

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館  
*East Asian Library*  
and the *Gest Collection*

---

**This title is provided ONLY for personal scholarly use. Any publication, reprint, or reproduction of this material is strictly forbidden, and the researcher assumes all responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel and copyright. Titles should be referred to with the following credit line:**

**© The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University**

**To request permission to use some material for scholarly publication, and to apply for higher-quality images, please contact [gestcirc@princeton.edu](mailto:gestcirc@princeton.edu), or**

**The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection  
33 Frist Campus Center, Room 317  
Princeton University  
Princeton, NJ 08544  
United States**

**A fee may be involved (usually according to the general rules listed on <http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/research/rights.html>).**

*Eileen Hsiang-Ling Hsu, "Six-Dynasties Xiejing Calligraphy", The East Asian Library Journal 9, no. 2 (2000): 46-111, accessed January 14, 2017, [https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/hsu\\_eileen\\_hsiangling.EALJ.v09.n02.p046.pdf](https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/hsu_eileen_hsiangling.EALJ.v09.n02.p046.pdf)*

# Six-Dynasties *Xiejing* Calligraphy

EILEEN HSIANG-LING HSU

**T**he 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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;<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

#### 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;<sup>5</sup> 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*),<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> *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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> The calligraphy of these manuscripts shows subtle variations within the “*xiejingti*” script or style of sutra transcription.<sup>10</sup> Although it is a distinctive script used in

copying Buddhist scriptures, a few ancient secular and Daoist manuscripts are also rendered in this style.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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,<sup>13</sup> and a unique brush technique called *pojie*, that is, elongated right diagonal strokes with a decorative flared ending.<sup>14</sup> It is a script seen in the inscriptions on Han bamboo strips discovered in Xinjiang and Gansu (figure 1),<sup>15</sup> and in the rubbings of the Eastern Han stele carving such as Shichen *bei* and Liqi *bei*.<sup>16</sup> 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),<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.

與栗君因以取曾四恩牛車  
 思我鯨得自食然等物車  
 建武三年正月美尹邦華未都鄉  
 載魚五千頭到鯨得孰膺

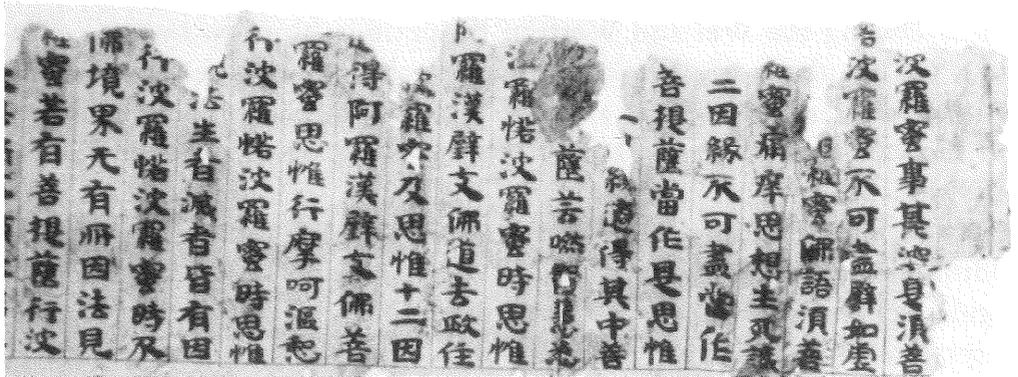
1. Handwritten manuscript on Han bamboo strips, from *Shufa congkan* 11 (1986), p. 58.

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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,<sup>23</sup> *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).<sup>24</sup> 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),<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

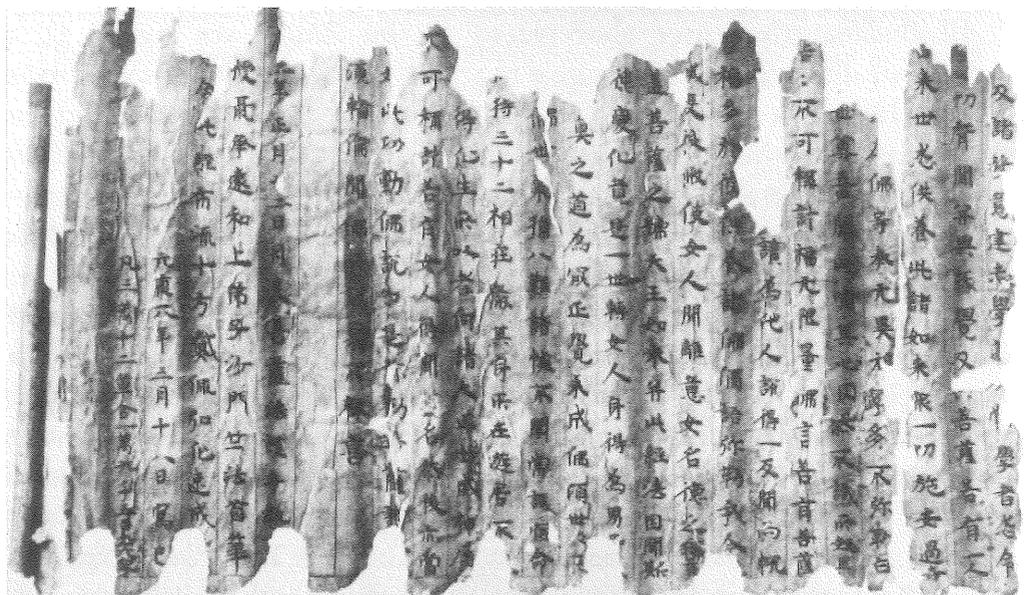
There is no colophon in this *xiejing* fragment, but the *Chu sanzang jiji*, a bibliographical work by Sengyou (438–518), mentions a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* with a postscript giving 254 CE as the date of transcription.<sup>27</sup> Although there is no way to know whether the Ōtani fragment was the copy transcribed in 254, its early dating can be supported by other evidence. First of all, the characters are irregularly arranged,<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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].”<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup>



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.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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)<sup>37</sup> and the *Faju jing* (the *Dharmapada-sūtra*) from Dunhuang (see figure 6),<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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  
 八直取上道四諦為法迹 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  
 我巳闍正導為木現大明 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飛 慧而不起飛思正道乃成  
 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.<sup>43</sup> According to his biography, Suo Dan was not interested in becoming an official;<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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).<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup>

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

臣竊仰族理而掘之古人形取朕之与君  
以定其臯勢所遠臨江漢廊廟之議  
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  
臣夫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.”<sup>48</sup> The rubbing from the Northern-Song original *Jian Guanneihou Ji Zhi biao* (Memorial recommending Ji Zhi, the marquis of Guanei, figure 11),<sup>49</sup> 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,<sup>50</sup> 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 corridor<sup>51</sup> 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).<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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).<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> 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

善品第四

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詰來問我言

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天

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

違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天佛一切如化无化夫佛一切造業

无為夫佛一切不為已斷天佛一切遠離无天夫佛於靜

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

三月三日  
是日軍威在已北江德祐於教禮地幸受見意和上僧性義許實意教即  
時同衣場者道類克御者十二人到皇幸處到寺誦之趣成吳世字而  
已天地用機見者他志其義云以思也故託也

卷三維新後四東正國大臣為一羅後三五至聖軍餘意希二解其餘記下  
卷至十佛偈高三節卷五福老四章一十三軍二可章九十五三曰說行  
種令尼美心史學法若少至本釋大新說卷之三

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),<sup>56</sup> 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  
 九量元數劫 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 乃至一法言 則為已供養 一功三世佛  
 是人長壽有 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 九教聞弟子  
 汝等舍利弗 報聞文各 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  
 皆末世惡人 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 九獲諸疑惑 心生人歡喜 自知當任佛

比丘僧德寫

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,<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup> 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*

後相及不祥者為何種若能何中  
 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虧善  
 說三種答於有目有見亦不誑斗  
 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不永飛  
 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併  
 異校无夏殊能周其校久遠難得可其內  
 初无惡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  
 願先佛此身飛在常者如解脫人不位飛  
 惡者者身二者出守之善隨如法修行是不  
 為難在亦善隨如法修行是乃且難可化故  
 在事之人名慈目師所鍾造故  
 便慈寒衣尸破羅衣品第三  
 善主上世再古所善羅趣而善其心慈

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).<sup>61</sup>

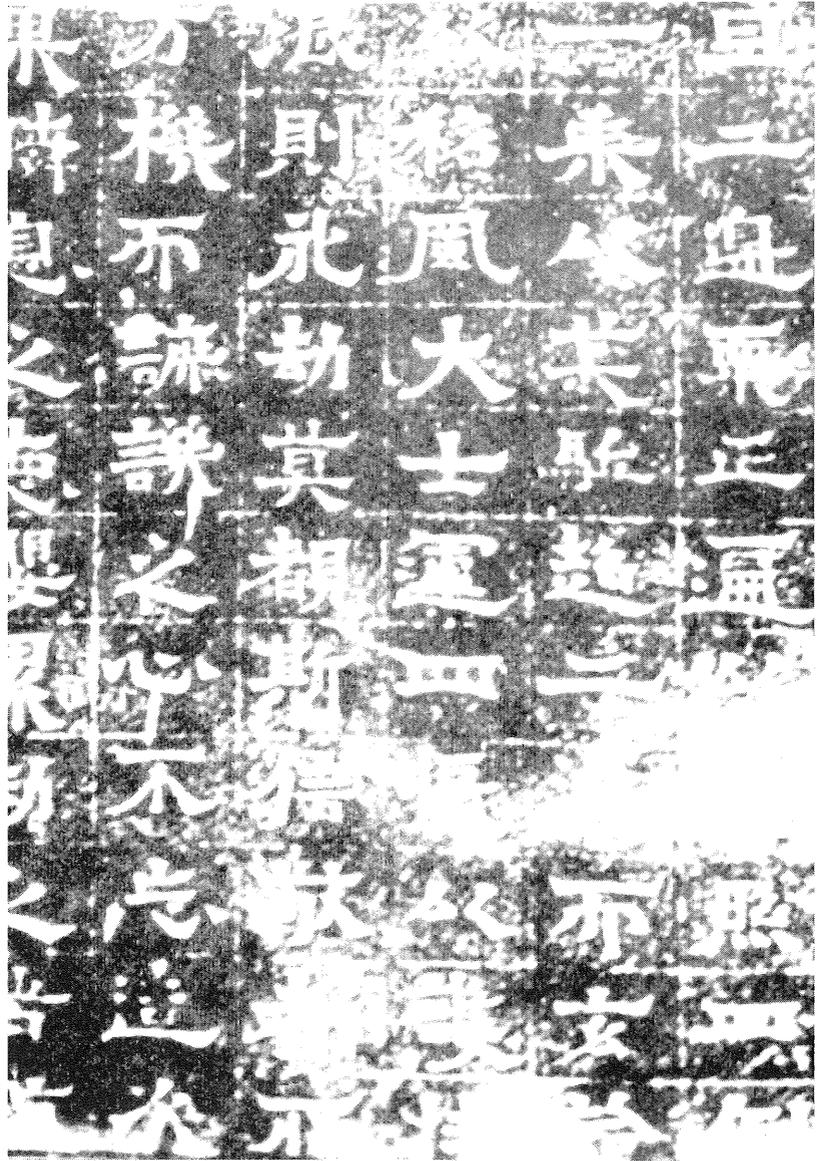
This sutra was translated by Kumārajīva (d. ca. 412 CE; Chinese, Jiumoluoshi) in the early fifth century when he was in Changan, and the current fragment was found in Turfan. The colophon reads: “Sutra offered by the Great Liang king, the Great Juqu Anzhou, in the fifteenth year of the Chengping reign [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,<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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.

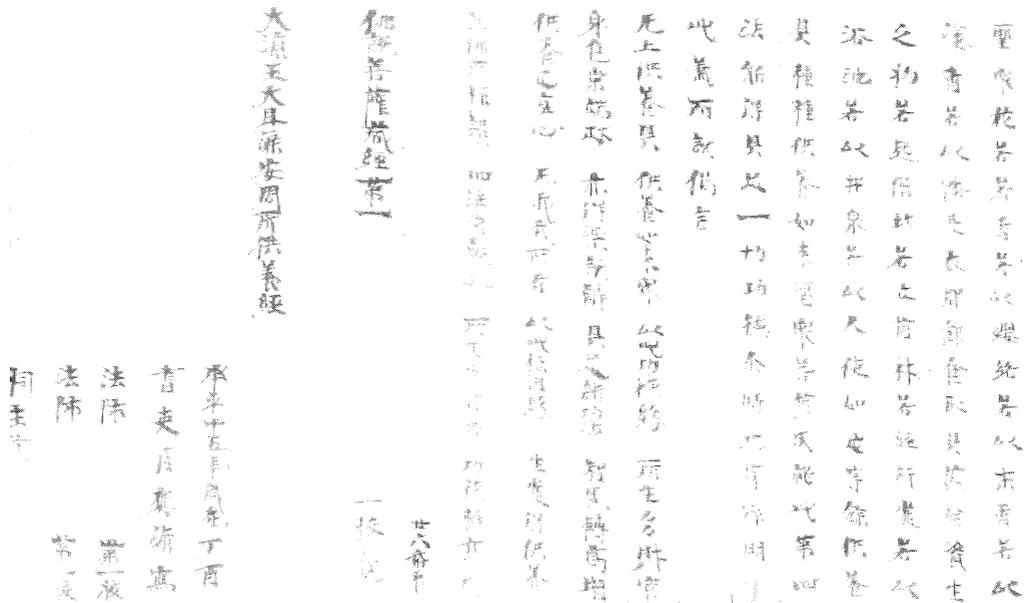
The calligraphy in the votive stele commissioned by Juqu Anzhou, on the other hand, displays no such flaw. The brushwork is disciplined and assertive, with characters carefully written and contained within the gridlike frames created by the vertical and horizontal incised lines. The *bafen* feature, 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*.<sup>65</sup> However, as the regular script was already widely practiced at that time, the calligrapher naturally adopted some of its brushwork features.<sup>66</sup>

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.

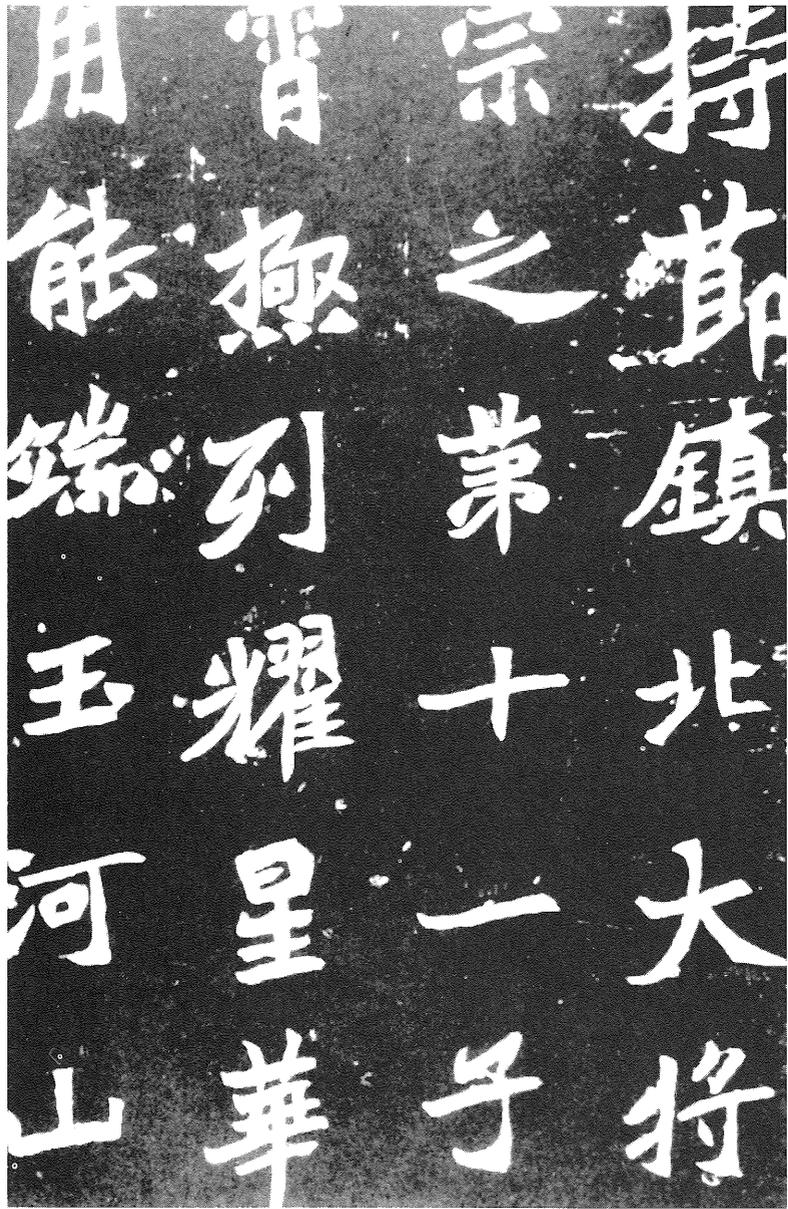
attest to the completion of character structure and standardization of brushstroke technique in regular writing. Prominent features such as the disappearance of *pojie* elaboration, the general elongation of character shape, and the development of hook endings of vertical strokes are obvious in both the 487 epitaph for Liu Dai (d. 487 CE; figure 19),<sup>67</sup> excavated in Jiangsu Province, and the 496 epitaph for Yuan Zhen (d. 496 CE; figure 20),<sup>68</sup> unearthed near Luoyang. Although the style expressed in the original *shudan* writing<sup>69</sup> has been to some extent modified by the process of carving,<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup>

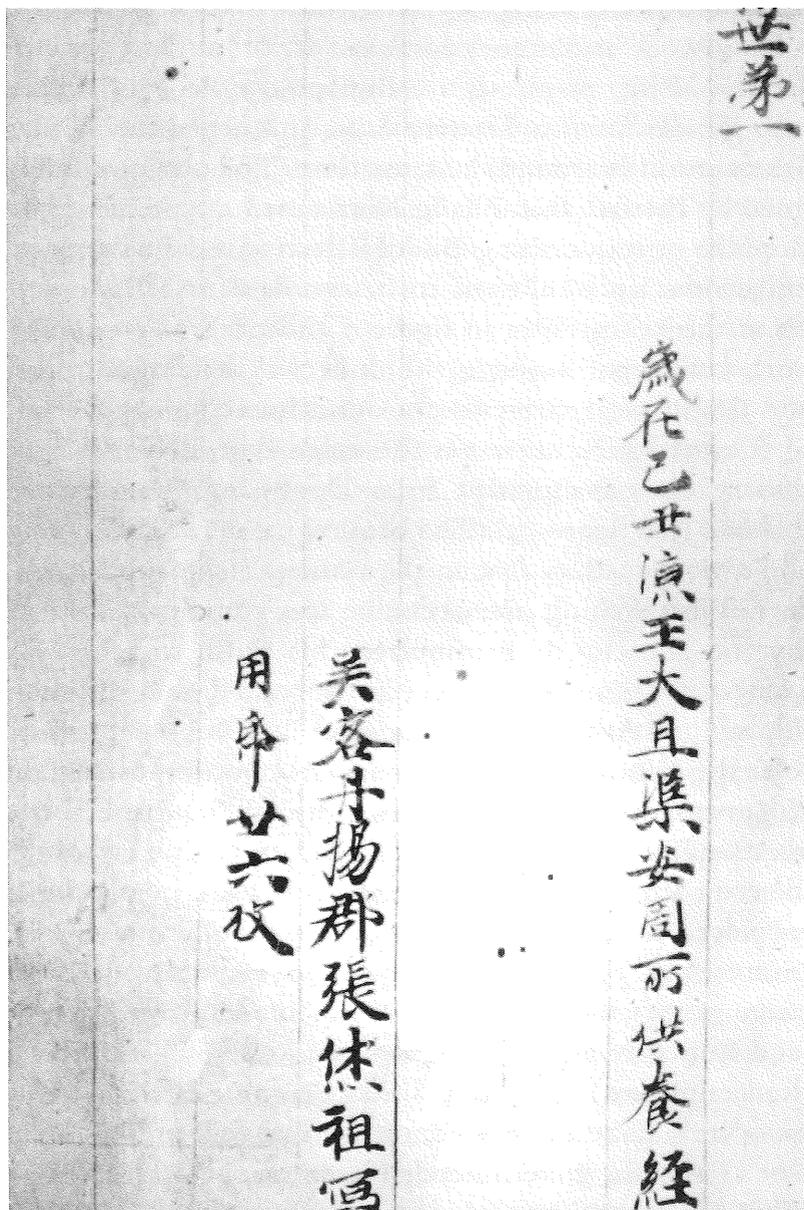
A sutra transcription called the *Chishi jing* (figure 21) was discovered in Turfan by the Ōtani expedition and is now in the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo.<sup>72</sup> Like the *Bodhisattva Treasury Sutra* transcription (see figure 17), it was sponsored by the Northern Liang king Juqu Anzhou; unlike 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),<sup>73</sup> who did this sutra transcription while a visitor from Wu, meaning the south, in Northern Liang.<sup>74</sup>

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,<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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.”<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup>

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*,<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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),<sup>82</sup> 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),<sup>83</sup> 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

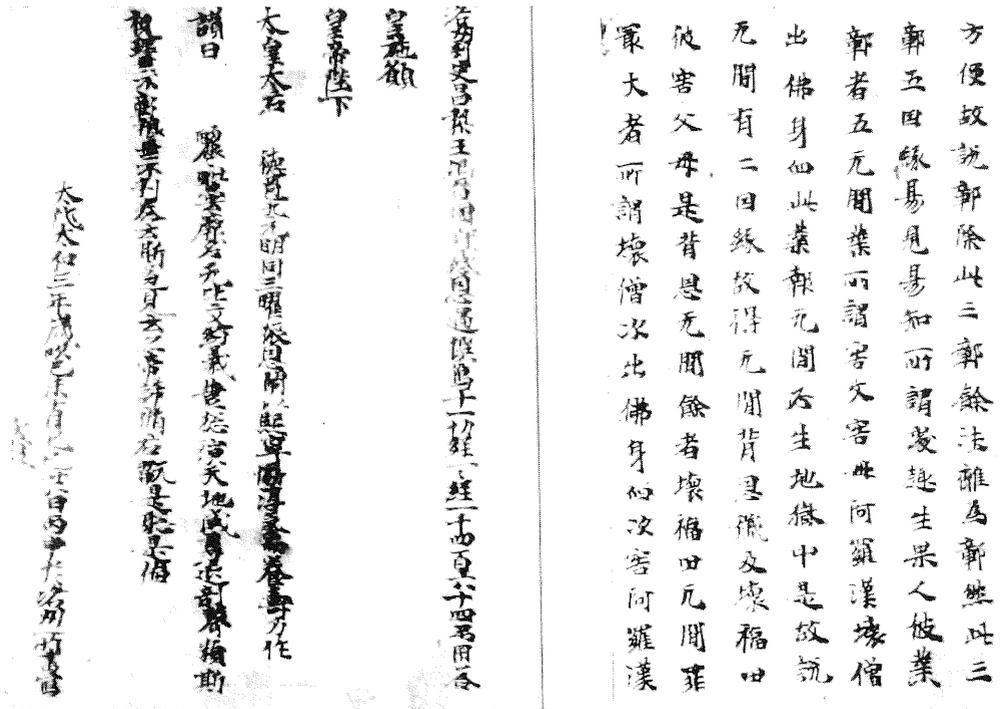
大般涅槃經卷第七

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,<sup>84</sup> 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.”<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> 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.<sup>87</sup> 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).<sup>88</sup> 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,<sup>89</sup> was the supervisor for this project. No doubt *xiejing* was already by this time an organized state-sponsored enterprise,



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

與經師令秋崇  
振

杖經道人洪  
傳

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.<sup>90</sup> 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),<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

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.<sup>93</sup> 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.<sup>94</sup> As they

不可較知  
論石闍支持已得如實三昧智慧光明隨順

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,<sup>95</sup> 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),<sup>96</sup> 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无  
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 “seiki,” 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, *Seiki 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 shak'yōshū* (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 Guanleihou 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  
 xiejingti 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