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From the Editor

The publication of volume nine, number two, marks the end of a tortuous period in the course of the *East Asian Library Journal* and the beginning of one that I believe holds great promise for steady advancement. Effective immediately, the journal's associate editor, Nancy Norton Tomasko, will take over as managing editor of the *East Asian Library Journal*. The new editor brings a wealth of talent and an abundance of energy to the task, which she is already devoting to plans for stimulating issues of volume ten. For example, volume ten, number one, will be a special issue devoted to papers from the "Visible Traces" symposium held in New York in the spring of 2000. Support from the East Asian Studies Program Committee of Princeton University is one of many signs of growing strength and legitimacy accruing to the journal, and it is on this optimistic note that we can all wish Dr. Tomasko a long and prosperous tenure in the post of editor.

This issue of the *East Asian Library Journal* has once more benefited from Dr. Tomasko's many editorial contributions. I also would like to thank Professor F. W. Mote for his constant advice. It is a particular pleasure to express my thanks to the journal's manuscript editor, Barbara Westergaard, and to our book designer, Judith Waterman, for their steadfast support and encouragement through the preparation and publication of four issues of the *East Asian Library Journal*. In addition, I want to thank friends and colleagues in the Gest Library and the Department of East Asian Studies of Princeton University for helping us to sustain the

journal during the past six years. This issue of the journal, my last as editor, contains a melange of four articles.

Zhang Haihui has a degree in Chinese history from the People's University of China in Beijing. After graduation she worked as a librarian in the same university library and was co-compiler of the library's excellent rare-book catalogue. She has an M.L.S. degree from Emporia State University in Kansas and has compiled several indexes and articles on library science and rare books. From 1993 to 1998 Zhang served as rare-book cataloguer with the Chinese Rare Books Project at Princeton University. Since 1998 she had been the Chinese cataloguer and bibliographer at the East Asian Library of the University of Pittsburgh. She has contributed a biographical essay on Mo Youzhi, the eminent nineteenth-century scholar and bibliographer, and his *Song Yuan jiu benshu jingyanlu*.

Benjamin Wai-ming Ng received his Ph.D. degree in the Department of East Asian Studies of Princeton University. His academic interests are early-modern Japanese intellectual history and Sino-Japanese cultural relations. In August 2001 he will become associate professor in the Japanese Studies Department at Hong Kong University. Earlier this year Dr. Ng's book entitled *The I Ching in Tokugawa Thought and Culture* was published by the University of Hawai'i Press, and it has been selected as one of the year's outstanding academic books by *Choice*, the journal of the American Library Association. He has presented this issue with an interesting article on the forgery of books in Tokugawa Japan.

Eileen Hsiang-ling Hsu is a graduate of National Taiwan University with an M.A. in Chinese art history. She also has an M.L.S. degree from Indiana University and has worked as a professional librarian in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She also has an M.A. in Japanese art history and a Ph.D. in Chinese art history, both from Columbia University. Dr. Hsu lives in New York, and her research interests focus on Buddhist art, especially the interaction of the indigenous Chinese art tradition and imported iconographies and styles. Her illustrated article is on the calligraphy of manuscript sutras during the Six-Dynasties period.

Long Darui earned his Ph.D. degree from the Institute of World Religions at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing in 1996. Recently he has been a visiting scholar at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and at the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard

University. He presently teaches at the University of Calgary in Canada. Dr. Long studies cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, particularly in the field of religions, a subject on which he has published several articles. Here he has prepared a survey of the Hongwu edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka as a contribution to Buddhist publishing history.

Gest Library renovations have been completed, and Dr. Tai-loi has been appointed as the new library director. Readers of the *East Asian Library Journal* can expect continuing reports on the developments in the Gest Library. Two relevant activities, the Cambridge History of China Project and the Chinese Rare Books Project, are both located in the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton University. Ten volumes in the renowned Cambridge History of China series have already been published, and all but one of the remaining six volumes are under production. It is expected that this important publishing project will be concluded in two to three years. In the spring of 2000 the Library of Congress and the Harvard-Yenching Library both formally began participation in the Chinese Rare Books Project, and it is now estimated that it will require four more years to completely catalogue all remaining North American holdings of Chinese rare books. To assist in that effort the project has recently hired a new rare-book cataloguer, Dr. Chi-wah Chan. After four more years the project expects to have created a total of circa thirty thousand full bibliographical entries to the RLIN CJK database. The holdings represented will be divided evenly between North American and Chinese libraries.

This is a reminder that subscription payments for volume ten are due, and, as always, we encourage readers of the *East Asian Library Journal* to introduce the journal to potential subscribers and to make recommendations to libraries of their choice. Last but not least, I would like to correct a statement made on page ix of volume nine, number one, of the *East Asian Library Journal*. Please note that Barbara Volkmar received her advanced degrees in Medicine and Sinology from the University of Freiburg. She is presently affiliated with the Institute of Chinese Studies at the University of Heidelberg and lives in Freiburg.



I. Portrait of Mo Youzhi (1811–1871). From *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969).

Mo Youzhi and His *Song Yuan* *jiubenshu jingyanlu*

ZHANG HAIHUI

In the Daoguang (1821–1850), Xianfeng (1851–1861), and Tongzhi (1862–1874) periods of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) a sort of golden age for scholarly studies manifested itself in the southern Chinese province of Guizhou, centering especially around the town of Zunyi. Mo Youzhi (1811–1871; see figure 1) was one among more than ten well-known scholars in the group. Mo (*zi* Zisi; *hao* Lüting and Nesou), a native of Dushan, Guizhou, is widely known as one of the outstanding bibliophiles and bibliographers in modern Chinese history. His ancestors had lived in Shangyuan, Jiangsu Province, for generations. During the Hongzhi (1488–1505) period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), one of his ancestors took part in a punitive expedition with the army into Duyun, Guizhou, and later settled in that area. Mo Youzhi's great-great-grandfather moved to Dushan, and from then on the Mo family resided there.

Mo Yuchou (1763–1841, *zi* Youren), Mo Youzhi's father, was a *jinshi* of 1799. It has been said that “after he [Mo Yuchou] served as prefectural director of schools in Zunyi, the backward reputation of Guizhou was wiped away.”¹ Mo Youzhi was his father's fifth son, and according to Zhang Yuzhao (1823–1894), “he was the one who was determined to follow in his father's footsteps.”² Zhang further states that “Mo Youzhi was accomplished at cultural refinements, ancient learning,

the 'six arts,'³ material science, and government; he was familiar with epigraphy and bibliography; and he had a fine mastery of poetry as well as being good at calligraphy in the standard, cursive, seal, and clerical scripts."⁴ (See figure 2 for an example of Mo's calligraphy.) He and Zheng Zhen (1806–1864), another of his father's students, were honored with the popular appellation "Great Scholars of Southwest China." In 1831 Mo Youzhi attained the *juren* degree, and several times after that he traveled to Beijing to participate in the metropolitan examinations, but he always failed. In 1847 he met Zeng Guofan (1811–1872) at the Liulichang book market in Beijing. When they had a serious discussion of aspects of traditional Chinese studies, Zeng was so astonished by Mo's knowledge and opinions that he immediately expressed his desire to further their relationship. Zeng exclaimed, "How could there be such a high level of scholarship in Guizhou."⁵

According to the *Qingshigao* (Draft history of the Qing dynasty), Mo Youzhi "paid little attention to fame, and nothing mattered more than his study and his books."⁶ During the Xianfeng period he had an opportunity to become a magistrate, but he declined. When Duanhua (d. 1861) and Sushun (1815?–1861), two powerful Manchu officials, first came to power, they sent a messenger to beg for specimens of Mo's calligraphy, but he refused them. In the beginning of the Tongzhi period he was among the scholars frequently recommended for posts by ministers, and his friends tried to persuade him to start an official career, but he never consented. Nevertheless, because he was unhappy about the unstable conditions in southeast China, Mo agreed to join the secretarial staff of Hu Linyi (1812–1861) in 1859 to serve as editor for the publication of *Dushi binglüe*. A year later when Zeng Guofan established a new publishing house, later to become the famous Jiangnan shuju, he invited Mo to become its director. After the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion in 1864, Mo followed Zeng to Nanjing where he spent the final years of his life in the role of editor-publisher. In the autumn of 1871 Mo Youzhi died while on a collecting journey to nearby Yangzhou in search of scattered volumes of the Siku quanshu series from the original Wenzongge and Wenhui collections.⁷

In his preface to *Lüting shichao* Zheng Zhen claims that from childhood Mo Youzhi's family was plagued by poverty and that they

真書至初唐極盛而初唐諸家精詣北朝無
 不具有至開皇大業間即初唐矣以碑置褚登善諸
 石中直無以別知即所從出也前乎以武平六年道興造
 象記後乎登善王居士碑塔銘皆是家眷屬前非專至
 謂塲塔乃集此碑字為之固不必然亦可見波瀾莫二矣碑
 在正定城中大佛寺額字猶完好如新其結體即開伊
 關佛龕其精悍奪人又與張神困額字分道揚鑣
 鰲老以本較近拓多完七十餘字尤可寶貴當別求精拓
 額字合之同治己巳九秋持示邵亭明安莫友芝于吳
 門書局因識

2. Mo Youzhi's colophon (dated 1869) to an ink-squeeze rubbing of "Longzangsi bei" of the Sui dynasty (581-618), now in the collection of the Shanghai Library. From *Longzangsi bei* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1964).

宋元舊本書經眼錄卷第一

獨山莫友芝子偲

毛詩要義二十卷

宋本

魏了翁撰首爲譜序一卷經依箋編二十卷中又分
子卷十有七凡三十八卷每葉十八行行十八字每
卷各以一二三條爲題目低一格書亦有一條而有
二題目者其第二題目標之眉上又有當條所掇未
盡之義亦於眉上書之每卷首有棟亭曹氏藏書長
白敷槎氏堇齋昌齡圖書印二印卷尾有桐鄉沈炳
垣手讀書記一印譜序卷首又有永超氏一印卷一

3. First page of text of *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* (1873). This first edition was published by the Mo family of Dushan. Collection of the Gest Library.

often had no more than coarse clothing to wear and unsalted food, if any, to eat. In fact, Mo viewed worldly pleasures as unimportant. From his collections of poems and essays, *Lüting shichao*, *Lüting yiwen*, and *Lüting yishi*, his personality and interests can be easily detected. In addition to his literary publications, Mo's extensive scholarly contributions have proved to be important resources for posterity. Among them are *Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu*, a useful compilation for bibliographers; *Zunyi fuzhi*, written with Zheng Zhen, a contribution to local historical research; and *Qianshi jilüe*, an anthology of poetry by important Guizhou poets in the Ming dynasty. Not only are these works still praised for their valuable contents by scholars today, they also enable us to gain a better understanding of Mo Youzhi and his research methodology.

Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu (see figure 3) is another important bibliographic work written by Mo Youzhi. It consists of three *juan* of main text and two *juan* of appendixes. As his son Mo Shengsun said in his prefatory remarks to the first edition (1873) of the work, the main text includes bibliographic descriptions of "block-printed editions (92 titles) and of autographs and copied manuscripts (38 titles) of the Song (960–1279), Jin (1115–1234), Yuan (1279–1368), and Ming dynasties, a total of 130 titles. These were books my father saw in his travels between the years 1865 and 1869." Appendix one includes the texts of fifty-three bibliographical notes and colophons written by Mo directly on the covers of rare books. Appendix two contains fifty-one critical notes and colophons by Mo on what are largely epigraphical works (see figure 2). Some of the books cited in the *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* were merely seen and studied by Mo Youzhi; others he collected and owned. This famous bibliographical work has been an important reference for scholars investigating and identifying Chinese rare books. Moreover, it is an aid to analyzing and understanding some aspects of Mo Youzhi the person.

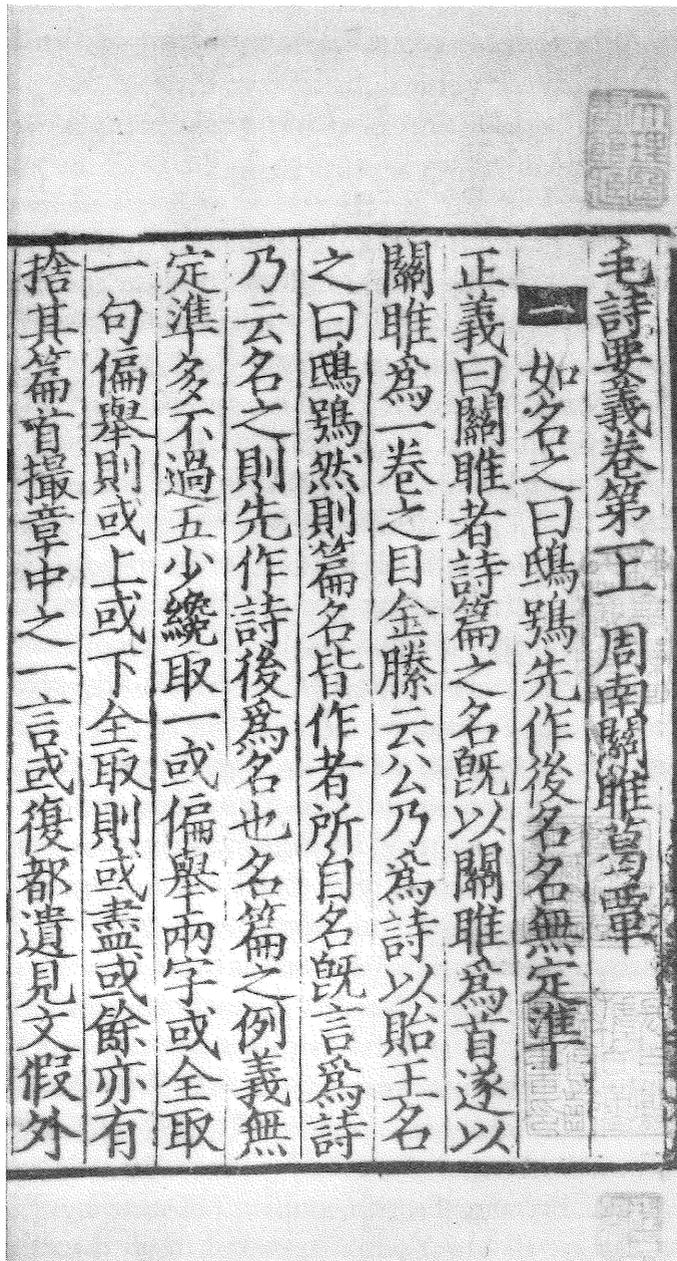
SEARCHING FOR BOOKS

Mo Youzhi did deny himself some comforts in life, but any time there was a book sale, "he would spend every penny to acquire a coveted book."⁸ Every place he went he would be absorbed in searching for and collecting books. He had a refined and scholarly taste, and books to him

were as dear as life itself. In his pursuit of books, the last decade of his life was the most important period. During this time, "since there was warfare and turmoil in Guizhou, Mo eventually sent his wife and children to Jinling (Nanjing), while he himself traveled from there all over the areas of Jiangsu and Zhejiang."⁹ During his travels he befriended many prominent scholars, among them Zhang Wenhui (1808–1885), Wang Shiduo (1802–1889), Tang Renshou, Zhang Yuzhao, and Liu Lüfen (1817–1879), giving him great opportunities to see books and advance his collection.

Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu is a thorough record of Mo's work and achievements during his later years. He saw and recorded 130 Song, Jin, Yuan, and Ming printed books and manuscripts. Of these more than 10 titles were in the collection of Yu Taifeng's Yijiatang, almost 20 in the collections of Ding Richang's (1823–1882) Chijingzhai and Shishi qiushizhai, and between 20 and 30 in the collections of the Ding family at Qiantang, the Zha family at Haining, the Qu family at Shanghai, and the Tang family at Jiaying; a substantial number he saw in commercial bookshops. Among the places where we know that Mo saw and recorded rare editions are Shanghai, Yangzhou, Suzhou, Hangzhou, Anqing, and Jinling.

Because of his dedication and diligence, his results were commendable. Some of the editions he saw were, indeed, extremely rare and precious. For example, the *Maoshi yaoyi* in thirty-eight *juan* (see figure 4) was known as the best among several tens of Song editions belonging to Yijiatang, and for generations it has been regarded as a valuable treasure and an indispensable resource for understanding the classics. This edition was already scarce in the Song dynasty and even more so by the Qing. In the fifth month of 1865 Mo was able to borrow the book and read it, and he instantly felt "spiritually awakened and as if his doubts had been cleared up." He recorded that the *Boshengshi xubian*, a Yuan edition in three *juan*, which was engraved and published by Rixintang of the Liu family in 1340, had "beautiful calligraphy." It later provided the master copy Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940) reproduced in facsimile in his *Yunchuang congkan* series. In addition, Mo regarded the Song editions that he reviewed of *Liji yaoyi*, *Hanshu*, and *Liang Han huiyao* as superior editions. Whenever he saw a book, he recorded it under the corresponding title in the *Siku quanshu jianming mulu*, and if it was not listed in the



4. First page of text of *Maoshi yaoyi* (1252). This unicum edition is now in the collection of the Tenri Library, Japan. From *Tenri toshokan kisho mokuroku: Wa-Kanjo nobu* (Tenri: Tenri daigaku shuppanbu, 1960), vol. 3.

Siku quanshu jianming mulu, noted that fact. His work during this period most certainly also contributed to his compilation of the *Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu*.

COLLECTING BOOKS

Since Guizhou was generally regarded as a poor and backward area, when referring to the family book collection, Mo Shengsun modestly declared, "Our Yingshan caotang library is located in the rustic Guizhou region and possesses a mediocre collection."¹⁰ In fact, although the collection of the Mo family could not be compared with those of the most renowned bibliophiles in the Jiangnan region of southeastern China, it certainly was unmatched in southwestern China. In Zheng Zhen's preface for *Lüting shichao*, he described Mo's study in this way: "Every corner of the room is filled with all kinds of old books and manuscripts." At the beginning of the Xianfeng period, however, war came to the region, and a peasant army besieged Dushan. In the confusion of the war all but a few of the books belonging to the Mo family were lost, never to be recovered.

Although the *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* generally can be said to reflect the collecting progress of Mo Youzhi in the decade after the disastrous war, it sometimes provides a glimpse into the pre-Xianfeng-era years. Appendix one includes fifty-three notes originally written by Mo on book covers, spanning over thirty years from the Daoguang to Tongzhi reigns. By examining the sources of these books we can tell that a few were acquired by his brother Mo Shanzheng (1827-1889) and his son Mo Shengsun, a few were gifts from his friends, and the rest came from bookshops. In just one year, 1862, Mo Youzhi collected rare editions of *Shiji suoyin*, *Tongjian zhushang*, *Tongdian*, *Yuan Cishan ji*, *Xin Jiaxuan ji*, *Yuanxueji*, *Songwenjian*, and others. In 1867 he acquired, among other titles, *Yuetong*, *Fengshi wenjianji*, *Daodejing Tang Xuanzong zhu*, and *Meng Dongye ji*. Mo Youzhi traveled in all directions for more than a decade, never failing to collect books as he went. It is said that he paid close attention to repairing defective books, and even something as minor as a loose binding or broken leaf was attended to promptly. Thus

was it possible for the Mo family collection to recover quickly and on a grand scale from the losses incurred at the Dushan estate.

Because Mo Youzhi was familiar with the study of bibliography, he was able to acquire many rare and precious editions. For example, during the Moon Festival of 1867 he bought a copied manuscript of *Fengshi wenjianji* in ten *juan* at Hangzhou. At the end of the manuscript was a brief note stating “[in the year] Longqing *wuchen* (i.e., 1568) copied from a Song copied manuscript belonging to the Wu family of Liangxi.” No block-printed edition of this book had existed since Yuan and early Ming times. In the mid-eighteenth century, however, Lu Jianzeng of Dezhou, basing his edition on Lu Chixian’s copied manuscript, published the work as part of his Yayutang congshu series. In 1869, Mo scrupulously compared his copied manuscript edition with the Yayutang printed edition and determined that the printed edition was very much inferior to the Longqing copied manuscript in his possession. Besides prizing copied manuscripts based on early editions, he also appreciated the value of block-printed facsimiles of early editions. In Mo’s collection we can find some of the excellent Jiajing-period (1522–1566) facsimiles of Song editions, such as the *Lüshi jiashu dushiji*, published by Fu Yingtai in 1531, and the *Meng Dongye ji*, published by Qin He in 1556.

In the notes written by Mo Youzhi on book covers we not only encounter his many astute comments, we can perceive his standards of collecting. The most valuable and most famous volume in his library was the fragmentary Tang manuscript of a section of the early lexicon *Shuowen jiezi*, generally known as *Tang xieben shuowen mubu*.¹¹ Of course, Mo collected books not because of their antiquity, but because of their scholarly content. For example, he collected a printed edition of the *Nanshi*, which had been collated by scholars because “the book makes a comparison with the Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen [histories], recording the similarities, the differences, and the missing facts.”¹² In the spring of 1868 Mo collected a copied manuscript of *Yuan Yishan shiji* compiled by Cao Yifu because “this selection of poems has some eighty poems unrecorded in known editions of Yuan Haowen’s (1190–1257) ‘complete’ works.”¹³ These examples give a clear indication of the attention he paid to the textual value of editions.

IDENTIFYING AND EDITING BOOKS

Mo Youzhi was excellent at bringing out the subtleties of an investigation, at getting directly to the sources of problems, and at distinguishing between genuine and false. It is recorded in his *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* that every place he went he not only searched for rare books to acquire, but made critical notes on every book he got to see. In 1865 a certain Ma from Jiaxing had a fragment of the *Tang shu*, namely the "Nichen zhuan" in three *juan*, which he wanted to match with another incomplete copy. Ma thought that the three-*juan* fragment was a Yuan edition and the other a Song edition. After a critical investigation, Mo Youzhi decided that the three-*juan* part of the "Nichen zhuan" was, in fact, a Song edition, and that the other one was a Yuan or early-Ming edition. His opinion was based on the fact that at the beginning of each *juan* of the second copy there appeared only the names "Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) by imperial order" and "Song Qi (998-1061) by imperial order" without the appropriate official titles of the Song before their names. On the other hand, the first copy of the three-*juan* "Nichen zhuan" not only had the correct official titles before the authors' names, but the form of the characters in the text was appropriate to the dating.

Also in 1865 Mo Youzhi bought an incomplete copy of Hao Liang's 1524 edition of the *Taixuanjing*, published in Suzhou, and two years later at Hangzhou he bought another incomplete copy of the same work, with which he was able to make up a complete edition. In the following year he spent more than ten days critically comparing it with another Jiajing edition (1522-1566) published by Wanyutang. He discovered that there were more than one thousand characters in the Wanyutang edition that could correct and complement the text of Hao Liang's edition. At the same time there were nearly forty characters in the Hao Liang edition that could be used to improve the Wanyutang edition. Ultimately, he concluded that, contrary to previous opinion, the Hao Liang edition was not based on the Wanyutang edition, but on an altogether different Song edition.

In his notes on book covers we frequently encounter expressions such as "should be carefully proofread someday" and "I will do a comparative study." The exact number of books that Mo Youzhi col-

lated and annotated in his lifetime is still unknown. Nevertheless, we often see critical comments in his own handwriting on the margins of books he owned. For example, on the first page of the unicum Song edition of *Heyue yingling ji* (see figure 5) the upper margin contains his note on a difference found in the 1628 Jiguge edition of Mao Jin, which at the time of Mo's acquisition was the oldest and most reliable edition available. From a careful reading of the *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* we can find references to other books to which he added his critical comments and to which he devoted special attention, such as *Yuan Cishan ji* and *Shangu waiji*.

In his prefatory remarks to *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu*, Mo Shengsun says that the books "seen by my father on his travels have been arranged according to his contemporaneous notes, which investigated the quality of the edition, described the format, recorded prefaces and postfaces as well as collectors' inscriptions and seal imprints." The abundance and completeness of Mo's descriptions as alluded to here are borne out by countless examples. In fact, the contents of his recorded descriptions generally include the following information.

First, under each title he provided the most basic information, including the author's biography. When introducing the authors he sometimes composed a simple biography; other times he copied the information directly from other sources. He always analyzed the arrangement of the contents of the books in a highly detailed way. In particular, he mentioned any variant edition of the same text divided into a different number of *juan*. Next he gave the physical characteristics, including the number of columns of text per page, the number of characters per column, script styles, the kind of paper used, any defects, and the degree of completeness. For example, he described the script in *Xishang futan* as "similar to the style of Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322)." He recorded that the paper used in the Song edition of *Zhang Zishao Mengzi zhuan* was of a thin "cotton" type. He pointed out that the Song edition of the *Jigu wenyun* had been printed on the back side of discarded official documents.

Second, he critically studied the editions of a work and the facts concerning the transmission of the text, as well as the circulation of individual copies. Mo Youzhi's work depended heavily on his sophisticated

河岳英靈集上

常建

高才而無貴仕誠哉是言曩劉楨死於文學
左思終於記室鮑昭卒於參軍今常建亦淪
於一尉悲夫建詩似初發通莊却尋野徑百
里之外方歸大道所以其旨遠其興僻佳句
輒來唯論意表至如松際露微月清光猶為
君又山光悅鳥性潭影空人心此例十數句
並可稱警策然一篇盡善者戰餘落日黃軍
敗鼓聲死今與山鬼鄰殘兵哭遼水屬思既

毛筆書字

5. First page of text of *Heyue yingling ji* (thirteenth century). In the collection of the Beijing Library. From *Zhongguo banke tulu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1961).

skills and rich experience. One of his techniques was to make a detailed list of *huizi* or “taboo characters” found in the text. Another was to study seal imprints and other traces of former ownership of the individual copies. The inclusion or omission of a title or edition in standard bibliographies was also carefully noted. For example, under *Yuetong* he wrote “not in *Jingyikao*, *Mingshi yiwenzhi*, or *Qianqingtang shumu*.” For prefaces, postscripts, and colophons that contribute to an understanding of the book and its circumstances, he often copied entire texts into his descriptions. For example, he transcribed Qian Tianshu’s entire postscript written in the *Maoshi yaoyi*, and he did the same for Huang Pilie’s (1763–1825) colophon in the Song edition of *Dongnan jinqu yudi tongjian*. Despite the care with which he investigated books, Mo Youzhi did make some mistakes over the years. An example would be Mo’s mistaken description of the Ming edition of *Xuanbian shengjian xinqi wanbao shishan* as a Song edition.

Third, Mo Youzhi used his critical powers to analyze the contents of the books under investigation. His clear way of summarizing the contents actually developed into a unique style. For example, he commented that in the *Zhouyi guanxiang fuyilüe* “the author’s own judgment was used to evaluate all the Confucian schools after carefully scrutinizing their theories.” And the *Dongnan jinqu yudi tongjian* “takes for its maps the offensive and defensive positions in the southeast during the period from the Three Kingdoms (220–280) to the Southern dynasties (420–589), and appended to the maps are geographical studies and chronicles of events.”

In the history of Chinese bibliography, rare-book bibliography is divided into two categories. One is the bibliography that records books collected by an individual, exemplified by the *Dushu minqiuji* of Qian Zeng (1629–1699) and the *Qiuguju Songben shumu* of Huang Pilie. The other is the bibliography that records books seen by someone. This special kind of bibliography records the experiences of particular bibliophiles and traditionally has been referred to as *fangshuji*, *ouji*, or *ouchao*. It can be concluded that the term *jingyanlu* in this context was first used by Mo in his *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu*. Mo’s book has been hailed by Yao Mingda (1905–1942), a scholar of Chinese bibliographic history, as “the best among this kind of bibliography.” Ever since its publication

more than a century ago, it has been frequently cited by experts. Shao Zhang (*jinshi* 1903), for example, liked to cite it in his *Siku quanshu jianming mulu biao zhu xulu*, published in 1911. Today it is still an important reference book for Chinese rare-book specialists and bibliophiles.

After nearly one hundred fifty years the Song and Yuan editions seen and recorded by Mo Youzhi in the *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* have been scattered far and wide. Some are found now in collections outside China, and many cannot be found at all. In the appendix I have listed twenty titles I have located of important editions that originally appeared in the pages of the *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu*.

APPENDIX

TITLE	EDITION	COLLECTION	REFERENCE
毛詩要義	宋淳祐十二年魏克愚刻本	A	a
儀禮要義	宋淳祐十二年魏克愚刻本	B	b, c
禮記要義	宋淳祐十二年魏克愚刻本	B	d
春秋經傳集解	宋淳熙刻本	C	e
四書集註	元刻本 (原著錄爲宋刻本)	D	f
集古文韻	宋紹興十五年刻本	B	b, c
漢書	北宋刻宋元遞修本	B	d
資治通鑑目錄	宋刻本	E	g
資治通鑑綱目	宋嘉定刻本	E	g
新刊名臣碑傳琬琰集	宋刻本	E	g
東南進取輿地通鑑	南宋未建刊本	E	g, h
揮塵前錄	南宋刻本	F	i
篆圖附釋文重言互註 老子道德經	南宋末年建刊巾箱本	E	g
詩集傳附錄纂疏	元泰定四年劉氏翠巖精舍刻本	F	i
禮經會元	元至正二十六年刻本	G	l
資治通鑑	元刻本	H	j
圖解校正地理新書	金刻本	H	k
玉海	元至元慶元路儒學刻本	F	i
太平御覽	南宋刻本	F	i
河岳英靈集	宋刻本	B	c, d

KEY TO APPENDIX

COLLECTION	REFERENCE
A. 天理圖書館	a. 阿部隆一 天理圖書館藏宋金元版本攷
B. 北京圖書館	b. 阿部隆一 宋元版所在目錄
C. 日本文化庁	c. 潘世茲 寶禮堂宋本書錄
D. 南京圖書館	d. 北京圖書館古籍善本書目
E. 臺灣國立中央圖書館	e. 阿部隆一 日本國見在宋元版本志經部
F. 日本靜嘉堂文庫	f. 阿部隆一 北京南京上海觀書記
G. 觀海樓	g. 國立中央圖書館宋本圖錄
H. 北京大學圖書館	h. 阿部隆一 中國訪書志
	i. 靜嘉堂文庫宋元版圖錄
	j. 中國古籍善本書目
	k. 國立中央圖書館金元本圖錄
	l. Sören Edgren <i>Chinese Rare Books in American Collections</i>

NOTES

I would like to express my thanks to Sören Edgren for helping to prepare my manuscript for publication.

1. *Zhuozunyan congkao*, in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 76 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1968), *juan* 2.
2. Zhang Yuzhao, "Mo Zisi muzhiming," *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), vol. 119, pp. 559-562.
3. The "six arts" (*liuyi*) usually refers to the six categories of proficiency required of Confucian gentlemen, namely, ceremony (*li*), music (*yue*), archery (*she*), charioteering (*yu*), calligraphy (*shu*), and mathematics (*shu*). In later times *liuyi* could also refer to the Six Confucian Classics. *Ed.*
4. Zhang Yuzhao, "Mo Zisi muzhiming."
5. Li Shuchang, "Mo Zhengjun biezhuang," *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), vol. 119, pp. 557-559.
6. *Qingshigao* (Beijing: Qingshiguan, 1928), "Wenyuan zhuan" 3, p. 2.
7. Li Shuchang, "Mo Zhengjun biezhuang."
Both of these libraries were established in Jiangsu Province in 1780, the Wenzongge in Zhenjiang and the Wenhui in Yangzhou, to house sets of the Siku quanshu. After the depredations of the Taiping Rebellion, many scholars in the Jiangnan region set for themselves the task of recovering scattered volumes and replacing missing ones from the three southern sets of the Siku quanshu. *Ed.*
8. Zheng Zhen "Lüting shichao xu," *Chaojingchao shichao* (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), *juan* 4, p. 7.

9. Li Shuchang, "Mo Zhengjun biezhuàn."
 10. *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* (1873 edn.), "Mulu," 5a.
 11. This remarkable manuscript was acquired by the Japanese sinologist Naitō Konan (1866–1934) early in the twentieth century, and together with the rarest books in his collection it was later acquired by the Osaka collector Takeda Chōbei (b. 1905). *Ed.*
 12. *Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu* (1873 edn.), "Fulu" 1, 10b.
 13. *Ibid.*, 23a–b.

GLOSSARY

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Anqing 安慶 | huizi 諱字 |
| <i>Boshengshi xubian</i> 伯生詩續編 | Hu Linyi 胡林翼 |
| Cao Yifu 曹益甫 | Jiangnan shuju 江南書局 |
| Chijingzhai 持靜齋 | Jiaxing 嘉興 |
| <i>Daodejing Tang Xuanzong zhu</i> 道德經唐
玄宗注 | Jiguge 汲古閣 |
| Dezhou 德州 | <i>Jigu wenyun</i> 集古文韻 |
| Ding 丁 | jingyanlu 經眼錄 |
| Ding Richang 丁日昌 | <i>Jingyikao</i> 經義考 |
| <i>Dongnan jinqu yudi tongjian</i> 東南進取輿
地通鑑 | Jinling 金陵 |
| Duanhua 端華 | jinshi 進士 |
| Dushan 獨山 | juren 舉人 |
| <i>Dushi binglüe</i> 讀史兵略 | li 禮 |
| <i>Dushu minqiuji</i> 讀書敏求記 | <i>Liang Han huiyao</i> 兩漢會要 |
| Duyun 都勻 | Liangxi 梁谿 |
| fangshuji 訪書記 | <i>Liji yaoyi</i> 禮記要義 |
| <i>Fengshi wenjianji</i> 封氏聞見記 | Liulichang 琉璃廠 |
| Fu Yingtai 傅應臺 | Liu Lüfen 劉履芬 |
| Haining 海寧 | liuyi 六藝 |
| <i>Hanshu</i> 漢書 | Longzangsi bei 龍藏寺碑 |
| Hao Liang 郝梁 | Lu Chixian 陸敕先 |
| <i>Heyue yingling ji</i> 河岳英靈集 | Lu Jianzeng 盧見曾 |
| Huang Pilie 黃丕烈 | Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 |
| | <i>Lüshi jiashu dushiji</i> 呂氏家塾讀詩記 |
| | Lüting 邵亭 |

- Lüting shichao 邵亭詩鈔
 Lüting yishi 邵亭遺詩
 Lüting yiwen 邵亭遺文
 Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu 邵亭知見
 傳本書目
 Ma 馬
 Mao Jin 毛晉
 Maoshi yaoyi 毛詩要義
 Meng Dongye ji 孟東野集
 Mingshi yiwenzhi 明史藝文志
 Mo Shanzheng 莫善徵
 Mo Shengsun 莫繩孫
 Mo Youzhi 莫友芝
 Mo Yuchou 莫與儔
 Nanshi 南史
 Nesou 聃叟
 Nichen zhuan 逆臣傳
 ouchao 偶鈔
 ouji 偶記
 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修
 Qianqingtang shumu 千頃堂書目
 Qianshi jilüe 黔詩紀略
 Qiantang 錢塘
 Qian Tianshu 錢天樹
 Qian Zeng 錢曾
 Qin He 秦禾
 Qingshigao 清史稿
 Qiuguju Songben shumu 求古居宋本書目
 Qu 瞿
 Rixintang 日新堂
 Shangu waiji 山谷外集
 Shangyuan 上元
 Shao Zhang 邵章
 she 射
 Shiji suoyin 史記索引
 Shishi qiushizhai 實事求是齋
 shu (calligraphy) 書
 shu (mathematics) 數
 Shuowen jiezi 說文解字
 Siku quanshu 四庫全書
 Siku quanshu jianming mulu 四庫全書簡
 明目錄
 Siku quanshu jianming mulu biao zhu xulu
 四庫全書簡明目錄標注續錄
 Song Qi 宋祁
 Songwenjian 宋文鑑
 Song Yuan jiubenshu jingyanlu 宋元舊本
 書經眼錄
 Sushun 肅順
 Taixuanjing 太玄經
 Tang 唐
 Tang Renshou 唐仁壽
 Tang shu 唐書
 Tang xieben shuowen mubu 唐寫本說文
 木部
 Tongdian 通典
 Tongjian zhushang 通鑑注商
 Wang Shiduo 汪士鐸
 Wanyutang 萬玉堂
 Wenhui 文匯閣
 Wenzongge 文宗閣
 Wu 吳
 Xin Jiakuan ji 辛稼軒集
 Xishang futa 席上輔談
 Xuanbian shengjian xinqi wanbao shishan
 選編省監新奇萬寶詩山

- Yao Mingda 姚名達
 Yayutang congshu 雅雨堂叢書
 Yijiatang 宜稼堂
 Yingshan caotang 影山草堂
 Youren 猶人
 yu 御
 Yuan Cishan ji 元次山集
 Yuan Haowen 元好問
 Yuanxueji 愿學集
 Yuan Yishan shiji 元遺山詩集
 yue 樂
 Yuetong 樂通
 Yunchuang congkan 雲窗叢刊
 Yu Taifeng 郁泰峰
- Zeng Guofan 曾國藩
 Zha 查
 Zhang Wenhui 張文虎
 Zhang Yuzhao 張裕釗
 Zhang Zishao Mengzi zhuan 張子韶孟子
 傳
 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫
 Zheng Zhen 鄭珍
 Zhenjiang 鎮江
 Zhouyi guanxiang fuyilue 周易觀象輔
 義略
 Zisi 子偲
 Zunyi 遵義
 Zunyi fuzhi 遵義府志

The Forgery of Books in Tokugawa Japan

BENJAMIN WAI-MING NG

Book forgery was a common cultural phenomenon in premodern East Asia. China was the middle kingdom of forgery; its history there was the longest, its scope the widest, and its methods the most sophisticated in East Asia. Forgery in China can be traced back to the Eastern Zhou period (771–221 BCE). It reached its peak during the Six-Dynasties period (221–589), but it has survived into the modern period. The scope of forgery covers every literary genre, from official documents and historical records to Confucian commentaries, Buddhist sutras, and Taoist treatises, as well as works in literature and the arts. Many forgeries were so well made that they were accepted as authentic texts for centuries, until the Qing (1644–1911) or even into the modern period. The forgery of books in China has drawn a lot of scholarly attention.¹

In Japan, book forgery also has a long history. It started around the sixth or seventh century, and reached its heyday in the late medieval (1186–1603) and early Tokugawa (1603–1868) periods. Most forgeries made in Tokugawa Japan were of historical writings or Shinto texts. The techniques were not very skillful, and many forgeries were detected by Tokugawa intellectuals. Forgeries did not exert a strong impact on politics and thought in the Tokugawa and modern periods, and many

Tokugawa forgeries did not survive their age. Modern Japanese scholars are well trained in textual study, and forgery has become extremely difficult. Obviously, the differences between China and Japan are huge and significant. An examination of their differences can deepen our understanding of the intellectual and political development of these two countries.

The history of book forgery in Japan, however, has been little studied and is largely unknown. There are books and articles on the authenticity of particular Shinto, Buddhist, or historical texts; a systematic study of this important topic has, however, yet to be done. This paper represents a preliminary study of book forgery in Tokugawa Japan from a historical and comparative perspective.² It aims to provide a historical overview of this cultural phenomenon and to discuss its political and intellectual implications. It does not look into particular texts in detail.

The paper consists of six sections. Section one traces the development of the culture of forgery in Japan and explains why it reached its peak in the early Tokugawa period. Sections two and three examine the forgery of historical writings and Shinto texts in the early Tokugawa period, introducing representative works and discussing the attitudes of the bakufu, the daimyo (domainal lords), and the people toward forged texts. Section four deals with other types of forgeries. Section five discusses forgery in the late Tokugawa period. The concluding section summarizes the characteristics of book forgery in Tokugawa Japan from a comparative perspective.

TOKUGAWA AS THE GOLDEN AGE OF FORGERY

In Japan, the history of forgery is almost as long as the history of books. Many ancient texts are problematic in authorship, dating, or content. In ancient times, forgeries were made mainly for political purposes. Both the imperial court and powerful families were enthusiastic about compiling history in such a way as to enhance their authority, and they sometimes went so far as to forge texts. For instance, most texts ascribed to Prince Shōtoku (574–622) are unreliable. They include the *Sangyō gisho* (The commentary on the three Buddhist sutras), *Sendai kuji hongī* (Records of ancient matters in former times, 10 *kan* [sections]), and *Yamato hongī*

(Records of the Yamato dynasty, 2 *kan*). By the eighth century the forgery of official documents and historical records became a serious enough problem for the court to pass laws to prohibit it.³ Following the rise of Buddhism among the upper class in the Nara (712–793) and Heian (794–1186) periods, Buddhist writings were also subject to forgery.⁴

In the medieval period, book forgery became more prevalent.⁵ The Kamakura bakufu (1186–1336) and the Muromachi bakufu (1336–1573) decreed harsh punishments for forgers. For example, if the daimyo and *shōen* (private estate) proprietors fabricated documents to claim ownership over land or property, their domains and estates would be confiscated.

Unlike those in the ancient period, forgeries in the medieval period were mostly of private writings, including Shinto classics, Buddhist texts, literature, and historical writings. The forgery of Shinto texts can be traced to the early decades of the Kamakura period. In the medieval period, many Shinto shrines or schools, in order to establish their doctrines and legitimacy, fabricated their own histories. They traced the founding of their shrines and teachings to the ancient period and attributed their writings to prominent historical figures, such as Prince Shōtoku.

The most famous and large-scale forgery of Shinto texts was the *Shintō gobusho* (Five Shinto classics) invented by the Watarai family, who served as the priests of the Outer Shrine in Ise, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Attributed to the seventh century, these medieval texts were used to argue that the Outer Shrine should enjoy equal status with the Inner Shrine.⁶ These works were later used by Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) to develop the doctrines of Yoshida Shinto. Another noteworthy forgery was the *Sekijō sho* (Letters from Seki Castle), made in the late medieval period as letters attributed to Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) to promote Shinto and nationalist ideas.⁷

Surprisingly, there seem not to have been many forgeries of Buddhist texts, even though the medieval period was the golden age of Buddhism in Japan. An example of forgery was the *Senjūshō* (A selective collection of Buddhist writings, 9 *kan*), a collection of the sayings of Nara and Heian Buddhist monks. Though attributed to the Heian poet Saigyō (1118–1190), it was a product of the thirteenth century.⁸ In addition, many scroll paintings (*emaki-mono*) contain elements of fabrications or

myths about the founders of the monastery. They are unreliable, but they are not forgeries in the strict sense.

In medieval literature, the number of forgeries was considerable. For example, the *Shiki monogatari* (The tale of the four seasons, 4 *kan*), which was attributed to Kamo no Chōmei (1153–1216), was a forgery made after Kamo no Chōmei's death.⁹ The *Sumiyoshi monogatari* (The tale of Sumiyoshi, 2 *kan*) is another example of a medieval forgery.¹⁰

The forgery of historical records was also quite common. For example, the *Honchō kotohajime* (The origins of events in our country, 2 *kan*), which was attributed to the late Heian courtier Fujiwara no Michinori (1106–1159), was a forgery made in the medieval period. Many military records (*gunki*) were forgeries. In the sixteenth century, many forgeries were made about the battles during the *sengoku* (warring states, 1467–1600) period. This grew into the largest genre of forgery in the Tokugawa period.

Book forgery became very popular in the late medieval period and reached its peak in the early Tokugawa period. The seventeenth century was the “golden age of forgery” in Japanese history. Hundreds of forgeries were made, and more than a hundred titles have already been identified by Tokugawa and modern scholars. There were several reasons for the popularity of forgery in the early Tokugawa period.

First, the intellectual atmosphere was very active during the seventeenth century. The Tokugawa bakufu was still at the early stage of constructing an official ideology. Many ideas, whether political, social, or religious, had not yet been put in order. Different schools of thought and religion and cultural activities were allowed to flourish as long as they did not advocate anything antibakufu or pro-Christian. In such an intellectual climate, book forgery found much space to grow.

The forgery of Shinto texts and historical writings was more than a cultural activity; it also served political purposes. It became a means to claim authority and legitimacy from history, which was why the bakufu, daimyo, retainers, Shinto sects, and schools of art and culture all fabricated histories or constructed fake documents. Book forgery mushroomed in this unique historical setting.

Second, the bakufu indirectly encouraged forgery. Its policies toward forgery were ambivalent and inconsistent. Although the bakufu

made the forgery of official and private documents a heavy offense and banned many forgeries, it set a bad example in distorting and fabricating histories for its own legitimation.¹¹ The bakufu made the writing of family history into a national movement when it asked the daimyo and retainers to prepare their family histories and genealogical charts for its reference. Without checking their credibility seriously, the bakufu had Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) edit the family records and charts submitted by the daimyo and retainers and published them as the *Kan'ei shoka keizuden* (History and charts of warrior families in the Kan'ei era, 1641, 186 kan).

Writing family histories was an extremely important matter to the domains, because the early Edo bakufu used the lack of legitimate successors and other excuses to abolish domains. Compiling a “politically correct” family history could strengthen a clan’s political position, which was why military history and warrior-family histories topped the number of forgeries.

Third, many in early Tokugawa society were willing to forge books or documents for profit. Before the Tokugawa, most forgers were from the upper social class — courtiers, elite monks, and high-ranking warriors. In the Tokugawa period, however, the main force of forgery was from the lower social strata — unemployed *rōnin* (masterless samurai), poor monks, Confucians, and even commoners. Knowledge was no longer monopolized by the upper class. Book forgery provided a way for frustrated social elements to focus their energy and earn a living. For the first time in Japanese history, some people made names for themselves as forgers.

In the early Tokugawa period, some professional storytellers told military tales in the streets of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto to earn a living. They were called *Taiheiki yomi* (Narrators of military tales). Most of them were unemployed *rōnin* or monks. Some of these *Taiheiki yomi* also forged books or documents for warrior families or Shinto shrines. It seemed that demand was much larger than supply, and forgers enjoyed a good business.

Fourth, the flourishing and highly competitive publishing industry stimulated book forgery. Publishing forgeries was a fairly profitable and relatively safe business in the early Tokugawa period. Some publishers

in Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto published problematic texts to boost sales. General readers were interested in war tales because they provided sensational narratives and versions of history that were different from official history. Book dealers and scholars hunted for ancient or medieval texts, but not all were careful enough to detect forgeries. Some even made or commissioned fake texts for intellectual or business reasons. Many readers believed in their authenticity and used them in their writings and teaching. Until the eighteenth century, the bakufu usually did not check or ban forgeries published by book dealers, unless it suspected that the forgeries were politically motivated.

Fifth, the extensive search for rare books by the court, bakufu, domains, and private collectors made forgery a very profitable business. Many books were lost during the turbulent late-medieval and *sengoku* periods. The Edo bakufu, in order to promote scholarship and learning, set up an official library or archives, *Momijiyama bunko* (Red Leaf Mountain library collection) to gather books and documents. The Kyoto court, noble and warrior families, public and private academies, well-to-do merchants, and prominent scholars were also interested in expanding their book collections. They were not always careful about detecting forgeries.

For the above-mentioned reasons, forgery became an active cultural activity and phenomenon in the Tokugawa period. According to one Tokugawa scholar,

There are many forgeries in this world. Many of them look like ancient texts. If we are not knowledgeable and cautious enough, we will be cheated. Many books about the history of the noble and warrior families belong to this category. We should also be careful of military works because they contain many fabrications.¹²

THE FORGERY OF HISTORICAL WRITINGS

The majority of forgeries were historical writings. Many were the family histories and the lineage charts of the daimyo or top retainers, intended to glorify their ancestors and to emphasize their historical relationship

with the Tokugawa house. The Tokugawa house fabricated its own history in order to establish its links with the Minamoto and the Nitta and to cultivate the Ieyasu cult. Many daimyo and retainers were not slow to follow suit. The forgery of historical writings was well developed and diversified in the early Tokugawa period. It can be divided into five major categories: the history of the Tokugawa house, family histories of daimyo and major warriors, ancient and medieval texts, war tales, and general history.

The first category was the early history of the Tokugawa house. A large number of forgeries were made in the seventeenth century to glorify the ancestors of the Tokugawa family. They include the *Mikawa go-fudoki* (Topography of Mikawa, sequel), *Tokugawa rekidai* (The successive generations of the Tokugawa house), and *Matsudaira kaiunroku* (The beginnings of the Matsudaira house). These three works focus on the early life of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) before he founded the bakufu in Edo. The first two works were attributed to two of Ieyasu's generals, Chikayoshi and Yasutaka, respectively. It is highly unlikely that they wrote the books, however, because these men did not receive much education and did not have time to write books. For the majority of forgeries, the real authors are not usually known. Some may have been written by scholars in Tokugawa service, commissioned by the Tokugawa bakufu to legitimize the new regime.

The life of Ieyasu as the first Edo shogun also became a subject for forgery. The representative and the most influential work in this respect is the *Toshogū goikun* (The testament of the great avatar shining over the east). This anonymous text was published during the reign of the third Edo shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651, r. 1623–1651).¹³ It could not have been as popular as it was without the blessing of the bakufu. It uses Confucian, Shinto, and Buddhist ideas to legitimize the Tokugawa bakufu and to glorify Ieyasu. For instance, it emphasizes that the court lost the heavenly mandate to Ieyasu.¹⁴

Other forgeries in this category include the *Tokugawa onyuraiki* (The origins of the Tokugawa house), *Jūhachikō ki* (Records of eighteen Tokugawa ancestors), *Tōeikan* (History of the eastern prosperity), *Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki* (The military history of the eastern provinces, new edition), and *Matsudaira keizu* (The lineage of the Matsudaira house).

Most of the above-mentioned books on Ieyasu and his ancestors were banned in the eighteenth century, not because they were found to be forgeries, but because the bakufu decided to discourage people from talking freely about its founders.¹⁵

The second category was family histories of daimyo or warriors. Many daimyo and high-ranking warriors wrote or commissioned others to compile their own family histories, including both facts and fabrications. This genre was called *bukan* (military histories). Military histories written by the warrior families were not forgeries, although they were not always reliable. Military histories by private writers were more problematic, and some were forgeries. These forgeries include the *Nihon shōgunden* (A biography of generals in Japan), *Buke hyōrin* (An evaluation of military houses), *Akamatsu gunki* (Military records of the Akamatsu house), and *Kyūshū shoshōgunden* (A biography of Kyushu generals).

Even some low-ranking warriors and commoners fabricated their family histories in order to gain respect and create opportunity. A notorious case was that of a peasant named Sawada Gennai (1659–1716), who fabricated history shamelessly in order to link himself with the main line of the Sasaki clan, a prominent warrior family since the Kamakura period. In several forgeries he wrote, Sawada, calling himself Sasaki Ujisato, invented the history of five generations preceding him from the Muromachi to the Tokugawa. Titles of his “historical fictions” include the *Taikeizu* (Comprehensive lineage charts, 30 *kan*), *Ashikaga chiranki* (A political history of the Ashikaga), *Asai nikki* (The diary of Asai Nagamasa), *Kōgen bukan* (Military history of the Minamoto in Edo, 1656, 20 *kan*), *Sekigahara gunki* (Military history of the Sekigahara, 6 *kan*), and *Seishū gunki* (Military history of Ise, 2 *kan*). The *Kōgen bukan* was an ambitious work forged as a collection of family diaries written between 1537 and 1621, which attributed to Sawada ancestors who did not really exist. It was published and became a popular text in the seventeenth century. Sawada’s fabricated ancestors appeared frequently in all of his works and played a significant role in helping the Tokugawa house. In the *Taikeizu*, a collection of charts on the lineages of warrior families, he presented his ancestors as prominent warriors.¹⁶

Sawada wanted to take advantage of his fake identity. He went to see the Mito daimyo and presented him with the *Taikeizu*, hoping that

the daimyo would give him a post. The daimyo asked Sasaki Yoshitada, a member of the main line of the Sasaki family, to verify Sawada's identity and found out that everything about Sawada's ancestors in his writings was sheer fabrication.¹⁷ The daimyo therefore decided to punish Sawada. Sawada fled and changed his name. His father disowned him out of anger and shame. Sawada later went to Kyoto and continued to deceive people by fabricating histories. Although some scholars, such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) and Ise Sadatake (1715–1784), condemned Sawada, most of Sawada's writings were not banned, and some even had a wide circulation.

The third category was ancient and medieval texts. Some Tokugawa authors profited by selling their forgeries to book dealers or collectors as rare books. For example, in the early-eighteenth century, a *rōnin* writer, Suma Fuon, forged medieval texts for profit. The most noteworthy one was the *Fusō kenbun shiki* (Private records of the things I saw and heard in Japan, 80 *kan*). Written as a diary of Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225), a prominent official of the Kamakura bakufu, it was sold to a book dealer as a medieval record. It was later published by the book dealer. It was said that he became rich because of this book. This was such a skillful work that many Tokugawa officials and scholars believed in its authenticity. Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), the eighth shogun, asked Narushima Dōchiku to verify its authenticity. Narushima pointed out numerous mistakes and textual problems (such as the use of terms and systems that did not exist in the Kamakura period) in the text and concluded that it was a forgery. It was finally banned by the bakufu.¹⁸ Another of Suma's forgeries was the *Adachi Fujikurō shiki* (Private records of Adachi Fujikuro), which was written as the diary of a member of the Adachi family, a prominent military house in the Kamakura period.¹⁹

Usually, most of these fake documents or books were attributed to famous medieval warriors, and the identity of the forgers was not known. The most popular target for forgery was Kusunoki Masashige (?–1336), the famous loyalist in the Nambokuchō (Northern and Southern Courts) period (1336–1392). Since he was worshipped as a national hero in the Tokugawa period, readers were interested in reading touching stories about him. As many as a dozen forgeries were written about him or attributed to him. They include the *San-Nan jitsuroku* (True records

of the three generations of the Kusunoki family), *Nankaden* (Records of the Kusunoki family, 7 *kan*), *Nan ikkan sho* (Book on Kusunoki Masashige in one scroll), *Nan chimeishō* (Kusunoki Masashige knowing his fate), and *Nanhōreikan* (Laws by Kusunoki Masashige). Another work in this category was the *Ōtomo Masatori jikki* (Records of Ōtomo Masatori), a fabricated record of the Ōtomo, a prominent *sengoku daimyō* (feudal lord of the warring states period) family from Northern Kyushu.

There were also some fake ancient texts made in the Tokugawa period, although their number was fewer than fake medieval texts. The following three are examples.

The *Yamato hongī* (Records of the Yamato court, 2 *kan*), which appeared in the late medieval or early Tokugawa period, was actually “a forgery of a forgery.” The original *Yamato hongī* was a mid-Heian forgery, which was attributed to Prince Shōtoku. Its content was close to that of the *Kojiki* (Records of ancient matters, 712) and the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720). This mid-Heian forgery was later lost, and the Tokugawa edition was a new forgery.

Nan'en sho (The writing of Minamibuchi Shōan) was attributed to the famous seventh-century monk Minamibuchi Shōan and his disciples. It only appeared in the 1660s and was a forgery made in the medieval or Tokugawa period.²⁰

Tajima kokushi monjo (Documents of the provincial governor of Tajima) was a fake early-Heian official document that records the events in Tajima from 814 to 974. It was “discovered” in 1810, and its content does not match the early Heian system of official ranks. It can only be a medieval or Tokugawa forgery.

The fourth category was war tales. In the early decades of the Tokugawa period, memories of the wars were still fresh, stimulating many exciting and sensational but unreliable narratives of famous battles in the medieval and *sengoku* periods. These accounts claimed that the authors actually participated in or witnessed the war, but most were indeed fabricated by late-medieval or early-Tokugawa authors.

Many fabricated war tales used the *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of great peace, ca. 1372), a famous account of the civil war during the Nambokuchō period, as the model. A large number of forgeries of historical books with the *Taiheiki* in their title appeared in the seventeenth century. They

include the *Nanchō taiheiki* (Military history of the southern court), *Zen taiheiki* (Prelude to the *Taiheiki*), *Shikai taiheiki* (Military history of the four seas), *Zan taiheiki* (An incomplete record of the *Taiheiki*), *Chūgoku taiheiki* (Military history of the Chūgoku region), *Hojo taiheiki* (Military history of the Hōjō), *Saigoku taiheiki* (Military history of the western provinces), *Hōkkoku taiheiki* (Military history of the northern provinces), *Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki*, *Genpei taiheiki* (Military history of the Minamoto and Taira), *Zoku taiheiki* (The *Taiheiki*, sequel), and *Chōsen taiheiki* (Military history of the Korean campaign).

Most of this *Taiheiki* literature was written by unknown authors but attributed to famous warriors or writers. For example, the *Saigoku taiheiki* records the history of the Chūgoku region during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. It was attributed to Mōri Hidemoto (1579–1650) of Chōshū domain.²¹ Sometimes such works were written by scholars who wanted to hide their identity. For instance, the *Zen taiheiki* was written by Hirayama Sokan (1630–1712), a scholar of the Hayashi school, under the alias Fujimoto Gen.²² Hirayama was a famous forger. In his popular war tale *Ishida gunki* (Military records of Ishida Mitsunari, 1698, 15 *kan*), he fabricated stories about Ishida Mitsunari (1560–1600), the archrival of Tokugawa Ieyasu.²³ After he published it in Kyoto, it caught the attention of the bakufu, which banned the book and tried to summon him. Hirayama fled and went into hiding.²⁴

The fifth category was general history. Some people rewrote the general history of medieval Japan out of their imagination or on the basis of rumors or unreliable sources. These works were quite popular among general readers who read them as novels more than histories. Representative works include the *Kamakura kyūdaiki* (Nine generations of the Kamakura period), *Hōjō kyūdaiki* (Nine generations of the Hōjō family), *Chūko kokka chiranki* (The administration of the nation in the medieval period), *Nanchō jiseki* (Records of the southern court), *Yoshino shūi* (Unknown stories about the southern court in Yoshino), and *On'uniki* (Accounts of the cherry blossom and cloud, 3 *kan*).²⁵ Although most were made in the early Tokugawa period, many were presented as medieval writings. For instance, the *Yoshino shūi* claimed that it was a work of the fourteenth century. It was based partly on the records in the *Taiheiki* and *Shin'yōshū* (A new collection of Japanese poems written in the *Man'yōshū*

tradition, 1381) and partly out of the author's imagination. The *On'unki* is a record of the Southern Court, focusing on its last days. Although it was said to be a medieval work, it was indeed written in the early Tokugawa period. Neither the *Yoshino shūi* nor the *On'unki* was banned, and they were widely read in the Tokugawa period. Some accepted them as reliable sources, whereas serious scholars such as Arai Hakuseki criticized them as forgeries.

The emergence of numerous fake historical writings indicates that the early Tokugawa period was truly an age of historiography in which not only official or semi-official historical works such as the *Honchō tsūgan* (The comprehensive mirrors of our dynasty, by Hayashi Razan) and *Tokushi yoron* (Some personal views on my reading of history, by Arai Hakuseki), but also a large number of unofficial and unreliable historical writings were produced.²⁶

THE FORGERY OF SHINTO TEXTS

In terms of the number of forgeries made in the early-Tokugawa period, Shinto texts were second only to historical writings. Fake Shinto texts in this period include literature and historical writings.

Different Shinto schools wanted to enhance their authority through history. Most, however, lacked a long history or a classic. Hence, they fabricated both in the late-medieval and early-Tokugawa periods.

Yoshida Shinto was the most ambitious among all Shinto sects in this respect, producing the majority of fake Shinto texts in the medieval period. The five sets of fake ancient Shinto texts, *Gobushō*, became influential in the early-Tokugawa period. Although their authenticity was questioned by some Confucian and *kokugaku* (national-learning) scholars, some Tokugawa Shintoists still used them as a support for their beliefs.

Yoshida Shinto continued to produce and inspire forgeries in the Tokugawa period. The most influential one was perhaps the *Wa-Rongo* (Analects in Japan, 1669, 10 *kan*) by Sawada Gennai (see "The Forgery of Historical Writings," above).²⁷ Though he had received no formal Shinto training, Sawada was influenced by Yoshida Shinto. The *Wa-Rongo* is a collection of 882 sayings by Shinto deities, emperors, court-

iers, warrior leaders, Buddhist monks, and scholars. Sawada used these sayings to advocate Yoshida Shinto, to glorify his own ancestors and birthplace, and to promote political and personal ethics. He made use of the *Gobushō* to write some oracles and of some ancient historical texts to record the sayings of historical figures. The majority of the sayings were, however, sheer fabrication. The sayings stress the importance of the purity of the heart and the uprightness of the mind, a central Shinto doctrine. The text also promoted the Sumiyoshi (or Hiyoshi) faith. According to this faith, the general Sumiyoshi, who helped the legendary Queen Jingū conquer Korea, became a deity, Sumiyoshi daimyōjin, after his death in order to protect Japan. His spirit gave strength to warrior leaders who received a heavenly mandate to rule. As the Tokugawa was a legitimate regime, it received the blessing of this deity. This faith also glorified Sawada's birthplace, Ōmi, where the Hiyoshi Shrine was located.²⁸ His fabricated ancestors also appeared in the *Wa-Rongo* to provide support for his claim that he came from a family of noble origins.

Although some Tokugawa scholars like Ise Sadatake questioned its authenticity, the *Wa-Rongo* was not banned and was widely read by Tokugawa intellectuals. Its impact was particularly strong among scholars of *shingaku* (mind learning). The two *shingaku* masters, Ishida Baigan (1685–1744) and Teshima Toan (1718–1786), quoted it frequently in their works to suggest ethical or Shinto ideas.²⁹

The most ambitious fake Shinto treatise made in the Tokugawa period was the *Kuji taiseikyō* (A complete account of ancient matters, 1679, 72 *kan*). Ascribed to Prince Shotoku, it was actually written by a Zen Buddhist monk named Chōon (1628–1696) and a *rōnin* named Mizuno Uneme (1616–1687). As the book was commissioned by the Izawanomiya Shrine in Shima, one of the ten detached shrines dedicated to the Sun Goddess, to establish its supremacy over the Ise Shrine, these two authors were able to use the Izawanomiya collection as references. Many books in the collection were indeed medieval forgeries. The *Kuji taiseikyō* was perhaps the largest forgery project in the Tokugawa period.³⁰ By rewriting the history of Shinto in ancient Japan, the authors argued that the Izawanomiya Shrine was chosen as the main shrine for worshipping the Sun Goddess. Prince Shotoku, a major figure in the text, was portrayed as an advocate of the unity of the three teachings —

Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism — a central doctrine of the Izawanomiya faith. The text alleged that Prince Shotoku promulgated five sets of “constitutions” on morality, politics, Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

Priests from the Ise Shrine protested to the bakufu and the court, decrying the text as a forgery. In 1680, the bakufu punished the two authors and the publisher, and two years later banned the book.³¹ Nevertheless, it continued to be a popular text. Even after the ban, people copied it by hand, and a private edition was secretly made.

Many *kokugaku* and Confucian scholars argued that the *Kuji taiseikyō* was a forgery. Ise Sadatake even wrote a book, *Kuji hongī mukugi* (Uncovering the forged nature of the *Kuji taiseikyō*), to discredit the text. These critics pointed out that the text contains many false records and uses modern terms. Nevertheless, the *Kuji taiseikyō* was widely read and influential among Buddhist and Shinto circles. It was used to advocate the doctrine of the unity of the three teachings. For example, Ida Sadakane, a Shintoist, wrote a commentary on it in 130 *kan*. The so-called *Five Constitutions of Prince Shōtoku* was published as a single book by several publishers. Kuroda Masakuni, a retainer of Numata domain, wrote a commentary on it and published it as the *Waji go-kempō* (An explanation of the five constitutions in Japanese, 1734).³² The five constitutions became even more popular than the *Kuji taiseikyō* itself.

OTHER TYPES OF FORGERY

Besides historical writings and Shinto texts, forgeries also existed in other Tokugawa literary traditions such as geographical writings, Confucian commentaries, Buddhist texts, and literature. They were, however, fewer in number and less influential.

A large number of fake geographical writings and maps appeared in the Tokugawa period. During the seventeenth century, about thirty *fudoki* (topographies) of different provinces in ancient Japan were “discovered.” Together they were entitled *Sōkoku fudoki* (Topographies of different provinces of ancient Japan). Most claimed that they had ancient origins, but they were actually written in the late-medieval or early-Tokugawa period.³³ Some *kokugaku* and Confucian scholars questioned the authenticity of the *Sōkoku fudoki*, because its content does not always

match the ancient system. However, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) believed in the authenticity of the *Sōkoku fudoki*, collecting and editing these fragmentary materials.³⁴

Late-medieval and early-Tokugawa Japanese also forged the *Minbushō zuchō* (Maps and records by the Ministry of Popular Affairs), a collection of maps and records of different provinces in ancient Japan. The original collection was burned in the late Heian period (794–1185).³⁵ Some Tokugawa scholars already knew that the extant maps and records were forgeries.

Some Confucian and Buddhist texts have problems in authorship, because disciples and admirers sometimes attributed their own works to their masters. For instance, it was said that there were several forgeries made after the death of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), a great master of *kogaku* (ancient learning). There were three kinds of forgers — Sorai's students and admirers who wanted to develop Sorai's ideas, professional forgers who aimed for profit, and Sorai's enemies who defamed Sorai. Hence one of Sorai's disciples, Hattori Nankaku (1683–1759), made a list of Sorai's works and warned that any item that was not on the list was a forgery. Some modern scholars believe that the *Taiheisaku* (A policy for great peace) was a forgery.³⁶ The *Sorai sensei kaseidan* (Discussions of Master Sorai, 3 *kan*) was identified as a forgery and was banned by the bakufu.³⁷

Forgeries were also found among paintings, works of calligraphy, tea utensils, and literature, but the problem was not very serious if compared with China. For example, some works of the great *haiku* poet Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694) might indeed be forgeries.³⁸ In the early Tokugawa period, a forgery called *Hachijō kadensho* (Teachings on the style and the flower in eight parts) was attributed to the Nō master Zeami Motokiyo (1363–1443). This work was quite popular in the Tokugawa period and exerted a considerable impact on Tokugawa art and aesthetics.

Many works on the military and martial arts are also unreliable. Though attributed to medieval or *sengoku* authors, most were written in the early-Tokugawa period. An example was *Nan nanakansho* (The [martial arts of the] Kusunoki school in seven scrolls), a military book that was ascribed to Kusunoki Masashige, but was a forgery made and published in the Tokugawa period.³⁹

A different kind of forgery was the making of fake ancient editions. Some book dealers “converted” Tokugawa editions into medieval editions for huge profit. To make the Tokugawa editions look old, various methods such as dyeing the paper, stamping the seals of medieval editions or scholars on the text, and adding a preface or afterword to fake authorship and the date of completion, were employed by Tokugawa publishers. For example, the *Kobun Kōkyō* (Book of filial piety in old-script texts), *Soga monogatari* (The tale of the Soga brothers), *Monzen* (The *Wenxuan* or A selection of literature), and *Rongo shūkai* (A collective explanation of the *Lunyu*) all had fake medieval editions.⁴⁰ This kind of forgery had little intellectual significance because the content of different editions of the text was more or less identical.

FORGERY IN THE LATE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

The seventeenth century, as we have seen, was the golden age of forgery in Japanese history. The forgery of books, particularly historical writings, declined in the second half of the Tokugawa period. There were two major reasons. First, the intellectual climate became increasingly rigid. The bakufu had established a sort of official ideology or orthodoxy and was less tolerant of forgeries that could create controversies. The Ieyasu cult had been successfully institutionalized, and private discussions of Ieyasu became inappropriate and undesirable. The bakufu put many forgeries, in particular those related to the history of Ieyasu and military history, on the list of banned books.

Second, intellectuals became more skillful at detecting forgeries, thanks to the prevalence of more sophisticated research methods shared by scholars of *kogaku*, *kokugaku*, and *kōshōgaku* (evidential-research school). Thus, the making and publication of forgeries became more difficult. For example, Ise Sadatake, a retainer of Tokugawa Yoshimune, detected eighty-three forgeries in his *Ansai zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous writings of Ise Sadatake, 30 *kan*).⁴¹ He wrote several books to discredit particular forgeries. Arai Hakuseki, Tada Nanryō (1696–1750), Yoshimi Kōwa (1673–1761), and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) also made contributions to the detection of forgeries.

Late Tokugawa intellectuals made contributions in textual studies,

and many problematic texts produced in different ages were identified. For instance, until the mid-Tokugawa period, people had believed for centuries that the *Sendai kuji hongei* (Records of ancient matters in former times, 10 *kan*) was the work of Prince Shōtoku, although it was actually forged by the Mononobe in the ninth century.⁴² In the eighteenth century, the work was challenged by a large number of scholars from different backgrounds, including Dazai Shundai (1680–1747), Ise Sadatake, Tada Nanryō, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane. There were two different attitudes toward the text among critics. Most (such as Ise) regarded it as a worthless fabrication, whereas others (such as Hirata) believed that it still had historical value.⁴³

Forgery declined but did not disappear in the late Tokugawa period. The bulk of late Tokugawa forgeries were Shinto texts. They were mostly kept in local Shinto shrines, and their circulation was small. Shintoists created stories of prehistoric and ancient Japan in fake ancient historical writings. These texts share some similarities. First, they alleged that Japan had a long and glorious history before the importation of Chinese culture. Second, Japan had its own writing system, the so-called *jindai moji* (writing system in the Age of the Gods). Two examples of fake ancient texts about prehistoric or legendary Japan (pre-539) follow.

The *Hotsuma tsutae* (History of Japan in the Hotsuma script, 10 *kan*), is an epic of prehistoric Japan written in the Hotsuma script, a kind of alleged *jindai moji*, by the famous forger Iho Yūnoshin in the mid-eighteenth century. He claimed that the text was written by an ancestor of his in the late Nara period. Having failed to submit it to a noble family for reward, Iho offered it to the Miya Shrine in 1775. The Shintoist Ogasawara Michate wrote a commentary on it called *Jindai maki hotsuma seiden* (Politics in the Age of the Gods in the Hotsuma script, 1842, 10 *kan*). The *Hotsuma tsutae* had an impact on Fukko Shintō, Taihonkyō, and the Hirata (Atsutane) School.⁴⁴ However, its authenticity was questioned by Tokugawa scholars.⁴⁵

The *Uetsufumi* (Records of the ancient past, 40 *kan*) was another fake ancient book on prehistoric Japan with a content somewhat similar to the *Hotsuma tsutae*. It records Japanese history from the prehistoric era to the second century. It was attributed to Ōtomo Yoshinao (1172–1223), a son of Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199). Its portion on

prehistoric Japan was written in the Toyokuni script, a kind of *jindai moji*. It only surfaced in the early-nineteenth century and was unknown until the *kokugaku* scholar Yoshimatsu Haesaka introduced it during the Tempō era (1830–1844). This was a forgery made in the Tokugawa period.

The most interesting development in the history of forgery during the late Tokugawa period was the “discovery” of many varieties of *jindai moji*. Most of them were made in the Tokugawa period. Some Shintoists and *kokugaku* scholars used them to suggest that Japan had its own writing systems before the importation of Chinese culture. It created a debate among Tokugawa intellectuals over the issue of authenticity of the *jindai moji*. Most did not take it seriously or denied its existence, whereas some used it to advocate their Shinto or nationalist ideas.

Early Tokugawa intellectuals did not believe in *jindai moji*. Following Motoori Norinaga and other early *kokugaku* scholars, Hirata Atsutane at first was critical of the idea of *jindai moji*. Later, he changed his position and conducted research on it, asking his students to gather samples of *jindai moji* at shrines or temples all over Japan. He found more than a dozen *jindai moji*, but emphasized that only two of these, *Ahiru* and *Ahirukusa*, were authentic. In his *Kamuna hifumi no tsutae* (Records of the writing system in the Age of the Gods, 1824), he even suggested that the Korean script was derived from the *Ahiru* script.⁴⁶ His student Ōkuni Takamasa (1791–1871) even believed that *jindai moji* was the mother of all languages, including Chinese, Sanskrit, and Dutch.⁴⁷ However, some late *kokugaku* scholars disagreed with Hirata. For instance, Ban Nobutomo (1773–1846) argued in his *Kaji honmatsu* (The origins of fake scripts) that all *jindai moji* were fabrications.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BOOK FORGERY

Book forgery in Tokugawa Japan had the following characteristics. First, the scope was relatively narrow. In Qing China, forgery existed in a large quantity in various genres, including Confucian commentaries, Taoist treatises, Buddhist sutras, historical works, official documents, poems, prose writings, paintings, and works of calligraphy. Forgeries in medieval Japan included history, Buddhist and Shinto texts, official documents,

maps, and literature, but the majority of Tokugawa forgeries were historical writings or Shinto texts made in the seventeenth century. Forgeries in other literary genres were rare.

If we call the Qing period the age of detecting forgeries, then the Tokugawa period was the age of making forgeries. A large number were made in the Tokugawa period, particularly in the seventeenth century. Qing scholars made important contributions in identifying forgeries made in all periods of Chinese history. Qing China itself produced very few forgeries.

Second, the techniques used in Japan were not very sophisticated. In both making and detecting forgeries, the Chinese were more advanced than the Japanese. Many Tokugawa forgeries were poorly made. From the paper, calligraphy, style, and content, even nonspecialists could usually tell they were fake. In Tokugawa Japan the detection of forgeries was only a personal academic interest of individual scholars. It was not a continuation of a tradition from pre-Tokugawa times and was only a weak undercurrent in Tokugawa intellectual culture. In contrast, forgeries made in China were extremely skillful and could deceive even specialists. The detection of forgeries and the dating of texts became an important part of *kaozheng* scholarship in Qing China.⁴⁸

Qing scholars made use of philology, phonetics, textual criticism, textual comparison, and many other techniques to examine the credibility of texts. The research methods that Tokugawa scholars employed were simpler and less systematic. Sometimes, Tokugawa scholars made their judgments by looking only into the content and the writing style, which could lead to less satisfactory results. For instance, Tada Nanryō did some excellent research in his *Kujiki gisho meishō kō* (Hard evidence that the *Kuji hongji* was a forgery, 1734), but his doubts about the *Jinnō shōtōki* (Records of the legitimate succession of the divine sovereigns, rev. 1343) and the *Yōfukki* (Return of Yang, 1650) were less convincing.

Third, the impact was limited. In China, forgeries have been an inseparable part of scholarship in classical studies, geography, historiography, Buddhism, Taoism, art, and literature. In Confucianism, the debate over classics in pre-Han Chinese (*guwen*, old-script texts) and Former Han Chinese (*jinwen*, new-script texts) was a focus of scholarly attention from the Six Dynasties (220–589) to the modern period, and

exerted a tremendous impact on politics and thought. Many old-script text Confucian classics were forgeries. This issue was used as a political tool by officials and scholars of different periods. Rival political camps used the classics, either old-script texts or new-script texts, to claim authority, to advocate reforms, or to attack enemies. In art, a large number of paintings and works of calligraphy were forgeries. The detection of forgeries has also become a major field in Chinese art.⁴⁹

The impact of forgeries in Japan was not great. Most of them were not very popular and had little influence on politics, thought, or religion. They had little historical or literary value. They played some role in legitimizing the bakufu and in promoting the Ieyasu cult in the early decades of the Tokugawa period, and they exerted some impact on Shinto and new religions, but basically they had little to do with the development of neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, literature, art, and popular culture in the Tokugawa period. By the mid-Tokugawa period the number of forgeries decreased, and the bakufu and scholars became more critical and cautious. Many late-Qing intellectuals used forged classics to advocate reforms. However, forgeries played no perceptible role in the Meiji Restoration and the post-Restoration reforms.

In China, many ancient forgeries such as the *Zhouli* (Rites of the Chou dynasty), *Laozi* (Sayings of Laozi), *Liezi* (Sayings of Liezi), and *Shanhaijing* (Book of mountain and sea) became classics and were widely read by people of all ages. These works had value in themselves. Thus, even after being detected as forgeries, they were not abandoned. In Japan, Tokugawa forgers did not produce any work that had a strong and long-lasting impact. Most had a small circulation. A few were popular, but their popularity did not last. The heyday of forgery was too short, and the quality of forgeries was not good enough to make a larger and longer impact. When they were found to be forgeries, people lost interest in them.

NOTES

I would like to thank Barry Steben and Kurozumi Makoto for their useful comments on this paper.

1. The study of book forgery has a long history in China. In particular, Qing *kaozheng* ("evidential research") scholarship made important contributions in

the detection of hundreds of forgeries. For a historical overview of book forgery in China, see Liang Qichao, *Gushu zhenwei ji qi niandai* (Authenticity and dating of ancient books) (Taibei: Zhonghua shuju, 1973) and Gu Jiegang et al., *Gushi bian* (Debates on the authenticity of ancient history), 7 vols. (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhicheng yinshuguan, 1926–1941).

2. In many Japanese books, there are problems concerning their history, content, authorship, or time of publication. This paper uses a strict definition of forgery — books written with the aim of deceiving people by fabricating the stories and attributing them to ancient authors.
3. Chapter nine of the Yōrō Code of 718, entitled “Laws on Fraud and Forgery (Sagiritsu),” lists the punishments for officials found guilty of forging official documents. For instance, those who forged imperial memorials would be exiled. See Inoue Mitsusada, ed., *Nihon shisō taikai* (Compendium of Japanese thought), vol. 3, *Ritsuryō* (Codes and laws) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970). The punishments were considered lenient by Chinese standards. In China, the writing of fake imperial memorials was punishable by death.
4. The most influential forgery was the *Mappō tōmyōki* (The record of the lamp during the latter days of the Buddhist law, 1 *kan*) which was attributed to Saichō (767–822), the founder of Tendai Buddhism in Japan. This was indeed a forgery of the late Heian period that exerted a tremendous impact on Kamakura Buddhism by popularizing the idea of *mappō*. See Matsuhara Yūzen, ed., *Mappō tōmyōki* (Kyoto: Yasui Jimusho, 1966).
5. For an overview of the forgery of books, documents, and lineage charts in medieval Japan, see Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai: Keizu, gimonjo, monjo* (Issues regarding historical documents of medieval Japan: Lineage charts, fake documents, and documents) (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1996).
6. See *Shintō gobusho* (Tokyo: Kōgakukan daigaku shuppanbu, 1984).
7. See Hakusan Yoshitarō, ed., Kitabatake Chikafusa, *Shintō taikai* (Compendium of Shinto), *ronsetsuhen* (Discourses), vol. 18 (Tokyo: Shintō taikai hensankai, 1991).
8. See Nishio Kōichi, ed., *Senjūsho* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970).
9. My assertion is based on that fact that the *Shiki monogatari* records some events that happened after the death of Kamo no Chōmei.
10. Ichiko Sadatsugu, ed., *Kamakura jidai monogatari shūsei* (A collection of Kamakura novels), vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kasama shobō, 1988). The original *Sumiyoshi monogatari* was a mid-Heian book, which was quoted by other Heian works, such as the *Genji monogatari* (The tale of Genji) and *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book). The original text was later lost, and a forgery appeared in the Kamakura period.
11. According to Tokugawa laws, those who forged official documents would be caned a hundred times, and the forgery of private writings for profit would be treated as committing thievery. See Ise Sadatake, *Anzai zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous writings of Ise Sadatake) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1927), chap. 11, p. 79.
12. Ise Sadatake, *Sadatake zakkī* (Miscellaneous writings of Sadatake) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1928), p. 624.

13. Ooms believes that the author may have been a scholar in Tokugawa service and even speculates that Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) was the author, because he was close to Ieyasu, and the ideas in the text were similar to Hayashi's. See Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 82–96.
14. See *Tōshōgū goikun*, in *Nihon kyōiku bunko* (A library of Japanese education), “*kakunhen*” (Section on family precepts) (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1910), pp. 252–342. For an analysis of the text, see Hirano Toshinori, “*Tōshōgū goikun to Inoue mondo gashira oboegaki ni tsuite*,” (A study of *Tōshōgū goikun* and *Inoue mondo gashira oboegaki*) in Herman Ooms and Ōkuwa Hitoshi, eds., *Tokugawa ideorigii shinpojiumu* (Symposium on Tokugawa ideology) (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1996), pp. 103–135.
15. Konda Yōzō, *Edo no kinsho* (Banned books of the Edo period) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981), pp. 196–200.
16. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 5, p. 112 and chap. 28, pp. 233–234.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 184–191.
18. *Ibid.*, chap. 18, p. 16 and chap. 19, pp. 38–39; Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, p. 624.
19. See Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, p. 624. Suma also fabricated family charts such as the *Kyōho kaisen keizu* (Lineage charts made in the Kyōhō era).
20. Nakajima Toshiichirō, “*Nan'ensho wa gisho nari*” (*Nan'ensho* is a forgery) in *Rekishi kōron* (Public forum on history), vol. 2, no. 5, 1933.
21. See Kurokawa Masamichi, ed., *Saigoku taiheiki* (Tokyo: Kokushi kenkyūkai, 1915).
22. See Itagaki Shun'ichi, ed., *Zen taiheiki* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1988).
23. See Kurokawa Masamichi, ed., *Ishida gunki* (Tokyo: Kokushi kenkyūkai, 1914).
24. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 18, p. 16.
25. The *Yoshino shūi* and *On'unki* are included in Ikebe Yoshikata, ed., *Kōchū kokubun sōsho* (Book series in Japanese with annotations), vol. 18 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1915).
26. For a discussion of historiography in the early Tokugawa period, see Kate W. Nakai, “Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School and Arai Hakuseki,” in Peter Nosco, ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 62–91.
27. See Katsube Masanaga, *Warongo no kenkyū* (A study of the *Warongo*) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1970).
28. See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, pp. 99–105.
29. See Robert Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (New York: Free Press, 1957), pp. 66, 79, 143, 176.
30. The text can be found in Iida Sueharu, ed., *Hyōchū sendai kuji hongī* (Annotated *Sendai kuji hongī*) (Tokyo: Meibunsha, 1971). For a critique of the text as a forgery, see Kawano Shōzo, *Kinsei Shintō kyōka no kenkyū* (A study of Shinto education in early modern Japan) (Tokyo: Shūkyō kenkyūshitsu, 1955) and Konda Yōzō, *Edo no kinsho*, pp. 158–179.

31. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 18, p. 16.
32. See Nozawa Masanao, *Kinsho Shōtoku Taishi go-kempō* (Prince Shōtoku's five constitutions, the banned text) (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1990).
33. See Wada Hidematsu, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō* (An investigation of book catalogues in Japan) (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1936), pp. 340–345, and Hirata Atsutane, *Koshichō kaidaiiki* (An introduction to the *Koshichō*), ed. Yamada Yoshio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1932), pp. 271–272.
34. See Hirata, *Koshichō kaidaiiki*, pp. 248–272. The text can be found in Kariya Mochiyuki, *Saishū Shokoku fudoki* (A collection of the topographies of different provinces) (Tokyo: Nihon kodan zensho, 1928).
35. See Wada, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō*, pp. 346–348.
36. For a review of this controversy, see Maruyama Masao, “*Taiheisaku kō*” (An investigation of the *Taiheisaku*), in Maruyama, ed., *Ogyū Sorai, Nihon shisō taikai*, vol. 36 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973), pp. 797–829.
37. Konda, *Edo no kinsho*, p. 18.
38. See Yamamoto Yūichi, *Bashō no bunboku so no shingi* (The writings of Bashō: Issues in authenticity) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1997).
39. The text mentions gunnery which did not exist in the time of Kusunoki. See Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, pp. 625–626.
40. Kawase Kazuma, *Nihon shoshigaku no kenkyū* (A study of bibliographies in Japan) (Tokyo: Nippon ōbenkai kōdansha, 1933), pp. 1813–1820. See also Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., *Toshogaku sankō zuroku* (Illustrative references for the study of books), vols. 1 and 2 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1973 and 1976).
41. Included in Kojitsu sōsho hensankai, ed., *Kojitsu sōshi* (Book series on ancient matters), vol. 8 (Tokyo: Meiji tōsho, 1952).
42. Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1690) wrote a commentary on it to advocate New Ise Shinto. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700), the Mito daimyo, wrote an afterword for a Tokugawa edition.
43. On the basis of ancient records Hirata argued that the *Kuji hongū* was written by the Mononobe in 808. See Hirata, *Koshichō kaidaiiki*, pp. 273–274. For a review of Tokugawa works on the text, see Wada, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō*, pp. 15–17.
44. Nomura Toshiharu, ed., *Koshi koden no nazo* (Secrets of ancient history in ancient records) (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1996), p. 12.
45. Commissioned by Shinto shrines, Iho also forged other Shinto texts such as the *Ōta daimyōjin honjiki* (The manifestation of Daimyōjin in the Ōta shrine) and *Kamo daimyōjin honjiki* (The manifestation of Daimyōjin in the Kamō shrine) to spread the doctrine of *honji suijaku* (Shinto deities as manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas) and to glorify the history of the shrines.
46. For a discussion of Hirata's views of *jindai moji*, see Saiji Yoshihiko, *Nazo no jindai moji* (Secrets of the writing system in the Age of the Gods) (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1979), pp. 140–144.
47. See Wai-ming Ng, “The *I Ching* in the Shinto Thought of Tokugawa Japan,” *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1998, p. 581.
48. See Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social*

Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 68–70.

49. Qing merchants exported many fake Chinese calligraphy works to Japan through Nagasaki trade. See Ōba Osamu, *Edo jidai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* (A study of the adoption of Chinese culture in the Tokugawa period) (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1984), pp. 412–420.

GLOSSARY

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|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Adachi 安達 | Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 |
| <i>Adachi Fujikurō shiki</i> 安達藤九郎私記 | Fukko Shintō 復古神道 |
| Ahiru 阿比留 | <i>Fusō kenbun shiki</i> 扶桑見聞私記 |
| Ahirukusa アヒルクサ | <i>Genji monogatari</i> 源氏物語 |
| <i>Akamatsu gunki</i> 赤松軍記 | <i>Genpei taiheiki</i> 源平太平記 |
| <i>Anzai zuihitsu</i> 安齋隨筆 | Gobusho 五部書 |
| Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 | Gu Jiegang 顧頤剛 |
| <i>Asai nikki</i> 淺井日記 | <i>gunki</i> 軍記 |
| <i>Ashikaga chiranki</i> 足利治乱記 | <i>guwen</i> 古文 |
| bakufu 幕府 | <i>Hachijō kadensho</i> 八帖花伝書 |
| Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 | Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 |
| bukan 武鑑 | Hayashi 林 |
| <i>Buke hyōrin</i> 武家評林 | Hayashi Razan 林羅山 |
| Chikayoshi 親吉 | Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 |
| Chōon 潮音 | Hirayama Sokan 平山素閑 |
| <i>Chōsen taiheiki</i> 朝鮮太平記 | Hiyoshi 日吉 |
| Chōshū 長州 | <i>Hōjō kyūdaiki</i> 北条九代記 |
| Chūgoku 中国 | <i>Hōjō taiheiki</i> 北条太平記 |
| <i>Chūgoku taiheiki</i> 中国太平記 | <i>Hōkkoku taiheiki</i> 北国太平記 |
| <i>Chūko kokka chiranki</i> 中古国家治乱記 | <i>Honchō kotohajime</i> 本朝事始 |
| daimyō 大名 | <i>Honchō tsūgan</i> 本朝通鑑 |
| Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 | honji suijaku 本地垂迹 |
| emaki-mono 繪卷物 | <i>Hotsuma tsutae</i> 秀真伝 |
| fudoki 風土記 | Ida Sadakane 伊田眞鎮 |
| Fujimoto Gen 藤元元 | Ieyase 家康 |

- Iho Yūnoshin 井保勇之進
 Ise Sadatake 伊勢貞丈
 Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩
 Ishida gunki 石田軍記
 Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成
 Izawanomiya 伊雜宮
 Jindai maki hotsuma seiden 神代卷秀眞
 政伝
 jindai moji 神代文字
 Jingū 神宮
 Jinnō shōtōki 神皇正統記
 jinwen 今文
 Jūhachikō ki 十八公記
 Kaji honmatsu 仮字本末
 kakunhen 家訓篇
 Kamakura 鎌倉
 Kamakura kyūdaiki 鎌倉九代記
 Kamo daimyōjin honjiki 嘉茂大明神本
 地記
 Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明
 Kamuna hifumi no tsutae 神字日文伝
 kan 卷
 Kan'ei 寛永
 Kan'ei shoka keizuden 寛永諸家系図伝
 kaozheng 考証
 Kobun Kōkyō 古文孝經
 kogaku 古学
 Kōgen bukan 江源武鑑
 Kojiki 古事記
 kokugaku 国学
 kōshōgaku 考証学
 Kuji hongī 旧事本記
 Kuji hongī mukugi 旧事本記剥偽
 Kujiki gisho meishō kō 旧事記偽書明証
 考
 Kuji taiseikyō 旧事大成
 Kuroda Masakuni 黒田眞邦
 Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成
 Kyōho kaisen keizu 享保改撰系図
 Kyūshū shoshōgunden 九州諸將軍伝
 Laozi 老子
 Liang Qichao 梁啓超
 Liezi 列子
 Lunyu 論語
 Makura no sōshi 枕草子
 Man'yōshū 万葉集
 mappō 末法
 Mappō tōmyōki 末法灯明記
 Matsudaira kaiunroku 松平開運録
 Matsudaira keizu 松平系図
 Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉
 Mikawa go-fudoki 三河後風土記
 Minamibuchi Shōan 南淵請安
 Minamoto 源
 Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝
 Minbushō zuchō 民部省図帳
 Mito 水戸
 Miya 三屋
 Mizuno Uneme 水野采女
 Momijiyama bunko 紅葉山文庫
 Mononobe 物部
 Monzen 文選
 Mōri Hidemoto 毛利秀元
 Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長
 Muromachi 室町
 Nanbokuchō 南北朝

- Nan chimeishō* 楠知命抄
Nanchō jiseki 南朝事蹟
Nanchō taiheiki 南朝太平記
Nan'en sho 南淵事
Nanhōreikan 南法令卷
Nan ikkan sho 楠一卷書
Nankaden 楠家伝
Nan nanakansho 楠七卷書
Narushima Dōchiku 成島道筑
Nihon shōgunden 日本將軍伝
Nihon Shoki 日本書記
Nitta 新田
Numata 沼田
Ōe Hiromoto 大江広元
Ogasawara Michate 小笠原道当
Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠
Ōkuni Takamasa 大國隆正
Ōmi 近江
On'uniki 桜雲記
Ōta daimyōjin honjiki 太田大明神本地記
Ōtomo Masatori jikki 大友眞鳥実記
Ōtomo Yoshinao 大友能直
Rongo shūkai 論語集解
rōnin 浪人
Sagiritzu 詐偽律
Saichō 最澄
Saigoku taiheiki 西國太平記
Saigyō 西行
Sangyō gisho 三經義疏
San-Nan jitsuroku 三楠実録
Sasaki Ujisato 佐佐木氏郷
Sasaki Yoshitada 佐佐木義忠
Sawada Gennai 沢田源内
Seishū gunki 勢州軍記
Sekigahara gunki 関原軍記
Sekijō sho 関城書
Sendai kuji hongi 先代旧事本記
sengoku 戦国
sengoku daimyō 戦国大名
Senjūshō 撰集抄
Shanhaijing 山海經
Shiki monogatari 四季物語
Shikai taiheiki 四海太平記
Shima 志摩
shingaku 心学
Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki 新編東國太平記
Shintō gobusho 神道五部書
Shin'yōshū 新葉集
shōen 莊園
Shōtoku 聖德
Soga monogatari 曾我物語
Sōkoku fudoki 繪國風土記
Sorai sensei kaseidan 徂徠先生可成談
Suma Fuon 須磨不音
Sumiyoshi 住吉
Sumiyoshi daimyōjin 住吉大名神
Sumiyoshi monogatari 住吉物語
Tada Nanryō 多田南嶺
Taiheiki 太平記
Taiheiki yomi 太平記読
Taiheisaku 太平策
Taihonkyō 大本教
Taikeizu 大系図
Taira 平
Tajima kokushi monjo 但馬国司文書

- Tendai 天台
 Teshima Toan 手島堵庵
 Tōeikan 東榮鑑
 Tokugawa Iemitsu 德川家光
 Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康
 Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀
 Tokugawa onyuraiki 德川御由来記
 Tokugawa rekidai 德川歷代
 Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗
 Tokushi yoron 讀史余論
 Tōshōgū goikun 東照宮御遺訓
 Toyokuni 豊国
 Uetsufumi 上記
 Waji go-kempō 和字五憲法
 Wa-Rongo 和論語
 Watarai 度会
 Watarai Nobuyoshi 度会延佳
- Wenxuan 文選
 Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄
 Yamato hongī 大和本記
 Yasutaka 康高
 Yōfukki 陽復記
 Yōrō 養老
 Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱
 Yoshida Shintō 吉田神道
 Yoshimatsu Haesaka 幸松葉枝尺
 Yoshimi Kōwa 吉見幸和
 Yoshino 吉野
 Yoshino shūi 吉野拾遺
 Zan taiheiki 殘太平記
 Zeami Motokiyo 世阿弥元清
 Zen taiheiki 前太平記
 Zhouli 周禮
 Zoku taiheiki 続太平記

Six-Dynasties *Xiejing* Calligraphy

EILEEN HSIANG-LING HSU

The Six-Dynasties period spanned an era in Chinese history between the fall of the Han empire in 220 CE and the unification of China by the Sui in 581.¹ During this period, China was first broken down into three rival kingdoms — Wei (220–265), Shu (221–263), and Wu (222–280). These were temporarily unified by the Sima family under the Western Jin (265–317), and then further divided between short-lived non-Chinese states in the north (386–581, the Northern Dynasties) and the Eastern Jin (317–420), and four brief Chinese dynasties in the south (317–589, the Southern Dynasties). It was a time of wars, both among the contending Chinese factions and between the Chinese people and the northern nomadic groups, which resulted in political turmoil and social instability.

This period of unpredictability and unrest, however, also triggered significant cultural changes, most notably through Buddhism. Introduced by way of the Silk Road, a dual trade route along the Tarim oases established by the military might of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), Buddhism came to answer the despair of the people who suffered from incessant terrors and deep sorrows. The profound teaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni that all things are illusory and the Mahāyāna doctrine of bodhisattvas' all-embracing compassion attracted both the rulers and the ruled. Buddhist scriptures, originally transmitted orally and then written down in ancient Sanskrit and Central Asian languages, were brought to

China by Indian and Central Asian monks and missionaries in large numbers. Enthusiastic Chinese devotees also traveled to India to study the doctrine first hand and collect authentic texts.²

To propagate the faith, Buddhist monks began early on to translate the sacred texts into Chinese, a difficult task because of the fundamental differences between the Indian and Chinese languages. In the beginning, Indian and Central Asian monks were the chief translators, assisted by their Chinese counterparts;³ later, as more and more native Chinese became engaged in the theological and philosophical study of the doctrines and acquired a more thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit language, they also began to play the role of chief translators. The most celebrated among them was the Tang-dynasty monk, philosopher, and teacher Xuanzang (ca. 596–664 CE).

Overcoming immense linguistic and philosophical obstacles in the process of translation, foreign and Chinese monks succeeded in introducing Buddhism to China through intelligible written texts. When translating a text, a Chinese scribe was usually assigned to write it down on several sheets of paper, and these sheets were later pasted together to form a roll, an ancient Chinese book form. Depending on the length of each text, one, several, or even tens of rolls were required to transcribe the whole work. Many copies were transcribed for use not only as texts for recitation during Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, but as a means to gain spiritual merit or to make an offering. When a work was translated and written down in Chinese for the first time, the transcriber was creating a manuscript in his own handwriting, and his calligraphy reflected not only his education and personal style but the script popular during his time. Later, when a scribe made copies from an already existing manuscript, he usually imitated the style of the model manuscript, a tradition that accounts for the relatively homogeneous calligraphic styles of Six-Dynasties sutra transcriptions.⁴

XIEJING AND XIEJINGTI

Although the Chinese term *xiejing*, literally “[to] transcribe sutras,” is generally understood to refer to the act of copying texts of Buddhist

sutras, it has also come to denote the final products on paper or silk. Therefore, when used in reference to a genre of ancient Chinese manuscript, it means sutra transcriptions. The significance of sutra copying is emphasized in many Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures;⁵ and from the early Six-Dynasties period, the task of *xiejing* was undertaken as a pious deed by individual devotees, as well as through the organized efforts and patronage of all levels of government agencies and monastic communities.

Ancient Chinese *xiejing* manuscripts, written with brush in black pigment on paper, also display a distinctive style of calligraphy. Ranging from hastily written examples to artistic works executed with fine brushmanship, the Six-Dynasties *xiejing* offer us a group of valuable materials for the study of Chinese calligraphy. Since the Six Dynasties was also a period when the Chinese script type underwent a very important change from the clerical (*lishu*) to the regular (*kaishu*, *zhenshu*, or *zhengshu*),⁶ the *xiejing* calligraphy of that time provides a new arena for the examination of the historical, technical, and aesthetic factors behind this change. As specimens of fine calligraphic work by notable calligraphers of the period, such as Zhong You (170–230) or Wang Xizhi (ca. 303–ca. 361), are arguably all later copies, the style of their original works is unavoidably obscured. In contrast, the *xiejing* are all original manuscripts, and many of them bear signatures of the transcribers and dates of the transcriptions, information crucial for accurate interpretation of calligraphic manner and writing style. The transformation from the clerical to the regular script during the Six Dynasties was a complicated process, as calligraphy, defined as the art of writing, cannot be separated from its utilitarian function, material limitations, and natural development.⁷ *Xiejing* manuscripts are valuable documents for an examination of the intricate interplay and mutual influence between artistic creation and practical writing.

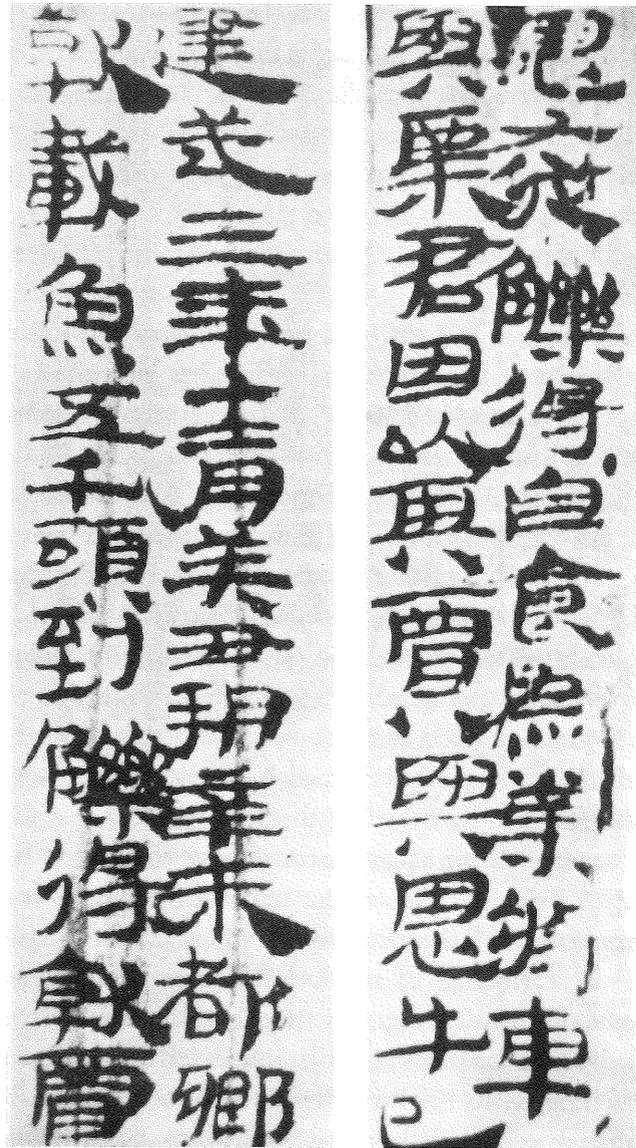
This article focuses on a selection of *xiejing* transcriptions, most of which were discovered by expeditions carried out by non-Chinese archaeologists in northwest China early in the twentieth century.⁸ Many of these transcriptions have colophons recording the dates, purposes, and circumstances under which the texts were copied, and even the names of the copiers. These colophons are reliable references against which other *xiejing* manuscripts may be checked for proper dating.⁹ The calligraphy of these manuscripts shows subtle variations within the “*xiejingti*” script or style of sutra transcription.¹⁰ Although it is a distinctive script used in

copying Buddhist scriptures, a few ancient secular and Daoist manuscripts are also rendered in this style.¹¹ Because of the low social status of most transcribers, the educated elite, calling it the *jingshengshu* or “script of sutra transcribers,” had traditionally regarded *xiejingti* as an inferior form of calligraphy.¹² It was not until after the discovery of thousands of manuscripts in the Thousand Buddha Hall at Dunhuang at the turn of the twentieth century that the ancient sutra transcriptions began to be valued as important historical documents and appreciated as artistic works.

LISHU AND XIEJINGTI

The clerical script is a Chinese calligraphic script type characterized by a squat character shape and structure,¹³ and a unique brush technique called *pojie*, that is, elongated right diagonal strokes with a decorative flared ending.¹⁴ It is a script seen in the inscriptions on Han bamboo strips discovered in Xinjiang and Gansu (figure 1),¹⁵ and in the rubbings of the Eastern Han stele carving such as Shichen *bei* and Liqi *bei*.¹⁶ Artistic elaboration of the *pojie* technique gives the clerical script an aesthetic appeal that has remained strong among calligraphers up to modern times.

Although the clerical script was traditionally thought to be the invention of Cheng Miao, a lictor (jail officer) who served during the reign of Qin Shihuang (r. 246–210 BCE),¹⁷ it was a writing style that developed gradually and probably had been in use before Cheng Miao. It became the standard script during the Han period, used predominantly by clerks (*li*) for government documents, thus the term “clerical script.” Its major marks of deviation from the seal script (*zhuanshu*), used largely in pre-Qin times, are the simplification of character structure and a swifter and less rounded rendering of strokes.¹⁸ These characteristics were the direct outcome of the legalistic government of the Qin court, under which bureaucratic and legal documentation increased considerably. Sometime during the third century CE, the fully developed clerical script began to show structural and stylistic changes; in some ways, these changes were part of a continuing process of writing simplification and acceleration that started at the end of the last century before the Common Era. These changes, which fostered a natural transformation of calligraphic form, were further facilitated and enhanced by the increasing popularity of paper and brush as writing materials during the Eastern Han period.



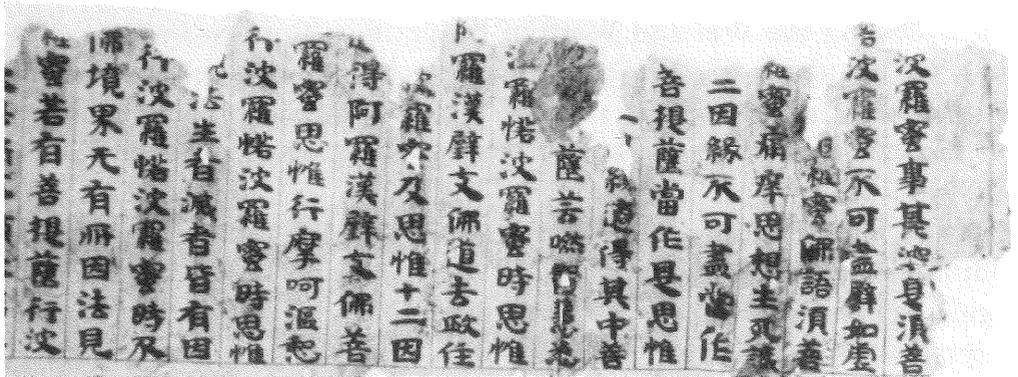
1. Handwritten manuscript on Han bamboo strips, from *Shufa congkan* II (1986), p. 58.

During the Wei and Western Jin periods (third to fourth centuries), the regular script began to develop, along with a few transitional scripts between the clerical and the regular.¹⁹ Archaeological evidence has shown that until *kaishu* became the standard script at the end of the Six Dynasties, both the elite and commoners used a kind of intermediate script in their day-to-day official and personal communications.²⁰ In addition to the more recognizable features associated with clerical or regular scripts, early forms of the running (*xingshu*) and cursive (*caoshu*) scripts are also found in fragments of letters, memoranda, and official correspondence unearthed at the site of Loulan in Xinjiang.²¹ Those dated from the third to the fifth centuries and written in ink on strips of wood or on paper are either official documents reporting administrative events or requesting supplies, or private documents such as lists of burial items, contracts, or personal letters.²²

Whereas the official documents and personal letters excavated in Xinjiang are mostly written in the early styles of running or cursive scripts, in which strokes are often connected, abbreviated, or even omitted, the *xiejing* manuscripts are largely rendered in a formal writing style, with each stroke executed separately and each character distinct and legible. Because *xiejing* was to be performed with reverence, cursory execution could be seen as compromising the level of devotion. Although some argue that it represents only variant modes of regular script and thus is not properly definable as a script,²³ *xiejingti* manifests brush techniques of both the clerical and regular scripts and displays intriguingly diversified and free calligraphic manipulation. As an expedient means of transcribing long texts, the *xiejingti* script was adopted by both the less-educated Buddhist devotees and the Confucian gentry elite, and its formal development over the course of about three hundred years deserves close examination.

EARLY XIEJING CALLIGRAPHY: MODIFIED CLERICAL SCRIPT

One of the earliest sutra transcriptions brought back to Japan in the early twentieth century by the Ōtani expeditions was a fragment of the *Daoxing bore jing* (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), or *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in Eight Thousand Lines* (figure 2).²⁴ Translated in 179 CE by



2. The *Daoxing bore jing*, sutra transcription, from *Seiiki shutsudo butten no kenkyu* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1980), pl. 2.

the Indo-Scythian monk Lokakṣema (Chinese Zhi Loujiaqian),²⁵ the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* was among the earliest Mahāyāna sutras introduced to China. Although the upper part of this manuscript is damaged, comparison with the extant text indicates that twenty to twenty-four characters were written in each column.²⁶

There is no colophon in this *xiejing* fragment, but the *Chu sanzang jiji*, a bibliographical work by Sengyou (438–518), mentions a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* with a postscript giving 254 CE as the date of transcription.²⁷ Although there is no way to know whether the Ōtani fragment was the copy transcribed in 254, its early dating can be supported by other evidence. First of all, the characters are irregularly arranged,²⁸ and second, archaic forms of characters and terms are found in the transcription, evidence indicating that this fragment was probably transcribed not too long after the sutra was translated in 179.²⁹

Not only its formal and morphological peculiarities but also the calligraphic style of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* sutra transcription provide clues to its early dating. The script is essentially clerical, with squat character shapes and the consistent *pojie* endings. Besides, certain characters such as *shi* or *suo* are written in the clerical structure. However, compared with the conspicuous wavy *pojie* feature unequivocally present in the Eastern Han stele rubbings, this brush technique is considerably subdued. Another notable feature is that the *gou* or *tiao* hooklike endings of the

vertical strokes, which were not yet prominent in the Eastern Han stele rubbings, are already visible. This obscuring of the *pojie* and the appearance of the *gou* ending are the principal traits characterizing the transitional calligraphic style from the clerical to the regular script in early Six-Dynasties sutra transcriptions.

In the third century, *xiejing* calligraphy retained many of the clerical features, as seen in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* fragment discussed above. An early specimen of sutra transcription displaying a more advanced *xiejingti* calligraphy is the *Zhufo yaoji jing*, or *Sutra of Collected Summaries of All Buddhas* (hereafter abbreviated as the *Zhufo*; see figure 3), a manuscript discovered in Tuyugou near Turfan by the Ōtani expedition in 1912. Here is a partial translation of its colophon (figure 4): “On the twelfth day of the first month in the [?]kang reign, the Yuezhi bodhisattva Fahu [Dharmarakṣa, active ca. 266–308], holding the [original scripture?], gave [verbal?] instructions to Nie Chengyuan and the honorable disciple śramaṇa Zhu Fashou to transcribe [the oral translation].”³⁰

The *Zhufo* is among the 154 titles translated by Dharmarakṣa (Chinese Zhu Fahu) between ca. 266 and 308, as recorded in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, and its text was still extant in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. According to Zürcher, Dharmarakṣa’s periods of greatest translation activity were 284–288 and 291–297, and he appeared to have traveled regularly from one Buddhist center to another, primarily Chang’an and Dunhuang, where the translator himself was born.³¹ The *Chu sanzang jiji* included colophons and introductions of Dharmarakṣa’s translations, but the colophon of the Tuyugou *Zhufo* was not among them. The phrasing used in the *Zhufo* colophon to describe the circumstances under which Dharmarakṣa made his translation and the purpose of the translation are nearly identical to those in other recorded colophons.³² Although the first character of the colophon is missing, deducing from the date of the transcription that appears at the end (Yuankang sixth year [296 CE]), and from what we know about Dharmarakṣa’s translation activity, it is safe to assume that the missing character is the same “*yuan*” as in the reign name Yuankang. Thus, 292 CE (the second year of the Yuankang era) was the year Dharmarakṣa made the translation, and 296 (the sixth year of the Yuankang era) was the year the entire transcription was completed. This makes *Zhufo* the earliest dated sutra transcription extant today.³³



3. The *Zhufu yaoji jing*, sutra transcription, from *Seiki shutsudo batten no kenkyu*, pl. 3.



4. The *Zhufo yaoji jing* (detail, showing colophon), sutra transcription, from *Seiki shutsudo butten no kenkyu*, pl. 4.

The early dating of this manuscript also is confirmed by its calligraphic style. In terms of brushwork technique, the *pojie* feature is apparent, in the same fashion as it appeared in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* manuscript. The squat character structure is, however, largely replaced by a squarish one, reflecting a natural adjustment from writing on bamboo strips to writing on paper.³⁴ Certain characters are still written in the *lishu* manner, but the hooklike *gou* endings of the vertical strokes are found in such characters as *shen* and *cheng*, albeit not consistently throughout the transcription. Among the important information in the colophon of the Tuyugou *Zhufo* is that Nie Chengyuan, Dharmarakṣa's closest Chinese collaborator, performed the duty of writing down (*bishou*) the oral translation.³⁵ Although not mentioned by historians of Chinese calligraphy, Nie's apparent skill in calligraphy is demonstrated in the effortless yet controlled brushwork of this sutra transcription.

Compared to those in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the brush strokes in the *Zhufo* are clearly less fleshy, and the *pojie* endings of the right diagonal strokes appear more vigorous. Horizontal strokes in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* are generally rendered in standard clerical fashion, in which a stroke begins and ends with a rounded finish (although in some characters, the beginning seems less rounded) and maintains the same thickness throughout. In contrast, most of the horizontal strokes in the *Zhufo* begin with a light touch of the brush (which gives them a pointed look) followed by a quick and swift sweep to the right, and end with a considerably thicker and rounded finish. The key to this discrepancy is the exercise of (or in the latter case lack of) the brush technique known as *huibi*, or "returning of the brush." As the fundamental principle in formal Chinese writing, *huibi* refers to reversing the direction of the brush when starting and completing a stroke.³⁶ For example, when executing a horizontal stroke, instead of proceeding straight to the right, the brush must first turn to the left; then, to complete the stroke, instead of finishing the rightward brush movement, the brush must turn to the left. This technique thus creates a fully rounded stroke, most prominently manifested in the seal script. In the clerical script, the *huibi* technique persists, but the horizontal and diagonal strokes are extended and exaggerated as the *pojie* technique entails, giving each character an architectonic sense of balance and grace.

Naturally, the *huibi* technique required skillful maneuvering of the brush, which could not be accomplished in a hasty manner. When transcribing lengthy Buddhist texts in multiple copies, the scribe did not have the luxury of sufficient time to exercise such artistic manipulation. As described in the colophon of the *Zhufo* manuscript, his job was to transcribe the Chinese translations as they were spoken. Sometimes the translator (*kouyi*), a Central Asian or Indian monk, was assisted by a Chinese person who would modify the translations to make them more idiomatic. To transform spoken words into written language accurately and quickly the scribe often had to make adjustments, such as omitting or simplifying certain strokes, in brush execution. The pointed beginning of the horizontal strokes and the pointed ending of the left diagonal strokes in *xiejingti* are the result of the omission of *huibi*.

During the third and fourth centuries, when many sutras were first translated, *xiejing* was an integral part of the translation project. Later, as Chinese translations were readily available, *xiejing* was undertaken as an independent religious practice. By and large the scribes were Chinese, whether selected by the chief translators to take on the duty of *bishou*, or acting on their own initiative to transcribe texts. They were, however, not necessarily well educated in traditional Chinese classics or trained in such arts as painting and calligraphy. Furthermore, scribes were freer to make technical adjustments to accomplish a speedy transcription job. Consequently, novel and innovative calligraphic writing emerged.

In the few decades between the transcriptions of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Zhufo*, the elongation of character shape, further obscuring of *pojie*, and the appearance of the hooklike *gou* technique already suggest a stylistic movement toward the regular script. The omission of *huibi*, however, is a unique feature of *xiejingti*, and can be seen in many early sutra transcriptions. The scribes were motivated by the belief that the more copies of sacred texts they transcribed, the more merit they would be able to accumulate. In fact, pious Buddhists were actually performing a devotional act and religious ritual when copying sutras.

The *xiejing* examples discussed so far demonstrate the first stage of this transformation from clerical script, *lishu*, a script that had been practiced since the Han period, to *kaishu*, the standard script for copying sutras after the late Six Dynasties. The *Miaofa lianhua jing* (the *Saddharma-*

puṇḍarīka-sūtra), or the Lotus Sutra, of the Eastern Jin (see figure 5)³⁷ and the *Faju jing* (the *Dharmapada-sūtra*) from Dunhuang (see figure 6),³⁸ transcribed in 368, represent the *xiejing* calligraphy of the fourth century. The thickening and flaring endings of the horizontal and right diagonal strokes created by the *pojie* technique are conspicuous and forceful; and, enhanced by the lack of the *huibi* in the beginning of the strokes, they appear pictorial rather than calligraphic. The fast-moving brush can be detected by the swift turnings of the strokes; in a few areas, as, for example, the character *chu* (figure 7), the strokes are abbreviated and connected, a common feature of the running-script type.³⁹ The *huibi* is largely missing, more so in the *Dharmapada* than in the Lotus Sutra; consequently, the weight of the characters seems to fall slightly toward the right. The juxtaposition of the thin and very thick brush strokes sweeping across the paper surface creates a previously unprecedented art of calligraphy.

XIEJING CALLIGRAPHY IN NON-BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

Xiejingti, however, was not used only for Buddhist transcriptions. A handscroll of the *Daode jing*, transcribed by Suo Dan (ca. 250–ca. 325 CE) in 270 (figure 8), is an excellent example of this script.⁴⁰ Originally from Dunhuang, now in the collection of the Princeton University Art Museum, this manuscript is a fragment of an early version of this Daoist classic.⁴¹ Stated in the colophon at the end of the text are the name of the scribe and the date of the transcription: “On the fifth day of the fifth month of the *gengyin* year, the second year of the Jianheng reign [270 CE], Suo Dan from Dunhuang Prefecture completed the transcription of this [manuscript].”

Born into a literary family in Dunhuang, Suo Dan was also a nephew of the renowned scholar and calligrapher Suo Jing (239–330), who was skilled in the *zhangcao* script.⁴² It is believed that in his youth, Suo Dan moved to Luoyang to join his uncle in the Taixue, the National University, and became interested in Daoism. Later he moved to Jianye (present-day Nanjing), the center of Daoism and the capital of the Wu Kingdom. It was probably in Jianye that Suo Dan acquired a text of the

接躡緊飛羅摩曠羅伽
轉輪聖王是詣大衆得未
心觀佛和時佩於眉閒白真
千世界廣不周遍下至阿
吒天於地世界盡見波土

5. The *Miaofa lianhua jing* (detail), sutra transcription, from *Chūgoku shodō zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), pl. 27.

道行品法句經第廿 廿有章 道行品昔拾說大要度既之道此
為極也
 八直取上道四諾為法迹 不姓行之尊施能大得眼
 是道无有異見淨乃度世 此能壞魔兵力行滅衆苦
 我巳闍正導為不現大明 巳闍當自行行乃解匪縛
 生死非常苦能觀見為慧 若欲離衆苦行道一切除
 生死非身空能觀見為慧 欲離一切苦但當仍行道
 起時當即起莫如愚寢洲 与楠无膽廢計度不進道
 念應念則正念不應則匪 慧而不起匪思正道乃成
 慎言守意念身不善不行 如是三行除偶就是得道
 斷樹无代木根在猶畧生 除根乃无樹比丘得泥洹

6. The *Daoxingpin fajū jīng*, sutra transcription, from *Dunhuang yishu shufa xuan* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1985),



7. The *Daoxingpin faju jing* (detail), sutra transcription, from *Dunhuang yishu shufa xuan*, p. 7.

小國烹民使有什佰人之器而不使民重死而不
遠從惟有舟車无所乘之惟有甲兵无所用之使
民復結繩而為之甘其食美其服安其居樂其俗鄰
國相望雞狗之聲相聞民至老死不相往來
信言不美言不信善者不辯者不善知者不博去
不知聖人不積既為人已愈有既以與人已愈多王
下之道利而不言聖人之道為而不爭

太上玄元道德經卷終

建漸二年庚寅五月五日燧煌郡素純寫

8. The *Taishang xuanyuan daode jing*, transcription, from *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1959), pl. 120.

Daode jing and made a copy of it, since the reign name used in the colophon was that of the Wu Kingdom.⁴³ According to his biography, Suo Dan was not interested in becoming an official;⁴⁴ increasingly convinced that the kingdom was on the verge of disintegrating, he eventually returned to Dunhuang, and probably brought this *Daode jing* transcription with him.

The calligraphy of the Suo Dan manuscript is unequivocally that of the *xiejingtī*. The typical features of this style, such as the accentuated and flaring right diagonals, and the pointed beginnings and thickened and rounded endings of the horizontal strokes, are comparable with those seen in the Lotus Sutra and the *Dharmapada-sūtra* discussed earlier. Some short strokes, as in the characters *shi*, *suo*, and *wei* are linked, indicating an inclination toward speediness. The rhythmic echoing between the thin and thick strokes was created by the steady and controlled movement of a trained hand, and the gradual thickening endings of the right diagonals were executed with disciplined regularity. The even spacing between columns and among characters and the overall balance of the character structure and composition reflect the spiritual purity and restraint of the calligrapher.

In 1965, a manuscript fragment of the *Wuzhi* (Records of the Wu Kingdom), a part of the *Sanguozhi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms; hereafter the *Wuzhi A*; see figure 9) was discovered in Turfan, on the site of an ancient Buddhist pagoda.⁴⁵ It contains the biography of Sun Quan (181–252 CE), founder of the Wu Kingdom, and its calligraphy is essentially identical to that of the Suo Dan manuscript. Another specimen, also of the *Wuzhi*, contains the biographies of Yu Fan (164–233), Lu Ji (third century), and Zhang Wen (third century; hereafter the *Wuzhi B*; see figure 10).⁴⁶ Discovered in Shanshan, Xinjiang, the *Wuzhi B* was rendered in a script very similar to that in the *Zhufo* sutra transcription. Scholars generally believe that both the *Wuzhi* manuscripts were transcribed around the same time, *A* in the latter part of the Western Jin period, and *B* in the beginning of the Eastern Jin period, not too long after the *Records of the Wu Kingdom* were compiled in 297.⁴⁷

The calligraphy of the *Wuzhi* manuscripts, which features heavy accentuation of the *pojie* endings contrasting with the light beginnings of

臣等仰蒙聖恩所擬之古人形取朕之与君
 以定其臯勢所遠臨江漢廊廟之議
 所不爲專三公上君過失昏育本末朕
 惟有曾母投杼之疑猶冀言之不信
 國福故遣使者檄勞入道尚書侍
 前言以定臣子君遂設辭不欲使進
 惟乞元前都尉浩周勸君遣子乃
 臣等謀以此卜君果有辭外死隗頭道
 於內尚實懸守忠而已世殊時異人

9. The *Wuzhi*, manuscript fragment, from *Chūgoku shodō zenshū*, vol. 2, pl. 25.

人子大傳其見信重時年卅二以輔夫中
 郎特使蜀權謂溫曰卿不宜遠出恐諸
 葛孔明不知吾雁以与曹氏適意故成
 卿行善山越都際便欲大權恰本行人
 之義受命不受詳也溫對曰臣入安眠
 心之視出與專對二門懼無張去延卷
 之功入安子產陳事一效然請葛亮遠
 見計數一知神慮屈人之耳加愛朝廷
 天覆之惠推亮之心入臣疑誠溫至只
 詔開拜章曰昔高宗以部門昌辰社

10. The *Wuzhi*, manuscript fragment, from *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 3, pl. 127.

the horizontal and right diagonal strokes, is in the *xiejingti* manner. It seems that this form of script was widely applied in copying long texts, whether religious or secular, during the third and fourth centuries. Different from the clerical script with conspicuous *bafen* flaring diagonals like those found in Eastern Han stele rubbings, the *xiejingti* retained, almost consistently, the undulating endings of only the right diagonal strokes. Assuming that most scribes were right handed, abbreviating or omitting the left diagonal *pojie* would save a considerable amount of time and therefore contribute to accelerated copying. The brush strokes in the *Wuzhi B*, less fleshy and rounded than those in the *Wuzhi A*, display a type of wiry strength found later in the calligraphy of Yu Shinan (558–638) and Chu Suiliang (596–658) of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Also in

the *Wuzhi B*, the *pojie* diagonals are more subdued than those of the *Wuzhi A*, and some characters already show distinctive *kaishu* features, such as the hooklike *gou* technique and the angularity of the strokes.

A large number of Han stele inscriptions are epitaphs (*muzhiming*). Because these were composed as commemorations of the great achievements of the deceased, it is natural that the script selected for the engraving was the official one — the clerical. Transcribing Buddhist sutras, ancient classics, or historical documents was considered an equally serious task. Because of the traditional Chinese attitude of respect for the written word, scribes applied aesthetic principles of the art of writing when copying the texts. A careful look at the calligraphy of the two *Wuzhi* manuscripts makes it clear that *A* is closer to the clerical script, similar to the calligraphy in the Lotus Sutra discussed earlier; *B* is one step away from *A*, and thus closer to the regular script, as in the calligraphy of the *Zhufo* transcription. In both, the brushwork is solid and regular, although the characters in *B* are more sparsely placed. Whereas the stronger and prominent clerical flavor of the *A* manuscript reveals an affinity to antiquity, the restrained *pojie* strokes in the *B* manuscript already anticipate the fully developed *kaishu* style that was to become the standard script type for sutra copying in the following centuries.

It has been suggested that the calligraphy in the Suo Dan and the *Wuzhi* manuscripts was influenced by the great calligrapher Zhong You of the Wei Kingdom, and “the calligraphic style represented by the Suo Dan manuscript, moreover, became a convention for transcribing Buddhist sutras in the Six Dynasties.”⁴⁸ The rubbing from the Northern-Song original *Jian Guanneihou Ji Zhi biao* (Memorial recommending Ji Zhi, the marquis of Guanei, figure 11),⁴⁹ by Zhong You, demonstrates a calligraphic style that is clearly between the clerical and the regular. Zhong You’s works are recorded in many catalogues and critical writings, from which we learn that he was a successful statesman and a talented calligrapher, especially skilled in the *li* and *kai* manners. Emperor Tang Taizong (599–649), a calligrapher himself as well as a zealous promoter of the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, characterized Zhong’s style as “*gu er bujin*” (ancient rather than modern). This critique implied that Zhong You’s calligraphy showed a closer affinity to the *lishu* script of the Han dynasty than to the more contemporaneous *kaishu* script, developed



11. The *Jian Guannei Hou Ji Zhi biao*, ink rubbing, from *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 3, pl. 111.

during the Jin, which eventually acquired canonical status during the Tang.

The calligraphy in Zhong's *Memorial* bears certain resemblances to that in the Suo Dan manuscript, such as the squat character structure and emphatic diagonal strokes, both prominent features of the clerical script that are also manifest in the *xiejingti*, as seen in the sutra transcriptions discussed above. It is possible that Suo Dan adopted Zhong You's style in his transcription of the *Daode jing*, as Zhong's calligraphy had been influential during the time both men were in Luoyang,⁵⁰ but this form of writing could also have been a script that naturally developed in transcribing long texts as well as in official communications. It is a script either deriving from or modifying the traditional clerical writing as a way to adjust to the practical needs of the tasks at hand. The flaring and accentuated ending of the *pojie* brush stroke that was the unique calligraphic principle of the clerical script was retained in *xiejingti* calligraphy. Before regular script was widely used in official and public writing after the fifth and sixth centuries, prominent traits of the clerical script as established aesthetic continued to be manifest; *xiejingti* is the best demonstration of this.

On the other hand, although the more disciplined *huibi* technique is generally exercised in Zhong You's *Memorial*, it is almost entirely dispensed with in Buddhist sutra transcriptions. This tendency toward simplified brush strokes is nowhere more apparent than in the *xiejing* works from Liangzhou, in present-day Gansu Province. By the fourth century Buddhism had attracted a large population of devotees, and Buddhist scriptures in Chinese were more accessible than before; pious lay individuals and ordained clergymen participated in the devotional act of *xiejing* with unprecedented enthusiasm. Official scriptoria were established, and professional scribes were trained for large-scale state-sponsored *xiejing* activities. The handwriting of Liangzhou sutra scribes continues to show the general structural features of *xiejingti*, as demonstrated in Suo Dan's *Daode jing* transcription and the two *Wuzhi* manuscript fragments. However, an inclination toward stylistic novelty and eccentricity, influences from the regular mode of writing seen in letters and documents that had come from southern China around this time, began to appear in later *xiejing* manuscripts from Liangzhou.

SUTRA TRANSCRIPTIONS IN LIANGZHOU

During the Han dynasty, North China was constantly troubled by destructive invasions of the equestrian nomads, of whom the most ferocious were the Xiongnu. A tribe of proto-Turkic peoples, these fierce nomads from the eastern Siberian steppe had been a threat to China since the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), and their disruptions turned very serious during the Han period. After numerous attempts to appease the Xiongnu had failed, Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) decided to take military action. As the result of a series of successful campaigns, northern Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Gansu, and Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) came under the suzerainty of the Han empire.

The newly acquired territories in the Gansu corridor⁵¹ and Chinese Turkestan were soon colonized by self-sufficient soldier-farmers under the *tuntian* system. Most of the non-Chinese Central Asian kingdoms became tributary countries, and trade between them and the Chinese was frequent and active along the Silk Road. In strategic centers, new commanderies were established, and governors were appointed by the Chinese central administration to assume political and military duties.

Centered around Liangzhou, one of the four commanderies in the Gansu region, five states bearing the name Liang were successively established: the Former Liang (313–376), the Southern Liang (397–414), the Later Liang (386–403), the Western Liang (400–421), and the Northern Liang (397–460). All the Liang kingdoms except the Southern Liang had extended their political boundaries beyond Gansu to include Chinese Turkestan. As Buddhism had by now been disseminated all over China and Chinese Turkestan and Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese, *xiejing* continued to be an important and integral part of the religious practices in these areas. Many sutra transcriptions with colophons bearing the reign names of the Liang states, such as the *Faju jing* discussed above (see figures 6 and 7), have come to light. The following examples demonstrate that the calligraphy of *xiejing* manuscripts from Liangzhou exhibits a regional character of devotional sincerity and formal simplicity.

One of the earliest sutra transcriptions of Liang provenance is the

manuscript *Weimojie jing* (the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, hereafter cited as the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*; see figure 12).⁵² The colophon at the end of the transcription reads: “On the ninth day of the sixth month, fifth year of the Linjia reign [393], Wang Xianggao finished copying this. [My handwriting is] careless and clumsy. Those who will see this, please do not laugh [at it].” Linjia was a reign name of the Later Liang kingdom, whose territory included present-day Gansu and Xinjiang. The sutra was an early text translated in the third century CE by Zhi Qian (fl. third century CE), a monk of Indo-Scythian origin.⁵³ We do not know who Wang Xianggao was, but he apparently was a lay Chinese Buddhist from Dunhuang and not a professional scribe. The humble and apologetic statement about his handwriting in the colophon suggests that he was not only aware of his unskillful calligraphy, but also considered *xiejing* to be a noble task that should be performed with high artistic proficiency.

The calligraphy of Wang Xianggao’s *Vimalakīrti Sutra* transcription falls within the general *xiejingti* style, showing strong affiliation with the clerical script. The character structure is generally, though inconsistently, squat, and the diagonal *pojie* strokes expressively emphasized. Compared with the Suo Dan (see figure 8) or the *Wuzhi B* (see figure 10) manuscripts, the brushwork is stiff and less disciplined, revealing that it was from a hand less trained in the art of calligraphy. This type of “clumsy” script can be seen in many early Buddhist manuscripts found in Dunhuang and Xinjiang.

Another good example, in the British Museum, is the scroll of *Shisong biqiu jieben*, or *Formula to be Recited at the Ceremony of Receiving the Commandments* (hereafter cited as *Shisong biqiu*), works on the rules for monks of the Sarvāstivādin School (figure 13).⁵⁴ According to the colophon, the text was transcribed on the second day of the Jianchu reign (406) of the Western Liang kingdom by the monk Deyou, on the occasion of his accepting the full commandments.⁵⁵ The calligraphy of this transcription, like that of the *Vimalakīrti* sutra transcription, clings to antiquity but with a deviation from its artistic refinement. The loose brushwork is freed from the discipline and control of a trained calligrapher, giving the manuscript a touch of amateur naiveté. It is not simply a matter of convention that De You also apologized for his clumsy hand and expressed hope that nobody would laugh at his handwriting. The

以是河難如居士言但為佛

一切有質之竹使竹河難取

如是上首五百弟子皆說本願作一切白佛

之先言

喜 品第四

於是佛告弥勒菩薩汝行諸維摩耶疾弥勒疾弥勒言我不

能任諸佛問疾所以者何憶念我昔於兜率天為諸天人

誰法誰說善薩九人不退轉地之行時維摩耶來問我言

卿弥勒在一主補處世尊所躬无上真道者為用何生得於勤

哉用適至所當來而現在而去者生蓋未末无對現在无

性如佛說實主比丘曰是生是者是是是是是是是是是是

當主時此兩者非无生也由是說之不能无生得於勤覺然則

何用記弥勒法性如起而住如滅所失如音不起不滅一切

人皆如也一切法亦如也眾聖賢亦如也至於弥勒亦如也亦

記勤无上正真道者則一切人為得法矣所以者何如者不

稱為己亦无化稱說如弥勒成實正覺者一切人亦當從

賢取以者何一切人亦當從覺道如弥勒成實度者一切

人亦當從度所以者何如來者不捨眾人獨成度也夫當滅

度諸凡人以弥勒弥勒與天人說莫為非時佛者无性亦无

道反若弥勒以諸天人念存見道則為旁行道不從身亦不

從正賢亦不意也靜滅夫佛一切如化无化夫佛一切造業

无為夫佛一切不惑已斷夫佛一切遠離无依夫佛於諸

12. The Weimojie jing, sutra transcription, from Dunhuang Tulufan wenwu (Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan and Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 1987), pls. 1.1.

源祖方肩取草觀豆跪以有手從上出前是應注是語
念長表今日僧受成我界中比丘自恣語卷見用若
能天若剛不語我語及受博敏氣若見罪卷剛我若能
識協知是至三說

三月十五日
此經成在已此法施祇於教禮地若受見意和上僧性我許實意教即
時同衣場者道類意御為十二人到夏衣長到寺誦之趣成吳世字而
已天世用性見者他志其義云以思也故託也

卷三維衣後四東至因在大臣為一羅長三五至聖軍餘意希二解其餘記下
卷至十佛偈為三翻一卷五福老四重一十三軍二可軍九十重三曰說行
檢令尼若心也學法若少至本釋大和說也卷之三

13. The Shisong biqu jieben, sutra transcription, from Shodō zenshū, vol. 3, pl. 124.

Shisong biqu is one of the earliest dated *xiejing* manuscripts from Dunhuang, and its text preserves useful information on Buddhist precepts as well as the early development of Chinese paleography.

The simple and artless script found in early Liangzhou *xiejing* manuscripts indicates that the scribes were either lay believers or monks who were inspired to copy sacred texts as a form of prayer or religious practice for their own and others' benefit. That they apologized for their inferior handwriting reveals the sincerity of their efforts to execute this task artistically. A manuscript of the Lotus Sutra, dated 411 of the Western Liang (figure 14),⁵⁶ was transcribed in the same style as the two Liangzhou *xiejing* discussed above. The scribe's name, monk Hongjiang, is inscribed at the end of the text, and the colophon that follows states that the sponsor (*quanzhu*) of the transcription was a layman named Zhang [character illegible]sheng and that the purpose of the transcription was to make an offering (*gongyang*). The three horizontal ruled lines divided the paper surface into four equal sections, which, combined with vertical lines, provided rectangular frames within which five characters were written. This attempt at formal regulation implies that *xiejing* projects had become better organized and financed. Although both the text and colophon are done in *xiejingti*, the handwriting in the colophon is closer to the running script, as it appears more casual, with some strokes connected and the *pojie* strokes lax. It is possible that monk Hongjiang was only responsible for transcribing the text of the sutra, whereas the colophon was written by someone else.

Buddhist scriptures were unquestionably considered sacred, so they had to be transcribed legibly in a script that was understood by the scribes as orthodox and traditional. The ancient clerical script was the primary mode of writing, but the *xiejing* scribes exercised it with expedient modification. Without formal training in the art of calligraphy, these scribes were free from rigid adherence to the technical principles of the traditional form. As new circumstances arose, they began to make adjustments and created varied styles of writing.

Among the five Liang kingdoms in the Gansu corridor, the Northern Liang was most enthusiastic in promoting Buddhism. As recorded in the *Weishu shilao zhi* (Treatise on Buddhism and Daoism), in the *History of*

諸佛出世 縣季值遇難 已使出於世 一類是法後
 凡量元數劫 聞是法亦難 能聽是法音 則人亦復難
 鮮知億星花 一功皆救果 天人所有時 時乃一出
 聞法歡喜讚 乃在一教言 則為已供養 一功三世佛
 是人具有 過於億星花 汝身勿為疑 我為諸法王
 善者諸大衆 但以一乘道 教化諸善信 凡衆聞弟子
 汝等舍利弗 報聞文菩薩 當知妙是法 諸佛之祕要
 以五濁惡世 但樂善諸說 如是等衆生 趣下求佛道
 皆未世惡人 聞佛說一乘 迷或不信受 致法隔惡道
 有慚愧清淨 志求佛道者 當為如是等 廣讚一乘道
 舍利弗當知 諸法佛如是 以方便隨宜 而說法
 具不習學者 不能曉了此 汝等既已知 諸佛世之師
 值宜方便事 凡獲諸疑惑 心生人歡喜 自知當任佛

比丘僧優寫

第一

此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心 此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心

此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心 此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心

此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心 此經之要 在於心之淨化 凡欲入道 必先淨其心

14. The Miaofa lianhua jing, sutra transcription, from Seiiki shutsudo butten no kenkyu, pl. 5.

the Wei,⁵⁷ Juqu Mengxun (r. 401–433), the founder of the Northern Liang kingdom, was a devout Buddhist who sponsored a visit of the learned Kashmiri monk Dharmakṣema (Tanmochan) to the capital Guzang to translate Buddhist scriptures and to proselytize.⁵⁸ Under the patronage of the pious ruling family, Dharmakṣema became the central figure of Northern Liang Buddhism. Beginning in 414, he translated twenty-four works, one of which was the *Youposai jie jing* or *Upāsaka-sūtra*, a text on the precepts for lay Buddhist followers. Two fragments of the *Upāsaka-sūtra* manuscript, one in the Historical Museum in Beijing (figure 15) and the other in Ryūkoku University in Kyoto, are from the Northern Liang state. The Ryūkoku fragment is the last part of the text, which also contains a colophon giving the date of the transcription as 427.⁵⁹

The calligraphy of these two *xiejing* fragments demonstrates the stylistic characteristics of *xiejingti*, that is generally squat character structure and emphatic *pojie* endings, but with a unique touch of amateurish freedom (figure 16). The brushwork reveals individual expression, as in the threadlike horizontal strokes, boldly ended with a rounded finish. Some strokes seem to have been executed rather hastily and display a markedly undulating quality. The scribe of this manuscript, according to the colophon, was a Chinese monk named Daoyang, who “noted down” the text while Dharmarakṣa was giving the oral translation.⁶⁰ Since he did not have a written copy from which to make his transcription, limited time probably forced Daoyang to write faster than he would otherwise have wanted to. His brush seems to have whipped across the paper surface like an arrow released from a bow.

Production of *xiejing* works continued in the Northern Liang after its last king, Mujian (r. 433–439), moved the capital to present-day Turfan following his defeat by the Northern Wei (386–534) in 439. A unified kingdom founded by the Tuoba clan of the Xianbei tribe, the Northern Wei, having conquered several small tribal states, occupied northern China for one hundred and fifty years. In Gaochang and Shanshan (both in the Turfan region of Xinjiang), the Northern Liang state continued for another twenty years under the rule of Mujian’s son Wuhui (r. 5th century) and Wuhui’s son Anzhou (r. 5th century). Buddhism enjoyed continued imperial patronage, especially during the reign of the so-called Great Juqu Anzhou, king of Liang. A few *xiejing*

後相說不詳者為何種若能何中
 佈極意此土附得无習初德與教何
 一此五羅世惡人无氣少州不新善
 說三種答按有目有見亦不羅斗
 何實執拜如夫无上眼信已見无然若
 養相平思供養伴信二實若觀伴法功德
 夕即足具足供養三實若人死時亦永飛
 母供養无上菩提具足成範極及羅摩
 能直能得未來无此功德亦成自利及
 已就新慈悲為成化皆自檢已樂未詳
 異校无夏辨羅用其校久遠難得可其內
 初无還轉為劫飛无量世中夏九若他
 不度廉樂如陸行不樂世樂道安拜出家
 願先辨此身飛在亦否如解脫人不位飛
 惡者者身二者出字之隨如法修行是不
 為難在亦學隨如法修行是乃且難可化故
 在事之人名志自解所鍾造故
 便難寒衣尸破羅衣品第三
 善主上世再古所若羅趣而善其心終

15. The Youposai jie jing, sutra transcription, from Shufa congkan 2 (1981), pp. 30-31.

何无量福德俱具教命
人无气少削不舒善
开目奇異亦不誑誑
上朕慵已見无誑善
二寶若觀佛法功德
寶若人施時不米飛
具足成龍檀及羅素
賢功應亦祇自利及
他者自為己樂未併

16. The *Youposai jie jing*, sutra transcription (detail of figure 15).

specimens with colophons mentioning the Great Juqu Anzhou as the sponsor have been found, including the *Foshuo pusazang jing*, or the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra*, in the Museum of Calligraphy in Tokyo (figure 17).⁶¹

This sutra was translated by Kumārajīva (d. ca. 412 CE; Chinese, Jiumoluoshi) in the early fifth century when he was in Changan, and the current fragment was found in Turfan. The colophon reads: “Sutra offered by the Great Liang king, the Great Juqu Anzhou, in the fifteenth year of the Chengping reign [457],” which further confirms that the Northern Liang continued to exist as a Buddhist state in Xinjiang after its fall to the Northern Wei in 439. Moreover, the colophon mentions that the scribe, Fan Hai, was a “transcription clerk [*shuli*],” and that the transcribed text had been proofread, an indication that this was an organized undertaking sponsored by the king himself and that the scribe was an official from the government scriptorium. Once *xiejing* had been undertaken as a state-sponsored enterprise, most likely in Liangzhou,⁶² the artistic and formal developments of sutra transcription began to be regularized.

The calligraphy of the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* shows yet another variation of the *xiejingti* script. With the *pojie* accentuation considerably subdued or even replaced by shorter and rounded *huibi* stroke endings, we see a development one step closer to the regular script. Also, some vertical and diagonal lines clearly end with a hooklike stroke, showing an inclination toward the more modern regular mode of writing. The most striking calligraphic feature in this sutra transcription is the conspicuous curving and twisting of some horizontal and right diagonal strokes, which create a playful painterly quality in the otherwise linear ideographs. A few complicated characters are written in such a peculiar way, with thick and thin strokes tangled together or components arranged in unusual ways, that they are almost illegible. Despite the aesthetic eccentricity in structure, however, the brushwork in the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* is forceful and assertive, an indication of the high artistic skill of the scribe. The even spacing of the characters and the consistent number of characters in each column are also signs of rising professional standards in the organized *xiejing* undertaking.

KAISHU AS THE SCRIPT FOR XIEJING

Perhaps a more famous work evincing the enthusiastic support of Buddhism by the Northern Liang ruler Juqu Anzhou in Xinjiang is the large votive stele, dated 445 (figure 17), found by the German archaeologist Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) in 1903.⁶³ The inscription on the stele, composed by a high-ranking official, is a eulogy for Juqu Anzhou on the occasion of his sponsoring the erection of a stone image of Maitreya.⁶⁴ Just as the literary language of the eulogy is abstruse and replete with classical allusions, the calligraphy displayed in the carved inscription is archaic and stylistically affiliated with the clerical script. Although the characters in the stele are structurally similar to those written in the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* (see figure 18), as shown in the balanced proportion and stressed *pojie* endings, the brushwork of these two Northern Liang works nevertheless differs. As seen in many *xiejing* fragments discussed above, the *huibi* technique is omitted in the sutra transcription, resulting in the slight shifting of the weight to the right, a tendency increased by the rightward slanting of some vertical strokes. This kind of structural imbalance is very obvious in a few early Liangzhou *xiejing* works (see figure 14), but in the 457 transcription, it is somewhat offset by the thickened and emphatic strokes in the left portion of the characters, as well as by the pointed elongation of left diagonal strokes.

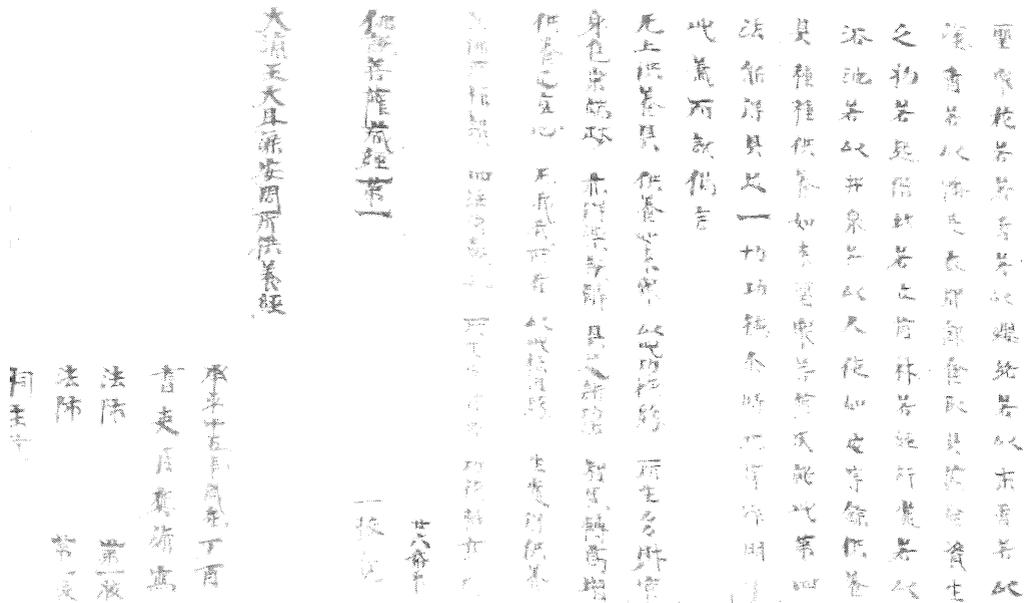
The calligraphy in the votive stele commissioned by Juqu Anzhou, on the other hand, displays no such flaw. The brushwork is disciplined and assertive, with characters carefully written and contained within the gridlike frames created by the vertical and horizontal incised lines. The *bafen* feature, that is, the decorative flaring out of the right diagonal strokes, is not pronounced, and the long strokes show slight modulations, both stylistic traits associated more with the regular than the clerical script. However, some characters, such as *yong* (figure 17, the third character from the top in the third column from the left) and *ku* (the second character from the bottom in the last column on the left), are composed in clerical character structure. The combination of *lishu* structure and *kaishu* brush technique gives the stele inscription an unusual look of fused aesthetic, a common feature also in *xiejing* calligraphy of



17. Northern Liang votive stele, rubbing, from *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 3, fig. 14.

the fourth and fifth centuries. Unlike the calligraphy in other Liangzhou sutra transcriptions, however, the beauty of the transformed style in the votive stele is greatly enriched by the solidity and architectonic strength generated by the axial symmetry of the character components. Juqu Anzhou may have intended to evoke the ancient script used in eulogistic commemorations in stone popular during the Han dynasty, a unified political empire, to assert the legitimacy of his remnant regime in Xinjiang. This attachment to antiquity is also attested by the generally squat shape of the characters, as opposed to the more elongated one seen in the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra*.⁶⁵ However, as the regular script was already widely practiced at that time, the calligrapher naturally adopted some of its brushwork features.⁶⁶

That the regular script was already widespread in the fifth century can be demonstrated by the calligraphy of epitaphs, carved in stone and other materials. Epitaph inscriptions from both north and south China

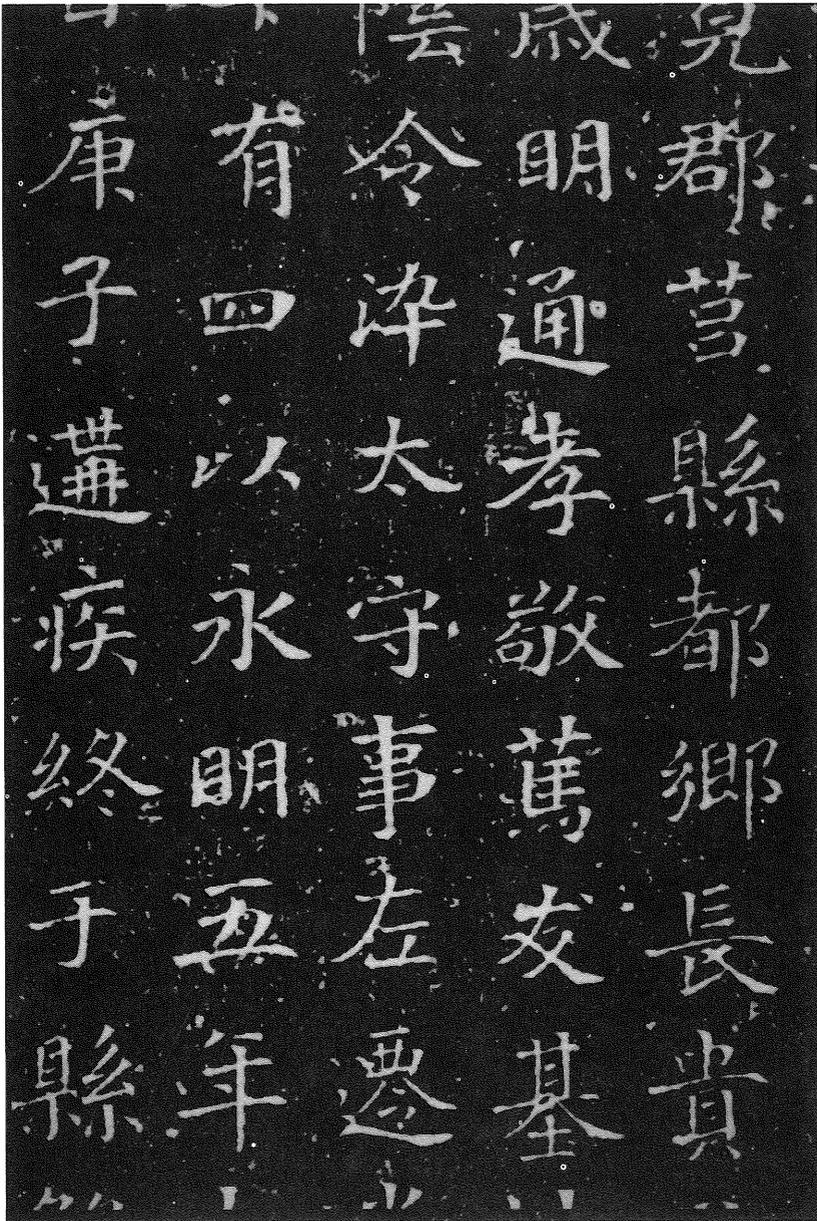


18. The *Foshuo pusazang jing*, sutra transcription, from *Shodō zenshū*, vol. 3, pls. 125-126.

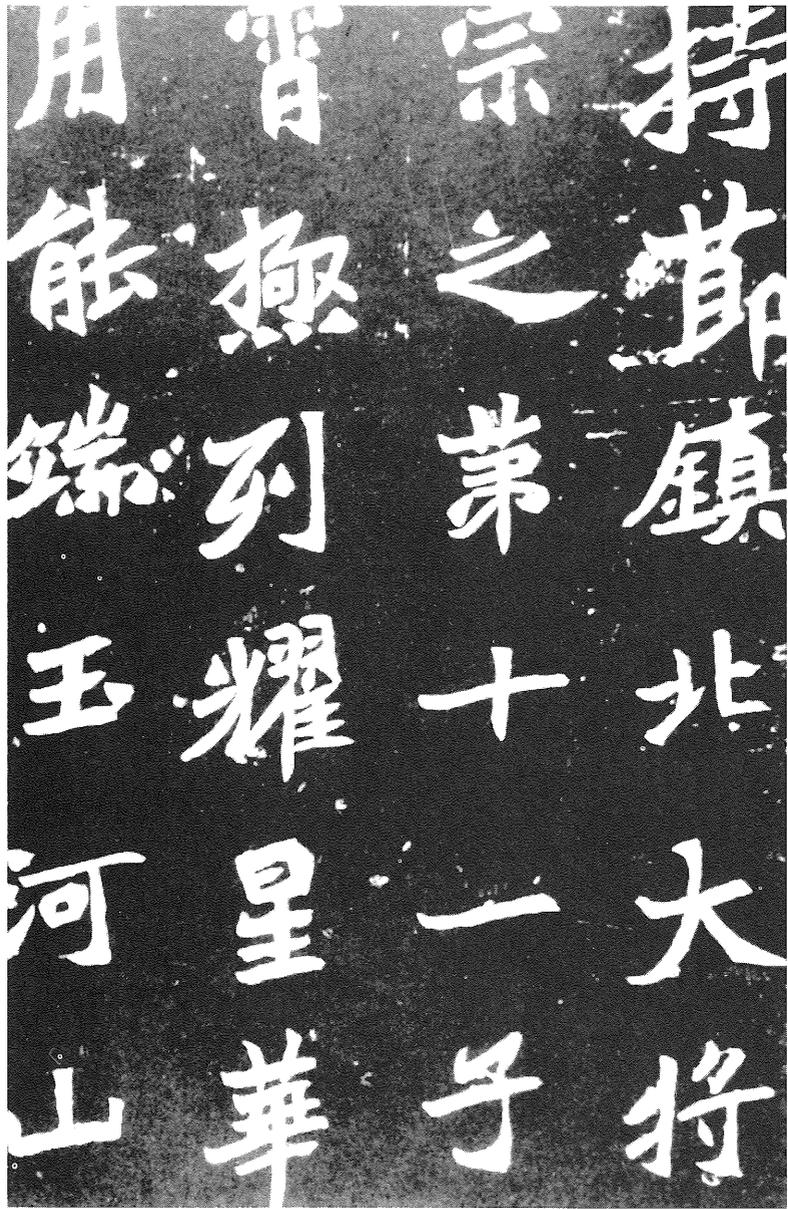
attest to the completion of character structure and standardization of brushstroke technique in regular writing. Prominent features such as the disappearance of *pojie* elaboration, the general elongation of character shape, and the development of hook endings of vertical strokes are obvious in both the 487 epitaph for Liu Dai (d. 487 CE; figure 19),⁶⁷ excavated in Jiangsu Province, and the 496 epitaph for Yuan Zhen (d. 496 CE; figure 20),⁶⁸ unearthed near Luoyang. Although the style expressed in the original *shudan* writing⁶⁹ has been to some extent modified by the process of carving,⁷⁰ the overall structure and proportional relationships among the different components of the characters in these two epitaphs are quite similar.

As mentioned earlier, northern China was unified under the Northern Wei dynasty in the middle of the fourth century. After the relocation of the capital from Datong to Luoyang in 493, the Tuoba regime initiated a series of political and cultural reforms aimed at adopting and assimilating Chinese political systems and customs. This process of sinicization, led by the Wei emperor Xiaowen (r. 471–499), had tremendous artistic repercussions. The most obvious one was manifested in the dress of sculpted Buddhist statues: whereas earlier figures in Yungang cave-chapels, near the old capital Datong, wore Indian monastic robes, those made after the relocation of the capital to Luoyang at Longmen were attired in Chinese-style official garb. In calligraphy, the literary and artistic achievement of the educated southern elite brought the aesthetically more refined and technically more sophisticated regular writing to Luoyang and other cultural centers in the north.⁷¹

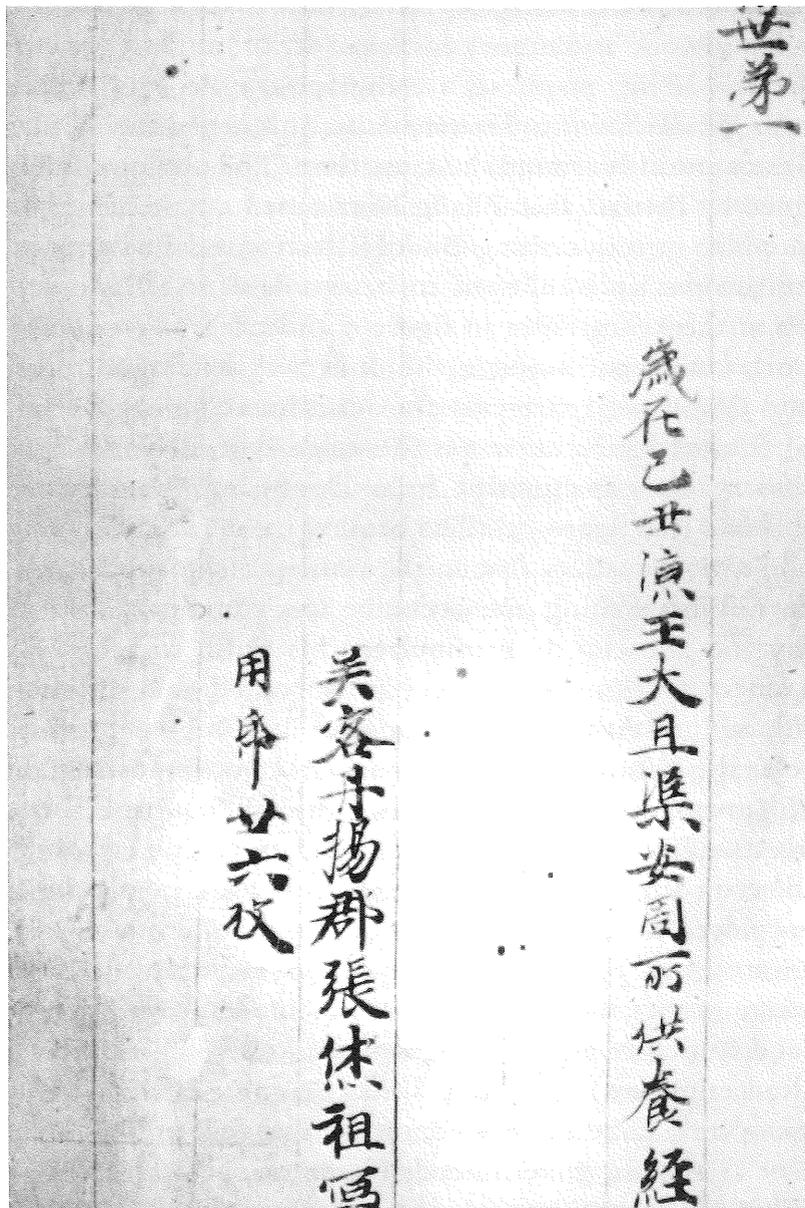
A sutra transcription called the *Chishi jing* (figure 21) was discovered in Turfan by the Ōtani expedition and is now in the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo.⁷² Like the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* transcription (see figure 17), it was sponsored by the Northern Liang king Juqu Anzhou; unlike the former, however, the *Chishi jing* was done in the more mature and completed regular script. The extensive and accentuated right diagonal stroke, the most consistent *xiejingti* feature seen so far, is replaced by a rounded finish accomplished by light pressing of the brush with the tip in its center. According to its colophon, the *Chishi jing* was transcribed in 449 by Zhang Xiuzu (fl. fifth century CE), a southerner originally from Danyang, near the capital of the Liu Song dynasty (420–



19. Epitaph for Liu Dai, *Zhongguo meishu quanji, shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), pl. 79.



20. Epitaph for Yuan Zhen, *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 13 (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1993), pl. 16.



21. The *Chishi jing*, sutra transcription, from *Rikuchō shakyōshū* (1964; Tokyo: Nigensha, 1973), pl. 16.

479),⁷³ who did this sutra transcription while a visitor from Wu, meaning the south, in Northern Liang.⁷⁴

In brushwork technique, aesthetic attitudes, and structural principles, the *Chishi jing* manifests a calligraphic style very different from that seen in the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* and other *xiejing* manuscripts found in the same area around the same time. The obvious difference can be explained by the fact that Zhang Xiuzu used a type of script that was already popular in transcribing Buddhist scriptures in the south. Since some sutra manuscripts believed to be works of the Eastern Jin (317–420), such as the Lotus Sutra in figure 7 and others,⁷⁵ are still rendered in the more traditional *xiejingti*, the fluid and developed regular script used in the *Chishi jing* represents a ground-breaking change within half a century. The stylistic contrast is the more acute when it is compared to the *Shisong biqu* manuscript from Dunhuang, transcribed in 406, discussed above (see figure 13). The brushwork in the *Chishi jing* is more refined and articulate than that in the *Shisong biqu*, suggesting that the scribe was not just writing out a text, he was conversant with the art of calligraphy and consciously manipulated his brush to achieve a certain aesthetic effect. Although Zhang Xiuzu copied the sutra under the sponsorship of Juqu Anzhou only four years after Juqu commissioned the votive stele, the Xiongnu king obviously did not impose rigid rules on the script. Seven years later in 456 when the official Fan Hai transcribed the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra*, he continued to apply a type of conventionalized script for sutra transcription that was known to him.

As I noted at the beginning of this essay, multiple copies of sutra transcriptions were produced by hand because they were needed in religious ceremonies, and their sponsors included government agencies, temples and monasteries, and lay communities.⁷⁶ The scribes of these brushed transcriptions were often monks or nuns, as well as anonymous sutra copiers with some literary education and skill in brushmanship. In the late Six Dynasties, government officials often were hired as professional scribes for work in state-sponsored scriptoria.⁷⁷ Hua Rende believes that most sutra copiers worked within a closed-circuit tradition of *xiejing*, using early manuscripts as their models and “refraining from making their own innovations.”⁷⁸ This argument may be valid for the transcriptions produced in monasteries or government scriptoria; it can-

not, however, speak for the manuscripts copied by individual lay believers, such as Zhang Xiuzu, who were free to adopt a fashionable script in a task that was traditionally bounded by set rules.⁷⁹

Although no original calligraphic works by the Eastern Jin masters have survived, later copies, particularly those made during the Tang in an effort to preserve and canonize the great tradition represented by Wang Xizhi, enable us to understand the multifaceted development of forms and script of that period. The Song tracing copy of the *Huangting jing*,⁸⁰ an ancient Chinese Daoist text, and the Ming rubbing of the *Yue Yi lun* (Essay on Yue Yi), both attributed to Wang Xizhi, are done in the regular script, a precise, formal, and legible writing form believed to be suitable for religious, memorial, and eulogistic texts.⁸¹ It is highly possible that in transcribing Buddhist sutras, some of the Eastern Jin scribes had already adopted the regular script, although the earliest extant work available to us is from the mid-fifth century — the 445 *Chishi jing*. This hypothesis can to some extent be supported by the surviving Southern-Dynasties *xiejing* manuscripts, which were all done in formal regular script.

In the *Foshuo huan Puxian jing* (figure 22),⁸² dated 483, of the Southern Qi (479–502), the angular brushwork in the “shoulder areas” where horizontal strokes turn into vertical ones, and the gentle smoothing out of the right diagonals, are characteristic of the regular script. According to the colophon, the scribe was a Buddhist nun named Fajing. Compared to the characters in the *Chishi jing* with their rounded brush strokes, those in the *Puxian jing* appear angular and somewhat stiff. Close examination of the brushwork also reveals that the horizontal strokes in the *Chishi jing* begin and end with rhythmic modulation as a result of the scribe’s skillful exercise of *huibi*, whereas those in the *Puxian jing* generally have pointed beginnings, gradually thickening as the brush moves quickly to the right, and rounded finishes. These differences suggest that the layman Zhang Xiuzu exercised his brush with expressive articulation, whereas the Buddhist nun Fajing still clung to the *xiejing* tradition that was handed down to her within her monastic institution. The same tendency is evident in the Southern Liang (dated 506) *Daban niepan jing* (*Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*) (figure 23),⁸³ a popular Mahāyāna sutra advocating the doctrine of selflessness. This version was copied faithfully by two

先帝勅又曹身徑國王敕代為事能用罪言謝
殺賢明輕侮二儀不敬三寶 序妖孽獵捕

懺悔者心法治國不耶枉人民是名循第三
懺悔第四懺悔者於六齋日勅諸境內力所
及慶令行不致循如此法是名循第四懺悔
第五懺悔者但當深信因果信一寶道知佛
不疑是名循第五懺悔佛告阿難於未來世
若有循習如此悔法當知此人著慈愍眼諸

佛護助不久當成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提說
是語時十千天子得法眼淨弥勒菩薩等諸
大菩薩及以阿難聞佛所說歡喜奉行

佛說普賢經卷

水明元年正月謹寫用紙十四枚
比丘左釋法敬供養

是義故復名聖行

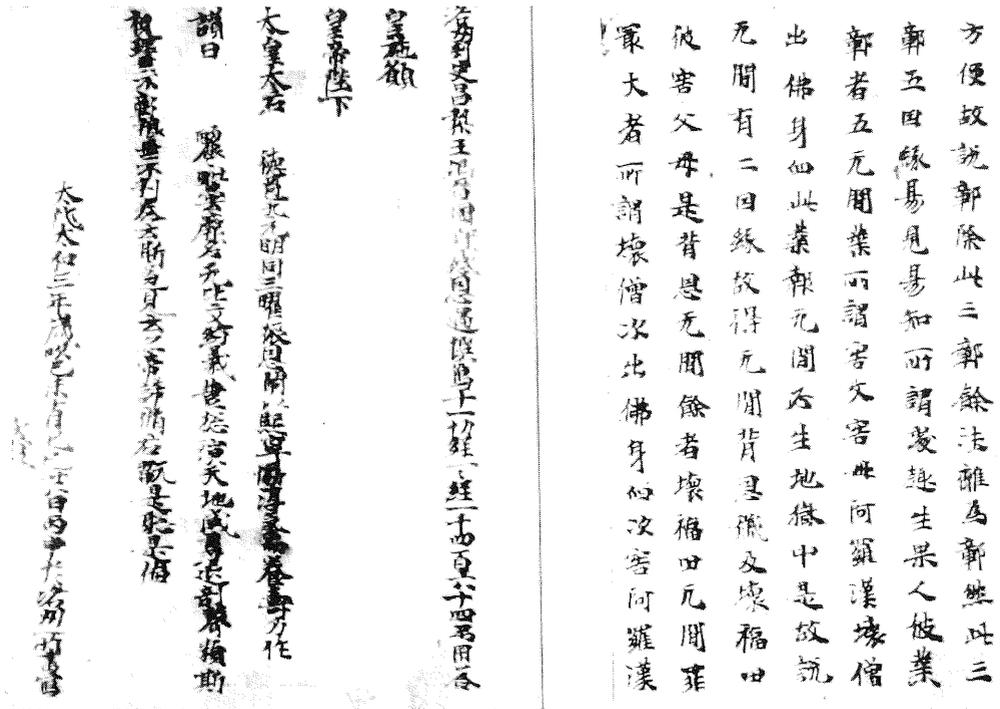
大般涅槃經卷第七

天監五年七月廿五日佛弟子
良願奉為三父於荊州竹林寺
敎造大般涅槃經一部願七世
舍識速登法王无畏之地比丘
僧倫願和亮二人為誓

Buddhist monks in well-balanced and carefully executed small regular script.

The conservative nature of *xiejing* calligraphy in the late Six Dynasties is more observable in sutra transcriptions produced in the north. The *Zaapitan xin jing* (figure 24), was copied by a high-ranking Northern Wei official in 479,⁸⁴ and was part of a complete Buddhist canon (*yiqie jing*) transcribed for the prosperity and glory of the emperor and the empress. Although found in Dunhuang, the transcription was done in Luoyang, capital and artistic center of the Northern Wei. The standard *xiejing* format, with seventeen characters in each column and even spacing among characters and between columns, also indicates that it was an official work produced in a government scriptorium. Its calligraphy, marked by angular and sharp strokes in the shoulders, displays the carving effect seen in rubbings of stele engravings labeled “Wei stele style.”⁸⁵ Although the *pojie* elaboration is essentially nonexistent, the *huibi* is generally missing at the beginnings of horizontal strokes, a sign that the conventionalized *xiejingti* brushwork was still practiced. However, the elongated shape, regularized character structure, and pausing and turning of the brush in the shoulders all indicate that the scribe was using a fully developed regular script in copying this important Mahāyāna sutra.

As I mentioned above, the Northern Wei stone cutters are believed to have been responsible for the bold and angular Northern Wei stele calligraphy, represented by the stele engravings in the Guyang Cave at Longmen. The general upper-right tilting of the characters in free-standing Northern Wei stele carving is thought to have been caused by the fact that the characters were written and carved on the stone surfaces after the stelae were erected.⁸⁶ The particular physical circumstances surrounding the creation of stele calligraphy generated unusually blunt yet forceful brush strokes that apparently also influenced *xiejing* calligraphy. The search for “chisel flavor” is clearly demonstrated in the *Shengman yiji*, a commentarial work on the *Shengman jing* (*Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda-sūtra*), dated 504.⁸⁷ Since this was not a sutra, the scribe seemed to have used the opportunity to practice calligraphy, as the character *yi* was written thirteen times at the end of the manuscript (figure 25). The elongated structure and angular brush strokes seen in this and other



24. The *Zaapitan xin jing*, sutra transcription, from *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, pl. 18.

characters in the *Shengman yiji* bear a strong resemblance to the stele calligraphy in the Guyang Cave.

As various manuscripts written in the more refined and rounded regular script of the educated southern elite circulated more widely in the north, the sixth-century sutra transcriptions began to display a tendency toward “calligraphic unification,” just as China was on its way to unification after three hundred years of political and cultural division. An early indication of this unification can be seen in the *Chengshi lun* (*Satyasiddhi-sāstra*), or the *Treatise on the Completion of Truth* (figure 26).⁸⁸ The colophon appended to the fourteenth chapter states that the transcription was completed in 511 by the Dunhuang official scribe Liu Guangzhou, and that the text was proofread by Hong Jun. Linghu Chongzhe, an official from the government scriptorium and a professional scribe himself,⁸⁹ was the supervisor for this project. No doubt *xiejing* was already by this time an organized state-sponsored enterprise,



25. The *Shengman yiji*, sutra transcription, from Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu* (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994), figs. 7–10.

說實論卷經第十四

以昌元年歲壬辰八月五日
撰鎮官經生劉廣
國
所寫論成記

用紙廿八張

與經師令孫崇
振
道人洪
勝

26. The *Chengshi lun*, sutra transcription, from *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, pl. 21.

and scribes were professionally trained. The character structure and brushwork technique shown in this *śāstra* transcription are similar to those in the 479 *Zaapitan xin jing* transcription (see figure 24); the pausing and turning of the brush are traceable in the shoulder areas, and the fast execution of horizontal strokes more prominently visible in early *xiejing* works is still detectable.

The calligraphic style of the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* transcription, however, is distinctive. The uniform thickness and slight modulation of the strokes give it a gentle and graceful look, quite different from the brusque angularity of the 479 transcription. This tendency toward roundedness and refinement can also be seen in stele and epitaph calligraphy of the late Northern Wei period.⁹⁰ The script in the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* is the regulated *kaishu*, as the flaring-out *pojie* elaboration is completely replaced by a pointed ending with an upward twist that is the result of pausing, changing direction, and slowly lifting the brush. In fact, the unique ending of the right diagonal stroke in this transcription was probably caused by the scribe's conscious effort to imitate the prevalent style of *kaishu* writing. By the middle of the sixth century, *xiejing* scribes had completely assimilated the regular script used in brushed manuscripts, as shown by the well-proportioned and fully extended character structure in the *Shidi lun* (*Dasabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*) (figure 27),⁹¹ a treatise on the *Sutra of the Ten Stages*. The slightly fleshy strokes in this transcription are counterbalanced by the evenly distributed components and firm execution of the strokes, revealing a hand of not only good technical skill but spirited energy.⁹²

As character structure and script style became completely standardized, *xiejing* calligraphy started to display individual manner and style, though *xiejing* scribes were never given individual recognition in the history of Chinese calligraphy.⁹³ The preference for the clerical-based archaized script, which had persisted into the fifth-century sutra transcriptions produced in the north, began to disappear in the sixth century as *xiejing* was practiced much more frequently under better-organized and financed conditions. Government scriptoria and Buddhist monasteries were staffed with scribes well trained in calligraphy. Lay devotees who had a Confucian education and held official posts also did *xiejing* as an act of religious expression, or even as a source of income.⁹⁴ As they

不可較知

論石闍文持已得如實三昧智慧光明隨順
修行者得義陀羅尼此句示現因彼事故說
依勝三昧得看摩他毗婆舍那光明勝行行
已憶持者能持彼行故是菩薩智慧轉勝乃
至彼諸善根轉勝明淨者解脫彼郵說彼善
故琉璃磨瑩真金喻者此地中出世間智增
上元明轉勝示現如經諸佛子譬如本真金

不住道行所攝明智故月光明輪翳者形前
自示元論小光月大如經諸佛子譬如月

壞故題者

十地前地第六卷六

天統三年七月十五日趙文敏造一切經供養
法界眾生速斷生死苦證大涅槃樂

27. The Shidi lun, sutra transcription, from Rikuchō shakyōshū, pl. 29.

infused the conventional *xiejing* form with their own style, their calligraphy revealed individual characteristics and personal tastes.

Within the physical limits of sutra transcription, such as seventeen characters per column and regulated formal writing, *xiejing* calligraphy in regular script after the sixth century sometimes showed unusual qualities of artistic refinement later found in such famous Tang masters as Chu Suiliang (596–658) or Yan Zhenchong (709–785). The *Mohe moye jing* (*Mahāmāyā-sūtra*) (figure 28) was transcribed in 587 during the Chen dynasty (557–589) by Peng Puxin,⁹⁵ a lay believer whose deep faith led him to take the bodhisattva vow. He copied this sutra in an elegant balanced script, with each stroke precisely written and each character contained within squares of equal size. The thick, almost swollen, right diagonal strokes all end in the standard *kaishu* manner: the brush pauses, changes direction, and then gradually lifts up. Compared to the flaring-out *pojie* strokes, achieved by pressing the brush down and quickly lifting it up, used in early *xiejing* manuscripts (see figures 8 and 14), the brushwork in the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* transcription is articulate and cultivated.

Hand-copied *xiejing* continued after the Six Dynasties both as a government undertaking and as an act of individual religious expression, and strong imperial patronage of Buddhism during the Sui dynasty brought about state-sponsored transcription of the entire Buddhist canon. Although historical, cultural, and political developments eventually led to the replacement of the clerically derived *xiejingti* by the regular script, the archaic form of early *xiejingti* and its association with the transcription of Buddhist scriptures seem to fascinate and attract artists to this day.

In the *Heart Sutra* (figure 29),⁹⁶ the Shanghai calligrapher Zhou Siyan (b. 1950) uses a type of unadorned and tightly structured small *kaishu* script to write out this most frequently recited sutra. As a professional calligrapher who practices all forms of calligraphic art, Zhou is able to combine techniques of different scripts into a kind of synthesized uniformity to convey the idea of nondifferentiation taught in the *Heart Sutra*. Small characters of equal size are executed in consistent strokes achieved by flexible and carefully controlled brush movement. Any decorative elements of the formal *kaishu* writing, such as the hook endings of the vertical strokes and the prominently angular turnings in

滅生滅則老死滅老死滅則憂悲苦惱滅汝
等宜應長觀簡習速得離於三災苦海汝等
又聽生死法中恒多小苦之所纏縛皆由積
集身口意業流轉不絕若能斷於諸集根本
則滅衆苦行八正道無為心路若能審諦如
此觀者則可出於諸有之際

摩訶摩耶經卷上



陳至德元年十一月十五日菩薩戒
弟子彭善信敬造摩訶摩耶
經相見之馬十才尔道三男四女善惡
慈親一相子又為七老久遠祖宗伯叔
姪是表家遷逝並承此善直親
菩提末為弟子善信長壽正信元
有退轉

自在菩薩行深般若波
蜜多時照見五蘊皆空
一切苦已舍利子色不
空空不異色色即是空
即是色受想行識亦復
是舍利子是諸法空相
生不滅不垢不淨不增
減是故空中無色無受
行識無眼耳鼻舌身意
色聲香味觸法無眼界
至無意識界無無明亦
無明盡乃至無老死亦
若死盡無苦集滅道無
亦無淨以無所淨故菩

29. The *Heart Sutra*, calligraphy by Zhou Siyan, from *Shufa* 1 (1996), p. 37.

the shoulder areas, are reduced and condensed into the most basic and simple forms. In this reductive manner, the artist evokes *xiejingti*, the ancient script intimately connected with a religious practice that was an important part of the history of Buddhism and of calligraphy in early medieval China.

NOTES

1. Although the term Six Dynasties specifically refers to the Chinese dynasties established after the fall of the Han with their capitals at Nanjing in southern China, it is also more generally used to designate the period between the third and sixth centuries, covering events or ideas that also took place or were formed in northern China. The latter part of this period is called the Northern and Southern Dynasties or Nanbeichao (386–581 CE). Spanning about two hundred years, the Nanbeichao witnessed enormous cultural and artistic exchanges between North and South China.
2. For the English-language study of Buddhism in early China see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (1959; Leiden: Brill, 1972), and Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, trans. Leon Hurvitz (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1985). The most cited work in Chinese on Buddhism in Six-Dynasties China is Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei LiangJin Nanbeichao fojiaoshi* (History of Buddhism in the Han, Wei, Western and Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties) (1938; 1964; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983). The first recorded journey by Chinese Buddhist monks was taken by Zhu Shixing ca. 260 to Khotan, and the most prominent Buddhist monk-traveler during the Six Dynasties was Faxian (fl. 399–414), whose work *Foguo ji* (A record of Buddhist kingdoms) recorded his travels in India and Sri Lanka between 399 and 414. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 61–62, and chap. 3, n. 377.
3. As early as the middle of the second century CE, foreign Buddhist missionaries began translating texts in Luoyang, capital of the later Han dynasty. They were of very heterogeneous origins; monks from Parthia, Yuezhi (a nomadic kingdom established by the Indo-Scythians), Kushan India, and Sogdiana are known to have worked there. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, p. 32. For the history of these Central Asian kingdoms, see René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), pp. 26–72.
4. Technically, the term sutra represents only one division of the Buddhist canon, containing the words of the Buddha Śākyamuni, but in this study it is used in a broader definition to include the other two categories of the canon: the *vinaya* (the monastic rules) and the *abidharma* (the treatises or discourses on doctrines). Also for this reason, it is used as a common English word in this article except when it is part of a title, as in the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*.

5. Kōgen Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishers, 1982), pp. 157–165. A typical example is the reiteration in the *Lotus Sutra* and other sutras of the merit obtained through five kinds of practice: receiving and keeping the sutra, reading it, reciting it, expounding on it, and copying it.
6. For these terms see Wang Jingxian, “Wei Jin Nanbeichao shiqi de shufa yishu” (Calligraphic art of the Wei, Jin, and the Northern-and-Southern Dynasties periods), in *Zhongguo meishu quanji, shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1986), p. 24, n. 1.
7. For example, most of Wang Xizhi’s calligraphic works that are revered today by connoisseurs, art historians, and artists as among his greatest artistic creations are, in fact, his handwritten letters to friends.
8. The most renowned were the two explorations carried out by Sir M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943), Hungarian-British archaeologist and geographer, the first in Chinese Turkestan (modern-day Xinjiang) during 1900–1901, and the second in Central Asia and westernmost China during the years 1906–1908. In the preface to the second edition of his book *Ruins of Desert Cathay: Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (1912; New York: Dover Publications, 1987), Stein stated: “A Kindly Fate allowed me to carry through my programme in its entirety and with abundant results.” Among these abundant results was the discovery of ancient manuscripts in Sanskrit, Manichaeic-Turkish, Uighur, Chinese, and other Central Asian languages from a walled-up library in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, Dunhuang. Many *xiejing* manuscripts mentioned in this article are from his second expedition, and are now in the collection of the British Museum. Another important archaeological exploration in western China was conducted by abbot Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1948), of Nishihongan-ji, and the archaeologist Tachibana no Zuichō. In the course of three archaeological trips, made between 1902 and 1914, to the so-called Western Region (Chinese “xiyu,” Japanese “seiiki,” also Xinjiang), this Japanese team recovered hundreds of ancient Buddhist manuscripts. Those transcribed in Chinese, currently in the library of Ryūkoku University, Kyoto, were published in Inokuchi Taijun, *Seiiki shutsudo butten no kenkyū* (Study of the Buddhist manuscripts excavated in the Western Region) (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1980). Many early *xiejing* specimens included in this study are from the Ōtani expeditions.
9. Although thousands of scrolls or fragments of Buddhist manuscripts were uncovered by the European and Japanese archaeological expeditions, proportionally few of them bear colophons. In their study “Chūgoku koshakyō kinenroku” (Catalogue of dated ancient Chinese sutra transcriptions), Ōtani gakuhō 35 (1955), pp. 52–78, Nakata Yūjirō and Hirano Akiteru included about four hundred dated works of *xiejing*. These authors also discussed the problem of forgeries, and the criteria by which the manuscripts should be dated; see p. 54.
10. Frederick W. Mote and Hung-lam Chu, *Calligraphy and the East Asian Book* (Boston: Shambala, 1989), pp. 52, 57–58. However, I do not agree with the statement (p. 58) that “the so-called sutra transcription style (*hsieh ching t’i*) is

- a vague term referring to the text being transcribed, rather than to a calligraphic style." It is rather clear that whereas *xiejing* refers to the text or the act of copying the text, *xiejingti* refers to the calligraphic or script style. Chinese scholars also call this style the *jingshuti* script for sutra transcriptions; see *Dunhuang yishu shufa xuan* (Selected calligraphic works from Dunhuang manuscripts) (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1985), preface, p. [1].
11. Ch'en Pao-chen also wrote: "Conventionally, the term *hsieh ching* has referred only to the production of Buddhist sutras. But since it literally means a transcription either of the texts of sutras or of classics, then naturally it should also include transcriptions of Buddhist *tripitaka*, Taoist scriptures, and Confucian classics" (Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, p. 57). In this article, *xiejing* and *xiejingti* are used to refer to the task and the calligraphy of Buddhist transcriptions respectively, but important non-Buddhist manuscripts are also included as comparable examples of Six-Dynasties *xiejing* calligraphy.
 12. The term *jingshengshu* or *jingshengzi* (characters written by sutra transcribers) was first used in critical writing on calligraphy in the Northern Song period (960-1127); see Li Guojun, ed., *Zhongguo shufa zhuanke dacidian* (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), p. 29.
 13. This script is also called *bafen* or *fenshu*. Among many definitions given for *bafen*, the one by Zhang Huaiguan of the Tang dynasty is most acceptable: "[the strokes are] separating (*fen*) like the character *ba*, so it is also called *bafen*." See Liang Piyun, ed., *Zhongguo shufa dacidian* (Dictionary of Chinese calligraphy; Hong Kong: Shupu chubanshe, 1984; [Guangzhou]: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1984), vol. 1, p. 21. In the voluminous literature on Chinese art and calligraphy, *lishu* is used interchangeably with *bafen* or *fenshu*.
 14. Strictly speaking, *po* refers to the wavy quality of the downward right diagonal stroke (*jie* or *na*, one of the brush strokes of the character *yong*); used together as one word *pojie*, it refers to the distinctive ending of the horizontal or right diagonal strokes in the *lishu*.
 15. In 1930, more than ten thousand bamboo strips were discovered in Juyan, Gansu Province, and twenty thousand more were found in the 1970s. Han bamboo strips were also uncovered at Wuwei, Dunhuang, both in Gansu, and Yinqueshan in Shandong Province.
 16. See the examples in *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 8, *Qin Han keshi*, pt. II (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1993).
 17. Liang Piyun, *Zhongguo shufa dacidian*, vol. 1, p. 256.
 18. For a detailed scholarly discussion of the paleographic development from the seal to the clerical script during the Qin and Han periods, see Qiu Xigui, "Qin Han shidai de ziti" (Character structure during the Qin and Han periods), in *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 7, *Qin Han keshi juan*, pt. I (Beijing: Rongbaozhai, 1993), pp. 34-50.
 19. Terms such as *caoli* (cursive clerical), *zhangcao* (manuscript cursive), or *jincao* (modern cursive) have appeared in critical writings on calligraphy throughout Chinese history. They either represent an intermediate type (*caoli*) or are so named to further differentiate between two derivative types (*zhangcao* is the

- cursive type deriving from *lishu*; *jincao*, the cursive script we see today, derives from *kaishu*.) All the major and intermediate types can be found in the Han bamboo strip inscriptions; see Li Quan, "Jiandu shuti jianxi" (A brief analysis of calligraphy in the writings on bamboo strips and paper), in *Hanjian yanjiu wenji* (Gansu: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1984), pp. 399-417. Li makes a clear distinction between the *caoli* and the *zhangcao*, both of which he sees as deriving from the *lishu*. Whereas *caoli* is a cursive and accelerated writing done without altering the compositional elements of the characters, *zhangcao* uses the *lishu* brush techniques but at the same time makes compositional or structural changes in the characters.
20. The contents of the Han bamboo-strip inscriptions include memoranda, bookkeeping accounts, medical prescriptions, and personal and official correspondence. Fragments of manuscripts on paper excavated in northwestern China also cover a similar range of categories.
 21. See *Zhongguo meishu quanji, shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shufa* (Beijing, 1986), pls. 33 and 34. See also *Shodō zenshū* (Compendium of calligraphy), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1959), pls. 1-22. Most notable among these are three letter fragments by Li Bo, dated 328, in *Shodō zenshū*, pls. 23-27.
 22. *Shodō zenshū*, pp. 12-18, pls. 1-27. See also Ma Yong, "Tulufan chutu Gaochangjun shiqi wenshu gaishu" (Brief account of the Ganchang manuscripts unearthed in Turfan), *Wenwu* 4 (1986), pp. 31-33.
 23. Zheng Ruzhong, "Dunhuang shufa gaishu" (A brief account of Dunhuang calligraphy), in *Dunhuang shufa ku* (Lanzhou: Dunhuang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994), p. 6.
 24. Inokuchi Taijun, *Seiiki shutsudo batten no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1980), pl. 2.
 25. In Chinese sources, the names of foreign monks customarily are preceded by a single character denoting their national origins, as in Zhi for Indo-Scythians (Yuezhi), An for Parthians (Anxi), and Zhu for Indians (Tianzhu). This appellation is followed by an approximate transliteration of their original names, such as Loujiaqian for Lokakṣema (also spelled Lokaṣema). For the translation activities of Lokakṣema, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 35-36.
 26. Ogawa Kan'iti, "Seiiki shutsudo no Rikuchō shoki no shakyō" (Early Six-Dynasties sutra transcriptions excavated in the western region), *Bukkyō shigaku*, 2 (1957), vol. 6, p. 34.
 27. *Ibid.* *Chu sanzang jiji*, in *Taisho shinshū Daizōkyō* (hereafter cited as *Daizōkyō*) (1924-1932; rep. Taipei: Shinwenfang chubanshe, 1983), vol. 52, is a collection of notes giving such valuable information as prefaces and colophons of early translated works; see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, p. 10.
 28. Although the number of characters written in each column varied in early *xiejing*, it eventually became regularized at sixteen or seventeen. This standard continued in printed sutras.
 29. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 34-35.
 30. *Shodō zenshū*, pp. 188-189; *Kokka*, 257 (1911), pp. 86-87 and illustrations.

31. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 66–67 and chap. 2, n. 221.
32. Dharmarakṣa was reputed to have mastered all the major Central Asian languages and Chinese, so he could “recite [the translation] whilst holding in his hands the Indian original”; see *ibid.*, p. 69.
33. The earliest dated Buddhist manuscript discovered by Sir Aurel Stein is the 406 CE *Shisong biqiu jieben* (discussed below); the earliest discovered by the French archaeologist Paul Pelliot is the 512 CE *Daban niepan jing* (the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*). See Kanda Kiichirō, “Chūgoku shodoshi-jō yori mitaru Ōtani tankentai no shōraihin ni tsuite” (The manuscripts uncovered by the Ōtani mission viewed from the standpoint of the history of Chinese calligraphy), *Seiiki bunka kenkyū* 5 (1962), p. 242.
34. The flattened character structure seen in the clerical-script bamboo-strip inscriptions was basically an accommodation to the elongated vertical shape of the strips, intended to provide an aesthetic balance with the verticality of the strips. After paper replaced bamboo strips as the major writing material, the scribes no longer needed to concern themselves with the limitations imposed by the elongated proportions of the bamboo strips. As a result, characters began to return to the squarish structure characteristic of the earlier seal script.
35. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, p. 68. See Dharmarakṣa’s biography in *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of eminent monks), compiled around 530 by Huijiao (497–554), in *Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, pp. 326–327.
36. Several terms are descriptive of this basic principle: *niru pingchu* (enter backwards and exit evenly), *cangtou huwei* (conceal the head and protect the tail), or *wuchui busuo*, *wuwang bushou* (no hanging that does not recoil, no proceeding that does not return), to name a few.
37. *Chūgoku shodō zenshū*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), p. 187, pl. 27; *Shufa congkan*, 2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981), pp. 27–28. For the translation of the Lotus Sutra, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 69–70. This *xiejing* manuscript was discovered in Turfan, and is now in the collection of the Chinese Historical Museum in Beijing.
38. *Dunhuang yishu shufa xuan*, pp. 1–9. For the translation of the *Dharmapada-sūtra*, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 47–48.
39. A script type between the regular and the cursive scripts, the running script developed in the Eastern Han period and became popular during the Jin. The most famous calligraphic work in the running script is the “Lanting xu” (Preface to the poems composed at the Orchid Pavilion) by Wang Xizhi.
40. Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, pp. 55–57, pl. 26; *Shodō zenshū*, pp. 187–188, pls. 119–120.
41. For a detailed textual analysis of the Suo Dan manuscript, see Rao Zongyi, “Wu Jianheng ernian Suo Dan xieben *Dao de jing* canjuan kaozheng” (Study of the A.D. 270 *Dao de jing* manuscript fragment by Suo Dan), *Journal of Oriental Studies* 1 (1955), vol. 2, pp. 1–71. For a recent discussion of this manuscript, see Amy McNair, “Texts of Taoism and Buddhism and the Power of Calligraphic Style,” in *The Embodied Image*, ed. Robert E. Harrist and Wen

- C. Fong (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999), pp. 225–228.
42. See note 19 for the definition of *zhangcao*. For the biography of Suo Jing, see Fang Xuanling (578–648), *Jinshu* (History of the Jin) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 60.
43. Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, p. 56; *Jinshu*, *juan* 60.
44. In the *Jinshu*, Suo Dan was mainly described as a specialist in divination and interpretation of dreams; nothing was mentioned about his talent in calligraphy. See *Jinshu*, *juan* 95.
45. *Chūgoku shodō zenshū*, p. 185, pl. 25.
46. *Shodō zenshū*, p. 191, pl. 27; Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, p. 57, fig. 28.
47. *Shodō zenshū*, p. 191, pl. 27; Guo Moruo, “Xinjiang chutu de Jinren xieben ‘Sanguozhi’ canjuan” (A fragment of the Jin manuscript “Sanguozhi” excavated in Xinjiang), *Wenwu* 8 (1972), pp. 2–6.
48. Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, p. 57.
49. *Shodō zenshū*, pls. 111, 113; Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, pp. 56–57, fig. 27.
50. Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, pp. 56–57, fig. 27.
51. A narrow region west of the Yellow River, bounded by the Mongolian desert in the north and high mountains in the east and south. Also called the Hexi (west of the river, that is, the Yellow River) corridor, this is an important area of the Silk Road connecting Changan in the east and Chinese Turkestan in the west.
52. *Dunhuang Tulufan wenwu* (Cultural relics from Dunhuang and Turfan) (Shanghai: Shanghai bowuguan and Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 1987), pp. 12, 76, pls. 1.1–1.5. Originally from Dunhuang, this sutra transcription is now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.
53. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 48–51.
54. Mote and Chu, *Calligraphy*, p. 58, fig. 29; W. Zwalf, ed., *Buddhism: Art and Faith* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 45–46, fig. 38; *Shodō zenshū*, pp. 189–190, pls. 123–124; *Dunhuang shufa ku*, pp. 22–58.
55. *Shodō zenshū*, p. 190. See also *Dunhuang shufa ku*, pp. 22–58.
56. *Seiki shutsudo butten no kenkyū*, pl. 5; Nakata Yujirō, ed., *Rikuchō shakuyōshū* (1964; Tokyo: Nigensha, 1973), pl. 14. The Western Liang kingdom was founded by Li Gao, a Chinese government official stationed in Dunhuang. During the kingdom’s twenty years of existence, Chinese Turkestan was under its jurisdiction.
57. A translation of the *Shilao zhi*, by Leon Hurvitz, can be found in Mizuno Seiichi and Nagahiro Toshio, *Unkō sekkutsu* (Yungang cave temple) (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1951–1955), vol. 16, supplement, pp. 25–103.
58. For the biography of Dharmakṣema, see *Chu sanzang jiji*, pp. 97c–98b. For other references on Dharmakṣema (also spelled Dharmakshema) see Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China* (1964; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 88 and 114 and Zenryū Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, vol. 1, p. 459 and vol. 2, p. 859. One source renders Tanmochan’s

- name in Sanskrit as Dharmarakṣa (fl. 414–422), different from Dharmarakṣa (fl. 266–308) mentioned above. See *Foguang da cidian* (Taipei: Foguang chubanshe, 1988), p. 6234. In my research I have encountered confusion in distinguishing the translation activities of these two monks.
59. Zhou Zheng, “Beiliang ‘*Youposai jie jing*’ canben,” *Shufa congkan*, 2 (1981), pp. 30–31. According to Zhou, the original dating (between 326 and 334 of the Eastern Jin) of the Ryūkoku fragment was erroneous; on the basis of paleographical and calligraphic evidence, he redated these two sutra transcriptions to 427 of the Northern Liang period. The complete text of the colophon can also be found in *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, p. 66. See also *Seiiki shutsudo butten no kenkyū*, pl. 18.
60. Zhou, “Beiliang ‘*Youposai jie jing*’ canben,” p. 31.
61. *Shodō zenshū*, pl. 17.
62. The earliest known record of state-sponsored translation and simultaneous transcription of Buddhist sutras in Liangzhou is an undertaking sponsored by Zhang Tianxi, a member of the ruling Zhang family, in 373; see Zhang Xuerong and He Jingzhen, “Lun Liangzhou fojiao ji Juqu Mengxun de congfo zunru” (On Buddhism in Liangzhou, and Juqu Mengxun’s propagation of Buddhism and reverence for Confucianism), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (1994), p. 99.
63. Alexander C. Soper, “Northern Liang and Northern Wei in Kansu,” *Artibus Asiae* 2 (1958), vol. 21, pp. 143–144. See also Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu* (Calligraphy in Dunhuang [manuscripts]) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 85–86. Another date given to this sutra transcription is 449; see Ito Nobu, “Cong Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu” (Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang seen from the perspective of the history of Chinese calligraphy), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (1996), p. 130.
64. The text of this inscription is in Omura Seigai, *Shina bijutsushi chōsohen* (History of Chinese art: Sculpture) (Tokyo: Bussho Kankokai, 1915), vol. 1, pp. 177–178.
65. The calligraphy in this votive stele has been characterized as having the same stylistic features as that in the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* transcription; see Nakada Yujirō, “Chūgoku shodoshi 3: Sangoku, Saijin, Jūrokugoku,” in *Shodō zenshū*, pp. 6–7. In my opinion, such issues as the question of carving versus writing and the differences between calligraphic style (*shufa*) and script style (*shuti*), which is determined by character structure as well as by manner or style, need to be dealt with more exhaustively and judiciously when analyzing the calligraphy of the Six-Dynasties period.
66. According to the colophon appended at the end of the inscribed eulogy, the text was compiled by Xia Houcan, and Suo Ning was the official overseeing the execution of the text in stone; see Omura, *Shina bijutsushi chōsohen*, p. 178. As the Suo were a famous elite family in Dunhuang, Suo Ning could very well be related to such noted calligraphers as Suo Jing and Suo Dan, the latter being the scribe of the Princeton *Daode jing* fragment discussed above (see figure 8).
67. *Zhongguo meishu quanji, shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2, pl. 79.

68. *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 13, pl. 16.
69. In the general practice of epitaph stone engraving, the calligrapher would first write the characters in red ink on the surface of the prepared stone; then a stone cutter would execute the carving. Therefore, the skill and training as well as educational level of the stone cutter could to some extent determine the stylistic outcome of the engraving. The angular and sharp-edged strokes seen in the rubbings of the Longmen stela inscriptions are believed to have resulted from the bold and unsophisticated carving technique of the stone cutters; see Hua Rende, "The History and Revival of the Northern Wei Stele-style Calligraphy," in *Character & Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, ed. Cary Y. Liu et al. (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1999; hereafter cited as Hua, "Calligraphy"), p. 117.
70. For example, the Yuan Zhen epitaph of the Northern Wei still retains the angular stroke edges and slanted structure more conspicuously displayed in the epigraphic stele carvings from the Guyang Cave at Longmen. The Northern-Wei stele calligraphy is the subject of two recently published essays: Lu Huiwen, "Calligraphy of Stone Engravings in Northern Wei Loyang," *Character & Context in Chinese Calligraphy*, pp. 78-103, and Hua, "Calligraphy," pp. 104-131. Two different theories have been proposed by these two authors, and they need to be carefully examined and critiqued. Although the Northern-Wei stele calligraphy is an important topic in Chinese art history and one that is of great interest to me, it is beyond the scope of the present study to address the many crucial issues involved.
71. I have not yet seen a comprehensive study dealing with the southern influence on northern calligraphy during the Six-Dynasties period, but the majority consensus among scholars seems to be that this influence indeed existed; see Ito, "Cong Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pp. 150-151; Wo, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, pp. 45-64. Hua Rende cautions against this theory, however, and argues instead that the transition from the rough, simple, and unornamented to the refined, adorned, and sophisticated in any calligraphic style should be viewed as a natural development, and not necessarily the result of an external stimulus. He observes that the refined fluidity of the late Northern-Wei calligraphy appears to be stylistically close to calligraphy of the south, but the compactness in structure and proportion is a direct inheritance from the calligraphy of the time immediately after the relocation of the capital; see Hua Rende, "Wei Jin Nanbeichao muzhi gailun" (Introduction to epitaphs of the Wei, Jin, and Nanbeichao periods), in *Zhongguo shufa quanji*, vol. 13 (hereafter cited as Hua, "Epitaphs"), p. 11. Hua, however, stresses the "influence of southern calligraphic tradition" when he discusses the popularity of the calligraphy of Wang Bao (514-577), a descendant of the prominent Wang family, in north China in the mid-sixth century; see Hua, "Calligraphy," p. 125.
72. *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, pl. 16. "Chishi" is the Chinese translation of Vasudhārā, a bodhisattva in Esoteric Buddhism. The origin and translation of the sutra *Chishi jing* are not known as it is not included in the *Daizōkyō*.

73. Ito, "Cong Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pp. 130 ff. Wo, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, p. 112.
74. The year 449 corresponds to the seventh year of the Chengping era, ten years after the Northern Liang were driven from Guzang to the area near Turfan in Xinjiang.
75. Another example is a *xiejing* fragment transcribed by a Buddhist monk, An Hongsong, now in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing; see *Zhongguo meishu quanji, shufa zhuanke bian*, vol. 2, pl. 73.
76. Beginning in the Northern Song, large sets of the Buddhist canon were produced by wood-block printing. However, pious devotees and lay believers continued to transcribe sutras by hand as a religious practice.
77. For example, a few early-sixth-century sutra transcriptions from Dunhuang bear the name Linghu Chongzhe as either the supervisor or the scribe; see Ito, "Cong Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pp. 145-146.
78. Hua, "Calligraphy," p. 111.
79. The relationship between anonymous calligraphers and famous masters is explored in McNair, "Texts of Taoism and Buddhism," pp. 224-239.
80. *Chūgoku shodō zenshū*, pl. 30.
81. For an excellent study of the relationship between text and calligraphic style, see Robert E. Harrist Jr., "Reading Chinese Calligraphy," in *The Embodied Image*, pp. 2-27.
82. *Rikuchō shak'yōshū*, pl. 7. This manuscript is in the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo. The title of this sutra transcription is also cited as the *Guan Puxian jing*; see Ito, "Cong Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," p. 134. The character *huan* was probably a mistake for *guan*. The *Guan Puxing jing* is an abbreviation for the *Foshuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* (*Samantabhadra-Bodhisattva-dhyāna-caryādharmasūtra*), or Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Law of the Practice of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Daizōkyō*, vol. 9), translated in the fifth century by Dharmamitra (Tanmomiduo) of the Liu Song dynasty.
83. *Rikuchō shak'yōshū*, pl. 8. This sutra transcription is the only Southern-Dynasty work in the Stein collection (S81); see Ito, "Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pp. 134-135.
84. Ito, "Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pl. 18. This sutra transcription is also in the Stein collection (S996). The *Zaapitan xin jing* is now lost, but a treatise on it, the *Zaapitan xin lun* (*Samyuktābhīdharma-hṛdaya-sāstra*), translated in 434 by Saṅghavarman (Sengjiabamo), is still extant (*Daizōkyō*, vol. 22).
85. Wo, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, pp. 103-104.
86. Hua, "Calligraphy," pp. 115-116.
87. This manuscript is in the Stein collection (S2660); see Ito, "Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," p. 143 and Wo, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, p. 104, figs. 7-10.
88. *Rikuchō shak'yōshū*, pl. 21; Ito, "Zhongguo shufashi kan Dunhuang hanwen wenshu," pp. 144-145. This *xiejing* manuscript is in the Stein collection (S1427).

89. See note 77 above.
90. Hua Rende believes that the stone cutters' improved carving technique partially contributes to this stylistic change; see Hua, "Calligraphy," pp. 121-123.
91. *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, pl. 29.
92. This transcription was donated by Zhao Cha, according to the colophon at the end of the sixth chapter, but the scribe's name is not recorded.
93. The so-called personalized calligraphy after the Tang was dominated by major figures from the privileged social class, educated scholar-officials who were themselves also the authors of historical and critical writings on Chinese calligraphy.
94. In difficult times, unemployed aristocrats often took jobs as sutra scribes; see Hua Rende, "Lun Dongjin muzhi jianji Lanting lunbian" (Discussion of Eastern Jin epitaph calligraphy and a note on the "Lanting" controversy), *Gugong xueshu jikan* 1 (1995), vol. 13, p. 43.
95. *Rikuchō shakyōshū*, pl. 12.
96. *Shufa* 1 (1996), p. 37.

GLOSSARY

An 安	chu 除
An Hongsong 安弘嵩	<i>Chu sanzang jiji</i> 出三藏記集
Anxi 安息	Chu Suiliang 褚遂良
Anzhou 安周	<i>Daban niepan jing</i> 大般涅槃經
ba 八	Danyang 丹陽
bafen 八分	<i>Daode jing</i> 道德經
bishou 筆受	<i>Daoxing bore jing</i> 道行般若經
cangtou huwei 藏頭護尾	<i>Daoxingping faju jing</i> 道行品法句經
caoli 草隸	Daoyang 道養
caoshu 草書	Datong 大同
cheng 稱	Deyou 德祐
Cheng Miao 程邈	Dunhuang 敦煌
Chengping 承平	Fahu 法護
<i>Chengshi lun</i> 成實論	Fajing 法經
Chishi 持世	<i>Faju jing</i> 法句經
<i>Chishi jing</i> 持世經	Fan Hai 樊海

- Faxian 法顯
 fen 分
 fenshu 分書
 Foguo ji 佛國記
 Foshuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing 佛說
 觀普賢菩薩行法經
 Foshuo huan Puxian jing 佛說歡普賢經
 Foshuo pusazang jing 佛說菩薩藏經
 Gaochang 高昌
 Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳
 gongyang 供養
 gou 勾
 guan 觀
 Guan Puxian jing 觀普賢經
 gu er bujin 古而不今
 Guyang 古陽
 Guzang 姑臧
 Han Wudi 漢武帝
 Hexi 河西
 Hongjiang 弘疆
 Hong Jun 洪雋
 hsieh ching, see xiejing
 hsieh ching t'i, see xiejingti
 huan 歡
 Huangting jing 黃庭經
 huibi 回筆
 Huijiao 慧皎
 Jianchu 建初
 Jian Guannei Hou Ji Zhi biao 薦關內侯季
 直表
 Jianheng 建衡
 Jianye 建業
 jie 桀
 jincao 今草
 jingshengshu 經生書
 jingshengzi 經生字
 jingshuti 經書體
 Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什
 Juqu 沮渠
 Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周
 Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜
 Juyan 居延
 kai 楷
 kaishu 楷書
 kouyi 口譯
 ku 苦
 Lanting xu 蘭亭序
 li 隸
 Liangzhou 涼州
 Li Bo 李柏
 Li Gao 李暠
 Linghu Chongzhe 令狐崇哲
 Linjia 麟嘉
 Liqi bei 禮器碑
 lishu 隸書
 Liu Dai 劉岱
 Liu Guangzhou 劉廣周
 Liu Song 劉宋
 Longmen 龍門
 Loujiaqian 婁迦謙
 Loulan 樓蘭
 Lü Guang 呂廣
 Lu Ji 陸機
 Luoyang 洛陽
 Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經
 Mohe moye jing 摩訶摩耶經

- Mujian 牧犍
 muzhiming 墓誌銘
 na 捺
 Nanbeichao 南北朝
 neng 能
 Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠
 niru pingchu 逆入平出
 Nishihongan-ji 西本願寺
 Otani Kōzui 大谷光瑞
 Peng Puxin 彭普信
 po 波
 pojie 波桀
 Qin Shihuang 秦始皇
 quanzhu 勸助
 Sanguozhi 三國志
 Sengjiabamo 僧迦跋摩
 Sengyou 僧祐
 Shanshan 鄴善
 shen 身
 Shengman jing 勝鬘經
 Shengman yiji 勝鬘義記
 shi 是
 Shichen bei 史晨碑
 Shidi lun 十地論
 Shisong biqu jieben 十誦比丘戒本
 Shu 蜀
 shudan 書丹
 shufa 書法
 shuli 書禮
 shuti 書體
 Sima 司馬
 Sun Quan 孫權
 suo 所
 Suo Dan 索紃
 Suo Jing 索靖
 Suo Ning 索寧
 Tachibana no Zuichō 橘瑞超
 Taishang xuanyuan daode jing 太上玄元
 道德經
 Taixue 太學
 Tang Taizong 唐太宗
 Tanmochan 曇摩讖
 Tanmomiduo 曇摩蜜多
 Tanwuchan 曇無讖
 Tianzhu 天竺
 tiao 挑
 tuntian 屯田
 Tuoba 拓跋
 Tuyugou 吐浴溝
 Wang Bao 王褒
 Wang Xianggao 王相高
 Wang Xizhi 王羲之
 Wei 魏
 wei 爲
 Weimojie jing 維摩詰經
 Weishu shilao zhi 魏書釋老志
 Wu 吳
 wuchui busuo, wuwang bushou 無垂不
 縮無往不收
 Wugu 烏孤
 Wuhui 無諱
 Wuwei 武威
 Wuzhi 吳志
 Xia Houcan 夏侯粲
 Xianbei 鮮卑
 Xiaowen 孝文

- xiejing 寫經
 xiejingtǐ 寫經體
 xingshu 行書
 Xinjiang 新疆
 Xiongnu 匈奴
 xiyu 西域
 Xuanzang 玄奘
 Yan Zhencheng 顏真卿
 yi 義
 Yinqueshan 銀雀山
 yiqie jing 一切經
 yong 永
 Youposai jie jing 優婆塞戒經
 yuan 元
 Yuankang 元康
 Yuan Zhen 元楨
 Yue Yi lun 樂毅論
 Yuezhi 月氏
 Yu Fan 虞翻
 Yungang 雲岡
 Yu Shinan 虞世南
 Zaapitan xin jing 雜阿毗曇心經
 Zaapitan xin lun 雜阿毗曇心論
 zhangcao 章草
 Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘
 Zhang Jun 張駿
 Zhang [character illegible]sheng 張□生
 Zhang Tianxi 張天錫
 Zhang Wen 張問
 Zhang Xiuzu 張休祖
 Zhao Cha 趙叉
 zhengshu 正書
 zhenshu 真書
 Zhi 支
 Zhi Loujiaqian 支婁迦謙
 Zhi Qian 支謙
 Zhong You 鍾繇
 Zhou Siyan 周思言
 Zhu 竺
 zhuanshu 篆書
 Zhu Fahu 竺法護
 Zhu Fashou 竺法首
 Zhufo yaoji jing 諸佛要集經
 Zhu Shixing 朱士行

A Note on the *Hongwu Nanzang*, a Rare Edition of the Buddhist Canon

LONG DARUI

INTRODUCTION

When I was a Ph.D. student at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing in 1994, Bai Huawen, a professor in the Department of Library Science at Beijing University, asked me to take a look at the Buddhist Tripitaka edition known as the *Hongwu nanzang* (Hongwu Southern Tripitaka). The Zhongguo shudian publishing house in Beijing had heard that the Sichuan Provincial Library in Chengdu held a rare edition of the Buddhist canon (or Tripitaka), engraved during the Hongwu period (1368–1398), and wanted Professor Bai to verify its authenticity before they considered reprinting it. Professor Bai, an expert in Chinese rare books, particularly Buddhist literature, told me to check three things when I returned to Chengdu, my hometown: (1) the authenticity of this Buddhist canon, (2) the actual number of volumes that were still extant and available in the rare-books section of the Sichuan Provincial Library, and (3) the estimated cost for microfilming.

This project immediately sparked my interest. I had majored in

Buddhist studies at the Institute of World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and being a native Sichuanese, I felt I had the resources to carry out the project. My father, Professor Long Hui, had been an active reader in the rare-books section of the Sichuan Provincial Library for the last four decades and was familiar with the older as well as the younger librarians. I was also familiar with some of them, because I spent time there in 1988 and 1989 when I worked on the translation project for Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*. I therefore immediately set myself to examining the Buddhist canon, and this paper is the result.

This set of the *Hongwu nanzang* has been preserved in Sichuan Province in southwest China for centuries. The *Dafang deng dayun jing* (*Mahāmegha-sūtra*) was translated by Tanwuchan (Dharmarakṣa, sometimes also Tanmochan), who died in 433. Each leaf of this edition is divided into five pages, each containing six columns of seventeen characters. The existence of the *Hongwu nanzang* was rediscovered in 1934 at the Shanggusi (the suffix “*si*” in Shanggusi, occurring frequently in this essay, can mean either temple or monastery; here I follow my usual preference for the latter term), a Buddhist monastery in Chongqing xian (that is, county),¹ about seventy-five kilometers west of Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province. This rare edition of the Buddhist canon was handed over to the local government in 1951 and then to the Sichuan Provincial Library, where it has been kept in the rare-books section.

The original Sanskrit word Tripitaka means three baskets (that is, three repositories or collections). It refers to the canon of Buddhist literature consisting of *sūtras*, *vinayas*, and *śāstras*. The word *sūtra* in old Sanskrit means threads, threaded together. The *sūtras* in the Tripitaka record the Buddha's doctrinal teachings. The term *vinayas* refers to the rules of discipline governing the lives of monks and nuns. The *śāstras* are commentaries on the *sūtras* and *vinayas*.

More than sixty-five years have elapsed since this rare edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka was found. Professor Lü Cheng (1896–1989) wrote two essays, one as early as 1938, about the characteristics of this Tripitaka and its relationship to other editions; his works remain the most important scholarly research into this topic.² Fang Guangchang also briefly discussed this Tripitaka in 1989.³ Other scholars rely mainly on Lü

Cheng's sources when they talk about the development of Buddhist canons in China. It has been extremely difficult to collect additional material about this rare edition of the *Hongwu nanzang*. First, we have scanty and limited sources of information about this edition; and second, it is difficult to gain access to the original edition, as the Sichuan Provincial Library has classified it as a special treasure. Nor has microfilm access been complete or conveniently available. As Sichuan is a somewhat remote province in southwest China, few scholars from Beijing or other major centers have been able to get access to this rare Buddhist canon.

Some scholars probably have questions about the exact nature of the Hongwu edition of the Buddhist canon and why further investigation is necessary. They may wonder why and how it became a rare edition, how the Shanggusi could obtain this rare edition, and how the monks of the monastery kept the canon. Others may wonder about the current status of this rare edition. Why is there so much confusion about it, and what are the differences or relationships between it and other editions? Professor Lü has answered some of these questions, but further scholarly investigation is necessary. This article attempts to answer these remaining questions, but I cannot claim to have been completely successful because of the difficulties mentioned above. Besides having access to the original *Hongwu nanzang* edition in the Sichuan Provincial Library, I also went to the Shanggu Monastery (Shanggusi), located on a mountain about four kilometers from the nearest public transportation. I have checked various local records of Chongqing County and other counties in Sichuan Province, and explored the resources of libraries in Sichuan and Beijing, the Harvard-Yenching Library, and the library of Hsi Lai University in Los Angeles.

I begin with general information about the Buddhist canons. From the Song dynasty (960–1279) on, nearly all dynasties sponsored an official published edition of the Buddhist canon. The first engraved edition, called the *Kaibao zang*, was started in 971 (fourth year of the Kaibao reign period) in Chengdu and completed in 983. Later the woodblocks were transported from Chengdu to be kept in Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song (960–1127). Five other editions of the Buddhist canon were published during the Song dynasty. The Liao (907–1125), the Jin (1115–1234), and the Yuan (1206–1368) dynasties also witnessed the engraving of Buddhist Tripitaka editions.

What is meant by *Hongwu nanzang*? *Hongwu* refers to the reign period of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398), who initiated this huge project of producing a printed edition of the Buddhist canon in 1372, shortly after ascending the throne. The word *nanzang* means southern Tripitaka. Zhu Yuanzhang established his court in Nanjing, the southern capital; therefore this edition was called *nanzang*. Similarly, *Yongle nanzang* refers to the Buddhist canon engraved in Nanjing during the Yongle reign (1403–1424) of Zhu Di (1360–1424), or Emperor Chengzu, the third emperor of the Ming. The project is thought to have been started in the tenth year (1412) and completed by the seventeenth year of the Yongle period (1419). (The dates of this edition are still being debated.) In his “Index to Twenty-two Chinese Editions of the Buddhist Canon” Tong Wei claims that it was completed in 1419; Fang Guangchang, on the other hand, states in a recent textbook that it was completed in 1417.⁴ The name *Yongle beizang* predictably refers to the edition that Zhu Di ordered to be engraved in Beijing, the northern capital. The engraving work for this set of the Buddhist canon started in the nineteenth year of Yongle (1421) and was completed in 1440, long after Emperor Chengzu’s death.

As recently as August 1999 I learned of a reprint project planned for the *Hongwu nanzang*. From the brochure it appears that a group of eminent monks and nuns in Sichuan Province, aided by a single donation of one million *yuan* (RMB, or approximately US \$125,000) from a venerable abbot there, are organizing and sponsoring a project to reprint the edition. Zhao Puchu, chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association and a famous calligrapher, wrote the four title characters of *Hongwu nanzang* that appear on the covers of the sample volumes seen in an illustration. Here is a translation of some of the information contained in the prospectus.

In the fourth year of the Kaibao reign (971) Emperor Taizu (r. 960–975) of the Song dynasty ordered the engraving of the first Buddhist canon in Yizhou [an old name for Sichuan]. This is the beginning of the publication of the Buddhist canon. Thus, Sichuan was the birthplace of the printing of the Buddhist Tripitaka. Since then seven editions of the Buddhist canon have been engraved under the sponsorship of the imperial court. Three imperial editions were engraved during the Ming dynasty:

the *Hongwu nanzang* edition, the *Yongle nanzang* edition, and the *Yongle beizang* edition. The two editions engraved in the Yongle period have been widely known, but the *Hongwu nanzang* has been nearly forgotten.

The engraving of the *Hongwu nanzang*, also called the *Chuke nanzang*, started at the Jiangshan Monastery (Jiangshansi) in the fifth year of the Hongwu period (1372). It took some twenty-seven years for the completion of the whole project in the thirty-first year of the Hongwu reign (1398). This edition of the Tripitaka contains approximately 1,600 *bu* (titles), divided into 7,000 *juan* (chapterlike sections), contained in 678 *han* (cases). The editors of the *Hongwu nanzang* undertook a thorough proof-reading and fine engraving. It is a great pity that in the sixth year of the Yongle period (1408) a fire broke out in the Jiangshansi, and all the woodblocks were destroyed. The set of woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* lasted for barely a decade; therefore people rarely had a chance to get access to it. Sichuan Province, the land of abundance, has luckily been able to preserve one set of this rare edition of the *Hongwu nanzang*. Fang Guangchang, director of the rare-books section in the Beijing National Library, has called it "the only extant copy."

This rare edition of the Tripitaka has witnessed more than six hundred years of the vicissitudes of this world. As the paper is becoming fragile and the moth worms have destroyed some volumes, we were afraid that future generations would not even be able to view this rare edition. To preserve this rare book, the Sichuan Association of Buddhists called for the reprint of this rare edition of the *Hongwu nanzang* so that future generations may have access to Buddhist literature and thereby show respect for it.

This new edition of the *Hongwu nanzang* is a deluxe reprint beautifully bound with silk covers. It will total 229 volumes, with each volume containing six hundred pages. Being an enormous project, it needs a large amount of money to bring it to completion, and we call on all Buddhists to make donations to

the project. The last volume will record the names of those who have contributed to this reprint project.

The reprint of this *Hongwu nanzang* will enable us to study further the canon itself. The *Hongwu nanzang*, after all, existed for less than ten years. In the year following the fire that destroyed it, the emperor ordered some eminent monks to prepare another edition in Nanjing. We are not sure when the work began, but we know that this second edition, called the *Yongle nanzang* (Yongle Southern Tripitaka), was completed by 1419. Owing to the fact that the two editions of the Tripitaka were made in Nanjing and very few sets of the *Hongwu nanzang* were made available, it is not surprising that later scholars and Buddhist monks did not realize there were two different editions. They often mistook the *Yongle nanzang* for the *Hongwu nanzang*.

Further confusion can be seen in some catalogues of rare books and Buddhist canons. According to such provincial and national union catalogues as *Sichuansheng guji shanbenshu lianhe mulu* and *Zhongguo guji shanben mulu*, sets of this *Hongwu nanzang* are held by several other libraries in China, but after careful investigation it appears that most hold no more than a small number of volumes. The latter catalogue lists the Chongqing Municipal Library, but in fact that library may have only one volume of the *Hongwu nanzang*. The library of Chongshan Monastery (Chongshansi) in Taiyuan, Shanxi Province, is also listed, but an improbable date for the edition is given in another source.⁵ Other libraries, such as the Kaiyuansi in Quanzhou and the Yongquansi in Fuzhou, Fujian Province, are listed as preserving another version of the *Hongwu nanzang*.⁶ This version is said to have been printed in the Wanli period (1573–1620) from the *Hongwu nanzang* blocks,⁷ but as we know, the original set of woodblocks was destroyed by fire in 1408. These examples point to the considerable confusion surrounding the editions of the Ming Buddhist canons.

These union catalogues of Chinese rare books follow the traditional way of arrangement, placing all Buddhist books under the *shijia* (Buddhists) section of the *zibu* (philosophy) classification. The *shijia* section contains few subsections for dividing the vast Buddhist literature,

and there are limited possibilities for classifying the complex information found in the Buddhist canons. It is well known that the editors of these catalogues did not attach great importance to Buddhist literature, and some of the local editors did not have adequate knowledge about the subject when they compiled the catalogues. For instance, the *Zhongguo guji shanben shumumu* claims that Sichuan Normal University Library keeps a set of the *Qisha zang* engraved during the Song and Yuan dynasties,⁸ but this is not accurate. The library actually has two *juan* of the original and a set of the *Qisha zang* reprinted in the 1930s.

Even the *Sichuansheng guji shanbenshu lianhe mulu* is disappointing. This publication did not follow the traditional sequencing system of using the “*Qianziwen bianhao*” (the order of the “One thousand character classic”) to arrange the editions of the Tripitaka included. The editor, perhaps a Buddhist monk, placed the Huayan section first, in line with the principles of “The Tiantai Classification of the Sutras and Teachings according to the Five Periods and Eight Teachings” (*Tiantai wushi bajiao*). We know that it was Zhixu (1599–1655) who started this way of classifying the Tripitaka late in the Ming dynasty.⁹ This eccentric system, adopted in certain catalogues, has made the comparative study of the various editions of the Tripitaka more difficult and complicated.

From the above, we can see that the studies of the *Hongwu nanzang* have been handicapped by various technical problems, including the lack of availability of the *Hongwu nanzang* itself and of other editions of the Buddhist canon. The proposed reprint of the *Hongwu nanzang* will be an important step toward improving the situation. This paper aims to present the information I have collected about this subject in the hope of clarifying some of the misunderstandings from the past. The essay is based on historical sources, including local county records, monastery records, and biographies of eminent monks, as well as library catalogues.

THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF THE *HONGWU NANZANG*

About five years after Zhu Yuanzhang ascended to the throne, “he ordered a group of eminent Buddhist monks to gather at Jiangshan Monastery (Jiangshansi) to check, edit, and punctuate the Tripitaka.”¹⁰ Jiangshan Monastery was one of the three biggest monasteries in Nanjing

at the time. In 1381 the abbot of Jiangshan Monastery suggested that the temple and pagoda be moved to Donggang, a place not far from the original location, and that its name be changed to Linggusi. He also requested that his temple "be the premier temple of the capital" and that about one thousand disciples officially be licensed as monks. The abbot also asked the emperor to make a huge grant of land to the monastery.¹¹

The existence of this temple can be traced back to the Jin dynasty (265-420). During the Song dynasty it was renamed Taiping xingguo si from the era name for the years 976 to 983, and by the Ming dynasty it had become one of the most important temples of the region. This explains why the emperor chose to gather monks there to do the work of proofreading and punctuating the Tripitaka. The monks were assured of conditions that would enable them to concentrate on their work and thus guarantee its quality.

The blockcutting apparently was completed in 1401. The most important works of the various Buddhist sects were included in the Tripitaka.¹² Still, some works of the Chan (Japanese Zen) School were left out because they remained unfinished. An eminent Buddhist monk named Jingjie had already started the proofreading in the twenty-seventh year of the Hongwu Period (1394). We would know next to nothing about this monk, were it not for a passage found in the *Da Ming gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of eminent Buddhist monks in the Ming dynasty).

Jingjie, also named Dingyan and Huanju, was born in Wuxing *xian*, Jiangsu Province. He became a Buddhist monk at the age of eleven and went to the Tianjiesi, a monastery in Jinling (Nanjing). The famous monk Jueyuantan was teaching there at the time. He appointed Jingjie to be Karmadana, the official in Buddhist temples in charge of daily affairs. Jingjie used to work hard and sometimes did not even sleep. One day [Jue]yuantan raised the bamboo handle of a bucket and asked him a question in a loud voice, and at once Jingjie became enlightened. Afterward, he traveled around eastern China and was held in esteem by all. In 1396 he was promoted to the position of *zuo jueyi* (Deputy director in charge of Buddhist affairs) and at the same time abbot of the Jimingsi, one of the biggest monasteries in

Nanjing. Later on he was ordered to reside at Linggusi in the early years of the Yongle period.¹³

When the final blockcutting of the Tripitaka was completed, all the woodblocks were stored in the Tianxisi, which is also known as the Baoensi. According to the *Jinling fancha zhi* (Records of the Buddhist temples in Nanjing), the actual printing did not start until the first year of the Yongle Period (1403). Evidence for this is found in the following passage:

On the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the first year of Yongle (October 15, 1403), Daoyan, whose official title was *zuo shanshi* (the Buddhist patriarch to the left);¹⁴ Jin Zhong, *Gongbu shilang* (vice-director in the Ministry of Works);¹⁵ and Zhao Xi, who was commander of Jinyiwei (The Imperial Bodyguards);¹⁶ memorialized to the Wuyingdian (Hall of Military Glory)¹⁷ that anyone who wanted to aid the printing of the Tripitaka might get a set of scriptures if he donated a certain amount of money, as stipulated in the emperor's decree.¹⁸

During the following year (1404) the monks gathered the missing parts of quotations from the Chan masters. In 1408 a monk named Benxing set fire to the Tianxi Monastery. All the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* were destroyed. In the eleventh year of the Yongle period (1413) the temple was rebuilt and renamed Baoensi. The emperor himself wrote a commemoration of this event:

The Tianxi Monastery, originally named Changgansi, was established in the Chiwu reign period of the Wu Kingdom (238-250). It was destroyed and was renovated time and again. Its name was changed to Tianxisi when it was rebuilt in the Tianxi era (1017-1021). In the Hongwu era of the present dynasty, Huang Ligong (fl. late fourteenth century), the vice-director of the Ministry of Works, noting the deterioration of the structures, submitted a memorial requesting approval to solicit donations from the people to make some minor repairs. When I first came to the throne, I ordered the Ministry of Works to make repairs. The monastery got a new look, but soon thereafter an unregistered monk named

Benxing, ill-intentioned as he was, and aiming to kill the persons he hated, stole into the temple and set fire to the monks' quarters. The fire spread to the main halls and the side buildings, and everything, including the pillars, the statues, and so forth, became ashes.¹⁹

From the above description, we must assume that the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* were destroyed.

THE HONGWU NANZANG KEPT AT THE SHANGGUSI IN SICHUAN

It seems that the *Hongwu nanzang* preserved at the Shanggu Monastery was originally a gift from Prince Xian of Shu (Shu Xianwang). One might immediately wonder why Prince Xian presented this set of the Tripitaka to the Shanggusi, rather than to any of the other well-known monasteries in Chengdu. Then come questions about its transmission and maintenance at the monastery, and finally how it was rediscovered at the Shanggusi some decades before it came into the custody of the Sichuan Provincial Library.

It is believed that Prince Xian of Shu, that is Zhu Chun (1371–1423), was on particularly good terms with a monk named Wukong, who lived in the Shanggu Monastery. In fact, when I visited the monastery in 1995, the abbot told me that because of the close ties between Prince Xian and Wukong, the prince specifically asked the court for a set of the Tripitaka and presented it to the Shanggusi. The *Chongqing xianzhi* (Local gazetteer of Chongqing County) states:

The Shangxia gusi, a Tang-dynasty (618–907) monastery, also called the Changlesi, was first built by the Tang monk Shansi. In the early part of the Ming dynasty, monk Wukong cultivated himself in that temple, burning incense every day. Prince Xian of Shu asked the emperor to change the monastery's name to Guangyan chanyuan. A whole set of the Tripitaka was kept in the library, but now the monastery is abandoned. There are some wells and pools and also pagodas in which the bodies of Shansi and Wukong are buried.

Zhangxue's inscription contains the following passage about the library in the monastery.

The monastery was built during the Tang dynasty, and the library was built in the Song dynasty. Being far away from Chengdu, [in the early Ming] Prince Xian of Shu heard that monk Wukong was preaching here, and came to listen to the sermons with profound devotion. The woodblocks of the Tripitaka made in the eighth year of Taiping xingguo (983) in the Song dynasty were kept in the Zhengyinsi, which is now called the Wanfusi. Prince Xian generously donated money for the printing of the Tripitaka. All the fascicles were well bound and labeled. They were put in well-designed wooden boxes.²⁰

When Emperor Chengzu enfeoffed his son as his heir apparent in 1404, he also enfeoffed several of his nephews to be princes of various localities. Zhu Chun became Prince Xian of Shu, and Zhu Chun's fourth son, Zhu Yuexin, was made prince of Chongqing (Chongqing wang).²¹ The presentation of the Tripitaka to the Shanggu Monastery was likely to be related to the appointment of Prince Xian's favorite son to Chongqing County. A passage from the *Mingshi* (History of the Ming dynasty) can be summarized as follows.

Prince Chun, also named Prince Xian, had some sons. His first son, Zhu Yuelian (1388–1409), died young. His second son, Zhu Yueyao, was nominated prince of Huayang (a county in Sichuan Province). However, Prince Chun did not like Prince Yueyao because he wanted to usurp the principedom. Prince Yueyao's conspiracy turned into a failure, and he was beaten with whips. The third son was nominated prince of Chongning (Chongning wang). He also offended his father by claiming to be Emperor Huidi. Prince Chun punished him in 1416.²²

Zhu Yunwen, posthumously known as Huidi, the grandson of the Ming founder, Zhu Yuanzhang, was chosen to be the second emperor by his grandfather. This was because Zhu Yuanzhang's first son had died. Being young and imprudent, Emperor Huidi failed to control his uncles

who were local military governors. Thus, he reigned for less than four years and was dethroned by his uncle Zhu Di. Any book about the history of the Ming dynasty records these events, but states that nobody knows whether Emperor Huidi escaped or died. Some believe that he went to a temple and became a monk. It would be understandable that during this transitional period of turmoil some of Zhu Yuanzhang's arrogant grandsons might claim to be Emperor Huidi, even though in those days such a claim was considered a most dangerous crime.

Having lost hope in his first three sons, Prince Chun favored his fourth son, Zhu Yuexin, who was granted the title "prince of Chongqing" in 1404. It is possible that Prince Chun (who died in 1423) presented this *Hongwu nanzang* to the Shanggu Monastery at the request of his fourth son (who died, leaving no heir, in 1411). Prince Chun had close ties with some eminent Buddhist monks even before assuming office in Sichuan. He once asked Laifu, who was involved in important Buddhist activities in the early years of the Ming dynasty to give lectures on Buddhism.²³ It is possible that Prince Chun made a request to the court for a set of the Tripitaka because he wanted to show that his son Zhu Yuexin, prince of Chongqing, was his real heir.

Professor Tong Wei, a research fellow at the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and an expert on Chinese Tripitakas, told me that the *Hongwu nanzang* was discovered by the Venerable Juzan (1908–1984), who liked to travel from one temple to another. Then Professor Lü sent Jiang Weixin, his student, to investigate the Tripitaka. Unfortunately, Jiang was killed on his way back. Jiang was also an expert on the Buddhist Tripitakas, and had made field investigations of the *Jinzang* (the edition of the Tripitaka engraved in the Jin period around 1173).²⁴ Although it was Jiang who verified the existence of this *Hongwu nanzang*, it was Ouyang Jingwu (1871–1943), in an essay lamenting Jiang's untimely death, who introduced the discovery of this rare edition of the Buddhist canon in the Shanggu Monastery.²⁵

In September 1994, I wrote to the Venerable Dengkuan, abbot of Xiagu Monastery in Chongqing County, and formerly at the Shanggu Monastery (see figure 1). Although ninety-three years old, he was kind enough to reply. Here I offer a paraphrase of what he wrote in his letter:

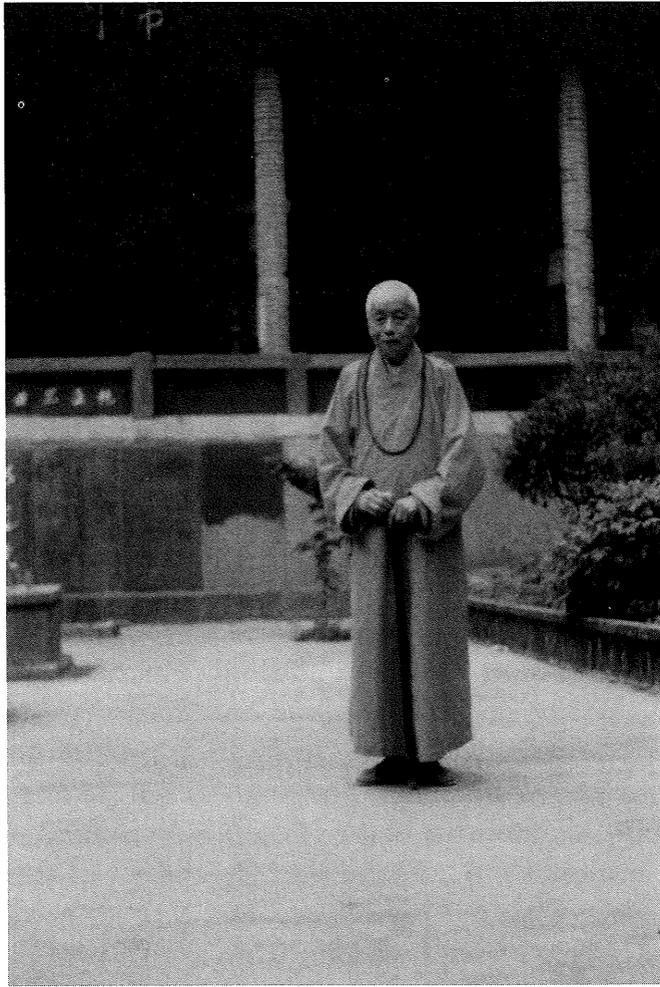
At the beginning people called it [Shangxia gusi] Gusi or Changlesi. During the Sui dynasty (581-618) a monk called Shansi came to build this temple.²⁶ The name of the monastery was changed in the Yongle era to Guangyan chanyuan. This change was done to avoid a taboo name, for Emperor Chengzu named the years of his reign the Yongle era.²⁷ In the Qianlong period, two monks, named Ranzheng and Ranxuan, started building two monasteries. That was how the Shanggusi and the Xiagusi came into being.

In 1909, the Venerable Shichang (also named Zongxing), abbot of the Shanggusi, rebuilt the main hall and the library where the Tripitaka, donated by Prince Xian, was kept. In 1926, the abbot of the Xiagusi, Zuquan, rebuilt the main hall and the library in his temple. The Shanggu Monastery was destroyed. The Tripitaka presented by Prince Xian was kept in the library of the Shanggu Monastery. It is called *Hongwu nanzang* or *Chuke nanzang*. The Tripitaka came here in the Yongle era.

When Dengkuan entered the Shanggu Monastery, Zongxing was alive. Dengkuan told me that he had also done his best to preserve the Tripitaka, taking the scriptures out of the library every year and putting them in the sunshine to kill the moths that damage books. He did this year in and year out until he handed the Tripitaka over to the local government in 1951 during a political movement of land reform. He asked some people to carry the scriptures down the mountain path, about five kilometers, to the main road. The local government found it difficult to manage the Tripitaka and decided in the end to hand it over to the Sichuan Provincial Library.²⁸

A passage in the *Xin xu gaoseng zhuan siji* (Four collections of continuation of the biographies of the eminent Buddhist monks) tells us the story of Zongxing:

Zongxing, also named Shichang, was a native of Chongqing County. He became a monk at the Shang guangyansi when he was young. The ceremony of his ordination was held at the Baoguangsi in Xindu xian. This Shang guangyan monastery is



1. The Venerable Dengkuan, abbot of Xiagu Monastery in Chongqing County, Sichuan. Photograph by the author, 1994.

also called Shanggu Monastery. A set of the Tripitaka called the *Longzang* printed in the Qing dynasty was kept in the library.²⁹ Zongxing tried to protect the Tripitaka and spent many years copying hundreds of missing scriptures. He fell ill in the winter of 1913 and died on April 12 in 1914 at the Shanggu Monastery, where his body was buried in a pagoda.³⁰

Zongxing rebuilt the main hall of the Shanggu Monastery and copied about forty-eight *bu* of missing scriptures in the *Hongwu nanzang*. Having checked the catalogue entry for the *Hongwu nanzang* in *Sichuansheng guji shanbenshu lianhe mulu*, I found that volumes 564 to 600 in the *Da bore boluomiduo jing*, and about forty-eight titles of scriptures in this *Hongwu nanzang* were manuscript replacements, very likely copied by Zongxing. These are the elements related to the *Hongwu nanzang* kept at the Shanggusi and later transferred to the Sichuan Provincial Library.

THE HONGWU NANZANG AND THE YONGLE NANZANG

After the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* were destroyed, Emperor Chengzu decided to start two new editions. He apparently wanted to establish for his father, the first emperor Zhu Yuanzhang, his legitimate right to the throne and his piety by sponsoring projects for making the Buddhist canon. The one made in Nanjing was started one year after the destruction of the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* and was completed by 1419. This edition was the *Yongle nanzang*, the other, made in Beijing, the *Yongle beizang*. With the passage of time, records became confused, and people no longer remembered the *Hongwu nanzang*. So the second Nanjing edition became known simply as *Nanzang* (Southern Tripitaka) and the Beijing edition was simply called *Beizang* (Northern Tripitaka). The latter was kept at the imperial court.

One of the rare books in the Sichuan Provincial Library is entitled *Kezang yuanqi* (History of the printing of the Tripitaka), which was written in 1586.

Most of the Tripitaka woodblocks could no longer be used. The Ming court made two sets of the woodblocks, which were kept

in the two capitals, Beijing and Nanjing. The northern edition was of better quality, but it was kept at the royal court. It was extremely difficult to make an appeal to get it printed. Many copies of the Tripitakas kept in temples in Eastern China were presented by the emperor during the Jingtai period (1450-1456). The *Nanzang* was available, but it contained many errors. Scholars made efforts to correct them, but in vain. Besides, the price for this kind of Tripitaka was as high as six hundred *liang* of silver per set. How could people in remote areas or in poor areas be able to buy a set? That is why many people have never been able even to have a look at the Tripitaka.³¹

The first page of this book is stamped with someone's name and has a short note: "Ye Qingrong, an officer believer in Buddhism presents this *Nanzang* to Taici Monastery (Taici conglin). The Tripitaka is never allowed to be taken out."³²

Existing portions of a set of a Tripitaka edition started in the Song dynasty, the so-called *Qisha zang*, were reprinted in facsimile in Shanghai during the years 1931-1935. The original parts on which the reprint was based were kept at Kaiyuansi and Wolongsi, two Buddhist monasteries in Xi'an. The original edition consisted of 1,532 *bu* in 6,362 *juan* in 593 *han*. As for the missing parts, the publishers borrowed from other editions to make the reprint as complete as possible. According to Professor Zhou Shujia, a well-known Buddhist scholar, the borrowings were made from the following editions: the *Sixi zang*, printed in 1132 in the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) and formerly kept in the Songpo tushuguan in Beijing (now in the Beijing Library); an edition believed printed in the Jingding period (1260-1264) in the Southern Song dynasty, kept in a collection in Guangdong Province; the *Puning zang*, printed in the Yuan dynasty, formerly in the collection of Kang Youwei in Guangdong Province; a Yuan edition kept in the Yongquansi in Fuzhou, Fujian Province;³³ and the *Nangzang* kept in Langshan, Nantong xian, Jiangsu Province.³⁴

Li Yuanjing, a scholar who participated in the reprinting of this *Qisha zang* during the 1930s, holds that the Tripitaka kept in the Guangjiaosi,

Langshan, Nantong, is actually a set of the *Beizang*.³⁵ Hu Shi also mentions that the editors borrowed the *Yongle zang* to make up the missing parts of the *Qisha zang*. Dr. Hu says, "The *Yongle edition* is the *Ming beizang* (Northern edition of the Ming dynasty) engraved in Beijing in the eighth year of the Yongle Period (1410)."³⁶ This is understandable, because when the reprint of the *Qisha zang* began, the *Hongwu nanzang* had not yet been discovered.

Both Li Yuanjing and the Buddhist author Daoan seem to hold the view that there was only one edition of the Tripitaka in Nanjing. Li mentions that there were four editions in the Ming dynasty. One was the *Beizang* and another was the *Nanzang*. During the reigns of Emperor Xianzong (1465-1487) and Emperor Shenzong (1573-1620), two other editions were newly engraved — one made at Wulin and the other at Jingshan or Jiaying, both in Zhejiang Province.³⁷

When I revised this paper I was able to consult *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* compiled by Bunyiu Nanjio. I found that Nanjio, careful as he was, was perplexed by the records of the Chinese scholars. It is possible that Chinese scholars themselves were confused. Let me quote a passage from Nanjio to show what I mean (NB, many terms in the passage are not in any standard romanization).

The thirteenth Catalogue in existence, No. 1662 (see p. xxvii), is the base of the present compilation. This was originally the Catalogue of the Southern Collection or Edition of the Chinese Buddhist Canon, published in Nanking ("Southern Capital"), under the reign of Thai-tsu [Taizu], the first Emperor of the Min [Ming] Dynasty, who reigned A.D. 1368-1398. But it is now used also as the Catalogue of a reproduction of the Northern Collection or Edition of 1621 works (Nos 1-1621), first published in Peking ("Northern Capital"), by the order of Khan-tsu [Chengzu] or Thai-tsun [Taizong], the third Emperor of the Min Dynasty, who reigned A.D. 1403-1424, together with 41 additional works (No 1622-1662), published by a Chinese Priest named Mi Tsan [Mizang],³⁸ after some twenty or thirty years' labour, beginning from A.D. 1586. Afterwards, in A.D. 1678-1681, this edition was republished in Japan by a Japanese priest

named Dō-Kō or Tetsu-gen whose labours will be described below.

The Southern and Northern Collections or Editions made under the Min Dynasty may be called the tenth and eleventh Collections made by the Emperors of China, if the Southern Edition is the same as that which is said to have been published by Thai-tsu, in Nanking. For in a composition by the Chinese Bhikshu Tao-khai [Daokai],³⁹ dated 1586 A.D., we read: "The Emperor Thai-tsu Kao (A.D. 1368-1398) caused the whole Pitaka to be engraved in Kin-lian [Jinling] (Nanking), and the Emperor Thai-tsun Wan (A.D. 1403-1424) again caused a good edition to be published in Pe-pin (Peking)."

But there is another statement about these two Collections or Editions, namely: "In the Yun-lō [Yongle] period A.D. 1403-1424, of the Min Dynasty, an edition was published (by the Emperor) in the capital (Peking), which is called the Northern Pitaka or Collection of the Sanskrit Books (translated into Chinese). Again there was a private edition among the people, and the blocks for the publication were kept at Kia-hhin-fu [Jiaxingfu] in Chehkiang [Zhejiang]. This is called the Southern Pitaka or Collection."⁴⁰

I would like to point out that all these materials mention the title *Ming nanzang*. They refer to the Tripitaka engraved in the reign of Chengzu, 1403-1424, but not to the edition made during the Hongwu era, 1368-1398. Analyzing the first source mentioned above, we notice that the book *Kezang yuanqi* was printed in 1586. The woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* had been destroyed 178 years before then. Scholars have not been able to find out the exact year the *Yongle nanzang* was started, but it was surely completed by 1419. In 1421, Emperor Chengzu ordered the carving of the *Yongle beizang*, which was finished in 1440, almost twenty years later. By 1586, the woodblocks of the *Yongle nanzang* had been used for printing the Tripitaka for 167 years. Their condition had deteriorated, and as a result the later printings were almost unreadable.

Second, since the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* were destroyed, it was difficult for an ordinary temple to ask for a set of this

edition of the Tripitaka. How could an individual obtain a set? The *Nanzang* referred to above, presented by Ye Qingrong in 1871, should be the *Yongle nanzang* engraved in Nanjing between 1409 and 1419.

Third, the edition kept in the Guangjiao Monastery in Langshan, Nantong County, should be considered as a *Yongle nanzang*. In a correction to his previous work, Zhou Shujia accepts Lü Cheng's position, saying that the so-called *Nanzang* should be the edition made in 1419 in the reign of Emperor Chengzu, that is, the *Yongle nanzang*.⁴¹

Fourth, one of the participants responsible for the organization of the Jingshan Tripitaka was Mizang. The engraving started in 1589 and was finished in 1676, almost ninety years later. One of the most important changes is in the format: the sutra folded binding of the older Tripitaka editions was changed into thread binding. This has had a great impact on the later editions of the Tripitaka. Another characteristic is that it includes many "zangwai dianji," namely, scriptures, explanations of the scriptures, rituals, quotations, and so forth, which were not included in standard Tripitaka editions. It is clearly different from other editions of the Tripitaka, and it certainly cannot be called *Nanzang*.

Next, I consider the format of the *Hongwu nanzang*. Each leaf, printed from a single side of a woodblock, contains five pages; each page has six columns, and each column has seventeen characters (see figure 2). This general rule, however, has some exceptions in the *Hongwu nanzang*. For example, *Dacheng baifa mingmen lunshu xu* (*Mahāyāna-śātdharma-prakāśamu-śāstra*) by Kuiji has six columns of nineteen characters per page (see figure 3). As stated earlier, forty-eight titles of the Chengdu *Hongwu nanzang* are manuscript copies, perhaps written by Zongxing at the end of the Qing period. Checking the catalogue in the Sichuan Provincial Library, I found that more than twenty titles of scriptures have missing *juan*, and many of the missing parts belong to the section on Chinese Chan Buddhism.

The *Hongwu nanzang* has 678 cases, totaling about 6,065 *juan* according to the Sichuan Provincial Library catalogue.⁴² The basic collection totals 591 cases ("Qianziwen bianhao" from "tian" to "fan"). The last eighty-seven cases were added later ("Qianziwen bianhao" from "xing" to "yu"). Some texts, such as *Jitai pudenglu*, *Yaoshi jing*, *Huayanjing shuke*, *Dafang guangfo huayanjing shu*,⁴³ and *Baifa lunshu*, are included.

大雲初分大眾捷渡第一

如是我聞一時佛在王舍城耆闍崛山中與大比丘僧九萬八千大迦葉等而為上首一切皆是大阿羅漢諸漏已盡皆得自在其心

調柔如香象王隨順善道心得解脫智慧無礙捨離重擔所作已辦永斷諸有所修禁戒清淨微妙心到彼岸威德巍巍有大名稱具足成就得八解脫皆於晨朝從禪定起徃至佛所頭面禮佛合掌恭敬右遶三匝修敬已畢却坐一面復有比丘尼眾六萬五千摩訶波闍波提比丘尼而為上首亦於晨朝從禪定起徃至佛所頭面禮足合掌恭敬右遶三匝修敬已畢却坐一面

復有菩薩摩訶薩六萬八千一切皆是大香象王其名曰大雲密藏菩薩摩訶薩大雲得志菩薩摩訶薩大雲電光菩薩摩訶薩大雲雷震菩薩摩訶薩大雲勤藏菩薩摩訶薩大雲愛樂菩薩摩訶薩大雲歡喜菩薩摩訶薩大雲性菩薩摩訶薩大雲金剛首菩薩摩訶薩大雲寶首菩薩摩訶薩大雲吼菩薩摩訶薩大雲名稱菩薩摩訶薩大雲願華菩薩摩訶薩大雲施雨菩薩摩訶薩大雲不輕菩薩

2. *Dafang deng dayun jing*. *Hongwu nanzang* edition. Each page has six columns of seventeen characters. Collection of the Sichuan Provincial Library, Chengdu.

大乘百法明門論疏序

西京大慈恩寺沙門

窈基

序

法八二

粵惟至理杳冥湛玄樞而含妙躅權方孕道凝覺智以闢昏衢鑿慈雲而誘大千霏法雨而津百億然以懷生莫感職我法雄於是息唱金河韜光鶴樹佛圓寂後百歲已前異人挺生群聖間出淳源尚挹真軌猶同雖眾聖住持叶如之化自後法乖一味水乳兩和譬拚黃金猶分白疊邪途亂轍正法陵夷色心假實異其宗有無之說虧其實爰有大士厥号天親嗣至聖之玄風紹法王之令軌鬱造斯論五法合成啓有空之兩門闢二邊之異執文遠理博難可詳焉首稱大乘百法明門論者惣宏綱之極唱旌一部之通名復云本事分中略錄名數者纂義類之鴻猷簡一分之別目大用遮詮立号乘以運載得名百法以體用雙陳明門以能所兼舉循環研覈究暢真宗磨恒理迦目之為論本事分者即瑜珈本事分也良且彼論文廣義豐尋波討源輒難曉悟乃甄集宗要成斯雅論廣文委囑他部略論抑不繁詞故云畧錄表詮呼召稱之曰名有所度量号之為數故云大乘百法明門論本事分中畧錄名數

3. *Dacheng baifa mingmen lunshu xu*. *Hongwu nanzang* edition. Each page has six columns of nineteen characters. Collection of the Sichuan Provincial Library, Chengdu.

These texts cannot be found in the *Yongle nanzang* or other editions of the Buddhist canon.

According to the *Da Ming sanzang shengjiao nanzang mulu* (Catalogue of the Southern Yongle edition) in *Jinling fancha zhi* (Records of the Buddhist temples in Nanjing), the *Yongle nanzang* contains 1,610 *bu* of scriptures, totaling 6,331 *juan*, in 636 *han* (“*Qianziwen bianhao*” serial numbering is from “*tian*” to “*shi*”). There are some changes in the *Yongle nanzang*. For instance, a few texts such as *Jitai pudenglu* were not included. Tong Wei says that after the engraving was finished, all the woodblocks were stored in Baoensi. About twenty sets of the *Yongle nanzang* were printed each year. Therefore, it is much easier to find copies of the edition. In 1606 regulations were made that priced the Tripitaka according to the quality of the three kinds of paper used.⁴⁴

Emperor Chengzu decided to start the *Yongle nanzang* in 1409, soon after the *Hongwu nanzang* was destroyed. He called Monk Shanqi and others to proofread the original.⁴⁵ It is not clear when the engraving began, but we know that it was done at the Baoensi. According to *Jinling fancha zhi*, about 120 Buddhist monks participated in the proofreading, which was done seven times.⁴⁶

The editors of the *Yongle nanzang* made some changes in the order of the Tripitaka. They placed the sutras, vinayas, and abhidharma in the first part and rearranged other parts:

- “Dacheng wudabu jing” (Five grand classes of sutras of the Mahāyāna school), “*Qianziwen bianhao*” from “*tian*” to “*ju*,” totaling 134 cases;
- “Wudabu wai chongyi jing” (Retranslations of sutras excluded from the preceding five classes), “*Qianziwen bianhao*” from “*shi*” to “*shi*,” totaling 48 cases;
- “Danyi jing” (Sutras of single translation excluded from the five classes), “*Qianziwen bianhao*” from “*yi*” to “*xian*,” totaling 22 cases;
- “Xiaocheng jing” (Sutras of Hīnayāna school), including *āgama* class, and sutras of single translation, excluded from the preceding class, “*Qianziwen bianhao*” from “*ke*” to “*dang*,” totaling 46 cases;

- “Song Yuan ruzang zhu daxiaocheng jing” (Sutras of the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools, admitted into the canon during the later [or Northern] and Southern Song and Yuan dynasties), from “*jie*” to “*an*,” totaling 37 cases;
- “Xitu shengxian zhuanji” (Works by Indian sages), from “*ding*” to “*you*,” totaling 19 cases;
- “Daxiaocheng lü” (Vinayas of both the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools), from “*deng*” to “*jiao*,” totaling 55 cases;
- “Lunzang” (*Abhidharma-piṭaka*), including “Daxiaocheng lun” (Abhidharmas of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools), from “*you*” to “*qi*,” totaling 124 cases;
- “Song Yuan xu ruzang zhulun” (Works of the abhidharmas of the Mahāyāna school and Hīnayāna school, successively admitted into the canon during the Later [or Northern] and Southern Song and Yuan dynasties), from “*shu*” to “*luo*,” totaling 5 cases;
- “Cifang zhuanhu” (Chinese Buddhists’ works), from “*jiang*” to “*shi*,” totaling 146 cases.⁴⁷

This approach to classifying the scriptures of the Tripiṭaka has had far-reaching significance for subsequent editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. This reform changed the previous order, regulated by the *Kaiyuan shijiaolu* (Kaiyuan catalogue), in which the scriptures of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Schools were placed in the first part, followed by the sutras, vinayas, and abhidharma. The previous editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, including the *Hongwu nanzang*, were arranged according to the order in the *Kaiyuan shijiaolu*. Other newly translated sutras and works during and after the Song dynasty were arranged in a somewhat disorganized way. The editors of the *Yongle nanzang* used a different approach to arrange the Tripiṭaka.

When the words of the “*Qianziwen bianhao*” in the *Hongwu nanzang* and the *Yongle nanzang* are compared, the differences in the two editions are immediately apparent. Table 1, taken from the biographical section of the *Hongwu nanzang* and *Yongle nanzang*, compares the two editions of the “*Qianziwen bianhao*.” The differences clearly distinguish the editions. These works are catalogued in the “Chinese Buddhists’ Works” section of the *Yongle nanzang*. Here each word in the “*Qianziwen*

Table 1

BIOGRAPHICAL SECTIONS OF THE TWO EDITIONS

TITLE OF THE BOOK	HONGWU NANZANG	YONGLE NANZANG
<i>Fozu tongji</i> (Records of the lineage of Buddha patriarchs — A history of Chinese Buddhism)	“shang” to “meng”	“cheng” to “jie”
<i>Shijia shipu</i> (A record of the Śākya lineage)	“xian”	“jiang” to “xiang”
<i>Shijia pu</i> (A record of the Śākya family)	“cai”	“xiang” ^a
<i>Lidai sanbao ji</i> (Record concerning the three precious things, namely Tri-ratna: Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha under successive dynasties)	“she” to “xi”	“zhu” to “yun” ^b
<i>Da Tang xiyuji</i> (Record of the Western Regions under the Tang dynasty, or journey to the west)	“zhuan” to “yi”	“gan” to “bing” ^c
<i>Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan</i> (Records of the “inner law” or religion, sent from the South Sea Country through one who returns to China)	“qun”	“gong”
<i>Da Song gaoseng zhuan</i> (Biographies of eminent Buddhist monks in the Song dynasty)	“dan” to “ying”	“lu” to “fu”
<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> (Biographies of eminent Buddhist monks)	“tong” to “guang”	“nian” to “qu”
<i>Xu gaoseng zhuan</i> (Sequel to biographies of eminent Buddhist monks)	“nei” to “cheng”	“gu” to “shi”
<i>Da Tang da ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan</i> (Life of the Tang-dynasty teacher of the law of Tripitaka, who lived at the Da cien monastery [Da ciensi])	“you”	“gao”
<i>Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan</i> (Biographies of eminent Buddhist monks under the great Tang dynasty, who visited the Western Regions in search of the law)	“guang”	“bing”
<i>Faxian zhuan</i> (Biography of Faxian)	“guang”	“bing”
<i>Biqiuni zhuan</i> (Biographies of celebrated bhikṣuṇī)	“qun”	“gong”

^a In the *Yongle nanzang* another work, entitled *Shijia fangzhi*, is found under this “Qianziwen bianhao.”

^b In the *Yongle nanzang* three other works, entitled *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *Ji shenzhou tasi sanbao gantong lu*, and *Fa Xian zhuan*, are found under these “Qianziwen bianhao.”

^c In the *Yongle nanzang* two other works, entitled *Zhen zheng lun* and *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, are found under these “Qianziwen bianhao.”

bianhao” represents a scripture or a group of scriptures; in some cases several words represent one sutra.

FEATURES OF THE HONGWU NANZANG

According to Lü Cheng, the *Hongwu nanzang* has eighty-seven additional *han* (“*Qianziwen bianhao*” from “*xing*” to “*yu*”), with about eighty works, totaling 730 *juan*. He also mentions a few volumes I did not find in the catalogue. For instance, he says that *Liuzu tanjing* (The Platform Sutra of the sixth patriarch), *Wanshan tonggui ji* (A compilation on the principle that several different kinds of goodness have but the same final object, that is, truth), and *Mingjue yulu* (Record of the sayings of the *dhyāna* teacher Mingjue), are found under “*yong*” and “*jun*” in the “*Qianziwen bianhao*” sequence. It appears that these three books are missing. Other scriptures, including three handwritten works, are placed under “*yong*” and “*jun*.” They are *Dafang guangfo huayanjing ru bu siyi jietuo jingjie puxian xingyuan pin shu chao hui ben* (Chapter on the practice and prayer of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, and art on the Acintyaṣāya, in the *Mahāvaiṣṭya-buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*, “*yong*”); *Cibei shui chanfa* (Rules for the confession of water mercy and compassion), orally transmitted by Zhixuan, manuscript, (“*jun*”); *Fazhi yibian guanxin erbai wen* (Two hundred questions on the treatise about meditation on the heart, being a work left by Fazhi), posthumously compiled by Zhili (960-1028), collected by Jizhong, (“*jun*”); *Guan zizai pusa ruyi lunzhou ke fa* (Rules for the recital of the Avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva-padma cintāmaṇi dhāraṇi), by Renyue, manuscript (“*jun*”).

Lü says that the basic portion of the *Hongwu nanzang*, totaling 591 *han* (from “*tian*” to “*fan*”) follows the format of the *Qisha zang*. Scriptures were added after the five hundredth character (that is, after “*xian*”). Some scriptures that were popular in northern China, however, were not included in the *Qisha zang*. These can be found in the *Hongwu nanzang*; among them are:

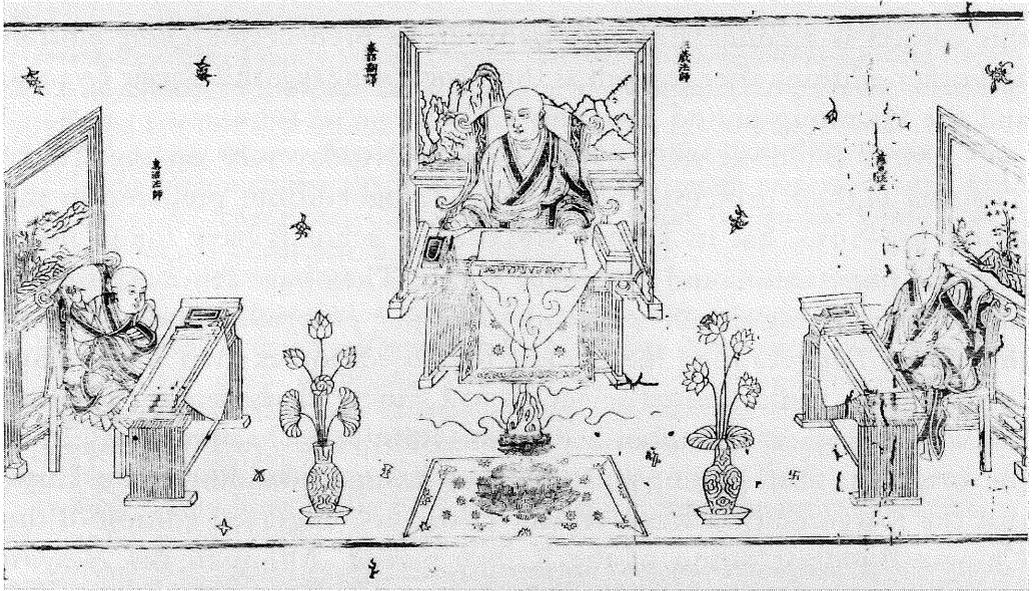
Jiudu fomu ershiyizhong lizan jing (*Ārya-trāta-buddharmātrkā-vimsati-pūjāstotra-sūtra*), one *juan*, under the character “*bing*” in the “*Qianziwen bianhao*” system;

Yaoshi gongde jing (*Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya prabhāṣa pūrvapraṇidhānaḡuṇa sūtra*), one *juan*, under the character “qing”;
Fan dabeī shen Zhou (*Mahākāruṇika mantra, or dhāraṇī*), one *juan*,
 under the character “qu”;
Baifa lunshu (*Śatadharmavidyādvāra-śāstra*), two *juan*, under the
 character “fa.”

Another striking difference between the *Hongwu nanzang* and the *Qisha zang* is that in all the scriptures of the *Qisha zang*, the scribe’s name is noted. The *Hongwu nanzang* has retained the original names. This kind of information is useful for studying various aspects of Buddhist monasteries at the time, including, for example, the economy of both monasteries and the believers who donated the funds for printing the *Qisha zang*, and the education of the monks and lay people. As for the kind of approach called *pinti*, meaning “offering commentary” to cataloguing the long scriptures in the *Qisha zang*, for instance the *prajñā* sutras, the explanations for these *pinti* are simpler. In the *Hongwu nanzang* detailed information about the title of the scripture and its related *pinti* is given. This is one of the most striking differences between the two editions.⁴⁸ With these differences in mind, we can identify which is the *Qisha zang* and which the *Hongwu nanzang*.

Lü points out that not only was the *Hongwu nanzang* collated with the *Qisha zang*, it was carefully checked against another better edition preserved in the Miaoyansi. Therefore, the *Hongwu nanzang* may be compared with the older *Qisha zang* to figure out the missing parts. We do not have a complete list of the “*Qianziwen bianhao*” characters used in the *Qisha zang*, in which some characters are missing. Thanks to the *Hongwu nanzang*, we can gain a clearer understanding of what is missing. In addition, there are more entries relating to quotations from the Chan School in the *Hongwu nanzang*. This has far-reaching significance for the criteria for the later editions of the Tripitaka.⁴⁹

There is a rare woodcut illustration in the *Hongwu nanzang*. The picture (see figure 4) vividly depicts how Xuanzang, the great Buddhist translator and traveler, is concentrating on the translation with his two disciples. The picture itself is of great value for the history of Chinese woodcuts and book illustration.⁵⁰ This illustration has been cited recently in many books on Chinese Buddhism, including *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu*:



4. Woodcut illustration of Xuanzang and two disciples at work translating. *Hongwu nanzang* edition. Collection of the Sichuan Provincial Library, Chengdu.

zongjiao juan. This picture or its subject is not found in other previous Tripitaka editions.

CONCLUSION

This paper discusses the origin and destruction of a rare edition of the Buddhist canon, the *Hongwu nanzang*; the set of the *Hongwu nanzang* kept in the Shanggu Monastery in Sichuan Province; the relationship between the *Hongwu nanzang* and the *Yongle nanzang*; and the distinctive features of the *Hongwu nanzang*. It also deals with the relationship between the *Qisha zang* and the *Hongwu nanzang*. I believe that the Tripitaka preserved in the Sichuan Provincial Library is the authentic *Hongwu nanzang* and that it is worthy of further study. The reprint of the *Hongwu nanzang* will provide a good basis for such study.

Why is it necessary to continue to study the Sichuan Provincial Library's *Hongwu nanzang*? First and foremost, this copy is the only extant authentic edition of the *Hongwu nanzang* in the world. Second,

this edition is a connecting link between its predecessor *Qisha* edition and other editions after it, such as the *Yongle nanzang*, the *Yongle beizang*, and the Qianlong-period *Longzang* edition.

Most Buddhist scholars in the world today rely on the *Taisho Tripitaka* as their principal source. The *Taisho* edition, prepared in the years 1924–1934, has its known weaknesses: scholars have found many errors in punctuation and the use of words. They have felt its classification of the catalogues and contents to be inappropriate. The editors of the *Taisho Tripitaka* used the Korean Koryŏ edition as their source. But the publisher had a limited selection of Chinese characters for printing the whole project, and often had to use substitute characters instead of the originals, thus causing mistakes and misunderstandings. We know that the Koryŏ edition was a reprint of the first engraved edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon of the Kaibao period. Although the *Hongwu nanzang* is not directly related to the Kaibao edition, it was a reprint of the *Qisha zang*. The *Qisha zang* was started during the years 1225–1227 and was completed in the second year of Zhizhi in the Yuan dynasty (1322). Therefore, this *Qisha zang* was closer to the original, and this is where the value of the *Hongwu nanzang* lies. Hu Shi claimed that the *Qisha zang* in the Gest Library has certain advantages over the *Taisho* edition; the *Hongwu nanzang*, better edited, may be expected to have even more validity. What is more important is that the *Hongwu nanzang* was punctuated by eminent monks and scholars. This punctuation work paves the way for future comparative studies of the *Taisho Tripitaka*, which is why Lü Cheng, in his conclusion, evaluated this *Hongwu nanzang* so highly.⁵¹

NOTES

I am grateful to Dr. Wilhelm Müller, professor at the German School in Beijing; Dr. Tonino Pugginoni, secretary of the Italian embassy in China; and Dr. Richard Kimball, associate dean of Hsi Lai University, for their careful reading and suggestions for the improvement of this paper. I would like to express my hearty thanks to Professor Bai Huawen, Department of Library Science, Beijing University, whose advice made this investigation possible. Many thanks are also due Professor Peng Bangming, chief librarian in charge of rare books in the Sichuan Provincial Library, who generously offered his help. I also express my thanks to Professor Tu

Wei-ming and Eugene Wu whose generous help enabled me to have access to the Harvard-Yenching Library where I found materials not available in Chinese libraries. I am in debt to Professor Lewis Lancaster and Hsi Lai University for their help in offering a scholarship for my research.

1. Chongqing County should not be confused with the city of Chongqing, one of the biggest cities on the Yangzi River in the eastern part of Sichuan, well known for having been the capital of China during the Second World War. It is about 475 kilometers east of Chengdu.
2. Lü Cheng, "Ming chuke nanzang," in *Lü Cheng foxue lunzhu xuanji* (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 1475-1479. Another essay entitled "Nanzang chuke kao" is found in *Ouyang dashi yiji* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1473-1484. This essay is reprinted in *Lü Cheng ji* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 246-249. Professor Lü lived in Sichuan Province during the years of the Anti-Japanese War, and he was likely to have had access to the *Hongwu nanzang* at that time.
3. Fang Guangchang, *Fojiao dianji baiwen* (Beijing: Jinri Zhongguo chubanshe, 1989), p. 172.
4. Tong Wei, *Ershier zhong dazangjing tongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p. 14. Fang Guangchang, *Fojiao dianji kailun* (Beijing: Zhongguo luoji yu yuyan hanshou daxue zongjiaoxi jiaocai, 1993), p. 180.
5. According to Wang Zhongfen, *Zhongguo mingsi zhidian* (Beijing: Zhongguo lüyou chubanshe, 1991), p. 191, the Chongshan Monastery possesses several Buddhist treasures, including a whole set of the Ming *Nanzang* engraved in 1551, which probably refers to a later impression of the *Yongle nanzang*.
6. *Ibid.* The author says that the Ming *Nanzang* and Ming *Beizang* were presented by the emperor during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722) and the Qianlong reign (1736-1796) of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Again, I have to suspect the accuracy of this source.
7. *Zhongguo guji shanben shumumu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), *zibu*, number 10302. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Sören Edgren for this and other information about these libraries. I think further investigation is needed for an accurate understanding of exactly how much of the *Hongwu nanzang* has been preserved.
8. The *Qisha zang* is an edition of the Buddhist canon engraved in Qisha Yanshengyuan in Jiangsu Province. The engraving started in the Southern Song dynasty and was completed in the Yuan dynasty (approximately 1231-1322). The Gest Library of Princeton University holds a set of the original edition. Dr. Hu Shi wrote a detailed essay about this set of the Qisha Tripitaka. See Hu Shi, "Ji Meiguo Pulinsidun daxue de Geside dongfang shuku cang de *Qisha zangjing* yuanben," in *Dazangjing yanjiu huibian*, ed. Zhang Mantao (Taipei: Dacheng wenhua chubanshe, 1977), pt. 1, pp. 281-290. See also Sören Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China Institute, 1984), pp. 80-81.
9. This is a translation of the term "*wushi bajiao*" given in William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (1934; Taipei:

- Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1983), p. 119. For further information see Zhixu, "Yuezang zhijin" (48 *juan*), in *Fabao zongmulu* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 1007–1252.
10. Ge Yinliang (*jinsi* 1601), *Jinling fancha zhi*, in *Dazangjing bubian* (Taipei: Huayu chubanshe, 1986), vol. 29, p. 53.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
 12. Ju Ding, "Xu chuandenglu xu," in *Xu zangjing* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976), vol. 142, p. 213.
 13. "Xin xu gaoseng zhuan siji," vol. 19, in *Gaoseng zhuan heji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 840.
 14. Shanshi was the title of the two Buddhist patriarchs, "prefixed titles Left and Right . . . principal members of the Central Buddhist Registry . . . in the central government, under general supervision of the Ministry of Rites . . . recognized by the state, at least nominally, as heads of the empire-wide Buddhist clergy and held accountable for the authenticity and proper conduct of all Buddhist monks and nuns." See Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), no. 4960. Thanks to Professor Wilhelm Müller for his kind assistance and suggestions.
 15. *Ibid.*, nos. 3462 and 5278.
 16. *Ibid.*, no. 1127.
 17. *Ibid.*, no. 7840.
 18. Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fancha zhi*, pp. 68–69.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
 20. The Shanggusi and Xiagusi are less than one hundred meters apart, the former being situated on a slightly higher slope. There is no library at the Shanggu Monastery. According to Abbot Dengkuan the Tripitaka had been kept in the library of the Xiagu Monastery. The two monasteries were restored in recent years. As for Monk Zhangxue, he was an eminent Buddhist monk and abbot of the famous Zhaojuesi in Chengdu in the early Qing dynasty. He was good at writing, but I suspect that he made a mistake. First, he probably was aware of the woodblocks of the Tripitaka engraved in the Song dynasty, but he seemed to be ignorant of the *Hongwu nanzang*. Second, there has been no record of any printing of the Tripitaka by Prince Xian in Sichuan Province in the Ming dynasty. And third, Prince Xian's fourth son was granted the title prince of Chongqing. There is no record of his printing the Tripitaka either. Being an imperial prince assigned to reside in a small county, he was unlikely to possess funds sufficient to print a whole set of the Tripitaka. It was now in the fourteenth year of the Yongle era (1416), and the woodblocks of the *Hongwu nanzang* were already destroyed. The woodblocks of the *Yongle nanzang*, on the other hand, were not completed until 1417 at the earliest. Therefore there must be some confusion in Zhangxue's inscription about the printing of the Tripitaka. See *Chongqing xianzhi* (Chengdu: Changfu gongsi, 1926), vol. 6, Zongjiao (section on religion), pp. 16–17.
 21. *Mingshi lu* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1961), vol. 6, p. 540.

22. Zhang Tingyu (1672–1755) et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), vol. 117, p. 3580.
23. Fu Weilin (*jinshi* 1646, d. 1667), *Mingshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, vol. 86, p. 1746. Laifu wrote poems to flatter Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang. The emperor, having received little education, was suspicious of any words related to his name and his past experience of being a monk, and instantly flew into a rage and ordered the execution of Laifu. See Wang Zhiping, *Diwang yu fojiao* (Emperors and Buddhism) (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1998), pp. 210–222.
24. This *Jinzang* has been the basis of the reprint of *Zhonghua dazangjing* by Zhonghua shuju, Beijing. To replace the missing parts, the editors used the *Tripitaka Koreana*, texts of the Fangshan stone carvings, *Zifu zang*, the reprinted *Qisha zang*, *Puning zang*, *Yongle nanzang*, *Jingshan zang*, and *Qingzang*. In some volumes, *Hongwu nanzang* and *Yongle beizang* are chosen.
25. Ouyang Jingwu (1871–1943), “De chuke nanzang ji” (Notes on how we obtained the *First Southern Edition of the Buddhist Canon*), *Ouyang dashi yiji* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 1471–1472.
26. According to the recent edition of the *Chongqing xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Chongqing County) published in 1991 by Sichuan renmin chubanshe, the Gusi is situated in the Fengqi Mountains and was built in 864 in the Tang dynasty, which conflicts with the date given by Dengkuan.
27. In imperial China there was a system for avoiding the names of the emperors. The character “le” in Changlesi is the same as in Yongle. Therefore, according to the abbot’s letter, it was necessary to change the name of the monastery to Guangyan chanyuan. As it happens, this story betrays a misunderstanding of the system of taboo characters. The characters in reign names, such as Yongle, were never taboo. Furthermore, although the practice was vigorously implemented in the Song and Qing periods, it was scarcely used at all in the Yuan and Ming periods, and in the Ming officially used only after 1620.
28. This is verified by the 1991 edition of *Chongqing xianzhi* (p. 726). It further states “In July 1951, the Bureau of Culture and Education of the West Sichuan government sent two trucks to carry the Tripitaka to Chengdu. The Tripitaka totaled 683 *han* and 5,000 *juan*.”
29. This Qing edition of the Tripitaka was carved between 1735 and 1738. People call it *Longzang* (Dragon canon) because it is an imperial edition, although it is sometimes called the Qianlong canon because of when it was produced. It is comparatively rare because the imperial court only printed a hundred copies. The court distributed these copies to big monasteries in China. In 1935, twenty-two additional sets were printed. The format is taken from the *Yongle beizang*. The woodblocks, totaling 78,238 pieces, are still preserved in Beijing. They are generally in good condition, but owing to years of neglect, about 3,400 woodblocks are damaged. See Liu Jingjian’s report, “Three Treasures Kept in Yunju Monastery,” *Qiaobao*, B11, August 14, 1998.
30. “Xin xu gaoseng zhuan siji,” in *Gaoseng zhuan heji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 59, pp. 941–942.

31. Feng Mengzhen (1546–1605), “Ke dazang yuanqi,” in *Kezang yuanqi* (1586), ed. Lu Guangzu (1521–1597) and Feng Mengzhen, pp. 5–6.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
33. The production of a complete Tripitaka edition was costly and time consuming. Therefore, people sometimes engraved just four sections of it, which was called “four sections of the lesser Tripitaka,” and this is one such edition. The four sections include *Borebu* (Prajñā-pāramitā class), *Baojibu* (Ratnakara class), *Dajibu* (Mahā-saṃnipāta class) or *Huayanbu* (Avatamsaka class), and *Niepanbu* (Nirvāṇa class), totaling eighty-six works in 1,091 volumes. They were col-lated and engraved according to the *Pilu zang*, the *Zifu zang*, or the *Qisha zang*. See Tong Wei, *Er shi er zhong dazangjing tongjian*, pp. 17–18.
34. Zhou Shujia, “Da zangjing diaoyuan yinliu jilüe,” in *Zhou Shujia foxue lunzhu ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 562–563.
35. Li Yuanjing, “Lidai hanwen dazangjing gaishu,” in *Dazangjing yanjiu huibian*, ed. Zhang Mantao (Taipei: Dacheng wenhua chubanshe, 1977), pt. 1, p. 98.
36. Hu Shi, “Ji Meiguo Pulinsidun daxue de Geside dongfang shuku cangde *Qisha zangjing* yuanben,” pt. 1, p. 282. According to Dr. Hu, the copy of the *Qisha zang* preserved in the Gest Library at Princeton University is more complete than the two copies of the *Qisha zang* kept in the two monasteries in Xi’an. It has 5,348 volumes, 700 of which were printed in the thirteenth century. More than 1,630 volumes were made in the fourteenth century. Over 840 volumes were printed in the Ming dynasty. The remaining 2,100 volumes are manu-scripts copied around 1600. Hu Shi claims that “most of the 840 volumes printed in the Ming dynasty belong to the *Nanzang*, which was engraved in the Hongwu Period (1368–1398 CE). They were made in Nanjing. The *Nanzang* is hard to find in China.” For more information, see his article, pp. 281–290.
37. Li Yuanjing, “Lidai hanwen dazangjing kaishu,” and Venerable Daoan, “Zhongguo dazangjing diaoyin shi,” in *Dazangjing yanjiu huibian*, ed. Zhang Mantao (Taipei: Dacheng wenhua chubanshe, 1977), pt. 1, pp. 98 and 148 respectively.
38. Mizang (d. 1593), also named Daokai, was one of the key participants respon-sible for the organization of the engraving and printing of *Jingshan fangceben zangjing* (Jingshan Tripitaka). This edition of the Tripitaka is characterized by its thread-bound format; the printing began in 1589 and continued well into the early Qing period. See Lü Cheng, “Ming ke Jingshan fangce zangjing,” in *Lü Cheng foxue lunzhu xuanji* (Ji’nan: Qilu chushe, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 1484–1489.
39. That is, Mizang. See the previous note.
40. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalog of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883; reprinted San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1973), pp. xxiii–xxiv.
41. Zhou Shujia, “Da zangjing diaoyuan yinliu jilüe,” p. 569.
42. The catalogue of the Sichuan Provincial Library and *Chongqing xianzhi* do not agree here. The gazetteer editions report a total of either 683 or 684 cases.

43. For the text of *Jiatai pudenglu*, see *Zhonghua dazangjing* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994), vol. 75, pp. 1–266; for that of *Huayanjing shu ke*, see *ibid.*, vol. 90, pp. 1–80; for that of *Dafang guangfo huayanjing shu*, see *ibid.*, pp. 544–964.
44. Tong Wei, *Ershier zhong dazangjing tongjian*, p. 14. See also “Hanwen dazangjing,” in *Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu: zongjiao juan* (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe, 1988), p. 154.
45. “Daming gaoseng zhuan,” vol. 3, in *Taisho Tripitaka* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1932–1934), vol. 50, p. 910, or *Gaoseng zhuan heji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 582.
46. Ge Yinliang, *Jinling fancha zhi*, pp. 70–71.
47. Lü Cheng, “Ming zaiké nanzang,” in *Lü Cheng foxue lunzhu xuanji*, vol. 3, pp. 1480–1483.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 1476–1478.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 1478.
50. Sha Mingpu and Peng Bangming, “Guanzang guji lüeshu,” in *Sichuansheng tushuguan jianguan bashi zhounian jinian wenji* (Chengdu: Sichuansheng tushuguan, 1992), p. 24.
51. Lü Cheng, *Lü Cheng ji*, p. 249.

GLOSSARY

Baifa lunshu 百法論疏	Chiwu 赤烏
Bai Huawen 白化文	Chongning wang 崇寧王
Baoensi 報恩寺	Chongqing wang 崇慶王
Baoguangsi 寶光寺	Chongqing xian 崇慶縣
Baojibu 寶積部	Chongqing xianzhi 崇慶縣志
Beizang 北藏	Chongshansi 崇善寺
Benxing 本性	Chuke nanzang 初刻南藏
bing 兵	Chun 椿
Biqiuni zhuan 比丘尼傳	Cibei shui chanfa 慈悲水懺法
Borebu 般若部	Cifang zhuan shu 此方撰述
bu 部	Da bore boluomiduo jing 大般若波羅蜜
cai 彩	多經
Chan 禪	Dacheng baifa mingmen lunshu xu 大乘百
Changgansi 常干寺	法明門論疏序
Changlesi 常樂寺	Dacheng wudabu jing 大乘五大部經
cheng → jie 城 → 竭	Da ciensi 大慈恩寺
Chengzu 成祖	Dafang deng dayun jing 大方等大雲經

- Dafang guangfo huayanjing ru bu siyi jietuo*
 jingjie puxian xingyuan pin shu chao hui ben
 大方廣佛華嚴經入不思議解脫境界普賢行願品疏鈔會本
Dafang guangfo huayanjing shu 大方廣佛華嚴經疏
 Dajibu 大集部
Da Ming gaoseng zhuan 大明高僧傳
Da Ming sanzang shengjiao nanzang mulu
 大明三藏聖教南藏目錄
 dan → ying 旦 → 營
 Danyi jing 單譯經
 Daoan 道安
 Daokai 道開
 Daoyan 道衍
Da Song gaoseng zhuan 大宋高僧傳
Da Tang da ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳
Da Tang xiyuji 大唐西域記
Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan 大唐西域求法高僧傳
 Daxiaocheng lü 大小乘律
 Daxiaocheng lun 大小乘論
 deng → jiao 登 → 交
 Dengkuan 燈寬
 ding → you 定 → 優
 Dingyan 定嚴
 Dō-Kō 道光
 Donggang 東崗
 fa 法
Fan dabeishi shenzhou 番大悲神咒
 Fang Guangchang 方廣鋸
 Fangshan 房山
 Faxian 法顯
Faxian zhuan 法顯傳
 Fazhi 法智
Fazhi yibian guanxin erbai wen 法智遺編
 觀心二百問
 Feng Mengzhen 馮夢禎
 Fengqi 鳳栖
Fozu tongji 佛祖統紀
 gan → bing 干 → 兵
 gao 高
Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳
 gong 功
 Gongbu shilang 工部侍郎
 gu → shi 穀 → 世
 guang 廣
 Guangjiaosi 廣教寺
 Guangyan chanyuan 光嚴禪院
Guan zizai pusa ruyi lunzhou ke fa 觀自在菩薩如意輪咒課法
 Gusi 古寺
 han 函
Hongwu nanzang 洪武南藏
 Huang Ligong 黃立恭
 Huanju 幻居
 Huayan 華嚴
 Huayanbu 華嚴部
 Huayang 華陽
Huayanjing shuke 華嚴經疏科
 Huidi 惠帝
 Hu Shi 胡適
 jiang → shi 將 → 石
 jiang → xiang 將 → 相
 Jiangshansi 蔣山寺

- Jiang Weixin 蔣唯心
Jiatai pudenglu 嘉泰普燈錄
 Jiaxing 嘉興
 Jiaxingfu 嘉興府
 jie → an 竭→安
 Jimingsi 雞鳴寺
 Jingding 景定
 Jingjie 淨戒
 Jingshan 徑山
Jingshan fangceben zangjing 徑山方冊本
 藏經
Jingshanzang 徑山藏
 Jinling 金陵
Jinling fancha zhi 金陵梵刹志
 Jinyiwei 錦衣衛
 Jinzang 金藏
 Jin Zhong 金忠
Ji shenzhou tasi sanbao gantong lu 集神州
 塔寺三寶感通錄
Jiudu fomu ershiyizhong lizan jing 救度佛
 母二十一種禮贊經
 Jizhong 繼忠
 juan 卷
 Jueyuantan 覺源曇
 jun 軍
 Juzan 巨贊
Kaibao zang 開寶藏
Kaiyuan shijiaolu 開元釋教錄
 Kaiyuansi 開元寺
 Kang Youwei 康有為
 ke → dang 克→當
Kezang yuanqi 刻藏緣起
 Kuiji 窺基
 Laifu 來復
 Langshan 狼山
 le 樂
 liang 兩
Lidai sanbao ji 歷代三寶記
 Linggusi 靈谷寺
Liuzu tanjing 六祖壇經
 Li Yuanjing 李圓淨
 Long Hui 龍晦
Longzang 龍藏
 lu → fu 祿→富
 Lü Cheng 呂澂
 Lu Guangzu 陸光祖
 Lunzang 論藏
 Miaoyansi 妙巖寺
Ming beizang 明北藏
Mingjue yulu 明覺語錄
Ming nanzang 明南藏
 Mizang 密藏
Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan 南海寄歸內
 法傳
 Nantong xian 南通縣
Nanzang 南藏
 nei → cheng 內→承
 nian → qu 輦→驅
 Niepanbu 涅槃部
 Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無
 Pilu zang 毗盧藏
 pinti 品題
Puning zang 普寧藏
Qianziwen bianhao 千字文編號
 qing 輕
Qingzang 清藏

- Qisha Yanshengyuan 磧砂延聖院
 Qisha zang 磧砂藏
 qu 曲
 Quanzhou 泉州
 qun 群
 Ranxuan 然宣
 Ranzheng 然正
 Renyue 仁岳
 shang → meng 賞 → 孟
 Shang guangyansi 上光嚴寺
 Shanggusi 上古寺
 Shangxia gusi 上下古寺
 Shanqi 善啓
 shanshi 善世
 Shansi 善思
 she → xi 設 → 席
 Shenzong 神宗
 shi → shi 食 → 恃
 Shichang 世昌
 shijia 釋家
 Shijia fangzhi 釋家方誌
 Shijia pu 釋迦譜
 Shijia shipu 釋迦氏譜
 shu → luo 書 → 羅
 Shu Xianwang 蜀獻王
 Sichuansheng guji shanbenshu lianhe mulu
 四川省古籍善本書聯合目錄
 Sixi zang 思溪藏
 Songpo tushuguan 松坡圖書館
 Song Yuan ruzang zhu daxiaocheng jing
 宋元入藏諸大小乘經
 Song Yuan xu ruzang zhulun 宋元續入
 藏諸論
 Taici conglin 太慈叢林
 Taiping xingguo 太平興國
 Taiping xingguo si 太平興國寺
 Taisho 大正
 Taiyuan 太原
 Taizong 太宗
 Taizu 太祖
 Tanmochan 曇摩讖
 Tanwuchan 曇無讖
 Tetsu-gen 鐵眼
 tian → fan 天 → 煩
 tian → ju 天 → 駒
 tian → shi 天 → 石
 Tianjiesi 天界寺
 Tiantai wushi bajiao 天臺五時八教
 Tianxisi 天禧寺
 tong → guang 通 → 廣
 Tong Wei 童瑋
 Wanfusi 萬福寺
 Wanshan tonggui ji 萬善同歸集
 Wolongsi 臥龍寺
 Wudabu wai chongyi jing 五大部外重
 譯經
 Wukong 悟空
 Wulin 武林
 wushi bajiao 五時八教
 Wuxing xian 吳興縣
 Wuyingdian 武英殿
 Xiagusi 下古寺
 xian 仙
 xiang 相
 Xianzong 憲宗
 Xiaocheng jing 小乘經

- Xindu xian 新都縣
 xing → yu 刑→魚
 Xin xu gaoseng zhuan siji 新續高僧傳
 四集
 Xitu shengxian zhuanji 西土聖賢傳記
 Xuanzang 玄奘
 Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳
 Yaoshi gongde jing 藥師功德經
 Yaoshi jing 藥師經
 Ye Qingrong 葉慶榮
 yi → xian 已→賢
 Yizhou 益州
 yong 用
 Yongle beizang 永樂北藏
 Yongle nanzang 永樂南藏
 Yongquansi 涌泉寺
 you 右
 you → qi 友→漆
 zangwai dianji 藏外典籍
 Zhangxue 丈雪
 Zhaojuesi 昭覺寺
 Zhao Puchu 趙樸初
 Zhao Xi 趙曦
 Zhengyinsi 正因寺
 Zhen zheng lun 甄正論
 Zhili 知禮
 Zhixu 智旭
 Zhixuan 知玄
 Zhongguo dabaikeshu: zongjiao juan
 中國大百科全書宗教卷
 Zhongguo guji shanben shumù 中國古籍
 善本書目
 Zhou Shujia 周叔迦
 zhu → yun 主→云
 zhuan → yi 轉→疑
 Zhu Chun 朱椿
 Zhu Di 朱棣
 Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋
 Zhu Yuelian 朱悅煉
 Zhu Yuexin 朱悅忻
 Zhu Yueyao 朱悅耀
 Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆
 zibu 子部
 Zifu zang 資福藏
 Zongxing 宗興
 zuo jueyi 左覺義
 zuo shanshi 左善世
 Zuquan 祖權

FRIENDS OF THE GEST LIBRARY

The Friends of the Gest Library is a group of private individuals dedicated to the idea that an East Asian library resource like the Gest Oriental Library (the East Asian Research Library at Princeton University) must be known, supported, and encouraged in order to enrich both the aesthetic knowledge of East Asia and the growth of scholarship and contemporary information concerning that part of the world. Many individuals have already been active for years in guiding the Gest Library, and contributing their time and resources ad hoc. In 1986 they formed the Friends of the Gest Library in order to broaden the Library's support and foster communication among other interested parties.

As a group, the Friends sponsor colloquia and exhibitions on East Asian books, calligraphy, art, and their historical relationships. They secure gifts and bequests for the Library in order to add to its holdings items and collections of great worth. They disseminate information about the Library (and about other East Asian libraries) so that members and nonmembers alike can benefit from its resources.

JOINING THE FRIENDS

Membership is open to those subscribing annually forty dollars or more. With that membership fee is included a yearly subscription to the *East Asian Library Journal*. Members will be invited to attend special exhibitions, lectures, and discussions that occur under the aegis of the Friends. Checks are payable to the Trustees of Princeton University and should be mailed to:

Friends of the Gest Library
211 Jones Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544 U.S.A.