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# Hymns for the Dead

## in the Age of the Manuscript

STEPHEN F. TEISER

### INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

者一法耳无有二故

摩訶般若波羅蜜光經无二品第廿

介時賢者阿難白佛言唯世尊世尊所說初  
不稱譽五波羅蜜亦不稱譽佛十八法但稱  
譽般若波羅蜜何以故佛告阿難般若波羅  
蜜者於五波羅蜜佛十八法中竅尊云何阿  
難不為薩云若布施寧可稱譽檀波羅蜜不  
報言不也世尊不為薩云若戒忍精進一心  
智慧寧可稱譽般若波羅蜜不也世尊阿  
難白佛言云何布施為薩云若而為檀波羅  
蜜至般若波羅蜜耶佛告阿難布施无有二  
於薩云若是為檀波羅蜜作无所生无所倚  
布施於薩云若是為檀波羅蜜无所生无所

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

Depending on whatever merit their sons and daughters have cultivated.

The wheel of rebirth in the six paths is revolving, still not settled;  
Commission a scripture or commission an image, and they will  
emerge from mistaken crossings.<sup>4</sup>

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

### SCROLLS

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

#### BOOKLETS

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

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

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

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

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



佛說阿彌陀經

姚秦三藏法師鳩摩羅什譯

如是我聞。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。與大比丘僧千二百五十人俱。皆是大阿羅漢。眾所知識。長老舍利弗。摩訶目犍連。摩訶迦葉。摩訶迦旃延。摩訶俱絺羅。離婆多。周利槃陀伽。難陀。阿難陀。羅睺羅。憍梵波提。賓頭盧頗羅墮。迦留陀夷。摩訶劫賓那。薄拘羅。阿菟樓駄。如是等諸大弟子。并諸菩薩摩訶薩。文殊師利法王子。阿逸多菩薩。乾陀訶提菩薩。常精進菩薩。與如是等諸大菩薩。及釋提桓因等無量諸天。

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

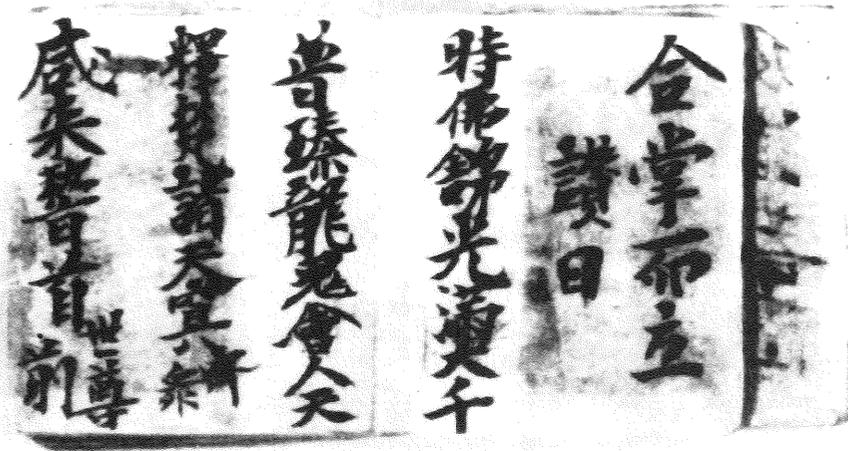
other Tun-huang copies of the *Diamond* sutra, some bound singly in booklets, others produced as scrolls. They range in date from 908 to 943.<sup>29</sup> The printed edition belonging originally to the Kuo family, then, must have been revered so highly in at least one Tun-huang scriptorium that it served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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

### CONCLUSIONS

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

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

佛說預修十王生七經

謹啓諷闍維王預修生七往生淨土經。奮勸有緣以五會啓經入讚念阿彌陀佛。

成都府大聖慈寺沙門 藏川 述

佛說闍羅王授記四衆道修生七往生淨土經。讚曰

如來臨般涅槃時 廣召天靈及地祇

因爲瓊魔王授記 乃傳生七預修儀

如是我聞。一時佛在鳩尸那城阿維跋提河邊婆羅雙樹間。臨般涅槃時。舉身放光。普照大衆。及諸菩薩摩訶薩。天龍神王。天帝釋。四天王。大梵天王。阿脩羅王。諸大國王。闍羅天子。大山府君。司命司錄。五道大神。地獄官典。悉來集會。敬禮世尊。合掌而立。讚曰

時佛舒光滿大千 普臻龍鬼會人天

釋梵諸天冥密衆 咸來稽首世尊前

佛告諸大衆。闍羅天子。於未來世。當得作佛。名曰普

賢王。如來十號。具足國土。嚴淨百寶莊嚴。國名華嚴。菩薩充滿。讚曰

世尊此日記闍羅 不久當來證佛陀

莊嚴寶國常清淨 菩薩修行衆甚多

爾時阿難白佛言。世尊。闍羅天子。以何因緣。處斷冥間。復於此會。便得授於當來。果記。佛言。於彼冥途。爲諸王者。有二因緣。一是住不思議。解脫不動地。菩薩爲欲攝化極苦衆生。示現作彼瓊魔等王。二爲多生習善。犯戒。故退落珠魔天中。作大魔王。管攝諸鬼。科斷闍浮提內十惡五逆一切罪人。繫閉牢獄。日夜受苦。輪轉其中。隨業報身。定生注死。今此瓊魔天子。因緣已熟。是故我記。來世寶圓證大善提汝等人。天不應疑惑。讚曰

悲增普化示威靈 六道輪迴不暫停

教化厭苦思安樂 故現闍羅天子形

若復有人。造此經受持。讀誦捨命之後。不生三塗。不入一切諸大地獄。讚曰

若人信法不思議 書寫經文聽受持



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

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES

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As this article goes to press I am

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

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passing on September 29, 1991, leaves the world of Chinese studies mourning an immense loss.

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

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

- G. collection of Satō Han'ai, held in the Kubōsō Kinen Bijutsukan, outside of Kyoto (one specimen, unnumbered);
- H. collection of Nakamura Fusetsu, held in the Nakamura Shodō Hakubutsukan, Tokyo (one specimen, numbered *san* 799 in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*);
- I. Dun'khuanskogo Fonda, held in Instituta Narodov Azii, St. Petersburg (abbreviated as Dkh) 143, 803, 931.

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

3. The modern edition is in Z 2b, 23. The colophon at the end of the text (p. 387 recto b) is dated the sixth month of the fifth year of Ch'eng-hua (1469). The editors of Z note simply that the text "is based on a Korean printed edition" (p. 385 recto a).
4. First translation from the long recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, following P 2003 as edited in Tokushi Yūshō and Ogawa Kan'ichi, "Jūō shōshichi kyō sanzukan no kōzō," in *Chūō ajia bukkyō bijutsu*, Seiiki bunka

kenkyū, vol. 5 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1962), p. 260. Second translation from *ibid.*, p. 266.

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

- 1988). On the composition and manufacture of paper, see P'an Chi-hsing, *Chung-kuo tsao-chih chi-shu shih-kao* (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan-she, 1979), pp. 66–107, 171–178; and idem, "Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching chih te yen-chiu," *Wen-wu* 1966, no. 3 (cumulative no. 185) (March 1966), pp. 39–47; see also Marianne Harders-Steinhäuser, "Mikroskopische Untersuchung einiger früher, ostasiatischer Tun-huang-Papier," *Das Papier* 23:4 (April 1969), pp. 210–212; and Robert H. Clapper-ton, *Paper: An Historical Account of Its Making by Hand from the Earliest Times down to the Present Day* (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1934), pp. 1–26, esp. pp. 22–26.
6. Drège, "Papiers de Dunhuang," esp. pp. 339–357, offers the most complete and up-to-date analysis of dated samples.
  7. S 2489, with eighteen characters per line, contains three verses per line, but Pk 8045, also with eighteen characters per line, contains four verses per line. It is unknown whether these variations in composition are due to differences between the original recensions used as a standard in each of the scriptoria, to the preferences of individual scribes, or to inattention or random factors.
  8. Judging from the handwriting — never a certain guide — dedications were not written by the same person who copied the text.
  9. For details on the best-documented case, the copying of the *Lotus* and *Diamond* sutras in Ch'ang-an between 671 and 677, see Fujieda, "Tonkō shutsudo no chōan kōtei shakyō," esp. pp. 655–659. For the Japanese system based on this model, see Ishida Mosaku, *Shakyō yori mitaru nara chō bukkyō no kenkyū*, Tōyō bunkō ronsō, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunkō kankō, 1930).
  10. Following Fujieda's estimate that it took one scribe two full days to copy a scroll of average length, it probably took a scribe one to two working days to copy out the relatively short text of the short recension of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*; see Fujieda, "Tonkō shutsudo no chōan kōtei shakyō," pp. 661–665. In Tun-huang wrappers (*chih*) made of silk, paper, and other materials were used to enclose bundles of scrolls, usually numbering ten. For studies and photographs of such wrappers, see Krishna Riboud and Gabriel Vial, *Tissus de Touen-houang conservées au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque nationale*, Mission Paul Pelliot, Documents Archéologiques Publiés sous les Auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. 13 (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970), pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 39, 43, 44, 45, 94, 95, 99, 100; and Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), pls. 6, 7, and 29–2. For an important article collating the call numbers on the wrappers of Tun-huang manuscripts with T'ang-dynasty sutra catalogues, see Fang Kuang-ch'ang, "Han-wen ta-tsang-ching chih-hao t'an-yüan," *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 1990, no. 1 (cumulative no. 39) (March 1990), pp.

- 134–144. Lists of books also survive from Tun-huang. Some are formal listings of titles loaned by one monastery to another for copying; some are official records of deficiencies in particular libraries; some are simply titles jotted down on scraps of paper. For an overview see Okabe Kazuo, “Tonkō zōkyō mokuroku,” in *Tonkō to chūgoku bukkyō*, Kōza tonkō, vol. 7, ed. Makita Tairyō and Fukui Fumimasu (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), pp. 297–317. The most comprehensive study of the manufacture and storage of texts in medieval Buddhist libraries is Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Bibliothèques en chine au temps des manuscrits (jusqu’au X<sup>e</sup> siècle),” D. Litt. thesis, Université de Paris VII, 1988, pp. 261–364. Drège makes the intriguing suggestion (pp. 312–313) that each monastic library may have been divided into an upper and lower collection, the former for archiving the official canon, the latter — in which *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* was probably kept — for shelving copies of texts that saw frequent use.
11. The manuscripts are S 3147 and Pk 6375.
  12. A good example is P 2003. Its sheets average 29.5 by 50 cm. There are nineteen to twenty-one characters per line. Hymns containing four verses of seven syllables are arranged neatly with two verses in a line. The chants, consisting of eight verses of five syllables, are laid out four verses per line.
  13. The third illustration to P 2870 is too close to the fourth, as a result of which part of the text was written (and later corrected with a patch) on top of the foot of the attendant leading the black messenger’s horse. In S 3961 the artist left the copyist insufficient space between the third and fourth courts to write the hymn in its usual place; the scribe squeezed in all four lines by writing around the lower torso of one of the sinners.
  14. See, for example, the seventh court in S 3961 and the eighth court in Satō ms. To my mind these depictions of wounds and the portrayal of a sinner nailed down to a wooden bed in the final scene of hell are as graphic as the tenth-century scrolls get. In light of the descriptions of hell in earlier Chinese literature and the bodily mutilations depicted unflinchingly in Chinese painting and sculpture beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries — to say nothing of medieval European, Islamic, and Japanese pictures of the underworld — the pictures in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* are rather mild.
  15. This is the ninth (last) illustration to P 4523. The motif is repeated in later paintings.
  16. See the thirteenth illustration to Satō ms. and to P 2870.
  17. “Transpecification” is LaFleur’s term; see William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 26–59.
  18. Recent discoveries of physical remains have prompted a reinterpretation of the terms used by Sung-dynasty authors to describe styles of binding and a reassessment of the place of the booklet and related forms

- in the history of Chinese book production. The most helpful overview is Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les Cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang," in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang*, vol. 1, ed. Michel Soymié, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, Hautes Etudes Orientales, vol. 10 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), pp. 17–28; and idem, "Les Accordéons de Dunhuang," in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, vol. 3, ed. Michel Soymié, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), pp. 195–211. Other important studies include Ch'ang Pi-te, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien" (1964), repr. in *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*, pp. 209–220; Fujieda Akira, "Sutain tonkō shūshū e'iri kannon kyō sasshi: tonkō ni okeru mokuhitsu no shiyō," *Bokubi* 177, special issue entitled "Tonkōbon kannon kyō sasshi" (March 1968), pp. 3–8; idem, *Moji no bunka shi*, pp. 188–192; Li Chih-chung, "Ku-shu hsüan-feng-chuang k'ao-pien," *Wen-wu* 1981, no. 2 (cumulative no. 297) (February 1981), pp. 75–78; and Ma, "Chung-kuo shu-chi chih-tu pien-ch'ien chih yen-chiu," pp. 206–208.
19. On the binding of books as accordions and related styles, see Drège, "Les Accordéons"; and Li, "Ku-shu hsüan-feng-chuang k'ao-pien." The Buddhist canon was first bound in the format of an accordion with the private edition produced at Tung-ch'an ssu in Fu-chou in two stretches of work between 1080 and 1103 and between 1112 and 1176. On the production and current location of surviving volumes of this edition, referred to as the *Ch'ung-ning wan-shou ta-tsang*, see Fang Hao, "Sung-tai fo-chiao tui chung-kuo yin-shua chi tsao-chih chih kung-hsien" (1970), repr. in *Chung-kuo t'u-shu shih tzu-liao chi*, p. 447; Ono Gemmyō, *Bukkyō kyōten sōron* (1936), repr. as a supplementary volume to Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten*, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1933–1936), pp. 781–808; and Ts'ai Yün-ch'en, *Erh-shih-wu-chung tsang-ching mu-lu tui-chao k'ao-shih* (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1983), pp. 469–470.
  20. See the definition of "codex" offered in Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1983), p. 1: "a collection of sheets of any material, folded double and fastened together at the back or spine, usually protected by covers."
  21. Fujieda, *Moji no bunka shi*, p. 198; and idem, "Sutain tonkō shūshū e'iri kannon kyō sasshi," p. 6.
  22. For a superb study of the different forms in which the *Diamond* sutra circulated, see Hirai Yūkei, "Kongō hannya kyō," in *Tonkō to chūgoku bukkyō*, pp. 17–34; see also Makita Tairyō, "Kanyaku butten denshojō no ichimondai: kongō hannya kyō no meishi ketsu ni tsuite," *Ryūkokoku shidan* 56, 57 (1966), pp. 116–128. There are also excellent studies on the textual and philosophical aspects of the *Diamond*; see, for example, Edward Conze, *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 13 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo

- Oriente, 1957); and Kajiyoshi Kōun, *Kongō hannya kyō*, Butten kōza, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1972).
23. On the place of the *Diamond* sutra in Chinese Buddhism, see Hirai, "Kongō hannya kyō," pp. 17–34; idem, "Tonkō bunsho ni okeru kongō kyō shū," in *Shiragi bukkyō kenkyū*, ed. Kim Chi-gyōn and Ch'ae In-hwan (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1973), pp. 505–573; Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku bukkyō shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978), pp. 220–222; O Kwang-hyōk, "Kongō hannya kyō shūren ki kenkyū," in *Shiragi bukkyō kenkyū*, pp. 471–503; and Michel Soymié, "Notes d'iconographie bouddhique: des vidyārāja et vajradhara de Touenhouang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987), pp. 9–26.
24. The modern edition is *Chin-kang po-jo po-lo-mi ching*, Kumārajīva (350–409), *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 100 vols. (1924–1934; repr. edn.; Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1974), no. 235.
25. The intact copies containing the interpolation are S 5450 and S 5544. The interpolation was probably contained in the printed version of the *Diamond* from Szechwan on which these copies were based. Following Sung Buddhist historiography, Makita suggests that these lines, popularly called "gāthās from the dark offices" (*ming-ssu chi*), may have been inadvertently dropped from the earliest copies of Kumārajīva's translation and were reinserted beginning in the T'ang dynasty; see Makita, "Kanyaku butten denshojō no ichimondai," p. 128, n. 10.
26. Trans. from Hirai, "Kongō hannya kyō," p. 24.
27. Copies of this recension of the *Diamond* sutra bound individually as a booklet include S 5444 (dated 905), S 5451 (906), S 5534 (905), S 5669 (906), S 5965 (906), P 2876 (906), P 3398-1 (also listed as P 3493) (943), and Pk 8909 (907). Copies of this recension of the *Diamond* sutra bound together with other texts include S 5450, S 5544 (911?), S 5585, S 5646 (969), P 5580 (probably), and Li ms. (in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, san 262).
28. They are S 5450, S 5544 (dated 911?), and Li ms. (in Wang, *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, san 262).
29. Other copies of the *Diamond* sutra with the notation "based on the true printed copy of the Kuo family in Hsi-ch'uan" bound as a booklet include S 5444 (dated 905), S 5450, S 5451 (906), S 5534 (905), S 5669 (906), S 5965 (906), P 2876 (906), P 3398-1 (also listed as P 3493) (943), and Pk 8909 (907). *Diamonds* with the same notation bound as scrolls include S 6726 (926?) and P 2094 (908).
30. I have not been able to find any other information concerning the Kuo family of Hsi-ch'uan. Hsi-ch'uan was the name used in T'ang times for part of Wei-chou in western Szechwan; see *Chiu t'ang-shu*, Liu Hsü (887–946), po-na edn. (Peking: Chung-hua shuchū, 1975), p. 1690; and *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* 78.7v–8r, Yüeh Shih (930–1007), 2 vols., Sung-tai ti-li shu ssuchung, no. 1 (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1963), 1:601b–c. These are not the only Tun-huang texts that can be traced to Hsi-ch'uan. P 2292 was apparently copied in Hsi-ch'uan in 947. For others, see Victor H. Mair,

- T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 28 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 180, n. 33. Hsi-ch'uan was an important center for printing as early as the middle of the ninth century. In his catalogue of books brought home to Japan, the monk Shūei (ca. 809–884), who traveled in China between 862 and 866, records two works printed in Hsi-ch'uan, one the *T'ang-yün* in five chapters, the other the *Yü-p'ien* in thirty chapters; see *Shin shosha shōrai hōmontō mokuroku*, Shūei, T no. 2174, 55:1111b. See also Hsiang Ta, "T'ang-tai k'an-shu k'ao" (1928), repr. in *T'ang-tai ch'ang-an yü hsi-yü wen-ming* (Peking: Sheng-huo tu-shu hsin-chih san-lien shu-tien, 1957), pp. 124, 126–127, 132.
31. Booklets containing three texts include S 5646 (dated 969), P 3136, and Cft xxii.0026; five texts: S 5458; six texts: S 5581 and P 3915; seven texts: P 3920; ten texts: S 5531 (921?) and P 3916.
  32. Other tiny manuscripts include S 5924, an accordion-style booklet; P 3759, a bound booklet containing three texts; P 3760, an accordion-style booklet containing three texts; and Cft 00213, a bound booklet.
  33. For a tiny manuscript booklet of the gospel of St. John of similar dimensions (7.1 by 5.1 cm.) that was probably worn as a talisman, see Bernhard Bischoff, "Kreuz und Buch im Frühmittelalter und in den ersten Jahrhunderten der spanischen Reconquista" (1963), repr. in Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1966–1981), p. 288.
  34. See Drège, "Les Cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang," pp. 27–28; and Ch'ang, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien," pp. 209–220.
  35. "To be held in the hands and chanted Brahmā-style" (*ch'ih-ching fan-yin*) are the words placed as a title (or stage direction) to a set of five-syllable chants preceding the text of a *Diamond* sutra bound in booklet format; Cft xi.001-2, reproduced in Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia 2*: fig. 98. The last chant is corrupt, containing only four syllables.
  36. Drège ("Les Cahiers des manuscrits," p. 28) summarizes the standard view, which distinguishes sharply between the collective nature of scrolls and the entirely private function of booklets: "The relatively small number of booklets in comparison to that of scrolls in the tenth century indicates that in this period this new form is still far from having eliminated the scroll, at least at Tun-huang: the booklet, an item of personal use, was indispensable at first for the exclusive gain of the individual, serving in reality as a breviary or prompt [*aide-mémoire*], whereas the scroll maintains its collective role as an item of the library."
  37. The scroll is Cft cii.001. Matsumoto argues that this version of the scripture was intended to reach an uneducated audience; Matsumoto Eiichi,

- Tonkō ga no kenkyū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin, 1937), vol. 1, p. 403.
38. See Fujieda, *Moji no bunka shi*, pp. 191–192; and Ch'ang, "T'ang-tai t'u-shu hsing-chih te yen-pien," pp. 215–218.
39. The statistics may be misleading. The number of extant medieval manuscripts produced outside of Tun-huang is relatively small, and we are still unclear about the proximate origins of the manuscripts sealed behind
- Tun-huang cave no. 17. The Tun-huang manuscripts originated in the libraries of two or more temples, yet the corpus also contains government documents and many works that were once privately owned. For an assessment of the constitution of the "library," see Fujieda Akira, "Une reconstruction de la 'bibliothèque' de Touen-houang," *Journal asiatique* 269:1–2 (1981), pp. 65–68.
40. See Teiser, "The Scripture on the Ten Kings," pt. 1.

GLOSSARY

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

Tao-ming 道明  
 Ta-sheng-tz'u ssu 大聖慈子  
 tsan 贊  
 Tsang-ch'uan 藏川  
 ts'e-tzu<sup>a</sup> 策子  
 ts'e-tzu<sup>b</sup> 册子  
 ts'e-yeh 册葉  
 Tsung-chien 宗全鑑

Tun-huang 敦煌  
 Wu-kuan wang 五官王  
 Wu-lo-ch'a 無羅叉  
 Wu-tao chuan-lun wang 五道轉輪王  
 yeh 業  
 yeh-ching 業鏡  
 Yen-lo wang 閻羅王