

✓
1 **Rapid #: -1029057**

Ariel IP: 128.112.207.55



CALL #: AS551.Z77+
LOCATION: COO :: Olin :: Kroch Library Asia
 TYPE: Article CC:CCL
 JOURNAL TITLE: Zimbun
 USER JOURNAL TITLE: Zimbun
 COO CATALOG TITLE: Zimbun
 ARTICLE TITLE: The Tunhuang Manuscripts
 ARTICLE AUTHOR: Fujieda, Akira
 VOLUME: 9
 ISSUE:
 YEAR: 1966
 PAGES: 1-32
 ISSN: 0084-5515
 OCLC #:
 CROSS REFERENCE ID: 313840
 VERIFIED:

BORROWER: PUL :: Article Express, Firestone
PATRON: Teiser, Stephen
 PATRON ID: -
 PATRON ADDRESS: -
 PATRON PHONE: -
 PATRON FAX: -
 PATRON E-MAIL: -
 PATRON DEPT: -
 PATRON STATUS: -
 PATRON NOTES: -



This material may be protected by copyright law (Title 17 U.S. Code)
 System Date/Time: 1/26/2007 11:04:15 AM MST

CONTENTS

FUJIEDA Akira, The Tunhuang Manuscripts

A General Description (Part I.)..... 1-32.

Preface.

I. The present whereabouts of the manuscripts.

1. The Stein Collection.
2. The Pelliot Collection.
3. The Peking Collection.
4. The Otani Collection.
5. The Leningrad Collection.
6. The manuscripts remaining at Tunhuang.
7. Minor collections.
8. The original library.

II. Formal characteristics of the manuscripts.

1. The standard form.
2. Irregular forms.
3. The administrative documents.
4. The manuscripts in Tibetan and other languages.

(to be continued)

Figures 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11 have been reproduced from the microfilm supplied to the Tōyō Bunko by the British Museum; Figures 3 and 5 from the microfilm supplied to the present author by the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Original photographs of figures 1, 2, 5 (right), 10, 12, 13 (right), and 15 have been taken by the present author.

Editor MORI Shikazō
Co-editors SHIMIZU Morimitsu
 FUKUNAGA Mitsuji
 ŌTA Takeo

W 234951

Tun.
micro
moto
Bunk
same
acqu
scrip
the
very
Inte
and
libr
was
now
antic
inde

was
of T
is,

THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

A General Description

PART I.

BY

FUJIEDA Akira

Preface

Considerable progress has been made in the study of the Tunhuang manuscripts since World War II. The reproduction on microfilm of the whole Stein Collection made by Professors Yamamoto and Enoki in 1953-54 under the sponsorship of the Tōyō Bunko marked a new era for Japanese scholarship. Almost at the same time, microfilms of part of the Peking Collection were also acquired by the Tōyō Bunko. The major collections of those manuscripts have been successively catalogued in recent years. Especially the revelation of the Leningrad collection came as a surprise, since very few scholars had known of its existence before the XXVth International Orientalists' Congress held in 1960. These microfilms and catalogues enable us to get a general picture of the original library hidden in a cave temple. In Tunhuang itself an institute was established for the systematic study of these Buddhist caves; and now the so-called Tunhuang studies include the investigation of the antiquities on the spot. The manuscripts from Tunhuang should indeed be studied in connection with their place of origin.

The "treasure-seeking", which in the first half of this century was the traditional way of studying the fragmentary manuscripts of Tunhuang, must now give way to studies of a new type, that is, to reconstruct the library as a whole, and to find the place of

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

an individual manuscript or a group of manuscripts within this corpus. Such an approach involves a new departure in Chinese bibliography (which has been too often restricted to printed books) and will also place the study of Chinese diplomatics on a sound foundation. The present article aims at giving a general survey of the manuscripts, an aspect of Tunhuang studies which has been neglected hitherto.

Our Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūsho organized a team to study the Tunhuang manuscripts when in 1956 they received an enlarged print of the Stein Collection from the Tōyō Bunko. Our first task was to make a catalogue of the collection, as Giles's *Catalogue* had not appeared then, and the majority of the manuscripts were fragmentary and did not bear a title. We then proceeded to make brief bibliographical descriptions, including the formal and textual peculiarities of each group of manuscripts. The explanatory material has been mimeographed prior to correction and ultimate publication. Part of it has already appeared in various journals, and a special number of the *Tōhō Gakuhō* dedicated to Tunhuang studies, published in 1964, contains several articles which result from this work. This present survey of mine owes much to this published and unpublished material, as I shall have occasion to mention below.

My visit to the Tunhuang collections in Europe and India in the autumn of 1964 is also a factor which should not be forgotten. I should like to express thanks to Professor Lev Nikoiaevich Menshikov and Mr. L. Chuguyevski in Leningrad, Mr. Eric Grinstead of the British Museum, Miss A. F. Thompson of the India Office Library in London, Madame M.-R. Guignard of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Mrs. Else Glahn and Mr. Erik Haarh of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Dr. Banerjee and Mr. Kaul of the National Museum in New Delhi, and also to the photographic services of these institutions, who took great pains to supply me with photocopies.

Above all, I should like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Piet van der Loon of the University of Cambridge who has spent a great deal of time and energy during a brief sojourn in Kyoto to correct the English of this paper. He made several helpful suggestions on presentation and points of detail. Also I feel in great debt to Professor John Brough of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, for his generous help in proof-reading.

I. The present whereabouts of the manuscripts

1. The Stein Collection

The Stein Collection of Tunhuang manuscripts comes mainly from the second expedition of Sir Aurel Stein carried out in 1906-7.¹⁾ The manuscripts are now preserved at the British Museum and the India Office Library in London. The majority of the archaeological finds of Stein's expeditions are now at the Central Asian Department of the National Museum of India, formerly the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, in New Delhi, whereas only some "representative" specimens are kept at the British Museum. However, the manuscripts were not regarded as archaeological finds and were therefore brought to London.²⁾ Those in Chinese are in the British Museum; those in Tibetan, Sanskrit, Khotanese, etc. are kept in the India Office Library.

The Chinese manuscripts at the British Museum were catalogued by the late Dr. Lionel Giles after a painstaking work of forty years, and it was only after his death that the catalogue was published.³⁾ Whereas each manuscript bears a number from the expedition in the form "ch. x. 11", Giles gave them a serial number S. 1-6980, and, in addition, renumbered them in his *Catalogue* after the manuscripts had been arranged according to his classification. On the whole, the *Catalogue* is well done: the classification is logical; the compiler's judgement about the time of writing of individual manuscripts is usually sound; the entries are neither too long nor too short. Giles was, however, not very familiar with Buddhist texts, and thus several hundreds of fragments were left unidentified.⁴⁾ He also often failed to identify the correct chapter of a text, mainly

¹⁾ His first expedition was held in 1900-01; his third began in 1913 and ended in 1914.

²⁾ A. Stein, *Serindia* I, Oxford 1921, Introduction, p. xv, note 14a, and also A. Stein, *Innermost Asia* I, Oxford 1928, Introduction, p. xv, note 11.

³⁾ Lionel Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, London 1937.

⁴⁾ Serial numbers 4348-4629 in the catalogue are "unidentified works", Nos. 575-736, 816-838A, 1520-1553, 1907-1926, etc. are "unplaced fragments" of various scriptures.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

because the division of the old manuscripts is not uniform or differs in the number of *chüan* (or scrolls) from the modern editions. More serious, he treated waste paper discarded by the copyists as fragments of regular manuscripts. Furthermore, as regards the non-canonical documents, both those concerned with government offices and the monasteries, much remains to be corrected in the light of recent studies.

As stated before, the original expedition numbers were in the form "ch. x. 11".⁵⁾ However, the five hundred well-preserved scrolls which Stein obtained from the Taoist monk Wang Yüan-lu on his third journey in 1913 bear a different form of expedition number, namely, "chien. 001". The serial numbers of the museum adopted by Giles were prefixed S.; it should, however, be noted that about the year 1920 he changed the numbering. Yabuki Keiki, 矢吹慶輝 who visited London in 1913-16 and 1922-23, still often refers to the manuscripts by the old numbering of the museum.⁶⁾ It is probable that the change was motivated by the wish to incorporate manuscripts from the first and third expeditions (respectively S. 5862-5872 and S. 6482-6963) into the system.⁷⁾ The manuscripts in book form are numbered S. 5431-5480 and part of 5498-5700, whereas S. 5873-6481 and S. 6964-6980 are very fragmentary. About three thousand fragments ("débris") were not numbered at all; they are now being catalogued by Mr. Grinstead.⁸⁾ Finally, the printed texts and bilingual manuscripts, although catalogued, were not included in the S. serial numbers.⁹⁾

⁵⁾ "ch" is an abbreviation of Chien-fo t'ung, where the finds were made; the Roman numerals probably refer to the bundles in which Stein carried the MSS. away.

⁶⁾ Yabuki writes about the renumbering which was undertaken between his first and second visits to London, but says nothing about the reason. See *Meisha yoin kaisetsu* 鳴沙餘韻解説, Tokyo 1933, postscript p. 18.

⁷⁾ The Chinese MSS. from the first expedition were reproduced in *Ancient Khotan II*, Oxford 1907, Plates CXV-CXVI, and studied by Chavannes in Vol. I, Appendix A, pp. 521-36. For Stein's acquisition of MSS. in Chinese during his third journey, see *Innermost Asia II*, pp. 358-9 and Plates CXXVIII-CXXIX.

⁸⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Stein collection no kuzu" in *Tosho* 圖書 No. 199, published by the Iwanami Shoten in March 1966.

⁹⁾ It should be noted that the British Museum keeps other MSS. in Chinese brought back by Stein apart from those discovered at Tunhuang. In the first place, there are the documents on wood and paper dating from the 3rd and 4th century which were found at Loulan and which were included by Ed. Chavannes in *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan chinois*, Oxford 1913. Secondly, the documents discovered at Ästāna cemetery in Turfan, most of which are from the

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

The manuscripts in languages other than Chinese are kept at the India Office Library, where the Stein Collection occupies a separate store room. The majority of them are in Tibetan, while those in Sanskrit, Khotanese, etc. are not so numerous. The Tibetan manuscripts are bound in 73 volumes (the numbers go up to 74, but one number is not represented); some are oblong, others square, depending on the form of the original manuscripts, which are either Indian *pothi* or Chinese scrolls. Each of these manuscripts preserves also the original expedition number. Besides, there are about one thousand copies of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*, originally a scroll, but now folded and bound in book form.

The Buddhist manuscripts in Tibetan were described by the late Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin when he stayed in London during World War I., but his *Catalogue* was only published recently.¹⁰⁾ It is an excellent work with a good classification, proper identification of fragments, and also providing transcriptions or transliterations of the beginning and end lines of each manuscript, with a mention of modern editions and critical studies. As an appendix to the *Catalogue* is included a description of the fragmentary Chinese manuscripts on the verso of which some Tibetan and Khotanese texts are written. The details of 136 such manuscripts were provided by Professor Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄.

The India Office Library did not publish a catalogue of the non-Buddhist manuscripts, since the majority of these texts had been edited by their former Librarian F. W. Thomas.¹¹⁾ Most of the manuscripts in Khotanese have been edited by Professor H. W. Bailey, and six volumes of these texts have been published by him.¹²⁾

T'ang period, have been published by Henri Maspero in *Document chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale*, London 1953. Six fragments in Chinese from the Stein collection are kept at the National Museum in New Delhi; see Fujieda Akira "New Delhi no Kokuritsu hakubutsukan" in *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 日本美術工藝 No. 326, Osaka Nov. 1965.

¹⁰⁾ Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*. With an Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts by Kazuo Enoki. Published for the Commonwealth Relations Office, Oxford 1962.

¹¹⁾ F.W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part I: Literary texts. 1935; Part II: Documents. 1951; Part III: Addenda & corrigenda, with Tibetan vocabulary, etc. 1955. London: Royal Asiatic Society. See also S. C. Sutton's Foreword to the *Catalogue* mentioned in note 10).

¹²⁾ H.W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies: Khotanese Texts I-V*, Cambridge 1945, 53, 56, 61, 64; id., *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (Cambridge Oriental Series 3), London 1951.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

2. The Pelliot Collection

Paul Pelliot came to Tunhuang in December 1907, some months later than Stein, and after having investigated the Buddhist caves bought thousands of manuscripts in March of the following year.¹³⁾ The collection of manuscripts is kept at the Département des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The serial numbers of the Chinese manuscripts begin with P. 2001, as P. 1—2000 were reserved for the manuscripts in Tibetan, Sogdian, etc. Since, however, the latter came to more than two thousand, the various groups are now prefixed “Fonds Pelliot chinois”, “Fonds Pelliot tibétain”, “Fonds Pelliot sogdien”, etc. The manuscripts in Chinese numbered 2001–3511 and 4500–4521 were catalogued by Pelliot himself shortly after the expedition, and copies of his list were sent to Chinese and Japanese scholars, who made extensive use of them.¹⁴⁾ A large part of these manuscripts has been published in facsimile or in print.¹⁵⁾ The intervening numbers were catalogued successively by Wang Chung-min and Naba Toshisada, but until Pelliot's death several hundred scrolls remained in his own keeping. At last, in 1962, Wang Chung-min's copy of the catalogue was published as part of the *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin* 敦煌遺書總目索引, Shanghai 1962, which, however summary and incomplete, enables us to see the scope of the collection as a whole.

A new catalogue is now being compiled by the staff of the library with the assistance of two Chinese scholars. The first part, Nos. 2001–2249, was in proof sheets on my visit to Paris in 1964. It is fairly detailed, but no mention is made of the handwriting and the quality of the paper, although these are indispensable subjects in a real catalogue of manuscripts.

The manuscripts in Tibetan were catalogued by Mlle. Marcelle

¹³⁾ Paul Pelliot, “Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou”. *BEFEO* VIII, 1908, pp. 510-29.

¹⁴⁾ Several copies of his list were reproduced by Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, one of which was partly translated by Lo Fu-chang 羅福長 in *Kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* I, 4, 1923, pp. 717-49. A more complete translation, including Nos. 2001-3511, was given by Lu Hsiang 陸翔 in *Kuo-li Pei-p'ing t'u-shu-kuan kaun-k'an* VII, 6, 1933, pp. 21-72, VIII, 1, 1934, pp. 37-87.

¹⁵⁾ A great deal of critical work by Chinese scholars has been summarized by Wang Chung-min 王重民 in his *Tun-huang ku-chih hsü-lu* 敦煌古籍敘錄, revised edition, Shanghai 1958, which is useful for the study of the MSS. comprised in this group.

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

Lalou in three published volumes, which cover Nos. 1 to 2216.¹⁶⁾ Several hundred copies of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra* remain uncatalogued. The volumes of this fairly detailed catalogue appeared at intervals of about ten years; each entry gives, besides a physical description and identification, the transcription of the beginning and closing lines of each manuscript.

The manuscripts in Sogdian, Uighur, Khotanese, etc. are not numerous. No list of these has been published, but many have been edited in various periodicals. Some Sogdian texts have been published in facsimile by Gauthiot and Benveniste,¹⁷⁾ while the majority of Khotanese texts have been edited by H. W. Bailey.¹⁸⁾ James Hamilton is now editing the manuscripts in Uighur, and material in other languages is also being prepared for publication.

We should mention here that some bilingual manuscripts have two serial numbers. They were first numbered as manuscripts in Chinese, but later also catalogued in another series, e.g. P. chinois 2021 = P. sogdien 10, P. chinois 2046 = P. tibétain 1257, etc.

The preservation of the manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale is perhaps too thorough. The majority of them are mounted on Chinese paper; the obverse is covered with fine silk; and at the same time they are stiffened with paste, so that it has become impossible to study the quality of the paper.¹⁹⁾ It is the rule of the library that the readers are permitted to consult a maximum of ten scrolls at one time. This has led scholars inevitably to "treasure-seeking", instead of studying the manuscripts as a corpus. On the other hand, the staff of the British Museum (where the manuscripts are not mounted in such an elaborate way) complain that some manuscripts are so often consulted that they are now dangerously damaged.

Another problem lies in the collection itself. Pelliot made his

¹⁶⁾ M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Fonds Pelliot tibétain), I: Nos. 1-849, 1939; II: Nos. 850-1282, 1950; III. Nos. 1283-2216, 1961.

¹⁷⁾ Robert Gauthiot et Paul Pelliot, *Le sūtra des Causes et des Effets, du bien et du mal. Mission Pelliot en Asie centrale, série in 4°, II, Paris 1920-28.* E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, Paris 1940. id., *Codices sogdiani*, Copenhagen 1940.

¹⁸⁾ See note 12).

¹⁹⁾ Until I saw this collection with my own eyes, I had often been surprised at the lack of critical sense shown by some scholars when they studied the faked "Tunhuang manuscripts", which are so numerous in the Far East.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

selection at Tunhuang from the standpoint of a sinologue.²⁰⁾ Although it is true that the non-Buddhist manuscripts in Paris are far more numerous than in other collections, this has for half a century induced scholars to take the Tunhuang manuscripts as a treasure-house of sinology, rather than a mine of information on the bibliography of manuscripts. Surely, the writing exercises of school-boys are hardly suitable for the textual criticism of Chinese classics!²¹⁾

3. The Peking Collection

The Chinese authorities of Peking did not at first pay attention to the finds of Stein and Pelliot, but were astonished when the latter exhibited part of his collection, which he had brought to Peking for repair and mounting in 1909. Soon the Educational Department of the Manchu government ordered the provincial authorities in Kansu to send all the remaining manuscripts in Chinese to the capital. As a result, nearly ten thousand scrolls have been preserved at the National Library of Peking. It is said that many manuscripts were pilfered on their way to the library.²²⁾ Some twenty years later the collection was catalogued by Ch'en Yüan, then Librarian and the most eminent specialist in Chinese Buddhist studies, under the auspices of the Academia Sinica.²³⁾ They had been serialized under the first 88 characters of the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* 千字文, and within each character by numbers 1 to 100 (8679 in all), by the provincial government of Kansu before they were forwarded to Peking. As the bulk of the collection consists of Buddhist texts, the catalogue is classified according to the system of the *Tripitaka*. For the various parts of the scriptures, each entry bears two characters each from the top of the beginning two lines and each two from the bottom of the closing two lines, sometimes with other brief notices. Fragments have mostly been identified.

The manuscripts described by Ch'en Yüan are often referred to

²⁰⁾ Hu Shih's 胡適 preface to Hsü Kuo-lin's work mentioned in note 25) below, and also Kanda Kiichirō, *Tonkō gaku gojūnen* 神田喜一郎, 敦煌學五十年, Tokyo 1960, pp. 6-7.

²¹⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Jōjitsu ron (the *Satyasiddhi śāstra*) viii kaidai", in *Bokubi* 墨美 No. 156, Kyoto March 1966, pp. 8-9.

²²⁾ See the preface to the *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, p. 2, and also the postscript by Wang Chung-min p. 550; cf. Kanda Kiichirō, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²³⁾ Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, *Tun-huang chieh-yü lu* 敦煌劫餘錄, Peiping 1931.

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

as the "first series". Some years later, Hu Ming-sheng 胡鳴盛 began to catalogue the smaller fragments (1192 in number) which had been omitted from the published catalogue, but he seems not to have accomplished his task.²⁴⁾ Hsü Kuo-lin, one of his collaborators, edited the colophons of the Buddhist scriptures and the text of the other manuscripts, including some manuscripts of the "second series".²⁵⁾ The National Library of Peking apparently has acquired about one thousand manuscripts recently, of which no catalogue has yet been published.²⁶⁾

A few years ago, microfilm copies of the so-called first series of the collection were made and sent to a few places in Europe and Asia, so that they are also available for our critical study. We may note that, here even more than in the other collections, many fragments can be joined together, and larger units reconstructed.²⁷⁾ It is worth mentioning that the Buddhist scrolls with colophons are fewer than in London and Paris. Apparently the manuscripts in Tibetan and other languages are also very few.²⁸⁾

4. The Ōtani Collection

The Ōtani expedition and its finds have a complicated history. The late Count Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞, head of the Jōdo-Shinshū sect of Buddhism, sent three expeditions in the pursuit of Buddhist antiquities to India and Central Asia. These expeditions, in 1902-4, 1908-9 and 1910-14, were not sponsored by the government nor by Ōtani's monastery, but were undertaken at his own initiative. The members were all boys whom he had privately educated; for example, Tachibana Zuichō 橋瑞超, the leader of the second and third expeditions, was 17 years old when he set out on the second expedition.

When, during the last journey, no news was received from Tachibana, it was feared that he had disappeared in east Turkestan. Hence, Ōtani sent another of his protégés, Yoshikawa Koichirō 吉川小一郎 to find him. The two met in December 1911 at Tunhuang.

²⁴⁾ *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-nu so-yin*, preface, p. 1.

²⁵⁾ Hsü Kuo-lin 許國霖, *Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching t'i-chi yü Tun-huang tsa-lu* 敦煌石室寫經題記與敦煌雜錄, 2 fasc., Shanghai 1937.

²⁶⁾ *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, pp. 108, 550.

²⁷⁾ To a limited extent this has already been done in the catalogue.

²⁸⁾ *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, postscript p. 543.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

where they were able to obtain several hundreds of scrolls, both in Chinese and Tibetan.

The collection, which included manuscripts found at Turfan as well as other archaeological finds, was at first kept in Ōtani's house, called "Nirakusō" 二樂莊, in a suburb of Kōbe, then moved to Port Arthur, partly, it is said, to avoid the payment of import duties on these "curios", as Port Arthur was a free port. The members of the expeditions studied these materials for some years, both in Kobe and Port Arthur. Very soon, Ōtani published a large album,²⁹⁾ which includes several facsimiles of manuscripts, and also a series of Buddhist scriptures edited by Tachibana.³⁰⁾ A brief catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist manuscripts was compiled by Tachibana, which was published in 1914 by Lo Ch'en-yü,³¹⁾ while the diaries and other records of the expedition did not appear until 1937.³²⁾

By this time, however, Ōtani had lost his interest in Central Asian studies and the collection had been moved to the Kantō chō Museum (later the Ryojun Museum) in Port Arthur, now under the control of Chinese government. No exact information can be obtained about the present whereabouts of the manuscripts.³³⁾

Tachibana left Port Arthur about 1921 in order to continue his studies in Kyoto, where he sent two cases with manuscripts, mainly originating from Turfan. His master told him, however, to go to Shanghai instead, and thus the two cases were apparently forgotten until they were found in a warehouse in Kyoto, a few years after Ōtani's death in 1947. They were then given to Ryūkoku University, the college of the sect, for the purpose of research. Some other Buddhist manuscripts, written in Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan,

²⁹⁾ Kagawa Mokushiki (ed.), *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜, 2 vols. Tokyo 1915.

³⁰⁾ Tachibana Zuichō, *Niraku sōsho* 二樂叢書, 4 fasc., Kobe 1912-13.

³¹⁾ Lo Ch'en-yü, *Jih-pen Chü-shih Tun-huang chiang-lai tsang-ching mu-lu* 羅振玉, 日本橋氏敦煌將來藏經目錄, included in the *Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-k'o* 雪堂叢刻, 1914. The list was later revised and published under the title Kantō chō Hakubutsu kan "Ōtani ke shuppin mokuroku" 關東廳博物館「大谷家出品目錄」 in *Shin Saiiki ki* Vol. 2, Appendix pp. 10-23.

³²⁾ Uehara Yoshitarō (ed.), *Shin Saiiki ki* 新西域記, 2 vols. Tokyo 1937.

³³⁾ At an earlier date, part of the collection, chiefly consisting of archaeological finds, had been bought by Kuhara Fusanosuke, and presented to Seoul Museum, with the exception of some material which ultimately was acquired by the National Museum of Tokyo. In addition, several fragmentary Ōtani manuscripts have been dispersed in various places in Japan.

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

etc., less than one hundred in number, had already before 1930 been sent as samples to the same college.³⁴⁾ In 1950 an organization was formed at the college under the leadership of Ishihama Juntarō, which has published six volumes as a result of its researches.³⁵⁾ These comprise photographic reproductions of the material with explanations, studies of many aspects of the Tunhuang finds, and also original work on Central Asian history, philology and archaeology in general. The publication aims rather high, and is a mixture of first-class contributions and less satisfactory articles.

5. The Leningrad Collection

The Russian collection of manuscripts in Chinese comes from three sources, the Oldenburg expedition to Tunhuang, the Kozlov expedition to Khara-khoto, and those of Krotokov and Malov to Turfan. They are numbered as one series of Chinese manuscripts at the Department of Manuscripts in the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, but the Tunhuang manuscripts form the bulk of the collection. These had been acquired by Sergei Feodorovich Oldenburg on his second expedition to Central Asia in 1914-15, and for many years after the October Revolution were stored at the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Leningrad. Only a few foreign scholars caught a glimpse of some of the manuscripts,

³⁴⁾ 37 MSS. in Chinese are listed in the *Ryūkoku Daigaku zempon mokuroku* 龍谷大學善本日録, Kyoto 1930, the majority of which had been listed in Tachibana's catalogue. A complete catalogue of the MSS. from Tunhuang in Ryūkoku University was mimeographed in 1953 and later published under the title "Ryūkoku Daigaku shozō Tonkō kokyō genson mokuroku" (Nos. 1-65, manuscripts; Nos. 66-103, photocopies and handcopies) in *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* Vol. I, 1958, pp. 223-43. Whereas Nos. 1-37 come from the Ōtani collection, the MSS. numbered 38-66 derive from other sources and include several fakes. Later it was discovered that four scrolls from Tunhuang together with several fragments of documents from Turfan were still in Tachibana's possession, but most of this material is now also in Ryūkoku University. Although 27 MSS. in Sanskrit from the Ōtani collection are also catalogued in the *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* Vol. IV, 1961, pp. 95-118, the exact place of discovery is not mentioned. The list of the Kantō chō Museum published in the *Shin saiiki ki* makes mention of more than two hundred MSS. in Tibetan; Prof. Nagao Gajin 長尾雅人, who visited the Museum in 1943, tells me that the majority are texts of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*.

³⁵⁾ *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究, I: Chinese Buddhist texts from Tunhuang; II & III: Chinese fragmentary MSS. on social & economic history; IV: Buddhist MSS. and secular documents in ancient languages of Central Asia; V: Buddhist arts; VI: Miscellanies. Kyoto 1958-63. cf. review of Vol. II. by Fujieda and others in the *Tōyōshi kenkyū* XVIII, 4, 1960.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

but no general information was ever given.³⁶⁾ His students do not speak of the acquisition of these manuscripts in their surveys of Oldenburg's scholarly work in the anniversary volume published on the occasion of his 50th birthday, although they have much to say about his first expedition, which took place in 1909-10.³⁷⁾ The Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences was in 1930 reorganized as the Institute of Oriental Studies, and only recently was given its present name. Meanwhile, a small part of the collection was catalogued by K. K. Flug, but this work was interrupted by his death, and remained unknown outside the U.S.S.R. It was only in connection with the XXVth International Orientalists' Congress held in Moscow in 1960 that foreign scholars were shown a major part of the Tunhuang manuscripts. They learned that in 1957 a small team had been formed to catalogue the collection, under the leadership of Mr. Lev Nikolaievich Menshikov, a specialist in modern Chinese literature. As a result of their work he published in 1963 a study of two manuscripts of *pien-wen*, narrative literature, and a collection of *tsan-wen*, moralizing stories in verse.³⁸⁾ Also in the same year the first volume of a descriptive catalogue of the collection appeared, printed lithographically from typescript, with the Chinese characters filled in by hand.³⁹⁾ It contains about two thousand entries, one fifth of the collection, and is classified by contents according to a system which

³⁶⁾ Kano Naoki, "T'ang ch'ao-pen Wen-hsüan ts'an-pien fa", 狩野直喜, 唐鈔本文選殘篇跋 (written in 1929); in *Dokusho senyo*, Tokyo 1947; id., "О фрагменте старой рукописи 'Литературного изборника', 文選, хранящегося в Азиатском Музее Академии наук", *ИАН, ОГН*, 1930 VII сер. № 2, стр. 135-44.

Yabuki Keiki states that he saw about three hundred manuscripts of the Oldenburg collection at the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad during his visit in November 1916, that is, shortly before the Revolution. See his postscript to *Meisha yoin kaisetsu*, p. 11.

³⁷⁾ *Сергею Феодоровичу Ольденбургу к пятидесятилетию научно-общественной деятельности 1882-1932*. Ленинград 1934.

³⁸⁾ К.К. Флуг, "Краткий обзор небуддийской части китайского рукописного фонда Института востоковедения АН СССР", *Библиография Востока*, 1934, вып. 7, стр. 87-92.

³⁹⁾ Л.Н. Меньшиков, *Вяньвень о Веимоще. Вяньвень "десять благих знамений"* (Неизвестные рукописи бяньвень из Дуньхуанского фонда Института народов Азии) Издание текста, предисловие, перевод и комментарий. Памятники литературы народов востока, Тексты малая серия VIII. Москва 1963; id., *Китайские рукописи из Дуньхуана, памятники буддийской литературы сувэньсюэ* (Издание текстов и предисловие), Тексты большая серия XV, Москва 1963.

⁴⁰⁾ М.И. Воровнева-десятовская, И.С. Гуревич, Л.Н. Меньшиков, В.С. Спирин, С.А. Школяр, *Описание китайских рукописей дунхуанского фонда, Института народов Азии*, Выпуск I, Москва 1963.

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

is somewhat similar to that of Giles. Each entry contains a fairly detailed description and the text of the first and last lines of each manuscript. The second volume was ready for publication when I visited Leningrad in 1964. Members of the team were also preparing other publications on the texts and documents.

The majority of the Oldenburg collection are very fragmentary; the scrolls longer than three meters form less than twenty per cent in the first volume of the catalogue. The reason is probably that Oldenburg visited Tunhuang after the Chinese had taken the more complete Chinese manuscripts to Peking, so that he found only the fragments which had been left behind.

According to Menshikov, Oldenburg got also hundreds of Tibetan manuscripts, the majority of which are the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*; they are now kept as a separate series in the same department.

6. Manuscripts remaining at Tunhuang

Although the earliest reports say that the Chinese authorities in 1910 moved all the remaining manuscripts to Peking, we have already seen that this cannot be true. It is likely that they were only interested in Chinese texts, for, even after the Russian expedition, thousands of manuscripts in other languages, mainly Tibetan, were left at Tunhuang. At last, in 1919, the provincial government of Kansu, having heard that a traveller had bought many Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan, sent an inspector to examine the situation on the spot. In a Buddhist cave to the south side of the second floor of the three-storied building,⁴¹⁾ the inspector found 94 bundles of scrolls in Tibetan weighing 405 *chin* and 11 stacks of sheets between wooden boards weighing 1744 *chin*.⁴²⁾ He left 90 bundles

⁴¹⁾ The original library was hidden on the *north* of the ground floor. We do not know whether the report is inaccurate or whether the manuscripts were removed to another cave after the discovery.

⁴²⁾ I have found no details about the manuscripts carried to Lanchow and those remaining in Tunhuang other than those given by Ch'iang Liang-fu 姜亮夫, *Tunhuang: Wei-ta-ti wen-hua pao-tsang* 敦煌-偉大的文化寶藏, Shanghai 1956, p. 24. However, his information apparently bears an error in the numerals, as the remaining 90 bundles weighed 441½ *chin* and the three bundles sent to the school 15½ *chin*, while the original 94 bundles are said to have been 405 *chin*; the last number perhaps should be corrected to 450 *chin*. *Chin* 斤 as a unit varied much in time and place; the ordinary standard was about 0.6 kg, but the Ch'ing government had set up a new standard of 0.5 kg, while

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

and moved three bundles of scrolls and ten stacks of sheets to a school in Tunhuang, carrying away only one bundle and one stack of scriptures to Lanchow, where they were placed in the provincial library. It is not superfluous to emphasize that the weight of the texts remaining at Tunhuang was probably more than one ton, no doubt exceeding that of any other collection.

7. Minor collections.

Besides the collections mentioned above, the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen preserves thirteen Buddhist scrolls from Tunhuang, which may be the only minor collection outside Asia worth mentioning. These manuscripts were acquired by a Mr. Sørensen, who travelled in China, northern Tibet, Turkestan, the Gobi and Siberia around 1914 and visited Tunhuang on his way. As usual, the beginning of each of the scrolls is lost; three of them keep the original roller at the end; two bear a colophon of the ninth century. Prof. Walter Fuchs has compiled a catalogue, which has not yet been published.

There are many small collections in Japan, varying from three hundred to only a few scrolls, but of those which I have seen more



fig. 1. Three alleged seals of Li Sheng-to's library on forged Tunhuang manuscripts. In original size.

the local standard of Kansu was 0.572 kg (Wu Ch'eng-lo, *Chung-kuo t'u-liang-heng shih*, Shanghai 1937). I do not know which standard was used; however, the total weight of the MSS. must have exceeded 1000 kg. The eleven enormous *t'ao* 套 between *chia-pan* 夾板 with part of the Tibetan Kanjur of the ninth century were mentioned by Pelliot, who had been eager to buy them from Wang Yüan-lu and finally succeeded in obtaining three "volumes" (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-8, 529). Since the average weight of these *t'ao* was about 90 kg, each must have been contained several volumes.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

and moved three bundles of scrolls and ten stacks of sheets to a school in Tunhuang, carrying away only one bundle and one stack of scriptures to Lanchow, where they were placed in the provincial library. It is not superfluous to emphasize that the weight of the texts remaining at Tunhuang was probably more than one ton, no doubt exceeding that of any other collection.

7. Minor collections.

Besides the collections mentioned above, the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen preserves thirteen Buddhist scrolls from Tunhuang, which may be the only minor collection outside Asia worth mentioning. These manuscripts were acquired by a Mr. Sørensen, who travelled in China, northern Tibet, Turkestan, the Gobi and Siberia around 1914 and visited Tunhuang on his way. As usual, the beginning of each of the scrolls is lost; three of them keep the original roller at the end; two bear a colophon of the ninth century. Prof. Walter Fuchs has compiled a catalogue, which has not yet been published.

There are many small collections in Japan, varying from three hundred to only a few scrolls, but of those which I have seen more

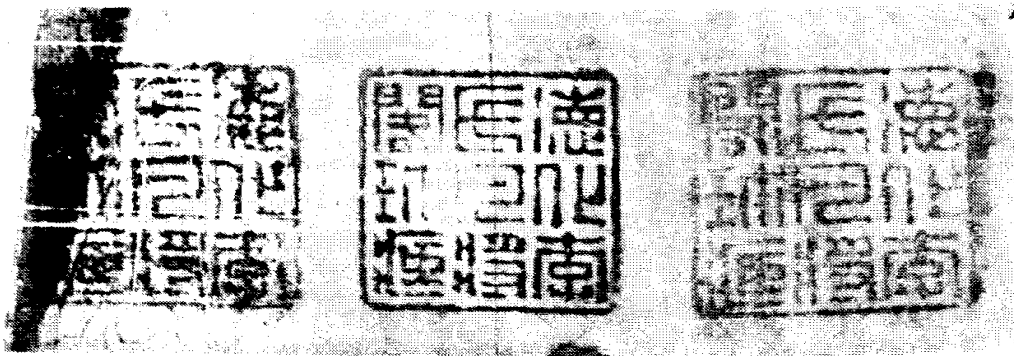


fig. 1. Three alleged seals of Li Sheng-to's library on forged Tunhuang manuscripts. In original size.

the local standard of Kansu was 0.572 kg (Wu Ch'eng-lo, *Chung-kuo t'u-liang-heng shih*, Shanghai 1937). I do not know which standard was used; however, the total weight of the MSS. must have exceeded 1000 kg. The eleven enormous *t'ao* 套 between *chia-pan* 夾板 with part of the Tibetan Kanjur of the ninth century were mentioned by Pelliot, who had been eager to buy them from Wang Yüan-lu and finally succeeded in obtaining three "volumes" (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 507-8, 529). Since the average weight of these *t'ao* was about 90 kg, each must have been contained several volumes.

I. THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF THE MSS.

than ninety per cent are fakes.⁴³⁾ They very often bear the seals of Li Sheng-to 李盛鐸, the most famous collector of Tunhuang manuscripts, e.g. "Te-hua Li-shih Fan-chiang ko chen-ts'ang" 德化李氏凡將閣珍藏, or "Mu-chai shen-ting" 木齋審定. I have found seven different varieties of the former seal (fig. 1), only one of which can be genuine. Li Sheng-to was the father-in-law of the Minister of Education at the time when the manuscripts were brought to Peking. Although accused of pilfering by the Vice-Minister, he escaped trouble because the Manchu government was overthrown soon afterwards.⁴⁴⁾ His collection was famous for its many fine scrolls, several of which were reproduced at his own house by a man called Ch'en.⁴⁵⁾ Part of the collection is said to have been sold to Japan after his death in 1937, but the destination of most of these manuscripts remains unknown.

8. The original library

The impressive number of manuscripts now in the various collections described above, together with some two or three thousand texts which have been dispersed or lost, formed the original hidden cave library of Tunhuang. In addition, there were large quantities of paintings on silk or hemp, tapestries, bronze images and rubbings from stone inscriptions.

Why was the library sealed off and what led to its abandonment? Pelliot believed that the Tunhuang monks hid the manuscripts because of the invasions of the Hsi-hsia in the eleventh century.⁴⁶⁾ Stein, on the other hand, describes the library as a "deposit of sacred waste".⁴⁷⁾ The latter explanation seems more satisfactory. There was no reason to hide Buddhist manuscripts or decorations from the Tanguts, who probably had been converted before they came to Tunhuang. The majority of the scrolls, paintings, tapestries, etc. were not in a good condition, but lacked the outside part. Hence they must have been accumulated in the cave over a long period, too sacred to be thrown away or to be used for other pur-

⁴³⁾ I have seen twelve of these minor collections myself and studied photocopies of four other collections.

⁴⁴⁾ Kanda Kiichirō, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁵⁾ Letter from Mr. Hsia Nai dated 22 August 1965, stating that the MSS. of *Kuan-tzu* and *Ch'ieh-yün* were both made by him.

⁴⁶⁾ Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

⁴⁷⁾ Stein, *Serindia* II, p. 820.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

poses. When the main hall (cave No. 16) behind the three-storied building was restored early in the eleventh century, the heaps of manuscripts were found too bulky to be removed to another place. The "library" (cave No. 17) was therefore walled up, and a beautiful new corridor was built leading to the main hall. We should specially note that the manuscripts in Tibetan, which were far greater in bulk than those in Chinese, no longer served any practical purpose.

II. Formal characteristics of the manuscripts

The majority of the manuscripts in Chinese, though different in contents and written down over a period of more than six hundred years, are in scroll form, which had been in use since paper was invented as writing material and remained so until the printed book became dominant. The scrolls vary in shape and size, but most are uniform since they contain Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian scriptures which were intended for particular libraries. The official documents also have a standardized form, but manuscripts for personal use and other informal purposes are irregular in pattern.

1. The standard form

The writing material was paper of good quality called *ma-chih* 麻紙 or hemp paper, sometimes called *hsiao ma-chih* 小麻紙, small hemp paper. It was made of old hemp cloth which had been crushed so as to obtain a high degree of viscosity, the original fibres being too hard for this purpose. Fragments of hemp strings can sometimes still be discerned in the texture of the paper (fig. 2). Each sheet measured one Chinese foot by one and a half or two feet, corresponding to 26 by 39 or 26 by 52 cm. This size goes back to the third century A. D. when the authorized foot length was 26 cm, also applied to the wooden slips which were the principal material for writing before paper came into general use. As this length was called "smaller foot" in the T'ang period, *hsiao ma-chih* means "hemp paper in the size of the smaller foot". In contrast, the paper

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

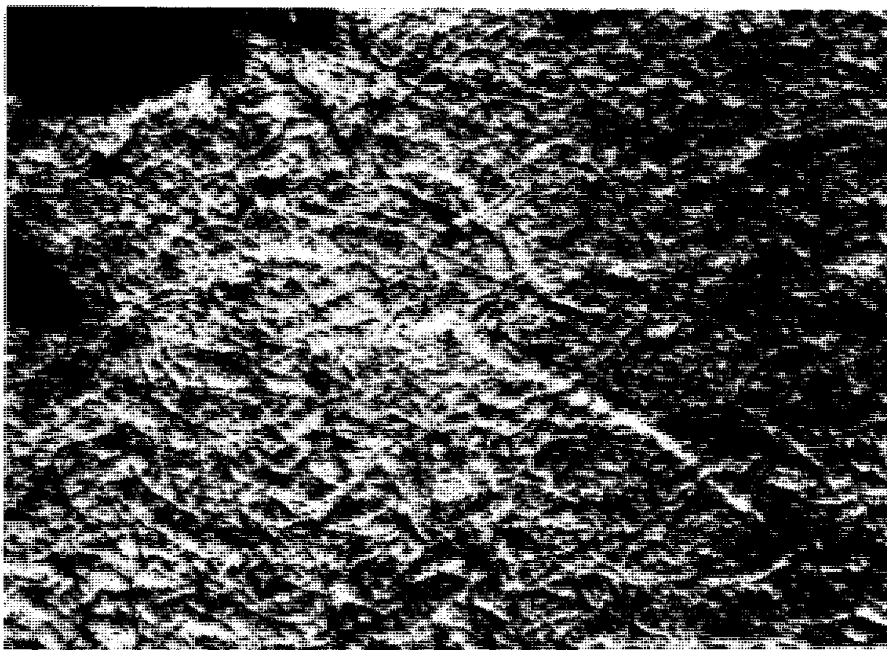


fig. 2. Texture of hemp paper, 100 times magnified.
Courtesy of the Ryūkyoku Daigaku.

used for official documents measured one by one and a half feet of the official T'ang standard, that is 30 by 45 cm. The archaic size was thus only kept for books.⁴⁸⁾

The paper was first impregnated with some yellow or brown fluid of vegetable origin in order to safeguard it against damage by insects. By means of very thin horizontal rules usually 18 to 19 cm apart, the space for writing was marked off from the head and tail margins and then divided into columns of 1.5 to 1.8 cm (0.06 to 0.07 foot) wide. Each sheet contained 28 or 31 columns, or 22 to 25 when the sheet was $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. A column should contain seventeen characters of "standard script" (*cheng-shu* 正書), written by a professional scribe, as will be explained in the next chapter.

In the Chinese manuscripts the text begins with the full title

⁴⁸⁾ Sheets measuring $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ feet were used until the end of the 6th century, when they were replaced by sheets of 1×2 feet. The original paper must have been slightly larger than the size indicated, as some space was lost when the sheets were joined together and trimmed. Furthermore, there are slight variations in size even within one scroll. Details will be given in the preliminary report of an experimental investigation of old Chinese paper carried out at the National Museum of Kyoto by Ōsawa Shinobu, Jugaku Monjō, and Fujieda Akira in 1965 (to be published).

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

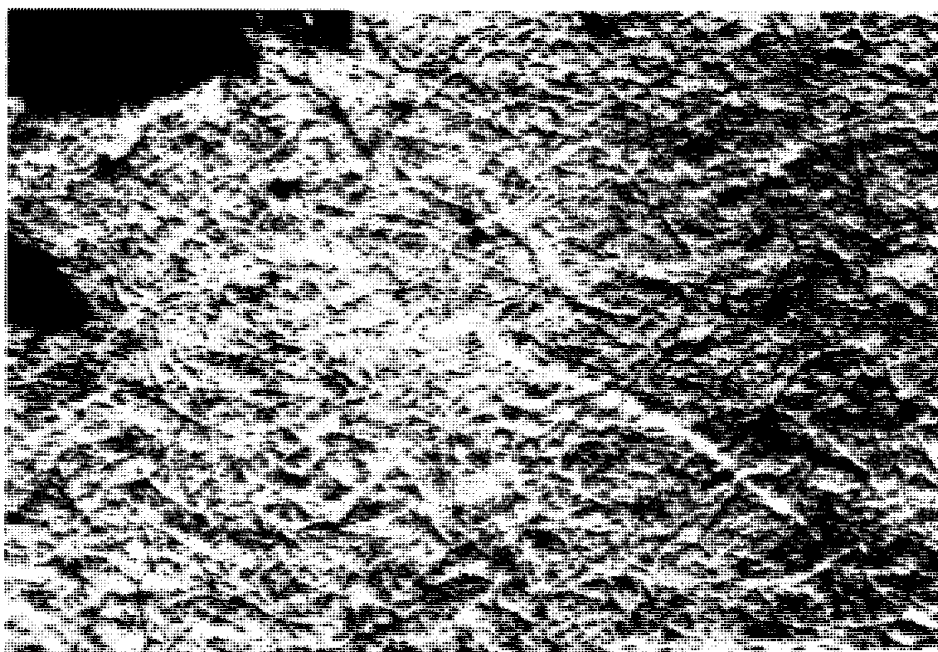


fig. 2. Texture of hemp paper, 100 times magnified.
Courtesy of the Ryūkoku Daigaku.

used for official documents measured one by one and a half feet of the official T'ang standard, that is 30 by 45 cm. The archaic size was thus only kept for books.⁴⁹⁾

The paper was first impregnated with some yellow or brown fluid of vegetable origin in order to safeguard it against damage by insects. By means of very thin horizontal rules usually 18 to 19 cm apart, the space for writing was marked off from the head and tail margins and then divided into columns of 1.5 to 1.8 cm (0.06 to 0.07 foot) wide. Each sheet contained 28 or 31 columns, or 22 to 25 when the sheet was $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. A column should contain seventeen characters of "standard script" (*cheng-shu* 正書), written by a professional scribe, as will be explained in the next chapter.

In the Chinese manuscripts the text begins with the full title

⁴⁹⁾ Sheets measuring $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ feet were used until the end of the 6th century, when they were replaced by sheets of 1×2 feet. The original paper must have been slightly larger than the size indicated, as some space was lost when the sheets were joined together and trimmed. Furthermore, there are slight variations in size even within one scroll. Details will be given in the preliminary report of an experimental investigation of old Chinese paper carried out at the National Museum of Kyoto by Ōsawa Shinobu, Jugaku Monjō, and Fujieda Akira in 1965 (to be published).

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

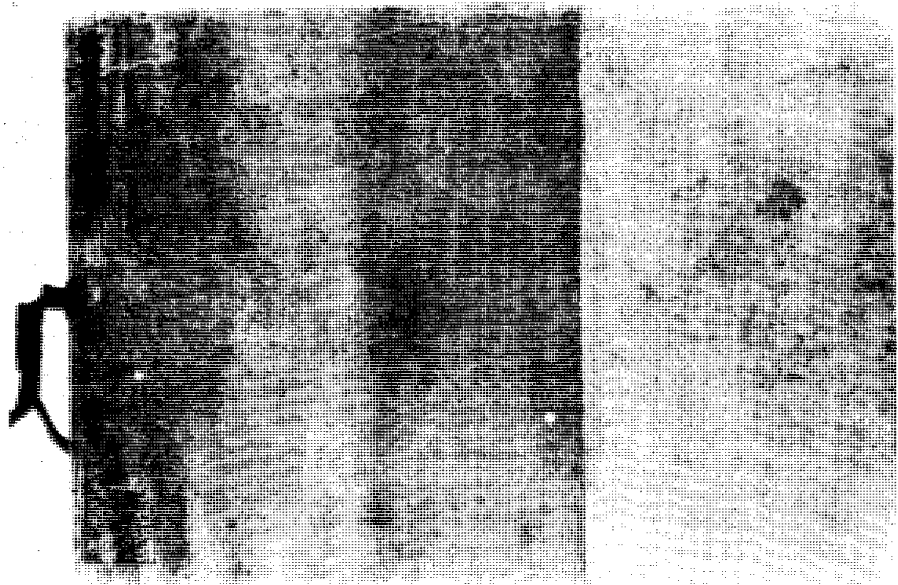


fig. 3A. The beginning of P. ch. 2177 *Ma-yu san-hsiang ching* (verso)

of the scripture together with the title of the chapter (*nei-t'i* 內題 or *shou-t'i* 首題); the serial number of the scroll is added in the same column, usually in smaller characters but sometimes as part of the title. At the end of the scroll the title is repeated (*wei-t'i* 尾題), often in an abbreviated form. In addition, about fifteen per cent of the scrolls bear a colophon, sometimes in a different hand from that of the main text, giving the names of the copyist, donator and owner, the date, and a formal vow, although it is but seldom that all these details are supplied. It is only after the text has been written out in full that the sheets are pasted together. Either a thick or a double sheet of paper is placed at the beginning so as to serve as a scroll cover. To this is attached a thin wooden strip with a strap to tie up the scroll. Finally at the other end a roller, made of wood or bamboo, is pasted on. On the outside of the scroll cover the title is again written (*wai-t'i* 外題), sometimes by a different copyist.⁴⁹⁾ Then the library mark, serial character and number, etc., are placed underneath the title (fig. 3).

⁴⁹⁾ In the copying office of Nara, he was known as *daishi* (*t'i-shih* 題師), or "copyist of the title". The brush used for writing the title was also different from that used for the text. cf. Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara chō bukkyō no kenkyū*, Tōyō Bunko Ronsō 11. Tokyo 1930.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

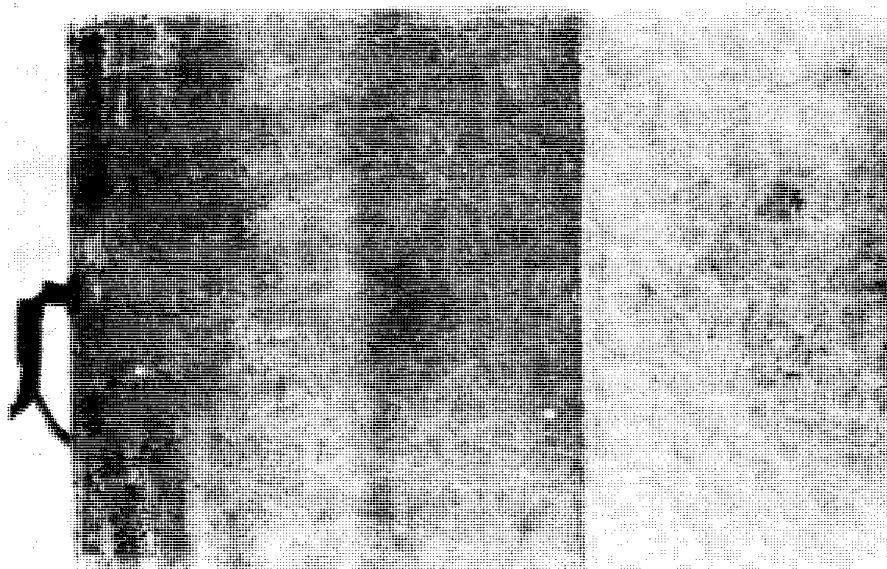


fig. 3A. The beginning of P. ch. 2177 *Ma-yu san-hsiang ching* (verso)

of the scripture together with the title of the chapter (*nei-t'i* 內題 or *shou-t'i* 首題); the serial number of the scroll is added in the same column, usually in smaller characters but sometimes as part of the title. At the end of the scroll the title is repeated (*wei-t'i* 尾題), often in an abbreviated form. In addition, about fifteen per cent of the scrolls bear a colophon, sometimes in a different hand from that of the main text, giving the names of the copyist, donator and owner, the date, and a formal vow, although it is but seldom that all these details are supplied. It is only after the text has been written out in full that the sheets are pasted together. Either a thick or a double sheet of paper is placed at the beginning so as to serve as a scroll cover. To this is attached a thin wooden strip with a strap to tie up the scroll. Finally at the other end a roller, made of wood or bamboo, is pasted on. On the outside of the scroll cover the title is again written (*wai-t'i* 外題), sometimes by a different copyist.⁴⁹ Then the library mark, serial character and number, etc., are placed underneath the title (fig. 3).

⁴⁹ In the copying office of Nara, he was known as *daishi* (*t'i-shih* 題師), or "copyist of the title". The brush used for writing the title was also different from that used for the text. cf. Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作, *Shakyō yori mitaru Nara chō bukkō no kenkyū*, Tōyō Bunko Ronsō 11. Tokyo 1930.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.



fig. 3B. The beginning of P. ch. 2177 *Ma-yu san-hsiang ching* (recto)

Every ten scrolls were bundled together in a wrapper, called *chih* 袂 or *chin* 巾, which was made of silk or brocade and a sash. A few Tunhuang documents record the donation of such wrappers (fig. 4), and, although no complete specimens have been preserved, some of the many fragments of silk found in the cave library must have served the same purpose.⁵⁰⁾

The bundles of Buddhist scriptures were serialized with the characters of the *Ch'ien-tzu wen*, in accordance with the arrangement of an official catalogue. It is not known which catalogue was followed; the arrangement of the Tunhuang manuscripts differs slightly from that of the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu* of 730 A. D. To these serial characters a single number is added on each scroll to distinguish it within the bundle; but sometimes this number is omitted.⁵¹⁾

⁵⁰⁾ Stein, *Serindia* II, p. 820 et seq. The Shōsō-in keeps numerous *kyō-chitsu* (*ching-chih* 經袂) made of silk, brocade, or bamboo, which measure about 30 by 50 to 60 cm, and to which a tape is attached to wrap up several scrolls.

⁵¹⁾ Several scrolls bear informal marks, for instance the serial number of the bundle within the scripture instead of the serial character. Such numbers are often placed elsewhere on the reverse of the scroll and were written in a cursive hand, occasionally with a wooden pen. The manuscripts probably were not included in a set of the *Tripiṭaka*, though they are otherwise identical in form. Unfortunately our material is insufficient to draw further conclusions about these library marks, as the beginning of the majority of the scrolls is lost.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

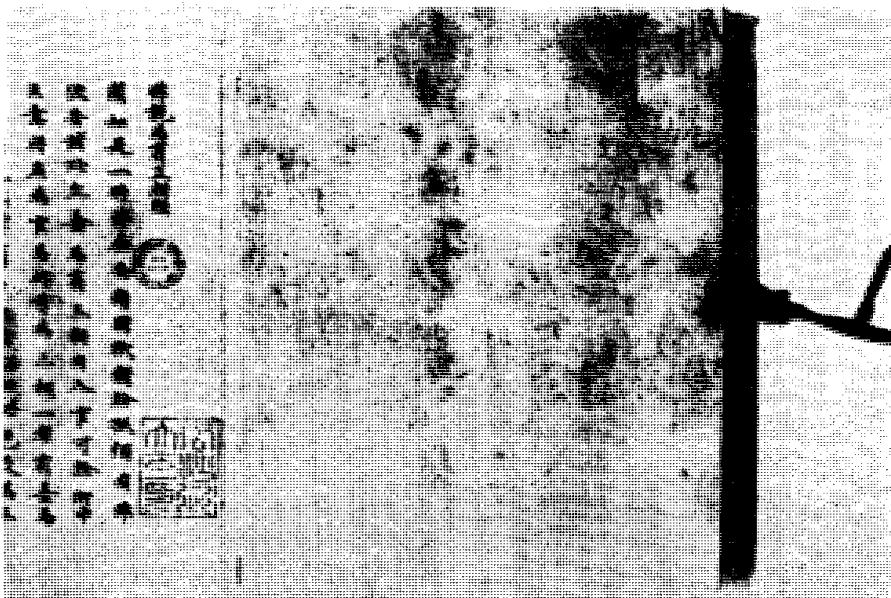


fig. 3B. The beginning of P. ch. 2177 *Ma-yu san-hsiang ching* (recto)

Every ten scrolls were bundled together in a wrapper, called *chih* 秩 or *chin* 巾, which was made of silk or brocade and a sash. A few Tunhuang documents record the donation of such wrappers (fig. 4), and, although no complete specimens have been preserved, some of the many fragments of silk found in the cave library must have served the same purpose.⁵⁰⁾

The bundles of Buddhist scriptures were serialized with the characters of the *Ch'ien-tzu wen*, in accordance with the arrangement of an official catalogue. It is not known which catalogue was followed; the arrangement of the Tunhuang manuscripts differs slightly from that of the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao mu-lu* of 730 A. D. To these serial characters a single number is added on each scroll to distinguish it within the bundle; but sometimes this number is omitted.⁵¹⁾

⁵⁰⁾ Stein, *Serindia* II, p. 820 et seq. The Shōsō-in keeps numerous *kyō-chitsu* (*ching-chih* 經秩) made of silk, brocade, or bamboo, which measure about 30 by 50 to 60 cm, and to which a tape is attached to wrap up several scrolls.

⁵¹⁾ Several scrolls bear informal marks, for instance the serial number of the bundle within the scripture instead of the serial character. Such numbers are often placed elsewhere on the reverse of the scroll and were written in a cursive hand, occasionally with a wooden pen. The manuscripts probably were not included in a set of the *Tripitaka*, though they are otherwise identical in form. Unfortunately our material is insufficient to draw further conclusions about these library marks, as the beginning of the majority of the scrolls is lost.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS



fig. 4. A copy of document concerning the donation of a wrapper for scrolls (S. 2687)

After the serial character and number, the abridged name of the monastery is given: *t'u* 土, for Ching-t'u ssu; *chieh* 界, for San-chieh ssu; *en* 恩, for Pao-en ssu; *hsien* 顯, for Hsien-te ssu, etc. Each of these monasteries preserved a set of the *Tripitaka*; however, some had two libraries, as a number of scrolls are differentiated by *shang-tsang* 上藏, "upper library" or *hsia-tsang* 下藏, "lower library".

There are three monasteries, the Pao-en ssu 報恩寺, Ching-t'u ssu 淨土寺, and San-chieh ssu 三界寺, which put their library seals at the beginning and the end of each scroll.⁵²⁾ The colour of the seals is red in the first of these libraries, and black in the two others. On palaeographical grounds it may be assumed that the scriptures with such seals were copied during the ninth century, and in actual fact the latter two monasteries were only established about 830-40, when Tunhuang was under Tibetan rule.⁵³⁾ Some texts bear the seals of both the Pao-en ssu and San-chieh ssu (fig. 5). The

⁵²⁾ Most of the MSS. bearing such seals are listed in Chen Tsu-lung 陳祚龍, "Liste alphabétique des impressions de sceaux sur certains manuscrits retrouvés à Touenhouang et dans les régions avoisinantes" in the *Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* II, Paris 1960. He lists such seals of three other monasteries: Hsien-te, K'ai-yüan, and Ch'ien-ming.

⁵³⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Toban shihai ki no Tonkō" in the *Tōhō Gakuhō* Kyoto XXXI, 1960, pp. 264-68.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

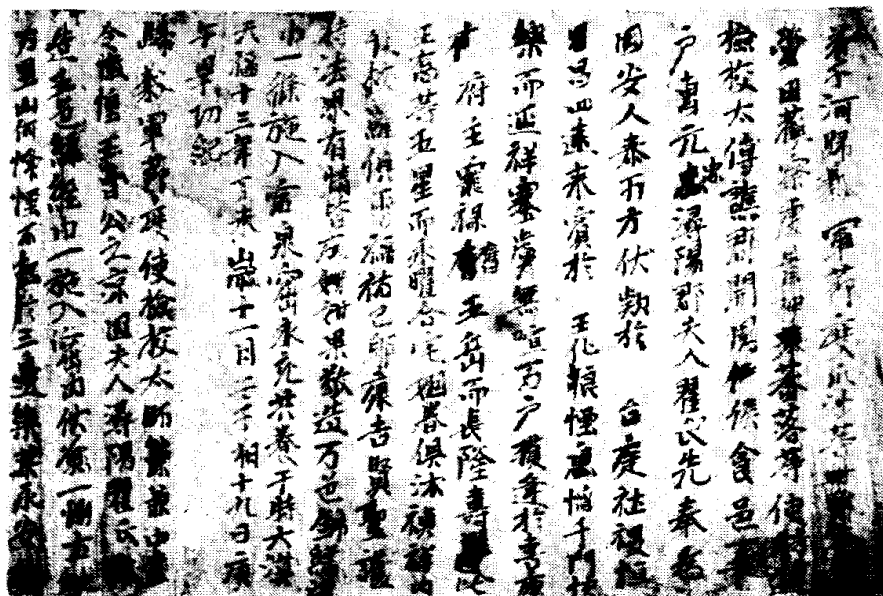


fig. 4. A copy of document concerning the donation of a wrapper for scrolls (S. 2687)

After the serial character and number, the abridged name of the monastery is given: *t'u* 土, for Ching-t'u ssu; *chieh* 界, for San-chieh ssu; *en* 恩, for Pao-en ssu; *hsien* 顯, for Hsien-te ssu, etc. Each of these monasteries preserved a set of the *Tripitaka*; however, some had two libraries, as a number of scrolls are differentiated by *shang-tsang* 上藏, "upper library" or *hsia-tsang* 下藏, "lower library".

There are three monasteries, the Pao-en ssu 報恩寺, Ching-t'u ssu 淨土寺, and San-chieh ssu 三界寺, which put their library seals at the beginning and the end of each scroll.⁵²⁾ The colour of the seals is red in the first of these libraries, and black in the two others. On palaeographical grounds it may be assumed that the scriptures with such seals were copied during the ninth century, and in actual fact the latter two monasteries were only established about 830-40, when Tunhuang was under Tibetan rule.⁵³⁾ Some texts bear the seals of both the Pao-en ssu and San-chieh ssu (fig. 5). The

⁵²⁾ Most of the MSS. bearing such seals are listed in Chen Tsu-lung 陳祚龍, "Liste alphabétique des impressions de sceaux sur certains manuscrits retrouvés à Touenhouang et dans les régions avoisinantes" in the *Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* II, Paris 1960. He lists such seals of three other monasteries: Hsien-te, K'ai-yüan, and Ch'ien-ming.

⁵³⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Toban shihai ki no Tonkō" in the *Tōhō Gakuhō* Kyoto XXXI, 1960, pp. 264-68.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

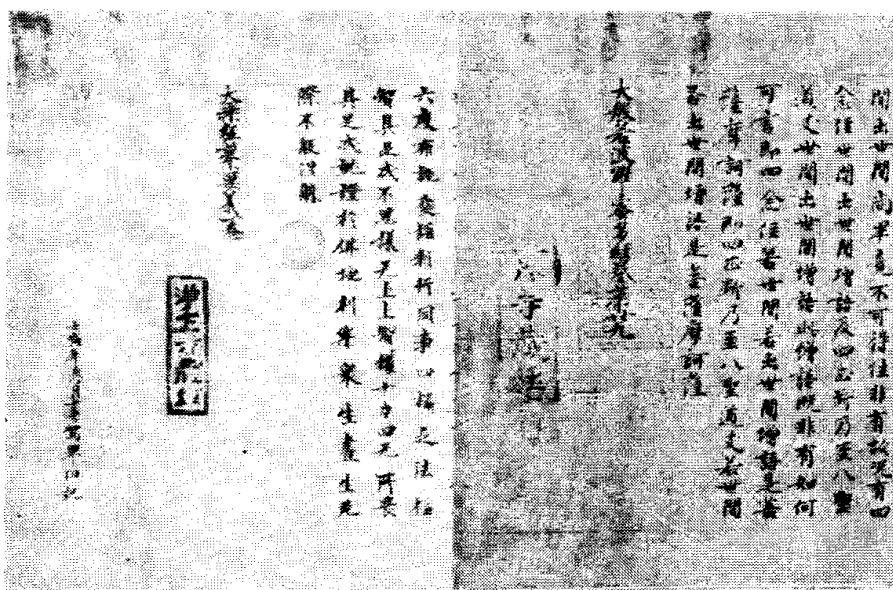


fig. 5. Left: Seal of the Ching-t'u monastery on the *Ta-sheng ching-tsuai yao-i* (P. ch. 2298); Right: Seals of the Pao-en and San-chieh monasteries on the *Ta pan-jo polo-mi-to ching* ch. 29. Courtesy of the National Museum of Kyoto.

most probable explanation of this feature is that some scrolls were transferred from one monastery to the other, perhaps because new copies had been made.

Another seal reads "Kua-sha chou ta ching" 瓜沙州大經, that is "great scripture of Kua-sha Province", which often appears in Buddhist texts written early in the seventh century (fig. 3).⁵⁴⁾ The name "Kua-sha Province" is not found in historical sources; probably it was used during the short period between 617 and 619, when Tunhuang was in the hands of Li K'uei 李軌.⁵⁵⁾ Peculiar is also the use of this seal, since it was not only placed at both ends of the scroll, but also on the reverse wherever two sheets are joined together. As we shall see below, official documents were stamped in a somewhat similar way.

The most typical examples of scrolls in the standard form are the Taoist scripture *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* 老子變化經 (S. 2295) copied in 612 at the imperial library of the Sui dynasty (fig. 6)⁵⁶⁾ and the

⁵⁴⁾ This seal has usually been deciphered as "Kua-sha chou ta-wang" (Grand king of Kua-sha Province) with a few exceptions.

⁵⁵⁾ *Chiu T'ang-shu* 55 and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 86.

⁵⁶⁾ Partly reproduced in Fujieda Akira, "Tonkō shakyō no ji-sugata" (Une étude cal-

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

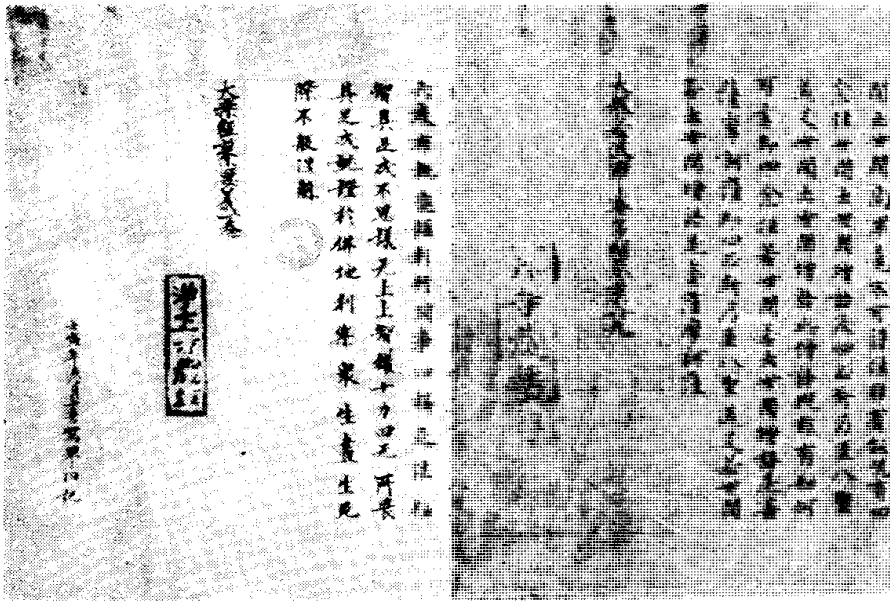


fig. 5. Left: Seal of the Ching-t'u monastery on the *Ta-sheng ching-tsuan yao-i* (P. ch. 2298); Right: Seals of the Pao-en and San-chieh monasteries on the *Ta pan-jo polo-mi-to ching* ch. 29. Courtesy of the National Museum of Kyoto.

most probable explanation of this feature is that some scrolls were transferred from one monastery to the other, perhaps because new copies had been made.

Another seal reads "Kua-sha chou ta ching" 瓜沙州大聖(經), that is "great scripture of Kua-sha Province", which often appears in Buddhist texts written early in the seventh century (fig. 3).⁵⁴⁾ The name "Kua-sha Province" is not found in historical sources; probably it was used during the short period between 617 and 619, when Tunhuang was in the hands of Li K'uei 李軌.⁵⁵⁾ Peculiar is also the use of this seal, since it was not only placed at both ends of the scroll, but also on the reverse wherever two sheets are joined together. As we shall see below, official documents were stamped in a somewhat similar way.

The most typical examples of scrolls in the standard form are the Taoist scripture *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* 老子變化經 (S. 2295) copied in 612 at the imperial library of the Sui dynasty (fig. 6)⁵⁶⁾ and the

⁵⁴⁾ This seal has usually been deciphered as "Kua-sha chou ta-wang" (Grand king of Kua-sha Province) with a few exceptions.

⁵⁵⁾ *Chiu T'ang-shu* 55 and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 86.

⁵⁶⁾ Partly reproduced in Fujieda Akira, "Tonkō shakyō no ji-sugata" (Une étude cal-

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

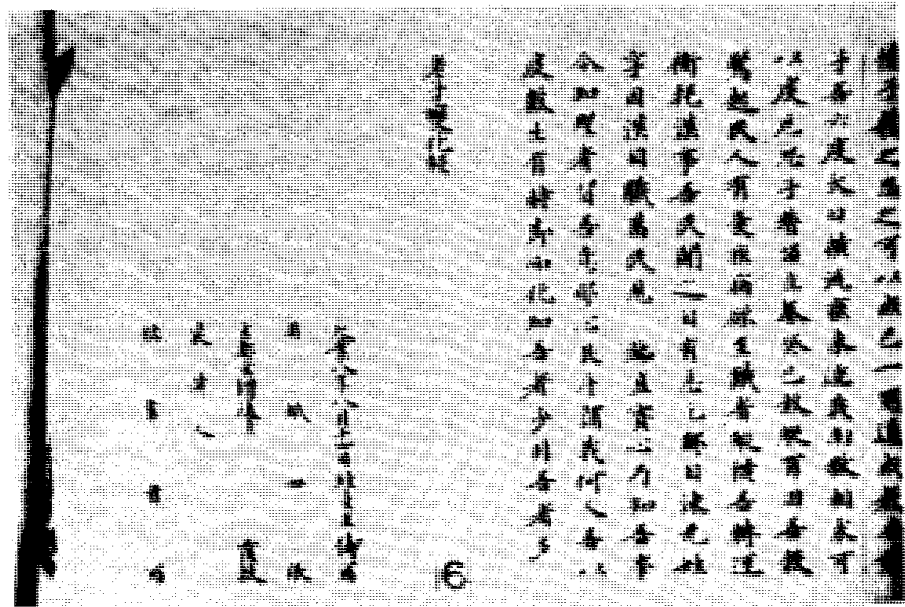


fig. 6. The *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* dated 612 A.D. with the original roller (S. 2295)

texts of the *Saddharmapundarika sūtra* 妙法蓮華經 and the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 copied at the court of the T'ang in the years 671 to 677 (fig. 7).⁵⁷⁾ Judging from the style of the handwriting, we may assume that this form goes back to the middle of the fifth century.⁵⁸⁾

As a variation, we find that in most of the Confucian and Taoist texts with commentary in double columns the main text itself is written in columns containing twelve to sixteen characters; the majority of them are copied in an excellent handwriting of the seventh and eighth centuries, probably not in Tunhuang but nearer the centre of the empire (fig. 8).

Hemp paper disappeared from Tunhuang at the end of the eighth century, and instead a thick and coarse kind of paper was used for scriptures in the standard form. Moreover some scriptures were written on paper measuring 30 by 45 cm.

ligraphique sur des manuscrits bouddhiques et taoïstes découverts de Touenhouang), *Bokubi* No. 97, Kyoto 1960, Pl. 15.

⁵⁷⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Tonkō shutsudo no Chōan kyūtei shakyo" in *Tsukamoto Anniversary Volume*, Kyoto 1961.

⁵⁸⁾ *Bokubi* No. 97.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

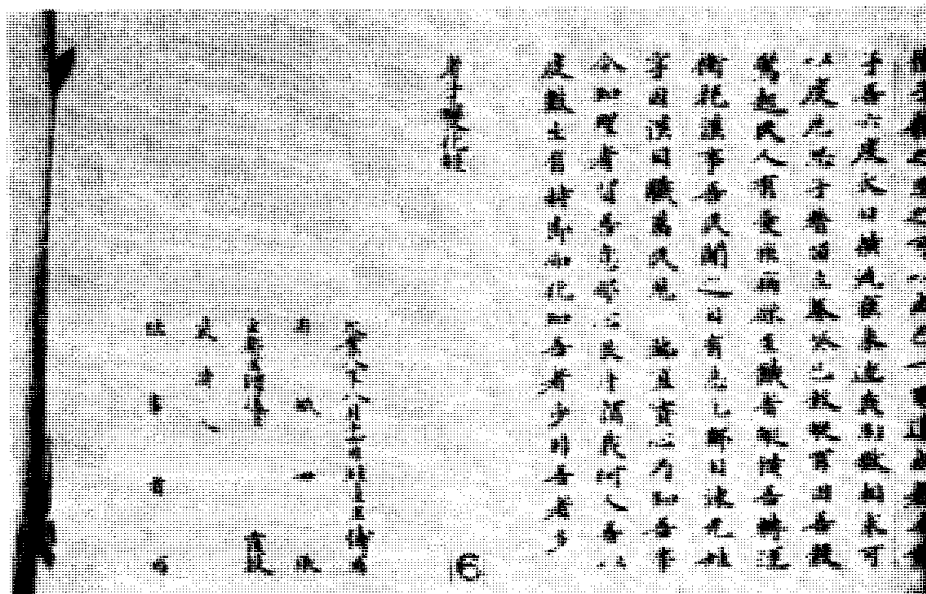


fig. 6. The *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* dated 612 A.D. with the original roller (S. 2295)

texts of the *Saddharmaṇḍarika sūtra* 妙法蓮華經 and the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 copied at the court of the T'ang in the years 671 to 677 (fig. 7).⁵⁷⁾ Judging from the style of the handwriting, we may assume that this form goes back to the middle of the fifth century.⁵⁸⁾

As a variation, we find that in most of the Confucian and Taoist texts with commentary in double columns the main text itself is written in columns containing twelve to sixteen characters; the majority of them are copied in an excellent handwriting of the seventh and eighth centuries, probably not in Tunhuang but nearer the centre of the empire (fig. 8).

Hemp paper disappeared from Tunhuang at the end of the eighth century, and instead a thick and coarse kind of paper was used for scriptures in the standard form. Moreover some scriptures were written on paper measuring 30 by 45 cm.

ligraphique sur des manuscrits bouddhiques et taoïstes découverts de Touenhouang), *Bokubi* No. 97, Kyoto 1960, Pl. 15.

⁵⁷⁾ Fujieda Akira, "Tonkō shutsudo no Chōan kyūtei shakyo" in *Tsukamoto Anniversary Volume*, Kyoto 1961.

⁵⁸⁾ *Bokubi* No. 97.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.



fig. 7. The *Chin-kang pa-i-jo po-lo-mi ching* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) dated 676 A.D. (S. 513)

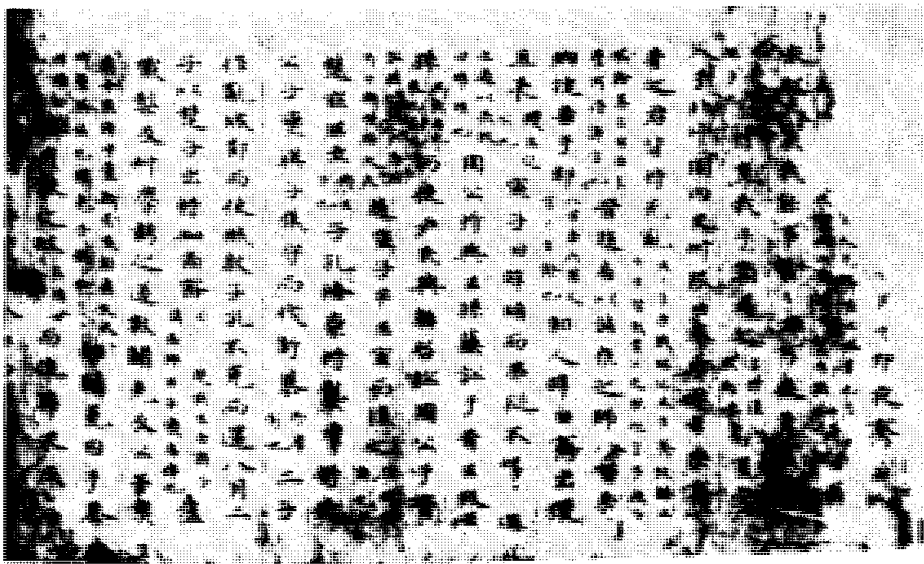


fig. 8. The *Tso-chüan* with commentary in double columns (S. 85)

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.



fig. 7. The *Chin-kang pa-l-jo po-lo-mi ching* (*Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*) dated 676 A.D. (S. 513)



fig. 8. The *Tso-chüan* with commentary in double columns (S. 85)

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

2. Irregular forms

i) The scroll in small characters

Some scriptures are written in smaller characters, thirty-four in a column, that is twice the number in the standard form, while a column occupies about two-thirds of the normal width. Thus the whole text of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, which normally consists of three scrolls, can be written on one (fig. 9), and that of the *Saddharmapundarika sūtra* on two scrolls instead of seven. Scriptures in this form were called *hsi-tzu ching* 細字經 or *hsiao-tzu ching* 小字經 "scriptures in small characters". Though written by professional scribes, such scrolls, which not only saved paper but were also convenient to carry, were apparently for personal use.

ii) The informal scroll

Scrolls which were not intended for particular libraries, in other words, texts other than Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian canonical scriptures, are mostly different from the standard form. Hemp



fig. 9. The *Wei-mo-chieh ching* (*Vimalakīrti-sūtra*) in small characters, copied in 794 A. D. (S. 1864)

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

paper is still used, but other kinds also occur, and sometimes the text is written on the reverse of paper already used before or discarded by the copying office. We find, however, that the reverse of Buddhist scriptures in the standard form is never used for copying other Buddhist texts. These informal scrolls were not written by professional scribes, the script is often cursive, especially in commentaries, while during the ninth and also tenth centuries a sort of wooden pen, which the Tibetans had introduced into Tunhuang, was used. 20 to 24 characters per column are common, and in the case of commentaries and *vinaya* texts the columns are even longer.

Pelliot obtained four scrolls of silk, which are now numbered P. chinois 4504-07. We learn from the colophon to one of them that they were called *su-ching* 素經, "scriptures on silk".⁵⁹⁾ One of these texts, containing 22 characters per column, has been photographically reprinted.⁶⁰⁾ However, it would be unwise to draw general conclusions about the formal characteristics of these scriptures from such a limited number of samples, although it is well known that the Chinese had used silk as a writing material before paper was invented.

iii) The concertina book

Giles was surprised that the invention of a more convenient form than the usual scroll took place so late in China.⁶¹⁾ By folding a scroll every four to six columns, a book takes a shape which somewhat resembles one side of a concertina. Thus a volume can be quickly opened at any point and equally quickly closed after consultation. This form appears at the end of the eighth century, later prevailing among the printed Buddhist scriptures in China down to recent days. But we find very few such texts among the Tunhuang manuscripts.

iv) The booklet

Another new type was the booklet (fig. 10). A large number

⁵⁹⁾ The colophon of P. chinois 4506 quoted in *Tun-huang i-shu tsung-mu so-yin*, p. 301.

⁶⁰⁾ The *Fo-shuo wu-liang-shou ching* reprinted by Ōtani Eijō 大谷肇誠 in 1926, with a postscript by Naitō Konan (Torajirō) 内藤湖南. The width of the reproduced scroll is 27.5 cm; judging from the size of the seal, this was probably the original size.

⁶¹⁾ Giles, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

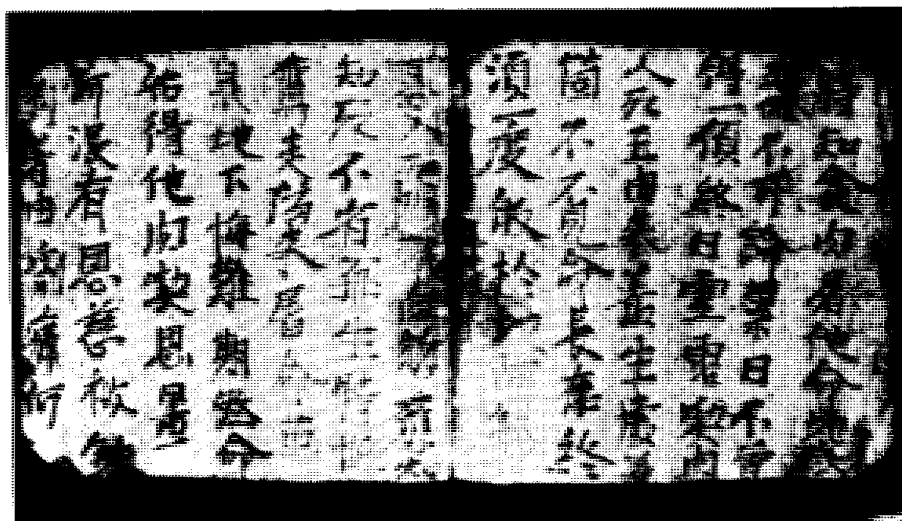


fig. 10. Manuscript in booklet form, written with a wooden pen.
Courtesy of the Yūrinkan Museum, Kyoto.

of these date from the first half of the ninth century, while we hardly find an earlier sample, although the type must have been introduced into Tunhuang during the preceding century. It was made of a thick and coarse paper of a light grey colour produced in Tunhuang since the Tibetan period. Such paper, originally measuring one by one and a half feet, that is 30 by 45 cm, was cut into three sheets, each 15 by 30 cm in size and folded in the middle, thus providing four pages to write on. The booklet was made by pasting or stitching a number of sheets together along the folds. Occasionally we find a booklet in an oblong form of 12 by 30 cm; in this case the original paper had been cut into two sheets. More than half of these booklets were written with a wooden pen. Being more convenient to carry than scrolls and concertina books, their contents are personal in character: a collection of popular scriptures such as the *Avalokiteśvara sūtra* and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya sūtra*, apocrypha, *dhāraṇī*, formal prayers, Buddhist chants, *pien-wen*, a letter-writer, a glossary, etc.

v) The *pothi* shape

When the Chinese knew the shape of Tibetan and Sanskrit books, they followed this type. It is rather probable that the Tibetans, then rulers of Tunhuang, had the Chinese supply the

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

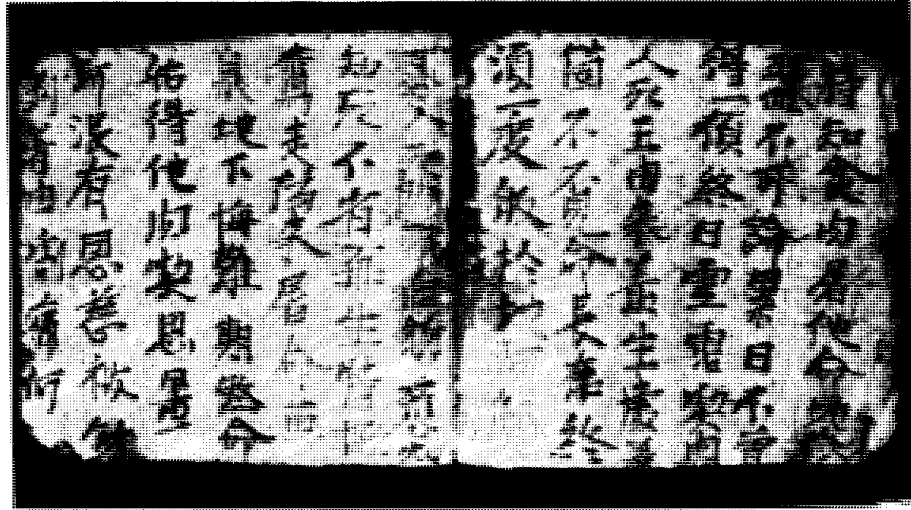


fig. 10. Manuscript in booklet form, written with a wooden pen.
Courtesy of the Yürinkan Museum, Kyoto.

of these date from the first half of the ninth century, while we hardly find an earlier sample, although the type must have been introduced into Tunhuang during the preceding century. It was made of a thick and coarse paper of a light grey colour produced in Tunhuang since the Tibetan period. Such paper, originally measuring one by one and a half feet, that is 30 by 45 cm, was cut into three sheets, each 15 by 30 cm in size and folded in the middle, thus providing four pages to write on. The booklet was made by pasting or stitching a number of sheets together along the folds. Occasionally we find a booklet in an oblong form of 12 by 30 cm; in this case the original paper had been cut into two sheets. More than half of these booklets were written with a wooden pen. Being more convenient to carry than scrolls and concertina books, their contents are personal in character: a collection of popular scriptures such as the *Avalokiteśvara sūtra* and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya sūtra*, apocrypha, *dhāraṇī*, formal prayers, Buddhist chants, *pien-wen*, a letter-writer, a glossary, etc.

v) The *pothi* shape

When the Chinese knew the shape of Tibetan and Sanskrit books, they followed this type. It is rather probable that the Tibetans, then rulers of Tunhuang, had the Chinese supply the

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

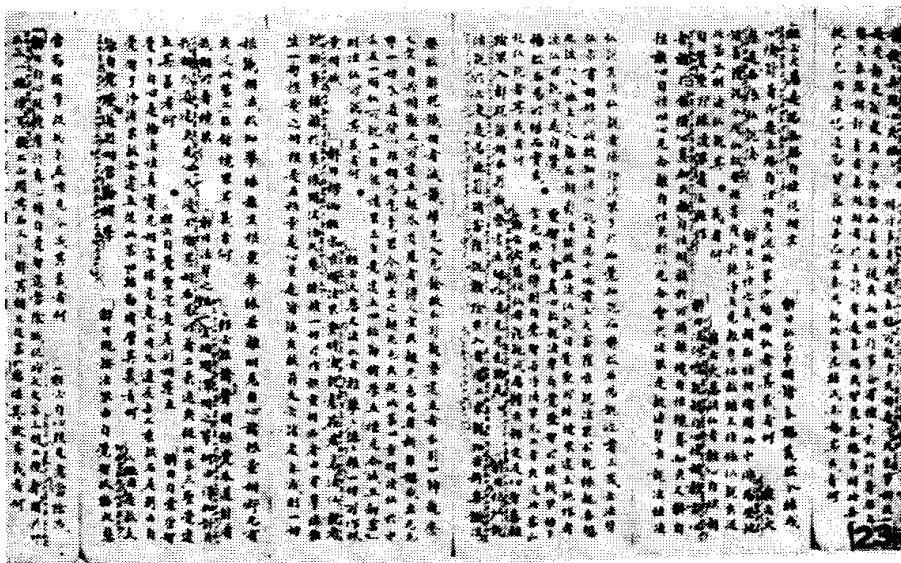


fig. 11. Commentary of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in the form of concertina book with holes of *pothi*. (S. 5603)

material for their books, and that the latter in turn made use of it for their own writings. We find this type of book only from the Tibetan period. However, the Chinese wrote perpendicularly along the longer side of paper, and put only one hole for the string. It is strange that a few books of concertina shape bear a hole on each page, as if the book had consisted of *pothi* leaves, which are normally separated (fig. 11).

3. The administrative documents

Although the majority of the documents found at Tunhuang are monastic in character, they are closely modelled on the secular documents. Most date from the ninth and tenth centuries, while the eighth century is less well represented, and documents earlier than the seventh century are very few. Accordingly, the regulations for government papers of the T'ang dynasty may be taken as fundamental.

The paper for the documents was made from the bark of the mulberry tree (*ch'u* 楮), hence the general name of the paper is *ch'u-chih* 楮紙. From the texture of the paper we can see that the fibre of the bark was not well crushed (fig. 12). There were two

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

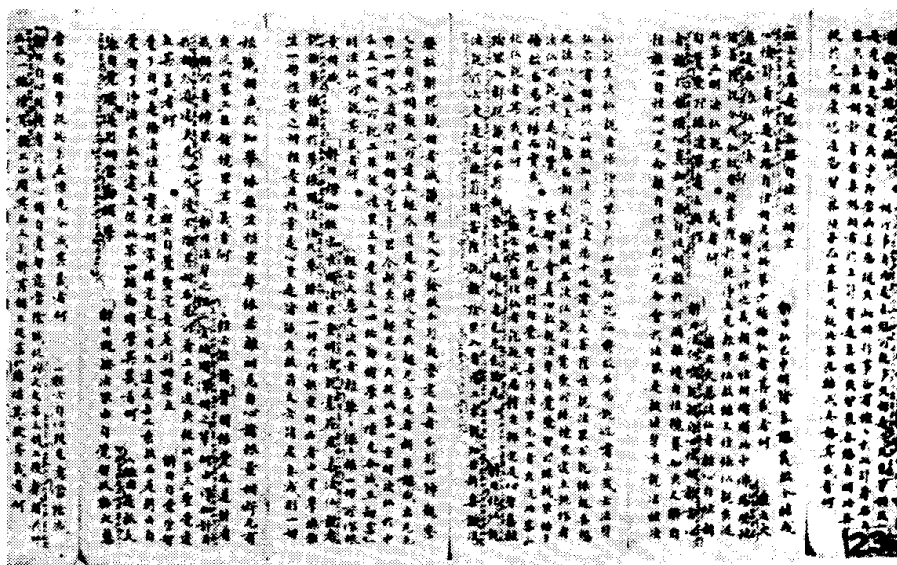


fig. 11. Commentary of the *Lankavatāra sūtra* in the form of concertina book with holes of *pothi*. (S. 5603)

material for their books, and that the latter in turn made use of it for their own writings. We find this type of book only from the Tibetan period. However, the Chinese wrote perpendicularly along the longer side of paper, and put only one hole for the string. It is strange that a few books of concertina shape bear a hole on each page, as if the book had consisted of *pothi* leaves, which are normally separated (fig. 11).

3. The administrative documents

Although the majority of the documents found at Tunhuang are monastic in character, they are closely modelled on the secular documents. Most date from the ninth and tenth centuries, while the eighth century is less well represented, and documents earlier than the seventh century are very few. Accordingly, the regulations for government papers of the T'ang dynasty may be taken as fundamental.

The paper for the documents was made from the bark of the mulberry tree (*ch'u* 楮), hence the general name of the paper is *ch'u-chih* 楮紙. From the texture of the paper we can see that the fibre of the bark was not well crushed (fig. 12). There were two

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS



fig. 12. Texture of the mulberry paper, 50 times magnified.

qualities, the better one called *an-chih* 案紙, “document paper”, and the other *tzu-chih* 次紙, “secondary paper”, that is draft paper for the government offices.⁶²⁾ It measured one by one and a half feet (30 by 45 cm).

When a document is addressed to an office of a higher grade, the text begins with the name of the dispatching bureau, and the title and name of its chief are put, together with the date, at the end of the document. The name of the recipient is never written, but he is referred to by his title of a respectful form of address in the main text. The recipient himself adds his comment, the date, and his signature; if necessary, a new sheet is pasted on for this purpose, and the official in charge places his signature on the reverse of each joint between the sheets. Finally the official seal is put in red at the beginning and end of the document and on the obverse of each joint of sheets. The documents addressed to a lower office follow the same rules, except that the title and name of the dispatcher as well as those of the recipient are given at the beginning. Private correspondence is similar in this respect.

⁶²⁾ Naitō Kenkichi, “Seiki hakken Tōdai kammonjo no kenkyū” 内藤乾吉, 西域發見唐代官文書の研究 in *Chūgoku hōsei shi kōshō*, Tokyo 1963, pp. 253-65.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

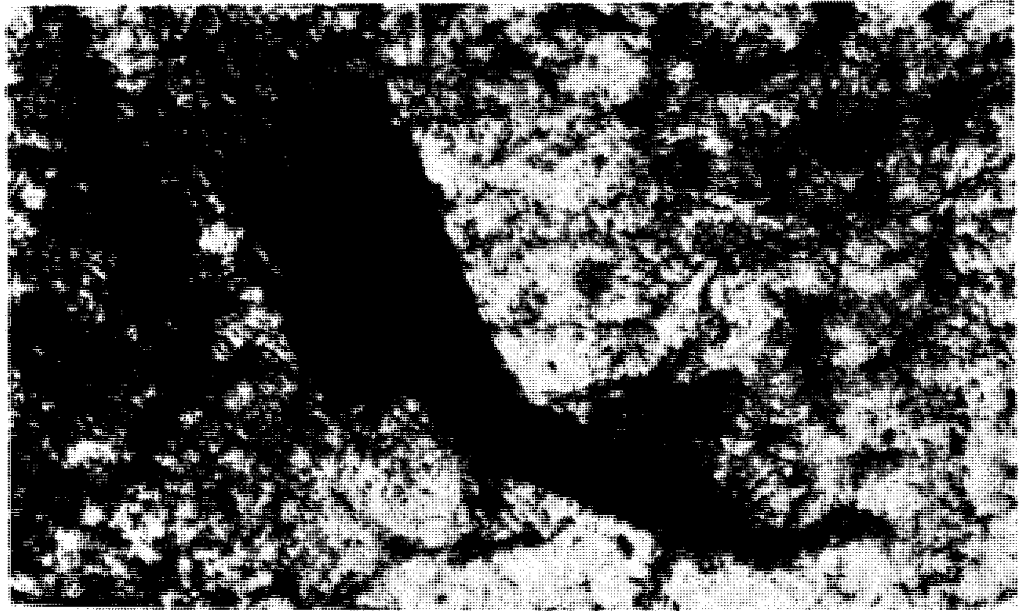


fig. 12. Texture of the mulberry paper, 50 times magnified.

qualities, the better one called *an-chih* 案紙, "document paper", and the other *tzu-chih* 次紙, "secondary paper", that is draft paper for the government offices.⁶²⁾ It measured one by one and a half feet (30 by 45 cm).

When a document is addressed to an office of a higher grade, the text begins with the name of the dispatching bureau, and the title and name of its chief are put, together with the date, at the end of the document. The name of the recipient is never written, but he is referred to by his title of a respectful form of address in the main text. The recipient himself adds his comment, the date, and his signature; if necessary, a new sheet is pasted on for this purpose, and the official in charge places his signature on the reverse of each joint between the sheets. Finally the official seal is put in red at the beginning and end of the document and on the obverse of each joint of sheets. The documents addressed to a lower office follow the same rules, except that the title and name of the dispatcher as well as those of the recipient are given at the beginning. Private correspondence is similar in this respect.

⁶²⁾ Naitō Kenkichi, "Seiiki hakken Tōdai kammonjo no kenkyū" 内藤乾吉, 西域發見唐代官文書の研究 in *Chūgoku hōsei shi kōshō*, Tokyo 1963, pp. 253-65.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

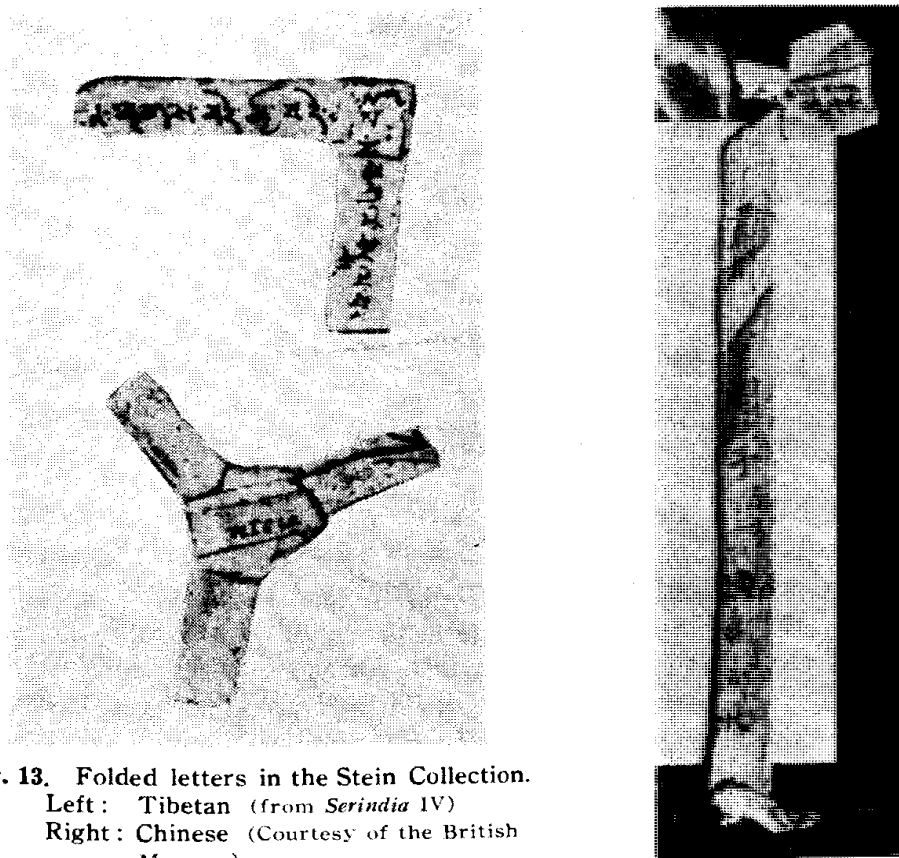


fig. 13. Folded letters in the Stein Collection.
Left: Tibetan (from *Serindia* IV)
Right: Chinese (Courtesy of the British
Museum)

A series of documents is joined together and kept at the office in the form of a scroll; the title of which is given at the upper edge of the roller or on a small piece of wood attached to the roller.⁶³⁾ Private letters are folded into narrow strips with the address written on the reverse of the last fold. I have found one example of an unopened letter in the "débris" of the Stein Collection (fig. 13).⁶⁴⁾

The reverse of almost all government documents found at Tunhuang has been used for other purposes, mainly for copying Buddhist texts. We must be careful about the relationship between the obverse and reverse in such a case, as it has often been neglected or misunderstood.

⁶³⁾ Several examples have been preserved at the Shōsō-in, and also excavated from the site of the Nara palace very recently.

⁶⁴⁾ The usage of folded letter had apparently been forgotten in China; however, it was delivered to Japan and was preserved for a long period.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

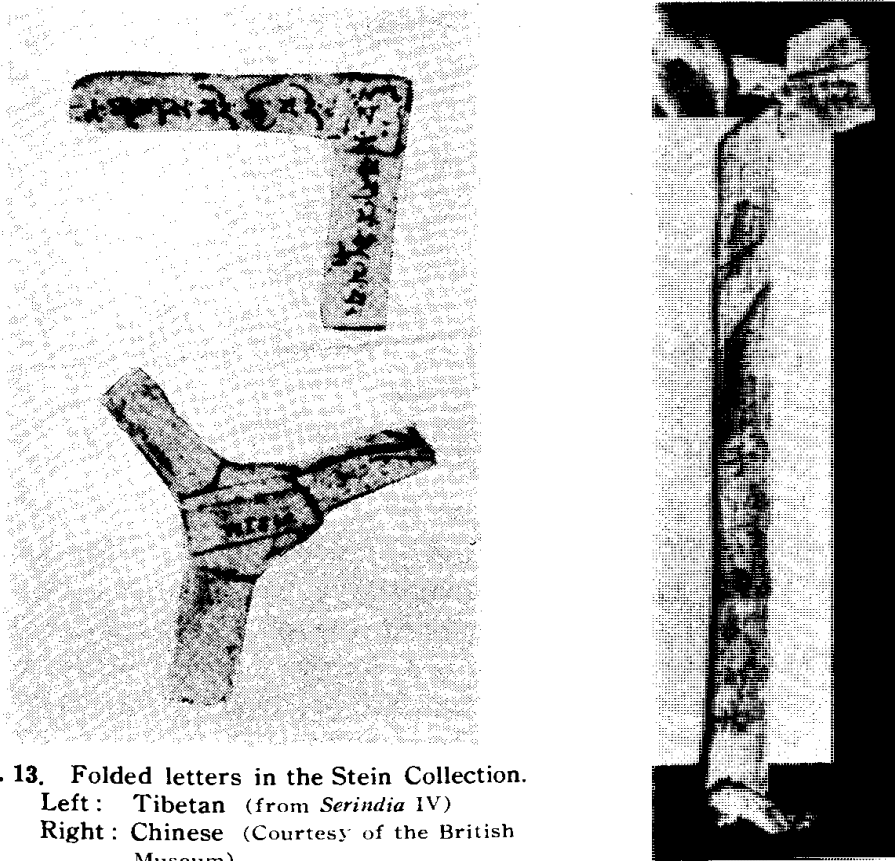


fig. 13. Folded letters in the Stein Collection.
Left: Tibetan (from *Serindia IV*)
Right: Chinese (Courtesy of the British
Museum)

A series of documents is joined together and kept at the office in the form of a scroll; the title of which is given at the upper edge of the roller or on a small piece of wood attached to the roller.⁶³⁾ Private letters are folded into narrow strips with the address written on the reverse of the last fold. I have found one example of an unopened letter in the "débris" of the Stein Collection (fig. 13).⁶⁴⁾

The reverse of almost all government documents found at Tun-huang has been used for other purposes, mainly for copying Buddhist texts. We must be careful about the relationship between the obverse and reverse in such a case, as it has often been neglected or misunderstood.

⁶³⁾ Several examples have been preserved at the Shōsō-in, and also excavated from the site of the Nara palace very recently.

⁶⁴⁾ The usage of folded letter had apparently been forgotten in China; however, it was delivered to Japan and was preserved for a long period.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

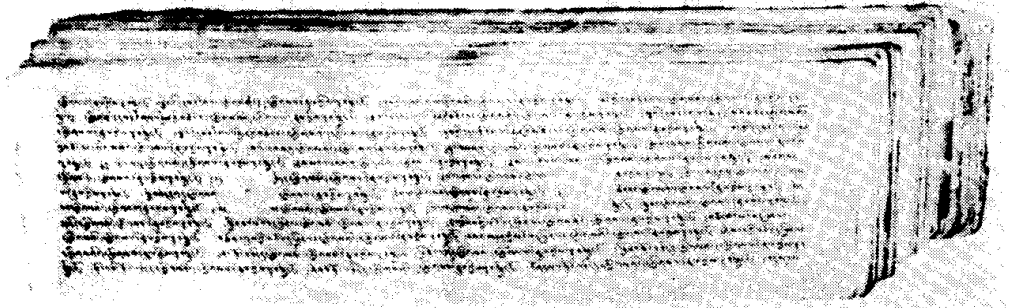


fig. 14. Tibetan manuscript in *pothi* form. From *Serindia* IV.

4. The manuscripts in Tibetan and other languages

About half of the manuscripts from Tunhuang are written in Tibetan, while the few texts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Sogdian, and Uighur are almost identical in form. Since all these manuscripts were made during a very short period, as will be explained later, no noteworthy changes in form can be found. Whereas the writing material consisted almost entirely of Chinese paper and pens made of reed or wood, the forms had been borrowed from two different countries, India and China.⁶⁵⁾

i) *Pothi*

The usual shape of the Buddhist manuscripts in Tibetan is that of the *pothi* or Indian book. Different kinds of Chinese paper were used, and, whether consisting of one or two layers, written on both sides. The paper was cut into sheets measuring 7 to 10 cm along the shorter side, whereas the longer side retained the original length and therefore, within a range of 20 to 60 cm, normally measured 30 cm for the usual T'ang paper, 26 cm in the case of hemp paper, and 45 cm if the T'ang paper was cut along the other side. Two holes, occasionally one, were made in the middle of the sheet, through which strings were put to keep the sheets in the proper order. The text was written horizontally in four to eight lines parallel with the longer side. The title precedes the main text and is usually accompanied by the original Indian or Chinese title,⁶⁶⁾

⁶⁵⁾ About the formal characteristics of the manuscripts in Tibetan, details have been discussed by de la Vallée Poussin, in the introduction to *op. cit.*, p. xv.

⁶⁶⁾ This form of title was later adopted by Hsi-hsia, Uighur, Mongol and Manchu Buddhist scriptures.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

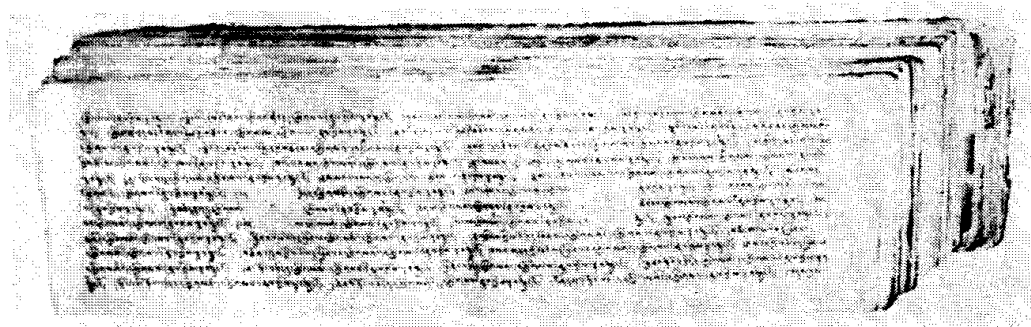


fig. 14. Tibetan manuscript in *pothi* form. From *Serindia* IV.

4. The manuscripts in Tibetan and other languages

About half of the manuscripts from Tunhuang are written in Tibetan, while the few texts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Sogdian, and Uighur are almost identical in form. Since all these manuscripts were made during a very short period, as will be explained later, no noteworthy changes in form can be found. Whereas the writing material consisted almost entirely of Chinese paper and pens made of reed or wood, the forms had been borrowed from two different countries, India and China.⁶⁵⁾

i) *Pothi*

The usual shape of the Buddhist manuscripts in Tibetan is that of the *pothi* or Indian book. Different kinds of Chinese paper were used, and, whether consisting of one or two layers, written on both sides. The paper was cut into sheets measuring 7 to 10 cm along the shorter side, whereas the longer side retained the original length and therefore, within a range of 20 to 60 cm, normally measured 30 cm for the usual T'ang paper, 26 cm in the case of hemp paper, and 45 cm if the T'ang paper was cut along the other side. Two holes, occasionally one, were made in the middle of the sheet, through which strings were put to keep the sheets in the proper order. The text was written horizontally in four to eight lines parallel with the longer side. The title precedes the main text and is usually accompanied by the original Indian or Chinese title.⁶⁶⁾

⁶⁵⁾ About the formal characteristics of the manuscripts in Tibetan, details have been discussed by de la Vallée Poussin, in the introduction to *op. cit.*, p. xv.

⁶⁶⁾ This form of title was later adopted by Hsi-hsia, Uighur, Mongol and Manchu Buddhist scriptures.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

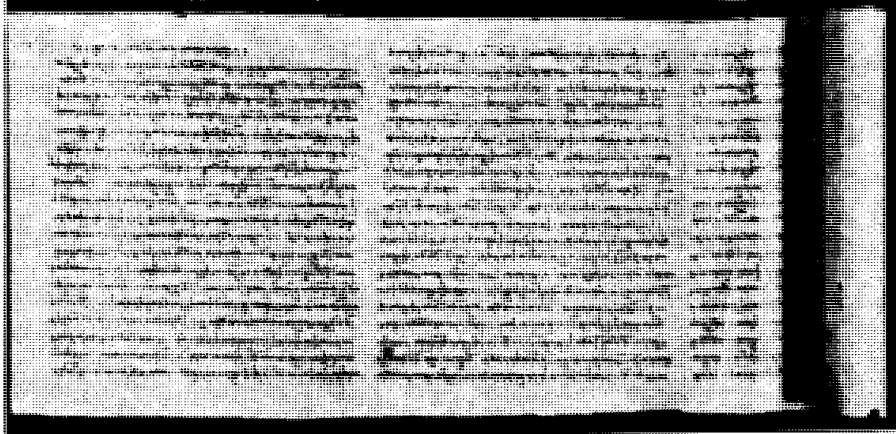


fig. 15. Tibetan manuscript in a scroll form (the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra* preserved at Kyoto University)

and is mostly repeated as a colophon at the end of the text, with the name of the translator, in the case of a commentary, that of the author, attached. The colophons do not occur so often as in the scriptures in Chinese, except some *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras on *pothi*, which consist of the names of scribe and correctors only, similar to those on scrolls. The pagination is regularly given with the Tibetan numbering or alphabet on the left margin of the reverse of each sheet.⁶⁷ In the case of commentary, the main text is written in red; this colour is also used in the decorative marks at the beginning of the text and the circle around the holes for strings. The majority of the Sanskrit and Khotanese manuscripts are in this category.

ii) Scroll and single sheet

As we have seen above, all the major collections except Peking keep thousands of copies of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*, which are written on uniform Chinese scrolls. Since many copies of the *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* are similar in form, the manuscripts of this kind are far more numerous than the *pothi* books. They are written on paper made at Tunhuang in the ninth century. As the Tibetan writing goes from left to right, these scrolls are different from those in Chinese. A sheet of paper of 30 by 45 cm was first divided into two columns by means of four rules, each column measuring about 20 cm in width and subdivided into 18 to

⁶⁷ Various ways of pagination have been described by de la Vallée Poussin in *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi.

II. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MSS.

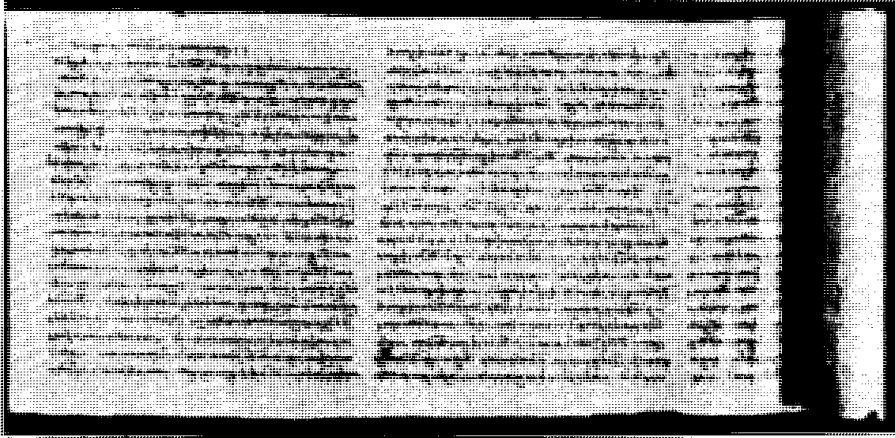


fig. 15. Tibetan manuscript in a scroll form (the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra* preserved at Kyoto University)

and is mostly repeated as a colophon at the end of the text, with the name of the translator, in the case of a commentary, that of the author, attached. The colophons do not occur so often as in the scriptures in Chinese, except some *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras on *poṭhi*, which consist of the names of scribe and correctors only, similar to those on scrolls. The pagination is regularly given with the Tibetan numbering or alphabet on the left margin of the reverse of each sheet.⁶⁷⁾ In the case of commentary, the main text is written in red; this colour is also used in the decorative marks at the beginning of the text and the circle around the holes for strings. The majority of the Sanskrit and Khotanese manuscripts are in this category.

ii) Scroll and single sheet

As we have seen above, all the major collections except Peking keep thousands of copies of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*, which are written on uniform Chinese scrolls. Since many copies of the *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* are similar in form, the manuscripts of this kind are far more numerous than the *poṭhi* books. They are written on paper made at Tunhuang in the ninth century. As the Tibetan writing goes from left to right, these scrolls are different from those in Chinese. A sheet of paper of 30 by 45 cm was first divided into two columns by means of four rules, each column measuring about 20 cm in width and subdivided into 18 to

⁶⁷⁾ Various ways of pagination have been described by de la Vallée Poussin in *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi.

FUJIEDA, THE TUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

20 lines (fig. 15). The text of the *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra* is short and finishes in three, or three and a half sheets. Up to six or seven copies of the same *sūtra* were joined together, thus forming long scrolls; no roller nor scroll cover of this scripture has however been found. At the end of each copy, a colophon consisting of the name of scribe and correctors is regularly given.⁶⁸⁾

Except for these two scriptures, the text was written along the shorter side of the sheet, and several sheets were pasted together by the same process as scrolls in Chinese, although manuscripts in this category are not numerous.

During the period of their rule over Tunhuang, the Tibetans also used Chinese paper for their letters and documents. For this purpose too, the text was written along the shorter side of the paper. The sheet was folded into narrow strips (fig. 13), we always find traces of the folds and the address of the documents on the reverse.

iii) Other forms

Other forms such as concertina books and booklets, which we have seen above, also occur in the manuscripts other than in Chinese although they are not numerous. In the case of concertina books, the Tibetan texts were written parallel to the longer side of the page, 5 to 10 lines on each page, and on both sides of a sheet. Occasionally two layers are pasted together. Most of the texts in this form are *tāntrik* in character.⁶⁹⁾ In the booklets, the Tibetan texts were written in a similar way to books in European languages, while the Uighur texts were written in a Chinese way or the writing lines are parallel with the joint line though their writing lines go from left to right. It is noteworthy that there are some booklets in Turkish "runic" script since we have very few materials of this script besides some steles found in the north Mongolia.

Scrolls of Chinese scriptures may be taken as a material for writing in other scripts. As the old Chinese manuscripts must have been useless for the Tibetans and other peoples, they used the reverse for their own writing. This is the reason why we find so many "bilingual" manuscripts from Tunhuang.

(to be continued)

⁶⁸⁾ Fujieda Akira & Ueyama Daishun, "Chibetto yaku *Muryōju shūyō gyō* no Tonkō shahon" in *Biblia* No. 23, published by the Tenri Library 1962, pp. 345-56.

⁶⁹⁾ See note 65).