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# Princeton's Manuscript Fragments from Tun-Huang

JUDITH OGDEN BULLITT

Among the recent acquisitions at the Gest Library are eighty-three manuscripts, mostly fragments, from the legendary oasis settlement of Tun-huang, Kansu, in the far northwest of China. Most are scraps found in the early years of World War II at the great Buddhist center, "piously put together and saved as religious offerings."<sup>1</sup> Many are written or printed on both sides, reminding us not only of the deep reverence with which the written word was regarded, but also of the scarcity of paper in this distant outpost of the Chinese empire. The Princeton manuscripts, together with materials at Harvard brought back by Langdon Warner from his 1923-25 expedition, form the only major examples in the United States of this extraordinary treasure. For, as in most of the imperialist competitions of the nineteenth century, the United States came in late. Whether for continents or for antiquities, the British, French, Germans, and Russians were already there, and the great collections of Tun-huang manuscripts, paintings, sculptures, and banners are now to be found in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Musée Guimét, the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, as well as in Kyoto and in Beijing. Collections now lost were once in the Berlin Ethnological Museum; and the Ōtani finds once were housed in the library of the Japanese-Manchurian government at Ryōjun.

The story of the sealed library at Tun-huang is well known and much recounted.<sup>2</sup> But even before the Taoist Wang Yuan-lu uncovered the cache of documents in Cave 17 in 1899, now dispersed around the world, other manuscripts from the desert oases were turning up on the Western market, whetting the appetites of major museum directors and collectors. Sir Aurel

Stein first learned of this potential source of antiquities in 1902 when talking with Professor Lajos de Loczy, president of the Geological Society of Hungary, who had visited the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien-fo-tung) in 1897 with Count Szechenyi's expedition. "The thought," he said, "of the great store of old manuscripts awaiting exploration drew me . . . with the strength of a hidden magnet."<sup>3</sup> In many ways Stein was the product both of the Victorian romance with antiquity and of the imperative of empire. He belongs with other nineteenth-century explorers who predated the modern archaeologists — Schliemann and Evans in Asia Minor, Read and Dalton in Africa, Bolta and Layard in Mesopotamia. The spirit of European economic and political expansion was paralleled by the exhilaration of such European historians as Macaulay and Mommsen, as well by the innumerable missionaries and shippers. But it was only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that most ethnological museums were established to show the general public the exotic new cultures that were being unearthed.<sup>4</sup> Suddenly the last quarter of the century saw a series of Expositions Universelles — held in Paris in 1878, Amsterdam in 1883, London and St. Petersburg in 1886; and expeditions went out to find exotic early civilizations in Africa, Oceania, Central Asia, China, and Mesoamerica. The underlying desire was to be syncretic, and, as Victor Segalen remarked, with an "aesthetic of the different."<sup>5</sup>

Stein's, Albert von Le Coq's, and Paul Pelliot's enthusiasm for finding manuscripts in Chinese Turkestan is palpable. Le Coq records with a precision verging on the undignified the number of cases and their weight that he removed in his four expeditions on behalf of the Berlin Ethnological Museum,<sup>6</sup> and laments that Stein got to Tun-huang first, and therefore "even though I cannot help regretting that I personally lost these treasures, I console myself with the thought that they have fallen into good hands." He fails, however, to understand the ungentlemanly conduct of the Russian scholars W. Radloff and Salemann, who had made an agreement with his colleague Professor Albert Grunwedel in 1907 by which the Russian expedition would work the Kucha settlements, while he and Grunwedel worked the Turfan. On arrival they found that the Russians had been there before them and made off with many of the antiquities. Nor could Le Coq console himself with the frescos that remained, frescos which he was unable to cut out of the walls.

The Princeton "cache" is but a tiny sample of these desert treasures, bur-

ied for hundreds of years in one of nature's own museums, the Buddhist caves of Tun-huang. Cut into rock cliffs, the cave shrines are not as imposing as those at Yun-kang or Lung-men. Stein's groundplan, published in *Serindia*, pl. 43, shows the main cell to be only fifty-four by forty-six feet, while Cave 17, the "sealed" library, when first entered was only wide enough for two people to stand in, and when empty measured ten feet high above a nine-foot square. Because of the low precipitation in northwest China, the humidity at Tun-huang is less than five percent; and as a result of its remoteness and the devotion of the local priests, these sanctuaries remained unmolested until the twentieth century, when they became one of the last sources for western intellectual omnivors. But perhaps, as Stein observed, the end was already near, and the dispersal of the treasures inevitable. As he removed twenty-four cases of manuscripts and five of paintings and other artifacts, he remarked that "it was my duty towards research to try my utmost to rescue the whole of this precious collection from the risk of slow dispersion and loss with which it was threatened in such keeping."<sup>7</sup>

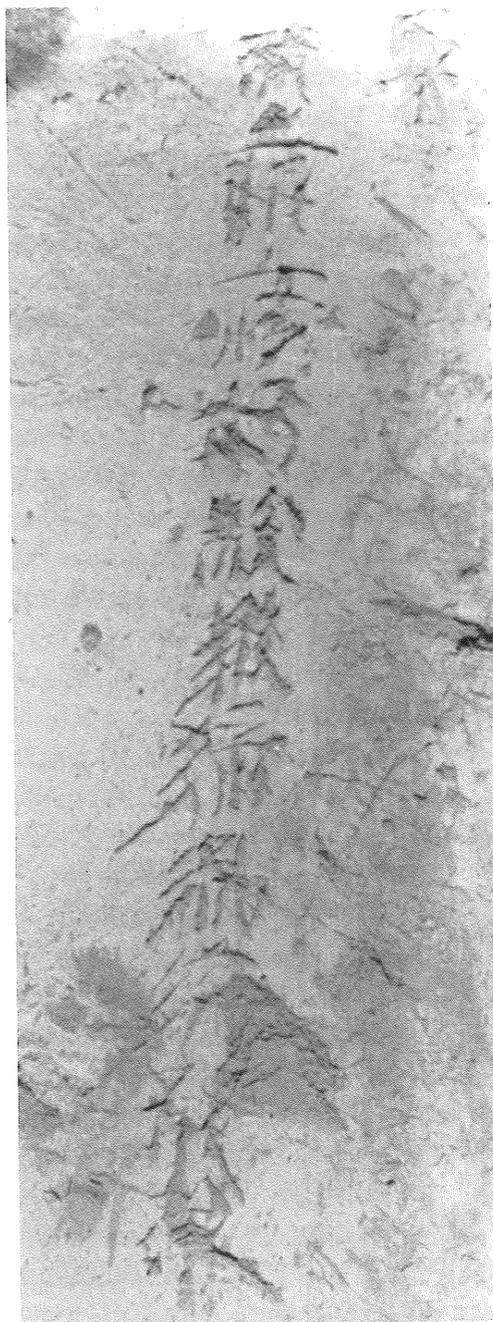
Nor was time to disprove him totally. By 1948 when Irene Vonger Vincent visited the caves, graffiti in Chinese, Uighur, Japanese, and Russian covered the walls, a destruction caused in large part by some two hundred White Russian refugees who lived in the caves during the Russian Revolution, and no doubt aggravated by the proximity of the motor highway built nearby during the Sino-Japanese war to bring materials from Russia (see Illustrations 1a and 1b). Most of the outer walls had fallen away, and many of the statues were in a state of disrepair; there was fire damage, and the gold leaf in the paintings had been gouged out (see Illustration 2). Repairs and repainting seem to have been constant since the Yuan, the work of devoted monks who maintained the shrines.

The lively faith of the Taoist Wang is fully attested by Stein, who acknowledges that Wang dutifully spent all the proceeds of his sale of the manuscripts to repair and restore his beloved sanctuary. Finally on January 1, 1943, the Chinese government at Chungking under the Ministry of Education established the Tun-huang Institute and appointed Chang Dai-ch'ien as its first director. Chang had already spent the summers of 1942 and 1943 in Tun-huang with two students, two relatives, and five Lama monks from Tsinghai making line drawings and reproductions of all the paintings and photos of all the caves (see Illustration 3).<sup>8</sup> Since then more

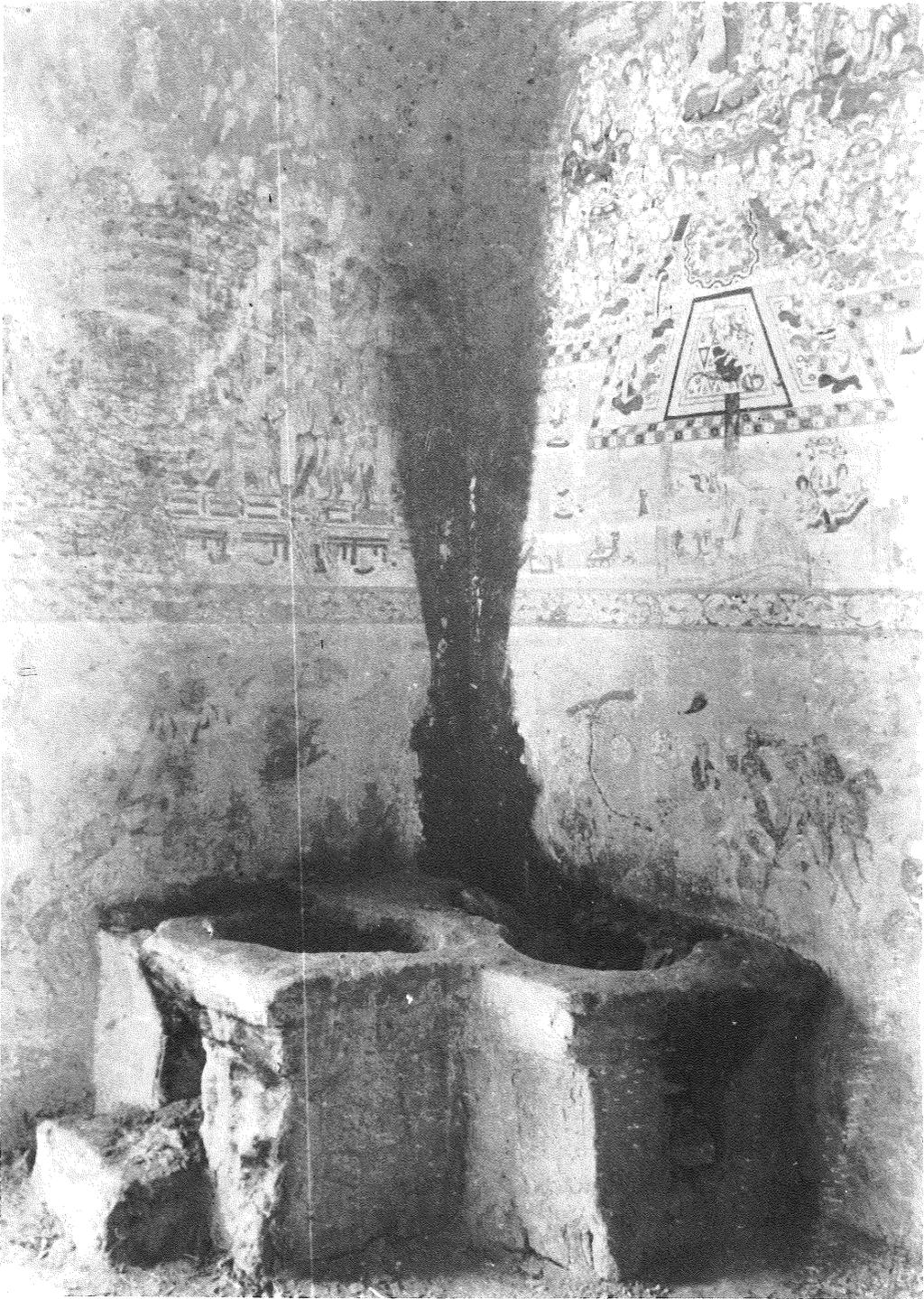
TUN-HUANG FRAGMENTS



1a. Russian graffiti imposed on the Donor's Procession, ca. 900 A.D. Cave T196 (Lo Photographic Archive 196GNT).

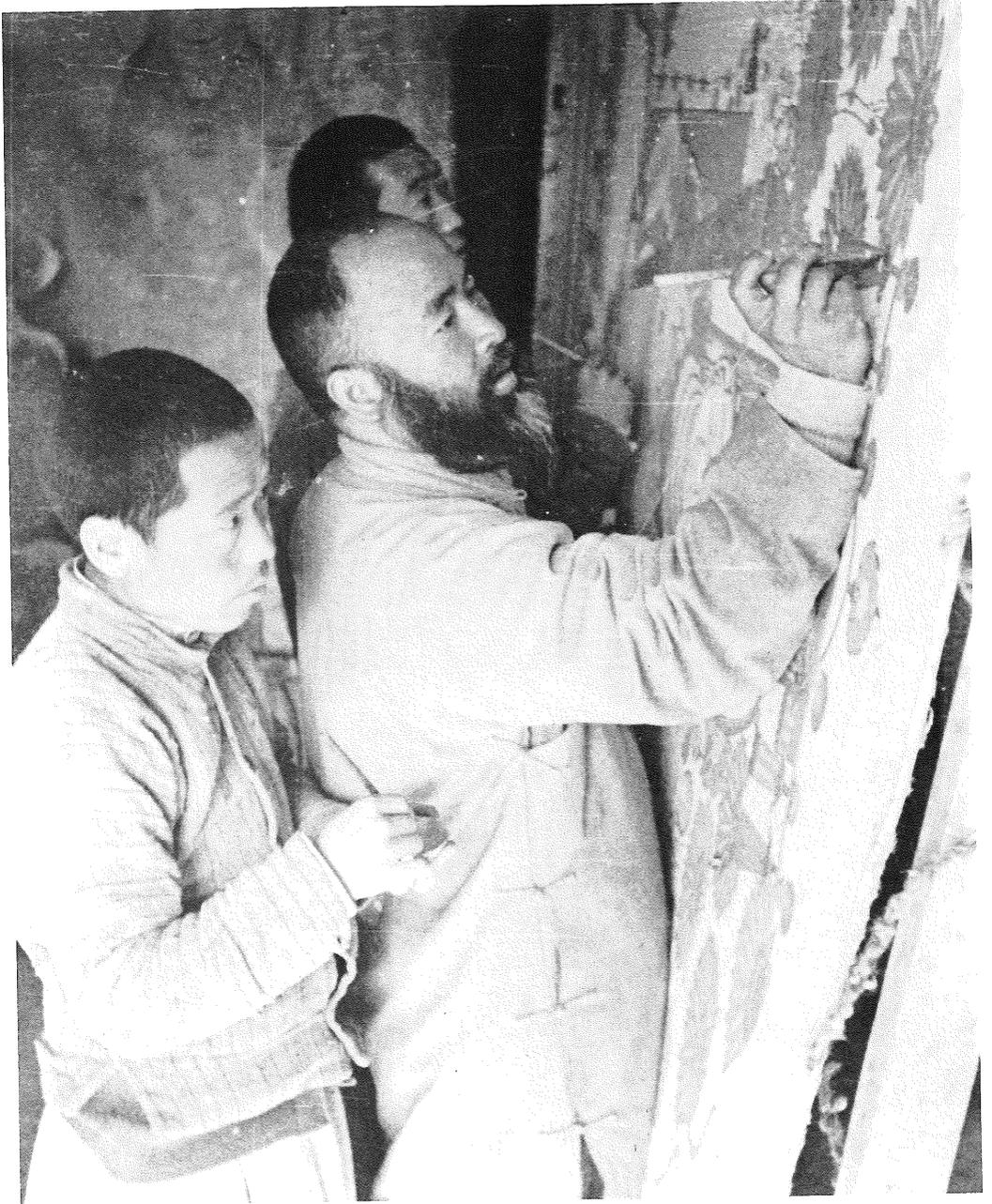


1b. Hsi-hsia graffiti, Cave T023 (Lo Photographic Archive). This is of particular interest, because hand-inscribed script tells more than printed script about how the complicated Hsi-hsia characters were written.



2. Smoke damage in the caves; the stove was built by White Russian refugees in the early 1920s; Cave T156 (Lo Archive 156SE).

TUN-HUANG FRAGMENTS



3. Chang Dai-ch'ien and his assistants making reproductions of wall paintings, Yu-lin Cave, An-hsi, Kansu, in 1943 (James C. M. Lo photograph).

than twenty caves have been uncovered, and the resulting investigations into the materials at Tun-huang, Beijing, London, Paris, Leningrad, and now Princeton have generated new scholarship in Central Asian and Chinese medieval studies.

The potential use of the Tun-huang artifacts for numerous research areas has been enumerated by several scholars.<sup>9</sup> The materials provide one of the few independent checks on and supplemental sources to the dynastic histories of China. They also supply one of the major sources for Uighur history, one of the most complete records of the cultural inter-communication between India, Tibet, Iran, the Steppe, and China; and they supply important evidence for early Tibetan art, as well as a remarkably full record of the content and style of Esoteric Buddhist art — called Vajrayāna.<sup>10</sup> From the Stein Collection Arthur Waley and others have recovered literary material that substantially broadens our picture of medieval Chinese literary life, including popular poetry and vernacular renderings of Buddhist stories.<sup>11</sup> Further material on administrative law, institutional and legal history, and military life has provided new insights into regional affairs, which although not comprehensive for the Empire, constitutes “the only evidence of (its) kind before Ming times.”<sup>12</sup> Much of the Chinese medieval world can now be reevaluated, and work in economic and legal history enormously expanded.

Where do the Princeton manuscripts fit into this panoply? They are, after all, few and fragmentary; but nonetheless they have their own story to tell, and now await further scholarship. The acquisitions fall into five categories: Chinese Buddhist sutras; Chinese classical texts; Chinese administrative documents; Uighur, Hsi-hsia, and Sogdian texts; and fragments from paintings on paper and silk, including one important album leaf.

The copying and distribution of the Buddhist canon was considered an act of religious merit, hence the large number of sutra fragments found not only in our Gest Library collection, but at Tun-huang in general. In the Giles catalogue of the Stein collection at the British Museum there are 1,046 copies of the *Lotus Sutra* in Kumārajīva's translation of 406 A.D.,<sup>13</sup> which is hardly astonishing since it was at Tun-huang that Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) made his first translation in 286 A.D., some seventy-five years before the first cave sanctuaries were built. For the faithful this would be the most sacred text of this holy place, and we should not be surprised that in the Gest collection sixteen sheets are concerned with Chinese texts and com-

mentaries on sutras (see Illustration 4). Some of these extol the Maitreya Buddha and enumerate his qualities (see Illustration 5). Others no doubt ascribe particularly Chinese attributes to Buddha that would have commended him to the population; thus future comparativists are aided in distinguishing between Indian beliefs and Chinese practices, and their various transmissions and transformations.<sup>14</sup>

Other faces of Buddha found in the Princeton manuscripts are Amitābha, patron of the Western Paradise, and Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-yin) in all her serenity. As mentioned, Tun-huang was a major center in the development of Vajrayāna (Diamond Path) Buddhism, a form of Esoteric Buddhism that developed in the Trans-Himalayas. Many of the Stein and Pelliot manuscripts inform us about the monasteries in the region, which was the center of this mystic tradition. The monks there both commissioned works and generated their own commentaries, which thus encouraged the development of a distinctive artistic and literary movement.

One of the most complete sutras in our collection is from the T'ang era (618-907 A.D.) and contains fifty-five lines of exquisitely rendered scholar's script, by which future scholars will be able to compare calligraphic samples of the period. (See Illustration 6.) Another fragment of a sutra in Uighur will also be useful in developing a fuller understanding of Vajrayāna rites and beliefs and their particular regional variations. (See Illustration 7.) Similar fragments in the Stein collection, and which are translated by Édouard Chavannes, await comparison (for example, Stein no. 720, which recites the attributes of Amitābha and Stein no. 5642, a passage from the *Diamond Sutra* of the eighth century).

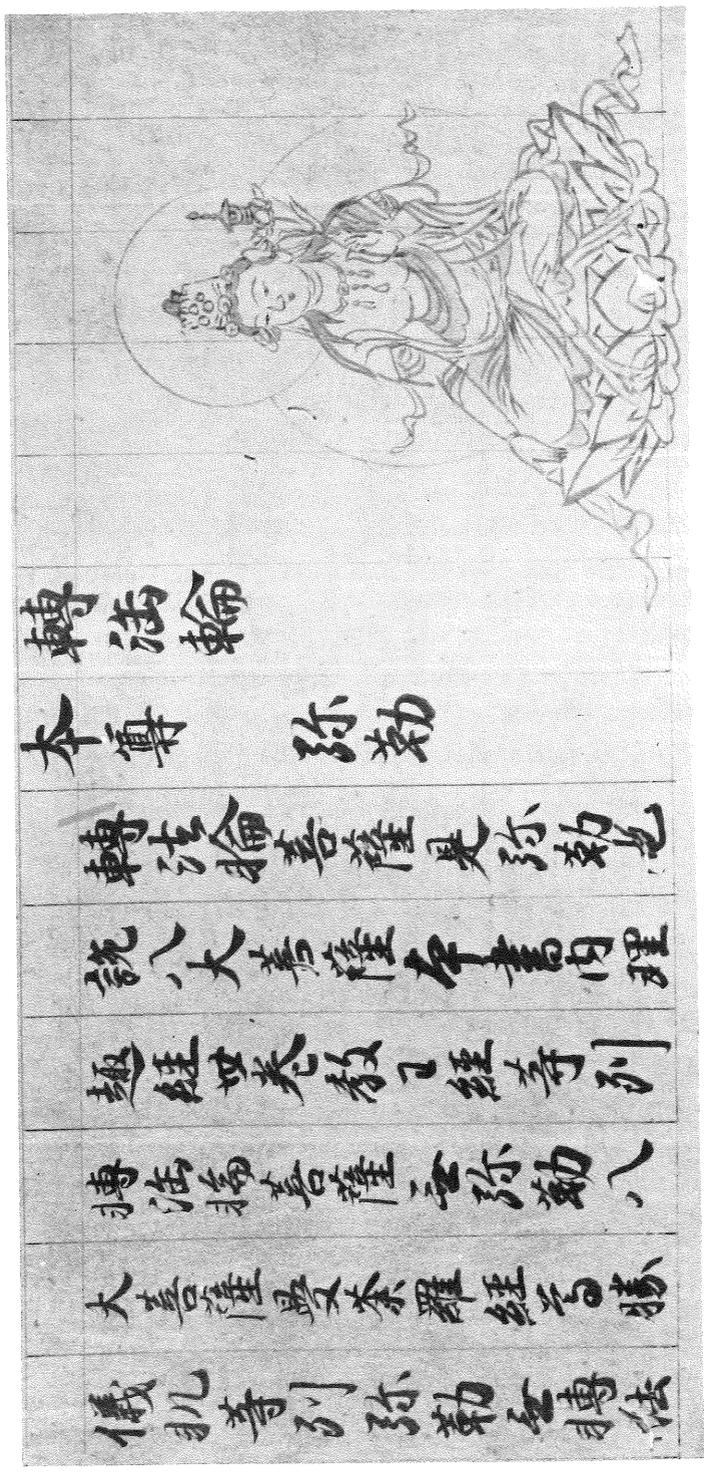
If several of the Gest manuscripts were copied by devoted monks as spiritual acts, others in the collection were possibly the work of pupils or simple pilgrims. No less devout, they rendered texts more awkwardly, however, and add to our knowledge of the ordinary people who either lived in, or came to, this sacred spot (see Illustrations 8a and 8b). From their "painfully scrawled" characters, Denis Twitchett suggests that we can learn much about local education and the character of the teachers and pupils who inhabited a locale far from the mandarinat. In the selection of manuscripts that deal with classical sayings, we have several that are the work of pupils, with erroneous passages erased. Several contain the comment "correct," possibly from the local monastic teacher. Many of these were probably from copybooks, and after use found their way into linings for burial

佛名經卷第五  
 稱親 佛  
 南无堅固自在王佛  
 南无安隱王佛  
 南无大積佛  
 南无功德王光明佛  
 南无寶勝光明佛  
 南无月佛  
 南无行淨佛  
 南无難勝佛  
 南无量聲佛  
 南无龍天佛  
 南无師子佛  
 南无世間天佛  
 南无自在恭敬佛  
 南无發精進佛  
 南无无垢香大勝佛  
 南无不動佛  
 南无无量明佛  
 南无遍照佛  
 南无摩尼光明勝佛  
 南无盧舍那佛  
 南无水聚日佛  
 南无月光明佛  
 南无量照佛  
 南无高積佛  
 南无堅積聚佛  
 南无量鉢光明作佛  
 南无寶檀佛  
 南无一切勝佛  
 南无寶作佛  
 南无樹提佛  
 南无日天佛  
 南无垢明佛  
 南无勝積佛  
 南无華勝佛  
 南无妙香光明勝佛  
 南无普見佛  
 南无寶幢佛  
 南无妙寶聲佛  
 南无智光明王佛  
 南无量華光明善勝佛  
 南无智慧自在佛  
 南无火然燈佛

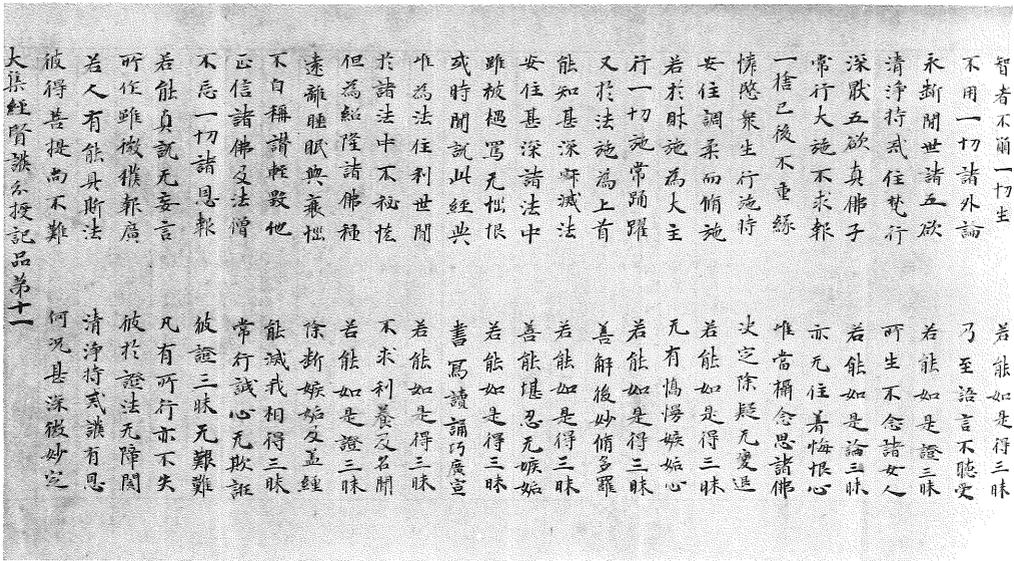
4a. Fragment of *chiian* 5 of the *Nāmasūtra* (*Sutra of the Buddha's Names*); T'ang dynasty (collection of the Art Gallery of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, gift of Mr. Wang Shing-tsang).

南无若起清淨武自在稱佛  
 南无若起忍辱人自在稱佛  
 南无若起精進人自在稱佛  
 從此以上一千六百佛十二部經一切賢聖  
 南无若起禪那人自在稱佛  
 南无若起福德清淨光明自在佛  
 南无若起隨羅尼自在稱佛  
 南无 高勝 如來  
 南无光明勝如來 南无大勝如來  
 南无散香上勝如來 南无多寶勝如來  
 南无月上勝如來 南无賢上勝如來  
 南无波頭摩上勝如來 南无无量上勝如來  
 南无寶樹王如來 南无三昧王上勝如來  
 南无大海深勝如來 南无善說名勝如來  
 南无阿僧祇精進住勝如來  
 南无樂說一切法莊嚴勝如來  
 南无寶輪威德上勝如來  
 南无日輪上光明勝如來  
 南无无量慙愧金色上勝如來  
 南无功德海瑠璃金山金色光明勝如來  
 南无寶華普照勝如來  
 南无起无邊功德无垢勝如來  
 南无起无量多羅王勝如來  
 南无樹王吼勝如來  
 南无法海潮勝如來

4b. Fragment of a copy of the *Nāmasūtra* now in the Gest Collection of Tun-huang manuscripts.



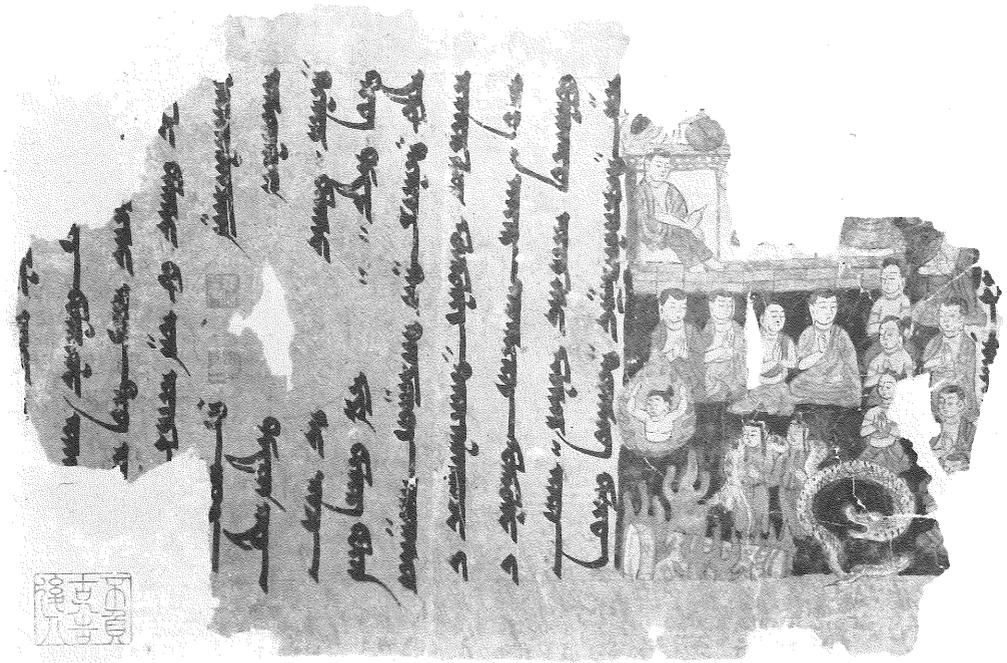
5. The Maitreya Buddha sitting, surrounded by three nimbi and holding a stupa imposed on a lotus. Late T'ang (9th c.) or early Five Dynasties (early 10th c.). Ink on paper.



6. Section of the *Mahāsamghāta* sutra. Ink on paper.

vestments,<sup>15</sup> again, a sign of devotion to the printed word rather than a mere convenience for supplying everyday material, as has been suggested. In fact the use of paper clothes for Buddhist and Taoist monks is commented on in several literary sources, including the redoubtable Marco Polo.<sup>16</sup> Such paper vestments have been found not only at Tun-huang, but at Turfan and Lop Nor, and in both cases have turned out to be letters from militia at these desert garrisons. From them we learn not only administrative details, but of “les souffrances et les regrets des exils qui se lamentent.”<sup>17</sup>

Other documents in the Gest Library collection are dated from the eighth century. One is a dutiful report to the Kao-ch’ang County Commander from a sentry in T’ien-shan County concerning the futile search for bandits while hiding in a “willow grove” (see Illustration 9). Suddenly, in this scrap of paper, we have for a moment the flesh and blood of an historical event: a guard dared not leave unreported even an unaccomplished mission. There are not many such scraps in any early society’s history, especially China’s. Princeton is fortunate in possessing fourteen such scraps, several dated to the eighth century (see Illustration 10); one to a date in K’ai-yüan 23 (corresponding to January 31, 736); and another from 749, third lunar month, twenty-fourth day, is an official document from a superintendent of a grain storage in Lop Nor (P’u-ch’ang County). There are four fragments from

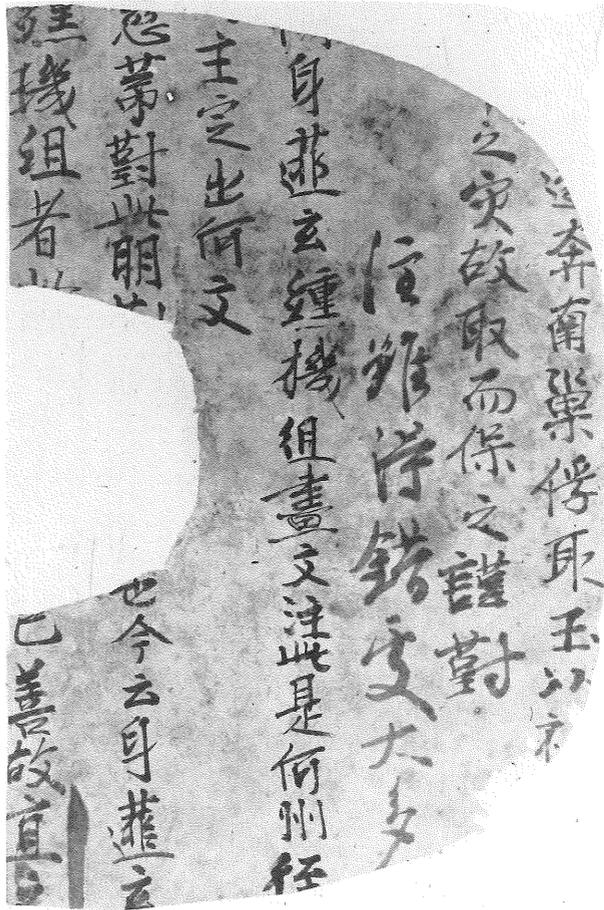


7. Uighur text of the Diamond Sutra; 8th-9th c. Ink and colors on paper.

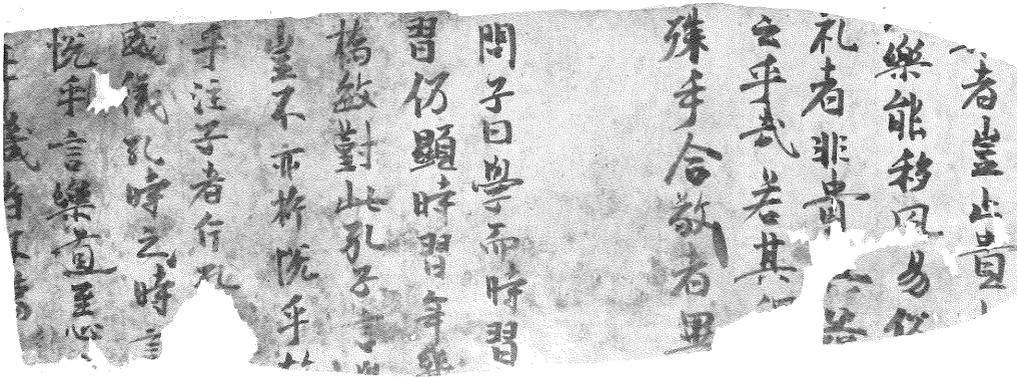
the thirteenth century that are so small they must have formed part of a handful of scraps of paper (similar to those that Stein and Pelliot observed), which had been gathered by the faithful, crumpled into tight balls, and secreted in the niches behind altar statues as votive offerings and requests for benefits to be confirmed.

Other fragments, only centimeters long, contain scripts in Tibetan Pōthi, or *Ṣaṅ-Ṣuṅ*,<sup>18</sup> and some in Uighur and Hsi-hsia. The *Ṣaṅ-Ṣuṅ* fragment may be a remnant from the pre-Uighur period, but it may also be contemporary with Uighur script usage, and evidence of the phase when both scripts would have been in use, thus bearing witness to cultural adaptation (see Illustration 11). If not a medical text, it could possibly be a Buddhist sutra, since it is similar to others reproduced by Stein.<sup>19</sup> In either case there is evidence of the extensive connection between the monasteries of Tibet and those in Tun-huang. Édouard Chavannes's translations show that Tun-huang "had long periods of Tibetan preponderance" from the eighth to the tenth centuries; and one of the manuscripts states that in 850 A.D. the local governor broke away from Tibetan influence and brought Tun-

8a. Fragment of a shoe lining. The text is from the Confucian classics, with corrections by a teacher: "Note: hardly anything wrong . . ." and "correct. . . ." Ink on paper.



8b. Shoe lining; the text is from Book I of the *Analects* of Confucius: "The Master said, 'Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?'" (see the sixth column from the right). Ink on paper.

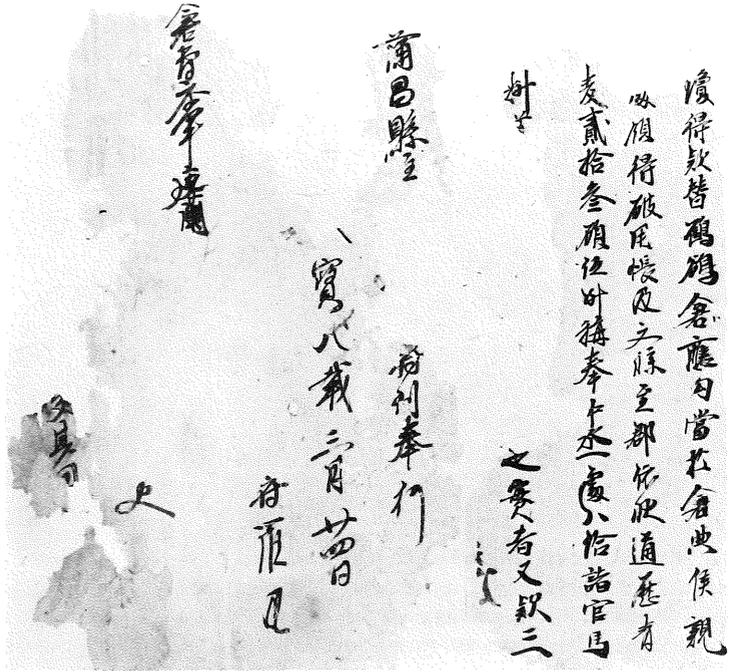


高昌尉

時武城

昨今日夜三更得天山尉五日午時狀得冒昧太長長五  
 考狀得今日四日夜黃昏得探人長少師食君汝考二人口云  
 賊在往應安已乘探賊三日辰時行至岩崖谷口遙見山頭  
 兩處有望子少師考即入柳林裏藏身更近看始知是窟  
 處山頭上下始知是賊至夜黃昏君汝考即上山頭望大亮  
 火不知賊多少既得此報不敢不報希要對不學現是盜賊

9. Report to Kao-ch'ang County Commander from guards in T'ien-shan County, dated 5th day, around noon, concerning an earlier search for bandits. The guards had, on the 3rd, between 7-9 a.m. "hidden in a willow grove so they could get closer and find the bandits . . . where they waited until evening . . . but it was very dark, and without fires; we could not see where the bandits were." Ink on paper.



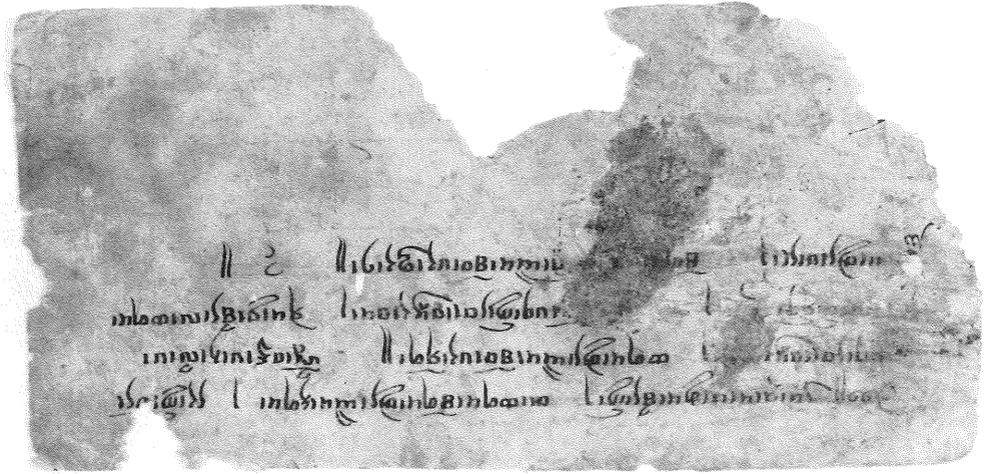
10a. Fragment of an official document, dated 23rd year of the K'ai-yüan reign period, 12th lunar month, 14th day (January 31, 726).

10b. Detail of official document from the Superintendent of Grain in Lop Nor; dated April 15, 749. Ink on paper.

huang under Chinese sway again.<sup>20</sup> Another manuscript shows that this cultural see-saw was still in effect as late as 894 A.D.<sup>21</sup>

The importance of the Uighur documents is that they offer independent evidence of the period in Tun-huang when Tibetan, Uighur, and Chinese influence converged. When we have a specific date, it frequently corroborates the dynastic histories, but on occasion it proves to be an even more exact source. For example, L.I. Cuguevskii shows how military events involving the Uighurs and Chinese in 705 A.D. in the Tun-huang area can now be placed with more certainty in 702 A.D.<sup>22</sup>

On four obverses of five Hsi-hsia printed documents there are Buddhist sayings in Uighur, and according to discussions with Morris Rossabi, who has kindly looked at photos of these manuscripts, one diagram with concentric circles intersected with quadrants forms some sort of religious charm (see Illustration 12).<sup>23</sup> The fifth is from a guard in the military gar-



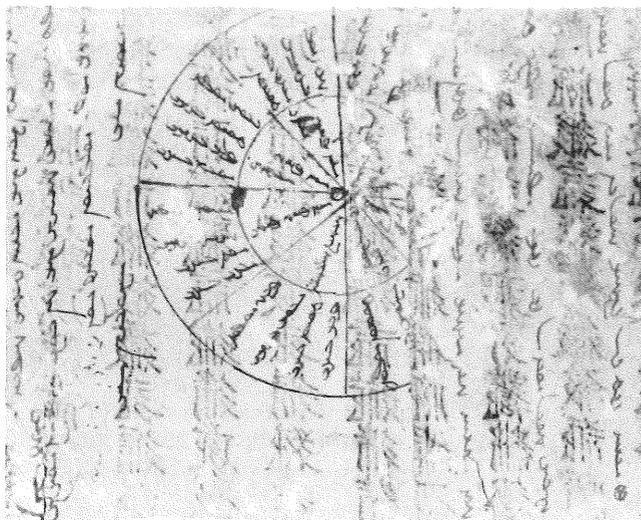
11. Manuscript considered to be Tibetan Pöthi by Stein, and Zān-Zūn by F. W. Thomas. In the examples deciphered by Thomas, the photographs show the lettering to be below the line. Professor John Marks of Princeton suggests that it should be read with the lettering above the line, although some Sanskrit languages are read below the line.

ri-son of Sha-chou (Tun-huang), and refers to the number of guards assigned to the post.

The woodblock-printed Hsi-hsia texts are among the most intriguing items in the collection. Other examples were found by Stein at Tun-huang and by P.K. Kozlov, in the Russian 1907-09 expedition at Khara Khoto. Most were tentatively dated to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when the Tangut population was still dominant in the area. One of the most esoteric of Inner Asia scripts, the Hsi-hsia writing system was invented "in a single operation" in or about 1038 A.D.<sup>24</sup> for use in the Hsi-hsia dynasty of the Tangut nation that had begun to be important in the late T'ang period (ninth century) and was a major regional power in north-west China and beyond, until it was destroyed by Chinggis Khan in 1227. For a brief while, Tun-huang was within its sphere of influence, so it was not surprising that documents in the Hsi-hsia script should be discovered there. One of the Princeton fragments from Tun-huang appears, however, to have been printed as part of a Tangut Buddhist *Tripitaka* printing project based at Hangchow in eastern China, under the Mongol Yüan dynasty, about 1340-1350.<sup>25</sup> (See Illustration 13.) That copies of the important Hsi-hsia printing of the *Tripitaka* should then find their way back to Tun-huang



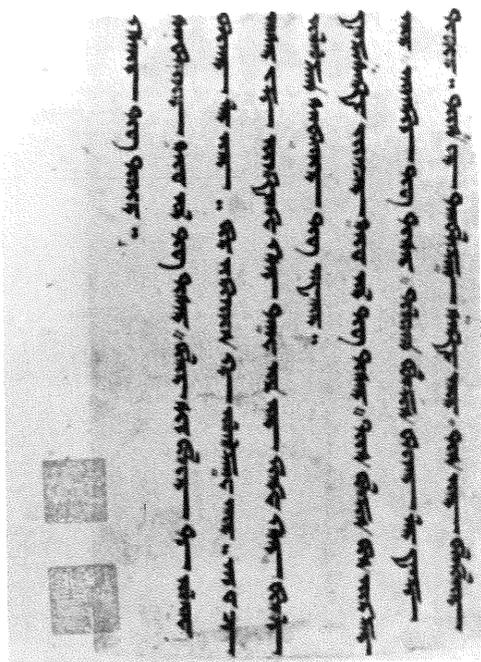
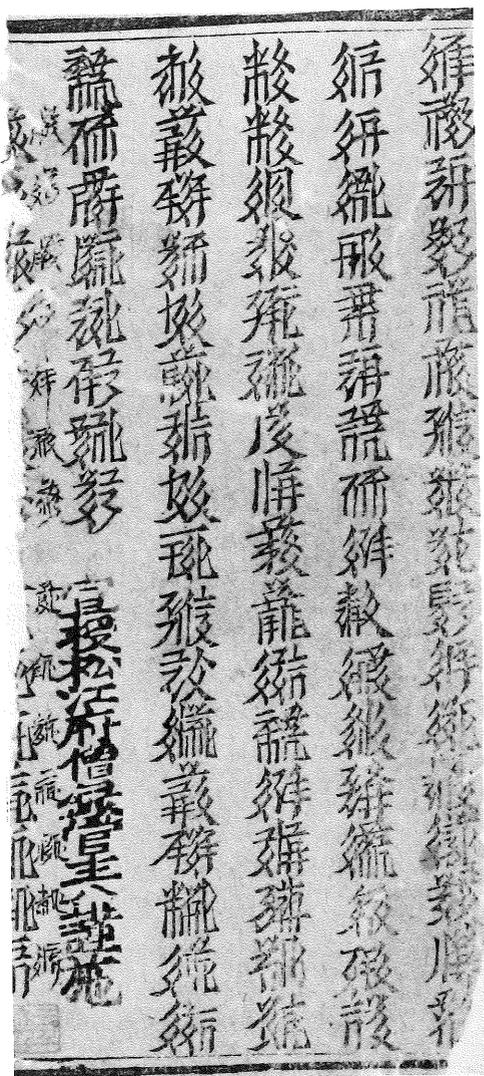
12a. A fragment of a Hsi-hsia official document. This may be two documents; see the obverse (Illustration 12b).



12b. This obverse of 12a contains two Uighur fragments. Ink on paper; the left side reveals some sort of religious charm.

and the former Hsi-hsia domains in the northwest is not at all surprising. These quite tentative views may well be revised when further advances are made in Tangut studies.

Another printed document in Uighur, also from a book, is more problematical. These handsomely printed eight lines must date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Not only do they have punctuation, but initials, which were late linguistic developments.<sup>26</sup> (See Illustration 14.) The eight pages of printed Hsi-hsia and this Uighur manuscript present a phi-



14. Uighur document; late 15th to early 16th c.  
Printing on paper.

13. Fragment of the Buddhist canon (*Tripitaka*)  
in printed Hsi-hsi (Tangut) script; part of the  
Hangchow printing project of 1340-50.

lologist with the problem that confounded Stein and Pelliot when they worked on the original cache from Tun-huang. Given the presence of Uighur and Hsi-hsia documents in the sealed library, Denison Ross and others claimed a later date and reason for the sealing than Stein's original postulate of 1030 A.D. These manuscripts may very well have come from the northernmost detached group of grottos, which Pelliot discovered in 1908. The monk Wang Yuan-lu knew them, and probably took the best preserved specimens and deposited them in the library.<sup>27</sup> Princeton's must have come from a similar location — votive offerings displaced, blown by



15a. Fragment of a Bodhisattva. Ink and colors on paper (enlarged).



15b. Bodhisattva; late 8th to early 9th c.; Cave T046 (Lo Archive 046NL).

the wind to a sheltered place, there to be sanded up through time, and preserved in a moisture-free environment.

Finally, there are several important pages of paintings, ink on silk and paper, which will help students of T'ang Buddhist painting date other work through comparison with details, such as the small fragment of the *bodhisattva* head, which can be compared to material in the British Museum (Stein no. 5, Ch. lv.0023, which is dated to the ninth century from such details as the lines above the little pursed mouth), as well as to photographs in the Lo Archive of a wall painting from Tun-huang (see Illustrations 15a



16. Album leaf; late 10th to early 11th c. This painting of a weeping figure is done with ink and color on silk. In the left center of the painting is an indistinct gray figure, perhaps a ghost or demon.

and b). Furthermore, a most important album leaf from the late tenth to early eleventh century of a weeping figure still awaits identification (see Illustration 16).

This cursory review of Gest Library's important Tun-huang documents indicates how much more work there is for the scholar and conservationist. There are problems remaining of attribution, provenance, and of new research into cultural and archaeological history. These require understanding of the texts' factual details and comparative work with the materials in London and Paris. The Princeton materials will stimulate the Chinese rare book and art connoisseur, and along with the So Tan manuscript and the Gest Buddhist sutra,<sup>28</sup> provide future historians with a small but very important cache.

NOTES

1. M. Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia* (Oxford, 1928) 1, p. 449.
2. In particular see: M. Aurel Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, ed. J. Mirsky (N.Y., 1961), p. 191; F.H. Andrews, *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities, Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein during His Exploration in Central Asia, Kansu and Eastern Iran* (Delhi, 1935); Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan Oriental* (Oxford, 1913); Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings Recovered from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein* (London, 1931).
3. M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford, 1921) 2, p. 802.
4. On the development of ethnological museums, see R. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1967). The Musée Guimet, first established in Lyon in 1879, then in Paris in 1889, is one of the finest examples of the new taste in the comparative and the exotic.
5. V. Segalen, *Essais sur l'exotisme: Une esthétique du divers* (Montpellier, 1978). Besides Segalen's interest in the monumental sculpture of China, he had earlier been interested in Oceania. See also Pierre Ryckman's "The Chinese Attitude toward the Past," Morrison lecture (Canberra, 1987), which is devoted to an explication of Segalen's ideas.
6. Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), p. 26.
7. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 822.
8. These photos were originally commissioned by the second Director of the Tun-huang Institute, Ts'ang Shu-hung, and some were later exhibited in a small show in Shanghai during the winter of 1947-48. A full set of these photographs is to be found in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton and in the Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyujo.
9. Notably, Denis Twitchett, "Chinese

- Social History from the Seventh to the Tenth Centuries: The Tun-huang Documents and their Implications," *Past and Present* 35 (December 1966), pp. 28-53, and L.I. Cuguevskii, *Touen-houang de VIIIe au Xe siecle: Nouvelle contributions aux etudes de Touen-houang*, ed. Michel Soymie (Geneve, 1981).
10. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, *Esoteric Buddhist Art of the Western Himalayas: The Silk Route and the Diamond Path* (U.C.L.A. Art Council, 1982), p. 112.
  11. Arthur Waley, *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* (London, 1960).
  12. Denis Twitchett, "Local Financial Administration in Early T'ang Times," *Asia Major* 15.2 (1969), p. 82.
  13. Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum* (London, 1957).
  14. Michel Strickmann, "India in the Chinese Looking-Glass," in Klimburg-Salter, *Esoteric Buddhist Art*, p. 58.
  15. See the lining of a shoe in Stein, *Inner Asia* 2, pl. XCIII.
  16. Henry Yule, ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 3rd edn. revised by H. Cordier and J. Murray (London, 1903) 2, p. 191. See also T.H. Tsien, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 1; Paper and Printing*, in vol. 5.1, J. Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 110. The shoe shown in Fig. 1086 is the same as that in Stein.
  17. Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*, p. xxiii.
  18. Only three other examples of this Sino-Tibetan language have, so far, been identified: two in the British Museum, Or.8212 (188) from the Stein Collection, and a third from the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain, n.1251). All three are from Tun-huang and were considered by the late Dr. F.W. Thomas to be medical texts. See F.W. Thomas, "The Zan-Zun Language," ed. by A.F. Thompson, *Asia Major* 13.1-2 (December 1967), pp. 211-17.
  19. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pl. CXXI and M. Tagh 0430, which Stein calls a Tibetan pothi leaf.
  20. Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, 1987), p. 170.
  21. Stein, *Serindia* 1, p. 816.
  22. Cuguevskii, *Touen-houang*, p. 17, using P.2992.
  23. This document is a composite, with two different fragments mounted together. Further conservation work is needed not only on this, but with many of the fragments.
  24. Gerard Clauson, "The Future of Tangut (Hsi Hsia) Studies," *Asia Major* 11.1 (1964).
  25. I am indebted to Professor F.W. Mote for his observations on these mss. as well as the identification of the relationship with the *Tripitaka* printing project.
  26. However, although this document was found at Tun-huang, it was a gift to Lo Chi-mei from Chang Dai-ch'ien and not part of the other finds.
  27. Stein, *Serindia* 2, p. 828. Pelliot in 1908 went to Tun-huang and made a rapid classification of texts. He sorted at the rate of 1,000 a day for 15 days. As a result of his survey, he stated that the documents must have been sealed up in the first two reigns of the Sung, as not one is dated after 1035 A.D. That view is now being challenged.
  28. Frederick Mote, "The Oldest Chinese Book in Princeton," *The Gest Library Journal* 1.1 (1986).

GLOSSARY

Chang Dai-ch'ien	懷大千
Ch'ien Fo tung	千佛洞
Fa-hu	法護
Kao-ch'ang	高昌
Kuan-yin	觀音
Lung-men	龍門
P'u-ch'ang	蒲昌
Sha-chou	沙州
T'ien-shan	天山
Tun-huang	敦煌
Wang Yuan-lu	王元祿
Yun-kang	雲岡