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The Graph of the White Marsh and its Dunhuang “Anomaly”:

The Multifunctionality of Dunhuang Manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Asian Studies

by

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June 2022

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The *Graph of the White Marsh* and its Dunhuang “Anomaly”:

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by

Sophia Yuan Shi

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ABSTRACT

The *Graph of the White Marsh* and its Dunhuang “Anomaly”:

The Multifunctionality of Dunhuang Manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261

by

Yuan Shi

This study investigates the ancient *Graph of the White Marsh* (*Baize tu* 白澤圖, hereafter the *White Marsh*) and medieval Dunhuang manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261, titled “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh” (*Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖, hereafter “Spirits and Monsters”). The *White Marsh* is an anomalous creature anthology attributed to the fantastic animal Baize (白澤, lit. White Marsh), the text-product of a mythological encounter between Baize and the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝). Although the ancient text was lost by the medieval period, Jin dynasty (266–420) sources show that the *White Marsh* has evolved from its early function as an anomalous creature anthology to a Daoist graphic register (*tulu* 圖錄). More importantly, the *White Marsh* potentially functioned as a model for a corpus of texts attributed to Baize, with the Dunhuang manuscripts as one of the cases. Based on this model-case relationship between the *White Marsh* and “Spirits and Monsters,” this study examines the multifunctionality of the latter. Paratextual and textual features of the manuscripts show that the author-compiler and editors were consciously thinking about balancing the original graphic-register function with two new functions: divination manual and

household apotropaion. The greater emphasis on “useful” functions in the manuscripts were perhaps the results of an intentional strategy to shift the Baize corpus away from the realm of esoteric, occult knowledge into one of common and accessible vernacular religion.

1. Introduction: The Creature Baize and the Text *Graph of the White Marsh*

The Graph of the White Marsh (*Baize tu* 白澤圖, hereafter abbreviated as the *White Marsh*) is an anthology of supernatural beings that gained popularity from the Tang dynasty (618–907). The *White Marsh* is the text-product of a mythological encounter between the fantastic zoomorphic creature Baize 白澤 (lit. “White Marsh”) and the legendary sovereign, the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi* 黃帝). According to the narrative, Baize described all 11,520 kinds of demons and spirits (*guishen* 鬼神) to the Yellow Emperor who wrote it down and thereupon compiled the *White Marsh*. While the formation of the textual *White Marsh* is closely tied to the creature in its origin, it is also clear that the two, the text and the creature, have very different natures: the *Graph of the White Marsh* is both a text and an iconography attributed to the creature, while the “graph of the White Marsh” is an apotropaic image of the creature. The content of the text changed continuously and its functions widened to suit a broader range of audiences. While the textual accounts of the creature were succinct and consistent during the early medieval period, there was little consensus in terms of its pictorial representations.

From the medieval period onward, there was a conflation of the image and the text into an apotropaic charm for households. With its introduction to Chinese Chan Buddhist schools and cross-cultural development in Japan, a transference of the meaning of text and image of the Baize took place, but this is beyond the scope of this current research. The focus of this research is on the textual part of the subject. The *White Marsh* underwent profound transformations through its history. Not surprisingly, however, is the development and appearance of a group of religious manuals attributed to the creature before medieval times. These texts all bear the term “White Marsh” in their titles. Without suggesting a definite causal

relationship between the texts and the creature, the formation of the “White Marsh” texts was likely related to the popularity of the creature among non-sectarian, popular religious circle, showing traces in popular literature. However, around the same time that the creature gained popularity in the context of vernacular religion, it also became prominent in institutional religious traditions, appearing more frequently in scriptures and commentaries. This study is an attempt to link the texts and the image, a connection neglected among the current studies of the creature Baize.

This study specifically discusses one of the works from the group of “White Marsh” texts, the “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh” (*Baize jingguai tu* 白澤精怪圖, hereafter the “Spirits and Monsters”) from the Dunhuang manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261. This work from the medieval period is an intermediate link between the ancient and late-imperial development of the *White Marsh*. By looking at this work and issues around it as a case study, the larger goal of what follows is to examine the textual lineage of non-canonical religious texts as well as the flexibility between genre conventions and individual texts. The study first introduces the subject of research, the *Graph of the White Marsh*, through a discussion of its connection with the fantastic creature Baize in late-antiquity hagiographies as well as the early-medieval Daoist text, the *Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi neipian* 抱樸子內篇; hereafter the *Inner Chapters*) but also its development evolving from its early function as an anomalous creature anthology to a Daoist graphic register (*tulu* 圖錄).

Next, the paper focuses on the paratextual and textual analyses of the Dunhuang manuscripts, especially on their multifunctionality as graphic register, divination manual, and household protective charm. The transcription and translation of the Dunhuang manuscripts are located in the appendix for reference. They are derived from You Ziyong’s 游自勇

transcription, as it is the most convincing full-length transcription.¹ However, in contrast to You's transcription, mine is transcribed and organized according to natural entry and breaks in the manuscripts in order to match with the translation more coherently. Hence, the analysis will refer to the transcription and translation with the term "entry" rather than "line." On the paratextual level, the manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261 show evidence of editorial additions and changes by at least one other person than the author-compiler of the text, suggesting a complex process of authorship. On the textual level, it is a medieval composition different from the ancient *White Marsh*. However, its title the "Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh" points to the late-antiquity *Graph of the White Marsh* and it consciously refers to early-medieval Daoist sources to increase its credibility. Different sections of this patchwork suggest its multi-functionality: the combination of images and brief descriptions are inherent to its function as a graphic register and anthology of the ancient *White Marsh*; the kettle-whistling and blood-stain divinations add one more dimension as a divination manual for the scholar-officials, the ruling elite group; lastly, the overarching theme for the manuscripts is household protection – they provide specific guidance on a variety of household matters from offspring production to domestic-animal misbehaviors and may have led to the practice of hanging the image of Baize in people's home. As the general graphic-register function and specific divination-manual and household-protection functions to the Dunhuang manuscripts are means to satisfy the need of broad non-specialist audiences with multifarious interests, they also suggest the title "Graph of the White Marsh" may have become the umbrella term for literary collections on anomalous creatures based on the early tale of the creature Baize.

1. You, "Dunhuang ben *Baize jingguai tu*."

2. Ancient *Graph of White Marsh* and Its Function as Graphic Register

As mentioned above, the *Graph of White Marsh* is a product of the encounter between the creature Baize and the Yellow Emperor. The earliest records of the creature, however, do not include its meeting with the Yellow Emperor nor do they relate to the production of the *White Marsh*. The textual records of the creature in scriptures and anomaly accounts (*zhiguai* 志怪) underwent a development since the Han. Chou Hsipo 周西波 discusses the development of the mythological accounts of Baize, suggesting that the account of Baize was first recorded in *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經, hereafter *Mountains and Seas*), a monumental pre-Qin encyclopedia on mythic creatures and geographic sites.² According to Chou, Baize was only one of the auspicious creatures at first; only later was this account combined with the tale of Baize meeting with the Yellow Emperor. Although the passage in *Mountains and Seas* is now lost, Chou's position is defensible considering the centuries of changes the text has gone through.

In “The Baize Cult and Its Changing Images,” Chou lists seven sources on the late antiquity and medieval descriptions of the creature in a chronological arrangement and suggests “an increase in the literal embellishment.”³ Dividing them into two groups, he shows a drastic jump in their narrative complexity – something considerably more marked than a mere increase in literary embellishment: the first two citations attributed to *Mountains and Seas* only have three lines in an inventory style, introducing White Marsh's name, its ability to

2. Chou, “*Baize tu yanjiu*,” 166–167; Chou, “The Baize Cult and Its Changing Images,” 47. See Chou's quotations from Qing dynasty anthologies *Tong zhi* 通志 and *Yuanjian leihan* 淵鑒類函 on the lost passage from *Classic of Mountains and Seas*. See page 6 for translation. See page 8 for discussion on different versions of the text.

3. Chou, “The Baize Cult,” 46. Translated from Mandarin.

speak, and its auspiciousness. The latter five are longer in length with more narrative details. They tell the story of Baize and the Yellow Emperor and include a clear reference to the Emperor composing the “graph of White Marsh” after listening to the creature introducing all spirits and ghosts. One of such longer narratives is recorded in the medieval anthology *Seven Slips from the Cloudy Bookbag* (*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, hereupon *Cloudy Bookbag*):

The [Yellow] Emperor was patrolling [to pacify] evil eastward and arrived at the ocean and climbed on Mount Huan. By the seaside, he encountered the marvelous creature White Marsh, who could speak and fathomed the facts of ten thousand beings. Therefore, the emperor inquired about the matters of the ghosts and spirits Under Heaven. From ancient times, there are in total eleven thousand, five hundred and twenty kinds of essence and vital breath that turned into beings and the wandering cloud-souls that transformed. White Marsh spoke of them and the Emperor commanded to use a graph to write it down in order to show all Under Heaven. The Emperor then composed a prayer writ in order to make it into a spell.⁴

帝巡獐東至海，登桓山，於海濱得白澤神獸，能言達於萬物之情。因問天下鬼神之事，自古精氣為物、游魂為變者，凡萬一千五百二十種，白澤言之，帝令以圖寫之，以示天下。帝乃作祝邪之文以祝之。

While this passage is from the perspective of the Yellow Emperor, Baize is not less important. Compared to the brief Baize narrative in *Mountains and Seas* -- “Baize could speak and came from east of Mount Wang. If there is the virtuous and brilliant [sage] who illumines the obscure and remote, then it will arrive”⁵ -- the *Cloudy Bookbag* description expands from a creature who merely “could speak” to who “mastered the facts of ten thousand beings” and even guided the Yellow Emperor with its knowledge on ghosts and spirits. With such knowledge, the passage also signals Baize’s superlative power, and perhaps, its status as an exceptionally auspicious animal.

4. *Yunji qiqian*, 2177.

5. 白澤能言語，出東望山，有德明照幽遠則至; Wang Renjun, 370. Cited in Chou’s article.

The term “graph” (*tu* 圖) also appears as part of the narrative expansion of the *Cloudy Bookbag*. As Dominic Steavu states in his monograph on the *Writ of Three Sovereigns*, from a Daoist religious perspective, the term “graphs” or “charts” refer to “iconographic complements to the ‘text’ (*wen* 文) of the talisman,” and yet the “boundaries between *tu* 圖, usually translated as ‘image,’ ‘chart,’ ‘diagram,’ or ‘illustration,’ and the terms *shu* 書 or *wen* 文, which evoke ‘writing’ or ‘text,’ were relatively fluid in early China.”⁶ In the case above, the phrase “used a graph to write these” or “to write them down by means of a graph” implies that the *White Marsh* no doubt has a textual component, perhaps a combination of text and drawings, or even all text illegible to common mortals, hence it appears as a graphic language of sorts. From this tale, therefore, it is clear that the development of Baize-narratives gives birth to the *White Marsh* as a text attributed to the creature. Regarding its dating, Chou further mentions that “for now, the earliest records [of the Yellow Emperor’s meeting with Baize] are probably in the *Combined Graph of Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu hecheng tu* 春秋合成圖) and the *Inner Records of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neizhuan* 黃帝內傳).”⁷ Chou claims that both texts are from the Qin-Han period, but the textual evidence he provides are from late imperial anthologies so their credibility is in doubt. The earliest reliable and datable version of the narrative is from the *Cloudy Bookbag*. If both texts are indeed from the Qin-Han period, the appearance of the ancient *Graph* should take place no earlier to this time.

6. Steavu, “Beyond Talismans,” 99.

7. Chou, “The Baize Cult,” 47. Translated from Mandarin.

According to Donald Harper, the *White Marsh* is likely “a compilation of pre-Han and Han demono-magical lore drawn from manuscripts that were subsequently lost.”⁸ Harper further proposes that the later texts with the title *Graph of the White Marsh* or related titles, such as the lost *White Marsh’s Mirror of the Earth* (*Baize di jing* 白澤地鏡), are a “sub-class of demonographic literature ascribed to White Marsh.”⁹ While the *White Marsh*, which also functions as graphic register, may be more than a simple demonography, Harper helpfully adds that it is probably not a single document with sole textual lineage. Instead, any text that could function as a graphic register and a demonography, and contained practical applications pertaining to divination, for example, could potentially be titled *Graph of the White Marsh*. The medieval manuscripts “Spirits and Monsters” is a case in point. In other words, it is not the transmission of the textual content, but the inheritance of specific textual features and functions of the ancient *White Marsh* that make the later texts what they are. On the other hand, these conventions are never completely fixed since the circulation and popularity of Baize texts also depend on the reception by medieval contemporary readers. The nature of the ancient *White Marsh* is therefore important in terms of determining the initial conventions of the Baize corpus. While the ancient text is lost, we can infer its features from surviving accounts.

In the *Cloudy Bookbag* account above, the Yellow Emperor writes down Baize’s revelations about “in total eleven thousand, five hundred and twenty kinds of [ghosts and spirits],” suggesting at first glance that the text is an inventory of anomalous creatures. Also, the Emperor “used a graph to write [the ghosts and spirits] down” and later “composed a prayer writ in order to make [the graph] into a spell” indicate the graph with a shamanic, proto-Daoist

8. Harper, “A Note on Nightmare Magic,” 71.

9. Harper, “A Note on Nightmare Magic,” 71.

component. Further, the term “prayer writ” (*zhuxie zhi wen* 祝邪之文) has variants in other versions of the narrative. In the *Chronicle of the Yellow Emperor Xuanyuan* (*Xuanyuan huangdi zhuan* 軒轅黃帝傳), the term is “possession writing” or “bewitchment writ” (*zhongxie zhi wen* 中邪之文).¹⁰ Two late imperial narratives in Chou’s article use the term “apotropaic writing” (*pixie zhi wen* 辟邪之文), likely an alternation after Baize gained its apotropaic feature.¹¹ Nevertheless, these variants all point to occult knowledge and witchcraft in the text, indicating it is more than a simple inventory.

The *White Marsh* is mentioned twice in the Jin dynasty (266–429) Daoist text the *Inner Chapters*, written by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343). The first reference is in Chapter Thirteen: “The Utmost in Speech” (*juan shisan jiyen* 卷十三·極言) and the second is in Chapter Seventeen: “Climbing [Mountains] and Crossing [Rivers]” (*juan shiqi dengshe* 卷十七·登涉). Chapter Thirteen discusses how ancient sages and immortals attained transcendence or longevity. The protagonists are the Yellow Emperor and Peng Zu 彭祖 who lived for eight hundred years. The section on the Yellow Emperor emphasizes even the sage was learning from wise masters. The entry about Baize is a short reiteration of the encounter of the Yellow Emperor and Baize: “to investigate thoroughly the wicked spirits, [the Yellow Emperor] then wrote down the speech of White Marsh.” This passage is used as evidence to show that even a sage such as the

10. *Xuanyuan huangdi zhuan*, 20.

11. See the narratives in *Chunqiu hecheng tu* 春秋合成圖 and *Huangdi neizhuan* 黃帝內傳 in Chou, “The Baize Cult,” 46.

Yellow Emperor needed masters.¹² While the first reference is related to the narrative of the *White Marsh*, the second entry in Chapter Seventeen is related to its function:

Next, [the Daoist priests] then discuss the *Register of the Hundred Ghosts*. If one knows the names of all ghosts Under Heaven, as well as the *Graph of the White Marsh* and the *Record of the Nine Cauldrons*, then all ghosts will retreat by themselves.¹³

其次則論百鬼錄，知天下鬼之名字，及白澤圖九鼎記，則眾鬼自卻。

The *White Marsh* is mentioned in the answer to the “method of expelling the hundred ghosts in the mountains and streams, and ancestral temples and halls (*pi shanchuan miaotang baigui zhi fa* 辟山川廟堂百鬼之法).”¹⁴ This passage in question is located before a series of talismans for traveling into the mountains (*rushan fu* 入山符).¹⁵ According to its method, “if one knows the names of all ghosts Under Heaven”, they will therefore “retreat by themselves.” Thus, the *White Marsh* presumably functions as a Daoist graphic register (*tulu* 圖錄).

A register (*lu* 錄) is a roster of the true names (*zhenming* 真名) of anomalous creatures, ghosts, demons, or supernatural beings. When users call out or write out the names on the register, they can tame and control the beings designated by the names, either warding them off or commanding them to do their bidding just as in the description above. A graphic register is not only composed of true names; it sometimes also depicts the true forms (*zhenxing* 真形) of supernatural beings. Furthermore, the *White Marsh* is listed between two other graphic registers, the *Register of the Hundred Ghosts* and the legendary *Record of the Nine Cauldrons*,

12. 窮神奸則記白澤之辭; *Baopuzi neipian*, Chapter 13, 241.

13. *Baopuzi neipian*, Chapter 17, 308.

14. *Baopuzi neipian*, Chapter 17, 308.

15. *Baopuzi neipian*, Chapter 17, 309–314.

reinforcing its function as a graphic register. The registers were also used to establish religious legitimacy as “one of many items bestowed by Heaven signaling the mandate to rule”.¹⁶ The composition of the *White Marsh* could therefore be reinterpreted as a proof of the Yellow Emperor’s sagehood. While the *White Marsh* in the Qin-Han tale of the Yellow Emperor is a compendium of anomalous creatures with shamanic worship, the fourth-century Daoist references categorize it as a graphic register, increasing its practical value and religious power. It gradually shifts from an anomalous account or a demonographic literature to a religious object that can be used, as we shall see, for ritual or apotropaic purposes.

3. Dunhuang Manuscript the “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh”

Since the document that Ge Hong referred to was lost, it is difficult to understand its exact relation to the Dunhuang manuscripts “Spirits and Monsters” that appeared during the Six dynasties and early Tang. In later medieval anthologies, occasional references survive but the actual text of the *White Marsh* is no longer extant. Therefore, there is no way to tell whether the medieval text is the same as the ancient one. The ancient *White Marsh* started off as a compilation of earlier occult knowledge, and actually constituted a genre of texts associated with the creature Baize that fulfilled the same ritual functions and observed the same literary conventions. The medieval Dunhuang manuscripts P.2682 and S.6261 espouse these same markers. While earlier studies focus on the accuracy of the transcription and only point out the possible relationship between “Spirits and Monsters” and other texts such as the *Inner Chapters*, recent studies elaborate more on the link between the manuscripts and the creature

16. Miller, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 39.

Baize and whether the manuscripts and the *White Marsh* are the same text.¹⁷ Sasaki Satoshi 佐々木聡 argues that the Dunhuang “Spirits and Monsters” is different from the *White Marsh* as it includes heterogeneous content and concepts in comparison to the reconstructed late imperial version.¹⁸ He views the entire Baize corpus as belonging to one single textual lineage, but one might argue that this is not the case for the two Dunhuang manuscripts. On the other hand, while Harper proposes that the Dunhuang manuscripts belong to a group of “Pai tse literature,” he does not discuss the specific relationship between “Spirits and Monsters” and the *White Marsh*. Hence, the rest of the paper is devoted to the question of the manuscripts’ authorship and why this particular text is titled “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh.” As I hope to show, “Spirits and Monsters” is a medieval composition in the same graphic register genre of the ancient *White Marsh*. It also expands on the genre’s apotropaic functions and develops them with the inclusion of substantial divination sections.

Before literary analysis, it is necessary to examine the paratextual features of the manuscripts. Paratexts are things that frame or influence the reception of the text other than the text itself; they create a liminal “zone between text and off-text” to provide context for the reading of the text.¹⁹ The paratextual elements in the manuscripts include colophons, corrections, calligraphical styles, format of the horizontal lines, paper-sheet material, etc. The spatial and temporal situations of these elements give hints for the production of the manuscripts. On the paratextual level, the two documents are part of the same text. It has undergone changes by a number of people (at least two or three) other than the author-compiler,

17. Liu, “Bainian dunhuang zhanbu wenxian,” 151 and 178.

18. Sasaki, “Fa Zang *Baize jingguai tu*,” 80; Sasaki, “Hakutaku zu,” 46.

19. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 2.

muddling the question of authorship. Earlier studies suggest that the manuscripts were produced no later than middle of the Tang. Images of the two manuscripts are provided in the appendix: P.2682, as shown in *figure 1*, is a long handscroll made of seven sheets of paper glued together with clear calligraphy; S.6261, in *figure 2*, is a fragment with three sets of comprehensible text and four illustrations, also glued together. P.2682 has ninety-nine lines of texts and S.6261 has ten lines. The first half of P.2682, hereafter P.2682-1, has textual descriptions and illustrations of the anomalous creatures next to them. The manuscript is divided horizontally into two rows, top and bottom, with alternating text and figures. There are in total nineteen text-image pairs. In the usual graphic register format, figures appear before the image from right to left; however, in P.2682-1, this order is inverted with the text on the right, suggesting that the textual component was perhaps more important. Although S.6261 does not provide details about the title or about authorship, early studies by Matsumoto Eiichi 松本 栄一 and Jao Tsung-i identify it as the part of the same text as P.2682. This conclusion is reached on the basis of a highly similar calligraphic style and an identical gluing technique in making the physical manuscript.²⁰ Sasaki further points out that the two manuscripts share the same thin horizontal boundary line (*keisen* 罫線), dividing the sheets into two top and bottom parts.²¹

P.2682-1 ends with the colophon, “there are one hundred and ninety-nine nests of spirits and monsters,” pointing to the total number of anomalous beings.²² The second half of P.2682, hereafter P.2682-2, only consists of text, which will be the focus of a later analysis.

20. Quoted in Sasaki, “S.6261,” 59.

21. Sasaki, “Fazang *Baize jingguai tu*,” 77; “S.6261,” 61.

22. □精恠有壹佰玖捨(拾)玖窠□; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 29.

The text does not have the common indentations nor does it start with new lines for segmentation, yet there are clear spaces between each entry. Furthermore, P.2682-2 lacks paragraph demarcations, yet some parts of the text can be grouped together into smaller sections based on common themes. Towards the end of the manuscript, there is a two-line colophon, as follows:

The previous three sheets [of paper] do not have images. Recorded by Daoxin and compiled together with a monk whose family name is Fan.
The Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh in one scroll composed of forty-one sheets.²³

已前三紙無像。道昕記。道僧併攝，俗姓范。
白澤精怪圖一卷卅一紙成。

The two colophons reflect two issues: the problematic sequence of the sheets of paper and the question of authorship. In his transcription of the manuscripts, You Ziyong further elaborates on Jao's view that the manuscripts were originally scattered pages. This is clearly shown from the mention of "forty-one sheets." On the basis of the first colophon (P.2682-1), he also proposes that the original sequence should be P.2682-2, S.6261, and P.2682-1.²⁴ However, it might be hasty to conclude that P.2682-1 was at the end of the handscroll since the colophon has a different calligraphic style. Moreover, it is placed unusually close to a drawing in comparison to the manuscripts' previous examples of text-image pairs. Thus, I surmise that it was added by another person than the original compiler. Sasaki also underscores that the colophon was likely written by a later hand and suggests the content reads like a closing remark.²⁵ While it is certainly true that the colophon acts as a closing remark, it also appears

23. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 98–99.

24. You, 304.

25. Sasaki, "Fazang *Baize jingguai tu*," 78-79.

to have been added by a different person in order to conceal the visible marks where two sheets of the manuscripts were glued together. In all, the seven sheets that made up P.2682 have six visible glue markings. Thus, it is apparent that the manuscript went through an editorial process subsequent to its initial compilation. It is possible that different accounts of creatures from a collection of potentially disparate loose sheets were pieced together artificially and sometimes clumsily into a single document to give an impression of a unified text. The physical form of a continuous handscroll is also potentially with an intention of mirroring a graphic register.

Furthermore, the calligraphic style of the second colophon at the end of P.2682-2 is also different from the first colophon at the end of P.2682-1, suggesting that the manuscripts would have gone through the hands of at least three people. The calligraphy of the second colophon is similar to that which appears in the middle part of P.2682-1 for the corrections of characters. Thus, the corrector and the author of the colophon was likely the same person, entrusted with editing and proof-reading. Although the colophon attributes the text to Daoxin, we cannot be certain whether Daoxin was the compiler of the text, the person who glued the sheets of paper together, the one who wrote the colophon in P.2862-1, or the one who made the corrections (or all, or any combination). The key to this enigma lies in interpreting the second half of the first line, “compiled together with a monk whose family name is Fan.” Considering a single authorship, Harper interprets that passage as saying: “[Daoxin] has copied the manuscript for use by Daoist priests and Buddhist monks.”²⁶ Since colophon usually states the identity of the author, perhaps a better interpretation would be “[Daoxin], who comprehended both Daoism and Buddhism,” but this too is unsatisfactory since “*daoseng* 道僧” most probably points to another monk who helped was responsible for the edit and

26. Harper, “The Textual Form of Knowledge,” 60.

corrections, either helping Daoxin during his compilation or handling the manuscripts on later dates. *Daoseng* is an overall title for “*chujiaren* 出家人 (a Buddhist monk or nun who has left the secular life).”²⁷ Although Sasaki in his later work reinterprets the term as the proper dharma name of a specific monk instead of the title, the first interpretation seems more plausible since it would be redundant to include both a dharma name and secular name for the same figure.²⁸ This monk could have been a student or a lower-ranking monk who had not yet received a Buddhist appellation when he wrote the colophon. While Sasaki considers the multiple changes and ambiguous authorship as pieces of evidence to prove that the Dunhuang text is not the *Graph of the White Marsh*, the fact that a later person categorized and titled the text “Graph of Spirits and Monsters by the White Marsh” during the editing process solidifies the argument that it not only belongs to the Baize corpus, but also that it exhibits unmistakable features of a “graph.”

4. “Spirits and Monsters” as a Graphic Register

Hence, while it is nearly impossible for us to know who did what during the authorial and editorial processes, this uncertainty leads us to consider the relationship between the individual text and literary conventions. The ancient *White Marsh* established a model for later texts from the same corpus such as the “Spirits and Monsters” to emulate; the resemblance of the medieval text to the ancient *White Marsh* increased the former’s legitimacy and further reified the conventions of the corpus. The notion of “graph” in the title of “Spirits and Monsters” alone indicates that the text has carried on the ancient function of graphic register. While

27. Sasaki, “Facang *Baize jingguai tu*,” 77.

28. Sasaki, “S.6261,” footnote 14, 62.

stressing the connection between demonographic literature and pre-Han manuscripts, Donald Harper relates that “a principal function of the *Pai tse t’u* was a register of each demon’s proper name,” in other words a graphic register.²⁹ This function is reflected in P.2682-1 and S.6261. For instance, the first readable text-image pair from S.6261 introduces a rabbit-shaped creature. The image is on the left in typical graphic register format (see *figure 3*):

The wood elk is called Zha. Its appearance is like a rabbit and its tail is indigo colored. This type of creature is natural, it is not a strange thing.³⁰

木麋名曰札，狀如菟而尾青色，物類自然，非恠也。

Further, considering the gluing technique, the rearrangement of the text-image part towards the beginning of the manuscript during the editorial process implies an emphasis on this function, which might be a conscious choice to present the document as a graphic register to its potential user-readers. Additional pieces of evidence supporting the role of “Spirits and Monsters” as graphic register are also found in the text-only part. In P.2682-2, there are two substantial sections describing ghosts and spirits in the fashion of a graphic register (but without images).³¹ These sections are located at the beginning and the end of the text-only part, reinforcing the impression that the manuscript was intended as a graphic register. Its protective functions are stated throughout: “it is auspicious to call out [the creature’s] name”, “call them by their names... then there will be no disasters”, and “these are the names of those ghosts. Therefore, first call their names, [this will] then make people not afraid of them. Likewise,

29. Harper, “A Chinese Demonography,” 494.

30. Dunhuang ms. S.6261, ln. 1–2.

31. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 29–45 and ln. 86–91.

ghosts will not hurt people.”³² These lines repeatedly stress the power and benefit of calling or simply knowing the names of creatures, whether it be for the purpose of counteracting fears or bringing luck to the user.

Fulfilling the requirements of the graphic register, “Spirits and Monsters” includes multiple references to the earlier sources. More specifically, the second entry until the twentieth out of seventy-four entries in P.2682-2 directly corresponds Chapter Seventeen of the *Inner Chapters* in which the ancient *White Marsh* is mentioned with other graphic registers.³³ The first half of the entries is about eight ghosts and spirits residing in mountains. The second half concerns spirits and animals one would encounter on the days of the twelve earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支). The contents are highly analogous as the following comparison between the two texts shows:

As for a big tree that can speak in the mountains, it is [not] the tree speaking. This spirit is called Yun yang [lit. Cloudy Sun]. If one calls it, [things] will then be auspicious.³⁴

山大樹有能(能)語者，□樹語也，其精名曰雲陽，呼之即吉。

As for a big tree that can speak in the mountains, it is not the tree that can speak. This spirit is called Yun yang [lit. Cloudy Sun]. If one calls it, [things] will then be auspicious.³⁵

山中有大樹有能語者，非樹能語也，其精名曰雲陽，呼之則吉。

32. 呼之吉; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 33. 以其名呼之…無咎矣; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 85–86. 此皆是其鬼名，故先呼其名，即使人不畏之，鬼亦不傷人者也; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 90–91.

33. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 29–45.

34. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 29–30.

35. *Baopuzi neipian*, Chapter 17, 304.

The former quotation is the second entry from “Spirits and Monsters” and the latter is the corresponding passage from “Climbing [Mountains] and Crossing [over Rivers]”. Although the underlined characters show minor variations, the passages are essentially identical. The subsequent nineteen entries follow the same pattern with again, a few differences in the names of creatures. Chou suggests the possibility that the *Inner Chapters* borrow from the ancient *White Marsh*, which could be true. In turn, “Spirits and Monsters” most likely borrowed from the *Inner Chapters* rather than directly from the *White Marsh*. First, Chou mistakenly mixes the ancient *White Marsh* and “Spirits and Monsters” as the same document. The two are clearly different as the quotation from the *Inner Chapters* that Chou claims to be the “lost passage” of the *White Marsh* that cannot be found in “Spirits and Monsters.”³⁶ Moreover, the overall narrative for chapter seventeen is coherent about the various aspects for practicing in the mountain: it starts from the general methods of going into the mountains to picking the specific “treasured days” (*baori* 寶日). It is only natural then to identify the mountain spirits (*shanjing* 山精) and methods to ward them off after the practitioners get into the mountains. On the other hand, “Spirits and Monsters” does not include other creatures in the mountains after this section. The second graphic-register section towards the end of P.2682-2 is about the creatures that one would be afraid of in different scenarios instead of those exclusively in the mountains.³⁷ The majority of the manuscripts concerns the household, for more than half of the creatures mentioned in P.2682-1 and S.6261 are said to affect the family and future generations. The divination methods in P.2682-2 also solve problems in the family and bring household benefits. Therefore, it is more likely that the compiler of the Dunhuang manuscripts adopted from the

36. Chou, “*Baize tu yanjiu*,” 173.

37. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 86–91.

Inner Chapters. As the ancient *White Marsh* is mentioned in the same chapter of the *Inner Chapters*, it is possibly a means for the compiler to build credibility for the Dunhuang manuscripts.

5. “Spirits and Monsters” as a Divination Manual

“Spirits and Monsters” seems to be a patchwork with different sections devoted to disparate purposes. Some entries combine a number of functions, while others have coherent themes that suggest the manuscripts’ second major use as a divination manual. For instance, one such section discusses a divination based on the position of bloodstains, the “bloodstain divination” (*xuewu zhan* 血污占), while another describes a “kettle-whistling divination” (*fuming zhan* 釜鳴占) based on the time a kettle whistles for no reason. There is also a third group of more scattered divination methods on miscellaneous household concerns. The divinations are located in the middle of P.2682-2, surrounded by the two previously mentioned groups of graphic-register entries – the one on spirits and animals of the twelve earthly branches and the other on fear and ghosts. These divination sections differ from the graphic register entries with clear causal, consequential predictions of specific human activities or natural phenomena. A further characteristic of the divination sections is that many entries forecast auspiciousness or inauspiciousness (*ji* 吉 or *xiong* 凶), and sometimes provide means to counteract inauspicious outcomes at the end of the entries. The general pattern of these divination methods adds another dimension to the text: that of a divination manual. The two entries below show the contrast between the graphic-register entries and divination methods concerning ghostly activities:

One who fears when ascending a mountain should call out “Shan ren” [lit. Good Person].

[...]

These are the names of those ghosts. Therefore, first call their names, [this will] then make people not afraid of them. Likewise, ghosts will not hurt people.³⁸

上山而畏者，呼曰善人。

[...]

此皆是其鬼名，故先呼其名，即使人不畏之，鬼亦不傷人者也。

If a human body is stained with blood, this is said to be tears shed by ghosts. Its master will be inauspicious. Cleanse it with minced fish paste. The misfortune will clear away.³⁹

血污人身，是謂為鬼所泣，其主不吉。以鮓醬洗去之，殃除。

Both entries concern ghosts. The former is the first of the eight succinct graphic-register entries mentioned above. It only introduces the name of the ghost without much description of its physical traits or abilities, yet it delineates the context in which the adept would experience the ghost through the mechanism of fear. At the end of this section, there is also a statement suggesting if one “first call[s] their names, [this will] then make people not afraid of them. Likewise, ghosts will not hurt people” – a typical graphic register statement. In general, this entry, together with others in the group, explains fear as the result of practitioner’s encounter with ghosts, perhaps as an effect of their paranormal power. Calling out their names is a way for practitioners to tame the ghosts.

On the other hand, the latter entry pertaining to the bloodstain divination from the middle of P. 2682-2 has a different logic in the following respects: first, in contrast to the previous graphic-register entry, no details about the ghost, not even its name, are mentioned; second, syntax wise, “this is said to be tears shed by ghosts” does not affect the main clause. “If a human body is stained with blood, [... its] owner is inauspicious” provides enough

38. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 86 and 90–91.

39. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 73–74.

information for the causal relationship between the sign (bloodstain on body) and the consequence (the person is inauspicious) to take place. In other words, it is not too farfetched to consider that which is of concern is the consequence of the bloodstain rather than its cause. Third, this method describes a hypothetical situation casting a possible result instead of a declarative statement that is certainly true. Although both entries can be translated with the sentence pattern “if one faces X situation, one should do Y,” the latter focuses more on what X situation forecasts or entails as a middle step specific circumstances (X) and their resolution (Z). This middle step rationalizes the necessity to counteract X situation with special rituals methods in order to resolve it (Z). To put it another way, while this divination entry suggests the reason for finding bloodstains on one’s body is due to ghostly activity and that the stains are ghost tears, these are only of secondary importance. The primary consideration is effectively removing the misfortune. Last, while both entries give instructions to counteract inauspicious phenomena, the bloodstain divination provides a method for removing the bad omen through the removal of the physical bloodstain, namely “[cleansing] it with minced fish paste.” This involves a different mechanism than the graphic-register approach of taming or controlling the ghost through language and verbal power: first, it is unrelated to the ghost, concerning only the physical trace it has left, and second, it stresses the efficacy of resolving inauspicious signs through material means – the physical practice of washing away the bloodstain.

In the precious pages, I have compared a graphic-register entry to a divination-method entry. I here identify the general features of divination entries in these manuscripts: 1) occurrence – 2) explanation – 3) outcome – 4) method to counteract the outcome, if undesired, through bodily practice – 5) avoidance of negative outcome. In most cases, the second step is

not included, once again suggesting the focus on the outcome; many entries further omit the fourth step and combine steps three and five, only stating the outcome and whether the occurrence is auspicious or inauspicious. Other entries in the bloodstain divination follow the same pattern. This group of eight entries, including the one above, is found in the middle part of P.2682-2. It reveals negative omens or signs based on the location of the bloodstain. Many of the entries are short and only include a description of the occurrence and its possible outcome, for example: “If one’s doorway threshold is stained with blood, one’s male and female servants will have transgressions.”⁴⁰ Others include succinct instructions on counteracting inauspiciousness, such as “do not wear the clothes [with bloodstains]” (*wufu* 勿服), “burn them” (*fenzhi* 焚之), or “sell them” (*maizhi* 賣之).⁴¹ Although there are only eight entries, their order suggests a gradual progression deeper into the household and eventually onto the very body of household’s inhabitants. Starting with the bloodstain on the threshold, the divinations move to bloodstains on the door, bed, bed-curtain, garments, accessories, and finally on the body (*renshen* 人身).⁴² The entries elicit an increasingly focused transition from a relatively vast spatial context (the household) to a smaller, more confined one (the body). This progress from outer to inner space also comes with an increase urgency so that the divinations that focus on the adept’s body are graver and more pressing.

40. 血污門戶關者，臣妾有奸；Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 68–69.

41. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 71–73.

42. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 68, 73.

A second group of divination entries concerns a kettle-whistling method.⁴³ It is situated immediately before the bloodstain divination and arranged according the sequence of the days of twelve earthly branches (*dizhi jiri* 地支紀日), starting from the *zi* day (*ziri* 子日; first day) and ending with the *hai* day (*hairi* 亥日; twelfth day).⁴⁴ The same temporal arrangement, possibly a common formula for divination manuals, is found in other Dunhuang manuscripts such as the two kettle-whistling divinations in *hane* 羽 044 from *Kyoo shooku* 杏雨書屋 discussed by Wang Xiangwei. The use of earthly branches as an ordering principle is consistent throughout the manuscript. For example, the entries preceding the divinations consist of a list of anomalous creatures one would encounter on different days marked by the earthly branches borrowed from the *Inner Chapters*. The entries are rearranged in accordance with the sequence of earthly branches (from the *zi* day to the *hai* day), whereas the original sequence in the *Inner Chapters* is random, with the *chou* 丑 day (the second day) appearing last. This rearrangement was likely undertaken to maintain an internal coherence to the overall manuscript while respecting its multifunctionality both as a graphic register and a divination manual.

Wang juxtaposes the kettle-whistling divination in “Spirits and Monsters” with the two from *hane* 044 and briefly compares the content.⁴⁵ While he suggests there are some connections and partial matches in the overall attribution of auspiciousness and inauspiciousness to phenomena, the lists only show very superficial matches concerning the

43. Wang Xiangwei claims that this divination is one of the ancient occult knowledges that can be traced since the Western Han. See page 80 of his article. I am skeptical of this. However, there is a kettle-whistling divination in *Tiandi ruixiang zhi*, suggesting the appearance of this method in the Tang. See *Tiandi ruixiang zhi* 326.

44. Wang, “Ribben xingyu shuwu cang,” 85.

45. Wang, 87.

association of specific days and omens; hence it is hard to determine if there is any close relationship between individual manuscripts.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, although the divination contents are different, all three share the same bipartite structure. Integrating the five components of divination entries listed above, the first part of the kettle-whistling divination describes 3) the auspicious or inauspicious outcome that a household would experience if 1) the kettle whistles spontaneously on a certain day. There is no 2) explanation to the phenomena in this part. For the kettle-whistling divination in “Spirits and Monsters,” while some divinations include markers of in/auspiciousness, *xiong* or *ji*, at the outcome, eight out of twelve entries do not include them. For example:

If a kettle whistles on *zi* days, one’s wife will commit incest.⁴⁷

子日釜鳴，妻內亂。

Practitioners could deduct it being inauspicious since incest, or having affairs within the family, were commonly considered as a felony. It was one of the Ten Abominations (*shi e* 十惡) or Grave Abominations (*zhong e* 重惡).⁴⁸ Also, while the bloodstain divinations all lead to negative outcomes, there are mixed positive and negative omens for the whistling as well as some neutral ones open for interpretation. If a kettle whistles on the *zi*, *mou*, *si*, *wu*, *shen*, or *xu* days (first, fourth, sixth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh days respectively), bad things will happen;

46. Wang, 87–88.

47. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 54.

48. *Tong dian*, 4230–4231, 4245–4246; *Sui Shu*, 705–711. Emperor Wen of Sui 隋文帝 (r. 581–604) codified the Ten Abominations in the *Kaihuang Code* (*Kaihuang li* 開皇律). Incest (*neiluan* 內亂) is the tenth crime.

on *chou*, *yin*, *wei*, or *hai* days (second, third, eighth, and twelfth days), the signs are good. Finally, on *chen* and *you* days (fifth and tenth days), the omens are ambiguous:

If a kettle whistles on *chen* days, there will be actions within the family; if not the father, then it will be the mother.⁴⁹

辰日釜鳴，有家行，非父則母。

If a kettle whistles on *you* days, there will be matters of ancestral sacrifice.⁵⁰

酉日釜鳴，有祀祠事。

The outcome of these two entries is ambiguous. Both phrases “actions within the family” and “matters of ancestral sacrifice” appear to be neutral predictions, especially in comparison to the next entry, one of the negative omens pertaining to *shen* days where “the household will gather together — it is inauspicious, [for] there will be mourning.”⁵¹ Exceptionally, these two neutral entries present the social or household events that will or should take place, but they do not require counteractive measures even if its outcome is negative. This adds another layer of functionality to the divination manuals, namely as a guide for proper social and cultural responses when encountering certain phenomena.

The first and second part of the kettle-whistling divination method are separated by the following statement which underscores the whistling as a natural phenomenon:

These [kettle-whistles] are all spontaneous resonances. If one does not regard them as strange, then they are supernatural. The multitudes do not know about these and are afraid of them. Therefore, they get diseases. These are not the misfortunes of ghosts and spirits, but only things that are strange in and of themselves.⁵²

49. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 56.

50. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 58.

51. 家聚衆，凶，有喪; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 58.

52. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 60–61.

此皆自然感應，不恠之則神，衆人弗知，畏之，故得疾，非有鬼神之禍也，物有自然恠耳。

This passage directly points to the phenomena of kettle-whistling as a natural, albeit strange, occurrence, and not the “misfortunes of ghosts and spirits”. Thus, practitioners should not regard them as supernatural and fear them. This position contradicts the graphic-register entries, especially those that introduce the names of ghosts that would induce fear. Sasaki also points out the term “spontaneous resonances” is incoherent with the overall content about ghosts and spirit as it seemingly denies the existence of these supernatural beings.⁵³ Similar claims cannot be found in *hane* 044. Whereas Wang considers this inconsistency as proof that the methods of kettle-whistling divination are not trustworthy, I believe this tension can be read as a compromise or a way of reconciling different functions and traditions in a single text.⁵⁴

The second part of the divination offers 4) five methods of suppressing the whistling (*ya fuming* 厭釜鳴) to counteract 3) the outcome and avoid inauspicious results of the omen. 5) These methods end with the phrase “it will be auspicious” (*ji* 吉) or “there will be no disaster” (*wujiu* 無咎).⁵⁵ In other words, the ill omen has been avoided. Different from the bloodstain divination which provides counteractive methods immediately after each divination, there is a clear division here between the omen section and the counteractive method section. There are two kinds of counteract methods in “Spirits and Monsters”: the first three methods all employ objects of suppression (*yasheng wu* 厭勝物) and the last two involve suppression through

53. Sasaki, “Hakutaku zu,” 50.

54. Wang, 89.

55. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 61–68.

resonance (*he* 和 and *ying* 應).⁵⁶ The first two methods instruct practitioners to paint the kettle or the chimney of the stove (*zao e* 竈額) with mixtures of mud (*tu* 土) and the “five aromatics” (*wuxiang* 五香) to counteract the whistling and to make it auspicious.⁵⁷ The third method requires ritual offerings and an incantation, thus belonging to the first kind. The last two methods use resonance to stop the whistling, the second variety of counteractive methods presented in the manuscript:

Another method: If a kettle whistles, [take] the household’s long-banded sword and respond to it, saying: “It is not necessary to whistle.” If [the kettle] subsides and stops, it will make the household greatly prosperous. There will be no disaster.

又一法：釜鳴，□家長帶劔而應之曰：未可鳴，息而止，令家大富，無咎。

Another method: If a kettle whistles, take the household’s copper mirror. Place it next to [the kettle] and strike it to harmonize them. There will be no disaster.⁵⁸

又一法：釜鳴，取家銅鏡於傍擊而和之，無咎。

Wang considers these two as intimidation and imitation respectively.⁵⁹ However, whether with blade or mirror, both methods use the same mechanism of harmonizing (*he*) or responding (*ying*) with the whistling and they can therefore be grouped together. While the end results are auspicious, the primary concern of the second, third, and fourth methods is no longer the suppressing of whistling, but it is rather to incur benefits for the household such as having offspring or making its residents prosperous. This preoccupation about the household is a common theme throughout the manuscripts, especially in P.2682-2. They almost compete with

56. Wang, 88.

57. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 61–63.

58. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 66–68.

59. 恐嚇性的鎮厭之法; 模仿性的厭勝法; Wang, 88.

the graphic-register function, for the divinatory sections on household welfare are interspersed with the graphic register entries on the anomalous mountain creatures and ghosts.

6. “Spirits and Monsters” as a Household Apotropaion

In the previous pages, I have suggested that the manuscripts are substantially concerned with household welfare. Indeed, the third function of “Spirits and Monsters” is that of a household protection manual or a household apotropaion in and of itself. The last part of this study organizes material relating to the household in the two following ways: the more obvious connection with the household through the occurrence of the character *jia* 家 (household) and similar semantic terms; and the relation between animals and the household embedded in the graphic-register entries and apotropaic incantations. First, the character *jia* appears twenty-five times in P.2682. The frequency of domestic concerns is also high in P.2682-1, with about half of the nineteen entries either mentioning the household, a domestic space, or an individual within the household. There is no mention of the household in S.6261, but since not every single entry in P.2682-1 is about domestic concerns, their absence in S.6261 does not necessarily mean that the two manuscripts are different texts.

Within P.2682, *jia* has multiple meanings in different contexts: *jia* is the abstract notion of a household or family when it appears as the subject; when combined with a location marker after it such as “within the household” (*jiazhong* 家中), or as the object of a verb such as “enter” (*ru* 入), *jia* more specifically refers to the spatial dimension of the household, the physical “house”; in the compound *renjia* 人家, *jia* refers to people’s “homes”; when juxtaposed to ancestral shrines and temples, *jia* has a broader meaning of familial or clan lineage.⁶⁰ The first

60. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 11, 16, 27, 46–49.

entry of P.2682-2 about spring water coming out in the household garden suggests two different meanings of *jia*:

In a house, when there is a spring coming out of the garden, do not think ill of it – the household will become very wealthy.⁶¹

□(人)家庭間出泉者，勿惡之，家大富也。

This entry on the family significantly sets the tone of the overall narrative on household protection. Structurally, it also echoes the last three entries of P.2682-2, which provide rituals for household and village issues. The two occurrences of *jia* here have different connotations: the former refers more to the physical house or estate with a garden, while the latter is more abstract – *jia* as the family or household. Therefore, this entry suggests an interrelation between the spatial dimension of the house and the domestic relations within the household, both familial and master-servant – the connection between the physical house and the household is solidified by the presence of the spring on the grounds of the house, the idea being that whatever happens in the concrete space of the house has an effect on the abstract household.⁶²

“Spirits and monsters” also uses other terms to refer to domestic spaces such as “living room” (*jushi* 居室), or familial relations such as “wife and children” (*qi zi* 妻子) and master-servant relationships including “male and female servants” (*chenqie* 臣妾), pouring more content within the *jia* receptacle.⁶³ Hence, taking the multiple meanings of *jia* and the terms listed above into consideration, P.2682 is submerged in the domestic realm. As previous

61. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 29.

62. The emphasis on the spatial dimension of the household can also be found in the *zhai* 宅 manuscripts from Dunhuang, but the connections between “Spirits and Monsters” and other Dunhuang manuscripts require further consolidation.

63. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 9, 70, and 69.

analysis on the bloodstain divination suggests, the progression into increasingly inner space indicates that household concerns were of uttermost urgency and practicality for users. These entries also reflect a responsive, causal relation between the domestic space and the household: when something unusual happens to or within the physical house, unusual things will subsequently happen to individuals within the household (or more widely, the village community) that are defined through family relationships. Sometimes, however, anyone staying in the household can be impacted:

If blood stains the bed-curtain, those who stay overnight will have troubles.⁶⁴

血污帷帳，宿者有憂。

In most cases, the residents are related to the household one way or another. The entry below presupposes the user of the manuscripts is the owner or master of the household and offers the solution targeting specific situations relating to guests:

If one's door is stained with blood, one's guests and visitors will do harm [to the household]. Make offerings to [the blood stain], then it will be auspicious.⁶⁵

血污門者，賓客為害，祭之則吉。

Other entries give further hints on the potential users:

If one's official cap and kerchief are stained with blood, one will be humiliated by an official scholar. Do not wear them.⁶⁶

血污冠幘者，為士所辱，勿服之。

64. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 70.

65. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 69.

66. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 70–71.

It is notable that this entry includes the “official cap and kerchief” and warns about humiliation by an “official scholar.” As suggested by Donald Harper, the potential users of these divination manuals were secular elites.⁶⁷ While it is unclear whether reading “Spirits and Monsters” could be a form of entertainment or a pastime as Harper suggests in the case of antique divination manuals, the identity of the users may be consolidated through pieces of evidence from P.2682-2 just as in the entry above: if the owner of the manuscripts possessed an official cap and kerchief and might be in conflict with an official scholar, it is highly probable that they would also be part of the official-scholar class. Further, there are recurrent reference to slaves (*nubi* 奴婢) and servants (*chenqie* 臣妾) within the household which again, would indicate class, just as elements including the “official seal and tassel” (*yinshou* 印綬). Moreover, certain outcomes are directly related to official posts, for instance, going up or down in rank or emolument.⁶⁸ However, given the patchwork-like nature of the manuscripts, it is still difficult to conclusively determine the intended identity of readers, especially in light of the fact that the compiler would have relied on earlier divination manuals which did not necessarily reflect contemporary trends and audiences.

Whoever read the manuscripts, their concerns were worldly and day-to-day. This is especially apparent in the divination sections where the inauspicious is turned to auspicious for the benefit of the household. For example, two of the methods for suppressing kettle whistling bring incidental prosperity to the household. The fourth method discussed above suggested that the respond (*ying*) not only brings auspiciousness, but it also “will make the household greatly prosperous.” The third method, the longest of them all, provides more

67. Harper. “The Textual Form of Knowledge,” 20.

68. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 65.

detailed benefits and instructions on specific household matters. The entry first describes the procedure of the ritual and the incantation, which requires calling out “*nü ying* 女嬰 (Baby girl!),” to suppress the whistling. It then introduces manifold beneficial results for the household, including that of progeny (“it will be good for [the production of] offspring. In three years, [the household] will bear a son who will make the family prosperous”) and business (“It will [also] profit the trade business.”)⁶⁹ In this respect, the following lines from the end of the entry merit a closer look:

How to plow and harvest the five grains: make five piles by means of yellow and white rice, the breast meat of a white chicken, refined rice wine, and the tools for sacrificial rituals, and [place them] in front of the stove – it will be auspicious.⁷⁰

耕得五穀法：為五啞，以黃白飯、白鷄脯肉、清酒、祭酒之具於竈前，吉。

This method which concerns agriculture seems out of place in the kettle-whistling divination, especially since it does not mention the kettle. However, the ritual site is the stove, the kettles typically whistle.

A similar passage is found towards the end of P.2682-2:

When husbands and wives are prone to squabbling, [it is because] people are weak. Take a white chicken and bury it in the main hall and the misfortune will stop. When servants are prone to betraying and fleeing, [it is because] [the household’s] wealth is tenuous. Take one rice steamer, bury it under the middle of a doorway and the misfortune will stop. How to manage a household: regularly, on the last day of each lunar month, when it is close to dusk, take about handful of ashes and distantly scatter them at the doorway and outside at the four corners of the house. This will cause people to expel evil, get rid of calamity, and drive away robbers and thieves. This should be good for [] – it will be greatly auspicious.⁷¹

69. 宜子孫，三年出貴子，利賈市。Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 63–65.

70. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 65–66. The character 竈 is a variant of 竈. 竈 can also mean the ear of grain according to cjkv.org.

71. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 91–95.

夫婦喜鬪訟者，人虛也。取白鷄埋之堂上，殃已(已)矣。奴婢喜叛亡，財虛也。取甑一，埋之門戶中，殃已(已)矣。為家之法，常以月晦日向暮時，以灰離着門戶□，着屋外四角各一把許，令人辟惡除患却盜賊，宜□□，大吉。

While the first and the second halves of the passage both address domestic problems, there are significant differences. Dividing the first half into two smaller segments, we note that they follow a similar pattern in identifying the problems within the family, providing the ritual methods for solving the problems, and describing the outcome, namely that “the misfortune will surely stop.” On the other hand, the second half does not start with a specific problem. The sentence structure in this half is different from the first in that it emphasizes actively bringing benefits to the household instead of responding to problems. Furthermore, this half opens with a heading, “how to manage a household,” that recalls a previous entry, “how to plow and harvest the five grains.” In the kettle-whistle suppression, the reproductive and mercantile benefits are the byproduct of the suppression, whereas the agricultural method introduces additional gain to the household. Likewise, the method of household management also brings supplementary benefits such as driving away bandits. These two sections on managing the households and agricultural gains are extensions of useful methods to the household. They were appended at the end of their respective entries, probably as a practical attempt by the compiler to collect useful information for the household in one place.

The domestic concerns extend to the relation between animals and the household. P.2682-2 has several entries relative to the “six domestic animals” (*liuchu* 六畜) that could affect the household. For example, dogs could bring misfortune to the family:

If a dog encounters a human corpse, do not kill it. If one kills it, one’s household will greatly decline. Immediately use a piece of [water] soaked cloth to drive the dog away, pretending to flog it and [the misfortune] will immediately stop.⁷²


72. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 53–54. See translation for variant discussion.

犬見人尸者，勿煞之。煞之家大敗，即以沾布逐犬，扮撈之即已。


This entry suggests a fascinating relation between animals and humans. The occurrence itself (the dog seeing a corpse) does not bring harm. The inauspicious outcome is attributable to a decision made by the household in reaction to the occurrence. The animal is not responsible for the inauspicious outcome. It would have been counterintuitive for contemporary people not to kill the dog after it encountered the corpse on the account the animal acquiring ritual pollution or an actual disease, which it could have then spread to the household. Yet, to avoid the negative outcome, the text stipulates that it is humans who must act in a ritually appropriate manner. In other words, the responsibility for determining the outcome, positive or negative, lies with humans. Throughout the manuscript, different entries describe the behavior of animals as something spontaneous and while they can ultimately affect the household, it is up to humans to decide the nature of their impact.

In P.2682-1, several entries combine the divination and graphic-register functions, both describing unusual phenomena and identifying spirits and monsters. The two entries below on fowl both have images on their left, reproduced in *figure 4* and *figure 5*:

If a female pheasant gets into one's home for no reason, it is called a divine act. The household will definitely have a sudden death. Leave immediately. Do not stay in the residence.⁷³

雌雉無故入家者，名曰神行。家必有 (暴) 死者。急去，勿留居舍裏。

If a rooster crows at night, paint the inner ceiling of the women's quarters. This will be good for [the production of] offspring.⁷⁴

 (雄) 鷄夜鳴者，塗內天女宅，宜子孫。

73. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 11–13. “Divine act” or “Shenxing” could also refer to the name of the pheasant.

74. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 11–12.

The two entries have different structures and concerns and yet, both show how the behavior of domestic animals could affect the household. The former entry underscores the protective function of the manuscripts. As with the divinations, this entry gives the user a warning when the danger is about to happen in household, whereas the latter entry focuses more on the benefits.

However, the relation between domestic animals and humans does not seem to be unilateral, as a few entries later, the household is said to have the ability to influence the animals as well:

If a household is not good for [the production of] offspring, there will be no livestock or fowl.⁷⁵

家不宜子孫，無畜雞也。

This entry and the previous one about rooster form an inverted pair. While in the rooster example, the good offspring is the result of the intervention of humans to counteract animal activity, in the second example, the production of human offspring is a prerequisite for the production of animal offspring. Taken together, the domestic animal related entries not only imply a close relationship between domestic animals and the household, but they also suggest a mutually influencing, reciprocal relation. Although the manuscripts may have assumed a household-centered premise, they do not solely focus on the human residence.

While domestic animals are considered to be within the household realm, other animals including fantastic creatures are also mentioned in the manuscripts since they could influence the household. These entries go beyond identifying the animals. They describe them as having the power to disturb the household or to pacify inauspicious phenomena. Two entries

75. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 27.

concerning rats from different parts of P.2682-2 are good examples of how animals can negatively impact the household. The first entry is from the section on domestic animals discussed above, but since rats are more pests than boons, they are not grouped together with dogs and fowl. The first entry identifies the rats who act “strange” (*guai* 恠) as “shady thieves (*yinzei* 陰賊)” and introduces two methods to eliminate the misfortunes that they cause such as “[squeaking] and [excreting] on things.”⁷⁶ The second entry is listed in a section devoted to nighttime phenomena. It addresses the problem of people’s hair falling out during sleep. Although the cause of the hair loss is not explicit, it is implied that the deed is done by rats at night:

If a person sleeping at night has hair that is spontaneously cut off for no reason, this is an anomaly. The next morning, apply yellow soil to the door and under the bed that was slept upon in a one-foot square area that is three feet thick. Paint them with their hands and say: “This is an old rat!” In less than three days, the rat will die in its nest. After this, there will surely be no disaster.⁷⁷

人夜臥，無故髮自斷者，恠也。明旦以黃土塗門、所臥牀下，方一尺，厚三尺，手畫之曰老鼠也，不出三日，鼠死穴裏，後無咎矣。

Both entries use yellow soil (*huang tu* 黃土) as ritual substance to counter the strange phenomena and ask the users to paint different sizes of mud squares or cubes underneath the bed (the first entry also instructs users to make a dog statue out of yellow soil). While the first entry is not specifically about sleeping or nighttime occurrences, it is striking to see how two entries from different part of the manuscripts both have very similar ritual elements. The second entry further uses an incantation which functions like a graphic register: by calling out

76. 鼠鳴及屎溺物上; Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 50–53.

77. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 78–80. The first entry on rats records to paint “a square of three feet wide” (*fang sanchi* 方三尺), so “three feet thick” in this entry can be a copy mistake.

the name of the creature, the misdeeds are resolved. The use of incantations to resolve these phenomena in different sections forms interconnections within the manuscripts.

Indeed, the various incantations related to animals and fantastic creature in P.2682-2 suggest that animals have a potential for occasioning paranormal phenomena. Rats are cited as disturbances to the household, but fantastic creatures such as Boqi are usually helpful:

If a person has nightmares at night, when the sun rises, in the northeast part of the house they should unbind their hair and chant: “Boqi! Boqi! He who does not drink ale or eat meat but regularly eats in the land of cheerfulness! May these nightmares return to Boqi, who suppresses these dreams and brings forth great blessings.” Chant in this way seven times, and there will be no disaster.⁷⁸

人夜得惡夢，旦起，於舍東北被髮呪曰：“伯奇！伯奇！不飲酒食肉，常食高興地，其惡夢歸於伯奇，厭夢息，興大福。”如此七呪，無咎也。

Located right after the second entry on rats, this incantation also concerns nighttime activities. First, it notably emphasizes the ability of animals to protect the household, illustrating the apotropaic function of the manuscripts. Second, as Harper’s work on Boqi suggests, this incantation is an exemplar of the close ties between medieval and Qin-Han occult knowledge. In his comparison between the passages about the medieval Boqi and those pertaining to the pre-Han Qinqi, similarities between their respective nightmare incantations emerge and the one in the medieval Dunhuang “Spirits and Monsters” is “unmistakably a later version of the same incantation in the [Qin-Han] Shui-hu-ti manuscript.”⁷⁹ Third, we may argue that on account of having this entry on Boqi included in a manuscript attributed to Baize (and to some

78. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 80–82. For the discussion of translation, see Robert Campany’s *Dreaming and Self-Cultivation in China* (forthcoming).

79. Harper. “A Note on Nightmare Magic,” 72–76. The characters for the creature Qinqi are not standard: the first one is 豸今 and the second is 立奇.

extent centering on the figure), their imagery and lore came to be confounded by the Tang, with Baize absorbing some of Boqi's powers, most notably the capacity to dispel nightmares. An example from the *Old Book of Tang* (*Jiu tang shu* 舊唐書) implies this synthesis occurred during the medieval period:

Queen Wei's sister Qiyi (lit. Aunt Seven) ... used the leopard-head pillow to ward off evils, and the White Marsh pillow to ward off nightmares.⁸⁰

韋庶人妹七姨... 為豹頭枕以辟邪，白澤枕以辟魅。

This record is the last of the “Records” (zhi 志) on the Five Agents (*wuxing* 五行). The iconography on the pillow is that of the White Marsh, while its function to ward off nightmare is clearly drawn from the incantation of Boqi within “Spirits and Monsters.” As long as the item fulfills its ritual function, the authenticity or genealogy of the iconography is of secondary importance, but we have here a clear fusion of the two creatures. Further, while we have so far considered the *Graph of the White Marsh* and the manuscripts “Spirits and Monsters” as text-based documents, this passage suggests that the term “graph of the White Marsh 白澤圖” could not only be understood as a graphic register but also as an image. Other contemporary examples point to the same understanding of the term as image. For example, the Tang-dynasty imperial record *Comprehensive Institutions* (*Tong dian* 通典) records that during the reign era of Kaiyuan 開元 (713–741), “troop-leading guards have the pattern of the Baize [on their uniforms].”⁸¹ There are also two mentions of Baize pattern on special martial flags that are

80. *Jiu tang shu*, 1377. The same entry is also recorded in the *New Book of Tang* (*Xin tang shu* 新唐書) and (*Chaoye qian zai* 朝野僉載). See Chou Sipo's “The Baize Cult and Its Changing Images,” 48.

81. 領軍衛白澤文; *Tong dian*, 1726.

reserved for the emperor's processions alone.⁸² Moreover, the famous Five-Dynasties anecdote relates that "When Baize meets a nail, it gets nailed to the doorway," describing what was probably a common practice of hanging a picture of the creature in one's household.⁸³ These examples all indicate that from the mid-Tang onward, the practice of hanging or using Baize images was relatively widespread even beyond the house.

7. Conclusion: Connections Between "Spirits and Monsters" and Other Sources

The Dunhuang manuscripts "Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh" exhibits clear connections with the ancient *Graph of the White Marsh* and yet, it has different applications and concerns different issues than the early-period graphic register. From the tale of the Yellow Emperor's meeting with Baize, we may conclude that the *White Marsh* was originally an anthology of anomalous creatures with shamanic elements. In the early medieval period, the source developed as a graphic register that empowered its holders to control and tame all creatures listed therein. This established the genre-model for the Baize corpus, including the Dunhuang manuscripts of "Spirits and Monsters". Literary references and borrowings from the *Inner Chapters* attempted to connect the manuscripts with the earlier textual lineage. Editorial procedure such as correcting scribble errors, adding colophons, and most importantly, sticking the paper sheets together all worked towards maintaining the manuscripts' form as a graphic register.

82. *Tong dian*, 2778 and 2783. Baize pattern is mentioned in the section of the "Regulation Register of the Imperial Chariot" (*Dajia lu bu* 大駕鹵簿).

83. 白澤遭釘，釘去在門; *Jianjie lu*, 11.

However, as this study has hopefully shown, “Spirits and Monsters” does not only fulfill the function of a graphic register. With a segmentation of the text-image half from the text-only half, the manuscripts could also be used as a divination manual and a household apotropaion. This expansion of uses points to practical, material, and even bodily concerns. Bloodstain and kettle-whistling divinations both provided omens and methods to counteract inauspicious phenomena. They also drew links to earlier Qin-Han sources and other Dunhuang divination manuscripts. “Spirits and Monsters” is also concerned with day-to-day household issues, be it ritually organizing the domestic space, mercantile and reproductive benefits, or interpersonal (as well as human-animal) relations. Although the end-product may seem to be an incoherent patchwork, both paratextual and textual features of the manuscripts show that the author-compiler and editors were consciously thinking about balancing the original graphic-register function with the two new functions, divinatory and apotropaic. Numerous references to different traditions within the manuscripts, such as the use of earthly branches and the insertion of spontaneous resonance, indicate a keen awareness of earlier and contemporaneous ritual landscape on the part of the compilers. The discrepancies between the medieval “Spirits and Monsters” and early accounts of the *White Marsh*, namely the greater emphasis on “useful” functions, were perhaps the results of an intentional strategy to shift the Baize corpus away from the realm of esoteric, occult knowledge into one of common and accessible vernacular religion.

The scope of the present study is limited. There are various other unexplored avenues of inquiry, to list a few: a more granular assessment of the relationship between the creature’s image and the Baize corpus; or the transcultural spread the cult of Baize from the medieval period onward. It might also be fruitful to look for the connections between the Dunhuang

manuscripts and other sources. As examples of the *Inner Chapters* borrowings and the nightmare-eater Boqi incantation have shown, “Spirits and Monsters” is closely related to early and medieval manuscripts. Accordingly, I would like to end this study with a comparison of a group of five entries from S.6261 to a few early and medieval manuscripts and anthologies.

All five entries relate to objects one can obtain underground:

If one digs into the ground and obtains [] and its shape is like [], then one should have money.

掘地得[]也，其狀如[]當有錢。

If one digs into the ground and obtains a human, do not consider it as ghost or spirit. Its name is Ju (lit. Together). Take it out and lift it up, then it will disappear without harming people.

掘地得人，無謂鬼神，名曰[聚]也，出而舉之則消，無傷于人。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains a human hand, then it is called [Feng Wu]. Boil and eat it. It has the taste of ale and causes people to improve their vital breath and be without disease. It is also named Ying.

掘地得人手者，名曰□□也，烹(烹)而食之，有酒味，使人美氣無病，亦名郢。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains a dog, its name is Ye. This is of no harm to things. Do not regard it as a ghost and do not regard it as strange.

掘地得狗者，名曰耶也，其不害物矣，無謂鬼而恠之。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains [something] red, its name is []. Kill it, it does no harm to things. Do not regard it as ghost or spirit and do not take it as strange.⁸⁴

掘地得赤者，名曰□□，斃之，不害物也，無謂鬼神，勿恠也。

Juxtaposing these passages with the following one from the *Shuihudi Day Books*, it is not hard to see their similarity:

84. Dunhuang ms. S.6261, ln. 4–9.

If one digs an abundant spring and there is a red boar that has a horse's tail and a dog's head, then boil and eat it [as it will] improve one's vital breath.⁸⁵

屈(掘)遷泉，有赤豕，馬尾犬首，享(烹)而食之，美氣。

In his study of the Restraining [magic] (*jie* 詰) section of the *Day Books*, Harper suggests “each one [of the entries is] related to a type of demonic harassment and its remedy”⁸⁶. Although there is no harassment in this case, the passage above shows how the red big can be beneficial to one's vital breath. The entries from the middle of S.6261 also demonstrate a similar function but with the supplement of pictorial components, as shown in *fig. 2*. The content from the *Day Books* is further reflected in the second and fourth entries from S.6261 listed above: the second entry includes the same method of consuming the red boar through boiling it for benefiting one's vital breath with the addition of literary embellishments; in the fourth entry, the creature one digs up from the ground has the same character “red” or “scarlet” (*chi* 赤) as the “red boar” in the *Day Books*. Although the Dunhuang manuscript is missing the character for pig, this scribal error is possible proof that the compiler of “Spirits and Monsters” had access to the Shuihudi manuals.⁸⁷

Even more striking is the close resemblance between the Dunhuang manuscripts and the following lines from the *In Search of the Supernatural* (*Soushen ji* 搜神記). Although the work was composed during the fourth century, it is quoting an earlier lost work:

The Annals of the Xia Cauldrons says: “If one digs the ground and obtains a dog, its name is Gu. If one digs the ground and obtains a pig, its name is Xie. If one digs the

85. Quoted in You Ziyong's “Dunhuang ben *Baize jingguai tu*,” 309, footnote 2.

86. Harper. “A Chinese Demonography,” 461.

87. For further evidence on scribal errors, see You Ziyong's footnote 2 on page 309.

ground and obtains a human, its name is Ju. Ju does no harm.” These are the spontaneity of things, [so] do not regard them as ghosts or spirits and do not take them as strange.⁸⁸

夏鼎志曰：「掘地而得狗，名曰賈；掘地而得豚，名曰邪；掘地而得人，名曰聚。聚無傷也。」此物之自然，無謂鬼神而怪之。

The passages in “Spirits and Monsters” and the *In Search of the Supernatural* both mention a dog, a human, and a pig that one could excavate from the ground. The names of the creatures are different, but these differences are minor considering the possible scribal errors and variants such as the character *ye* 耶 for *ya* 邪. The entry on the human figure Ju is the most consistent: there is only an expansion in “Spirits and Monsters” to resolve the phenomenon through physical action – “take it out and lift it up, then it will disappear without harming people” – a distinctive feature related to the divination methods in the Dunhuang manuscripts. These five entries from the Dunhuang manuscripts appear to find their roots in earlier sources such as the *Day Books* and *In Search of the Supernatural*. The latter source, however, citing *The Annals of the Xia Cauldrons*, adds the injunction “do not regard them as ghosts or spirits” and “do not take them as strange”. These two directives are repeated throughout “Spirits and Monsters”, emphasizing their previously discussed graphic register function. The measures to counteract the phenomenon and repetition of the injunctions both point to a concerted effort to maintain the coherence of the manuscripts’ functions.

Finally, the manuscripts also drew on other medieval anthologies (*leishu* 類書). In these anthologies, we can find scattered entries preserved from the ancient *White Marsh*, which can help us examine the relationship between “Spirits and Monsters” and its contemporary documents. Sasaki and You both point to the similarity between “Spirits and Monsters” and chapter seventeen of the Tang-dynasty *Record of Felicity and Auspiciousness of Heaven and*

88. *Xin ji sou shen ji*, 265.

Earth (Tiandi ruixiang zhi 天地瑞祥志, hereafter the Record of Felicity and Auspiciousness).

Both scholars compare the first and third “Spirits and Monsters” entries from the group of five examined above and the corresponding passages in the subsection on “Meat” (Rou 肉) of chapter seventeen.⁸⁹ Sasaki believes that significant portion of this section is cited from the ancient *Graph of the White Marsh*. Other direct mentions of the *Graph of the White Marsh* in chapter seventeen lend weight to his suspicion:

Graph of the White Marsh says: “If one walks at night and sees the light of flames, and if below [the flames], there are tens of small children wearing them, it is one creature with two names. The top [part of the creature] is called Youguang (lit. Traveling Light) and the bottom, Yetong (lit. Feral Servants). As for these two, among those who see them Under Heaven, many people who will die of disease. Another name is the Eight Tong Brothers (lit. Eight Servant Brothers).”⁹⁰

白澤圖曰：“夜行見火光，下有數十小兒戴之。一物兩名，上爲游光，下爲野僮。此二物，見者天下多疾死之人。一曰僮兄弟八人也。”

We find a highly similar passage in “Spirits and Monsters”:

If one walks at night and sees the light of flames, and if below [the flames], there are tens of [small] children carrying a fire cart on their heads, this is one creature with two names. The top [part of the creature] is called Youguang (lit. Traveling Light) and the bottom Yetong (lit. Feral Children). Among those who see them Under Heaven, many will die of plague. They are eight brothers [].⁹¹

夜行見火光，下有數十（小）兒，頭戴火車。此一物兩名，上爲遊光，下爲野童。見是者，天下多疫死。兄弟八人□。

The striking similarities between these two passages demonstrates that the compiler of “Spirits and Monsters” either had direct access to the ancient *White Marsh* or to contemporaneous

89. You, 308, footnote 8. Sasaki, “*Hakutaku seikai zu Saikō*”, 64. Sano, 83–84.

90. *Tiandi ruixiang zhi*, 307.

91. Dunhuang ms. P.2682, ln. 5–8.

anthologies such as the *Record of Felicity and Auspiciousness* that directly cite the ancient *White Marsh*. Since the ancient *White Marsh* was most likely lost by the medieval period, the latter scenario is more probable: this would thus constitute a clear instance in which “Spirits and Monsters” borrows from sources that directly referred to the ancient *White Marsh* in order to increase its legitimacy. Chapter seventeen also includes themes and topics that overlap with “Spirits and Monsters” such as the household, bloodstains, and kettle whistling.⁹² The kettle whistling divination from the *Record of Felicity and Auspiciousness* also follows the sequence of the twelve earthly branches. Although the content is often different, these shared themes and topics shed light on the importance of these divination methods in medieval sources as well as on the multifunctionality of “Spirits and Monsters” as graphic register, divination manual, and household apotropaion. At any rate, the close connection between the Dunhuang manuscripts and other texts requires future research.

Instead of classifying “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh” as a subversion of the ancient *Graph of White Marsh* or a textual “anomaly”, it could be viewed rather as an exemplar of a shifting and transforming corpus that took on different forms to match the different meanings and expectations of practitioners across time. In the end, the connection of “Spirits and Monsters” to the original *White Marsh* was not an issue for the compilers and readers of the manuscripts as long as the text fulfilled their ritual and religious needs.

92. *Tiandi ruixiang zhi*, 312–313, 326.

Appendix 1: Images from the “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh”

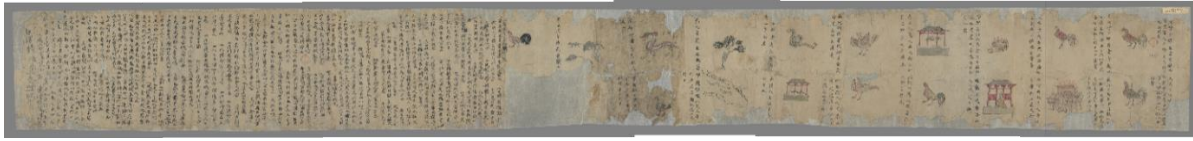


Figure 1: P.2682



Figure 2: S.2621

Figure 3: detail of S.2621, spirit Zha 札



Figure 4: detail of P.2682, entries on poultry



Figure 5: detail of P.2682, last entry of P.2682-1

Appendix 2: Translation of “Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh”

P. 2682-1, textual-only part:

1. □(人)家庭間出泉者，勿惡之，家大富也。

In a house, when there is a spring coming out of the garden, do not think ill of it – the household will become very wealthy.

2. 山大樹有熊(能)語者，□(非)樹語也，其精名曰雲陽，呼之即吉。

As for a big tree that can speak in the mountains, it is [not] the tree speaking. This spirit is called Yun yang [lit. Cloudy Sun]. If one calls it, [things] will then be auspicious.

3. 山(夜)見火光者，皆⁹³□枯木所作恠也。

If one sees the light of flames [at night] in the mountains, these are all marvels produced by [long]-withered trees.

4. 山見胡人者，銅鐵之精也。見秦人者，百歲木精也，勿恠之，不能為⁹⁴害。

If one sees a Northern Barbarian in the mountains, it is the spirit of copper and steel. If one sees a person from Qin, it is the essence of a hundred-year-old tree. Do not regard them as strange, since they can do no harm.

5. 山水之間見吏□者，名曰四激，呼之吉。

If one meets an official in between mountains and rivers, he is called Si Ji [lit. Four Endeavors]. It is auspicious to call out his name.

6. 山見大虵着冠幘(幘)者，名曰斗卿，呼之吉。

If one sees a big snake wearing a turban in the mountains, it is called Dou Qin [lit. the Dipper Official]. It is auspicious to call out its name.

7. 山見吏，若但聞聲不見形，呼人不(止)者，以白石擲之則息矣。一法，以白葦為鈔刺之即吉。

In the mountains, if one meets an official but only hears his voice without seeing his form, and he calls on people without stopping, throw white stones at him, and he will desist. Another method: use a white river reed as a spear to stab him, and it will be auspicious.

93. There was a character 大 with the deletion mark unincorporated in the transcription. Though in You Ziyong 游自勇's 敦煌《白澤精怪圖》校錄 it is transcribed as 大, it is clear that there is a three-dot deletion mark on the side. This mark is close to the other deletion mark later in the manuscript. Furthermore, starting from the second entry, this part of the manuscript directly borrows from chapter seventeen of the *Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi neipian* 抱朴子內篇). The sentence from the *Inner Chapters* reads “山中夜見火光者，皆久枯木所作，勿怪也，” which has the character 久 instead of 大 before the “withered tree”. The bottom of the two characters are similar so it is possible that the writer made a mistake and the deletion mark as a correction for the character 久.

94. Written as 為能, with a reverse mark on the right.

8. 山鬼來嘍(喚)人求食不止者，以白茅捉之即死矣。

In the mountains, if [one meets] a ghost comes shouting at people and endlessly asking for food, use white rushes to catch it, and it will immediately die.

9. 山鬼常迷或(惑)人使失道徑者，以葦杖打之即死矣。

In the mountains, if [one meets] a ghost that always fools people into making them lose their way, use a reed stick to hit it, and it will then die.

10. 子日稱社君者，鼠也。稱神人者，伏翼也。

On *zi* days⁹⁵, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as the lord of land, it is [actually] a rat. If they refer to themselves as a divine person, it is a bat.

11. 丑日稱書生者，牛也。

On *chou* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as a scholar, it is an ox.

12. 寅日稱虞吏者，虎也。稱擋路君者，狼也。稱令長者，狸也。

On *yin* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as a forest ranger, it is a tiger. If they refer to themselves as his lordship in power, it is a wolf. If they refer to themselves as a county magistrate, it is a leopard cat/badger/raccoon dog.

13. 卯日稱丈人者，兔也。稱東王父者，麋也。城西王母者，鹿也。

On *mao* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as an elder, it is a hare. If they refer to themselves as the King Father of the East, it is an elk. If they refer to themselves as the Queen Mother of the West, it is a deer.

14. 辰日稱雨師者，龍也。稱河伯者，魚也。稱無腸公子者，蟹也。

On *chen* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as the Master of the Rain, it is a dragon. If they refer to themselves as the Earl of the Yellow River, it is a fish. If they refer to themselves as Prince No Intestines, it is a crab.

15. 巳日稱直(寡)人者，社間虵也。稱仙人者，樹也。

On *si* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as a sovereign, it is a snake from the altar of the god of land. If they refer to themselves as a transcendent, it is a tree⁹⁶.

16. 未日稱主人者，羊也。稱吏，驘也。

On *wei* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as a master, it is a goat. If they refer to themselves as an official, it is a roebuck.

17. 申日稱時人君者，猴也。稱九卿者，猿也。

95. These days are the twelve earthly branches (*shier dizhi* 十二地支) in sequence. The original text in the *Inner Chapters* did not follow the sequence of the days, but it is adjusted in here, possibly to match with the structure of divination manuals.

96. Descriptions on the *wu* days 午日, the seventh of the earthly branches, and part of the *si* days are not included in the manuscript. The *Inner Chapters* has “If they refer to themselves as the reigning ruler, it is a tortoise. On *wu* days, [if one meets] someone who refers to themselves as one of the Three Dukes, it is a horse.” 稱時君者，龜也。午日稱三公者，馬也。

On *shen* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves the lord of contemporaries, it is a monkey. If they refer to themselves as one of the Nine Ministers, it is a gibbon.

18. 酉日稱將軍者，老鷄也。稱賊捕者，雉也。

On *you* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as a general, it is an old fowl. If they refer to themselves as a bandit catcher, it is a pheasant.

19. 戌日稱人姓字者，犬也。稱成陽翁仲者，狐也。稱人字者，金玉也。

On *shu* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves with a human surname and forename, it is a dog. If they refer to themselves as Wengzhong of Completed Yang/Chengyang⁹⁷, it is a fox. If they refer to themselves with a human style name, it is gold and jade⁹⁸.

20. 亥日稱臣□(者)，豬也。

On *hai* days, [if one meets] someone referring to themselves as the minister [], it is a hog.

21. 六畜能言者，勿煞，吉凶如其言也。

If the six domestic animals can speak, do not kill them – good or bad luck will follow their speech.

22. 犬亥為人言，□盒家三柱大容手，無復殃矣。無故自腥鼻，賊且來攻。

If dogs and hogs use human speech, [the whole] household [] three pillars [with their cross section] big enough to fit hands,⁹⁹ there will no longer be misfortune. If they smell rancid and stinky on their own for no reason, robbers will soon come and attack.

23. 家中無故自腥鼻者，必有大死之鬼。

In a household, if there are rancid stinky smells by themselves for no reason, there is definitely the ghost of great death.

24. 井水瓮鼻，家□𣪠(喪)事，汲除之，吉。

97. Here is another variant. The *Inner Chapters* has the “Duke of Chengyang or Completed Yang” (*chengyang gong* 成陽公), whereas the manuscripts replaced the last character 公 with 翁仲. This introduces the allusion of Ruan Wengzhong 阮翁仲, a giant warrior during the Qin dynasty. The capital of the Qin is Xianyang 咸陽 so it is possible that a mistake took place because of the similarity of *xian* 咸 and *cheng* 成.

98. This line is under the *hai* day in the *Inner Chapters*.

99. You Ziyong suggests that 三柱 refers to the Three Pillar stars, but this may refer to a specific method to counteract the speech of dogs and hogs by using the pillars in one's home in certain ways, which then lead to the end result of “no longer have misfortunes.” There was a similar expression in *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚 quoting the *Miscellaneous Points of the Book of Physiognomy* (*Xiangshu zayao* 相書雜要), “[If one's] mouth is big enough to fit their hands and red as cinnabar, the person is noble and lives long” (口大容手，赤如朱丹，貴且壽), suggesting the syntax of the phrase “pillars [with their cross section] big enough to fit hands” 柱大容手 existed.

If a well-water pitcher stinks, there [will be] funerals in the household. Draw it up and remove it, and it will be auspicious.

25. 蛇虫蟄藏之時而見人家，々必喪亡。

If one visits other people's homes when snakes and insects hibernate, those homes will definitely go to ruin.

26. □□人家，無故煞之，必死。釋(釋)之勿煞者，昌。主人益地宅，吏人復官爵，□□得財矣。

[] other people's homes, if one kills it for no reason, they will certainly die. If one releases it without killing, they will flourish: the owner [of the household] will increase his land and house, the official will restore his rankings and titles, and [] will surely obtain wealth.

27. 鼠鳴及屎溺物上，為恠不止，以丙丁巳午日□□取常掃燒着其處(處)，永不復(復)往來矣。凡鼠為恠，名陰賊，□□和黃土，塗室內近牀下地，方三¹⁰⁰尺。以黃土為犬，長六¹⁰¹寸，置土，々/二日取犬捐交道間，殃除已。

If rats squeak and excrete on things, endlessly acting strange, on *bing*, *ding*, *si*, and *wu* days [], take an ordinary broom to burn their place, then one will surely never deal with them again. Whenever rats act strange, they are called Shady Thieves. [] mix yellow soil, paint a square of three feet wide indoors near the floor under the bed. Use the yellow soil to make a dog six inches tall, place the soil. On the day of the soil/on the second day, take the dog and throw it into a crossroads. [Then,] the misfortune will have been eliminated.

28. 犬見人尸者，勿煞之。煞之家大敗，即以沾布逐犬，扮¹⁰²撈之即已。

If a dog encounters a human corpse, do not kill it. If one kills it, one's household will greatly decline. Immediately use a piece of [water] soaked cloth to drive the dog away, pretending to flog it and [the misfortune] will immediately stop.

29. 子日釜鳴，妻內亂。

If a kettle whistles on *zi* days, one's wife will have incest.

30. 丑日釜鳴，有上客君子會。

If a kettle whistles on *chou* days, there will be a gathering of honored guests and gentlemen.

100. Reverse mark.

101. Deleted character.

102. You Ziyong had the character 扮 with the wood radical, meaning “white elm.” However, this radical does not match with the way other wood radicals are written where there are no hooks at the bottom of the vertical stroke to link it to the throw falling leftwards. Instead, this radical is very close to the hand radical of 撈 below it with the hook attaching to the short upward horizontal stroke, resembling another hand radical. Further, the meaning of the phrase, “pretending to flog [the dog]” but not actually beating it might match better with the previously stated purpose “to drive the dog away.”

31. 寅日釜鳴，有嫁娶吉慶會。

If a kettle whistles on *yin* days, there will be a gathering for marriage and good fortune.

32. 卯日釜鳴，長子徭役，其門不好。

If a kettle whistles on *mou* days, the eldest son will go to *corvée* labor, and his clan will not be well.

33. 辰日釜鳴，有家行，非父則母。

If a kettle whistles on *chen* days, there will be actions within the family; if not the father, then it will be the mother.

34. 巳日釜鳴，憂聚衆，獄訟事。

If a kettle whistles on *si* days, there will be troubles of mass gathering and trials of legal cases.

35. 午日釜鳴，家有憂奴婢事。

If a kettle whistles on *wu* days, the household will have concerns about affairs of servants.

36. 未日釜鳴，家有德¹⁰³，吉。

If a kettle whistles on *wei* days, the household should have virtues – it is auspicious.

37. 酉日釜鳴，有祀祠事。

If a kettle whistles on *you* days, there will be ancestral sacrificial affairs.

38. 申日釜[鳴]，家聚衆，凶，有喪。

If a kettle whistles on *shen* days, the household will gather together – it is inauspicious, [for] there will be mourning.

39. 戌日釜鳴，凶，耗錢財，凶。

If a kettle whistles on *shu* days, it is inauspicious. [The household] will waste money – it is inauspicious.

40. 亥日釜鳴，官祿成，家安樂，無殃(咎)，吉。

If a kettle whistles on *hai* days, one will achieve official position and emolument, and one's household will be safe and pleasant. There will be no calamities or disasters – it is auspicious.

41. 此皆自然感應，不恠之則神，衆人弗知，畏之，故得疾，非有鬼神之禍也，物有自然恠耳。

These [kettle-whistles] are all spontaneous resonances. If one does not regard them as strange, then they are supernatural. The multitudes do not know about these and are afraid of them. Therefore, they get diseases. These are not the misfortunes of ghosts and spirits, but only things that are strange in and of themselves.

42. 厭釜鳴：取後甲上土合五香，塗竈額上，吉，無咎。

To tamp down the kettle-whistles: take mud from the back section of a [turtle] shell and mix it with the five incenses, paint it on the chimney of a stove. [Then it will be] auspicious and without disaster.

103. Reverse mark.

43. 假令甲子旬日鳴，取成他¹⁰⁴効(效)此，五香蕪合、鬱金、青木、都梁、木密各一兩，塗訖，懸¹⁰⁵其上，吉矣。

If [the kettle] whistles during the ten-day period starting with *jiazi*,¹⁰⁶ take others to follow this [method]: the five incenses – storax [storax balsam], tulip, hovenia, fortune eupatorium herb, and Mu mi – one ounce each. After painting [the kettle], hang [it] above it [i.e. the stove or stove chimney] – it will be auspicious.

44. 又一法：釜鳴，以¹⁰⁷長五寸，五(穀)各三斗置鑿上釜裏，呼之曰女嬰，取釜置西南巳未地，宜子孫，三年出貴子，利賈市。耕得五穀法：為五啗，以黃白飯、白鷄脯肉、清酒、祭酒之具於竈前，吉。

Another method: If a kettle whistles, use a five-inch-long [] and three pecks each of the five grains, place them within the kettle upon a chisel, and call it: “*nü ying* [baby girl]”. Take the kettle and place it facing southwest, the position of *si* or *wei*¹⁰⁷ – it will be good for [the production of] offspring. In three years, [the household] will bear a son who will make the family prosperous. It will [also] be good for market business. How to plow and harvest the five grains: make five piles by means of yellow and white rice, the breast meat of a white chicken, refined rice wine, and the tools for sacrificial rituals, and [place them] in front of the stove – it will be auspicious

45. 又一法：釜鳴，¹⁰⁸家長帶劔而應之曰：未可鳴，息而止，令家大富，無咎。

Another method: If a kettle whistles, [take] the household’s long-banded sword and respond to it, saying: “It is not necessary to whistle.” If [the kettle] subsides and stops, it will make the household greatly prosperous. There will be no disaster.

46. 又一法：釜鳴，取家銅鏡於傍擊而和之，無咎。

Another method: If a kettle whistles, take the household’s copper mirror. Place it next to [the kettle] and strike it to harmonize them. There will be no disaster.

47. 血污門戶關者，¹⁰⁹臣妾有奸。

If one’s doorway threshold is stained with blood, one’s male and female servants will have transgressions.

104. You Ziyong has the characters *shudi* 戌地, but the first character does not resemble previous *shu* 戌 characters and the human radical for *ta* 他 is also clear.

105. You Ziyong has the character *guan* 官, but the top part does not resemble the radical for any variants of *guan* and the bottom part does not look like the *guan* character a few lines before.

106. The ten days are: *jiazi* 甲子, *yichou* 乙丑, *binyin* 丙寅, *dingmou* 丁卯, *wuchen* 戊辰, *jisi* 己巳, *gengwu* 庚午, *xinwei* 辛未, *renshen* 壬申, and *kuiyou* 癸酉.

107. The position of *si* is normally the south of southeast (*nannandong* 南南東), but here it is grouped together with *wei*.

48. 血污門者，賓客為害，祭之則吉。

If one's door is stained with blood, one's guests and visitors will do harm [to the household]. Make offerings to [the blood stain], then it will be auspicious.

49. 血污牀褥者，憂妻子也。

If one's bed and mattress are stained with blood, one will worry about their wife and children.

50. 血污帷帳，宿者有憂。

If blood stains the bed-curtain, those who stay overnight will have troubles.

51. 血污冠幘者，為士所辱，勿服之。

If one's official cap and kerchief are stained with blood, one will be humiliated by an official scholar. Do not wear them.

52. 血污人衣帔，女子懷身墮傷，男子驚兵，賣之，勿服。

If people's outer garments or embroidered capes are stained with blood, pregnant women will have miscarriage and injury, and men will startle soldiers. Sell them. Do not wear them.

53. 血污冠幘簪及採鏡釵珠璣者，有好姪之辱，皆悉焚之、賣之，勿服。

If the hairpins for one's official cap and kerchief are stained with blood, and so are the pearl- and jade-inlaid mirror-plucking hairpins, they will have the shame of indulging in lust. Burn or sell all of them. Do not wear them.

54. 血污人身，是謂為鬼所泣，其主不吉，以鮓醬洗去之，殃除。

If a human body is stained with blood, this is said to be tears shed by ghosts. Its master will be inauspicious. Cleanse it with minced fish paste. The misfortune will clear away.

55. 刀無故自鳴，此不可服，必煞人。

If a knife whistles on its own for no reason, it cannot be carried. It will definitely kill people.

56. 劍無故自拔者，拔之切割，吉。

If a sword unsheaths on its own for no reason, pull it out to cut something – it will be auspicious.

57. 印綬有光者，必免官。人席(席)有光者，進酒脯，人有賀者。

If one's official seal and attached tassel glow, one will certainly be removed from their position.

If one's straw mats glow, offer them ale and dried meat, for they will be congratulated.

58. 人家無辜夜驚有光者，惡上下是者，名曰且贛，知其名，故可無咎矣。

If a household startles at night and glows for no reason, the one that does evil to those above and below [in the household] is called Qie Gan. By knowing its name, one can surely be without disaster.

59. 人衣夜有光，且塗內壁而方三尺，所求必得矣。

If one's clothing glows at night, just paint the inner walls with a square of three feet, and what one seeks will certainly be obtained.

60. 人夜臥，無故髮自斷者，恠也。明旦以黃土塗門、所臥牀下，方一尺，厚三尺，手畫之曰老鼠也，不出三日，鼠死穴裏，後無咎矣。

If a person sleeping at night has hair that is spontaneously cut off for no reason, this is an anomaly. The next morning, apply yellow soil to the door and under the bed that was slept upon in a one-foot square area that is three feet thick. Paint them with their hands and say:

“This is an old rat!” In less than three days, the rat will die in its nest. After this, there will surely be no disaster.

61. 人夜得惡夢，旦起，於舍東北被髮呪曰：“伯奇！伯奇！不飲酒食肉，¹⁰⁸常食高興地，其惡夢歸於伯奇，厭夢息，興大福。”如此七呪，無咎也。

If a person has nightmares at night, when the sun rises, in the northeast part of the house they should unbind their hair and chant: “Boqi! Boqi! He who does not drink ale or eat meat but regularly eats in the land of cheerfulness! May these nightmares return to Boqi, who suppresses these dreams and brings forth great blessings.” Chant in this way seven times, and there will be no disaster.

62. 人家無故恐者，皆是諸鬼精變恠使然，各隨其所在處，以其名呼之可除。又用黑鷄、黍糠，三家醢¹⁰⁹于四達路立，以其名呼之，斷鷄頭置門上，醢、鷄血和黍糠以塗門戶、井竈、溷，無咎矣。

Households that fear for no reason are due to ghosts and spirits becoming strange/anomalous. Each [member of the household should] follow [the ghosts] to the places where they reside, and call them by their names, then one can clear them away. Additionally, using black chicken, millet brans, and vinegar from three households, stand at a road that leads in four directions, call them by their names, and cut off the head of the chicken to place it on the door. Mix the vinegar and chicken blood with millet chaff [into a paste] and apply it to the door and gate, well and stove, and the barn. Then there will be no disasters.

63. 上山而畏者，呼曰善人。

One who fears when ascending a mountain should call out “Shan ren” [lit. Good Person].

64. 入室而畏者，呼曰曹芋。

That which enters the room and becomes dreadful is called “Cao yu”.

65. 上屏而畏者，呼曰申□。

That which goes onto the fence and becomes dreadful is called “Shen []”.

66. □道而畏者，呼曰慶忌。

That which [] the path and becomes dreadful is called “Qing ji”.

67. 上城而畏者，呼曰飛□。

That which enters the city and becomes dreadful is called “Fei []”.

68. □雷而畏者，呼曰鼠提。

That which [] the thunder and becomes dreadful is called “Shu ti”.

69. 入淵而畏者，呼曰岡像。

That which enters the deep pond and becomes dreadful is called “Wang xiang”.

70. □澤而畏者，呼曰委蛇。

That which [] the swamp and becomes dreadful is called “Wei she”.

108. Same as the character *rou* 肉.

109. Same as the character *cu* 醋.

71. 此皆是其鬼名，故先呼其名，即使人不畏之，鬼亦不傷人者也。

These are the names of those ghosts. Therefore, first call their names, [this will] then make people not afraid of them. Likewise, ghosts will not hurt people.

72. 夫婦喜鬪訟者，人虛也。取白鷄埋之堂上，殃已(巳)矣。奴婢喜叛亡，財虛也。取甑一，埋之門戶中，殃已(巳)矣。為家之法，常以月晦¹¹⁰日向暮時，以灰離着門戶□，着屋外四角各一把許，令人辟惡除患却盜賊，宜□□，大吉。

When husbands and wives are prone to squabbling, [it is because] people are weak. Take a white chicken and bury it in the main hall and the misfortune will stop. When servants are prone to betraying and fleeing, [it is because] [the household's] wealth is tenuous. Take one rice steamer, bury it under the middle of a doorway and the misfortune will stop. How to manage a household: regularly, on the last day of each lunar month, when it is close to dusk, take about handful of ashes and distantly scatter them at the doorway and outside at the four corners of the house. This will cause people to expel evil, get rid of calamity, and drive away robbers and thieves. This should be good for [] – it will be greatly auspicious

73. 鷓不來入堂室者，井之虛也，取梧桐¹¹¹為人，男女各置井中，必來矣，殃除已。

If swallows do not come into the hall room, it is because of a deficiency in one's well. Take a parasol tree to make human [sculptures/figures], put man and woman [scriptures] each in the well. [The swallow] will definitely come, and the misfortune will have been removed.

74. 蛇聚人邑中，若群行道上者，其邑必空虛也，其君必自將兵，々(急)矣。

If snakes gather in human villages and if they move in a group on the road, that is certainly a deficiency in those villages. Their lord must command the troops by himself. It is urgent.

Colophon:

75. 已前三紙無像。道昕記，道僧并攝，俗姓范。

The previous three sheets [of paper] do not have images. Recorded by Daoxin and compiled together with a monk whose family name is Fan.

76. 白澤精恠畫一卷，冊一紙成。

The Graph of Spirits and Monsters of the White Marsh in one scroll composed of forty-one sheets.

S.6261:

1. 木麋名曰札，狀如菟而尾青色，物類自然，非恠也。

The wood elk is called Zha. Its appearance is like a rabbit and its tail is indigo colored. This type of creature is natural, it is not a strange thing.

2. 掘地得[]也，其狀如[]當有錢[]。

110. *Yue hui* 月晦 is the last day of each lunar month.

111. Reverse mark on the side.

If one digs into the ground and obtains [] and its shape is like [], then one should have money.

3. 掘地得人，無謂鬼神，名曰[聚]也，出而舉之則消，無傷于人。

If one digs into the ground and obtains a human, do not consider it as ghost or spirit. Its name is Ju (lit. Together). Take it out and lift it up, then it will disappear without harming people.

4. 掘地得人手者，名曰□□也，亨(烹)而食之，有酒味，使人美氣無病，亦名郢。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains a human hand, then it is called [Feng Wu]. Boil and eat it. It has the taste of ale and causes people to improve their vital breath and be without disease. It is also named Ying.

5. 掘地得狗者，名曰耶也，其不害物矣，無謂鬼而恠之。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains a dog, its name is Ye. This is of no harm to things. Do not regard it as a ghost and do not regard it as strange.

6. 掘地得赤者，名曰□□，煞之，不害物也，無謂鬼神，勿恠也。

If it is the case that one digs into the ground and obtains [something] red, its name is []. Kill it, it does no harm to things. Do not regard it as ghost or spirit and do not take it as strange.

7. □有角黑喙，[]□□□黑喙有角[]□身。

[] has horn and a black beak, [] black beak has horn [] body.

P. 2682-1, text-image part:

1. □ (鬼) 夜呼長婦名者，老鷄也。 □ (以) ¹¹²馬屎塗人戶防之，不防之 □¹¹³死，煞則已。

At night, if [a ghost] calls itself by the name of the eldest wife, it is an old fowl. Use horse feces to paint the household to defend it. If one does not defend it, they will die. If they kill it, then [their fate of death] will stop.

2. 鬼夜呼次 (婦) □ (名) □ (者) □ (老) □ (鷄) 也。黑身、白尾、赤頭，以其屎塗人竈¹¹⁴。

At night, if a ghost calls itself by the name of the second [wife, it is an old fowl]. It has a black body, white tail [feathers], and a scarlet head. Use its feces to paint the people's stoves.

3. 鬼夜呼少婦名者，老鷄也。(赤) 身、白頭、黃衣、下黑，以其屎塗好器，煞之則已。一云塗竈。

112. Matsumoto added “以.” This addition is reasonable since later entries all follow the same syntax.

113. Matsumoto added “身.”

114. There are characters with deletion marks after “人” and before “竈”: “好器煞之則已，一云”. This is the same as the end of next entry so it is likely a copy mistake.

At night, if a ghost calls itself by the name of the smallest wife, it is an old fowl. It has a red body, white head, yellow contour [feather], and black bottom. Use its excrement to paint the good utensils. If one kills it, then [their fate of death] will stop. Another [method] says to paint the stove.

4. 夜行見火光，下有數十（小）兒，頭戴火車。此一物兩名，上爲遊光，下爲野童。
見是者，天下多疫死。兄弟八人□

If one walks at night and sees the light of flames, and if below [the flames], there are tens of [small] children carrying a fire cart on their heads, this is one creature with two names. The top [part of the creature] is called Youguang (lit. Traveling Light) and the bottom Yetong (lit. Feral Children). Among those who see them Under Heaven, many will die of plague. They are eight brothers [].

5. 人革（革）帶夜有光，進酒脯祭之。若不酒脯祭之，當賣。

If one's leather belt becomes shiny at night, offer rice wine and dried meat to venerate it. If one does not venerate it with rice wine and dried meat, one should sell it.

6. 居室無故有人者，及有聲者，且有大釵（也）。

If a living room has people [or creatures with a human form?] for no reasons as well as sounds, [the household] is about to have great evil.

7. 雌雉無故入家者，名曰神行。家必有暴（暴）死者。急去，勿留居舍裏。

If a female pheasant gets into one's home for no reason, it is called a divine act. The household will definitely have a sudden death. Leave immediately. Do not stay in the residence.

8. 雄（雄）鷄夜鳴者，塗內天女宅，宜子孫。

If a rooster crows at night, paint the inner ceiling of the women's quarters. This will be good for [the production of] offspring.

9. 有五色鳥，人面被（被）髮（髮），名□¹¹⁵。其鳥所集，人多疾病。

There is a five-colored bird with a human face and removed hair. It is named []. Where this bird perches, many people will have diseases.

10. 蚋蚘¹¹⁶白翼兩頭者，龍也。煞之，身死。

A mosquito or a silkworm that has white wings and two heads is a dragon. If one kills it, they will die.

11. 斬蛇則續，苟欲煞之者，索縛其上，則不復續。

If one wants to kill a snake that immediately reconnects after being decapitated, tie a robe on it, then it will no longer reconnect.

115. You transcribes as “以.” Matsumoto and Wang Aihe transcribe as “似.”

116. tiǎn, the same as 蠶.

12. 蛇無故入人家裏、社廟，迹逆/迎¹¹⁷道者，皆大凶。勿煞之，理¹¹⁸人骨，吉。

If a snake enters people's households, or altars and ancestral shrines with traces rushing in the path/facing the path, these are all greatly inauspicious. Do not kill it. Repair/ manage human bones [in ancestral graves?], it will be auspicious.

13. □[鼠]¹¹⁹上樹者，有大水至，不度一年必至。

If rats climb on trees, a great flood will arrive. It will definitely arrive within one year.

14. 魚從水上流下者，水至也。

If fishes stream down from the water, a flood will arrive.

15. [龍]¹²⁰乳人家，其主為庶人也。

If a [dragon] breastfeeds a household, its master is a common person.

16. 雌雞^雄鳴，以黃土塗門戶左右頰外圓一尺則已。

If a female fowl crows like a rooster, apply yellow mud around the out cheeks of the doorway for a circle of one foot, then it will stop.

17. 鼠群行者，有大水，不過一年。

If rats go in flocks, there will be a great flood within one year.

18. 竈無故自潤濕者，裏有鈎注居之。其狀如[大]蝦蟆，去之則已¹²¹。

If a stove moistens on its own for no reason, [it is because] there is a Gouzhu living in it. Its shape is like a [big] toad, remove it, then it will stop [i.e. the stove will not moisten].

19. 家不宜子孫，無畜雞也。

If a household is not good for [the production of] offspring, there will be no livestock or fowl.

Colophon:

20. □精恠有壹佰玖拾玖窠¹²²□

There are one hundred and ninety-nine nests of spirits and monsters.

117. You transcribes as “迎”, which means “to go around” or “to circle,” but the picture on the left does not show the snake encircling. “迎” is also a variant of “迎.”

118. You puts “埋” in the bracket after “理.”

119. Picture on the left suggests the animal may be a rat.

120. Picture on the left suggests the animal may be a dragon.

121. See You Ziyong's footnote on page 310. The missing characters from the IDP site are transcribed according to Matsumoto's version.

122. The character in the manuscript is missing the two dots from the “穴” radical, but this might be a copy mistake.

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