



BuddhistRoad

Dynamics in Buddhist Networks in Eastern Central Asia 6th–14th Centuries

BuddhistRoad Paper 6.1 Special Issue

**ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN NETWORKS.
RETHINKING THE INTERPLAY OF
RELIGIONS, ART AND POLITICS ACROSS
THE TARIM BASIN (5TH–10TH C.)**

Edited by
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BUDDHISTROAD PAPER

Peer reviewed

ISSN: 2628-2356

DOI: 10.13154/rub.br.118.103

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Please quote this paper as follows:

Tokio Takata, “Tibetan Dominion over Dunhuang and the Formation of a Tibe-to-Chinese Community,” *BuddhistRoad Paper 6.1. Special Issue: Special Issue: Central Asian Networks. Rethinking the Interplay of Religions, Art and Politics Across the Tarim Basin (5th–10th c.)*, ed. Erika Forte (2019): 85–106.

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BuddhistRoad is a project of



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Established by the European Commission



This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 725519).

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN NETWORKS Erika Forte	4–7
BRAHMANICAL DEITIES IN FOREIGN LANDS: THE FATE OF SKANDA IN BUDDHIST CENTRAL ASIA Ciro Lo Muzio	8–43
THE EIGHT PROTECTORS OF KHOTAN RECONSIDERED: FROM KHOTAN TO DUNHUANG Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang.....	44–84
TIBETAN DOMINION OVER DUNHUANG AND THE FORMATION OF A TIBETO–CHINESE COMMUNITY Takata Tokio.....	85–106
CONVEYING INDIA TO THE PAMIR AND FURTHER AWAY: ON DIVINE HIERARCHY AND POLITICAL PARADIGMS IN BUDDHIST TEXTS Cristina Scherrer-Schaub	107–148

TIBETAN DOMINION OVER DUNHUANG AND THE FOR-
MATION OF A TIBETO-CHINESE COMMUNITY

TAKATA TOKIO

Abstract

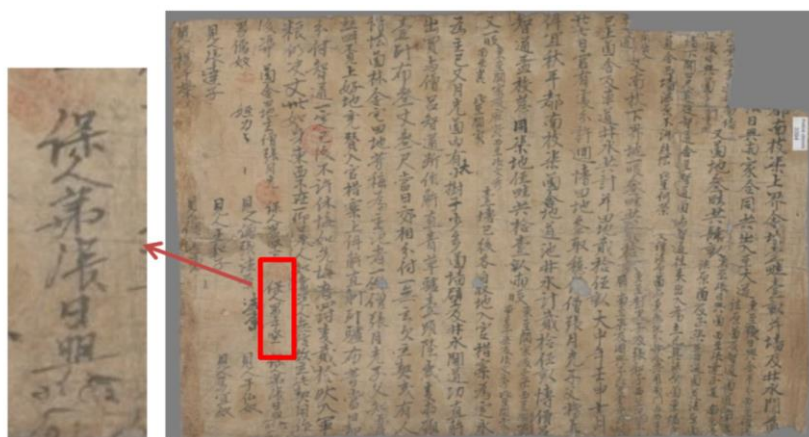
The Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang (786–848) had an inevitable influence on the social life of the Chinese inhabitants. The manuscripts, both Chinese texts written in Tibetan script and Tibetan texts recognized as being for use by Chinese people, indicate the existence of a ‘Tibeto-Chinese community’ in Dunhuang. This assertion can be supported by Chinese poems, transcribed in Tibetan script, as well as by association (Chin. *she* 社) documents and texts on the Chinese Five Surnames theory written in Tibetan. This article puts its focus on when and how this Tibeto-Chinese community was formed, and how long it had lasted. The Tibeto-Chinese community remained in existence even as far as the Guiyijun period (from 848 until the beginning of the 11th c., 歸義軍), which can be observed through two-time varying systems of Tibetan transcription of Chinese characters—one is the dialect of Chang’an (長安) and the other is the local dialect of Dunhuang (敦煌), a variety of the North-Western dialect of Chinese. As a supplementary material to reinforce this argument, the author also presents the Chinese text *Yuan xinlang* (願新郎 [Prayer for the Groom])—a text to be recited for wedding ceremonies) written in Tibetan script which can be dated to the Guiyijun period.

1. Introduction

As is well known, Dunhuang fell into Tibetan hands in 786 after a long and painful siege. Their dominion lasted until 848, when Zhang Yichao (r. 851–867, 張議潮), the leader of a powerful local clan, recovered the territory. During this period, Tibetan rule had an inevitable influence on the social life of the Chinese inhabitants. We can say that this was the first time they had come into close contact with the Tibetan language and script. Before that, Dunhuang people had the opportunity to hear the language, but did not pay much attention to it. We do not know what impression they had of the Tibetan language and script. However, it does

not seem that they had any prejudice against them. Sinocentrism had not yet arisen in the Dunhuang society of the time.

In the Dunhuang documents of the Tibetan period, we often come across signatures in Tibetan script that were used by the Chinese inhabitants. Let us see an example (fig. 1). On the left of figure 1 we see an enlarged portion of a Chinese contract document of the Tibetan period (P. 3394). At the end of the contract, one of the witnesses (Chin. *baoren* 保人) Cang Zhir-hing (Chin. Zhang Rixing 張日興)¹ gave his signature in Tibetan script. We can find a number of similar examples in the documents of the Tibetan period. There is no doubt but that the Tibetan language and script spread into Chinese society in Dunhuang and that some of these Chinese inhabitants, while under Tibetan rule, used the Tibetan language, at least when necessary.



¹ Cang Zhir-hing is a Wylie transliteration of the signature written in Tibetan script and the modern pronunciation in Pinyin script of the name is given in parentheses. The form Cang Zhir-hing represents well the pronunciation of the local Chinese which was used in the period under Tibetan occupation. Cf. Takata Tokio 高田時雄, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru chūgokugoshi no kenkyū: kyūjusseiki no Kasei hōgen* 敦煌資料による中國語史の研究-九十世紀の河西方言 [A Historical Study of the Chinese Language Based on Dunhuang Materials: The Hexi Dialect of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988).

Figure 1. A Chinese contract document of the Tibetan period with signature in Tibetan script by a Chinese. P. 3394, BN.

There is no absolute proof that a Tibetanized community existed in Dunhuang before the 11th century. Nevertheless, we can find various kinds of interesting manuscripts that suggest such a community existed. These are Chinese texts written in Tibetan script and Tibetan texts which can be recognized as obviously being for use by Chinese people. These texts certainly provide strong circumstantial evidence.

Below we will examine these typical examples which illustrate the Tibetanized Chinese community in question.

2. Chinese Texts Written in Tibetan Script

We currently know of five Chinese Buddhist *sūtras* written in Tibetan script: (1) *Jin'gangjing* 金剛經 = *Vajracchedikā* (IOL Tib J 1404, C 129)² (fig. 2); (2) *Emituojing* 阿彌陀經 = *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* (*Amitābhasūtra*) (C 130);³ (3) *Tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 天地八陽神呪經 [The Divine and Magical *sūtra* of the Eight Lights of Heaven and Earth], an apocryphal *sūtra* (P. T. 1258); (4) *Boruoixinjing* 般若心經 = *Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya* (P. T. 448); and (5) *Fahuajing pumenpin* 法華經普門品 [Guanyin *sūtra*] = *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Samantamukhaparivarta* (P. T. 1239 verso)⁴

² Kazuo Enoki, "Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts," in *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*, ed. Louis de La Vallée Poussin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 266. The manuscript was first reported and studied in Frederick W. Thomas and Gerald L.M. Clauson, "A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 58.3 (1926): 508–526.

³ Enoki, "Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts," 266, and Frederick W. Thomas and Gerald L. M. Clauson, "A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 59.2 (1927): 281–306.

⁴ We have another manuscript of the Chinese *Fahuajing pumenpin* (P. T. 1262), in which each character of the first four lines is given a pronunciation in Tibetan script.

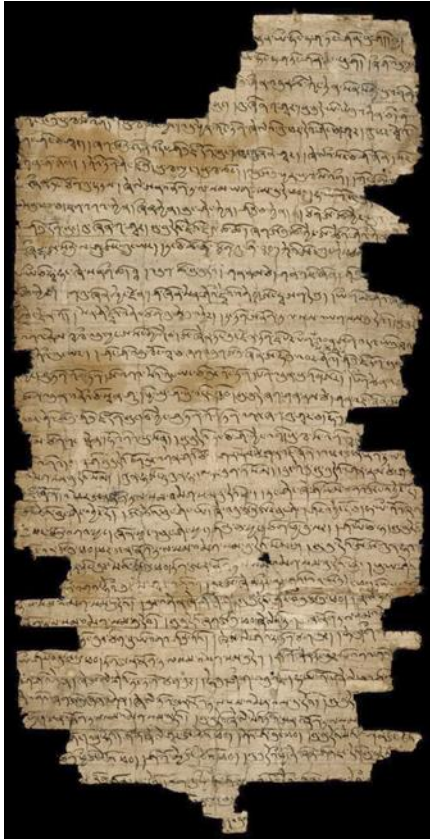


Figure 2. The Chinese *Jin'gangjing* (金剛經, Skt. *Vajracchedikā*) in Tibetan script. IOL Tib J 1404, C129, BL.

These are very popular *sūtras* and must have been used by Chinese monks and devotees who were illiterate in the Chinese characters. The second one, *Emituojing*, is very interesting, as a colophon is attached at the end of the manuscript. According to the colophon, this *Emituojing* was copied by an officer of the Military Commissioner of Hexi named Kang rje-man, in the country of Kirghiz in the summer of the Year of

the Tiger (858), together with other *sūtras*. The man in question may have been a Sogdian naturalised in Dunhuang Chinese society, judging from his surname Kang, typical for a Sogdian from Samarqand. It is quite possible that, although he used Chinese in his daily life, he was not accustomed to using Chinese characters.⁵

Besides the Buddhist *sūtras*, we also find various Chinese Buddhist texts in Tibetan script, such as hymns, prayers, and catechisms. *Dao'an fashi nianfozan* 道安法師念佛讚 [Master Dao'an's Eulogy to the Recollection of Buddha] (P. T. 1253) is an example of a hymn, and *Nanti-anzhuguo puti damo chanshi guanmen* 南天竺國菩提達磨禪師觀門 [Meditation Methods of the Chan Master Bodhidharma from Southern India] (P. T. 1228) an example of a catechism. Another Buddhist catechism, *Dacheng zhongzong jianjie* 大乘中宗見解 [Catechism of Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika Doctrine] (IOL Tib J 1773, C), has been studied in an early stage of the study of the Dunhuang Sino-Tibetan texts. In this manuscript, a pronunciation in Tibetan script is given to each Chinese character.⁶

However, by far the richest source is the so-called “Long Scroll” kept in the British Library (IOL Tib J 1772, C131, fig. 3).⁷ The scroll is composed of 485 lines in total (Recto 290 ll., verso 195 ll.) and consists of more than thirty texts of various kinds, mainly hymns and catechisms. There is no doubt but that this scroll was owned by an illiterate Chinese

⁵ Takata Tokio 高田時雄. “Zanwen shuxie *Emituoji* de bawen 藏文書寫阿彌陀經的跋文 [Colophon of the India Office Ms. C 130 (*Emituoji*)],” in *Dunhuang, minzu, yuyan* 敦煌, 民族, 語言 [Dunhuang, Ethnic Groups, Languages] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).

⁶ Enoki, “Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts,” 258; Frederick W. Thomas, Shoson Miyamoto and Gerald L.M. Clauson, “A Chinese Mahayana Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 61.1 (1929): 37–76.

⁷ Enoki, “Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts,” 266–267. Walter Simon partially identified the contents in Walter Simon, “A Note on Chinese Texts in Tibetan Transcription,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21.1–3 (1958): 334–343). Most of the texts in this manuscript were identified by the author, see Takata Tokio 高田時雄, “Chibetto moji shosha ‘chōkan’ no kenkyū (honbun-hen) チベット文字書寫「長卷」の研究 (本文編). A Study on the Chinese ‘Long Scroll’ in Tibetan Script, Part 1: Text and Facsimile,” *Tōhō gakuho* 東方學報 *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 65 (1993): 313–380.

monk. These texts were necessary for him in order to succeed in monastic life. Although he could not read or write Chinese, he could use Tibetan script in an effective manner for writing down Chinese sounds.

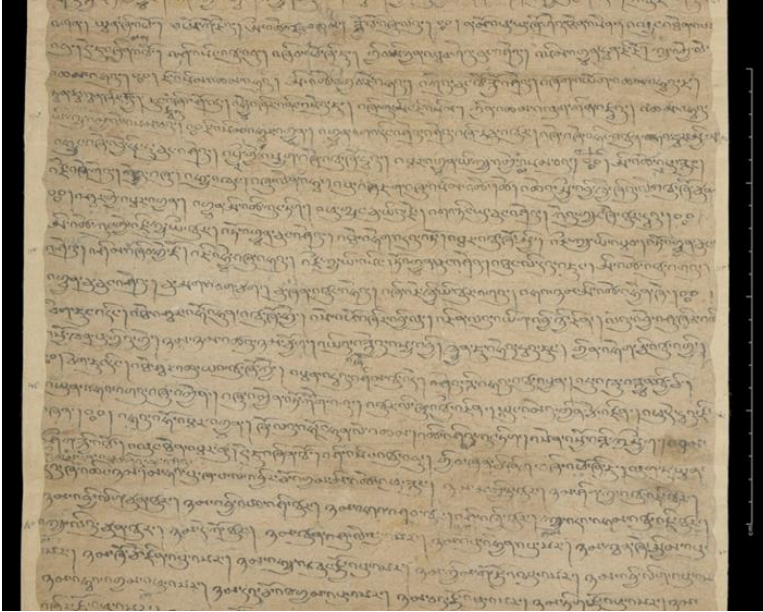


Figure 3. Part of the “Long Scroll.” IOL Tib J 1772, C131 verso, BL.

Next, let us examine an interesting Tibetan text. It is a *she* (社) association document. *She* associations were very peculiar to medieval Chinese society and various types of such associations were also organized in Dunhuang. During the Tibetan period, we find some texts of *she* association bylaw written in Tibetan.⁸ The document IOL Tib J 793 (Ch.73.XIII.18) is an example of such a bylaw (fig. 4). The beginning of

⁸ Takata Tokio 高田時雄, “Zangwen sheyi wenshu er san zhong. 藏文社邑文書二三種 [Some *She* Associations Documents in Tibetan],” *Dunhuang Tulufan Yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 *Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* 3 (1998): 83–190.

the text is lacking, but the names of the members of the *she* (*zha-myi*)⁹ are listed in the latter part of the document. What attracts our attention is that all the members are Chinese, not Tibetan, judging from their names. Each name is also followed by a mark substituting for a signature.¹⁰ This may imply that the members were illiterate in Chinese characters. As this *she* association was composed of Chinese members, they would have been expected to use Chinese for running the association. Nevertheless, the reality is that they wrote the bylaw of the association in Tibetan.



Figure 4. A *she* association bylaw. IOL Tib J 793 (Ch.73.XIII.18), BL.

⁹ *Zha-myi* is a mixture of the Chinese word *zha* (*she* 社 in modern Chinese) and the Tibetan word *myi* (*mi* in classic Tibetan form) meaning “man.” In proper Chinese, it was called *sheren* (社人), which can be found in the Dunhuang Chinese documents.

¹⁰ In the text the mark is called in Chinese *ab dzi* 押字 (*yazi* in modern Chinese).

The *she* association text in Tibetan is not limited to this bylaw. P. T. 1103 also seems to be a kind of bylaw text and P. T. 1102 must be a list of food donations that was assigned to supply each member in the Chinese circular written on the verso. The Chinese circular is accompanied by the date “the twentieth day of the second month of the Year of the Monkey,”¹¹ undoubtedly a document of the Tibetan period.¹²

There is another interesting Tibetan text, the title of which is *myl'i rus pa dgu 'yIm gang la gtogs pa'I mdo* [Treatise According to which Chinese Surnames are Assigned to Each Note of the Pentatonic Scale] (P. T. 127, verso ll. 15–28; fig. 5).¹³ In Tang (618–907, 唐) times, the Five Surnames (Chin. *wuxing* 五姓) theory was widely accepted and often applied in the case of fortune-telling or the like. For the practical use of the theory, people needed to know which surname belonged to which note.¹⁴ This treatise is, as a matter of fact, just a list of the Five Surnames. We may cite here the beginning of the text: “The *gong* surnames belong to the element Earth, and such surnames as *pham* (汎), *bam* (范), ”*am*

¹¹ Theoretically, the Year of the Monkey of the Tibetan period should correspond to one of the years 792, 804, 816, 828, or 840. The person Duan Shengzi 段昇子 in the name list of the circular (P. T. 1102 verso) appears in a record of expenditures of the Qianyuan (乾元) Temple (S. 4782). The title Minister of Works (Chin. *sikong* 司空), which is used in this record (P. T. 1102 verso) is considered to be of the early Guiyijun (Return-to-Allegiance Army, from 848 until the beginning of the 11th c., 歸義軍) period. Therefore, it is highly probable that the Year of the Monkey would be 840 or 828. Cf. Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 and Lu Hongji 陸宏基, ed., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄 [The Collection and Annotation of the Socio-Economic Documents from Dunhuang] (Beijing and Hong Kong: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin and Guyi xiaoshuohui, 1990), 312.

¹² Takata Tokio 高田時雄, *Dunhuang, minzu, yuyan* 敦煌, 民族, 語言 [Dunhuang, Ethnic Groups, Languages] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 90–95.

¹³ Takata Tokio 高田時雄, “Gosei wo toku Tonkō shiryō 五姓を説く敦煌資料. On Material from Dunhuang Concerning the Five Surname Theory,” in *Kanzoku to rinsetsu shozoku* 漢族と隣接諸族. *Han Chinese and their Neighbors*, ed. Takemura Takuji 竹村卓二, *Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku bessatsu* 國立民族學博物館研究報告別冊, *Special Issue of The Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology Reports*, 14 (1991): 249–268.

¹⁴ The Chinese pentatonic scale is divided into *gong* (宮), *shang* (商), *jue* (角), *zhi* (徵), and *yu* (羽). Accordingly, the Five Surnames are classified into the categories: *gongxing* (宮姓), *shangxing* (商姓), *juexing* (角姓), *zhixing* (徵姓), and *yuxing* (羽姓).

(閻),¹⁵ *zhIm* (任) [belong to the element Earth].”¹⁶ Generally speaking, such a text was required only by Chinese and the original text must have been written in Chinese. Why, then, was the text translated into Tibetan? We may take it for granted that the users were Chinese and they only understood Tibetan. Therefore, this treatise is another example to support evidence of the existence of a Chinese community in which Tibetan was in daily use.

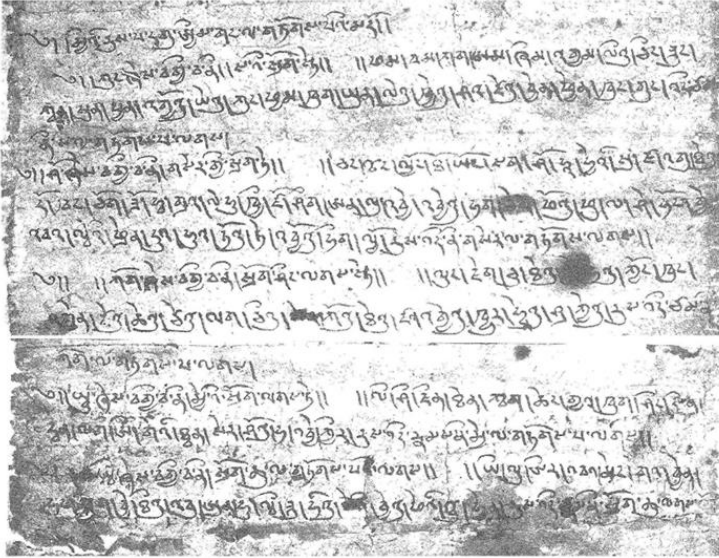


Figure 5. Five Surname Treatise. P. T. 127 Vero II. 15–28, BnF.

We cannot forget that some Chinese poems and songs, which were very popular at the time in Dunhuang, were copied in Tibetan script. In the Tibetan period, a lot of Chinese inhabitants were mobilised to copy Tibetan Buddhist *sūtras*. For their own amusement, some of them wrote

¹⁵ The identification of the Tibetan transcription “*am*” with the surname 閻 (*yan*) is only tentative, as the phonetic form is still uncertain.

¹⁶ // *kung zhes bgyI ba nI / sa’I srog ste // pham / bam / ’am / zhIm / ...*

down these poems or songs on a sheet that was supplied to each copyist to protect against dust.¹⁷ They are *Hanshi pian* (寒食篇) (fig. 6, P. T. 1230), *Dui mingzhu* (對明主) to the tune of Zheng Langzi *ci* (鄭郎子辭) (P. T. 1235), and *You jiang le* (遊江樂) to the tune of Fan longzhou 泛龍舟 (P. T. 1239).¹⁸

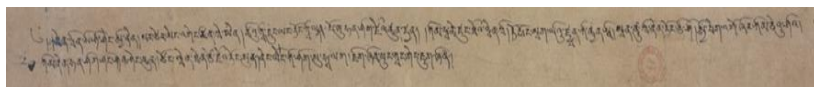


Figure 6. The Chinese *Hanshi pian* (寒食篇) in Tibetan script. P. T.1230, BnF.

Teaching materials such as a historical primer and a multiplication table transcribed in Tibetan script are found as well. An example of the former is the *Zachao* 雜抄 [Miscellaneous Excerpts], which was used as a textbook for children’s education in Dunhuang Chinese society.¹⁹ The passage written on the manuscript P. T. 1238 verso preserves only a part of the genealogy of mythological rulers, beginning with Three Sovereigns (Chin. *sanhuang* 三皇) and Five Emperors (Chin. *wudi* 五帝). A Tibetan text of the Chinese multiplication table is written on the verso of P. T. 1256 (fig. 7). There is no doubt that these materials were used by Chinese children.

¹⁷ Tsuguhito Takeuchi, “Glegs tshas: Writing Boards of Chinese Scribes in Tibetan-Ruled Dunhuang,” in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), 101–110.

¹⁸ Tokio Takata, “Multilingualism in Tun-huang,” *Acta Asiatica* 78 (2000): 60, 69–70.

¹⁹ Takata Tokio 高田時雄, “Zachao yu jiujiu biao 雜抄與九九表 [Zachao and Multiplication Table],” in *Dunhuang, minzu, yuyan* 敦煌, 民族, 語言 [Dunhuang, Ethnic Groups, Languages] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 79–85.

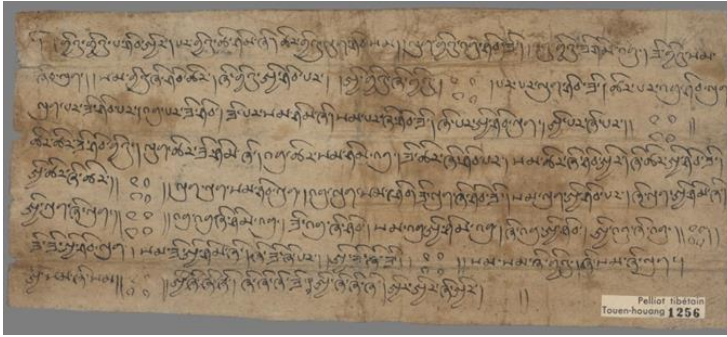


Figure 7. A Tibetan text of the Chinese multiplication table written on the verso of manuscript P. T. 1256, BnF.

3. The Formation of a ‘Tibeto-Chinese Community’

All the above-cited materials seem to me to indicate the existence of a Chinese community influenced by Tibetan to such a significant degree that they had been accustomed to use Tibetan script for writing their native language, Chinese. I would like to call it a ‘Tibeto-Chinese community.’

When and how, then, was this Tibeto-Chinese community formed? It is clear that the Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang was a trigger. As was stated in the beginning of this article, the Tibetan language had a major influence on the life of Chinese people. We can imagine that a working knowledge of Tibetan was essential for the Chinese inhabitants and those who wanted to get involved in local administration in cooperation with Tibetan authorities had to acquire a much higher competence. Furthermore, large-scale *sūtra* copying, which operated as a national undertaking of the Tibetan empire, had a considerable influence as well. A number of Chinese inhabitants were mobilised to engage in the *sūtra* copying and acquired the skill to write in Tibetan script during the course of their work. What is important is that they were not always fully literate in the Chinese characters. It is easy to imagine that those who were illiterate in the Chinese characters seized the opportunity to use the Tibetan script in

place of the Chinese characters for writing their language. We need also to take into consideration the low level of literacy of medieval Dunhuang society.²⁰ It is a key to understanding how the Tibeto-Chinese community was formed.

Moreover, and very interestingly, the Tibeto-Chinese community remained in existence even as far as the Guiyijun period (from 848 until the beginning of the 11th century).²¹ As a matter of fact, a considerable amount of the materials cited above are considered to belong to the Guiyijun period, judging from the phonetic forms of the transcriptions. Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese characters can be divided into two different systems. One represents the language of the Tang capital Chang'an (長安), although somewhat corrupted due to the local accent, and was used in the Tibetan period. On the other hand, in the Guiyijun period, features of the local dialect of Dunhuang, a variant of the North-Western dialect of Chinese, can be widely observed.²² We can decide the date of the relevant texts according to this criterion.

Lastly, I will give an example to illustrate that the Tibeto-Chinese community was still in existence even in the late Guiyijun period in the 10th century. It is also concerned with a Chinese text in Tibetan script (P. T. 1254, fig. 8). So far, no attempt has been made to identify the Chinese original of this text. Recently, however, I was able to identify it as a text to be recited for a wedding ceremony, a practice popular in medieval Dunhuang society. The text is composed of an introductory address, a prayer for the bride, a prayer for the groom, and a concluding address.²³

²⁰ Cf. Takata Tokio 高田時雄, "Dunhuang de shizi shuiping yu zangwen de shiyong 敦煌的識字水平與藏文的使用 [Literacy Degree in Dunhuang and the use of Tibetan Scripts]," in *Zhuanxingqi de dunhuangxue* 轉型期的敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies in Transition], ed. Liu Jinbao 劉進寶 and Takata Tokio 高田時雄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 599–615.

²¹ The Guiyijun period is divided into two stages. In the earlier stage, the Zhang (張) family governed Dunhuang in the latter half of the 9th century (848–890), whereas the Cao (曹) family replaced the Zhang family in the 10th century (914–1036).

²² Takata, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugoshi no kenkyū*.

Takata Tokio 高田時雄, "Zangwen shuxie de hanwen 'Yuan xinglang, yuan xinfu' 藏文書寫的漢文《願新郎、願新婦》[A Chinese Prayer for the Bride and Groom in Tibetan Transcription]," in *Dunhuang Tulufan guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji 2013* 敦煌吐魯番國際學術研討會論文集 2013 [Proceedings of the 2013 International Conference of

Prayers consist of verse with end rhyme. Unfortunately, none of the Chinese Dunhuang texts of this kind match perfectly with our text and it is not easy to recover the full text. Nevertheless, I was able to reconstruct a part of the Chinese text. The following is part of the “Prayer for the Groom” (Chin. *yuan xinlang* 願新郎, Recto, ll.11–15), supplemented with reconstructed Chinese characters.

- (11) *'gwan si lo* 願新郎
je'u je'u cho cho 濟濟蒼蒼
khwe'i lag shing sho 快樂勝常
khag khyi 'ga' (12) *cho twan dzwa'* □□□□端座
khwe' u 'du cwan ba 'gyi'u yo □□□□□□
je'u 'du cwan ba khe'u zwo □□□□□□
bag (13) *'be'u 'du ke'i ge'u ha den lyo* 百味□□□□□□
sog 'bag wan wan yi tsho 粟麥萬萬盈倉
beg h'u kyen ti'u si so □□□□□□
(14) *shi tsi lyo ban tshen so* □□□□□□
'nam the pug to 南□北堂
ci'u hwa'i bu lo □□步廊
beg so da kyim (15) *zhib gyu* 白象駝金入庫
hig 'gyi'u da sog zhib tsho 黑牛馱粟入倉

Fortunately, the passage written on the verso provides us with the key to date the manuscript.

- (1) // *'gwan sin lo / dze'i dze'i cho cho / bag 'be' 'du ke* *dan lyo*
 願 新 郎 濟 濟 蒼 蒼 百 味 □ □ □ □ ...
(2) // *ha se tse to tyen de'i wo gyis* *cang rka thub slas dpon la gs[o]*.....

Dunhuang and Turfan Studies], ed. Wang Sanqing 王三慶 and Cheng Acai 鄭阿財 (Tai-nan: National Cheng-kung University, 2014), 233–239.

河西節度天大王 張

(3) *slob ris beg zhib tig kyis bris so* / (學士郎)白十德 (書寫)

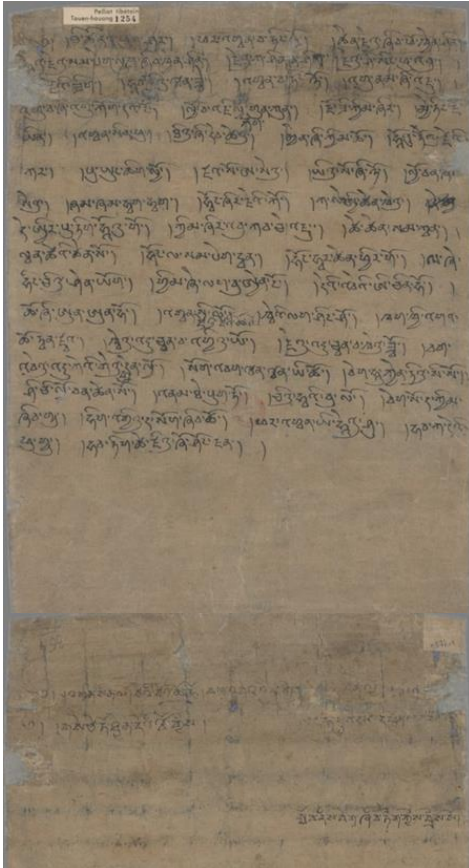


Figure 8. A Chinese text in Tibetan script. P. T. 1254, BnF.

The first line is a repetition of the beginning of the text on the Recto: *yuan xinlang* (願新郎, “prayer for the groom”). The second line is a

BuddhistRoad Paper 6.1 Special Issue. Takata, “Tibetan Dominion over Dunhuang and the Formation of a Tibeto-Chinese Community”

Tibetan composition but presumably a writing exercise for a letter (or order). The sender *ha se tse to tyen de'i wo*, which denotes literally “Military Commissioner of Hexi and Great King of Heaven,” was a title used by Cao Yuanzhong (r. 944–974, 曹元忠)²⁴ the fourth governor of tenth-century Dunhuang. *Cang rka thub slas dpon* is the name of the addressee: Cang is the most popular surname in Dunhuang and he bears the Tibetan name of rka thub. The name is followed by a title, Head Valet (Tib. *slas dpon*). Therefore, the writing exercise seems to be the beginning of a letter or an order from Cao Yuanzhong, governor of Dunhuang, addressed to his Head Valet named Cang rka thub. The third line reads: “this was written by Beg Zhib-tig [Bai Shi-de], student.” This, therefore, is a writing exercise practised by this Beg Zhib-tig, obviously a Chinese student. However, he used Tibetan instead of Chinese. An important point to emphasize is that Cao Yuanzhong ruled from 944 until 974. The phonetic forms of the transcription also support the contention that the text was written in the 10th century. Therefore, surprisingly enough, Tibetan influence on Chinese society survived a long time and reached to the second half of the 10th century.

In conclusion, I would like to repeat the main causes of the formation of the Tibeto-Chinese community:

²⁴ The same title in Tibetan transcription *ha se tser to thyen thetan tran* is observed in P. T. 1189 verso. Cf. Géza Uray, “L’emploi du tibétain dans les chancelleries des états de Kan-sou et de Khotan postérieurs à la domination tibétaine,” *Journal Asiatique* 269.1–2 (1981): 83–84, 87, 89; Akagi Takatoshi 赤木崇敏, “Kigigun jidai chibettobun tegami bunsho P. T. 1189 yakuchū kō 歸義軍時代チベット文手紙文書 P. T. 1189 譯註稿. A Study of the Tibetan Document P.T.1189 from Dunhuang in Gui-yi-jun period,” in *Higashi-Torukisutan shutsudo ‘kokan bunsho’ no sōgō chōsa 東トルキスタン出土「胡漢文書」の総合調査. General Survey of the “Sino-Foreign Documents” discovered in East Turkestan*, ed. Arakawa Masaharu 荒川正晴 (Osaka: Osaka University, 2006); Ren Xiaobo 任小波, “Tang-Song zhi ji Hexi diqu de buzhu guanxi yu huguo Xinyang — Dunhuang Pt 1189.R hao ‘Suzhou fuzhu zhi Hexi jiedu shuzhuang’ yishi. 唐宋之際河西地區的部族關係與護國信仰—敦煌 pt1189.R 號《肅州府主致河西節度書狀》譯釋. Relationship among Tribal Groups and Faith in Vaiśravaṇa Devarāja: A Study on Dunhuang Manuscript PT 1189.r, the *Official Letter from Suzhou Fuzhu to Hexi Jiedu*,” *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan 西域歷史語言研究集刊 Historical and Philological Studies of China’s Western Regions* 7 (2014): 107–116.

(1) Linguistic pressure from the dominant language, i.e. Tibetan, which was the language of the ruler from 786 until 848.

(2) Low level of literacy of Chinese inhabitants in Dunhuang.

(3) Factors favoring the acquisition of the Tibetan language and script, namely the copying of Buddhist *sūtras*. This was a crucial condition for the formation of a Tibeto-Chinese community.

As a result, we see the growth of a Tibeto-Chinese community whose members used Tibetan script to write their Chinese language, a practice that lasted until the 10th century, long after the decline of the Tibetan regime.

Abbreviations

- BL British Library in London
BnF Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris
C Catalogue number of Chinese manuscripts according to Kazuo Enoki, “Appendix on the Chinese Manuscripts,” in *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*, edited by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
IOL Tib J Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London (formerly in the India Office Library (IOL))
P. Pelliot Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque National in Paris
P. T. Pelliot Collection of Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the Bibliothèque National in Paris

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IOL Tib J 1404, C 129 (Chinese *Jin’gangjing* 金剛經, Skt. *Vajracchedikā* in Tibetan script).

IOL Tib J 1772, C 131 (Long Scroll).

P. 3394.

P. T. 127. *myl’i rus pa dgu ’yIm gang la gtogs pa’I mdo* [Treatise According to which Chinese Surnames are Assigned to Each Note of the Pentatonic Scale].

P. T. 1102.

P. T. 1230 (Chinese *Hanshi pian* 寒食篇 in Tibetan script).

P. T. 1235 (Chinese *Dui mingzhu* 對明主 to the tune of Zheng Langzi *ci* 鄭郎子辭 in Tibetan script).

P. T. 1238 verso.

P. T. 1239 (Chinese *You jiang le* to the tune of Fan longzhou in Tibetan script).

P. T. 1254 (Chinese *Yuan xinlang* 願新郎 [Prayer for the Groom] in Tibetan script).

BuddhistRoad Paper 6.1 Special Issue. Takata, “Tibetan Dominion over Dunhuang and the Formation of a Tibeto-Chinese Community”

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