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**DUNHUANG STUDIES: PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS
FOR THE COMING SECOND CENTURY OF RESEARCH**

敦煌學：第二個百年的研究視角與問題

**ДУНЬХУАНОВЕДЕНИЕ: ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ И ПРОБЛЕМЫ
ВТОРОГО СТОЛЕТИЯ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ**

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Dunhuang as Part of the Tangut Empire (982-1227)

Evgeny KYCHANOV

The toponym Dunhuang can not be found in the original Tangut sources. It is obvious, however, that Dunhuang was a part of the Shazhou district, which was the most westerly region of the Tangut Empire. We find Dunhuangjun on the old map of Xia-Xia which was dated to the period between 1066 and 1081. Shazhou is mentioned in 1036 in *Sung shi* 宋史 (ch. 485) among the other 15 districts of the Xi-Xia Empire. About this period Shazhou was regained from the Uighur people by the Tanguts. By the end of the 12th c., the territory of Xi-Xia was divided into 22 districts. Shazhou was mentioned as one of nine districts situated to the west of Huang He. At the end of the 12th c. and at the beginning of the 13th c. the Tangut Empire occupied a vast territory, from Dunhuang in the west to the banks of Huang He in the Mizhi region in the east, (1,400 km) and from Xining in the south to the embouchement of the Ejin-Gol river in the north (about 650 km). We can experience this distance even now, when driving by car for three hours along a modern asphalt road from Mizhi to Yinchuan, for perhaps 5 or 6 hours from Yinchuan to Wuwei (Liangzhou), and 10 hours from Yinchuan to Ejina.

Professor Wang Jingru believed that Dunhuang became a part of the Tangut Empire not in 1035-36, but in the 1070s.¹ Okazaki Seirō mentioned an exact date of 1073.² This opinion is based on the fact that the Uighur people from Shazhou were sending tribute to the Song court during the first part of the 11th c.³ According to all the known sources, the Uighur people were not cast out from the Shazhou and Guazhou districts by the Tanguts. As Uighurs from Shazhou sent gifts to the Song emperors, we can say that they obtained some autonomy from the Tangut authorities till the 1070s. According to the calculations of Yang Rui there could be 23 Uighur grottos in Dunhuang from the 11th c., and from the first quarter of the 12th c. Nine of these grottos refer to 1019-1070 and a further 14 to 1070-1127.⁴ However, we can not say that there was any "Uighur political regime" until 1060, as Yang Rui suggests.⁵

We know that there was no strict demarcation for some areas of the border of the Xi-Xia territory and its neighbors. The Tangut Code (1149-1169) said: "On the distant borders with other countries, where there is no strict demarcation and our country relies on the peaceful relationship with the Tibetan people, the Uighur people, the Tatars and the Jurchens, our distant and local guards should return, apprehend and stop nomadic families from the both sides of the border, who migrate in order to find water and grass for their cattle".⁶

According to the Tangut Code, the Uighur people who lived on the western borders of Xi-Xia could behave as an inclusive part while also being disobedient. "If among the trespassers, there are the Uighur people, who are under our jurisdiction but of whom it is said that they are an inclusive part while also being disobedient, it is obligatory to inform high ranking elements about this trespass and to act according to the received directions".⁷

After 250 years of quarreling, the relationship between the Tanguts and the Uighurs grew peaceful and even friendly. Western

merchants from Xizhou 西州 (Hami, Turfan, East Turkestan) and Dashi 大食 (Central Asia, Iran and Arab countries) received special privileges. They were considered as guests, but had to pay a fine if they violated the monopoly of the Xi-Xia government on trade of goods, which were banned for export. The price of the goods they had bought was returned to them. Also, by way of exception, merchants from Xizhou and Dashi could buy weapons in order to protect their caravans.⁸

The Xi-Xia territory was divided into 10 zones, according to their distance from the centre. Guazhou, Shazhou and Dunhuang belonged to the 10th, the most distant zone. "The following terms of revision are set depending on the position of the warehouse, the number of days necessary for the trip and the number of accommodations required during the trip. For the two comparable military police departments this term is 40 days from the day of the warehouse employee's dismissal until the arrival of his replacement. These two military police departments are at Shazhou and Guazhou".⁹ Therefore, the replacement had 40 days to travel from Zhongxing (Yinchuan), the capital of Xi-Xia, to Shazhou district, which belonged to the units of the middle (third) class.

Shazhou district was a cosmopolitan region, where the Uighur, the Chinese, the Tangut and maybe the Tibetan peoples lived together. Particular stretches of the border with the Uighur territories were not strictly demarcated. The Uighur people could cross this border freely. Trade with the Western Regions and even with Arab countries was driven through Shazhou district and western merchants were considered as guests. The relations with the Uighur people and the Chinese were defined by the national policy of Xi-Xia when, with rare exceptions, the rights of all ethnicities (the Tangut, the Chinese, the Uighur, the Tibetan peoples) were considered equal. The fact that the Uighur people could send gifts to Song court during the 11th c. shows some Uighur autonomy at that time.

Practically the entire population of Shazhou district was Buddhist. It might be that after the Tang period there existed still some Muslim and Christian communities, but there is no information about them in the sources. Dunhuang, as the largest Buddhist centre in that region, would have become the place of worship. There is no reason to say that the Dunhuang caves were walled up after Dunhuang became the part of the Tangut Empire. We have already mentioned the new cave temples constructed by the Uighur people. Similar temples were also made by Tanguts. According to Professor Nie Hongyin's data, the number of the grottos constructed under Xi-Xia rule is about 70.¹⁰ The murals in these caves are distinctive, and these caves are called the Xi-Xia caves or grottos. The color green dominates here; sculptural images of Buddha are not built into the wall, but are situated right in the

¹ WANG 1980.

² OKAZAKI 1972, 274-275.

³ YANG, 100-102.

⁴ YANG, 102.

⁵ YANG, 103.

⁶ CODE, book 2, 132.

⁷ CODE, book 4, 202-203.

⁸ CODE, book 2, 226-227.

⁹ CODE, book 2, 226-227.

¹⁰ NIE 2001, 139.

middle of the cave. We can feel an influence of the Tibetan Tantric style here. The religious images on cloth are also very specific. Some specialists remark that Boghisattva's images are similar with the Tangut emperors. The inscriptions are in Tangut and Chinese. It has been determined that the earliest inscription in Tangut refers to 1053 and the last one to 1219. Nie Hongyin believes that the Buddhist sculptures and paintings of the Tangut state are extraordinary, but are inferior to the sculptures and paintings of the Wei, Jin and Tang periods in their execution.

When N.A. Nevsky's two-volume edition on Tangut studies *Tangutskaya filologiya (The Tangut Philology)* was published in 1960, the academician N.I. Konrad, who was an editor of the book, sent it to the President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Guo Moruo 郭沫若, but never received a response. In 1962 Nevsky's works were awarded posthumously with the Lenin Prize. At that time, a political conflict between USSR and China started. In China, the Institute of National Minorities of the Academy of Social Sciences and the University of National Minorities had already been established. Different programs for historical research, social anthropology and culture of national minorities were developing. At the end of 1950s, the Soviet ethnologist N.N. Chebok-sarov was working as a consultant in China. Among scholars working on the Tangut studies from 1930s was Prof. Wang Jingru 王静如. Under his leadership a team of young Chinese researchers was brought together to study the written language, history and culture of Xi-Xia. They had two ideological directives, which characterized the relationship between USSR and China during the 1960s, namely that the written Tangut documents had been stolen by Russians and that the Tangut studies were a part of the political "fight against modern revisionism".¹¹

However, the reaction to the publication of Nevsky's works and, maybe, to Nishida Tatsuo's 西田龍雄 works in Japan, marked the beginning of extensive work in the field of the Tangut studies. It was natural that Dunhuang was the first place to find written records and artifacts of Xi-Xia. The first discoveries of Tangut written records had been made there by P. Pelliot in 1908, and 200 fragments of his Tangut collection are now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The other fragments were found by Zhang Daqian 張大千 in 1941-43, and they are now kept in Tenri University Library in Japan and at Princeton University in the USA. The fragments of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Diamond Sūtra* from the Yuan period were found in 1959 and are now kept in Dunhuang.

At the beginning of autumn in 1964, the first group was assembled to explore the written monuments of Xi-Xia from Dunhuang. Wang Jingru was a curator in this group. Bai Bin 白濱 writes in his autobiography that several times while exploring Xi-Xia with Wang Jingru, he had discussed the problem of rivalry with the Soviet Union. I personally cannot rid myself of the feeling that I was such a "modern revisionist", because I visited China for the first time from the beginning of March till the end of July in 1964. I was not allowed to meet with Wang Jingru or to contact any Chinese colleagues in connection with exploring Xi-Xia. I didn't even have a traditional helper as a foreign probationer *fudao* 輔導, but I did have a chance to finish three-month language course of the Higher Preparing School for Foreign Students (*Waiguo liuxuesheng gaodeng yubei xuexiao* 外國留學生

高等預備學校). And I am still thankful for this to the Chinese government of that time and to our teacher Fang Ping 方平.

Wang Jingru, Chang Shuhong 常書鴻, Bai Bin, Su Bai 宿白, Liu Yuquan 劉玉權, Li Chengxian 李承仙, and the post-graduate student Shi Jinbo 史金波 all went to Dunhuang. A curator of the Gansu Museum, Chen Bingying 陳炳應 joined them in Lanzhou. In the first cave to be explored, No. 65 of the Tang period, which had been repaired under the Xi-Xia rule, they found a Tangut inscription consisting of 60 characters and images of donators. Several caves were explored, and many photographs were taken. At the end of October, the group went to Anxi and then to Yumen. They classified eleven Xi-Xia caves and in two of them found the Tangut inscriptions. They returned to Mogaoku, where on the 16th of October, during work in Cave No. 319, the art school teacher Li Renzhang 李仁章 fell to the ground. His injuries proved fatal, he was only 32 years old. Caves belonging to the Tangut period were also in Xijian (35 km to the south-west of Dunhuang). Some of the caves were high, and after Li Renzhang's accident, Wang Jingru would not allow Bai Bin and Shi Jinbo to climb up.

The Cultural Revolution in China put a stop to the exploration of Dunhuang. Wang Jingru and his son suffered from the revolution, as I heard from them during my visits to China in 1989 and 1990. As Bai Bin told me, Wang Jingru "went through the millstone" of the Cultural Revolution, as did also the first expedition chief Chang Shuhong. Bai Bin and Shi Jinbo returned to Dunhuang only in 1976. During the expeditions of 1983 and 1988-1996, the Xi-Xia movable types for printing book were discovered, as well as fragments of the vocabularies "Mixed categories" (*Zi za* 字雜) and "A Tangut-Chinese Timely Pearl in the Hand" (番漢合時掌中珠 *Fan-han heshi zhangzhongzhu*), and Xi-Xia coins belonging to the period of Tiansheng (天盛 1149-1169).

Therefore, Dunhuang did not die under the Xi-Xia rule, but even developed as an honored Buddhist centre among the Chinese, the Tangut and the Uighur peoples. I refer to Professor Liu Yuquan's well-known article about the peculiarities of the Xi-Xia art monuments in Dunhuang, in which he speaks about the contribution to the development of art made by the Chinese, the Xianbi, the Tibetan, the Uighur, the Tangut and the Mongol peoples.¹² The peculiarities of the Tangut period are illustrated by images of a dragon with the head of a phoenix, or perhaps it is a phoenix with the body of a dragon, discovered in Cave No. 400. These cannot be found earlier or later in other caves. The ceiling paintings and their unique composition, the images of Buddha, mandalas, and animals in a combination of Chinese and Tibetan styles were developed by the Xi-Xia artists and used also during the Yuan and Ming periods.

Information about the Tangut texts recently excavated in Dunhuang can be found in the articles of Du Jianlu 杜建录 and Dai Zhongpei 戴忠沛. Among the manuscripts there are fragments of sūtras under 14 titles, Tangut texts of *Qianziwen* 千字文, of vocabularies *Sancai ziza* 三才字杂, *Tongyin* 同音, *Zhangzhongzhu* 掌中珠, Taoist texts, poems and documents. The texts in Tangut were found in 45 caves. The biggest manuscript was found in Cave

¹¹ Bai Bin 1997, 3.

¹² Liu 2002, 176.

No. 285. It consists of 10 lines and 81 characters written in ink.¹³ The inscriptions in Tangut refer to the years 1085, 1099, 1114, 1115 and 1128. Inscriptions in Chinese which were made under the Xi-Xia rule refer to the years 1071, 1072, 1148, 1172, 1193, 1197, 1202 and 1219. There are inscriptions in Tangut which refer to the Yuan and Ming periods. It is also known that the language of Xi-Xia remained in use until the 16th c.

It is very important that some Chinese texts from the Dunhuang district were translated into the Tangut language, or else were retold in Tangut. I noticed this myself when I worked on the translation of the Tangut encyclopedic text “Sea of Meanings Determined by Saints”. For instance, in the section “The Meaning of Concepts Connected with the Filial Piety” (孝之名義 *Xiao zhi mingyi*) we can see stories without any sources mentioned. Some of them I found in the Dunhuang materials. For instance, here is the Tangut text: “Long time ago some man buried his mother, who had died because of the fear of thunder. If in summer time there was thunder and at that time the respectful son cried near the grave of his mother, the Sky stopped thundering in respect to this son. When an emperor heard about that, he ordered that man be sent a reward, and all the Heavenly Empire was notified about this respectful son”.¹⁴ And this is the Chinese text: “Shun’s mother had been afraid of a thunder. Every time when a thunderstorm began, Shun walked around his mother’s grave and said: ‘Shun is here, don’t be afraid, mother’. *Taishou* 太守 heard about that and at the beginning of a thunderstorm gave Shun a carriage with horses so that Shun could quickly reach the grave”.¹⁵

And here is another example. This is the Tangut version: “Long time ago, a respectful man had blind parents. The son wandered as a deer, dressed in a deer skin, to get food for his parents. While hunting an emperor shot this deer. The son complained. The emperor regretted his actions, and he took the blind parents to his palace and kept them there”.¹⁶ And this is the Chinese text: “Once there lived some Wang Zi from Jiangguo. His parents were old and without any income. Wang Zi all day long tried to find food for them. He befriended a deer, since he was in a deer skin. He took water to the deer, from the water for their cattle. Once he bumped into...” (further text is destroyed).¹⁷ And another Tangut text: “Long time ago there lived one respectful daughter-in-law. Her mother-in-law was very ill. She was being cured, but could not recover. The doctor said that her mother-in-law would recover if she ate human’s meat. So this respectful daughter-in-law secretly cut meat from her left hip, crumbled it and gave it to her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law recovered after that”.¹⁸ Chinese text: “Wang Zi lived in Heyan. His wife was respectful. Wang Zi’s mother was ill with tuberculosis for a long time. One man told his mother that she would recover if she ate human’s meat. Mother wondered where she could get it. Her daughter-in-law heard this, cut some meat from her hip, made soup out of it and gave it to her mother-in-law. She recovered”.¹⁹

In the Dunhuang collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS we have the *Golden Light Sūtra* with the preface the *Story of the Penance and Elimination of Sins*. The Tangut translation of this preface is illustrated with an engraving which has already been published several times. The Chinese version of this text was found in 1910 and is known to be kept in the Shoshoin Repository in Japan.

Therefore, during the Xi-Xia period Dunhuang was still an important centre of Buddhist culture. Its heritage was retained and developed, and it exerted influence on the Tangut and even on the entire Xi-Xia culture. Dunhuang became an international Buddhist centre, and was important to many peoples. It was also a centre for the spread of Buddhist manuscripts and printed books in different languages, and a place where books were printed using the movable type technology. The sources of Tangut Buddhism were in Song China, Liao (Wutaishan 五臺山), Dunhuang and Tibet. Notwithstanding Dunhuang was distant from the central regions of Xi-Xia, its heritage was widespread in the Tangut Empire, and many texts from Dunhuang were translated into Tangut, although we can not always say exactly from what Chinese original the translation was made. The heritage of Dunhuang should draw our attention to solving these problems.

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¹³ SHI and BAI 2007.

¹⁴ KYCHANOV 1997, 136.

¹⁵ *Dunhuang bianwen ji*, vol. 2, 903.

¹⁶ KYCHANOV 1997, 137.

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敦煌作為西夏王國疆域的一部分(982-1227)

葉甫根尼·克恰諾夫

在西夏文最初起源裡，並沒有提及敦煌這個地名。但很顯然，敦煌屬於沙州地區，屬於西夏王國西部邊遠地區。作為西夏王國疆域的一部分，沙州地區於1036年首次被提及。這裡曾經是距離西夏王國西部領域中心最遠的地區，也是居民混居區域，居住著回鶻人、漢人、党項羌人，可能還有藏人。在西夏政權管理下，敦煌仍然是重要的佛教文化中心。西夏佛教從中國宋朝、遼朝(五臺山)、敦煌以及西藏汲取了自身發展所需的資源。作為各種語言佛教文獻書籍推廣的中心，包括書籍排版印刷地(回鶻和西夏版)，敦煌發揮著巨大的作用。我們並不總是能準確的斷定，西夏文典籍是從什麼樣的漢語文獻中翻譯過來的。敦煌文獻遺產應該引起我們對解決這些問題的注意。

Дуньхуан как часть территории тангутского государства Си Ся (982–1227)

Евгений Кычанов

Топоним Дуньхуан в оригинальных тангутских источниках не встречается. Но очевидно, что Дуньхуан относился к округу Шачжоу, крайнему западному району тангутского государства. Округ Шачжоу как часть территории Си Ся впервые упомянут в 1036 г. Это была самая отдаленная от центра западная область тангутского государства со смешанным населением – уйгуры, китайцы, тангуты, возможно, тибетцы. В период Си Ся Дуньхуан по-прежнему оставался важным центром буддийской культуры, наследие которого сохранялось, развивалось и влияло на тангутскую культуру. Дуньхуан приобрел международное значение как центр буддизма и поклонения для тангутов, уйгуров, китайцев, тибетцев. Тангутский буддизм черпал свои ресурсы из сунского Китая, Ляо (Утайшань), Дуньхуана и Тибета. Дуньхуан функционировал как центр распространения рукописной и печатной буддийской книги на разных языках, в том числе и как место печатания книги набором (уйгурские и тангутские шрифты). Мы не всегда можем точно утверждать, с какой китайской рукописи или с какого китайского издания сделан дошедший до нас тангутский перевод. Рукописное наследие Дуньхуана должно привлечь наше внимание для решения этих задач.