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From the Editor

Announcements

The editor is delighted to announce that in the fall of 1992 the *Gest Library Journal* will issue a special, enlarged issue entitled "Women in East Asia: Materials and Research Problems." This issue (volume five, number two) will concentrate on the problems scholars encounter in locating materials and dealing with their evaluation and interpretation when conducting research on women in East Asian societies. We expect to include a variety of articles, ranging from brief research notes to fuller studies written by specialists on as many of the East Asian civilizations as we are able to recruit.

The focus of these articles will be on the problems encountered in doing library research. But they will all in some measure reflect the place of women in East Asian societies and the nature of such social problems as marriage, relations between men and women, chastity and female celibacy, women's place in the family, and career patterns. We also anticipate articles on women writers and their published or unpublished writings, with assessments of the value of such works for research; the "women's voice" in poetry and other kinds of writings, whether written by women or by men in conventionalized "female voice" modes; female roles in traditional or modern drama; extraordinary women; and the like.

The editor is looking forward to the publication of this special issue.

News of the Field

The editor received from a group of five scholars at the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking, an announcement of the publication of the Hui-chou documents. The following short article, written by these scholars (for their names, see below), has been translated and edited by the staff of the *Gest Journal*.

The Hui-chou Documents and "Hui Learning"

In southern Anhwei Province, China, stands a beautiful mountain range, the Huang-shan Mountains. Located at the foot of these

mountains, extending from the northeast to the southwest in the shape of a fan, are six counties: Chi-hsi, She-hsien, Hsiu-ning, I-hsien, Ch'i-men, and Wu-yüan. The first five are within the jurisdiction of the modern Anhwei Province and the last, of Kiangsi Province. During Ming and Ch'ing times, these six counties all belonged to the Hui-chou Prefecture of Anhwei. People used to refer to them as the "six counties in the same prefecture," an administrative entity that existed for more than five centuries.

A place of green mountains and clear rivers, Hui-chou Prefecture was also the home of many famed Chinese literary figures. People often described it as "the home for Confucius and Mencius in the southeast," comparing it to the ancient states of Tsou and Lu in Shantung, where Confucian learning then flourished. Today Hui-chou is known for its rich historical and cultural relics. Hui-chou has preserved more contractual papers from earlier dynasties than found anywhere else in China. A large amount of collected works of local writers, local gazetteers, clan records, and other cultural treasures and historical writings have also survived here. Hui-chou is well known for the production of ink, ink-stones, woodblock printed books, and gourmet food. It is also the cradle of the Hsin-an school of medical science, the Hsin-an school of painting, the Hui-chou opera, the art of seal cutting, printing, potted miniature landscapes, and bamboo and stone carvings. Moreover, many Hui-chou literary figures played important roles in the development of Chinese culture. Among them were Chu Hsi (1130–1200), the founder of Neo-Confucianism, and Dr. Hu Shih (1891–1962), a renowned modern scholar who also happened to be curator of the Gest Oriental Library in the early fifties.

Hui-chou has attracted new attention from scholars all over the world in recent years for the discovery of local documents, which cover a span of almost one thousand years, from the Sung dynasty (960–1279) to the Republican period (1911–1949). Some scholars have attached as much importance to this discovery as they have to the discoveries of oracle inscriptions, inscribed wooden slips of the Han dynasty, Tun-huang documents, and archives preserved in the Forbidden City. These local documents are huge in quantity and rich in content. They are original and can be used by scholars

working on a wide range of topics in Chinese history. And they have already exerted far-reaching influence on the development of modern scholarship on Chinese history. The discovery of the Hui-chou documents, along with the other four discoveries mentioned above, are therefore mentioned by some scholars in one breath: "the five great cultural discoveries in China, or *wu-ta fa-hsien*." The discovery of these documents has ushered in a new subject for scholarly research: the study of the history and culture of Hui-chou, or "Hui Learning," which is gradually taking a distinctive shape and attracting more and more attention from scholars in China and overseas.

The Hui-chou documents consist of a variety of government documents and private contracts, such as agreements on the sale and purchase of land, tenant contracts, records of land-rent income, account books of ancestral temples, pawn tickets, indentures for selling oneself or a member of one's family into indentured servitude, tax payment receipts, notices of the amount of land tax to be paid, drafts of household registers, land survey records, registers of numbered land-boundary markers, brochures of household rights to hills and mounds, records of community festivals and ceremonies, receipts for loans, certificates of official assignment, questions for civil service examinations, examination books, records of sworn or adoptive kinship, personal letters, diplomas, certificates of official citations and awards, and official dispatches. An incomplete reckoning indicates that the Hui-chou documents amount to more than one hundred thousand items; they are valuable and irreplaceable to research on political, economic, and cultural developments in late imperial China.

The study of the Hui-chou documents has already shown a major characteristic different from other branches of Chinese studies: it employs written historical records, but its emphasis is on the use of official documents and contractual papers, and quantitative as well as qualitative analysis of these documents, so as to arrive at scientific conclusions based on quantitative data. This type of study is perhaps the first step toward overcoming a common defect in research methods, in which primary sources are tailored and pieced together at the author's will, leading to superficial and

shallow essays. The discovery of the Hui-chou documents opens up a real possibility for scholars to base their research on specific and sound historical evidence and to narrow the gap between their conclusions and the reality of history. For instance, the study of the Hui-chou documents may shed new light on the political and economic policies adopted by the Ming and the Ch'ing courts and their implementation in Hui-chou, since the Hui-chou local officials carried out these policies rather faithfully. This was so because Hui-chou had been under the direct jurisdiction of Nanking, the capital of the Ming dynasty during its early years. After the capital was moved to Peking during the Yung-lo reign period (1403–1424), Hui-chou was under the administrative control of the "Southern Metropolitan Area," directly supervised by the central government and not by an intermediary provincial government. As late as the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, Hui-chou still belonged to Chiang-nan Province, the provincial capital of which was located in the modern city of Nanking until Emperor K'ang-hsi adjusted some of the provincial boundaries, making Hui-chou part of a newly separate Anhwei Province. The close relations between Hui-chou and the successive central governments during the Ming and early Ch'ing dynasties make Hui-chou documents a faithful reflection of the political and economic policies of the central court. These documents include official certificates issued by the central government to the purchasing party in the trading of lands from Yüan to Ming times, land survey registers used in the Sung-Yüan period, household registers, receipts for tax payment used under the consolidated "Single Whip" taxation system from the Wan-li reign period (1573–1620) onward, and the house number plates issued by the Ch'ing government under its ten-household registration system. These documents either provide totally new primary materials or add new details to records already available, providing modern scholars with a vivid picture of the actual implementation of court policies.

The Hui-chou documents also contain many records about Hui-chou merchants, who played an important national role in the trade guilds during the Ming-Ch'ing times. Their trading activities linked Hui-chou with many places in Chekiang, Kiangsi,

Hu-kuang, Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, Kiangsu, and Peking, and even in remote areas such as Kweichow, Szechwan, and Yunnan. Therefore, Hui-chou documents are valuable source materials for the research not just of Hui-chou Prefecture, but of many other areas in China as well, during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.

The Hui-chou documents are a rich mine of information for research into Chinese clans. Although clan organizations were well developed throughout the Chiang-nan region, Hui-chou Prefecture in particular exemplifies that social development, in that its local clan records were compiled with unusual thoroughness. As early as the Yüan dynasty (1271–1368), a compilation entitled *A Treatise on the Great Clans in Hsin-an* was completed; a similar work, *A Treatise on the Famous Clans in Hsin-an* (Hsin-an is an old name for Hui-chou), was compiled during the Ming dynasty. Influential clans in other counties of the Hui-chou Prefecture, such as those in Hsiu-ning County, also produced special compilations of their clan history. Many other documents related to local clan affairs, such as clan genealogical tables, records of family history, records of land purchases, account books of ancestral temples, certificates for dividing up family property among family members, clan regulations, and family rules, have survived into our day.

The Hui-chou documents can be used for a wide range of scholarly research. Figures in the clan genealogical tables can be employed in a variety of demographic analyses; records of land purchases reflect the accumulation of wealth within the landlord class; business partnership agreements tell the development of cooperation in commerce; account books of the Hui-chou merchants reveal the scope of their trading activity; and records of local festivals and ceremonies are useful for the study of ethnology.

To make these valuable source materials available to scholars in China and abroad, a group of researchers in the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking, in 1983 began to arrange, catalogue, and publish the Hui-chou documents. The first result of their efforts is the publication of *A Collection of Records concerning the Society and Economy in Hui-chou during Ming-Ch'ing Times* (*Ming-Ch'ing Hui-chou she-hui ching-chi tzu-liao*

ts'ung-pien), vol. 2 (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1990). Included in this work are agreements on the purchase and sale of lands in Hui-chou during Sung, Yüan, and Ming times. These documents were selected from a collection of contractual papers held by the institute. They include the most important agreements, some of which have unique forms.

In an effort to give scholars a fuller picture of the Hui-chou documents, two other books have also been compiled, *A Thousand Years of the Hui-chou Contractual Papers* (*Hui-chou ch'ien-nien ch'i-yüeh wen-shu*) and *Annotations to the Family Rules of Tou-shan kung* (*Tou-shan kung chia-i chiao-chu*). The first work, published in August 1991 in twenty volumes of one thousand pages each, is a reproduction in facsimile of the original documents. Red color has been added to some documents to reproduce their original look. The second work, published later in 1991, contains a collection of the records of a single family, the Ch'eng family of Shan-ho in Ch'i-men County, Hui-chou Prefecture. In addition to the family's clan regulations and family rules, the volume includes the Ch'eng family's genealogical tables and copies of contractual papers so as to provide scholars with more systematic primary sources for their study of Hui-chou clans.

Participating in the project were the following scholars from the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking: Zhou Shao-quan, Li Ji-xian, and Luan Cheng-xian, senior researchers in Ming history; Zhang Xue-hui, senior researcher in Ming socioeconomic history; and Chen Ke-yun, assistant researcher in Ming-Ch'ing economic history.

Inquiries about these books should be addressed to the Library of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking, China.

Visitors to the Library

In 1991, the Gest Oriental Library welcomed several distinguished visitors. Among them there were Professor Glen Dudbridge of Oxford University, Professor Lai Xinxia of Nankai University, and Professor Zhang Kaiyuan of Normal University of Central China. We were particularly glad to wel-

come a devoted supporter of the journal: Professor Wang Zengyu of the Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking, who paid his second visit to Princeton to participate in the compilation of the *Cambridge History of China*. Other distinguished visitors included Lou Ming, president of the China National Publishing Industry Trading Corporation, and Dr. Hui Huang, senior advisor of the Taiwan Power Company.

The Contributors

Hosea Hirata is assistant professor of modern Japanese literature in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton University. A Canadian citizen, Professor Hirata received a B.A. from McGill University in 1979, and an M.F.A. in creative writing and a doctorate in comparative literature from the University of British Columbia. He taught at Pomona College for three years before coming to Princeton in 1990. His research interests lie in modern and postmodern Japanese poetry and fiction, and western literary theory, especially Derrida's grammatology. Currently, Professor Hirata is revising his doctoral dissertation on the Japanese modernist poet Nishiwaki Junzaburō and writing a book on contemporary Japanese fiction, in which he argues that the text is a site of seduction. His publications include poetry written in English as well as translations of modern Japanese poems.

Stephen F. Teiser completed his doctoral studies in the Department of Religion at Princeton in 1986, and after briefly teaching elsewhere, returned to Princeton. An assistant professor in the Department of Religion, he is the D. T. Suzuki Preceptor of East Asian Religions. He has published a book entitled *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton University Press, 1988), as well as several important articles. He is now working on a book-length study of the Ten Kings of Hell sutras and their place in the formation of Chinese Buddhist teachings. His article in this issue of the journal, on the early forms of the Chinese Buddhist book, draws on that research.

Uematsu Tadashi, who earned his doctorate from Kyoto University, is professor of Chinese history in the Faculty of Education, Kagawa Univer-

sity, Japan. Professor Uematsu has worked extensively on the social and economic history of the Yüan period, and his article in this issue draws on his most recent research. The author of numerous publications, Professor Uematsu is known to the scholarly world particularly for his work in Yüan-period law and its operation. No stranger to Princeton, Professor Uematsu visited the university in the fall of 1988.

Martin Heijdra, who writes in this issue about his recent discovery among the not-fully-catalogued oddities in the Gest Collection of two extremely rare Tangut-script Buddhist sutras, is the Gest's bibliographer for Chinese materials. He did graduate studies in sinology at the University of Leiden and studied in both China and Japan before coming to Princeton to study for his doctorate in Chinese history. A specialist in the social history of the Ming dynasty, he is completing his dissertation and writing an important chapter for the eighth volume of the *Cambridge History of China*. His duties in the Gest Library include supervision of the rare books collections.

Cao Shuwen is a cataloguer at the central editorial office for the International Union Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books at Princeton University. After receiving a master's degree in library science from Peking University in 1984, Mrs. Cao worked for the cataloguing section of Peking University Library until April 1989, when she and two other Chinese specialists were invited by the Research Libraries Group to serve as visiting scholars at Princeton, where they worked for a Chinese rare books project at the Gest Library. For two years she was a visiting scholar in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton. The author of many articles on the classification and cataloguing of Chinese rare books, Mrs. Cao is co-author of *Bibliographical Description for Chinese Rare Books* (*Chung-kuo ku-chi chu-lu kuei-tse*) (Peking: Piao-chun ch'u-pan-she, 1987), which has been adopted as the national standard for cataloguing traditional Chinese books in the People's Republic of China.

John Winthrop Haeger graduated from Princeton University in the 1960s, having majored in East Asian Studies, and went on to earn a doctorate in Chinese history at the University of California, Berkeley. He has to his credit a number of important publications on Chinese history, but for well over a decade he has turned his skills to the problems of East Asian libraries.

He is vice president for programs and planning of the Research Libraries Group, Mountain View, California, a not-for-profit corporation owned by its member libraries, of which Princeton is one. Dr. Haeger now directs his impressive energies to raising the level of technological innovation in library work, in the service of humanistic research. He is the author of several important international cooperative programs, one of which he describes in his brief report in this issue of the journal.

Acknowledgments

The editor wishes to extend his heartfelt gratitude to Professor F. W. Mote for his valuable guidance and for his assistance in the editorial work for this issue. Work on this issue started at almost the same time as the editor's first teaching position in the Department of History at the University of Toronto, and a busy teaching schedule and preparation for lectures took up most of the editor's time. Without Professor Mote's help, it would have been impossible for this issue of the journal to reach its readers on time. The editor also received generous help from Dr. De-min Tao, research fellow in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University. Although occupied with his own research and writing projects, Dr. Tao found the time to translate from Japanese the article contributed by Professor Uematsu Tadashi that appears in this issue. Professor Wang Zengyu encouraged his colleagues in Peking to write the short piece about the publication of the Hui-chou documents and personally brought it, along with other articles for the journal, to Princeton. Last but not least, my indebtedness is to my beloved wife, Fannie. She is not only a devoted reader, but also a volunteer worker for the journal. She generously offered her time, typing up manuscripts and proofreading them. Moreover, as a general reader, her opinions on the articles helped the editor revise them and make them readable for a wider audience.

Haruki Murakami in Princeton

HOSEA HIRATA

"Let's go look for the sheep," she said, eyes closed. "Once we get to looking for that sheep, things'll fall into place."

I looked into her face a while, then I gazed at both her ears. A soft afternoon glow enveloped her body as in an old still life.

— A Wild Sheep Chase

HARUKI APPEARS WITH YŌKO

Early in February 1991, late in the evening, I met Haruki (his first name) for the first time. It wasn't like a planned meeting in a fashionable cafe (there is no such thing in Princeton); I just landed in front of him, so to speak. It was dark. The ground was wet and slippery. Someone who had gone to pick him up at the airport knocked on our apartment door. I ran out, slipped, fell, stood up, and found myself in front of him. It was dark and he looked like a bundled up sheep — quiet, compact, but somehow dense and massive. Then I understood completely the raison-d'être of the enigmatic sheep in his novel *A Wild Sheep Chase*.[1] Yōko, his long-time companion (he sometimes refers to his wife in this way in his essays), who looked like his graceful shadow in her black suit, with her long black hair cascading into the darkness around her, was already asking us where the laundry room was.

So it seemed that he just appeared one night in Princeton, thousands of miles away from his homeland Japan, materialized, as it were, out of millions of words he had shaped and exhibited in more than forty books he had published in Japan. He is our department's (East Asian Studies) visiting fellow for a year.

1. Haruki Murakami in a Jones Hall classroom, Princeton University, 1991

Haruki Is Very Popular

Without a doubt Haruki is by far the most phenomenally successful writer of "serious literature" (*jun bungaku*) in modern Japan. His books have sold by the millions, forcing him to be some kind of cultural icon of contemporary Japan. Although Haruki attempts to avoid Japan's omnipresent media publicity as much as possible, his fame has reached such a point that he and Yōko could no longer feel anonymous and free in public places. In 1986 they actually left Japan for Europe and lived in Greece and Italy for three years. The visit to Princeton is therefore their second long foreign sojourn. Yet despite all the hype and hoopla in Japan, he remains an absolutely unassuming and very private individual.

There seem to be innumerable theories floating around attempting to account for Haruki's "phenomenal" popularity in Japan. One thing seems clear: his books have spoken for a new generation, *our* generation, defining *our* language, just as a decade before Ōe Kenzaburō and Abe Kōbō offered a new language to the generation of existentialists unsatisfied with the peculiar Japanese aesthetics shaped by the works of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari, and Mishima Yukio. We have seen that many of the postwar Japanese writers began writing out of an existentialist vacuum left by the war. Haruki, on the other hand, began writing out of the vacuum of the seventies, left empty by the collapse of a counterculture led by students' revolutionary movements in the late sixties. His writings could be seen as struggles against the ever threatening, all-engulfing silence in which we pretend to communicate, from which he *writes*.

> *We walked through the woods to the ICU campus, sat down in the student lounge, and munched on hot dogs. It was two in the afternoon, and Yukio Mishima's picture kept flashing on the lounge TV. The volume control was broken so we could hardly make out what was being said, but it didn't matter to us one way or the other. A student got up on a chair and tried fooling with the volume, but eventually he gave up and wandered off.*
>
> *"I want you," I said.*
>
> *"Okay," she said.*[2]

Haruki Was Born

Murakami Haruki was born in 1949 in Ashiya, Hyogo — the city made

famous by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's masterpiece *The Makioka Sisters*. He grew up as an only child. Both his parents were Japanese literature teachers in high school (his mother quit work after Haruki was born). Out of youthful rebellion against his parents, Haruki says, he decided not to read any Japanese literature; instead, he began reading cheap American paperbacks easily obtainable in the port town Kobe's secondhand bookstores. In 1968, as he entered the Theater Department at Waseda University, he moved to Tokyo for the first time. Within a few weeks in Tokyo he observed his native Kansai (Western) dialect become transformed into standard Tokyo speech. Consequently, all his writings were to be written in the standard Tokyo dialect — an alien language for Haruki.

The late sixties in Japan saw the height of student uprisings. Many universities were occupied by leftist students and were forced to close down. Waseda University was no exception. Haruki hardly went to school, though he met Yōko in a German class he mistakenly wandered into. They were married in 1971 while both of them were still students. In 1974 they opened a jazz bar. Moving it once to a different location within Tokyo, they managed the bar until 1981 when Haruki decided to make a living solely by his writing. He graduated from Waseda in 1975.

Hear the Wind Sing

So it was that when I learned of her death, I smoked my six thousand, nine hundred and twenty-second cigarette.[3]

This book was published in 1979 but I wrote it in 1978. I began writing it in April. When I went to see a baseball game in the nearby Jingū Ballpark — it was the season-opener by the way — it just came to me that I should write a novel. It was a beautiful day. I was lying on the ground beyond the outfield (there were no bleachers back then), drinking beer, then suddenly felt an urge to write. So I went to the Shinjuku Kinokuniya Bookstore and bought myself a fountain pen and some writing paper. I was twenty-nine then. Before that I was too busy at the jazz bar to write anything. I even had no desire to write, though I liked reading books. I was working till late every night so that I could pay back all the debts that I'd needed to start the business.

First I wrote the whole thing (200 pages) in a normal realist

style; but somehow it didn't work. The story was the same as the final version. But the realist style made the story really boring. So I thought I would make the style much lighter. It's true that this new style of writing was much influenced by writers like Richard Brautigan and Kurt Vonnegut. How to transplant their styles into the Japanese language was the crucial point.

So I began rewriting it from the beginning. I don't remember clearly how I proceeded to rewrite except that I kept the same story line. When I was working on a figure of speech, for example, I decided that I would not use any similies that the mainstream realist writers might use. I just decided that I would write it like a joke. Then I felt all the muscles in me move in harmony, so to speak. I felt "This is it!"

Of course I had to keep working at the bar. After closing the bar, I wrote about an hour every night on the kitchen table at home, sipping beer. It was fun. This is one of the reasons that the chapters are very short. If I'd had to work with long chapters, I couldn't have remembered what I was feeling the night before.

I remember well the day when one of the editors of the *Gunzō Journal* told me that *Hear the Wind Sing* had made it to the final cut for the award. That was a Sunday morning in early spring. I'd already turned thirty. By then I had even forgotten that I had sent in the manuscript for the New Writer's Award. (It was autumn when I sent the manuscript.) So, when I was told over the phone that it was among the finalists, I was really flabbergasted. Then I felt so happy. I have experienced many moments of happiness since I became a writer but I've never felt so much joy as at that moment. Even the joy of receiving the actual award paled in comparison. After I hung up the phone, I went out for a walk with my wife. We found a pigeon with a broken wing in front of a school. I held it in my hands and took it to a police station. The pigeon was palpitating in my hands. I clearly remember that faint sign of life and its warmth. It was an obscure kind of spring morning. The air was full with the aroma of precious life. I just felt that I would win the award. Just a hunch.

And I really won the award.

2. Haruki Murakami, Princeton University campus, 1991

Now I think I'm ready to talk.

Granted I haven't come up with one single solution to anything. For that matter, by the time I get through talking, things might be no different than when I started. When you get right down to it, writing is no means to self-help. It's scarcely a passing attempt at self-help. Still, it's awfully hard to tell things honestly. The more honest I try to be, the more the right words recede into the distance.

I don't mean to rationalize, but at least this writing is my present best. There's nothing more to say. And yet I find myself thinking that if everything goes well, sometime way ahead, years, maybe decades, from now, I might discover at last that these efforts have been my salvation. Then lo, at that point, the elephants will return to the plains and I will set forth a vision in words more beautiful.[4]

So began his writing career.

Haruki Writes Many Books

After *Hear the Wind Sing*, Haruki published five novels: *Pinball, 1973* in 1980, *A Wild Sheep Chase* (winner of the Noma Literary Award for New Writers) in 1982, *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* (winner of the Tanizaki Prize) in 1985, *Norwegian Wood* in 1987, and *Dance, Dance, Dance* in 1988. He has also published six collections of short stories and more than a dozen of nonfiction writings, often in collaboration with illustrators or photographers, as well as translations of works by, among others, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Truman Capote, Paul Theroux, Raymond Carver (he is translating the complete works of Carver), Tim O'Brien, John Irving. Most of his novels have already been translated into English by Alfred Birnbaum but are only now gradually coming out in the United States and the United Kingdom. The translations of his first two novels and *Norwegian Wood* are available only in Japan, included in the Kodansha English Library Series. (Haruki thinks his first two novels are too immature to be published here.) The translation of *A Wild Sheep Chase* was published in the United States and the United Kingdom in 1989 and now is in paperback. *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*, published by Kodansha International, came out in 1991. The *New Yorker* has published three short stories. *Playboy* is also scheduled to publish several of his stories.

"The phone will ring soon," the TV PEOPLE *rep says. Then, after a measured pause, he adds, "In another five minutes."*

I look at the telephone; I think about the telephone cord. Endless lengths of phone cable linking one telephone to another. Maybe somewhere, at some terminal of that awesome megacircuit, is my wife. Far, far away, out of my reach. I can feel her pulse. Another five minutes, I tell myself. Which way is front, which way is back? *I stand up and try to say something, but no sooner have I gotten to my feet than the words slip away.*[5]

Interview or Party Talk

HH: Do you have a favorite among your works?

HM: Mmmm . . . I like some of my short stories. But I get too critical about my longer ones. You see, a finished long novel is like a piece of dirty underwear you just took off. When you are wearing it you don't mind, but once you took it off, you just don't feel like putting it back on again. When I write short stories, I leave some distance between myself and the text. There's always some conscious calculation involved in writing a short story.

HH: How about the story "The Disappearance of an Elephant"?

HM: Yeah, I like that one, too. I just like elephants. They are so big. I thought it would be interesting if such a big thing disappeared without any reason. So I began writing that story about why an elephant disappeared. Before that story, I wrote a very short one about an elephant stepping on beer cans. There's a small city and everyone recycles beer cans. The city decides to hire an elephant to crush the collected cans. The protagonist, "I," just loves watching the elephant crushing the cans with its heavy feet. Once a week the elephant does the work. "I" just watches it. That's all. A very short story. After this I wrote the story about the disappearance of an elephant. The crux is that the elephant disappears. Other added parts of the story really don't matter. As long as the elephant disappears, I would be perfectly content.

HH: Do you learn much from translating?

HM: Oh, yes, a lot. To translate English into Japanese is really a matter of transferring a dynamism. You just can't keep chasing words; you have to capture the core of the text. So as long as I know that I have captured the

core of the text, regardless of some trivial mistakes I inevitably make, I feel great. The difficulty of translating poems is that you have to, in a way, capture the core within the core of the poem. That's really tough to do.

HH: Are there any American writers whom you feel are particularly difficult to translate?

HM: The more I like a writer the more difficult it gets to translate. For example, Scott Fitzgerald is difficult to translate because I like his work too much. Do you remember how *The Great Gatsby* begins? Oh, you found the book. Could you read it aloud for me?

> In my younger and more vulnerable years my father gave me some advice that I've been turning over in my mind ever since.
>
> "Whenever you feel like criticizing any one," he told me, "just remember that all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you've had."

You see, this is really tough. How can anyone translate the word "advantages" into Japanese? Reading it in English I think I know the "core" of the text. But it's really difficult to transfer this into Japanese. Although I would really love to translate this book, because of this sentence I can't do it.

HH: Isn't there already a Japanese translation of Gatsby?

HM: Yes, there is.

HH: You don't like it?

HM: Mmmmm . . . Well, it's like bumping into your old girlfriend dating another guy. It's not that I hate this translation by someone else, but, you know, you can feel some tension . . .

HH: What do you like about Fitzgerald?

HM: He carries the burden of duality. I like writers who have some kind of duality, people who seem to be somehow divided within. In the case of Fitzgerald, he had both an inferiority complex and a strong sense of superiority. Yes, in many other senses, he seemed to be divided: sincerity and wildness, idealism and debauchery. He would love Zelda completely but at the same time would ignore her completely. No wonder he became an alcoholic.

HH: In many of your works, the character "I" simply watches things around him. I wonder why.

HM: It might be very much like Nick Carraway watching Gatsby. You know, he is the narrator of the story. I really like Nick Carraway. He is just

an ordinary guy. You see, I myself do not feel that I am an "artist." I am more like a worker in an artistic field. A true artist would create a strong, active first-person narrative because he's more confident about himself. The world he sees would be as vivid as the world seen from a roller coaster. But in my case, it's different. I just feel like watching things more quietly. I want to see different people, different movements. So, it's not that I move; I watch things move. Murakami Ryū is the opposite kind of writer. He acts. I watch.

HH: What do you think of plots?

HM: I never think about a plot beforehand. I just begin. So I have no idea what is to follow. It's like I am going through an unforeseeable adventure with the characters. It's a lot of fun, actually. It would be really boring if I knew the story line beforehand. Inevitably some contradictions in the narrative show up when I proceed like this. Then, I have to edit later. I believe that writing a novel is basically a spontaneous act. It's like you are going over a cliff by keeping on adding another piece of wood before you until you eventually cross over to the other side. Or it's like a ninja walking on water by pulling out each leg before it sinks into the water. It's really thrilling to write a novel like this. You just have to become a novelist to enjoy this thrill.

HH: How do you begin then?

HM: Well, I have to feel that something is overflowing within me. After finishing a long novel, I have to have a few years to prepare for another one. I have to wait till I know for sure that something is overflowing out of me. But if I wait too long, this something will totally submerge me, so I have to capture the right moment to begin. It's quite mysterious, but I can feel that moment. I'm not sure but I think it may be very much like the brief period in a month when a woman can get pregnant. Once I begin writing I become very difficult to deal with. I think I'm usually a pretty helpful husband doing this and that in the house. But once I start on a long novel, I do absolutely nothing except to write.

HH: How long would that last?

HM: Three months.

HH: That's pretty short.

HM: I can't do it longer than that. My wife would kill me!

HH: After you began writing novels, did you feel that your relation to the world changed?

HM: Yes, it became more intimate. Writing novels is a bit like self-therapy to me in that sense. I can inscribe in a novel an image of myself which I think I should become, or which I should be but wasn't. It's like an experiment. By crossing two opposing images, one which I should become and the other I shouldn't be, the right image of myself becomes more visible. I believe that self-therapy is everyone's duty. Some people do it through sports, through love, through ambition, through money. I just do it through writing.

HH: Do you ever think of consciously changing your writing style?

HM: After a few similar attempts, yes, I try to change my style.

HH: Certainly your later works are quite different from your earlier ones. For example, one can say that *Norwegian Wood* is written in a more realistic style.

HM: Perhaps, realism. But personally I think that book is a fairy tale. I think, including myself, young people seek fairy tales. If a novel didn't carry you out of reality, it's useless. You see, let's say we go to a concert and they have four numbers in the program. If just one number out of the four really took us away to a different realm, I think we could go home feeling happy. A novel is very much like that. Even though there may be many shortcomings, if there is one passage that could carry the reader away, then I would call the work a success.

HH: What kind of novel would you like to read again and again? Do you seek identification with your favorite authors?

HM: For example, Fitzgerald. He definitely is not like me. I think the ideal relationship with the author is that he be a completely different person from what you are but you somehow understand what he wants to say. This is a mysterious thing. I can listen to Charlie Parker millions of times. But, let's see, okay, Jackie McLean, a great player on his own, but I don't think I can listen to him hundreds of times. After fifty listenings of his album, I think I would get tired. But I'm pretty sure I can listen to Charlie Parker more than a thousand times without ever getting tired. But you know there is a greatness in the Jackie McLean type, and a different greatness in the Charlie Parker type. They are just different. You can say the same thing about Bach and Dvořák. I must have read that opening page of *The Great Gatsby* more than a hundred times. Whenever I'm feeling upset at someone, I remember the passage "Whenever you feel like criticizing any one . . . just remember that all the people in this world haven't had the advantages that you've had."

HH: Would you like to try some other genres, like film-making, or poetry?

HM: Film-making wouldn't work for me because it requires collaboration. But I would love to write poetry, especially prose poems. Actually I've written one, an awful prose poem. It takes an epistolary form. It was quite long, addressed to someone I really detested. It was too bad nobody liked it because I liked it a lot. You know, when I finished writing it, it felt so good, having written absolutely awful things about this person.

HH: You are really good at depicting scenes with food and drinks. They make me want to eat and drink, too.

HM: When I write an eating scene, I'm always wishing that the reader would get hungry. When I write a sex scene, I'm hoping that the reader would literally get aroused. I believe that is the task of a novel. I often get letters from readers saying that they got really aroused by reading my novels. Those letters make me happy. A girl once wrote me that she was reading my novel until four in the morning and was suddenly seized by a strong urge to have sex. So she rushed to her boyfriend's apartment, pried open the window from outside, climbed into his room, and successfully had sex. Her letter made me happy. In response to my first novel, *Hear the Wind Sing*, I got letters saying that they just had to rush to a liquor store to buy some beer. I really love to hear this kind of practical response. I believe that a novel should make its readers feel like they got an extra gift thrown in, like in a candy box. I am not much interested in what is "artistic" about the novel. A novel should function more practically and effectively in our everyday reality. For example, some of the stuff I write is written simply in order to please my wife. When I know that she really likes what I wrote, then I feel that it was a good work. She becomes happy and does all sorts of nice things for me, cooking an elaborate meal and things. But of course this kind of euphoria doesn't last too long. The meals become quite ordinary in a week.

HH: What do you think of the role of ethics in literature?

HM: In Japanese literature, I think, more often than not ethics takes the form of self-punishment. "I" wants to live naturally but feels obliged by moral restriction; thus "I" goes through self-punishment. I believe that an ethics that would naturally grow outward was lacking in Japanese literature. What I mean is that we should think of ethics not as a restriction but something which helps to expand oneself. To give you an example, I do

lots of housework, not because I feel I should do housework, as if ordered by a certain "ethics," but because I feel I can grow as a person by doing housework, cooking my own meals, washing dishes that I used, ironing the shirts I wear. This is very everyday stuff, but that is the notion of ethics I'm interested in.

HH: What do you think of the I-novel ("*shishōsetsu*")?

HM: I think the I-novel has potential. It's just that I-novel writers didn't exploit the genre's own possibilities to the full. It's related to ethics again. They failed to create an ethics that would naturally flow outward. Their ethics was too inward oriented. That's why most of their novels are so suffocating. I feel that "morality" is like a dirty word in Japanese literature. The term appears only when one is rebelling against the established "morality." You see, I have a feeling that in Japanese literature "artist" is defined only as a rebel that goes against the established "morality." I'm thinking of a writer like Dazai Osamu. I sense some hypocrisy in his attitude toward the world as well as in the definition of artist as a rebel.

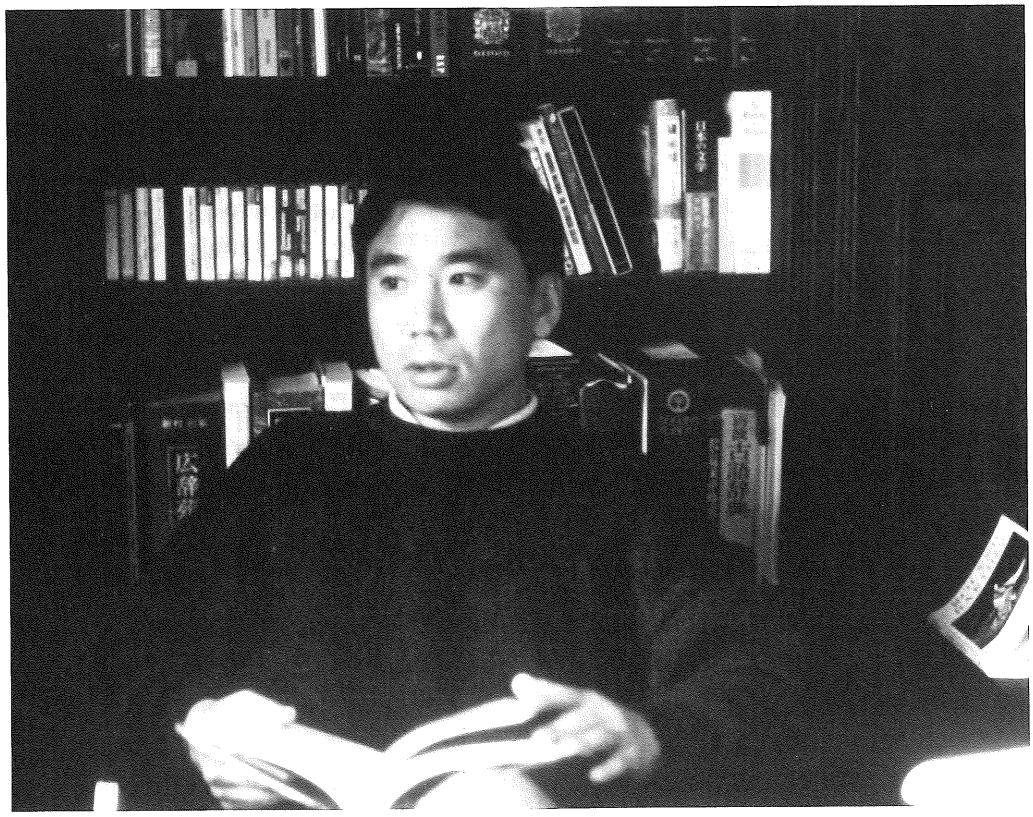
HH: You use many images from American culture in your works. What is American culture for you?

HM: I grew up in the sixties as an only child. The image of America I got from watching TV was of a fairyland, a completely other world. By reading American novels, I could escape into a different world, out of my loneliness of being the only child. It was like visiting Mars. But it took a long time to transplant this "new world" into the Japanese language. On the other hand, now, when I translate Raymond Carver's works, I feel no cultural difference from the way he describes things and feelings. Actually, I started feeling sorry for America when I read his books. Of course there were pitiful characters in the works by older generations of American writers. But I never felt sorry for them. It's different with more recent writers' works. I can really share their sense of tragedy as a contemporary. You see, I just came back from Europe — Greece and Italy to be exact. Compared to Europe, where there is only its past, America and Japan do seem to share something similar: an obsession for the creation of new culture in such a short period of time.

HH: Are you thinking of writing a new novel in the near future?

HM: Yes. I can feel it coming. I feel really happy about it because when I don't have any plans for a novel, I fear that I may never write one again. But when I know that I will be writing a novel soon, it feels great. It's like

having a new girlfriend. I feel I can rework on the potential that I didn't quite fulfill last time. Of course, in real life, you can't redo too many things, but in fiction writing you can redo things more easily. The "I" in real life separates from the "I" who writes a novel — the one who goes to the other side. That sense of separation is irreplaceable. There is a novel by Jack London about a murderer who gets imprisoned somewhere in San Francisco. He rebels against a sadistic warden and gets all sorts of horrible treatment as a result. But the more torture he receives, the more active his imagination becomes. He can transport himself to a different country in a different age. For example, he goes to Korea of the eighteenth century or to ancient Egypt. In the end, his imagined self becomes much more vivid than the one in the prison. It's very much like this when I am writing a novel. The one who is writing and is immersed in the world of the novel becomes more real than the one in real life.



3. Haruki Murakami in Hosea Hirata's office, Princeton University, 1991

HH: Can you talk about unexplainable things that often appear in your work?

HM: What attracts me to the work of Raymond Carver is that his is a literature of details. He does not try to present a comprehensive picture of the world. He just writes details. Quite often in my mind things with meaning and things without meaning get connected. For example, whenever I listen to Stan Getz playing "A Girl from Ipanema," the image of a corridor in my high school comes to mind. I have no idea why. Once I wrote a story about why these two things may be connected. And when I think about the corridor, an image of green salad comes to mind. Again, I have no idea why. But somehow I feel the secret of my being is hidden in these unexplainable associations. The task of a novel is to dig up these secrets, but not by analysis, mind you. You just have to dig them up and present them. Writing a novel depends upon how well you can dig up your own hidden signs, so to speak. Critics always try to fix the meanings of these unexplainable connections. I often feel that their interpretations are off the mark. So I want to explain things myself, but I can't. It can be pretty frustrating. Of course they have to make a living by analyzing things, so even if I say that these things are real secrets so that no meanings can be attached, they have to come up with some interpretations. I think after all what critics write ends up being their own fictional creation. Although I may object to their interpretations, if I could think that their readings are their way of fictional writing, I can see that their readings could be meaningful on their own. I as the author produce a text. A text is partial to no one. I don't have the exclusive right to it. Although I may feel that the critics are mistaken, I suppose I don't have the right to say so. Critics have a different access to the text. No one can determine whether my reading of the text or that of the critics is better. I can understand this; nevertheless I get frustrated just the same. Perhaps if we could somehow gather all the different readings into one, then we may be able to get the right reading.

So we could come to an understanding?

What on earth did that woman mean, calling me up like that? And who on earth was she? The whole thing is a mystery.

What the hell, I tell myself. What do I care about understanding some strange woman's feelings, *anyway? What difference could that possibly make? What matters now is finding a job. Then I can settle into a new life cycle.*

> *Yet, even as I return to the sofa to resume the Len Deighton novel I got from the library, the mere glimpse of the telephone out of the corner of my eye sets my mind going. Just what was it that would take ten minutes to come to an understanding about? I mean, really,* ten minutes to come to an understanding of something?
>
> *Come to think of it, the woman specified precisely ten minutes right from the start. As if nine minutes would have been too short, eleven minutes may be too long. Just like for spaghetti al dente.*[6]

Haruki Runs

Haruki ran the Boston marathon in the time of three hours and thirty-one minutes.

> *No one answers, and it keeps on ringing. The ringing stirs up the loose dust floating in the dark. Neither my wife nor I ventures one word. Me drinking my beer, her sobbing away. Twenty-four rings before I lose count and just let the thing ring. You can't keep counting forever.*[7]

Notes

The interview was conducted in Japanese and translated by the author.

1. Haruki Murakami, *A Wild Sheep Chase*, trans. Alfred Birnbaum (New York: Kodansha International, 1989); epigraph on p. 143.
2. Ibid., p. 8.
3. Murakami, *Hear the Wind Sing*, trans. Alfred Birnbaum (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978), p. 77.
4. Ibid., p. 6.
5. Murakami, "TV People," trans. Alfred Birnbaum, in *Monkey Brain Sushi* (New York: Kodansha International, 1991), p. 26.
6. Murakami, "The Windup Bird and Tuesday's Women," trans. Alfred Birnbaum, *New Yorker*, November 26, 1990, pp. 44–45.
7. Ibid., p. 60.

Hymns for the Dead in the Age of the Manuscript

STEPHEN F. TEISER

INTRODUCTION

The tenth-century Buddhist apocryphon known as *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* (*Shih-wang ching*) occupies a unique position in the history of Chinese religion: it is the first surviving explanation of what soon came to constitute the understanding of the afterlife in Chinese folk religion. The text warns that after death, the spirit must pass through ten separate courts, each ruled by a judge, before being assigned to a new form of rebirth. The liminal period between earthly lives is far from pleasant, and the sutra encourages living family members to alleviate the sufferings of their loved ones by sending offerings to the appropriate bureaucrat.

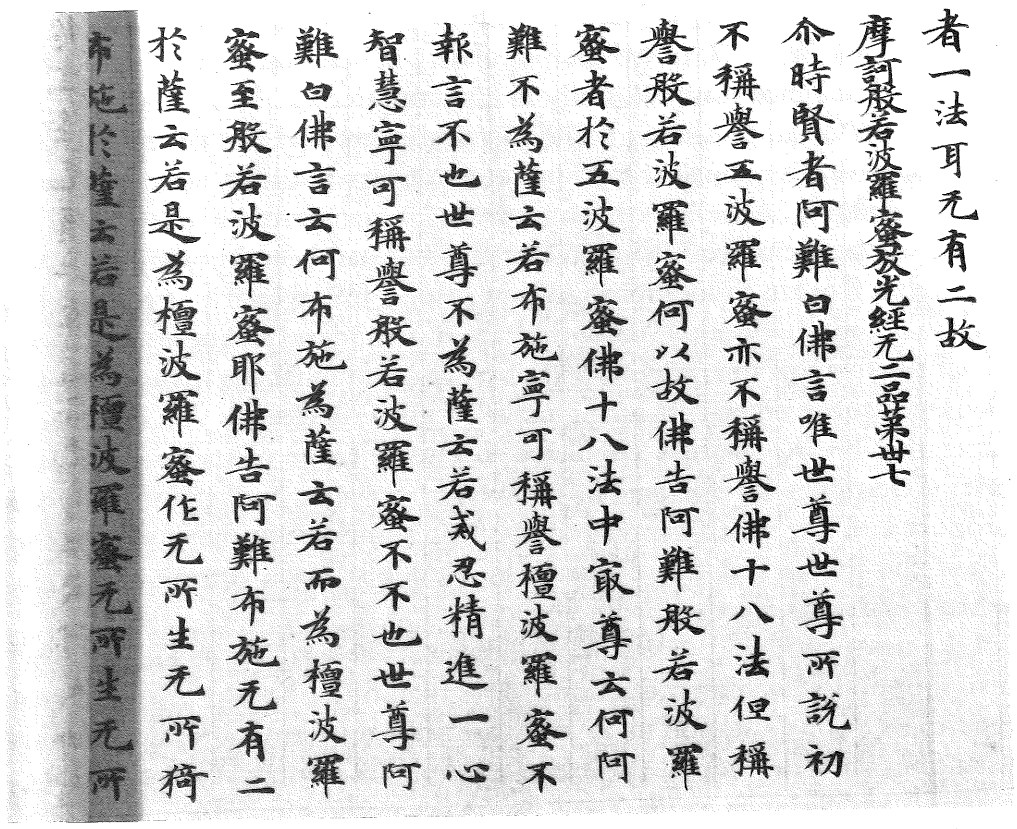
The reigning concepts and the characters in the book testify to a synthesis of ideas originating in India and practices indigenous to China, a mixture that appears often in texts that the medieval Buddhist order deemed non-canonical. In keeping with Indian notions of action and its effects (Sanskrit: *karma*; Chinese: *yeh*), one's level of rebirth is determined by the moral balance of one's previous deeds, yet that law is administered by unmistakably Chinese magistrates. The kings themselves — or rather their titles, since their names designate an office rather than the specific individual filling the post — can be traced to both India and China. The fifth king, for instance, is King Yama (Yen-lo wang), whose administration of the realm of the ancestors is described in the *Ṛg Veda*. The seventh king is called "The King of Mount T'ai" (T'ai-shan wang), synonymous with the spirit of the mountain (later bureaucratized) in Shantung, long identified in Chinese lore as the abode of the dead. Even the schedule for sending offerings to the

kings is Sino-Indian. The first seven offerings are made at intervals of seven days, marking the forty-nine days of "intermediate existence" (Skt.: *antarā-bhava*; Ch.: *chung-yu*) postulated in scholastic Buddhist thought. The last three memorial rites are held on anniversaries defined in Han-dynasty ritual compendia, one hundred days, one year, and three years after death.

The historical significance of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was recognized as early as the thirteenth century, when the Buddhist apologist Tsung-chien (fl. 1237) noted the popularity of sending offerings to the ten kings and searched unsuccessfully in his monastery's library for the canonical origins of all ten kings.[1] The physical characteristics of the medieval text, however, remained something of a mystery until the discovery earlier in this century of the Tun-huang corpus, which contains over thirty exempla of the scripture.[2] Prior to that the text had been known to scholars through a Korean xylographic edition dated 1469, which was reprinted in movable type between 1905 and 1912 in a modern Japanese collection.[3] What the form of the modern text obscures, and what the manuscript versions that survived in Tun-huang make abundantly clear, is that in medieval times the *Ten Kings* sutra circulated in a wide range of styles. This essay briefly examines the formats in which *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was produced in the tenth century and offers some preliminary suggestions about the forms and functions of the Buddhist book during the period when most texts were copied by hand.

Like most sutras of Mahāyāna Buddhism, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* insists upon its own reproduction. More than once the text promises that, regardless of one's station in life or degree of commitment to the Buddhist path, one can gain incalculable benefit simply by paying a scribe to make a copy of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. Śākyamuni himself encourages his followers to disseminate the book: "If a person commissions this scripture or the various images of the Honored Ones, then it will be noted in the dark registry. On the day one arrives, King Yama will be delighted and will decide to release the person to be reborn in a rich and noble household, avoiding [punishment for] his crimes and errors." Even more than the living, the dead depend upon the propagation of the text to escape the torments marking their path to the next life. As they stand before the ninth king one year after death, the *Ten Kings* sutra states:

> At one year they pass here, turning about in suffering and grief,



者一法耳无有二故
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1. Example of a nonillustrated handwritten scroll, approximately the same size as the nonillustrated *Scripture on the Ten Kings*. This manuscript, reportedly discovered in Tun-huang, is a copy of *Fang-kuang po-jo ching*, translated from the Sanskrit *Pancaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* by the Khotanese monk Mokṣala (Wu-lo-ch'a, fl. 291). The cloth wrapper that originally encased the scroll is dated the third month of the first year of the Ch'ui-kung era (685). Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

Depending on whatever merit their sons and daughters have cultivated.
The wheel of rebirth in the six paths is revolving, still not settled;
Commission a scripture or commission an image, and they will emerge from mistaken crossings.[4]

Although the scripture intimates that the living and the dead virtually require the duplication of the text for their salvation, it leaves entirely open the question of how that task is to be fulfilled. It is silent about writing materials, formats for binding, copyists, assignment of benefits, or how the resulting book is to be used.

Scrolls

The surviving samples of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are constructed in the two most common styles of book manufacture in the Chinese world of the tenth century. Over two-thirds of the specimens are scrolls, some of which contain illustrations. The others are bound booklets of varying sizes, discussed below.

In the history of Chinese bookmaking the "scroll" (*chüan-tzu* or *chüan-chou*) developed as an imitation of the method used for storing an earlier form of the book.[5] Until the third or fourth century Chinese books had been written on wooden and bamboo strips, which were then stitched together with leather or cloth and rolled up. These early "scrolls" — rolls of wooden strips — gave way to scrolls made of paper, and less frequently, of silk, for a variety of reasons. The technology for making paper was perfected and diffused throughout China in the first few centuries of the common era. Paper was a less respected material for books than was silk, but it was cheaper and easier to make. Scrolls made out of one long continuous strip of paper were also much more convenient to manipulate than bundles of wooden strips. When a chain of wooden strips broke, the text became jumbled and portions frequently disappeared. When a paper scroll deteriorated, it often lost only its cover or its last few, most tightly curled, lines. When holes appeared they did not necessarily threaten the integrity of the whole book and could be repaired with relative ease. At any rate, by about the year 300 most books in China were constructed of paper wound in scrolls, and by the year 500 that format was widely used in Central Asia.

Some scrolls of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* contain illustrations and some do not, but to understand fully the differences between them we need to examine more closely the different recensions of the text. Three basic recensions can be identified: a short one, containing a list of ten subsidiary bodhisattvas; a middle one, which names three bodhisattvas; and a long recension, with a group of six bodhisattvas. All three recensions mimic the form of Chinese Buddhist sutras translated from Indic languages in the fifth and sixth centuries. The narrative consists mostly of prose in literary Chinese, peppered liberally with Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit names. All three recensions also contain sections of five-syllable unrhymed chants (Skt.: *gāthā*; Ch.: *chi* or *ch'ieh-t'o*). The long recension differs significantly from the other two not only in preserving a longer prose narrative but in adding several components. The long recension names the reputed author of the text (a monk named Tsang-ch'uan, who lived at Ta-sheng-tz'u ssu in Ch'eng-tu); sandwiches the sutra proper between liturgical directions for chanting the name of Amitābha Buddha (Ch.: O-mi-t'o fo) at the beginning and for making prayers at the close; and contains color illustrations of several scenes in the narrative, each of which is accompanied by a seven-syllable rhyming form of verse, known as *tsan* ("hymn"), a genre that had earlier been used both in the liturgies sung in Buddhist and Taoist rituals and as a kind of subtitle in portraiture and narrative art.

The physical characteristics of the surviving nonillustrated scrolls of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* may be summarized as follows. None of the specimens has undergone chemical or microscopic examination, but in general we know that paper in Tun-huang was made from a variety of ingredients produced in several regions of China. Raw materials included hemp (Cannabis sativa), ramie (Boehmeria nivea), mulberry (Morus alba) and mulberry bark (Broussonetia papyrifera), rattan (Calamus rotang), and even bamboo. After the paper emerged from molds it was usually treated with an insecticide, although sometimes dyeing was delayed until after the paper had been inscribed. Sheets of paper were cut to a fairly uniform size. Sheets for canonical Buddhist and Taoist works averaged 25.9 centimeters in height by 46.2 centimeters in length. Paper for most of the scrolls of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* is near this average, but other noncanonical and private writings varied considerably from this standard.[6] Scribes set to work on individual sheets of paper. They laid out top and bottom margins and inserted ruling, sometimes with a pencil, before beginning to write. In

2. Example of the layout of illustrations in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. Shown here are two courts, that of the third king (Sung-ti wang) and the fourth king (Wu-kuan wang). To the left of each court a hymn (*tsan*) is written. The hymn to the third court had to be written around the torso of the inmate whose hair is being pulled. S 3961, reproduced in Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), vol. 2, pl. 64–1.

most cases there were seventeen characters per vertical line and twenty-five lines per sheet, but here too there was variation. The layout also varied in the spacing of *gāthās* on the page.[7] The scroll was put together after the text was copied. Individual sheets were glued together to form one continuous strip of paper. Sometimes a roller made of wood was fastened to the end (the inside edge) of the manuscript. Reinforcement was also added to the beginning (the leading, outside edge) of the scroll. Usually an extra length of paper was glued on; when the scroll was wound up, this cover, on which the title was usually written, provided extra protection. Once the writing of the text and construction of the physical scroll were completed, only one step remained. The final margin of the scripture was inscribed with a dedication, noting the persons or beings whom the commissioner wished to receive the benefits of the act of copying.[8]

Like the imperial central library (Department of the Palace Library, Pi-shu-sheng), each scriptorium in Tun-huang must have possessed an archival recension of the text on which all of its copies were based. Great care was taken to eliminate errors in the copying of texts. Judging from other texts produced at Tun-huang and from over two score surviving scriptures made in Ch'ang-an, we know that techniques to ensure accuracy included the counting of characters, repeated proofreading by up to three people, revising of mistakes by as many as six copyeditors, and certifying of the finished product by the supervisors of the copying office.[9] Almost all scrolls of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* contain evidence of corrections: characters are written over, reverse marks are placed in the margins, patches with the correct characters are glued on top of mistakes, incorrect characters are blotted out and corrections placed alongside, and where the paper is decayed the text has been patched and rewritten.

Despite the wealth of physical details, much remains unknown. Not one copyist recorded his name in a colophon to *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. We do not know in which temples the text was copied, nor do we know the precise institutional arrangement of Tun-huang scriptoria. We can only estimate how long it took a scribe to copy the text, and we have no direct evidence about how the scroll was wrapped up or where it was shelved in monastery libraries.[10]

The primary deployment of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* bound as a scroll without illustrations must also remain a matter of speculation. The act of commissioning the copying of the text or collecting it was itself a

ritual, often quite involved and lasting over several years. But that phase of the production of texts, documented rather thoroughly in colophons to many copies of the scripture, rarely influenced the disposition of the text itself. Although some copies of the scripture were probably housed at least briefly in the private library of a family in tenth-century Tun-huang named Chang,[11] most copies were undoubtedly kept in Buddhist temples, where they served a variety of purposes. Sometimes they were unrolled for study, recitation, and memorization; at other times they may have been used in a more crowded setting as the basis for a sermon or for chanting by monks.

All of the scrolls without illustrations reproduce the short or middle recensions of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. By contrast, all copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* produced as scrolls that do contain illustrations present the long recension of the text. In terms of their physical characteristics the illustrated scrolls differ only slightly from those without illustrations. They are slightly larger and contain more characters per line, which provides the extra space needed for a consistent laying out of the sections of poetry.[12]

The inclusion of illustrations means that these scrolls passed through the hands not just of paper makers, copyists, and binders, but of artists as well. The historical record tells us even less about Tun-huang artists than about local scribes, so all of our knowledge is deduced from the scrolls themselves. The process for producing scrolls with illustrations was almost the same as that for making the nonillustrated manuscripts. It appears that illustrators set to work, sketching outlines in ink and brushing in colors before sending the scrolls to copyists. In several examples scenes were drawn so close together that the text had to be squeezed in clumsily or superimposed upon the picture.[13]

Most of the illustrated copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* contain fourteen pictures. Some illustrations supplement what is already stated in the text by adding iconographic information or by depicting a parallel narrative. Other pictures accompanying the long recension say things that the unadorned scroll cannot. The producers of books and the preachers responsible for educating lay people about the fate of the dead understood well that displaying pictures of bodies in pain tends to have a more significant impact than simply talking or writing about them. Many of the scenes in the scripture flesh out, in a sense, the gruesome prospects only hinted at in the text. Nowhere do the words of the scripture describe the clothing worn

3. The fifth court of the underworld, ruled by King Yama (Yen-lo wang), as depicted in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. In this court the inmate is dragged before the mirror of actions (*yeh-ching*, or "karma mirror"), which shows him slaying an animal in his previous lifetime. To the left is Ti-tsang p'u-sa (Kṣtigarbha bodhisattva), whose compassion is directed exclusively to beings suffering in the lower realms. He carries a jewel and staff and is accompanied by a lion and a monk known as Tao-ming. Satō ms., reproduced from a Japanese collotype in the author's collection.

4. The tenth and last court in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, ruled by Wu-tao chuan-lun wang. Unlike the others, this king holds martial rather than civil office and is dressed as a general. Behind him is a rack of hides, which he uses to dispatch inmates to their next rebirth in animal form. The six clouds flowing to the left denote the six forms of life into which people can be reborn; from the top down, they are: god in heaven, *asura* (demi-god), human being, animal, hungry ghost, and resident of hell. Satō ms., reproduced from a Japanese collotype of the text in the author's collection.

in the dark regions. The pictures, though, are nearly unanimous in depicting the pompous robes of the magistrates and their assistants, before whom stand sinners clad only in their undergarments, often bound by fetters or manacles or wearing the cangue. Some scenes depict the wounds sustained by inmates who have been beaten with sticks.[14]

Some of the illustrations betray the recognition that the technique of heaping terror upon terror can, without subverting its own moralistic intent, give rise to entertainment or even laughter. The court of King Yama, fifth in the sequence after death, was especially fertile for the medieval sense of humor. In King Yama's hall was located the karma mirror, a preternatural surface capable of reflecting a person's past life. One scroll demonstrates how justice can be served even when the karma mirror, like the mind of the slow Zen student, has collected too much dust. In that scene three animals — a boar, a snake, and a rooster — march toward King Yama's bench carrying in their mouths and beak the plaints they have filed against the humans who treated them violently in a previous life.[15]

Some illustrations have no apparent mooring in the body of the scripture, adding significantly to the content of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* in their own right. Most depictions of the tenth and final court, for instance, use five or six streams of clouds floating up and away from the scene of judgment to show that when the three-year journey through the earthly prisons is over, one will return to life in one of the five or six forms of existence. Some scrolls go further by adding a rack of animal hides standing within reach of the tenth magistate, the King Who Turns the Wheel of Rebirth in the Five Paths.[16] It seems that the decisions of that king, the only one of the ten dressed not as a magistrate in the civilian administration but as a general in the military, carry such authority that they are executed immediately. When he proclaims that someone will be incarnated as a beast, his underlings move quickly to drape the sinner — or smother him — with the skin of the animal in which he will be reborn. This theme of instantaneous "transpecification" crops up frequently in medieval East Asian ghost stories and in treatises on the idea of "immediate retribution" (*hsien-pao*).[17] Here, however, pictures rather than words explain the doctrine.

Booklets

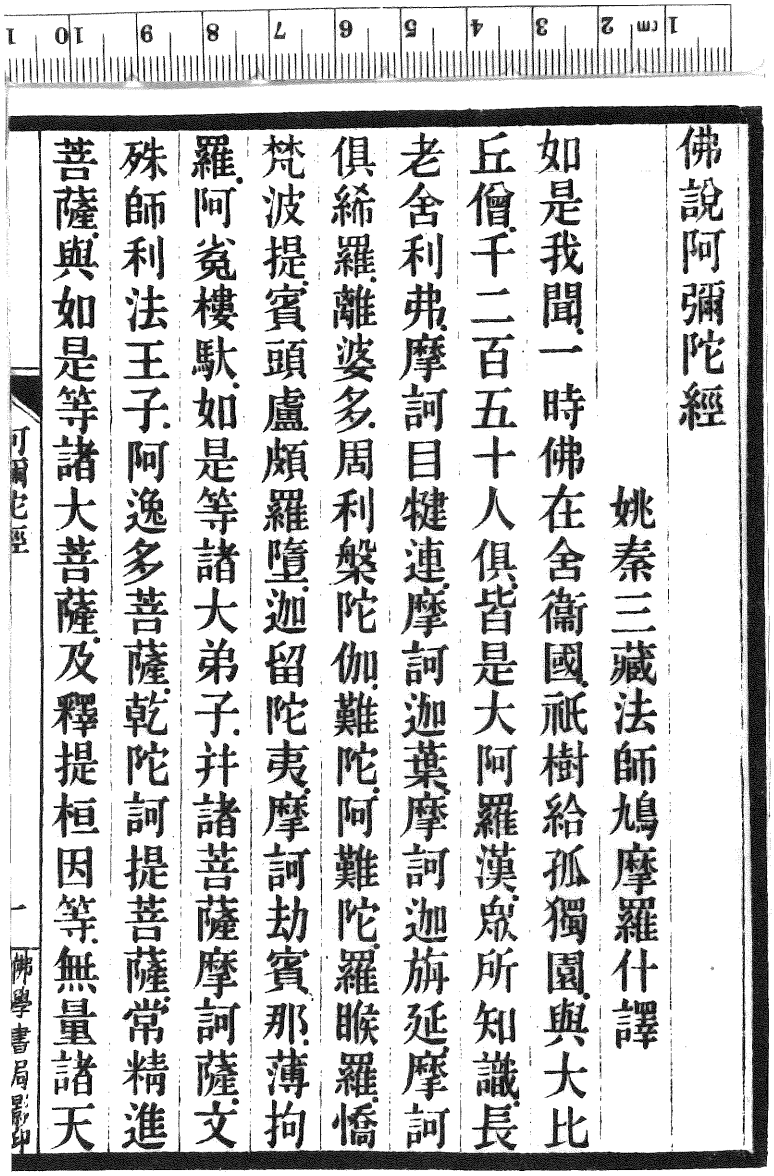
The other major format in which we find medieval copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* substitutes the convenience and speed of flipping the pages

of a folio for the pleasure of unwinding a long scroll. First appearing in China during the T'ang dynasty, this style of book binding, known under a variety of names (*ts'e-tzu*[a] or *ts'e-tzu*[b], "booklet," *ts'e-yeh*, "album of individual leaves"), soon became the dominant shape for written texts.[18]

When it was time to search for a hazily remembered passage or to join in the recitation of chants, the earlier form of the scroll was much more cumbersome to manipulate than was the booklet. Booklets were also easier to store and to transport. The paper sheets from which booklets were constructed were generally smaller than the sheets joined to make scrolls. That smaller size was heavily favored by a development that would have tremendous implications for the transmission of knowledge in East Asia (and later throughout the world), printing with wooden blocks. The topic of the printing of books associated with the cult of the ten kings is fascinating, but goes well beyond the confines of this study. The fact remains that all Tun-huang copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* manufactured as booklets were written by hand, not printed.

In addition to indigenous trends, foreign influences played an undeniable role in the popularization of the booklet. Indian customs provided two models for gathering individual leaves into a stack. In the technique called *pustaka* (Hindi: *poṭhī*), which appears in some Chinese texts from Tun-huang, scribes wrote in long columns on paper cut into long, rectangular strips, a shape imitating the leaves of the palm tree. The strips were placed atop one another, numbered, and either left unbound or secured loosely with one or two strings running through holes punched in the middle of the page. The other technique, seen in Chinese manuscripts from Tun-huang as well as in printings of the Buddhist canon beginning in the twelfth century, was to fold a long strip of paper in alternate directions in the form of an accordion (*ching-che-chuang*).[19] Whatever its origins, the binding of individual leaves into the form of a notebook is represented in approximately four hundred specimens from Tun-huang. The earliest is dated 899, the latest 982.

Three specific forms of booklets of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are discussed below; all of them bear a resemblance to the codex of late antiquity in the West.[20] Several features are common to all three morphologies. As stock, the sheets of paper used to make them measured thirty by forty-five centimeters. The raw material was usually cut three times, and the resulting leaf was folded in half to form a page measuring fifteen by eleven centimeters. The dimensions are close to those of the *Cliffs Notes* series seen



佛說阿彌陀經

姚秦三藏法師鳩摩羅什譯

如是我聞一時佛在舍衞國祇樹給孤獨園與大比丘僧千二百五十人俱皆是大阿羅漢衆所知識長老舍利弗摩訶目犍連摩訶迦葉摩訶迦旃延摩訶俱絺羅離婆多周利槃陀伽難陀阿難陀羅睺羅憍梵波提賓頭盧頗羅墮迦留陀夷摩訶劫賓那薄拘羅阿㝹樓馱如是等諸大弟子并諸菩薩摩訶薩文殊師利法王子阿逸多菩薩乾陀訶提菩薩常精進菩薩與如是等諸大菩薩及釋提桓因等無量諸天

阿彌陀經　一　佛學書局影印

5. Example of a Buddhist booklet, roughly the same size as most booklet versions of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. This example differs from medieval copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* in that it is printed, each page contains nearly twice the number of columns and characters per column, it is stitched rather than glued, and the folded edge of each page is on the outside (opposite the bound edge). The text is *O-mi-t'o ching* (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*), translated by Kumārajīva (Chiu-mo-lo-shih, 350–409). The text is one of five reproduced as a single work, *Ching-t'u wu-ching* (Shanghai: Fo-hsüeh shu-chü, n.d.), a photographic reprint of a 1932 printed edition. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

frequently on American college campuses. One method for binding the leaves did not involve the use of string: glue was applied along the edge of one fold, another folded leaf was placed on top, glue was applied to the new fold, and so on until the requisite number of pages was bound. In the other binding method, several sheets together were folded in half to form a signature, and several signatures were stitched together to form a booklet. The leaves bound by both methods could then be protected by paper jackets glued around the spine. The texts were inscribed using a wooden pen, which was the most common writing implement in Tun-huang for over 250 years. In the arid northwest the use of brushes to write characters depended upon regular contact with bamboo-producing regions in central and southern China, which was ended by the Tibetan takeover of the Tun-huang area in 748. At first scribes used the wooden pen to copy texts in the Tibetan language. Then copyists improvised the use of a wooden stylus to imitate the form of Chinese characters achieved by using a brush. After the government of Tun-huang was reclaimed by local Chinese families, continuing economic isolation from the rest of the Middle Kingdom meant that pens were used even more frequently. Fujieda estimates that 60 to 70 percent of all surviving Tun-huang manuscripts were written with a pen.[21] In time the pen was even adapted by Chinese artists to make paintings, banners, and ink sketches.

In the most common form of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* bound as a booklet, the manuscript is bound together leaf by leaf. Although the pages are relatively small, thus restricting the amount of text a scribe can write on each readable page (with the book opened flat, presenting the verso of one page and the recto of the next page), scribes exercised considerable latitude in laying out the text. In most copies, for instance, they managed to squeeze the entire section of recited *gāthās* onto one surface, thus saving the reader from having to turn the page mid-chant. All of these booklets present the short recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*.

Most of the booklets bound in this fashion contain not one text, but two. Before *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* comes one of the most influential statements of Mahāyāna philosophy, the *Diamond* sutra — but not just any copy of the *Diamond* sutra. Recent studies by Hirai Yūkei and others have demonstrated a nearly bewildering variation in the presentation of the *Diamond* exempla from Tun-huang. By documenting the different versions and the considerable differences in prefatory material and back matter, they

have established that outside of Ch'ang-an the *Diamond* sutra was not a single, standard text.[22] The form in which the *Diamond* sutra is presented in the booklets containing the *Ten Kings* text is probably not an accident; codicological and textual details about the *Diamond* sutra offer important clues about the production of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*.

The *Diamond* sutra was written earlier and copied more frequently than most other Prajñāpāramitā literature — despite the fact that it never once uses the word "emptiness" (*k'ung*; Skt.; *śūnyatā*) — so one would naturally expect textual variation to accompany proliferation. In monastic folklore the text was associated with the enlightenment experience of the allegedly illiterate Ch'an master Hui-neng (638–713), and medieval collections of miracle tales tout the supernatural abilities of the text.[23] The Sanskrit versions of *Vajracheddikā prajñāpāramitā* (*The Perfection of Wisdom that Cuts like a Thunderbolt [or Diamond]*) were translated numerous times into Tibetan, Khotanese, Sogdian, Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese. Of the six surviving Chinese translations completed between 402 and 703, however, the *Diamond* texts that are bound together with *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* reproduce only the translation by Kumārajīva (350–409).[24] All that survive intact contain a sixty-character section, the authenticity of which has been disputed in Buddhological circles since medieval times.[25] Although other handwritten copies of Kumārajīva's translation are divided into both twelve and thirty-two sections, these copies present only the text in thirty-two divisions. They all claim descent from one specific recension, referred to at the end of the scripture as "the true printed copy of the Kuo family of Hsi-ch'uan." And they all close with a series of three *dhāraṇīs*, which find no parallel in the Sanskrit version.

Why do these details matter? Hirai singles out the factor that, more than all the others, helps to explain the binding together of this version of the *Diamond* sutra with *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. He sketches the following scenario for the transmission of the *Diamond* sutra:

> The Sanskrit original, at least as far as surviving manuscripts from India are concerned, does not have the style of the Chinese text of the scripture, in which such elements as the scene illustrating the preaching of the Law, the *dhāraṇīs*, and the names of the eight Vajras occur before and after the main text of the scripture. Of course the text in this form does not exist in the Taishō canon, nor

> does it appear in very many Tun-huang manuscripts. Thus, in the process of the circulation of the scripture, this particular guise was added for purposes of recitation (or copying), and the format of this popular edition took shape.[26]

If Hirai is correct, then we have a link of primary importance between two texts that otherwise, in terms of content, share very little. The *dhāraṇīs* associated with the *Diamond* were not mere embellishment, added as an afterthought to the main body of the text. They were an essential part of a religious service in which scriptures achieved their effect by being recited aloud by a group. Dividing the text into many short sections — precisely the choice taken in producing the *Diamond* copies bound together with the *Ten Kings* — also made the text liturgically convenient.

Two more textual details about the *Diamond* sutra must be mentioned. Even in the realm of practice, the connection between these two texts was not universal, a fact attested by the existence of manuscript booklets containing the *Diamond* sutra alone or the *Diamond* sutra together with other texts of Chinese Buddhism. The same recension of the text — Kumārajīva's translation divided into thirty-two sections, based on a printed master edition from Szechwan — is found by itself in a number of bookets; the dated ones range from 905 to 943. The same recension is also found in booklets containing between two and six texts, one of which is dated 969.[27] These variations render the joint replication of the *Diamond* and the *Ten Kings* in one book (in five surviving samples) all the more significant. The survival of these booklets in the caves of Tun-huang makes it extremely unlikely that the two sutras were associated merely by scribal caprice. It is much more likely that a scriptorium in a Buddhist temple bound them together repeatedly, and in an easily chanted format, because monks used the two texts frequently in a program of religious services.

The other detail about binding implies that some Tun-huang copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* may be traced to Szechwan, one of the cradles of the woodblock printing industry. Only three of the five surviving copies of the text bound together with the *Diamond* scripture are intact enough to contain the ending of the *Diamond* text, but all those that do include a note on filiation, placed after the *Diamond* sutra and before the *dhāraṇīs*, stating that the text is based on "a true printed copy of the Kuo family of Hsi-ch'uan" (Hsi-ch'uan Kuo-*chia chen yin-pen*).[28] The same copyright occurs in

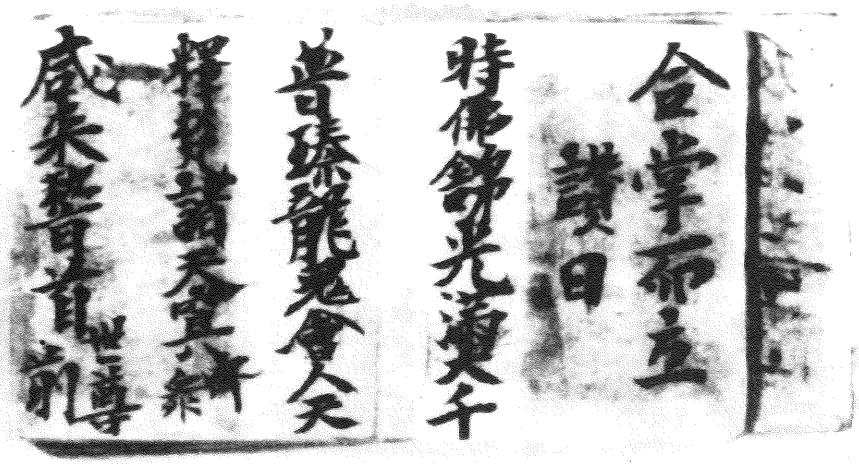
other Tun-huang copies of the *Diamond* sutra, some bound singly in booklets, others produced as scrolls. They range in date from 908 to 943.[29] The printed edition belonging originally to the Kuo family, then, must have been revered so highly in at least one Tun-huang scriptorium that it served as the master version for the production of many copies.[30] Did the text bound together frequently with the Kuo family *Diamond*, that is, the short recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, share the same filiation? Without other evidence the question cannot be answered, but the correlation would reinforce the traditional attribution of authorship of the long recension to a Buddhist monk active in Szechwan.

Only one copy survives of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* bound in the second style of booklet. That is a volume consisting of stitched signatures, eight leaves folded in half (making sixteen pages, with writing on recto and verso sides) per signature. Compared to the glued booklets, the pages of the stitched booklet are smaller, containing fewer characters per line and fewer lines per page. Its composition makes it slightly easier to read than the glued booklets.

The stitched booklet contains a total of ten texts. They deal with specific deities (Kuan-yin Bodhisattva, Ti-tsang Bodhisattva, the god Marīci), seek the prolongation of life and the avoidance of sickness, and offer *dhāraṇīs* for the pacification of enemies. The last text is the *Heart* sutra. The booklet lacks a dedicatory colophon, but ends with a notation of the date in the sexagenary cycle, "the twentieth day of the twelfth month of the *keng-ch'en* year" (January 31, 921?).

The use of this stitched booklet must remain purely conjectural. Other manuscripts bound as booklets that contain three or more Buddhist sutras do exhibit some consistency: they are predominantly *dhāraṇī* collections and texts on specific Bodhisattvas.[31] Do the design and customary content of these booklets suggest that they were intended to be temple copies, used by monks performing a priestly function in a wide range of practical services?

Questions also remain about the third form of *Ten Kings* booklet, a single specimen that is probably the most fetching textual representation of the sufferings endured in the netherworld. The booklet measures 5.3 by 4.9 centimeters, a size that may be translated for the modern reader's benefit as the dimensions of a pack of Lucky Strikes. The booklet is bound in the same fashion as the first type discussed above, with each leaf glued to the



6. *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* in the format of a tiny manuscript booklet, reproduced here close to its actual size. The first line is the end of a narrative segment. The second line states, "The hymn reads." The last four lines contain the hymn itself, which the copyist managed to squeeze onto one readable page. The manuscript, probably copied in the early tenth century, is P 3761. Reproduction from Huang Yung-wu, ed., *Tun-huang pao-tsang*, 140 vols. (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1981–1984), vol. 130, p. 460b.

next along its fold, but here the copyist has chosen to write on only one side of the page. Unlike all the other booklets, this one contains the long recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. Despite great constraints on layout, the copyist varied the size of characters and the length of lines, in order, apparently, to keep the book handy — even when that required him to squeeze in characters inconsistently at the bottom of the page.

Other manuscripts of this size — easily transported? hidden in a sleeve? used surreptitiously? studied in private? — do survive among Tun-huang collections.[32] In terms of content they betray concerns similar to those of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*: identifying and invoking the aid of benevolent deities, averting misfortune, and offering prayers.

This copy of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* might be seen as performing the same personal, perhaps talismanic, functions as do other tiny texts.[33] Yet it is not likely that *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, especially in its long recension, was ever reserved for strictly personal use. The tiny booklet reproduces faithfully the invocation of Amitābha Buddha, part of a communal ceremony, that opens the long recension. It does not contain paintings,

but it does record the hymns, presumably sung during services, accompanying each of the pictures in the illustrated scrolls. Given the cost of producing and the difficulty in acquiring illustrated scrolls of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, coupled with the shadowy, compelling demand for large-scale memorial services with all the trappings, a booklet this size would serve as a perfect study guide for an officiating priest.

Conclusions

The composition and binding of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* demonstrate in the first place that the history of the Buddhist book followed no single, invariant line of development. We find in tenth-century Tun-huang the coexistence of a variety of formats in which the scripture was produced. *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was bound as a scroll and as a booklet, it was produced with illustrations and without them, and it came in sizes longer than a table and small enough to fit in a pocket. This finding corroborates a point made recently by other scholars, that although general trends may be identified in the history of Chinese bookmaking, in real life numerous forms of the book — including handwritten paper scrolls, handwritten bound booklets, and even printed booklets — existed in the same time and place.[34]

One might hypothesize that corresponding to a diversity in format was a wide range of settings in which the text was used. Scrolls containing pictures and hymns were most readily used in a congregational setting, perhaps carried by an officiating priest to a mourning family. Their hymns were easily sung in unison. Their pictures supplemented the message of the text with entertainment for all and education for the untutored. The scrolls and booklets containing only prose and chants were probably not intended for viewing by such a broad audience. They served as props for monks who recited the story and chanted the *gāthās* at services. The larger booklets were particularly well suited to this setting; it was convenient to flip their pages while chanting. Like the *Diamond* sutra with which many were bound, they were "to be held in the hand and chanted Brahmā-style."[35] Owing to its size, the one surviving example of a tiny booklet of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was probably not used as a prop in a public performance. Above I surmised that it was used by a monk studying in private for memorial rites he performed in public, but it could have also satisfied

李朝鮮刊本

佛說預修十王生七經

謹啓諷閻羅王預修生七往生淨土經誓勸有緣以五會啓經入讚念阿彌陀佛

成都府大聖慈寺沙門　藏川　述

佛說閻羅王授記四衆逆修生七往生淨土經　讚曰

如來臨般涅槃時　廣召天靈及地祇
因爲琰魔王授記　乃傳生七預修儀

如是我聞一時佛在鳩尸那城阿維跋提河邊娑羅雙樹間臨般涅槃時舉身放光普照大衆及諸菩薩摩訶薩天龍神王天王帝釋四天大王大梵天王阿脩羅王諸大國王閻羅天子大山府君司命司錄五道大神地獄官典悉來集會敬禮世尊合掌而立

讚曰

時佛舒光滿大千　普臻龍鬼會人天
釋梵諸天冥密衆　咸來稽首世尊前

佛告諸大衆閻羅天子於未來世當得作佛名曰普賢王如來十號具足國土嚴淨百寶莊嚴國名華嚴菩薩充滿　讚曰

世尊此日記閻羅　不久當來證佛陀
莊嚴寶國常清淨　菩薩修行衆甚多

爾時阿難白佛言世尊閻羅天子以何因緣處斷冥間復於此會便得授於當來果記佛言於彼冥途爲諸王者有二因緣一是住不思議解脫不動地菩薩爲欲攝化極苦衆生示現作彼琰魔等王二爲多生習善犯戒故退落琰魔天中作大魔王管攝諸鬼科斷閻浮提內十惡五逆一切罪人繫閉牢獄日夜受苦輪轉其中隨業報身定生注死今此琰魔天子因緣已熟是故我記來世寶圓證大菩提汝等人天不應疑惑　讚曰

悲增普化示威靈　六道輪迴不暫停
教化厭苦思安樂　故現閻羅天子形

若復有人造此經受持讀誦捨命之後不生三塗不入一切諸大地獄　讚曰

若人信法不思議　書寫經文聽受持

7. A modern printed edition of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, collated on the basis of a fifteenth-century Korean edition. *Dainihon zoku zōkyō*, 150 cases (1905–1912; repr. edn.; Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1923), 2b, 23, vol. 4.

the needs of a pious lay person, and, at the same time, served primarily a talismanic function. Whether or not these hypotheses are accepted, the undeniable variety in format complicates the easy scholarly opinion that assigns a purely collective function to scrolls and an exclusively personal function to booklets.[36]

Related to the coexistence of a range of formats is the flexible relationship between format and text. In scrolls *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* is presented in short, medium, and long recensions, both with and without illustrations. In booklets usually the short recension is copied, but the tiny booklet contains the long recension. There is some consistency — excluding the frontispiece — in the correlation of pictures with hymns. Yet here too there is an exception: in one scroll the illustrations for *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are placed too close together for any words to be included.[37]

Because so many of these findings are rooted in the surviving manuscripts of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, all of which come from Tun-huang, it is reasonable to question whether or not our conclusions are limited to northwest China. In terms of materials the evidence from Tun-huang is largely, but not entirely, consistent with the rest of China. The paper scroll remained the dominant form of the book throughout medieval China. Judging from T'ang-dynasty evidence, the catalogues of Japanese monks, and the accounts of Sung-dynasty writers, the booklet style of binding, with thread or glue, was not limited to Tun-huang.[38] What is unusual about the Tun-huang specimens is the high proportion of *booklets* of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* to *scrolls* of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*.[39] Booklets constitute about 1 percent (roughly 400/40,000) of all Tun-huang manuscripts, but booklets of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* comprise almost 30 percent (tentatively counted as 9/32) of all surviving manuscript copies of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. Was the format of the booklet favored for copying the *Ten Kings* scripture in other parts of China as well, or were there local reasons for the relatively large percentage of *Ten Kings* booklets in Tun-huang? Was the booklet format used for copying large numbers of other texts that by historical accident do not survive? The other peculiarity of the *Ten Kings* manuscripts, like most texts produced in the economically isolated region of Tun-huang in the tenth century, is that they were written with a wooden pen.

In the realm of ideas we may also conclude that although much of our evidence for beliefs and practices involving the ten kings is limited to tenth-

century Tun-huang, those beliefs and practices were in fact distributed throughout the empire for at least 150 years, and probably longer, before the first dated copy of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, commissioned in 908. The evidence (presented elsewhere)[40] comes from surviving paintings, descriptions of murals, rituals mentioned in other Buddhist apocrypha and in Taoist texts, didactic poetry written in semi-vernacular style, and invitations to funerals. Judging only from unambiguous evidence interpreted conservatively, in the eighth and ninth centuries traces of the ten kings could be found across most of northwestern, northern, central, and eastern China. It is likely that the ten kings were mentioned as early as 658–664 in a work, no longer extant, describing karmic retribution, and it is certain that they were invoked in memorial rituals in the year 887 and portrayed in wall paintings dated before 846 and 907. Thus, the systematic study of the material details of a quasi-liturgical text stored in a few Buddhist monasteries at the western edge of the Kansu corridor allows us to understand the making of a "Book of the Dead" in medieval China.

Notes

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As this article goes to press I am nearing completion of a book-length study that examines the historical and religious background of the ten kings, the production of the surviving manuscripts, and the language and genre of the text. For further details, readers may refer to that book (tentatively entitled "*The Scripture on the Ten Kings*") and to two earlier studies: Stephen F. Teiser, " 'Having Once Died and Returned to Life': Representations of Hell in Medieval China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48:2 (December 1988), pp. 433–464; and idem, "The Growth of Purgatory," in "Religion and Society in China, 750–1300," ed. Patricia B. Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (forthcoming).

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sinology and Tun-huang studies from Asia, Europe, and America have assisted me in so many ways that I could not even begin to acknowledge them adequately here. Those whose generous assistance has been most instrumental in putting together this article have been John Blazejewski, photographer, Index of Christian Art, Princeton University; Monique Cohen, conservateur en chef, Division des Manuscrits Orientaux, Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque national, Paris; the members of the Equipe de Recherche sur les Documents de Dunhuang, at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, associated with the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, especially Michel Soymié, Jean-Pierre Drège, and Li-ying Kuo; Anne Farrer, assistant keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities, the British Museum, London; Jacques Giès, conservateur, Musée Guimet, Paris; Martin Heijdra, Chinese bibliographer, Gest Oriental Library, Princeton University; Elizabeth McKillop, curator, Chinese and Korean Section, Oriental Collections, the British Library, London; Victor H. Mair, Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania; Frederick W. Mote, Emeritus, Department of East Asian Studies, Princeton University; and Roderick Whitfield, head of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London. It is with great sadness that I must acknowledge in memory the advice and inspiration provided by Anna Seidel, Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Section de Kyōto, whose sudden passing on September 29, 1991, leaves the world of Chinese studies mourning an immense loss.

1. See *Shih-men cheng-t'ung*, Tsung-chien, *Dainihon zoku zōkyō*, 150 cases (1905–1912; repr. edn.; Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1923; hereafter abbreviated as Z) 2b, 3:401 verso a–b; partially translated in Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō dai jiten*, 3d edn., 10 vols. (Kyoto: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1954–1971), p. 2216b.
2. I have so far identified thirty-two copies, some already lost, of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. They are (or were) found in:
   A. Stein collection of manuscripts, held in the British Library, London (abbreviated as S) 2489, 2815, 3147, 3961, 4530, 4805, 4890, 5450, 5531, 5544, 5585, 6230, 7598;
   B. Stein collection of paintings from Ch'ien-fo-tung, held in the British Museum, London (abbreviated Cft) 00404/00212 (two pieces from the same manuscript);
   C. Fonds Pelliot chinois, held in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (abbreviated as P) 2003, 2870, 3761, 5580;
   D. original collection of Tun-huang manuscripts, held in the National Central Library, Peking (abbreviated as Pk) 1226, 4544, 6375, 8045, 8066, 8237;
   E. continued collection of Tun-huang manuscripts, held in the National Central Library, Peking (abbreviated as Pk *hsü*) 1537;
   F. collections, now lost, at one time belonging to Li Sheng-to, listed

under *san* ("lost," "scattered") in Wang Chung-min, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin* (Peking: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1962) 262, 535;

G. collection of Satō Han'ai, held in the Kubōsō Kinen Bijutsukan, outside of Kyoto (one specimen, unnumbered);

H. collection of Nakamura Fusetsu, held in the Nakamura Shodō Hakubutsukan, Tokyo (one specimen, numbered *san* 799 in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*);

I. Dun'-khuanskogo Fonda, held in Instituta Narodov Azii, St. Petersburg (abbreviated as Dkh) 143, 803, 931.

Most copies have the formal title at the beginning, *Fo-shuo yen-lo wang shou-chi ssu-chung ni-* (or *yü-*)*hsiu-sheng ch'i-chai wang-sheng ching-t'u ching*, which may be rendered as *The Scripture Spoken by the Buddha to the Four Orders on the Prophecy to King Yama concerning the Preparatory Practice during Life of the Seven Feasts of Rebirth in the Pure Land.*

3. The modern edition is in Z 2b, 23. The colophon at the end of the text (p. 387 recto b) is dated the sixth month of the fifth year of Ch'eng-hua (1469). The editors of Z note simply that the text "is based on a Korean printed edition" (p. 385 recto a).

4. First translation from the long recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, following P 2003 as edited in Tokushi Yūshō and Ogawa Kan'ichi, "*Jūō shōshichi kyō* sanzukan no kōzō," in *Chūō ajia bukkyō bijutsu*, Seiiki bunka kenkyū, vol. 5 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962), p. 260. Second translation from ibid., p. 266.

5. The literature on the Chinese scroll is voluminous. For an important overview of the physical characteristics of Tun-huang scrolls and a methodology for dating them, see Jean-Pierre Drège, "Papiers de Dunhuang: essaie d'analyse morphologique des manuscrits chinois datés," *T'oung Pao* 67: 3–5 (1981), pp. 305–360; idem, "Notes codicologiques sur les manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985), pp. 485–504; and idem, "Etude formelle des manuscrits conservés à Taipei: datation et authenticité," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 74 (1985), pp. 477–484. Other important studies of the Chinese scroll include idem, "Le Livre manuscrit et les débuts de la xylographie," *Revue française d'histoire du livre* N.S. 42 (January-March 1984), pp. 19–39; Fujieda Akira, *Moji no bunka shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 144–169; idem, "Tonkō shutsudo no chōan kōtei shakyō," in *Tsukamoto zenryū hakase shōju kinen bukkyō shigaku ronshū*, ed. Tsukamoto hakase shōju kinenkai (Kyoto: Tsukamoto hakase shōju kinenkai, 1961), pp. 647–667; Ma Heng, "Chung-kuo shu-chi chih-tu pien-ch'ien chih yen-chiu" (1926), repr. in *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*, ed. Liu Chia-pi (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1974), pp. 202–206; and Frederick W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu, *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book*, special issue, *Gest Library Journal* 2:2 (Spring

1988). On the composition and manufacture of paper, see P'an Chi-hsing, *Chung-kuo tsao-chih chi-shu shih-kao* (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1979), pp. 66–107, 171–178; and idem, "Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching chih te yen-chiu," *Wen-wu* 1966, no. 3 (cumulative no. 185) (March 1966), pp. 39–47; see also Marianne Harders-Steinhäuser, "Mikroskopische Untersuchung einiger früher, ostasiatischer Tun-huang-Papier," *Das Papier* 23:4 (April 1969), pp. 210–212; and Robert H. Clapperton, *Paper: An Historical Account of Its Making by Hand from the Earliest Times down to the Present Day* (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1934), pp. 1–26, esp. pp. 22–26.

6. Drège, "Papiers de Dunhuang," esp. pp. 339–357, offers the most complete and up-to-date analysis of dated samples.
7. S 2489, with eighteen characters per line, contains three verses per line, but Pk 8045, also with eighteen characters per line, contains four verses per line. It is unknown whether these variations in composition are due to differences between the original recensions used as a standard in each of the scriptoria, to the preferences of individual scribes, or to inattention or random factors.
8. Judging from the handwriting — never a certain guide — dedications were not written by the same person who copied the text.
9. For details on the best-documented case, the copying of the *Lotus* and *Diamond* sutras in Ch'ang-an between 671 and 677, see Fujieda, "Tonkō shutsudo no chōan kōtei shakyō," esp. pp. 655–659. For the Japanese system based on this model, see Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru nara chō bukkyō no kenkyū*, Tōyō bunkō ronsō, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunkō kankō, 1930).
10. Following Fujieda's estimate that it took one scribe two full days to copy a scroll of average length, it probably took a scribe one to two working days to copy out the relatively short text of the short recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*; see Fujieda, "Tonkō shutsudo no chōan kōtei shakyō," pp. 661–665. In Tun-huang wrappers (*chih*) made of silk, paper, and other materials were used to enclose bundles of scrolls, usually numbering ten. For studies and photographs of such wrappers, see Krishna Riboud and Gabriel Vial, *Tissus de Touen-houang conservées au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque nationale*, Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents Archéologiques Publiés sous les Auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. 13 (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970), pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 39, 43, 44, 45, 94, 95, 99, 100; and Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), pls. 6, 7, and 29-2. For an important article collating the call numbers on the wrappers of Tun-huang manuscripts with T'ang-dynasty sutra catalogues, see Fang Kuang-ch'ang, "Han-wen ta-tsang-ching chih-hao t'an-yüan," *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 1990, no. 1 (cumulative no. 39) (March 1990), pp.

134–144. Lists of books also survive from Tun-huang. Some are formal listings of titles loaned by one monastery to another for copying; some are official records of deficiencies in particular libraries; some are simply titles jotted down on scraps of paper. For an overview see Okabe Kazuo, "Tonkō zōkyō mokuroku," in *Tonkō to chūgoku bukkyō*, Kōza tonkō, vol. 7, ed. Makita Tairyō and Fukui Fumimasu (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), pp. 297–317. The most comprehensive study of the manufacture and storage of texts in medieval Buddhist libraries is Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les Bibliothèques en chine au temps des manuscrits (jusqu'au Xe siècle)," D. Litt. thesis, Université de Paris VII, 1988, pp. 261–364. Drège makes the intriguing suggestion (pp. 312–313) that each monastic library may have been divided into an upper and lower collection, the former for archiving the official canon, the latter — in which *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was probably kept — for shelving copies of texts that saw frequent use.

11. The manuscripts are S 3147 and Pk 6375.
12. A good example is P 2003. Its sheets average 29.5 by 50 cm. There are nineteen to twenty-one characters per line. Hymns containing four verses of seven syllables are arranged neatly with two verses in a line. The chants, consisting of eight verses of five syllables, are laid out four verses per line.
13. The third illustration to P 2870 is too close to the fourth, as a result of which part of the text was written (and later corrected with a patch) on top of the foot of the attendant leading the black messenger's horse. In S 3961 the artist left the copyist insufficient space between the third and fourth courts to write the hymn in its usual place; the scribe squeezed in all four lines by writing around the lower torso of one of the sinners.
14. See, for example, the seventh court in S 3961 and the eighth court in Satō ms. To my mind these depictions of wounds and the portrayal of a sinner nailed down to a wooden bed in the final scene of hell are as graphic as the tenth-century scrolls get. In light of the descriptions of hell in earlier Chinese literature and the bodily mutilations depicted unflinchingly in Chinese painting and sculpture beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries — to say nothing of medieval European, Islamic, and Japanese pictures of the underworld — the pictures in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are rather mild.
15. This is the ninth (last) illustration to P 4523. The motif is repeated in later paintings.
16. See the thirteenth illustration to Satō ms. and to P 2870.
17. "Transpecification" is LaFleur's term; see William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 26–59.
18. Recent discoveries of physical remains have prompted a reinterpretation of the terms used by Sung-dynasty authors to describe styles of binding and a reassessment of the place of the booklet and related forms

in the history of Chinese book production. The most helpful overview is Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les Cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang," in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang*, vol. 1, ed. Michel Soymié, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Hautes Etudes Orientales, vol. 10 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), pp. 17–28; and idem, "Les Accordéons de Dunhuang," in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, vol. 3, ed. Michel Soymié, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), pp. 195–211. Other important studies include Ch'ang Pi-te, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien" (1964), repr. in *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*, pp. 209–220; Fujieda Akira, "Sutain tonkō shūshū e'iri *kannon kyō* sasshi: tonkō ni okeru mokuhitsu no shiyō," *Bokubi* 177, special issue entitled "Tonkōbon *kannon kyō* sasshi" (March 1968), pp. 3–8; idem, *Moji no bunka shi*, pp. 188–192; Li Chih-chung, "Ku-shu hsüan-feng-chuang k'ao-pien," *Wen-wu* 1981, no. 2 (cumulative no. 297) (February 1981), pp. 75–78; and Ma, "Chung-kuo shu-chi chih-tu pien-ch'ien chih yen-chiu," pp. 206–208.

19. On the binding of books as accordions and related styles, see Drège, "Les Accordéons"; and Li, "Ku-shu hsüan-feng-chuang k'ao-pien." The Buddhist canon was first bound in the format of an accordion with the private edition produced at Tung-ch'an ssu in Fu-chou in two stretches of work between 1080 and 1103 and between 1112 and 1176. On the production and current location of surviving volumes of this edition, referred to as the *Ch'ung-ning wan-shou ta-tsang*, see Fang Hao, "Sung-tai fo-chiao tui chung-kuo yin-shua chi tsao-chih chih kung-hsien" (1970), repr. in *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*, p. 447; Ono Gemmyō, *Bukkyō kyōten sōron* (1936), repr. as a supplementary volume to Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1933–1936), pp. 781–808; and Ts'ai Yün-ch'en, *Erh-shih-wu-chung tsang-ching mu-lu tui-chao k'ao-shih* (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1983), pp. 469–470.
20. See the definition of "codex" offered in Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1983), p. 1: "a collection of sheets of any material, folded double and fastened together at the back or spine, usually protected by covers."
21. Fujieda, *Moji no bunka shi*, p. 198; and idem, "Sutain tonkō shūshū e'iri *kannon kyō* sasshi," p. 6.
22. For a superb study of the different forms in which the *Diamond* sutra circulated, see Hirai Yūkei, "*Kongō hannya kyō*," in *Tonkō to chūgoku bukkyō*, pp. 17–34; see also Makita Tairyō, "Kanyaku butten denshojō no ichimondai: *kongō hannya kyō* no meishi ketsu ni tsuite," *Ryūkoku shidan* 56, 57 (1966), pp. 116–128. There are also excellent studies on the textual and philosophical aspects of the *Diamond*; see, for example, Edward Conze, *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 13 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo

Oriente, 1957); and Kajiyoshi Kōun, *Kongō hannya kyō*, Butten kōza, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1972).

23. On the place of the *Diamond* sutra in Chinese Buddhism, see Hirai, "*Kongō hannya kyō*," pp. 17–34; idem, "Tonkō bunsho ni okeru *kongō kyō* shū," in *Shiragi bukkyō kenkyū*, ed. Kim Chi-gyŏn and Ch'ae In-hwan (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1973), pp. 505–573; Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku bukkyō shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978), pp. 220–222; O Kwang-hyŏk, "*Kongō hannya kyō shūren ki* kenkyū," in *Shiragi bukkyō kenkyū*, pp. 471–503; and Michel Soymié, "Notes d'iconographie bouddhique: des vidyārāja et vajradhara de Touen-houang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987), pp. 9–26.
24. The modern edition is *Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching*, Kumārajīva (350–409), *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 100 vols. (1924–1934; repr. edn.; Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1974), no. 235.
25. The intact copies containing the interpolation are S 5450 and S 5544. The interpolation was probably contained in the printed version of the *Diamond* from Szechwan on which these copies were based. Following Sung Buddhist historiography, Makita suggests that these lines, popularly called "*gāthās* from the dark offices" (*ming-ssu chi*), may have been inadvertently dropped from the earliest copies of Kumārajīva's translation and were reinserted beginning in the T'ang dynasty; see Makita, "Kanyaku butten denshojō no ichimondai," p. 128, n. 10.
26. Trans. from Hirai, "*Kongō hannya kyō*," p. 24.
27. Copies of this recension of the *Diamond* sutra bound individually as a booklet include S 5444 (dated 905), S 5451 (906), S 5534 (905), S 5669 (906), S 5965 (906), P 2876 (906), P 3398-1 (also listed as P 3493) (943), and Pk 8909 (907). Copies of this recension of the *Diamond* sutra bound together with other texts include S 5450, S 5544 (911?), S 5585, S 5646 (969), P 5580 (probably), and Li ms. (in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin, san* 262).
28. They are S 5450, S 5544 (dated 911?), and Li ms. (in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin, san* 262).
29. Other copies of the *Diamond* sutra with the notation "based on the true printed copy of the Kuo family in Hsi-ch'uan" bound as a booklet include S 5444 (dated 905), S 5450, S 5451 (906), S 5534 (905), S 5669 (906), S 5965 (906), P 2876 (906), P 3398-1 (also listed as P 3493) (943), and Pk 8909 (907). *Diamonds* with the same notation bound as scrolls include S 6726 (926?) and P 2094 (908).
30. I have not been able to find any other information concerning the Kuo family of Hsi-ch'uan. Hsi-ch'uan was the name used in T'ang times for part of Wei-chou in western Szechwan; see *Chiu t'ang-shu*, Liu Hsü (887–946), po-na edn. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), p. 1690; and *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 78.7v–8r, Yüeh Shih (930–1007), 2 vols., Sung-tai ti-li shu ssu-chung, no. 1 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1963), 1:601b–c. These are not the only Tun-huang texts that can be traced to Hsi-ch'uan. P 2292 was apparently copied in Hsi-ch'uan in 947. For others, see Victor H. Mair,

T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 28 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 180, n. 33. Hsi-ch'uan was an important center for printing as early as the middle of the ninth century. In his catalogue of books brought home to Japan, the monk Shūei (ca. 809–884), who traveled in China between 862 and 866, records two works printed in Hsi-ch'uan, one the *T'ang-yün* in five chapters, the other the *Yü-p'ien* in thirty chapters; see *Shin shosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, Shūei, T no. 2174, 55:1111b. See also Hsiang Ta, "T'ang-tai k'an-shu k'ao" (1928), repr. in *T'ang-tai ch'ang-an yü hsi-yü wen-ming* (Peking: Sheng-huo tu-shu hsin-chih san-lien shu-tien, 1957), pp. 124, 126–127, 132.

31. Booklets containing three texts include S 5646 (dated 969), P 3136, and Cft xxii.0026; five texts: S 5458; six texts: S 5581 and P 3915; seven texts: P 3920; ten texts: S 5531 (921?) and P 3916.
32. Other tiny manuscripts include S 5924, an accordion-style booklet; P 3759, a bound booklet containing three texts; P 3760, an accordion-style booklet containing three texts; and Cft 00213, a bound booklet.
33. For a tiny manuscript booklet of the gospel of St. John of similar dimensions (7.1 by 5.1 cm.) that was probably worn as a talisman, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Kreuz und Buch im Frühmittelalter und in den ersten Jahrhunderten der spanischen Reconquista" (1963), repr. in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966–1981), p. 288.
34. See Drège, "Les Cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang," pp. 27–28; and Ch'ang, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien," pp. 209–220.
35. "To be held in the hands and chanted Brahmā-style" (*ch'ih-ching fan-yin*) are the words placed as a title (or stage direction) to a set of five-syllable chants preceding the text of a *Diamond* sutra bound in booklet format; Cft xi.001-2, reproduced in Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia* 2: fig. 98. The last chant is corrupt, containing only four syllables.
36. Drège ("Les Cahiers des manuscrits," p. 28) summarizes the standard view, which distinguishes sharply between the collective nature of scrolls and the entirely private function of booklets: "The relatively small number of booklets in comparison to that of scrolls in the tenth century indicates that in this period this new form is still far from having eliminated the scroll, at least at Tun-huang: the booklet, an item of personal use, was indispensable at first for the exclusive gain of the individual, serving in reality as a breviary or prompt [*aide-mémoire*], whereas the scroll maintains its collective role as an item of the library."
37. The scroll is Cft cii.001. Matsumoto argues that this version of the scripture was intended to reach an uneducated audience; Matsumoto Eiichi,

Tonkō ga no kenkyū, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin, 1937), vol. 1, p. 403.

38. See Fujieda, *Moji no bunka shi*, pp. 191–192; and Ch'ang, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien," pp. 215–218.
39. The statistics may be misleading. The number of extant medieval manuscripts produced outside of Tun-huang is relatively small, and we are still unclear about the proximate origins of the manuscripts sealed behind Tun-huang cave no. 17. The Tun-huang manuscripts originated in the libraries of two or more temples, yet the corpus also contains government documents and many works that were once privately owned. For an assessment of the constitution of the "library," see Fujieda Akira, "Une reconstruction de la 'bibliothèque' de Touen-houang," *Journal asiatique* 269:1–2 (1981), pp. 65–68.
40. See Teiser, "*The Scripture on the Ten Kings*," pt. 1.

Glossary

Ch'an 禪
Chang 張
Ch'ang-an 長安
Ch'eng-tu 成都
chi 偈
ch'ieh-t'o 伽陀
ching-che-chuang 經折裝
Ching-t'u wu-ching 淨土五經
Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching 金剛般若波羅蜜經
Chiu-mo-lo-shih 鳩摩羅什
chüan-chou 卷軸
chüan-tzu 卷子
Ch'ui-kung 垂拱
chung-yu 中有
Dainihon zoku zōkyō 大日本續藏經
Fang-kuang po-jo ching 放光般若經
Fo-shuo yen-lo wang shou-chi ssu-chung ni- 佛說閻羅王授記四衆逆
(or *yü-*)*hsiu-sheng ch'i-chai wang-sheng* (預)修生七齋往生
ching-t'u ching 淨土經
Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃
Hirai Yūkei 平井宥慶
Hsi-ch'uan Kuo-chia chen yin-pen 西川過家真印本
hsien-pao 現報
Hui-neng 慧能
keng-ch'en 庚辰
Kubōsō Kinen Bijutsukan 久保惣記念美術館
k'ung 空
Li Sheng-to 李盛鐸
Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折
Nakamura Shodō Hakubutsukan 中村書道博物館
O-mi-t'o ching 阿彌陀經
O-mi-t'o fo 阿彌陀佛
Pi-shu-sheng 秘書省
Satō Han'ai 佐藤汎愛
Shih-wang ching 十王經
Sung-ti wang 宋帝王
T'ai-shan wang 泰山王

Tao-ming 道明
Ta-sheng-tz'u ssu 大聖慈寺
tsan 讚
Tsang-ch'uan 藏川
ts'e-tzu[a] 策子
ts'e-tzu[b] 册子
ts'e-yeh 册葉
Tsung-chien 宗鑑
Tun-huang 敦煌
Wu-kuan wang 五官王
Wu-lo-ch'a 無羅叉
Wu-tao chuan-lun wang 五道轉輪王
yeh 業
yeh-ching 業鏡
Yen-lo wang 閻羅王

Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty and Yüan Society

UEMATSU TADASHI
[Translated by De-min Tao and Zhen-ping Wang]

THE CONTENT OF THE BOOK AND ITS COMPILATION

The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* (*Yüan tien-chang*) is an abbreviated title for the *Institutions of the Sagely [i.e., Imperial] Government of Great Yüan* (*Ta-Yüan sheng-cheng kuo-ch'ao tien-chang*). An important historical record, the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* is a collection of imperial edicts and legal precedents of the Yüan dynasty. This book consists of the "text" (*cheng-chi*) in sixty *chüan* (chapters) and a "new supplement" (*hsin-chi*) published as a single unit. Included in the text is a wide variety of official documents, such as imperial decrees, court principles, disciplinary guidelines of the Censorate, and official dispatches issued by the central government's "six ministries."[1] The documents cover the sixty years from 1260 to 1321, a period during which five Yüan emperors ruled China.[2] Titles indicating their contents are attached to these documents, most of which are extractions and quotations from official documents, which were drafted in a rigid, over-elaborate form to meet the requirements for transmission of official correspondence. The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was probably compiled and published in about 1321 in the Kiangsi district. The new supplement to the text was published during the Chih-chih reign period (1321–1323) and is therefore also known as the *Articles and General Principles of the Chih-Chih Reign* (*Chih-chih t'iao-li*). It consists of eight classes of documents: imperial edicts, court principles, and official dispatches issued by each of the six ministries. The most recent events mentioned in the documents occurred in the second year of the Chih-chih reign period (1322).

The documents are held in high regard by modern scholars as first-hand

historical records for the study of Yüan history, especially its legal history, as they are in fact government files. They contain many legal cases that reflect vividly the operation of the contemporary bureaucratic system of transmitting official documents: when incidents occurred, reports were drafted by local officials and sent to authorities at higher levels until they finally reached an office of the central government in the capital, usually the Secretariat or the Censorate. These reports were then sent to a relevant ministry for deliberation which was conducted with reference to precedents. Verdicts for important cases were subject to the approval of the emperor before they were handed down in the form of imperial edicts to local authorities. Many documents preserved in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* were addressed to the authorities of the Yüan-chou Route Command which was within the jurisdiction of the Kiangsi Branch Secretariat (Kiangsi hsing-sheng). Others were documents addressed to local governments in the Fukien area. This indicates that Yüan-chou and Fukien were closely related with the place where the work was compiled. As a matter of fact, in the archives of local governments, appropriate titles were attached to documents indicating the year in which they were received and the individual ministries that issued them. They were then stored separately, under the heading of that ministry. Systematic preservation of documents was a necessity if local authorities were to make administrative decisions and deliver verdicts because they needed to consult the precedents in these documents. It is worth noting that throughout the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* documents are basically arranged under the headings of the six ministries that issued them. This is perhaps the most pragmatic way of classifying documents since it corresponds with the established central bureaucratic structure. It therefore seems safe to suggest that the compilation of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was based on the collecting and arranging of documents accumulated in local government archives, and that its publication was sponsored either by local authorities or by bookstores in southern China.[3]

Similar legal works had existed before the publication of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*. One such work was the *Institutions of the Ta-te Reign* (*Ta-te tien-chang*), which was later expanded into *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*. Fragments of this work are preserved in other books in the form of quotations.[4]

Another important legal work was the *Comprehensive Institutions of the*

Great Yüan (*Ta-Yüan t'ung-chih*) by Po-chu-lu Ch'ung (1279–1338). It was compiled by imperial order, and published in the second year of the Chih-chih reign period under the sponsorship of the Yüan court. A voluminous work, the *Comprehensive Institutions of the Great Yüan* consists of at least eighty-eight *chüan*. Materials in this work are classified into four categories: imperial decrees, articles and codes, decided precedents, and miscellanies. The major part of the work, however, has long been lost. In the category "articles and codes" only about half the documents still exist today. These documents cover a period of more than eighty years, from 1234 to 1316, and are known as the *Code of Comprehensive Institutions* (*T'ung-chih t'iao-ko*). The contents of this work are similar to those of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*, and some documents appear in both works. However, attention should be paid to the fact that although these two works are both collections of government archives, they were compiled by different people who used different criteria for selecting which official documents to include.

The Yüan court, unlike the T'ang and Ming courts, did not systematically formulate statutes and ordinances to be used as the basic legal code for the country. As a result, Yüan officials, when handling administrative affairs and delivering verdicts, had largely to depend on imperial decrees, imperial edicts, and rules contained in previously issued administrative instructions and legal precedents. This is the reason that as a general practice, the *Dynastic History of the Yüan* (*Yüan-shih*) does not contain a detailed record of any specific legislation. This makes the accounts concerning the Yüan legal system in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* particularly important primary sources for the study of Yüan history, even though their appearances in the work are rather sporadic.[5] Some of the accounts will help clarify the circumstances under which government regulations were promulgated and the motives of the Yüan court in doing so. Most of these remain cloudy to us. Moreover, these accounts not only inform us of the individual regulations issued at the time, they also reveal the ways local officials adapted, and sometimes misinterpreted, the regulations, which served as the legal basis for their handling of administrative matters and legal disputes. Through these accounts we can gain some insight into the attitudes toward the legal system of contemporary people from different social strata.

Documents in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* were written in three quite different styles: (1) Some were written in literary Chinese which was

commonly used in imperial edicts and decrees. (2) Some employed a style used by Han-Chinese subofficial functionaries (*hsü-li*) in drafting official correspondence. This style is a mixture of literary expressions and colloquial terms. (3) Some were word-for-word translations of the original Mongolian document, which followed closely the syntax of the Mongolian language and replaced Mongolian words with their Chinese counterparts. This unique feature of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* has led some scholars to regard it as an unusual and difficult work to understand. In particular, they think documents written in the second and third styles are "coarse" and sometimes poorly drafted. The difficulties of reading these documents have often prevented scholars from using them at all. However, they can be of great benefit to modern scholars. These documents can help us develop a sense of personal involvement in the historical events they describe, because they faithfully reflect the nuances in the opinions of both Han-Chinese functionaries and the Mongols. In particular, the word-for-word translations of the original Mongolian documents almost allow us to "listen" to the actual words of the Mongol emperors' pronouncements and decrees as they uttered these orally.

Textual Studies of the Work

Unfortunately, other legal works compiled during the Yüan that are mentioned in Ming bibliographies have long been lost.[6] One such extinct Yüan legal work is the *Chih-yüan New Code* (*Chih-yüan hsin-ko*), which was the first legal work promulgated by the Yüan court. In recent years, scholars have reconstructed the entire work by collecting its individual provisions preserved in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* and the *Code of Comprehensive Institutions*.[7] Judging from their titles, these Yüan legal works, had they survived, would have provided a rich abundance of records for the study of contemporary politics, legal systems, and society. Moreover, there is no doubt that authors of these Yüan legal works had established a tradition of compiling comprehensive collections of contemporary government regulations. In that sense, they were the forerunners of Ming and Ch'ing works on their dynasties' comprehensive institutions (*hui-tien*). Using relevant records in these works to handle legal disputes and administrative matters that could not be properly dealt with by existing laws often preceded the making of new laws. Such a situation seems to have existed during the

Yüan dynasty. Once new laws were made, however, previous regulations immediately became outdated. This seems to have made it inevitable that contemporary political and legal works containing superseded regulations would rapidly disappear in later times.

When *The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*) was being compiled during the Ch'ien-lung reign period (1736–1795), compilers found a Yüan edition of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* housed in the Palace Treasury. They, however, considered the work merely a collection of official correspondence, the language of which was a mixture of literary expressions, dialect words, and vulgar locutions. The work was therefore judged to possess little literary value and was consequently not transcribed into *The Complete Library*. Only a brief bibliographical entry about the work, explaining the contents of the work to readers, appears in the *General Table of Contents of the Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu*).

During the Ch'ing dynasty, only a few transcripts of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* existed. Ch'ien Ta-hsin (1738–1804), a famous Ch'ing scholar, was delighted when he spotted one of them in a bookstore. Another such transcript is now held by the Wade Collection of Cambridge University. The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* became widely known after Shen Chia-pen (1840–1913) in 1908 sponsored an engraving of the work. This is the so-called Shen edition, the engraving of which was based on a transcript of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* held by Ting Ping (1832–1899), a noted bibliophile of Hangchow. This edition has also been included in a collectanea, the *Sung-fen shih ts'ung-shu*.[8] Since many omissions and misprints exist in the Shen edition, a plan for a photolithographic reproduction of a different edition of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was conceived in the 1920s, when the committee for handling affairs of the late Ch'ing imperial house found a Yüan edition of the work in the Imperial Palace in Peking. This work was identified as a publication of the Chien-yang bookstore in Fukien, and had previously been held by the Chi-ku ko, the private library of Mao Chin (1599–1659) of Ch'ang-shu. The reproduction plan, however, never materialized. But the discovery of the Yüan edition of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* made textual studies of the Shen edition possible. The major results of such studies are two books by Ch'en Yüan (1880–1971): the *Collations and Supplements to the Shen Edition of the Yüan tien-chang* (*Shen k'o Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu*) in ten volumes, and the

Editorial Notes on the Collations and Supplements to the Shen Edition of the Yüan tien-chang (*Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu shih-li*) in six volumes, published in 1931 and 1934 respectively. Although these two books are not perfect, they have provided the basis for textual studies of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*. Such studies are critical to the reading and correct understanding of the work.

In 1972, the National Palace Museum in Taiwan accomplished an undertaking long awaited by the scholarly world: the Yüan edition of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was photolithographed in its original format and was published in sixteen volumes in four book cases. This publication allows scholars easy access to the Yüan edition, and frees them from the time-consuming textual research of the Shen edition, thus preparing the ground for further advances in the study of Yüan history.[9] But the Shen edition and the two books by Ch'en Yüan still have their scholarly value. They contain three legal cases not found in the Yüan edition. Moreover, various transcripts of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* also have their value for the textual study of the text of the Yüan edition.

Research on the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* by Chinese and Japanese scholars has generated a considerable volume of scholarship.[10] A mimeographed index to this work was produced in limited quantities during the late 1950s and early 1960s.[11] Although a modern annotated and punctuated edition of the entire text of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* has yet to be compiled, annotation and punctuation for the sections dealing with the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of War have been completed.[12] To provide scholars with a research tool, I have collected quotations from the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* and the *Code of Comprehensive Institutions* which appear in fourteen Yüan works on government,[13] and arranged them in chronological order.[14]

Many problems related to the textual studies of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* remain unsolved. Further research remains to be done before modern scholars can claim that they have adequately used this work in their studies of Yüan history and the Yüan legal system.

The Significance of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* in the Study of Chinese Social History

In Chinese history, the *T'ang Code* (*T'ang lü*) is regarded as a masterpiece of the legal culture developed within a state system with its center in

Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang in northern China. By the time of the Sung and Yüan periods, however, the *T'ang Code* could no longer properly reflect the changing situations in Chinese society. This was so after the Five Dynasties-Sung period, particularly after the Southern Sung dynasty, when southern China experienced profound economic and social changes. The time had gone when judges could always resort to the *T'ang Code* for solutions to any type of legal dispute or criminal conduct. However, books on the *T'ang Code* were still being published during the Southern Sung dynasty, indicating that the study of the *T'ang Code* as a type of learning remained popular. These studies were perhaps aimed at examining and explaining events arising from the contemporary society in the light of the conventional T'ang legal system.

Given the situation during the Yüan dynasty, it would have been much better for the Yüan court to have had its own system of statutes and ordinances. Although there had been discussions about and preparations for the establishment of such a system, the endeavors failed to come to fruition. The lack of a uniform system of statutes and ordinances resulted in the publication of some unique legal works, such as the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* and the *Comprehensive Institutions of the Great Yüan*. These legal works, as has been discussed, best met the needs of Yüan officials for making administrative decisions and delivering verdicts, and were in fact the most desirable form of law code.

Miyazaki Ichisada has pointed out that the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was compiled when law was no longer in the exclusive possession of government, but was gradually made available to ordinary people. This happened after the Sung dynasty during the "early modern period" in Chinese history.[15] If we are to answer the question "For whom was the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* compiled?" it seems safe to suggest that the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* was published and circulated not for local officials and functionaries but for ordinary people to read and consult.

It is a generally accepted notion that since the Yüan dynasty was established by the Mongols after their conquest of China, the Mongols received preferential treatment, whereas the Chinese, especially the southerners who had lived in the territory of the Southern Sung dynasty before the Mongol conquest, were suppressed. Emphasis is often placed on the taking of bribes and other acts of malfeasance by Chinese subofficial functionaries. But this should not blind us to the fact that these negative remarks about Mongol rule were made by Chinese intellectuals and members of the gentry

who harbored grievances against the contemporary Yüan politics and society. It is certainly true that to some extent the Mongols received preferential treatment and that the Chinese subofficial functionaries were corrupt. But I would argue that an adapted form of Chinese pragmatism also emerged in Yüan politics and its legal practices. This pragmatism is evident in the form and content of some of the official correspondence in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*. It existed in the Yüan political system from the central government down to local authorities. The Yüan court could not entrust only Mongols and miscellaneous alien collaborators (*se-mu*) with daily administration. It was therefore not exceptional, nor found awkward, for the Mongols to let Han-Chinese officials handle some administrative matters in Chinese ways. The Mongol rulers had few other choices. And this perhaps turned out to be their best choice. Following this line of argument, we can not only understand the complicated feelings of Chinese intellectuals toward the Yüan dynasty, but also be able to observe the contemporary political and social structures from a sounder historical point of view.[16]

When discussing heightened social mobility during the Yüan dynasty, modern scholars often point to the activities of subofficial functionaries as an example. The Yüan dynasty provided a stage for these functionaries, who under earlier Chinese dynasties had customarily been among the disadvantaged in the society, to play an active role in the "pragmatic politics." Some of them were eventually promoted to ranking officials. In the scripts of Yüan popular drama, these functionaries often appear in the role of cunning, petty evildoers.

Another example of social mobility during the Yüan is the activities of local elite families (*hao-min*). During the Sung-Yüan transition period the upstart local elite families extended the scope of their economic and political activities. The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* often mentions them, together with local officials and the influential, as "*kuan-hao shih-yao*." This term indicates that they had formed close ties with local officials. The power they held in their regions was the basis for their participation in local politics. A few of them held high-ranking posts, such as ministers of branch secretariats (*hsing-sheng*) and pacification commissioners (*hsüan-wei shih*). Some were appointed head officials of route commands (*lu*), prefectures (*chou*), and counties (*hsien*), and some served local authorities as minor subofficial functionaries. Generally speaking, the Yüan policy toward southern

China was relatively moderate in tax collection and the levy of corvée labor. This policy was instrumental to the growth of local elite families. Some among the Yüan officials and functionaries sought to further private interests through illegal activities, but this phenomenon was not merely an indication of corruption in Yüan government and politics. It was also a sign of increasing mobility and vitality in Chinese society. The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* is therefore a rich mine of primary sources about local elite families.[17]

The *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* is also important for understanding the role that Yüan law played in the transition from the *T'ang Code* to the *Ming Code*. During the Yüan, the lower reaches of the Yangtze River in central China served as the base area in which the Ming came to power. Since the *Ming Code* was drafted during the early years of the Ming dynasty, its compilers must have given due consideration to the situations during the Yüan dynasty and Yüan officials' experiences in handling legal cases.

The basic method of classification in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* is to arrange official correspondence in accordance with the six ministries that issued them. The *Ming Code* also adopted this method. Although in Chinese institutional history, it was the Ming court that took the unprecedented step of subjecting the six ministries to the direct control of the emperor, the idea of considering the six ministries the basic units for central administration had already appeared in Yüan legal works.

The influence of the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* on Ming legal thought is also seen in the way Ming officials handled crimes committed by members of local elite families. The *T'ang Code* does not discuss punishment for economic misconduct by the wealthy and the influential at all since the code was designed primarily to deal with dereliction of duty by "persons holding office" (*chien-lin chih-kuan*). Compilers of the *T'ang Code* certainly did not feel the need to formulate any regulations to deal with economic misconduct by the wealthy, because such misconduct was considered a purely economic matter. Should an official abuse his power and engage in illegal activity, administrative regulations in the *T'ang Code* would determine the punishment for him. In contrast, in the *Ming Code*, besides "persons holding office," terms such as "the wealthy" and "the influential,"[18] which had begun to appear frequently in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*, are also used as legal terms to prohibit these people from engaging in illegal activities. Legal cases and regulations involving the misconduct of the wealthy

and the influential also appear in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*. This indicates that "persons holding office" as a T'ang legal concept had already grown outdated and was insufficient to curb crimes in Yüan society. To solve this problem, the *Ming Code* not only made government officials its target, it also meant to regulate the behavior of all people. The *Ming Code* had become a means for the government to observe and judge a wide variety of human activities throughout the society. This new feature of the *Ming Code* is seen in its new regulations of punishment for economic crimes and its compilation principles, according to which all the homicide cases are classified in the category of "human life" (*jen-ming*).

In the twelfth month of 1367, Emperor T'ai-tsu (r. 1368–1398) ordered the publication of the *Straightforward Explanations of the Ming Laws and Ordinances* (*Ming-lü chih-chieh*). This work was to explain law to ordinary people. Upon its completion, Emperor T'ai-tsu pointed out:

> In previous times, the enforcement of law was carried out in accordance with the *Code of Comprehensive Institutions*. Although its regulations were well conceived, the work had never been widely circulated. This not only encouraged lawless officials to misinterpret law for their own use, the very fact that ordinary people seldom had access to this work also made them blind and deaf to government regulations, and led them to violate the law without knowing it. Now I have ordered that the *Straightforward Explanations of the Ming Laws and Ordinances* be widely distributed. If everybody understands the law, the number of offenders will certainly decrease.[19]

Emperor T'ai-tsu's remark clearly indicates that the Yüan government publication *Code of Comprehensive Institutions* was not available to contemporary people. We may further argue that rulers of ancient time deliberately kept ordinary people ignorant of the law. They believed that if ordinary people learned the law, they would try to find loopholes in it. And this would undermine the honest and unsophisticated mood of the society. During the Ming dynasty, however, not only did ordinary people gradually gain access to legal works, the government also took the initiative to change its policy and educate people so that they would thoroughly understand the law. But it is worth noting that it was during the Yüan dynasty that ground was prepared for the emergence of this new tendency in Ming society. And

important clues to this new social phenomenon are to be found in the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty*.

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NOTES

1. That is, the ministries of Personnel, Revenue, Rites, War, Justice, and Works.
2. That is, Shih-tsu (r. 1260–1294), Ch'eng-tsung (r. 1295–1307), Wu-tsung (r. 1308–1311), Jen-tsung (r. 1312–1320), and Ying-tsung (1321–1323).
3. Miyazaki Ichisada, "Sō Gen jidai no hōsei to saiban kikō," *Tōhō gakuhō* 24 (1954), pp. 115–226. See also his *Ajia-shi kenkyū*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Dōhōsha, 1964), pp. 170–305.
4. Niida Noboru, "*Gen tenshō* no seiritsu to *Daitoku tenshō*," *Shigaku zasshi* 51:9 (1940), pp. 266–283. Ōta Yaichirō, "*Eiraku taiten* maki 19424 tan, jamachi 9 shoin no *Genchō tenshō* ni tsuite: *Gen tenshō* to *Daitoku tenshō* no kankei ni kakawatte," *Shūkan Tōyōgaku* 27 (1972), pp. 115–129.
5. Uematsu Tadashi, "Gendai jōkaku kō (1–8)," *Kagawa daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū hōkoku (1)* 45 (1978), pp. 35–73; 46 (1979), pp. 75–104; 47 (1979), pp. 103–137; 48 (1980), pp. 47–79; 49 (1980), pp. 173–224; 50 (1980), pp. 1–28; 51 (1981), pp. 39–76; 58 (1983), pp. 1–18.
6. For example, the *Chih-cheng t'iao-ko*, the *Ch'eng-hsien kang-yao*, the *Feng-hsien hung-kang*, the *Sheng-pu cheng-tien chü-yao*, the *Yü-min cheng-yao*, the *Hui-tien ko-li*, the *Hsing-t'ung i-lan*, and the *Cheng-hsing lei-yao*. For a detailed study, see Kurada Junnosuke, "*Gen tenshō* no ryūden," *Tōhō gakuhō* (1954), pp. 443–460.
7. Uematsu Tadashi, "Ishū *Shigen shin-kaku* narabini kaisetsu," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 30:4 (1972), pp. 1–12. This article has been translated into Chinese by Cheng Liang-sheng. See his "Hui-chi *Chih-yüan hsin-ko* chi chieh-shuo," *Shih-huo* 5:7 (1975), pp. 340–356. See also Paul Heng-chao Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols: The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 159–166. Huang Shih-chien, ed., *Yüan-tai fa-lü tzu-liao chi-ts'un* (*Yüan-tai shih-liao ts'ung-k'an* edn.; Hangchow: Chekiang ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1988).
8. This collectanea was reproduced in facsimile in 1964 by a Taiwan publisher, the Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she.
9. Two handy versions of the Yüan edition have also been published in Taiwan, one in two volumes by the Kuo-feng ch'u-pan-she (1974), another in three volumes by Kuo-li ku-kung po-wu yüan (1976).
10. For example, Shen Chia-pen discussed the *Institutions of the Yüan Dynasty* in "Li-tai hsin-fa k'ao." See his

Shen Chi-i hsien-shen i-shu chia-pien (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1964, pp. 358–490. K'o Shao-min (1848–1933) quoted part of its section on criminal law and punishment in his *Hsin Yüan-shih* (T'ui-keng t'ang edn.; Tientsin, 1922). Ts'ai Mei-piao has made efforts to collect stele inscriptions that use the style of word-for-word translation of the original Mongolian text. These inscriptions have been collected in his *Yüan-tai pai-hua pei chi-lu* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1955). I lin-chen also discussed this unique writing style in his article "Yüan-tai ying-i kung-tu wen-t'i," *Yüan-shih lun-ts'ung* 1 (1982), pp. 164–178. As for the Japanese scholarship, Professor Abe Takeo of Kyoto University organized a *Yüan tien-chang* workshop. Members of the workshop have concentrated their efforts on linguistic studies, such as the writing style, the syntax, and the particular format of official documents in the *Yüan tien-chang*. They have produced the following major articles: Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "*Gen tenshō* ni mieta Kanbun ritoku no buntai," *Tōhō gakuhō* 24 (1954), pp. 367–396; Abe Takeo, "Doku *Gen tenshō* sakki sansoku," in *Ishihama sensei koki kinen Tōyōgaku ronsō*, ed. Kansai daigaku bungakubu Tōyōshi kenkyūshitsu Ishihama sensei koki kinen kai (Kyoto: Taihō insatsu kabushiki kaisha, 1958), pp. 1–17; Tanaka Kenji, "*Gen tenshō* ni okeru mōbun chokuyakutai no bunshō," *Tōhō gakuhō* 32 (1962), pp. 187–224; see also his "*Gen tenshō* monjo no kōsei," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 23:4 (1965), pp. 92–117.

11. This index was compiled by the Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenky sho *Gen tenshō* kenkyūhan in four separate parts. The first part was published in 1955, the second in 1957, the third in 1959, and the fourth in 1961.
12. See Iwamura Shinobu and Tanaka Kenji, eds., *Kōteibon Gen tenshō keibu*, vols. 1 and 2 (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho, 1964, 1972). Yoshikawa Kōjirō's "*Gen tenshō* ni mieta Kanbun ritoku no buntai" and Tanaka Kenji's "*Gen tenshō* ni okeru mōbun chokuyakutai no bunshō" have been included in vol. 1 as its appendix under the title "*Gen tenshō* no buntai." See also Terada Takanobu et al., eds., "Kōtei *Gen tenshō* heibu," in *Tōhoku daigaku Tōyōshi ronshū* 2 (1986), pp. 173–208; 3 (1988), pp. 116–187; 3 (1990), pp. 121–196.
13. As for the study of the *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko*, a three-volume annotation and translation of the work has been published in Japanese. See Kobayashi Takashirō and Okamoto Keiji, *Tsūsei jōkaku no kenkyū yakuchū*, vol. 1 (1964), vol. 2 (1975), vol. 3 (1976). Volumes two and three were completed by Okamoto himself, and all three volumes were published in Tokyo by Kokusho Kankōkai. Volume three contains an index, which is very helpful for reading the *Yüan tien-chang*. A punctuated and annotated edition of the *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* by Huang Shih-chien (Hangchow: Chekiang ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1986) has been published as part of a series of Yüan primary sources, the Yüan-tai shih-liao ts'ung-k'an.
14. *Gen tenshō nendai sakuin* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1970).
15. Miyazaki Ichisada, "Sō Gen jidai no

hōsei to saiban kikō," pp. 115–226.

16. Uematsu Tadashi, "Gendai jōkaku kō (1)," pp. 35–73.
17. Uematsu Tadashi, "Gendai kōnan chihōkan ninyō ni tsuite," *Hōseishi kenkyū* 38 (1988), pp. 1–42.
18. Other Chinese terms describing social relations, introduced into the *Ming Code*, are "*hao-ch'iang*," "*shih-yao*," "*kuan-hao shih-yao*," "*ch'üan-shih chih-jen*," and "*hao-shih chih-jen*"; all refer to persons who misused status and wealth.
19. *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan Li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so, 1966), 28a, p. 6.

Glossary

Ch'ang-an 長安
Ch'ang-shu 常熟
Ch'en Yüan 陳垣
cheng-chi 正集
Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕
chien-lin chih-kuan 監臨之官
Ch'ien-lung 乾隆
Chien-yang 建陽
Chih-chih 至治
Chih-chih t'iao-li 至治條例
Chih-yüan hsin-ko 至元新格
Chi-ku ko 汲古閣
chou 州
Fukien 福建
Hangchow 杭州
hao-min 豪民
hsien 縣
hsin-chi 新集
hsing-sheng 行省
hsüan-wei shih 宣慰使
hsü-li 胥吏
hui-tien 會典
jen-ming 人命
Kiangsi 江西
Kiangsi hsing-sheng 江西行省
kuan-hao shih-yao 官豪勢要
Lo-yang 洛陽
lu 路
Mao Chin 毛晋
Ming-lü chih-chieh 明律直解
Po-chu-lu Ch'ung 孛朮魯翀
se-mu 色目
Shen 沈
Shen Chia-pen 沈家本
Shen k'o Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu 沈刻元典章校補
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu 四庫全書總目
Sung-fen shih ts'ung-shu 誦芬室叢書
T'ai-tsu 太祖
T'ang lü 唐律
Ta-te tien-chang 大德典章
Ta-Yüan sheng-cheng kuo-ch'ao tien-chang 大元聖政國朝典章
Ta-Yüan t'ung-chih 大元通制
Ting Ping 丁丙
T'ung-chih t'iao-ko 通制條格
Yüan tien-chang 元典章
Yüan tien-chang chiao-pu shih-li 元典章校補釋例
Yüan-chou 袁州
Yüan-shih 元史

The World's Earliest Extant Book Printed from Wooden Movable Type?

Chüan Seventy-seven of the Tangut Translation of the *Garland sutra*

MARTIN HEIJDRA AND CAO SHUWEN

As announced in the Spring 1991 issue of the *Gest Library Journal*, two previously unnoticed volumes, representing parts of two early Tangut printings of Buddhist sutras, have recently been brought to our attention.[1] They were acquired for a sizable sum in Peking and were sent to the Gest Collection on December 21, 1937.[2] Although Dr. Hu Shih (1891–1962), curator of the Gest Library from 1950 to 1952, examined them in 1951–1952, they were not catalogued or completely identified. Thus they had escaped the attention of the library staff until quite recently. One of the two volumes is printed in movable type, in the Hsi-hsia script used for writing the Tangut language from the mid-eleventh century until the fifteenth century, and possibly even later. In announcing the discovery, the article stated (p. 2): "Modern scholars believe that this edition was produced during the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and is therefore later than the famous woodblock edition of the *Tripiṭaka* [the Buddhist canon] in the Tangut language printed at Hangchow around 1302 during the Yüan dynasty." Even if that were true, this example of movable-type printing would still be ear-

lier than Gutenberg's first printings from movable type in Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century. But since that announcement we have made additional efforts to identify the *Garland sutra* (*Hua-yen ching*), and we can now report somewhat more fully on this important item in the history of printing.

Xylography, or printing from page-size engraved or carved wooden blocks, was developed and used in China from the seventh century on. Movable type came four centuries later, and because of the practical difficulties of dealing with Chinese script, with its tens of thousands of individual characters, did not fully supersede woodblock printing until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. It has been customary to say that although there are literary records from as early as the mid-eleventh century that describe the use of movable type for printing books, the earliest extant examples of books printed with that technique in China date from the late fifteenth century.[3] Yet that fact does not cast any doubt on the much earlier use of the technology; descriptions dating from the Northern Sung dynasty (960–1126), particularly that by Shen Kua (1030–1094) in his famous miscellany *Meng-hsi pi-t'an*, are detailed enough to leave no doubt about this technological breakthrough. Shen was a contemporary of a man named Pi Sheng (fl. ca. 1040) who is credited with having been the "inventor," or at least the developer of a practical technique for printing from individual type made from fired clay and various other materials. Detailed reports of the production of wooden type are recorded in Wang Chen's *Nung shu*; he had overseen its production in 1297–1298. Whether the technology of printing from movable type was then transmitted from China to Europe or was independently discovered there cannot be clearly demonstrated, but transmission from China remains a distinct possibility.[4]

The existence of other volumes from this same set of the *Garland sutra*, eighty volumes in all, comprising the Tangut translation of this important Buddhist sutra, was recorded by other scholars as early as the 1930s, and at least one of them noted that the volumes were printed from movable type. That so early an example of the technology of typography in China did not attract more attention is undoubtedly attributable to the book being written not in Chinese, but in Hsi-hsia script. Tangut has been a dead language in China for possibly five centuries, and knowledge of its script was lost; at first Western scholars even assumed the script was Jürchen. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars (first Western; later Russian, Japa-

nese, and Chinese) have begun to study and decipher it linguistically. Today a small group of specialists, mostly in the Soviet Union and Japan, but lately also in China and elsewhere, can read Hsi-hsia with more confidence. Texts in Hsi-hsia have assumed new importance in scholarship.

The Tangut (Chinese: Hsi-hsia; Tibetan: Mi-nyag) dynasty was founded on the northwestern borders of China in the eleventh century. Until Ching-gis Khan obliterated it in 1227, it was a large and important state that had existed in an intimate cultural and political relationship with Sung-dynasty China and with China's other neighbors. Some of its rulers actively encouraged the adoption of Chinese culture, and sponsored the translation into Tangut of Chinese texts. In 1036 an intricate new writing system was developed to expedite this goal. Based primarily on Chinese, the script also contained Jürchen and Khitan precedents. The average number of strokes per character is much higher than in Chinese, giving the page a denser and more uniform impression.

Since the script is not alphabetic, deciphering has proceeded along two separate paths: pronunciation and meaning. Early efforts to reconstruct the sound system were rather unsuccessful, as they were based on the earliest well known Hsi-hsia example, which was found among the multilingual inscriptions at the Chü-yung Pass (1345). As it turns out, the Hsi-hsia characters used to transcribe (not translate) the Sanskrit Dhāraṇī-sutra belong to a special subset of characters, and real advances could only be made when other texts became available. Fortunately, there exist parts of Chinese and Tibetan glossaries, as well as portions of many contemporary Hsi-hsia monolingual dictionaries and rhyme books. There are some differences in the reconstructions of various authors,[5] but the differences are of secondary importance, and the solutions do confirm the opinion that the Tangut language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family.[6]

Dictionaries similar to the Hsi-hsia monolingual ones have also been used to refine investigations into the meaning of characters, but more important are comparisons of Tangut translations with their Chinese (or Tibetan) originals.[7] The *Garland sutra* especially has been used for this purpose. A difficulty encountered here is that whereas some texts, produced primarily in the Hsi-hsia capital of Hsing-ch'ing, are of a style imitating as closely as possible Chinese word order, and hence are easy to compare, other texts, like the Gest's *Lotus sutra* (*Miao-fa lien-hua ching*), are in general apparently closer to the spoken language and hence much more difficult to decipher.

Most of the latter group are translations from the Tibetan, and were produced in Liang-chou and Kan-chou; work on this style has not yet advanced very far.

The inscriptions found at the Chü-yung Pass in 1345 were long thought to be the latest occurrence of Hsi-hsia, and the Tangut were assumed to have vanished completely during the Yüan dynasty. Recent finds, however, have established beyond any doubt that at least until the mid-Ming, Hsi-hsia was still understood and written by some Tangut people in Lamaist monasteries. One sutra dates from 1372, there is a stele inscription from 1502, and there are written Hsi-hsia characters on a Tibetan *Kanjur* (or *Kangyur*, the part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon containing the instructions of Buddha) dating from the Wan-li period (1573–1620) preserved in Berlin. The Tangut in these later documents shows more Chinese influence; for example, period names are not translated, but transcribed.[8]

In view of the enthusiastic importation of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist culture, the transmission of the newly developed Chinese technology of typography to the Hsi-hsia state is thus not surprising. Also, during the period of Mongol rule over both the former Hsi-hsia state and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, surviving remnants of the Tangut population continued to use their language and to print books, especially Buddhist scriptures, in the Hsi-hsia script. More often those were printed by xylography, but as this example shows, typography was occasionally used. In China, wood came to be the most commonly employed material for making movable type, and it is the material used in this Hsi-hsia printing of the *Garland sutra*. The Gest volume is the only full volume of the text known to exist outside of East Asia, except for forgeries of volume forty-one, most probably based on an original belonging to the same set as the Peking, Kyoto, Ningsia, Kansu, and Gest copies.[9]

The library's catalogue description of this volume tentatively reads as follows:

> The *[Ta-fang kuang-fo] Hua-yen ching* (Sanskrit: *Avataṁsaka-sūtra*; Tangut, tentatively: *Le tshia wah thah fa liuh lur re*),[10] *chüan* seventy-seven, is complete in one full volume, is bound in sutra-fold style, and has yellow silk covers; its front cover bears a title slip. [See illustration 1.] The first page mentions the title, the volume number, the "box" number [see below], and the names of the

1. The title slip on the yellow silk front cover of *chüan* 77 of the Tangut translation of the *Garland sutra*. It bears the title (the first eight characters, corresponding to the Chinese *Ta-fang kuang-fo hua-yen*, plus the Tangut bisyllabic word for "sutra"), the designation "the seventh," and the "box" number corresponding to volumes 71–80 of the series; hence, volume 77.

2. The first page of *chüan* 77 of the Tangut translation of the *Garland sutra*. Here, notice the full designation of the volume number, 77. The two identical characters for "seven" are separated by the sign for "ten"; the last character ordinalizes the numerical expression. The title line is followed in smaller characters by the name of the original translator into Chinese (Śikṣānanda), and a line stating the sponsorship by the Hsi-hsia emperor Jen-tsung.

original, Chinese translator and the Tangut translator and collator. [See illustration 2.] The title is repeated on the last page. There are six columns of seventeen characters per column on each half-page; the block borders are 25.3 cm. high and 11.7 cm. wide. The height of the volume itself is 31.5 cm. There are printed double borders at top and bottom; the page fold is in white-mouth style. Each set of five full pages is printed on one sheet of paper 64 cm. long; at the back, the joinings of the sheets are marked by seal impressions in Tangut and in Chinese giving the sheet number. The Chinese numbers run from one to twenty-three. The paper is of uniform kind and quality throughout the volume; it shows some water stains.

As for the "box" numbers, there is apparently one for each ten *chüan*. Strictly speaking, these are not box numbers at all, as it appears that the Hsi-hsia volumes of this sutra were boxed five, not ten, volumes at a time. Since the early 1930s many Chinese authors have mistakenly equated these numbers with Chinese designations based on the *Thousand Character Classic* (*Ch'ien-tzu wen*), of which slightly different versions were used for the Ming edition and the present edition of the *Tripiṭaka*. A closer look at all eight designations, their meanings, and their pronunciations, shows no correspondence at all,[11] and we must agree with Nishida that the Hsi-hsia apparently used their own ordering system, one that we have yet to figure out, even if the traditional principle of using one designation every ten volumes was followed.[12] The designation of our eighth "box" number (i.e., *chüan* 71–80) is *neh* (N) or *nIn* (S), meaning either "month" or "kind of goat."[13]

On the back of the pages of our volume (not all volumes are exactly alike in this respect) this "box" number is repeated with the Tangut number for the volume in the box, the Tangut character meaning "the ——th," and the Chinese sheet (not page) number, yielding "the seventh volume of 'box' number 'month,' sheet no. 23" for illustration 3.

Most Hsi-hsia documents originate from one of two discoveries. The first was made during the excavation of Karakhoto by Colonel P. K. Kozlov in 1908–1909 (this site was also investigated somewhat later by Sir Aurel Stein). The texts found at Karakhoto are now in St. Petersburg, New Delhi, and London. The other discovery occurred in 1917 when the city

3. A page from *chüan* 77 of the Tangut translation of the *Garland sutra*, seen from the back side of the page. The page was printed on one side only, and because the ink bleeds through the thin porous paper, the unevenness of the inking, characteristic of movable type, is more clearly seen on the back of the page than on the side meant to be read. The characters are, of course, reversed. Barely visible in the middle are the printer's marks: the "box" number for set 71–80, the sign for "seven," the ordinalization marker, and Chinese signs for "23."

wall of Ling-wu County in Ningsia Province was repaired, and many Hsi-hsia documents were found.[14] It is not entirely clear where most of these works ended up, but the Peking Library acquired many of them for a high sum in 1929,[15] and the five *chüan* of the *Garland sutra* owned by Chang Chih-sheng also came from Ling-wu.[16] It is most likely that the Japanese and Gest copies ultimately came from the Ling-wu find as well, as the *chüan* come from similar sets. Many of the St. Petersburg and Peking texts were published in 1971 in New Delhi from microfilms acquired during the brief period of Indian-Soviet-Chinese détente in 1958–1959,[17] but it is not known for sure whether the "Peking Library" collection described in 1930 is still there. Grinstead suspects that texts have been moved from the Peking Library to the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking, and it is indeed strange that later Hsi-hsia discoveries of *Garland sutra* volumes have never been directly compared with the Peking Library originals.[18]

This printing of the *Garland sutra* bears very clearly the special signs of having been printed with movable type: some characters are tilted or unevenly placed within the columns; the blackness of the ink is uneven; the amount of ink penetrating to the back of the paper varies from character to character. (See illustration 4.) Some characters have been cut out and replaced by others on small pasted-in patches of paper, apparently to correct typesetting errors. Other *chüan* of the same set held in Japan and China show additional left-over marks of the cutter. Moreover, one author has also found some proof that bisyllabic words rather than single characters were sometimes the units used by the printer.[19] Comparison of this edition with another manuscript version also shows unnecessary duplication, omissions, and a mistaken replacement of one character by another similar one throughout almost the entire text. Most interesting, at the end of *chüan* five held in Kyoto, a colophon mentions that the edition was printed with "broken" (Tangut: *swe* (N); Chinese: *sui*) characters.[20] As early as 1930, Lo Fu-ch'ang had mentioned in passing that these volumes were made of movable type.[21] In 1958 this was further confirmed at the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies in Kyoto.[22]

The Gest volume shares all the characteristics mentioned above with other known volumes of the *Garland sutra*: those held at the Branch of Oriental History, Department of History, Kyoto University and the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies in Kyoto,[23] in Peking,[24] in Ningsia,[25] and in Lin-hsia, Kansu.[26] The Gest copy fits exactly with the Peking and Ningsia sets.

4. The uneven thickness of the black ink on this page of *chüan* 77 of the Tangut translation of the *Garland sutra*, seen from the back so that the characters appear reversed, shows that the characters were unevenly cut, and hence, of movable type: the same characters appear blacker throughout the text. Other characters (e.g., the first character on the second line from the right) are clearly tilted.

Most authors link this edition of the *Garland sutra* with the existence of a Hsi-hsia *Tripiṭaka* of 3,620 *chüan*. In 1914 Paul Pelliot pointed to a reference in the *Yüan shih* to the printing of a Ho-hsi (i.e., Hsi-hsia; the term "Ho-hsi" means "west of the Yellow River bend," an area that covers both modern Kansu and Ningsia provinces) *Tripiṭaka*. The project was canceled in 1294, but resumed in 1302. This is known as the Ta-te-period (1297–1307) *Tripiṭaka*.

A Tun-huang Hsi-hsia fragment preserved in Paris bears a seal stating that it had been bestowed on Sha-chou by "Kuan-chu-pa" (the name is Tibetan, *bkaḥ ḥgyur-pa*, and means the "Law Priest of the Three Treasures"),[27] who had also been involved in the completion of the famous Sung-Yüan *Chi-sha tsang* project, one of the Gest Library's most noteworthy possessions. Later, a text was found at the end of *chüan* three of the *Ta-tsung ti hsüan wen pen lun*, in which it was explicitly stated that "Kuan-chu-pa" had initiated a Ho-hsi *Tripiṭaka*, and bestowed more than one hundred sets of it, including the *Garland sutra*, on Ningsia and Yung-ch'ang.[28] Also, another book dating from 1308 mentions the existence of the *Tripiṭaka*.[29]

Nevertheless, doubts have been expressed as to whether the work was ever printed, and, if so, how. As for the first question, Nishida Tatsuo has concluded from the existence of different "box" numbers for many otherwise nonrelated works (with no "box" numbers being repeated) that they all belonged to one superset printed during the Yüan dynasty. Moreover, we do have printed texts, with "box" numbers, explicitly datable to the period in question, namely 1309, 1312, and, in the case of the Peking Library's edition of the *Lotus sutra* (and perhaps ours as well), 1309–1315. The beautiful illustration occurring in our volume is here reproduced as illustration five.

It is indicative of the depth of the Gest library collection that we possess both the *Chi-sha tsang* volume linking "Kuan-chu-pa" with the Hsi-hsia undertaking, and a Tun-huang Hsi-hsia fragment with a seal by him.[30] As for the text in the *Chi-sha tsang*, the Gest copy has the relevant passage; unfortunately, the volume is incomplete and ends shortly after that passage.

All this does not necesssarily mean, however, that our movable-type printing of the *Garland sutra* should be linked with the "Kuan-chu-pa" printing, and we have to investigate in more detail the arguments for dating this work. We can dismiss the only date mentioned in English so far, between 1139–1140 and 1190, as it is based on a severe misunderstanding of

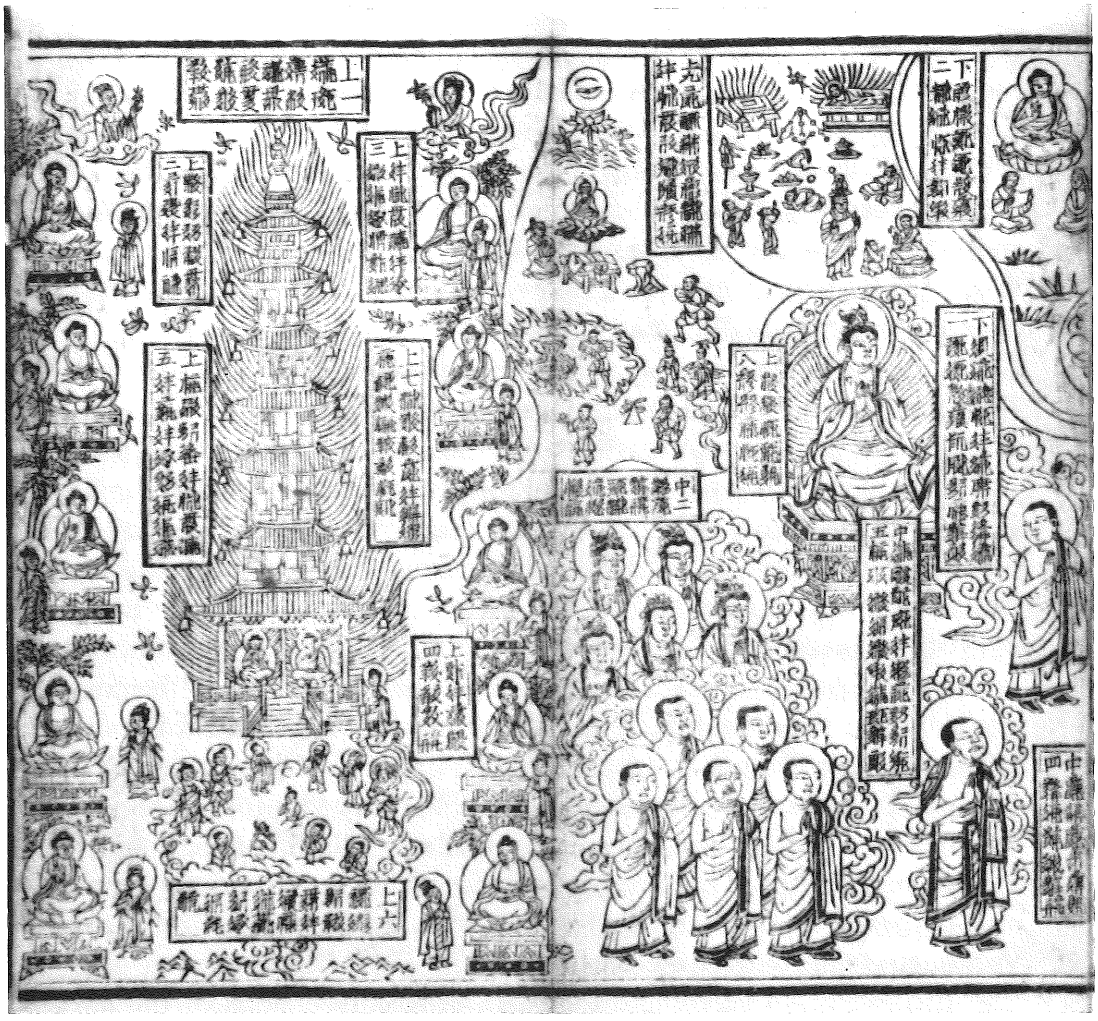
the Chinese original: these dates are simply the dates of the Tangut Jen-tsung emperor under whose auspices many Buddhist sutras were translated, and who therefore became the nominal Hsi-hsia translator-collator.[31]

Wang Kuo-wei was the first to date the *Garland sutra* volumes he saw, then in the possession of Shao Chang and Lo Chen-yü, to the Ta-te period. His reasoning is that the printing seems different from a known 1190 glossary, and that the form of six columns of seventeen characters each is the same as the form of the Yüan Chinese sutras.[32] One has to counter that "different" does not necessarily mean "somewhat later," that the "Yüan" Chinese sutra style was also common during the Sung and Ming, and that moreover, most of the Hsi-hsia sutras are very different one from another in style and form. And there is no evidence at all that would link the work directly to the Ta-te *Tripiṭaka*.

Wang Ching-ju's reasons for dating are not given. He only mentions that "experts" at the Peking Library have identified the *Garland sutra* volumes as dating from the Yüan for reasons of style, paper, and printing. He therefore assigns it to the Ta-te period. Chang Ssu-wen simply follows Wang Ching-ju. It must be mentioned here that the early assumption that the Hsi-hsia script was unknown after 1345 has been proven wrong lately, but no Chinese author has considered any later date.

Nishida Tatsuo has cast strong doubt on the Ta-te assignment. Not only is there no explicit linking, but there is also some evidence to the contrary: according to the colophon at the end of *chüan* five, mentioned above, the sponsor was a Tangut named Tu-lo-hui-hsing (in Chinese), not "Kuan-chu-pa." Nishida then goes on to compare the text with some Tenri Library fragments of the work, which are not made by movable type,[33] and with a Ho-hsi manuscript. This comparison shows that the language of the movable-type version is most Chinese-like, with fewer particles and changes in vocabulary, and with some mistakes. This would suggest a later date than the manuscript. Also, where there are different versions of the Chinese translations, the movable-type edition most often, though not exclusively, follows Ming Chinese editions. It may be, however, that the Ming Chinese and the Hsi-hsia texts are based on different, possibly no longer extant, works.

Nishida considers the characteristics, internal and external, of the Tenri printed fragments to be earlier than those of the other, wooden movable-type editions; there are several examples in addition to the *Garland sutra*. As



5. The illustration appearing at the beginning of the *Miao-fa lien-hua ching*, vol. 4 (Tangut, tentatively: *Thu tsier fa se lur re*), the other volume recently discovered in the Gest Library. Notice that every scene has a placement sign ("upper," "lower," and the like), and a number, both in Chinese. The rest of the text is in Tangut.

四下

the nonmovable type seems later than the Ho-hsi manuscripts, he tentatively calls them Yüan, possibly Ta-te (the datable Ta-te printings are all nonmovable type), and considers the movable-type examples as later works, possibly early Ming, although sometimes he mentions Yüan as well.

But again, although the order of the three types seems reasonable, the exact dating is pure conjecture, since the great variety in types of both nonmovable and movable type should guard us against linking all possibly "Yüan" volumes to the Ta-te endeavor, which probably was as much a collection of existing editions as it was a new uniform printing. If the Stein fragments parallel the Tenri early printed ones, then there is nothing to prevent them from dating to the Ho-hsi period even if they are later than the manuscript; and our movable-type edition could be older as well. Moreover, the movable-type *Garland sutra* does not resemble the only known Ming printing (of 1372) either, and Karmay has linked illustrations of the *Garland sutra* with similar ones of the *Chi-sha tsang* dated 1306; the latter are considered lower in quality, and (perhaps therefore) later.[34] Thus it is possible that the *Garland sutra* is datable to the Ta-te period or earlier, and the Tenri fragments to an earlier time than the *Garland sutra*.

What, then, can we conclude about the dating of our book? In view of the fact that the *Garland sutra* is apparently later than Ho-hsi times and has "box" numbers, and that the only Ming sutra known is dissimilar, we might be safest to posit a generic mid-to-late Yüan, without necessarily linking our volume to the Ta-te period.[35] It would be unlikely to have been printed much later, as references to Ming Hsi-hsia works are scarce indeed, and in view of the fact that paper and ink marks have apparently led some authors to postulate a Yüan date. It is in any case older than the oldest work hitherto proclaimed as such.

Is it therefore the oldest example of movable-type printing? Several other candidates have appeared. A Korean-printed, Chinese-language work *Komun Chinbo taejŏn* was once dated to the twelfth century, but has since been redated to at least after 1400.[36] A more likely contender is another Tangut work, available in some fragments, which is a translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* sutra (*Wei-mo-chieh so-shuo ching*). According to Grinstead, this has to be dated 1190 or earlier,[37] and Nishida independently arrived at the conclusion that the text, using clay movable type and mixing large and small characters indiscriminately, should be assigned to the very earliest stages of

movable-type printing.[38] It certainly should not surprise us that movable type was in use much more extensively among non-Chinese populations: after all, the fact that actual Uighur wood type has been found dating from 1300 is well known. But Chinese technology might still have the last word, as Tsuen-hsuin Tsien recently reported a page dating from around 1103 which might be from movable type.[39] This is a circular *dhāraṇī*, however, not a normal book page. Keeping in mind the possible exception of the *Vimalakīrti* fragments, which were done with clay type, we might proudly follow some new printing histories which mention the Hsi-hsia *Garland sutra* as the oldest wooden movable-type book in existence.[40] The Gest Library is certainly fortunate to have a volume of such an important work.

Notes

1. *Gest Library Journal* 4:1 (Spring 1991), p. 1.
2. From 1930 to 1937, Chinese customs regulations prevented I. V. Gillis, the collector in residence at Peking for the Gest collection, from shipping any works from China to North America. We have not yet been able to locate the exact date of purchase; however, the collection of more than ninety volumes of Hsi-hsia sutras in the Peking Library was bought in 1929, and it is highly likely that the Gest copies were acquired at around the same time. In 1937 the Hsi-hsia sutras were insured for the then high sum of 225 silver dollars.
3. But see the discussion below on possible earlier examples. The oldest extant work seems to be Hua Sui, *Sung chu-ch'en tsou-i* (1490). See Ch'ien Ts'un-hsün [T. H. Tsien], "Chung-kuo li-tai huo-tzu-pen," in Wu Che-fu, ed., *Ku-chi chien-ting yü wei-hu yen-hsi-hui chuan-chi* (Taipei: Chung-kuo t'u-shu-kuan hsüeh-hui, 1985), pp. 211–223.
4. See the discussion of these historical problems in T. H. Tsien, "Paper and Printing," in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 5:1 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 215–216.
5. See Mikhail Viktorovich Sofronov, *Grammatika tangutskogo iazyka*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1968); Nishida Tatsuo, *Seikago no kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Zauhō, 1964–1966); Shih Chin-po, Pai Pin, and Huang Chen-hua, *Wen-hai yen-chiu* (Peking: Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1983).
6. Luc Kwanten sees an Altaic connection, but the success and the convergence of Sofronov's and Nishida's solutions, which were independently arrived at, have made his position untenable. See, for an overwhelming argument, Sun Hung-k'ai, "Ts'ung tz'u-hui pi-chiao k'an Hsi-hsia-yü yü

Ts'ang-Mien yü-tsu Ch'iang yü-chih ti kuan-hsi," *Min-tsu yü-wen* (1991), no. 2, pp. 1–11.

7. See Nishida, *Seikago*, and Shih Chin-po, *Wen-hai yen-chiu*, as well as K. B. Keping, V. S. Kolokolov, E. I. Kychanov, and A. P. Terent'ev-Katanskii, *More pis'men: faksimile tangutskikh ksilografov*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Nauka, 1969).
8. See Cheng Shao-tsung and Wang Ching-ju, "Pao-ting ch'u-t'u Ming-tai Hsi-hsia-wen shih-ch'uang," *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (1977), no. 1, pp. 133–141, and Shih Chin-po and Pai Pin, "Ming-tai Hsi-hsia-wen ching-chüan ho shih-ch'uang ch'u-t'an," ibid., pp. 143–164.
9. For identification of the false volume see Fujieda Akira, "Seikakyō — ishi to ki to doro to — genson-suru saiko no moku-katsujitai ni tsuite," in *Ishihama sensei koki kinen Tōyōgaku ronsō*, ed. Ishihama sensei koki kinenkai (Osaka: Ishihama sensei koki kinenkai, 1958), pp. 484–493. The volume 41 owned by Yeh Kung-ch'o and reproduced in his "Li-tai tsang-ching k'ao-lüeh," in Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei et al., eds., *Chang Chü-sheng hsien-sheng ch'i-shih sheng-jih chi-nien lun-wen-chi* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1937), pp. 25–42, might also be a forgery, or the elusive original from which the lithographic reproductions were made. Yeh had worked for the Peking Library at the time the Hsi-hsia sutras were acquired.
10. The transcription follows Nishida, but, for the sake of simplicity, the necessary diacritics are disregarded here. Henceforth, (N) after a Tangut word denotes a reconstruction by Nishida, (S) one by Sofronov.
11. See Nishida, *Seikago*, vol. 2, p. 299, for the list. Some of the meanings he gave there have been revised by him and others, but they certainly do not correspond to the Chinese *Ch'ien-tzu wen*. Lo Fu-ch'eng had already expressed his doubts about the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* identifications, but these were not heeded by later Chinese scholars.
12. Nishida, *Seikago*, vol. 2, p. 298, n. 15.
13. Wang Ching-ju, "Hsi-hsia-wen mu-huo-tzu-pan Fo-ching yü t'ung-p'ai," *Wen-wu* (1972), no. 11, pp. 8–17, has mistaken this "box" number for another similar one meaning "valley," and is followed in this by others. The meaning "month" comes from Shih Chin-po, Pai Pin, and Huang Chen-hua, *Wen-hai yen-chiu*, entry 0498, translation on p. 426 under 22–272 and on p. 478 as 56–232; and the meaning "kind of goat" from Nishida, *Seikago*, vol. 2, p. 355, no. 41-08g, who, in fact, questions it himself. For the character "valley," see Nishida, *Seikago*, vol. 2, p. 355, no. 41-089.
14. See Chung K'an, *Ning-hsia wen-wu shu-lüeh* (Yin-ch'uan: Ning-hsia jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1980), p. 97.
15. See the foreword in the "Hsi-hsia-wen chuan-hao" of the *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kuan-k'an* 4:3 (1930), henceforth cited as *HC*.
16. See Chang Ssu-wen, "Huo-tzu-pan Hsi-hsia-wen 'Hua-yen ching' chüan shih-i chih chüan shih-wu chien-chieh," *Wen-wu* (1979), no. 10, pp. 93–95.
17. See Eric Grinstead, ed., *The Tangut*

Tripitaka . . . from the Collections of Raghu Vira, 9 vols. (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1971–1973). Not all texts have been properly placed or identified, and the provenance and identification of many single items are unsure.

18. See Eric Grinstead, "The Tangut Tripitaka: Background Notes," *Sung Studies Newsletter* 6 (October 1972), pp. 19–23.
19. See Wang Ching-ju, "Hsi-hsia-wen."
20. See Nishida Tatsuo, *Seikabun Kegonkyō*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku bungakubu, 1975). For this colophon see vol. 1, p. 23.
21. See his comment in the *HC*.
22. See Fujieda, "Seikakyō."
23. Both sets held there come from the collection of Shao Chang, whose extra name (*hao*) was Cho-an, and are identified as such in earlier publications, as, for example, the *HC*. Volumes 1–5 are at the Branch of Oriental History, Department of History, Kyoto University, and volumes 6–10 and 36 are at the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies in Kyoto.
24. According to the *HC*, Peking has two sets, which differ in the paper they use, with an overlap of approximately ten *chüan*. Volumes held include 11–12, 14–16, 20–23, 27–35, 37, 39–46, 48, 51, 54, 57, 59–75, 78–80.
25. Volumes 26, 57, and 76, introduced by Wang Ching-ju in 1972. See his "Hsi-hsia wen."
26. Volumes 11–15, held by Chang Chih-sheng, introduced by Chang Ssu-wen in 1979; see "Huo-tzu-pan Hsi-hsia-wen 'Hua-yen ching' chüan shih-i chih chüan shih-wu chien-chieh." Additional fragments might be in St. Petersburg and London.
27. There are different explanations for the name; see Paul Demiéville, "Appendice: notes additionnelles sur les éditions imprimées du canon bouddhique," in Paul Pelliot, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953), pp. 121–138.
28. For the complete texts see Tokiwa Daijō, "Seika moji *Daizōkyō* no chōkan ni tsukite," *Tōhō gakuhō* (Tokyo) 9 (1939), pp. 1–32. A translation with a not completely accurate description is given in Heather Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art* (Warminster, Eng.: Aris and Phillips, 1975), pp. 43–45. There have since been found some thirty colophons mentioning "Kuan-chu-pa"; six of these mention the Ho-hsi *Tripiṭaka*.
29. Yang Huan, *Shu tzu cheng yün*, mentioned in Wang Ching-ju, "Hsi-hsia-wen," p. 9.
30. See the picture in the *Gest Library Journal* 3:1–2 (Spring 1989), p. 24, where the date of the Tangut *Tripiṭaka* printing has been wrongly given as 1340–1350. Our seal is not identical to the one reported in Paris (of which another copy exists in the Tenri Library in Japan; see Nishida, *Kegonkyō*, vol. 1). But so little was known about "Kuan-chu-pa" and Hsi-hsia in the 1930s that it is unlikely we have to worry about the possibility of forgery.
31. See Luther Carrington Goodrich, "Movable Type Printing: Two Notes," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), pp. 476–477. Goodrich misreads Wang Ching-ju,

"Hsi-hsia-wen," and misunderstands Nishida, *Kegonkyō*. He repeats the mistakes in his "Tangut Printing," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 64 (1976), pp. 64–65, where the text is accompanied by an unnamed Tangut movable-type printing, presumably from 1190. This is certainly not the *Garland sutra*, as it has seven columns instead of six; most probably, it is a reproduction of the *Vimalakīrti* sutra; see below.

32. See Wang Kuo-wei, "Yüan-k'an-pen Hsi-hsia-wen *Hua-yen ching* ts'an-chüan pa," *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin*, vol. 4 (original edn. 1921; corrected rpt. of the expanded 1927 edn.; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), pp. 1050–1052.
33. See Fujieda, "Seikakyō." It calls the Tenri fragments movable type, but according to Nishida the Tenri printed *Garland sutra* fragments are not; see *Kegonkyō*, vol. 2, postscript, pp. 28–31. The Stein collection also seems to have some fragments.
34. See Karmay, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, p. 43. According to Karmay, the close relationship of Hsi-hsia *Garland sutra* and *Chi-sha tsang* prints has been pointed out by Ogawa Kan'ichi as well. Prints can always have been added later, of course.
35. The Stein and St. Petersburg fragments, were they to belong to our set of the *Garland sutra*, would push the date even earlier, since they predate the fall of the Hsi-hsia state. It is more likely, however, that — if they are indeed printed — they belong to the Tenri set.
36. Goodrich, "Movable Type Printing."
37. Grinstead, "The Tangut Tripitaka," p. 23.
38. See Nishida, *Kegonkyō*, vol. 3, postscript, p. 257.
39. See T. H. Tsien, "Recent Discovery of Earliest Movable Type Printing in China: An Evaluation," *Committee on East Asian Libraries Bulletin* 92 (February 1991), pp. 6–7.
40. See, e.g., Liu I, *Chung-kuo ti yin-shua-shu* (Peking: K'o-hsüeh p'u-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), p. 208.

Glossary

Chang Chih-sheng 張質生
Chang Ssu-wen 張思溫
Ch'ien-tzu wen 千字文
Chi-sha tsang 磧砂藏
Chü-yung 居庸
Hangchow 杭州
Ho-hsi 河西
Hsi-hsia 西夏
Hsing-ch'ing 興慶
Hu Shih 胡適
Hua-yen ching 華嚴經
Jen-tsung 仁宗
Kan-chou 甘州
Kansu 甘肅
Komun Chinbo taejŏn 古文珍寶大全
Kuan-chu-pa 管主巴
Liang-chou 凉州
Ling-wu 灵武
Lin-hsia 臨夏
Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉

Lo Fu-ch'ang 羅福長
Meng-hsi pi-t'an 夢溪筆談
Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經
Ningsia 寧夏
Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄
Nung shu 農書
Pi Sheng 畢昇
Sha-chou 沙州
Shao Chang 邵章
Shen Kua 沈括
sui 碎
Ta-fang kuang-fo Hua-yen ching 大方廣佛華嚴經
Ta-te 大德
Ta-tsung ti hsüan wen pen lun 大宗地玄文本論
Tenri (University) 天理
Tsuen-hsuin Tsien 錢存訓
Tu-lo-hui-hsing 都羅慧性
Tun-huang 敦煌
Wang Chen 王禎
Wang Ching-ju 王靜如
Wang Kuo-wei 王國維
Wan-li 萬曆
Wei-mo-chieh so-shuo ching 維摩詰所說經
Yüan-shih 元史
Yung-ch'ang 永昌

The International Union Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books: A New Phase Begins

JOHN WINTHROP HAEGER

After nearly a decade of planning and three years of active preparatory work, an international project to create the first-ever machine-readable union catalogue of Chinese rare books began production operations in September 1991 at Princeton University. The RLG International Union Catalogue of Chinese Rare Books is a multiphase, multinational enterprise initiated and managed by the Research Libraries Group, a not-for-profit corporation owned by major research institutions throughout North America, which earlier established the first network-based bibliographic system capable of handling East Asian materials in their original scripts. The ultimate objective of the project is to create computerized bibliographic records for all Chinese book materials printed before 1796 held in RLG member collections, or in the collections of collaborating institutions overseas; to ensure that these records are complete, consistent, and as accurate as current scholarship permits; and to make the resulting data available online throughout the world.

China's premodern printed heritage is now scattered widely in libraries around the world. The corpus is of great importance to scholarship in all subfields of Chinese studies. The number of printings, the care with which they were produced, the extent to which the book market stimulated fakery, the commentaries and marginalia, and the physical characteristics of the book-as-object, combine to illuminate literary, social, and political his-

tory, as well as the history of tastes, trends, art, and material culture. Students of premodern China recognize that access to this corpus is limited to a few printed catalogues for individual repositories, a union catalogue for mainland Chinese libraries still in the process of publication, and a machine-readable file produced by the National Central Library (NCL) in Taipei. Not only does each of these tools have internal deficiencies; their utility is further compromised because consistent principles of description or edition discrimination have not been applied across and between individual catalogues.

In 1988–1989, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), RLG convened an international advisory committee of scholars and librarians from China, Taiwan, and the United States to draft guidelines and standards for a comprehensive, international project. A subset of the machine-readable records produced by the National Central Library was also acquired, converted, and loaded into the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). Then, in the spring and summer of 1989, a pilot project was undertaken at Columbia and Princeton, in which librarians from Peking University and the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Peking applied the draft guidelines to a sample of rare materials in the Gest and C. V. Starr collections. Four hundred and fifteen rare books were recatalogued over a five-month period. In September 1989, the participating librarians met with representatives of the Library of Congress, scholars, and RLG staff to document work flows and procedures, evaluate the converted NCL records, and revise the cataloguing guidelines that had been drafted by the International Advisory Committee. The revised guidelines represent a landmark fusion of traditional Chinese bibliographic practice with Anglo-American cataloguing rules and Library of Congress rules for the description of rare books.

Now, with additional funds from the NEH, plus grants from the Henry Luce Foundation and the C. V. Starr Foundation, a central editorial office has been established at Princeton to manage the first post-pilot phase of work. This is expected to take two years, and will involve the rare book collections at Princeton, Chicago, Berkeley, Columbia, Yale, and the University of British Columbia. Each participating collection will submit "dossiers" or worksheets to the central editorial office, from which editorial staff will construct consistent and conforming records for each title. These will be entered directly into the RLIN database using conventions that will

allow them to be retrieved separately by interested parties, or in the natural course of searches, whenever the information in these records matches relevant search criteria. Participating libraries will meet periodically with editorial staff, and specialist consultants from China will be employed to address especially difficult problems. Approximately six thousand titles will be recatalogued over the two-year period. At the same time, Peking University and the Chinese Academy of Sciences will be recataloguing their rare books following the same guidelines and procedures, entering records into RLIN directly from Peking, and these records will also be monitored by editorial staff for consistency and conformity. If all goes well, RLG will seek continuation funding until all the rare Chinese materials in its member collections have been recatalogued.

RLG has named James Sören Edgren as editorial director for the project. Edgren, who holds a doctorate in sinology from the University of Stockholm, has devoted two decades to East Asian bibliography and rare book cataloguing. He is widely published in the fields of rare books and printing, and has recently completed a catalogue of the Chinese books and manuscripts acquired in the early years of the century by Berthold Laufer for the American Museum of Natural History.

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