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ESOTERIC BUDDHIST LITURGY AND SPELLS IN DUNHUANG: A STUDY OF THE MANUSCRIPT P. 2322 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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ESOTERIC BUDDHIST LITURGY AND SPELLS IN DUNHUANG:
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IMPLICATIONS

HENRIK H. SØRENSEN

Abstract

This essay explores one of the composite manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection of Dunhuang manuscripts (P. 2322), which features a collection of liturgical texts and spells that primarily relate to Esoteric Buddhism from the late medieval period in China. The manuscript in question is of particular interest for its inclusion of several rare and unique liturgical texts, including material belonging to the *Vajrasekharasūtra* cycle (Chin. *Jingan ding jing* 金剛頂經) of scriptures, spells from the important *Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Miscellaneous Collection of Spells], as well as a number of more mainstream Sanskrit texts in transcribed Chinese. Typologically, the P. 2322 represents what is a de facto ‘private compilation,’ i.e., a compendium reflecting the religious interests of an individual practitioner. We know that it is a private compilation because no other copy has been found among the Dunhuang material, even though other manuscripts have been identified as containing a similar type of liturgical material. By analysing the contents and context of P. 2322 we can gain an insight into the workings of Dunhuang Buddhism on the ground during the late medieval period (9–10th centuries).

1. Introduction

Interest in Buddhist rituals and its related literature has increased enormously in current studies on Buddhism, not the least in the religion’s East Asian forms. In the study of Chinese Buddhism more specifically, focus on ritual practices has taken centerstage in recent years partly stimulated by the growing realisation that a large number of untouched primary sources still await our attention. Much of this material pertains to Esoteric Buddhism, a tradition that evolved around ritual practices and a ritualised soteriology, and which influenced the other forms of Chinese Buddhism to a degree that has still not been fully acknowledged.

Turning our attention to the large hoard of Buddhist manuscripts found in Cave 17 of the Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟) in Dunhuang



early in the 20th century, it has become clear that much of this material is directly related to Esoteric Buddhism and its rituals. This is actually not so surprising given that Dunhuang in the late medieval period was a dynamic Buddhist centre on the eastern stretches of the Silk Road, a Chinese outpost that was becoming increasingly multicultural and a major node for the transmission and exchange of Buddhist knowledge and beliefs. During the late medieval period, Sinitic Esoteric Buddhism and Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism were undoubtedly the most significant expressions of the Buddhist religion in Central Asia, and the legacy that they left among the Dunhuang manuscripts speaks its own clear language.

The focus in this essay will be on a relatively little studied aspect of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang during the time in question, namely that which pertains to its spell-literature, i.e., collections or compendia of spells. Now some may ask: Why is this material interesting and worthwhile of our attention? There are actually several fairly good answers to this question. Firstly, there is a relatively large amount of this material to be found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, a fact which highlights its importance as a special category of religious texts, and which incidentally remains largely unstudied. Secondly, given that Esoteric Buddhism was a major element of local Buddhism, compilations that contain its most significant features in its ritual toolbox ought of course to be studied if one wants to understand the tradition better. Thirdly, the spell compendia, which for the most part are represented by private handbooks, yield important information about the common practitioner. Fourthly, the spell collections provide us with insights into those Buddhist scriptures and texts which were ‘mined’ for their spells. In other words, they serve to throw light on the scriptures which informed the practitioners, while at the same time providing us with data on the over-all religious context in which they worked.

The present study focuses on P. 2322, a Chinese manuscript which features a series of spells (Chin. *zhou* 呪), variously referred to as *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*, as well as various liturgical and instructive texts related to the spells.¹ As we shall see, these spells were drawn from a variety of

¹ The French catalogue refers to the manuscript as a “Recueil de dhāraṇī et d’éluges (*zan* 讚),” which is of course correct. Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits Chinois de Touen-Houang, Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1970), 200–202. It is in the nature of things that a catalogue such as the above

sources, and as such they highlight the rich and multifaceted scriptural material available to the common Buddhist practitioner in Dunhuang during the 9–10th centuries.

In what follows I shall first discuss spell anthologies as a special genre of Buddhist ritual material with focus on Dunhuang, and in that process explain how and why they constitute a category of spell-related texts that differs from the standard ritual manuals and ritual texts as such. After that, an annotated description will be given of the contents of P. 2322. I have broken down the manuscript into its primary and constituent parts for easy overview, allowing the reader to appreciate the diversity of the material within it, and also provide an opportunity to navigate those parts and elements which are interrelated. Then follows a discussion on what we learn from P. 2322 with regard to Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang, and finally a brief note on the use of Sanskrit transcriptions in Chinese as revealed in a number of liturgical texts in the compendium.

2. Spell Compendia in Dunhuang

Before proceeding to a detailed survey of P. 2322 itself, let us briefly review what we currently know about spell-compendia and anthologies from Dunhuang's late medieval period, i.e., that covered by the second half of the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐), the time when Dunhuang was under Tibetan (mid-8th c. to 848) and Guiyijun rule (851–1036, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army). The importance of spell-compendia and spell-manuals in Dunhuang's Buddhism can hardly be overestimated, as we have literally scores of these compilations at our disposal from among the hoard of Cave 17, the so-called 'Library Cave'.² This material documents the fact that local Buddhist practitioners produced a large number of such

consists primarily of an indexing of the collection. However, in the case of P. 2322, the description attached to the manuscript falls short of doing justice to its actual contents, not to mention the wider implications of the data it yields.

² To-date, the most comprehensive discussion of the manuscript hoard from Cave 17 can be found in Xingjiang Rong, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for Its Sealing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (2000): 247–275. The information provided in that essay can be supplemented with that of Yoshirō Imaeda, "The Provenance and Character of the Dunhuang Documents," *The Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* 66 (2008): 81–102. However, it should be noted that neither of these studies can be considered definitive as they both feature many oversights, simplifications, and idiosyncrasies representative of the views and understandings of their respective authors.

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manuals and compendia meant for both communal as well as private usage. Moreover, it reveals that in many cases these were compiled by extracting their contents from more formal, canonical as well as non-canonical materials. While the underlying motives and methods of compilation are in the majority of cases unclear, the nature of the selections themselves, as well as the context they provide, give us clues as to how the excerpted material was conceived and for what purposes it was to be used.

When dealing with these collectana of spells and liturgical texts, it is important from a typological point of view to distinguish between unstructured or random collections of spells on the one hand, and ritual manuals proper on the other. While the former simply bring together materials which may or may not be textually or ritually related to one another, the latter generally represents a type of literature which is specifically written or compiled for a more lengthy ritual performance, usually with a well-defined structure in mind. Moreover, manuscripts of the latter category are also linked to specific cults and their associated primary literature. In other words, they are guides for extended and structured ritual proceedings. In contrast, the compendia, especially the privately compiled ones, generally consist of a mixed bag of ritual materials, to be used for many different purposes. In principle, the sources from which this material derives may or may not be textually or conceptually related, they may in some cases even include material that is not related to rituals *per se*, and when sequential sections have been included, in the majority of cases they are in abbreviated form.

As for the nature of the spell compendia, it is both important and useful to acknowledge that in virtually all extant cases they are what we may refer to as ‘personal compilations.’ In other words, they reflect the needs and interests of individual Buddhist practitioners. This explains the idiosyncratic nature of the material they contain, how it has been brought together, and which uses are reflected in their contents. This means that each compilation carries the specific and individualised imprint of whoever compiled it, which is underscored by the fact that each compendium differs one from the other.

Should one wish to provide this material with a generic Buddhist label in order to contextualise it, it is in the vast majority of cases relatively safe to designate it generally as belonging to Esoteric Buddhism. This is the logical thing to do, since most of the scriptural sources from which these

compilations derive belong to this form of Buddhism, whether in its Chinese or more formally tantric, Indo-Tibetan forms. In the case of P. 2322, the topic of the present study, we shall see in what follows that the material it contains in fact incorporates both of the above forms presented in a manner that indicates some level of their mutual integration in the Buddhism of Dunhuang during the late medieval period.

Let us now turn to P. 2322 with the purpose of gaining a more detailed understanding of its contents and how its unknown compiler may have envisaged his compendium of mainly spell-texts. So as to avoid misunderstanding I use the term ‘spell’ (Chin. *zhou* 呪/咒) to indicate a magical utterance of ascribed and perceived power, i.e., a verbal, ritual formula for ritual effectuation. This means that it here serves as an umbrella concept for traditional terms such as *mantra* (Chin. *zhenyan* 真言), *dhāraṇī* (Chin. *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼), and *vidyā* (Chin. *ming* 明). In any case, all of these designations appear in the manuscript, and in a manner that does not indicate any overt differences in their respective applications. In this connection, it is important to understand that in some cases simple invocations, such as the one for the three jewels (Buddha, *dharmā*, and *saṃgha*), may sometimes be conceptualised as a spell, even if it is not formally so.

The liturgical texts which appear in P. 2322 include both formal hymns of praise (Skt. *stotra*) and various instructions in verse-form. The latter type of liturgy was a common way in which doctrinal and practical teachings were transmitted within the ritual process, and is a typical feature of the Esoteric Buddhist material transmitted in Sanskrit to China, where the format was largely retained and continued and even used for liturgical material originally composed in Chinese.

3. The Contents of P. 2322: Commented and Annotated

3.1. *Ershiba su zhenyan* 二十八宿真言 [Mantras of the Twenty-eight Constellations]

Each of the constellations is provided with its own spell. However, there are no accompanying instructions for their use. A comparison with the same series of spells for the worship of the twenty-eight constellations (Chin. *ershiba su* 二十八宿) elsewhere in the Chinese canonical Buddhist



material shows that the individual spells do not always match.³ Moreover, the sequence or order in which the constellations and their spells have been placed differs also from mainstream representations. It seems that the set we have here is unique. There are in fact relatively few surviving texts among the Dunhuang manuscripts which relate directly to the worship of the twenty-eight constellations, although there are a few which deal with astrology and divination.⁴ One of these is P. 2713V° (B), which also features the same spells as in P. 2322 (3.1).

In order to understand the nature of these astral spells, let us look at three representative examples beginning with that which belongs to the constellation *viṣāṇa* (Horn). It reads:

Horn [(Chin. jue 角)]: *Oṃ viṣāṇa hora svāhā*.⁵

In this case, it is simply the name of the constellation that is being invoked, little else.

Stomach [(Chin. wei 胃)]: *Oṃ sirimasi (?) svāhā*.⁶

Wings [(Chin. yi 翼)]: *Oṃ hūm svāhā*.⁷

The last of the three spells deviates markedly from the other two in that it does not refer to the constellation as such, but instead uses the power word *HŪM* which is meant as an effectuating sound, in effect a so-called seed syllable (Skt. *bīja*) like *OM*. In this case there is no observable connection between the constellation to be invoked and the spell itself.

³ This may be explained by the fact that this material was transmitted through different channels, from diverse contexts, in different versions, and at different times. For the history of Buddhist astrology in China, see Jeffrey Kotyk, “Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017). See also Bill M. Mak, “The Transmission of Buddhist Astral Science from India to East Asia: The Central Asian Connection,” *Historia Scientiarum* 24.2 (2015): 59–75.

⁴ See e.g. Marc Kalinowski, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 49–50, 99–100. See also the study by Wang Qiang 王强, “Dunhuang ershiba su canjian xin yan 敦煌二十八宿残简新研 [A Reinvestigation of the Fragmented Bamboo Slips with the Twenty-eight Constellations from Dunhuang],” *Dunjuang yanjiu 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Studies]* 3 (2019): 110–117. Although this deals with practices and beliefs current in China in pre-Buddhist times, it gives a good idea about the conceptual parameters involved.

⁵ P. 2322 (3.1): 角. 唵 嚩娑 婆和 娑嚩賀.

⁶ P. 2322 (3.1): 胃. 唵 悉哩摩呬 娑嚩賀.

⁷ P. 2322 (3.1): 翼. 唵 吽娑嚩賀.

These three examples show that the astral spells as given here consist of simple invocations in which the given constellation is called upon by way of its perceived function, nothing else. Were it not for the ubiquitous ‘OM’ and ‘SVĀHĀ’ at the beginning and end, they would hardly qualify as *bona fide* spells. The same applies to the rest of the twenty-eight spells in the group. It is not unlikely that the twenty-eight constellations as they appear here were meant to be invoked ensemble, i.e. as part of a ritual for averting astral calamities.⁸

The *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*, an ancient Indian text for the invocation of the heavenly bodies including the twenty-eight constellations, was also influential in Dunhuang, especially through the translation of the *Zhu xingmu tuoluoni jing* 諸星母陀羅尼經 [Scripture on the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī*] (T. 1302.21)⁹ translated by Facheng (fl. first half of 9th c., 法成).¹⁰ However, it was by no means the only source used for the worship of the asterisms, and in the case of P. 2322 (3.1), it does not seem that it was directly influenced by this text.

3.2. *Jingang jie da manzhaluo shiliu pusa zan* 金剛界大曼吒羅十六菩薩讚 [Hymn for the Sixteen Bodhisattvas in the Great Maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu]

Given the title and overall context, it is clear that we are dealing with a liturgical piece which relates somehow to the rituals taught in the important *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha/Vajraśekhara* (T. 865.18).¹¹ A partly similar hymn for this group of bodhisattvas is discussed by Rolf Giebel, who shows how it corresponds with the opening section of the above *sūtra*¹² except for the actual names of the sixteen *vajra* bodhisattvas

⁸ The belief in threats from the constellations and other astral phenomena have been discussed in Ching-lang Hou, “The Chinese Belief in Baleful Stars,” in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, ed. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1979), 193–228.

⁹ This was also highly important among the Uyghurs in Turfan. Cf. Peter Zieme, *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus* (Berlin: Brepols, 2005), 61–80.

¹⁰ See Bill M. Mak, “The Transmission of the *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* and Other Buddhist Planetary Astral Texts,” *Pacific World, Third Series* 20 (2018): 224–256.

¹¹ See, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, tr. Rolf W. Giebel (Berkeley: Numata Center, 2001), 17–107.

¹² Rolf W. Giebel, “Notes on Some Sanskrit Texts Brought Back to Japan by Kūkai,” *Pacific World, Third Series* 14 (2012): 187–230. Giebel provides a highly detailed and informative discussion of the hymn in Sanskrit, showing that it was in circulation as an



in Chinese. This lengthy liturgical piece is given in transcribed Sanskrit only in accordance with the *fanqie* (反切) system of transcription.¹³ For each of the *vajra* bodhisattvas a numbered marker consisting of the character *hui* (會) is provided. Such a designation normally indicates the location or setting, i.e., assembly, of a given divinity within a given *maṇḍala*, and at the same time it refers to the corresponding place in the related scripture or ritual text. In this case it could of course also be understood simply as an organising marker, i.e., as a mode of division. The *vajra* bodhisattvas are as follows:

- (1) Vajrasattva (Chin. Jingang saduo pusa 金剛薩埵菩薩)
- (2) Vajrarāja (Chin. Jingang wang pusa 金剛王菩薩)
- (3) Vajrarāga (Chin. Jingang ai pusa 金剛愛菩薩)
- (4) Vajrasādhu (Chin. Jingang xi pusa 金剛喜菩薩)
- (5) Vajraratna (Chin. Jingang bao pusa 金剛寶菩薩)
- (6) Vajrateja (Chin. Jingang guang pusa 金剛光菩薩)
- (7) Vajraketu (Chin. Jingang chuang(?) pusa 金剛幢(?)菩薩)
- (8) Vajrahāsa (Chin. Jingang xiao pusa 金剛笑菩薩)
- (9) Vajradharma (Chin. Jingang fa pusa 金剛法菩薩)
- (10) Vajratūksṇa (Chin. Jingang li pusa 金剛利菩薩)
- (11) Vajrahetu (Chin. Jingang yin pusa 金剛因菩薩)
- (12) Vajrabhāsa (Chin. Jingang yu pusa 金剛語菩薩)
- (13) Vajrakarma (Chin. Jingang ye pusa 金剛業菩薩)
- (14) Vajrarakṣa (Chin. Jingang hu pusa 金剛護菩薩)
- (15) Vajrayakṣa (Chin. Jingang lecha pusa 金剛樂叉菩薩)
- (16) Vajrasandhi (Chin. Jingang quan pusa 金剛拳菩薩)

A comparison with other spell texts preserved in the Dunhuang hoard of manuscripts reveals that this liturgical hymn is in fact not a unique composition, nor is it even a rare occurrence as such. In fact, it seems to have been a fairly standard text for use in local Esoteric Buddhist rituals.

independent text in China prior to 800. It therefore represents an earlier version of the text found in our manuscript. For correspondences and variations with P. 2322 (2), compare Giebel, op. cit., 193–195.

¹³ A useful introduction to Sanskrit phonetics in Chinese can be found in Saroj Kumar Chaudhuri, “Siddham in China and Japan,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 88 (1998): 1–124. See also Kimiaki Tanaka, “Chinese Characters Devised for the Phonetic Transcription of Sanskrit Mantras and Verses Found in Translations of Tantras from the Northern Song and Liao Dynasties,” (paper presented at the Third International Conference on Chinese Esoteric Buddhism, Dali, Yunnan, China, August, 2016), 1–4.

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It turns out that it has also been included in at least two other composite manuscripts or textual compendia dominated by Esoteric Buddhist material, namely P. 2104 and P. 2105, and on the basis of the latter of these manuscripts, which contains the *Vajraśekharatantrasūtra* (‘Chapter on Ritual Proceedings for *Samaya*’, T. 874.18, 316ac) translated by Amoghavajra (705–774), it has become possible to identify the piece of liturgy in question (P. 2105.IIV^o).¹⁴

The manuscript shows that numerous amendments have been made to the text, including that of the ‘seventh assembly’, where major parts have been written upside down, either as correction or afterthought. This revision indicates that the manuscript was proof-read by another person. There are in fact a few other places in the manuscript where amendments have also been made (see below).

3.3. *Qifo zan* 七佛讚 [*Hymn of the Seven Buddhas [of the Past]*]

As with the previous pieces in the manuscript, this has also been written in transcribed Sanskrit. For each of the seven hymns (one for each Buddha), the beginning of the hymn is indicated by a small red circle.

The opening verse for Vipāśyin, the first of the Seven Buddhas, opens with the words in plain Chinese, ‘sun, moon and the earth’ (Chin. *ri yue di* 日月地). This is somewhat unusual as the rest of the text is in transcribed Sanskrit. What is also a bit strange is that none of the Seven Buddhas are directly mentioned by name, as one would expect in a hymn addressed to them. Moreover, the text of the invocation itself appears somewhat garbled, and composed in a way that defies immediate reading, even if certain parts of it are obvious, i.e., parts such as ‘*mahā*’ written in different types of transcription (摩訶, 麼賀, 麼訶), ‘*sattva*’ (薩怛嚩), ‘*para*’ (鉢囉), and ‘*siddhāya*’ (悉地野). On the basis of this, one suspects that not only is the text of this hymn corrupt, but it would appear that it

¹⁴ See also P. 3920 (3.8), in *pothi* format, where the text is highly readable. Reproduced in Lin Shitian 林世田 and Shen Guomei 申國美, *Dunhuang mizong wenxian jicheng* 敦煌密教宗文獻集成 [Complete Collection of Texts Pertaining to the Esoteric Buddhist School in Dunhuang], vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian shuweifuzhi zhongxin, 2000), 56–59.



has actually nothing to do with the Seven Buddhas even though its title claims it to be so.¹⁵

The Seven Buddhas of the Past constitute an important group in Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang, as documented in the *Jingangjie xinyin yi* 金剛界心印儀 [Ritual of the Mind Seal of Vajradhātu] (S. 2272V°). This ritual text was used for the bestowal of the bodhisattva precepts and seems to have been a local composition partly based on the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Pseudo-Brahmajāla Scripture] (T. 1484.24). The invocation of the Seven Buddhas contained within this *Ritual of the Mind Seal of Vajradhātu*, however, is not in the form of a hymn.

3.4. *Sanbao zan* 三寶讚 [*Hymn of the Three Jewels*]

This short liturgical piece is also in transcribed Sanskrit. It is not a spell in the formal sense, but a short verse of praise to Buddha, *dharma*, and *samgha* to which a spell part has been added. The actual origin of this hymn is unclear, but one finds a near match in the *Lianhua bu deng pu zantan sanbao* 蓮花部等普讚歎三寶 [Extensive Hymn of the Lotus Class for the Three Jewels] as found in the transcribed Sanskrit version of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* attributed to Amoghavajra, the *Tang fan fandui ziyin Boruoboluomiduo xin jing* 唐梵翻對字音般若波羅蜜多心經 [*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*] (T. 256.8, 851b).¹⁶ Given that the ‘Lotus class’ (Skt. *padmakula*) is invoked in the title of the hymn, it is clear that we are dealing with an Esoteric Buddhist context, one that is underscored by the reference to Amoghavajra.

3.5. *Pilu zan* 毗盧讚 [*Vairocana Hymn*]

This consists of an invocation in transcribed Sanskrit only, similar to the hymns in sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4. It is all but certain that this piece of liturgy is also associated with Amoghavajra.

¹⁵ The author wishes to thank Max Deeg of Cardiff University for offering his advice on the reading of the spells in this section of the manuscript. In his opinion, the text of the hymn is lacking several elements and appears to have been written/transmitted by someone who was not sufficiently proficient in Sanskrit. Personal communication, December 2020.

¹⁶ This text is based on the manuscript of S. 700 (and by extension S. 2464). See also the discussion accompanying section 3.35 of P. 2322 below.

3.6. Section Without Formal Title

This lengthy section has no formal title, but starts with a sentence in which the celebrated *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* is being invoked. The sentence in question reads: “At that time the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī [(Chin. Miaojixiang 妙吉祥)] proceeded to the eastern direction and, arriving with majestic and wondrous hymn of Sanskrit sounds, he chanted the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*.”¹⁷ This short passage would appear to be a paraphrase from a section of the *Avatamsakasūtra* in Śikṣānanda’s (652–710) translation which includes the full text of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* (T. 279.10, 259a–262a). This is a typical example of the manner in which Buddhist practitioners tended to insert canonical materials in the form of phrases and text passages into their own compositions.¹⁸

Following this we have a version of the celebrated *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* in transcribed Sanskrit, one that is possibly connected with Amoghavajra’s Chinese translation (T. 297.10).¹⁹ The Sanskrit version has been organised into fifteen verses and, as such,

¹⁷ *Ershi Miaojixiang pusa cong dongfang lai yi wei miao fanyin zan tan Puxian suo xing xing yuan zan* 尔时妙吉祥菩萨从东方来以微妙梵音讚嘆普賢所行行願讚。Guo Changcheng has noted that the same sentence was used in the construction of transformative texts in Dunhuang, cf. Guo Changcheng 郭長城, “Dunhuang bianwen ji shishou zhi sange yu Qiu yin yiben xiangguan xie juan xulu 敦煌變文集失收之三個與秋吟一本相關寫卷敘錄—S5572, P2704, P4980 [Three Missing Versions of the *Song of Autumn* in the Collated Dunhuang Transformative Texts: An Account of the Relationship between the Manuscripts S. 55572, P. 2704, P. 4980],” *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 11 (1986): 73–83.

¹⁸ Cf. Guo, “Dunhuang bianwen ji shishou zhi sange yu Qiu yin yiben xiangguan xie juan xulu,” 73–83 (esp. 74).

¹⁹ Amoghavajra’s Chinese translation is documented in the *Zhenyuan xin ding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Newly Compiled Catalogue of the Buddhist Teaching from the Zhenyuan (Reign)] (T. 2157.55, 879b). See also the Chinese Dunhuang manuscript S. 2361 (T. 2907.85). For a study of two Chinese manuscript versions of this text preserved in Japan, see Shoshun Hayashidera, “The Newly Found Text of the *Puxian pusa xing yuan zan* 普賢菩薩行願讚 (*Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*) in the Kongō-ji Manuscript Collection,” *Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigaku daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 國際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要 [Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies] 16 (2012): 105–128. A somewhat idiosyncratic translation of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* into English can be found in Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Boston, London: Shambala, 1993), 957–969.



represents what could arguably be the oldest and longest extant version in Sanskrit of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* identified to date.²⁰

Although the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* cannot be considered an Esoteric Buddhist text, and as such falls slightly outside the majority of texts contained in P. 2322, it was obviously incorporated into Amoghavajra's vision of a Buddhism evolving around ritual performances of a higher and more soteriological order, including the all-pervading use of magical spells. We know this because in his rendering into Chinese of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*, as mentioned above, we find appended a short section on the ritual use of the text including a special spell, the *Suji man Puxian xingyuan tuoluoni* 速疾滿普賢行願陀羅尼 [Complete Dhāraṇī for Quickly Fulfilling Samantabhadra's Vows of Practice] to be used in conjunction with the chanting of the hymn (T. 297.10, 881c). The accompanying instructions read:

Every day, after having recited the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*, one must then chant this *mantra* just once, [whereupon] all the vows of Samantabhadra will surely become perfectly fulfilled. Those [who seek] meditative absorption [(Skt. *samādhi*)], will quickly obtain it then and there, [as well as] meritorious virtue and wisdom, two kinds of adornments, become firmly established in the Buddhist teaching, and quickly reach accomplishment.²¹

This short set of instructions reveal how the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna*, originally a liturgical text associated with the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, had, by the second half of the 8th century, become integrated into the ritual tradition of Esoteric Buddhism. This may be one of the reasons why we encounter it in P. 2322.²²

²⁰ Cf. Henrik H. Sørensen, "A Note on the Sanskrit Version of the *Samantabhadracaryāprañidhāna* Found among the Dunhuang Manuscripts," (forthcoming).

²¹ T. 297.10, 881c: 每日誦普賢菩薩行願讚後，即誦此真言，纔誦一遍，普賢行願悉皆圓滿，三摩地人，速得三昧現前，福德智慧，二種莊嚴，獲堅固法，速疾成就。

²² The addition of the spell at the end of the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* can only be documented as having occurred from the time the text was carved on wooden blocks for printing. We therefore have no way of knowing when the spell was added to the text prior to the late 10th century. Nevertheless, it clearly reveals that there was a tradition in which the *Bhadracaryāprañidhāna* was used within the context of Esoteric Buddhism before the Song.

3.7. *Qiu meng zhou* 求夢呪 [Spell for Seeking [Answers] in Dreams]

Most of the text appears verbatim in the *Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Miscellaneous Collection of Spells] under the title *Gan meng qiufa* 感夢求法 [Method for Influencing Dreams] (T. 1336.21, 632b). The only difference being that in the Dunhuang manuscript the spell has been substituted with that of the Buddha Dharmasāgara-vijayaprāññā-lalitāddhiṣṭhāna:

*Namo Dharmasāgara vijayaprāññā lalitāddhiṣṭhāna tathāgata.*²³

This is not really a spell in the sense of a *dhāraṇī* or *mantra*, but is simply an invocation of the name of a Buddha in fairly straightforward Chinese. The Buddha in question is one of the seven Medicine Buddhas in Baisajyaguru's retinue. It should be noted that the reconstruction of the name may in the above case not be entirely correct.²⁴

The accompanying text is highly interesting, both in terms of what it states and also because of its textual source, it is therefore worth our while to dwell upon it. It says:

This spell for seeking [answers] in dreams must be chanted seven times when lying down [to sleep]. If nothing is seen [in a dream], after one to seven days something will surely be seen. Burn incense and scatter flowers and chant [the spell] one hundred and eight times. When lying down and going about one's ordinary affairs, do not engage in conversation with people. [Because if one does so,] one will not succeed in obtaining it, [in case] one wishes to obtain what one has seen in the dream.²⁵

How and why this particular text connects with the Medicine Buddha Dharmasāgara-vijayaprāññā-lalitāddhiṣṭhāna is unclear, but perhaps because sleep and dreaming were conceptualised as belonging to the province of healing or mental health? Incidentally a more elaborate version of the same text can be found in the manuscript P. 2105.II (2),²⁶

²³ P. 2322 (3.7): 南無法海勝慧游戲神通如來。

²⁴ FDC, vol. 6, 6694c–6695a.

²⁵ Under the title *Qi ming ji zhi jixiong tuoluoni* 乞夢即知吉凶陀羅尼 [Spell for Requesting to Know About Auspicious and Inauspicious [Events]], the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* (T. 1336.21, 632b) has:

多嚙他呵梨呵梨 無呵尼三無呵尼 莎呵。

此是求夢呪誦七遍臥時誦。若無所見至一七日必有所見。燒香散花佛前。誦一百八遍。臥去更不共人語。若欲所作於夢中見得不得成不成。

²⁶ CMCT I, 71. The French catalogue fails to mention the finer details of the manuscript.



but without title. It features several additional methods for dealing with dreaming, indicating that P. 2322 (3.7) most probably derives from a more comprehensive text or group of texts.²⁷

The study of dreams and dream interpretation is a much understudied field in the context of Chinese Buddhism even though a large amount of relevant material is to be found among the primary sources.²⁸ It is not surprising that it is again within the confines of Esoteric Buddhism that we find a concentration of dream related material as it belongs together with other forms of augury and divination (interpretation of omens) and communication with the spirits (i.e. the unseen world), practices which obviously fall within the purview of Esoteric Buddhism.²⁹

3.8. Zhou sheng zhenyan 呪生真言 [*Mantra for Empowering the Living*]

Given that the instructions following the spell, and the invocations to a non-canonical group of five buddhas, refer to food offerings, one might naturally think that this *mantra* belongs within a sacrificial rite for hungry ghosts (Skt. *preta*), a hypothesis which would seem to be supported by the appearance of four of the buddhas who appear in the *Shi zhu e'gui yinshi ji shui fa* 施諸餓鬼飲食及水法 [Method for Bestowing all Hungry Ghosts Food and Water] (T. 1315.21), a work attributed to or associated with Amoghavajra. The text reads:

²⁷ As indicated above, lore relating to dreams appears frequently in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* (T. 1336.2, 583a, 585b, 589c, 591b, 592bc, 593c, 594b, etc.), a work which was used by the compiler of P. 2322.

²⁸ One of the few exceptions can be found in Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et Mandarins: Le Bouddhisme Tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 291–336. For information on dream related practices in late medieval Dunhuang, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, see Kalinowski, *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale*, 369–392. The survey found here is a very useful one as it identifies a number of manuscripts concerned with dream interpretation and exorcism of evil dreams.

²⁹ Cf. eg. the *Guanzizai pusa dafu duoli suixin tuoluoni jing* 觀自在菩薩但嚩多唎隨心陀羅尼經 [Scripture on Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Tvam Tārā Spell in Accordance with One's Disposition] (T. 1103B.20, 464a, 467b); the *Susiddhikaramahātantrasādhanaopāyikāpaṭalasūtra* (T. 893C.18, 685ab, 386b, 387b, etc.); the *Wenshushili fa baozang tuoluoni jing* 文殊師利寶藏陀羅尼經 [Scripture on Mañjuśrī's Dharma Treasury of Dhāraṇīs] (T. 1185B.19, 794ab), and the *Chengjiu meng xiang fa* 成就夢相法 [Methods for Successfully Reading Dream Signs] (ZZ. 1051.59), etc.

Namo sarva tathāgata parakite. Oṃ mara mara saṃvara hūm hūm. Namo Prabhūtaratna Tathāgata,³⁰ Namo Surūpa Tathāgata,³¹ Namo Abhayaṃkara Tathāgata,³² Namo Vipula Tathāgata,³³ Namo Amṛtarāja Tathāgata.³⁴

Having received this food, we take refuge in Buddha, *dharma* and *saṃgha*.
Commentary: All utter thus seven times.³⁵

The spell cum invocation we see here is evidently an example of local creation, as it occurs nowhere else in the Chinese Buddhist material.

3.9. *Chanhui chu zui zhenyan* 懺悔出罪真言 [Mantra for Repentance and Expiation of Evil]

The *mantra* goes:

*Oṃ sarvapāpasotaḍahana vajrāya svāhā.*³⁶

In the tradition for bestowing food (Chin. *shishi* 施食), i.e., for feeding the hungry ghosts, repentance is an integral part of the ritual process and the use of *mantras* is an essential component. Hence it is reasonable to assume that the present spell actually belongs within that ritual context (T. 1320.21, 477c). This also fits very well with some of the other spells in the compendium which derive from the same cycle of ritual texts.

Repentance as such is of course an integral practice of monastic Buddhism, one with a long history extending back to the religion's early days. Interestingly, this practice appears prominently in the Dunhuang material, in both Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts, which shows that ethics continued to play an important role in Esoteric and Tantric Buddhism. Actually, the above spell first appeared as the *Chuzui fangbian*

³⁰ The celebrated Buddha, who appears in the Chapter on the *Magically Arisen Stūpa* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*.

³¹ Cf. T. 1320.21, 467c.

³² Cf. T. 1320.21, 468a.

³³ Cf. T. 1315.21, 468a. Expansive Body = Vairocana.

³⁴ Cf. T. 1315.21, 467c. See also the later *Yujia jiyao yankou shishi yi* 瑜伽集要焰口施食儀 [Collated Essentials of the Yoga Ritual for Bestowing Food on the Burning Mouths, hereafter *Collated Essentials of the Yoga Ritual*] (T. 1320.21, 277c–278c). This ritual text has also been attributed to Amoghavajra, although it would seem to be only partly based on material available under the Tang.

³⁵ P. 2322 (3.8): 南无 薩縛 怛他 薩多婆盧吉帝。唵 摩囉 摩囉 三婆囉 吽 吽。南无 多寶如來，南无 妙色身如來，南无 離怖畏如來，南无 廣博身如來，南无 甘露王如來。得此食已衣[依]佛依法，依僧。三說指七遍。

³⁶ P. 2322 (3.9): 唵 薩婆 播波 薩怖 吒娜 訶曩 伐折 囉也 莎訶。



zhenyan 出罪方便真言 [Mantra of Expedient Means for Leaving Evil], and at closer look turns out to have been lifted from the repentance chapter of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* with only minor differences (T. 848.18, 46b).³⁷ Although this in itself is not overly surprising given the compilation's strong Esoteric Buddhist imprint, it is in fact slightly unusual to find a spell from this specific *sūtra* represented in the context of Dunhuang. The reason being that the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* does not appear to have been particularly important in local Buddhism, in any case it enjoyed nowhere near the importance accorded the *Vajraśekhara* and its cycle of scriptures.

3.10. *Da weide Pishamen tianwang congming taizi zhenyan* 大威德毗沙門天王聰明太子真言 [Mantra of the Wise Princes of the Great Majestic and Virtuous Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa]³⁸

The text reads:

Oṃ dusta aha svāhā.³⁹

Each day burn incense with a sincere disposition and invoke the Ten Rakṣas.⁴⁰ Chant it ten thousand times and there will be nothing one's wisdom will penetrate. One will [accordingly] be the first among gods and men.⁴¹

Although the origin of this spell remains obscure, its wording and manner of expression seem to point towards the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*. In any case there is something slightly archaic in a typological sense about it which could indicate that it derives from an early, or at least pre-Tang context.

³⁷ T. 848.18, 46b: 唵薩婆播波薩怖吒 娜訶南伐折囉也 莎嚩訶。

³⁸ The son of Vaiśravaṇa invoked with this spell refers to Nezha. For this popular divinity, see Meir Shahar, *Oedipal God: The Chinese Nezha and His Indian Origins* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

³⁹ P. 2322 (3.10): 唵怛姪他鑠賀。The *shuohe* (鑠賀) spelling of 'svāhā' is an exceedingly rare form that is not encountered often, even among the Dunhuang manuscripts.

⁴⁰ These would seem to refer to messengers or members of Vaiśravaṇa's entourage. According to traditional lore there were only eight *raṅṅas*, which have here been expanded to a group of ten. Cf. FDC, vol. 1, 271c–272a.

⁴¹ P. 2322 (3.10): 唵怛姪他 阿賀 鑠賀。每日焚香志心念誦十洛叉。誦智慧無不通達 人天之中得為第一。

3.11. *Da gongde tian fugui huanxi zhenyan* 大功德天富貴歡喜真言
[Mantra to Make the Goddess Lakṣmī Rejoice]

The text reads:

*Namo siddhiyā mara mara daiwei daiwei svāhā.*⁴²

Each day one must uphold [the spell] forty-nine times for a full six months, [then] each day one will obtain one hundred gold coins. [If one does] not seek to keep them for oneself, gods and men will rejoice.⁴³

In this case, too, the original source for the spell and its accompanying text remains obscure. Normally the ‘Great Virtuous Goddess’ would refer to Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, something which of course matches well with the effect ascribed to using the spell. However, the text as given here has certain passages and concepts that also occur in the *Mahābalavajrakrodhasūtra* (T. 1227.21, 145b) translated by Ajitasena (fl. first half of 8th century),⁴⁴ an Indian monk who worked in Anxi (安西) during the early 730s (T. 2157.55, 878b). Moreover, we know that some of Ajitasena’s translations found their way to Dunhuang, so it is not improbable that they were also mined there for ritual material to be included in locally produced Buddhist works.

3.12. *Wenshu pusa yizi wang zhenyan* 文殊菩薩一自⁴⁵[字] 王真言
[Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s One Letter Royal Mantra]

This spell derives from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (T. 1182.20, 782) translated by Yijing (635–713, 義淨).⁴⁶ The text reads:

*Oṃ thrīṃ.*⁴⁷

Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s *One Letter Mantra*: *Oṃ thrīṃ*. This *mantra* must be recited once to protect one’s body. Recite it twice [to protect] two persons,

⁴² P. 2322 (3.11): 南无悉帝哩野摩羅摩羅唵味唵味鑠賀. This replicated word I have left in Chinese, as I confess to being unable to find a proper Sanskrit reading for it. The rest of the spell translates quite well as can be seen.

⁴³ P. 2322 (3.11): 每日持四十九遍滿六箇月每日得金錢壹伯文. 不求自得天人歡喜. The transcription of *svāhā* as *suohe* (鑠賀) is highly unusual, one which does not occur in the printed Buddhist canons in Chinese. Cf. P. 2322 (3.10) above.

⁴⁴ In the *Taishō tripitaka* there are three texts said to have been translated by Ajitasena, all of which belong to the cult of the *vidyārāja* Ucchuṣma/Mahābala (T. 1227–1229.21).

⁴⁵ Here the manuscript has made use of a wrong, but similarly sounding character.

⁴⁶ See also Ratnacintana’s transcription of the spell (T. 1181.20, 780b).

⁴⁷ P. 2322 (3.12): 唵吒[叱]洛咽焰 (*An chiluxiyan*).



thrice to protect a district, four times to protect a county, five times to protect a country, until reaching kingdoms and territories as numerous as the sands in the Ganges with all their sentient beings being protected.⁴⁸

It is easy to see that the spell in the printed text is the same as that given in the Dunhuang manuscript. However, an accompanying note in the printed text explains how the spell is to be read: “This [spell] has four characters which must be combined into one character, according to the manner in which the two systems of Sanskrit and Chinese are co-related.”⁴⁹ This refers to the Chinese *fanqie* system for matching Chinese phonetically with Sanskrit as used by Yijing. In Manicintana’s (d. 721, 寶思惟)⁵⁰ translation of the same *sūtra*, the *fanqie* system’s preference for using two Chinese characters to match one Sanskrit letter is fully explained:

Oṃ thrīṃ. Commentary: The two [i.e. *chi* and *lin*] are joined together whereby the *lin* character is being paired and restrained according to the system.⁵¹

The use of the spell is clearly for protection, not only of the practitioner him- or herself, but of the entire country and all of its people. In the Dunhuang case the use of the *fanqie* for the spell is rather convoluted with four Chinese characters making up the one Sanskrit word ‘*thrīṃ*,’ a so-called ‘power word’ without intelligible meaning. A comparative reading of the spell, also from Dunhuang, has:

Oṃ thrīṃ svāhā.⁵²

This shows the considerable variation that existed with regard to transcription, as well as in the use of matching characters.

⁴⁸ P. 2322 (3.12): 文殊菩薩一字王真言: 唵吒落呬。此真言念一遍護自身。念兩遍二人。念三遍護一邑。念四遍護一州。念五遍護一國。乃至河沙國土眾生皆護。

⁴⁹ T. 1182.20, 781b: 此有四字總成一字。是故梵漢二體俱存。

⁵⁰ Details on the life of this monk can be found in Antonino Forte, “The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu wei: ?–721 A.D.) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators,” *East & West* 34 (1984): 301–347. For a shorter survey, see Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang from Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra (651–780),” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), 263–285 (esp. 269–271).

⁵¹ T. 1181.20, 780b: 二合囉 字離禁反。

⁵² P. 2322 (3.12): 唵呬囉呬 莎婆訶。

3.13. *Jiapiluo sanmei zhenyan* 迦毗羅三味真言 [*Kapila's Mantras for Meditative Absorption* [(*Skr. Samādhi*)]⁵³

This spell and its accompanying text appear to be a composite taken from more than one source. Basically, the idea is that by invoking this *mantra*, the Four Heavenly Kings will descend to a given place and ensure that people will be reborn in the heavens. Beliefs of this kind may derive from scriptures such as the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 [Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings], an apocryphal or culturally hybrid scripture that became popular in China during the late Northern and Southern Dynasties' (386–589, 南北朝) period.⁵⁴ The accompanying text reads:

This spell should be chanted in a high place of sanctity twenty-one times. At the break of dawn that place will be visited by the Four [Heavenly] Kings and their retinue, [whereupon] all will obtain rebirth in heaven. While in the world one should prepare extensive and great offerings.⁵⁵

Even though this spell and its accompanying text bears some resemblance to the spells in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*, it is in any case clear that it is not an early one, i.e. of pre-Tang origin. The reason for this being that spells were not designated as '*mantras*,' i.e. *zhenyan*, in the Chinese sources until the end of the 7th century. Hence, the source for this spell should not be much older than ca. 700.

3.14. *Zhou suchu shui bu ji yi ru tuoluoni* 呪蘇除睡不飢益乳陀羅尼 [*Dhāraṇī for Empowering Thyme* ⁵⁶*for Beneficial Milk in Order to Get Rid of Sleep and Not Feeling Hungry*]

This derives from the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* together with the accompanying explicative text (T. 1336.21, 634b). There are only minor differences to be observed between the printed text and the manuscript.

⁵³ Kapila is another name for Kubera, identical with Vaiśravaṇa, the Heavenly King of the North.

⁵⁴ For a study and translation of this scripture, see Henrik H. Sørensen, "Divine Scrutiny of Human Morals in an Early Chinese Buddhist Sūtra: A Study of the *Si tianwang jing* (T. 590)," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 8 (1995): 44–83.

⁵⁵ P. 2322 (3.13): 此真言於高處堅(?)念二十一遍。日照之處所四王等皆得生天。作世間廣大供養。

⁵⁶ The text has *su* (蘇) which may refer to an unspecified type of thyme, or possibly an abbreviation for *soma* (Chin. *sumo* 蘇摩), i.e., nectar in the form of a fermented drink to be offered to the divinities.



If people sleep much, they must uphold this spell and [empower] thyme one thousand times [with it], and use it to smear on their eyes. Then they will not sleep. If they smear their feet with it, it will enable them to walk for ten days. If it is ingested, it will cause people not to feel hunger. If pregnant women, cows, and sheep have little milk, one must empower water one thousand times [with this spell] and make them drink it, then their milk will be aplenty.⁵⁷

Spells of this type belong to the category of healing prescriptions, i.e. they are meant for medicinal use. Also, their usage transcends formal religious boundaries, and as such would have been used in both Buddhist and Daoist contexts.

3.15. *Huguoli shen zeng shan tuoluoni* 獲果利神增善陀羅尼 [Spell (against) the Spirit who Seizes the Fruits of Benefits that Increase Goodness]

The spell given here is of an old type, which means that it makes use of an oblique system of transcription without any phonetic markers. The same spell appears in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* in a form that is roughly identical, including the accompanying text enumerating the multiple benefits deriving from uttering the spell. Below follows the first part of that text:

A good man or good woman who receives and upholds these *dhāraṇī*-phrases, recites them and writes them down in appropriate manner [should then go] in front of the Buddha, a [buddha] image, a *stūpa* or relics [(Skt. *śārīra*)], and recite it a thousand times. They should ingest dark, rock honey and the broth of lotus flower inflorescence. Having chanted [the spell] for one day one thousand times they will obtain knowledge of the thoughts of others.⁵⁸

This prescription is typical for the spell-methods given in the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*, the vast majority of which are designed to bestow protection, healing or the acquisition of magical powers, such as in the present case.

⁵⁷ For comparison, see *Tuoluoni zaji* (T. 1336.21, 634b): 若人多睡以此持呪蘇千遍。用塗眼即無睡。以塗足日行十由旬。若食之令人不飢。若婦女若牛羊少乳。呪水千遍用飲之乳即多也。

⁵⁸ T. 1336.21, 634a: 若有善男子善女人受持如是陀羅尼句續誦書寫當於佛前像前塔前舍利前千遍續誦。飲黑石蜜蓮華鬚漿。一日中能誦千遍 (the manuscript has 千偈, i.e. thousand verses) 得他心智。

3.16. *Two Lines of the Transcribed Sanskrit Version of the Hridayaprajñāpāramitāsūtra (Here Actually Partly Reproduced in Chinese)*

The bibliographical note which accompanies the text mentions that the scripture derives from Xuanzang’s (602–664, 玄奘) translation (T. 256.8). Nevertheless, it is similar to the transcribed text attributed to Amoghavajra which appears at the end of the manuscript (P. 2322 (35)). More on this will be said below.

3.17. *Xiang gongyang zhenyan 香供養[真言] [Mantra for Offering Incense]*

This spell reads:

*Om sarva tathāgata dhūpa pūjā samudrā megha sphaṛanā samaya hūṃ.*⁵⁹

The actual origin of this spell is unclear, but it occurs almost verbatim in the celebrated scholar monk Huilin’s (737–820, 慧琳) short ritual text, the *Xinji yuxiang yigui* 新集浴像儀軌 [Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings for Washing the [Buddhist] Images, hereafter *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings*] (T. 1322.21, 489a). It is quite possible that this was the source from which it found its way into P. 2322. The primary reason for suggesting this is that the sequence of offering *mantras* in our manuscript follows by and large that provided in the *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings*, something which is hardly coincidental. Even so, it is not clear from P. 2322 that the matching offering *mantras* were specifically meant for use in rituals for washing buddha images.

The fact that the word ‘*samaya*’ appears in the end of the spell, as well as in the following series of spells concerned with offerings, indicates that these are meant for the physical ‘*samayas*,’ i.e. the ‘outer offerings,’ as opposed to the ‘vow *samayas*,’ the Esoteric Buddhist precepts, which represent the ‘inner offerings’ by the practitioner. So, what we see here is a spell with established usage in mature Esoteric Buddhism, but also one that existed in at least two different types of transcription, indicating the existence of separate lineages of transmission.

⁵⁹ P. 2322 (3.17): 唵 薩縛 怛他引 誡哆 度波布引 惹茗伽 三母捺囉 二合 娑頗 一合 羅拏 三昧耶 吽.



There is a similar spell in P. 2104 (section on practice). Spells of this kind together with those for offering flowers and food are numerous in Buddhism mainly because they constitute the primary ingredients in virtually all offerings, including those of Esoteric Buddhism where the diversity and abundance of such offerings are presented and discussed in great detail in the relevant literature. One example of this being the *Susiddhikara*, an early Esoteric Buddhist manual for ritual practices⁶⁰ which devotes an entire chapter to the discussion of incense (T. 893A.18, 609c–610c).

3.18. *Hua gongyang zhenyan* 花供養[真言] [[*Mantra*] for Offering Flowers]

Similar to the above, this spell for flowers specifies and underscores the importance of this category of offerings in Esoteric Buddhist ritual practice. One wonders whether there has been a replication of the spell at this point in the manuscript. The same spell appears in P. 2104 (13).

*Oṃ sarva tathāgata puṣpa pūjā megha samudrā sphaṛaṇa samaya hūṃ.*⁶¹

As is the case with the preceding spell, this *mantra* appears in Huilin's *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings* mentioned above. It is also found with certain variations at the beginning of the *Dapiluzhena fo shuo yaolie niansong jing* 大毘盧遮那佛說要略念誦經 [Mahāvairocana Buddha Speaks the Abbreviated Essentials for Chanting the [Mahāvairocana] Sūtra] (T. 849.18, 56a), a ritual text based on the instructions given in the seventh chapter of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, attributed to Vajrabodhi (671–741), the teacher of Amoghavajra.⁶²

⁶⁰ See also, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, 109–310.

⁶¹ P. 2322 (3.17/18): 唵一引 薩嚩 怛他薩哆 度波布引 惹茗伽三母 捺囉二合 娑頗二合 羅拏 三昧耶 吽。

⁶² A variation of this spell can also be found in the Japanese Heian work, *Kongō sanmitsu shō* 金剛三密抄 [A Summary of the Three Vajra Secrets] (T. 2400.75, 696c) compiled by the Tendai monk and specialist of Esoteric Buddhism, Kakuchō (955–1037, 覺超). For his biographical data, see *Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辭典 [Great Dictionary of Esoteric Buddhism], 6 vols, ed. Mikkyō Daijiten Editorial Committee (reprint, Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1979), 223bc. The *Summary of the Three Vajra Secrets* is essentially a comprehensive compendium of spells typical of the late 10th century. Note that Kakuchō's dates correlate more or less with P. 2322, indicating that the spell in question was a standard one shared by practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism across East Asia of that time.

3.19. *Deng gongyang [zhenyan] 燈供養[真言] [[Mantra] for Offering Lamps]*

The spell reads:

*Oṃ sarva tathāgata dīpya pūjā megha samudrā spharaṇa samaya hūṃ.*⁶³

Again, this spell appears in the *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings for Washing the [Buddhist] Images* as one of the offerings given in connection with the washing of buddha images but, as already stated, we cannot be sure of its origin. Incidentally, the offering of lamps formed an important part of communal Buddhist celebrations as well as in individual rituals performed in connection with worship in the Mogao Caves. A pendant featuring this spell is found in P. 2104 (13), indicating that the spell in this form was common to local Buddhism.

3.20. *Tuxiang [zhenyan] 塗香[真言] [[Mantra] for Smearing Incense]*

Incense is commonly smeared during the preparation of an altar for worship. The spell reads:

*Oṃ sarva tathāgata gandha pūjā megha samudra spharaṇa samaye hūṃ.*⁶⁴

This spell also appears in the *Xinji yuxiang yigui 新集裕像儀軌 [Newly Collated Ritual Proceedings for Washing [Buddhist] Images]* (T. 1322.21). It can also be found with minor variations in P. 2322 (3.18) and P. 2322 (3.27).

3.21. *Yinshi gongyang [zhenyan] 飲食供養 [真言] [Mantra] for Food Offerings].*

This section consists of the spell only. It reads:

*Oṃ sarva tathāgata baliḥ pūjā megha samudrā spharaṇa samaya hūṃ.*⁶⁵

This *mantra* also occurs in the *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings* as one of the offering spells in a set similar to those above.

⁶³ P. 2322 (3.19): 唵 薩縛 怛他 引 識哆 捨波 布惹 茗伽 三母捺囉 二合 娑頗 一合 羅拏 三昧耶 吽.

⁶⁴ P. 2322 (3.20): 唵 引 薩縛 引 怛他 引 識哆 嚧 布惹 茗伽 三母捺囉 二合 娑頗 羅 二合 拏 三昧耶 吽.

⁶⁵ P. 2322 (3.21): 唵 引 薩縛 引 怛他 識哆 末力 布惹 謎 茗伽 三母捺囉 二合 娑頗 羅 二合 拏 三昧耶 吽.



3.22. *Longshu pusa tuoluoni* 龍樹菩薩陀羅尼 [*Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Dhāraṇī*]

Beyond the spell itself, this section provides no additional information. What is important, however, is that Nāgārjuna is here cast as a major Buddhist divinity rather than as the founder of Mādhyamika philosophy. The text of the spell reads:

*Namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṃghāya namo bodhisattva (?)
namo saṃgate saṃyate (?) svāha.*⁶⁶

As can be seen, the text of this spell is basically an invocation of the Three Jewels followed by one presumably for the bodhisattvas, and two other text segments that appear corrupt or as pseudo-Sanskrit. Spells addressed to Nāgārjuna are not uncommon in the Esoteric Buddhist and Buddho-Daoist material from Dunhuang. This material consists of spells of many different types, including apocryphal spells reflecting overt Daoist influence.⁶⁷ As such, Nāgārjuna appears as a sort of inter-religious persona variously appearing as an Indian sage, a bodhisattva or a divine immortal.⁶⁸

3.23. *Sheng Guanzizai pusa qianzhuan mie zui tuoluoni* 聖觀自在菩薩千轉滅罪陀羅尼 [*Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Dhāraṇī of a Thousand Turnings which Destroy Evil*] (T. 1337.21, etc.)⁶⁹

The spell reads:

*Namo ratna trayāya namah āryā[va]lokiteśvarāya bodh[i]satvāya
mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya tadyathā oṃ jaye jaye mahājaye jayo vāhini
ttari kala kala ma-ra mara cala cala [...]*⁷⁰

⁶⁶ P. 2322 (3.22): 南无佛陀耶 南无達摩耶 南无僧伽耶 南无婆陁娑 南无僧伽吒 僧禁吒 娑婆訶。

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g., P. 3835V° (4).

⁶⁸ For the casting of Nāgārjuna as a multicultural and multitalented persona, see Stuart H. Young, *Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 152–185.

⁶⁹ The *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [Pearly Forest in the Garden of the Dharma] discusses the history of this spell at length (T. 2122.53, 735a).

⁷⁰ P. 2322 (3.23): 曩上謨引喇怛曩二合夜引耶一曩莫阿引去哩耶引二合路嚩引二合吉帝引濕枳二合囉引耶冒引薩怛嚩二合耶三麼賀引薩怛嚩二合耶四麼賀引賀嚩拏迦引去耶五怛你梨也他引去六嚩引七惹曳惹曳八麼賀引惹曳九惹野嚩引咽寧十頁十惹瑜引去怛梨十一迦羅迦羅十二麼羅麼羅十三打羅打羅十四 [...].

The spell as we have it here has been abbreviated or cut short, as it only retains about half of the full text. The reason for this is unclear, but one should think that there must be some reason for it. When comparing this version of the spell with other known versions, it would appear that this Dunhuang version is very close—although not exactly the same—as that transmitted by the Ācārya Xinglin (fl. second half of the 9th c., 行琳) and reproduced in the highly important *Shijiao zuishang cheng mimi zang tuoluoni ji* 釋教最上乘秘密藏陀羅尼集 [Collection of Dhāraṇīs Collated from the Highly Secret Treasury of the Supreme Vehicle of Buddhism] (F. 1071.28, 117a), a spell collection from the late Tang as found in the Fangshan Canon (房山大藏經).⁷¹ This means that this Dunhuang version most probably derives from, or is otherwise related to, Amoghavajra’s reformation of Esoteric Buddhism.

The *Dhāraṇī of a Thousand Turnings* is well-documented in the canonical sources and had its own ritual cycle since it was first introduced at some time in the 6th century.⁷² Later it became highly important in the Buddhism of Dunhuang, where it occurs in abbreviated form as shown above. It can also be found in the form of single sheet woodblock prints for distribution among the faithful, to be worn on the person as a protective amulet.⁷³ These printed spell-sheets generally date from the mid- to late 10th century.⁷⁴

⁷¹ For a modern and practical edition of this work, see *Fangshan mingzhou ji* 房山明咒集. *The Mantras of Fangshan*, 5 vols, ed. Lin Guangming 林光明 (Taipei: Jiafeng chubanshe, 2008).

⁷² The earliest Chinese version of the spell currently at our disposal is that transmitted and transcribed by the Indian monk Jñānagupta some time between 561 and 578 during the Northern Zhou (557–579, 北周) (T. 2157.55, 843c). It was included in the spell-compendium, *Zhongzhong za zhou jing* 種種雜咒經 [Various Miscellaneous Spell Scriptures] (T. 1337.21, 639ab).

⁷³ For a study of the paper amulets of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādharmaṇī* to be worn on the person, see Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 60–140.

⁷⁴ Cf. Katherine R. Tsiang, “Buddhist Printed Images and Texts of the Eighth-Tenth Centuries: Typologies of Replication and Representation,” in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 201–252. See also Liang Liling 梁麗玲, “Dunhuang wenxian zhong de huchan xinyang yanjiu 敦煌文獻中的護產信仰研究 [A Study of Beliefs in Protecting Childbirth in the Dunhuang Manuscripts],” *Tonkō shahon kenkyū nembō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Year Book of Dunhuang Manuscript Studies] (2016): 189–204 (esp. 200). An article with much the same information can be found in Li Ling and Ma De, “Avalokiteśvara and the Dunhuang Dhāraṇī Spells of Salvation in Childbirth,” in *Chinese*



3.24. *Xiang gongyang [zhenyan] 香供養[真言] [[Mantra] for Incense Offering]*

The *mantra* goes:

*Om vajra*⁷⁵ *nūpeah*.⁷⁶

This spell and the following three that appear later in the text may be understood as similar in function to the set deriving from the *Newly Compiled Ritual Proceedings* discussed above, i.e., they represent *mantras* to be used in connection with the presentation of offerings to the divinities in different and specific rites. The fact that the word ‘*vajra*’ occurs in all four *mantras* may indicate their use in a type of rite associated with the *Vajraśekhara*.

A largely similar spell in connection with offerings can be found in the *Miaojixiang pingdeng yujia mimi guanshen chengfo yigui 妙吉祥平等瑜伽秘密觀身成佛儀軌* [Ritual Proceedings of Mañjuśrī’s Universal Secret Yoga for Contemplating the Body in Order to Attain Buddhahood, hereafter *Ritual Proceedings of Mañjuśrī’s Universal Secret*] (T. 1193.20, 933b), translated by the Indian monk Cixian (fl. 10th c., 慈賢) some time during the middle of the 10th century.⁷⁷ It is unclear, however, whether this important text was actually circulating in Dunhuang, as no copies of it have ever been documented among the hoard of manuscripts, and there are sufficiently many variations in the set of spells to cast doubt on whether they derive from the same source.

3.25. *Hua gongyang [zhenyan] 花供養[真言] [[Mantra] for Flower Offerings]*

Belonging in a group together with the previous and succeeding ones, this *mantra* can also be found with certain variations in the *Ritual Proceedings of Mañjuśrī’s Universal Secret*. It goes:

and *Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 338–351.

⁷⁵ The manuscript reads: ‘*baluo*’ (唵囉), but should be *bariluo* = *vajra*.

⁷⁶ P. 2322 (24): 唵—引 嚩[日]囉二合 度閉嚩引. ‘*Nupe*’ supposedly refers to a special kind of incense.

⁷⁷ T. 1193.20, 933b: 唵嚩日囉二合 補澁波二合 吽.

*Om vajra lokini.*⁷⁸

According to the sequence of offerings set forth in the *Ritual Proceedings of Mañjuśrī's Universal Secret*, the spell should correctly read: *Om vajra puṣpa hūṃ.*⁷⁹ It would appear that the spell as we find it in P. 2322 had for some reason been mixed up with the spell for offering lamps and *vice versa*.

3.26. *Deng gongyang [zhenyan] 燈供養[真言] [[Mantra] for the Offering of Lamps]*

The text of the spells reads:

*Om vajra puṣpa hūṃ.*⁸⁰

As noted above, by comparing the text of the *Ritual Proceedings of Mañjuśrī's Universal Secret*, we can see that this spell has been transposed with the preceding. Somehow the copyist mistook the order of the spells and mixed them up.

3.27. *Tuxiang gongyang [zhenyan] 塗香供養[真言] [[Mantra] for Smearing Incense]*

The smearing of incense is usually done when preparing an altar for worship. The spell reads:

Om vajra muḥka muḥ (?).⁸¹

Following this spell, the Five Buddhas—Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Vairocana, Amoghasiddhi—are invoked by their names, indicating that the spell formed part of the developed Esoteric Buddhist tradition centring on either the *Mahāvairocana* or the *Vajraśekhara*-cycle of scriptures. Given that direct references to the former, combined with the fact that no copies of it has been found among the hoard of manuscripts found in Cave 17, it is most likely that it was the latter of these central,

⁷⁸ P. 2322 (3.25): 唵一引 嚩[日]囉二合 盧計寧引. T. 1193.20, 933b: 唵嚩日囉二合 路計爾.

⁷⁹ T. 1193.20, 933b: 唵嚩日囉二合 補澁波二合 吽.

⁸⁰ P. 2322 (3.26): 唵嚩囉二合 補澁早吽引. As *puṣpa* means ‘flower’, one is left with the impression that this spell actually belongs to the previous section.

⁸¹ P. 2322 (3.27): 唵一引 嚩[日]囉二合 穆又穆. The Chinese text of the spell appears to be corrupt, perhaps mistakenly transmitted as the final part looks odd.



Esoteric Buddhist scriptures which, directly or indirectly, informed the Buddhists of Dunhuang.

As for the formal offerings associated with the spells in this and the preceding three sections, it is interesting to note that roughly the same template for making offerings in the ritual context of Esoteric Buddhism can be found in a text prosaically entitled the *Gongyang yishi* 供養儀式 [Ritual Template Procedures for Making Offerings] (T. 859.18, 180a), as transmitted via at least one Japanese manuscript from the late medieval period.⁸² This text, which deals specifically with offerings to be presented in connection with the setting up of the Dharmadhātu Maṇḍala and its divinities, features a section with the same group of physical offerings, i.e. incense paste, incense, flowers, lamps and food offerings, as found in P. 2322 (3.24–27) in much the same sequence (minus the flower offering which is mentioned elsewhere in the text). This indicates that we are in fact dealing with a fixed set of ritual components. However, the set of spells accompanying the offerings are different from those in the Dunhuang manuscript. As the Japanese manuscripts ostensibly reproduce or transmit ritual instructions originally dating from the late Tang, i.e. roughly contemporaneously with those found in P. 2322, it seems that there must have been more than one set of spells accompanying this group of offerings in circulation in formal Esoteric Buddhist practice.

3.28. *Jingang jietuo zhenyan* 金剛解脫真言 [*Vajramokṣa Mantra* [i.e. the Mantra for Deliverance from Transmigration]]

The Chinese text, which is inserted between lines in the manuscript of the preceding text 3.27, is somewhat unclear, only the first part, *OM vajra ...* (唵 引一嚩囉二合 ...) is evident, which means that it is hard to determine the exact wording of the spell. However, the *Vajramokṣa Mantra* is one of those spells that is commonly used in rites for the liberation of hungry ghosts, as well as for those suffering in the hells. As such, it belongs to the type of rite commonly referred as *shishi*, i.e. rites for bestowing food.⁸³ The following spell is also related to this ritual cycle.

⁸² The printed edition on which the Taishō version is based dates from 1687. This in turn is based on a manuscript dating from 1176 (Shōan 5 承安五年) in the collection of the Kōzan-ji (高山寺), which again is a copy of an even older manuscript (T. 859.18, 177, fn. 24).

⁸³ For an introduction to this material in Chinese Buddhism, see Charles D. Orzech, “Esoteric Buddhism and the *Shishi* in China,” in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition*, ed.

3.29. *Gongyang zhenyan* 念供養真言 [*Intone Mantra for Offerings*]

Like the previous spell, this is used in ritual offerings for the “hungry ghosts of burning mouths”, i.e., as part of the *shishi* tradition. It reads:

*Oṃ ga gana sambhāva vajra hoḥ.*⁸⁴

The same spell, but with a different transcription, can be found among the offerings in the *Collated Essentials of the Yoga Ritual* referred to previously (T. 1320.21, 480b). This confirms the considerable importance of the *shishi* ritual in local Buddhism, and also explains why spells related to this type of ritual appear so prominently in P. 2322.

3.30. *Ritual Proceedings*

At this point in the manuscript it appears that the format of the texts changes from the listing of individual spells with occasional instructions, to a single coherent ritual process. It begins with a short sentence which reads: ‘*Niansong zhenyan* (念誦真言),’ i.e., ‘intone the *mantras*.’ However, it is unclear which spells are being referred to as this injunction has no direct association with the following section of text. It is therefore possible that it is a textual torso or that something could be missing here. Both may in fact apply.

Thereafter we have what is a proper title, *Guanxing xiuxi lüeyi* 觀行修習略儀 [Abbreviated Ritual for Engaging in the Cultivation of Visualisation Practice, hereafter *Ritual for Engaging in the Cultivation*], which takes up the succeeding several lines of text. It begins with the phrase, *Fu yu ke zhenyan* 夫欲課真言 [Mantra for Those who Desire Instruction]. Despite the title, the *mantra* itself, as in the preceding case, is not to be found. It may be that it was considered so common that the performer was expected to know it already. The accompanying instructions are all in verse form, a typical feature of Esoteric Buddhist ritual texts. Firstly, one notices that the text sets forth basic details of the

Henrik H. Sørensen, *SBS Monographs II* (Copenhagen: Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1994), 51–72. See also Wang Sanqing 王三慶, “Dunhuang fojiao zhaihui wenxian ‘jiqing wen’ de ling xitong ji xiangguan wenti 敦煌佛教齋會文獻「啟請文」的靈系統及相關問題 [The System of Divinities and Related Questions in the ‘Texts for Invitation’ used in the Buddhist Meagre Feast Assemblies in Dunhuang],” *Tonkō shahon kenkyū* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Dunhuang Manuscript Studies] 10 (2016): 149–154.

⁸⁴ P. 2322 (3.29): 唵引 誡識囊三婆去 嚩嚩囉二合 解。



essential requirements necessary to receive formal instructions in the teachings of Esoteric Buddhism, and as such may be considered the first step to be taken by a potential practitioner. This lengthy text consists of paraphrases, excerpts and reformulations of passages lifted from various ritual works, many of which are directly or indirectly associated with Amoghavajra.

A review of the *Ritual for Engaging in the Cultivation* reveals that we are indeed dealing with an abbreviated text for ritual practice, one which involves several notable features that require a more detailed discussion. Before looking at the possible sources that informed this text, however, let us first take a look at the spells or *mantras* which appear in the text. They are as follows:

3.30.1. *San ye qingjing zhenyan* 三業清淨真言 [*Mantra for Purifying the Three Karmas*].

The text states: Recite the mantra of purification, which causes the purification of the Three Karmas:

*Oṃ sarva sarva buddha sarva dharma sarva sarva śuddho aḥ.*⁸⁵

There are several sets of *mantras* for purification, all of which differ from each other. This means that even within Amoghavajra's dispensation of Esoteric Buddhism, variations and spells with overlapping functions and purposes existed side by side.

3.30.2. *Pu li zhenyan* 念普礼真言 [*Mantras for Extensive Worship*]

Oṃ sarva buddha dharma saṃghanaṃ namo stūpa (?).⁸⁶

3.30.3. *Jing zhu zhenyan* 淨珠真言 [*Mantra for Purifying the Beads*]⁸⁷

*Oṃ Vairocana mālā svāhā.*⁸⁸

⁸⁵ P. 2322 (3.30): 唵引 娑嚩二合 婆去 嚩 秣馱一 娑嚩 達摩二 娑嚩二合 娑嚩 輪度 哈.

⁸⁶ P. 2322 (3.30): 唵引 薩嚩 沒馱 達摩 僧去 伽去 南 曩謨引率堵二合 諦. Note that *namo 'stu te* means *may you be praised*.

⁸⁷ Also called *Jiachi nianzhu zhenyan* 加持念珠真言 [*Mantra for Empowering the Prayer Beads*] (T. 972.19, 367c).

⁸⁸ P. 2322 (3.30): 唵引 尾嚩引 左曩 麼攞 娑嚩二合引 賀引. T. 972.19, 367c: 唵 尾嚩遮 那 麼羅 娑嚩二合引 賀.

A variation of this *mantra* occurs in Amoghavajra's *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌法 [Ritual Methods for Invoking the *Buddhoṣṇīśadhārāṇī* (?)] (T. 972.19, 367c). There are in fact other parts of this ritual text which appear in this section of P. 2322 (3.30), however these are all heavily condensed. This *mantra* can also be found in the *Da Xukongzang pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法 [Method for Invoking the Great Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva] (T. 1146.20, 604b) where it is explicitly stated to be the *mantra* for empowering prayer beads (Skt. *mālā*). Incidentally the *Susiddhikara* also contains a chapter in which the importance of prayer beads as a ritual instrument is given much attention (T. 893A.18, 617c–618a). Otherwise, Ākāśagarbha figures relatively frequently in the Esoteric Buddhist material from Dunhuang, and was even incorporated into a Chan context, as documented by other composite manuscripts such as P. 2105 (6c).

3.30.4 *Chu shen zhenyan* 觸身真言 [Mantra for Touching One's Body]⁸⁹

*Oṃ vajra krodhanam hūṃ aḥ.*⁹⁰

This *mantra* appears at the very end of the ritual process, concluding its final stage, and involves the use of hand gestures (Skr. *mudrā*). We know that the use of this particular *mantra* was widespread in Dunhuang, and it is interesting to observe that it was also included in the *Nan Tianzhu guo Putidamo chanshi guanmen* 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門 [Meditation Methods of Chan Master Bodhidharma from Southern India] (S. 2669, S. 6958), a work which combines Northern Chan Buddhist practice with Esoteric Buddhism.⁹¹ Most probably the *mantra* was used in conjunction with Chan-style meditation. In the canonical material, self-empowerment through the use of a *mudrā* and spell also appears in the *Sheng Guanzizai pusa xin zhenyan yujia guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心

⁸⁹ This refers to the practice of self-empowerment in which the practitioner touches his or her own body with the *mudrā*.

⁹⁰ P. 2322 (3.30.4): 唵引 嚩[日]囉二合 骨嚕二合引 馱曩 吽引 喻。

⁹¹ For this text, see Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* 敦煌禪宗文獻の研究 [Studies in the Chan Writings from Dunhuang] (Tōkyō: Daitō shuppansha, 1983), 213–236. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, “The Meeting and Conflation of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism during the Táng,” in *Chán Buddhism in Dūnhuáng and Beyond: A Study of Manuscripts, Texts, and Contexts in Memory of John R. McRae*, ed. Christoph Anderl and Christian Witten (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2021), 329–362 (esp. 345).



真言瑜伽觀行儀軌 [Ritual Proceedings for the Contemplative Practice of the Yoga of the Holy Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Heart Mantra] (T. 1031.20, 5b); as well as in the *Susiddhikara* where it is described as a standard element in formal ritual behaviour (T. 893A.18, 646b).

In P. 2104 (13) the corresponding spells are provided with a minimum of accompanying instructions, which could be seen as an indication that the ritual text it conveys had become even further abbreviated than P. 2322 (3.30), in which this section consists of a lengthy liturgy preceded by an untitled *mantra* for effectuation.

The final part of the rite seems to be an abbreviated form of the proceedings set forth in the *Qinglong si gui ji* 青龍寺軌記 [Record of the Ritual Proceedings of Qinglong Temple] (T. 855.18, sp. on 174a). The Qinglong Temple (青龍寺) was one of the primary Esoteric Buddhist sanctuaries in Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安), and it continued to function as such until the end of the Tang.⁹² The correspondences between the two texts demonstrate—at least on a basic level—that the text in our Dunhuang document reflects a rudimentary form of standard Esoteric Buddhist rituals being performed in the primary temples of the tradition in the capital area during the 9th century.

This lengthy section describes in basic detail the essential requirements necessary to receive formal instructions in the teachings of Esoteric Buddhism, and as such may be considered the first step to be taken by a potential practitioner. It is possible that it is a paraphrase or reformulation of the long verse contained in the *Chapter on Ritual Proceedings* of the *Vajraśekhara* (T. 874.18, 321c). However, one could also consider the instructions in this section of P. 2322 as generic, since they reflect directly on the type of instructions contained in the *Susiddhikara*, as we have seen a number of times in this manuscript. Interestingly, P. 2104 contains a section entitled *Fu yu xiuxing* 夫欲修行 [For Those who Seek to Practise], which features some of the same spells. The first part of that text reads:

With regard to [accessing] the supreme vehicle, one must first calm the mind, dwell in a pure place, and peacefully enter meditation. [When] directly

⁹² Additional information about this important temple can be found in *Qinglong si* 青龍寺 [Qinglong Temple], ed. Chang Yao 暢耀 (Xian: Sanqin chubanshe, 1986). It fell into ruin centuries ago, and was only rebuilt in the 1980s with Japanese money because of its important place in the history of the Shingon School (真言宗).

exiting absorption [(Skt. *samādhi*)], intone the *Mantra for Purifying the Three Karmas* thrice [...] ⁹³

As we can see, this injunction mirrors the above in an abbreviated manner. Then follows the text of the *mantra*, which is the same as we have in P. 2322.

As is evident from a study of this text, these *mantras* appear in various contexts in the printed canonical material, often with multiple functions, or perhaps better polyvalent usages, depending on the ritual process in question. In other words, they were not limited to a narrow use but appear as multifunctional structural elements in a number of different ritual contexts.

3.31. *Bao louge da mimi zhenyan* 寶樓閣大秘密真言 [*Great and Secret Mantra of the Precious Pavillon*]

The spell goes:

Oṃ maṇi dari hūṃ hūṃ. Commence!⁹⁴

This derives with minor variation from a spell found in the *Mahāmaṇiṃpūlavimānaviśvasupraṭiṣṭhitaguyhaparamarahasyakalparājadhāraṇīsūtra* (T. 1005A.19, 626c).⁹⁵ It is a spell which does not have a supporting text in the manuscript version, but in the *sūtra* it is clearly referred to as a ‘*mantra* for protecting oneself when bathing’ (T. 1005A.19, 626c).

3.32. *Wenshu po suyao zhenyan* 文殊破宿曜真言 [*Mañjuśrī’s Mantra for Destroying [Baleful Influences] of the Asterisms*]

*Oṃ sarva tāṛā*⁹⁶ *samaya chiriya svāhā*.⁹⁷

This spell can be found with slight variations in the *Beidou qixing humo fa* 北斗七星護摩法 [Methods of Homa [to be Employed in the Worship of] the Seven Stars of the Great Dipper, hereafter *Methods of Homa*] (T.

⁹³ P. 2104 (13): 最上乘者, 先順安心, 淨住良入禪. 指出定, 念三業真言三遍.

⁹⁴ P. 2322 (3.31): 唵引摩尼達哩吽吽登.

⁹⁵ T. 1005A.19, 626c: 唵摩拏達哩吽吽洋吒.

⁹⁶ Here it refers to asterism or star.

⁹⁷ P. 2322 (3.32): 唵引薩嚩怛囉二合三摩耶至 [室] 哩曳娑嚩賀.



1310.21, 459a),⁹⁸ attributed to the famous scholar and astrologer Yixing (673–727, 一行).⁹⁹ This clearly underscores the spell’s link with astral phenomena and the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In this scripture, it is referred to as *Dasheng xicai zhenyan* 大聖息災真言 [The Great Holy One’s Mantra for Eliminating Calamities]. Whether or not the *mantra* as we find it in the manuscript originally derived from the *Methods of Homa* which survives in the form of a late Japanese manuscript, it is clear that a scriptural corpus linking the worship of Mañjuśrī with astral beliefs was in circulation in China during the late Tang Dynasty. However, the *Suyao yigui* 宿曜儀軌 [Ritual Proceedings [for the Worship of] the Asterisms] (T. 1304.21), also ascribed to Yixing, and which features numerous spells, does not include the spell in question. This indicates that it was lifted from some other text.

3.33. *Bao fumu shizhu en zhenyan* 報父母施主恩真言 [Mantra for Use by the Donor to Recompense His [or Her] Parents]

This spell is a short one, which goes:

Oṃ dānagāte.¹⁰⁰

This *mantra* echoes to some extent another spell found among the Dunhuang material which also deals with Buddhist filial piety.¹⁰¹ One could speculate on its possible relationship with the apocryphal *Fumu enchong jing* 父母恩重經 [Scripture on the Kindness of Parents] (T. 2887.85), but this would diverge too much from our purpose here. The *mantra* as given above is followed by an invocation directed to the eight great bodhisattvas, identified here as Avalokiteśvara, Ākāśagarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambihin,¹⁰²

⁹⁸ For the Daoist input in this work, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, *Daojiao xingdou fuyin yu fojiao mizong* 道教星斗符印與佛教密教 [Astral Lore and Talismanic Seals in Daoism and the Esoteric School in Buddhism] (Taipei: Xinwenfeng), 98–101.

⁹⁹ See Jeffrey Kotyk, “Yixing,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Volume II: Lives*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 800a–805b.

¹⁰⁰ P. 2322 (3.33): 唵引陀那羯他.

¹⁰¹ Cf. the *Bao fumu en zhenyan* 報父母恩真言 [Mantra for Compensating One’s Parents] (P. 4679), which reads: *Namo samanta buddhānām. Oṃ dānakāya svāhā* (曩謨三滿多沒哆喃 唵 他那伽耶莎訶).

¹⁰² He appears in the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (T. 848.18, 1a, 12a, 14a, etc).

Kṣīṭigarbha and finally Foyan (佛眼)¹⁰³ (Buddhalocana?) respectively.¹⁰⁴ However, the deeper logic behind this spell and the invocation of the eight bodhisattvas in relation to recompensing the kindness of one's parents is not immediately obvious.

3.34. *Bao fumu enzhong zhenyan* 報父母恩重真言 [Mantra for
Recompensing the Kindness of Parents]

This spell was probably meant to accompany the apocryphal *Fumu enchong jing* 報父母恩重經 [Scripture on the Kindness of Parents] (T. 2887.85).¹⁰⁵

*Oṃ Tārā gate svāhā.*¹⁰⁶

This spell has obviously been conceptually modeled on the previous one, and both of them are derived from apocryphal scriptures lacking any Indian provenance.

3.35. *Fanyu Banruo boluomiduo xin jing* 梵語般若波羅密多心經
[Sanskrit Language [Version of] the *Hṛdayaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*]

This final text in the manuscript is a phonetic transcription into Chinese of a Sanskrit version of the *sūtra* by Amoghavajra.¹⁰⁷ We know this

¹⁰³ A name that is usually used for a female *bodhisattva*, Locanā.

¹⁰⁴ P. 2322 (3.33): 八大菩薩: 觀自在菩薩 虛空藏菩薩 金剛手菩薩 曼殊菩薩 普賢菩薩 除蓋障菩薩 地藏菩薩 佛眼菩薩.

¹⁰⁵ This apocryphal scripture was also translated into Tibetan, something which underscores its considerable importance during the medieval period. However, in a recent study Jonathan Silk has pointed out that at least one of the Tibetan versions differs from the Dunhuang manuscript (T. 2781.85). Cf. Jonathan A. Silk, “Chinese Sūtras in Tibetan Translation—A Preliminary Survey,” *Soka daiga kukokusai bukkyōgaku kōtō kenkyū nembō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 [Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka] 22 (2018): 227–246 (cf. esp. 240). Silk also mentions that the Tibetan version may not have been ‘translated from Chinese at all.’ This is an interesting observation which should be explored further.

¹⁰⁶ P. 2322 (3.34): 唵引陀囉揭地娑嚩訶賀.

¹⁰⁷ Five phonetic manuscripts of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* from Dunhuang have been discussed in Wan Jinchuan 萬金川, “Dunhuang shishi Xinjing yin xie chaoben jiao shi xu shuo 敦煌石室心經音寫抄本校釋序說 [A Discourse on the Phonetic Manuscript Version of the *Heart Sutra* from the Dunhuang Caves—Revised and Transliterated with Preface],” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 [Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal] 17 (2004): 95–121. Although a bit messy in his discourse, Wan provides a useful overview of how the manuscripts have been understood by a number of important scholars in the field,



because both S. 700 (referred to above) and S. 5648 (actually bearing the master's name) preserve the exact same version of this important *sūtra* verbatim. It has been speculated that this is the Sanskrit text on which Amoghavajra based his Chinese translation of the *sūtra* in question. However, having compared this with Xuanzang's version (or rather, the version of the *Heart Sūtra* attributed to him),¹⁰⁸ I believe that Amoghavajra should only be considered someone who revised and transmitted the *Heart Sūtra* rather than being its actual (re-) translator.¹⁰⁹

As there is a whole field of research devoted to this single scripture, it would be a bit presumptuous to enter into the on-going discussion as to whether it is to be understood as an apocrypha or not.¹¹⁰ What interests us here is that, despite its slightly odd format and structure, this is a short scripture with formal *sūtra* status, normally used in East Asian Buddhism for ritual occasions, which is why it was included in our manuscript P. 2322. Numerous copies of this *sūtra* have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, testifying to the same high degree of local popularity as has been observed elsewhere in medieval China. However, transcribed versions such as the one included in P. 2322 are comparatively rare, with preserved versions in Siddham script being somewhat more common, especially in Japan. As seen above, the person who copied,

including a discussion of the different transcriptions of the text attributed to Xuanzang and Amoghavajra respectively. The present manuscript version of the *sūtra* has so far been largely overlooked by other scholars.

¹⁰⁸ See Jayarava Attwood, "Xuanzang's Relationship to the Heart Sūtra in Light of the Fangshan Stele," *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 [Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies] 32 (2019): 1–30.

¹⁰⁹ In the course of the 8th century several versions of the *Heart Sūtra* appeared in China, including re-translations into Sanskrit. This would seem to indicate that there was almost something like a competition among Buddhist translators of note to come up with their own version of the scripture. For these, see T. 250.8, 251.8, T. 252.8, T. 253.8, T. 255.8, and T. 256.8. Note that one of these 'translations' (T. 255) was produced by Wu Facheng (fl. first half of 9th c., 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), the celebrated Buddhist translator and leader active in Dunhuang during the late Tibetan and the early Guiyijun period of the 9th century.

¹¹⁰ Although questions concerning the authenticity of the *Heart Sūtra* date back to the time when Edward Conze published his translations of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* more than seventy years ago, the major controversy began in earnest with the publication of Jan Nattier's "The Heart Sūtra: a Chinese Apocryphal Text?," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15.2 (1992): 153–223. See also Ji Yun, "Is the *Heart Sūtra* an Apocryphal Text?—A Re-examination," trans. Chin Shih-Foong. https://www.academia.edu/49287276/Is_the_Heart_Sūtra_an_Apocryphal_Text_A_Re_examination, accessed March 28, 2021.

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and/or compiled this manuscript, intended the text of the *Heart Sūtra* (P. 2322 (3.16)) to appear earlier in his anthology, but for some reason changed his mind leaving only a few lines of his first effort.

4. *What P. 2322 Reveals Regarding Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang*

Having reviewed the contents of P. 2322, and made an attempt to identify the individual texts of which it consists, let us now turn to an analysis of what this data may actually tell us about Buddhist practice in Dunhuang during the late medieval period. This will also include a discussion of the manner in which spell and liturgical text compendia were conceived in Buddhist practice. Generally stated, the majority of this type of Chinese language compilations from Dunhuang reflect, to varying degrees, the presence and import of Esoteric Buddhism. Despite the fact that not all the material in these compendia can formally be ascribed to this form of Buddhism, their overall context is undeniably dominated by Esoteric Buddhist beliefs and practices. This is clearly documented in P. 2322. Given that the compendium would have functioned as a manual for practice points to the kinds of beliefs that were central to its owner/compiler. For this reason, we are justified in taking the manuscript and its contents as a reflection of the type of rituals and spell-related practices which were in vogue in Dunhuang at the time it was compiled. Incidentally, this can also be confirmed by comparing P. 2322 with other ritual compendia and collections of ritual texts such as P. 2104, P. 2105, P. 2197, P. 3303, S. 5586, etc. In any case, as indicated above, many of the sections in P. 2322 have also been identified in other manuscripts. However, although a number of identical, or near identical texts have been found, they do not necessarily appear in the same order elsewhere, nor are they organised in a similar manner.

Now that P. 2322 has been recognised as representative of the kind of ritual collectana that was in use in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, i.e. as a reflection of ritual practices on the ground in local Buddhism, let us consider what this actually means: Anthologies of spells and liturgical material for ritual use were widespread in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, and as such they inform us of the nature of rituals performed locally. This underscores the fact that the use of spells did not take place in some sort of religious vacuum, i.e. as ‘just spells’, but in the



majority of cases they formed part of a wide variety of ritual practices, as indicated by our manuscript. Practices which involved a whole range of beliefs and behaviours that extended far beyond the mere chanting of incantations. Spell-related practices form the mainstay of Esoteric Buddhism and appear everywhere in the manuscripts, especially those that concern rituals. Obviously, spells and liturgical texts formed an important part of medieval Buddhist practice generally, playing a vital role in the Buddhist communities of India as well as Central and East Asia.

In the Sinitic cultural sphere, a number of ritual manuals and compendia have been preserved in the printed canons, but in the majority of cases this material has undergone several redactions and restructuring, possibly even purges of what was perceived as heterodox material. This makes the data contained in surviving manuscripts extremely valuable, especially the early Chinese material such as that dating from the late Tang, because it represents a type of medieval Buddhism largely ‘uncontaminated’ by standardisation and the type of editorial processes that took place when printing became the norm for transmitting Buddhist texts.

What is perhaps one of the most fascinating aspects of P. 2322 is the manner in which its constituent material has been brought together and formulated as a whole. It is in the nature of things that a compendium such as this would consist of text excerpts and passages lifted from a wide variety of primary sources. However, what is truly interesting is how the compiled material has been structured and reformatted to fit specific ritual contexts that were not envisaged in the original compositions from which they derive. Thus, this feature is especially pronounced when dealing with text production seeking to address local needs. Incidentally, this is also evident in a number of the Tibetan manuscripts, indicating that the Buddhist milieu in Dunhuang offered a vital and creative environment for the composition and creation of diverse and multi-faceted compendia, such as we find in P. 2322. This is a highly original collection of material, the individual parts of which may appear disconnected but which provide us with a sense of the wide range of local rituals involving spell-casting being performed for a variety of purposes. Writing from the perspective of Esoteric Buddhism in India, and with reference to the nature of spell-anthologies as a distinct category of Buddhist texts, Ronald Davidson states:

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[...] the textual compendia that both represent their collective presence in Buddhist communities and actually have been employed, [...] are often titled something like *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*.¹¹¹

He continues:

[...] the *Dhāraṇīsaṃgrahas* may either contain elements abstracted from freestanding *dhāraṇī* scriptures to be compiled into documents of greater or lesser bulk, or they may bundle whole recensions of such texts together with different organizations and priorities.¹¹²

Moreover, “the boundaries between practices, coded phrases, texts, and textual bundles are very fluid, a point that is evident the more one looks into *dhāraṇī* materials.”¹¹³ When applied to P. 2322, Davidson’s observations are very much to the point and may surely be extended to the majority of spell collections from Dunhuang. While I am mostly familiar with the material in Chinese, I should think that much the same holds true for the Tibetan material.

A number of the liturgical texts in P. 2322 are Sanskrit texts in Chinese transcription, which is not a commonly observed feature of the Dunhuang material. It is unclear to what extent these transcribed liturgical texts were understood by the average Buddhist practitioner, but it seems most likely that very few beyond the odd specialist would actually be able to understand what they were chanting. One exception to this, of course, may have been the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*, a highly popular *sūtra*, the contents of which would certainly have been known by most practitioners.

It is clear that the *Vajrasekharatantra* in one or more of its various incarnations was of great importance for whoever compiled P. 2322. As

¹¹¹ Ronald M. Davidson, “Studies in Dhāraṇī Literature III: Seeking the Parameters of a Dhāraṇī-piṭaka, the Formation of the Dhāraṇīsaṃgrahas, and the Place of the Seven Buddhas,” in *Scripture, Canon, Text: Context Essays Honoring Lewis Lancaster*, ed. Richard K. Payne (Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies and BDK America, Inc., 2014), 126.

¹¹² Davidson, “Dhāraṇī, III,” 127. For additional information on these compendia in medieval China, see also Rolf W. Giebel, “Tantric Ritual Manuals in East Asia,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Volume I: Literature and Language*, ed. Jonathan Silk (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 684–691. This entry provides a useful overview of ritual manuals and compendia. However, strictly speaking there are few bona fide ‘Tantric’ ritual manuals in the East Asian languages to be found until well into the 10th century. This means that the manner in which the term is being used for the earlier Chinese material is anachronistic and therefore a bit off.

¹¹³ Davidson, “Dhāraṇī, III,” 127.



far as we can tell, not all the many parts of that fundamental Esoteric Buddhist scripture translated into Chinese were available in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, which goes some way to explain why the local rituals following Amoghavajra's dispensation of Esoteric Buddhism were somewhat partial and fragmentary. However, as we have seen above, we have enough concrete evidence in our hands to argue that during the 9–10th centuries the *Vajrasekharatantrasūtra*'s Chapter on Ritual Proceedings for Samaya (T. 874.18) exerted a specific and significant influence on local production of ritual compendia and collections of spells. The same is true with regard to other ritual texts associated with Amoghavajra, such as the *Ritual Methods for Invoking the Buddhōṣṇīśadhāraṇī*. Historically speaking, the imprint of Amoghavajra's legacy looms large with regard to the Esoteric Buddhist material from Dunhuang, and his influence—direct or indirect—can hardly be overestimated.¹¹⁴

As the astute reader may have noticed, texts from the 6th century spell-compendium *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* appear in a number of excerpts scattered throughout P. 2322, indicating that this important and early repository of spells continued to inform Buddhist practice in Dunhuang, even during the late Guiyijun rule in the 10th century. The *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* is an interesting spell-compendium in its own right, one which still continues to intrigue members of the scholarly community in the field of Esoteric Buddhism.¹¹⁵ One central question regarding this work concerns its original form, as well as its age, especially since it has been speculated that the work is not from the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝), but actually from the 7th century, a good one hundred years later than its traditional

¹¹⁴ A highly useful overview of how Amoghavajra transformed ritual practices in Chinese Buddhism can be found in Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 135–206. For a view of the manner in which Amoghavajra reformed Esoteric Buddhist rituals, see Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 168–193.

¹¹⁵ For one example of this, see Fukuda Ryosei 福田亮成, “Tarani zōshō no ichi kōsatsu: Toku ni Butsu zei tarinni hachi kyō nitsuite 陀羅尼雜集の一考察: 特に仏説陀隣尼鉢經について. On the *Ārya-agrapradīpa dhāraṇī-vidyārāja*,” *Chisan gakuō* 智山学报 47 [Journal of Chizan Studies] 47 (1984): 13–28.

date of compilation.¹¹⁶ It just so happens that the Dunhuang material contains several scattered parts of the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*, and this material is highly important for establishing the contents of the compendium and how it may have looked during the mid- to late Tang.

It appears that the Buddhist concern for filial piety (Chin. *xiao* 孝) was significant in Dunhuang at the time when P. 2322 was being compiled, and this characteristic aspect of Chinese Buddhism evidently continued to be developed and integrated into its ritual practices. One document found among those of Dunhuang is the *Yulanpen jing zanshu* 盂蘭盆經讚述 [Narrative Hymn of the *Yulanpen Scripture*] (T. 2781.85), a liturgical text related to the celebrated *Yulanpen jing* 盂蘭盆經 [Yulanpen Scripture] (T. 685.16). This liturgical text makes a link between ancestral piety and the use of spell-prayers (Chin. *zhouyuan* 呪願) to be uttered on behalf of one's deceased parents. However, the *Yulanpen Scripture* itself—just like the *Scripture on the Kindness of Parents* referred to in P. 2322—does not actually feature any spells, even though it mentions their use. It is therefore possible that spells came to be attached to both of these apocryphal scriptures in order to augment their ritual uses in the course of the Tang. In any case, among the Dunhuang material there are a number of copies of the *Scripture on the Kindness of Parents* which have spells attached to them.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, a Song Dynasty (960–1279, 宋) commentary on the *Yulanpen Scripture*, the *Yulanpen jing shu xiao hengchao* 盂蘭盆經疏孝衡鈔 [Running Commentary on the *Yulanpen Scripture* Regarding Filial Piety] features a spell relating to the *Scripture on the Kindness of Parents* entitled the *Bao fumu en zhou* 報父母恩咒 [Spell for Recompensing the Kindness of Parents] (ZZ. 375B.21, 518c). It does not, however, resemble any of the *Fumu jing*-related spells, the *Father and Mother Scripture* material, in P. 2322.

Although not a major feature of P. 2322, the manuscript nevertheless signals the importance of astral lore as it features two sections that relate directly to astrological concerns: the first one, a set of spells for the

¹¹⁶ Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, “‘Tarani zōshō’ tokoro no kyōten ni tsuite 陀羅尼雜集所收の經典 について [Concerning the Scriptures Compiled for Inclusion in the *Tuoluoni zaji*],” *Kokusai bukkyō daigakuen daikyō kenkyū kiyō* 国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要 [Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies] 6 (2003): 59–86.

¹¹⁷ Cf. e.g. BD 8203, P. 4679, etc.



twenty-eight constellations, and the thirty-second, *Mañjuśrī's Mantra for Destroying the Asterisms*. The presence of these two spell-texts underscores the importance of astrological beliefs, especially the fear of calamities associated with the movements of heavenly bodies across the sky. Astrology, and astral lore more broadly defined, occupied a prominent place in Dunhuang religious practice as well as in traditional science, and it is primarily within Esoteric Buddhism that we find the densest concentration of ritual texts and beliefs that underscore this.

The fact that P. 2322 includes material that was translated into Chinese as late as the mid-10th century, especially that which can be associated with the Indian translator Cixian, who was active under the Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources known as Liao 遼), allows us to date the manuscript during the latter half of that century.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the compendium reveals that many of the Buddhist spells transmitted in the Chinese language continued to be in vogue for centuries, and were compiled and re-compiled again and again.

When looking directly at those sources which more or less match the texts in P. 2322, there are two aspects which need to be clarified. First of all, we do not know how and to what extent the compiler/s was/were drawing directly from text copies available to him/them. In other words, did he/they have access to the supposed sources we have so far identified in their original manuscript form? Or did he/they work with collectana already consisting of excerpted material? Possibly the second is more likely, as there are other instances in Central Asian Buddhism where this can be found to apply,¹¹⁹ so our unknown compiler may actually not have worked directly with complete texts, but could in principle have been using material that had already been excerpted from its original source. In other words, he may have created his compendium on the basis of texts that were not complete,¹²⁰ which would help to explain the inconsistencies

¹¹⁸ Christoph Anderl has noted that this late date is confirmed by the use of 麼 instead of 摩. Most likely, that character did not appear in transcriptions before the very late 10th century.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Helmut Tauscher, "The Rnal 'byor chen po bsgom pa'i don Manuscript of the 'Gondhla Kanjur'," in *Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003. Volume 7: Text, Image and Song in Transdisciplinary Dialogue*, ed. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Christian Jahoda, and Kurt Tropper (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79–103.

¹²⁰ One such compilation is the *Zhujing yaochao* 諸經要抄 [Essential Excerpts Lifted from all the Scriptures] (P. 2592, T. 2819.85, 1192c–1197c). This is of course a work which

and anomalous features in the manuscript. Whatever the case, it is evident that a good part of the excerpted texts in our manuscript derives from sources which are no longer at our disposal, at least not in the canonical material available to us today. One example with which to highlight this issue concerns those sections which seem to reflect the influence of the *Susiddhikara*. Actually, no copies of this important Esoteric Buddhist work have so far been identified among the Dunhuang manuscripts, a fact which begs the question of whether or not a complete version of it was ever brought to Dunhuang. (This is not to suggest that the material in Cave 17 necessarily represents anything like a complete range of Buddhist texts available in the Hexi region during the mid- and late Tang.) A second example is provided by the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*, a lengthy work in the *Taishō Canon* of which only fragments and text excerpts have so far been identified among the Dunhuang manuscripts. It is already well established through previous studies of that compendium that it was common for other compilers to use material lifted from it when creating their own compositions.¹²¹ This can be seen in the *Qi fo ba pusa suoshuo da tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神咒經 [Scripture on the Great Dhāraṇīs and Divine Spells Spoken by the Seven Buddhas and Eight Bodhisattvas] (T. 1332.21),¹²² as well as in Daoshi's (d. 668, 道世) monumental Buddhist encyclopaedia the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [Pearly Forest in the Garden of the Dharma] (T. 2122.53), both of which were in circulation in Dunhuang during the Tang.

The variegated nature of the spells and the transcribed Sanskrit we encounter in P. 2322 is highlighted by the fact that the *fanqie* markers were not applied to all instances where one would expect them to be, nor do the various texts in the manuscript feature a uniform method of transcription.¹²³ In fact, at least three different types of transcription for the same Sanskrit word can sometimes be seen and, while we can only

is made up of passages from a number of canonical scriptures, and therefore may have had a more formal use, eg. as a digest to be used in a lecture situation.

¹²¹ For a representative study, see Ochiai, "Tarani zōshō" tokoro no kyōten ni tsuite," 59–86.

¹²² Large parts of this pseudo-*sūtra* build directly on material from the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells*.

¹²³ A similar tendency appears to have prevailed in the 12th century Chinese manuscripts from Karakhoto, where the application of *fanqie* is also neither consistent nor uniform. Thanks to Carmen Meinert for supplying this information.

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speculate on the reason for this, it seems a likely assessment that the texts follow the sources from which they were lifted without any overt attempt on the part of whoever copied them to apply a common standard to all within the same manuscript.

Overall, one can say that although *fanqie* markers have been used in many of the sections in P. 2322, their manner of usage is often at variance with those we see employed in the texts contained in the two printed canons, as well as with those found in the engraved Fangshan Canon (房山大藏經). We have no direct or clear-cut answers for this problem, except to suggest that either there were different ways of using the *fanqie* markers during the late Tang and early Five Dynasties period—from which period the transmitted texts in our manuscript evidently derive—or that perhaps the Dunhuang text-versions, which are obviously older than the versions in the printed canons, may have been less sophisticated, i.e. less formally correct in their application of phonetic markers. Since the study of the use of the *fanqie* system(s) in Chinese Buddhist spell texts is still very much in its infancy, there is quite a bit of work ahead for those taking an interest in this fascinating but demanding field.

In the study by Rolf Giebel, referred to above, most of the transcribed Sanskrit manuscripts brought back to Heian Japan by Kūkai in 806 feature spells and ritual material similar to those found in P. 2322. However, Giebel's material is comparatively coherent and appears better organised. It shows that such material was transmitted in the form of loose, even random compilations, often without much in the way of internal correlation. This indicates that similar manuscripts were in all likelihood common among practitioners of Esoteric Buddhism in East Asia (and also in other places?) during the last century or so of the Tang dynasty. Elsewhere I refer to these collections of ritual miscellanea as 'private compilations' because they were evidently collated on an ad hoc basis by individual practitioners to serve their own specific needs. As such they provide us with rather intimate and detailed data on what ritual texts were in current use, as well as granting us insight into the sources that served as their basis. Hence, the importance of these ritual compendia should neither be underestimated nor neglected, but rather be appreciated for the unique facets of Buddhist practice they illumine.

5. Conclusion

The greatest difficulty encountered when studying P. 2322 was the identification of the disparate text-pieces of which the manuscript is comprised, since very few of them gave any indication of their origin other than the occasional reference to ritual function. One way to deal with that problem was to rely on a reading of the various spells featured in the manuscript in the hope of finding a match in the available literature, a task that was greatly facilitated by an extended and ingenious application of Google search. Initially, very few of those searches came up with a match, which surprised me greatly, as I had imagined that most of them would be reflected to some degree in the canonical sources. Only then did it dawn on me that the spells in the manuscript could not be matched to those in the canon because they were transcribed in different ways. In fact, most of the spells in P. 2322 were actually present in the canonical sources, but in different forms. They had often been transcribed in different characters, and in some cases radically different usage of *fanqie* markers as well, as indicated above. As I began to approach the spells in the manuscript from the perspective of their phonetic rendering, apart from the occasional errors and omissions by the hand of the copyist, most of the spells actually fell into place and allowed themselves to be deciphered. Only at that point did it become possible to back-track the spells to their possible textual origins. Once that issue began to pan out, I was able to introduce some degree of order with regard to the spell-texts and related liturgical material, which eventually enabled me to restore their functional and historical contexts. It goes without saying that had I been a *bona fide* Sanskritist, the task of identifying the spells in P. 2322 would undoubtedly have been much easier, but it is uncertain to what degree it would have helped me to navigate the Buddhist canonical material in Chinese, or the related Chinese manuscripts found in Dunhuang. I therefore leave it to my readers to decide for themselves whether they find my attempt at dealing with P. 2322 in any way fruitful, or whether they see it all as so much ado about nothing.

Another widespread problem in P. 2322 concerns those texts which had been paraphrased or abbreviated. In some cases the textual modifications were fairly easy to spot and identify, but in others they were exceptionally difficult to come to terms with. Moreover, the fact that a number of the



lengthier sections in the manuscript consist of a hotchpotch of discrete text passages brought together in a cut-and-paste fashion, and in several instances connected by text that may or may not have been produced locally, greatly complicated our quest for textual identification.

From the perspective of textual identification and contextual analysis, the study of P. 2322 as conducted here may well be seen as a sort of trial or exercise in the dissection of a composite Buddhist manuscript. In other words, as a sort of analytical reduction of the manuscript into its salient textual components. The disassembly of text that has been attempted here is meant to highlight the large amount of information that lies hidden beneath the surface of what appears to be an unimportant and simple anthology of ritual material. Now that the manuscript has been disassembled and its sources to a large extent laid bare, we find ourselves in a position to understand the intricacies of the process of assembling such a compendium, and also to appreciate the amount of work and knowledge that actually went into its compilation.

As we have seen, P. 2322 features a variety of spells and liturgical texts drawn from a large number of Esoteric Buddhist sources including canonical scriptures, ritual texts, spell manuals, hymns, etc. In terms of the historical issues reflected in these diverse sources, it is evident that they fall between the late Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) period and the early Northern Song (960–1126, 北宋). In other words, they reflect spell material from a period spanning more than four centuries.

As for the issue of transmission of spells and spell-texts, P. 2322 offers us a special insight into how this may have taken place during the late medieval period, over and beyond Dunhuang and the greater Hexi region. As we have seen, the spells do not always correspond in exact manner to their counterparts as found in the printed Buddhist canons, but display numerous character variants, lacunae, and phonetic systems. Moreover, the use of phonetic markers is arbitrarily applied, even downright corrupt or formally wrong in many instances. This should not surprise us, as we know that a lot of redaction and textual ‘purification’ took place when the printed canons were being prepared. Thus, here we have a rare insight into the ‘raw material’ that was shaping Sinitic Buddhism in the medieval period. Moreover, as the number of variants and misreadings is rather pronounced with regard to the spells that appear in the Dunhuang manuscripts, we can see what happened when a text which might have

been little or partially understood was being repeatedly replicated. This may be compared to the recopying of a photocopy. After a while, a certain amount of obscurity takes place and its contents become increasingly hard to read, with the result that errors creep in. Interestingly, the occurrence of such textual degradation stands in contrast to the injunctions regarding the transmission of spells, which stipulates that the spells must be represented by the right sounds in order to be effective. After all, we are dealing here with so-called ‘true words’ (Chin. *zhenyan* 真言). Nevertheless, the spells we find in many of the documents from Dunhuang are far from formally correct, so that we see a proliferation of spell material which only partly corresponds to what we must suppose to be their original form. Moreover, the discrepancies we see may also have come about from collateral transmissions of spells, in certain cases over several centuries, and even via different languages. The latter would seem to have been especially pertinent in Eastern Central Asia where Buddhist textual material passed through several different cultures and linguistic formations. To this one may also add the additional problem with apocryphal spells, a phenomenon which can be highlighted by the Dunhuang material alone. Once such spells, or rather pseudo-spells created in the Sinitic cultural sphere, entered into spell-lore on a large scale—which had already happened during the late Southern and Northern Dynasties period—the chances that obfuscations and unorthodox forms would creep in became greatly increased, adding further to the muddle.

In the texts of this manuscript, it is evident that what was conceived of as a spell could in principle cover anything from a formal *dhāraṇī* or *mantra* to any kind of invocation of a buddha, *bodhisattva* or spirit. This liberal and essentially open-ended application of terminology with regard to spells and their definition leads one to the conclusion that, while there may have been differentiation between *mantras*, *dhāraṇīs* and spells, i.e. *zhou*, on some theoretical or scholastic level among learned Buddhists, it seems that in practice no such differentiation was recognized by ordinary practitioners.

The spells and spell-related texts we find in this manuscript derive from a variety of different sources and cultic contexts, which underlines the obvious fact that they were not intended to be used ensemble for some imaginary ritual occasion. Their appearance within the same manuscript simply indicates that we are looking at an anthology of spell-materials to



be used in different ritual contexts. As such, P. 2322 is one of several similar manuscripts belonging to what may be understood as the category of ‘spell manuals’, i.e. compilations of miscellaneous spells. What makes this specific manuscript especially interesting is its obvious association with the forms of Esoteric Buddhism associated with Amoghavajra and later *ācāryas*, whose works span the development that may be referred to as mature Esoteric Buddhism and into early Tantric Buddhism in a formal sense.¹²⁴

Because of the compendium’s idiosyncratic nature and lack of proper structural order, it is not surprising to find that it includes texts and excerpts from a five-hundred-year period of time. Not only does it show the enduring popularity of spell-material and related liturgies, but it also reflects the great diversity of rituals for which they were designed. P. 2322 shows us that private spell-compilations such as this drew liberally from the entire corpus of Buddhist spell-literature, including material from the highest and most venerated canonical scriptures as well as more ordinary materials often meant to effect the most worldly of goals.

Despite the fact that the liturgical texts and spells in P. 2322 are somewhat disorganised, it would be incorrect and somewhat superficial to treat the collection as simply random. There is actually a fundamental sense of order and logic to the compilation, even though the overall structure is admittedly quite loose. Our investigation has shown that certain sections of the compendia have a well defined internal structure and can be taken as constituting an assembly of material for a specific purpose. In the case of P. 2322 (3.30), for example, we even find a complete ritual sequence.

It is somewhat surprising to note that spells relating to ritual anointment or consecration (Skt. *abhiṣeka*), magical healing, and other significant types of spells are not to be found in P. 2322. It is also noteworthy that the material belonging to the rites for feeding the hungry ghosts (Chin. *shishi* 施食) is relatively insignificant, in contrast to many other compilations of

¹²⁴ For a study of the historical timeframe for the development of Esoteric Buddhism from ‘magical’ Mahāyāna to fully fledged Tantric Buddhism, see Henrik H. Sørensen, “Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in the Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c. 300–600 CE) and Their Implications for the Rise of Developed Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 41–71.

rituals and spells which feature texts related to all three categories of Esoteric Buddhist practice (i.e. body, speech and mind).

The hybrid mix of liturgical material, including excerpts lifted from apocryphal texts, paraphrases of canonical material, inter-texts, and textual constructions involving all of the above that we have seen P. 2322 would appear to have been commonplace in Dunhuang, at least that is what the materials from the caves reveal, for it may be observed in much of the non-canonical Buddhist material from Dunhuang. One could say that whoever the author or compiler of our manuscript was, he made creative use of whatever canonical material was available to him, and used it as a repository for his editorial project. Together with the excerpted texts and passages from formal scriptures that he brought together for a variety of ritual purposes, our unknown compiler included in his manuscript entire sections consisting of paraphrases of these lengthier and formally orthodox texts. The most obvious example of this is the ritual proceedings section P. 2322 (3.30), which is the longest and most detail-rich section with a pronounced textual complexity.

No matter what perspective one takes with regard to the numerous compendia of spells and liturgical texts discovered in Dunhuang, it is hard to overlook the seemingly liberal attitude to orthodoxy and textual integrity on the part of those who compiled the material. One should perhaps not go so far as to see them as purposely adulterating or watering-down what were in effect holy Buddhist books, but it is clear that they had a markedly different view on scriptural sanctity and textual authority than that seen in other cultures and religions in the world. This is not to say that they did not venerate and respect their holy scriptures, they most surely did. However, it is clear that a certain degree of pragmatism and practicality played out when creating their ritual compendia.

On the functional level it appears that a certain fluidity would have applied with regard to the distinction between liturgy and actual spell-texts. In other words, it would seem that the two otherwise fairly distinct ritual categories in many cases overlap and merge. This does not mean that the two categories are confused in an incoherent manner, but rather that their functions and formats in a number of cases replace each other so that liturgical parts become spell-like, and spells become liturgical, i.e. function as simple invocations, rather than actual spells.



The study by Giebel concerning Kūkai’s manuscripts in Siddham Sanskrit highlighted the important fact that when dealing with Buddhist materials found in Eastern Central Asia, we should not delimit our vision to this region alone, as the network and routes of transmission extended both east and west beyond this area, stretching all the way from India to Japan.¹²⁵ By extension, one could argue the same for the southern maritime network that linked China with the Indonesian archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, the southern part of Eastern Bengal (the region of modern Orissa), and Sri Lanka.¹²⁶ The transmission of Buddhist material along that route, including texts, images and ritual objects, was of course crucial to the spread and formulation of mature Esoteric Buddhism—in particular that represented by Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra—in the area of the twin capitals of the Tang Empire during the 8th century.¹²⁷

It is noteworthy that the wide range of sources drawn upon by the compiler of P. 2322—in particular the Esoteric Buddhist material—extended far beyond those found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. This means that the manuscripts from Cave 17 are only a fraction of the large number of Buddhist scriptures and texts that must once have existed in the Buddhist temples in this far-flung part of the Chinese cultural sphere. While this is neither a novel insight nor inherently surprising, it does indicate—and should serve to remind us—that the Dunhuang material we currently have at our disposal is actually fairly limited. Again, such understanding could support the view proposed by Rong Xinjiang (荣新江) in his study of the contents of Cave 17, that they to a large extent represent documents and materials deriving from the Sanjie Temple and other temples originally situated adjacent to the Mogao Caves.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Cf. George Keyworth, “Did the Silk Road(s) Extend from Dunhuang, Mount Wutai, and Chang’an to Kyoto, Japan? A Reassessment Based on Material Culture from the Temple Gate Tendai Tradition of Miidera,” in *Buddhism in Central Asia II: Practice and Rituals, Visual and Material Transfer*, ed. Yukiyo Kasai and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

¹²⁶ Tansen Sen, “Buddhism and the Maritime Crossings,” in *Early Global Interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World, Volume II: Exchange of Ideas, Religions, and Technologies*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Berlin: Springer, 2019), 17–50.

¹²⁷ For the particulars, see Lü Jianfu 吕建福, *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中国密教史 [The History of Esoteric Buddhism in China] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, revised edition, 2011), 269–386.

¹²⁸ Cf. Xinjiang Rong, “The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 11 (2000): 247–275.

It now becomes clear that the study of those Dunhuang manuscripts which on the surface appear to feature ‘secondary’ material may in fact yield significant information on Buddhist practice in late medieval China, material that is otherwise not so easy to come by. Moreover, liturgical texts and spell-compendia—although they tend to follow the logic of their mostly unknown compilers—do indeed contain ‘new’ or hitherto unknown/ignored texts which allows us further appreciation of the local Buddhist context. As such it broadens our current knowledge of ‘Buddhism on the ground’ in the period under discussion, while at the same time it reveals the existence of a finer and tighter mesh in the religious fabric with regard to Buddhist practice.

One important and crucial insight deriving from the analysis of P. 2322 is that it shows unmistakably that the practitioners in late medieval Dunhuang—or at least some of them—made use of abbreviated ritual proceedings as a common practice. In other words, formal ritual formats were modified to fit with local requirements.¹²⁹ This meant that local Buddhist specialists made conscious decisions to shorten and condense the often more complex and costly ‘orthodox’ rituals so that they were more readily applicable to use by ordinary practitioners including lay-followers. Such ‘democratisation’ of ritual practices no doubt made them more attractive and accessible to the faithful when compared with the often highly elaborate, lengthy and costly proceedings requiring rich offerings which otherwise characterise many of the canonically-based Esoteric Buddhist ritual instructions. On the practical level of production of ritual texts, this phenomenon therefore offers us a good explanation as to why so many ritual texts can be found among the hoard of Dunhuang manuscripts, and why they often appear truncated and composite. The reason being that they were in many cases simply created for special occasions and in order to serve specific local purposes on a day-to-day basis.

¹²⁹ The same trend may also be found in the Karakhoto material. See Carmen Meinert, “Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th C.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ̦ 249 ̦ 327 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* 金剛亥母修習儀 [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārahī] in Comparison with other Tantric Ritual Texts,” special section edited by Dylan Esler and Yukiyo Kasai, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484 .



We should not end this textual exploration and experiment with the false impression that, having found corresponding texts in the printed Buddhist canon, we have found the textual origins of P. 2322. Instead, we must acknowledge that the fundamental problem of our manuscript, and of all the composite manuscripts from Dunhuang, is that the actual sources are to a large degree still beyond our grasp. What do we mean by this? The fact that corresponding texts and passages have been identified in the later Buddhist canonical recensions only indicates which textual sources and/or conceptual contexts are those most likely to have supplied the compilers in Dunhuang with material for their compilations. It does not necessarily show us the actual sources. One reason for this is that the manuscripts from Cave 17 at Mogao cannot be assumed to represent the full extent of Buddhist material to be found in Dunhuang's Buddhist temples during their heyday in the late medieval period. Evidently, only a small fraction of it, possibly just that of a single institution, the Sanjie Temple (三界寺), is what was found in Cave 17. It remains a fact that for many of these sources we have identified as having passages and concepts matching the spells and liturgical material in P. 2322, no corresponding manuscripts have actually been found. So we may never know exactly which texts served as the master copies from which the compiler of our manuscript copied.

Appendix: Sources Directly Used in the Compilation of P. 2322

Avatamsakasūtra.

Bhadracaryāprañihāna.

Da xukongzang pusa niansong fa 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法.

Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌.

Guanzizai pusa dafu duoli suixin tuoluoni jing 觀自在菩薩但嚩多唎隨心陀羅尼經.

Hṛdayaprajñāpāramitāsūtra

Jingangding jing yizi dinglun wang yujia yiqie shi chu niansong chengfo yigui 金剛頂
經一字頂輪王瑜伽一切時處念誦成佛儀軌.

*Mahāmañivipulavimānaviśvasupraṭiṣṭhitaguyhaparamarahasyakalparā-
adhāraṇīsūtra.*

Mahāvairocanasūtra.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa.

*Miaojixiang pingdeng yujia bimi guanshen chengfo yigui sheng Guanzizai pusa xin
zhenyan yujia guanxing yigui* 妙吉祥平等瑜聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽觀行儀
軌.

Tuoluoni zaji 陀羅尼雜集.

Wenshushili fa baozang tuoluoni jing 文殊師利寶藏陀羅尼經.



Abbreviations

BD	Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved in the National Library of China, Beijing.
CMCT	<i>Catalogue des manuscrits Chinois de Touen-Houang. Fonds Pelliot chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> , Vols. I–V. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1970–1995.
F.	<i>Fangshan shijing</i> 房山石經 [Fangshan Canon on Stone Slabs], edited by <i>Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwu guan</i> 中國佛教圖書文物館. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2000.
FDC	<i>Foguang da cidian</i> 佛光大辭典 [Great Dictionary of Foguang], 8 vols, edited by Ciyi 慈怡, et al. Gaoxiong: Foguangshan chubanshe, 1988.
Giles	Giles, Lionel. <i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum</i> . London: The British Museum, 1957.
P.	Pelliot Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
S.	Stein Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts preserved at the British Library in London
T.	<i>Taishō Canon</i> 大正新脩大藏經 [Taishō Tripiṭaka], edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高順次郎, et al. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
ZZ	<i>Dainihōn zōkuzōkyō</i> 大日本續藏經 [Extension to the <i>tripiṭaka</i> [Compiled] in Japan], 90 vols, edited by Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照, et al. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyōkai, 1980–1988.

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- Chengqiu meng xiang fa* 成就夢相法. ZZ. 1051.59.
- Da xukongzang pusa niansong fa* 大虛空藏菩薩念誦法. T. 1146.20.
- Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Pseudo-Brahmajāla Scripture]. T. 1484.24.
- Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林. T. 2122.53.

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- Foding zunsheng tuoluoni niansong yigui fa* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼念誦儀軌. T. 972.19.
Fumu enchong jing 父母恩重經 T. 2887.85.
Gongyang yishi 供養儀式. T. 859.18.
Guanzizai pusa dafu duoli suixin tuoluoni jing 觀自在菩薩但嚙多喇隨心陀羅尼經.
 T. 1103B.20.
Jingangding jing yizi dinglun wang yujia yiqie shi chu niansong chengfo yigui 金剛頂
 經一字頂輪王瑜伽一切時處念誦成佛儀軌. T. 957.19.
*Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupraṭiṣṭhītaguyhaparamarahasyakalparājadhāraṇīsū-
 ra*. T. 1005A.19.
Mahāvairocanasūtra. T. 848.18.
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. T. 1181, T. 1182, T. 1191.20.
Miaojixiang pingdeng yujia bimi guanshen chengfo yigui 妙吉祥平等瑜伽秘密觀身
 成佛儀軌. T. 1193.20.
Nan Tianzhu guo Putidamo chanshi guanmen 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門. S. 2669,
 S. 6958.
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra (Xuanzang). T. 251.8.
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra. T. 256.8.
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra (Amoghavajra Sanskrit version). P. 2322 (35), S. 5648.
Qi fo ba pusa suoshuo da tuoluoni shenzhou jing 七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神咒經.
 T. 1332.21.
Qinglong si gui ji 青龍寺軌記. T. 855.18.
Sheng Guanzizai pusa qianzhuan mie zui tuoluoni 聖觀自在菩薩千轉滅罪陀羅尼. T.
 1337.21.
Sheng Guanzizai pusa xin zhenyan yujia guanxing yigui 聖觀自在菩薩心真言瑜伽
 觀行儀軌. T. 1031.20.
Shi zhu e'gui yinshi ji shui fa 施諸餓鬼飲食及水法. T. 1315.21.
Shijiao zuishang cheng bimi zang tuoluoni ji 釋教最上乘秘密藏陀羅尼集. F.
 1071.28.
Susiddhikaramahātantrasādhanopāyikapaṭalasūtra. T. 893C.18.
Susiddhikarapūjāvidhi. T. 894B.18.
Suyao yigui 宿曜儀軌. T. 1304.21.
Tuoluoni zaji 陀羅尼雜集. T. 1336.21.
Vajraśekhara tantrasūtra. T. 865.18.
Vajraśekhara tantrasūtra. T. 874.18.
Wenshushili fa baozang tuoluoni jing 文殊師利寶藏陀羅尼經. T. 1185B.19.
Yulanpen jing 孟蘭盆經. T. 685.16.
Yulanpen jing shu xiao hengchao 孟蘭盆經疏孝衡鈔. ZZ. 375B.21, 518c.
Yulanpen jing zanshu 孟蘭盆經讚述. T. 2781.85.
Zhenyuan xin ding shijiao mulu 貞元新定釋教目錄. T. 2157.55.
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