

# PERSPECTIVES ON BUDDHISM IN DUNHUANG DURING THE TANG AND FIVE DYNASTIES PERIOD

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## **Introduction**

**T**he Silk Roads served as the main artery for trade and communication between East and West for more than a millennium, and the main bulk of the extant material relating to the cultures that flourished there is indisputably of a religious nature. This material includes architecture exemplified by cave temples and stupas, sculptures, wall-paintings, votive paintings, and a sizeable literature in more than ten languages including Bactrian, Chinese, Khotanese, Parthian or middle-Persian, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tibetan, Tocharian, and Uighur. Most of it, in one way or another, concerns the main religious traditions of Central Asia, including Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Nestorianism.<sup>1</sup> Hence, it is important to recognize the significance of religion, not only as a general component of human civilization in the societies that flourished along the Silk Roads, but as the single most important factor in the cultural dissemination and exchange that took place in Central Asia from the beginning of the Christian era up to approximately A.D. 1000.

The town of Dunhuang, known as Shazhou in the period under discussion, and located in the westernmost part of modern Gansu Province, was an important Buddhist center with a large monastic population. Here, at the Mogao Caves situated some twenty-five kilometers from the town of Shazhou, Buddhist pilgrims from China, India, and Tibet met and actively exchanged doctrines and practices. The precious cache of

manuscripts found in a side chamber of Cave 17 around the turn of this century, and the impressive and still well-preserved wall-paintings found in many of the caves there have provided us with a large body of primary information about the Buddhist community in Shazhou. Such propitious circumstances make Dunhuang particularly important and suitable for research on the relationship between religious life and society in the Chinese borderlands during the period of roughly five hundred years from A.D. 500 to 1000.

This chapter deals with the practice of Buddhism in Dunhuang, the emphasis being on its special characteristics. It includes a discussion of the Buddhist sects represented there, the Buddhist communities during the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, Tibetan Buddhism and Tantric practices in particular, Buddhist and Daoist syncretism, and popular Buddhist cults. While it does not claim to offer novel or tantalizing insights, it may well go some way towards providing a more complete picture of the diversities of Buddhist life in Dunhuang, and thereby indicate directions for further research. Questions of art history have generally been left to one side, and the author here confines himself to the information contained in the written sources, in other words the hoard of manuscripts from Cave 17.

## **A Reappraisal of Dunhuang Buddhism**

Although Dunhuang and the prefectural town of Shazhou were situated within the time-honored borders of the Chinese Tang Empire (618-906), it is important to distinguish between Buddhism as practised in this frontier prefecture in western Gansu, or Hexi as it was then called, and Buddhism in the central provinces of China. Scholars have already succeeded in tracing a viable historical development for the mainstream Buddhist doctrines and practices in the Chinese heartland during the Tang on the basis of the large amounts of primary source material available.<sup>2</sup> It goes without saying that this evaluation owes a lot to the Dunhuang manuscripts which have afforded us a rare insight into details of everyday life that are usually absent from traditional Chinese material, whether Buddhist or secular. However, while the Dunhuang material has been used to elucidate obscure areas of Tang Buddhism in general, relatively little attention has been given to the kind of Buddhism that flourished in Shazhou during its "golden era" from the early Tang up to the beginning of the eleventh century. This is especially the case with regard to religious practices and popular doctrines, and somewhat less so when viewed from an art historical perspective.<sup>3</sup>

Dunhuang Buddhism is unique in that it does not have an exact counterpart anywhere else in the world. This is primarily due to the fact

that the Dunhuang oasis was a main trading post and meeting-point for the caravans entering and leaving China. It therefore became a virtual melting-pot in which a wide range of international cultural influences merged and coalesced. Practically all new developments and trends in Northern Indian Buddhism—whether relating to scriptures, scholasticism, or art—arrived in Dunhuang at some point on their way to China; while, towards the end of the eight century, Tibetan influences—primarily in the form of esoteric Buddhist scriptures of the typical Indo-Tibetan brand—became increasingly common as well. The latest developments in Chinese Buddhism in the twin capitals of Tang in particular, as well as in Shu (now the modern province of Sichuan), a highly active provincial Buddhist center, were felt soon afterwards in Shazhou where they immediately became the object of great interest and devotion to the local Chinese Buddhists. Here it is interesting to note that various Indian Buddhist imports, which had reached China via the sea route, would in many cases eventually end up in Dunhuang and Turfan as integrated elements of the Chinese Buddhist culture there.<sup>4</sup> In short Buddhism in Dunhuang was both extremely composite and thoroughly international; it deserves our attention not only because it provides highly important information on Chinese Buddhism during the Tang, but in its own right as well.

## On the Schools of Chinese Buddhism in Dunhuang

One of the major unresolved questions relating to Buddhism in Dunhuang is that of the schools or sects (Ch. *zong*), which are otherwise well-documented in the Chinese historical sources. The manuscripts found in Cave 17 contain material related to virtually all the major denominations of Chinese Buddhism that flourished under the Tang. However, a number of questions remain: were all these schools also represented *in situ* in Dunhuang? Did they exist as separate institutions, or was their presence simply due to individual adherents living together in the same communities? Did they produce sectarian Buddhist literature of their own? It is known that at different periods certain beliefs and practices were more prevalent among the Buddhists of Shazhou than at other periods; however, the contexts in which they occur do not indicate any distinct sectarian background. Hence, with the exception of a few obvious cases, the sectarian division of the Buddhist community in Dunhuang has up to now remained largely oblique. This problem is compounded by the fact that many of the scriptures that have an otherwise clear address are often found in a doctrinal context that can best be described as syncretic, i.e., they form part of a compilation of texts or

excerpts belonging to different schools of Buddhism. In the following pages I shall try to provide answers to some basic questions concerning sectarian developments in Dunhuang.<sup>5</sup>

In the general study of Chinese Buddhism, that pertaining to Chan is undoubtedly the most rapidly expanding field of all. Thus, the Dunhuang manuscripts relating to Chan Buddhism have long been the subject of intense research and debate among concerned scholars. However, most of the studies carried out on the material have aimed at elucidating doctrinal and sectarian developments in this important school of Chinese Buddhism in China itself and have generally neglected their links with Chan Buddhism as practiced in Dunhuang.<sup>6</sup> In a recent preliminary survey I tried to make up for this deficit by showing that these Chan manuscripts to some degree reflect developments in the central provinces of China during the Tang.<sup>7</sup> Yet that study also indicates that there were aspects of Chan Buddhism in Dunhuang which were unique to the place. The most prominent of these related to syncretism and the transmission of the associated literature.

The manuscripts contain an abundance of material on the northern and southern schools of Chan from the eighth century onwards; however, with the exception of the Hongzhou School of Mazu Daoyi (709-788), later Southern Chan developments are also represented. One such text, the hymn *Nanzong zan* (In praise of the southern school [of Chan]),<sup>8</sup> appears to have been composed by a local Chan practitioner in Dunhuang. Another work related to Chan Buddhism, although not from Dunhuang originally, is the *Quanzhou qianfo xinzhu zhu zushi song* (Verses newly composed at the Thousand Buddha [Caves] in Quanzhou),<sup>9</sup> by Mingjue (n.d.). Written in red at the end of the manuscript can be read: "Recorded by Daozhen, the Śrāmaṇera of the Sanjie Temple in Shazhou." Daozhen was the abbot of the Sanjie Temple and a very prominent master of the *vinaya* during the tenth century.<sup>10</sup> Other Chan works recorded by him include two Northern Chan texts found in manuscript P. 2270. A popular Chan text among the monks in the Dunhuang area was the *Heze si heshang Shenhui wugeng chuan* (Five Watches of the Night Transmitted by the Ven. Shenhui<sup>11</sup> of Heze Temple)<sup>12</sup> of which a relatively large number have been identified. Information has also come to light on meditation caves (*chanku*) in Dunhuang. The mere designation of *chanku* does not indicate sectarian affinity, but simply means that it was a cave meant for the practice of meditation in general.<sup>13</sup> However, the sectarian issue does not appear to have been very prominent among Chan followers in Dunhuang, since we find texts related to both Northern and Southern Chan in the same manuscript. Another interesting feature is that Northern Chan texts continued to be in use in Dunhuang long after they had ceased to be used in the central provinces of the Empire.

Study of the voluminous Chinese material related to esoteric Buddhism or Mizong has to a considerable degree been neglected. This is rather surprising since esoteric Buddhism (*mijiao* or *zhenyan*) permeates nearly all aspects of Dunhuang Buddhism including literature, liturgy, art, and so forth. As far as can be ascertained there was no independent temple belonging to esoteric Buddhism in Mogao as such, but manuscript S. 2685, entitled *Qianyuan si qiqing wen* (Texts of the Qianyuan Temple for Making Invocations), suggests that the monks in this temple practised esoteric Buddhist rituals. The manuscript in question contains the *Shi egui shi shui zhenyan yin fa* (Mantra and Mudrā Methods [used] for the Offering of Food and Water to the Hungry Ghosts),<sup>14</sup> a canonical ritual text attributed to Amoghavajra (705-774), the third patriarch of orthodox Zhenyan Buddhism.<sup>15</sup> Manuscript S. 4723, which contains a translation of the (*Sarvadurgatiparisodhana*) *usnisavijaya-dhāranī*,<sup>16</sup> also belonged to the Qianyuan Temple, which is a further indication of this institution's affiliation with esoteric Buddhism. It is also known that the *saṅgha* in the Sanjie Temple cultivated esoteric Buddhism.<sup>17</sup> A copy of the *Subāhupariprcchā sūtra*<sup>18</sup> is known to have belonged to the library of the Kaiyuan Temple.<sup>19</sup> A typical feature of the Chinese esoteric material is the large number of dhāranī manuals, or simply unstructured collections of dhāranīs and mantras.<sup>20</sup> Other examples of local esoteric material are the *Dabei tanfa biexing* (Additional Practices and Methods for [Making] an Altar to the Great Compassion),<sup>21</sup> and the *Dabei mantuoluo fa* (Methods [for Making] A Great Compassion Mandala).<sup>22</sup> Both of these texts are devoted to the worship of the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara.

Material related to the Faxiang School is relatively abundant in the manuscripts. The popularity of the translator and pilgrim monk Xuanzang (c. 596-664) and his Faxiang School is naturally felt in the early material, but the high period of yogācāra Buddhism in Dunhuang appears to have occurred during the Tibetan occupation (c. 780 to 848). The prevalence of several manuscripts of the *Yujieshi di lun fenmen ji* (The Record of Doctrinal Points of the Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra)<sup>23</sup> by the Chinese translator monk Facheng (fl. ninth century), known from his Tibetan translations as Chos grub,<sup>24</sup> is noteworthy since it is not a standard canonical text, and has only been found in Dunhuang. Other related yogācāra material includes the *Yujie lun shouji* (The Hand Record of the Yogācāra-[bhūmi] Śāstra),<sup>25</sup> and so forth.<sup>26</sup> During the Tibetan occupation, the head of the Chinese Buddhist community (Ch. *sengdu*) was the monk Hongbian (d.c. 868).<sup>27</sup> Although his exact sectarian filiation has not been established, it is clear from his extant writings and biographical account that he was mainly a follower of yogācāra Buddhism. Furthermore, we know from his surviving writings<sup>28</sup> that Hongbian's

chief disciple Wuzhen (816-895)<sup>29</sup> was a master of yogācāra or Yujia teachings. It is thought that, due to his great influence as *sengdu*, the teachings and practices connected with this school would have been quite widespread in the Hexi during the latter half of the ninth century. We do have some evidence of a public debate on yogācāra topics which took place after the establishment of the local Chinese reign under the Guiyi Jun, “The Returning Righteous Army,” in A.D. 848.<sup>30</sup>

The Tiantai School, another of the major schools of Chinese Buddhism, is represented by a number of texts found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. These works consist of a few scriptures related to the de facto founder of the school, Zhiyi or Zhizhe (537-594), and include works such as the *Guanxin lun* (Contemplation of the Mind),<sup>31</sup> the *Tiantai Zhizhe dashi fayuan wen* (Text of a Prayer Made by the Great Master Zhizhe of Tiantai),<sup>32</sup> the *Tiantai wujie fenmen* (Doctrinal Points of the Five Precepts in Tiantai)<sup>33</sup> and the *Yangzhou Yi chanshi yu nuren wenda shi* (Poetic Dialogue between the Dhyāna Master [Zhi]-yi from Yangzhou and a Girl).<sup>34</sup> The latter work is of course not by Zhiyi, but may have been compiled by his followers or perhaps by adherents of one of the schools of Chan Buddhism. Other works related to the Tiantai School include the *Tiantai fenmen tu* (Chart of the Doctrinal Points in Tiantai),<sup>35</sup> and the *Tiantai Xin chanshi ke* (The Song of the Tiantai Dhyāna Master Xin).<sup>36</sup> Since the practice of Dhyāna (Ch. *chan*) in the form of *zhiguan* (Sk. *Śamath-vipaśyanā*) occupies a prominent place in the Tiantai teachings, these teachings were probably understood as Chan Buddhism by the monks in Dunhuang. In any case, Tiantai texts often appear in manuscripts together with material related to the so-called Northern Chan (Ch. *Beichan zong*).<sup>37</sup> Both from historical and doctrinal points of view there are great similarities between the contemplative systems of these two schools of Chinese Buddhism.<sup>38</sup> An incomplete manuscript from the period of the Tibetan occupation recording the proceedings of a public discussion, in which Zhiyi and his teaching occurs, shows that Tiantai Buddhism was practiced in Dunhuang at that time.<sup>39</sup>

Examples of Pure Land (Ch. *Jingtu*) practices in Dunhuang abound, and we shall limit ourselves here to some of the more interesting cases. As can be expected, the *Sukhāvativyūhā sūtra*,<sup>40</sup> the *Foshuo guan wuliang shou jing* (Sūtra on the Visualization of Amitāyus),<sup>41</sup> and the *Amituo jing*<sup>42</sup> form the basis of Pure Land faith prevalent here as in the central provinces of China. The colophons of the *Sukhāvativyūhā sūtra* in S. 2424 from A.D. 710 and that of the *Buddhanāma sūtra*<sup>43</sup> in S. 4601 from A.D. 986 provide good insights into the status which Pure Land faith enjoyed among lay devotees in Dunhuang. In both colophons the faithful dedicate the merit of their pious work of having the sūtra copied to the benefit of the imperial house, their relatives, and the people of the

land. In addition to beliefs directly related to the canonical scriptures, we also find the mantra entitled *Amituo fo suoshuo zhou* (The Mantra Spoken by Amitābha Buddha) which in most cases is placed as an appendix to the *Sukhāvātīvyūhā sūtra*.<sup>44</sup> From the colophon of S. 1910 we learn of the method of practice with this mantra, its effectiveness proportional to the number of recitations, and the fact that it was translated from the Sanskrit text.<sup>45</sup> Although we are obviously dealing here with Pure Land Buddhism, it is interesting to note the esoteric element afforded by the use of this mantra. Another passage showing the practice of Buddha invocation (Ch. *nianfo*) in combination with Chan esoteric Buddhism and Faxiang can be found in the manuscript entitled *Nantian zhubuo Putidamo chanshi guanmen* (The Methods of Contemplation of the South Indian Meditation Master Bodhidharma).<sup>46</sup> This manuscript is a typical example of a “cut and paste” text of which we find so many among the Dunhuang material.<sup>47</sup>

Due to the fairly extensive amount of material related to the Sanjie School found in Dunhuang, we must surmise that this controversial Buddhist sect enjoyed considerable popularity there during most of the Tang dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Among this material we find some text fragments dealing with rituals, such as manuals,<sup>49</sup> rules for monastic training,<sup>50</sup> the *Lifo chanhui wen* (Text of a Buddhist Ritual of Repentance),<sup>51</sup> and a text called *Lichan* (Ritual of Repentance).<sup>52</sup> The fact that the latter of these works was copied in Dunhuang as late as A.D. 980 indicates that Sanjie beliefs and practices continued to be in use in Buddhist communities in Shazhou long after the sect had been officially proscribed.<sup>53</sup>

Although it constituted a major doctrinal tradition in Tang Buddhism, relatively few manuscripts among the Dunhuang manuscripts relate to the Huayan School. Most of this material consists of canonical scriptures, and there is almost no concrete evidence that this school had any direct influence on the Buddhist community here. However, the popularity and importance of the *Avatamsaka sūtra* and related scriptures is unquestionable, as can be seen in the paintings illustrating the various famous scenarios, or “transformation-tableaux” (Ch. *bianxiang*), such as the Nine Assemblies in Seven Locations, from this scripture.<sup>54</sup>

## Buddho-Daoist Syncretism

Yet another feature typical of Buddhism in Dunhuang is the peculiar Buddhist and Daoist syncretism evident in a large number of the Chinese manuscripts. Among the texts included in this material are works such as the *Benji jing* (Original Limit Sūtra),<sup>55</sup> the *Foshuo sanchu jing* (Buddha Discourses on the Three Kitchens Sūtra),<sup>56</sup> the *Foshuo zhoumei*

*jing* (Buddha Discourses the Sutra on Mantra'ing the Mei [demon?]),<sup>57</sup> the ... *jinfang Longshu pusa jiutian Xuan nu zhou* (... the Secret Mantras of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva on the Dark Lady of the Ninth Heaven),<sup>58</sup> the *Shouluo biqiu jing* (The Sūtra of the Bhikṣu houluo),<sup>59</sup> the *Qiqian foshen fu jing*,<sup>60</sup> the painted talismanic sheet of S. 5666,<sup>61</sup> the *Guanshiyin pusa fuyin* (The Talismanic Seals of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva),<sup>62</sup> and the untitled text of P. 2153.<sup>63</sup> In the case of the Benji jing we are obviously dealing with a mixture of prajñāpāramitā and other types of Buddhist doctrine in combination with Daoist Lingbao ideology.<sup>64</sup> The Buddhist texts containing Daoist material are quite evidently examples of a local interpretation of esoteric Buddhism. This tradition started at a relatively early stage to “borrow” a number of original Daoist practices such as the use of talismans (Ch. *fu*), including various kinds of healing devices, all concerned with the purification of the adept and the warding-off of evil influences. Related teachings have also been found elsewhere in Chinese esoteric Buddhist material.<sup>65</sup>

The texts just mentioned are not directly related and their use of borrowed material differs considerably, but common to all of them is their adoption and even integration of doctrinal and other elements, which originated outside their own religious sphere. Although material of this kind is not unique to Dunhuang, these texts still constitute some of the earliest surviving examples of attempts at combining and integrating the doctrines and practices of both creeds.

We still lack information on the historical and practical aspects of this Buddho-Daoist syncretism including questions as to whether it existed as a sectarian reality with proper institutions or was simply practiced by Buddhists and Daoists alike irrespective of faith, the extent of its literature both in Dunhuang and in the central provinces of China, when it arose and the extent of its influence, and so forth. On the Daoist side, an investigation of the Buddhist influence on the Lingbao School prominent during the Tang is likely to provide an additional perspective on the background of this development.<sup>66</sup>

## Popular Buddhist Cults in Dunhuang

A brief look at material related to popular beliefs and practices among Buddhists in Dunhuang reveals that several cults were prevalent. Although it is obvious that most of these cults operated within the structures of an orthodox saṅgha, they were generally unrelated to any particular school of Buddhism. Rather they provide evidence of the popularity of various Buddhist deities transcending both sectarian and institutional barriers.<sup>67</sup>



As was the case in Khotan and other places along the Silk Road, the cult dedicated to the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa also enjoyed considerable popularity in Dunhuang. Scattered among the manuscript collections we find an abundance of material dedicated to him of which mention can be made of manuscript S. 4622, entitled *Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji* (The Longxing Temple<sup>68</sup> Record of the Divine Responses [to prayers] by the Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa),<sup>69</sup> an original composition dated to A.D. 873, which refers to both the *Pishamen shenmu jing* (The Vaiśravaṇa Mother of Spirits Sūtra)<sup>70</sup> and the important *Suvarṇaprabhāsa sūtra*;<sup>71</sup> manuscript S. 5598, which is a prayer from the tenth century; and the *Foshuo beifang dasheng Pishamen tianwang qiqing jing* (Buddha Speaks the Northern Direction Great Holy Vaiśravaṇa Heavenly King Prayer Sūtra).<sup>72</sup> A colophon to a copy of the *Renwang jing* (The Sūtra of the Benevolent Kings)<sup>73</sup> said to date back to A.D. 531 is one of the earliest examples of Vaiśravaṇa worship in Dunhuang.

Another prominent cult was that devoted to Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Among the manuscripts we find material related to both the exoteric as well as the esoteric aspects of this cult including texts such as *Guanyin li* (Ritual for Avalokiteśvara) based on the *Saddharmapundarīka sūtra*,<sup>74</sup> the *Dabei qiqing* (Invoking the Great Compassion), and a ritual dedicated to the worship of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara of esoteric Buddhism.<sup>75</sup>

The Pure Land cult was also very popular and there are numerous manuscripts which point to various aspects of its local practice. Among this material we find a booklet from A.D. 955,<sup>76</sup> the *Wuhui nianfo zan* (Hymns for Repeating the Buddha's Name at the Five Assemblies),<sup>77</sup> and *Sifang jingtu zanwen* (Hymn Texts of the Western Pure Land).<sup>78</sup> The colophon of S. 4553 is a good example of the popular practice of having a sūtra copied as a means of accruing good karma to be transferred to parents and ancestors, so that they may be reborn in the Amitābha's paradise.

## Tibetan Buddhism in Dunhuang

After the Tibetan conquest of Turfan and Dunhuang closed off the Silk Road to the Chinese, Buddhism in the oasis became isolated from eastern influences and a considerable impact from Tibetan tantric Buddhism was felt there as evidenced by the large amount of esoteric material from the collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in the India Office Library, London. For some unknown reason much of this material remains largely unstudied and we have good reason to suppose that

considerable information shedding light on early Tibetan tantric Buddhism as well as the practice of Tibetan Buddhism in Dunhuang in general could be obtained from these manuscripts.

Research on the Tibetan Dunhuang material related to Buddhism has to a large extent been conducted by Japanese scholars, who have generally tended to focus on aspects touching upon Chinese Buddhism, especially on Chan and the so-called “Debate of Samye,”<sup>79</sup> with little regard for the importance of early, and mainly original Tibetan esoteric material.<sup>80</sup>

One of the main figures in ongoing research on Tibetan esoteric material from Dunhuang is undoubtedly Samten Gyaltzen Karmey who, in his study of the early Dzogs-chen tradition, has unveiled an important doctrinal aspect of early Tibetan tantric Buddhism.<sup>81</sup> The teachings, as represented by this Dzogs-chen material with their absolutist approach to the attainment of enlightenment, are reminiscent of the later doctrines on non-duality of Atiyogā as practiced by the adherents of the Nyieng-ma School of Tibetan Buddhism. It is of course always dangerous to take the existence of a particular type of scriptures as being generally representative, but in any case the works studied by Karmey may be seen as indications of the type of tantric discourse that was prevalent among members of the Tibetan-reading saṅgha in the Shazhou area during the first half of the ninth century.

Although the tantric material is extensive, the Tibetan material from Dunhuang is clearly dominated by standard Buddhist canonical material. Especially the sūtras and sāstras belonging to the *prajñāpāramitā* class, as well as the countless copies of the Daśabhūmika sūtra, give a clear indication that the Tibetan canon of the early ninth century was very much grounded in the Indian mahāyāna tradition. Likewise, the popularity of the Amitābha cult among Tibetan Buddhists in Shazhou was also great as is apparent from the large number of extant manuscripts related to this cult including various esoteric works.<sup>82</sup>

Likewise, the cult of Avalokiteśvara was also popular among the Tibetans living in Dunhuang as reflected in the many scriptures devoted to the cult of this important bodhisattva. Thus we find several versions of the *Ārya Avalokiteśvarasya mamāstā śataka*,<sup>83</sup> the *Amoghapaśa-hṛdaya dhāraṇī*,<sup>84</sup> and the *Avalokiteśvara-bodhi-cintāmani-cakra stotra*,<sup>85</sup> all of which are esoteric scriptures. This indicates that several forms of the bodhisattva in question were worshipped including the Four-armed Avalokiteśvara, Amoghapaśa, and Cintāmanicakra. This is perhaps not so surprising, since it matches well with the Chinese material, and can also be corroborated from the banner- and wall-paintings.<sup>86</sup> Likewise the Thousand-armed, Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara figure was also worshipped as indicated by the existence of the Tibetan version of the *Nilakanthaka sūtra* translated by Facheng from a Chinese version.<sup>87</sup>

We also find the popularity of the *prajñāpāramitā* as reflected in the tantric material. Among these manuscripts there are several scriptures such as the *Prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya-vṛtti*<sup>88</sup> and the *Prajñāpāramitā-hrdaya-vyākhyā*,<sup>89</sup> which contain lengthy and integrated sections of dhāranīs and mantras.

Here it is important to note that the early Tibetan Tripitaka, as evident from the manuscripts found in Dunhuang, was still in the process of attaining its full form and size, something which may account for the many excerpts and hybrid texts. This is especially the case with regards to the tantric texts, many of which consist of a series of excerpts and passages lifted from a variety of different—sometimes quite unrelated—scriptures to form a more or less coherent whole.

However, large amounts of the early Tibetan tantric Buddhist material is still untouched as mentioned previously, and further research is needed in order to obtain a more detailed and precise knowledge of the tantric literature available in Dunhuang and the particular rituals that were practiced.<sup>90</sup> A now classical study on the tantric material by Kenneth Eastman has revealed that by the early ninth century full-fledged Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna texts were in vogue in Dunhuang.<sup>91</sup> Part of Eastman's unpublished research has also involved the restoring to its original format of an untitled eighty-five folia manuscript from two fragments in the India Office Library and in the Bibliothèque Nationale respectively.<sup>92</sup> This text, the title of which is missing, is a compilation of material from various tantric sources and includes practices such as exorcism, ritualized sexuality (Tib. *yabyum*), homa or fire rituals, and so forth.

## Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Developments

Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism entered into a sort of synthesis in which their respective literature became mixed and the object of study by both parties. Among the manuscripts there are many Sino-Tibetan bilingual or partly bilingual works which include the following categories: traditional scriptures (*sūtras*, *śāstras*, *vinaya*, etc.); library inventories; names of temples and copyists; lists of doctrinal terminology; and dhāranīs and mantras.

Although it is unclear to what extent Chinese Buddhists in Dunhuang were influenced by Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna, those members of the Chinese saṅgha who were able to read or understand Tibetan are likely to have been exposed to these doctrines and practices. However, in the central and eastern provinces of China, tantric Buddhist practices of the Annutara and Mahāyogā types never exerted any influence on Chi-

nese Buddhism to speak of.<sup>93</sup> Not until the advent of the Tanguts and Mongols during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and with them the Tibetan lamas, did Vajrayāna Buddhism gain a foothold in China proper.<sup>94</sup> Even then, the practices propagated by the Tibetan lamas never really caught on among the Chinese population, but were mainly restricted to the Imperial courts during the Yuan and the following two dynasties in varying degrees. Hence, the presence of early Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna Buddhism in Dunhuang during the late eighth century to the early ninth century is yet another feature which is unique to the Buddhist community here, indicating its position as a central locus for the exchange of religious ideas and practices. Finally, it is more than likely that the influence of Tibetan Buddhism lingered on in Dunhuang several years after the area had been retaken by the Chinese in A.D. 848.

A number of questions remain concerning the Buddhist community in Dunhuang such as the number of temples in use during the Tang, the relationship between temples and caves, the sectarian affiliation of the temples, the distribution of the sexes in the temples, popular festivals, temple schools,<sup>95</sup> the Dunhuang temples and their sponsors,<sup>96</sup> and so forth. In recent years there has been an increasing number of Japanese and Chinese studies on some of these aspects; however, many issues have yet to be clarified.

During the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, and possibly later, there was a relatively large Tibetan Buddhist community in the Shazhou area. Although we do not have much information on this as yet, there are indications in both the Chinese and Tibetan material that Tibetan monks and nuns lodged in the Chinese temples there.<sup>97</sup> Some of the best indications on the cohabitation of the Sino-Tibetan saṅgha are provided by the bilingual library catalogues, Sino-Tibetan Buddhist liturgy,<sup>98</sup> and lists of terminology. In a manuscript from the library of the Dayun Temple dated to around A.D. 800, we have a relatively strong indication that the inmates of the Dayun Temple consisted of monks of both Tibetan and Chinese nationalities.<sup>99</sup> On the basis of information dating to the first half of the ninth century, the important Longxing Temple, which was one of the largest Buddhist institutions in Shazhou, is known to have kept both Chinese and Tibetan scriptures in its library. This may be taken as indirect evidence that the saṅgha in this temple consisted of both Chinese and Tibetan monks.<sup>100</sup>

In this regard, PT. 994 provides interesting data, as it consists of a list in Tibetan, transcribed from Chinese, of the great temples of Shazhou.<sup>101</sup> The exact implications of this list can only be guessed at, since it is only a fragment; however, it appears to have been an official document—perhaps a census paper—used by the Tibetan bureaucracy during the occupation. It should be compared with the Chinese manu-

script of S. 2729 (1) which consists of a list of nine monasteries and their inmates dated to A.D. 800. The PT. 994 list is given here together with the corresponding Chinese names:

- (a) Lun-khun zi = Longxing si
- (b) De-yan zi = Dayun si
- (c) Pho-ko zi = Puguang si (a nunnery)<sup>102</sup>
- (d) Gyan-yan zi = Yongan si
- (e) Le-zu-ci zi = Lingxiu si (?) (a nunnery)<sup>103</sup>
- (f) Ze-ho zi = ?
- (g) Khye-yan zi = Kaiyuan si
- (h) ... yon zi = Baoen si (?)
- (i) An-kog zi = Anguo si (a nunnery)<sup>104</sup>
- (j) De-cin zi = Dasheng si (a nunnery)<sup>105</sup>
- (k) Kyim-ko-mye zi = Jin guangming si
- (l) Le-tu zi = Lingtu si
- (m) Hyen-tig zi = Xiande si
- (n) Gyen-mye zi = Qianming si
- (o) Le-te zi = Liantai si
- (p) Je-tu zi = Jingtu si
- (q) Pam-kye zi = Sanjie si

Other indications of Sino-Tibetan communities are provided by manuscript P. 2449RV containing prayers for the Tibetan military governor in Guazhou,<sup>106</sup> and the untitled manuscript P. 2358V (4) which consists of various addresses by local dignitaries on the occasion of the construction of a Buddhist temple. Among the participants mentioned in this document are several Tibetans.

It is known for certain that the local Chinese and Tibetan clans cooperated in various large-scale Buddhist rituals and pious works. In the two related manuscripts, PT. 1000 and PT. 1001,<sup>107</sup> we find evidence of such an intercultural Buddhist project.<sup>108</sup> Both manuscripts were composed to commemorate the occasion of the donations of a series of major Buddhist scriptures such as the *Prātimoksa*, the apocryphal *Fanwang jing* (Brahmajāla sūtra), the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra*, etc. by a group of prominent monks and nuns belonging to the Chinese families Yin, Li, Pei, Shi, Song, Zhang, Wang, Cao, among others, and the Tibetan families Sñiñ-choms, Stoñ-sar, and Rgod-sar. On the basis of this information, we are provided with a vivid picture of a common type of Sino-Tibetan joint venture carried out by the Buddhists of Dunhuang towards the end of the Tibetan dominion over the area.

An equally important Tibetan manuscript for an understanding of Sino-Tibetan relations in Shazhou during the Tibetan occupation is

PT. 999.<sup>109</sup> The manuscript is dated to the “year of the Rat,” i.e., A.D. 844,<sup>110</sup> just four years prior to the collapse of Tibetan power in Hexi. The first part mentions how the local people of Shazhou formerly had copies of the *Sukhāvativyūha sūtra* in both Chinese and Tibetan made as an offering to King Khri gTsong-lde-brtsan, also known as Ral-pa-can (r.l. 815-838), who is referred to in the text as “Divine Prince.”<sup>111</sup> It is further stated that upon completion, the scriptures were housed in the library of the Longxing Temple. Later, in A.D. 844 some 2,700 members of the local population collected funds with which to hold a large communal celebration to commemorate either the birth or ascension to the Tibetan throne by Od-srungs (Kaśyapa), the son of the Lady of Phen, one of the wives of Ral-pa-can, who ruled the disintegrating kingdom as Queen Dowager.<sup>112</sup> The manuscript ends with the information that those in charge of the project were the Chinese monk, Hongben (Lhong Bel), the Saṅgha Overseer, whom we have already discussed above, and an important Tibetan monk, possibly a vajracāryā, by the name of Wangchok.<sup>113</sup> Although there are several unclear points in PT. 999, it would seem that the copying of the numerous volumes of the *Sukhāvativyūha sūtra* was done as part of a nationwide prayer for the longevity of or perhaps even rebirth in the Pure Land of Ral-pa-can. This first event mentioned in the manuscript probably took place around A.D. 838, that is to say the year he passed away, or perhaps slightly before. The second event mentioned in PT. 999 describes how the local Buddhist families of Shazhou were mobilized under the spiritual leadership of Hongben and a Tibetan Buddhist leader to celebrate the continuation of the Tibetan royal line. This information not only provides us with further evidence that the saṅgha in Shazhou was composed of both Tibetan and Chinese monks and nuns, but also that there was a shared leadership of the saṅgha.

## Conclusion

The picture that emerges of the sectarian developments in Dunhuang—despite the rather abundant written material with obvious sectarian affiliations—is clearly one of Buddhist pluralism and harmonization, including adaptation and modification, of a wide range of diverse beliefs and practices; a spiritual situation as it were in which the practical implications of sectarian boundaries were negligible. In short, during the Tang and Five Dynasties Period, Buddhism in Shazhou—and by extension in most of Hexi—expressed itself as a common denomination which essentially accommodated all types of beliefs and practices in an ecumenical spirit across all sectarian divisions. Except for one example in which the

teachings of the Three Stages School are repudiated, there is virtually no real evidence of sectarianism in the Buddhist manuscripts, quite the contrary.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, a brief survey of information on the temples in Dunhuang shows—to the extent that information can be had—that the saṅgha members followed a combination of methods based on the teachings and practices of several schools including Chan, Tiantai, Faxiang, Mizong, and Jingtu.<sup>115</sup>

Whether this observation also applies to the relationship between the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist communities and their respective teachings is another matter, which, despite its obvious importance, has only been treated in passing. On the basis of what has been presented here, it is clear that there were Sino-Tibetan Buddhist communities in Dunhuang during the Tibetan occupation, but how they functioned in practice is still not clear. What is known, however, is that during the Tibetan occupation of Shazhou we find no signs of inter-religious strife between the members of the Chinese and the Tibetan saṅghas. As we have seen, on several occasions they participated in unison in major communal rituals and in various pious projects.

Syncretism in Dunhuang was not only limited to the Buddhist schools and their teachings, but also applied to Buddhism and Daoism. As we have seen, there is a fairly large number of texts which can only be explained as a mixture between these two major Chinese traditions. The historical side of this Buddho-Daoist syncretism needs to be further investigated, not only with regard to the religious literature from both traditions which was a product of mutual influence, but also as regards shared beliefs and even practices.

Popular Buddhist cults in Dunhuang mainly followed the same trend as evidenced in Tang China. Among the major cults were those devoted to Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Vaiśravaṇa, something which is both evident from the manuscripts as well as from the banner-paintings and frescos. Closely connected with the popular aspects of Buddhism in Shazhou was the use of written and printed talismans. Beliefs and practices involving these cryptographs and magical charts—a system originally developed within Daoism—were eventually taken over by the Buddhists for whom they became equally important. The extensive material featuring talismans reveals that they were both common and popular.

An issue which has not been discussed in this chapter relates to the way in which Buddhism was practiced by the different social classes in Dunhuang. Also a more thorough presentation of the major figures active in the Buddhist milieu, and their spiritual achievements, would add more substance to our knowledge of religious life in Dunhuang. This question would also involve an investigation of the relationship

between the leading local clans and the establishment of various temples and cave-sanctuaries at Mogao. Research along these lines is therefore likely to yield further information on Buddhist practice and its importance in the social context, and will thus be a worthwhile topic for future research.

## Notes

1. Both the Daoist and Confucian traditions are prominently represented in the Dunhuang manuscripts; however, as they flourished mainly within the Chinese cultural sphere, their importance for the intercultural dialogue along the Silk Roads remains negligible.
2. See for example Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 213-86; and Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955).
3. A discussion on Dunhuang Buddhism during the period of Xixia domination, i.e., A.D. 1038-1226, is not included in the present paper. Obviously, Buddhism was still a prominent tradition in the area, and it received imperial patronage as the national creed of the Tanguts.
4. Among the most important of these developments was the type of esoteric Buddhism expounded by Amoghavajra (705-774), one of the major patriarchs of Zhenyan Buddhism. Around A.D. 741 he left Tang to go to South India after new esoteric scriptures, and returned in A.D. 747 with new manuscripts. During the years A.D. 754-756, the master lived in Wuwei near Liangzhou in Gansu, and it was during his sojourn there that he translated a number of the texts we find among the Dunhuang manuscripts. See *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Song History of High Monks), ch. 1, T. 2061, 712c-713a. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts, there are several copies of the works translated or edited by Amoghavajra. See P. 2105V, 2197 (10.1), 2368, 3022R (1), S. 6897V (3), etc.
5. For a short note on the different schools of Buddhism, see S. 4459. Unfortunately, it does not give any indication of sectarian divisions in Dunhuang.
6. For a highly useful survey of Japanese research on Dunhuang material related to Chan Buddhism, see Tanaka Ryōshō, "A Historical Outline of Japanese Research on the Chinese Chan Writings from Dunhuang," *SCEAR* 2 (1989): pp. 141-69. See also his major work, *Tonkō zenshū no kenkyū* (A Study of the Dunhuang Chan School) (Tokyo: Daito shuppansha, 1983).
7. H.H. Sørensen, "Observations on the Characteristics of the Chinese Chan Manuscripts from Dunhuang," *SCEAR* 2 (1989): pp. 115-39.
8. S. 4173.
9. S. 1635.
10. See S. 330, 347, 532, 1183, 2448, 4115, 4844, 4915, 5313, etc.



11. The Seventh Patriarch in the transmission of Southern Chan. His dates are A.D. 684-758. For a recent study, see Li Xueqin, "Chan-zong zaoqi wenwu de chongyao faxian" (Important Discovery of Early Artefacts Relating to the Chan School), *Wenwu* 3 (1992): pp. 71-75. See also, "Luoyang Tang Shenhui heshang shenta taji qingli" (Inventory of the Stūpa-base of the Burial Stūpa of Ven. Shenhui from Luoyang under the Tang), *Wenwu* 3 (1992): pp. 64-67, 75.
12. See S. 4634, 6103 (2), 6923V (3 & 6), etc.
13. See S. 1947. This manuscript is dated A.D. 863. See also the brief report by Ma De, "Wu heshang—Wu heshang ku—Wujia ku (Ven. Wu—The Cave of Ven. Wu—The Cave of the Wu Family)," *DY* 3 (1987): pp. 62-64.
14. This work is more or less identical to T. 1315. For a similar text from the Dunhuang hoard, see S. 6897V (3).
15. For a study of this scripture and its related ritual, see Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China," *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*, SBS Monographs 2, edited by Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen, 1994), pp. 51-72.
16. This copy is based on the translation by the monk Buddhapāli of Kabul from A.D. 683.
17. See S. 2566. This manuscript appears to be dated A.D. 918.
18. T. 895.
19. P. 2351 (only pin 5 to 9 is extant).
20. Examples of this can be found in S. 165, S. 4493, S. 4494, S. 5589, S. 5621, etc.
21. S. 2498 (2).
22. S. 2716RV.
23. P. 2035, S. 2552. See T. 2801.
24. For a very comprehensive study on the life and work of this monk, see Ueyama Daishuin, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 84-246. See also Paul Demiéville, *Récents Travaux sur Touen-houang* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), pp. 47-60.
25. P. 2036, 2037, 2061, etc. This scripture was also studied by Tibetan monks. See also, P. 2061 which contains annotation in Tibetan. An extensive discussion by Ueyama can be found in his *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 219-46.
26. Ueyama Daishuin, "Tonkō shinshutsu no yuishiki kei ronso" (A New Discovery of Related Yogācāra Treatises and Commentaries from Dunhuang), *Ryūkokū Daigaku ronshō* 428 (1986): pp. 110-34.
27. S. 779. See also PT. 999, 1079, 1198, 1200, 1201, 1202, Tibetan documents in which Hongbian occurs.
28. *Ibid.*, *La Vie et les Oeuvres de Wou-tchen* (816-95). See P. 2236, which consists of a copy of the Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra, which belonged to Wuzhen. For a recent Chinese study of this monk and the Buddhist works he collated, see Qi Chenjun and Han Qin, "Hexi bu sengtong Tang Wuzhen zho pin he jianzai wenxian xinian" (On the Works Collated by Tang Wuzhen, the Saṅgha Overseer of Hexi together with a Chronology of the Documents), *DX* 2 (1993): pp. 5-15.
29. Chen Tsu-lung, "La Vie et les Oeuvres de Wou-tchen (816-895): Contribution à l'Histoire de Touen-houang," *PEFEO* 60 (1966). See also Paul Demiéville, *Récents Travaux sur Touen-houang* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), pp. 61-64.
30. P. 3097RV. For a study of Buddhism in Dunhuang under the Guiyi Jun, see Tohi Toshikazu, "Kigi Gun to Tonkō bukkyō kyōdan" (Guiyi Jun and the Religious Order of Buddhism in Dunhuang), *Tonkō no rekishi* (The History of Dunhuang), edited by Enoki Ichiyū. 2 (Tokyo: Kōza Tonkō, 1980): pp. 259-92.
31. T. 1920. Not to be confused with the work by Northern Chan Master Shenxiu (605-705) under the same name.

32. P. 3183. See Paul Magnin, "Une Copie Amidique du T'ien-t'ai Tche-tchō Ta-che Fa-yuan Wen: Une étude sur le manuscrit P. 3183," *CETH* 1, edited by M. Soymié (Geneva: École pratique des Hautes Études, 1979): pp. 99-114.
33. S. 1310. Giles only mentions the work as an untitled doctrinal work of Tiantai provenance, see p. 168a.
34. S. 646 (4), S. 2672, S. 3441 (2).
35. P. 2131. See T. 2824.
36. This work is not extant, but mentioned in P. 2250R.
37. See. S. 2165, S. 2669, S. 3558, S. 3559, P. 3434, P. 3777, etc. For a major study of this tradition, see John McRae, "The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism." *SEAB* 3 (Honolulu, 1986). See also Bernard Faure, *La volonté d'orthodoxie dans le bouddhisme chinois* (Paris: CNRS, 1988); and "Le bouddhisme Ch'an en mal d'histoire: Genèse d'une tradition religieuse dans la Chine des Tang," *PEFEO* 98 (Paris, 1989).
38. Sekiguchi Shindai, "Zenshū to Tendaishū to no kōshō (The Chan and Tiantai Schools and Their Relationship)," *Taishō Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 44 (1959): pp. 39-75. This relationship is briefly discussed by John McRae in "The Northern School of Chinese Chan Buddhism" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1984), pp. 73-76.
39. P. 3256.
40. T. 360, 361, 362.
41. T. 365.
42. T. 366.
43. T. 447.
44. S. 317, S. 2107, S. 4930, etc.
45. For a full translation of this colophon, see Giles, p. 103ab.
46. S. 6958. For a study of this manuscript, see Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tōnkō zenshū bunkan no kenkyū*, pp. 213-36.
47. In my survey, "Observations on the Characteristics of the Chinese Chan Manuscripts from Dunhuang," *SCEAR* 2 (1989): pp. 115-39, I argue for the existence of a common practice in Dunhuang of employing text modules, i.e., passages or sections from standard writings, and combining them to form a "new" scripture. Although the paper deals primarily with this issue within the framework of Chan Buddhism, I believe that we can observe many examples of this "cut-and-paste literature" in other Chinese material related to both Buddhism and Daoism. See S. 2669, P. 3913, et seq.
48. For a fairly comprehensive overview of the doctrines of this sect, see *Sangai kyō zankan* (Fragmentary Scrolls of the Sanjie Teaching), edited by Yabuki Keiki (Reprint Taipei: Xinwen feng, 1983). See also the pioneering study by Yabuki Keiki, *Sangai kyō no kenkyū* (A Study of the Sanjie Teachings) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1927). A recent study by Antonino Forte brings some of the obscure points in the older studies up to date, see his "La Secte des Trois Stades et l'Hérésie de Devadatta: Yabuki Keiki corrigé par Tang Yongtong," *BEFEO* 74 (1985): pp. 469-76. See also "The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism: Chih-sheng's Indictment of Shih-li and the Proscription of the Dharma Mirror Sūtra," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 207-38.
49. S. 5633.
50. S. 190. Dated to the seventh century.
51. S. 2574.
52. S. 5562.

53. For a study of the persecution of the Sanjie School, see Mark Edward Lewis, "Suppression of the Three Stages Sect," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 207-38.
54. The Huayan tableaux as wall-paintings can be found in caves no. 6, 9, 12, 25, 44, 45, 53, 55, 61, 76, etc. For a complete list, see *Dunhuang Mogao ku neirong zonglu* (Record of the Contents of the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang), compiled by Dunhuang wenwu yanjiu (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1982), pp. 227-28. For a very fine, unique example of a Huayan *bianxiang* in the form of a large banner-painting, see Jacques Giès, "Un témoignage du bouddhisme impérial tang à Dunhuang," *Les Routes de la soie: Patrimoine commun, identités plurielles. Mémoire des peuples* (Paris: Éditions UNESCO, 1994), pp. 65-79 (see p. 71). Note, however, that the article for some unknown reason does not provide a systematic or comprehensive discussion of the painting in question.
55. Full title *Taixuan zhenyi benji miao jing* (Wonderful Scripture of the Highest Mystery and Original Limit), P. 2392, 2393, 2398, 2463, 2366, 2331, 2437, 2379R, etc., S. 3135, 3563, 3387, 3139, etc. See also the commentary, *Benji jing shu* (Commentary to the Benji jing), P. 2361.
56. P. 3032. This apocryphal sūtra is mentioned in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (The Kaiyuan Buddhist Catalogue), T. 2154, p. 672a. Some similarity with S. 2673 (T. 2894).
57. S. 4524. This manuscript consists of a fragment of the apocryphal sūtra *Foshuo shoumei jing* (Buddha Discourses on How to Use Mantras Against the Meidemons), which contains seven talismans at the end. See T. 2882, which is based on the near complete manuscript of S. 418. This version of the scripture does not have the talismans however.
58. S. 2615V. Even from the title we can ascertain the Buddho-Daoist content of this text as it refers both to Nagārjuna, the founder of the madhyāmika system of thought, and to the Dark Lady, the reputed consort of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Di). See also the fragment contained in P. 3835V° (4). Another related apocryphal scripture is the *Longshu wuming lun* (Nagārjuna's Treatise on the Five Realizations), T. 1420, attributed to Nagārjuna.
59. S. 6881. The manuscript is dated to the seventh century.
60. T. 2904.
61. According to Giles a "coloured picture of the star-god Rāhu, with a prayer by a woman aged 64 begging his favour and protection against misfortunes that come." See Giles, p. 197a. However, the lower part of this painted sheet of paper also contains a large talisman referred to as a "talismanic dhāraṇī" (Ch. *fu tuoluoni*) in the inscription. The spiritual power of this talismanic dhāraṇī is said to effect the assistance of all the Buddhas in the ten directions.
62. S. 2498 (1). This is basically an esoteric Buddhist text containing dhāraṇīs from different sources.
63. P. 2153. The editors of CMCT, vol. 1 (J. Gernet and Wu Chi-ya) treat this manuscript as one single apocryphal work under the title *Guanshiyin pusa ruyi lun tuoluoni ... bing biexing fa* (Methods of Further Practices of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Wish-fulfilling Wheel Dhāraṇī), see *ibid.*, pp. 97-98. The main deity is the Vajra Youth (Ch. *Jingang tongzi*). A brief perusal of the manuscript reveals that we are dealing with a ritual text composed of several excerpts of various individual works including the talismans from the *Qiqian foshen fu jing*.
64. Wu Chi-yu, trans., *Pen-tsi king: Livre du terme originel. Mission Paul Pelliot*. Documents conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, I (Paris, 1960).
65. T. 1219, T. 1238, T. 1265, T. 1420 etc.

66. For a study of the Buddhist influence on the Lingbao tradition, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, "Stages of Transcendence: The Bhūmi Concept in Taoist Scripture," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 119-48. See also the comparative edition of Buddhist texts and text passages contained in the Daozang (The Daoist Canon), see Kamata Shigeo, *Dōzō nai Buōkyōshisō shiryō shūsei* (A Selection of Buddhist Material Contained in the Daozang) (Tokyo, 1986). See also the review by A. Seidel in *CEA* 3 (1987): pp. 226-27.
67. For a discussion of the relationship between certain dated manuscripts and religious practices in Dunhuang, see Paul Magnin, "Pratique Religieuse et Manuscrits Datés," *CEA* 3 (1987): pp. 131-41.
68. The Longxing Temple was one of the seventeen large temples in Shazhou.
69. S. 381 (3).
70. This is an apocryphal sūtra, which has not been identified so far.
71. T. 664.
72. S. 5576. This is a short apocryphal sūtra intended for liturgical purposes.
73. S. 4528.
74. S. 5559.
75. S. 663, see T. 2843. See also S. 5564 (1), S. 5650, and S. 6110.
76. S. 5572. See Giles, 191-92.
77. P. 2147V (2). For a related manuscript see P. 2130 (2).
78. Beijing guo no. 41.
79. For a brief survey of Japanese research on early Tibetan Chan, see Ueyama Daishuin, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts Recovered from Tun-huang: A Review of the Field and its Prospects," in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, edited by L. Lancaster and W. Lai. (Berkeley Buddhist Series 5) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 327-49. See also the excellent studies on the issues of the Samye debate by Luis O. Gómez based on the Tibetan material from Dunhuang, viz. "The Direct and Gradual Approaches of Zen Master Mahāyāna: Fragments of the Teachings of Mo-ho-yen," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, edited by Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, *SEAB* 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983): pp. 69-167, and "Purifying Gold: The Metaphor of Effort and Intuition in Buddhist Thought and Practice," in *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, edited by Peter N. Gregory, *SEAB* 5, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987): pp. 67-165.
80. For one exception, see Ueyama Daishuin, "Peyan cho no daiyuga bunken: P. tib. 837 ni tsuite" (The Mahāyoga Literature Written by dPal-dbyans: Concerning PT. 837), *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 16 (1977): pp. 1-13. See also his *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*. For a review in English of this important work, see *SCEAR* 3 (1990): pp. 136-39.
81. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, and Cologne, 1988). It contains a full discussion of the manuscripts ST. 594, ST. 647, and ST. 698 (2), together with annotated translations.
82. See ST. 308-10, 463 (2), etc. For examples of the esoteric works, see ST. 452 (3), and ST. 724.
83. ST. 315 (1) and ST. 316 (1).
84. ST. 311, ST. 312 (2) and ST. 372 (2). There is also a description of an Amoghapāśa mantrala. See ST. 384 (2).
85. ST. 311 (3).

86. For a discussion on the iconography related to these forms of Avalokiteśvara, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Typology and Iconography in the Esoteric Buddhist Art of Dunhuang," in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology 2* (1991/92): pp. 285-349 (especially pp. 302-9).
87. ST. 214. See also the related Avalokiteśvara-mahā-kārunikāya namah, ST. 323 (2).
88. See ST. 122
89. See fx. ST. 123.
90. See PT. 41, PT. 42, PT. 240, PT. 241, PT. 283, PT. 286, PT. 288, etc. In fact there are numerous Vajrayāna ritual texts among the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, a study of which would prove of great value for our further understanding of the formation of early Tibetan Vajrayāna in general and of Tibetan tantric practices in Dunhuang in particular.
91. K. Eastman, "Tibetan Tantric Texts at Dunhuang," paper presented at the international symposium, "The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition" (Samsø College, Denmark, 21-24 August 1989). See also his earlier study, "Mahāyoga Texts at Tun-huang," in *Ryūkoku daigaku zō tibeto go bunken no kenhyū* (A Study of the Tibetan Literature in the Library of the Ryūkoku University), edited by Ueyama Daishuin (Kyoto, 1983), pp. 42-60.
92. ST. 419 and PT. 42
93. In the case of the Tanguts, who controlled Dunhuang and the Gansu corridor from the early eleventh century up to A.D. 1228 when their rule was terminated by the Mongols, Tibetan tantric practices enjoyed a high status and appear to have been rather influential. See the list of Tangut Buddhist scriptures in Nishida Tatsuo, *Seika bun Kegon kyō* (The Avataṃsaka Sūtra in Xixia Script), 3 vols (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku bungaku bu, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 13-59. See also *Xixia wenwu* (Cultural Material of the Xixia), edited by Shi Jinbo et al. (Beijing, 1988), pl. 81-7, 99, and pp. 295, 297. This book contains fine pictorial material, but the text as such is useless.
94. Here it is interesting to note that we find wall-paintings in Dunhuang (cave nos. 95 and 265), bespeaking the tantric Buddhist influence during the Yuan dynasty. See Su Bai, "Dunhuang Mogao ku mijiao yiji zhaji" (A Record of Historical Remains of Esoteric Buddhism in the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang), part 2, *Wenwu* 10 (1989): pp. 79-84. For a discussion of this material, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Typology and Iconography in the Esoteric Buddhist Art of Dunhuang," in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology 2* (1991/92): pp. 285-349 (especially pp. 319-22). See also *Art Treasures of Dunhuang*, edited by the Dunhuang Institute for Cultural Relics (Hong Kong, 1981), pl. 113, and p. 236.
95. Li Zhenyu, "Tang Song shidai de Dunhuang xuexiao," *DY* 1 (1986): pp. 39-47.
96. Jiang Boqin, "Lun Dunhuang siyuan de cangzhu baixing," *DY* 1 (1981): pp. 43-55. For a fine study of the sponsors of various caves based on stele inscriptions, see Yi Yongning, "Dunhuang Mogao ku beiwen lu ji you guan wenti," part 1, *DY* 1 (1981): pp. 56-79; part 2, *DY* 2 (1982): pp. 108-26. For a study of the economy and functioning of the Dunhuang temples during the ninth to tenth centuries, see Kitahara Kaoru, "Ban Tō Godai no Tonkō ji-in kyōsai" (Economy of the Temples and Cloisters in Dunhuang during the Late Tang and Five Dynasties Period), in *Tonkō no shakai* (Dunhuang Society), edited by Ikeda On (Tokyo: Kōza Tonkō 3, 1980), pp. 371-456. Unfortunately this otherwise excellent article only gives minimal information on the religious practices in the temples.
97. PT. 1001. At the very end of the northern caves in Mogao one can still see the remnants of a Tibetan inscription over a cave. It is also known that Tibetan monks lived in the Yulin Caves outside Anxi, east of Dunhuang during this period. See also PT. 997.

98. P. 3346.
99. PT. 1257. This manuscript also includes a bilingual list of Buddhist key terms.
100. See PT. 999. See also Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Dunhuang tufan wen shulun wenji* (Tibetan Manuscripts from Dunhuang—Collected Works and Essays), Sichuan minzu chubanshe (Chengdu, 1988), pp. 202, 413-15.
101. Lalou 2, p. 33.
102. S. 476, S. 2712.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Guazhou was the neighboring county to the east of Shazhou, situated between Dunhuang and present-day Anxi.
107. For an annotated and commented edition of this manuscript, see Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Dunhuang tufan wen shulun wenji* (Tibetan Manuscripts from Dunhuang—Collected Works and Essays) (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 203-5, 416-23.
108. These manuscripts are both fragments. See Lalou 2, p. 35.
109. Ibid., p. 34.
110. Since the name of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan occurs in our text, it must necessarily refer to a date after his reign which ended in A.D. 838. There is only one “rat year” after his reign and before the Tibetans were thrown out of Dunhuang, namely A.D. 844, which must therefore be the year referred to in the manuscript.
111. Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Dunhuang tufan wen shulun wenji*, pp. 202, 413-15.
112. For further information on her reign, see Luciano Petech, “The Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom,” in *Tibetan Studies* (Fagernäs) 2 (1992): pp. 649-59 (esp. p. 651, note 16).
113. Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Dunhuang tufan wen shulun wenji*, pp. 202, 413-15. For a brief note, see Lalou vol. 2, p. 34.
114. S. 6108.
115. Examples of manuscripts containing a combination of the teachings of several schools are numerous. See S. 2144, S. 2583, S. 2669, S. 2973, S. 3558, S. 3559, S. 4064, P. 2104V, P. 2791, P. 3777, etc.