

Talking about Dunhuang on
the Riverside of the Neva

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FOREWORD

This booklet is a collection of papers submitted to the Second Roundtable “Talking about Dunhuang at the Riverside of the Neva”, which was held on September 3, 2010, at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, as part of “Research in the Chinese texts which were discovered in Dunhuang, Turfan, etc. and now kept in Russia” research program. This program was organized by the Editor and supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) 21320070). This workshop was conducted under the cooperation between the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, and the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University. For the conduct of the workshop, we are rather grateful to Dr. Irina F. Popova, Director of the IOM. The subject of the workshop was mainly concerning the Dunhuang manuscripts kept in Russia. We have a long tradition of cooperation in this field of study dating back to 1929, when Prof. Kano Naoki published an article on Wen Xuan (Literary Selections) by the use of the photographs of the Dunhuang manuscript, which Prof. Alekseev provided as a present for Kano’s 60th birthday. We sincerely hope that at the time of publication of this booklet, the cooperation will have developed further and bring more fruitful results in the future.

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前 言

這本小冊子是 2010 年 9 月 3 日在聖彼得堡借俄國科學院東方文獻研究所為會場舉辦的題為“涅瓦河邊談敦煌”的圓桌會議中提交的論文集。本次會議是編者主持的日本學術振興會資助研究項目“敦煌吐魯番等地發現的俄藏漢文文獻研究”（科學研究費 B 21320070）的活動之一，也是俄國科學院東方文獻研究所和日本京都大學人文科學研究所的合作項目。會議的舉辦得到了東方文獻研究所伊麗娜·波波娃所長的悉心關懷，謹此表示感謝！該會議的主題是俄藏敦煌寫本，而在這一方面我們擁有悠久的傳統。1929 年狩野直喜教授利用阿列克謝夫教授為慶祝狩野六十壽誕寄來的俄藏寫本照片，執筆刊行了關於敦煌本《文選》的著名論文，這是早期日俄合作中的一段佳話。在出版這一小冊子的時候，我們衷心希望日俄兩國將來能夠繼續開展在敦煌學上的合作，得到更加豐碩的成果。

高田時雄

二〇一二年二月於京都

Irrigation in the Tangut State of Xi Xia (982-1227)

Evgeny I. Kychanov

In spite of the fact that the Xi Xia territory of the Tangut state consisted mostly of mountains, desert, and semi-desert regions, a significant part of the country was suitable for agriculture. Soil along the Huang He River from Yinchuan 銀川 to Lanzhou 蘭州 was cultivated from ancient times and yielded a good harvest; Nanshan 南山 and Xining 西寧 were also fertile territories. The *Songshi* 宋史 states that “Tangut lands were fertile, five types of grain were sown here, and rice and wheat were in abundance”¹. Still, irrigation was essential for agriculture in many regions. According to the work *Xixia shu* 西夏書 by Zhou Chun 周春, an author from the eighteenth century, 68 small and large canals irrigated ninety thousand *qing* 頃 (or 51,000 hectares)². Powerful networks of irrigation canals obtained water from the Huang He River. The *Songshi* states that in the districts of Liangzhou 涼州, Ganzhou 甘州, Guazhou 瓜州 and Shazhou 沙州 (Dunhuang), lands were irrigated with “water obtained directly from the rivers.” Archeological expeditions begun by Sven Hedin, which continue today, have discovered traces of irrigation canals and old irrigated fields. Dai Xizhang 戴錫章, author of the *Xixia ji* 西夏紀, speculated that in the territory of the Xi Xia state, there existed five ancient canals. Among them was the Canal Hanyuan 漢源, which was 250 *li* long, and the Tangliang 唐梁, which was 320 *li* long³.

¹*Songshi* 宋史, vol.486, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 ed., Beijing, 1977, p.14028.

²Zhou Chun 周春, *Xixia shu* 西夏書, Ms. of Peking University Library, vol. 9, p.10b.

³Dai Xizhang 戴錫章, *Xixia ji* 西夏紀, vol. 3, p.13a. Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju 京華印書局,

The nineteenth-century author Wu Guangcheng 吳廣成 wrote that “Dozens of canals were connected into a united irrigational system for distribution of the Huang He waters”⁴.

Tangut law codes contain interesting information about irrigation systems in the Tangut state. Tanguts not only had irrigational systems borrowed from the Han and Tang dynasties, but they also dug new canals. In the texts, these canals were referred to as “new canals.” All of the large canals were sovereign property, and thus belonged to the state. Every canal had a zone of alienation that was marked off by boundary signs and landmarks. Cultivated fields had to be at a distance of 40 steps (about 60 meters) from canals and not nearer. Canals were dug up and repaired by specialists – “men who were skillful in digging canals.” Workers were peasants, who were hired on the basis of labor duty and did not work more than 40 days in a year. Labor duty could be substituted with supplying building materials, which included 350 poles, each of which was 2 meters in length.

The entire population of a district was mobilized for work in extraordinary situations, during which time all building materials were confiscated from the citizens. This work was later taken into account as regular taxation. Workers were organized in groups (also called troops) of 20 workers each. This order is known from documents published by D. Twitchett⁵. Every pair of workers had their own task for one day of work. Canal administration consisted of two main executives – the canal manager and the inspector who perambulated the territory. From the Dunhuang documents it is known that they were known as the *quzhang* 渠長 (canal manager) and *qutou* 渠頭 (canal

1924

⁴Wu Guangcheng 吳廣成, *Xixia shushi* 西夏書事. vol.20, p.7b. Beijing: Wenkui tang 文奎堂, 1934.

⁵Twitchett, D. “Some Remarks on Irrigation under the T’ang.” *T’oung Pao*. 1960. vol.48, livr.1-3, p.180.

supervisor). Each year, water observers and canal servers were appointed in turns. Their job was to keep watch all day and night. There was also a person in a special position who was responsible for plantation along canals. Peasants in the neighborhood were obliged to plant trees and bushes along the canal shores. They were prohibited from herding cattle, hacking trees, and mowing grass near the canal; in addition, they could not store fuel, clay, or sand. Violators were arrested.

In case there was any damage due to a water break, compensation depended on the cost of what was destroyed. If a man was killed, the violator was punished for unintentional murder. For intentional destruction, he was punished as for setting the fire.

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the use of water by peasants. Water was distributed in turns by districts, from spring until autumn. From Dunhuang documents, we know that water distributors were called *cishi* 刺史; they were governors of the districts. This name is also found in the Tangut codes.

In case of a violation, if there was no bribe, the fine was one horse or flogging (13 strokes). If there was a “bribe with violation of law,” then the punishment was more serious. In the case of water being stolen, the thief was guilty if he stole water on a single day, but if it continued after that, the canal administrator was considered guilty. According to the Code of the Tang dynasty, theft was punished by flogging (100 strokes).

Big canals were defense constructions. In case of an enemy attack, the water level was raised. It is possible that such a situation took place during the Mongol invasions (1205-1215).

The first article of the “New Laws” *Xin fa* 新法 (chapter 15) begins with the following phrase⁶: “In all irrigated regions the river beds and canals

⁶*Xin fa* 新法 “New Laws.” Ch. 15, art. 1, no pagination (Tang 56/16, No. 286, Ms. collection

had to be put in order” after Mongol attacks. Article 3 states that canals are “the base of drinking water for state population” and article 2 demanded that all destruction and damage be fixed. Planting of trees and grass had to be resumed, while canals and ditches had to be cleaned. Local authorities were to register all building materials – reeds, logs, poles, road metal, straw – and they also appointed suppliers and confirmed the mode of compensation.

The “New Laws” contain a lot of information about the devastating consequences of Mongol invasions – government systems were disrupted, soldiers deserted the army, and people fled from the inhabited regions. However, nothing concrete is said about subsequent Mongol invasions.

Articles from the Tangut Codes that are concerned with irrigation are appended below⁷.

Article 983

If the enemy army invades our territory then [in such circumstances] it will be necessary to calculate the distance to the area [that is occupied by the enemy] and to raise the water levels of the canals Ye, La, Han, Yan, and other large irrigation canals.

Article 1095

Each spring, when the major work on irrigation canals begins, the officials who were in charge of it the year before are to attract attention [to the

of IOM RAS).

⁷Cited at: Измененны заново утвержденны кодекс девиза царствовони Небесное процветание (1149-1169). Издание текста, перевод с тангутского, исследование и примечани Е.И.Кычанова. В 4-х книгах. Кн.4. Факсимиле, перевод и примечани (главы 13-20). [The Revised and Newly Endorsed Code for the Designation of Reign “Celestial Prosperity” (1149-1169). Publication of the Texts, Translation from Tangut (Xi-Xia), Research and Commentary by E.I.Kychanov. In 4 volumes. Vol.4. Facsimile of the Tangut text, Translation and Commentary (chapters 13-20). Moscow; Nauka, GRVL, 1989, pp. 52, 79-80, 85-98, 100 (Памятники письменности Востока [Monuments of the Writings of Orient], LXXXI).

condition of the canals] in the prearranged terms. Regarding the chiefs who are to help [them] in handling the matter, after being checked by advisors and confirmed by the sovereign, able persons are appointed [to these positions] from among the heads and the “conveying orders” of all departments and of the transport department, from among the employees of the sovereign’s private chambers and [the department of] audiences, or from among the spies and the servants of the sovereign’s private chambers. The officials familiar with the craftsmanship of canal building are [to guide] personally the repairing and strengthening of damaged parts of the canals. The water from the canals is to be used from the beginning of spring until the frosts of winter, and this water is to be distributed among the districts (*zhou* 州) at the proper time. When difficulties in supplying water and other related troubles occur, if it is possible to appoint a special person to distribute the water, such a person should be appointed, and inspectors who keep watch over the water in canals and the officials in charge of canals are to be strictly ordered to distribute water among the districts in turns. If the law is broken as a result of a bribe and someone is not supplied with water when his turn comes, or if someone is supplied with it out of turn, the case should be treated as “bribe with violation of law.” If there is no bribe involved [the guilty person] who holds rank is to be fined one horse, and the commoner is to be flogged 13 strokes.

Article 1096

If during the distribution of water among the districts somebody claims that “The water distributor did not supply me with water in my turn, and I have not yet been given water,” then [this] is to be reported to the official. If it is possible to assign a man [to check the matter in situ], then [such] a man is to be assigned, and if it is possible to undertake proceedings, then [they] are to be undertaken. If serious accusations are brought against the distributor

of the water before he is to be examined, then he should be examined, and the water should be provided to the sufferers. If the distributor of the water against whom serious accusations were brought is not examined owing to a bribe or biased actions [of the officials], then senior and junior officials will be given a sentence under the law providing measures of punishment for a “bribe with violation of law,” and if there is no bribe involved [the guilty person] who holds rank is to be fined one horse, and the commoner is to be flogged 13 strokes.

Article 1119

On all main canals and secondary canals between the General Government (da dudu fu) and Dinyuan district, there must be 150 inspectors and canal managers. If any of these positions are vacant, someone should be assigned to them, and if there are people who have quit [these positions], [they] should return to them. If an inspector’s position is not staffed, it is necessary to find from among unoccupied officials for special missions those who are acquainted with the conditions of land and water to supplement the staff by the desired number of officials. After [their appointment], canal managers and inspectors in the service are not allowed to leave the workplace. If unnecessary workers are appointed, or people leave the service because of secondary causes, then the senior and junior officials who might have encouraged a worker to end his service, or anyone whose responsibility it was to make sure there were no people appointed without necessity, are given a sentence under the law providing measures of punishment for changing the gwon.

Article 1120

Regarding the appointment of “water observers” and “canal servers” on big main canals, [they] are to be appointed annually in turn from among the

families using the water, from among the sovereign's husbandmen, and from among [husbandmen] belonging to [sovereign's] relatives, advisors, senior and junior [officials], lords of taxed yards, and all shrines. Appointing anyone [on these positions] out of turn is prohibited. If the law is broken, then those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes. If a bribe has been given, it should be treated as "bribe with violation of law."

Article 1121

At all main canals, "water observers," "canal servers," canal managers, inspectors, persons in charge of works, and other chiefs are to make a full inspection of their posts, send [people] for questioning, check [the canal's condition], and keep track of the cattle pasture [in the area of the canal]. [All of this] must be done with great care. If wearing away of shores near the canals or at the junctions of irrigation ditches is detected, then, where it is possible to conduct repairs [through own forces], the same should be undertaken. Moreover, if it is not possible, one should report [all present damages of the canal] to the official and then undertake repairing and strengthening [of damaged parts]. If [they] do not give due attention and do not look after the cattle pasture [in the area of the canal], and do not report all present damages to the official and [as a result of which] the repairs are not done, and the canal is breached and water is flown, then the sentence is passed [to those who are guilty] according to [damage] cost – that of the bread crops, fields under crop, houses and buildings belonging to the sovereign, private owners or shrine's "permanent residents" (*changzhu* 常住), – and also the cost of [repairing] works and [another] sowing of the fields. 1. If the next canal server in line, whatever day or night, is not present at the part of canal entrusted to him, or leaves the workplace and does not keep watch over [a canal carefully], and

[as a result of which] a canal is broken through and water is lost, the punishments are as follows: in case of loss in the amount of up to and including 50 bunches of coins, the guilty person is to be awarded a punishment in the form of 3 months of hard labor; from above 50 up to and including 150 bunches of coins, 6 months; from above 150 up to and including 500 bunches of coins, 1 year; from above 500 up to and including 1,000 bunches of coins, 2 years; from above 1,000 up to and including 1,500 bunches of coins, 3 years; from above 1,500 up to and including 2,000 bunches of coins, 4 years; from above 2,000 up to and including 2,500 bunches of coins, 5 years; from above 2,500 up to and including 3,000 bunches of coins, 6 years; from above 3,000 up to and including 3,500 bunches of coins, 8 years; from above 3,500 up to and including 4,000 bunches of coins, 10 years; from above 4,000 up to and including 5,000 bunches of coins, 12 years of hard labor. In case of loss of an amount exceeding 5,000 bunches of coins, the guilty person is subject to death by choking. If anyone is killed, [the guilty person] is to incur the same punishment as that prescribed for unintentional murder, when a man on one side of a fence does not know [that there is another man] on the other side, and kills [that] man with an item thrown or an arrow released from a bow. A person in charge of works, a chief, an inspector, and a canal server incur the next punishments for their administrative disability: a canal manager – as an aide of “a canal server,” an inspector – as an aide of a canal manager, a person in charge of works and a chief – as aides of an inspector.

2. If a canal manager and his officials do not inform in advance the inspector who keeps watch over the water in a canal about destruction near junctions of irrigation canals and shores of the main canal or river, or if [through their default] the enemy destroys a dam, then [they] incur the same punishment as for “canal servers” when [they] leave workplaces and [as a reKychanov : 2011/8/3(9:5) Kychanov 9 sult of which] an irrigation canal

is damaged. An inspector [who keeps watch over] the water in a canal for his administrative disability incurs punishment for having aided a canal manager.

3. If a canal manager informs an inspector who keeps watch over the water in canal that there are destructions near junctions [of irrigation canals] and shores [of a canal], and an inspector does not take this information into consideration and does not report it to the official, and [as a result] repairs are not carried out and water is lost, then the inspector who [keeps watch] over the water in that canal incurs the same punishment as for a canal manager who does not inform an official about damage of canal's shores when water is lost. If water is not lost, then a guilty person is awarded one years of hard labor.

4. In the case of a canal manager informing an inspector who [keeps watch] over the water in canal about destructions of canal's shores near junctions of irrigation canals, and the inspector who [keeps watch] over the water in that canal does not take [this information] into consideration and a canal manager does not inform another official and [as a result] water is lost, then this canal manager incurs a punishment of three degrees less than for an inspector who [keeps watch] over the water in a canal. If due to these damages water is not lost, then a canal manager does not incur a punishment, and the inspector who [keeps watch] over the water in that canal is to be fined one horse if he holds rank, and is to be flogged 13 strokes if he is a commoner.

5. If at Na, Lang, Han, and Yan or other big canals, an inspector, a canal manager, or any other man who, without a corresponding right, breaks through a dam out of hatred to the owner or destroys the shore of a canal and [as a result] fields, buildings, and their owners are damaged by the water flow, then, if it is reported by a third man, a punishment for he who destroyed a dam, a reward to informer for the information, and compensations

to the owners of the cattle and property are carried out on the same basis as a punishment for one who commits arson, a reward to an informer, and a compensation for damaged cattle and property as though they had suffered arson.

Article 1122

At the new canals Na, Lang, Han, and Yan, and at all big canals over 1,000 steps in length, it is necessary to mark the boundaries of [their] areas, to set down landmarks, and to sink big stones of a conventional shape into the center on which the name of those who keep watch [over the canal] are written. If a sovereign's private owner, or a private owner from the nearest taxed yard who is a member of local gwon may [be appointed] as a fellow [to canal observer], then he is to be appointed. In the case that there are no owners around, a fellow may be appointed from among owners living in places where irrigation is provided. [This responsibility] is to be allocated to [such owner] personally, and he is to carry out the service in turn with other owners. It is necessary to send each year an inspector [who keeps watch] over the water in the canal and a canal manager, and they both are to look after trees, bushes, and grass planted along the canal at the areas entrusted to them. Nobody is allowed to cut down [trees and grass along the canal]. If someone cuts down [a tree or a bush] or cuts a grass [in the area of canal], then it is necessary to inform an official [about him] and to arrest [that person]. A sentence is passed [to the guilty person] in accordance with the law. If a [canal] observer detects [a thief] and lets [him] go, then [he] incurs the same punishment as prescribed [for a thief]. If [he] does not check, then he [also] incurs a punishment: he is to be flogged 13 strokes like a commoner, and must compensate the cost of bushes and grass, and must revive plants carefully. If the damages [of shores and plants on the shores] are due to

the carelessness of [canal] observers, then those who carelessly serviced the canal incur a punishment two degrees less than those who damaged the canal directly.

Article 1123

If the relatives of a sovereign, advisor, or other people holding high ranks and who are held in respect make the “canal server” turn on the water [to their fields and gardens] out of turn by beating and threatening him, [and as a result of which] the canal is damaged, then [the guilty persons] incur the same monetary punishment as for the “canal server” when he leaves his post, does not keep watch over the canal carefully, and misses the water flow, depending on the amount of damage done to the cattle, property, and processed or sown fields. The cost of damage to the cattle and property is to be divided into two parts, and one of them is compensated by the guilty person. If a “canal server” in this case urgently says, “I took water from the canal,” then he does not incur a punishment. If [that person] does not inform an official [about an incident], after getting a bribe or because of a bias, then he incurs a punishment of two degrees less than for those who take water without it being their turn. Moreover, if someone bribes a “canal server” and asks for water out of turn, [and as a result] a canal is damaged, then the main punishment is inflicted to the “canal server,” and whoever asks for water out of turn is to be punished as an aide. If the “canal server” sleeps or leaves a work place, and someone turns on the water and damages [a canal], and if it happened within one day of a punishment being inflicted to that he who turned on the water [to his fields], then the “canal server” is to be punished as an aide. If it took [the offender] more than one day [to take water illegally], then the main punishment is inflicted to the “canal server.”

Article 1124

If an inspector, a canal manager, or anyone else hand in a statement in which it is reported that the shores of a main canal are damaged and need to be repaired, and clerk does not accept it, or does not consider it with the appropriate urgency, or after considering it does not inform the chief of department or the “order deliverer” about it and as a result a canal is damaged, then the guilty person at the point at which the statement was delayed incurs the same punishment as the inspector who does not take into consideration the same statement from the canal manager. If the canal is not damaged, then the guilty person is to be punished in the form of six months of hard labor.

Article 1125

If somebody cultivates a new plot of land and it is possible to bring an irrigation canal [to this plot] where it would be profitable for the sovereign or for a private, then [it] is to be reported to the transport department and it should be clarified whether or not it inflicts damage on [other people] who live on the sovereign or private’s land. If it inflicts damage [on them], then an irrigation canal is not to be brought [to the new plot], and if it does not inflict damage [on them], then an irrigation canal is brought [to the new plot] and it is forbidden to oppose [it]. If an irrigation canal is brought where it inflicts damage on other people living on the land, or if it is not brought where it does not inflict damage on other people living on the land because of opposition of owners, then [the guilty people incur a punishment]: those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes.

Article 1127

The transport department of the General Government (*Da dudu fu* 大都督府) that is in charge of the lands irrigated by water from the main canals in case of important incidents, such as a rush of water or a damage of canal, is responsible for estimating the scale of the threat with its own forces and

to repair damaged parts, and also to inform the immediate supervisor of the incident.

Article 1130

If poles are required during the cleaning of a canal in the area of irrigated farming near any main canal, then it is necessary to take from the conscripted workers during the springtime building of a canal one hundred secondary workers, each of which, instead of additional works, is to supply 350 thin poles each of the length of 7 *chiao* (*chi* 尺) and to send [them] to the main canal. If [this number of] poles is insufficient and more are necessary, then it must be estimated how many [are] necessary in all, to inform the official about it, and to extract [an extra number of] secondary workers for supplying poles. If the supervisors do not inform the official and any workers are imposed the duty to supply poles, then, if there is not a bribe and poles are already supplied to the sovereign's storages, the guilty persons incur a punishment one degree less than it is prescribed for a mistake, and if the officials use poles for private purposes, then they incur the same punishment as for a "bribe with violation of law."

Article 1132

The destruction of all existing large and small bridges over all main canals is prohibited. If this law is broken and [a bridge] is damaged, then a sentence [to those who are guilty] is passed in accordance with a law that metes out the punishment for a theft with consideration for the cost [of actual damage] in monetary terms. If [the bridge] is currently in use, then the thief is to compensate for any actual damage, and the bridge should be repaired.

Article 1133

If there are disabled bridges on the wide roads that cross the Na, Lang, Han, and Yan canals, it should be reported to the transport department. The

representative of the transport department is to go to the site to estimate any work that needs to be done, and after that, repair should be executed at the sovereign's cost. Supervisors [of the bridges] should be appointed from among skillful and faithful people at the rate of [one] man from 10 yards. If the need for repairing the bridge is not reported, then [the guilty person incurs a punishment]: those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes. If at the other main canals there are big bridges, and the transport department has a right to appoint supervisors of them from among the owners of taxed yards, then [such supervisors] should be appointed. The repair [of such bridges] is carried out at the privates' cost, and it should be ordered urgently. Careful supervision [of the condition of bridges] should be kept day and night. If there is careless supervision and the bridge is washed away by water or destroyed by gangsters, then, if [the one who is responsible for the bridge] can compensate the damage and repair [the bridge] by his own means, then [he] does not incur a punishment. If the bridge is not repaired, then those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes.

Article 1134

In places where roads cross short-haul canals, the owners who live in the surrounding area are to be ordered to build bridges [across these canals] and to keep watch [over the conditions] of these bridges. If [the bridge] is damaged then they are to repair [it]. If the bridge is not built or repaired, then the guilty persons who hold rank are to be fined five bunches of coins, the commoners are to be flogged 10 strokes, and the bridge should be built or repaired.

Article 1136 If the bridge, large or small, falls into disrepair and is not reconstructed, or if the bridge is not built where [it] should be built, and

if large or small road is cut off or narrowed, or is cultivated, or is flooded by water, then an inspector [who keeps watch] over the water in the canal and the canal manager are to give an order to repair it, and an order for the building [of a bridge] or repair [of a road]. If an inspector [who keeps watch] over the water in a canal and the canal manager find out [difficulties] and do not report [them], and do not order them to be repaired, then [they] incur the same punishment as those who cut off a road and flooded it with water.

Article 1137

If there are not roads along the shores or near the junctions of the new canals of Na, Lang, Han, and Yan, as well as other big canals, walking and damage of the shores are forbidden. If the law is broken, then the owner who keeps watch over the canal is to arrest [the perpetrator] and to deliver [him] to the official. The commoner is to be flogged 13 strokes [for walking near canal where it is prohibited]. If the canal observer lets the criminal go or does not keep watch [over the canal] carefully, then he incurs the same punishment [as that is prescribed for the perpetrator].

Article 1138

Along the Na, Lang, Han, and Yan canals, and all the other sovereign's canals, the sovereign and private owners of taxed yards in the places where [their] lands come close [to canals] are to plant along the canal osiers, poplars, elms, and other trees, to build [fences] from bushes and to look after old plants, to protect [them], to dress browses in due time, and not to cut down anything without planting something new. The cutting down of trees and bushes [near the canals] is prohibited for any other people except for those [mentioned above]. The transport department is to appoint, from time to time, a skillful man to keep watch over these proceedings. If the law is broken, then those who do not plant anything [incur a punishment]: those who

hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes. Those who planted trees and bushes but failed to protect them or inadvertently fed them to cattle [incur a punishment] along with the owner of the cattle: the commoners are to be flogged 20 strokes with a thin stick, those who hold rank are fined five *ldie* (*jin* 斤) of iron. If [such a crime] is committed by a third man who cut down a tree or a bush owned by the sovereign or by a private, then the guilty person's sentence is passed as though for a theft, depending on the cost [of the damage done] in monetary terms. If someone informs about cutting, the informer gets a reward for giving information about a theft. If someone who keeps watch over trees and bushes catches [a thief] on his own and informs an official [about him], then [he] is released from his penalty. If such a man cuts a tree or a bush near the canal by himself, regardless of the amount of plants cut, the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes, and those who hold rank are to be fined one horse.

Article 1139

Removing the bark of the sovereign's trees along the main canal, or notching them with an axe, is forbidden. If this law is broken, then the [guilty person] incurs the same punishment as for cutting down a tree. A reward for information [about such a crime] is paid within the limits prescribed by the law.

Article 1140

If inspectors and canal managers that [keep watch] over the water in canals do not deliver a strict order to the owners of taxed yards who live along [the shores of] the main canal that is entrusted [to those officials], and the trees are not planted along the sovereign's main canal, then the canal manager is to be flogged 13 strokes and the circuit [who keeps watch] over the water in canal is to be flogged 10 strokes. If the trees are planted and [the

officials mentioned above] see that someone has cut down a tree and did not inform [of it], then [they] incur the same punishment.

Article 1141

Sand recovery and the laying of fuel along the shores, near the locks or branches of the Na, Lang, Han, Yan, and all other main canals are forbidden. If, contrary to this law, shores are dug up and destroyed, and as a result water breaks through, then the person who dug and damaged the shore incurs the same punishment that is prescribed for a “canal server” who left a job site and caused the destruction of canal. If water does not break through, then the guilty person incurs a punishment for the theft of sand and fuel in accordance with the cost of stolen property, as well as an additional three months of hard labor. If a third person informs an official [of a violator], [that person] will be rewarded in accordance with the law of rewards for information about a theft.

Article 1142

If any owner of taxed yard, after asking for water, turns it on through irrigation canals to the fields, then until [the supply of water] ends [he] is to keep watch over [it]. It is forbidden to turn on water to the fields of any [other] man. If the law is broken and the irrigation canal is carelessly damaged, and the water that breaks through the dam floods fields and buildings, then the one who turned on water [incurs a punishment]: those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes. If agricultural activities are still carried out, then inflicted losses should be compensated with the supply of draft cattle, seeds, or additional processing and seeding of [flooded fields]. If agricultural activities are already over, then the damaged crops and fruits are to be lost, and should be compensated. If water penetrates under a building and [it] falls, [the damaged building] is to

be lost and [a guilty person] is to compensate [to the sufferer] a half [of its cost]. If the [guilty] owner is poor and sent his son for labor repayment as a compensation of a loss [he incurred], but is still unable to compensate [it], then the sentence [to the guilty person] is passed according to the law [that prescribes punishment] for mistakes made. If [as a result of water breakout] a man is dead, then [the guilty person] incurs the same punishment as that prescribed for unintentional killing of a man beyond a fence with an item thrown or an arrow released from a bow.

Article 1144

If the water in the main canal came up because of rain or because it was clogged up, and the [canal] was damaged, and if there is not enough grass stored up for the sovereign at the nearest [storage place] [for the repair of canal], then the grass should be taken from those privates living nearby who have it, and it should be used, and the amount of the grass should be calculated. If the owner of the grass owns croplands, then [the grass taken from him] should be counted against the hay supply. If the grass is taken in the amount that is more than the one [this owner] is to supply annually, then [surpluses] should be counted against the [future] hay supply. Further, if [the owner of the grass taken] does not own croplands, then for every roll of grass, [he] is paid by the sovereign in accordance with [its] cost in the law. If the grass of the private owners is not counted against the hay supply or is not compensated, then [the guilty person incurs a punishment]: those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes.

Article 1149

Laborers who are conscribed to the springtime works of canal building and are sent to the Na, La, Han, and Yan canals are to be paired. [All of their] work should be divided between them, and they are to do a repair [of

the canal], digging the ground carefully at a necessary depth and extent. If [they] dig carelessly, without due attention to the [determined] extent and depth, then [they incur a punishment]: those who hold rank are to be fined one horse, and the commoners are to be flogged 13 strokes.

西夏國的水利灌溉

葉夫根尼·克恰諾夫

一般認為西夏國領土不是山地而是沙漠，可耕土地很少，其實不少地方適宜於農業生產，但水利灌溉是不可或缺的一個條件。一些傳世歷史文獻提到西夏國開鑿了四通八達的水渠網，而斯文赫定等近代考古學家發掘了這些灌溉設備的遺址。不僅如此，黑城發現的西夏文法典中的很多條文涉及水利灌溉，如水渠保護的管理條例、禁止項目、罰則規定等。此文未附西夏文“新法”相關條文的英譯文共二十四條。

Remarks on
the Documents SI O/32 (4112) and Дх-18923
of the IOM RAS Collection

Irina F. POPOVA

The present paper has a preliminary character as a study of two documents from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, which make up part of the official reports (*die* 牒) by the local authorities recording investigations of the death and loss the government-owned (or fiscal, belonging to state) cattle.

The most important part of the Dunhuang and Turfan collections worldwide consists of documents. They are legal, official and economic papers of various contents. This part of the holdings is remarkable and even unique, as it contains long forgotten types of documents reflecting the daily life of the Chinese society in a provincial towns and districts located in the region on the Empire's borders. It is well known that in Oriental countries, particularly in China, great attention was given to the documents dealing with the affairs of the Imperial court and the machinery of State, but the official documents of the provincial and county level were not, as a rule, kept for a long time, and therefore each find in Dunhuang or Turfan is of the utmost importance for Chinese studies.

The documents from Dunhuang and Turfan show the range of the contemporary social problems and ways by which they might be solved. The life

of a large monastic community functioning in Dunhuang was regimented by many legal, economic and religious institutions. The discovered documents cast light on the life of the community itself, on its relationship with the laity as well as on the relationship between the laymen. Dr Éric Trombert has offered an opinion that the majority of documents dealing with daily life in Dunhuang found their way to the monastery library by chance. At the same time many other much more informative documents circulated in the town, but the monks did not consider it important to keep them, not to mention the documents that could not have been kept in the monastery as they circulated exclusively among the laity¹. Many documents from Turfan and other regions of the Chinese Central Asia, which have very different provenance, are kept within the so called “Dunhuang collections”. This is since, because of the outward material appearance, some documents from Central Asia were later recorded together with those from Dunhuang, therefore making additional problems for those researchers whose task was to study and localize them. The document Dx-18923, which came from Gaysāta and was acquired by the 2nd Russian Turkestan Expedition to Turfan headed by S.F. Oldenburg (1863-1934) in 1909-1910, is an example of this kind.

As the livestock-farming was a very important part of the economy in the Western Regions, the Central Asian manuscript collections represent a vast range of the documents, connecting with the breeding of cattle, camels, goats, sheep, or other stock, as well as with the use of wool, skins and meat of the animals. Some documents deal with the management of government-owned horses or cattle, with the use of public rangelands and with the operation of the horse or donkey post-service. The papers of this kind shed light upon the administrative and legal system of the Chinese Empire at the local level.

¹TROMBERT 1995, 2.

The legislation on managing livestock under the Tang Dynasty was highly elaborated. The most important regulations were included into the 15th chapter of the Tang Code “The Public Stables and Granaries” (*Jiuku* 廩庫) with 28 articles (Nos from 196 to 223)². The detailed regulations were also included into “The Statutes on the Stables and Pastures” (or “The Statutes for the Stables Master Office”, *Jiumu ling* 廩牧令) and “Ordinances for Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud” (*Taipu shi* 太僕式).

The articles of the Code concerning death (*si* 死), loss (*shi* 失) of the government-owned cattle and not fulfilling the assigned number of animals (*ke buchong* 課不充) provided a severe punishment for a guilty person. The state-property offence most often mentioned in the Code was damage or waste, or injury to the government animals, while crime or negligent behavior of officials in charge was considered a malfeasance. The legislation on the cattle management was very casualistic in character and imposed the penalties for unsatisfactory treatment of weak or sick animals (art. 198), for using government animals for the transportation of private articles (art. 199), for fattening the sacrificial animals for the Great Sacrifice not conforming to the law (art. 200), for making use of the government animals in a manner so that their backs are laid bare or their throats are worn through the harness (art. 201), and for unsatisfactory training of government horses (art. 202).

The Code set up standards for producing animals’ young and to reducing their mortality. It was assumed that yearly total number of horses and cattle must give 50 % increase, and therefore the young was raised to 60 %, while its death-rate was to remain at 10 %. The responsibility for these statistics rested upon the officials of low rank, pasturage director (*muzhang* 牧長) and pasturage-man (*muzi* 牧子). If the standards were not met, these officials were sentenced to a corporal punishment by 30 blows with the light stick for

²*Gu Tang liu shu yi*, *juan* 15; JOHNSON 1997, 178-209; RYBAKOV 2001, 193-239.

loss of one animal. For 3 animals the punishment increased by one rank, but should not exceed 3 years of labour. Assistant director of the cattle pasturage (*muwei* 牧尉), *muzhang* and *muzi* were also responsible for the choice of suitable pastures. If the increase of the cattle driven to the new pasture became lower than it was before, the pasture was considered insufficient, and the officials were found guilty.

In the present paper we cite two manuscript fragments containing reports (*die*) of the local authorities, who were responsible for fiscal cattle, addressed to the higher administrative instances. In the time of Tang Dynasty, an advanced and complicated system of official papers exchange was developed, and fixed forms existed for the documents directed from the upper to lower level authorities, from the lower to upper level and for the equal level administration. The Chinese administrative law established the clear standards and procedure for each kind of them, especially for the official documents addressed to the Court and high officials. “The Six Statutes of the Tang Dynasty” (*Da Tang liu dian* 大唐六典, *juan* 1, *Shangshu du sheng* 尚書都省) ascertained to address with reports (*die*) to the officials higher than 9th rank.

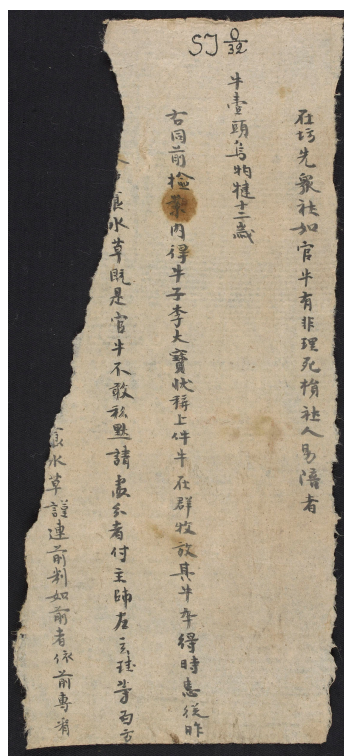


Figure 1: SI O/32 (4112)

[Translation]

(1) “[As for] Xianzhong community, [which is related] to [the present] precinct (*fang* 坊), if the government-owned ox [entrusted to them] died without [obvious] reason, the community members should compensate the loss. (2) [On] one ox – black and white, altered, twelve years of age. (3) During the investigation concerning the aforementioned [ox] the dispatch (*zhuang* 狀) was received from the cattle supervisor (*niuzi* 牛子) Li Dabao, who reported that the aforementioned ox, grazing in a herd, suddenly got ill. Next day (4) <.....> took water and grass. As it was a government-owned ox [the cattle supervisor] did not dare to keep silence and respectfully requested to settle the matter. He submitted to the commander (*zhushuai* 主帥) Zuo Xuanguai and others [the following] explanations: (5) <.....> took water and grass. Respectfully submitted [this] to be envisaged on the ground of the aforementioned investigation”.

[Commentary]

Fragment SI O/32 makes part of the report on the mortality of the government-owned cattle, or, to be exact, of the government-owned oxen (*guan niu die* 官牛牒). The inventory has no note about the provenance of the document, but according to the press-mark SI O (Serindia collection/Oldenburger), it was acquired by the 2nd Russian Turkestan Expedition to Turfan in 1909-1910 headed by S.F. Oldenburger. It is analogous to the documents recording investigations of death of the government-owned or post horses published by Henri Maspero⁴, and therefore could be dated around the same time, possibly by the beginning of the 8th century. We suggest as an Addendum the Chinese text and translation of the most ample of these documents.

The beginning of the document is missing, but according to the adopted

⁴MASPERO 1953, 136-149, pl. 301-302, 309.

form, it should start with names of the applying and applied institutions, the denomination of the type of the document, and a head-line, which usually represents a subject of the report⁵, in our case it is a government ox with a description of its color, marks, and age. Below follows the review of the case. The document SI O/32 obviously records a number of the cases. The 1st line of the fragment is a conclusion for the previous case.

According to the Tang Code the one guilty in the voluntary killing of the government-owned cattle was subject to rather a severe punishment – one and a half years of hard labour, while the involuntary killing was punished only by a fine⁶. Therefore, the liable persons, who might have been open to suspicion, took the initiative of investigation and compiled dispatches (*zhuang*) explaining the circumstances of the cattle's mortality. The document SI O/32 records the following: the cattle supervisor⁷ Li Dabao 李大寶 reported on the death of the government ox to his direct chief Zuo Xuanguai 左玄珪, who held the post of the commander (*zhushuai* 主師), the junior rank in the military administration of the county⁸. Their next move was submitting the message to

⁵AKAGI Takatoshi 2008, 77.

⁶*Gu Tang lü shu yi*, *juan* 15. 203, 10a-11b; JOHNSON 1997, 188-189; RYBAKOV 2001, 210-212.

⁷For *niu zi* 牛子 (lit. 'man tending cattle') we offer the translation 'cattle supervisor', not 'herdsman', or 'herder', as it is quite obvious that this post supposed some learning and its holder was authorized to compile dispatches (*zhuang*). Ch. Hucker mentions a position of 'cowherd' (*niuren* 牛人), ordinary or junior servicemen, members of the Ministry of Education under the Zhou Dynasty, who were responsible for providing oxen for sacrificial ceremonies (HUCKER 1995, 356).

⁸The meaning of the official title of *zhushuai* 主師 is not clear. R. des Rotours translates *zhushuai* as 'officer', but notes the ambiguity of both the term and its' translation (DES ROTOURS 1947, 67). The subcommentary on the art. 76 of the Tang Code sheds some light on the meaning of this official title: 主帥以上謂隊副以上至大將軍 (*Gu Tang lü shu yi*, *juan* 8, 1b), in translation by W. Johnson: "Commanding officers and those of higher rank refer to officers between the ranks of vice-commander and general-in-chief" (JOHNSON 1997, 39). Therefore, the official title of *zhushuai* could be referred to any immediate commanding officer from the lower level of squadron vice-commander and higher to a general-in-chief (Cf. RYBAKOV 2009, 391).

the military authorities of the province, who were to make investigation and compile a report (*die*) addressed to the Department of Personnel (*bingcao* 兵曹) of the province level. The verification of this report was a duty of the administrator of the Department of Personnel (*bingcao canjun* 兵曹參軍)⁹, who on the completion of the case should have supposedly sent his report to the Department (*si* 司) of the War Ministry¹⁰. The document SI O/32 (4112) lacked the end, but on the analogy with the document cited by H. Maspero (see: Addendum), we can have some possible evidence to model the steps of the officials.

The document mentions the position of cattle supervisor (*niuizi*), directly keeping the records on the cattle. It is obvious that reporting of the livestock mortality was in his personal responsibility, which set him apart from the other petty officials and workers attending the government-owned cattle¹¹. In his report the cattle supervisor points that the ox was grazing in a herd when he got ill, and this note is of immense importance for the responsible official. Usually the cattle was held on the open pastures, except during the winter season, in case of illness or some other cases, when it was placed into a cattle-shed or stable and was bound and fed (*xisi* 繫飼). The this case the penalty would be increased by one degree¹².

⁹The duties of administrator (*canjun* 參軍 or *canjunshi* 參軍事) varied in different epochs, but the field of his administrative activity was always very broad. During the reign of the Tang Dynasty it definitely was the key post (of 7-9 rank) at the local military administration. Among administrator's duties was solution of the problems of civilian population (RYBAKOV 2009, 346 - 347; HUCKER 1995, 517-518).

¹⁰The War Ministry (*bingbu* 兵部) comprised the Head Department (*bingbu si* 兵部司), the Land Accounting Department (*zhifang si* 職坊司), the Vehicle Department (*jiabu si* 駕部司) and the Arsenal Department (*kubu si* 庫部司) (*Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 47. 37, 1185).

¹¹See: MA Junmin and WANG Shiping 1996, 83-91.

¹²*Gu Tang lü shu yi*, *juan* 15.196, 3b.

II. Дх-18923

Report submitted by Gaysata *shouling* Sabo Silüe on the search of the [Government-owned] Donkey 某年傑謝首領薩波思略牒爲尋驢事¹³.

[Description of the Manuscript]

Fragment, 10.5 x 30 cm. A horizontal strip of paper, its upper part missing. The paper is beige and solid. Thickness, 0.015-0.019 cm. Grid of 5 lines per 1 cm. 8 lines, all incomplete, containing 1 to 9 characters. At the bottom the text reaches the end of the strip. *Kai* script.

[Chinese text]

1. ... 〕 驢壹頭
2. ... 〕 神路尋玉河
3. ... 〕 例，恐被路
4. ... 〕 請處分。
5. 〔牒件狀如前，謹〕 牒。
6. ... 〕 月 日，首領薩波思略牒。
7. ... 〕 不得失。
8. ... 〕 四日，斯 (=勘?)。

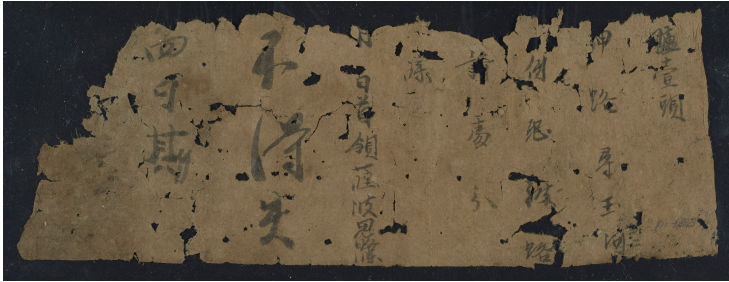


Figure2: Дх-18923

¹³Translated according to the edition by ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang 2002, 229-230; published facsimile in: *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, vol. 17, 285.

[Translation]

(1) [On] ... one donkey. (2) ... [from] Shenlu, looking around Yuhe. (3) ... standard. [We are] afraid that of road ... (4) ... respectfully requested to settle the matter. (5) ... [The report (*die*) is submitted on the grounds of the foregoing dispatch (*zhuang*). Respectfully submitting this] report. (6) [On] ... month, day by *shouling* Sabo Silüe submitted report. (7) [Resolution:] ... is no loss. (8) [On]... forth day, here (or checked?).

[Commentary]

Fragment 卍x-18923 makes part of the report on the search of the government-owned donkey. The report was compiled by Sabo Silüe 薩波思略, holding the official title of *shouling* 首領, a county leader of non-Chinese origin from Gaisāta (Chin. Jiexie 傑謝). The document was studied by Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, who suggested reading and comprehensive commentary of the text. The site of Gaysāta, one of “Six settlements” (Liu cheng 六城) in Zhiluo Zhou 質邏州, was located in Dandan-Uiliq to the north-west of modern Khotan (Hetian 和田). The person Sabo Silüe (薩波思略 or 薩波斯略), in Khotanese Spāta Sīdaka (or Sīdaki), was an official, mentioned in a number of the Khotanese documents. The earliest of them is “Report submitted by Gaysāta commoner Silüe on the 2nd month of 16th year of Dali” 大曆十六年二月傑謝百姓思略牒 (S.5864 of British Library collection), with a date corresponding to 781. In the document 卍x-18917 “Report submitted by Gaysāta commoner Se-<...>-nuo on the 5th month of 4th year of *Zhenyuan* on the liabilities of Yilu” 貞元四年五月傑謝百姓瑟□諾牒爲伊魯欠負錢事 dated by 788, he appears under the low official title bailiff (*suoyou* 所由), responsible for raising of the taxes¹⁴.

The 1st line of the fragment represents a subject of the report, which

¹⁴ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang 2002, 223, 225, 237-238.

was submitted on the case of ineffectual search for a donkey. In China under the Tang Dynasty donkey were used for the post and delivery service, and in many cases the standards and guidelines for their breeding and use were almost the same as for the horses¹⁵. Once every three months, the horses and cattle were to be released for coupling, but the responsibility for this stock was the same as for the grazing cattle. The punishments for loss of the running stock were imposed according the “Statutes for the Stables and Pastures” (*Jiumu ling* 廄牧令), which made the following explanation: “If government-owned stock, grazing on a pasture, is lost, it is to be sought for one hundred days, and if it is not caught, the cost is estimated appropriate for the locality and time of the loss, and to summon a half [of this price] from each pasture-man (*muzi* 牧子) and a pasture director (*muzhang* 牧長). If the value of [their] household and slaves is not sufficient, it is defined according to the [price] in copper [coins] to add [a number of blows] with a heavy stick, [as is prescribed] according to standard. If [stock] is lost or dead, compensation is distributed according to personal responsibility. If [it was lost] from the stable, *zhushuai* [pays] equally to *muzhang*, and equerry (*siding* 飼丁) equally to *muzi*. If [the cattle after have been caught] dies without [obvious] reason, [the loss] should be compensated by the stock of local [people]”¹⁶. In the case reported by the document Дх-18923 the lost donkey was not found, but according the resolution “...is no loss”, the measures taken for its’ search were considered sufficient, nobody of the officials responsible for the catching was found guilty and no fine was imposed.

¹⁵See: MENG Yanhong 2006.

¹⁶NIIDA Noboru 1933, 704.

Conclusion

The cited documents are incomplete, but nevertheless their fragments contain some legal and social information. They prove that elaborated system of livestock management with detailed accounting existed in the 8th century China, including its far border regions. Both official papers report on the loss of cattle, e.g. cases are subject to the criminal trial and are submitted by the officials responsible for the military and civil affairs at the county level (*zhushuai* and *shouling*). The control over the livestock number was also within a circle of their administrative responsibility, still they obviously had no right to investigate the criminal cases. The document SI O/32 (4112) mentions the position of cattle supervisor (*niuizi*), a petty official, directly keeping the records on the cattle in a herd, but we did not find this title in any other sources.

Addendum

Report on the Mortality of Government-owned Horses (*guan ma die* 官馬牒)¹⁷

[Translation]

“On ... the day of [the Third] moon ... [clerk *lushi* 錄事].

Administrator (*canjun* 參軍), administrative supervisor ad interim (*lushi canjun* 錄事參軍)¹⁸, <...> Lian Yu 連譽.

¹⁷Translated according to the edition and French translation of the text: MASPERO 1953, 140-143, pl. 302.

¹⁸Administrative supervisor (*lushi canjun* 錄事參軍 or *lushi canjunshi* 錄事參軍事) was the civil post of the 8th rank, the highest grade in the administration of the military governor *dudufu* 都督府. V.M. Rybakov translates the appellation of this post as ‘the secretary assisting in solving matters’ (‘соучаствующий в делах секретарь’), Ch. Hucker – as ‘administrative supervisor’ (HUCKER 1995, 323), R. des Rotours – as ‘administrateur greffier’ (DES ROTOURS 1948, 510). Its holder’s duties included collecting files from the lower instances, copying papers and document inventory-making, use of stamps, providing personnel with paper, brushes, etc.

The 13th day.

Dispatch (*zhuang* 狀) from the garrison settlement Liuguzhen 柳谷鎮 submitted to the Province.

[On] one post horse [registered at] Xizhou 西州 (Karakhoja) – a chestnut roan gelding, ten years of age.

In the course of investigation concerning the aforementioned [post horse] the evidence of the stable-man (*mazi* 馬子)¹⁹ Gao Huai 高懷 was taken, according to which [he] previously started from Xizhou driving this horse, and drove [it] to Beiting 北庭. On the 28th day of the current month [he] returned to Liuguzhen and remained [there] for three days. When [he] fed [the horse, it] suddenly got covered with a white acetous perspiration. [And later on], when it was sent 5 li to the south of the settlement, it suddenly had an attack of icterus (*jihuang* 急黃) and died. As it was the post horse [the stable-man] respectfully requested to make investigation.

In this connection an order was received to investigate the causes of its death. According to the rules the commissaries (*dian* 典)²⁰ Sun [Huai]jun 孫 [懷]俊 and Gao Guang 高廣 [were sent] to make the investigation clarifying if there was some other cause for the horse's [death] than that presented in the dispatch (*zhuang*). They reported that the horse having moved 5 li away from the settlement suddenly died of the attack of icterus. [It is] true and there is no other cause. As it was found that there was no other cause for the horse's death the stable-man was prescribed to inventory the hide and meat

(RYBAKOV 2009, 365).

¹⁹Here we follow MASPERO 1953, who translates *mazi* 馬子 (lit. 'man tending horses') – the post of a person responsible for employment of horses – as 'stable-man' ('palefrenier').

²⁰Commissary (*dian* 典) was a junior post that supposed no rank. The holder's duties included inventory-making. V.M. Rybakov translates the appellation of this post as 'keeper' ('хранитель') (RYBAKOV 2009, 252), Ch. Hucker translates it as 'manager, clerk' (HUCKER 1995, 499), R. des Rotours – as 'intendant' (DES ROTOURS 1947, 236), H. Maspero – as 'archiviste' (MASPERO 1953, 141).

himself and to collect [these for the storehouse]. After that he had to prepare the account (*lu* 錄) [on this case] for submitting to the Province. Presently the dispatch (*zhuang*) should be sent for [further] consideration.

The present report (*die*) is submitted²¹ [to Department of Personnel (*bingcao* 兵曹)²² on the grounds of the foregoing dispatch (*zhuang*).

[At the same time] the aforementioned [horse's] hide – one piece – should be handed over to the commissaries.

[Signed: Station-master Zhai 翟] Deyi 德義.

In the first year of Shenlong 神龍 [era], on the 1st day of the Third Moon (March 29, 705) the commissary (*dian*) Sun Huaijun and the administrator of the Department of Personnel ad interim (*bingcao canjun* 兵曹參軍)²³ Zhang Caiyi 張才義 compiled the [present] report.

[Resolution:] “Handed over to the department (*si* 司). Zhao Ying 沼應”.

On the 9th day of the Third Moon (April 6 [705]) clerk (*lushi* 錄事) <...> got [the report].

Administrative supervisor ad interim (*lushi canjun* 錄事參軍), [signed:] Si 思 <...>.

[Signed: Cheng 程] Lianyu 連譽 on the 13th day ...

From the stables (*mafang* 馬坊).

[On] the post horses – one dapple mare and one bay gelding.

²¹The report (*die*) was submitted to the Department of Personnel (*bingcao* 兵曹), that was an army division of more than 10 thousand man quartered in the district.

²²Administrators of the Department of Personnel (*bingcao canjun* 兵曹參軍) had a wide range of duties: they were responsible for organizing exams for army officers, for all kinds of military weapons, for construction of defense fortifications and keeping beacons in order, for post service as well as for organizing hunts (ROTOURS 1948, 696-697).

²³Ch. Hucker translates the appellation of this post as ‘discipline officer’ (i.e. an officer responsible for discipline) and specifies that there were 500 men and more subordinated to him (HUCKER 1995, 575). R. des Rotours offers the translation ‘chef de la police des troupes’ (ROTOURS 1948, 741), while H. Maspero – ‘commandant de cinq-cents hommes’ (MASPERO 1953, 142).

The aforementioned horses were sent to Yizhou 伊州. They got ill with asthma, the veterinary doctor [could not] cure [them], and presently [they] are dead, which case we request to investigate.

Today, on ... [day] of the Fifth additional month, respectfully [submitted].

The present report is compiled on the grounds of the foregoing dispatch. Respectfully submitted in accordance with the foregoing.

In the 1st year of Shenlong on the <...> day of the Third Moon the commissary Wei Ji 魏及 compiled [the present] report.

Commander (*zhushuai* 主師) Hu Yuanqing 胡元慶.

Judge of the Court Martial (*yaguan* 押官), head bailiff (*guoyi* 果毅) Fan Yuanxing 范元興.

[Resolution:] To investigate the cause. Handed over to the department (*si* 司). Zhao Ying 沼應.

On the 9th day [of the Third Moon] (April 5, 705).

The Department of Personnel (*bingcao* 兵曹).

Buyer [signed]: Cao Xiaonu 曹小奴.

Buyer [signed]: <...> Qi 其.

The post horses – one dappled mare and one bay gelding. Delivered.

Having received the order to investigate the aforementioned case we submit the following report (*zidie* 咨牒) on [the death] of the horses. In the course of [our] investigation of the case of the horses' [death] it was found that there is no other cause of their death than asthma, which is true.

The present report is compiled on the grounds of the foregoing dispatch. It is respectfully submitted in accordance with the foregoing.

In the 1st year of Shenlong, the Third Moon, day <...> commissary Zhu Ying 竹應 compiled [the present] report.

In pursuance [of the instructions] [the meat] was sold. Reported on

accomplishment.

Commander (*zhushuai* 主師) Hu Yuanqing 胡元慶.

Station-master (*caotou* 槽頭) Zhai Deyi 翟德義.

Veterinary doctor (*shouyi* 獸醫) Cao Zhijian 曹智監.

Administrator for the Department of Personnel (*bingcao canjun* 兵曹參軍) Cheng Lianyu 程連譽.

[Resolution:] “Handed over to the department. Zhao Ying 沼應”.

Written down by the commissary (*dian*) Zhu Ying.

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SI O/32 (4112) 號與 Дх-18923 號文書考釋

伊麗娜·波波娃

本文是俄國科學院東方文獻研究所所藏兩件文書的描寫、翻譯和註釋。該文書為地方官方調查官畜的死亡或遺失的牒文之殘片。其中 SI O/32 號殘片可定為“死官牛牒”，而 Дх-18923 號殘片為“傑謝首領薩波思略牒為尋驢事”，均殘破不全，但也提供了一些法制史和社會史資料。據此能夠證明八世紀中國已存在嚴密的畜管理度及詳細的會計規定而且施行於遙遠的邊疆地區。兩件文書均提及家畜的遺失構成刑事事件，由負責軍事民政方面的鄉級長官（主帥或首領）來上報。家畜的數目管理在他們管轄範圍之內，但明顯無權審理刑事事件。SI O/32 文書還提到稱作“牛子”的小吏記帳管理牧群的畜數目，但此職稱不見於其他文獻。

On an Unique Tibetan Manuscript Mistakenly Included into the Dunhuang Collection*

Alexander V. ZORIN

In the vast Tibetan collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), the collection of texts, acquired from Dunhuang, is one of the most important parts. In 1911, two scrolls and three books from Dunhuang were sent to St Petersburg by N.N. Krotkov (1869-1919), the Russian consul in Ürümqi. Two years later, in 1913, “a pile of scrolls” was sent to St Petersburg, probably by Krotkov again, and passed to the Asiatic Museum by the suggestion from acad. S.F. Oldenburg (1863-1934). In 1970s, two scrolls sent in 1911 and scrolls sent in 1913 were processed as an entire collection and then, in 1991, catalogued by Dr L.S. Savitsky (1932-2007). Later, in 2007, two more scrolls and, in 2011, three *pothi* books sent in 1911 were found by me among other Tibetan texts and added to the collection of Dunhuang Tibetan texts. One ms catalogued by L. Savitsky and containing a phonetic table of the alphabet of the vertical Central Asian *brāhmī* script, was on the contrary taken out of the Dunhuang collection and added to the *Serindian* collection of the Institute, in 1993. So at the moment the entire collection consists of 218 items. 204 of them contain the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra*. 10 mss contain *Hṛdaya-sūtra*. The *pothi* books contain: *Ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa'i mdo* (*Ārya-samādhi-yagra-uttama*, P. No. 805), *Shes rab kyi pha*

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rol tu phyin pa bdun brgya pa theg pa chen po'i mdo (*Ārya-saptaśatikā-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyāna-sūtra*; P. No. 737); *'Phags pa stobs po che zhes bya ba'i gzungs sngags nyi tse log shig du bkol te 'byung ba* (a ritualistic text containing a number of mantras and expressions of homage to the deity named Mahābala). The last ms, Дх.Тиб.-178, is very different of other scrolls and obviously was added to them by mistake.

By 2008, the ms appeared as eight separate long leaves, with some cursive Tibetan text on both sides. It was impossible to understand what text was written there because of the wrong order of the leaves. Nevertheless, after some shuffling, it proved possible to unite the leaves in the right order and so assemble the original scroll, the leaves of which had been attached one below the other. The scroll turned out to contain a collection of ritual texts on the Mahākāla cult and then, even more surprisingly, the Viṣṇu Narasiṃha cult. Thus, the scroll must have appeared later than the Dunhuang texts since the Mahākāla cult had not been spread in Tibet until at least mid 11th century, when the famous Tibetan translator Rin chen bzang po translated some of the Indian texts on this deity. Moreover, some texts are attributed to Dpal Rga lo, otherwise known as Rgwa Lotsawa, a 12th century Tibetan translator who brought some texts and rituals connected with Mahākāla from India to Tibet and who himself wrote some texts on the deity. Thus, it is clear that the scroll was made not earlier than late 12th century. From the paleographic point of view, it resembles very much some Khara-Khoto texts, for example *IOL Tib M 50*, from the collection of British library (my attention to it was kindly drawn by Dr Sam van Schaik). So, it is not excepted at all that our scroll was in fact brought by P.K. Kozlov (1863-1935) to St Petersburg from Khara-Khoto.

There are 24 texts presented in the ms, only three of them being found in the later canonical sets of texts, those being *Dpal nag po chen po'i bsgrub*

pa'i thabs / ŚrīMahākālasādhana-nāma and *Dpal nag po chen po'i bstod pa rkang pa brgyad pa zhes bya ba / ŚrīMahākālastotra-padāṣṭaka-nāma* by Nāgārjuna, and *Rje btsun dpal rje nag po la bstod pa / Śrībhaṭṭarakamahākālastotra* by Buddhakīrti. Apparently, some other texts, though clearly translations from Sanskrit, were not included there. Texts on the Viṣṇu Narasiṃha, or Narasiṃha, cult are especially interesting in this respect, since they show that it was spread in Tibet for some time, the fact of which was never known to academics before. The last text of the scroll, obviously incomplete, is of a third type. This rather long text, written in verse-form, is devoted to a rare iconographic group such as Vajrapāni and eight Nāga Kings. The text is obviously incomplete, though there is some empty space on the last page.

The first 15 texts of the scroll varying much in length are devoted to Mahākāla and treat two forms of the deity such as the Fourhanded Wise Protector (*Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi ba*) and the Raven-faced Karma Protector (*Las mgon bya rog gdong can*):

- 1) the *sāadhanā* of Mahākāla by Nāgārjuna;
- 2) a short commentary to the *sāadhanā*, unnamed;
- 3-4) rituals of the evocation of Mahākāla to commit a [fierce] action;
- 5) practice of worship of Mahākāla;
- 6) ritual aimed at making the enemy dumb;
- 7) a collection of five texts attributed to Dpal Rga lo and describing rituals aimed at subjugation of the enemy;
- 8-9) short ritualistic fragments;
- 10) the hymn in praise of Mahākāla by Nāgārjuna;

- 11) the hymn in praise of Mahākāla by Buddhakīrti;
- 12) the visualization of Mahākāla;
- 13) practice of worship of Mahākāla;
- 14) the instruction on the fire ritual and subjugation of the enemy;
- 15) a group of ritualistic fragments bearing the title *The Sādhanā of the Raven-faced One (Bya rog gi sgrub thabs)*.

Since the texts relating to the cult of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha are of a special interest there follows a brief introduction into their contents. First of all, it should be noticed that he is depicted mostly in accordance with the Hindu iconography. As is known from Hindu mythology, Viṣṇu Narasiṃha is a deity with the body of a man and the head of a lion, known as the fourth avatar of the great god. He came to the earth to kill the malevolent demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. Narasiṃha is usually depicted holding this demon in his lower pair of hands (there may be up to 6 pairs) and tearing up his belly. The first text on Viṣṇu Narasiṃha presented in our scroll explains that ‘Viṣṇu is with the body of white color, one-faced, four-handed, with the orange rampant mane, [he] shakes his hair, has three eyes, and bared fangs, holds an iron stick in his right hand, grasps the enemy with his left hand and points his forefinger, presses the demon merrily with his two lower hands, eats the bowels that come from the [demon’s] belly, stands on the throne of the sun, moon and lotus in the heroic ālīḍha posture with his right leg extended and left leg bent, he is decorated with a serpent and bone ornaments’. This description is at least not controversial with the Hindu tradition.

Functionally, Narasiṃha is treated as a Dharmapala, protector of Dharma, who helps Buddhists, fulfills their wishes and repels hindrances and enemies. Texts of the scroll depict various rites aimed at the use of Narasiṃha for these

purposes.

Basically, tantric practices can be directed at both obtaining spiritual results and requesting deities to make actions of four kinds such as peaceful, expanding, subjugating and fierce ones. While performing suitable rites, a yogi should visualize an image of a deity, 'animate' it via the invitation of a real deity from his Pure Land, give a number of offerings including verbal, with hymns and mantras, and material, especially with the so-called *torma*, figures made of butter and flour to which some substances can also be added, and finally pray about an action needed. For the fierce rite aimed at the murder of an enemy a symbolic depiction of the latter, *linga*, is usually used.

There are eight texts on Viṣṇu Narasiṃha.

16) *Khyab 'jug mi'i seng ge 'dod pa'i lha*¹ (*Viṣṇu Narasiṃha as a personal deity, or yidam*), contains the general description of the deity (presented above) and the rite of his worship aimed at the salvation from diseases.

17) A rite of worship of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha for the purpose of making him protect Buddhists against enemies, demons, hailstorms, diseases, etc. It contains also a hymn in praise of the deity with iconographic features interlaced with descriptions of his actions, thus expressing implicitly the call to him to go on performing them. The hymn ends up with the following verses:

Homage and salutation to him who pacifies the host of evil demons!
 Homage and salutation to him who subjugates the harmful beings!
 Homage and salutation to him who turns the harmful beings into dust!
 Please, bless me, a yogi!
 Taste this *torma*, the elixir of four pure components,
 And perform the action in harmony with pure intentions!

18) A narrative fragment telling about the meeting of a *rākṣasa* demon, Bu thub rgyal, with Viṣṇu Narasiṃha who helps him to escape death since his father was going to kill the son if he would not compose a hymn in praise of him. Narasiṃha recites to the *rākṣasa* a short poem according to which

¹Originally, *Khyab 'jug myi 'i seng 'ge dad pa'i lha*.

Viṣṇu abides everywhere:

Gods, gods live in the heaven,
 In the hills, in the hills wise men live,
 In the rivers, in the rivers nāgas live,
 All, all abodes are Viṣṇu.

After the rākṣasa father hears these lines he asks if Viṣṇu abides also in the iron plate that closes up the door. Immediately Narasiṃha appears there, kills the rākṣasa father and bestows his son with power and supernatural capacities which the killed rākṣasa had possessed; thus, he could not be killed outside the doors of his house. The story is told in brief simple language, though it contains a detailed iconographic description of Narasiṃha. Probably, that is why the text is called a sādhanā in the final lines. In the end there is a list of the names of some famous Buddhist writers such as Āryadeva, Aśvagoṣa, Mātṛceṭa, etc., who are claimed to have composed sādhanās of Narasiṃha. This remark seems to be the only explanation for this text to be included into the collection of Buddhist ritual texts.

19) *Khyab 'jug mi'i 'og gtor gyi cho ga*², *The Rite of Torma Offering to Viṣṇu with the Body of a Man [and the Head of a Lion]*. This is rather a brief text so it can be translated here in full.

Homage to the Lord of the world!

A yogi visualizes a white wheel with sixteen spokes and himself in its center abiding on the 'pride' of Viṣṇu³; [he visualizes] the torma prepared in a precious vessel in front of himself as five kinds of elixir; radiating rays of light out of his heart and pouring them onto the torma [he] visualizes them as five kinds of amrita and offers [with the mantra] OṂ NARASIṂHA IDAṂ BALIN KHAKHAKHAHI KHAHI HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀ HĀ! (OṂ Narasiṃha, eat, eat, eat this torma! HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀ HĀ!)

The Lord of the world, Viṣṇu, Master,

²Originally, *Khyab 'jug myi'i 'og gtor gyi cho ga*.

³i.e. the yogi generates himself as the deity, changing his mundane consciousness with the divine one.

Of wrathful appearance, with bared fangs
 And rampant hair,
 Wonderful, with the lower garment of tiger skin,
 With the body of a man, the head of a lion,
 Your emanations are of the essence.
 Whatever I look upon I [remember] your name,
 Whatever I look upon I see you.
 When I look upon the decorations and attributes (?)
 I call you, Viṣṇu, the Tamer of Nāgas.
 When I look upon the Rakṣasa demons
 I call you, Viṣṇu, the Tamer of Rakṣasa demons.
 When I look upon a cemetery
 I call you, Viṣṇu, the Tamer of Worldly Ḍākinīs.

The tormā offering with an invocation to Viṣṇu Narasiṃha is complete.

20) *Khyab 'jug gi dgra'i gsod pa'i thabs, The Method how to Kill an Enemy via Viṣṇu*. After the depiction of a yogic generation of oneself as Viṣṇu Narasiṃha, the fierce rite aimed at the oppression of an enemy is outlined according to which the offerings first should be prepared and then burnt with a special mantra chanted 108 times.

21) *Khyab 'jug mi'i seng ge'i ser khri dbab thabs kyi cho ga*⁴, *The Rite of Imposing of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha on the Golden Throne*. An iconographic fragment is followed by the passage on mantras and spells, and then materials used during the rite, after which magic operations performed with them are listed, finally there are indicated signs of the success, e.g. vapour should appear under the earth causing the wind to whirl in an enemy's area.

22) The rite aimed at the wrathful action. An icon of Narasiṃha, a maṇḍala and a depiction of a 'devadatta'⁵ should be produced to perform the

⁴Originally, *Khyab 'jug myi 'i seng 'ge'i ser khve dbab thabs kyi cho ga*.

⁵Devadatta was a cousin of the Buddha who followed him into the monkhood but, driven by jealousy, tried to break up the Buddhist community; his name was transformed later into a term designating anybody who break the vows or stirs up any Buddhist community; here, the synonym of 'enemy'.

rite. After the offerings are made a hundred of symbolical depictions of an enemy should be burnt during a week. The rite must result in the death of the enemy from an epidemic disease, etc. It is also instructed what special measures should be taken to obtain the result needed.

23) The offering on fire, homapūjā. First, the ingredients to be burnt are listed such as seed, white sesame, wooden sticks, milk, sour milk, rice, kuśa grass, stylus from a cemetery, barley, wheat, rough barley, pea, boiled rice, medicines, then the process of offerings is outlined with mantras suitable for each stage. The god of fire is worshiped with the following verses:

The son of the Sublime Brahma, the Lord of the World,
The god of fire consecrated as king,
Burning off all the hindrances to the highest wisdom,
The god of fire, Destroyer, to you [I send] my worship and salutation!

The text ends up with a rather long mantra containing invocations to the murder of the person targeted.

It is worth noticing that the first, fifth and sixth texts starts with words *rgya gar skad du*, in Sanskrit, that would imply that they were translated into Tibetan. However, I could not ascertain any reasonable Sanskrit title for any of them: in the first case it is written clearly distorted, *Na ra sing bhi ra yā (?) skan kra ni*, in the other two cases just the name of Narasiṃha is presented as the title. Nevertheless, we can be quite sure that at least some of the eight texts were translated from Sanskrit.

An interesting detail of the scroll is the use of interlinear glosses, some of them are simple explanations of certain words such as the translation of Sanskrit mantric requests MARA MARA, kill kill!, or HANA HANA, save save!, some of them are more extensive commentaries or additions to the text. It is important to note that there are just few glosses to the Viṣṇu Narasiṃha texts indicating that the unknown commentator did not have much to say about the cult of this deity.

Thus, the scroll Дх.Тн6-178, being a rare species of ancient Tibetan mss produced in the pre-canonic time, is valuable for our understanding of

Tibetan religious life and literature at that period. The data on the cult of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha that was clearly spread in Tibet to some extent are but precious. It is possible that our scroll is the only extent source containing any information about this fact. Of course, it is not surprising that the cult of Viṣṇu Narasiṃha could come to Tibet. Buddhist-Hindu syncretism is a common phenomenon in the regions influenced by Indian culture. Thus, in the hymns to the Buddha, Śīva and Viṣṇu chanted in Bali all three deities are treated almost the same way⁶. Newari people of Nepal worship both the Buddha and Gaṇeśa and sometimes even Śīva. In the set of Tibetan canon there are some hymns and sādhanās dedicated to Gaṇapati, one of the forms of Gaṇeśa, considered also by Buddhists as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, Bstan 'gyur contains two short sādhanās of Avalokiteśvara riding the lion, bird and Viṣṇu (all three are named with the same Sanskrit word, *hari*, that would have been hard to understand if there were no Tibetan translation of the title)⁷. Consequently, Buddhist texts relating to Narasiṃha could well exist in Sanskrit and then be translated into Tibetan. However, since they were not included into the Tibetan Buddhist canon they were forgotten (although we cannot rule out totally a possibility that some local tradition might also bring such texts up to the present).

The paper is supplied with a copy of the fragment of the scroll translated in the paper, namely of the text no. 19, *Khyab 'jug mi'i 'og gtor gyi cho ga* (at the bottom of folio 5 of the scroll, verso side). In addition to the plate, I offer the transliteration of the text in two variants, first an exact one reflecting all graphic elements (^{superscripts}, ~~crossed-letters~~, “**circled letters**”, ? - illegible letters), second an edited text, in modern orthography.

⁶Goudriaan, T. and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava (Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava) of Balinese Brahman Priests*. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. Amsterdam, London: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971.

⁷1) Seng ge dang bya khyung dang *khyab 'jug* la bzhugs pa'i sgrub thabs / Hariharivāhanasādhana. Peking ed.: No. 3983, rgyud 'grel, thu, ff. 223b3-223b8; Derge ed.: No. 3162, rgyud, phu, ff. 181a7-181b4; Narthang ed.: rgyud, thu, ff. 211b6-212a4. 2) Seng ge dang bya khyung dang *khyab 'jug* la bzhugs pa'i sgrub thabs / Hariharivāhanasādhana. Peking ed.: No. 3984, rgyud 'grel, thu, ff. 223b8-224b8; Derge ed.: No. 3163, rgyud, phu, ff. 181b4-182b2; Narthang ed.: rgyud, thu, ff. 212a4-213a4.

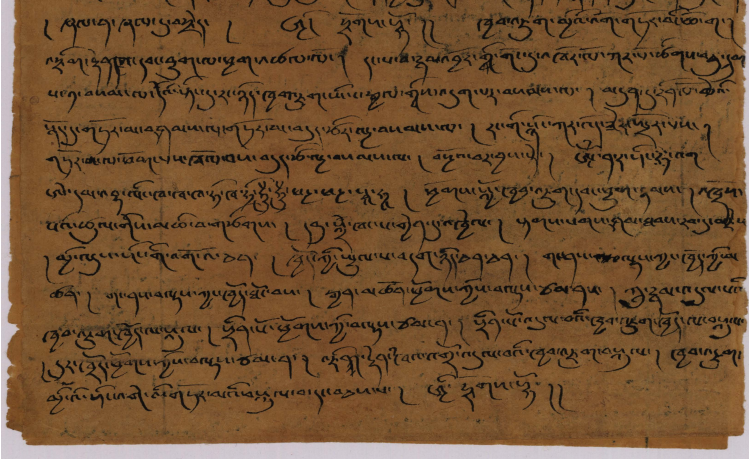


Plate: Text no.19

1. Exact transliteration

khyab 'jug myi'i 'og gtor mi cho ga | (5b42) 'rjig rten? dbang byug la
 phyag 'tshal lo | dang pa ða rnal 'byor gyi gong du 'khor lo kar po tshigs bcu
 drug (43) pa 1 bsam la de'i ting du rang nyid khyab 'jug yi nga rgyal gis 'dug
 par bsams la | mdun du rin po che'i (44) snod du gtor ma bshams la gtor ma
 bdud rtsir lnga bsams la | rang gi snying kar 'od zer spror pas | (45) gtor ma
 la phog pas khol bas bdud rtsi lnga bsams la | bsngo' bar byas ste | om na
 ra sing "ha" 'ag (46) e dam 'bha ling kha kha kha hi kha hi hum hum phaṭ
 phaṭ svā hā | phyogs skyo khyab 'jug dbang phyug rnam | 'khros (47) pa'i
 tshul gis mchi ba gtsigs | dbu skra[e] khang pa gyen du 'khyel | sngags pags
 sham thabs rab tu mdzes (48) | myi lus seng ge 'go 'o can | khyod kyi sprul
 pa bdag nyid can can | gang nas ? bltas kyang khyod kyi ma (49) tshan | gang
 nas bltas kyang khyod thong bas | rgyan mtshon phyogs kyis bltas tsam nas
 | klu rnam 'dul pa'i (50) khyab 'jug khyod la skul | srin po phyogs kyi bltas
 tsam na | srin po 'dul ba'i khyab 'jug khyod la bskul (51) | dur khrod phyogs
 kyis bltas tsam na | 'jiṅg rten 'kha' 'gro 'dul ba'i khyab 'jug bskul | khyab
 'jug (52) myi 'i seng 'ge 'i gtor ma'i bskul ba dang bcas pa | iti⁸ rdzogs s.ho

⁸Presumable reading. I thank Dr Sam van Schaik for his contribution.

||

2. Edited text

khyab 'jug mi'i 'og gtor m[a']i cho ga | 'jig rten dbang phyug la phyag
 'tshal lo | dang po rnal 'byor gyi[s] gong du 'khor lo [d]kar po tshigs bcu
 drug pa gcig bsam la de'i ting du rang nyid khyab 'jug gi nga rgyal gyis 'dug
 par bsams la | mdun du rin po che'i snod du gtor ma bshams la gtor ma bdud
 rtsir lnga bsams la | rang gi snying kar 'od zer spro pas | gtor ma la phog pas
 khol bas bdud rtsi lnga bsams la | bsngo bar byas ste | om na ra sing ha i dam
 bha ling kha kha kha hi kha hi huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svā hā |

phyogs skyo[ng] khyab 'jug dbang phyug rnams ||

'khros pa'i tshul g[y]is mche ba gtsigs ||

dbu skra khang pa gyen du 'khyel ||

stag pags sham thabs rab tu mdzes ||

mi lus seng ge mgo bo can ||

khyod kyi sprul pa bdag nyid can ||

gang nas bltas kyang khyod kyi mtshan ||

gang nas bltas kyang khyod thong bas ||

rgyan mtshon phyogs kyis bltas tsam nas ||

klu rnam 'dul pa'i khyab 'jug khyod la skul ||

srin po phyogs kyi bltas tsam na |

srin po 'dul ba'i khyab 'jug khyod la bskul ||

dur khrod phyogs kyis bltas tsam na ||

'jig rten mkha' 'gro 'dul ba'i khyab 'jug bskul |

khyab 'jug mi'i seng ge'i gtor ma'i bskul ba dang bcas pa | iti rdzogs s.ho ||

誤入敦煌文書中的一件罕見藏文寫本

亞歷山大·左林

俄羅斯科學院所藏敦煌藏文寫卷共有 215 件，但其中一件是誤入敦煌文書中的。該寫卷不會早於十二世紀中葉，因為所收幾個文獻署名為十二世紀的西藏翻譯者兼瑜伽師吉祥老（Dpal Rga lo）。該寫卷在古文書學上的特點類似於黑水城出土藏文文獻，因此很可能也是從黑水城帶回聖彼得堡的。此寫卷包括了大黑天（Mahakala）與毗濕奴那羅辛哈（Vishnu Nalasimha）的儀式文獻，尤其是後者至今未曾發現過。所以，本文特別介紹了關於毗濕奴那羅辛哈儀式的八件文獻的內容。其中一件包含對話的斷片，而其他文獻描述包括恐怖的儀式在內的各種儀式。

Reexamining the Manuscript Fragments of a Prayer

SI-3119/2 + SI-3119/1

Akao Eikei

This paper reexamines a prayer in two fragments, which was exhibited in the 2009 special exhibition “On the Trail of Texts Along the Silk Road: The Russian Expedition’s Discoveries of Manuscripts in Central Asia” at the Kyoto National Museum. This manuscript, which I previously had difficulty reading and which I previously dated to around the eighth to ninth century during the Tang dynasty, consists of two adjoining fragments: SI-3119/1, which measures 23.2 cm in height and 28.1 cm in length; and SI-3119/2, which measures 24.0 cm in height and 38.0 cm in length. The first fragment is SI-3119/2, followed by SI-3119/1, which is missing a portion at the end. For the exhibition catalogue¹, I wrote a descriptive entry for this work (cat. no. 54), which was displayed in the Turfan section, as follows:

“This fragment is supposedly from a part of prayers written by a certain Zuo Zuxing and other devotees, who met monthly to conduct Buddhist services. The manuscript is composed of two adjoining fragments, and its content consists of approximately three parts. The first section explains the depth of the Buddhist teachings; the second lists the good deeds of the believers; and

¹This catalogue accompanies the exhibition, “On the Trail of Texts Along the Silk Road: The Russian Expedition’s Discovery of Manuscripts in Central Asia”, held at the Kyoto National Museum from July 14 to September 6, 2009.

the last expresses the transfer of merit to the deceased. The pure male believer is called an upasaka, a devout Buddhist layman, while a pure female believer is referred to as an upasika, a devout Buddhist laywoman. The prayer is distinctive in that it has several unusual characters and lettering.” (p. 91)

At the time I wrote this entry, I was unable to completely decipher this prayer, thus I have taken the opportunity here to revisit and reread this text, resulting in the discovery of several textual mistakes. In my original description, I noted characters that appeared unusual, however, a closer examination revealed that these were scribal errors or variants. For example, the character for “result” or “fruit” (*guo* 果) that appears in line fifteen at the end of the manuscript should be the character for “pleasure” or “enjoyment” (*le* 樂). The lettering of *le* can also be seen in a fragment of *Dazhi du lun* (J., Daichi do ron) 大智度論, volume 8 (designated Important Cultural Property, from the Moriya Collection in the Kyoto National Museum)², thought to be a fifth-century manuscript.

Other variants include the characters “to exist” or “to live” (*cun* 存), which appears as the third character from the bottom in the first line; “prosper” (*xing* 興), the third character from the bottom in the sixth line; the black marker, indicating that the character above it is repeated, under “moon” (*yue* 月), the third character from the top in the ninth line; and “forever” (*yong* 永), the first character in the fourteenth line. The frequent use of such variant characters, which appear to be quite early, is unusual among Dunhuang manuscripts and is a major characteristic of this prayer. The same letterings for *cun*, *xing*, and *yong* can be found on the stele of Juqu Anzhou 且渠安周,

²See the Exhibition Catalogue *Koshakyō, sei naru moji no sekai* 古寫經——聖なる文字の世界 (The Sacred Letters of Early Sutra Copies: Special Exhibition Celebrating Fifty Years since the Donation of the Moriya Collection), Kyoto National Museum, 2004, pp.36-37.

whose construction began in the ninth month of Chengping 承平 3 (445) and which was completed in the summer of Chengping 7 (449)³.

The translated passage in its entirety should be read as follows:

“The Buddhist teaching is unfathomably expansive and solid. Its wondrous existence changes form. If we have the fortune of encountering [this teaching], then there is a distinction between that which is hidden and that which is apparent. If it is apparent, then the Dharma wheel will increasingly become clear. If we become silent, we will extinguish its traces and conceal its principles. If great prayers are practiced, those who are illuminated and those who are in the dark will both benefit.

Here is a teacher who leads the assembly of the twin trees. Although the young and earthly Zuo Zuxing and his fellow male lay followers were born together in this place, since it is the final age of the Buddhist law, we cannot witness the appearance of the Buddha. Therefore, we should gather with our fellows to read the scriptures every month without disruption. The date appears in the left column, while the names in the right column.

Due to this merit and fortune, we can be born and live in the glorious pure Buddha lands. Those born in the heavenly realm above will have the five matters fulfilled. Those born into this world below must recompense the consequences of their past deeds. Be virtuous, do not be greedy, and that which is impure will be forever exhausted. Ascend the platform of wisdom and realize the joy of enlightenment.”

³Ikeda On 池田温, *Kōshō san pi ryakukō* 高昌三碑略考 (A Brief Study on the Gaochang Three Stone Inscriptions), in *Mikami Tugio Hakase kiju kinen ronshū, rekishi hen* 三上次男博士喜壽記念論集・歴史編 (*Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Tsugio Mikami on His 77th Birthday, History*), Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1985, pp.102-120.

The question here is what kind of service was this prayer created for? In the prayer it is written, “Since it is the final age of the Buddhist law, we cannot witness the appearance of the Buddha. Therefore, we should gather with our fellows to read the scriptures every month without disruption.” From this passage, we know that Zuo Zuxing and the members of his group held monthly services to read the sutras aloud on a designated day. However, the previous passage, which says, “Here is the one who will lead the assembly of the twin trees,” is important. Perhaps the assembly of the twin [śāla] trees refers to the nirvāṇa assembly (*niepan hui* 涅槃會) held on the fifteenth day of the second month. Hence, the prayer appears not to have been for a monthly assembly but for the nirvāṇa assembly. Moreover, the passage in lines 9 and 10 — “The date appears in the left column, while the names in the right column” — suggests that following the names of the devotees at the end of the manuscript may have been recorded the date and time of meeting. The five matters, here, appear to refer to the acts of being “benevolent, wise, pure, trustworthy, and abstaining from alcohol” from a passage in the sutra *Bianyi changzhezi jing* 辯意長者子經 (Skt., *Pratibhānamatipariṣcchā*), which says “If one practices the five matters, then one can be born in the heavenly realm⁴.”

From the variant characters and the translation year of quoted scriptural passages, I now believe the prayer appears to date as early as the sixth century and not to around the eighth or ninth century, in the Tang dynasty, as previously mentioned. Unfortunately, the names of Zuo Zuxing and the others that appear in the text are unknown. This concludes my report on this prayer, which I was not able to completely read at the time we made the exhibition catalogue.

(Translated by Maya M. Hara)

⁴Taisho, 14.837b “有五事行得生天上”.

[Text]

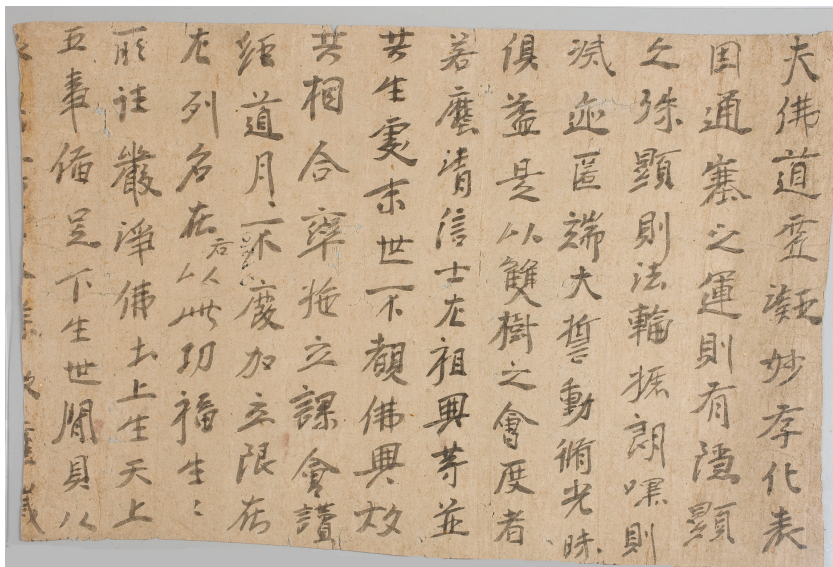
SI-3119/2

- 01 夫佛道虛凝，妙存化表。
- 02 因通塞之運，則有隱顯
- 03 之殊。顯則法輪振朗，嘿則
- 04 滅迹匿端，大誓動脩光昧
- 05 俱益。是以，雙樹之會，度者
- 06 若塵。清信士左祖興等，並
- 07 共生処末世，不覩佛興，故
- 08 共相合率施立課，會讀
- 09 經道，月々不廢加。立限在
- 10 左，列名在右。以此功福生々
- 11 所往嚴淨佛土，上生天上
- 12 五事備足，下生世間具以
- 13 報果，董身除欲，塵穢
- 14 永盡，登智慧臺，體菩
- 15 提樂。

.....

SI-3119/1

- 16 清信士左祖興 清信（女）惠姜
- 17 清信士韓充宗 清信女明暉
- 18 清信士員樂孫 清信女□□
- 19 清信士劉虔子 清信女 []
- 20 清信士尊子興 清 []
- 21 清信士王法□ []
- 22 清信士 [] []



SI-3119/2



SI-3119/1

俄藏寫本發願文斷片 SI-3119/2 與 SI-3119/1 再考

赤尾榮慶

京都國立博物館曾在 2009 年舉行題為“絲綢之路古文字巡禮——俄國探險隊收集文物”的展覽會。本文對當時展品之一即由兩個斷片（SI-3110/2 與 SI-3110/1）組成的發願文重新進行研究。此次成功解讀了一些特殊的異體字，并提出此發願文是專為涅槃會的需要而撰寫的看法。但令人遺憾的是關於發願文的作者左祖興仍然一無所知。

杏雨書屋藏《佛說行七行現報經》

真偽之考察

落合俊典

—

由武田科學振興財團影印出版的《敦煌秘笈》第二冊收載有《佛說行七行現報經》(羽 098)¹。從照片來看，黃麻紙，為嚴謹楷體書寫之精品。本文僅 14 行、共 234 字，是一部篇幅極為簡短之經典。

主要內容如下：

佛陀於祇樹給孤獨園，為諸比丘說法：

「實踐以下七種善行者，修行人應該恭敬供養。第一種是對人慈愛；第二種是救他人苦；第三種是不嫉妒他人幸福並隨喜；第四種是捨執一切；第五種是觀照一切皆空；第六種是觀察諸法無別；第七種是觀無所求。實踐這七種善行者，可恭可敬，為世間無上福田。因為實踐這七種善行的人，能得到現世果報。」

阿難聽聞後，向佛陀提問：

「為何不說（聲聞的）須陀洹、斯陀含、阿那含、阿羅漢、（緣覺的）辟支佛、佛等等，而說這七種呢？」

世尊回答：

「對他人行慈的這七種人之善行，與須陀洹乃至佛不同。供養須陀洹乃至佛者，不能於現世得報；然而供養這七種人者，能於現世得報。因此，

¹ 《敦煌秘笈》影片冊第 2 卷，2010 年 3 月，大阪：武田科學振興財團。

阿難，應當勤加勇猛精進，成就以上七法。」

阿難聞法，歡喜奉行。

以上七種，一至四爲四無量心；五至七爲三解脫門。

本經爲別生經，由《增一阿含經》卷 34²中別出一卷另行，是提倡初期佛教教義之經典。「三解脫門」常爲大乘所用，在本經中合「四無量心」併爲「七行」。

二

關於本經，歷代經錄史家有所敘述³。根據常盤大定先生《後漢より宋齊に至る譯經總錄》：「智昇將《行七行現報經》一卷，作爲小乘別生經。出《增一阿含經》卷 34，一紙。本經當時現存明矣⁴。」常盤先生文中又提到「(本經)不見於房錄，而見於智昇《開元錄》卷十六，作爲小乘別生經，出《增一阿含經》卷 34，一紙。雖然本經在智昇著錄時，存在有文本，但關於翻譯時間、地點和譯者卻未提及⁵。」另，從常盤先生所作的腳註，我們知道在唐道世《法苑珠林》69 卷及《諸經要集》13 卷，對本經亦有引用。此外，雖然常盤大定先生未論及，但是在智昇的不入藏目錄中關於本經的型態是有所記述的，即《開元錄》(730) 成立之前，盛行於武后時代的《大周錄》(695)，本書是入藏的。

本經在歷代經錄中，《大周錄》是最早著錄入藏錄，同時也是唯一著錄入藏錄的。由此可見，本經曾盛行一時。這可從《法苑珠林》〈受報篇〉「現報部」將之視爲單一經典，以及《諸經要集》「受報部」的引用，得到佐證。

²大正藏本爲卷 34，聖語藏本爲卷 33，此因分卷之不同所致。

³參見拙稿〈七寺一切經に見られる不入藏所載の別生經について〉《七寺古逸經典研究叢書》第 4 卷《中國日本撰述經典（其之四）・漢譯經典》，1999 年 2 月，東京：大東出版社，772～777 頁。

⁴常盤大定《後漢より宋齊に至る譯經總錄》，1938 年，東京：東方文化學院，299 頁。

⁵同上，348 頁。

三

《開元錄》末的「不入藏錄」，是智昇爲了彌補《大周錄》之不足，所作之附錄。此「不入藏錄」對遠離長安的日本佛教有過很大影響。儘管《開元錄》將收錄在菩提流支集譯之《大寶積經》120卷中的22部80卷，歸於「不入藏」；但這些經典長期被書寫、誦持，卻被置於藏外，日本佛教對此躊躇、質疑，不僅設立專司進行調查，並且於大寺院持續書寫不入藏經典。

在尾張（現在的愛知縣）書寫的七寺一切經中，存有本經⁶，其實就是從奈良時代直至平安後期，對不入藏錄經典持續抄寫的結果。本經不僅有杏雨書屋本，在七寺一切經中亦有保存。以下擬對此二本內容進行比較。首先，翻刻杏雨書屋本，以七寺本作為校本；並參照奈良寫經（聖語藏第3類天平十二年御願經第53號《增一阿含經》卷33。以下略稱聖語藏本）、高麗初雕本。

羽 098 《佛說行七行現報經》翻刻

及與七寺本、聖語藏本、高麗初雕本之校異

0. 佛說行七行現報經⁷

1. 聞如是。一時。佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾
2. 時。世尊告諸比丘。有七種⁸人。可事可敬。是世
3. 間無上福田。云何⁹七種人。所謂七人者。一者
4. 行慈。二者行悲。三者行喜。四者行護。五者行
5. 空。六者行無相¹⁰。七者行無願。是謂七種之¹¹人
6. 可事可敬。是世間無上福田。所以然者，其有
7. 眾生行此七法¹²。於現法中獲其果報。爾時。阿阿

⁶七寺一切經 No.1301。

⁷內題下，地線上有雙行小字注「性天下摩/三藏法師」，未詳。七寺本內題下作「出增一阿含經前譯者第三卷」。《增一阿含經》諸本無內題。

⁸「種」，高麗初雕本、聖語藏本作「種之」。

⁹「云何」，高麗初雕本、聖語藏本作「云何爲」。

¹⁰「相」，高麗初雕本作「想」。

¹¹「之」，聖語藏本作「之之」。

¹²「法」，高麗初雕本、聖語藏本作「法者」。

8. 難白世尊言。何以故不說須陀含。斯陀含。
9. 那含。阿羅漢。辟支佛。佛。乃說此七事乎¹³。世尊
10. 告曰。行慈七人其行。與須陀洹乃至佛其事
11. 不同。雖供養須陀洹乃至佛，不現得報。然供
12. 養此人¹⁴者。於現世得報。是故。阿難。當勤¹⁵加勇
13. 猛成辨七法。如是。阿難。當作是學。爾時阿難
14. 聞佛所說。歡喜奉行。
15. 佛說行七行現報經¹⁶

四

通過四本校異，內容相互出入不多，有寫卷偽作的可能性。不過，直接摘錄自原典《增一阿含經》卷 34 則不太容易。雖然可以透過《法苑珠林》(T53, No.2122, p.810b)、《諸經要集》(T54, No.2123, p.119c) 知道本經的存在，但二者僅從正宗分的「爾時，世尊告諸比丘～」開始引用，很難知道本經究竟從何開始，況且以上二書又未引用流通分部份，因此直接抄自《增一阿含經》的可能性幾乎沒有。然而，若熟諳佛教典籍，且對經錄具備充分之知識，《佛說行七行現報經》重新製成還是可能的。

再者，因其為別生經，有可能從經錄推察而出。故無法排除本寫卷可能為，參考《開元錄》、《貞元錄》「不入藏錄」後造出之偽本。

但從另一方面來說，本經同時存在有敦煌本，就經典流通史來說，這是極為罕見的。這與在日本七寺一切經中，竟發現了「不入藏錄」經典《佛說行七行現報經》如出一轍。「不入藏錄」之經典共有 118 部、247 卷。雖然無法斷定「不入藏」的名稱是由《開元錄》編者智昇所命名，但至少他是此概念的導入者。智昇順應時流，對前代的經錄《大周錄》大肆批判。

¹³ 「乎」，七寺本作「子」。聖語藏本作「于」，並於右傍以朱筆訂正作「乎」。

¹⁴ 「人」，高麗初雕本、聖語藏本作「七人」。

¹⁵ 「勤」，七寺本作「勩」。

¹⁶ 《增一阿含經》諸本，無尾題。

爲了徹底論破武后時代之遺產《大周錄》，智昇列舉其缺失，以突顯批判的正確性，以及新錄的正統性。

七寺一切經保存的不入藏經典群，爲奈良佛教接受了唐代新思潮後的真實寫照。它一面反應了急速變化的唐代佛教之趨勢；一面又保存了前代傳入的經典。故而，轉抄自8世紀奈良佛教寫本的七寺一切經不入藏諸本，實際上反映了唐代長安佛教文本。這些在唐土已經逸失的不入藏經典，可說是極爲珍貴的文化財。而與之書寫形式幾乎一致的《敦煌秘笈》第98號的《佛說行七行現報經》亦爲重要典籍。

由大經分出、或抄出的別生經，《開元錄》有682部812卷，但現存極少。又列於不入藏錄者，敦煌本除了《敦煌秘笈》之《佛說行七行現報經》以外，還有敦煌研究院藏的《佛說大藥善巧經》卷上（敦研336號。三紙。80行）¹⁷。若要說其爲僞作，那麼僞造者除了要具有極爲高度的經典利用能力以外，還必須有巧妙的書寫技術才行。然而，要同時具備這二種能力並非易事。

附帶一提的是，本書完全不可能以日本七寺一切經本之《佛說行七行現報經》作底本僞造。因爲只有極少數的日本人得窺七寺一切經；其閱覽紀錄中，也沒有包含中國人在內之外國人。並且，七寺一切經事實上至今一直被妥善收藏，並無外流之跡象。

（蕭文真譯）

¹⁷ 《敦煌》（1990年，甘肅人民出版社）所收《佛說大藥善巧經》卷上。《大正藏》T24, No.1451,《根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事》（義淨譯）卷27。第六門第四子攝頌之餘明大藥事部份。又影印收錄於《甘肅藏敦煌文獻》第二卷（1999年，甘肅人民出版社）。

**Investigation of the Authenticity of
“The Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha on the Present Rewards of
Practicing the Seven Practices” in the Kyōu Shooku Collection.**

OCHIAI Toshinori

A short Buddhist sūtra listed as 羽 098 in the Kyōu Shooku 杏雨書屋 Dunhuang Collection bears the title: “The Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha on the Present Rewards of Practicing the Seven Practices” 佛說行七行現報經. It must be noted that this sūtra belongs to the category of the texts, “extracted from a larger sūtra to circulate on their own behalf”, *biesheng jing* 別生經. In other words, this sūtra is in reality a section or a passage of a larger work. In this case, the sūtra comes from the 34th *juan* of the Chinese *Ekottara-āgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經). We can find another manuscript text of the same sūtra, No.1301 of the Nanatsudera canon, which was copied in the Owari province between the Nara and the late Heian period. The authenticity of the manuscript is beyond any dispute. With regard to the Dunhuang manuscript of the Kyōu Shooku, it cannot be verified that it was extracted anew from *Zengyi ahan jing*. It is impossible to imagine that the Dunhuang manuscript could be a modern fake based on the Nanatsudera text because access to the canon has been extremely limited thus far. Therefore, the Dunhuang manuscript, as well as that of Nanatsudera canon, is rare and precious as an extant text of the *biesheng jing*.

Дx10839 《鄭虔殘札》雜考

——“搨書”與“真迹”之間

永田知之

一 前言

俄藏敦煌文獻 Дx10839，雖屬篇幅不大的斷片零篇，但對於瞭解盛唐文人鄭虔的生平有很高的資料價值。不過，該文書的價值還不止於此，從中我們可以“窺見當時書跡收藏的一些情況¹”。拙文試圖將 Дx10839《鄭虔殘札》的內容與南朝唐代的書論相結合，淺談中國書法史上“真跡”與“摹本”之間的關係，以求證於博學方家。

二 鄭虔的生平

鄭虔（691-759）²，滎陽人，排行十八，歷官率更寺主簿、左監門錄事參軍、協律郎。天寶末年，遷著作郎。安祿山陷長安，偽署水部員外郎。虔稱疾不就，潛以密章通靈武（肅宗行在）。賊平，以次三等治罪，遷台州

¹西林昭一《中國新發見の書》，京都：柳原出版，2002年，131頁。

²對於鄭虔的生卒年，學界歷來有不同說法。千唐誌齋近年所得唐盧季長（鄭虔外生）《大唐故著作郎貶台州司戶滎陽鄭府君（虔）并夫人瑯琊王氏墓誌銘并序》（大曆四年）云：“經一考，遭疾於台州官舍，終於官舍，享年六十有九，時乾元二年九月廿日也。”，見吳綱主編《全唐文補遺（千唐誌齋新藏專輯）》，西安：三秦出版社，2006年，249頁。可參看陳尚君《吳綱主編〈全唐文補遺·千唐誌齋新藏專輯〉》，載氏著《漢唐文學與文獻論考》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2008年，515-517頁。

司戶參軍，後卒於遷地³。

開元天寶之交，鄭虔採集異聞，著書八十餘卷。有人告其私修國史，虔聞而遽焚之，但由是貶謫十餘年。鄭虔博學多才，工書畫，善為詩。玄宗愛其才，天寶九載（750）更置廣文館，以其為博士。廣文博士即自虔始。諸儒服其善著書，時號“鄭廣文⁴”。

鄭虔雖屢飢窮輻輳，但好琴酒篇詠。杜甫贈詩云：“廣文到官舍，置馬一作繫堂堦下。醉則騎馬歸，頗遭官長罵。才名四十年，坐客寒無氈。賴有蘇司業，時時與酒錢”（《戲簡鄭廣文虔兼呈蘇司業源明》）。

鄭虔與蘇源明（嘗任國子司業）、杜甫相友善。杜甫對其尤為服膺，集中不乏寄贈、懷念之詩⁵。二人的關係是後人關注與探討的重要問題，中外學者的相關研究，已有專論發表⁶。

三 《鄭虔殘札》前半補箋

上世紀八十年代，吳其昱先生已對俄羅斯所藏敦煌寫本的情況進行過介紹。在這篇文章（簡稱為吳文⁷）中，吳先生簡略介紹了幾種文書，俄 Дх10839 是其中之一。吳文云：“鄭虔殘札，存 11 行半，書法甚佳”。

³關於鄭虔的經歷，本文基本依據王晚霞主編《鄭虔研究》，杭州：浙江古籍出版社，1990年。

⁴唐李肇《唐國史補》卷下《敘著名諸公》云：“開元日，通不以姓而可稱者，燕公、曲江、太尉、魯公。（中略）位卑而著名者，李北海、王江寧、李綰陶、鄭廣文、元魯山、蕭功曹、張長史、獨孤常州、杜工部、崔比部、梁補闕、韋蘇州、戴容州。”，《唐國史補因話錄》，中國文學參考資料小叢書第一輯本，上海：古典文學出版社，1957年，53頁。

⁵《（宋本）杜工部集》卷一有《醉時歌（贈廣文館博士鄭虔）》、《戲簡鄭廣文虔兼呈蘇司業源明》，卷二有《奉先劉少府新畫山水障歌》，卷三有《有懷台州鄭十八司戶虔》，卷七有《八哀詩·故著作郎貶台州司戶滎陽鄭公虔》，卷九有《陪鄭廣文遊何將軍山林十首》，卷十有《鄭駙馬池臺喜遇鄭廣文同飲》、《送鄭十八虔貶台州司戶傷其臨老陷賊之故闕為面別情見于詩》、《題鄭十八著作主人》，卷十二有《所思得台州鄭司戶虔消息》，卷十五有《存歿口號二首·其二》、《九日五首·其三》，南宋郭知達集注《新刊校定集注杜詩》卷二十七有《哭台州鄭司戶蘇少監》。

⁶參看胡可先《新出土〈鄭虔墓誌〉考論——兼及鄭虔與杜甫的關係》，載《杜甫研究學刊》2008年第1期，2008年。

⁷吳其昱《列寧格勒所藏敦煌寫本概況》，載《漢學研究》第4卷第2期，1986年。殘札錄文與箋證見該文77-80頁。

Дх10839 (尺寸：縱 29.2 厘米，橫 32.7 厘米) 載有兩首尺牘，全文如下⁸：

1. 昨日於一處見公鑄碑虔殊為
2. 精妙又知造 代國公主碑若
3. 事了得同東行要何可言虔
4. 於江外製三碑兼自書二在
5. 常州一在湖州便同舟往因
6. 鑄亦是小濟耳必當定決也
7. 鄭虔白 陳博士
8. 於一處得五紙榻書並是佳作
9. 上不多畜揚者所以不留足不
10. 比求真迹大多然未堂得佳
11. □□□使往所有異縱望分
12. □□□□必不_因墜(下關)

此殘札的受信人大概是第七行中提到的“陳博士”。不過，他和第一行的“公”、第九行的“足不”（吳文云：“「不」，疑為「下」之誤”）是不是同一人，尚難確定。

陳尚君先生對此殘札進行了專門研究，已經發表過一篇文章（這裡略稱陳文⁹），對前一札的內容作箋釋。從第一行與第二行的記述，陳先生以為“受信人必為善于鑄碑著名之人”。陳文、吳文對本人的研究很有啟發，關於前一首書札的內容，以下略作補箋。

關於第二行到第三行所言“又知造代國公主碑，（中略）要何可言”，吳文、陳文都指出代國公主是睿宗第四女（玄宗妹，下嫁鄭萬鈞），《代國

⁸圖版見俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所、俄羅斯科學出版社東方文學部、上海古籍出版社編《俄藏敦煌文獻》第 15 冊，上海：上海古籍出版社、莫斯科：俄羅斯科學出版社東方文學部，2000 年，卷首（擬題《鄭虔三碑記》），67 頁。該文書的錄文也見於朱鳳玉《〈俄藏敦煌文獻〉11-17 冊中之文學文獻敘錄（初稿）》，載冉雲華先生八秩華誕壽慶論文集編輯委員會主編《冉雲華先生八秩華誕壽慶論文集》，臺北：法光出版社，2003 年，98 頁。

⁹陳尚君《俄藏敦煌遺書中的鄭虔手札》，載同注〔2〕《漢唐文學與文獻論考》。

公主碑》即《大唐代國長公主碑¹⁰》（見《金石萃編》卷七十八）。陳先生還說，“殘札所云‘又知造《代國公主碑》，若事了，得同東行’，知即作于此碑開鑄後，歲事前，大致在該年十一月至十二月初這一時間內”，所以“可確定該札大致寫于開元二十二年（734）末”。

筆者按：陳說是。我們也可以推測元末鄭虔供職於殿中省（尚乘直長屬該省）、太常寺¹¹。

陳文云：“（除《鄭駙馬池臺喜遇廣文同飲》以外）杜甫天寶間尚有《奉陪鄭駙馬韋曲二首》、《鄭駙馬宅宴洞中》等詩¹²。此鄭駙馬是鄭潛曜，即鄭萬鈞與代國公主之子（見《新唐書》卷一九五《孝友傳》）。潛曜娶臨晉公主，為玄宗第五女，母即皇甫淑妃。杜甫另有《唐故德儀贈皇甫氏神道碑》，稱‘甫昔忝鄭莊之賓客，遊寶主之園林¹³’。今得鄭虔殘札，大致可推知鄭虔與鄭萬鈞父子之來往，不遲于開元中，杜甫與鄭潛曜關係密切，或即因鄭虔之故”。

筆者按：鄭萬鈞父子，家世不詳，但以滎陽為郡望，與鄭虔相同¹⁴。由《鄭駙馬池臺喜遇廣文同飲》云“重對秦簫發，俱過阮宅來”，《世說新語·任誕》云“阮仲容咸也，步兵居道南，諸阮居道北”可知，“阮宅”一詞，

¹⁰鄭萬鈞撰，男鄭聰書。碑尚在陝西蒲城，其末云：“開元廿二年十二月三日建”。

¹¹《鄭虔墓誌》云：“解褐補率更司主簿，二轉監門衛錄事參軍，三改尚乘直長，四除太常寺協律郎，五授左青道率府長史，六移廣文館博士，七遷著作郎。”，同注〔2〕《全唐文補遺》，249頁。《大唐故汾州崇儒府折衝滎陽鄭府君（仁穎）墓誌銘并序》（開元十五年）云：“從弟左監門錄事參軍虔撰。”，毛漢光撰，耿慧玲、郭長城助理《唐代墓誌銘彙編附考》第18冊，臺北：中央研究院歷史語言研究所，1994年，411頁；據唐封演《封氏聞見記》卷十《贊成》，天寶初，鄭虔已為協律郎。

¹²分別見於《（宋本）杜工部集》卷十、卷九。

¹³《（宋本）杜工部集》卷二十題為《唐故德儀贈淑妃皇甫氏神道碑》，作“甫忝鄭莊之賓客”。

¹⁴注〔13〕所舉《神道碑》云：“有女曰臨晉公主，出降代國長公主子滎陽鄭潛曜，官曰光祿卿，爵曰駙馬都尉。”；唐獨孤及《毘陵集》卷十七《鄭駙馬孝行記》云“特進駙馬都尉滎陽鄭潛曜，字某，睿宗外孫，玄宗之甥，代國長公主之才子也。（中略）公開元二十八年尚玄宗第十二女臨晉長公主。”，劉鵬、李桃校注，蔣寅審訂《毘陵集校注》，沈陽：遼海出版社，2007年，382-383頁；北宋李昉等編《太平廣記》卷九十七《異僧十一·和和》所引《紀聞錄》（北宋贊寧《宋高僧傳》卷十九《唐京師大安國寺和和傳》略同）云：“唐代國公主適滎陽鄭萬鈞，數年無子。（中略）公主遂娠，年初歲終，各誕一子。長曰潛曜，少曰晦明，皆美丈夫，博通有識焉。”，北京：人民文學出版社，1959年，647-648頁。

以阮籍（官步兵校尉）、阮咸（字仲容）叔姪喻鄭虔、鄭潛曜¹⁵。

關於第三行到第六行所言“虔於江外製三碑，兼自書，二在常州，一在湖州，便同舟往因鐫，亦是小濟耳”：陳文云：“鄭虔此札，係邀工鐫事的受書人同舟往江外（即江南）為己所作三碑鐫石而作”。

筆者按：在唐代，有的刻工從業範圍遍及全國，甚至海外。例如鑿真前五次渡海都失敗了，其中第二次東渡則是在天寶二年（743），其隨從人員包括了“鐫碑等工手¹⁶”。

關於第七行所言“陳博士”，陳文提到開元二十三年（735）二月楊宗撰《鄭謨墓誌銘¹⁷》（見《芒洛冢墓遺文四編》卷五），云：“（該誌）未署‘鐫工陳須達’，未知（陳博士）即其人否。誌出于洛陽，僅晚于《代國公主碑》二月。唯鐫工與博士，稱呼有所不一。姑且存疑。”

筆者按：鐫工、鐫碑等傳統稱謂之外，唐五代有刻石技藝的人也稱為“博士”。例如：神龍二年（706）刻《浮圖內造像》的田文遠自稱“造像博士”；後唐同光四年（926）刻《少林寺行鈞塔銘》（見《金石續編》卷十二）末云：“博士侯建鐫字¹⁸”。因此，殘札所云“陳博士”也可能是工匠。

從本節所述可以看出，此《鄭虔殘札》具有相當的價值。特別是其前半部分，為鄭虔的交遊情況以及唐代碑刻製作狀況的研究提供了寶貴的資料。因而已有學者注意到 Dlx10839 這一文書也就不足為怪了。

但是與此相反，該文書的後半部分一直不太引人注目。嚴格說來，我

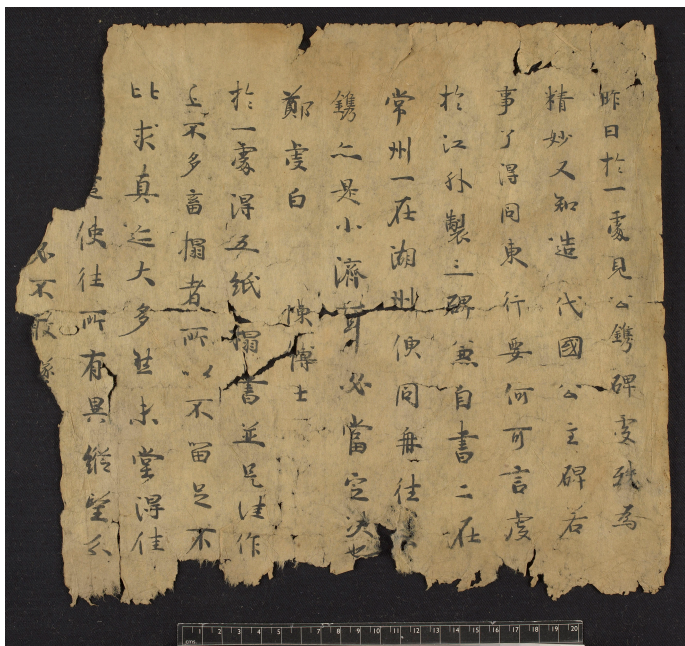
¹⁵據《鄭虔墓誌》，鄭虔曾祖道瑗（隋朗州司法參軍），祖懷節（唐澧州司馬、贈衛州刺史），父鏡忠（祕書郎、贈主客郎中、祕書少監），同注〔2〕《全唐文補遺》，249頁。參見唐盧時榮《大唐故滑州白馬縣尉鄭府君（忠佐，虔長子）墓誌銘并序》（貞元十二年），趙君平、趙文成編《河洛墓刻拾零》，北京：北京圖書館出版社，2007年，476頁。但鄭虔與鄭萬鈞父子之間的真正關係不能確知。

¹⁶日本淡海三船《唐大和上東征傳》云：“僧祥彥、道興、德清、榮叡、普照、思託等一十七人，玉作人、畫師、彫佛、刻繡、鑄寫、繡師、修文、鐫碑等工手都有八十五人，同駕一隻舟。天寶二載十二月，舉帆東下，到狼溝浦，被惡風飄浪擊，舟破，人總上岸。”，汪向榮校注，中外交通史籍叢刊本，北京：中華書局，1979年，51頁。

¹⁷石現藏河南省開封博物館，題為《唐故太中大夫使持節青州諸軍事青州刺史上柱國榮陽鄭公墓誌銘并序》，圖版見洛陽古代藝術館編、陳長安主編《隋唐五代墓誌匯編》洛陽卷第10冊，天津：天津古籍出版社，1991年，103頁。

¹⁸參見程章燦《石刻刻工研究》，上海：上海古籍出版社，2008年，52-53頁。

們並不清楚第二札是否為鄭虔所寫。但是，我認為這部分也有重要的參考價值。其內容將在下一節中分析。



圖：Dx10839《鄭虔殘札》

四《鄭虔殘札》後半淺釋

Dx10839 第十一行以下，殘缺不完，句讀難施，文義亦不明，可置而不論。其第八、第十行分別云：“於一處得五紙榻書，並是佳作”、“比求真迹大多，然未堂（嘗）得佳（下略）”。按：東晉末年，榻畫形式也已得到普及¹⁹。但既然說：“五紙榻書”，則毫無疑問鄭虔所得為墨跡，且（某人希望得到的）“真迹”也是書法作品。

¹⁹唐張彥遠《歷代名畫記》卷五《晉·顧愷之》引用東晉顧愷之《魏晉勝流畫讚》（疑是《論畫》之誤）論及榻畫之法，秦仲文、黃苗子點校，中國美術論著叢刊本，北京：人民美術出版社，1963年，117頁。

《鄭虔殘札》第九行云：“上不多畜搨者，所以不留足不（下）”。“足不（下）”兩字應連上抑屬下，不易確定，姑且這樣斷句。這裡“上”所指的是不是當時的皇帝（即玄宗），不太容易了解。但唐制：中央政府有“搨書手”之官職²⁰，另外也有印記鈐在搨本書畫上²¹。

從此看來，即使不是皇帝本身，這“上”字也很可能是指唐代宮廷。若是如此，我們能推測“上不多畜搨者”二句的意思是說中央官署的“搨書手”定額不多，因而“足下”（或許是“陳博士”）不能被各機構聘用。

若上述推測不誤，根據此殘札的後半部分，我們可以推斷如下：（1）唐代畫論有“御府搨本”、“官搨”之名²²，而且歷代朝廷都推行“搨書”事業（詳下節）。但這封信的受信人並非中央機構的“搨書手”（地方官署有無“搨書手”，今不詳），而是民間的搨書人。如果“足下”屬下文，“上不多畜搨者，所以不留”就是說：政府不留心收集“搨者”，因此不收藏。如此則（1）不妥，但“五紙搨書”無疑是民間的物品。（2）鄭虔以他所得“搨書”為“佳作”。與此同時，書法的“真迹”作品，對人們來說是可望而不可得的。

那麼，何謂“搨（榻）書”？這是複製書跡的方法之一，自不待言，下面想要對唐以前的“搨書”做一些論述。

²⁰ 《唐六典》卷八《門下省·弘文館學士》云：“搨書手三人（貞觀二十三年置。龍朔三年，館內法書九百四十九卷並裝進，其搨書停。神龍元年又置）。”，卷九《集賢殿書院》云：“搨書手六人（乾元殿初置二人，開元十四年奏加至六人。取人及有官同直院）。”，卷二十六《太子左春坊·崇文館》云：“搨書手二人。”，見陳仲夫點校本，北京：中華書局，1992年，255、280、656頁。

²¹ 《歷代名畫記》卷三《敘古今公私印記》云：“更有元和之印，恐是官印，多印搨本書畫。”，同注〔19〕，42頁。

²² 《歷代名畫記》卷二《論畫體工用榻寫》云：“好事家宜置宣紙百幅，用法蠟之，以備摹寫（顧愷之有摹榻妙法）。古時好搨畫，十得七八，不失神彩筆蹤，亦有御府搨本，謂之官搨。國朝內庫、翰林、集賢、秘閣，搨寫不輟。承平之時，此道甚行。艱難之後，斯事漸廢。故有非常好本，搨得之者，所宜寶之，既可希其真蹤，又得留為證驗。”，同注〔19〕，28頁。引文中的“艱難”應該是指安史之亂（755-763）。

五 唐以前的“搨書”

傳統的複製墨跡的方式，大致分為二種，曰臨與摹（搨）²³。“搨”即影摹，也就是把薄紙覆在書畫上面進行描摹²⁴。搨書之法，有硬黃（摹、紙摹）²⁵、響搨²⁶、雙鉤填墨（簡稱鉤填）。雙鉤填墨法為：以透明或半透明之紙覆於原跡之上，先用一筆勾出其字之邊廓，然後逐筆填滿，所謂雙鉤其廓（邊），墨填廓內。這兩段程序分別稱為雙鉤、填墨（亦謂郭填）²⁷。

梁陶弘景（456-536）主張“至於（道）符無大小，故宜皆應郭填也²⁸”。他也曾用此法“摹”古人墨跡，進獻給梁武帝²⁹，還希望“摹填”內府的“鍾（絲書）迹³⁰”。

²³關於古代複製書跡的方法，詳見中田勇次郎《古法書の真蹟本と臨摹本》，載氏著《中田勇次郎著作集》第1卷，東京：二玄社，1984年。

²⁴“搨”通“拓”（取拓），亦謂模搨。例如：北宋郭忠恕《汗簡》卷七《略敘》引唐張從申《敘季札墓碑文》云：“夫子篆季子墓凡十字臣曰鳴庠有吳延陵季子之墓，歷代緜遠，其文殘缺，人勞應命，其石湮沒。在昔開元中，玄宗敕股仲雍模搨其本，尚可得而傳者。暨大曆十四年己未歲，潤州刺史蘭陵蕭定重刊于石，憲章遺範，以永將來。吳郡張從申記。”黃錫全《汗簡注釋》，武漢大學學術叢書本，武漢：武漢大學出版社，1990年，汗簡書目注釋55-56、本文525頁。“模搨”，他書作“摹刻”。但在唐以前，“搨”的意思大多和影摹是一樣的。

²⁵北宋米芾《書史》云：“又有唐摹右軍帖，雙鉤蠟紙摹，末後一帖，是奉橘三百顆，霜未降，未可多得。”，吳曉琴、湯勤福整理，全宋筆記第二編四，鄭州：大象出版社，2006年，231頁。除《唐摹右軍帖》（今稱《奉橘帖》，現藏於臺北故宮博物館）之外，《書史》較多論及蠟紙摹（即硬黃）的實例，可參見。

²⁶唐何延之《蘭亭記》云：“（蕭）翼曰，何帖。辯才曰，蘭亭。翼佯笑曰，數經亂離，真跡豈在，必是響搨偽作耳。（中略）及翼到，師自於屋梁上檻內出之。翼見訖，故駁瑕指額曰，果是響搨書也。”，見唐張彥遠《法書要錄》卷三，增補津逮秘書本，京都：中文出版社，1980年，2886-2887頁。按：何延之，開元中均州刺史。關於硬黃、響搨（搨），參見注〔62〕、〔64〕。

²⁷參見池田溫《拓本と雙鉤填墨》，載東野治之、佐藤信編《古代多胡碑と東アジア》，東京：山川出版社，2005年，151-158頁。

²⁸陶弘景《真誥》卷二十《翼真檢第二》注云：“時人今知摹二王法書，而永不悟摹真經。經正起隱居手爾，亦不必皆須郭填，但一筆就畫，勢力殆不異真。至於符無大小，故宜皆應郭填也。”，吉川忠夫、麥谷邦夫編，朱越利譯《真誥校註》，海外道教學譯叢本，北京：中國社會科學出版社，2006年，580頁。參見陳寅恪《天師道與濱海地域之關係》，載氏著《金明館叢稿初編》，陳寅恪文集之二，上海：上海古籍出版社，1980年，35-37頁。

²⁹陶弘景《與梁武帝論書啟·其三》云：“二卷中有雜迹，謹疏注如別，恐未允愚衷。并竊所摹者，亦以上呈。近十餘日，情慮悚悸，無寧涉事，遂至淹替，不宜復待填畢，餘條並非用，惟叔夜、威輦二篇，是經書體式，追以單郭為恨。”，《法書要錄》卷二，同注〔26〕，2851頁。按：叔夜、威輦指曹魏嵇康、西晉董京。

³⁰《與梁武帝論書啟·其四》云：“世論咸云，江東無復鍾迹，常以歎息。比日矜望，中

北朝的情況好像跟南朝差不多。因為東魏武定年間（543-550），王松年以崔潛所書草本贈予黃門郎崔季舒，“人多摹搨之³¹”。據此可知，南北朝後期出現了搨書的形式。

到了唐代，在書論、筆記裡，對“搨書”不乏記述。其中最有名的是唐太宗（秦王）下令摹寫王羲之真跡，分賜皇族、功臣的故事。唐褚遂良（596-658）³²、武平一（開元末卒）³³、何延之³⁴、劉餗（盛唐人）³⁵、北宋錢易（968-1026）³⁶對此言之甚詳。

此後，唐皇室還留心於書法。就中開元（713-741）後期，玄宗令集賢院搨寫漢魏古蹟，賜與諸王。詳細情況見於唐韋述（?-757）³⁷、徐浩

原廓清，太丘之碑，可就摹採。今論旨云，真迹雖少，可得而推。是猶有存者，不審可復幾字。既無出見理，冒願得工人摹填數行，脫蒙見此，實為過幸。”，見《法書要錄》卷二，同注〔26〕，2852-2853頁。

³¹北齊魏收《魏書》卷二十四《崔玄伯傳》云：“始玄伯父潛為兄渾誅手筆草本，延昌初，著作佐郎王遵業買書於市而遇得之。計誅至今，將二百載，寶其書迹，深藏祕之。武定中，遵業子松年以遺黃門郎崔季舒，人多摹搨之。左光祿大夫姚元標以工書知名於時，見潛書，謂為過於已也。”，北京：中華書局，1974年，624頁。按：崔玄伯，名宏，北魏人。

³²褚遂良《搨本樂毅論記》云：“貞觀十三年四月九日，奉敕內出樂毅論，是王右軍真跡，令將仕郎直弘文館馮承素模寫，賜司空趙國公長孫無忌、開府儀同三司尚書左僕射梁國公房玄齡、特進尚書左僕射申國公高士廉、吏部尚書陳國公侯君集、特進鄭國公魏徵、侍中護軍安德郡開國公楊師道等六人。於是在外乃有六本，並筆勢精妙，備盡楷則，褚遂良記。”，《法書要錄》卷三，同注〔26〕，2888頁。

³³武平一《徐氏法書記》云：“嘗令搨書人湯普徹等搨蘭亭，賜梁公房玄齡已下八人。普徹竊搨以出，故在外傳之。及太宗晏駕，本入玄宮。至高宗，又敕馮承素、諸葛貞真樂毅論及雜帖數本，賜長孫無忌等六人，在外方有。洎大聖天后御極也，尤為寶嗇。平一齟齬之歲，見宮中，切觀先后閱法書數軸，將搨以賜藩邸。”，《法書要錄》卷三，同注〔26〕，2880頁。

³⁴《蘭亭記》云：“帝命供奉搨書人趙模、韓道政、馮承素、諸葛貞等四人，各搨數本，以賜皇太子諸王近臣。（中略）今趙模等所搨，在者，一本尚直錢數萬也。人間本亦稀少，代之珍寶，難可再見。”，《法書要錄》卷三，同注〔26〕，2887-2888頁。

³⁵劉餗《（隋唐）嘉話》：“蘭亭序，梁亂出在外。陳天嘉中，為僧智永所得，至太建中，獻之宣帝。隋平陳，因獻晉王。王不之寶，僧果從帝借搨僧果從帝借搨，及登極，終不從索。果師死後，弟子辯才得之。太宗為秦王，因見搨本驚喜，乃貴價市大王書蘭亭，終不至。後知在辯才處，使蕭翼取得之。武德四年入秦府，貞觀十年乃搨十本以賜近臣，後褚遂良諂秘於昭陵。”，見南宋趙彥衛《雲麓漫鈔》卷六，傅根清點校，唐宋史料筆記叢刊本，北京：中華書局，1996年，105頁。

³⁶錢易《南部新書·丁》：“蘭亭者，武德四年歐陽詢就越訪求得之，始入秦王府。麻道嵩奉教搨兩本，一送辯才，一王自收。嵩私搨一本。（中略）至貞觀二十三年，褚遂良請入昭陵。後但得其摹本耳。”，黃壽成點校，唐宋史料筆記叢刊本，北京：中華書局，2002年，50頁。

³⁷韋述《敘書錄》云：“開元十六年五月，內出二王真跡及張芝，張昶等真跡，總一百五十卷，付集賢院，令集字搨進。尋且依文，搨兩本進內，分賜諸王。（中略）長安、神龍之際，

(703-782)³⁸、胡璩（文宗、武宗時人）³⁹的論著。

不止朝廷，民間也有搨書。據張懷瓘（-760-）⁴⁰、寶泉（-787-）、寶蒙（景兄）⁴¹所述，當時“（張融）搨本大行于世”，人們“傳搨”西晉楊肇的“草書”。鄭虔與他們都是盛唐時人。綜合本節所論，我們可以說，“五紙搨書”之語見於《鄭虔殘札》，也就不足為奇了。

六 “搨書”的實例

如上節所述，“搨書”這種方式在唐代是相當普遍的。其流行的最重要的原因是學書人的要求。初唐孫過庭（648-703）已經說：“右軍（王羲之）之書”的“摹搨日廣，研習歲滋⁴²”。盛唐張懷瓘也以為：“若恐損污真跡，搨本亦可師模⁴³”。要之，書跡的“搨本”被看作字帖範本。

太平、安樂公主奏借（內府書跡）出外搨寫，樂毅論，因此遂失所在。”，《法書要錄》卷四，同注〔26〕，2904頁。

³⁸徐浩《古蹟記》云：“至（開元）十七年出（二王真跡）付集賢院，搨二十本，賜皇太子、諸王學。（中略）（開元十九年）其（二王）書選出令集賢院搨賜太子以下。及潼關失守，內庫法書皆散失。”，《法書要錄》卷三，同注〔26〕，2883-2884頁。按：天寶十五載（756）六月，安祿山攻破“潼關”。

³⁹胡璩《譚資錄》云：“開元十六年五月，內出二王真跡及張芝、張昶等書，總一百六十卷，付集賢院，令集字搨兩本進，賜諸王。其書皆是貞觀中太宗令魏徵、虞世南、褚遂良等定其真偽。右軍之跡，凡得真行二百九十紙，裝為七十卷，草書二千紙，裝為八十卷。（中略）樂毅論，長安中太平公主奏借出外搨寫。”，見《太平廣記》卷二百九《書四·雜編·二王真跡》，同注〔14〕，1601-1602頁。可參見北宋王溥《唐會要》卷三十五《書法》。

⁴⁰張懷瓘《書斷中·妙品·南齊張融》云：“或有鑑不至深，見其有古風，多誤寶之，以為張伯英書也，而搨本大行于世。”，《法書要錄》卷八，同注〔26〕，2961頁。

⁴¹寶泉撰，寶蒙注《述書賦上·楊肇》云：“季初則隱姓名，展纖勁。寫搨共傳，賞能之（一作交）盛。猶鋸牙鉤爪，超越陷狎。（楊肇字季初，滎陽人。晉荊州刺史。今見草書一紙，十行。有古署榜，無姓名。今共傳搨之。），《法書要錄》卷五，同注〔26〕，2910頁。

⁴²孫過庭《書譜》云：“然今之所陳，務裨學者。但右軍之書，代多稱習，良可據為宗匠，取立指歸。豈唯會古通今，亦乃情深調合。致使摹搨日廣，研習歲滋，先後著名，多從散落，歷代孤紹，非其效歟。”，朱建新箋證《孫過庭書譜箋證》，上海：上海古籍出版社，1982年，78頁。

⁴³張懷瓘《六體書論》云：“夫好事之人，廣求名書，以教其子，察其所入，便遣習之，亦如商人，以停百貨，色目既眾，必有善於人者，所貴多本，本立道生，貧者咨嗟，必不能遂。伏惟陛下有萬國之富，而同庶人之貧，天府妙書，寶惜何用。若恐損污真跡，搨本亦可師模。”，南宋陳思輯《書苑菁華》卷十二《書論下》，中華再造善本唐宋編子部本，北京：北京圖書館出版社，2003年。

論傳世的唐摹本，當推《喪亂》和《孔侍中》兩帖。日本正倉院的《國家珍寶帳》云：

平城宮御宇 後太上天皇禮聘藤
原皇后之日相贈信幣之物一箱封
書法廿卷

搨晉右將軍王羲之草書卷第一 廿五行 黃紙 紫軸 軸 紺綾標 綉帶（下略）⁴⁴

前引《珍寶帳》中的《天平勝寶八歲六月二十一日獻物帳》是日本天平勝寶八年（756）六月二十一日日本皇室給奈良東大寺供奉珍寶的清單。學術界大都認為《喪亂帖》與《孔侍中帖》⁴⁵這兩個初唐的摹本也是此《獻物帳》所錄“（搨王羲之）書法廿卷”的一部分。

用光學顯微鏡對《喪亂帖》與《孔侍中帖》加以鑒定，不難以認出摹搨痕跡，但同時也可想見摹手水平之高⁴⁶。有學者認為兩帖搨摹得極為細緻，不但再現了筆跡的形狀，還再現了原本的破損情況⁴⁷。

在梁代，皇室所藏古墨跡的搨書被陶弘景批評為“兼多漫抹，於摹處難復委曲⁴⁸”。《喪亂》、《孔侍中》二帖的質量則表明，經過一百多年，唐人的搨書法已達到相當高的水準。鄭虔也以“五紙榻書”為“佳作”。他對“榻書”不低的評價背後一定存在著如此高水準。

⁴⁴宮內廳藏版，正倉院事務所編《正倉院寶物 3 北倉 III》，東京：每日新聞社，1995年，13頁。

⁴⁵現分別藏於宮內廳三ノ丸尚藏館、財團法人前田育德會。彩色圖版見於東京國立博物館、朝日新聞社編《書の至寶 日本と中國》，東京：朝日新聞社，2006年，68-70頁。

⁴⁶伊東卓治《書蹟》，載東京國立文化財研究所 光學研究班《光學的方法による古美術品の研究 增補版》，東京：吉川弘文館，1984年，213-216頁。

⁴⁷中田勇次郎《王書の搨摹本および臨本》，載氏著《中田勇次郎著作集》第2卷，東京：二玄社，1984年，351-357頁。

⁴⁸《與梁武帝論書啟·其三》云：“二十四卷今見有二十一條在。按此卷是右軍書者，惟有十一條，並非甚合迹，兼多漫抹，於摹處難復委曲。”，《法書要錄》卷二，同注〔26〕，2851頁。

七 “搨書” 和 “真迹”

實際上與前兩節所引文獻相反，歷來論者對“搨書”頗有微詞。陶弘景說，他“郭摹所得”只能寫“字形”，沒有“用筆迹勢⁴⁹”。到了中唐，竇泉作《述書賦》，完全不以“世所傳搨者”為依據⁵⁰，竇蒙也批判張從申的書法“闕其真迹妙”，因為“意多搨書⁵¹”。

開元、天寶時期的收藏家之中，最著名的當推鍾紹京（659-746）、韋述（官工部侍郎）。前者喜歡“書畫古跡”，收集“二王及褚遂良書⁵²”。後者也收藏“魏晉已來草隸真跡⁵³”。

當然有“古跡”、“真跡”是再好不過了。第三節所引《鄭虔殘札》也區分了“搨書”和“真迹”。我認為，此種見解跟“搨書”絕不及“真迹”這樣觀念還流行於世有密切的關係。

但另一方面，“真迹”越來越少也是理所當然的。即使是達官顯要，王羲之書跡當時也是極難得到的⁵⁴。何況一般士人與真正的“古跡”無緣，不得不以“搨書”為鑑賞對象和學書範本。

就鄭虔而言，看到皇宮典藏文物的確有門路，因為他做過京官（見第二節），且其妻族琅琊王氏屬顯宦世族之家⁵⁵。萬歲通天二年（697），王方

⁴⁹《與梁武帝論書啟·其五》云：“臣比郭摹所得，雖粗寫字形，而無復其用筆迹勢。”，《法書要錄》卷二，同注 [26]，2853 頁。

⁵⁰《述書賦上》云：“其所不觀，空居名額，并世所傳搨者，不敢憑推，一皆略焉。”，《法書要錄》卷五，同注 [26]，2908-2909 頁。

⁵¹《述書賦下·張從申》注云：“從申，志業精絕，工正行書。握管用筆，其於結密，近古所少。恨於歷覽不多，聞見遂寡，右軍之外，一步不窺，意多搨書，闕其真迹妙也。”，《法書要錄》卷六，同注 [26]，2925 頁。按：張從申，盛中唐間人，參見注 [24]。

⁵²《述書賦下·鍾紹京》注云：“鍾紹京，南康人，中書令、光祿大夫，聚寶捐金，川流海納。”，《法書要錄》卷六，同注 [26]，2927 頁；後晉劉昫等《舊唐書》卷九十七《鍾紹京傳》云：“紹京雅好書畫古跡，聚二王及褚遂良書至數百卷。”，北京：中華書局，1975 年，3042 頁。

⁵³《舊唐書》卷一百二《韋述傳》云：“家聚書二萬卷，皆自校定鉛槧，雖御府不逮也。兼古今朝臣圖，歷代知名人畫，魏晉已來草隸真跡數百卷，古碑、古器、藥方、格式、錢譜、璽譜之類，當代名公尺題，無不畢備。”，同注 [52]，3184 頁。

⁵⁴張懷瓘《書估》云：“近日有鍾尚書紹京，亦為好事，不惜大費，破產求書，計用數百萬錢，惟市得右軍行書五紙，不能致真書一字。”，《法書要錄》卷四，140 頁。按：“真書”指楷書。

⁵⁵《鄭虔墓誌》云：“夫人琅琊王氏，皇鳳閣侍郎平章事方慶之孫，皇侍御史峻之女。”，同

慶把累代書跡奉獻給武則天。武則天令人模寫留於宮中，原本歸還王氏。此搨摹本即《萬歲通天帖》，僅存一卷，今藏於遼寧省博物館，其中包括二王（王羲之、王獻之）的尺牘⁵⁶。王氏如此富於收藏，鄭虔能見到他們收藏得“真迹”，也並不意外。

雖然如此，但鄭虔基本上是個寒士，其詩書畫，後稱“三絕⁵⁷”。所以我們不難想像，“搨本”在他學習書藝過程中起到了積極的影響和作用。如果是這樣，他對“搨書”有較高的評價（前引《鄭虔殘札》第八行言：“一處得五紙搨書，並是佳作”，見第三、第四兩節）是可以理解的。

這裡要附帶說一下，盛唐時期是中國文物史上的一個重要時期。大家都知道經過安史之亂，不論朝廷⁵⁸或個人⁵⁹所藏書畫，散佚都十分嚴重。到了晚唐，“漢魏三國，名蹤已絕於代⁶⁰”。

盛唐以前，內府書畫，收藏甚富。其搨寫不輟的根本目的僅限於賜品的製作（見第五節）和文物的保存。《殘札》第九行言“上不多畜搨者”，說政府不需要很多搨書（者），雖不中亦不遠矣。

注 [2] 《全唐文補遺》，249 頁。鄭虔有《大唐故右千牛衛中郎將王府君（暉，方慶第六子）墓誌銘并序》（開元十四年二月），現藏千唐誌齋博物館，見中國文物研究所、千唐誌齋博物館編《新中國出土墓誌·河南 [叁] 千唐誌齋 [壹]》上冊，北京：文物出版社，2008 年，107 頁，同書下冊，80-81 頁。

⁵⁶ 啟功《〈唐摹萬歲通天帖〉考》，載氏著《啟功叢稿 論文卷》，北京：中華書局，1999 年。現存《通天帖》的彩色圖版見於《清宮散佚國寶特集》編輯委員會編《清宮散佚國寶特集 書法卷》，北京：中華書局，2004 年，21-32 頁。

⁵⁷ 《太平廣記》卷二百八《書三·鄭廣文》所引後梁李綽《尚書故實》云：“鄭虔任廣文博士，學書而病無紙，知慈恩寺有柿葉數間屋，遂借僧房居止，日取紅葉學書，歲久殆遍。後自寫所製詩并畫，同為一卷封進，玄宗御筆書其尾曰，鄭虔三絕。”，同注 [14]，1595 頁。鄭虔的困窮又見注 [5] 所舉杜詩，可參看。《鄭虔墓誌》又云：“又工於草隸，善於丹青，明於陰陽，邃於筭術。百家諸子，如指掌焉。家國以為一寶，朝野謂之三絕。”，同注 [2] 《全唐文補遺》，249 頁。

⁵⁸ 《述書賦上》云：“洎于我唐天寶末，國有寇難，府庫傾覆，散墜閭閻。而興復京都，所可徵購，得其歸者蓋寡矣。”，《法書要錄》卷五，同注 [26]，173 頁。可參看注 [38]。

⁵⁹ 《舊唐書》卷一百二《韋述傳》云：“及祿山之亂，兩京陷賊，玄宗幸蜀，述抱國史藏於南山，經籍資產，焚剽殆盡。”，同注 [52]，3184 頁。按：“經籍資產”裡有“魏晉已來草隸真跡數百卷”，見注 [53]。

⁶⁰ 《歷代名畫記》卷二《論名價品第》云：“張子曰，書畫道殊，不可渾詰。書即約字以言價，畫則無涯以定名。況漢魏三國，名蹤已絕於代。今人貴耳賤目，罕能詳鑒。若傳授不昧，其物猶存，則為有國有家之重寶。”，同注 [19]，29 頁。按：“張子”為張彥遠(815?-875?)。

像鄭虔這樣一般士人的情況，則與此截然不同。開元後期，他們“求真迹大多，然未堂（嘗）得佳”（《鄭虔殘札》第十行）。由此可見，對安史之亂以前的士人而言，古法書的搨本已經成為“真迹”的重要替代。從這個意義上說，《殘札》後半部的寥寥數語，實能稍補傳世文獻之闕。

八 小結

宋代文獻中也有關於“搨書”的議論。最顯著之例為北宋米芾（1051-1107）⁶¹、黃伯思（1073-1112）⁶²、南宋姜夔（1155?-1221?）⁶³、張世南（寧宗、理宗間人）⁶⁴的文章。他們都要求分清臨、摹（搨書）。

王羲之墨跡摹本八世紀中葉傳至日本（詳第七節），而後搨書技法可能在宮廷中得到普及⁶⁵。日僧空海作於日本弘仁三年（812）的上表中有“跣

⁶¹《書史》云：“畫可摹，書可臨，而不可摹。”，同注 [25]，259 頁。

⁶²黃伯思《東觀餘論》卷上《論臨摹二灋》云：“世人多不曉臨摹之別，臨謂以紙在古帖旁，觀其形勢而學之，若臨淵之臨，故謂之臨。摹謂以薄紙覆古帖上，隨其細大而搨之，若摹畫之摹，故謂之摹。又有以厚紙覆帖上，就明牖景而摹之，又謂之響搨焉。臨之與摹，二者迥殊，不可亂也。”，《宋本東觀餘論》，北京：中華書局，1988 年，139 頁。

⁶³姜夔《續書譜·臨》云：“摹書最易，唐太宗云，臥王濛於紙中，坐徐偃於筆下，可以唾蕭子雲。唯初學書者不得不摹，亦以節度其手，易於成就。皆須是古人名筆，置之几案，懸之坐右，朝夕諦觀，思其運筆之理，然後可以摹臨。其次雙鉤蠟本，須精意摹榻，迺不失位置之美耳。臨書易失古人位置，而多得古人筆意，摹書易得古人位置，而多失古人筆意。臨書易進，摹書易忘，經意與不經意也。夫臨摹之際，毫髮失真，則神情頓異，所貴詳謹。世所有蘭亭，何翅數百本，而定武為最佳。然定武本有數樣，今取諸本參之，其位置、長短、小大，無一不同，而肥瘠、剛柔、工拙要妙之處，如人之面，無有同者。以此知定武雖石刻，又未必得真蹟之風神矣。字書全以風神超邁為主，刻之金石，其可苟哉。雙鉤之法，須得墨暈不出字外，或郭填其內，或朱其背，正得肥瘦之本體。雖然，尤貴於瘦，使工人刻之，又從而刮治之，則瘦者亦變為肥矣。或云雙鉤時須倒置之，則亦無容私意於其間。誠使下本明，上紙薄，倒鉤何害。若下本晦，上紙厚，卻須能書者為之，發其筆意可也。夫鋒銳圭角，字之精神，大抵雙鉤多失，此又須朱其背時，稍致意焉。”，南宋左圭輯，百川學海辛集本，武進陶氏涉園用宋咸淳版景刊，1927 年。

⁶⁴張世南《游宦紀聞》卷五云：“辨博書畫古器，前輩蓋嘗著書矣。其間有論議而未詳明者，如臨、摹、硬黃、響榻是。四者各有其說。今人皆謂臨、摹為一體，殊不知臨之與摹，迥然不同。臨謂置紙在傍，觀其大小、濃淡、形勢而學之，若臨淵之臨。摹謂以薄紙覆上，隨其曲折宛轉用筆曰摹。硬黃謂置紙熟熨斗上，以黃蠟塗勻，儼如枕角，毫釐必見。響榻謂以紙覆其上，就明窗牖間，映光摹之。”，張茂鵬點校，唐宋史料筆記叢刊本，北京：中華書局，40 頁。

⁶⁵一九八八年，日本平城京（八世紀的都城，現奈良市）遺址二條大路南方，發掘出三萬五

書臨書之式”（鬪，當作擗）一語⁶⁶。由此可知，二者在九世紀初就有了區別。然而，宋人大都“謂臨、摹為一體”，其原因有兩層：

第一是中國自古以來，就有形似到底不如寫意這個觀念。姜夔說：（臨書）“多得古人筆意，摹書易得古人位置”，“唯初學書者不得不摹”，即清楚地說明了擗書不過是初學門徑，不必加以重視。

第二是宋代以降法帖流行於世。在此形式發明以後，墨跡可以被大量複製。伴隨其技術發展，擗書、廓填逐漸衰微，“硬黃、響榻”為何物不必說，世人終於“不知臨之與摹，迥然不同”。總而言之，唐宋人對擗書的態度各異。為瞭解中國藝術觀念的變化，這個問題還需要作進一步探討。

鄭虔生於唐代前期，以書法著稱一世。他的尺牘涉及到書法（“鐫碑”等等）是與其相稱的。除有關鄭虔的行跡以外，《鄭虔殘札》後半部的內容還為理解盛唐時期的擗書，提供了珍稀的資料。雖然是斷簡殘編，但《殘札》的價值不可忽視。小文雖已理清了其中的一些頭緒，但對該札的細節尚存疑問，還有必要進行一步的研究和論證。

千多片木簡。木簡出處可能是奈良時代的皇族長屋王（684?-729）邸遺址。木簡裡寫有“書法模人”的字樣。該木簡的圖版見於奈良國立文化財研究所編《平城京木簡 一 長屋王木簡 一 圖版》，奈良：奈良國立文化財研究所，1995年，60-61頁。此“書法模人”或許是“擗書手”的近義詞。參見東野治之《書の古代史》，東京：岩波書店，1994年，94-95頁。

⁶⁶空海《遍照發揮性靈集》卷四《奉獻筆表》云：“自外八分小書之樣，臨書之式，雖未見作，得具足口授耳。”，弘法大師空海全集編輯委員會編《弘法大師空海全集》第6卷，東京：筑摩書房，1984年，741頁。

A Study on the Dunhuang manuscript 卍x10839

“Zheng Qian Canzha 鄭虔殘札”: About *tashu* 搨書 and *zhenji* 真迹

NAGATA Tomoyuki

The Dunhuang text 卍x10839 from the Russian collection comprises two letters written by Zheng Qian 鄭虔 (691-759). Zheng was a famous scholar and calligrapher of the high Tang Dynasty. The fragment contains a few interesting descriptions. For example, the second letter says: “there is no necessity for the government to employ many calligraphic copyists (上不多畜搨者)”. However, in this same letter, “five sheets of *tashu* (五紙搨書)” gets a high appraisal. “Ta (搨)” means to trace paintings and writings. As a reproduction method of “the genuine works (真迹)”, it reached a considerable level in medieval China. After the An Shi rebellion (安史之亂), the handwriting of famous artists increasingly disappeared. Actually, *tashu* was already the main object of study, and non-upper class literati (such as Zheng Qian) appreciated old calligraphy before this. This is evident from Zheng’s letters and other materials.

Дx09331 唐律寫本殘片小考

辻正博

2009年9月，在俄羅斯科學院東方文獻研究所舉辦的“敦煌學：第二個百年的研究視角與論題”國際學術會議上，筆者曾以《俄羅斯科學院東方文獻研究所藏《唐名例律》殘卷淺析——以Дx08467的考證為主》為題做過報告。在這份報告中指出Дx08467屬於《唐名例律》殘卷，並提示了與Дx01391殘片剛好可以綴合的事實。在論證過程中，涉及到的參考資料包括Дx09331殘片。

會議結束之後，承蒙研究所波波娃（I. Popova）所長的盛情厚意，在研究所閱覽室裏，使我有機會對報告中涉及的唐律寫本實物得以一瞥（圖版1）。那次，關於Дx09331殘片，讓我有新發現。發現寫本背面上居然蓋有“官印”（圖版2）。

1. 關於 Дx09331

(1) Дx09331 正面

史睿先生已論證 Дx09331 屬於《唐斷獄律》殘片¹。其釋文如下：

（前殘）

- | | | |
|---|---|--------|
| 1 |] | 之親故爲囚 |
| 2 |] | 煞之者各依本 |
| 3 |] | 雇倩及辭未 |

¹史睿《新發現的敦煌吐魯番唐律、唐格殘片研究》，《出土文獻研究》8，上海古籍出版社，2007年，213-214頁。

4] 至死者加役

5] 祖父母父母

…………… (紙縫) ……………

(後殘)

殘片規格 11.5 (縱) × 10.6 (橫) cm, 有使用烏絲欄格的上等麻紙², 其書寫風格則具備了楷書的特徵。紙縫規格極小, 約 0.2cm。可以斷定其做工相當精細。

寫本殘片上記錄的文字, 與被認為《律附音義》的開元 25 年 (737) 律的內容一致。史睿先生推測其寫本的格式為 1 行 14 至 15 字。

(2) Дx09331 背面

背面的紙縫上面有印章 (圖版 3)。印文雖不太鮮明, 但可以辨認出是

] 州□

] 之印

關於 Дx09331, 《俄藏敦煌文獻》第 14 冊 (上海古籍出版社, 2000 年) 只收錄了 (151 頁下端) 其正面部分的黑白照片, 並沒收錄其背面的印³。2009 年 9 月若沒有親眼確認實物, 其紙背上的朱印, 恐怕無從知道。對東方文獻研究所及波波娃所長給予的大力協助, 在此表示由衷的感謝!

敦煌、吐魯番出土文書中發現的官印是方形, 其一邊規格約為 5.2 至 5.4cm。Дx09331 背面印文文字規格為:

州: (無法測定)

之: 縱 1.4cm, 橫 2.2cm

印: 縱 1.0cm, 橫 2.1cm

如果, 考慮到上述因素, 印文應該是“□州□/□□之印”, 進一步推測的話, 應該是“某州都/督府之印”。

²紙的纖維具有良好的叩解度, 簾紋並不明顯。可以推測是朝廷提供的書寫用紙。

³“東洋文庫所收聖彼得堡所藏敦煌等文獻縮微膠卷 (中文)”中, 並沒收錄 Дx09331 殘片的背面照片。

2. 蓋有官印的唐代法典寫本

到目前為止（包括 Dlx09331），在敦煌、吐魯番發現的唐代法典寫本有：

律 12 件

律疏 8 件

令 2 件

格 6 件

式 1 件

事類 2 件

共計 31 件（其中可以綴合的總共一例。請參閱《表 1》）。但是，其中蓋有官印的只有《表 2》中列出的 7 件而已（律 2 件、律疏 1 件、令 2 件、格 2 件）。也就是說，在敦煌、吐魯番發現的法典寫本中，蓋有官印的非常稀少。尤其律、律疏的寫本中更是少之又少。這次發現 Dlx09331 殘片是蓋有官印的唐律寫本，其意義非常重大。

表 2 蓋有官印的敦煌吐魯番出土唐代法典寫本一覽

種別	文書號碼	內容	官印	蓋印位置	紙背
律	大谷 8098	擅興律 9-10	西州都督府之印	紙表	無文字
	Dlx09331	斷獄律 3	□州都督府之印	紙背（紙縫）	無文字
律疏	73TAM532: 1/1-1、1/1-2	名例律疏 55-56	西州都督府之印	紙表（紙縫）	無文字
令	P.4634	東宮諸府職員令（永徽令）	涼州都督府之印	紙表（紙縫及訂正箇所）	《二入四行論》
	P.2819	公式令（開元 7 年 (719) 令）	涼州都督府印	紙背（紙縫）	王績《東臯集》
格	P.4745	吏部格？	涼州都督府印？	紙背（紙縫）	禪籍（觀心論）
	P.4978	兵部選格？	……之印	紙背（紙縫）	「王道祭楊筠文」等

3. 關於唐代法典寫本中官印的若干考察

(1) 《職員令》殘卷上的官印

法典寫本上的官印，說明此寫本帶有官方性質。並且，印有官印的法

典寫本具有“公文”的性質。

在前面提及的法典寫本中，《職員令》殘卷一一記錄參與令的刪定及書寫・校正的人物一事，諸多研究者很早就開始關注。寫本的發現地點是敦煌（沙州），官印的印文是“涼州都督府之印”。並且，寫本末尾記錄了擔任“沙州寫律令典”一職的趙元簡為“初校”，同樣擔任“典”一職的田懷悟記錄為“再校”，最後擔任“涼州法曹參軍”的王義親手簽名。綜合考慮這些因素，可以認為此寫本是沙州的“寫律令典”親自赴涼州書寫，並有擔任監督一職的涼州法曹參軍按上官印的⁴。

（2）Дx09331 殘片上的官印

Дx09331 殘片上的官印究竟意味著什麼呢？下面從寫本的出土地點和官印印文著手，分析若干問題。

寫本背面留下的官印印影中，相當於州名部分的內容空缺。但並不是完全不可推測其內容。

俄羅斯科學院東方文獻研究所所藏的奧登堡（S. F. Oldenburg）收藏品中，編號從 Дx 開始的文書大部分是從敦煌莫高窟收集的。但是，也包括少量吐魯番等敦煌以外的地點收集的收藏品⁵。

如果假設 Дx09331 是敦煌出土的寫本殘片，官印印文屬於“涼州都督府之印”的可能性較大。其理由如下。

沙州都督府昇級是永泰二年（766）⁶。根據寫本外觀特徵（字形、紙質等）判斷，Дx09331 應該是唐代前半期書寫的。並且，沙州都督府的官印印文除“沙州都／督府印”外，尚沒有得到確認。從這一事實可以判斷

⁴參照土肥義和《永徽二年東宮職員令の復元——大英圖書館藏同職員令斷片（S11446）の發見に際して》，《國學院雜誌》83-2，1982年；岡野誠《唐永徽職員令の復元——S11446の剝離結果について》，島田正郎博士頌壽記念論文集《東洋法史の研究》，汲古書院，1987年。

⁵關於法典寫本，陳國燦先生已指出 Дx11413《廩庫律》（第17至18條）屬於吐魯番出土文書。陳國燦《俄藏敦煌文獻》中吐魯番出土的唐代文書，《敦煌吐魯番研究》8，中華書局，2005年，109-110頁。

⁶池田溫《沙州圖經略考》，《榎博士還曆記念東洋史論叢》，山川出版社，1975年，33-35頁。

Дx09331 上的官印應該不是沙州的。

在都督府昇級以前，沙州一直在涼州都督府的監督之下。

涼州中都督府 隋武威郡。武德二年，平李軌，置涼州總管府，管涼、甘、瓜、肅四州。涼州領姑臧、昌松、番禾三縣。三年，又置神烏縣。七年，改爲都督府，督涼、肅、甘、沙、瓜、伊、芳、文八州。（…中略…）咸亨元年，爲大都督府，督涼、甘肅、伊、瓜、沙、雄七州。上元二年，爲中都督府。（…中略…）天寶元年，改爲武威郡，督涼、甘、肅三州。（《舊唐書》卷四十，地理志，隴右道）

如果考慮在前面部分論述的《職員令》和官印之間的關係，判斷此唐律寫本上的官印爲涼州，比較符合實際情況⁷。

到目前爲止，涼州都督府的官印有 (a) “涼州都督府之印” 和 (b) “涼州都督府印” 兩種。其中比較具有代表性的，應該是 (a) 蓋在《永徽·職員令》上和，(b) 蓋在開元七年的公式令上的兩例。Дx09331 殘片的官印中有“之”字，可以判斷它屬於 (a)。這表明 Дx09331 屬於永徽律寫本。

但是，如果 Дx09331 爲敦煌以外的地點收集的寫本殘片，推斷出來的結果會不同。吐魯番出土（阿斯搭納與吐峪溝）的唐代法典寫本中，蓋有西州的官印。印文是“西州府/都督之印”。

西州中都督府 本高昌國。貞觀十三年，平高昌，置西州都督府，仍立五縣。顯慶三年，改爲都督府。天寶元年，改爲交河郡。乾元元年，復爲西州。（《舊唐書》卷四十，地理志，隴右道）

從上述內容可以看出，西州都督府與涼州都督府幾乎是同等級別的地方官府。

據我所知，蓋有官印的唐代法典寫本中，敦煌出土的所有殘卷的紙背上都有被使用過的痕跡。與此相比，吐魯番出土的 2 卷的紙背都沒有使用過的迹象。並且，從寫本的外觀特徵考慮，吐峪溝出土的大谷 8098 殘卷和

⁷在此次研討會期間，也曾徵求過波波娃所長的意見，她認爲 Дx09331 應該是敦煌發現的殘片之一。

Дx09331 殘片比較相近（1 行的字數、字的排列、紙質等）。但是，Дx09331 官印的位置印在紙背（紙縫處），而大谷 8098 則印在殘卷的正面位置。在這一點上，兩者是截然不同的。

結語

通過上述分析，我們可以得到以下結論。

① Дx09331 殘片應該是地方官府製作的帶有官方性質的唐律（斷獄律）寫本。

② 紙背的紙縫部分的官印印文可以解讀為“□州□／□□之印”。通過類似的例子可以推測，印文應該是“某州都督府之印”。

③ 蓋有官印的唐代法典寫本的實例實在太少，可以說 Дx09331 殘片具有非常高的史料價值。

④ 如果假設 Дx09331 殘片屬於敦煌出土的寫本，官印應該是涼州的。如果是吐魯番出土的，官印則應該是西州的。如果其官印屬於涼州，很有可能就是永徽律的寫本。

（金成愛 譯）

表 1 敦煌吐魯番發現唐代法制文獻一覽

	文書番號	名稱	TTD	備考
律	Дx01916 (現 Дx01916B)、 Дx03116、 Дx03155	律殘片(名例律 6「十惡條」)	TTD, I-02	
	S.09460Av	名例律殘片(名例律 6-7「十惡條」「八議條」)	TTD, Supplement I-01	
	Дx01391	律殘片(名例律 45-50)	TTD, I-08	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 8 冊：永徽名例律
	Дx08467		—	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 14 冊
	P.3608	律殘卷(職制律 9-59, 戶婚律 1-33・43-46, 廩庫律 1-4)	TTD, I-01	
	P.3252	同上		
	BD16300	職制律殘片(職制律 39-41)	TTD, Supplement I-02	舊「北圖麗 85・霜 89 貼付」
	Дx11413	律殘片(廩庫律 17-18)	—	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 14 冊
	大谷 8098	律殘片(擅興律 9-10)	TTD, I-05	
	T1VK70-71(Ch.991)	律殘片(擅興律 9-15)	TTD, I-06	
	IOL Ch.0045	律殘片(捕亡律 16-18)	TTD, I-07	
	LM20_1457_20_01	律殘片(賊盜律 46-48)	—	『旅順博物館藏新疆出土漢文佛經選粹』(法藏館, 2006) p.202
	大谷 5098	同上	TTD, I-03	
	大谷 8099	同上		
大谷 4491	律殘片(詐僞律 1-2)	TTD, I-04		
大谷 4452	同上			
Дx09331	律殘片(斷獄律 3)	—	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 15 冊	
疏	P.3593	律疏殘卷(名例律 6「十惡條」)	TTD, I-11	
	BD06417	律疏卷第二(名例律 17-18)	TTD, I-09	舊「北圖河 17」
	旅順:1509_1580	律疏殘片(名例律 27-28)	—	『旅順博物館藏西域文書研究』(萬卷出版公司, 2007) p.180
	旅順:1507_988	同上		『旅順博物館藏新疆出土漢文佛經選粹』(法藏館, 2006) p.202
	旅順:1507_1176_4	同上		
73TAM532:1/1-1、1/1-2	律疏殘卷(名例律 55-56)	TTD, Supplement I-03 (No plates)	『吐魯番出土文書〔肆〕』pp.366-377	

表 1 敦煌吐魯番發現唐代法制文獻一覽（續）

律疏	P.3690	律疏殘片（職制律 12-15）	TTD, I-13	
	S.06138	律疏殘片（賊盜律 1）	TTD, I-12	
	BD01524v	律疏殘片（雜律 38）	—	『國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書』第 22 冊
	羽 020	律疏殘卷（雜律 55-59）	TTD, I-10	李盛鐸舊藏。杏雨書屋編『敦煌祕笈』影片冊 1（武田科學振興財團、2009）
令	P.4634	令第六 東宮諸府職員令殘卷（永徽 2 年（651））	TTD, I-14	
	S.01880	同上		
	S.03375	同上		
	P.4634C2	同上		
	S.03375	同上	TTD, Supplement I-04	
	S.11446	同上		
	P.4634C2	同上		
P.2819	令殘卷、公式令（6 條）	TTD, I-15		
格	P.3078	散頒刑部格殘卷（18 條）（神龍 2 年（706））	TTD, I-16	
	S.04673			
	S.01344	戶部格殘卷（18 條）（開元前格。開元 3 年（715））	TTD, I-17	
	BD09348	戶部格殘卷（5 條）（開元新格。開元 25 年（737））	TTD, Supplement I-05 (No plates)	舊「北圖周 69」。『中國國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書精品選』（中國國家圖書館，2000）pp.14-15
	TIIT. Ch.3841	吏部留司格殘卷？（6 條）（神龍年間）	TTD, I-18	
	P.4745	吏部格（或吏部式）（3 條）（貞觀或永徽年間）	TTD, I-19	
P.4978	兵部選格殘片？（4 條）（天寶年間）	TTD, I-20		
式	P.2507	水部式殘卷（約 30 條）（開元 25 年、737）	TTD, I-21	
事類	Дx03558	格式律令事類殘卷〔永徽（顯慶）禮抄錄？唐令？〕	TTD, Supplement I-09 (No plates)	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 10 冊：道 經典
	Дx06521	格式律令事類殘卷	—	『俄藏敦煌文獻』第 13 冊（卷頭彩色圖版）：唐律

Note: TTD : *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents Concerning Social and Economic History*, Tokyo, The TOYO BUNKO, 1978-2001.

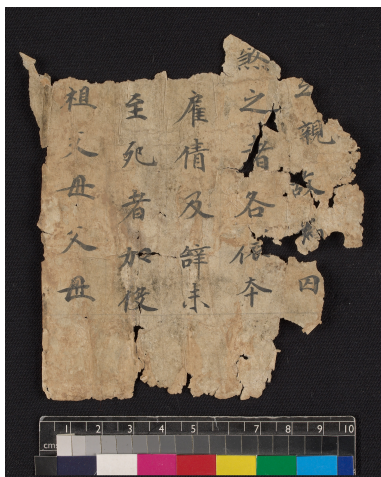


圖 1 Дx09331 recto
(By the courtesy of IOM, RAS)



圖 2 Дx09331 verso
(By the courtesy of IOM, RAS)



圖 3 Official Seal on Дx09331 verso (red color highlighted)

**Preliminary Observation of a Manuscript Fragment
of the Tang Code 唐x09331**

TSUJI Masahiro

The author referred to the manuscript 唐x09331 when he read a paper on the Tang Code during the International Conference held in St. Petersburg in September 2009. Just after the conference, he had an opportunity to access the manuscript and acquired a new knowledge of it through direct investigation. This paper is a preliminary observation of the manuscript fragment 唐x09331 with the focus of an official seal put on the back side of the manuscript. The following results were obtained:

(1) 唐x09331 is a manuscript fragment from the Tang laws relating to the administration of justice which was copied officially by a local government office.

(2) The seal in question can be deciphered as “□州□／□□之印” and judging from the similar case, we can conclude that it is to be read as “□州都督府之印” .

(3) As manuscript copies of the Tang legal texts stamped with an official seal are very rare, 唐x09331 has very high historical value.

(4) We can suppose that the seal is the official seal of Liangzhou 涼州 if the manuscript was from Dunhuang, and that of Xizhou 西州 if from Turfan.

(5) If the official seal of Liangzhou is on the manuscript, it is probably a fragment of the Code of Yonghui 永徽律.

再論《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》 以及《救諸眾生（一切）苦難經》

——以 D_x05155 爲綫索

玄幸子

《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生一切苦難經》是中國撰述的偽經，歷代大藏經都未收入，只有日本《大正新修大藏經》卷 85 根據 S136 S622 著錄這三種。經文內容包含勸念佛、勸寫經、預示災禍、說明經的來由等等。敦煌文書裡保存的這種寫本很多¹。筆者整理俄藏未定名的資料時，注意到 D_x05155 經名是《勸善經》而內容卻是《新菩薩經》（下圖）。爲此本文希望通過調查有關資料，再次考察《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生（一切）苦難經》三種偽經流傳情況與相互關係。錄文如下：

【D_x05155 錄文】

病死第

第六患腹死[□]

若不信者即[□]

時雷鳴兩聲有一石[□]

經報諸眾生今載饒[□]

[薩] 勸善經一卷²

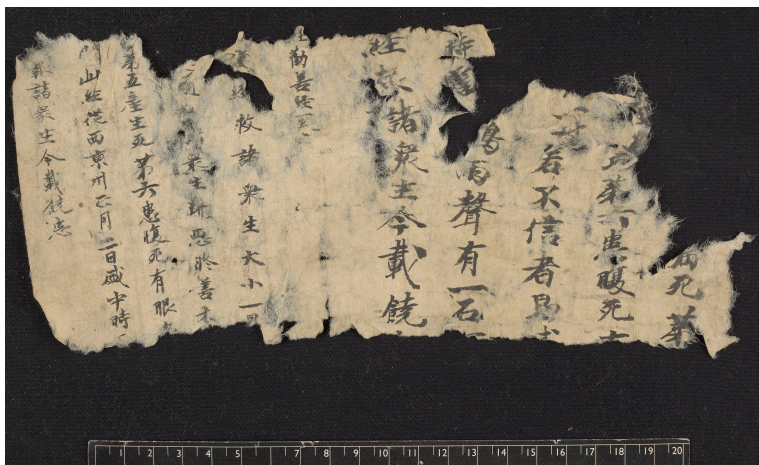
經救諸眾生大小一日

眾生斷惡修善禾

¹這三種文書著錄情況參考附錄 1。

²經題上面缺文字，不過‘薩’字的最後一畫可以認出。這件寫本內容就是《新菩薩經》。

第五產生死第六患腹死有眼□
 門此經從西京（涼）州正月二日盛中時
 □
 報諸眾生今載饒患



在進行具體研討之前，需要概觀有關的先行研究成果。最有代表性的專論是圓空 1992，《佛教學大辭典》亦依據此論³。圓空 1992 整理了大量的寫本，將《新菩薩經》分為甲乙丙三類，考察了此三類與《勸善經》的相互關係、流傳的過程與背景，並調查了《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生（一切）苦難經》各本的題記及紀年，得到的結論是：此三種除了《新菩薩經》甲本是長安 4 年所寫之外，都是吐蕃占領敦煌以後所寫的。很多寫本使用大唐“貞元”年號，文書裡面也可見到一些詞語，隱諱地咒罵吐蕃人，這證明“當世人們具有強烈的反吐蕃人的思想”⁴。而張子開（張琦）

³ “新菩薩經”條下（739 頁）說：中國人所撰佛經。作者不詳。一卷。……據研究者整理，共計近百號。可分為三種類型。三種類型結構大體相同，……又“勸善經”條下（741 頁）說：中國人所撰佛經。作者不詳。一卷。……經文內容與《新菩薩經》大體相同。應是在《新菩薩經》基礎上改寫而成。……又“救諸眾生一切菩薩經”條下（741 頁）說：……此經當曾流傳於何北一帶，……同類經典有《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》等，可以參閱。

⁴ 圓空 1992 58 頁。

2009 反駁圓空 1992 的這種看法，主張特別是《救諸眾生一切苦難經》“誕生於相州和魏州一帶，時當安史之亂初期，即叛軍即將攻占相州和魏州的唐天寶十五年（756）農曆正月二月之交”，又指出“該經宣揚的是彌勒信仰”⁵。此外，于賡哲 2006 分析了《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》背後的反映貞元時期大旱災與疾病等社會情況。

我們先討論基本問題，就是資料定名的問題。圓空 1992 將 S622 定名為《新菩薩經》甲本，但是 S622 實際上沒有經題，而圓空 1992 所謂甲本只有這一本，因此對這個問題也有不同的看法。S622 究竟應定名為甚麼經？

一、S622 是《新菩薩經》還是《勸善經》？

圓空 1992 將此本當作《新菩薩經》之一而分為“甲類”。這個看法一定是根據日本《大正藏》（矢吹慶輝《鳴沙余韻》）。有些研究者主張別的看法，比如池田溫 1990、《敦煌寶藏》及《敦煌遺書總目索引新編》等等將此本當作《勸善經》。S622 原來沒有經題，都是根據內容推測的。在此，我們重新確認這件寫本。下面是筆者目睹 S622 原件的調查記錄：

文本記錄：縱 28.5cm 橫 28.5-34.5cm 14 行

參考：使用則天文字：年（𠂇），月（𠂇），人（𠂇），日（☉）

有長安四年（704 年，慶雲元年）的題記

【錄文】

- 1 九下? 率⁶
- 2 □大小念百口阿彌拖佛，五百身中不入□□
- 3 菩薩說：今垂八匝九匝太山崩，須九万億□
- 4 亦須九千億牛。第一患死，第二卒死，第三產
- 5 坐死，第四不持齋戒死，第五腸肚熱死，第六白

⁵225 頁。

⁶此字很像“年”（則天文字），但是字形還是“率”。是否應該作“率（年）”，由於前後缺文字，無法斷定。

- 6 糺死。今垂禾荳熟。恐無生無收，度今垂卽好。
- 7 信者寫一通免身，寫二通免合家，寫三通免
- 8 一村。若聞不寫卽滅門，若有轉讀此經者皆
- 9 度苦難，不信卽身滅。經從西涼州縣來。在
- 10 彼城東門口四月雷鳴雨下，一石如升破兩片，
- 11 遂是此經。轉示眾生得福无量。
- 12 長安四垂五匝十五☉
- 13 五
- 14 □□□□

《新菩薩經》與《勸善經》內容相似。圓空 1992 特意將《新菩薩經》分爲三類而與《勸善經》對照，以便考察流傳的過程。他對此三類分別校錄，詳細分析資料特徵，得到了以下結論：《勸善經》可以說是丙本《新菩薩經》的延續。據此可知其流傳過程如下：

雛形資料（甲本）→一般的流傳（乙本）→融合（丙本）→勸善經

可是這個結論有些問題。筆者認爲，雖然不能否定 S622 是雛形的可能性，但此本既不是《新菩薩經》也不是《勸善經》。下面舉出其根據。

首先介紹相關的參考資料。陳祚龍 1979 將類似的有關資料收集在《新集中世敦煌三寶感通錄》裡，其中 S2713 與 S622 對照，共同點最多。錄文如下：

[參考 1] S2713

咸亨元年⁷，楊州僧瓊寶，向山採藥，見一人，身長三丈五尺，面闊九寸，如金佛，救眾生。瓊寶卽藏。語寶言："我是定光佛⁸菩薩。故來救眾生。今年太山崩壞，須鬼兵万万九千，須告眾，無福人但看，三月四月五月，風從

⁷670 年。

⁸定光佛就是燃燈佛。

太山來，即得病二日即死。若寫一通免一身，寫
 二通免一家，寫三通免一村。我是定光佛菩薩，
 故來化眾生。流傳者壽命一百年，不信者滅
 門，寫者過一難。若不信者，但看定光佛菩薩
 指爲定。 (爲不得)⁹

[下面同文反復兩遍]

S2713 也沒有經題，陳祚龍 1979 開頭補充寫上“普勸事佛文曰”六字。紀年亦無，不過從記錄了咸亨元年（670）的事情這一點來看，這件寫本應該是距此不遠的時期寫成的。那麼這件寫本和 S622 書寫的時期也差不多，都是七世紀末至八世紀初葉。S622 與 S2713 不僅內容及成書時期相近，而且詞語特徵也是一致的。《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生一切苦難經》的一百多件寫本裡用量詞“通”的只有 S622。“寫一通”、“寫二通”、“寫三通”在其他寫本裡是寫作“寫一本”、“寫兩本”、“寫三本”的，S2713 則使用“通”這個量詞。

更值得參考的是西脇常記 1998 介紹的新資料《太山經一卷》¹⁰。這件寫本雖是吐魯番文書，內容卻與 S2713 非常相似。錄文如下：

Ch2010

太山經一卷

南陽明寺僧寶 [□]
 二丈 面闊八尺面 [似
 莫怕我 [是空] 虛 []
 須人 [万万] 眾須 [牛
 信者但看 正月 []
 九月病者死多 寫 []
 寫三本 免苦難 []

⁹以下反復部分無此三字。

¹⁰在歷代佛教目錄中，《眾經目錄》卷第四偽妄六、《大唐內典錄》、《開元釋教錄》等可見《閻羅王東太山經》的經名。

不信者 看正月 [
 太山經一卷

通過上面的兩件寫本，我們知道七世紀末以後，無論在敦煌或者吐魯番，民間都流行太山信仰，寫經的目的是免苦難。不僅《新菩薩經》，這種思想後來還反映《勸善經》、《救諸眾生（一切）苦難經》等其他許多偽經上。

S622 沒有經題，紀年亦早得多，何必當作《新菩薩經》或者《勸善經》？因此筆者認為 S622 既不是《新菩薩經》也不是《勸善經》，如果需要定名的話，應該定為《太山經》。在名稱問題之外，應該考慮的問題是太山信仰與《勸善經》的關係。《勸善經》寫着“太山崩”云云的句子，就是受到太山信仰的影響。《勸善經》流行的時期，正如圓空 1992 考察過的那樣，是在九世紀。那麼這種思想至少從七世紀末到九世紀是一脈相傳的。

馬西沙·韓秉方 2004 說：“唐末五代，天下大亂，在民間救世思想盛行，其間，燃燈佛即定光佛又作為一個救世主應運而生”；“燃燈佛即定光佛，因其點化釋迦菩薩得成佛果，燃燈佛又稱過去佛，釋迦則稱現在佛。徵之前面關於彌勒淨土諸經典，彌勒為釋迦弟子，因此又皆稱彌勒為未來佛。這三者成為佛教寺宇供養的三世佛的一種，屬兜率天淨土信仰。”¹¹ 馬西沙·韓秉方 2004 又說明：“三佛應劫救世信仰中受到了道教的影響，當時佛道儒融合的情況特別在民間好像沒有界線。”該論文主張三佛應劫救世信仰在唐末五代天下大亂時普遍滲透到民間。不過從 S622 與 S2713 可以看出，這種民間信仰流行的萌芽已於七世紀末出現。

回到本題，鑒於上述的情況，筆者認為 S622 是《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》這類經的雛形之一，可是不一定有直接繼承的關係。我們推測，一定會有比較多的類似資料，如今能看到的資料只是一部分，不過冰山一角而已。

¹¹ 上冊 54-55 頁。

二、關於《新菩薩經》與《勸善經》

下面我們研討《勸善經》是否《新菩薩經》的延續。首先爲了便於考察，將《新菩薩經》分爲兩類。具體地說，是根據“賈耽”之名字的有無將《新菩薩經》分爲 A 與 B 兩類。賈耽（730-805）¹²是唐代著名的地理學家，貞元年間爲左右丞相¹³。寫本裡寫上其名字，當然不是事實，只是假託而已。但是寫此名字說明該本的書寫時期一定在貞元之後。

A 類無“賈耽”，開頭一般寫：新菩薩經救諸眾生，（大小）每日念阿彌陀佛一百口……

B 類有“賈耽”，開頭寫：（勅）賈耽頒下諸州眾生，每日念阿彌陀佛一千口，……

分類的結果是 A 類有 10 件，B 類有 39 件，詳見本文末尾的附錄。B 類的書寫時期的上限很明確，就是貞元之後。A 類則不清楚，所以列舉其紀年的情況如下：

S3091 連寫 3 篇 無紀年

S3442 連寫 2 篇 乙未年二月廿日□（畫押）

S5303 連寫 2 篇 有異同 無紀年

S5654 缺少後半，無紀年

BD07120 此經大蕃乙未年正月二日見記

Φ215 乙未年二月七日佛弟子趙什德謹依原本寫願合家大小永保平安无諸灾障

Ⅱx04034 斷片 前後上下缺 連寫 2 篇

寶藏散 0046 尾題下面似乎有幾字，看不清楚

羽 247、羽 249 原來連寫在一張紙上 無紀年

容易看出，有紀年都是（大蕃）乙未年¹⁴。（大蕃）乙未年就是 815 年。而

¹²參考《舊唐書》卷 138。

¹³關於“賈耽”與《新菩薩經》紀年的關係，圓空 1992 已經詳細研究過（53 頁）。

¹⁴S3442 乙未，池田溫 1990 認爲是 935 年。圓空 1992，在 56 頁表中，有乾符六年紀年

且值得注意的是 Φ215 題記寫著“謹依原本寫”。這“原本”指的是哪一本？當然不是 B 類。我們應該考慮，為甚麼特意寫“謹依原本寫”五個字。如果趙什德意識到當時流行的別本 B 類而寫上“原本”的話，可能意味著為數眾多的 B 類當時就被人們認為是新興的《新菩薩經》。若說當時有新舊兩種《新菩薩經》並行寫經的情況，也就說明舊《新菩薩經》未被淘汰。因此我們知道新舊兩種《新菩薩經》九世紀初同時流行的情況。

那麼《勸善經》呢？圓空 1992 說：《勸》與《新》基本相近，可以說是丙本《新》的延續，其中心思想也是預示將有災難降臨，唯有念佛、寫經才能脫免。其差別僅在於各經事有繁簡，順序略異而已。S5929 號首題“新菩薩勸善經”，其抄寫者可能認為二經是一回事，都以“勸善”為目的（55 頁）。

首先來看論文裡言及的 S5929 及其他有〈新菩薩勸善經〉經名的寫本，錄文如下：

【S5929 新菩薩勸善經】

新菩薩勸善經卷

賈耽頒下諸生每日念阿彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善今年大
 熟無人收苽有數鍾（種）病死第一虐病死第二天行病死第三卒
 死第四腫病第五產病死第六患腹病死第七血癰病死
 第八黃死第九水弱病死第十患眼死勸諸眾生寫一本
 免一身寫兩本免一門寫三本免一村門上傍之得過此難看
 七 [月…使] 一牛五男同一婦僧尼巡門勸寫此經其經西
] 雷鳴兩聲有一石下大如斗等石遂
] 今載饒（饒）患
] 念阿彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善今

【S1592 新菩薩勸善經】¹⁵

[新菩] 薩經一卷

的兩件（S4479、孟 2725）填在乙類，此兩件應該移到丙類。

¹⁵除了尾題之外，背面也有“新菩薩勸善經”六字。

賈耽領下諸州眾生每日念阿彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善今年
 熟無人收苟有數種病死第一虐病死第二天行病死
 第三卒死第四腫病死第五產生病死第六患腹病死第□
 血癱病死第八黃病死第九水溺死第十患眼死勸諸
 眾生寫一本免一身寫兩本免一門苦若寫不者□
 門寫者門上傍之得過此難但看七八月三家使一□
 五男同一婦僧尼巡門勸寫此經其西涼州正月二日盛中
 時雷鳴兩聲有一石下大如斗等石遂兩片即見此
 經報諸眾生今載饒患
 新菩薩勸善經一卷

亥年¹⁶五月五日寫了

S5929 及 S1592 內容與 B 類（圓空所謂的丙類）一致，這種情況似乎證明圓空 1992 看法正確，也就是說《勸善經》是《新菩薩經》丙類的延續。可是本文開頭提到的 Jx05155 情況完全不同。從“□經救諸眾生大小”起到末尾，大部分與 A 類（圓空所謂的乙類）一致。那麼，單憑這一點就不能說《勸善經》是《新菩薩經》丙類的延續了。

《勸善經》和《新菩薩經》B 類對照：雙方相同的（與 A 類不同的）第一點是假託“賈耽”；第二點是“三家使一牛，五男同一婦，僧尼巡門，勸寫此經”的部分。與此相反，雙方不同的第一點是“其經從南來”，《新菩薩經》一定寫為“經（從）西涼州（來）”；第二點是增加“空中有一童子”、“一老人”的故事。還需要指出的是 S622 所寫的“太山崩”這三字，《新菩薩經》A、B 類都沒有，卻出現在《勸善經》老人的故事中。

綜上所述，不能認為《勸善經》是《新菩薩經》丙類的延續。從假託“賈耽”這一點來看，《勸善經》與《新菩薩經》B 類可能是在同一時期各自寫成的，或者《新菩薩經》可能受到了新成《勸善經》的影響，就變為 B 類。此經的成書與傳承絕不是單線進行的，類似的寫本不勝枚舉，情況

¹⁶池田溫 1990 認為 9 世紀初，有“亥”年就是己亥年即 819 年。

非常複雜。因此，有時寫錯經名，有時內容與經名不一致¹⁷。

三、通過合寫情況考察《救諸眾生（一切）苦難經》

小笠原宣秀 1963 說《救諸眾生一切苦難經》的成書時期是三類經中最早的唐代前半，是根據此經內容反映當時的彌勒信仰超過阿彌陀信仰的情況。圓空 1992 如上所述，主張此經與《勸善經》時期相同，均為貞元十九年前後盛行的¹⁸，是因為此經的“中國黃河北，相魏之地……”等等隱諱地咒罵吐蕃人。對此張子開（張琦）2009 以同一的材料為論據，主張貞元 9 年就是唐德宗李適 9 年（公元 793），此經 793 年就已經傳至敦煌地區，成書時期如上所述，是唐天寶 15 年（756），以宣揚彌勒信仰為中心，是“唐五代時期新出現的民間彌勒信仰文獻”¹⁹。

此經沒有如“賈耽”之類的關鍵詞，因而可以認為成書時期應當最早。又通過張子開（張琦）2009 詳細考察的結果，可以同意成書時期是 756 年，並有可能借用此經表達強烈的民族性。

又張子開（張琦）2009 言及《救諸眾生一切苦難經》“與《新菩薩經》合鈔，而且《救諸眾生一切苦難經》在前，《新菩薩經》在後”，並說：“將這兩種經鈔寫在一起，一是表明它們的主要功能一樣，都能夠禳除災難；二是顯示鈔寫者兼信彌勒、彌陀，認為這兩個佛菩薩都有靈驗；三者，為何彌勒在前？也許，在雕塑等形式中，彌陀信仰已然超彌勒，但在特定的民間信仰中，特別是在敦煌地區，仍然以彌勒為中心，彌勒在信眾中的地位依舊比彌勒重要。”（224 頁）其中，第一點與第二點比較容易獲得同意，不過第三點的看法令人難以接受，因為人們不一定要將重要的事情寫在前面。

不僅張子開（張琦）2009，還有一些研究者也發現合寫的事實。筆者調查的結果是：第一，合寫的經一定是《新菩薩經》B 類²⁰；第二，現存

¹⁷P3624 經題誤寫成“勸善文”，『敦煌遺書總目索引新編』記在“勸善經”。

¹⁸圓空 1992 認為最早的紀年貞元 9 年“可能是十九年之誤”（58 頁）。

¹⁹223 頁。

²⁰圓空 1992 所舉的《勸善經》與《救諸眾生苦難經》同卷的 S1185，實際上不是連寫的，而是正背寫的。

的《救諸眾生一切苦難經》與《新菩薩經》B類資料中百分之六十是合寫的；第三，合寫的次序一定是《救諸眾生一切苦難經》在前，《新菩薩經》B類在後。看了這個結果，產生兩個問題。第一，《新菩薩經》B類與《勸善經》很相似，但爲甚麼沒有《救諸眾生一切苦難經》與《勸善經》合寫的寫本？第二，爲甚麼《救諸眾生一切苦難經》在前，《新菩薩經》B類在後？

關於《救諸眾生一切苦難經》的成書時期有幾個看法，現在尚無定論。但其中有“賈耽”的名字，因此合寫的時期不會是8世紀以前。根據一般的理解，還是在貞元年間。可能是合寫的原本從中原傳入敦煌地區後，人們就照原樣寫的，因而相同的寫本大量出現。

四、結論

本文通過小小的斷片，再次對中國民間信仰史上非常重要的史料《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生一切苦難經》，進行了考察。現存的此經的雛形數量一定很多，不限於S622。而且此經不是單線傳承的，而是多線同時進行的。現存的史料只是整個事物中顯露出來的一小部分，我們應該看冰山之一角來推測整體。

最後附錄《新菩薩經》、《勸善經》、《救諸眾生一切苦難經》目錄及新定名的有關寫本的錄文，以供參考。

【附錄 1 整理三種文書的結果】 *劃綫的是合寫的資料

1. 新菩薩經

A 類（無“賈耽”）

S3091 S3442 S5303 S5654 BD07120 Φ215 Дx04034 寶藏散 0046 羽 247
羽 249

B 類（有“賈耽”）

S0136b S0407 S0414 S0470 S0521 S1066 S1689 S2320 S3126 S3417 S3790
Дx04034 S4479b S4747 S5020 S5256b S5060 S5244 P2668b P2953b P3117b
P3857b BD07338(2) BD07606(2) BD08063(2) BD08108(2) Дx00299 Дx01251
Дx01609 Дx01708 Дx02057 Дx02586A Дx02774B Дx06601 Дx10329
Дx 10339 上圖 061 羽 252 羽 314(313)

2. 新菩薩勸善經

S1592 S5929 Дx05155

3. 勸善經

S0417 S0622 S0912 S1185v S1349 (S1592) S2853 S2882 S3485v S3687
S3792 S3871 S4739 S4923 S5113 S6265 P2608 P2650 P3036 P3624 [誤
爲勸善文] P3463 P3498 P4872 BD04304 BD06922 BD08421 BD15251
Дx00327 Дx01246 Дx01786 Дx02753 Дx04942 Дx05463 甘博 016 北大
D109 北大 D110 上圖 095 寶藏散 0364 羽 197 羽 288R

4. 救諸眾生苦難經（救諸眾生一切苦難經）

S0136 S0414 S0470 S1184 S1185R S2649 S3126 S3417 S3685 S3696 S4479
S4924 S5060 S5256a S5679c S6060 P2653a P2953a P3117a P3857a BD07338(1)
BD07606(1) BD08063(1) BD08108(1) Дx00966 Дx01251 Дx01574B Дx01609
Дx01708 Дx02057
Дx02586A Дx04401 Дx06263 Дx06638 Дx06765 Дx10348 北大 D108 中
國歷史博物館 57 上圖 061 羽 253 羽 314(313)

【附錄 2 新定名文書的錄文與經名】

ㄇx.04034 (新菩薩經) 二篇連寫

〕念〔阿〕彌陁佛一百口今年大〔熟

〕勸諸眾生斷惡修善〔禾

二卒死第三赤眼死第四腫死〔

有眼眾□□一本免一身寫〔

〕門此經從西京州正月二日盛〔

〕大如斗口遂作兩片即〔

患

〕阿彌陁佛一百口今年大熟須人万万億

〕無人收苜第一病死第二卒死第三赤眼死第四

〕生寫一本免一身寫兩本免一村若不信者即

〕鳴兩聲有一石下大如斗口遂作兩片即〔

ㄇx.04401 救諸眾生一切苦難經 參看<張子開·張琦 2009>

救諸眾生一切苦難經

天台山中有一老師年可九百歲正月二月天

神悲哭眼中出血唱言苦哉苦哉眾生死盡弟

子惠通合掌頂禮眼中泣淚啟言有此災難

如何得免老師報言惠通我見閻浮眾生

亡沒者眾普令(今)彌勒下界救諸蒼生中國黃

河已北相魏之地正在其中愚癡之子不覺不

知三月四月鬼兵亂起无邊无际八月九月已

來大末劫眾生行善鬼兵自滅天地□〔闍]

得免此災寫一本免一門寫兩本免六親寫

三本免一村流傳者是吾弟子謗此經者入

阿鼻地獄无有出期至心讀誦者得成佛道

勸善偈

黑風西北起 東南鬼來 永常天地闇 何得心不驚
先須斷酒肉 貪嗔更莫生 若能慎此事 佛道一時行

Дx.04942 (勸善經)

-] 州勸諸眾
-] 一千口斷惡行善
-] 收苽有數眾(種)病死
 -] 天行病死第三赤白
 -] 人產生死
 -] 今勸眾
 -] 本免六
 -] 上旁之得

Дx.05155 [新菩] 薩勸善經 參考正文

Дx.05463 勸善經

勸善經一卷

勅左丞相賈耽頒下諸州勸諸眾生每日念阿彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善今年大熟無人收苽有數病死第一虐病死第二天行病死第三赤白痢病死第四赤眼死第五人產生死第六水痢死第七風黃病死今勸眾生寫此經一本免一門難寫兩本免六親見此經不寫者滅門門上旁之得過此難無福者不可得見此經其經從南來正月八日雷電霹靂空中有一童子年四歲又見一老人在路中見一蛇身長万万尺人頭鳥足遂呼老人曰爲太山崩要女人万万眾須牛万万頭著病者難差寫此經者得免此難不信者但看四月一日三家使一牛五男同一婦僧尼巡勸寫此經流

傳若被卒風吹却不免此難聖人流傳真言報
 之眾生莫信邪師見聞者遞相勸念阿彌陀
 佛不久見太平時
 勸善經一卷

Дx.06263 (救諸眾生一切苦難經)

一卷

□年九百歲正月

唱言苦哉苦哉

禮眼中泣淚啟

言惠通我見聞

[愚] 之子不覺不

無際八月九

Дx.06601 (新菩薩經)

佛一千口斷惡行善今年

□死第二天行病死第三卒死第四腫

病死第七血痢病死第八風黃病死

□勸諸寫一本免身寫兩本免一門寫

□之得過此難但看七八月三家使

[經] 其經西涼州正月二日盛中時雷鳴兩

見此經報諸眾生今載饒患

彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善今年大熟

病死第二天行病死第三卒死第四腫

□□□第七血痢病死第八風黃病死

今勸諸眾生寫一本免一身寫兩本

□門上旁之得過此難但看七八月

□□經其經此經其經西涼州正月二日

□□片即見此經報諸眾生

Дx.06638 (救諸眾生一切苦難經) 片斷

□□大末

□天地黑闇得免此

本免六親寫三本免一

經者入阿鼻地獄

不寫者滅門至心□

Дx.06765 救諸眾生苦難經

救諸眾生苦難經 天台山中有一老師年九百歲天神悲哭眼中泣

血唱言苦哉苦災眾生死盡弟子惠通我見閻浮提眾生亡沒並

[今] 彌勒佛救諸蒼生中國黃河 [] 其中愚癡之

Дx.10329 (新菩薩經) 二連寫

□斷惡行善

□第一虐病死第二天行

□ [生] 死第六患腹死地七

□□死第十患眼死今勸諸

本免一門寫三本□免 [村]

勝之得過此難但看七八月

一婦僧尼巡門勸寫此經其經西

雷鳴兩聲有一石下大而斗石遂兩片

生今載大熟饒患

念阿彌陀佛一千口斷惡行善

□□第一虐病死第二天行病

產死第六患腹死第七血

死第十患眼死今勸諸

本免一村若不信

三家使一牛

二日盛

諸

ㄩx.10339 新菩薩經一卷

石下如斗遂兩片即

新菩薩經一卷

新菩薩經一卷

勅買（賈）頒下諸眾生每日念阿

无人收刈有數種病死第一產

死第五產病死第六患

第九水溺病死第十患眼病死

免一門寫三本一村若不信者滅門

三家使一牛五男同一婦僧尼巡門寫此

盛中時雷鳴兩聲有一石下大如斗遂兩

今載饒患

新菩薩經一卷

ㄩx.10348 救諸眾生苦難經

救諸眾生苦難經

天台山中有一老師

神悲哭眼中泣血

弟子惠通合掌頂

難如何得免師報

亡沒並念彌勒救 [諸]

之地正在其中癡 [愚]

月鬼兵亂起無邊

劫眾生行善

寫一本 [免]

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**Re-examination of the *Xin pusa jing*, the *Quanshan jing*
and the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng (yiqie) kunan jing* using
the manuscript D_x05155 as the key to understanding the problem**

GEN Yukiko

In this essay, the author re-examines the establishment and transmission of the three apocryphal sutras—the *Xin pusa jing*, *Quanshan jing*, and *Jiu zhuzhongsheng (yiqie) kunan jing*—and proposes a new interpretation. S622 is neither the *Xin pusa jing* nor the *Quanshan jing* and the hypothesis that the *Quanshan jing* is a linear continuation of the *Xin pusa jing* is open to discussion. The author also discusses the issues related to the *Jiu zhuzhongsheng (yiqie) kunan jing* and supports the opinion that it was composed in the 15th year of *Tianbao* era. The *Jiu zhuzhongsheng (yiqie) kunan jing* and the *Xin pusa jing* are often copied together. Still, it can be explained simply because they made a faithful copy from the original which was brought from Central China around the end of the 8th century.

丁類《五臺山讚》小注

高田時雄

前言

五臺山是文殊菩薩顯現的佛教東方聖地，一般認為即《華嚴經》中所說的清涼山。東晉佛跋陀羅譯《大方廣佛華嚴經》菩薩住處品第二十七云：“東北方有菩薩住處，名清涼山，過去諸菩薩常於中住；彼現有菩薩，名文殊師利，有一萬菩薩眷屬，常為說法¹。”五臺山修建寺廟似於北魏時已開始，但唐代以後特別盛行，規模宏大。

唐高宗儀鳳元年（676）有北印度罽賓國沙門佛陀波利杖錫來此，遇文殊菩薩的化身，受命返回印度，帶來《佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經》。佛陀波利於永淳二年（683）回至長安，具將此事奏聞皇帝。皇帝即命日照三藏與杜行顛共譯此經，而其經本禁被留在內不出。佛陀波利悲泣上奏，言取來此經的目的是普濟眾生救拔苦難，不以名利等為念，請還經本流行。皇帝終允其請，歸還梵本。佛陀波利即將梵本赴西明寺，訪得善解梵語漢僧順貞，共譯此經。譯完之後，遂向五臺山²，隱於金剛窟。

五臺山的名刹金閣寺創建於唐代，規模宏大，莊嚴華麗，無一不極輪奐之美。修建此寺的構想本因於道義和尚以靈驗見此寺³，始於玄宗時期，

¹ 《大正藏》第9冊589頁。

² 《佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經序》，《大正藏》第19冊，349頁；《宋高僧傳》唐五臺山佛陀波利傳，中華書局，中國佛教典籍選刊本，1987年，28-29頁；《廣清涼傳》卷中，佛陀波利入金剛窟，《大正藏》第51冊，1111頁。共譯者順貞，《廣清涼傳》作順正，又入金剛窟一事祇見於《廣清涼傳》。

³ 《宋高僧傳》唐五臺山清涼寺道義傳，中華書局，中國佛教典籍選刊本，1987年，538頁；《廣清涼傳》卷中，道義和尚入化金閣寺，《大正藏》第51冊，1113-1114頁；《不空三

但唐朝不久就面臨國家存亡的危機，無法著手建築，長期置之不顧。至代宗時，有不空三藏上表繼續這一工程。代宗允之，於永泰二年（766）動工，因有官民的積極贊助，至大曆二年（767）暫且完工。此後不斷加以裝飾，耗費巨萬，實為空前的規模。不空三藏當時獲得朝廷的尊崇，作為國家事業推行金閣寺的修建，其目的本來是藉此使密宗在朝廷的地位更為鞏固，但隨著金閣寺的創建，文殊信仰普及全國，五臺山的聲譽與日俱增。

五臺山亦有竹林寺，是以五會念佛著名的法照法師創建的⁴。大曆二年（767），法照還在南嶽勤修念佛三昧，一日喫齋時粥鉢中忽見大聖竹林寺。大曆五年（772）法照初訪五臺，果然得見竹林寺金榜，一如鉢中所見。這時法照的五會念佛風靡一時，備受朝野歸敬，其勢力波及宇內。法照創建竹林寺恰在這樣的頂峰時期，相傳是貞元年間（785-805）⁵。

唐德宗時還出現了澄觀法師，住五臺山大華嚴寺，發揚華嚴教學，影響頗大。貞元三年（787）十二月在該寺制疏道場完成《華嚴經疏》六十卷，尋於翌年講解此新疏，後奉德宗御旨入長安，賜稱清涼國師。澄觀的活動無疑使五臺山在中國佛教史上一躍而成為重要的道場。

與五臺山因緣不淺的上述幾個人物的一系列活動激起全國僧俗對五臺山的熱烈嚮往。五臺山的聲譽不僅傳於國內而且遍及海外，有印度、西藏、于闐等國的不少僧人不遠千里來五臺山參拜文殊菩薩。當絲綢之路要道的敦煌激起共鳴而發展五臺山信仰也就不難想像了。在歸義軍時期的敦煌，以節度使為首的僧俗住民都對五臺山讚揚不已。

目前敦煌莫高窟的壁畫和藏經洞發現的文獻中含有不少與五臺山有關係的資料。其中《五臺山讚》與《五臺山曲子》等文學作品可說是最具代表性的例子。本文以《五臺山讚》中的丁類為對象進行簡單的探討。

藏表制集》卷第二《請捨衣鉢助僧道壞金閣寺制》，久曾神昇編《不空三藏表制集 他三種》，東京：汲古書院，1993年，51-54頁。

⁴關於法照的事蹟，參看《宋高僧傳》唐五臺山竹林寺法照傳，中華書局，中國佛教典籍選刊本，1987年，538-542頁；《廣清涼傳》卷中，法照和尚入化竹林寺，《大正藏》第51冊，1114-1116頁。

⁵《廣清涼傳》卷中，法照和尚入化竹林寺，該條所引王士詹撰紀頌碑文，《大正藏》第51冊，1116頁。

一、《五臺山讚》的分類

敦煌的《五臺山讚》與《五臺山曲子》卷子在各國收藏的敦煌遺書中的數量較多，共達三十件以上。又《五臺山讚》種類不一，根據杜斗城的研究⁶，可分為甲、乙、丙、丁四類⁷。杜氏的分類如下：

甲類⁸：S5573、S4039、S4429、S5487、P3563、P4608、P4560、P4647、
北 8325⁹、列¹⁰0278、列 1009

乙類：P4641、S4504、P4617

丙類：P3645、S0370、P2483

丁類：P2483

四類中，屬於甲類的卷子最多，可知當時此類最受歡迎，且此類每四句開頭都加入喊叫聲“佛子”，應為寺內集體齊唱的。乙類亦稱“五臺山聖境讚”，題金臺釋子玄本述，吳縣蔣斧早指出乙類東臺西臺二首與張商英（1043-1121）《續清涼傳》卷上末附載的清涼山詩相同¹¹。丙類以“涼（梁）漢禪師出世間，近來巡禮五臺山”兩句開始，是指南梁法照而言¹²。不僅如此，此讚從頭到尾全部描述法照法師在五臺山的事蹟，可知與法照的念佛法門有密切關係。

至於丁類，杜氏所舉祇有 P2483 一個卷子，未及其他。但現在我們可以發現尚有 P4597 和俄藏 Дх788 兩種亦屬於丁類。法藏 P2483 與 P4597 兩種保存了全文，而俄藏 Дх788 卷子前後均殘，大約存六成強。更具體地

⁶杜斗城《敦煌五臺山文獻校錄研究》，太原：山西人民出版社，1991年。

⁷其實尚有一種“遊五臺讚文”，見於 P4597，可稱為戊類。但因不是本文討論的範圍內，茲不詳談。

⁸甲類，此外尚有 S1453、S5456、S5473、BD9095（陶 16）背 2、BD4535（崗 35）背、Дх2333A。

⁹千字文號為“鹹 18”，現在的編號為 BD6318。

¹⁰俄藏敦煌卷子，杜氏用“列”字標記，本文改為 Дх 號。

¹¹羅振玉《敦煌石室遺書》（宣統己酉刊本）第 2 冊第 4 頁。杜氏也引據羅氏書，并抄錄全詩，參杜氏書 51 頁以下。《續清涼傳》的清涼山詩亦可見於明末的《五臺山清涼聖境諸刹之圖》，可知流行之久。關於此圖的年代，暫據日比野丈夫、小野勝年合著《五臺山》1995 年，東京：平凡社，東洋文庫 593（初版：1942 年，東京：座右寶刊行會），397 頁。

¹²上引杜氏書 65 頁注 2，50 頁注 48。

說，全文七言 82 句中，存有 51 句。

二、新增丁類

關於 P2483，杜氏書已有簡明介紹，茲不贅，以下單就新增兩種稍加說明。

1. P4597

法藏 P4597 是連寫正面三十五種、背面八種文獻的長卷子，紙高 28.3 厘米，長 533.5 厘米¹³。大部分內容是讚文、偈文等寺院中日常使用的文本。正面第一行“和菩薩戒文”下有“惠永文一本”，應為此僧人所持的參考用書¹⁴。此卷有兩種《五臺山讚》，而上注 7 提到的戊類“遊五臺讚文”，與此不同。

2. Дx788

此卷由兩張殘紙組成，貼在一起；紙高 27 厘米、寬 25 厘米，共十六行。紙色淡褐，有油污漬，紙質稍厚，字體為楷書與行書之間¹⁵。與 P2483 卷比較，此卷開頭部缺“文殊菩薩五臺山，遍化神通在世間，或現大身遍世界，或現小身塚出塵，只為无明”三十二字；末尾殘損較多，缺“眾生實是繞”以下一百四十一字。又每行上部殘損幾個字，尤其是第二紙（即第十一行以後）已殘上半部，最後一行祇見幾個字的右旁。（參看圖版）

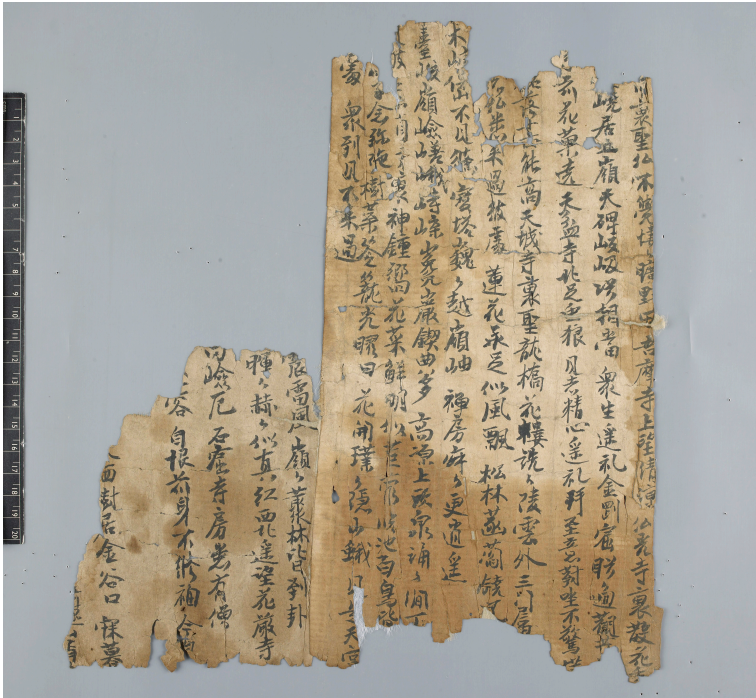
紙背有兩行七言詩，如下：“□□修道莫攸攸，園中果熟盛堪收，只為无明花／晚發，未待圓滿早逢秋”¹⁶。

¹³參考法藏敦煌寫本日錄第 5 卷：*Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang*, Vol. V, Tome 1, Paris, 1995, pp.221-231.

¹⁴惠永名亦見寫卷背面紙縫上，這一事實有力證明此推測不誤。

¹⁵參看孟列夫主編《俄藏敦煌漢文寫卷敘錄》上冊，1999 年，上海古籍出版社，583 頁（Описание китайских рукописей дуньхуанского фонда Института Народов Азии, выпуск 1, Москва, 1963, С.577），但著者的觀點稍有不同。

¹⁶此詩亦見北 8412（海 51），字句稍有不同。參看徐俊《敦煌詩集殘卷輯考》，中華書局，2000 年，919 頁。



Dx788

三、錄文

杜氏書丁類祇有一種，當時未能進行校勘。現據新增兩種，試圖提出新的錄文。現存寫卷，筆跡惡劣，錯字滿紙，解讀字體，頗覺困難。俄藏 Dx788 號寫卷，書法較佳，誤字亦少，但殘破不全，甚為可惜。

丁類《五臺山讚》

甲卷：P2483（底本）

乙卷：P4597

丙卷：Dx788（此卷的殘存的部分用下線標出。）

五臺山贊文 并序 金剛五礼一本¹

文殊菩薩² 五臺山，變³ 化神通在世間，
或現大身遍世界，或現小身碎微塵，
祇爲无明裏聖仏，不覺⁴ 悽々⁵ 曠野田，
吾摩寺上⁶ 望清涼，佛光寺裏散花香，
彼摩巖 嶢居五嶺⁷，天碑立⁸ 岷岷⁹ 相當，
眾生遙礼金剛窟，時々¹⁰ 迴觀菩薩堂，
王子寺前花果繞¹¹，天盆寺北足¹² 虫狼，
見者精心¹³ 遙礼拜，至意對坐不驚恠¹⁴。

東臺磊落甚能高，天城寺裏望金¹⁵ 橋，
花樓詵々陵雲外，三門屬 桂入雲霄，
諸佛悉來過彼處，蓮花承足似風騷¹⁶，
松林茵茵饒風雪，樹木崑崙¹⁷ 不見條，
寶塔巍々¹⁸ 越嶺岫，禪房寂々更逍遙。

南臺峻嶺嶮嵯峨，峙嶞寬¹⁹ 巖鏗典多，
寶²⁰ 源上頭泉涌々，澗下涓々不見波，
葱蘭寺裏嚮鐘響，花菜鮮明似苜蘿，
臨池百鳥皆稱佛，虎狼師子念弥陀，
樹葉苓籠光曜日，花開璫々²¹ 隱山峨²²，
見是天宮佛坐處，衆生²³ 到見不來過。

西臺岞嶺更空雲，崑崙山品震雷風，
嶺々藜林皆到卦，錄²⁴ 葉偏々重更重，
花生一枚²⁵ 千種色，暉々赫々似真蕊²⁶，
西北遙望花嚴寺，芬々²⁷ 勃々震隨風²⁸，
寶山寺門高嶮厄，石窟寺房悉有僧，
蓮花山々谷々有，金花可愛鬪芙²⁹ 容，
自悵³⁰ 前身不修福，今身與佛遇³¹ 相逢。

北臺崖崿更巉嶮，水³²院寺裏入雲霄，
 風栖樹居金谷口，寐暮眾生實是饒，
 舍力人來皆背負，驢馬搬運不辭勞，
 向前崎嶇山香々，嶺後嵯峨轉々遙，
 發願巡臺長礼拜，弟子遇人願引招。

中臺嶮峻最可憐，諸佛菩薩競來前，
 其山蓊鬱万種有，豈慢尊与天連，
 雲霧隊々時々發，風雲相和震篇々，
 神雷亦能擊擊電，冬夏遙望悉如然，
 至心礼拜靜如鏡，忽生愚意即逢煙，
 菩薩或然現兩足，或現虛空遍世間，
 或時化作九色鹿，或即化作奔蛇身，
 或然變現虛空坐，或則化作老人來，
 眾生肉眼不無識，不覺悽々曠野田，
 饒你珍寶如山岳，不兌匍匐入黃泉。
 五臺山讚一本

[校記]

- (1) 乙卷無此六字。
- (2) 菩薩，乙卷作合文并，下同。
- (3) 變，底本作遍，今據乙卷改。
- (4) 覺，底本作學，今據乙卷、丙卷改。
- (5) 悽字，底本無重疊號。
- (6) 上字，底本、乙卷均無，今據丙卷補。
- (7) 嶺字，乙卷分作山嶺二字。
- (8) 立字，乙卷同，丙卷作畝。
- (9) 吟，丙卷、乙卷字形相近，杜氏保留作□。
- (10) 時々，乙卷、丙卷作盼々。

- (11) 繞，乙卷、丙卷作遼。
- (12) 北足二字，丙卷同。乙卷作口北。
- (13) 心字，底本作身，今據乙卷、丙卷改。
- (14) 恠字，乙卷作堪。
- (15) 金字，乙卷、丙卷作龍。
- (16) 騷字，乙卷、丙卷作飄。
- (17) 崞堡，底本作崞一字，今據乙卷、丙卷。筆者案崞應爲崞（崞），《玉篇》“厚也”。
- (18) 巍字，丙卷同，乙卷作魏。
- (19) 寬字，乙卷、丙卷作甌。
- (20) 寶字，乙卷、丙卷作高。
- (21) 底本、乙卷無重疊號。今據丙卷補。
- (22) 山峨，乙卷作仙娥，丙卷作山蛾。
- (23) 丙卷無生字。
- (24) 錄，乙卷同，應爲綠字。
- (25) 一枚，乙卷作生枝。
- (26) 丙卷作紅。
- (27) 芬々，乙卷作苓。
- (28) 震隨風三字，丙卷作□嶮厄。
- (29) 芙字，底本誤作英。
- (30) 悵字，乙卷、丙卷作恨。
- (31) 遇字，乙卷作勞。
- (32) 水字，乙卷誤作木。

三、丁類《五臺山讚》寺名與撰寫年代的推測

丁類《五臺山讚》所見寺院，共十所，列舉如下：

吾摩寺（吳麼寺）

佛光寺
彼摩 [寺] (秘麼寺)
王子寺
天盆寺
天城寺
葱蘭寺
花嚴寺 (華嚴寺)
石窟寺
水院寺

其中亦有可自傳世文獻中尋得蛛絲馬跡者，現將其中與推測撰寫年代有關的資料一一列舉，稍加探討。

(一) 吾摩寺

《不空表制集》卷第二「請臺山五寺度人抽僧制一首」

代州五臺山金閣寺玉花清涼花嚴吳摩子等寺。右特進試鴻臚卿大興善寺三藏沙門大廣智不空奏，文殊聖跡自古攸仰，今遇陛下特更增修，精建伽藍，恩命稠稠（？）疊，足可百神潛祐，萬聖來歸，靈蹤建興，於斯為盛。處既嚴潔，人亦宜然。難已來僧徒漸少，或經行化物，便住人間，或蘭若間隨緣，因栖他處，遂使時中禮懺，鍾梵遞虧，樹下禪龕，蛛納交閣，福田未廣有愧聖心。伏乞天恩，先在山中行人童子久精苦者，寺別度二七人，兼諸州抽道行僧一七人，每寺相共滿三七人為國行道，有關續填。金閣等五寺常轉仁王護國及密嚴經，又吳摩子寺名且非便，望改為大曆法華之寺，常為國轉法華經，同五寺例免差遣其所度人。望委雲京將軍宗鳳朝與中使魏明秀，又修功德沙門含光簡擇，冀無滄濫。又清涼寺為大聖文殊造閣已畢，伏望天恩，賜書一額，永光來葉。 中書門下 牒 大廣智不空牒奉 勅宜依牒至准 勅，故牒。

大曆二年（767）三月二十六日牒 中書侍郎平章事元載 已下七相同

上¹⁷。

《廣清涼傳》卷上

中臺北趾及臺嶺南有二伽藍，號曰吳摩、葱蘭二寺。有洪馬寺主，於此住持。亦云戒德光，時威儀動物，群虎如犬馴擾。院庭鐘磬空鳴，如人擊動。六事不失，月十常聞。緇素巡臺，就而參禮。有尼三五人，年盡期頤，寺主百年不下山谷，長安三年（703）正月遷逝¹⁸。

《入唐求法巡禮行記》卷三

（開成五年（840）七月）四日，齋後，向西南入谷踰嶺，行十五里，到大曆法花寺。重閣於峻嶺崖上建立，四方涯面，盡是花樓寶殿。任地高低，堂舍比櫛。經像寶物，絕妙難言¹⁹。

不空於大曆二年（767）奏請將吳摩寺改爲大曆法華之寺，開成五年（840）日僧圓仁參五臺時已用此名稱，寫作“大曆法花寺”。丁類《五臺山讚》尚用舊稱“吾摩寺”，則其撰寫年代應爲大曆之前。

（二）彼摩〔巖寺〕（秘麼巖寺）

《古清涼傳》

西臺略無可述。臺之西有秘麼巖者，昔高齊之代有比丘尼法秘，惠心天悟，真志獨拔，脫落囂俗，自遠居之，積五十年，初無轉足，其禪惠之感，世靡得聞。年餘八十，於此而卒。後人重之，因以名巖焉²⁰。

《廣清涼傳》卷上「釋五臺諸寺方所七」

西臺，接東峨谷，有一古寺，名秘麼巖。亦具惠祥傳所說。此寺，唐垂拱中（685-688）有雁門清信士，辟閭崇義，形同素服，心造玄關，畢志有歸，勵精罔倦，薄遊茲寺，誓願住持，經閣始成，樓臺營構，堂殿房廊，六七院宇，二三四輩行人，雲屯慈地。十方名德，輻湊其中，無憚劬勞，惟專禪誦。至長安三年（703）。國家搜羅英彥，不遺巖野，辟閭崇義，遂

¹⁷ 上揭久曾神昇編《不空三藏表制集 他三種》，60-62 頁。

¹⁸ 《大正藏》第 51 冊，1108 頁。

¹⁹ 《入唐求法巡禮行記》，上海古籍出版社，1986 年，132 頁。

²⁰ 《大正藏》第 51 冊，1095 頁。

被召入，因乞爲僧，勅許披剃，後乃還山，終於此寺也²¹。

《廣清涼傳》卷中

清信士宋元慶者，洛陽縣北鄉人也。唐聖曆元年（698）二月十四日，來遊五臺，禮文殊大聖。元慶善根夙植，久厭塵勞，行潔冰霜，曾無瑕玷，屆茲真境，深契素心，願啓一時，功踰多劫，因遊西臺祕摩岳寺²²。

莫高窟第 61 窟《五臺山圖》榜題有“□磨儼院²³”（伯希和筆記作“被磨儼院”²⁴）即是此寺院。《古清涼傳》所云祇不過是比丘尼法秘的傳說，並非寺院的開創。而據《廣清涼傳》可知始建寺閣則在武則天垂簾聽政時期，由雁門清信士辟閻崇義創始。然則丁類《五臺山讚》的創作也應在武則天以後明矣。

（三）花嚴寺（華嚴寺）

澄觀《大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔》卷第七十六

漢明之初摩騰天眼亦見有塔，請帝王立寺。山形似於靈鷲，故號爲大孚靈鷲寺，大孚者弘信也。帝信佛理立寺勸人。花園今在寺前，後之君王或改爲大花園寺。至則天大聖皇后，與于闐三藏譯華嚴經，見菩薩住清涼山，因改爲大華嚴寺焉²⁵。

《開元釋教錄》卷九

大方廣佛華嚴經八十卷（第二出，與東晉覺賢譯者同本，證聖元年（695）三月十四日於東都大內大遍空寺譯，天后親受筆削，至聖曆二年（699）十月八日於佛授記寺功畢。）²⁶

據此可知古之大孚靈鷲寺改稱華嚴寺，就在譯完八十卷新譯《華嚴經》（699）以後，上限可以推晚一點。總之，丁類《五臺山讚》的創作年代可

²¹ 《大正藏》第 51 冊，1107 頁。

²² 《大正藏》第 51 冊，1116-17 頁。

²³ 趙聲良《莫高窟第 61 窟五臺山圖研究》，《敦煌研究》1993 年第 4 期，99 頁。

²⁴ *Grottes de Touen-houang, Carnet de notes de Paul Pelliot. Inscriptions et peintures murals*, IV. Grottes 112a à 120n. Paris, 1984, p.10, fig.262, no.150. 趙聲良引作“被磨儼院”，不盡準確。

²⁵ 《大正藏》第 36 冊，601 頁。

²⁶ 《大正藏》第 55 冊，565 頁。

定爲 699 年到 767 年之間。

四、小結

丁類《五臺山讚》迄今祇有一個寫卷可供利用，因此研究上有些困難。本文介紹新的丁種寫卷二種，並進行了初步校勘。又據杜斗城的研究，甲類《五臺山讚》成於唐貞元（785-805）以後，而乙類、丙類創作年代則在大曆年間（766-779）以後了。至於丁類，他祇說“如從其問題與‘讚五臺’的形式來看，其創作時代也應與甲、乙、丙相去不遠”，但如上所述，丁類的創作年代是 699 年到 767 年之間，比其他幾類還要早一點。

A Brief Note on Type-D of the Eulogy of Mount Wutai

TAKATA Tokio

Eulogy of Mount Wutai, discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts, is classified into four different types; Type-D has only been known previously in just a single manuscript. In this paper, two further Type-D manuscripts are identified and a new collation of the text is attempted. By analyzing the names of the temples appearing in this Eulogy, the author also claims that Type-D was composed between 699 and 767, which is slightly earlier than the composition of the other types.

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