Buddhism in Central Asia III

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences, Doctrines

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Contents

CHAPTER 5

On the Presence and Influence of Daoism in the Buddhist Material from Dunhuang

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Abstract

The present chapter is meant as an introduction to the types of Daoist data we encounter in the Buddhist material as found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. By 'Daoist data' we mean concepts, practices and beliefs which originated in the Daoist religion, but which—over the course of time—gradually found their way into Chinese Buddhism through a consistent and prolonged process of inculturalisation. This was a process during which Daoism from its side adopted, appropriated and modified salient aspects from Buddhism as well.

The Buddhist Dunhuang material which reflects this Daoist influence/impact takes a variety of forms. However, the most dense concentration can be found in Buddhist apocrypha, as well as in compositions associated with Esoteric Buddhism (Chin. *mijiao* 密教). Talismans and talismanic seals are one of these areas in which Buddhism adopted from Daoism. While the Buddhists created their own types, which in many cases reflect Buddhist concepts, divinities and functions, the manner of usage has a clear imprint from Daoism.

When looking for a conceptual model with which to understand and highlight the manner by which Daoist practices entered Buddhism, it would seem that it was chiefly the traditional Chinese sciences, such as astrology, medicine, etc., which served as the primary conduits for this exchange.

1 Introduction

By the late Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) period virtually all aspects of Chinese culture were permeating Chinese Buddhism, and by the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) most if not all aspects of Chinese Buddhism were in turn impacting Chinese culture. Although a religion in its own right and as such an integral part of Chinese culture, Daoism would also naturally leave its imprints on Buddhist practices over time, and it is these that

we shall be looking at in closer detail in this presentation—with Buddhism in Dunhuang (敦煌) as our focus.

The following examples from the Buddhist manuscripts found at Dunhuang will highlight the various ways in which Daoist elements, inherently foreign to Indian culture, reflect the manner in which local Buddhism—and by extension Chinese Buddhism—absorbed and integrated religious elements which in their origin were foreign and originally non-Buddhist in nature. The examples under discussion have been chosen not only on the basis of this criteria, but also for their density in the source material, i.e., for their seeming importance during the time in question. By presenting them as a whole, it is hoped that they will underscore this density, arranged in accordance with the salient categories of source materials in which they appear. They are as follows:

1) Gods and divinities
2) Production of apocryphal literature
3) Conceptions of the netherworld
4) Spell casting including formal curses
5) Talismans and seals
6) Various forms of issues for which ritual remedies and beliefs can be had
7) Longevity practices
8) Astrology and divination (including geomancy, dream-interpretation, etc.)

Having established these 'fields' as representative for the areas in which the Daoist impact is most noticeable and dense with regard to Buddhist practice, a discussion of how each of these categories impacted Buddhism in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, i.e., during the ninth–tenth centuries.

Let it be said here at the outset that I reject the unqualified use of terms such as 'folk culture' or 'folk customs' to describe religious hybridity, but instead prefer to make use of the term 'popular culture' for practices which are commonly accepted and broadly used within a given population at any given location and time. The reason for this is that the two former terms are heavily influenced by anthropological thinking, and as such not very useful to the attempt at accounting for the presence of one religion's practices within another as they unfolded in the historical continuum. Moreover, 'popular culture' has the advantage of avoiding the classical pitfall of imagining that popular practices were necessarily determined by social class distinctions or education.

What follows here is a study of how the interaction between Daoism and Buddhism played out in a remote, yet important, Buddhist centre on the eastern stretches of the Silk Road.

2 Conceptualising Daoist Influence on Buddhism

Before presenting and discussing the cases in which Daoist presence in Buddhist written sources are apparent in the Dunhuang material, let us begin with a short elucidation concerning how Daoist influence on Buddhism in the Sinitic cultural sphere is being envisaged.

Once Buddhism had begun the process of indigenisation it gradually changed from a foreign, i.e., Indian, religion to a Chinese one. While this process continued for several centuries with constant modifications and accommodation of new Buddhist trends from abroad, the religion steadily turned into a *bona fide* Chinese religion. This is a process in which extended contact with Daoism played a major role.

When viewing the Daoist influence on Buddhism in the *long durée* it is clear that while the former left strong imprints on the latter, it was only in certain areas or 'fields' as indicated above. There are of course reasons for this. Most obvious is that in the major 'hard' areas, i.e., in those pertaining to doctrine, core beliefs, fundamental ethics, etc., the Daoist impact was comparatively minor, or at least less effective, whereas in 'softer' areas, such as the literature, traditional sciences, and popular beliefs which tend to blend with common cultural practices, it was relatively strong. This is also the case with regard to ritual practice, which was one aspect of medieval Chinese Buddhism were Daoism was able to offer new or different methods with which to enrich the former's already formidable ritual tool box.

Given that many Daoist practices and beliefs historically were themselves heavily influenced by Buddhist thought, it is of course important to note that many of the practices which Chinese Buddhist took over from Daoism were actually representative of earlier Buddhist influences on the latter. One may in those instances talk about a process of 'feed-back loops', by which Chinese Buddhism was re-influenced by its own earlier dispensations that had undergone processes of indigenisation via Daoism, or more broadly conceived by Chinese culture as such.

One of the results of the interaction between the two religious systems in China was the appropriation by Daoism of various types of beliefs and practices that were not current in the Central Kingdom prior to the arrival of Buddhism, or which were more developed in Buddhism, which after all had a much longer history, and which was philosophically and doctrinally superior to Daoism. In time this led to the creation of Daoist scriptures thoroughly infused with Buddhist beliefs and cosmological concepts. This trend, which

came about over the course of the fourth–fifth centuries, eventually gave rise to that curious tradition which we refer to as Buddho-Daoism, and which was foremostly—but not exclusively—expressed in the scriptures associated with Lingbao Daoism (Chin. Lingdao daojiao 靈寶道教).[1]

On the Buddhist side the meeting and interaction with Daoism influenced the religion in a variety of ways that to a considerable extent took Chinese Buddhism in directions that were alien to its Indian mother religion. As part of this meditation practices, concepts of longevity, astrology and healing methods underwent considerable modifications over the course of time. Buddhist ritual practices as already stated absorbed salient Daoist practices, either wholesale or with modifications. This development caused many, essentially alien concepts and ideas to be incorporated. Likewise, a considerable part of the Buddhist apocryphal literature that was produced in China features the imprint of Daoism. In certain extreme cases, these scriptures have been found to be carbon copies of Daoist texts.

The implication of this is that Chinese Buddhism would have looked very different without the input from Daoism. Conversely, Daoism would surely not have evolved the way it did without the strong influence it received from Buddhism during the latter half of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and afterwards. The courses of the two religious traditions became incontrovertibly linked over time, in fact to such an extent that it makes little sense to see them as inherently independent or separate traditions. That is not to say that they are the same, nor that they have become completely integrated over time. Both Buddhism and Daoism retained, and still retain, salient characteristics such as rather different doctrinal underpinnings for their respective soteriological beliefs, as well as many distinct forms of practice, many of which were not shared or imitated by the other side. Nevertheless, the active borrowing and appropriation, as engaged in actively by both religions, underline their

1 On the connection between Lingbao Daoism and Buddhism as reflected in the Dunhuang material, see the monumental study by Wang Chengwen 王承文, *Dunhuang gu Lingbao jing yu Jin Tang daojiao* 敦煌古靈寶經與晉唐道教 [The Old Lingbao Scriptures from Dunhuang and Daoism from the Jin to the Tang] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002). See also the now classical studies by Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten* 道教とその經典 [Daoism and Its Scriptures] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1997), etc. Some of the issues pertaining to the Daoist material from Dunhuang has also been dealt with in a series of illuminating articles in Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光 et al., ed., *Tonkō to Chūgoku dōkyō* 敦煌と中国道教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Daoism] (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1986). A recent study by Funayama Tōru (船山徹) documents the impact of the Chinese Buddhist bodhisattva-concept on Daoism. Cf. Funayama Tōru, "Buddhist Theories of Bodhisattva Practice as Adopted by Daoists," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 15–33.

inherent indebtedness to each other on many parameters over the course of history.[2]

When studying Daoist and Buddhist integration it is not uncommon to find that mainly Chinese scholars sometimes have a problem distinguishing what constitutes formal Daoist practices on the one hand, i.e., recognisable aspects of Daoist religion, and what constitutes Chinese cultural practices on the other. This lack of distinction is of course understandable as Daoism is a Chinese religion which naturally incorporates many traditional beliefs and practices which in their original forms did not have anything, or at least very little to do with the later religion. Some of these, many in fact, did not even become part of formal Daoism later on. We see this type of problem to varying degrees in the studies by Xiao Dengfu (蕭登福), a vehement defender of Daoist sovereignty and independence from Buddhist influence, and more recently in that of Zhou Xipo (周西波) just to mention a few cases where conceptual conflation of Daoism and Chinese culture tends to obfuscate and undermine their scholarly arguments.[3] This is of course especially critical when comparing Daoism and Buddhism to show how Buddhism has been influenced by Daoism. In many cases Chinese Buddhism has certainly adopted or appropriated salient aspects of Daoist practice and belief as already said. Yet, in many other cases it simply absorbed Sinitic cultural norms across the board, including popular beliefs and practices, which of course existed outside the structural boundaries of formal Daoism. For instance, the Confucian undercurrent in Chinese culture influenced both Daoism and Buddhism in equal measure. Since Buddhism after its introduction to China relatively quickly became a *bona fide* Chinese religion, and with the vast majority of its followers being Chinese, it is evident

2 A discussion of the mutual influences between Daoism and Buddhism in medieval China from the perspective of rituals can be found in Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China* (St. Petersburg: Three Pines Press, 2012), 155–176. See also Henrik H. Sørensen, "Buddho–Daoism in Medieval and Early Pre-modern China: A Report on Recent Findings Concerning Influences and Shared Religious Practices," *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 109–138.

3 See Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Cong 'Dazang jing' suoshou fojing zhong kan daojiao xingdou chongli dui fojiao zhi yingxiang 從大正藏所收佛經中看道教星斗崇拜對佛教之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Astral Lore on Buddhism to be Found in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Taishō Tripitaka]," *Taizhong shangzhuan xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 23 (1991): 105–156; Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Daojiao fulu zhouyin dui fojiao mizong zhi yingxiang 道教符籙咒印對佛教密宗之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Talismanic Documents and Spell Seals on Esoteric Buddhism]," *Taizhong shangzhuan xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 24 (1992): 51–87; and Zhou Xipo 周西波, "Dunhuang daojiao zhaiwen de neirong yu yiyi 敦煌道教齋文的內容與意義 [The Content and Meaning of Daoist Meagre Feast Texts in Dunhuang]," *Wenxue xinyao* 文學新鑰 [New Keys to Textual Studies] 13 (2011): 61–86.

that both religions would have shared many of the same cultural norms and behavioural patterns. For this simple reason, it is important to avoid the trap of essentialism in uncritically regarding all the numerous Sinitic elements we encounter in Chinese Buddhism—including salient elements in the apocryphal literature—as simply adaptations or borrowings from Daoism.

Another problem that arises from dealing with certain Chinese cultural elements in Chinese Buddhism is when they are conceptualised as expressions of folklore (Chin. *minsu* 民俗) or folk religion.[4] Such a manner of comprehension tends to reduce many Sinitic cultural practices and beliefs to expressions of something primitive or simplistic, even illiterate, i.e., the undifferentiated and unstructured religion of the ordinary, unschooled people. While it is undeniable that visions, oracles or home-made beliefs informed various local cults in China, and therefore are to be considered spiritually superficial from the point of view of established religious practice, in many historical cases their leaders were not illiterate or uncultured, on the contrary. This does not mean that there have not been many religious mass movements in China that fall outside the framework of formal, orthodox religion. There were and still are, but even though they tend to mix various forms of religious beliefs including those of Daoism and Buddhism (and more recently Christianity as well), and in many cases can be seen as stretching the limits of reason and propriety beyond their own hermeneutical structures in ignorant and confused ways, they are in reality not that different from what one may find in many accepted religious contexts. Just think about the report on the procession of the Buddha's finger bone from Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安) to and from Famen Temple

4 This problem can be encountered in the various studies by Gao Guofan (高国藩), who tends to conceptualise popular, religious practices and beliefs under one 'folk religion'. Cf. e.g., Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Zhongguo minsu tanwei: Dunhuang gusu yu minsu liubian* 中國民俗探微: 敦煌古俗與民俗流變 [An Investigation into Chinese Folklore: Dunhuang's Ancient Lore and the Transformation of Folklore] (Nanjing: Hehai daxue chubanshe, 1990); and the more recent, Gao Guofan 高国藩, *Dunhuang fu zhou fengsu* 敦煌符咒風俗 [The Folklore of Talismans and Spells in Dunhuang] (Hong Kong: Dong'a wenhua chubanshe, 2005). Despite the fact that Gao covers a great many aspects of talismanic and spell-related practices in medieval Dunhuang, his 'folklore' approach means that he overlooks many central aspects of both Buddhism and Daoism, in particular their mutual integration. Also, his historical understanding of Esoteric Buddhism as a cultural phenomenon leaves much to be desired. The same tendency can also be seen in Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史, "Tonkō no minkan shinkō to bukkyō, dōkyō—bukkyō bunken ni mirareru fuin o chūshin toshite 敦煌の民間信仰と佛教, 道教ー佛教文獻に見られる符印を中心として [Dunhuang's Folk Religious Beliefs and Buddhism, Daoism—Focusing on the Talismanic Seals as Found in the Buddhist Literature]," *Tonkō sahon kenkyu nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 [Yearbook of Dunhuang Manuscript Studies] 14 (2020): 51–67.

(Chin. Famen si 法門寺) during the Tang.[5] The religious fervour of the faithful is said to have created a spectacle far beyond what should be expected from the behaviour of pious Buddhists. Likewise, one could refer to the behaviour of devout Christians in the Church of Nativity in Jerusalem where one may witness highly un-Christian scuffles, even fist fights, evidently with the purpose of getting blessed first. Obviously, expressions of popular religion involve people from all walks of life.

Moreover, separating so-called 'high religion' from 'low-religion', i.e., the religion of the 'struggling masses', inadvertently creates the idea of popular religion as something existing outside and beyond *bona fide* religious practice. This is clearly an untenable position to take, especially as regards Chinese religion, which on the level of popular religion in the majority of documented cases does not discriminate between social classes, or even levels of education. Popular religion in China drew and still draws on all current forms of beliefs and practices, including what may be considered high-level philosophy, traditional science, and all kinds of more generalised religious forms of expression. Popular religion is simply popular religion, i.e., one that is shared and participated in by the many. In medieval Dunhuang this was certainly also the case.

3 Gods and Divinities

One important area in Chinese Buddhism is its pantheon, wherein one finds deities and spirits who did not originate in India. Not only that, but many of these indigenous divinities and demons derive directly from Daoism, or have otherwise been incorporated into Buddhism from mainstream Chinese culture. The Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang underscore in many ways the developments we find in the Chinese heartlands, and as such they document the presence of a good many gods and spirits which were alien to Indian Buddhism. Among these are the gods of the Great Dipper, the God of the Hearth (Chin. Zaoshen 竈神), the God of the Soil (Chin. Tushen 土神), and a sundry variety of demons and evil spirits. Even a few major gods of Daoism, such as Taishang Laojun (Chin. Taishang Laojun 太上老君), the Lord of Taishan (Chin. Taishan jun 泰山君), Zhen Wu (真武), as well as a generic host of heavenly worthies (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊), found their way into the Buddhist pantheon in Dunhuang.

5 See the account in Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 102–103.

One case that is especially interesting for the present purpose is that of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist thaumaturge and founder of Madhyamaka, and the Dark Lady of Daoism (Chin. Xuannü 玄女), the consort of the Yellow Emperor (Chin. Huangdi 黃帝) and later a Daoist goddess. The reason for this is that the cross-religious affair between the two also plays out in a text included in a composite manuscript from Dunhuang, entitled *Longshu pusa jiutian Xuannu zhou* 龍樹菩薩九天玄女咒 [Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva's Spells for the Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens] (P. 3835V° [4]). In order to get a better understanding of the implications of this 'divine romance', let us take a look at what is transpiring here.

The text is a combined instruction on the absorption of vital energy (Chin. *qi* 氣), followed by ritual proceedings, including the effectuation of the rite by using a spell, and finally a mystical alchemical process whereby the vital energy is captured and preserved. All of these rather Daoist or Daoistic processes are placed in what is otherwise a straight-forward Buddhist arrangement including terminology and the offering of precept incense, meditation incense, and wisdom incense symbolising the three precepts (Skt. *śīla*). Following this is a lengthy, Daoist style invocation entitled *Xuannu zhou* 玄女咒 [Spell of the Dark Lady] in which Buddhist and Daoist divinities are invoked. Then follows an invocation—also in Daoist style—of the Buddhist King of the Northern Direction, Vaiśravaṇa, and a spell, the *Poyang zhou* 破傷咒 [Spell Against Tetanus], indicating that the ritual proceedings might somehow be connected to warfare.

Now, what may we learn from this? While both divinities referred to in the text are mainly present in name, it is noteworthy that the already multifarious Nāgārjuna (fl. ca. 150–250) persona has been recast as a practitioner of both inner and outer alchemy (Chin. *neidan* 內丹, *waidan* 外丹). Moreover, the relation between the two divinities occurs as a harmonious one in which both sides are recognised and their respective divinities respected. Thus, one cannot say which religion has incorporated which, but rather that an integration of the two has taken place. Even so, it appears that the over-all context in which Nāgārjuna and the Dark Lady met was predominantly Buddhist. This is something which is also clear from the manuscript, which features additional Buddhist material.

The other case relates to two minor divinities, or rather messenger spirits, namely the Lads of Good and Evil (Chin. Shan E' tongzi 善惡童子), who begin to appear in Buddhist contexts during the second half of the Tang period.[6]

6 See the discussion in Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Daojiao Siming Silu xitong dui fojiao jian zhai ji Shan E' tongzi shuo zhi yingxiang 道教司命司錄系統對佛教檢齋及善惡童子說之影

The history of these originally astral gods, who figure under the names Siming (司命) and Silu (司錄) in the Daoist material, go back to the Han Dynasty (206 BCE–220, 漢), where they appear as minor astral bureaucrats in the retinue of the divine Lord Wenchang (Chin. Wenchang jun 文昌君). While one may argue that they are as much a part of traditional Chinese cosmological imagination as of formal Daoism, it is surely in the scriptures of the latter that this class of messenger gods find their most well-defined expression—in particular as part of the belief in body-dwelling worms.[7] The *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經 [Scripture on the Karmic Causes of the Highest Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure] (DZ 336, 81c), a classical Lingbao work that features considerable Buddhist influence, includes the pair of messenger gods in a more elevated fashion.

Over the course of Buddhism's inculturation in China, the Lads of Good and Evil were introduced as acolytes of King Yama in the netherworld. The earliest appearance of the pair in a Chinese Buddhist context is in the *Si tianwang jing* 四天王經 [Scripture of the Four Heavenly Kings] (T. 590.15),[8] where their function is that of divine spies. Later, in material from the early part of the eighth century, they are directly identified with Simin and Silu as officials of the netherworld in the *Azhapoju yuanshuai dajiang shang fo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 [Cultivation of the Ritual Proceedings of the *Āṭavakasūtra*] (T. 1239.21, 195a) ascribed to Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735).

Once we turn to the Dunhuang material from the late medieval period, the Two Lads of Good and Evil appear relatively often, both in Buddhist scriptures and in Buddhist art.[9] Among other contexts they figure in the short text, *Dizang pusa shi zhai ri* 地藏菩薩十齋日 [The Ten Fast Days of Bodhisattva

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響 [On the Influence of the System of Siming and Silu in Daoism on the Buddhist Repast for Inspection and the Discourse on the Lads of Good and Evil]," accessed June 5, 2021. http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-AN/119595.pdf.

7 See Michel Strickmann and Bernard Faure, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 76–77. They can also be seen referred to as 'corporal parasites' in Yamada Toshiaki, "Longevity and the Lingbao wufuxu'," in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. Livia Kohn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1989), 97–122.

8 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.

9 For examples, see MG 17664, and Henrik H. Sørensen, "Donors and Image at Dunhuang: A Case Study of OA 1919,0101,0.54," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 4.1 (2019). When appearing in tableaux depicting the Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings, the Lads of Good and Evil tend to be represented as a series of generic attendant figures. Cf. e.g., EO 3644, and OA 1919,0101,0.23.

Kṣitigarbha] (ZW 64C.7). As it happens there are different versions of this text among the Dunhuang material, and in another of these we find both the Lads of Good and Evil as well as Siming and Silu/Chaming (察命) appearing in the roles of divine spies or karmic reporters (ZW 64G.7). Furthermore, they are in the company of several Daoist gods such as Taishan Fujun (太山府君) a.k.a. Taishanjun (泰山君), Tian da jiangjun (天大將軍), and Wudao jiangjun (五道將軍).

4 Conceptions of the Medieval Netherworld in Dunhuang

Netherworld beliefs and concepts abound in Dunhuang, not only in the relevant manuscripts of Buddhism and Daoism, but also in pictorial renderings as votive paintings and wall-paintings in the Mogao Caves (Chin. Mogao ku 莫高窟). In fact the sheer amount of material in Dunhuang which deals directly with concerns about the netherworld gives food for thought. Of course the primary concern in this regard was how to avoid falling into the netherworld and there to suffer the horrors of torture having one's karma evaluated and a verdict passed. Fear of the torture in the hells of the netherworld is of course one that was shared by many medieval religions, and one which was capitalised on by religious functionaries. Dunhuang was no exception to this. Hence, the entire business that evolved around the afterlife, both good and bad, was surely a driving force in its religious life.

The construction of the Sinitic Netherworld with its elaborate bureaucracy and hells is a direct and meaningful example of the integration of Buddhist and Daoist imagination in medieval China, a process in which both religions played crucial roles. One may in this case even speak about a sort of 'democratic' solution to a major religious issue.

The coming about of a generally accepted and functioning concept of a netherworld building equally on Daoist and Buddhist beliefs did of course not come about overnight; it took several centuries before a fully formed vision appeared. Not only that, after the merger of the two visions took place, concepts of the netherworld continued to evolve into the pre-modern period resulting—among other things—in the physical creations we see in Sichuan (四川) from the Song (960–1279, 宋) and Ming periods (1368–1644, 明), such as the carvings found in Dazu (大足) and at Fengdu (丰都).[10]

10 See Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Meeting of Daoist and Buddhist Spatial Imagination: The Construction of the Netherworld in Medieval China," in *Locating Religions: Contact,*

In Dunhuang it is to some extent possible to trace the development of the Buddho-Daoist netherworld in the surviving manuscripts as well as in the related imagery. This material shows a development from a rudimentary model of the netherworld to one that is more sophisticated and ordered.[11] As already hinted at above, the Buddho-Daoist netherworld most certainly did not originate in Dunhuang, but was imported or transmitted to this remote part of the Hexi Corridor over the course of the sixth–seventh centuries. Despite the fact that it was not invented in Dunhuang, extant imagery relating to the netherworld was indeed built upon by local artisans, wherefore we are fortunate to have a fair number of related objects to inform us.

Although they were originally distinct cults or conceptual groups of formation, during the late medieval period one finds that netherworld beliefs and the cult of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha were collapsed into one.[12] The *Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing* 佛說淨度三昧經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhī of Pure Deliverance] (ZW 63.3),[13] an apocryphal scripture which enjoyed some degree of popularity in Dunhuang, features a version, and system, of the netherworld with eight kings and their departments.[14] This Buddhist apocrypha may have helped give rise to the later Buddhist netherworld ruled over by the group of ten kings (Chin. *shiwang* 十王) as taught in the *Shiwang jing* 十王經 [Scripture on the Ten Kings] (ZZ 20.1) that greatly influenced Buddhism in Dunhuang during the ninth–tenth centuries.[15]

Diversity and Translocality, ed. Reinhold F. Glei and Nicholas Jaspers (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 234–292.

11 For this development see Steven F. Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994). See also Neil Schmid, "Revisioning the Buddhist Cosmos: Shifting Paths of Rebirth in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Art," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 293–326.

12 Zhang Zong, "Comment le bodhisattva Dizang est parvenu à gouverner les Dix Rois des Enfers," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 265–292.

13 Edited by Fang Guangchang (方廣昌). There are several surviving manuscripts of this interesting scripture. A full introduction can be found in the preface to the edited version (ZW 672.11: 226a–230a).

14 For a study of the Buddhist hells and the role of the *Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing*, see Costantino Moretti, "Scenes of Hell and Damnation in Dunhuang Murals," *Arts Asiatiques* 74 (2019): 5–30.

15 See Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings*.

5 Daoism and Buddhist Apocryphal Literature from Dunhuang

The production of a distinct class of indigenous Buddhist literature, i.e., apocryphal texts (Chin. *weijing* 偽經) is one of the characterising features of Chinese Buddhism. Whether understood as 'false' scriptures, scriptures masquerading as Indian *sūtra*s, or simply rewritings of Daoist scriptures, the Chinese Buddhist apocrypha constitutes one of the most important and influential vehicles for conveying Buddhist messages to a wider audience of Chinese-speaking peoples.[16] Characteristic for most of the apocryphal literature is that individual scriptures try to give the impression that they are the Buddha's words, or at least were transmitted from India or Central Asia and translated into Chinese. Thus, the history of Buddhist apocrypha began almost as soon as Buddhism arrived in China and has continued up until the modern era, producing literally hundreds of indigenous scriptures and texts.

While it is evident that not all apocryphal scriptures of Chinese Buddhism contain or otherwise reflect Daoist ideas and practices, a rather large number of them do. One could say that the presence of Daoist elements in a given Buddhist scripture pretending to be of canonical status are among the most certain clues that it is apocryphal or not. Otherwise, conceptual elements that clearly signal Sinitic cultural discourses are another good sign that one is dealing with a Chinese composition.[17]

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts we find a large number of these apocryphal Buddhist scriptures in Chinese, including many variant texts which (one way or another) also fall into the category of 'fabricated scriptures'. Since much of this material has already received due attention from the scholarly community, it would be superfluous to get into a discussion of this material here, except to provide a few examples of those texts which document a clear

16 For a conceptual and ground-breaking discussion of apocrypha in Chinese Buddhism, see Robert E. Buswell, "Introduction: Prolegomenon to the Study of Buddhist Apocryphal Scriptures," in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 1–30. See also the series of important articles in Chinese in Fang Guangchang 方廣昌, ed., *Fojiao wenxian yanjiu* 佛教文獻研究 [Studies in Buddhist Texts], vols. 1–2 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2016).

17 One such example is the *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神呪經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Brightnesses of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 2897.85). This apocryphal scripture features a section on geomancy as well as cosmological and astrological beliefs that all originated in Chinese culture. As far as we can tell this scripture was composed some time during the eighth century, and the fact that several copies have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts underscores the scripture's immense popularity locally. However, the Chinese material that appear in this scripture is not directly related to Daoist influence, but rather to Sinitic culture *per se*.

and undisputed influence from Daoism (similar to those examples provided above).

One apocryphal scripture which consists of an interesting mix of both Buddhist and Daoist beliefs is the *Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhī of Pure Deliverance* referred to above.[18] Among other things it features a comprehensive series of Daoist divinities similar to those listed above, including the Lads of Good and Evil, Taiyi (太一), the god of the Pole Star, demon generals, messenger spirits, etc. These are presented together with the usual host of Buddhist divinities, including bodhisattvas, and gods like Indra, Brahmā and the Four Heavenly Kings (Chin. Si tianwang 四天王) (ZW 63.7: 232a). We are clearly dealing with a scripture with composite contents, what we may refer to as a typical Dao-Buddhist work.[19] The *Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhī of Pure Deliverance* was widely circulated in Dunhuang and is certain to have left an imprint on the way Buddhism was perceived locally.[20]

Despite a lack of detailed information about institutional Daoism from the period after Dunhuang came under Tibetan control, we have enough information at hand to document that while Daoist monks and nuns may have fled this part of the Hexi Corridor (Chin. Hexi zuolang 河西走廊) prior to the surrender to the Tibetans, many types of Daoist belief and related practices continued to exist among the general population as before. However, as far as our current knowledge goes, it would appear that much of these beliefs and practices were mixed with Buddhist elements.[21] In any case there are hardly any traces of the continued practice of sectarian Daoism after ca. 800. Because of this situation, many Daoist scriptures ended up in Buddhist libraries. This

18 Edited by Fang Guangchang (方廣昌). There are several surviving manuscripts of this interesting scripture. A full introduction can be found in the preface to the edited version (DZ 672.11, 226a–230a).

19 For a discussion of the Daoist input in this scripture, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Dunhuang xiejuan Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing suojian de daojiao xixiang 敦煌寫卷佛說淨度三昧經所見的道教思想 [The Dunhuang Manuscripts of the Foshuo jingdu sanmei jing Wherein One may See Daoist Concepts]," in *Quanguo Dunhuang xue yantao hui lunwen ji* 全國敦煌學研討會論文集 [Collected Essays of the National Seminar for Dunhuang Studies] (no editor given) (Jiayixian, Taiwan: Zhongzheng daxue, 1995), 181–200.

20 As many as twelve copies of the scripture have been identified so far, something which underscores its relative importance among Dunhuang's Buddhists (and Daoists?).

21 Cf. Liu Yongming 刘永明, "Lun Dunhuang fojiao xinyang zhong de fo dao ronghe 论敦煌佛教信仰中的佛道融合 [A Discussion of the Harmonisation between Buddhism and Daoism in Buddhist Belief in Dunhuang]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌学辑刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 1 (2005): 45–55; Liu Yongming 刘永明, "Tubo shiqi Dunhuang daojiao ji xiangguan xinyang xisu tanxi 吐蕃时期敦煌道教及相关信仰习俗探析 [An Analysis of Daoism in Dunhuang and Related Beliefs and Customs During the Period of Tibetan Control]," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 [Dunhuang Research] 4 (2011): 36–44.

meant that they would have been available to members of the local Buddhist *saṃgha*, and may have influenced their thinking.[22] We do not know to what extent Buddhist monks and nuns studied this material, but one would suppose that much of the Lingbao Daoist material could in principle have been read by them. Moreover, given that many of the apocryphal Buddhist scriptures found at Dunhuang contain Daoist elements to varying degrees, one is inclined to think that conceptual demarcation lines between the two would have been rather oblique, at least to the less educated monks and nuns.

6 Spell-Casting and Curses

The use of magical spells permeates Chinese Buddhist practices and is well-documented in the canonical literature from the fourth century onwards, underscoring that such practices were part of the Buddhist tradition before it arrived in China.[23] Once spell-related practices gained ground and began to appear in a variety of contexts it was unavoidable that they should become part of the Buddhist interaction with Daoism. Daoist spells and ritual curses constitute a special category in the religion's literature, but in contradistinction to spells in Buddhism, variously referred to as spells (Chin. *zhou* 咒), *dhāraṇī* (Chin. *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼), and *mantra*s (Chin. *zhenyan* 真言, *ming* 明), the Daoist or Daoistic spells we meet with in the Buddhist sources are normally written in a mixture of poetry and prose, i.e., as more or less understandable text. This means that we must distinguish between spells (i.e., *dhāraṇī*s, *mantra*s, etc.) that originated in Indian Buddhism, and those produced by Chinese Buddhists under inspiration from Daoist spells and spell-curses. Buddhist spells mimicking Daoist spell-curses come in two varieties; either as direct appropriation or through inspiration. In the Dunhuang material both types are common, as shall presently be seen in a couple of illustrative examples.

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22 For an approachable overview of the Daoist material found in Dunhuang, see Wang Ka 王卡, *Dunhuang daojiao wenxian yanjiu* 敦煌道教文獻研究 [Studies in the Daoist Texts from Dunhuang] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004). This lists the different text-types together with a brief introduction to each. The introductory chapter is highlighting the relationship between Buddhist and Daoist texts. See also Liu Yi 刘屹, *Dunhuang daojing yu daojiao* 敦煌道经与中古道教 [The Daoist Scriptures from Dunhuang and Chinese Ancient Daoism] (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010).

23 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 and Development of Esoteric Buddhism," in *Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*, ed. Meir Shahar and Yael Bentor (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 41–71.

The Buddhist use of Daoist spell-curses and incantations written as normal text came in vogue during the second half of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589, 南北朝) period, and appear in a variety of Buddhist contexts such as in the *Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集 [Miscellaneous Collection of Spells] where we encounter a Daoist spell-curse, the *Foshuo zhou tu tuoluoni* 佛說咒土陀羅尼 [Buddha Speaks the Dhāraṇī for Putting Spells on the Land] (T. 1336.21, 609c–610a).[24] A pronounced Daoist flavour is evident throughout, including the appearance of four of the five directional spirits, i.e., the Blue Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Peacock (Phoenix) and the intertwined Tortoise and Snake here represented by Xuanwu (玄武, Zhenwu 真武), as well as other spirits of the soil. At the end of the invocational section of the scripture, we also find the command: 'Quickly let the spell [be effective] in accordance with the command of the law' (Chin. *ji zhou ru lü ling* 急咒如律令).[25] Incidentally the *Miscellaneous Collection of Spells* was also quite popular among the Buddhists in Dunhuang as a compendium of spells during the late medieval period.

Among the Dunhuang material we find a rather typical example of a Daoist spell-text of the commanding type, in prose, in a Buddhist ritual context. The text in question reads:

> Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions
>
> We respectfully invite the Green Faced Vajrapāla of the eastern direction to come into the ritual space. His teeth are like sword trees, his eyes resembling shooting stars, his mouth like bloody jar, his hand holding an iron lance (Comment: [his] lion resembles a gourd, with iron claws). Do not eat the five grains and the eating of cereal.
>
> Proceed to invoke the White Tiger, [so that he] will devour the deviant *māra*s, and the *wang liang*, in the morning three thousand, and in the evening eight hundred. Subsequently, [make sure that] all will not be stuck in the lower courts for future inquest.
>
> Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the law. Effectuate!

24 This section in the *Tuoluoni zaji* represents a sort of digest of the apocryphal *Foshuo anzhai shenzhou jing* 佛說安宅神咒經 [Buddha Utters the Divine Spell Scripture on Calming Dwellings] (T. 1394.21). This scripture is supposed to have been in circulation in China as early as the Eastern Han (25–220, 東漢), however given the wording and style this seems quite unlikely.

25 This command is missing from the *Foshuo anzhai shenzhou jing* itself, indicating that it was added later.

> Comment: To the southern, western, and northern directions chant [the spell] once each, and spit thrice. Chant the Spell of the Four Directions. Again, recite the Spell for Destroying from one to seven times, for each spit three times.[26]

The text of these spells represents a hybrid of Daoist ritual liturgy mixed up with Esoteric Buddhist iconographical imagination. Although the 'outer trappings' follow Buddhist conceptualisation, in reality this kind of spell is essentially Daoist in nature. In addition to the Daoist command for effectuation, i.e., 'Quickly, quickly in accordance with the command of the law' (Chin. *jiji ru lü ling* 急急如律令),[27] a further exorcist element not commonly found in Buddhist practice is the ritual practice of spitting. Hence, both, format, the commanding tone, the effectuation, and spitting are all Daoist elements that the Buddhist took over.

The effectuating command can be found in a variety of contexts, such as in the apocryphal *Foshuo qiqian fo shenfu jing* 佛說七千佛神符經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Talismans of the Seven Thousand Buddhas] (T. 2904.85, 1446b), the *Foshuo sanchu jing* 佛三廚經 [Buddha Utters the Scripture on the Three Kitchens] (T. 2894.85, 1413b–1414c), a work studied by Christine Mollier,[28] the spell and talismanic compendium, the *Guanshiyin pusa fuyin* 觀世音菩薩符印 [Talismans and Seals of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara] (S. 2498), and the *Ruyilun wang monizhu batuo biexing fa yin* 如意輪王摩尼咮拔陀別行法印 [Seal Method of the Variant Practice of Ciṇtāmaṇicakrarāja Maṇibhadra] (P. 3835V°, P. 2153, etc.),[29] to mention some of the more important works. Although most of these occurrences appear in apocryphal scriptures copied after Daoist scriptures or at least inspired by them, it would appear that the usage of the spell-command gradually entered into the rituals of Esoteric Buddhism—as it can be found in many scriptures transmitted in Central and East Asia during the late medieval period.[30]

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26 *Sifang jingang zhou* 四方金剛咒 [Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions]; for the Chinese text see Appendix A.

27 An early occurrence can be found in the Chinese Buddhist canonical material is ostensibly in the important, early sixth century *Tuoluoni zaji* (T. 1336.21, 609c).

28 See Mollier, *Buddhism and Daoism Face to Face*, 23–54.

29 See Paul Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 193–226.

30 Among these, mention can be made of the *Weiji jingang jin bai bianfa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [Scripture of the Vajrapāla Guhyapada's One Hundred Preventive and Transformative Methods] (T. 1229.21, 160a); the *Qi xiaoxing chen bie xing fa* 七曜星辰別行法 [Alternative Method of Practice Worship of the Seven Luminaries and Asterisms] (T. 1309.21, 456c); the *Xianmi yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 [Essential

It goes without saying that the borrowing and take-over of spells also happened on the Daoist side. However, that trend would appear to have begun fairly late in the Tang Dynasty, after the Esoteric Buddhist associated with the important patriarch of Esoteric Buddhism Amoghavajra (704–774, Chin. Bukong 不空) had become influential.[31] However, as is commonly known, Daoist spells written in imitation of Sanskrit abound in the ritual practices of Daoism from the Northern and Southern Song periods (960–1279, 宋).

7 Use of Talismans and Talismanic Seals

Magical seals and the use of talismans are central to the Daoist religion and, although they have overlapping functions, they were meant to serve different ritual purposes. Talismans are essentially documents meant to send and receive messages from the heavens.[32] They are written in a special type of script understood only by the gods (and the Daoist adepts, of course). As sacred documents written in a secret or hermetic language they encompass the highest level of Daoist arcana, in other words they are ritual tools of power. As the embodiment of divine power, they may be understood as a condensation of one or more gods. A talisman could also be conceptualised as representing one or all of the five elements (Chin. *wuxing* 五行) in traditional Chinese cosmogony.[33]

Collection Displaying the Secret of Complete Penetration for Accomplishing the Buddha Mind], (T. 1955.46, 996c), etc. See also Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dianji* 道教術儀與密教典籍 [Daoist Ritual Lore and Its Influence on Esoteric Buddhist Books] (Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1994). This listing also includes several Dunhuang manuscripts.

31 Martin Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Development of Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 351–359. Certain aspects of Amoghavajra's ritual formulations can be found discussed in Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 168–193. For a historical study of this important monk, see also Geoffrey C. Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism: Amoghavajra, the Ruling Elite, and the Emergence of a Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

32 Cf. Xie Shiwei, "Writing from Heaven: Celestial Writing in Six Dynasties Daoist Tradition" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2005).

33 See Monika Drexler, *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten Fu im Daozang* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1994). Drexler's study is a pioneer work, which was highly welcome when it first appeared more than 25 years ago. It offers detailed insights into the forms and structures of orthodox Daoist talismans as they appear in Daoist canonical scriptures chiefly from the Southern Song (1127–1279, 南宋). However, its main problem is that it relies overly much on materials deriving from a very late talismanic tradition, and for this reason one must be careful not to take the data in her book as representative of earlier periods. The talismans found in the Daoist material

In addition to being heavenly documents, a talisman written on paper could also be a remedy against a given disease or problem. By burning the talisman and have the sick person consume the ashes dissolved in water, it was believed that a cure could be had.

In contrast the talismanic seals, i.e., proper seals for imprinting, are magical tools of control and command.[34] Like talismans they are inscribed with magical/'divine' script or graphic symbols, or a combination of both. By imprinting the seal onto a person or object the Daoist adept was believed to be able to harness the seal's powers to effectuate his command, which could be both benevolent or violent depending on a given case. As already stated talismans and seals overlap in function as devices of healing. Talismans may be worn on the person, placed on the door of a house, but are commonly burnt and ingested, while the seal is imprinted upon the sick person or the part of his or her body where the sickness is believed to dwell.[35]

Talismans and talismanic seals can be found in many of the Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang, chiefly in texts that reflect formations of Esoteric Buddhism.[36] This is surely not a case of something like parallel developments

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from Dunhuang in fact constitute the single most important examples, as many of them can be found in manuscripts predating the late eighth century.

34 Cf. Paul Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang." Here Copp identifies the relevant manuscripts while at the same time providing a characterisation of the seals as follows: "The four manuscripts containing the seal manual (P. 2153, P. 2602, P. 3835, and P. 3874) seem to have been handbooks used by practitioners of a local style of Buddhist ritual practice strongly shaped throughout by native Chinese (perhaps specifically Daoist) forms—one of the chief modes, of course, of what has come to be called 'Buddho-Daoist practice'. Cf. ibid., 199–209. Throughout this study Copp reads *fuyin* (符印) as 'talisman seals' and in doing so conceptualises them as a unity. I take a slightly different approach, and while also seeing them as a unity, as 'talismanic seals', i.e., as seals with a talismanic function, I also allow for the presence of actual talismans (Chin. *fu* 符), i.e., 'heavenly documents' and 'divine prescriptions' within the same context. While this point may on the surface seem a tedious or somewhat unnecessary observation, it nevertheless signals an important difference in ritual function and orientation—something which may actually be more obvious to specialists of Daoism than to those of Chinese Buddhism.

35 For a pioneering study of the use of magical seals in Chinese religious culture, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 123–193.

36 Michel Strickmann was the undisputed pioneer of the study of Buddhist talismans and other aspects of Daoism that the Chinese Buddhists took over during the medieval period. He was also the first to note their presence in the Dunhuang material, and its significance. Unfortunately, his life ended prematurely, and he was unable to expand further on this fascinating aspect of Chinese religion. The next to work extensively with the Buddhist talismanic writing from Dunhuang was Xiao Dengfu, a scholar from Taiwan. Much of his scholarship has been focused on identifying Buddhist borrowings and appropriations of

of practices, as available evidence clearly shows that Buddhism appropriated the use of these magical devices from Daoism in order to serve their own ends.[37] In some cases the Buddhists simply took over orthodox Daoist talismans, but it was more common for them to invent their own, and it is actually possible in most cases from Dunhuang to distinguish Buddhist from Daoist talismans and seals since the former often, but not always, feature Buddhist elements, either symbols or names of buddhas or bodhisattvas.

Buddhist seals and talismans tend to be found in apocryphal literature—whether in scriptures that were copied from Daoism, or in originally composed scripture.[38] However, once talismans and seals began to be adopted in Esoteric Buddhist ritual contexts, they tended to be attributed with new functions and meanings. Incidentally the same holds true for Daoist appropriation of Buddhist practices. As for the talismanic seals in Buddhism, their history is slightly different.[39]

Here one must distinguish between talismans and talismanic seals produced in actual Daoist contexts, and those produced by Buddhists under inspiration from Daoism. The reason is that the talismans and seals had specific and well-defined functions in the Daoist material, most notably as part of various ritual procedures. By contrast in Buddhism, where both were intrinsically alien and do not fit particularly well with the imported Indian practices, in particular with those of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism where they tend to occur, they appear strange and in most cases out of place.

Daoist practices, and he was among the first to document the wider significance of the Daoist-inspired talismans and talismanic seals in the Dunhuang material.

37 The use of 'magic' or 'magical' refers to beliefs that attribute divine or paranormal activity as their perceived operating force, i.e., causation. The use of this term has been criticised, but misconstrued in a positivistic manner in Bumbacher, *Empowered Writing*, 179–186.

38 A very useful study can be found in James Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 48.2 (2008): 130–169. Bumbacher, who otherwise provides an eloquent discussion of talismanic writing in ritual settings, completely ignores the extensive Buddhist material, cf. his *Empowered Writing*, 134–154.

39 Paul Copp, "Seals as Conceptual and Ritual Tools in Chinese Buddhism, ca. 600–1000 CE," *The Medieval Globe* 4.1 (2018), accessed December 30, 2021. https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/tmg/vol4/iss1/3. For the use of seals as reflected in Chinese Buddhist art, see Tom Suchan and Henrik H. Sørensen, "The Talismanic Seal Incorporated: An Iconographic Note on Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan and the Significance of Seals within the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition," *Artibus Asiae* 73.2 (2013): 403–443. See also Arami, "Tonko no minkan shinkō to bukkyō, dōkyō." This is a sensible essay, one that attempts to give an overview of the talismans and talismanic seals we encounter in the Buddhist Dunhuang material written in Chinese. Unfortunately, the author was unaware of the research of Western scholars over the past two decades and more, something which obviously leaves it rather inadequate to the topic as a whole.

There is also the interesting issue of a number of talismans found in the more overt mantic material from Dunhuang. These date from the period of the Tibetan rule over the Dunhuang region and were evidently used in connection with military operations in the Hexi Corridor. Carole Morgan, who has studied the related manuscripts, claims that these talismans are "almost certainly Buddhist and not Taoist" on the grounds "that Buddhism was the predominant religion of the Tibetans."[40] However, to read them as 'Buddhist' on such flimsy ground is in my opinion a rather obvious indication that she is missing an important point. As they stand there is nothing Buddhist about them, neither graphically nor conceptually. They are not even specifically Daoist either (so on that score she is correct), although typologically they of course reflect Daoist practices. The question remains, if the talismans and their accompanying instructions are not Buddhist, and also not really Daoist, what are they? The answer to this is actually rather simple. There can be no doubt that they are Chinese, and as such bear the hallmark of medieval Chinese science, especially its mantic lore and the over-all cosmological system of belief. As both their usage as well as their formats reflect standard examples of Chinese cultural patterns with regard to mantic practices, the only meaningful way of 'reading them', i.e., conceptualising and accessing the context in which they appear in the setting of Tibetan-ruled Dunhuang, is to see them as examples of Tibetan usage of Chinese mantic arts, possibly with a few cultural elements of their own in the mix. And why not? It is well known that the Tibetans were actively adopting and adapting foreign cultural aspects to their own reality, hence it would be almost logical if they made use of Chinese cultural elements in a Tibetan-ruled area such as the part of the Hexi Corridor under their control.

The first example to interest us here is the *Sanwan fo tong genben shenmi zhi yin bing fa Longzhong shangzun wangfo fa* 三萬佛同根本神秘之印並法龍種上尊王佛法 [The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas of the Same Origin, and the Method of the Highest Venerable and Royal Buddha of the Dragon Class] (T. 2906.85/S. 2438 [1–2]).[41] Strickmann pointed

40 Discussed in Carole Morgan, "Mayhem on the Northwest Frontier," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999–2000): 183–215.

41 This singular, but greatly fragmented text has been studied by Strickmann in *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 161–166. While Strickmann does mention the Daoist prescriptions at the beginning of the manuscript, he fails to realise that it actually consists of two separate texts: An untitled series of prescriptions for the preparation of magical medicine, and a text on magical seals entitled *Sanwan fo tong genben shenmi zhi yin bing fa* 三萬佛同根本神祕之印并法 [Thirty-Thousand Buddhas of the Same Origin Seal of Divine Mystery with Methods]. It is clearly the latter of the two which interested Strickmann, although the former is in fact equally so. See also the resumé of T. 2906.85 in Xiao, *Daojiao shuyi yu mijiao dian ji*, 464–467. This offers a useful supplement to Strickmann.

to the various Daoist elements in the manuscript and found that it referred to immortals from the Heaven of Great Purity (Chin. Taiqing tian 太清天), the paradises associated with the Three Pure Ones (Chin. Sanqing 三清) of the Lingbao school of Daoism:[42] the three corpses (Chin. *sanshi* 三尸),[43] avoidance of grain, attainment of longevity, ascendence to heaven (Chin. *shengtian* 昇天), heavenly writ (Chin. *tianwen* 天文), a euphemism for divine communication or talismanic script, use of alcohol,[44] 'breath of heaven' (Chin. *tianqi* 天氣),[45] even the numbers that appear in the prescriptions reflect Daoist ideology. Interestingly the Royal Buddha of the Dragon Class, the primary divinity of the text, is categorised as the 'highest worthy' echoing 'heavenly worthy' (Chin. *tianzun* 天尊), the standard title given a Daoist divinity. Normally, the Buddhist appellation would be 'world honoured one' (Chin. *shizun* 世尊), used for buddhas. Next, mention should be made of the powerful seal around which the discourse of the scripture evolves. The text describes the processes through which it may be manufactured and later used to bestow magical powers upon its user. It is effectuated by chanting a spell, otherwise a standard rite of empowerment of ritual tools common to formal Esoteric Buddhism, except that the concept of this type of seal is not originally Buddhist. In comparison with the prescriptions that appear in the first part of the manuscript, the text of *The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas* has a more 'Buddhist' tone to it, although it is clearly an apocryphal text. Buddhist texts featuring magical seals are comparatively common among the Dunhuang manuscripts, and can be found in a number of local compositions as well as in various apocrypha.[46]

These various instances of Daoist, or perhaps better Daoistic influences, reveal the considerable degree to which Daoist beliefs had entered Buddhist practice. Nevertheless, the over-all conceptual nature of the scripture is unmistakably Buddhist. For instance, the highly important and popular Bodhisattva

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42 See especially the *Dongxuan lingbao ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 洞玄靈寶自然九天章經 [Scripture on the Stanzas of the Natural Life Spirits from the Nine Heavens of the Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure] (DZ 318.5). It is discussed in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, ed., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, vol. 1 (Chicago, London: Chicago University Press), 220.

43 A discussion of how to rid oneself of the 'three corpses', actually bodily worms (= bacteria), is given considerable space in the manuscript's part of prescriptions for healing. Again, this shows the close relationship that persisted in the medieval imagination between religion and healing.

44 Alcohol is otherwise forbidden in Buddhism.

45 For a traditional discussion of this central concept, see Yunji qiqian 雲笈七籤 [The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel], vol. 2, annotated by Li Yongsheng 李永晟 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 653–659.

46 See Copp, "Manuscript Culture as Ritual Culture in Late Medieval Dunhuang."

Avalokiteśvara also makes his appearance in *The Divine and Secret Seal of the Thirty-Thousand Buddhas*, thus underscoring that the scripture represents a hybrid Buddho-Daoist scripture.

Another case is that of the *Talismans and Seals of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* (S. 2498) mentioned above. This is a lengthy manuscript featuring a series of ritual practices related to one of the forms of Avalokiteśvara in which an entire series of talismans and talismanic seals occur in the context of Esoteric Buddhist ritual instructions. What is interesting to note in this context is that the section where the majority of the seals and talismans can be found is somewhat divorced from the ritual proceedings, as if they were essentially foreign to them (which of course they also were).

There are two interesting Esoteric Buddhist scriptures to be found in the printed Chinese canons, the *Huiji jingang shuo shentong da man tuoluoni fashu lingyao men* 穢跡金剛說神通大滿陀羅尼法術靈要門 [The Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma Utters the Divine and Penetrating Great and Complete Dhāraṇī Method of the Numinous, Essential Approach] (T. 1228.21), and its companion volume *Weiiji jingang jin bai bianfa jing* 穢跡金剛禁百變法經 [The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods of the Prevention of the One Hundred Transformations] (T. 1229.21), the translation of which has been attributed to Ajitasena (fl. beginning of 8th c.). Both belong to the cult of the *vajrapāla* Ucchuṣma (a.k.a. Mahābala).[47] Of these two, it is the latter which holds a special interest for us here, as it features a series of 46 Daoist-style seals and talismans including directions for their use. It so happens that both of these works have been partially preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts, something which not only indicates their authenticity as medieval texts, but also that they were from early on considered a pair (P. 3047.11, [1–2]).[48] It is almost certain that *The Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma utters the Divine and Penetrating Great* and *The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods* were not conceived in Dunhuang or Central Asia, since other versions of both texts were transmitted in China, eventually to be included in the *Ōbaku Canon* (Jap. Ōbaku Zōkyō 黃檗藏經).[49] Moreover, for the latter of the two scriptures, it is clear that it is not a translation *per se*, given that the section on talismans could only

47 For the cult of this demon-protector, see Yang Zhaohua, "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchusma in Tang China" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2013).

48 CMCT 3, 38. In 1983, when this part of the catalogue was published, the significance of these two texts went largely unnoticed.

49 For the use of these talismans and seals in Uyghur Buddhism in Turfan, see Yukiyo Kasai, "Talismans used by the Uyghur Buddhists and their Relationship with the Chinese Tradition," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 527–556.

have been conceived in China. Even so, the presence of the latter of the two scriptures among the Dunhuang manuscripts would appear to have exerted a considerable impact on the adaptation and use of talismanic lore among local Buddhists. The seals and talismans and accompanying spells of the latter text correspond closely to those of the printed text, indicating that they did indeed form part of the original version.[50]

In this latter case the talismanic material functions as a kind of ritual addenda to what are otherwise mainstream ritual sequences of Esoteric Buddhism. When comparing *The Scripture on the Vajrapāla Ucchuṣma's Methods* against other Buddhist texts featuring Daoistic talismans from Dunhuang, it is rather evident that by the late medieval period it had become common to insert seals and talismans into scriptures, especially those relating to ritual practices.

As a final remark on the presence of such talismanic seals and talismans, it is important to be aware that, although these ritual tools were borrowed from Daoism, it did not mean that the Daoist ritual procedures that normally accompany them were also taken over by the Buddhists. Their meaning and function were to a large extent re-configured, as we have just seen, to fit into the wider Buddhist ritual and conceptual universe. This meant that the inclusion of talismans and seals served as an addition to Buddhist practices. In other words, they gave a further dimension to Buddhist rituals, and as time wore on gradually became part of Buddhism. Hence, when we encounter talismanic seals and talismans in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang, they had long since become an integrated part of Buddhist practice.

8 Medicine

In recent years scholars in the field of Chinese Buddhist studies have come to realise that the sources relating to different aspects of traditional Chinese medicine hold a lot of promise from the perspective of providing new information and new insights on the interplay between Chinese culture and Buddhism during the medieval period.[51] In this regard the Dunhuang material is especially

50 CMCT 3, 38.

51 See C. Pierce Salguero, "Research Note—A Missing Link in the History of Chinese Medicine: Research Note on the Medical Contents of the Taishō Tripiṭaka," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 47 (2018): 93–119. Additional information can be found in Han Guozheng 韩国正, "Zhong Ri yixue wendian zhong de Seng shen fang yanjiu 中日医学文献中的僧深方研究 [A Study of the Seng shen fang as Found in Chinese and Japanese Medical Books]" (MA thesis, Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyi kexueyuan, 2012). Buddhist prescriptions, both clinical as well as those based on magic in some form, appear

rich and may throw further light not only on Buddhist medicine and its impact on Chinese culture, but certainly also the other way round.[52] Unsurprisingly the presence of Daoist or Daoistic practices can be found reflected in many of the relevant Buddhist manuscripts to varying degrees. One reason for this is that many Daoist adepts were also experts in traditional Chinese medicine; many even authored or compiled important materia medica.[53]

The relationship between Buddhism and medicine in medieval Dunhuang has already been documented in various, recent writings, so there is no need for us to repeat here what has already been said.[54] However, one should understand that this relationship rested on a number of factors over and beyond strictly medicinal concerns. Although the transmission of the lore of traditional Chinese (as well as Indian and Tibetan) medicine was not the sole province of Buddhist clerics, it would appear that much of this knowledge was

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in a number of traditional materia medica from as well China as the rest of East Asia, including the important Japanese compilation *Ishinpō* 醫心方 [The Heart of Medicinal Prescriptions] from the late tenth century; see https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=156143, accessed December 30, 2021.

52 See Li Yingcun 李應存, *Dunhuang foshu yu chuantong yixue* 敦煌佛書與傳統醫學 [Buddhist Books from Dunhuang and the Study of Traditional Medicine] (Taibei: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2013).

53 These include among others Tao Hongjing's (456–536, 陶弘景) *Bencao ji zhu xu lu* 本草集注序錄 [Annotated Preface and Record of the Bencao ji] (P. 3714R°); and Sun Simiao (581–682, 孫思邈), who is credited with writing the *Qian jin yifang* 千金翼方 [Prescriptions for Aid Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces], accessed December 30, 2021. https://www.kanripo.org/text/KR5e0065/. For a discussion of the Daoist involvement in the medicinal culture of China, see also Chen Ming 陈明, "Fang jia, liandan yu Xitu yao—Zhong gu daojiao yixue yu wailai wenhua chutan 方家, 炼丹与西土药—中古道教医学与外来文化初探 [Doctors, Refining the Potions of Immortality, and Western Medicine: A Discussion of Medicinal Study in Ancient Chinese Daoism and Foreign Culture]," *Shilin* 史林 [Forest of History] 2 (2013): 48–60.

54 For a comprehensive overview of medical texts relating to Buddhism from Dunhuang, see *Dunhuang foshu yu chuantong yixue* 敦煌佛书与传统医学 [Buddhist Books from Dunhuang and the Study of Traditional Medicine], compiled by Li Yingxu 李应存 (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2013). See also Li Yingxu 李应存 and Shi Zhenggang 史正刚, "Cong Dunhuang foshu zhong de yixue neirong tan fojiao de shisu hua 从敦煌佛书中的医学内容谈佛教的世俗化 [On the Secularisation of Buddhism in Dunhuang based on Medicinal Contents in Buddhist Books]," *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 [Journal of Dunhuang Studies] 4 (2007): 111–116. Apart from the fact that the article's authors are mistaken with regard to their conceptualisation of 'Buddhist secularization', the article offers useful background information on the presence of medical discourses in the Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang. For a study on the transmission of Buddhist medicinal lore in Dunhuang, see Geoffrey C. Goble, "Three Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang: The Scripture on Healing Diseases, the Scripture Urging Goodness, and the New Bodhisattva Scripture," *Asian Medicine* 12 (2017): 265–278.

actually transmitted by this category of religious professional, monks in particular. One should also remember that the Daoist religion, which was the prime originator of medical treatises during the Tang, was no longer directly active in Dunhuang after the area was taken by the imperial Tibetan army in the second half of the eighth century.[55] The practical implications of this meant that the practice of medicine in Dunhuang after that time would to a large extent have been handled by Buddhist monks (possibly nuns as well?), and trained members of the laity, i.e., doctors and performers of healing (Chin. *wu* 巫). This is something which is also reflected in the relevant corpus of manuscripts.[56]

The Buddhist imprint on and transmission of medical lore in Dunhuang means that, even in the cases where we are obviously dealing with traditional Chinese materia medica and *bona fide* Daoist medical prescriptions, they were in the majority of cases—and as far as we can tell—taking place within the settings of Buddhist monasteries.[57] This meant that medicinal lore, whether of the belief type or the actual test-based variety (clinical medicine), and Buddhist beliefs, had a tendency to be conflated and mixed-up. Incidentally, this is something which also holds true for many medicinal prescriptions directly related to Daoism.[58] Moreover, this trend was amplified by a continuous influx of both foreign as well as new Chinese material that arrived in the Hexi region up throughout the ninth and tenth centuries.

Although prescriptions for the healing of various diseases and other ailments were mixed up in both religious and medical texts, for practical and analytical reasons it does make sense to distinguish between these two categories

55 For a highly useful survey of medical practices reflected in the Dunhuang material, see Catherine Despeux, "Buddhist Healing Practices at Dunhuang in the Medieval Period," in *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, ed. C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), 118–159.

56 See Gao Guofan 高國藩, *Zhongguo wushu shi* 中国巫术史 [The History of Chinese Witchcraft] (Shanghai: Shanghai san shuju, 1999).

57 A discussion of Buddhist monks as doctors in Dunhuang can be found in Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林 and Dang Xinling 黨新玲, "Tang dai Dunhuang seng yi kao 唐代敦煌僧醫考 [Concerning Monks and Medicine in Dunhuang During the Tang Dynasty]," *Dunhuang xue* 敦煌學 [Dunhuang Studies] 20 (1995): 31–46. For an attempt at providing visual examples of medicinal practices in Dunhuang, mainly reflecting data from Buddhist murals, see Wang Jinyu 王進玉 (translated with Lu Di 蘆笛), "Images of Healing, Hygiene and the Cultivation of the Body in the Dunhuang 251 Cave Murals," in *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 251–270. This rather fanciful study of imagery relating to medicinal practices in the Mogao Caves provides several interesting examples of pictorial imagination. However, it offers little in terms of medicinal practices in Dunhuang as such.

58 See Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 1–57. This offers one of the best overviews of medicinal practices in Daoism.

of medicinal prescriptions, mainly because they tend to operate on different levels: a faith based one, and a proper medical one as understood by modern science today. Even so, a given cure may be attributed to the application of a medicinal prescription based on herbs, etc., while at the same time the patient would pray to buddhas and spirits for healing, or have certain rituals performed on his or her behalf. In the case of a successful cure, which of the two approaches was the one which caused the patient to recover? Was it the compound, *bona fide* medicine or divine beings? Or was it a combination of the two? Perhaps it therefore makes better sense to simply add a third category to the above two, namely one which builds on a mixture of both. Certainly the primary sources allow us to do so. After all we are dealing with material from the medieval period in China and Eastern Central Asia, where the conceptual demarcation between belief and practical function was very slim indeed.

It is highly instructive to find an example of such prescriptions in the form of an epigraph in situ in the Longmen Caves (Chin. Longmen ku 龍門窟).[59] While this medical prescription does not reflect specific Daoist concerns *per se*, it is obviously not coincidental to find a prescription of this kind in one of the holiest sites of Chinese Buddhism. Indeed, when looking more closely at the context in which the epigraph occurs, Buddhism rather than Daoism is apparent. Even so, it is obvious that the prescription itself originated in traditional Chinese medicinal lore, and not in that of Buddhism or Indian Ayurvedic medicine as could perhaps be imagined.

Although part of the traditional Sinitic medical lore the Chinese Buddhists incorporated as part of the process of inculturation, the belief in deceases caused by 'flying corpses' (Chin. *feishi* 飛屍), or 'corpse transmission' (Chin. *chuanshi* 傳屍), a belief which took on special forms when adapted to Buddhist ritual practices. Belief in the disease of corpse transmission has a fairly long history in China, and is one of those which may have entered formal Daoism as early as the Eastern Han (25–220, 東漢). In Dunhuang this belief, which in effect straddles the categories of religious belief and traditional, functional science, is noticeable in several manuscripts, including both medical and *bona fide* religious texts. It is not the place here to venture deeply into this otherwise highly interesting area of study, except to provide a few examples with which to

59 See Zhang Ruixian, Wang Jiakui, and Michael Stanley-Baker, "Clinical Medicine Texts: The Earliest Stone Medical Inscription," in *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, ed. Vivienne Lo et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 373–389. See also Wan Fang 万方, "Guanyu Longmen shiku Yaofang dong yaofang de jige wenti 关于龙门石窟药方洞药方的几个问题 [A Number of Issues Regarding Medical Prescriptions in the Cave of Medical Prescriptions in the Longmen Caves at Guanyu]," *Hunan keji daxue xuebao* 湖南科技大学学报 [Journal of Hunan Technical University] 6 (1989): 74–78.

get the basic ideas across. We also find here the idea of the five body-dwelling worms or bacteria living off people eating grains (meaning essentially all Chinese). This is a belief that in Daoism became closely associated with the lifespan of humans and, as such, part of the idea that the determination of human life spans were judged and evaluated by astral gods dwelling in the Great Dipper (Chin. Beidou 北斗), the seat of the bureau of human lifespan. It was believed that on a certain day of the month, the cyclical *shengeng* day, the body-dwelling worms went to heaven to report on the misdeeds of their hosts (Chin. *shou shengeng ri* 守申庚日).[60] This idea also entered Buddhism, although in a somewhat modified form.[61]

In some of the relevant manuscripts found at Dunhuang we see types of text which consist of an integrated mix of liturgical materials and medicinal prescriptions of the magical category. One such manuscript is S. 5598V° which also features various Buddhist hymns, i.e., liturgical material. Among the texts contained in this manuscript we find one entitled *Pishamen tianwang feng Xuan heshang shenmiao buxin wan fang* 毗沙門天王奉宣和尚神妙補心丸方 [The Divine and Wondrous Prescription for Pills with which to Restore the Mind Bestowed by the Heavenly King Vaiśravana on Venerable Xuan], a prescription for a strong tonic in pill form for invigorating the mind of Buddhist practitioners.[62] The prescription itself does not refer to Daoism as such, but the compounds of medicine which go into making these pills clearly reflect a Chinese cultural background rather than an Indian one. Again, it is noteworthy that the text of the prescription makes a known Buddhist cultural hero a transmitter of magical pills, namely Vaiśravaṇa. The text reads:

60 For a study of this practice, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Daojiao shou gengshen dui fojiao jingji zhi yingxiang 道教守庚申對佛教經籍之影響 [The Influence of the Daoist shou gengshen on Buddhist Scriptures]," accessed June 5, 2021. http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-MAG/119594.pdf. See also Livia Kohn, "Kōshin: Expelling Daoist Demons through Buddhist Means," in *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and Their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*, ed. Jeffrey L. Richey (London: Routledge, 2015), 148–176.

61 Cf. Arthur, Shawn, "Life without Grains: Bigu and the Daoist Body," in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, ed. Livia Kohn (Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006), 91–122. The practice of grain-avoidance in both Daoism and Buddhism is also given considerable attention in Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 23–54.

62 The Venerable Xuan, who appears in the title, most likely refers to Daoxuan (596–667, 道宣), the celebrated vinaya master and scholar monk of Mt. Nan (Chin. Nan shan 南山) outside the Tang capital Chang'an (長安, modern Xi'an 西安). Otherwise, Venerable Xuan does not appear in the text itself.

> [(Take)] clean, dried yam,[63] clean, dried yellow soil, eucommia,[64] one hundred sections, protected from the wind, common ginseng, red ginseng,[65] China Root,[66] fritillaria, lactose, the five flavours, rock calamus, asparagus with their hearts removed, roasted sweet grass, milkwort, and pine seeds. These medicinal ingredients of seventeen flavours must be finely cut and rinsed to get rid of particles. Clean and dry it by roasting, and finally take plain honey to make pills, [(which should be)] big like a marble ball. Every day with an empty mind swallow one pill slowly together with the saliva. Get rid of the dregs using a cup to swallow it down. Take a potion and [(after)] ten to twenty days one's limbs will be pure and elegant, after thirty days the bones will be strong, one's body will be at ease. One will not be startled or have doubts, the mind will open, one's intellectual capacities will grow, and one's bone marrow will be fortified. Eating it [(i.e., the pills)] for a long time will stop the process of ageing (?), one's virtue will be extensive and great [(in a way that)] cannot be fathomed.[67]

As is apparent from this prescription, it mainly consists of natural ingredients and appears as a *bona fide* medicinal prescription. The magical part is when its effects are described. There it is openly stated that, by consuming it on a regular basis for an extended time, the patient/practitioner will attain supernatural powers. It is also noteworthy, that it has essentially no religious address. The only thing that remotely connects it with Buddhism is its title, in which Vaiśravana is included. Otherwise, the pill is simply presented as a powerful medicine.

Another similar text is the prescription entitled *Guanyin pusa zuisheng miao xiangjiu fa* 觀音菩薩最勝妙香丸法 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Highly Victorious and Majestic Method of Fragrant Pills] (P. 2637R° (2), P. 3912R° (4), and P. 2703R°) (see Appendix B).[68] This prescription is meant for ascetic

63 Lat. *Dioscorea opposita*.

64 Lat. *Eucommia ulmoides*.

65 Lat. *Tuckahoe; poris cocos*.

66 Chin. *fushen* (茯神).

67 S. 5598V°: 毗沙門天王奉宣和尚神妙補心丸方: 乾薯蕷, 乾地黃, 杜仲百節[部]方[防]風, 芒[人]參, 丹參, 茯苓, 茯神, 貝母, 乳糖, 五味子, 石菖蒲, 麥門冬去...[心]甘草炮過, 遠志, 柏子, 仁右[?]. 上件藥, 十七味, 細挫, 法去塵, 幹焙為末. 煉白粉蜜為丸如彈子大, 每日空心嚥一丸, 徐徐咽津, 去滓, 細嚼嚥下. 服十日, 二十日口支[肢]清雅, 三十日骨健身安不驚疑. 開心益智, 補髓, 久食駐顏, 功力廣大不可述.

68 For a lengthy discussion of this prescription, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Dunhuang xiejuan suojian shou daojiao bigu shiqi sixiang yingxiang de fojing 敦煌寫卷所見受道教避穀食氣思想影響的佛經 [On the Influence of the Daoist Ideas of Grain-Avoidance and

monks, who venture deep into the mountains to practise meditation or chant spells. When they experience hunger, they are to prepare the special, fragrant pills laid out in the text, so as to gradually learn to avoid eating solid food at all. The text is replete with Daoist notions of grain-avoidance and belief in the power of ingesting vital energy into the body.

9 Longevity Beliefs and Practices

Much of the longevity-related beliefs and practices one frequently encounters in the Buddhist Dunhuang material ultimately derives from Daoism. It is obvious that speculations on how to prolong life was not solely a Daoist concern, but one which is also addressed in numerous canonical and non-canonical Buddhist scriptures. Nevertheless, the Buddhist beliefs related to longevity we find reflected in the Dunhuang manuscripts outside the canonical literature overwhelmingly reflect Daoist formulations rather than Buddhist ones.[69] The reason for this is that in the Sinitic cultural sphere traditional longevity beliefs are not only very common, they are in many ways central to our understanding of Chinese spirituality. Hence, and as already seen in a number of the cases presented here, Chinese Buddhism bought into and appropriated many of the related Daoist types of belief, including ways to prolong life. This situation was not unique to Dunhuang, but rather reflects a broad tendency in medieval Chinese Buddhism.[70]

These longevity beliefs and practices in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang fall into three distinct categories: (A) one that pertains to the performance of physical exercises that were believed to assist the practitioner in attaining long life, such as special forms of meditation; (B) those that are obtained through the use of magical prescriptions; and (C) ritual performance involving the use of spells and sometimes also talismans as discussed above.

Ingesting Qi in Buddhist Scriptures as Seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts]," *Zongjiao xue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 [Research in Religious Studies] 2 (2002): 1–13. Christine Mollier refers to the prescription briefly in her *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 35–36, n. 44.

69 For important examples see *Foshuo yanshou ming jing* 佛說延壽命經 [Scripture on the Extension of Lifespan Spoken by the Buddha] (T. 2888.85), as well as the popular Xu ming jing 續命經 [Scripture on the Extension of the Span of Life] (T. 2889.85), etc. The idea of heavenly spies descending to the human realm to report on wrongdoings, whereby human lifespan is shortened, can be found in the *Foshuo jiuji jing* 佛說救疾經 [Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Salvation from Disease] (T. 2878.85), a scripture which was also circulated in Dunhuang during the late medieval period.

70 Cf. Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 100–133.

One may debate whether longevity practices should formally be conceptualised as belonging to religion or instead to medical/hygienic practices, as they could easily be placed in both on the grounds that they fit both categories equally well. Even so, here it has been placed in a category of its own. The reason for this is that these practices tend to fall under the category of hygienic practices in Buddhism, but are mainly seen as religious from the Daoist perspective. In contrast to Buddhism, longevity practices are central to Daoism for mainly soteriological reasons. This can be seen from the status enjoyed by the religion's primary category of saints, usually referred to as immortals (Chin. *xianshen* 仙神).[71]

There is also a tradition of longevity practices in Chinese Buddhism that derives from Indian sources, more specifically in Esoteric Buddhism. There the attainment of longevity is understood as the result of the accumulation of personal accomplishments (Skt. *siddhi*) through prolonged ascetic practices and austerities. However, in the context of Chinese Buddhism many of the documented cases concerning life-prolongation reflect to some extent Daoist beliefs. For instance, various techniques of meditation aiming at breath control, including inner circulation of vital energy, are integral to the Buddhist tradition broadly defined.[72] In Dunhuang that material can be found integrated with Daoist longevity techniques, more specifically methods deriving from the tradition of inner alchemy, which again harkens back to the pre-Daoist hygienic traditions of ancient China.[73]

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts we find a number of texts that invoke the figure of Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530), the so-called First Patriarch of Chan Buddhism (Chin. *chanzong* 禪宗), not as a promoter of Buddhism *per se*, but of Daoist practices belonging to the tradition of inner alchemy. Although not constituting a large amount of texts, the material is sufficiently extensive to show

71 This also explains why Buddhist saints, when appropriated into the Daoist fold, often appear as masters of longevity-related practices. Cf. Henrik H. Sørensen, "Looting the Pantheon: On the Daoist Appropriation of Buddhist Divinities and Saints," *e-Journal of East & Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 57–79. The Chan patriarch Bodhidharma stands as one of the central Buddhist figures incorporated into Daoism, cf. e.g., Joshua Capitano, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43.2 (2015): 119–160; and the more recent study by Stephen Eskildsen, "Bodhidharma Outside Chan Literature: Immortal, Inner Alchemist, and Emissary from the Eternal Realm," *Journal of Chinese Religion* 45.2 (2017): 119–150.

72 The practical dimension of the ingestion of vital energy, *qi* (Chin. *shiqi* 食氣) is discussed in Stephen Jackowicz, "Ingestion, Digestion, and Regestation: The Complexities of Qi Absorption," in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, ed. Livia Kohn (Magdalena: Three Pines Press, 2006), 68–90.

73 See Isabelle Robinet, *Méditation taoïste* (Paris: Dervy Livres, 1979), 214–215.

how Buddhism applied such Daoist practices to its own curriculum on the one hand, and the degree to which Daoism was able to compete with Buddhism in one of its primary areas of expertise, namely meditation. The text in question is titled *Dasheng yaoguan Nantian zhuguo Damo chanshi jiyi* 大乘藥關南天竺國達摩禪師急譯 [Medicinal Gate of Mahāyāna Quickly Translated by the Chan Master Bodhidharma from Southern India; hereafter *Bodhidharma's Text*] (P. 3181).[74] It is a short treatise on meditation with focus on breathing techniques combined with visualisation. A temporal frame for the practice is provided. Towards the end of the text the practitioner is to prepare a special medicine (no ingredients are mentioned), which is to be completed by invoking the Bodhisattva Medicine King with the *Dacheng ruding zhenyan* 大乘入定真言 [Mantra of the Mahāyāna for Entering Samādhī].

Bodhidharma's Text is interesting for a variety of reasons. First of all, it has essentially nothing to do with Bodhidharma or Chan Buddhism *per se*. It is to all intents and purposes and intents a Daoist inner alchemy work that has simply been ascribed to the Chan patriarch by followers of Daoism. It is noteworthy that the *Damo taixi lun* 達磨胎息論 [Bodhidharma's Treatise on Embroynic Breathing] as transmitted via the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel] mentioned above, was evidently also in circulation in Dunhuang as discussed by Cao Ling (曹凌), a young scholar from Shanghai Normal University, who has endeavoured to show that parts of this work can be documented in at least two Dunhuang manuscripts (BD 11491, P. 3043).[75] Provided Cao's research holds water, this would mean that not only was the *Bodhidharma's Treatise on Embroynic Breathing* transmitted in Dunhuang a full century or more before it was incorporated into *The Seven Tallies of the Cloud Satchel*, but despite its strong Daoist imprint, nevertheless circulated in what was otherwise a religious environment dominated by Buddhism. In other words, Daoist inner alchemy practices were in use by local Buddhists in Dunhuang during the tenth century.

74 See Henrik H. Sørensen, "Bodhidharma, Meditation, and Medicine: On the message of a Fragmented Buddhist Medical Text from Dunhuang," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 3.1 (2023).

75 Cao Ling 曹凌, "Damo taixi lun zhuben de cheng li—yi Dunhuang ben wei zhongxin 《達磨胎息論》諸本的成立—以敦煌本為中心 [Accounting for All the Versions of the Damo taixi lun: From the Perspective of the Dunhuang Versions]," *Fagu foxue xuebao* 法鼓佛學學報 [Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies] 23 (2018): 25–67.

10 Astrology and Related Portents

While medieval Indian Buddhism had a developed astrological tradition of its own, much of the material we encounter among the hoard of manuscripts from Dunhuang is predominantly Chinese, i.e., non-Buddhist.[76] However, this did not mean that Buddhist or even Chinese astrological beliefs were limited to those originating in Chinese culture. There are many cases where we find the Indian and Chinese systems mixed up or at least conceptualised as belonging to the inherently same system. In some cases this integration of the two astrological systems caused some problems. These arose when the basic parameters of the two systems were at odds with each other. As is well known, the Sinitic system builds on the five elements as fundamental building blocks for understanding the world in which humans live, whereas the Indian Buddhists—and in the medieval period Chinese Buddhists as well—followed by and large the traditional Indian model using four elements. Over the course of the first centuries of the Common Era Buddhism built on and fine-tuned the traditional Indian system and integrated it with its cosmology and highly detailed analysis of the so-called physical world (Skt. *dharmadhātu*) as found in the copious *abhidharma* literature, constituting one of the structural divisions making up the Buddhist canon (Skt. *tripiṭaka*). This model of comprehension was brought to China in successive waves of cultural and religious imports where it met with and gradually became integrated with the pre-existing Chinese models of understanding. In the case of the Buddhist *abhidharma*, Chinese culture did not have a matching system, at least it did not have one that was as developed and detailed as the Buddhist one.[77] Moreover, *abhidharma* may be understood as a major, 'hard-wired' aspect of Buddhist philosophy and thinking, one which naturally has accompanied the religion's expansion to all the cultures in which it has taken root, and as such is present everywhere in its literature whether Indian in origin or locally produced.

For astrology, and several of the traditional sciences referred to above, this meant that a certain process had to be initiated in order to accommodate the Buddhist understanding of the interrelationship between the asterisms and human beings, with that which prevailed in Chinese culture. The outcome was one in which the two systems were gradually integrated, but also one where fundamental differences and inconsistencies would continue to be present.

76 See 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.

77 See Jeffrey Kotyk, "The Sinicization of Indo-Iranian Astrology in Medieval China," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 282 (2018): 1–95.

The solution to this otherwise challenging issue was actually a simple one, namely to allow the differences to remain, thereby creating a parallel system. Only quite late, around the middle of the tenth century, do we see a tendency for the Indic astrological system to become less apparent and the Sinitic system eventually to dominate. Even so, the Indic system never ceased to function entirely, and there were periods where it reasserted itself, such as during the Tangut Empire (1038–1227, in Chinese sources known as Xixia 西夏) and under the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) when Tibetan Buddhist influences became particularly strong.

In the nature of things astrology, whether Indian or Chinese, is a traditional science, and as one such it combines *bona fide* observations of planets and stars with specific sets of beliefs based on these. Obviously this means that astrology should not be considered a science as we understand it today, but in effect a system of comprehending the cosmos that is closer to religious belief proper. In both the Indian and Chinese systems the asterisms were identified as divinities or spirits, and while careful and methodic observations of the sky were made, astrological readings and interpretations of the movements of the celestial bodies including seeing omens. The writing of talismans, as discussed above, was originally a means of communicating with the gods in heaven. In time, this became a major aspect of the ritual practices in formal Daoism. Many of the designs and magical symbolism common to talismans are directly related to astrological beliefs. Hence, the Buddhist use of similar (and sometimes the same) talismanic designs, is of course an example of a shared if not appropriated practice.

Over the course of the Tang the strong Esoteric Buddhist influence in the twin capitals of the empire meant that a wave of Indian astrological material was introduced and also produced.[78] In particular the Indian masters associated with the establishment of a mature Esoteric Buddhism contributed greatly to this development.[79] This not only impacted the development of Chinese Buddhism broadly conceived, but also found its way into state-astrology.[80] Even so, traditional Chinese astrology, including calendrical science and the reading of portents in the sky, did not decline, but continued to develop on

78 For a detailed discussion of this phase in the astrological history of China, see Jeffrey Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017).

79 See Jeffrey Kotyk, "Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism: Timing of Rituals According to Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing," *Canadian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13 (2018): 1–29.

80 See Bill Mak, "Astral Science of the East Syriac Christians in China during the Late First Millennium AD," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16 (2016): 87–92.

its own terms, and by the end of the dynasty, there is a tendency—even in the Buddhist material—that the Sinitic system had become the dominant one, although in a somewhat modified form.

In the Dunhuang material we see this entire development reflected in the extant documents, i.e., in the Chinese non-Buddhist material, and in the more overt Buddhist writings, including prayers and ritual texts, where astrological notions in a more popular form can be documented.[81] As such the astrological material from Dunhuang does not in a specific manner deviate much from other fields in the traditional sciences in medieval China. However, it reinforces the already established assertion that the Daoist elements evident in Chinese astrology were in large measures adhered to by local Buddhists as well. However, as elsewhere in the Chinese cultural sphere it was augmented by data deriving from the Buddhist astrological traditions from India (and perhaps ancient Persia as well).

A good part of the astrological material as used by the Buddhists in Dunhuang concerns worship and ritual proceedings to avoid disasters believed to be caused by the movements of the celestial bodies. Thus we find the Daoist, semi-mythological figure of Ge Xiangong (葛仙公), a.k.a. Ge Xuan (164–244, 葛玄), appearing in the Buddhist context.[82] One text of particular note is the *Ge Xiangong li Beidou fa* 葛仙公禮北斗法 [Ge Xiangong's Method for Worshipping of the Great Dipper] (P. 2675). The material in which this printed text was found belonged to the renowned government official and prominent lay Buddhist Zhai Fengda (881–959?, 翟奉達), and documents the extent to which Daoist or Daoistic practices had become part of Buddhism in the late medieval period. Evidently, Zhai Fengda was a worshipper of the Great Dipper,

81 See Yoichi Isahaya and Jyuh Fuh Lin, "Entangled Representation of Heaven: A Chinese Divination Text from a Tenth-Century Dunhuang Fragment (P. 4071)," *Historia Scientiarum* 26.3 (2017): 153–171. See also Yu Xin, "Personal Fate and the Planets: A Documentary and Iconographical Study of Astrological Divination at Dunhuang, Focusing on the 'Dhāraṇī Talisman for Offerings to Ketu and Mercury, Planetary Deity of the North'," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 163–190; and Christine Mollier, "Astrological Talismans and Paper Amulets from Dunhuang: Typology and Function," *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 [Studies in Dunhuang and Turfan] 2 (2015): 505–519.

82 Ge Xiangong a.k.a. Ge Xuan, is an important a semi-mythological figure in Daoist history. He was the spiritual ancestor of the celebrated Ge Hong (283–343, 葛洪). On Ge Xuan's appropriation by the Buddhists, see Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福, "Cong 'Dazang jing' suoshou fojing zhong kan daojiao xingdou chongbai dui fojiao zhi yingxiang 從大正藏所收佛經中看道教星斗崇拜對佛教之影響 [The Influence of Daoist Astral Lore on Buddhism to be Found in the Buddhist Scriptures in the Taishō Tripitaka]," *Taizhong shangzhuan xuebao* 台中商專學報 [Journal of Taizhong Business School] 23 (1991): 105–156.

Daoist style, while at the same time being an ardent Buddhist.[83] However, Ge Xuan's incorporation into Buddhist astral worship is not an isolated case, but can also be documented in the important *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 [The Indian Hora (System) and Nine Celestial Bodies] (T. 1311.21, 462a), a work incorrectly ascribed to the important Esoteric Buddhist master and astrologer Yixing (673–727, 一行).[84]

The presence and/or influence of Daoism in Buddhist astrological beliefs is to a large extent similar to the material on talismans discussed above, probably best reflected in the ritual material relating to Esoteric Buddhism, as well as in surviving examples of iconography and imagery. However, the question remains whether this influence was directly from Daoism to Buddhism, or whether it was part of the traditional Chinese sciences that the religion encountered in China. Probably it was a mixture of both.

11 Conclusion

It is clear from what has been presented here that it is not a very fruitful exercise to essentialise a given religion by insisting on its peculiarities and distinctions to the exclusion of those elements it contains that are culturally speaking more complex, multifarious and ambivalent. This is even more true when discussing a religion that has been transplanted to another culture, where elements of displacement and misunderstanding are in most documented cases not only evident, but endemic. Such is really the case with Chinese Buddhism, which in its progress from India to East Asia underwent multiple changes and transformations, some more radical than others, but all of such a nature that it underwent fundamental alterations. When seen as a Sinitic form of Buddhism that thrived on the margin of the Chinese cultural sphere, Buddhism in Dunhuang was obviously no exception to this. Therefore, it makes better sense to characterise it as a hybrid religion which encompassed not only all the basic cultural formations from China, but those from several other cultures as well, thereby becoming a veritable religious melting pot.

83 See Xie Shiwei 謝世維, "Lidou fa de lishi yu jin xiandai de douke 禮斗法的歷史與近現代的斗科 [The History of the Method for Worshipping the Great Dipper and Contemporary Dipper Customs]," Special Project Report, National Chengchi University, 2015, accessed June 20, 2021. https://ah.nccu.edu.tw/bitstream/140.119/115426/1/104-2410-H-004-185.pdf.

84 Cf. Jeffrey Kotyk, "Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing: A Misunderstood Astronomer-Monk," *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 31 (2018): 1–37.

It goes without saying that the Daoist impact on Buddhism was not limited to Dunhuang, nor was it particularly strong there in comparison to elsewhere in the Chinese heartlands. Surely the same situation would have applied throughout the Chinese Empire. Daoism, or rather its beliefs, were simply a major factor in Sinitic Buddhism as well as in the other East Asian cultures.

When looking closely at Daoist input in the Buddhist material from Dunhuang, we can clearly identify certain areas of practice in which there is a notable densification. Those areas include ritual practices broadly envisaged, afterlife beliefs, including yearning for longevity, and a range of those traditional sciences, such as medicine, astrology, prognostication, geomancy, etc., where Sinitic cultural practices impacted Chinese Buddhism from early on. Since many of these practices and beliefs were also shared by Daoism (in fact a good many of them actually originated in Daoist contexts), it is neither surprising nor otherwise enigmatic that there should have been a mutual blending or infiltration in the cross-field between the two religions, as indeed there was. Although, I have remained mostly focused on Buddhist appropriations and borrowings from Daoism here, it is self-evident that the same took place the other way around—and this has been shown in several scholarly writings elsewhere.

The impact of Daoism on the development of Chinese Buddhism was already felt during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (and vice versa), which means that over the course of the Tang the beliefs and practices characterising both traditions had become deeply intwined, some significantly so. The import of this situation was that in effect parts of Chinese Buddhism had a Daoist hue, and the same was the case for Daoism. This fact makes it difficult to meaningfully talk about 'pure Buddhism' or 'pure Daoism', as both were obviously containing and building on aspects of the other. The same goes of course for Buddhism and Chinese culture in broader terms. Such entanglement is surely not limited to Chinese Buddhism, but could as easily be envisaged has having taken place with regard to other religious formations worldwide. This observation could lead one to speculate whether such phenomena as 'pure religion' or 'essential religion' ever existed except in the minds of scholars with a pronounced positivist inclination, or of fundamentalists, for whom proper, historical and cultural analysis is largely irrelevant.

In the end it is impossible to take out of Chinese Buddhism the cultural and religious imprint from Daoism, and we should therefore accept that this presence has been part and parcel of Chinese Buddhism in various forms and degrees since the very beginning of the religion's history in China. However, this does not mean that there was not a well-defined and self-conscious Chinese Buddhism historically and religiously. Surely there was, as the many Buddhist

histories written by Chinese Buddhist monks document. Nevertheless, the Chinese Buddhist vision can always be seen as having allowed a certain amount of non-Buddhist beliefs and practices as accepted aspects of itself. As we have seen, this included salient elements of the Daoist religion which clearly affected the development of Buddhism in Dunhuang.

Appendix A

Sifang jingang zhou 四方金剛咒 [Vajrapāla Spells for the Four Directions]. P. 3835V° (5)/S. 2615.

四方金剛咒
奉請東方青面金剛來入道場.
牙入劍樹, 眼似流星, 口如血盆, 手
執金槍, 獅子似瓜, 似金鉤. 不食五穀, 純食
走誦白虎, 邪魔魍魎, 朝食三
千, 暮食八百. 次一不捉下府[符]來索.
急急如律令勒攝. 南西北方各念一遍
　噴三噴. 誦四方呪,
　後念破傷呪, 一七遍. 每遍噴三噴.

Appendix B

Guanyin pusa zuisheng miao xiangjiu fa 觀音菩薩最勝妙香丸法 [Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Highly Victorious and Majestic Method of Fragrant Pills]. P. 2637R° (2), P. 3912R° (4), and P. 2703R°.

爾時觀世音菩薩告大梵天王: 卻後未來, 五濁惡世之時, 十魔競起, 三災八難, 刀兵飢饉, 草劫諸難生時, 若有比丘入於深山坐禪持咒, 修無上道, 飢火所迫, 我為人說妙香丸法, 令此比丘永得解脫, 不遭水火之難, 大小便利, 息比斷絕, 得如來大圓鏡海, 壽千萬歲, 獲五神通. 妙香丸法, 但依經修合.

　毗夜那（防風）諾迦多（仁參）必屑 矜[?]睿 摩那（朱砂）
　達多夜松脂練過 菅眾禹 石餘 朱滕 茯苓白蜜（三兩）

　右件藥各一兩, 新好者, 細搗為末, 練蜜為丸, 丸如彈子大. 若要服時, 於佛前禮拜, 發至願, 當度眾生. 用糯米一升, 杏仁一合, 白臘壹兩, 相和煮粥, 飽食一頓, 後更吞大豆一合, 一丸, 後用乳香湯下一丸, 得八十日. 後又服一丸, 三十二個月. 後更吞一丸, 得終身也, 永脫飢渴之苦. 至須誡

貪嗔, 五辛, 酒肉等物. 若力怯時, 可餐棗[煮]三七顆助之, 一月已來, 定無疑也. 若要開食, 即喫葵菜湯轉下, 後以香水洗藥, 於生土坑內埋三七日, 取出. 如服, 依前法食之. 後念天王護身真言[...][85]念諸真言及服藥, 一年後, 身輕目明; 二年, 諸根通利, 大藏經一轉無遺; 三年後, 疾如風; 五年後, 水上不沒; 七年後, 入火不燒; 十年, 萬病不侵; 十年五, 肉眼變為天眼; 廿一年, 知一切眾生心念, 如來大圓鏡海, 壽命無量, 一切無礙, 是真沙門也.

85 Here the manuscript presupposes a *mantra* to be used. However, it is actually not given.