

Manuscripts, Texts and Geographical Writings:

A Study of Dunhuang Manuscript P.2005

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Abstract

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This dissertation deals with Tang (618-907 A.D.) Dunhuang manuscripts, with a specific focus on the manuscript numbered P.2005 (Shāzhōu tújīng 沙州圖經) and its related historical-geographical materials. P.2005 is studied as an exemplary case of Chinese mediaeval manuscripts, especially the historical and social environment in which the manuscript was produced, circulated and eventually stored in the Dunhuang cave. Besides the textual content, the study also pays attention to the physical appearances of the manuscripts, by conducting codicological and paleographical examinations, so that the life cycle of manuscripts in the age before the invention of printing can be better understood. The relationships between P.2005 and its related manuscripts are also explored through comparative study of both their content and physical appearance.

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Introduction

“On that evening, when the adventurer Stein had a whole team of ox-carts filled with manuscripts and was about to depart, he glanced back at the sorrowful yet alluring sunset in the western sky. There, a wound of an ancient nation was bleeding.”¹

Yu Qiuyu 余秋雨

1. Dunhuang and Dunhuang manuscripts

The passage cited above is translated from the essay “the Pagoda of a Daoist priest” (Daoshi ta 道士塔) written by a modern Chinese writer Yu Qiuyu. It is a literature piece lamenting about the history of the Dunhuang manuscripts, how they were accidentally discovered by an ignorant Daoist priest who was taking care of the Mogao caves during the time of turbulence in Chinese history, how they were “purchased” by Stein and Pelliot at a low price from this priest, and how some of them got lost when they were eventually ordered to be sent to Beijing. It is certainly not completely factual, but it sparks the emotions of sadness, anger and being unable to help when seeing all these treasures split up and lost to foreign countries and greedy Chinese ministers. This article quickly hit a nerve with the young generation of Chinese in the late twentieth century, when the fast development of Chinese economy made people look

¹ Yu Qiuyu, “Daoshi ta” 道士塔, *Wenhua kulü* 文化苦旅 (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin 东方出版中心, 1992), 2.

back at the so-called period of “humiliation”. This article made Dunhuang, once again, famous for being a symbol of that period of history.

It is not the first time that Dunhuang drew everyone’s attention. In the 1960s, a Japanese writer Inoue Yasushi 井上靖 (1907-1991) published a novel titled *Tonkō* (Dunhuang), which became an instant hit. The novel not only won the Mainichi Press Prize (*Mainichi Geijutsushō*) in 1960, but was also made into a movie. Dunhuang, as a far-flung, mysterious place where the story was set, became popular among Japanese and Chinese readers.

If we go back even farther in time, the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts at the beginning of the twentieth century was another occasion when Dunhuang became a popular place, although it was probably only known to Western explorers and Chinese scholars. Sir Aurel Stein (1862-1943) was the first Western explorer who arrived at Dunhuang in 1907 after the news of this discovery spread out. He acquired 24 cases of manuscripts and 4 cases of paintings and relics. Stein did not know Chinese so he preferred the complete scrolls with the finest calligraphy, most of which turned out to be Buddhist sutras. Those manuscripts later were kept in the British Museum and are known as the British collection. In 1908, French Scholar/ explorer Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) arrived at Dunhuang right after Stein. Although the chamber contained a massive hoard of ancient manuscripts that had been gone through by Stein, it is believed that Pelliot's abilities with the Chinese language played an important role in his selection. After three weeks of analyzing the manuscripts, Pelliot convinced the Taoist Monk to sell him a selection of the most important manuscripts. Unlike Stein, Pelliot carefully estimated the scholarly value of those manuscripts. Therefore, he set aside the Buddhist sutras, but chose manuscripts written in

foreign languages other than Chinese. His entire acquisition was later preserved in the National Library of France, also known as the French collection.

Subsequent explorers from Germany, Russia and Japan also came to Dunhuang to look for those treasures, and none of them left empty-handed. Eventually the Chinese government of the time realized the value of those manuscripts and ordered the remainder to be transported and preserved in the National library in Beijing. As a result, the Dunhuang manuscripts were dispersed all over the world. Among all the institutions that hold the Dunhuang manuscripts, the British Library and The Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) are the most well-known, not only because they house the most valuable collections from Stein and Pelliot, but also because their collections were released early and therefore are better studied by scholars.²

All those discovered manuscripts, along with transmitted historical records, show us a splendid, medieval Dunhuang when Dunhuang served as an important outpost for the Tang empire. But the history of Dunhuang can be traced even further back. According to the “Dayuan liezhuan” of the *Shi ji*, it was the Yuezhi 月氏 people who lived in the area between Dunhuang and Qilian 祁連 Mountains. This is also the first occurrence of the name Dunhuang in Chinese historical records.³ Later the *Han shu* also records the establishment of Dunhuang as an administrative division during the reign of Emperor Wu in the first century B.C.E.⁴ Since the area of Dunhuang was originally occupied by Yuezhi, it is likely that the name is of a non-

² For a summary of the history of Dunhuang manuscripts, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Dunhuang xue shiba jiang 敦煌學十八講* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998). English translation by Imre Galambos, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

³ *Shiji*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 123. 3162.

⁴ *Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 96a. 3873.

Chinese origin, possibly of a Yuezhi origin. Although many theories have been proposed for the origin of the place name Dunhuang, as Takata Tokio points out, “it is not immediately clear from which language this place-name derives, but there is a strong possibility that the Chinese form ‘Tun-huang’ is a transcription of some local place-name in a language other than Chinese.”⁵

2. The Scope of This Study and the Structure of This Dissertation

This current study is an attempt to take one particular Dunhuang manuscript, P.2005, which is often referred to as *Shazhou tujing* 沙州圖經 (Shazhou, modern Dunhuang), as an example to study medieval Chinese manuscripts. On the one hand, I would like to conduct a full examination of the P.2005 text and its physical appearance. It is often the case in the manuscript studies that the textual content receives more attention than the physicality of the manuscript. I hope by using P.2005 as an example, I can draw attention to the physicality of manuscripts. On the other hand, through the comparison of P.2005 with other geographical writings of the Tang, I would like to point out an important feature of the *tujing* type of writing, which is, they were constantly under revision. As a result, extra carefulness is needed when it goes to compare two seemingly identical fragments or connect several manuscripts into one text.

This dissertation contains nine chapters, and they are divided into four parts depending on their internal relations. The first three chapters provide background information about P.2005, with special attention to its codicological and paleographical examinations. These examinations

⁵ Takata Tokio 高田時雄, “Multilingualism in Tun-huang,” *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78 (2000), 49.

tell us something about the overall quality of the manuscript, and suggest that P.2005 was processed according to the standard of manuscript production at that time. Both codicological examination and paleographical examination of P.2005 indicates that it is still more likely that P.2005 was an official document that was written formally than a work casually copied for personal use.

The fourth and fifth chapters, which are also the core part and provide annotated transcription and translation of P.2005, constitute the second part of the dissertation.

In the third part, I will examine the text of P.2005 from two perspectives that are different but complementary, that is, the compilation process and the target audience. Chapter 6 traces the compilation and editing processes of P.2005 and shows that there was a specific format for local officers to use in their compilation of the *tujing*. *Tujing*, as a genre of writing, just like later *fangzhi*, has its own life cycle full of repeated revisions and changes and thus cannot be treated as a solidified and ossified entity. Chapter 7 sets out to examine P.2005 through the eyes of its target audience. By examining the discovered tomb inscription of Li Wukui, the prefect who was likely responsible for at least one revision of P.2005, we can see that for Li Wukui, the ultimate target audience of the *tujing* text was probably the ruler at that time, Empress Wu. Therefore, the text was probably produced with the aim of approaching Empress Wu and of impressing her with his achievements and enumeration of various auspicious omens favorable to her reign.

The last part contains two chapters focusing on the relation between P.2005 and other Dunhuang historical geographical manuscripts of the Tang. Chapter 8 compares P.2005 with P.2695. Although almost identical in content except for some textual variants, comparison of the textual variants suggest that they were probably copied from the same source, rather than from

each other. The codicological and paleographical examination of P.2695 shows that P.2695 does not uphold a textual production standard as high as P.2005. Chapter 9 first focuses on S.2593V and P.5034, both of which are considered parts of the work *Shazhou tujing*. But by doing so, we confuse different versions of *Shazhou tujing* since *tujing* is a type of work that was constantly revised and edited. Chapter 9 also studies S.367, a Tang geographical work that some have suggested belongs to a different topographical system from P.2005. But the examination shows that S.367 is not only similar in content to P.5034 but also shares a similar textual structure. Without any more evidence from manuscripts or historical records, it would be questionable to suggest the existence of two systems of historical geographical writings during the Tang.

3. *Tujing* and Its Origin

How have ancient Chinese scholars defined the term *tujing*? How did the term originate? What kind of writing is it? According to Li Zong'e 李宗諤 (964-1012), an editor of the *Xiangfu zhouxian tujing* 祥符州縣圖經, a Song dynasty *tujing* collection, *tujing* is a type of illustrated record:

玉海 14 李宗諤 祥符州縣圖經：

昔漢蕭何先收圖籍，趙充國圖上方略，光武按司空與地圖封諸子，李恂使幽州圖山川，并變定封域，章施丹采。今閏年諸州上地圖，亦其比也。圖則作繪之名，經則載言之別。

In the past, Xiao He of the Han dynasty first gathered maps and records, then Zhao Chongguo mapped [the topography] and submitted his plans and strategies. Emperor

Guangwu enfeoffed his various sons according to the territorial illustrations provided by Minister of Works. While Li Xun was sent to Youzhou he mapped the mountains and rivers there. He also determined the territory and his report was put in vermilion color. Now the practice of various commanderies presenting maps during the intercalary year is an analogue to these. If it is *tu* we are talking about then it is the name of drawing, if it is *jing* we are talking about then it is a separated section in bearing words.⁶

This description from Li Zong'e only provides us a vague idea of how Song people conceived the term "tujing," and it is not helpful in understanding the nature of *tujing* as a genre of writing—it may even be misleading. It is no doubt that *tujing* must have been a type of work containing both graphics and text. Even though the extant *tujing* manuscripts no longer preserve any images, several other transmitted texts can further confirm this understanding. The *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, a work compiled in the early Song, cited a line from the *Daye shiyi* 大業拾遺, mentioning that the emperor ordered Yu Shiji 虞世基 (?-618) to compile a *tuzhi* 圖志, which "has illustrations of mountains and rivers at the beginning of the chapter on mountains and rivers and illustrations of the city walls and settlements at beginning of the chapter on commandaries and kingdoms."⁷ The *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, one of the earliest extant geographical works from the Tang also mentions it originally contained illustrations at the beginning of each chapter, although those illustrations eventually were lost.⁸

⁶ *Yuhai* 玉海, Comp. Wang Yinglin 王應麟, *Siku quanshu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 14.38a-b.

⁷ *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, 602. 2711.

⁸ See the preface to the *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 2. It says, "每鎮皆圖在篇首, 冠于敘事之前."

As recent studies on mapmaking in ancient China have pointed out, Chinese mapmaking was significantly different from its Western counterpart in not only its basic principles, but, more importantly, in the relationship between maps and texts. Heavily reliance on texts is one of the most distinguishing feature of Chinese maps.⁹ The earliest maps from archaeological discovery are seven maps drawn using ink on four wooden boards from a tomb that can be dated around 239 B.C.E. in Fangmatan 放马滩 forestry station, Tianshui 天水 county, modern Gansu province. Despite their simplicity in drawing the rivers and tributaries, they already bear annotations giving distance.¹⁰ Another early Han map fragment from Mawangdui 馬王堆 is also marked with numbers of households and/or distance for villages (Fig.1, partial).¹¹ In this respect, Li Zong'e's comment about *tujing* containing both images and text would be true for any or most *tu* in ancient China, but it would be misleading if one considers the combination of images and text can only apply to the *tujing* type of work.

⁹ Cordell D.K. Yee "Reinterpreting Traditional Chinese Geographical Maps"; "Taking the World's Measure: Chinese Maps between Observation and Text" in Harley and Woodward ed., *History of Cartography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 35-70; 96-127.

¹⁰ He Shuangquan 何雙全, "Tianshui Fangmatan Qin mu chutu ditu chu tan" 天水放馬灘秦墓出土地圖初探, *Wenwu* 2 (1989), 12-22.

¹¹ Mawangdui boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆帛書整理小組, *Gu ditu lunwenji* 古地圖論文集, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1977.

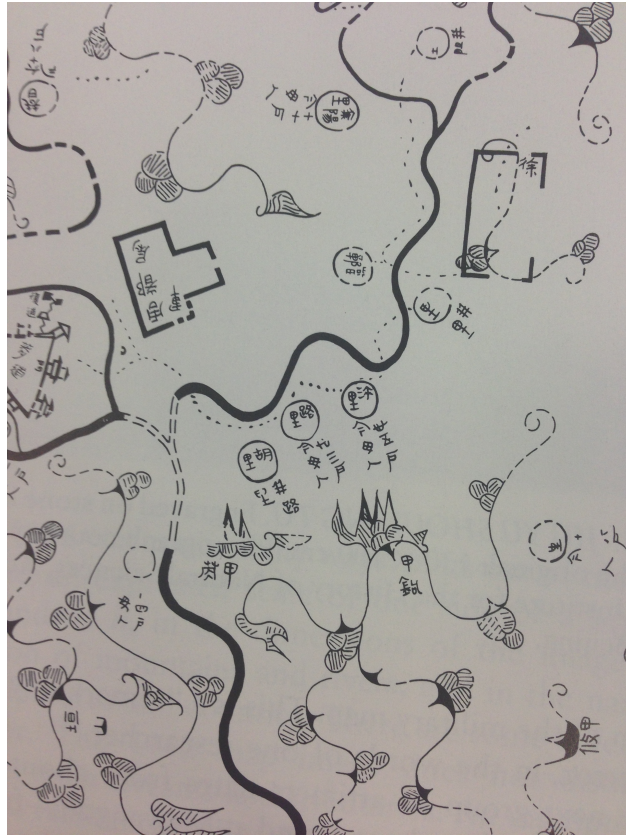


Fig 1. A Map from Mawangdui, partial

The Three Kingdoms period is the time when geography writing began to emerge in China. The “Jingji zhi” of the *Sui shu* traces the development of writings on geography during the Three Kingdom period down to the Sui as the following:

晉世，摯虞依《禹貢》、《周官》，作《畿服經》，其州郡及縣分野封略事業，國邑山陵水泉，鄉亭城道里土田，民物風俗，先賢舊好，靡不具悉，凡一百七十卷，今亡。而學者因其經歷，並有記載，然不能成一家之體。齊時，陸澄聚一百六十家之說，依其前後遠近，編而為部，謂之《地理書》。任昉又增陸澄之書八十四家，

謂之《地記》。陳時，顧野王抄撰眾家之言，作《輿地志》。隋大業中，普詔天下諸郡，條其風俗物產地圖，上於尚書。故隋代有《諸郡物產土俗記》一百五十一卷，《區宇圖志》一百二十九卷，《諸州圖經集》一百卷。其餘記注甚眾。

During the Jin period, Zhi Yu compiled *Jifu jing* based on the “Yu gong” and *Zhou guan*. The records of provinces, and commanderies and counties, astral fields and boundaries, mountains, hills, rivers and springs, villages, post stations, capitals and towns, city roads and rural fields, local products and customs; former worthy people and old associations, none of these were not included. It had a total of 170 *juan*. It is now lost. Then scholars, based on their own experience, also made accounts, but they were unable to create a distinctive form of their own. In the Southern Qi, Lu Cheng collected 160 discourses and compiled them into one work according to their time of composition and the geographical distance of the records, which he called *Dili shu*. Ren Fang added eighty-four works to Lu Cheng’s work, which he called *Diji*. In the Southern Chen, Gu Yewang copied various works to compile the *Yudi zhi*. During the Daye reign period of the Sui, (the emperor) issued an edict, ordering all commanderies in the realm to list their customs, products and maps to present to the Department of State Affairs. Therefore, the Sui has the *Zhu jun wuchang tusu ji* in 151 *juan*; the *Quyue tuzhi* in 120 *juan* and the *Zhuzhou tujing ji* in 100 *juan*. Records and notes besides these are also numerous.

Chinese geographer Shi Nianhai suggests that the Six Dynasties period is the time when *tujing* started to take form since most works titled with *tujing* appeared in the Tang.¹² However,

¹² Shi Nianhai 史念海, “Zai lun lishi dilixue yu fangzhi xue”再论历史地理学与方志学, *Heshan ji* 河山集 (Xi’an: Shaanxi shifan daxue chubanshe 陝西師範大學出版社, 2006), 615.

what Shi Nianhai overlooked is that the earliest record of *tujing* type of work had already appeared by the Eastern Jin. The *Huayang guo zhi* by Chang Qu 常璩 (291?-361?) cites a petition by a governor of the Ba 巴 commandery in the second year of the Yongxing 永興 reign period of the Eastern Han (154A.D.), referring to a work titled *Bajun tujing* 巴郡圖經:

謹按巴郡圖經，境界南北四千，東西五千，周萬餘里。屬縣十四。鹽鐵五官，各有丞史。戶四十六萬四千七百八十。口百八十七萬五千五百三十五。遠縣去郡千二百至千五百里。鄉亭去縣或三四百或及千里。¹³

I respectfully noted that, according to *Bajun tujing*, the territory (of this commandery) is about four thousand (li) from south to north, five thousand (li) from east to west. The perimeter is over ten thousand li. There are fourteen subordinate counties. There are five offices in charge of salt and iron, each of which has its own assistants and officials. There are 464,780 households, 1,875,535 people. Remote counties are located 1, 200 to 1, 500 *li* from the commandery seat. Small townships and neighborhoods are located 300-400 or as much as 1, 000 *li* from the commandery seat.

If this record is accurate, then the history of *tujing* can be traced back at least to the Eastern Han. Interestingly, the content of this early record of *tujing* work is mostly about the number of households and distances, the type of information that one can find in Mawangdui map fragment.

¹³ Chang Qu 常璩, *Huayang guo zhi* (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1957), 1.8a.

Chinese scholars traditionally consider the “Yu gong” 禹貢 of the *Shang shu* 尚書 as the earliest writing on the subject of geography.¹⁴ When one narrows the focus to writings on local geography, no direct evidence can be found pointing to a time earlier than the Eastern Han. But circumstantial evidence exists. In Li Zong’e’s statement on *tujing* cited above, he mentions Xiao He and Zhao Chongguo of the Former Han who both seem to have drawn maps of the state. The detailed information provided by Ban Gu 班固 in the “treatise of geography” of the *Han shu* also makes one wonder whether that information was submitted by local governments. Bamboo strips found in Liye 里耶 provide a clear picture of postal system of the Qin in the modern Hunan area and the tight control that the central imperial government imposed on local administration.¹⁵ It is hard to imagine that the central government in the early dynastic periods did not get reports on local population and natural resources. However, we have no evidence on how the central government in the Qin and Former Han received information about different regions and whether this kind of report could be considered a type of writing like later *tujing* works.

The earliest writings on local history that most scholars acknowledge are the *Yuejue shu* 越絕書 and the *Huayang guo zhi* 華陽國志.¹⁶ The *Yuejue shu* is traditionally considered the

¹⁴ Gu Jiegang 顧劭剛, Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, “fa kan ci”發刊詞, *Yu gong ban yue kan* 禹貢半月刊 1 (1934), 2. Also see various introductory works on Chinese geography titled *Zhongguo dili xue shi* 中國地理學史.

¹⁵ Wang Zijin 王子今, “Qin Han shiqi Xiangjiang Dongting shuilu youyi de chubu kaocha—yi Liye Qinjian he Zhangjiashan Hanjian wei shichuang”秦漢時期湘江洞庭水路郵驛的初步考察—以里耶秦簡和張家山漢簡為視窗, *Hunan shehui kexue* 湖南社會科學, 5 (2004), 136-8.

¹⁶ Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛, “Tujing zai wo guo fangzhi shi zhong de zhongyao diwei”圖經在我國方志史中的重要地位, *Chen Qiaoyi fangzhi lunji* 陳橋驛方志論集 (Hanzhou: Hanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997), 68. English translation of the *Huayang guo zhi*, see Michael Farmer,

earliest text of regional historical geography because of its two distinct chapters: the “Record of the Lands of Wu” and the “Record of the Lands of Yue”. Both focus on historical geography, even though the former is an account of the capital of Wu while the latter one contains geographical details about the whole kingdom. The nature and the compilation of the *Yuejue shu* have been highly debated. According to most recent study on the *Yuejue shu* by Olivia Milburn, except for only one piece of extremely problematic information referring to an event that occurred in the twenty-eighth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign period, these two chapters “appear to be compilations of earlier material that were updated during the Eastern Han dynasty.”¹⁷ This dating also coincides with historical records of the Eastern Han in writing about the regional geography. The *Hou Han shu* records:

（李恂）後拜侍御史，持節使幽州，宣布恩澤，慰撫北狄，所過皆圖写山川、屯田、聚落百余卷，悉封奏上，肅宗嘉之。

(Li Xun) later was appointed attendant censor, commissioned with extraordinary powers to Youzhou to announce and spread the favor of the emperor, and to palliate the Northern Di. Wherever he passed by, he drew and traced the mountains, rivers, state farms, and settlements in a work of one hundred-plus *juan*. He sealed and submitted all his writings to the court. Emperor Suzong (r.75-88) commended him.¹⁸

“*Huayang guozhi*,” in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 2015).

¹⁷ Olivia Milburn, *The Glory of Yue: An Annotated Translation of the Yuejue shu*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 95.

¹⁸ *Hou Han shu* 51. 1683.

Emperor Suzong is better known as Emperor Zhang 章. He is the third emperor of the Eastern Han. According to the account cited above we learn that by the early Eastern Han, court officials collected local information, but this practice seems to have been motivated by personal interest, rather than a stipulated part of their official duties.

One then might ask how could the imperial court collect local information in the Qin and Former Han dynasties. I think the answer lies in the phrase previously discussed, *tu ji* 圖籍 (maps and registry). Both *tu* and *tujing* are mentioned in historical texts as documents submitted to the central court accompanied with registry. And they seem to have been used interchangeably in the medieval context. As pointed out earlier, it is likely that they referred to the same thing. The phrase *tuji* can be even traced back to Pre-Qin sources. I, therefore, suggest that *tujing* as a genre of writing on local historical geography originated from early *tu*, which we temporarily and loosely translate as maps or illustrations, rather than writings on geography such as the “Yugong” or *Shan hai jing*. Even without direct evidence to support this suggestion, several pieces of circumstantial evidence can be found from historical texts besides the occurrence of the phrase *tuji* in early texts. First of all, the function of the *tujing* in medieval China is continuous from the early *tu*. The *Zhou li* 周禮 mentions that the department of *zhi fang* 職方 was in charge of *tu* so that the court would know the lands in the realm (掌天下之圖，以掌天下之地).¹⁹ The same department continued to exist in later times and was in charge of the *tujing*.²⁰

¹⁹ *Zhou li* 周禮, 33.321a.

²⁰ According to the *Tang liu dian*, the department of “zhifang” was still in charge of maps and registers. See *Tang Liu dian* 5.162.

Second, as explained earlier, the map in China never was quite the same as its Western counterpart. It is not limited to the image of geographical features, but also contains information such as distance and households written in text. The information provided by the earliest *tujing* work, *Bajun tujing*, that we can see today corresponds to similar information found in the Western Han maps. We have no way to know how the original source looked, if it is from maps or records, but in the Han context, these two sources might not contradict each other since maps could contain textual information. Some scholars have suggested that maps were the primary content of early *tujing* works while the explanatory texts were secondary. As textual descriptions grew longer and longer, eventually words became the focus of composition rather than maps.²¹

More importantly, the word *tu* in Chinese does not necessarily only refer to maps. Wolfgang Behr's recent study points out a semantic core of *tu* "centered around the concepts of 'positioning in space' and 'display in an ordered, appropriate' way".²² Recent studies have revealed that *tu* was "a specialist term denoting only those graphic images or layouts which encoded technical knowledge: *tu* were templates for action."²³ Some images, even though they may seem to be full of text, can still be called "tu". One example is the "Shi luo tu" 視羅圖 of the Qin discovered at Shuihudi 睡虎地.²⁴ In the early 1950s, Xiang Da 向達 identified a

²¹ Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Fangzhi xue gailun* 方志學概論 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1983), 5.

²² Wolfgang Behr, "Placed into the Right Position- Etymological Notes on Tu and Congeners," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Georges Métaillie ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109-13.

²³ "Introduction" in Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Georges Métaillie, 2.

²⁴ Li Ling 李零, "Ba Shibancun 'shitu' jing" 跋石板村"式圖"鏡, *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 1 (1992), 31-4.

privately owned Dunhuang manuscript as *dizhi* 地志, geographical writings. This identification has been challenged by scholars, and now this manuscript, which is currently preserved in the city museum of Dunhuang and numbered 58, is named *Junxian gong jie benqian bu* 郡縣公廩本錢簿 (Record of governmental loan capital of counties and commanderies, Fig.2).²⁵ Just two years later two scholars re-studied this manuscript and restored the name *dizhi*.²⁶ Japanese scholar Nunome Chōfū further identified it as *Zhenyuan shi dao lu* 貞元十道錄 (Records of the ten circuits of the Zhenyuan era).²⁷ The identity of this manuscript is still in debate, but this is of no concern here.²⁸ One important reason that some scholars disagree with identifying this manuscript as a local geographical writing is that it lacks the common content appeared in other Dunhuang *tujing* manuscripts or later *fangzhi* writings such as the records of geographical

²⁵ See Xiang Da, “Xi zheng xiao ji” 西征小記, *Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957), 371. Wu Zhen 吳震, “Dunhuang shishi suochu Tang Tianbao chunian ‘Junxian gongjie benqian bu’” 敦煌石室所出唐天寶初年《郡縣公廩本錢簿》, *Zhongguo wenwu* 1 (1979), 30-31.

²⁶ Xue Yingqun 薛英群, and Xu Leyao 徐乐尧, “Tang xieben dizhi canjuan qiankao 唐写本地志殘卷淺考”, *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 2 (1981), 23-47.

²⁷ Nunome Chōfū 布目潮風, “唐開元末府州縣圖作成の試み——敦煌所出天寶初年書寫地志殘卷を中心に”、*Tō Sō jidai no gyōsei keizai chizu no sakusei kenkyū seika hōkokusho* 唐・宋時代の行政・經濟地圖の作製研究成果報告書, (大阪大學教養部, 1981), 39-64. Rong Xinjiang’s study in 1999 confirms Nunome’s result, but he concludes this manuscript must be dated to the Tianbao period, thus it must be named *Tianbao shi dao lu*. See Rong, “Dunhuang ben ‘Tianbao shi dao lu’ jiqi jiazhi” 敦煌本〈天寶十道錄〉及其價值, *Jiu zhou* 九州 2 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 1999), 116-129. Rong’s conclusion has been widely accepted by scholars such as Li Jinxiu 李錦繡, Wang Yongxing 王永興.

²⁸ For the recent contrary views, see Ye Aiguo 葉愛國, “Dunhuang shi bowuguan cang dunhuang wenshu di 58 hao canjuan dingming” 敦煌市博物館藏敦煌文書第 58 號殘卷定名, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 1 (2008), 114.

features, local establishments and events and etc. The main function of this manuscript is to record the loan capitals in the charge of different levels of administrative divisions. But as the other side points out that even though rare, the information on local government loan is not unseen in geographical manuscripts. In any case, both sides have to agree that the basis for compiling this manuscript is the list of administrative divisions that is similar to the composition of all the geographical treatises found in standard histories. In other words, the list of administrative divisions served as a template for compiling this manuscript. Therefore, this manuscript can also be considered a type of *tu* in ancient China.

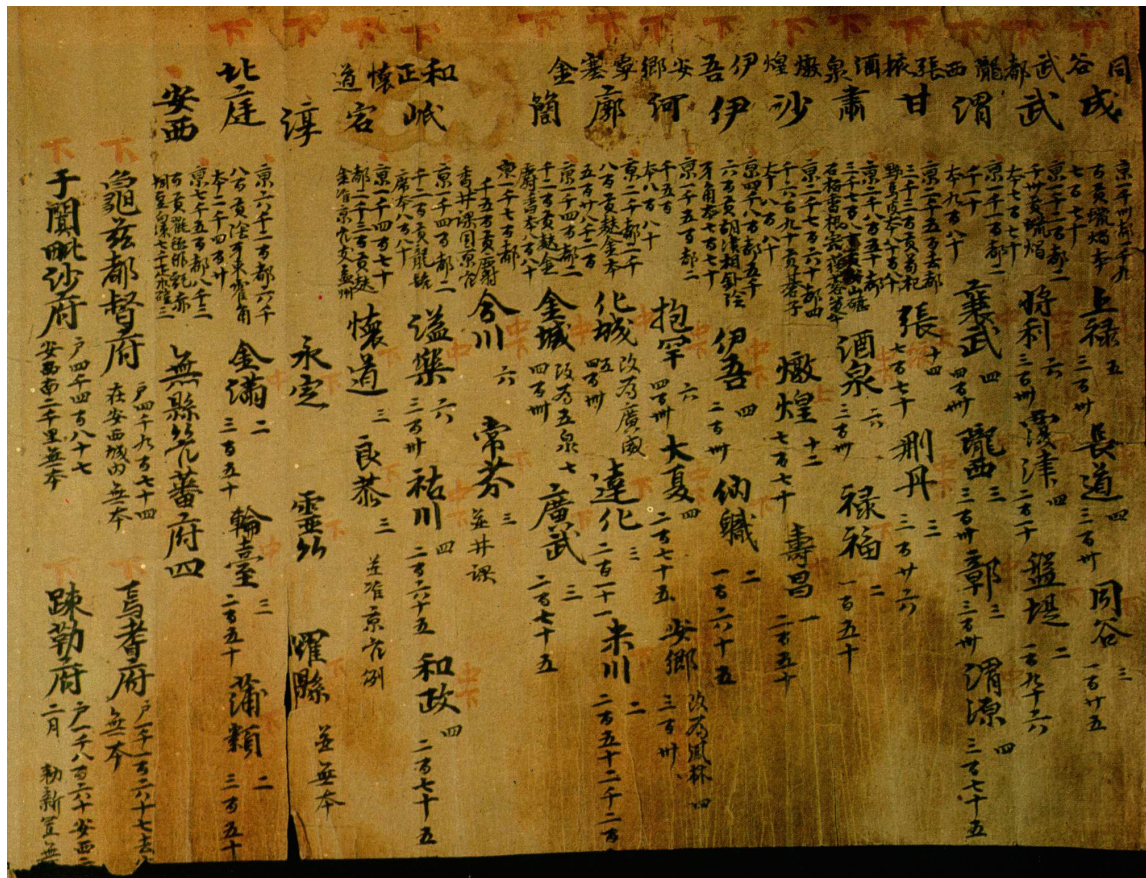


Fig.2 Dunbo 58 Junxian gong jie benqian bu, partial

It must also be noted that in ancient China there was no specialized cartographer as in the Western tradition. As Cordell D. K. Yee stated, “Chinese cartography often partook of the principles of painting and poetry. In many cases, the same person might practice cartography, painting and poetry.”²⁹ Therefore, even local officials could commission local maps on their own initiative.

4. How to Translate the Term *tujing* into English

The term *tujing*, is usually considered to be a precursor of the late imperial geographical treatise *fangzhi* or *difang zhi*.³⁰ There are various translations for the latter two, including, local gazetteer, local history, local description, treatise on a place and local chronicle. Local gazetteer is probably the most commonly used one.³¹ As a result, scholars often also use local gazetteer to translate *tujing*. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word gazetteer comes into English via French from Italian *gazzettiere*, from *gazzetta*. And the current sense comes from a late seventeenth century gazetteer called *The Gazetteer's: or, Newsman's Interpreter: Being a Geographical Index*. The Chinese term *tujing*, and the later *fangzhi* as well, contain more information than an index. It is often regarded as an encyclopedia of regions and places, containing invaluable materials on geographic features and changes, administration, economy, cultures, dialects, officials, dignitaries, and other regional and local information that may not be

²⁹ Cordell D.K. Yee, “Aesthetics and Traditional Chinese mapmaking,” *The Portolan: Journal of the Washington Map Society* 20 (Winter 1991), 22.

³⁰ James M. Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteer and Their Places in the History of Difangzhi writing” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol.56 (Dec. 1996), 405-442.

³¹ Joseph Dennis, “Early Printing in China Viewed from the Perspective of Local Gazetteers” in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400* Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 107, footnote 8.

available elsewhere. As a matter of fact, both the words *tu* and *jing* are problematic in rendering them into English. Francesca Bray rejects the idea of understanding *tu* as a general term for pictures, but rather deems it “a specialist term denoting only those graphic images or layouts which encoded technical knowledge.”³² Even though understanding *tu* as maps in a geographical context is less debatable compared to *tu* in technological fields, it is not entirely sure whether the *tu* in *tujing* are all maps.

The word *jing* is even more troublesome. Andrew Chittick translates the term “*tujing*” as “map classics”. This translation is influenced by the *jing* of the Confucian school classics.³³ The term *tujing* has nothing to do with Confucian classics and thus the translation “map classic” is not suitable. Besides used in Confucian classics and later religious sutras, the word *jing* also appears in all kinds of literature, such as the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經. The most well-known text like this would be the *Shan hai jing* 山海經, which is often translated as some kind of “classic”, even though it, again, has nothing to do with any classic. As a matter of fact, a footnote given in the *Zhongguo gudai dili xue shi* 中國古代地理學史 even suggests that the name *tujing* is a combination of *tu*, which refers to the *Zhaoyu tu* 兆域圖, plus *jing*, which refers to the *Shan hai jing*.³⁴ It is, therefore, not complete nonsense to link the term *tujing* to the *Shan hai jing* if one can avoid the most common rendering of the word “*jing*” as classics. Recent scholarship has

³² Francesca Bray, “Introduction: the Power of *tu*” in Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Georges Métaillé ed., 2.

³³ Andrew Chittick, “The Development of Local Writing in Early Medieval China” *Early Medieval China* 9 (2003), 37.

³⁴ Zhongguo kexueyuan ziran kexueshi yanjiu suo dixue shi zu ed., 中國科學院自然科學史研究所地學史組, *Zhongguo gudai dili xue shi* 中國古代地理學史 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe 科學出版社, 1984), 297.

offered a better understanding of this term. Richard Strassberg translates the title of the *Shan hai jing* into “guideways throughout mountains and seas” while Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann proposes the translation of “Itineraries of Mountains and Seas” for the same title.³⁵ The term *tujing* would be better understood as guides of illustrations, or illustrated records.

³⁵ Richard Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways throughout Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, “Mapless Mapping: Did the Maps of the Shan hai jing Ever Exist?” in Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Georges Métaillie ed., 217.

Part One

P.2005: The History and Manuscript Examinations

Chapter 1. The Discovery and the Date of P.2005

1.1 The Discovery of P.2005 and Its Reproduction

As the second Western explorer who arrived at the Dunhuang library cave, Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) spent two whole days in the cave and took the finest manuscripts and artifacts with him. Those manuscripts are currently preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF). In 1909, he made a trip to Beijing and showed some of the manuscripts to Chinese scholars including Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866 – 1940), who immediately recognized their importance and was able to identify some of the texts. One of the texts that Luo identified is the *Shazhou tujing*, which was later catalogued as P.2005 in Paris. Luo transcribed those texts into his collections *Dunhuang Shishi yishu* 敦煌石室遺書 in 1909 with two postfaces and some notes attached afterwards. Eager to see more of Pelliot's collection, Luo made an arrangement with Pelliot to have him continue sending photos of manuscripts from Paris. Pelliot kept his promise and in the following three years he sent photos to Duan Fang 端方 (1861-1911) on a regular basis, who in turn gave them to Luo Zhenyu and Liu Shiwei 劉師培 (1884-1919) separately for copying and study. Later in 1913 Luo included the photocopies of P.2005 and the ones he received in three years in his *Mingsha shishi yishu* 鳴沙石室佚書, and rearranged his notes,

treating them as additional commentaries to the two postfaces.³⁶ Despite their brevity, Luo's postfaces present some preliminary yet significant insights into the manuscript, including dating it to the Kaiyuan 開元 reign period (713-741) based on the latest date recorded in the manuscript, and speculations on the relation between this particular manuscript and other similar ones from Dunhuang.

When P.2005 was first published in the *Dunhuang Shishi yishu* in 1909, it was given the title "Shazhou zhi canjuan" 沙州志殘卷 (fragment of the record of Shazhou), probably due to the custom of using the word *zhi* 志 as the title for local historical records in the late Chinese imperial period. Luo changed the title to "Shazhou tujing" 沙洲圖經 in 1913.

Wang Zhongmin 王重民 (1903-1975) mentions in his *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍敘錄 that he made and distributed about ten photocopies of P.2005 from the one he borrowed from Duan Fang, who photocopied it from Paul Pelliot probably around the same time as Luo's.³⁷ Later in the autumn of 1934 Wang was invited to visit Paris where he catalogued all the manuscripts for BnF, and he finally was able to read the original of P.2005 on April 27th 1935,

³⁶ Luo Zhenyu, *Dunhuang shishi yishu*, in *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji san bian* 羅雪堂先生全集三編, Volume 6; *Mingsha shishi yishu*, in *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji sibian* 羅雪堂先生全集四編, Volume 5. The *Mingsha shishi yishu* can also be found in the *Luo Xuetao xiansheng quanji san bian* 羅雪堂先生全集三編, Volume 5, but just the text without the commentaries and postfaces.

³⁷ Wang Zhongmin, *Bali Dunhuang canjuan xulu diyi ji* 巴黎敦煌殘卷敘錄, 第一輯 (Beiping 北平: Guoli Beiping tushuguan 國立北平圖書館 1936-7), 2.6; *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍敘錄 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), 115.

but it is unclear whether he made further copies besides his notes.³⁸ The location of the photocopies that Wang distributed remains unknown, but his own copy remained in the National Peking Library (modern National Library of China), where Wang served as the director between 1949-1952. Wang's photocopy was also collected into the *Dunhuang Baocang* 敦煌寶藏 by Huang Yongwu 黃永武 in 1981. Wang refers to this manuscript as *Shazhou tujing* in his text, yet he used *Shazhou dudufu tujing* 沙州都督府圖經 as the title of the entry in the *Dunhuang guji xulu*, because there is another manuscript P.2695 which is identical in content to the final part of P.2005 that preserves this title. It is likely that either title was acceptable for Wang and he used them alternatively but this turned out to be a beginning of long debate about which title would be more appropriate for P.2005.

The full image of P.2005 was also published in a Japanese serial called *Tonkō shohō sōkan* (*Calligraphy of Chinese Documents excavated in Tun-Huang by P. Pelliot*), which was edited by Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 in 1983.³⁹ Another publication of the image of p.2005 based on microfilm and its transcription was released in 1986 by Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 and Lu Hongji 陸鴻基 in the first volume of their *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄.⁴⁰ But soon those publications of images were replaced by the new series titled

³⁸ Wang Zhongmin, "Ying Lun suo cang Dunhuang jingjuan fangwenji" 英倫所藏敦煌經卷訪問記, in his *Dunhuang yishu lunwenji* 敦煌遺書論文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 1.

³⁹ Jao Tsung-i, *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊, Vol. 12 (Tōkyō: Nigensha 二玄社, 1983-1986). For Chinese translation, see Jao Tsung-i ed., *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑精華 vol. 3 (Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993).

⁴⁰ Tang Geng'ou and Lu Hongji, ed., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe 書目文獻出版社, 1986).

Faguo guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian (usually shortened to be *Fa cang Dunhuang wenxian* 法藏敦煌文獻). In the 1990s, the international collaboration in Dunhuang studies brought out the publication of various Dunhuang collections from all over the world including the Pelliot collection. P.2005, which is also included in the *Fa cang Dunhuang wenxian* collection under the title “Shazhou dudufu tujing.”⁴¹ Nowadays, the color image of P.2005 can also be found and downloaded from the International Dunhuang Project website.⁴²

This manuscript itself, however, remained silent in Paris and was forgotten by Chinese scholars during the period of political turbulence until the 1980s. From the 1980s to 1990s, three Chinese scholars independently transcribed and studied the geographical manuscripts from Dunhuang and P.2005 was one of those manuscripts. The transcription of P.2005 thus was collected into these three works by Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, Wang Zhongluo 王仲榮 and Li Zhengyu 李正宇, respectively.⁴³ These three works not only include the author’s own transcription of P.2005 but also have their own notes commentating on various historical, textual and geographical aspects of the content as well as providing additional information. Their studies laid down the foundation for studying P.2005 and the genre that it belongs to, which is traditionally categorized as a type of writing related to regional historical geography. There is

⁴¹ See Bibliothèque nationale de France, Shanghai guji chubanshe, ed., *Faguo guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian* 法國國家圖書館藏敦煌西域文獻 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994).

⁴² <http://idp.bl.uk>

⁴³ Zheng Binglin, *Dunhuang dili wenshu huiji jiaozhu* 敦煌地理文書匯輯校注 (Lanzhou 蘭州: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1989); Wang Zhongluo, “Shazhou dudufu tujing canjuan kaoshi” 沙州都督府圖經殘卷考釋, *Dunhuang shishi dizhi canjuan kaoshi* 敦煌石室地志殘卷考釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), 109-141; Li Zhengyu, *Guben Dunhuang xiangtu zhi ba zhong jianzheng* 古本敦煌鄉土志八種箋証, (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1998).

some discrepancy with regard to the manuscripts collected by these three scholars, partly due to their different scope in their own studies and partly due to their different identifications on the meaning of the term “historical geography” (*lishi dili* 歷史地理). Zheng adopts a broader meaning of geography than the other two scholars and includes forty-three texts in six sub-categories. Wang lists fifteen texts while Li only selects eight since Li only focuses on the ones about Dunhuang while the other two attempt to cover all historical geographical materials among the collections from Dunhuang.

Besides the three transcriptions provided by these Chinese scholars, there is another one by the Japanese scholar Ikeda On 池田温 in the early 1970s. The transcriptions by Chinese scholars changed, to a different degree, the non-standard characters that appear in the manuscripts into standard ones, thus these three transcriptions are in fact edited versions. Ikeda On’s transcription offers a more faithful transcription by preserving more popular character forms than the Chinese scholars.⁴⁴ Two things must be noted. First, Ikeda asserts that P.2005 is not an isolated manuscript, but belongs to a five-juan work titled *Shazhou tujing* which can be pieced together with two more Dunhuang manuscripts, S.2593 as *juan* 1 and P.5034 as *juan* 5.⁴⁵ Secondly, instead of following the title of P.2695, Ikeda suggests that P.2005 shall be called *Shazhou tujing*. Ikeda’s suggestion has had a wide influence on later studies. For instance, Li Zhengyu is one of the scholars who adopted Ikeda’s suggestion and titled P.2005 *Shazhou tujing* in his own work.

⁴⁴ Ikeda On, “Sashū zukei ryakkō” 沙州圖經略考, *Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen tōyōshi ronsō* 榎博士還歷記念東洋史論叢 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1975), 31-102.

⁴⁵ I will examine Ikeda On’s proposal in chapter 9.

1.2 The Date of P.2005

The question of the date of P.2005 is complex due to the length of the manuscript and the inherent textual problems, and it has been the central question for the study of this particular manuscript since it was identified. There are four different opinions regarding the date of P.2005, which are summarized below:

1) Luo Zhenyu proposed that P.2005 dates back to the Kaiyuan reign of Emperor Xuanzong, giving the following reasons: (i) taboo characters of *long* 隆 and *ji* 基 suggest a date no earlier than the reign of Emperor Xuanzong; (ii) the latest date recorded in the manuscript is “the fourth year of the Kaiyuan reign” (716) under the entry of “Zhang Zhi mochi” 張芝墨池 (the ink pond of Zhang Zhi), which suggests a date no earlier than the Kaiyuan reign; (iii) the fact that no characters created by Empress Wu appear in the manuscript suggests a date later than the time of Empress Wu.

2) P.2005 was first composed during the period when Empress Wu was on the throne and it was later revised during the Kaiyuan reign so the information regarding later periods must have been inserted by subsequent editors. This hypothesis was proposed by Wang Zhongmin.

Wang Zhongmin acknowledges the validity of Luo Zhenyu’s observations regarding the manuscript but interprets them in a different way. The most important finding that Wang noticed is that only the entry “Zhang Zhi mochi” contains the date of the Kaiyuan period, but this entry is most likely a later insertion because it does not fit the arrangement of the text. This entry does not have a category that it supposed to belong to but rather is attached to a category titled “four ancient city sites” 四所古城 which enumerates four city remains. P.2005 arranges geographical information into categories in which the title records the number of entries in that category. Thus

the entry “Zhang Zhi mochi” must be a later insertion and therefore cannot be used as a piece of evidence for dating the text.

3) Ikeda On suggests that the *Shazhou tujing* was first composed within a few years following the third year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign of Emperor Gaozong (676) and it was largely revised during the time of Empress Wu. There was also a later insertion during the Kaiyuan reign. The title of the work was changed to *Shazhou dudufu tujing* as it can be seen in P.2695 from the second year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign (766). As mentioned earlier, Ikeda’s dating is based on his idea that P.2005 is part of a bigger text that shall be designated *Shazhou tujing*, therefore, his dating also heavily relies on evidence from P.5034, a manuscript of the same text. More importantly, the date 766 is based on a record in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, where Ikeda suggests that the second year of the Yonghui reign (651) may be a mistake for the second year of the Yongtai reign (766).

This idea was later accepted by Li Zhengyu, but Li points out one more piece of textual evidence for an additional date of revision. Under one entry “Xinjingyi” 新井驛 (Xinjing post station) it mentions specifically “this year” (*jinnian* 今年). Li points out the event recorded occurred in the second month of the first year of the Wansui Dengfeng 萬歲登封 era (696). But since Empress Wu changed the reign title soon after into Wansui Tongtian 萬歲通天, the revision of the current version must have been completed some time between the third month and the twelfth month of the Wansui Tongtian era.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Li Zhengyu, 1998, 72-3.

Disagreeing with the textual correction Ikeda On suggested, Zhu Yuemei 朱悅梅 and Zheng Binglin took the second year of the Yonghui reign as the earliest compilation time and proposed a timeline for the revisions of the *Shazhou tujing*. They extracted all possible information regarding the timeline and suggested that the text of P.2005 had been revised during this period until the fourth year of Kaiyuan era.⁴⁷

4) Based on the comparison of the content of the manuscript with the recently discovered tomb inscription of Dunhuang Prefect Li Wukui, Li Zongjun 李宗俊 suggests that this manuscript was compiled in the first year of Changshou 長壽 reign (692). In view of Tang practice of revising local geographical documents every three years (discussion about the *tujing* revision, see chapter 6), He further suggests that one more revision of this work was carried out in the early Kaiyuan period.⁴⁸

The above-mentioned opinions demonstrate that scholars have gradually become aware of the problems presented by traditional method of “dating” in studying manuscripts related to historical geography. Joseph Dennis has already pointed out that “local gazetteers were living texts with complex life cycles.”⁴⁹ Even though his conclusion mainly refers to the co-existence of handwritten and printed versions of local gazetteers, it nevertheless is also relevant for dating

⁴⁷ Zhu Yuemei 朱悅梅, Zheng Binglin, “*Shazhou dudufu tujing zuanxiu niandai jiqi xiangguan wenti kao*,”沙州都督府圖經纂修年代及其相關問題考, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 5 (2003), 61-5.

⁴⁸ Li Zongjun 李宗俊, “Du ‘Li Wukui muzhiming’ san ti” 讀《李無虧墓誌銘》三題, *Dunhuang xue guoji lianluo weiyuanhui tongxun* 敦煌學國際聯絡委員會通訊 [Newsletter of International Liaison Committee for Dunhuang Studies] 1 (2004), 50-51.

⁴⁹ Joseph Dennis, “Early Printing in China Viewed from the Perspective of Local Gazetteers” in Lucille Chia, Hilde De Weerd ed., 112.

P.2005, especially since the text was likely subject to repeated editing and copying. Although analyzing the text by itself could provide us with clues to the ways by which it was edited or recompiled, doing this may not enable one to determine the exact date of the text in the traditional sense.

1.3. Other Research

Textual research on P.2005 and its related historical geographical manuscripts only constitute a small portion of all the research that is related to this type of materials. More commonly, scholars extract information from the text, combining that with information from transmitted historical records and geographical findings to conduct research on specific historical topics. Some of the results can already be seen from the commentaries that scholars contributed to the text, but most of them appear in the form of articles pertaining to various topics. The following summary only provides a guideline and cannot be considered a full list of publications on this subject.

The field that has gained the most from the studies of P.2005 and its related materials is the field of historical geography, especially on the topics pertaining to medieval Dunhuang local geography, such as the reconstruction of river courses and post stations routes, allocation of historical place names, and identification of historical locations. Li Zhengyu and Li Bingcheng are the leading scholars who contributed the most to this field. Li Zhengyu reconstructed the water system based on the textual evidence from P.2005 and archaeological on-site examinations. His long article “Tang Song shidai Dunhuang xian he qu quan ze jianzhi” 唐宋時代敦煌縣河渠泉澤簡志 was divided into two parts and published in *Dunhuang yanjiu* in 1988-

1989. This can be considered a summary of the studies of the Dunhuang water system and it is still the most comprehensive study on this topic.⁵⁰ Besides, Li Zhengyu also has articles on specific rivers that flowed through the Dunhuang area.⁵¹ Li Bingcheng also has a short article on the irrigation system of Dunhuang, but it merely provides information on which Dunhuang manuscripts contain relevant information on the irrigation system rather than a full investigation.⁵² Most of Li Bingcheng's effort has been focused on the identification of historical locations. For instance, his article "Dunhuang yishu yu gu diming yanjiu" 敦煌遺書與古地名研究 offers a general overview on this topic, while "Han Dunhuang jun Xiaogu xiancheng kao" 漢敦煌郡效穀縣城考 is focused on specific details.⁵³ The book, *Gua Sha shidi yanjiu* 瓜沙史地研究, that he co-authored with Li Chunyuan 李春元, collects his articles related to the geographical changes in the Dunhuang area such as the changes of oases in the desert area. One article, in particular, "Tangdai Gua Sha er zhou jian zhu yi kao" 唐代瓜沙二州間諸驛考 is one of several articles on reconstructing the postal system of Tang based on the manuscripts.⁵⁴ Y. Edmond Lien

⁵⁰ Li Zhengyu, "Tang Song shidai Dunhuang xian he qu quan ze jianzhi yi" 唐宋時代敦煌縣河渠泉澤簡志一, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (1988): 12-22; and "Tang Song shidai Dunhuang xian he qu quan ze jianzhi er" 唐宋時代敦煌縣河渠泉澤簡志二, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 1 (1989), 54-63.

⁵¹ Li Zhengyu, "Jiduan shui, Duli shui, Sule he mingyi kao" 籍端水、獨利水、蘇勒河名義考, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 3 (1994), 62-7. "Xi Han Puchang hai weizhi xinzheng" 西漢蒲昌海位置新証, *Beijing tushuguan guankan* 北京圖書館館刊 4 (1996), 69-73.

⁵² Li Bingcheng, "Tang Song shiqi Dunhuang wenxian dang'an zhong suojian de guangai quxi" 唐宋時期敦煌文獻檔案中所見的灌溉渠系, *Dang'an* 檔案 3 (1989), 41-2.

⁵³ Li Bingcheng, "Dunhuang yishu yu gu diming yanjiu" 敦煌遺書與古地名研究, *Sheke zongheng* 社科縱橫 4 (1992), 28-30. "Han Dunhuang jun Xiaogu xiancheng kao" 漢敦煌郡效穀縣城考, *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 1 (1991), 57-62.

⁵⁴ Li Bingcheng and Li Chunyuan 李春元, *Gua Sha shidi yanjiu* 瓜沙史地研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe 甘肅文化出版社, 1996).

also has articles on this specific topic.⁵⁵ Yan Gengwang's huge seven-volume work on the communication system of the Tang dynasty is probably the most comprehensive work so far. It contains discussions not only about the postal station system in the Dunhuang area but also on various roads leading from Dunhuang to the far west.⁵⁶ More recently, based on Yan Gengwang's work, Chen Guocan suggests there were eight major communication routes at Dunhuang and examines them individually.⁵⁷

Traditionally, the study of historical geography is considered a sub-field of Chinese history. Thus, it is not surprising that the study of medieval Chinese history has also benefitted significantly from the aforementioned research. Besides the historical geographical research, two other areas of medieval Chinese history are also worth mentioning, that is, medieval history of the northwest area and the research on the foreigners who resided in the Dunhuang area. These two areas certainly did not exclusively benefit from P.2005 and its related Dunhuang geographical manuscripts, but are based upon many other Dunhuang manuscripts and archaeological discoveries that were unearthed from Dunhuang and in the more central area of China. For the history of Dunhuang area, the historical geographical manuscripts offer some detailed information as for the dates of certain historical events that can either correct the

⁵⁵ Y. Edmond Lien, "Reconstructing the Post Relay System of the Han Period", in *History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, Antje Richter ed. (Leiden: Brill 2015), 17-52.

⁵⁶ Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Tangdai jiaotong tukao* 唐代交通圖考 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院歷史語言研究所, 1985-2006).

⁵⁷ Chen Guocan 陳國燦, "Tang Wudai Dunhuang sichu daolu kao" 唐五代敦煌四出道路考, in his *Chen Guocan Tulufan Dunhuang chutu wenxian shishi lunji* 陳國燦吐魯番敦煌出土文獻史實論集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 561-83.

transmitted historical record or fill in its blanks.⁵⁸ Paul Pelliot is the first one who noticed the record of the establishment of a Sogdian colony in P.2005.⁵⁹ Nowadays research on the Sogdian people in China has become a popular topic.⁶⁰

Last but not least, research on P.2005 and other *tujing* has also advanced the study of historiography, especially on the history of *tujing* compilation and its relation to the later *fangzhi* writing. Li Bingcheng has shown the importance of the discovery of P.2005 to the study of Tang *tujing* research.⁶¹ Both Chinese and Western scholars agree that *tujing* is the precursor of the later *fangzhi*.⁶²

⁵⁸ For instance, Zhao Hong 趙紅, Gao Qi'an 高啟安 "Zhang Xiaosong zhan long chuanshuo lishi beijing yanjiu" 張孝嵩斬龍傳說歷史背景研究, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (2004), 63-65. Chen Guocan, "Tangchao Tubo xianluo shazhou cheng de shijian wenti" 唐朝吐蕃陷落沙州城的時間問題, *Chen Guocan Tulufan Dunhuang chutu wenxian shishi lunji*, 597-609.

⁵⁹ Paul Pelliot, "Le 'Cha-tcheou-tou-fou-t'ou-king' et le colonie sogdiene de la region du Lob Nor," *Journal asiatique* 7 (1916), 118-23. The Chinese translation is by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, "Shazhou dudufu tujing ji Puchang hai de Kangju juluo" 沙州都督府圖經及蒲昌海的康居聚落, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong* 西域南海史地考證譯叢 7 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), 25-9.

⁶⁰ Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia." *T'oung Pao* 41, nos. 4-5 (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1952), 317-356. Ikeda On, "Haseiki chūyō no okeru Tonkō no Sogudojin juraku" 8世紀中葉における敦煌のソグドシ人聚落 *Yūrashia bunka kenkyū* ヨラシア文化研究, Chinese translation is by Xin Deyong 辛德勇 and collected in *Riben xuezhe yanjiu zhongguo shi lunzhu xuanyi* 日本學者研究中國史論著選譯 9 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 140-220. Frantz Grenet and Zhang Guangda, "The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the Asian Institute, New Series*, 10 (1996), 175-86. For a more complete research on Sogdian people, see Étienne De la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, translated by James Ward, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005).

⁶¹ Li Bingcheng, "Tangdai tujing kao: dui Shazhou dudufu tujing de yanjiu" 唐代圖經考：對沙州都督府圖經的研究, *Gua Sha shidi yanjiu* 瓜沙史地研究 (1996), 174-82.

⁶² Andrew Chittick, (2003).

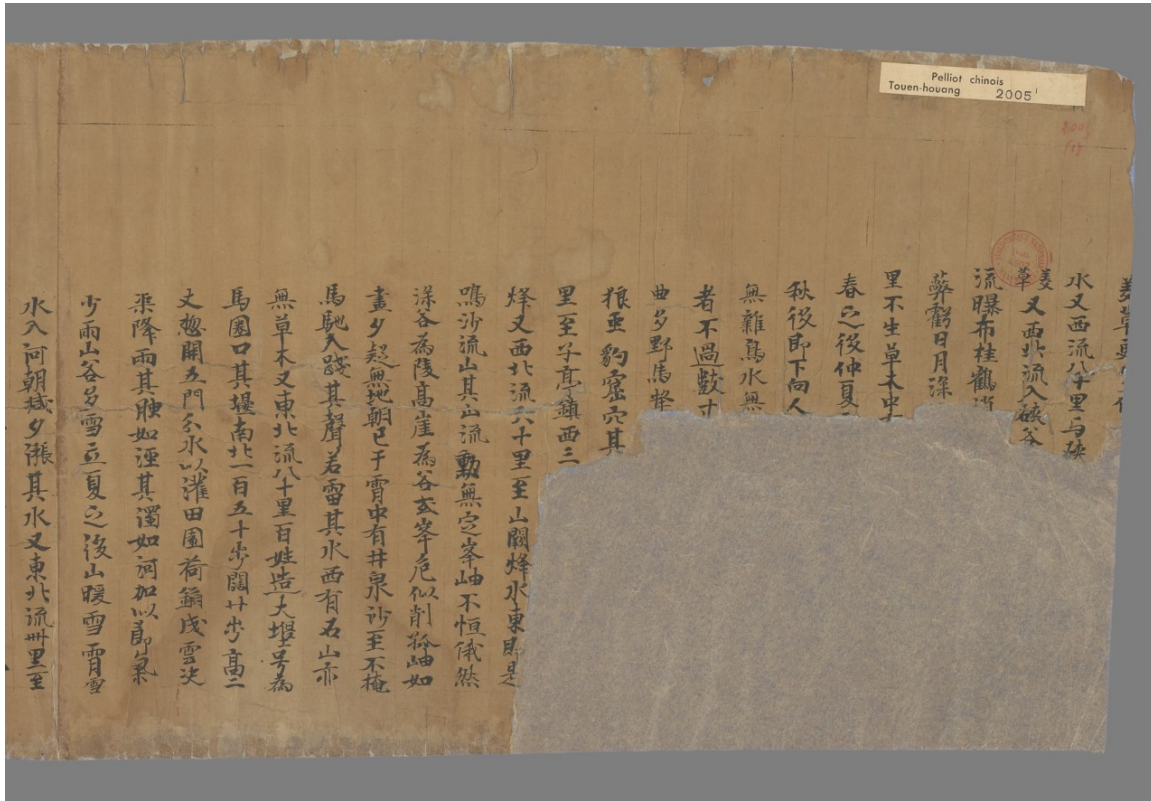


Fig 3. The beginning of P.2005

Dunhuang manuscripts have been a subject of study ever since they were discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although most studies place the heaviest weight on the textual content, the physical features of manuscripts were of equal importance. Japanese scholars are among the first and foremost in integrating studying physical features of manuscripts into their textual studies and in discussing critical theories of the field which they refer to as “*komonjo gaku*” 古文書学. Although *komonjo gaku* in Japan is not limited to Dunhuang manuscripts, it plays a role in helping shape the research models of the Dunhuang manuscript

studies in Japan. And the term *monjo* 文書 was later borrowed into and widely used in Dunhuang studies by Chinese scholars as well.⁶³ Murai Shōsuke theorizes that there are four types of non-textual information that is as important as the textual information from manuscripts, including: information on the relations among manuscripts; information on the formality of documents; information on the materiality of the manuscript and information on the function, namely, the process of compilation, circulation, management of the manuscript.⁶⁴ Murai Shōsuke's theory coincides with the principle of codicological examination used in the study of manuscripts from other cultures. The most recent scholarship shows that the “universal grammar” of manuscripts can be explored through codicological examination, which is the examination to understand the information encoded in the format of a manuscript, more specifically, to “aim at identifying the structural elements common to the majority of craft traditions and the profound reasons for their organization in a coherent system.”⁶⁵

In studying Chinese manuscripts, the application of codicological methods has just started. Scholars who work on the conservation of manuscripts have opened discussions on how to deal with various fragile manuscripts.⁶⁶ Physical appearance of manuscripts was also taken

⁶³ For instance, Lin Congming 林聰明 discussed various terms that had been used for Dunhuang manuscripts and the term *wenshu* 文書 is the most appropriate one, although he did not point out that this term was originally from Japan. See Lin Congming, *Dunhuang wenshu xue* 敦煌文書學 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1991): 6.

⁶⁴ Murai Shōsuke 村井章介, “Chūsei shiryō ron” 中世史料論, *Komonjo kenkyū* 古文書研究 50 (1999), 33-52.

⁶⁵ Marilena Maniaci, “Introduction” in Alessandro Bausi etc. ed., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* (Hamburg: Tredition, 2015), 69.

⁶⁶ As for manuscript conservation discussions, see Lin Shitian 林世田 and Alastair Morrison ed., *Rongshe yu chuangxin: Guoji Dunhuang xiangmu di liu ci huiyi lunwenji* 融攝與創新：國際敦

into consideration in studying one or several specific manuscripts in general. Christopher Nugent started his work on manuscripts by directly engaging with the material reality of poetry and looking closely at the set of surviving manuscripts from Dunhuang, although his “materiality of the manuscripts” only focuses on the textual variants.⁶⁷ Imre Galambos, in studying one composite manuscript, which in fact consists of three different manuscripts, points out that although two of them were used for fixing the previously damaged page, the relations among these three can help understand the environment in which the manuscripts were produced, used and eventually joined together.⁶⁸ Both these two are successful examples of applying the methods of codicological examination in Dunhuang manuscript studies. Therefore, examining the physicality of P.2005 and decoding the information hidden under the textual arrangement provide us a chance to reconstruct the “biography” of the manuscript in question as well as to what extent it met the production standard or the craft tradition to which it belonged, allowing us to understand the environment in which the manuscript was produced.

煌項目第六次會議論文集[Tradition and Innovation: Proceedings of the 6th IDP Conservation Conference] (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe 北京圖書館出版社, 2007).

⁶⁷ Christopher Nugent, *Manifest in Words, Written on Paper: Production and Circulating Poetry in Tang Dynasty China* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁶⁸ Sam van Schaik, Imre Galambos, “the Structure of the Manuscript”, *Manuscripts and Travellers: the Sino-Tibetan Documents of a Tenth-century Buddhist Pilgrim* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 77-85.

2.1 Materials and Tools

The text of P. 2005 was written on paper with ink by using a brush.⁶⁹ To determine the exact material of the papers discovered from Dunhuang, much research has been carried out through analyzing the paper fiber materials with microscopic or other tools. The earliest work was carried out in London by R.H. Clapperton in 1934. By analyzing the Dunhuang manuscripts dated between 405-991 in the British Library, he concluded that the paper was made of mulberry bark or elm tree bark. This finding was later confirmed in 1967 by French scholar Françoise Flieder in her studying of the Chinese manuscripts collection from Dunhuang at the BnF. The German professor Georg Jayne also analyzed a Tibetan manuscript in BnF and reckoned that the original materials consisted of fibers made of mulberry bark, as well as fibers from plants that belong to the kinds of jute, flax and China grass, and may also contain fibers from ragged cloth.⁷⁰ The most influential result of this kind of analysis came from Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei (1910-2015), who suggests that the major varieties of the best-yielding group are hemp, which includes the following different kinds of plants known in Chinese as *da ma* 大麻 (hemp, *Cannabis sativa*), *huang ma* 黃麻 (jute, *Corchorus capsularis*), *ya ma* 亞麻 (flax, *Linum perenne*) and *zhu ma* 苧麻

⁶⁹ Although it was widely accepted that the stylus, or hard pen (ying bi 硬筆) was not in use until the beginning of the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang (786), Imre Galambos and other scholars have shown that this conclusion is still open to question. See Imre Galambos, “Non-Chinese Influence in Medieval Chinese Manuscript Culture,” In Zsombor Rajkai and Ildikó Bellér-Hann eds., *Frontiers and boundaries: encounters on China’s margins* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 71-86. Yet the strokes of the scripts from P.2005 clearly display the characteristics of using a brush.

⁷⁰ Chen Zoolong 陳祚龍, “Xinyi buzhu Du nushi zhuxiu de ‘Bali guoli tushuguan cang Dunhuang Zhongwen juance mulu’ zhi ‘zixu’ ji ‘xushuo’” 新譯補註杜女史主修的《巴黎國立圖書館藏敦煌中文卷冊目錄》之《自序》及《緒說》, *Dunhuangxue yaoyue* 敦煌學要籟 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1982), 34-5.

(ramie, *Boehmeria nivea*).⁷¹ Pan Jixing collected fifteen samples from the Dunhuang manuscripts and verified independently that most of the materials used for Dunhuang papers are hemp with some mulberry bark.⁷² Although no specific research has been done on P.2005 to determine its material, visual examination shows that the paper was thick and of fine quality, thus it is likely that the paper was made of hemp since hemp paper was the most common one for official use. The paper was then impregnated with some yellow fluid of vegetable origin afterwards for preservation purposes. The color of the paper of P.2005 is described as oak in the catalogue, but color description is probably of the most problematic among all the physical features. Knowing the paper materials provides us insight into how papers were produced and processed. This kind of procedure indicated a beginning of the “book biography.”

2.2 Size of Materials and Book Form

P.2005 comprises twenty-two sheets of paper, each of which is about 27.3-28.6cm in width.⁷³ In studying the document formality of medieval China, Fujieda Akira has already stated that the Tang official documents have their standards based on the Dunhuang materials. Two archaic standard sizes for the paper sheets, 26*39cm, 26*52 cm, can be traced back to prior to

⁷¹ Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962, rpt, 2004), 163. Also in Tsien, “Raw Materials for Old Papermaking in China,” *JAOS* 93, no.4 (1973), 510-19; “Paper and Printing” in *Science and Civilization in China*, Joseph Needham ed., vol.5, pt.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; 3d rev., 1987), 62-4.

⁷² Pan Jixing 潘吉星, *Zhongguo zaozhi jishu shi gao* 中國造紙技術史稿 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1979), 174-6.

⁷³ For the description of the physical appearance of this manuscript, see *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang, fonds Pelliot chinois*, 3-4, and the images can be found in the International Dunhuang Project (IDP): http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=132580792116;recnum=59046;index=3 (last accessed on May.26th.2013). Fujieda Akira, 17.

the use of paper since 26 cm equates to one *chi* 尺 in the Eastern Han when it was implemented. The sheets used for Tang official documents were measured to 30*45 cm, which was one by one and a half *chi* in Tang standard.⁷⁴ In the footnote on the same page, Fujieda also points out that the original sheets must have been larger in order to compensate for the loss of space when the sheets were joined together. Thus, the sheets used in P.2005 are more likely to be the so-called archaic size rather than Tang standard size. Chen Zuolong, based on the work of Marie-Roberte Dalleans of the BnF, suggests that both archaic sizes and the 30*45 cm size of sheets were all used in official documents found in Dunhuang that can be dated between the fifth century and 993 A.D.⁷⁵

The two corners of the last sheet were cut off indicating this is the end of the original scroll.⁷⁶ Each sheet only contains proximately twenty-three columns of text, which is right in the middle of the estimation of twenty-two or twenty-five columns of the standard form of Tang manuscripts given by Fujieda.⁷⁷ The beginning of the manuscript is damaged. Based on the description from the IDP website, P.2005 is composed of four fragments with a total length of 935cm and preserves 513 columns of texts. Fragment 1 contains columns 1-91, Fragment 2 contains columns 92-114, Fragment 3 contains columns 115-443, and Fragment 4 contains columns 449-513. The manuscript that we can see today has been processed for conservation purposes by BnF and therefore the margins for pasting different fragments together can hardly be

⁷⁴ Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 “the Tunhuang Manuscripts,” *Zinbun* 人文 9 (1966), 16-7.

⁷⁵ Chen Zuolong, 35.

⁷⁶ Personal communication with Imre Galambos.

⁷⁷ Fujieda Akira, 17.

seen.⁷⁸ The space for writing was marked off from the margins and then divided into columns about 1.5cm in width. This column width also corresponds to the 1.5 to 1.8 cm standard that Fijieda asserted.⁷⁹

2.3 Textual Layout and Readability

P.2005 is written with a clear structure: the title of each category, written along with the number of entries, leaves a two-character margin inside the text box; the title of each entry is one additional character lower than the title of the category; the content of the entry is yet another one character lower. There are in total twenty categories remaining, covering local historical geography information such as canals, salt ponds, schools, ancient city remains, auspicious omens found in the region and so on. The entire manuscript ends with a long local popular song praising the extraordinary achievements of Empress Wu (r.690-705). The clear text indentation often leaves large amount of empty space at the top part of the manuscript. When readers move towards the end of the text, the top text edge tends to slope downward, but at some midpoint, it also moves upward rather than in a straightly horizontal line. This, on the one hand, points to the possibility that this was an official document since the scribe did not seem to be concerned about saving paper. By saying official, I simply refer to a governmental activity. On the other hand, it tells us that the scribe did not apply any tools to line up the top part of his text in writing. This kind of imperfection implies that either a perfect top was not part of the requirement for official

⁷⁸ I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Nathalie Monnet for granting me access to examine the original manuscripts and to the staff at the Bibliothèque nationale de France for their kind help.

⁷⁹ Fujieda Akira, 17.

documents in the Tang, or P.2005, this specific copy, was not intended to be submitted to the court and thus the imperfection can be tolerated.

The phenomenon of lowering the main text is also contrary to the normal scribal practice that one can see in the majority of Dunhuang manuscripts. By glancing through the discovered manuscripts, especially the ones clearly written by court scribes, it is clear that most of them, including various Buddhist and Daoist scriptures and Confucian classics, were always written from top to bottom with the whole columns filled in. Their titles, however, could be written against the top marking or one or two characters lower. So far, the examples that we can find from Dunhuang manuscripts that were written in a way similar to P.2005 are ledgers of some temples in Dunhuang, such as P.2049V, P.2119 and P.3348V.⁸⁰ Their main texts only occupy the lower half of the pages. The question therefore remains: was P.2005 a special type of document that required different textual arrangement or was it simply a coincidence that it was written in such a way?

Contrary to the phenomenon of lowering the text we find is that the scribe sometimes left long empty spaces between certain lines, especially in the last entry, which is a long song praising the achievements of Empress Wu. One could argue that maybe the scribe only had a fragmentary version as his reference, but the content of the song suggests that despite the fact that there may be a few lines missing, there is no evidence to prove that the scribe worked on a fragmentary version. A close examination of the text reveals that the empty spaces do not

⁸⁰ The first two are ledgers from Jingtū temple. P.2049V is titled *Jingtū sī zhīsūi bāohu die* 淨土寺直歲保護牒. P. 2119 is titled *Jingtū sī zhīsūi yuán dā die* 淨土寺直歲願達牒. The last one is an army ledger, the title of which was given later by scholars: *Tianbao sī zài Hèxī dōulūjun hedi kuaiji die* 天寶四載河西豆盧軍和糴會計牒.

indicate missing texts, but were intentionally created out of respect for emperors and empresses. The scribe of P.2005 chose to start a new column whenever he encountered the terms referring to the emperor or empress such as “divine emperor” (神皇 *shenhuang*) or “sage mother” (聖母 *shengmu*). Other manuscripts and even the discovered tomb inscriptions such as P.2695 also exhibit similar characteristics when they mention such terms referring to the emperor, empress or the name of the dynasty and etc. This complies with the Tang regulation of respecting the gods and royal house and thus strengthens the possibility that P.2005 was produced under official auspices.⁸¹

Under the entries related historical events are attached accordingly. The earliest historical events, some of which appear to be more legendary or traditional than actual history, that are found in this manuscript can be dated to the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, which is consistent with the historical records about the expansion of the Han dynasty into the Western Regions and the establishment of Dunhuang as a Han military garrison and administrative region.⁸² The latest event that can be dated took place in the fourth year of the Kaiyuan reign of the Tang dynasty (716).

It is also worth mentioning that there are two fragments of text on the reverse side of this manuscript, both of which are incomplete (see Fig. 4). Recent research on Dunhuang manuscripts emphasizes the importance of studying the relation between the backside and the

⁸¹ For discussion about this Tang regulation of writing when encountering honorific terms, please see part 3, chapter 7.4.

⁸² *Han shu*, 96a. 3873. Kazuo Enoki 榎一雄, *Kōza Tonkō 2: Tonkō no rekishi* 講座敦煌 2: 敦煌の歴史 (Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1980), 21.

front side of the manuscripts.⁸³ The contents of the reverse side seem irrelevant to the front side in this manuscript. Fragment A in Fig 1 is an incomplete sentence meaning “the *Ruiying tu* lends to [those] below.....”瑞應圖借与下. Even though this text is displayed upside down online, my examination of the original shows that it was written in the same direction as the front page. Fragment B is a series of official titles: “敕河西節「度」歸義軍使等檢校兵部尚書義使(御史)大夫賜紫金魚袋南楊郡開國公石邑三百” “Imperial order: Area Commander with Special Warrant of Hexi, Military Commissioner of the Army of Returning to Allegiance, Acting Minister of the Ministry of War, Censor-in-Chief, bestowed the purple robe with a bag decorated with golden fish, Dynasty-founding duke of the Nanyang Commandery.” This fragment can clearly be dated to the Guiyi jun 歸義軍 period (*lit.* Return-to-Allegiance Army, 851-1036), which is much later than the date given on the front part.

⁸³ See Sam van Shaik and Imre Galambos, 77-85.

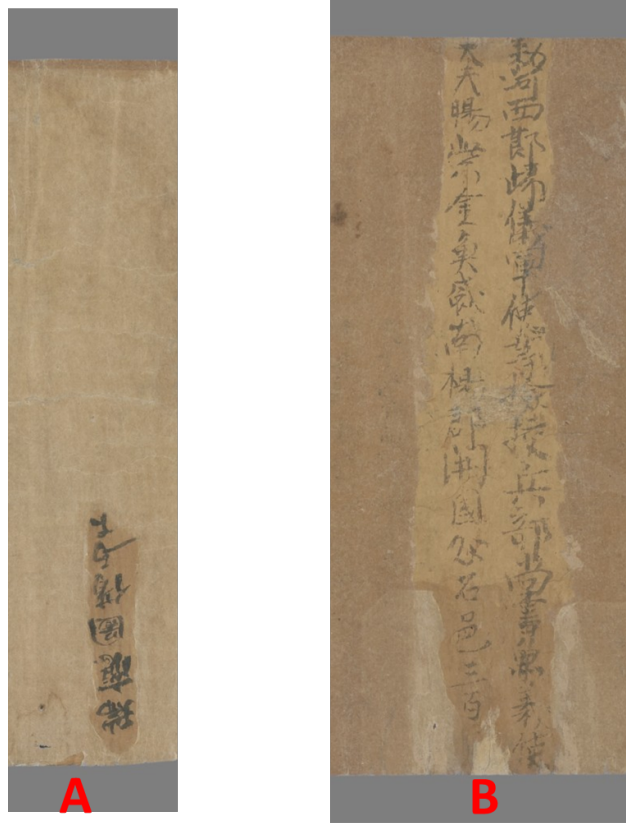


Fig 4. The text on the verso of P.2005

Writing texts on the verso of manuscripts is not rare. As a matter of fact, scholars have taken this phenomenon as evidence to support the idea that Dunhuang library cave was a waste paper dump. In his *Shulin qinghua* 書林清話, Ye Dehui 葉德輝 mentions that recycling waste papers for other writing purposes was in fact a common practice before the Qing dynasty.⁸⁴

Correction marks can also be observed in P.2005. In most cases the wrong characters were corrected by writing over them, probably due to the immediate discovery of a mistake.

⁸⁴ Ye Dehui, *Shulin qinghua* (Beijing: guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2009), 192.



Fig 5 Character corrections by writing over: 故名, 攻破, 元帝

In one case the scribe tried too hard to write over part of the character *bi* 陛 in the word *bixia* 陛下 (your highness) that the bottom right part was almost smeared by ink and thus is hardly recognizable.



Fig 6. Character correction with smear: 陛下

Six examples of omitted characters that were inserted later can be found in P.2005. The first five shows that the omitted character was inserted on the side in smaller font whereas the last example shows two missing characters were inserted on the top probably due to the fact that the space at the beginning of a new column is easier to fit in than the end of the previous column.

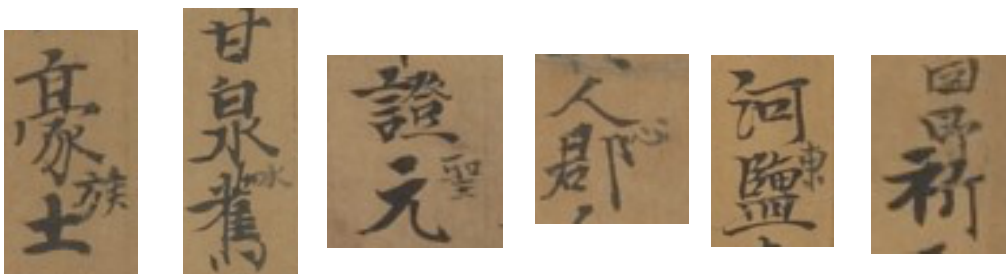


Fig 7 Text corrections by insertion new characters: 豪族土, 甘泉水舊, 証聖元, 人心郡, 河東鹽, 因即祈

There is only one occurrence of the reversal mark that is used to indicate flipping the characters, as the following, where in the middle of the phrase *ming chuan* 名傳, a tiny mark indicates it should be *chuan ming* 傳名.

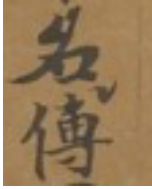


Fig 8 Text correction by flipping characters: 名傳-傳名

Those correction marks match the general observation that Imre Galambos has made through his study of Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang, although not all instances that Imre Galambos presented can be found in P.2005 probably due to the size of this manuscript.⁸⁵ One thing must be noted is that the existence of those correction marks in no way proves that P.2005 was written in a less formal way. Imre Galambos's research has shown that correction marks can be found even in the finest manuscripts.

2.4 Title and Colophon

For a Buddhist scripture, the full title of the chapter was written both at the beginning and repeated at the end, often in an abbreviated form. Here no title is preserved for P.2005. The beginning of P.2005 was damaged so there is no way to know whether it originally had a title written or not. For some scriptures, we can find detailed colophons, which provide us with

⁸⁵ Imre Galambos, "Correction Marks in the Dunhuang Manuscripts," in Imre Galambos, ed. *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century* (Budapest: ELTE University, Department of East Asian Languages, 2013), 191-210.

information such as the time when the particular manuscript was written, the number of the sheets that had been used and the name of the scribe. The absence of both the title and colophon at the end makes P.2005 seem unprofessional. P.2695, the manuscript identical in content to the last portion of P.2005 contains the title at the end, which suggests that there could be an end title for P.2005 but it does not prove the necessity of an end title. Like the correction marks, the absence of the title and colophon is a possible lead but by no means proves or disproves that P.2005 was an official document, nor helps us identify the level of formality of P.2005.

In sum, the codicological features of the manuscript P.2005, such as the quality of and the manufacturing process of the paper as well as the textual layout indicate a rather high production standard. Yet there are some imperfections such as the not-so-perfectly-horizontally-lined up top of the text and the occurrence of correction marks. Either those imperfections were allowed in Tang official documents, or this manuscript was not intended for the court, and thus its imperfections were acceptable whatever other purposes its scribe may have had. Without a rigorous comparison with the Tang court document, jumping to the conclusion that P.2005 fails to meet Tang official document requirements would be hasty. The overall quality of this manuscript allows us to make a reasonable safe conclusion that it was likely an official Tang document. The texts written on the reverse of the manuscript were written by different scribes, and tell us that this manuscript was in circulation for a quite long time after it was produced, but it is not directly related to the front part in textual content.

Chapter 3. Paleographic Examination

The calligraphy of this manuscript is neat, clear and beautiful. The writing is consistent as it is written by one hand. Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 praised its calligraphy highly and selected this piece as an exemplary specimen of Tang writings in his *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 敦煌書法叢刊.⁸⁶ Yet compared with Dunhuang manuscripts, such as the Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, which were written by court scribes, it is clear even to untrained eyes that P.2005 does not represent the best calligraphy of its time. For example, the following is an image of the final portion of S.2295, a Daoist scripture, the colophon of which clearly states that it was written by scribes of the Palace Library. The superiority of S.2295 in comparison to P.2005 is not difficult to discern since P.2005 was very likely to have been written by local scribes, who usually were not as skillful in calligraphy as compared to court scribes.

⁸⁶ Jao Tsung-i, (1983-1986).

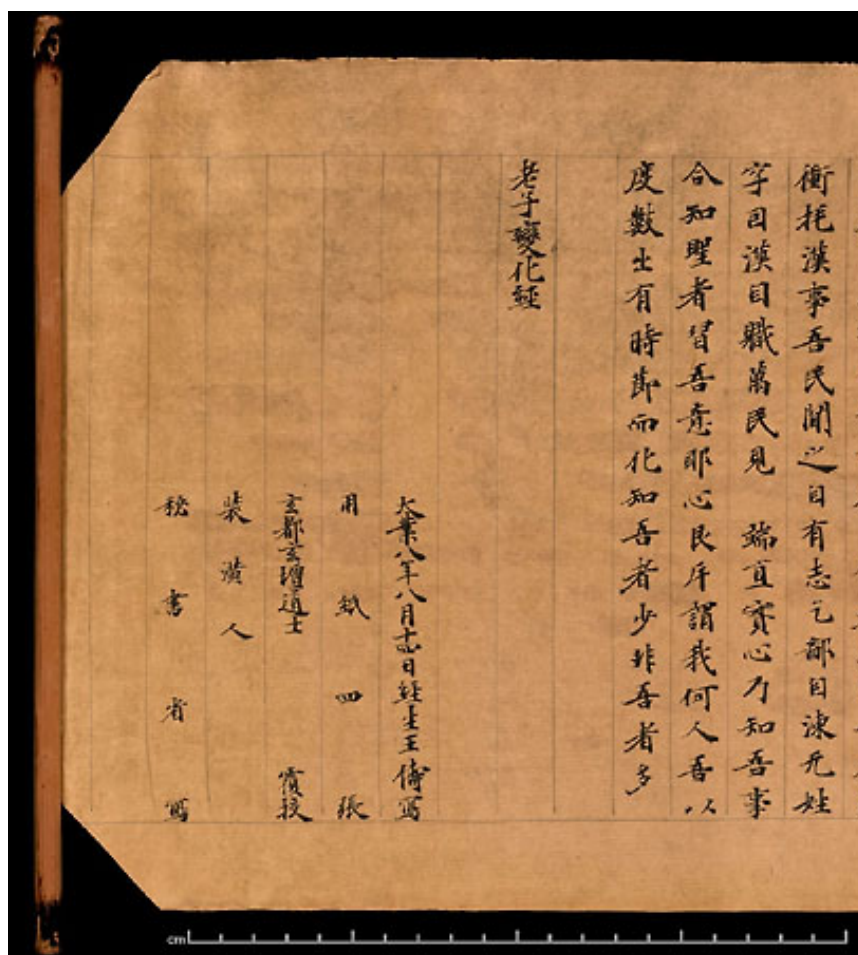




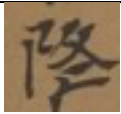

Fig 5. S.2295, partial

Beside the calligraphy in general, there are three phenomena of the medieval period writing system that are significant in dating the Tang manuscripts, and that must be discussed, namely, the taboo characters, the *suzi* 俗字 (popular character form) and the Wu Zhou 武周 characters.

3.1 Taboo Characters

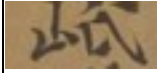
Taboo characters have been extensively studied. The importance of taboo characters lies in the fact that they provide a type of systematic evidence that scholars can use to date manuscripts because taboo characters have been used in Chinese history since the Qin 秦 dynasty and the taboo characters of different dynasties are identifiable.⁸⁷ As a matter of fact, Luo Zhenyu has already pointed out the taboo characters in P.2005 and used them as evidence for his dating of the manuscript.⁸⁸ The following table shows all the taboo characters that appeared in the manuscript and how many times they occurred.

Table 1: taboo characters appeared in P.2005

Characters used for replacement	Taboo characters	Emperors	Occurrences
	虎	For the grandfather of Emperor Gaozu	1
	民	Emperor Taizong	4
	隆	Emperor Xuanzong	1
	基	Emperor Xuanzong	5?

⁸⁷ As for extensive lists of the taboo characters used in Chinese history, see Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Shihui juli* 史諱舉例 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962, rpt, 2003); Guan Xihua 管錫華, “Lichao diwang minghui jiqi daizi jian huizi jianbiao,” 歷朝帝王名諱及其代字兼諱字簡表 *Hanyu guji jiaokan xue* 漢語古籍校勘學 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe 巴蜀書社: 2003), 610-626.

⁸⁸ See Luo Zhenyu’s comments in the *Dunhuang shishi yishu*, and *Mingsha shishi yishi*.

	民 (being substituted as part of the original character)	Emperor Taizong	1
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Among the above-listed taboo characters, the characters 虎, 民 and 隆 are well-documented taboo characters. The character 基 is a bit more complex due to the fact that the taboo-replacement character 其 also stands for the word for the very common third person possessive pronoun. It is not even included into the extensive lists compiled by Yu Jiayi and Guan Xihua.⁸⁹ Some occurrences of the character 其 clearly have to be identified as a substitute for the taboo character 基, otherwise the line would make no sense, for instance, “Nowadays in the northwest, there is the damaged foundation several-dozen *bu* long” 今北西有頽其數十步. Two occurrences of the character 其 are worthy of special attention. As a matter of fact, these two occurrences are almost identical in words: a. 其城頽毀, 其址猶存; b. 其城頽毀, 其址見存. The character 見 in line b must be read as *xian* 現, the meaning of which is similar to the word in the same position of line a, the word 猶. The first 其 in both lines must be understood as the third person pronoun, thus they are not used to substitute for the taboo characters. The second *qi* is ambiguous and could be interpreted in both ways. Therefore, both a and b can be understood either as “its city is decayed and damaged, its site still exists” or “its city is decayed and

⁸⁹ See above footnote 87.

damaged, the site of the base still exists.” Either reading seems valid. The ambiguity of the taboo character in question reminds us that some of them might still need to be reconsidered.

The same discrepancy exists between the traditional Chinese and Western approaches in dealing with the taboo characters in transcribing manuscripts. Western scholars are inclined to keep the replacements of the taboo characters as they are in transcription, while Chinese scholars mostly restore their original forms.

Even though the methodology of using taboo character for dating purposes seems reliable and has been employed by Chinese scholars for hundreds of years, it does not necessarily mean that this method is the decisive device that always works. Imre Galambos points out that the rules of taboo characters were not always carefully observed by medieval scribes and very often scribes may simply copy taboo characters from centuries ago without rendering them back to their normal forms.⁹⁰ This finding reminds us that dating manuscripts is a very difficult task and draws our attention to the uncertain reliability of using taboo characters alone as the ground for dating. The existence of taboo characters only provides evidence for the earliest possible date. Therefore, it is important to take into account other corroborating evidence during the process of dating manuscripts.

Interestingly, among the five cases of taboo characters cited above, there are three cases of replacing the taboo character with another character while only one case involves using the

⁹⁰ Imre Galambos, “Dunhuang Characters and the Dating of Manuscripts,” *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Susan Whitfield and Ursula Sims-Williams ed. (London: the British Library, 2004), 72-80. “Taboo Characters in Buddhist Manuscripts from Dunhuang,” in Yu Xin 余欣, ed., *Zhonggu shidai de liyi, zongjiao yu zhidu* 中古時代的禮儀、宗教與制度 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), 109-125.

writing the graph with a missing stroke and one case involves changing the form of characters.⁹¹ This is inconsistent with the study on the taboo characters of Dunhuang manuscripts in general. Dou Yonghuai's recent research shows that changing the taboo character is in fact the least used method compared to the prevailing practice during the Tang and Five Dynasties of deleting strokes and of changing the form of the character.⁹² It is unclear why P.2005 differs from the general pattern of taboo characters in the Dunhuang manuscripts. It is possible the date and the nature of the manuscript play an important role in deciding the preferable method of taboo characters. It is also possible that the extant portion of P.2005 is not large enough to reflect the actual situation of taboo characters used in the original manuscript. Although Dou only focuses on a small portion of Dunhuang manuscripts that preserve clear dates, it nevertheless reveals that taboo characters may not be able to serve as a definitive tool for dating manuscripts.

3.2 the Popular Characters

Another feature of the Dunhuang manuscripts that attracts attention is the popular character form, or *suzi* 俗字. Unlike taboo characters that have been thoroughly studied by scholars even prior to the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts, the popular character form only came into the view of scholars after the study of Dunhuang manuscripts flourished. It is

⁹¹ There is no conclusive idea as for the number of different ways to avoid taboo characters in Chinese history. In studying of Dunhuang manuscripts, Dou Huaiyong suggests three major methods: deleting strokes, replacing characters and changing forms (闕筆, 換字, 改形). One example of changing certain taboo characters into slightly different forms can be seen in the last case of this table: changing the part 民 into 氏. See Dou Huaiyong 竇懷永, *Dunhuang wenxian bihui yanjiu* 敦煌文獻避諱研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2013), 154.

⁹² Dou Huaiyong 竇懷永, 174.

understandable that very few manuscripts from early historical periods survived before the discovery of Dunhuang manuscripts, and Chinese transmitted texts have been repeatedly under revision. Even if popular character forms existed in the texts, they must have been “standardized” by later redactors. On the other hand, even if the popular character forms were detected, they were often simply treated as “errors.” Nowadays the popular character form has been recognized as an important feature of the writings of medieval China. It not only is used for verifying the authenticity of manuscripts,⁹³ but also became a special field in the study of the Chinese writing system.⁹⁴ With extensive studies on the Dunhuang popular character forms provided by specialists and the compilation of dictionaries on popular character forms, almost all the popular character forms have already been identified. Yet the most important question that nobody has ever asked is whether there really such a thing that can be referred to as “a popular character form,” How can we define a popular character form as a precise term useful in the study of medieval manuscripts? Is there any difference between the so-called popular character form of medieval Chinese manuscripts and the hand writing forms of other periods?

The problem in the studies of the popular character form lies first in its definition. Specialists in this field do not agree on how to define 啊 popular character form, and this happens even to a teacher and his student. Zhang Yongquan 張湧泉 is among the first group of experts in studying the *suzi* and the first scholar to offer a definition to *suzi*:

⁹³ Zhang Yongquan 張湧泉, “Dunhuang xieben bianwei yanjiu: jiyu zixing fenxi jiaodu de kaocha,” 敦煌寫本辨偽研究——基於字形分析角度的考察, *Zhang Yongquan Dunhuang wenxian luncong* 張湧泉敦煌文獻論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), 91-117.

⁹⁴ Imre Galambos, “Popular Character Forms (*Súzi*) and Semantic Compound (*Huìyì*) Characters in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts,” *JAOS* 131.3 (2011), 395-409.

“漢字史上各個時期與正字相對而言的主要流行於民間的通俗字體稱為俗字。”⁹⁵

The popular character forms that are opposite to the standard form and mainly popularized among the commoners during different periods in the history of Chinese characters are called *suzi*.

Two major characteristics of *suzi* in his definition are that, first, it has to be opposite to the standard form during different historical periods; second, it has to be popular among the commoners.

Huang Zheng was Zhang's student and is the author for the main Dunhuang *suzi* dictionary *Dunahung su zidian* 敦煌俗字典. In the forward to his dictionary, he defines *suzi* as “是漢字史上各個時期流行於各社會階層的不規範的異體字。”⁹⁶ “*Suzi* is non-standard variants that were popular among all social classes in different periods in the history of Chinese characters.” Huang Zheng basically puts *suzi* into a larger category of *yitizi* 異體字, variants.

Ts'ai Chung-lin is a Taiwanese scholar, and Zhang was one of his dissertation committee members. Ts'ai further narrows the definition to the following:

寫法有別於官方制定之正字，乃經約定俗成（群眾之自覺意識認同）而通行於當時社會，且易隨時、地不同而遞變之簡便字體。⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Zhang Yongquan 張涌泉, *Dunhuang suzi yanjiu daolun* 敦煌俗字研究導論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司, 1996), 2.

⁹⁶ Huang Zheng 黃征, “foreword” in his *Dunahung su zidian* 敦煌俗字典 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe 上海教育出版社, 2005), 4.

⁹⁷ Ts'ai Chung-lin 蔡忠霖, *Dunhuang xieben suzi jiqi xianxiang* 敦煌寫本俗字及其現象 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe youxian gongsi 文津出版社有限公司, 2002), 55.

A convenient form that is different from the standard forms established by the government, established through custom agreement (consciously agreed among commoners) and then popularized in society, but may easily change over time and place.

When one looks at P.2005, the amount and the extensive use of so-called *suzi* in P.2005 is extraordinary and certainly calls for raising the question of a more appropriate understanding of *suzi*. The passage below is typical:

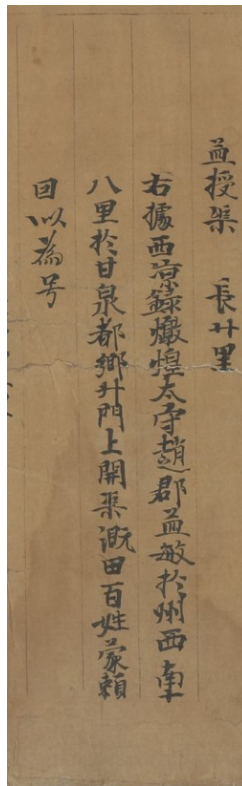


Fig 6. partial of P.2005

The edited version and translation of the above passage would be:

孟授渠 長廿里

右據《西涼錄》，燉煌太守趙郡孟敏於州西南十八里於甘泉都鄉斗門上開渠溉田，百姓蒙賴，因以為号。

The Meng shou canal twenty *li* long

Above, according to the *Western Liang Record*, Zhao Ming, the governor of Dunhuang, who was from Zhaojun, dug a canal eighteen *li* to the southwest of the regional capital from the sluice gate of the Duxiang Canal of the Sweet Spring Water to irrigate the field. The commoners received (the benefit) and relied on it. It was named for this reason.

The characters underlined in this edited version are considered to be written in their popular forms. Some are very easy to distinguish, such as the character 号, the standard form of which is 號. Some can be identified through character dictionaries as the character 錄 and the character 斗. And some might be easily recognized and seemingly like their standard forms but are still considered to be the popular forms due to a slight discrepancy such as the character 溉.⁹⁸ How can we understand the extensive use of so-called popular character forms in P.2005?

When one talks about *su* 俗 “popular,” it inevitably yields to the presupposition that there was a standard form. The existence of both popular character forms and standard forms was first proposed by Yan Yuansun 顏元孫 (?-714) in his *Character Book for Seeking an Official Emolument* (*Ganlu zishu* 干祿字書). In this book, the variants of a character are divided into three types: the “standard” (正 *zheng*), the “acceptable” (通 *tong*), and the “popular” (俗 *su*).⁹⁹

⁹⁸ As for the characters 斗 and 溉, see the analysis in Ts'ai Chung-lin, 139; 145.

⁹⁹ Yan Yuansun, *Ganlu zishu*, SKQS (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 245.

Yan's intention of compiling this book was to promote the standard form for the examinees to use in the imperial exam. This work has become the standard authority for modern scholars to identify the popular character forms discovered from medieval manuscripts.

It seems that the *Ganlu zishu* was not very influential until the text was carved on stone by Yan's nephew, Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785), who was one of the most famous calligraphers in Chinese history and also a great advocate of his family legacy. Recent studies on Yan Zhenqing have suggested that his upright personality was a key factor for his calligraphy to be praised highly and considered the most upright form of calligraphy.¹⁰⁰ Yan Zhenqing presumably followed his uncle's rules of using different forms carefully. Yet the calligraphic work of Yan that we can see today exhibits abundant examples of popular character forms, such as one can see from the following famous inscription to the Prabhūtaratna Buddha Pagoda of the Qianfu Temple in the Western Capital of the Great Tang (大唐西京千福寺多寶佛塔 Da Tang xi Jing Qianfu si Duobao fota, Fig 7 below). The characters *jing* 京, *xun* 勳, *yuan* 員, *jian* 檢, *jiao* 校 and *ming* 明 were all written in their popular character forms. The inscription is one of the formal genres that Yan Yuansun stipulated must be written in the standard form.¹⁰¹ It would be hard to imagine that Yan Zhenqing would be so careless to use popular forms if it was indeed not proper to use in them formal genres. The fact that even the most enthusiastic advocate of proper script forms as Yan Zhenqing use those forms widely in his formal writings suggests that the line between so-called popular character form and standard form was not a clear-cut, and it would be

¹⁰⁰ Amy McNair, *The Upright Brush: Yan Zhenqing's Calligraphy and Song Literati Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

¹⁰¹ See above footnote 99.

misleading to consider all these forms as non-standard and thus to treat them as a special phenomenon.

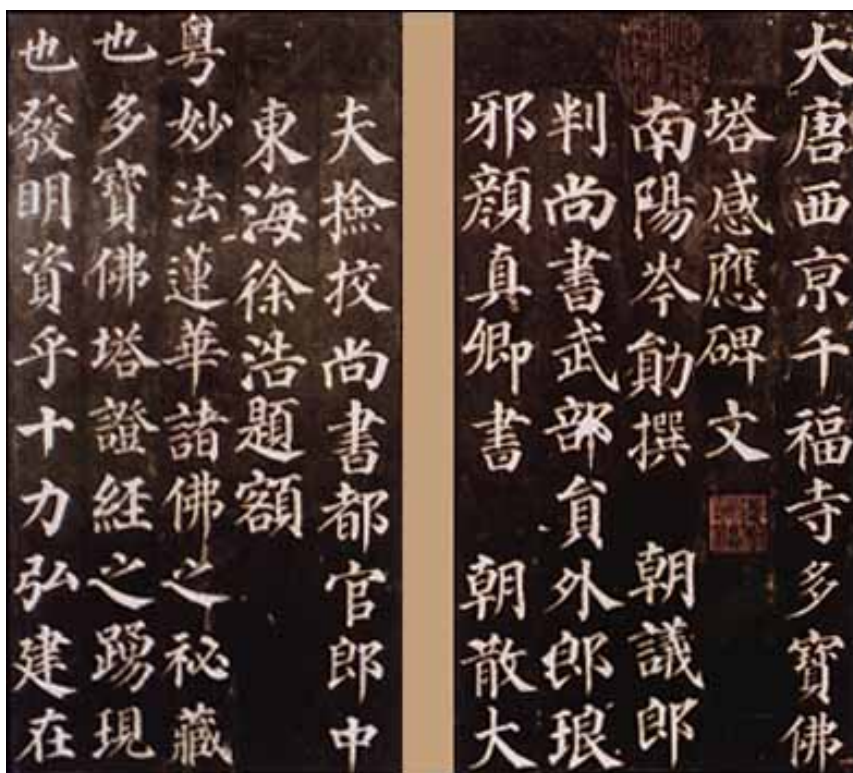


Fig 7. *Da Tang xi Jing Qianfu si Duobao fota bei, partial*

As a matter of fact, it would be more meaningful to discuss the level of formality or casualness of the scribal practice in light of the comparison with other Dunhuang manuscripts. In studying early Chinese manuscripts, William G. Boltz has distinguished two techniques in regard to hand-writing style: book-hand/calligraphic writing v.s. cursive writing, which could reflect the level of formalness or casualness in writing.¹⁰² Matthias Richter also points out that the

¹⁰² William G. Boltz, "Hand-Writing Style in Early Chinese Manuscripts," *Manuscript Culture*, no. 5 (2012/2013), 16.

examinations of the Warring States manuscript titled *Min zhi fumu* shows that it was written by an experienced scribe and it is “more than a casual notation of an insignificant text.”¹⁰³ Similar observations and comparisons can also be applied to medieval texts. The most useful tool for this purpose is the Database of Normative Glyphs in Hanzi script (HNG) compiled by Ishizuka Harumichi 石塚晴通 and his team. This database contains over 400,000 character forms from sixty-nine manuscripts.¹⁰⁴ The intention of establishing this database is to study the history of Chinese characters by comparing the most commonly used forms from various manuscripts of different time periods. The problem of this database, on the one hand, is the limitation of samples due to the number of manuscripts included, on the other hand, it is also limited by the content of the manuscripts since Ishizuka only took the ones that are considered the most representative, in most cases, Buddhist sutra.

3.3 Wu Zhou Characters

When dealing with manuscripts that can probably be dated to the early Tang, one scribal feature that must be noted are the characters created by Empress Wu.¹⁰⁵ For instance, we can see characters such as 垂 (年), 囧 (日) from tomb inscriptions that were dated to the period of

¹⁰³ Matthias Richter, *The Embodied Text: Establishing Textual Identity in Early Chinese Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 32, 47.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.joao-roiz.jp/HNG/>. For brief introduction of the database, also see Ishizuka Harumichi, “Database of the Normative Glyphs in Hanzi Script,” *IDP News*, no. 28 (Winter, 2006), 4-5.

¹⁰⁵ Empress Wu created about 17 characters in 18 forms to replace the ones that were at use during different periods of her rule. For a summary of the studies, see Liu Yuanchun 劉元春, “Wu Zhou xinzi yanjiu zongshu” 武周新字研究綜述, *Journal of Sino-Western Communications* 中西文化交流學報 5 (Dec 2013), 88-99.


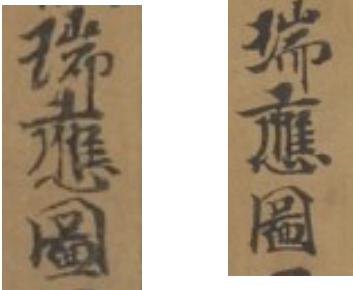




Empress Wu. Interestingly, in P.2005 there are substantial portions covering events that took place during the rule of Empress Wu, yet none of the characters invented by her appears in the manuscript. This could possibly indicate a later editing, especially taking into account that the final composition of the text is clearly dated to some time after the fourth year of the Kaiyuan era. The absence of the Wu Zhou characters again suggests that the text of the manuscript had undergone repeated revision and rewriting.

3.4 Calligraphy of the fragmentary texts on the verso

The calligraphy of the two fragments on the verso of P.2005 is completely different (Please refer to P.45 for the images of the two fragments). Fragment A is much neater and more legible than B. From the online images, it seems that the color of these two fragments does not match the entire paper, thus it is possible that these two fragments were used either to paste the front side pages together or for fixing purposes by later collectors. A close examination shows that the color discrepancy is caused by the conservation effort, during which the librarians at BnF intended to preserve the texts on the back. Therefore, the original color of the paper was preserved along with the texts. This indicates that before this manuscript entered the library cave, the back page had already been used for graffiti. Different calligraphy on the back writings suggests two different scribes, probably in two different times.

Jao Tsung-i in his introductory essay on P.2005, mentioning only part A, suggests that the calligraphy of part A matches the front main text. Since the title *Ruiying tu* can also be found in the section on auspicious omens of P.2005, he therefore concludes that Part A was likely to have been written around the same time as the compilation of this section around the second year

of the Tianshou 天授 reign of the Great Zhou (691).¹⁰⁶ When we line up the script from Part A to counterparts from the main text on the front, the difference in arranging the characters and, more importantly, in executing the strokes becomes apparent as can be seen from the table below.

The verso	The Main text
	
	
	

The title *Ruiying tu* written on the back leans rightward whereas the title from the front is neatly straight. This could certainly be caused by the absence of ruling line on the back page, but the fat stroke, especially the fat ending of the strokes in the character *ying* 應 from the verso, in comparison to the very fine stroke of the same one from the front, clearly demonstrates that the former one was written by an inferior hand. A similar observation applies to the second and third characters. The last stroke of *yu* 与 on the back extends much longer to the left and based on the execution of this stroke and the color of the ink, it seems that it was written from right to left,

¹⁰⁶ Jao Tsung-i, (1983-1986), 69; (1996), 310.

while the one from the front follows the exact standard requirement of calligraphy and the emphasis on the beginning of the stroke can thus be clearly seen. The character *xia* 下 from the back even has the first two strokes that look like they were combined as one stroke for there is a big circle on the top right corner. Those are the kind of mistakes that an experienced hand as the scribe of P.2005 could not have done no matter how casual he was, or even if he wanted to.

Besides the calligraphic differences, two more questions can be raised in regard to Jao Tsung-i's theory that both Part A and the main text were written by one scribe. First, it is highly unlikely for someone to write a note about a book loan on a carefully written official document even if this was not the exact copy that was required to be submitted to the court. Second, the same title appeared on both sides of the paper does not necessarily suggest the same date of writing. Although the *Ruiying tu* was not a popular work and it is now lost, it continued to exist in the Song and Ming dynasties.¹⁰⁷ Thus theoretically anyone who had access to the *Ruiying tu* could write the text on the verso. In any case, it is doubtful that Part A was written by the same scribe and contemporaneous with P.2005.

Based on the content of the front page of this manuscript we already know that P.2005 was likely to have been last revised shortly after the fourth year of the Kaiyuan reign, around

¹⁰⁷ There has been many articles devote to studying this specific work, including but not limited to: Chen Pan 陳槃, "Dunhuang chaoben Ruiyingtu canjuan" 敦煌抄本瑞應圖殘卷, *Bulletin of the Institution of History and Philology Academia Sinica* 17 (1948), 59-64, also collected into his *Gu chenwei yantao jiqi shumu jieti* 古識緯研討及其書目解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), 609-628; Jao Tsung-i, "Dunhuang ben Ruiying tu ba" 敦煌本瑞應圖跋, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (1999), 152-3. The most recent one, see Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林 and Zheng Yinan 鄭怡楠, "Dunhuang xieben P.2683 Ruiying tu yanjiu" 敦煌寫本 P.2683 〈瑞應圖〉研究 in Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩 and etc. ed., *Dunhuang wenxian kaogu yishu zonghe yanjiu* 敦煌文獻, 考古, 藝術綜合研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 493-514.

mid-eighth century. But the back page tells us that the manuscript was somehow still in circulation or at least in use during the period ruled by the *Guiyi jun*, mid-ninth century to early eleventh century, although the manuscript was probably no longer to be used as an official copy by the *Guiyi jun* period considering the graffiti at the back. When this manuscript eventually entered the collection of the Dunhuang library cave, it seems likely that it was not because of the content on the front but the potential of the empty back or even possible that it was for the potential of the material that could be used as fixing material. There have been arguments about the nature of the library cave since its discovery, whether it was for trash disposal or for conservation. Rong Xinjiang has already summarized different previous opinions and proposed that the library cave was probably used by the temple for storage of their own collection, and these seemingly random and scattered secular materials were collected for future fixing purposes or due to the Buddhist teaching of cherishing every single piece of writing.¹⁰⁸ The situation of P.2005 coincides with Rong's argument.

Conclusion: The Question of Formalness or Casualness in Scribal Hands

This section presents to readers various aspects of P.2005, its history of discovery and as a subject of various studies, and more importantly, its physicality through codicological and paleographical examinations. These examinations yield interesting and significant questions to the study of P.2005, or even to the study of manuscripts in general, that is, what is the nature of this type of manuscripts? How can we decide if it was written formally or casually? The overall

¹⁰⁸ Rong Xinjiang, 1998: 75-76. Also see Rong Xinjiang, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing," Trans. by Valerie Hansen, *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999-2000), 247-75.

quality of material and the physical appearance of the manuscript suggest that it was processed according to the standard of manuscript production at that time. The textual layout shows the generosity of paper use, which can be interpreted in two different ways. Either it was the result of a government mission, or it was due to some special nature of the text. The latter possibility can only be confirmed if more manuscripts in a similar genre of writing can be found. Taking all the relevant evidence into consideration, it is not entirely unreasonable to conclude that P.2005 is more likely to be an official document than for personal use. The paleographical examination of P.2005 indicates that it was written by a skilled local scribe, whose calligraphy seems inferior to that of the court scribes, but was still neat and beautiful. The existence of abundant popular characters and the absence of the end title and colophon do not necessarily support the assumption that P.2005 was written casually. Previous research on Dunhuang official document writing mainly focuses on the administrative type of document.¹⁰⁹ Manuscripts such as P.2005 that fall into a grey area between the two possibilities of either an official document or personal writing still requires comparative studies. Within the framework of current evidence and understanding, it is still more likely that P.2005 was an official document that was written formally than a work casually copied for personal use.

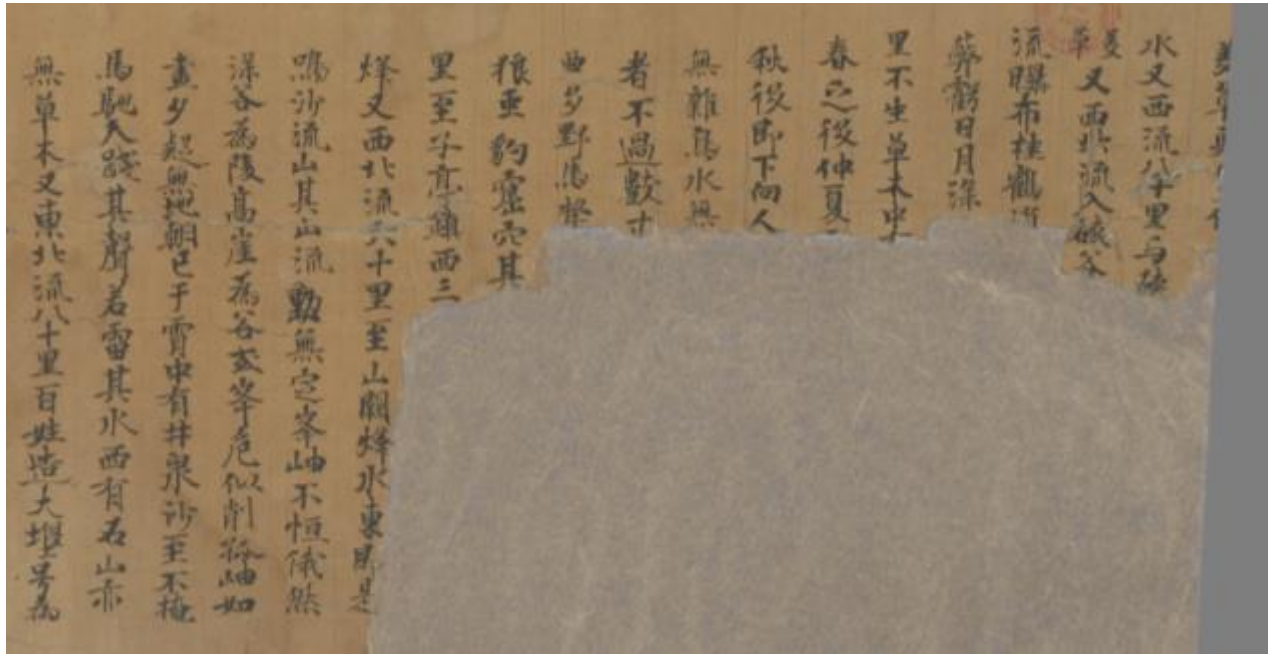
¹⁰⁹ For the most complete research on administrative governmental documents, see Nakamura Hiroichi 中村裕一, *Tōdai seichoku kenkyū* 唐代制敕研究 (Tokyo: Kyūto shoin 中文出版社, 1991); *Tōdai kanmonjo kenkyū* 唐代官文書研究 (Tokyo: Kyūto shoin, 1991); *Tōdai kōmonjo kenkyū* 唐代公文書研究 (kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1996).

Part Two:

Presentation of the Text

Chapter 4. Transcription of P.2005

This chapter is the annotated transcription of P.2005. The image of P.2005 is placed on the top of each page while the transcription is on the bottom, with each column being numbered. Each page contains approximately eighteen to nineteen columns of text. The notes on character writings are on the page following the image and transcription. It must be mentioned that the notes in this chapter are limited to the character writing only, and do not cover any of the content related issues. For information about content, please refer to the annotated translation in the Chapter 5. The page number of the transcription and the column number will serve as locative tools for our discussions in the later chapters as well. The transcription is intended to reflect the original writing as faithfully as possible. Therefore, when small characters were used in the original text, a smaller font is used here as well. It would be ideal if the transcription could also show the textual layout, but due to the limitation of the space and technology, all the texts are leveled and thus the original textual layout cannot be reflected.



美草更□□

水又西流八十里与硤

美草又西北流入硤各

流曝布桂鶴□

蔽鬱日月深

里不生草木中□

春之後仲夏□

秋後即下向人

無雜鳥水無

者不過數寸

曲多野馬聲

狼虫豹窟穴其

里至子亭鎮西三

又西北流六十里至山關烽火水東即是

鳴沙流山其山流動無乏峯岫不恒俄然

深谷為陵高崖為谷或峯厄似削孤岫如

畫夕疑無地朝已干霄中有井泉沙至不掩

馬馳人踐其聲若雷其水西有石山亦

無草木又東北流八十里百姓造大堰号為

L. 2 The character 流 differs from the modern form 流 by lacking the dot on the top of the component. It was consistent written like this through the entire manuscript.

The character 与 seems to be the same as modern simplified character, but like the character 无 that is discussed later, it is also a character the existence of which can be traced back to the *Shuowen*, and is commonly seen in Dunhuang manuscript. The last stroke of this 与 was further changed into four dots as can be seen in P.81 L. 11. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 204.

L. 3 The two characters 美草 was written horizontally, but limited by the space, the transcription here has to show them vertically. The character 各 is a variant of 谷. When 谷 serves as a component in characters such as 容, it was also written as this. See 容 in P. 104 L. 3.


L. 5 The character 虧 is a variant of 虧.

L. 7 The character 後 is a variant of 後.

L. 10 The character 數 is a variant of 數. It is not uncommon to see extra dot added in many characters in Dunhuang manuscripts. Zhang Yongquan suggests that this likely has something to do with the writing habit at that time. See Zhang 1996b: 229.

L.12 The character 虫 is a different from of the modern standard character 虫.

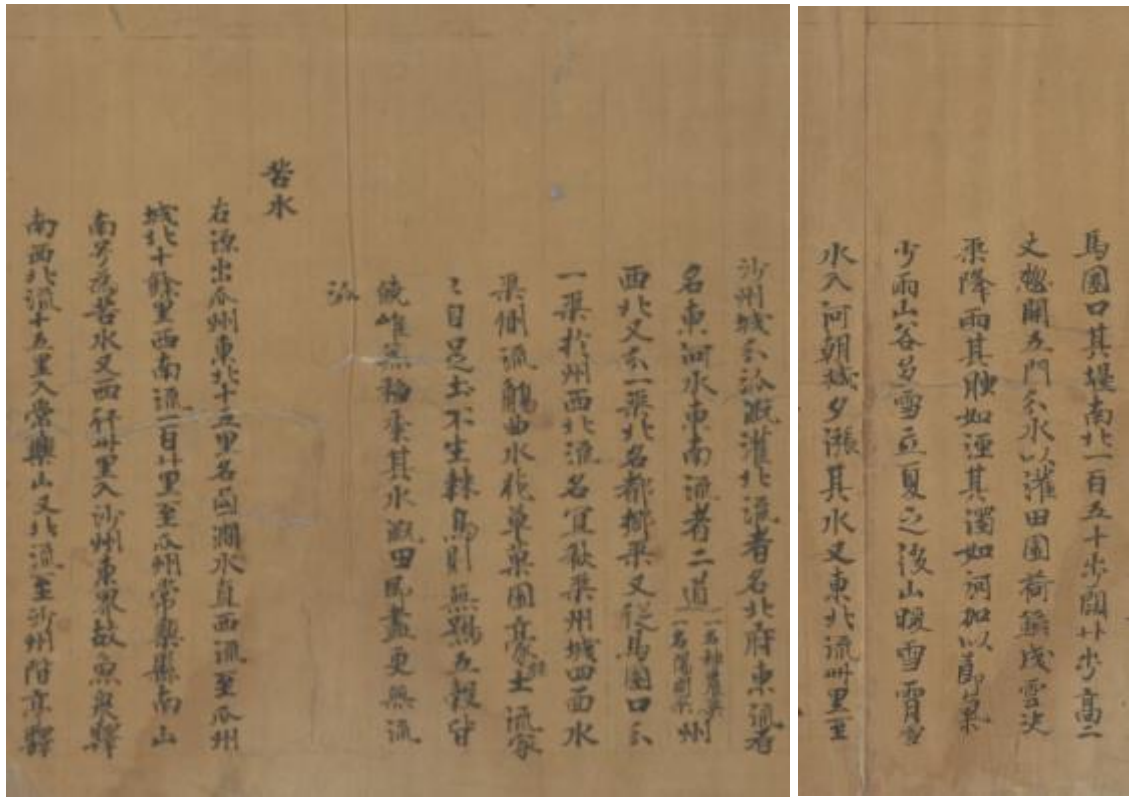
L. 15 疋, the modern standard form of which is 疋. In the manuscript, the characters with the component 疋 or 疋 were often written in 疋. This can also be seen in characters such as 疑 (L.17) and 疋 (P.71 L.11). Zhang Yongquan suggests that this phenomenon occurred due to the process of “the cursive writing becoming standardized” (*caoshu kai hua* 草書楷化, see Zhang, 1996b: 228.

L. 16 The character 烽 is a variant of 烽. It is common to see the component 夆 being written and then standardized as 夆. The small vertical stroke in some cases was not shown in handwriting, such as . It is probable that this small vertical stroke in the standardized form originally occurred when fast hand writing links two horizontal strokes together. Similar case can be found in the character 峯 in L.15 and L.16.

L.17 The character 畫 is originally a variant of 畫, but in this entire manuscript it was used to write the word 畫. It is unclear whether this is an unrecorded variant or it is a scribal mistake.

L.18 It is unclear whether the character is 人 or 入 here, it seems 人 is a better parallel to the previous 馬.

L. 19 Although the character 号 looks like the modern simplified form, it was written consistently like this in this text, rather than the transmitted standard form 號.



馬圈口其堤南北一百五十步闊廿步高二丈
 愬開五門分水以灌田園荷鑄成雲決渠
 降雨其腴如涇其濁如河加以節氣
 少雨山各多雪立夏之後山暖雪消雪
 水入河朝減夕漲其水又東北流卅里至

苦水

右源出瓜州東北十五里名鹵澗水直西流至瓜州
 城北十餘里西南流一百廿里至瓜州常樂縣南山
 南号為苦水又西行卅里入沙州東界故魚泉驛
 南西北流十五里入常樂山又北流至沙州階亭驛

馬圈口其堤南北一百五十步闊廿步高二

丈愬開五門分水以灌田園荷鑄成雲決

渠降雨其腴如涇其濁如河加以節氣

少雨山各多雪立夏之後山暖雪消雪

水入河朝減夕漲其水又東北流卅里至

沙州城分派溉灌北流者名北府東流者

名東河水東南流者二道一名神農渠 一名陽關渠州

西北又分一渠北名都鄉又從馬圈口分

一渠於州西北流名宜秋渠州城四面水

渠側流觴曲水花草菓園豪族士流家

々自豆土不生棘鳥則無鴉五穀皆

饒唯無稻黍其水溉田即盡更無流

派

苦水

右源出瓜州東北十五里名鹵澗水直西流至瓜州

城北十餘里西南流一百廿里至瓜州常樂縣南山

南号為苦水又西行卅里入沙州東界故魚泉驛

南西北流十五里入常樂山又北流至沙州階亭驛

L.1 The character 步 differs from the modern standard form 步 by having an extra dot, so the bottom part became 少.

L. 2 The character 灌 is a variant of 灌.

L. 5 卅 stands for 四十, forty. It is commoner to see 廿 for twenty and 卅 for thirty. 卅 was written consistently throughout the entire manuscript.

L. 6 The character 派 stands for the modern word *pài* 派. The component on the right side therefore became similar to the character form 瓜, which stands for *guā* 瓜 in this text, see comments on L. 15.

L. 7 The line 一名神農渠一名陽關渠 was originally in double column, functioning as a commentary to the previous part. Due to the space limited, the transcription put them as one single column.

L. 8 The character 從 is a variant of 從.

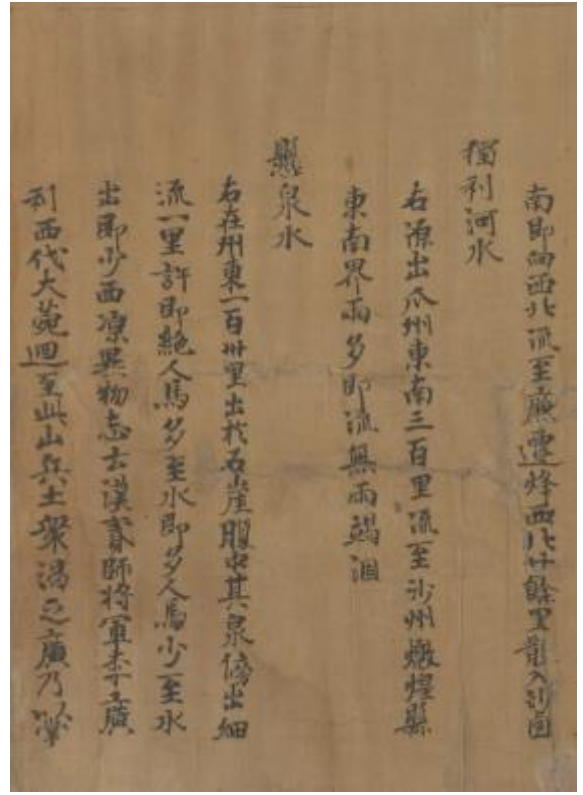
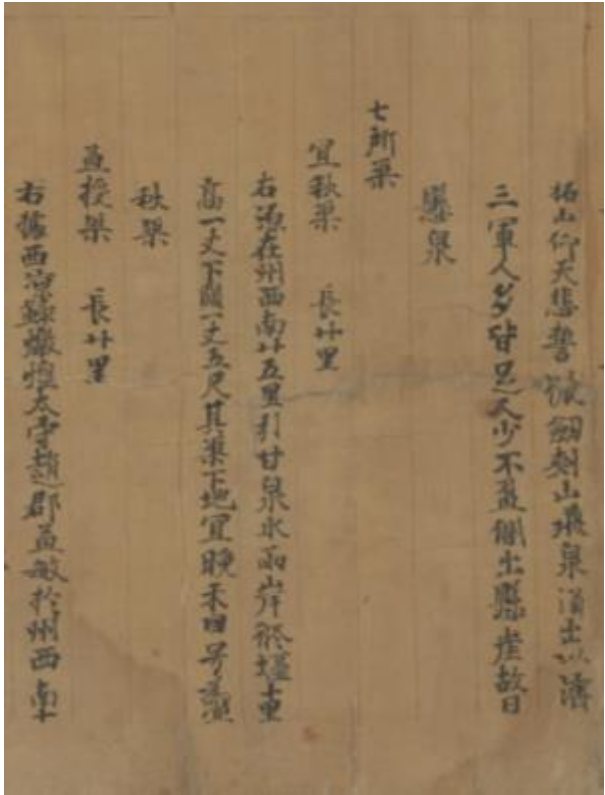
L. 9 The character 於 is a variant of 於. It was written consistently like this in P.2005. The character 亘 differs from the modern standard form by missing the dot on the top. It is common to see the top dot dropped in characters.

L. 10 The character 族 is a variant of 族 and it was inserted and written in a smaller font on the side of the original text.

L. 11 The character 棘 is a variant of 棘. The character 穀 is a variant of 穀.

L.12 The character 唯 is a variant of 唯. The character 種 is a variant of 種.

L. 15 The form 瓜 differs from the modern standard form 瓜 by missing the dot at the bottom. It was written consistently like this throughout the manuscript. The character 鹵 is a variant of 鹵.



南即向西北流至廉遷烽西廿餘里散入沙鹵

獨利河水

右源出瓜州東南三百里流至沙州燉煌縣

東南界雨多即流無雨竭涸

懸泉水

右在州東一百卅里出於石崖腹中其泉傍出細

流一里許即絕人馬多至水即多人馬少至水

出即少西涼異物志云漢貳師將軍李廣

利西伐大苑迴至此山兵士衆渴之廣乃以掌

南即向西北流至廉遷烽西廿餘里散入沙鹵

獨利河水

右源出瓜州東南三百里流至沙州燉煌縣

東南界雨多即流無雨竭涸

懸泉水

右在州東一百卅里出於石崖腹中其泉傍出細

流一里許即絕人馬多至水即多人馬少至水

出即少西涼異物志云漢貳師將軍李廣

利西伐大苑迴至此山兵士衆渴之廣乃以掌

拓山仰天悲誓以佩劍刺山飛泉涌出以濟

三軍人多皆豆人少不盈側出懸崖故曰

懸泉

七所渠

宜秋渠 長廿里

右源在州西南廿五里引甘泉水兩岸修堰十里

高一丈下闊一丈五尺其渠下地宜晚禾曰号為宜

秋渠

宜授渠 長廿里

右據西涼錄燉煌太守趙郡孟敏於州西南十

L. 8 The character 凉 is a variant of 涼. Starting from P.77, the scribe decided to use 凉 instead.

It is common to see that in Dunhuang manuscripts, the character 京 and the component 京 in characters were written as 京, with an extra stroke in the middle. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b:

230. The character 漢 is a variant of 漢. The character 師 is a variant of 師. The character 将 is a variant of 將.

L. 9 大宛, the transmitted historical records usually write it as 大宛. The character 衆 is a variant of 眾. The character 乏 is a variant of 乏.

L. 10 The character 劍 is a variant of 劍.

The character 刺 also appears as in the administrative title prefect (*cishi* 刺史). Although it is often considered a *suzi* for the standard form 刺, it also appears throughout P.2005 and Li Wukui's tomb inscription.

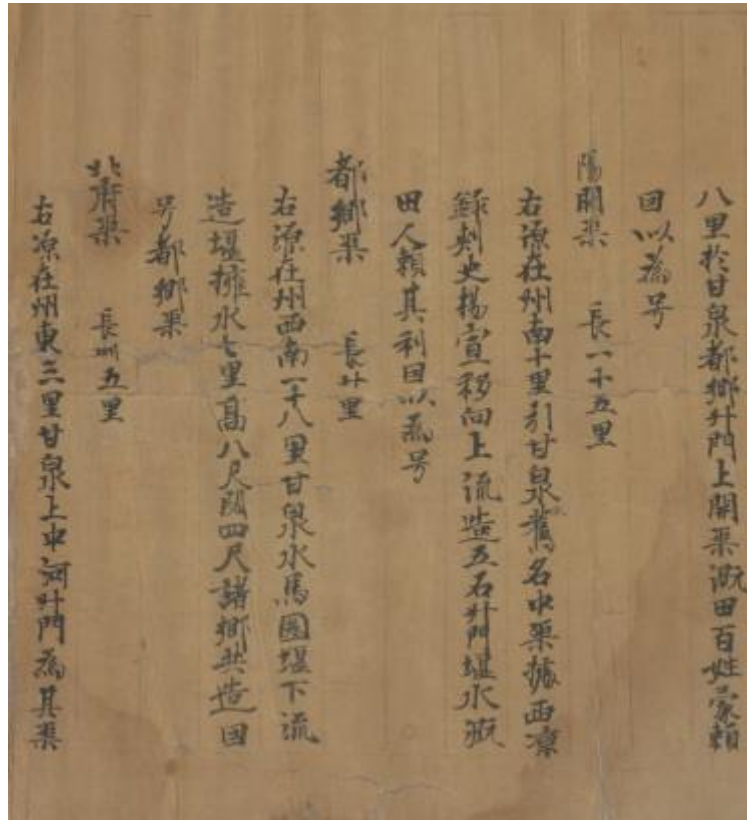
L. 11 The character 足 is 足, see note on P.67 L.15.

L. 15 The character 修 in the text appears to be written with two or three dots at the bottom right, but it is likely a handwriting difference rather than the use of a different component.

L. 16 The character 因 is used in the text to write the word whose modern standard character form is 因.

L. 18 The character 孟 was written as 孟.

L. 19 The character 據 is a variant of 據. The character 趙 is a variant of 趙. The bottom of the left part 之 of the character 趙 was also written as 之.



八里於甘泉都鄉升門上開渠溉田百姓蒙賴
 回以為号
 陽開渠 長一十五里
 右源在州南十里引甘泉水舊名中渠據西涼
 錄刺史楊宣移向上流造五石升門堰水溉
 田人賴其利回以為号
 都鄉渠 長廿里
 右源在州西南一十八里甘泉水馬圈堰下流
 造堰擁水七里高八尺闊四尺諸鄉共造回
 号都鄉渠
 北府渠 長卅五里
 右源在州東三里甘泉上中河升門為其渠
 北地下每年破壞前涼時刺史楊宣以家粟万斛
 買石修理於今不壞其升門壘石作長四十步闊三丈
 高三丈昔燉煌置南府北府回府以為渠名
 三丈渠 長五里
 右源在州東三里甘泉水上於河升門南向東修
 堰穿渠一十三里其渠闊三丈回以為号

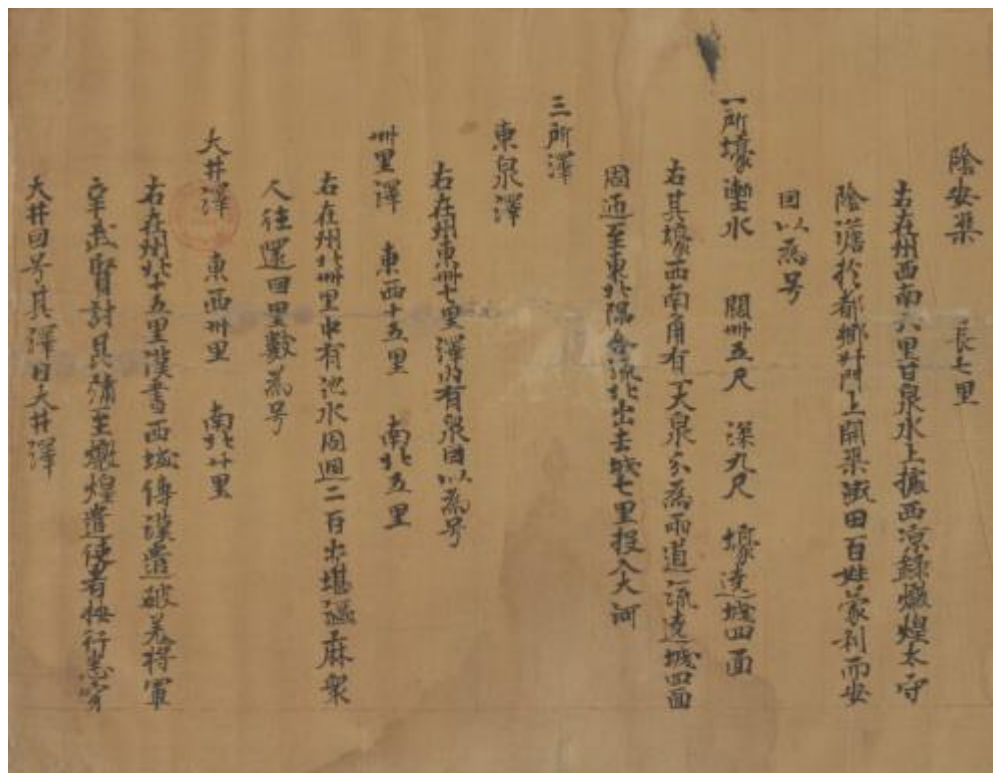
L. 1 The character 升, which also appears in the L. 5, L.12, L.14 and L.17 of this page, looks similar to the standard form of the character 升, but it is in fact a variant of the character 斗. This can also be tested in the character 斛, which is a variant of 斛, that appears in the end of L. 13 in this page. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 65-66.

L. 4 The character 水 was written in small font on the side as a later insertion. The character 舊 is a variant of 舊. This variant is not collected any of the Dunhuang suzi dictionaries.

L. 7 The character 鄉 is a variant of 鄉 with the top dot left out.

L. 14 The character 作 is a variant of 作.

L. 15 The character 置 is a variant of 置.



陰安渠 長七里
 右在州西南六里甘泉水上據西涼錄燉煌太守
 陰澹於都鄉井門上開渠溉田百姓蒙利而安
 回以為号
 一所壕塹水 闊卅五尺 深九尺 壕遶城四面
 右其壕西南角有一大泉水分為兩道流遶城四面
 周迺至東北隅合流北出去城七里投入大河
 三所澤
 東泉澤
 右在州東卅七里澤內有泉回以為号
 卅里澤 東西十五里 南北五里
 右在州北卅里中有池水周迴二百步堪漚麻衆
 人往還回里數為号
 大井澤 東西卅里 南北廿里
 右在州北十五里漢書西域傳漢遣破羌將軍
 辛武賢討昆彌至燉煌遣使者按行悉穿
 大井回号其澤曰大井澤
 二所堰
 馬圈口堰

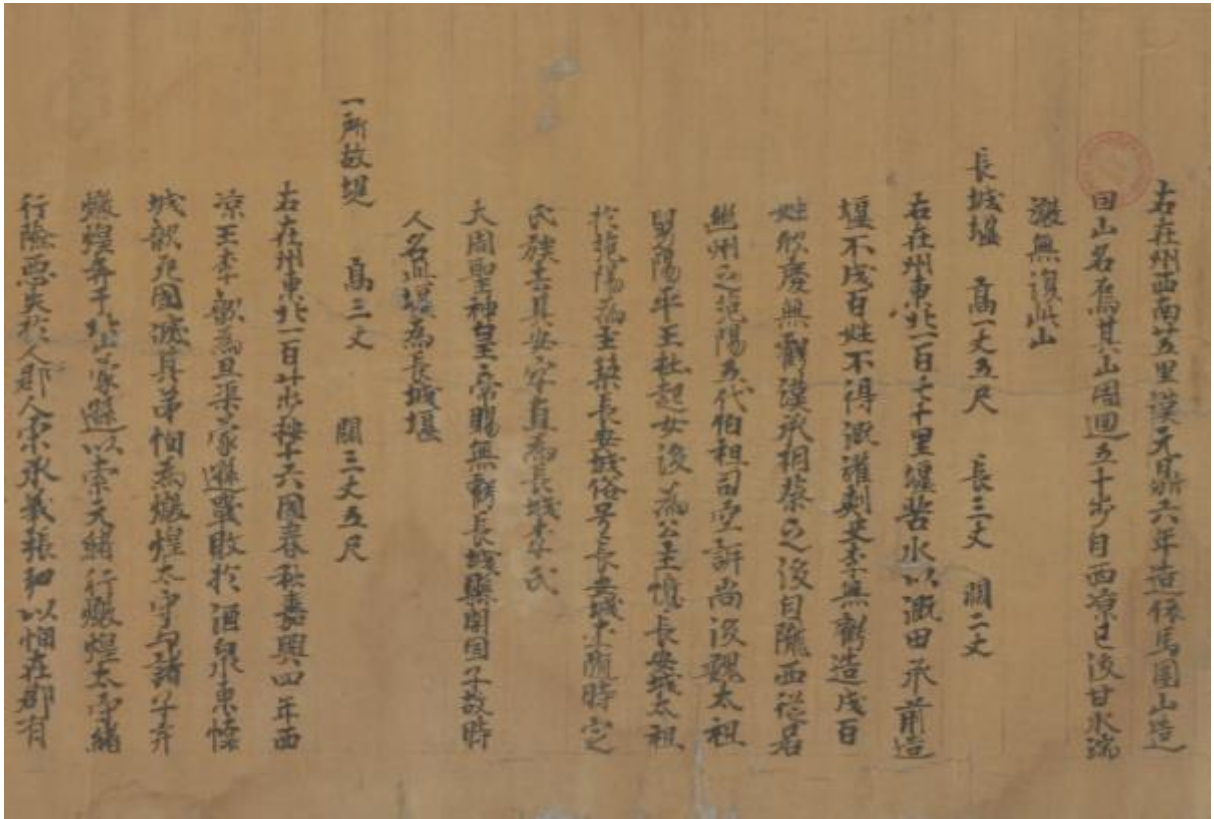
L. 3 The character 澹 is a variant of 澹.

L. 7 The character 迺 stands for the word meaning “to go around.” It is common in modern form to write this word as the character 匝. According to the *Kangxi Zidian* 康熙字典, which cites the *Zhengyun* 正韻, the character form 匝 is in fact a later mistaken form (“俗訛作匝”). The character 投 is a variant of 投. The component 几 was often written as 口 in Dunhuang manuscripts.

L. 13 The character 逕 is a variant of 還.

L. 15 The character 傳 is a variant of 傳.

L.16 The character 悉, the modern standard form of which is 悉.



右在州西南廿五里漢元景六年造依馬圈山造
 回山名焉其山周迴五十步自西涼已後甘水湍
 激無復此山

長城堰 高一丈五尺 長三丈 闊二丈

右在州東北一百七十里堰若水以溉田承前造

堰不成百姓不得溉灌刺史李無虧造成百

姓欣慶無虧漢丞相蔡之後自隴西徙居

幽州之范陽五代伯祖司空訴尚後魏太祖

舅陽平王起女後為公主憶長安城太祖

於范陽為主築長安城俗名長安城李隨時之

氏族去其安字直為長城李氏

大周聖神皇帝賜無虧長城縣開國子故時

人名此堰為長城堰

一所故堤 高三丈 闊三丈五尺

右在州東北一百廿步按十六國春秋嘉興四年西

涼王李歆為且渠蒙遜戰敗於酒泉東懷

城歆死國滅其弟恂為燉煌太守與諸子奔

燉煌奔于北山蒙遜以索元緒行燉煌太守緒

行險惡失於人心郡人宋承義張弘以恂在郡有

右在州西南廿五里漢元景六年造依馬圈山造
 回山名焉其山周迴五十步自西涼已後甘水湍
 激無復此山

長城堰 高一丈五尺 長三丈 闊二丈

右在州東北一百七十里堰若水以溉田承前造

堰不成百姓不得溉灌刺史李無虧造成百

姓欣慶無虧漢丞相蔡之後自隴西徙居

幽州之范陽五代伯祖司空訴尚後魏太祖

舅陽平王起女後為公主憶長安城太祖

於范陽為主築長安城俗名長安城李隨時之

氏族去其安字直為長城李氏

大周聖神皇帝賜無虧長城縣開國子故時

人名此堰為長城堰

一所故堤 高三丈 闊三丈五尺

右在州東北一百廿步按十六國春秋嘉興四年西

涼王李歆為且渠蒙遜戰敗於酒泉東懷

城歆死國滅其弟恂為燉煌太守與諸子奔

燉煌奔于北山蒙遜以索元緒行燉煌太守緒

行險惡失於人心郡人宋承義張弘以恂在郡有

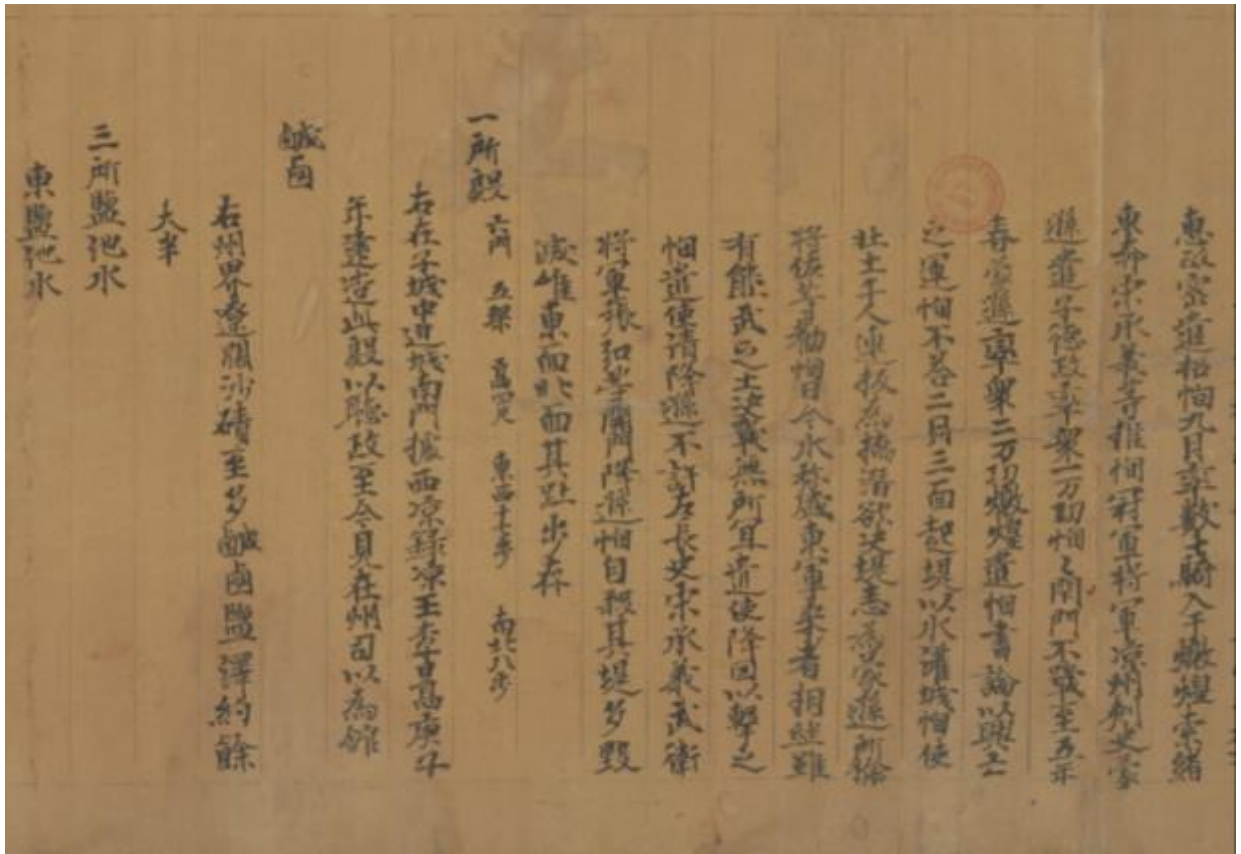
L.1 The character 𣪠 is a variant of 鼎.

L. 5 The character 承 is a variant of 承.

L. 7 The character 徒 is a variant of 徒.

L. 11 The character 氏 is a variant of 氏. An extra dot was added on the right side. This is a common way to complicate characters in Dunhuang manuscripts. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 229.

L. 19 The character 險 is a variant of 險. The bottom part of the right component became 𠂇 in hand writing. This can be seen in other characters that contain the same component 僉, such as 儉 and 檢 in this manuscript. The character 惡 is a variant of 惡. There is a tiny character 心 written on the side in between 人 and 郡. The character 弘 is a variant of 弘. It is also not uncommon to see the interchangeability between the component 厶 and 口 in Dunhuang manuscripts.



惠政密遣招恂九月寧熈騎入于燉煌索緒

東奔宋承義等推恂冠軍將軍涼州刺史蒙

遜遣子德政寧衆一萬功恂恂閉門不戰至五年

春蒙遜寧衆二万功燉煌遺恂書論以興亡

之運恂不荅二月三面起堤以水灌城恂使

壯士千人連板為犒潛欲決堤恚為蒙遜所擒

將佐等勸恂曰今日水弥盛東軍來者相繼雖

有熊武之士決戰無所宜遣使降回以擊之

恂遣使請降遜不許左長史宋承義武衛

將軍張弼等開門降遜恂自殺其堤多毀

滅唯東面北面其趾步存

一所殿 六門 五架 高四尺東西十七步 南北八步

右在子城中近城南門據西涼錄涼王李暠庚子

年建造此殿以聽政至今見在州司以為館

鹹鹵

右州界遼闊沙磧至多鹹鹵鹽澤約餘

大半

三所鹽池水

東鹽池水

L. 1 The character 率 is a variant of 率.

L. 2 The character 冠 is a variant of 冠.

L. 3 The character 攻 is a variant of 攻.

L. 5 The character 答 is a variant of 答. Possibly, this is a case that the radicals 宀 and 艹 confused with each other. The character 起 is a variant of 起.

L. 6 The character 橋 stands for the word of which the modern standard form is 橋. It is common in Dunhuang manuscripts to see the radical 木 being written as 才, This is likely due to the last two strokes was written in one stroke during hand writing process.

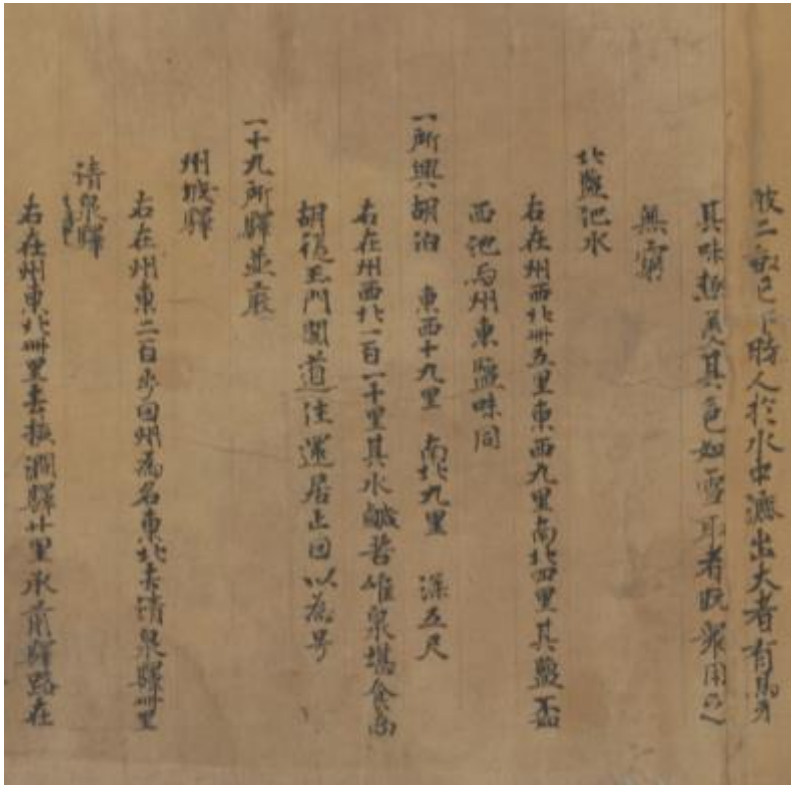
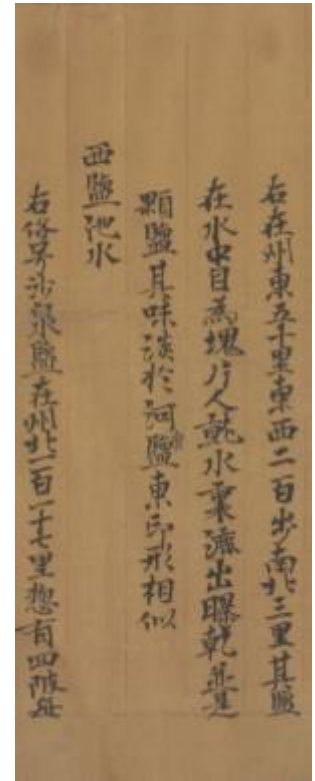
L. 8 The character 武 is used to substitute the taboo character 虎 for 虎 is the name of Tang royal ancestor. The character 擊 is a variant of 擊.

L. 10 The character 殺 is a variant of 殺. This is another example that the component 几 was written as 口. The character 毀 is a variant of 毀.

L. 11 The character 其 is likely to be used to substitute the taboo character 基, which is part of the name of Emperor Xuanzong.

L. 14 The character 建 is a variant of 建. The character 聽 is a variant of 聽.

L. 16 The character 鹽 is a variant of 鹽.



右在州東五十里東西二百步南北三里其鹽

在水中自為塊行人就水裏濼出曝乾並是

顆鹽其味淡於河東鹽東印形相似

西鹽池水

右俗号沙泉鹽在州北一百一十七里忽有四陂每

陂二畝已下時人於水中濼出大者有馬牙

其味極美其色如雪取者既衆用之

無窮

北鹽池水

右在州西北卅五里東西九里南北四里其鹽不如

西池與州東鹽味同

一所興胡泊 東西十九里 南北九里 深五尺

右在州西北一百一十里其水鹹苦唯泉堪食商

胡從玉門關道往還居止回以為号

十九所驛並廢

州城驛

右在州東二百步回州為名東北去清泉驛卅里

清泉驛

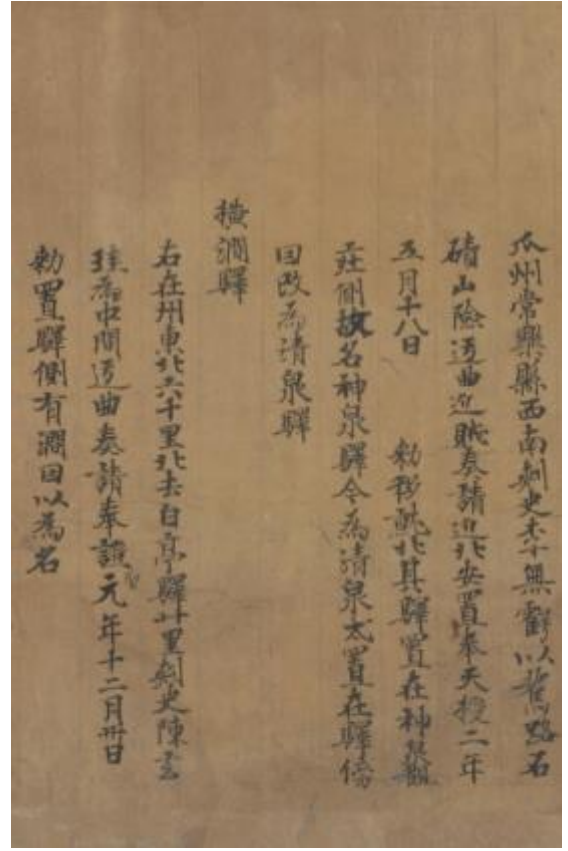
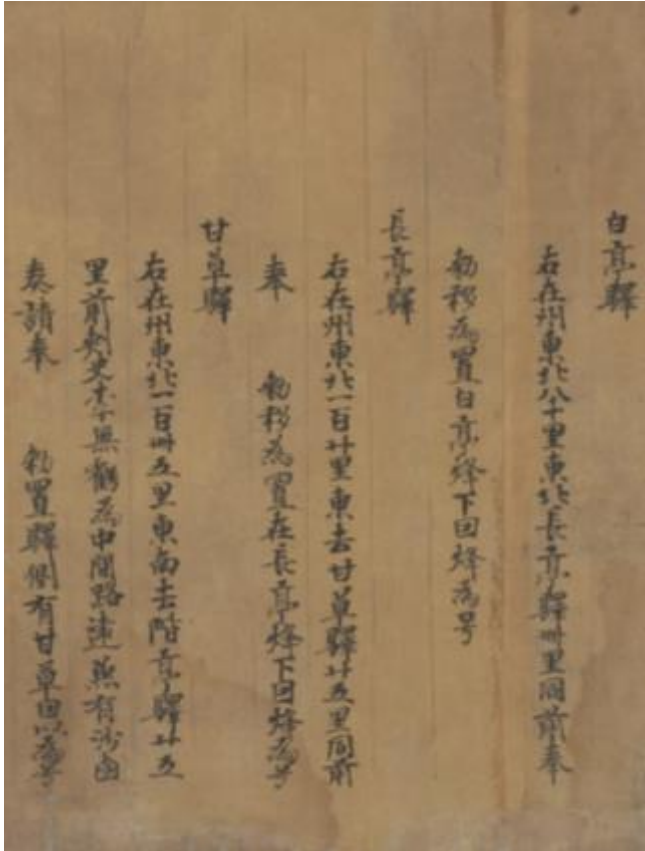
右在州東北卅里去橫澗驛廿里承前驛路在

L. 2 The character 𠄎 is a variant of 就. The character 漉 is a variant of 漉.

L. 3 The first 東 character in this column was inserted on the side and written in smaller size.

L. 7 The character 𠄎 is a variant of 極. The component 木 in standard form of the character 極 was written with 才 here, as we discussed in the case in P.80 L.6. The same situation can also be seen in the case of 橫 in L.19 of this page. The character 既 is a variant of 既.

L. 11 The character 𠄎 is a variant of 与. This is the only place in this manuscript that 与 was written in this way, the rest of the occurrences are in the form of 与.



瓜州常樂縣西南刺史李無_窮以為路石

磧山險_透曲近賊奏請近北安置奉天授二年

五月十八日 勅移就北其驛置在神泉觀

庄側故名神泉驛今為清泉戍置在驛傍

曰改為清泉驛

橫澗驛

右在州東北六十里北去白亭驛廿里刺史陳玄

珪為中間_透曲奏請奉證聖元年十二月卅日

勅置驛側有澗曰以為名

白亭驛

右在州東北八十里東北長亭驛卅里同前奉

勅移為置白亭烽下曰烽為号

長亭驛

右在州東北一百廿里東去甘草驛廿五里同前

奉 勅移為置在長亭烽下曰烽為号

甘草驛

右在州東北一百卅五里東南曲階亭驛廿五

里前刺史李無_窮為中間路遠兼有沙鹵

奏請奉 勅置驛側有甘草曰以為号

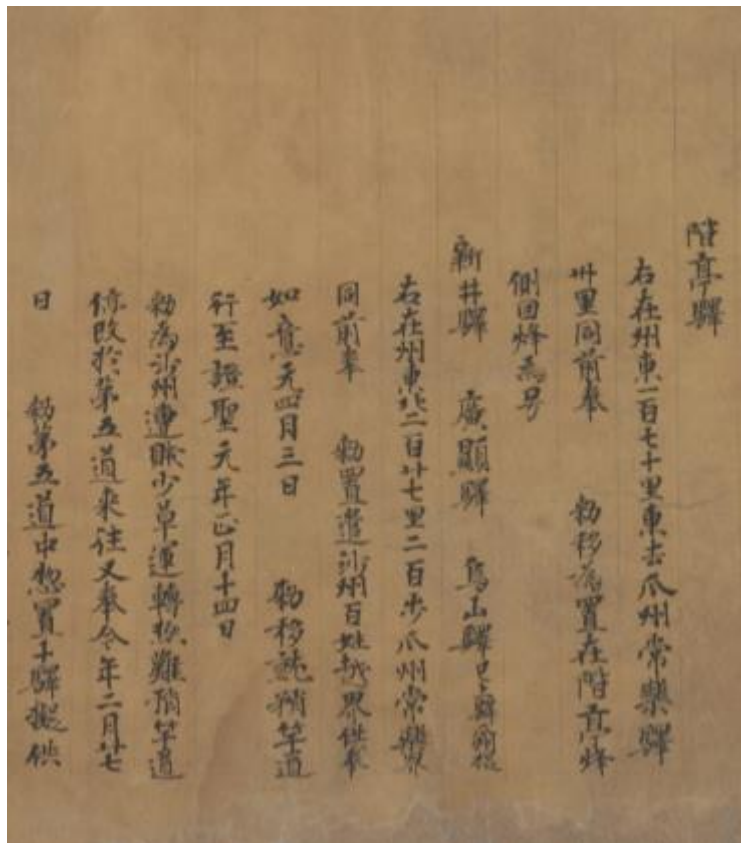
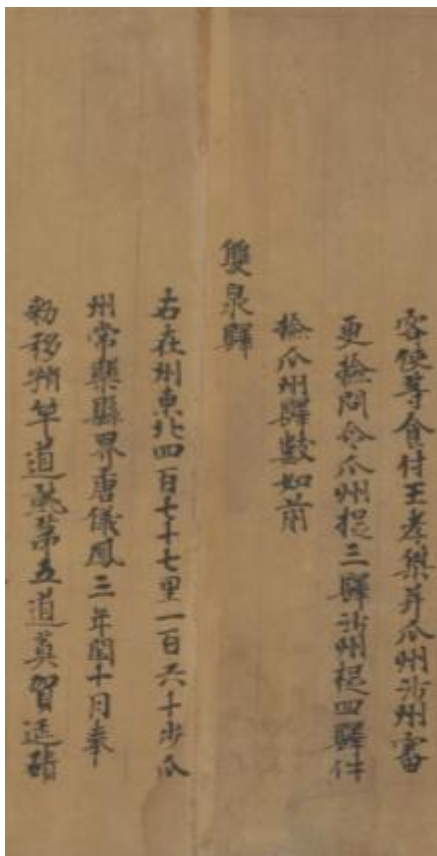
L. 2 The character 透 is a variant of 迂. According to Zhang Yongquan, the phenomenon of writing character 于 as 亏 can be traced back to the Qin and Han dynasties. It is common to see in Dunhuang manuscripts that characters with component 于 was written as 亏. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 1.

L.3 The character 勅 is a variant of 敕, and was used consistently in the text.

L. 4 The character 庄 is a variant of 莊.

L. 8 The character 聖 was written in small size font on the side.

L. 18 The character 遠 is a variant of 遠. The character 兼 is a variant of 兼.



階亭驛

右在州東一百七十里東去瓜州常樂驛

卅里同前奉 勅移為置在階亭烽

側曰烽為号

新井驛 廣顯驛 烏山驛已廢

右在州東北二百廿七里二百步瓜州常樂界

同前奉 勅置遣沙州百姓越界供奉

如意元四月三日 勅移就預竿道

行至證聖元年正月十四日

勅為沙州遠賊少草運轉極難預竿道

停改於第五道來往又奉今年二月廿七

日 勅第五道中惣置十驛擬供

客使等食付王孝傑並瓜州沙州審

更檢問令瓜州投三驛沙州投四驛件

檢瓜州驛數如前

雙泉驛

右在州東北四百七十七里一百六十步瓜

州常樂縣界唐儀鳳三年閏十月奉

勅移預竿道就第五道莫賀延磧

階亭驛

右在州東一百七十里東去瓜州常樂驛

卅里同前奉 勅移為置在階亭烽

側曰烽為号

新井驛 廣顯驛 烏山驛已上驛瓜州投

右在州東北二百廿七里二百步瓜州常樂界

同前奉 勅置遣沙州百姓越界供奉

如意元四月三日 勅移就預竿道

行至證聖元年正月十四日

勅為沙州遠賊少草運轉極難預竿道

停改於第五道來往又奉今年二月廿七

日 勅第五道中惣置十驛擬供

客使等食付王孝傑並瓜州沙州審

更檢問令瓜州投三驛沙州投四驛件

檢瓜州驛數如前

雙泉驛

右在州東北四百七十七里二百六十步瓜

州常樂縣界唐儀鳳三年閏十月奉

勅移預竿道就第五道莫賀延磧

L. 5 The character 捉 is a variant of 捉.

L. 7 The character 越 is a variant of 越.

L. 8 The character 稟 is a variant of 稟.

L. 9 The character 正 is a variant of 正.

L. 10 The character 遭 is a variant of 遭.

L. 12 As for the character 擬, the top right part was written as 口, while the bottom part 疋 was often written as 之.

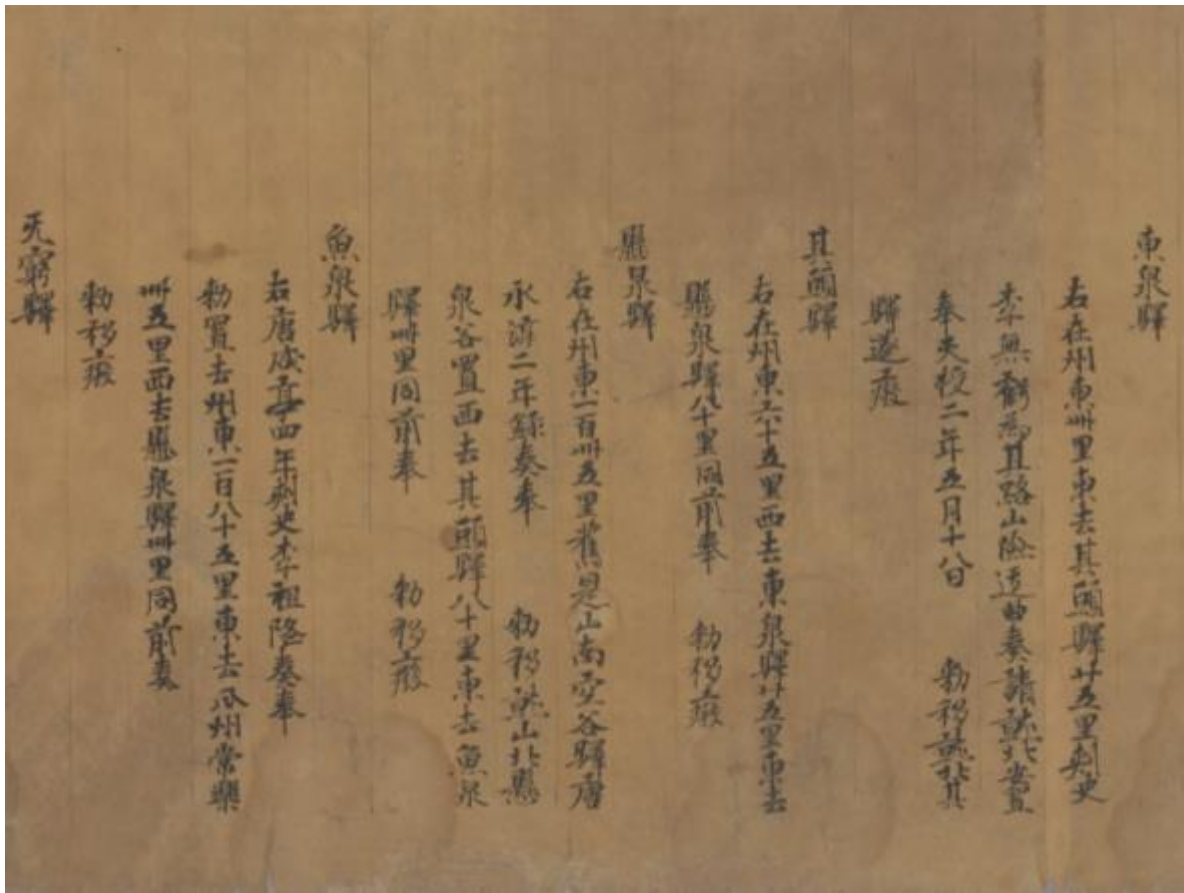
L. 14 The character 檢 is a variant of 檢.

L. 19 The character 延 is a variant of 延.

右在州東北六百六十三里一百七十步同前奉
 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去冷泉驛八十四
 里北去伊州柔遠縣界赤崖驛八十里

置沙州百姓越界投奉如意元年
 四月三日 勅移就預竿道行至
 證聖元年正月十四日 勅為沙州
 遭賊改為第五道來往南去瓜州常樂
 縣界烏山驛六十九里二百六十步北去
 第五驛六十里八十步
 第五驛
 右在州東北五百一十一里卅步同前奉
 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去雙泉
 驛六十四里八十步北去冷泉驛六十八
 里卅步
 冷泉驛
 右在州東北五百七十九里一百七十步同前
 奉 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去第
 五驛六十八里卅步北去胡桐驛八十四里
 胡桐驛

置沙州百姓越界投奉如意元年
 四月三日 勅移就預竿道行至
 證聖元年正月十四日 勅為沙州
 遭賊改為第五道來往南去瓜州常樂
 縣界烏山驛六十九里二百六十步北去
 第五驛六十里八十步
 第五驛
 右在州東北五百一十一里卅步同前奉
 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去雙泉
 驛六十四里八十步北去冷泉驛六十八里
 卅步
 冷泉驛
 右在州東北五百七十九里一百七十步同前
 奉 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去第
 五驛六十八里卅步北去胡桐驛八十四里
 胡桐驛
 右在州東北六百六十三里七十步同前奉
 勅置沙州百姓越界投南去冷泉驛八十四
 里北去伊州柔遠縣界赤崖驛八十里



東泉驛

右在州東卅里東去其頭驛廿五里刺史

李無虧為其路山險送曲奏請就北安置

奉天授二年五月十八日 勅移就北其

驛遂廢

其頭驛

右在州東六十五里西去東泉驛廿五里東去

懸泉驛八十里同前奉 勅移廢

懸泉驛

右在州東一百卅五里是嵩山南空谷驛唐

永淳二年錄奏奉 勅移就山北懸

泉各置西去其頭驛八十里東去魚泉

驛卅里同前奉 勅移廢

魚泉驛

右唐咸亨四年刺史李祖隆奏奉

勅置去州東一百八十五里東去瓜州常樂

卅里西去懸泉驛卅里同前奏

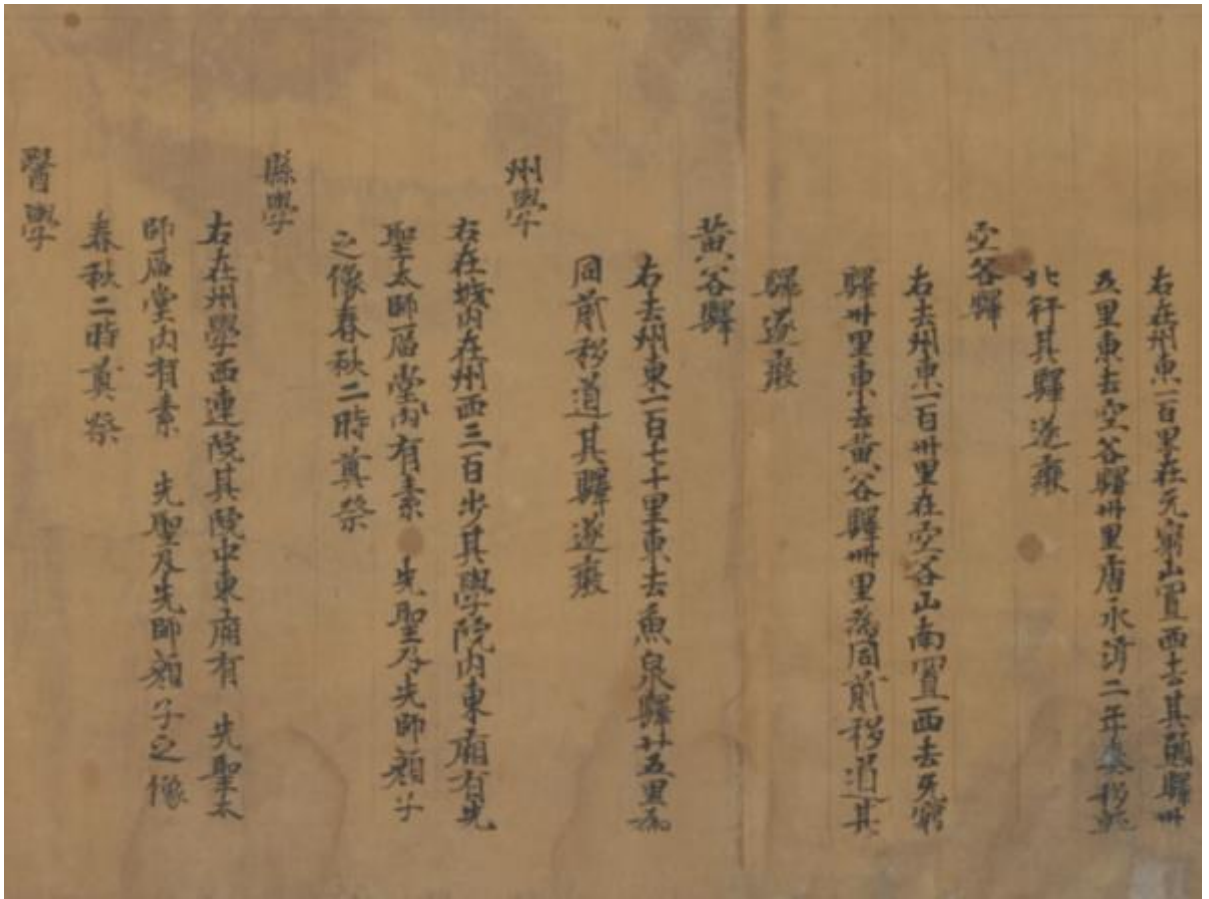
勅移廢

无窮驛

L. 5 The character 癘 usually stands for the word meaning disability or long term illness, which is a specific meaning of the more commonly used word that is written as 廢. But later the former character 癘 gradually disappeared and the character 廢 became the standard form.

L. 15 The reason that the character 亨 that looks like 亭 is due to the correction the scribe tried to make. The character 隆 is written as 隆, missing the last two strokes because it is the taboo character for the name of Emperor Xuanzong.

L. 19 The character 无 appears to be similar to the modern simplified form, but this is the character that can be traced back to the *Shuowen*. In P.2005, 無 is more commonly used. The character 无 only appears in the name of this post station and the name of the mountain from which the post station name derived.



右在州東一百里在無窮山置西去其頭驛卅

五里東去空谷驛卅里唐永淳二年奏移就

北行其驛遂癘

空谷驛

右去州東一百卅里在空谷山南置西去無窮

驛卅里東去黃谷驛四十里為同前移道其

驛遂癘

黃谷驛

右去州東一百七十里東去魚泉驛廿五里為

同前移道其驛遂癘

州學

右在城內在州西三百步其學院內東廂有先

聖太師厝堂內有素 先聖及先師顏子

之像春秋二時奠祭

縣學

右在州學西連院其院中東廂有 先聖太

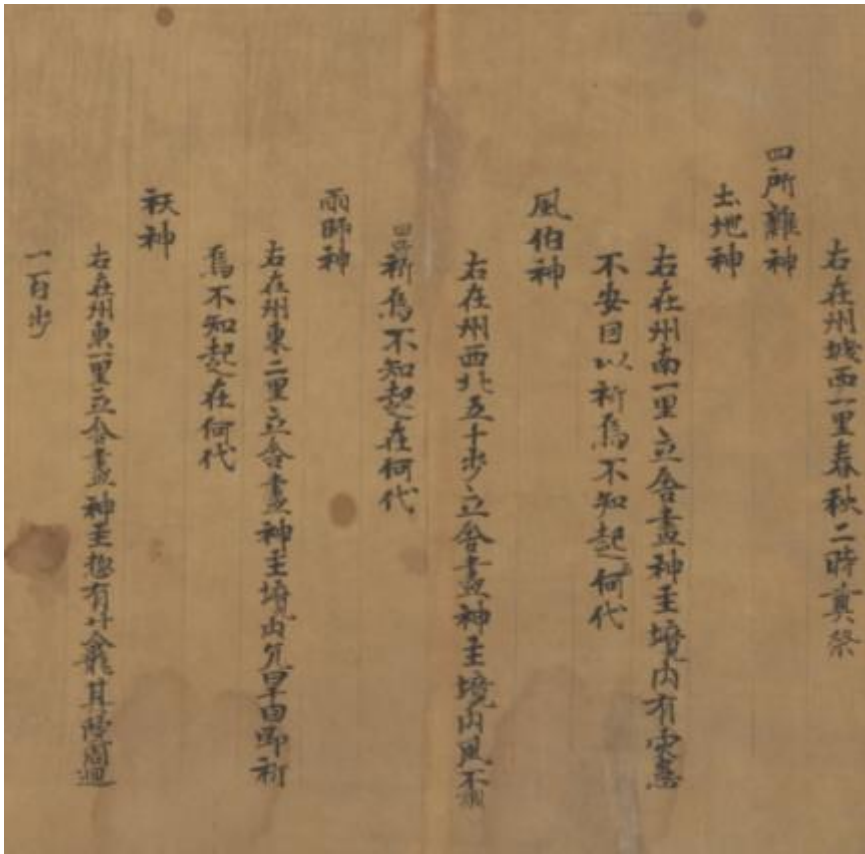
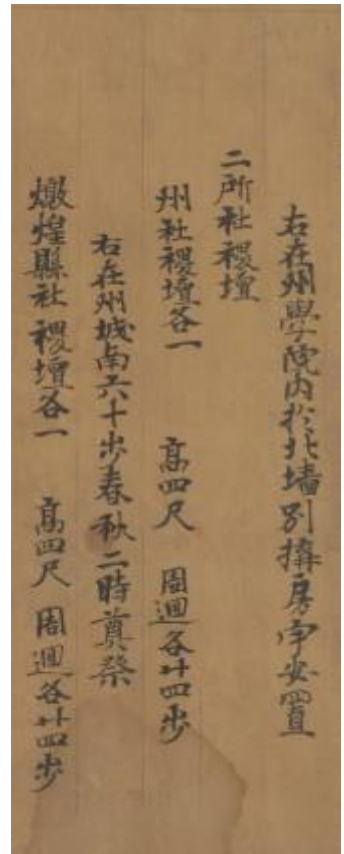
師厝堂內有素 先聖及先師顏子之像

春秋二時奠祭

醫學

L. 2 The character 淳 is probably a mistake of 淳 since Tang has a reign title 永淳. The reign title Yongchun 永淳 occurs three times in this manuscript, and in the other places, the second character is 淳.

L. 13 The character 厠 is a variant of 廟.



右在州學院內於北牆別拊房宇安置

二所社稷壇

州社稷壇各一 高四尺 周迴各廿四步

右在州城南六十步春秋二時奠祭

燉煌縣社稷壇各一 高四尺 周迴各廿四步

右在州城西一里春秋二時奠祭

四所雜神

土地神

右在州南一里立舍畫神主境內有灾患

不安因以祈焉不知記在何代

風伯神

右在州西北五十步立舍畫神主境內風不調

回即祈焉不知記在何代

雨師神

右在州東二里立舍畫神主境內亢旱因即祈

焉不知記在何代

祿神

右在州東一里立舍畫神主惣右廿龕其院周迴

一百步

L. 1 The character 墻 is a variant of 牆. The character 擗 stands for the word of which the standard form is 構. This is another example that the radical 木 was written with 才. The right side component was also simplified.

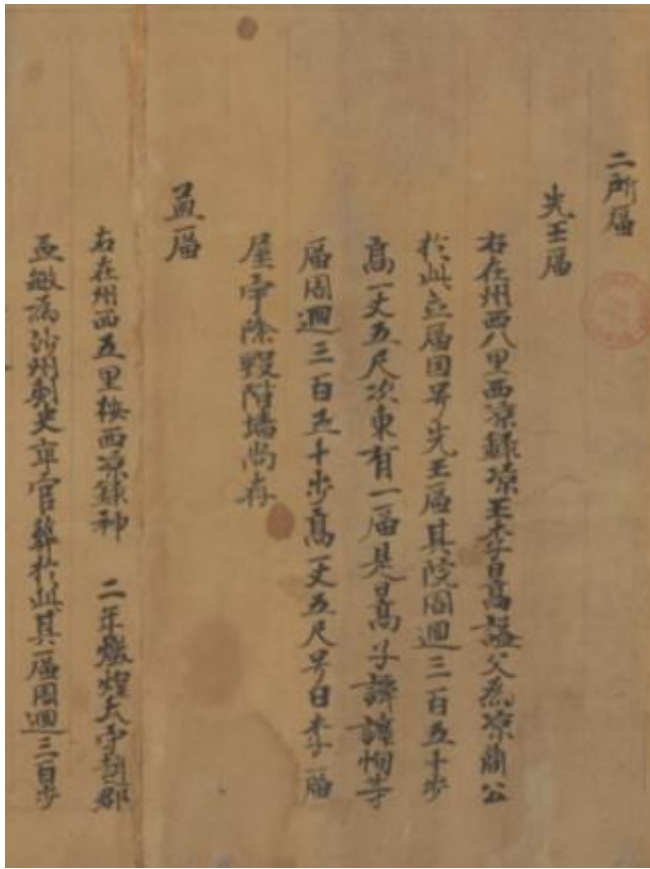
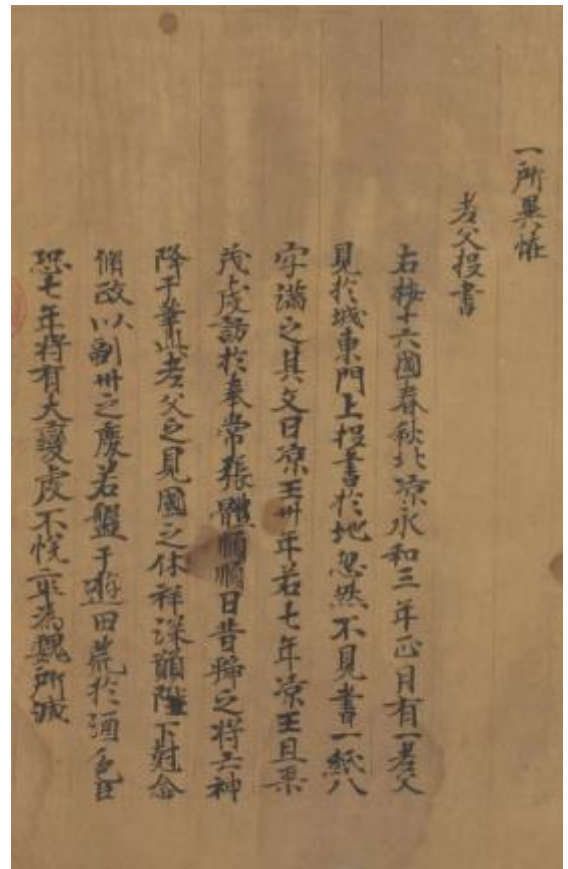
L. 2 The character 壇 is a variant of 壇.

L. 8 The character 土 has an extra dot on the right side. It is common to write 土 like this in Dunhuang manuscripts in order to avoid confusions between 土 and 士.

L. 9 The character 畫 is a variant of 畫.

L. 10 The character 寫 is a variant of 寫. The character 在 was written in a small font on the side.

L. 13 The characters 卽 was written in smaller size and it is very likely they were inserted afterwards.



一所異怪

老父投書

右按十六國春秋北涼永和三年正月有一老父見於城東門上投書於地忽然不見書一紙八字滿之其文曰涼王卅年若七年涼王且渠茂虔訪於奉常張體順順曰昔晞之將亡神降于莘此老父之見國之休祥深願陛下尅念脩政以副卅之慶若盪于遊田荒於酒色臣恐七年將有大變虔不悅卒為魏所滅

二所屆

先王屆

右在州西八里西涼錄涼王李暠謚父為涼簡公於此立屆曰号先王屆其院周迴三百五十步高一丈五尺次東有一屆是鬻子譚讓恂等屆周迴三百五十步高一丈五尺号曰李屆屋宇除毀階牆尚存

三所屆

右在州西五里按西涼錄神 二年燉煌太守趙郡孟敏為沙洲刺史卒官葬於此其屆周迴三百步

L. 1 The character 恠 is a variant of 怪.

L. 2 The character 耂 is a variant of 老.

L. 6 The character 𠄎 is simplified from its original form 𠄎.

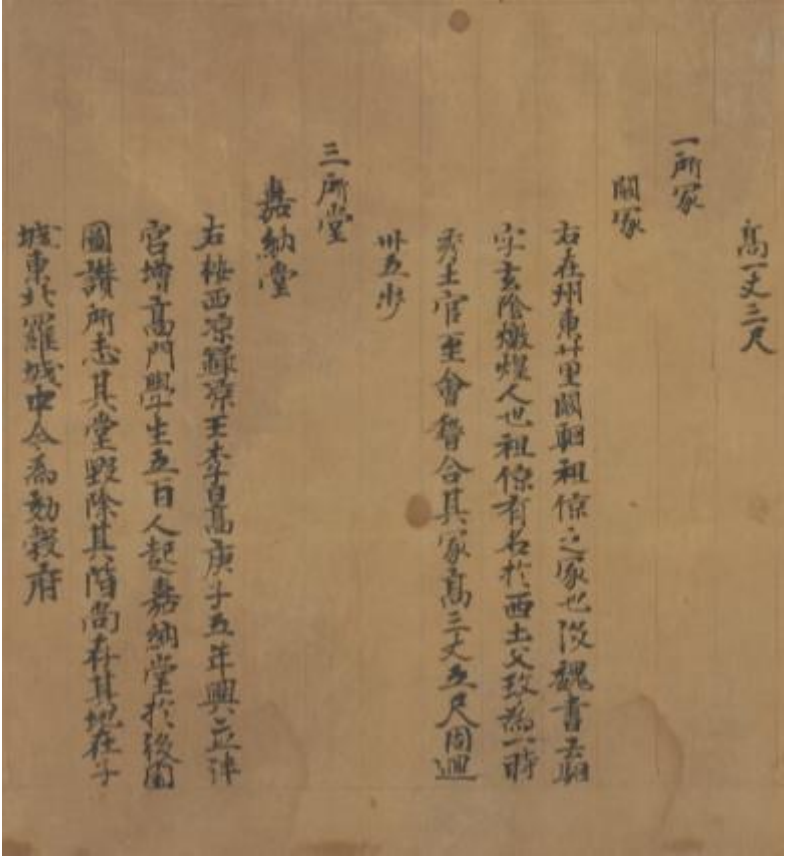
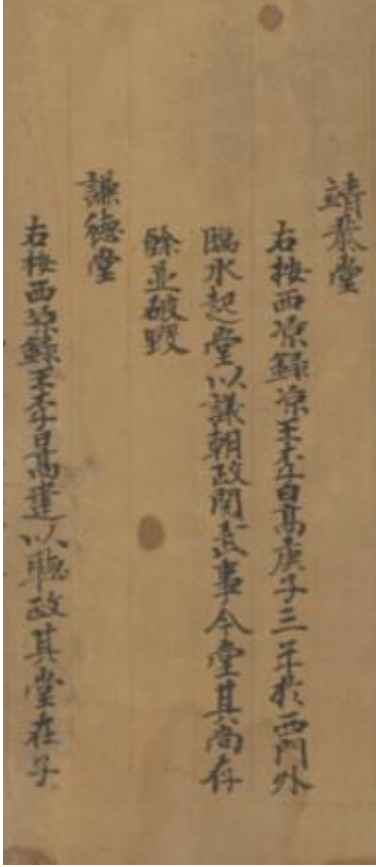
L. 7 The character 顛 is a variant of 顛.

L. 8 The character 𠄎 is a variant of 盤. This is another example that the component 几 became

口. The character 遊 is a variant of 遊.

L. 9 The character 恐 is a variant of 恐. It is common to see that the component 几 or 凡 got written as 口 in Dunhuang manuscripts.

19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



高一丈三尺

一所冢

關冢

右在州東廿里關駟祖儵之家也後魏書云駟
字玄陰燉煌人也祖儵有名於西土父孜為一時
秀士官至會稽合其冢高三丈五尺周迴
卅五步

三所堂

嘉納堂

右按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子五年興立泮
宮增高門學生五百人起嘉納堂於後園
圖讚所志其堂毀除其階尚存其地在子
城東北羅城中今為効毅府

靖恭堂

右按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子三年於西門外
臨水起堂以議朝政閱武事今堂其尚存
餘並破毀

謙德堂

右按西涼錄王李暠建以聽政其堂在子

高一丈三尺

一所冢

關冢

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餘並破毀

謙德堂

右按西涼錄王李暠建以聽政其堂在子

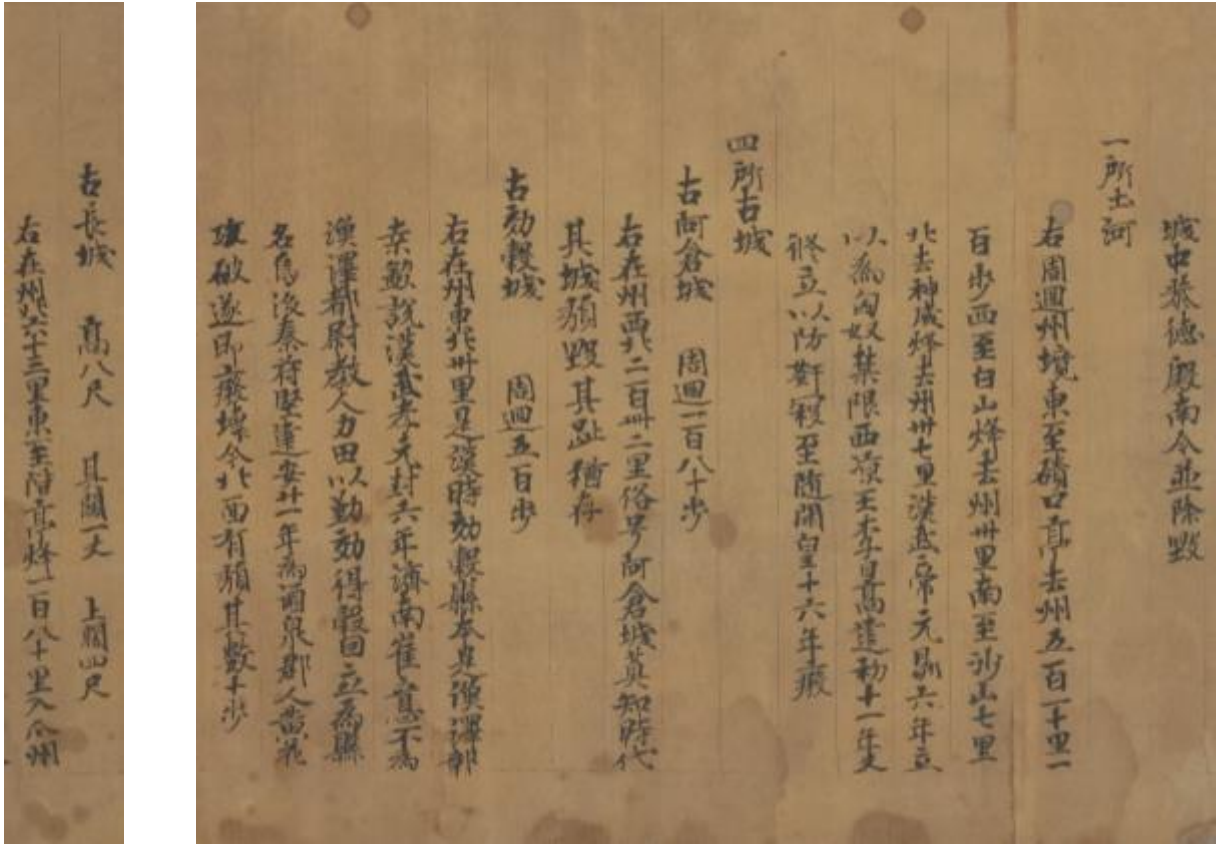
L. 2 The character 冢 is a variant of 冢.

L. 4 The character 駟 is a variant of 駟.

L. 6 The character 稽 is a variant of 稽.

L. 12 The character 讚 is a variant of 讚.

L. 13 The character 効 is a variant of 效.



城中恭德殿南今並除毀

一所土河

右周迴州境東至磧口亭去州五百一十里一

百步西至白山烽去州卅里南至沙山七里

北去神威烽去州卅七里漢武帝元鼎六年立

以為匈奴禁限西涼王李暠建初十一年又

修立以防奸宄至隨開皇十六年廢

四所古城

古阿倉城 周迴二百八十步

右在州西北二百卅二里俗号阿倉城莫知時代

其城頽毀其趾猶存

古効穀城 周迴五百步

右在州東北卅里是漢時効穀縣本是渙澤郡

乘欽說漢武孝元封六年濟南崔意不為

渙澤郡尉教人力田以勤効得穀因立為縣

名烏沒秦符堅建安廿一年為酒泉郡人黃花

攻破遂即廢壞今北面有頽其數十步

古長城 高八尺 其闊一丈 上闊四尺

右在州北六十三里東至階亭烽一百八十里入瓜州

城中恭德殿南今並除毀

一所土河

右周迴州境東至磧口亭去州五百一十里一

百步西至白山烽去州卅里南至沙山七里

北去神威去州卅七里漢武帝元鼎六年立

以為匈奴禁限西涼王李暠建初十一年又

修立以防奸宄至隨開皇十六年廢

四所古城

古阿倉城 周迴一百八十步

右在州西北二百卅二里俗号阿倉城莫知時代

其城頽毀其趾猶存

古効穀城 周迴五百步

右在州東北卅里是漢時効穀縣本是渙澤障

乘欽說漢武孝元封六年濟南崔意不為

渙澤郡尉教人力田以勤効得穀因立為縣

名烏沒秦符堅建安廿一年為酒泉郡人黃花

攻破遂即廢壞今北面有頽其數十步

古長城 高八尺 其闊一丈 上闊四尺

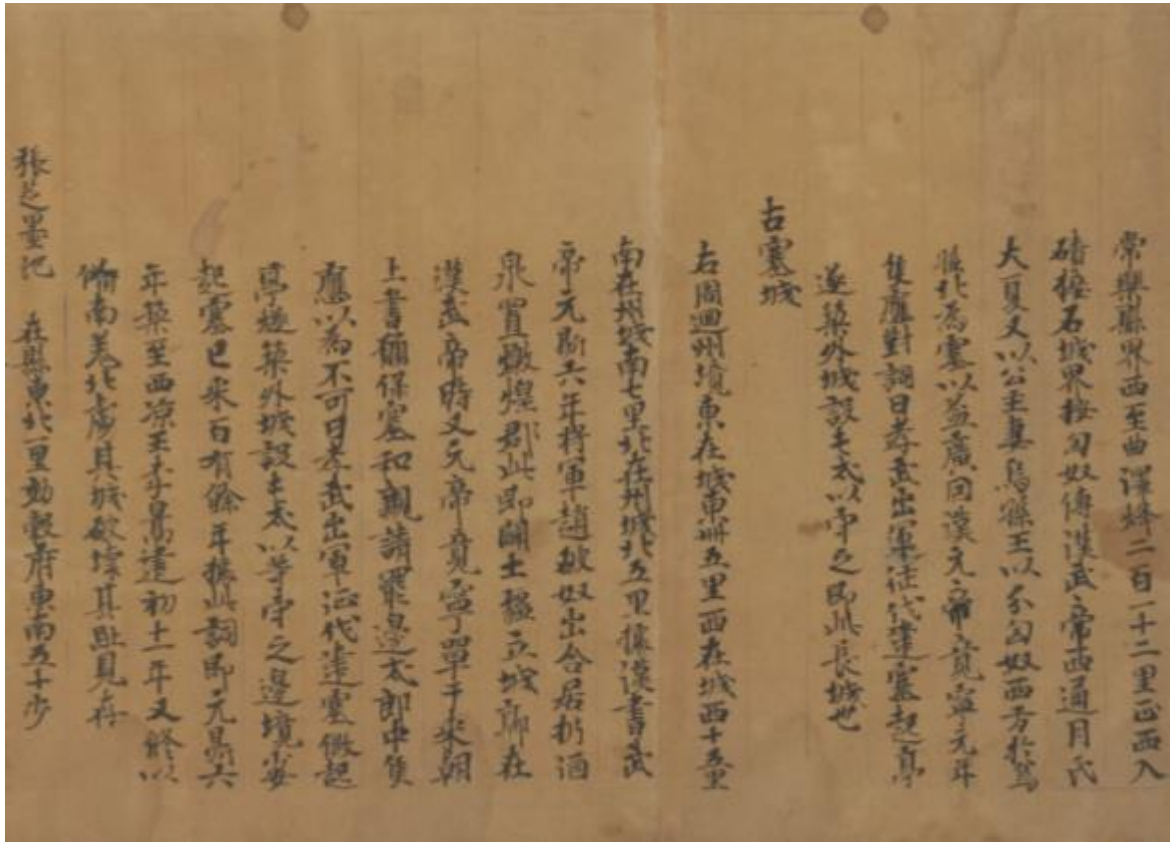
右在州北六十三里至階亭烽一百八十里入瓜州

L. 7 The character 𣎵 is a variant of 姦. The character 𣎵 is a variant of 寇.

L. 11 The character 頽 is a variant of 頽. The second character 其 is used to substitute the taboo character 基, which is part of the name of Emperor Xuanzong. So as the 其 in the L. 17 of this page and in the L.18 of the following page.

L. 13 The character 渙 is a variant of 漁.

L. 14 The character 葉 is a variant of 桑. Although it is not common to see this variant in transmitted texts, it appears often in Dunhuang manuscripts. See Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 94.



常樂縣界西至曲澤烽二百一十二里西入
磧接石城界按匈奴傳漢武帝西通月氏
大夏又以公主妻烏孫王以分匈奴西方於烏
孫北為塞以益廣曰漢元帝竟寧元年
雙應對詞曰孝武出軍征伐建塞起亭
遂築外城設七戍以守之即此長城也

古塞城

右周迴州境東在城東卅五里西在城西十五里
南在州城南七里北在州城北五里據漢書武
帝元景六年將軍趙破奴出合居折酒
泉置燉煌郡此即關土疆立城郭在
漢武帝時又元帝竟寧單于來朝
上書願保塞和親請罷邊戍郎中雙
應以為不可曰孝武出軍征伐建塞傲起
亭燧築外城設七戍以守之邊境少安
起塞已來百有餘年據此詞即元景六
年築至西涼王李暠建初十一年又修以
備南羌北虜其城破壞其趾見存

張芝墨池 在縣東北一里効穀府東南五十步

常樂縣界西至曲澤烽二百一十二里西入
磧接石城界按匈奴傳漢武帝西通月氏
大夏又以公主妻烏孫王以分匈奴西方於烏
孫北為塞以益廣曰漢元帝竟寧元年
雙應對詞曰孝武出軍征伐建塞起亭
遂築外城設七戍以守之即此長城也

古塞城

右周迴州境東在城東卅五里西在城西十五里
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帝元景六年將軍趙破奴出合居折酒
泉置燉煌郡此即關土疆立城郭在
漢武帝時又元帝竟寧單于來朝
上書願保塞和親請罷邊戍郎中雙
應以為不可曰孝武出軍征伐建塞傲起
亭燧築外城設七戍以等守之邊境少安
起塞已來百有餘年據此詞即元景六
年築至西涼王李暠建初十一年又修以
備南羌北虜其城破壞其趾見存

張芝墨池 在縣東北一里効穀府東南五十步

L. 4 The character 竟 is a variant of 竟.

L. 5 The character 對 is a variant of 對, but in the later P. 114 L. 15, another variant 對 was used. The character 征 is a variant of 征. But in the L. 14 of this page, another variant 征 of 征 was used. It is unclear the reason of this change. In this entire manuscript, the word 正 was always written as 正.

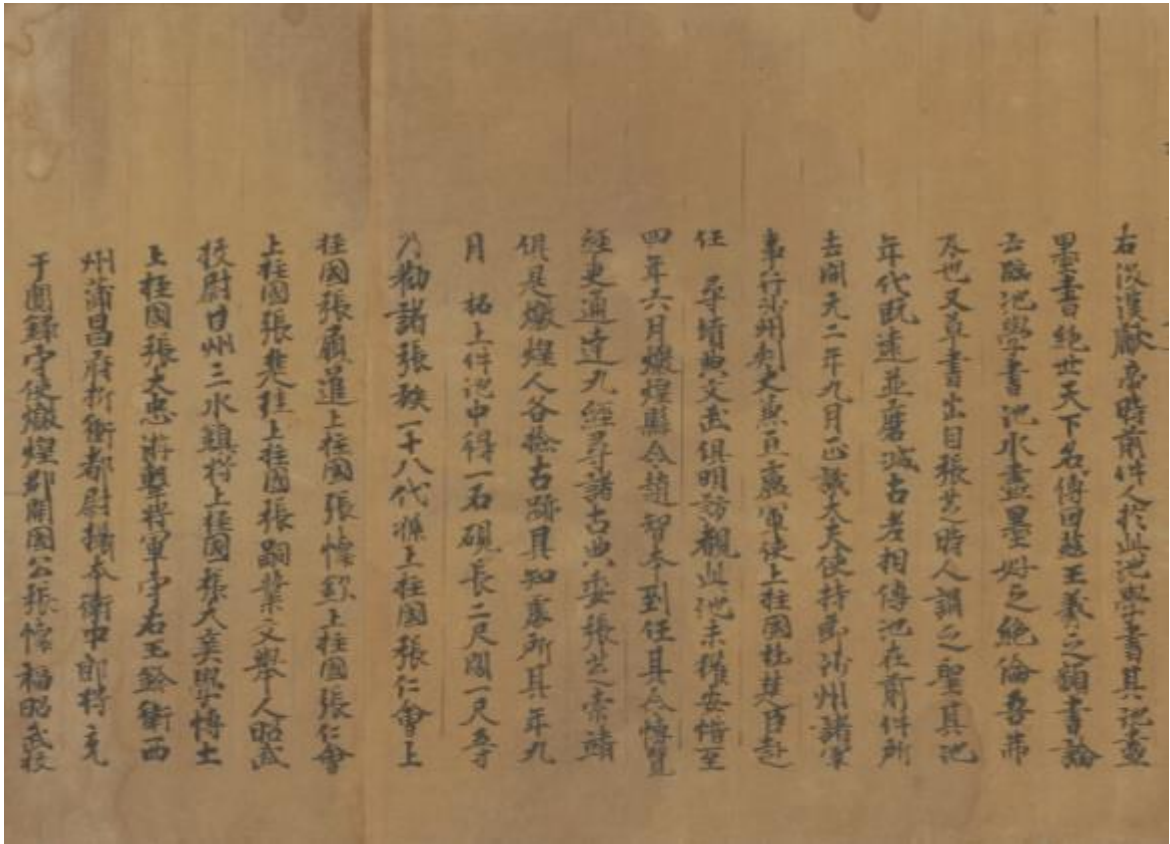
L. 6 The character 設 is a variant of 設. Similar changes can be seen in characters such as 役.

The character 屯 is a variant of 屯, a simplification probably due to handwriting.

L. 10 The character 拊 is used for the word of which the original form is 拊. The radical 木 was written as 扌.

L. 13 The character 邊 is a variant of 邊.

L. 18 The first character in this column is a bit smeared, probably due to some correction the scribe tried to make. Therefore, the top part of the right component is not very clear. It seems to be a simplified version of the character 備. Based on the other occurrences in this manuscript, I identify its form as 備.



右漢獻帝時前件人於此池學書其池盡
 墨書絕世天下名傳曰茲王羲之額書論
 云臨池學書池水盡墨好之絕倫吾弗
 及也又草書出資張芝時人謂之聖其池
 年代既遠並磨滅古老相傳池在前件所
 去開元二年九月心議大夫使持節沙州諸軍
 事行沙州刺史兼豆盧軍使上柱國杜楚臣赴
 任尋墳典文武俱明訪觀此池未獲安惜至
 四年六月燉煌縣令趙智本到任其令博覽
 經史通達九經尋諸古典委張芝索靖
 俱是燉煌人各檢古跡具知處所其年九
 月拓上件池中得一石硯長二尺闊一尺五寸
 乃勸諸張族一十八代孫上柱國張仁會上
 柱國張履進上柱國張懷欽上柱國張仁會
 上柱國張楚珪上柱國張嗣業文舉人昭武
 校尉甘州三水鎮將上柱國張大爽學博士
 上柱國張大忠游擊將軍守右玉鈐衛西
 州蒲昌府折衝都尉攝本衛中郎將充
 于闐錄守使燉煌郡開國公張懷福昭武校

L. 1 The character 獻 is a variant of 獻.

L. 2 The character 額 is a variant of 額.

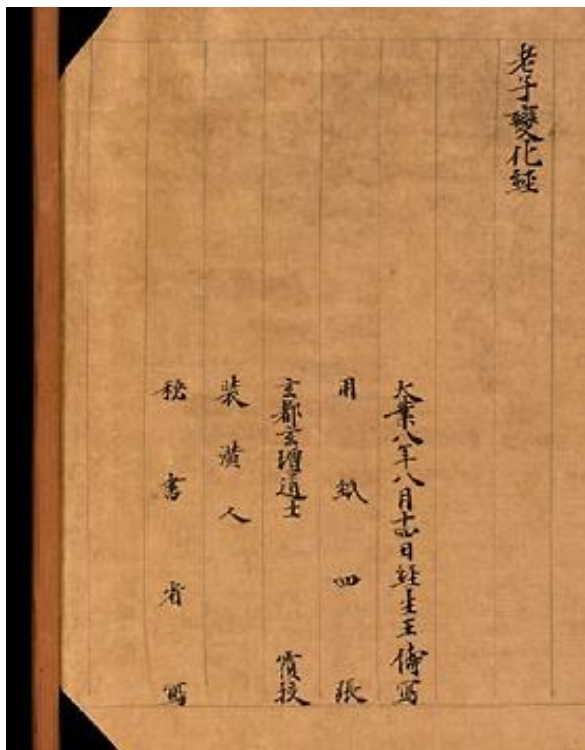
L. 8 The character 獲 is a variant of 獲.

L. 10 The character 經 is a variant of 經. The same character was also used widely in various Dunhuang manuscripts of Buddhist sutra and Daoist scriptures. For instance, one can see the character was used in the title of Dunhuang manuscript S. 2295.

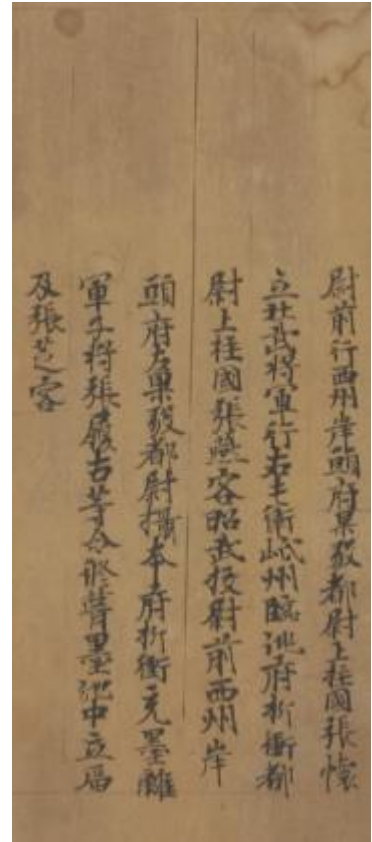
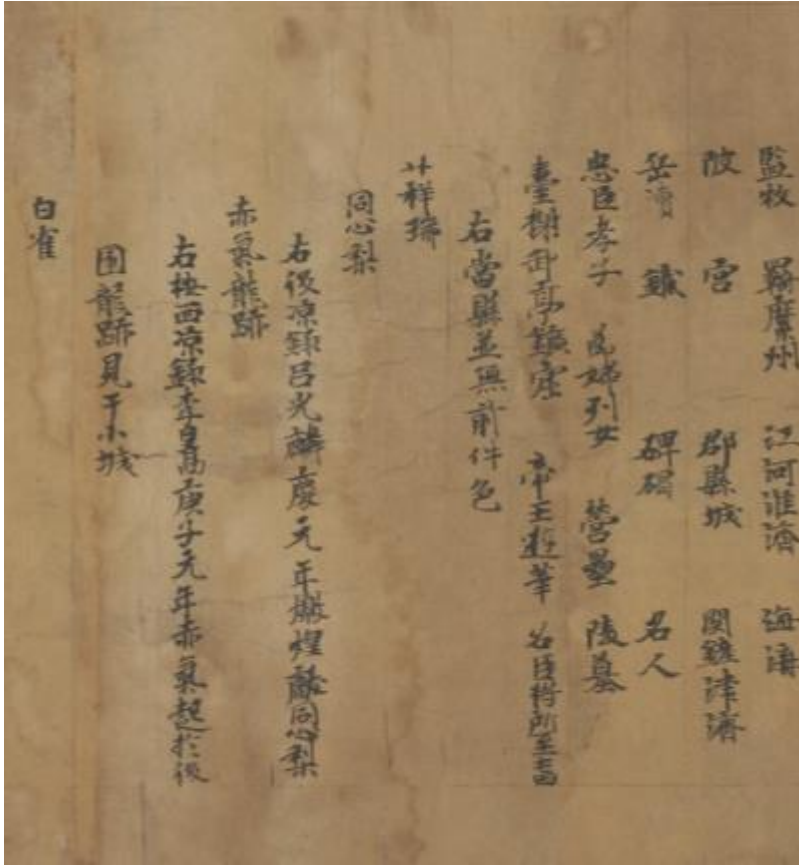
L. 11 The character 處 is a variant of 處, but it seems that this character became identical to the right component of the character 據 (據).

L. 16 The character 爽 is a variant of 爽.

L. 17 The character 游 is a variant of 游.



19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



尉前行西州岸頭果毅都尉上柱國張懷
 立壯武將軍行右七衛岷州臨池府折衝都
 尉上柱國張燕容昭武校尉前西州岸
 頭府左果毅都尉攝本府折衝充墨離
 軍子將張履古等令修葺墨池中立厝
 及張芝容

監牧 羈縻州 江河淮濟 海濱

陂 宮 郡縣城 關鎗津濟

岳瀆 鐵 碑碣 名人

忠臣孝子 節婦列女 營壘 陵墓

臺榭卸亭鑛窟 帝王遊幸 名臣將所至七田

右當縣並無前件色

卅祥瑞

同心梨

右後涼錄呂光麟慶元年燉煌獻同心梨

赤氣龍跡

右按西涼錄李暠庚子元年赤氣起於後

園龍跡見于小城

白雀

L. 2 The character 岷 is a variant of 岷. It is also likely that the component 氏 was used here to avoid the use of taboo character 民 as its component, which is part of the name of Emperor Taizong of the Tang. Discussion about the interchange of 氏 and 民, see Zhang Yongquan, 1996b: 124. Also, an extra dot was added on the right side. Similar case of complicating characters can be seen in characters such as 數.

L. 3 The character 容 is a variant of 容.

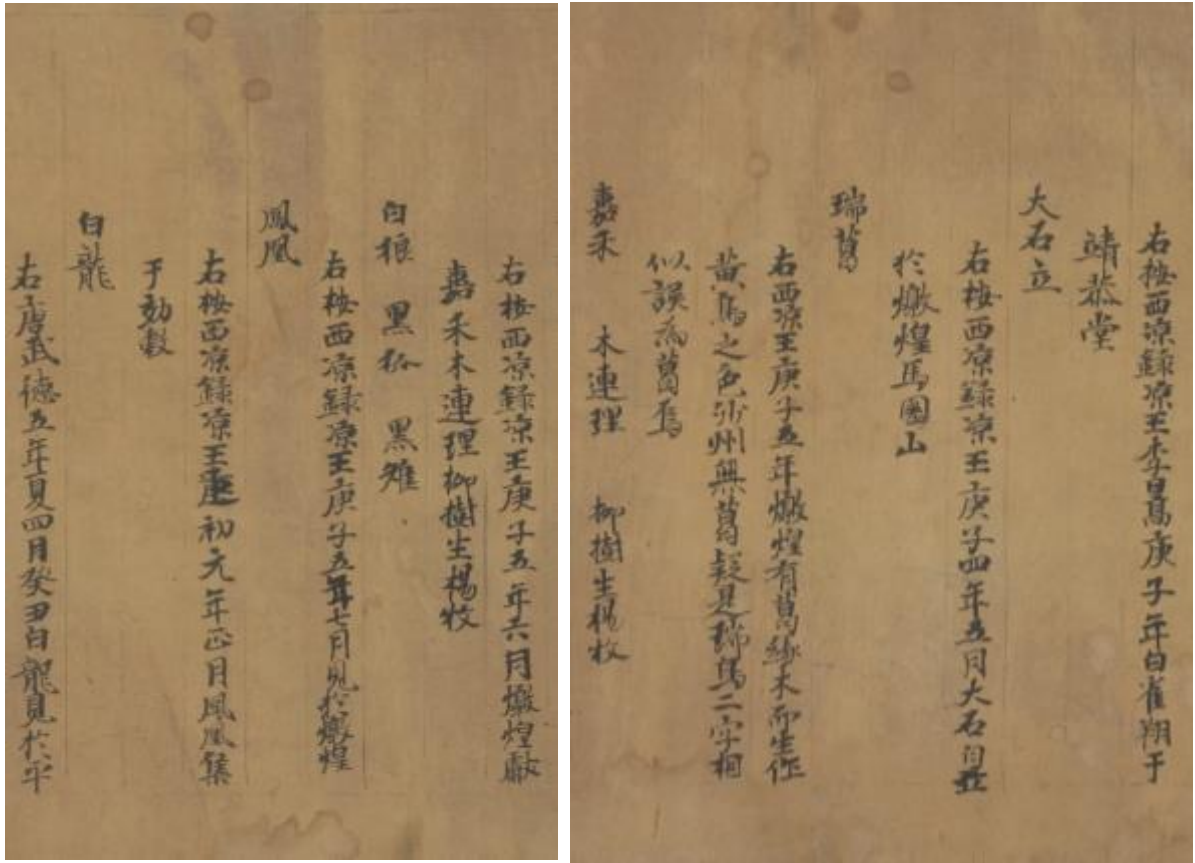
L. 7 The character 羈 is a variant of 羈. The character 溝 is a variant of 溝. The right-side component was simplified. Similar simplification can also be seen in our previous discussion about 構 on P.92 L.1.

L. 9 The character 鐵 is a variant of 鐵. The character 碑 is a variant of 碑. The character 礪 is a variant of 礪.

L. 10 The character 陵 is a variant of 陵.

L. 11 The character 榭 is a variant of 榭. Another example that radical 木 was written as 才. The character 卸 is a variant of 郵. In the character 遊, the component 方 was a bit smeared and thus it is hard to tell whether this part was simplified or not. But the other occurrences in this manuscript suggest that the character 遊 was used.

L. 16 The character 龍 is a variant of 龍. But in L. 18 of this page, another variant of the character 龍, 龍 is used. These two variants were both used in this manuscript without distinguishing.



右按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子年白雀翔于

靖恭堂

大石立

右按西涼錄涼王庚子四年五月大石自立

於燉煌馬圈山

瑞葛

右西涼王庚子五年燉煌有葛緣木而生作

黃鳥之色沙州無葛疑是瑞鳥二字相

似誤為葛鳥

嘉禾

木連理

柳樹生楊拔

右按西涼錄涼王庚子五年六月燉煌獻

嘉禾木連理柳樹生楊拔

白狼

黑狐 黑雉

右按西涼錄涼王庚子五年七月見於燉煌

鳳凰

右按西涼錄涼王建初元年正月鳳凰集

于効穀

白龍

右唐武德五年夏四月癸丑白龍見於平

右按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子年白雀翔于

靖恭堂

大石立

右按西涼錄涼王庚子四年五月大石自立

於燉煌馬圈山

瑞葛

右西涼王庚子五年燉煌有葛緣木而生作

黃鳥之色沙州無葛疑是瑞鳥二字相

似誤為葛鳥

嘉禾

木連理

柳樹生楊拔

右按西涼錄涼王庚子五年六月燉煌獻

嘉禾木連理柳樹生楊拔

白狼

黑狐 黑雉

右按西涼錄涼王庚子五年七月見於燉煌

鳳凰

右按西涼錄涼王建初元年正月鳳凰集

于効穀

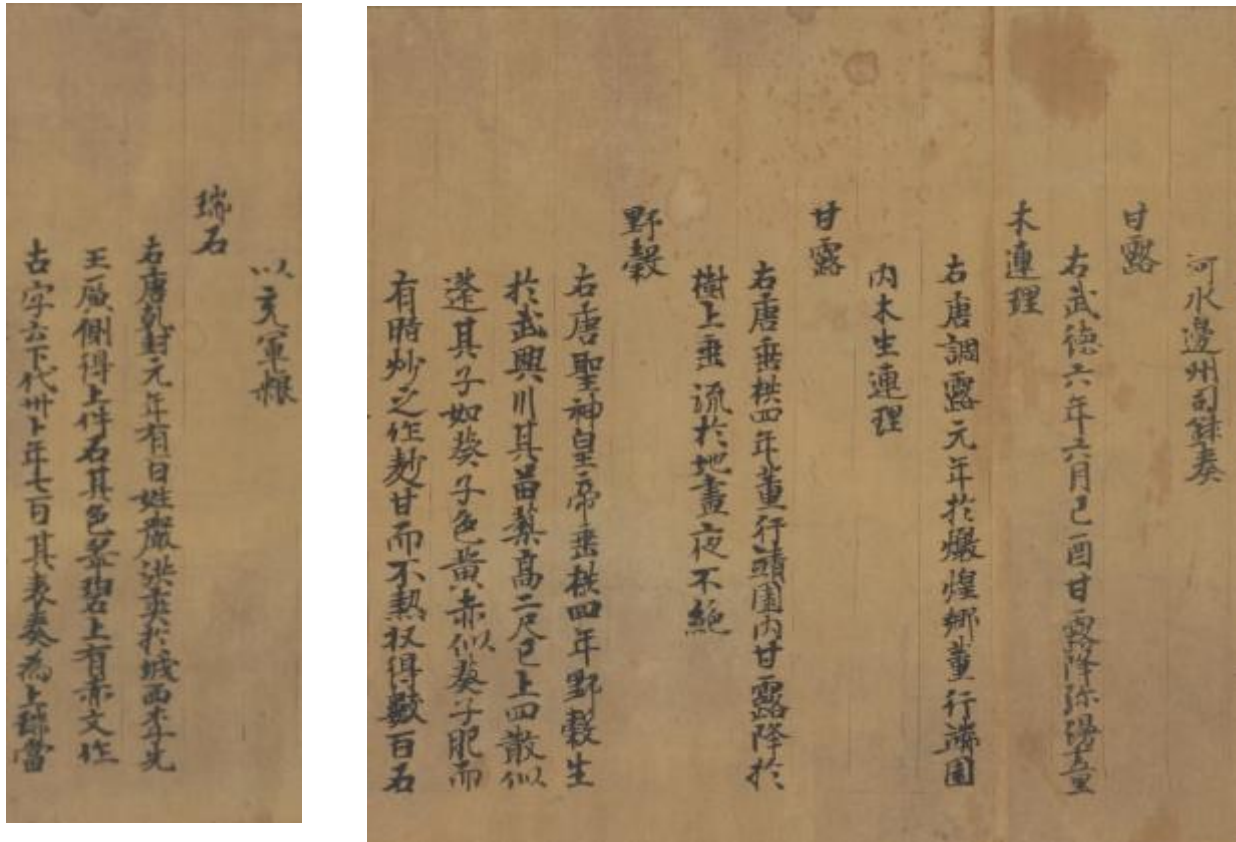
白龍

右唐武德五年夏四月癸丑白龍見於平

L. 6 The character 葛 is a variant of 葛.

L. 9 The characters 柳樹攷 in this column all appears to be have been written with the radical 扌 while the original forms must be with the radical 木. Moreover, the character 攷 is a variant of 攷. The component 攷 was written as 攷.

L. 14 The character 年 seems to have been written over.



河水邊州司錄奏

甘露

右武德六年六月己酉甘露降彌澗十五里

木連理

右唐調露元年於燉煌鄉董行端園

內木生連理

甘露

右唐垂拱四年董行靖園內甘露降於

樹上垂流於地晝夜不絕

野穀

右唐聖神皇帝垂拱四年野穀生

於武興川其苗藜高二尺已上四散似

蓬其子如葵子色黃赤似葵子肥而

有脂炒之任麩甘而不熱收得數百石

瑞石

以充軍糧

右唐貞觀元年有百姓嚴洪爽於城西李先

王厓側得上件石其色翠碧上有赤文佐

古字云下代卅七年七百其表奏為上瑞當

河水邊州司錄奏

甘露

右武德六年六月己酉甘露降彌澗十五里

木連理

右唐調露元年於燉煌鄉董行端園

內木生連理

甘露

右唐垂拱四年董行靖園內甘露降於

樹上垂流於地晝夜不絕

野穀

右唐聖神皇帝垂拱四年野穀生

於武興川其苗藜高二尺已上四散似

蓬其子如葵子色黃赤似葵子肥而

有脂炒之任麩甘而不熱收得數百石

以充軍糧

瑞石

右唐貞觀元年有百姓嚴洪爽於城西李先

王厓側得上件石其色翠碧上有赤文佐

古字云下代卅七年七百其表奏為上瑞當

L. 3 The character 湯 is a variant of 漫.

L. 11 The character 肥 is a variant of 肥.

L. 13 The character 蓬 is a variant of 蓬.

L. 14 The character 麇 is a variant of 麇. The character 熱 is a variant of 熱.

L. 17 The character 輒 is a variant of 乾.



為封嶽並天咸置寺觀号为萬壽此州

以得此瑞石遂寺觀自号靈圖

白雀

右唐咸亨二年有百姓王會昌於平康

鄉界獲白雀一隻馴善不驚當即進上

黃龍

右唐弘道元年臘月為 高宗大帝

行道其夜崇教寺僧徒都集及直

官等同見空中有一黃龍見可長三

丈以上鬚鬚光麗頭目精明首向北升尾垂

南下當即表奏制為上瑞

五色鳥

右大周天授二年一月百姓陰嗣鑒於平康

鄉武孝通園內見五色鳥頭上有冠翅

尾五色丹嘴赤豆合州官人百姓並往

看見群鳥隨之青黃赤白黑五白色具

脣頭上有冠性甚馴善刺史李無虧

表奏稱謹檢瑞應圖曰代樂鳥者

L. 1 The character 覩 is a variant of 觀.

L. 7 The character 臙 is a variant of 臘.

L. 8 The character 佻 is a variant of 徒.

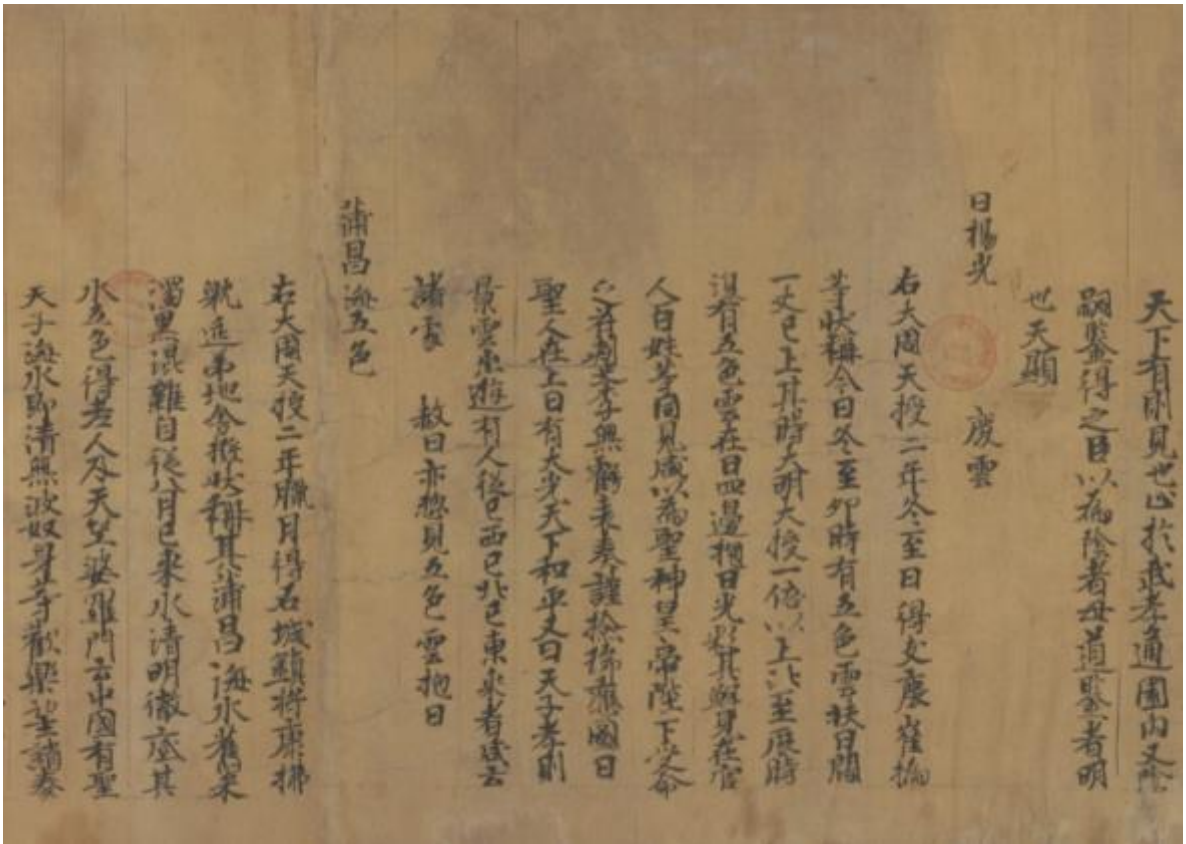
L.9 The character 等 is a variant of 等. It seems that in some cases the radicals 夊 and 卅 were confused.

L. 10 The characters 鬣鬣 were variants of 髯鬣. The character 麗 is a variant of 麗.

L. 13 The character 鑿 is a variant of 鑿.

L. 16 The character 看 is a variant of 看.

L. 18 The character 稱 is a variant of 稱.



天下有則見也心於武孝通園內又陰

嗣監得之臣以為陰者母道監者明

也天顯

日揚光

慶雲

右大周天授二年冬至日得支慶崔攝

等狀稱今日冬至外時有五色雲扶日闊

一丈已上其時大明大授一倍以上北至辰時

復有五色雲在日四邊抱日光其鮮見在官

人百姓等同見咸以為聖神皇帝陛下受命

之符刺史李無虧表奏謹檢瑞應圖曰

聖人在上日有大光天下和平又曰天子孝則

景雲出遊有人後已西已北已東來者咸云

諸慶 敕曰亦惣見五色雲抱日

蒲昌海五色

右大周天授二年臘月得石城鎮將康拂

就廷弟地舍撥狀稱其蒲昌海水為來

濁黑混雜自從八月已來水清明徹底其

水五色得老人及天竺婆羅門云中國有聖

天子海水即清無波奴身等歡樂望請奏

天下有則見也心於武孝通園內又陰

嗣監得之臣以為陰者母道監者明

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水五色得老人及天竺婆羅門云中國有聖

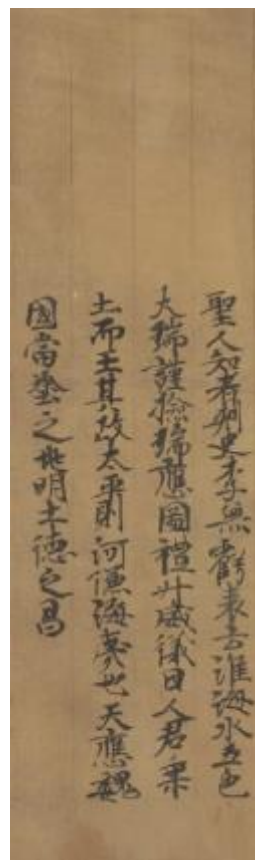
天子海水即清無波奴身等歡樂望請奏

L. 5 The character 攴 is a variant of 攴. An extra dot was added on the right side.

L. 6 The character 卯 is a variant of 卯. Characters containing 卯 as component 卯 was also written like this in this manuscript, such as 柳 in P. 106 L. 10.

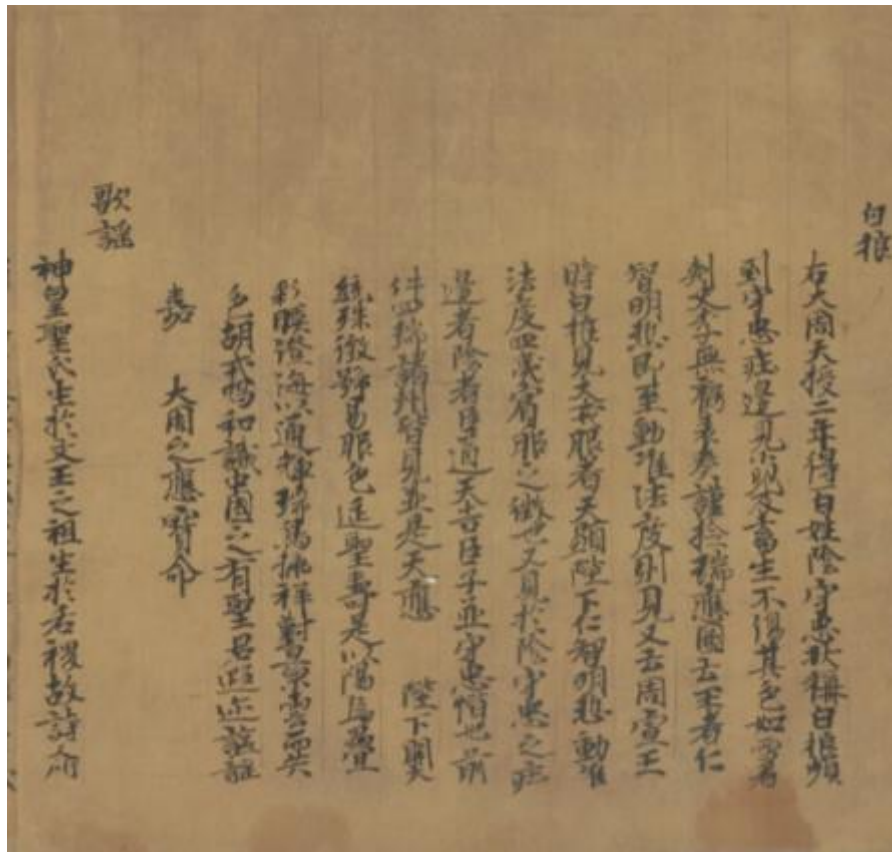
L. 12 The character 景 is a variant of 景.

L. 19 The character 歡 is a variant of 歡.



聖人知者刺史李無虧表云淮海水五色
大瑞謹檢瑞應圖禮升威儀曰人君乘
土而王其政太平則河漢海夷也天應魏
國當塗之兆明土德之昌

白狼



右大周天授二年得百姓陰守忠狀稱白狼頻
到守忠症邊見小兒及畜生不傷其色如雪者
刺史李無虧表奏謹檢瑞應圖云王者仁
智明悲民至動准法度則見又云周宣王
時白狼見犬戎服者天顯陛下仁智明悲動准
法度四歲實服之徵也又見於陰守忠之症
邊者陰者臣道天告臣子並守忠愷也前
件四瑞諸州皆見並是天應 陛下開天
統殊徽號易服色延聖壽是以陽烏疊
彩暎澄海以通輝瑞鳥摘祥對景雲而共
色胡戎唱和識中國之有聖君遐迩謳謠
嘉 大周之應寶命

歌謠

神皇聖氏生於文王之祖生於右稷故詩人

聖人知者刺史李無虧表云淮海水五色
大瑞謹檢瑞應圖禮升威儀曰人君乘
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嘉 大周之應寶命

歌謠

神皇聖氏生於文王之祖生於右稷故詩人所

L. 3 The character 儼 is a variant of 儼. The character 𣎵 is a variant of 夷.

L. 4 The character 塗 is a variant of 塗.

L. 7 The character 疒 is a variant of 莊. Previously in P.83 L.4, 疒 was used as a variant of 莊.

The difference of these two variants only lies in the extra dot on the right bottom.

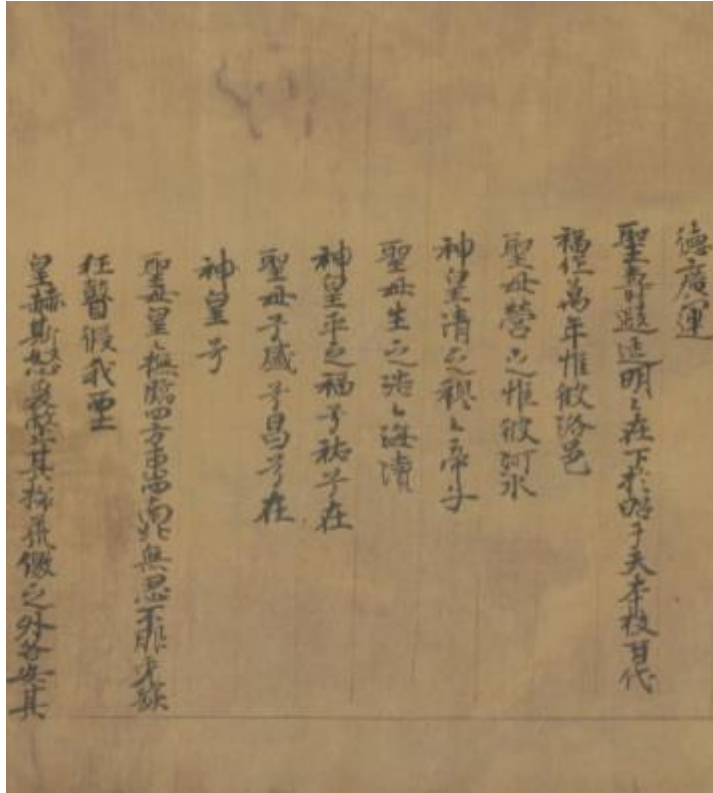
L. 9 The character 哲 is a variant of 哲.

L. 15 The character 映 is a variant of 映.

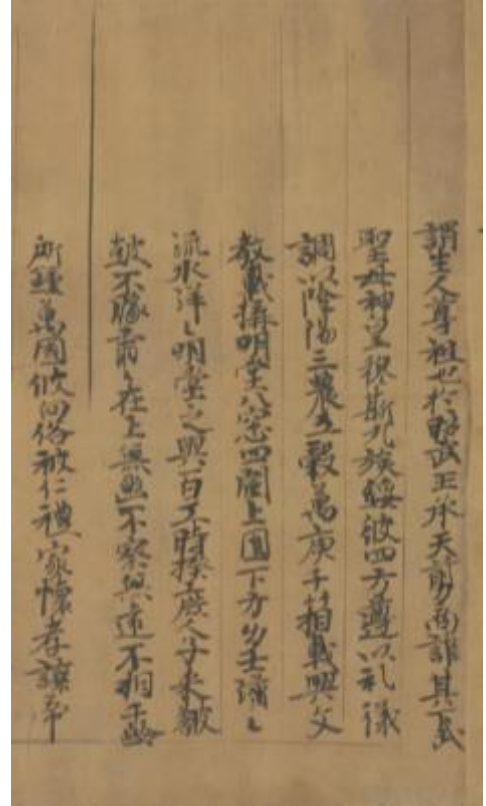
L. 16 The character 迓 is a variant of 邇.

L. 19 The character 𠂔 is a variant of 后.

19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8



7 6 5 4 3 2 1



謂生人尊祖也於昭武王承天剪商誰其下武

聖母神皇穆斯九族綏彼四方遵以禮儀

調以陰陽三農五穀萬庚千箱載興文

教載擗明堂八窗四闔上圓下方多士濟々

流水洋々明堂之興百工時揆庶人子來

鼓不勝肅々在上無幽不察無遠不相千齡

所鐘萬國攸向俗被仁禮家懷孝讓帝

德廣運

聖壽遐延明々在下於昭于天本技百代

福作萬年惟彼洛邑

聖母營之惟彼河水

神皇清之穆々帝子

聖母生之浩々海濱

神皇平之福兮祐兮在

聖母兮盛兮昌兮在

神皇兮

聖母皇々拂臨四方東西南北無思不服禿駭

狂瞽侵我西土

皇赫斯怒爰整其振荒傲之外各安其

L. 1 The character 人 was used to substitute the taboo character 民, which is part of the name of Emperor Taizong of the Tang. So as the 人 in the L.5 of this page and L.5 of the following page.

L. 3 The character 箱 is a variant of 箱.

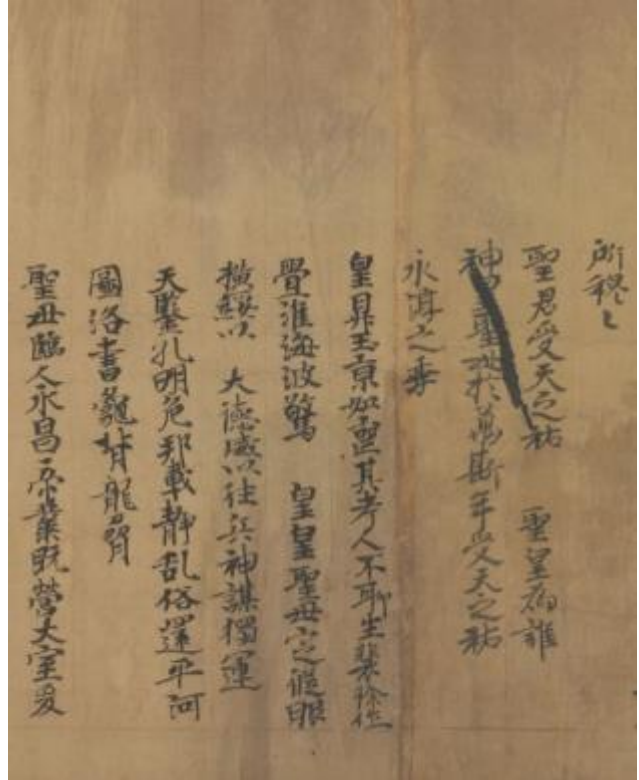
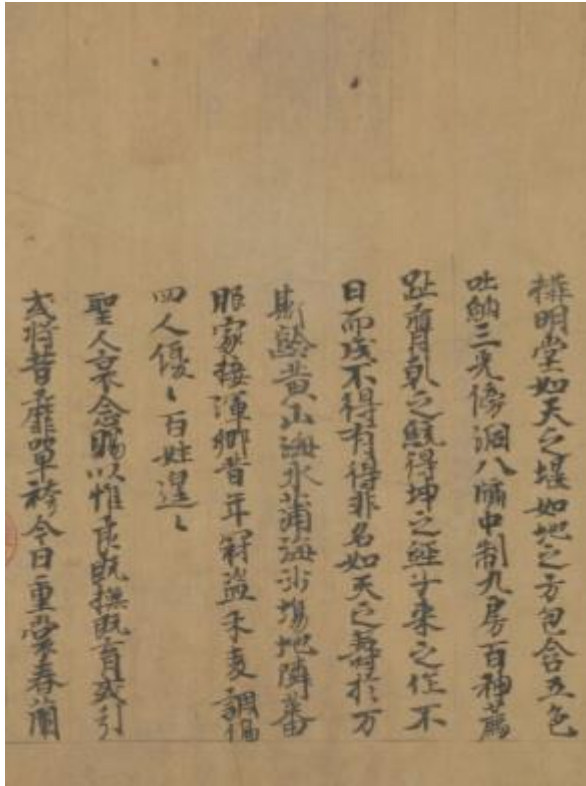
L. 4 The character 圓 is a variant of 圓.

L. 5 The character 庶 is a variant of 庶. The character 鞞 is a variant of 鞞.

L. 14 The character 兮 is a variant of 兮.

L. 17 The character 髮 is a variant of 髮.

L. 19 The character 旅 is a variant of 旅.



所穆々

聖君受天之祐 聖皇為誰

神皇聖母於萬斯年受天之祐

永淳之季

皇昇玉京如置其考人不聊生裴徐佐

豐淮海波驚 皇々聖母之從服

橫綬以大德威以往兵神謀獨運

天監孔明危邦載靜亂俗還平河

圖洛書龜背龍裔

聖母臨人永昌帝業既營大室爰

構明堂如天之堰如地之方包含五色

吐納三光傍洞八牖中制九房百神薦

趾膺軋之統得坤之經子來之佐不

日而成不得有得非名如天之壽於万

斯齡黃山海水蒲海沙場地隣蕃

服家接渾鄉昔年冠盜禾麥調傷

四人優々百姓遑々

聖人哀念賜以惟良既拂既育或引

或將昔靡單袴今日重裳春蘭

所穆々

聖君受天之祐 聖皇為誰

神皇聖母於萬斯年受天之祐

永淳之季

皇昇玉京如置其考人不聊生裴徐佐

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日而成不得有得非名如天之壽於万

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聖人哀念賜以惟良既拂既育或引

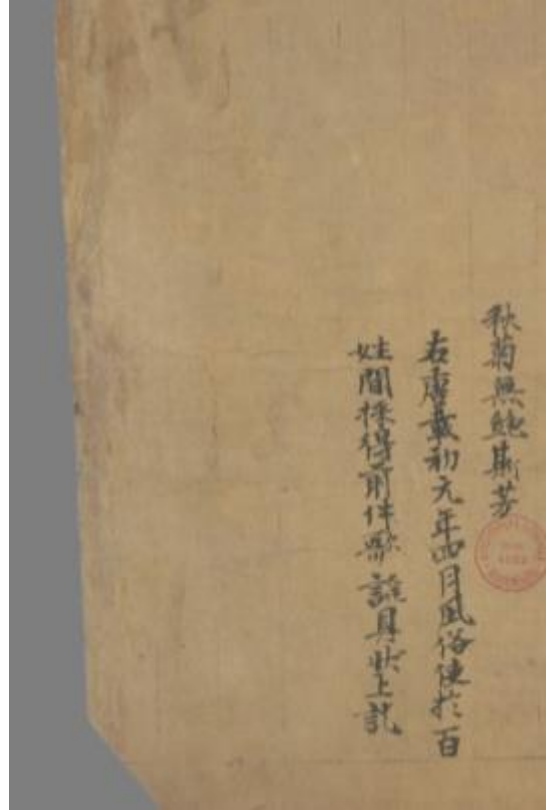
或將昔靡單袴今日重裳春蘭

L. 5 The character 京 is a variant of 京. The character 𡩇 is a variant of 喪.

L. 6 The character 從 is also a variant of 從.

L. 8. The character 俗 is a variant of 俗.

L. 9 The character 龜 is a variant of 龜.



秋菊無絕斯芳

右唐載初元年四月風俗使於百
姓間採得前件歌謠具狀上訖

Chapter 5: Translation of P.2005

This chapter is a full annotated translation of P.2005. The page number and column number of the manuscript and transcription as marked in Chapter 4 are given here for reference. Because the uncommon graphs are discussed in the previous chapter, the standard form is used here for convenience. The following symbols are used:

[...] indicates unknown number of missing characters.

[] indicates that missing character is filled in based on the context.

() indicates character correction.

- P.71/1[...]美草, 更[...]¹¹⁰
 2 水又西流八十里, 与碛[...]
 3 美草, 又西北流入碛谷[...]
 4 流瀑布桂鶴[...]
 5 蔽虧日月, 深[...]
 6 里, 不生草木, 中[...]
 7 春之後仲夏[...]
 8 秋後即下, 向人[...]
 9 無雜鳥, 水無[...]

Beautiful grass, further....

The water further flows west for eighty *li* (45km), and valley [...] ¹¹¹

Beautiful grass. (The stream) further flows northwest, entering the gorge.

flow waterfalls. The cinnamon tree and crane... ¹¹²

covering and making the sun and moon deficient, deep...

*li*¹¹³...there are no grass or trees growing. In the middle of...

after the spring, in mid-summer...

after the autumn it promptly lowers, towards people...

Having no diverse kinds of birds, water has no...

¹¹⁰ Since the beginning of the manuscript is damaged, we do not know how much is missing from the beginning. From the context, it seems this is the paragraph describing certain watercourses. Li Zhengyu suggests it is the Ganquan river that this paragraph talks about. Li Zhengyu, 1998, 38.

¹¹¹ The distance measurement *li* of ancient China varies depending on the dynasty. There are still arguments about the conversion of measurements. In the Tang, one *li* is about 530 meters, approximately 0.33 miles. In the following text, other measures such as *bù* 步, *chǐ* 尺, *zhàng* 丈 are also used. The general rule in the Tang is that five *chǐ* (roughly 29.5cm) equals one *bù* (147.5cm) and ten *chǐ* equals one *zhàng* (roughly 300cm). See Hu Ji 胡戟, “Tang dai du liang heng yu muli zhidu” 唐代度量衡與畝里制度, *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 4 (1980), 39. A round-up number of conversion is given.

¹¹² The phrase *gui he* 桂鶴 is problematic. It is not a known binome. The combination of *gui* and *he* appears often in ancient Chinese paintings since people believed that *gui* represented wealth while *he* represented long living. Thus, I translate them accordingly.

¹¹³ 里 has several meanings. Without context, it is difficult to decide the exact meaning. Considering that most of the times when *li* is used in this text, it means the distance measurement, thus I temporarily translate so.

10 者不過數寸[...]

11 曲多野馬犛[...]

12 狼垂豹窟穴其[...]

13 里至子亭鎮西三[...]

14 烽。又西北流六十里至山闕烽。水東即是/15 鳴沙流山。其山流動無定，峰岫不恆，俄然/16 深谷為陵，高崖為谷。或峰厄似削，孤岫如/17 畫。夕疑無地，朝已干霄。

(something) is no more than several *cun* ...

The field has many wild horses and yaks...¹¹⁴

wolves, tigers, leopards burrow in its...¹¹⁵

miles, arrived three..west of Ziting town.¹¹⁶

Beacon Tower. It further flows sixty *li* northwest to the Shanque beacon tower. East of the river is the flowing mountain of sounding sands.¹¹⁷ This hill flows without any certainty. The peaks and pinnacles are not perpetual. Suddenly deep valleys become a knoll, tall cliffs become valleys. Sometimes, the cliff is straight as if carved by a knife, and the solitary hill is like a painting. At night it seems there was no ground, but by the morning, the hill is as tall reaching to the empyrean.

¹¹⁴ The description of having many wild horses at Shazhou also matches the record in the *Yuanhe Junxian tuzhi* that wild horses were one of the special produce here. It is likely there is a word *niú* 牛 missing after *máo* 犛 since 犛牛 is a common binome for yak, but *máo* by itself can also refer to yak.

¹¹⁵ The word *chóng* 蟲 usually means insects. But it is common in Chinese literature to refer to tiger as *dà chóng* 大蟲. See *Tang yulin* 唐語林 6. 582 Considering the context here, the meaning of tiger would be a better fit.

¹¹⁶ The *Jin shu* mentions that in the second year of Jianchu era (420), Li Gao 李暠 built a city in Ziting to the south of Dunhuang. See the *Jin shu* 87. 2262.

¹¹⁷ Both Luo Zhenyu and Li Zhengyu consider the word *liú* 流 is a mistake and must be erased based on the fact that located on the east of river is the famous Mingsha Mountain and the mountain was never referred to as *Mingsha liu shan*. But the following text describes the flowing nature of the mountain, thus we cannot rule out the possibility that the word *liú* was a mistake. I therefore translate accordingly. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 40.

中有井泉，沙至不掩。/18馬馳人踐，其聲若雷。其水西有石山，亦/19無草木。又東北流八十里，百姓造大堰，號為 P.74/1 馬圈口。其堤南北一百五十步，闊廿步，高二/2 丈，惣開五門。分水以灌田園，荷鍤成雲。決/3 渠降雨，其腴如涇，其濁如河。加以節氣/4 少雨，山谷多雪，立夏之後，山暖雪消，雪/5 水入河，朝減夕漲。其水又東北流卅里至/6 沙州城，分派灌溉。北流者名北府，東流者/7 名東河。

In the middle of the place there is a well spring; even when the sands arrive, it will not be covered.¹¹⁸ Horses gallop and people tread [here]; the sound is like thunder.

West of its water there is a stone mountain without any grass or trees.¹¹⁹ (The river) flows further northeast for eighty *li* (45km).¹²⁰ Local people made a great dike called Maquankou. This dike is one hundred fifty *bu* (220m) long from south to north, twenty *bu* (30m) in width, two *zhang* (6m) in height. It has five outlets in total. (The outlets) divide the water to irrigate the fields and gardens. The shovels and spades stuck up becoming like clouds. When people open up the canals and bring down water like raining, the water becomes as rich as the Jing River and as murky as the Yellow River. In addition, there is little rain because of the climate, and the mountains have much snow, after the beginning of summer, the mountains become warm and the snow melts. The snow water enters the river. The river water decreases in the morning but rises in the evening. Its water further flows northeast for forty *li* (220km) arriving at the Shazhou city. People divide the water to irrigate. The one flowing north is called Beifu, while the one flowing east is called the Eastern River.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ The spring refers to modern Yueya spring 月牙泉 in Dunhuang, Gansu.

¹¹⁹ The Stone mountain is modern Bai shanzi 白山子 in Dunhuang, Gansu.

¹²⁰ Li Zhengyu suggests that the eighty *li* is a mistake but should be sixty *li*, based on geographical information. Li Zhengyu, 1998: 42.

¹²¹ Li Zhengyu suggest a word *qú* 渠 is missing after the Beifu, since Beifu is a canal. But it may not be case. If people understood the nature of this water, no specific is necessary. Li Zhengyu, 1998: 42.

水東南流者二道一名神農渠一名陽關渠。州/8 西北又分一渠，北名都鄉渠。又從馬圈口分/9 一渠，於州西北流，名宜秋渠。州城四面水，/10 渠側流觴曲水，花草菓園。豪族士流，/11 家家自足。土不生棘，鳥則無鴞，五穀皆/12 饒，唯無稻黍。其水溉田即盡，更無流/13 派。

14 苦水

15 右，源出瓜州東北十五里，名鹵澗水。直西，流至瓜州/16 城北十餘里，西南流一百廿里至瓜州常樂縣南山/17 南，号為苦水。

There are two streams that flow to the southeast; one of them is called the Shennong Canal, one of them is called the Yangguan Canal. Northwest of the prefectural seat there is another canal separated from the main stream, the northern side is called the Duxiang Canal. One more canal is built from the Maquankou, flowing the northwest of the prefectural seat. It was called the Yiqiu canal. The prefecture city is surrounded by water on four sides. On the side of canals there are wine-goblets-flowing circular waterway, flowers, grass and fruit gardens.¹²² Powerful clans and scholarly classes, every family is self-sufficient. The soil does not grow thorns. As for birds, there are no owls. The five grains are all plentiful. Only is there no rice and millet. Its water is exhausted immediately after irrigating the fields, and there is no more water.

Ku Waterway

Above, its source is from the fifteen *li* (8km) east of Guazhou, a place called Lujian waterway.¹²³ It flows straight west, reaching over ten *li* (6km) north of Guazhou. It flows southwest for one hundred twenty *li* (65km), reaching south of the southern mountain of the Changle county of Guazhou. It was called Ku River.

¹²² The phrase *liú shāng qǔ shuǐ* 流觴曲水 is from Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361), *Lanting ji xu* 蘭亭集序. Originally it was a game held around curling water. People put a cup of liquor to flow down and whoever had the cup stopped in front of them had to drink it.

¹²³ Since the text was written and read from right to left. The first word *yòu* 右 refers to the heading but it is formality points out the direction of the text. For convenience of English, I translate it as “above.” The same below.

又西行卅里入沙州東界故魚泉驛/18南。西北流十五里入常樂山又北流至沙州階亭驛 P.76/1南。即向西北流至廉遷烽西北卅餘里散入沙鹵。

2 獨利河水

3右，源出瓜州東南三百里流至沙州燉煌縣/4東南界。雨多即流無雨竭涸。

5 懸泉水

6右，在州東一百卅里，出於石崖腹中。其泉傍出細/7流，一里許即絕。

It further flows west for thirty *li* (16km), entering the east border of Shazhou, south of the ancient Yüquan Post Station. It flows northwest for fifteen *li* (8km), entering the Changle Mountain. And then it flows north, reaching south of Jieting post station of Shazhou. It immediately flows to northwest, reaching over twenty *li* (11km) northwest of the Lianqian watchtower and then spreads out and soaks into sands and salt-flats.

Duli River waterway¹²⁴

Above, its source is from a place three hundred *li* (55km) southeast of Guazhou and flows to the southeast border of the Dunhuang county of Shazhou. If there is much rain, that is when it flows, but if there is no rain, it completely dries out.

Xuanquan Waterway

Above, it is located hundred thirty *li* (70km) east of the prefectural seat. It comes out from within the bowels of the stone cliff. The spring comes out from the side and forms a small stream. It ends immediately over one *li* (530m).

¹²⁴ Li Zhengyu suggests that this water is modern Shule River. See Li, *Dunhuang lishi dili daolun* 敦煌歷史地理導論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1997), 157-168.

人馬多至水即多，人馬少至水/8 出即少。西涼異物志云：漢貳師將軍李廣/9 利西伐大苑，迴至此山。兵士眾渴乏。廣乃以掌/10 拓山仰天悲誓，以佩劍刺山，飛泉涌出以濟/11 三軍。人多皆足，人少不盈，側出懸崖故曰/12 懸泉。

13 七所渠

14 宜秋渠 長廿里

15 右，源在州西南廿五里引甘泉水，兩岸修堰十里/16 高一丈下闊一丈五尺。其渠下地宜晚禾，因号為宜/17 秋渠。

If there are many people and horses arrive, that is when the water is plenty. The less people and horses arrive, the less the water comes out. The *Western Liang Record of Strange Things* records, when the Ershi General of the Han, Li Guangli went west to attack Dayuan (in modern Ferghana), and returned to this mountain, his troops were thirsty and exhausted.¹²⁵ Guang at that time pushed the mountain with his palm, looked up at the sky and sadly swore an oath. He used his sword to stab into the mountain. Cascading water gushed forth to relieve his troops. Even if there are many people, it is still sufficient. If people are few, it will not overflow. It comes out from the side of the cliff, that is why it is called Cascade (Xuanquan).

Seven Canals

The Yiqiu canal twenty *li* (11km) long

Above, its source is from twenty-five *li* (14km) of the southwest of the prefectural seat, drawing from the Ganquan River. On both sides of banks, dikes were built for ten *li* (5.5km) long. (The dikes) are one *zhang* (300cm) high, and the base is one *zhang* and five *chi* (450cm) wide. The canal's water flowing to the field is beneficial for the grain of late season; for this reason, it was named Yiqiu (Benefitting the Autumn Harvest) canal.

¹²⁵ Qing scholar Zhang Shu 張澍 has reconstructed the fragments of the *Xi Liang yiwu zhi*. See *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, vol. 723. Li Guangli has a biography in the *Han shu* 61. 2699-2704. But this event is not recorded in the *Han shu*. Mentioning of similar story can be traced back to the *Dongguan Han ji*, *Hou Han shu* and *Shui jing zhu*.

18 孟授渠 長十里

19 右，據西涼錄燉煌太守趙郡孟敏於州西南十 P.78/1 八里於甘泉都鄉斗門上開渠溉田，百姓蒙賴，/2 因以為号。

3 陽開渠 長一十五里

4 右，源在州南十里引甘泉水。舊名中渠。據西涼/5 錄刺史楊宣移向上流造五石斗門，堰水溉/6 田，人賴其利，因以為号。

The Meng shou (Meng's Bestowal) canal twenty *li* (11km) long

Above, according to the *Western Liang Record*, Dunhuang governor Meng Min, who was from Zhao commandery (modern Handan 邯鄲, Heibei),¹²⁶ dug a canal eighteen *li* (10km) southwest of the prefectural seat from the sluice gate of the Duxiang Canal of the Ganquan River to irrigate the field.¹²⁷ The commoners received (the benefit) and relied on it. It was named for this reason (meaning Meng granted it).

Yangkai canal fifteen *li* (8km) long

Above, its source is ten *li* (5.5km) south of the regional capital, drawing from the Ganquan River. Its old name was Zhong Canal. According to the *Western Liang Record*, the regional inspector Yang Xuan moved towards the upper stream and built five stone outlets. He dammed the water to irrigate the fields, and people relied on its benefit. For this reason, it was named (meaning Yang's Opening).

¹²⁶ It is mentioned in the biography of Li Gao in the *Jin shu* that Meng Min was appointed governor of Dunhuang late in Lü Guang's regime; see *Jin shu* 87. 2257.

¹²⁷ The *Western Liang Record* has been lost, and the extant version is a Ming reconstruction. Li Zhengyu suggests that Meng Min died in 397 while the Western Liang was not established until 400, so the title of the *Western Liang Record* must be a mistake for the *Former Liang Record* or the *Later Liang Record*. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 50. Similar questions pertain to the following entries that cite the *Western Liang Record*.

7 都鄉渠 長廿里

8 右，源在州西南一十八里甘泉水馬圈堰下流/9 造堰，擁水七里，高八尺，闊四尺。諸鄉共造，因/10 号都鄉渠。

11 北府渠 長卅五里

12 右，源在州東三里甘泉上中河斗門。為其渠/13 北地下每年破壞，前凉時刺史楊宣以家粟万斛/14 買石修理，於今不壞。其斗門壘石作長卅步，闊三丈，/15 高三丈。昔燉煌置南府、北府，因府以為渠名。

Duxiang canal twenty *li* (11km) long

Above, its source is the lower stream of the Maquan dike of the Ganquan River, eighteen *li* (10km) southwest of the prefectural seat. (People) built a dike to channel the water for seven *li* (4km). (The dikes) are eight *chi* (240cm) high, four *chi* (120cm) wide. Since it was built by various villages, it was therefore called Duxiang (All Villages) Canal.

Beifu canal forty-five *li* (24km) long

Above, its source is the outlet of the Ping River of the Ganquan River, three *li* (2km) east of the prefectural seat.¹²⁸ For the bottom of its north side break down every year, the regional inspector Yang Xuan of the Former Liang period (314-376), used family millet of ten thousand *hu* to purchase stones to fix it.¹²⁹ Up to now it is not broken. The piled-up stone of its water gate was made in forty *bu* (60m) long, three *zhang* (10m) wide and three *zhang* (10m) tall. In the past, Dunhuang established Southern office and Northern office, thus people take the name of the office as the name of the canal.

¹²⁸ Li Zhengyu suggests that the name *Zhong he* 中河 here must be a mistake of *Ping he* 平河 since nowhere else mentions *Zhong he*, while various Dunhuang manuscripts have *Ping he*, which geographically fits the location. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 52-3.

¹²⁹ *Hu* is the measurement for volumes. 1 *hu* approximately equals to 41.59 liter. See Hu Ji, 37.

16 三丈渠 長五里

17 右，源在州東三里甘泉水上。於河斗門南向東修/18 堰，穿渠一十三里。其渠闊三丈，因以為號。

P.80/1 陰安渠 長七里

2 右，在州西南六里甘泉水上。據西涼錄燉煌太守/3 陰澹於都鄉斗門上開渠溉田，百姓蒙利而安/4 因以為號。

5 一所壕塹水 闊卅五尺 深九尺 壕遶城四面

6 右其壕西南角有一大泉。分為兩道流，遶城四面/7 周匝，至東北隅合流北出，去城七里，投入大河。

Sanzhang canal five *li* (3km) long

Above, its source is from the Ganquan River, three *li* (2km) east of the prefectural seat. From south of the water gate of the river to build embankment towards east, the canal was dug for thirteen *li* (7km). The canal is three *zhang* (10m) wide, thus it is named.

Yin'an canal seven *li* (4km) long

Above, it is located on the Ganquan River, six *li* (3.5km) southwest of the prefectural seat.

According to the *Western Liang Record*, Dunhuang governor Yin Zhan opened a canal from the water gate of the Duxiang canal to irrigate the fields. People received the benefit and were stable, thus it is named (Yin Stabilizes).

One Moat forty-five *chi* (13.5m) wide, nine *chi* (1.5m) deep, the moat surrounds the city from four sides.

Above, the southwest corner of the moat has a big spring water, which splits into two ways to flow around the city until reaching the northeast corner, then they merge and flow to the north.

Seven *li* (4km) outside of city it merged into the big river.

8 三所澤

9 東泉澤

10 右，在州東卅七里。澤內有泉，因以為号。

11 卅里澤 東西十五里 南北五里

12 右，在州北卅里。中有池水，周迴二百步，堪漚麻。眾/13人往還，因里數為号。

14 大井澤 東西卅里 南北廿里

15 右，在州北十五里。漢書西域傳漢遣破羌將軍/16辛武賢討昆彌，至燉煌。遣使者按行悉穿/17大井，因号其澤曰大井澤。

Three Swamps

Dongquan swamp

Above, it is located forty-seven *li* (24km) east of the prefectural seat. There is a spring in the swamp, thus it is named (Eastern Spring).

Xili swamp from east to west it is fifteen *li* (8km), from south to north it is five *li* (3km)

Above, it is located forty *li* (22km) north of the prefectural seat. In the middle there is a pond.

The circumference of the pond is two hundred *bu* (300m). It is suitable for soaking hemp. People go and come back, thus using the number of *li* as the name.

Dajiang swamp (modern Suzhou 肅州 lake) thirty *li* (16km) from east to west, twenty *li* (11km)

from south to north

Above, it is located fifteen *li* (8km) north of the prefectural seat. The “Xiyu zhuan” of the *Han*

shu records that the Han sent Poqiang General Xin Wuxian to attack Kunmi, arriving at

Dunhuang.¹³⁰ (Xin) sent envoys to dig up big wells according to the path, thus the swamp is

called Dajing (Big Well) swamp.

¹³⁰ The text of the transmitted *Han shu* records is slight different from here. Kunmi is the Chinese transcription for the title of Wusun’s king. See the *Han shu* 96b. 3901.

18 二所堰

19 馬圈口堰

P.82/1 右，在州西南廿五里。漢元鼎六年造，依馬圈山造，/2 因山名焉。其山周迴五十步，自西涼已後甘水湍/3 激，無復此山。

4 長城堰 高一丈五尺 長三丈 闊二丈

5 右，在州東北一百七十里。堰苦水以溉田，承前造/6 堰不成，百姓不得溉灌。刺史李無虧造成。百/7 姓欣慶。無虧漢丞相蔡之後，自隴西徙居/8 幽州之范陽。

Two Dams

Maquankou Dike

Above, it is located twenty-five *li* (13.5km) southwest of the prefectural seat. It was built in the sixth year of the Yuanding era of the Han (111BC). It was built against the Maquan Mountain, thus it was named after the mountain. The mountain is fifty *bu* (75m) in circumference. After the Western Liang (400-421), the Ganquan River becomes rapid and torrential, thus the mountain no longer exists.¹³¹

Changcheng Dike one *zhang* five *chi* (4.4m) tall, three *zhang* (1m) long and two *zhang* (0.6m) wide

Above, it is located one hundred seventy *li* (90km) northeast of the prefectural seat. The Ku River was impounded to irrigate fields. Following the previous dike but failed, people could not irrigate. Prefect Li Wukui built it. People were joyful. Wukui, was a descendent of Chief Minister Cai of the Han dynasty.¹³² (His ancestor moved) from Longxi to Fanyang of Youzhou (modern Beijing).

¹³¹ There must be a word *quán* 泉 after *gān* 甘 missing since Ganquan is one of the biggest rivers in the area and frequently mentioned. There is no Gan River in the area.

¹³² Li Wukui's tomb inscription is translated and discussed in Part 3, Chapter 8. Interestingly, in his tomb inscription, the ancestor Li Cai is not mentioned.

五代伯祖司空訴尚後魏太祖/9 舅陽平王杜起女。後為公主憶長安城，太祖/10 於范陽為主築長安城，俗号長安城李。隨時定/11 氏族去其安字，直為長城李氏。
12 大周聖神皇帝賜無虧長城縣開國子，故時/13 人名此堰為長城堰。

14 一所故堤 高三丈 闊三丈五尺

15 右，在州東北一百廿步。按十六國春秋，嘉興四年西/16 涼王李歆為且渠蒙遜戰敗於酒泉東懷/17 城。

His fifth generation great grand-uncle Xin who was the Minister of Works married the daughter of the Yangping prince, a maternal uncle of the Emperor Taizu (371-409) of the Wei, whose name was Du Qi.¹³³ Later because the princess missed the Chang'an city, Emperor Taizu built a Chang'an city in Fanyang for the princess, thus the family was popularly called Li of the Chang'an city. During the Sui dynasty, to establish status for clans, the word *an* was removed and the family was directly addressed as Chang'cheng Li clan.

The Shengshen Emperor of the Great Zhou bestowed Wukui Dynasty-founding Viscount, thus contemporaneous people called this dike Changcheng dike.¹³⁴

One old dam three *zhang* (1m) tall, three *zhang* and five *chi* (1.1m) wide

Above, it is located hundred twenty *bu* (30m) northeast of the prefectural seat. According to the *Shiliu guo chunqiu*, in the fourth year of Jiaxing era (420), the king of the Western Liang, Li Xin, was defeated by Juqu Mengxun at the Huaicheng, east of Jiuquan.¹³⁵

¹³³ Li Xin, the *Wei shu* has his biography (46.1039-43). His first name is recorded as 訴, thus it is possible the character 訴 is mistaken here. There are also few other discrepancies among the texts of P.2005, the *Wei shu* and the tomb inscription of Li Wukui. First, in the *Wei shu*, the emperor involved is recorded to be *shizu* 世祖, and the name of his father-in-law is recorded as Du Chao 杜超. According to Li Xin's biography, his father is Li Chong 李崇, who would be Li Wukui's sixth generation ancestor, but Li Wukui's tomb inscription also mentions a ninth generation ancestor Chong 崇. It is unclear which record is more reliable or if there were two ancestors with the same name. Also, the marrying princess and building a city for the princess are not mentioned in Li's tomb inscription.

¹³⁴ In Li Wukui's tomb inscription, one of his titles is Dynasty-founding Duke, which is higher in status than viscount. It is unclear if he ever received that promotion.

歆死國滅。其弟恂為燉煌太守，與諸子奔/18 燉煌奔于北山。蒙遜以索元緒行燉煌太守。緒/19 行險惡，失於人心。郡人宋承義張弘以恂在郡有 P.84/1 惠政，密遣招恂。九月率數騎入于燉煌，索緒/2 東奔。宋承義等推恂冠軍將軍，涼州刺史。蒙/3 遜遣子德政率眾一萬攻恂。恂閉門不戰。至五年/4 春蒙遜率眾二萬攻燉煌，遣恂書，論以興亡/5 之運。恂不答。二月三面起堤以水灌城。恂使/6 壯士千人連板為橋，潛欲決堤，悉為蒙遜所擒。

Xin was dead and the state was eliminated. His younger brother Xun was Dunhuang Governor.

He abandoned Dunhuang and fled to the northern mountain with his sons. Mengxun sent Suo

Yuanxu to act as Dunhuang Governor. Xu acted threatening and vicious, destitute of people's

loyalty. Locals Song Chengyi and Zhang Hong considering Xun has thoughtful administration in

the county, secretly sent people to invite him back.¹³⁶ In the ninth month, Xun led several

horsemen entering Dunhuang. Suo Xu fled east. Song Chengyi and some others elevated Xun to

be General Commanding the Troops and Liangzhou Prefect. Mengxun sent his son Dezheng to

lead ten thousand troops to attack Xun. Xun closed the gate and did not fight. Arriving the spring

of the fifth year, Mengxun led twenty thousand troops to attack Dunhuang, and left a letter to

Xun discoursing on the fortune of rising and falling. Xun did not answer. In the second month,

(Mengxun) opened up the dam in three sides of the city and had the water poured into the city.

Xun sent thousands of strong men to connect planks to form a bridge, secretly desiring to destroy

the dam. But all the people were captured by Mengxun.

¹³⁵ the *Jin shu* record Huaicheng 懷城 as Huaicheng 壞城 (Broken city). See the *Jin shu*, 129.

3199. It is highly likely that it is a typo in the transmitted *Jin shu*. Similar but more brief narrative of this event can be found in the *Jin shu* 87. 2271.

¹³⁶ The name of Song Chengyi also appears in the *Jin shu*, but it misses part of the name and the name became Song Cheng 宋承. See the *Jin shu* 87. 2271.

/7 將佐等勸恂曰，今日水弥盛，東軍來者相繼。雖/8 有熊武之士，決戰無所宜。遣使降，因以擊之。恂/9 遣使請降，遜不許。左長史宋承義，武衛/10 將軍張弘等開門降遜。恂自殺。其堤多毀/11 滅，唯東面北面其趾步存。

12 一所殿 六門 五架 高四尺東西十七步 南北八步

13 右在子城中近城南門。據西涼錄涼王李暠庚子/14 年建造此殿以聽政。至今見在。州司以為館。

His generals and assistants tried to convince Xun, saying, “Now the water is overflowing and the ones from the east army keep coming. Even if we have brave soldiers, there is no place for a final combat. It is better to send an envoy asking for surrender, then relying on the opportunity to attack them.” Xun sent envoys, requesting for surrender, but Xun (Mengxun) did not permit. The Left Administrator Song Chengyi, Militant General Zhang Hong and some others opened the gate to surrender. Xun committed suicide. Its dam was mostly destroyed, only in the east and north sides, the base remained paces.

One Royal Hall six gates, five beams, four *chi* (1.2m) tall, seventeen *bu* (2.5m) from east to west, eight *bu* (11m) from south to north.¹³⁷

Above, it is located close to the southern gate in the inner city. According to the *Western Liang Record*, the King of Liang, Li Gao, built this hall in the year of the Gengzi era (400-404) to listen to the governmental issues. It is still extant up to now. The prefecture ministers use it as an official guesthouse.

¹³⁷ The measurement of the hall is bizarre here. The hall is only 1.2 m tall, which is less than 4 feet. Normal people cannot even enter.

15 鹼鹵

16 右州界遼闊，沙磧至多，鹼鹵鹽澤約餘/17 大半。

18 三所鹽池水

19 東鹽池水

P.86/1 右在州東五十里。東西二百步，南北三里。其鹽/2 在水中自為塊片。人就水裏漉出曝乾並是/3 顆鹽。其味淡於河東鹽，東印形相似。

4 西鹽池水

5 右，俗号沙泉鹽。在州北一百一十七里。

Saline Soil

Above, the borderline of prefecture is vast. Sands and deserts are many. Saline soil and salt swamps cover over half.

Three Salt Lakes

East Salt Lake (modern Xindian 新店 Lake)

Above, it is located fifty *li* (26.5km) east of the prefectural seat. It occupies the area two hundred *bu* (300m) from east to west, three *li* (3km) from south to north. Its salt forms chunks and pieces in the water by itself. People filter it out from the water and dry it. All are salt. Its taste is lighter than the salt from Hedong, but the shape is similar.¹³⁸

West Salt Lake

Above, it is popularly called Sand Spring Salt. It is located hundred seventeen *li* (65km) north of the prefectural seat.

¹³⁸ Hedong salt refers to the salt produced from areas of Xiexian 解縣 and An'yi 安邑 of modern Shanxi 陝西. The second *dong* 東 is probably a mistake.

惣有四陂。每/6 陂二畝已下。時人於水中漉出，大者有馬牙。/7 其味極美，其色如雪，取者既眾，用之/8 無窮。

9 北鹽池水

10 右在州西北卅五里，東西九里，南北四里，其鹽不如/11 西池与州東鹽味同。

12 一所興胡泊 東西十九里 南北九里 深五尺

13 右，在州西北一百一十里。其水鹼苦，唯泉堪食。商/14 胡從玉門關道往還居止，因以為号。

In total it has four reservoirs, each of which is less than two *mu*.¹³⁹ People filter salt out from the water. The large ones have the size of horse teeth. Its taste is extremely good. Its color is like the snow. Although there are many people who take salt from the lake but it is not exhausted.

North Salt Lake

Above, it is located forty-five *li* (24km) northwest of the prefectural seat.¹⁴⁰ It occupies the area nine *li* (5km) from east to west, four *li* (2km) from south to north. Its salt does not taste the same as the west lake or the one from the east of the region.

One Xinghu Oasis¹⁴¹ it occupies nineteen *li* (10km) from east to west, nine *li* (5km) from south to north, five *chi* (1.5m) deep

Above, it is located hundred ten *li* (60km) northwest of the prefectural seat. Its water is salty and bitter, only the spring can be drunk. *Hu* merchants stay when they traveling back and forth from the Yumen pass road. Thus it is named.

¹³⁹ *Mu* is measurement for land sizes in ancient China. In the Tang, 240 *bu* equals 1 *mu*. That is to say, one *mu* equals to approximately 522 square meters, 5618 square feet. See Hu Ji, 39.

¹⁴⁰ P.2691 records a similar entry but the distance is recorded as 35 *li* instead of 45.

¹⁴¹ Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, “‘Shinko’ meigi kou” 「興胡」名義考, *Ikeuchi hakushi kanreki kinen toyoshi ronso* 池内博士還曆記念東洋史論叢 (Tōkyō: Zauhō Kankōkai 座右宝刊行会, 1940), 675-680.

15 十九所驛並廢

16 州城驛

17 右, 在州東二百步, 因州為名。東北去清泉驛卅里。

18 清泉驛

19 右, 在州東北卅里, 去橫澗驛十里。承前驛, 路在 P.88/1 瓜州常樂縣西南, 刺史李無虧以舊路石/2 磧山險迂曲近賊, 奏請近北安置。奉天授二年/3 五月十八日 敕移就北其驛置在神泉觀/4 莊側, 故名神泉驛。今為清泉戍置在驛傍, /5 因改為清泉驛。

Nineteen Post Stations, all abandoned¹⁴²

Zhoucheng Post Station

Above, it is located two hundred *bu* (300m) east of the prefectural seat. It was named after the prefecture. From northeast it is forty *li* (21km) away from the Qingquan Post Station.

Qingquan Post Station

Above, it is located forty *li* (21km) northeast of the prefectural seat, twenty *li* (11km) away from the Hengjian Post Station. In the past the postal route was located on the southwest of the Changle county of Guazhou. Prefect Li Wukui considering the mountain paths were winding, perilous and close to rebels, requested to relocate it close to the north. Following the order of the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Tianshou era (691), the post station was relocated north to the side of the compound of Shenquan Daoist Monastery. Thus, it was called Shenquan Post Station. Now since the Qingquan Garrison is located next to the post station, its name is changed to Qingquan Post Station.

¹⁴² Several studies have been done on the post stations appeared in this manuscript. See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, “Yumenguan zhi Anxi zhi yicheng yu jiedao” 玉門關至安西之驛程與捷道 in his *Tangdai jiaotong tukao* 唐代交通圖考, 2. 441-7. Li Bingcheng 李并成, “Tangdai Gua Sha er zhou jian yizhan kao” 唐代瓜沙二州間諸驛考, in Li Bingcheng, Li Chunyuan 李春元, *Gua Sha shidi yanjiu* 瓜沙史地研究 (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe 甘肅文化出版社, 1996), 131-46; and Y. Edmond Lien, “Reconstructing the Post Relay System of the Han Period”, in *History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, Antje Richter ed., (Leiden: Brill 2015): 17-52. See the appendix for the reconstructed map of these post stations.

6 橫澗驛

7 右，在州東北六十里。北去白亭驛廿里。刺史陳玄/8 珪為中間迂曲，奏請奉政聖元年十二月卅日/9 敕置。驛側有澗，因以為名。

10 白亭驛

11 右，在州東北八十里。東北長亭驛卅里。同前奉/12 敕移為置白亭烽下，因烽為号。

13 長亭驛

14 右，在州東北一百廿里。東去甘草驛廿五里。

Hengjian Post Station

Above, it is located sixty *li* (32km) northeast of the prefectural seat. It is twenty *li* (11km) north away from the Baiting Post Station. Due to the long and winding distance in between, Prefect Chen Xuanguai requested and was permitted to establish it under the order on the thirty day of the second month of the first year of the Zhengsheng era (695). There was a stream on the side of the post station, thus it was named.

Baiting Post Station

Above, it is located eighty *li* (43km) northeast of the prefectural seat. It is forty *li* (21km) northeast away from the Changting Post Station.¹⁴³ Like before, it was permitted under the imperial order to be relocated at bottom of the Baiting Beacon Tower. Thus, it was named after the beacon tower.

Changting Post Station

Above, it is located hundred twenty *li* (64km) northeast of the prefectural seat. It is twenty-five *li* (13.3km) east away from the Gancao Post Station.

¹⁴³ The word 去 must be missing before the 長亭, based on the pattern used here.

同前/15 奉敕移為置在長亭烽下，因烽為号。

16 甘草驛

17 右，在州東北一百卅五里。東南去階亭驛廿五/18 里。前刺史李無虧為中間路遠兼有沙鹵/19 奏請奉敕置。驛側有甘草，因以為号。

P.90/1 階亭驛

2 右，在州東一百七十里，東去瓜州常樂驛/3 卅里。同前奉敕移為置在階亭烽/4 側，因烽為号。

Like previously, it was permitted with the imperial order to be relocated at the bottom of Changting Beacon Tower, and thus it was named after the beacon tower.

Gancao Post Station

Above, it is located hundred forty-five *li* (24km) northeast of the prefectural seat. It is twenty-five *li* (14km) southeast away from the Jieting Post Station. Former prefect Li Wukui, for the reason that the route in between was far and had many sands and salt-flats, requested and was permitted to establish it. There were sweet grass growing on the side of the post, thus it was named.

Jieting Post Station

Above, it is located hundred seventy *li* east of the prefectural seat. It is thirty *li* east away from the Changle Post Station of Guazhou. The same as previously, it was permitted with imperial order to move to the side of Jieting Beacon Tower, thus it was named after the beacon tower.

5 新井驛 廣顯驛 烏山驛 已上驛瓜州提

6 右，在州東北二百廿七里二百步。瓜州常樂界。/7 同前奉敕置。遣沙州百姓越界供。奉
/8 如意元(年)四月三日敕移就稍竿道/9 行。至證聖元年正月十四日/10 敕為沙州遭賊少草
運轉極難，稍竿道/11 停，改於第五道來往。又奉今年二月廿七/12 日敕第五道中惣置十驛
擬供/13 客使等食，付王孝傑並瓜州沙州審/14 更檢問。令瓜州捉三驛，沙州捉四驛。件
/15 檢瓜州驛數如前。

Xinjing Post Station Guangxian Post Station Wushan Post Station the above post stations are
administrated by Guazhou

Above, the ones are located two hundred twenty-seven *li* and two hundred *bu* (122km) northeast of the prefectural seat, within the border the Changle county of Guazhou. The same as previously, they was established by imperial order. The court asked the people of Shazhou to provide provisions crossing the border. Based on the order received on the third day of the fourth month of the first year of the Ruyi era (692), travel route was changed to the Shuogan Road. On the fourteen day of the first month of the first year of the Zhengsheng era, for Shazhou suffered bandits and lacked grass, and transportation became extremely difficult, the court ordered to stop using the Shuogan Road, but changed the travel route by using the Fifth Road.¹⁴⁴ Again, based on the order of the twenty-seven day of the second month of this year, on the Fifth Road ten post stations in total would be established, offering guest envoys food. (The plan) was entrusted to Wang Xiaojie, officials of Guazhou and Shazhou to examine and supervise. It was ordered that Guazhou was in charge of three post stations and Shazhou was in charge of four post stations. The number of post stations that Guazhou was in charge was the same as before.

¹⁴⁴ For the locations of the roads, also see Chen Guocan 陳國燦, “Tang Wudai Dunhuang si chu daolu kao”唐五代敦煌四出道路考, in his *Dunhuang Turufan chutu wenxian shishi lunji* 吐魯番敦煌出土文獻史事論集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), 561-82.

16 雙泉驛

17 右, 在州東北四百七十七里二百六十步, 瓜/18 州常樂縣界。唐儀鳳三年閏十月, 奉/19 敕移稍竿道, 就第五道莫賀延磧 P.92/1 置, 沙州百姓越界捉。奉如意元年/2 四月三日敕移就稍竿道行。至/3 證聖元年正月十四日敕為沙州/4 遭賊, 改為第五道來往。南去瓜州常樂/5 縣界烏山驛六十九里二百六十步。北去/6 第五驛六十里八十步。

7 第五驛

8 右, 在州東北五百一十一里卅步。同前奉/9 敕置。沙州百姓越界捉。南去雙泉/10 驛六十四里八十步。北去冷泉驛六十八里/11 卅步。

Shuangquan Post Station

Above, it is located two hundred seventy-seven *li* and two hundred sixty *bu* (150km) northeast of the 稍, within the border the Changle county of Guazhou. On the tenth month of the third year of the Yifeng era of the Tang (678), it was established at the Moheyan desert of the Fifth Road according to the order. People of Shazhou provided provisions crossing the border. Based on the order received on the third day of the fourth month of the first year of the Ruyi era (692), travel route was changed to the Shuogan Road. On the fourteen day of the first month of the first year of Zhengsheng era, for Shazhou suffered bandits, the court ordered to change the travel route to the Fifth Road. The post station is sixty-nine *li* and two hundred sixty *bu* (390m) south away from the Wushan Post Station in the Changle county of Guazhou. It is sixty *li* and eighty *bu* (32km) north away from the Diwu Post Station.

Diwu post

Above, it is located five hundred eleven *li* and forty *bu* (270km) northeast of the prefectural seat. The same as previously, it was established according to the imperial order. Shazhou commoners provided provisions crossing the border. It is sixty-four *li* and eighty *bu* (34km) south away from the Shuangquan Post Station and sixty-eight *li* and thirty *bu* (36km) north away from the Lengquan Post Station.

12 冷泉驛

13 右，在州東北五百七十九里一百七十步。同前/14 奉敕置沙州百姓越界捉。南去第/15 五驛六十八里卅步，北去胡桐驛八十四里。

16 胡桐驛

17 右，在州東北六百六十三里七十步。同前奉/18 敕置。沙州百姓越界捉。南去冷泉驛八十四/19 里，北去伊州柔遠縣界赤崖驛八十里。

P.93/1 東泉驛

2 右，在州東卅里。東去其頭驛廿五里。

Lengquan Post Station

Above, it is located five hundred seventy-nine *li* and hundred seventy *bu* (310km) northeast of the prefectural seat. The same as previously, it was established according to the imperial order. Shazhou commoners provided provisions crossing the border. It is sixty-eight *li* and thirty *bu* (36km) south away from the Diwu Post Station and eighty-four *li* (45km) north away from the Hutong Post Station.

Hutong Post Station

Above, it is located six hundred sixty-three *li* and seventy *bu* (360km) northeast of the prefectural seat. The same as previously, it was established according to the imperial order. Shazhou commoners provided provisions crossing the border. It is eighty-four *li* (45km) south away from the Lengquan Post Station and eighty *li* (43km) north away from the Chiya Post Station in the Rouyuan county of Yizhou.

Dongquan Post Station

Above, it is located forty *li* (21km) east of the prefectural seat. It is twenty-five *li* (14km) east away from the Qitou Post Station.

刺史/3 李無虧為其路山險迂曲，奏請就北安置/4 奉天授二年五月十八日敕，移就北。其/5 驛遂廢。

6 其頭驛

7 右，在州東六十五里。西去東泉驛廿五里，東去/8 懸泉驛八十里。同前奉敕移廢。

9 懸泉驛

10 右，在州東一百卅五里。舊是山南空谷驛。唐/11 永淳二年錄奏，奉敕移就山北懸/12 泉谷置。西去其頭驛八十里，東去魚泉/13 驛卅里。同前奉敕移廢。

Prefect Li Wukui, for the reason that the mountain passes were winding and perilous, requested to relocate north. Receiving the order on the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of the Tianshou era, the post station was relocated north. This post station was then abandoned.

Qitou Post Station

Above, it is located sixty-five *li* (35km) east of the prefectural seat. It is twenty-five *li* (14km) west away from the Dongquan Post Station, and eighty *li* (43km) east away from the Xuanquan Post Station. The same as previously, it was relocated and abandoned according to the imperial order.

Xuanquan Post Station

Above, it is located hundred forty-five *li* (77km) east of the prefectural seat. It used to be Konggu Post Station in the south side of a mountain. In the second year of the Yongchun era of the Tang (683) (the local governor) reported, and received the order to relocate the station to the north side of a mountain, into the Xuanquan valley. It is eighty *li* (43km) west away from the Qitou Post Station, and forty *li* east away from the Yuquan Post Station. The same as previously, it was relocated and abandoned according to the imperial order.

14 魚泉驛

15 右，唐咸亨四年刺史李祖隆奏奉/16 敕置。去州東一百八十五里，東去瓜州常樂/17 卅五里。西去懸泉驛卅里。同前奏/18 敕移廢。

19 无窮驛

P.95/1 右，在州東一百里，在无窮山置。西去其頭驛卅/2 五里。東去空谷驛卅里。唐永淳二年奏移就/3 北行，其驛遂廢。

4 空谷驛

5 右，去州東一百卅里，在空谷山南置。西去无窮/6 驛卅里，東去黃谷驛卅里。為同前移道，其/7 驛遂廢。

Yuquan Post Station

Above, on the fourth year of the Xianheng era of the Tang (673), Prefect Li Zulong reported and received order to establish it. It is hundred eight-five *li* (98km) east away from the prefectural seat. It is forty-five *li* (25km) east away from Changle of Guazhou and forty *li* (21km) west away from the Xuanquan Post Station. The same as previously, it was relocated and abandoned according to the imperial order.

Wuqiong Post Station

Above, it is located hundred *li* (53km) east of the prefectural seat, and established in the Wuqiong Mountain. It is thirty-five *li* (19km) west away from the Qitou Post Station and thirty *li* (16km) east away from the Konggu Post Station. In the second year of the Yongchun era, the route was reported to be moved north and thus the post station was abandoned.

Konggu Post Station

Above, it is hundred thirty *li* (70km) east away from the prefectural seat and is established in the south side of Konggu Mountain. It is thirty *li* (16km) west away from the Wuqiong Post Station and thirty *li* east away from the Huanggu Post Station.

為同前移道，其/7 驛遂廢。

8 黃谷驛

9 右，去州東一百七十里，東去魚泉驛廿五里。為/10 同前移道，其驛遂廢。

11 州學

12 右，在城內。在州西三百步。其學院內東廂有先/13 聖太師。廟堂內有素先聖及先師，顏子/14 之像。春秋二時奠祭。

For the same reason of moving the route as previously mentioned, the post station was abandoned.

Huanggu Post Station

Above, it is hundred seventy *li* (90km) east away from the prefectural seat. It is twenty-five *li* (14km) east away from the Yuquan Post Station. For the same reason of moving the route as previously mentioned, the post station was abandoned.

Prefecture School

Above, it is located inside of the city. It is three hundred *bu* (450m) west of the government office. On the east wing inside of the school, there is a statue of Confucius.¹⁴⁵ In the hall, there are statues of Confucius and Master Yanzi.¹⁴⁶ Sacrifices are offered twice a year in the spring and autumn.

¹⁴⁵ According to the *Tang huiyao*, Confucius was established as Ancient Sage (*xiansheng* 先聖) and Yan Hui was established as Ancient Master (*xianshi* 先師) in the second year of the Zhenguan era (628). Later in the first year of the Qianfeng era, Confucius was further bestowed the title of Grand Master (*taishi* 太師). The *Tang huiyao* 35. 742-4.

¹⁴⁶ Yanzi (521BC-481BC), whose name is Hui 回, is a famous disciple of Confucius for having great virtue and studying hard.

15 縣學

16 右，在州學西，連院。其院中東廂有先聖太/17 師， 廟堂內有素先聖及先師顏子之像。
/18 春秋二時奠祭。

19 醫學

P.97/1 右，在州學院內，於北牆別構房宇安置。

2 二所社稷壇

3 州社稷壇各一 高四尺 周迴各廿四步

4 右，在州城南六十步，春秋二時奠祭。

County School

Above, it is located in the west of the prefecture school. Their compounds are connected. On the east wing inside of the compound there is a statue of Confucius. In the hall, there are statues of Confucius and Master Yanzi. Sacrifices are offered twice a year in the spring and autumn.

Medical School

Above, it is located inside of the prefecture school. It is established by constructing some other buildings against the northern wall.

Two Alters for the Spirits of Land and Grain

Prefecture Alters for the Spirits of Land and Grain, one for each, four *chi* (1.2m) tall, each twenty-four *bu* (40m) in circumference

Above, they are located sixty *bu* (90m) west of the prefectural seat. Sacrifices are offered twice a year in the spring and autumn.

5 燉煌縣社稷壇各一 高四尺 周迴各廿四步

6 右, 在州城西一里, 春秋二時奠祭。

7 四所雜神

8 土地神

9 右, 在州南一里, 立舍畫神主。境內有災患/10 不安, 因以祈焉, 不知起在何代。

11 風伯神

12 右, 在州西北五十步, 立舍畫神主。境內風不調, /13 因即祈焉。不知起在何代。

Dunhuang County Alters for the Spirits of Land and Grain, one for each, four *chi* (1.2m) tall, each twenty-four *bu* (40m) in circumference

Above, they are located one *li* (530m) west of the prefectural seat. Sacrifices are offered twice a year in the spring and autumn.

Four Shrines for Various Spirits

Shrine for the local Guardian

Above, it is located one *li* (530m) south of the prefectural seat. The quarters were established and the host of god was carved. If there are the disasters and instability in the prefecture, one can pray here. When it started is unknown.

Shrine for the spirit of Wind

Above, it is located fifty *bu* (75m) northwest of the prefectural seat. The quarters were established and the host of god was carved. If there is irregular wind in the prefecture, then one can pray here. When it started is unknown.

14 雨師神

15 右，在州東二里，立舍畫神主。境內亢旱，因即祈/16 焉。不知起在何代。

17 祆神

18 右，在州東一里，立舍畫神主。忽有廿龕，其院周迴/19 一百步。

P.99/1 一所異怪

2 老父投書

3 右，按十六國春秋，北凉永和三年正月有一老父/4 見於城東門上，投書於地，忽然不見。

Shrine for the Spirit of Rain

Above, it is located two *li* (1km) east of the prefectural seat. The quarters were established and the host of god was carved. If there is a long-lasting drought in the prefecture, then one can pray here. When it started is unknown.

Shrine for the *xian* (Mazdaeism) religion¹⁴⁷

Above, it is located one *li* (530m) east of the regional capital. The quarters were established and the host of god was carved. In total, there are twenty niches. When it started is unknown.

One Strange Thing

An old man sends a letter¹⁴⁸

Above, according to the *Shiliu guo Chunqiu*, in the first month of the third year of the Yonghe era of the Northern Liang (435), there was an old man who showed up at the eastern city gate. He threw a letter to the ground and suddenly disappeared.

¹⁴⁷ There have been numerous studies on the *xian* religion and the Sogdian people who worshiped this religion. For English scholarship, see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "A Sogdian Colony in Inner Mongolia." *T'oung Pao* 41, nos. 4-5 (Leiden, 1952), 317-356. Frantz Grenet and Zhang Guangda, "The Last Refuge of the Sogdian Religion: Dunhuang in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the Asian Institute, New Series* 10 (1996), 175-86. Étienne De la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders*, Translated by James Ward, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005).

¹⁴⁸ The similar but much briefer version about the mysterious notes from an old man can be found in the *Wei shu* 99. 2208 and *Bei shi* 93. 3084, but no details about the consultation with the minister is recorded.

書一紙八/5 字滿之，其文曰：涼王卅年若七年。涼王且渠/6 茂虔訪於奉常張體順。順曰：昔虢之將亡，神/7 降于莘。此老父之見，國之休祥。深願陛下尅念/8 脩政以副卅之慶，若盤于遊田，荒于酒色，臣/9 恐七年將有大變。虔不悅，率為魏所滅。

10 二所廟

11 先王廟

12 右，在州西八里。西涼錄涼王李暠謚父為涼簡公，/13 於此立廟，因号先王廟。其院周迴三百五十步，/14 高一丈五尺。

There were eight characters fulfill the piece of paper. It said: “The king of Liang enjoys thirty years or seven years.” The King of Liang, Juqu Maoqian visited Zhang Tishun.¹⁴⁹ Shun said, “In the past when the state of Guo was about to decline, the spirit descended at the place of Shen.¹⁵⁰ The appearance of this old man was probably an inauspicious sign of the state. I deeply wish you, the highness, can overcome your desires to deliver the celebration of thirty years. If you are amused by hunting or indulge yourself in fine wine and ladies, I am afraid there is going to be a big change in the seventh year.” Qian was displeased. Consequently, it was eliminated by the state of Wei.

Two Temples

The Temple of the Former King

Above, it is located eight *li* west of the prefectural seat. The *Western Liang Records* says that the King of Liang, Li Gao posthumously elevated his father to be Duke Jian of the Liang and established the temple here. Thus it is called the temple of the Former King. Its compound is three hundred and fifty *bu* (370m) in circumference, one *zhang* and five *chi* (5m) in height.

¹⁴⁹ The same story is also cited in the *Taiping yulan* 124. 603, but the name of the minister is recorded as Zhang Zhen 張慎. The name Zhang Tishun also appears in the “Biography of Li Gao” in the *Jin shu*. It is unclear if it refers to the same person. see *Jin shu* 87. 2261.

¹⁵⁰ The story of a spirit descended at Shen appears in the *Zuo zhuan*, 251-2.

次東有一廟，是髡子譚讓恂等/15 廟，周迴三百五十步，高一丈五尺，号曰李廟。/16 屋宇除毀，階牆尚存。

17 孟廟

18 右，在州西五里。按西涼錄神[璽]二年燉煌太守趙郡/19 孟敏為沙洲刺史。卒官，葬於此。其廟周迴三百步，P.101/1 高一丈三尺。

2 一所冢

3 闕冢

4 右，在州東廿里。闕駟祖倥之冢也。後魏書云：駟/5 字玄陰，燉煌人也。

In the east next to it there is another temple, which is the temple of Gao's sons, Tan, Rang and Xun and so on. This temple is three hundred fifty *bu* (370m) in circumference, one *zhang* and five *chi* (5m) in height. It is called the Li Temple. The houses have been destroyed, but only the stairs and walls still remain.

Meng's Temple

Above, it is located five *li* west of the prefectural seat. According to the *Western Liang Records*, in the second year of the Shenxi era (398), Dunhuang governor Meng Min who was originally from Zhao Commandery became Shazhou prefect.¹⁵¹ He died on his post and was buried here. The temple is three hundred *bu* (45m) in circumference, one *zhang* and three *chi* (4m) in height.

One Tomb

Gan's Tomb

Above, it is located twenty *li* east of the prefectural seat. It is the tomb of Gan Yin's grandfather Qiong. The *Hou Wei shu* records, Yin, whose *zi* was Xuanyin, was a native of Dunhuang.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ There is a character missing after the word *shen* 神. Luo Zhenyu suggests it must be the *xi* 璽 considering the time when Meng Min served.

¹⁵² Gan Yin has a biography in the *Wei shu* 52. 1159-60.

祖儉有名於西土。父玫為一時/6 秀士，官至會稽合(令)。其冢高三丈五尺，周迴/7 卅五步。

8 三所堂

9 嘉納堂

10 右，按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子五年興立泮/11 宮，增高門學生五百人。起嘉納堂於後園。
/12 圖讚所志。其堂毀除，其階尚存。其地在子/13 城東北羅城中。今為效穀府。

His father Mei was a talented and virtuous scholar.¹⁵³ He reached the position as high as the governor of Kuaiji (modern Yumen 玉門, Gansu).¹⁵⁴ His tomb is three *zhang* and five *chi* (11m) tall, thirty-five *bu* (55m) in circumference.

Three Halls

Jia'na Hall

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, the King of Liang, Li Gao built Lipan Palace in the fifth year of the Gengzi era (404), increasing the number of highly educated students to five hundreds. He then erected the Jiana Hall at the backyard.

It was recorded in the illustration and elegies.¹⁵⁵ The hall has been destroyed, but only the stairs remain. The place is located within the inner city in the northeast of the city. It is now the Xiaogufu.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ In Gan's biography in the *Wei shu*, his father's name is recorded as *wen* 玫.

¹⁵⁴ There is no position called *he* 合. Based on the *Wei shu* record, the character 合 is a graphic mistake for *ling* 令.

¹⁵⁵ The same thing is also recorded in the *Jin shu* 87. 2259, and the *Shiliu guo chunqiu jibu* 92.635. So does the following two halls built by Li Gao.

¹⁵⁶ *Xiaogufu* is a military office located in Shazhou. In total, there were three offices established in Shazhou during the early and high Tang. See the "Dili zhi" of the *Xin Tang shu*, 40. 1045.

14 靖恭堂

15 右，按西涼錄涼王李高庚子三年於西門外/16 臨水起堂以議朝政，閱武事。今堂其尚存，/17 餘並破毀。

18 謙德堂

19 右，按西涼錄王李暲建以聽政。其堂在子 P.103/1 城中恭德殿南。今並除毀。

2 一所土河

Jinggong Hall

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, in the third year of the Gengzi era (402), the King of Liang, Li Gao built the hall outside of the western gate, overlooking the water, to discuss the court business and examine the military affairs.¹⁵⁷ Now the foundation of the hall still exists, but the rest are all destroyed.

Qiande Hall

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, the King, Li Gao built the hall to listen to the governmental affairs. The hall is located south of the Gongde Ceremonial Hall inside of the inner city. Now it has been destroyed.

One Warning Trench¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ The *Jin shu* biography records the same event, but the location of the hall is said to be outside of the southern gate, instead of the western gate. See the *Jin shu* 87. 2259. According to Li Zhengyu, the western gate should be the right location since the hall was located in the south of the river. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 93-4.

¹⁵⁸ The phrase *tuhe* 土河 is a military technical term. A trench was dug up at a strategically important place such as a pass in between mountains, and then fine sands and dirt were filled back in. If enemy troops crossed the trench, then their traces could be observed and therefore the number of enemies could be found out. See the *Tong dian*, 152. 801c.

3 右，周迴州境。

東至磧口亭，去州五百一十里一/4 百步。西至白山烽，去州卅里。南至沙山七里。/5 北去神威烽，去州卅七里。漢武帝元鼎六年立/6 以為匈奴禁限。西涼王李暠建初十一年又/7 修立以防奸寇至。隨開皇十六年廢。

8 四所古城

9 古阿倉城 周迴一百八十步

10 右，在州西北二百卅二里。俗号阿倉城，莫知時代。/11 其城頽毀，其趾猶存。

Above, it circles around the prefecture borderline. In the east, it reaches the Jikou ting, five hundred ten *li* and hundred *bu* (271km) away from the prefectural seat.¹⁵⁹ In the west, it reaches the Baishan Beacon Tower, thirty *li* (16km) away from the prefectural seat. In the south, it is seven *li* (4km) to arrive the Sha Mountain. In the north it reaches Shenwei Beacon Tower, thirty-seven *li* (20km) away from the prefectural seat. In the sixth year of Yuanding era of the Emperor Wu of the Han (111BC), it was established to block the Xiongnu. In the eleventh year of the Jianchu era (415), the King of the Western Liang, Li Gao, refurbished it to prevent bandits and rebels. It was abandoned in the sixteenth year of the Kaihuang era of the Sui (596).

Four Ancient Cities

Ancient Acang cheng¹⁶⁰ one hundred eighty *bu* (270m) in circumference

Above, it is located two hundred forty-five *li* (130km) northwest of the prefectural seat. It is commonly called Acang cheng. No one knows its age. The city is decayed and destroyed. Its foundation still remains.

¹⁵⁹ Li Zhengyu suspects the number of distance for the east border is mistaken since 510 *li* distance would be beyond the border of Shazhou, even Guazhou. He suggests it might be a mistake of 51 *li*. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 95.

¹⁶⁰ Both P.2691 and S.5448 record this place name as Hecang cheng 河倉城. Stein located the city as in modern Dafangpancheng 大方盤城, See Stein, Serindia, 2.19.7 Li Zhengyu disagrees. See Li, “Dunhuang Dafangpancheng ji Hecangcheng xin kao” 敦煌大方盤城及河倉城新考, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 4 (1991), 72-80. More recently Dunhuang museum identifies a newly discovered city remains to be the Hecang cheng, see Li Yanyun 李岩云, “Dunhuang Hecang chengzhi kao” 敦煌河倉城址考, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 6 (2013), 86-92.

12 古效穀城 周迴五百步

13 右, 在州東北卅里。是漢時效穀縣。本是漁澤障。14 桑欽說漢武孝元封六年, 濟南崔意不為/15 漁澤都尉, 教人力田以勤效得穀, 因立為縣/16 名焉。後秦苻堅建安廿一年為酒泉郡人黃花/17 攻破, 遂即廢壞。今北面有頽其數十步。

Ancient Xiaogu cheng, five hundred *bu* (740m) in circumference¹⁶¹

Above, it is located thirty *li* (16km) northeast of the prefectural seat. It is the Xiaogu county of the Han. It was originally Yuze border town. Sang Qin says, in the sixth year of the Yuanfeng era of the Emperor Xiaowu of the Han (105BC), Cui Yibu of Jinan was the Commandant of Yuze.¹⁶² He taught people to work on the fields and gained grains by hardworking, thus it is established as the name of the county.¹⁶³ In the twenty-first year of the Jianyuan era of Fu Jian of the Later Qin, the city was conquered by Huang Hua from Jiuquan and was then abandoned and destroyed.¹⁶⁴ The northern side now still have decayed foundation few dozen *bu* left.

¹⁶¹ For the study of the location of the Xiaogu city, see Li Bingcheng, “Han Dunhuang jun xiaogu xiancheng kao” 漢敦煌郡效穀縣城考, in *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 1 (1991), 57-62.

¹⁶² Li Zhengyu suggests that the position of Yuze duwei, is a mistake for Yuze wei 漁澤尉. *Wei* was a position ranking below *duwei*. The fact that various archaeological discoveries such as the seals of *Yuze wei* have been discovered supports the correction. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 97.

¹⁶³ San Qin’s words are also recorded in Yan Shigu’s commentaries to the “Dili zhi” of the *Han shu* 28b. 1615. But the name Cui Yibu is recorded as Cui Buyi 崔不意 in Yan’s commentary.

¹⁶⁴ During Fu Jian’s period, there is no reign title of Jian’an 建安. Luo Zhenyu thus suggests it is a mistake for the Jianyuan 建元. Wang Zhongluo also did the same correction. See Wang, 132. But Zheng Binglin suggests that the mistake here lies in the description of people involved. Fu Jian of the Late Qin must be Emperor Xian of the Later Han, while Huang Hua must be Huang Hua 黃華, according to the record from the *San guo zhi*, which states a rebellion led by Huang Hua 黃華 of Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhang Jin 張進 of Zhangye 張掖. See Zheng Binglin, 1989: 29-30.

18 古長城 高八尺 其闊一丈 上闊四尺

19 右, 在州北六十三里, 至階亭烽一百八十里。入瓜州 P.105/1 常樂縣界。西至曲澤烽二百一十二里。正西入/2 磧接石城界。按匈奴傳漢武帝西通月氏、/3 大夏, 又以公主妻烏孫王以分匈奴西方。於烏/4 孫北為塞, 以益廣因。漢元帝竟寧元年/5 隻應對詞曰: 孝武出軍征伐, 建塞起亭, /6 遂築外城, 設屯戍以守之。即此長城也。

Ancient Great Wall eight *chi* (2.5m) tall, the bottom is one *zhang* (0.3m) wide and the top is four *chi* (1.2m) wide

Above, it is located sixty-three *li* (33km) north of the prefectural seat. It is hundred eighty *li* (100km) to Jieting Beacon Tower. It goes all the way into the border of Changle County of Guazhou. In the west it is two hundred twelve *li* (113km) to Qüze Beacon Tower. Directly west, it enters the desert and connects to the border of Shicheng. According to the “Xiongnu zhuan,” Emperor Wu of the Han established communications in the west with Yuezhi and Daxia. He also married a princess to a king of the Wusun to separate the Xiongnu from the western regions. He built a fortress on the north of the Wusun to benefit and expand fields.¹⁶⁵ In the first year of the Jingning era of Emperor Yuan of the Han, Zhi Ying responded, saying, Emperor Xiaowu launched a punitive attack. He built a fortress and erected postal stations. Then he built outer cities to establish a garrison to guard it. It is this great wall.

¹⁶⁵ The “Xiongnu zhuan” of the *Han shu* records similar words but uses the phrase 北益廣田 (north to benefit and expand fields). It is likely that the character 因 here is a graphic error for *tian* 田. See the *Han shu* 94a. 3773.

7 古塞城

8 右，周迴州境，東在城東卅五里，西在城卅五里，/9 南在州城南七里，北在州城北五里。據漢書，武/10 帝元鼎六年將軍趙破奴出合(令)居析酒/11 泉，置燉煌郡。此即關土疆，立城郭，在/12 漢武帝時。又元帝竟寧單于來朝，/13 上書願保塞和親，請罷邊戍。郎中隻/14 應以為不可，曰：孝武出軍征伐，建塞徼，起/15 亭燧，築外城，設屯戍以等守之，邊境少安。/16 起塞已來，百有餘年。據此詞即元鼎六/17 年築，至西涼王李暉建初十一年又修以/18 備南羌北虜。其城破壞，其趾見存。

Ancient Fortress Wall

Above, it circles the borderline of the prefecture. In the east it is located forty-five *li* (24km) east of the city. In the west, it is forty-five *li* (24km) west of the city. In the south it is seven *li* (4km) south of the prefectural seat. In the north, it is five *li* (3km) north of the city. According to the *Han shu*, in the sixth year of the Yuanding era of Emperor Wu, general Zhao Ponu left Lingju, split off Jiuquan and established Dunhuang county.¹⁶⁶ This was [when the Han empire] expanded its territory and established fortified cities during the time of Emperor Wu of the Han. Again, during the Jingning era of Emperor Yuan (33BC), the *chanyu* came to pay tribute, and submitted a letter wishing to protect the borders, establishing a marriage alliance, and requesting to remove the garrison. The place gentlemen Zhi Ying considered this impermissible, said, “Emperor Xiaowu dispatched army to attack, established fortresses and defense lines, erected postal stations and watchtowers, built outer city walls, and set up garrisons to protect accordingly. The frontier became relatively stable. Since the initiation of the fortresses, it has been over hundred years.¹⁶⁷ According to this statement, the wall was built in the sixth year of the Yuanding era. By the eleventh year of the Jianchu era, the King of the Western Liang, Li Gao refurbished it to protect against Southern Qiang and the northern barbarians. The fortress has been destroyed, but the foundation still exists.

¹⁶⁶ The character 合 is likely a mistake for 令. See the *Han shu* 6. 189.

¹⁶⁷ These words are also recorded in the “Xiongnu zhuan” of the *Han shu*, but the minister who made the suggestion is recorded to be Hou Ying 侯應. See the *Han shu* 94b. 3803.

19 張芝墨池 在縣東北一里效穀府東南五十步

P.107/1 右，後漢獻帝時前件人於此池學書。其池盡/2 墨。書絕世。天下名傳。書絕世。天下名傳。因茲王羲之醵書論/3 云，臨池學書，池水盡墨，好之絕倫，吾弗/4 及也。又草書出自張芝，時人謂之聖。其池/5 年代既遠，並磨滅。古老相傳，池在前件所。

Zhang Zhi Ink Pond¹⁶⁸ Located one *li* (530m) northeast of the county city, fifty *bu* (75m) southeast of the Xiaogu fu.

Above, the person previously mentioned practiced calligraphy by this pond during the time of Emperor Xian of the Later Han. The pond became completely inky black. His calligraphy was unsurpassed in the world, and around the whole world, his reputation was known. For this reason, Wang Xizhi in his *Po shu lun* says, “He practiced calligraphy by the pond until the pond became black. (He) enjoyed calligraphy so much that I cannot compare with him.”¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, cursive script originated with Zhang Zhi, and his contemporaries called him Sage. His pond is far back in time, and the pond has disappeared. From ancient times, stories have been transmitted down that the pond was located at the previously mentioned location.

¹⁶⁸ Similar content to this entry can be found in Dunhuang manuscript P.3721, which is also referred to as *Guasha liangjun biannian* 瓜沙兩郡編年 (the Chronology of the Two Commanderies Guazhou and Shazhou).

¹⁶⁹ The work *Po shu lun* is not recorded in transmitted records. Wang Xizhi’s biography in the *Jin shu* records that Wang sent out a letter with the following words: “Zhang Zhi practiced calligraphy by the pond, and the pond became completely inky black.” Recently several copies of a work that is referred to as *Shang xiang Huang Qi tie* 尚想黃綺帖 are discovered among Dunhuang manuscripts. Most copies from Dunhuang are the copies students made to practice calligraphy. This work contains sentences match the ones cited here as the *Po shu lun*. Thus scholars believe that *Po shu lun* and the *Shang xiang Huang Qi tie* is the same work. See Li Zhengyu, 1998, 103. As for the manuscripts of *Shang xiang Huang Qi tie*, see Rong Xinjiang, “*Lanting xu yu Shang xiang Huang Qi tie zai Xiyu de liuchuan*” 《蘭亭序》與《尚想黃綺帖》在西域的流傳, 2011 nian *Lanting guoji xushu yantaohui lunwenji* 2011 年蘭亭國際學術研討會論文集, ed. by Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院 (Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan, 2011), 20-27.

/6 去開元二年九月正議大夫使持節沙州諸軍/7 事行沙州刺史兼豆盧使上柱國杜楚臣赴/8 任。尋墳典，文武俱明訪，睹此池未獲，安惜。至/9 四年六月燉煌縣令趙智本到任。其令博覽/10 經史，通達九經，尋諸古典，委張芝索靖/11 俱是燉煌人，各檢古跡，具知處所。

In the second year of the Kaiyuan era of Emperor Xuanzong (714), in the ninth month, Du Chuchen, who was the grand master for roper consultation, commissioned with extraordinary powers of various military actions of Shazhou, acting prefect of Shazhou, concurring military commander of the Doulu Army, Supreme Pillar of State, took up his position.¹⁷⁰ He searched in ancient classics and sent his military and civil assistants to locate the place, wanting to see the pond but did not find it. Reaching the fourth year of Kaiyuan reign period (716), in the sixth month, the district magistrate of Dunhuang Zhao Zhiben took up his position.¹⁷¹ This magistrate had read widely in the classics and history and was well versed in the nine classics. He looked through ancient texts, following the fact that both Zhang Zhi and Suo Jing were natives of Dunhuang.¹⁷² He inspected the historical sites for each of them, and completely knew where all the places were located.

¹⁷⁰ Hucker explains that the word “jian” 兼 is used when an official concurrently hold two principal offices or be responsible for a function unrelated to his principal office or be assigned some other additional function. Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 2008), 36. Recently studies also reveal it could be used in Tang bureaucratic system to indicate adding on positions “jiaguan” without any actual work. See Lai Ruihe 賴瑞和, *Tangdai Zhongceng wenguan* 唐代中層文官 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi 聯經出版事業公司, 2008), 73-82. As for the explanation of Tang bureaucratic titles and grades, see Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, tr. P.A. Herbert, “The T'ang System of Bureaucratic Titles and Grades” *Tang studies* 5 (1987), 25-31. Doulu Army was one of the eight armies in Hexi during the Tang, with its base at Dunhuang.

¹⁷¹ P.3721 records the name of the district magistrate as Zhao Yiben 趙義本.

¹⁷² The character *jing* 靖 is missing in the manuscript. Based on the P.2005 and the fact that Suo Jing is the only calligrapher from Dunhuang whose reputation is as well-known as Zhang Zhi and whose name is often mentioned together with Zhang Zhi's, it is safe to suggest that it is Suo Jing who is mentioned here.

其年九/12月，拓上件池中，得一石硯，長二尺，闊一尺五寸。/13 乃勸諸張族一十八代孫上柱國張仁會，上/14 柱國張履進，上柱國張懷欽，上柱國張仁會，/56 上柱國張楚珪，上柱國張嗣業，文舉人昭武/16 校尉甘州三水鎮將上柱國張大爽，學博士/17 上柱國張大忠，游擊將軍守右鈐衛西/18 州蒲昌府折衝都尉攝本衛中郎將充/19 于闐錄守使燉煌郡開國公張懷福，昭武校 P.109/1 尉前行西州岸頭果毅都尉上柱國張懷/2 立，

In the ninth month of the same year, inside of the inscribing pond, he obtained an ink stone. The stone was two *chi* (0.6m) long and one *chi* and five *cun* (0.45m) in width. He then persuaded various Zhang family members who are the eighteenth-generation descendants of Zhang clan, including the Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Renhui; Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Lüjin; Supreme Pillar of State Zhang Huaiqin; Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Renhui;¹⁷³ Supreme Pillar of State Zhang Chugui; Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Siye; Literary Recommender, Commandant of the Glorification of Military, General of Sanshuizhen of Ganzhou, Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Dashuang; Educational Official, Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Dazhong; Mobile Corps Commander, Probationary Right Commandant, Commander-in-chief of Assault-Resisting Garrison in Puchang fu of Xizhou, temporarily holding the Office of the Leader of Court Gentlemen, holding additional position of Overseers of the Guardian Commissioner of Yutian, Dynasty-founding Duke of Dunhuang, Zhang Huaifu;¹⁷⁴ Commandant of the Glorification of Military, former Acting Commander-in-chief of Courageous in the Antou Garrison of Xizhou, Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Huaili;¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Probably it is a mistake here since the name Zhang Renhui appears twice.

¹⁷⁴ Puchang fu is not recorded in the Tang dynastical record. Tang Zhangru found the earliest record of it dated to 661 from the manuscript discovered in Turfan. See Tang, “Tulufan wenshu zhong de xizhou fubing”吐魯番文書中所見的西州府兵, in *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu chutan erbian* 敦煌吐魯番文書初探二編 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe), 29-103. Luo Zhenyu collected it into his *Tang zhechongfu kaobu* 唐折冲府考補.

¹⁷⁵ The Antou Garrison is also not recorded in the Tang dynastical records. See Tang Zhangru, *ibid.*

壯武將軍行右屯衛岷州臨池府折衝都/3 尉上柱國張燕容，昭武校尉前西州岸/4 頭府左果毅都尉攝本府折衝充墨離/5 軍子將張履古等，令修葺墨池，中立廟/6 及張芝容。

- 7 監牧 羈縻州 江河淮濟 海溝
8 陂 宮 郡縣城 關鎗津濟
9 岳瀆 鐵 碑碣 名人
10 忠臣孝子 節婦列女 營壘 陵墓
11 臺榭郵亭鑛窟 帝王遊幸 名臣將所至屯田
12 右當縣並無前件色

Military Strengthen General, Acting Right Encampment Guard, Commander-in-chief of Assault-resisting Garrison in Linchi fu of Minzhou, Supreme Pillar of State, Zhang Yanrong;
Commandant of the Glorification of Military, former Left Commander-in-chief of Courageous in the Antou Garrison of Xizhou, temporarily holding an additional position of General of Moli Army, Zhang Lügu and so on.¹⁷⁶ And (he) ordered them to fix the ink pond, establishing a shrine and a statue of Zhang Zhi.

Shepards; Bridled prefectures; Yangzi River, Yellow River, Huai River, Ji River,
Reservoirs; Palaces; Cities of Commanderies and Counties; Passes, Guardian stations; Ferries;
Hubs.
Mountain peaks and large rivers; Iron; Steles; Famous figures;
Loyal vassals and filial sons; Military camps; Mausoleums
Pavilions, Post stations, Mine caves; Places where emperors and kings favored; Places where famous officials and generals toured, Military Colonies.
Above, the current county does not have those mentioned (in the list).

¹⁷⁶ Dunhuang manuscript fragment P.2625 records some of the prestige families in Dunhuang and there are thirteen columns about Zhang family remain. Apparently, Zhang was one of the great clan in Dunhuang.

13 廿祥瑞

14 同心梨

15 右，後涼錄呂光麟慶元年燉煌獻同心梨。

16 赤氣龍跡

17 右，按西涼錄李暠庚子元年赤氣起於後/18 園，龍跡見于小城。

Pavilions, Post stations, Mine caves; Places where emperors and kings favored; Places where famous officials and generals toured, Military Colonies.

Above, the current county does not have those mentioned (in the list).

Twenty Auspicious Omens

Pears with shared heart

Above, the *Later Liang Records* says in the first year of the Linqing era of Lü Guang, Dunhuang presented pears with shared heart. ¹⁷⁷

Red Fumes and Dragon Track¹⁷⁸

Above, according to the *Western Liang Record*, in the first year of the Gengzi era of Li Gao, red air arises from the backyard and tracks of a dragon was seen in the small city.

¹⁷⁷ According to the *Jin shu*, Lü Guang did not have a reign title of Linqing, but only Linjia 麟嘉. It is possible there is a mistake here. Also the similar event is recorded in the *Liangzhou ji* 涼州記 by Duan Guilong 段龜龍 that is cited in the *Taiping yulan* 969. 4297. It also gives the name of the prefect who presented the pear, Song Xin 宋歆.

¹⁷⁸ Similar record in Li Gao's biography in the *Jin shu* 87. 2258 and the *Shiliuguo chunqiu jibu* 92. 634. So does the following three entries.

19 白雀

P.111/1 右，按西涼錄涼王李暠庚子年白雀翔于/2 靖恭堂。

3 大石立

4 右，按西涼錄涼王庚子四年五月大石自立/5 於燉煌馬圈山。

6 瑞葛

7 右，西涼王庚子五年燉煌有葛緣木而生，作/8 黃鳥之色。沙州無葛，疑是瑞鳥二字相/9 似誤為葛焉。

White Sparrow

Above, according to the *Western Liang Record*, in the Gengzi reign period of the King of Liang,

Li Gao, white sparrows hovered around the Jinggong Hall.¹⁷⁹

Big Stone Stands up

Above, according to the *Western Liang Record*, in the fifth month of the fourth year of the

Gengzi era of the King of Liang, a big stone stood straight in the Maquan Mountain in Dunhuang.

Propitious Kudzu vine

Above, in the fifth year of the Gengzi era of the King of the Western Liang, there was a Chinese

moonseed growing along a tree, appearing to be the color of yellow birds. Shazhou has no kudzu

vine, I suspect it is due to the similarity of Propitious bird that it is mistaken to be Propitious

kudzu vine.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ The same thing is also recorded in the biography of Li Gao in the *Jin shu* 87. 2259.

¹⁸⁰ The compiler of the *tujing* suggests that the character 葛 is a graphic mistake of 鳥 due to the fact that Shazhou has no Kudzu vine. Li Zhengyu, however, points out that Shazhou had this type of plants. The *Shiliuguo chunqiu jibu* records the same thing, but it says “appearing to be the shape of yellow birds” (作黃鳥之形), see *Shiliuguo chunqiu jibu* 93. 635.

10 嘉禾 木連理 柳樹生楊枝

11 右，按西涼錄涼王庚子五年六月燉煌獻/12 嘉禾、木連理、柳樹生楊枝。

13 白狼 黑狐 黑雉

14 右，按西涼錄涼王庚子五年七月見於燉煌。

15 鳳凰

16 右，按西涼錄涼王建初元年正月鳳凰集/17 于效穀。

18 白龍

19 右，唐武德五年夏四月癸丑白龍見於平 P.113/1 河水邊，州司錄奏。

Finest Grain, Interconnecting Trees, Willows growing poplar branches

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, in the sixth month of the fifth year of the Gengzi era of the King of Liang, Dunhuang presented the finest grain, interconnecting trees and willows that grow poplar branches.

White wolf, Black fox, Black pheasant

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, appeared at Dunhuang in the seventh month of the fifth year of the Gengzi era of the King of the Liang.

Phoenix

Above, according to the *Western Liang Records*, in the first month of the first year of the Jianchu era of the King of the Liang, phoenix roosted at Xiaogu.

White Dragon

Above, on the Guichou day, in the summer fourth month of the fifth year of the Wude era of the Tang, a white dragon appeared by the side of the Ping River. The prefectural ministers recorded and reported it.

2 甘露

3 右，武德六年六月己酉甘露降，彌漫十五里。

4 木連理

5 右，唐調露元年於燉煌鄉董行端園/6 內木生連理。

7 甘露

8 右，唐垂拱四年董行靖園內甘露降於/9 樹上，垂流於地，晝夜不絕。

10 野穀

11 右，唐聖神皇帝垂拱四年野穀生/12 於武興川，其苗藜高二尺已上，四散似/13 蓬。

Sweet Dew

Above, on the Jiyou day of the sixth month of the sixth year of the Wude era, sweet dew fell, spreading fifteen *li*.

Interconnecting Trees

Above, in the first year of the Tiaolu era of the Tang, trees grew interconnected in the garden of Dong Xinduan in Dunhuang.

Sweet Dew

Above, in the fourth year of the Chuigong era of the Tang, at the garden of Dong Xinjing, sweet dew fell on the tree, flowing down to the ground and did not stop day or night.

Wild Grain

Above, in the fourth year of the Chuigong era of Shengshen Emperor of the Tang, wild grains grew in the Wuxingchuan. Its sprouts grew over two *chi* tall, spreading in four directions like a canopy.

其子如葵子，色黃赤，似葵子肥而/14 有脂，炒之作麩，甘而不熱。收得數百石， /15 以充軍糧。

16 瑞石

17 右，唐乾封元年有百姓嚴洪爽於城西李先/18 王廟側得上件石。其色翠碧。上有赤文，作/19 古字云，下代卅卜年七百。其表奏為上瑞，當 P.115/1 為封嶽，並天咸置寺觀，号為萬壽。此州/2 以得此瑞石，遂寺觀自号靈圖。

Its seeds were like sunflower seeds. The color is yellowish red. They were as fat as sunflower seeds and contained grease. When stir fry them to make parched grain, they are sweet and not hot.¹⁸¹ Several hundred *dan* was collected to supplement the military provisions.

Propitious Stone

Above, in the first year of the Qianfeng era of the Tang, commoner Yan Hongshuang obtained the previously mentioned stone on the side of the Temple of the Former King of Li at the west of the city. It had bright blue-green color. On the stone, there are red characters in the forms of ancient script, saying: “It is divined that the mandate came in thirty years, and it is divined that the state will last seven hundred years.” It was reported to be the great auspicious omen, and the imperial ceremony of sacrifice to heaven should be conducted. All under heaven should establish temples, which should be called long-lasting. This prefecture, for having obtained this propitious stone, subsequently had their temple self-designated Lingtu.

¹⁸¹ Chinese medicine divides things into either hot or cold. Here the word *re* 熱 refers to the hot nature of the grain.

3 白雀

4 右，唐咸亨二年有百姓王會昌於平康/5 鄉界撲白雀一隻，馴善不驚。當即進上。

6 黃龍

7 右，唐弘道元年臘月為 高宗大帝/8 行道。其夜崇教寺僧徒都集及直/9 官等同見空中一黃龍見。可長三/10 丈以上，髯鬚光潔，頭目精明，首向北斗，尾垂/11 南下。當即表奏，制為上瑞。

12 五色鳥

13 右，大周天授二年一月百姓陰嗣鑒於平康/14 鄉武孝通園內見五色鳥。

White Sparrow

Above, in the second year of the Xianheng era of the Tang, there was a commoner Wang Huichang captured a white sparrow inside the border of Pingkang Village. The bird was obedient and was not frightened. It was immediately presented to the court.

Yellow Dragon

Above, in the last month of the first year of the Hongdao era of the Tang, a religious rite was conducted for the Great Emperor Gaozong. At that night, all the monks of the Chongjiao Temple and officers on duty saw a yellow dragon appeared in the sky. It was over three *zhang* long. Its whiskers were bright and clean. Its head and eyes were shining. Its head pointed towards the North dipper while its tail hung down towards the south. This event was immediately reported to court and authorized to be the great auspicious omen.

A Bird with Five Colors

Above, on the first month of the second year of the Tianshou reign period of the Great Zhou, a commoner Yin Sijian saw a bird with five colors at Wu Xiaotong' garden at the Pingkang village.

頭上有冠，翅/15尾五色，丹嘴赤足。合州官人百姓並往/16看，見群鳥隨之，青黃赤白黑，五白色具/17備。頭上有冠，性甚馴善。刺史李無虧/18表奏，稱，謹檢瑞應圖曰，代樂鳥者，P.117/1天下有(道)則見也。正於武孝通園內，又陰/2嗣鑿得之，臣以為陰者，母道。鑿者，明/3也。天顯

4日揚光 慶雲

5右，大周天授二年冬至日得支慶崔摛/6等狀稱今日冬至卯時有五色雲扶日，闊/7一丈已上，其時大明大授一倍以上。

The bird had a crest on the head, five color feathers in the wings and tail, red mouth and vermillion claws. The officials and commoners of the entire prefecture went to see it. They saw a group of birds followed it, dark blue, yellow, vermillion, white and black, all five colors were completed. The Prefect Li Wukui reported to the court, saying: “According to the careful examination of the *Rui ying tu*, the so-called *daile* bird, when the world possesses the way, then it appears.¹⁸² It appeared in the garden of Wu Xiaotong, and was also obtained by Yin Sijian. Your servant believes the Yin represents the way of motherhood, and *Jian* means brightness. The heaven shows....”

The sun radiating light, propitious clouds

Above, in the second year of the Tianshou reign period of the Great Zhou, the court received a report from zhiqincuiwei that today, at the time of *mao* (5-7am) there was a five-colored cloud supporting the sun. The cloud is over one *zhang* in size. At that time, the sun was one time brighter and bigger than usual.

¹⁸² Dunhuang manuscript P.2683 preserves some colored illustrations of texts of the *Rui ying tu*. Yu Xin 余欣, “Tangdai de Rui ying tu, yi zunjingge wenku cang Tiandi ruixiang zhi xieben wei zhongxin” 唐代的瑞應圖——以尊經閣文庫藏天地瑞祥志寫本為中心, *Chūgoku tenseki nihon koshahon no kenku* 中國典籍日本古寫本の研究 I, (2014. 7), 2-6.

北至辰時/8 復有五色雲在日四邊抱日。光彩其鮮，見在官/9 人百姓等同見。咸以為聖神皇帝陛下受命/10 之符。刺史李無虧表奏，謹檢瑞應圖曰，/11 聖人在上，日有大光，天下和平。又曰，天子孝則/12 景雲出遊，有人從已西已北已東來者，咸云/13 諸處[...] 赦曰亦忽見五色雲抱日。

14 蒲昌海五色

15 右，大周天授二年臘月，得石城鎮將康拂/16 耽延弟地舍撥狀稱，其蒲昌海水舊來/17 濁黑混雜，自從八月已來，水清明徹底。其/18 水五色。得老人及天竺婆羅門云，中國有聖/19 天子，海水即清，無波。

By the time of *chen* (7-9am), there were also five-colored clouds embracing the sun. The colors were extremely bright. Officials and commoners all saw it at the same time. They all considered this was a sign for our Shengshen Emperor to receive the mandate. Prefect Li Wukui submitted a petition and reported that, “According to the careful examination of the *Rui ying tu*, when a Sage is above, the sun will have great brightness, then all under heaven will be harmonized and stable. It also says that when the Son of Heaven is filial, then the colorful clouds will appear. There are people from west, north and east, they all said that everywhere....” The imperial order says: “Clouds with five colors embracing the sun is commonly seen.”

The five colors at Puchang Lake

Above, in the last month of the second year of the Tianshou reign period of the Great Zhou, the court received a report from Disheboquan, who is the younger brother of the general of Shichengzhen, Kang Fudanyan, saying: “The water of Puchang Lake used to be dark and muddy. Ever since the eight month, the water became so clear the bottom could be seen. Its water is in five colors. We obtained word from old men and the Brahmin of India who said that when the Central State has a sage Son of Heaven, the lake will be clear and without waves.

奴身等歡樂，望請奏 P.119/1 聖人知者。刺史李無虧表云，淮海水五色，/2 大瑞。謹檢瑞應圖，禮斗威儀曰，人君乘/3 土而王，其政太平則河兼海夷也。天應魏/4 國當塗之兆，明土德之昌。

5 白狼

6 右，大周天授二年得百姓陰守忠狀稱，白狼頻/7 到守忠莊邊，見小兒及畜生不傷，其色如雪者。

We, your humble servants are happy. We request you to make a report and inform the sage.

Prefect Li Wukui submitted a petition, saying: “The water of the five colors of the Huai River is a great auspicious sign. I carefully examined the *Rui ying tu*, and the “Douweiyi” of the *Li*. They say, if a people’s lord became king by taking the advantage of the *tu* virtue, and the administration is peaceful, then the rivers would be calm and the lakes would be smooth.¹⁸³

Heaven responded to the sign that the state of Wei is going to be glorified, and revealed the prosperity of the *tu* virtue.¹⁸⁴

White Wolf

Above, the court received a report from a commoner Yin Shouzhong in the second year of the Tianshou reign period of the Great Zhou that there was a white wolf that came to his farm repeatedly. This wolf saw children and domestic animals and did not hurt them. It is the kind whose color is as white as snow.

¹⁸³ Similar quotation from the *Douweiyi* can be seen in the Li Shan commentary to the *Wenxuan*, 56. 1375. *Douweiyi* is one of the *wei shu* attached to the *Li*.

¹⁸⁴ The phrase 當塗之兆 derives from a famous 讖緯 during the Three Kingdoms period, indicating that the state of Wei would substitute the Han. See the *San guo zhi* 2. 64. Wei is claimed to have the earth (*tu*) virtue that overturns the fire (*huo*) virtue of the Han. See the *Song shu* 27. 775.

/8 刺史李無虧表奏，謹檢瑞應圖云，王者仁/9 智明哲即至，動准法度則見。又云，周宣王/10 時白狼見犬戎服者。天顯陛下仁智明哲，動准/11 法度，四夷賓服之徵也。又見於陰守忠之莊/12 邊者，陰者，臣道。天告臣子並守忠愷也。前/13 件四瑞，諸州皆見，並是天應。陛下開天/14 統，殊徽號，易服色，延聖壽，是以陽烏疊/15 彩映澄海以通輝，瑞鳥攜祥對景雲而共/16 色。胡戎唱和，識中國之有聖君，遐邇謳謠，/17 嘉大周之應寶命。

The Prefect Li Wukui submitted a report, saying: “According to a careful examination of the *Ruiying tu*, the white wolf arrives when the king is humane, wise, bright, it appears when the action of the king follows the principles and rules. It also says that during the time of the King Xuan of the Zhou, there was a case that the white wolf appeared and the barbarians submitted themselves to the Zhou. Heaven is showing that you, the majesty, is humane, wise and bright, your actions follow the principles and rules. It is the symbol that the barbarians of four directions submit themselves to you. The reason that it appeared near the farm of Shouzhong is that, the Yin, represents the way of a subject. This is heaven telling us the subjects to be loyal to you, the majesty. The previous four omens, people in various prefectures all saw them. They all represented the responses of the heaven. You, the majesty, start a heavenly tradition, differ the signs and symbols, change the color of the clothes and extend the age of our dynasty. Therefore, the sun and the bird layer up colors to reflect the clean sea in order to share the glory while the auspicious bird spreads blessing facing the clouds with the same color. The Hu and Rong people sing and echo, knowing that the central state has a sage lord. People far and near sing out in praise of the Great Zhou receiving the precious mandate.

18 歌謠

19 神皇聖氏，生於文王，之祖生於后稷，故詩人所 P.121/1 謂生人尊祖也。

Song

The divine emperor and sage one was engendered from King Wen, and King Wen was engendered from Hou Ji.¹⁸⁵ Thus this is what the Songs poet referred to as “‘Shengmin’ is for respecting ancestors.”¹⁸⁶

於昭武王， How resplendent King Wu,
承天翦商。 He received mandate to eradicate the Shang.
誰其下武， Who would be the successor after him?
/2 聖母神皇。 It is our Sage Mother Divine Emperor.¹⁸⁷
穆斯九族， She harmonizes the nine clans,
綏彼四方。 Pacifies the four directions.
遵以禮儀， She follows the rituals and rites,
/3 調以陰陽。 She regulates with Yin and Yang.
三農五穀， Three farming times and five grains,
萬庚千箱。 Myriads of storages and thousands of carts.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ According to the *Xin Tang shu*, Empress Wu self-designated the title “Shengshen Huangdi” 聖神皇帝 in the first year of the Tianshou era, and later established her ancestral temples in Luoyang, posthumously respecting the King Wen of Zhou to be Ancestral Emperor Wen. For her, King Wen and his ancestor Hou Ji were her ancestors.

¹⁸⁶ “Shengmin” is one of the songs in the *Shi jing*, tracing the origin of the state of Zhou. The character *ren* 人 is used to replace the taboo character *min* 民.

¹⁸⁷ The phrase 下武 is from the song “Xia wu” of the *Shi jing*. *Shi jing* 16-5. 525b.

¹⁸⁸ The phrase 三農 is mentioned in P.2524, the commentary says it refers to three critical times of farming: planting in the spring, managing in the summer and collecting in the autumn. 五穀, see the *Zhou li* 5.667. The word *geng* 庚 is likely a mistake of *yu* 庾. See “Putian” 莆田 of the

載興文/4 教,	She began to promote literary teaching,
載構明堂。	And she began to build the Bright Hall. ¹⁸⁹
八窗四闔	Eight windows and four doors;
上圓下方	The top is rounded and the bottom is square. ¹⁹⁰
多士濟々,	The array of officers is numerous,
/5 流水洋々。	The flowing water is vast. ¹⁹¹
明堂之興,	As for the prosperity of the Bright Hall,
百工時揆。	All the workers are the selection of the time.
庶人子來,	The people came as if they were his children,
鼗/6 鼓不勝。	The roll of the great drum did not overpower [the noise of the builders]. ¹⁹²
肅々在上。	Reverently and Respectfully, she is on the above. ¹⁹³
無幽不察,	There is nothing dark she will not investigate.
無違不相。	There is no fault that she will not examine.

Shi jing 14-1. 475c. This is the line praising the great harvest under the administration of Empress Wu.

¹⁸⁹ According to the *Jiu Tang shu*, in the fourth year of the Chuigong era, Empress Wu started to build the Bright Hall.

¹⁹⁰ According to the *Bai hu tong*, “明堂上圓下方八窗四闔,” See *Bai hu tong shuzheng* 白虎通疏証 6.265.

¹⁹¹ The phrase 多士濟濟 is from “Wen wang” 文王 of the *Shi jing* 16-1. 504c. The original is “濟濟多士.”

¹⁹² In the first line 庶人子來, the character 人 is to substitute the taboo character 民, which is part of the name of Emperor Taizong of the Tang. This line is taken directly from the “Lingtai” 靈臺 of the *Shi jing* 16-5.525a. The second line 鼗鼓不勝 is almost a direct quote from the “Mian” 緜 of the *Shi jing* 16-2. 510c

¹⁹³ Based on the parallelism, it seems one line is missing here.

千齡/7 所鐘, She is that which is full endowed for thousands of years,
 萬國攸向。 And she is that which is revered for myriads of generations.
 俗被仁禮, The society is covered by humanity and rituals,
 家懷孝讓。 While the families are carrying filial piety and modestly declining.
 帝/8 德廣運, The virtue of the emperor spreading vast and distant,
 /9 聖壽遐延 And the years of the Sage is long and extending.¹⁹⁴
 明々在下, Brilliant and Shining, she is showing to the ones in below.
 於昭于天。 Oh! bright is she in heaven.¹⁹⁵
 本枝百代, Her family branch extended for hundreds of generations,
 /10 福作萬年。 Her blessing lasts myriads of years.¹⁹⁶
 惟彼洛邑, Only that city of Luoyang,
 /11 聖母營之。 Does Sage Mother operate it.¹⁹⁷
 惟彼河水, Only that water of the Yellow River,
 /12 神皇清之。 Does Divine Emperor clean it.

¹⁹⁴ The phrase 帝德廣運 is originally from the “Da Yu mo” 大禹謨 of the *Shang shu* 4. 134c

¹⁹⁵ The line 明明在下 is originally from the “Da ming” of the *Shi jing* 16-2. 506c. And the second line 於昭于天 is a direct quote from the “Wen wang” of the *Shi jing* 16-1.503c.

¹⁹⁶ The first line 本枝百代 is almost a direct quote from the “Wen wang” of the *Shi jing* 16-1.504a, except the character 代 is used to substitute the taboo character 世, which is also part of the name of Emperor Taizong.

¹⁹⁷ This line probably refers to the event that Empress Wu operated Luoyang as her capital from 684-697, including building the Bright Hall and so on.

穆々帝子，	Solemn is the son of the emperor,
/13 聖母生之。	Sage Mother gave birth to him.
浩々海濱，	Grand is the lake water,
/14 神皇平之。	The divine emperor pacified it.
福兮祐兮，在/15 聖母兮。	Blessings and aids are located on Sage Mother.
盛兮昌兮，在/16 神皇兮。	Prosperity and glory is located on Divine Emperor.
/17 聖母皇々，	Sage Mother is majestic and magnificent,
拂臨四方。	She comforts and overlooks the four directions.
東西南北，	East, West, South and North,
無思不服。	There was not a thought that did him homage. ¹⁹⁸
/18 秃髮狂瞽，	Tufa is crazy and blind,
侵我西土。	Invading our western land. ¹⁹⁹
/19 皇赫斯怒	The king rose majestic in his wrath,
爰整其旅。	He marshalled his troops. ²⁰⁰
荒傲之外，	Outside of the deserted,
各安其 P.123/1 所。	Each became stable at their own places.
穆々/2 聖君，	Solemn is the sage lord,
受天之祐。	She receives the blessing of Heaven.

¹⁹⁸ This couplet are from the “Wen wang you sheng” 文王有聲 of the *Shi jing* 16-5. 527a.

¹⁹⁹ According to the “Tubo zhuan” of the *Jiu Tang shu*, Tufa 秃髮 was the state title for 吐蕃, but later the pronunciation was confused and mistaken into Tubo.

²⁰⁰ This couplet is taken from the “Huang yi” of the *Shi jing* 16-4. 521a.

聖皇為誰， Who is the Sage Emperor?
 /3 神皇聖母。 The Divine Emperor Sage Mother.
 於萬斯年， For myriads of years,
 受天之祐。 She receives the blessing of Heaven.²⁰¹
 /4 永淳之季， At the time of the Yongchun era,
 /5 皇昇玉京。 The emperor ascended to the Jade capital.²⁰²
 如喪其考， It was like losing their fathers,
 人不聊生。 Life for people was intolerable.
 裴徐作/6 豐， Pei and Xu brought about a calamity,
 淮海波驚。 The waves of the Huai River were disturbed.²⁰³
 皇々聖母， Splendid and sublime is the Sage Mother,
 定從服/7 橫。 She stabilizes and makes the world obedient.
 綏以大德， She pacifies with great virtue,
 威以往兵。 And owes with great troops.
 神謀獨運， Her magic strategy can only be understood by herself,
 /8 天鑒孔明。 And the heaven shows that she is extremely brilliant.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ This couplet is taken from the “Xia wu” of the *Shi jing* 16-5. 526a.

²⁰² It refers to the death of Emperor Gaozong in the second year of the Yongchun era. See *Jiu Tang shu* 6. 116.

²⁰³ Pei and Xu refer to Xu Jingye and Pei Yan who rebelled against Empress Wu.

²⁰⁴ The phrase 孔明 appears in the “Sixuan fu” by Zhang Heng. According to Li Xian’s commentary, Kong means extremely. *Wen xuan* 15. 218. The *Da Tang xin yu* 大唐新語 also records the phrase 天鑒孔明. See the *Da Tang xin yu* 13. 198.

危邦載靜， The endangered state then became quiet,
 乱俗還平。 And the chaotic society turned back to peaceful.
 河/9 圖洛書， The illustration from the Yellow River and the document from the Luo River,
 龜背龍脅。 Turtle's back and dragon's rib.
 /10 聖母臨人， Sage Mother descends to the human world,
 永昌帝業。 Forever prosper the empire.²⁰⁵
 既營大室， Since she finished the Great Hall,
 爰/11 構明堂。 She then built the Bright Hall.²⁰⁶
 如天之堰， It is as high as the heaven,
 如地之方。 And it is as square as the earth.
 包含五色， It contains five colors,
 /12 吐納三光。 And it inhales and exhales the sun, the moon and stars.²⁰⁷
 傍洞八牖， On the side, it has eight windows,
 中制九房。 And in the middle, there are nine rooms.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ These two couplets refer to the event that an auspicious stone was found in the Luo River, with 聖母臨人, 永昌帝業 eight characters on the stone. Empress Wu was very pleased with this omen. She enfeoffed the stone, the spirit of the Luo River, established a temple for the spirit and changed her reign title. See *Jiu Tang shu* 6. 119.

²⁰⁶ The building of the Bright Hall has been already mentioned in the song. It is likely to refer to the rebuilding of the Bright Hall after it was burned in the first year of the Wansui dengfeng era. See *Jiu Tang shu* 6. 125.

²⁰⁷ The *sanguang* 三光 refers to the sun, the moon and stars. See the *Huainan zi*, yuandao.

²⁰⁸ According to the “Mingtang” of the *Da Dai li ji*, the structure of the Bright Hall includes nine rooms, each room should have eight windows. See *Da Dai li ji* 8.923.

百神薦/13 趾。 Various spirits came to give blessings.²⁰⁹

膺乾之統, She received the mandate of the heaven,
 得坤之經。 And obtained the principle of the earth.

子來之作, The work that people came as her children,
 不/14 日而成。 Is finished in no time.

不得有得。 Do not obtain but obtained,
 非名。 no name.²¹⁰

如天之壽, She is as long-living as the heaven,
 於万/15 斯齡。 In myriads is her age.

黃山海水, The yellow mountain and the lake water,
 蒲海沙場。 The Puchang Lake and the sand fields.²¹¹

地鄰蕃/16 服, The land is next to the barbarian area,
 家接渾鄉。 And the houses are connected to foreign villages.

昔年冠盜, In the past years, we suffered rebels and bandits,
 禾麥調傷。 The grains and wheats were damaged.

²⁰⁹ The *Song shu* has a similar line, which reads: 百神薦祉. See the *Song shu* 16.433. Based on the parallelism, it seems one line is missing here.

²¹⁰ There must be two characters missing in this line. Zhou Shaoliang suggests that there must be 有得 before the 非名 and they are missing due to the reduplicate with the previous line. See Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, “Du Shazhou tujing juanzi” 讀沙州圖經卷子, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 2 (1987), 32.

²¹¹ This two couplets are likely to be descriptions of local environment. The yellow mountain thus probably refers to the color of the mountain without grass.

/17 四人優々，	People of four industries were disturbed,
百姓遑々。	And the commoners were in fear. ²¹²
/18 聖人哀念，	Sage man was sad and worried,
賜以惟良。	Bestowing them with only the good officials.
既拂既育，	The officials comforted and cultivated,
或引/19 或將。	Sometimes they led sometimes they commanded.
昔靡單袴，	In the past, we wore single piece of clothes,
今日重裳。	Nowadays we have layers of outfits. ²¹³
春蘭 P.125/1 秋菊，	The thoroughwort in the spring and the chrysanthemum in the autumn
無絕斯芳。	Cannot cease this fragrance.

2 右唐載初元年四月風俗使於百/3 姓間採得前件歌謠具狀上訖。

Above is the previous song that in the fourth month of the first year of the Zaichu era (690), the Inspector of Public Morality collected from the commoners, detailed the statement and submitted, the end.²¹⁴

²¹² The character 人 is used to substitute the taboo character 民. The characters 優優 are likely to be a graphic mistake of 擾擾 based on the same line from P.2695.

²¹³ Both *kù* 袴 and *sháng* 裳 mean the bottoms, and here probably use these parts of clothes to refer to clothes in general.

²¹⁴ As for discussions about this song coda, please refer to part 3, chapter 7.4.

Part Three:

P.2005: Textual Examinations

Introduction: Manuscript vs. Text

Manuscripts are certainly valuable as artifacts, but what makes them distinct from other artifacts is that they contain textual information. The term “text” in this dissertation is used specifically in an abstract way, referring to the content of writings on the manuscripts. As a matter of fact, the texts of manuscripts are traditionally what interest scholars the most. When Dunhuang manuscripts were first brought to attentions of Chinese scholars in the late imperial times, it was not the aesthetic aspect of the manuscripts but the writings on the manuscripts that made them valuable in the eyes of Chinese scholars. Textual studies, (Chinese term *wenxian xue* 文獻學) has had a long history in China. It usually involves studies on cataloguing, establishing the history of textual transmissions through different editions and textual criticism. Due to the richness of historiographical writings in the imperial period in China, Chinese scholarship has been heavily textually oriented. Dependence on such textual evidence as historiography is not limited to the field of Chinese history; rather, even in relatively more modern fields such as archaeology, it is also an unavoidable phenomenon.²¹⁵

Although in these two chapters, text is the primary concern and textual evidence from P.2005 and historical records are examined, what is unique is to scrutinize the text of P.2005 from a different perspective, namely, that of imagining the life cycle that this manuscript would

²¹⁵ Lothar von Falkenhausen, “On the Historiographical Orientation of Chinese Archaeology,” *Antiquity* 67 (Dec.1993), 839-49.

have had if it was made and circulated in ways suggested by the historical records. This is also a part of the effort to construct the “biography” of the manuscript. Chapter Six traces the compilation and editing processes of P.2005 and attempts to unpack some questions regarding the compilation of *tujing* as a genre. Chapter Seven sets out to examine P.2005 through the eyes of its intended readers. This examination not only helps us gain a deeper understanding of the text, but also sheds light on the relation between the local prefect and the court during the time before Empress Wu ascended the throne.

Chapter 6. The Compilers and Editors: Formulaic Compilation and Traces of Revision

When talking about a text, we first inquire into its dates and authorship. In the case of P.2005, due to its nature as an order-to-make official document repeatedly revised, it would be impossible to pinpoint one individual or a group of individuals responsible for the work. We don't even have a complete list of all the Dunhuang prefects who served during the early Tang, much less their staff.²¹⁶ We can only discern general information from historical records on the staff positions that might have assisted the prefects during the *tujing* compilation. According to Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, a lower level prefect in a place like Shazhou may employ one staff titled *lushi canjun* 錄事參軍 (Level Eight A) and one staff titled *lushi* 錄事 (Level Nine B) along with two clerks to take care of various administrative duties. They may also employ assistants for six different branches of the court, spanning construction, storage, military, law, register and fields.²¹⁷ Although it is possible that local literati were invited to the compilation, it is more likely for some of those staff to constitute the major force for compilation, revision and copy-making.

It is the compilation and editing processes, rather than the identification of an actual author that we must be concerned about. In the first compilation, if there was one, the text was likely to have been compiled from various local accounts and data. Although the term *tujing* appeared as early as the Eastern Han dynasty, no evidence can be found on the first compilation of the *Shazhou tujing* in Dunhuang.

²¹⁶ Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Tang cishi kao quanbian* 唐刺史考全編 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2000).

²¹⁷ Yan Gengwang, "Tangdai fu zhou liaozuo kao" 唐代府州僚佐考, *Yan Gengwang shixue lunwenji* 嚴耕望史學論文集 (Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 339-395.

This chapter attempts to ask the following questions in regard to the compilation and revision processes of P.2005: was there any designed structure underpinning of the composition of the *tujing* in medieval China? If there indeed existed a format for compilation, was it designed by the Tang literati or by natural selection and transmission? Was the language formulaic? Can we see any traces of revision that has resulted in the various particularities of the texts such as insertions; re-arrangement of entries, and mistakes?

6.1 The Compilation and Submission of the *tujing* during the Medieval China

One of the earliest piece of evidence pointing to the compilation of *tujing* during the Medieval period comes from Lang Mao's 朗茂 biography in the *Bei shi* 北史, which says:

茂與崔祖濬撰州郡圖經一百卷奏之，賜帛百段。

Mao and Cui Zuirui compiled a *tujing* of various prefectures and commandaries in one hundred *juan*, and submitted it to the throne. They were awarded one hundred bolts of silk.

The compilation of this text is also attested in other transmitted sources. The “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 of the *Sui shu* 隋書 lists a work by Lang Weizhi 郎蔚之 entitled *Sui zhuzhou tujing ji* 隋諸州圖經集. Weizhi is in fact Lang Mao's *zi*, thus the work listed in the “Jingji zhi” is the same work as the one recorded in the *Bei shi*. The “Jingji zhi” further lists three more works that include the term *tujing* in their titles. As a matter of fact, we know of many more *tujing* texts in traditional China. According to Hua Linfu's study of the extant *tujing* fragments from before the Five Dynasties, at least 88 works can be identified by title, yet there are also 186 entries of

geographical nature from unidentified works.²¹⁸ If Lang Mao did compile a work covering all the prefectures of the state, it means that he must have had accesses to all the different tujing of the prefectures and commanderies, including those of the more remote places such as Dunhuang.

From the Sui to the Northern Song, records of local historical geography were required to be compiled and submitted to the court periodically. The *Sui shu* writes: “During the Daye period (605-618 CE) of the Sui dynasty, (the government) ordered the various counties of the empire to list their customs, local products, and maps, and to submit those to the Imperial Secretariat” (隋大業中, 普詔天下諸郡, 條其風俗物產地圖, 上于尚書). Accordingly, the composition and submission of regional records had already become a requirement of the administrative system by the Sui. The Sui dynasty was short-lived, so it is unclear whether this requirement was regularly carried out or not. As was the case with many other institutions that began during the Sui, this practice continued into the Tang.

The following three Tang sources indicate not only that such texts were submitted regularly, but also that this was done with different frequency in different periods.

The *Tang liu dian* (completed in 961 CE) says:

唐六典職方郎中：凡地圖，委州府三年一造，與板籍偕上省。

All maps are entrusted to the government of prefectures to be compiled every three years and to be submitted to the Imperial Secretariat (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) along with population registries.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Hua Linfu 華林甫, “Sui Tang tujing jikao shang,” 隋唐圖經輯考上, *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報 27 (2007), 141-213.

²¹⁹ *Tang liu dian* 5. 162.

The Treatise on “Baiguan” in the *Xin Tang shu* documents a change from a three-year to a five-year period:

凡圖經，非州縣增廢，五年乃修，歲與版籍偕上。

All *tujing*, with the exception when prefectures or districts are established or abolished, are to be compiled every five years and submitted along with registries in that year.²²⁰

The *Tang huiyao* is more specific in that it points out that the changes in the frequency of submission took place in the first year of the Jianzhong reign (780):

建中元年（780 CE）十一月二十九日，請州圖每三年一送職方，今改為五年一造送。如州縣有創造，即不在五年之限。後復故。

On the twenty-ninth day, eleventh month of the first year of the Jianzhong reign (780), (before, the department) requested the maps of prefectures were sent to the ministry once every three years, now this is changed to once every five years. If new prefectures and districts are established, then the five-year cycle needs not to be observed. Later it was changed back to the old tradition.²²¹

Some of the above sources mention *tu*, i.e. maps, while others use the term *tujing*. Not only were both *tu* and *tujing* under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Operations (*zhi fang* 職方) of the Imperial Secretariat, but they were also submitted together with population registries. The use of alternate terms is hardly a coincidence, and both *tu* and *tujing* most likely refer to the same thing, especially since *tu* seems to form the most important component in *tujing*.

These three short quotes show that the changes in the compilation and submission of *tujing* took place in 780 CE. Before that, they were compiled every three years. Even after the

²²⁰ *Xin Tangshu* 46. 1198.

²²¹ *Tang huiyao* 59. 1213.

Tang, the practice continued into the Northern Song. According to the *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要, the submission of *tujing* from all the prefectures was carried out every intercalary year, or once every three years, until this requirement was abandoned in the third year of the Tiancheng 天成 reign of the Later Tang (926):

後唐天成三年閏八月敕，諸道州府，每於閏年合送圖經地圖，今後權罷。

According to the imperial order released in the intercalary eighth month of the third year of the Tiancheng reign, the various circuits, prefectures and provinces used to submit the *tujing* and maps together every intercalary year. From now on, this practice is temporarily suspended.²²²

Historical sources of the Northern Song also indicate that the submission of the *tujing* was periodically practiced once every three years in the intercalary year during the Northern Song.²²³ It is worth citing the relevant part from the *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編:

(太平興國二年閏七月)丁巳，有司上諸州所貢閏年圖。故事，每三年一令天下貢地圖與版籍，皆上尚書省。國初以閏爲限，所以用知山川之險易，戶口之眾寡也。

(In the intercalary seventh month of the second year of the Taiping Xingguo reign) (977 CE), the office in charge submitted the maps of intercalary year from various prefectures. Formerly, the prefectures throughout the empire were ordered to submit maps and registries once every three years to the Imperial Secretariat. At the beginning of the

²²² *Wudai huiyao* 15. 254.

²²³ See the “Yanzhou chongxiu tujing jiu xu” 嚴州重修圖經舊序, *Chunxi Yanzhou tujing* 淳熙嚴州圖經, in the Song Yuan fangzhi congkan 宋元方志叢刊 5 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 4280.

dynasty, the intercalary year became the norm. In this way the court could use [the maps] for specific information about accessibility of mountains and rivers, as well as population figures.²²⁴

One important reason for the continual emphasis on the information retrieved from various Tang and Song sources was that during both dynasties the *tujing* were not submitted to the court alone by themselves, but were accompanied by other documents, referred to as *banji* (板籍 or 版籍), i.e., the registry for population. In fact, the word *ji* by itself refers to registries while the preceding word *ban* simply refers to the wide wooden boards that were usually used for writing, which were different from the normal bamboo strips commonly seen in early China. What is interesting is that the combination of *tu* and *ji* is already attested in Pre-Qin texts.²²⁵ Since it is certain that the *ji* in the phrase *tuji* refers to registries, one might wonder if the *tu* in this phrase had anything to do with later *tujing* type of writing. As a matter of fact, scholars have speculated about the relationship between the *tu* and *tujing* after Dunhuang manuscripts came into light.²²⁶

6.2 Designed Format for Compilation

From our previous studies on the history of *tujing* compilation, we know that *tujing* was compiled and submitted periodically during the Sui, Tang and even the Song under the order

²²⁴ Xu zizhi tongjian changbian fu shi bu 續資治通鑑長編附拾補 18. 156.

²²⁵ See Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 2.59. The commentary by Yang Liang 楊倞 clearly points out that the *tu* in the phrase refers to maps while the *ji* refers to registries. The same phrase can also be found in the *Han Feizi*, see Wang Xianshen 王先慎, *Han Feizi jijie* 韓非子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 16.380. But in the context of the *Han Feizi*, this phrase refers to a broader range of records.

²²⁶ Lai Xinxia 來新夏, *Zhongguo difang zhi* 中國地方志 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 1995), 39.

from the court. But how was the *tujing* compiled? What kind of information did the central government require? Direct evidence for compilation requirement can be found in the text of P.2005.

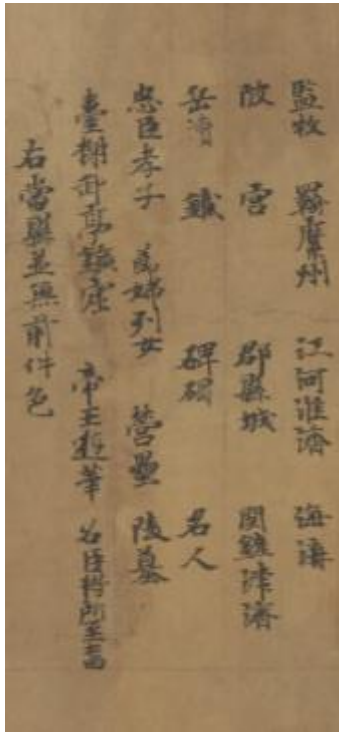


Fig 12. Partial of P.2005

1. 監牧 羈縻州 江河淮濟 海溝
2. 陂 宮 郡縣城 關鎗津濟
3. 岳瀆 鐵 碑碣 名人
4. 忠臣孝子 節婦列女 營壘 陵墓
5. 臺榭郵亭礦窟 帝王遊幸 名臣將所至屯田
6. 右當縣並無前件色

Shepards; Bridled prefectures; Yangzi River, Yellow River, Huai River, Ji River,

Reservoirs; Palaces; Cities of Commanderies and Counties; Passes, Guardian stations;
Ferries; Hubs.

Mountain peaks and large rivers; Iron; Steles; Famous figures;

Loyal vassals and filial sons; Military camps; Mausoleums

Pavilions, Post stations, Mine caves; Places where emperors and kings favored; Places
where famous officials and generals toured and Military Colonies.

On the right, the current county does not have those mentioned (in the list).

The last line of this paragraph suggests that the afore-mentioned list was the content that the compilers were supposed to give in the *tujing*, but for this specific place of Shazhou, the compilers lacked corresponding information to either fulfill this form or provide relevant content. If this was the case, it probably means that there was a given form, possibly from the central government to the local officers, that served as a guideline for the compilation of the *tujing* works and provision of the exact information needed.

If we reconstruct the table of content of P.2005 and compare it with other early geographical writings such as the “Dili zhi” of the *Han shu*, there soon emerge some similarities in content arrangement. The following table is based on the content of P.2005 and can be considered its table of contents.

The reconstructed table of contents for P.2005

Category	Number of Entry	Comments
Rivers 水 (?)	3 remaining	Incomplete, the front part is missing
Canals 渠	7	

Moat 壕塹水	1	
Swamps 澤	3	
Dams 堰	2	
Ancient dam 故堤	1	
Palace hall 殿	1	
Saline soils 鹼鹵	1	
Salt ponds 鹽池水	3	
Lake 湖泊	1	
Post Stations (all being abandoned) 驛	19	
Prefectural School 州學	1	Number is not specified
County School 縣學	1	Number is not specified
Medical School 醫學	1	Number is not specified
Alter for the earth and agriculture 社稷壇	2	
Various spirits 雜神	4	
Strange thing 異怪	1	
Temples 廟	2	
Tomb 冢	1	
Halls 堂	3	

Warning Trench 土河 ²²⁷	1	
Ancient Fortresses 古城	4	
Ink pond 墨池	1	Number is not specified
Auspicious Omens 祥瑞	20	

Two things must be pointed out. First, although some of the categories can clearly be grouped together to form a larger category such as the first few ones on water related topics, the compilers chose not to do so. As a matter of fact, we do not see any indication that larger category existed at all in this *tujing*. This certainly presents some trouble for comparison since our understanding of the structures of other geographical writings and later gazetteers is also largely based on the studies that reconstruct the common categories from those writings. Second, in four of the categories of P.2005, no number of entries is specified. Among these four categories, three of them are schools. It is possible that the number of schools was limited to each county and prefectures, hence the unnecessary of specification; but we also see examples of specified numbers of school in other manuscripts, such as P.5034. The only one that stands out in the list —owing to its contradicting the common rule of numbering — is the “ink pond.” This is also one of the reasons that scholars like Wang Zhongmin considered this entry as a later insertion, as has already been pointed out in Chapter One. But the reason that the compilers chose to put this entry after the “Ancient Fortresses” is probably that the ink pond, a

²²⁷ The phrase *tuhe* 土河 refers to a military warning technic. A trench was dug up at a strategically important place such as a pass in between mountains, and then fine sands and dirt were filled back in. If enemy troops crossed the trench, then their traces could be observed and therefore the number of enemies could be found out. See the *Tong dian*, 152. 801c.

local attraction with ancient legendary origin, fits well in this place. I will be more specific on this point when comparing below the previous table with the *Han shu*.

The following is the reconstructed compilation principles of “Dili zhi” from the *Han shu*.

228

♦ Mountains (*shandi* 山地)

This category can be further divided into the following sub-categories: mountains, marchmounts, hills, terrains, slopes, valleys, streams, and sands 山岳丘原阪谷溪沙

♦ River systems (*shuixi* 水系)

The Changjiang, the Yellow River, rivers, watercourses, irrigations, swamps, drainageways, other rivers, canals, ponds, springs, small ponds, and lakes 江河水川澗澤數瀆別河渠池泉
陂灑海²²⁹

♦ Townships (*xiangting* 鄉亭) : townships, settlements, cities, and parks 鄉亭聚邑城苑

♦ Passes (*guan'ai* 關隘) : passes, fortresses, and fortifications 關塞障

♦ Palaces (*gongdian* 宮殿) : palaces, watchtowers, guesthouses, halls, terraces, and gardens 宮闕館堂台園

♦ Storage (*cangling* 倉廩) : storages 倉

♦ Cities (*duyi* 都邑) : capitals, old states, old counties, old settlements, additional settlements, ancient prefectures, and vassal states 都故國故縣故邑故城別邑古州附庸

²²⁸ Shi Nianhai 史念海, “Zai lun lishi dili xue yu fangzhi xue” 再论历史地理学与方志学, *Heshan ji* 9 (Xi'an: Shaanxi shifan daxue chubanshe 陝西師範大學出版社, 2006), 624-6.

²²⁹ The exact meaning of 數 and 灑 is unclear.

- ◆ Shrines and Monasteries (*cimiao* 祠廟) : 祠廟
- ◆ Graves (*zongmu* 塚墓) : 塚
- ◆ Government offices 官守 : iron office, salt office, offices in charge of horses, works, clothes, Yunmeng lake, big ships, dams, lakes, transportation, woods, shepherd, pastor parks, fruit tribute, Kuangpu pass and food tribute. 鐵官鹽官家馬官工官服官雲夢官樓船官陂官湖官均輸官木官牧師官牧師苑官圃羞官涇浦官羞官。²³⁰

Shi Nianhai reconstructed the above list for the “Dili zhi” of the *Han shu*, with the intention to understand the overall principles that Ban Gu might have had in his mind when he was organizing the vast information he had held at that time. Although this list can serve as a general guideline for the understanding of the possible arrangement of information in each of the places in the “Dili zhi,” it does not necessarily mean that each place would actually cover all the information, since not every place could have had all the information mentioned in the list. Therefore, it is only natural that some of the categories from the list are missing in our P.2005. What is striking are the similarities of the arrangement of contents between the “Dili zhi” and the P.2005. In the P.2005, the categories related to the river system were also placed ahead of others, followed by posts, schools, sacrificial places such as temples, and then graves. Omens are not mentioned in “Dili zhi” since there is another chapter in the *Han shu* that was devoted to omens. There are also some slight differences between the “Dili zhi” and the P.2005. For instance, the cities (ancient cities, ruins, etc) were supposed to be placed before temples according to the “Dili zhi,” but in P.2005 they were placed after the temples. The placement of the “Hall” was also much behind in P.2005 compared to the “Dili zhi.” When we look at the possible placement for

²³⁰ The last five offices were only established in certain remote area such as the south during the Han. See the “Dili zhi” of the *Han shu* for details.

the entry “ink pond” from the “Dili zhi” list, it is therefore not surprising — considering that there is no better place — that this entry was placed only after the ancient cities.

Overall, the similarities in textual arrangement between the “Dili zhi” and P.2005 are striking. Although there is no direct evidence that can inform us of whether or not the textual arrangement of *tujing* in the Tang was inherited from the geographical writings of the Han, the possibility remains that the Han writings may have served as a template for the compilation of the *tujing* in later dynasties. Certainly, this kind of transmission did not proceed uninterrupted from the Han directly to the Tang; it also went through the intermediate periods, namely, the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern periods.

None of the geographical writings compiled during the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern periods survived to this day, even though there were the very periods when scholars were highly interested in compiling such works. The “Jingji zhi” of the *Suishu* traces the development of writings on geography from the Three Kingdoms period down to the Sui, and mentions one important geographical work compiled in the Jin, the *Jifu jing*. It reads:

晉世，摯虞依《禹貢》、《周官》，作《畿服經》，其州郡及縣分野封略事業，國邑山陵水泉，鄉亭城道里土田，民物風俗，先賢舊好，靡不具悉，凡一百七十卷，今亡。

During the Jin period, Zhi Yu compiled the *Jifu jing* on the basis of the “Yu gong” and *Zhou guan*. Records on the counties, commanderies and divisions, states, mountains, hills, rivers and springs, villages, postal stations, cities, roads and fields, local products

and customs, and noteworthy figures of the past were all included. In total, there were one hundred and seventy *juan*. Now it is lost.²³¹

Interestingly, items such as water and spring precede posts, which is followed by city, while the local custom came last. Although the above content was not intended to serve as a table of content, and that not all the items mentioned here appear in P.2005, the sequences of the listing do exhibit some similarities.

Even if we compare the structure of *tujing* with that of the Song dynasty *fangzhi*, the same kind of similar arrangements remains. The following categories are identified by Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄 as common to most Song *fangzhi*.²³²

Yange 沿革 changes in administrative units

Sizhi 四至 distances to the surrounding administrative capitals

Jiangyu 疆域 the borders

Chengguo 城郭 the walls of administrative seats

Xiangcun 鄉村 cantons and villages in the county

Shanchuan 山川 mountains and rivers

Hukou 戶口 population

Fangshi 坊市 urban quarters

Qiaoliang 橋梁 bridges

²³¹ *Sui shu* 33. 988.

²³² Aoyama Sadao, “Tō Sō chihōshi mokuroku oyobi shiryō koshō” 唐宋地方誌目錄及び資料考證 Yokohama shiritsu daigaku kiyō 横濱市立大學紀要 (1958). The English translations are from Peter Bol, “Rise of Local History: History, Geography, and Culture in Southern Song and Yuan Wuzhou” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jun 2001), 45.

Jindu 津渡 fords

Yanzha 堰閘 the water conservancy system

Puyi 鋪驛 postal stations

Tuchan 土產 local products

Xuexiao 學校 schools

Fengsu 風俗 customs

Again, although most of the categories cannot be found in P.2005, the arrangements of the remaining content of P.2005 matches the sequences of the categories.

6.3 Formulaic Language or Format Composition?

For writings as *tujing*, which are descriptions of individual places, one would imagine that the language would be somehow original, unique, and different from each iteration, thanks to the nature of the content that is supposedly factual. Is it possible for the compilers or editors to use expressions and words from the classics that they were familiar with? Unfortunately, so far, no evidence of such phenomenon can be discerned in P.2005, but one piece of possibly related information is nevertheless revealed by another manuscript, S.2593V (as for detailed introduction of this manuscript and its relationship with P.2005, see part 4, chapter 8). S.2593V is considered to be the beginning of the first *juan* of the so-called *Shazhou tujing* text. The last line of its text reads: There is no *Catalpa bungei*; *Paulownia fortunei*; *Catalpa ovata* and *Rhus verniciflua* 椅桐梓漆.²³³ This text appears odd even though it was placed in the general

²³³ For the names of the plants, see Pan Fujun 潘富俊, *Shijing zhiwu tujian* 詩經植物圖鑑 (Taipei: Maotouying chubanshe 貓頭鷹出版社, 2001), 90-95.

introduction to the locale, for generally compilers prefer to mention what the locals can produce rather than what they do not possess. What is more interesting is that the names of these four types of woods that were mentioned here also appear in the poem “Ding zhi fang zhong” 定之方中 of the *Guo feng* section of the *shijing* 詩經, one of the thirteen classics as well as one of the required readings for anyone who aspired to take the official exams. Even the sequences of the woods are the same. This is unlikely to be a coincidence, but possibly to be a result of the compilers’ conscious incorporation of familiar phrasings into their writings. Can we consider this to be evidence for compiler’s formulaic language use or is this further evidence for designed format that compilers used for their composition? Without further evidence, the question remains unanswerable.

6.4 Textual Re-arrangement

Textual rearrangement may seem inevitable for such texts as the *tujing*, which had been revised and updated repeatedly. In some cases, text is inserted or got deleted. Certainly, if the text was deleted before the copying of P.2005, we have no way to find out. Yet, we are still able to find several places with “errors” that can reveal different editing and re-arranging processes.

One of the most noted examples is the entry “Zhang Zhi mochi” 張芝墨池, which we have discussed earlier in this chapter. Two features of this entry make it stand out. First, it does not fit into the general formation of the text: there is no category title, nor number of entries preceding the entry title, and it certainly does not belong to the previous category, which is on four ancient fortresses. Second, it contains the latest date, the fourth year of the Kaiyuan reign (716 CE). This date is roughly twenty years later than the other Tang dates in the text. Wang Zhongmin has already pointed out the uniqueness of this entry and has used it to support his

theory that P.2005 was compiled first and then edited in 716 CE.²³⁴ Therefore, it is very likely that this entry was inserted some time after the 716 CE.

But there are several more places with indication of the exact year of compilation or editing. Under the entry “Xinjing post,” it says “又奉今年二月廿七日 敕,” “Again, to carry out the edict of the twenty seventh day of the second month of this year.” The designation “this year” here refers to the first year of the Wansui Tongtian 萬歲通天 reign of the Empress Wu (696 CE).²³⁵

Under the entry “Gancao post,” a mention is made of the “Former Prefect Li Wukui.” According to his discovered tomb inscription, Li Wukui was promoted to the position of Prefect of Shazhou, Concurring Military Commissioner of the Doulu Army 沙州刺史兼豆盧軍經略使 in the first year of the Zaichu reign (689-690 CE). And he died in the first year of the Yanzai reign (694 CE) in his capacity as the Prefect of Shazhou. Therefore, this entry must have been written after he had passed away, hence 694 and onwards.

It is notable that both of these two entries with very specific temporal designations are under the category of post stations. Those post stations mostly had been abandoned, and the entries usually provide specific reign periods and years. Possibly, this whole category was put together some time in 696 and then inserted into the text by the compilers or editors who either did not pay attention to the overall principle or finished it in a rush.

²³⁴ Wang Zhongmin, 116.

²³⁵ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 65, 72.

6.5 Dates of Events

Not every entry provides an exact date, but once we collect all the dates that can be traced back to the Tang, and their number of occurrences, we are able to make some observations. The following table is compiled based on the dates in the text of P.2005; their numbers of occurrence is also counted and listed.²³⁶

There are two big gaps between certain dates. For instance, the first two dates are the years 622 and 623, but the next date is 666, which is about 43 years after. Also, the last two dates are eighteen years apart.²³⁷ There are also some consecutive years: 678-679; 688-692. If we put the two groups aside and only focus on the small gaps between dates, something interesting emerges. From the three groups of dates of 666-671, 673-678, 683-688, one can easily see that they all have the same span of five years, while the dates of 671-673 and 692-695 have three. Those intervals happen to match the historical records about compiling and submitting *tujing* every three or five years. The longest, consecutively occurred string of dates, the ones from 688 to 692, also happens to be in a five-year span. Although it is possible that the dates are coincidental, and that no records remain on how long it took for a *tujing* to be prepared before submission, the correspondence between those dates and the historical records that state *tujing* was compiled every three or five years during the Tang worth more exploration.

²³⁶ Zhu Yuemei and Zheng Binglin also extract all the dates indicated in P.2005, and conclude that the text was revised on a three- or five-year basis. But they limit their dates from the second year of the Yonghui 永徽 (651) era to the early Kaiyuan period. See Zhu Yuemei and Zheng Binglin, “*Shazhou dudufu tujing zuanxiu niandai jiqi xiangguan wenti kao*,”沙州都督府圖經纂修年代及其相關問題考, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 5 (2003), 61-5.

²³⁷ Zhu Yuemei and Zheng Binglin attribute the eighteen-year gap to the reasons that the Tang court was busy defending itself from the foreign groups to the northwest, and of the chaotic central court struggle at the last years of Empress Wu. See *ibid.*

In the first section of this chapter we discussed various historical records on the submission of *tujing* during the Tang, but it remains unclear in which years the *tujing* were sent to the court, and when the changes were made to institute a three-year or five-year submission cycle; the only piece of information mentioning the change from three years to five years is from the *Tang huiyao*, which puts that date in the first year of the Jianzhong era (780CE). It is uncertain whether or not this was the only change that took place during the Tang for the submission interval. Based on his studies on the compilation of registries, Ikeda On noticed that Dunhuang registry was compiled on a three-year basis between 701 to 728 CE. Considering that registry was submitted together with *tujing*, one can say with certainty that *tujing* must also have been submitted every three years during that period of time.²³⁸ Unfortunately the period from 701 to 728 is later than most dates we can see in P.2005.

The last column of the table records the intercalary year that was closest to the date in question. Among the fourteen dates recorded, five were in fact the intercalary year and four were the year right before the intercalary year. If the historical records about submitting the *tujing* during the intercalary year are reliable, then based on the dates from P.2005 and the record of the intercalary years, we can make a relatively safe assumption that P.2005 is the result of a series of revision and submission of the *Shazhou tujing* from the following years during the Tang: the seventh year of the Wude era (624), the first year of the Qianfeng era (667), the fourth year of the Xianheng era (673), the third year of the Yifeng era (678), the third year of the Yongchun era (684), the the third year of the Tianshou era (692), the third year of the Zhengsheng era (695), the first year of the Yongchang era (689) and the fourth year of the Kaiyuan era (716). It is also possible that the text of *Shazhou tujing* had been revised and submitted around 687, the

²³⁸ Ikeda On, 44.

intercalary year between 684 and 689, but no dates with reference to that specific period can be seen from the text.

Table of Tang dates from the text of P.2005²³⁹

The Tang dates appeared in the text	C.E.	Occurrence	Intercalary year
Fifth year of the Wude era 武德五年	622	1	
Sixth year of the Wude era 武德六年	623	1	The year after, the seventh year of the Wude era (624)
First year of the Qianfeng era 乾封元年	666	1	The year after, the second year of the Qianfeng era 乾封二年 (667)
Second year of the Xianheng era 咸亨二年	671	1	The year before, the third year of Zongzhang era (670)
Fourth year of the Xianheng era 咸亨四年	673	* 1	This year.
Third year of the Yifeng era 儀鳳三年	678	* 1	This year.
First year of the Tiaolu era 調露元年	679	1	

²³⁹ The * mark in the occurrence section indicates the appearance of the dates in the last category on auspicious omens. The information on intercalary years was collected according to Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Ershi shi shuorun biao* 二十史朔閏表 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962).

Second year of the Yongchun era 永淳二年	683	* 2	The year after, the first year of Sisheng era (684)
First year of the Hongdao era 弘道元年	683	1	The same as above
Fourth year of the Chuigong era 垂拱四年	688	2	The year before, the third year of the Chuigong era (687)
First year of the Zaichu era 載初元年	690	* 1	The year before, the first year of the Yongchang era (689)
Second year of the Tianshou era 天授二年	691	* 6	The year after, the third year of the Tianshou era (692)
First year of the Ruyi era 如意元年	692	* 1	This year.
First year of the Zhengsheng era 證聖元年	695	* 3	This year.
Fourth year of the Kaiyuan era 開元四年	716	1	This year.

Conclusion

The information from P.2005 clearly indicates that there was a specific format for local officers to use in their compilation of the *tujing*. Whether it was designed by the Tang government or formed in earlier periods still remains an open question. In examining the text, we

can see inconsistencies in textual arrangements as well as indications of different time points of composition/editing, both of which suggest the different particularities of the texts due to their repeated revisions. This reminds us that although the manuscript P.2005 is one single object physically, the text it carries is likely to have been compiled by different compilers/editors overtime. This also reminds us that *tujing*, as a genre of writing, just like later *fangzhi*, has its own life cycle full of repeated revisions and changes. Therefore, it would be mistaken to treat its text as a solidified and ossified entity.

Chapter 7. Target Audience? Interactions between the Prefect and the Emperor

“I can’t write without a reader. It’s precisely like a kiss—you can’t do it alone.”

—————John Cheever

7.1 The Initiatives for *Tujing* Composition and Editing: Who are the Target Readers?

To fully understand the life of a text, one aspect that cannot be dismissed is the reader. Who the targeted readers are determines the initiatives of the writers/compilers/editors and thus influences the selection of information during the compilation and editing as well as the presentation of the information selected. Although, as we have pointed out in the previous chapter, P.2005 *Shazhou tujing* is likely an official document that was compiled under clear government instructions, the question about its target readers remains relevant. It is not entirely impossible that the compilers and editors of the *tujing* were merely trying to complete a job that they were assigned to by filling all the blanks in a table. The *tujing*, after all, was a work they had to submit to the court and any mistake might have brought trouble.

Studies on later *fangzhi* have yielded some insights into the local initiatives of writing. James Hargett suggests that local gazetteers are “scholarly monographs” and that they were written to promote the locale.²⁴⁰ After summarizing several different proposals on local initiatives from scholars such as Timothy Brook and Peter Bol, Joseph Dennis, in his recent book, further argues for another initiative for writing gazetteers in late Medieval imperial China — one of the creation of a public genealogy — and points out that the intended audience in the

²⁴⁰ James Hargett, “Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi writing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 56.2 (Dec.1996), 421, 431.

palace library included the emperor and the officials.²⁴¹ For the later dynasties, local history and local audience became primary focuses for *fangzhi* compilation, but can the same be said of Tang *tujing*? The extant *tujing* manuscripts are all fragments, with no surviving preface or postface to provide any insights into the motivations of local compilers as one have for later *fangzhi*. But since the compilation of local *tujing* was a regular practice ordered by central government, one significant difference between *fangzhi* and *tujing* would lie in their functions. Compared to *fangzhi*, which were largely compiled out of local initiatives and remained in the local government, *tujing* were ordered to compile and submit to the court on a regular basis, and thus bore more administrative responsibilities. Its compilation therefore relied more on the central government initiatives.

Who were the target audience in the editors' minds? From various Tang poems and commentaries, we can see that officials and scholars did have access to all kinds of *tujing* materials, although those people may not have been the immediate concerns of the compilers and editors of the *tujing*. In the case of P.2005, the *Shazhou tujing* in particularly, Li Wukui, the local administer and the one who presented the text to the court at the time, has to be the first person to be considered, regardless of whether or not he had actually participated into the revision process. The *tujing* was submitted to the Imperial Secretariat every three or five years, so the personnel in the Imperial Secretariat might have to be taken into account as well. And ultimately, perhaps, even the emperor? There are a few cases where the emperors are recorded to have ordered to check maps. But in most cases they probably did not. Even so, the editors could not rule out this possibility and had to bear in mind the ultimate audience.

²⁴¹ Joseph Dennis, *Writing, Publishing and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asian Center, 2015), 66, 260.

In the previous chapter I have already pointed out that the text in the *tujing* manuscripts from the Tang has already undergone repeated revisions, by various editors who may have had the same or different readers in mind. In this chapter, I will focus on one particular prefect, Li Wukui, for he is the one about whom we can obtain the most information from P.2005, and thus was most likely responsible for one of the major revisions of the text, either as a supervisor or a supposed reader. Li Wukui, as did many other Tang officials whose life ended in a position too insignificant to be entered into the dynastical histories, left no traces in transmitted records. Fortunately for us, his entombed epigraph was discovered in Xi'an. By comparing the information from the entombed epigraph and P.2005, we are able to provide a sketch of his life and career as well as to understand how his imaginary reader, the ruler at the time, influenced the selection of information. The ruler at his time was the most famous woman in Chinese history, Empress Wu. The information from Li's entombed epigraph and P.2005 can also provide us with an opportunity to explore the interactions between local prefects and the emperor during the early years of Tang, although the word "interaction" may not be very accurate here since in many cases it is unilateral rather than bilateral.

7.2 The Entombed Epigraph of Shazhou Prefect Li Wukui

Li Wukui's tomb epitaph, along with its cover, was discovered in 2002 due to construction. The tomb has been looted a long time ago, and only the epitaph and a stone gate survived. A brief report with the images of the epitaph and its transcription was released in 2004.²⁴² Both Zheng Binglin and Li Zongjun have articles offering some insights into this

²⁴² Wang Tuanzhan 王团战, "Da Zhou Shazhou cishi Li Wukui mu ji zhengji dao de san fang Tangdai muzhi" 大周沙州刺史李無虧墓及徵集到的三方唐代墓誌, *Kaogu yu wenwu* 1 (2004), 20-6. An article on the images of the gate has published, see Yin Xiaqing 尹夏清, "Tang

epitaph, especially its connection with P.2005.²⁴³ But the published image is too blur to recognize the characters, and the two scholars did not check out the actual epitaph for their research. With the opportunity to see the epitaph and its rubbing, I am able to improve the original transcription and provide the following translation for the preface of this epitaph:²⁴⁴

大周故沙州刺史李君墓誌銘

The Tomb Inscription of Lord Li who was the late Shazhou Prefect of the Great Zhou

1 大周故太中大夫使持節沙州諸軍事守沙州刺史兼豆盧軍經略使上柱國長城縣開國公贈使持節嘉州諸軍事嘉州刺史李府君墓誌銘

The Tomb Inscription of the late Superior Grand Master of the Palace, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers of various Military actions of Shazhou, Prefect of Shazhou, Concurring Military Commissioner of the Doulu Army, Supreme Pillar of State, Dynasty-founding Duke of the Changcheng county, Bestowed to Commission with Extraordinary Powers of various Military actions of Jiazhou of the Great Zhou, Lord Li.

Shazhou cishi Li Wukui shimumen tuxiang shixi” 唐沙州刺史李無虧石墓門圖像試析, *Dunhuangxue ji kan* 1 (2006), 63-8.

²⁴³ Zheng Binglin, “Du Dazhou gu Shazhou cishi lijun muzhiming zhaji” 讀大周故沙州刺史李君墓誌銘劄記, *Dunhuangxue guoji tongxun* 敦煌學國際通訊 1 (2004), 38-46; Li Zongjun, “Du Li Wukui muzhiming san ti” 讀李無虧墓誌銘三題, *Dunhuangxue guoji tongxun* 敦煌學國際通訊 1 (2004), 47-51.

²⁴⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Qi Dongfang 齊東方 and Professor Wang Weikun 王維坤 for helping me gain access to this tomb inscription, and to the director and the staff of the Yanglingqu wenwu guanli suo 楊陵區文物管理所 for allowing me to visit their site and take photographs of the rubbing.

2/3 公諱無虧，字有待，本隴西成紀人。漢丞相蔡之後也。虎雲表夢，才子彰邁種之風；龍德在躬，上仙啓無爲 3/4 之蹟。宗爲魏將，名重七雄。信總秦兵，威吞六合。成隴西之冠族，爲上京之羽儀。九代祖崇，後魏幽州刺史，4/5 子孫因家焉。故今更爲范陽迺人也。

The lord, formally named Wukui, *zi* Youdai, was originally from Chengji, Longxi (modern Dingxi 定西, Gansu). He was the descendent of the Chief Minister Li Cai of the Han dynasty.²⁴⁵

The tiger-like clouds revealed a dream, and a talented person would exhibit the manners of establishing his virtue. The dragon-like virtue was upon his body, and the spirit above opened the signs of minimal doing.²⁴⁶ Li Zong served as a general of the Wei (403-225 B.C.E.), and his reputation weighed heavily among the seven formidable states. Li Xin was in charge of the Qin (221-207 B.C.E.) troops, and his power enabled him to swallow the six states.²⁴⁷ The Li family became a prominent clan in Longxi, and family members were the elites in the upper capital.²⁴⁸ The Li family became a prominent clan in Longxi, and family members were the elites in the upper capital.²⁴⁹ The ninth generation ancestor Chong (455-525) was the Prefect of Youzhou (modern Beijing) of the Late Wei (386-534).²⁵⁰ That is why nowadays their family origin was changed to Fanyang circuit (modern Beijing).²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Li Cai 李蔡, brother of famous Han general Li Guang 李廣, biographical information can be found in the *Han shu* 54. 2446, 2449.

²⁴⁶ The expression *mai zhong* 邁種 is from the *Shang shu* 4.23b. The original text of the *Shang shu* is *mai zhong de* 邁種德. Although the word *de* is dropped here, the implied meaning of virtue must be understood. The expression *Long de* 龍德 is from the *Zhou yi* 1.3c.

²⁴⁷ Zong refers to Li Zong 李宗, a general of the state Wei, also legendarily the son of famous Laozi 老子, see the *Shi ji* 63. 2142-3. Xin, refers to Li Xin 李信, a general who assisted Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 in conquering the state of Chu, see the *Shi ji*, 73. 2339.

²⁴⁸ The expression *yu yi* 羽儀 means plumed ornaments > plumed exemplars. It is from the *Zhou yi* 5. 51c.

²⁴⁹ The expression *yu yi* 羽儀 means plumed ornaments > plumed exemplars. It is from the *Zhou yi* 5. 51c.

²⁵⁰ For Li Chong, see the *Wei shu*, 66. 1465-75 and the *Bei shi*, 43. 1593- 600.

²⁵¹ There are two possible understandings here. One is that the character 迺 is a variant of 道, which is usually understood as circuit, a level of supervisonal control during the early Tang and

唐杜移晉，無襄世祿之榮；和璧入秦，不減連城之價。人物世載，鼎鼐 5/6 重光，踰四鉉於袁門，掩十輪於楊氏。曾祖子肅，北齊平原太守，范陽侯。曾祖叔琳，隨考功郎，齊州刺史，襲爵 6/7 范陽公。

The Tang and Du clans moved to the area of Jin and did not hide their splendor of their hereditary emoluments.²⁵² The jade disc of He entering the Qin did not reduce its inestimable value.²⁵³ Names of people (from this family) were recorded generation after generation, while the sacrificial vessels were repeatedly held in glory. This family exceeded the status of the Yuan clan and covered the tracks of the ten wheels from the Yang clan.²⁵⁴ His great grand-father Zisu was the governor of Pingyuan in the Northern Qi (modern Pingyuan County, Dezhou 德州, Shandong), Marquis of Fanyang. His great grand-father Zisu was the governor of Pingyuan in the Northern Qi (modern Pingyuan County, Dezhou 德州, Shandong), Marquis of Fanyang. His grand-uncle Shulin was the Court Gentleman for Evaluations of the Sui and Prefect of Qizhou (Jinan 濟南, Shandong) who inherited the enfeoffment of Fanyang Duke.

later developed into an administrative level in the late Tang and the Song. The problem here is that there was no Fanyang *dao* in the Tang. Fanyang was a commandery (郡) and belonged to the Hebei circuit. See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, “Jingyun shisan dao yu Kaiyuan shiliu dao” 景雲十三道與開元十六道, *Yan Gengwang shixue lunwenji*, 661-70. Another possibility is that the character 迺 is not a variant, but refers to 迺縣, Dao County. The name of Fanyang was changed to Dao *xian* during the Sui, but it is rare that the character 縣 would be dropped when pertaining to a place name.

²⁵² The Tang and Du clans refer to the ancestral clans of the Fan 范 clan who were prominent in the state of Jin 晉 of the Warring States period. See the *Zuo zhuan* 35. 277a.

²⁵³ The *Hebi* 和璧 is short for *Heshi bi* 和氏璧, the jade-disc of He. King Zhaoxiang 昭襄 of the Qin (325-251B.C.E.) offered fifteen cities to the Zhao in exchange for this piece of jade. The story can be found in the *Shi ji* 81. 2439-41.

²⁵⁴ Both Yuan and Yang clans were the most prominent clans of the Han and their members occupied high positions of the government for generations. *Xuan* 鉉 is the hook-like device for carrying tripods and was used as a metaphor for the highest positions. The Yuan clan had four generations occupying such high positions in the Later Han, see the *San guo zhi* 6. 188. The ten wheels refer to the time that ten of the Yang family members were appointed to high positions and thus able to ride carriages with red wheels during the Western Han. See the *Han shu* 66. 2895.

並道映簪裾，器標瑚璉。熊旌犀節，鷹方岳之隆；白馬丹書，叶山河之誓。父行機，唐益州九隴縣令，7/8 梓州治中，上柱國，淮陰縣開國公。風情簡亮，志業祥和。懸明鏡於心臺，植長松於識宇。才高百奏，學富五 8/9 車。顧張束於錙銖，納王劉於掌握。

During both generations, the paths to their estates reflected the hairpins and the tails of garments while their vessels were distinguished as fine chalices.²⁵⁵ With bear banners and rhinoceros tallies, he received the prosperity of the four mountains.²⁵⁶ With the white horse and scarlet edict, he echoed the vows for protecting the state.²⁵⁷ His father Xingji was the governor of Jiulong, Yizhou (modern Pengzhou 彭州, Sichuan), Assistant governor of Zizhou (modern Santai 三臺, Sichuan), Supreme Pillar-of-State, State-Founding Duke of the Huaiyin County (Huai'an 淮安, Jiangsu) in the Tang. His demeanors and affections are simple and bright while his ambitions and achievements are fitting and agreeable. He hung a bright mirror in the terrace of his heart and he planted pine trees under the canopy of his knowledge.²⁵⁸ His talent was extensive to the point to compose hundred memorials and his learning was enough to fill five carriages.²⁵⁹ He overlooked Zhang and Shu as they were small coins.²⁶⁰ He could put Wang and Liu under his control.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ The phrase *zan ju* 簪裾 literarily means hairpins and tails of robes that were worn by people with high status and as a result it refers to people of such kind. For example, see Yu Xin 庾信《奉和永丰殿下言志》之二：“星橋擁冠盖，錦水照簪裾。” The word *hulian* 瑚璉 refers a type of sacrificial vessels for grains used in the ancestral temple. See the *Lun yu* 5.17a.

²⁵⁶ The expression *xiong jin* 熊旌 signifies high level ministers and indicates dispatching troops for military expedition. It was also referred to as *xiong qi* 熊旗 in some texts. See “Kao gong ji” 考工記 of the *Zhou li* 40. 276c.

²⁵⁷ The expression *bai ma dan shu* 白馬丹書 is from the *Han shu* 16. 527.

²⁵⁸ The allusion about heart, mirror and terrace probably comes from the story of Monk Huineng 惠能. See the *Liu zu tan jing jianzhu* 六祖壇經箋注 1. 9.

²⁵⁹ The expression *xue fu wu ju* 學富五車 is from the story in the *Zhuang zi*

²⁶⁰ Zhang and Shu here are likely referring to Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300) and Shu Xi 束皙 (261-300), both of who were famous literati and scholars of the Western Jin.

²⁶¹ It is possible that Wang and Liu here refers to Wang Can 王粲 (177-217) and Liu Zhen 劉楨 (186-217).

縮銅章於劍右，事屈烹雞。轉星屏於鄴中，初將展驥。東道之姿，方騁西 9/10 崦之景，遽淪道長，運促位不充量。公資二象之淑靈，合五常之秀氣。

Wrapping the bronze seal on the right side of his sword, the matters he dealt with were not worthy of his talent.²⁶² Turning his carriage frame to the middle of Qi (modern Santai, Sichuan), he was about to express his talents.²⁶³ The features of the Eastern Way were about to override the view of the Western Yanzi Mountain.²⁶⁴ Then suddenly sinking, the route was still long. But his fortune was cut short and his position did not fulfill his potential.²⁶⁵ The lord was naturally endowed with pure soul of the heaven and earth. He combined the refined spirits of the Five Elements.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Bronze seal was a symbol for prefects during the Tang, according to the *Sui shu* 11:223. The phrase *peng ji* 烹雞 is part of the idiom *niu ding peng ji* 牛鼎烹雞, to cook chicken by using the tripod that is supposed for cooking a cow. It implies that one has much higher talent for what one is doing. The origin of this phrase comes from the biography of Bian Rang 邊讓 in the *Hou Han shu* 80b. 2646.

²⁶³ The Ping 屏 star was used to refer to inexplicitly a part of carriages, see the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 citation from Fu Qian 服虔's *Tongsu wen* 通俗文, see *Taiping yulan* 776. 12. The phrase 展驥 is part of the phrase *zhan ji zu* 展驥足, meaning to set for his fleet horse steps, referring to a situation when people can show their talents. It is originally from the *San guo zhi* 37. 954. These two phrases were also used together during the Tang, for instance, a line from Tang poet Qian Qi 錢起 (710-782), writes: 驥足駸駸吳越間，屏星復與紫書還 “the feet of the fleet horse galloping between the Wu and the Yue. The Ping star carriage returned along with the purple appointment letter.”

²⁶⁴ The Western Yan mountain is also called Yanzi 崦嵫 Mountain, which is located at the west end of the world where the sun sets according to mystery, see Yuan Ke 袁珂, *Shan hai jing jiaozhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 2. 65.

²⁶⁵ The phrase *wei bu chongliang* 位不充量 is commonly seen in Tang tomb inscriptions with the sense that a person died before having a chance to fulfill his potential.

²⁶⁶ The expression *er xiang* 二象 probably refers to Qian 乾 and Kun 坤, which symbolize the heaven and earth respectively.

渾金璞玉，絕名言之先；瓊樹瑤林，出 10/11 風塵之外。識用高朗，披明月於重雲。儀表端凝，建標霞於層岳。宏覽載籍，興屬清新。似夢靈蛟，如吐飛鳳。11/12 至於白猿劍術，玄女兵符，不待黃石之期，闇合孫吳之旨。心契管樂，志立功名。逝將因海運而驤鱗，排天 12/13 關而舉翼。

Like an unrefined ore and unworked jade, he went beyond the famous words.²⁶⁷ Like garnet trees and carnelian forests, he emerged outside of the world of wind and dust. His knowledge and ability were broad and clear like wrapping the bright moon above the layered cloud. His appearance and bearing were straight and steady like setting out the tip of the evening glow over mountain peaks. He broadly read through various records, while his inspirations were pure and new, like dreaming about a spiritual kraken, or sending forth the flying phoenix. As far as the swordplay of the white macaque and the military tally from the Xuannü, he did not need to wait for a meeting with the old man of the Yellow-Stone but secretly matched the ideas of Sunzi and Wu Qi.²⁶⁸ His mind went to the lute and music, but his ambitions were established for achievements and reputations. He swore to raise his scales relying on the movements of the sea and to hold up his wings to push the heavenly gate.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ The expressions *hun jin pu yu* 渾金璞玉 and *qiong shu yao lin* 瓊樹瑤林 are from the *Jin shu* 43. 1235, where both expressions *hun jin pu yu* and *qiong shu yao lin* are used in a parallel way to describe Shan Tao 山濤 and Wang Yan 王衍 respectively.

The expression *mingyan* 名言 is also seen in the same biography of the *Jin shu* as a compliment from the Emperor to Shan Tao.

²⁶⁸ The white macaque is someone who was a master of swordplay, see the *Wu Yue chunqiu jiaozheng zhushu*, 9. 275. Xuannü is a legendary figure who granted the military tally to the Yellow Emperor. Her story can be found in the Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 commentary to the *Shi ji* 1. 4. The old man of Yellow-Stone legendarily offered military strategy works to Zhang Liang 張良, one of the ministers of Emperor Gaozu of the Han. The story is in the *Shi ji* 55. 2034-5.

²⁶⁹ The expression *xiang lin* 驤鱗 is probably part of the expression *long xiang lin zhen* 龍驤鱗振, meaning the dragon jumps up and its fish scales rose up. See the "lin zhi zhi" 鱗之趾 poem of the *Shi jing* 1-3. 15.

初爲國子生，麟德二年，以進士擢第，即選授秘書省讎校。遊道辟水，嘉譽比於林宗；射策金門，13/14 甲科同於稚圭。校書之職，叔師播美於東京；秘閣之才，令思見稱於南晉。惟公英挺，歷駕前修。總章二年，14/15 授定州北平縣丞，尋遷許州司兵，又改宋州司法。以陳梁之具，勞州縣之班。

He was originally a student of the National Academy. In the second year of the Linde era (665), he passed the *jinsshi* exam and was immediately selected for the position of Collator of Texts in the Palace Library. He toured his way in the Piyong and the compliments to him were on a par with those for Linzong.²⁷⁰ Answering the questions from the emperor at the Golden Gate, he passed the highest exam as Zhigui.²⁷¹ Shushi spread fine reputation of the position of Editing Clerk over the eastern capital.²⁷² Lingsi was praised for the talents of the Palace Library in the Jin of the south.²⁷³ Only the lord was so outstanding and upright that he could surpass the talents of his predecessors. Only the lord was so outstanding and upright that he could surpass the talents of his predecessors. In the second year of the Zongzhang era (669), he was appointed to be the Beiping governor of Dingzhou (modern Dingzhou, Hebei province). Soon he was transferred and put in charge of military in Xuzhou (Xuchang 許昌, Henan) and then reassigned to be in charge of the laws in Songzhou (Shangqiu 商丘, Henan).

²⁷⁰ The *Pishui* 辟水 probably is another name for *piyong* 辟雍, which refers to the academy installed by emperors. Linzong probably refers to Guo Tai 郭泰 (128-169 C.E.), whose *zi* is Linzong. Guo Tai was one of the most influential scholars in the Eastern Han. See the *Hou Han shu* 68. 2225-7.

²⁷¹ The story of the Golden Gate comes from the biography of Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53-18B.C.E.), see the *Han shu* 87b. 3566. Zhigui 稚圭 is the *zi* of Kuang Heng 匡衡 of the Western Han, whose biography can be seen in the *Han shu* 81. 3331-46.

²⁷² Shushi probably is the *zi* of Wang Yi 王逸 of the Eastern Han, see the *Hou Han shu* 80a. 2618.

²⁷³ Lingsi is Huan Tan's 華譚 (244-322C.E.) *zi*. See the *Jin shu* 52. 1448-54.

百鍊含霜，尚蘊拂鐘之用。千 15/16 里絕電，未申噴玉之蹤。處順安排，蓋澹如也。永淳元年，除并州陽曲縣令，化若神明，澤豐雲雨。翔鷲感化，16/17 乳雉依仁。于時獫狁蚩張，戎旗屢警。

Despite of having the strength of being a pillar of the state, he was consumed by the administrative works of prefectures and commanderies.²⁷⁴ The sword glittering frost-like after hundred hammering, still harbors the usage of striking bells.²⁷⁵ The fine horses that can run for thousand miles faster than lightening still did not show signs of patting breathlessly.²⁷⁶ He treated everything with a cooperative attitude and was content with things as were, probably due to the fact that he was quiet in nature.²⁷⁷ The first year of the Yongchun era (682), he was appointed as the governor of the Yangqu County in Bingzhou (modern Taiyuan, Shanxi). He transformed the place like gods and spirits and his favor was enriching like clouds and rain. The hovering simurgh was moved and transformed while the fledgling pheasant leaned towards the humane.²⁷⁸ At that time, the barbarian neighbors were encroaching and expanding and their martial flags frequently made threatening signs.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ The expression 陳梁 is likely a variant to write *dong liang* 棟梁, literally meaning the pillar and beam to support the house and being used to describe people with ability to support the state. See the *Hou Han shu* 56. 1834.

²⁷⁵ The express *fu zhong* 拂鐘 is originally used to describe the uselessness of fine swords when they were not used in proper occasions, see the *Shui yuan jiaozheng* 說苑校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 17. 417.

²⁷⁶ The expression *pen yu* 噴玉 is used to describe the inhalation of fine horses, see the *Mu Tianzi zhuan* 5.101.

²⁷⁷ The expression *zhanru* 澹如 is from the *Jin shu* 65. 1749.

²⁷⁸ The expression *ru zhi yi ren* 乳雉依仁 is probably derived from the story in Lu Gong's 魯恭 biography of the *Hou Han shu* 25. 874. The story illustrates Lu's governance was so transformative that even children did not capture pheasants that were about to fledge.

²⁷⁹ The word Xianyun 獫狁 originally refers to the minority group to the north of China. See the "Cai wei" 採薇 poem of the *Shi jing* 9-3. 144-6. Xianyun was later considered to be the ancestral group of the Xiongnu, see the *Han shu* 94. 3743.

龍山晉水，烽燧相望。月滿風秋，煙塵不息。公下琴堂而赴軍幕，罷磬 17/18 學而議兵
韜。奇正兼施，應變多緒。蕩蠻鞮之孽，若火燎原。斬鹿蠡之妖，如風卷蓬。冰消雲徹，
谷靜山空。 18/19 朝廷嘉公之勳，特授上柱國，又就加朝散大夫，并降 璽書慰勞。垂拱
三年，授芮州府果毅，仍兼長 19/20 上致果之職。

From the Long Mountain and the Jin River, the warning beacon-fire was observed from one to
the next.²⁸⁰ The moon became full and the wind blown into the autumn, but the smoke and dust
were ceaseless. The lord abandoned the hall of music and attended the military camp. He gave up
playing chime stones to discuss military strategy. Applying both irregular and regular methods,
he knew well how to respond to various changes in the field.²⁸¹ He washed away the scourge of
the Luandi like fire burning up on the plateau.²⁸² He beheaded the monster of the Luli like a wind
sweeping away falling leaves.²⁸³ The ice melted and the cloud disappeared. Valleys became quiet
and mountains became empty. The court for rewarding the achievements of the lord, specially
granted him the title of Supreme Pillar-of-State, also adding the title of the Grand Master for
Closing Court, and sent down a decree to comfort him for his hardworking. In the third year of
the Chuigong era (687), he was offered the position of Courageous Garrison of Ruizhou (modern
Yuncheng 運城, Shanxi), but still held the position of Permanent Zhiguo concurrently.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ The Jin River originated from the Long Mountain, see the *Hou Han shu* 113. 3523.

²⁸¹ The expression *ji zheng* 奇正 is from the *Sun zi*. See *Shiyi jia zhu Sunzi jiao li* 十一家注孫子
校理, 87.

²⁸² According to the *Han shu*, *Luandi* 蠻鞮 was the surname of the ruling house of the Xiongnu,
the minority group to the north of China during the Han. See the *Han shu* 94. 3751.

²⁸³ The title *Luli* 鹿蠡, also sometimes written as 谷蠡, was the title of kings of the Xiongnu. See
the *Han shu* 94. 3751.

²⁸⁴ The term *Zhang shang* 長上 is a prefix to certain positions, meaning a permanent position.
See Hucker. Zhiguo is probably short for *Zhiguo xiaowei* 致果校尉.

實掌外兵警衛，所資寄重中禁。千盧傲道，彰懸猷之勞。七萃羽林，應司階之列。軍政緝穆，廊 20/21 廡增輝。四郡遐蕃，三危極裔，北鄰白虜，南接青羌。式遏疆垂，允歸人傑。載初元年(689)授公沙州刺史兼豆盧 21/22 軍經略使。昔潁川太守詎參五伐之謀，細柳將軍豈總六條之務？

In fact he was in charge of guarding against foreign troops, was entrusted and valued by the central government. Throughout the thousand guard huts and patrol roads, he showed the successes by hanging the heads of barbarians.²⁸⁵ As a member of the seven groups of feather forest army, he responded according to his listing in the rankings.²⁸⁶ The military and governance were harmonious and serious, even the hallways and arcades were touched with glorified. In the four commanderies lived faraway foreigners and in the Sanwei Mountain there were remote descendants.²⁸⁷ In the north it neighbors the White outlanders and in the south it connects to the green Qiang people. They strove to block the frontier regions, eagerly garner the loyalty of their countrymen. In the first year of the Zaichu era (689), he was offered the position of Prefect of Shazhou and Concurring Military Commissioner of the Doulu Army. In the past, how can the governor of Yinchuan participate in the plan of five attacks and how can the general of Xiliu take charge of six supervisory rules?²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ The expressions *qian lu* 千盧 and *xi dao* 傲道 are from Zhang Heng's *Xi jing fu* 西京賦, see the *Wen xuan*, 2. 39b.

²⁸⁶ The word *qi cui* 七萃 is from the *Mu Tianzhi zhuan* 1.9. It refers to the royal army of the Zhou. The word *yulin* 羽林 also refers to the royal escort army that was first established by Emperor Wudi of the Han.

²⁸⁷ It is unclear which four commanderies were referred to here. Considering the context, it is more likely it refers to the so-called four commanderies of the Hexi, established in the northwest of China during the Western Han, namely, Dunhuang, Wuwei, Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖, all of which are in modern Gansu. See the *Han shu* 66a. 3872.

²⁸⁸ 細柳將軍 refers to Zhou Yafu 周亞夫, a general of the Han dynasty. His biography can be found in the *Shi ji* 57. 2073-80. Liu tiao probably refers to the six rules that Han dynasty perfects used to supervise local governors. See the *Hou Han shu* 118. 3617.

公才兼文武，任光內外。仁明之政，共春 22/23 露同霑；金鼓之威，與秋霜比肅。仁明之政，共春 22/23 露同霑；金鼓之威，與秋霜比肅。匈奴遁跡，魏尚之在雲中；先零殲喪，段穎之征隴外。長壽二年(693)加太中大 23/ 24 夫，又進爵長城縣開國公，并賞懋功也。雖頻翦逆徒，而餘氛尚梗，狡虜數萬，來犯城池。公操烈松筠，志凌 24/25 鐵石，奮不顧命，甘赴國憂。雖頻翦逆徒，而餘氛尚梗，狡虜數萬，來犯城池。公操烈松筠，志凌 24/25 鐵石，奮不顧命，甘赴國憂。雖則斬將奪旗，雄心克振，然通中刮骨，其傷遂深。

The lord had both civil and military talents and his responsibility radiated both inside and outside of palace. His humane and clear governing was like spring dew that sprinkling benefits everywhere. The power of his metal and drums could be as severe as the autumn frost. The Xiongnu hide their traces like the time when Wei Shang was in Yunzhong.²⁸⁹ The Xianling was destroyed like the time when Duan Yin attacked the area outside of Long.²⁹⁰ In the second year of the Changshou era (693), he was further appointed the position of the Superior Grand Master of the Palace and granted the title of State-Founding Duke. Both were rewards for his achievements. Although he frequently got rid of the rebelling gangsters, the remaining groups were still firm. Tens of thousands outsiders came to attack our city. The lord maintained his behavior as straight as pine and bamboo, and his ambitions were stronger than iron and rock. He dashed ahead regardless of his own safety and was willing to attend to the concerns of the state. Although he decapitated enemy's generals and seized their flags, both of which were able to stir his courageous feelings, still enemies deeply entered the state and the lord went through treatment as cutting into the bones.²⁹¹ His wound thus became deep.

²⁸⁹ Wei Shang 魏尚(?—157BCE) was the governor of Yunzhong 雲中 (modern north of Togtoh, Inner Mongolia) during the Emperor Wen of the Han, see the *Shi ji* 102. 2759.

²⁹⁰ Xianling was a subgroup of the Qiang 羌 people, see the *Han shu* 69. 2972. Duan Ying was a general of the Eastern Han who suppressed the Qiang in the west, see his biography in the *Hou Han shu* 68. 2145-54.

²⁹¹ The phrases *tong zhong* 通中 and *gua gu* 刮骨 are from the *Zhou shu* 41. 738.

綏復之禍忽臻，馬革之悲俄 25/26 及。以延載元年(694)八月七日終於官舍，時年五十八。26/27 天子聞而傷之，乃下 制曰：顯忠悼往，有國通規，圖勞飾終，列代彝訓。故沙州刺史李無虧以狡寇 27/28 陸梁，鼠竊邊鄙，遂能被堅持銳，率眾先鋒。臨難忘生，捐軀殉節。英勇奮發，僵仆為期。念茲誠概，良可嘉憫。28/29 賜使持節嘉州諸軍事，嘉州刺史，并贈物七十段。還日官為造靈輿。

The tragedy of *sui fu* suddenly arrived and the sadness of horse leather abruptly came to pass.²⁹²

He died on the seventh day of the eighth month of the first year of the Yanzai era (694) in the governmental residence. At that time he was fifty-eight years old. The Son of Heaven was sad about it when hearing the news, then sent down a decree, saying: “to show the loyal ones and to mourn the deceased is the rule of the whole state. To portray the hard-working ones and to decorate the funeral is the tradition of generations. The late Shazhou Prefect, Li Wukui, during the time when barbarians cunningly attacking Luliang and burrowing into frontier regions, was able to wear armor and hold weapons, leading the troops to be the vanguard.²⁹³ He faced the difficulty without caring about his own life. He gave up his life and died with moral integrity. He was heroic and brave, working energetically until the time came for him to succumb.

Considering these kind of distinguished and sincere behaviors, he was manifestly worth being recognized and rewarded. We bestow on him Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers of various Military actions, the Prefect of Jiazhou (modern Leshan 樂山, Sichuan) and also bestow seventy bolts of materials for funeral services.²⁹⁴ On the day when his body returned (for burial) the government will build coffins and carriage for him.”

²⁹² The expression *Sui fu* 綏復 is used in describing the rituals when officers died on the road and is from the *Li ji* 40. 320. Horse leather was used for wrapping the bodies of the ones who died on the battlefields, see Ma Yuan’s biography in the *Hou Han shu* 24. 841.

²⁹³ Luliang 陸梁 is the place name in the south of China. It was often used to describe the border areas.

²⁹⁴ It was a custom that during the Tang, the government would offer material compensations upon officials’ death.

即以萬歲登封元年歲次景申壹 29/30 月甲辰朔十八日辛酉葬於稷州武功縣三峙原。玉門之關，雖非生入；石柱之境，即兆神塋。特旌加等之 30/31 榮，兼申贈綬之澤。長子涼州神鳥縣丞。鳴鶴承世德之基，奉義方之訓。踐霜庭而增慕，攀風樹而不追。因 31/32 心之哀，昊天閔極，以為光昭令德，方貽終古。不鐫趙樓之字，誰辯滕城之墳。

He was buried in the Sanzhi Plateau in the Wugong county of Jizhou (modern Xianyang, Shanxi) on the eighteenth day, the Xinyou day, the jiachen *shuo* of the first month of the first year of the Wansui dengfeng era (696), the year of Jingshen. Even though the Yumen Gate was not entered alive, the territory within the stone pillar signified the spiritual grave. The edict was to specially honor his ranking and glory, also to express the favor of bestowals. His eldest son was the County Assistant of the Shenwu County in Liangzhou (modern Wuwei, Gansu). The crying crane inherits the foundation of virtue of generations and carries out the teachings of principles of propriety.²⁹⁵ His son stepped on the frost covered courtyard and had increased admiration. He leaned on the wind blown tree but did not follow.²⁹⁶ Because of the sadness of the hearts, the grand heaven was deeply sympathetic and considered that by illuminating and displaying his transcendent virtue, it could be handed down forever. If we do not incise Zhao Lou's characters, who could distinguish the Teng City grave?²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ The expression *ming he* 鳴鶴 is from the *Zhou Yi* 6. 59a.

²⁹⁶ The expression *feng shu* 風樹 is from the *Han shi waizhuan jishi* 韓詩外傳集釋 9. 309. The original line reads: 樹欲靜而風不止，子欲養而親不在 “the tree wants to be still but the wind does not stop, the children want to serve but the parents are no longer there.” Later the images of wind and tree refers to the situation that the parents passed away when children wanted to take care of them. The expression *shuang ting* 霜庭 is less common, but the parallelism between these two expressions can also be found in other Tang tomb inscriptions as well. The *Tang Wang furen shi muzhiming* 唐王夫人師墓誌銘 contains the following line: 舉風樹以增感，履霜庭而孺慕. http://content.teldap.tw/main/dc_detail.php?dc_id=2389586

²⁹⁷ It is unclear what or who Zhao Lou 趙樓 refers to, possibly a person's name. The place Tengcheng 滕城 is named after the Duke Teng who was buried there. The story can be seen in the *Xi jing zaji* 西京雜記 4. 147.

於是延翠石於他山，絕玄銘 32/33 於窆室。庶陵遷谷徙，永識南陽之阡，地久天長，不昧西郊之遂。

Thereupon, we moved the green rocks from other mountains and exhausted the dark inscriptions at the grave. Perhaps mountains change and valleys move, but forever people can recognize Nanyang paths.²⁹⁸ The earth and heaven are long-lasting, but people's sense of the road to the West Suburbs will not be obscured.²⁹⁹

7.3 Analysis of Li Wukui's Entombed Epigraph

About his marriage alliance and affinal kin, Li's tomb inscription only mentions his eldest son who had already been serving at a low level administrative post in Liangzhou (modern Wuwei), a place roughly 500 miles away from Shazhou (modern Dunhuang).³⁰⁰ He may have had more than one son, as can be inferred from the term "eldest son," but that son was probably the only one who held an official post and was also likely the one who took care of Li's funeral, so as to merit his name being mentioned here. It is also not unusual that the name of his wife was not mentioned in the inscription. Whoever composed this epigraph concentrated on two aspects of Li's life, namely, his ancestral history and his career. Based on this tomb inscription, we can fairly accurately summarize Li's career path in the form of the following table:

²⁹⁸ *Nanyang zhi qian* 南陽之阡, is also called *Nanyang qian* 南陽阡, where a Han person buried his mother. See the *Han shu* 92. 3716.

²⁹⁹ *Xi jiao* 西郊 is possible to refer to the west suburbs of Luoyang which was a popular burial place. It could also refer to the alter that was established in the western suburbs of the capital for ceremonial purposes.

³⁰⁰ Information on marriage alliance and affinal kin is one essential characteristic of entombed epigraphs, see Timothy M. Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China, A History of Early Muzhiming* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 25-33.

Year	Position/situation	Li's age
the second year of the Linde era (665)	passed the <i>jinshi</i> exam; immediately selected for the position of Collator of Texts in the Palace Library	29
the second year of the Zongzhang era (669),	Beiping governor of Dingzhou, then in charge of military in Xuzhou and then in charge of the laws in Songzhou	33
The first year of the Yongchun era (682)	governor of the Yangqu County in Bingzhou	46
N/A	Supreme Pillar-of-State, also adding the title of the Grand Master for Closing Court	
the third year of the Chuigong era (687)	Courageous Garrison of Ruizhou, Permanent Zhiguo concurrently	51
the first year of the Zaichu era (689)	Prefect of Shazhou and Concurring Military Commissioner of the Doulu Army	53
the second year of the Changshou era (693)	Superior Grand Master of the Palace and the State-Founding Duke.	57
the first year of the Yanzai era (694)	death	58
the first year of the Wansui dengfeng era (696)	burial	N/A

Comparing Li Wukui's career path with recent studies conducted by Lai Ruihe 賴瑞和 on the recurrent career patterns of Tang officials, one can see that Li fits the general pattern in the Tang. The foremost thing in a Tang official's life is passing the imperial exams, either the *jinshi* 進士 exam or the *mingjing* 明經 exam. The former one was more difficult but also carried more weight in advancing one's career.³⁰¹ As a Tang saying suggests, "Thirty is considered an old age for passing the *mingjing* exam while fifty is considered a young age for passing the *jinshi* exam,"³⁰² by passing the *jinshi* exam at a very young age, twenty-nine to be exactly, Li made the first solid step for his career by earning the *jinshi* identity. I suspect that the line that mentions his answering the questions in front of the Emperor refers to his passing of the so-called *cewen* 策問 exam. Although *jinshi* was considered a difficult exam to pass, it did not necessarily guarantee an immediate appointment to a position and it usually took two or three years for those who had succeeded in the *jinshi* exam to eventually receive an appointment.³⁰³ Thus, in order to secure an immediate appointment, it was necessary to pass another court exam — the *cewen* exam. As it seems from the inscription that Li received his appointment right after, it is likely that he passed one more exam.

Li Wukui's first position, the Collator of Texts, albeit low in rank, was considered "pure and noble" (*qing gui* 清貴) and was an important and preferred position to start one's career with during the Tang.³⁰⁴ After one term of this appointment, he was assigned to positions outside of

³⁰¹ According to the *Tong dian*, there were one or two in every one hundred examinees could pass the *Jinshi* exam while there were one or two in every ten examinees could pass the *Mingjing* exam. See the *Tong dian* 15. 84a.

³⁰² *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言, 1. 4.

³⁰³ Lai Ruihe, *Tang dai jiceng wenguan* 唐代基層文官 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi 聯經出版事業股份有限公司, 2004), 3.

³⁰⁴ See the chapter on *Jiaoshu lang* 校書郎 in Lai Ruihe, 2004: 17-98.

the capital. Again, those positions seemed to be low ranking but it was customary for people in the Tang to take on several local administrative positions outside of the capital in their early years before they were eligible to be promoted to mid- ranking positions such as the governor of a prefecture.³⁰⁵

Li was appointed governor of Yangqu when he was about 46 years old. Not only was 46 the right age for him to be appointed to such a position, but more importantly for him, Yangqu county was considered to be a *ji xian* 畿縣, which means it was one of the most important counties in the state. Being a governor of such an important county almost always guaranteed a brighter career future during the Tang, so usually he who was appointed to such a position would only stay for one term, approximately four years.³⁰⁶ From the table we can see that six years later, Li was promoted to prefect of Shazhou. It is likely that he waited for about two years after the end of his term in Yangqu before he received this promotion. It was not unusual for people to spend two years or more waiting for their next appointment during the Tang. The titles that Li received in 687 were either honorific, or indications merely of his ranking, not of any actual administrative duties.

Although the promotion to the position of Shazhou Prefect was a natural jump for Li Wukui (Tang officials were often either promoted to high level positions as prefects or received appointments to move back to the capital) it was not entirely ideal for him. One important reason is that people in the Tang valued positions in the capital more than those outside.³⁰⁷ Keeping this

³⁰⁵ The definitions and distinctions of the low, middle and high levels among positions are offered by Lai Ruihe, see Lai Ruihe, 2008: 47-50. They are not historical definitions, but rather conceptual devices that Lai invented to use for his analysis.

³⁰⁶ According to Lai Ruihe, the average age of being a governor in the Tang was between forty to fifty years old, see Lai Ruihe, 2008: 278. As for the possible future of this kind of governor, see the same work, 252.

³⁰⁷ Lai Ruihe, 2008: 34.

in mind may help us understand Li's psychological status, that is, why he submitted so many memorials on auspicious omens to please the empress. Moreover, even though Shazhou carried some geographical importance, it was nevertheless remote and considered as a *xiazhou* 下州 ("low status prefecture") in the Tang. Thus, it would be no surprise if Li Wukui had worked hard and tried to get back to the capital. The tomb inscription shows no sign of this kind of ambition, but details from the *Shazhou tujing* could supplement us with more information to construct a more complete story, which we will soon touch upon.

Li Wukui died when he was 58 years old from the wounds he received in the battlefield. It was common for Tang prefects to take charge of military affairs against foreign intruders.³⁰⁸ If Li had survived the battlefield, he would, according to the Tang system, very likely have received a promotion back to the capital and possibly even to the highest positions such as chief ministers.³⁰⁹

7.4 The Song Coda

If the entombed epigraph of Li Wukui only provides us with a rather dry sketch of Li's career, the entries that are related to Li in the *Shazhou tujing* offer us a unique chance to find out more details about Li's activities during his post in Shazhou. More importantly, the time when Li served his position in the Shazhou is the time when Wu Zetian was about to ascend the throne, replacing the Tang dynasty with her own Zhou dynasty. How Li dealt with this special political situation and how he interacted or responded to the needs of this empress are what we can gather

³⁰⁸ Wang Shounan 王壽南, "Tangdai de zhou zhi" 唐代的州制, *Tangdai zhengzhi shi lunji zengding ben* 唐代政治史論集增訂本 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan 台灣商務印書館, 2004), 70-2. David A. Graff, "The Sword and the Brush: Military Specialisation and Career Patterns in Tang China, 618-907," *War & Society* 2 (2000), 10.

³⁰⁹ Lai Ruihe, 2008: 24-36.

from the *Shazhou tujing*. The name Li Wukui appears seven times in P.2005, and four out seven are in the same category called “auspicious omens” (*xiangrui* 祥瑞). But the most revealing entry for understanding the political motivations behind the *tujing* compilation is probably the ending song in the manuscript. This is a tetra-syllabic song praising the great achievements of Empress Wu ostensibly in the voices of the locals. Two copies of this song survived in P.2005 and P.2695, respectively.

There are two interesting facts concerning the layout of this song in the manuscript. First of all, unlike other entries, which were carefully written with all the possible column spaces filled, this song seems to have been written rather freely in many columns. The scribe seems to have ended the columns wherever he wanted. A similar situation occurred in another manuscript (P.2695) as well. The scribe of the latter left long empty spaces between certain lines of the song. One could argue that the scribe might have had only a fragmentary version as his reference, but the content suggests that despite the loss of a few lines, there is nevertheless no evidence to prove that the scribe worked on a fragmentary version. A close examination of the text suggests that the empty spaces do not translate to missing texts, but rather were left there out of respect for emperors and empresses. The scribe of P.2005 chose to start a new column whenever he encountered terms referring to the emperor or empress, such as “divine emperor” or “sage mother,” while the scribe of P.2695 chose to leave a large empty space for the same reason even if it meant interruption of the text. This was the standard practice that was called *pingque shi* 平闕式 (rules of leveling and leaving blanks). Tang has specific rules about that:

凡上表，疏，箋，啟及判，策，文章，如平闕之式。謂昊天、後土，天神、地祇，上帝、天帝，廟號，祧皇祖、妣，皇考、皇妣，先帝、先后，皇帝、天子，陛下、至尊，太皇太后、皇太后、皇后、皇太子皆平出；宗廟、社稷，太社、太稷，神主、山陵、陵號，

乘輿、車駕，制書、敕旨，明制、聖化，天恩、慈旨，中宮、禦前，闕廷、朝廷之類並闕字；宗廟中、陵中、行陵、陵中樹木、待制、乘輿車中馬，舉陵廟名為官，如此之類，皆不闕字。若泛說古典，延及天地，不指說平闕之名者，亦不平出。³¹⁰

In general, when submitting memoirs, advices, letters, letters to superiors, as well as decisions, records and proses, one must follow the rule of leveling and leaving blanks.³¹¹ When talking about the words of heaven, earth, spirits on the heaven, spirits on the earth, highest god, god of heaven, temple names, ancestral founding emperor, founding empress, emperor's father, emperor's mother, previous emperor, previous empress, emperor, son of heaven, his high majesty, the ultimate respectable, grandma-empress dowager, empress dowager, empress, and crown prince, all need to be leveled up to a new column. For words such as empire's ancestral temple, the spirit of the state, imperial sacrifice alter for the spirit of land, imperial sacrifice alter for the spirit of grain, spirit tablets, mausoleums, names of mausoleums, imperial carriages, imperial horses and carts, imperial announcements, decrees, public announcements, transformation made by the emperor, mercy from the emperor, decree from the empress dowager, the middle palace (referring to empress), in front of the emperor, the gate of the court, the court and so on need to be left with some space. As for talking about the middle of the ancestral temple, the middle of mausoleums, inspecting mausoleums, the woods in the mausoleums, the position of daizhi, horses in the carriage, or listing the temple names as official positions

³¹⁰ The *Tang liu dian*, 4. 113. *Píng quē* rule can be also seen in P.2504, a manuscript titled *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* 大唐開元禮.

³¹¹ For the translation of *Pan* 判, I follow Jidong Yang, thus, I render it as “decision”, see his article, “The Making, Writing and Testing of Decisions in the Tang Government: A Study of the Role of the Pan in Literacy Bureaucracy in Medieval China,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, and Reviews* (CLEAR) 29 (2007), 129-167.

and things like this, there is no need to leave blanks. If someone is talking about the ancient classics in general, extending their topics to the heaven and earth, but does not pinpoint the names in the rule, there is also no need to level up.

Second, this song is arranged under the category of “auspicious omens” as its last entry. Therefore it is written in the same horizontal level as the previous entry, “white wolf”. All the previous four entries are written in the second year of the Tianshou 天授 reign period (691) while this song is said to be collected in the fourth month of the first year of the Zaichu 載初 reign period (690). This runs against the basic organizational order of the manuscript, whereby each entry under each category is arranged chronologically.

The song’s imitation of the *Shijing* 詩經 is easy to recognize. Since Empress Wu claimed herself descendent of the Great Zhou, what could better represent this than a great eulogy of the Zhou? The preface to this song points out that the emperor on the throne is a descendent of Houji 后稷, the ancestor of the Great Zhou, and directly cites from the “Mao shi xu” 毛詩序. The song also starts with the line of eliminating the Shang, “於昭武王，承天剪商.” Many other lines of the song were directly taken from the *Shijing*. Using the tetra-syllabic style of the *Shijing* is not only a convenient way of “plagiarizing,” but also an emphasis on the relationship between the subject of the song and the song itself. The local characteristic is also not difficult to detect. The phrases *puhai* 蒲海, which refers to the Puchang lake 蒲昌海, and *huangsha* 黃沙, provide a specific geographical image.

Although no the author or compiler is named in the entry, we have reasonable grounds to believe that Li Wukui is responsible for the compilation of this song. According to the record of P.2005, this song is supposed to have been composed by local commoners and collected by the

Inspector of Public Morality 風俗使 in the fourth month of the first year of the Zaichu reign period (690).³¹² But some scholars also suggest that this song was in fact written by local governors; it was attributed to the local commoners in order to please Empress Wu. Similar things happened many times in history. The assumption is that if this song was indeed written by local governors, its language is likely to have been close to the Middle Chinese, considering that the governors of Tang were usually from other areas of the state and that they would use the standard language of that period in composing a poem. If this song was written by local commoners, on the other hand, it may contain some local phonological elements that may be revealed when compared with the local dialect. It turns out that the rhyme scheme of this song is in fact quite regular. Its rhyming patterns seemingly conform to the *Qieyun* phonological system. This piece of evidence leads to the conclusion that this song was more likely to be composed by local governors instead of local commoners. Although tetra-syllabic style was not in fashion for Tang poets as well as in later dynasties, it was, still, the most proper style to use in former occasions, such as presentation to the emperor.

This is where we usually close our case since it is difficult to pin down the exact poet due to lack of evidence. The composition could either have been done by a group or by an official who left no record for us to trace. Fortunately, we can get a bit closer in this case. As mentioned before, this song was collected by the Inspector of Public Morality in 690, just a few months before Empress Wu took the throne. This gives us the latest time of composition. The content of the song can help further narrow down the timeframe. Some historical events are mentioned in the song. For instance the death of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 in 683, and the rebellion of Xu

³¹² The first month of the first year of the Zaichu reign period actually starts from the eleventh month of the previous reign period, therefore, the first year of the Zaichu reign period actually crosses from 689 to 690.

Jingye 徐敬業 in 684. Receiving the Luo River document (洛書) and building a Bright Hall both took place in 688. The honorific title referring to Empress Wu used in the song is the “sage mother divine emperor” (聖母神皇), which was also first introduced in 688. Therefore, this song must have been composed between 688 and 690. If we take into further consideration that during Tang times, it might take months for local officials in such a remote area to receive edicts regarding some of the things mentioned above, the timeframe might be even more finely narrowed down.

Usually not much information about local governors can be found, since in most cases their position is not high enough to merit biographies in dynastical records. One name keeps showing up in the manuscript itself around this similar time span — that of Li Wukui. As mentioned earlier, his name appears seven times in this manuscript, and four out seven are in the same category as this song. All those four entries are about none other but the praising of the divinity and sagehood of Empress Wu, and were all recorded in the same year, that is, the second year of Empress Wu’s rule, otherwise known as the second year of the Tianshou 天授 reign period (691). The song in question is placed in the category right after these four entries. It is natural to consider Li Wukui is responsible for this song as well as the other four entries in the same category.

7.5 Interactions between Empress Wu and Li Wukui

1). The political background of the composition of the song

As mentioned in the previous part, the ending song is likely to have been composed between 688 and 690, right before Empress Wu was about to ascend the throne. Empress Wu (who was then the Empress Dowager Wu) had been the regent of the empire for years since the

demise of her husband, Emperor Gaozong in 683. R.W. L Guisso suggests that Empress Wu had already won acceptance in 684 through personal and instrumental claims.³¹³ But Empress Wu seemed to have never ceased to solicit political legitimacy through various actions including supporting Buddhism and welcoming various kinds of auspicious omens. In 687 she built the *Ming tang* 明堂 and carried out sacrifices regularly after that.

As Howard J. Wechsler has pointed out in his book, “Auspicious omens were typically manipulated for political advantages not only by a prospective regime but by individuals or groups seeking to curry favor with that regime in order to obtain material rewards. By ‘discovering’ and presenting favorable portents, they helped generate mass support on its behalf. Auspicious omens were thus not only devices serving to help generate political support for a new dynasty, they were signs that confirmed the existence of popular support for that regime, crude yardsticks by which such support might be measured.”³¹⁴ Abundant evidence of her favoring auspicious omens can be found in the dynastic records. The most significant “discovery” of this kind of omen happened in the fourth month of the year 687, when an auspicious stone was proclaimed to have been discovered with eight characters carved on it: 聖母臨人，永昌帝業 “The sage mother descending down to the human (world), forever prosper the empire.” The historical records affirm that Wu Chengsi 武承嗣, one of Empress Wu’s nephews, was responsible for faking this stone and for asking someone to submit a memorial reporting the appearance of this omen in the Luo River.³¹⁵ Regardless of whether this record is reliable or not,

³¹³ R.W. L Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1978), 53.

³¹⁴ Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 56.

³¹⁵ the *Jiu Tang shu* 6. 119.

Empress Wu certainly was very pleased with this omen. Not only did the person who reported the discovery receive a quick promotion, Empress Wu also bestowed the title “precious illustration” (*bao tu* 寶圖) to this stone right away. Three months later, she changed the bestowed title to “the sage illustration offered from heaven” (*tian shou shengtu* 天授聖圖) and further bestowed a title to the Luo River spirit in addition to establishing a temple for the spirit. Another three months later, she went to offer sacrifice to the Luo River, showing her acceptance of this sage illustration. The term *tian shou* (bestowed by the Heaven) was taken to be her reign title when Empress Wu ascended the throne next year.

The exact same eight-character phrase that appeared on the stone was also incorporated into the composition of the ending song of P.2005. This can hardly be a coincidence. If the date of “discovery” of the ending song — the first year of the Zaichu era (690) — is more or less reliable, then the composition of the song was probably one of the first things Li Wukui did upon having been promoted to the Shazhou prefect position. It is probably also his first attempt to please the empress by claiming to observe various auspicious omens. But the entry on P.2005 mentions nothing about whether Li Wukui or someone else submitted the official memorial about the song.

2). Li’s memorials on the auspicious omens

The ending song coda was not Li’s only attempt to draw the emperor’s attention. There are four other entries in the category “Auspicious Omens” that were linked to Li, and each of them includes Li’s memorial that he submitted to the court upon the observation of the auspicious omen. All four auspicious omens were recorded to have been observed in the second year of the Tianshou era (691), two years after Li had been appointed to the prefect position and

two years before his death. This was also the second year after Empress Wu had ascended the throne.

Submitting a memorial upon the observation of an auspicious omen was required in the Tang. Whether the memorial had to be immediate depended on the level of omens. According to the *Tang liu dian*, auspicious omens were divided into four levels and thus were treated differently:

凡祥瑞應見，皆辨其物名。若大瑞，上瑞，中瑞，下瑞，皆有等差。若大瑞，隨即表奏，文武百僚詣闕奉賀。其他並年終員外郎具表以聞，有司告廟，百僚詣闕奉賀。³¹⁶

In any case, when auspicious omens respond and appear, they must all be distinguished and named. For Great Omens, Upper Omens, Middle Omens and Lower Omens, there are gradation and differences (in treating them). For the Great Omens, (the local official) [should] immediately submits a memorial to report, and all civil and martial officials [should] attend the court to present congratulations. As for the rest, Vice Director [should] detail all of them in a memorial to let the emperor know; the office in charge [should] report to the Imperial Temple, and all officials [should] attend the court to offer congratulations.

The *Tang liu dian* also lists the names of the different levels of auspicious omens.

Comparing the entries from P.2005 with the *Tang liu dian*, we know that among the four omens that Li reported, three of them were considered the Great Omens. They are the Celebrity Clouds (慶雲), which is called “five-colored clouds embracing the sun” in P.2005, Forever Blessing

³¹⁶ *Tang liu dian* 4.115.

Bird (永樂鳥), and Puchang Water with five colors (蒲昌海五色).³¹⁷ Only does the entry on the White Wolf (白狼) belong to the Upper Omen. Therefore, as the local prefect, Li had to immediately submit memorials for the former three Great Omens upon their observations but he could wait until the end of the year to submit a memorial for the white wolf. This might help explain why the entry on white wolf was put down as the second to the last, just before the ending song, because its memorial was being submitted later than the others. There are other auspicious omen observations in the early Tang that were recorded in P.2005, but none of them has a memorial attached. The fact that only Li's memorials are completely recorded in the text suggests that Li Wukui, either as part of the compiling personnel or as the imaginary reader of the editors, had an impact on the selection of information during the compilation.

Only one of the memorials, the one reporting the five-colored clouds, received a response from the court, according to P.2005. Although the response from the court was not encouraging, P.2005 still records it as truthfully as the following: “The decree says it is also common to see the five-colored clouds surrounding the sun” (敕曰亦總見五色雲抱日). In other words, the court, or the empress, considered this auspicious omen to be too common to require any attention. Probably many other places also submitted their own reports on similar type of omens.

3). Upon the death of Li Wukui

The last interaction between Empress Wu and Li Wukui took place at the time of Li's death, due, probably, to some battlefield injury. Again, the word “interaction” may not be the

³¹⁷ *Tang liu dian* says “江河水五色” which can be understood as the water of Changjiang River and the Yellow River appearing to be five colors or any water body appearing to be five colors since it follows by the statement “海水不揚波”, the lake water does not raise waves. Thus the entry in P.2005 qualifies to be a Great Omen. See *ibid*.

most accurate here since Li could no longer participate in this event. Li's position as a prefect was high enough during the Tang for the emperor to bestow on him certain position and certain amount of money, usually in the form of silk bolts, for his funeral and burial.³¹⁸ The latter entails moving his coffin back to his family burial site. According to the *Tong dian*, the rules regulating the bestowals of material goods upon the deaths of officials are:

大唐制，諸職事官薨卒，文武一品，賻物二百段，粟二百石；二品物一百五十段，粟一百五十石；三品物百段，粟百石；正四品物七十段，粟七十石；从四品物六十段，粟六十石；正五品物五十段，粟五十石；从五品物四十段，粟四十石；正六品物三十段；从六品物二十六段；正七品物二十二段；从七品物十八段；正八品物十六段；从八品物十四段；正九品物十二段；从九品物十段。王及二王后若散官及以理去官三品以上，全給；五品以上，給半。若身没王事，并依職事品給。其別敕賜者，不在折限。諸賻物应两合給者，从多給。諸賻物及粟，皆出所在倉庫。服終則不給。³¹⁹

The rule of the Great Tang: in the event that various administrative officials pass away, for the level one of civil and martial officials, they receive bestowals of two hundred bolts of silk and two hundred *dan* of millet. Level two officials receive bestowals of one

³¹⁸ According to Liu Changxu, usually an official had to be at least level 5 (wu pin 五品) and above to be able receive bestowals of posthumous official positions during the early medieval period. See Liu Changxu 劉長旭, *Liang Jin Nanchao zengguan yanjiu* 兩晉南朝贈官研究 (Beijing shifan daxue, diss. 2002), 22. Scholars usually consider level 5 as the minimal requirement for receiving bestowals of official positions, while statistic shows that officials who received such bestowals were mostly level 3 and above. See Wu Liyu 吳麗娛, *Zhongji zhi dian: zhonggu sangzang zhidu yanjiu* 終極之典: 中古喪葬制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 740.

³¹⁹ The *Tong dian* 86. 465.

hundred fifty bolts of silk and one hundred fifty *dan* of millet. Level three officials receive bestowals of one hundred bolts of silk and one hundred *dan* of millet. Level four A officials receive bestowals of seventy bolts and seventy *dan*. Level four B officials receive bestowals of sixty bolts and sixty *dan*. Level five A receive fifty bolts and fifty *dan*. Level five B receive forty bolts and forty *dan*. Level six A receive thirty bolts and thirty *dan*. Level six B receive twenty-six bolts of silk. Level seven A receive twenty-two bolts of silk. Level seven B receive eighteen bolts. Level eight A receive sixteen bolts. Level eight B receive fourteen bolts. Level nine A receive twelve bolts and level nine B receive ten bolts.

If one dies conducting royal business, make grants to him according to his administrative level. If one receives other bestowals, they need not accord with this limit. Various bestowal goods must be combined; offer the higher one. Various bestowal goods and millets [should] come from the storage of the deceased's place of origin. When the mourning period ends then stop providing.

Wu Liyu's recent research on the funerary system of medieval China suggests that it was the bestowed position, not the actual position, that determined the material goods one received after his death.³²⁰ She further points out that in the majority of cases, the bestowed position would be higher than the actual position the deceased had held right before his death, usually by one or two tiers, if the original position was below level 4 A, or by one or half a level, if the original position was level 3 and above.³²¹ Li Wukui died during his capacity as the Shazhou prefect, which is a level four A position. He received a bestowed position as the prefect of

³²⁰ Wu Liyu, 577.

³²¹ Wu Liyu, 757.

Jiazhou (modern Leshan, Sichuan), which is still a level four A position, although, Jiazhou was the same lower level prefecture as Shazhou at the time. In other words, Li Wukui's bestowed position was not better than his original position.

Conclusion

Li Wukui, in his capacity as one of Dunhuang's area prefects in the early Tang, was probably responsible for at least one revision of the text in question. We are fortunate to have Li Wukui's unearthed tomb inscription. By detailed examination of this inscription and close comparison with the information from P.2005, we are able to further understand his motivation for participating in the revision of the *tujing* text. For him, the ultimate target audience of the *tujing* text was Empress Wu, and thus the text was one means towards the eventual end of approaching Empress Wu and of impressing her with his achievements and supports of the various auspicious omens. Unfortunately for him, Empress Wu was not moved, and she did not respond to him with comparable enthusiasm.

Part Four:

Comparative interpretation of P.2005 and similar manuscripts from Dunhuang

Introduction

The seemingly random collection of secular manuscripts in the Dunhuang library cave puzzles scholars and leads to century-long debates on the nature of this whole collection.³²² What motivated the collectors to preserve all those various secular manuscripts? How can we understand the relation among those manuscripts? The answer to the first question requires a thorough and exhaustive investigation of the manuscripts inventory, especially meticulous examinations of each individual piece, and it is beyond the scope of this current research. But once we narrow our scope to the historical-geographical manuscripts of the Tang, we can specifically answer the second question, which not only can serve as a stepping stone for approaching the first question, but also help us understand the status of P.2005 in connection with other manuscripts in the collection as well as with its status during the Tang.

In discussing the materials for studying medieval Chinese history, Murai Shōsuke points out that non-textual information is as important as textual information and one of the kinds of non-textual information is information on the relation among documents.³²³ I have discussed other kinds of non-textual information in the Chapter Two and Three of the Part One. In this chapter I will focus on the relations between P.2005 and other Dunhuang historical geographical

³²² For the debates on the nature of the library cave, see Rong Xinjiang, 1998: 75-76. Also see Rong Xinjiang, 1999-2000: 247-75.

³²³ Murai Shōsuke, 38.

manuscripts that are dated to the Tang dynasty. The dates are certainly not without debates.³²⁴ This group of manuscripts, based on their relation to P.2005, can be divided into three sets. P.2695 is identical to the content of the ending part of P.2005. Although they are not the same manuscript, S.2593V and P.5034 are considered parts of the work *Shazhou tujing* based on their textual relations. S.367 are suggested to belong to a system of Tang topography writing that is different from P.2005.³²⁵

Each of the manuscripts in this comparison will be examined from the following four aspects: the physical appearance, the layout of texts, the writings and the text content. The first one entails the descriptions of the papers being used, its size, color and quality, if possible.³²⁶ Existence of writings on the backside of the manuscript (verso) will also be addressed.³²⁷ Even though some manuscripts may only contain blank or seemingly unrelated content in the back, their physical features and content from the backside could also pertain to our studies on the front page especially for the issue of dating. The layout of texts refers to the physical features including the existence of ruling lines, the neatness of texts and the arrangement of texts. The part on writings covers both calligraphy and the three writing phenomena that are of important significance in dating the Tang manuscripts, namely, the taboo characters, the *suzi* and the Wu Zhou characters. This means that this part covers both codicological and paleographic examinations of the manuscripts. The former provides us with information about production

³²⁴ Detailed discussion about the dating issues will be given in the chapters where each manuscript is discussed.

³²⁵ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 231.

³²⁶ Although the descriptions of colors may seem to be subjective and not of much use, they were recorded for the completion of the record and in some cases they could provide hints for the materials used for the manuscripts and their qualities. For the various color distinction with their Chinese corresponding terminologies, see Chen Zuolong, 46.

³²⁷ The problem of identifying which side must be considered front, which usually implies that that side was written first, will be discussed later.

standards that existed in the historical context in which the manuscripts were produced, whereas the latter offers relevant information about the scribal hands of the manuscripts, whether it is for formal or casual use. The latter one also resonates with the second part of this dissertation on the layout of texts, both of which together could reflect the nature of the manuscripts in their level of casualness. Last but not least are the actual texts that those manuscripts contain. Some of them are almost identical such as the P.2695, but small discrepancies provide valuable clues for understanding the possible relation of P.2695 with P.2005. Some may seem to be more remote from each other in content, but the similarity and the distinction of the contents may also shed light on our understanding of the historical-geographical writing as a whole during the medieval China.

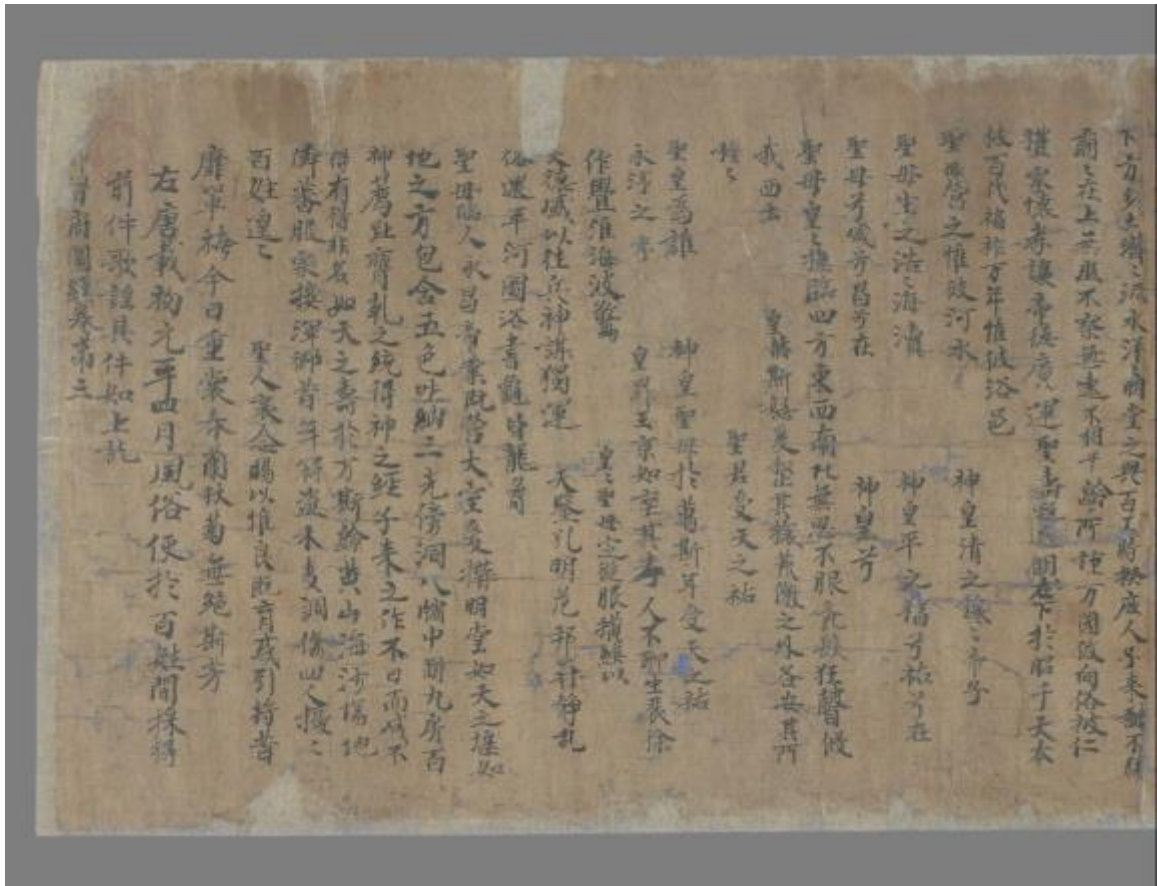


Fig 13. Images of P.2695

8.1 Physical Appearance of P.2695

P.2695 measures 26.8-27.7 cm in width and 119.2 cm in length. It is the similar size in width as P.2005, which means the paper that was used to write P.2695 is also in archaic size rather than Tang standard size.³²⁸ It is composed of three sheets of paper, the color of which is described as beige. The paper is thinner and inferior in quality than the paper of P.2005. There are 79 columns with 17-25 characters per column of texts left. With some damage at the beginning of the manuscript, the first page contains 26 columns while the second and third page contains 28 and 25 columns respectively. Except for the last page, which is the end of the

³²⁸ For discussions on the Tang paper sizes, see part 1, chapter 2.2.

manuscript, the numbers of columns on the pages slightly exceeds the 25 columns per page standards estimated by Fujieda.³²⁹ But with approximately 1.5cm in width, the size of columns still meets the standard Tang documents. The original record indicates the existence of traces of ruling, but marking of ruling lines can hardly be seen by human eyes nowadays.³³⁰ One obvious distinction of P.2695 in comparison to P.2005 is that the space for head and tail margins on P.2695 are extremely limited, with approximately one character size space to spare, contrary to the large space that was left on P.2005. The backside is empty. Although the ending part of P.2695 suffered a little damage, it is still clear that that is the end of this sheet of paper. The fact that the two corners of the paper are still intact and no sign of them have ever been cut suggests the unofficial nature of this particular document.

As for the layout of the text, there are 12 entries left. The scribe tried his best to squeeze as many characters as possible into the limited space so that even the titles of entries are located at the very top of first column of each entry except two entries. This is very likely for the purpose of keeping the neatness of the text while simultaneously saving space. Only in two entries does the title precede the content and occupy one single column, namely the entry of “Puchang lake appeared in five colors” (*Puchang hai wu se* 蒲昌海五色) and the ending song, as can be seen from the second image above. It is possible that the former one was given one full column due to the length of the title. This five-character title is significantly longer than other two or three-character titles and the scribe would have to lower the main text much more compared to other entries. The title “song” (*geyao* 歌謠) was also given a full column although it is a two-character length title, but the main text of this entry starts from the phrase “Divine Emperor, Sage Clan”

³²⁹ Fujieda, 17.

³³⁰ http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=21008712111;recnum=59846;index=5 (Feb 2014)

(*shenghuang shengshi* 神皇聖氏), which is another way to address Empress Wu's title "Divine Emperor, Sage Mother" (*shenghuang shengmu* 神皇聖母). According to the Tang code and observations from the Dunhuang manuscripts, when the emperor's titles were addressed, they had to be put at the beginning of a new column. This rule has been carefully observed in copying the ending song of P.2005, but in P.2695, except the beginning of this entry and two other places inside of the song, the scribe mostly left empty space of about several characters when encountering those terms in the main text rather than starting a new column. The two other places that the scribe generously started a new column were probably due to the fact that the previous columns were already more than half full so that the scribe decided not to squeeze the titles of her majesty into the bottom of the columns.

One interesting discrepancy in the layout of P.2695 is that at the first eight entries of the manuscript, each entry was written one or two characters beneath its title depending on the length of the title, while the top of text within the columns, usually more than one column, are lined up neatly. Starting from the middle of the ninth entry, the scribe suddenly leveled up the text so that except the first column is still about two characters beneath its title, the rest of the columns are only one character lower than the title. Based on the creasing signs in the paper, where the change occurred is also the place where the first two sheets of paper were pasted together. The consistence of writing confirms that it was written by one hand. Thus, it is unlikely that two scribes completed this manuscript. It seemed that the scribe decided to change his organization of the text in the last two sheets of paper, probably also for the sake of saving space.

There are also signs of erasures and corrections.

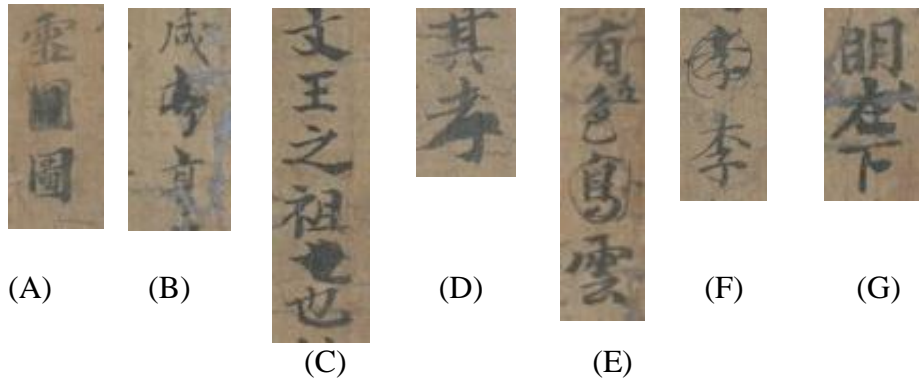








Fig 14. Correction marks on P.2695

The above images (A)-(E) are taken from P.2695. Among them the first three cases show that the scribe noticed his mistakes immediately and then smeared over the original writing, re-wrote the characters right after it. (D) is the case that the scribe intended to write the word *kǎo* 考 (meaning the deceased father) but when he realized that the bottom part of the character was somehow miswritten, he simply used a heavy stroke to cover up the mistake instead of re-write the character. These four cases are clearly scribal mistakes. The scribe noticed and corrected them at the spot. The case (E) contains two mistakes. The first one is a missing character, and a later insertion. It is not so straightforward in a way that we cannot tell if the scribe noticed the mistake while he was writing, or if the scribe or someone else corrected it afterwards. The missing character was inserted in between the two characters by writing in a much smaller size on the side. The second one is that the character 鳥. Probably influenced by a previous entry about five color bird, the scribe wrote the word *niǎo* 鳥 bird when he should write *yún* 雲 cloud. He noticed the mistake, but instead of smearing over the wrong character as he did previously, he lightly circled the character and continued to write the correct one. Similar to (E), (F) is also the case that the scribe chose to circle the mistaken character and continue with the correct one instead of making a smear. Although a bit unclear due to the paper crease, (G) is also the case

that a missing character is inserted on the side. In this particular case, it is the iteration mark 々 that was inserted. Similar correction marks can be observed in P.2005 as well as many other Dunhuang manuscripts, but the situation when the mistaken characters were smeared and re-written is hardly seen in P.2005. This may suggest that P.2695 was copied by a more careless hand or in a more careless situation comparing to P.2005.

8.2 the Writing of P.2695

The calligraphy of P.2695 is not comparable to P.2005. This is not to say that the calligraphy of P.2695 is not good, but it seems inferior to P.2005. As we pointed out in Chapter Four, the calligraphy of P.2005 is refined and every stroke in a character was written with equal strength. In P.2695, some strokes seemed to be written with more strength than other, especially the downwards-right concave stroke such as the last stroke in some simple characters: *rén* 人, *bā* 八 and *tiān* 天. I am not an expert in calligraphy, and this kind of calligraphic difference could have nothing to do with the quality of writing but simply be due to the change of contemporaneously preferred style. Speaking from the general impressions of the writings of these two manuscripts, P.2695 is not as good as P.2005.

	P.2695	P.2005
<i>rén</i> 人		
<i>bā</i> 八		
<i>tiān</i> 天		

P.2695 shares similar writing features as P.2005. No characters created by the Empress Wu can be found in the manuscript. The use of *suzi* is also consistent with P.2005, for example, the word *cìshǐ* (prefect) was always written as 刺史, as opposed to the modern standard form 刺史. This form of writing was consistent not only with P.2005, but also with the form used on Li Wukui's tomb inscription. This further resonates our questions that were raised in the Chapter Three, that is, can we simply mark all the characters that are not considered standard writing in later character dictionaries as non-standard? If so, how come they were so widely spread and seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts? Although the taboo character *rén* 人 appears twice in the last entry, the song praising Empress Wu, it is uncertain whether they were intended to be used for taboo purposes or the scribe simply copied down from the base version he had, especially if one takes into consideration the possibility that this kind of literary work might present more difficulty for a scribe to understand in comparison to other content.

8.3 The Date of P.2695

The title “Shazhou dudufu tujing”, which is fortunately preserved at the end of P.2695 therefore provides a decisive piece of information in identifying P.2005. Such a close bond between these two manuscripts is the very reason that most scholars treat them as one text and thus mix the transcriptions together as one text with an aim to restore the work called “Shazhou Dudufu tujing” or “Shazhou tujing.”³³¹ Methodologically, the action of mixing together two transcriptions from two manuscripts obscures the codicological and paleographic evidence each

³³¹ Both Ikeda On and Wang Zhongluo transcribe these two manuscripts together as one.

of these two might offer, and confuses their relation to each other. The tendency of regarding P.2695 as a duplicate of P.2005 also makes dating P.2695 separately from P.2005 become less possible. Determining the date of the manuscripts is the primary step in understanding their relations. P.2695 is much shorter than P.2005 and preserves much less information for dating. Important information that could help determine the date, such as the taboo characters as that are preserved in P.2005, is mostly gone. The only information that could help is the title of the text given at the end of the manuscript, and even there, only part of the title is still recognizable: “...dudu fu tujing juan san”都督府圖經卷三. Based on the arrangement of the text in the manuscript, it is very likely that two characters are missing. The missing two characters is likely to be the place name Shazhou. Although in historical record of the Tang dynasty such as *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* and *Xin Tang shu*, Shazhou is recorded as a dudufu, Ikeda has pointed out that the Shazhou government never used the seal of dudufu in their official document until after the reign of Tianbao (742-756) as can be seen through the Dunhuang manuscripts. He also cites the *Tang huiyao* where it says that Shazhou was promoted to be a dudufu in the fifth month of the second year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign period (651). He further pointed out that the reign title “Yonghui” is in fact an error of the reign title “Yongtai”永泰, probably because of documentation mistakes during the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山. For this reason, the date that Shazhou was promoted to be a dudufu must be the second year of the Yongtai reign period (766). This, on the one hand, explains the absence of dudufu seals among Dunhuang manuscripts during early Tang period. On the other hand, promoting Shazhou to be a dudufu matches the political situation that after the rebellion, all the local military leaders were trying to expand their

political power by promoting the regions under their own control to higher status.³³² Therefore, the use of the dudufu title in the manuscript P.2695 undoubtedly indicates that the manuscript has to be copied after Shazhou was promoted to be a dudufu. that is, after 766.

8.4 Textual Comparison of P.2695 and P.2005

Except for some textual variants, the content of P.2695 is nearly identical to the ending portion of P.2005, starting from the entry “Drew” (*Gan lu* 甘露) to the end of the manuscript.

The starting point of P.2695 corresponds to P.2005, line 2 of Page 23 in the Chapter 4.

Presumably, the relation of two texts A and B can be a) A and B are derived from different texts; b) A and B are derived from the same base text independently; c) A is a copy of B, directly or indirectly; d) B is a copy of A, directly or indirectly. The fact that both texts exhibit exactly the same textual errors suggests a close relation between them and rules out possibility a). There are two errors appeared in both texts. In P.23, L.16 both texts say “five white colors” (*wǔ bái sè* 五白色) when it should be “five colors” (*wǔ sè* 五色) since the five colors are mentioned right before this phrase. In P.24, L.3 both texts end with the phrase “heaven shows....” (*tiān xiǎn* 天顯). Apparently, the texts were incomplete and what heaven shows were left out. The same errors suggest that either one text copied the other, or they both derived from the same version that contains these errors.

The textual variations and discrepancies between these two texts are collected and compiled into the following table. Since P.2695 is almost identical in content to P.2005, I will not transcribe or translate the entire text here, but provide the location through the page number

³³² Ikeda, 34-6. Zhu Yuemei and Zheng Binglin disagree with Ikeda On about this textual error and insist that the Yonghui reign title is the correct one. See Zhu Yuemei and Zheng Binglin, 62.

and line number of the transcription of P.2005 that were used in the Chapter 4 of this dissertation to indicate the location of the words and phrases that are being discussed here. Each case is numbered for further discussion.

	Location in P.2005	P.2005	P.2695	Additional comments
1	P.108 L.1	里	日	
2	P.108 L.8	董行靖	董行端	
3	P.108 L.9	地	池	
4	P.110 L.11	No space before “制為上瑞”	Space left before “制為上瑞”	
5	P.112 L.4	日揚光 慶雲	日揚光 广	日揚光 in P.2695 was left at the end of the previous entry
6	P.112 L.8	抱日 其	抱 甚	
7	P.112 L.9	No space left before 聖神皇帝	Space left	
8	P.114 L.3	河僣海夷	河僣海	
9	P.114 L.10-11	動准法度	動法度	
10	P.114 L.11	四夷賓服	四賓服	

11	P.114 L.12	守忠愷	守忠於陞也	
12	P.114 L.17	Space left before 大周	No space left	
13	P.114 L.19	文王之祖生於后稷故 詩人所謂生人尊祖也	文王之祖也	
14	P.116 L.7	鍾	種	
15	P.116 L.9	聖壽 was leveled up to a new column	No space left before 聖壽	
16	P.116 L.10	洛	浴	
17	P.118 L.15	黃山海水蒲海沙場	黃山海沙場	
18	P.118 L.17	優優	擾擾	
19	P.118 L.18	既撫既育	既育	
20	P.118 L.19	或引或將	或引將	
21	P.120 L.3	具狀上訖	具件如上訖	

The above textual variants can be divided into the following categories:

- I. Scribal errors due to possible graphic similarities as in (1) (2) (3) (6) (14) (16) and (18).
- II. Spacing difference as in (4) (7) (12) and (15).
- III. Missing text as in (6) (8) (9) (10) (13) (17) (19) and (20).
- IV. Others as in (5) (11) and (21).

Among the seven scribal errors due to possible graphic similarities of the category I, (1), (3), (6), (14), (16) can be identified as mistakes that the scribe of P.2695 made based on the context. (2) is a case of personal names, thus usually the context is not of much help. But in both manuscripts, the name Dong Xingduan 董行端 also appears in the entry right before the entry in question. Based on P.2005, Zheng Binglin considers the name on P.2695 as a mistake.³³³ But Wang Zhongluo suggests it must be the correct name for it is unlikely to have two people with similar names reporting auspicious omens.³³⁴ But one could also argue that it is not uncommon to have similar names especially among siblings in ancient China, thus the possibility that the text refers to two different people still exists. In any case, it is difficult to judge which scribe made the mistake. The context of (18) suggests that *rǎorǎo* 擾擾 (disturbed) in P.2695 is the right word. It is comparatively easy to explain (18) by scribal mistakes of P.2005 due to the graphical similarity. The majority cases of category I suggest that the scribe of P.2695 made more scribal mistakes and it would be difficult to imagine that P.2005 was copied from P.2695 without these mistakes.

At the beginning of this chapter we have discussed the space left before certain words for respect purposes in P.2695 with comparison to P.2005. In general, P.2005 is more generous in leaving out spaces and leveling up the following words into a new column out of respect for the royal house. But in the four cases of category II, since we only compare the situation whether or not a space has been left, it seems that both P.2695 and P.2005 only followed the rule in half of the cases. Thus this category cannot provide us with direct evidence as for which text copied from which.

³³³ Zheng Binglin, 1989: 37.

³³⁴ Wang Zhongluo, 173.

Nine cases in category III involves missing characters. The parallelism of the text tells us that in most cases it is the scribe of P.2695 somehow left out those characters rather than the scribe of P.2005 added characters, such as in (8)(9)(10)(17)(19)(20). All these cases suggest that it is highly unlikely that P.2005 copied from P.2695, but probably the other way around. Especially in (13), two entire sentences was left out in P.2695. Likely, the scribe skipped the middle part when two 祖 characters show up in columns next to each other.

There are three cases I include in the category IV as others since each of them presents somewhat complicated situation and requires more analysis comparing to other cases. In the case (5), *ri yang guang* 日揚光 (the sun brightens up) and *qingyun* 慶雲 (celebrated clouds) are two different phenomenon but combining together to form the title, thus a space was left between these two terms as can be seen in P.2005. The scribe of P.2695, probably confused by the space, continued his copying the first term as part of the previous entry and did not realize his mistake until he wrote the head part 广 of the character 慶. Somehow the scribe decided to start the next entry with only the title *qingyun*, leaving out the part of *ri yang guang*. Possibly, he did not realize the *rì yáng guāng* is part of the title, or he simply decided to ignore that. Again, it further demonstrates that P.2005 could not be copied from P.2695, directly or indirectly.

The case (11) is puzzling. Wang Zhongluo proposes that the correct reading here must be “to guard their loyalty to their high majesty” (守忠於陛下), therefore, in P.2695 the character 下 was left out while in P.2005 the character 愷 is probably a graphic mistake for 陛.³³⁵ This means that P.2005 is more corrupted than P.2695 in this case and thus implies that P.2695 could not be copied based on P.2005. Li Zhengyu considers the character 愷 is a graphic mistake 愷, which is

³³⁵ Wang Zhongluo, 140.

pronounced zhǐ, meaning “ambitions”.³³⁶ Therefore, this phrase must be understood as “to guard one’s loyalty and ambition.” Li’s reading works well for P.2005, but it encounters a problem when we take P.2695 into consideration. If the original text is 守忠悒, how can we explain the extra word yú 於 (prepositional word, in relation to) in P.2695 ? Especially, since bīxià 陛下 is such a common binome, the phrase 守忠於陛 in P.2695 makes no sense when the word 下 is missing. It is hard to imagine that the scribe would decide to change 悒 or 悒 into 陛, adding the prepositional word yú 於, but leaving an incomplete word without xià 下. In this case, I have to agree with Wang that P.2695 likely represents the correct reading. Thus it is unlikely that P.2695 is a copy based on P.2005 at least in this place.

The last case (21) is difficult to explain. Based on the context, P.2005 reads: “Above, the previous song was collected from the commoners in the fourth month of the first year of the Zaichu era (690) by the Inspector of Public Morality. [He] detailed the statement and submitted. The end” (右唐載初元年四月風俗使於百姓間採得前件歌謠具狀上訖), while mostly the same, P.2695 says “[He] detailed this piece like the above. The end.” The phrase jù jiàn rúshàng 具件如上 is not a common expression and can only be found in very few occasions in Buddhist documents. On the other hand, jù zhuàng 具狀 and jù zhuàng shàng 具狀上 are both commonly seen in various historical materials and the former one is still in use in legal writings. Therefore, the P.2005 reading seems to be more preferred. The problem is how the textual mistake of P.2695 was made and I cannot find a good explanation.

Based on all the analysis above, we can see that comparing the textual variants between P.2695 and P.2005, P.2695 made more textual mistakes, and those mistakes suggest that it is

³³⁶ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 119.

unlikely that P.2005 copied from P.2695. On the other hand, there are also cases indicates that P.2695 could not be copied from P.2005 either. Therefore, the most plausible possibility is that both P.2695 and P.2005 copied from the same source, but not from each other. The scribe of P.2005 was much more careful than the one of P.2695 and made fewer errors.

One more interesting observation is that there are six errors in P.2695. Those are the cases that the scribe missed a word or two in a four-syllable structure phrase such as the ones in the ending song. Missing one or two words can severely damage the parallel structure but also should be easily noticed when one reads through it. Nevertheless, the scribe of P.2695 did not find these errors at all and never made corrections. This can be attributed to the carelessness of the scribe, but is it also possible that the scribe was not educated enough to fully understand the texts? Various types of scribes have been identified in Dunhuang manuscripts, and some of them does not necessarily require high education.³³⁷

In conclusion, both the physical appearance and the text of P.2695 are distinctive from P.2005, thus the nature of these two documents are significantly different from each other. P.2005 is an official document written by a careful scribal hand. It represents the high standard of manuscript production during the Tang. P.2695, on the other hand, is likely not made for governmental purposes, but rather, for personal use. Although the scribe is comparatively careless, the writing is nevertheless still neat, comparing to many other Dunhuang secular manuscripts.

³³⁷ Lin Congming, 133-210.

8.5 The Question of Copying a *Tujing* during the Tang

Since the possibilities that P.2695 and P.2005 may be copies of one another or from the same source rises in our previous discussion, it is only natural to raise a further question: how difficult or how easy for people of medieval China to gain access and make copies of *tujing*? After all, from a modern point of view, *tujing* was not only a type of government documents, but also seemed to contain some rather sensitive information that might be of great military and administrative importance.

Not much information regarding private access to government documents during the Tang can be found in historical materials. One entry in the *Tang huiyao* indicates that the high level officials were granted access to important documents such as the *shilu* 實錄 (veritable records) in certain occasions:

貞觀十七年七月十六日，司空房元齡、給事中許敬宗、著作郎敬播等，上所撰《高祖實錄》、《太宗實錄》各二十卷。太宗遣諫議大夫褚遂良讀之前，始讀太宗初生祥瑞，遂感動流涕曰：“朕於今日，富有四海，追思膝下，不可復得。”因悲不自止，命收卷，仍遣編之祕閣。并賜皇太子及諸王各一部，京官三品以上，欲寫者亦聽。³³⁸

In the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan era (643), on the sixteenth day of the seventh month, Minister of Works Fang Xuanling, Supervising Secretary Xu Jingzong, Editorial Director Jing Bo and some others submitted to the court the *Gaozu shilu* and *Taizong shilu*, each of which they compiled in twenty *juan*. Taizong ordered Grand Master of Remonstrance Chu Suiliang to read in front of him. When he just read about the

³³⁸ *Tang huiyao* 63.1289.

auspicious omens that appeared when Taizong was born, Taizong was moved and burst into tears, saying: “at this moment, even though I am as rich as owning the four seas, longing for serving my parents is something cannot be obtained again.” Therefore, he was so sad that he cannot self-constraint. He ordered to unroll the scroll and send to be catalogued in the Imperial Archives. He also bestowed one set to the crown prince and other princes. Capital officials with status of level three and up who desire to copy one is also allowed to.

Lai Ruihe, in his study of Tang historian Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721), points out that Tang court historians and sometimes high level officials with personal connections were able to gain access to the imperial library and make copies for themselves.³³⁹ But the access was certainly limited to particular individuals, and was not open to public.

Later gazetteers might offer us some insights into the accessibility of the *tujing*. Joseph Dennis has shown that in the late imperial period, the manuscripts of gazetteers that were retained in the local places could be accesses on-site in the place where they were stored or off-site through hand-copying.³⁴⁰ But he also points out that it was the imprints of gazetteers that were made from the cut woodblocks supply copies to their audience for decades and maximize their influence.³⁴¹ Without the help of printing technology in the Tang, the access to the *tujing* must be significantly limited.

One more piece of evidence from the Dunhuang manuscript S.367 has shown another case of copying *tujing*. S.367 is also a historical geographical manuscript, which contains

³³⁹ Lai Ruihe 賴瑞和, “Liu Zhiji yu Tangdai de shu he shouchaoben: yige wuzhi wenhua de guandian” 劉知幾與唐代的書和手抄本：一個物質文化的觀點, *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 台灣師大歷史學報 46 (2011), 118-9.

³⁴⁰ Joseph Dennis, 262.

³⁴¹ Ibid, 265.

information on both Shazhou and Yizhou (modern Hami, Xinjiang). I will discuss this particular manuscript more in detail in Chapter 10, but for our present discussion, I put the translation of the relevant information, which is the colophon of this manuscript, here:

光啟元年十二月，張大慶因靈州安慰使嗣大夫等來至州，於嗣使邊寫得此文書，記。

The first year of the Guangqi era (885), the twelfth month, Zhang Daqing, relying on the event that the Assistant Commissioner of Pacification of Lingzhou came to the prefecture, copied this text at the side of the assistant commissioner.

Zhang Daqing was a Dunhuang local, and served as a consultant for the *guiyi* army of Shazhou at that time. From this colophon, we know that he obtained his base version from the assistant commissioner who traveled from Lingzhou (modern Wuzhong city, Ningxia) to Shazhou. The fact that Zhang Daqing had to borrow a copy from a neighboring prefecture suggests that the original copy of this manuscript has lost in Shazhou. Since the extant manuscript S.367 is a fragment, we do not know if Lingzhou was also part of the content. Based on the extant text, Xiang Da 向達 speculates that the original text covered Guazhou (modern Jiuquan, Gansu), Shazhou, Yizhou and Xizhou (modern Turfan, Xinjiang).³⁴² His proposal did not gain popularity and most scholars still only consider Shazhou and Yizhou as the target area of this material.³⁴³ In any case, the text does not concern Lingzhou, but it was in Lingzhou that a copy could be obtained in 885. This tells us that during the Tang sometimes prefectures also kept copies of historical geographical documents of their neighbors and people with certain level of

³⁴² Xiang Da, “ji Dunhuang shishi chu jin tianfu shinian xie shouchang xian jing” 記敦煌石室出晉天福十年寫壽昌縣境, *Tangdai chang'an yu xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明, (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957), 429-42.

³⁴³ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 233.

official positions could request to make copies. In this particular example, the commissioner was even willing to bring the manuscript, crossing over 700 miles to allow copies made in Dunhuang.

The above available evidence suggests that copying a *tujing* manuscript in the Tang was not easy, although there seems to be no prohibitions against private copying. Even in the capital, only high officials might be able to access the manuscripts in the imperial library and make their own copies. The limited access in the local area only to local officials and their staff members prevented manuscripts spreading far. Thus, P.2695 is probably also a copy made by a local staff member.

9.1 S.2593V (670-710)

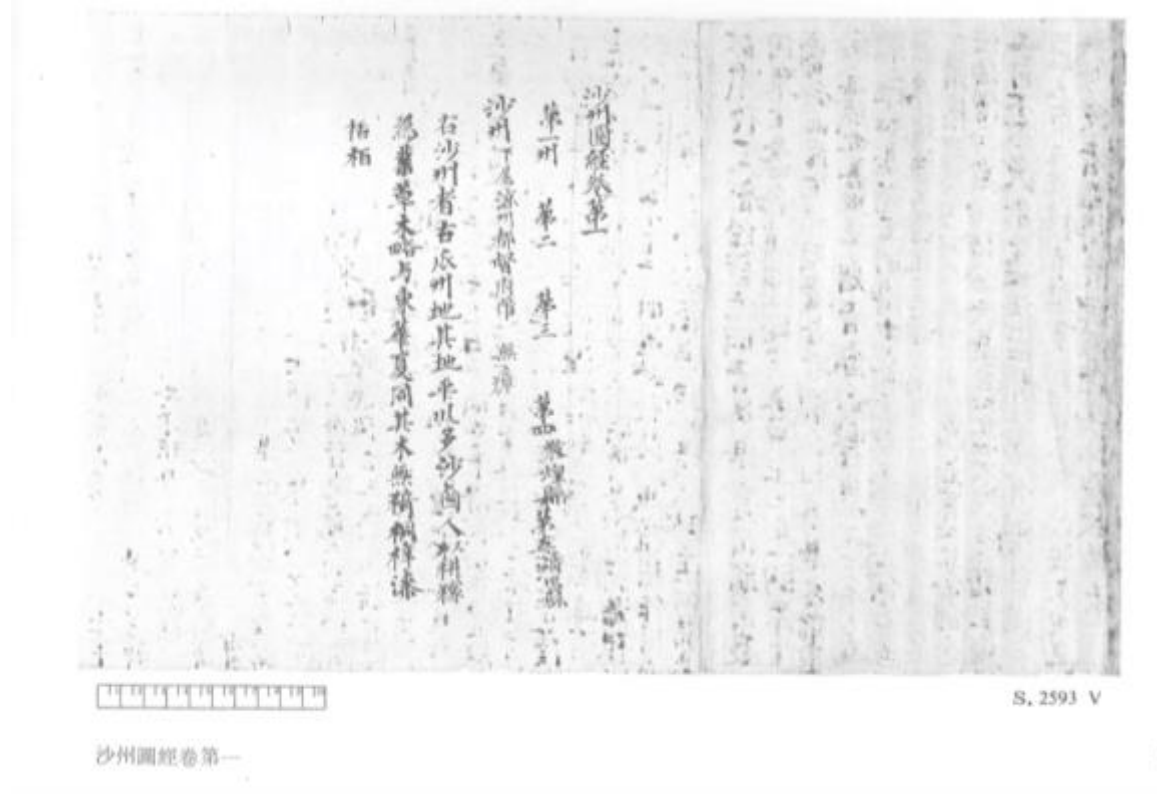


Fig 15. The Image of S.2593V

The colored image of this manuscript is not yet available online, so only the copy from the *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* is available (see above). It only contains six columns of content. It seems that the scribe stopped writing for some reason and the paper was then discarded. Later it was pasted together with two other short pieces of paper, one at the beginning and one at the end, to form a long piece of paper and was used for writing Buddhist text *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* on the other side. Therefore, even though in British library's record this manuscript is considered the back page (*verso*), as a matter of fact, it is probably better to consider it the front since it must be written prior to the Buddhist text. Li Zhengyu dates

the Buddhist text to the High Tang period based on the calligraphy, thus he concludes that the verso of this manuscript must predate that period.³⁴⁴ This date is not entirely impossible since a complete Chinese translation of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* was not accomplished until the reign of Linde 麟德 (664-665) by a monk Huining 會寧 and the distribution of this particular sutra has to be dated even after 695. The chapter we have from S. 2593 is a part of the later translations.³⁴⁵ Therefore, it is questionable whether or not this sutra had already reached Dunhuang during the High Tang. Scholars have also pointed out that the calligraphy of the Buddhist text is more like Five Dynasties style than High Tang.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, since the text of

³⁴⁴ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 1-2.

³⁴⁵ S.2593 contains the volume 40-41 of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. The date and origin of the later portion of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* remain to be problems. The *Da zheng zang* 大正藏 cited a passage from the *Da Zhou lu* 大周錄, indicating the translation was not completed and published until 695. The original text reads: “During the Linde era of the Great Tang (664-5), southern Indian Monk Jñānabhadra along with Tang Monk Huining, translated at the state of Kaling (modern Java). In the early of Yifeng era, Liang Nandi, Commander-in-Chief of Jiaozhou, entered the capital with the sutra. Arriving at the third year, the chief monk Linghui of Da ci’en Temple reported at the ministers of the East Palace, and requested to carry out. The ministers reported, and then (the sutra) was regarded as beneficial and can be used. Monk Huili of the Western Taiyuan Temple of Chang’an composed the preface. Until the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month of the first year of the Tiance wansui era (695), the sutra was compiled and distributed according to the imperial order.” 大唐麟德年中，南天竺僧若那跋陀共唐國僧會寧，於日南波陵國譯。儀鳳年初，交州都督梁難敵附經入京。至三年，大慈恩寺主僧靈會於東宮三司受啟所陳聞，請乞施行。三司牒報，逐利益行用。長安西太原寺僧慧立作序。至天冊萬歲元年十月二十四日奉勅編行。 *Da zheng cang*, 55:385b. As for detailed discussion about Chinese translations of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, see Wang Bangwei 王邦維, “lue lun *daban niepanjing* de chuanyi” 略論大般涅槃經的傳譯, *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, No. 06, (1993), 103-27. But *Gaoseng Zhuan* has another record that the translation of the latter portion was completed by the tenth year of the Xuanshi era (421). See Stephen Hodge, “the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: the Text & its Transmission,” unpublished workshop paper, presented at the Second International Workshop on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Munich, June 27-29, 2010), 15.

³⁴⁶ This was pointed out by Imre Galambos and Monk Zhenru 湛如 in Dunhuang study seminar in the University of Cambridge, UK, 2014.

S.2593 was apparently written later than S.2593V, it is of less significance in helping date S.2593V.

Due to the lack of a high quality image online, we can only rely on the black-white photo image available on the *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian*.³⁴⁷ The text that is written here is the main portion of S. 2593V. Although two other pieces of papers are attached, since they are both blank and do not pertain to our discussion, I put them aside, and here I will refer to the main piece in question as S.2593V. S.2593V is marked with ruling lines and contains 20 columns, each of which is approximately 2 cm wide. The width of the columns is significantly wider than P.2005 by 0.5cm. Before the title, there are also two columns left unwritten. The two other pieces of paper that was pasted with the main portion are shorter and contains no ruling or writings.

The writing of S.2593V is neat and beautiful. Although there are only few columns of writing left, one can still tell the arrangement of the text. The main content of the entry is one character below the title. The character form is also consistent with what we saw from P.2005 such as the use of the “suzi” character 与. From the generosity of paper using, the writing to the neat textual arrangement, this manuscript seems to fit to be an official document.

Since the papers have been recycled to use, it is hard to determine if S.2593V is in its original form or if it had been altered for re-use. Thus, some features of physical appearance that can help to determine its nature, such as corner cutting at the end of the scroll, are also missing. Usually during the Tang, papers must be pasted together, and cut the two corners at the end before writing, as what we can see in P.2005. It is possible that after giving up this part, the scribe cut off the rest of the scroll to save paper. It is also possible that the scribe did not paste

³⁴⁷ The examination of the original at the British Library provides me more details about the manuscript, such as the width of columns and the pieces of papers attached to the manuscripts.

the rest of the papers, but rather, he wrote first. This possibility is not entirely improbable and leads us back to the issue of how manuscripts were circulated in the Tang, by scroll or by sheet of paper? Although most Dunhuang manuscripts we can see today are in the form of scrolls, especially for those well-written Buddhist sutra, how did common Tang people use paper for things that are less prestige comparing to sutra, for example, writing a poem? Taiwanese scholar Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 once points out a phenomenon that after the Zhenguan era, monks usually used the phrase “how many sheets of paper” to count the numbers of sutra they recited in a day.³⁴⁸ Lai Ruihe also noticed that in many Tang poetry and literature writings, the measurement for daily study and copying is *zhi* 紙, pieces of papers, rather than scroll. He then suggests that although the works in the imperial library or by private collectors might be mostly in the form of scroll, for daily use and study, the most common media was probably loose sheets of papers.³⁴⁹ This could also help explain in one way why S.2593V did not preserve a longer shape.

The full text is short and thus is fully recorded and translated here:

沙州圖經卷第一

第一州 第二 第三 第四敦煌縣 第五壽昌縣

沙州 下，屬涼州都督府管，無瘴。

右沙州者，古瓜州地。其地平川多沙鹵，人以耕稼為業。草木略與東華夏同。其

木無椅桐梓漆栝柏

Shazhou tujing juan no.1

³⁴⁸ Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得, *Banben muluxue luncong yi* 版本目錄學論叢一 (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe 學海出版社, 1977), 131.

³⁴⁹ Lai Ruihe, 2011: 121-3.

One: prefecture; Two: Three: Four: Dunhuang county; Five: Shouchang county
Shazhou, was a lower level prefecture and under the administration of Liangzhou
dudufu. It does not have miasma.

On the right, the so-called Shazhou is located in the place of ancient Guazhou.³⁵⁰ Its area
is flat terrain with much sands and saline soils. People make living by farming and
agriculture. The plants are similar to the Huaxia on the east. Its woods do not produce
Catalpa bungei; *Paulownia fortunei*; *Catalpa ovata* and *Rhus verniciflua*.³⁵¹

According to Li Zhengyu's research, Liangzhou dudufu was changed to Hexi jiedu fu 河
西節度府 in the first year of the Jingyun 景雲 era (710), thus the text must be composed before
that time.³⁵²

³⁵⁰ The place name Guazhou can be traced back to the Chunqiu 春秋 period and is first appeared
in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Xianggong 襄公 14th year, 595BC). But as for where Guazhou was is still
an unsettled matter. In the "dili zhi" of the *Hanshu*, Ban Gu cited Du Lin's 杜林 opinion to
pinpoint Guazhou as Dunhuang. Later commentators almost all follows this idea.

³⁵¹ The unusual mentioning of what kind of woods they did not produce has been discussed in
part 3, chapter 7.

³⁵² Li Zhengyu, 1998: 7.

9.2 P. 5034 (era of Empress Wu)

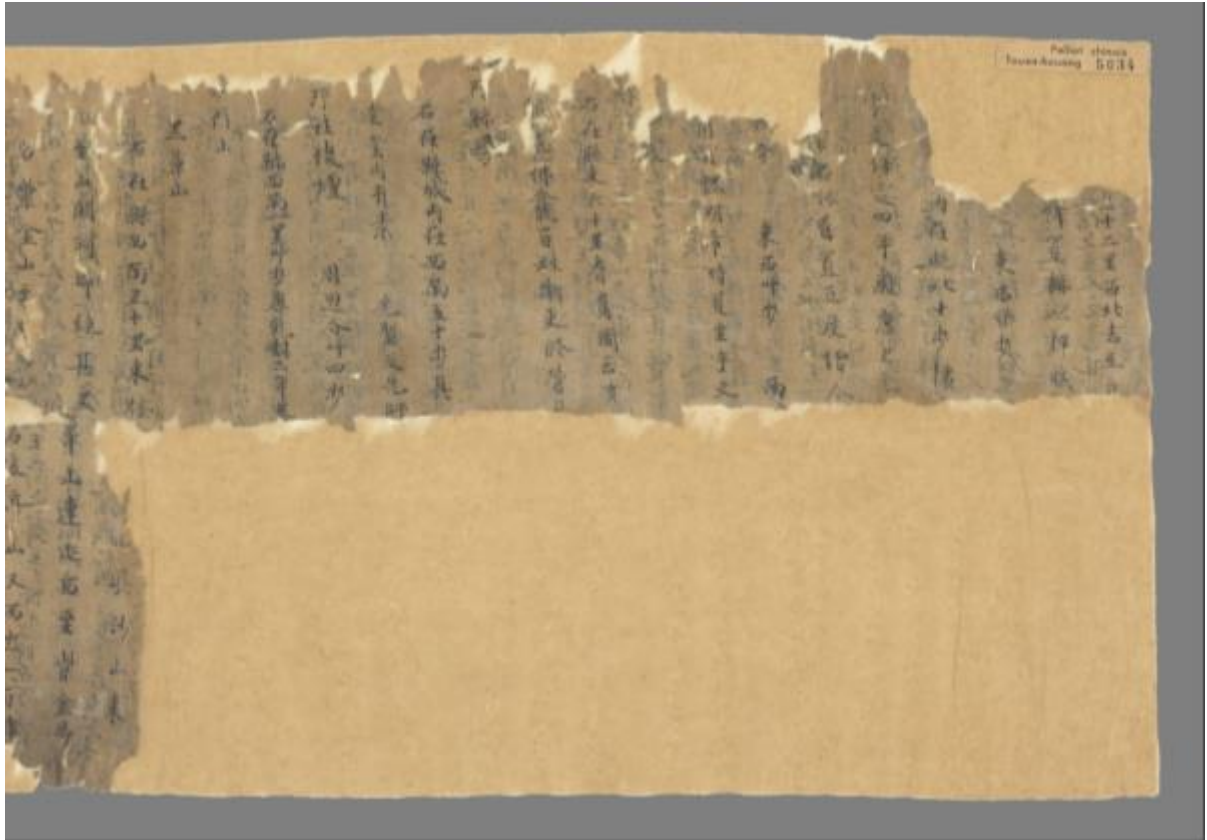


Fig 16. The beginning part of P.5034

The above image is the beginning of P.5034. As one can see, the beginning is damaged. In fact, so as the ending and P. 5034 is very fragmentary with numerous holes, slots and indentations. It is composed of eleven sheets of paper with many of them missing half part, either the top or the bottom. The original was probably in five pieces, each measures 27×123.5 cm, 27×53.5 cm, 26×105 cm, 27×80.5 cm and 13×16 cm respectively. The long scroll we can see today has undergone the preservation process by the *BnF*.³⁵³ There are 181 columns of texts preserved. Approximately each column measures 2cm wide, which coincides with S.2593V but

³⁵³ http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=50711258311;recnum=62594;index=2

wider than P.2005 and P.2695. The paper is rather thin and the ink from another side is visible. Li Zhengyu identifies another small piece of fragment numbered P. 5031 (33) to be originally a part of P. 5034 based on the content and the calligraphy, but due to the fragmentary nature of both manuscripts, they cannot be neatly pieced together.

The characters of each column are written in a rather straight line with a slight tendency of leaning towards the right side as one can observe from the above image. Considering that there is no ruling line can be observed, it is very likely that the manuscript did not have any ruling line to begin with. Despite the severe damage, one can still see that some space was originally left for the head and tail margins, although not as generous as P.2005. The textual layout is similar to P.2005: the title of each category written along with the number of entries leaves a two-character margin lower than the text box; the title of each entry is written one additional character lower than the title of the category; the content of the entry is an additional one character lower. The only difference is that when an entry does not contain a title, in order to distinguish entry from entry, the number *yi* — would written above the rest of the content, sometimes with one character space left in between. This can be seen in the categories of “six roads” (*liu suo daolu* 六所道路) and “two abandoned cities” (*er suo fei cheng* 二所廢城). There are approximately a bit over twenty categories preserved, most of which are either missing the top half or the bottom half.

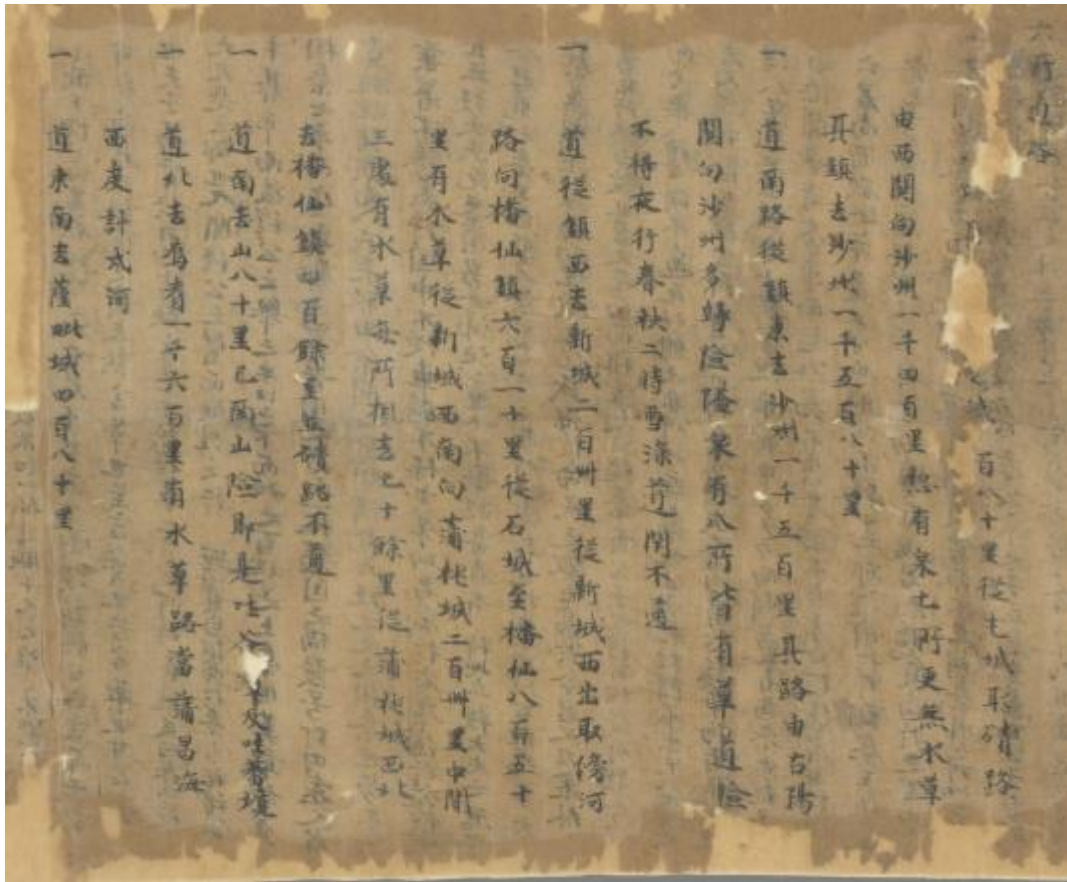


Fig 17. P.5034, the entry of liu suo daolu 六所道路

The other side of the paper records the “Qin yu”秦語 from the *Chunqiu hou yu* 春秋後語 which Li Zhengyu dates it prior to the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (781).³⁵⁴ Yet another recent study on the *Chunqiu hou yu* dates this manuscript to the mid to late Tang based on the fact that the taboo character rules were not carefully observed.³⁵⁵ But in any case no strong proof that the side with the text of the *Chunqiu hou yu* was in fact written after the other side. Although the calligraphy of the *Chunqiu hou yu* is a bit more cursive and less beautiful, it is nevertheless

³⁵⁴ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 134.

³⁵⁵ Kang Shichang 康世昌, *Kong Yan Chunqiu houyu yanjiu* 孔衍春秋後語研究 (Taipei: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe 花木蘭文化出版社, 2007), 29.

neat and organized. Thus which side of this manuscript should be considered the front remains to be a question.

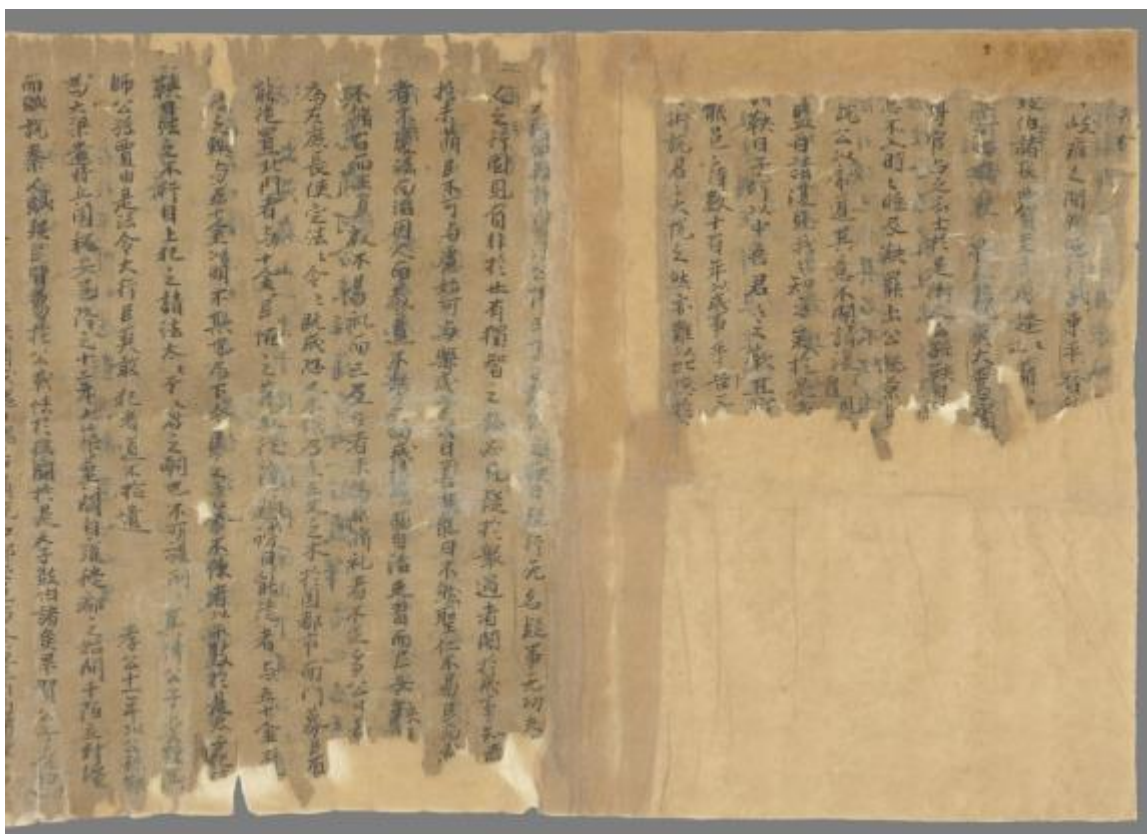


Fig 18. P.5034 verso, partial

The calligraphy of P.5034 is legit and neat, but less aesthetic than P.2005 and S.2593V. The scribe seemed to be less advanced in calligraphy comparing to the scribes of the other two. In terms of writing, there are two obvious differences when we compare P.2005 and P.5034. First, P.5034 does not taboo character *jī* 基 for the name of Emperor Xuanzong. For the same expression, “the base still exists,” P.2005 wrote: “其趾猶存” while P.5034 wrote: “基趾見存.” This also serves as one piece of evidence for Li Zhengyu to date this manuscript before the time of Emperor Xuanzong.³⁵⁶ Second, This is the only manuscript among the manuscripts examined

³⁵⁶ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 134.

in this chapter that preserves characters created by Empress Wu. Although only one example can be found, it proves that the manuscript has to be written after the creation of those characters around 690. The character that appears in the manuscript is 鳳, which stands for the word chū 初. Based on these two pieces of evidence, Li Zhengyu considers this manuscript to be a copy written at the time of Empress Wu.³⁵⁷ Since it is the only example of Empress Wu's characters in this manuscript, extra care is needed since it could be the case that the scribe simply copied the character without rendering it back and may not be very helpful in dating.³⁵⁸

The text of P.5034 mainly concerns Shouchang 壽昌 county, which was one of the counties under the administration of Shazhou during the Tang. Two other cities, Shicheng zhen 石城鎮 and Boxian zhen 播仙鎮, both of which were foreign settlements during the Han but had been under Tang control, were also recorded at the end of the manuscript. P.5034 did not have its title preserved, and various titles have been given to this manuscript in different collections.³⁵⁹ The same arrangement to have these two foreign settlements attached at the end and the similar content can also be seen in another Dunhuang manuscript titled *Shouchang xian di jing* 壽昌縣地境.³⁶⁰ Since the *Shouchang xian di jing* contains the title, by comparing its content with

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Imre Galambos, "Dunhuang Characters and the Dating of Manuscripts," *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Susan Whitfield and Ursula Sims-Williams ed., (London: the British Library, 2004), 72-80.

³⁵⁹ For instance, Wang Zhongmin 王重民 gave the title *mou zhou zhi* 州志 in his *Bo Xihe jie jing lu* 伯希和劫經錄. Ikeda On called it *Shazhou tujing juan di wu* 沙州圖經卷第五. Huang Yongwu 黃永武 gave the title *Shazhou fujin guan shan quan ze deng dizhi* 沙州附近關山泉澤等地志 in his *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏. Zheng Binling called it *Shazhou dudufu tujing canjuan* 沙州都督府圖經殘卷. Li Zhengyu follows Ikeda On's title. See Li Zhengyu, 1998: 133.

³⁶⁰ The original manuscript of *Shouchang xian di jing* is no longer extant. It was in private collection after discovered from the Dunhuang library cave but later got lost. Xiang Da is the first one who recorded this manuscript and published it in his article "Ji Dunhuang shishi chu Jin

P.5034, we know that P.5034 is also a similar kind of historical geographical materials concerning Shouchang county. This serves as an important link to connect P.5034 with the other Dunhuang manuscripts, P.2005, P.2695 and S.2593V, to be specific, as one text. Therefore, most scholars nowadays accept that P.5034 is the fifth *juan* of the *Shazhou tujing* and agree to the title either as *Shazhou tujing juan di wu* or *Shazhou dudufu tujing juan di wu*, depending on which manuscript title, S.2593V or P.2695, they prefer to follow. I will discuss this point further in next part.

9.3 *Shazhou tujing*: P.2005, S.2593V and P.5034 as One Text?

Luo Zhenyu is the first one to suggest that P.2005, P.2695 and S.2593V must be from the same text since P.2695 “*Shazhou dudufu tujing*” and S.2593 “*Shazhou tujing*” preserve similar titles, and the difference in their titles can be easily explained by the name change of administrative divisions.³⁶¹ Ikeda further suggests that all four Dunhuang manuscripts, namely, P.2005, P.2695, S.2593V and P.5034 are from the same source that can be called *Shaozhou tujing* and its table of content can be reconstructed based on S.2593V and the content from P.2006. As shown in 10.1, S.2593V contains one column after the title: “One: prefecture; Two: Three: Four: Dunhuang county; Five: Shouchang county” 第一州 第二 第三 第四敦煌縣 第五壽昌縣. Although extremely brief, this piece of text nevertheless provides important

Tianfu shinian xie Shouchang xian jing” 記敦煌石室出晉天福十年寫壽昌縣地境 in 1944. Most scholars relied on Xiang’s copy to conduct research on this manuscript. But Xiang Da did not see the original but only a copy made by a person named Lü Shaoqin. Lü’s copy was later preserved in *Chongxiu Dunhuang xian zhi* 重修敦煌縣志, which is unfortunately in manuscript form and never published. Li Zhengyu in his book transcribed this manuscript based on Lü’s copy and helped correct some mistakes in Xiang Da’s version.

³⁶¹ Luo Zhenyu, *Xuetang jiaokan qunshu xulu juanxia* 雪堂校刊群書敘錄卷下, *Luo Xuetang xiansheng quanji chubian*, (Taipei: Wenhua chubangongsi, 1968), 32-34.

information, that is, the number of *juan* in the text titled *Shazhou tujing* and the specific arrangement of the content in some of the *juan*. Since P.2695 preserves the title indicating it is the third *juan*, P.2005, the one with identical but more content must also be the third *juan* of this text. Therefore, Ikeda On proposed the following reconstructed and detailed table of content for this text, and he also attaches the extant manuscripts that correspond to each *juan*:

“*Juan One*: Shazou (changes in administrative units), S.2593V

Juan Two: Shazhou (from government locations to mountains), missing

Juan Three: Shazhou (from waters to auspicious omens, songs), P.2005 and P.2695

Juan Four: Dunhuang county, missing

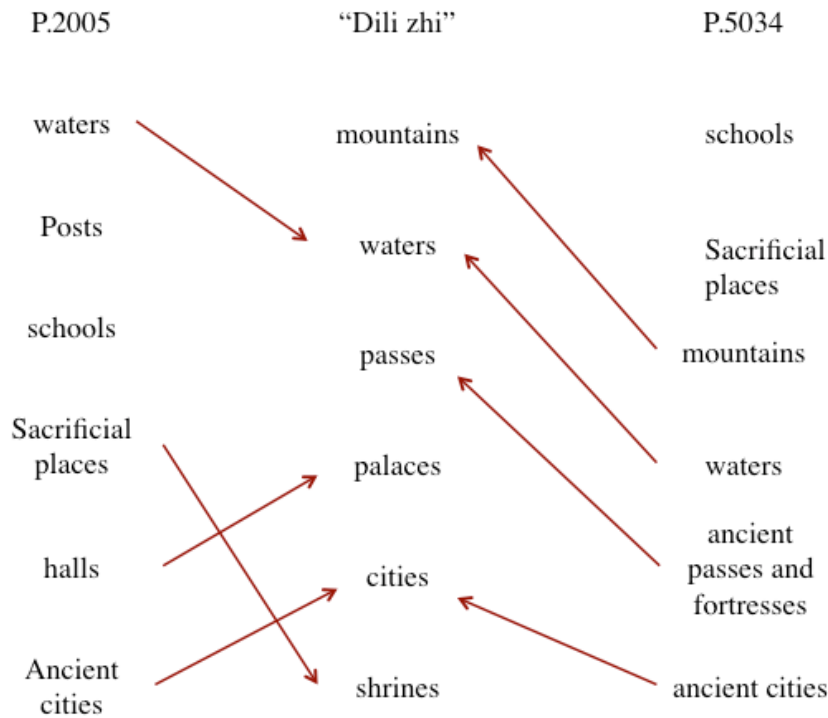
Juan Five: Shouchang county, P.5034”³⁶²

Ikeda On’s proposal has been widely accepted. Grouping together S.2593V with P.2005 and P.2695 is less controversy since the surviving titles suggest the textual connection. There are three reasons P.5034 is considered part of the text. First, the likely date of the manuscript to the period of Empress Wu, which matches the dates of the others around the early Tang. Second, the content on the Shouchang county matches the description given by S.2593V. One could argue that there might be individual texts on the historical geography of the Shouchang county circulating at that time. At least there is one manuscript called *Shouchang xian di jing* that we know of.³⁶³ Last but may be the most importantly, the style and structure of the text of P.5034. Not only is its textual layout similar to P.2005, but the general arrangement of categories, their sequences also resemble that of P.2005. In Chapter Seven, we discussed the formulaic structure

³⁶² Ikeda On, 38.

³⁶³ See footnote 360.

of P.2005 and the possible origin of such structure that can be traced back to the “Dili zhi” of the *Han shu*.



From the above illustration one can see P.5034 also follows the similar kind of structure of “Dili zhi” to arrange its text, except that the entries of “schools” and “sacrificial places” were placed at the beginning of the text. The same sequence of placing the entries of “schools” and “sacrificial places” in the two manuscripts may indicate a later change from the “Dili zhi.” Unfortunately, the beginning of P.5034 has severe damage, so no more information on its arrangement can be retrieved.

As mentioned earlier, the descriptions about two foreign settlements, Shichengzhen and Boxianzhen, are attached at the end of P.5034. Although the part on Boxianzhen has been largely damaged with only few lines left, it seems that a similar structure of arrangement has also been followed on part of Shichengzhen. The entries within the part on Shichengzhen are in the following order: mountains (the southern mountain of Shicheng 石城南山) – cities (Tuncheng

屯城; [Xincheng] [新城]; [Putao cheng] [蒲桃城]; [Sabi cheng] [薩毗城]; [Ningmi cheng] [寧彌城]) – one Buddhist temple (一所僧寺) – six roads (六所道路) – two abandoned cities – Puchang Lake – one *xian* shrine. Comparing these entries to the above illustration, although the placement of lake is rather behind comparing to the usual placement that the category of waters follows the category of mountains, the rest are more or less following the arrangement similar to the “Dili zhi”.

So far it seems to be a perfect argument that these four manuscripts can be grouped together to provide us with a lost Tang text that can be referred to as *Shazhou tujing*. But is it so? From either the perspective of manuscript or the perspective of text, this argument cannot stand solid and further revision is needed. In fact, these are four different manuscripts. People often forget that the importance of manuscripts not only lies in the texts they contain, but also lies in the fact that they are artifacts, and they have their own distinguishing physical features. As I have shown from the discussions of each manuscript, none of them share the same features. They use different papers, and have different textual layout, different calligraphy and even different characteristics of writing. For instance, P.5034 contains the Empress Wu’s characters while no other manuscript has it. It is safe to conclude that these four are not originally one manuscript.

Scholars certainly noticed the distinction in terms of manuscript features, and no one ever tried to connect these four manuscripts from this perspective. If we completely ignore their manuscript features but only look at their texts, can we reach the same conclusion? There are still problems. Although the texts have been dated to early Tang, the exact dates cannot be pinpointed. From the different titles preserved in S.2593V and P.2695, one can tell for sure that these two texts were probably written at two different times. And it is highly likely that the other texts were also written at different times based on evidence such as their character writing and

the use of taboo characters. Normally it is no problem to accept that different pieces of texts written at different times can still represent the same original entity, if it is a work, the text of which has been stabilized such as the *lunyu* or a rhyme book. Unfortunately, *tujing* is not a type of stabilized work, but rather, a type of work that undergoes repeated revisions, about every three or five years. Chapter Seven has already elaborated on this point. There is also clear evidence from the manuscript to support the argument. In P.5034, the existence of Empress Wu's character and the absence of taboo character for Emperor Xuanzong lead to the conclusion of dating the text to the time of Empress Wu. But in P.2005, the existence of taboo characters for Emperor Xuanzong and the date of the fourth year of the Kaiyuan era in one of the entries clearly put the text after the early Kaiyuan period. If we accept both dating, then one can only come to the conclusion that there is a big time gap between the dates of these two texts, and it is highly likely that the latter was a revision version of the former. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to call all four texts either *Shazhou tujing* or *Shazhou dudufu tujing* since each of them probably was revised at some point and even if they survived with their full texts, they may not be exactly the same. Addressing them with the same name would cause confusion and lead to the assumption that each of these texts represents a portion of an "original" text. But the reality is that there is likely no such original text ever existed, and each extant text probably came from different origins.

A similar case can be found in the manuscripts of the rhyme book *Qieyun* that were preserved in Dunhuang as well. Although it seems that rhyme books are usually stable and did not need to be changed as often as *tujing*, revisions and enlargements also often lead to different versions of rhyme books. At least five different versions of the *Qieyun* from Dunhuang have

been discovered and distinguished. Instead of calling all of them as *Qieyun*, historical phonologists have given each version different names to distinguish them.³⁶⁴

How can we address these four manuscripts that can on the one hand show their textual connection but on the other hand distinguish the possible distinctions on their versions? One way is to turn to the custom of printed book culture for suggestive indication. When different versions and editions of printed books are concerned, each of them would have part of their names to indicate either the place of printing or the era it was printed. Since there is no name of the author or scribe in the manuscripts, and the place of their copying is likely to be in the same area, Shazhou, what we can do is to use the possible dating as markings. Both P.2695 and S.2593V have already preserved their titles, which can be remained. In order to distinguish P.2005 from the two, it can be referred to as *Shazhou tujing kaiyuan version* for the latest reign title appeared in P.2005 is the Kaiyuan. For P.5034, it may be appropriate to refer to it as *Shazhou tujing Empress Wu version*, if we can temporarily take Li Zhengyu's dating as indication.

In sum, S.2593V, P.5034 and P.2005 are considered to constitute so-called *Shazhou tujing*. Careful examination of these manuscripts and their texts shows that they are not only different manuscripts written by different scribes, but also likely to be from different versions of the *Shazhou tujing*. *Tujing* is a type of text that was constantly revised and enlarged. Therefore, it is necessary to address each manuscript with distinctions in their titles to make clear their different origins.

³⁶⁴ The five versions include the version with annotation by Zhangsun Nayan 長孫訥言, the *Kanmiu Buque Qieyun* 刊謬補缺切韻 by Wang Renxu 王仁煦, the *Tángyùn* 唐韻 by Sun Mian 孫愐, the version with additional characters by anonymous authors and the version of the *Kanmiu Buque Qieyun* with standardized characters by Pei Wuqi. See Jerry Norman, *Chinese*, (Cambridge Cambridgehire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 24-5. Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun* 唐五代韻書集存(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).

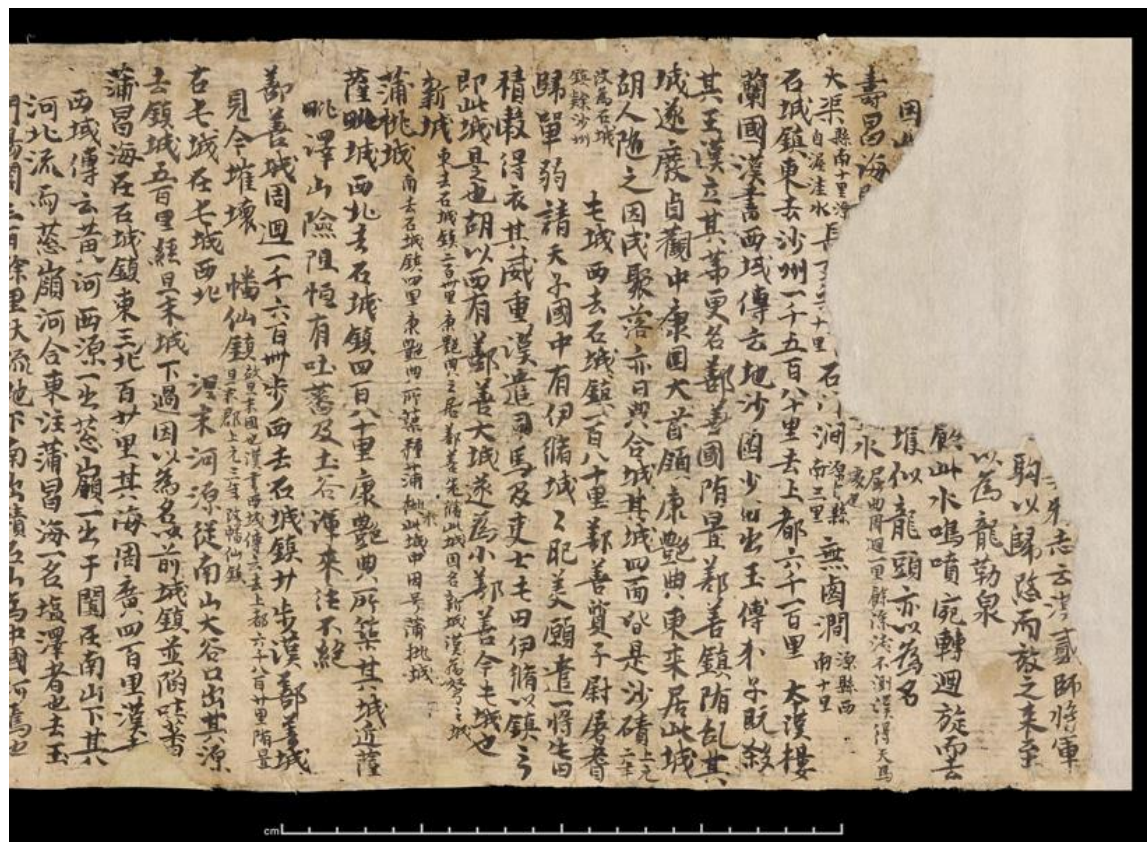


Fig 19. The Beginning Part of S. 367

The size of the paper is about 23cm in width and 130 cm in length. The front is damaged. It is composed of three sheets of paper, and preserves 86 columns of texts. It seems that a full sheet of paper must contain 31 columns originally, based on the signs of paper pasting. The number of columns is more than the 26 columns Tang standard. No sign of ruling lines and the paper seems to be rather thin, since the ink mark is visible from the back. The backside is empty. Although legit and neat, the text is written tightly. Few of the columns are not in a straight line but slightly towards the right bottom, which indicates that the paper probably does not have any ruling line to begin with. No head or tail margin space left.

The text can be divided into two parts not only due to the different content but also their textual layout. The first part is probably the end portion of a record on Shazhou, more

specifically, on the Shouchang county, since its content is largely overlap with that of P.5034.

The second part is on Yizhou 伊州 (modern Hami, Xinjiang). The details of the content

comparison between relevant parts of P.5034 and S.367 are compiled into the following table.

The titles in [] in the table are reconstructed by Li Zhengyu based on its content since those parts where the original titles located are severely damaged:

P.5034	S.367
Shouchang lake 壽昌海	Shouchang lake 壽昌海
The Great Canal 大渠	The Great Canal 大渠
Changzhi Canal 長支渠	長□□
Shimen Stream 石門澗	Shimen Stream 石門澗
Wulu Stream 無鹵澗	Wulu Stream 無鹵澗
Two old passes 二古關	N/A
[old fortress] [古塞]	N/A
[old cities] [古城] includes ancient Shanshan and ancient Tuncheng.	Corresponding content is in separate entries
Shicheng zhen 石城鎮	Shicheng zhen 石城鎮
Tuncheng 屯城	Tuncheng 屯城
[Xincheng] [新城]	Xincheng 新城
[Putao cheng] [蒲桃城]	Putao cheng 蒲桃城
[Sabi cheng] [薩毗城]	Sabi cheng 薩毗城

[Ningmi cheng] [寧彌城]	N/A
Buddhist temple	N/A
Roads	N/A
Abandoned cities	N/A
N/A	Shanshan 鄯善
Puchang lake 蒲昌海	
Boxian zhen 播仙鎮	Boxian zhen 播仙鎮
N/A	Jumo River 沮末河
N/A	Ancient Tuncheng 古屯城
	Puchang lake 蒲昌海

As one can see, not only do most content match, but even the sequence of narration is similar. There are two differences in terms of textual layout between P.5034 and S.367 that cannot be reflected from the above table. One, in P.5034, each entry is neatly arranged under bigger categories. For instance, the two canals formed one category and the title of the category is clearly marked in a separate column at the beginning. S.367 does not show this kind of category arrangements, but simply entry after entry. Two, in P.5034 every entry would start in a new column, but in first part of S.367, rather than starting a new column, in most cases, the scribe copied the entries one after another with only a few characters space in between. This changes once he moved to the second part on Yizhou. In the second part, every entry starts with a new column. Commentaries are written with small characters in double lines, but in most cases,

they are written in one single line. The calligraphy is consistent, thus the entire text must be written by one scribe.

The content of S.367 is much briefer than P.3054.³⁶⁵ And the most interesting is that this manuscript fortunately contains a colophon. The colophon has been translated earlier in 9.3 when copying *tujing* manuscript is concerned, but I would like to repeat the translation to jog your memory:

The first year of the Guangqi era (885), the twelfth month, Zhang Daqing, relying on the event that the Assistant Commissioner of Pacification of Lingzhou came to the prefecture, copied this text at the side of the assistant commissioner.

This colophon, not only gives the date of copy, which is 885, but also tells us the name of the scribe, Zhang Daqing, who was a native of Dunhuang and served as a consultant for the *Guiyi* Army at that time. This colophon indicates that Zhang Daqing borrowed the base copy from the neighboring prefecture.

Based on this, Li Zhengyu speculates that the original of this text was not compiled by Shazhou natives and further suggests that it was in fact belonged to a system different from P.2005 and other manuscripts we grouped together with P.2005 as the *tujing* system.³⁶⁶ Li did not specify his reasons for distinguishing two systems of historical geographical writings. Only in talking about P.5034 does he point out that P.5034, like S.2593V and P.2005, is “a topography of outline style” 綱目式志書.³⁶⁷ No further explanation is provided. Li’s speculation and suggestion are questionable. First of all, although the base version of this manuscript was from a

³⁶⁵ Full annotated English translation of S.367 can be found in Lionel Giles, “A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century,” *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol.6, No.4 (1932): 825-46.

³⁶⁶ Li Zhengyu, 1998: 231.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

neighboring state, no evidence points out why this version was kept there. Whether or not it was originally from Shazhou or bestowed by the court is unknown. Since the content of S.367 covers both Shazhou and Yizhou, it was likely that the original text was compiled based on different writings from these two areas, and the part on Shazhou is probably from Shazhou. This can be further supported by the similarity shared by P.5034 and S.367 in their contents and their orders of narration. Second, no historical record indicates different systems of writing historical geographical information existed. If by calling “outline style,” Li refers to the lack of marks for different categories, it is not an unusual practice, especially for many abbreviated geographical writings. For instance, P.2691, which a Dunhuang manuscript dated to the Five Dynasties, is often referred to as *Shazhou guiyijun tujing lüechao* 沙州歸義軍圖經略抄. It is brief without any category title but it is still called a *tujing*. Therefore, Li’s claim that there was a different system of historical geographical writing is unfounded.

He further suggests that the text of S.367 were a part of a larger compilation of historical geographical writing, probably in a national-wide scale, but differs from works such as the *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, for there is no indication of illustrations ever preserved in the manuscript. But the fact that no indication of illustration contained in P.2005 suggests otherwise. These manuscripts are usually incomplete. One cannot tell if illustrations were originally there but Zhang Daqing decided not to copy, or if it was simply lost during transmission. It would be dangerous to draw a conclusion based on the fragmental manuscripts.

I think the difference between S.367 and other manuscripts discussed in this chapter does not lie in their style of compilation, but more in the nature of the manuscripts, whether or not they were written in a formal way or a casual way. All P.2005, S.2593 and P.5034 are written neatly with a clear textual layout, especially the former two. Even P.2695, the one with changes

in its textual layout, still shows certain consistence. Compared to these manuscripts, S.367 is much more careless in copying and probably shows the lowest standard in writing this type of text. The single column commentaries and continuous writing of entries suggest that although the base version may be from an official document, the scribe may not intend to have it copied for governmental use, but more likely for his personal use. This could also explain why the scribe left his name and recorded the occasion that he obtained the text at the end of the manuscript.

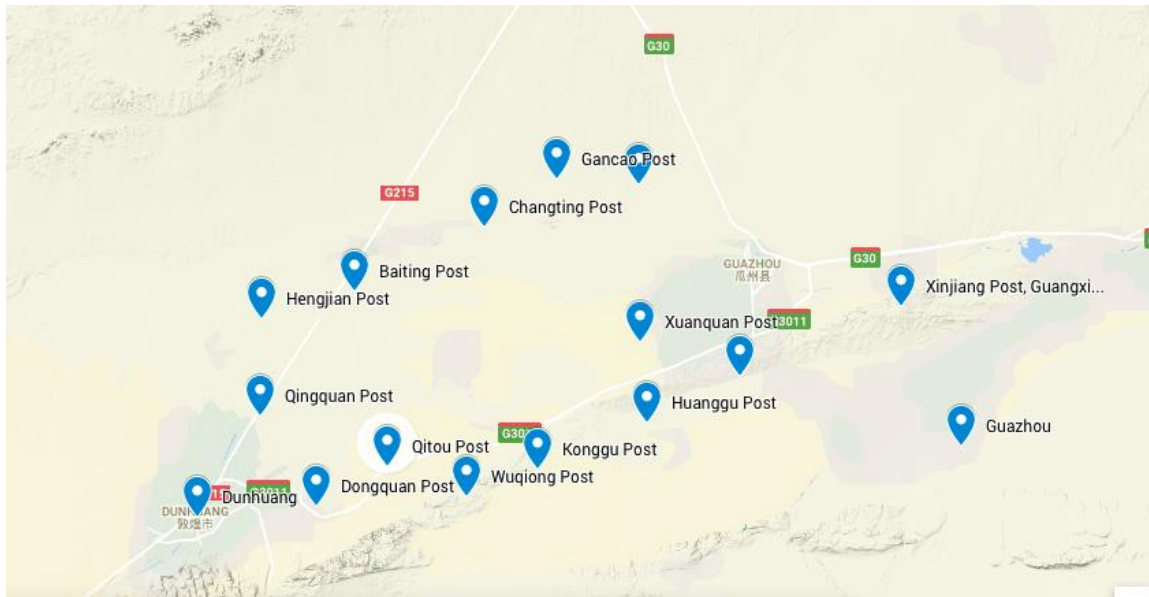
Conclusion

In this part, we examined other Dunhuang historical geographical manuscripts that are dated to the Tang dynasty and grouped them based on their relation to P.2005 into three sets. By comparing P.2695 with P.2005, we can see that although they are almost identical in content, they were probably copied from the same source, rather than from each other. P.2005 certainly represents a higher standard of text production than P.2695. The texts of S.2593V and P.5034 are considered parts of the work *Shazhou tujing* of which P.2005 also belongs to. But by doing so, we confuse different versions of *Shazhou tujing* since *tujing* is a type of work that constantly revised and edited. Referring to each of them with an appropriate name to distinguish their differences in versions would help understand their relations. S.367 are suggested to belong to a system of Tang topography writing that is different from P.2005, but the examination shows that it is not only similar in content to P.5034 but also shares the similar arrangements of entries. Without any more evidence from manuscripts or historical records, it would be questionable to suggest the existence of two systems of historical geographical writings during the Tang.

Appendix

Reconstructed Map of Post Stations from Shazhou to Guazhou

NOTE: The following map is reconstructed from the google map based on the information provided from P.2005. It only provides an approximate idea of the relative distance between post stations, but not their exact locations.



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