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THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN DUNHUANG: MID–8TH TO EARLY 11TH CENTURIES

HENRIK H. SØRENSEN

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CONTACT:
Principal Investigator: Prof. Dr. Carmen Meinert
BuddhistRoad | Ruhr-Universität Bochum | Center for Religious Studies (CERES)
Universitätsstr. 90a | 44789 Bochum | Germany
Phone: +49 (0)234 32-21683 | Fax: +49 (0) 234/32- 14 909
Email: BuddhistRoad@rub.de | Email: carmen.meinert@rub.de
Website: https://buddhistroad.ceres.rub.de/

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THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN DUNHUANG: MID–8TH TO EARLY 11TH CENTURIES

Henrik H. Sørensen

Abstract

This presentation is a guide to the Buddhist temples and hermitages that existed in Dunhuang during the periods of the Tibetan and Guiyijun rule (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army), and covers a timespan of roughly two hundred and fifty years, from the late 8th to mid-11th centuries. I provide as much primary data as possible on local Buddhist institutions, organised for easy reference. There is an entry for each temple that features a historical overview, monastic sustenance, including landholdings, buildings, libraries, scriptures, practices and rituals, important clerics, connections to the construction of caves at Mogao, and notes on location when available. Since previous presentations and documentation of Dunhuang's temples and their activities in secondary literature are partial, fragmentary, and scattered, this is an attempt to bring together as much data as possible, in order to provide scholars with up-to-date access to the most important material. However, given the vast number of primary sources, not all of the relevant information is included here. Nonetheless, this is an easy-to-use tool to enable further studies.

1. *Introduction*

It is important to understand the historical context of the Buddhist temples located in Shazhou (沙州) and in Dunhuang's (敦煌) wider territory, and of the Mogao Caves (莫高窟) in particular.[1] This context is important for understanding the dynamics of a relatively small geographical region with a density of so-called 'sacred spaces' such as the case is in Dunhuang, an

* Thanks to Imre Galambos for positive feedback and constructive criticism.

[1] For an easy to access account of the relationship between Buddhism and rulers in Dunhuang during the period of Guyijun rule, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Guiyijun and Buddhism at Dunhuang: A Year by Year Chronicle," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 4.2 (2019). Otherwise, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究 [A Study of the History of the Guiyijun] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), 248–251, 257–297.

area dominated by Buddhist temples and Buddhist sanctuaries to such a high degree.

Although much has been written about Dunhuang's temples, we are still far from having a viable picture of their locations, a more detailed understanding of their histories, as well as a better understanding of their inhabitants.[2] We know that most temples, especially the larger institutions, had functioning libraries, worship halls, refectories, and even bath facilities. Several of these institutions operated lecture halls (Chin. *jiangdian* 講殿 or *jiangtang* 講堂) and monastic schools. Moreover, the number of monastics and the ratio of monks to nuns in Dunhuang's temples is readily available in the extant documents, especially for the period between ca. 800 and 1000. We are also fairly well informed concerning those Buddhist monks and nuns, who participated in the creation and maintenance of the Mogao Caves and of the major temples in Dunhuang. Likewise, several studies deal with the topics of temple economy and temple involvement in the local economy. However, so far nobody has brought together the relevant data on temples and other sanctuaries, or dealt with it in a structured manner, under one heading, in order to provide us with an understanding of their individual and combined roles in Dunhuang's history.

A study, such as the present one, cannot do justice to the vast amount of data related to Dunhuang's temples that is contained in the manuscript hoard. It is also not my intention to provide a fully comprehensive account. The main goal is to provide a useful overview of each of Dunhuang's

[2] One of the most qualified studies on Dunhuang's free-standing temples is Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Dunhuang fojiao siyuan gongneng zhi kaocha yu yanjiu—yi Dunhuang wenxian yu shiku wei zhongxin 2/2 敦煌佛教寺院功能之考察與研究—以敦煌文獻與石窟為中心 2/2 [An Investigation and Study of the Functioning of Dunhuang's Buddhist Temples: Focusing on the Dunhuang Manuscripts and the Stone Caves, 2/2]," *Yanjiu chengguo baogao* 研究成果報告 [Research Report] (2006), accessed October 1, 2017. http://nhuir.nhu.edu.tw/bitstream/987654321/7315/1/952411H343002.pdf. This lengthy study is one of the most recent surveys of the temples that once stood in Dunhuang, and provides the most up-to-date information relating to the topic. While it is an indispensable resource that no one interested in this aspect of Dunhuang studies can afford to ignore, it is highly data-fixated, and as such is rather weak in terms of interpretation and discursive analysis. Even so, it brings together a large amount of data and information that was otherwise scattered and disassociated. I remain indebted to Zheng's insights and to the range of data he provides in much of what follows here, although I occasionally disagree with his views or present data that deviates from his findings.

temples in a manner that allows easy access to the relevant primary sources and provides a solid platform for individual studies and future projects. Thus, this resource is aimed at filling a significant lacuna in the field of Dunhuang studies.[3]

The present study is, therefore, meant as a guide to the Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang, primarily from a historical perspective, with a focus on the period when the area was governed by the Guiyijun regime (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army). It features a detailed account of the temples, hermitages, and other places of practice in the Shazhou region, based on data provided by the Dunhuang manuscripts themselves. This is supplemented with a range of other historical and religious data, all documented in the primary sources. This includes *in situ* inscriptions from the Mogao Caves.

Some of the secondary sources on the temples of Dunhuang include all (or nearly all) of the names that appear in the manuscripts and other primary sources, but often not accompanied by any logical criteria for how they are selected. I do not employ that approach here, since temple names in the Dunhuang manuscripts also refer to temples and monasteries located in other parts of China. This discussion only concerns Buddhist temples located in the territory ruled over by Dunhuang. Moreover, I focus on the activities of the Buddhist temples from the Guiyijun rule to the arrival of the Tanguts, a period roughly spanning two centuries, from around 850 to 1038. Incidentally, this is also the best-documented period in the hoard of manuscripts, and therefore likely to contain the most detailed information. While we know that one or two Daoist temples existed in Dunhuang up to

[3] In recent years the Chinese scholar Chen Dawei (陈大为) has produced a series of studies on the temples in Dunhuang. This material was collated into a book format under the title *Tang hou qi, Wudai, Song chu Dunhuang seng si yanjiu* 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧寺研究 [A Study of Clerical Temples in Dunhuang during Late Tang Period, the Five Dynasties and the Early Song], (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014). This constitutes a study of Dunhuang's temples from the point of view of their economic and social history, but although it covers many important aspects of the temples' functions, it is neither comprehensive in scope nor in details as its primary focus is on the Jingtu (淨土寺) and Longxing temples (龍興寺). However, the religious or intellectual aspects of Dunhuang's temples are not dealt with at all, something which reduces the study's value rather significantly as these were obviously religious institutions. Even so Chen's discussion of the temples' layouts and the individual buildings they are thought to contain offers new insights.

or around the middle of the 8th century, I have not included them here.[4] The Buddhist temples are listed alphabetically below for easy reference.[5]

To the extent that the sources allow, each entry is structured in the following manner:

[4] They include the Longxing Temple (Chin. Longxing guan 龍興觀, not to be confused with the Buddhist temple of the same name), the Kaiyuan Temple (Chin. Kaiyuan guan 開元觀), the Shenquan Temple (Chin. Shenquan guan 神泉觀), and the Xuanzhong Temple (Chin Xuanzhong guan 玄中觀), etc. However, almost nothing is known about many of them except for their names, and the fact that some of the Daoist scriptures recovered from Cave 17 mention them in their colophons. For more information on Daoism in Dunhuang, see Wang Qia 王卡, *Dunhuang daojiao wenxian yanjiu* 敦煌道教文獻研究 [A Study of the Daoist Texts from Dunhuang] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 2004), 33–64, 295–296.

[5] In the following, I benefit from various secondary studies and reference works concerning Dunhuang's Buddhist temples. The pioneering study is Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和, "Bakkōkutsu senbutsu dō to daiji to rannya to 莫高窟千佛洞と大寺と蘭若と [The Thousand Buddha Grottoes and the Great Temples and Hermitages, etc.]," in *Tonkō no sekai* 敦煌の社会 [The Society of Dunhuang], ed. Ikeda On 池田溫 (Tokyo: Daitō shūppansha, 1984), 347–370. In addition to his discussion of Dunhuang's major temples, Dohi produces a very useful list of 19 hermitages he identified based on the Dunhuang manuscripts. In contrast the three Chinese resources mentioned below largely fail to mention these hermitages. An early and very useful Chinese resource is Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫, comp., *Mogao ku nianbiao* 莫高窟年表 [Chronicle of the Mogao Caves] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985). Although composed as a yearly chronicle, encompassing all kinds of data, it has an appendix solely devoted to a discussion of the temples. The pioneering (and ground-breaking) survey of Dunhuang's temples and caves, broadly defined, is Li Zhengyu 李正宇, "Dunhuang diqu gudai ci, miao, si, guan jianzhi 敦煌地区古代祠庙寺观简志 [Shrines, and Temples during the Ancient Period in the Dunhuang Area]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 1–2 (1988): 70–85. Although it does not provide an abundance of primary data, nor is it an in-depth study, it has informed the field to such an extent that all following studies, from the PRC and Taiwan in particular, build on it in one way or another. It is clearly the most comprehensive survey available so far. Then there is the handbook by Tao Qiuying 陶秋英 and Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫, ed., *Dunhuang suijin* 敦煌碎金 [Golden Bits from Dunhuang] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chuban she, 1992). It is divided into specific overarching topics, such as monastics, temples, donors, etc. It is useful for providing accounts of the temples, but is not as comprehensive as one might wish. Finally, there is Ji Xianlin 季羡林 et al., ed., *Dunhuang xue da* cidian 敦煌学大辞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of Dunhuang Studies; hereafter DXDC] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1998). This provides basic information on the temples. The above three Chinese reference works are related in the sense that they tend to replicate the same data in large measure. Another important resource on Dunhuang's geography and topography is the *Dunhuang dili wenshu hui ji jiaozhu* 敦煌地理文書匯輯校注 [Annotated Text of Source Materials on Dunhuang's Geography] 2, accessed September 28, 2018. https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=514862. It uses primary sources to identify locations in Dunhuang.

(a) Historical outline
(b) Number of monastics
(c) Buildings and assets
(d) Library and library holdings
(e) Events
(f) Important monastics associated with the temple
(g) Relationship between a given temple and the Mogao Caves
(h) Notes on location

It is not possible to follow this pattern in all cases, as there is a limited amount of data on a number of the temples.

Before proceeding to the specific material on the temples, I first give an overview of the themes dealt with under each heading. This will contextualise the data provided by the primary sources in a succinct manner and provide the reader with an understanding of the extent of the material and the limitations it imposes.

2. *The Physical Reality of Dunhuang's Free-Standing Temples*

Despite the great number of Dunhuang manuscripts available to us today, remarkably few provide much detail regarding the structural appearance and layout of Buddhist institutions, i.e., the free-standing temples and monasteries of Shazhou. Some wall-paintings, such as those depicting scriptural tableaux (Chin. *jingxiang* 經相) of paradises, feature renderings of Buddhist architectural structures. However, in virtually all cases, these depictions do not reflect local building styles. Rather, they depict conventional iconographic motifs of Chinese Buddhism and represent imagined structures rather than concrete buildings. Therefore, none of them are especially helpful in trying to come to terms with the reality of free-standing Buddhist temple structures in Dunhuang.

Architectural renditions of buildings in wall-paintings that depict pilgrimage to Mt. Wutai (Chin. Wutai shan 五台山)—a theme that was very popular in Dunhuang during the 10th century as part of the cult of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī—are used by contemporary scholarship to indicate what free-standing temple structures might have looked like in Dunhuang

during the late medieval period.[6] The situation in China's central provinces, as well as in Shanxi, was radically different from that of Dunhuang, where wood for construction was a relatively scarce commodity, and was not used in the same manner as in temple buildings elsewhere in China. As far as we can tell, lumber was used sparingly in Dunhuang, since the region is situated on the very edge of the Gobi Desert and easily one of the most arid and inhospitable places in Eastern Central Asia (as it is also true today). Wood was mainly used in constructing supports for roofs and making gates. Good timber must have been costly and dificult to bring to Dunhuang from forested areas. One can imagine that, in most cases, builders had to make do with what was available locally, which was largely inferior timber, most likely poplar and other types of light, local wood. Moreover, building materials were certainly recycled. The walls were made of mud-baked bricks, i.e., adobe in some form. They probably looked much like the reconstructed temple buildings seen in front of the Yulin Caves (Chin. Yulin ku 榆林窟) today.

Hence, it makes little sense to project examples of late Tang Buddhist architecture onto the reality of Dunhuang's 10th-century monastic institutions. Buddhist temples in Dunhuang were likely closer to Central Asian forms of architecture, similar to those found in Tibet in later periods. Exceptions to this were the few large multi-storied structures, such as the pagoda-like pavillion in front of Cave 96 at Mogao, which were built with timber brought from far away. Otherwise, it is more likely that drum- and bell-towers, and the occasional pagodas and *stūpa*s, were built of brick and mud, like most of the worship halls and living quarters. This is the picture one gets when looking at the very few surviving, or partly surviving, structures in or around the Mogao Cave area.

The frequently published drawing of a Buddhist monastery found in a Tibetan manuscript fragment from Dunhuang has been available for a considerable time now (P. T. 993, Fig. 1). However, it was not until recently that someone was able to establish with a high degree of probability that it is actually a prospectus of a local temple located near the Mogao Caves. Research conducted by the Dunhuang specialist Ma De

[6] *Dunhuang shiku quanji* 敦煌石窟全集 [Complete Compilation of the Dunhuang Grottoes], vol. 21, ed. Dunhuang yanjiu yuan 敦煌研究院 and Duan Wenjie 段文杰 (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2001), 135–146, etc.

(馬德) confirms its location and identity. He combines the techniques of geographical survey with careful study of the relevant manuscripts. Ma De has endeavoured to establish that the temple was known as the Xianyan Temple (Chin. Xianyan si 仙岩寺) and that it was located fairly close to the Mogao Caves.[7]

Whether or not the temple in the drawing is indeed the Xianyan Temple, there are a number of points that it brings to the fore. The temple halls are constructed inside a rectangular courtyard with high walls approached through a large building (worship hall?) that may have also functioned as the main gate. Additional minor gates or door ways are visible on three sides of the outer enclosure. Inside the courtyard were galleries running along the walls on two sides, with extra buildings located against the back wall, probably the living quarters of the resident monks. In the centre of the courtyard is a large *stūpa* or pagoda-like structure, and additional halls for worship (?). Outside the temple proper are six *stūpa*s, that may possibly have been for burials. The remnants of similar structures can be seen on the sand dunes directly opposite the Mogao Caves.

[7] Ma De 马德, "Dunhuang ben P. T. 993 *Sengyuan tu* yu Mogao ku chengcheng wan yizhi 敦煌本 P. T. 993 僧院图 与莫高窟城城湾遗址 [Dunhuang Manuscript P. T. 993 and the Remains of Walled Ruins in the Ravine at the Mogao Caves]," accessed September 21, 2018. http://public.dha.ac.cn/content.aspx?id=586638193779. While Ma's identification of the correlation between the drawing and an actual geographical spot is rather convincing, I remain sceptical of the manner in which he draws upon evidence from ancient Pakistan—especially regarding the presence of *stūpa*s. As I see it, there is just no logical reason for this situation in the Gandhāran area that Ma De refers to was rather different religiously, geographically, and economically than that which prevailed in Dunhuang during the late medieval period. One can also not ignore the fact that the types of Buddhism prevailing in the two areas were vastly different. Just because there were Buddhist monasteries and monastics living in both places, one can not use them out of hand as comparative entities.

Figure 1. Coloured line drawing of a free-standing temple. Near the Mogao Caves, 10th c. P. T. 993, BnF.

Other than the now famous line drawing of the Buddhist temple studied by Ma De and others, we are short on data for how Buddhist temples and monasteries looked in Dunhuang. One image that may lend some support is found among the many surviving sketches (Chin. *baihua* 白畫) (Fig. 2).[8] The image derives from what appears to be a fragmented geomantic text (P. 4522V°). It shows a fortress or walled town (or mansion?), complete with high walls, defensive towers, and protective gates, one in each of the four directions. Inside the walls are an assortment of primary and secondary buildings, and perhaps even gardens (?). While there is no indication that this illustration represents a Buddhist temple, the image does give an idea of what a fortified temple or monastery, similar to the one briefly discussed above, might have looked like.

[8] See Paul Demiéville and Rao Zongyi, *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang* (*Dunhuang Baihua*) (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1978), 26, 33–34.

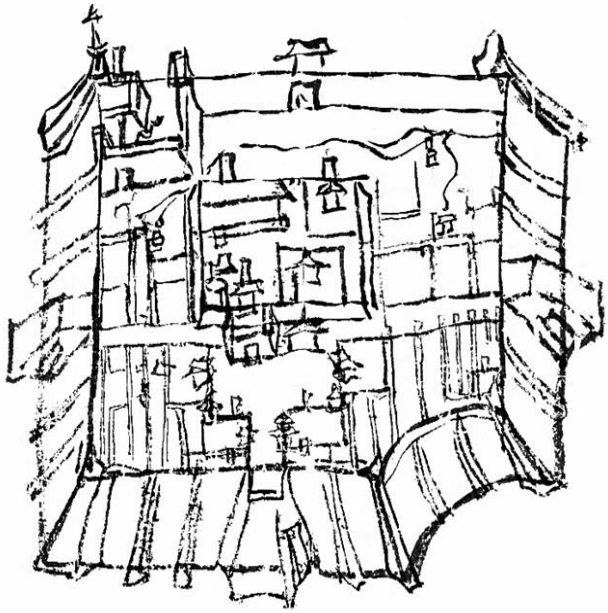

Figure 2. Line drawing of a fortified town or postal station. 9–10th c.
P. 4522V°, BnF.

Our understanding of Dunhuang's free-standing temples is overly, if not entirely, textual in nature. This is unavoidable because virtually all we have to go by is information culled from the manuscripts, a number of scattered donor inscriptions in the caves, and a handful of surviving epigraphical inscriptions. Of course, it would be different were at least a few of the original temples still standing, but such is not the case. This means that information regarding Dunhuang's Buddhist temples is somewhat unbalanced, which is unfortunate. On the other hand, the written sources provide unusually extensive, rich, and often highly detailed data compared to, say, the kind of information available on other Buddhist sites in China or Central Asia, which—although they feature

free-standing structures—often offer very little in terms of contemporary, written evidence.[9]

A central question regarding the temples in Dunhuang that still needs to be answered concerns the relationship between the names of temples that are known to have existed prior to the early Tang and those that appear in the later sources. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to argue that most of the early temples simply continued to exist under different names, although that is certainly possibile. Hypothetically, it seems logical that a number of the earlier temples simply had their names changed in the course of time, and could, therefore, be earlier incarnations of the 16 major temples documented in Dunhuang from the mid-8th century onwards. Even so, this necessarily remains informed speculation.

In Gertraud Taenzer's meticulous study of the mainly civil Tibetan documents from Dunhuang, she provides a list of temples whose names are apparently preserved only in Tibetan and are otherwise unknown. It includes: Hrab yan, Long ko, Pe zhu', De bye, D?e gyab, Tur, 'Ga' 'ga', and 'Zhi ga.[10] It is possible that these were smaller institutions, perhaps even hermitages, as Taenzer speculates. However, it is also possible that some of them are not quite as unknown as she claims. How about Hrab-yan? Is it not possible that it could be the Qianyuan Temple? And could Long-ko be the Lingxiu Temple (Chin. Lingxiu si 靈修寺)? These are just a few of the important questions we still neded to answer in regard to the temples in Dunhuang. An added understanding of the existing Buddhist temples under Tibetan rule would greatly enhance and upgrade the

[9] One site with rich textual documentation, comparable to that of Dunhuang, is Mt. Baoding (Chin. Baoding shan 寶頂山) in Dazu (大足), Sichuan, which is well-known for its Buddhist sculptural tableaux and dense epigraphical material. Even so, the written sources from this site, which are mostly from the 13th century, are not only much later than the Dunhuang manuscripts, but also mainly concerned with the conveyance of Buddhist imagery, scripture, and related doctrines. For a masterly survey of this site, see Karil J. Kucera, *Ritual and Representation in Chinese Buddhism: Visualizing Enlightenment at Baodingshan from the 12th to 21st Centuries* (New York: Cambria Press, 2016).

[10] Cf. Gertraud Taenzer, *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule (787–848): A Study of the Secular Manuscripts Discovered in the Mogao Caves* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 200. This is the primary study on social, military, and administrative organisation in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule. Although the author claims to deal with secular material only, she actually touches upon Buddhism, or rather Buddhism-related issues, throughout her study. One could, therefore, question the merit of applying the secular vs. ecclesiastical model when dealing with the Dunhuang material in the way that she does.

information the we currently have, and thus make our appreciation of the developments in the post-Tibetan rule period much better.

3. *Typology of Temples and Hermitages*

The free-standing temples (Chin. *si* 寺) in Dunhuang were evidently constructed in a variety of sizes and architectural arrangements, including large monastery-like complexes with large halls, dormitories, libraries, drum, and bell towers, etc. As well as mid-sized temples, cloisters (Chin. *yuan* 院),[11] and hermitages (Chin. *lanruo* 蘭若), which consisted of one or a few buildings only.[12] Some of the larger temples had separate cloisters set up inside their walls, such as the famous Guanyin Cloister (Chin. Guanyin yuan 觀音院), situated inside the complex of the celebrated Sanjie Temple (Chin. Sanjie si 三界寺).[13]

3.1. *The Relationship between the Government and the Buddhist Temples*

The relationship between the local government and Buddhism in Dunhuang roughly correspondded to that which persisted between the

[11] In contrast to other areas and later periods in the history of Chinese Buddhism, in Dunhuang this term was mainly reserved for smaller structural units with larger temples, what we refer to as 'cloisters.' Incidentally, similar structures are referenced in the famous diary of the Heian (794–1185, 平安) pilgrim-monk Ennin (794–864, 圓仁), the celebrated, *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 [Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Dharma], in *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編 [Supplement to the *tripiṭaka*] 95.18, ed. Lan Jifu 藍吉富 (Taibei: Huayu chubanshe, 1985). See also Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels*, 2 vols (New York: Ronald Press, 1955). The later common usage of *yuan* (院) for a large-scale monastery does not occur in the Dunhuang material.

[12] For a discussion of the temples in Dunhuang and their typology, see Dohi, "Bakkōkutsu senbutsu dō to daiji to rannya to," 347–370. Here the author distinguishes between major temples (Chin. *dasi* 大寺), normal temples, cloisters, hermitages, and retreat building (Chin. *an* 庵). Cf. ibid., 362–363. I think that what Dohi refers to as 'major temples' are actually proper monasteries, and his 'hermitages,' or *lanruo*, are more like cloisters, or minor temples. Even so, the relative size and status of both is clear from the manuscripts, as well as from the site of the Mogao Caves itself.

[13] For a survey of the temples and temple types in Dunhuang, see Li, "Dunhuang diqu gudai ci miao si guan jianzhi：70–85. Li's paper is useful for providing basic information on a wide range of temple structures, including family shrines and other non-Buddhist temples. It also features data on the earliest Buddhist temples in Dunhuang.

government and temples elsewhere in China during the period in question, with one important exception: The fact that Buddhism broadly stated was essentially the pivot around Dunhuang society evolved meant that, by and large, the religion was treated with considerable defidence and respect by the successive Guiyijun rulers, a trend which went back at least to the period of Tibetan rule over the Hexi region.[14] However, despite of the fact that secular power and Buddhism went hand in hand in Dunhuang during the period of Guiyijun rule, as far as government went, control and management of the *saṃgha* and its practices were major concerns. One could even argue that official control over Buddhism in Hexi was relatively strict, and was in many ways stricter and more centralised than was the case in China's central provinces. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Buddhism was a major force in Dunhuang, not only because it so thoroughly permeated all aspects of everyday life, but also because the size of its monastic population was proportionally large for such a sparsely populated region. Secondly, virtually all of the major clans in the area had family members who joined the *saṃgha*, something which meant that there was a close connection between the social and religious orders. Thirdly, Buddhism in Dunhuang was actively engaged in the local economy on a variety of levels, and fourthly, much of the international and intercultural exchanges that took place, did so through Buddhism. Clearly, Buddhism was the most important cultural factor in Dunhuang.

Official documents reveal that ordination to enter the monastic life was closely monitored and controlled by the government, which issued formal permission for ordination. That permission, at least in some cases, came directly from the governor's office. Similarly, one of the important privileges of the government was to appoint the *saṃgha* overseer (Chin. *sengtong* 僧統), an office that was formally set up shortly after the Guiyijun regime was first established around 850.[15] The *saṃgha* overseer

[14] See Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia: A Case Study according to the Dunhuang Manuscripts Referring to the Transition from Tibetan to Local Rule in Dunhuang, 8th–11th Centuries," in *Transfer of Buddhism Across Central Asian Networks (7th to 13th Centuries)*, ed. Carmen Meinert (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 19–53.

[15] A more or less complete account of the *saṃgha* overseers appointed during the Guiyijun reign is found in Rong, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu*, 279–292. For a recent study of these monks of importance, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "On the Office of the Saṃgha Overseers in Dunhuang During the Period of Guiyijun Rule," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.5 (2020).

was normally selected from among the most learned and spiritually advanced monks and was put in charge of everything regarding the Buddhist temples and their inhabitants, including the appointment of abbots and senior monastic officials. Other officially appointed Buddhist positions of importance included the *saṃgha* regulator (Chin. *sengzheng* 僧政). Monks holding these titles were commonly employed by the government to act as officials, sometimes in the capacity of diplomatic couriers and liaisons. They were also responsible for hosting foreign diplomats and missions coming to, or passing through, Dunhuang.[16]

The number of temples in Dunhuang changed slightly during the period of the Guiyijun reign (851–1036?). The manuscripts provide some figures to go by. However, these numbers are not always sufficiently reliable. Based on his extensive survey of the sources, Zheng Acai offers the following information on the number of Dunhuang's temples:

—16 temples and three meditation-cave [complexes] (三所禪窟)[17] (S. 1947V°).
—15 temples (S. 4504V°, S. 2729).
—17 temples (S. 2614V°).
—18 temples (S. 3656, P. 3218).[18]

[16] One such case was the important monk Daozhen (ca. 915–ca. 987, 道真) of the Sanjie Temple, who acted as host for the envoys from Khotan. See Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen—A Saṃgha Leader and Monk Official in Dunhuang during the 10th Century," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.3 (2020).

[17] This record dates from 863, in the early period of Guiyijun rule. The '*sanku*' (三窟) are the Mogao Caves, the Western Caves (西洞)—that is, the Western Thousand Buddha Caves (西千佛洞), and the Eastern Caves (東洞)—that is, the Eastern Thousand Buddha Caves (東千佛洞). Some scholars insist that the Yulin Caves are the third of the triad, but this is not evident in the sources, unless 'Dong ku' refers to the Yulin Caves and not to the Eastern Thousand Buddha Caves. This name occurs rarely in the Dunhuang manuscripts, where it is uncertain exactly which location it refers to. It possibly refers to the Eastern Caves near Guazhou or one section of the Mogao Caves (P. 4597 (6)). The Three Cave [Complexes] are also referred to in the eulogy written for Lord Cao (fl. 10th c., 曹公), who, despite the appellation, was a monk official (rector) (P. 4660 (3)). For the Eastern Caves, see the document recording how six disciples meet with a Buddhist master at the Eastern Caves (P. 4597V° (6)). Another document refers to an offering of lamps in the Eastern Caves (Chin. *Dongku shang randeng* 東窟上燃燈) (P. 4909)

[18] I rearranged the sequence slightly, since we know that two additional temples were built during the 10th century, the Xiande (顯德) and the Qianming (乾明), which would bring the earlier number of 16 major temples up to a total of 18. However, these numbers are not entirely certain, and could be incomplete or simply follow an unknown logic. As the present survey shows, I count as many as 25 or more free-standing temples, some of which

It is interesting to compare the list of the 17 large temples in Dunhuang found in a Tibetan document fragment (P. T. 944) mentioned above with the Chinese listings.[19] Unfortunately, the date of the Tibetan fragment is uncertain, but it appears to have been produced towards the end of the Tibetan rule, around the first quarter of the 9th century (cf. appendix I).[20] In any case one may argue that the temples mentioned in the Tibetan list indicates which temples were in operation during the period of Tibetan rule, which one ceased to exist and which were established later.

3.2. *The Relationship between Temples and Cave Sancturies*

The relationship between the free-standing temples and cave sanctuaries of Dunhuang is an important issue that has long been rather unclear. In the case of some of the clan-owned cave sanctuaries, monks from various temples were invited to take part in the religious activities conducted there. But we are only able to connect control over a given cave with a given temple in a few cases. Cave-dwellings, and their relationship to the major temples, is a related issue. However, as is clear in what follows, recent discoveries indicate that a number of the temples owned or controlled caves at Mogao that were meant for habitation, and wherein dwelled adepts of meditation and other forms of Buddhist practice.

3.2.1. *Monastic Population*

Several census lists of monks and nuns in Dunhuang's temples survive, which provide insight into the relative number of clerics in certain periods. The local government used census lists to control the number of people living in the temples in Hexi, including those located in both Shazhou and Guazhou, as well as the Mogao Caves. The census lists provide invaluable information for understanding the size of the monastic population and the extent to which it grew. To the extent to which the census list data is reliable, it seems that the monastic population grew rather quickly, from a relatively small number during the Tibetan rule to steadily increasing

may, of course, have been little more than hermitages. This is also the case in DXDC, 626–633. Here references to major temples in Dunhuang range from 11 to 18. Cf. ibid., 626–627.

[19] Lalou II, 33.

[20] The relationship between the government and the Buddhist insitutions during the Tibetan rule is discussed in some detail in Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 27–33.

numbers in the 10th century, reaching their largest size in the middle of the 10th century.[21] By 953 here were well over two thousand monks and nuns living in Dunhuang's temples with the latter outnumbering the former nearly three to one.[22] It is not quite clear why the number of nuns was so much greater than that of monks, especially since the case was reversed for Chinese Buddhism elsewhere in China. Probably, the fact that Buddhism was extremely important at Dunhuang and enjoyed a close relationship with the government and the local population meant that a special religious situation applied to Dunhuang. In any case, many widows and young women entered monastic life, including those hailing from the important clans, for example, the Zhang (張), the Cao (曹), the Sun (索), the Li (李), the Zhai (翟), and the Yang (陽).[23] The following five temples were for nuns: Lingxiu Temple, Puguang Temple (Chin. Puguang si 普光寺), Dacheng Temple (Chin. Dacheng si 大乘寺), Shengguang Temple (Chin. Shengguang si 聖光寺), and Anguo Temple (Chin. Anguo si 安國寺). A few lesser hermitages were probably also run by nuns; these were most likely family- or clan-owned temples.

[21] See Yang Fapeng 杨发鹏, "Wan Tang, Wudai shiqi Dunhuang diqu sengni renkou de zengzhang ji yuanyin tanxi 晚唐五代时期敦煌地区僧尼人口的增长及原因探析 [The Growth of the Population of Buddhist Monks and Nuns in the Period of Late Tang and Five Dynasties in Dunhuang and the Reasons for Its Growth]," *Xibei renkou* 西北人口 [North-Western Population] 30.2 (2009): 124–128. This is a short but useful study. It gives some indication of how the monastic population grew in Dunhuang during the Guiyijun period, and how and why that growth differed from the earlier situation. However, it does not go into depth with regard to the relative increases and declines in the populations of individual temples, which would be useful to know since, among other reasons, it would indicate their importance during the period in question. For the situation during the Tibetan rule, see the brief treatment in Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 30.

[22] Chen Dawei 陈大为, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengsi, nisi renkou shuliang de bijiao 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧寺、尼寺人口數量的比较 [A Comparison of the Number of Inhabitants in the Monk and Nun Temples in Dunhuang during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties Period and the Early Song]," accessed February 1, 2018. http://economy.guoxue.com/?p=6851. That article provides references to the census lists and useful charts that document the development of the monastic population in Dunhuang. The figures given in the present study differ radically from those provided in Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 50–53. See also Yang "Wan Tang, Wudai shiqi Dunhuang diqu sengni renkou de zengzhang ji yuanyin tanxi, 124–128 (esp. 125–126).

[23] Chen, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengsi, nisi renkou shuliang de bijiao."

3.2.2. *Monastic Titles and Functions*

The monastic population in Dunhuang was structured according to a fairly regimented system of ranking, also practiced elsewhere in China at that time, with some variations to be observed (cf. appendix II).

The highest rank bestowed on a Buddhist monk in Hexi during the Guiyijun reign was that of *saṃgha* overseer. This position was reserved for the most illustrious monks in Dunhuang, those considered to be in possession of the highest degree of learning, sagacity, and spiritual insight. The position had a dual function, as spiritual leader and as formal representative of the Buddhist community vis-á-vis the government. The office of *saṃgha* overseer was as much a spiritual position as an administrative one. It appears that no women were ever appointed to this office. Related to this title, and probably used interchangeably with it in certain periods or occasions, were two other, extremely honorific titles, namely those of Buddhist *dharma* leader of Hexi (Chin. *Hexi fofa zhu* 河西佛法主), and national preceptor (Chin. *guoshi* 國師). However, neither of these were very common.[24]

Under the *saṃgha* overseer was a whole set of monastic officials. Some served directly under him, but otherwise lived and worked in their own temples (cf. appendix II). Monastic officials included the abbot/abbess (Chin. *yuanzhu* 院主/*sizhu* 寺主), a position that was dual in nature, i.e., both spiritual and bureaucratic. Normally, a senior monk or nun of standing filled this position, and he or she was officially appointed by both the *saṃgha* overseer as well as the secular authorities.

There was also the position of precentor (Chin. *weina* 維那, Skt. *karmadāna*). The precentors often functioned as Vice-abbots/abbesses, who were in charge of the spiritual affairs of the temple and the maintenance of monastic discipline in particular.

The rector (Chin. *shangzuo* 上座) was an important post filled by an accomplished senior monk or nun. His or her job was to supervise religious services and regulate the daily schedule, and to assign chores to individual monks and nuns.

[24] Both titles appear in a eulogy written for the Saṃgha Overseer Fayan (fl. first quarter of 10th c., 法嚴), whose name appears in two documents (P. 3556 (a), S. 474V°). See Rong, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu*, 283–285.

The *saṃgha* regulator was in charge of monastic finances and also functioned as a liason between the individual temples and the office of the *saṃgha* overseer.

The *saṃgha* recorder (Chin. *senglu* 僧錄), a highly trusted post, was in charge of accounting, e.g., of donations and other income, and of the monastic stores. This monastic official also kept the records of the monks and nuns living in the temples.

The administrative assistant (Chin. *panguan* 判官) functioned as a go-between in cases of litigation and other problems, internal and external.[25]

'Monk' (Chin. *seng* 僧) was the standard term for a fully ordained male *bhikṣu* (Chin. *biqiu* 比丘). Below them were the *śramaṇera* (Chin. *shami* 沙彌), sub-divided into old *śramaṇera*s (Chin. *qiu shami* 舊沙彌) and new *śramaṇera*s (Chin. *xin shami* 新沙彌). This distinction between old and new was made because it was not uncommon for many *śramaṇera*s (and *śramaṇerikās*) to remain thus without taking the full ordination of a monk (or nun).

For women, there were fully ordained nuns called *ni* (Chin. *ni* 尼), short for *bhikṣuṇī* (Chin. *biquini* 比丘尼). Under them were the *śramaṇerikā*s (Chin. *shamini* 沙彌尼), who were again sub-divided into old *śramaṇerikā*s (Chin. *qiu shamini* 舊沙彌尼) and new *śramaṇerikā*s (Chin. *xin shamini* 新沙彌尼). In addition, there was a category of female monastics that did not have a correlating male category (at least not referred to by a specific name), namely the novices or postulants, the *śikṣamāṇā* (Chin. *shichani* 式叉尼).

The most frequently encountered term for what may be considered an honorary title was 'senior' monk and 'senior' nun (Chin. *falü* 法律). This title is often encountered in the Dunhuang material but not one commonly encountered in the Chinese heartland.

The standard title for a doctrinal specialist is 'master of the *dharma*' (Chin. *fashi* 法師). Often, these persons also functioned as lecturers or formal teachers (Chin. *jiangfashi* 講法師). Another title used less

[25] The roles of some of these monastic functionaries are conceptualised somewhat differently in Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 19–53 (esp. 27). This may reflect differences in function as applied by the ruling Tibetans during the period of their rule, or simply a misreading of the role of some of the the monastics.

frequently in Dunhuang was ‘master of the *tripiṭaka*’ (Chin. *sanzang* 三藏), usually reserved for a handful of learned monks.

The title of ‘master of meditation’ (Chin. *chanshi* 禪師) is self-explanatory, with the exception that it sometimes refered to a Chan master, that is, a practitioner belonging to this special school or tradition of Chinese Buddhism, or simply to a master of *dhyāna*, a more general designation for a practitioner of meditation.

Likewise, those entitled ‘master of *vinaya*’ (Chin. *lüshi* 律師) was, of course, a specialist of the *vinaya* and Buddhist ethics in general. Like the two previous titles, these monks and nuns had special training in one of these three disciplines.

A term that entered Chinese Buddhist vocabulary relatively late is ‘master of Esoteric Buddhism’ (Skt. *ācārya*, Chin. *asheli* 阿闍梨). It is not clear exactly when this term came into use, but it was probably during the Kaiyuan period (713–741, 開元), when the so-called Three Acāryas —Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735, Chin. Shanwuwei 善無畏), Vajrabodhi (671–741, Chin. Jingangzhi 金剛智), and Amoghavajra (705–774, Chin. Bukong 不空)—held sway at the Tang court.[26] It is likely that the term became commonly used in Dunhuang through the influence of the last of these three masters and his dispensation of Esoteric Buddhism. During the Guiyijun period, the monks and nuns who held this title received special respect and veneration, even though it appears that those who held the title were not necessarily practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism as such. The term is often abbreviated as *sheli* (闍梨) in common use in Dunhuang during the 10th century (S. 5341).

A special category of practitioners, mainly monks as far as we can tell, did not live in free-standing temples, but dwelled in caves at Mogao. These ascetics are variously referred to as ‘cave-dwelling monks’ (Chin. *zhuku seng* 住窟僧), ‘cave-dwelling masters of meditation’ (Chin. *kuzhu chanshi* 窟住禪師), and ‘cave-dwelling meditators’ (Chin. *kuchan* 窟禪). All the available data on these dates to the period of Guiyijun rule. Virtually all of these practitioners actually belonged to one of the various

[26] A discussion of these three masters is found in Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: From Atikūta to Amoghavajra,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 263–285.

major temples in the region, so they may have functioned in some capacity as temple representatives in the region of the caves.[27]

3.2.3. *Monastic Landholdings, Possessions, and Economy*

Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang depended on a steady income to sustain their growing populations. A good part of temple income came from donations and offerings from people from all walks of life. Because donations from the faithful were insufficient to cover all expenses, temples also utilised a multifacetted strategy to secure a stable income.[28] Therefore, the temples engaged in various forms of economic activity, which in many ways resembled those of Christian monasteries in medieval Europe. Documented temple activities include the owning of land, slaves, the presence of indentured farmers, the keeping of domestic animals, the production of alcohol, receiving goods through donations and patronage, operating businesses, selling licences, organising and controlling markets, 'selling' various religious services, and producing medicine. They also lent money and commodities, such as grain, at high interest.[29]

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[27] For a study of these practitioners, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "On Meditation Caves and Cave-dwelling Ascetics in Dunhuang, 9th to 13th Centuries," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.1 (2020).

[28] Jacques Gernet discusses a list of donations received by the temples in Dunhuang, particularly those provided for the yearly communal rituals, in *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 200–210. See also the review by Henrik H. Sørensen in *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995): 122–126. For a detailed discussion of the yearly festivals in Dunhuang, see Hao Chunwen 郝春文, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang seng ni de shehui shenghuo 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社会生活 [The Social Life of Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Dunhuang during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties Period and the Early Song]," in *Tang yanjiu jijinhui congshu* 唐研究基金会丛书 [Reprinted Collection of Books of the Tang Research Foundation] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), 212–239.

[29] For a brief discussion of the management of monastic landholdings, see Su Jinhua 苏金花, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengren siyou dichan de jingying 唐后期五代宋初敦煌僧人私有地产的经营 [The Management of Monks' Private Landholdings in Dunhuang during the late Tang Dynasty, Five Dynasties Period, and the early the Song]," *Zhongguo jingji shi yanjiu* 中国经济史研究 [Researches in Chinese Economic History] 4 (2000): 122–132. See also Hao, *Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang seng ni de shehui shenghuo*, 123–165. For a recent comprehensive study of the economy as it relates to Buddhism in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, see Wang Xiangwei 王祥伟, *Tubo zhi Guiyijun shiqi Dunhuang fojiao jingji yanjiu* 吐蕃至归义军时期敦煌佛教经济研究 [A Study of

3.2.4. *Donations*

Giving donations and making offerings to members of the *saṃgha* and Buddhist establishments is a long and time-honoured practice in Buddhism. It played an important role in Dunhuang as well. One may distinguish between public and private donations: the former included regular and sustained donations the government bestowed upon Buddhist institutions; the latter entailed smaller occasional offerings made by members of the population. In both cases offerings were central to the upkeep and support of the local Buddhist temples.[30] While donations were integral to temples' financial upkeep, those making such donations often had selfish reasons for such financial contributions, namely to create personal karmic merit or establish fields of merit (Chin. *futian* 福田). In addition to the local believers, foreign dignitaries, such as Uyghur and Khotanese representatives, constituted an important part of the temples' economies as well. Offerings also were a category of Buddhist practice in their own right. We also find that in many cases the primary sources describe donations and offerings made by Buddhist clerics themselves, sometimes large and substantial ones. There are even a number of cases where entire caves in Mogao were created by monastic donors.[31]

3.2.5. *Ordination and Precepts*

The ordination of monks and nuns, and the bestowal of five or eight precepts on lay disciples, is an integral praxis for all Buddhist temples, and the same was true for temples in Dunhuang. While bestowing precepts

Buddhist Economy in Dunhuang from the Period of the Tibetan Empire until Guiyijun Rule] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015).

[30] Taenzer extensively—although somewhat rigidly—deals with the major topic of donations to the Buddhist institutions in Shazhou, and especially the related records for their registration, in *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule (787–848)*, 247–331. One problem that arises from how the author uses the primary sources, is that she mixes data from the Tibetan rule with data from the subsequent period of Guiyijun rule. This makes it difficult to understand the extent to which donations to the Buddhist temples differed in these periods, if indeed they did, or if the situation remained roughly the same. Likewise, in her discussion of the Buddhist associations that contributed to the temples' up-keep, she blends data from the pre-Tang period with that of later periods, thoroughly obfuscating the topic. A discussion of donations to the temples during the Tibetan rule is also found in Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 27–29.

[31] See DMGT, 10–11, and DMGT, 7.

on lay disciples was a more or less private affair conducted between them and their personal preceptor, formal ordination—whether involving monks or nuns—was a more serious event requiring an entire prescribed set-up consisting of a specific number of precept masters, clerical witnesses, and spiritual guarantors.[32] The ordinations only took place on certain occasions, and always with the consent of the government, which kept an eye open for incorrectly authorised ordinations and monastic malfeasance in general. The temples to which the preceptors belonged issued ordination certificates to monastic and laiety alike.

In addition to formally taking monastic vows, taking vows related to the practices of a bodhisattva—the so-called bodhisattva precepts (Chin. *pusa jie* 菩薩戒)—was very popular, evidently equally popular among clerics as well as lay people. These auxiliary precepts and vows constituted an additional strengthening of Buddhist ethics and piety underpinning personal commitments and religious identity.[33]

3.2.6. *Rituals and Practices*

Essentially, all the major temples in the Shazhou area conducted rituals on behalf of both rulers and ordinary believers. The rites for rulers were recurring annual events—such as the rites performed during spring and autumn (Chin. *chunqiu guanzhai* 春秋官齋), New Year's celebrations, the Buddha's birthday, the ghost festival to appease the souls of the dead (Chin. *yulan pen* 盂蘭盆, *ullambana*), protective rites for the state in cases of natural calamities or war, etc. Rites for ordinary Buddhists were occasional rituals carried out for private persons, nobility and commoners alike. In some cases, the temple hosted a given ritual, in other cases, they were performed in the private homes of the concerned families, such as in connection with funerary and commemorative rituals for deceased individuals.

During the 10th century it appears that the later so important rituals for water and land (Chin. *shuilu zhai* 水陸齋) began to be practiced by the

[32] For a detailed study of precepts and ordination in Dunhuang, see Zhanru 湛如, *Dunhuang fojiao lüyi zhidu yanjiu* 敦煌佛教律儀制度研究 [A Study of Vinaya and Ritual Regulations in Dunhuang Buddhism] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003).

[33] A study of the bodhisattva precepts in Dunhuang is found in Zhanru 湛如, "Dunhuang pusa wen yu pusa cidi xin tan 敦煌布萨文与布萨次第新探 [A New Investigation into the Bodhisattva Texts from Dunhuang and Related Issues]," accessed October 18, 2018.

Buddhists in Dunhuang. The extent of this communal type of ritual at that time is still not well understood, neither is its actual origin. It would appear that it developed in Dunhuang as an extension of the food offering-type of rites (Chin. *shishi* 施食) as documented in Chinese Esoteric Buddhism from the beginning of the 8th century onwards. The dispensation of ritual practices originating with Amoghavajra were especially influential in this development.[34] Later it absorbed elements from both Tantric Buddhism in its Indo-Tibetan form also incorporating salient aspects lifted from Daoism.[35] Several manuscripts consisting of liturgies for the water and land-type of rites as referred to above have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts (S. 5589, S. 3427, P. 3861 (2), etc.).

3.2.7. *Lay Associations*

Locally-organised Buddhist lay associations (Chin. *yiyi* 邑邑, *yishe* 邑社, *yihui* 邑會) were common in Dunhuang throughout its documented history. In addition to providing religious support and attendance during rituals, they were also part of the economic backbone of the temples.[36] Nearly all the major temples in Dunhuang had such associations, sometimes led by lay Buddhists and sometimes headed by monks or nuns. The main sources of information about these associations are circulars that convey calls for attendance. In some cases, penalties were levied on members of an association who failed to attend a meeting.

[34] Cf. Charles D. Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China," in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition: Selected Papers from the 1989 SBS Conference*, edited by Henrik H. Sørensen (Copenhagen and Aarhus: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994), 51–72.

[35] Food offerings as part of universal salvation occurs prominently in the Daoist large-scale communal rituls as set forth in major canonical works like the *Duren jing* 度人經 [Scripture on the Salvation of Humankind] (*Daozang* 1.1), etc.

[36] A valuable collection of circulars from these temple associations in Dunhuang is found in Hao Chunwen 郝春文 and Ning Ke 寧可, ed., *Dunhuang sheyi wenshu jixiao* 敦煌社邑文書輯校 [Documents Concerned with the [Buddhist] Societies of Dunhuang] (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997). See also the more general discussion in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 259–277. For the situation in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, see Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 33–35. She uses the designation 'worship club' for these Buddhist societies, a rendering that downplays their actual range of functions and importance. She also discusses these societies during the early Guiyijun period. Cf. ibid., 41–44.

One important document on the operation of a Buddhist society states that a cave leader (Chin. *kutou* 窟頭)[37] asked three clerics—Qingdu (d.u., 慶度), Fasheng (d.u., 法勝), and Qingjie (d.u., 慶戒)—to serve in the Buddhist Xiufotang Society (Chin. Xiufotang she 修佛堂社) as society official (Chin. *sheguan* 社官), society leader (Chin. *shezhang* 社長), and society registrar (Chin. *lushi* 錄事), respectively (P. 4960). The Buddhist societies, at least in some cases, maintained fairly strict regulations for their members. Monks and nuns were clearly involved in the associations' functions and held positions involving a certain degree of responsibility.

3.2.8. *Libraries*

According to the sources, most (if not all) of the large temples in Dunhuang had libraries, where Buddhist scriptures and other material were kept. A fairly large number of inventory lists from Dunhuang's libraries have been identified, which provide an idea of the extent and types of Buddhist scriptures they contained. It is not always possible to connect a given inventory list with a specific temple or its library, but in many cases, it is. The number of functioning libraries can, among other methods, be determined based on the special seals or other special markers that each library used to stamp scriptures in their holding.

In contrast to Fang Guangchang (方廣錩) and others, who argue that complete sets of the Chinese *tripiṭaka* (Chin. *dazang jing* 大藏經)[38] existed in the libraries of Dunhuang's Buddhist institutions, I argue—based on the current data available to us—that there is not sufficient ground for such a view.[39] Most of the temples would appear to have held

[37] This title most likely indicates the society's formal leader. However, it also shows that the up-keep of caves at Mogao were in some cases part of a given society's responsibility.

[38] The easiest way to assess the data on the Dunhuang temples' library holdings, is to peruse Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, ed., *Dunhuang fojiao jinglu jixiao* 敦煌佛教經錄輯校 [The Buddhist Scriptural Records from Dunhuang—Collated and Edited], 2 vols (Shanghai: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997). This source contains modern, annotated reproductions of virtually all the relevant sources. Importantly, none of the records reflects the presence of a complete Tang-period *tripiṭaka* in Dunhuang, neither individually nor as an ensemble.

[39] Cf. both Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, *Zhongguo xieben dazang jing yanjiu* 中國寫本大藏經研究 [A Study of the Manuscript Tripiṭaka in China] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 118–209, 348–402, and 441–476; and Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, "Dunhuang siyuan suocang dazang jing gaimao 敦煌寺院所藏大藏經概貌 [An Overview of the Tripiṭaka kept in the Temples and Monasteries at Dunhuang]," *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 [Buddhist Text Material Outside the Canon] 70.8: 372a–402a.

partial collections of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, but none—or at least, none so far identied—had anything in their respective libraries comparable to the number of scriptures in the celebrated and authoritative *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Kaiyuan Buddhist Catalogue] (T. 2154.55), or the slightly later *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [The Newly Fixed Catalogue of Buddhist [Scriptures] from the Zhenyuan Reign Period] (T. 2157.55). We simply cannot find such a large and diverse number of scriptures among the Dunhuang manuscripts that could have constituted even one complete canon, say around 900.[40]

The case is even more pronounced with regard to the Tibetan material, which by all accounts is a pell-mell collection of assorted textual material, much of which is not even canonical in the formal sense of the word. Incidentally, the bilingual Sino-Tibetan list of canonical literature, which I surmise represents, at least partly, the inventory of the scriptural holdings of Dayun Temple, does not indicate that a complete *tripiṭaka* in Tibetan ever existed in Dunhuang (P.T. 999). That being said, the manuscript hoard of Cave 17 has yielded an exceptionally large amount of non-canonical and hybrid Buddhist material in both Chinese and Tibetan, which indicates that the temples in Dunhuang actively produced and transmitted Buddhist literature across a wide spectrum of works, the diversity and richness of which has not been documented elsewhere. Therefore, while the existence of a full range of *bona fide* canonical material is not evident, the Buddhist textual depository as a whole reflects a vital and thriving local tradition.[41]

The Buddhist scriptures and books found in the Cave 17 depository do not just represent canonical material derived from monastic libraries, but

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Although the author presents an abundance of data, and has obviously sifted through thousands of manuscripts, he does not present enough primary information to clearly show that complete sets of the Chinese *tripiṭaka* were present in their entirety in Dunhuang during the medieval period.

[40] Cf. Zhang Naiqi 張乃翥, "Cong Dunhuang yishu cun mu kan zhonggu Hexi siyuan xitong de wenhua qunluo 從敦煌遺書存目看中古河西寺院系統的文化群落 [Viewing the Cultural Community of the Medieval Hexi Temple System on the basis of their Holdings of Dunhuang Manuscripts]," *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 [Pumen Journal] 32 (2006): 1–37.

[41] It is, of course, possible that something amounting to complete sets of the *tripiṭaka* existed in the libraries of important Buddhist institutions like the Longxing Temple. However, while this may have been the case, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that this was the case.

also feature a wealth of other types of texts, including examples of commentarial literature, apocrypha, compendia, manuals, ritual compositions, prayers, funerary eulogies, etc. All material that illuminates the diversity of Buddhist literature and practice.

The scriptoria in Dunhuang's temples were not only places for reproducing and repairing Buddhist scriptures, but were also places where the temples produced scriptures for commercial purposes. Such scriptures on demand were, in many cases, ordered by the local government, but could also be ordered by lay people and pilgrims as offerings or simply to engender merit. During the Tibetan rule, several temples had monks of both Tibetan and Chinese ethnicity working on the project of translating Chinese Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan, as well as copying large numbers of certain scriptures as part of an imperial merit-making project.[42]

The scribes working in the temples' scriptoria were in the main drafted from the local population in Shazhou, including clerics as well as lay persons. During the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang a number of these scripes and copyists were bilingual, or at least able to read and write in Tibetan. The names of many of them are know due to the fact that they have left their signatures on many of the manuscripts they copied.[43]

3.2.9. *Monastic Schools*

There are some indications that formal schooling in Dunhuang during the late medieval period was largely the domain of the Buddhist temples. This is something that appears to have differed radically from the normal situation in China's heartland, the central provinces. This is not to say that Buddhist temples there had never provided some degree of formal training and education to the monastic population, but that formal education to non-monastics tended to be relegated to Confucian-style institutions,

[42] Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 24–25. See also the useful account presented in Takata Tokio, "Multilingualism in Tun-huang," *Acta Asiatica* 78 (2000): 49–70. See also the short but illuminating essay by Iwao Kazushi, "The Purpose of Sutra Copying in Dunhuang under the Tibetan Rule," in *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*, ed. Irina Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, 2012), 102–105.

[43] For a study of manuscript production in Dunhuang during the late Tang and Five Dynasties period, see Imre Galambos, *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020.

especially the training of officials. There are a number of possible reasons why Buddhist temples became the basic transmitters of education in Dunhuang. One primary factor was likely that its remote location in the westernmost reaches of Hexi played a major role in 'outsourcing' traditional Chinese education to Buddhist institutions. It is unclear when this trend actually started, but the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, from the second half of the 8th century until the mid-9th century, greatly stimulated monastic education.[44] At that time the temples were essentially given a monopoly for providing education, so that the curriculum, type of instruction, teachers, etc., shifted toward a Buddhist education. This had a profound impact on future education in Dunhuang; on the one hand, formal Confucian and Sinitic cultural training was subsumed under Buddhism, and on the other, Buddhist doctrine and concepts came to the fore in a defining manner. This did not mean that traditional Chinese education disappeared or became a distinct sphere of instruction, but rather that it was transmitted and continued under a Buddhist umbrella. By the 10th century, nearly all the major temples as well as some of the lesser ones, operated monastic schools, where members of the clergy and privileged commoners received a formal education. Even members of Dunhuang's highest classes, including members of the Cao clan, trained in these schools. That Buddhist institutions became the caretakers of formal education in Dunhuang was probably one of the main reasons that Buddhism became so important in local society, informing virtually all aspects of ordinary life.

3.2.10. *Lecture Halls*

Some of the largest temples in Dunhuang had functioning lecture halls that were in operation from around the 9th to the second half of the 10th centuries. However, there is not enough data to determine if all the major temples operated formal lecture halls. It is likely that only the larger temples had lecture halls, and that their active use may have depended on whether a qualified lecturer or master of Buddhist doctrine was available.

[44] See Zhang Yongping 张永萍, "Tubo tongzhi shiqi de Dunhuang sixue 吐蕃统治时期的敦煌寺学 [Monastic School Education in Dunhuang during the Period of Tibetan Rule]," *Xizang yanjiu* 西藏研究 [Tibetan Studies] 2 (2013): 58–65, accessed October 10, 2018. http://www.doc88.com/p-2542077408746.html.

4. *Buddhist Temples and Hermitages in Shazhou*

Having concluded the formal introduction to the religious, social, economic, and political background of Dunhuang's temples, let us now turn to the individual cases. Again, the reader should be reminded that not all relevant data has necessarily been presented in the following. However, enough has here become available to form a serious impression of the reality of how these religious institutions functioned.

4.1. *Buddhist Temples in Shazhou*

4.1.1. *Anguo Temple* (安國寺)

This nunnery was founded during the mid-Tang, however the first official mention of it is from 789, during the beginning of the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang (S. 5676). The latest dated document is from 994 (S. 4700). In 789, there were 29 nuns living in the temple (S. 5676). Later, in 818, there were 16 temple slaves (S. 742). Over the course of the Tibetan rule and through the end of the Tang, the monastic population grew to as many as one hundred and 39 persons (S. 6142). Part of the temple's income came from cultivating gardens and fields. The rest came from donations from the local laiety, including members of the important local clans. A number of financial reports related to the temple's operations are preserved, including one covering the years 880–883. It was presented by the abbess Tiyuan (fl. second half of 9th c., 躰圓) to the local authorities for verification, and was officially approved the following year by the then Saṃgha Overseer Wuzhen (ca. 811–895, 悟眞)[45] (P. 2838R° (1)). Other reports date from the period 884–885 (P. 2838) and one dates from the years 884–886, presented by the abbess Shengjing (fl. end of 9th c., 勝淨). It was verified the following year (P. 2838R° (3)). Various donations made to the temple are recorded in these financial reports. The documents include a list of offerings made to various nunneries in Dunhuang, including the Anguo Temple (P. 5579 (16)), and another from the 10th century consists of a prayer for healing a nun by the name of Dingxiang (fl. 10th c., 定祥). The prayer is preceded by a list of offerings to the

[45] DXDC, 355a.

temple, such as clothing, carpets, and other functional items (P. 3556 V° (4)).

The temple had a functioning library, indicated by a number of identified inventory lists of scriptures (P. 3654, P. 3852, S. 476RV°, S. 4914). The temple also had a special chamber for Buddhist scriptures, which may actually have functioned as its library (P. 3654). Seven copies of the *Yanluo wang jing* 閻羅王經 [Scripture on Yamarāja][46] were copied and presented to the temple's library by the nun Miaofu (fl. 10th c., 妙福) as an offering (S. 2589).

A 895 document concerning the acceptance of new postulants is addressed to the local government functionaries, the secretary general (Chin. *zhangshi* 長史), and the sub-prefect (Chin. *sima* 司馬). It was presented by a certain Changbi (fl. second half of 9th c., 常祕),[47] together with other clerics, and asks for exemption from the rule concerning the age at which young women are allowed to become nuns. The young women in question were to be ordained in local temples, including the Anguo, Puguang, Dacheng, te Lingxiu, and Shengguang temples (P. 3167 (1)).

The nuns from the Anguo Temple were particularly active in the repair and creation of new caves at Mogao. Donor inscriptions in Cave 201 reveal that nuns from the temple took part in the cave's creation (DMGT: 92). Likewise, nuns from the temple and several laywomen were involved when Cave 138 was created (DMGT: 63–64). One nun from the temple, together with several monks from other important temples (including the Bao'en 報恩寺, Liantai, Shengguang, Xiande, Lingtu, Sanjie, Longxing, Kaiyuan, etc.), participated in a joint effort to repair and redecorate the important Cave 148 (DMGT: 68–71). Other caves in which nuns from the Anguo Temple were involved include Cave 55 and Cave 61. Among them are the nuns Xingzhen (fl. 10th c., 性真) and Zhihuixing (fl. 10th c., 智惠性). Their offerings of paintings and images are documented in colophons *in situ*.

[46] See Stephen F. Teiser, The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

[47] She was a senior nun. A cleric with the same name appears in connection with a copy of the *Sifen biqiuni jie ben* 四分比丘尼戒本 [Four-fold Division of the Precepts for *bhikṣuṇī*s], underscoring that Changbi was, indeed, a nun (BD 1500).

The actual location of the temple is debated.[48]

4.1.2. *Bao'en Temple* (報恩寺)

Data on this temple first appears in sources from the mid-Tang (P. 3265). The latest piece of information is from 1019 (*Tianxi ta ji* 天禧塔紀).[49] In 788, at the very beginning of the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, there were as few as nine monks living there (S. 2729). In 825, the number had risen to 31 persons (S. 5676). In 818, the temple had 15 slaves (S. 541). During the late Tang, the number of resident monks had risen slightly to 47 (S. 2614V°).

The primary sources indicate that the Bao'en Temple was fairly large and had at least two cloisters inside, a Northern (Chin. *beiyuan* 北院) and a Southern Cloister (Chin. *nanyuan* 南院). Bath houses were attached to both of these as conduits for waste and fresh water, and for toilets (S. 520).[50]

The temple-owned lands were cultivated by tenant farmers, some of whose names are preserved in a list (P. 3859R°). Records of the temple's income also survive. One such document concerns the annual presentation of the economic records by the Abbot Yanhui (fl. 10th c., 延會) (P. 2821). Another is a report on resource management by a certain Daoxin (fl. 10th c., 道信), who the text refers to as Officer of Virtue (Chin. *gong si* 功司), probably the monk in charge of donations. The last of these documents dates from either 930 or 990 (P. 2042V° (1)).

The Bao'en Temple had its own library (P. 2726, P. 400, BD 554 (A-C), BD 3698, BD 3699). One inventory list from the library mentions 24 separate titles calculated in terms of bundles, including old scriptures, amended ones, and new copies. The date of the document is either 822 or 882 (P. 4000R°). It is not surprising that a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (T. 220.8) formed part of the library's collection (P. 2233). Other texts include a copy of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*

[48] Mogao ku nianbiao, 649; DXDC, 630b; Dunhuang suijin, 111.

[49] For a discussion of this record and the *stūpa* in question, see Shi Lanlan 時蘭蘭, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi ta zilao bianxi 甘肅省博物館藏敦煌宋代天禧塔資料辨析 [An Examination of the Material Concerning the Tianxi Pagoda of the Song Dynasty kept in the Gansu Provincial Museum]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 6 (2015): 63–67.

[50] For a discussion of this document, see Hao, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang seng ni de shehui shenghuo," 64–67.

lüe chu 開元釋教錄略出 [Excerpts from the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*] (T. 2155.55), which documents a methodical and formal approach to managing a Buddhist library (P. 2239), and an astrological chart, which was copied by the resident monk Yuande (fl. mid-10th c., 願德) and dated 948 (P. 3175R°). Some of the library's Buddhist books were donated by the government, such as the *Avadānaśataka* (T. 200.4), which was bestowed on the monastic library by the government's registrar (Chin. *kong muguan* 孔目官) Fan Youzhen (fl. second half of 10th c., 氾祐禎),[51] during the 10th century (P. 3878V°). A note in a writing exercise stating that "in the seventh month of the third Year of Duangong, i.e. 990, mentions that in the scriptural collection of the Bao'en Temple, there presently are several scriptural catalogues" (Chin. *Duangong san nian qi yue Bao'en si zangnei xianzai jing shu mu* 端拱三年七月報恩寺藏內現在經數目). Although the catalogues or lists themselves are no longer extant, this note confirms that the temple had a library of a certain size (P. 2726 (2)).

A number of lists of offerings made to the temple still exist, including a donation by the nun Cixin (fl. 10th c., 慈心) to both the Bao'en and Lingxiu temples (P. 2583V° (7)). There is also a testament written by the monk Fuyan (d.u., 福嵓) that says he donated his personal belongings and property to the temple, including a garden, utensils, tools, a cow, an ornate carpet, a large *sūtra* table (Chin. *da jing chuang* 大經床), a square table for taking one's food (Chin. *fang shi chuang* 方食床), and a rope bed (Chin. *sheng chuang* 繩床) (P. 3478R°). Another document records that a donor gave the temple a bath house in commemoration of his deceased brother (P. 3265R°). Yet another document records an offering by the Vinaya Master Fahui (d.u., 法會), a resident of the temple (P. 2042V° (2)). A 10th-century list mentions *sūtra* wrappers donated to the temples of Dunhuang, including the Bao'en Temple (P. 5568, P. 4611). Around 1000, the late Guiyijun ruler Cao Zongshou (r. 1002–1014, 曹宗壽), together with his wife, donated scriptures and other related items to the temple (SI Φ 32).

[51] The same person's name and title is also found in the document P. 3660V° (4), which dates from 978.

There was a Buddhist association connected to the temple. This is documented in a circular that calls a meeting of its members on the occasion of a banquet (P. 3764 (1)).

Regular rituals were performed in this temple, including the recitation of the *Pusa changdao wen* 菩薩唱道文 [Text for Praising the Path of the Bodhisattva][52] in 980 (S. 5660). As part of a general call to the clerics of Dunhuang's temples, the monks of the Bao'en Temple were called upon to participate in the annual communal ceremony, referred to as the 'Water-course ritual' (Chin. *shuize daochang* 水則道場), on a rotating basis (P. 4765R° (1)).[53]

A number of relatively important monks were associated with this temple including Shanlai (d.u., 善來), whose eulogy, the *Dunhuang sanzang fashi tuzhen zan* 燉煌三藏法師圖眞讚 [Eulogy for the Portrait of the Tripiṭaka and Dharma Master of Dunhuang], was composed by the local literati Wang Chanchi (d.u., 王禪池) (P. 4660 (37)). Another monk of importance was the Meditation Master Jin Xiaqian (743–801, 金霞遷),[54] whose life is recorded in the funerary inscription, *Shazhou Bao'en si gu dade chan heshang Jin Xiaqian shen zhi ming, bing xu* 沙州報恩寺

[52] Since a number of manuscript copies of this text were found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, it likely enjoyed a certain degree of popularity. See also P. 3330R°.

[53] The celebration of the water-course ritual was part of the official, annual Buddhist rites performed during spring and autumn. At this event, the officiating monks and nuns ceremonially unfolded the scriptures in a manner referred to as turning the scriptures (Chin. *zhuanjing* 轉經). In Dunhuang this specifically involved the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*—at least as the rite was performed during the 10th century. Cf. Hao, *Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang seng ni de shehui shenghuo*, 223–237. In this work, the author reproduces several official documents relating to the water and land-type (Chin. *shuilu* 水陸) of ritual. Details of the rite's proceedings in this period are not entirely clear, but monks and nuns from the major temples participated and were overseen by senior clergy and monastic officers. As a major communal event, it was almost certainly attended by representatives of the Guiyijun, as well as other local grandees. See also, Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林,"Wan Tang Wudai Dunhuang diqu *Dabanruo jing* xinyang yu difang zhengquan de guanxi 晚唐五代敦煌地區 大般若經 信仰與地方政權的關係 [On the Relationship between the Cult of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and Local Government in Dunhuang during the late Tang and Five Dynasties Period]," *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 [*Pumen Journal*] 34 (2006): 1–19 (esp. 2–3).

[54] This monk originally hailed from Luoyang (洛陽) and received his early Buddhist training in the area of the Twin Capitals. The funerary inscription contains several indications that the Venerable Jin was a follower of Chan Buddhism, including the concept of 'lamp transmission' (Chin. *chuandeng* 傳燈) and that "he suddenly passed away while sitting erect in his seat" (Chin. *duan ran zuo wang* 端然座亡).

故大德禪和尚金霞遷神誌銘, 并序 [Inscription for the Spirit of the Deceased, Great Virtuous One, the Venerable Meditation Master Jin Xiaqian of the Bao'en Temple in Shazhou with Preface] dated 801 (P. 3677R°).[55] Other clerics from the temple included Cihui (fl. 10th c., 慈惠), Qingli (fl. 10th c., 慶力), and Fuhui (fl. 10th c., 福惠), all of whom joined the Buddhist *saṃgha* there.

The names of monks from the temple are found in Caves 148 and 346. For example, the name of the temple's rector (Chin. *shouzuo* 首座), Cihui, is among the three donors of Cave 346 is, which seems to have been exclusively established by monks (DMGT: 140).

The temple was located inside the town of Dunhuang (P. 2856V° (2)). The temple had a Southern and a Northern Cloister (S. 520).[56]

4.1.3. *Beiyuan (The Northern Cloister* (北院)

The Northern Cloister was located inside the Jingtu Temple (on this, see below). One document that probably dates from the early 10th century (P. 4081 (2)) refers to a gathering of monks, who came together to discuss temple budgetary issues.

4.1.4. *Chanding Temple* (禪定寺)

This is a little-known temple that is only mentioned in one document from ca. 800, in the middle of the period of the Tibetan rule (P. 3138).[57] However, the Preceptor of the temple was a certain monk by the name of Ming [...] [58] (fl. late 8th to early 9th c., 明 □). Given the temple's title, it is not entirely impossible that it had some connection with the spread of Chan Buddhism in the Hexi region. Perhaps it was even associated with the Chan monk Moheyan (fl. mid to late 9th c., 摩訶衍), who propagated

[55] This document mentions that the monk in question was entombed, which may indicate that this was a common form of handling the corpse of a dead cleric, rather than burning (possible due to scarcity of firewood?).

[56] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 654; Zheng, "Dunhuang fojiao siyuan gongneng zhi kaocha yu yanjiu 2/2," 15–16.

[57] The temple's name occurs in a list of Dunhuang's major temples and in a request for different rolls of a major Buddhist *sūtra*, probably the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*.

[58] The second character of the name is illegible.

Chan Buddhism in Tibet via Dunhuang. He is believed to have stayed for some time in Dunhuang on his way to and from Tibet.[59]

While the temple's location remains uncertain, it is possible that it was listed among 15 of the important temples in Dunhuang, and may have had its name changed at a later date, possibly after the beginning of the Guiyijun period. This, however, remains speculation.[60]

4.1.5. *Dabei Temple* (大悲寺)

Very little is known about this temple. One source mentions a 990 dated circular of a Buddhist association is connected to the temple's history. The fact that this association was to meet at the temple's gate, indicates that it was large enough to have a gate (P. 3037). Its location is unknown.

4.1.6. *Dacheng Temple* (大乘寺)

This temple was originally established in 575, towards the end of the Northern Zhou (557–579, 北周). It is first mentioned in Daoxuan's *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 [Comprehensive Record Collated in Shenzhou on the Influence of the Three Jewels], (T. 2106.52: 407c). It rose to prominence after the early Tang, and continued to function until the early part of the 11th century (*Tianxi ta ji*).[61]

During the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, there were 34 nuns living there (S. 2729). Slightly later, in 817, in a report submitted by the Temple Official (Chin. *siqing* 寺卿), Tang Qianjin (fl. early 9th c., 唐遷進) stated that the number of nuns living in the temple had risen to 62; their names are all listed in P. 5579 (11).[62] Towards the end of the Tang, the number of

[59] See Jeffrey Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen Buddhism*, ed. Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 1–68. See also the brief synopsis on Moheyan's life in John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 71–72. For a treatment of Moheyan in Tibetan sources, see Carmen Meinert, "Legend of *Cig car ba* Criticism in Tibet: A List of Six *Cig car ba* Titles in the *Chos 'byung me tog snying po* of Nyang Nyi ma 'od zer (12th Century)," in *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis. Studies in its Formative Period 900-1400*, ed. Ronald Davidson and Christian Wedemeyer (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 31–54.

[60] DXDC, 631a.

[61] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

[62] For this temple official, see also P. 3600, P. 3619R° (2), P. 3047V°, S. 2729, S. 4444V°, P. T. 1261V° (2–3). His role was to function as a liason between the temples and the local government.

nuns in Dacheng Temple had increased to 105 (S. 2614). In the course of the first half of the 10th century, there were as many as 209 persons residing there, which meant that the Dacheng Temple had become the largest nunnery in Dunhuang (S. 2669). In 818, 19 slaves belonged to the temple. These slaves worked the temple lands, took care of the orchards, and were engaged in animal husbandry (S. 542).

The temple's income derived from its fields, orchards, and farm husbandry. A 10th-century document lists the livestock and other property owned by the temple (S. 542). In the first half of the 10th century, the temple also operated a water-powered mill (Chin. *shuiwei* 水磑) (S. 1625). Offerings and donations were, of course, also important sources of income. Documents refer to a government donation of the ubiquitous *sūtra*-wrappers to the temple's library during the period of Cao rule in Dunhuang (P. 5568). There is also a list of an offering of fabric to the temple nuns (P. 6022AB). Donations to the temple also consisted of food items for religious banquets, as recorded in one document which lists 16 of Shazhou's major temples as providing fruit and alcohol to the temple in either 894 or 954 (P. 2272 (2)).[63]

The temple had its own library, although little is known about it. An inventory check in or around 936 revealed that a number of rolls were missing from the library's set of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (S. 5045). This survey probably took place around the same time as Daozhen of the Sanjie Temple initiated his prolonged attempt at restoring the scriptures in the library of his own temple (cf. the section on this temple). A commentary on the *Vajracheddikāsūtra* was copied by the nun Miaoxiang (fl. first half of 8th c., 妙相) at the behest of the Dharma Master Ji (fl. first half of 8th c., 寂法師) of Shazhou in 724 (P. 2167). Aside from establishing the existence of this work in the temple's library, it also documents that the temple was active well before the Tibetan rule.

A number of other documents related to the Dacheng Temple throw light on various everyday activities. In one document, dated 851, the nun Zhidenghua (fl. mid-9th c., 智燈花) asks to be excused from participation in liturgical performance due to illness (P. 3101 (II)).[64] In another, two novices, the *śikṣamāṇā* Zhenji (d.u., 眞濟) and the *śrāmaṇerikā* Puzhen

[63] The latter date is more likely.
[64] See also S. 2669. A manuscript that is datable to 865–870.

(d.u., 普眞), complain to a monk that they have not been entered on the official list for resident monastics (P. 3730 (9)).[65] An extant circular documents the existence of a temple association connected with the temple (S. 329).

The Dacheng Temple was home to a number of important nuns, including the niece of Cao Yijin (r. 914–935, 曹議金), the first Cao ruler of Dunhuang, who entered this temple to become a nun. Although her name is not preserved, the eulogy for her funeral portrait, the *Da Zhou gu Dacheng si falü ni lintan cizi dade shamen mouyi maozhen zan, bing xu* 大周故大乘寺法律尼臨壇賜紫大德沙門厶乙邈眞讚幷序 [Eulogy, with Preface, for the Portrait of the *dharma* and *vinaya* Master and Nun, the Greatly Virtuous *śrāmaṇerikā* so-and-so[66] of the Dacheng Temple of the Great Zhou], is preserved among the manuscripts (P. 3556 (b)).[67]

Nuns of the temple probably also engaged in creating and maintaining the caves at Mogao, but only one case is noteworthy, involving the nun Qizhu (fl. 10th c., 啟注). An inscription in Cave 103[68] mentions that she had an image of the White-robed Avalokiteśvara (Chin. Baiyi Guanyin 白衣觀音) made (DMGT: 50).

A number of votive paintings were also produced for this temple, including a painting of Ekādaśamukhāvalokiteśvara (MG 17778), which was donated sometime between 920–936, in connection with the transference of merit (Chin. *huixiang* 迴向) on behalf of the deceased nun

[65] Since several of the individual documents comprising this manuscript containing several texts (P. 3730) date from the period of the Tibetan rule, the same date may apply to P. 3730 (8).

[66] The name is left out.

[67] For a discussion of this text and the identity of the nun in question, see Yang Baoyu 杨宝玉, "Tang, Wudai Song chu Dunhuang ni seng shi chutan 唐五代宋初敦煌尼僧史初探 [A Preliminary Study of the History of Nuns and Monks in Dunhuang during the Tang, Five Dynasties and the Early Song]," accessed October 31, 2018. http://www.wuys.com/news/article_show.asp?articleid=36459. For a general study of the status of nuns and their relationship with the ruling elite in Dunhuang, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Buddhist Nuns in Dunhuang during the Guiyijun Reign: A Study of the Family-relations between Members of the Local Government and Buddhist Female Clerics," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.7 (forthcoming 2021).

[68] While the cave itself dates from the middle Tang, the iconography of the White-robed Avalokiteśvara did not develop until well into the Five Dynasties period. Hence the image dates to that time and not earlier.

Miaoda (fl. first half of 10th c., 妙達). The temple ruins have been located within the town of Shazhou.[69]

4.1.7. *Dasheng Guangyan Temple* (大聖光巖寺)

Not much is known about this temple. It is only mentioned in one surviving source, a colophon appended to a copy of the *Jingtu* [*wuhui*] *nianfo song jing guanxing yi* 淨土 [五會] 念佛誦經觀行儀 [Ritual for the Practice of Contemplation of the Pure Land [Five-fold Assembly] for Invoking the Buddha and Chanting the Scripture] (P. 2963). The colophon states that the temple is located at Dangquan (宕泉), i.e. at Mogao, so it may refer to a cave sanctuary. The document itself dates to 951.[70]

4.1.8. *Dayun Temple* (大雲寺)

The history of this temple goes back to the early Tang. A donor inscription on the northern wall of Cave 220 (Zhai Family Cave, Chin. Zhaijia ku 翟家窟)) dates from 642 (16th year of Zhengguan 貞觀). It states that the cave was made as an offering by the Dharma Master Daohong (d.u., 道弘法師) of the Tianyun Temple (Chin. Tianyun si 天雲寺) (DMGT: 102). In 690, during the reign of Empress Wu (625–705, 武則天), that temple's name was formally changed to Dayun Temple, as part of her nationwide policy of promoting the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (T. 991.19) and her own reign.[71] A Dunhuang manuscript of the important historical work *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 [Records of the History of the *dharma* Treasure] (T. 2075.51)[72]

[69] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 646, DXDC, 628b; Zheng, "Dunhuang fojiao siyuan gongneng zhi kaocha yu yanjiu 2/2," 16; *Dunhuang cuijin*, 105.

[70] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 649. One document describes the decoration of a cave within the Dangquan Cave (Chin. Dangquan ku 宕泉窟) complex (?), which featured both wall-paintings and a central niche (Chin. *zhukan* 主龕). It also refers to a *stūpa* constructed near Mengziqu (孟子渠) (P. 3302V° (1)).

[71] A primary source that discusses this is the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Assembled Essentials of the Tang] 48 (大雲寺), accessed October 10, 2018. https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=844491. For the use of the *Mahāmeghasūtra* under the reign of Empress Wu, see Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology at the End of Seventh Century China: Inquiry into the Nature, Author and Function of the Tunhuang Document S. 6502, Followed by an Annotated Translation* (Napoli: Instituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1976). This important *sutra* gave rise to the establishing of a series of Dayun temples in various provinces and counties in early 8th century China,

[72] For a detailed study and translation of this important Chan Buddhist history, which only survives among the Dunhuang manuscripts, see Wendy Adamek, *Mystique of*

indicates that the name was officially changed in 692 (P. 3717). A monk from this temple wrote a manuscript colophon appended to a partial copy of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkā*, dated to 694, which shows that the temple operated under the name Dayun four years after the decree ordering the establishment of nationwide Dayun temples (S. 5176). Later data on the temple confirms that it continued to function under this name up to 988, and most likely well beyond that (BD 112).[73]

At the beginning of the Tibetan rule in 788, as few as 16 monks lived there (S. 2729). Towards the end of the Tang, the number increased to 38 (S. 2614). An 818 census documents that the temple owned 21 slaves, who cultivated its fields and managed its gardens (S. 542).

Like most of the temples in Dunhuang, its income derived from landholdings and the offerings it received from the faithful. One source lists the lands owned and cultivated by the various local temples, including the Dayun Temple (P. 3396). One source records an offering of Khotanese mats to this and other temples (S. 4525).

The temple had a library (S. 2712RV°), scriptorium, and monastic school, which functioned throughout the 10th century (S. 5643, S. 5463, S. 5796V°). One piece of data related to the Dayun Temple library derives from a bilingual Sino-Tibetan source, and is especially interesting for precisely this reason (P. T. 1257/P. 2046).[74] The manuscript, a scroll with a strange binding, consists of four pages with a bilingual list of the scriptures in what was ostensibly the temple's library. It was compiled by a senior monk, the Venerable Ācārya Zhang/dPal dbyangs (fl. second half of 8th c., 張闍[75]和上), as part of his reading of the *Dacheng bai faming menlun kaizong yi ji* 大乘百法明門論開宗義記 [Record of Explaning the

Transmission: On an Early Chan History and its Contexts (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

[73] This latest date derives from a colophon appended to a copied Buddhist scripture. Based on this, I surmise that the temple continued to exist for several decades after 988, the date of the colophon.

[74] For a recent study of this significant manuscript, see James B. Apple and Shinobu A. Apple, "A Re-evaluation of Pelliot tibtéain 1257: An Early Tibetan-Chinese Glossary from Dunhuang," *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 42 (2017): 68–180. They re-read the manuscript as an early Tibetan attempt to standardise the vocabulary and titles of Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan and Chinese, rather than reading it as a simple list of corresponding title names and terminology.

[75] '*She* (闍)' is short for *A she li* (阿闍梨).

Meaning of the Teaching of the *Mahāyānaśatadharmaprakāśasmukhaśāstra*] (T. 2810.85), an exposition of an important philosophical work by Vasubandhu (fl. 4th to 5th c.). This work was translated into Chinese by the important Chinese monk Tankuang (fl. second half of 8th c., 曇曠),[76] who stayed in Dunhuang for a number of years during the Tibetan rule (P. 2161). The colophon on the fourth page of the booklet mentions that Ācārya Zhang lived in the Dayun Temple,[77] which is corroborated by other documents (P. 3138).

The temple operated a monastic school, but we only have few details about it. However, one interesting case indicates that students in the monastic schools also served as copyists in the temple's scriptorium as part of their training. One illustrative case concerns the student Deng Qingzi (fl. mid-10th c., 鄧清子) who, in 960, copied form letters, including a funeral condolence text (P. 3886).

The Dayun Temple, like most of the other major temples in Dunhuang, had a Buddhist association, as attested in a circular for its members (S. 345V°).

In a fragment of a note sent to a group of important monks from different temples (?) they are invited to participate in a *dharma* convention at Dayun Temple. This probably dates to the late 9th century (P. 4723). Another document contains a formal call for a grand assembly held at the Dayun Temple in the third month of the second *yongxi* year, in 986. It is addressed to the four classes of Buddhists (Chin. *shimen sibu* 釋門四部) and bears the signature of Cao Yanrui (d. 1002, 曹延瑞), a military commander of Guazhou and the brother of Dunhuang's ruler Cao Yanlu (r. 976–1002, 曹延祿), indicating that the assembly was convened at his personal request (P. 4622).

A handful of monks of varying importance are associated with this temple, including the translator Tanguang (fl. first quarter of 10th c., 談廣), the Ācārya Zhang (mentioned above), and the Vinaya Master Daoying (d.u., 道英), whose name occurs in connection with a copy of the Chinese text *Chunqiu houyu* 春秋後語 [Later Sayings from the

[76] For a detailed discussion of his life, see Ueyama Daishun 山上大崚, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 [Studies in the Buddhism of Dunhuang] (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1990), 17–83.

[77] See also Apple and Apple, "A Re-evaluation of Pelliot tibtéain 1257," 80 (following T. 2810.85: 1046a).

Chunqiu][78] by Kong Yan (268–320, 孔衍)[79] (P. 2569V° (2)). Likewise, a short note on a *śrāmaṇera* Haizi (fl. second half of 10th c., 海子)[80] of the Dayun Temple appears on a small painting of a Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, which was apparently presented as an offering by another monk from the Sanjie Temple (P. 4518 (19c)). It refers to Haizi as a devotee of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* (T. 665.16).

The temple's monks, including one Jieshen (d.u., 戒深), also participated in the construction of new caves and the repair of old ones, including Caves 196 and 220, which contain their names (DMGT: 88, 103). The temple was situated in the town of Dunhuang itself (S. 8885).[81]

4.1.9. *Dongyuan (The Eastern Cloister)* (東院)

A *saṃgha* administrator named Suo (fl. first half of 10th c., 索僧政)[82] resided here (P. 3264). This cloister was probably part of a larger temple and may have been a counterpart to the Western Cloister (西院), references to which are also found in the sources. Incidentally, Suo's name also appears in connection with Shenjue Hermitage (see below).

4.1.10. *Duanyan Temple* (端嚴寺)

Almost nothing is known about this temple in Dunhuang. The name appears in a circular for a Buddhist association meeting at its gate, dated to 973. There is no further data apart from this (P. 3372).[83]

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[78] This work may be considered a thematic digest based on the classic Confucian work, the *Chunqiu lu* 春秋 [Annals of Spring and Autumn]. For a study of this text, see Kang Shichang 康世昌, *Kong Yan Chunqiu houyu yanjiu* 孔衍 春秋後語 研究 [A Study of Kong Yan's *Chunqiu houyu*], (Taibei: Huamulan wenhua chubanshe, 2007). The author Kong Yan (268–320, 孔衍) was a distant relative of Confucius.

[79] This is briefly mentioned in Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 373–374.

[80] The second part of the name is missing. However, his full name appears in a colophon appended to a copy of the popular apocryphal scripture, the *Tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 天地八陽神咒經 [Scripture on the Divine Spells of the Eight Yang of Heaven and Earth] (BD 111). For the edited version, see T. 2887.85. See also the entry in the *Dunhuang suijin*, 21–21.

[81] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 646; Zheng, "Dunhuang fojiao siyuan gongneng zhi kaocha yu yanjiu 2/2," 16; DXDC, 629a; *Dunhuang suijin*, 106.

[82] A monk administrator with this name (and title) lived in the Bao'en Temple (S. 520).

[83] DXDC, 632b.

4.1.11. *Famen Temple* (法門寺)
See Xiande Temple.

4.1.12. *Fengtang Temple* (奉唐寺)
See Xiande Temple.

4.1.13. *Guanyin Cloister* (觀音院)
This cloister was located within the Sanjie Temple (S. 2566, P. 2641V° (1)). It was the home of the important monk leader Daozhen (see the entry on the Sanjie Temple).

4.1.14. *Jingtu Temple* (淨土寺)
Although this temple is usually counted among the important ones in Dunhuang, it was, for all intents and purposes, a relatively small monastic institution.[84] However, like the Sanjie Temple, it is one of the best-documented Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang. There are an unusually large number of primary sources related to it.

The temple's name first appears in documents dating from the period of the Tibetan rule, around 840 (P. 3410).[85] The temple functioned up to and after 979, during the early Northern Song (S. 3156). Towards the end of the Tang Dynasty, 23 monks and novices lived there (S. 2614V°).

There are a few pieces of available evidence about the temple's physical appearance. For instance, it had cloisters inside its walls, such as the Northern Cloister, whose name might indicate that there was a southern one as well (P. 4081 (2)).

For income and provisions, the temple had fields, orchards, oil mills, etc., but otherwise sustained itself on donations. In one document, the temple's monastic officials and monks are associated with canal maintenance, indicating that the Jingtu Temple owned a considerable number of production units such as water-powered mills and oil presses (P. 4694). A document fragment concerning the temple's finances was formulated by the two monks in charge of accounting, Baoquan (d.u., 保

[84] One reason for this may be that a relatively large number of related documents have been preserved.

[85] Gertraud Taenzer dates its founding to between 865 and 875, which seems rather late. Cf. Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 38.

全) and Jiebian (d.u. 戒弁). They were to present it to an assembly of the temple's monks in the courtyard of the Northern Cloister (P. 4081 (2)). A ledger written in 930 by a certain Yuanda (fl. early 10th c., 願達) is an important source on monastic finances. It lists the various economic transactions of the temple for the year, including various loans and donations (P. 2029V° (1)).[86] There is a list of items borrowed from the Jingtu Temple's Changzhu Storehouse (常住庫), which was in effect a monastic bank. This document dates to the early Northern Song (S. 5462). Another source, dated to 944, features various bills, inventories, and other documents concerning the temple's operation (P. 2032 (2)).

Due to its high degree of prestige, offerings and donations appear to have been the temple's main means of sustenance (P. 2032, P. 2040, P. 2049, P. 3234, S. 6452, P. 2049V°). Donations to the temple came from lay believers and also derived from the monastic community itself. In one document, the monk Chong'en (d.u., 崇恩) of the Suo (索) clan issued a testament in which he sets out the manner of disposing of his possessions after his death (P. 3410).

The temple had a well-stocked library. A surprisingly large number of manuscripts originally belonged to this library. This material includes *sūtra*s, *vinaya* texts, commentarial literature, and a variety of Chinese Buddhist works, including local compilations (cf. appendix III). The library also housed non-Buddhist books, including works relating to Confucianism and Daoism (P. 2337 (1–8)). This means that the temple libraries in Dunhuang stored non-Buddhist literature in addition to Buddhist scriptures, sometimes even controversial works.

From the late Tang and well into the Northern Song, the temple operated a monastic school (P. 2570, S. 2894 (5)). A colophon appended to an illustrated copy of the *Damuqianlian mingjian jiu mu bianwen* 大目

[86] Most of the documents related to the economic transactions of the Jingtu Temple are dealt with in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, 146–149, 138–139, and 177–178. For a more general but detailed study of the temple economy of Dunhuang's temples, see Kitahara Kaoru 北原薫, "Ban Tō Go dai Tonkō ji'in kyōsai—Shūshi kessan hōkohu to chūshin ni 晩唐五代敦煌寺院経濟−收支决算報告を中心に [The Finances of the Temples and Monasteries in Dunhuang during the Late Tang and Five Dynasties: Focusing on the Incomes and Expenditures of Balance Sheets]," in *Tonkō no shakai* 敦煌の社会 [The Society of Dunhuang], ed. Ikeda On 池田温 and *Kōza Tonkō* 講座敦煌 [Dunhuang Lectures] 3 (Tokyo: Daitō shūppansha, 1984), 371–456.

乾連冥間救母變文 [Transformative Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana Saving his Mother from the Netherworld][87] mentions that it was written in 921 by a student in the temple's school (S. 2614). This might indicate that, in some cases, students in the temple schools in Dunhuang also served as scribes, or perhaps that duty in the scriptoria was part of their training.

An early 10th-century monastic edict issued by the department of examination (Chin. *shibu* 試部) at the Jingtu Temple conveys the Saṃgha Overseer's order that all the temples in Shazhou had to send their monks and nuns to the temple in order to have their skills in reciting Buddhist scriptures tested. Failing to comply with this order would incur an unspecified penalty (S. 371).[88] This could indicate that, for at least for a period, the Jingtu Temple was authorised by the government to oversee monastic training in all of Shazhou's Buddhist institutions.

A number of sources provide information about the Buddhist practices conducted in the Jingtu Temple, including issues relating to monastic discipline. In one case, there is a reference to the Ācārya, the Dharma and Vinaya Master Wu (fl. 9th c., 吳法律闍利), from the Jingtu Temple, who participated in a Buddhist debate (P. 3165R°). In another case, a locally produced text on monastic discipline, the *Shami wude shi shu* 沙彌五德十數 [The Five Virtues of the Śramaṇera in Ten Points], a text that encourages good conduct, dates from 928 (S. 4361). There is also a prayer text dated to 908 that was issued by the monk Xinhui (fl. early 10th c., 信惠)[89] on behalf of a deceased brother, which reflects the private side of Buddhist practice at the temple (P. 3214 (5)).

Various important monks were associated with this temple, including the famous Chinese translator and exegete Facheng (d. 864, 法成, Tib. Chos grub)[90] and Hongbian, aka Tripiṭaka Master Wu (?–862, 洪辯, 吳三

[87] There are several extant manuscripts of this or similar texts, including transformative texts (Chin. *bianwen* 變文), among the Dunhuang material. For a study of some of these, see Victor H. Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 9–32.

[88] This interesting document reveals how the government dealt with cases of temple laxity in keeping their clerics focused on their Buddhist duties. It indicates that there were periods when discipline was not sufficiently enforced in Dunhuang's Buddhist communities, prompting the government to act.

[89] See also S. 2614V°.

[90] There are a number of available studies on Facheng, but the most informed and well-rounded is undoubtedly Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 84–246. It is also worth

藏), who served as a local clerical leader under both the Tibetans and the Guiyijun (P. 4640, P. 4660, S. 77).[91] Another figure was the Saṃgha Regulator Zhang Shancai (d. 913?, 張善才),[92] who was in charge of the Three Grotto [Complexes] (Chin. *sanku* 三窟) for 14 years. He also served as an important monk-official during the reign of the White Emperor of the Jinshan State, Zhang Chengfeng (r. 894–910, 張承奉). He was ordained at the Lingtu Temple (P. 3100), and his name is found among the donors on the southern wall of Cave 329 (DMGT: 133). His life is narrated in the *Tang gu Guiyijun shimen guannei zhengseng zheng, jingcheng nei wai lin tan* [...][93] *zhu, jian chan yang sanjiao da fashi, cizi shamen Zhang heshang* [...][94] 唐故歸義軍釋門關內正僧政京城內外臨壇 [...][95] 主, 兼闡揚三教大法師, 賜紫沙門張和尚 [Guiyijun Saṃgha Rector of the Buddhists Inside the Passes, Ordination Leader Inside and Outside the Capital (i.e Dunhuang)], Concurrently Propagator of the Three Teachings Great Dharma Master, Monk Bestowed with the Purple Robe, the Venerable Zhang of the Guiyijun of the Tang] (P. 3541V° (1)). This eulogy was composed by a certain Fuyou (fl. late 9th to the first quarter of the 10th c., 福祐).[96] Another monk of standing was Zhizi (fl. 10th c., 志

consulting Wu Qiyu 吳其昱, "Taihan koku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōsei den kō 大番国大德 • 三藏法師 法成伝考 [A Discussion of the Life of the Great Virtuous One from Tibet, the Tripiṭaka and Dharma Master, Facheng]," trans. Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 and Higuchi Masaru 樋口勝, edited by Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅, *Tonkō to Chugoku bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教 [Dunhuang and Buddhism in China], *Kōza Tonkō* 講座敦煌 [Dunhuang Lectures] 7 (Tokyo: Daitō shūppansha, 1984), 383–414. For a short, yet illuminating, piece pertaining to Facheng, see Takata Tokio, "Multilingualism in Tun-huang," *Acta Asiatica* 78 (2000): 49–70. See also the forthcoming publication Channa Li, "Toward Reconstructing a History of Chödrup's (fl. first half of 9th c., Tib. Chos grub, Chin. Facheng 法成) Monastic Career: A Review Study," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.3 (forthcoming 2021).

[91] For a succinct discussion of Hongbian, see Peng Jianbing 彭建兵, "Guiyijun shou ren Hexi du sengtong Wu Hongbian shengping shiji shuping 归义军首任河西都僧統吴洪辩生平事迹述评 [A Review of the Life Story of the First Saṃgha Overseer Wu Hongbian of the Hexi District under the Guiyijun]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 2 (2005): 157–163. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, Henrik H. Sørensen, "On the Office of the Saṃgha Overseers in Dunhuang During the Period of Guiyijun Rule."

[92] Biographical note in DXDC, 356ab.

[93] Characters are missing.

[94] Characters are missing.

[95] Characters are missing.

[96] Fuyou composed an eulogy for another funerary portrait (P. 3556 (I–2)). He also copied the manuscript S. 985 in 893.

自), for whom a eulogy was composed, the *Songfa heshang lingta, hui Zhizi, Lingtu si* 宋法和尚靈塔, 諱志自靈土寺 [The Burial *stūpa* of the Venerable Dharma [Teacher] Song of the Lingtu Temple, whose name was Zhizi] (P. 4660 (24)).[97] Other important monks from this temple include Chong'en,[98] Tan'guang, Ci'en (fl. first half of 10th c., 慈恩),[99] Shaozong (fl. first half of 10th c., 紹宗),[100] Yuanji (fl. first half of 10th c., 願濟),[101] and Baohu (d.u., 保護).

The temple was situated within the town of Shazhou itself (P. 3234V°, P. 2032).[102]

4.1.15. *Jinguangming Temple* (金光明寺)

The Jinguangming Temple (金光明寺) was an important local temple, first mentioned in the official records in 788, during the early phase of the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang (S. 2729), and last mentioned in 1019 (*Tianxi ta ji*).[103] At the census conducted in the early part of the Tibetan rule, there were 16 monks (S. 2729). In 818, the temple had eight slaves (S. 542). During the Guanghua (光華) reign period (898–900) the temple was partly destroyed in a Uyghur raid, but was rebuilt in 901 (S. 3905). At that time, the monastic population numbered 35 (S. 2614). During the Tongguang reign period (923–926, 同光) of the Later Tang, the number of monks and novices was 62 (P. 2250).

Little is known about the buildings and structures of the temple, except that it had a gate and a bell tower (P. 3967R° (7)).

Like the other temples in the region, the Jinguangming Temple owned fields, orchards, and a heard of domestic animals. This income was supplemented by donations and offerings for religious services. A list of the temple's property survives (S. 542V°).

The temple had a fairly large library, documented in at least one inventory list (P. 3853). A surviving document lists Buddhist scriptures shared and distributed among monastic representatives of the major

[97] The catalogue text shows that whoever wrote it, misunderstood the title. Cf. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Touen-Houang* V, vol. 1, 293.
[98] Dunhuang suijin, 21–22.
[99] S. 2614V°.
[100] S. 2614V°.
[101] S. 2614V°.
[102] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 650–651. DXDC, 631ab.
[103] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

temples in Dunhuang. A monk named Huiwei (d.u., 惠徽) was the representative for the Jinguangming Temple (P. 3337RV°). The temple library had a copy of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdāyasūtra*, donated by four monks: Wang Huizhang (d.u., 王會長), Zhang Sengnu (d.u., 張僧奴), Linghu Futong (d.u., 令狐富通), and Yan Yanding (d.u., 閻延定) (P. 3351R° (2)).[104]

A large and productive scriptorium was part of the temple. One list from the period of the Tibetan rule contains the names of 23 monks and 32 laymen who served as copyists there (P. 3205R°).[105] This list shows that producing Buddhist scriptures for the temple was a responsibility of the resident monks in addition to professional scribes, which probably also held true for the other temples in Dunhuang. One roll of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (T. 220.8), probably dating from 982, was copied by the resident monk, the above Yanding (S. 5652). Another monk copyist appears in the colophon of a copy of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (T. 475.14), which states that it was copied by the *ācārya* Zhu (d.u., 祝闍梨)[106] and formed part of a larger offering of scriptures (possibly by him) to the temple's library (S. 2871).

During the 9th and 10th centuries, the Jinguangming Temple operated a temple school, where members of the important local clans studied (P. 2692).

The temple also had a Buddhist association. In one of its circulars, written by the head of the association, Gao Changxin (fl. 10th c., 高昌辛), refers to a meeting of the association at the gate of the temple (P. 3698R° (2)).[107]

A number of official documents survive that illuminate the temple's status and relationship with the government and other Buddhist institutions. These include a letter of invitation from Cao Yuanzhong (r. 944–974, 曹元忠) to the monks of the temple, asking them to present

[104] This monk also figures in another manuscript dated to 982 (S. 5419).

[105] Fifty-two of these names appear in a list of copyists from this temple (S. 2711).

[106] This monk is also mentioned in S. 5341V°.

[107] See Chen Dawei 陈大为 and Chen Qing 陈卿, "Dunhuang Jinguangming si yu shisu shehui de guanxi 敦煌金光明寺与世俗社会的关系 [The Relationship between the Jingguangming Temple and Secular Society in Dunhuang]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 5 (2017): 93–102.

themselves at his residence to perform a ritual on behalf of his deceased brother. The letter is dated 947 (P. 3388R°). Another document, a formal letter dated 945 was written by the monk Qingsui (fl. mid-10th c., 慶遂), It concerns a communication with the Longxing Temple (S. 5718). A decree (Chin. *chidie* 勅牒) was issued by the government office (Chin. *zhongshu menxia* 中書門下) and addressed to the monk Youli (fl. mid-10th c., 幼離), which confers the rank of Saṃgha Regulator Bestowed with the Purple Robe (Chin. *cizi sengzheng* 賜紫僧政) on Huiqing (fl. mid-10th c., 惠清) of the Jinguangming Temple (P. 4518 (9)). A list exists of such Monk Officials (Chin. *sengguan* 僧官) belonging to various temples in Dunhuang, including the Jinguangming Temple (P. 3721V° (1c)). In another document dated 841, the monks of the temple request the approval of the monk Huaiji's (fl. first half of 9th c., 淮濟) promotion to the position of rector, and another monk's promotion to the position of temple abbot (Chin. *sizhu* 寺主). The document was presented by the Proctor (Chin. *weina* 維那) Huaiying (d.u. 懷英) and signed by a group of 19 monks. The promotions were subsequently approved by the Saṃgha Overseer Hongbian (P. 3730 (5)).

As far as we can tell, the Jinguangming Temple did not adhere to one specific Buddhist tradition, but housed monks who engaged in a variety of Buddhist practices, including Chan Buddhism (禪宗). The eulogy with preface for the funerary portrait of Venerable Suo (法律索), i.e. Yibian (793–869, 義辯)[108] of the Jinguangming Temple, who had served as Saṃgha Recorder in the second half of the 9th century, is full of Chan Buddhist references, indicating he practiced Chan (P. 4660 (2), P. 4640 (3), S. 530).[109] Moreover, he dwelled in a special part of the temple called the Benju Chan Cloister (Chin. Benju Chan guan 本居禪院). This name indicates that it was a special building designated for meditation within the temple (S. 530). Another eulogy written for a monk of the temple survives, that of Qianjian (d.u., 潛建), who was the brother of the nun Miaoshi (d.u., 妙施) of the Puguang Temple (P. 4640 (9)). However, his affiliation with any particular practice or doctrine is not indicated.

[108] For a biographical note on him, see DXDC, 351b.

[109] Cf. *Jinguangming si gu Suo falü maozhen zan bing xu* 金光明寺故索法律貌真讚, 幷序 [Eulogy for the Funerary Portrait of the Senior Monk Suo of the Jinguangming Temple, with Preface] dated 889 (P. 4660). It was composed by the local literati monk Wuzhen.

There is a good deal of documentation regarding the temple's performance of Buddhist rituals. The colophon of a text for confession (Chin. *chanhui* 懺悔) that was written by the (resident?) Vinaya Master Baoyuan (fl. mid-10th c., 保員) dates from 947–948 (S. 4300). Likewise, a collection of various prayer texts used for rituals in the temple dates from 920–935 (S. 6417VR°). In 947, during the Later Jin, Cao Yuanzhong invited the monks of the Jinguangming Temple to a vegetarian feast (Chin. *zhai* 齋) on behalf of his deceased brother Cao Yuanshen (r. 939–944, 曹元深) (P. 3388). Another formal invitation requests monks from the temple to participate in a seven-seven type of ceremony (Chin. *qiqi zhai* 七七齋) for a deceased mother (P. 4810V° (a)).[110]

There is also an interesting piece of evidence regarding the costs of performing religious ceremonies, such as the so-called *Ullambana* ritual for the liberation of souls in the limbo of the Netherworld.[111] The relevant document mentions the Jinguangming Temple, the Longxing Temple, and the Tianwangtang Temple (天王堂寺). This document probably dates from around the beginning of the 10th century (P. 4957 (a)).

A number of literary compositions by monks from the Jingtu Temple survive, including the *Famen mingyi ji* 法門名義集 [A Collection of Names and Meanings of the Dharma Gate],[112] written by the monk Xingji (fl. turn of the 9th c., 行濟) in 803 (S. 1520); a commentarial note written by Fuyou (fl. second half of 9th c., 福祐), a monk from the temple (S. 985); two poems written by the monks Xue Jinji (fl. early 9th c., 薛金髻) and Zhao Liji (fl. early 9th c., 兆利濟) from around 800 (P. 3052R°); and another Buddhist composition dated 901 (S. 3905R°), was evidently also written by an unknown monk of the Jingtu Temple (?).

[110] For the performance of this type of rite in Dunhuang as part of the offering of Buddhist scriptures by the lay Buddhist, Zhai Fengda, see Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, 24–27.

[111] For a detailed study of this ritual and related developments, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton University Press, 1988).

[112] This is studied in Chen Shuping 陳淑萍, "Fojiao fashu leishu yanjiu—Yi *Fajie cidi chumen* yu *Famen mingyi ji* wei yanjui zhongxin 佛教法數類書研究—以法界次第初門與法門名義集為研究中心 [A Study on the Buddhist Compendium of *Fashu* Books with Focus on the *Fajie cidi chumen* and the *Famen mingyi ji*]," *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [*Dunhuang Studies*] 33 (2017): 153–170. See also Han Peng 韩鹏, "Dunhuang xieben *Famen mingyi ji* yanjiu 敦煌写本 法门名义集 研究 [A Study of the Dunhuang Manuscript of the *Famen mingyi ji*]," (M.A. thesis, Lanzhou University, 2011).

One important cleric associated with the temple was the Saṃgha Overseer of Hexi, the monk Yibian (793–869, 義辯) of the Suo clan, who participated in the extension of Cave 12 (DMGT: 7). His eulogy, the *Shazhou shimen Suo falü ku ming* 沙州釋門索法律窟銘 [Cave Record of the Dharma and Vinaya Master of the Suo Clan in Shazhou], was written by Wuzhen (P. 4660 (21), P. 4640 (3), S. 530). Other monks of note include Yonglong (d.u., 永隆) and Shenwei (d.u., 神威), both of whom entered monastic life in this temple. Mogao Caves 7, 12, 13, and 44 have donor inscriptions by monks from this temple, including Yibian, Qingda (d.u., 慶達), and others.

The temple was located to the northwest of the town of Shazhou (P. 2856V° (2), S. 3905).[113]

4.1.16. *Kaiyuan Temple* (開元寺)

The earliest reference to this temple is in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Assembled Essentials of the Tang], which states that it was first built in 738.[114] One document from the hoard of manuscripts discusses the establishment of multiple Kaiyuan Temples (開元寺) under Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–755, 玄宗) throughout the Tang Empire (S. 4057 (1)). A record from 788, in the early part of the Tibetan rule, also mentions this temple's name (S. 2729). The Kaiyuan Temple existed up to the early Northern Song, as it is mentioned in a document from 979 (S. 3156). Although it is among the important temples in Dunhuang, historically it was less important than the Longxing, Sanjie, and Dayun temples, especially as time wore on, since there are far fewer documents and references related to it than to other local temples, even lesser ranking ones.

During the period of Tibetan rule, the temple had as few as 13 monks in residence (S. 2729), a number that had increased to 21 in 825 (S. 5676 (2)). By the late Tang, there was a total of 48 monks and novices, indicating the same rise in the overall monastic population in Dunhuang that is documented elsewhere (S. 2614). In the 10th century under the Later Jin, the number of monks slightly decreased to 38 (P. 2250). This

[113] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 649–650.

[114] This source also states that its name was changed from Dayun Temple to Kaiyuan Temple in 738. Since the Dayun Temple continued to exist after 738, this piece of information is clearly wrong or somehow misconstrued. Cf. *Tang huiyao*, 48 (開元寺), accessed 3/3/2020. https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=275761.

reinforces the point made earlier that the Kaiyuan Temple was a relatively modest institution, likely not only in its number of monks but also in its number of buildings. A census list from 818 reveals that the Kaiyuan Temple owned twenty slaves or indentured persons (S. 542).

Not much is known about its landholdings and sources of income, but its economy probably more or less followed the pattern documented elsewhere for the temples of Dunhuang. An inventory of several temples, including the Kaiyuan Temple, contains a list of livestock and other property (S. 542). The Kaiyuan Temple received donations from the government, at least on an irregular basis, including the customary distribution of *sūtra* wrappers (P. 5568).

The temple is said to have possessed a clay sculpture of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong, which remained in existence until the Qianfu reign period (874–879, 乾符) and possibly later (P. 3451). This is, of course, related to the fact that it was under this emperor that the Kaiyuan temples were established throughout the empire (S. 4057, P. 2889).

The temple enjoyed a degree of local prestige, especially during the early years of the Guiyijun reign, because of its relationship with the Tibetan monk Facheng and his circle (S. 3927), and with the revival of Yogācāra Buddhism, especially the renewed interest in the doctrines of the *Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra* (T. 1579.30). A colophon from 857 appended to a copy of this important treatise states that the scripture was recited in the Kaiyuan Temple (S. 5309).

Like the other major temples in Dunhuang, the monks of the Kaiyuan Temple performed services on behalf of the Guiyijun rulers and society as a whole. One document refers to a call for prayers by the government to be conducted in the temple (P. 3853).

One important monk from this temple was Fajing (fl. mid-9th c., 法鏡),[115] a lecturer and disciple of Facheng and Jinxuan (d.u., 金炫).[116] A number of other monks' names and images appear as donors in Caves 112, 148, and 155, including one Yuanman (fl. second half of 10th c., 圓滿), who served as the Rector of Kaiyuan Temple. He appears to have been the main sponsor of Cave 112 (DMGT: 55).

[115] See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Guiyijun and Buddhism at Dunhuang: A Year by Year Chronicle," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 4.2 (2019).

[116] In 871, Fajing lectured on the *Vimalakīrtisūtra* at the Kaiyuan Temple in Shazhou (P. 2079).

The temple was situated inside the town of Shazhou itself (P. 2856V° (2)).[117]

4.1.17. *Liantai Temple* (蓮臺寺)

This temple's name first appears in a census list from 788 (S. 2729). It functioned until the beginning of the 11th century (*Tianxi ta ji*).[118] In the 788 census, there were only ten monks living in the temple (S. 2729), a figure that increased slightly by the late Tang to 27 (S. 264). To all intents and purposes, the temple was fairly small.

The temple's income derived from the lands it owned, animal husbandry, the operation of a pawnshop, and donations it received from the laity. It also owned vegetable gardens in the vicinity of Shazhou (P. 3396). An inventory dated 853 documents the temple's possessions and the offerings it received (P. 2567). The same information appears in a later source (P. 2567V° (1)). A general distribution of *sūtra* wrappers also included this temple (P. 4611).

The Liantai Temple had a library (P. 3337) and scriptorium (P. 3833). Its name appears in a list of Buddhist scriptures distributed among the local temples (P. 3855). The library did not only contain Buddhist books, but also included secular works including a copy of the apocryphal *Li Ling yu Su Wu shu* 李陵於蘇武書 [Letters of Li Ling and Su Wu] by the monk Bianhui (fl. 10th c., 辯惠), dating from 927 (P. 2847 (2)).[119] The temple offered copying services to visitors and pilgrims, attested by a colophon dated to 911, to the effect that the visiting Saṃgha Overseer Haisheng (fl. 9th/10th c., 張海晟) of the Zhang (張) clan, requested a copy of the *Guanyin jing* 觀音經 [Avalokiteśvara Scripture][120] to be made at the temple (BD 6261). It is known that from 893 until at least 936, the Liantai Temple operated a monastic school where both monks and the laity trained (P. 3569, P. 3833). Its students included members of the local gentry, and

[117] Mogao ku nianbiao, 646–655.

[118] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan cang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi ta," 63–67.

[119] See also P. 2498.

[120] This rather imprecise designation may refer to several different scriptures, among them the *Pumen Chapter* (普門品) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, or an apocryphal scripture, such as the *Gaowang guanyin jing* 高王觀音經 [Exhalted King Avalokiteśvara Scripture] (T. 2897.85).

Cao Guangsheng (fl. 10th c., 曹光晟) enrolled there (P. 2618 (2), P. 4019, S. 3835).

One text describes a Buddhist assembly or debate meeting held in the temple, in which important monastic leaders and government officials participated (P. 3548V°). In that document, the monk Daoguang (d.u., 道廣)[121] presented the main topics dealt with in the assembly, including the Four Noble Truths (Chin. *sidi* 四諦), the Five Heinous Crimes (Chin. *wuni* 五逆), an elucidation of a section of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, and a discourse on the Buddha Nature of True Suchness (Chin. *zhenru foxing* 眞如佛性) based on the *Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T. 374.12).

The Liantai Temple is included in a decree ordering prayers to be held at the various temples in Dunhuang (P. 3853), which shows that it was an important temple whose monks were called upon to participate in various public ceremonies and events.

The name of a monk from this temple, Fusui (fl. 9th c., 福遂), appears among the donors in Cave 148.

The temple was located inside the town of Shazhou (S. 1438, P. 3234, P. 2856V° (2)).[122]

4.1.18. *Lingtu Temple* (靈圖寺)

This temple was originally established during the early Tang in 668, which was the first year of the Qianfeng (乾封) reign period. Two manuscripts recount events surrounding the temple's foundation and the reason for its name (P. 2005, P. 2695). It continued to function until at least 1019.[123]

In 788, during the early Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, a census states that 17 monks lived in the temple at that time (S. 2729), a number that steadily increased until 825, when a new census shows that the number of clerics rose to 37 (S. 5676 (2)). A tally from 818 indicates that the temple households (Chin. *sihu* 寺戶), by which it means indentured farmers, numbered 19 (S. 542).

[121] This monk is mentioned in a list of novices, *śramaṇera* (Chin. *shami* 沙彌), living in the Lingtu Temple (S. 2614V°). A later source describes him as a full monk (P. 2288V°), and, finally, in another source he appears as a senior monk (P. 4640). A manuscript in the National Library of China indicates that he was a specialist in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (BD 14093).

[122] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 657.

[123] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan cang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

In addition to hiring farmers to cultivate its lands, the temple also rented them out for other purposes, owned domestic animals, and operated a loan business, for which it engaged in lending money as an extra source of income.

As was generally the case with Buddhist temples in medieval China, offerings and donations from the laity were an important addition to the more common forms of income, such as receiving payment for performing rituals and copying scriptures. On a number of occasions, the temple received support from the local government and distributions of *sūtra* wrappers for its library's scriptures (P. 4611, P. 5568). One source consists of a list of offerings the nun Xiude (d.u., 修德) made to the temple, likely to accompany the act of donation itself (P. 2583 (2)). A record from the early 11th century concerning Cao Zongshou, then ruler of Dunhuang, mentions that in or around 1007, he petitioned the Song court to provide him with one hundred thousand pieces of gold foil for repairing the images in the temple (*Song huiyao jigao*, 5, 蕃夷).

Similar to the other major temples in Dunhuang, the Lingtu Temple had its own library (P. 5022 (B)), as well as a scriptorium (P. 4779). Moreover, the library was probably divided into Upper and Lower Holdings (Chin. *shangzang* 上藏, *xiazang* 下藏), since one source lists various *sūtra*s from the Upper Library (Chin. *shangzang* 上藏), which belonged to the senior monk Suo (d.u., 索法律)[124] (P. 4755V° (a)).

Between 895 and 940, the temple operated a monastic school (P. 3211, S. 728), where monks and members of the laity trained. Zhang Yingrun (fl. first half of 10th c., 張盈潤), whose name is found on a document from 927, was a student there (P. 5011). He later became an important official, a military commander (Chin. *jiedu yaya* 節度押衙), in the local government (P. 3390E° (2)). This indicates that local government officials were trained in Dunhuang's monastic schools.

Extant circulars attest that the temple had an active lay association (P. 6024) from 869 onwards (P. 3305V° (e)). One such circular provides the names of its members (P. 3391 (5)).

A copy of the popular liturgical text, *Pusa changdao wen*,[125] indicates that it was recited at the temple for special events (P. 3228R°). One

[124] This monk also appears in P. 3240 and P. 4779.
[125] The same text can be found in S. 5660.

document records a congregation of monks from different temples that met in the Lingtu Temple, which may have been one such event where the above text was recited (P. 6015).

A manuscript of the apocryphal scripture *Foshuo xuming jing* 佛説續命經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Extension of the Span of Life] (T. 2889. 85), features a colophon in which a mother of the Fan clan (氾氏) prays for the recovery of her daughter, Hong Xiang (d.u., 弘相), from an illness. It is dated 901 and was written by the senior monk Fayan (fl. late 9th c., 法晏) from the Jingtu Temple (P. 3115). This is an excellent example of a privately sponsored scripture, which would have supplemented the holdings of the temple libraries in addition to formal scriptural donations made by the Guiyijun government.

An array of important local monks hailed from this temple, including Facheng (BD 14676), Sui'en (fl. first half of 10th c., 遂恩),[126] Wuzhen, and Baoxuan (fl. first half of 10th c., 寶宣),[127] who were all ordained and began their monastic careers there (P. 5556V°). Huiyun (fl. first half of 9th c., 惠云), a monk-copyist from the temple, left his name on a copy of the *Aparimitāyurnāmasūtra* (T. 936.19).[128] At least one eulogy associated with an important cleric from the temple survives, namely, the *Song Fa heshang lingta, hui Zhizi, Lingtu si* 宋法和尚靈塔, 諱志自靈圖寺 [Eulogy written for the Funerary (i.e. Spirit) Stūpa of the Venerable Dharma Master, Named Zhizi of the Song] (P. 4660 (24B)). There is also a document concerning the promotion of the above-mentioned Wuzhen to the position of 'Dharma Master of the Study Department for Buddhist Ideology in Shazhou' (Chin. *Shazhou shimen yixuedu fashi* 沙州釋門義學都法師). This document not only underscores the master's connection with this important Buddhist institution, but also gives an indication of the high regard in which he was held (P. 3770V° (3)).

[126] He is mentioned in the monastic census list from 921 (S. 2614V°).

[127] Cf. Wang Xiao 王小盾, "Pan Chonggui xiansheng bianwen waiyi 潘重規先生變文外衣 [Mr. Pan Chonggui's 'Outer Robe' of Transformative Texts]," *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 25 (2004): 88. In this source, he is described as a lecturer (Chin. *jiangshi* 講師).

[128] Since his name is also found on a copy of a Tibetan version of the same scripture, it is tempting to read these copies as part of the activity for securing long life for the Tibetan King Tri Tsugdétsen (r. 815–841, Tib. Khri gTsug lde bstan), remembered as Relpacan (Tib. Ral pa can) (P. 5589V° (16)), P.T. 126V° (2.6)).

In Mogao Cave 148, there are donor inscriptions showing that monks from this temple participated in the cave's excavation and decoration (DMGT: 68–72).

The temple's ruins can still be found eighty *li* southwest of the prefectural seat, where the Li Xianwang Temple (李先王廟)[129] now stands.[130]

4.1.19. *Lingxi Temple* (靈西寺)

This temple is said to have been in operation between 759–920. So far, only one document has been identified bearing its name (P. 2686).[131]

4.1.20. *Lingxiu Temple* (靈修寺)

The earliest reference to this nunnery in the primary sources is in 691 (S. 2157). It continued to operate until at least 979, during the early Northern Song (S. 3156).

The important 788 census list from the early period of Tibetan rule shows that the temple housed as many as 67 nuns (S. 2729). In 819, the temple owned 15 temple slaves (S. 542). During the late Tang, the population rose dramatically to a total of 142 persons (S. 2614). The temple's sources of income were the same as Dunhuang's other temples, including a lucrative loan business (S. 542, S. 1600, BD 6359V° (1–10)). This was supplemented by a variety of donations and offerings, both official and private, such as the offering of *sūtra* wrappers (P. 5568 (1)) as an example of the former, and an offering of foodstuffs in connection with the celebration of a meagre feast by the believer Wang (d.u., 王), as an example of the latter (P. 2583V° (8)). Private offerings also derived from monastics, such as in the list of offerings made by the nun Cixin, who also donationed to the Bao'en Temple (P. 2583V° (7)).

There is little information about the temple's library. One document has a list of Buddhist scriptures that were distributed to various temples in

[129] This temple was originally erected by a local ruler in 400 as an ancestral shrine. For additional information, see Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, ed., *Dunhuang dili wenshu hui ji jiaozhu* 敦煌地理文書匯輯校注 [Annotated Text of Source Materials on Dunhuang's Geography] 2, accessed September 28, 2018. https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=514862.

[130] Mogao ku nianbiao, 659.

[131] Mogao ku nianbiao, 658.

Dunhuang via the nun Zhilin (fl. 10th c., 智林). It states that the Lingxiu Temple was one of the recipients of the donation (P. 3337).

It is unclear whether the temple also operated a monastic school. However, a writing exercise that consists of short *sūtra* passages provides the name of a monastic copyist, Huibian (fl. late 10th c., 惠辯), who copied the writing exercise (P. 2726 (2)).

This temple was also supported by a Buddhist association (P. 3441V° (1)).

A document from 895 lists the names of postulants destined to become Buddhist nuns at Lingxiu Temple (P. 3167 (1)).

The Lingxiu Temple was the home of several important Buddhist nuns, and is especially important for having served as a kind of convent for women belonging to the Zhang and Cao clans, the Guiyijun ruling families. First is the Ācārya Jiezhu (fl. second half of 9th c., 戒珠). She was the niece of Zhang Yichao (r. 851–867, 張議潮), who founded the Guiyijun government, and the daughter of the pious Zhang Yitan (831–890, 張議譚),[132] who sponsored several of the Mogao Caves (P. 3556 (5c)).[133] Another important senior nun was Li Shengmiao (d. 812, 李勝妙), whose relative Zhengzhi offered funeral prayers upon her death (d.u., 正智) (P. 3213V° (3)).

Nuns from the Lingxiu Temple sponsored the creation of Cave 159 (DMGT: 75). Likewise, Caves 144 and 159 feature donor inscriptions and images of nuns from the temple, including an image of the nun Miaoming (d.u., 妙明) (DMGT: 65). The same inscriptions state that a group of monks and nuns from the Longxing, Lingxiu, and Puguang temples participated in the creation of Cave 144 (DMGT: 65–66).

The temple's location is uncertain.[134]

4.1.21. *Longxing Temple* (龍興寺)

The Longxing Temple was Dunhuang's largest Buddhist institution and the official state-sponsored monastery throughout its operation, a period spanning well over three centuries. The earliest mention of the temple is in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 [Complete Text from the Tang Dynasty;

[132] A biographical note is found in DXDC, 853b.
[133] Four of his daughters became nuns. Cf. DXDC, 352ab.
[134] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 658.

hereafter QTW], which refers to it as an important Buddhist monastery in a note from 705 (QTW, ch. 332). This entry consists of a decree that all prefectures in the realm were to have a Longxing Temple to commemorate the beginning of the Shenlong reign (705–706, 神龍), which turned out to be short lived. It is not clear if this account marks the date when the local version of the temple was first erected, or if it indicates that an already-established temple had its name changed. The latter may be more likely. Additionally, the *Longxing si beixu* 龍興寺碑序 [Text of the Stele Inscription of the Longxing Temple] by the literati Fang Guan (696–763, 房琯), is an important primary source.[135] However, the earliest dated reference to the temple in the Dunhuang manuscripts is from 763 (S. 2436). There is also the *Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji* 龍興寺毗沙門天王靈驗記 [Record of Numinous Responses from Vaiśravaṇa, the Heavenly King at Longxing Temple], a pious chronicle by Rijin (fl. first half of 9th c., 日進),[136] the temple's Abbot (S. 381R° (3)).[137] This short literary piece recounts a miraculous event in the early spring of 801, when

[135] *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 [Complete Texts from the Tang Dynasty], ch. 332. Fang Guan's biography is found in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book on the Tang Dynasty], ch. 139.

[136] An ordination certificate issued by this monk for bestowing the Eight Precepts on a lay woman is preserved (S. 2689V°).

[137] See Yang Baoyu 杨宝玉, "Dunhuang wenshu Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji xiaojiao 敦煌文书龙兴寺毗沙门天王灵验记校考 [An Annotation of the Dunhuang Text of the *Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji*]," accessed September 30, 2018. http://www.fjdh.cn/wumin/2009/04/16472461300.html. See also Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Dunhuang fojiao lingyan gushi zonglun 敦煌佛教靈應故事綜論 [A Comprehensive Survey of Miracle Stories from Dunhuang]," accessed September 30, 2018. http://www.chibs.edu.tw/ch_html/LunCong/098/098a-05.htm.

Vaiśravaṇa manifested in the Longxing Temple.[138] The temple existed at least up to 1019, when a souce mentions the temple's name (*Tianxi ta ji*).[139]

According to the 788 census during the Tibetan rule, there were only 28 monks living in the Longxing Temple (S. 2729). A century later, towards the end of the Tang, this figure had only risen to fifty (S. 2614V°). By the second year of the Tianfu reign of the Later Jin (937, 後晉天福二年), the number of monks and novices living there had reached one hundred persons (P. 2250). The early 9th-century census also shows that the temple owned no less than 43 slaves (S. 542).

The temple was divided into at least two sections, a Southern and a Northern Cloister (S. 520). It is also known that it had a scripture depository (Chin. *jinglou* 經樓), which probably was the temple's library or at least part of it (S. 476).

Like the other Buddhist temples in the area, the Longxing temple owned fields, raised domestic animals, and had a loan business. Otherwise it supplemented its income with offerings and donations.

The temple's library was considerable, possibly the largest and most well-stocked in Dunhuang. Scattered inventories of its holdings provide some insight into the nature of its stores (P. 3852, S. 5832). One record mentions that it also contained Buddhist scriptures written in Tibetan (P. T. 999). This could indicate that—at least during the Tibetan rule—the temple's inhabitants consisted of both Chinese and Tibetan monks. This situation would likely have been the same for other temples in the area.[140]

During the Later Liang, the temple operated a school where monks and commoners studied (P. 2712).

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[138] Cf. Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Lun Dunhuang xieben Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji 論敦煌寫本 龍興寺毗沙門天王靈驗記 與唐五代的毗沙門信仰 [A Discussion of the Dunhuang Manuscript, *Longxing si Pishamen tianwang lingyan ji* and Vaiśravaṇa Belief during the Tang and Five Dynasties Period]," in *Di san jie Zhongguo Tang dai wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第三屆中國唐代文化學術研討會論文集 [Collected Papers of the Third Session of the Academic Discussion on the Culture of the Tang Dynasty in China] (Taibei: Guoli Zhengzhi daxue Zhongguo wenxue xi, 1996), 427–442. Later in 947 printed flyers honouring the deity were printed for distribution by Cao Yuanzhong (P. 4514). For an example, see Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Road* (London: British Museum Publications, 1990), 104, 106, pl. 85.

[139] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

[140] See Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 28.

As Dunhuang's official temple, it enjoyed enormous prestige and received more donations and offerings than any of the other temples.[141] The Guiyijun ruler Cao Yuanzhong frequently made offerings to this important temple (S. 3565). Cao Zongshou, one of the last Cao rulers of Dunhuang, appealed to the Song court for financial support to repair the temple's Buddhist images (*Song huiyao, Fanyi* 5).

This temple was home to several important local monks, including the above-mentioned Saṃgha Registrar Rijin, the Rector Longzang (fl. 9th c., 龍藏),[142] Mingzhao (fl. mid-9th c., d. after 867, 明照),[143] Desheng (fl. late 9th c., 德勝),[144] Qinglin (fl. 10th c., 慶林), Shenshan (fl. 10th c., 深善),[145] and others, all of whom entered monastic life in this temple. Documents refer to other important clerics of Longxing Temple, including the Saṃgha Recorder Haizang (fl. second half of 10th c., 海藏),[146] the Saṃgha Overseer of Hexi Ganghui (966–978, 鋼慧),[147] and Xinshan (d.u., 心善), who served as the temple's rector[148] (S. 4654, P. 2879, P. 3553, S. 6189, S. 4915).

In 859, Mingzhao, a disciple of Facheng, made a vow in the Heba Hall (賀跋堂) (Nakamura Fusetsu Museum of Calligraphy, Taito City Museum, Japan).

Monks from the temple were also involved in the repair and creation of Mogao Caves 36, 85, 144, etc., all of which feature donor inscriptions by its monks, including Longzang mentioned above (DMGT: 66–67). A team of 12 monks from the temple created Cave 36 during the early to mid-10th

[141] See Chen Dawei 陳大為, "Dunhuang Longxing si yu putong xinzhong de guanxi 敦煌龍興寺與普通信眾的關係 [Dunhuang's Longxing Temple and its Relationship with Common Believers]," *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 28 (2010): 41–60. This is an important study of how a major temple in Dunhuang functioned over a period of more than two hundred years. It covers a wide variety of issues, including lectures, scriptural production, rituals, societies, etc., and as such, is an in-depth micro-study of one of the most important temples in Dunhuang.

[142] DMGT, 66.

[143] He was a disciple of Facheng and a student of the *Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra* (S. 3927, S. 735, S. 6483, Collection of the Nakamura Fusetsu Museum of Calligraphy, Taito City Museum, Japan). For a short biographical note, see DXDC 352b, and *Dunhuang suijin*, 12.

[144] He served as Abbot of the temple during the late 9th century (S. 6350, S. 2113).

[145] Biographical note in *Dunhuang suijin*, 22. See also P. 3004.

[146] He was a contemporary of Saṃgha Overseer Kanghui (P. 2879).

[147] P. 2879R°, P. 3553, S. 6981. For a detailed discussion of this monk, see Rong, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu*, 289–291.

[148] Cf. P. 3004.

century (DMGT: 10–11). Moreover, in at least two cases, monks and nuns from both the Longxing and the Puguang temples were among the donors who contributed to the creation and repair of caves. Monks and nuns from the Longxing, Lingxiu, and Puguang temples participated in Cave 85 (DMGT: 29–30) and Cave 144 (DMGT: 65–66). In 896, the large Buddha statue in Cave 97 was repaired by the abbot Desheng of the Ma clan (馬氏), together with other family members (S. 2113V°). In 934, Liang Xingde (d. 935, 梁幸德), a local military officer, repaired Cave 36 as a family project. His son, the monk Yuanqing (fl. 10th c., 願清) of the Longxing Temple, was in charge of the project (DMGT, 10–11). In 1004, Buddhist images in Longxing and Lingtu temples were repaired and gilded at the initiative of the monk Huizang (fl. late 10th/early 11th c., 惠藏). The Chinese population provided many donations on that occasion (*Song huiyao*, *Fanyi* 5).

The Longxing Temple was located in Shazhou town proper, most probably within easy distance of the govermental headquarters (P. 2856V° (2)).[149]

4.1.22. *Miaogao Shengyan Temple* (妙高勝嚴寺)

This temple is identical with the Miaogao Baokan Temple (Chin. Miaogao Baokan si 妙高寶龕寺). Inscriptions from the Five Dynasties period found in Cave 251 (originally created during the Northern Wei (386–535, 北魏)) mention that a niche located there was made as an offering (DMGT, 109). The best preserved of the inscriptions states that it was "offered by the disciple Wang He of the Miaogao Baokan Temple." The donor Wang He (d.u., 王和) is not documented elsewhere. Its location is uncertain.[150]

4.1.23. *Puguang Temple* (普廣寺)

This temple's name first appears in the census list of 788 (S. 2729), and it remained operational until after 979 (S.3156).

During Tibetan rule, there were 47 nuns living in the temple (S. 2729), a figure that rose to 57 a few years later, in 794 (S. 5676). A document from around 800 provides the names of all the nuns living in the temple at that time. It was verified by the government officials in charge of

[149] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 657–658.
[150] DXDC, 632b.

Dunhuang's temples, Tang Qianjin and Suo Xiu (fl. early 9th c., 索岫). The list includes the Abbess Zhenxing (fl. early 9th c., 眞行) and the senior nun Faxi (fl. early 9th c., 法喜) (P. 3600V°). After the Tibetan loss of control over Hexi, the number of nuns grew exponentially. By the late Tang, there were as many as one hundred and ninety nuns at the temple (P. 3556).

The nunnery's income followed the now typical pattern for temples in Dunhuang. It also operated a loan business, evident in a document consisting of a contract between the temple and a certain Li Hehe (d.u., 李和和) (P. 2686 (1)). However, at times, the nuns of the temple were themselves forced to borrow, as in a case where a loan of flour was made from the government's grain stores (P. 3370).

A number of records survive concerning offerings made to the temple, including an offering of wine dated 978 (S. 6123), and a list of offerings to the nuns of three local temples that includes the Puguang Temple (P. 5579 (16)). The same source also documents a distribution of *sūtra* wrappers to several temples, including the Puguang Temple (P. 5568).

The Puguang temple also had its own library, evident from lists of donated scriptures to be distributed among Dunhuang's temples (P. 3337). The temple's name also occurs in the colophons of various Buddhist scriptures, indicating that they belonged to its library. These include a copy of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* by Suo Youyan (fl. second half of 8th c., 索遊巖), copied on behalf of the nun Puyi (fl. second half of 8th c., 普意) of the Puguang Temple. This manuscript probably dates from 788 (S. 3475). Another document mentions the recompilation of a complete set of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, together with an inventory of wrappers for the scripture bundles. This recompilation took place on the occasion of performing the rite for turning the scriptures, which was done in the presence of the three abbots of the Yongkang, Longxing and Bao'en temples respectively, including the monks Guide (d.u., 皈德) and Tanhao (d.u., 譚顥) (P. 2717R°).

Important nuns from this temple include Zhang Yichao's granddaughter of the Sun clan, who entered the Puguang Temple as a nun with the *dharma* name Qingjingjie (d. 951–959, 清淨戒).[151] Her eulogy, the *Da Zhou gu Puguang si falü ni lintan dade shamen Qingjingjie maozhen zan*

[151] P. 3556R° (5b). See also the brief biographical note in DXDC, 363a.

大周故普光寺法律尼臨壇大德沙門淸淨戒邈眞讚 [Funerary Eulogy for the Portrait of the Nun Qingjingjie of the Puguang Temple under the Great Zhou], is preserved (P. 3556R° (5b)).

A number of documents record various activities that took place at the temple, including an assembly of 33 people, convened on the death of the nun *ācārya* Fan (d.u., 氾闍梨) from the Puguang Temple. The document is signed by the Saṃgha Administrator Chen (d.u., 陳僧政) (P. 3218). There is also a funerary eulogy for a pair of sibling monastics, a monk and a nun, who hailed from the local Zhang clan. It presents the lives and achievements of the monk Qianjian from the Jinguangming Temple, and his sister, the nun Miaoshi of the Puguang Temple, who are also known had a niche in a cave decorated in memory of their parents (P. 4640R° (9)).

A group of young postulants were presented at the temple in 895. Among these was the daughter of a Li Taiping (d.u., 李太平) (P. 3167V°).

There are a number of extant documents relating to various aspects of the nunnery's legal matters. One contains a formal request from this temple to the Saṃgha Overseer, asking that several nuns be allowed to disrobe. It is dated 891 (P. 3753 (2)). Another petition by the nuns of the temple is addressed to the Saṃgha Overseer Haiyan (fl. early 10th c., d. 933, 海晏)[152] (S. 6417V° (2a)).

Many of the nuns from the Puguang Temple participated in the creation and renovation of various Mogao Caves, including Cave 85, 108, 144, and 329 (DMGT: 30, 52, 66, 133, 66). A few of their names are found in the *in situ* donor inscriptions, including Jianjin (fl. 10th c., 堅進) and one Zuishengxi (fl. 10th c., 最勝喜).

The temple was located to the west of the town of Shazhou near Yiqiu (宜秋) (S. 6123, P. 2856V° (2)).[153]

4.1.24. *Puxian Cloister* (普賢院)

This temple is mentioned in a missive of greeting, written by the monk Jingtong (d.u., 靖通) who was the Abbot of the cloister (P. 2292 (1)). The cloister's location is unknown, but it was probably located inside one of the major temples. It is not well documented among the Dunhuang manuscripts.

[152] For a discussion of this monk, see Rong, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu*, 285–287.
[153] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 655–656; DXDC, 630b; *Dunhuang suijin*, 124–125.

4.1.25. *Qianming Temple* (乾明寺)

This temple was a late addition to the Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang. References to it only appear during the final quarter of the 10th century, in the years 975–976 (S. 3156).[154]

Little is known about the temple's economy and landholdings. However, it is included in a list of gardens owned by various temples. The document in question dates from the very end of the 10th century (P. 3396).

Based on identifying seals found on some *sūtra* manuscripts, we know that the temple had a functioning library. It included a scriptorium (P. 3072, P. 3240), indicated by surviving colophons on the works copied by students (P. 3780, P. 4064). One of these, Yang Dingqian (fl. second half of 10th c., 楊定千), was a student in the monastic school and worked in the scriptorium in 975 (P. 4065).[155]

The Qianming Temple also had a Buddhist lay association, documented by two circulars (S. 3156), one of which dates to 992 (?) (S. 6066).

The temple's location is uncertain.[156]

4.1.26. *Qianyuan Temple* (乾元寺)

Although the Qianyuan Temple is counted among the important temples in Dunhuang, it was probably of less importance than the Longxing, Sanjie, Jinguangming, and Jingtu temples. Information on the Qianyuan Temple first appears in the Tibetan census from 788 (S. 2729). It remained active until after the Taiping Tianguo reign (976–983, 太平天國) of the Northern Song (P. 3218).

At the 788 census, 19 monks lived there (S. 2729). At that time, the temple slaves were no fewer than ten (S. 542). During the 9th century, the temple's inhabitants numbered 27 monks and novices (S. 2614). By 926, there were 44 monks living there (P. 3423). After the rise of the Cao clan during the early 10th century, the Qianyuan temple's religious activities increased (S. 2614V°). A list of monks who had been newly ordained at the temple reflects this (P. 3423, P. 3431).

[154] Gertraud Taenzer claims that it was founded in 980, but provides no supporting documentation. Cf. Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 39.

[155] The name of this person also figures in S. 976, dated to the following year in 976. See also P. 3780 V°.

[156] DXDC, 632b.

The temple received donations and other forms of support from the government, the laity, and its landholdings (P. 3047V° (3), P. 3587). One document concerning the distribution of *sūtra* wrappers includes the Qianyuan temple in a list of temples (P. 4611). Another source lists it as a recipient of a part of a large-scale distribution of Buddhist scriptures (P. 3854R°).

The temple had a large functioning library and a few inventory lists of the library holdings are preserved (P. 3779V° (1)). One such inventory of Buddhist scriptures says that Daci (d.u., 大慈), the temple's Supervisor of Scriptures (Chin. *jingsi* 經司), gave the list to his successor, Guangxin (d.u., 廣信) (P. 3188R° (1)).[157] A colophon from 936, appended to a copy of the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 [Amitābha *sūtra*] (T. 366.12) mentions that it was copied by a monk from the temple (BD 2275).

Like most of Dunhuang's temples, the Qianyuan Temple also had a lay Buddhist association, documented by a meeting circular (P. 4821).

Several important monks were associated with this temple, including the Saṃgha Overseer Haiyan, who entered monkhood here, and Jinxuan, who is referred to as a Transmitter of the Buddhist Teaching (Chin. *jiaoshou* 教授). He sponsored the wall paintings and decoration of Cave 155 (DMGT: 72). Other monks associated with the creation and maintenance of the Mogao Caves hailed from this temple, including a group whose names are found in Cave 196 (DMGT: 89–86), among them Jieji (d.u., 戒寂), Cishan (d.u., 慈善), and others (DMGT: 88). The location of the temple is uncertain.[158]

[157] Because of these documents as well as P. 2912, Zheng Binglin (鄭炳林) suggest that the Qianyuan Temple housed the central office for the management of all the Buddhist libraries of Dunhuang's temples during the Guiyijun period, implying that the management of library holdings was a government issue. Cf. eg. Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, "Wan Tang Wudai Dunhuang diqu *Dabanruo jing* xinyang yu difang zhengquan de guanxi 晚唐五代敦煌地區 大般若經 信仰與地方政權的關係 [On the Relationship between the Cult of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and local Government in Dunhuang during the late Tang and Five Dynasties Period]," *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 [Pumen Journal] 34 (2006): 1–19. However, while this may have been the case for one period, I hesitate to accept this as reflecting as having been a general situation until more supporting evidence is brought forth.

[158] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 652.

4.1.27. *Qingli Temple* (清理寺)

In 853, Zhang Yichao and the Buddhist master Hongbian raised money for the Qingli Temple's (清理寺) cloisters (S. 1947V°).

4.1.28. *Sanjie Temple* (三界寺)

The Sanjie Temple is easily the best documented of Dunhuang's temples, something which is obvious, given that much of the contents of Cave 17 originally belonged to this temple.[159] Another reason the temple is well documented today is that its leading monks were highly active during most of the 10th century and a significant number of their records have survived.[160]

It is not known exactly when this important temple was founded. However, a colophon appended to a copy of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* and its *dhāraṇī*s that dates to the period, 622–633, mentions the temple by name, and as such is the earliest extant reference to its existence (SI 2630). It rose to prominence during the 10th century, when it came under the leadership of the celebrated Daozhen—and became the most important Buddhist institution in Dunhuang.[161] It remained an important, local Buddhist institution well into the early 11th century (*Tianxi ta ji*).[162] It is widely praised in records from the Tibetan rule, which indicates the high degree of popularity it enjoyed at that time. (P. 3336, P. 3654, Old Collection of Hamada 濱田舊藏 115V°). Towards the end of the Tang, the temple had 22 monks and novices in residence, which indicates that the temple's fortunes had declined somewhat by this time (S. 2614V°).

[159] Cf. Rong Xinjang, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. Imre Galambos (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 118–124.

[160] So far, the best study available on the Sanjie Temple is Wang Xiubo 王秀波, "Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang Sanjie si yanjiu 唐后期五代宋初敦煌三界寺研究 [A Study of the Sanjie Temple in Dunhuang during the Later Tang, Five Dynasties, and the Early Song]" (MA Thesis, Shanghai Normal University, 2014). Despite being a Masters thesis, and showing the usual characteristics expected of this kind of study, it is nevertheless useful for gathering together much of the otherwise disparate data on this temple and combining it into a single, coherent discourse.

[161] See Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen—A Saṃgha Leader and Monk Official in Dunhuang during the 10th Century," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 5.3 (2020).

[162] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

Documentation indicates that the temple consisted of several buildings and courtyards. In addition to the obligatory gate, there was a meditation hall (Chin. *chan tang* 禪堂) (S. 4011V°) and a hall for the worship of Avalokiteśvara (觀音堂) (S. 173, P. 3189, S. 3393, etc.).[163] There were at least two, and possibly three, cloisters inside the temple. The Northern Cloister is mentioned in a document by the monk official Fasong (fl. 10th c., 法松) (P. 3352V° (1)). Its name implies the existence of a corresponding Southern Cloister, as was the case with the Longxing Temple discussed above. However, the most important building was the Guanyin Cloister. It was the residence of a number of important clerics in the course of the Sanjie Temple's history. One of the earliest references to this cloister dates from around 900, when a series of Esoteric Buddhist ritual works were copied by the monk Huiluan (fl. late 9th c., 惠鑾) "in the inner Guanyin Cloister of Sanjie Temple on demand" (S. 2566).[164] Later in 947, the cloister was repaired with assistance of the ruling Cao clan (P. 2641).

The temple's income derived from the same sources as other Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang. The Sanjie Temple received many regular donations from the public, as well as from successive Cao rulers, on whose behalf the temple monks often performed rituals. This was particularly the case during the second half of the 10th century. One of these, Cao Yuanzhong, was especially pious, and made offerings to the temple on a number of occasions, including once as part of a larger donation of Buddhist scriptures [165] and wrappers to the Sanjie Temple and two other important temples in Dunhuang, the Longxing and Lingtu temples (S. 3565). The temple's name also appears in another account of distributing *sūtra*-wrappers (P. 4611R°).

The Sanjie Temple had a fairly large library, which included a scriptorium. Many books from the temple's collection that were found in Cave 17 bear the seal of the temple with the legend, "Sanjie si zangjing yin 三界寺藏經印 [Seal of the Library of the Sanjie Temple]." One source

[163] The worship of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara according to the *Nīlakaṇṭhakadhāraṇīsūtra* (T. 1060.20, T. 1064.20, etc.) at this temple is also documented in various votive paintings (MG 1775, P. 4518 (19), etc.).

[164] See also S. 4378V°.

[165] See also the list of Buddhist texts for distribution, which mentions the Sanjie Temple among others (P. 4779).

preserves an inventory list of the scriptures in the temple's library (P. 3010 (a–d)).[166] The names of several copyists in the temple's scriptorium and students at the monastic school are also preserved (P. 3189, P. 3387, P. 3394R°, P. 4779, etc.). A number of monks also worked as copyists in the temple's scriptorium, including one Jiejing (d.u., 戒淨), whose name appears on a copy of the *Huanxi guowang yuan* 歡喜國王緣 [The Story of King Joyous], a popular didactic Buddhist story (P. 3375V°). Thus the scriptorium produced not only standard Buddhist scriptures, but also popular Buddhist writings and non-Buddhist works. One example of the former category is the *Pinposuoluo wanghou gong cainü gongde yi gongyang ta shengtian yinyuan bian* 頻婆娑羅王后宮綵女功德意供養塔生天因緣變 [Causes and Conditions Transformative [Text on the Rebirth in Heaven of Queen Pinposuoluo's Meritorious Offering of a Stūpa] (S. 3491), a composition with alternating prose, *gāthā*s, and verses authored by one Baoxuan (d.u., 保宣). The colophon states that it was copied by the monk Fabao (fl. mid-10th c., 法保) from the Sanjie Temple in 953 (S. 3491, P. 3051).

The temple operated a monastic school from 908 to 949. However, given that the Sanjie Temple was active well into the 11th century, it seems likely that this school continued much longer than the sources reveal (P. 3286, S. 3393). A number of local dignitaries and nobles studied in this school, including at least two of Cao Yijin's sons, both of whom later became rulers of Dunhuang. Many of the students' names appear in scriptural colophons (S. 173, S. 3393, P. 3189, P. 3386, P. 3393, P. 3582, etc.).

During most of the 10th century, many lay people were ordained in the Sanjie Temple, particularly by the important abbot Daozhen (ca. 915–ca. 987, 道真).[167] Several ordination certificates for both clerics and laity are preserved in connection with his activities (S. 5313, S. 6629, S. 347, S. 4844, S. 330. S. 1183, S. 2448, S. 4115, S. 4915).

The Sanjie Temple enjoyed a high degree of local prestige and popularity during the 10th century, and often held religious events of

[166] This manuscript's dating is uncertain. The *wuzi* (戊子) year mentioned in the manuscript could be 808, 868, or 928. Cf. P. 3010 (d).

[167] For a study of this monk, see, Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen." See also DXDC, 365b. The *Dunhuang suijin*, which otherwise features a lengthy biographical entry, only mentions that he lived around 934. Cf. *ibid.*, 29–31.

various kinds. One source says that the Sanjie Temple hosted a general assembly of monks from Shazhou on an unspecified date (P. 2058 (4)).

The temple also supported the writing of original Buddhist compositions. A treatise consisting of different doctrinal positions relating to Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa* refers to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the *Vimalakīrti* and the *Avataṃsakasūtra*s. A note appended to the end of the manuscript states that the composition was made for discussion by Daozhen, indicating it was probably used by him in a lecture or debate (P. 2836R°).[168]

Esoteric Buddhist practices were also conducted at the temple, indicated by a copy of the *Foshuo jiaju lingyan foding zunsheng tuoluoni shenmiao zhangju zhenyan* 佛說加句靈驗佛頂尊勝陀羅尼神妙章句眞言 [Buddha Utters the Empowering Phrases for Numinous Response of the *Bodoṣṇīṣadhāraṇī*'s Divine and Wondrous Phrases of *mantra*s][169] that was annotated by the monk Jielun (d.u., 戒輪) of the Guanyin Cloister (P. 3919 (B5)).[170]

The Sanjie Temple played an important role in society and regularly performed services and presided over rituals for the benefit of ordinary Buddhists. Among other cases, this is seen in an invitation dated 939, addressed from a lay devotee, the military commander Jia Fengjiu (fl. mid-10th c., 賈奉玖), to various monks, including Daozhen. They were invited to convene at the official's place to participate in a memorial ritual (Chin. *xiaoxiang* 小祥) to commemorate the anniversary of his father's death (P. 2836).

Important monks associated with the Sanjie Temple include the Ācārya Fujin (fl. first half of 10th c., 富進)[171] (P. 3584, P. 3396R°, (2)) and the aforementioned Daozhen—the celebrated monk who initiated a

[168] For a comprehensive list of works belonging to the Sanjie Temple, or which were otherwise produced there, see Zheng, "Dunhuang fojiao siyuan gongneng zhi kaocha yu yanjiu—yi Dunhuang wenxian yu shiku wei zhongxin 2/2," 76–82.

[169] This manuscript displays considerable variants when compared with the Taishō version (T. 974C.19). The spell in question is essentially a later version of the *Sarvadurgatipariśhodhanauṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇīsūtra* (T. 967.19), most likely deriving from Amoghavajra's transmission.

[170] See also Shanghai 41379.

[171] He was the son of the military official, the devout Buddhist Suo Chengxun (fl. 890–893, 索承勳). Cf. DXDC, 354b. This official was also one of the main patrons behind the creation of Cave 196 (DMGT, 87).

preservation project of the scriptures in the temple's library. Several Buddhist works belonging to his private collection are preserved.[172]

Like the other temples in Shazhou, the Sanjie Temple organised Buddhist rituals on a daily basis, including some solicited by the laity, including members of the ruling classes. In one such case, that of the district officer (Chin. *du yaya* 都押衙) Song Cishun (fl. second half of 10th c., 宋慈順), who invited eight monks from the Sanjie Temple to participate in a funerary ritual held in commemoration of his deceased son, also an Officer. The document is dated 969. Among those invited were the Venerable Zhang—a Saṃgha Regulator of the temple (d.u., 張僧政和尚),[173] the Great Master Banshou (fl. second half of 10th c., 斑首大師), three rectors—the Venerable Dong (d.u., 董和尚), Zhou (d.u., 周和尚), and Chen (d.u., 陳和尚), and the two administrative assistants (Chin. *panguan* 判官)—the Ācārya Liu (d.u., 劉) and one Zhang (d.u., 張)[174] (P. 3367).

There are donor inscriptions mentioning monks from this temple in Mogao Caves 148 and 443 and in Yulin Cave 35 They include Zuoxinger (fl. early 10th c., 左興兒), Jiechang (fl. early 10th c., 戒昌), and others, all of whom had wall paintings made as offerings (DMGT: 7, 167). A number of important local monks, including Daozhen, Fasong, and others, were ordained and lived in this temple.[175]

A number of votive paintings belonging to the temple survive, including a painting that combines the imagery of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara (Chin. Shuiyue Guanyin 水月觀音) as secondary votive image, posthumously donated by a woman named Azhang (d. 943, 阿張), the mother of the local official Ma Qianjin (fl. mid-10th c., 馬千進) (MG 17775).[176] A small painting of a Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara features a donor image and dedication

[172] See Sørensen, "The Life and Times of Daozhen."

[173] See also P. 3792. Bibliographical note in DXDC, 360b.

[174] It is interesting to note that these temple functionaries were evidently senior monks.

[175] See Zheng Acai 鄭阿財, "Guanyin jing bian yu Dunhuang Mogao ku siyuan jiang jing zhi lice 觀音經變與敦煌莫高窟寺院講經之蠡測 [A Survey of the Avalokiteśvara Scriptural Tableaux and the Dunhuang Mogao Cave Temples Lectures on Scriptures]," *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 [Pumen Journal] 35 (2006): 1–16 (esp. 3).

[176] This painting has been reproduced on several occasions. Cf. eg. *Shirukurōdo dai bijutsuten* シルクロード大美術展 (English subtitle: Grand Exhibition of Silk Road Buddhist Art), Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1996, 204–205 (pl. 218).

stating that the "*śrāmaṇera* Youxin [(fl. second half of 10th cent., 友信)], a monk of the Sanjie Temple [(三界寺僧沙彌友信)], recites the *Nīlakaṇṭhakasūtra* [(T. 1060.20 or T. 1058.20)], uttering the spell-phrases in front of this image" (P. 4518 (19)). Since the main images in these paintings are different forms of Avalokitesvara, they attest to the great importance of this divinity in Dunhuang's Buddhism.

It is quite certain that this temple was located directly in front of the Mogao Caves, a view shared by most scholars in the field. The pavillion-like *stūpa* entitled Cishi ta (慈氏塔) still standing in front of the central part of the Mogao Caves, was most probably part of the temple.[177]

4.1.29. *Shengguang Temple* (聖光寺)

This nunnery's foundation during the Tibetan rule is recorded in a eulogy composed by a certain Dou (d.u., 竇 (?)[178]), called [*Da*] *fan chi shangshu lingci da sese gaoshen Shang Qilüxiner Shengguang si gongde song* [大]番勅尚書令賜大瑟瑟告身尚起律心兒聖光寺功德頌 [Eulogy Praising the Virtue of Shang Qilüxin'er, Commanding Secretary Conferred with the Great Jewel of the Tibetan Empire] (S. 2765V°). It recounts that the Shengguang Temple was erected under the auspices of Zhang Tri Sumje (fl. 8th/9th c., Tib. Zhang Khri Sum rje, Chin. Shang Qilüxin'er 尚起律心兒), who was the son of the Tibetan ruler of Dunhuang (2765V° (2)). It would appear to have continued to function well after he arrival of the Tanguts in 1038.

Like the other nunneries in Dunhuang, the temple also received its share of postulants for ordination (P. 3167). At the end of the Tang, the temple housed fully ordained nuns, nuns with partial ordination, and novices for a total of 49 persons (S. 2614). This number rose to 79 by the 10th century (S. 2669).

Virtually nothing is known about the temple's size or finances. The Shengguang Temple is mentioned in a document about the customary *sūtra*-wrapper distribution to the libraries of Dunhuang's temples, indicating that it possesed a library (P. 4611, P. 5568).

A decree issued by the District Saṃgha Recorder (Chin. *du senglu* 都僧錄) of Dunhuang, orders the nuns of the Shengguang Temple and the

[177] DXDC, 25a.
[178] This is obviously not a full name or title. (It is a common surname.)

monks of the Bao'en Temple to conduct a water-course on a rotating basis (P. 4765R° (1)).[179]

During the Tangut period, the nunnery was converted into a temple for monks. On the eastern wall of Mogao Cave 206, there is an inscription from the period of Tangut control over Dunhuang, which states, "the principal donor [for repairing the cave], the abbot and monk, Venerable Zhang of the Shengguang Temple […]" (DMGT: 96).[180] Since Venerable Zhang (fl. 11th c., 長和尚) was a monk, at that time the temple was obviously no longer functioning as a nunnery, but had become a temple for make clerics. The temple was located within the town of Shazhou proper.[181]

4.1.30. *Shengshou Temple* (聖壽寺)

This is one of the less important of the free-standing temples in Dunhuang. It was probably erected by relatives of Cao Yuanzhong during the mid-10th century (Dunhuang 1).

A document that probably dates to 977, mentions the temple's granary (P. 4075). The temple's name occurs in another surviving memorandum (S. 6276V°).

The colophons of several Buddhist scriptures, including *vinaya* texts, indicate those manuscripts were in the temple's possession (BD 6205, P. 2404, P. 2727).

The ruins of the temple have been located in the vicinity of the Da Wang Shrine (大王廟) in Yiqiu.[182]

4.1.31. *Tianwang Tang Temple* (天王堂寺)

The temple—together with the Jinguangming and Longxing temples—is mentioned in connection with the performance of various rituals on behalf of the Dunhuang community (P. 4957 (a)). Another source that covers the period from 866 to 877, mentions it together with two caves, the Dangquan (宕泉窟) and Chi'an (赤岸窟) Caves (P. 5579V° (1)). This may indicate that it was located adjacent to or near the Mogao Caves.[183] It is clear from

[179] See the entry with the description of the Bao'en Temple above.
[180] DMGT, 96: 故施主聖光寺院主僧張和 […]
[181] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 655; DXDC, 630b–631a; *Dunhuang suijin*, 123–124.
[182] DXDC, 632b.
[183] DXDC, 631b.

the sources that this temple was not related to the later Tianwang Hall (天王堂) located on top of the small hill opposite the cliffs on the other side of the river.

4.1.32. *Wenshusheli Ta Temple* (文殊舍利塔寺)

This temple is not well documented, however it probably existed during Tangut rule, and continued to function well into the Yuan. In 1302, it recieved a set of the printed Tangut *tripiṭaka* made in Hangzhou (杭州), donated by the grand lama Guangfu (fl. mid-14th c., 廣福), also known as Guanzhuba (管主八).[184] The donation is documented in a fragment of Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha* found in Cave B159 located in the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves. The colophon of this fragmented manuscript states:

> The Saṃgha Recorder the grand master Guangfu, aka Guanzhuba, bestowed a set of the *tripiṭaka* upon the Wenshusheli Pagoda Temple [(文殊舍利塔寺)] in Shazhou as an eternal and extensive offering.[185]

The location of this temple is not known.[186]

4.1.33. *Xi Cloister* (西院)

There is only one extant document that references this cloister, together with one of its resident monks, the Monk Registrar Ma (d.u., 馬) (P. 3264). It was possibly located within one of the major temples.

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[184] For Guangfu, see FDC, vol. 6, 5879ab. He was a devotee of the *vidyārāja* Ucchuṣma and composed the *Huiji jingang fa ji song* 穢跡金剛法偈頌 [Song of the Methods and Phrases of the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma] (T. 1688.32). He is mentioned in passing, but without any attempt at identification, in Kirill Solonin, "Xixia fojiao 'Huayan xinyang' de yige cemian chutan 西夏佛教"华严信仰"的一个侧面初探 [Preliminary Observations on Avataṃsaka Belief in Tangut Buddhism]," 132, accessed October 12, 2018. http://www.ch5000.cn/wxyj/dzwd/shixiaoting20131510263.pdf. However, in Kirill Solonin, "Local Literatures: Tangut/Xixia," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk und Stefano Zacchetti (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 844–859, especially on 857 it is said that the Tangut monk Guangzhuba published a Tangut-language version fo the Buddhist canon in the Wanshou Temple (萬壽寺) in Hangzhou from 1293 to 1306 as part of a larger Yuan Dynasty project of systematising the Buddhist canon.

[185] Dunhuang Research Academy B159:26.

[186] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 647. See also DXDC, 632b–633a. *Dunhuang suijin*, 107.

4.1.34. *Xiande Temple* (顯德寺)

The earliest reference to this temple in the Dunhuang material dates from 960–961 (BD 9345AB), i.e. the very beginning of the Northern Song. However, its history actually stretches back to the Tang.[187] One record mentions that it was originally called the Fengtang Temple (奉唐寺), which was later changed to the Famen Temple (法門寺), and then later changed again to the Xiande Temple (P. 3505).[188]

The temple had various land holdings, such as fields and gardens (P. 3396). It also operated a loan business as attested by a contract between the temple and a number of farming families from the districts of Yuguan (玉關), Shensha (神沙), Longle (龍勒), Cihui (慈惠), Xiaogu (効穀), Hongchi (洪池), and Pingkang (平康), which were forced by circumstances (possibly crop failure) to borrow provisions (P. 2953R° (4)). However, at times the temple itself was forced to borrow from farmers, as a contract for borrowed wheat indicates (S. 5945). Moreover, one document concerns a legal case levelled against the temple, concerning the repayment of a loan, that even involved the ruler of Dunhuang (P. 3935V° (2)).

The Xiande Temple had a library collection, documented in at least two inventory lists (P. 2097 (2), P. 3325). The library held a copy of a book used in schools, the *Biancai jiajiao* 辯才家教 [Family Instructions for Ability in Debate].[189] A note appended to the text indicates that it was written by a resident monk, Yuancheng (fl. 10th c., 願成), with the lay name Wang Baoquan (王保全), and is dated the 25th day of the fourth month in a *jiazi* year, in 904 or 964 (P. 2515R°).

The Xiande Temple received donations from the laity and government. In 966, Dunhuang's Military Commander, Cao Yansheng (fl. second half of 10th c., 曹延晟)[190] of Guazhou, offered copies of the *Mahāprajñā-*

[187] Gertraud Taenzer states that the temple was founded before 979, which indicates her unfamiliarity with the Chinese records that point to a much older history stretching at least back to the mid-Tang. Cf. Taenzer, "Changing Relations between Administration, Clergy and Lay People in Eastern Central Asia," 39.

[188] See the data on the temple provided in Li, "Dunhuang diqu gudai ci, miao, si, guan jianzhi," 81.

[189] For this schoolbook, see Luo Zongtao 羅宗濤 and Ren Yunsong 任允松, "Dunhuang mengshu de shidai xing 敦煌蒙書的時代性 [The Dating and Nature of Dunhuang's Books for Basic Education]," *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 27 (2008): 397–414.

[190] Biographical note in DXDC, 365a.

pāramitāsūtra (T. 220.8), together with wrappers for the bundles of scriptures.[191] The temple also partook in a general distribution of Buddhist scriptures (P. 4779).

The temple operated a monastic school, which is known to have existed between 977 (BD 876 (0–3), P. 3170) and 981 (S. 5845).

One circular indicates that the temple had a Buddhist association during the mid-10th century. It refers to an association meeting that would be held on the occasion of the death of one member's mother. Significantly, the text stipulates that funerary offerings, including wine, were to be contributed by all members. This circular documents the existence of Confucian-style(?) rites in Dunhuang during the latter half of the 10th century, conducted within the context of what would otherwise have been a formal Buddhist gathering (S. 5632). This goes to show the extent to which Buddhism permeated all doings in Dunhuang society.

One important official document survives that describes the entitlements of the temple's monks (P. 3721V°(c)).

The temple controlled a number of caves at Mogao, including some where Chan monks lived. Mogao Caves 427 and 443 have donor inscriptions concerning monks from this temple.

The temple is variously described in secondary sources as located inside the town of Dunhuang[192] or as having an uncertain location.[193]

4.1.35. *Xingshan Temple* (興善寺)

The history of this temple is relatively unknown. It was first established during the early period of Tibetan rule. The temple had indentured farmers and slaves (S. 542, P. 3138). Its location is unknown.[194]

4.1.36. *Yong'an Temple* (永安寺)

As with many of the temples in Dunhuang, the Tibetan census from 788 is the earliest record of this temple (P. 2729). It continued to function all the way up to 1019 (*Tianxi ta ji*).[195]

[191] See the entry under 966 in *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 561.
[192] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 658; DXDC, 632a; *Dunhuang suijin*, 129–130.
[193] DXDC, 632a.
[194] DXDC, 630b.
[195] Shi, "Gansu sheng Bowuguan zang Dunhuang Song dai Tianxi Ta," 63–67.

In 788, 11 monks were living in the temple (S. 2729). Three decades later, in 818, the number had grown to 36 (S. 525). The temple also owned an unspecified number of slaves (S. 542). Monks continued (?) to live there at the beginning of the 10th century some 38 monks and novices, according to one source (P. 2250).

Relatively little information exists on the temple's economic activities. However, one list of livestock and other possessions is preserved (S. 542).

The temple library housed a large number of Buddhist scriptures, mostly mainstream *sūtra*s. However, there were also a variety of other works, including original Buddhist compositions—some produced locally—and a whole range of Buddhist apocryphal scriptures.[196] One example of such an apocryphal scripture is the *Guanyin ji* 觀音偈 [Hymn for Avalokiteśvara], a copy of which the temple's *saṃgha* administrator Huiquan (fl. 10th c., 惠詮) owned (P. 2939R° (A1)). Another interesting example is the *Xin pusa jing* 新菩薩經 [New Bodhisattva Scripture] (T. 2917AB.85),[197] which was copied by a nun named Jiehu (d.u., 戒護), who also hailed from the temple (S. 5060 (2)). Sources provide the names of several lay scribes working in the scriptorium, where they copied mainly secular works. They were probably students from the monastic school (S. 214, S. 1163, S. 1386, P. 2483).

During the Later Tang and up to the Northern Song (Taiping Xingguo period), the temple operated a monastic school, where both clerics and

[196] For a study of some of this material, see Liu Difan 劉滌凡, "Dunhuang xiejuan zhongtu zao jing de jiushu sixiang: Yi Dazheng zang di 85 ce weili 敦煌寫卷中土造經的救贖思想——以《大正藏》第 85 冊為例 [The Thought of Salvation in the Chinese Produced Scriptures from Dunhuang: With *Taishō tripiṭaka* Volume 85 as the Point of Departure]," *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 [Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal] 14 (2001): 231–266.

[197] The manuscript version of the second of these apocryphal scriptures dates from 704, the fourth year of the Chang'an reign period (701–704, 長安), indicating that the scripture was in vogue some time before. Cf. T. 2917B.85, 1462b. For a study of the related Dunhuang manuscripts, see Zhang Xiaoyan 张小艳, "Dunhuang ben *Xin pusa jing*, *Quanshan jing*, *Jiu zhu zhongsheng kunan jing*, canjuan zhui he yanjiu 敦煌本新菩萨经, 劝善经, 救诸众生苦难经, 残卷缀合研究 [A Study of Joining the Fragmented Rolls of the *Xin pusa jing*, *Quanshan jing*, and the *Jiu zhu zhongsheng kunan jing* from Dunhuang]," *Fudan xuebao* 复旦学报 [Journal of Fudan University] 6 (2015): 12–20. The scripture in question has also been discussed in, Geoffrey C. Goble, "Three Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang: The Scripture on Healing Diseases, the Scripture Urging Goodness, and the New Bodhisattva Scripture," *Asian Medicine: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Asian Medicine* 12 (2017): 265–78.

commoners were taught (S. 214, P. 2483). According to a 10th-century note on a manuscript, it was copied by a lay student in the temple's monastic school (P. 2483 V° (c)).

A source from 918 describes a great assembly held in the temple, which entailed a vegetarian banquet and chanting Buddhist scriptures (S. 474). One such scripture was the *Changdao wen* 唱道文 [Liturgical Text of the Way],[198] which we know was recited at the temple in the year 929 (P. 3330R°).

The Yong'an Temple had a lay association, referenced in a document consisting of two circulars that set the meeting time for the celebration of a meagre feast (P. 2716 (3)) (P. 2439V° (2)).

Monks from the Yong'an Temple created Cave 10 at Mogao (?) (DMGT: 7), and in another case a senior monk from the temple was involved in repairing Cave 390 (DMGT: 150).

The temple was located to the west of the present-day town of Dunhuang.[199]

4.1.37. *Yongkang Temple* (永康寺)

This is one of the lesser temples in Dunhuang. It functioned from at least 740 to 985, but probably existed longer than that.[200] During the second half of the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, the temple was the first home in Dunhuang of the translator Facheng. In 833 he translated and edited a number of Buddhist works there including a digest of the *Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra* (P. 2404V, P. 2794, P. 2284, P. 2245, etc.).[201] Later he relocated to the Kaiyuan Temple where he continued his activities.

The temple had its own library (P. 2727, P. 2794). One source mentions that an assembly of monks participated in a ritual for turning the scriptures before the three abbots of the Yongkang, Longxing, and Bao'en temples

[198] For the same text, see also P. 3228 and S. 5560. See Zhanru 湛如, "Dunhuang pusa wen yu pusa cidi xintan 敦煌布萨文与布萨次等新探 [A New Investigation into the Bodhisattva Texts from Dunhuang and Related Issues]," accessed November 25, 2019. http://www.kuaijishanlonghuasi.com/xsyj/xsyj/2017/0510/252.html.

[199] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 648; Dunhuang suijin, 109–110.

[200] Gertraud Taenzer claims that both the Yongkang and the Yongshou only existed during the period of Tibetan rule, cf. Taenzer, *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule*, 201. However, as shown above, this is incorrect in both cases as they are referred to in manuscripts both before and after the Tibetan rule.

[201] For this perod in Facheng's life, see Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 104–105.

(P. 2717R°). This may indicate that it enjoyed some sort of status among the local temples. Its location is not known.[202]

4.1.38. *Yonglong Temple* (永隆寺)

This temple's name is found in an inscription in Cave 300 at Mogao, which dates to the fourth year of Tianfu (天福), in 939.[203] Its location is unknown and may not even have been in Shazhou.

4.1.39. *Yongshou Temple* (永壽寺)

Relatively little is known about the history of this temple. It operated during the mid-10th century, referenced in documents from 943 and 953. A contract for a loan of millet to Sun Qing (d.u., 孫清), a farmer from Xidongsa (悉董薩), indicates it operated a loan business (P. 4686 (5)).

The temple had a library, documented by various lists of scriptures and copied texts (BD 6205, P. 2404). There is also an inventory list of scripture bundles that formed part of the library's holdings (S. 4914).

One document fragment contains a formal request by the abbot of the temple, Lingxian (fl. mid-10th c., 靈賢) and others, possibly to the government (P. 4722). Its location is uncertain.[204]

4.2. *Buddhist Hermitages in Shazhou*

As one would expect—given the density of Buddhist temples and the considerable importance of Buddhism in the area—there were a number of lesser sanctuaries in addition to the temples listed above, which are often referred to as hermitages (Chin. *lanruo* 蘭若, Skt. *araṇya*) in the local parlance.[205] A hermitage is a hall or cluster of smaller buildings inhabited by one or a few ascetics, most of whom would have been ordained clerics, who engaged in one or more of the traditional Buddhist

[202] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 648. DXDC, 631a. *Dunhuang suijin*, 109.

[203] See the short note in *Dunhuang suijin*, 110.

[204] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 647–648; DXDC, 631a; *Dunhuang suijin*, 108.

[205] There have been a few attempts at identifying these hermitages, but none provide much in the line of solid information, nor have any been complete in their listings. Cf. eg. Dohi, "Bakkōkutsu senbutsu dō to daiji to rannya to," 364–365, *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 643–661; DXDC, 631a; and *Dunhuang suijin*, 99–135. Here it is also interesting to note that the otherwise common term *an* (庵) for hermitage does not occur at all in the Dunhuang material.

austere practices. It is likely that some of the hermitages consisted of one or more caves outfitted for habitation, such as is found among the caves in the Northern Section at the Mogao Caves.[206] These ascetics would sustain themselves in much the same way as monastics living in the larger temples, mainly through offerings from the faithful, but would also have almost certainly engaged in some sort of land cultivation. A number of the hermitages in or around Shazhou were family owned or family run, indicated by their names: Le Clan Hermitage (樂氏蘭若), Ma Clan Hermitage (馬氏蘭若), etc. This indicates that they were built and maintained by families of means and spiritual devotion.

When compared with the rather impressive number of primary sources on the larger Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang, available information on these hermitages is, indeed, sparse and rather scattered. For the majority of them, we are left with little more than their names and sometimes a few dates, and only in a few isolated cases are we able to establish more workable, contextual frameworks for their historical realities. In most cases, we are not even in a position to determine where they were located.

Although there is little available to reconstruct some degree of reliable information on these hermitages, their names, at least, provide some steps toward identifying them.

4.2.1. *Anqingzi Hermitage* (安清子蘭若)

This hermitage may have been located at the Mogao Caves, and was possibly a cave sanctuary situated in the cliff wall itself. The short piece of available data on the Guanlou Hermitage (see below), mentions that the Anqingzi Hermitage was located below it, seemingly indicating a vertical arrangement, such as a cliff wall (P. 2738V°).

4.2.2. *Bei (Northern) Hermitage* (北蘭若)

Only the name is mentioned in the manuscript (P. 2738V°).

[206] Cf. Peng Jinzhang 彭金章 and Wang Jianjun 王建军, ed., *Dunhuang Mogao ku beiqu shiku* 敦煌莫高窟北区石窟 [The Northern Caves of the Mogao Caves in Dunhuang], vols 1–3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000–2003).

4.2.3. *Changtai Hermitage* (長太蘭若)

The name appears in a circular for a Buddhist association (P. 2817V° (1)).

4.2.4. *Dangfang Hermitage* (當坊蘭若)

The name appears in a record of merit, celebrating the act of making Buddhist images for the hermitage's shrine (S. 474R° (1)).

4.2.5. *Dongshan Hermitage* (東山蘭若)

A 9th-century copy of the *Sifen lü shan fan bu que xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔 [Document on the Four-fold Vinaya's Many Ways for Mending Deficiencies in Affairs of Practice] (T. 1804.40) by Daoxuan (596–667, 道宣) bears a note indicating that it was revised at this hermitage (P. 2085).

4.2.6. *Dunhuang Hermitage* (敦煌蘭若)

This was maintained, or at least supported, by a lay association (S. 4660).

4.2.7. *Duobao Hermitage* (多寶蘭若)

This hermitage was run and maintained by a Buddhist association during the 9th–10th centuries (S. 5134V°, S. 705, S. 6614V°).

4.2.8. *Guanlou Hermitage* (官樓蘭若)

A note states that "when proceeding below [the Hanlou Hermitage], there is the Anqingzi Hermitage." This may indicate that these hermitages were situated in or on a cliff, and thus were cave sanctuaries. The Guanlou Hermitage is by far the best-documented hermitage. As many as four different sources document its existence, including circulars for a Buddhist association connected with it (S. 2894V°, P. 5003, P. 3434, P. 2738V° (13), P. 5003R° (1)).

4.2.9. *Jiejia Hermitage* (節加蘭若)

The name is mentioned in a circular from a Buddhist association, dated 886 (S. 1445V°).

4.2.10. *Junmen Hermitage* (軍們蘭若)

Very little is known about this hermitage. One source refers to a Buddhist doctrinal text that was copied by the monk Tanbian (d.u., 曇辯) at this hermitage (P. 3342). Other monks in Dunhuang lived in this location.[207] Junmen was one of the principal gates of the town of Shazhao.[208]

4.2.11. *Kong Sheli Hermitage* (孔闍梨蘭若)

This hermitage was named after a famous monk who lived there, the *ācārya* Kong, who hailed from the local clan of the same name. A circular from a Buddhist association connected with it exists (P. 3707).

4.2.12. *Lejia Hermitage* (樂家蘭若)

Only the name is mentioned in the manuscript (P. 2738 (7c)).

4.2.13. *Majia Hermitage* (馬家蘭若)

It was located to the west of the prefectural town as indicated in a manuscript from 991 (S. 86).[209]

4.2.14. *Shangzu Hermitage* (上祖蘭若)

Only the name is mentioned in the manuscript (P. 4044V° (5)).

4.2.15. *Shenjue Hermitage* (神角蘭若)

A 976 note bears the names Zhang Wencheng (fl. second half of 10th c., 張文成) and the *saṃgha* administrator Suo (fl. second half of 10th c., 索僧政), who was connected with the Eastern Cloister (see above). The name of the hermitage appears towards the end of the first document (P. 3780V° (3), see also (S. 1053V°)).

[207] See eg. Yang Baoyu 杨宝玉, "Wan Tang Dunhuang mingseng Heng'an shiji jikao yu xiangguan Guiyijun shi tanxi 晚唐敦煌名僧恆安事迹稽考與相關歸義軍史探析 [An Analysis of the Activities of the Famous Dunhuang Monk Heng'an from the Late Tang in Relation to the History of the Guiyijun]," accessed September 29, 2018.

[208] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 659.

[209] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 649.

4.2.16. *Songjia Hermitage* (宋家蘭若)

The name appears in a circular for a Buddhist association (S. 6583).

4.2.17. *Suojia Hermitage* (索家蘭若)

It was located to the west of the prefectural town. It is referenced in a document concerning the transfer of merit, dated 991 (S. 86). It is probably identical to the Buddha Hall of the Suo Clan (Suoshi fotang 索氏佛堂).[210]

4.2.18. *Tang Hermitage* (唐蘭若)

It is mentioned in a document from the 9th century (P. 1261V°).

4.2.19. *Xi Hermitage* (西 [?] 蘭若)

There is one record that refers to this hermitage, namely the *Mengshou zhongjie xianzu zhuang xi* [?] *lanruo gongde ji* 孟受中界先祖莊西 [?] 蘭若功德記 [Record of Merit for the Adornment of the Western Hermitage by the First Ancestor in this World at Mengshou], which celebrates the establishment and adornment of the West Hermitage at Mengshou. The main donor was the ancestor of the local Suo clan, who served in the local government as an important military official. It seems likely this hermitage was a family owned or operated sanctuary, similar to the so-called 'family caves' (P. 3268).

4.2.20. *Xin Hermitage* (新蘭若)

This was not the actual name of the hermitage, but a reference to it being a 'new' (*xin*) sanctuary. It appears in a document from either 898 or 958, but most likely the latter year (P. 5032V° (1)).

4.2.21. *Zhoujia Hermitage* (周家蘭若)

The name appears in a circular for a Buddhist association (P. 2738V°).

[210] *Mogao ku nianbiao*, 653.

5. *Concluding Remarks*

The number of temples in Dunhuang changed over time. At times, there were nearly 20 institutions, while at other times, there were as few as 13. During the middle of the period of Tibetan rule, there were 15 temples. It is difficult to establish the exact time frame of an individual temple's period of existence. What one can say with a certain amount of confidence is that the combined number of Buddhist temples and hermitages gradually grew from the mid-Tang until the end of the 10th century. Moreover, during the period of the Tibetan rule, a number of the temples developed from relatively small institutions to larger ones. Later, post-1000 developments in Dunhuang and at the Mogao Caves are largely shrouded in the mist of history, due to a dearth of written sources.

The exact locations of most of the temples are still not clear, so we still need archaeological data in order to determine not only their locations but also their relative sizes. Except for a few, isolated cases, we still know little about the temples' layouts, or the kind of buildings they contained.

As we have seen, not all Buddhist monks (and nuns?) lived in the temples. Some were actually living as householders with their families, while a group of ascetic practitioners inhabited the caves located in the Northern Section of the Mogao Caves. At least during the period of Guiyijun rule, documents establish that several of the major temples operated their own caves for meditation and other practices at Mogao. Scholars (?) suppose that most of these were located in the Northern Section of the caves.

The temples' economic support came from a mixture of donations, income from selling produce from fields and gardens, and usury on loans of grain, flour, etc. The sources also document that some degree of collaboration existed between the temples in Dunhuang, both in religious terms and on a practical level. The local government played a significant role in the upkeep of the temples, especially the major ones. The lesser ones often enjoyed support from families of importance and from temple associations.

While the Mogao Caves were a major point of attraction, not only for pilgrims and other travellers, but also for the local populace, it was by no means the only focus of religious activity in the area. As the documents concerning the activities of the primary temples in Dunhuang show, they

played just as important of a part in the promotion of Buddhism in a variety of areas, not least of which was the spread of learning and culture.

One crucial point for understanding Buddhism in Dunhuang from the mid-8th to early 11th century, is that its role and status in local society differed in importance and significance from what was the norm in most of China's central provinces during the late medieval period. In other words, the polyvalent and shared structure of religious culture and ideology that characterised traditional Chinese society on many levels, was evidently not operating in quite the same way in Dunhuang. The primary reason for this is that Buddhism in Shazhou did not have any significant spiritual and cultural competitors, nor indeed a potentially hostile Confucian-style government or officialdom to deal with. On the contrary, the interests of Buddhism and the local government coincided in Dunhuang, and therefore, were mutually beneficial. Moreover, Buddhism in Dunhuang was constantly subjected to stimuli from new forms of Buddhism introduced from elsewhere in Eastern Central Asia. This meant that it was highly adaptable and flexible in the face of changes, constantly forced to reinvent itself to accommodate those new influences. As a consequence, Buddhism gradually became the primary cultural factor in the area, and as such, was also the inheritor and promoter of Sinitic cultural and intellectual traditions beyond Buddhist ideology. This is seen in the manner in which the temples were run, the activities in which they participated, and the manner in which they provided the ideological glue that held local society together. Hence, it is highly important to acknowledge the role played by monastic schools as the primary, if not the only, local educational institutions. The civilising role played by the Buddhist temples in Dunhuang is, indeed, hard to ignore. They were of the outmost importance in securing and maintaining cultural, political, and economic stability in this remote outpost of Chinese culture.

Appendix I: Chinese and Tibetan Names of the Temples in Dunhuang
Based on P. T. 994 (10th c.)

Chinese Names	*Tibetan Names*
Anguo Temple (安國寺)	An kog zi
Bao'en Temple (報恩寺)	[…] yon zi
Dacheng Temple (nunnery) (大乘寺)	De cin zi
Dayun Temple (大雲寺)	De yan zi
Jingtu Temple (淨土寺)	Je tu zi
Jinguangming Temple (金光明寺)	Kyim ko mye zi
Kaiyuan Temple (開元寺)	Khye yan zi
Liantai Temple (蓮台寺)	Le te zi
Lingtu Temple (靈圖寺)	Le tu zi
Lingxiu si (靈修寺)	? (not listed)
Longxing Temple (龍興寺)	Lun khun zi
Puguang Temple (nunnery) (普光寺)	Pho ko zi
Qianming Temple (乾明寺)	Gyen mye zi
Qianyuan Temple (乾元寺)	?
Sanjie Temple (三界寺)	Pam kye zi
Shengguang Temple (聖光寺) (BD 7954)	Ze ho zi (?)
Yong'an Temple (永安寺)	Gyan yan zi
Xiande Temple (顯德寺)	Hyen tig zi

Appendix II: Monastic Titles in Dunhuang during the Guiyijun Period

Categories of Monks and Nuns

Standard categories

senior monk/nun	(Chin. *falü* 法律)
monk	(Chin. *seng* 僧)
bhikṣu	(Chin. *biqiu* 比丘)
nun	(Chin. *ni* 尼)
bhikṣuṇī	(Chin. *biquini* 比丘尼)
śramaṇera	(Chin. shami 沙彌)
old *śramaṇera*s	(Chin. *qiu shami* 舊沙彌)
new *śramaṇera*s	(Chin. *xin shami* 新沙彌)
śramaṇerikā	(Chin. shamini 沙彌尼)
old *śramaṇerikā*s	(Chin. *qiu shamini* 舊沙彌尼)
new *śramaṇerikā*s	(Chin. *xin shamini* 新沙彌尼)
novice/postulant *śikṣamāṇā*	(Chin. *shichani* 式叉尼)

Honorary titles

ācārya	(Chin. *asheli* 阿闍梨)
cave-dwelling meditator	(Chin. *kuchan* 窟禪)
cave-dwelling monk/nun	(Chin. *kuzhu* seng 窟住僧)
Master of Meditation	(Chin. *chanshi* 禪師)
Master of the Tripiṭaka	(Chin. *sanzang* 三藏)
Master of Vinaya	(Chin. *lüshi* 律師)

Titles of Buddhist Monastic Functionaries

Abbot/Abbess	(Chin. *yuanzhu* 院主/*sizhu* 寺主).
Administrative Assistant	(Chin. *panguan* 判官)
Buddhist Dharma Leader of Hexi	(Chin. *Hexi fofa zhu* 河西佛法主)
Master of the Dharma	(Chin. *fashi*/*jiangfashi* 法師/講法師)
Meditation Master Residing in the Three Cave	

[Complexes]	(Chin. *zhu sanku chanshi* 住三窟禪師)
National Preceptor	(Chin. *guoshi* 國師)
Precentor	(Chin. *weina* 維那)
Rector	(Chin. *shangzuo* 上坐/上座)
Saṃgha Overseer	(Chin. *sengtong* 僧統)
Saṃgha Regulator	(Chin. *sengzheng* 僧政/僧正)
Saṃgha Recorder	(Chin. *senglu* 僧錄)

Appendix III: Buddhist Scriptures in the Library of the Jingtu Temple

(This is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but to show the different categories of scriptures and texts in the temple library)

Sūtras

Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra (S. 1593, S. 4114, etc.)
Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇasūtra (S. 1832, S. 5296)
Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra (S. 4015)
Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśasūtra (T. 650.15) (S. 4030, P. 2057R°)
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdāyasūtra in the library of the temple. Four monks, Wang Huizhang (d.u., 王會長), Zhang Sengnu (d.u., 張僧奴), Linghu Futong (d.u., 令狐富通), and Yan Yanding (d.u., 閻延定)[211] donated this copy (P. 3351R° (2))

Vinaya Texts

Vinayayasaṃgraha (T. 1458.24). Authored by Viśeṣamitra and translated into Chinese by Yijing (635–713, 義淨) (P. 2175R°)
Sifen jie ben shu 四分戒本疏 (T. 2787.85)
Sibu lü bing lun yaoyong chao 四部律幷論要用抄 (T. 2795.85). Its colophon indicates that it was copied by the monk Mingrun (d.u., 明潤) at Nanggong Stream (Chin. Nanggong chuan 曩恭川) (P. 2100).
Fo [chui] poniepan lüeshuo jiaojie jing 佛[垂]般涅槃略說教戒經 (T. 389.12). Translated by Kumārajīva (P. 2290R°).

Commentarial Literature

Jingming jing ji jieguan zhong shu 淨名經集解關中疏 (T. 2777.85)[212] (P. 2188R.)
Yuqieshidi lun fenmen ji 瑜伽師地論分門記 (T. 2801.85). It was copied out by the monks Fuhui (d.u., 福慧) and Tanxun d.u. 談迅) (P. 2039R°).
Huayan jing tan xuan ji 華嚴經探玄記 (T. 1733.35) was authored by Fazang (643–712, 法藏) (P. 2219R°).
Dacheng daogan jing suiting shu 大乘稻芊經隨聽疏[213] (T. 2782.85) was authored by Facheng and copied by the monk Fujian (d.u., 福漸) from the Yongkang Temple (P. 2284R°).

[211] This monk also figures in another manuscript dated to 982 (S. 5652).
[212] FDC, vol. 5, 4696bc. It was compiled by a certain Daoye (d.u., 道液) during the first half of the Tang.
[213] This is a commentary on the *Śālistambhakasūtra* (T. 712.16).

Other Chinese Buddhist Works

Xiangmo bian ya zuowen 降魔變押座文. Copied by the senior monk Yuanrong (fl. mid-10th c., 願榮) in 944 (P. 2187R° (1)).

Fo shuo leng qie jing chanmen xitan zhang bing xu 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章幷序. The preface was copied out by the monk Yuanzong (d.u., 願宗), and is dated to 942 (P. 2204R°).

Foshuo da bian xie zheng jing 佛說大辯邪正經 (T. 2893.85). This is an apocryphal scripture (P. 2263R°).

Dacheng jing zuan yaoyi 大乘經纂要義 (T. 2817.85, P. 2298R°).

Confucian Books

Kongzi Xiangtuo xiangwen shu 孔子項託相問書.214 (S. 395).

Chunqiu houyu 春秋後語 (P. 2569V° (2)).

Daoist Scriptures

Laozi huahu jing 老子化胡經.[215] (P. 2004R°).

[214] Several copies of this popular scripture conveying basic Confucian teachings were preserved at Dunhuang. Cf. eg. S. 1392, S. 5674, S. 2941, etc.

[215] Several copies of this central Daoist scripture were found among the Dunhuang manucripts (S. 1857, S. 6963, P. 3404, P. 2360, etc.).

Abbreviations

BD	Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the National Library of China, Beijing
Dunhuang	Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Collection of the Dunhuang Academy
DMGT	*Dunhuang Mogao ku gongyangren tiji* 敦煌莫高窟供养人题记 [Donor Inscriptions from the Mogao Caves at Dunhuang], comp. Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1986, 1–5.
DXDC	*Dunhuang xue da cidian* 敦煌学大辞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of Dunhuang Studies]. Edited by Ji Xianlin 季羡林 et. al. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1998.
FDC	*Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 [Great Dictionary of Foguang], 8 vols, ed. Ciyi 慈怡 et. al. Gaoxiong: Foguangshan chubanshe, 1988.
Lalou II	Lalou, Marcelle. *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Fonds Pelliot tibétain) Nos 850–1282, II. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1950.
MG	Musée Guimet Collection in Paris
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
QTW	*Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 [Complete Texts of the Tang Dynasty], 5 vols. Comp. Dong Gao 董誥 et al. Taibei: Dahua shuju, 1987.
S.	Stein Collection of Chinese Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London
SI	Manuscripts preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg
T.	Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et. al., ed. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Taishō *tripiṭaka*]. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
ZZ	*Dainihōn zōkuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 [Extension to the *tripiṭaka* [Compiled] in Japan], 90 vols, ed. Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et. al. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyōkai, 1980–1988.

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