

Dunhuang Manuscript Liturgies and Their Models: Classification and Naming*

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Abstract: This article gives an overview of recent thinking on the typology and structure of the liturgical texts found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. The author proposes dividing the thousands of liturgical texts found at Dunhuang into two main categories: liturgical protocols (*zhaiyi* 齋儀) and liturgies (*zhaiwen* 齋文). Liturgical protocols (sometimes called ‘written protocols’ [*shuyi* 書儀]) were used as references for drafting liturgies. Liturgies, written up on the basis of these liturgical protocols, were functional documents that were read aloud at all kinds of ritual gatherings. We can also divide the structure of the liturgies into five parts: the ‘opening’ (*haotou* 號頭), ‘exaltation of virtues’ (*tande* 歎德), ‘liturgical purpose’ (*zhaiyi* 齋意), ‘ritual area’ (*daochang* 道場), and ‘adornment’ (*zhuangyan* 莊嚴). This structure is roughly applicable to liturgical protocols and liturgies with all manners of content, including hymns of praise, apotropaic rituals, healing rites, and mourning rites, though there are of course many variations in the specific arrangement and sequence of the parts. This article also touches on the commonly used term ‘prayer texts’ (*yuanwen* 願文). It is suggested that this is a specific kind of liturgical text and that the term cannot be used as a blanket reference to the broader category of ‘liturgical text’.

Keywords: Dunhuang manuscripts, liturgical protocols (*zhaiyi* 齋儀), liturgies (*zhaiwen* 齋文), written protocols (*shuyi* 書儀), prayer texts (*yuanwen* 願文)

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The Dunhuang document cache preserves thousands of liturgies (*zhaiwen* 齋文: used in Buddhist ritual gatherings of various types), as well as liturgical models (*zhaiwen yangshi* 齋文樣式: used as references when drafting actual liturgies). Some of these documents survive only in one or two manuscripts; more commonly, they appear in dozens of manuscripts.

Upon glancing through their contents, we find that these documents include nearly every type of prayer directed toward the Buddha by the people of the Tang (618–907), Five Dynasties (907–979), and Song (960–1279). The received Buddhist canon contains very few texts of this kind, with the exception of a few prayer texts preserved in the *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [An Expansion of the Collection for Glorifying and Elucidating (Buddhism)] by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). Consequently, these documents are exceptionally valuable resources for the study of medieval Buddhist history and the history of medieval social life.

In recent years, this set of materials has received increasing attention in the international scholarly world. Chinese and Japanese scholars have published a considerable amount on the topic, and American academics have started participating as well.

Stephen Teiser, for example, has recently published research on performativity and liturgies, as well as on the subset of liturgies

* This is an English translation by Bo Huang 黃勃 of Tsinghua University and Max Brandstadt of University of California, Berkeley (max.brandstadt@berkeley.edu) of Appendix 1 ‘Dunhuang xieben zhaiwen jiqi yangshi de fenlei yu dingming’ 敦煌寫本齋文及其樣式的分類與定名 [Dunhuang Manuscript Liturgies and Their Models: Classification and Naming] of Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu* 中古時期社邑研究 [A Study on *She* Associations in Medieval China], Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2019.

known as ‘illness texts’ (*huanwen* 患文).¹ In addition, in October, 2018, Columbia University held a workshop titled ‘*Ganmon* Liturgies in Premodern East Asia’, wherein American and Japanese scholars discussed liturgies from Dunhuang and Japan.² The success of the forum suggests that Dunhuang liturgies have captured the interest of American academia.

However, previous scholars often failed to consider the genre of liturgical documents as a whole. As a result, the classification of these documents in current scholarly catalogues is often quite confusing. Consider, for example, the *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin* 敦煌遺書總目索引 [Catalogue and Index of the Dunhuang Manuscripts; hereafter the *General Catalogue*],³ which classifies liturgies and liturgical models into the following categories:

- 1) *shuyi* 書儀 (protocols);
- 2) *Shishi shuyi* 釋氏書儀 (Buddhist protocols);
- 3) *shiyong wenfan* 實用文範 (functional exempla);
- 4) *yingyong wenfan* 應用文範 (practical exempla);
- 5) *Lifo wenshi* 禮佛文式 (scripts for worshipping the Buddha);
- 6) *Shimen yingyong wenfan* 釋門應用文範 (practical Buddhist exempla);
- 7) *Zhaiwen chengshi* 齋文程式 (liturgical programs);
- 8) *zhu za zhaiwen chengshi* 諸雜齋文程式 (assorted liturgical programs);
- 9) *Shizi wenfan* 釋子文範 (Buddhist exempla);
- 10) *Za zhaiwen* 雜齋文 (assorted liturgies);
- 11) *Zhuza zhaiwen* 諸雜齋文 (various assorted liturgies);
- 12) *Shizi wen* 釋子文 (Buddhist documents);
- 13) *Lifo zawen* 禮佛雜文 (assorted documents for worshipping the Buddha);
- 14) *Shizi lifo wen* 釋子禮佛文 (Buddhist documents for worshipping the Buddha);

¹ Teiser, ‘Curing with Karma and Confession’.

² See ‘*Ganmon* Liturgies’.

³ Wang, *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin*.

- 15) *Lichan wen* 禮懺文 (documents on worship and repentance);
- 16) *Shimen zawen* 釋門雜文 (assorted Buddhist documents);
- 17) *Shizi qidao wen* 釋子祈禱文 (Buddhist prayer documents), etc.⁴

Since the *General Catalogue* was published in May of 1962, as might be expected, research in Dunhuang studies has advanced tremendously in the intervening period. Considering that the *General Catalogue* was constrained by the state of research in Dunhuang studies at the time, the problems we find in classification system for liturgical documents were likely unavoidable.

In September of 1986, the *Dunhuang yishu zuixin mulu* 敦煌遺書最新目錄 [New Catalogue of the Dunhuang Manuscripts; hereafter the *New Catalogue*], edited by Huang Yongwu 黃永武, was published in Taiwan.⁵ This catalogue took stock of new results in the field of Dunhuang studies both in China and abroad since the publication of the *General Catalogue*. In its classification of documents—particularly Buddhist scripture—the *New Catalogue* represents a considerable advancement over its predecessor.

In its classification of liturgies and liturgical models, however, the *New Catalogue* scarcely made any progress, basically using the same categories as the original Catalogue. The relevant categories in the *New Catalogue* are as follows:

- 1) *shuyi* 書儀 (protocols);
- 2) *Shimen shuyi* 釋門書儀 (Buddhist protocols);
- 3) *Shimen yingyong wenfan* 釋門應用文範 (practical Buddhist exempla);
- 4) *Shimen wenfan* 釋門文範 (Buddhist exempla);
- 5) *Shimen fanwen* 釋門範文 (Buddhist model texts);
- 6) *Lifo wenshi* 禮佛文式 (scripts for worshipping the Buddha);
- 7) *Zhu za zhaiwen chengshi* 諸雜齋文程式 (assorted liturgical

⁴ Please refer to the established names for the texts P.2547, P.2497, P.2767V, P.5561, P.3806, P.5957, P.3678V, P.4062, P.2820, P.3545, P.3128, P.3276, P.3765, P.3566, P.3122, P.3491, P.4536V, P.2226V, P.3980, P.2580V, P.2588, S.1173, etc., in the *General Catalogue*.

- programs);
- 8) *Zhu za zhaiwen* 諸雜齋文 (various assorted liturgies);
 - 9) *Shizi lifo wen* 釋子禮佛文 (Buddhist documents for worshipping the Buddha);
 - 10) *Shimen zawen* 釋門雜文 (assorted Buddhist documents);
 - 11) *Za zhaiwen* 雜齋文 (assorted liturgies);
 - 12) *Fojiao shehui wen* 佛教設會文 (documents for Buddhist ceremonies), etc.

Although the categories in the *New Catalogue* are slightly less numerous than those in the *General Catalogue*, the system of classification is still quite haphazard, and confusion surrounding the names of the categories remains unresolved.

Therefore, if we do not apply a rational typology to liturgies and liturgical models, and if we fail to resolve the confusion surrounding the names of these categories, we will not be able to conduct effective research on these fascinating documents. This article attempts a cursory investigation of these issues.

A careful reader may have already noticed that, in the *General Catalogue* and *New Catalogue*, the categories related to liturgies and liturgical models can be condensed into two main groupings. The first group contains the first nine of seventeen categories in the *General Catalogue* and the first seven of twelve categories in the *New Catalogue*. Although the categories in this first group are numerous, their names (which all include terms like *shuyi* 書儀 [protocol], *wenfan* 文範 [exemplar], *wenshi* 文式 [script], *chengshi* 程式 [program], and *fanwen* 範文 [model text]) show that the cataloguers believed these were not functional documents (i.e., documents that were not actually used on ritual occasions). Rather, they were models providing a reference for those who drafted such functional documents. The remaining categories comprise our second grouping. Names like *Zhu za zhaiwen* 諸雜齋文 (various assorted liturgies), *Shimen zawen* 釋門雜文 (assorted Buddhist texts), *Shizi lifo wen* 釋子禮佛文 (Buddhist texts for worshipping the Buddha), and *Lichan wen* 禮懺文 (texts on worship and repentance) suggest that the cataloguers believed the texts in this grouping were indeed functional documents.

Admittedly, the above groups are not sufficiently precise, and they are, moreover, obscured by the inconsistent terminology used for the categories they include. Nevertheless, these groupings constitute the foundation from which we must launch our investigation. From this starting point, our first task will be to clearly demarcate our two main categories: ‘liturgies’ and ‘liturgical models’. Our second task will be to give these two categories distinct, consistent labels that reflect the reality of their use, as well as to probe into their respective characteristics.

First, we will examine *zhaiwen yangshi* 齋文樣式 (‘liturgical models’). These documents are identical to what are sometimes called *shuyi* 書儀 (‘protocols’). They were never used at actual ritual functions; instead, they served as references for those who drafted actual, functional liturgies. For the most part, they have the format of a document (*shu* 書), with an introduction (*xu* 序), table of contents (*mulu* 目錄), and main text (*zhengwen* 正文). The ‘Zhaiwan wen yijuan bing xu’ 齋琬文一卷並序 [Jadeite Text for *Zhai* in One Scroll, with Preface] hereafter, ‘Jadeite Text for *Zhai*’, serves as a representative example of this category.⁶ This manuscript preserves the preface, table of contents, and part of the main text of a set of ‘liturgical models’. As we have seen previously, there are nearly ten separate terms for this kind of ‘liturgical model’ in modern catalogues. What label, then, should we use to encompass all of these terms?

With a few omissions, the preface of P.2940 (Figure 1) briefly reads as follows:

Due to the change from the ‘era of true dharma’ (*zhengfa* 正法) to the ‘era of the semblance dharma’ (*xiangfa* 像法), some people became corrupted and some remained pure. Some people tried to rely on teaching of terms to find the truth, while others borrowed sound and light to realize the way. Therefore, people tried to set up expedient and non-standard ways to entice people, showing a means

⁵ Huang, *Dunhuang yishu zuixin mulu*.

⁶ This scroll of manuscript only preserves the preface, table of contents and part of the main text, but there are several manuscript fragments in other fascicles of this text.

to direct their casual teachings. And so, the noble worthies of the distant past first instituted *zhaiyi* 齋儀 ('liturgical protocols'), described the regulations for encouragement and guidance, and wished to establish the track of guidance. Though their words are amazing and elegant and their arguments are broad and lofty, their record of worldly affairs was not yet complete and their talk of mundane circumstances still contained omissions. Those who came to learn did not change their ignorance. Externally, they do not have a strict standard and internally, they lack the skill to adapt. When they were asked to sing and guide in the grand banquets, most cannot speak with their tongues. When they tried to spread their teaching, they kept their lips closed to the monastic masses. How could this not attract mockery close by and be shrouded in mystery afar? It darkens the intense light of the traces of sages, and eliminates hope for the sentient beings. 但為代移正、象，人變澆淳。或藉名教以尋真，或假聲光而悟道。所以為設善權之術，旁施誘進之端。示其級(=汲?)引之方，援以隨宜之說。故乃遠代高德，先已刊制‘齊(=齋?)儀’。庶陳獎道(=導?)之規，冀啟津梁之軌。雖並詞警(=驚?)擲地，辯架譚天，然載世事之未周，語俗緣而尚缺。致使來學者未爰瞳蒙，外無繩準之規，內乏隨機之巧。擢令唱道(=導?)，多捲舌於宏筵；推任宣揚，竟緘唇於清眾。豈直近招譏謗，擬亦遠墜玄猶(=猷?)。沉聖跡之威光，缺生靈之企望。

I am no more than a withered [monk] in the Saṃgha and a mote of dust on the path of nirvāṇa; my knowledge is inadequate, and my intelligence is not agile. [When I] study the words [of past worthies], I run across [...] which are splendid and of aspirations for the Way, so I edit them into a fascicle of texts exalting the Buddha. Thus, beginning with serene proclamations of the virtues of the Sage, it will conclude with blessings for the many powers. Herein one finds both the mundane and the [ultimately] true, some patterned and some plain. Wherein the ear and eye engage, therein my humble tracks have passed, and I have brought together these detailed records for whatever might be prayed for. In all, there are more than eighty items, collected together in ten ranks. [The system] is similar to the older items [formerly] instituted, though I have selected and rejected [aspects] of the former models. It is divided into upper, middle, and lower sections, and can be transmitted to

Later Ages. 者(=某?)但緇林朽樺, 寂路輕埃. 學闕未聞, 才多不敏. 輒以課茲螺累, 偶木成口, 狂簡斐然, 裁成《歎佛文》一部. 爰自和宣聖德, 終乎庇佑群靈. 於中魚(=兼?)俗魚(=兼?)真, 半文半質. 耳目之所歷, 竊形跡之所經. 應有所祈者, 並此詳載. 忽有八十餘條, 撮一十等類. 所制舊例, 獻替前規. 分上、中、下目, 用傳末葉.⁷

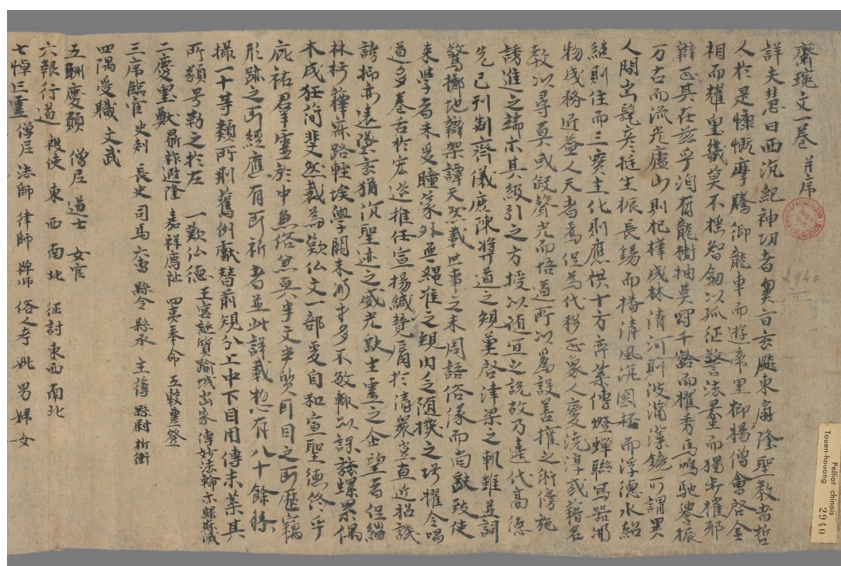


FIG. 1 P.2940 'Zhaiwan wen yijuan bing xu' 齋琬文一卷並序 [Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Scroll, with Preface]; courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As the quoted material shows, this *Zhaiwan wen* could also be called a 'Tanfo wen' 歎佛文 (Text on Exalting the Buddha). The contents suggest, however, that it is no more than a revision of and supplement to 'liturgical protocols' (*zhaiyi* 齋儀) created by 'noble worthies of the distant past' 遠代高德. In all likelihood, the 'worthies of the distant past' indicated here are some worthy monks from the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589).

The Buddhist history master, historian and biographer Huijiao 慧

⁷ Huang and Wu, eds. and colla., *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 66; cf. Zhou, ed., *Quan Tangwen xinbian*, bu 4, vol. 5: 11722.

皎 (497–554), in one of the treatises he composed for his biographical anthology (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks]), ‘Changdao lun’ 唱導論 [Treatise on the Buddhist Lead Chanters], states:

In the past, when the Buddhist Dharma first spread, people made ‘*zhai* gatherings’ (*zhaiji* 齋集), chanting the Buddha’s name, and rituals were conducted through texts. By the middle of the night, when they were extremely tired, they would do things that help with realization so they will ask a person who had longstanding virtue to take a seat and lecture on the Buddhist dharma, tell historical stories (*nidāna*), or refer to parables (*avadāna*). Later, Huiyuan of Lushan was accomplished in the Way, and his talents were elegantly displayed. Whenever there was a religious gathering, he would personally take a high seat, and become the head instructor. He first clarified the karma of the three lives and then explained the great meaning of the gathering. His teaching spread to posterity and it became a perpetual regulation. 昔佛法初傳，於時齋(=齋?)集，止宣唱佛名，依文致禮。至中宵疲極，事資啟悟；乃別請宿德，昇座說法。或雜序因緣，或傍引譬喻。其後廬山釋慧遠，道業貞華，風才秀發。每至齋集，輒自昇高座，躬為導首。先明三世因果，卻辯一齋大意。後代傳受，遂成永則。⁸

This shows that there were no ‘liturgical protocols’ before the time of the famous monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) in the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317–420), and that the passage ‘he first clarified the karma of the three lives and explained the great meaning of the gathering’ (先明三世因果，卻辯一齋大意) was the basic content of later liturgies (see the liturgical texts quoted below). However, since it was the first of its kind at that time, it may have been relatively simple and spread by passing it down from teacher to disciple, so no written text was formed. In addition, ‘Shouqin pian’ 受請篇 [Chapter on Invitations] included in fascicle fifty-five of *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠

⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.417c8–13; cf. Tang et al., colla. and annot., *Gaoseng zhuan*, 521.

林 [Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden] records that Wei Shidu 衛士度 (active 236–290) of the Eastern Jin was ‘erudite and wrote eight-repentance texts, which are still used by those who participated in a *zhai* at the end of the Jin’ (善有文辭, 作八關懺文, 晉末齋者尚用之).⁹ The liturgy made by Wei Shidu was used as a literary model by his contemporaries, indicating that there was no ‘liturgical protocol’ up until the end of the Eastern Jin.

The biography of Shi Baochang 釋寶唱 (?–505+) in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks] states:

In the fourth year of Tianjian (508), [Baochang] came back to the capital, and was then invested as the head of the Xin’an Monastery 新安寺. As believed by the emperor (Liang Wudi), are the clouds and thunder from near and far not becoming clear, the wind and rain becoming unobstructed, and the hundred grains reaping abundantly due to taking from the Three Treasures above, relying on the Four Heavenly Kings in the middle, and borrowing (aid) from the divine dragons below, and receiving the aid from the spirits?—Only then can merit cover the people and let them enjoy the great virtue now. However, these texts are scattered in different sections and it is hard to find them successfully. [The emperor] ordered [Bao]chang to search for them in the various sections to satisfy the needs of the time. It can either build merits and be used to pray to eliminate disasters, or perform rituals of repentance to remove obstacles, or make offerings to receive gods and ghosts, or make sacrifices to the Dragon King. The divisions total nearly one hundred fascicles. The gods of the eight legions take up three fascicles. These include the hidden and profound, and describe the past and present in detail. 天監四年, (釋寶唱)便還都下, 乃勅為新安寺主. (梁武)帝以時會雲雷, 遠近清晏, 風雨調暢, 百穀年登, 豈非上資三寶、中賴四天、下藉神龍, 幽靈叶贊, 方乃福被黔黎, 歆茲厚德? 但文散群部, 難可備尋. 下勅令唱總撰集錄, 以擬時要. 或建福禳災、或禮懺除障、或饗接神鬼、或祭祀龍王. 部類區分, 近將百卷. 八部神名, 以為三卷. 包括幽奧, 詳略古今.¹⁰

⁹ *Fayuan zhulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 42.616b26–27.

¹⁰ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.426b27–c5.

This ‘collection’ (*jilu* 集錄) has extensive and complicated content, but given that its content ‘can either build merits and be used to pray to eliminate disasters, or perform rituals of repentance to remove obstacles’ (建福禳災, 禮懺除障) it was probably used as a reference for people drafting liturgies to set up Buddhist gatherings. This part of the content can be regarded as the predecessor of ‘liturgical protocols’ (*zhaiyi* 齋儀).

Furthermore, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* includes ‘two fascicles of *Lifo wen* 禮佛文 [Performing Buddhist Rituals Text]’ (禮佛文二卷).¹¹ Since the original text has been lost, its content is no longer known. However, the ‘Jaiwan wen’ cited above is also called ‘Tanfo wen’, so the *Lifo wen* is also very likely to be the same kind of text as a ‘liturgical protocol’. Fascicles five and seventeen, respectively, of the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, record that Emperor Wu of Liang or Chen Bozhi 陳伯智 (active 582–605), Prince Yongyang 永明王 of the Chen Dynasty, ‘made prayer texts by hand’ (手製願文) or ‘composed prayer texts in person’ (躬著願文), probably with reference to the previous *fanwen* 範文 (liturgical protocol).¹² In sum, although we are not sure who the ‘noble worthies of the distant past’ in the above quotation were, we can safely assume that there were already ‘liturgical protocols’ for people to refer to when drafting liturgies in the Southern and Northern Dynasties.

The term ‘liturgical protocol’ is related, in its origins, to the term ‘protocol’ (*shuyi* 書儀). Protocols were used as references when both literati and commoners composed secular letters; the genre had appeared as early as the Han (206 BCE–220 CE). During the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, various kinds of protocols circulated widely,¹³ and even though scholar-monks considered secular genres ‘external documents’, they would, for the most part, have been well

¹¹ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 12.85c24.

¹² *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 5.467b6-8: 帝及儲君, 中使相望。四部白黑, 日夜參候。勅為建齋, 手製願文, 并繼以醫藥。 *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 17.565b13–14: [永陽]王[伯智]流汗無答。乃遶王一匝, 坦然痛止。仍躬著願文曰...

¹³ Zhou, ‘Dunhuang xieben shuyi kao (zhiyi)’, 17–18.

aware of such texts. Therefore, these ‘noble worthies’ were inevitably influenced by the name ‘protocol’ which they saw in their daily life when they were writing liturgical protocol, so they called the documents they published with the same characteristic as ‘liturgical protocols’. As for liturgical protocols that were also referred to as ‘Jadeite Text for *Zhai*’ or ‘Text on Exalting the Buddha’, they were merely different names of the same type of text. This is a similar situation as the *Yueyi tie* 月儀帖 [Calligraphy of the Monthly Greetings] of the Tang Dynasty being referred to as ‘Shi’er yue youpeng xiangwen shu’ 十二月友朋相聞書 [Letters of Communication between Friends in the Twelfth Month].¹⁴

In the Tang Dynasty, the types and names of Buddhist *zhai* gatherings developed further. For the ‘liturgical protocols’ published in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, it appears that ‘their record of worldly affairs was not yet complete and their talk of mundane circumstances still contained omissions’ (載世事之未周, 語俗緣而尚缺), and they could not fully meet the actual needs of the time. So, the author of the ‘Jadeite Text for *Zhai*’ added more content to it, so that could ‘compose a set of texts exalting the Buddha. Thus, beginning with serene proclamations of the virtues of the Sage, it will conclude with blessings for the many Powers’ (裁成《歎佛文》一部。爰自和宣聖德, 終乎庇佑群靈), and he ‘brought together these detailed records for whatever might be prayed for’ (應有所祈者, 並此詳載). Therefore, the ‘Jadeite Text for *Zhai*’ is actually a new type of ‘liturgical protocol’ that replaced the older ‘liturgical protocol’. In this regard, the documents of liturgical models from the Dunhuang cache should also be ‘liturgical protocols’ or revised versions, so we should unify the many names related to the liturgical protocols in the existing catalogue, and refer to all of them as ‘liturgical protocol’.

The second main grouping is the ‘liturgy’ (*zhaiwen* 齋文) proper. We will use this term to refer to the various types of liturgies that were actually read aloud by monastics at different kinds of *zhai* gatherings, or to liturgical compendia made up of such texts. Generally,

¹⁴ Zhao, ‘Dunhuang xieben shuyi luelun’, 561.

documents of this kind will have their titles (e.g., ‘Linkuang wen’ 臨壙文 [Pre-burial Texts], ‘Suhuan wen’ 俗患文 [Text for a Sick Layperson], ‘Shezhai wen’ 社齋文 [Text for an Association Ritual], ‘Yin shafo wen’ 印沙佛文 [Text for Stamping Buddhas on the Sand], etc.) written out at the beginning of the text,¹⁵ though there are also some that do not give their titles.¹⁶ Although liturgies are sometimes found in stand-alone, single text manuscripts, they are also gathered into liturgical compendia ranging in size from two or three to several dozens of texts. Compendia of these documents usually contain only the texts of the liturgies themselves—i.e., the texts are not preceded by any preface or table of contents. When such texts survive in only one or two texts, the *General Catalogue* and *New Catalogue* will often use the title of the manuscript as the label for a category. This kind of text is plentiful, so except in cases where the catalogue lists many subheadings and gives the title of each text,¹⁷ the catalogues often lump these texts together under headings like ‘assorted liturgies’ (*Za zhaiwen* 雜齋文) and ‘assorted Buddhist liturgies’ (*Shimen zawen* 釋門雜文). As we discussed above, there are eight or nine such categories.

When studying these documents, we are faced not only with the problem of unifying the various kinds of names from the existing catalogues, but additionally, the names such as ‘assorted liturgies’, and ‘assorted Buddhist liturgies’ could lead readers to think such documents are functional documents. In fact, such documents have the dual nature of being both functional documents and ‘liturgical protocols’. Their real use is reflected in the fact that they can be directly taken to the relevant religious gathering to be read. When a certain monk takes a certain liturgy to the religious gathering to read it, this liturgy also becomes a functional document. However,

¹⁵ See the liturgical texts in P.3276V, S.6417, S.5561, P.3545, P.2331V, S.5573, etc.

¹⁶ Examples include the ‘Randeng wen’ 燃燈文 [Text for Lamp Lighting] in S.5924, the ‘Yin shafo wen’ 印沙佛文 [Text for Stamping Buddhas on the Sand] in S.4458.

¹⁷ See the table of content for S.6417 in the *General Catalogue*.

a ‘liturgical protocol’ must be processed before it can be read at the religious gathering (details below). A liturgy having the features of a ‘liturgical protocol’ refers to the fact that each liturgy can be used for every religious gathering of its kind. For example, the ‘*she* liturgy’ applicable to the religious gathering established by *She* A also applies to the religious gathering established by *She* B, and also applies to the religious gathering established by *She* C, and so on. Therefore, we should take their dual nature into account when assigning names to these kinds of texts.

Nittō gubō junrei gyōki 入唐求法巡禮行記 [Record of Pilgrimage to the Tang (China) in Search of the Dharma] by the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) suggests that the Tang literati used the single term ‘liturgy’ to refer to texts like *zhaitan wen* 齋歎文 (Ritual Exaltations), *linkuang wen* 臨壙文 (Pre-burial Texts), *subuan wen* 俗患文 (Texts for Sick Laypeople), *shezhai wen* 社齋文 (Texts for Association Rituals), and *yin shafo wen* 印沙佛文 (Texts for Stamping Buddhas in the Sand).¹⁸ Therefore, a collection composed of several liturgies above should be called a liturgical collection. However, this name, like the various names in the existing catalogue, does not reflect the dual nature of this type of document. Fortunately, the epilogues of such documents preserved in the Dunhuang cache provide clues for us to determine their names. For example, in the liturgy preserved in S.6417, there are seven epilogues of the monk Jierong 戒榮 in the Jinguangming Monastery 金光明寺. The end of the first piece *Sanzhang yiyi shezhai wen* 三長邑義設齋文 [Liturgy Established by the Yi Association of Three Long Lunar Months] has the title ‘Zhenming liunian gengchen sui eryue shi, nianri Jinguang[ming] si seng Jierong guobai zhuannian’ 貞明陸年庚辰歲二月十日金光明寺僧戒榮裹白轉念 [Recitation in White Clothing by the Monk Jierong of the Jinguang(ming) Monastery on the Tenth and Twentieth Days of the Second Month of the Sixth Year of the Zhenming 貞明 Era (i.e., March 3 or 13, 920), a *Gengchen* Year]. The other six pieces all have the words *Jierong wenben* 戒榮文本 (Jierong Text) or *Jierong wen yiben* 戒榮文一本 (One Piece of Jierong Text) at the end. These

¹⁸ Bai et al., colla. and annot., *Rutang qiufa xunli ji jiaozhu*, 70–71.

epilogues, especially the last two, indicate that these texts belong to Jierong. If anyone invited him, he would go to a gathering with this fascicle of the text; if a *linkuang zhai* 臨壙齋 (Pre-burial *zhai*) is set up (whether it is the Zhang family or the Li family), he would study the *Linkuang* text; just replace the character ‘certain’ (*mou* 某) in the text with the name of a specific person or group. Therefore, the name *Jierong wenben* can reflect the nature of these documents as both functional documents and having the characteristics of liturgical protocols. As far as we know, it is not rare for liturgies and liturgical collections preserved in Dunhuang writings such as the *Jierong wenben* to be owned by monks or kept in the hands of monks. Therefore, we can collectively call this type of documents the ‘liturgical texts’; the collection composed of this type of documents can be, I suggest, called ‘Collection of Liturgical Texts’ (*zhaiwen wenben ji* 齋文文本集).¹⁹

Although we have combined the different labels for our two kinds of documents into the two categories of ‘liturgical protocols’ and ‘liturgies’, and we have elaborated on the differences in their basic characteristics, we still have not entirely resolved the problems surrounding the classification of these documents. Many of the documents from Dunhuang are no longer intact, and many of the liturgical protocols and liturgies from Dunhuang are badly damaged. Liturgical protocols that preserve a preface and table of contents, such as P.2940, are not at all common (moreover, the main text of P.2940 is incomplete). Consequently, many liturgical protocols resemble liturgical compendia, containing only the liturgical models that appear in the body of the protocol. As a result, they are quite easily mixed up with compendia of actual liturgical texts. Such mix-ups have made their way into current catalogues. For example, P.3765 preserves a *she* liturgy that also appears in S.5957 and P.3276V. In the *General Catalogue* and *New Catalogue*, however, these documents, which are completely identical in content and are in fact the same liturgy, are placed under different headings. The *General Catalogue*

¹⁹ The determination of the name ‘text’ (*wenben* 文本) is an adoption of Zhao Heping’s suggestion. I specifically mention it here and express my gratitude.

classifies P.3765 under *Zhu za zhaiwen* 諸雜齋文 (Various Assorted Liturgies), without any subheading. In the *New Catalogue*, this manuscript is listed under the subheading *shewen* 社文 (Association Text). The *General Catalogue* and *New Catalogue* classify S.5957 as a *Shimen yingyong wenfan* 釋門應用文範 (practical Buddhist exempla), without a subheading. P.3276V is classified under *za zhaiwen* 雜齋文 (assorted liturgies) in the *General Catalogue*, but is placed under *she zhaiwen* 社齋文 (Association Liturgies) in the *New Catalogue*.

Thus, the same document is classified as an exemplar in one catalogue and a functional text in the other. In order to prevent further misclassifications, we should examine more closely the distinctions between, on one hand, the liturgical models found in liturgical protocols and, on the other hand, the texts of liturgies proper.

For the convenience of explaining this issue, we first quote the ‘She zhaiwen’ 社齋文 [*She* Liturgy] in the ‘She zhaiwen wenben ji’ 社齋文文本集 [*She* Liturgical Collection] of P.3545 (Figure 2) as follows:

Line 1. The *she* liturgy 社齋文: I heard that as the light shines on Vulture Peak, the great awakening is disseminated with deep compassion; It is exclaimed in the serpent spirit’s 蓋聞光暉 (輝) 鷲嶺, 弘{佛}²⁰大覺以深慈; 敷演龍

Line 2. palace, and parallels the excellent merit of the heavenly lights. [It] widely opens the gate of convenience, and greatly displays the path of the bridge. Those who took a vow will 宮, 契天明之勝福. 廣開方便大門, 靡顯律 (=津?) 梁之路. 歸依者有障

Line 3. certainly have their obstacles eliminated, and those who have merits transferred will have all their disasters annihilated. Therefore [they] know the power of the Buddhas, they are great! At present, for the hosts of the *zhai* sitting at the fore 必除, 迴向者無災不殄. 故知諸佛威力, 其大矣哉! 厥今坐前齋主

Line 4. those holding the incenser to make a vow and state their intention to hold the ‘association of the three long *zhai* months’ as a festive gathering of preserving merit and virtue. 捧爐啟願所申意者, 奉為三長邑儀 (=義?) 保(=報?)願功德之嘉會也.

²⁰ The character 佛 seems redundant here.

Line 5. The *she* members are elite clans of high standing and famous families of one hundred prefectures; they are like the jade leaves and the fine branches, the fragrance of orchids and the scent of 惟諸社眾 乃並是高門勝族, 百郡名家; 玉葉瓊枝, 蘭芬桂

Line 6. osmanthus. [They were] loyal to the state when they went to serve and filial to their families when they came home. Their good reputation was spread throughout the domain, with their elegance heard in the world. They are further dedicated to 馥. 出忠於國, 入孝於家. 靈 (=令?) 譽播於寰中, 秀雅文 (=聞?) [於]手 (=宇?) 內. 加以傾心

Line 7. the Three Jewels, project thoughts onto no birth; they overcame the dense forest tainted by attached love, and attained enlightened at the realm of tathatā. They realized the unreal nature of 三寶, 攝念無生; 越憂 (愛) 染於稠林, 悟真如之境界; 替 (=體?) 榮華之非

Line 8. the flourishing phenomena, and saw the nothingness of human affairs. They are determined to take refuge, and have the sentiment to cross to the other shore. Then they will make good karma together 實, 攬 (=覽?) 人事之虛無; 志在歸依, 情存彼岸. 遂乃共結良緣,

Line 9. and increase good fortune together. Both the ordinary and sacred people attended the *zhai*, sat on the lotus platform, paid homage to the three jewels, and sought after good 同增勝福, 會齋凡聖, 蓮坐花臺, 崇敬三尊, 希求勝

Line 10. fortune. Therefore, no one is absent during the 'three months of abstinence in a year' (*niansan* 年三), and no one is gone during the 'six days of purification in a month' (*yueliu* 月六). The [*niṣī*]dana (mats) was established, and dharma sessions started. This 福. 故能年三不闕, 月六無虧. 建豎壇那, 聿修法會. 是

Line 11. day, the Lunar Hall was opened, the golden case was opened, the great vehicle turned, and a seat of brocade put on. The kitchen has the food offering for Cunda, and the furnace 日也, 開月殿, 啟金感 (=函?), 轉天 (=大?) 乘, 敷錦席. 廚饌純陀之供, 爐

Line 12. burns the incense of the pure land. Flags and flowers are scattered in the pavilion, and the bells and musical instruments are placed across the seats for the dharma. This merit of setting up 焚淨土之香; 幡花散滿 [於] 亭中, 鍾梵啾流于法席. 以資 [此] 設

Line 13. the *zhai* has limitless good causes. First, we use it to adorn the four celestial kings in the realm above, and the eight legions in the region below. 齋功德, 無限勝因, 先用莊嚴上界四王、下方八部。

Line 14. May their powerful light blaze, protecting the state and saving the people, and may the lord live a thousand years, [may] the grain be abundant and harvested annually. We hold to the 伏願威光熾盛, 護國求 (=救?) 人, 使主千秋, 年豐歲稔. 伏持勝

Line 15. great good. Then we use the great good to adorn the virtuous *shè* members. May the calamities be dispelled, the blessings brought forth, and 善. 次用莊嚴諸賢社即體. 惟願災殃殄滅, 是福咸臻;

Line 16. may the deities and immortals descend in their power and gods offer blessings. May the seeds of bodhi, matching with bud-dha-[nature], send forth sprouts, and the thicket of afflictions 天仙降靈, 神祇效恥(=祉?). 菩提種子, 配佛〔性〕以開牙(=芽?); 煩惱稠林, Line 17. be blown by the wind of wisdom and drop its foliage. Also, we use the great merit to adorn the furnace-holding alms giver 惠風飄而葉落. 又持勝福, 次用莊嚴持爐施主即體.

Line 18. We pray that fortune is like the spring grass, producing leaves and giving birth to flowers, [and that our] sins become like a floating cloud, fading away with the wind. Then 惟願福同春卉, 吐葉生花, 罪等浮雲, 隨風變滅. 然後

Line 19. may the three realms and the six paths, those with form and those without form, all become purified from causation, and [may they] all ascend to the fruit that is buddhahood. Mahāprajña! 三界六趣, 有刑(=形?) 無刑(=形?), 俱休(=沐?) 勝因, 齊成佛果. 摩訶般若!²¹

²¹ Ning and Hao, *Dunhuang sbeyi wenshu jijiao*, 514–15.

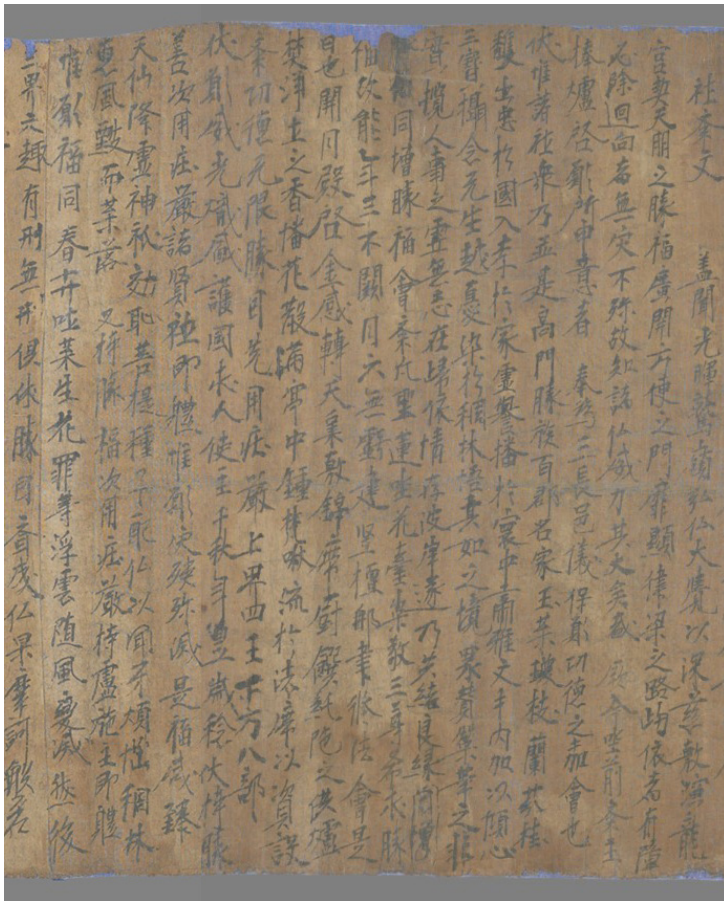


FIG. 2 P.3545 'Shezhai wen' 社齋文 [*She* Liturgy]; courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This is a typical *she* liturgical text. This type of liturgical text is changed on the basis of the liturgical protocol. An example is the *she* liturgy in the collection of liturgical texts found in P.2058V, which was formed on the basis of the '*she* association' (*sheyi* 社邑) in the liturgical protocol from P.3678V. In order to make readers clearly understand the difference between the liturgical model and the liturgical text itself in the 'liturgical protocol', and to further understand the relationship between the two, the full text of the two documents is cited as follows:

A. ‘*She* Liturgy’ from the Collection of Liturgical Texts Attested in P.2058V (Figure 3)²²

Line 1. *Yi* Text 邑文: In the west there was a sage named Śākyamuni, heir of the Golden Wheel, son of King Śuddhodanaḥ. 夫西方有聖, 號‘釋迦’焉。金輪滴(嫡)孫, 淨飯王子。

Line 2. Responding to the [needs of] the Lotus Kalpa, he stilled the thousand shoots, and manifested the three thousand bodies; his mind discerned the four wisdoms. When the armies of Māra 應蓮花劫, 續昔(息)千苗。影現三千(身), 心明四智。魔軍鎮(陣)

Line 3. moved, he beat the dharma-drum and dispersed them. The lone nāga, in response, concealed him, and those who saw his beams of compassion were changed. The brahma 動, 擊法鼓而消形; 獨龍應潛, 覩慈光而遍(變)質。梵

Line 4. kings held parasols [above him], Śakra adorned him with flowers. He descended the jewelled staircase of the Three Realms, and opened the nine-layered net of rulership. 王持蓋, 帝釋嚴花。下三道之寶皆(階), 開九重之帝綱。

Line 5. It was the majesty of our Great Master that suspended from on high the dharma-mirror and broadly illuminated the common people. So now 高玄(懸)法界(鏡), 廣照蒼(蒼)生, 為(唯)我大師威神者也。厥今即

Line 6. we hold a gathering of the lords of the town so that those sublime causes laid down in previous lives may send forth good shoots in the present lifetime, and so that karmic effects 有座前〔合〕邑諸公等乃妙因宿殖, 善牙(芽)發於金(今)生; 業果

Line 7. if previously pure, may make our attitude toward the Path firm in the present day. [We are] aware that the four material elements are without a master, and perceive that the five aggregates are all empty. Next 先淳, 道心堅於此日。知四大而無主, 〔識〕五蘊而皆空。遂

Line 8. since we are able to make it so no one is absent during the

²² This *she* liturgical text has three manuscripts preserved in the Dunhuang Cache, which are stored in the back of the three liturgical text collection containing P.2058, P.3566, P.2588, and P.2588. This explanatory text uses the *she* liturgical text on the back of P.2058 as the base text, and the other two texts are used for consultation.

‘three months of abstinence in a year’ (*niānsan* 年三), and during the ‘six days of purification in a month’ (*yueliu* 月六) 乃共結良緣, 同崇邑義. 故能年三不缺, 月六

Line 9. no one is gone. We establish [*niṣī*] *dana* (mats) and reverently engage in ritual gatherings. Thus, banners and flowers drape the earth, and brahmic sounds 無虧. 建豎壇那, 聿修法會. 於是幡花布地, 梵向(響)

Line 10. rise to heaven. In furnaces, we burn the six particulars, and for victuals we supply the ‘hundred flavours’. With this one meal, we offer to the Three Jewels, destroy the ‘three poisons’, drive off the 陵(凌)天. 爐焚六殊, 餐資百味. 以一食施三寶、滅三毒、去三

Line 11. ‘three disasters’, venerate the hundred flavours, make offerings to the ten directions, loosen the ten fetters, and provide [oneself] with the ten powers. ...we take the merit from organizing this *zhai* and rededicate it as a cause of 災·崇白(=百?)味·供十方·解十纏而資十力. 與(以)此設齋功德, 迴向

Line 12. good fortune, using all of it for [spiritual] adornment. We pray that calamity is completely dispelled and that these blessings are all brought forth; that the deities and immortals descend in their power 福因, 盡用莊嚴. 惟願災殃殄滅, 萬福咸臻; 天仙降靈,

Line 13. and the gods offer blessings; that our seeds of bodhi, matching with buddha-[nature], send forth sprouts; that the thicket of afflictions, blown by the wind of wisdom 神祇效恥(=祉?). 菩提種子, 配佛[性]以開牙(=芽?); 煩惱稠林, 惠風

Line 14. drops its foliage; that these sublime causes abide for many kalpas, that we lay down good effects in the present life, and that, although we find ourselves in the river of attachment, we journey 飄而葉落. 妙因多劫, 殖果金(今)生. 須(雖)處愛河, 常遊

Line 15. forever in the sea of dharma; knowing that the body is an illusion, like a lightning bolt—not steady. So, having been able to establish good causes in advance, we 法海. 知身如幻, 非(飛)電不堅. 故得預豎良因, 崇斯福

Line 16. venerate this blessed gathering, pouring out our admiration for the precious *kṣetra* (the Buddhist monastery) and thinking reverently of the *sāṃghika* (the monastic assembly). With reverence, we welcome both sacred and ordinary people [among the assembly], and respectfully make offerings to them. We pray that 會; 傾心寶刹, 虎(=

虔?)念僧祇。屈請聖凡，翹心供養。惟願

Line 17. the three thousand fetters, and the defilements, be washed with the water of the Dharma and dispersed like mist; and that the eighty thousand worldly sufferings be swept away by the beam of compassion and scattered forever. 三千垢累，沐法水以雲消；八萬塵勞，拂慈光而永散。

Line 18. May this precious heap of merit expand with every thought, and the wholesome sprouts of blessed wisdom increase with every moment, reaching to the 功德寶聚，念念茲繁；福智善牙(芽)，運運增長。上通

Line 19. Three Realms above and covering [sentient beings] in the Ten Directions beyond. May humans and non-humans alike mount the road to awakening. Mahā! 三界，徧活(=括)十方。人及非人，齊登覺路。摩訶！²³

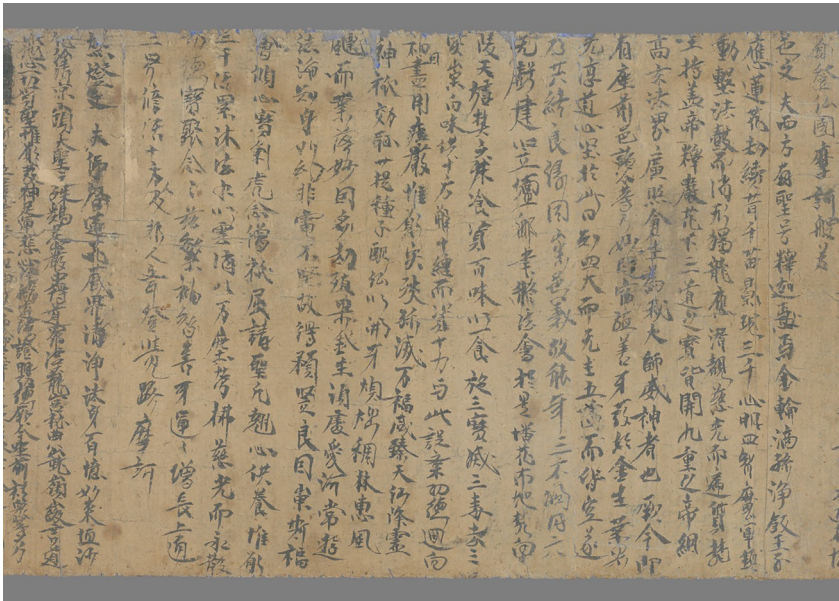


FIG. 3 P.2058V Yi Text 邑文 [She Liturgy]; courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

²³ Ning and Hao, *Dunhuang shbeyi wenshu jijiao*, 551–53.

B. The 'She Association' in the 'Liturgical Protocol' in P.3678V (Figure 4)

Line 1. *She* Association [Text] 社邑[文]: May the sublime causes laid down in previous lives send forth good shoots in the present lifetime, and may karmic effects, if previously pure, make our attitude toward the path firm in the present 乃妙因宿殖, 善牙 (芽) 發於今生; 業果先淳, 道心堅於此

Line 2. day. Be aware that the four material elements are without a master, and perceive that the five aggregates are all empty, we thus bind together our good karmic conditions and unite in revering 日. 知四大而無虧(=主?), 識五蘊而皆空. 遂乃共結良緣, 同崇

Line 3. the *yīyī* associations. Thus, since we are able to make it so no one is absent during the 'three months of abstinence in a year' (*niansan* 年三), and during the 'six days of purification in a month' (*yueliu* 月六) no one is gone, we establish [*nīsī*]dana (mats) and reverently engage in ritual gatherings 邑義. 故能年三不缺, 月六無虧; 建豎壇那, 崇修法會.

Line 4. Thus, banners and flowers drape the earth, and brahmic sounds rise to heaven. In furnaces, we burn the 'six particulars', and for victuals we supply the 'hundred flavours'. With this one meal 於是幡花布地, 梵響凌天; 爐焚六珠(=殊?), 餐資百味. 以一食、

Line 5. we give to the Three Jewels, destroy the 'three poisons', drive off the 'three disasters', venerate the 'hundred flavours', make offerings to the 'ten directions', loosen the 'ten fetters', and provide [oneself] with the 'ten powers' (and so on, so forth). 施三寶、滅三毒、去三災、崇白(=百?)味、供十方、解十纏、而資十力(云云).

Line 6. We pray that calamity is completely dispelled and that these blessings are all brought forth; that the deities and immortals descend in their power and the gods offer blessings; that our seeds of bodhi, 惟願災殃殄滅, 是福咸臻, 天仙降靈, 神祇效恥(=祉?). 菩提種子,

Line 7. matching with buddha-nature, send forth sprouts; that the thicket of afflictions, blown by the wind of wisdom, drops its foliage 配佛[性]以開牙 (芽); 煩惱稠林, 惠風飄而葉落.²⁴

²⁴ Zhou, ed., *Quan Tangwen xinbian*, bu 4, vol. 5, 11490.

社邑 乃妙曰宿殖善牙教於今生業果先薄道心堅於此
 日知四大而元主職五而履皆空遂乃共結良緣同崇
 邑義故能享三不闕月六元虧達豎壇部崇終法會
 於是幡花布地梵響凌天鑿焚六殊資資百味一心食
 施三寶派三毒去三害崇百味供十方解十纏而資十
 惟願空殊滅是福成臻天仙降靈神祇效恥廿提種子
 馭仙心開牙頰歎相林惠風飄而葉落

FIG. 4 P.3678V *Sheyi* [wen] 社邑[文] [She Association (Text)]; courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The above text of explanation shows that A is made on the basis of B by adding content to the beginning and end of the latter. There are other, analogous examples of this process: the *she* liturgy found in S.6114 was formed by reworking the *keyi* 課邑 (village study association) text from the 'liturgical protocol' attested in P.2767. The *she* liturgy from P.3122 was formed by reworking the *yide* 邑德 (*Yi* Virtue) text in the 'liturgical protocol' from P.4062. These cases show that liturgies were drafted on the basis of liturgical protocols.

On the basis of the sources cited above (and taking into consider-

ation other liturgical protocols and liturgies), we can summarise the distinction between the liturgical models in the liturgical protocols and liturgies proper with the following general points:

First, the liturgical protocol is a book. Although its main text is divided into many subsections, these subsections are all single parts of a whole.²⁵ In comparison with the whole text, the subsections are incomplete in their content, and it is only through the reworking, revision, and addition of content that they become stand-alone texts. Only then are they ready to be brought to a *zhai* gathering and recited. Liturgies, on the other hand, are always stand-alone texts. Although several liturgical text may be brought together to form a compendium, each component text remains independent.

Second, the titles of the subsections in liturgical protocols are generally derived from the main purpose of the *zhai*, e.g., *sheyi* 社邑 (village association), *keyi*, *randeng yuan* 燃燈願 (lamp lighting prayers), *qiyu* 祈雨 (prayers for rain), *huangwang* 皇王 (for the ruler), etc.²⁶ The title of a proper liturgical text, however, will generally add the word ‘text’ (*wen* 文) after the subject matter of the *zhai*, e.g., *randeng wen* 燃燈文 (Text for Lamp Lighting), *shezhai wen* 社齋文 (Text for Association *Zhai*), *yuanzhai wen* 願齋文 (Text for Prayer *Zhai*), *simen zhuanjing wen* 四門轉經文 (Text for Cycling through the Scriptures for the Four Gates), *ruzhai wen* 入宅文 (Text on Entering the Abode), *linkuang wen* 臨壙文 (Pre-burial Text) and so on.²⁷

Third, the beginning of a liturgy will always have a quotation, an exaltation of the merits of the Buddha, a description of the nobleman or organization that sponsored the ritual, and the kind of ritual being sponsored. The liturgical models found in a liturgical protocol, however, do not generally have the exaltation of the Buddha’s merits at the beginning; rather, the text opens with a description of the social

²⁵ An example is P.2940 ‘Zhaiwan wen yijuan bing xu’, where the main text has over eighty titles.

²⁶ See the ‘liturgical protocols’ (*zhaiyi* 齋儀) on P.3678V, P.2767V, P.3362V, P.2497 etc.

²⁷ See the ‘liturgical texts’ (*zhaiwen wenben* 齋文文本) in P.3545, P.3765, S.5573, S.6923, etc.

status of the sponsor and the reasons for their sponsorship. Thus, the previously cited *she* liturgy from P.2058V has five lines of quotation that are absent from the *yi* association text found in the liturgical protocol on which it is based. There are many such examples; I will not cite them all.

It should be noted that each literary model in the subheading *zhaiyi* 齋儀 (Liturgical Protocols) is not without quotations, but these quotations are placed at the beginning of the book. As mentioned earlier, ‘literary protocol’ is a complete whole, and these kinds of quotations, which praise the Buddha’s virtues and can be placed at the front of any liturgy, only need to be written once at the beginning of the book.

As we mentioned earlier, the first chapter in P.2940, ‘Zhaiwan wen yijuan bing xu’, states:

It is my humble opinion that solidifying emptiness, the Treasure Images reveal the miraculous forms through conditions; deeply tranquil, the Dharma-body responds to things/stimuli²⁸ and spreads the various forms. The subtle and the obvious seek them as the bridges, [with] people and heaven relying on them for deliverance. Since the auspicious signs arose from the bodhi-tree, the traces of transformations have become evident and calculable; holding up the chariot [of the Buddha’s body] in the city of Wangshe 王舍城 (i.e., Rājagṛha), the rules of divine transformation cannot be measured. Additionally, uttering vows in Luye 鹿野 (Deer Park; Skt. Mṛgadāva), the Seas of Enlightenment billow in the three thousand great chiliocosms; with the light [of the *parinirvāṇa*] illuminating the Crane Forest (i.e., Śāla Forest), the Wisdom Torch has hidden its brilliance in the Ten Bil-

²⁸ *Gan* 感 or *wu* 物 seems redundant given that a pair of *pianwen* 駢文 (parallel text) sentences are involved here:

寶相凝空, 隨緣以呈妙色;
法身湛寂, 應物而播群形.

or

寶相凝空, 隨緣以呈妙色;
法身湛寂, 應感而播群形.

lion (i.e., a major chiliocosm). Utilising the power of skilful teaching by ‘bowing our heads towards the ground’ (俯),²⁹ and opening wide the gates of expedient methods. Far-reaching is Nengren (i.e., Śākya-muni), going distant is the Awakened One! 竊以: 寶相凝空, 隨緣以呈妙色; 法身湛寂, 應物(感)而播群形. 幽顯冀其津梁, 人天資其級(=汲?)引. 自祥開道樹, 變現之跡觀量; 捧駕王城, 神化之規叵測. 加以發願鹿野, 覺海浮浪於三千; 光照鶴林, 知炬潛輝於百億. 府(=俯?)運善權之力, 廣開方便之門. 邈矣能仁, 遐哉覺者也!³⁰

This passage is similar to the quotation from the two liturgical texts we cited earlier, which can be placed before any liturgy as a quotation. The author of ‘Zhai wanwen yijuan bing xu’ lists this passage at the beginning of the main text, and those who drafted the liturgical text with reference to the ‘Zhai wanwen’ could look it up themselves. It is not necessary or practical to copy this passage at the beginning of each of the more than eighty chapters of the ‘Zhai wanwen yijuan bing xu’, which would be too repetitive and too wordy. The liturgical text, on the other hand, is different. It can be read at any time in a *zhai* gathering, so the cited passages for each chapter must be written, and repeating the cited passages for each chapter did not matter because the *zhai* gathering where these chapters were used differed.

Fourth, each liturgical model found in the subsections of liturgical protocols contains at least one spot where we find the phrase ‘so on and so forth’ (*yunyun* 云云). With the exception of their conclusions, liturgies proper generally do not contain the phrase ‘*yunyun*’, as these blank spaces in the underlying liturgical protocol must be filled with the appropriate content. Thus, in the *yi* association mentioned in the above-quoted liturgical protocol, the fifth line contains the phrase ‘... loosen the ten fetters and provide [oneself] with the ten powers (so on and so forth)’ (解十纏而資十力[云云]). However, in P.2058V’s

²⁹ Huang and Wu suggest emending *fu* 府 (‘official residence’) to *fu* 俯 (‘bowing our heads towards the ground’); see Huang and Wu, ed. and colla., *Dunbuang yuanwen ji*, 67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 67; cf. Zhou, ed., *Quan Tangwen xinbian, bu* 4, vol. 5: 11723.

'*she* liturgy', which is based on this protocol, the '*yunyun*' after *zi shili* 資十力 ('with the ten powers') is replaced with '...we take the merit from organizing this *zhai* and rededicate it as a cause of good fortune, using all of it for [spiritual] adornment' (以此設齋功德, 迴向福因, 盡用莊嚴). In order to avoid repetition, the liturgy proper has filled in the spot that the liturgical protocol abbreviated.³¹

Fifth, as shown by the three cited examples, the last part of the subsections of liturgical protocols generally includes quite vague prayers. The prayers in liturgies proper, however, are concrete and highly detailed, and progress through various stages. Furthermore, such prayers generally contain formulaic phrases like '[May they] all ascend to the fruit that is buddhahood' (齊登佛果), '*Mahāprajñā*. Endless blessing and joy!' (摩訶般若, 利樂無邊), and 'The great assembly is pious and entirely universal' (大眾虔誠, 一切普通).³²

It should be pointed out that the differences between the various pieces of liturgical models and liturgical texts in the subheading of 'liturgical protocols' mentioned above only reflects a generic situation. Due to the complexity of the Dunhuang manuscripts, not every liturgical model and liturgical text in the 'liturgical protocol' has all the above points. Therefore, when judging whether a certain document is a 'liturgical protocol' or a liturgical text, the above points should be considered as a whole, rather than placing weight on any single point.

In the Dunhuang manuscripts, the number of liturgical texts is more than that of the 'liturgical protocols'. This is probably because the demand for liturgical texts in society at that time was greater than the demand for 'liturgical protocols', and also because a single liturgical protocol could give birth to several liturgical texts. For example, the main parts of the '*she* liturgies' found in liturgical collections such as P.3545, P.3765, S.5573, S.6923 are basically the same, but the introductory passage and ending may be different. These texts are likely to be from a single '*she* association' in a liturgical protocol. Since these texts were not completed at the hands of a single monk

³¹ See the lists in notes 18 and 19.

³² Huang and Wu, ed. and colla., *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 67.

(and the sects and monasteries of these monks could also differ), the contents added on the basis of this ‘liturgical protocol’ would not be identical. Of course, there is also more than one kind of ‘liturgical protocol’. As far as we know, there are seven kinds of literary models of *she* associations alone preserved in different ‘liturgical protocols’. They are preserved separately in the documents of P.2767V, P.4536V, P.3678V, P.3362V, P.2497, and P.2820. Since we have not yet found all the ‘liturgical protocols’ on which *she* liturgical texts are based, these seven types listed above are not exhaustive.

Something else worth mentioning is that the ‘liturgical protocol’ and liturgical texts can be divided into Central Plains texts and Dunhuang local texts. Both ‘liturgical protocols’ and liturgical texts probably first spread from the Central Plains. For example, P.2940 ‘Zhaiwan wen yijuan bing xu’ originated in the Central Plains.³³ After this kind of document became popular in Dunhuang, there appeared ‘liturgical protocols’ and liturgical texts with local Dunhuang characteristics. For example, in the *she* liturgy of P.3122, ‘Only the gentlemen of the *yi* association are the famous family of the flowing sand (the west), heroes of the [Jade] gate’ (惟合邑諸公等並是流沙望族, [玉]塞英猶). Obviously, this is a text that can only be used in the Dunhuang region. These ‘liturgical protocols’ and texts with local characteristics were rewritten on the basis of the texts brought to the region from the Central Plains. For example, the content on *she* associations found in the ‘liturgical protocols’ in P.3362V is exactly the same as the content on *she* associations found in the ‘liturgical protocols’ of P.3678V, but with an added passage at the end: ‘together they are natives of the land of flowing sand, the worthy outstanding people under the pass’ (並是流沙土子, 塞下賢豪). Another example is the ‘*she* liturgy’ text in P.3765 and the ‘*she* liturgy’ text in S.5573, which developed from the same liturgical protocol. However, the former’s description of the identity of the *she* member is ‘a gentleman of a high standing family, a famous master in a hundred counties’ (高門君子, 百郡名家), while in the latter, it was changed to ‘a gentleman of

³³ This document contains the title *siyi fengming* 四夷奉命 (Submissions of the Four Barbarians).

a high standing family, who establish himself through virtuous rites under the pass' (高門君子, 塞下賢禮資身). In this way, the 'liturgical protocol' that was used in the whole country is transformed into the 'liturgical protocol', or a text with local characteristics that can only be used in Dunhuang or on the frontiers.

The 'liturgical protocols' or liturgical texts of different periods often leave an imprint of their time. For example, the 'liturgical protocol' in P.3806V contains the words of praying for the 'Btsan po' (*zanpu* 贊普), implying that this liturgical protocol should have circulated during the period when Tubo administrated Dunhuang. Another example is the 'liturgical protocol' found in P.4012, which contains the words of the prayer for the 'Situ (chancellor), Shangshu' and others. In Dunhuang, the coexistence of the titles *situ* 司徒 (minister of education) and *shangshu* 尚書 (Director of the Central Secretariat) only appeared twice during the period of the Zhang family's Guiyi Army (from second half of the 8th century to the 10th century); furthermore, the 'liturgical protocol' text in S.5573 contains the passage 'let the lord of the state live a thousand years, and be prosperous for ten thousand years' (國主千秋, 萬年豐歲). We know that from the Tang to the early Song period, only Zhang Chengfeng 張承奉 (active 890s–900s) once established the Jinshan 金山 Kingdom of the Western Han Dynasty in Dunhuang (905–914). Furthermore, the *she* association text in P.3276V for stamping Buddhas on the sand contains the words of prayer to Linggong 令公, whereas someone called Linggong only existed during the period of the Cao family's Guiyi Army (tenth–eleventh century). These 'liturgical protocols' and texts that left an imprint of their time contain not only the local characteristics of Dunhuang, but also provide clues for us to determine the period of dissemination of these manuscripts.

The above-mentioned liturgical protocol and liturgical texts with regional characteristics generally appeared after the middle of the Tang period. Before the middle of the Tang period, the most widely distributed texts in Dunhuang were the 'liturgical protocols' and liturgical texts of the Central Plains. Texts of liturgical protocols and liturgy with regional and temporal characteristics appeared from the time that Tubo administrated Dunhuang. Later, during the period of the Zhang and Cao families Guiyi Army, there were 'liturgical pro-

ocols' and liturgical texts with the characteristics of their own times, which has been confirmed by the above cited materials.

Concluding Remarks

The liturgies and their literary models in the Dunhuang cache can be divided into two categories based on their characteristics: *zhaiyi* 齋儀 (liturgical protocols) and *zhaiwen wenben* 齋文文本 (liturgical texts). 'Liturgical protocol' is of the same nature as protocols (*shuyi* 書儀), and it is a kind of reference document used for drafting liturgies; the 'liturgical text' is a document read by monks at various religious gatherings. It is not only a document with functional use, but also preserves some of the characteristics of a 'liturgical protocol'. In order to avoid the confusion of disorganised naming, which can affect readers' understanding of the nature of these documents, we should uniformly refer to the various names of the liturgy literary models as 'liturgical protocols' in future catalogues of Dunhuang cache materials. Of course, this project should also be carried out on the basis of specific investigations of each document. The liturgical models that have been preserved completely or still have the outline of the whole book should be called 'liturgical protocol'; those that are incomplete at the beginning and end and only preserve a chapter or several chapters of the main text should also be called an incomplete 'liturgical protocol'. If an incomplete 'liturgical protocol' preserves many chapters (over ten articles), the names of the preserved chapters can be mentioned under these 'liturgical protocols' or incomplete 'liturgical protocols'. As for the liturgical texts, if the number of preserved chapters is more than a few, they can be collectively called a 'Collection of Liturgical Texts' (*zhaiwen wenben ji*) to replace the many other names pertaining to it in the existing catalogues. However, a catalogue should be made under the name 'Collection of Liturgical Texts' (*zhaiwen wenben ji*), listing the names of each chapter, such as 1. liturgy for the diseased (*wang zhaiwen* 亡齋文), 2. *Linkuang* Text, and more; if there are only one or two chapters, the catalogue can be established based on the names of these chapters, and one can indicate that this is a liturgical text (文本) in the parentheses.

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Abbreviations

- P Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Pelliot Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- S Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Stein Collection, British Library, London.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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