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The Typology, Classification, and Structure of Dunhuang Manuscript Liturgies

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Liturgies couched in elaborate, Chinese-style parallel prose were read aloud as opening remarks at ritual gatherings organized by followers of Buddhism. In general, they consisted, first, of an exaltation of the merits of the Buddha and the power of the Dharma, followed by an explanation of the main purpose of the gathering, and a narration of the sponsor's family background (often in highly flattering terms), their fine character, and their devotion to Buddhism. The text would end with a prayer to the Buddha.

The Dunhuang document cache preserves thousands of liturgies (used in Buddhist ritual gatherings of various types) as well as liturgical models (used as references when drafting actual liturgies). Some of these documents survive only in one or two manuscript witnesses; more commonly, they are attested in a dozen or many dozens of manuscripts. In glancing through their contents, we find that these documents include nearly every type of prayer directed toward the Buddha by the people of the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song. The received Buddhist canon contains very few texts of this kind (with the exception of a few prayer texts preserved in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集). Consequently, these documents are exceptionally valuable resources for the study of medieval Buddhist history and the history of medieval social life.

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

Stephen Teiser of Princeton University, for example, has recently published research on performativity and liturgies, as well as on the subset of liturgies known as 'illness texts' (患文). In addition, Columbia University held a workshop: titled *Ganmon* Liturgies in Premodern East Asia, in October, wherein American and Japanese scholars

discussed liturgies from Dunhuang and Japan. The success of the forum suggests that Dunhuang liturgies have captured the interest of American academia.

However, previous scholars did not pay a lot of attention to this kind of document; in particular, they often failed to consider the documents' genre as a whole. As a result, the classification of these documents in current scholarly catalogues is often quite confused. For example, consider the *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin* 《敦煌遺書總目索引》 (*Catalogue and Index of the Dunhuang Manuscripts*),¹ which classifies liturgies and liturgical models into the following categories: protocols (書儀), Buddhist protocols (釋氏書儀), functional *exempla* (實用文範), practical *exempla* (應用文範), scripts for worshipping the Buddha (禮佛文式), practical Buddhist *exempla* (釋門應用文範), liturgical programs (齋文程式), assorted liturgical programs (諸雜齋文程式), Buddhist *exempla* (釋子文範), assorted liturgies (雜齋文), various assorted liturgies (諸雜齋文), Buddhist documents (釋子文), assorted documents for worshipping the Buddha (禮佛雜文), Buddhist documents for worshipping the Buddha (釋子禮佛文), documents on worship and repentance (禮懺文), assorted Buddhist documents (釋門雜文), Buddhist prayer documents (釋子祈禱文), and so on.²

The *Catalogue* was published more than fifty years ago, in May of 1962. As might be expected, in the intervening period, research in Dunhuang studies has advanced enormously. The *Catalogue*, of course, was constrained by the state of research in Dunhuang studies at the time; given that, the problems we find in the *Catalogue*'s system for classifying these documents were likely unavoidable.

In September of 1986, the *Dunhuang yishu zuixin mulu* 《敦煌遺書最新目錄》 (*New Catalogue of the Dunhuang Manuscripts*),³ edited by Dr. Huang Yongwu (黃永武), was published in Taiwan. This book took stock of new results in the field of Dunhuang studies both in China and abroad since the publication of the *Catalogue*, and in its classification of documents—particularly its classification of Buddhist documents—the *New Catalogue* represented a considerable advance over its predecessor.

In its classification of liturgies and liturgical models, however, the *New*

Catalogue made scarcely any progress, basically using the same categories as the original *Catalogue*. The relevant categories in the *New Catalogue* are: protocols (書儀), Buddhist protocols (釋門書儀), practical Buddhist *exempla* (釋門應用文範), Buddhist *exempla* (釋門文範), Buddhist model texts (釋門範文), scripts for worshipping the Buddha (禮佛文式), assorted liturgical programs (諸雜齋文程式), various assorted liturgies (諸雜齋文), Buddhist documents for worshipping the Buddha (釋子禮佛文), assorted Buddhist documents (釋門雜文), assorted liturgies (雜齋文), documents for Buddhist ceremonies (佛教設會文), and so on.⁴ Although the categories in the *New Catalogue* are slightly less numerous than those in the original *Catalogue*, the system of classification is still quite haphazard, and there is no improvement at all in the confusion surrounding the names of the categories.

Finally, the year 2000 saw the publication of *Dunhuang yishu zongmu suoyin xinbian* (《敦煌遺書總目索引新編》) (*Catalogue and Index of the Dunhuang Manuscripts: New Edition*), edited by Shi Pingting (施娉婷). This edition makes great improvements over the classification systems of the previous catalogues, but still makes few improvements in the classification of liturgies.

If we do not apply a rational typology to liturgies and liturgical models, and if we fail to resolve the confusion surrounding the names of these categories, we will not be able to conduct effective research on these fascinating documents. This paper attempts a cursory investigation of these issues. If it contains any mistakes, I humbly ask the reader to point them out.

One: The Typology and Classification of Liturgies and Liturgical Models in the Dunhuang Manuscripts

The careful reader may have already noticed that, in the *Catalogue* and *New Catalogue*, the categories related to liturgies and liturgical models can be collapsed into two main groupings. The first grouping comprises the first nine of the seventeen categories in the *Catalogue* and the first seven of the twelve categories of the *New Catalogue*. Although the categories in this first grouping are numerous, their names

(which all include terms like ‘protocol,’ ‘*exemplar*,’ ‘script,’ ‘program,’ and ‘model text’) show that the cataloguers believed these were not functional documents (i.e., documents that were not actually used on ritual occasions). Rather, they were models providing a reference for those who drafted such functional documents.

The remaining categories comprise our second grouping. Names like ‘various assorted liturgies,’ ‘assorted Buddhist texts,’ ‘Buddhist texts for worshipping the Buddha,’ and ‘texts on worship and repentance’ suggest that the cataloguers believed the texts in this grouping were indeed functional documents.

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

First, we will examine ‘liturgical models.’ These documents are identical to what are sometimes called ‘protocols’ (*shuyi* 書儀). They were never used at actual ritual functions; instead, they served as references for those who drafted actual, functional liturgies. For the most part, they have the format of a letter (*shu* 書), with an introduction, table of contents, and main text.

The *Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Scroll, with Preface* (P.2940; on how to interpret the name of this text, see note 22) will serve as a representative example of this category.⁵ This manuscript preserves the preface, table of contents, and part of the main text of a set of liturgical models. As we saw previously, there are nearly ten separate terms for this kind of liturgical model in modern catalogues. What label, then, should we use to encompass all of these terms?

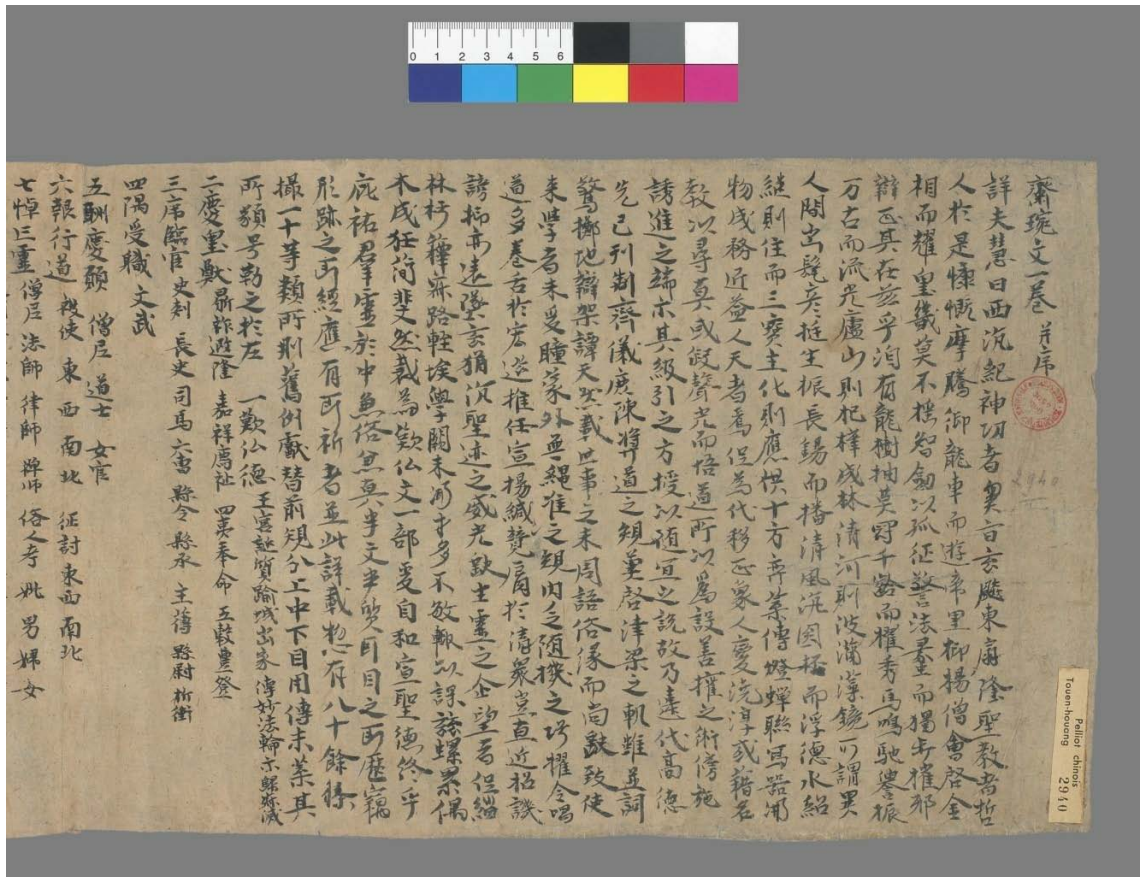
With a few omissions, the preface of P.2940 reads as follows:

Because the age shifts from the true to what is mere semblance, and

people change [in their morals] between impure and virtuous, sometimes one relies on the teaching of names in order to seek the true, and sometimes one relies on sight and sound to realize the Path. Thus, in order to set up the technique of virtuous expedients and widely enact the start of guideful progress, one puts forth the method of leadership and relies on the discourse that is appropriate to circumstance. And so, the noble worthies of long ago first instituted liturgical protocols, hoping to lay out the model for encouragement and wishing to open up the tracks of the Fording Bridge. Although their startling phrases shook the earth, and their bounding discourse expounded to heaven, nevertheless, their record of worldly affairs was not yet complete and their talk of mundane circumstances still contained omissions. As a result, future students—those who had not yet received [the precepts], who were young and ignorant—lacked any exterior model to serve as a plumb line, and were missing, within, the skill for according with the needs of the moment. Those guiding and leading [students] often rolled their tongues [i.e., did not speak directly] on the Grand Mat; those trusted to expound publicly would actually seal their lips in the Pure Assembly. Not only has this recently invited slanderous censure, it is akin to a monkey who has fallen deep into the abyss. When one shrouds the radiance of the Sage's traces and erases the hopes of living creatures, there are rotten leaves in the Black Grove [i.e., Buddhist monasteries], and pale ash on the road to tranquility. Deficient in study, with little learning, and not clever in the many talents, I will attempt the strain of the black conch, and pair the [missing character?] formed of wood. Seeking over-ambitiously for brilliance, I will compose a set of texts exalting the Buddha. Thus, beginning with serene propoundings of the virtues of the Sage, it will conclude with blessings for the many Powers. Herein one finds both the mundane and the [ultimately] true, some patterned and some plain. Wherein the ear and eye engage, therein my humble tracks have passed,

and I have brought together these detailed records for whatever might be prayed for. In all, there are more than eighty items, collected together in ten ranks. [The system] is similar to the older items [formerly] instituted, though I have selected and rejected [aspects] of the former models. It is divided into upper, middle, and lower sections, and can be transmitted to Later Ages.

但為代移正象，人變澆淳。或藉名教以尋真，或假聲光而悟道。所以為設善權之術，旁施誘進之端。示其級（汲）引之方，援以隨宜之說。故乃遠代高德，先已刊制“齋儀”。庶陳獎道（導）之規，冀啟津梁之軌。雖並詞驚擲地，辯架譚天。然載世事之未周，語俗緣而尚缺。致使來學者，未受瞳（童）蒙。外無繩準之規，內乏隨機之巧，擢令唱道（導），多捲舌於宏筵；推任宣揚，竟緘唇於清眾。豈直近招譏謗，擬亦遠墜玄猶；沉聖跡之威光，缺生靈之企望者。但緇林朽蘗，寂路輕埃，學闕未聞，才多不敏。課茲螺累，偶木成口，狂簡斐然，裁為歎佛文一部。爰自和宣聖德，終乎庇佑群靈。於中兼俗兼真，半文半質。耳目之所歷，竊形跡之所經，應有所祈者，並此詳載。忽有八十餘條，撮一十等，類所制舊例，獻替前規。分上中下目，用傳末葉。



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As the quoted material shows, this *Jadeite Text for Zhai* could also be called a ‘Texts on Praising the Buddha.’ The contents suggest, however, that it is no more than a revision and supplement to ‘liturgical protocols’ (齋儀) created by ‘worthies of long ago.’ In all likelihood, the ‘worthies of long ago’ indicated here are some worthy monks from the Northern and Southern Dynasties period.

The term ‘liturgical protocol’ is related, in its origins, to the term ‘protocol’ (書儀). Protocols were used as references when both literati and commoners composed secular letters; the genre had appeared as early as the Han. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, various kinds of protocols circulated widely,⁶ and even though student monks considered secular genres ‘external documents’ (外書), they would, for the most part, have been well aware of such texts.

Consequently, when they first came up with the term ‘liturgical protocol,’ our

‘worthies’ would certainly have been influenced by the common, everyday category of the ‘protocol.’ Hence, they called this type of document—which was similar in nature to the normal ‘protocol’—a ‘liturgical protocol.’ The fact that they also used the labels *Jadeite Text for Zhai* and ‘Texts on Praising the Buddha’ for the ‘liturgical protocol’ should not give us pause. The situation is similar to the way Tang writers sometimes used the name ‘Letter Between Friends for the Twelve Months’ for the ‘Monthly Protocol Placards’—simply an instance of variant labels for the same type of document.⁷

By the time of the Tang, there had been considerable development in the categories of and terminology for Buddhist *zhai* gatherings, and the liturgical protocols developed during the Northern and Southern Dynasties no longer entirely matched the needs ‘on the ground.’ Thus, the creator of the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* modified older liturgical protocols, making it ‘begin with serene propoundings of the virtues of the Sage, and conclude with blessings for the many Powers... I have brought together these detailed records for whatever might be prayed for.’ The *Jadeite Text*, therefore, is really a new liturgical protocol superseding its predecessor. In the same fashion, documents in the Dunhuang manuscript cache that serve as models for liturgies most likely belong in the category of ‘liturgical protocols’ (or to the category of revisions of liturgical protocols). Consequently, we will combine the current catalogues’ various categories related to liturgical models into one category, which we will call simply ‘liturgical protocols.’

The second main grouping is the ‘liturgy’ (齋文) proper. We will use this term to refer to the various types of liturgies that were actually read aloud by monastics at different kinds of *zhai* gatherings, or to liturgical compendia made up of such texts. Generally, documents of this kind will have their title (e.g., ‘Text for Approaching the Tomb,’ ‘Text for a Sick Layperson,’ ‘Text for an Association Ritual,’ ‘Text for Stamping Buddhas in the Sand,’ etc.) written out at the beginning of the text,⁸ though there are also some that do not give their title.⁹ Although liturgies are sometimes attested in stand-alone, single text manuscripts, they are also sometimes combined in liturgical compendia ranging in size from two or three to several dozen texts. Compendia of these

documents usually contain only the texts of the liturgies themselves—i.e., the texts are not preceded by any preface or table of contents.

When such texts survive in only one or two text witnesses, the *Catalogue* and the *New Catalogue* will often use the title of the manuscript as the label for a category. This kind of text is fairly numerous, so except in cases where the catalogue lists many subheadings and gives the title of each text,¹⁰ the catalogues often just lump these texts together under headings like ‘assorted liturgies,’ and ‘assorted Buddhist liturgies.’ As we discussed above, there are eight or nine such categories.

The *Travel Diary* (《人唐求法巡禮行記》) of the Japanese monk Ennin (圓仁) suggests that Tang literati used the single term ‘liturgy’ to refer to texts like ritual exaltations, texts on approaching the tomb, texts for sick laypeople, texts for association rituals, and texts for stamping Buddhas in the sand.¹¹ The Dunhuang manuscripts themselves frequently use the term ‘liturgy’ in the titles of such texts. We have, for example, ‘Association Liturgies’ (S.5561、S.5548、P.3276 *verso*、P.3545、P.2588), ‘Funeral Liturgies’ (S.5573、P.2058 *verso*), ‘Prayer Liturgies’ (P.3545、S.4507、P.3566、P.2058 *verso*), ‘Great [Ceremonial Feast] Liturgies (P.3405), and so on. P.3163 *verso* preserves a text that was recited at a merit-making ritual sponsored by one Yang Duya as a memorial service for his late elder brother. The original title of the text is simply ‘Yang Duya’s Liturgy.’

To sum up, liturgies and liturgical models from Dunhuang can be divided, on the basis of their fundamental characteristics, into two main groupings: liturgies and ‘liturgical protocols.’ Liturgical protocols were basically the same as ‘protocols,’ and served as references for the drafting of liturgies. Liturgies were recited by monastics at all kinds of *zhai* gatherings, and thus had a functional aspect. They also retained some features of the liturgical protocols on which they were based.

In order to avoid confusion surrounding terminology and improve people’s understanding of the nature of these documents, it would be best if future catalogues of Dunhuang manuscripts subsumed the wide variety of labels for texts related to liturgical models under the term ‘liturgical protocol.’ As for liturgies, if they preserve only one or two texts, they could be listed under the name of the texts themselves, e.g., ‘text for an

association ritual.’ In contrast, liturgical compendia composed of many texts could be labeled ‘Various Assorted Liturgies.’ Under this label, however, there should be subheadings detailing the title of each text in the compendium, e.g., 1) ‘Funeral Liturgy,’ 2) ‘Text for Approaching the Tomb,’ and so on.

Two: Textual Differences Between Liturgies and the Models Found in Liturgical Protocols.

Although we have combined the different labels for our two kinds of documents into the two categories ‘liturgical protocols’ and ‘liturgies,’ and we have elaborated on the differences in their basic characteristics, we still have not entirely resolved the problems surrounding the classification of these documents. Many of the documents from Dunhuang are no longer intact, and many of the liturgical protocols and liturgies from Dunhuang are badly damaged. Liturgical protocols that preserve a preface and table of contents, like P.2940 (*Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Scroll, with Preface*), are not at all common (the main text of P.2940, moreover, is incomplete). Consequently, many liturgical protocols look like liturgical compendia, containing only the liturgical models that appear in the body of the protocol. As a result, they are quite easily mixed up with compendia of actual liturgical texts.

Such mix-ups have made their way into current catalogues. For example, P.3765 preserves an ‘association liturgy’ that also appears in S.5957 and P.3276 *verso*. In the *Catalogue* and *New Catalogue*, however, these documents, which are completely identical in content and are in fact the same liturgy, are placed under different headings. The *Catalogue* classifies P.3765 under ‘Various Assorted Liturgies,’ without any subheading. In the *New Catalogue*, there is a subheading reading ‘Association Text’ for this manuscript number. The *Catalogue* classifies S.5957 as a ‘practical Buddhist *exempla*,’ without a subheading, and the *New Catalogue* does likewise. P.3276 *verso* is classified by the *Catalogue* under ‘assorted liturgies,’ but by the *New Catalogue* under ‘Association Liturgies.’ Thus, the same document is classified as an exemplar in one volume and a functional text in the other. This shows that we will only be able to prevent people from mixing up these two categories of text if we look more closely at

the distinctions between, on one hand, the liturgical models found in liturgical protocols and, on the other hand, the texts of liturgies proper.

In order to ensure that the reader clearly understands the distinction between the liturgical models found in liturgical protocols and liturgical texts proper, as well as to advance our understanding of the relationship between the two categories, below I give the complete text of examples of these two categories of documents:

I will compare the two texts in five parts:

Part one:

A) The ‘Village Association [Text]’ in the Liturgical Protocol Attested in P.3678.

Village Association [Text]: And may the sublime causes laid down in previous lives send forth good shoots in the present lifetime, and may karmic effects, if previously pure, make our attitude toward the Path firm in the present day. Aware that the four material elements are without a master, and perceiving that the five aggregates are all empty.

- 1、社邑 乃妙因宿殖，善牙（芽）發於今生；業果先淳，道心堅於
- 2、此日；知四大而無主，識五蘊而皆空。

B) ‘Association Liturgy’ From the Compendium of Liturgical Texts Attested in P.2058 verso.

Village text: In the west there was a sage named Śākyamuni, heir of the golden wheel, son of King Śuddhodanaḥ. Responding to the [needs of] the Lotus Kalpa, he stilled the thousand shoots, and manifested the three thousand bodies; his mind discerned the four wisdoms. When the armies of Māra moved, he beat the dharma-drum and dispersed them. The lone *nāga*, in response, concealed him, and those who spied his beams of compassions were changed. The brahma kings held parasols [above him], Śakra

adorned him with flowers. He descended the jeweled staircase of the Three Realms, and opened the nine-layered net of rulership. It was the majesty of our Great Master that suspended from on high the dharma-mirror and broadly illuminated the common people. So now we hold a gathering of the lords of the town that those sublime causes laid down in previous lives may send forth good shoots in the present lifetime, and so that karmic effects, if previously pure, may make our attitude toward the Path firm in the present day. Aware that the four material elements are without a master, and perceiving that the five aggregates are all empty.

- 1、 邑文 夫西方有聖，號釋迦焉。金輪滴（嫡）孫，淨飯王子；
- 2、 應蓮花劫，續昔（息）千苗，影現三千（身），心明四智。魔軍鎮（陣）
- 3、 動，擊法鼓而消形；獨龍應潛，觀慈光而遍（變）質。梵
- 4、 王持蓋，帝釋嚴花；下三道之寶皆（階），開九重之帝綱。
- 5、 高玄（懸）法界（鏡），廣照倉（蒼）生，為（唯）我大師威神者也。厥今即
- 6、 有座前〔合〕邑諸公等乃妙因宿殖，善牙（芽）發於金（今）生；
- 7、 業果先淳，道心堅於此日。知四大而無主，〔識〕五蘊而皆空。

Note: As can be seen from the above comparison, although B was drafted on the basis of A, B added an introduction (See the text marked in yellow) .

Part two:

A) The ‘Village Association [Text]’ in the Liturgical Protocol Attested in P.3678

We thus bind together our good karmic conditions and unite in revering the public import. Thus, since we are able to make it so the three annual [festivals] are not lacking and the six monthly [rites] are without deficiency, we establish *dāna* and reverently

engage in ritual gatherings.

遂乃共結良緣，同崇

3、邑義。故能年三不缺，月六無虧；建豎壇那，崇修法會。

B) ‘Association Liturgy’ From the Compendium of Liturgical Texts Attested in P.2058 verso.

Thus, since we are able to make it so the three annual [festivals] are not lacking and the six monthly [rites] are without deficiency, we establish *dāna* and carry on engaging in ritual gatherings.

8、遂乃共結良緣，同崇邑義。故能年三不缺，月六

9、無虧；建豎壇那，聿修法會。

Note: This part the contents of paragraphs A and B above are basically the same.

Part three:

A) The ‘Village Association [Text]’ in the Liturgical Protocol Attested in P.3678.

Thus, banners and flowers drape the earth, and *brahmic* sounds rise to heaven. In furnaces, we burn the Six Particulars, and for victuals we supply the Hundred Flavors.

With this one meal, we give to the Three Jewels, destroy the Three Poisons, drive off the Three Disasters, venerate the Hundred Flavors, make offerings to the Ten Directions, loosen the Ten Fetters, etc. [*yunnyun* 云云].

4、於是幡花布地，梵響凌天；爐焚六殊，餐資百味。以一食

5、施三寶，滅三毒，去三災，崇白味，供十方；解十纏而資十力云云。

B) ‘Association Liturgy’ From the Compendium of Liturgical Texts Attested in P.2058 verso.

Thus, banners and flowers drape the earth, and *brahmic* sounds rise to heaven. In

furnaces, we burn the Six Particulars, and for victuals we supply the Hundred Flavors. With this one meal, we give to the Three Jewels, destroy the Three Poisons, drive off the Three Disasters, venerate the Hundred Flavors, make offerings to the Ten Directions, loosen the Ten Fetters, and supply ourselves with the Ten Powers. We take the merit from organizing this *zhai* and rededicate it as a cause for good fortune, using all of it as [spiritual] adornment.

於是幡花布地，梵向（響）

10、陵（凌）天；爐焚六殊，餐資百味。以一食，施三寶，滅三毒，

11、去三災；崇白味，供十方；解十纏而資十力。與（以）此設齋功

12、德，迴向福因，盡用莊嚴，

Note: By contrast, B provides information that is omitted from A (see the text marked in yellow). In text A, this omitted information is implied with "*yunyun* 云云".

Part four :

A) The ‘Village Association [Text]’ in the Liturgical Protocol Attested in P.3678.

We pray that calamity is completely dispelled and that these blessings are all brought forth; that the deities and immortals descend in their power and the gods disperse (?) our shame; that our seeds of bodhi, matching with buddha-nature, send forth sprouts; that the thicket of afflictions, blown by the wind of wisdom, drops its foliage.

6、惟願災殃殄滅，是福咸臻，天仙降靈，神祇效恥；菩提種子，

7、配佛性以開牙（芽），煩惱稠林，惠風飄而葉落。

B) ‘Association Liturgy’ From the Compendium of Liturgical Texts Attested in P.2058 verso.

We pray that calamity is completely dispelled and that the myriad blessings are all brought forth; that the deities and immortals descend in their power and the gods disperse (?) our shame; that our seeds of bodhi, matching with buddha-nature, send forth sprouts; that the thicket of afflictions, blown by the wind of wisdom, drops its foliage; that these sublime causes abide for many *kalpas*, that we lay down good effects in the present life, and that, although we find ourselves in the river of attachment, we journey forever in the sea of the Dharma; that we perceive that we are like an illusion, like a lightning bolt—not steady. So, having been able to establish good causes in advance, we venerate this blessed gathering, pouring out our admiration for the precious *kṣetra* [i.e., the Buddhist monastery] and thinking reverently of the *sāṃghika* [i.e., the monastic assembly]. With reverence, we welcome both *ārya* and ordinary person [among the assembly], and respectfully make offerings to them. We pray that the three thousand fetters, the defilements, be washed with the water of the Dharma and dispersed like mist; that the eighty thousand worldly sufferings be swept away by the beam of compassion and scattered forever. May this precious heap of merit expand with every thought, and the wholesome sprouts of blessed wisdom increase with every moment, reaching to the Three Realms above and providing nourishment in the Ten Directions beyond. May humans and non-humans alike mount the road to awakening.

Mahā!

惟願災殃殄滅，萬福咸臻；天仙降靈

13、神祇效恥。菩提種子，配佛〔性〕以開芽；煩惱稠林，惠風

14、飄而葉落。妙因多劫，殖果金（今）生；須（雖）處愛河，常

遊

15、法海；知身如幻，非（飛）電不堅。故得預豎良因，崇斯福

16、會；傾心寶刹，虔念僧祇；屈請聖凡，翹心供養。惟願

17、三千垢累，沐法水以雲消；八萬塵勞，拂慈光而永散

18、功德寶聚，念念茲繁；福智善牙（芽），運運增長；上通

19、三界，傍活十方；人及非人，齊登覺路。摩訶。

Note: Contrasting the two paragraphs above, B adds a paragraph that expands upon the content of A (see the text marked in yellow).

In comparing these two Buddhist texts, we can see that document A was created by adding text to the beginning and end of document B. There are other, analogous examples of this process: the association liturgy attested in S.6114 was formed by reworking the *keyi* 課邑 text from the liturgical protocol attested in P.2767. The association liturgy from P.3122 was formed by reworking the *yide* 邑德 text in the liturgical protocol from P.4062. These cases show that liturgies were drafted on the basis of liturgical protocols.

On the basis of the sources cited above (and taking into consideration other liturgical protocols and liturgies), we can summarize the distinction between the liturgical models in the liturgical protocols and liturgies proper with the following general points:

First, the liturgical protocol is a single document. Although its main text is divided into many subsections,¹² these subsections are all single parts of a whole. In comparison with the whole text, the subsections are incomplete in their content, and it is only through the reworking, revision, and addition of content that they become stand-alone texts. Only then are they ready to be brought to a *zhai* gathering and recited. Liturgies, on the other hand, are always stand-alone texts. Although several of them may be brought together to form a compendium of liturgical texts, each component text is independent.

Second, the titles of the subsections in liturgical protocols are generally derived from the main purpose of the *zhai*, e.g., ‘village association, village study association, lamp lighting prayers, prayers for rain, for the ruler,’ etc.¹³ The title of [a proper

liturgical] text, however, will generally add the word ‘text’ (*wen* 文) after the subject matter of the *zhai*, e.g., ‘Text for Lamp Lighting, Text for Association *Zhai*, Text for Prayer *Zhai*, Text for Cycling through the Scriptures for the Four Gates, Text on Entering the Abode, Text on Approaching the Tomb,’ and so on.¹⁴

Third, the beginning of a liturgy will always have a quotation, an exaltation of the merits of the Buddha, and a description of the nobleman or organization that sponsored the ritual as well as the kind of ritual being sponsored. The liturgical models found in a liturgical protocol, however, do not generally have the exaltation of the Buddha’s merits at the beginning; rather, the text opens with a description of the social station of the sponsor and the reasons for their sponsorship. Thus, the previously cited association liturgy from P.2058 has five lines of quotation that are lacking in the village association text found in the liturgical protocol on which it is based. There are many such examples; I will not cite them all.

One thing we must note is that the liturgical models that form the subsections of liturgical protocols do not entirely lack an opening phrase; it is just that the opening phrase is placed at the beginning of the document as a whole. As explained above, the ‘liturgical protocol’ is a complete, coherent work, and it was considered sufficient to place the opening phrase in praise of the Buddha’s virtues (which would appear at the beginning of any given individual liturgy) at the beginning of the entire text, and only there.

As is explained in the first section in the main text of the previously mentioned *Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Fascicle, with Preface* (P.2940):

Through the precious likeness, [the Buddha] consolidates emptiness, according with conditions in order to present the sublime appearance. The quiescence of the Dharma-body responds to the stimulus of things and broadcasts a host of forms. The mysterious manifestation constructs its fording bridge, and humans and deities are benefitted by its guidance. Auspiciously revealing the Tree of Awakening [i.e., the Bodhi-tree], the

traces of [the Buddha's] magical manifestations are great in number; driving the reins toward the royal city, the examples set by [the Buddha's] divine transformations are unfathomable. What's more, [he] makes the vow in the Deer Park, that the sea of awakening would drift over the billionfold world-system. [His] light shined forth at the Crane Grove, and the torch of knowledge hid its beam for a hundred million [years]. [He] condescends to set in motion the power of wholesome expedients, and opens widely the gate of *upāya*. Far off is that Capable One

[i.e., Śākyamuni]! How distant is the Awakened One!

竊以寶相凝空，隨緣以呈妙色。法身湛寂，應物感而播群形。幽顯冀其津梁，人天資其級（汲）引。自祥開道樹，變現之跡觀量；捧駕王城，神化之規叵測。加以發願鹿野，覺海浮浪於三千；光照鶴林，知炬潛輝於百億。府運善權之力，廣開方便之門。邈矣，能仁，遐哉，覺者也。

This paragraph is different from, but similar in effect to, the opening words of the two liturgical texts that we previously cited, and it would work just fine if it were placed at the beginning any given liturgy as an opening phrase. Thus, when someone consulted the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* to draft a liturgy, they could reference the opening phrase that the author of the *Jadeite Text* had placed at the beginning of the main text. There was no need for the author to copy the opening phrase at the beginning of each of the more than eighty sub-items of the *Jadeite Text*—that would have been too repetitive and made the text too long. The situation is different for proper liturgies, as they might occasionally be brought to actual ritual gatherings for recitation. Consequently, every text would need to come with the opening phrase. In addition, it would not be essential to repeat the same opening phrase for each composition, since the texts would be meant for different kinds of ritual gatherings.

Fourth, each liturgical model found in the subsections of liturgical protocols contain at least one spot where we find the phrase ‘etc.’ (*yunyun* 云云). With the

exception of their conclusions, liturgies proper generally do not contain the phrase ‘etc.’ (*yunyun* 云云), these blank spots in the underlying liturgical protocol will have been filled in with the appropriate content. Thus, in the village association text in the above-quoted liturgical protocol, the fifth line contains the phrase “...loosen the Ten Fetters and provide [oneself] with the Ten Powers, etc.” In a liturgy based on this protocol, P.2058 *verso*’s ‘association liturgy,’ the ‘etc.’ following the ‘provide [oneself] with the ten powers’ is replaced with “...we take the merit from organizing this *zhai* and rededicate it as a cause of good fortune, using all of it for [spiritual] adornment”—i.e., in order to avoid repetition, the liturgy proper has filled in the spot that the liturgical protocol abbreviated.¹⁵

Fifth, as is shown by the three cited examples, the last part of the subsections of the liturgical protocols generally includes only very vague prayers. Liturgies proper, however, include prayers that are highly detailed and concrete, and that progress through various stages. What’s more, they also generally contain formulaic phrases like ‘[may they] all ascend to the fruit that is buddhahood,’ ‘*Mahāprajñā!* Endless blessing and joy!’, and ‘The great assembly is pious and entirely universal.’¹⁶

We should point out that when we discuss these differences between the individual liturgical models in liturgical protocols and liturgies proper, we are only outlining the general situation. The Dunhuang manuscripts present an extremely complicated picture, and it is certainly not the case that every liturgical model and liturgical text contains all of the features outlined above. Consequently, when deciding whether any particular document is a liturgical protocol or a liturgy, one should use the features discussed above as guides for an overall assessment rather than fixating on any one point.

Three: The Structure of Liturgical Manuscripts from Dunhuang

Our examination of the structure of liturgies will cover two main topics: the structure individual liturgies, and the structure of liturgical protocols and liturgical *compendia*. Not only does the first topic have significance for research on the genre features of liturgies (as we touched on in the first section of this paper), it is also quite

important for identifying liturgies that have lost their titles, lacked titles, or whose original titles did not reflect their real characteristics.

1) The Structure of Individual Liturgies

The model for a ‘text on removing the clothes’ found in the liturgical protocol attested by S.2832 (also attested in Dlx.1285 verso) will serve as the foundation for our inquiry into the structure of liturgies. I reproduce it in its entirety below:

十五月初八日新登十五燈籠大樹爭懸九伯之時并帶歌逐大谷千金之夜二月八日時當二月帝在農在善養殿王宮之時如米踰境之旨是都入仕女執蓋懸幡鼓自似之城似訪米殿之迹二月十五日冲春二月十五日自雙林入城之時詣行充常之日人大舞吹自古典悲塵空千金痛三月三日春春上巳禊事良辰二月重三水神捧水心之日四月八日時屬四月維八如來誕時步蓮花既至於日九龍吐水亦在於茲辰五月五日節名端午事出三國既稱長命之辰亦為自吞之日七月七日屬以蟬方澤樹鵲填河牽牛渡銀漢之辰織女上針樓之夜七月十五日孟蘭大發寶供宏開羅上請三尊之時青提免八難之日故得家烈饑瘡救逆生千種之花非開春日陳自藏之味在否金九月九日將菊初繁香臭已爛桓常登高之日潛蘇下鞠之辰冬至自各移長慶氣改周曰復卦別生於陽黃鍾更徙於甲子臘月八時屬風寒月景在辰如來說溫室之時祇誠浴眾僧之日故得諸垢已盡死復煩惻之根塵淨法身皆雲功德之水臘日嘉平應節惜臘居辰良詞貴石之時野折如來之日歲除日銅渾欲既玉律將移明年在辰今歲唯殘於今夜春初雨雪和風入律昔雨應時對珠而光蕪草帶黃而關春半陰雪由雲而起甘雨載零點方葦而垂珠落千花而灑玉帝德龍德在天大明御極懸舜日於乾坤噴雲於六合道設家字恩需率土使三邊成歲消夏又德德過充舜道設軒化洽粟字恩需率土清雲以除塵軍節六龍而安萬國夫嘆喬公為段夏夫金鳥且上過夕暮帝藏輝玉充宵明皓曜光而暹暹春秋五立冬夏逆還觀陰陽上有施謝之期况人倫豈免去留者則今晨先公

輝玉充宵明皓曜光而暹暹春秋五立冬夏逆還觀陰陽上有施謝之期况人倫豈免去留者則今晨先公所陳意者何奉者考似大科之所設也惟靈天資冲鬱秀氣英靈禮讓謙和忠孝俱備此靈德者居巨楮比壽龜鶴齊年何期皇天同祐降斯福日居月諸大祥俄屆台奉為光買之則終服三年素衣素裳於今晨淡服仍於白晷於此晨崇禱奉福是日也嚴清口弟素菜橫飾陳睡金容遂僧白足經開貝葉梵奏吳山玲若具陳爐香飢饌如上切德奉門法嚴去靈彩騰神妙境生上品之蓮臺寶殿樓前開真淨之正法莊嚴此女事艷比東隣美同南國花容始發玉白初開何期掛紫霓剛芳蘭羅秀三春苑內漂落芙蓉明鏡臺前沉埋片玉鮮花發已迷狂風顛萊將抽槍從霜雪父母念其遺血悲切傷心親戚想望平生志為豪感律師事美玉三唐純金百鍊行願外之松戒淨秋天之月又德之德重神資法器天假宿負鶴珠之譽能全草繫之心迴四分之寶為方之念德將存長輝法炬永曜昏衢豈為忽輟慈光長輝大夜因產事惟靈台踰南國寶越東隣全軌天生規章自舉班氏之風光於九族孟母之德福於六相持為諸天比壽至聖齊年滿期天降斯禍靈為災國產歸於巨夜嗟乎驪珠未見方並飄龍沒子歸未分兮葉柯摧原夫生擒理常始終難跡聖且木免人其若何是之無父患之嗟仲丘有斯川之嘆去留運往其大矣哉伏惟公負清負之步陳山岳之重志懇奉國孝序承家士君竭九股之誠五躬東難繫之志文行守信溫恭慈和有法時教人之步懷俗安人之術所望奇齋

Part one:

“The *zhai* of exaltation is divided into sections: Thus, the Golden Bird rises at dawn, but, pressed by dusk, it hides its luster; the Jade Hare shines in the firmament, but, with the approach of daybreak, it covers its brightness. Spring and autumn stand in succession, winter and summer give way to each other—we see that Yin and Yang have their time for coming forth and their time for standing back, so how in human matters could the cycle of staying and leaving ever be avoided?”

- 1、夫歎齋分為段。爰夫金鳥旦上，逼夕幕而藏
- 2、輝；玉兔霄明，臨曙光而匿曜。春秋互立，冬夏遞遷，觀陰
- 3、陽上（尚）有施謝之期，況人倫豈免去留者¹⁷。

Note: The original document has a large red ink dot after the *zhe* 者 at the end of this passage, suggesting the foregoing is a single paragraph. This first section is, known as an ‘opening identifier’ 號頭 or ‘identifier’ 號. Also known as a ‘lesser preface,’（小序） it in fact constitutes, the introduction to the liturgy.

Part two:

“What, then, is the intention expressed by Mr. So-and-so this morning? This [*zhai*] is conducted for the Great Fortune [memorial sacrifice] of the late parents. The numinous heaven endowed them such that vast grandness, delicate *qi* and magnificent spirit, courteousness, amiability, steadfastness and filialness were all in their possession. (Interlinear note: the preceding is the ‘exaltation of virtues.’)”

則今晨某乙公

- 4、所陳意者何？奉為¹⁸考妣大祥之所設也。惟靈天資冲
- 5、邈，秀氣英靈，禮讓謙和，忠孝俱備^{已上歎德}者，

Note: After the *Bei* 備 at the ending of this passage, the original has a large red ink dot, suggesting that the foregoing is a single paragraph. This second part called the ‘exaltation of virtues’ 歎德 (In the original, there is a small Chinese characters: The above is ‘exaltation of virtues’ 『已上歎德』), contains two kinds of content. The first is an explanation of the main purpose of the ritual gathering: “Now , as for the purpose for which the donor, seated in front, is clasping the censer and earnestly kneeling, this is a grand gathering held for the sake of the Great Fortune [memorial sacrifice] for his deceased father or mother.” The second kind of content is this section’s most important: praise for the virtues of the person seeking blessings, the one for whom the blessings were sought, or for the sponsor of the *zhai*: “May the spirit...”.

Part three:

“To have one’s lifespan be comparable to the vast *chun* tree, to have one’s years equal in number to those of the tortoise and crane—why hope for something heaven cannot bestow, and try to cover up the calamity it sends down? Time continues on, and suddenly in the Great Fortune [memorial sacrifice] comes due. Thus, Mr. [So-and-so] offers this in accord with the standard set by former worthies, having served out the three years [of mourning for one’s parents]. On this morning, he quits the white robes [of mourning], donning plain clothes for ten days more. Thus, on this morning, he reverently puts on a *zhai* and offers up the blessings [to his parents]. (Interlinear note: the ‘liturgical purpose of the *zhai*.’)”

為巨椿

6、比壽，龜鶴齊年。何期皇天罔佑，掩降斯禍。日居月諸，

7、大祥俄屆。公乃奉為先賢之則，終服三年。素衣霸（罷）於

8、今晨，淡服仍於旬日。爰於此晨，崇齋奉福^{齋意} 19。

Note: This third section is the ‘*liturgical purpose*’齋意（After the *Fu* 福， at the ending of this passage, the original has a small Chinese characters: The above is ‘cause of the *zhai*’齋意），which explains the circumstances and objectives of the *zhai*. Here, the *zhai* is for the Great Fortune Memorial Sacrifice.

Part four:

“On this day, having adorned and purified his noble home, he stretches out white curtains. As if seeing the golden countenance [of the Buddha], he invites the monk Baizu to open up the palm leaves [i.e., the Buddhist scriptures] and to offer *brahmic* tones to Mt. Yu. Fine dainties are laid out, and the incense from the censer is fragrant.

(Interlinear note: the ‘ritual area.’)”

9、是日也，嚴清甲第（第），素幕橫舒，像瞻金容，延僧

10、白足，經開貝葉，梵奏魚山，珍羞具陳，爐香芬馥^{道場}。

Note: After the *Fu* 馥， at the ending of this passage, the original has a small Chinese characters: The above is ‘ritual area’道場. So, this fourth section is the ‘ritual area’道場, which describes the sumptuousness of the *zhai* gathering.

Part five:

“These merits he offers as ornaments for the deceased spirit, which he wishes will soar to a marvelous realm and be reborn on a lotus platform of the highest rank in front of a pavilion of the Jeweled Palace, where it can hear the pure, True Dharma. (Interlinear note: the ‘ornament.’)”

11、如上功德，奉用莊嚴亡靈，願騰神妙境，生上品之蓮

12、台；寶殿樓前，聞真淨之正法^{莊嚴}。

Note: After the *Fa* 法， at the ending of this passage, the original has a

small Chinese characters: The above is ‘ornament’ 莊嚴. So, the fifth section is the ‘ornament’ 莊嚴, which articulates various prayers to the Buddha.

This ‘text on removing the clothes’ is divided into several sections. The first section has no name. The second section is called the ‘exaltation of virtues,’ the third is called ‘significance of the *zhai*,’ the fourth is called ‘the ritual space,’ and the fifth is called the ‘ornament.’ Based on this and other liturgies, we would propose dividing liturgies in general into five parts.

The first part corresponds to the first section of the liturgical model quoted above. This part is, in fact, the preface to the main text of the liturgy. Since this preface mentions neither the purpose of the *zhai* gathering nor the specifics surrounding the character and family background of the sponsor, it could have been used repeatedly as a preface for liturgies in similar subgenres. For example, a preface for a ‘liturgy for the deceased’ could be used for texts for a late father as well as for texts for a late mother. It could also be used for texts for a deceased female relation, an older brother, a younger brother, and so on. Occasionally, prefaces could be used across different subgenres of liturgy. These [liturgical] prefaces were referred to as ‘*haotou*’ or ‘*hao*’ (opening identifier or identifier) by people of the time.²⁰

In liturgical protocols, occasionally only a single composition in a given subgenre of liturgy would have an identifier written out, and this identifier would be applied to each following composition. Consider, for example, the model for a ‘text for a deceased boy’ in the liturgical protocol attested on S.1441 *verso*, which reads in part, “Deceased Boy (Identifier as Before): Here is the goal for organizing the *zhai* on the part of the *zhai*’s sponsor, who is seated in front—this is a grand gathering for the sake of pursuing the seven blessings for the deceased boy So-and-so (the following is abbreviated).” This model contains the note “identifier is the same as before,” then proceeds with the second section. Preceding this composition in the manuscript was a ‘text for deceased parents,’ which did contain an identifier. The phrase ‘identifier is the same as before,’ in other words, means that the opening identifier for the ‘text for a deceased boy’ is the same as that for the ‘text for deceased parents.’ This ‘text on

mourning one's parents' is the same as the above-cited 'text on removing the clothes;' both were used for parents. The only difference is that, in the 'text on removing the clothes,' the section on 'the virtues of the late mother' in the 'text for deceased parents' comes after the 'ornament' section. It also says, "Whenever it is time for the opening or ending [identifiers], the usage is the same as the 'Text for a Man'." This just means that, when putting on a *zhai* for one's deceased mother, it would be permissible to simply replace the text's section on 'exalting the virtues of the late father' with the section on 'the virtues of the late mother.' That the opening and ending were interchangeable suggests that the 'opening identifier' might be abbreviated to simply 'opening.' In the *Compiled Essentials of Various Texts* (No. 192 in the Dunhuang manuscripts stored by the library of Beijing University), the ending is in fact called the 'ending identifier,' and it appears to refer to the 'ornament' section. The model for a 'text on a deceased *upāsakaḥ*' found in S.4992 also lacks an opening identifier, though it also lacks the 'ritual area' and 'ornament sections, and says simply, "When it is time for the opening or ending [identifier], it is the same as, not different from [that used in] the already given 'Text for a Deceased Mother.'" There is also a possibility that the opening identifier was referred to as a 'small preface' (*xiaoxu* 小序). In the original title of the 'complete cycle of liturgies for the deceased' (S.5573), we find the two words 'small preface.' Here, the phrase appears to refer to the opening identifier.

The second part of a liturgy was called the 'exaltation of virtues.' In our above-cited model for a 'text on removing the clothes,' this part is split into two sections. An overview of other liturgies suggests that the 'exaltation of virtues' contains two kinds of content. The first is an explanation of the main purpose of the ritual gathering; in our 'text on removing the clothes,' this is the section reading, "Now the goal for which the donor, seated in front, is clasping the censer and earnestly kneeling: this is a grand gathering held for the sake of the Great Fortune [memorial sacrifice] for his deceased father." The other subject represents this section's most important content: praise for the virtues of the person seeking blessings, the one for whom the blessings were sought, or for the sponsor of the *zhai*.

The third part is called the '*liturgical purpose* of the *zhai*,' which explains the

circumstances of the *zhai*, as well as its purpose. The fourth part is called the ‘ritual area,’ and it describes the *zhai* gathering *qua* grand occasion. The fifth and final part is called the ‘ornament;’ it conveys various prayers to the Buddha. These last two parts are often formulaic phrases, and in many cases they are interchangeable. As explained above, the fifth part is also called the ‘ending’ or ‘ending identifier.’ In models for liturgies, the ending identifier and the opening identifier are the same, and are usually omitted.

2) The Content and Structure of Liturgical Compendia and Liturgical Protocols.

By my rough reckoning, the various kinds of liturgies contained in the Dunhuang manuscript corpus include: texts on celebrating grottoes, texts on celebrating temples, texts on buddha-halls, texts for the eighth day of the second month, texts on constructing city walls, texts on celebrating the Buddha, texts in praise of images (i.e., on constructing images), texts on the four heavenly kings, texts on heavenly kings, texts in celebration of scriptures, texts on opening the scriptures, texts on cycling through the scriptures, texts on cycling through the scriptures for the four gates, texts on cycling through the scriptures for the army, texts on dispersal scriptures, texts on drawing and painting, texts on donation, texts on resolute banners and parasols, texts on settling parasols (i.e., texts on setting up parasols), texts in celebration of banners, texts on making requests, texts on binding an altar, texts on warding off disaster, texts on the state and epidemics, texts on drought, texts on soldiers, bandits, and thieves, texts on sickness, texts on the illness of dharma-masters, texts on the illness of monks, texts on the illness of nuns, texts on the illness of laypeople, texts on the illness of lay husbands (i.e., husbands), texts on the illness of wives, texts on difficult months, texts on severe illness, texts on rites for the dead (i.e., texts for the dead and deceased), texts on prayers for the dead, texts on deceased monks and nuns, texts on deceased monks (i.e., texts on the death of monks, and on dead preceptors), texts on dead *jalas* and nuns, texts on dead nuns, texts on deceased fathers, texts on deceased mothers, texts on deceased husbands, texts on deceased wives, texts on deceased siblings, texts on deceased younger brothers, texts on deceased sisters, texts on deceased boys, texts on deceased girls, texts on

deceased children, texts on removing the clothes, texts on the distant death anniversary and villages, texts on dispensing incense on imperial death anniversaries, texts on distant death anniversaries of former emperors, texts on approaching the tomb, texts for assorted prayers, texts for rites of prayer (prayer texts), texts on praying for boys, texts on praying for girls, texts on tutelary prayers for peace, texts on travel, texts for association *zhai* (社邑文、社文、邑文), texts on lamp lighting, texts on stamping buddhas in sand, texts for the full moon, texts on one's lady, texts for giving birth to boys or girls, texts on bondservants, texts on entering the abode, texts on practice for the departed, texts on dead horses, and texts on dead cows—and this list is still not exhaustive.

That is not only because I may, in counting, have overlooked something. Even if there were no omissions, we still could not be sure that the various kinds of liturgies preserved in the Dunhuang manuscript cache represents the entirety of liturgies that actually circulated at Dunhuang from the Tang to the Song.

There is yet another angle from which we can address the issue of what kinds of liturgies existed at Dunhuang, however. The *Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Fascicle* (P.2940) is a liturgical protocol in one scroll.²¹ Although the document is incomplete, its preface and table of contents are intact. The names of liturgical models preserved in the table of contents possesses considerable value for our understanding of what kinds of liturgies were in existence at Dunhuang. I give an edited version below:

- 1) Exaltation of the Virtues of the Buddha: Substance of [the Buddha's]
Birth in the Palace, Fleeing the City to Renounce Household Life,
Transmitting the Wheel of the Sublime Dharma, Appearing to
Enter Quiescent Extinction.
- 2) Celebrating Imperial Affairs: Far-reaching Bestowal of the Fortunes of
the Tripod [i.e., the fortunes of the imperial throne], Auspicious
Sacrifices, the Obedience of the Four Borderland Barbarians,
Plentiful Harvest of the Five Grains.
- 3) Approaching Officials, in Sequence: Prefects, Senior Scribes,

Commanders, the Six Grades, District Magistrate, District Aide,
Registrar, District Defender, the Garrison.

- 4) Receiving Offices at the Border: Civil and Military.
- 5) Prayers for Felicity and Reward: Buddhist Monastics, Daoist Priests,
Official Ladies.
- 6) Reports on Travelers: Envoys, East, West, South, North, Expeditionary
Forces, East to West, North to South.
- 7) Mourning the Spirits of the Dead: Buddhist Monastics, Dharma Masters,
Vinaya Masters, Dhyāna Masters, Laypeople: Fathers, Mothers,
Boys, Wives, Girls.
- 8) Laying Out Merits: Making Brocade Images, Made by Weaving,
Inscribed Stone, Paintings, Carved Sandalwood, Gold and Copper
(i.e., Precious and Semi-precious Metals), Making Banners,
Making Scriptures, Constructing Halls, Constructing Stupas.
- 9) Prayers of Cessation, Prayers, Hymns: Praying for Rain, Ending Rain,
Ending Snow, Full Moon, Birthday, Dispersing Studies, [Missing
Words], Hidden Hook, Dispersing Lectures, the Three Long
Periods [of the Year], Tranquility, Public Good, Dispersing
Difficulty, Sickness and Healing, Receiving the Precepts, Ending
Entering the Home (?).
- 10) Blessings for Cattle: Releasing Living Things, Buying Living Things,
Death of a Horse, Death of a Cow, Death of a Camel, Death of a
Mule, Death of a Sheep, Death of a Dog, Death of a Pig.

一、歎佛德 王宮誕質 踰城出家 傳妙法輪 示歸寂滅

二、慶皇猷 鼎祚遐降 嘉祥薦祉 四夷奉命 五穀豐登

三、序臨官 刺史 長史 司馬 六曹 縣令 縣丞 主簿 縣尉 折衝

四、隅受職 文武

五、酬慶願 僧尼 道士 女官

- 六、報行道 被使 東 西 南 北 征討 東西 南北
- 七、悼亡靈 僧尼 法師 律師 禪師 俗人考 妣 男 婦 女
- 八、述功德 造繡像 織成 鑄石 彩畫 雕檀 金銅 造幡 造經 造堂 造浮圖
- 九、賽祈讚 祈雨 賽雨 賽雪 滿月 生日 散學 闕字 藏鉤
散講 三長平安邑義 脫難 患差 受戒 賽入宅
- 十、佑諸畜 放生 贖生 馬死 牛死 駝死 驢死 羊死 犬死 豬死

There are some discrepancies between the names found in this table of contents and the names of liturgies that are actually preserved in the Dunhuang manuscript cache, and we can use it to fill the gaps in our previous list. Liturgical protocols, however, are not actual, functional ritual texts, and it is possible that some liturgies are named in this list but were never actually employed by people of the period. Regardless of how we account for these discrepancies, the two kinds of sources discussed above more or less reflect the general state of liturgies circulating at Dunhuang during the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song.

The list of documents enumerated above allows us to see that what is subsumed under the concept of ‘various assorted liturgies’ seems to include not merely liturgies, but also some documents read aloud at general Buddhist activities. It is quite likely that the people of the period used the term ‘various assorted liturgies’ to refer to all documents recited at Buddhist *zhai* gatherings, ritual gatherings, and general Buddhist events. Thus, although ‘texts on lamp lighting,’ ‘texts on cycling through the scriptures,’ and ‘texts on stamping buddhas in the sand’ all have the same structure as liturgies, the activities they were meant for were all generalized Buddhist events; they are, in general, not considered ‘*zhai* gatherings’ (though sometimes they are called ‘merit gatherings’). The people who carried out these events were also generally not called ‘*zhai* sponsors,’ but rather ‘donors.’

Other than these texts, there are a few other documents that are occasionally placed in the category ‘various assorted liturgies’ that do *not* share the same structure as liturgies proper. For example, S.3875 (originally titled ‘various assorted liturgies, one

volume’) which has as its subsections a ‘text on making requests’ and a ‘text on binding an altar’ (the originals were not completely copied out). The subject of the ‘text on making requests’ is making requests to the buddhas and spirits, and therein we find some content related to making prayers. In structure, it is similar to the ‘text on binding altars, dispersing alms, and praying’ (S.3427). If we take this text as our standard, then the ‘praying texts’ we will discuss below would seem to comprise a subtype of the category ‘various assorted liturgies.’

P.2854’s ‘Praying Text of the Stellar Stream’ is in fact written out alongside a ‘text on dispensing incense on the day of the imperial death anniversary,’ a ‘text on the deceased,’ and a ‘lamp lighting text,’ but it is quite common for documents whose original title is ‘praying text’ to not appear on the same manuscript as a liturgy. P.3770’s ‘praying text on alms’ is copied out together with the *Scripture on the Ten Precepts*, a ‘text on erecting banners,’ ‘text on warding off calamity,’ ‘text in celebration of a temple,’ ‘text on preaching to the laity, felicitations, and rededication of merit,’ as well as several liturgies. In the ending part of the manuscript *verso*, however, we find a note that reads, “In this fascicle: memorials from the two dynasties, Tibetan and Han, in praise of the emperor and the *zanpu* officials of Tubo Tibet, rededications of merit, praying texts, repentance rites, and various assorted liturgies, all in one fascicle.” Thus, at least in the eyes of this scribe, written works like rededications of merit, prayers, and repentance rites were not yet considered part of the category of ‘various assorted liturgies.’ As we can see, this issue requires further research.

Given the actual situation surrounding the category of ‘various assorted liturgies’ in the Dunhuang manuscript cache, it would appear that the structure and arrangement of the various kinds of liturgies was not definitively settled. This is primarily because many ‘assorted liturgies’ were originally in the possession of individual monks. Consider the liturgy preserved in S.6417, which contains seven compositions with original scribal notes by one Jierong, a monastic from the Jinguangming Temple. The first composition has a note at the end that reads, “On the tenth and twentieth days of the second month of the sixth year of Zhenming, a Gengchen 庚辰 year (920), the monk Jierong of Jinguangming Temple, wrapped in white [robes], cycled through and recited

[these texts].” The other six all have notes reading ‘Jierong’s Document’ or ‘Jierong’s Text, One Volume.’

Monastics kept these ‘assorted liturgies’ in readiness for when someone invited them to participate in a *zhai* gathering or general Buddhist event, whereupon they would bring them along and read them aloud. Some liturgies were drawn up following an invitation, right before the event in question. They would be modeled after a liturgical protocol, and take the requirements of the event into account. As such, the arrangement of the assorted liturgies that have come down to us often have the air of having been adjusted according to the situation—i.e., the arrangement of the text is not rigid at all. Moreover, the quantity of the various extant liturgies clearly shows the influence of practical needs: many of the extant liturgies serve *zhai* gatherings that were relatively popular at the time, while few are preserved for *zhai* that were unpopular or uncommonly performed.

Since liturgical protocols served as references for the composition of liturgies, they needed to pay some heed to the requirements of different kinds of Buddhist events. As a result, they reflect a relatively comprehensive cross-section of [possible ritual] situations. Patterns in the arrangements of liturgical protocols no doubt possess some value for our project of tidying up the category of ‘assorted liturgies.’ There is not, however, just one kind of liturgical protocol preserved in the Dunhuang cache. The table of contents of the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* divides liturgies into ten main categories and more than seventy smaller types. S.1441 *verso*, P.3819, and P.3825 provide a different method of organizing [liturgies]. Their first category is ‘texts of celebration and promotion,’ which includes celebrations of buddha-halls and exaltations of banners. The second is texts on the exaltation of virtues, which includes texts on opening scriptures, praising images, and celebrating scriptures. The third is warding off calamity, the fourth is texts on sickness, and the fifth is texts on the deceased. S.5637 also contains “sixth, assorted compositions, and seventh, compositions of all kinds.” These sources reveal that the content and arrangement of the Dunhuang cache’s liturgical protocols and liturgical compendia were manifold. It seems that there were liturgical protocols and liturgical compendia (i.e., assorted liturgies) with many kinds of arrangement and with

discrepancies in their content.

Four: Prayer Texts and Praying Texts

1.) Prayer Texts Are a Kind of Liturgy

The reason we need to discuss this issue is that there are many people in the academy who think that ‘prayer text’ (*yuanwen* 愿文) should be the general term for the documents we have been calling ‘liturgies.’ *Collected Prayer Texts from Dunhuang*, for example, uses the term ‘Prayer Text’ in its title even though the texts it gathers together are mainly liturgies.

I believe that when we discuss the meaning of the ‘Prayer Texts’ found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, we must ground our discussion in an examination of documents that bear their original title. If one examines the documents with this standard in mind, one will have to admit that ‘Prayer Text’ is simply one among many different kinds of liturgy.

In the compendia of liturgies preserved in the Dunhuang cache, ‘Prayer Texts’ are frequently one subcategory of the class ‘liturgy.’ For example, the liturgies preserved in P.2226 *verso* include ‘texts for deceased fathers,’ ‘lamp lighting texts,’ ‘association texts,’ ‘prayer texts,’ ‘texts on dispersal scriptures,’ and ‘texts on donations.’ P.2237 *verso* contains ‘texts on removing the clothes,’ ‘prayer liturgies,’ ‘texts on sickness,’ ‘texts for the eighth day of the second month,’ ‘texts on stamping the buddha in sand,’ ‘texts on settling parasols,’ ‘lamp lighting texts,’ ‘texts on deceased girls,’ ‘texts on deceased wives,’ ‘texts on deceased siblings,’ and ‘texts on travel.’ P.2331 *verso* contains ‘association texts,’ ‘prayer texts,’ and ‘texts on donations.’ P.2358 *verso* contains ‘texts on deceased nuns,’ ‘prayer texts’ and so on. P.3545 contains ‘lamp lighting texts,’ ‘association liturgies,’ ‘prayer liturgies,’ ‘documents on dead horses,’ and ‘texts on dead cows.’ P.3566 contains ‘prayer liturgies,’ ‘texts for the eighth day of the second month on [the Buddha] fleeing the city,’ ‘texts on sickness,’ ‘liturgies for the deceased,’ ‘texts for villages,’ and ‘texts for the death of monastics.’ P.3806 *verso* contains ‘texts in praise of lamps,’ ‘prayer texts,’ ‘texts on cycling through scriptures,’ ‘texts on the city walls,’ ‘association texts,’ etc. P.3722 *verso* contains ‘texts on the

deceased,’ ‘texts on distant death anniversaries along with village texts,’ ‘texts on deceased boys,’ ‘texts for the full moon on giving birth to boys or girls,’ ‘assorted prayer texts,’ etc. P.3282 *verso* contains ‘prayer texts,’ ‘texts on approaching the tomb,’ ‘texts on sickness,’ and ‘lamp lighting texts.’ P.3491 contains ‘texts on deceased mothers,’ ‘prayer texts,’ ‘texts on deceased fathers,’ ‘texts for the full moon,’ and ‘texts on approaching the tomb.’ Finally, P.3494 contains ‘texts in praise of images,’ ‘texts celebrating scriptures,’ ‘texts on erecting banners,’ ‘texts on opening scriptures,’ ‘texts on dispersal scriptures,’ ‘prayer texts,’ and ‘texts on cycling through scripture for the four gates.’

There are, however, variations, as with P.2313 *verso*, which contains ‘texts on deceased fathers,’ ‘texts in praise of donors,’ ‘texts on praying for sons,’ ‘texts on praying for daughters,’ and ‘texts on prayers for the sake of the deceased.’ Moreover, the circumstances and objectives of ‘prayer texts’ are not uniform—there are some on fulfilling promises, some in return for prayers for peace, and a few prayers seeking victory.

All this suggests that ‘prayer texts’ are not simply a small slice of the larger category of liturgy, but might, along with texts on sickness and liturgies for the deceased, constitute a whole subgenre. The same kind of sickness text, for example, may describe people of different family backgrounds who sponsor a *zhai* for sickness, and texts on the deceased, in a similar fashion, may describe people of different family backgrounds sponsoring a *zhai* for the dead. ‘Prayer texts’ also describe prayer *zhai* of all kinds and types. The above-cited P.3722 *verso* uses the term ‘assorted prayer texts,’ which seems to confirm that this is the case. Regardless of whether they constitute a distinct subgenre, however, ‘prayer texts’ are clearly subordinate to the larger category of liturgies. They do not qualify as a category that can stand side by side with ‘liturgies,’ and ‘prayer texts’ certainly do not subsume ‘liturgies.’ The strongest evidence for this is that ‘prayer texts’ are included as a subcategory of ‘assorted liturgies’ in P.2915.

Nonetheless, some recent studies have vastly expanded the scope of the category ‘prayer text.’ Many liturgies that lack a title or have lost their title are labeled ‘prayer texts,’ and the ‘liturgy’ has occasionally even been seen as a constituent part of the

‘prayer text.’ This phenomenon might find its basis in the ‘ornament’ section of the liturgy, which frequently contains phrases like “we pray that it might be...” In actuality, the word ‘pray’ here is not the same thing as the ‘pray’ in ‘prayer text,’ since prayer texts themselves also contain this ‘ornament’ section.

In sum, to use ‘prayer text’ as the general term for liturgies is really to mistake a lower order class for a higher order one.

2.) The Relationship Between ‘Praying Texts’ and ‘Liturgies’

‘Praying Texts’ (发愿文) is another concept used in a general sense by many in the scholarly world today. However, from what this writer has seen, there are very few extant texts from Dunhuang whose original title contains the phrase ‘praying text.’ We find only the following ten or so compositions: P.2189’s ‘Eastern Capital Praying Text,’ P.3183’s ‘Praying Text of the Wise Master of Tiantai,’ S.4318’s ‘Śītavana Praying Text’ (S.6577 contains a copy of this text), S.522’s ‘Praying Text on Contemplating Rebirth as the Teaching Disappears,’ S.3427’s ‘Praying Text on Binding the Altar and Dispersing Alms’ (S.5232 also contains the beginning portion of this text), Φ.166’s ‘Praying Text’ (also attested in S.5699 and S.5646), P.2854’s “Praying Text of the Stellar Stream,” and P.3770’s ‘Praying Text on Donation.’²²

A close look at the content of these ‘praying texts’ shows that, while they must have been, like liturgies, functional documents used at Buddhist events, many of them are entirely different in structure from liturgies. To facilitate our discussion, below I reproduce S.522’s ‘Praying Text on Contemplating Rebirth as the Teaching Disappears’:

Praying Text for the Dying, Teaching them to Contemplate Rebirth:
Namo Maitreya Thus-come One, worthy and perfectly awakened (i.e., *arhat-samyaksambuddha*). I pray that my consciousness swiftly behold your compassionate face. *Namo* Maitreya Thus-come One, assist me in coming to abide in the Inner Assembly [i.e., as an ordained monastic]. I pray that, after leaving this life, I be reborn therein. *Namo* Maitreya Thus-come One, worthy and perfectly awakened. I pray that I follow Maitreya

Buddha when he descends to take rebirth in Jambudvīpa, and that his three convocations beneath the dragon-flower (i.e., *nāgapuṣpa*) tree last until after my life has ended [and I have been reborn].

Merely teach [them] to recite the [names of] all the Buddhas. Keep their relations from weeping and from disturbing the sick person, [thereby causing the sick one's] mind to fall into error. Merely [cause them] to know and contemplate the names of the buddhas. After one day, crying is permitted, but prevent relations, whether male or female, wives or children, from approaching, lest the sick one engender some loving attachment which will make it difficult for them to surrender their life.

- 1、消滅交（教）念往生發願文 南無彌勒如來，應正等覺，願我含識，
- 2、速奉慈顏。南無彌勒如來，助居內眾，願捨命已後，得生其中。
- 3、南無彌勒如來，應正等覺，願隨彌勒佛，下生閻浮龍花三會。直
- 4、至命終已後，但交（教）口念一切佛。骨肉不得哭泣，吸（及）或（惑）亂病人，心生顛倒，
- 5、但知與念諸佛名號。一日已後，哭吸（泣）即得，莫交（教）骨肉男女妻兒
- 6、近前，病人心生受（愛）變（戀），難捨命根也。

P.3183's 'Praying Text of the Wise Master of Tiantai' opens with the phrase, "Disciple So-and-so, on this day, rededicates the different kinds of merit from reciting the scriptures and contemplating the buddhas to the cause of unexcelled bodhi, to repay the beings of the Three Existent Dharma-realms for the four kinds of kindness." What follows is similar to the text quoted above: beginning with the word 'I pray/I wish (*yuan* 願),' it lays out a series of requests. The 'Śītavana Praying Text' found in S.4318 and S.6577 opens with "The buddhas of the three periods [e.g., past, present, and future] in the ten directions should verify that Disciple So-and-so..."; what comes next is, again, a request for 'such and such' (如何如何) followed by a request for 'such and such,' and then another request for 'such and such'—it lays out sequentially the wishes of the one making the prayer. Although the beginning of P.2189's "Easter Capital Praying Text" is

missing, the structure of the extant portions is exactly the same as the ‘Śītavana Praying Text.’ These texts reflect the general structure of ‘praying texts.’ Φ.166’s structure, however, is different from that described above. I quote the complete text below:

Praying Text: Bowing low to those honored by the Three Realms, the innumerable buddhas of the ten directions, I now make a grand vow to uphold this *Diamond Sutra*, to repay on high the four kinds of compassion, and below to rescue [beings] from suffering in the three evil routes [of rebirth]. If there is someone who sees or hears [of this vow], may they conceive of the aspiration for bodhi and, when their rebirth is finished, share rebirth with me in the Realm of Utmost Bliss.

- 1、發願文
- 2、稽首三界尊，十方無量佛，我今發弘願，
- 3、持此金剛經。上報四重恩，下濟三塗苦，
- 3、若有見聞者，悉發菩提心，盡此一報身，
- 4、同生極樂國。

After this, we find the *Diamond Sutra*. This is a praying text, then, intended for preserving the *Diamond Sutra*. In all three manuscript witnesses, this text precedes the *Diamond Sutra*. In Φ.166 and S.5699, the words of the text are completely identical. S.5646 is slightly different—the phrase “innumerable buddhas of the ten directions” is replaced with, ‘I rely on the buddhas of the ten directions.’ Although there is only a single instance of the word ‘pray’ in the body of these praying texts, it still clearly means ‘great aspiration,’ which is different than the usage of ‘*yuan*’ and ‘*weiyuan*’ in the ‘ornament’ portion of liturgies. The structure of these two kinds of text, moreover, is entirely different.

There is a document similar to this set of praying texts attested in Dunhuang manuscript 48 (41379) in the Shanghai Museum. Except for the fact that the phrase “Uphold this *Diamond Sutra*” is replaced with “Uphold this supreme, worthy scripture, and recite the spell of the Master of Healing,” the text is completely the same. This text

appears in a manuscript after the *Scripture of the Supreme King of Golden Light*, the *Heart-Spell of the Scripture of the Master of Healing*, and the *Heart-Spell of the Eightfold Yang, Spoken by the Buddha*. Although it does not bear its original title, comparison to the above-mentioned praying text for upholding the *Diamond Sutra* would suggest that it is meant for upholding those three scriptures and spells. This praying text for upholding Buddhist scriptures and spells, however, is of another genre, different in structure, than the praying texts discussed above.

The structure of S.3427's 'Praying Text on Binding the Altar and Dispersing Alms' is relatively complex, though it is still entirely distinct from a liturgy. Its only point of similarity is that some of the content of its praying sections is similar to a liturgy's 'ornament' section.

The beginning and ending of P.2854's 'Praying Text of the Stellar Stream' is analogous to the 'opening identifier' and 'ornament' of a liturgy. The text lacks, however, the 'exaltation of virtues,' the 'significance of the *zhai*,' and the 'ritual area' sections. Given its content, it appears to be a 'text for warding off calamity,' recited at an apotropaic *zhai* gathering (the text, however, is incomplete). The received title, moreover, is not original, but instead consists of small characters added in between the lines of the main text after cataloguing.

The only praying text that is completely identical in structure to the liturgies discussed in the rest of this article is P.3770's 'Praying Text on Donations;' it should be regarded as a special case.

As the discussion above shows, few praying texts are the same in structure as a liturgy. If we pay no heed to the differences between them, we will blur the boundaries between these two kinds of text. In some contemporary studies, documents labeled 'praying texts' are often, in fact, liturgies that have lost their titles, or never had them in the first place. There are definitely not very many true 'praying texts' among the Dunhuang manuscript cache. Thus, when we try to determine whether title-less documents are praying texts, we must use documents that bear their original title as our guide.

Notes:

¹ Hereafter, we will abbreviate the *Catalogue and Index of the Dunhuang Manuscripts* to the *Catalogue*.

² See the *Catalogue*'s respective labels for the documents numbered P.2547, P.2497, P.2767 verso, S.5561, P.3806, S.5957, P.3678 verso, P.4062, P.2820, P.3545, P.3128, P.3276, P.3765, P.3566, P.3122, P.3491, P.4536 verso, P.2226 verso, P.3980, P.2580 verso, P.2588, and S.1173.

³ Hereafter, we will abbreviate the *New Catalogue of the Dunhuang Manuscripts* to the *New Catalogue*.

⁴ See the *New Catalogue*'s respective labels for the documents numbered P.2547, P.2497, P.3362 verso, S.5957, P.3767 verso, P.3806 verso, P.4062, P.3545, P.2588, S.1173, and P.3980.

⁵ Only the preface, table of contents, and part of the main text of the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* survive in this manuscript, but some other parts of the text are preserved in other manuscripts.

⁶ See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Dunhuang xieben shuyi kao" 敦煌寫本書儀考 (On the 'Protocols' Among the Dunhuang Manuscripts), in *Dunhuang tulufan wenxian yanjiu lun ji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (*Collected Studies on the Dunhuang and Turfan Documents*), Vol. I, edited by the Beijing daxue zhonggu shi yanjiu zhongxin (Beijing University Center for the Study of the Medieval History of China), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982: 17–18.

⁷ See Zhao Heping 趙和平, *Dunhuang xieben shuyi luelun* 敦煌寫本書儀略論 (Overview of the 'Protocols' Among the Dunhuang Manuscripts), in *Dunhuang tulufan yanjiu lunwen ji* 敦煌吐魯番研究論文集 (*Collected Research on Dunhuang and Turfan*), Shanghai: Shanghai hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 1990: 561.

⁸ See the liturgies numbered P.3276 verso, S.6417, S.5561, P.3545, P.2331 verso, and S.5573.

⁹ E.g., the 'lamp lighting text' attested in S.5924, the 'text on stamping buddhas into sand' attested in S.4458.

¹⁰ See the *Catalogue*, S.6417 table of contents.

¹¹ See Bai Huawen, Li Dingxia, Xu Denan, eds., *Ru tang qiu fa xunli xingji jiaozhu* 入唐求法巡禮行記校注 (*Travel Diary of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Dharma, Collated and Annotated*), Shijiazhuang, Hebei: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1992: 70–71.

¹² E.g., P.2940's *Jadeite Text for Zhai in One Fascicle, With Preface*, the body of which contains more than eighty subitems.

¹³ See the liturgical protocol attested in P.3678 verso, P.2767 verso, P.3362 verso, and P.2497.

¹⁴ See the liturgies attested in P.3545, P.3765, S.5573, and S.6923.

¹⁵ See the texts listed in notes 18 and 19.

¹⁶ See the texts listed in notes 18 and 19.

¹⁷ The original text has a large ink dot after *zhe* 者, indicating that the preceding text is a separate paragraph.

¹⁸ The original text also has a large ink dot after *wei* 為, indicating that the text from *zhe* 者 to *wei* 為 is its own paragraph.

¹⁹ There is a large ink dot after the word *yi* 意, suggesting the preceding text is its own paragraph. See notes 18 and 19.

²⁰ The ‘opening identifiers’ and ‘ending identifiers’ for the many texts preserved in the *Compiled Essentials of Various Texts* were first published in Bai Huawen and Li Dingxia’s ‘Zhuwen yaoji’ *canjuan jiaolu* 《諸文要集》殘卷校錄 (*Edited Fragments of the Compiled Essentials of Various Texts*) (in *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化 [*Chinese Culture*], vol. two). Huang Zheng 黃征 was the first to point out, in his above-cited *Dunhuang yuanwen sanjiao* 敦煌願文散校 (*An Edition of Assorted Prayer Texts from Dunhuang*), that “the opening identifiers of prayer texts (the initial section of Dunhuang manuscripts was called an ‘opening identifier’) could often be used formulaically.” ‘Opening identifiers’ were also studied by Wang Shuqing 王書慶 in his *Dunhuang simiao haotou wen lueshuo* 敦煌寺廟號頭文略說 (*Overview of ‘Opening Identifier Texts’ From Dunhuang Temples*) (*Sheke zongheng* 社科縱橫, 1994 (vol. 4): 45–47). In *Dunhuang foxue, foshi pian* 敦煌佛學·佛事篇 (*Buddhist Studies at Dunhuang: Texts for Buddhist Events*) (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995), Wang collected nine texts that he believed to be ‘opening identifiers.’ He held that ‘opening identifier’ was a genre of text, which he called ‘opening identifier texts.’ Of the ‘opening identifier texts’ that Wang collected, however, we find many texts that are simply complete liturgies, rather than the ‘opening identifiers’ of liturgies.

²¹ The table of contents of the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* was first published in Naba Toshisada’s ‘Guanyu anzhaofojiao xinyang zuzhi qilai de zhongwang tang wudai shiqi de sheyi, shang’ 關於按照佛教信仰組織起來的中晚唐五代時期的社邑（上）（‘On local associations in the mid- to late Tang and Five Dynasties, organized on the basis of Buddhist faith, part one’）(first published in *Shilin* 史林, vol. 24, no. 3: 547, later collected in *Tōdai shakai bunkashi kenkyū* 唐代社會文化史研究 [A Study in the Sociocultural History of the Tang Dynasty], Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1974). Chen Zuolong later published the complete text of this manuscript in *Dunhuang xuehai tanzhu* 敦煌學海探珠 (*Pearls from the Ocean of Scholarship on Dunhuang*), Taipei, 1979: 322–332. Recently, Mei Hongli has undertaken research on this manuscript, and is currently engaged in rethinking the *Jadeite Text for Zhai* entirely. We should note that the character *wan* 琬 in the title *Zhai wan wen* 齋琬文 (*Jadeite Text for Zhai*) is not well understood. I personally suspect that *wan* could be a loan character for *tan* 歎. In Ennin’s *Travel Diary* (see note 11), Ennin once refers to liturgies as ‘*zhai* praise texts’ (*zhai tanwen* 齋歎文) (see *Ru tang qiu fa xunli xingji jiaozhu*, 70). There are also liturgies from the Dunhuang cache with titles like ‘text in praise of the buddha’ (歎佛文), ‘text in praise of images’ (歎像文), and ‘text in praise of lamps’ (歎燈文). Moreover, the *Zhai wan wen* only appears once in the Dunhuang manuscripts, and although the text’s contents make clear that it is a liturgical model, it would require further evidence before we could use the term as a general reference for liturgical models as a genre—many liturgical models, after all, are not exactly the same as the *Zhai wan wen* in their subsections and structural arrangement. Obviously, there is more than one kind of liturgical model to be found in the Dunhuang manuscript cache. I still believe, however, that it is preferable to refer to this kind of document as a ‘liturgical protocol’ (*zhaiyi* 齋儀).

²² Wang Shuqing has compiled several ‘praying texts’ in his *Dunhuang foxue, foshi pian*. It seems likely, however, that several of the texts for which Wang has reconstructed titles are actually not ‘praying texts.’ Other than those collected by Wang, manuscript no. 136 in the Taiwanese *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan cang dunhuang juanzi* 國立中央圖書館藏敦煌卷子 (*Dunhuang Manuscripts Held by the National Central Library*) and

manuscript no. 1173 (National Library revised numbers) are also text witnesses of the 'praying text on binding the altar, dispersing alms, and rededicating merit.'