

敦煌吐魯番文物

CULTURAL RELICS FROM DUNHUANG AND TURFAN



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前 言

《敦煌吐魯番文物》展覽，是上海博物館和香港中文大學文物館的積極合作成果。1986年夏，高美慶館長來上海，提議為配合《國際敦煌吐魯番學術會議》而舉辦有關的文物展覽，希望上海博物館提供展品，對此，我甚為贊同。

作為博物館，它的重要職能之一是，盡可能運用它的藏品和所具備的條件，為學術研究服務，為廣大的文物愛好者服務。但是，上海博物館有關敦煌吐魯番文物的收藏，並不豐富。1960年，我們已將所藏的敦煌石室寫經百卷，移交于上海圖書館。在之後的歲月裏，絲綢之路上的各種文物，仍有所獲，雖然數量不多，竟也形成了獨自的門類。這些蒐集品中的重要者，曾見於著錄，但由於缺乏適當的機會，大都未經公開陳列。高美慶館長計劃的實現，使得這些藏品中的一部份，能首次在香港中文大學文物館展出，實在是值得高興的事。

上海博物館此次提供的三十件文物，主要為敦

煌石室流散的寫經，其時代上自後涼，下迄五代，內中有一件為傳世的唐人寫經，雖非出於石室，然也可資對照。此外，還有不易多見的雕版印刷佛畫。至於吐魯番文書，則僅為個別之品。在香港方面，綜合了港地收藏家的精品，合滬港兩地文物，遂組成這個小型的展覽。相信其中的材料，對於《國際敦煌吐魯番學術會議》的與會學者，將會引起研究的興趣。

這一次展覽，對滬、港兩地的文化交流，對上海博物館和香港中文大學文物館的學術聯繫，乃是一次有意義的合作。在此，我要特別感謝文物館同仁們辛勤的籌組工作。

祝願《敦煌吐魯番文物》展覽獲得成功，敦煌吐魯番學術會議取得新的成果！

上海博物館館長 馬承源

Foreword

The exhibition, "Cultural Relics from Dunhuang and Turfan", is the result of active cooperation between the Shanghai Museum and the Art Gallery of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The proposal for an exhibition featuring cultural relics from the Western Regions to be held in conjunction with the International Symposium on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies was made by Dr. Mayching Kao during her visit to Shanghai in the summer of 1986. She expressed her wish for the loan of exhibits from the Shanghai Museum and I found her proposal very agreeable.

One of the major functions of a museum is to use its collections and other resources to serve both academic research and the vast number of art enthusiasts. Yet our holdings of artifacts from Dunhuang and Turfan are far from numerous. As early as 1960 we had turned over our collection of one hundred scrolls of sutra manuscripts from the Library Cave of Dunhuang to the Shanghai Library. In subsequent years, though the number of cultural relics from the Silk Road entering our collection remained small, they gradually came to form an individual category of their own. The most important items have been documented and published, but practically none have been publicly displayed for want of an appropriate opportunity. It is indeed gratifying that the realization of Dr. Kao's project brings a portion of this collection to Hong Kong for its premier exhibition at the Chinese University Art Gallery.

The thirty items supplied by the Shanghai Museum are mainly sutra manuscripts originally found in the Library Cave of Dunhuang, covering

the period stretching from the Later Liang (386-403) to the Five Dynasties (907-960). The exception is one Tang sutra manuscript which has been handed down over the centuries, which, rather than coming from the Library Cave, serves as comparative material for the other manuscripts. In addition, the exhibition includes some rare wood-block prints of Buddhist images. As for the documents from Turfan, they are but isolated examples. In addition, fine selections from Hong Kong collections are featured, making this small exhibition a true cooperative effort between Shanghai and Hong Kong. I therefore believe that it contains materials that will arouse the interest of the participants in the International Symposium on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies.

The present exhibition shows meaningful cooperation in terms of cultural exchange between Shanghai and Hong Kong. It is equally significant in regard to the academic ties between the Shanghai Museum and the Chinese University Art Gallery. I would therefore like to specially thank the staff members of the Art Gallery for their hard work in the preparation of this exhibition.

I wish the exhibition of "Cultural Relics from Dunhuang and Turfan" every success and look forward to new achievements from the International Symposium on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies!

Ma Chengyuan
Director, Shanghai Museum

前 言

《敦煌吐魯番文物》展覽，由上海博物館與香港中文大學文物館聯合主辦。是次展覽配合首次在香港隆重召開的《國際敦煌吐魯番學術會議》，同時標誌着兩館的首次合作，可謂饒有意義。

自從清季以來，大量經籍文書與其他文物在敦煌及吐魯番等地先後面世，“敦煌學”及“吐魯番學”寔而成爲當代顯學，其研究範圍遍及歷史、地理、種族、語言、社會、經濟、宗教、文學與藝術等方面。究心其間的，亦包括世界各國的知名學者。香港中華文化促進中心及香港中文大學中國文化研究所乃於六月廿五日至廿七日合辦此國際研討會，邀請歐、美、澳、亞的中外學者四十餘位，聚首一堂，交流討論。際此盛會，本館聯同上海博物館籌備是項展覽，期使本校師生及社會人士在聆聽專家高論之時，得以觀賞實物，而個別從未公開的展品，或亦可供與會學者的深入探索。

是次展品包括上海博物館藏品三十件，本港公私收藏共七件。展品年代自後涼至五代，種類則有高經、文書、佛畫、版畫等，以敦煌文物爲主而輔以少量出自吐魯番者。是次展覽的意義，固不在其量之多少，而在通過各具特色的展品，爲學術研究提供實物依據。例如“唐上元二年蓮花經”（展品10）可以說明唐代官本寫經制度的縝密，而“西魏大統十一年法華經外義卷”（展品2）亦足以補《大

藏經》的失載。又從寫經筆跡，得以窺見自公元四世紀至十世紀六百餘年間書體書風的變遷，以至當時所用的俗字及避諱字樣。尤足珍貴者，是香港難得一見的唐代佛畫及五代雕印書畫，信可引起藝壇人士的興趣。

展覽的籌備工作，亦分兩地進行。上海博物館藏品由鍾銀蘭女士撰寫說明與郭林福先生拍攝，並蒙謝稚柳先生惠撰專文。香港方面承蒙饒宗頤教授多方指導，不僅著錄港方展品，且撰寫研究論文。我館同寅則負責展覽專刊的編印及翻譯工作。梵文及英文譯稿並蒙霍昭晦先生及林大衛先生協助校訂。

是次展覽得以成功展出，尚賴上海博物館馬承源館長及名譽館長沈之瑜先生鼎力玉成，又承利氏北山堂、劉氏虛白齋、香港藝術館及英國皇家學會香港分會借出珍藏。此外，籌備工作亦得到中國文化部文物局及新華通訊社香港分社的襄助，本校馬臨校長、中國文化研究所陳方正所長及劉殿爵代所長殷殷垂注，並蒙北山堂基金慷慨贊助全部展覽經費，謹此一併致以衷心的感謝。

香港中文大學文物館館長 高美慶

Foreword

The exhibition of "Cultural Relics from Dunhuang and Turfan" is organized jointly by the Shanghai Museum and the Art Gallery of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. It is held in conjunction with the International Symposium on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies, convened in Hong Kong for the first time. The exhibition also signifies a new tie of cooperation between the two museums.

Ever since the last years of the Qing dynasty, vast quantities of sutra manuscripts and other cultural relics have been uncovered in the Dunhuang and Turfan regions, engendering a new field of study called "Dunhuang and Turfan Studies". Not only are aspects of history, geography, ethnology, language, society, economics, religion, literature, and arts explored, but the field also engages eminent scholars from the four corners of the world. The International Symposium on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies, organized by the Hong Kong Institute for Promotion of Chinese Culture and the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University, duly acknowledges the multi-disciplinary and international nature of this field. Over forty Chinese and foreign scholars from China and overseas will attend the conference between June 25 and June 27, 1987. The Art Gallery, as a part of the Institute of Chinese Studies, has planned the present exhibition together with the Shanghai Museum, hoping that members of this University and Hong Kong community will combine the discussions in the Symposium with a firsthand look at the type of cultural relics which have generated such studies. Moreover, participants in the Symposium may also find some of the new materials on display worthy of more in-depth research.

The exhibition features thirty items from the Shanghai Museum and seven items from private collections and museums in Hong Kong. Dating from the fourth to the tenth centuries, the exhibits include sutra manuscripts, documents, Buddhist paintings, and prints. Most of these are from Dunhuang, with a few select items from Turfan. The significance of the present exhibition does not lie in its scale, but in its illustration of aspects of research interest in the field. For example, the *Lotus Sutra*, dated 675 (exhibit 10), may be used to explain the system of transcribing sutras in the chancelleries of the Tang dynasty; the *Commentary on the Lotus Sutra*, dated 545 (exhibit 2), is a long lost writing not found in the comprehensive collection of the *Tripitaka*. The evolution of the Chinese script and

calligraphic styles between the fourth and the tenth centuries may be studied using the many sutra manuscripts selected for display. The vulgar forms of the Chinese script as well as taboo characters in use during the period are also vividly demonstrated. Of special interest are the Buddhist paintings of the Tang dynasty and the Buddhist prints of the Five Dynasties which have not been exhibited in Hong Kong before.

The preparation of the exhibition is a combined effort of two museums. Ms. Zhong Yinlan prepared the explanatory notes to the exhibits from the Shanghai Museum and Mr. Guo Linfu did the photographic work. Mr. Xie Zhiliu graciously wrote an essay for this monograph. Here in Hong Kong we are privileged to have the unfailing support of Professor Jao Tsung-i, who not only documented the Hong Kong exhibits, but also wrote a scholarly essay on a selection of sutra manuscripts. The Art Gallery staff is mainly responsible for the publication of this monograph. We are grateful to Mr. Fok Tou Hui and Mr. David Lane for their invaluable editorial assistance in the Sanskrit and English translations.

As the exhibition opens, we would like to express our sincere appreciation to Mr. Ma Chengyuan and Mr. Shen Zhiyu, Director and Honorary Director, respectively, of the Shanghai Museum, for making this cooperative project possible. We offer a special vote of thanks to Mr. Low Chuck Tiew, Bei Shan Tang, the Hong Kong Museum of Art, and the Royal Asiatic Society (Hong Kong Branch), for their generous loan of the Hong Kong exhibits. Moreover, we are deeply grateful for the assistance rendered by the Administrative Bureau of Museums and Archaeological Data of the Ministry of Culture, and by the Xinhua News Agency (Hong Kong Branch). To Dr. Ma Lin, Vice-Chancellor of the Chinese University, Dr. F.C. Chen and Professor D.C. Lau, Director and Acting Director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, we express our gratitude for their personal attention to this project. Last but not least, we thank the Bei Shan Tang Foundation for a generous grant which funded the exhibition, as well as for the unfailing support we have enjoyed over the years.

Mayching Kao
Curator, Art Gallery
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

不思議品第六

於是維摩鞞問文殊師利仁者遊於無量無數無國億百
無洲何等佛土為一切持一切有母師子之聖文殊師利言有族姓
子東方去此佛國度廿六恒沙等刹其世界名須彌幢其佛號
酒林窟王如來至真等正覺今現在其佛身八萬四千由
延佛所子聖六萬八千由延其善薩身四萬二千由延須彌幢國
有八百卅萬師子之聖彼佛國如來為一切持其師子聖為一切嚴
於是維摩鞞則如其傍三昧正度所現神足應時彼佛須
彌幢王如來遣三萬二千師子聖高廣淨好昔所希見一切弟子
善薩諸天釋梵四天王未入維摩鞞舍見其室極廣大悉苞
容三萬二千師子聖所立處不迫逼於維摩鞞耶離城無所
聖身於佛所出及四大象無所望見如故若前不減維摩鞞

敦煌莫高窟藏經洞

謝 稚 柳

自敦煌石窟（莫高窟）藏經散出後，石室之名遂為世界所熟知，從而導致敦煌學之興起。

莫高窟建始於苻秦建元二年（晉海西公太和元年、公元三六六年）。按“唐李懷讓重修莫高窟碑”（在第十四窟內）所記，說是在“前秦建元二年，有沙門樂傳，杖錫林野，行至此山，忽見金光，狀有千佛，因就此山造窟一龕。次有法良禪師，從東屆此，又於傳師窟側，更即營造，伽藍之起，實蓋屬於二僧。……惟甲子四百餘歲，計窟至壹千餘龕”。“李懷讓重修莫高窟碑”，立於武周聖曆元年（公元六九八），聖曆以後，至五代趙宋，並有營造，或係新建，或就舊窟更新，然世異時移，崩毀至多，其尚完好者，今祇四百餘窟。

莫高窟營建巍峨，丹青千壁，自魏迄元，代有繼作。然千百年來，此靈巖淨域，簡籍不載，往昔無聞。自匈牙利人斯坦因，法人伯希和先後來敦煌，收去經卷、佛畫等無數，始為國人所聞知，敦煌石室之名，遂大噪於人間。蓋自清光緒年間，有湖北人王元籙，初在肅州巡防軍為一小兵，後退伍當了道士，來至敦煌，窮無所歸，投宿於莫高窟第一百四十三窟，敦煌寺院俱為紅教，獨王元籙作漢語誦道經，因而城中人家都請他作禮懺，生涯不惡。王元籙因偏一楊某，為他抄經。楊某就第一百五十一窟甬道間，設置一桌，抄經之暇，吸旱煙，以芨芨草（芨芨草如蘆）為火引。楊某背壁坐，常以餘草插在壁間裂縫中，某日吸煙，餘草稍長，仍插原處，其裂縫竟深入無底，用手敲壁，其聲中

空，引以為疑，因告知王元籙。待夜半王元籙與楊某將粉壁打開，則內有一門，門無一人高，用泥塊封塞。清除泥塊，則內為一小窟，約丈餘大，有白布包等無數，自窟頂至地，充塞無餘地，裝置極整齊，每一包裹經十卷，又有佛帽、繡像等，平鋪於白布包之最下層，此時為光緒二十六年庚子（公元一九〇〇）四月二十七日。據說是宋時避西夏之亂，將佛經等秘藏於此。此即世所傳說之藏經洞。此事既轟傳於外，時有匈牙利人斯坦因，自印度來中國，到了新疆，聞知此事，於是趕到敦煌莫高窟，對王元籙蜜語利誘，並向他講唐僧西天取經故事，說這些經卷唐僧本自西方取來，今應仍還之西方，並許以三百兩銀子為報酬。既得到王元籙同意後，於是斯坦因就莫高窟近處，設一帳篷於沙漠中，僱一湘陰人名蔣賓生，為避人耳目，每夜始至藏經洞為斯坦因揀選藏經，歷若干日取其精好者及佛帽、繡像等，捆載四十駝而去。此時為光緒三十三年（公元一九〇七年），此事因得轟傳國外。有法國人伯希和聽到這個消息，不久接踵來敦煌。再說王元籙，於是王元籙知道藏經之可貴，不再肯輕易許諾，伯希和無奈，重許以銀元寶，伯希和終得運走十大車。至於他送了多少銀子，敦煌人沒有人能詳知，伯希和至北京，頗揚言於士大夫間，嘗對梁啟超說，吾裝十大車而止，不能再貪便宜了。至宣統元年（公元一九〇九）北京學部始令甘肅省將剩餘的經卷悉數運繳北京，所餘祇有八千卷而已。

這便是敦煌莫高窟藏經洞之始末。

The Library Cave of the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang

Xie Zhiliu

The name of the Library Cave became well-known with the dispersal of the cache of sutra manuscripts from the cave temple of Mogao Ku in Dunhuang. This occurrence gave rise to a new field of study known as "Dunhuang Studies".

The first of the Mogao Grottoes was constructed by the Buddhist monk Lezun in the 2nd year of Jianyuan (A.D. 366) of the Former Qin State. This information comes from the inscription on the *Tablet of the Restoration of the Mogao Grottoes by Li Huairang of the Tang Dynasty*. Erected in Cave 14 in the 1st year of Shengli in the reign of Wuzhou (A.D. 698), the inscription also tells us that Monk Faliang followed Monk Lezun to build the second cave. By Li's time, there were already over one thousand caves at Dunhuang. Construction work continued thereafter through the Song dynasty, with new caves excavated and old ones restored. Yet with the passage of time, many of the caves were destroyed. Today, not even five hundred have come down to us in a well-preserved state.

The uninterrupted building activities at Dunhuang, lasting from the Wei to the Yuan dynasty, produced lofty structures and numerous mural

paintings, yet for centuries this sacred land was not recorded by history or known to the ancient sages. Only after the Hungarian Aurel Stein and the Frenchman Paul Pelliot visited and took away countless rolls of sutra manuscripts and Buddhist paintings did the Chinese come to know of Dunhuang's existence. Thereafter its name spread far and wide. Its rediscovery can be traced to the reign of Guangxu (1875-1908), when Wang Yuanlu came to Dunhuang. Wang was a native of Hubei who became a Daoist priest after he was discharged from the frontier army in Suzhou. He found temporary lodging in Cave 143 of Mogao Ku and earned his living by performing Daoist rituals. Because he could recite Daoist scriptures in Chinese in a place where the monasteries all belonged to the "red cap" Lamaist sect, his services became very popular with the residents in the nearby city. He therefore hired an assistant by the name of Yang to copy scriptures for him. Yang set up a desk along the corridor of Cave 151. He would sit against the wall, and oftentimes stuck the reeds he used to light his tobacco into its cracks. His suspicions were raised when one day he inserted a rather long portion of the reed into an apparently bottomless crack. He knocked on the wall and



圖 1 敦煌莫高窟 151 窟，右側即藏經洞入口。

Fig. 1. Cave 151 of the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang. The entrance to the Library Cave is at the extreme right.

heard a hollow sound. After informing Wang, the two waited until dark to open up the plastered wall. Inside they discovered an entrance sealed with clay bricks. After clearing away the bricks, they found a small chamber of about ten feet in size, filled with countless bundles wrapped in hemp cloth stacked from floor to ceiling. These bundles were very neatly packed, and each contained ten rolls of sutra manuscripts. Lying flat at the bottom of the bundles were Buddhist banners and paintings. This was the legendary Library Cave; the date of its discovery was the 27th day of the 4th lunar month in the year of *gengzi*, or the 26th year of the reign of Guangxu (A.D. 1900). It has been said that these manuscripts were deposited in this secret chamber to avoid the turmoil brought on by the Western Xia State during the Song dynasty.

As news of the discovery of the Library Cave spread, Hungarian Aurel Stein heard about it while he was visiting Xinjiang by way of India. He rushed to Dunhuang and persuaded Wang Yuanlu with sweet words and promises of profits. He recounted the story of the Buddhist monk Xuanzhuang who journeyed to the West for Buddhist sutras in the Tang dynasty. As these scriptures were originally taken from the West by Xuanzhuang, Stein reasoned, it was only proper that they be returned to their source. In addition, three hundred taels of silver were promised to Wang as reward. So, with Wang's consent, Stein erected a tent close

to the Mogao Grottoes. He hired Jiang Zisheng, a native of Xiangyin, who worked at night to avoid arousing any attention. For a number of days he selected for Stein the best of the sutra manuscripts as well as many Buddhist banners and paintings, which altogether required the use of forty camels to be carried away. This event took place in the 33rd year of the reign of Guangxu (A.D. 1907) and caused a sensation abroad.

Paul Pelliot followed on Stein's heels as soon as he heard about the find. By this time, however, Wang Yuanlu had become aware of the value of the sutra manuscripts and would not be persuaded to part with them so easily. Pelliot had no alternative but to promise Wang more silver ingots. No one at Dunhuang knew for sure how much Wang was actually paid for the ten cartloads that Pelliot finally took away. When he reached Beijing, Pelliot bragged about this to the Chinese scholars and officials. He once said to Liang Qichao that he was gracious enough to load just ten carts and had refrained from taking too much advantage of the situation. It was not until the first year of the reign of Xuantong (A.D. 1909) that the Ministry of Studies in Beijing ordered Gansu Province to hand over all the remaining sutra manuscripts to the capital, but by then only eight thousand rolls were left.



圖 2 自藏經洞取出之經卷。

Fig. 2 Bundles of manuscript rolls from the Library Cave.

大般涅槃經菩薩品第十六

復次善男子如日月光諸明中第一一切諸明
所不能及大涅槃光之復如是於諸群經三
昧光明軍為殊勝諸經三昧所有光明所不
能及何以故大涅槃光能入衆生諸毛孔故
衆生雖无菩提之心而能為任菩提因緣是
故復名大般涅槃迦葉菩薩白佛言世尊如
佛所說大涅槃光入於一切衆生毛孔衆生
雖无菩提之心而能為任菩提因者是義不
然何以故世尊犯四重禁任五逆人及一闍

寫經別錄

饒宗頤

古寫經之見於著錄，不自敦煌石室皆始。斯坦因、伯希和之未東來，石窟經卷，散出者不一而足。寫經之業，自唐至清仍相沿不替，即文人藝士，亦喜效尤，以消災求福，故寫經卷冊可記者，原又非限於敦煌一隅之地。

敦煌所出寫經類別，大抵可分私鈔本及官書本二系。遠自北魏，燉煌鎮寺院已有典經師之設，寫者稱“經生”，校者稱“校經道人”，於高卷之末具名兼記用紙張數（如令狐崇哲）。王侯之國亦寫經以為功德，規模更大，昌黎王馮熙之於洛陽，東陽王元榮之於瓜州，皆其著者。由於譯經組織之逐漸縝密，寫經制度亦隨之。入唐以來，譯經及寫經皆有監官以示負責，如武周長壽二年（693年）之譯《寶雨經》大白馬寺大德沙門薛懷義監譯之（見S2278寶雨經卷九題記）尚方監匠典裝。高宗咸亨二年（671年）之《妙法蓮華經》書手、裝潢手與詳閱者皆具名，寺主及上座監之，復有初校、再校、三校，最後由將作少匠虞昶監署名。昶即名書家虞世南之子也，可謂矜慎之至。道書亦然，隋大業（605-618）中經生王儔寫《老子變化經》，由玄都道士覆校題裝潢人私書省寫，此皆官本之典範也，故凡官修之寫本皆特精。

前人記錄寫經之文較特出者，無如《宋文鑑》（卷百三十一），所收李昭圯《記殘經》一首。文稱：“南臺有利，有佛書數百卷，多唐季五代時所書，字畫精勁，歷歷可喜。按《大藏經目》，凡五千四百卷，今所存纔十一，首尾可讀者又無幾也。”文中特書下列數事：

《阿含經》四卷，秦寧軍節度使齊克讓造。

《正法華經》一卷，乾符六年（879年）女弟子牛妙音書。

《大涅槃般若經》三十卷，武寧軍節度使朱友恭造。友恭，全忠養子李彥威也。後為龍武都統軍，與叔琮同殺昭宗。全忠誅之以滅天下謗，此經天復三年（903年）所書。

《毗奈耶雜事》一卷，德妃伊氏造。唐莊宗次妃，後有印羈曰“燕國夫人伊氏”，蓋未進封時所制也。

所記各卷皆五代人所造者，有后妃，有節度使。復有書者姓名，其一為乾符六年（879年）物。台灣中央圖書館藏有《雜戒戒律卷》，背題字云：

“乾符貳年（875年）四月十七日納邑判官孫興晟，分配如後：燉煌、莫高、神沙、平康、洪池、玉關、赤心、慈惠、效穀。”

此為同時高卷，兼記其分配場所，是當日寫經嘗記

給各處之用，無怪其繁冗而稠疊也。

陳傅良跋徐夫人手寫佛經云：

“往時從常州先生薛士龍學，每見抄書動千百卷，竟快無一字行草，心嘆服之。今見蔡同年之母徐夫人手寫佛經九十五卷，往往得唐人筆法，則又愧焉。”（《止齋先生文集》卷四十二）

足見宋時寫經之風仍甚普遍，而唐人筆法又為人之所嚮往也。

帝王亦寫經，王銍《默記》記李後主手書金字《心經》一卷，賜其宮人喬氏，後捨於相國寺西塔院。喬氏自題於經後，詞甚悽惋。（卷中，中華本頁二五）丁傳靖有詩詠之：“波羅一卷付名姝，建業紅羅迹已無”者也。（見《閣公詩存》五）北宋寫經盛行金字，“熙寧元年（1068年），回鶻求買金字《大般若經》，以墨本賜之。”（《宋史·外國回鶻傳》）可做其事。

五代時大臣擅寫經者衆，大書家楊凝式書維摩等經說，作行體大字。張世南《游宦紀聞》引《凝式年譜》云：“（晉）開運二年（945年）五月，於天宮寺題壁論維摩經等語”。前蜀相王鏊“家藏與書數千本多，手自丹黃，又親寫釋藏經若干卷。”（《十國春秋》卷四十一《本傳》頁十上）。錢大昕猶見其手書《妙法蓮華經》，有詩詠之，（《潛研堂續集》卷十頁一三三）句云：“東川琴泉古塔地，法華貝葉猶無虧，六丁劫火燒不盡，妙蹟往住人間貽。”

北魏之高經，可溯至道武之世。《釋迦方誌》八云：“為一切經，造千金像。”（據范祥雍點校本頁一二〇）莫高窟所出高經，北魏時物甚多。道武帝登國元年，正當東晉太元之歲，《魏書·劉芳傳》云：“芳常為諸僧備寫經論，筆迹稱善，卷直以一縑，歲中能入百餘匹，如此數十年，賴以頗振，由是與德學大僧多有遷往。”（卷五十五頁一二一九）於此可考魏時寫經之價格。孝文帝太和三年昌黎王馮熙寫一切經一千四百六十四卷，今存者僅《雜阿毗曇心》（S996）一殘卷耳。劉芳寫經數十年，年所得縑百餘匹，經卷出其手者為數至多，北魏高卷中庸有芳之筆迹亦未可知，恨其不題名耳。

葉昌燾《緣督廬日記》頗誌敦煌經卷散出之事。葉記云：“敦煌王廣文宗海，以同譜之誼，饒唐高經兩卷，畫象一幀，皆莫高窟中物也。廣文云：‘莫高窟開於光緒二十六年，僅一丸泥，書然扁籀自啓，豈非顯晦有時哉！’”（光緒卅年九月五日），又一條云：“汪榮庵大令自敦煌拓寄……《經

洞大中碑》……又舊佛象一幅……寫經四卷……聞此經出于佛洞石室中，室門銘鐵灌之，終古不開，前數年始發鑿而入，中有石几石榻，榻上供藏經數百卷，即此物也。當時僧俗皆不知貴重，各人分取，恒介眉都統、張又履、張筱珊所得皆不少，《大中碑》亦自洞中開出，此經疑即大中寫本也。”（光緒二十九年十一月十二日）此當日經卷散出之情況。游宦多以經卷為饋遺之品，台灣中央圖書館現存敦煌寫本百五十餘卷，潘石禪先生已備記之。就中《妙法蓮華經》、《大智度論》及一草書殘經卷，分明皆有“獻許范父游隴所得”長方印，又《十地論》卷頭，袁克文題記亦謂為莫高窟所出者。

此次香港中文大學與中華文化促進中心合辦《敦煌吐魯番國際學術會議》，承上海博物館及本港諸大藏家之支持，計展出經卷，上海廿餘，港方七卷。寫經年代，上起北魏，下訖五代。考英、法、北京各地經卷，數逾二萬點，此區區者，祇是舉例，嘗鼎一臠，得不罕見精品，既可供研究之依據，又使與會者得大飽眼福，豈非盛事！上海博物館藏品，原有簡目（吳鐵、胡翠松撰），載於甘肅敦煌研究院之《敦煌研究》（1986年2、3兩期），收一百八十二事。間亦著錄於姜亮夫之《莫高窟年表》（上海古籍出版社，1985）。館方對於展出各卷，已提供詳細記錄，筆者割讀之餘，偶有所見，謹綴數語，不辭續貂之誚，非敢云考證，聊當題識云爾。

支謙譯《維摩詰經》卷上(展品1)

此卷見許國霖《敦煌寫經題記彙編》十九著錄。

起“弟子品”第三（疾行）“莫復宣言當”（知阿難。如來法身非思欲身。佛為世尊）“過諸世間，佛身無漏諸漏已盡”等句，此品存七行下半殘缺太甚。按畫“菩薩品第四”訖於“不思議品第六”之終“立不思議門，菩薩入權慧力者也”諸句。細審之，乃書吳支謙所譯《維摩詰經卷上》。（《大正藏》第四七四號，十四冊，終於頁五二八）《大唐內典錄》：“支謙譯《維摩詰經》所說不思議法門經”三卷。一云《佛法普入道門經》或二卷，第二出，與後漢嚴佛調譯者異。”此為二卷本。

卷末題識云“麟嘉五年（393年）六月九日王相高寫竟，疏拙，見者莫吹（嘆）也”一行，“笑”字作“吹”《集韻》去聲三十五笑，重文有咲、美注云：“古作咲或省俗作笑”，此易“大”為“欠”，故變為從“欠”從“吹”。

“麟嘉”為後涼呂光年號，《晉書·載記》二十云：“是時麟見金澤縣，百獸從之，光以為己瑞，以（晉）孝武太元十四年僧即三河王位……年號麟嘉。”其五年實即魏拓跋珪之八年（393年）及光既平龜茲，始獲鳩摩羅什。羅什重譯《新維摩結經》三卷，乃在姚秦之世。呂光稱帝時，王相高所寫為

支謙舊譯，知其時什公新譯，仍未甚通行。據《晉書·載記》，呂光時，王穆以其黨素嚴為敦煌太守，正當素嚴為州守之時。

王相高書北魏別字甚多，如“摩詰”作“粘”、“无央”作“鞅”，“聚”作“際”，“珊瑚”作“璠瑚”，“髓腦”作“髓膠”等。

東魏寫法華經文外義一卷(展品2)

題“大統十一年歲次乙丑九月廿一日（東魏武定三年，梁大同十一年，公元545年）比丘惠顯於法海寺為訖，流通東代不絕也。”同於大統十一年（五月廿九日）寫之經卷，祇有S4494平南寺道義許寫之《雜咒文》。惠顯此卷即寫於法海寺，皆北方之寫本也。先此卅一年，延昌三年（梁天監十三年，公元514年）令狐崇哲亦於法海寺寫《誠實論卷》第八（已印入拙編《敦煌書法叢刊》第二十卷《寫經》（一）），法海寺在燉煌鎮當地，為魏時名利之可考者。

北魏元氏所譯經論有關《法華經》者有二，據《開元釋教錄》卷六所記：

《妙法蓮華經論》一卷，婆藪槃豆（即世親）造，魏侍中崔光、僧朗筆受，原出中印度實意所譯。

《法華經論》二卷，題云《妙法蓮華經優婆塞會》或一卷，曇林筆受。

上二書已收入《大正藏》一五二〇及一五一九號（第二十六冊頁一至十七）。

《法華經文外義》一卷，不見於著錄，觀其內容與世親之書又不同，為東魏以前重要經論之罕見孤本，有待研究。書法亦佳，茲屬首次刊行，洵可寶也。

周建德二年吐知勤明寫大般涅槃經(展品3)

存卷第九。後有題記稱“建德二年（573年）歲次癸巳正月十五日清信弟子大都督吐知勤明發心。”吐知勤為北姓之三字者。《廣韻》上聲十姥：“吐”字下云：“亦虜複姓三氏，後魏有吐奚、吐難、吐萬氏。”又虜三字姓如吐谷渾氏、吐吹盧氏。《姓纂》未見吐知勤姓。近年渭南縣渭河北岸發現有北周武成二年（560年）合大邑子百中數十人造像記，其西南邑子三十四人姓內有“吐知勤相貴”一名，馬長壽著《碑銘所見前秦至隋初的關中部族》曾有記述，本卷吐知勤明一名，可為馬氏書補添一新資料，敦煌經卷題記之有裨於史事如是。

至於大都督職，北周初制授柱國大將軍，並加使持節大都督。《周書·武帝紀》：“天和五年（570年）夏四月省帥都督官，建德二年春正月庚戌復置帥都督官。”大都督、帥都督之列為戎秩，蓋在建德二年之際，詳王仲華《北周六典》卷九《勳官》第

二十。此卷是年正有大都督吐知勳明，可證王說。

此卷後有宣統辛亥以後清室諸遺老觀款，知其出自熒煌石室。北周寫卷流傳殊稀，其歡喜贊歎，宜也。

隋開皇九年持世經（展品5）

寫卷殘存部份起“持世菩薩摩訶薩知一切諸（大正本作“語”）業皆是耶（邪）業”句，以下為“聖道分品第八”、“世間出世間品第九”、“有為無為法品第十”、“本事品第十一”、“囉累品第十二”。末題開皇九年（589年）寫，是為隋時寫本。此經出鳩摩羅什譯，《大正藏》列482號共四卷（册十四頁六六一至六六六）。

以上隋寫本題卷第三，而今本在第四卷，是隋本原僅有三卷耳。英、法、北京所藏經卷，皆未見持世經，故此卷亦屬罕見之本。

隋代寫經為數至夥，據《辯正論》卷三所記：“文帝時凡寫經論四十六藏，一十三萬二千八十六卷，修治故經三千八百五十三部。煬帝平陳之後於揚州裝補放經並寫新本，合六百一十二藏，二萬九千一百七十三部，九十萬三千五百八十卷”。今存世隋寫經為數殊少，若《持世經》尤其佼佼者。

唐上元二年妙法蓮花經（展品10）

經卷以宮廷寫者為最精。此《妙法蓮花經》出自太原寺，由寺主道成總閱，李德、閻玄道監之。實為唐初官修本目前所知上元二、三年之內，太原寺經李、閻監寫之《蓮花經》卷第三，即有三四本記之如下：

1. 上海博物館此本，題記云：
“上元二年（675年）十月廿三日門下省群書手公孫仁約寫。”
2. S2637
“上元三年（676年）八月一日弘文館楷書手任道寫。”
3. S4168
“上元三年九月八日羣書手馬元禮寫。”

今考李盛鐸藏目又有：

“上元三年九月羣書於王章舉妙法蓮華經卷三，帶軸一。”

是以卷三又有一卷，但不知監者為誰耳。

又李氏目有《蓮華經》卷四：

“上元二年十月廿八日門下省羣書（手）公孫仁約寫”。
“上元三年羣書手馬元禮寫”。

按此二卷，前者即上博此卷之續，後者即S4168之

續，此類唐初精寫之官本，斷裂為數本，散在四方，其綴工作有待後人之努力耳。

卷三之外，他卷可記者列於下：

卷一 S3361

“上元三年七月廿八日門下省袁元[愬]寫。”

又卷一 S4353

“上元三年十一月弘文館書手王智苑寫。”

卷二 S2181

“上元三年四月十五日羣書手楊文泰寫。”

卷三

見前。

卷四 李盛鐸藏目

“公孫仁約寫。”

又卷四 又李盛鐸藏目

“馬元禮寫。” 俱見前

卷五 S1048

“上元三年十一月五日弘文館楷書成公道寫。”

又卷五 S1456

“上元三年五月十三日秘書省楷書手孫玄爽寫。”

卷六 P2195

“上元二年十月十五日門下省書手袁元愬寫。”

又卷六 S3348

“上元元年九月廿五日左書坊楷書蕭敬寫。”

又卷六 李盛鐸藏目

“上元三年十一月羣書手趙如璋寫。”

卷七

“上元五年十二月二十一日弘文館楷書手王智苑寫。”

凡此皆由李德、閻玄道二人具名監造。太原寺司其事。裝潢手由解善集一人任之。寫官來自不同官署，同一卷而書寫多次，自上元二年十月迄於五年十二月，尚未終了，進度甚緩，以其矜慎，故寫本極精。閻玄道未詳何人，考《唐書·宰相世系表》，閻立德之子玄遂，立德弟立行，子名玄秀，以玄行行，閻玄道疑即立德之子侄輩，尚待詳證。

法華經玄贊（展品21）

窺基《法華經玄贊》一書唐寫本，傳世者不一而足。

法京P2176為卷六，其卷極長，已印入《敦煌書法叢刊》第二五卷。東京書道博物館藏《法華經玄贊》有二卷，一為卷第四、一為卷第七（見二玄社《隋唐寫經集》），其卷七末有“天十二載七月廿二日夜彥時記”題語，始見書寫人名氏，其年代則為玄宗時也。

上海博物館是卷存卷第六起“又有五第一合初

發心”句至卷第六終。卷後有董香光（1555-1636）題記稱其“簡澹一洗唐人姿媚之習”，尤為可寶。與法京 P2176 號同是卷六，而屬不同人所書。明時卷子已流傳，遠在莫高窟秘之前矣。

法京卷六行筆似更瀟灑頓挫。同書異寫，各種其勝。惟同作草書，彌見珍異。

五代梁貞明六年佛說佛名經卷第六(展品 28)

此為十六卷本《佛名經》，題“貞明六年（920年）伍月拾伍日寫訖”。為曹氏供養之物。其題記相同之卷甚多，蓋同年同月同日所書者。茲將知見卷子列表如下：

所屬卷數	藏棄之處	卷末題記鈔錄出處
卷三	北京羽字 24 號	見姜亮夫《莫高窟年表》頁四七六
卷四	S4240 (又日本山本佛二郎藏卷四)	劉銘恕錄頁一九五
卷五	日本橋瑞超《將來目》	
卷六	上海博物館此卷	中村不折亦藏卷六
卷九	羅振玉藏	見《瓜沙曹氏年表》
卷十三	P2312	王重民錄頁二六一
卷十五	S3691(二)	劉錄頁一八三

每卷末題云：“敬寫大佛名經二百捌拾捌卷。伏願城隍安泰，百姓康寧。府主尚書曹公，已躬永壽。繼紹長年……。”尾及紙背鈐有“瓜沙州大王印”。卷中五彩佛像駢陳。此為寫經乃用以祝福者。其在僧徒，繕寫是經，則念佛以求正覺而已。記《五燈會元》四《長沙景岑禪師傳》云：“有秀才看千佛名經，問曰：‘百千諸佛，但見其名，未審居何國土？還化物也無？’師曰：‘黃鶴樓崔顥題後，秀才還曾題也未？’曰：‘未嘗。’”語妙可以解頤。《佛名經》在世俗流通之廣，曹家一時發願，書寫供養處有近三百卷之多，上舉數卷特其羨羨者耳。

寫卷在“卷第四”下面有小字一行，文云：“曹元德禮已”五小字。府主即曹議金，元德其子也。姜氏《年表》考論是卷甚詳（頁四七六），惟漏刊上博此卷，又誤書“曹元德禮已”作“曹元進禮一”，應勘正。井口氏在《敦煌本佛名經之諸系統》文中影出此段題記，並加說明亦作“曹元德”不誤。羅振玉謂曹議金時仍以長史為留後以領沙州事，即據此卷題記以立論。故知貞明六年伍月，曹氏已為府主，雖未受朝廷正式任命，（同光初始受命以節度領州）而實際擁有瓜沙。貞明六年五月由其子元德出名頂禮寫《大佛名經》二百八十八卷，與其政治地位必有密切關係。在尚論曹家史事，此卷年月有其重要關鍵，故觀總論之如此。

《論語》鄭注殘簡(展品 31)

存《子罕》第九共三十二行。《論語》正文起“子云：吾不試故藝”句，訖“〔衣狐〕貉者立”句。P2510 卷為龍紀二年（890年）寫本，持與此斷簡相校，《論語》正文異處如下：

上海博物館卷	P 卷
必趨	趨
約我以禮	約之以禮
且與其死	且子與其死
之手	之手乎
子縱	且子縱
饋價	饋
待買	待價
一簣	一匱

《論語》鄭注寫本敦煌與吐魯番出土多種，已有人綜合研究（詳拙著《敦煌書法叢刊》七《經史》（五））。此一殘本為新資料，向所未見。

Further Notes on the Sutra Manuscripts

Jao Tsung-i

(A Summary)

The practice of transcribing Buddhist sutras as a form of personal devotion and attaining merit flourished in the Northern Dynasties and gradually became institutionalized in the Tang period, when the names of the scribes, mounters, proofreaders, and supervising officials were duly recorded. Sutras continued to be copied in large quantities in the Five Dynasties and Song periods, engaging the efforts of emperors and royal consorts as well as court officials. Therefore, this practice was not limited to Dunhuang and there were records of ancient sutra manuscripts dated prior to the opening up of the Dunhuang Library Cave in the last years of the Qing dynasty.

Sutra manuscripts were copied in the temples in Dunhuang as early as the Northern Wei dynasty. Names of the scribes and proofreaders were already found at the end of the scrolls. There were official copies and private ones. The present exhibition features approximately thirty sutra manuscripts from Dunhuang; they represent but a small fraction of an enormous collection of over 20,000 items now scattered in London, Paris, Beijing, and other cities. Selected from the well-documented collections at the Shanghai Museum as well as from Hong Kong collections, the exhibits date from the Northern Wei to the Five Dynasties periods. The more important ones are discussed below.

Virmalakīrti-sūtra (exhibit 1) was recorded in *Dunhuang xiejing tiji huibian* by Xu Guolin. It is based on a translation by Monk Zhiqian rather than the better known version translated later by Kumārajīva. Dated to 393, the manuscript also contains some of the variant forms of Chinese characters commonly found in the Northern Wei dynasty. The Commentary on *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (exhibit 2) was copied by Huixi at Fahai Temple, a famous temple in Dunhuang of the Northern Wei period. Unrecorded in any collection of Buddhist texts, the Commentary is therefore the sole surviving example of this early work.

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (exhibit 3) is a rare dated manuscript of the Northern Zhou dynasty. The colophon at the end of the scroll says that the

sutra was commissioned in A.D. 573 by Tuzhiqian Ming, the Area Commander-in-Chief. This colophon not only gives evidence of an unusual three-character surname of the Northern people, but it also confirms the establishment of the post of Area Commander-in-Chief in the year of 573, as recorded in *Zhou Shu*.

Vasudhara-sūtra (exhibit 5), dated to 589 of the Sui dynasty, is another rare item because of the scarcity of Sui manuscripts. Moreover, this sutra is not found even in the more comprehensive Dunhuang collections in London, Paris, and Beijing.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (exhibit 10), dated to 675 of the Tang dynasty, illustrates admirably the high standard of Tang official copies and the complex system of sutra copying conducted in the Tang chancelleries. The scroll has also been traced to a group of sutra manuscripts copied by scribes from different chancelleries, under the supervision of Li De and Yan Xuandao and the auspices of Taiyuan Temple between the years 675 and 676. The Exposition of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (exhibit 21), written in the cursive script, can be compared to P2176 in the Paris collection, also of the Tang dynasty. The scroll is appended with a colophon by Dong Qichang (1555-1636), indicating that it was in circulation prior to the rediscovery of the Dunhuang Library Cave.

Buddhanāma-sūtra (exhibit 28), dated to 920 in the Five Dynasties period, is one of a group of 288 sutra manuscripts bearing the same inscriptions and the same dates. These scrolls, commissioned by Cao Yuande on behalf of his father Cao Yijin, the Commander General of Dunhuang, provide important clues for study of the affairs of the Cao family and the political status of its members in the tenth century.

Extensive studies have been conducted on the numerous manuscripts of *Lunyu Zheng zhu* (The Confucian Analects with commentary by Zheng Xun) discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan. The fragment (exhibit 31) differs from P2510 in several instances and, therefore, provides new material for study.