 374, vol. 12, 468c26–475a4		T no. 374, vol. 12, 482b26–486a13	
End Title	大般涅槃經卷第十八 (<i>Scripture on the Great Extinction, the Eighteenth Fascicle</i>)		大般涅槃經卷第廿 (<i>Scripture on the Great Extinction, the Twentieth Fascicle</i>)	
Script Sample	Colophon	Text	Colophon	Text
da 大	 (1/2)	 (51/16)	 (1/2)	 (9/6)
	 (7/16)	 (25/15)	 (7/6)	 (7/12)
shen 神	 (1/7)	 (401/5)	 (1/8)	 (105/11)
	 (4/10)	 (401/8)		
miao 妙	 (1/9)	 (111/17)	 (1/10)	 (32/2)
	 (1/26)	 (118/7)	 (1/27)	 (199/6)
hui 慧	 (2/4)	 (91/8)	 (2/5)	 (60/13)
		 (93/17)		
tong 通	 (2/5)	N/A	 (2/6)	 (102/17)
	 (8/5)		 (8/5)	 (105/12)
fang 方	 (2/8)	 (5/12)	 (4/11)	 (50/3)
	 (4/11)	 (7/9)	 (2/9)	 (215/17)
zhi 之	 (5/24)	 (12/17)	 (6/13)	 (19/5)
	 (6/20)	 (17/11)	 (5/21)	 (28/13)
xu 虛	 (6/21)	 (33/8)	 (5/22)	 (129/17)
		 (67/11)		 (13/8)

The scripts of both the colophons and the texts of Nakamura³³ and S.1329 seem to be the same. Due to the fact that the script of the colophons is much more cursive than that of the texts of these two manuscripts, and due to the limited number of the samples that I can collect from the colophons, it is difficult to determine whether the texts and the colophons were written by the same person, yet it seems that they are from different hands. This means that these two manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing* were probably copied by the same person, a professional scribe, and that Dao Mingsheng possibly added the colophons at the end of these manuscripts herself.

What did Dao Mingsheng add to the manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing*? Here is the transcription of her colophon based on the version of Nakamura³³ with reference to S.1329:

Generally speaking, the great sage is ultimately true, and the awe-inspiring spirit is mysterious and subtle; the teaching of the [Buddha's] way is pure, and the uniquely venerable is unparalleled. The radiance of his adamantine body covers three realms; [his] wondrous tone has a far reverberation, and [his] voice diffuses itself throughout the eight difficult [states of existence where it is hard to see the Buddha or hear his teaching]; [his] penetrating wisdom and pervasive purity could be comparable to the great void; [he] fosters all the beings with sympathy, and shows kindness like a loving parent. Therefore, [I,] [*bhikṣu*]*nī* Dao Mingsheng, understanding that my previous cause is impure, have been reborn in this final period [of the three in the Buddha-kalpa], sinking and being caught in the net of births and deaths. Although [I] have been steeped in the transformation of the [Buddha's] way, [however, since I] have received the filth of a woman's body, [I] have been in coma and a long slumber without any means to turn back. With all due respect, [I] have heard the holy teaching that if one is desirous of resting one's spirit out of this world in the next life, one cannot do better than trusting and looking up to the three treasures now. Accordingly, by cutting down my expenditure on clothing, [I] make this one copy of the *Scripture on the Great Extinction* [in order to] recite and uphold, to worship and venerate, to respect and praise. May the merit accruing from this deed reach up to [my] teachers of the past kalpa and [my] parents of seven generations, and also the multitudinous beings of every description that possess sentient life, intelligence, or bodily form that [they] may share this felicity. Furthermore, may the myriad ills within [my] current door disappear like melting ice and all the wholesome things find their ways to come; may the four great elements be healthy and restful, giving

rise to no calamities. So [I] have composed a laud as follows:

The holy transformation and the mysterious principles penetrate and embrace up to the furthest limit. [They] pervade all those who possess bodily form, [so that they may] receive their rewards according to the principles. [The Buddha will] manifest again in the eight difficult [states of existence], [and all may] assemble together in order to behold Maitreya.¹⁴³

夫大聖至真，¹⁴⁴威神玄妙；道化清淨，獨尊无侶。金剛之身，光波（被）¹⁴⁵三界；妙音遙（遙）¹⁴⁶嚮（響），¹⁴⁷聲流八難。慧通清徹，¹⁴⁸方之虛空；愍育黎庶，恩加慈親。是以尼道明勝，自惟往殖¹⁴⁹不純，生遭末代，沈羅¹⁵⁰生死。雖¹⁵¹染¹⁵²道化，受穢女¹⁵³身，昏迷長侵（寢），¹⁵⁴莫由能返。竊聞聖教，乃欲當生栖神¹⁵⁵方外，莫若現今擯（憑）仰三寶。故以減割¹⁵⁶衣資，寫此《大般涅槃經》一部，讀誦受持，供養供（恭）敬，¹⁵⁷尊重讚歎。以此之福，願上及曠劫¹⁵⁸師宗、七世父母，復¹⁵⁹為含令（靈）¹⁶⁰抱識、有刑（形）¹⁶¹之類衆生，同獲¹⁶²此慶。復¹⁶³願現

¹⁴³ This translation is a modified version of Giles's (1957, 48) translation.

¹⁴⁴ *Zhizhen* 至真 (ultimately true) is written as *hua xuanzong* 化玄宗 (teach mysterious principles) in S.1329.

¹⁴⁵ *Bo* 波 (wave) should be a mistake for *pi* 被 (cover) (Ikeda 1990, 159), which is written as *fang* 放 (radiate) in S.1329.

¹⁴⁶ *Yao* 遙: Giles (1957, 47) transcribes this character in S.1329 as *yan* 延 (extend); Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) (in S.1329) all transcribe it as *tiao* 迢 (far); Shi and Tai (2000, 40) transcribes it (in S.1329) as *yao* 遙 (far), which I agree with since the glyph looks like 遙, a variant form of 遙.

¹⁴⁷ Huang and Wu (1995, 860), and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) think *xiang* 嚮 (toward) is a phonetic loan for *xiang* 響 (reverberation), which I agree with.

¹⁴⁸ *Che* 徹: Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Shi and Tai (2000, 40) transcribe it as *che* 澈, which I do not agree with.

¹⁴⁹ *Zhi* 殖: Giles (1957, 48), Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Shi and Tai (2000, 40) all transcribe it as *yun* 殞 (languish), and Huang and Wu (1995, 860) further argue that *yun* 殞 is a phonetic loan of *yun* 運 (fortune); Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) transcribe it as *zhi* 殖 (plant; cause), which I agree with.

¹⁵⁰ Huang and Wu (1995, 860), and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) think *luo* 羅 (net) is a graphic mistake for *li* 罹 (suffer), which I do not agree with. Shi and Tai (2000, 40) is not certain about whether it is *luo* 羅 or *li* 罹.

¹⁵¹ *Sui* 雖: Giles (1957, 48), Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860) all transcribe it as *nan* 難 (difficult); Shi and Tai (2000, 40) and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) transcribe it as *sui* 雖 (although), which I agree with.

¹⁵² *Ran* 染 exists in S.1329, but is missing in Nakamura33.

¹⁵³ Shi and Tai (2000, 40) erroneously transcribes it as *jiu* 久 (long).

¹⁵⁴ *Qin* 侵 (寢): Giles (1957, 48), Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) all transcribe it as *huo* 禍 (ruin; disaster); Shi and Tai (2000, 40) transcribes it as *qin* 侵 (invade). The glyph is 侵, a variant form of *qin* 侵, which is a phonetic loan for *qin* 寢 (slumber).

¹⁵⁵ *Shen* 神 is missing in S.1329.

¹⁵⁶ *Ge* 割: Giles (1957, 48) transcribes it as *shan* 刪 (delete); Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860) transcribe it as *xiao* 削 (pare; cut); Shi and Tai (2000, 40) transcribes it as *ce* 側 (side); Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) transcribe it as *ge* 割 (cut), which I agree with.

¹⁵⁷ Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Shi and Tai (2000, 40) and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) suggest that *gong* 供 (offer; worship) is a phonetic loan for *gong* 恭 (respectful), which I agree with since *gongyang gongjing* 供養恭敬 is a much more common term than *gongyang gongjing* 供養供敬 in Chinese Buddhist texts.

¹⁵⁸ Shi and Tai (2000, 40) erroneously transcribes *jie* 劫 (kalpa) as *jiong* 迥 (far away; widely different).

¹⁵⁹ Huang and Wu (1995, 860) transcribe *fu* 復 (and also) as *hou* 後 (later), which is erroneous.

¹⁶⁰ Giles (1957, 48), Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Shi and Tai (2000, 40) and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) all suggest that *ling* 令 (order) is a phonetic loan for *ling* 靈 (spirit), which I agree with.

¹⁶¹ Giles (1957, 48), Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) all suggest that *xing* 刑 (torture) is a phonetic loan for *xing* 形 (form), which I agree with.

¹⁶² *Huo* 獲 (receive) is written as *huo* 伙 (company) in S.1329, which is a phonetic loan. Shi and Tai (2000, 40) erroneously transcribes *huo* 伙 in S.1329 as *zhan* 沾 (沾) (imbue with).

¹⁶³ Again, Huang and Wu (1995, 860) erroneously transcribe *fu* 復 as *hou* 後.

在居門，万惡冰消，衆善來臻；四大康^休（休），¹⁶⁴不造諸惡。乃作頌曰：

聖化玄宗，通含至極。普及有刑（形），獲報¹⁶⁵如則。八難返現，會觀彌勒。

Similarly, I also found two Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing* with similar colophons attributed to Dao Rong: S.4366 and Hane501.

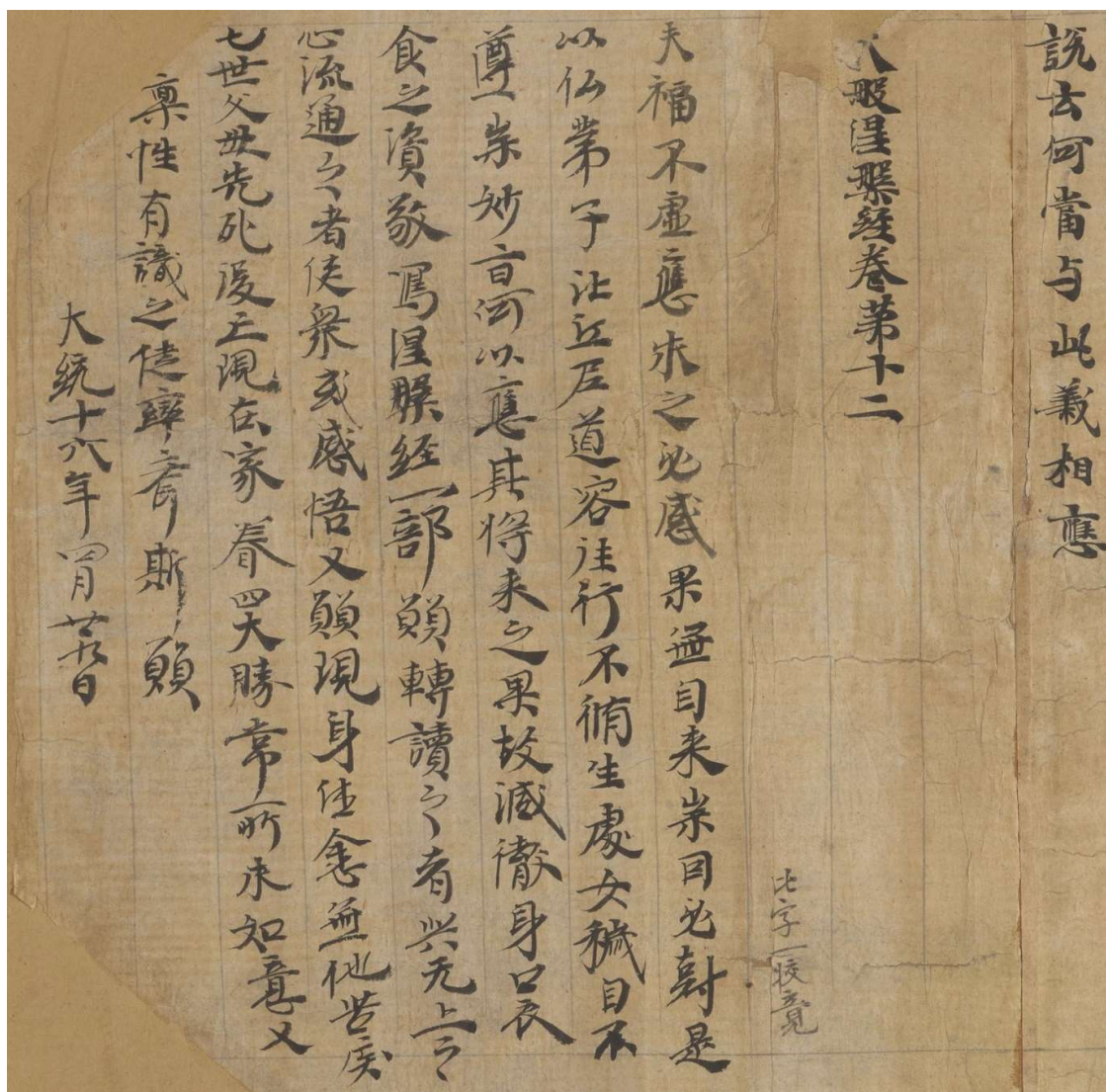


Figure 2.6 S.4366 © British Library Board

¹⁶⁴ *Xiu* 休: Giles (1957, 48) and Shi and Tai (2000, 40) transcribe it as *zhu* 住 (stay); Huang and Wu (1995, 860) transcribe it as *xiu* 然; Ikeda (1990, 160) and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) transcribe it as *xiu* 休. This glyph should be *xiu* 休. Both *xiu* 休 and *xiu* 然 are variant forms for *xiu* 休 (restful).

¹⁶⁵ *Bao* 報: Giles (1957, 48) transcribes it as *jiao* 教 (teaching); Ikeda (1990, 160), Huang and Wu (1995, 860), Shi and Tai (2000, 40), and Fang and Wood (2013, 21:3) all transcribe it as *bao* 報 (reward), which I agree with.

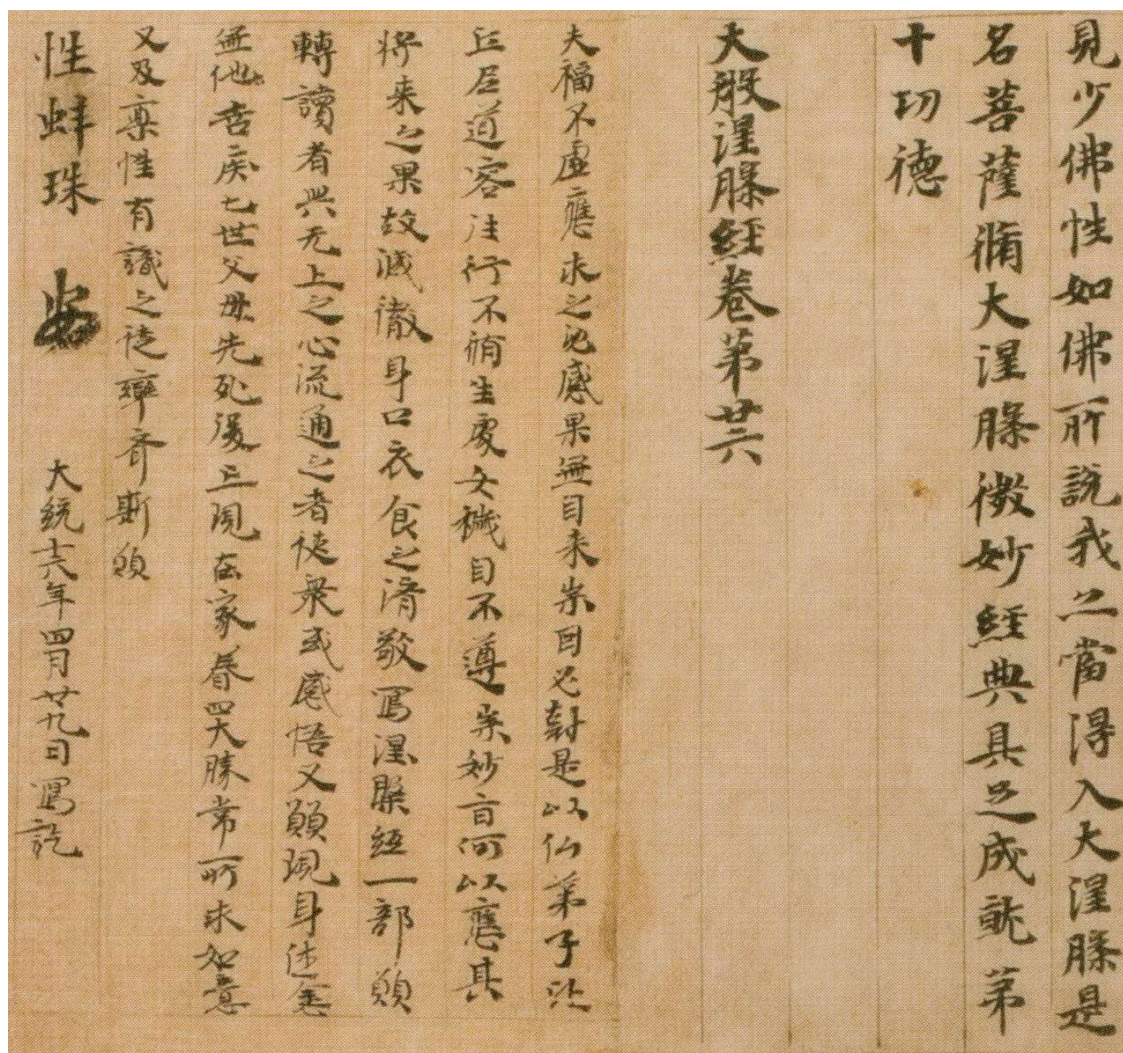




































Figure 2.7 Hane501 © Kyōu shōoku

I compare the formats and scripts of these two manuscripts.¹⁶⁶

Table 2.3 Comparison of the formats and scripts of S.4366 and Hane501

Pressmark	S.4366	Hane501
Patron	比丘尼道容 (<i>bhikṣuṇī</i> Dao Rong)	比丘尼道容 (<i>bhikṣuṇī</i> Dao Rong)
Date	大統十六年四月廿九日 (The twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of the Datong era [i.e. 550 C.E.])	大統十六年四月廿九日 (The twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of the Datong era)
Size (height×length)	?×22 ft (670.56 cm)	26.8 cm×757.9 cm
Sheets No.	?	20
Ruled lines	Yes	Yes

¹⁶⁶ The data of S.4366 is provided by Giles (1957, 46), and that of Hane501 is provided by Kyōu shōoku (2012, 6:287).














Character No. per Column (around)	17		17		
Parallel Text	T no. 374, vol. 12, 434b24–439b24		T no. 374, vol. 12, 516c3–522a27		
End Title	大般涅槃經卷第十二 (<i>Scripture on the Great Extinction</i> , the Twelfth Fascicle)		大般涅槃經卷第廿六 (<i>Scripture on the Great Extinction</i> , the Twenty-sixth Fascicle)		
Script Sample	Colophon	Text	Colophon	Text	
pan 槃	 (4/7)	 (150/1)	 (3/17)	 (73/4)	
		 (151/4)		 (470/4)	
zai 在	 (6/10)	 (63/15)	 (5/14)	 (47/16)	
		 (207/7)		 (68/10)	
qiu 求	 (6/18)	 (38/8)	 (5/22)	 (228/7)	
	 (1/6)	 (73/9)		 (1/6)	 (242/7)
wu 無 (无)	 (1/11)	N/A	 (5/1)	N/A	
	 (4/17)	 (13/8)		 (4/5)	 (18/6)
		 (16/5)			 (18/8)
suo 所	 (6/17)	 (19/16)	 (5/21)	 (25/4)	
		 (22/6)		 (47/9)	

The colophons of S.4366 and Hane501 should be of the same script—one that is different from their own texts' scripts. For instance, both the colophons use two character forms, *wu* 無 and *wu* 无, interchangeably while the texts themselves only use the form *wu* 无. In contrast, the scripts of the texts of these two manuscripts appear different. It is possible the *Daban niepan jing* that Dao Rong commissioned and wrote her colophons on is the product of scribal teamwork since it is a long scripture. Another possibility for this inconsistency is

that Dao Rong collected extant manuscripts of different fascicles of the *Daban niepan jing* that were probably copied by various scribes and then added her own colophons.¹⁶⁷

There are some other differences between S.4366 and Hane501, such as a short note 比字一校竟 between the end title and the colophon in S.4366, which Hane501 does not have. Giles (1957, 46) translates this note as “revised word for word throughout,” and suggests that S.4366’s colophon and this note are written in different hands. More precisely, this note should be translated as “first word-for-word proofreading completed.” Yet, Giles’s suggestion makes sense, since a formally copied Dunhuang Buddhist scripture was often revised by one or more proofreaders, who might not have been the original scribes (Fujieda 1969, 31–32). If we compare the script of this short note with the script of the text and that of the colophon in S.4366, this note could have been written by a proofreader who is neither the scribe nor the patron, Dao Rong:

Table 2.4 Comparison of the scripts in S.4366

Script Sample	Colophon	Note	Text
<i>bi</i> 比	 (2/5)	 (1/1)	 (366/2)
			 (406/2)
<i>yi</i> 一	 (4/9)	 (1/3)	 (7/16)
			 (8/3)
<i>zi</i> 字	N/A	 (1/2)	 (53/5)
			 (54/1)
<i>jing</i> 竟	N/A	 (1/5)	 (415/7)

¹⁶⁷ Lin, Yang, and Liu (2013, 147–159) discuss an example in which the patron’s own colophons were collected and added to some extant manuscripts of different fascicles of the *Youposai jie jing* 優婆塞戒經 (Sūtra on *Upāsaka* Precepts) that were probably copied by variant scribes.

Another difference is that at the end of Hane501, there are two notes which are lacking from S.4366: *xing bangzhu* 性蚌珠 (nature of mussel pearl?) and *an* 安 (tranquil). Although the handwriting of the character 安 is slightly more cursive than that of the note 性蚌珠, it is unclear whether these two notes are literally connected since Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593 C.E.) ([1596] 1986, 774:331–332), in his medicine book, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Compendium of Material Medica), suggests that a major function of *zhenzhu* 真珠 (genuine pearl, i.e. 蚌珠) is to *zhenxin* 鎮心 (calm the heart), which could be related to 安. In any case, neither of these notes is written by the composer of the colophon or by the scribe of the scripture, as suggested in the descriptive catalogue of *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 (Kyōu shooku 2012, 6:287). Also, the contents of these two notes are not relevant to the *Daban niepan jing* or Dao Rong’s colophon in Hane501, therefore, they should be interpreted as some sort of miscellaneous writing added to this manuscript later.

In her colophon to the *Daban niepan jing*, Dao Rong writes:

In principle, merit is not fallacious in its response: seek it, and it will respond. Effort does not come of itself: esteem the cause, and it will be achieved. Thus, [I], a disciple of the Buddha, *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Rong, because my conduct in the previous life was not cultivated, have been reborn in “female filth.” If I do not obey and honour the wondrous decree of [the Buddha], how shall I find response in the effects to come? Therefore, having cut down my expenditure in the articles of food for my mouth and clothing for my body, I have reverently copied out one copy of the *Scripture on [the Great] Extinction*. May those who recite it give rise to supreme minds, and those who circulate it cause all the bewildered to be awakened. Also, may my present life be restful and joyful, and be without further suffering or sickness; may my parents in seven generations, who have passed away before and after, and my family and kinsfolk now living, enjoy surpassing bliss on the four great elements, and may what they seek fall out according to their desire; also may it extend to all the beings naturally endowed with perception—may they all be embraced in the scope of this prayer.

Copy completed on the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of the sixteenth year of the

Datong era (i.e. 550 C.E.).¹⁶⁸

夫福不虛應，求之必感；果無自來，崇¹⁶⁹因必尅。是以仙弟子比丘尼道容，往行不脩，生處女穢。自不遵崇¹⁷⁰妙旨，何以應其將來之果。故減¹⁷¹徹身口衣食之資，¹⁷²敬寫《涅槃經》一部。願轉讀之¹⁷³者，興无上之心；流通之者，使衆¹⁷⁴或（惑）感悟。又願現身體（休）念，¹⁷⁵無他苦疾，七世父母、先死後亡，現在家眷，四大勝常，所求如意。又及¹⁷⁶稟性有識之徒，率耆斯願。

大統十六年四月廿九日寫訖。¹⁷⁷

The handwriting of Dao Mingsheng's two colophons is consistent, and we can also observe this consistency in the handwriting of Dao Rong's two colophons. However, the phrasing of Dao Mingsheng's two colophons is not exactly the same, and discrepancies show up between the phrasings of Dao Rong's two colophons. These discrepancies suggest that the patrons may have written their colophons from memory instead of copying a template word for word.

Next, I compare these three colophons from Dunhuang Buddhist nuns, all of which address the topic of “female filth” and all of which are appended to copies of the *Daban niepan jing*:

¹⁶⁸ This translation is a modified version of Giles's (1957, 46) translation.

¹⁶⁹ *Cong* 崇 (esteem): Xu Guolin (1937, 13) and Giles (1957, 46) transcribe it as *zong* 宗, and Giles translates it as “concentrate,” which is erroneous.

¹⁷⁰ Again, Xu Guolin (1937, 13) and Giles (1957, 46) erroneously transcribe it as *zong* 宗.

¹⁷¹ *Kyōu* shooku (2012, 6:287) erroneously transcribes *jian* 減 (cut down) as *mie* 滅 (extinguish) in Hane501.

¹⁷² *Zi* 資 (expenditure) in S.4366 is written as *ji* 濟 (support) in Hane501. The former makes more sense in this context.

¹⁷³ *Zhi* 之 in S.4366 is lost in Hane501.

¹⁷⁴ Shi and Tai (2000, 135) erroneously transcribes *zhong* 衆 (all the people) as *ren* 人 (people).

¹⁷⁵ *Xiuyu* 休（休）念: Xu Guolin (1937, 13), Giles (1957, 46), Ikeda (1990, 125), Shi and Tai (2000, 135) all transcribe it as *zhunian* 住念, and Giles translates it as “abide in meditation”; *Kyōu* shooku (2012, 6:287) transcribes it as 休念 without a gloss; Huang and Wu (1995, 831) transcribe it as *xiuyu* 休念. This word is *xiuyu* 休念, which means “restful and joyful.” Both *xiu* 休 and *xiu* 休 are variant forms of *xiu* 休.

¹⁷⁶ *Ji* 及 (extend to) in Hane501 is lost in S.4366.

¹⁷⁷ S.4366 does not have *xieqi* 寫訖 (complete writing) that Hane501 has.

Table 2.5 Comparison of colophons from three Dunhuang Buddhist nuns

Pressmark	Nakamura51	Nakamura33 and S.1329	S.4366 and Hane501	
Colophon	1. Introduction	夫至妙沖玄，則言辭莫表；惠（慧）深理固，則凝然常寂。淡泊夷淨，隨緣改化。凡夫想識，豈能窮達。推尋聖典，崇善為先。	夫大聖至真，威神玄妙；道化清淨，獨尊无侶。金剛之身，光波（被）三界；妙音 ^遠 （遙）嚮（響），聲流八難。慧通清徹，方之虛空；愍育黎庶，恩加慈親。	夫福不虛應，求之必感；果無自來，崇因必尅。
	2. Patron's Identity and Name	是以比丘尼建暉	是以尼道明勝，	是以仏弟子比丘尼道容，
	3. Rationale and Process of the Patronage		自惟往殖不純，生遭末代，沈羅生死。雖染道化，受穢女身，昏迷長侵（寢），莫由能返。竊聞聖教，乃欲當生栖神方外，莫若現今 ^禪 （憑）仰三寶。故以減割衣資，	往行不脩，生處女穢。自不遵崇妙旨，何以應其將來之果。故減徹身口衣食之資，
	4. Beneficiary	為七世師長、父母		
	5. Scripture Copied and the Way to Use the Scripture	敬寫《涅槃》一部，《法華》二部，《勝鬘》一部，《无量壽》一部，《方廣》一部，《仁王》一部，《藥師》一部。	寫此《大般涅槃經》一部，讀誦受持，供養供（恭）敬，尊重讚歎。	敬寫《涅槃經》一部。
	6. Aspiration	因此微福，使得離女身後成男子，法界衆生，一時成佛。	以此之福，願上及曠劫師宗、七世父母，復為含令（靈）抱識、有刑（形）之類衆生，同獲此慶。復願現在居門，万惡冰消，衆善來臻；四大康 ^休 （休），不造諸惡。乃作頌曰：聖化玄宗，通含至極。普及有刑（形），獲報如則。八難返現，會觀彌勒。	願轉讀之者，興无上之心；流通之者，使衆或（惑）感悟。又願現身 ^休 （休）愈，無他苦疾，七世父母、先死後亡，現在家眷，四大勝常，所求如意。又及稟性有識之徒，率齊斯願。
	7. Date	大統二年四月八日。		大統十六年四月廿九日寫訖。

These three nuns use different templates for their colophons, although all three templates bear

structural similarities to Satō's (1977, 1425) type B inscriptions. Specifically, although the introductions of these templates all begin with *fu* 夫, and are all composed in refined literary style, their key points are different. Jianhui's introduction emphasizes that wisdom and truth are abstruse for mundane people, and what one can learn is that goodness (or merit) are the priority as written in Buddhist texts. Thus it supplies a textual foundation for copying scriptures for merit. Dao Mingsheng's introduction praises the Buddha's universal power and sympathy, which echoes her rationale in section three, 禪 (憑) 仰三寶 (trust and look up to the three treasures), meaning that her aspirations rely entirely on the Buddha's power and sympathy. The introduction of Dao Rong's colophon is shorter than the others, yet it also stresses an essential Buddhist doctrine: cause and effect. Dao Rong reveals that what she is doing is for the *jianglai zhi guo* 將來之果 (the effects to come). Another discrepancy among these three templates is that Jianhui expresses her main aspiration for becoming male after she lists the scriptures that have been copied, while Dao Mingsheng and Dao Rong address their concerns about "female filth" before stating the title of the scripture.¹⁷⁸ Also, Dao Mingsheng's colophon does not include a date, whereas both Jianhui's and Dao Rong's do. Instead, her colophon ends with a *song* 頌 (short laud consisting of quatrains with four characters per line, which is probably modeled on the Sanskrit *gāthā*) that refers to the pervading principle of moral recompense (i.e. the principle of cause and effect), and tells a prophecy of the Buddha's next manifestation in the eight difficult states of existence, and of the assembly that will behold Maitreya. It is likely that this manner of concluding the colophon was influenced by the style of Buddhist sūtras, which often use *gāthās* in a similar

¹⁷⁸ In the forged colophon of Jianhui in BD15076, she also complains about "female filth" in her rationale before the list of scriptures.

way.

The multiplicity of the templates used for the same scripture in order to address the same concerns suggests that it may have been popular to copy the *Daban niepan jing* with the aspiration to transform the “filthy” female gender, at least among nuns in the Dunhuang area around the Datong era (535–551 C.E.). Did the nuns who expressed this aspiration consciously select this scripture? If yes, was it the content of this scripture that attracted them to do it?

If we examine the content of the *Daban niepan jing*, we find some passages that are compatible with aspirations for gender transformation:¹⁷⁹

1. At that time from among the Kuṇḍala women, *bhikṣuṇī* Subhadrā, *bhikṣuṇī* Upanandā, *bhikṣuṇī* Sāgaramatī, and six billion other *bhikṣuṇīs* were present. All of them were also great arhats: their contaminants were exhausted, their minds were freed, their tasks were accomplished, they were free of the defilements, and they had tamed their cognitive senses. They were like huge dragons in possession of great spiritual power, and were accomplished in the wisdom of emptiness... There are also some *bhikṣuṇīs* in this gathering of *bhikṣuṇīs*, who were all bodhisattvas, dragons among the people, for in rank they were firmly settled within the ten stages [*daśabhūmi*] from which they could not be moved. Having taken on female bodies in order to spiritually transform the multitudinous beings, they were constantly cultivating the four immeasurable minds, had obtained unimpeded power, and were able to attain Buddhahood. (The First Fascicle of the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*, Part one of Chapter One: Longevity)¹⁸⁰

尔時復有拘陁羅女：善賢比丘尼、優波難陁比丘尼、海意比丘尼，與六十億比丘尼等，一切亦是大阿羅漢，諸漏已盡，心得自在，所作已辦，離諸煩惱，調伏諸根，猶如大龍，有大威德，成就空慧。……於比丘尼衆中復有諸比丘尼，皆是菩薩，人中之龍，位階十地安住不動，為化衆生，現受女身，而常修習¹⁸¹四無量心，得自在力，能化作佛。（《大般涅槃經》卷第一，壽命品第一）（*T* no. 374, vol.

¹⁷⁹ These passages are transcribed based on the *Daban niepan jing* of the *Korean second canon* (hereafter *KSC*) as the master version, and with reference to other editions for collation. In the collation, I merely make footnotes on the significant textual variants that are different from the master version.

¹⁸⁰ This translation is a modified version of Blum's (2013, 5–6) translation.

¹⁸¹ *Xi* 習 (practice) is written as *ji* 集 (collect; focus) in the *KSC* (16:1c). However, in the *SXC*, the *QSC* (25:381b), the *PNC* (*ZH* no. 112, vol. 14, 11c), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (32:675b), the *JXC* (34:3a) and the *QLC* (29:4a), it is all written as *xi* 習, which makes more sense in this context.

12, 366a17–29)

2. At that time there were also female lay followers [*upāsikās*] presenting in numbers that totaled the sands of three Ganges Rivers. They uphold the five precepts, and their demeanors are fully dignified. The female lay followers named Dignity of Life [Jīvaśrī], Garland of Dignity [Śrīmālā], and Viśākhā were the leaders among their group of eighty-four thousand, all of whom are capable of maintaining the true teachings [*saddharma*]. In order to deliver innumerable hundreds of thousands of the multitudinous beings, they manifest themselves in female bodies, and criticize the householders' lifestyle [pertaining to women]. They meditate on their own bodies as four poisonous snakes: this body is being constantly nibbled at by innumerable small organisms. This body is foul smelling and unclean, shackled in a prison of greed. This body is as loathsome as a dead dog. This body is impure, with its nine holes from which matter continuously flows... Therefore it is to be discarded, as one would expectorate nose mucus and saliva. With this reasoning these *upāsikās* are continuously engaged in cultivating their minds on the teachings of emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness. They take deep pleasure in inquiring into and receiving the Mahāyāna scriptures, and after hearing these [scriptures] they would also expound them for others. They keep their original vows and disdain their female bodies, regarding them as loathsome and their gender as insubstantial. Mentally they always practice proper contemplations like this, [seeking to] destroy their endless transmigration through birth and death. They are thirsty for the Mahāyāna, and as they drew from it to satisfy themselves they also satisfy others who thirst for it. For they deeply enjoy the Mahāyāna, and guard it, although presented in female bodies, in fact they are bodhisattvas who skillfully adapt to [the ways of] the whole world in delivering those who have not yet been delivered, and liberating those who have not been liberated. They carry on the seeds of the Three Jewels to prevent their dissolution, and in the future they will turn the wheel of the doctrine. They will adorn themselves with marvelous adornments, rigorously keeping the precepts. All of them will achieve merit in this way, bringing forth a mind of great compassion toward all living beings equally and without discrimination, looking upon each of them as one would look upon her only child.¹⁸²

尔時復有三恒河沙諸優婆夷，受持五戒，威儀具足。其名曰：壽德優婆夷、德鬘優婆夷、毗舍佉優婆夷等八萬四千，而為上首，悉能堪任護持正法。為度無量百千衆生故，現女身呵責家法。自觀己身如四毒虵：是身常為无量諸虫之所啖食，是身臭穢、貪欲獄縛，是身可惡猶如死狗，是身不淨，九孔常流。……是故當捨，如棄涕¹⁸³唾。以是因緣，諸優婆夷，以空、無相、無願之法，常修其心。深樂諳受大乘經典，聞已亦能為他演說。護持本願，毀訾女身，甚可患厭，性不堅牢。心常修習¹⁸⁴如是正觀，破壞生死無際輪轉。渴仰大乘，既自充足，復能充足餘渴仰者。深樂大乘，守護大乘，雖現女身，實是菩薩，善能隨順一切世間，度

¹⁸² This translation is a modified version of Blum's (2013, 10–1) translation.

¹⁸³ *Ti* 涕 (mucus from nose) in the *KSC* (16:3c) is written as *ti* 洟 (mucus from nose) in the *SXC*, the *QSC* (25:384b), the *PNC* (as indicated in footnote nine on *T* no. 374, vol. 12, 367), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (32:680b), the *JXC* (34:7b) and the *QLC* (29:7b). Both of them make sense in this context.

¹⁸⁴ *Xi* 習 (practice) is written as *ji* 集 (collect) in the *KSC* (16:3c). However, in the *SXC*, the *QSC* (25:384b), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (32:680b), the *JXC* (34:7b) and the *QLC* (29:7b), it is all written as *xi* 習, which, again, makes more sense in this context.

未度者，解未解者，紹三寶種使不斷絕，於未來世當轉法輪，以大莊嚴而自莊嚴，堅持禁戒，皆悉成就如是功德，於諸衆生大慈悲心，平等無二，如視一子。
（《大般涅槃經》卷第一，壽命品第一）（*T no. 374, vol. 12, 367a24–b23*）

3. At that time all the imperial consorts, excluding only the consorts of King Ajātaśatru, also [came together], and their numbers equaled with the grains of sand in seven Ganges Rivers. They have taken female bodies in the present life for the purpose of delivering the multitudinous beings. They are always mindful of their behaviors, having purified their minds by practicing the teachings on emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness. [Among them] were the consorts named Beautiful Woman of the Triple World [Trilokasundarī] and Beloved Virtue [Priyaguṇa]. All these imperial women like them abide comfortably within the true teachings. They practice the precepts, and have had their demeanors fully dignified. They are filled with compassion for living beings as if each is their only child.¹⁸⁵

余時復有七恒河沙諸王夫人，唯除阿闍世王夫人，為度衆生，現受女身。¹⁸⁶常觀身行，以空、無相、無願之法，薰修其心。其名曰：三界妙夫人、愛德夫人。如是等諸王夫人，皆悉安住於正法中，修行禁戒，威儀具足，憐愍衆生，等如一子。（《大般涅槃經》卷第一，壽命品第一）（*T no. 374, vol. 12, 368a20–5*）

4. I have also manifested myself in Jambudvīpa as someone who attained Buddhahood in a woman's body. The many people [who saw this] all spoke of how rare it was for a woman to be able to attain *anuttarāsamyaksambodhi* (supreme correct enlightenment). The Thus-come One cannot accept a woman's body after all, but in order to tame a great many living beings, [I] do manifest [myself] in a female form. Out of empathy for all the multitudinous beings I have also appeared in various physical forms. (The Fourth Fascicle of the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*, Part one of Chapter Four: The Nature of the Thus-come One)¹⁸⁷

我又示現於閻浮提女身成佛，衆人皆言：“甚奇，女人能成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。”如來畢竟不受女身，為欲調伏無量衆生故現女像。憐愍一切諸衆生故，而復示現種種色像。（《大般涅槃經》卷第四，如來性品第四之一）（*T no. 374, vol. 12, 389b23–7*）

5. In addition, good son! Among good sons and good daughters there are none who do not seek a male body [in their next rebirth]. Why is this? Because in all women are lodged a collection of things problematic. In addition, good son! Just as the urine of a mosquito would be unable to moisten the surface of the earth, that is how difficult it is to satisfy the lust of a woman... Good son! It is in this sense that good sons and good daughters who listen to this Mahāyāna *Scripture of the Great Extinction* will always decry the marks that characterize a female and seek to be male. Why? Because this great

¹⁸⁵ This translation is a modified version of Blum's (2013, 14–15) translation.

¹⁸⁶ *Shen* 身 (body) is written as *ren* 人 (person) in the *SXC* that makes less sense.

¹⁸⁷ This translation is a modified version of Blum's (2013, 129) translation.

scripture has the characteristic of manliness, which is referred to as buddha-nature. If someone does not understand buddha-nature, then he does not have male characteristics. Why? Because he cannot grasp the fact that the buddha-nature exists within himself. I would say those unable to know the buddha-nature are to be called women. I would say those who are able to know themselves that the buddha-nature exists are characteristically male. If a woman is able to know definitively that buddha-nature exists within herself, [you] should know that this constitutes her as male. Good son! This Mahāyāna scripture, the *Scripture of the Great Extinction*, is a collection of merit beyond measure, limit, or conception. Why? Because by having expounded the hidden treasury of the Thus-come One, good sons and good daughters who desire to quickly comprehend this recondite treasury of the Thus-come One will thereby expediently apply themselves to the practice of what is in this scripture.¹⁸⁸

復次善男子！若善男子、善女人等，無有不求男子身者。何以故？一切女人皆是眾惡之所住處。復次善男子！如蚊子尿不能令此大地潤洽，其女人者姪欲難滿亦復如是。……善男子！以是義故，諸善男子、善女人等，聽是大乘大涅槃經，常應呵責女人之相求於男子。何以故？是大經典有丈夫相，所謂佛性。若人不知是佛性者，則無男相。所以者何？不能自知有佛性故。若有不能知佛性者，我說是等名為女人。若能自知有佛性者，我說是人為丈夫相。若有女人能知自身定有佛性，當知是等即為男子。善男子！是大乘典大涅槃經，無量無邊不可思議功德之聚。何以故？以說如來祕藏故，是故善男子、善女人，若欲速知如來密藏，應當方便勤修此經。（T no. 374, vol. 12, 422a15–b9）

6. When [the Buddha] was expounding this teaching...two thousand billion human women and goddesses had their female bodies changed, and obtained male bodies right away. (The Fortieth Fascicle of the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*, Part two of Chapter Thirteen: Kaṇḍinya)

說是法時……人女、天女二万億人，現轉女身得男子身。（《大般涅槃經》卷第四十，憍陳如品第十三之二）（T no. 374, vol. 12, 603c9–24）

The first three passages are all from part one of the first chapter of the *Daban niepan jing*: Longevity, which is the beginning, and the introduction of the background of this long scripture. Basically, the scenario occurs during the period when the Buddha's nirvāṇa was approaching, and he offered the last opportunity to answer questions regarding his teachings before he would physically leave this world. Therefore, after receiving this message, heterogeneous groups of living beings appear on stage, as is typical in a Mahāyāna scripture,

¹⁸⁸ This translation is a modified version of Blum's (2013, 301–302) translation.

in order to attend to the Buddha, make offerings to him, try to persuade him to stay, and carry on his teachings. Nuns in the first passage, female lay followers (*upāsikās*) in the second passage, and imperial consorts in the third passage are three groups of female human beings among the large assembly of the Buddha's followers gathering around him. In contrast to their male counterparts, this scripture expounds on the gender of these three groups of women. Specifically, the text emphasizes three points:

First, these women have achieved high stages through self-cultivation, for instance, through upholding precepts, dignifying their demeanors, and purifying their minds by practicing the teachings on emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness. They are either great arhats or bodhisattvas, who are freely able to attain Buddhahood. It is essential for the text to recognize the female's potential to attain Buddhahood since it lays a foundation for the Buddha's manifestation as a woman in the fourth passage, the existence of buddha-nature in women's bodies in the fifth passage, and all the women's transformation to men in the sixth passage. As to the patrons, it can work as a cornerstone for the aspiration of Jianhui that all sentient beings in the realm of reality to become buddhas.

Second, the text criticizes the innate "filth" associated with female bodies, particularly in the second passage regarding female lay followers. It uses several metaphors to describe how loathsome their bodies are,¹⁸⁹ and concludes that the body is to be discarded. Although the filth of the human body is a common trope that is not exclusively applied to women, given that attachment to the physical body is seen as an obstacle to awakening, it is notable that the description of the filth of body belongs to the female only in this chapter, and is bound to the

¹⁸⁹ There are more metaphors in the scripture (*T* no. 374, vol. 12, 367b1–13) that this dissertation does not include.

gender of these three groups of women. More straightforwardly, in the second passage, female lay followers “disdain their female bodies, regarding them as loathsome and their gender as insubstantial.” Undoubtedly, the *Daban niepan jing* declares its negative attitude toward the female body, but it also indicates that this unfavorable state can be changed. If the three nuns consciously selected this scripture because of their anxiety regarding “female filth,” they may have had these passages in mind.

Third, the text explains reasons for these women’ taking on female bodies: these female bodies are the manifestations of bodhisattvas, which are an expedient for transforming and liberating the other living beings, by the means of, for example, criticizing the householders’ lifestyle pertaining to women as female lay followers.

The third point above is confirmed in the fourth passage, a narrative told by the Buddha himself, in chapter four (“The Nature of the Thus-come One”), in which he, in order to tame living beings, also manifested as someone who attained Buddhahood in a woman’s body.

The fifth passage is significant since it directly addresses the problem of “female filth” and the logic for seeking a male body. Lin Hsin-Yi (2008, 211) has pointed out that this passage posits that both men and women have the same starting point on the path of practice by redefining “maleness” in terms of whether one is able to realize the buddha-nature within themselves, regardless of one’s physical gender. I would add that the text also stresses that this *Mahāyāna* scripture has the characteristic of manliness, which is referred to as buddha-nature, and encourages readers to apply themselves to the practice in this scripture in order to quickly comprehend this “recondite treasury of the Thus-come One.” The nuns’ copying of this scripture, as a popular practice of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, for their gender issue, could be

interpreted as a direct response to the teaching in this passage.

Then, in the sixth passage, the legend happens, i.e. human women and goddesses in the audience have their female bodies transformed into male ones after hearing the Buddha's teaching at the end of this scripture. This happy ending is exactly what the three nuns aspire after. While the ideas in the last two passages also appear in other scriptures, the descriptions in the first three passages are particular to the *Daban niepan jing*. Although it is common for many Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures to introduce female groups in the great assembly attending the Buddha's teaching at the beginning of the texts, the *Daban niepan jing* is unique in its explicit description of "female filth," its statement that women detest their bodies, and the reasons for their temporary reception of such bodies.

There are around 110 colophons in around 3200 manuscripts of the *Daban niepan jing* in the Dunhuang corpus,¹⁹⁰ which include descriptions of the aspirations of various patrons, as well as notes written by users from different social echelons and all kinds of professions. The *Daban niepan jing* itself is a long scripture that covers many topics, and promises benefits for copying it just as many other Mahāyāna scriptures do. It is unclear to what extent all of these aspirations relate to the content of the scripture, yet it is clear that all of these aspirations must have been predicated on the well-known Mahāyāna Buddhist teaching that copying scriptures produces merit, which can help the patrons realize their multifarious wishes. At the beginning of the sixth section ("aspirations") of both Jianhui's colophon in Nakamura51 and Dao Mingsheng's colophon in Nakamura33 and S.1329, they use *yinci weifu* 因此微福 (by this little merit) and *yici zhi fu* 以此之福 (with the merit accruing from this [deed]) respectively

¹⁹⁰ These numbers are provided by Dr. Jing Shengxuan from Zhejiang Normal University.

to indicate that merit is the medium that bridges their patronage and their aspiration. Dao Rong's colophon in S.4366 and Hane501 does not use such phrases, yet her colophon begins with 夫福不虛應，求之必感 (in principle, merit is not fallacious in its response: seek it, and it will respond), making it clear that her patronage is also grounded in the logic of merit. So, could it be that these nuns randomly chose a scripture that they thought could generate the necessary merit to allow them to transform their gender, and that this scripture happened to be the *Daban niepan jing*?

This conclusion would not be merited. In medieval China, many other Buddhist scriptures were widely circulated. For example, there are around 3700 manuscripts of the *Jin'gang jing* 金剛經 (Diamond Sūtra) with over 110 colophons in the Dunhuang corpus; while there are more copies of this text than of the *Daban niepan jing*, none of the *Jin'gang jing*'s colophons mention this gender issue.¹⁹¹ In terms of the aspirations associated with “female filth” and transforming gender that I have seen, all the patrons, including three nuns and a female devotee from Dunhuang, and one nun from Turfan, selected the *Daban niepan jing* in order to produce merit. Further, this scripture is the only text that the three patrons (Dao Mingsheng, Dao Rong, and Sengyuan) commissioned for their gender concerns. Why did not they randomly pick another scripture that is not related to this gender issue, such as the *Jin'gang jing*, to copy for merit?

The motives of these patrons in selecting the *Daban niepan jing* remain mysteries until we have new supplementary evidence that explicitly tells us how a patron chose specific scriptures to copy for certain aspirations. Until then, we may read the other scriptures on

¹⁹¹ This data is provided by Dr. Luo Mujun from Zhejiang University of Technology.

Jianhui's list in order to determine if they are associated with this gender question as well.

Other Buddhist Scriptures Commissioned by Jianhui

In addition to the *Daban niepan jing*, Jianhui's list of scriptures also includes these texts:

Fahua 法華 ([Scripture] of Law-blossom), *Shengman* 勝鬘 ([Scripture] of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland), *Wuliangshou* 无量壽 ([Scripture of the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life), *Fanguang* 方廣 (Extensive [Scripture]), *Renwang* 仁王 ([Scripture] for Humane Kings) and *Yaoshi* 藥師 ([Scripture] of the Medicine Master). Due to the fact that I have not found any of these scriptures in the Dunhuang corpus with Jianhui's colophons, I have to infer the exact scriptures behind these abbreviated titles with the aid of the other patrons' colophons. The table below displays some Dunhuang copies of the potential scriptures that may be identified with these brief titles.

Table 2.6 Scriptures found in Dunhuang manuscripts which may be identified with the brief titles in Jianhui's colophon

Abbreviated Title in Nakamura51	Pressmark	Title in the Colophon	End Title of the text	Title or Chapter title of the text	Parallel Text in the <i>Taishō Revised Canon</i>
<i>Fahua</i> 法華	Jinyi39	<i>Fahua jing</i> 法華經	<i>Miaofa lianhua jing</i> 妙法蓮華經	<i>Miaofa lianhua jing</i> 妙法蓮華經	<i>Miaofa lianhua jing</i> 妙法蓮華經 (T no. 262, vol. 9)
<i>Shengman</i> 勝鬘	Nakamura11	<i>Shengman jing</i> 勝鬘經	N/A	N/A	<i>Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fanguang jing</i> 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 (T no. 353, vol. 12)
	S.524	<i>Shengman shu</i> 勝鬘疏	N/A	N/A	<i>Shengman jing shu</i> 勝鬘經疏 ¹⁹² (T no. 2762, vol. 85)
<i>Wuliangshou</i> 无量壽	BD3728	N/A	<i>Wuliangshou jing</i> 无量壽	N/A	<i>Wuliangshou jing</i> 無量壽經 (T no. 360,

¹⁹² This title is not included in S.524, but added in the *Taishō Revised Canon*.

			經		vol. 12)
	S.1515	<i>Wuliangshou guan jing</i> 无量壽觀經	<i>Wuliangshou guan jing</i> 无量壽觀經	N/A	<i>Guan wuliangshou jing</i> 觀無量壽經 (T no. 365, vol. 12)
	S.4631	N/A	<i>Guan wuliangshoufo jing</i> 觀无量壽佛經	N/A	
<i>Fangguang</i> 方廣	S.4553	<i>Dasheng fangguang jing</i> 大乘方廣經	<i>Datong fangguang jing</i> 大通方廣經	N/A	<i>Datong fangguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing</i> 大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經 (T no. 2871, vol. 85)
	S.1590	N/A	<i>Foshuo dafangguang pusa shidi jing</i> 佛說大方廣菩薩十地經	N/A	<i>Dafangguang pusa shidi jing</i> 大方廣菩薩十地經 (T no. 308, vol. 10)
	Nakamura55	N/A	<i>Huayan jing</i> 華嚴經	<i>Da fangguang fo huayan jing</i> 大方廣佛華嚴經	<i>Dafangguang fo huayan jing</i> 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T no. 278, vol. 9)
	S.154	N/A	<i>Shilun jing</i> 十輪經	<i>Foshuo da fangguang shilun jing</i> 佛說大方廣十輪經	<i>Dafangguang shilun jing</i> 大方廣十輪經 (T no. 410, vol. 13)
<i>Renwang</i> 仁王	BD14483	<i>Renwang jing</i> 仁王經	<i>Foshuo renwang huguo bore boluomi jing</i> 佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經	N/A	<i>Renwang bore boluomi jing</i> 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (T no. 245, vol. 8)
<i>Yaoshi</i> 藥師	Hane468	N/A	<i>Foshuo Yaoshi liuliguang jing</i> 佛說藥師琉璃光經	<i>Foshuo guanding zhangju bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing</i> 佛說灌頂章句拔除過罪生死得度經	<i>Guanding zhangju bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing</i> 灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經卷第十二 (T no. 1331, vol. 21, 532b7–536b6)
	BD3306	N/A	<i>Foshuo yaoshi</i>	N/A	

			<i>jing</i> 佛說藥師經		
	Tiantu300	N/A	<i>Yaoshi jing</i> 藥師經	N/A	

1. The *Scripture of Law-blossom*

There are three extant Chinese translations of the *Lotus Scripture*, namely the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 (Scripture of True Law Blossom) (*T* no. 263, vol. 9), the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law) (*T* no. 262, vol. 9), and the *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* 添品妙法蓮華經 (Appended Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law) (*T* no. 264, vol. 9). In the Dunhuang corpus, there are many more copies of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* than of the other two translations.¹⁹³ Many of the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* include colophons, and in these colophons the patrons sometimes refer to this scripture as *Fahua jing* 法華經, as, for example, in Jinyi39. Because the *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* was translated and edited in the first year of the Renshou 仁壽 era of the Sui dynasty (i.e. 601 C.E.) (*T* no. 264, vol. 9, 134c11–18), it is impossible that Jianhui could have commissioned a copy of this translation in 536 C.E. Since there are only a few copies of the *Zhengfahua jing* in the Dunhuang corpus, and I have not found any of the patrons of this scripture who named it *Fahua jing* in their colophons of a restricted number, I assume that *Fahua* 法華 in Jianhui's colophon in Nakamura51 refers to the *Miaofa lianhua jing*.

There are some passages in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* that are potentially relevant.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ According to Qin Longquan 秦龍泉 at Zhejiang University, there are over 7800 manuscripts of the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, and around 100 manuscripts of the *Zhengfahua jing* in the Dunhuang corpus. It is not clear whether there are copies of the *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* in the Dunhuang corpus since it is difficult to distinguish them from copies of the *Miaofa lianhua jing*.

¹⁹⁴ These transcriptions are based on the *Miaofa lianhua jing* of the *Zhaocheng Jin-dynasty canon* (hereafter *ZJC*). I have

1. Mañjuśrī said: “There is the daughter of the dragon king Sāgara, whose years are barely eight. Her wisdom is sharp-rooted, and well she knows the faculties and deeds of the multitudinous beings. She has gained dhāraṇī. The profound treasure house of secrets preached by the Buddhas she is able to accept, and to keep in its entirety. She has profoundly entered into meditative-concentration, and has thoroughly understood the teachings. In the space of a *kṣaṇa* [moment] she produced bodhi-thought, and has attained the point of nonbacksliding. Her eloquence has no obstructions, and she is compassionately mindful of the beings as if they were her babies. Her merits are perfect. What she recollects in her mind and recites with her mouth is subtle and broad. She is of good will and compassionate, humane and yielding. Her will and thought are harmonious and refined, and she is able to attain to bodhi.”

Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation said: “... I do not believe that this girl in the space of a moment can attain the right awakening.”

Before he had finished speaking, at that very time, the daughter of the dragon king suddenly appeared in front [of them], and, doing obeisance with her head, stood off to one side, and spoke praise with gāthās, saying: “Having profoundly mastered the marks of misdeed and merit, universally illuminated all ten directions, the subtle and pure truth-body has perfected the thirty-two marks, using the eighty beautiful features as a means of adoring the truth-body. The object of respectful obeisance for gods and men, it is reverently honored by all dragons and spirits. Of all varieties of the multitudinous beings, none fails to bow to it as an object of worship. [I have] also heard that, as for the attainment of bodhi, only the Buddha can testify. I, laying open the teachings of the Great Vehicle, deliver the suffering beings to release them.”

At that time, Śāriputra spoke to the dragon girl, saying: “It is said that you, in no long time, shall attain the unexcelled way. This thing is hard to believe. What is the reason? A woman’s body is filthy, which is not a doctrine-receptacle. How can [you] attain unexcelled bodhi? The path of the Buddha is remote and cavernous. Throughout incalculable kalpas, by tormenting oneself and accumulating [good] conduct, also by thoroughly cultivating all the perfections, [only by these means can one] then be successful. Also, a woman’s body even has five obstacles: first, it cannot become a Brahmā god king; second, it cannot become the god Śakra; third, it cannot become King Māra; fourth, it cannot become a sage-king turning the wheel; fifth, it cannot become a Buddha-body. How can the body of a woman speedily become a buddha?”

At that time, the dragon girl had a precious pearl, whose value was a great trichiliocosm, which she held up, and gave to the Buddha. The Buddha straightway accepted it. The dragon girl said to Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation, and to the venerable Śāriputra: “I

used S.312 (*T* no. 262, vol. 9, 33c26–37a2; a manuscript produced by the state dated 673 C.E.), a version in the *FSC* from the Sui dynasty or the Tang dynasty (581–907 C.E.), and the other canons to collate against that edition.

offered a precious pearl, and the World-Honored One accepted it. Was this quick or not?” [They] answered, saying, “Very quick!” The girl said: “With your supranormal power you shall see me become a buddha even more quickly than that!”

At that time, the assembled multitude all saw the dragon girl in the space of an instant turn into a man, perfect bodhisattva-conduct, straightway go to the world-sphere spotless in the south, sit on a jeweled lotus blossom, and achieve undifferentiating, right awakening, with thirty-two marks and eighty beautiful features setting forth the fine teachings for all the multitudinous beings in all ten directions. At that time, in the Sahā world-sphere, bodhisattvas, voice-hearers, eight groups [of nonhuman beings] such as dragons and divinities, humans and nonhumans, all from a distance seeing that dragon girl became a buddha and universally preached doctrine to the men and gods of the assembly of that time, were overjoyed at heart, and all did obeisance from afar. Incalculable living beings, hearing the teaching and understanding it, attained nonbacksliding. Incalculable living beings were enabled to receive a prophecy of the path. The spotless world-sphere trembled six times, and in the Sahā world-sphere three thousand living beings dwelt on the ground from which there is no backsliding. Three thousand living beings opened up the thought of bodhi, and therefore received prophecies. Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation, as well as Śāriputra and all the assembled multitude, silently believed and accepted. (The Fourth Fascicle of the *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law*, Chapter Twelve: Devadatta)¹⁹⁵

文殊師利言：“有娑竭羅龍王女，年始八歲。智慧利根，善知衆生諸根行業，得陀羅尼。諸佛所說甚深秘藏，悉能受持。深入禪定，了達諸法。於剎那頃發菩提心，得不退轉。辯才無尋，慈念衆生，猶如赤子。功德具足，心念口演，微妙廣大。慈悲仁讓，¹⁹⁶志意和雅，能至菩提。”

智積菩薩言：“……不信此女於須臾頃便成正覺。”

言論未訖，時龍王女忽現於前，頭面禮敬，却住一面，以偈讚曰：“深達罪福相，遍照於十方，微妙淨法身，具相三十二，以八十種好，用莊嚴法身。天人所戴仰，龍神咸恭敬，一切衆生類，無不宗奉者。又聞¹⁹⁷成菩提，唯佛當證知，我闍大乘教，度脫苦衆生。”

尔時¹⁹⁸舍利弗語龍女言：“謂汝¹⁹⁹不久得無上道，是事難信。所以者何？女身垢

¹⁹⁵ This translation is a modified version of Hurvitz's (1976, 199–201) translation.

¹⁹⁶ *Renrang* 仁讓 (humane and yielding) is written as *qianrang* 謙讓 (modest and yielding) in the *FSC* (1:41). Both of them make sense in this context.

¹⁹⁷ *Wen* 聞 (hear) is written as *wen* 問 (ask) in the *FSC* (1:41). *Wen* 問 does not make sense in this context.

¹⁹⁸ *Ershi* 尔時 (at that time) is written as *shi* 時 ([at that] time) in S.312, the *KSC* (17:58b), the *SXC*, the *QSC* (27:295a), the *PNC* (*ZH* no. 124, vol. 15, 558a), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (36:453b), the *JXC* (277:29a), the *QLC* (32:572a). Both of them make sense.

¹⁹⁹ *Weiru* 謂汝 (it is said that you) is written as *ruwei* 汝謂 (you said) in the in S.312, the *KSC* (17:58b), the *SXC*, the *QSC* (27:295a), the *PNC* (*ZH* no. 124, vol. 15, 558a–b), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (36:453b), the *JXC* (277:29a), the *QLC* (32:572a). *Weiru* 謂汝 means that Shariputra says: “[Mañjuśrī] said that you, in no length of time, will attain the supreme way.” Instead, *ruwei* 汝謂 means that Shariputra says: “You said that you...” In the text, it is Mañjuśrī, but not the daughter of the dragon king Sāgara herself, who says that she resolves on bodhi in an instantaneous point of time, and has been able to attain

穢，非是法器，云何能得無上菩提？佛道懸曠，²⁰⁰經無量劫勤苦積行，具修諸度，然後乃成。又女人身猶有五障：一者、不得作梵天王，二者、不得作帝釋，三者、不得作魔王，四者、不得作轉輪聖王，五者、不得作佛身。²⁰¹云何女身速得成佛？”

余時龍女有一寶珠，價直三千大千世界，持以上佛。佛即受之。龍女謂智積菩薩、尊者舍利弗言：“我獻寶珠，世尊納受，是事疾不？”荅言：“甚疾。”女言：“以汝神力，觀我成佛，復速於此。”

當時衆會，皆見龍女忽然之間變成男子，具菩薩行，即往南方無垢世界，坐寶蓮華，成等正覺，三十二相、八十種好，普為十方一切衆生演說妙法。余時娑婆世界，菩薩、聲聞、天龍八部、人與非人，皆遙見彼龍女成佛，普為時會人天說法，心大歡喜，悉遙敬禮。無量衆生，聞法解悟，得不退轉；無量衆生，得授道記；無垢世界，六反²⁰²震動；娑婆世界，三千衆生住不退地，三千衆生發菩提心而得授記。智積菩薩及舍利弗，一切衆會，默然信受。（《妙法蓮華經》卷第四，提婆達多品第十二）（*T no. 262, vol. 9, 35b15–c26*）

2. If a woman, hearing this Chapter of the Former Affairs of Bodhisattva Medicine King, can accept and keep it, after reaching the end of the present life of female body, she shall never again receive [a female one]. If after the extinction of the Thus-come One, within the last five hundred years, there is then a woman who, hearing this scripture, practices it as preached, at the end of the present life she shall straightway go to the World-sphere of Joy [Sukhāvātī], a dwelling place where she is surrounded by the Amitābha Buddha and a multitude of great bodhisattvas, there to be reborn in a lotus blossom on a jeweled throne, never again to be tormented by greed, never again to be tormented by anger or folly, never again to be tormented by pride, envy, or other defilements. But she shall gain the bodhisattva's supranormal penetrations, and her acceptance of the truth of non-arising. When she has attained this acceptance, the faculty of her eye shall be pure. With this pure ocular faculty she shall see buddhas, Thus-come Ones, equal in number to be the sands of seven hundred thousand and two hundred billion of nayutas of Ganges Rivers. At that time the Buddhas shall together praise her from afar, saying: “Excellent! Excellent! Good man, you have been able, within the teachings of Śākyamuni-buddha, to receive and hold, to read and recite, and to think on this scripture, as well as to preach it to others. The merit you have obtained is incalculable and limitless, such as fire cannot burn nor water cannot carry off. Your merits are such that a thousand buddhas, speaking of them together, could not exhaust them. You have now already proved able to smash Māra's assorted rabble, to destroy the army of birth and death. The remaining enemies you have completely annihilated. Good man, a hundred thousand buddhas with their

bodhi. Therefore, *weiru* 謂汝 makes more sense in this context.

²⁰⁰ *Xuankuang* 懸曠 (remote and cavernous) is written as *xuangang* 玄廣 (mysterious and broad) in the *FSC* (1:41). Both of them make sense.

²⁰¹ *Budezuo* 不得作 (cannot become) only shows in the first entry 一者、不得作梵天王 but not in the other four entries in *S.312*, the *KSC* (17:58c), the *SXC*, the *QSC* (27:295a), the *PNC* (*ZH* no. 124, vol. 15, 558b), the *SYC*, the *NYC* (36:453b), the *JXC* (277:29a–b), the *QLC* (32:572a–b). Both versions make sense.

²⁰² *Liufan* 六反 (six times) is written as *liubian* 六變 (in six different ways) in the *FSC* (1:42). Both of them make sense.

power of supranormal penetrations shall together protect you. Among the gods and men in all the worlds there is none like you, save only the Thus-come One. Among voice-hearers, pratyekabuddhas, and even bodhisattvas, for wisdom and meditative-concentration there is none to equal you.” (The Sixth Fascicle of the *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law*, Chapter Twenty-three: The Former Affairs of Bodhisattva Medicine King)²⁰³

若有女人聞是藥王菩薩本事品，能受持者，盡是女身，後不復受。若如來滅後後五百歲中，若有女人聞是經典，如說修行，於此命終，即往安樂世界，阿彌陀佛、大菩薩衆圍遶住處，生蓮華中，寶座之上，不復為貪欲所惱，亦復不為瞋恚愚癡所惱，亦復不為憍慢嫉妬諸垢所惱，得菩薩神通、無生法忍。得是忍已，眼根清淨，以是清淨眼根，見七百万二千億那由他恒河沙等諸佛如來。是時諸佛遙共讚言：“善哉，善哉！善男子！汝能於釋迦牟尼佛法中，受持讀誦思惟是經，為他人說，所得福德無量無邊，火不能焚，²⁰⁴水不能漂（漂）。汝之功德，千佛共說不能令盡。汝今已能破諸魔賊，壞生死軍，諸餘怨敵皆悉摧滅。善男子！百千諸佛，以神通力共守護汝，於一切世間天、人之中無如汝者，唯除如來。其諸聲聞、辟支佛，乃至菩薩，智慧禪定無有與汝等者。”（《妙法蓮華經》卷第六，藥王菩薩本事品第二十三）（*T* no. 262, vol. 9, 54b26–c17）

Since the *Zhengfahua jing* (*T* no. 263, vol. 9, 106a1–25; 126c5–23) also includes the material treated above, even if *Fahua* 法華 in Jianhui’s colophon stands for this translation rather than the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, it does not affect the fact that the scripture that Jianhui commissioned includes contents related to the transformation of a female body and their subsequent awakening.

The story in the first passage tells of the transformation of the dragon king’s daughter from a female to a male, and her instant attainment of Buddhahood thereafter: a dramatic and well-known episode. Facing Śāriputra’s questions on her qualification for becoming a buddha, despite being congenitally restricted by the filth and five obstacles of her woman’s body, she quickly becomes a buddha by first turning into a man and making a precious offering to the Buddha and receiving his approval. This transformation convinces all the

²⁰³ This translation is a modified version of Hurvitz’s (1976, 300–1) translation.

²⁰⁴ *Fen* 焚 (burn) is written as *shao* 燒 (burn) in the *FSC* (1:66) and the *KSC* (17:82a). Both of them make sense.

audiences at the assembly, and could also influence the readers of this scripture, making them believe that, although “female filth” is an impediment to attaining Buddhahood, it is not insolvable.

Lin Hsin-Yi (2008, 272, 280) quotes three examples from the Tang dynasty that can prove the relationship between this passage in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* and gender transformation, as well as detestation of the female body. The first example is from an inscription on a *gongdeta* 功德塔 (*Stūpa* for Merit) built for a deceased *upāsikā*, Ms. Xue 薛. Ms. Xue was a daughter of the “Weizhou sima” 魏州司馬 (Adjutant of Wei Prefecture [present-day in the Hebei province]). She passed away in the first month of the twenty-sixth year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (i.e. 738 C.E.), and the inscription, dated to the fifth month in the same year, was written by the “He’nan shaoyin” 河南少尹 (Vice Governor of He’nan province [present-day He’nan province and Shandong province]) Du Yu 杜昱. In this inscription, Du wrote:

[She will] definitely achieve correct awakening later, and shall demonstrate the miracle of presenting the pearl. If she does not transform [her] female body, [she] may become a companion who scatters flowers.

必後成正覺，當示獻珠之奇。如未轉女身，且為散花之侶。 (Lu [1925] 2000, 386b)

As Lin (2008, 272) explains, the first sentence is referring to the story in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* that the dragon king’s daughter had her body transformed and then became a buddha after she presented a pearl to the Buddha, and the second sentence refers to the goddess who scattered flowers, and who did not transform her gender since she regarded the female body as an empty form in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*T* no. 475, vol. 14, 547c23–548c27). Du clearly

thought that it would be best for Ms. Xue to transform her gender as the dragon king's daughter did, but if it turned out to be impossible, Du wished that she could become like the goddess from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*. I think this inscription, composed for merit for the sake of the late Ms. Xue, indicates that the composer understood well the relationship between gender transformation and the story of the dragon king's daughter.

The other two stories are both recorded in the *Fahua zhuanji* 法華傳記 (Stories about the [Scripture of] Law Blossom) dated to the Tang dynasty (*T* no. 2068, vol. 51, 97a4–12). One story is of a widow, Mrs. Yang 楊, who detested her female body. She received the chapter “Devadatta” of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (which includes the story of the dragon king's daughter) from her Buddhist master, and upheld and recited it diligently. Then, she had a dream, in which she was suddenly transformed in to a man. At the end of this story, it claims that, thanks to Mrs. Yang's legend, this chapter became very popular in Chang'an (*T* no. 2068, vol. 51, 76b25–c13). The other story tells that a beautiful virgin who over-heard the story of the dragon king's daughter from a handsome foreign śramaṇa that she found desirable. Once her lust was dispelled, she then dreamed a man who told her that if she could practice the “Devadatta” chapter, she would never again receive a female body [in her future lives]. After she woke up, she found her female body detestable, then became a *bhikṣuṇī* named Konghui 空慧 (*T* no. 2068, vol. 51, 91c26–92a9). These two stories suggest that, by the period of the Tang dynasty, the story of the dragon king's daughter seems to have been strongly associated with the detestation of the female body, and that it was popular for female Buddhists to uphold the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, especially the “Devadatta” chapter, when aspiring after gender transformation.

The second passage is from the chapter of “The Former Affairs of Bodhisattva Medicine King.” This passage claims that if a woman hears this chapter, accepts, and keeps it, she shall never again receive a female body. If she practices as it teaches, she will be reborn in the World-sphere of Joy as a man, where he will be protected by a hundred thousand buddhas and will be inferior to the Thus-come One only in wisdom and meditative-concentration. These promises would also have been attractive to Jianhui if she had been aware of this passage. Since this chapter of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* advocates auto-cremation as an offering to the Buddha while also promising that women who practice this chapter will never again be born into a female body, Lin Hsin-Yi (2008, 227–230) suggests that many cases of nuns’ auto-cremation during the [Liu]Song dynasty (420–479 C.E.) and the Qi dynasty (479–502 C.E.) could have been performed for the sake of gender transformation. Although none of the seven nuns who performed auto-cremation upheld the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, at least based on the biographies recorded in the *Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 (Biographies of *Bhikṣuṇīs*) (*T* no. 2063, vol. 50),²⁰⁵ Lin Hsin-Yi (2008, 227–230) argues that there are sixteen cases of nuns upholding this scripture in the *Biqiuni zhuan*, which is much more than cases that nuns upheld any other scriptures. Lin’s argument is somewhat convincing, yet requires more direct evidence.

2. The Scripture of Queen of the Wondrous Garland

There is only one scripture that was in vogue in the medieval Dunhuang area and that includes the term *shengman* 勝鬘 in its title: *Shengman shizhou yisheng dafangbian*

²⁰⁵ *Biqiuni zhuan* consists of sixty-five *bhikṣuṇīs*’ biographies ranging from the Shengping 升平 era (357–361 C.E.) of the Eastern Jin dynasty to the Tianjian 天監 era (502–519 C.E.) of the Liang dynasty (*T* no. 2063, vol. 50, 934b28).

fanguang jing 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 (the Extensive Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland of the Lion's Roar of One Vehicle of Great Expedient) (*T* no. 353, vol. 12). The patron of Nakamura 11, a copy of this scripture, names it *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 in the colophon. This brief title is also seen in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*:

Extensive Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland of the Lion's Roar of One Vehicle of Great Expedient in one fascicle (also is straightforwardly called *Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland*).

Translated by [Master of] Three Repositories, Guṇabhadra (394–468 C.E.), from *Sindhu* (India) during the [Liu] Song [dynasty] (The second translation. There are three translations [of this scripture], and one [of these translations] is missing).

The one scripture above and the “Assembly for the Queen of the Wondrous Garland,” Chapter Forty-eight of the [*Great*] *Jewel-heap* [*Scripture*], are different translations from the same original. (The Eleventh Fascicle of the *Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era*)

《勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經²⁰⁶》一卷（亦直云²⁰⁷《勝鬘經》）。

宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯（第二譯。三譯，一闕）。

右一經與《寶積》第四十八《勝鬘夫人會》同本異譯。（《開元釋教錄》卷第十一）（*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 587c21–25）²⁰⁸

Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland in one fascicle (also called *Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland of the Lion's Roar of One Vehicle of Great Expedient*).

Translated by [Master of] Three Repositories, Tanwuchen, from *Sindhu* (India) during the Northern Liang [state] (the first translation).

The one scripture above and the *Assembly for the Queen of the Wondrous Garland*, [Chapter] Forty-eight [of the *Great Jewel-heap Scripture*], are from the same original.

²⁰⁶ *Da fangbian fanguang jing* 大方便方廣經 (*Extensive Scripture of Great Expedient*) in the *KFC*, the *ZJC*, and the *KSC* is written as *Da fangbian guang jing* 大方便廣經 (*Extensive Scripture of Great Expedient*) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC* and the *QLC*. *Da fangbian fanguang jing* 大方便方廣經 makes more sense.

²⁰⁷ *Yizhiyun* 亦直云 (also is straightforwardly called) in the *KFC*, the *ZJC*, and the *KSC* is written as *yiyun* 亦云 (also called) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC* and the *QLC*, which has lost *zhi* 直 (straightforwardly).

²⁰⁸ This passage is transcribed based on the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* of the *KFC* with reference to other editions for collation.

Altogether there are three translations [of this scripture], of which two of them have survived, and one translation missing. (The Fourteenth Fascicle of the *Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era*)

《勝鬘經》一卷（亦²⁰⁹云《勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便經》）。

北涼天竺三藏曇無讖譯（第一譯）。

右一經與第四十八《勝鬘夫人會》同本。前後三譯，二存一闕。（《開元釋教錄》卷第十四）（*T no. 2154, vol. 55, 627c1–4*）²¹⁰

According to this major catalogue, there had been three translations of this scripture (listed here chronologically): (1) *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便經 translated by Tanwuchen; (2) *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 (*T no. 353, vol. 12*) translated by Guṇabhadra; (3) *Shengman furen hui* 勝鬘夫人會, i.e. Chapter forty-eight of the *Great Jewel-heap Scripture* (*T no. 310, vol. 11, 672c13–678c4*) translated by Bodhiruci. Both the first and the second translations could be titled *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經, yet the first translation did not survive when this catalogue was completed in 730 C.E.

In addition, there are some treatises and commentaries of the *Shengman jing* in Dunhuang manuscripts. For example, S.524 is a copy of a commentary on this scripture (probably based on the second translation [*T no. 353, vol. 12*]), and its colophon identifies this text as *Shengman shu* 勝鬘疏 (Commentary on the *Shengman*). This means that patrons are able to differentiate the commentary from the scripture. Hence, to explore the text of *Shengman* from Jianhui's list, the only scripture that I can refer to is Guṇabhadra's translation, which of course assumes that Tanwuchen's translation is sufficiently close to

²⁰⁹ *Yi* 亦 (also) in the *ZJC*, the *KSC*, the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC* and the *QLC* is miswritten as *yun* 云 (called) in the *KFC*.

²¹⁰ This transcription is based on the *KFC*. I have used the other canons to collate against that edition.

Guṇabhadra's. In any case, there are some relevant passages in Guṇabhadra's *Shengman*

jing:²¹¹

At that time King Prasenajit and Queen Mallikā, who had only recently attained faith in the doctrine, said to each other: “Queen of the Wondrous Garland, our daughter, is astute and sharp-rooted, penetratingly intelligent, and understands easily. If she meets the Buddha, she will certainly quickly understand the teachings, and her mind will be free from doubts. Sometime we should send a message [to her in order to] awaken her aspiration for enlightenment.” The queen said: “Now is the right time.” The king and queen then wrote a letter to [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland, praising the Thus-come One's immeasurable merits, and dispatched a superintendent of the harem named Candirā to deliver the letter to the kingdom of Ayodhyā, enter her palace, and respectfully confer it to [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland. [The Queen of] the Wondrous Garland joyfully pressed her head against the letter to accept it. She read and recited, received and held it, gave rise to a rare state of mind, and said to Candirā in verse.... At that time [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland and all of her retinues were doing obeisance to the Buddha with their heads. The Buddha then made this prophecy for [her] among them: “You praised the true merits of the Thus-come One. Because of this virtuous root, during incalculable kalpas, you will be the self-master among the gods [*devas*]. In all lives you will continually be able to see me, and praise me in my presence, in the same manner as you are doing now. You will also make offerings to the immeasurable buddhas, and in twenty thousand incalculable kalpas you shall become a buddha named Universal Light [Samantaprabha] Thus-come One, Worthy [of Respect], Correctly Enlightened One. Your buddha land will have no evil destinies and no suffering due to old age, illness, deterioration, or torments. There will not even be words for unwholesome or evil deeds. Those who are in your land will have [fine] appearance, strength, longevity, will have the five desires fulfilled, and will all be happier than those in the heaven where one can partake of the pleasures created in other heavens. There (i.e. in your buddha land), all the beings will be exclusively of the Great Vehicle. All the beings who have cultivated virtuously roots will assemble there.” When the Queen of the Wondrous Garland had received this prophecy, innumerable beings including gods, and humans vowed to be born in her land. The Buddha made prophecies for everyone that they all would be born there. (*Extensive Scripture of [the Queen of] the Wondrous Garland of the Lion's Roar of One Vehicle of Great Expedient*, Chapter One: The Merit of the Thus-come One's True Teachings)²¹²

時，波斯匿王及末利夫人信法未久，共相謂言：“勝鬘夫人是我之女，聰慧利根，通慳（敏）易悟，若見佛者必速解法，心得無疑。宜時遣信，發其道意。”夫人白

²¹¹ This transcription is based on the *Shengman shizhou yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing* of the ZJC. I have used a version in the *FSC* (from the Sui dynasty or the Tang dynasty, 581–907 C.E.), and the other canons to collate against that edition.

²¹² This translation is a modified version of Paul's (2004, 9–11) translation.

言：“今正是時。”王及夫人與勝鬘書，略讚如來無量功德，即遣內人名旃提羅，使人奉書至阿踰闍國，入其宮內，敬授勝鬘。勝鬘得書，歡喜頂受，讀誦受持，生希有心，向旃提羅而說偈言……尔時，勝鬘及諸眷屬，頭面禮佛。佛於眾中即為受（授）記：“汝歎如來真實功德，以此善根，當於無量阿僧祇劫天人之中為自在王，一切生處常得見我，現前讚歎如今無異。當復供養無量阿僧祇佛。過二萬阿僧祇劫當得作佛，號普光如來、應、正遍知。彼佛國土，無諸惡趣、老病衰惱不適意苦，亦無不善惡業道名。彼國眾生色力壽命、五欲眾具，皆悉快樂，勝於他化自在諸天。彼諸眾生純一大乘，諸有修習善根眾生皆集於彼。”勝鬘夫人得受（授）記時，無量眾生、諸天及人願生彼國，世尊悉記，皆當往生。（《勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經》如來真實義功德章第一）（T no. 353, vol. 12, 217a8–b22）

In this scripture, the protagonist, Queen of the Wondrous Garland, is a woman. Thanks to her virtuous deeds (in particular, praising the true merits of the Thus-come One), she receives a prophecy from the Buddha saying that she will become a self-master among the gods, and will then become a buddha herself after making offerings to an immeasurable number of buddhas. Like the scriptures above, this one also states that a woman can become a buddha by praising the Thus-come One, which Lin Hsin-Yi (2008, 216) considers as a development from the early Buddhist theory that a woman cannot become a buddha. Therefore, this scripture could also be a rational choice to copy for women who wish to attain Buddhahood, although it does not clearly illustrate any intermediate stage of becoming a man.

3. The Scripture of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life

The scripture *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 in Jianhui's colophon could refer to a series of texts. In the Dunhuang corpus, I have found the following scriptures whose titles include the word *Wuliangshou* 無量壽: the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Scripture of Immeasurable-Life [Buddha]) (T no. 360, vol. 12), the *Guanwuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (Scripture of Visualizing the Immeasurable-Life [Buddha]) (T no. 365, vol. 12), and the *Dasheng wuliangshou jing* 大乘無量壽經 (Scripture of Great Vehicle on the Immeasurable-Life

[Buddha]) (*T* no. 936, vol. 19).

According to the first fascicle of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, the *Wuliangshou jing* (*T* no. 360, vol. 12) was translated by Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 during the fourth year of the Jiaping 嘉平 era of the Wei dynasty (252 C.E.) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 486c25–487a3). BD3728 is a copy of this scripture from Dunhuang. Its end title is abridged as *Wuliangshou jing* 无量壽經, which is congruent with the title, *Wuliangshou* 无量壽, that Jianhui uses in her colophon, although this particular manuscript does not have a colophon appended to the text. In the fourteenth fascicle, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* also states that there have been eleven translations of this scripture, that only four of them have survived, and that the other three extant translations are (1) *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (Scripture of the Equal Awakening of Immeasurable-Life Pure [Buddha]) (*T* no. 361, vol. 12); (2) *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (Scripture of Amitābha [Buddha]) (*T* no. 362, vol. 12); (3) *Wuliangshou hui* 無量壽會, i.e. Chapter five of the *Great Jewel-heap Scripture* (*T* no. 310, vol. 11) translated by Bodhiruci (572?–727) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 626c2–18). The *Wuliangshou hui* was translated after 536 C.E., the date of Jianhui’s colophon, and I have not seen *wuliangshou* 无量壽 being used for the other two texts.

As for the *Guanwuliangshou jing* (*T* no. 365, vol. 12), it is represented as *Wuliangshou guan jing* 无量壽觀經 in both the end title and the colophon of S.1515, while it is represented as *Guanwuliangshoufo jing* 觀无量壽佛經 in the end title of S.4631. These two examples suggest that the patron and the scribes of this scripture probably noticed *guan* 觀 (visualizing) as a marker of this scripture’s title, which implies that they would not casually delete it in any abbreviated form of this title.

There are a considerable number of copies of the *Dasheng wuliangshou jing* (T no. 936, vol. 19) in the Dunhuang corpus. Most of these copies are end-titled as *Foshuo wuliangshou zongyao jing* 佛說无量壽宗要經 (Scripture of Essentials [Teachings] of the Immeasurable-life [Buddha] Spoken by the Buddha) (e.g., in Shangtu58). One exception is S.4292, which is end-titled as *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* 佛說无量壽經 (Scripture of the Immeasurable-life [Buddha] Spoken by the Buddha). This title is close to *Wuliangshou jing* 无量壽經, since *foshuo* 佛說 (Spoken by the Buddha) is often an alternative component of many Chinese Buddhist scriptures' titles. However, according to Yabuki ([1933] 1980, 2:145–146), Ishihama and Yoshimura (1958, 217), and Mimaki (1984, 168), this scripture was most likely translated into Chinese during the Tibetans' reign over Dunhuang (786–848 C.E.), which is later than the colophon's date (536 C.E.). Therefore, this scripture cannot be the one Jianhui commissioned.

The same condition could be applied to the *Dasheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing* 大乘無量壽莊嚴經 (Scripture of Great Vehicle on Ornament of the Immeasurable-life [Buddha]) (T no. 363, vol. 12), which I cannot find in the Dunhuang corpus, yet is included in the *ZJC*. While the title of this scripture also includes *wuliangshou* 無量壽, its Chinese translation is attributed to Faxian 法賢 (?–1001 C.E.) from the Northern Song dynasty, which is much later than Jianhui's date.

In addition, in the fourteenth fascicle of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (T no. 2154, vol. 55, 629c20–24), it mentions a scripture titled *Xiao wuliangshou jing* 小無量壽經 (Small Scripture of the Immeasurable-life [Buddha]) in one fascicle that is attributed to the translator Guṇabhadra. The catalogue states that this scripture could also be titled *Wuliangshou jing* 無

量壽經 without the adjective *xiao* 小, and that it is not extant. Since I have not found any copies of this scripture in the Dunhuang corpus either, I have to pass over this text in my discussion. To summarize, by *Wuliangshou* 無量壽, Jianhui most likely means the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (T no. 360).

There are some relevant passages in the *Wuliangshou jing*:²¹³

Bhikṣu [Fazang] addressed the Buddha: “[I beg you to] grant me your attention. Now, I will fully proclaim my vows...If, when I attain Buddhahood, women in the immeasurable and inconceivable buddha lands of the ten directions who, having heard my name, rejoice in faith, awaken aspiration for enlightenment, and detest their female bodies should after death be reborn again in female forms, may I not attain perfect awakening.” (*Scripture of the Immeasurable-life Buddha*, Fascicle One)²¹⁴

[法藏]比丘白佛：“唯垂聽察，如我所願，當具說之。……設我得佛，十方無量不可思議諸佛世界，其有女人聞我名字，歡喜信樂，發菩提心，厭惡女身，壽終之後復為女像者，不取正覺。”（《無量壽經》卷上）（T no. 360, vol. 12, 267c15–268c24）

In this scripture, *bhikṣu* Fazang, who later becomes the Immeasurable-life Buddha, made forty-eight vows for attaining Buddhahood. This passage is one of his vows, specifically intended for the salvation of women who had heard his name, rejoiced in faith, and detested their female bodies. He vows that he will not attain perfect awakening if any of these women is reborn again in female forms after death. According to this scripture, Fazang apparently succeeded in fulfilling his vows, since by the time the Buddha is telling Fazang’s story, he has already been a buddha for ten kalpas (T no. 360, vol. 12, 270a2–7). This vow could sound like an insurance to the women who detest their female bodies, and do not want to be reborn

²¹³ This transcription is based on the *ZJC*. I have used a version in the *FSC* (from the Liao dynasty, 907–1125 C.E.), and the other canons to collate against that edition.

²¹⁴ This translation is a modified version of Inagaki and Stewart’s ([1995] 2003, 12–16) translation.

as women again. It would be understandable if Jianhui intentionally chose this scripture for her aspiration.

4. The *Extensive Scripture*

In Chinese Buddhist canons, there are quite a few scriptures that contain the word *fangguang* 方廣 (extensive) in their titles or that are simply titled *Fangguang jing* 方廣經 (Extensive Scripture). To start with, the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom) introduces the *Fangguang jing* 方廣經 as one of the twelve genre divisions of Buddhist scriptures (*T* no. 223, vol. 8, 220b24–8). The *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 introduces the same genre division of scriptures as *Pifolüe jing* 毘佛略經 (Expanded Scriptures), and explains that these texts are *dasheng fangdeng jingdian* 大乘方等經典 (extensive and equal scriptures of the great vehicle) (*T* no. 374, vol. 12, 452a7–8). Since the term *Fangguang jing* 方廣經 here refers to a group of *Mahāyāna* scriptures, it cannot be the specific scripture that Jianhui has commissioned on her list. But it does help us understand the popular use of *fangguang* 方廣 in the titles of Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

As Kuramoto (2016, 308–309) has noted, the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (*Record of the Jewels of Teachings through Ages*), a record of the lineage of Chan teachings in China from the ninth year of the Dali 大曆 era of the Tang dynasty (i.e. 774 C.E.), quotes from a *Fangguang jing* 方廣經 that:

The *Extensive Scripture* says: “With one thought to disrupt the meditative concentration, it is like killing all the people throughout the trichiliocosm. With one thought in the meditative concentration, it is like making all the people throughout the trichiliocosm alive.”²¹⁵

²¹⁵ The translations of this passage and the passage below are mine.

《方廣經》云：“一念亂禪定，如煞三千界，滿中一切人。一念在禪定，如活三千界，滿中一切人。”²¹⁶ (*T no. 2075, vol. 51, 192c18–20*)

Similar verses appear in the *Datong fanguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* 大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經 (Great Penetrating Extensive Scripture of Repentance for Erasing Transgressions and Becoming Buddha with Ornamentation):

With one thought in the meditative concentration, it overcomes making all the people throughout the trichilocosm alive. Defaming meditation, ruining and disrupting the assembly, is like killing all the people throughout the trichilocosm.

一念在禪定，勝活三千界，滿中一切人。謗禪壞亂眾，如殺三千界，滿中一切人。 (*T no. 2871, vol. 85, 1351c23–4*)

Although the verses in these two texts are rendered in opposite order, and their wordings vary to some extent, as Kuramoto has suggested, the *Lidai fabao ji* is very likely quoting the *Datong fanguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* as *Fanguang jing*.

In Dunhuang manuscript S.4553, this scripture is named *Datong fanguang jing* 大通方廣經 (Great Penetrating Extensive Scripture) in its end title, and *Dasheng fanguang jing* 大乘方廣經 (Extensive Scripture of the Great Vehicle) in its colophon, both of which are close to *Fanguang jing* 方廣經. Shinkawa (2000, 532–533) read through all the copies of the *Datong fanguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* in the Shōsōin documents in Japan, and found that, out of sixty-three copies of this scripture, forty-six are noted as *Fanguang jing* 方廣經 and seven are noted as *Fanguang* 方廣. He also realized that this scripture was titled *Fanguang [jing]* 方廣[經], *Da fanguang jing* 大方廣經, *Datong fanguang [jing]* 大通方廣[經], *Dasheng fanguang jing* 大乘方廣經, and so on, in

²¹⁶ This transcription is based on P.2125. I have used P.3717, S.516, Jinyi304 to collate against that version.

Dunhuang manuscripts, and suggests that the most popular [abbreviated] name for this scripture is *Fangguang jing* 方廣經. Therefore, Shinkawa (2000, 534) suspects that the *Fangguang* 方廣 mentioned in Jianhui's colophon also refers to the *Datong fangguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing*.

Makita (1972, 59), Shinkawa (2000, 534), and Kuramoto (2016, 308) have all explained that the earliest record of this *Datong fangguang jing* in Chinese Buddhist catalogues is in the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (Catalogue of All the Scriptures),²¹⁷ which states that its authenticity could not be determined (*T* no. 2146, vol. 55, 126b21–c2); it was later identified as a *weijing* 偽經 (spurious scripture) in both the *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (Catalogue of Inner Classics of Great Tang)²¹⁸ (*T* no. 2149, vol. 55, 335c21–336a16) and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 677a4–b1). Based on Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667 C.E.) statement 梁初方廣，源在荆襄 ([As for] the *Fangguang* from the beginning of the Liang [dynasty], its original is in the Jing and Xiang [area])²¹⁹ (*T* no. 2060, vol. 50, 699c15) and the textual relationship between this scripture and some Buddhist texts composed in the Southern dynasties, Kuramoto (2016, 311–338) confirms that this scripture is an apocryphon, and argues that it was probably compiled at the beginning of the Liang dynasty (502–557 C.E.), which is prior to Jianhui's commissioning of her *Fangguang jing* in 536 C.E.

According to Chinese Buddhist catalogues, there are also other scriptures whose titles contain the word *fangguang* 方廣 that were translated, or may have been composed or compiled, before the year 536 C.E., such as the *Dafangguang pusa shidi jing* 大方廣菩薩十

²¹⁷ Edited by Fajing 法經 (fl. 581 – 594 C.E.) and others in 594 C.E.

²¹⁸ Buddhism refers Buddhist scriptures as “inner classics.”

²¹⁹ Nowadays in Hu'nan and Hubei provinces, China.

地經 (Great Extensive Scripture of Bodhisattva's Ten Stages) (*T* no. 308, vol. 10), the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Great Extensive Scripture of the Buddha Ornamented by Flowers) (*T* no. 278, vol. 9), the *Dafangguang sanjie jing* 大方廣三戒經 (Great Extensive Scripture of Three Categories of Precepts) (*T* no. 311, vol. 11), the *Dafangguang shilun jing* 大方廣十輪經 (Great Extensive Scripture of Ten Wheels) (*T* no. 410, vol. 13), the *Dafangguang baoqie jing* 大方廣寶篋經 (Great Extensive Scripture of the Jewel Casket) (*T* no. 462, vol. 14), the *Dafangguang rulai mimizang jing* 大方廣如來祕藏經 (Great Extensive Scripture of the Thus-come One's Secret Repository) (*T* no. 821, vol. 17), and the *Qingjing pini fangguang jing* 清淨毘尼方廣經 (Extensive Scripture of Pure Vinaya) (*T* no. 1489, vol. 24).

Among these scriptures, the *Dafangguang pusa shidi jing* (*T* no. 308) is also titled *Shidi jing* 十地經 (Scripture of Ten Stages) or *Dafangguang jing* 大方廣經 (Great Extensive Scripture) according to the *Lidai sanbao ji* (*T* no. 2034, vol. 49, 63b22–64c14; 85b21–4). Yet, I have not seen this scripture being referred to as *Dafangguang jing* 大方廣經, or simply *Fangguang jing* 方廣經, in any Dunhuang manuscript. Even if Jianhui commissioned this scripture for her aspiration for becoming a man, its text does not touch upon the topic of transforming gender. As for the other scriptures, I have not seen any surviving sources abbreviated their names to *Fangguang jing*. In Dunhuang manuscripts, for instance, Nakamura⁵⁵ of the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 has an end title *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, and the end title of S.154 of the *Dafangguang shilun jing* 大方廣十輪經 is *Shilun jing* 十輪經. Therefore, I agree with Shinkawa that Jianhui could have commissioned the *Datong fangguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* (*T* no. 2871) for her aspiration

to transform her gender.

This text seems does not involve the gender issue at all. However, based on all the eight reliable Dunhuang colophons that either were written for the copy of the *Datong fangguang jing* or mention this scripture, Shinkawa (2000, 534–537) finds that five patrons are female, and one male patron dedicates this scripture to a female beneficiary (his mother). Therefore, he argues that the majority of the patronage for this scripture is either sponsored by women or dedicated to women. He cannot find a clue to explain this trend in the content of this scripture, and suggests that we should interpret this trend against the social background and family background of women during the Southern and Northern dynasties (420–589 C.E.). Based on his study of the patrons of a stele of buddhas' names that are closely related to the *Datong fangguang jing*, Kuramoto (2016, 348) agrees that this scripture was especially popular among women, and suspects that it is because the text claims that even the *yichanti* 一闍提 (*icchantika*), a type of person who was seen as utterly unable to attain Buddhahood, could be saved, and this could explain why the text was welcomed by female Buddhists, whose social status was lower than that of male Buddhists. Although these explanations for the popularity of the *Datong fangguang jing* among women do not convince me, I tend to agree that this scripture was likely to be well accepted by the female patrons.

Shinkawa (2000, 536–537 C.E.) also notes that, before the *Datong fangguang jing* reached the peak of its popularity in the Sui dynasty (581–618 C.E.), it was rarely commissioned individually, but was usually copied with other scriptures as a set, such as the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*, the *Scripture of Law-blossom*, the *Scripture of Queen of the Wondrous Garland*, the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, and so on. Again, I agree with

Shinkawa that the *Datong fangguang jing* has often been commissioned with these scriptures, and I suspect that there are some patterns underlying the selection of these groups of scriptures, though this matter awaits further exploration.

To summarize, among the scriptures that were circulated in China before Jianhui's date, the *Datong fangguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* is most likely the *Fangguang jing* that she commissioned. If she indeed selected the texts, this scripture that she opted for is not textually associated with her main aspiration, as indicated in her colophon. However, it is probable that the *Datong fangguang jing* was especially welcomed among female Buddhists during Jianhui's era, and that it was popular practice to copy this scripture together with the other scriptures that Jianhui had also commissioned as a package. Therefore, I doubt that Jianhui's commissioning of this scripture was a casual choice.

5. The Scripture for Humane Kings

In Dunhuang manuscripts, I can only find the title *Renwang jing* 仁王經 in a colophon of the *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 仁王般若波羅蜜經 (Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings) (*T* no. 245, vol. 8) in BD14483 (dated 582 C.E.). BD14483's end title is *Foshuo renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* 佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經 (Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings Protecting States Spoken by the Buddha), and is ascribed to Kumārajīva (350–409 or 244–413 C.E.), according to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 512b11–513c7). In addition, there is another extant version of the same original—the *Renwang huguo bore boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (*T* no. 246, vol. 8), which is ascribed to Bukong jin'gang 不空金剛 (705–774 C.E.), and is dated to the

first year of the Yongtai 永泰 era (i.e. 765 C.E.) of the Tang dynasty according to a later historical record of Buddhism in China, the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs, *T* no. 2035, vol. 49, 377c21–378a8). Bukong jin’gang’s translation is later than the date in Jianhui’s colophon. The *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* also records another two translations of the same original produced by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (230?–316 C.E.) and by Zhendi 真諦 (499–569 C.E.) respectively. These two versions are no longer extant. However, Mochizuki (1930, 140–155), Funayama (1996, 54–78), and Orzech (1998, 121, 136) have demonstrated that the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* attributed to the translator Kumārajīva (*T* no. 245) was actually composed in China within thirty years after 452 C.E., and the translation attributed to Amoghavajra is his rewrite of the earlier version. Therefore, I am considering *T* no. 245 as representing the *Renwang* 仁王 mentioned in Jianhui’s list.

There is only such a short passage that is related to women in this scripture:

When the Buddha had displayed the divine feet (*rddhi-pāda*), all the devas of the ten directions attained the Buddha-flower samādhi. Bodhisattvas [numerous as] the sands of ten Ganges Rivers manifested their bodies becoming buddhas; the eight classes of kings [numerous as] the sands of three Ganges Rivers achieved the bodhisattva path; ten thousand women attained the supranormal penetration samādhi in their present bodies. (Fascicle Two of the *Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings*, Chapter Six: Strew Flowers)²²⁰

佛現神足時，十方諸天人得佛華三昧，十恒河沙菩薩現身成佛，三恒河沙八部王成菩薩道，十千女人現身得神通三昧。《《仁王般若波羅蜜經》卷下，散華品第六》 (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 831a11–3)²²¹

²²⁰ This translation is a modified version of Orzech’s (1998, 253) translation.

²²¹ This transcription is based on the *Renwang boreboluomi jing* of the *ZJC*. I have used a version in the *FSC* (from the Tang dynasty, 618–907 C.E.), and the other canons to collate against that edition.

Like the sixth passage of the *Daban niepan jing* discussed above, this passage in the *Renwang bore boluomi jing* also shows the change that happened to the female audiences among the Buddha's assembly after the Buddha's preaching of the dharma. Although here the ten thousand women did not obtain male bodies as the human women and goddesses did in the *Daban niepan jing*, or became buddhas as the bodhisattvas listed before them did in the *Renwang jing*, they obtained a certain type of supranormal power in meditative concentration (*sanmei* 三昧), which is a positive change, and, I believe, represents a significant point of progress on their way to Buddhahood.

The title of this scripture contains the words *renwang* 仁王 (humane kings) and *huguo* 護國 (protecting states), and its interlocutors are the Buddha and kings of ancient regions of India. With such a scripture title and interlocutors pointing to the rulership, this scripture was “the charter for Buddhist cults of national protection” (Orzech 1998, 69). If Jianhui had been influenced by the title and the theme of the *Renwang jing* to any degree, would she select this scripture for her aspiration to be transformed into a man or to attain Buddhahood? In the next chapter, I will demonstrate that the patrons of this scripture do not always use it to pray for state protection or for the kings, regardless of its apparent title and theme. As such, it is at least plausible that Jianhui also approached the text in this same manner.

6. The Scripture of the Medicine Master

There are four scriptures that could potentially be referred to as *Yaoshi* in Dunhuang manuscripts: (1) *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* 灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經 (Consecration Scripture on Eliminating Faults and Transcending Life-and-Death) (*T* no.

1331, vol. 21, 532b7–536b6); (2) *Yaoshirulai benyuan jing* 藥師如來本願經 (Scripture of the Original Vows [Made by] the Thus-come One Medicine Master) (*T* no. 449, vol. 14); (3) *Yaoshiliuliguangrulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經 (Scripture of Merits of the Original Vows [Made by] the Thus-come One Medicine Master [Ornamented by] Vaidūrya Light) (*T* no. 450, vol. 14); (4) *Yaoshiliuliguangqifo benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經 (Scripture of Merits of the Original Vows [Made by] Seven Buddhas, the Medicine Masters [Ornamented by] Vaidūrya Light) (*T* no. 451, vol. 14). According to the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, the second scripture was translated by Damojiduo 達摩笈多 (?–619 C.E.) in the eleventh year of the Daye 大業 era during the Sui dynasty (i.e. 615 C.E.) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 551b27–c8); the third scripture was translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664 C.E.) in the first year of the Yonghui 永徽 era during the Tang dynasty (i.e. 650 C.E.) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 555c17–557b15); the fourth scripture was translated by Yijing 義淨 (635–713 C.E.) in the third year of the Shenlong 神龍 era during the Tang dynasty (i.e. 707 C.E.) (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 567a27–568b5). All three of these dates are later than the date of Jianhui’s colophon, therefore, they are unlikely to be the scripture *Yaoshi*, that Jianhui had commissioned.

At the end of the first scripture, *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*, the Buddha states that this scripture also could be named *Yaoshiliuliguangfo benyuan gongde [jing]* 藥師琉璃光佛²²²本願功德[經] (*T* no. 1331, vol. 21, 536b2–3). In Hane468, a scripture with a title, *Foshuo guanding zhangju bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* 佛說灌頂章句拔除過罪生死得度經, is appended with an end title: *Foshuo yaoshiliuliguang jing yijuan* 佛說藥師琉璃

²²² *Fo* 佛 (Buddha) in the *ZJC* and the *KSC* is written as *rulai* 如來 (Thus-come One) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC*, and the *QLC*, and is missing in the *FSC* (722 C.E.).

光經一卷. BD3306 and Tiantu300 are manuscripts of this scripture as well although both of their titles have been lost due to damage. The end title of BD3306 is *Foshuo yaoshi jing* 佛說藥師經, and Tiantu300's is simply *Yaoshi jing* 藥師經, which is closest to the title *Yaoshi 藥師* seen on Jianhui's list.

According to the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of the Three Repositories) (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 39a21–23) compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 C.E.), this scripture (also named *Guanding jing* 灌頂經 [Consecration Scripture] or *Yaoshiliuliguang jing* 藥師琉璃光經 [Scripture of the Medicine Master Ornamented by Vaidūrya Light]) was *chaozhuan* 抄撰 (composed by redacting) by *bhikṣu* Huijian 慧簡 in the first year of the Daming 大明 era (i.e. 457 C.E.) of the [Liu] Song dynasty based on other scriptures. He includes this scripture in the section “Yijing weizhuan” 疑經偽撰 (doubtful scriptures and spurious compositions). However, Zhisheng 智昇, in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, denies Sengyou's judgement of this scripture as a *yijing* 疑經 (doubtful scripture) (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 531b27–c3), and denies that it was composed by Huijian (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 662b25–8). He states that this scripture is the twelfth chapter of the *Da guanding jing* 大灌頂經 (Great Consecration Scripture) translated by Boshilimiduoluo 帛尸梨密多羅 (?–343 C.E.), and is the first translation of the same original of the other three scriptures of *Yaoshi jing*, which is titled the *Jiu yaoshi jing* 舊藥師經 (Old Scripture of the Medicine Master) (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 593c13–594a4).

Although Zhisheng's assessment of the *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* was accepted by the editors of later Chinese Buddhist canons, Wu Xiaojie's (2010, 182–183, 271) research demonstrates that all the surviving Dunhuang manuscripts and the canonical

versions of this scripture, as well as other chapters of the *Da guanding jing*, should all be seen as apocryphal texts composed by Huijian. That said, Arai Keiyo (1970, 31) indicates that there might have been another *Yaoshi liuliguang jing* in circulation before the extant *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* was put together by Huijian. Wu Xiaojie (2010, 151) agrees with Arai's conjecture, yet cannot find this postulated text. Therefore, I would like to take the *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* (T no. 1331, vol. 21, 532b7–536b6) as the scripture *Yaoshi* that Jianhui has commissioned.

There is a relevant passage in the *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing*:²²³

The Buddha said: “When their lives are coming to the end, on the death bed, people who are able to hear my speaking of this [*Scripture of Merits of the Original Vows [Made by] the Medicine Master Buddha [Ornamented by] Vaiḍūrya Light*], after the end of their lives, will all be able to reborn above into the heavens, and will not experience the three evil paths again. After their merit in the heavens has been depleted, if they are reborn downward in the human realm, they will become the sons of the imperial houses, or will be reborn in the rich and honorable families of householders from noble lineages. All of them will be handsome, bright, wise, intelligent, and brave. As for women, they will be transformed into men, and there will no distress or sufferings anymore.

佛言：“假使壽命自欲盡時，臨終之日，得聞我說是《藥師²²⁴琉璃光佛本願功德》者，命終之後，²²⁵皆得上生天上，不復歷²²⁶三惡道中。天上福盡，若下生人間，當為帝王家作子，或於²²⁷豪姓長者居士富貴家生。皆當端正、聰明、智慧、高才、勇猛。若是女人，化成男子，無復憂苦患難者也。” (T no. 1331, vol. 21, 533c9–15)

In this passage, the Buddha promises the women who have heard his teaching of this scripture that they will be reborn as men in imperial or rich houses with fine qualities after

²²³ This transcription is based on the *ZJC*. I have used the *FSC* (722 C.E.), and the other canons to collate against that edition.

²²⁴ *Yaoshi* 藥師 (the Medicine Master) is missing in the *FSC*.

²²⁵ *Zhihou* 之後 (after) is missing in the *FSC*.

²²⁶ *Li* 歷 (experience) is written as *jingli* 經歷 (experience) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC*, and the *QLC*.

²²⁷ *Yu* 於 (in) in the *KSC*, is written as *sheng* 生 (reborn) in the *FSC*, the *ZJC*, the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC*, and the *QLC*. Grammatically, the former makes more sense.

they first have fully enjoyed their lives in the heavens after their present lives. Again, this promise is directly associated with Jianhui's aspiration to become a man.

In summary, among the seven scriptures that *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui commissioned, the *Niepan jing*, the *Fahua jing*, the *Shengman jing*, the *Wuliangshou jing*, and the *Yaoshi jing* include doctrinal claims that are directly relevant to her main aspiration to become a man or a buddha. Though not as directly relevant, the *Renwang jing* mentions that ten thousand female devotees were granted supranormal powers of meditative concentration. Although this supranormal power did not transform them into men or buddhas directly, I believe it nonetheless represents remarkable progress on their way to Buddhahood. The *Fangguang jing* is the only scripture among these seven that does not mention the gender issue at all. However, it seems that this scripture was a popular choice for female Buddhists, and that it was usually copied together with the other scriptures that Jianhui also commissioned as a set during her era. Therefore, I do not think the *Fangguang jing* was a random choice for Jianhui.

Conclusion

This chapter examined *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's colophons about "female filth," gender transformation, and becoming a buddha. By means of comparing her colophon in Nakamura⁵¹ with two other nuns' colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts that include the same gender-based concerns, and reading the scriptures that Jianhui commissioned in hopes of achieving her aspirations, I have found out that the percentage of her commissioned scriptures that include material directly related to her aspirations is high (five out of seven), and the other two scriptures are also not irrelevant to her aspirations. These two facts suggest

that it is highly unlikely that she chose these scriptures without any knowledge of their content, or that she had merely selected them as generalized sources of merit; as an additional line of evidence, the fact that four other women also chose to sponsor copies of the *Niepan jing* for their gender-related concerns (including two cases from Turfan) is difficult to ignore. Moreover, if we assume that Jianhui indeed tried to commission certain texts that could support her aspirations, it might not always have been easy for her to collect seven scriptures that all contain a sufficient amount of relevant content. Therefore, I tend to believe that Jianhui understood these texts, and that she intentionally used them as tools for achieving her aspirations.

Among these seven scriptures, the *Fanguang jing*, the *Renwang jing*, the *Yaoshi jing* are probably apocryphal scriptures that were either composed or compiled in China. This fact means that *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui, as a Buddhist cleric, used translated scriptures and apocrypha together for the same aspiration, regardless of whether she was able to differentiate these two types of Buddhist scriptures. In other words, in this case, apocryphal scriptures do not meet the patrons' needs better than the translated scriptures do.

Chapter Three: A Prince Commissions Copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and Invokes the Heavenly Kings

Introduction

In the second chapter, I have discussed the relationship between the focus of *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's colophon—becoming a man—and a set of Buddhist scriptures that she commissioned. Among them, the *Scripture for Humane Kings* deserves more investigation.

The *Scripture for Humane Kings*, which integrates the perfection of wisdom and the attainment of worldly power by drawing an analogy between kings' *huguo* 護國 (protecting states) and bodhisattvas' *hufoguo* 護佛果 (protecting Buddhahood), has been “the vehicle for a Buddhism of National Protection in China, Korea, and Japan” (Orzech 1998, 9, 70). The titles of the scripture are relatively uncomplicated: *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜經 (Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings to Protect States), or abbreviated as *Renwang bore jing* 仁王般若經 (Wisdom Scripture for Humane Kings), or, briefly, *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Scripture for Humane Kings). These titles reveal the scripture's main target audience (i.e. kings), and, from the full title, one can also tell that one of the essential topics of this scripture is the importance of the Buddhist notion of wisdom in the protection of the state. Also, at the end of this scripture, the Buddha clearly entrusts it to the kings (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 833b13–17).

The text advertises its potential use as a technology for state protection, and there is extensive historical evidence that it was indeed employed by East Asian rulers for this purpose. Orzech (1998, 76–77) demonstrates that emperors, such as Shaodi 少帝 (i.e. Chen

Shubao 陳叔寶, r. 582–589 C.E.) of the Chen dynasty, Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649 C.E.), Xuanzong and Daizong of the Tang dynasty, were interested in invoking this scripture for the sake of their states. For another example, Xia Guangxing (2010, 189–190) quotes the *Dasong sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (Historical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy of the Great Song [Dynasty]),²²⁸ which introduces the state ritual of *chengjing qibao an* 盛經七寶案 (Table of Seven Treasures for Containing the Scripture), and indicates that this ritual was explicitly drawn from the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and was performed during the Northern Song dynasty. Given the putative target audience and rhetorical goals of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, we are left with a question: why did Jianhui opt to use it for the purpose of changing her gender? To answer this question, we will need to consider some other parallel uses of this text, wherein it was also employed outside of the context of rulership and political ritual.

For instance, Orzech (1998, 1–2) also introduces a colophon to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* from 1871 C.E. by a group of common Chinese laymen who dedicated a copy to their family; this colophon is neither connected to the perfection of wisdom nor to the state. Wei Yijun (2015, 26–28) has discussed aspirations for copying the *Scripture for Humane Kings* with respect to its content by studying five manuscripts of this scripture with colophons from Dunhuang and three manuscripts with colophons from Turfan. Four of these Dunhuang manuscripts are attributed to Yuan Rong 元榮 (Or Yuan Tairong 元太榮, ?–545 C.E.), a great-great-grandson of Mingyuandi 明元帝 (Emperor Mingyuan, r. 409–423 C.E.) of the Northern Wei dynasty, who held the office of *cishi* 刺史 (Inspector) of Guazhou 瓜州 from

²²⁸ The *Dasong sengshi lue* in three fascicles was finalized in the second year of the Xianping 咸平 era during the Northern Song dynasty (i.e. 999 C.E.) (T no. 2126, vol. 54, 235b6).

525 to 542 C.E., and was entitled “Dongyang Wang” 東陽王 (Prince of Dongyang) in 529 C.E. (Zhao [1943] 1999; Mei 1966; Su [1986] 1996; Wen 2006). The other Dunhuang manuscript was commissioned by Suo Xianzhe 索顯哲, whose background remains unclear. The three Turfan manuscripts are attributed to Qu Qiang 鞠乾固, king of Gaochang 高昌 (present-day Turfan) (r. 561–601 C.E.). By comparing Dunhuang colophons with Turfan colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, Wei Yijun (2015, 36) argues that patrons from Dunhuang were concerned about themselves and their families while the ruler from Turfan valued the scripture’s ability to protect states.

Wei Yijun’s argument is unconvincing. First, Wei has not examined the authenticity of the Dunhuang manuscripts that he has collected. The colophon in Hane656 attributed to Yuan Rong that Wei has studied is dubious. I will elaborate on its status in Appendix I of this dissertation. Second, in order to study the aspirations for copying the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, it is problematic to examine only the colophons of the manuscripts of this specific scripture. For instance, there are colophons in the manuscripts of other scriptures that also tell us about copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* being commissioned for certain aspirations. In such colophons the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is usually described being copied together with other scriptures as a set for a given purpose. In addition to four colophons of Yuan Rong in Dunhuang manuscripts S.4528, BD9525, Moriya 196 and Hane656, and one colophon of Suo Xianzhe in BD14483 that Wei has collected, I have collected five more colophons in S.3935, BD14925, S.582, P.2866, S.1945, and one forged colophon in Mitsui 35, which are ascribed to another three patrons who commissioned the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Wei’s incomplete survey of the commissions for the copying of

this scripture undermines his argument, since all the Turfan colophons he discusses derive from a king, who is not comparable in status to the patrons of various backgrounds from the Dunhuang area. Moreover, Wei's study of Yuan Rong's patronage neither analyzes the colophons thoroughly, nor pays sufficient attention to Yuan's invocation to the Heavenly Kings in his colophons. The Heavenly Kings are a critical component of these colophons, a fact which requires further investigation in order to interpret the rationales for Yuan Rong's patronage.

Putting together the studies of Orzech, Xia, and Wei, we may discern that, in spite of its informative title and the overt topic of this scripture, patrons did not always use the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to pray for the king, or to protect states. This chapter cannot discuss all the five patrons' uses of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* recorded in Dunhuang colophons, but will instead focus on Yuan Rong's use of this scripture, and explore his (or his agent's) rationale for invoking the Heavenly Kings by employing this scripture and other Buddhist scriptures for Yuan Rong's own aspirations.

Previous Studies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*

In the second chapter, we learned that there are two surviving recensions of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, both of which are in two fascicles. The former was likely composed within thirty years after 452 C.E. (Funayama 1996, 54–78), while the latter, “translated” by the monk Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra), arguably, was reproduced by him and his disciples from 765 to 766 C.E. based on the former scripture at the request of Daizong 代宗 (Emperor Dai, r. 726–779 C.E.) of the Tang dynasty (Mochizuki 1930, 140–55). Since Wei Yijun (2015,

26) has noted that none of the sixty Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is of the recension produced by Bukong, in this chapter I focus on the fifth-century recension of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. One of my tasks in this dissertation is to discover whether apocrypha and translated scriptures were used differently in textual practices in medieval Dunhuang area, therefore it is necessary to determine if the fifth-century recension of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is an apocryphon.

Mochizuki (1930, 140–155), Shiio (1933, 112–137), Makita (1976, 45–46) and Orzech (1998, 75–78, 125) all introduce records of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in Chinese Buddhist catalogues and the process of its canonization. As they recount, there is a record of a *Scripture for Humane Kings* in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 under the section “Shiyi zijing” 失譯雜經 (Miscellaneous Scriptures for which Translators have been Lost) (T no. 2145, vol. 55, 29c19). This catalogue also includes Liang Wudi’s 梁武帝 (r. 502–49 C.E.) preface to his commentary on the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom), in which he explains that the periodization of the Buddha’s teaching in the *Renwang bore* 仁王般若 ([Scripture of] Wisdom for Humane Kings) is different from the *wushi* 五時 (five [teaching] periods) in the other perfection of wisdom texts, and that in his time this scripture was regarded as a *yijing* 疑經 (doubtful scripture) (T no. 2145, vol. 55, 54b18–20). In the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄, the ascription of this scripture to the translator Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa; 230?–316 C.E.) or Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kumārajīva; 350–409 or 244–413 C.E.) in the *Bielu* 別錄 (Classified Catalogue)²²⁹ is suspect, since this text’s content and wording (*yiliwenci* 義理文

²²⁹ Mochizuki (1930, 141) suspects that this catalogue is the *Jinshi zalu* 晉世雜錄 (Miscellaneous Catalogue from the Jin Period) as indicated in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (T no. 2034, vol. 49, 62c18). This catalogue is ascribed to Zhu Daozu 竺道祖

詞) differ from those of either of these two translators. He therefore places this scripture under the section “Zhongjing yihuo” 衆經疑惑 (Doubtful and Perplexing Scriptures among All the Scriptures) (*T* no. 2146, vol. 55, 126b8–9). It was Fei Zhangfang 費長房 in his *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 of 597 C.E. who fixed the text’s lineage of translators with versions attributed successively to Zhu Fahu, Jiumoluoshi, and Zhendi 真諦 (Paramārtha; 499–569 C.E.) (*T* no. 2034, vol. 49, 78a23–24, 99a2–3), and thus claimed its canonicity, as he did for many other Buddhist texts with the purpose of bolstering Buddhism’s status against Daoism. This tendency makes Fei’s attributions hard to trust. Mochizuki (1930, 142) points out that the attribution of the translation to Zhendi in the third year of the Chensheng 承聖 era (i.e. 554 C.E.) in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (*T* no. 2034, vol. 49, 99a2) and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 538b9) is problematic, since, as recorded in the *Lidai sanbao ji* (*T* no. 2034, vol. 49, 99a10) as well, this translation is even later than its commentary composed in the third year of the Taiqing 太清 era (i.e. 549 C.E.). He also suggests that the attribution of the translation to Zhendi in the third year of the Datong 大同 era (i.e. 537 C.E.) in the *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (*T* no. 2149, vol. 55, 266a24) is untenable, since, although this time is earlier than the time of the commentary, it is before Zhendi’s arrival in south China in the twelfth year of the Datong era (i.e. 546 C.E.), as recorded in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*T* no. 2060, vol. 50, 429c17). Orzech (1998, 77–8) demonstrates that, later in the Tang dynasty, emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756 C.E.) commanded Bukong to lecture on this scripture, and his grandson Daizong had Bukong produce a second “translation.” In this way, and under imperial auspices, the *Scripture for*

(347–419 C.E.) and is no longer extant.

Humane Kings thus attained full canonical status (Orzech 1998, 78).

Regarding the composition of this scripture, Mochizuki (1930, 140–155) argues for its Chinese provenance. For example, he points out that it treats the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* and the *Guangzan bore boluomi jing* 光讚般若波羅蜜經²³⁰ as two distinct wisdom scriptures, when they are instead two Chinese translations from the same scripture. He argues that the “Huguo pin” 護國品 (Chapter on Protecting State) of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* was composed based on a passage of the *Liuduji jing* 六度集經 (Scripture on the Collection of Six [Ways of] Deliverance) (*T* no. 152, vol. 3, 22a27–b4) with reference to fascicle eleven of the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish) (*T* no. 202, vol. 4). He also notes that this scripture presents the entire bodhisattva path under the rubric of *wuren* 五忍 (five acceptances), which are subdivided into *shisi ren* 十四忍 (fourteen acceptances): a formula that deviates from the one presented in other perfection of wisdom texts. Thus, Mochizuki believes that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is an apocryphal scripture.

Mochizuki (1930, 153, 155) also considers a traditional claim concerning the South Asian origins on the text, namely that a Sanskrit source was used for Bukong’s “re-translation” as recorded in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (A Newly Revised Catalogue of Śākyamuni’s Teachings in the Zhenyuan Era [785–805 C.E.]) compiled by Bukong’s disciple Yuanzhao 圓照 (713–779 C.E.) (*T* no. 2157, vol. 55, 884b14–885a29). Mochizuki does not think that this record should be taken literally since Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664 C.E.) said that there was no such a scripture in the west.²³¹ Also, the scripture

²³⁰ The title *Guangzan bore boluomi jing* could be translated as the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom in Praise of the Light*, or the *Scripture of the Sermon [Delivered in Conjunction with the Emission of] Light of the Perfection of Wisdom* according to Zacchetti (2005, 3).

²³¹ 西方尋訪彼經，未聞有本。 ([I] made inquiries about that scripture in the West, but did not hear of the existence of such a text.) (*T* no. 1829, vol. 43, 129c10)

does not exist in any Tibetan canons, and there are only a few differences between Bukong's new translation and the previous version. Likewise, Orzech (1998, 290) denies that the imputed use of original Sanskrit texts in Bukong's "re-translation" can prove there was a Sanskrit version of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Rather, he contends that Bukong would have naturally referred to a number of Sanskrit texts of the perfection of wisdom genre in his work on various parts of this scripture, and the large number of passages that are identical word for word in Bukong's version and the former version suggests that the basis for the eighth-century text is the fifth-century text and not some Sanskrit original. Yet, since two early catalogues, the *Zhongjing bielu* 衆經別錄 (Classified Catalogue of All the Scriptures)²³² and the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, state that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is in one fascicle, and especially because the former catalogue also describes the writing style of this scripture, Mizuno (2008) believes that its compiler must have read a version of this scripture that was indeed one fascicle in length. Due to the fact that the two surviving versions of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* are both in two fascicles, he argues that it is possible for this scripture to have a Sanskrit origin. Its Chinese translation could have been expanded and edited in China, and the second fascicle was probably added later, since there are inconsistencies in the wording, grammar and the content in this scripture, and some terms in this scripture cannot be found in any other extant Chinese Buddhist works (Mizuno 2008, 2012).

In terms of the background and the date of the composition of this scripture, Mochizuki

²³² The *Zhongjing bielu* is a fragmentary Chinese Buddhist catalogue preserved in Dunhuang manuscripts S.2872 and P.3747, which was probably completed between 502 and 515 C.E. during the Liang dynasty, and is regarded as the earliest extant Chinese Buddhist catalogue.

(1930, 148–149) argues that it reflects the suppression of the *saṃgha*'s freedom and the controls on religious life during the Northern Wei dynasty, based on the Buddha's prophecy of soldiers and slaves being made *bhikṣus*, the establishment of superintendents for the *saṃgha* and the registration of monks after his demise, and the prohibition on building Buddhist statues or *stūpas* described in the text (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 833b21–3). Moreover, because of Liang Wudi's remark on the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, Mochizuki (1930, 152) believes that this scripture likely existed before the Liang dynasty (i.e. before 502 C.E.). He suggests that the issue of monastic regulations mentioned in this scripture could be a reference to imperial controls on the *saṃgha* enforced by the Northern Wei in either 494 C.E. or earlier. Makita (1976, 47) suspects that an important reason for writing this scripture was to promote the revival of Buddhism after the great persecution launched by Taiwu di 太武帝 (r. 423–452 C.E.). Funayama (1996, 54–78) argues that the upper limit of the date for the composition of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is 452 C.E. when Taiwu di's reign ended, and he suspects that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* was composed within thirty years after 452 C.E. Orzech (1998, 68) argues that this scripture is not a product of a single author, but of a cumulative religious and political process over several centuries, which took place in North China. Because Tanyao 曇曜 (439–477 C.E.), the highest-ranking superintendent of monks (*sengzheng* 僧正) during the Northern Wei dynasty (386–543 C.E.), established *saṃgha* and Buddha households that led to the foundation of monastic registration in 477 C.E. after the persecution of Buddhism, Orzech (1998, 119–121) suspects that this scripture was initially written by a monastic opponent of Tanyao soon after 477 C.E. calling for the establishment of a new Buddhism to replace the state Buddhism of the time.

There are other scholars whose works also involve the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, such as Yoritomi (1979, 160–174), who discusses the circulation and reception of this scripture, as well as its function as a tool of state protection. He agrees with Mochizuki (1930) and Shiio (1933) that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is not a translation, and there is not a Sanskrit version for Bukong’s “translation.” He mentions both emperors’ invocation of this scripture in Chinese historical records, and the Dunhuang colophons that are ascribed to a general named Yuan Rong. That said, Yoritomi (1979, 164) comments that Yuan Rong’s colophon, instead of aspiring for protecting state, is better understood as asking for personal benefits in this world.

On the other hand, De Visser (1935, 1:116–189), Wang Wenyan (1997, 112), Yang Weizhong (2010; 2016), and Wei Yijun (2015, 12–15) believe that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is a translated scripture and not an indigenous composition. De Visser (1935, 116–189) accepts Fei Zhangfang’s attribution of this scripture to Kumārajīva. Wang (1997, 112) regards this scripture as a translated text simply because there are more than one surviving “translations.” Yang’s (2010, 590–599; 2016) arguments include the fact that Fei Zhangfang’s record of the lineage of this scripture’s translation is reliable because it was later accepted by Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. 730 C.E.) in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*. Yang also argues that, although Xuanzang might have said that there was no such scripture in the west, he did lecture on the *Scripture for Humane Kings* at the request of the king of Gaochang (*T* no. 2053, vol. 50, 225b15–20), which indicates that Xuanzang did not doubt the text’s authenticity; the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* records that Bukong’s re-translation was made based on a Sanskrit master copy (*T* no. 2053, vol. 50, 884b14–c21); Zhiyi 智顓 (538–597 C.E.) had

read three versions of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, and Zhendi's commentary on this scripture was circulated during the Sui and the Tang dynasty. Wei Yijun (2015) basically echoes Yang, and adds a colophon of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* from the Heian period (794–1185 or 1192 C.E.) in Japan, which shows the team of the “re-translation” of this scripture led by Bukong, and refers to a Sanskrit version several times.

Compared with Makita and Orzech, De Visser, Wang, Yang and Wei Yijun merely focus on the catalogues and historical records of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Their arguments are built on the attitudes and knowledge of the Buddhist cataloguers, and of prominent monks who have lectured on this scripture. That said, these statements made by members of the monastic elite are not always reliable, especially when they stood to benefit from the performance of activities centered on this scripture. In contrast, Mochizuki, Makita and Orzech not only refer to catalogues and historical records, but also compare this scripture with other related Buddhist texts, either translated or apocryphal, in order to determine its origin. They also place the *Scripture for Humane Kings* within the contemporary social context to probe its “Chineseness.” As a result, their conclusions are more convincing than the studies of De Visser, Wang, Yang and Wei Yijun, and I think that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is more likely to be a text that was edited or composed in China. Yoritomi's brief comment on Yuan Rong's use of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* for this world's personal benefits rather than for protecting state makes sense. However, he has neither questioned why Yuan Rong commissioned this scripture for personal benefits, nor examined the relationship between these personal benefits and the text. In the next section, I will collect Yuan Rong's colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* that he commissioned, and

analyze them thoroughly by referring to the content of this text.

Yuan Rong's Use of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*

Other than the colophon of Hane656, which looks dubious, there are three dated colophons in three Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* that are ascribed to Yuan Rong. Chronologically, they are Moriya 196 and BD9525, both dated to 530 C.E., and S.4528 dated to 531 C.E. According to these colophons, the *Scripture for Humane Kings* was probably the only scripture commissioned in these acts of patronage.

Among three copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, two of them (figure 3.1 Moriya 196 and figure 3.2 BD9525) were commissioned on the same day: the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the third year of the Yong'an 永安 era (i.e. 530 C.E.). I transcribe and translate these colophons as follows:

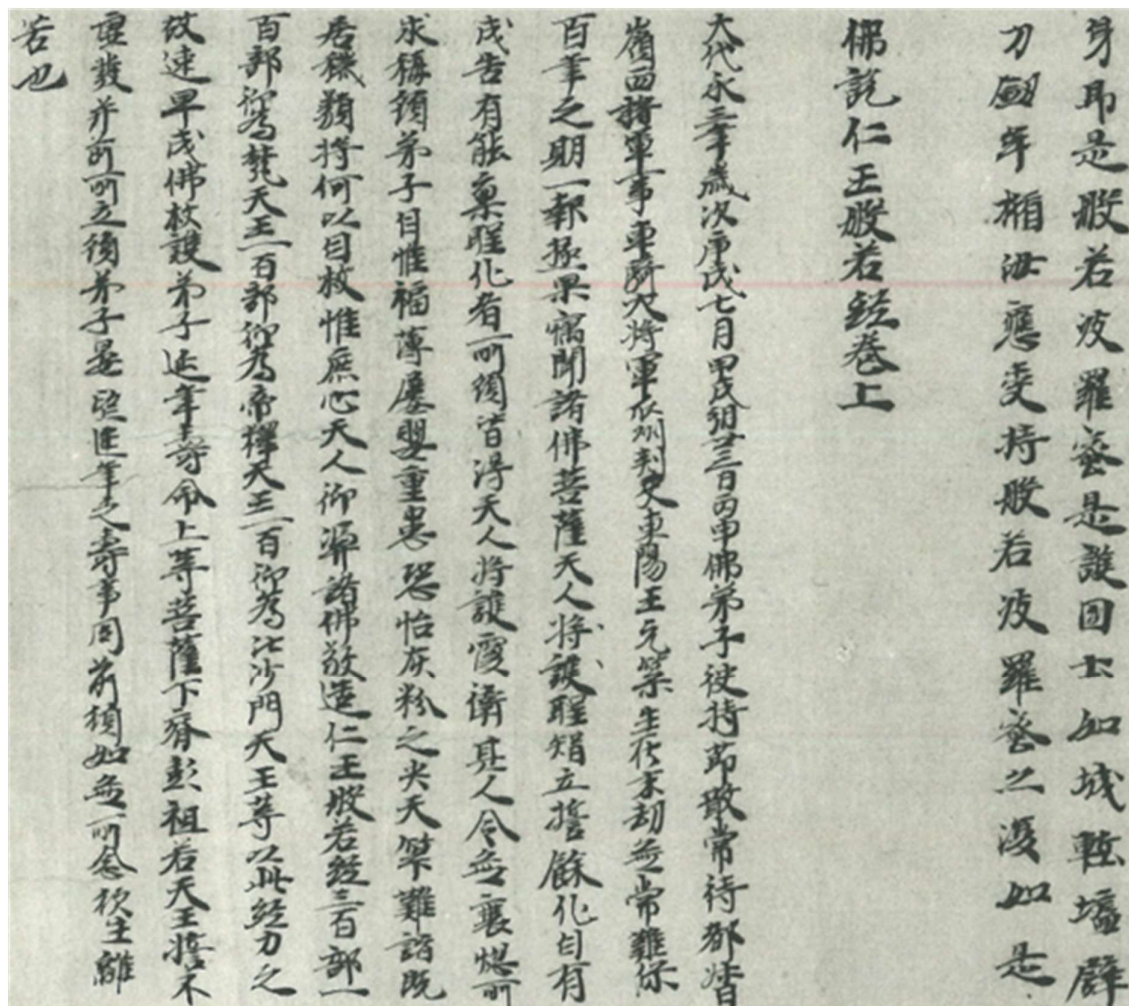


Figure 3.1 Moriya196 *Foshuo renwang bore jing juanshang* 《佛說仁王般若經》卷上 (Fascicle One of the Wisdom Scripture for Humane Kings Spoken by the Buddha) (Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1964, 81a)

The twenty-third day, *bingshen*, of the seventh month (of which the first day is *jiaxu*) of the third year of the Yong'an era (530 C.E.) of the Great Dai dynasty,²³³ when the sequential year is *gengxu*. A disciple [of the Buddha], the Envoy with a Warrant, the Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, the Commander-in-chief of all military affairs in Lingxi, the Great Chariot-and-Horse General, the Inspector of Guazhou, King of Dongyang, Yuan Rong was born during the final age. [Due to] impermanence, it is difficult to guarantee that [my life will] be rewarded with the ultimate attainment [of Buddhahood] after a period of a hundred years. Respectfully, I have heard all the buddhas and the bodhisattvas, the heavenly beings and the sages have made vows to transform others, and certainly there are announcements of attaining [Buddhahood]: if there is anyone who accepts the sage's teachings, all of their aspirations will be attained. The heavenly beings will protect, cover and guard this person, and will let this person out of misfortune and

²³³ "The Great Dai dynasty": i.e. the Northern Wei dynasty.

suffering, and grant all their requests. [I,] a disciple [of the Buddha], understanding that my merit is thin, often suffer from serious sicknesses, and am afraid that it will give rise to the disaster that will grind me to dust. It is difficult to understand the plan of Heaven. Having been living in the filthy class,²³⁴ by what means can I save myself? I can only anchor my heart in the heavenly beings, reverently trust in all the buddhas, then respectfully produce three hundred copies of the *Scripture of Wisdom for Humane Kings*, [of which] one hundred copies are reverently offered to the Heavenly King Brahmā, one hundred copies are reverently offered to the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, one hundred [copies] are reverently offered to the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa and others. Thanks to the power of this scripture, may [the Heavenly Kings] become buddhas soon, [and then] save and protect [me,] a disciple [of the Buddha], [by the means of] extending my lifespan, [making it] equal to that of a bodhisattva in the highest degree,²³⁵ and parallel to that of Pengzu in the lowest degree.²³⁶ If the Heavenly Kings do not make vows in vain, [then,] together with my previously established aspirations, may the issue of longevity that [I,] a disciple [of the Buddha], am expecting be [received] as same as the previous aspirations. If my hopes cannot be gratified, [then at least] may beings with breath be free from suffering.

大代永[安]三年，歲次庚戌，七月甲戌朔廿三日丙申，佛弟子使持節、散[騎]常侍、都督嶺西諸²³⁷軍事、車騎大將軍、瓜州刺（刺）史、東陽王元榮，生在末劫，無常難保，百年之期，²³⁸一報極果。竊聞諸佛菩薩，天人²³⁹聖智，立誓餘化，自有成告：有能稟聖化者，所願皆得，天人將護，覆衛其人，令無衰惱，所求稱願。弟子自惟福薄，屢嬰重患，恐怡（貽）灰粉之央（殃）。天算難詣，既居穢類，將何以自救？惟庶心天人，仰憑諸佛，敬造《仁王般若經》三百部，一百部仰為梵天王，一百部仰為帝釋天王，²⁴⁰一百[部]仰為比（毗）沙門天王等。以此經力之故，速早成佛，救護弟子，延年壽命，上等菩薩，下齊彭祖。若天王誓不虛發，并前所立願，弟子晏望延年之壽，事同前願。如無所念，願[含]生²⁴¹離

²³⁴ *Huilei* 穢類 (filthy class) is probably used to describe sentient beings who are inferior to buddhas, bodhisattvas, and other heavenly beings.

²³⁵ The lifespan of a bodhisattva varies in different Buddhist texts. A reference of the lifespan of a bodhisattva could be found in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T no. 262, vol. 9, 53a15–16): the lifespan of a bodhisattva was forty-two thousand kalpas, which was as long as the Buddha's in the time of the Buddha named "Riyuejingmingde" 日月淨明德 (Pure and Bright Excellence of Sun and Moon). In Yuan Rong's colophon, the lifespan of a bodhisattva is probably considered to be extremely long.

²³⁶ *Pengzu* 彭祖 literally means the ancestor of the clan of Peng 彭, a legendary figure whose longevity is eight hundred years. Here Yuan Rong is praying for a longevity of eight hundred years at lowest.

²³⁷ *Zhu* 諸 (all) is mistaken as *jiang* 將 (general, or lead) by Ikeda (1990, 115), Huang and Wu (1995, 814), Wei (2015, 30).

²³⁸ *Qi* 期 (period) has been mistaken as *si* 斯 (this) by Wei (2015, 30).

²³⁹ In the third column of the colophon of Moriya196, there are two dots marked to the right of the characters *jiang* 將 (will) and *hu* 護 (protect) respectively, which means that the scribe would like to delete these characters. The word *jianghu* 將護 (will protect) does not make sense in this sentence. The scribe was probably confused by the phrase *tianren jianghu* 天人將護 (the heavenly beings will protect) in the fourth column when copying from a master copy, therefore the word *jianghu* 將護 jumped in after *tianren* 天人 in the third column. Ikeda (1990, 115), Huang and Wu (1995, 814), Wei (2015, 30) have kept this superfluous word in their transcriptions, which has impeded their understandings of this colophon.

²⁴⁰ *Wang* 王 (king) in the "Dishi tianwang" 帝釋天王 (Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra) is missing in Ikeda's (1990, 115), Huang and Wu's (1995, 814), and Wei's (2015, 30) transcriptions.

²⁴¹ *Han* 含 (hold in the mouth) is probably missing in *hansheng* 含生, which is an abbreviation of *hanqizhongsheng* 含氣衆生 (the multitudinous beings with breath), and is a common term in colophons to Buddhist scriptures, such as in the colophon in P.2143 of the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom) that was also commissioned

苦也。

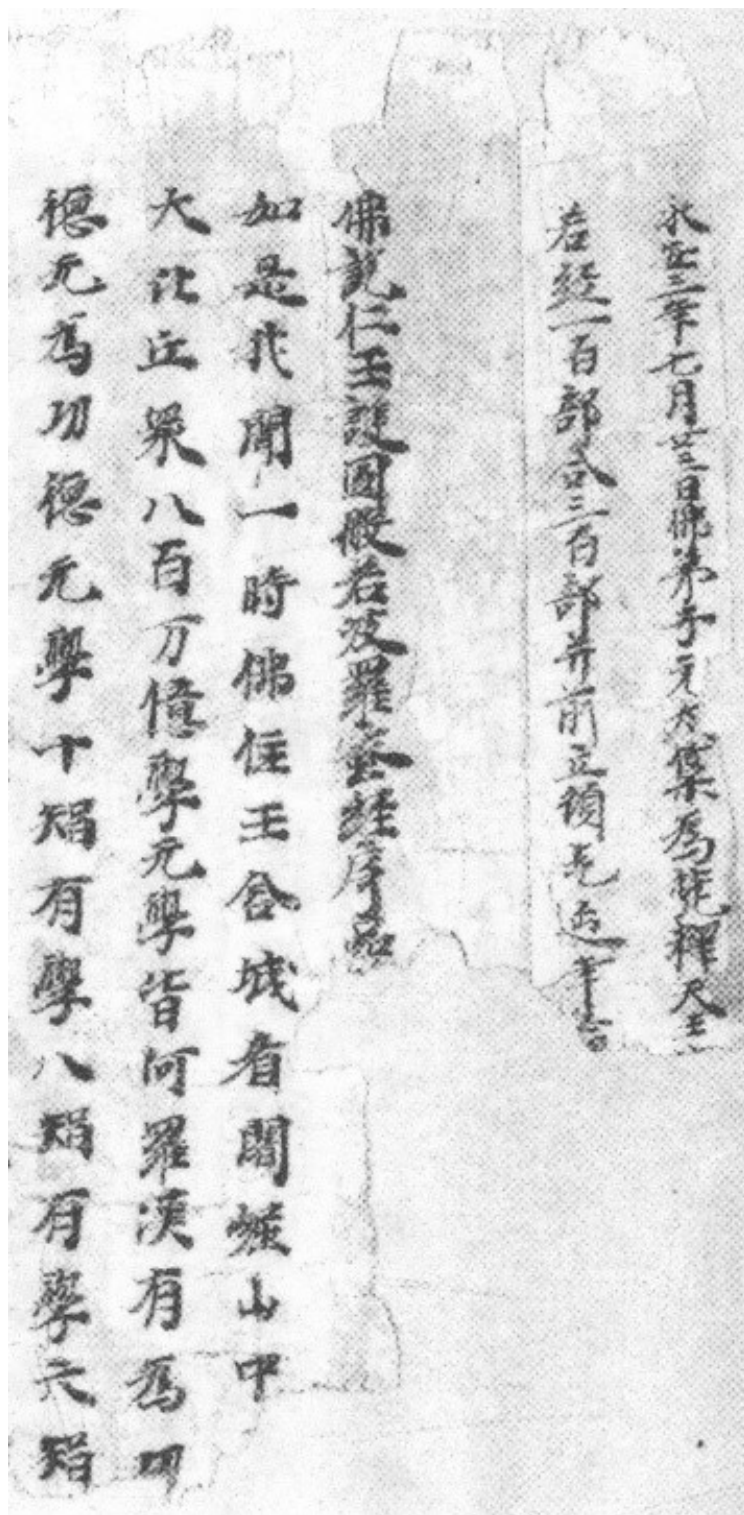


Figure 3.2 BD9525 *Foshuo renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* Xupin 《佛說仁王護國般若

by Yuan Rong, which I will discuss below. Ikeda (1990, 115), Huang and Wu (1995, 814), and Wei (2015, 30) all have missed *han* 含 in their transcriptions.

波羅蜜經》序品 (Chapter of Prologue of the Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings to Protect States Spoken by the Buddha) (Ren 2008, 106:65a)

On the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the third year of the Yongan era (530 C.E.), a disciple of the Buddha, Yuan Tairong, for the Heavenly King Brahmā...one hundred copies of *Wisdom Scripture for Humane Kings*, in total three hundred copies. Together with the aspirations that [I] have established previously, [I am] begging to extend my lifespan.

永安三年七月廿三日，佛弟子元太榮為梵釋天王²⁴².....□□□（《仁王般若經》一百部，合三百部。并前立願，乞延年益□（壽）.....































Ikeda (1990, 115) has transcribed both colophons, but is dubious regarding the authenticity of the colophon of Moriya 196. I contend that both colophons could be authentic. My argument begins with BD9525. BD9525 is a fragmentary manuscript of the first chapter, “Prologue,” of the *Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing* (T no. 245, vol. 8, 825a3–b3). According to the image, and to Fang and Wood’s (2008, 106:13) description, the colophon of BD9525 was written on a strip of paper (with a width of 2.8 cm) in two columns, and then attached to the beginning of the first chapter of this scripture. Figure 3.2 shows that now this colophon has become fragmented together with the manuscript. In other words, the visible damage to both the text and the colophon match. Since the colophon is damaged in this way, and neither Ikeda nor Fang and Wood doubt its authenticity, I do not think it is forged.

When we compare the colophon of BD9525 with that of Moriya 196 to the same scripture, we realize that the former is an abbreviated version of the latter, since the latter contains the same date, the same patron, the same Heavenly King Brahmā who is invoked,

²⁴² From P.2143 we learn that the “Fanshi tianwang” 梵釋天王 is parallel to the “Dishi tianwang” 帝釋天王 (Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra), therefore the “Fanshi tianwang” 梵釋天王 in BD9525 should be identical to the “Fan tianwang” 梵天王 (Heavenly King Brahmā) in Moriya196. Possibly, “Fan tianwang” 梵天王 was transformed into “Fanshi tianwang” 梵釋天王 under the influence of the title “Dishi tianwang” 帝釋天王.

the same number of copies (three hundred), and the same aspiration (extending lifespan) as in the former, yet it is much longer and more elaborate than the former, and was written after the first fascicle of this scripture. Let us compare the scripts of these two manuscripts:

Table 3.1 Comparison of the scripts in BD9525 and Moriya196

	Colophon		Text	
	BD9525	Moriya196	BD9525	Moriya196
<i>Yong</i> 永	 (1/1)	 (1/3)	N/A	N/A
<i>San</i> 三	 (1/2)	 (1/4)	 (6/5)	 (6/8)
<i>Fo</i> 佛	 (1/10)	 (1/20)	 (2/7)	 (13/1)
<i>Rong</i> 榮	 (1/15)	 (2/19)	N/A	N/A
<i>Tian</i> 天	 (1/19)	 (3/15)	 (20/10)	N/A
<i>Wang</i> 王	 (1/19)	 (7/25)	 (1/4)	 (9/15)
<i>Jing</i> 經	 (2/2)	 (6/24)	 (1/12)	 (6/3)  (7/7)
<i>Bu</i> 部	 (2/5)	 (7/2)	N/A	N/A
<i>Yuan</i> 願	 (2/13)	 (9/19)	N/A	N/A
<i>Yan</i> 延	 (2/15)	 (8/10)	N/A	N/A

It seems that colophons of both manuscripts were written by the same hand. If the colophon of BD9525 is genuine, it is difficult to deny the authenticity of Moriya196's colophon. As for the scripts of the texts of BD9525 and Moriya196, I cannot determine whether they were copied by the same scribe as there are simply not enough representative samples. It would still be reasonable to suggest that both could be genuine, even if the texts in these two manuscripts were copied by different hands, because, as both colophons claim, Yuan Rong

commissioned three hundred copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in this single act of patronage. As it is unlikely that only one scribe was hired to complete this project, the possible involvement of multiple scribal hands does not disprove any given text's authenticity.

Given this argument for the genuineness of Moriya196, I can now examine the colophon, which seems to contain a full version of the rationale for Yuan Rong's patronage in 530 C.E. Yuan Rong, according to his title in this colophon, and to Zhao's ([1943] 1999) and Su's ([1986] 1996) studies, was the Commander-in-chief of all military affairs in Lingxi area, and the Inspector of Guazhou. This background tells us that Yuan was probably literate, and therefore it is possible that he may have read and selected scriptures on his own, although we do not know whether he had read the scriptures before he commissioned them. Throughout the whole colophon, I can identify two aspirations: (1) extending lifespan; and (2) for "beings with breath" to be free from suffering. In contrast to the former aspiration, the latter one seems non-specific and formulaic since it is only mentioned in the last, short sentence, and it conventionally appears at the end of many other colophons.²⁴³ As stated in the colophon, the reason why Yuan Rong was aspiring for longevity is that he often suffered from serious health issues, and was afraid that they would give rise to a disaster that would "crush him into powder." In other words, he was troubled by disease, and was fearful of death.

Is the *Scripture for Humane Kings* that Yuan Rong commissioned connected textually to

²⁴³ Kieschnick (2003, 171) comments on the formulaic prayers attached to Buddhist scriptures noting that "Such vows extend from the specific and personal (usually parents) to the inclusive and general 'all sentient beings.' Just how merit was to be parceled out is expressed only vaguely; presumably the vows were directed primarily at specific individuals such as family members, with the more general recipients (all creatures) tacked on as a pious afterthought." However, there are also scholars who identify these formulaic prayers as general benedictions (e.g., Teiser [2007, 305–306]; Lowe [2017, 64–66]) since it is difficult to determine if these generic texts contain literally the patrons' sincere aspirations or merely their afterthoughts.

his aspirations? At the beginning of the fifth chapter, “Huguo pin” 護國品 (Chapter of Protecting States), of this scripture, the Buddha tells the kings:²⁴⁴

You shall listen carefully. I am now telling the method for protecting territory, and you shall uphold [this scripture] of the perfection of wisdom...Great kings! Lecture about, and read this scripture twice a day. Within your territory there are a hundred troops of specters and spirits, and within each troop there are again a hundred troops [of them], who enjoy hearing this scripture, and all these specters and spirits will protect your territory...Great kings! If [there are] disaster of fire, disaster of water, disaster of wind, or all the disasters, [you] shall also lecture about, and read this scripture in a method mentioned above. Great kings! [This scripture] not only protects states, but also protects fortune. [For those who] seek wealth and official positions, [wish that] the seven treasures come as they wish, seek sons and daughters, seek wisdom for understanding as well as reputation, seek the rewards of the six heavens, and the joy of attainment of nine classes among human beings, [you] shall also lecture about this scripture in a method mentioned above. Great kings! [This scripture] not only protects fortune, but also protects [people] from multitudinous disasters. As for disease and suffering, having one's body bound by bonds and fetter, cangues, and locks, having breached the four most serious prohibitions, taken the five heinous acts, and committed the misdeeds of the eight difficult circumstances, done the things of the six paths, and all the immeasurable suffering, [you] shall also lecture about this scripture in a method mentioned above.²⁴⁵

汝等善聽，吾今正說護國土法用，汝當受持般若波羅蜜。……大王！一日二時講讀此經。汝國土中有百部鬼神，是一一部復有百部，樂聞是經。此諸鬼神護汝國土。……大王！若火難、水難、風難，一切諸難，亦應講讀此經，法用如上說。大王！不但護國，亦有護福。²⁴⁶求富貴官位，七寶如意行來，求男女，求慧解名聞，求六天果報，人中九品果樂，亦講此經，法用如上說。大王！不但護福，²⁴⁷亦護衆難。²⁴⁸若疾病苦難，桎械枷鎖檢繫其身，破四重罪，作五逆因，作八難罪，行六道事，一切無量苦難，亦講此經，法用如上說。(T no. 245, vol. 8, 829c29–830a20)

In this passage, the Buddha describes three functions of upholding, teaching, and reading this

²⁴⁴ The transcriptions of passages of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* are based on the KSC with reference to other editions.

²⁴⁵ I translated this passage by referring to Orzech's (1998, 245–246) translation of the parallel passage in T no. 246.

²⁴⁶ *Hufu* 護福 (protect fortune) is written as *huofu* 獲福 (obtain fortune) in the *SYC* and in the *QLC* (16:579b). However, in the other editions, it is consistently written as *hufu* 護福, which is consistent with the theme of protection in this scripture, and makes more sense in this context.

²⁴⁷ The same as above, *hufu* 護福 is written as *huofu* 獲福 in the *SYC* and in the *QLC* (16:579b).

²⁴⁸ *Huzhongnan* 護衆難 (protect [people] from multitudinous disasters) is written as *rangzhongnan* 禳衆難 (ward off multitudinous disasters) in the *SYC* and in the *QLC* (16:579b). *Huzhongnan* 護衆難 is consistent with *huguotu* 護國土 (protect territory) and *hufu* 護福 (protect fortune) in this scripture, therefore makes more sense in this context.

scripture: to protect territory, to protect fortune, and to protect people from disasters. The first function ought to be the main function, since the composer of this scripture spilled the most ink on it among these three functions (although I have abbreviated this portion). Also, the title of this chapter is “Protecting States,” and the main interlocutors are the Buddha and the kings. The kings probably care most about their states, which all correspond to the first and foremost function—protecting territory. Then, the Buddha tells them that this scripture also protects fortune and protects people from disasters. We can see that diseases are among the disasters that this scripture is able to ward off. Yet, it is also apparent that helping people who are suffering from disease is not the major function of this scripture, as doing so is merely one tertiary benefit of the text included in a longer list of disasters from which the text could protect people. Furthermore, Yuan Rong’s major plea, the extension of his lifespan, does not appear in this text at all. These clues lead me to speculate that Yuan Rong’s major aspiration for longevity was not directly inspired by any particular doctrinal point made in the *Scripture for Humane Kings*.

By what means does Yuan Rong plan to realize his aspiration? His colophon tells us that his entire patronage is based on a Buddhist teaching that he has “heard”:

“If there is anyone who accepts the sage’s teachings, all one’s aspirations will be achieved. The heavenly beings will protect, cover and guard this person, and will lead this person out of misfortune and suffering, and make one’s desires gratified.”

Therefore, he “anchors his heart in the heavenly beings, reverently trusts in all the buddhas.”

It is clear, then, that Yuan Rong wishes to achieve his goal via invoking the power of the buddhas, bodhisattvas, heavenly beings and sages by accepting the sage’s (i.e. the Buddha’s)

teachings. His commissioning of these scriptures signifies his acceptance of the teachings. Specifically, he distributed one hundred copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to the Heavenly King Brahmā, the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, and the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa respectively, wishing that they become buddhas soon with the help of the power from this scripture, and hoping that they could then save and protect him, and extend his lifespan.

The following year, Yuan Rong continued to invoke the power of the Heavenly King, yet in a slightly different format, as recorded in the colophon to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in S.4528.

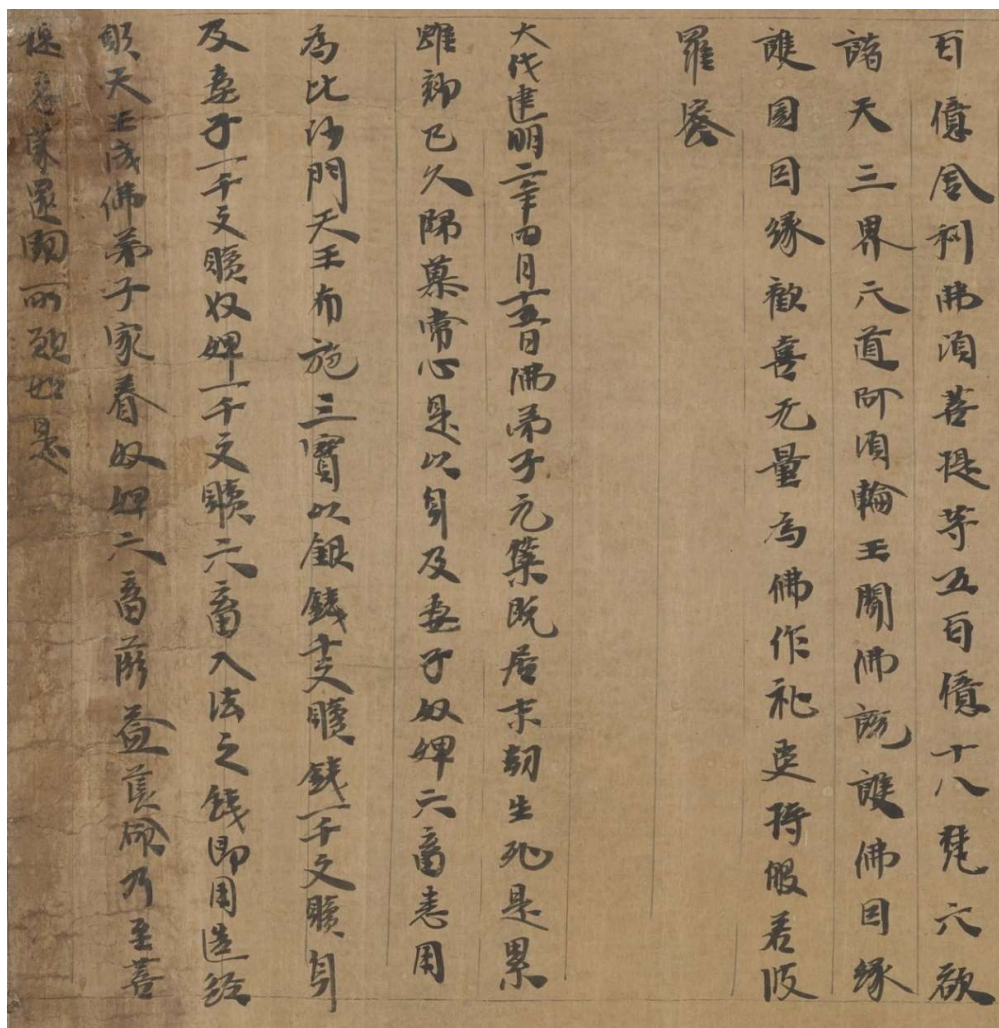


Figure 3.3 S.4528 *Renwang bore boluomi jing* 《[仁王]般若波羅蜜[經]》 ([Scripture of] the Perfection of Wisdom [for Humane Kings]) © British Library Board

The fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Jianming era (i.e. 531 C.E.) of the Great Dai dynasty. [I,] a disciple of the Buddha, Yuan Rong, having been living during the final age, am worn out by [the cycles of] life and death. [I] have long been away from my hometown, and have a constant longing to return. Therefore, with my own body and those of my wife and children, my male and female servants, and my six sorts of livestock, [I] make, on behalf of the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, a donation to the Three Treasures of the sum of three thousand silver cash as atonement money. One thousand cash to atone for myself, wife and children; one thousand cash to atone for male and female servants; and one thousand cash to atone for six sorts of livestock. The money to enter the Dharma is to be used for producing scriptures. May the Heavenly King become a buddha, and [may] the disciple's family, male and female servants and livestock increase, and [have our] lifespan extended, until we attain awakening, and may all of us be permitted to return to the capital. This is my aspiration.²⁴⁹

大代建明二年四月十五日，佛弟子元榮既居末劫，生死是累。離鄉已久，歸慕常心。是以身及妻子、奴婢、六畜，悉用為比沙門天王布施三寶，以銀錢[三]千文贖。錢一千文贖身及妻子，一千文贖奴婢，一千文贖六畜。入法之錢，即用造經。願天王成佛，弟子家眷、奴婢、六畜滋益長命，²⁵⁰乃至菩提，悉蒙還闕，所願如是。

In contrast to the three Heavenly Kings in the colophon of Moriya196 (which is dated to 530 C.E.), this colophon of 531 C.E.²⁵¹ sees Yuan Rong solely invoking the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, which may suggest that, among the three Heavenly Kings, he regarded Vaiśravaṇa as the most important. He states four aspirations in this colophon: (1) may the Heavenly King (i.e. Vaiśravaṇa) become a buddha; (2) may the number of his family members, servants and livestock increase, and may they all have their lifespans extended; (3) may they attain awakening; and (4) may they return to the capital (probably Luoyang).

²⁴⁹ This translation is a modified version of Giles's translation (1957, 33).

²⁵⁰ *Changming* 長命 ([have] a long life): Giles (1957, 33) and Shiga (1972, 78) transcribe it as *changming* 長命 ([have] a long life) while Ikeda (1990, 115), Huang and Wu (1995, 816) transcribe it as *huming* 護命 (protect life). I agree with Giles and Shiga.

²⁵¹ Zhou Yiliang ([1948] 2011, 211) points out that in the third month of the second year of the Jianming era, the name of the era had been changed into "Putai" 普泰, and it is because that Guazhou is far away from the capital city, Luoyang, and the message went slowly that the date to this manuscript still uses "Jianming" in the fourth month.

Unlike in Moriya196, here Yuan Rong does not grammatically or logically base his latter three aspirations with respect to himself, his family, and his belongings on the first wish that is for Vaiśravaṇa. Specifically, in the colophon of Moriya196, the aspiration for the Heavenly Kings to become buddhas is immediately followed by the wish, “*jiuhu dizi*” 救護弟子 ([the Heavenly Kings then] save and protect [me,] a disciple [of the Buddha]), which does not appear in the colophon of S.4528. However, generally speaking, the order of Yuan Rong’s aspirations in these two colophons is the same: the aspiration for the Heavenly King(s) to become buddha(s) is followed by the aspirations based on Yuan Rong’s personal interests.²⁵² The patronage activity undertaken by Yuan Rong to achieve these ends is essentially the same as in Moriya196: the commissioning of scriptures. Yet here we cannot determine whether the *Scripture for Humane Kings* is the only scripture that Yuan Rong has commissioned, since, unlike Moriya196, the colophon of S.4528 does not tell us which scriptures (or whether other scriptures) had been copied for Vaiśravaṇa in addition to the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, although any scriptures copied seem to have been for the good of Vaiśravaṇa only. Further, in this case, Yuan Rong also gives an account of how much he paid for this commissioning: three thousand silver cash. He equally divides this amount of money into three portions: one thousand silver cash for himself, wife and children, for his servants and for his livestock respectively. On the one hand, this money is paid to the Three Treasures (in other words, to enter the Dharma) on behalf of Vaiśravaṇa. On the other hand, it is paid in order to atone for Yuan Rong’s whole family and belongings. Eventually, it was paid to the scribes to produce these manuscripts. Having said that, I would argue that, as with Moriya196, in S.4528 Yuan

²⁵² Except for the boilerplate wish for the benefit of all living beings, which slightly breaks this pattern.

Rong also ties his own interest to the Heavenly King's chance to become buddha. Otherwise, the presence of Vaiśravaṇa in Yuan Rong's colophon of S.4528 would become meaningless if he does not plan to draw on this Heavenly King's power.

Among these three aspirations, I suspect that Yuan Rong's primary wish was to return to the capital, since he states that “[I] have long been absent from my home, and have a constant longing to return,” which I read as the rationale for this patronage. The hometown he refers to is probably the *que* 闕 (capital city). Are these three aspirations related to the content of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*? First, the text does not claim that this scripture is able to help to increase one's family members, servants or livestock, and, as I have clarified above, it does not promise longevity to beings. Shiga Takayoshi (1972, 78) suggests that, although the aspiration for extending lifespan here cannot be found in the text, the text preaches that it can eliminate the suffering of disease (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 830a18), which, he thinks, is indirectly connected to this aspiration. I agree that there may be an indirect connection between this aspiration and the text, but this relationship is not significant enough to be considered as evidence in the way that I have been discussing in the first chapter. In terms of the aspiration for *naizhi puti* 乃至菩提 (attaining *bodhi* or awakening), this scripture mentions *fa wushang putixin* 發無上菩提心 (give rise to the supreme mind of *bodhi*) and *fa sanputixin* 發三菩提心 (give rise to the mind of *sambodhi* or perfect awakening) when the Damouni 大牟尼 (Great Sage, i.e. the Buddha) is teaching about the *shisan guanmen* 十三觀門 (thirteen contemplative approaches) (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 831a24–b11), which could be related to attaining awakening to some extent, but the attainment of this state is not linked to making copies of this scripture. Regarding the primary aspiration, returning to the capital, I cannot

find any clue in the text. Hence, I do not think these aspirations are hermeneutically connected to the doctrinal content of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Below, I present the relationship between Yuan Rong’s own aspirations as indicated in his colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and the content of this scripture in order to clearly display to what degree these two bodies of information are connected. I rank his aspirations from left to right according to their importance.

Table 3.2 Relationship between Yuan Rong’s aspirations and the *Scripture for Humane Kings*²⁵³

Aspirations Text	Moriya196, BD9525; S.4528	S.4528		
	Extend Lifespan	Return to the capital	The Number of Family Members, Servants and Livestock Increases	Attain Awakening
<i>Renwang huguo bore boluomi jing</i> 仁王護國般若波羅蜜經 (T no. 245, vol. 8)	N	N	N	Y (831a24–b11)

To summarize, generally speaking, Yuan Rong’s aspirations expressed in the colophons of Moriya196, BD9525 and S.4528 are not significantly related to the content of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*. Rather, he seems to have expected these aspirations to be realized more likely by invoking the power of the Heavenly King(s), and he dedicated copies of scriptures to them in order to help them become buddha(s), who are more powerful and better placed to assist him.

Yuan Rong’s Invocation of the Heavenly Kings

There is some research on Yuan Rong’s invocation of the Heavenly Kings, and of Vaiśravaṇa

²⁵³ “N” means that there is no connection observed, and “Y” means that there probably is a connection.

in particular. Zhou Yiliang ([1948] 2011, 211) suggests that it is rather rare for patrons to produce copies of scriptures wishing the Heavenly Kings to attain Buddhahood soon. Su Bai ([1986] 1996, 249–250) notes that all the aspirations in colophons to the scriptures that Yuan Rong commissioned start with a prayer for the Heavenly Kings, and suggests that these scriptures often record their deeds; therefore, Yuan Rong seems to have intentionally selected scriptures that are related to the Heavenly Kings in order to produce merit for them. Su, however, has not systematically or thoroughly studied these texts. Zheng Acai (1997, 258–259) and Yin Guangming (2006, 78–79) agree with Su's conclusions. Zheng (1997, 255–258) also demonstrates that a variety of scriptures and tales of spiritual efficacy have attributed the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa with abilities to remove disasters, eliminate disease, save people, and bestow fortunes. Zheng suggests that, due to these attributes, perhaps, among the Four Heavenly Kings, Vaiśravaṇa has established the closest relationship with Buddhist followers. Su Bai ([1986] 1996, 250–251) relates Yuan Rong's scribal practices to those that informed the creation of grotto no. 249 in Dunhuang. This cave is dated prior to 538 C.E., and seems to have been built specifically for practices dedicated to the Heavenly Kings. Su argues that Yuan Rong is also the patron of this grotto. However, He Shizhe (1986), Duan Wenjie ([1994] 2000), and Ma De (1996, 67–69) argue instead that the grotto sponsored by Yuan Rong was no. 285, rather than no. 249.

Dang Yanni (2005, 304–305) argues that Yuan Rong's commissioning of scriptures was mostly carried out to generate merit for the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, in order to invoke Vaiśravaṇa to protect states (e.g., P.2143 that I will discuss below), to protect Yuan from disasters, to eradicate his illnesses, and extend his lifespan, all of which reflect his devotion to

Vaiśravaṇa. She also quotes the story from *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Dynasty Biographies of Eminent Monks; T no. 2061, vol. 50, 714a1–11) that Bukong, by reciting the spell in the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, invoked Vaiśravaṇa, who led heavenly armies to defend Anxi from the Tibetans during the Tang dynasty's Tianbao 天寶 era (742–756 C.E.). This story suggests that it was Bukong who connected Vaiśravaṇa with the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, and that the promulgation of this scripture also enhanced the devotion to Vaiśravaṇa (Dang 2005, 297). However, Goble (2013) demonstrates that this story is a composite tale created by merging two independent stories from the Hellenic world and Central Asia respectively. Wei Yijun (2015, 31), in discussing Yuan Rong's commissioning of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* for Vaiśravaṇa, argues that a close connection between devotion to Vaiśravaṇa and this scripture was a feature of the Northwest area during the Northern Wei dynasty.

Li Xiaorong (2015, 264–279) demonstrates that Vaiśravaṇa has been ascribed multiple identities in Chinese Buddhist scriptures: (1) a generous god of fortune who bestows wealth; (2) a lord of the *yecha* 夜叉 (spirit; Skt. *yakṣa*) who guards the teachings (including scriptures) and protects people; (3) a protector of the state and of cities. Before the Tang dynasty, Vaiśravaṇa's image of guarding the teachings and protecting people was spread via scriptures such as the *Xianyu jing*, the *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (Scripture of Golden Light), the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom), the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Incremental Āgama Scripture). Regarding Yuan Rong's invoking of Vaiśravaṇa, Li comments that here Vaiśravaṇa has not become the centre of an independent cult, but is still part of the wider devotion to the Heavenly Kings, although Vaiśravaṇa's

status may be slightly higher than that of the other Heavenly Kings.

According to the studies of Zheng Acai, Dang Yanni, and Li Xiaorong, Vaiśravaṇa is a powerful and compassionate deity, who is willing to provide his followers a wide spectrum of support, ranging from healing individuals to guarding states. I agree with Li Xiaorong that, in the case of Yuan Rong's patronage, Vaiśravaṇa appears to be outstanding among the Heavenly Kings, but has not yet begun his solo career. As evidence of this, in the colophon in Moriya196, Yuan Rong dedicated one hundred copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to “Pishamen tianwang deng” 比（毗）沙門天王等 (the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa and others), which probably means Vaiśravaṇa and other Heavenly Kings (maybe the team of Four Heavenly Kings). Therefore, it is probable that Yuan Rong would have invoked Vaiśravaṇa with the other Heavenly Kings for his various aspirations regarding himself, his family, and his property. In terms of the connection between devotion to Vaiśravaṇa and the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, in Yuan Rong's case, it does not seem to be as strong as Wei Yijun has suggested, since Yuan Rong also commissioned other scriptures for Vaiśravaṇa, which I will introduce in this chapter. This means that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* was not the only scripture dedicated to Vaiśravaṇa, and that this relationship between scripture and deity was not exceptional by Yuan Rong's period.

Several important questions arise from these findings. Is there a relationship between these three Heavenly Kings and the scriptures that Yuan Rong commissioned? If yes, how strong is the relationship? Is it true that Yuan Rong intentionally selected scriptures that were related to these three Heavenly Kings to produce merit for them, as Su Bai has suggested?

1. Invocation through the *Scripture for Humane Kings*

Starting with the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, I do not explicitly see Vaiśravaṇa in this text. However, the Heavenly Kings play important roles in this scripture, and the Four Heavenly Kings do appear as a team. For example, in Chapter Three, the “Pusa jiaohua pin” 菩薩教化品 (Chapter on the Preaching of Bodhisattvas), when the Buddha is teaching the methods of transforming all the multitudinous sentient beings, he introduces the notion that a bodhisattva transforms into the corresponding king of a heaven on different stages in order to teach beings, and that the *Yanfu si tianwang* 閻浮四天王 (Four Heavenly Kings of *Jambu[dvīpa]*) and the *Chuchan wang* 初禪王 (King of the First *Dhyāna* [Heaven], i.e. the Heavenly King Brahmā) are among these kings (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 827a8–b3). In the same chapter, numerous Heavenly Kings, which include the Heavenly King Brahmā, and probably include the Four Heavenly Kings as well, having heard Yueguang’s 月光 (Moonlight, i.e. King Prasenajit, the ruler of Śrāvastī) praise of the merit of the fourteen kings, achieve their acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena (*de wusheng faren* 得無生法忍) (*T* no. 245, vol. 8, 828a9–12), which could be regarded as a guarantee for their attainment of Buddhahood. As for the *Dishi tianwang* 帝釋天王 (Heavenly King Sovereign *Śakra* [Eng. Mighty]), in Chapter Five, “Chapter of Protecting States,” there is a concise but complete narrative wherein he plays the major role:

[The Buddha addressed the kings]: “Great king! Long ago, there was a [Heavenly] King, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ (Eng. Mighty King of All Kings). Due to that fact that the King Born from the Crown of the Head came up to the heaven in the desire to eradicate his kingdom, at that time, Sovereign Śakra (i.e. Śakro Devānām Indraḥ), in accordance with the usage of the rituals of the seven buddhas, arranged one hundred lofty seats and invited one hundred Dharma masters to expound [this *Scripture of*] *the Perfection of*

Wisdom, and the [King] Born from the Crown withdrew forthwith, just as proclaimed in the *Scripture on Eliminating Misdeeds*.

[佛告大王:] “大王！昔日有王釋提桓因。為頂生王來上天欲滅其國，時帝釋天王即如七佛法用，敷百高座，請百法師講般若波羅蜜。頂生即退，如滅罪經中說。” (T no. 245, vol. 8, 830a21–24)

Based on these passages, I have determined that the *Scripture for Humane Kings* mentions the Four Heavenly Kings, the Heavenly King Brahmā, and the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, although not specifically the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa (at least not by name), which implies a hermeneutical relationship between this scripture and these Heavenly Kings.

Moreover, the passage that describes the Heavenly Kings' achieving the acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena echoes Yuan Rong's aspiration for them to attain Buddhahood. Thereupon, the colophons in Moriya 196, BD9525 and S.4528, which dedicate the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to these Heavenly Kings, and the wish for them to become buddhas support the hypothesis that Yuan Rong invoked these Heavenly Kings by consciously commissioning this scripture that is probably connected to them.

2. Invocation through Other Buddhist Texts

In addition to the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, Yuan Rong also commissioned other texts, as indicated in another four colophons. The first colophon is in P.2143, a manuscript of Chapter Twenty-six of the *Dazhi du lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom), which is called the *Moheyān* 摩訶衍 (*Mahāyāna*) in its colophon. The second colophon is in Nakamura 21, a manuscript of Fascicle Fourteen of Part One of the *Lüzang* 律藏 (Storehouse of [Monastic] Codes; Skt. *vinaya-piṭaka*), which is called the *Neilü* 內律 (Inner Codes) in its colophon, and could be the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (Four-Part [Monastic] Codes) since

the text in this manuscript could only be found in the *Sifen lü*. These two colophons are similar to each other in content. Probably, in 532 C.E., scribes duplicated a single colophon that was composed for one set of texts commissioned by Yuan Rong in both manuscripts, although their scripts appear to be different. I transcribe and translate these two colophons to different texts as one, and note their differences in footnotes.

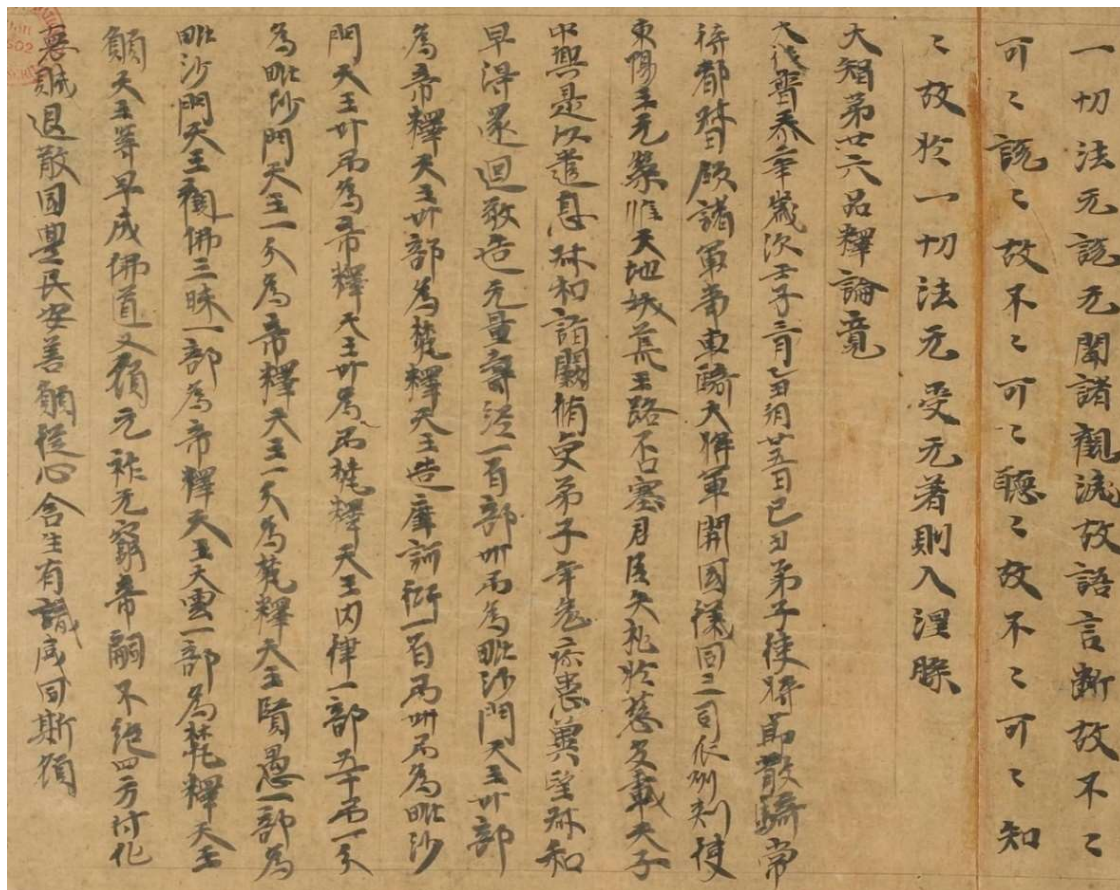


Figure 3.4 P.2143 *Dazhi di nianliu pin shilunjing* 《大智》第廿六品釋論竟 (The End of the Commentarial Treatise on the Twenty-sixth Chapter of the [Scripture of] Great Wisdom)
© Bibliothèque nationale de France

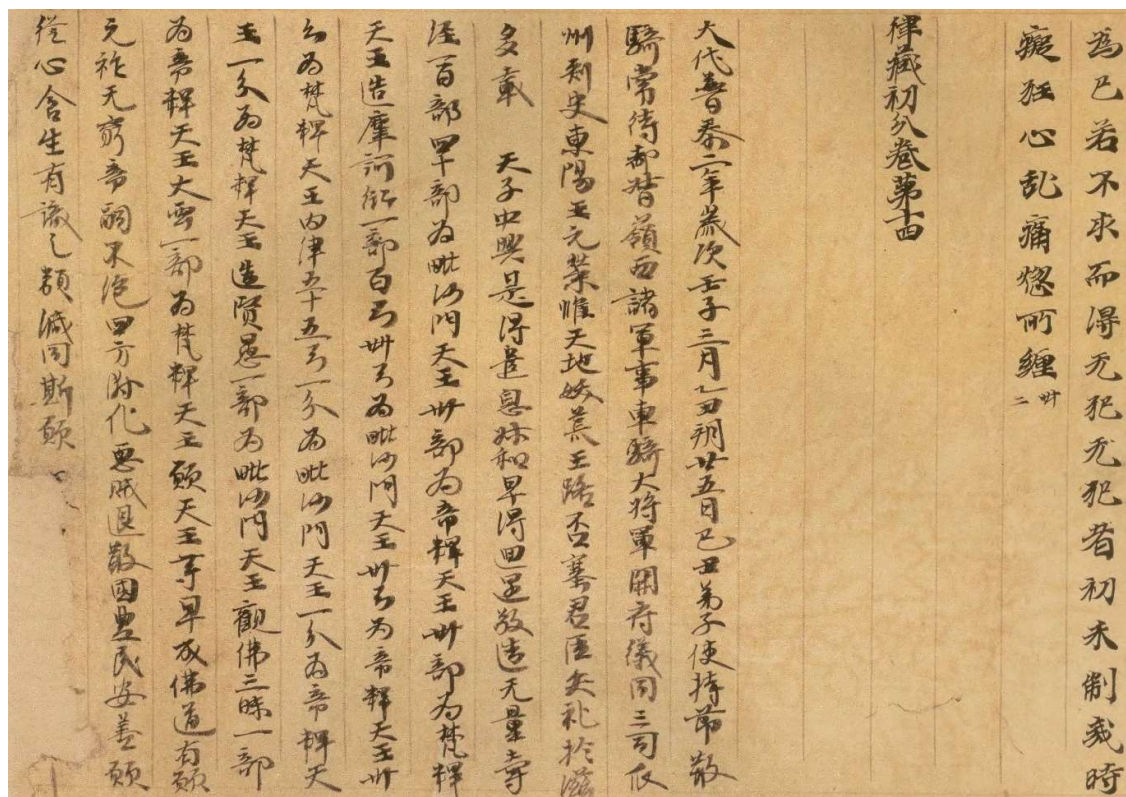


Figure 3.5 Nakamura21 *Lüzang chufen juan di shisi* 《律藏》初分卷第十四 (The Fourteenth Fascicle of the First Part of the *Storehouse of [Monastic] Codes*) © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

The twenty-fifth day, *jichou*, of the third month (of which the first day is *yichou*) of the second year of the Putai era (i.e. 532 C.E.) of the Great Dai dynasty, in the sequential year *renzi*. A disciple [of the Buddha], the Envoy with a Warrant, the Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, the Commander-in-chief of all military affairs in Lingxi, the Great Chariot-and-Horse General, [who is permitted to] open an office being equal in prestige to the Three Ministers, the Inspector of Guazhou, Prince of Dongyang, [I,] Yuan Rong, since heaven and earth have been abnormally barren, the royal way has been obstructed, ruler and subject have lost their ritual propriety, have been here for many years. [Now,] the son of Heaven has been restored,²⁵⁴ therefore [I] sent my son, Shuhe, to visit the capital in order to renew our affiliation. [I,] a disciple [of the Buddha], am aged and sick, and am expecting Shuhe to return soon. Respectfully, [I] produce one hundred copies of the *Scripture of [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life*: forty copies for the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, thirty copies for the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, thirty copies for the Heavenly King Brahmā. [I] produce one copy of the *Mahāyāna* in one hundred fascicles: forty fascicles for the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, thirty fascicles for the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, thirty fascicles for the Heavenly King Brahmā. One copy of the *Inner Codes* in fifty fascicles: one part for the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, one part for the

²⁵⁴ *Zhongxing* 中興 (restoration) could also mean the title of the period of Yuan Lang 元朗 (r. 531–532 C.E.).

Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra, one part for the Heavenly King Brahmā. [I] produce one copy of [the *Scripture of*] *the Wise and the Foolish* for the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa; one copy of the [*Scripture of*] *Samādhi of Visualizing the Buddha* for the Heavenly King Sovereign Śakra; one copy of [*the Scripture of*] *the Great Cloud* for the Heavenly King Brahmā. May the Heavenly Kings attain Buddhahood soon. Also, may [the dynasty's] era be endless, the lineage of the emperor not be broken off, [people from] the four directions be subjugated and civilized, evil bandits retreat and be scattered, the country be prosperous and the people be safe, and their wholesome aspirations [be satisfied] as in accordance with their wishes. May all sentient beings with breath and the like be the same as in this aspiration.

大代普泰二年，歲次壬子，三月乙丑朔廿五日己丑，弟子使持節、散騎常侍、都督嶺²⁵⁵西²⁵⁶諸軍事、車騎大將軍、開府²⁵⁷儀同三司、瓜州刺史、東陽王元榮，惟天地妖荒，王路否塞，君臣失禮，於茲²⁵⁸多載。天子中興，是以²⁵⁹遣息叔和，²⁶⁰詣闕脩更。弟子年老疹患，冀望叔和²⁶¹早得還迴。²⁶²敬造《无量壽經》一百部：卅²⁶³部²⁶⁴為毗沙門天王，卅部為帝釋天王，卅部為梵釋天王。造《摩訶衍》一部²⁶⁵百卷：卅卷為毗沙門天王，卅卷為帝釋天王，卅卷為梵釋天王。《內律》一部²⁶⁶五十卷：²⁶⁷一分為毗沙門天王，一分為帝釋天王，一分為梵釋天王。造²⁶⁸《賢愚》一部，為毗沙門天王；《觀佛三昧》一部，為帝釋天王；《大雲》一部，為梵釋天王。願天王等早成佛道。又²⁶⁹願元祚無窮，帝嗣不絕，四方附化，惡賊退散，國豐民安，善願從心。含生有識之類，²⁷⁰咸²⁷¹同斯願。²⁷²

²⁵⁵ *Ling* 嶺 (mountain range) is written as *ling* 領 (lead) in P.2143, which is a mistake. “Lingxi” 嶺西 literally means the area to the west of the mountain range, yet I cannot determine to which mountain it refers in this context.

²⁵⁶ *Xi* (west) 西 is missing in P.2143.

²⁵⁷ *Fu* 府 (office) is written as *guo* 國 (state) in P.2143. *Guo* 國 does not make sense in this title, which should be *fu* 府 as testified in the colophons of Nakamura 21, and of S.4415 below.

²⁵⁸ *Zi* 茲 (here) is written as *ci* 慈 (kind) in P.2143 and *zi* 滋 (increase) in Nakamura 21, both of which could be phonetic alternative for *zi* 茲.

²⁵⁹ *Shiyi* 是以 (therefore) in P.2143 is written as *shide* 是得 (so that [I] can) in Nakamura 21, both of which make sense.

²⁶⁰ Mei Yingyun (1966, 244) suspects that Shuhe 叔和 is Yuan Rong's second son—Yuan Shen 元慎.

²⁶¹ After the first “Shuhe” 叔和，詣闕脩更。弟子年老疹患，冀望叔和 is lost in Nakamura 21. The scribe probably jumped to the words after the second “Shuhe” 叔和 (i.e. *zaode huihuan* 早得回還) once wrote the first “Shuhe” 叔和.

²⁶² *Huanhui* 還迴 in P.2143 is written as *huihuan* 迴還 in Nakamura 21, both of which mean “return.”

²⁶³ *Xi* 卅 (forty) in P.2143 is written as *sishi* 四十 (forty) in Nakamura 21.

²⁶⁴ *Bu* 部 (copy) is written as *juan* 卷 (fascicle) in P.2143 by mistake.

²⁶⁵ *Bu* 部 (copy) is missing in P.2143.

²⁶⁶ *Yibu* 一部 (one copy) is missing in Nakamura 21.

²⁶⁷ *Wushi juan* 五十卷 (fifty fascicles) in P.2143 is written as *wushiwu juan* 五十五卷 (fifty-five fascicles) in Nakamura 21. I cannot determine which number of fascicle is correct for the *Inner Codes* that Yuan Rong commissioned although the parallel text of Nakamura 21 in the *Taishō Canon* is T no. 1428, vol. 22, 698b15–704c21, which is from Fascicle Nineteen to Twenty of the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (Four-Part Codes).

²⁶⁸ *Zao* 造 (produce) is missing in P.2143.

²⁶⁹ *You* 又 (also) is written as *you* 有 (have) in Nakamura 21, which could be a phonetic alternative for *you* 又.

²⁷⁰ The colophon in P.2143 does not include *zhilei* 之類 (and the like).

²⁷¹ *Xian* 咸 (all) is written as *jian* 減 (reduce) in Nakamura 21, which could be a phonetic alternative, or a mistake.

²⁷² It seems that at the end of the colophon in Nakamura 21, there are some more characters that are missing after *xiantong siyuan* 咸同斯願 (all be the same as in this aspiration) due to the damaged condition. In addition, Su Bai ([1986] 1996, 248) notes that a Dunhuang manuscript collected by a Mr. Yuan (Yuan mou 袁某) from Tianjin is also a copy of Chapter Twenty-six of the *Moheyan* commissioned by Yuan Rong. This manuscript's colophon is similar to that of P.2143 and Nakamura 21, but replaces *xiantong siyuan* 咸同斯願 with *zao[cheng] zhengjue* 早[成]正覺 (attain the correct awakening soon).

This colophon is a rich source of information. To begin with, it is dated to 532 C.E., which is one year after S.4528, and two years after Moriya196 and BD9525 were copied. However, it is unlikely that P.2143 and Nakamura 21 were commissioned in the same batch with the three previous manuscripts since (1) the colophons of P.2143 and Nakamura 21 do not mention the aspiration for extending the lifespan, which is a major aim in the colophons in the three manuscripts commissioned previously; (2) unlike the three manuscripts above, P.2143 and Nakamura 21 are not copies of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, and neither do their colophons note the inclusion of this scripture among the batch of scriptures commissioned at this time. Nevertheless, the three Heavenly Kings mentioned in the colophons of P.2143 and Nakamura 21, are the same Heavenly Kings in the colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* discussed above, and here again Yuan Rong expresses the wish that they may attain Buddhahood soon. With such a distinction from, and a similarity with the colophons in S.4528, Moriya196 and BD9525, the colophons in P.2143 and Nakamura 21 could be used as an independent referential sample to study Yuan Rong's understanding of the content of Buddhist texts with regard to the Heavenly Kings.

Further, this colophon expresses more aspirations than the colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings* discussed above do. The aspirations in this colophon include: (1) may his son return home soon; (2) may the Heavenly Kings attain Buddhahood soon; (3) may the dynasty's era be endless; the lineage of the emperor not be broken off; people from the four directions surrender and be civilized; evil bandits retreat and be scattered; the country be rich and people be safe, and their good aspirations follow their hearts; (4) may all sentient beings with breath be the same as in this aspiration. Among these four aspirations, I think the first

and the third are relatively essential; the second (regarding the Heavenly Kings) is an intermediary stage, which is seen as a provisional step toward Yuan Rong's realization of his own aspirations; and the fourth one is merely a formulaic aspiration. Yuan Rong's first wish, to have his son return home, is elaborated in this colophon. Right after noting the date, and introducing his identity, he provides an account of this aspiration. According to Yuan Rong's colophon, due to the political and military chaos of the time, he has been in Guazhou for many years. Then, the colophon states "[now,] the Son of Heaven has been restored," which means a new emperor has been enthroned. Therefore, Yuan sent his son to visit the capital in order to renew his affiliation with the emperor. However, according to Zhou Yiliang ([1948] 2001, 211–212), before his son returned, the emperor was replaced once again. Thereafter, Yuan Rong was deeply concerned about his son in these dangerous circumstances. The third aspiration is related to the first to some degree, since it expresses hopes for the dynasty's longevity and the lineage of the emperor, for the majesty, peace, and wealth of the state as well as for the safety of the people. That is to say, Yuan Rong's invocation of his wishes for the state and the emperor is also one of the major reasons for his commissioning of these scriptures. Nevertheless, in contrast to his prior commissioning of the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, the scriptures he commissioned at this time, as introduced in the colophons to P.2143 and Nakamura 21 (i.e. the *Scripture of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*, the *Mahāyāna scripture*, the *Inner Codes*, the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish*, the [*Scripture of*] *Samādhi of Visualizing the Buddha*, the *Scripture of the Great Cloud*), are, generally speaking, not typically associated with such aspirations as praying for the king or for protecting states. In Yuan Rong's colophons to the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, he does not

make one substantial aspiration for the state or for the emperor. But when he expressed aspirations for the state, the emperor and the people, Yuan Rong commissioned a set of other scriptures that appear to be much less relevant to these beneficiaries, instead of the *Scripture for Humane Kings to Protect States*, a scripture with an appealing title, which he has commissioned before. This contrast confirms my speculation that, as for the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom for Humane Kings to Protect States*, its title and the popular practice of using this scripture for protecting states did not influence Yuan Rong's or his agent's choice of Buddhist scriptures, if indeed they had made the selection themselves.

It is worth noting that Yuan Rong probably did not copy colophons himself. There is apparent disparity between the scripts of the colophon in P.2143 and the colophon in Nakamura 21, and so far I do not see evidence to suggest that either of them is forged. In the colophon in Nakamura 21, the scribe who copied this colophon missed 詣闕脩更。弟子年老疹患，冀望叔和 ([sent Shuhe to] visit the capital in order to renew the affiliation. [I,] a disciple of [the Buddha], am aged and sick, and am expecting Shuhe [to return soon]) after the first “Shuhe” 叔和, name of Yuan Rong's son. As I suspect in the footnote, the scribe probably jumped to the words following the second “Shuhe” 叔和 after writing the first “Shuhe” 叔和 in this colophon. This type of scribal error of omission has been frequently documented in Dunhuang manuscripts (Zhang Y. 2011, 306–307). Yet, the sentence missed in this colophon is one of the patron's essential aspirations. It is unlikely that Yuan Rong would have omitted this sentence if he copied this colophon himself. It is understandable if Yuan Rong hired some scribes to copy his colophons because, in this commissioning, he ordered 105 copies of six texts, comprising 387 fascicles in total. We often find colophons at the end

of fascicles, which means, ideally, there need to be 387 colophons: a considerable workload for one scribe (or even for one pious devotee). As for whether it was the same scribe who copied both the text and the colophon in a same manuscript, this question awaits further research.

The third colophon is in Hane601 of Chapter Fifteen of the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, and the fourth colophon is in S.4415 of Chapter Thirty-one of the same scripture. The scripts of these two colophons seem to be from the same hand, which I will prove in Appendix I. Compared with Hane601's colophon, S.4415's colophon is more concise, and the order of its words varies slightly. Yet, both colophons are dated to a same day in 533 C.E., and both mention that the same nine scriptures have been commissioned by Yuan Tairong (viz. Yuan Rong). Therefore, I transcribe and translate them as one colophon, and make notes on their discrepancies as necessary.

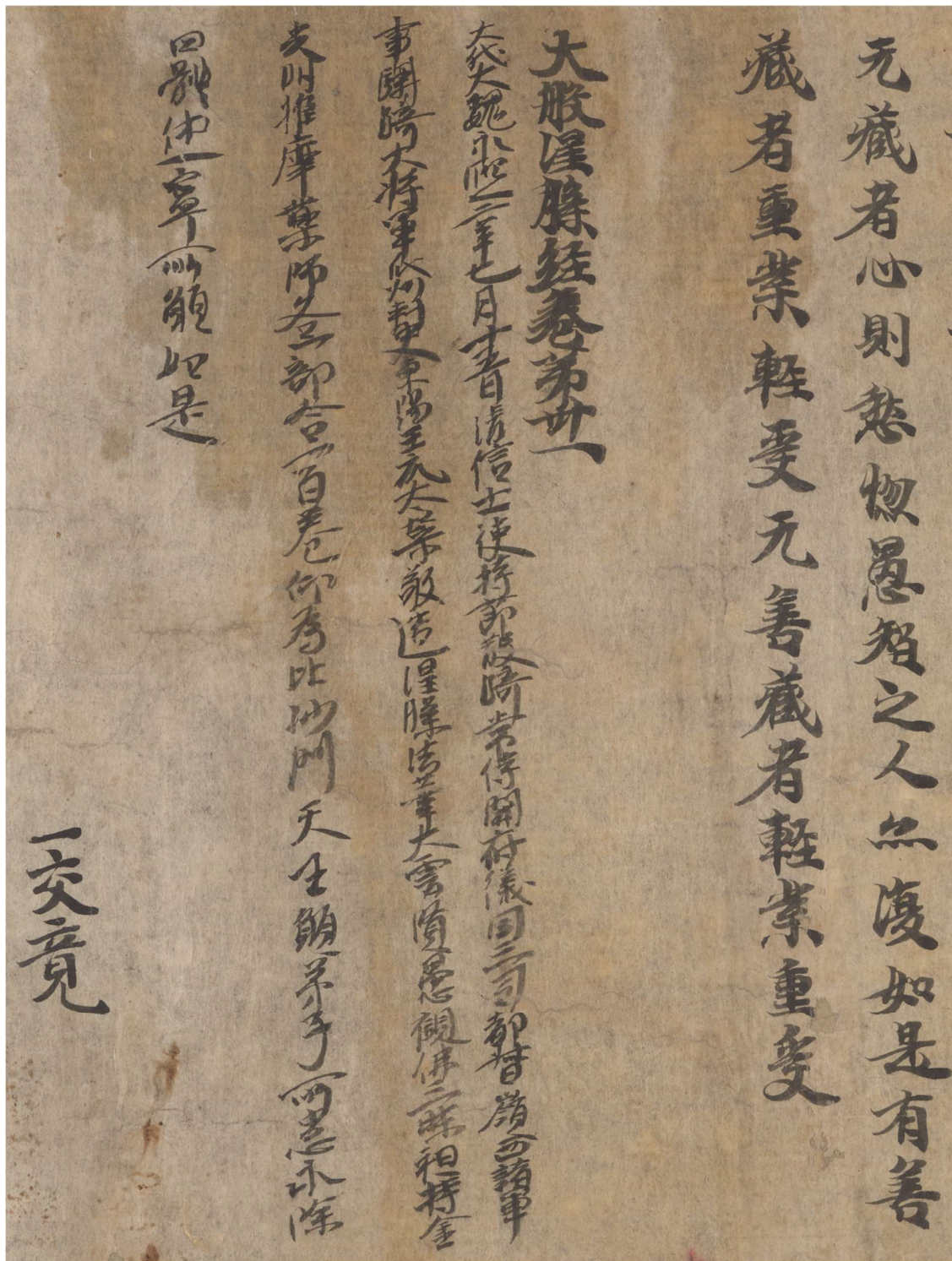


Figure 3.7 S.4415 *Daban niepan jing* juan disayi 《大般涅槃經》卷第卅一 (The Thirty-first Fascicle of the Scripture on the Great Extinction) © British Library Board

On the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the second year of the Yongxi era (i.e. 533

C.E.) of the Great Dai and Great Wei dynasty, a male disciple [of the Buddha] with pure faith, the Envoy with a Warrant, the Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, [who is permitted to] open an office being equal in prestige to the Three Ministers, the Commander-in-chief of all military affairs in Lingxi, the Great Chariot-and-Horse General, the Inspector of Guazhou, Prince of Dongyang, [I,] Yuan Tairong, understanding that the merit and assistance [that I can receive] is shallow, each time [I] suffer from a nagging disease, [I] do not have a way to save myself. Reverently relying on the Heavenly King's deep vows, [I], reverencing the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, respectfully produce one copy of the [Scripture of Great] Extinction in forty fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture of] Law-blossom in ten fascicles, the [Scripture of] Great Cloud in ten fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture on] Samādhi of Visualization of the Buddha in ten fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture of] Golden Light in five fascicles, one copy of the [Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of] Tantra [Dhāraṇī] in four fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture of] the Wise and the Foolish in seventeen fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture of] Vimala[kīrti] in three fascicles, one copy of the [Scripture of] the Medicine Master in one fascicle, which are in one hundred fascicles in total. May the Heavenly King become a buddha, [may the disease that I,] a disciple [of the Buddha], suffer from be eliminated forever, and [may my] four limbs be rested and peaceful. These are my aspirations.

大代大魏永熙二年七月十五日，²⁷³清信士使持節、散騎常侍、開府儀同三司、都督嶺西諸軍事、驃騎大將軍、瓜州刺史、東陽王元太榮，自惟福²⁷⁴助微淺，每嬰纏患，無方自救。仰恃²⁷⁵天王發誓之重，仰爲比沙門天王²⁷⁶敬造《涅槃》一部卅卷，《法華》一部十卷，《大雲》十卷，《觀佛三昧》一部十卷，《金光明》一部五卷，《袒持》²⁷⁷一部四卷，《賢愚》一部十七卷，《維摩》一部三卷，《藥師》一部一卷，²⁷⁸合一百卷。願天王成佛，²⁷⁹弟子所患永除，四體休²⁸⁰寧，所願如是。

This colophon is dated to 533 C.E., which is one year after the colophons in P.2143 and

Nakamura 21. In this colophon, Yuan Rong is concerned about his own health problem.

²⁷³ This date is transcribed as *shiwu ri* 十五日 (the fifteenth day) in the *Tonkō hikyū* but as *shisan ri* 十三日 (the thirteenth day) by Ikeda (1990, 119). The former should be correct.

²⁷⁴ The transcription in the *Tonkō hikyū* loses *fu* 福 (merit).

²⁷⁵ *Shi* 恃 (rely) is erroneously transcribed as *shi* 侍 (attend upon) in the *Tonkō hikyū*.

²⁷⁶ The colophon in S.4415 does not include the sentence from 自惟福助微淺 (understanding that the merit and assistance [that I can receive] is shallow) to 仰恃天王發誓之重 (reverently relying on the heavenly king's deep vows), and places 仰爲比沙門天王 (reverencing the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa) after listing these nine scriptures, or the total fascicle number 合一百卷 (in one hundred fascicles in total).

²⁷⁷ This word is transcribed as *tanchi* 袒持 in the *Tonkō hikyū* and as *zuchi* 袒持 by Ikeda (1990, 119). Kuramoto (2016, 280, 299) argues that *tan* 袒 is a variant form of *tan* 檀, which is also written as *tan* 檀, and suggests that *tanchi* 袒 (檀) 持 probably represents the *Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經 (Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of *Dhāraṇī*) (*T* no. 1339, vol. 21), which is also named *Da fangdeng tanchi tuoluoni jing* 大方等檀持陀羅尼經 (Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of *Tantra Dhāraṇī*). I agree with Kuramoto's reading of *tanchi* 袒持.

²⁷⁸ The colophon in S.4415 does not state the number of fascicles of each scripture.

²⁷⁹ The colophon in S.4415 does not include 天王成佛 (may the heavenly king become a buddha).

²⁸⁰ The variant form 休 of *xiu* 休 (rested) is erroneously transcribed as two characters *xiu yi* 休一 in the *Tonkō hikyū*.

Aspiring for the elimination of the nagging disease that he suffers from, he attempts to invoke the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa alone, once again depending on the Heavenly King's deep vows. Again, his method is to commission Buddhist scriptures to facilitate the Heavenly King's attainment of Buddhahood. This time, he commissions nine scriptures, three (*Dayun*, *Guanfo sanmei*, and *Xianyu*) of which have been commissioned in 532 C.E., whereas six of which are scriptures that we have not seen in his previous commissions. In contrast to the scriptures commissioned in the colophon of P.2143 and Nakamura 21, the commissioning of scriptures in this colophon likely represents a new act of patronage. Yuan Rong only focuses on himself this time, not even extending the benefit produced from this patronage to all sentient beings. This formulaic aspiration is also lacking from the colophon in S.4528 of the *Scripture for the Humane Kings*. On the one hand, it may suggest that, in the seventh month of the second year of the Yongxi era, Yuan's health was undergoing a crisis. On the other hand, the fact that there is no aspiration for other sentient beings at the end of this colophon and the colophon in S.4528 verifies my speculation that this type of aspiration is often formulaic, and was likely of minor importance. As in S.4528's colophon, which aspires for the increase of his family, servants and livestock and the extension of their lifespan, in this colophon, here too Yuan Rong invokes Vaiśravaṇa for the sake only of his own health. It may indicate that, among these three Heavenly Kings, Yuan Rong has the greatest devotion to Vaiśravaṇa, at least in his role as a deity associated with healing.

At the end of S.4415, there is a note reading *yijiao jing* 一交（校）竟 (the first proofreading completed), which means that this copy was examined more than one time, probably by different proofreaders. This note suggests that Yuan Rong's commissioning of

these scriptures was probably received by a well-organized scriptorium with specific scribes and proofreaders, which was able to undertake this massive order from the Inspector of Guazhou.²⁸¹

Among the six texts mentioned in the colophons in P.2143 and Nakamura 21, Yuan Rong tries to evenly distribute copies of the *Scripture of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*, the *Mahāyāna Scripture*, and the *Inner Codes* to three Heavenly Kings, although Vaiśravaṇa is the recipient of slightly more than the other two Heavenly Kings. Then, he dedicates the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish* to Vaiśravaṇa, the [*Scripture on*] *Samādhi of Visualization of the Buddha* to Sovereign Śakra, and the *Scripture of the Great Cloud* to Brahmā. In contrast, all the nine scriptures mentioned in the colophons in Hane601 and S.4415 are exclusively dedicated to Vaiśravaṇa. Did Yuan Rong or his agent deliberately choose the specific texts for the particular Heavenly Kings? If so, this would offer a strong piece of evidence to demonstrate that these patrons selected scriptures according to their needs and based on their knowledge of the texts. Therefore, the connections between the Heavenly Kings and the texts commissioned as recorded in this colophon offers a useful opportunity to discover the patron’s understanding of the scriptures. I analyze and present the potential connections as follows:

Table 3.3 Passages that are relevant to the Heavenly Kings in the texts commissioned by Yuan Rong in 533 C.E.

Text (Reference)	Colophon	Heavenly King	Relevant Passage
<i>Wuliangshou jing</i> 无量壽經 (Shangtu112; T no. 360,	P.2143; Nakamura 21	Pishamen 毗沙門 (Vaiśravaṇa) ²⁸²	270a16–17

²⁸¹ Fujieda (1969, 29) suggests that “a new team of copyists must have been organised under the sponsorship of the Prince, or brought from China by him.” For more information of the scriptoria in the Dunhuang area, see Lin, Yang, and Liu (2013, 104–118).

²⁸² The Pishamen tianwang 毗沙門天王 (Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa), also written as Bishamen tianwang 比沙門天王 or Pishamen tianwang 鞞沙門天王, called the Duowen tianwang 多聞天王 (Heavenly King Who Listens Extensively) as

vol. 12)		Dishi 帝釋 (Sovereign Śakra) ²⁸³	271c29–272a2
		Fan 梵 (Brahmā) ²⁸⁴	274a24–25
<i>Moheyan</i> 摩訶衍 (P.2143; BD5850; T no. 1509, vol. 25)		Vaiśravaṇa	82c4–6; 160a10–16; 457b15–17
		Sovereign Śakra	160a10–16; 219a10–12; 313b09– 11; 470b17–19; 472a20–23
		Brahmā	58a25–28; 116a9–16; 461b24–27
<i>Neilü</i> 內律 (Nakamura 21; T no. 1428, vol. 22)		Vaiśravaṇa	781c27–782a6
		Sovereign Śakra	795a25–b6
		Brahmā	786c20–27
<i>Xianyu</i> 賢愚 (T no. 202, vol. 4)	P.2143; Nakamura 21	Vaiśravaṇa	373b24–c18
	Hane601; S.4415		
<i>Guanfo sanmei</i> 觀佛三昧 (T no. 643, vol. 15)	P.2143; Nakamura 21	Sovereign Śakra	647a24–b10
	Hane601; S.4415	Vaiśravaṇa	650a9–20
<i>Dayun</i> 大雲 (T no. 388, vol. 12; S.6916)	P.2143; Nakamura 21	Brahmā	1110c1–6
	Hane601; S.4415	Vaiśravaṇa	1108a15–22
<i>Niepan</i> 涅槃 (T no. 374, vol. 12; Hane601; S.4415)	Hane601; S.4415	Vaiśravaṇa	540c22–541a6
<i>Fahua</i> 法華 (T no. 262, no. 263, vol. 9; BD1084)			T no. 262, 59a7–13; T no. 263, 130b6–12
<i>Jinguangming</i> 金光明 (T no. 663, vol. 16)			340c17–341a2; 341a4–9; 342b24– c8; 343c27–344a4
<i>Tanchi</i> 袒持 (T no. 1339, vol. 21)			650b3–16; 654b3–23
<i>Weimo</i> 維摩 (T no. 475, vol. 14)			557b15–18
<i>Yaoshi</i> 藥師 (T no. 1331, vol. 21, 532b7–536b6)			533c17–26

(1) The Scripture of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life

well, living in the fourth layer of the Xumishan 須彌山 (Mt. Sumeru), is one of the Si tianwang 四天王 (Four Heavenly Kings).

²⁸³ Dishi 帝釋 (Sovereign Śakra), also written as Shitihuanyin 釋提桓因 (Skt. Śakra Devānām Indrah), a heavenly king who dwells in the Daolitian 忉利天 (Heaven of the Thirty-three) at the summit of Mt. Sumeru.

²⁸⁴ Fan 梵 (Brahmā), sometimes written as Fanshi 梵釋 in Yuan Rong's colophons, is the leader of all the heavenly beings, and father of all living beings.

The first scripture listed in the colophons in P.2143 and Nakamura 21 is the *Wuliangshou jing*. Since an undated colophon in Shangtu112 of Fascicle Two of the *Wuliangshou jing* 无量壽經 writes 瓜州刺史元太榮所供養經 比丘僧保寫 (Scripture patronized by the Inspector of Guazhou, Yuan Tairong, copied by *bhikṣu* Sengbao), and its text is parallel to *T* no. 360, vol. 12, 275a21–279a29, it would probably be justified to use *T* no. 360 to analyze the *Wuliangshou jing* dedicated to the three Heavenly Kings, although Shangtu112 is not necessarily among the hundred copies of this scriptures that Yuan Rong commissioned in 532 C.E.

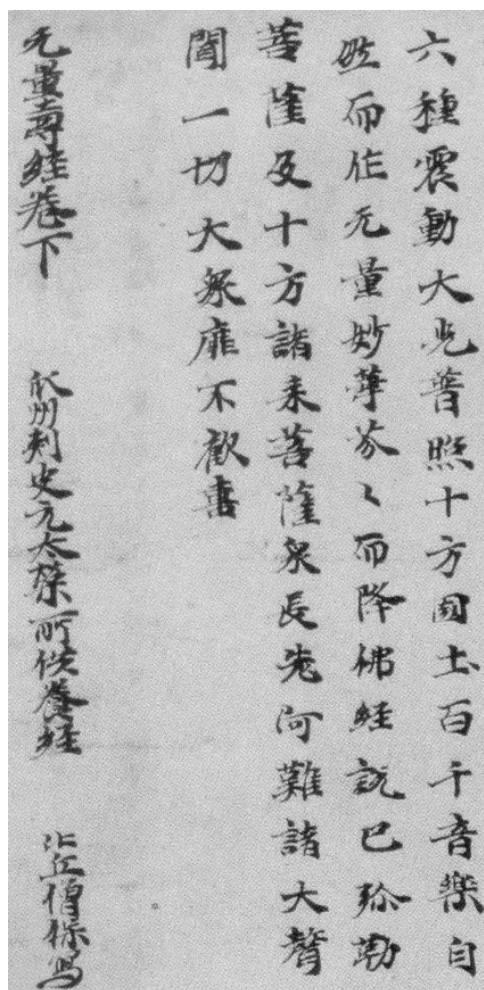


Figure 3.8 Shangtu112 *Wuliangshou jing* juanxia 《无量壽經》卷下 (Fascicle Two of the Scripture of [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life) (Shanghai tushuguan and Shanghai guji

chubanshe 1999, 3:71b)

In *T* no. 360, I was only able to find the following references to the Heavenly Kings:²⁸⁵

(1) At that time, Ānanda addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honored One! If there is no Mount Sumeru in that Land, where do the Four Heavenly Kings and the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three dwell?”

爾時，阿難白佛言：“世尊！若彼國土無須彌山，其四天王及忉利天依何而住？”
(270a16–17)

(2) The Wheel-turning Sage King’s majestic appearance is excellent and unrivaled in the world, [yet] compared with the Thirty-three Heavenly Kings, he will also appear incomparably inferior, even trillions of times more so.

轉輪聖王威相殊妙天下第一，比忉利天王，又復醜惡不得相喻萬億倍也。
(271c29–272a2)

(3) [Bodhisattvas born in the land of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life] are like the Heavenly King Brahmā, because they are foremost in the performance of various good deeds.

如梵天王，於諸善法最上首故。(274a24–25)

In these passages, I do not see Vaiśravaṇa or Sovereign Śakra, but Vaiśravaṇa could be included among the Four Heavenly Kings in the first passage, and Sovereign Śakra in the Kings of the Heaven of the Thirty-three in the second passage. The Heavenly King Brahmā shows up in the third passage. In all of these passages, none of these three Heavenly Kings play essential roles but are merely used as analogies. Yet, I cannot deny the presence of their names in the text.

(2) The *Mahāyāna Scripture*

²⁸⁵ The transcriptions of passages of the *Wuliangshou jing* are based on the KSC with reference to other editions. The translation below is a modified version of Inagaki’s ([1995] 2003) translation.

The second scripture on the list is the *Moheyan* 摩訶衍 (*Mahāyāna* [Scripture]), which is written as *Dazhi* 大智 ([Treatise on] the Great Wisdom) in the end title of P.2143 (*T* no. 1509, vol. 25, 443b20–448c4). Aside from P.2143, BD5850 is a fragmentary manuscript of the first fascicle of the *Moheyan jing* 摩訶衍經 (*Mahāyāna* Scripture) (*T* no. 1509, vol. 25, 64c3–66a17) with a damaged colophon that tells us that this manuscript was also commissioned by Yuan Rong in the second year of the Putai era (532 C.E.) of the Great Dai dynasty.

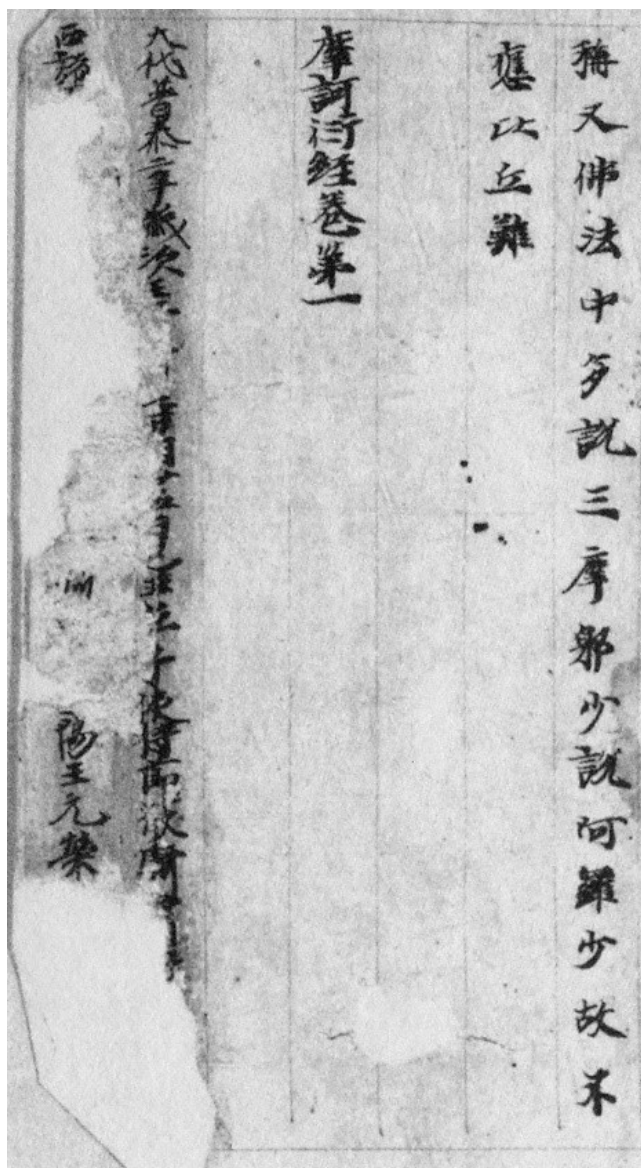


Figure 3.9 BD5850 *Moheyan jing* juan diyi 《摩訶衍經》卷第一 (The First Fascicle of the Mahāyāna Scripture) (Ren 2008, 78:354a)

Therefore, I searched through *T* no. 1509 in order to analyze the extent to which the Heavenly Kings are featured in this scripture.

There is not much mention of Vaiśravaṇa in the *Moheyan*, though one example is worth considering:²⁸⁶

All the arhats surround the Buddha, therefore their buddha-qualities increase. Just as the beings in the Brahmā Heaven surround the Heavenly King Brahmā, the thirty-three gods surround Śakro Devānām Indraḥ, and all the spirits surround the King Vaiśravaṇa.

諸阿羅漢圍繞佛故，佛德益尊，如梵天人遶梵天王，如三十三天遶釋提桓因，如諸鬼神遶毘沙門王…… (82c4-6)

In this passage, Vaiśravaṇa is merely used as an analogy, from which we learn that he is the core of all spirits. However, the Four Heavenly Kings, as a team, play a significant role:

(1) As the Buddha said in the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings*: On the monthly six abstinential days, the messenger, the prince, and the Four Heavenly Kings descend on their own to examine all the beings. If the people who donate, observe precepts, and revere and obey their parents are few in number, they go up to the Heaven of the Thirty-three and inform Sovereign Śakra; Sovereign Śakra and the gods are all unhappy and say: “The class of the *asuras* is increasing and the class of the gods is decreasing.” If the people who donate, observe precepts, and revere and obey their parents are many, the gods and Sovereign Śakra are all happy and say: “It increases the group of the gods and decreases the *asuras*.”

如《四天王經》中佛說：月六齋日，使者、太子及四天王，自下觀察眾生。布施、持戒、孝順父母少者，便上忉利，以啟帝釋；帝釋、諸天心皆不悅，言：“阿修羅種多，諸天種少。”若布施、持戒、孝順父母多者，諸天、帝釋心皆歡喜，說言：“增益天眾，減損阿修羅。” (160a10-16)

(2) The so called “Heavenly Kings” include the Four Heavenly Kings who dwell in the

²⁸⁶ The transcriptions of passages of the *Moheyan* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions. The translation below is a modified version of Chodron’s (2001) English translation from Lamotte’s (1944, 1949, 1970, 1976, 1980) French translation.

four directions of the heaven, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ who is the king of the Heaven of the Thirty-three, and even all the Brahman Kings. There is no other king above the Brahman Kings.

“天王”者，四天處四天王，三十三天王釋提桓因，乃至諸梵天王；梵天已上更無有王。(457b15–17)

(3) Beings in all the Heavens of Four Heavenly Kings, even in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven (the peak heaven) of the trichiliocosm, even in all the Heavens of Four Heavenly Kings, and even in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven of the worlds of the ten directions, who give rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyaṅsambodhi*, will protect these good sons and good daughters, [make sure that] all the evil cannot take advantage of them, and eliminate the severe transgressions of their previous lives.

三千大千世界中所有諸四天王天乃至阿迦尼吒天，乃至十方世界中諸四天王天乃至阿迦尼吒天發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心者，護持是善男子、善女人，諸惡不能得便，除其宿命重罪。(473c10–14)

In all these three passages, Vaiśravaṇa does not show up, but should be included as a Heavenly King under the category of the Four Heavenly Kings. In the first passage, the *Moheyan* quotes an account from the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings* (T no. 590, vol. 15), which should be one of the decisive reasons for patrons' invocation of the Four Heavenly Kings and Sovereign Śakra. From this passage, readers learn that on six monthly abstinential days, the Four Heavenly Kings as well as the prince, and the messenger of Sovereign Śakra descend to examine people's deeds, then report to Sovereign Śakra and other gods for judgement. According to the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings*, Sovereign Śakra extends the lifespan of those who cultivate themselves well, and sends gods to protect them from diseases and disasters. These benefits are exactly what Yuan Rong aspires for in his colophons. Although Yuan Rong or his agent did not commission the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings*, I would not be surprised if they included the *Moheyan* in his set of scriptures that are dedicated to the Heavenly Kings because of this passage. Regarding the six

abstidential days, the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings* reveals that they are the eighth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, the twenty-third, the twenty-ninth, the thirtieth days each month. It is also interesting to note that all of Yuan Rong’s colophons are dated to these abstidential days except the colophons in P.2143, Nakamura21 and BD5850 that are dated to the twenty-fifth day.²⁸⁷ This correspondence on the date further convinces me that Yuan Rong or his agent understands the significance of six abstidential days mentioned in this passage and therefore probably knows the roles that the Heavenly Kings play on these days well, too.

The second passage introduces the positions and statuses of the Four Heavenly Kings, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ (i.e. Sovereign Śakra) and the Heavenly King Brahmā as the Heavenly Kings. In the third passage, Four Heavenly Kings in the trichiliocosm and even the worlds of the ten directions will protect people and eliminate the severe transgressions of their previous lives. Although Vaiśravaṇa does not occupy a significant position in the *Moheyan* (which is a long and complex text), as a member of the Four Heavenly Kings, he monthly examines people’s deeds on abstidential days, and reports to Sovereign Śakra. His report has a bearing on the Buddhist faithful’s lifespan and safety. As a member of the Four Heavenly Kings, Vaiśravaṇa also gives rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyakṣambodhi* and protects people.

In addition to being a judge, Sovereign Śakra plays another significant role in the *Moheyan*:

(1) The Buddha told all the *bhikṣus*: “Śakro Devānām Indraḥ fought with the *asuras*. When he was in the great battle array, he told all the heavenly beings: ‘When you are fighting with the *asuras*, if you are terrified, you should recollect my banner of seven

²⁸⁷ For more interpretation of the dates of these colophons, refer to Appendix III.

treasures, then the terror will be immediately extinguished.”

佛告諸比丘：“釋提桓因與阿修羅鬪，在大陣中時，告諸天眾：‘汝與阿修羅鬪時，設有恐怖，當念我七寶幢，恐怖即滅。’” (219a10–12)

(2) Such as Śakro Devānām Indraḥ, one who meets him will obtain whatever one aspires for. Such as the Heavenly King Brahmā, multitudinous sentient beings adhere to him, and their terrors are all eliminated.

如釋提桓因，有人見者，隨願悉得。如梵天王，眾生依附，恐怖悉除。(313b9–11)

(3) Śakro Devānām Indraḥ immediately recited the *[Scripture of the Great] Perfection of Wisdom*. The evil *māras* heard what he recited, gradually retreated by the way [they came].

釋提桓因即時誦念般若波羅蜜，惡魔如所誦聞，漸漸復道還去。(470b17–19)

(4) At that time, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honored One! These good sons and good daughters uphold the *[Scripture of the Great] Perfection of Wisdom* and even memorize it correctly. They do not separate from the mind of *sarvajña*, worship the *[Scripture of the Great] Perfection of Wisdom*, respect and value it with flowers and incense or even music. I shall constantly guard these people.”

爾時，釋提桓因白佛言：“世尊！是善男子、善女人受持般若波羅蜜乃至正憶念，不離薩婆若心，供養般若波羅蜜，恭敬、尊重，華香乃至伎樂，我常當守護是人！” (472a20–23)

In the first passage, the Buddha explains that recollecting Sovereign Śakra’s banner of seven treasures could extinguish terror. The second passage even extends his power to the degree that one who meets him will obtain whatever they aspire for. This passage also echoes the claim that the Heavenly King Brahmā is able to eliminate terror. The third passage advocates for the power of the *[Scripture of the Great] Perfection of Wisdom*, and, in this scenario, it is Sovereign Śakra who wields its power by reciting this scripture. In the last passage, Sovereign Śakra volunteers to guard people who uphold and worship this scripture. Drawing on these passages, we can tell that in the *Moheyan*, Sovereign Śakra is depicted as a powerful

god who is able to help people obtain whatever they aspire for. Further, he is willing to protect people who uphold and worship this scripture. Therefore, it seems reasonable that a patron might have selected this text to be dedicated to Sovereign Śakra as a means of achieving their aspirations, even although this is not the main theme of the *Moheyan* as a text.

The Heavenly King Brahmā also appears in this scripture many times. For example:

(1) At that time, the Heavenly King Brahmā of the trichiliocosm, who is named Śikhin, all the heavenly beings from the realm of form, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ and all the heavenly beings from the realm of desire, together with the Four Heavenly Kings, went to where the Buddha was, and invited the World-honored One to make the initial turn of the wheel of Dharma.

是時三千大千世界主梵天王，名式棄，及色界諸天等，釋提桓因及欲界諸天等，并四天王，皆詣佛所，勸請世尊初轉法輪。(58a25–28)

(2) Within this flower there is a man seated cross-legged, who, in turn, possesses an infinite light. He is named the Heavenly King Brahmā, who mentally gave birth to eight sons, and these eight sons gave rise to the heavens, the earth and people. This Heavenly King Brahmā has eliminated all sexual desire and all hatred without residue. Thus, it is said that when people cultivate the pure practice of the *dhyānas* and abandon sexual desire, they are cultivating the path of Brahmā. The wheel of Dharma that the Buddha turns is sometimes called “Dharma wheel” and sometimes “Brahmā wheel.” This Heavenly King Brahmā seated on a lotus, and this is why all the buddhas, who conform to common customs, also sit cross-legged on a precious flower to teach the six *pāramitās*. Those who have heard this teaching all reach *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*.

華中有人結加趺坐，此人復有無量光明，名曰梵天王；此梵天王心生八子，八子生天地人民。是梵天王於諸婬瞋已盡無餘，以是故言：“若有人修禪淨行，斷除婬欲，名為行梵道。”佛轉法輪，或名法輪，或名梵輪。是梵天王坐蓮華上，是故諸佛隨世俗故，於寶華上結加趺坐，說六波羅蜜。聞此法者，畢至²⁸⁸阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。(116a9–16)

(3) In the trichiliocosm, all the Four Heavenly Kings, all Śakro Devānām Indraḥs, all Heavenly King Brahmās, even [beings] in the Akanīṣṭha Heaven, will constantly guard these good sons, good daughters who can uphold, worship, read, recite, teach others, and

²⁸⁸ *Bizhi* 畢至 (all reach) is written as *bizhi* 必至 (necessarily reach) in the *SYC*, the *NYC* (92:364b), the *JXC* (690:6a), and the *QLC* (78:247b–248a). However, in the early versions, for example, the *KSC* (26:380a), the *ZJC* (25:241b) and the *SXC*, it is written as *bizhi* 畢至. *Bizhi* 必至 is probably a revision of *bizhi* 畢至.

correctly memorize the [*Scripture of the Great*] *Perfection of Wisdom*.

三千大千世界中，諸四天王天、諸釋提桓因、諸梵天王乃至阿迦尼吒天常守護是善男子、善女人能受持、供養、讀、誦、為他說、正憶念般若波羅蜜者。
(461b24–27)

The first passage tells us that the Heavenly King Brahmā, together with other heavenly beings, invited the Buddha to turn the wheel of Dharma for the first time. The second passage introduces the Heavenly King Brahmā's background. The third passage indicates that a group of heavenly beings, including the Heavenly King Brahmā, are willing to protect people who venerate this scripture. Although the role of the Heavenly King Brahmā may not be as conspicuous as that of Sovereign Śakra in the *Moheyan*, it is difficult to ignore his position in this text, especially when the second passage introduces his prominent place in the Buddhist pantheon.

Generally speaking, the *Moheyan* includes the names of Vaiśravaṇa, Sovereign Śakra, and Brahmā. In this text, we note that the Four Heavenly Kings (including Vaiśravaṇa) inspect people's deeds, and Sovereign Śakra judges their deeds, which determines people's fortune. These heavenly kings are noticeable in the text also because they are powerful and willing to protect people. Therefore, it is possible that Yuan Rong chose the *Moheyan* for its accounts of these Heavenly Kings.

(3) The Inner Codes

The third text on Yuan Rong's list is the *Neilü* 內律 (Inner Codes). Nakamura 21, a manuscript of Fascicle Fourteen of Part One of the *Lüzang* commissioned by Yuan Rong, is parallel to *T* no. 1428, vol. 22, 698b15–704c21 of the *Sifen lü*. Although the number of

fascicle of *T* no. 1428 is sixty, which is more than the number of the *Neilü* commissioned by Yuan Rong (fifty fascicles recorded in P.2143, and fifty-five fascicles recorded in Nakamura 21), I do not see the passage of Nakamura21 in any other extant Buddhist text. Therefore, I am using *T* no. 1428 as my source text to explore the relationship between the *Neilü* and the three Heavenly Kings. In this vinaya text, Vaiśravaṇa does not play an independent role, but acts as a member of the Four Heavenly Kings, as in the following passage:²⁸⁹

At that time, there were two persons who addressed the World-honoured One, saying: “Now, [we] offer honeyed flour, and [wish you] accept it with mercy.” At the time, the World-honoured One, in turn, thought: “Now, these two persons offer honeyed flour, what container should [I] use to receive it?” In turn, he said: “What did all the buddhas, Thus-come Ones, Perfect-truth Ones, Perfectly-enlightened Ones in the past use to receive food? All the buddhas, the World-honoured Ones did not receive food with hands.” At the time, the Four Heavenly Kings, standing by [the Buddha], understood what the Buddha thought, and went to the four directions. Each of them fetched a stone bowl, offered it up to the World-honoured One, and said: “May [the Buddha] receive that tradesmen’s honeyed flour with this bowl.” At that time, thanks to the Buddha’s mercy, he accepted the Four Heavenly King’s bowls, merged them into one [bowl], and received that tradesmen’s honeyed flour [with the bowl].

時二人白世尊言：“今奉獻蜜麩，慈愍納受。”時世尊復作如是念：“今此二人奉獻蜜麩，當以何器受之？”復作是言：“過去諸佛、如來、至真、等正覺，以何物受食？諸佛世尊不以手受食也。”時四天王立在左右，知佛所念，往至四方，各各人取一石鉢，奉上世尊，白言：“願以此鉢，受彼賈人麩蜜。”時世尊慈愍故，即受四天王鉢，令合為一，受彼賈人麩蜜。(781c27–782a6)

Here we do not see Vaiśravaṇa individually, but rather the Four Heavenly Kings, acting as a group, supporting the Buddha.

Sovereign Śakra plays a similar role in this text, as can be seen in the following example:

At that time, the World-honoured One received a pricey ascetic garment, and thought: “How should I obtain water to wash this garment?” At that time, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ

²⁸⁹ The transcriptions of passages of the *Neilü* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

learned the thought in the Buddha's mind. Then, in front of the Thus-come One, he pointed to the ground so that it become a large pond, extremely clean, and without dirt or mud. He went up and addressed the Buddha: "May the World-honoured One use this water to wash the garment." At that time, the World-honoured One, in turn, gave rise to this thought: "On what thing should I wash the garment?" At that time, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ learned the thought in the Thus-come One's mind, went to Mt. Madhukula, fetched a large, square rock, and placed it in front of the Thus-come One, saying: "May the World-honoured One wash the garment on this rock." At that time, the World-honoured One gave rise to such a thought: "After washing the garment, where should I dry it in the sun?" Śakro Devānām Indraḥ, once more, learned the thought in the World-honoured One's mind, again, went to Mt. Madhukula, fetched an even larger square rock, and placed it in front of the Buddha, saying: "May [the World-honoured One] dry the garment in the sun on this rock."

時世尊得一貴價糞掃衣，念言：“當云何得水浣此衣耶？”爾時釋提桓因知佛心中所念，即於如來前指地成大池，極為清淨，無有垢濁，前白佛言：“願世尊用此水浣衣。”時世尊復作是念：“當於何物上浣衣？”爾時釋提桓因知如來心中所念，往詣摩頭鳩羅山，取四方大石置如來前：“唯願世尊於此石上浣衣。”時世尊復作是念：“浣衣已當於何處曬衣？”釋提桓因復知世尊心中所念，復詣摩頭鳩羅山，更取大方石置如來前：“願於此石上曬衣。” (795a25–b6)

In this example, Śakro Devānām Indraḥ is able to read the Buddha's thoughts and serve him accordingly as the Four Heavenly Kings did in the last story.

The Heavenly King Brahmā also shows up in this text, yet acts in a slightly different manner from what Sovereign Śakra did. For instance:

At that time, the Heavenly King Brahmā, from the Heaven of Brahmā above, having known from afar the thought in the Thus-come One's mind, wondered: "The world has largely deteriorated. The Thus-come One now has obtained such a wonderful teaching. Why does he abide in silence, leaving the world unable to hear it?" At that time, the Heavenly King Brahmā, in the amount of time it takes a strong man to flex his muscles, from there came up to the Thus-come One. After paying homage with his forehead, the Heavenly King Brahmā stood to the side, and addressed the World-honoured One, saying: "[I] only wish the Thus-come One preach the teaching, only wish the Well-gone One preach the teaching. Among multitudinous sentient beings in the world, there are people with mild defilement, who are wise, bright, and easy to deliver, and they can eliminate unwholesome teachings, and attain wholesome teachings."

時梵天王於梵天上，遙知如來心中所念已，念：“世間大敗壞，如來今日獲此妙

法，云何默然而住，令世間不聞耶？”爾時梵天如力士屈申臂頃，從彼而來到如來前，頭面禮已，在一面立，白世尊言：“唯願如來說法，唯願善逝說法。世間眾生，亦有垢薄智慧聰明易度者，能滅不善法、成就善法。” (786c20–27)

In this scenario, the Heavenly King Brahmā also sensed the Buddha’s thought, which inspired him to visit the Buddha and implore him to preach. He thus plays a vital supporting role in this episode.

To summarise, in the *Neiliu*, these Heavenly Kings work as the Buddha’s attendants or interlocutors. The text does not bother to introduce them, and they do not make vows to protect people as they do in the *Moheyan*, which could be attributed (at least to some extent) to the genre of this scripture: a vinaya text.

From the evidence of Dunhuang manuscripts with colophons that have been published, it was rare for Buddhist lay patrons to commission texts of Buddhist monastic codes for their personal aspirations. Maybe this is because, generally speaking, Buddhist monastic codes are not supposed to be accessed by lay people.²⁹⁰ However, in addition to Yuan Rong, there are also other lay patrons who used monastic codes to pray for their own concerns, as recorded in Dunhuang colophons. For example, P.3135 is a fragmentary manuscript of a text with an end title “*Sifen jie yijuan*” 四分戒一卷 (Four-Part [Monastic] Precepts in One Fascicle), to which a colophon is appended ascribed to “*dizi Suo Qinger*” 弟子索清兒 (a disciple [of the Buddha], Suo Qinger) that prays for the healing the patron’s disease. From the name, we can determine that this patron is likely to be a Buddhist layman since he does not note his gender

²⁹⁰ For the reason why Buddhist monastic codes are not supposed to be accessed by lay people, there is some previous scholarship. For example, Cabezón (2017, 193), based on Faure’s (1998, 141–142) study of a wide range of sexual scenarios in the Vinaya, states a theory that “...the general Buddhist proscription, found in several Buddhist cultures, against laypeople reading the Vinaya, is seen as motivated by the desire to keep the dirty little secret that Vinaya is monastic pornography.” Although Cabezón is not convinced by this “monastic pornography” theory since he thinks the Vinaya also deals with many other subjects besides sex, it is probably true that Buddhist clerics were not willing to let the laypeople access the monastic codes.

as female Buddhists usually do, or add his title as most Buddhist clerics do in their colophons. According to the remaining text in this manuscript,²⁹¹ this *Sifen jie* could be the *Sifen lü biqiu jieben* 四分律比丘戒本 (*Bhikṣu* Precept Book of Four-Part [Monastic] Codes) (*T* no. 1429, vol. 22), the *Sifen seng jieben* 四分僧戒本 (Four-Part Monks' Precept Book) (*T* no. 1430, vol. 22), or the *Sifen biqiuni jieben* 四分比丘尼戒本 (Four-Part *Bhikṣuṇī* Precept Book) (*T* no. 1431, vol. 22).²⁹² Since the patron wrote in the colophon that he copied this *Sifen jie* in one fascicle, this text should be a monastic code commissioned by a Buddhist layman. It indicates that, although monastic codes were not supposed to be accessible to Buddhist laypeople, in medieval Dunhuang, this proscription was not strictly obeyed in textual practice.

In addition, as stated in Suo Qinger's colophon in P.3135, he copies the *Sifen jie* to invoke all the buddhas, great bodhisattva-mahāsattvas together with a group of Chinese indigenous gods, such as the “Taishan fujun” 太山府君 (Magistrate of Mount Tai). By the means of their compassion and salvation, Suo Qinger aspires to have his severe disease healed and his lifespan extended. Since Suo's method of appealing for healing and longevity also invokes buddhas and gods, and involves commissioning Buddhist monastic codes, it offers an interesting comparison.

²⁹¹ There are three fragmentary characters remaining in the first column of this manuscript, which are probably *jing wo jin* 竟我今. In the second column, we read “Busa jing shuo jiwen” 布薩竟說偈文 (Verses to be Spoken [after] the Precepts Meeting [is] Completed). This “Jiwen” can also be found in S.2580, a collection of verses for Buddhist rituals. In P.3135, the “Jiwen” is followed by the end title “*Sifen jie yijuan*,” and I suspect that this “Jiwen” was added to the *Sifen jie*.

²⁹² It is imprudent for Zhao Qingshan (2011, 183) to simply identify this manuscript as the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (Four-Part [Monastic] Codes).

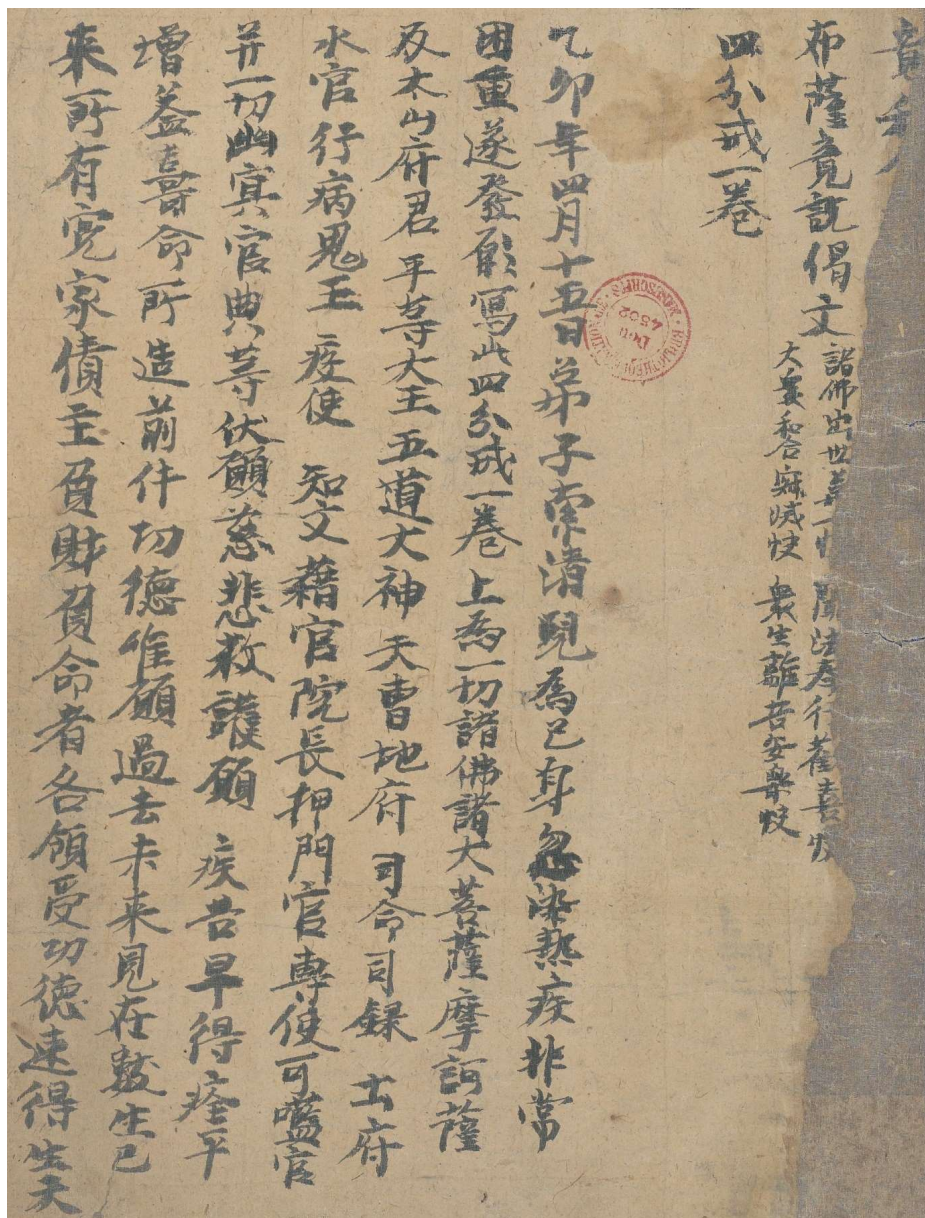


Figure 3.10 P.3135 *Sifen jie yijuan* 四分戒一卷 (Four-Part [Monastic] Precepts in One Fascicle) © Bibliothèque nationale de France

Another possible interpretation of Yuan Rong’s commissioning of monastic codes for his personal aspirations is that he was relying on his agent regarding the selection of Buddhist texts to copy, and his agent was a Buddhist cleric. In this scenario, Yuan Rong’s agent would be familiar with both the patron’s aspirations and the content of Buddhist texts, and, according to Yuan Rong’s needs (such as invoking the Heavenly Kings), the agent would

choose relevant texts to meet these needs. These texts might be copied, preserved and used in a local monastery but not read by the patron, although the merit was ascribed to the patron. Thus, there would be no concern that a layperson who commissioned the monastic codes would have an opportunity to read them. There is a piece of evidence to support this hypothesis in Yuan Rong's own colophon. In the colophon to the *Wuliangshou jing* that I have discussed above, which was commissioned together with the *Neilü*, we read that this text is “copied by *bhikṣu* Sengbao.” So, at least one scribe for the texts commissioned by Yuan Rong is a Buddhist cleric, therefore, these texts may have been produced and used in a monastery.

That said, if the agent is a Buddhist cleric from a monastery, the selection of texts for Yuan Rong's aspirations may be influenced by the need of texts for use in the monastery. In other words, the agent may choose the *Neilü*, which is not strongly connected to the Heavenly Kings while was necessary for the monastery at that time, for the patron's aspiration to invoke the Heavenly Kings. This influence on the choice of texts may be not limited to the *Neilü* alone among the set of texts commissioned by Yuan Rong.

(4) The *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish*

The text following the *Neilü* is the *Xianyu*, which is exclusively dedicated to Vaiśravaṇa in both colophons dated to 532 C.E. and 533 C.E. To date, I have not found a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Xianyu* commissioned by Yuan Rong. According to Sengyou's entry on the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 in his *Chu sanzang ji ji* (T no. 2145, vol. 55, 67c9–68a1), this scripture (T no. 202, vol. 4) was translated and compiled by eight monks (including Tanxue 曇學 [or

Tanjue 曇覺, or Huijue 慧覺], Weide 威德, and others) before the twenty-second year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (i.e. 445 C.E.), which is prior to the year when Yuan Rong commissioned this scripture (532 C.E.). As a result, I think, it is appropriate to use *T* no. 202 to explore the connection between the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish* and Vaiśravaṇa.²⁹³

In the *Xianyu jing*, there is a complete narrative episode about Vaiśravaṇa. Here is an excerpt from this story, in which Vaiśravaṇa introduces himself, highlighting his power to protect people:²⁹⁴

At that time, the World-honoured One gave the *Scripture of True Words* (Skt. *Dharmapada*) to Upasena, and asked her to chant and practice. [Upasena], after receiving this scripture, paid homage [to the Buddha], circumambulated him three times, then she left. After returning to her own village, she reflected on and memorized the scripture that the Buddha gave her. It was midnight and she was on a high building as she thought about the Buddha's merit and recited the *Scripture of True Words*. At that moment, Vaiśravaṇa was heading to Virūdhaka's place in the south. Leading thousands of *yakṣas*, he passed over Upasena. He heard [Upasena's] voice reciting the scripture, and immediately paused in the sky, listening to her recitation, and praised her: "Excellent! Excellent! Sister. [You are] good at preaching the essentials of the dharma. Now, if I were to offer you a heavenly treasure as a gift, it may not be appropriate for you. [Instead], I now offer you a good message as a gift. The venerable Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana will come from Śrāvastī, and rest in this grove. Tomorrow you shall go to invite [them] to [your] house, and make offerings to them. When they are praying, you shall speak my name." Upasena, having heard these words, looked up to the sky, but could not see [Vaiśravaṇa's] body, just as a blind person cannot see anything in a dark night. Then, [she] asked: "Who are you? [I] cannot see your body, but there is a voice." There came a reply from the sky: "I am the king of the spirits, Vaiśravaṇa. For the sake of listening to the teachings, I paused here." The *upāsikā* (i.e. Upasena) said: "The heavenly beings do not speak false words. You are a heavenly being while I am a human. There is definitely no relationship [between us]. For what reason are you calling me sister?" The Heavenly King replied: "The Buddha is the Dharma King, who is also father

²⁹³ In the colophons in Hane601 and S.4415, I learn that the *Xianyu jing* that Yuan Rong commissioned is in seventeen fascicles while *T* no. 202 is in thirteen fascicles. Zhisheng, in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, notes that the *Xianyu jing* attributed to Tanxue (or Tanjue, or Huijue) could have been divided into thirteen fascicles, fifteen fascicles, sixteen fascicles, or seventeen fascicles (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 539b23–c3).

²⁹⁴ The transcriptions of passages of the *Xianyu jing* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

of people and heavenly beings. I am an upāsaka, and you are an upāsikā. We are of the same flavor of the Dharma, therefore [I] called you sister.” At that time, the upāsikā gave rise to joy in her heart, and asked: “Heavenly king! What are the benefits if I speak your name when I am making offerings?” The Heavenly King replied: “I am a Heavenly King who can hear from afar with my heavenly ears. I can hear whoever speaks my name. Calling on me will increase my power, charisma, and retinue. I will, in turn, use my spiritual power, and command the spirits to protect this person with mindfulness, increase the person’s fortune, and keep the person away from decline and debilitation.” Soon after saying these words, [Vaiśravaṇa] left.

爾時，世尊以《法句經》與優波斯那，令諷奉行。得已作禮，遶佛三匝而去。還本聚落，思惟憶念佛所與經。是時中夜，於高屋上，思佛功德，讀誦《法句》。時毘沙門天王，欲至南方毘樓勒叉所，將千夜叉，從優波斯那上過，聞誦經聲，尋皆住空，聽其所誦，讚言：“善哉善哉！姊妹！善說法要。今我若以天寶相遺，非爾所宜。我今以一善言相贈。謂尊者舍利弗、大目犍連，從舍衛來，當止此林。汝明往請於舍供養。彼呪願時，并稱我名。”優波斯那聞此語已，仰視空中，不見其形，如盲眼人，於夜黑闇都無所見。即問言曰：“汝為是誰？不見其形，而但有聲。”空中答言：“我是鬼王毘沙門天也，為聽法故，於此住耳。”優婆夷言：“天無謬語。汝天我人，絕無因由，何故稱我為姊妹耶？”天王答言：“佛是法王，亦人天父。我為優婆塞，汝為優婆夷，同一法味，故言姊妹。”時優婆夷，心生歡喜，問言：“天王！我供養時，稱汝名字，有何利耶？”天王答言：“我為天王，天耳遠聞，稱我名者，我悉聞之。以稱我故，增我勢力、威德、眷屬。我亦復以神力，及勅鬼神，護念是人，增其祿福，令離衰患。”說是語已，尋便過去。(373b24–c18)

In this story, Vaiśravaṇa indicates that he will protect people who speak his name: this seems significant, even though the scripture that Vaiśravaṇa enjoys in this story is the *Scripture of True Words* instead of the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish*. Sovereign Śakra and Brahmā also play their roles in this scripture. However, neither of them makes such vows to protect people. Therefore, it makes sense for Yuan Rong to have selected the *Scripture of the Wise and the Foolish* and to have chosen to dedicate it especially to Vaiśravaṇa.

(5) *The Scripture on the Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha*

The next text, the *Guanfo sanmei*, is dedicated to Sovereign Śakra in the colophon dated to 532 C.E., and to Vaiśravaṇa in the colophon dated to 533 C.E. Like the *Xianyu*, I cannot find

a Dunhuang manuscript of this scripture commissioned by Yuan Rong. From the colophon of Hane601, we see that the *Guanfo sanmei* that he commissioned is a text in ten fascicles. In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, Zhisheng notes that the title of the *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 (*T* no. 643, vol. 15) in ten fascicles translated by Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅 (358–429 C.E.) from the Eastern Jin dynasty could also be written as *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經 (*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 602b8–9). Also, the *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* was translated before Yuan Rong’s commissioning of the *Guanfo sanmei* in 532 C.E. Therefore, I am using *T* no. 643 to explore the connection between the *Guanfo sanmei* and Sovereign Śakra as well as Vaiśravaṇa. In this scripture, there is a story about Sovereign Śakra. Here is an excerpt from this account, which includes the main plot:²⁹⁵

When Sovereign Śakra went to the Garden of Joy, together with all the court maids, he entered the pool and played there. At that time, Yueyi gave rise to jealousy, and sent five *yakṣas* to report to her father, the king: “Now, I am not in favour with Sovereign Śakra, who plays with all the court maids.” The father heard these words, gave rise to anger, and immediately mobilized four armies to attack Sovereign Śakra. [He] raised the sea water, and occupied the peak of Mt. Sumeru, used [his] nine hundred and ninety-nine hands simultaneously to rock the City of Joy to Behold and shake Mt. Sumeru, which made the water in the four seas splash together. Śakro Devānām Indraḥ was frightened and terrified, and did not know where to go. At that moment, there was a god in the palace who addressed this Heavenly King: “Do not be so frightened. In the past, the Buddha preached the [*Scripture of*] *the Perfection of Wisdom*. The King should recite and uphold it, then the demon army will break into pieces of its own accord.” At that time, Sovereign Śakra, sitting in the Hall of the Fine Teachings, burnt all the precious incense, and made great vows: “The [*Scripture of*] *the Perfection of Wisdom* is a great bright spell, unsurpassed spell, unparalleled spell, which is true and not false. By holding this teaching, I shall attain Buddhahood, and make the *asura* spontaneously retreat. Upon saying this, in the sky there appeared a wheel of four swords. Thanks to Sovereign Śakra’s merit, it naturally fell down. When it came upon the *asura*, his ears, nose, hands, and feet all fell off together, which made the sea water as red as scarlet juice. At that time, the *asura* panicked, but had nowhere to escape, therefore he fled into a hole of a lotus root.

²⁹⁵ The transcriptions of passages of the *Guanfo sanmei* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

帝釋若至歡喜園時，共諸綵女入池遊戲。爾時，悅意即生嫉妬，遣五夜叉往白父王：“今此帝釋不復見寵，與諸綵女自共遊戲。”父聞此語心生瞋恚，即興四兵往攻帝釋。立大海水踞須彌頂，九百九十九手同時俱作，撼喜見城、搖須彌山，四大海水一時波動。釋提桓因驚怖惶懼，靡知所趣。時宮有神白天王言：“莫大驚怖，過去佛說《般若波羅蜜》，王當誦持，鬼兵自碎。”是時帝釋坐善法堂，燒眾名香發大誓願：“般若波羅蜜是大明呪、是無上呪、無等等呪，審實不虛。我持此法當成佛道，令阿修羅自然退散。”作是語時，於虛空中有四刀輪，帝釋功德故，自然而下，當阿修羅上時，阿修羅耳鼻手足一時盡落，令大海水赤如絳汁。時阿修羅即便驚怖，遁走無處，入藕絲孔。(647a24–b10)

In this story, the text is not concerned with demonstrating Sovereign Śakra's power or indicating his will to protect people. Instead, it advocates the power of the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom*. By the means of upholding this scripture, Sovereign Śakra not only defeats the Asura, but is also assured that he will attain Buddhahood, which is precisely the reason that Yuan Rong's dedicated these scriptures to the Heavenly Kings.

As for Vaiśravaṇa, he does not appear in the *Guanfo sanmei*, but there are some passages concerning the Four Heavenly Kings. For example:

The Buddha told his father, the king: “What is called the Thus-come One's mark of a white tuft of hair when he left home? When I was about to leave home, my father, the king, and my mother sent all the court maids to keep watch of me constantly. [They] installed latches on the doors that sounded whenever they were opened or closed, and the sound was [as loud as] the roar of a lion. They hung close-set ring bells among windows, and used metal chains to hook them up, therefore, dragons, spirits, and *yakṣas* had no path to enter. At that time, the Four Heavenly Kings, from the vacant sky, projected their voices, saying: ‘Prince of Earth and Heaven! The time has arrived, and you shall learn the way. We now want to go to attend [you,] the prince, but are afraid [to cause] a sound in the palace, therefore have no chance to get in.’ At that time, the prince stretched out the hair with his hand to the place of the Four Heavenly Kings. The appearance of [the hair] is as soft and lovely as the heavenly silk. At that time, the Four Heavenly Kings saw [the hair], and heartily loved and respected it much. Because of the love and respect, they then saw the transformation bodhisattvas in the hair, who sat cross-legged, and whose shapes are like the prince. Each bodhisattva has numerous great bodhisattvas together with him as his retainers. When this sign appeared, all the numerous heavenly beings, dragons, and *yakṣas*, and so on became able to enter [the palace] at the same time.

佛告父王：“云何名如來出家時白毫相？我欲出家時，父王及母遣諸姝女，常以衛護，門施關鍵，開闔有聲，如師子吼。於窓牖間密懸諸鈴，金鎖相鉤，龍、鬼、夜叉無從得入。爾時四天王於虛空中遙發聲言：‘地天太子！日時已至，宜當學道。我今欲往供養太子，恐殿有聲，無緣得入。’爾時太子以手申毛，至四天王所，色如天繒柔軟可愛。時四天王見心甚愛敬，以愛敬故，即於毛中見化菩薩，結加趺坐，形如太子。一一菩薩，復有無量諸大菩薩，共為眷屬。此相現時，無量諸天龍夜叉等，俱時得入。……” (650a9–20)

In this passage, the Four Heavenly Kings wish to attend to the prince, invite him to leave home to learn the Buddhist path, and thereafter witness the Thus-come One’s mark of a white tuft of hair. In other words, the Four Heavenly Kings play a supporting role on the prince’s path to Buddhahood, and I believe that Vaiśravaṇa is among them.

(6) The *Scripture of the Great Cloud*

The scripture *Dayun* also appears on both of Yuan Rong’s colophons in 532 C.E. and 533 C.E. In 532 C.E., it was dedicated to Brahmā, whereas in 533 C.E., it was dedicated to Vaiśravaṇa. I have not found a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Dayun* commissioned by Yuan Rong. According to Chinese Buddhist catalogues, such as the *Chu sanzang ji ji*, the *Zhongjing mulu* of Fajing, and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, before 532 C.E., *Dayun* may refer to the *Fangdeng dayun jing* 方等大雲經 (or *Fangdeng wuxiang dayun jing* 方等無想大雲經) translated by Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (385–433 C.E.) in four fascicles or six fascicles (*T* no. 2145, vol. 55, 11b15–26), or to *Dafangdeng wuxiang jing* 大方等無相 (or 想) 經 translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. 365?–413 C.E.) in four or five fascicles, which is thought to be translated from the same master version of Tanwuchen’s translation, and has been lost (*T* no. 2146, vol. 55, 115b3; *T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 512a11–b3; 593b16–17; 629b14–16). Antonino Forte ([1976] 2005, 73–76) argues that these Buddhist bibliographers were

able to consult only one version of the *Dayun jing*, which was sometimes attributed to Tanwuchen, and sometimes attributed to Zhu Fonian, and it has come down to us under the name of Tanwuchen (*T* no. 387, vol. 12). He suspects that a Dunhuang manuscript dated to 403 C.E. (transcribed as *T* no. 388)²⁹⁶ and S.6916, which are both the ninth fascicle of the same *Dayun wuxiang jing* 大雲無想經 and are different from *T* no. 387, are Zhu Fahu's translation. From the colophon in Hane601, we learn that Yuan Rong commissioned a *Dayun* in ten fascicles in 533 C.E., and we can suppose that the *Dayun* that he commissioned in 532 C.E. is probably also in ten fascicles. Compared with *T* no. 387 in six fascicles attributed to Tanwuchen, the *Dayun* commissioned by Yuan Rong is more likely to be the version of *T* no. 388, S.6916, and Hane721 (a manuscript of the ninth fascicle of the same *Dayun wuxiang jing*). Although only part of the ninth fascicle of this *Dayun wuxiang jing* has survived, at the end of it, we find this passage:²⁹⁷

At that time, the Fearless Meritorious Swift Bodhisattva and uncountable bodhisattvas, respectively accepted the Buddha's teaching, and received this scripture. Uncountable Brahmā Devas such as Fanzhu, uncountable Sovereign Śakras such as Ganmu, uncountable spirits such as the Four Heavenly Kings, uncountable dragon kings such as Nandopananda, also together upheld [this scripture]. Uncountable multitudinous sentient beings gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyaṅsambodhi*.

爾時，無畏功德疾行菩薩與無量菩薩，敬承佛教，受是經典。梵住等無量梵天，紺目等無量帝釋，四天王等無量鬼神，難陀婆難陀等無量龍王，亦共受持。無量眾生，發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心。(1110c1–6)

In this passage, multiple Brahmās, together with bodhisattvas, Sovereign Śakras, and the Four Heavenly Kings, received the *Dayun jing*. It seems that, together with uncountable

²⁹⁶ This manuscript was collected by Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940 C.E.), and an image of this manuscript is included in the *Mingsha shishi yishu zhengxubian* 鳴沙石室佚書正續編 edited by Luo ([1917]2004, 461–483).

²⁹⁷ The transcriptions of passages of the *Dayun wuxiang jing* are based on the three manuscripts mentioned above.

multitudinous sentient beings, Brahmā also gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyaṅsambodhi*, which is a significant point on the path to Buddhahood. Here, Brahmā is not uniquely important, and I am not sure whether he also shows up and what role he plays in the lost part of this version of the *Dayun*, yet we cannot deny his presence in this text.

Regarding Vaiśravaṇa, in *T* no. 388, S.6916, and Hane721, he does not appear as an individual, but is always implicitly present as one of the Four Heavenly Kings. In addition to the scenario where the Four Heavenly Kings upheld this scripture and gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyaṅsambodhi* together with Brahmā and Sovereign Śakra, in this scripture, there is also a passage indicating that the Four Heavenly Kings are ready to protect people:

Good son! If one can visualize such a characteristic of the Dharma, this person will immediately achieve the acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena. If [one] achieves such an acceptance, it shall be known that this person will definitely attain the supreme result of the Buddha-way. If there is a good son or a good daughter who obtains such a *dhāraṇī* teaching, enjoys it heartily, praises and recites it, recollects the three treasures concentratedly, and worships it with the sincerest mind, this person will be respected by all the human beings and the heavenly beings, and will also be surrounded and protected by the Four Heavenly Kings—the heavenly beings. Although [this person] has not been delivered yet, it still can eliminate all of the person's severe offence—karmic hindrances, afflictive hindrances, hindrances of one's retribution, Dharma hindrances. Even in their dreams, they would not lose the mind of bodhi.

善男子！若人能觀如是法相，是人即得無生法忍。若得是忍，當知是人決定得成無上道果。若有善男子、善女人，獲得如是陀羅尼門，心喜讚誦，專念三寶，²⁹⁸至心供養，是人則為一切人天之所恭敬，亦為天人四大天王之所擁護。雖未解脫，亦能除滅一切重罪——業障、煩惱障、報障、法障。乃至夢中，終不失於菩提之心。（1108a15–22）

From this passage, we learn that the Four Heavenly Kings are willing to protect people who

²⁹⁸ *Zhuan* 專 (concentratedly) in the manuscripts is erroneously transcribed as *hui* 惠 (kindly) in *T* no. 388.

obtain, enjoy, praise, recite, and worship “this *dhāraṇī* teaching,” which probably refers to the teaching in this scripture. It also tells us that achieving the acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena (*de wusheng faren* 得無生法忍) guarantees the supreme result of the Buddha-way, i.e. attaining Buddhahood. Therefore, I believe that the Heavenly Kings’ achieving this particular acceptance in the passage of the *Scripture for the Humane Kings* that I have discussed above could be connected to Yuan Rong’s aspiration for them to become buddhas.

(7) The *Scripture on the Great Extinction*

The colophons of Hane601 and S.4415 list another six scriptures that Yuan Rong commissioned for Vaiśravaṇa, in addition to the scriptures *Xianyu*, *Guanfo sanmei*, and *Dayun*. The first scripture is the *Niepan* 涅槃 ([Scripture on the Great] Extinction). S.4415 commissioned by Yuan Rong, with its end title “*Daban niepan jing juan disayi*” 大般涅槃經卷第卅一 (the Thirty-first Fascicle of the Scripture on the Great Extinction), is parallel to *T* no. 374, vol. 12, 549a7–552a20 (part of Fascicle Thirty-one of Tanwuchen’s translation of the *Niepan jing*) or *T* no. 375, vol. 12, 794c1–798a4 (part of Fascicle Twenty-nine of the Southern Version of this scripture, as introduced in the second chapter). S.4415 looks more like Tanwuchen’s version, since both of their fascicle numbers are thirty-one.

Hane601 commissioned by Yuan Rong, with an end title “*Daban niepan jing juan dishiwu*” 大般涅槃經卷第十五 (the Fifteenth Fascicle of the Scripture on the Great Extinction), is parallel to *T* no. 374, vol. 12, 453b12–458c22 (part of Fascicle Fifteen and part of Fascicle Sixteen of Tanwuchen’s translation). This manuscript is identified as part of

Fascicle Fourteen of the southern version (*T* no. 375, vol. 12, 695b19–701a13) in the *Tonkō hikyū* (Kyōu shooku 2012, 144), which is not correct. On the seventeenth sheet in Hane601, there is a sentence:²⁹⁹

I, towards this woman, gave rise to a mind of compassion. At that time, that woman became able to see me, and generated a vision of her son. Retrieving her original mind, [she] came up and hugged my body, and kissed my mouth.

我於是女起慈愍心。是時女人即得見我，便生子想，還得本心，前抱我身，嗚啞我口。 (*T* no. 374, vol. 12, 458a16–18)

As Jing Shengxuan (2009, 283–284) quotes Guanding’s 灌頂 (561–632 C.E.) *Daban niepan jing xuanyi* 大般涅槃經玄義 (Commentary on the Scripture on the Great Extinction) (*T* no. 1765, vol. 38, 14b18), the phrase *wusha wokou* 嗚啞³⁰⁰我口 (kiss my mouth) at the end of this sentence in Tanwuchen’s translation was changed into *ruaizifa* 如愛子法 (as in the manner of loving her son) (*T* no. 375, vol. 12, 700b6) in the southern version in order to *quzhi cunhua* 去質存華 (eliminate the plain [style] and retain the literary [style]). Therefore, Hane601 cannot be from the southern version. Moreover, the colophon in Hane601 claims that this *Niepan* commissioned by Yuan Rong is in forty fascicles, a number of fascicles that is identical to the length of Tanwuchen’s translation (*T* no. 374). Therefore, both Hane601 and S.4415 are likely to be of Tanwuchen’s translation of the *Scripture on the Great Extinction*, and I am looking for Vaiśravaṇa or the Four Heavenly Kings in *T* no. 374 with reference to these two manuscripts.

In this scripture, Vaiśravaṇa and the Four Heavenly Kings appear many times. Here is a

²⁹⁹ The transcriptions of passages of the *Daban niepan jing* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

³⁰⁰ *Sha* 啞 is written as *sha* 唵 in Guanding’s commentary, which is a variant form.

typical example:

At that time, there was a heavenly god at the gate of the city [of Rājagṛha], who told Sudatta: “Kind sir, if [you] go to the Thus-come One’s place, [you will] obtain abundant wholesome benefit.” Sudatta said: “What wholesome benefit are you talking about?” [The god] answered: “Householder! If one uses truly precious jewel-strewn curtains, a hundred fine horses, a hundred beautifully decorated elephants, one hundred jeweled carts, hundreds of figures of cast gold, pretty women adorned with necklaces of precious stones, the finest palaces filled with various treasures, well carved and decorated halls and houses, one hundred golden trays with silver millet, and one hundred silver trays with golden millet to donate to one person. This type of donation continues until it covers all [the people] in Jambudvīpa. The merit obtained from [these donations] is not as good as that one [earns by] resolving to walk a single step toward the Thus-come One’s place. Sudatta said: “Good son! Who are you?” [The heavenly god] replied: “Householder, I am the son of a brāhmana of excellent qualities. I was your wholesome friend in the past. Since I once met Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and gave rise to joy in my heart, I abandoned my body (i.e. was reborn) and became the Heavenly King of the North, Vaiśravaṇa,³⁰¹ in charge of, and guarding this city of Rājagṛha. Because of worshiping Śāriputra and others, and therefore giving rise to a cheerful mind, I obtained such a wonderful body. How much more so that if one could meet the great teacher the Thus-come One, and worship and make offerings to him?”

時彼城門有一天神，告須達言：“仁者若往如來所者，多獲善利。”須達多言：“云何善利？”答言：“長者！假使有人真實玃珞、駿馬百匹、香象百頭、寶車百乘，鑄金為人，其數復百，端正女人，身珮瓔珞、眾寶廁填上妙宮宅，殿堂屋宇雕文刻鏤，金盤銀粟、銀盤金粟，數各一百，以施一人，如是展轉盡閻浮提，所得功德，不如有人發意一步，詣如來所。”須達多言：“善男子！汝是誰耶？”答言：“長者！我是勝相婆羅門子，是汝往昔善知識也。我因往日見舍利弗、大目犍連，心生歡喜，捨身得作北方天王毘沙門子，專知守護此王舍城。我因禮拜舍利弗等，生歡喜心，尚得如是妙好之身，況當得見如來大師，禮拜供養？” (540c22–541a6)

This story of Vaiśravaṇa is similar to the story of Vaiśravaṇa in the *Xianyu jing*, which I have introduced above. In both stories, (1) Vaiśravaṇa unexpectedly appears, and begins to talk to human interlocutors (Upasena in the *Xianyu*, and Sudatta in the *Niepan*); (2) Vaiśravaṇa praises the Buddha; (3) Vaiśravaṇa introduces himself after the interlocutor asks “who are

³⁰¹ It is yet clear whether the Pishamenzi 毘沙門子 is Vaiśravaṇa or Vaiśravaṇa’s son. Even he is a son of Vaiśravaṇa, he belongs to the clan of Vaiśravaṇa, and is doing a job of guarding that Vaiśravaṇa usually does.

you?"; (4) Vaiśravaṇa's duty is protection (he protects people who speak his name in the *Xianyu*, whereas he protects the city of Rājagṛha in the *Niepan*); and, finally, (5) Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana are mentioned in supporting roles. By comparing this to the story in the *Xianyu*, I see that both scriptures depict Vaiśravaṇa as a powerful, and often invisible, protector who enthusiastically advocates the Buddha and Buddhist teachings.

(8) The *Scripture of Law-blossom*

The scripture that follows the *Niepan* is the *Fahua*. I cannot find a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Fahua* commissioned by Yuan Rong. The *Fahua* that Yuan Rong commissioned is in ten fascicles, as recorded in his colophon dated to 533 C.E. There are two versions of the *Fahua* translated before 533 C.E. collected in the *Taishō Canon*: the *Miaofa lianhua jing* in seven fascicles (*T* no. 262, vol. 9) and the *Zheng fahua jing* in ten fascicles (*T* no. 263, vol. 9).

However, there are also Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* in ten fascicles, such as BD1084 with an end title “*Miaofa lianhua jing juandishi*” 妙法蓮華經卷第十 (the Tenth Fascicle of the Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Law), which is parallel to *T* no. 262, vol. 9, 57a8–62a29 (Fang and Wood 2006, 16:137–145). Therefore, Yuan Rong's *Fahua* could be the *Miaofa lianhua jing* or the *Zheng fahua jing*, and I am using both *T* no. 262 (by referring to BD1084) and *T* no. 263 to analyze the relationship between Vaiśravaṇa and the *Fahua*. In these two texts, Vaiśravaṇa and the Four Heavenly Kings appear a few times, and the most significant passages are:³⁰²

³⁰² The transcriptions of passages of both the *Miaofa lianhua jing* and the *Zheng fahua jing* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

At that time the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, protector of the world, addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One! I, too, out of pity for multitudinous sentient beings, and in order to protect these teachers of Dharma, will pronounce this *dhāraṇī*.” He straightway then pronounced a spell, saying: “*aṭṭe* (first) *naṭṭe* (second) *vanaṭṭe* (third) *anaḍe* (fourth) *nāḍi* (fifth) *kunaḍi* (sixth).” “World-honoured One! By means of this supranormal spell will I protect the teachers of dharma. I will also personally protect the holders of this scripture so that they shall suffer neither decline nor debilitation from within a hundred yojanas.”³⁰³

爾時毘沙門天王護世者白佛言：“世尊！我亦為愍念眾生、擁護此法師故，說是陀羅尼。”即說呪曰：“阿梨（一）那梨（二）窣那梨（三）阿那盧（四）那履（五）拘那履（六）。”“世尊！以是神呪擁護法師，我亦自當擁護持是經者，令百由旬內無諸衰患。”（*T* no. 262, vol. 9, 59a7–13; Fang and Wood 16:139）

At that time the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa stepped forward and addressed the Buddha, saying: “I, too, shall perform this sentence of total retention (or *dhāraṇī*), and add my pity, for the sake of multitudinous sentient beings, to protect these teachers of Dharma. ‘*Fuyou tiaoxi wuxi, wuliang wufu hefu.*’ By means of this [incantation, I will] protect all the teachers of Dharma so that within one hundred yojanas [no one] dares to offend [them], and the guards will adhere to them. Sons of great clans, only the supreme teachers of dharma such as this can uphold [this scripture], and therefore one who protects them will constantly gain auspicious benefit.”

時毘沙門天王前白佛言：“我亦當演此總持句，加以慈心，為眾生故，擁護法師。‘富有調戲，無戲無量，無富何富。’以是故，擁護諸法師等，百由旬內無敢犯觸，宿衛將順。諸族姓子！如是比像至學法師乃能受持，以是擁護常獲吉利。”（*T* no. 263, vol. 9, 130b6–12）

In both passages, Vaiśravaṇa pronounces a *dhāraṇī*, and with this *dhāraṇī* he vows to protect teachers of Dharma (i.e. people who uphold and preach the *Fahua*) out of his compassion for multitudinous sentient beings. In the passage from the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, Vaiśravaṇa is even named “protector of the world.” It would be reasonable if Yuan Rong selected this scripture in order to invoke Vaiśravaṇa for his protection.

(9) The Scripture of Golden Light

³⁰³ This translation is a modified version of Hurvitz’s (1976, 321–322) translation.

The most significant text on Yuan Rong's list of scriptures dedicated to Vaiśravaṇa is the *Jinguangming*. I do not see a Dunhuang manuscript of this scripture commissioned by Yuan Rong. The *Jinguangming jing* translated by Tanwuchen is the only Chinese translation dated before 533 C.E. that I can find in extant Chinese Buddhist catalogues. That said, the *Jinguangming* commissioned by Yuan Rong is in five fascicles according to his colophon, while the version of Tanwuchen's translation of the *Jinguangming jing* collected in the *Taishō Canon* (*T* no. 663, vol. 16) is in four fascicles. However, there is also a version of this translation in five fascicles discovered in Dunhuang manuscripts, such as BD4786, which was dated to the seventh year of the Datong 大統 era of the Western Wei dynasty (i.e. 541 C.E.) with an end title “*Jinguangming jing juandiwu*” 金光明經卷第五 (the Fifth Fascicle of the Scripture of Golden Light) (Fang and Wood 2007, 64:29). The date of this manuscript is eight years after Yuan Rong's commissioning of the *Jinguangming*, and the text of this manuscript is parallel to *T* no. 663, vol. 16, 357b21–c29. According to Zhu Ruoxi (2017, 34–38), there are twelve Dunhuang manuscripts, and two manuscripts from Turfan that are of Tanwuchen's translation of the *Jinguangming jing* in five fascicles. She argues that the *Jinguangming* in five fascicles commissioned by Yuan Rong as indicated in the colophon in Hane601 could only refer to this version of Tanwuchen's translation, which makes sense to me.³⁰⁴ Therefore, I am using Tanwuchen's translation (*T* no. 663 and the fourteen manuscripts mentioned by Zhu) to explore whether there is any connection between the *Jinguangming* and Vaiśravaṇa.

The Four Heavenly Kings, led by Vaiśravaṇa, play important roles in this scripture, as

³⁰⁴ Zhu Ruoxi (2017, 38) agrees with the *Tonkō hikyū* that Hane601 is a manuscript of the southern version of the *Daban Niepan jing*. I do not agree.

evidenced by the fact that its sixth chapter is entitled “Chapter of the Four Heavenly Kings.”

In this chapter, there are four passages that deserve more attention.³⁰⁵

At that time, the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, the Heavenly King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the Heavenly King Virūḍhaka, and the Heavenly King Virūpākṣa, all got up from their seats, bared their right shoulders, placed their right knees on the ground in order to genuflect in foreign fashion with their palms joined together, and addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One! This subtle *Scripture of Golden Light*, king of sūtras, has been protected and recollected by all the buddhas, all the World-honoured Ones, has been used to adorn the profound merit of the bodhisattvas, has been respected by all the heavenly beings, can make the Heavenly Kings rejoice in their hearts, has been praised by the world-protectors. This scripture could shine in all the heavenly palaces. This scripture bestows joy upon the multitudinous sentient beings. This scripture dries up all the flows of the hells, the hungry ghosts, and the animals. This scripture can eliminate all fears. This scripture can repels all hostile foreign bandits. This scripture can remove all [problems] of expensive grains and of famine. This scripture can heal all illnesses. This scripture can cease transformations of all the unwholesome stars. This scripture can remove all miseries. To be brief, this scripture can eliminate immeasurable, boundless, hundreds of thousands of suffering of all the multitudinous sentient beings. World-honoured One! When this subtle *Scripture of Golden Light* is widely preached in the assembly, we, the Four Heavenly Kings, with other retinues, by hearing this nectar of the supreme flavor of the Dharma, will wax with might in body, become brave in heart, and be equipped with all authoritative powers.

爾時毘沙門天王、提頭賴吒天王、毘留勒叉天王、毘留博叉天王，俱從座起，偏袒右肩，右膝著地，胡跪合掌，白佛言：“世尊！是金光明微妙經典，眾經之王，諸佛世尊之所護念，莊嚴菩薩，深妙功德，常為諸天之所恭敬，能令天王心生歡喜，亦為護世之所讚歎。此經能照諸天宮殿，是經能與眾生快樂，是經能令地獄、餓鬼、畜生諸河焦乾枯竭，是經能除一切怖畏，是經能却他方³⁰⁶怨賊，是經能除穀貴饑饉，是經能愈一切疫病，是經能滅惡星變異，是經能除一切憂惱。舉要言之，是經能滅一切眾生無量無邊百千苦惱。世尊！是金光明微妙經典，若在大眾廣宣說時，我等四王及餘眷屬，聞此甘露無上法味，增益身力，心進勇銳，具諸威德。” (340c17–341a2)

In this passage, the Four Heavenly Kings, starting with Vaiśravaṇa, speak of the benefits of

³⁰⁵ The transcriptions of passages of the *Jingguangming* are based on the KSC with reference to other editions. The excerpts below are translated by referring to Emmerick’s translation from the Sanskrit version (1970, 23, 24, 32–33, 40).

³⁰⁶ According to footnote 15 on T no. 663, vol. 16, 340, *tafang* 他方 (foreign) is written as *difang* 地方 (local) in the Tempyō 天平 manuscripts collected in the Shōsō-in 正倉院 (Imperial Treasure House) in Japan. However, it is written as *tafang* 他方 in other editions, for example, in the KSC and the ZJC. Since the context is that this scripture can *que yuanzei* 却怨賊 (repels hostile bandits), it sounds that these bandits are more likely from the foreign areas.

the *Scripture of Golden Light*. From their praise, we learn that this scripture can make the Heavenly Kings rejoice, and that, when they hear this scripture being preached, they become braver and more powerful.

World-honoured One! We, the Four Kings, together with deities, dragons, ghosts, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas, will exercise our sovereignty over the world by the law, and obstruct all the evil demons who devours vitality. World-honoured One! We, the Four Kings, with all the spirits in twenty-eight groups, as well as numerous hundreds of thousands of spirits, with our pure divine eyes that surpass human eyes, constantly watch over, guard and protect the whole Jambudvīpa. World-honoured One! For this reason, the name “World-protector Kings” has been ascribed to us.

世尊！我等四王及天、龍、鬼神、乾闥婆、阿脩羅、迦樓羅、緊那羅、摩睺羅伽，以法治世，遮諸惡鬼噉精氣者。世尊！我等四王二十八部諸鬼神等，及無量百千鬼神，以淨天眼過於人眼，常觀擁護此閻浮提。世尊！是故我等名護世王。
(341a4–9)

This passage tells us that the Four Heavenly Kings constantly protect world, and therefore are named the “World-protectors,” which suggests that they are able and willing to protect people.

[The Buddha told the Four Heavenly Kings:] “Such human kings should worship the true law in this way, listen to and receive this subtle scripture with a pure [mind], and venerate, worship, respect, and praise four [Buddhist] assemblies who uphold this scripture. [The human kings] should also transfer the best share of the merit so acquired to you, [the Four Heavenly Kings] with your retinues, all the heavenly spirits. By the accumulation of the merit of various kinds of wholesome deeds, in present life, you will constantly obtain immeasurable, boundless, inconceivable benefit with regard to your bodies, will be endowed with charisma, power, and perfection, and will be able to crush all the evil with the true law.” At that time, the Four Kings addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One! If, in the future lives, there are human kings who perform such venerable true law, listen to and receive this subtle scripture with the sincerest mind, and venerate, worship, respect, and praise four [Buddhist] assemblies who uphold this scripture, decorate and dress up their palaces, and sprinkle the floor with water of perfume, [when they] listen to the teaching whole-heartedly and with right mindfulness, we, the Four Kings, too, are listening to this teaching among them. May all the human

kings, for their own sake, give us some part of the merit that they have obtained.

[佛告四天大王：] “如是人王，應作如是供養正法，清淨聽受是妙經典，及恭敬供養尊重讚歎持是經典四部之眾，亦當迴此所得最勝功德之分，施與汝等及餘眷屬諸天鬼神。聚集如是諸善功德，現世常得無量無邊不可思議自在之利，威德勢力成就具足，能以正法摧伏諸惡。”爾時四王白佛言：“世尊！若未來世有諸人王，作如是等恭敬正法，至心聽受是妙經典，及恭敬供養尊重讚歎持是經典四部之眾，嚴治舍宅，香汁灑地，專心正念聽說法時，我等四王亦當在中共聽此法。願諸人王為自利故，以己所得功德少分施與我等。” (342b24–c8)

In this passage, the Buddha suggests that human kings should transfer the best share of the merit that they acquire to the Four Heavenly Kings, which will cause the Heavenly Kings to be endowed with charisma, power, and perfection, and will enable them to crush all evil with the true law. Then, the Four Heavenly Kings echo the wish that the human kings, for their own sake, give away some of the merit that they have obtained by listening to this scripture to the Heavenly Kings. The self-referential instructions in this scripture for its worshipers (here the human kings) to transfer the merit gained from its textual practices to the Heavenly Kings, in order to empower the Heavenly Kings as divine protectors, is unusual in Buddhist texts. Yuan Rong's aspiration to dedicate the merit generated from commissioning of all these scriptures to the Heavenly Kings is also rare in Dunhuang colophons appended to copies of Buddhist texts. That said, the textual practice reflected in his colophons is almost exactly what is described in the *Scripture of Golden Light* (as translated above). The coincidence between the instructions recorded in this scripture and Yuan Rong's aspirations, together with the fact that this scripture has been included in Yuan Rong's list, make me wonder whether Yuan Rong's practice of transferring merit to the Heavenly Kings stems from this instruction, even though he focuses on the Heavenly Kings Vaiśravaṇa, Sovereign Śakra, and Brahmā, instead of the Four Heavenly Kings described in the *Scripture of Golden Light*.

We, the Four Kings, with the innumerable spirits, all the good heavenly deities within Jambudvīpa, by these causes and conditions, are able to ingest this nectar which is rich in the flavor of the Dharma, and therefore obtain a great charisma, and be endowed with power. [As a result,] within the Jambudvīpa, it becomes tranquil, plentiful, and happy, and full of people, who dwell there with pleasure. Also, during the future lives [as long as] immeasurable, hundreds of thousands of, inconceivable *nayutas* of *kalpas*, [we] constantly enjoy subtle, superlative pleasure. Also, [we] will be able to come upon all the immeasurable seeds of Buddhahood, and all the wholesome roots, and then attain *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*.

我等四王及無量鬼神、閻浮提內諸天善神，以是因緣，得服甘露，法味充足，得大威德，進力具足。閻浮提內安隱豐樂，人民熾盛，安樂其處。復於來世無量百千不可思議那由他劫，常受微妙第一快樂。復得值遇無量諸佛種、諸善根，然後證成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。(343c27–344a4)

This passage describes the benefits of receiving the teaching of the *Scripture of Golden Light*, including great charisma, power, and ultimately, encountering immeasurable seeds of Buddhahood and wholesome roots (which are opportunities to attain Buddhahood), and then attaining *anuttarasamyaksambodhi* in future lives (which are signs of progressing on the path to Buddhahood).

To summarize, based on these four passages and the “Chapter of the Four Heavenly Kings” as a whole, we can tell that the Four Heavenly Kings, starting with Vaiśravaṇa, could be empowered by the human kings’ upholding of the *Scripture of Golden Light*, which can also facilitate their attainment of Buddhahood in the future. They, as the “world-protectors,” are therefore ready to protect patrons who venerate this scripture. More importantly, the Buddha encourages the human kings, for their own sake, to transfer the merit gained from upholding this scripture to the Four Heavenly Kings while the Four Heavenly Kings also request such merits from these human kings. This instruction corresponds to Yuan Rong’s dedication of the merit to the Heavenly Kings. Therefore, I argue that the *Scripture of Golden*

Light is a significant text for Yuan Rong's commissioning of texts in 533 C.E. especially to the extent to which he selected scriptures that are relevant to Vaiśravaṇa.

Although Yuan Rong's dedication of the merit generated from copying the *Scripture of Golden Light* to the Heavenly Kings is uncommon in Dunhuang colophons, I have found three vows that are not appended to scriptures in Dunhuang manuscripts, which may verify this pattern. The first two vows are copied in the same manuscript, P.2058. These two vows do not have titles in the manuscript, and have been transcribed by Huang and Wu (1995, 334, 338), who named them as *Fayuanwen* 發願文 (Vow-making Texts) and *Jietan fayuan wen* 結壇發願文 (Texts for Constructing Altars to Make Vows) respectively. Nevertheless, as indicated in their texts, both vows were composed for rituals of constructing altars, which were sponsored by the same patron, Hexi Jiedushi Caogong 河西节度使曹公 (Lord Cao, the Military Commissioner of the Hexi area), who was probably a Military Commissioner of Guiyi Commandery from the Cao clan. Since the Cao clan ruled the Dunhuang area from 914 to 1035 C.E., these two vows could be dated to this period, and in some sense, the patron, Lord Cao, is a successor to Yuan Rong. The structures and the content of these two vows are similar, although their wording is not exactly the same. After setting up Buddhist images and constructing altars, both vows claim that they had the Buddhists (*shizhong* 釋衆 [crowds of Śākya] in the first vow and *zizhong* 緇衆 [crowds clad in black] in the second vow) to “*zhuan Jinguangming zhi bu*” 轉《金光明》之部 (read [lit. turn] the copy of the [Scripture of] Golden Light) along with offering a feast to the beings in the water and on the land. Then, these vows dedicate the whole abundant goodness and limitless favorable conditions yielded from these rituals first to the “Fanshi siwang” 梵釋四王 (Brahmā, Śakra, and the Four

Heavenly Kings) and the “Long tian babu” 龍天八部 (eight groups [of nonhuman beings] such as dragons and divinities) wishing their dignity to thrive, their power of merit to increase. The patron also wishes these Heavenly Kings to be prosperous and merciful so that they can save people and protect states. Then, he dedicates the merit to himself, his family, and the state.

The third vow is copied in both S.1137 and P.2915, which is titled “Tianbing wen” 天兵文 (Text on the Heavenly Army) in S.1137. The patron of this vow is titled “Hexi jiedushi shangshu” 河西節度使尚書 (the Military Commissioner of the Hexi area, Minister). In P.2915, this vow is included in a set of texts named “Zhu zawen yijuan” 諸雜齋文壹卷 (All the Miscellaneous Texts for Ceremonies in One Fascicle). Huang and Wu (1995, 604–605) have transcribed this text, and noted that there is a date “Tianfu sinian jiazisui eryue niansan ri” 天復四年甲子歲二月廿三日 (The twenty-third day of the second month of the fourth year of the Tianfu era, the *jiazi* year [i.e. 904 C.E.]) prior to the title “Zhu zawen yijuan” of the set of texts in P.2915. Therefore, they argue that this text is not commissioned by anyone from the Cao clan since the reign of this clan over the Dunhuang area began from 914 C.E. However, since the script used to write this date is different from the script seen in the title of this set of texts, while being similar to the one seen in the text before this title, I do not think that this date applies to the vow, but rather to the text above it. Because P.2915 is constituted of a group of texts, including this set of miscellaneous texts for ceremonies, and the scripts of these texts are mostly different, I cannot determine when this commissioner’s vow was composed, but my guess is that it was copied around the beginning of the tenth century, and that its patron is also a “successor” of Yuan Rong. The structure of this vow is similar to that

of the first two vows, but its content is richer than that of the former ones; therefore, this vow is longer than the previous ones. In this “Text on the Heavenly Army,” it states that the patron *jie Jinguangming zhi tan* 結金光明之壇 (constructed an altar of golden light). Although it does not explain why this altar is called “altar of golden light,” I suspect that this ritual also derives from the *Scripture of Golden Light*. Like in the two vows that I have discussed before, here, after hanging the images, constructing the altar, distributing pure food to the beings, and making fine offerings to the Buddha and to the monks, the patron first dedicates all the merit to the “Fanshi siwang” and the “Long Tian babu” for their dignity and power, and for their protection of the state. Thereafter, the patron prays for himself as well as his family.

Although these three vows were probably composed almost four hundred years after Yuan Rong’s patronage, and they are not colophons copied with the scripture, their patrons are specifically using the *Scripture of Golden Light* (either reciting it or constructing an altar based on it) in order to invoke the Heavenly Kings for protection: a pattern that seems to underlie Yuan Rong’s commissioning of this scripture.

(10) The *Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of Tantra Dhāraṇī*

The *Tanchi* 袒持 is also a text that Yuan Rong commissioned for Vaiśravaṇa. As I have noted above, I agree with Kuramoto (2016, 280, 299) that *tanchi* 袒 (檀) 持 probably represents the *Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經 (Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of *Dhāraṇī*), which is also named *Da fangdeng tanchi tuoluoni jing* 大方等檀持陀羅尼經 (Great Extensive and Equal Scripture of *Tantra Dhāraṇī*). Moreover, the *Tanchi*

listed in Yuan Rong’s colophon is in four fascicles, which is the same as the *Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing* in the *Taishō Canon* (*T* no. 1339, vol. 21) regarding the number of fascicles.³⁰⁷

Therefore, I am using *T* no. 1339 to explore the connection between the *Tanchi* and Vaiśravaṇa.

Vaiśravaṇa appears in two scenarios in this text. On the first occasion, Vaiśravaṇa is mentioned by the Buddha:³⁰⁸

At that time, the Buddha told the assembly of five hundred chief disciples: “When these demons come, they number forty trillion in total... [They] want to kill this person... This person should reply: ‘It is very good that you came.’ When he is saying such words, [he] should, silently in his mind, recite the sentences of the *Mahā Tantra Dhāraṇī*. Also, [he] should say “Homage to Śākyamuni Buddha...Prince of the Dharma Vaiśravaṇa ...Prince of the Dharma Thusness.” As for such bodhisattva-mahāsattvas, [one] should recollect their names. Such kings will surely go to the place to protect this person, and have this person receive peace and joy as whole, and be without suffering. Therefore, all the *bhikṣus*, when they encounter all these disasters, should recollect all these kings’ names in such a way.”

爾時，佛告五百大弟子眾：“此魔來時凡有四十萬億……，欲殺其人。……此人應答：‘汝來甚善。’作是語時，應默心中誦摩訶袒持陀羅尼章句。復應稱言南無釋迦牟尼佛、……毘沙門法王子、……真如法王子。如是菩薩摩訶薩，應念其名。如是諸王必往其所擁護是人，令此人等身得安樂，無諸苦惱。是諸比丘若值諸難，應如是念諸王名字。” (650b3–16)

In this passage, the Buddha instructs that, when demons are coming to kill, a devotee should recollect the names of the Buddha and bodhisattvas while reciting the *Mahā Tantra Dhāraṇī*, since these Buddhist “kings” will come to their place to protect them, so that they can receive peace and joy, and be freed from suffering. Vaiśravaṇa is named among these protector bodhisattvas. Although here Vaiśravaṇa is titled “Prince of the Dharma” instead of “Heavenly

³⁰⁷ This scripture is ascribed to Fazhong 法衆 (fl. 4–5 century C.E.) in the *Taishō Canon*. However, Yamabe (2000, 231) proves that this scripture probably was not translated by Fazhong, but is rather an apocryphon.

³⁰⁸ The transcriptions of passages of the *Tanchi* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

King,” I believe that he is the same Vaiśravaṇa, and in this passage he is explicitly described as being able to protect people.

The second scenario is that Vaiśravaṇa is depicted having made a vow to uphold the *Scripture of Dhāraṇī*:

At that time, the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa got up from the seat, bared his right shoulder, and placed his right knee on the ground. With his palms joined together, [he] addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One! I, as the Spirit General, am in charge of all the spirits, just as the World-honoured One is in charge of all of us. Does the World-honoured One now let us uphold the *Scripture of Dhāraṇī*? At that time, the Buddha told the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa: “Excellent, Great Spirit King! Whoever wants to protect the *Scripture of Dhāraṇī* is the son of all the buddhas of the three periods, and is repaying the obligation to all the buddhas of the three periods.” At that time, the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa, right before the Buddha, made a vow himself: “World-honoured One! If there are good sons or good daughters who uphold the *Scripture of Dhāraṇī*, and there are evil persons who, in order to cause decline and debilitation, make the practitioners’ thoughts distracted, and mind disturbed so that they cannot read, recite, or practice the *Scripture of Dhāraṇī*, I will, at that time, go to that [evil] person’s place, and weaken that evil person. [I will] either make water or fire, thieves or bandits, county magistrates, or unjust but long concealed issues to oppress the one, which, sometimes, will cause death, or [make them] be close to death. Such evil persons, if [they are] officials, [they] cannot be promoted. Or, [I will] cause [them have] nightmares: to have sesame oil painted over their bodies, and [make them] toss about in dirt. Or, sometimes, in their dreams, [I will make them] take off their clothes and walk naked, [have their] teeth fallen off, [make their] hair grey and face wrinkled, [their] eyes blind. World-honoured One! I will make them see these things in their dreams. World-honoured One! I, at that time, will send all the spirits to annoy the one’s house, making that evil person get serious disease, which may, sometimes, cause death. Will the World-honoured One allow me to protect this scripture in such ways?” At that time, the World-honoured One kept silent and did not reply. At that time, [Bodhisattva] Huaju spoke to Vaiśravaṇa, saying: “The World-honoured One is silent, which means that he approves of what you have said.”

爾時，毘沙門天王即從座起，偏袒右肩，右膝著地，合掌向佛，而白佛言：“世尊！我為鬼神將軍，攝諸鬼神，猶如世尊盡攝我等。世尊今聽我等護持陀羅尼經典不耶？”爾時，佛告毘沙門天王：“快哉，鬼神大王！欲護陀羅尼經者，即是三世諸佛之子，即報三世諸佛之恩。”爾時，毘沙門天王即於佛前而自立願：“世尊！若有善男子善女人持陀羅尼經者，有諸惡人為起衰患，令其行人意散心亂，不得讀誦修行陀羅尼經，我於爾時往彼人所，令彼惡人復得衰耗。或令水

火、盜賊、縣官、枉橫久隱之事³⁰⁹來逼其身，或時致死，若近於死。如是惡人，若仕官者，不得高遷。或令惡夢，麻油塗身，宛轉土中。或時於其夢中脫衣裸走，牙齒墮落，頭白面皺，眼目矜矜。世尊！我令其夢中見如是事。世尊！我於爾時遣諸鬼神惱其舍宅，令彼惡人得大重病，或時致死。世尊聽我如是護此經不？”爾時，世尊默然不答。爾時，華聚語毘沙門言：“世尊默然，即為可汝如上所言。” (654b3–23)

In this passage, first, Vaiśravaṇa introduces himself as the Spirit General, who is in charge of all the spirits. It demonstrates his status, and implies his ability to protect. Then, he describes his own way of upholding this scripture: by protecting people who uphold it from evil persons who disturb their reading, reciting, or practicing this *dhāraṇī* by the means of weakening or even killing these evil persons. The methods Vaiśravaṇa plans to adopt are detailed, and sound ruthless. Although the Buddha does not make any comments on Vaiśravaṇa's methods, I guess the readers of this text would find his ability and relentless determination impressive, and it would not surprise me if they choose this scripture to invoke Vaiśravaṇa.

(11) The Scripture of *Vimalakīrti*

The next scripture that appears on the list of scriptures commissioned by Yuan Rong on behalf of Vaiśravaṇa in 533 C.E. is the *Scripture of Vimalakīrti* in three fascicles. Since I cannot find a Dunhuang manuscript of this scripture commissioned by Yuan Rong, I think this scripture is probably the translation of Kumārajīva (*T* no. 475, vol. 14).³¹⁰ Here I am

³⁰⁹ *Wangheng jiu yin zhi shi* 枉橫久隱之事 (unjust but long concealed issues) in the *KFC* is written as *Wangheng buyin zhi shi* 枉橫不隱之事 (unjust but unhidden issues) in the *KSC*. The latter does not make sense in this context. *Jiu yin* 久隱 or *buyin* 不隱 is not found in the later versions, for example, in the *FSC* version (1107 C.E.), the *PLC*, or the *SXC*. I suspect that *jiu yin* 久隱 or *buyin* 不隱 were deleted in the later versions.

³¹⁰ Shangtu111 is a Dunhuang manuscript with an end title “*Weimo shu jian diyi*” 維摩疏卷第一 (the First Chapter of the Commentary on the [Scripture of] Vimala[kīrti]). There is a colophon in this manuscript dated 532 C.E., stating that Yuan Rong commissioned a hundred copies of this *Weimo shu* 維摩疏. The one copy of the *Weimo* 維摩 mentioned in the colophon dated to 533 C.E. is unlikely to be identical to the one hundred copies of the *Weimo shu* 維摩疏 mentioned in the colophon in Shangtu111 that is dated to 532 C.E. Moreover, I doubt the authenticity of the colophon in Shangtu111, since it

using *T* no. 475 to explore the connection between this text and Vaiśravaṇa.

Vaiśravaṇa does not appear individually in this scripture, though the Four Heavenly Kings show up several times. In most scenarios, the Four Heavenly Kings work in supporting roles, yet, at the end of this scripture, they make a familiar vow.

At that time, the Four Heavenly Kings addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One! In every place, [whether] city, village, mountain forest, or wilderness, where there are those who read, recite and explain these fascicles of scripture, we will lead our palace retainers in proceeding to those places, to listen to the teachings and protect those people. Within an area of a hundred *yojanas* we will make sure that there is no one who could seek to take advantage of them.”³¹¹

爾時四天王白佛言：“世尊！在在處處、城邑聚落、山林曠野，有是經卷、讀誦解說者，我當率諸官屬為聽法故，往詣其所，擁護其人，面百由旬，令無伺求得其便者”。(557b15–18)

In this passage, the Four Heavenly Kings (including Vaiśravaṇa) vow to come to listen to the teachings of the *Scripture of Vimalakīrti* wherever someone is reading, reciting and explaining it, and protect the people associated with such practices. Therefore, it is also reasonable for Yuan Rong to have selected this scripture when seeking to benefit from the Heavenly Kings’ protection.

(12) The *Scripture of the Medicine Master*

In Yuan Rong’s colophon in 533 C.E., after the *Scripture of Vimalakīrti* is *Yaoshi yibu yijuan* 藥師一部一卷 (one copy of the [Scripture of] the Medicine Master in one fascicle).

does not mention the heavenly kings at all, unlike Yuan Rong’s other colophons that have been discovered so far. I will further discuss the colophon in Shangtu111 in Appendix I.

³¹¹ The transcriptions of passages of the *Scripture of Vimalakīrti* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions. This translation is a revised version of the translation of McRae (2004, 179). McRae translated *ling wu siqiu deqibian zhe* 令無伺求得其便者 as “make it convenient [to hear their explanations] without seeking,” which I do not agree with.

According to my research in the second chapter, the “[*Scripture of the Medicine Master* in one fascicle” in 533 C.E. probably refers to the *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* 灌頂拔除過罪生死得度經 (*T* no. 1331, vol. 21, 532b7–536b6), which I am using to investigate the connection between the *Yaoshi* and Vaiśravaṇa.

In this scripture, neither Vaiśravaṇa nor the Four Heavenly Kings address the reader or play any roles in the narrative. Yet, Mañjuśrī mentions the Four Heavenly Kings as protectors:³¹²

Mañjuśrī rose from his seat, knelt [with his body erect], palms folded, and fingers crossed, then addressed the Buddha, saying: “World-honoured One, after the Buddha, passes away, [we] shall use this teaching to transform all the multitudinous sentient beings in the ten directions, and make them uphold this scripture. If there are men or women who cherish and delight in this scripture, and therefore uphold, read, and preach it, and can also recollect it; if for one day, two days, three days, four days, five days, even up to seven days, [they] can remember and not forget it; if they can copy this scripture with fine plain silk or paper, and wrap it in bags made of variegated cloth in five colours, at that time, shall all the good heavenly deities, the Great Kings from Heavens of the Four [Directions], and the eight groups [of nonhuman beings] such as dragons and gods, come to guard, to care for, and to venerate this scripture. If [they] can worship this scripture every day, these holders of the scripture will not fall into accidental death, where they dwell will be secure and evil *qi* will be eliminated there, and all the demons or spirits will never harm them.

文殊師利從坐而起，長跪叉手白佛言：“世尊，佛去世後，當以此法開化十方一切眾生，使其受持是經典也。若有男子女人愛樂是經，受持讀誦宣通之者，復能專念，若一日、二日、三日、四日、五日，乃至七日，憶念不忘。能以好素帛紙書取是經，五色雜綵作囊盛之者，是時當有諸天善神、四天大王、龍神八部，當來營衛愛敬此經。能日日作禮，是持經者，不墮橫死，所在安隱，惡氣消滅，諸魔鬼神亦不中害。” (533c17–26)

According to Mañjuśrī, the Great Kings from Heavens of the Four [Directions] (i.e. the Four Heavenly Kings) will descend to guard this scripture if people uphold, read, recite, recollect,

³¹² The transcriptions of passages of the *Guanding bachu guozui shengsi dedu jing* are based on the *KSC* with reference to other editions.

and preserve it. In this passage, the Four Heavenly Kings work as powerful protectors for the scripture, although it is unclear whether they also protect people.

Summary

So far I have studied thirteen texts (including the *Scripture for Humane Kings*) based on five colophons in seven manuscripts, focusing on the relationship(s) between the content of these texts and the specific Heavenly Kings that the copied texts were dedicated to. Above all, we can see that, for Yuan Rong, devotion to Vaiśravaṇa, or to the other two Heavenly Kings, is not associated with the *Scripture for Humane Kings* alone, because the texts dedicated to the three Heavenly Kings in 532 C.E., and to Vaiśravaṇa in 533 C.E., do not include the *Scripture for Humane Kings* at all. The relationship between these specific texts and the Heavenly Kings as figures is complex, which means that the rationale(s) employed by Yuan Rong and/or his agent when selecting them is mysterious; likewise, his/their knowledge of the specific doctrinal content of these texts is unknowable to us. In order to verify the hypothesis that Yuan Rong intentionally selected texts that are related to the Heavenly Kings to invoke the Heavenly Kings, I attempt to establish four criteria (as listed horizontally in the table below) to measure the relationship between these texts and the Heavenly Kings by referring to Yuan Rong's expectations for them as indicated in his colophons. Also, since Yuan Rong dedicates these thirteen texts to different Heavenly Kings as recorded in his colophons, I am studying his dedication in twenty-three separate examples (as listed vertically in the table below).

Table 3.4 Relationships between the Heavenly Kings and thirteen Buddhist texts commissioned by Yuan Rong

Text	Heavenly King	Presence	Illustration of Power or Status	Ready to Protect	Signs of Progress on the Path to Buddhahood
<i>Renwang</i>	Brahmā	Y	Y	N	Y ³¹³
<i>bore jing</i> 仁王般若經	Sovereign Śakra	Y (complete episode)	Y ³¹⁴	N	N
	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	Y	N	Y ³¹⁵
<i>Wuliangshou jing</i> 无量壽經	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	N	N	N
	Sovereign Śakra	Y (among the Kings of the Heaven of the Thirty-three)	N	N	N
	Brahmā	Y	Y	N	N
<i>Moheyan</i> 摩訶衍	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings in a complete episode)	Y	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	Y ³¹⁶ (among the Four Heavenly Kings)
	Sovereign Śakra	Y (complete episode)	Y	Y	N
	Brahmā	Y (complete episode)	Y	Y	N
<i>Neili</i> 內律	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings in a complete episode)	Y	N	N
	Sovereign Śakra	Y (complete episode)	Y	N	N
	Brahmā	Y	Y	N	N
<i>Xianyu</i> 賢愚	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (complete episode)	Y	Y ³¹⁷	N
<i>Guanfo sanmei</i> 觀佛三昧	Sovereign Śakra	Y ³¹⁸ (complete episode)	Y ³¹⁹	N	Y ³²⁰
	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	N	N	N
<i>Dayun</i> 大雲 (partial text)	Brahmā	Y	N	N	Y ³²¹
	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	N	Y	Y ³²²

³¹³ Brahmā attained the *wusheng faren* 無生法忍 (acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena).

³¹⁴ Sovereign Śakra demonstrated his power by preaching the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom*.

³¹⁵ Vaiśravaṇa attained the *wusheng faren* together with numerous heavenly kings.

³¹⁶ Vaiśravaṇa gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyakṣambodhi* as a member of the Four Heavenly Kings.

³¹⁷ Neither Sovereign Śakra nor Brahmā makes such vows to protect people in this text.

³¹⁸ In this text, Vaiśravaṇa does not appear, and Brahmā plays a much less significant role compared with Sovereign Śakra.

³¹⁹ Sovereign Śakra demonstrated his power by praising the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom*.

³²⁰ Sovereign Śakra made a vow to attain Buddhahood by upholding the *Scripture of the Perfection of Wisdom*.

³²¹ Brahmā gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyakṣambodhi* together with uncountable multitudinous sentient beings.

³²² Vaiśravaṇa gave rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyakṣambodhi* together with uncountable multitudinous sentient beings.

<i>Niepan</i> 涅槃	Vaiśravaṇa	Y (complete episode)	Y	Y	N
<i>Fahua</i> 法華		Y	Y	Y	N
<i>Jinguangming</i> 金光明		Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings in a complete chapter)	Y	Y	Y ³²³
<i>Tanchi</i> 袒持		Y	Y	Y	N
<i>Weimo</i> 維摩		Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	N	Y	N
<i>Yaoshi</i> 藥師		Y (among the Four Heavenly Kings)	N	Y	N

These four criteria, from the basic to the stringent, are (1) the Heavenly Kings are present in the text; (2) there are illustrations of the power or the status of the Heavenly King; (3) there are passages suggesting that the Heavenly King is ready to protect people or states; (4) there are signs showing that the Heavenly King will make progress on the path to Buddhahood.

Since Yuan Rong invokes the Heavenly Kings in all five of these colophons, if we assume that he or his agent chose these scriptures based (at least in part) on their content, it would be reasonable to expect that the Heavenly Kings would, at very least, be present in all of these texts. In all twenty-three examples of these thirteen texts, the Heavenly Kings to whom these scriptures are dedicated appear, as we can see in the column labelled “presence.” Among these twenty-three cases, in eight cases, the Heavenly Kings show up as main characters in complete narrative episodes (whether these episodes are short or long). It means that they are granted with sufficient descriptions/activities, which have provided them with significant roles, unlike some minor supporting roles in Buddhist texts (e.g., members among the Buddha’s audience). The stories of Vaiśravaṇa in the *Xianyu* and in the *Niepan* are two typical examples of this Heavenly King appearing in complete narrative episodes. The more impressive scripture in this regard is the *Jinguangming*, where there is a whole chapter that

³²³ Vaiśravaṇa, among the Four Heavenly Kings, will be able to come upon all the immeasurable seeds of Buddhahood, and all the wholesome roots, and then attain *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*.

focuses on the Four Heavenly Kings; even the chapter's title includes the name of the Four Heavenly Kings. Although in Yuan Rong's colophons, the beneficiary is Vaiśravaṇa in particular, rather than the Four Heavenly Kings as a team, by Yuan Rong's time Vaiśravaṇa had probably not started his solo career yet, so it is reasonable for Yuan Rong to invoke Vaiśravaṇa with other Heavenly Kings (as argued by Li Xiaorong). Therefore, I regard the presence of the Four Heavenly Kings in these texts as an implicit indication of the presence of Vaiśravaṇa. These complete episodes and the chapter of the Heavenly Kings are significant for studying the relationship between the texts and the Heavenly Kings because, in contrast to their appearances alongside other characters in texts where they play supporting roles, sources like these would leave a deeper impression on readers, which could make these scriptures the top choices when patrons were looking for specific scriptures to dedicate to these Heavenly Kings. Therefore, according to the criterion of the presence of the Heavenly Kings in the text, none of the identifiable scriptures is irrelevant to the Heavenly Kings that they are dedicated to, and in ten out of twenty-three cases (43.5%), they feature either complete episodes or chapters (such as in the *Scripture of Golden Light*) of these Heavenly Kings in these texts.

Building on the first criterion, the second criterion that I set for measuring the relationship between the Heavenly Kings and the texts is whether there are illustrations of the Heavenly Kings' power or status. Since Yuan Rong's final goal for invoking the Heavenly Kings is to protect and benefit himself, his family, and the state, I believe that illustrations of the Heavenly Kings' power or status would be more attractive to the patron than simple mentions of these Heavenly Kings in the texts. Among the twenty-three cases, sixteen

(69.6%) include descriptions of the Heavenly Kings' power and/or status, such as Vaiśravaṇa offering a powerful *dhāraṇī* as a world-protector in the *Fahua*, and offering protection to people who uphold the *dhāraṇī* as a Spirit General in the *Tanchi*. This percentage is considerable, and it indicates that, in most (69.6%) of these scriptures, the Heavenly Kings are presented as powerful or significant roles, which could make the scriptures the options for the patrons who wish to be protected by the Heavenly Kings.

Since Yuan Rong invokes the Heavenly Kings for protection and salvation, it would catch the eye of Yuan Rong if the texts suggest that the Heavenly Kings are ready to protect and save in addition to demonstrating their power and/or status. Furthermore, since Yuan Rong's colophon in 530 C.E. says "if the Heavenly Kings are not making vows in vain," and his colophon in 533 C.E. says "reverently relying on the Heavenly King's deep vows" before his aspirations, these texts could be related to Yuan Rong's colophons more directly if the Heavenly Kings vow to protect or to save devotees therein. Among the twenty-three cases, in eleven cases (47.8%) the Heavenly Kings express their dedication to protecting and saving people, especially those who could venerate these scriptures, which is exactly what Yuan Rong did.

The most stringent criterion that I have set for these texts is whether they mention that the Heavenly Kings will attain Buddhahood or make progress on the path to Buddhahood, since in all of Yuan Rong's colophons, his direct aspiration for the commissioning of these scriptures is that the Heavenly Kings become buddhas. This type of aspiration is rare in Dunhuang colophons to Buddhist scriptures, therefore here I regard it as a criterion for determining Yuan Rong's selection of scriptures. Among the twenty-three cases that I have

studied, seven cases (30.4%) contain signs of progress on the path to Buddhahood. These signs include to attain the acceptance based on awareness of the non-arising of phenomena, to give rise to the mind of *anuttarāsamyakṣambodhi*, to make a vow to attain Buddhahood, to encounter seeds of Buddhahood and wholesome roots. For instance, in the *Jinguangming*, the Four Heavenly Kings (including Vaiśravaṇa) claim that they will be able to encounter all the immeasurable seeds of Buddhahood, and all the wholesome roots, and then attain *anuttarasamyakṣambodhi* by the means of receiving the teachings of this scripture.

To summarize, according to these four criteria, after studying the thirteen texts, I found the Heavenly Kings whom these scriptures are dedicated to in all the twenty-three cases (100%). In nine cases, the Heavenly Kings appear as main characters in complete episodes, and in one case, the *Jinguangming*, there is one whole chapter which focuses on the Heavenly Kings. Among twenty-three cases, sixteen cases (69.6%) include descriptions of the Heavenly Kings' power and/or status, eleven cases (47.8%) tell that the Heavenly Kings are ready to protect and to save people, and seven cases (30.4%) contain signs of the Heavenly Kings' proceeding to Buddhahood. Even if we hypothesize that Yuan Rong or his agent intentionally collected Buddhist texts that contain the Heavenly Kings, describe the Heavenly Kings' power, their will to protect and to save people, and their destiny to become buddhas, it would not be always easy to find scriptures that meet all these criteria, how much more so that the patron might not adhere to their standards strictly. Other than these factors, their choices may be also influenced by the need of certain texts in the monastery if the agent is a Buddhist cleric from a local monastery. In other words, in the light of these rates ranging from the basic to the stringent criterion (100%, 69.6%, 47.8%, and 30.4%), I tend to think that Yuan

Rong or his agent probably tried to select scriptures that were, to some degree, related to the Heavenly Kings in order to invoke them.

Yuan Rong’s Use of the Other Scriptures

I have demonstrated that the title or the theme of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* was probably not relevant to Yuan Rong’s own aspirations in his colophons in 530 and 531 C.E. Then, are the other twelve Buddhist texts that he commissioned in 532 and 533 C.E. related to his own aspirations in addition to their connection with the Heavenly Kings? In the same method that I have studied the *Scripture for Humane Kings* I am now analyzing the other scriptures.

I begin with the six scriptures commissioned in 532 C.E. Again, I rank Yuan Rong’s aspirations from the left to the right according to their importance:

Table 3.5 Relationships between Yuan Rong’s aspirations and the Buddhist texts that he commissioned in 532 C.E.

Text \ Aspiration	P.2143, Nakamura 21	
	May his son return home soon	May the dynasty’s era be endless, and the lineage of the emperor not be broken off; people from the four directions surrender and be civilized; evil bandits retreat and be scattered; the country be rich and people be safe
<i>Wuliangshou jing</i> 无量壽經	N	Y (<i>T</i> no. 360, vol. 12, 277c13–15)
<i>Moheyan</i> 摩訶衍	N	Y (<i>T</i> no. 1509, vol. 25, 78a25–29)
<i>Neilü</i> 內律	N	Y (<i>T</i> no. 1428, vol. 22, 992c6–10)
<i>Xianyu</i> 賢愚	N	N
<i>Guanfo sanmei</i> 觀佛三昧	N	N
<i>Dayun</i> 大雲	N	N

As I have explained above, there are two essential aspirations in this colophon in addition to Yuan Rong’s aspiration that the Heavenly Kings attain Buddhahood soon. His first and foremost aspiration is to wish for his son to return home soon, for which I cannot find a correlation (such as protection for travelers) in any of these scriptures. The second important

aspiration covers the dynasty, the emperor, the country, and the people. Given such a broad spectrum, I can find texts in only three scriptures that are relevant to the second aspiration to some degree. Therefore, generally speaking, the connection between the texts and Yuan Rong’s stated aspirations is not evident, and his main approach is to offer these scriptures to the Heavenly Kings to seek for their help.

In Yuan Rong’s colophon in 533 C.E., he commissioned nine scriptures mainly for his health, in addition to wishing that Vaiśravaṇa attain Buddhahood soon:

Table 3.6 Relationships between Yuan Rong’s aspiration and the Buddhist texts that he commissioned in 533 C.E.

Text	Aspiration
	Hane601, S.4415 May the disease that I suffer from be eliminated forever, and my four limbs be rested and peaceful
<i>Xianyu</i> 賢愚	Y (T no. 202, vol. 4, 378c9–21)
<i>Guanfo sanmei</i> 觀佛三昧	Y (T no. 643, vol. 15, 665a15–22)
<i>Dayun</i> 大雲	Y (T no. 388, vol. 12, 1108a17–26)
<i>Niepan</i> 涅槃	Y (T no. 374, vol. 12, 428b19–432a6; 586b20–21)
<i>Fahua</i> 法華	Y (T no. 262, vol. 9, 54b18–a6)
<i>Jinguangming</i> 金光明	Y (T no. 663, vol. 16, 351b23–352b8)
<i>Tanchi</i> 袒持	Y (T no. 1339, vol. 21, 659c26–29)
<i>Weimo</i> 維摩	Y (T no. 475, vol. 14, 537a26–27)
<i>Yaoshi</i> 藥師	Y (T no. 1331, vol. 21, 532b26–29; 532c21–23; 534a29–b3; 535a29–b1)

In contrast to the texts commissioned in 532 C.E., all the nine texts that Yuan Rong commissioned in 533 C.E. seem to be related to his aspiration that his disease be healed. Especially, the “Xianbing pin” 現病品 (Chapter of Revealing Illness) in the *Niepan*, the “Yaowang pusa benshi pin” 藥王菩薩本事品 (Chapter of the Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King) in the *Fahua*, and the “Chubing pin” 除病品 (Chapter of Eliminating Disease) in the *Jinguangming* are all closely related to issues of disease and healing. Moreover, the title and the theme of the *Yaoshi* 藥師 “[Scripture of] the Medicine Master” both focus on healing. In this scripture, the Medicine Master made twelve vows, and

the seventh vow is to heal all the diseases. He promises that people who have been confined to bed for years due to the sickness will recover once they hear his name. Also, this scripture claims that it can clean up epidemic diseases (*yidu zhi bing* 疫毒之病). Therefore, I suspect that for the aspiration concerning his health, Yuan Rong selected scriptures that not only involve Vaiśravaṇa, but that were also concerned with healing.

Conclusion

This chapter examined a series of Buddhist texts commissioned by Yuan Rong, a prince and the inspector of Dunhuang from 525 to 542 C.E., in order to inquire into whether there are connections between the content of these texts and his dedication of them to, and aspirations for, the Heavenly Kings. It also explores the relationship between these texts and Yuan Rong's aspirations for himself, his family, his property, and his country. After identifying and reading thirteen texts with respect to five colophons, I argued that the connection between Yuan Rong's major aspiration for longevity and the content of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* copied in 530 and 531 C.E. respectively is not remarkable. This inconsistency tells us that patrons did not always use this scripture to pray for state protection or for the welfare of kings, regardless of its title and apparent themes. Similarly, I do not see a strong relationship between the texts that he commissioned in 532 C.E. and his essential aspirations for his son, the dynasty, the emperor, the people, or the country. Yet, in 533 C.E., it seems that Yuan Rong or his agent selected scriptures that dealt specifically with healing when his aspirations concerned his health.

More important, this chapter verifies the hypothesis that Yuan Rong might have chosen

the Buddhist texts with a connection to the Heavenly Kings, in order to dedicate these texts to them for their support. With the merit generated from copying these texts, he attempted to help the Heavenly Kings become buddhas, and expected them to help him in return.

Compared with the scribal practices of the nuns Jianhui, Dao Mingsheng, and Dao Rong seen in the second chapter, Yuan Rong's practice of invoking the Heavenly Kings by no means denies the function of merit as the medium that bridges patronage and aspiration. In other words, I believe that Yuan Rong still expected his commissions to produce merit; subsequently that the merit would help him realize his aspirations. Yet, as he states in the colophon of Moriya196, Yuan Rong wishes that the *li* 力 (power) of the *Scripture for Humane Kings* can give impetus to these Heavenly Kings on their way to Buddhahood. The *li* 力 in this context could be an alternative for *fu* 福 (merit) in the nuns' colophons. It means that, relying on merit, Yuan Rong introduces the second medium, the Heavenly Kings, who are more concrete in contrast to the abstract merit, therefore may be more approachable to the patrons, and is the immediate subject whom Yuan Rong expects to support him on his own aspirations. Meanwhile, I suspect the theoretical origin of this pattern of transferring merit to the Heavenly Kings in the scribal practice is the teaching of sharing the merit with the Heavenly Kings in the *Scripture of Golden Light*, which Yuan Rong also commissioned. Furthermore, the account of the Four Heavenly Kings' inspection of people's deeds and Sovereign Śakra's judgement of them on the six abstinential days in the *Mahāyāna Scripture* probably motivated Yuan Rong or his agent to copy scriptures to please these Heavenly Kings on these specific days.

In addition, among the texts that Yuan Rong has copied, the *Scripture for Humane Kings*,

the *Scripture of Tantra Dhāraṇī*, and the *Scripture of the Medicine Master* are probably all apocryphal scriptures, which means that the official of the highest rank in Dunhuang during the first half of the six century, or his agent, did not use apocrypha differently from the translated scriptures, or was not aware of the difference between these two types of Buddhist texts.

Conclusion

All of the Buddhist texts and textual practices embodied in the Dunhuang manuscripts that I have explored in this dissertation have been carefully selected to demonstrate potential links between these two factors, which many scholars of Buddhist Studies had previously been treating separately.

In Chapter One, I demonstrated that most of the stated aspirations for copying the three short Chinese Buddhist apocryphal scriptures considered therein, as well as the methods of using them, correspond to the scriptures' contents. As such, it seems that the majority of the common patrons and users of these scriptures from medieval Dunhuang understood their contents to some extent. This evidence indicates that they probably had their own effective approaches to the contents of texts. In Chapter Two, I discovered that five of seven scriptures that *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui commissioned were directly related to her aspirations about ridding herself of “female filth,” as well as gender transformation and becoming a buddha, while the other two scriptures were also not irrelevant to her aspirations. It is highly likely that she chose these scriptures based on her knowledge of their contents. In Chapter Three, I show that, Yuan Rong, a prince who had control over Dunhuang, did not use the *Scripture for Humane Kings* to pray for state protection or for the welfare of kings, but instead to pray for his and his family's longevity: an aspiration that is not strongly connected to the content of this text. In contrast, he dedicated the merit generated from the *Scripture for Humane Kings* and other Buddhist texts to the Buddhist deities known as the Heavenly Kings in order to help them attain Buddhahood, and these texts are largely related to the Heavenly Kings. In this way, Yuan Rong invoked the Heavenly Kings to realize his own aspirations while supporting

the careers of the deities.

By conducting a “hermeneutic” study of the textual practices presented in Dunhuang colophons, which some scholars (for example, Cabezón 2004, Veidlinger 2006, and Rambelli 2007) deem “nonhermeneutic,” to these Chinese Buddhist scriptures, I demonstrate that not all of the practices related to Buddhist scriptures were performed simply for the sake of merit in general or that they were conducted without awareness of scriptures’ contents. The “popular” uses do not necessarily have nothing to do with the meanings of the texts, therefore we cannot clearly separate them from the “more elite” uses in which religious virtuosi engage. Building on Teiser’s and Lowe’s studies of textual practices, my research suggests that, among both lay Buddhist devotees and Buddhist professionals, and among both common patrons and highly-ranking officials in medieval Dunhuang, there were patrons and users who seem to have had effective approaches to the contents of texts, which influenced their preferences of scriptures and specific textual practices. These approaches may have included reading the texts, reading or listening to Buddhist narratives related to such texts, listening to Buddhist preaching, or receiving recommendations from professional scribes (or other agents).

In Chapter Two, the *Great Penetrating Extensive Scripture*, the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, and the *Scripture of the Medicine Master* are probably three apocryphal scriptures among the seven scriptures commissioned by *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui. In Chapter Three, the *Scripture for Humane Kings*, the *Scripture of Tantra Dhāraṇī*, and the *Scripture of the Medicine Master* are probably three apocryphal scriptures among thirteen texts commissioned by Yuan Rong. In other words, *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui, as a Buddhist cleric, and Prince Yuan Rong,

as the highest-ranking official in Dunhuang, used translated scriptures and apocrypha together for the same aspirations, regardless of whether they were able to differentiate these two types of Buddhist scriptures. For these patrons, apocryphal scriptures did not necessarily meet their needs more effectively than translated scriptures did.

Previous scholarship of Chinese Buddhist texts (including apocrypha) mostly focuses on the production of the texts, while my research concentrates on textual practices as a form of reception of these texts. Also, previous studies of the colophons attached to these texts tended to be limited to the colophons per se. In contrast, I employ the colophons of these Dunhuang manuscripts to study textual practices around Buddhist scriptures by means of analyzing the colophons in tandem with the contents of the scriptures. As such, my method breaks through the monotonous and superficial dimension of merit on interpreting Buddhist textual practices of a rich variety, but instead dives into the detailed texts to search for concrete clues that could lead to much more diverse motivations underlying these practices. It bridges the gap between the text and the paratext in studies of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, and thereby enriches our perspectives for studying both Chinese Buddhist texts in particular and Dunhuang colophons in general. It also motivates us to ask how differently the same Buddhist texts might appear in their meaning to medieval Chinese Buddhists as opposed to modern Buddhist scholars. My discussion of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha encourages inquiries into such issues as what helped these apocryphal texts to survive in spite of the censure of Buddhist cataloguers, and how influential Chinese Buddhist catalogues were in their own historical contexts, which is an important question, given the significance granted to such texts by modern scholars of Chinese Buddhism. In so doing, it further inspires us to

reflect on the division between canonical and non-canonical.

That said, I do not write this dissertation to contend that every single textual practice is hermeneutically connected to the text, but instead to offer an additional perspective from which to interpret textual practices, rather than a unilateral focus on the generation of “merit.” Even among the practices embodied in Dunhuang colophons to Chinese Buddhist texts, I do not know the proportion of practices that could be determined to be reliably linked to the content of the texts. Likewise, I have not conceived of some universal criteria to measure these connections, but have instead analyzed them on a case-by-case basis. In any case, I believe that, at the very beginning, practices of texts probably were closely connected to the texts, since in Buddhist texts we often see instructions to reproduce them, and that is why many of them still survive. As for how such practices gradually deviated from, or even came to contradict some explicit instructions found in these texts,³²⁴ there are still many questions awaiting answers.

For Future Research

Based on the material that I have collected but have not addressed in this dissertation, there are a variety of projects that I plan to embark upon in the future. One project is to perform an anthropological analysis of the over one hundred dedication lines from contemporary patrons for sponsoring the digitization of Dunhuang Chinese manuscripts (many of which are Buddhist scriptures) preserved at the British library from the pressmark Or.8210 sequence. As I mentioned in the “Introduction,” patrons from medieval Dunhuang are not the only

³²⁴ As for examples of practices that deviated from, or even contradicted instructions in the texts, see Chen Ruifeng (2018, 37–80).

group of people who invest in the manuscripts for their aspirations. In contemporary society, people who are influenced by the doctrine of “merit,” are doing the same things concerning Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures. These dedication lines often include the patron’s name, the beneficiary’s name, the aspiration(s), and the date, which resemble the colophons in Dunhuang manuscripts that I am studying in this dissertation, except that these dedication lines are all composed in English, and they are usually not as long as some of the well-structured colophons that I have analyzed. These dedication lines are mostly dated between 1993 and 2015. The patrons include both individuals and institutes. Among these individual patrons, there are scholars of Buddhism, such as Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and James A. Benn, yet there are also people who look like outliers of the field of Buddhist studies. As for the institutional patrons, some are academies of Buddhism, such as the Chung-hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies; some are special-interest groups, like Finnish Feng Shui (geomantic omen [lit. wind-water]) Association; and some are political organizations, such as the Cultural Section of the Chinese Embassy in the UK. The beneficiaries are more diverse than the sponsors. Other than patrons themselves, their parents, family, teachers and friends, some of the donations are dedicated to all sentient beings and non-sentient beings, to children in need, and even to the earth and its diversity. The diversity of their patrons and of their beneficiaries indicate that the patrons’ understanding of the manuscripts that they patronize varies to some extent.

Scholars of Buddhist Studies who conduct research with these manuscripts may know their contents well. For example, Buswell patronized the digitization of manuscripts of the *Jingang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經 (Scripture of Adamantine Absorption) on behalf of his

mother, his family and students, and all sentient beings. Then, he wished all beings ever grow in the dharma.³²⁵ Since Buswell wrote a monograph on the *Jingang sanmei jing*, he must be familiar with the manuscripts of this scripture. Moreover, his aspiration that all beings ever grow in the dharma may be influenced by the teaching that “Soaked by the dharma that has a single taste, all things achieve complete fulfillment, just as if, soaked by a single rain, all their bodhi sprouts were matured” in the first chapter of this text (Buswell 1989, 186–187; *T* no. 273, vol. 9, 366a26–27).

That said, just as was the case when dealing with colophons penned by medieval patrons from Dunhuang, it would be hard to prove this assertion. Also, it is not necessarily the case that all of these patrons considered the content of the manuscripts when they made aspirations, since it is difficult to determine the potential textual connection between some of the dedication lines and the manuscripts to which they are appended. Although, generally speaking, the modern patrons are better educated, many of them are not familiar with medieval Buddhist Chinese language in which these scriptures were written. However, merit or virtue seems to be working as an underlying medium for most of these dedications, since these two words appear in some dedication lines, although not in all the lines.

All of these features of the dedication lines penned by sponsors of the digitization of Dunhuang Buddhist manuscripts suggest that I can study this corpus as a modern counterpart of the medieval colophons to Buddhist scriptures preserved in Dunhuang manuscripts. Studying such a modern counterpart can facilitate our understanding of the medieval patrons’ use of Buddhist scriptures, since, as I have demonstrated above, there are some points of

³²⁵ For instance, see http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=69225250313;recnum=2792;index=1

commonality between the modern and the medieval patrons in terms of their uses of Buddhist scriptures. The largest impediment for studying medieval patrons' knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures and their intentions for selecting them is that they have all passed away, and that very few of them have left direct evidence that can explain why they made such choices, or even who made the choices. In contrast, one significant advantage of studying these modern "colophons" is that I can explore the patrons' knowledge of the texts and their intentions anthropologically. In other words, I can interview these patrons, since many of them are still alive, and some of them are famous, making them especially easy to identify and approach. A good example is my interview with the sponsor that I discussed in the "Introduction."

To summarize, we can better comprehend medieval patrons' knowledge and use of Buddhist scriptures by comparing them with their modern counterparts. Therefore, it is worth exploring modern patrons' dedication lines for the digitization of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures in an anthropological method.

Another ongoing project is based on the data that I present in the graphs in Appendix II. As I have mentioned in the "Introduction," patrons in medieval Dunhuang often grouped Chinese Buddhist scriptures together for use, which sometimes included both translated scriptures and apocrypha. Based on ninety-two colophons collected from the manuscripts of forty-three Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, by means of the network analysis and visualization software "Gephi," I will look for patterns underlying combinations of Buddhist apocrypha as well as combinations of apocrypha with translated scriptures. I will also explore the relationships between the scriptures and the beneficiaries to which patronage was dedicated, and between the scriptures and the aspirations for the patronage.

In addition to these two projects, the present research could also be extended in other interesting directions, for example, collecting and generalizing more templates of Dunhuang colophons, as I have done with *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui's and *bhikṣu* Huida's colophons in Chapter Two. Once I collect enough templates, I will compare them with each other, and attempt to depict the evolutions of these templates.³²⁶ Furthermore, I intend to explore the language of these templates, in order to look for the origins of some typical terms and phrases used in the colophons.³²⁷ All in all, although it has been 120 years since Dunhuang manuscripts were discovered, and most of Chinese Buddhist manuscripts with colophons have been touched by scholars, if we thoroughly and systematically analyze them from creative perspectives, they still contain a wealth of precious, untapped material with profound potential for the field of Chinese Buddhist Studies.

³²⁶ Teiser (2014) has analyzed the literary style of healing liturgies from Dunhuang. Compared with Dunhuang colophons, although healing liturgies are merit-making liturgies of another genre, Teiser's method of studying the literary style is useful. Zhu Yao (2016, 67–80) has taken up this study briefly on the structures of Dunhuang colophons' templates and their evolutions, yet it is too abstract to entertain me.

³²⁷ Teiser (2009) has demonstrated how to study a term in Buddhist liturgies that feature merit-making. Lowe (2017, 62–79) sets up an example for studying the language of colophons to Buddhist scriptures.

Appendix I: Forged and Dubious Colophons

In this Appendix, I consider the evidence that I have discovered in the course of my research for characterizing specific Dunhuang colophons as forged or dubious. All the colophons that I discuss here are appended to Buddhist texts in Dunhuang manuscripts. As Fang Guangchang (2002, 90) suggests, in a given manuscript, a forger could forge both the text and the colophon, or forge a new colophon for a genuine, historical text. On the one hand, authentic text in a manuscript does not guarantee the authenticity of the colophon. On the other hand, a dubious colophon does not mean the text in the manuscript is also questionable. As Dou Huaiyong (2009) suggests, it is important to compare the script of the colophon with that of the text when authenticating a manuscript. I have been examining manuscripts in this manner throughout my dissertation research. Yet, due to the limitation of time, in this appendix, I focus mainly on colophons, and for most of the manuscripts, I leave the study of the authenticity of texts for a future project.

Chapter One



Figure 4.1 Hane578 © Kyōu shooku

Ms. Hane578 (Kyōu shooku 2012, 7:440–1), which includes a combination of the *Jiu jing* and a third version of the *Xin pusa jing*, looks very unique. This manuscript has twenty-two columns of text in total. The *Jiu jing* occupies the first to the thirteenth column, and the *Xin pusa jing* fills the fourteenth to the twenty-first column. The final (twenty-second) column contains a colophon of which the last two characters, *chiji* 持記, could not be contained therein, but needed instead to be placed after the end-title of the *Xin pusa jing* in the twenty-first column.

As one can see from the photograph, and as described in the catalogue of *Tonkō hikyū*:

字体：楷書隔一字、大小、交互書寫。(Script: in standard script, intervals after every

character, written in large and small script alternately). To facilitate discussion, I transcribe the text of this manuscript as follows:³²⁸

1. 救諸衆生苦難經
2. 天台山中有一老師，年可九百歲。正月二月天神悲
3. 哭，眼中泣血，唱言：“苦哉，苦哉，衆生死盡。”弟子惠通合
4. 掌頂禮，眼中泣淚，啟言：“有此災難，如何得免？”師報言
5. 惠通：“我見閻浮提衆生亡沒，並念弥勒佛，救諸蒼生。
6. 中國黃河北相、魏之地，正在其中。愚癡之子，不覺不
7. 知。三月四月，鬼兵亂起，無邊無際。八月九月已來，大
8. 末劫中。衆生行善，鬼兵自滅。天地黑闇，災難³²⁹。寫一本，
9. 免一門。寫兩本，免六親。寫三本，免一村。流傳者是子³³⁰，
10. 謗此經者入阿鼻地獄，無有出期，見此不寫者滅門，
11. 至心讀誦者得成佛道。”黑風西北起，東南鎮鬼兵。
12. 永常天地闇，何得心不驚。先須斷酒肉，貪慎更莫生。
13. 人能慎此事，佛道一時行。救諸衆生苦難經一卷
14. 新菩薩經 救賈耽頌下諸州衆生。每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，斷惡
15. 行善。今年大熟，無人收刈。有種種病苦：弟³³¹一虐病死，第二天行病死，
16. 第三卒病死，第四腫病死，第五產病死，第六患腹病死，第七擁病死³³²，
17. 第八風黃病死，第九水痢病死，第十患眼病死。今勸諸衆生：寫一
18. 本，免一身；寫兩本，免一門；寫三本，免一村。若不信者，滅門。上勝之³³³，
19. 得過此難。但看七八月，三家使一牛，五男同一婦。僧尼巡³³⁴，勸寫此
20. 經。其西涼州，正月二月盛中時，雷鳴兩聲，有一石下，大而斜。石遂
21. 兩行³³⁵，即見經。報諸衆生，今載饒患。新菩薩經

持記

³²⁸ I have rendered the text of the transcription horizontally instead of vertically, as it has been written in the manuscript. Also, I try to transcribe every character as closely to the original forms in the manuscript as possible, disregarding whether they are simplified or traditional characters according to the modern Chinese standard.

³²⁹ The single binome *zainan* 災難 (disaster), does not make sense in this sentence. The parallel passage of this phrase is *demian zainan* 得免災難 (to be exempted from disaster) in S.1184, S.3417, S.3696, S.4924, S.5060, S.5256 and BD8108, is *demian cizai* 得免此災 (to be exempted from this natural disaster) in Hane697 and Ⅱx1609+2035, is *demian zai* 得免災 (to be exempted from natural disaster) in S.4479 and P.3857, and is *demian cinan* 得免此難 (to be exempted from this catastrophe) in a manuscript collected in the Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 (Chinese History Museum). Therefore, the term *zainan* 災難 in this manuscript probably is a mistake for *demian zainan* 得免災難, which means the scribe misses two characters *demian* 得免 before *zainan* 災難.

³³⁰ *Zi* 子 (son) is probably a mistake for *dizi* 弟子 (disciple), such as in S.3417, S.4479, Hane697, and in the manuscript collected in the Chinese History Museum.

³³¹ *Di* 弟 (younger brother) is a variant form of the character *di* 第 (an ordinal number marker).

³³² *Yong* 擁 is a phonetic loan of the character *yong* 癰 (abscess). There may be a character *xue* 血 (blood) missing before *yong* 癰, which together reads *xueyong* 血癰 (bloody abscess), such as in S.3417, S.5256, Ⅱx1708+2399.

³³³ There should be a character *men* 門 (door) missing before *shang bangzhi* 上勝之 (post it on), which together reads as *menshang bangzhi* 門上勝之 (post it on the door), such as in S.5060, S.5256, Ⅱx1609+2035 and BD8108.

³³⁴ There should be another character *men* 門 (door) missing after *sengni xun* 僧尼巡 (the monks and the nuns patrol), which together reads as *sengni xunmen* 僧尼巡門 (the monks and the nuns visit every house), such as in S.3417, S.5256, P.3857 and Ⅱx1609+2035.

³³⁵ *Hang* 行 (line) does not make sense in this sentence, and is probably an erroneous writing of the character *pian* 片 (piece). *Pian* 片 is written as 𠄎 in S.11521, 𠄎 in Ⅱx1609+2035, 𠄎 in S.3417, 𠄎 in S.5060 of the *Xin pusa jing*. Hence it is plausible that *pian* 片 could be mistaken as the character *xing* 行. *Shi sui liangpian* 石遂兩片 means “the rock

22. 丁卯年七月，遇值疫勳，弟子施主節度押衙知玉關鄉務王保住書寫受

Specifically, the title *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing* 救諸衆生苦難經 is written in the first column. Then, starting from the second column, the first character *tian* 天 is written in a similar script. The second character *tai* 台 is written in a smaller script immediately below the first character. However, the third character *shan* 山 is written in a similar script to the first character, whose size is larger than that of the second character. Then, the fourth character *zhong* 中 is written in a script which is similar to that of the second character, and so on. Overall, the text of this scripture is written in two types of script, with one larger than the other, until the end-title “*Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing yijuan*” 救諸衆生苦難經一卷 (Scripture on Saving All the Multitudinous Beings from Sufferings in One Fascicle), which is entirely written in the larger script. The same format is applied to the second scripture, the *Xin pusa jing*, in this manuscript. Nevertheless, the colophon is written in an even smaller script at the end of this manuscript.

The large script should be *kai shu* 楷書 (standard script) as described in *Tonkō hikyū* (Kyōu shooku 2012, 7:440), while the small script is freer than the standard script, sometimes close to *xingshu* 行書 (cursive script). For example, the strokes of the characters *bu* 𠄎 (the twentieth character in the sixth column, hereafter 6/20), *chu* 𠄎 (10/12), *bei* 𠄎 (11/13), *sheng* 𠄎 (12/20) and *shan* 𠄎 (15/2), which were all written in the small script, are all cursive to some extent.



























Apart from some manuscripts of commentarial texts, manuscripts written in two different

then (became into) two pieces.” Since *shi sui liangxing* 石遂兩行 does not make sense, and the form of *liang* 兩 is close to the form of *er* 而, in the manuscript of the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* collected in the Chinese History Museum, this phrase is further transformed into *shi sui er xing* 石遂而行 (the rock then moves).

alternating scripts are rather rare in the Dunhuang corpus. This manuscript is the only copy of a Chinese Buddhist scripture that I have seen written in such a format.

The first question I would ask is: were these two scripts written by the same scribe? To answer this question, I have picked some comparative sample characters from this manuscript written in the large and the small scripts respectively:

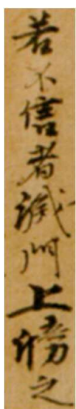
Table 4.1 Comparison of the scripts of two sizes in the text in Hane578

	Large Script		Small Script	
	Column no./Character no.	Sample	Column no./Character no.	Sample
<i>Zhu</i> 諸	17/21		14/10	
	21/7		5/18	
<i>Ku</i> 苦	1/5		3/10	
<i>Nan</i> 難	4/13		19/4	
<i>Tian</i> 天	2/1		8/12	
<i>Yi</i> 一	13/18		13/8	
	18/3		20/18	
<i>Nian</i> 年	2/9		15/4	
<i>Jiu</i> 九	2/11		7/16	
<i>Yan</i> 言	4/9		4/20	
<i>Si</i> 死	16/5		16/10	
	16/15		15/26	
	16/21		3/14	

<i>Di</i> 弟	15/21		16/22	
	17/13		16/6	
<i>Zhi</i> 知	7/1		22/18	
<i>Xie</i> 寫	18/5		9/10	
	18/11		19/24	

By comparing these same characters, as written in two different scripts in the manuscript, I would argue that, although the small script is thinner and more cursive than the large script, when the characters of the small script are enlarged, they are, generally speaking, very similar to their counterparts in the large script. This similarity suggests that these two scripts were likely the product of the same scribe.

The second question is: did the scribe complete the writing in two scripts in one sitting, or did the scribe write the large characters first while leaving spaces, then fill these spaces with the small characters? After reading through this manuscript painstakingly, I realize that there is not a definite boundary between these two scripts. In other words, not all characters can be unequivocally characterized as having been written in one of these two scripts or the other. For instance, the characters *bei* 悲 (2/20), *yong* 穉 (16/24) and *cun* 利 (18/16) are supposed to have been written in the small script, as per the pattern outlined above. Yet these three characters are as big as those written in the putatively larger script. This disorder is especially remarkable in this segment:



It seems that the scribe wrote three characters, *zhe* 者 (18/20), *mie* 滅 (18/21) and *men* 門 (18/22), in the small script successively, then two characters, *shang* 上 (18/22) and *bang* 榜 (18/23), in the large script continuously. It means that the scribe left a space for three small characters before 上, but not even a single space after it if the scribe was leaving spaces for the small characters while writing the big ones, which, I believe, was unlikely to happen. The ambiguity of the boundary between these two scripts and the scribe's failure to adhere strictly to the alternating pattern indicate that the text was probably copied by a single scribe, and that they were written in one sitting.

The third question is: were both the large and the small characters written by the same brush-pen or by two pens of different sizes? In addition to the cases discussed above that confuse the sizes of these two scripts, there are also at least two cases wherein the thicknesses of the strokes used in the two different scripts was confused. The character *mi* 彌 (14/18), although it is of the small size, is written in strokes that are thicker than those of the other small character 彌 (5/14) in this manuscript. In contrast, the strokes of the large character *zhu* 楮 (21/7) are thinner than those of the other large characters 諸 (1/2), 諸 (13/12) and 諸 (17/21). Also, there is a case of correction in this manuscript: 是 (9/19). As shown in this segment, the large character *shi* 是 is crossed by two bold strokes, but is replaced by a small 是 in thin strokes beside it. All these cases concerning the thickness of the strokes tell us that there is not an absolute boundary between the thick strokes of the large script and the thin strokes of the small script. The small characters were sometimes written in thick strokes, and vice versa. Also, since I tend to believe that the scribe wrote both the large and the small characters at one time, and since it would have been very difficult for the scribe to keep

switching between two brushes, I think it is likely that all of the characters in the text were written with the same brush.³³⁶ Therefore, the text of the scriptures in this manuscript was probably written by the same scribe using the same brush in one sitting.

Finally, we arrive at the colophon. The colophon says:

In the seventh month of the year of *dingmao* [967 C.E.?], there was pestilence; a disciple [of the Buddha], the patron, the prefectural lackey who is in charge of the town affairs of the Yu [Yumen 玉門] pass, Wang Baozhu makes a record for writing and upholding.

丁卯年七月，遇值疫勦（癘），弟子施主節度押衙知玉關鄉務王保住書寫受持記。

³³⁷

Was this colophon written by the same scribe who wrote the text? Is this scribe the Wang Baozhu named in the colophon? These questions matter because if the colophon and the scriptures were written by two different persons, it means that the patron probably obtained (most likely purchased) the manuscript from a scribe who wrote the scriptures, and then added the colophon, although it does not necessarily mean that the patron wrote the manuscript himself if the colophon and the scriptures were written by the same person. In order to shed light on the relationship between the colophon and the scriptures, I selected some comparative sample characters from them for analysis:

³³⁶ I consulted Chinese calligraphy teachers, Yang Er 楊爾 and Shi Jiangping 石江平 from Zhejiang Normal University, who both think that this way of writing two scripts alternately with one single brush is possible.














³³⁷ The character  (22/8) is not clear enough to identify. Yet, it should not be *yi* 役 as identified in the *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 (Kyōu shōoku 2012, 7:440) since the word 役勦 does not make sense. Instead, this character should be *yi* 疫, and *li* 勦 is a phonetic loan of the character *li* 癘. Therefore, the word should be *yili* 疫癘, which *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典 (The Comprehensive Chinese Word Dictionary) (Luo Zhufeng 1991, 8:287) explains as *wenyi* 瘟疫 (pestilence). This term makes sense in this context. *Yili* 疫勦 also shows up in other Dunhuang documents, such as *yilibuqin* 疫勦不侵 (the pestilence cannot invade) in *IX1228 Eryuebari wen* 二月八日文 (text on the Eighth Day of the Second Month), and *yili tianchu* 疫勦殄除 (terminate the pestilence) in P.2341 *Fowen* 佛文 (Buddhist Text).

Table 4.2 Comparison of the scripts of the text and the colophon in Hane578

	Scriptures				Colophon	
	Large Script		Small Script		Small Script	
	Column no./ Character no.	Sample	Column no./ Character no.	Sample	Column no./ Character no.	Sample
<i>Yue</i> 月	19/9		N/A	N/A	22/5	
	20/7		N/A	N/A		
<i>Di</i> 弟	17/13		16/6		22/10	
<i>Xie</i> 寫	18/11		19/24		22/27	
<i>Qi</i> 七	16/23		N/A	N/A	22/4	
	19/7		N/A	N/A		

Due to the limited number of the samples, it is difficult to determine whether the script of the colophon is consistent with that of the scriptures. Yet, the writing of the samples from the colophon is close to the writing of those from the scriptures, and the character size of the colophon is similar to the size of the small script in the text. From the perspective of the colophon's content, as I discussed in Chapter One, the phrase 書寫受持記 (makes a record for writing and upholding) seems to suggest that Wang Baozhu wrote and upheld this manuscript himself.³³⁸ Also, based on the fact that patron's title is given as "prefectural lackey," it seems that, as an official (even a low-ranking one), he would have been able to write a manuscript. Further, Wang Baozhu's colophon offers a reason for his patronage: there was an epidemic going on. As I argued in Chapter One, since this reason corresponds to the

³³⁸ The title and the name of Wang Baozhu suggest that the patron is probably a male. A female patron often identifies her gender in the colophon in Dunhuang manuscripts of Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

content of the scripture, this also means Wang probably understood the text. All of these clues make me tend to believe that both the scriptures and the colophon were written by Wang Baozhu.

Regarding this colophon's date, 丁卯年七月 (the seventh month of the year of *dingmao*), in this colophon, after I compare it with other manuscripts of the same scriptures with similar dates in Chapter One, I argue that: if the provenance of Hane578 is indeed the Dunhuang grottoes, the *dingmao* year in this manuscript could be dated as early as 787 C.E. since Jia Dan, whose name is used in the *Xin pusa jing*, was appointed as the Left Counselor-in-chief in 786 C.E.; it could also be dated as 847 C.E., 907 C.E. or 967 C.E., but not as late as 1027 C.E. It is because that the latest date found in Dunhuang document (Φ32) is 1002 C.E., and it has been widely accepted that the Dunhuang library cave was sealed soon after that year (Rong 2001, 91–92).


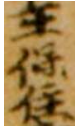
Why did Wang Baozhu write this manuscript in such an unusual format? One possibility is that he may have intended to help the readers easily differentiate between the adjacent characters so that they would be unlikely to miss any character, which would facilitate the reader's recitation of this manuscript. Also, it is popular for Chinese calligraphy practitioners to write the same characters in variant styles in one manuscript. Wang Baozhu may have written in large and small scripts alternately as a calligraphic practice, although this sort of practice is not attested elsewhere in the larger corpus of calligraphic works.

Nevertheless, it is also possible that this manuscript is a modern forgery. None of the other twenty-six Dunhuang manuscripts that combine the *Jiu jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* are written in this format. The contents of these two scriptures are both related to deadlly

disasters. The colophon shows that the patron is also serious about his patronage. Hence, if the scribe was trying to make the manuscript visually interesting in this way, it seems contradictory to the serious content of this manuscript. In contrast, a forger may obtain a higher price for a visually interesting manuscript in a rare format. Also, the provenance of all Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Japan has been controversial (Rong 1997; 2002), so there is circumstantial evidence to suggest forgery.

There are other Dunhuang manuscripts including the name “Wang Baozhu” 王保住, such as one found in P.2917, an inventory of miscellaneous articles for daily use dated 935 or 995 C.E., who is described as a late *zhaiguan* 宅官 (house keeper of the Military Commissioner); one in P.3443, a contract of adoption for a boy dated 902 or 962 C.E., who is identified as the natural father of the boy; one in S.8445+S.8446+S.8468, where the name is included in a list of people who are supposed to pay tax with sheep dated 946 C.E. and 947 C.E.; one in S.10273+S.10274+S.10276+ S.10277+S.10279+S.10290, an account of loaning wheat maybe dated 957 C.E., who loaned wheat (Dohi 2015, 114). Among these documents, P.3443 includes the date of the contract, the possible hometown of Wang Baozhu, and Wang’s signature. The date of this contract is 壬戌年三月三日 (the third day of the third month of the year of *renxu*), of which Dohi (2015) dates as 902 C.E. or 962 C.E. In this contract, Wang Baozhu’s half-brother, “Longle xiang baixing Hu Zaicheng” 龍勒鄉百姓胡再成 (Hu Zaicheng, a common person from Longle Town), agrees to adopt Wang’s son. According to Dohi’s dating of this contract, this case could have happened five years before Hane578 was copied if we determine the *dingmao* year of Hane578 to be 907 C.E. or 967 C.E. In P.3443, Wang Baozhu’s brother is described as being from Longle Town, a town in the southwest of

the Dunhuang area, although it does not specify where exactly Wang himself was from. In Hane578, Wang Baozhu is in charge of the town affairs of the Yumen guan 玉門關 (Yumen pass), around ninety kilometers to the northwest of Dunhuang. However, the signature of

Wang in P.3443, , looks different from Wang's signature, , in Hane578.

All of these questions place the authenticity of Hane578 under a cloud. Yet, since my study is based on a photograph of this manuscript, ultimately I cannot make any further determinations of its authenticity, as such an assessment depends on the manuscript's physical characteristics as well.

Chapter Two

BD15076 is a manuscript of the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 (Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Lañkā; Skt. Lañkāvatāra-sūtra). The text (*T* no. 671, vol. 16, 521c18–527b21) copied in this manuscript is “juan dier” 卷第二 (the second fascicle) of this scripture, the first part of the “Ji yiqie fofa pin disan” 集一切佛法品第三 (Chapter Three: Collection of All the Buddha's teachings). Here are the beginning and the end of this manuscript:

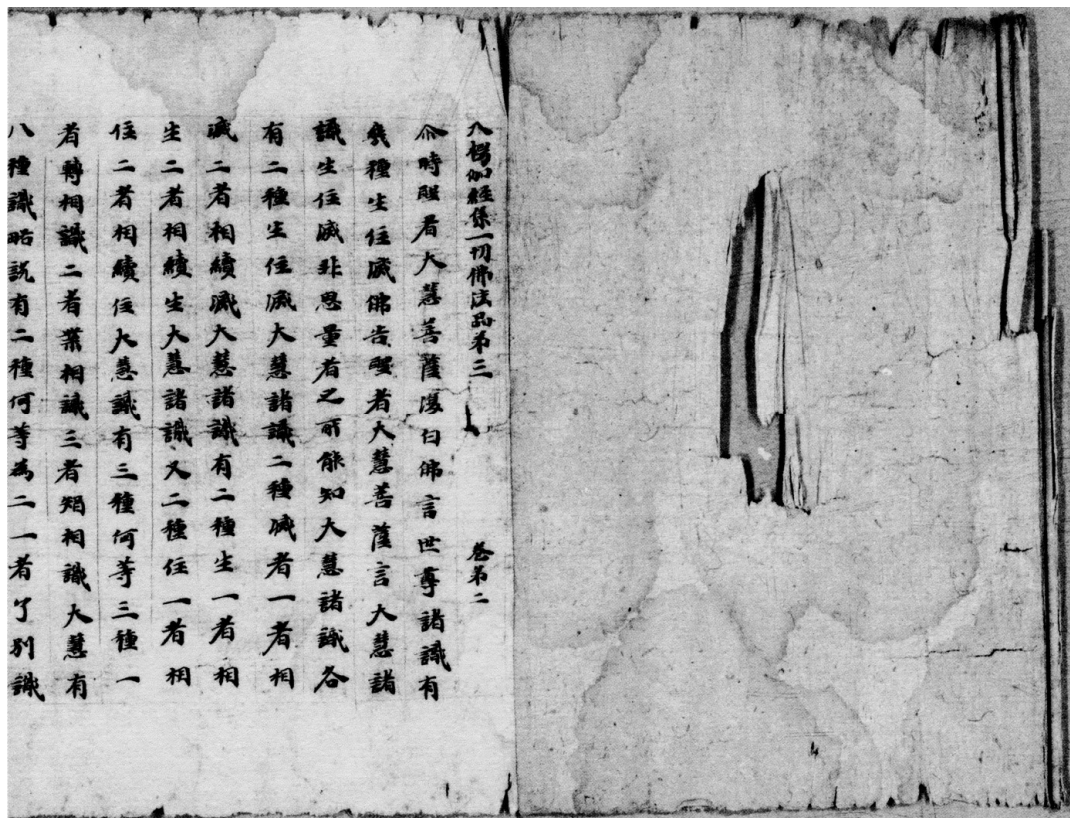


Figure 4.2 Beginning of BD15076 (Ren 2010, 138:171b)

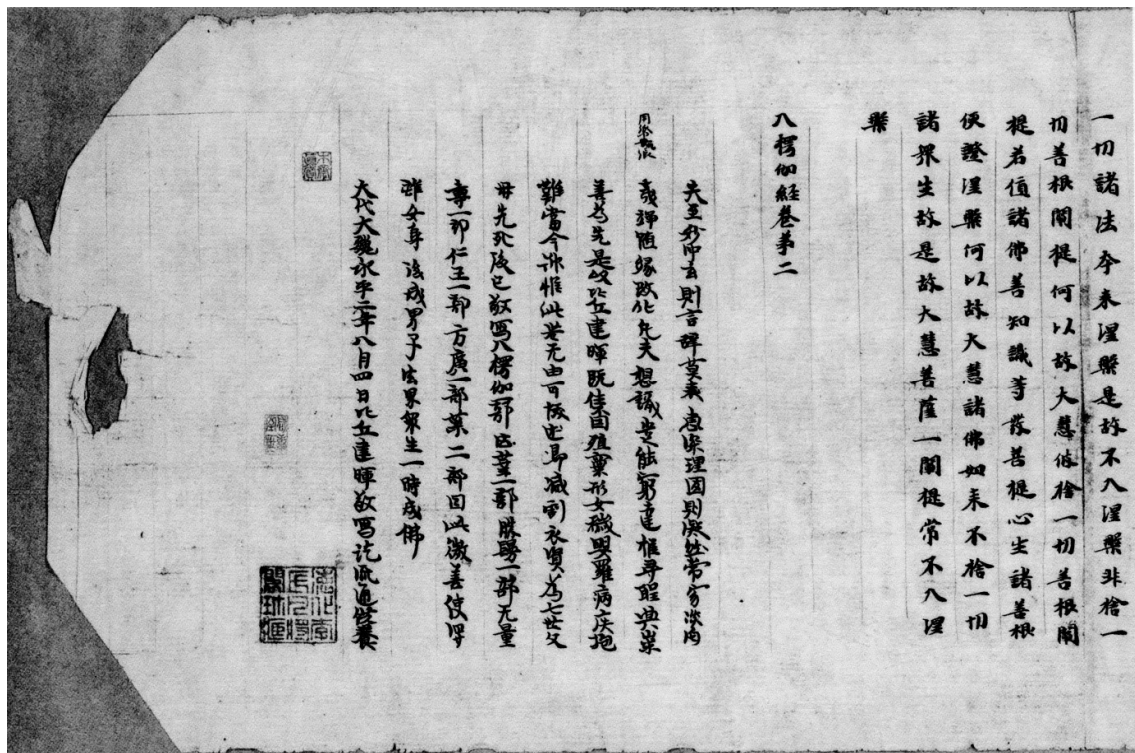





Figure 4.3 End of BD15076 (Ren 2010, 138:182a)

According to its descriptive catalogue (Ren 2010, 138:10), there is a *hushou* 護首 (cover-sheet at the beginning of the manuscript working as a reinforcement) that encloses a roller (made of *achnatherum splendens*), visible at the far right of figure 4.2. This manuscript was most likely formally produced and professionally processed, unlike many manuscripts of the *Jiujing*, the *Xin pusa jing* or the *Quanshan jing* that I have discussed in Chapter One.

There is a colophon after the text at the end of BD15076, and a short note: 用緜十九張 (nineteen sheets of paper used) above the colophon, which I have introduced in Chapter Two.

After the colophon, there are three seals, reading from top to bottom: (1)  *Muzhai*

zhenshan 木齋真賞 (Truly Appreciated by Muzhai); (2)  *Xiankangshi cang* 咸康室

藏 (Collection of Xiankang Chamber); and (3)  *Dehua lishi fanjiangge zhencang*
德化李氏凡將閣珍藏 (Treasured in the Fanjiang Garret of the Li family from Dehua).

According to Chen Hongyan and Lin Shitian's ([2007] 2010, 286) collection of contemporary seals on Dunhuang documents, both the first and the third seals belong to Li Shengduo 李盛鐸 (1859–1934 C.E.), whose agnomen is Muzhai 木齋. They include the second seal, which is also found in Jinyi 22, in the category of “seals’ owners unidentified,” yet misread it as *Xianxiaoshi cang* 咸蕭室藏 (Collection of Xianxiao Chamber) (Chen and Lin [2007] 2010, 314). Iwamoto Atsushi (2013, 145) also finds the second seal, together with the first and third seals, in Hane725-1, yet he also cannot identify the owner of the second seal.

Ikeda (1990, 100) doubts the authenticity of BD15076 without offering any evidence while Huang and Wu (1995, 809), Dang Yanni (2013, 210) and Chen Dawei (2014, 198–9)

tend to believe that *bhikṣu* Jianhui (比丘建暉) in BD15076 is actually identical with *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui (比丘尼建暉) in Nakamura51 by arguing that the colophons in BD15076 and Nakamura51 are similar; Huang and Wu (1995, 809) also claim that *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Jianhui 道建輝 in Nakamura144 is the same patron. Nakamura144 is a manuscript of the *Foshuo Jue zuifu jing* 佛說決罪福經 (Scripture on Judgment of Merits or Demerits Spoken by the Buddha). Here are the beginning and the end of this manuscript:

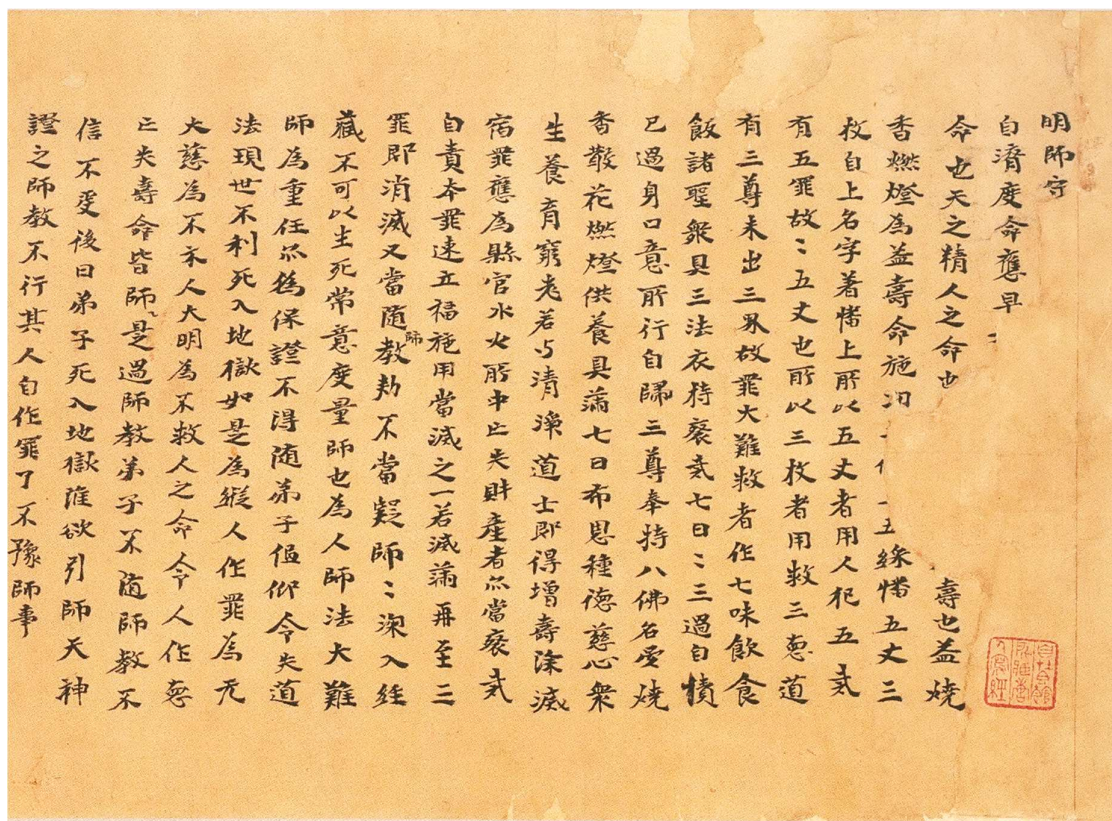


Figure 4.4 Beginning of Nakamura144 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

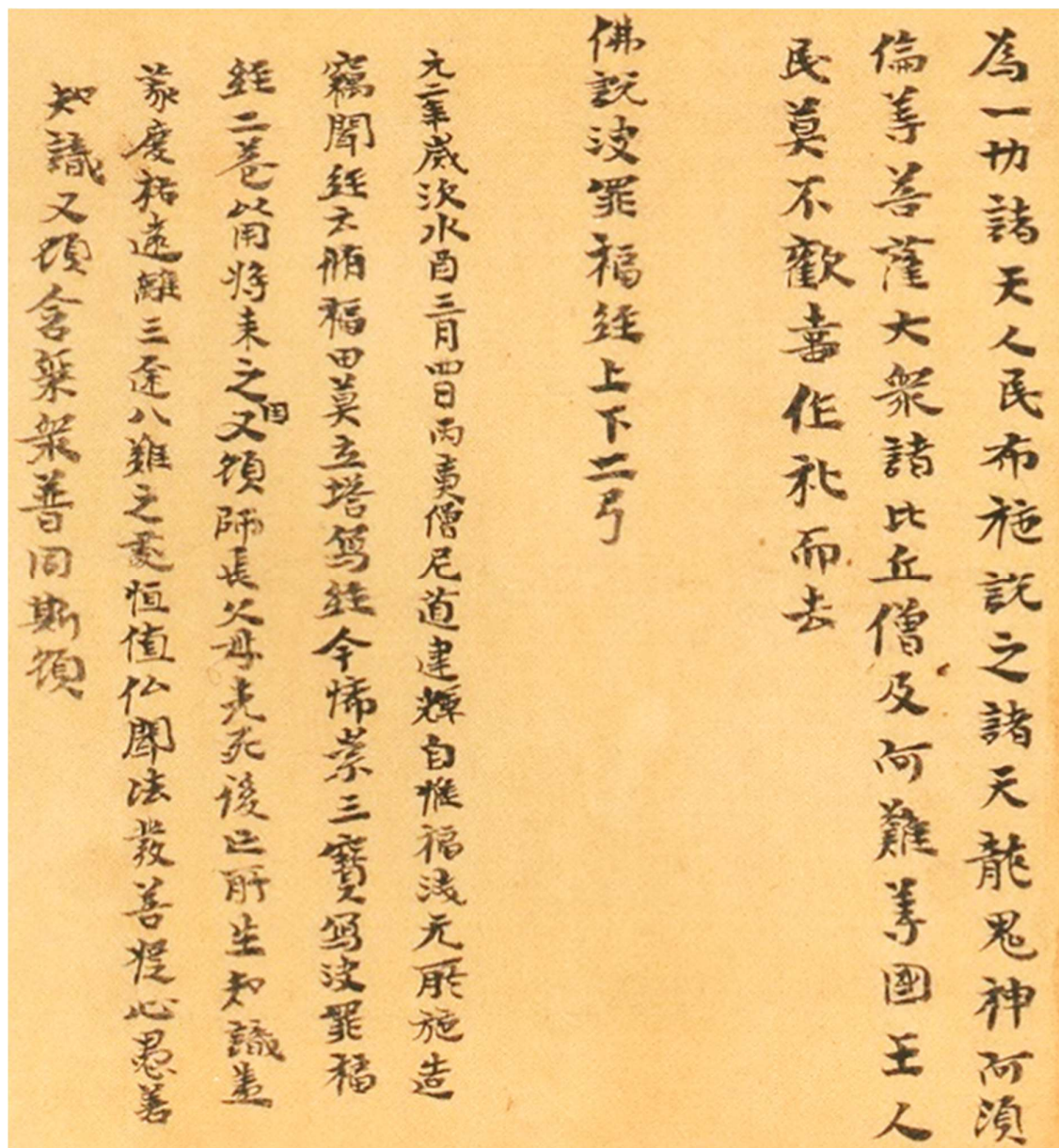


Figure 4.5 End of Nakamura144 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

This manuscript is also mounted, and at the beginning of the mounting paper, we find Zhang Peiyi's seal *Zizaixiang guan suocang tangren xiejing* 自在皂（香）館所藏唐人寫經, that also appears in Nakamura51 as I have introduced in Chapter Two. *T* no. 2868, vol. 85, 1328b22–1333c22 is a transcription of the text in this manuscript. The end title of this manuscript states that its text is “*Foshuo juezuifu jing shangxia erjuan*” 佛說決罪福經上下

二卷 (parts one and two, two fascicles of the Scripture on Judgment of Merits or Demerits

Spoken by the Buddha). There is a colophon after the end title:

The fourth day, the day of *bingyin*, of the third month of the second year of Yuan era, the sequential year of *shuiyou* (i.e. 553 C.E.). [I,] Dao Jianhui, nun of the saṃgha, understand that my merit is shallow, and [that I] have not made anything for donation. Respectfully, I have heard a scripture says: ‘As for cultivating the field of merit, nothing is comparable with erecting a *stūpa* or copying out a scripture.’ Now, wishing to worship the three treasures, [I] have made a copy of the *Scripture on Judgment of Merits or Demerits* in two fascicles in order to be used as a cause for the future. Also, may [my] masters and elders, and [my] parents, who have passed away before and after, friends and acquaintances who have been born so far all receive deliverance and welcome. [May they] distance themselves from circumstances of the three [evil] destinies and the eight difficulties. [May they] always meet the Buddha and hear his teachings, arouse the mind of awakening, and meet wholesome friends and acquaintances. Further, may all living [beings] be universally the same with this aspiration.

元二年³³⁹歲次水酉³⁴⁰三月四日丙寅。僧尼道建輝自惟福淺，无所施造。竊聞經云：“脩（修）福田莫³⁴¹立塔寫經。”今悌³⁴²崇三寶，寫《決罪福經》二卷，以用將來之因。又願師長、父母、先死後亡、所生知識，盡蒙度招，遠離三途八難之處，恒值仏聞法，發菩提心，愚（遇）善知識。又願含氣³⁴³衆[生]，³⁴⁴普同斯願。

I agree with them that *bhikṣu* Jianhui in BD15076 should be seen as a *bhikṣuṇī* since from the rationale and aspirations of its colophon, we learn that Jianhui detests her filthy female body, and wishes to be changed into a man after leaving it. Yet, I am wondering why *bhikṣuṇī*

³³⁹ Huang and Wu (1995, 836) suspect that *yuan* 元 is a superfluous character, but Li Chongzhi (1981, 81) demonstrates that both year 551 C.E. and 554 C.E. of the Western Wei dynasty (535–556 C.E.) are named *yuan'ernian* 元二年 (the second year of Yuan era).

³⁴⁰ Jiang Liangfu (2002, 11:135), Huang and Wu (1995, 836) suggest that *shuiyou* 水酉 should read *guiyou* 癸酉, which means *yuan'ernian* 元二年 probably is 553 C.E.

³⁴¹ Huang and Wu (1995, 836) suggest that there is a character *ruo* 若 missing after *mo* 莫, which makes the word *moruo* 莫若 (nothing is comparable with). Ai Junchuan (2012, 210) argues that *mo* 莫 means *bi* 必 (must) in this context. I would suggest that *mo* 莫 is short for *moruo* 莫若 here.







³⁴² Ikeda (1990, 126), Huang and Wu (1995, 836) read this character as *bu* 怖; Wang Meng (2016, 72) reads it as *xi* 悌. This character should be *xi* 悌 (wish; aspire) instead of *bu* 怖 (fear).

³⁴³ Ikeda (1990, 126), Huang and Wu (1995, 836) and Wang Meng (2016, 72) all read this character as *hua* 華 (flower), which should be *qi* 氣 (breath).













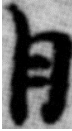











































³⁴⁴ There should be a character *sheng* 生 (being) missing here, which constitutes the word *hanqi zhongsheng* 含氣衆生 (the multitudinous beings who have breath).





























































Jianhui (比丘尼建暉) is mistakenly written as *bhikṣu* Jianhui (比丘建暉) in the colophon in BD15076, which changes Jianhui's gender from female to male. Since social identity is essential to the patron, and especially in this colophon we see that gender is a major concern for Jianhui, it is hard to imagine that she would have described herself as a *bhikṣu* if she was the person who wrote the colophon. Satō (1977, 1425) argues that although very similar wordings often appear, and become formulaic in inscriptions on Buddhist statues, examples that include entirely the same aspirations are extremely rare; if it happens that there are identical aspirations, they are limited to three situations: (1) the owner of the images is the same person, (2) the articles come from the same area, and were created in the same general time periods, and (3) the inscriptions were forged. Is forgery a possibility in our case? By comparing the formats and scripts of BD15076, Nakamura51 and Nakamura144, I explore relationships among these three manuscripts in order to comment upon the authenticity of BD15076.³⁴⁵

Table 4.3 Comparison of the formats and the scripts of BD15076, Nakamura51 and Nakamura144

Pressmark	BD15076		Nakamura51		Nakamura144	
Patron	比丘[尼]建暉		比丘尼建暉		僧尼道建輝	
Date	509 C.E.		536 C.E.		553 C.E.	
Size (height×length)	28 cm×837 cm		23.8 cm×573.8 cm		26.5 cm×729.6 cm	
Sheets No.	21		18		19	
Ruled lines	Yes		Yes		No	
Character No. per Column (around)	17		17		17	
Script Sample	Colophon	Text	Colophon	Text	Colophon	Text
<i>Er</i> 二	 (6/13)	 (1/15)	 (3/19)	 (42/8)	 (1/2)	 (23/6)

³⁴⁵ The data of BD15076 is provided by Ren Jiyu (2010, 138:10). The data of Nakamura51 is provided by Isobe Akira (2005, 1:i, 3:342). The data of Nakamura144 is provided by Isobe Akira (2005, 2:iii, 3:354).

	 (8/7)	 (5/2)	 (6/3)	 (55/9)	 (3/2)	 (135/11)
Nian 年	 (8/8)	N/A	 (6/4)	 (113/11)	 (1/3)	 (79/7)
						 (233/8)
Yue 月	 (8/10)	 (70/5)	 (6/6)	 (267/11)	 (1/9)	 (35/16)
		 (137/18)				 (197/9)
Jian 建	 (3/8)	 (44/16)	 (3/1)	N/A	 (1/17)	 (186/5)
	 (8/15)	 (169/10)		 (289/2)		
Hui 暉 (輝)	 (3/9)	N/A	 (3/2)	N/A	 (1/18)	N/A
	 (8/16)					
Wu 无	 (4/8)	 (13/9)	 (4/3)	 (21/4)	 (1/23)	 (39/3)
		 (15/7)				 (39/15)
Yi 以	 (3/5)	 (48/3)	 (2/20)	 (14/4)	 (3/4)	 (6/10)
		 (49/10)				 (39/11)
Yin 因	 (3/12)	 (13/16)	 (4/20)	 (19/2)	 (3/9)	 (40/4)
		 (14/11)				

				(28/8)		(41/10)
<i>Fu</i> 父	 (4/21)	N/A	 (3/8)	 (4/4)  (9/5)	 (3/14)	 (66/5)  (84/4)
<i>Mu</i> 母	 (5/1)	N/A	 (3/9)	 (4/5)  (80/5)	 (3/15)	 (84/5)  (84/17)
<i>Xian</i> 先	 (5/2)	 (310/2)	 (2/18)	 (25/11)  (130/10)	 (3/16)	 (167/1)  (174/2)
<i>Hou</i> 後	 (5/4)  (7/4)	 (424/10)  (165/3)	 (5/7)	 (87/12)  (179/7)	 (3/18)	 (22/13)  (54/10)
<i>Sheng</i> 生	 (7/11)	 (3/3)  (4/2)	 (5/14)	 (3/2)  (7/4)	 (3/21)	 (11/1)  (122/5)
<i>Shi</i> 識	 (2/15)	 (2/16)  (4/16)	 (2/6)	 (192/9)  (258/6)	 (3/23)  (5/2)	 (366/17)  (388/11)
<i>Zhong</i> 衆	 (7/10)	 (77/3)  (93/17)	 (5/13)	 (12/4)  (31/14)	 (5/7)	 (10/18)  (30/18)

These manuscripts are dated 509 C.E., 536 C.E. and 553 C.E. respectively. The date of the

latest manuscript, Nakamura144, is 44 years later than that of the earliest, BD15076. It is possible that these manuscripts were all commissioned by the same patron across this substantial time span. Although the number of characters per column are the same (around 17), the heights of these three manuscripts are different, and Nakamura144 does not have ruled lines, which suggest that they were probably not produced in a single batch, and Nakamura144 is less formal in style than the other two manuscripts.

Comparisons of script samples from both the colophons and the texts of these three manuscripts offer us some more helpful observations. Let us first focus on the relationship between the colophon and the text within each manuscript. It is not difficult to determine that the colophon and the text of BD15076 are written by different hands by comparing the handwriting used to produce repeated characters. We can also observe this difference between the script of the colophon and that of the text of Nakamura51. In contrast, in Nakamura144, the colophon and the text seem to have been written by the same scribe. As we saw in the discussion of Hane578 of the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing* and the *Xin pusa jing*, an inconsistency between the script of the colophon and that of the text in a Dunhuang manuscript of Buddhist scripture often meant that the patron presumably obtained (and most likely purchased) the manuscript from a scribe who copied out the scriptures, and then added the colophon themselves. That said, the converse is not necessarily true: when a colophon and scripture are written in the same hand, it cannot be assumed that both were penned by the patron. Therefore, I would argue that in both BD15076 and Nakamura51, *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui did not write the scriptures herself but only the colophons, since both of the alternative situations—that she merely wrote the scriptures but had another person write the colophons,

or that she employed two separate persons, one to write the scripture and the other the colophons—are unlikely. Based on this argument, and if we assume that the patron Jianhui in both of these two colophons is the same person according to the resemblance between the contents of these two colophons, the handwritings of colophons of these two manuscripts should be highly similar, if not identical. However, a comparison of individual characters and of the documents as wholes suggests that these two colophons were not the product of the same hand:

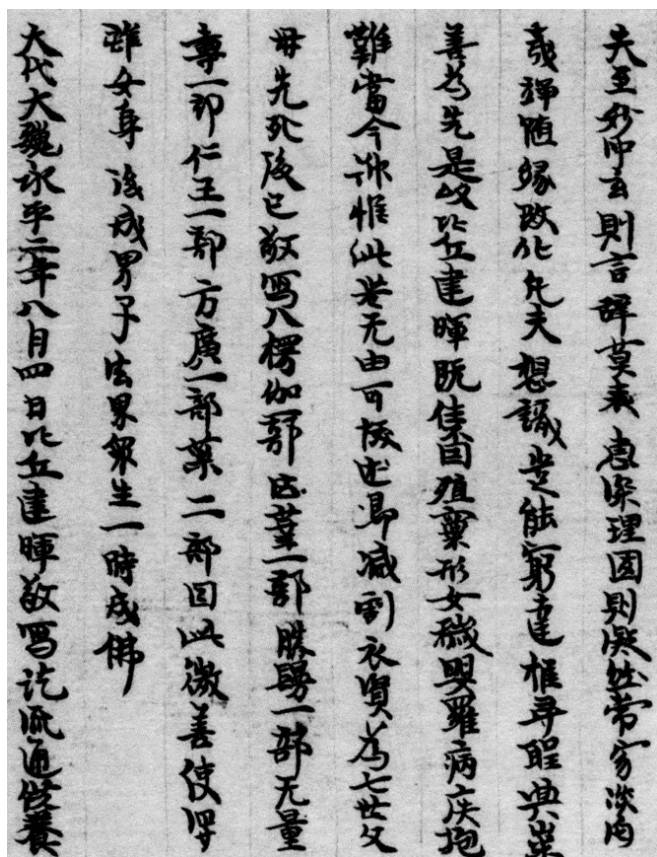


Figure 4.6 BD15076 (Ren 2010, 138:182a)

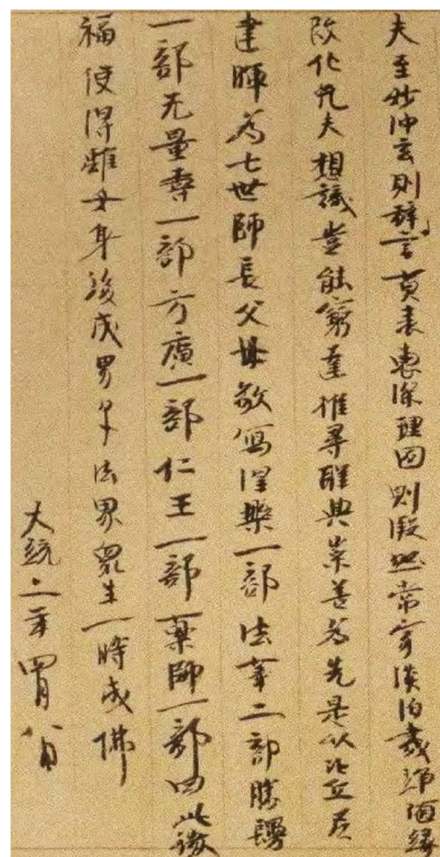


Figure 4.7 Nakamura51 © Taitō kuritsu shodō hakubutsukan

Also, it is peculiar that a *bhikṣuṇī* 比丘尼 (*bhikṣuṇī*) would describe herself as a *bhikṣu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*) in error in BD15076, especially when gender is the main topic of this colophon.

Further, if we compare the date in the colophon in BD15076 and the time when the *Ru*

lengqie jing in this manuscript was translated, as recorded in catalogues of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, the authenticity of BD15076 becomes more problematic.

[The year of] *Guisi* the twelfth [entry] the second [year of the Yanchang era] (i.e. 513 C.E.): the *Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Lan̄kā* in ten fascicles, translated by Bodhiruci (572?–727 C.E.). (Fascicle Three of *Record of the Three Jewels through Ages*)

癸巳 十二 (延昌) 二 (年): 《入楞伽經》十卷, 菩提流支出。³⁴⁶ (《歷代三寶紀》卷第三) (T no. 2034, vol. 49, 45a4, b4)³⁴⁷

The *Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Lan̄kā* in ten fascicles: translated in the second year of the Yanchang [era], which is the second version, and is different from the [*Scripture*] of *Lan̄kā* in four fascicles [that was translated by] [Guṇa]bhadrā from the [Liu] Song dynasty (420–479 C.E.) in terms of length. Śramaṇa Senglang and śramaṇa Daozhan worked as scribes.... The thirty-nine volumes [of the texts] above, which are in one hundred and twenty-seven fascicles in total, were translated by Bodhiruci, a master of the Three Repositories from the country of North *Sindhu* [present-day India], who was called Daoxi in the language of the [Northern] Wei, from the second year of the Yongping era (i.e. 509 C.E.) of the [Northern] Wei dynasty to the years of Tianping era (534–537 C.E.) during the period of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty [r. 464–549 C.E.], for a total span throughout over twenty years, in Luo[yang] and Ye. (Fascicle Nine of *Record of the Three Jewels through Ages*)

入楞伽經一十卷: 延昌二年譯, 是第二出, 與宋世跋陀羅四卷《楞伽》廣略³⁴⁸為異。沙門僧朗、道湛筆受。.....右三十九³⁴⁹部, 合一百二十七³⁵⁰卷, 梁武帝世, 北天竺國三藏法師菩提流支, 魏云道希, 從魏永平二年至天平年, 其間凡歷二十餘載, 在洛及鄴譯。(《歷代三寶紀》卷第九) (T no. 2034, vol. 49, 85c15–86b8)³⁵¹

These two records above are both from the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 (Record of the

³⁴⁶ Putiliuzhi chu 菩提流支出 (translated by Bodhiruci) is written as Putiliuzhi yu Luoyang chu 菩提流支於雒陽出 (translated by Bodhiruci in Luoyang) in the *ZJC* and the *KSC*, Putiliuzhi yu Luoyang chu 菩提流支於洛陽出 in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, and the *JXC*. Yu Luoyang 於雒 (or 洛) 陽 (in Luoyang) should have been added later.

³⁴⁷ This transcription is based on the *Lidai sanbao ji* of the *KFC*. I have used the other canons to collate against that edition.

³⁴⁸ *Lüe* 略 (brief) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, and the *JXC* is written as *shuo* 說 (preach) in the *KFC*, the *ZJC*, and the *KSC*. *Shuo* 說 does not make sense in this context.

³⁴⁹ *Sanshijiu* 三十九 (thirty-nine) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, and the *JXC* is written as *sanshiba* 三十八 (thirty-eight) in the *KFC*, the *ZJC*, and the *KSC*. There are thirty-nine scriptures that are said to be Bodhiruci's translations in this chapter.

³⁵⁰ The number of fascicles of the scriptures that are said to be Bodhiruci's translations is *yibaiershiqi* 一百二十七 (one hundred and twenty-seven) in all the versions. Yet, it seems that this number should be *yibaiershilu* 一百二十六 (one hundred and twenty-six).

³⁵¹ This transcription is based on the *Lidai sanbao ji* of the *KFC*. I have used the other canons to collate against that edition.

Three Jewels through Ages), a Chinese Buddhist chronology and catalogue of Chinese Buddhist texts compiled by Fei Zhangfang 費長房 (fl. 562–598 C.E.). Fei is telling us that the scripture *Ru lengqie jing* in ten fascicles (*T* no. 671), i.e. the text copied in BD15076, which is mentioned at the beginning of the list of the scriptures commissioned by Jianhui in the colophon in BD15076, was translated by Bodhiruci, and was first written down by Senglang and Daozhan in the second year of the Yanchang era (i.e. 513 C.E.), probably in Luoyang. This information is confirmed in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era), a major catalogue of Chinese Buddhist scriptures compile by Zhisheng 智昇 (fl. ca. 730 C.E.), and in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks) composed by Daoxuan 道宣 below.

The *Scripture on Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā* in ten fascicles: translated in the second year of the Yanchang [era], which is the third version, and is identical with both the *[Scripture] of Laṅkā* in four fascicles [that was translated by] Gongdexian [viz. Guṇabhadra] from the [Liu] Song dynasty and the *Scripture of Great Vehicle on Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā* that was translated during the Tang dynasty on the content. Senglang and Daozhan worked as scribes. See the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*. (Fascicle Six of the *Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era*)

《入楞伽經》十卷：延昌二年譯，是第三出，與宋功德賢四卷《楞伽》及唐譯《大乘入楞伽經》³⁵²等並同本，僧朗、道湛筆受。見《續高僧傳》。（《開元釋教錄》卷第六）（*T* no. 2154, vol. 55, 540c19–20）³⁵³

The emperor also commanded the male disciple with pure faith, Li Kuo (fl. 533 C.E.), to

³⁵² *Dasheng rulengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經 (Scripture of Great Vehicle on Entering [the Island of] Laṅkā) (*T* no. 672, vol. 16) in the *ZJC* and the *KSC* is written as *Dasheng lengqie jing* 大乘楞伽經 (Scripture of Great Vehicle on [the Island of] Laṅkā) in the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC* and the *QLC*. In the *KFC*, the *FSC* (1087 C.E.), the *ZJC*, the *KSC*, the *SXC*, the *QSC*, the *SYC*, the *NYC*, the *JXC*, and the *QLC*, *T* no. 672 is consistently titled *Dasheng rulengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, therefore, *Dasheng lengqie jing* 大乘楞伽經 should be a mistake.

³⁵³ This transcription is based on the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* of the *ZJC*. I have used the other canons to collate against that edition.

compose the *Record of All [Buddhist] Scriptures*.... So the *Record* says: [Master of] Three Repositories, [Bodhi]ruci, came from Luo to Ye, and stayed there until the Tianping era. Over twenty years, the scriptures translated by [him] are thirty-nine volumes in one hundred and twenty-seven fascicles in total, which are scriptures such as the *[Scripture] of Names of the Buddhas*, the *[Scripture] of Lankā*, the *[Scripture] of Gathering for the Teachings*, the *Profound and Esoteric [Scripture]*, etc., and treatises [on the scriptures such as] the *[Scripture] of [God] Shengsiwei* [Skt. Viśeṣa-cintibrahma], the *[Scripture] of Great Jewel-heap*, the *[Scripture] of Law-blossom*, the *[Scripture of Great] Extinction*, and so on. [He worked] together with the śramaṇa Senglang and śramaṇa Daozhan as well as the Palace Attendant Cui Guang, and so on, who worked as scribes. (Fascicle One of the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*)

帝又勅清信士李廓撰《衆經錄》.....故其錄云：三藏流支自洛及鄴，爰至天平。二十餘年，凡所出經三十九部，一百二十七卷，即佛名、楞伽、法集、深密等經，勝思惟、大寶積、法花、涅槃等論是也。並沙門僧朗、道湛及侍中崔光等筆受。（《續高僧傳》卷第一）（T no. 2060, vol. 50, 428c18–24）³⁵⁴

Based on these various sources, 513 C.E., the year when the *Ru lengqie jing* was first written in Chinese, is most likely reliable. It is self-evident that the date of a colophon added to a copy of Chinese Buddhist scripture in a manuscript should be later than the date when the scripture was initially introduced in Chinese. In contrast, Jianhui's colophon in BD15076 is dated in 509 C.E., which is four years earlier than the date when this scripture was translated in China. This chronological inconsistency betrays the forger of this colophon.³⁵⁵

In addition, Li Shengduo's seal, *Dehua lishi fanjiangge zhencang* 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏, in BD15076 places this manuscript under a cloud. From Rong (1997; 2002), we learn that Li Shengduo was the main thief who stole a considerable number of manuscripts from the batch of Dunhuang materials that were sent to Beijing under the Qing government's order. After Li and his accomplices' plunder, most of the remaining Dunhuang manuscripts are now kept in the National Library of China in Beijing. Li owned several seals, including the seal

³⁵⁴ This transcription is based on the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* of the *KFC*. I have used the other canons to collate against that edition.

³⁵⁵ Prof. Funayama pointed out this chronological inconsistency that I am highly grateful for.

德化李氏凡將閣珍藏. He imprinted some of his seals onto a portion, but not all, of the Dunhuang manuscripts he collected between 1928 and 1935 (Chen T. 2010). At the end of Li's life, his family sold these manuscripts, and a Japanese collector, Haneda Tooru (1882–1955 C.E.), bought the lion's share after some turnover in ownership. Interestingly, Li's seals themselves were also sold, although they did not necessarily go to the same people who bought his manuscripts. Since Li's manuscripts are highly valued on the open market, forgers imprinted Li's seals onto some genuine Dunhuang manuscripts that lacked them, whether they derived from his collection or not, to add to their value; or they imprinted Li's seals on counterfeit manuscripts; or in some cases, even fabricated Li's seals to imprint on Dunhuang manuscripts, whether genuine or forged. As a result, many of the Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Japan have Li's seals, and among these seals, the seal 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏 is particularly popular. According to Rong (1997, 5), those manuscripts fabricated in Li's name appeared mainly between the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s. Fujieda (1985) examined these seals in many Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Japan, and found that there are eight variants of the seal 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏, and there are also variants of the other seals belonging to Li. Based on his examination, he judged that 98% of the Dunhuang manuscripts collected in Japan are forged. However, as Rong (1997) argued, this judgement is imprecise since faked seals do not necessarily indicate forged manuscripts. Takata (2015) argues that Li Shengduo did not use the seal 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏 on the Dunhuang manuscripts once he collected them, and many manuscripts with this seal are related to a Japanese store *Chouan shou* 長安莊. This misused seal in BD15076 has not only rendered this manuscript's authenticity suspect but also revealed some traces of the story of this

forging.

In addition, the former pressmark of BD15076 is *Xin* 新 1276, which means it is a manuscript that the National Library of China purchased after those manuscripts which were sent directly from Dunhuang to this library. My argument that BD15076's colophon is forged verifies Fang Guangchang's (2002, 93–94) claim that there are some forgeries among the Dunhuang manuscripts that the National Library of China purchased later.

Therefore, even if both BD15076's and Nakamura51's colophons are not forged, at least one—BD15076—is fake. As for the *Ru lengqie jing* in BD15076, I cannot judge its authenticity other than to say that it could not have been copied by the one who wrote its colophon.

Regarding Nakamura144, the script of its text with its colophon is neither consistent with the script of the colophon nor with that of the text of Nakamura51. If Nakamura144 was indeed written by *bhikṣuṇī* Dao Jianhui 道建輝 herself, then she could not be *bhikṣuṇī* Jianhui 建暉 in Nakamura51. Only if someone else copied the *Foshuo juezuifu jing*, wrote the colophon for Jianhui 建暉, and used *hui* 輝 instead of *hui* 暉 for her name, would it be possible that these two colophons refer to the same patron.

Although forged, BD15076's colophon is close to the colophon in Nakamura51, and its ideas mostly make sense. In particular, the rationale of BD15076's colophon mentions *nūhui* 女穢 (female filth), which, although does not appear in Nakamura51's colophon, is essential to both of these colophons, and is a common topic in Buddhist nuns' colophons to scripture manuscripts. Therefore, the forger may have composed the colophon in BD15076 based on Nakamura51's colophon by changing the *Niepan jing*, the first scripture that Jianhui

commissioned in Nakamura51’s colophon, to the *Ru lengqie jing* according to the text of BD15076, and by making some other modifications. Or, the forger may have composed the colophon in BD15076 based on other colophons as yet unknown to me.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three focuses on the prince Yuan Rong’s commissioning of Buddhist texts. Based on previous scholarship, I have collected thirteen manuscripts with colophons that are ascribed to Yuan Rong. I enumerate these manuscripts chronologically as follows:

Table 4.4 Thirteen manuscripts with colophons commissioned by Yuan Rong

Date	Pressmark	
永安三年七月廿三日 (the twenty-third day of the seventh month of the third year of the Yong’an era [i.e. 530 C.E.])	BD9525; Moriya196; Hane656	
建明二年四月十五日 (the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the second year of the Jianming era [i.e. 531 C.E.])	S.4528	
普泰二年三月廿五日 (the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the second year of the Putai era [i.e. 532 C.E.])	P.2143; BD5850; ³⁵⁶ Nakamura21; Moriya197; Shangtu111; Shangtu112 ³⁵⁷	
永熙二年 (the second year of the Yongxi era [i.e. 533 C.E.])	五月七日 (the seventh day of the fifth month)	Gotō51
	七月十五日 (the fifteenth day of the seventh month)	S.4415; Hane601




























In addition to these manuscripts, as I have mentioned in Chapter Three, Su Bai ([1986] 1996, 248) notes a Dunhuang manuscript collected by a Mr. Yuan (Yuan mou 袁某) from Tianjin. Like P.2143, this is also a copy of Chapter Twenty-six of the *Moheyan* commissioned by Yuan Rong, and is dated to the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the second year of the Putai era as well. So far, I cannot locate this manuscript.
























































³⁵⁶ BD5850’s colophon is fragmental, but I can determine that this manuscript is probably also dated to the third month of the second year of the Putai era by comparing its colophon to P.2143’s colophon.








³⁵⁷ Shangtu112 is undated, but was possibly commissioned on the same day, since its text, the *Wuliangshou jing*, is among the list of texts that Yuan Rong commissioned in 532 C.E. as recorded in P.2143’s colophon.

Now, I seek to authenticate the colophons of these manuscripts one by one. According to Ishizuka (2002, 216–221), BD9525 and BD5850 (from the original Beijing collection acquired before 1910), S.4528 and S.4415 (from the Stein collection), and P.2143 (from the Pelliot collection) are probably genuine, which means that they can serve as a baseline for authenticating the other colophons. Let us compare the scripts of these five colophons:

Table 4.5 Comparison of the scripts in five reliable colophons

Pressmark	BD9525	S.4528	P.2143	BD5850	S.4415
Date	永安三年七月廿三日	建明二年四月十五日	普泰二年三月廿五日	普泰二年 □□□□□[三月廿五日]	永熙二年七月十五日
Title	《佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經》序品	N/A (《[仁王]般若波羅蜜護國經》散華品第六至囑累品第八)	《大智》第廿六品釋論竟	《摩訶衍經》卷第一	《大般涅槃經》卷第卅一
<i>Da</i> 大	N/A	 (1/1)	 (2/10)	 (1/1)	 (1/1)
			 (9/17)		
<i>Dai</i> 代	N/A	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	 (1/2)
<i>Pu</i> 普	N/A	N/A	 (1/3)	 (1/3)	N/A
<i>Tai</i> 泰	N/A	N/A	 (1/4)	 (1/4)	N/A
<i>Sui</i> 歲	N/A	N/A	 (1/7)	 (1/6)	N/A
<i>Ci</i> 次	N/A	N/A	 (1/8)	 (1/7)	N/A
<i>Xi</i> 西	N/A	N/A	N/A	 (2/1)	 (1/33)
<i>Zhu</i> 諸	N/A	N/A	 (2/5)	 (2/2)	 (1/34)
<i>Fo</i> 佛	 (1/10)	 (1/12)	 (9/7)	N/A	N/A
		 (5/5)	 (10/7)		















Di 弟	 (1/11)	 (1/13)	 (1/21)	N/A	 (3/22)
		 (5/6)	 (4/13)		
Zi 子	 (1/12)	 (1/14)	 (1/10)	N/A	 (3/22)
		 (5/7)	 (3/24)		
Yang 陽	N/A	N/A	 (3/1)	 (2/3)	 (2/12)
Yuan 元	 (1/13)	 (1/15)	 (3/4)	 (2/5)	 (2/14)
			 (10/11)		
Rong 榮	 (1/15)	 (1/16)	 (3/5)	 (2/6)	 (2/16)
Tian 天	 (1/18)	 (3/5)	 (3/7)	N/A	 (3/19)
		 (5/2)	 (5/20)		
Wang 王	 (1/19)	 (3/6)	 (3/11)	 (2/4)	 (3/20)
		 (5/3)	 (6/12)		 (2/12)
Jing 經	 (2/2)	 (4/23)	 (5/10)	N/A	N/A
Yi 一	 (2/3)	 (3/18)	 (5/11)	N/A	 (3/8)
		 (4/4)	 (6/17)		 (3/11)
Bu 部	 (2/5)	N/A	 (5/13)	N/A	 (3/9)
	 (2/9)		 (9/11)		





































Yuan 願	 (2/13)	 (5/1)	 (10/1)	N/A	 (3/21)
		 (6/7)	 (11/20)		 (4/6)

From this table, we can see that none of the scripts of these five colophons are similar to each other. Since all the other colophons (aside from those of P.2143 and BD5850) are dated to different years, this means that, overtime, different scribes participated in producing manuscripts for Yuan Rong’s patronage. Furthermore, the script of P.2143’s colophon varies from that of BD5850’s colophon, which means that even within the same year, and for the colophons of the same text, there could be more than one scribe. This is plausible because the *Treatise on the Great Wisdom* or the *Mahāyāna Scripture* is a large text.

Starting with the colophons that are dated to the third year of the Yongan era, I am comparing their scripts as follows:

Table 4.6 Comparison of the scripts in three colophons dated to 530 C.E.

Pressmark	BD9525	Moriya196	Hane656
Date	永安三年七月廿三日	永[安]三年七月廿三日	永安三年七月廿三日
Title	《佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經》序品	《佛說仁王般若經》卷上	《佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜經》卷下
Yong 永	 (1/1)	 (1/3)	 (1/3)
San 三	 (1/2)	 (1/4)	 (1/4)
Fo 佛	 (1/10)	 (1/20)	 (1/21)
			 (4/34)
Di 弟	 (1/11)	 (1/21)	 (1/22)
		 (5/4)	 (3/32)

Zi 子	 (1/12)	 (1/22)	 (3/33)
		 (5/5)	 (7/11)
Rong 榮	 (1/15)	 (2/19)	 (2/12)
Tian 天	 (1/19)	 (3/15)	 (2/35)
			 (3/16)
Wang 王	 (1/19)	 (7/25)	 (5/4)
			 (5/18)
Jing 經	 (2/2)	 (6/24)	 (5/7)
			 (6/7)
Bu 部	 (2/5)	 (7/2)	 (5/10)
	 (2/9)	 (7/2)	 (5/13)
Yuan 願	 (2/13)	 (9/19)	 (3/13)
		 (4/10)	 (7/21)
Yan 延	 (2/15)	 (8/10)	 (7/14)
Qi 期	N/A	 (3/4)	 (2/24)

As I have addressed in Chapter Three, colophons of BD9525 and Moriya196 were probably written by the same hand, and both of these two colophons seem to be authentic. The content of Hane656's colophon is almost the same as that of Moriya196's colophon. Nevertheless, the script of Hane656's colophon is very different from that of BD9525's and Moriya196's colophons.

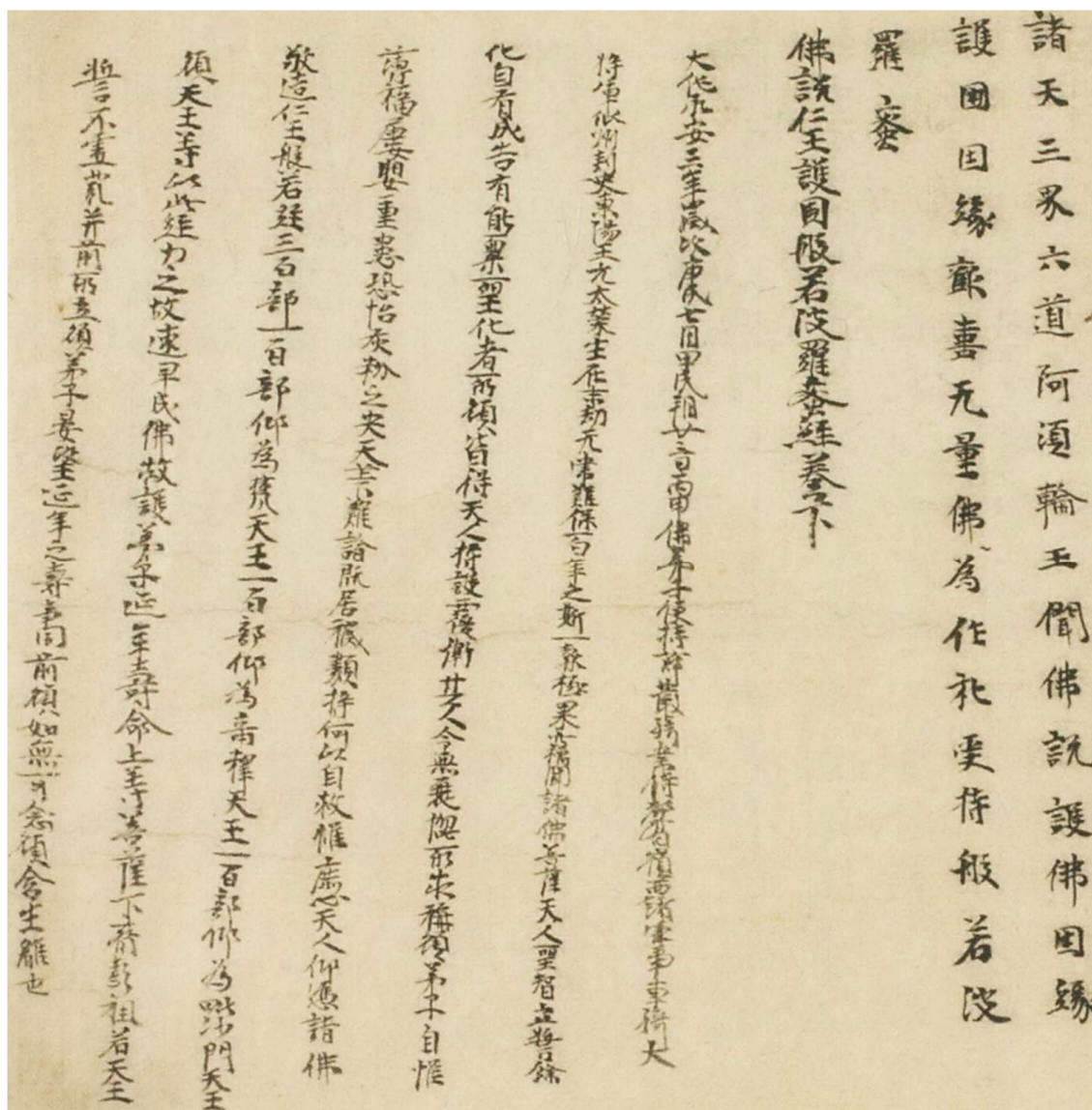


Figure 4.8 Colophon in Hane656 © Kyōu shokku

Other than its script, the style of Hane656’s colophon is also special. Specifically, all the seven columns of this colophons incline to the left to a large degree when compared with the text of this manuscript. This deviation is perhaps due to the lack of ruled lines in the manuscript. However, the columns of all the other colophons ascribed to Yuan Rong are much more upright than those of Hane656’s colophon, and some of these colophons do not have ruled lines either (e.g., colophons of Moriya196, S.4415, Hane601). Since the
































































manuscripts had been commissioned by the highest-ranking official in the Dunhuang area, and were probably copied by professional scribes, we would reasonable expect that the columns of the colophons to be straight. Therefore, it is odd for the columns of Hane656’s colophon to be sharply inclined.

In addition, the character *si* 斯 (such) in the phrase *bainian zhi si* 百年之斯 in Hane656’s colophon does not make sense. *Si* 斯 is a mistake for *qi* 期 (period) (e.g., in Moriya196’s colophon, as I demonstrate in the last line of Table 4.6). *Bainian zhi qi* 百年之期 means “a period of a hundred years,” and writing *qi* 期 as *si* 斯 means the scribe of this colophon did not understand its meaning thoroughly. To summarize, I doubt the authenticity of the colophon in Hane656.

Coming to the colophons that are dated to the second year of the Putai era, again, I compare their scripts as follows:

Table 4.7 Comparison of the scripts in six colophons dated to (or likely dated to) 532 C.E.



Pressmark	BD5850	P.2143	Moriya197	Nakamura21	Shangtu112	Shangtu111
Date	普泰二年 □□□□□[三 月廿五日]	普泰二年 三月廿五 日	普泰二年三 月廿五日	普泰二年三 月廿五日	N/A	普泰二年三 月廿五日
Title	《摩訶衍經》 卷第一	《大智》 第廿六品 釋論竟	《大智度 論》卷第七 十第卅七 品、卅八品	《律藏》初 分卷第十四	《无量壽 經》卷下	《維摩疏》 卷第一
<i>Da</i> 大	 (1/1)	 (2/10)	 (1/1)	 (1/1)	N/A	 (1/1)
		 (9/17)	 (9/4)	 (2/13)	N/A	 (2/10)
<i>Dai</i> 代	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	N/A	 (1/2)





































Pu 普	 (1/3)	 (1/3)	 (1/3)	 (1/3)	N/A	 (1/3)
Tai 泰	 (1/4)	 (1/4)	 (1/4)	 (1/4)	N/A	 (1/4)
Sui 歲	 (1/6)	 (1/7)	 (1/7)	 (1/7)	N/A	 (1/7)
Ci 次	 (1/7)	 (1/8)	 (1/8)	 (1/8)	N/A	 (1/8)
Xi 西	 (2/1)	N/A	 (2/7)	 (2/7)	N/A	 (2/4)
Zhu 諸	 (2/2)	 (2/5)	 (2/8)	 (2/8)	N/A	 (2/5)
Gua 瓜	N/A	 (2/19)	 (2/22)	 (2/22)	 (1/1)	 (2/19)
Zhou 州	N/A	 (2/20)	 (3/1)	 (2/23)	 (1/2)	 (2/20)
Ci 刺	N/A	 (2/21)	 (3/2)	 (2/24)	 (1/3)	 (2/21)
Shi 史	N/A	 (2/22)	 (3/3)	 (2/25)	 (1/4)	 (2/22)
Yang 陽	 (2/3)	 (3/1)	 (3/5)	 (3/5)	N/A	 (2/24)
Yuan 元	 (2/5)	 (3/4)	 (10/1)	 (3/7)	 (1/5)	 (2/26)
		 (10/11)	 (3/7)	 (10/1)		


Rong 榮	 (2/6)	 (3/5)	 (3/8)	 (10/2)	 (1/7)	 (3/1)
Wang 王	 (2/4)	 (3/11)	 (3/6)	 (10/3)	N/A	 (2/25)
		 (6/12)	 (3/14)	 (3/14)		 (3/7)
Jing 經	N/A	 (5/10)	 (5/10)	 (5/1)	 (1/11)	N/A
Yan 衍	N/A	 (6/16)	 (6/12)	 (6/6)	N/A	N/A
Yu 愚	N/A	 (8/22)	 (8/10)	 (8/11)	N/A	N/A
Xian 咸	N/A	 (11/17)	 (11/11)	 (11/9)	N/A	N/A
Jun 君	N/A	 (3/15)	 (3/18)	 (3/18)	N/A	 (3/11)

Among these colophons, BD5850's and P.2143's colophons are probably genuine, and can be used as baselines. From this table, I can determine that only the script of Moriya197's colophon and that of Shangtu111's colophon may be similar to each other. In order to explore the relationship between the colophons of these two manuscripts, I have selected more samples from them to further compare their scripts as follows:

Table 4.8 Comparison of the scripts of the colophons in Moriya197 and Shangtu111

Pressmark	Moriya197	Shangtu111
Date	普泰二年三月廿五日	普泰二年三月廿五日
Title	《大智度論》卷第七十第卅七品、卅八品	《維摩疏》卷第一
Gua 瓜	 (2/22)	 (2/19)

Rong 榮	 (3/8)	 (3/1)
Wang 王	 (3/6)	 (2/25)
	 (3/14)	 (3/7)
Zi 子	 (1/10)	 (1/10)
	 (1/22)	 (1/22)
	 (4/4)	 (3/20)
Yi 乙	 (1/13)	 (1/13)
Chou 丑	 (1/14)	 (1/14)
Jie 節	 (1/25)	 (1/25)
San 散	 (1/26)	 (1/26)
Ji 騎	 (2/12)	 (2/9)
	 (2/1)	 (1/27)
Du 督	 (2/5)	 (2/2)
Ling 領	 (2/6)	 (2/3)
Shi 事	 (2/10)	 (2/7)
Che 車	 (2/11)	 (2/8)
Jiang 將	 (2/14)	 (2/11)
Fu 府	 (2/17)	 (2/14)

<i>Si</i> 司	 (2/21)	 (2/18)
<i>Dong</i> 東	 (3/4)	 (2/23)
<i>Di</i> 地	 (3/11)	 (3/4)
<i>Huang</i> 荒	 (3/13)	 (3/6)
<i>Sai</i> 塞	 (3/17)	 (3/10)
<i>Jun</i> 軍 (君)	 (3/18)	 (3/11)
<i>Li</i> 礼	 (3/21)	 (3/14)
<i>Qian</i> 遣	 (4/9)	 (3/25)
<i>Shu</i> 叔	 (4/11)	 (3/27)
<i>Geng</i> 更	 (4/16)	 (4/4)
<i>Lao</i> 尅 (老)	 (4/20)	 (4/9)

Based on the samples listed above, I believe that these two scripts are from the same hand, although strokes of the latter looks slightly curved. That said, both of these two colophons look highly dubious to me.

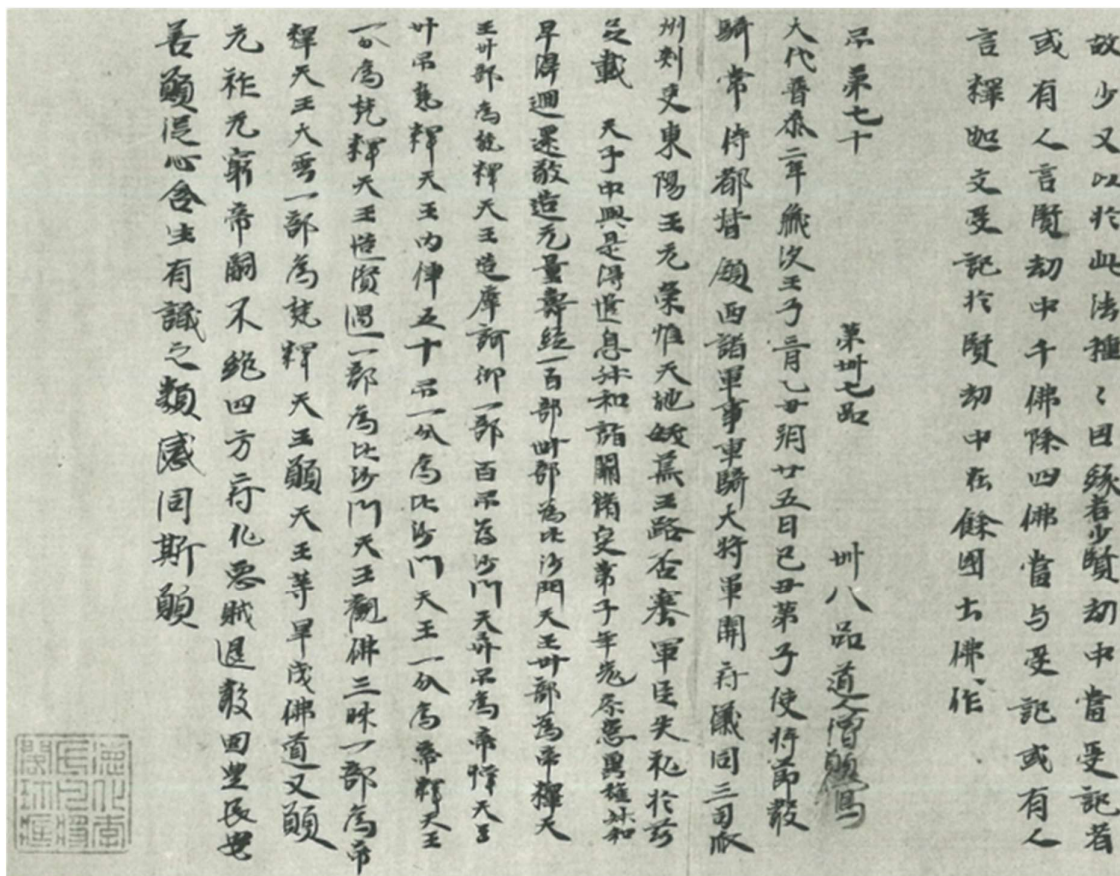


Figure 4.9 Colophon in Moriya197 (Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1964, 81b)

The content of Moriya197’s colophon is the same as that of P.2143’s colophon, yet I note four errors (as I demonstrate them in the last four lines in Table 4.7), which may serve to repudiate the authenticity of Moriya197’s colophon altogether. First, *yan* 衍 in the text title *Moheyān* 摩訶衍 (Mahāyāna) is erroneously written as *yang* 仰 (face upward). Second, *yu* 愚 (foolish) in the scripture title *Xiānyu* 賢愚 ([the Scripture of] the Wise and the Foolish) is erroneously written as *yu* 遇 (encounter). These two mistakes do not appear in any of the other colophons ascribed to Yuan Rong.³⁵⁸ They suggest that the individual who scribed this colophon did not understand the meanings of these Buddhist text titles at all.

The third mistake is that *xiantong siyuan* 咸同斯願 (all be the same as in this

³⁵⁸ Yuan Rong also commissioned the *Xiānyu* in the second year of the Yongxi era. See Hane601 and S.4415.

aspiration) at the end of this colophon is changed into *gantong siyuan* 感同斯願 (feel the same as in this aspiration). *Xiantong* 咸同 (all be the same) is a fixed term, which is often used in Dunhuang colophons to extend the patron's aspirations to all sentient beings, such as *xiantong siyuan* 咸同斯願 in the colophon in P.4506, and *xiantong liku* 咸同離苦 (all together escape from suffering) in the colophon in Beida D50. Although *gantong* 感同 (feel the same) is semantically correct, but when it is used in *gantong siyuan* 感同斯願, it does not make sense, and I have not seen this phrase elsewhere in the corpus of Dunhuang colophons. Therefore, I suspect that the scribe deliberately changed *xiantong* 咸同 into *gantong* 感同 according to the scribe's own understanding, as the scribe seems not to understand *xiantong* 咸同.³⁵⁹ Finally, *jun* 君 (ruler) in the phrase *junchen shili* 君臣失禮 (ruler and subject have lost their ritual propriety) is erroneously written as *jun* 軍 (army), which does not make sense in this phrase. This error could be a simple mistake, since the pronunciations of these two characters is similar to each other. It still indicates that the scribe did not fully understand the phrase in question. Because of these errors, I suspect that the colophon in Moriya197 is forged.

³⁵⁹ *Xian* 咸 (all) is written as *jian* 減 (reduce) in Nakamura 21's colophon. In contrast to *gan* 感 (feel) in Moriya197's colophon, as I have explained in Chapter Three, *jian* 減 is more like a phonetic alternative, or an accidental mistake.

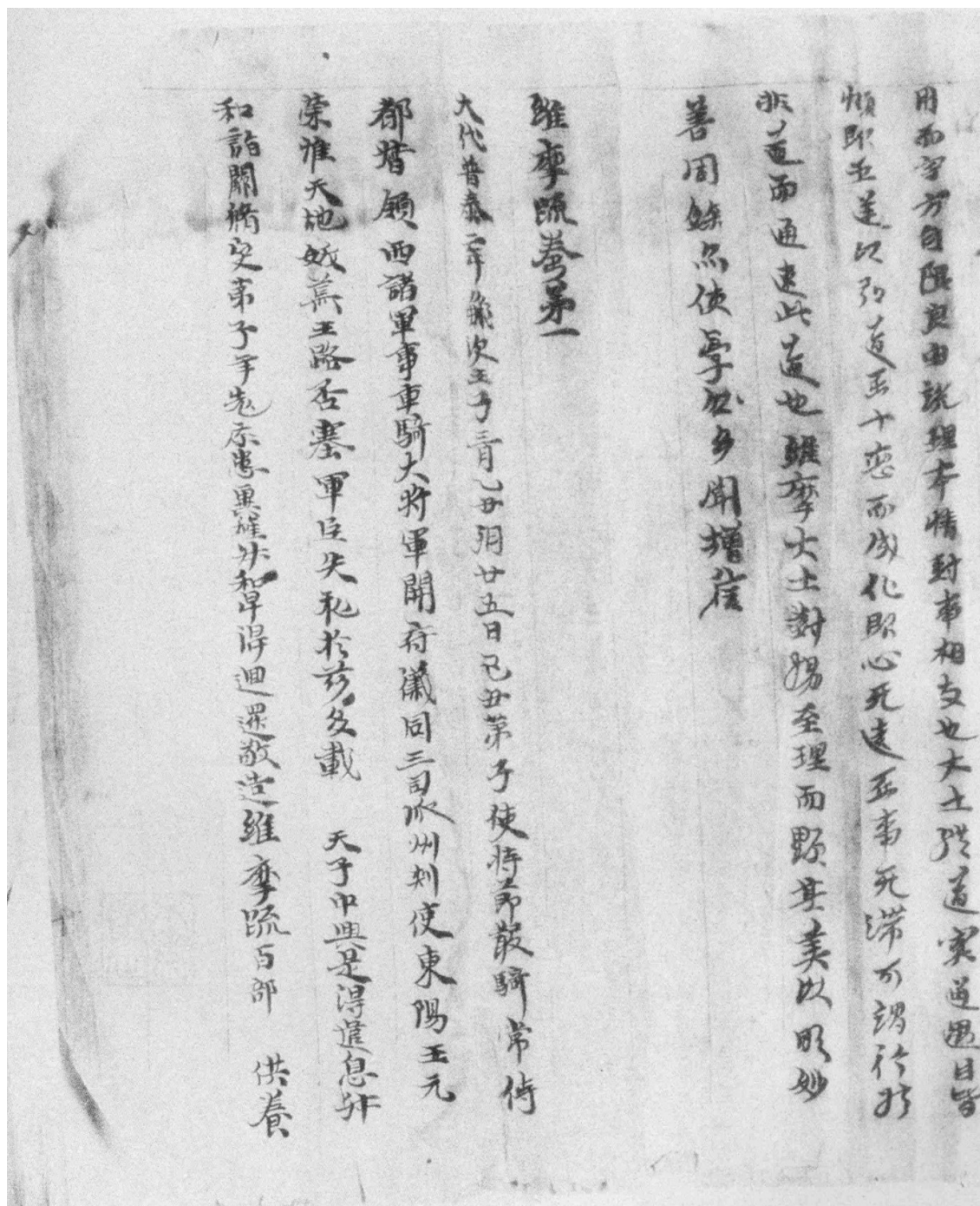


Figure 4.10 Colophon in Shangtu111 (Shanghai tushuguan and Shanghai guji chubanshe 1999, 3:57b)

I also doubt the authenticity of the colophon in Shangtu111. First, although this colophon looks like an abbreviated version of P.2143's colophon, it does not mention the Heavenly Kings at all: a major omission, given the extent to which they feature in Yuan Rong's other

colophons (as I have discussed in Chapter Three).³⁶⁰ Also, the *Weimo shu* 維摩疏 (Commentary on the [*Scripture of*] *Vimala*[*kīrti*]) copied in this manuscript and mentioned in this colophon is not among the list of texts recorded in Yuan Rong’s other colophons. Hence, I doubt that Yuan Rong commissioned this text. Additionally, like that in Moriya197’s colophon, *jun* 君 in the phrase *junchen shili* 君臣失禮 is also erroneously written as *jun* 軍. Given these questionable points, and the similarity between Moriya197’s and Shangtu111’s colophons, I tend to believe that these two colophons were forgeries produced by the same hand.














































Since the colophons in Nakamura21 and Shangtu112 are appended to the *Lüzang* 律藏 (Storehouse of [Monastic] Codes) and the *Wuliangshou jing* 无量壽經 (Scripture of [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Life) respectively, which were both texts commissioned by Yuan Rong, and I do not see any apparent errors undermining these colophons’ authenticity, I regard them as genuine.

Lastly, I move on to three colophons that are dated to the second year of the Yongxi era. Among them, S.4415’s and Hane601’s colophons are dated to the fifteenth day of the seventh month while Gotō51’s colophon is dated to the seventh day of the fifth month. The colophon in S.4415 is probably genuine, therefore could be used as the baseline.

Table 4.9 Comparison of the scripts of three colophons dated to 533 C.E.

Pressmark	S.4415	Hane601	Gotō51
Date	永熙二年七月十三日	永熙二年七月十三日	永熙二年五月七日
Title	《大般涅槃經》卷第卅一	《大般涅槃經》卷第十五	大方等大集經卷第二
<i>Da</i> 大	 (1/1)	 (1/3)	 (1/1)

³⁶⁰ The colophon in BD5850 is short and fragmental, and the colophon in Shangtu112 is as short as one sentence, therefore I do not see the Heavenly Kings in these two colophons.

Dai 代	 (1/2)	 (1/2)	 (1/2)
Er 二	 (1/7)	 (1/7)	 (1/7)
Zi 子	 (3/22)	 (5/21)	 (1/19)
Yang 陽	 (2/12)	 (2/11)	 (2/11)
Rong 榮	 (2/16)	 (2/15)	 (2/15)
Tian 天	 (3/19)	 (3/13)	 (3/2)
		 (3/2)	 (4/14)
Yi 一	 (3/8)	 (5/1)	 (3/25)
		 (3/11)	 (3/19)
Chi 持	 (1/18)	 (1/18)	 (1/17)
Du 都	 (1/30)	 (1/30)	 (1/29)
Jun 軍	 (1/35)	 (1/35)	 (1/34)
Huan 患	 (3/25)	 (5/23)	 (2/25)
		 (2/25)	 (4/21)
Yuan 願	 (4/6)	 (5/15)	 (4/13)
Chu 除	 (3/27)	 (5/25)	 (4/23)

From this table, I realize that the script of Hane601's colophon resembles that of S.4415's

colophon. Because there is not a typical error in the colophon in Hane601, I tend to believe that this colophon is as authentic as the colophon in S.4415.

In contrast, the colophon in Gotō51 looks rather suspicious. This colophon is dated to the seventh day of the fifth month, which is around two months earlier than the date of S.4415 and Hane601. The content of this colophon is almost the same as that of S.4415 and Hane601, except that it records three scriptures commissioned by Yuan Rong, namely, one copy of the *Daji* 大集 (Large Collection [Scripture]) in ten fascicles, one copy of the *Fahua* 法華 ([Scripture of] Law-blossom) in ten fascicles, and one copy of the *Weimo* 維摩 ([Scripture of] Vimala[kīrti]) in three fascicles, rather than ten scriptures in the colophon in S.4415 and Hane601.

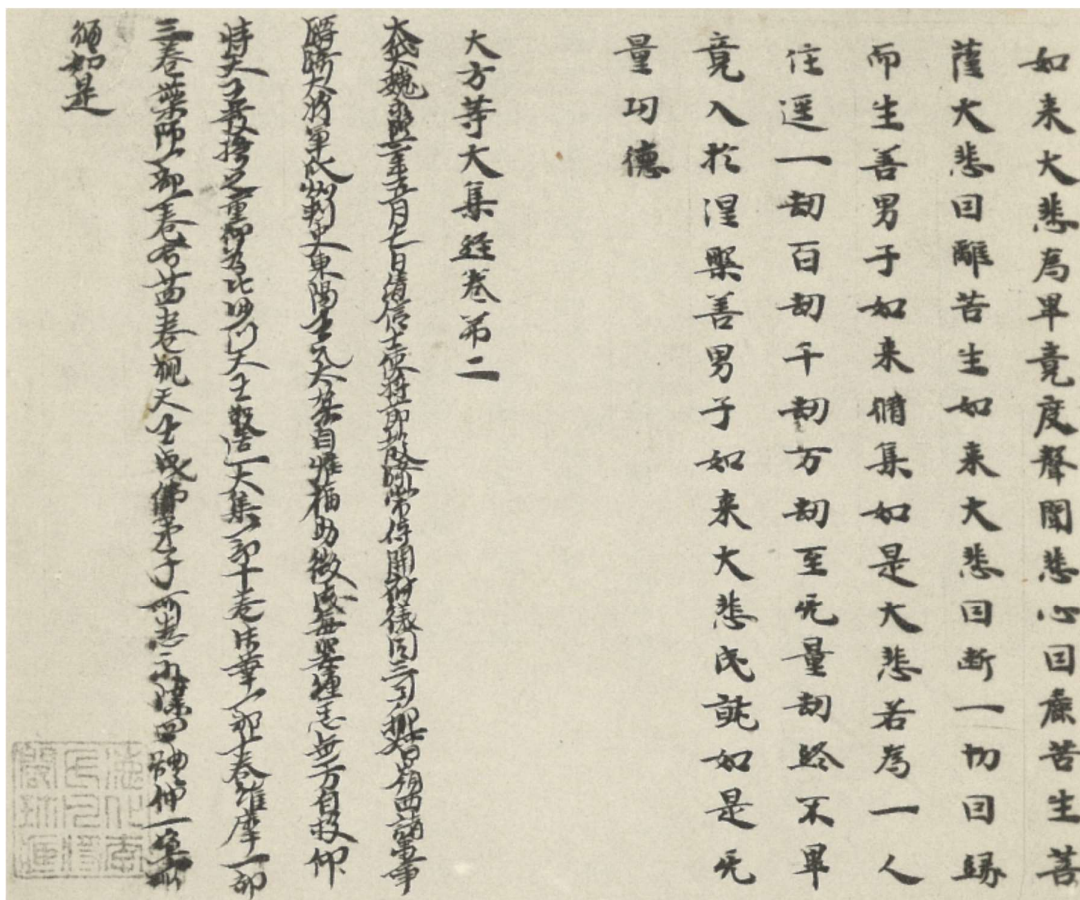









Figure 4.11 Colophon in Gotō51 (Tōkyō daizōkai 1943, 51)

This colophon is appended to the second fascicle of the *Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大乘經 (Great Extensive and Equal Large Collection Scripture). Only part of this manuscript has been published, and the text in this part parallels *T* no. 397, vol. 13, 13c27–14a03, which is Tanwuchen’s 曇無讖 translation in sixty fascicles. Searching through Chinese Buddhist catalogues, I have not found a version of the *Da fangdeng daji jing* in ten fascicles as recorded in this colophon, which gives rise to questions as to whether this colophon is genuine. The other two scriptures recorded in this colophon, the *Fahua* and the *Weimo*, are commissioned again around two months later, as indicated in the colophons in S.4415 and Hane601. Why would Yuan Rong have repeatedly commissioned the same scriptures for the same aspirations within such a short period? Moreover, there are six characters in Gotō51’s colophon that look perplexing compared with the same characters in the other colophons ascribed to Yuan Rong (as listed in the last six lines in Table 4.9): (1) *chi* 持 (hold) is written as , looking like *jiang* 將 (lead), which does not make sense in the context; (2) *du* 都 (part of the military title *Dudu* 都督 [Commander-in-chief]) is written as , which is hardly recognizable; (3) *jun* 軍 (military) is written as , which is beyond recognition; (4) *huan* 患 (disease) is written as  and , looking more likely to be *xi* 悉 (inform), which is not compatible in this context;³⁶¹ (5) *yuan* 願 (may) is written as , which is unrecognizable;³⁶² (6) *chu* 除 (eliminate) is written as , which looks strange. These characters, which do not appear in Yuan Rong’s other colophons, make me wonder if this scribe understood the colophon, or merely mimicked the original version. In addition, the characters in this colophon are written abnormally tightly when compared with those in Yuan

³⁶¹ Ikeda (1990, 118) transcribes this character as *zhi* 志 (aspiration), which does not make sense in this context, either.

³⁶² Ikeda (1990, 119) transcribes this character as *guan* 觀 (watch), which does not make sense in the context.

Rong's other colophons. In other words, there is nearly no space between each two characters throughout the entire colophon. This is bizarre, since there is much space left behind the colophon in this manuscript, which means that the scribe could have arranged these characters in a looser format if one simply allocated a reasonable number of characters to each column. Relating this dense format to the perplexing characters in this colophon which I have addressed above, I suspect the forger intended to obscure readers' vision in order to conceal the presence of these nonsense characters, which the scribe was likely not confident with. Based on these issues, I doubt the authenticity of the colophon in Gotō51.

In summary, for Chapter One, Hane578, including its text and colophon, looks dubious. For Chapter Two, the colophon in BD15076 is forged. For Chapter Three, the colophons in Hane656, Moriya197, Shangtu111, and Gotō51 are dubious. To date, all of my research into the manuscripts treated in this dissertation was performed using images. To further verify the conclusions suggested above (relating to these colophons' authenticity) will require the painstaking examination of the physical manuscripts in person.

Appendix II: Network Analysis and Visualization for Studying Buddhist Textual Practices

In this appendix, I present the results of network analyses that depict the relationships between the scriptures used in sets (figure 5.1), between scriptures and beneficiaries to which patronage was dedicated (figure 5.2), and between scriptures and aspirations as well as methods of using scriptures (figure 5.3) respectively. These analyses were computed and visualized using the “Gephi” software package.

These relationships being analyzed herein were drawn from a database of ninety-two colophons from the manuscripts of forty-three apocrypha, as well as the colophons of twenty-two translated scriptures, and of five scriptures whose status as apocryphal or translated scriptures have not been adequately demonstrated in previous scholarship. In figure 5.2, I sort all the beneficiaries into thirty-one types, include people, cattle, houses, etc. In figure 5.3, I sort all the aspirations and methods of using the texts into ninety-nine types.

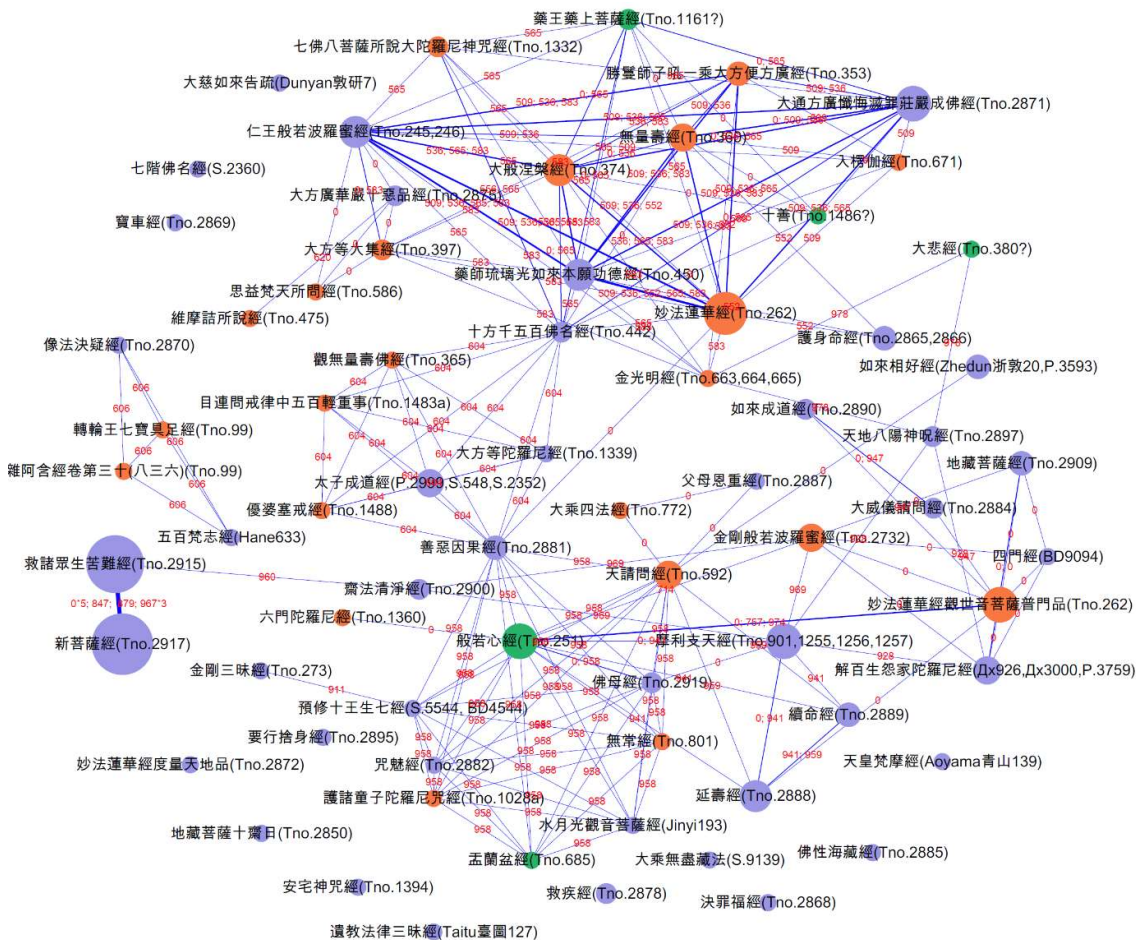


Figure 5.1 Relationships between the scriptures used in sets

In this graph, the blue nodes ● represent apocryphal scriptures, the red nodes ● indicate translated scriptures, and the green nodes ● stand for scriptures that scholars have not determined as translations or apocrypha, and those that are mentioned in the colophons but have not been definitively identified.³⁶³ The size of the node reflects the number of times that a scripture has been copied among the Dunhuang manuscripts that I have collected. The label on a node includes the Chinese title of the scripture and its number in *The Taishō Newly Compiled Canon*. For those scriptures that are not included in this canon, the numbers of their Dunhuang manuscripts are included in their labels. An edge between two nodes indicates that

³⁶³ If you print these graphs off, please print them in colour so that the nodes can be differentiated.

of times that these beneficiaries are referred to in colophons. An edge with an arrow pointing from a scripture title to a beneficiary indicates that the scripture was copied for that beneficiary. The thickness of an edge reflects the frequency with which that scripture was copied for that particular beneficiary. The red number that labels an edge is the year when the scripture was copied for this beneficiary.

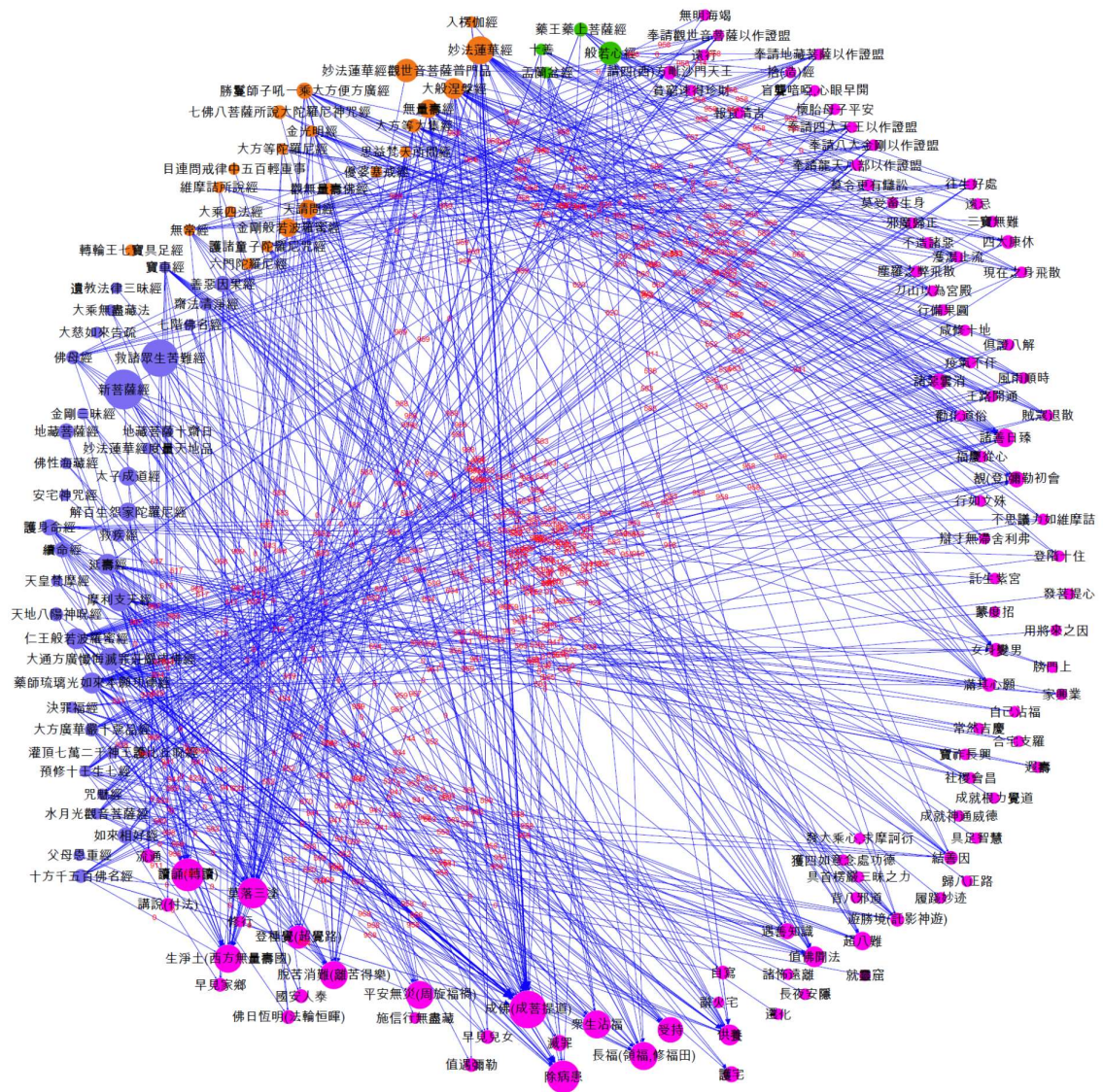


Figure 5.3 Relationships between scriptures and aspirations or methods of using scriptures

The purple nodes ● stand for the purposes for copying the scriptures, including patrons' aspirations (e.g., to have the female body transformed into a male body, to meet the family, to

ascend to the first assembly of Maitreya) and the methods of using the texts (e.g., to circulate, to recite, to teach). The size of these nodes reflects the number of times that these purposes are referred to in colophons. An edge with an arrow pointing from a scripture title to a purpose means the scripture was copied for that purpose. The thickness of an edge reflects the frequency with which the scripture has been copied for that purpose. The red number that labels an edge is the year when the scripture was copied for that purpose.

This appendix is a preliminary step of my future project to explore patterns underlying combining Buddhist scriptures for use and practicing with Buddhist texts, which awaits further work.

Appendix III: Dates of Colophons

This appendix lists all the dates collected from the colophons that I have analyzed in the body chapters, and determines how many of them fall on significant days in the ritual calendar of Buddhism in medieval China based on previous scholarship.

Paul Magnin (1987, 139–141) finds that thirty-one percent of 677 Dunhuang manuscripts that he has examined are dated to the four most popular monthly days: the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third day. He argues that Buddhist community in Dunhuang selected these days because they fall before the lunar quarters. He also notes that these four days are among the ten abstentional monthly days for the rite for Bodhisattva Earth-store (Ch. Dizang 地藏; Skt. Kṣitigarbha) in the Dunhuang area.³⁶⁴ Magnin (1987, 138–139) points out that 110 out of 832 manuscripts from Dunhuang are dated to the fifth month, which is the largest portion of this corpus, and suggests that it is because the fifth month is one of the three months designated for long abstinence.³⁶⁵ Bryan Lowe (2017, 46–50) finds that manuscripts that are dated to these four monthly days that Magnin has noted account for thirty-six percent of all the ninety manuscripts with dates from Nara-period Japan, which constitute the largest portion in this corpus. He emphasizes that these days are related to Buddhist abstentional practices, including the *poṣadha* (translated as *zhai* 齋 or transliterated as 布薩 in Chinese) and the related six abstentional days (*liu zhairi* 六齋日). Ōchō and Suwa (1982, 223), quoting the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great Scripture of Perfection of Wisdom) (T no. 223, vol. 8, 310c5–8), have explained that the six abstentional days are the eighth,

³⁶⁴ These ten days are the first, eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth day.

³⁶⁵ The other two months are the first and the ninth months.

fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth day. Hureau (2010, 1218) and Lowe (2017, 49) believe that these abstinential days stem from the belief that the Heavenly Kings examine and judge people's deeds on these six monthly days as taught in the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings*, which I have addressed in Chapter Three. Zhao Qingshan (2019, 376–380) finds that among 426 Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures copied for aspirations with dates, manuscripts that are dated to the first, eighth, fifteenth, twenty-third, and twenty-eighth days are apparently more in number than those dated to the other days in the month. He attributes this phenomenon to the six or ten abstinential monthly days, and relates them to the *Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings*, too.

Drawing on this previous scholarship, I analyze the dates of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures which I have discussed in this dissertation as follows:

Table 6.1 Dates of Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures discussed in the present dissertation

Pressmark	Text	Year	Month	Day	Items
BD7120	<i>Xin pusa jing</i>	大蕃乙未年 (the <i>yiwei</i> year of great Tibet [i.e. 815 C.E.])	正月 (the first month)	二日 (the second day)	1
BD14804	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing</i> and <i>Zhaifa qingjing jing</i>	顯德柒年 (the seventh year of the Xiande era [i.e. 960 C.E.])		三日 (the third day)	1
S.1185	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing</i> and <i>Quanshan jing</i>	天福四年 (the fourth year of the Tianfu era [i.e. 939 C.E.])		四日 (the fourth day)	2
Nakamura144	<i>Jue zuifu jing</i>	元二年 (the second year of Yuan era [i.e. 553 C.E.])	三月 (the third month)		
S.1592	<i>Xin pusa jing</i>	亥年 (the <i>hai</i> year)	五月 (the fifth month)	五日 (the fifth day)	1
S.11521		乙未年 (the <i>yiwei</i> year)	二月 (the second month)	七日 (the seventh day)	2
Φ215					

Дx299		貞元十九年 (the nineteenth year of the Zhenyuan era [i.e. 803 C.E.])	正月 (the first month)	八日 (the eighth day)	4
P.3498	<i>Quanshan jing</i>				
Nakamura51	<i>Daban niepan jing</i>	大統二年 (the second year of the Datong era [i.e. 536 C.E.])	四月 (the fourth month)		
Nakamura65	<i>Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing</i>	武德二年 (the second year of the Wude era [i.e. 619 C.E.])			
Дx1609+2035	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing and Xin pusa jing</i>	乾符六年 (the sixth year of the Qianfu era [i.e. 879 C.E.])	五月 (the fifth month)	十三日 (the thirteenth day)	1
S.4528	<i>Renwang bore jing</i>	建明二年 (the second year of the Jianming era [i.e. 531 C.E.])	四月 (the fourth month)	十五日 (the fifteenth day)	5
P.3135	<i>Sifen jie</i>	乙卯年 (the yimao year)			
S.622	Untitled (Version One of the <i>Xin pusa jing</i>)	長安四年 (the fourth year of the Chang'an era [i.e. 704 C.E.])	五月 (the fifth month)		
Hane601	<i>Daban niepan jing</i>	永熙二年 (the second year of the Yongxi era [i.e. 533 C.E.])	七月 (the seventh month)		
S.4415					
S.3485v	<i>Quanshan jing</i>	丁亥 (?) 年 (the dinghai year)	正 (?) 月 (the first month)	十七日 (the seventeenth day)	1
S.3442	<i>Xin pusa jing</i>	乙未年 (the yiwei year)	三月 (the third month)	廿日 (the twentieth day)	3
S.4479	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing and Xin pusa jing</i>	乾符六年 (the sixth year of the Qianfu era [i.e. 879 C.E.])	五月 (the fifth month)		
P.3857					
Дx1708+2399		乾德伍年 (the fifth year of the Qiande era [i.e. 967 C.E.])	七月 (the seventh month)	廿一日 (the twenty-first day)	2
S.3417					
KUM2744				廿二日 (the twenty-second day)	1
S.5256		丁卯年 (the dingmao year)			
Moriya196	<i>Renwang bore jing</i>	永安三年 (the third year of the Yong'an era [i.e. 530 C.E.])		廿三日 (the twenty-third day)	3
BD9525					

Guobo57	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing</i>	乾德伍年 (the fifth year of the Qiande era [i.e. 967 C.E.])		廿四日 (the twenty-fourth day)	2
Hane697	and <i>Xin pusa jing</i>	甲戌年 (the <i>jiayu</i> year)	八月 (the eighth month)		
P.2143	<i>Dazhidu lun (Moheyang jing)</i>	普泰二年 (the second year of the Putai era [i.e. 532 C.E.])	三月 (the third month)	廿五日 (the twenty-fifth day)	5
BD5850					
Nakamura21	<i>Lüzang</i>				
S.3696	<i>Jiu zhuzhongsheng ku'nan jing</i>	戊戌年 (the <i>wuxu</i> year)	十二月 (the twelfth month)		
S.3687	<i>Quanshan jing</i>				
S.4366	<i>Daban niepan jing</i>	大統十六年 (the sixteenth year of the Datong era [i.e. 550 C.E.])	四月 (the fourth month)	廿九日 (the twenty-ninth day)	3
Hane501					
S.1349	<i>Quanshan jing</i>	貞元十九年 (the nineteenth year of the Zhenyuan era [i.e. 803 C.E.])	五月 (the fifth month)		
Jintu137		戊戌年 (the <i>wuxu</i> year)	十二月 (the twelfth month)	三十日 (the thirtieth day)	1

There are thirty-eight manuscripts that are dated, and their dates are scattered across seventeen monthly days, including six monthly days that are among the ten abstinential monthly days. The popular days of the month to which these manuscripts are dated are the eighth (four pieces), the fifteenth (five pieces), and the twenty-fifth (five pieces) days, among which the first two days are abstinential days. The dates of these thirty-eight manuscripts fall into eight different months, with clusters of manuscripts dated to the seventh (nine pieces), first (six pieces), fourth (six pieces), fifth (six pieces), third (five pieces) months. Among these five months, the first and the fifth months are abstinential months. Further, as I have addressed in Chapter Three, all of Yuan Rong's colophons are dated to the abstinential days when the Heavenly Kings examine and judge people's deeds, except for three manuscripts

dated to the twenty-fifth day. These data indicate that the patrons likely selected certain dates for their commissioning of scriptures, and most of these dates fall on the abstinential days.

Although the number of Dunhuang manuscripts that my dissertation explores is limited and cannot represent the general rule for Buddhist textual practices in medieval Dunhuang, it is still helpful to note this pattern of correlation between textual copying and the larger religious calendar.

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Jue zuifu jing 決罪福經 (Scripture on Judgment of Merits or Demerits)

Nakamura144

Lüzang 律藏 (*Storehouse of [Monastic] Codes*)

Nakamura21

Quanshan jing 勸善經 (*Scripture on Exhorting Virtue*)

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S.3687

Without colophon: BD4304; BD6922; BD7681v; BD8421; BD15251; Beida D109;
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BD9525; Hane656; Moriya196; S.4528

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BD15076

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P.3135

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Version Two

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Without colophon: BD9231-1; BD9231-2; Dx4034+5155-1; Dx4034+5155-2; Hane247;
Hane249; S.3091-1; S.3091-2; S.3091-3; S.5303-1; S.5303-2;
S.5654-2+Hane637v-1; Taitu113

Version Three

With colophon: BD8108-2; Dx299; Dx1609+2035-2; Dx1708+2399-2; Guobo57-2; Hane578-2 (dubious); KUM2744-2; P.3857-2; S.1066; S.1592; S.3417-2; S.4479-2; S.5060-2; S.5256-2

Without colophon: BD7338-2; BD7606-2; BD8063-2; BD9230-1; BD9230-2; BD9244-2; BD9312-2; BD10024-1; Dx1251+1464-2; Dx6765+2057-2; Dx2586A-2; Dx2774B+2796B; Dx4535v+4537v; Dx4572+4736; Dx6601+10339-1; Dx6601+10339-2; Dx10329-1; Dx10329-2; Hane252; Hane314; Hane713; Jintu140; Jintu139-1; Jintu139-2; P.2668-3; P.2953-2; P.2983P1; P.3117-2; S.136-2; S.407-1; S.407-2; S.414-2; S.470-2; S.521-1; S.521-2; S.1689-1; S.1689-2; S.2320-1; S.2320-2; S.2649-2; S.3126-2; S.3790; S.4747; S.5020; S.5244; S.5929-1; S.5929-2; S.8718; Shangtu61-2

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Shangtu111

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Shangtu112

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