

Dialogue Among the Civilizations: the Origin of the Three Guardian Deities' Images in Cave 285, Mogao Grottoes

Zhang Yuanlin 張元林
Dunhuang Academy

Cave 285 of the Mogao Grottoes, which was completed around 539 CE, contains some of the most striking imagery of all the Dunhuang caves [Fig. 1]. Of particular interest here are the murals on its western wall. While for the most part the iconography in the cave is Buddhist, the fact that many of the images on the west wall can also be found in Indian myths or the Hindu pantheon has led most scholars to think they derived from Hinduism. However, some of those images do not correspond precisely to any extant Hindu imagery, a fact which has posed many questions. What was the source of the unique features of the paintings, and who might have introduced this particular iconography? What do the images signify? Why do they exist only in Cave 285? The extensive literature on the cave, which has unraveled many of its mysteries, has yet to provide satisfactory answers (He 1990; Jiang 1990; Duan 1994; Jiang 2004).

This article will explore the possibilities of multiple origins of these images in the context of the broad historical and cultural background of the ancient Silk Road. We shall focus on the three guardian deities (the Buddhist "devas") — Maheśvara, Sun Deva (Āditya) and Moon Devi (Candra). The author has compared these images, analyzed their historical background and studied the ethnic backgrounds of the cave patrons. Of particular importance is the possible Sogdian influences on these imag-

es, which raises the question of whether Sogdians even participated in the building of this cave.

The three guardian deities on the west wall

On the top part of the south side on the west wall is a long blue rectangular belt with a white circle and six white ovals (from south to north) [Fig. 2, next page]. In each oval is a figure rep-

Fig. 1. Interior of Mogao Cave 285, the west wall on the left. Photo by Wu Jian (吴健), copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.



representing members of Sun Deva's family. Sun Deva rides in a chariot drawn by four horses inside the circle, has a nimbus, wears his hair in a high bun, and joins palm to palm. The four horses are harnessed as pairs running in opposite directions away from the chariot. This image is said to symbolize Sun Deva (Sūryaprabha)



Fig. 2. The southern upper corner of the west wall, Cave 285, depicting Sun Deva and his family. Photo by Sun Zhijun (孙志军), copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

延天) and his family in three registers [Fig. 4]. He is the equivalent of Vishnu, the Primordial Man, originally one of the three main gods in Hinduism, and then a guardian in Buddhism. One of the figures below him represents Indra (因陀罗), who has the third eye in the middle of the forehead.

patrolling everywhere in heaven all day and night. Under the circle of Sun Deva, there is a chariot drawn by three phoenixes, which appears to run quickly towards the main niche. In the chariot are two strongmen, the one in front holding in his left hand a shield decorated with a human face, and with his right hand raised as if he is driving the chariot. The other man has both his arms raised above his head as if he is supporting the sun circle.

Correspondingly on the north side of the west wall there is also a long blue rectangular belt with a circle and seven ovals (from north to south) [Figs. 3, next page; 14, p. 40]. They contain Moon Devi (Candraprabha) and her family. Because this section of the mural is poorly preserved, we can barely make out in the circle a figure with the hair tied in a bun, both arms crossed in front of her chest and sitting in a chariot. Next to the south side of the chariot wheel are heads of two birds and some wings. Under the circle of Moon Devi is a chariot drawn by three lions, in which there are two strongmen, the one in front with arms raised as if he is supporting Moon Devi. The pose is analogous to that of the figure on the south side.

On the main part of this wall, there are three niches, with various guardian deities painted on the space outside the niches. The mural between the main niche and the smaller one on the south side depicts Nārāyana-deva (那罗

Like Vishnu, he became a Buddhist guardian. On the bottom register are two of the four



Fig. 4. Nārāyana-deva and his family, mural to the south side of the main niche, west wall, Cave 285. Photo by Wu Jian, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

Fig. 3. The northern upper corner of the west wall, Cave 285, depicting Moon Devi and her family. Photo by Sun Zhijun, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.



Guardian Kings, which represent the four directions.

There are also three corresponding registers between the main niche and the smaller one on the north side [Fig. 5]. On top is Maheśvara, whose image with a crown is the only example at Dunhuang from the period of the Northern Dynasties (420–589 CE). He wears a hide skirt and sits on a blue bull in *lalitāsana* (half-lotus position). Maheśvara originally was Śiva, one

of the three great gods in Brahmanism, who was considered the creator and the destroyer of the universe. He was later absorbed into Buddhism also as a guardian deity, belonging to the same class of deva as Mahāmaheśvara, and is called Maheśvara in Buddhist sutras. Usually he is “three eyed and eight armed, riding on a white bull.” We can see his three faces: the central one looks dignified like a guardian, the right one looks elegant like a Bodhisattva, while the left one looks very ferocious like a yaksa. His two upper arms hold the sun and the moon respectively. The right arm in the middle seems to hold a bell and the left one seems to hold a short arrow. The lower two hands are in front of the chest, with something like a bow in the right one, while an indistinct object is in the left. Below are images of his two sons, Kumāra, who looks like a child, and Vināyaka (毗那夜迦, the Hindu god Ganeśa) who has an elephant head and human body. And correspondingly, on the lowest register are the other two of the four Guardian Kings.



Fig. 5. Maheśvara and his family, mural to the north side of the main niche, west wall, Cave 285. Photo by Wu Jian, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

Iconographic origin of the three images

1. The image of Maheśvara

Images of Maheśvara are also known from the Yungang Grottoes and Khotan. In Cave 8 at Yungang, sculpted images of Maheśvara and Kumāra flank the entrance to the main chamber. One of Maheśvara’s hands even holds grapes [Fig. 6, next page]. There are three works with the image of Maheśvara discovered



Fig. 6. Image of Maheśvara in Cave 8, Yungang Grottoes, 5th century. After: Li, 2004, pl. 32.

at Dandan-Uiliq, a Buddhist site in the northeast of Khotan. The best-known one is on the obverse of a wooden panel dated ca. 6th century CE, discovered by Aurel Stein in 1900 (Stein 1907, Vol. 2, pl. lx; Whitfield and Farrer 1990, p. 163, no. 134; Whitfield 1984, pl. 70-1). It depicts the three-headed and four-armed Maheśvara seated with ankles crossed on two back-to-back crouching bulls [Fig. 7]. He has a piece of tiger skin tied around the waist and exhibits the features of male images in Indian murals. The upper two hands hold the sun and the moon respectively, and the lower two hold jewelry and a thunderbolt. A second example is a mural discovered at Dandan-Uiliq in 1998, dated to the 8th century, where Maheśvara has been identified as the figure on the left, with three heads, three eyes and four arms, seated on a black bull with legs crossed. Of his three faces, the central one looks like a Bodhisattva and the



Fig. 7. Image of Maheśvara, obverse of wooden panel excavated at Dandan-Uiliq by Aurel Stein. Collection of the British Museum, OA 1907.11-11.71 [D.VII.6]. Source: Stein 1907, Vol. 2, pl. lx.

other two look like boys (Baumer 2000, p. 89; Whitfield and Sims-Williams 2004, p. 159, fig. 13). The third image is a badly-preserved panel, also discovered by Stein, which seems to depict a three-eyed, three-faced, and four-armed deity seated with ankles crossed, but without Vahara, the bull (Lahore Museum D.X.8, Stein 1907, Vol. 2, pl. lxii/1). As with the other images from this site near Khotan, presumably this also is Maheśvara, a guardian deity of Buddhism (Williams 1973, pp. 142-143).

There are both literary and iconographic materials which suggest that Maheśvara became a Buddhist guardian deity not only via Hinduism but also via Zoroastrianism. One of the earliest Chinese materials which record Maheśvara clearly as a Zoroastrian deity is *Tongdian* (通典), edited in the 8th century, which mentions "the coordinator of the Sabao Department (薩寶府祆正)," and explains, "the so-called Xian (祆) is the heavenly deity of the Western Regions and that which the Buddhist sutras term Maheśvara. In the 4th year of the Wude period (621 CE), the Zoroastrian temples and related offices were established, where the foreigners always worship with a fire altar" (Du 1988, Ch. 200: 40).

Archaeological discoveries show that Maheśvara was the wind god in Zoroastrianism. In the 1960s, fragments of a mural depicting Maheśvara were discovered in Panjikent (in today's Tajikistan). The image is depicted in armor, three-headed and four-armed, with two upper hands holding a bow and a trident respectively. On his right leg, there is a Sogdian inscription which has been deciphered as "Veshparkar," denoting the wind god. Zoroastrian deities were greatly influenced by Hinduism: for example, the three great gods Zurvan, Adbag and Veshparkar in Zoroastrianism correspond respectively to the three main gods Brahma, Indra and Śiva in Hinduism,

both in their functions and graphic features. Citing such evidence, Markus Mode has identified the images on another panel discovered by Stein at Dandan-Uiliq as the three great gods in Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazda, Nana and Veshparkar (BM OA 1907.11-11.72, depicted in Whitfield and Farrer 1990, p. 160, no. 131; Mode 1991/1992, pp. 182-183; cf. Stein 1907, Vol. 1, pp. 260-261, and Williams 1973, pp. 140-142). The latest discovery of an image of Maheśvara which may be connected with Sogdians and Zoroastrianism is that found in 2003 on a sarcophagus relief at Xi'an on the tomb of Shi Jun (史君), a Sogdian who died in 579 CE [Fig. 8]. Here, Maheśvara is depicted as rid-



Fig. 8. Maheśvara depicted on the sarcophagus in the tomb of Shi Jun (史君). After: Shi Anchan 2004, p.193, pl. 119.

ing on three bulls, with a trident in his right hand (Yang 2005). This discovery suggests that Maheśvara had been brought into China as the wind god in Zoroastrianism not later than the end of the 6th century.

Of particular interest here is a Turfan text written in 535 CE, that is, almost precisely at the time Cave 285 was being painted. The text includes sentences describing "presenting offerings to Fengbo" (風伯, the wind god), "presenting offerings to Dinggu tian" (丁穀天, possibly an alternate name for the god of victory Verethraghna), and "presenting offerings to Dawu Amo" (大塢阿摩, Ahura Mazda). Thus we find in the same text mention of the Zoroastrian main god Ahura Mazda and the god of victory. Since Zoroastrians in Central Asia usually worshiped a trinity of gods, the third one, Fengbo, may well be the wind god Veshparkar



Fig. 9. The figure in the crown on the head of Maheśvara, Cave 285. Photo by Wu Jian, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

(= Maheśvara) (Zhang 1999).

In general there is evidence to show that, as early as the 6th century, the Sogdians adopted the iconography of Indian gods to represent their own divinities, although the mechanism of this phenomenon is not completely clear. At least one scholar considers that the Indian iconography of the Sogdian gods is evidence of the diffusion of Hinduism in this part of Central Asia (Compareti unpubl.).

Returning to the figure of Maheśvara in Cave 285, we note one feature in particular, the image in the god's crown [Fig. 9]. While there are Indian images of Śiva with a figure on his hair dress holding the sun and the moon dating at least back to the Kushan period, no similar example has been found outside India except in Cave 285. At one time, this figure was previously regarded as a celestial musician manifested from Maheśvara's hairline, the evidence being in the instructions laid out in the *Sadhana Maheśvara Kala Devi Japa* [摩醯首羅大自在天王神通化生伎藝天女念誦法]: "First, paint Maheśvara with three faces and six arms and in special and fearful appearance. A celestial girl with various decorations and devi's garment is manifested from his hairline" (*Taishō* 1924-1932, Vol. T 100: 21, no. 1280).

However, in 1997 Sasaki Ritsuko identified the figure in Maheśvara's crown in Cave 285 as the wind god (Sasaki 1997). She determined that the depiction is that of a non-Han male holding the two sides of an inflated bag (or scarf). Analogous images cited by Sasaki are the wind god in Kizil Cave 38 [Fig. 10, next page] and a painting in Cave 155 at Bamiyan (see also Zhu 2003). In contrast, the image of wind god



Fig. 10. The wind god in Cave 38, Kizil Grottoes, Xinjiang. Photo © Sun Hongcai (孙洪才), published with permission.

in Mogao Cave 249, which was constructed at nearly the same time as Cave 285, is horned and beast-headed with a human body, like the images in Chinese mythology [Fig. 11]. There is additional evidence to strengthen Sasaki's argument. Similar images of the wind god, running with arms raised and holding a curved scarf, can be seen on the silver coins of the second-century Kushan rulers Kanishka I and Huvishka. Tanabe Katsumi indicates that this is the wind god Oado worshipped in the Kushan Dynasty, and believes that these coins have the earliest depictions of the wind gods in Central Asia (Tanabe 1990). Such evidence suggests that the figure of the wind god in Maheśvara's crown in Cave 285 derived from western iconography. However, the inclusion of this image suggests that the iconographic model for Maheśvara was not directly Hinduism. Neither was the image in the crown a simple copy of the image of Veshparkar from Zoroastrianism. The designers or painters of Cave 285 must have had a clear understanding of Maheśvara's characteristics in Zoroastrianism, Hinduism and Indian Buddhism, and added a figure of the wind god well known in Hinduism or Buddhism to emphasize strongly his characteristics.

Another iconographic detail in this section of the west wall mural suggests a Sogdian connection. Maheśvara's son Kumāra, placed just below him in Cave 285 holds a cluster of grapes in his right hand. Grapes were a characteristic crop of the Sogdians. The *Hou Hanshu* (後漢書) recorded that Sogdiana produced a wealth of



Fig. 11. The wind god in Mogao Cave 249, Dunhuang, 6th century. Photo by Wu Jian, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

fruits including grapes (*putao*, 葡萄) and wonderful grape wine (Fan 1965a, 90: 78; Hill, tr. 2003, sec. 17). The grape motif may be seen on the sarcophagus reliefs of the Sogdians An Jia (安伽) at Xi'an and Yu Hong (虞弘) at Taiyuan. In noting that the image of Maheśvara in Yungang Cave 8 [Fig. 6, above, p. 36] holds a cluster of grapes, Éric Trombert concluded that the depiction was of Sogdian origin. He regards that the Yungang Grottoes contain the only exact evidence for the contribution of the Sogdians to art and techniques of the Northern Wei (Trombert 2005). Since there is no Zoroastrian or Buddhist textual evidence claiming that the grapes are attributes of Maheśvara (or Veshparkar) and Kumāra (the Zoroastrian god of victory), the only explanation for this motif is that it shows Sogdian influence.

2. Image of Sun Deva (*Āditya*)

The earliest extant Indian example of *Sūrya*, the sun god of Hinduism, was made in the 3rd century BCE. Indian scholar Shanti Lal Nagar has documented that in most cases the god is depicted on a seven- or four-horse chariot (Nagar 1995, pp. 133-134). The most famous such image is on a railing at Bodh Gaya dated to the first century BCE. There *Sūrya* stands, flanked by two female deities in shooting postures, on a chariot drawn by four horses. The four horses, two on either side, run in opposite directions with the front legs raised high. The two examples in India most similar to that in Cave 285 were made in the Kushan Dynasty. The first is



Fig. 12. *Sūrya*, Mathura Museum. Kushan period. After: Nagar 1995, pl. 5.

a pseudo-Corinthian capital with solar quadriga found in Abarchinar, Swat, and stored in the Peshāwar Museum. On it the half-length image of *Sūrya* appears facing forward in a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two horses moving in opposite directions away from the chariot. In each side of the chariot is a servant who grabs the rein to drive the horse (Rosenfield, 1967, fig. 88). The second example is the one most similar to that in Cave 285. This half-length image of *Sūrya*, sitting and facing forward in a four horse chariot, has a nimbus. His thick hair is shoulder length and each hand holds an object [Fig. 12]. A similar image is also found in Kizil Cave 17, where Sun Deva is depicted in the form of a bodhisattva or deva, sitting cross-legged in chariot, whose horses face in opposite directions [Fig. 13] (Zhu 2003).

There are several different explanations regarding the source of the image of Sun Deva in Cave 285. Duan Wenjie suggests that it can be traced back to that of the sun

god Apollo touring Paradise in a four-horse chariot as described in Greek mythology. He Shizhe considers that it derives from *Sūrya*, the sun god in ancient India. Among the most intriguing hypotheses is that of Jiang Boqin, who suggests that the image is that of the Zoroastrian Mithra, the god of the 16th day of the Sogdian calendar whose worship as the sun god in the Iranian Middle East can be traced back to around 1500 BCE. He argues that the imagery of Mithra was brought to Dunhuang by the Hephthalites. A weakness in all of these interpretations is that their authors have focused either on the Sun Deva image or that of the strongmen in the phoenix-drawn chariot below it but not considered the images as part of a unified iconography.

Moreover, it is unnecessarily limiting to suggest a single point of origin or transmission of the image. For example, Penelope Riboud suggests that *Sūrya* borrowed characteristics from Iranian gods and that Mithra inherited some from Apollo (Riboud 2005). In his research at Bamiyan Tanabe Katsumi concludes that "the Sogdian and Tocharian influences are so obvious in the costumes of *Sūrya* and the surrounding donors, it is more credible to think that this style was brought to Bamiyan via the Sogdian-Tocharian region" (Tanabe 2001/2002). In particular, he notes the wide stripes on the Mithra image at Bamiyan, which resemble the typical folds

of clothing of the Sogdian nobles, and the design of three round pendants which were also widespread in Sogdiana. While Sun Deva is not of equal importance in various religions, his essential functions and basic iconographical elements have not changed.

I conclude that Sun Deva in Cave 285 combines characteristics from various cultures. Common



Fig. 13. Sun Deva in Cave 17, Kizil Grottoes, Xinjiang. After: Fine Art Institute 1981, pl. 55.

Fig. 14. The image of Moon Devi, upper north corner of west wall, Mogao Cave 285. Photo by Sun Zhijun, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

to images of Sūrya in the Hindu tradition and in Indian Kushan style, in the Zoroastrian Mithra and in the Sun Deva in Kizil Cave 17 is a chariot driven by two or four horses in opposite directions. As is the case with the image of Maheśvara, Sun Deva in cave 285 must have been designed or painted by artists familiar with the sun god in Hinduism, Mithra in Zoroastrianism and Sun Deva in Buddhism.



3. Image of the Moon Devi (Candra)

Unlike the Sun Deva's images, Moon Devi's image in a swan-drawn chariot [Fig. 14] cannot be found in Hindu literature or sculptures. But outside India, her images can be seen on the ceiling of Cave 111 and in the painting of Mahāparinirvāna in Cave 330 at Bamiyan, the style similar to that in Mogao Cave 285.

The origin of the image at Dunhuang has attracted little scholarly attention: Duan Wenjie thought that its ultimate origin should be the image of Artemis, Apollo's younger sister, in a chariot drawn by four swans in Greek mythology (Duan 1994). A Minoan sculpture, "The Mother of the Earth," shows that in Greek pre-history, the goddess was accompanied by swans. It is our opinion that Sun Deva and Moon Devi in Cave 285 should be considered together and likely have the same origin. The same combination of the two images is also found in Bamiyan Cave 111, where Sun Deva in the horse-drawn chariot and Moon Devi in the swan-drawn chariot are painted on the two upper corners outside the north niche. Although the mural is flaking badly, the contour of the deities standing in the cen-



ter of the chariots and the four swans in two groups are still visible [Fig. 15; Higuchi 1983-1984, pl. 11]. Furthermore, they can be seen in Bamiyan Cave 330. Judging from this evidence, I hypothesize that the image of Moon Devi was adopted in Sogdian Buddhism in Central Asia, where it was paired with Sun Deva. An interesting variant is at Kizil Cave 17, where the Moon Devi is depicted as a rabbit inside a circle. In fact, none of the images of Sun Deva and Moon Devi in Cave 285 correspond exactly to depic-

tions in India, Central Asia or the Kizil grottoes.

The lion-drawn chariot below Moon Devi also suggests significant connections with Sogdians and the West, since it reminds us of another important goddess, Nana, in Zoroastrianism. Originally in the Zoroastrian Avesta, the goddess who personified fertility was Anahita, but it seems that she was replaced later by Nana. Nana has many functions and visual forms. She is the moon god's daughter at one time and the sun god's sister at another (Jiang 2004, pp. 254-255). One of her important iconographical features is the lion (Ghose 2006). There is a well-known image of Nana riding a lion in the mural in Hall No. 2 at Panjikent. Another image of Nana is that on a Sogdian sarcophagus dated to the Northern Qi period (550-577 CE) which is now in the Miho Museum in Japan (Whitfield and Sims-Williams 2004, p. 117, fig. j). This Sogdian goddess with a wreath on her head holds the sun and the moon and is seated on a throne with two lion heads. No exact correspondence to these images has yet been found in Central Asia or at the Kizil grottoes.

Thus, the swan or lion chariot is one of the essential characteristics of Moon Devi

Fig. 15. The sun god and moon god in Cave K (no. 111), Bamiyan. After: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/Images/TS_5b-Bamiyan-k.JPG>.

Nana, whether in Buddhist art of the Sogdian area or in her native Zoroastrian art. The image of Moon Devi in Cave 285 has no traditional Chinese symbols of the moon goddess, such as the bay tree, a jade rabbit or a toad, but has both the swan and lion. These comparisons and contrasts suggest that the artists blended characteristics from both the Buddhist Moon Devi and Zoroastrian Nana.

There are other examples to illustrate that this imagery existed in later Chinese Buddhist art, even if none of them are exactly the same as the paintings in Cave 285. Later Dunhuang



Fig. 16. Sun Deva and Moon Devi, Mogao Cave 384, Dunhuang, 9th century. Photo by Sun Zhijun, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

paintings include images of Sun Deva sitting in a chariot drawn by four horses running in pairs in opposite directions, and Moon Devi riding on swans. For example, in Cave 384 (dated to the 8th–9th centuries) Sun Deva is exactly the same as described above, while Moon Devi rides on five swans [Fig. 16]. A stele (now in the Xi'an Stele Museum) made in the 8th century, with the inscription "The Buddha is converting the heretics" (釋迦降伏外道時) displays the sun and moon images, Sun Deva sit-



Fig. 17. Stele with images of Sun Deva and Moon Devi. The Beilin Museum, Xi'an. 8th century. After: Xi'an Museum 2000, p. 133.

ting with ankles crossed riding on two horses running in opposite directions, and Moon Devi sitting on two swans running in opposite directions [Fig. 17].

How did those Buddhist guardian deities in Cave 285 (Sun Deva, Moon Devi, especially Maheśvara with a wind god in his crown) come to have Hindu and Zoroastrian characteristics? Who brought them to Dunhuang? Neither Dunhuang natives without Hindu or Zoroastrian backgrounds, or Han artists from central or southern China could be expected to have produced them. Nor could Indian priests or artists with only Hindu or Buddhist backgrounds do it. Those who created these images must have been familiar with Hindu and Indian Buddhist art, as well as Zoroastrian art. The best candidates who meet these requirements are the Sogdians, who were active on the Silk Road when the decoration of Cave 285 was started in the early 6th century.

The background of the three images' representation in Dunhuang

The activity of the Sogdians in China has received considerable attention in recent scholarship, cited elsewhere in this article, and need not be discussed here in detail. While in the first instance they were engaged in commercial activity both as merchants and craftsmen, they also entered Chinese civil and military service. Their surnames recorded in the Chinese texts attest to their having come from various centers in Central Asia. Among the most striking documentary evidence for their presence is the "Ancient Sogdian Letters," dating to the early 4th century, which Aurel Stein found in the ruins of a watchtower west of Dunhuang. These letters make it clear that, while the "home

office" was in Samarkand, Sogdian colonies existed at Dunhuang and points further east all the way to the capital Luoyang.

And when the Northern Liang were defeated in 439 CE, many local people, including Sogdians who had been living in the Hexi region and in Liangzhou (涼州), were moved to Pingcheng (平城), the capital of the Northern Wei Dynasty. During the reign of Emperor Gaozong (高宗) (452–465 CE), the Sogdian king sent envoys to ask the Emperor's permission to buy back the captured Sogdians from the Northern Wei" (Wei1974, Ch. 124: 120). Yu Taishan documents from the official annals, the *Weishu* (魏書), 19 instances of interaction between the Sogdian kingdoms and the Northern Wei.

Cai Hongshen's research on Sogdian marriages, based on evidence from the Sui and Tang periods, documents that some Sogdians married within their ethnic community, some intermarried with non-Han ethnic groups, and some also intermarried with the Han (Cai 1998, pp. 22–24). Further evidence regarding the marriages may be found in recently-discovered inscriptions and burials. For example, Shi Shewu (史射勿) belonged to the Sogdian Kang family (from Kang [康國], Samarkand) and Shi Suoyan's (史索岩) wife had a Sogdian surname An (安). Another example is that An Jia's (安伽) wife might be a Turk, judging from the, granted, problematic evidence of her costume.

Just as in their homeland the Sogdians seem to have been open to various religious influences, so also in China do we find that they professed various faiths or some syncretism of more than one. We recall that one depiction on Shi Jun's tomb (dating from the Northern Zhou Dynasty, 557–581 CE) is that of Maheśvara (or Veshparkar), one of the main gods worshiped in Sogdian Zoroastrianism. If we just judge by Dunhuang documents, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism played the leading role in Sogdian religious life (Yu 2005).

However it seems that the present studies on Buddhist beliefs of the Sogdians in China have been confined to the period of the Sui and Tang dynasties. If Cave 285 indeed has Sogdian connections, then we should also look at the pre-Sui period for evidence about Buddhist beliefs and related activities of the Sogdians at Dunhuang. That the local Sogdians had accepted Buddhism as early as the 5th century is dem-

onstrated by manuscript No. 0343 in the Dunhuang Academy, written by a Sogdian Buddhist devotee Kangna (康那) on the 8th day of the 4th month of the 2nd Year of Huanxing (15 May 468 CE), the birthday of Śākyamuni. In addition, there are two manuscripts in the National Library of China (BD.09149 and No. 5961 separately) dated the 3rd year of Zhenguang (523 CE) containing copies of the Mahāparinirvāna and Saddharma-pundarīka sutras, with inscriptions by a Buddhist devotee Zhai Ande (翟安德). According to *Zizhi tongjian* (資治通鑑), the Zhai Family was an elite family in the Dingling and Gaoche regions. "The family of the Dingling Zhai Bin had lived for generations in Kangju; later they moved to China. When at this point he entered the court of [Later] Zhao, they gave him the title of Prince of Juding" (Sima 1957, Ch. 94: 2977). The Zhai were a powerful family of Dingling–Gaoche, and we find their surname frequently in inscriptions related to the Sogdians in China. Some of them even became the Sabao (薩寶), who was a community leader and had responsibilities for Zoroastrian worship. Being linked by marriage, the Zhais were strongly associated with the Sogdians for several centuries (Sasaki 1997). To a degree then, documents about the Buddhist activities of the Zhai family may support the opinion that the Sogdians at Dunhuang had accepted Buddhism and engaged in related Buddhist activities at least in the period from 439 to 535 CE.

The donor figures depicted on the northern wall of Cave 285 provide important evidence which may help us to establish a connection between its construction and the local Sogdian community in Dunhuang. The middle register of the cave's northern wall depicts seven preaching scenes with rows of donor images below each scene [Figs. 18, 19, facing page]. Of the preserved inscriptions, counting from the west, two are of particular interest: a) Below the second preaching scene — "The female lay devotee Shi Chongji is making an offering [to the Buddha]"; "The male lay devotee Yin Angui is making an offering (清信女史崇姬所供養時; 信士陰安歸所供養時); b) below the seventh preaching scene — "The female lay devotee He..."; "The male lay devotee Hua Heinu is making an offering" (清女何口; 清信士滑黑奴供養).

What might we establish about the ethnic origin of these donors? Duan Wenjie considered that the female donor Shi Chongji (史崇姬) [Fig. 18]



Fig. 18 (top). The female donor Shi Chongji (史崇姬) and her family, north wall, Mogao Cave 285. Photo by Sun Zhijun, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.



Fig. 19 (bottom). The female donor He (何) and her family, north wall, Mogao Cave 285. Photo by Sun Zhijun, copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

came from a northern people. Zheng Binglin presumed, moreover, that hers is the earliest inscription at Dunhuang relating to a Sogdian (Zheng 2005). I feel that there are three reasons to consider that she came from the Shi family of the Sogdians.

First, as Duan Wenjie has pointed out, the name of Chongji (崇姬) is indeed a non-Han name used among Central Asian peoples in northwest China at that time. Second, at least in the beginning of the Northern Dynasties, the Sogdians had settled down in Dunhuang and took their kingdoms' names as their surnames. Yao Weiyuan has concluded that the people surnamed Shi (史) originally came from the Shi kingdom (史國) (Kesh, the modern Sahr-i-Sabz) and took Shi as their surname (Yao 1958, p. 390). Sogdian families Shi living in the Hexi area in 6th century. Among the important Sogdians with this surname was the Shi Jun (史君) whom we have mentioned earlier. The epitaph on his tomb, built in 579/580 CE in Xi'an reads: "Shi Jun came from the kingdom Shi, originally from the West...and was appointed to be Sabao

of Liangzhou..." (Yang 2005). Another Shi, Shi Jingxiang (史敬香), is mentioned along with other individuals with clearly Sogdian names in a Dunhuang religious manuscript S.0613(V) which dates to the 13th year of Datong period (547 CE).

A third consideration here, of an indirect nature, is that Shi Chongji's husband, Yin Angui, was probably from an elite Han family in the Hexi (河西) region. Such marriages between the Sogdians and the local elite were a common means of strengthening connections in local society.

In contrast to the case of Shi Chongji, to date scholars have paid no attention to the female donor He (何) [Fig. 19]. In part because of her husband's surname Hua (滑), I believe that He was also a Sogdian. The He family in the Western Regions has been documented as coming originally from the He kingdom (何國), a branch of the Kangju (康居), i.e. from an Iranian people who were distinguished as merchants (Yao 1958, p. 389). He's husband, Hua Heinu, was obviously from the Hua kingdom (滑國) (also known as the Hephthalites, 嚙噠) in Central Asia which had ruled the Sogdian region. Attacked in the 6th century by the Sassanians and Turks, the Hephthalites were scattered around Central Asia, where they gradually integrated with the local population. Thus, a marriage between the Huas and the Hes might be expected. Because of the inscriptions left by the Hua family in Cave 285, Jiang Boqin considers that the Zoroastrian/Sogdian influences there should be ascribed to the Hephthalites (Jiang 2004, pp. 206-208). In my opinion though, the Huas would have come to Dunhuang along with the Sogdian caravans or integrated with the local Sogdian community rather than coming from the Hua kingdom directly. In these "non-Han communities" (Rong

2004), the non-Sogdians probably were assimilated into the Sogdian customs and religious beliefs. Hence, it is reasonable to consider that the female donor He, married to a Hua, was a member of the local Sogdian community, it would be reasonable to hypothesize further that culture of the Sogdian community influenced the decoration of Cave 285.

The Han-style costumes of the female donors in the two preaching scenes do not contradict this proposed identification of them as Sogdians. As Frantz Grenet has observed, "in the periods from the Northern Dynasties (420–581 CE) to the Sui (581–618 CE) and the Tang (618–907 CE), the Sogdian female costumes had been misused, and become the dress for the low class women, such as non-Han dancers. Therefore, the non-Han noble ladies who settled down in China were ashamed of their traditional costumes but became fond of the Han-style noble ones used in the Southern Dynasties" (Grenet 2005; Fan 1965b, fn. 1, p. 3521). We can see evidence of this fact on the sculpted panel of the sarcophagus of An Jia (安伽), a noble in the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557–580). It shows the Sabao's wife and her maids dressed in the same Han-style costumes as are the donors on the north wall of Cave 285 [Fig. 20].

Assuming that we are correct in identifying Sogdian donors in Cave 285, we can then easily understand why Zoroastrian–Sogdian iconography is to be found there. It would be reasonable to assume that the culture and art of the local Sogdian elite would have influenced the construction of the caves. Scholars have noted that the first preaching scene on the west side of the northern wall in Cave 285 depicts both



Fig. 20. Sogdian women in Han-style costumes, Tomb of An Jia, Xi'an. After: Archaeology Institute Shanxi 2003, pl. 77.

male donors dressed in tall hats and official robes and female donors dressed in local elite costumes of the Wei and Jin periods. This was clearly an important cave, and the Sogdians were part of this local elite, a situation that contrasts to their beleaguered life reflected in the Sogdian letters of more than two centuries earlier.

Moreover, there is evidence that the Sogdians participated in the construction of other caves at Mogao. Caves 294 and 297 were constructed in the second half of the 6th century (545–585 CE), about 20 to 30 years after Cave 285. These two caves are on the same level and in the vicinity of Cave 285. Both caves have murals with donors in non-Han costumes, and scenes of musicians and dancers with Central Asian characteristics [Fig. 21]. The costumes and postures of the dances are very similar to those in the sarcophagus relief in An Jia's tomb mentioned above [Fig. 22]. Similar scenes and figures appearing in different places in about the same period suggest that they reflect the same cultural milieu of the influential Sogdian

Fig. 21 (left). Dancers and Musicians, Mogao Cave 297. Photo by Du Juan (杜娟), copyright © The Dunhuang Academy, published with permission.

Fig. 22 (right). Dancer, Tomb of An Jia, Xi'an. After: Archaeology Institute Shanxi 2003, pl. 65.



communities in northern China in the 6th century.

Conclusions

As recorded in the *Hou Hanshu* (後漢書), edited in the 5th century, early in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE), “Dunhuang is a metropolitan city consisting of multi-ethnic groups, Chinese and non-Chinese” (華戎所交，一都會也) (Fan 1965a, Ch. 90: 78). The *Shilaozhi* of the *Weishu* (魏書·釋老志) edited in the 6th century, notes, “Dunhuang touches upon the Western Regions, and the clergy and laity both acquired the old fashions. The villages one after the other, had many reliquaries and temples” (敦煌地接西域，道俗交得其舊式，村塢相屬，多有塔寺) (Wei 1974, Ch. 114: 3032; tr. Hurvitz, p. 61). These texts indicate that in its unique location on the Silk Road Dunhuang could integrate East and West geographically and culturally. The flourishing mural art reflects this historical reality.

While Cave 285 is a “dharma center,” presenting a Buddhist message, the manner of that presentation is multi-cultural and the work of the Sogdians. The cave is special precisely because it combines motifs from Central China, the Southern Dynasties, Central Asia, India, Persia and even the Hellenistic world. The analysis above demonstrates that the images of the three deities in Cave 285 are neither directly from Hinduism, nor are they simple reproductions of images from Zoroastrianism. They record a dialogue among the different civilizations, with the Sogdian being the most prominent. Research on the Sogdian elements of the deities in the cave will enable us further to appreciate perceptually the Sogdian contribution to the mural art under the Northern Dynasties.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Albert Dien, Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams, Dr. Susan Whitfield and Dr. Matteo Compareti for kindly providing me with their publications and helpful comments. I would also like to thank Professor Xing Fulai (邢福來), Research Fellow of the Archaeology Institute of Shanxi Province, Professor Shi Anchan (施安昌), the director of Research Department of the Ancient Palace Museum, Beijing, and Professor Zhang Zhuo (張焯), the director of the Yungang Academy, for kindly permitting me to use the figures in this

article. I would also like to thank Ms. Wang Pinxian (王平先) and Ms Ksanti Ling for kindly translating this article into English. I am particularly indebted to Professor Daniel Waugh for his elaborate re-organization and revision of the text.

About the author

Zhang Yuanlin 張元林, obtained his B.A. degree (History) in Fu Dan University, Shanghai, 1989, and was a visiting scholar in the National Tōkyō Art University, Japan (1997–1999). He is currently Research Fellow at the Dunhuang Academy, the Department Head of the Academic Information Center of the Academy, and a member of the Association for the Study of the History of Foreign Relations, China. His research and publications focus on Buddhist iconography in Dunhuang and the relationship between Dunhuang art and that of other regions. E-mail: <zhang660823@sina.com>.

References

- Archaeology Institute Shanxi 2003
The Archaeology Institute of Shanxi Province 陝西省考古研究所. *Xian beizhou anjia mu* 西安北周安伽墓 [The Anjian Tomb in Xi'an]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003.
- Baumer 2000
Christoph Baumer. *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000.
- Cai 1998
Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生. *Tangdai jiuxinghu yu tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡与突厥文化 [The Nine Non-Han Surnames and Turk Culture in the Tang Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998
- Compareti unpubl.
Matteo Compareti, “The Indian Iconography of the Sogdian Divinities: The Archaeological and Textual Evidence.” Unpublished article.
- De la Vaissière and Trombert 2005
Étienne De la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, eds. *Les Sogdiens en Chine*. Etudes thématiques, 17. Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient, 2005. (Chinese ed., *Sute ren zai zhongguo: li shi, kaogu, yuyan de xin tan suo* 粟特人在中國: 历史, 考古, 語言的新探索 / *Les Sogdiens en*

- Chine: Nouvelles recherches historiques, archéologiques et philologiques*. Ed. Rong Xinjiang et al. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).
- Du 1988
- Du You 杜佑. *Tongdian* 通典 [The General Dictionaries: The Ranks of Officials of the Great Tang Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- Duan 1994
- Duan Wenjie 段文杰. *Dunhuang shiku yishu: Mogaoku di 285 ku* 敦煌石窟艺术·莫高窟第285窟 [Dunhuang Art: Cave 285, the Mogao Grottoes]. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin meishu chubanshe, 1994.
- Fan 1965a
- Fan Ye 范晔. *Houhanshu: Xiyu zhuan* 後漢書·西域傳 [The Hou Hanshu: Ch.78, the biography on the Western Regions]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Fan 1965b
- Fan Ye 范晔. *Hou hanshu: junguozhi* 後漢書·郡國志·五 [The Hou Hanshu: Ch. 5 of the biography of counties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
- Fine Art Institute 1981
- The Fine Art Institute of China 中國美術研究所, ed. *Shinkyō no hekika* 新疆の壁画. Kyōto: Min-emi, 1981.
- Ghose 2006
- Madhu Ghose. "Nana: the 'Original' Goddess on the Lion." *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1 (2006): 97-112.
- Grenet 2005
- Frantz Grenet. "The self-image of the Sogdians." In: De la Vaissière and Trombert 2005: pp. 123-140 (Chinese ed.: pp. 305-323).
- He 1990
- He Shizhe 贺世哲. *Dunhuang mogaoku di 285 ku xibi neirong kaoshi* 敦煌莫高窟第285窟西壁内容考释 [Investigation of the Contents of West Wall of Mogao Cave 285]. In: 1987 nian Dunhuang shiku yanjiu guoji taolunhui wenji, shiku kaogu bian 1987年敦煌石窟研究国际讨论会文集·石窟考古编 [A Collection of Papers of the Conference on Dunhuang Grottoes Studies 1987]. Ed. Duan Wenjie. Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1990: pp. 350-382.
- Higuchi 1983-1984
- Higuchi Takayasu. *Bāmiyān: Afuganistan ni okeru Bukkyō sekkutsu jiin no bijutsu kōkogakuteki chōsa, 1970-1978-nen* (バーミヤーン: アフガニスタンにおける仏教石窟寺院の美術考古学的調査, 1970-1978年) [Bamiyan: art and archaeological researches on the Buddhist cave temples in Afghanistan, 1970-1978]. 4 vols. Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1983-1984
- Hill 2003
- John E. Hill, tr. *The Western Regions according to the Hou Hanshu. The Xiyu juan "Chapter on the Western Regions" from Hou Hanshu 88. 2nd, rev. ed.* <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/hhshu/hou_han_shu.html>.
- Jiang 1990
- Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤. "Dunhuang bihua yu sute bihua de bijiao yanjiu" 敦煌壁画与粟特壁画的比较研究 [A Comparative Study about Dunhuang Murals and the Sogdian Murals]. In: 1987 nian Dunhuang shiku yanjiu guoji taolunhui wenji, shiku yi shubian 1987年敦煌石窟研究国际讨论会文集·石窟艺术编 [A Collection of Papers of the Conference on Dunhuang Grottoes Studies 1987], Ed. Duan Wenjie. Shenyang: Liaoning meishu chubanshe, 1990: pp. 150-169.
- Jiang 2004
- Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤. *Zhongguo xianjiao yishi yanjiu* 中国袄教艺术史研究 [Research on the History of Chinese Zoroastrian Art]. Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 2004.
- Li 2004
- Li Zhiguo 李治國. *Yun Gang* 雲岡. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004.
- Linghu 1971
- Linghu Defeng 令狐德棻. *Zhoushu: juan wushi, Tujue zhuan* 周書·卷五十·突厥傳 [The Zhoushu: Ch 50, the Bible of the Turks]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971: pp. 907-912.
- Mode 1991/1992
- Markus Mode. "Sogdian Gods in Exile — Some iconographic evidence from Khotan in light of recently excavated materials from Sogdiana." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura) 2 (1991/1992): 179-214.
- Nagar 1995
- Shanti Lal Nagar. *Surya and Sun Cult (in In-*

- dian Art, Culture, Literature and Thought*). New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 1995.
- Riboud 2005
 Penelope Riboud. "Réflexions sur les pratiques religieuses désignées sous le nom de xian." In: De la Vaissière and Trombert 2005: pp. 73–91 (Chinese ed., pp. 416–429).
- Rong 2004
 Rong Xinjiang 荣新江. "Zhonggu Sute ren de qianxi yu ruju" 中古粟特人的迁徙与入居 [The movement and emigration of the Sogdians in the Medieval period]. In: Rong Xinjiang and Zhang Zhiqing, eds. *Cong Samaergan dao Chang'an: Sute ren zai Zhongguo de wenhua yiji* 从撒马尔汗到长安——粟特人在中国的文化遗迹 [From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of the Sogdians in China]. Beijing: Beijing tushu guan chubanshe, 2004: pp. 3–8.
- Rosenfield 1967
 John M. Rosenfield. *The Dynastic Arts Of The Kushans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
- Sasaki 1997
 Sasaki Ritsuko 佐々木律子. "Tonkō Bakkōkutsu dai ni hachi ko kutsu nishibe naiyō kaishaku shiron" 敦煌莫高窟第二八五窟西壁内容解释试论 [An exploratory explanation to the murals on the western wall of Cave 285, the Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang]. *Bijutsushi* 美術史 [Art History] (Journal of the Japanese Art History Society) 142 (1997): 121–138.
- Shi 2004
 Shi Anchang 施安昌. *Huotan yu jisi shenniao: Zhongguo gudai xianjiao meishu kaogu shouji* 火壇與祭祀神鳥：中國古代祆教美術考古手記 [The fire-altar and the mythical bird conducting sacrifice: a note on Ancient Chinese Zoroastrian art and archaeology]. Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2004.
- Sima 1957
 Sima Guang 司马光. *Zizhi tongjian* 资治通鉴 [Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government], Vol. 20:7. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956.
- Sims-Williams 2005
 Nicholas Sims-Williams. "Towards a new edition of the Sogdian Ancient Letters: Ancient Letter 1." In: De la Vaissière and Trombert 2005: pp. 181–193 (Chinese ed.: pp. 72–87). Sims-Williams' translations of the Sogdian letters 1, 2, 3, and 5 are available on the Internet at <<http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/sogdlet.html>>.
- Stein 1907
 M. Aurel Stein. *Ancient Khotan, Detailed report of archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1907.
- Taishō 1924-1932
 Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kai-gyoku 渡邊海旭, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Tokyo: Taishō shinshū daizōkyō kankō kai, 1924–1932, reprt. 1962). 85 volumes.
- Tanabe 1990
 Tanabe Katsumi. "The Kushan Representation of ANEMOS/OADO and Its Relevance to the Central Asian and Far Eastern Wind Gods." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura) 1 (1990): 51–80.
- Tanabe 2001/2002
 Tanabe Katsumi 田辺胜美. "Bāmiyān tōdaibutsu no sesaku nendai ni kansiru kōsatsu kanzo sann, mitekida yōna wuso wo ii" バーミヤン東大仏の製作年代に関する一考察 玄奘さん、見てきたような嘘をいい [The Basis for Dating the 38-meter Buddha Image at Bamiyan: Did Hiuen-Tsiang tell the truth about the Eastern Colossus at Bamian?]. *Kodai Oriento Hakubutsukan kiyō* [The Bulletin of The Ancient Orient Museum] 22 (2001/2002): 63–104. (A version of this article is also in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* [Kamakura] 10 [2004]: 177–223.)
- Trombert 2005
 Éric Trombert. "Un vestige vivant de la présence sogdienne en Chine du Nord: le vignoble du Shanxi." In: De la Vaissière and Trombert 2005: pp. 261–282 (Chinese ed.: pp. 205–225).
- Wei 1974
 Wei Shou 魏收. *Weishu: shilaozhi* 魏書•釋老志 [Weishu: Ch 114, the biography of Buddhism and Taoism]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 (Tr. by Leon Hurvitz as *Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism: an English translation of the original Chinese text of Wei-shu XCIV and the Japanese annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryū*. [Kyōto]: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyōto University, 1956).

Whitfield 1984

Roderick Whitfield. *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, tr. into Japanese as *Seiki bijutsu: Daiei Hakubutsukan Stain korekushon* 西域美術: 大英博物館ス
タイン・コレクション, 3 vols. Tōkyo: Kodansha, 1982–1984.

Whitfield and Farrer 1990

Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer. *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. Chinese art from the Silk Route*. New York: George Braziller, 1990.

Whitfield and Sims-Williams 2004

Susan Whitfield and Ursula Sims-Williams, eds. *The Silk Road, Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Chicago: Serindia, 2004.

Williams 1973

Joanna Williams. "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting." *East and West* N.S., 23/1–2 (1973): 109–154.

Xi'an Museum 2000

Xian beilin bowuguang 西安碑林博物館 [The Xi'an Beilin Museum]. Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2000.

Yang 2005

Yang Junkai 杨军凯. "Xi'an Bei Zhou Shijun mushiguo tuxiang chutan" 西安北周史君墓石椁图像初探 [A Preliminary Decoding of the Illustrations on the Stone Sarcophagus of the Nobleman Shi dating from the Northern Zhou Dynasty]. In: *Sute ren zai zhongguo: li shi kaogu yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中国—历史、考古、语言的新探索. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005: pp. 3–17.

Yao 1958

Yao Weiyuan 姚薇元. *Bei Chao hu xing kao* 北朝胡姓考 [A Study on Non-Han Surnames in the Northern Dynasty]. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958.

Yu 2005

Yu Taishan 余太山. "Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi youguan SOGDIANA de jizai" 两汉魏晋南北朝正史有关SOGDIANA的记载 [Records about Sogdiana in the Official Histories of the

Western Han, Eastern Han, Wei and Jin Dynasties]. In: *Sute ren zai zhongguo: li shi kaogu yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中国—历史、考古、语言的新探索. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005: pp. 276–302.

Zhang 1999

Zhang Guangda 张广达. "Tulufan chutu Hanyu wenshu zhong suojian Yilangyu diqu zongjiao de zongji" 吐鲁番出土汉语文书中所见伊朗语地区宗教的踪迹 [Traces of Iranian religion as seen in the Chinese documents excavated from the Turfan region]." *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Dunhuang and Turfan Studies] 1999/4: 1–16.

Zhang 2002

Zhang Yuanlin 張元林. *Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji, Zhongguo Dunhuang bishu quanji: xiwei* 中國美術分類全集·中國敦煌壁畫全集·西魏 [The Volume on the Art in the Period of Western Wei. The Complete Works of Murals in Dunhuang. The Complete Works of Classified Fine Art of China]. Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2002.

Zheng 2005

Zheng Binglin 郑炳林. "Wan Tang Wudai Dunhuang diqu Sute funü enghuo yanjiu" 晚唐五代敦煌地区粟特妇女生活研究 [A Study of the life of the Sogdian Women at Dunhuang in the Late Tang and Five Dynasties]. In: Zheng Binglin, ed. *Dunhuang Guiyijun shi zhuan yanjiu sanbian* 敦煌归义军史专题研究三编 [A Detailed Study of the Dunhuang Loyal Army, Vol. 3]. Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chubanshe, 2005: pp. 564–575.

Zhu 2003

Zhu Tianshu. "The Sun God and the Wind Deity at Kizil." In: *Ērān ud Anērān. Webfestschrift Marshak 2003. Studies presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Ed. Matteo Compareti et al. (Transoxiana Webfestschrift Series 1) <<http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/tianshu.html>>. Also printed as *Ērān ud Anērān. Studies presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Venezia: Cafoscarina, 2006: pp. 681–718. [Reference added by editor.]