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The Swastika, Stepped Shrine, Priest, Horned Eagle, and Wild Yak Rider — Prominent antecedents of Yungdrung Bon figurative and symbolic traditions in the rock art of Upper Tibet[1]

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Introduction

Yungdrung (G.yung drung) Bon figurative and symbolic traditions were centuries in the making, as expressed through sculpture, repoussé metalwork, thangka painting, wood carving, ritual constructions, and manuscript illuminations, etc. Articulated through these media, the esthetic and intellectual vocabulary of Yungdrung Bon evolved over a thousand years, assuming iconographical traits that distinguish it from Tibetan Buddhist art. Modes of depiction and the techniques of production evolved over the centuries, reflecting transformations in taste, outlook and circumstances. Although the material and pictorial qualities of depiction have changed, semantic carryover has been pronounced, the product of a more or less integral Yungdrung Bon religious system.

The legacy of conception and design in Yungdrung Bon extends beyond the bounds of the extant religion to encompass earlier elements of figuration and symbolism. The oldest antecedents are seen in the rock art of Upper Tibet (Byang thang and Stod), the expansive highlands north and west of Central Tibet. This rock art is characterized by a wide array of prototypes of what would become prime Yungdrung Bon portrayals. This article focuses on five categories of these rock carvings and paintings, precursors to Yungdrung Bon subjects and emblems. The five categories include the swastika (*g.yung drung*),

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[1] This article is the outcome of a lecture delivered at the International Conference on Bon hosted by the Shenten Dargye Ling Congregation, Blou, France, June 28–30, 2016. My attendance at that conference was made possible through a travel grant awarded by the **Lumbini International Research Institute** (Lumbini). The writing of this paper was enabled by a recurring grant from the **Shelley & Donald Rubin Foundation** (New York).

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stepped shrine (*gsas mkhar* and *mchod rten*), priest / adept (*gshen* and *bon*), horned eagle (*khyung*), and animal mount (*chibs ra*). This work examines the pictorial qualities of these genres of rock art and explores how they may have contributed to Yungdrung Bon artistic and intellectual traditions at the dawn of the second millennium CE.

To minimize ambiguity surrounding the application of the term "Bon", a note on its historical significance is in order.[2] In its current configuration, the Yungdrung Bon religion can be traced back to the late 10th and 11th centuries CE, when it began to assume still prevailing decorative, doctrinal and institutional characteristics. Yungdrung Bon, a lamaist religion, arose from the dynamics of post-Imperial-period (ca. 850–1000 CE) exchanges between Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. Although not well understood, these exchanges appear to have been characterized by both syncretic and conflictive processes involving political, economic and sectarian forces. Formative encounters between Buddhism and pre-existing cult traditions were initiated during the Imperial period (ca. 650–850 CE), a crucial time in the development of Tibetan religions.[3] Archaeological and textual records indicate that prehistoric religious customs and beliefs in Tibet were indigenous in character but also subject to Eurasian influences.[4] In traditional Tibetan parlance, all three pre-11th century CE phases of non-Buddhist religion (post-Imperial, Imperial and prehistoric) are known as *bon*, a generic ascription. In conformance with popular usage, the term *bon* qualified chronologically will be used in this study to designate the archaic religious scene in Tibet.

The Swastika

The counterclockwise swastika (*g.yung drung*) is the quintessential symbol of Yungdrung Bon, as well as an epithet for the religion itself. Numerous adherents, deities, sites, and temples are called swastika in Yungdrung Bon. The swastika is also a referent for many of its doctrines. For instance, religious heroes are called the 'impeccable beings of the swastika' (*g.yung drung sems dpa'*), the enlightened form is referred to as *g.yung drung sku*, and the path to liberation is the *g.yung*

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[2]   For an inclusive definition of *bon* / Bon, see Bellezza 2015a. For more in-depth discussions on the historical significance of this term, see Bellezza forthcoming; Kværne 2000; Stein 1972, pp. 229–247; Karmay 1998, pp. 157–168.

[3]   These religious encounters are described in the Yungdrung Bon historical text *Legs mdzod bshad*; see Karmay 1972.

[4]   For an interdisciplinary approach (ethnographic, textual and archaeological perspectives) to archaic religion in Tibet, see Bellezza 2008. Also, see Chayet 1994; Bellezza 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; Haarh 1969; Tucci 1980; 1973; 1950; Stein 1972.

drung grub lam. The Yungdrung Bon expression for enduring good health and longevity is 'swastika of life' (*tshe yi g.yung drung*). The swastika is of course also a key symbol in Buddhism (oriented clockwise) and Tibetan folk religion (oriented in both directions).

Rock art swastikas in Upper Tibet face in both directions and range in execution from crudely scrawled to adeptly drawn. Relying on inductive means of chronological analysis, it appears that early examples date to the Late Bronze Age (1000–700 BCE) and Iron Age (ca. 700–100 BCE), and continued to be made in the Protohistoric period (ca. 100 BCE to 650 CE), Early Historic period (ca. 650–1000 CE) and Vestigial period (ca. 1000–1300 CE).[5] Thus, painted and carved swastikas span a wide spectrum of time, ranging from the initial stages of Tibetan civilization to the time of the empire and finally to the termination of the great rock art tradition in Tibet in the early centuries of the second millennium CE.

I have documented close to 300 swastikas in Upper Tibetan rock art (petroglyphs and pictographs), making it the most common sign or symbol (an abstraction encapsulating philosophical, ritualistic mythic, or mystical forms of understanding). These swastikas carved and painted on stone surfaces come in diverse styles (bold, wispy, silhouetted, outlined, etc.) and sizes (5 cm to 70 cm in height), and occur in isolation, in conjunction with other symbols, and as part of scenes featuring ritual monuments, animals and anthropomorphs (figures in human form). Swastikas in the rock art of Upper Tibet, depending on the pictorial context, appear to have had diverse functions comprised of cosmological, fertility, apotropaic, benedictory, doctrinal, and sectarian elements.

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[5]   Due to a lack of archaeological indicators, no attempt has been made to differentiate the Late Bronze Age from the Early Iron Age. I have devised a relative chronology for Upper Tibetan rock art based on various strands of evidence, including cultural and historical analysis, stylistic and thematic categorization, general site characteristics, associative archaeological data, gauging environmental changes in subject matter, examination of techniques of production, placement of superimpositions, and assessment of erosion and re-patination of petroglyphs and browning and ablation of pictographs. Dates determined using this inductive approach are provisional and unverifiable, but must suffice until more objective means of chronological analysis become scientifically feasible. On dating Upper Tibetan rock art, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 162, 163; Bruneau and Bellezza 2013, pp. 6–9; Suolang Wangdui 1994, pp. 33, 34; Chayet 1994, pp. 55, 56.

Fig. 1. A counterclockwise swastika flanked by the sun and moon, situated inside a small cave at Lce do, Gnam mtsho (Celestial Lake; Dpal mgon County/Gnam ru). This composition can be assigned to the Iron Age.

I have documented six examples of the sun-moon-swastika triad in rock art sites across the breadth of Upper Tibet.[6] By virtue of the sun and moon appearing with the swastika, it too appears to have a celestial identity. In four examples, the sun and crescent moon flank a counterclockwise swastika, as if the latter figure was of central importance. This arrangement seems to suggest that the swastika was envisaged as the nexus or fountainhead of the universe or of primary traditions (e.g., lineal, cultic, mythical), with the sun and moon as subsidiary symbols of signification. In this rock art, the swastika assumes a cosmogonic or proliferative dimension.

The swastika as a generative symbol is well attested in the Tibetan folk tradition, implying the operation of long-term cultural and historical processes when seen through the prism of ancient rock art. Moreover, some functions of the swastika in Yungdrung Bon may be derived from prehistoric rock art in Upper Tibet. While direct historical

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[6]   For other examples of the sun-moon-swastika composition in Upper Tibet, see Bellezza 2016a; Bruneau and Bellezza 2013, p. 112 (fig. II.10); Bellezza 2001, p. 358 (fig. 10.78); 2008, p. 165 (fig. 278), p. 166 (fig. 282), p. 175 (fig. 310).

links between Yungdrung Bon and pictographs and petroglyphs cannot be postulated with assurance, the seminal role of the swastika in prehistory is likely to have informed later religious discourse, as ancient traditions were adjusted or transformed to meet the needs of Tibetans in the historic era.

Fig. 2. A sun, moon and swastika carving on a boulder in Spiti, a lower elevation region of the Tibetan Plateau situated immediately west of Upper Tibet. Iron Age or Protohistoric period. The three figures appear to constitute an integral composition, as they were produced using the same carving technique and exhibit similar wear characteristics. The lighter hue of the sun can be attributed to the stripping away of the patina once covering the boulder due to localized geochemical processes.

The sun-moon-swastika triad comprises a well-established esthetic and semiotic device on the western third of the Tibetan Plateau. The joining of the swastika to the sun and crescent moon extended beyond Upper Tibet to include the western fringe of the Plateau. As with other

cognate genres of rock art (eg., animal style carnivores, wild yak hunt-
ing, horned eagles, stepped shrines, etc.), this signals that Spiti enjoyed
close and sustained cultural ties with its much larger eastern neigh-
bor.[7]

Fig. 3. The swastika joined to a crescent carved on a vertical rock face, Bshag bsangs (Nyi ma
County / Nag tshang). Iron Age or Protohistoric period.

The pairing of a swastika with a crescent moon strongly suggests that
the former is a solar symbol. The swastika as betokening the sun is well
known in numerous cultures of ancient Eurasia, and the same holds
true of ancient Tibet. This is chronicled in the text *Klu 'bum khra bo*
(probably first compiled in the 10th century CE), in a creation myth
centered around a goddess named Queen of the Water Spirits (Klu'i
rgyal mo).[8] This pantheistic goddess fashioned the universe out of her
body parts, and from the light rays of her left eye appeared the sun,
called the 'unsurpassable swastika' (*g.yung drung gyi bla na med pa*).
Although the rock art composition and above textual reference are dis-
parate sources from different periods, they mutually reinforce the
theme of a solar swastika in Tibet. It can be put forward that the life-

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[7]   On the cultural interrelationship between Spiti and Upper Tibet, as assessed
        through the rock art records, see Bellezza 2015b.
[8]   For a translation and discussion of the entire myth, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 343–349.

engendering qualities of the swastika in Yungdrung Bon may have been inspired by its earlier solar connotations.

Fig. 4. The swastika and crescent moon painted in red ochre among many other pictographs in the high elevation cave sanctuary known as Srin mo kha gdang (Gaping Mouth of the Ogress), Spiti. Protohistoric period.

This rock art is another example of a formative theme spilling over from Upper Tibet to the western edge of the Plateau. As in fig. 3, it appears that the moon is being paired with the sun in the guise of a swastika. In prehistoric rock art, swastikas were oriented indiscriminately in both directions and often with arms out of sync.

Cosmological and/or cosmogonic significance can probably be assigned to this rock art. In Tibet the sun and moon are considered to be the cardinal members of a group consisting of seven or eight heavenly bodies. The pairing of the sun and moon in Yungdrung Bon has acquired many different meanings. Conjoined, they famously symbolize the male and female hypostases of enlightenment in tantra. The sun and moon in Yungdrung Bon are also designates of religious lineages and practices, didactic symbols, ornaments of deities, and even the playthings of saints. As appealing as these Yungdrung Bon conceptions of the sun and moon are, it is uncertain that any of them are applicable as interpretive tools for appraising early swastika and moon rock art. Ideological transference between this kind of rock art and Yungdrung Bon may simply have been too diffuse to postulate clear-cut correspondences.

Fig. 5. The counterclockwise swastika and crescent moon amid a host of other figures, Lha ris sgrub phug, (Shan rtsa County / G.yag pa). Protohistoric period. These two symbols are included in an assortment of key figures, among which is a sun, crescent moon, two trees, raptor with outstretched wings, what may be an anthropomorphic couple, wild yak and several other wild herbivores, archer, and a row of four triangular subjects (ritual structures?). The uppermost animal in the photograph is a raptor created in a style (diamond-shaped wings and triangular body and tail) also seen in far western Tibet, Spiti and Ladakh. The Tibetan letter *A* at the top of the image was made in a later period.

Most of these sundry figures appear to have been painted by the same artist.[9] The array of protean symbols (sun, moon, swastika, tree), vital economic structures (wild ungulates, hunter), cultic emblems (raptor, triangular subjects), and social constructs (couple) conveys a panorama of the life and culture of its maker, furnishing us with an extraordinary view of ancient Upper Tibet. In general terms this recalls the Yungdrung Bon leitmotif, 'the swastika of life'. Again, it is unclear

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[9]   On this rock art, also see Suolang Wangdui 1994, p. 134 (fig. 161). This author calls the site: Lha-mtsho lung-pa.

how early beliefs permeating the rock art in fig. 5 may have specifically impacted Yungdrung Bon doctrine and mythology. The semantics of ancient images belonging to archaic religious traditions were not per force translatable into the written word.

Fig. 6. Three counterclockwise swastikas (one above, two below) rendered in a white pigment (probably oxides of calcium) painted on a bluish (probably oxides of manganese) and yellow ochre (oxides of iron) background. In between the swastikas are 'flaming jewels' (*nor bu me 'bar*) in white and red ochre. Below the lower swastikas is the Tibetan letter *A*. Rta mchog ngang pa do, Gnam mtsho (Dpal mgon County / Gnam ru). Vestigial period.

The flaming jewels motif belongs to an older style of depiction (also seen in *thog lcags* talismans) and is recognizable as a Yungdrung Bon religious symbol, as are the swastikas and mystic letter *A*. This composition directly links Upper Tibetan rock art to still viable Yungdrung Bon artistic conventions. These pictographs and the inscription date to the Vestigial period, the final phase of traditional rock art production

in Upper Tibet. The Yungdrung Bon religion, as it is known today, was established in the same time frame as the rock art in fig. 6. Cult activities and personalities referred to as *bon*/Yungdrung Bon are described in a Buddhist religious history of the Gnam mtsho region, the *Stag lung chos 'byung*. According to this text, these heretical practitioners were killed off or converted to Buddhism in the first half of the 13th century CE.[10] This historical event is the *terminus ante quem* for *bon*/Yungdrung Bon rock art in the region. Ostensible interconnections between the composition in fig. 6 and Yungdrung Bon doctrine serve as a departure point for considering that older phases of rock art embodied rudiments of Yungdrung Bon narratives, doctrines and customs, as part of an unbroken line of Tibetan artistic and cultural transmission.

The Stepped Shrine

Ritual or ceremonial structures with a stepped or graduated profile are well known in both Yungdrung Bon and Buddhism, and are well represented in the rock art of Upper Tibet. I have catalogued more than 250 examples at 37 different sites.[11] The most elementary in form are those known as *gsas mkhar*, *lha tho* and by numerous other names. These types of structures often enshrine local protective and ancestral deities. More elaborate tiered shrines are traditionally called *mchod rten* and serve as models of the enlightened mind, cosmograms, memorials, and reliquaries. The precise functions of stepped shrines in the rock art of Upper Tibet are debatable. Due to crucial changes in the religious-scape of Tibet over the last 1200 years, modern-day conceptions cannot be expected to neatly match those that surrounded ancient stepped shrines in rock art.[12]

For the purposes of this article, I have chosen stepped shrine rock art dating to the Early Historic period (older examples in Upper Tibet are not treated here). The selected examples are all accompanied by the reverse swastika, an explicit sign of *bon* or non-Buddhist religious associations. The illustrated specimens represent old-fashioned depictions of monuments, which are at variance with modern architectural and iconometric plans. This rock art acts as an excellent indicator of the evolution of religious monuments in Tibet until the rise of Yungdrung Bon.

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[10]   For these narrations, see Bellezza 1997, pp. 167–173.
[11]   For findings of a comprehensive survey of stepped shrines in the rock art of Upper Tibet, see Bellezza in press-a. Also see examples in Suolang Wangdui 1994.
[12]   For a survey of the physical remains of actual ancient stepped shrines in Upper Tibet, see Bellezza 2014a.

Fig. 7. What appears to be the portrayal of a ritual structure, featuring a wide pedestal, short stem, semicircular midsection, broad entablature, and tricuspidate finial. To the left of this subject there is a five-pointed star and counterclockwise (*g.yon skor*) swastika that are part of the same composition, as seen in the uniform style of painting, pigment color and wear characteristics. Bkra shis do chung ('Dam gzhung County/Gnam mtsho). A comparable subject at the same site appended to a mantric inscription indicates that this rock art belongs to the Early Historic period.

This particular style of what appears to be a ritual construction has not survived in Yungdrung Bon art of today. Rather, it is an obsolete representation, the precise functions of which are obscure. The star is a symbol of meteoric metal in Yungdrung Bon iconography, but it is not known if the pictographic star was assigned that meaning. In the period in which this rock art was made, the orientation of swastikas took on sectarian overtones. The counterclockwise version came to be associated with *bon* and the clockwise variety with Buddhism, a sectarian distinction largely maintained to the present day.
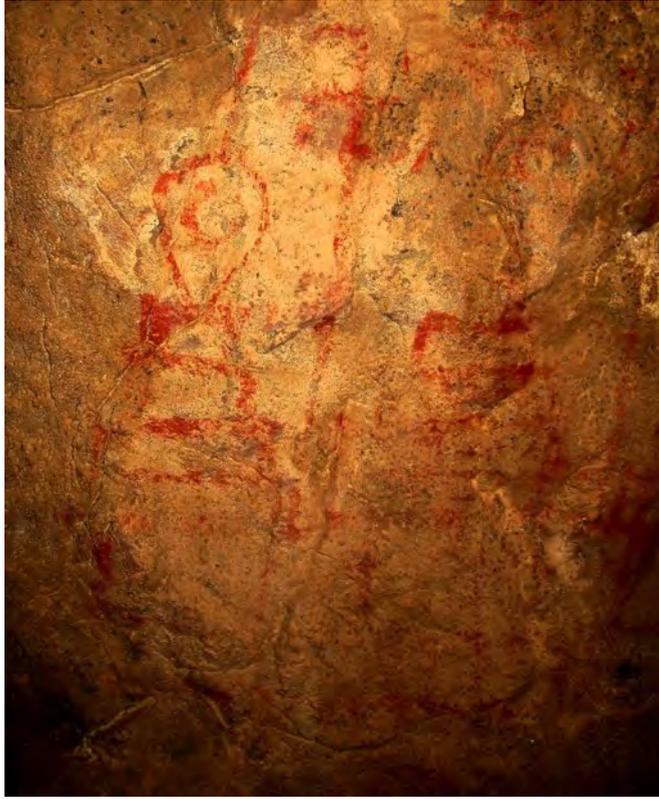
Fig. 8. A pair of red ochre stepped shrines with tall, interconnected base, graduated tiers, tear-drop-shaped midsection and simple mast. A counterclockwise swastika rises above the two shrines. This composition was painted inside the ancient cave sanctuary of Sgar gsol brag phug (Shen rtsa County / Nag tshang). Early Historic period.

This is another example of a stepped shrine form that was not retained in the Yungdrung Bon artistic canon. As with fig. 7 (and many other rock art specimens in Upper Tibet), this demonstrates that religious architecture advanced over time in Tibet, assuming modern proportions only after ca. 1000 CE. That standard forms of Yungdrung Bon *mchod rten* do not occur in the ancient rock art of Upper Tibet drives home the fact that they have a relatively late genesis as part of the prevailing religious milieu. Along with considerable differences in design, it might be expected that functions accorded stepped shrines also underwent modification after the Early Historic period.[13]

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[13] Likewise, there is substantial divergence in the ideological and practical currents of Old Tibetan and Classical Tibetan ritual traditions. For comparative studies, see Bellezza 2008; 2010; 2013a; 2014e; Karmay 1998; Stein 2010.

Fig. 9. A more complex stepped shrine painted in red ochre, O rgyan phug, Bkra shis do chung ('Dam gzhung County/Gnam mtsho). Early Historic period. As with other examples illustrated in this article, the red ochre counterclockwise swastika is an integral part of the composition.

The five-tired base (*bang rim*) and rounded midsection (*bum pa*) resemble more modern variants of the *mchod rten*, however, the spire (*'khor lo*) and finial (*tog*) are unconventional in form. The squat spire topped by two thick prongs belongs to an extinct style of architectural depiction.

Fig. 10. With its multi-tiered base, rounded midsection, cigar-shaped spire, forked finial, and long, flowing banners (*dar thag*), this polychrome stepped shrine resembles more closely those of the Yungdrung Bon tradition. Brag khung mdzes po (Nyi ma County/Nag tshang). Early Historic period.

Numerous design parallels with Yungdrung Bon variants notwith-standing, this stepped shrine is an unorthodox or precursory facsimile. The spire is too short, the midsection excessively small, and the base not stepped enough to belong to the religion of today. Yet, these features are repeated in other Upper Tibetan stepped shrine rock art of the same period. They are indicative of widely circulating styles of depiction in the Early Historic period. The prototypical appearance of these stepped shrine strongly suggests that they are predecessors of Yungdrung Bon *mchod rten* of the post-1000 CE era. These antecedent depictions reveal that the architectural and iconometric standardization of the *mchod rten*, as seen in Yungdrung Bon and Tibetan Buddhism, postdates the Early Historic period.

Fig. 11. An intricately painted *mchod rten* with three counterclockwise swastikas flanking it and two swastikas in the third tier of the base.[14] Bkra shis do chung ('Dam gzhung County/Gnam mtsho). Early Historic period. Some of the nine or ten layers of the lower portion of the pictograph are segmented into small squares. The small midsection tapers inwards and is topped by an arrow-shaped spire. The crown consists of forked lines with a rounded prong in the center, resembling the horns of the bird, sword of the bird (*bya ru bya gri*) finial of Yungdrung Bon. Two curling banners extend from the half-circular rain cover (*char khebs*) below the finial.

Like fig. 10, this specimen is comparable to Yungdrung Bon *mchod rten*, but it is decidedly more old-fashioned in appearance. Forked finials

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[14]   On this *mchod rten* and a proximate inscription, see Bellezza 2000a, pp. 40, 41; 2000b.

are common in stepped shrine rock art in Upper Tibet, some of which are of protohistoric antiquity. This suggests that Yungdrung Bon accounts of the horns of the bird motif, particularly in the Upper Tibetan kingdom of Zhang zhung, are based on an authentic recollection of the distant past. Although Yungdrung Bon created its own historical narrative for the motif, it did so by referencing a pre-existing religious custom. As we shall see, longstanding continuity in specific artistic motifs and subjects is supported by early horned eagle rock art in Upper Tibet.

The Priest

Constancy in Upper Tibetan rock art motifs and subjects and probably elements of the mytho-ritual and narrative structures undergirding them carries over into anthropomorphic depiction. Yungdrung Bon literature is laden with descriptions of priests and adepts such as the *gshen*, *bon*/*bon po* and *dpon gsas*, who are purported to have lived in prehistoric times. Some accounts of their dress, ornaments, implements and other attributes are quite detailed.[15] Deities are customarily portrayed wearing the same costumes and ornaments as humans.[16] Commonly occurring outer dress in Yungdrung Bon texts includes the animal skin greatcoat (*slag pa*), feathered or hide overcoat (*thul pa*), *ral ga* (gown of cloth), and the woman's mantle (*la'u*), etc. Headgear is said to have consisted of various kinds of turbans (*thod*), helmets (*rmog*), peaked headdresses (*go cog*), bird horn crowns (*bya ru*), and feathers (*bya spu*), etc. Many of these kinds of coats and headgear are noted in Old Tibetan literature, pushing back reference to them as far as the 8th or 9th century CE.[17]

For the pre-7th century CE period, the rock art of Upper Tibet supplies graphic evidence for styles of dress consonant with textual references.[18] However, verification that the exact same types of clothing for ancient personalities are intended is elusive, because rock art depictions tend to be rudimentary, lacking careful treatment of the cut and

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[15] For these descriptions, see, for example, Norbu 2009; Bellezza 2001; 2008; Karmay 1972.

[16] On iconographical comparison of adepts and deities in Yungdrung Bon, see Bellezza 2005, pp. 223, 234.

[17] Various Dunhuang and Gathang Bumpa manuscripts dealing with non-Buddhist mytho-ritual traditions provide brief descriptions of the appearance of *gshen* and *bon* priests. For example, a description of the *ral ga*-clad archetypal priest Gshen rab myi bo (attributed with founding the Yungdrung Bon religion in later sources) is found in the *Byol rabs* text of the Gathang Bumpa collection. See Bellezza 2010, pp. 84, 85.

[18] Some examples are illustrated in Bellezza 2014d.

materials involved. Indeed, many anthropomorphs are so cursorily rendered that few anatomical or cultural traits are discernable.

Fig. 12. A pair of anthropomorphic figures whose pose mimics one another, as if simulating a dance or some other kind of orchestrated activity. The pair is flanked by two counterclockwise swastikas, once more hinting at the long-term importance of this symbol on the Western Tibetan Plateau. The red ochre used to make the pictographs is unusually dark in color. Srin mo kha gdang, Spiti. Protohistoric period.

The rock art of Srin mo kha gdang, a hard-to-reach cavern near the summit of a mountain, is cultic in nature, and almost entirely devoid of pedestrian scenes such as hunting and pastoralism. The composition in fig. 12 may have conveyed any manner of activities with ritualistic, mythological or narrative undercurrents. The two swastikas enhance the extraordinary or sacred quality of the scene, whatever that might have been. Although the textual use of the word swastika as a designate for non-Buddhist religious traditions appears to postdate the Imperial period,[19] it is clear from the rock art of Upper Tibet and other western regions of the Plateau that this symbol loomed large over religious groups of the prehistoric era.

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[19] A precedential occurrence is seen in the Gathang Bumpa manuscript known as *Gnag rabs*: "profound instructions of the swastika *gshen*" (*g.yung drung gshen gyi man ngag*). See Bellezza 2014e, pp. 207, 208.
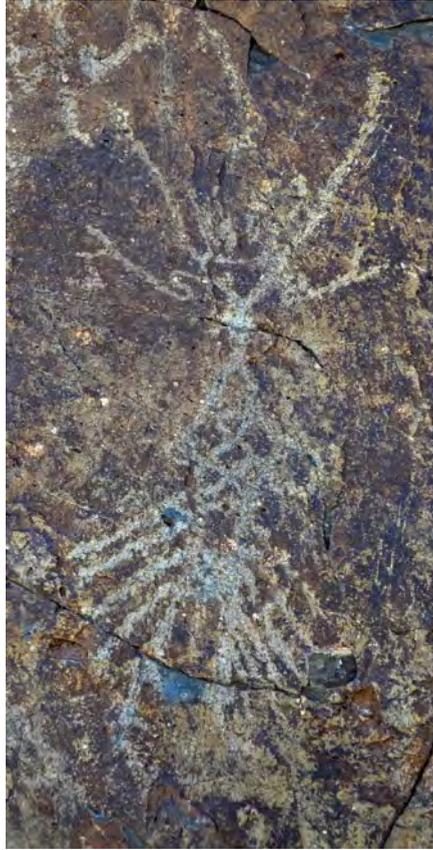
Fig. 13. A lone figure with avian and anthropomorphic qualities. Mtha' kham pa ri (Ru thog County/Ru thog rdzong). Protohistoric period.

This figure stands on two legs from which lines spread out like the fringe of a skirt. In the middle of its diamond-shaped torso is a dia-mond motif set between two triangles. On the right side of the body is an oblong form. The head is triangular with two sinuous lines curling outward at ear level. Two long, hornlike lines surmount the top of the head. These carved motifs lend themselves to comparison with traits of ancient priests enumerated in Yungdrung Bon and Old Tibetan lit-erature. For instance, one might compare the bird-like skirt to a vulture feather overcoat (*bya rgod kyi thul pa*), the oblong form to a drum (*rnga*), the ear-level lines to ribbons (*go pan*), and the headdress to the bird horn crown (*bya ru*).[20] While none of these identifications is certain, Ti-

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[20]   On the use of the *bya ru* crown by ancient sages and kings of Zhang zhung, see, for example, Martin, pp. 134–136; Vitali 2008; Norbu 1989; Bellezza 2008, *passim*. The

betan texts provide the best interpretive framework available (the discovery of actual objects notwithstanding), for they refer to the time (prehistoric era) and place (Upper Tibet).

Fig. 14. Three priestly figures in a row beating what appear to be drums. The head of a similar figure with feather-like headdress is visible at the lower right corner of the photograph, one of a number of other extraordinary anthropomorphs on the same rock panel. Mtha' kham pa ri (Ru thog County / Ru thog rdzong). Protohistoric period.

The three figures have elaborate pronged headdresses recalling feathers or plumes. According to the Yungdrung Bon textual tradition, feathers and plumes (*bya phod*) were erected on the head of a variety of ancient priests. For example, it is written that feathers of the lammergeyer (*thang dkar*) served as an insignia awarded to sages for outstanding duty by the kings of protohistoric Tibet.[21] Contemporary spirit-mediums (*lha pa*) in Upper Tibet still stick a downy plume of lammergeyer feathers into their hats (*btsan zhwa*). The circular instrument held in the left hand of the carved figures strongly resembles a drum, particularly since contact is being made with a linear object, denoting the right arm and / or a drumstick. The drum continues to be the musical instrument

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oldest textual references to bird horns (*byu ru* and *khyung ru*) occur in archaic funerary ritual manuscripts written in Old Tibetan, often as equestrian psychopomp headdresses. See Bellezza 2008, pp. 506, 507, 509, 522; 2013, pp. 69 (n. 90), 207, 230–232.

21   For this and other references to headdresses with feathers, see Bellezza 2005, pp. 108 (n. 97).

of choice in Tibetan ritualism. The quadpartite arrangement of the circular motif is reminiscent of shamanic drums used throughout Inner Asia. Each figure has a tail-like extension in the rear, presumably a type of dress or zoomorphic flourish.
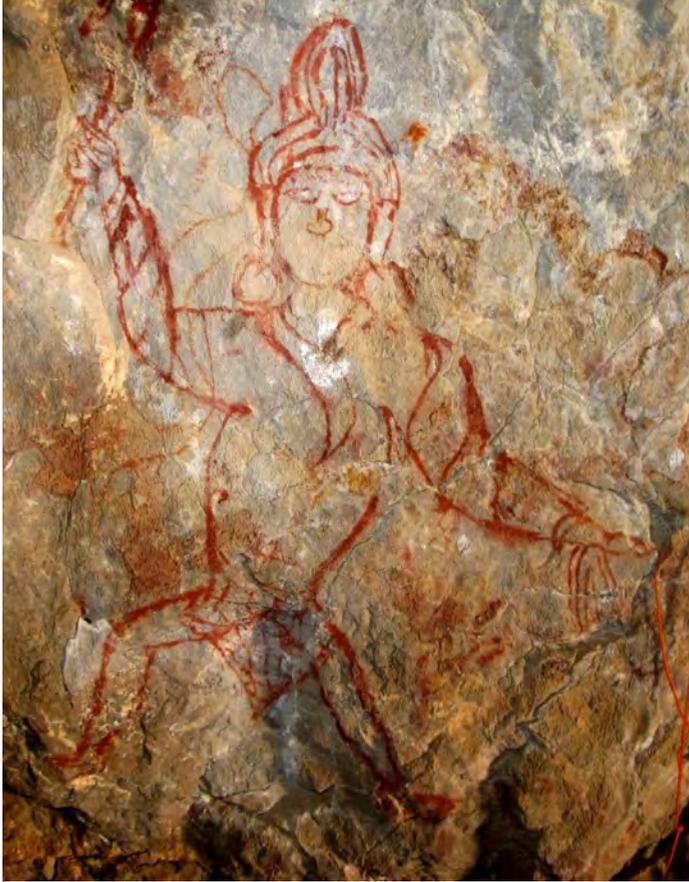
Fig. 15. An adept or priest painted in red ochre more than half life size (1.1 m in height). Sgar gsol brag phug (Shan rtsa County/Nag tshang). Early Historic Period. The standing male figure is attired in a tight-fitting shirt and what appears to be a tiger skin loincloth (*stag sham*). The upper garment has a low collar, tight fitting sleeves and opens along the middle of the chest. A turban is wound around the head and prominent topknot (*thor gtsug*) of the figure. Large hoop earrings hang from drooping ears and the eyes and mouth are semi-circular. The figure wields a hook (*lcakyu*) in the right hand and appears to be holding a coiled lasso (*zhags pa*) in the left. He wears low-slung footwear or what might be anklets.

This pictograph with its many details is a rich source of information concerning ancient sacerdotal garb. The dress and coiffure of this figure suggest that he is depicted in the fashion of a brahman (*bram ze*), as was the famous eighth-century CE master who resided at Gnam

mtsho, Stong rgyung mthu chen, according to Yungdrung Bon texts. Like stepped shrine rock art, this pictograph anticipates Yungdrung Bon iconographic conventions that emerged ca. 1000 CE. This is not surprising in that there are numerous ideological and procedural affinities between Old Tibetan and Yungdrung Bon mytho-ritual literature, despite the differing religious orientations.

Fig. 16. Another large priestly or divine figure painted inside Sgar gsol brag phug (Shan rtsa County/Nag tshang). Early Historic Period. This individual is depicted with a tall, pointed crown or topknot, a pair of prominent fangs, odd-shaped ears, cat-like pupils, and flexed arms and legs. He does not appear to wear any clothing. Note the counterclockwise swastika above the left hand of the figure, which seems to be an integral part of the composition.

The headdress of this anthropomorph is somewhat reminiscent of Buddhist tantric accoutrements like the central portion of the *rigs lnga* crown heaped around a topknot. Likewise, the wrathful appearance of the figure may possibly have been inspired by an emerging tantric tradition in Tibet. Nevertheless, the iconography of the figure is unique, seemingly an antetype for the rendering of gods and saints in the Yungdrung Bon attitude. The crude execution of the portrait suggests that it was painted by local inhabitants, registering religious activities and personalities associated with the large cave sanctuary of Sgar gsol brag phug. A Rnying ma monastery, Dpal gzims phug, was founded in the region by Blo gros mtha' yas, in 1095 CE.[22] The foundation of this monastery seems to mark definitive control of the region by Buddhist adherents.

The Horned Eagle

The horned eagle or *khyung* is one of Tibet's most iconic creatures. Like other carnivorous birds (hawks, vultures, falcons, and owls, etc.), it is a facet of many Tibetan narratives, myths and rituals. The *khyung* has come to play a role in a broad range of Yungdrung Bon and Buddhist doctrines. It is the winged mount of various protective deities, as well as standing alone as a protector (*srung ma*) and tutelary deity (*yi dam*). The *khyung* often accompanies enlightened gods as a member of their retinue, occupying the highest position around the throne. Associated with the fire element and space, the *khyung* is commonly propitiated to counteract diseases attributed to the water spirits (*klu*). Its horns are said to possess demon destroying properties. In both Buddhist and Yungdrung Bon, the *khyung* is the main zoomorphic emblem of the profound philosophical and mind training tradition known as the Great Perfection (Rdzogs chen).

The *khyung* has dual historico-cultural origins: indigenous and Indian (cf. Tucci 1973: 36). Its Indian ancestry is as the *garuda*, a flying creature with the wings and tail of a raptor and the arms and body of a human. With the advance of Hinduism and Buddhism across eastern and southeastern Asia, the *garuda* spread widely. Reaching Tibet with the introduction of Buddhism in the Early Historic period, the *garuda* became assimilated to the *khyung*, displacing earlier religious lore associated with this mythic bird-of-prey.

Yungdrung Bon has retained numerous accounts of the *khyung*, the king of birds (*bya rgyal*), set in the prehistoric era. Some of these tales

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[22]   On this monastery and proximate archaeological sites at Dgon ro dmar lding, see Bellezza 2014a, pp. 399–402.

have a Buddhist ring to them like those describing the transformation of sages into *khyung* as a prelude to ultimate liberation. Tantric forms of the *khyung* in the Me ri and Ge khod cycles are replete with ideas and imagery shared with Buddhism. Even the pentad of *khyung* that reside at Mount Ti se in the Yungdrung Bon Mother Tantra (Ma rgyud) are overlaid by a thick Buddhist-like philosophical mantle. However, Yungdrung Bon has also preserved what appears to be older religious lore of the *khyung*, functioning as genealogical and uranic protective spirits. The best known defender *khyung* are in the form of territorial spirits (*yul lha*), masters of places (*gzhi bdag*) and warrior spirits (*sgra bla/dgra lha*), allies of ancient adepts and kings in various tales. Texts relating the mythic origins of the Khyung po clan (*khyung rabs*) declare that the horned eagle first appeared as a divine progenitor in Zhang zhung.[23] In these accounts, human scions of the Khyung po clan are credited with establishing the first temples (*gsas mkhar*) of Zhang zhung. The *khyung* also functioned as a psychopomp in archaic funerary rituals.[24] The oldest references in Old Tibetan literature to this raptor and its feathers appear to be of Imperial-period antiquity (see Pt 1136, Pt 1194, ITJ 738, etc.). The Kyung po clan is mentioned in both Old Tibetan texts and rock inscriptions found in Ru thog. In Yungdrung Bon texts, prehistoric *gshen* and *bon* priests are reputed to have worn robes and hats of *khyung* feathers, and to have had magical instruments and armaments made from the body parts of these great birds. In the *Ti se'i dkar chag* (written by Dkar ru grub dbang bstan 'dzin, mid-19th century) the horns of the *khyung* are recorded as the paramount symbol of sovereignty for the kings of Zhang zhung. Moreover, the *khyung* has lent its name to numerous toponyms in the Tibetan world, probably the most famous of which is Khyung lung dngul/rngul mkhar, a capital of the Zhang zhung kingdom.

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[23]   On *khyung rabs* literature, see Bellezza 2008, pp. 288, 289.

[24]   On *khyung* as funerary protective deities, see *ibid.*, 2013a, 68–70. The horns of the *khyung* (*khyung ru*) are mentioned in two funerary ritual texts from Dunhuang, Pt 1136 and Pt 1194. In this Old Tibetan literary context, the horns of the *khyung* work as an instrument for subjugating demons interfering with the passage of the dead to the celestial afterlife. See Bellezza 2008, pp. 506–509, pp. 518–522.

Fig. 17. A red ochre *khyung* with prominent horns almost forming a circle, a head that appears to point to the right, long, narrow body, upraised wings, and bell-shaped tail. Ra ma do, north shore of Gnam mtsho (Dpal mgon County). Protohistoric period.

This highly worn pictograph is one of at least 16 horned eagles I have documented in the rock art of Upper Tibet. Nearly all examples show the *khyung* with spread wings soaring in magnificent isolation, as part of a well developed tradition of zoomorphic portraiture in the region. These carvings and paintings are situated across Upper Tibet and vary in age from the Late Bronze Age or Iron Age to the historic era. Given its wide spatial and temporal distribution, the horned eagle is truly an iconic subject.[25] It is in the Early Historic period that the *khyung* of rock

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[25]   On *khyung* rock art in Upper Tibet, see Bruneau and Bellezza, pp. 28, 66, 67; Bellezza 2001, p. 358 (fig. 10.78); 2008, p. 172 (fig. 303), 175 (fig. 310); 2002, p. 216 (fig. XI-17c), 217 (XI-17c, 18c), 221 (XI-26c), 234 (XI-4e, 5e); 2015c; 2013b; 2012a; in press.

art and texts converge chronologically, illustrating its pervasiveness in the Tibetan world of that time. Furthermore, rock art corroborates the prehistoric status of the horned eagle as presented in Tibetan literature. Although pictographs and petroglyphs of horned eagles cannot be related infallibly to specific accounts in Old Tibetan and Yungdrung Bon literature, the themes conveyed in them are likely to resonate with rock art depictions, serving as a broad-based tool of identification and analysis.

Fig. 18. *Khyung* with double-curved horns, triangular beak facing left, outstretched wings, bi-triangular body, and fan-shaped tail. Sum mdo 2 (Spiti). Probably Iron Age.

This adeptly rendered carving is one of four or five horned eagles in the rock art of Spiti, in styles directly comparable to that of Upper Tibet and Ladakh.[26] This Spitian rock art is both painted and carved. The double-curved horns in fig. 18 recall a motif in wild yak (*'brong*) rock art of the same period (see fig. 20). Horned eagle rock art in Spiti is one of several subjects (e.g., mascoids, animal style art, wild yak hunters,

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[26]   See Bellezza 2015b, figs. 14–18; in press. In the rock art of Ladakh there are at least seven examples of raptors with outstretched wings depicted with horns (Vernier and Bruneau 2017: 325 [fig. c]).

etc.) that ally this region culturally to its larger Plateau neighbors in the east and north, beginning as early as the Late Bronze Age. The areal distribution of *khyung* rock art potentially corroborates Yungdrung Bon literary assertions regarding this creature as the symbol par excellence of Zhang zhung and may possibly provide signposts delimiting its territorial extent.

The Animal Mount

Yungdrung Bon and Buddhism are replete with descriptions of the animal mounts upon which deities and adepts are carried. These zoomorphic vehicles are part of both Indic and indigenous religious expressions in Tibet. A wide variety of animals are represented and it is not unusual for a single god or goddess to have more than one at their disposal. Of special interest to this study are the conveyances of native protective deities that inhabit the sky, land and water. These include wild yaks, antelopes, raptors, bears, wolves, other large carnivores, and many other species. Especially suggestive of the Upper Tibetan cultural and environmental context is the wild yak, the largest mammal endemic to the Tibetan Plateau. In the Yungdrung Bon and popular mytho-ritual framework, the wild yak (male and female) is one of the most common vehicles of mountain gods, lake goddesses and other protective deities such as the father god (*pho lha*), mother goddess (*mo lha*) and warrior god (*dgra lha*).

In numinous form, the wild yak serves as an emanation of many kinds of divinities.[27] Most typical of this class of zoomorphic spirits is the white wild yak celestial spirit (*lha 'brong dkar po*), a *dgra lha* that is believed to inhabit sacred mountains all over Tibet. Among the oldest literary references are found in a Dunhuang text (Pt 126) and probably date to the Imperial period: male yak celestial spirit (*lha g.yag sham po*) and female yak celestial spirit (*lha 'bri zal mo*). It seems likely that some of the hundreds of prehistoric portraits of solitary wild yaks in the rock art of Upper Tibet are supramundane versions of this species. However, it is seldom possible to differentiate these from more ordinary manifestations.

On the other hand, there is a genre of rock art in Upper Tibet in which anthropomorphic figures are mounted on wild yaks.[28] It is this kind of composition that anticipates the literary trope of divine and

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[27] For extensive coverage of wild yak mounts and spirits in the textual and folk traditions of Upper Tibet, consult Bellezza 2005; 2008.

[28] For a survey of this rock art, see Bellezza 2012b. On wild yak rock art more generally, see Bellezza 2016b; 2017.

priestly personalities riding wild bovids in Tibet. Again, it must be stressed that relating this rock art to the literary record in anything but general terms is a provisional exercise.

Fig. 19. An anthropomorphic figure mounted on a wild yak. Skyil grum (Dge rgyas County / Tshwa kha). Iron Age.

There are a number of examples of anthropomorphic figures mounted on wild yaks in the rock art of at least four different sites in Upper Tibet. This style of yak with barbed tail and belly fringe is common in Upper Tibet, and appears to designate wild male variants of the species. Riding wild or bull yaks is not practicable, obviating an ordinary human identity for riders in this genre of rock art.

Fig. 20. Two wild yaks with what appear to be highly stylized riders. In this rendering the wild yaks have wedge-shaped tails and double-curved horns. Skyil grum (Dge rgyas County / Tshwa kha). Iron Age.

Whether depicting divine, heroic or priestly riders, or something entirely different, it appears that wild yaks were already seen as magical carriers in the prehistoric era, as they still are in contemporary Tibetan religious belief.

Conclusion

Archaeological and literary sources attest to the interplay of figurative and symbolic traditions in Tibet from deep in prehistory until the present day. When Upper Tibetan rock art is viewed in its entirety, strong iconographic patterns emerge, constituting a body of cultural materials amenable to comparison with written accounts. It can be concluded that the presence of the swastika, stepped shrine, priest, horned eagle, and rider of the wild yak in contemporary Tibetan religions is a by-product of long-lived customs on the Tibetan Plateau. Rock art, textual records and Yungdrung Bon classical art comprise coherent assemblages of these key subjects with manifold parallels in outward form.

The persistence exhibited by the figures and symbols under examination argues in favor of ideological correlates linking the prehistoric and historic eras. Although the meaning attached to these representations was modified by historical developments associated with the introduction of Buddhism, there was no complete break with earlier artistic conceptions and models. Nevertheless, the spread of Buddhism in the Early Historic period had a huge impact on the trajectory of culture and religion more generally in Tibet. Hence, the ritual, narrative, or mythic weight assigned subjects and emblems in Yungdrung Bon is not necessarily germane to prehistoric rock art considered in this article. Rather, Yungdrung Bon, as well as Old Tibetan literature, are best viewed as incomplete or imperfect guides to the definition and function of more ancient versions of analogous subjects.

It remains to be determined how rock art might have affected the formation of Yungdrung Bon semiology and iconography, informing them through long-established ideas and practices. In the Vestigial period, rock art was used as a platform of expression by adherents of Yungdrung Bon (or closely related localized cults) in Upper Tibet. A cross-fertilization of religious elements in the artistic and textual arenas was clearly at work at that time.

Some might read the swastikas, stepped shrines, priests, horned eagles, and wild yak riders in rock art as supporting the conventional Yungdrung Bon historical narrative, which holds that it is tantamount to a pre-10th century CE form of *bon*. Others will see this rock art as evidence helping to differentiate Yungdrung Bon from earlier religious systems in Tibet. In any case, physical forms were preserved with remarkable fidelity, while alterations to the import of swastikas, stepped shrines, priests, horned eagles, and wild yak riders occurred over the long sweep of time.

The actual degree of cultural perdurability enjoyed by the rock art under discussion remains an open question. Despite current limitations to historical appraisal, robust graphic affinities between swastikas, stepped shrines, priests, horned eagles, and wild yak riders in the rock art and textual records are undeniable. Of course, much depends on perception and what one chooses to privilege in a comparative study of the relevant sources. Yet, even setting aside questions of abstract content, the artistic interrelationships presented in this article are highly substantive in themselves. Additional inquiry promises to further enhance our understanding of the cultural and religious development of ancient Tibet.

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The Strange Case of the "Buddha from Space"

Isrun Engelhardt
(Icking)

"Priceless Tibetan Buddha statue looted by Nazis,"
"Der Nazi-Buddha aus dem All" [Nazi Buddha from Space],"
"Ancient statue discovered by Nazis is made from meteorite."

he end of September 2012 saw such reports almost daily in the international media, from *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* to *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and *Spiegel Online*. What had happened? The distinguished *Guardian* had this to say:

> A priceless Buddha statue looted by Nazis in Tibet in the 1930s was carved from a meteorite which crashed to the Earth 15,000 years ago, according to new research. The relic bears a Buddhist swastika on its belly – an ancient symbol of luck that was later co-opted by the Nazis in Germany. Analysis has shown the statue is made from an incredibly rare form of nickel-rich iron present in falling stars. The 1,000-year-old carving, which is 24cm high and weighs 10kg, depicts the god Vaisravana, the Buddhist King of the North, and is known as the Iron Man statue. It was stolen before the Second World War during a pillage of Tibet by Hitler's SS, who were searching for the origins of the Aryan race. It eventually made its way to a private collection and was hidden away until it was auctioned in 2007. … Buchner's team of researchers from Germany and Austria dated it to a specific event in astronomy history when the Chinga meteorite fell in the border region of eastern Siberia and Mongolia between 10,000 and 20,000 years ago. Tests proved the icon was made of a rare ataxite class, the rarest meteorite type found on Earth….[1]

This sensational report referenced a scientific article published not long before by geoscientists Elmar Buchner, Martin Schmieder, Gero Kurat, Franz Brandstätter, Utz Kramar, Theo Ntaflos and Jörg Kröch-

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[1] Matt McGrath, Sept. 27, 2012 www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-19735959; Mark Taylor, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/28/nazi-buddha-statue-carved-from-meteorite. See also Nina Weber, Sept. 27, 2012 www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/tausend-jahre-alte-buddha-statue-ist-aus-meteorit-geschnitzt-a-858258.html, all acc. Sept. 22, 2016.

ert: "Buddha from Space—An ancient object of art made of a Chinga iron meteorite fragment."[2]

Courtesy of Elmar Buchner

The abstract of the geoscientists' article, however, was significantly more tentative in its conclusions:

The fall of meteorites has been interpreted as divine messages by multitudinous cultures since prehistoric times, and meteorites are still adored as heavenly bodies. […] The geochemical data of the meteorite generally match the element values known from fragments of the Chinga ataxite (ungrouped iron) meteorite strewn field discovered in 1913. The provenance of the meteorite as well as of the piece of art strongly points to the border region of eastern Siberia and Mongolia, accordingly. The sculpture possibly portrays the Buddhist god Vaiśravaṇa and might originate in the Bon culture of the eleventh century. However, the ethnological and art historical de-

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2   Elmar Buchner *et al*. 2012. "Buddha from Space", 1491–1501.

tails of the "iron man" sculpture, as well as the timing of the sculpturing, currently remain speculative.

The sensational claims at the very beginning of *The Guardian* article are only addressed by the geoscientists later in the article itself,

> The origin and age of the 'iron man' meteorite is still a matter of speculation. To our knowledge, the statue was brought to Germany by a Tibet expedition in the years 1938–1939 guided by Ernst Schäfer (zoologist and ethnologist) by order of the German National Socialist government... The swastika on the cuirass of the statue is a minimum 3000-yr-old Indian sun symbol and is still used as an allegory of fortune.... One can speculate, whether the swastika symbol on the statue was a potential motivation to displace the 'iron man' meteorite artifact to Germany.[3]

This excerpt alone clearly reveals the gulf between the media's chosen focus and that of the geoscientists; on the one hand, the cautiously expressed supposition, outside the bounds of their geoscientific expertise, of a possible provenance related to Schäfer's Tibetan expedition, on the other the sensationalist claim that the Nazis had stolen a "priceless" Tibetan artwork of extremely rare meteorite rock while in Tibet.

Yet that passing reference to a possible connection to the Schäfer expedition sufficed to trigger such a wave of hype among the international media that the actual "sensation" itself— the incredible scientific discovery of this statue, carved from meteorite rock and unique throughout the world—was pushed completely aside.

It is noteworthy that as early as 2009, the authors had published an abstract about the find in *Meteoritics & Planetary Science*,[4] and even the German edition of *National Geographic* published a report with a photograph in November 2009 entitled "Kosmologie: Buddha aus dem All." Neither publication mentioned a possible connection to the Schäfer expedition, and the media took no further notice of the unique discovery by the meteorite researchers.

Scientific debate concerning the topic thus focused initially on aspects of art history and on considerations of the actual date of the statue and whom it might portray. While the geologists had made every effort to collect expert opinions prior to publishing their article, those opinions differed widely or even contradicted each other, as

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[3]   Ibid.: 1495.
[4]   E. Buchner *et al*. 2009. "Mythological Artifacts Made of Celestial Bodies".

Elmar Buchner explained in an interview by local newspaper *Wai-blinger Kreiszeitung*.[5]

> Buchner conducted in-depth research, questioned experts from an extensive range of disciplines, and actually received concrete statements. To be more precise, when he asked ten experts, he got "eleven different opinions." One of them insisted that the meteorite material must somehow have travelled from the Chinga region to Tibet before it was worked there, because the figure is quite clearly one of the four Tibetan Gods of the North. Another concluded that the figure had been made in the region where Siberia borders Mongolia and only brought to Tibet at a later stage, as beards are not worn there. The third confidently announced the figure represented a bridge deity. No, a god of wisdom. For heaven's sake, it's clearly a god of war – just look at that typical posture! It isn't a god, it's the portrait of a local ruler, as the posture clearly shows! Or maybe a god of prosperity, a small bag full of money in his hand.[6]

The diverging opinions of the experts provided little help to the meteorite researchers. Publication of the "Buddha from Space" article was followed by countless articles on the internet in which experts, often self-styled, claimed to be able to identify Greek, Roman, and Scythian influences.[7]

In October 2012, some weeks after "Buddha from Space" was published, Achim Bayer, Buddhologist from Dongguk University in Seoul, came out with a widely acclaimed article[8] or taking up the arguments of John Huntington from 29 September 2012.[9] In "The Lama Wearing Trousers" Bayer examined twelve stylistic characteristics which, in his view, indicated the statue was extremely unlikely to have originated in Tibet and thus certainly could not portray the god Vaiśravaṇa. He estimated the date of the statue at somewhere between 1920–1970. In addition, he proposed "that the statue was produced in Germany either for the general antique and curio market, or even for the lucrative market of Nazi memorabilia." Bayer, however, appears to have gone too far with this assumption; material as rare as

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[5]   Buchner confirmed the content in an email from Feb. 23, 2016.

[6]   Peter Schwarz & Nils Graefe. "Der Buddha aus dem All," *Waiblinger Kreiszeitung*, Oct. 5, 2012.

[7]   See: Florian Machl, "Gelehrtenstreit um frühbuddhistische Figur aus Meteoritenmetall. Weltweit einzigartiges Fundstück mit abenteuerlicher Fundgeschichte". Oct. 17, 2012.
      http://www.huscarl.at/fruehbuddhistische_figur_aus_meteorgestein_nazi_buddha_tibet.php, acc. Jan. 12, 2016.

[8]   Achim Bayer. 2012. "The Lama Wearing Trousers".

[9]   See www.academia.edu/2005397/Early_China_Archaeological_Digest_Bonus_Issue_10_6_12, acc. Sept.19, 2016.

the Chinga meteorite rock, with its unusually high weight, is far too valuable[10] and far too difficult to sculpt to have been used for a mere souvenir. Who, then, is this "Buddha from Space," this "Great Unknown?"

I will disregard aspects of natural science and meteoritics in this article, as they have been expertly covered in depth by Elmar Buchner and his team of geoscientists. Instead, I will focus on: (1) questions concerning the alleged purchase, or even theft, of the statue by the Schäfer expedition in Tibet, and (2) who is actually portrayed in this obviously non-Tibetan statue.

Let me begin with the issue of the Schäfer expedition, which I have studied in depth,[11] Contrary to speculations mainly generated by the presence of the swastika, it is highly unlikely that the statue was acquired by the Schäfer expedition in 1939. The outstanding ethnological collection of Tibetan culture as practiced in Tibet and Sikkim, comprising a total of over two thousand items, was purchased for 12,119.80 Reichsmark—making it the second highest item on the expedition's budget. These items are listed in their meticulous records, listing each of the purchased objects and gifts (with the names of the donor) including date, place, and price.[12] Although several small Buddhist statues were purchased in Lhasa, this meteorite statue was evidently not among them. Furthermore, the Schäfer expedition would not have had the funds for such a costly statue, since the Tibetans seem to have been aware of the rarity of meteorites.[13]

Additionally, it is doubtful that Schäfer's enthusiasm for National Socialism was so great that he would have purchased—let alone sto-

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[10]   It is the third largest piece of Chinga rock ever found. See mainly the inventory of the Russian Academy of Science (Akademia Nauk SSSR), according to the lists in the Russian Journal *Meteoritika* 37 (1978), 206 and 39 (1980), 98.

[11]   Ernst Schäfer. 1943. *Geheimnis Tibet*. See for example: Isrun Engelhardt (ed.). 2007. *Tibet in 1938–1939*. and 2008. "Nazis of Tibet", 63–96.

[12]   It was meticulously typed from a quite faded manuscript by Bruno Richtsfeld at the Museum Fünf Kontinente. After the vicissitudes of war and corresponding losses, the extant remains of the collection was given to Völkerkundemuseum München [Munich Ethnology Museum], recently renamed "Museum Fünf Kontinente", and can be examined in the depot there on request. See also Bruno J. Richtsfeld and Stefanie Kleidt. 2016. "Tibetica —The Collection of the Museum Fünf Kontinente", 16–21.

[13]   The Tibetans worship thogcha (*thog lcags*), ancient metal objects frequently worn in Tibet as amulets and often said to be made from meteorite material. They are also known as *skar rdo, gnam rdo, gnam lcags* – "star stone," "sky stone," "sky-iron," "first" or "original iron," or "thunderbolt iron." However, no systematic materials analyses have been performed to date and no thogcha actually made from meteorite material have come to light. See John Vincent Bellezza. 1998. "Thogchags: Talismans of Tibet." 44–64; Gudrun John. 2006. *Tibetische Amulette aus* Himmelseisen; Hans Weihreter. 2002. *Thog-lcags*.

len—a statue displaying a swastika facing in the opposite direction of the NS swastika. Furthermore, the Chinga meteorite from which the statue was chiseled was found more than 2500 kilometers from Lhasa, in a remote and inaccessible region[14] near the Siberian-Mongolian border in Tannu Tuva, not far from Kyzil.

Despite this lack of any credible connection to Schäfer, blogs with titles like "Nazi-found Buddhist statue," or "Ancient statue the Nazis stole," or, more recently, "Nazis Stole Buddha from Space," still dominate the web, overshadowing the findings of serious research.

The first information about the Chinga meteorite field to reach the West came from the Russian mining engineer Nikolai Mikhailovich Chernevich, who discovered it in 1912 and sent some samples to the Academy of Science at St. Petersburg. However, the scientists there doubted that it was a meteorite and thought it was a local form of iron.[15] In 1923, other scientists reexamined it and concluded that it was, in fact, a meteorite.[16]

In the 11th century Buddhism had not yet spread to Mongolia and had not encountered the Bon religion.[17] It is highly improbable that as early as the 11th century this chunk of Chinga meteorite would have been discovered, let alone recognized as a precious meteorite. It is impossible that it was carved into a Buddhist statue at a time when Buddhism did not exist in the region. In order for it to be acquired in Tibet, one would have to assume that the "stone" had been transported over a huge distance, through deserts and across high mountain passes, to be eventually chiseled into a Bon statue in Western Tibet (where there was a strong Bon presence) and then transported to Lhasa, where, some nine hundred years later, it was, acquired by the Schäfer expedition for Nazi-inspired reasons, despite the "wrong" swastika. For all these reasons, one may confidently conclude that the 'iron man' statue was not brought back by the expedition.

The Seller

It was initially impossible to determine the provenance of the statue; the seller who approached Buchner in 2007 seeking expert assess-

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[14]   See the chapter "Chinge: Gold, Greed, Murder, and Dumplings". In Roy A. Gallant. 2002. *Meteorite* Hunter, 83–106.

[15]   O.A. Backlund – V.G. Khlopin. 1915. "Novaya nakhodka samorodnogo nikelistogo zheleza", 891–901.

[16]   Gunnar Pehrman. 1923. "Über ein Nickeleisen aus Tannuola (Mongolei), 1-12.

[17]   Evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Tanna-Tuva from the 13th century onwards is said to exist; see Dany Savelli. 2005. "Penser le bouddhisme et la Russie", 25.

ment had stipulated anonymity as a condition of sale. In fall 2014, however, I happened to come across a website operated by a certain Mr. Kaledin which carried exactly the photographs of the statue that Elmar Buchner had taken at the time. A first material analysis, dated 13 June 2007, by the well known expert on archeometry, Professor Ernst Pernicka had also been posted. Unfortunately the site was taken offline shortly after I discovered it, but not before I had taken screenshots.[18] The seller who had wished to remain anonymous proved to be a Russian—Igor Kaledin, He was staying with a Russian friend in Stuttgart and had posted Buchner's photographs without prior agreement. Kaledin did not speak any German, and despite claiming to live in Australia his English was sufficiently poor that his friend had to serve as interpreter. The two men attempted to pressure Buchner into purchasing the statue; if not, the statue would "go back,", not to Australia, Kaledin's alleged country of residence, but "back to Russia."

Kaledin and his friend had also approached Angelika Borchert, an expert in Asian arts who at the time was working at a Cologne auction house specializing in Asian arts, and again, had made unpleasant attempts to pressure her into purchasing the figure; Borchert however, rejected the statue as of non-Tibetan origin. Eventually in 2009, the statue was purchased privately by Gero Kurat, a geologist at the Natural History Museum Vienna, because it was too expensive for the museum—in the hope that the museum could purchase the statue in the future when its financial position improved. By that time Kaledin could no longer be reached at the address in Australia he had provided. An inspection of the catalogs from all art auctions held in Munich between 2005–2007 reveals that the statue was not put up for auction until spring of 2007; no auction house would have accepted it without an art expert's opinion. These are the only verified facts that are currently available. Taken together, they pointed toward Russia

Who does the statue portray?
Visual evidence

Friends and colleagues provided vague hints concerning esoteric and theosophical fields. Soon the name of Nikolai Roerich popped up as a potential starting-point for further investigation.

The Russian artist Nikolai Roerich (1874–1947) is remembered primarily for his numerous and highly distinctive pictures of the

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[18]   http://kaledin.12see.de, last accessed on Sept. 22, 2014.

Himalayas. Most of them were painted during his long Central Asian expedition, which he made between 1925-1928 together with his wife Elena, a Theosophist and staunch follower of the Mahatma "Master" Morya,[19] and with his son, the Tibetologist George (or Yuri). This portrait, painted by his son Svetoslav in 1933 depicts Nikolai Roerich in a splendid Tibetan robe in front of Tashi Lhunpo (fig. 2).

Nicholas Roerich Museum Moscow

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[19]   Mahatma Morya was one of the main "Masters of the Ancient Wisdom" of H. P. Blavatsky (1831-1891), the founder of the Theosophy and one of her main spiritual guides in establishing the Theosophical Society and belonged to the "Great White Brotherhood" residing in Tibet. Long after Blavatsky's death, in 1920 Elena Roerich claimed to have "encountered" Master Morya at Hyde Park in London. In 1921 during spiritualistic sessions in the Roerichs apartment in New York, Elena identified the spirit as Mahatma Morya, who would take control of the entire Roerich family and guide them through their further life.

A similar photograph was taken by Nikolai's secretary Shibaev (fig. 3).

ca. 1933–34, Naggar, India, NRM archive, Ref. No: 401692

When I began to examine the vast numbers of pictures painted by Roerich available online I found this study or sketch from 1926, "The Order of Rigden-Jyepo," beyond doubt the basis for the tableau painted in 1927. (Fig. 4-6)[20]

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[20] Order of Rigden Jyepo Study https://www.wikiart.org/en/nicholas-roerich/order-of-rigden-jyepo-study, acc. Feb. 9, 2017. Order of Rigden Jyepo 1927, Nicholas Roerich Museum, Moscow.
https://www.wikiart.org/en/nicholas-roerich/order-of-rigden-jyepo, acc. Feb. 9, 2017.

A comparison of this sketch with the features listed by Achim Bayer immediately reveals a number of similarities:

- the trousers and the slits at the end of the trousers
- the arms clothed in tube-shaped sleeves
- the unusual single earring, although on the other ear
- the pointed helmet
- the cape with a rather thick knot
- the double halo.

The striking beard is missing, and the rigid posture of the meteorite statue also differs from that of Rigden Jyepo in the study. However, this stiff pose is strikingly similar to one that Roerich himself used to adopt, as can be seen in virtually all photographs and images of him.

The positions of the hands also correspond. The right hand makes the sign of charity (*vara-mudra*). The left hand of both the sketch and the statue seems to hold neither a mongoose nor a vase—but rather the famous radiant *cintāmaṇi* stone, the wish-fulfilling jewel coming from the sky, which Roerich painted several times. In 1923, when the Roerichs were in Paris, they received a mysterious package through dubious channels that allegedly contained this very stone, said to be a fragment of a meteorite.[21]

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[21]   According to the legend of this magic stone assembled by Elena from various mythological and esoteric sources, it was a most sacred ancient relic of the East with an illustrious list of alleged former possessors including Solomon, Alexander the Great, Tamerlane and Napoleon; unluckily, while in the latter's possession, it disappeared without trace. The *cintāmaṇi* stone is also known as the Holy Grail or the 'wandering stone,' *lapis exilis*. Master Morya promised Roerich that thanks to this stone he would "be able to lead the hordes of Mongols after him." (E. Rerikh, *Listy dnevnika*, Sept. 1, 1923, (I, 325).

According to Alexandre Andreyev, "Roerich seems to have conceived the idea of possessing and carrying around a sacred stone a long time before," and had an "unusual attraction to anything stony." The Roerichs attributed enormous significance to this meteorite stone.[22]

Rigden Jyepo, the future King of Shambhala, is often connected, or even equated, with the Buddha Maitreya, the Buddha of the future.[23]

Shambhala and Rigden Jyepo

Although the Roerich Central Asian expedition was originally described as a scientific and artistic exploration, it became more and more mysterious and esoteric, eventually revealing its true purpose: the Roerichs were searching for the legendary realm of Shambhala. Since the flight of the Panchen Lama, for whom Shambhala had particular significance,[24] to China in 1923, Roerich had become increasingly obsessed by the idea of the impending appearance of Maitreya and the future king of Shambhala, Rigden Jyepo.

Roerich mentions that he had first heard of Northern Shambhala, the mythical Buddhist kingdom, from "a very learned Buryat lama," presumably Agvan Dorzhiev (Dorjiev), in the course of the construction of the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg (1909-1915).[25] As early as January 1924, Elena wrote to their co-workers in New York, "In all Buddhist books and ancient Hindu legends is being mentioned the legendary mount Meru and the fairy-like country Shambhala."[26]

The Roerichs' imagination was particularly inspired by their stay in Darjeeling from 1924–1925 and their contact with Tibetan lamas. In his books, Nikolai Roerich mentions their frequent conversations with Tibetan lamas about Shambhala, its future ruler, Rigden Jyepo, and the imagery used to portray Tibet on Thangkas. George Roerich also presents Rigden Jyepo as the future king of Shambhala in his book on the Central Asian expedition, *Trails to Inmost Asia*:

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[22] See the fascinating chapter by Alexandre Andreyev, "The Apparition of the Black Stone: A Miracle or a Hoax"? In id. 2014. *The Masters Revived: The Occult Lives of Nikolai and Elena Roerich* 124–145.

[23] Kenneth Archer. 1999. *Nicholas Roerich*, 153. However, see also the "Lama" to Roerich in N. Roerich, "Shambhala the Resplendent," 4: "If Rigden-jyepo and the Blessed Maitreya are one and the same for you — let it be so. I have not so stated!"

[24] Fabienne Jagou. 2011. *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883-1937)*, 70.

[25] Andreyev, 29; Nicholas Roerich. 1947. *Himalaya. Abode of Light*, 110.

[26] Elena's letter from Jan. 18, 1924, NRM Ref. No.: 201661.

> The Grand Lama of Tashi-lhun-po was, in his Second Incarnation, Rig-den jam-pe dak-pa (Tib. Rigs-ldan 'jam-dpal grags-pa), one of the rulers of Shambhala, who are said to govern the realm for one hundred years. In his future incarnation, His Holiness the Tashi Lama will be reborn as Rigden Jye-po,[27] the future ruler of Shambhala, whose destiny is to conquer the followers of evil, and establish the reign of Maitreya, the future Buddha. Several iconographical representations of Shambhala and the Kalacakra exist. The King of Shambhala, or Rig-den Jye-po, is usually represented seated on a throne covered by a cushion. With his left hand placed on his lap, he supports the Wheel of Law; his right hand makes the sign of charity (*vara-mudra*)…[28]

Two similarities with the meteorite statue listed by George are especially striking: "In some ancient paintings, the King is seen attired in breastplate armor, and wears the pointed helmet."[29] However, the name of Rigden Jyepo is only used by the Roerichs. It is clearly an idiosyncratic form of Rigden dagpo (Tib. *rigs ldan drag po*),[30] the wrathful 25th or 32nd (depending on the counting method used) future King of Shambhala, whose troops will defeat the ruler of the unbelievers in the year 2425.

Roerich first heard about Gesar of Ling, the Hero from the North, in September 1924 from Alexandra David-Neel,[31] whom he had met in Kurseong near Darjeeling: "The King of Shambhala is also known as Gesar Link (Khan). All Tibetans know this. He is expected to come from Siberia. According to the prophecy, all his associates have already been reborn."[32]

In Tibet and Mongolia, Rigden Jyepo is frequently equated with Gesar in his role as defender of Buddhist teachings.[33] This prophecy must have fired Roerich's imagination; he amalgamated the project of a pan-Buddhist/Communist state in Central Asia with the northern

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[27]   However, interestingly George Roerich had originally given the name in the more correct form in the manuscript for his book–Rigden dagpo (*Rigs-ldan drag po)*– before adopting his father Nicholas Roerich's version 'Rigden Jyepo': single pages of a manuscript draft for his *Trails to Inmost Asia* in the New York Roerich Museum, no ref. No.

[28]   George N. Roerich. 1931. *Trails to Inmost Asia*, 157.

[29]   Ibid., 158.

[30]   Or Tibetan. *'khor lo chen po*, in Sanskrit *Raudacakrin*. To avoid confusion, however, I will continue to use the Roerich's spelling of Rigden Jyepo.

[31]   Dany Savelli. 2013. "Alexandra David-Néel et Nicolas Roerich — histoire d'une rencontre autour de Gesar de Ling et de Shambhala", 150-167.

[32]   24 September 1924."Pi'sma Nikolaia Rerikha v Dalai Phobrang", 27.

[33]   Rolf A. Stein. 1959. *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde*, 524-528; Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz. 2004. *Die Mythologie des Tibetischen und Mongolischen Buddhismus*, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, 1230.

country of Shambhala. The realization of this "Great Plan"would prove to determine the future thoughts and actions of the Roerich family.

On a flying visit from Darjeeling to Berlin in December 1924 to petition the Soviet Embassy for Moscow's support for his plan, Embassy staff member Astakhov reported Roerich to have said, "Tibet is filled with prophesies about the events to take place very soon that would radically change the country... Salvation is expected to come from the North and there are even dates given, the years 1928–1931. The Tibetan Lamas and the Himalayan Mahatmas preach the identity of the communist ideas with Buddha's teachings."[34] A.E Bystrov, the Soviet consul in Urumchi, who was befriended by Roerich, commented on his meeting with Roerich in April 1926 by noting that Roerich's aim was "To ally Buddhism and Communism and to create the Great Eastern Union of Republics" and [that he] claimed that among Tibetan and Indian Buddhists "there is a current belief that their liberation from the foreign yoke will come precisely from the Reds in Russia – the Northern Red Shambhala."[35] Mahatma Morya also repeatedly expressed support in statements such as "Everything has changed – Lenin is with us,"[36] and "Communism is necessary for evolution."[37] In the spring of 1926, Morya had already drawn up a nine-point plan for negotiations with official bodies in Moscow, including declarations that Buddha's teachings were revolutionary and that Maitreya was the symbol of Communism.[38]

The evolution in Roerich's attitude was remarkably rapid. On 12 September 1919 he had launched a vehement attack on the Bolsheviks, "The Violators of Art": "... All that the Bolsheviks boast of is simply a swindle, a false staging which is intended to deceive the various Socialistic commissions which come to investigate the Bolshevist 'Heaven on Earth'…. Vulgarity and hypocrisy. Betrayal and bribery. The distortion of all the sacred conceptions of mankind. That is Bolshevism."[39]

The country of Shambhala, the "source of happiness," was associated with an eschatological promise. Shambhala had first and foremost been a geographical utopia, which transformed into a political utopia as Tibetan Buddhism spread through Mongolia. Unlike Tibet,

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[34] Andreyev, 200.

[35] Ibid.: 228.

[36] Morya is usually quoted by Elena Roerich in her various diaries, edited in Russian by Vladimir Rosov: Elena I. Rerikh *Listy dnevnika* I (1920–1923; II (1924–1925); III (1925–1927); IV (1927–1928). Here: May 29, 1925, (II, 318).

[37] E. Rerikh, Jun. 28, 1925, (II, 339).

[38] E. Rerikh, Mar. 18, 1926, (III, 119).

[39] http://forum.roerich.info/showthread.php?t=60, acc. on Jan. 6, 2017.

in Mongolia the perception of Shambhala shifted to a political entity from the end of the 19th century. This was due to the influence of the Buriyat monk Agvan Dorzhiev, who successfully convinced the 13th Dalai Lama that Shambhala was identical with Tsarist Russia, and the Tsar was none other than the ruler of Shambhala.[40] Other Buryat Mongolian lamas and intellectuals such as Tsyben Zhamtsarano developed similar political schemes concerning the unification of Buddhism and Communism.[41] "Thus, N. Roerich's project was largely in line with the geopolitical thinking of his predecessors"[42] and contemporaries. In early 1927, Elena even received a message from Mahatma Morya calling on the Roerichs "to stir up" the peoples of Asia.[43]

In Khotan, Roerich learned further details about Shambhala and Rigden Jyepo: "The pilgrims are passing on their way bringing new messages. In Urga will be set a place for the Temple of Shambhala. When the image of Rigden-japo will reach Urga, then will flash the first light of the New Era—truth. Then will the true renaissance of Mongolia begin."[44]

Roerich's later stay of over six months in Urga (Ulan Bator) in 1926–1927 appears to have been a particularly powerful source of inspiration for him; various Rigden Jyepo paintings were produced during this period.

Textual evidence

While searching for textual evidence that might definitively assign the statue to Roerich, I came across various Russian diaries written by the participants of the Central Asian expedition. Particularly interesting in this context was the book by Konstantin Riabinin, the expedition's physician, who meticulously maintained the expedition's official and voluminous diary in Tibet. This informative source documents how Roerich's fascination with Shambhala and its future king gradually turned into an obsession. He came to style himself as the twenty-fifth and last king of Shambhala, as the following incident reveals.

The Soviet orientalist and diplomat Boris Pankratov recalled a meeting with Roerich after his Tibetan expedition, in Beijing, pre-

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[40]   Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz. 1992/93. "Utopian Thought in Tibetan Buddhism: A Survey of the Śambhala Concept and its Sources", 78–96; and 2013. "Shambhala and its Visual Representation: The Prague Thangka" [In print].

[41]   See, for example, Vera Tolz. 2015. "Reconciling Ethnic Nationalism and Imperial Cosmopolitanism: The Lifeworlds of Tsyben Zhamtsarano (1880–1942)", 723–746.

[42]   Andreyev, 268–274, here 275.

[43]   E. Rerikh, Jan. 7, 1927, (III, 230).

[44]   N. Roerich. 1930. *Altai-Himalaya*, 168.

sumably in 1934–1935 in the house of Baron Alexander von Staël-Holstein.[45] There Roerich mentioned that he "wanted to enter Tibet as the 25th king of Shambhala, of whom people said that he would come from the North to bring salvation to mankind and would become the ruler of the world. For this occasion, he would wear a ceremonial lamaist robe."[46] Roerich and his son George had already ordered magnificent examples of these ceremonial robes in Darjeeling in 1924.

The Apotheosis of Nikolai Roerich

As a young man, Roerich regarded himself as an artist, as a remarkable personality, rising loftily above the masses: "To achieve success we must not regard ourselves as ordinary people ... with time I can rise high above them all and they themselves will offer me everything."[47] This attitude intensified when Elena began to follow her master and teacher, Mahatma Morya, who would exercise a profound influence on the couple's life in the future. As early as May 9, 1921, Morya informed them—channeling through Elena as his medium—that Nikolai Roerich was an incarnation of a seventeenth-century Dalai Lama;[48] and on January 31, 1922, he became even more specific asserting that Roerich was an incarnation of theGreat Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682).[49] Zina Fosdik, a close confidante of the Roerichs, frequently repeated this claim in her diaries.[50]

Allegedly monks from the Moru monastery in Lhasa, who were staying in Darjeeling in 1924 at the same time as the Roerichs, also recognized Roerich as theFifthDalai Lama by the pattern of the moles on his right cheek in the shape of the Great Bear constellation.[51]

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[45] According to Andreyev, 255, this period is plausible, as subsequent conversations about the Roerich Pact continued.

[46] These words were quoted by Yu. l. Krol' in an essay devoted to B.I. Pankratov. "Zarisovka k portretu uchitelia," [Sketch for a Portrait of the Teacher] 1989, 90.

[47] Letter from 28 June 28, 1900, quoted in Andreyev, 16 and 145.

[48] E. Rerikh, May 9, 1921, (I, 29).

[49] E. Rerikh, Jan. 31, 1922, (I, 122). However, the 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682) is said to have lived to 1732! And it is claimed that "Morya visited the Dalai Lama in 1721 [sic!] to discuss the affairs of our House."

[50] Zina G. Fosdik. 2002. *Moi Uchitelia. Vstrechi s Rerikhami. Po stranitsam dnevnika 1922–1934*, Jul. 29, 1922, Aug. 14 and 17, 1928, 77, 289, 325. Even before the expedition, Roerich had already shown a passion for expressions of veneration. A photograph on p. 221, probably taken in New York in 1923, shows the famous Russian-American sculptor "Gleb W. Derujinsky at work on a bust of Nicholas Roerich."

[51] Andrei Znamenski. 2011. *Red Shambhal*a, 177–178. This dubious claim comes from the writer Sidorov, p. 245, who, however, only writes that senior lamas have recognized Roerich, but without any proof or sources. (see Andreyev, 176), so that

Later, Master Morya further confirmed the Roerichs' exaggerated sense of self by saying, "Remember that you are already ruling the world, since no one else has the clue to the events."[52] And in June 1927 he assured the Roerichs that they were already placed above the common people.[53] Hearing from his master that he was placed above the common mortals and was even a reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama made it easier for Roerich to take a step further and regard himself as Rigden Jyepo.[54]

The Roerichs were well aware of the near-impossibility of visiting Central Tibet, and Lhasa in particular, and they knew of many failed attempts to proceed on their journey by Western travellers including Petr Koslov, Przewalski, and Sven Hedin. They also knew that the French orientalist Alexandra David-Neel, the Japanese monk Ekai Kawaguchi and the American anthropologist William Montgomery McGovern had only managed to reach Lhasa in disguise. The exclu-

the claims can be discounted. Likewise, the illustration on p. 177 in Znamenski allegedly showing the lamas from Moru ling 1924 is, in fact, a photo from 1928 entered in the diary of Zina Fosdik on 7 October 1928, p. 377; it was taken in May 1928 at the end of the Central Asian expedition and showed instead, according to Roerich's hand-written note, lama Mingyur, and the sirdar, cook, servant and coolies of the expedition.

[52] E. Rerikh, Jul. 15, 1925, (III, 17); translation Andreyev, 232. Appropriately in line with the Roerichs' tendency to raise themselves above mere mortals is the fact that they named the house where they stayed in Darjeeling Dalai Phobrang, "Palace of the[Thirteenth] Dalai Lama," because he had stayed there for a short while during his second exile in Darjeeling from 1910-1912. The house was generally known under the name of "Hill Side" as letters from George Roerich to Bailey show (unnumbered letters from George Roerichs dating from 1924 in the NRM.) The Tibetan biography of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama mentions only a *kothi*, or cottage. (Phur lcog thub bstan byams pa. 1982. "Sku phreng bcu gsum pa Thub bstan rgya mtsho'i rnam thar", vol. 7, 187.

[53] E. Rerikh, Jun. 3, 1927, (IV, 21–22).

[54] In addition, Roerich had also adopted a further name in 1925, clearly to serve as a pseudonym for contacts with the Soviets: Dorje or Mahatma Ak-Dorje. Although Dorje (*rdo rje*) is generally known in Tibetan as meaning *vajra* (thunderbolt), Ak-Dorje seems to be completely unknown in the language. It was presumably coined by the Roerichs with the new meaning: "the name of Ak-Dorje is the wheel of justice." Roerich also used the name to write fictitious letters about unrest in various countries eagerly waiting for the appearance of Maitreya. A fictitious article entitled "Mahatma Ak-Dorje" had allegedly been published in a Chinese newspaper in October 1925, making claims including "A new name is attracting public attention at present. The mysterious Ak-Dorje is appearing at various locations throughout Asia, representative of the unity of Asia and Communism". See Andreyev 217–221, 231; Ernst von Waldenfels. 2011. *Nikolai Roerich*, 210–214, 227–229; Vladimir A. Rosov. 2002. *Nikolai Rerikh: Vestnik Zvenigoroda*, 184. Morya provided the impetus for this on Oct. 19, 1925, E. Rerikh, (III, 48–49).

sive right to issue travel permits for Westerners was reserved by Lha-sa, and they adopted a very restrictive policy.

During the months of negotiations with the Tibetan agent in Urga, Morya thus came up with a new strategy for obtaining the long-awaited permit for Tibet. Here we find the first mention of "World community. Decree of the international Buddhists"[55], calling Roerich the "Ambassador from the Council of Western Buddhists."[56] This approach enabled the Roerichs to apply for an entry permit as Bud-dhist pilgrims. During the procedure, Morya expressed great concern about the ineffectual behavior of the Tibetan agent and urged George Roerich in particular to apply more pressure.[57] The expedition claimed to represent an outstanding association of global significance founded by international Buddhists. Finally—one day before their planned departure—they received these papers, as Riabinin wrote: "Yesterday the Tibetan Donyer brought the papers he usually issues to pilgrims, and a special letter to the Dalai Lama."[58]

How did the Roerichs succeed in convincing the Tibetan agent, who was clearly only authorized to issue pilgrim permits for Mongo-lians, to supply them with the coveted travel permits? Initially, this was due to the evidently good connections between the Mongolian and the Soviet authorities, and the OGPU in particular.[59] The British Political Officer for Sikkim, F.M. Bailey, gave more precise details in a hand-written draft of a report:

> Roerich and his party were detained several months in Nagchuka. He and his son George in their books complain very much of this as they had a permit given them by the Tibetan agent on the Mongoli-an-Tsaidam border. I met this man named Lobsang in Tibet. He told me the following story almost thus: Lobsang [the agent] had a serv-ant who was run in [arrested] by the Soviet Mongolian Authorities for having a pistol without a permit and thrown into jail. Roerich got him out in return for the permit to go to Lhasa which Lobsang gave him. Lobsang, of course, had no authority to give him such a permit, and knew that he had none. However to save himself from trouble over this he sent a secret letter by a member of the Roerich party to Lhasa warning them that Roerich was friendly with the So-viet authorities… to prove this he wrote about him getting his serv-ant released. A man who had the power to rescue anyone from a

55 E. Rerikh, Jan. 19, 1927, (III, 238).
56 For example, Konstantin Riabini. 1996. *Razvenchannyi Tibet*, Oct. 8, 1927, 343.
57 E. Rerikh, Jan. 21, 1927, (III, 238); Apr. 5, 1927, (IV,10); Apr. 7, 1927, (IV,10).
58 Riabinin, Apr. 13, 1927, 42.
59 Waldenfels, 301-302. [OGPU, russ. *Obyedinyonnoye gosudarstvennoye politicheskoye upravleniye* Joint State Political Directorate > secret police of the Soviet Union 1923-1934].

Soviet jail was not the sort of person who should be welcomed in Lhasa!!![60]

On 13 April 1927, the eighteen-strong expedition[61] thus finally set off for Tibet from Urga, hoping to reach Lhasa, and bursting "with the most holy intention of undertaking purification of the true teachings of the Holy Sanctified Buddha under the guidance of the Tibetan Dalai Lama."[62] When asked about their identity by a lama, "the reply came that we are Americans travelling at the behest of Western Buddhists, and that the time of Shambhala will soon be here."[63] They claimed to be the "American Western Buddhist Mission and representatives of the great country of America."[64] During their onward journey, they tried to pass themselves off as Americans.[65]

On 27 July 1927, however, Morya added a new and confusing epithet to Roerich, describing him as the "great ambassador of the Western Buddhists," Reta Rigden.[66] A bit of information about this is found later in Riabinin, who quoted Russian translations of some Tibetan letters from October 1927 that the Roerichs had tried to send to the Tibetan officials in Nagchu and Lhasa when the expedition was halted near Nagchu and prevented from continuing their journey for five long and extremely harsh winter months. In the first note, dated 11 October 1927, Riabinin quotes, "we had dictated a letter to the Secretaries of Nagchu, which reported that the 'Great Western Buddhist ambassador Reta-Rigden' (Tibetan name NK) has agreed to wait another day."[67] The next letter contains grandiose titles obviously devised by a self-confident Roerich as a way to impress the

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[60] British Library, IOR Mss Eur F157/245: 1926-1948 (= F.M. Bailey Files), no pagination.

[61] The group included three further theosophists: the above-mentioned Konstantin Riabinin, Nikolai Kordashevsky, and Pavel Portniagin, whose diaries were less detailed. See also: Dany Savelli. 2013. "Des théosophes sur la route de Lhassa. Les carnets de voyage au Tibet de trois membres de l'expédition Roerich (1927–1928)",127–158. There were thus three eye-witnesses, albeit heavily influenced by the Roerichs. Morya had recommended at a very early stage, "I advise you to talk about Shambhala every night." (E. Rerikh, Apr. 29, 1927, (IV,14).

[62] Riabinin, 491: Letter from Roerichs to the Governors of Nagchu dated Jan. 4, 1928.

[63] Ibid.: Aug. 8, 1927, 204.

[64] Ibid.: Nov. 24 1927, 421.

[65] On the issue of the Roerichs' nationality, see Dany Savelli. 2013. "Un homme d'origine russe, à la nationalité douteuse et avec un passeport français: Nicolas Roerich entre jeux et enjeux de l'apatridie", 223-258; and 2013. "Sous les yeux d'Occident: L'Expédition Roerich en Asie centrale vue par les Britanniques", 623–650.

[66] E. Rerikh, Jul. 27, 1927, (IV, 49-50).

[67] Riabinin, Oct. 11, 1927, 328.

Tibetans, and is dated 21 October 1927: "I, Reta-Rigden, am the Head of the World Union of Western Buddhists which was founded in America. For the great task of the unification of Western and Eastern Buddhists under the leadership of the Dalai-Lama, I, my spouse, my son and other members of the Embassy, agreed to undertake this difficult and dangerous journey."[68] A little later he declares, "We did not go voluntarily, and therefore are protected under international law arising in all your fault grave consequences.[69] This "World Union of Western Buddhists" was, however, pure fiction. The supposed conference is only mentioned by the three diary writers, and the reference can probably be traced back to Roerich himself.

There are many other indications of Roerich's self-regard. Portniagin's diary contains an astonishing comment. He is baffled to learn that Nikolai Roerich was recognized as the king of France in Darjeeling, as the Tsar of Russia, and the US sovereign in Xinjian, and at the Tibetan border as the king of the Buddhists?[70] Roerich must actually have believed in this portrayal of himself, as indicated by a letter to his circle in New York where he expresses outrage at an article printed in the Tibetan newspaper *Melong* (*Tibet Mirror*), which was published in Kalimpong: "In the Tibetan newspaper there was an article 'that an Italian prof. presented to the Geshe Rinpoche a costly image of the Buddha.'[71] You know of course to whom this refers. 'King of America, the King of all Buddhists, and the King of France,' has changed into an Italian prof."[72] However, as articles on Roerich—some of them very detailed—had already appeared in earlier issues of the *Melong* (*Tibet Mirror*) in 1928,[73] and as the same issue carried another article on Roerich three pages before,[74] it may be assumed that Dorje Tharchin, the publisher of the newspaper, was able to distinguish between Guiseppe Tucci and Nikolai Roerich.

What was the meaning of the name "Reta Rigden" that Roerich adopted for the Tibetans? Riabinin's explanation that it was Roerich's Tibetan name[75] is not satisfactory. Even the best Tibetan experts I consulted were unable to find any explanation to solve the puzzle of "Reta". Neither can an explanation be gleaned from Roerich's signature—with its triple alliteration of Reta-Rigden-Roerich—on his third

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[68] Ibid.: Oct. 21, 1927, 349–352.
[69] Ibid.: Oct. 29, 1927, 372.
[70] Pavel Portniagin. 1998. "Sovremennyi Tibet: Missia Nikolaia Rerikha", 42.
[71] cf. *Melong* III, 6,8, Aug. – Sept. 1928.
[72] Letter from Roerich to co-workers in New York, November 16–19, 1928, NRM Ref. No.: 202797.
[73] *Melong* III, 3,3, Jun. 1928, and III, 5,4, Jul. 1928.
[74] *Melong* III, 6,5, Aug. – Sept. 1928.
[75] Riabinin, Oct. 11, 1927, 327.

letter to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, dated November 14, 1927. Written in English,[76] this letter resembled the first one, lacking the customary polite style of Tibetan letter writing, and was in fact rather impolite:

> Your Holiness,
> The noble purposes of our Mission have been stated in my two let-ters to Your Holiness, dated October 28th and November 8th, 1927.
> The first letter has been detained on the way and thus delayed. The situation of the
> Mission is growing critical. All members are seriously ill….
> The local population is unable to furnish us with adequate supplies. Two thirds of our animals perished. If, I knew before that we shall be so inhumanly treated, I would never accept this mission from the Buddhist Center in America. Such a treatment is a grave offence to the great country of America and to the Western Buddhist Center. The news of our detainment shall thunderlike spread all over the World. Verily there has not been a Mission with such a sacred aim ready to bring the wealth and knowledge of the West to the feet of the Exalted one. After forty days of arrest the members of the Mis-sion are not even allowed to speak with the passing caravans. Our only wish is to pass immediately the Tibetan territory to Gyangtse and India. We have already written about this to Colonel Bailey, the British Resident in Sikkim, personally known to us. I am asking Your Holiness to instruct Your Government to allow us to proceed to Gyangtse.
> Chu nargan.
> November 14th , 1927.
> Most reverently
> Reta-Rigden-Roerich.[77]
> (handwritten signature).

To solve the problem of Reta Rigden, I attempted to track down the Tibetan originals of the letters cited; these have survived since the majority of the letters were clearly not delivered to their recipients but, in many cases, returned to the Roerichs. Although I was unable to find the original Tibetan letters quoted by Riabinin above, thanks to Alexandre Andreyev I came across a collection of Tibetan letters owned by George Roerich. These are letters from the Tibetan officials in Nagchu and apparent drafts of letters from George to Tibetan offi-cials. Here, there is a clear evidence of the form of address in the

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[76] According to George Roerich, 309, this letter was written on Oct. 28, 1927 in Eng-lish, "for we knew that the Dalai Lama had a private secretary with a good knowledge of English who had once been a clerk in a Darjeeling bank."

[77] Facsimile in Vladimir Rosov. 2005. "La mission bouddhique de Nikolaj Roerich au Tibet", 261.

longed-for *lam yig* (passport) for the Roerichs, dated March 1928, reads: (fig. 7)
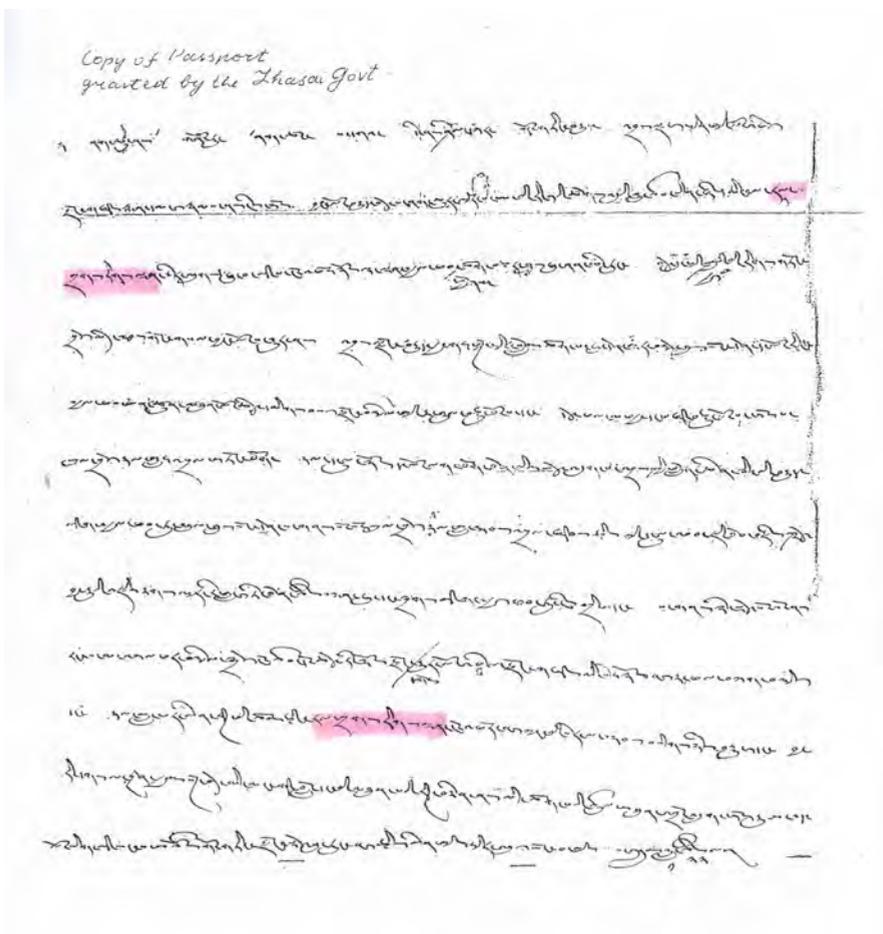
ཨེ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་ཚོགས་འདུའི་སྐུ་ཚབ་ཡིན་ཞེས་མིང་ལ་རྭལ་གྲགས་རིགས་ལྡན་

e me ri ka'i tshogs 'du'i sku tshab yin zhes ming Rāl grags rigs ldan

or

ཨ་མེར་རིག་ཀའི་སྐུ་ཚབ་ཆེན་པོ་ཕྱུན་རྒྱས་མཆོག་གི་ཞབས་ རྭལ་གྲགས་རིགས་ལྡན་

"To the one who says he is head of the American Association, known as Rāl grags rigs ldan."

A draft letter from Roerich himself includes the formulation,

ཨེ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་སྐུ་ཚབ་ཆེན་པོ་རིགས་ལྡན་

"The great American representative Rigden"

Thus, "Rāl" might be the Tibetan way to pronounce some kind of short form of Roerich. "Reta Rigden" (Rāl grags rigs ldan) might therefore mean "the famous or illustrious Roerich, 25th (or the coming) King of Shambhala."[78] If Roerich had hoped to impress the Tibetans by assuming this magnificent name, he was very much mistaken. Quite the opposite, in fact; the title far exceeded the Tibetans' imagination. They would never have dreamed that a Westerner would be so presumptuous as to take such a name and style himself the King of Shambhala—they interpreted the Tibetan "Rigden" simply as a personal name.

Thus, Roerich actually only succeeded in spreading confusion; the Tibetans only gradually realized that Rigden and the Russian Roerich, against whom the Political Officer in Sikkim, Bailey, had warned them, were one and the same, as the correspondence in the India Offices shows.

Colonel Bailey on November 16, 1927: "I have heard from Lhasa (31st October 1927) from a reliable source that news has been received from Nagchuka (10 days North of Lhasa) that a party of Americans have arrived there. The party is reported to consist of a Mr. and Mrs. "Rikden," one military officer, one doctor and one Secretary."[79]

Bailey to Foreign, Delhi on December 8, 1927: "Party reported as Rikden is really Roerich party. Roerich styles himself His Excellency. Please let me know if I may telegraph to Tibetan Government pointing out that this is the individual against whom they have already been warned by letter."[80]

Bailey, December 23, 1927 "I telegraphed on December 10th to the Ministers at Lhasa that I had heard that Roerich's party had reached Nagchuka, and referred them to previous letter in which I had warned them against Roerich. Today I have received telegram from Ministers saying that although names do not agree (presumably referring to confusion between Roerich and Rikden) they are 'preventing admission to Tibet.'"[81]

And the responses of the Tibetan Government:

> Ministers of Tibet to Bailey, March 15, 1928: "Received your letter on 17 February 1928, dated 5 February 1928. The American people named Rel-tag Rigden have arrived in the frontier of

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[78] In the Tibetan newspaper *Melong*, one can find for example *rol rig* for Roerich (*Melong* XVII, 6,3, Mar. 1949).

[79] Confidential extract from a letter from Lieut-Col. F.M. Bailey… Dated Gangtok, 16 November 1927. National Archives of India (NAI) p. 23, (79). This source thanks to Alexander Andreyev.

[80] IOR/L/P&S/10/1145, fol. 453, Telegram P. No.1062.

[81] Ibid.: fol. 455, 2567-S Telegram Viceroy, Foreign and Political Department, etc.

Shingti. Though these people have pressed us to allow them to go to Lhasa, in accordance with your former and subsequent private letters, we have not allowed outside nationalities to go to Lhasa."[82]

Tibetan Government to Bailey, October 19, 1928: "In your letter of last year, dated 10 November 1927, you informed us that one Russian Professor named Nicholas Roerich, an artist, intended to visit Tibet: that he was Bolshevik: that he was said to be in Urga at the time: that we were well aware of the condition of the country where Bolshevism was spread: and that you hoped that the news would reach us in plenty of time. Meanwhile we informed you that a party of Americans headed by Ral-drag had arrived on the frontier of Shangri. To this we received a reply from you, dated 5 February 1928, saying that he (Professor Roerich) stayed in America for some years and that he was a Red Russian."[83]

The Tibetans initial confusion may have derived from the fact that the pilgrims' permits had been issued for Rigden and not for Roerich. In addition, their Tibetan Government's permits referred to them as Americans.[84]

Oddly, it had apparently not occurred to Roerich that the "Great Western Buddhist ambassador" and Reta-Rigden, the future twenty-fifth King of Shambhala, were in fact contradictory—particularly given the many hints dropped by Morya, Riabinin, Kordashevsky, and Portniagin that Roerich would be the Western Dalai Lama who would allegedly be chosen in New York on November 24 at a meeting of the Buddhist Council of America. In fact, Morya had already ceremonially announced Roerich's elevation to the title of Western Dalai Lama one month earlier.[85]

The failure of the Tibetan expedition had a devastating effect on Roerich and the other expedition members' perception of Tibet. Lacking any genuine knowledge of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and fully aware of the fact that his letters to the Dalai Lama had not arrived, Roerich imputed the basest motives to him. After the return of the Roerichs, this animosity reached a climax in a large-scale press campaign in the USA, launched on Roerich's orders by his co-workers at the Roerich Museum New York and resulting in the publication of numerous vehement articles against the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, against Tibetan Buddhism, and against Tibet in general.

Dany Savelli aptly remarks, "Roerich denatured the myth of Shambhala while appropriating it to the point of considering himself

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[82] Ibid.: fol. 442.
[83] Ibid.: fol. 306.
[84] Ibid.: fol. 405.
[85] E. Rerikh, Oct. 24, 1927, (IV, 80–81).

king of this spiritual continent." She regards Roerich's appropriation of the myth as a clear case of cultural colonialism.[86]

Roerich's portrayal of himself as the King of Shambala from the north, carved from meteorite rock from the Siberan-Mongolian border, is clear visual proof.

Back to the statue itself

Thus, the meteorite statue in all likelihood shows Roerich as the future king of Shambhala. But where and when was the statue made? In 1926-1927, the Roerichs spent six months in Urga waiting for the permission to continue their journey to Tibet. The city was home to many metalworkers, albeit not as skillful as those in Nepal and Tibet, according to George Roerich's detailed description:

> The Chinese artisans are mostly *mu-ch'ang* or carpenters, who build most of the Urga houses, and *t'ung-ch'ang* or metal workers, who conduct most of the metal industry of the city… Another large class of artisans consisted of image makers and silversmiths, who produced bronze or clay images for monasteries and private chapels, and the silver offering cups or silver ornaments. Their work is usually extremely crude and is far from being artistic. Most of these artisans come from Peking or Dolon-nor, where there are large workshops.
>
> Besides these image makers, there are in Urga a number of shops usually called by their semi-Tibetan, semi-Chinese name *Ri-wo dzenga- pu-tzu* (Tib. *Ri-bo rtse-lnga*), which trade in images and other religious objects manufactured at Dolon-nor or at the famous monastery of Wu-t'ai Shan. Here one can find gilded bronze images of Sakyamuni, the Buddha … Most of the figures are of a very crude workmanship and present no interest whatsoever. The images produced by the art workshop of the Wu-t'ai Shan Monastery are a little better than those of Dolon-nor.[87]

The statue could thus have been produced in Urga—the Roerichs' six-month stay there would have been long enough for the purpose. This may also explain its rather crude shape.

The timeframe, before their departure for Tibet, would provide convincing proof of Roerich's intention of visually underpinning his public appearance as Reta-Rigden or Ridgen Jyepo in Tibet.

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[86] Dany Savelli. 2010, "L'expédition Roerich (1925–1928) en quête de Shambhala d'après les coupures de presse du Nicholas Roerich Museum", 808, 811; and 2009. "Shambhala de-ci, de-là: syncrétisme ou appropriation de la religion de l'Autre "? 311–351.

[87] G. Roerich, 146–147.

Both the Rigden-Jyepo sketch as well as the painting that probably served as the statue's point of origin were produced in 1926 in Urga, at a time when Roerich was particularly fascinated by the subject.

A remark made by Elmar Buchner may provide a further indication supporting Mongolia as the location of production: according to Buchner, when once in Ulan Bator a German meteorite expert showed a Mongolian colleague a photograph of the statue. This colleague exclaimed, "But that was made in our area!" Unfortunately, the name of the Mongolian expert has been lost.

Roerich was known to have a "fascination with everything stony," and with meteorites in particular, and as recounted above, he had received the famous *cintāmaṇi* stone—a piece of meteor rock—in Paris. Conceivably and as far as can be determined from the route, when on their way to Urga the Roerichs had passed Tannu Tuva (not too far from the locality where the Chinga Meteorite was found). Thus, they might somehow have come into possession of a fragment of the Chinga meteorite.

Concluding remarks

One can assume from these arguments that the meteorite statue portrays Nicholas Roerich as Rigden Jyepo or Reta Rigden, and thus the main mystery appears to have been solved. However, further research is be necessary, research that would require international cooperation. As long as the Roerich institutions in Moscow, which possess many Tibetan documents, continue to block requests from foreign scholars and are open only to devotees of Roerich (Roerichites), authentic documents cannot be examined, and thus no progress can be made. Access to Roerich's original travel report of the Central Asian expedition is also denied. Because the printed version was heavily edited, especially the part dealing with Tibet, the original could well deliver some new findings.[88] Fortunately, the Roerich Museum in New York is quite different; its friendly staff members are extremely helpful, providing access to even hard-to-find and non-categorizable documents. It would also be important to find out how the statue came to be in Kaledin's possession. This could provide an indication about the former whereabouts of the statue and its former ownership.

Finally, if the statue itself would be made available for closer examination, allowing experts to determine the tools which were used

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[88] Fosdik, Aug. 17, 1928, 325: "From the early morning until late (dinner), I worked with N.K. on the diary and compared and corrected the Russian and English text. He had to change everything related to Tibet – and, in later sections, Russia."

to create it, more precise conclusions could be drawn about when and where it was made—or at least when and where it definitely was not made. Unfortunately the untimely death of the geologist Gero Kurat, the private purchaser of the statue, in November 2009 prevented this unique statue from finding a home in a museum and ensuring its accessibility to the public. Today the statue is in private hands in Vienna, inaccessible to further study.

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A Re-evaluation of Pelliot tibétain 1257: An Early Tibetan-Chinese Glossary from Dunhuang[1]

James B. Apple and Shinobu A. Apple

Introduction

Pelliot tibétain 1257 (hereafter, PT1257) is an early manuscript preserved from the ancient city-state of Dunhuang kept among the materials of the Paul Pelliot collection conserved at the *Bibliothéque Nationale de France* in Paris, France. Digital images of the manuscript are found at the web site of *Gallica Digital Library* (http://gallica.bnf.fr) and the *International Dunhuang Project* (http://idp.bl.uk/; hereafter, IDP). French scholars Marcelle Lalou (1939) and R.A. Stein (1983 [English translation 2010]) have previously discussed in an abbreviated manner the content and characteristics of this manuscript. A more extensive discussion of PT1257 is found among Japanese Buddhologists and specialists in Dunhuang studies. Akira Fujieda (1966), Zuihō Yamaguchi (1975), and Noriaki Hakamaya (1984) have provided initial insights into the structure and content of PT1257 while the work of Ryūtoku Kimura (1985) and Kōsho Akamatsu (1988) have furnished more detailed points of analysis that have contributed to our current understanding of this manuscript. Other scholarship related to PT1257 has suggested that the manuscript was from a Chinese monastery and that it was utilized to help Chinese scholars translate Tibetan. This paper re-evaluates this presumption based upon a close analysis of the material components of the manuscript, the scribal writing, its list of Buddhist scriptures, and its vocabulary. Our assessment argues that PT1257 was a copy of a document initiated and circulated by Tibetans, presumably among Chinese monasteries in Dunhuang, to learn the Chinese equivalents to Tibetan translation terminology *that was already in use among Tibetans*. This thesis builds upon Noriaki Hakamaya's (1984:178) suggestion that the lexicon section of PT1257 is constituted by a terminological list of Tibetan words collected from Old Tibetan translations dur-

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ing the mid-to-late eighth century reign of the Tibetan King Khri song lde brtsan (r. 742-797 CE). This translation activity took place before the standardization of Tibetan translation practices reflected in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon whose *final* redaction was sanctioned by imperial decree in 814 CE (Scherrer-Schaub 2002). Previous Japanese scholarship has noted a number of Old Tibetan translations found at Dunhuang match the lexicon of terms found in PT1257. These translations include Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (IOL Tib J 194; Hakamaya 1984)*, the Rat-nameghasūtra, the Vimalakīrtinideśasūtra* as well as fragmentary copies of Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama*. The Old Tibetan translation terminology that comprises the lexicon section of PT1257 is also found in the Old Tibetan manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Karashima 2005), the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* (IOL Tib J 53; Apple, *forthcoming b*), the *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra* (IOL Tib J 149; Apple 2014), the *Jaya-matiparipṛcchāsūtra* (IOL Tib J 75; Apple 2015), and the *Kaśyapapari-varta* (IOL Tib J 55; Apple, *forthcoming a*).

Our research findings consist of four sections and then a conclusion, followed by a complete annotated transcription of PT1257. We first provide a description and assessment of the (1) format and construction of the manuscript, followed by an analysis of the manuscript's content which consists of (2) a lexicon of Buddhist terminology in Tibetan and Chinese and (3) a list of Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan and Chinese. We also include (4) a brief analysis of the possible purpose of PT1257 through a comparison with PT1261, another Tibetan and Chinese lexicon found at Dunhuang. Appendices are comprised of a collation of folio binding hole images and a list of the variants of Chinese letters found in PT1257.

1. Format and Construction of PT1257

In describing the format and construction of PT1257, we initially note that there are discrepancies between how previous scholars such as Marcelle Lalou and R.A. Stein, who presumably viewed the actual manuscript, and Japanese scholars who were most likely viewing microfilm, describe the manuscript's form, and what we see when analyzing the actual manuscript in person along with the digital images on IDP's website. Many discrepancies between the microfilm and digital images have been resolved through viewing the actual manuscript in person.

1.1 The Manuscript Cover, Binding Bamboo Sticks, and Fragments in the "Pelliot tibétain 1257 Box"

Lalou (1950) describes the manuscript in her catalog inventory as consisting of ten pages of rolled paper (29.5 cm x 39 cm) with writing on one side sewn between two bamboo sticks. She noted that the manuscript is encased by a long yellow piece. Our observation found that the ten pages of the paper-sheets are slightly different in their heights and widths.[2] However, before describing characteristics of the manuscript material, we first mention accessories of the manuscript, which are contained in a *Bibliothéque Nationale de France* container that we have labeled "Pelliot tibétain 1257 Box." These accessories are (1) two pieces of bamboo-sticks, (2) two pieces of fragments, and (3) a cover of the manuscript, which includes one intact bamboo-stick glued at the bottom edge of the back-part of the cover.

(1) Two pieces of bamboo (16.9 cm and 12.0 cm) were originally one intact piece used in the front page of the manuscript for binding. The missing portion is about 1.4 cm based on the bottom width of the first page folio. These two broken pieces of bamboo are polished and shiny. The bamboo stick that is glued on the cover is also in the same condition.[3] As bamboo cannot grow in Northern China, in places like the capital Changan, much less in Dunhuang, after the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang was initiated, it is feasible that materials using bamboo must have been a rare commodity in Dunhuang. The fact that this manuscript utilized bamboo pieces on both sides indicates that this manuscript was treated as a distin-

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[2] Image number according to the IDP site (page number)/ bottom width x height x top width (extent width/ assumed original folio width). The size of each folio is as follows:
Folio 1 (IDP #01) 30.3 cm x 38.2 cm 26.0 cm / 28.0 cm
Folio 2 (IDP #03) 30.3 cm x 40.0 cm 28.6 cm / 29.1 cm
Folio 3 (IDP #05) 30.5 cm x 40.7 cm 29.1 cm
Folio 4 (IDP #07) 30.5 cm x 40.5 cm x 28.5 cm
Folio 5 (IDP #09) 30.5 cm x 40.4 cm x 28.5 c
Folio 6 (IDP #11) 30.6 cm x 40.0 cm x 28.5 cm
Folio 7 (IDP #13) 30.6 cm x 39.7 cm x 28.5 cm
Folio 8 (IDP #21) 30.6 cm x 39.7 cm x 27.7 cm / 28.5 cm
Folio 9 (IDP #23) 30.6 cm x 39.5 cm x 28.5 cm
Folio 10 (IDP #25) 30.6 cm x 38.7 cm x 8.5 cm / 28.5 cm
Folios 2 to 4, a list of Buddhist text-titles, are slightly longer than the other pages. This is because these page-sheets have paper reinforcement on the top edge of each page-sheet that have been added for protective purposes.

[3] The bamboo-stick glued to the manuscript cover is placed with the polished side visible. This indicates that the bamboo-material served not only a practical purpose for binding, but was constructed with the intention to make the manuscript appear attractive and distinguished.

guished object.[4] One of the bamboo stick pieces, whose length is 16.9 cm, shows a vestige of paper pulp, which indicates that it was previously glued to a paper sheet and later forced to be detached, at the top-side edge (but, no marks at the front or back side of the stick). As the first folio of the manuscript has no detachment marks, this bamboo stick could have been re-used for binding the folios of PT1257.

(2) Two incomplete paper fragments are the remains of the bottom-edges of possibly removed folios. This may be inferred because both fragments share the same number and position of binding-holes with ten folios of the extant manuscript. Both fragments are remains of several folios attached by glue at the very edge of the bottom side. Fragment 1 includes two parts of a bottom sheet that remains glued together (IDP images of #15 and #16), and fragment 2 is presumably three parts of the bottom sheet-remains glued together (IDP images of #18, #19, and #20).[5] These two fragments indicate the existence of previously included, but later removed, folios. Based on our observation of the incomplete fragments, the number of possible missing page-sheets (i.e., folios) could be five. The location of these missing pages are unknown, yet, the IDP site shows these incomplete fragments between the existing folio 7 and 8, which belong to the lexicon component of the text. Because the remaining bottom-part of these fragments are glued together, one may infer that the rest of the existing pages of this manuscript could have been glued together as well. However, there is no evidence observed in the actual folios, evidence of vestiges of which the bottom part of each folio would have been detached from its glued margins. These two fragments were tightly rolled up, with a diameter of about 1.5 cm. This indicates that the manuscript of PT1257 was originally rolled up from the bounded-bottom part of the folios.

(3) The cover sheet of the manuscript, when unfolded, is quite long in its height (94 cm). It has, as previously mentioned, a polished bamboo stick (31.2 cm) glued at its bottom edge whose width is 29.7 cm.[6] The cover wraps the manuscript in a way that (i) both the bottom sides of the manuscript and the cover are put together, then, (ii) the top-side of the cover is folded forward to cover the front-side of

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[4] Note, as well, that because of these conditions following the Tibetan occupation, people in Dunhuang started using pens made from wood or reed for their writing, instead of brush pens that used bamboo as pen-handles (Fujieda, 1971/1991: 200-208).

[5] IDP #17, which shows tiny remains of two page-sheets opened, could be a partial image of fragment 2.

[6] Exact measurement of the cover is as follows: front part (30.6 cm-bottom side width x 49 cm height x 30 cm top side width) and back part (29.7 cm bottom side width/ 31.2 cm – bamboo stick x 45 cm height x 30 cm top side width).

the manuscript. As for point (i), although both bottom sides are put together, the bottom of the manuscript is not actually bound with the bamboo stick glued to the cover because the number and their positions of the binding-holes that appear on the bamboo stick do not match the binding holes that appear on the manuscript, nor do they match the two bamboo sticks that were previously on the top-page of the manuscript. Also, there are binding-holes on the back part of the cover whose positions are right above the glued bamboo stick and almost match with bonding-holes of the stick. These holes, therefore, do not match with ones in the manuscript, either. Thus, the cover sheet was not bound with the manuscript, but was used as a wrapping sheet to protect the manuscript that was already bounded.

Figure 1. Cover of PT1257
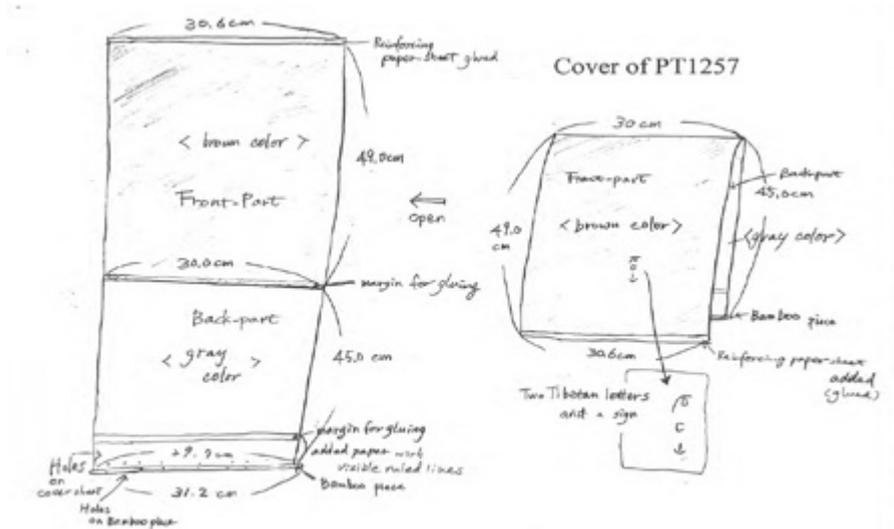
The front part of the cover was dyed brown and the un-dyed backside is gray. The front and back parts of the cover were previously separate sheets, and they were glued together in one side (30 cm width) to form a long sheet. On the front part, its bottom edge (30.6 cm width) has additional reinforcing narrow paper material glued to prevent damage. As this paper material shows minute vertical lines, the paper material is comprised of the "rag paper" which was produced in the Dunhuang and Turfan areas during the Tibetan occupa-

tion period (786-848 CE).[7] When the cover sheet is folded over the manuscript, we find two Tibetan letters and a sign that are written vertically on the front side: the Tibetan letter, ཁ "kha," and an undecipherable letter, as well as an arrow sign that indicates the bottom side as if indicating the direction to open the cover (See also List 6).

1.2 Paper Size and Shape

The folio material of PT1257 exhibits characteristics of the paper sheets made in Dunhuang and Turfan during the Tibetan occupation period, such as having a large size and gray color. In terms of size, as Fujieda states, the paper materials made in Dunhuang during this time are larger than traditional dimensions, which are 30 cm x 45 cm (the traditional size is called a "smaller *chi* 尺," which is 25-28 cm x 37.5-42 cm or 50-56 cm), with gray color (Fujieda, 1971/1991:158). Although the width does match his description, the height of the manuscript does not match what Fujita describes.[8]

The form of the manuscript that Lalou refers to as "rolled paper" (*livre roulé formé*) is called "world-wind style" or "whirlwind binding" by Jean-Pierre Drége.[9] Fujieda (1961:291, note 66) states PT1257 can be described as a "pamphlet booklet style" and he considers this to be the oldest form of pamphlet style found among Dunhuang documents, initially utilized during the Tibetan occupancy of Dunhuang. As Fujieda notes, PT1257 has evidence of being bound, as demonstrated by its bamboo pieces and binding holes. Thus, it is feasible that the manuscript was formed with a binding style. However, this rather larger size manuscript, after it was bound, seems to have been kept rolled up. Along with Lalou's description as "rolled paper," this point can be substantiated because (1) the cover sheet shows traces of being kept rolled up, and (2) the two incomplete paper fragments are shaped in a tightly rolled-up format.

World-wind style or whirlwind binding usually has the peculiar characteristic that the length of each page begins with the first page being the shortest and the length of each page after the first page

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[7] See Helman-Ważny and Van Schaik, "Witnesses for Tibetan Craftsmanship: Bringing Together Paper Analysis, Palaeography and Codicology in the Examination of the Earliest Tibetan Manuscripts," *Archaeometry* 2013:707-741.

[8] Considering the back-side cover size which is 45 cm in height, it does match with the standard size that Fujieda states. For the exact size of each folio of PT1257, see footnote 1.

[9] Jean-Pierre Drège, "Les Accordéons de Dunhuang contributions aux études de Touen-Houang," EFEO, Vol. III, Paris,1984, pp. 196-198. Jean-Pierre Drège, "Notes Codicologiques sur les Manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*, Tome 74, 1985, pp. 485-504.

becomes longer gradually in each proceeding page. However, this is not the case with PT1257 as the length of each page of the manuscript is basically similar. Also, each page-sheet is uniformly in the shape of an isosceles trapezoid. That is, the bottom-edges are longer and the top-edges are shorter. This shape is unsuitable for the purpose of rolling in terms of preventing from damage if used in the style of whirlwind binding where each sheet is different in its length to keep the scroll from damage. Rather, these sheets were constructed without whirlwind binding. The binding and scroll style of PT1257 can be considered a special formation that represents a merger between traditional Tibetan and Chinese styles of book making. That is, PT1257 consists of individual sheets of similar size that are made into a scroll. This point will be re-visited when we discuss the method of letter writing in the manuscript.

1.3 Page Order, Bookbinding, and the Cover

Lalou notes that the manuscript seems complete and comprises three title pages of Buddhist texts in Tibetan and Chinese and seven pages of lexicon in Tibetan and Chinese. R.A. Stein and all previously mentioned Japanese scholars describe the manuscript in this fashion with three initial pages of book-title list followed by seven pages of Tibetan-Chinese terminology. Apart from the problem of the page-order of the manuscript and its binding, as Lalou has pointed out, both the book title component and the lexicon component of the manuscript may have initially been treated as two separate documents, and then later brought together. This is indicated by the top edges of the folios of the text-title listing that have narrow paper material as reinforcement to protect the top edges from damage (see List of Images 1), while the lexicon section of the manuscript does not have such reinforcing materials at the *top edges* of each folio. Thus, the top edges of the lexicon section have damage, extensively in the first and the last folios.

List of Images 1

Folio 1a (IDP #01) Lexicon section - top part

Folio 10a (IDP #25) Lexicon section - top part

Folio 2a (IDP #03) Text-title Listing section - top part

Folio 3a (IDP #05) Text-title Listing section - top part

Folio 4a (IDP #07) Text-title Listing section - top part

In regard to the page-order, the order of the folios of PT1257 that appear in both web sites of *Gallica Digital Library* and the *International Dunhuang Project* are not as Lalou has indicated, that is, comprising initially three title pages of Buddhist texts in Tibetan and Chinese, followed by seven pages of a lexicon of Tibetan-Chinese terminology. On the physical manuscript there are small Arabic numerals added in pencil in the upper-right corner of each page (when the binding-edge is placed at the left side) for the purpose to conserve the original page-order by a modern cataloger after the manuscript was found.[10]

List of Images 2

Folio 1a (IDP#01)	Folio 2a (IDP#03)	Folio 3a (IDP#05)	Folio 4a (IDP#07)	Folio 5a (IDP#09)
"1"	"2"	"3"	"4"	"5"
Folio 6a (IDP#11)	Folio 7a (IDP#13)	Folio 8a (IDP#21)	Folio 9a (IDP#23)	Folio 10a (IDP#25)
"6"	"7"	"8"	"9"	"10"
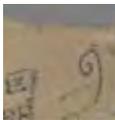
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[10]   Personal communication from Dr. Nathalie Monet, current curator of BNF in August, 2014.

According to the order of the Arabic numerals, the manuscript page-order when it was found starts with folios which belong to the lexicon section, followed by three folios of book titles, and then followed by six folios of lexicon which are interspersed with two fragmentary bits. Both the IDP and the Gallica sites show the images of PT1257 according to this order.

However, in terms of the manuscript's content, this page order is not accurate, particularly in regards to the lexicon section. For example, the last term listed on folio 10a (IDP #25), which is supposed to be the last page of the manuscript, is "the eightfold noble path 八聖道" (*'phags pa'I laM brgyad*), while the itemized list of the eight paths, such as "right view" up through "right meditation," are listed at the beginning of folio 9a (IDP #23). These folios are therefore in inverse order.

List of Images 3

Folio 9a (IDP #23, top partial)
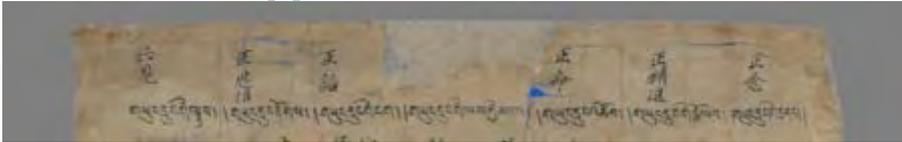
Folio 10a (IDP #25, bottom partial)
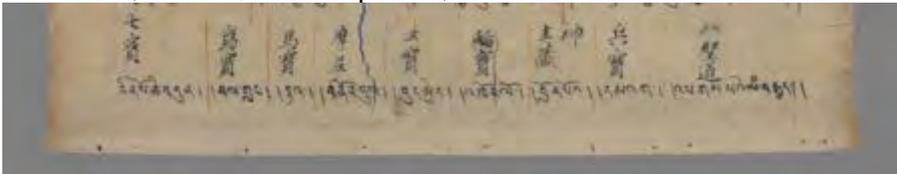
The other example is folios 5a and 6a, which include words taken from the first and second chapters of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. The excerpt from the first chapter starting from "Thus I have heard" appears on the third line of the Folio 6a (IDP #11), while the excerpt from the second chapter appears the first line of the Folio 5a (IDP #09).[11]

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[11]   In fact, the terms in the first and second lines of Folio 6 are Buddhist terms with numeric correspondence that starts with "three," such as three realms, and could follow the content of Folio 1 (IDP #01), although the numerical listing of Folio 1 ends with "four inversions." Folios 2 to 4 belong to the text title-listing section.

List of Images 4

Folio 5a (IDP #09)
[Terms from the second chapter of the SN]
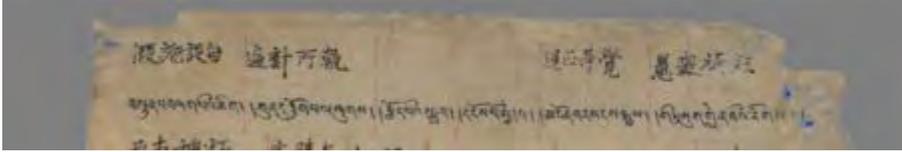
Folio 6a (IDP #11)
[Terms from the introduction of the SN start from the third line]
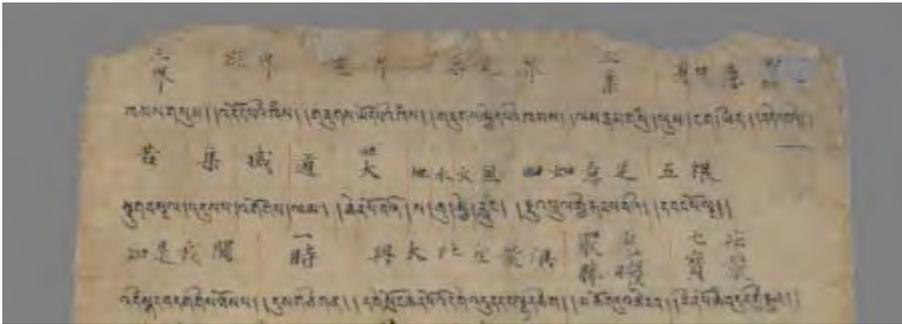
Due to the fact that every folio of PT1257, including the two pieces of the fragments, have the same number of binding holes at the identical position (See Appendix I), it is difficult to consider that the process of binding the documents was initially carried by binding the list of text-titles and the lexicon sections independently, then, rebinding them all together again in an incorrect order. Rather, it is feasible that, after these two different sections were used and/or circulated separately, someone who was not familiar with the content bound these folios together at another time.

Although binding holes found at the bottom of each folio are consistent throughout all the folios of the manuscript, these holes of the folios only partially match with the binding holes of the two fragment bamboo sticks stored in the PT1257 box that were supposedly added to the front page (see Appendix I). Furthermore, the binding holes in the folios, as well as these bamboo sticks at the front side, do not match at all with the binding holes of the bamboo stick glued on the back part of the cover. Although there are holes on the back part of the cover whose positions are right above the glued bamboo stick, again, they do not match to the binding holes found in the folios, as well as these of the front side bamboo sticks. These facts indicate that the lexicon and the list of text-titles were bound together in a less orderly manner at the initial stage of bookbinding, and the front-side

bamboo binding stick was added later to re-bind the initially bound-
ed folios on the front page. The unbound cover sheet was then added,
wrapped around the manuscript for protective purposes. Neverthe-
less, the top portion of the folios, in particular the folios of the lexi-
con section, are damaged. Especially, the first and last folio (folio 1
and 10) has extensive damage. This indicates that the cover was most
likely added to the manuscript after it was bound, then transported,
and extensively used/circulated among monastic communities.

In sum, the construction process of PT1257 can be theorized as fol-
lows:

1) The trapezoid shape paper-sheets were most likely prepared in
Dunhuang or another area under Tibetan occupation.
2) The contents of both the lexicon and the text-title list sections
were written in both Tibetan and Chinese.
3) Based on the extensive damage found in folios 1 and 10, it is
likely that both the lexicon and the title-listing sections were
bound together such that the first folio of the lexicon section
was placed on its top page followed by the three folios of the ti-
tle-listing section, then the remaining six folios of the lexicon
section were added after the title-listing section.
4) The documents were bound again with a bamboo stick at the
bottom of the first folio.
5) The documents, bound with bamboo sticks, were wrapped
with the large cover.

1.4 Orthography

PT1257 contains Tibetan writing consistent with features found in
the orthography in use during the late 8th century during the reign of
Khri Srong lde brtsan (756-797).[12] For the Tibetan writing, regardless
of lexicon or text-title listing section, its notation style is always seen
horizontally from left to right under the corresponding Chinese writ-
ing with the binding edges at the bottom. On the other hand, in the
lexicon section, the notation of Chinese writing varies, sometimes (1)
vertical, sometimes (2) horizontal (reading from left to right), or (3)
the combination of these two ways (reading vertical lines from top to
bottom continuing from the left line to the right line).

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[12] This includes the "square" character of the letter *ba* and the head of *ga*, strong *da*
(*da drag*), supporting *'a* (*'a rten*), reversed *i* vowel (*gi gu log*), and the double *tsheg*),
see Van Schaik 2014:306-309.

List of Images 5

Chinese Lexical Entry Style

(1) Vertical	(2) Horizontal	3) Combination
Folio1a (IDP#01) L3C7	Folio5a (IDP#09) L3C2	Folio 1a (IDP#01) L9C4
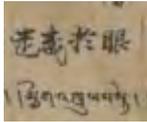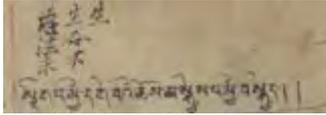
Traditional Chinese notation, in general, consists of vertical lines continuous from right to left. Although there are some exceptions for ancient inscriptions on bones and tortoise shells, since the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1000 BCE), Chinese notation became standardized for the most part as vertical lines continuous from right to left. Even in the case of horizontal calligraphy, the line goes from right to left as if each line only has one letter.[13] Therefore, the Chinese lexical entries of PT1257, especially the second and the third styles, are anomalies in terms of traditional Chinese notation. These styles of notation is a result of accommodating the Tibetan writing system that consistently reads left to right.

We also note that, from the perspective of Chinese orthography, PT1257 includes many variants in its Chinese entries in both the text-title listing and lexicon sections. Some of them are found in the *Ganlu zishu* 干禄字書, a Chinese orthographic dictionary, compiled by Yan Yuansun 顏元孫 during the late 7ᵗʰ to the early 8ᵗʰ centuries. The *Ganlu Zishu* categorizes Chinese letters of variants into "standard," "common," and "vulgar" to indicate the appropriateness of usage. Most variants found in PT1257 belong to the category of "common" and "vulgar." While "standard" were glyphs based on ones appearing in authoritative sources, such as stone inscriptions, "common" glyphs were commonly used in society for prolonged time-periods and "vulgar" were glyphs used for drafts of official documents and private records.[14] While we found five "standard" glyphs, there are

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[13] Nakamura, Masayuki. "*Ryōdai hibun no hidariyokogaki kanbun nitsuite* ("Chinese in horizontal line from the left side appearing in the inscriptions during the Liao dynasty")," *Kotonoha*, Vol 102, 2011, p. 1.

[14] The following is a summary of these three types of orthography written in the preface of the *Ganlu ziyang* (Nishihara: 2013, 87):

- "Vulgar glyphs" (*suti* 俗體) are easily understood characters that can be used for writing household records, draft compositions, bills, drug prescriptions, etc.,

twenty-two "common" and fifteen "vulgar" glyphs in PT1257.[15] Due
to the number of shared Chinese characters included in both the
Ganlu zishu and PT1257, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions.
Nevertheless, the frequent usages of "common" and "vulgar" glyphs
in comparison with the usages of "standard" glyphs in PT1257 indi-
cates that the manuscript may have been a draft document or, at
least, not a finalized official document.

1.5 Writings Outside the Content of the Manuscript

Several lines of text and a drawing do not belong to the content of
PT1257, either the text-title listing or the lexicon of texts. Their tran-
scriptions and image are in following list:

List 6

	Locations	Descriptions
1	Cover (front side)	[Note: Hand written reproduced transcription, not actual image]
2	Folio 4a (recto) (IDP image #07) line 7-9	大雲寺張闍和上 大乘百法明門論開宗義記　夫遍知委照渾眞俗於心源。深慈普洽 演半滿言派寔由性相更會万法歸於一而義互融八藏馳於四辯[16]
3	Folio 4b (verso)	佛説大方佛華嚴経

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where refined language was not needed.
- "Common glyphs" (*tongti* 通體) are characters that had been in circulation for a
long time and can be used for writing proposals, reports, letters, verdicts, etc.,
and for the use of which one will certainly not be blamed.
- "Standard glyphs" (*zhengti* 正體) are characters based on a former authority that
can be used for writing literary compositions, essays, answers at official
examinations, stele inscriptions.

[15] "Standard" glyphs in PT1257 are 災 夢 象 譬 燄, "common" glyphs 疑 虚 分 陰 勝 從
幾 本 仁 甚 等 祢 (尔) 器 最 正 定 足 切 雜 若 於, "vulgar" glyphs 尼 設 (叟) 因 乾 荘 断 老
類 所 解 害 際 (祭) 沼 (召) 滅 惡. Letters within ( ) are left- or right-side radicals. All
Chinese letters listed here are not the exact same glyphs that appear in PT1257.
For these exact gryphs, please see "Variant List" in Appendix II.

[16] Taisho version of this passage is as follows: "夫遍知委照渾眞俗於心源。深慈普洽演半
滿於言派。寔由性相更會萬法歸於一如。文義互融八藏馳於四辯" T85.No.2810.1046a14-16.

4	Folio 6b (verso) (IDP #12)	大乘百法明門
5	Folio 9b (verso) (IDP #24)	
6	Folio 10b (verso) (IDP #26)	入

As mentioned in the previous section, the first instance (1) consists of possibly two Tibetan letters and a sign written on the cover that is included within the "Pelliot tibétain 1257 Box." In the second instance (2), three lines are written in the last half space of the recto of folio 4. The page contains the very last six lines of the text-title list section, which only fills in the first quarter of the folio's writing space. These written lines after the text-title list section are not a colophon, as the following analysis demonstrates, despite the recent discussion of these lines by Galambros and Van Schaik in *Manuscripts and Travellers* (2011). The first line of writing indicates both a temple name, the Great Cloud Temple, and the name of a priest, Senior priest Acārā Zhang. The Great Cloud Temple, as noted by Lalou is *the* name of a monastery ("nom du Mahāmeghavihāra"), that was one of the official temples established in both Changan and Luoyang, as well as various provinces, by the imperial decree of Empress Wu Zetian (則天武后 624-705 CE). Regarding the name of the high priest, in *The Name-List of Monks and Nuns in the Year of Dragon* (辰年牌子曆 *Chennian paizili* S.2729), which was compiled and submitted to the Tibetan Administrative Office in 788 CE, there were two monks whose last name was Zhang, 張光圓 (Zhang Guanyuan) and 張法常 (Zhang Fachang). However, because there was no monastic title added to individual names in this list, it is difficult to determine if the name in PT1257 corresponds with either of these two monks. In the second line, the text title of a Chinese commentary is written followed by the partial copy of its opening sentences, continuing on to the third line. The text, *The Record of the Meaning in Opening the Principle of the Treatise of the Hundred of the Mahāyāna Clear Teachings* (大乘百法明門論開宗義記 *Dasheng baifamingmenlun kaizongyiji*), is Tankuang's 曇曠 commentary on the *Mahāyānaśatadharmaprakāśamukha-*

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[17] A drawing, possibly a lotus flower on a small patch on a folio. As no damage observed at its recto side, this little patch may not be for mending.

śāstra, which is attributed to Vasubandhu.[18] Tankuang, who was active during the 8th century, became an established scholar-monk at the Ximing temple (西明寺) in Changan, an important institute for Yogācāra thought. He then departed Changan and travelled to several provinces of Western China before finally staying in Dunhuang. He is known by his work, the *Twenty-two Dialogues of Mahāyāna* (大乘 二十二問 *Dasheng ershierwen*), which was a response to a set of questions given by the Tibetan king *Khri srong lde brtsan* (Ueyama 1990: 32-33; Pachow 1979).

The other instances 3, 4, and 6 in verso are also all written vertically with having the binding part to be right. Instances 3 and 4 are canonical text-titles, the *Avataṃsakasūtra*[19] and the *Mahāyāna-śatadharma-prakāśamukhaśāstra*, respectively. The last case, 6, has only one letter 入, which means "(to be) 'in' or to enter."

As these lines do not belong to the main content of the manuscript, it may be the case that this manuscript was reused as scrap paper. On the other hand, due to the fact that the writing of case 1 appears on the recto of folio 4 and the writing in verso (cases 2, 3, and 5) are all in same direction (vertical writing with making the binding part right side), there is the possibility that these writings were added after the manuscript had been bound and completed its original purpose.

2. The Tibetan and Chinese Lexicon of Buddhist Terminology

2.1 Historical Periodization of Tibetan translation practices

PT1257 contains seven folios of Tibetan and Chinese terms. In order to provide a cogent hypothesis for the dating of this terminology several historical factors for the development of Tibetan translation

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[18]   The *Treatise of the Hundred of the Mahāyāna Clear Teaching* was translated by Xuanzang in 647 CE (according to the *Buddhist Canon Catalogue in Great Tang* 大唐 内典録, in 648 CE according to the *Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings Compiled during Kaiyuan* 開元釋経録, or in 649 CE according to Tankuang's the *Record of the Meaning in Opening the Principle of the Treatise of the Hundred of the Mahāyāna Clear Teaching*). Its commentaries were composed by Xuanzang's desciples, such as Puguang (fl. 645-664 普光) and Kuiji (632-682 窺基). There is no extant Sanskrit manuscript of this text, and the Tibetan translation was made based on Xuanzang's Chinese translation. However, this title is not included in the lDan dKar ma, the oldest Tibetan Buddhist text catalogue. Thus, its Tibetan translation had not been made before the early 9th century. Rentarō Ikeda (1980) states that the Tibetan translation was made during the mid-12th century. The colophon of this text in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka indicates that the original author of the text could have been Dharmapāla, not Vasubandhu.
[19]   As its Chinese full title is 大方廣仏華厳経, this title has the missing letter 廣.

practices must be initially acknowledged. According to several Euro-North American scholars and indigenous Tibetan scholars, such as Skyogs ston rin chen brka shis (ca. 1495-after 1577), the development of Tibetan translation practices occurred within three stages related to imperial decrees:[20] (1) an initial stage of "the first royal resolution" (*dang po bkas bcad kyis*) consisting of preliminary translations from the era of the legendary seventh century inventor of the Tibetan script Thon mi sambhota up through the reign of Khri srong lde bstan, who reigned from 742-800[?] CE. Texts initially translated during this period include the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, the four *āgama*, the *vinaya*, and various *sūtra*s. These works had not been edited to conform with the imperially decreed "new resolution" of 814 CE and utilized old words with orthographic particularities. Evidence in colophons to Tibetan canonical texts refer to these ancient translation terms as "*brda rnying du snang ngo*," "that which appears in the old language" (Dietz, 1989: 283). We argue that PT1257, following upon the work of Hakamaya (1984), belongs to this pre-revision period of Tibetan translation activity and consists of Old Tibetan terminology before the "new, fixed language" of the second resolution (*bkas bcad gnyis pa*). (2) The so-called second resolution related to Tibetan translation was formally ratified under the imperial decree of the Tibetan Emperor Khri gtsug lde brtsan (alias Ral pa can, r. 815-841 CE) and utilized by such Tibetan translators as Dpal brtsegs and Ye shes sde. (3) Stage three concerns translations rules established by Western Tibetan kings, such as Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od, during the second dissemination of Buddhism phase of Tibetan history beginning in the eleventh century and falls outside the scope of this paper.

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (2002) has proposed that Tibetan translation practices began as early as 763 CE with the arrival to Tibet of the Indian scholar Śāntarakṣita. In the analysis of Dunhuang manuscripts, Stein and a number of Japanese scholars (e.g., Kimura) have proposed two kinds of Tibetan terms in Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts: (1) terms that are direct translations from Chinese, and (2) terms which are based on Sanskrit. Kimura considers that terms derived from Sanskrit and found in manuscripts that were translated from Chinese texts can be considered "loanwords," which were created through the process of translation from Sanskrit to Tibetan.

Although the historical relations between Sanskrit, Chinese, and Old Tibetan translation terminology has not been fully studied, it is certainly clear that a number of Tibetan translations of Buddhist

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[20]   The following paragraph is from Simonsson (1957:218), Stein (French 1983:151-152; 2010:5) as well as the *Li shi'i gur khang* of Skyogs ston rin chen bkra shis (see Taube 1978:173; Schaeffer 2004:271).

works found among Dunhuang documents contain Old Tibetan terminology. This terminology predates the officially authorized terminology that appears in *final redaction* of the imperially decreed Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon known as the *Mahāvyutpatti* in 814 CE. As indicated below, following upon the studies of Hakamaya (1984) and Kimura (1985), PT1257 contains numerous Tibetan terms that predate the *Mahāvyutpatti* and is an important historical text that documents Old Tibetan terminology for early translations into Tibetan of Mahāyāna sūtras like the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (IOL Tib J 194) and *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* (IOL Tib J 53).[21]

The paleographical and orthographic characteristics of the Tibetan found in PT1257 displays all currently known features for Old Tibetan found in inscriptions and known manuscripts before 814 CE. These orthographic features[22] include: consistent use of *tsheg* before a *shad*; the use of double *tsheg* punctuation[23]; the palatalisation of *ma* by *ya btags* before vowels *i* and *e* (e.g. *myed, myin*); the use of *da drag*; indiscriminate use of inverted *gi gu*; the use of superabundant *'a rjes 'jug*[24]; the use of aspirated consonants for unaspirated consonants such as *pha* for pa.[25] These features match up with features found in inscriptions between 750 and 800 CE, particularly the Zhol *rdo-rings* inscription dated to 763 CE. In brief, the orthographic features of the Tibetan writing found in both the title list section and lexicon section of the manuscript point toward a copy of writing prevalent during

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[21] See texts listed in above introduction.

[22] See Van Schaik 2014; Note, though, Takeuchi's qualms in "Old Tibetan Buddhist Texts from the Post-Tibetan Imperial Period (mid-9 c. to Late 10 C), note 4, that "Old Tibetan features, such as inverted *gi-gu*, *ya-btags* for bilabials, and *da-drag*, do not serve as Merkmals since they were in both the imperial period and the post-imperial period."

[23] On double *tsheg* punctuation as marker of Old Tibetan see Takata (2006). Note that each end of a visible line has a double *shad* throughout the documents.

[24] The archaic use of an additional single 'a chung as a suffix is found numerous times in the document and, as noted by Uebach (2010:411) and Khu byu (1996), is considered a firm marker of Old Tibetan orthography.

[25] Richardson, "Early Tibetan Inscriptions: Some Recent Discoveries" Bulletin of Tibet 3.1 (1987:12): "in its extensive use of the archaic *pha* for *pa* that at Lho-brag is comparable only with those [inscriptions] on the Zhol- *rdo-rings* which are the earliest known and can be dated c.764. In later inscriptions that usage is very rare." If one were to base a dating on inscriptions alone one could point toward the Old Tibetan spelling for the syllable *'das* as *'da's* which occurs four times in the manuscript (F1aL7C4, F7aL2C3, F8aL2C8, F9aL6C1. The spelling of this syllable appears in the Bsam yas inscription of 779 in lines 14-15 as *'jIg rten las* / *'da's pa' dang* / The Skar cung inscription between 799-815 has the spelling in line 53: *'jig rten las 'das pa dang* / But see also PT 16, PT 1042, PT 1287 (lines 53, 205, 208, 461, 527, 533), ITJ 732, 733, 734.

the latter half of the reign of King Khri Srong-lde-brtsan who reigned from 742-ca.800 [?] CE.

The Chinese has a number of archaic features as well, although these are not found in the lexicon section but in the text-title listing section. Most notable is the refined used of non-standard character abbreviations, *heji* 合字, that are no longer found in China but are still in use in present day Japan known as *shōmotsu-gaki* 抄物書き.[26]

2.2. Outline of the Tibetan-Chinese Lexicon in PT1257

The lexicon section of PT1257 is constituted by approximately 570 Buddhist terms in both Tibetan and Chinese.[27] The terms are written in rows from left to right across each folio with the Tibetan written evenly on a faint horizontal line and the corresponding Chinese characters appearing above the Tibetan. Red lines form unevenly distributed columns vertically across the folios and separate individual sets of Tibetan-Chinese terms. In analyzing the seven folios of the bi-lingual Tibetan-Chinese terminology it is clear that the document was initially created with a baseline of Tibetan terms. As previously mentioned, this is indicated by the fact that all the Tibetan terms in the lexicon section of the document are written in trim order while a number of the Chinese terms are written in a haphazard fashion with some Chinese terms being written vertically and others written horizontally. The following image demonstrates this point.
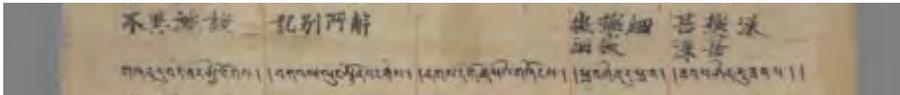
Folio 5a (IDP #09), Line 6

Tibetan terms were written first, then Chinese terms were filled in, as there are columns or sections of the lexicon section that have only Tibetan terms and also do not have any Chinese equivalent terms written above them. Tibetan terms that occur where a corresponding Chinese equivalent term is not filled in constitute around 8 percent of the total number of the terms.[28] On the other hand, there is only

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[26] See Anderl, Dippner, and Visted (2012, 25:7-50) For example, *púsà* 菩薩 is written as ▨ in F2aL2C3, F2aL6C1, F2aL6C3, F2aL7C3, F2aL10C1, F3aL4C3. Also, *pú* 菩 as ▨, most likely a delivative of the previous example, in F3aL11C1.

[27] Legible Tibetan terms are 566 and Chinese 513 (see List 7 for the detailed number).

[28] Among total number of Tibetan terms, 565, there are 45 terms where correspondent Chinese terms are not filled in.

one case in which only Chinese terms are listed without its corresponding Tibetan term.[29] Moreover, while the Tibetan terms in the lexicon section of the manuscript are written first with even and smooth handwriting, the Chinese terms are filled in, by literate persons such as a scribe or monk, with an estimated five different hands in the lexicon section and two hands in the title-list section.

As outlined by Kimura (1985), the lexicon section of PT1257 is comprised of three different categories of Buddhist terms. These three are (1) Buddhist terms with numeric correspondence, (2) miscellaneous terms, and (3) terms drawn from the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra.* Yet, these three categories are not written in an orderly fashion. Rather, terms in each category are written in loose frames, which often share a folio page with other categories, e.g. the terms of *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* in Folio 6a are preceded by a group of terms of the numerical category, or Folio 7a, and 9a includes both the categories of numerical correspondence and that of miscellaneous. This could indicate a lack of structural organization at the initial stage of composition. The first category is constituted by 226 terms itemized through numerical correspondence found in Folios 1a, 6a, 7a, 9a, and 10a. The folios containing vocabulary are listed at first in paired categories, like *"virtue"* and *"non-virtue,"* and then are followed by numeric categories that increase in number, starting with two, three, four, five, and extending up to twelve. The last classification of terms comprises the twelve kinds of *sūtra*s.

The second category of terms consists of around 233 terms that we have currently classified as "miscellaneous terms."[30] These terms are found in Folio 7a, 8a, and 9a. These terms do not have an apparent objective of organization in our current estimation, although further analysis may relate them to a particular *Mahāyāna sūtra* or *śāstra*. As Kimura's (1985) analysis indicates, the Tibetan terminology found in PT1257 is predominately drawn from Sanskrit terminology while at the same time including some terms based on Chinese. In a couple of instances the same Tibetan term appears with two different mean-

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[29]   Although there is no Tibetan term written in this case (Folio10a L8C5), the space itself is not a blank but three slashes are filled in for some reason unlike the blank space where a Chinese term is not filled in. See the following images: No

Tibetan term filled in: (F10aL8C5); No Chinese term filled in: (F8a L4C4)

[30]   As mentioned in the previous section relating to the fragments, we have assumed that there could be pages that were taken out leaving only their bottom-portions onto this manuscript. These fragments are located, according to IDP images, between images #13 (folio 7) and #21(folio 8), whose terminology belong to both numeric and miscellaneous categories.

ings. A good example of this double occurrence is the Tibetan *tshor ba* (F9aL4C4), the usual translation of Sanskrit *vedanā* "feeling" which correlates in PT1257 to the Chinese *shou* 受. However, another occurrence of the Tibetan *tshor ba* (F9aL10C9) correlates to the Chinese *jue* 覚 which is a Chan term for awakening. Along these lines, PT1257 has two different translations for "dependent-arising" (*pratītyasamutpāda*). The Tibetan *rkyen dang 'du ba tshogste byung* (F8aL4C9) correlates to the Chinese *yinyuan hehe* 因縁和合, which represents an Indic based translation, while one line below this listing, the Tibetan *rgyu rkyen* (F8aL5C5) correlates to the Chinese *yinyuan* 因縁 "cause and condition" which is a Chinese based translation (Kimura 1985: 638). Thus, PT1257 shows a lack of coordination between its translation terms while demonstrating a Tibetan interest in both Chinese based Chan terminology and Indic terminology. This may indicate that the lexicon was not well organized or was haphazardly put together in its initial composition during a confusing time period before the imperial decrees of 814 CE. But the co-occurrence of Indic and Chinese based Tibetan translation may also reflect cultural conditions leading up to the Samye (*bsam yas*) debate in Tibet between Indian and Chinese Buddhists that occurred between 792-794 CE. A connection with the Samye debate is also found in the third category of terminology and its relation to the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*.

The third category consists of 106 terms that are drawn from the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. The matching term equivalents in PT1257 between the Chinese and Old Tibetan are taken from the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*'s first two chapters. The introductory chapter haphazardly appears suddenly in PT1257 beginning on midway on Folio 6a (IDP #11) after two lines of the numeric terms, and the second chapter of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* starts from the first row of the folio 5a (IDP #09). A great amount of the Chinese terms in this category correlate directly with terms from the *Jieshenmi jing* 解深密経, Xuanzang's 玄奘 translation of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. However, a fair number of these terms do not exactly match Xuanzang's translation. List 8 at the end of this section includes Chinese terms of the third category of PT1257 but not exactly the same as their corresponding terms in the *Jieshenmi jing*. There are even two terms, "心不怯弱" (F5aL9C6) and "與大比丘衆俱" (F6aL3C3), that do not appear in the corresponding particular parts in the *Jieshenmi jing*.[31] This is a

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[31] These two terms correspond to Tibetan terms, "*sems myI zhan pa*" and "*dge slong chen po'i dge 'dun dang lhan cIg*," respectively. Also, among the Chinese terms drawn from the *Saṃdhinirmocana sūtra* that are not exactly same as the corresponding terms of Xuanzang's *Jiěshēnmì jīng* or not even included into the translation, twelve terms are rather closer to Tibetan corresponding terms in

puzzling fact that will need further analysis to determine why some Chinese translation terms differ.

All the Tibetan terms in this category are drawn from the pre-814 CE Old Tibetan translation of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* as thoroughly proven by Hakamaya. Hakamaya (1984) has conclusively demonstrated that the Tibetan terms are close to the Stein Dunhuang manuscripts of *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* found in IOL Tib J 194 and IOL Tib J 683. A comparison of Tibetan prefixes found between the Dunhuang Tibetan version of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, the terms in PT1257, and prefixes in a Tibetan canonical version found in the Peking Kanjur of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* indicate that the Dunhuang version and PT1257 match and follow the same translation rules and are different from the canonical version which was revised after 814 CE. Along these lines, the terms in the Dunhuang Tibetan *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* and PT1257 match the translation terms found in fragments of Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama*, a text that was prepared by the Indian paṇḍita for the debate against a Chinese Chan group that took placed around 794 CE. It should be noted as well that the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* played a crucial role in the Samye debate according to Tibetan historical accounts (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000). This fact may account for the interest that the compilers of PT1257 had in finding Chinese equivalent terms for the Old Tibetan version of the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*.

List 7
Terms in PT1257

	Tibetan terms	Tibetan illegible/ missing	Total (Tibetan)	Categories	Chinese terms	Chinese terms illegible / missing	Total (Chinese)
F1a	67	1 / 0	68	N 67 S 0 M	64	4 / 0	68
F5a	60	0 / 0	60	N 0 S 60 M 0	34	0 / 26	60

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meaning than the corresponding terms in the *Jieshenmi jing*. These Chinese terms are underlined in the list added at the end of this section. On the other hand, there is only one term in the *Jieshenmi jing*, which corresponds to one in PT1257, but closer to the corresponding Tibetan terms in meaning.

F6a	66	0 / 0	66	N 20 S 46 M 0	62	0 / 4	66
F7a	87	0 / 0	87	N 7 S 0 M 80	81	0 / 6	87
F8a	106	0 / 0	106	N 0 S 0 M 106	98	0 / 8	106
F9a	92	0 / 0	92	N 45 S 0 M 47	89	2 / 1	92
F10a	88	0 / 1	87	N 87 S 0 M 0	85	3 / 0	88
Terms Total	566	1	566	N 226 S 106 M 233	513	8 / 45	566

Abbreviations:
N Numeric correspondence
S The SN
M Miscellaneous

<center>

List 8
Chinese Terms from the SN that are
different from or not included into Xuanzang's translation

</center>

Abbreviations:
SBBS: *Treatise on the Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra* (*Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論)
BBS: *Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra* (*Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論)
BSB: *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* (*Pusadichi jing* 菩薩地持經)
YB: *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqieshidi lun* 瑜伽師地論)
RK: *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* (*Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經)
PY: *Sūtra of Bodhisattva's Jeweled Necklace* (*Pusa yingluo jing* 菩薩瓔珞經)

		PT1257 (Chinese)	SN (the *Jieshenmi jing* by Xuanzang, *Taishō*)	PT1257 (Tibetan)
1	F5aL3C2	迷惑於眼 being delusive in eyes (*RK* T310, 525b28)	迷惑眼事 being delusive in eyes' matter T.676, 689b08-9	*myIg 'khrul pa ste* delusive eyes
2	F5aL3C3	離言説法 inexpressible	離言法性 inexpressible dhar-	*/brjod du myed pa'I*

		dharma sermon (*SBBS* T.1530, 305a15, etc.), (*YB* T.1579, 311b19, etc.), (*BSB* T.1581, 905b02, etc.)	ma nature T.676, 689b16.	*chos nyId* inexpressible dharma nature
3	F5aL3C5	後更観察 After and further observation	應更觀察 (One) should observe further T.676, 689b04 (*YB* T.1579, 707a16)	*phyis brtags par 'gyur*[32] further examination
4	F5aL3C6	口出鉾鑽 releasing (arms of) a halberd and chisel from a mouth	口出矛欑 releasing (arms of) a spear and (drill?) from a mouth T.676, 689c017 (*YB* T.1579, 714c23)	*ngag gI mtshon shag tis* [???]
5	F5aL4C1	鑽刺 a drill to stub (YB T1579, 840a03)	欑已刺已 already (bored) by a drill and stubbed T.676, 689c017 (*YB* T.1579, 714c23)	*'dzugs pa dang 'thIng ba* [???]
6	F5aL4C3	自證 self realization	自所證 realized on one's own T.676, 689c25 (*YB* T1579, 715a02, etc.)	*rang gIs rIg pa* self-realization
7	F5aL4C4	盡其壽命 exhausting its life-time	盡其壽量 exhausting its life-span T.676, 690a09 (*YB* T1579, 715a14)	*nam 'tsho'i bar du* life-span
8	F5aL5C1	俱會一處 gathering together at one place	曾見一處 already viewed one place T.676, 690b02, etc.	*lhan cIg 'dus te 'khod* gathering together in

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32 Tibetan phrase includes "subsequent," whose equivalent Chinese letter appears as "後," in the Chinese phrase in this correspondence while there is no such letter appears in the equivalent phrase in the *SN* (*Jieshenmi jing*) of Xuanzang.

				(*YB* T.1579, 714c18, etc.)	one place
9	F5aL6C1	不異施設 no differ from being postulate (*Laṅkâvatāra-sūtra, Lèngqié ābáduōluó bǎo jīng* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 T.670, 496a07)	不可施設 cannot be postulate T.676, 691a29 (*YB* T.1579, 716b08). 不易施設 not be easily postu-late T.676, 691a15, etc. (*YB* T.1579, 716a23).	*gzhan du bde bar myI thogs* not ob-structing happiness for others
10	F5aL8C1	我慢所持 possessing self-pride /arrogance	增上慢所執持 pos-sessing/attaching to self-pride of one's own speriority T.676, 691c15 (*YB* T.1579, 716b20, etc.)	*nga rgyal gyIs mngon bar zIn pa* possessing pride
11	F5aL9C1	一切法性 nature of all dharma (*PY* T.656, 126b25)	一切法 all of dharmas T.676, 691a25 (YB T.1579, 716b04, 721b18, etc.)	*chos rnams gyI mtshan nyid* nature of all dharmas
12	F5aL9C6	心不怯弱 (The) mind is not coward or weak (YB T.1579, 527a20), (*BSB* T1581, 893c15), (the *Sūtra of Profoundly Se-cret Enlighten-ment, Shenmi jietuo jing* 深密解脱經 T.675,683a26)	**N/A**	*sems myI zhan pa* not a weak mind

1 3	F6aL3C3	與大比丘衆俱 with great as-sembly of monks (*PY* T.656, 1a07)	**N/A**	*dge slong chen po'i dge 'dun dang lhan cIg* together with an as-sembly of great monks
1 4	F6aL4C6	衆所翼從 (an assem-bly / those who) wish to follow	常所翼從 always wish to fol-low T.676, 688b13 (*BBS* T.680, 720c02) (*SBBS* T1530, 292b18)	*dge 'dun rjesu dong ba na* following of the assem-bly
1 5	F6aL5C2	衆生義理 goal or reason (*artha*) of sen-tient beings	衆生一切義利 all the goals or rea-son (*artha*) of sen-tient beings T.676, 688b14	*sems chan gyI sdon* purpose of sentient beings
1 6	F6aL6C4	極妙法界 extremely sub-tle dharama realm	極於法界 pervading the entire experiential (dhar-ma) realm T.676, 688b27	*chos gyI dby-ings dam pa* sacred realm of dharma
1 7	F6aL7C1	盡虚空界 exhausting the realm of space (*PY* T.656, 36c14)	盡虚空性 throughout all of space / exhausting the nature of air / emptiness T.676, 688b27	*nam ka'I dbyings gyI mtha'* the limits of the realm of space
1 8	F6aL8C2	喜樂法持 possessing the teaching of joy and happiness	喜樂所持 possessing joy and happiness T.676, 688b14	*dga' ba dang bde bas brtan pa* firm in joy and happi-ness
1 9	F6aL10C 4	趣於大乘 Going to Mahāyāna (*PY* T.656, 34a06)	皆住大乘遊大乘法 All are residing in Mahāyāna and en-joy the teaching of Mahāyāna T.676, 688c07	*theg pa chen po la zhugs pa* entering to the great vehicle

				(Mahāyāna)
2 0	F6aL10C 5	摧諸魔怨 destroying various evil enmity (*BBS* T.680, 720c26) (RK T.310, 561a03)	摧伏一切衆魔怨 destroying and subduing all the various evil enmity T.676, 688c8-9	*bdud dang phyir rgol ba bcoM ba* destroying opponents and demons
2 1	F6aL11C 3	息諸害悩 Ceasing vari-ous sufferings	息一切衆生一切苦悩 Ceasing all the suf-ferings of all sen-tient beings T.676, 688c11	*gnod pa rab du 'jil ba* ceasing harm

3 The List of Buddhist Text-Titles in Tibetan and Chinese

3.1 Outline of PT 1257 Text-title Listing

While the lexicon section has seven folios, there are three folios (folio 2a, 3a, and 4a ; IDP #03, #05 and #07), of Buddhist *sūtra*s' and *śāstra*s' titles given in both Tibetan and Chinese.[33] The following (List 9) shows the number of Buddhist texts that appear in each folio, includ-ing the titles of texts that are not part of the listing. The total number of Chinese and Tibetan text-titles in the listing section are different: 86 Chinese and 85 Tibetan titles. The difference in the number occurs because there is one Chinese title, the *Pusa yingjing* 菩薩瓔経 (F2aL02C3, the title-number 6), which has no correspondent Tibetan title, that is inserted between F2aL02C2 and C4.

List 9
Text Titles in PT1257

	Tibetan titles	Chinese titles
Text-title Listing		
F2a	41	42
F3a	35	35

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[33]   Kōsho Akamatsu (1988) has provided an initial analysis of the book titles found on three folio images of PT1257.

F4a	9	9
Listing Total	**85**	**86**
Outside Text-title Listing		
F4a		1[34]
F4b		1
F6b		1
Titles total	85	89

On account of the folio-direction to read text titles in this section, readers have to change the folio-direction each time when reading either Tibetan or Chinese titles. Unlike the lexicon section, the Chinese writing in this section is unified according to the traditional system of notation which is vertical continuous from right to left. Thus, in reading the Chinese text titles, the folio-direction is in a way that the binding side is placed on the left side. On the other hand, the Tibetan writing system is the same as the one in the lexicon section, the binding side placed in the bottom. Although the folio-directions for Chinese and Tibetan writing are different, Chinese titles are always written at the right side of their correspondent Tibetan titles (or on the upper side of the Tibetan lines when the binding side is placed at the bottom). See the following image comparison.

List of Images 10

Comparison of folio-direction
Text-title listing section (Folio 2a, IDP #03)   Lexicon section (Folio 1a, IDP #01)

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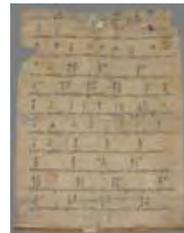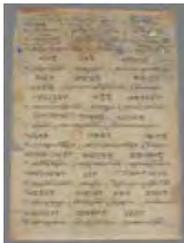
[34] Total 9 titles in the text-title listing section and one title that seems to be a later addition outside its stipulated framework. The addition also includes a temple name and a name of a monk followed by the two lines of the content of the text added (see 1.5 Writings Outside the Content of the Manuscript, List 6).

In the composition of the title listing, the Tibetan titles are written first, followed by the Chinese equivalent titles that were added. This point is indicated by the following facts:

(1) Each folio has fine ruled-lines. The first line of Tibetan titles in each folio of the title listing section starts from the first line of the original ruled-lines, and the beginning of each line in Tibetan starts in accord with the right side of the ruled-line when placing the binding side as the bottom. (See images A, B, and C in List of Images 11). On the other hand, the first line of the Chinese titles in each folio of the title-listing section starts from outside of the original ruled-lines, and the beginning of each line in Chinese does not necessary start from the right side of the ruled-line in an orderly manner (when placing the binding side as the bottom). In terms of line spacing, especially in the folio 2a (IDP #03), the first folio of this section, the first four lines of Tibetan titles are written in single-space lines, then, starting from the fifth line throughout the end of this text-title section, the Tibetan titles are written in double-space lines as if a scribe remembered the need of space for Chinese correspondent titles to be filled in.

List of Images 11

Image A	Image B	Image C
Folio 2a (IDP #03)	Folio 3a (IDP #05)	Folio 4a (IDP #07)

Image D
Folio 3a (IDP #05)

Image E
Folio 2a (IDP #05)
Image F
Folio 3a (IDP #07)
Image G
Folio 2a (IDP #03)
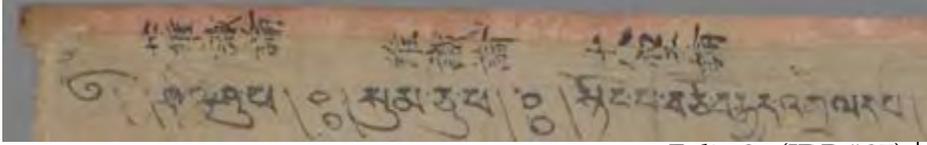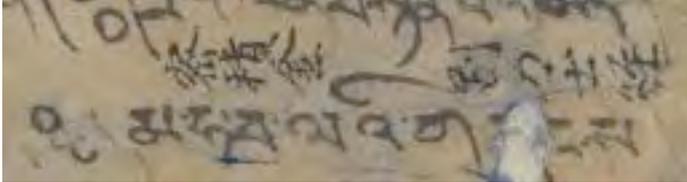
(2) All lines of Tibetan text-titles uniformly start from the right vertical ruled line (with the binding side at the bottom; see the left side image in List 10). On the other hand, the placements of the correspondent Chinese titles are not in an orderly manner but rather uneven. For example, the Chinese title *Dabanruo* 大般若 at the first line of the folio 2a (Image A in List 11) does not start from the upper ruled line (for Tibetan writing system, the right vertical line). Also, the spaces between the Chinese titles in each line are not even in order to place the beginning of each Chinese title at the correspondent Tibetan title (See Image D in List 11).

(3) In terms of the letter size, while each letter of the Tibetan titles is almost identical in size, each of the Chinese counterparts vary in size, especially the first line of Chinese titles on each folio. This is because the Tibetan line starts from the first line of the original ruled-lines, so that the first line of Chinese titles in each folio, which is written outside of the first ruled-line, does not have enough space (See images A, B, and C in List 11). This is because the reinforcement tape was attached on the side, which is the opposite side from the

binding edge. This reinforcing tape was possibly attached after the Tibetan lines were written and before the Chinese corresponding lines were filled in. This is because the first Chinese lines of folios 2a and 3a were superscribed on the reinforcing tape (See images E and F in List 11).

(4) Along these lines, the Chinese titles of the first four lines in the folio 2a (IDP #03) are written around the correspondent Tibetan titles as they do not have enough space. For example, the Chinese title of the *Miji jinganglishi jing* 密積金剛力士経 is divided into two as it sets aside for the Tibetan letter "*'i*" (See image G in List 11).

3.2 Content of PT 1257 Text-title Listing

Based on the above analysis, we see that the title-listing section of PT1257 was made first by copying Tibetan titles, then the Chinese titles were added next to the corresponding Tibetan titles after reinforcing tape was attached to each folio at the side opposite from the binding side. This fact indicates that those who initiated this project already had these Buddhist scripture-titles in Tibetan at hand. After a Tibetan scribe copied these titles on each folio, then Chinese scribe(s) filled in the corresponding Chinese titles.

Before further examining the composition of the title listing section, we discuss the content of the title-listing section of PT1257 based on Kōsho Akamatsu's initial analysis of this section (1988:377-379). Akamatsu claimed that the majority of titles listed in PT1257 correspond with the titles included into the catalogue of the *Lidai zhongjing jianruzanglu* 歷代衆經見入藏録 "The Record of Various Texts that Successively Included into and Found in the Library" which is Vol.8 of the *Datang neidianlu* 大唐内典録 (hereafter, the *Neidianlu*),"The Record of Buddhist Sources of the Great Tang Dynasty (T.2149)." This catalogue was compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 in 664 CE based on the collection of Buddhist texts stored in the Ximing-si temple 西明寺, a major monastery in the capital of Changan established by the Emperor Gaozong of Tang in 656. This monastery is well known for its Chinese Yogācāra thought along with the Daciensi temple 大慈恩寺 and is famous for its extensive library.[35] Among the 86 Chinese titles in the section of PT1257, seventy-six titles were found in the catalogue of the *Neidianlu* in similar order.[36]

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[35] Poceski, Mario (2007:60), *Ordinary mind as the way: the Hongzhou school and the growth of Chan Buddhism.*

[36] Due to the unreadability, we did not take the Chinese title in F2aL1C2 the "*Dafangguangfa [?] jing* 大方廣佛[?]經 *yong su rgyas pa sang rgyas rmad* [?] (The Sūtra of the Great Expansive Buddha [?])" to match the "*Dafangguangfa huayan jing*

As evidence of the close textual relationship between PT1257 and the *Neidianlu*, Akamatsu pointed out that the peculiar selection of the Chinese letters to write text titles in PT1257 often match up with the corresponding titles in the *Neidianlu*. He provided an example of the Chinese title, "*Yangjuemo jing* 央崛摩経 (*Aṅgulimālīya sūtra*, F2aL5C3 [Title number 16]" of PT1257, and the exact same Chinese characters of the title appears in no other Chinese bibliographies but in the *Neidianlu*.[37] Although Akamatsu makes this point as a support to his claim that the text-title listing section of PT1257 has a textual relation with the *Neidianlu*, this point requires further analysis.

(1) The Chinese title 央崛摩経 also appears in the *Zhujing yaoji* 諸經 要集, though it is not a catalogue but a collection of essential citations from various Buddhist texts, which was compiled by Daoxuan's contemporary younger colleague Daoshi 道世 who also resided at the Ximing-si temple.

(2) In terms of Yogācāra texts, there is some discordance between the text-titles of PT1257 and the *Neidianlu*:

(a) the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (the *Establishment on the Theory of Consciousness-only*, Fa3L10C1 [Title number 72]) and the *Fodìjing lun* 仏地経論 (the *Treatise on the Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra*, Fa3L10C3 [Title number 74]) are included in PT1257 but not in the *Neidianlu*;

(b) PT1257 lists both the *Ershi weishi lun* 二十維識論 [*nyi shu pha*] (the *Twenty Verses of Theory of Consciousness-Only*, F4aL1C1, [Title number 78]) and *Weishi lun* 維識論 [*sum cu pha*] (the *Thirty Verses of Theory of Consciousness-Only*, F4aL1C2 [Title number 79]) while the *Neidianlu* lists the *Weishi lun* 唯識論 twice, side by side, with no distinction between these two Yogācāra texts as indicated in PT1257; and

(c) PT1257 includes the *Bianzhongbian lun* 辯中邊論 (F3aL11C3, [Title number 77]), which is a translation of *Madhyânta-vibhāga śās-*

大方廣佛華嚴經 "The Sūtra Great Expansive Buddha of Avatamsaka" found in the *Neidianlu*. However, the order of the title-list of PT1257 almost follows the one in the *Neidianlu* and this particular title is listed at the very beginning portion in both PT1257 and the *Neidianlu*. This title in PT1257 can be considered to correspond to the "*Dafangguangfa huayan jing*" in the *Neidianlu*. What is interesting is that a variant of this title, the "*Dafangfa huayanjing* 大方佛華嚴經," is found in the verso of the third folio of the title-list section (Folio 4b, IDP #08) of PT1257 as if an added note.

37 Other bibliographies show 央崛魔羅經 or 央崛摩羅経 among others. The Tibetan listing of this title appears with both a Sanskrit transcription (*Ang. gu. la. ma: la*) and contracted Tibetan translation (*'phags pa sor 'phreng*; cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2002).

tra by Xuanzang, while the *Neidianlu* includes Paramārtha's translation, the *zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論, of the same text.

The following is a list of terms that indicates differences of the titles in PT1257 and the *Neidianlu.* Considering the differences found in this list, as well as the facts indicated above, the claims that Akamatsu has made regarding the close textual relation between the text-title section of PT1257 and the *Neidianlu* does not seem to be certain.[38] As previously discussed, given the fact that Tibetan titles were written down first, then, Chinese counterparts were filled in, it is difficult to think that the initial creators of this text-title listing made the original list based on the *Neidianlu*. Rather, the relationship between the *Neidianlu* and PT1257 is not directly textual, but through indirect relations that the original (Tibetan) title list was likely created based on (a) lists/catalogues in Chinese that were used in Chinese monastic communities in Dunhuang who shared textual resources with the tradition that the *Neidianlu* represented.

List 12
Text titles of PT1257 that are different from the *Neidianlu*

#	The titles that appear in PT1257, but not in or not as same characters as titles in the *Neidianlu*	Title number	the *Neidianlu* (the titles of different translations of the same texts or possible corresponding titles)
1	大寶集幡経 *da bao ji fan jing* The Sūtra of the Banners of the Great Collection of Jewel *dkon mchog dphal*	4	N/A
2	大方廣十綸経 *dafang guang shi lun jing* The Vaipulya Ten Thread sūtra (name of the translator lost) *'khor lo bcu pa'i mdo*	37	大乗大集地蔵十輪経 *dasheng daji dizang shilun jing* (tr. by Xuanzang)
3	成唯識論 *cheng*	72	N/A

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	weishi lun Establishing the Discourse on the Theory of Consciousness-only *rnam phar shes pa tsam du grub pha*		
4	仏地経論 *fodijing lun* Treatise on the Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra *sangs rgyas gyi sa'i 'grel pha*	74	N/A
5	辯中邊論 *bianzhong-bian lun* Madhyânta-vibhāga sastra (tr. Xuanzang) *dbus mtha rnaM par 'byed pha*	77	中邊分別論 *zhongbian fenbie lun* Madhyânta-vibhāga sastra （tr. Paramārtha）
6	二十維識論 *ershi weishi lun* Twenty Verses on the Theory of Consciousness-only *nyi shu pha*	78	N/A
7	維識論 *weishi lun* (Thirty Verses on) the Theory of Consciousness-only *sum cu pha*	79	(the Theory of Consciousness-only 唯識論 *weishi lun*)[39]
8	讚僧功德論 *zanseng gongde lun* The Sūtra of Merit to Praise the Samgha *dge:'dun gyi legs pa bsn-gags* (pa)	84	N/A
9	蜜厳経 *miyan jing* The Secret Adornment Scripture *stug po'i rgyan*	85	N/A
10	父母恩重経 *fumu*	86	N/A

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[39]   This text title is listed twice in side by side.

enzhong jing The Sūtra of Filial Piety *pha ma'i drin lan bstan pha*		

When considering the possible shared monastic and scholastic traditions between Dunhuang and the Ximing-si temple in the capital Changan, there can be two different approaches to examine in the composition of the PT1257 text-title list: One approach is to relate the list to the well-regarded Yogācāra master Tankuang 曇曠 who had studied at the Ximing-si temple before arriving in Dunhuang in 763 CE (Ueyama 2012: 20-23). Another approach is the presence of sBa Sang shi – a son of the sBa family and a head of a delegation sent to China which brought back Buddhist scriptures from the capital Changan. This individual was later called rBa dPal dbyangs and became *ring lugs* after Ye shes dbang po.

According to the first approach, Tankuang, who studied in the Ximing-si temple, was considered to be in a direct lineage with Daoxuan 道宣 and was active in Dunhuang up until the time of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (ca. 786 CE) and before 788 CE (Akamatsu 1988:378; Ueyama 2012). Moreover, as W. Pachow has shown (Pachow 1979a:42-43), a work of Tankuang's was composed in response to the questions of the Tibetan King Khri srong-lde-btsan and is indirectly related to the works of Hwa shang Mahāyāna, aka Mohoyen, and the views of sudden awakening that was presented at the Samye (*bsam yas*) debate. Notable, as well, is the title (*Dasheng baifa mingmenlun kaizongyiji* 大乗百法明門論開宗義記) of one of Tankuang's commentaries and its opening lines, as well as a temple name (the Great Cloud temple 大雲寺) and a name of high priest monk (Zhang-she 張闍和上), are added, apart from the text-title listing framework, at the bottom of folio 4a (IDP #07). There is a possibility that an archetype of the PT1257 title-list, which was in Chinese, could be related to Tankuang and his community of followers.

The other approach indicates a totally different route from the previous approach, in which the text-title listing, if not the collection of texts, was transmitted to (possibly Central) Tibet by a Tibetan delegation that visited to Changan, China, in the mid-eighth century. The texts or text-titles were brought to Dunhuang to specify correct equivalent Chinese titles for a certain purpose. This presumptive approach became possible based on Yamaguchi's detailed investigation on the *sBa bzhed*, as well as the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* composed between 1545 to 1564, concerning an episode of Ba Sang shi's visit to China. Ba Sang shi, whose monastic ordination name was rBa dPal

dbyangs, visited China as head of a delegation to acquire Buddhist teachings and faced persecution when returning to Tibet sometime after the year 754 (Yamaguchi 1973:11).[40] Upon his return, dPal dbyangs hid the materials that he brought from China after sharing them with the Tibetan Emperor. According to Yamaguchi, during his visit to China, Ba Sang shi received Chinese Buddhist teachings, most likely *jingzhong chan* 浄衆禅 from Priest Jin 金和尚 (1973: 21). Yamaguchi also infers that rBa dPal dbyangs, who is also called Khri gzigs or Khri bsher san ci, as well as Ratna, supported the invitation of Chinese monks, Liangxiu 良琇 and Wensu 文素, for a translation project starting about 779 CE, and invited Moheyan 摩訶衍, after rBa dPal dbyangs became head of *bSam-yas* monastery (1975: 654).[41] Moheyan is well-known popularizing Chan Buddhism in Tibet and reportedly participating in the *bSam-yas* debate. Although both of the above scenarios may be plausible, there currently is not enough evidence to provide a definitive conclusion for the exact historical origins of the title list.

A common characteristic of PT1257 in both the lexicon and text-title sections is that Tibetan titles and vocabularies were written down first followed by the corresponding Chinese. This characteristic is most likely due to the fact that a group or community of Tibetans needed to acquire the Chinese equivalent vocabularies and text-

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[40] The episode is based on the *sBa bzhed*: R.A. Stein *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas.* This description is also almost fully cited in volume Ja of *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* and could preserve an older form of the original text than the currently existing text of the *sBa bzhed*. As well, Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) include some episode of Ba Sang shi's visit to China. See Yamaguchi's footnote 79.

[41] Yamaguchi provides the following summary (1975:654-655): (1) dPal dbyangs belonged to rBa family. His name was also Khri gzigs or Khri bsher san ci, who was called as Ratna, as well. He became *ring lugs* after Ye shes dbang po. (2) During dPal dbyangs's tenure, Moheyan 摩訶衍 was invited to Tibet and Jo mo gcen received precepts. Chan became popular in Tibet. (3) Yamaguchi's previous paper ("Tibetan Buddhism and a Priest Jin" 1973) argues that, relying an account that indicates San ci as bBah sab ci, as well as other circumstances, San ci, who visited to China and brought Buddhism to Tibet, is the same person as rBa Khri bsher san ci (/rBa Khri bsher san ci ta / rBa Khri bsher san ci ratna). Based on this argument, San ci is dPal dbyans according to Yamaguchi. (4) According to Professor Lalou, the Scripture-title-list of PT1257, which designates scripture titles in both Tibetan and Chinese, was made by dPal dbyangs. If San ci who brought Buddhist texts to Tibet is dPal dbyangs, then, this manuscript should be attributed to dPal dbyangs. The fact that the extant sBa bshed interchanges the name of dPal dbyans to San ci, as well, indicates a certain relation between dPal dbyans and San ci. (5) In this way, dPal dbyangs may have had close relations to Chinese Buddhists, and it is conceivable that he supported the invitation of two Chinese monks, Liangxiu 良琇 and Wensu 文素, for a translation project starting about 779 CE and, after taking position of *ring lugs*, influenced the invitation of Moheyan.

titles for a particular reason. Unlike the *Neidianlu*, the text-title listing of PT1257 was not for cataloguing per se, but a tool of communication to gain information of Chinese terminology and text-titles which was initiated by a group of Tibetans.

Returning to our analysis to the text-title listing section, twenty-five of the Tibetan titles among the 85 Tibetan titles are found almost identical to those listed in Tibetan Kanjurs[42] while thirty-six titles are different from those found in Tibetan catalogs or registers.[43] Twenty-four Tibetan titles do not appear in extant Tibetan catalogs or Tibetan Kanjurs.[44] There are six titles that were transliterated from Sanskrit (text-title numbers 13, 14, 16, 18, 24, and 38) and there are six Tibetan titles among PT1257's text-title list whose translations in the Tibetan canon are based on Chinese translations (text-title numbers 9, 15, 17, 21, 37, and 63) (Akamatsu, 1988:378).[45]

Among the eighty-six titles, the 66th title, listed on line 8 of folio 3a (IDP #05) is of the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*) with the Tibetan equivalent as *shes rab 'bum pa'i 'grel pa*. The 72nd title is the *Chengweishi lun* 成唯識論 ("A combined commentary on Thirty Verses on Consciousness-only") with the Tibetan as *rnam phar shes pa tsam du grub pha*[46] ("Establishment of Mere-Consciousness"). While the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 was never translated into Tibetan, Haka-maya reports that a partial Tibetan translation of the *Chengweishi lun* is found in a Dunhuang manuscript (1985: 232-235). Along these lines, the 84th title, *Zanseng gongde lun* 讚僧功德論 a ("Praise of the Merit of the Saṃgha") with Tibetan title *dge:'dun gyi legs pa bsngags (pa)*, is a praise extracted from an *Āgama* that was not known before

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[42] Tibetan titles, the following titles are almost identical with those among Tibetan Kanjurs: 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 23, 28, 33, 34, 37, 39, 44, 53, 58, 63, 65, 67, 70, 77, 78, 79, 81, and 83 (in total 25).

[43] Different titles are as follows: 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 31, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 58, 69, 71, 73, 74, 76, 82, and 85 (in total 36).

[44] Titles that do not extant/appear in the Tibetan canon: 3, 8, 19, 24, 25, 29, 30, 32, 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 72, 75, 80, 84, and 86 (in total 24).

[45] Title notes: The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, listed as the 38th title, was found in Dunhuang with a different translation than the one included among Tibetan Kanjurs. The translation is, however, not from Chinese translation, but from Sanskrit (See Hakamaya (Koza tonko 6) p.232-235 and 208-212.). The 42nd title, a fragment of the Tibetan translation (PT758) from Kumarajiva's *Amituo jing* 阿弥陀経 was found in Dunhuang. The title *sNang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo* listed in PT1257 is the same title as PT758, and differs from the title of the equivalent sūtra appearing as *bDe ba can gyi bkod pa* in the edition of the Peking Kanjur (No. 783).

[46] Note archaic *pha* for *pa*.

being found in Dunhuang and not listed in any Chinese catalogue.[47] These listings indicate that the text-title listing section is from a Chinese based source, either from a catalog list or a listing of texts found in a Chinese monastery, and that the source was most likely located in Dunhuang itself.

4 The Significance of PT1257 in comparison with PT1261[48]

Among the glossaries that collate terms in both Chinese and Tibetan in Dunhuang manuscripts other than PT1257, Pelliot tibétain 1261 (hearafter, PT1261) is one of the extensive glossaries that is the best possible candidate to compare with PT1257 in order to clarify the significance of PT1257. In this section, we discuss PT1261 and the distinctive characters exhibited in PT1257 through a comparison between these two glossaries.

4.1 Some Features of PT1261

PT1261 is comprised of a glossary that collates terms and phrases found in the *Yujiashidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 (*Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*) in both Chinese and Tibetan.[49] PT1261 is in the form of a traditional scroll, and its Chinese terms are written in vertical manner. There seem to be several hands in the writing of Chinese terms. Tibetan terms are mostly on the left side of the respective Chinese terms in a horizontal manner that places the rolled part at the bottom. Many Chinese terms are written in semi-cursive or cursive styles.[50] All Tibetan terms were written in a cursive style.

As opposed to PT1257, which is a Tibetan–Chinese lexicon, PT 1261 is a Chinese–Tibetan lexicon in which Chinese terms were writ-

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[47] Also the 86th title is an apocryphal sūtra of the *Sūtra of Filial Piety* (*Sūtra of Debt of Gratitude for Father and Mother* 父母恩重経). It is presumed based on the Catalogue of Khri-sron-lde-bcan(?) that there was a Tibetan translation of the sūtra based on the Chinese text.

[48] IDP site of PT1261 http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=226967385; recnum=86606;index=12. This text was transcribed by Fanggui Li (1962).

[49] In this lexicon, Chinese terms are taken "from chapter 13 and 31-34 of the Chinese version, more or less in the order in which the words or phrases occur in these chapters." Equivalent Tibetan terms are "taken from a lost Tibetan version of the same work (the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*), corresponding to *Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*, no.5536, chapter (bam po) 15-26, and no.5537, chapter 14-20, in the Peking edition of the Tanjur as reproduced in the *Tibetan Tripitaka* of Kyoto" (Li 1962: 233).

[50] There is at lease one term that uses *shomotsu-gaki* (災 calamity).

ten first, then their equivalent Tibetan terms were filled in.[51] This lexicon may have been used for Chinese monks to access equivalent Tibetan terms in Tibetan script.

4.2 The Formation of its Scroll-making and Date and Purpose of Compilation of PT1261

There are several lines that are blotted out in black, which are written up-side down, that is, seems to be written prior to the compilation of the lexicon. The lines are records of some goods and their equivalent amount of grain and some monks' names are included. Also, the back-side of the lexicon is an account in a similar nature, that is, the twelve lists of monks' (as well as nuns'?) names. They seem to be records of distribution of goods to the clergy (see Li 1962: 236). However, there is no mention of the monk's (and nun's) temple names. Also, the same names repeatedly appear in multiple lists. Thus, the records may be an internal document used in a certain monastery.

Li states the records of name-list were written at the beginning of the ninth or the end of the eighth century because the famous monk's name, Hongben, appears several times on the lists as a plain monk without any title.[52] Thus, these lists were made when he was a young monk. Then, the lexicon "was written sometime after the account (which is the twelve lists of monks' names) were written, perhaps in the middle or late ninth century" (Li 1962:237).

However, based on viewing the actual manuscript of PT1261, there are a couple points that could contradict her assumption, which are indicated by (1) the composition of the scroll and (2) the nature of the Tibetan terms.

(1) The scroll of PT1261 was made through pasting paper-sheets in different height together in a way that one side was even and the

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51   The reasons why PT1261 is a Chinese-Tibetan lexicon are as follows: 1) The space distribution of entries favors the Chinese. 2) When Tibetan terms are longer than the space of Chinese terms, the Tibetan terms are written in two lines. 3) When there is not enough space for Tibetan terms to be written on the left side of Chinese terms, the Tibetan terms were written on the right side of the corresponding Chinese terms with large parenthesis. 4) There is a passage that does not have corresponding Tibetan passage, 11th line c.3 言六通者 (Li 1962:357, Plate II, line 11).

52   The reason that Li states is as follows: "the name of the famous monk Hung-pien* appears no less than three times. He appears there as a plain monk without any title… it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that at that time the account were written, he was a young monk performing his duties together with many others. .. perhaps in the beginning of the ninth or the end of the eighth century… (1962:236-237).

other side was uneven. In this manuscript, the top edge of the lexicon side is even and that of the listing records is uneven. This fact indicates how the compiler(s) made this scroll. Suppose that someone pastes pieces of paper-sheets of different heights together to make a scroll sheet. At that time, it is natural that he pastes these pieces together in a way that its top-edge becomes even and uses the surface side of the even top-edge. After the use, if one would re-use the verso of the document, he should use the document up-side down because in this way, the rest of the rolled paper is on his left side and he does not have to unfold the scroll or roll again in opposite direction. Although in this way the rolled part is on the backside, there is no extra effort needed to unfold and re-roll the document. The writer just simply used the verso of the scroll up-side down. If this is the case in PT1261, the lexicon would be the document written prior to the name-listing records because the lexicon's top-edge is even.[53] If so, the lexicon was made prior to, or contemporary with, Hongben when he was a plain monk, which as Li states was "perhaps in the beginning of the ninth or the end of the eighth century."

(2) Li says that the terminology of Tibetan terms are "taken from a lost Tibetan version of the same work (the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*), corresponding to *Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*, no.5536, chapter (*bam po*) 15-26, and no.5537, chapter 14-20, in the Peking edition of the Tanjur as reproduced in the *Tibetan Tripiṭaka* of Kyoto" (Li 1962:233).

Our examination of the Tibetan terminology used in PT1261 found that there are terms that show archaic forms, which are outside of, and outdated from, the terminology list designated by Imperial Edict in 814 CE that comprises the *Mahāvyutpatti*. Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan before the edict, then, started to be revised accordingly. If "the middle or late ninth century (p.237)" is the date when the lexicon was compiled as Li states, then, why did someone who provided Tibetan terms use a text of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* that had not been revised and still included outdated terminology? Here, the presumptions made in the first point (1) could provide an answer to the second issue that Li's assumption generates, that is, if the lexicon part was compiled prior to the name-listing document,

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[53]   However, if we think the lexicon was written first, then there is another problem. As previously mentioned, on the same side of the lexicon, there are several lines of records, in up-side down and blotted out in black, that were written before the paper-sheets were used to make the scroll. A central question is why the person who wrote the lexicon on the scroll did not use the blank-side, which should have been blank, but uses the side that has some lines already written. This may be because this glossary was intended for only temporary and private use from the very beginning, the use of its verso was already anticipated, so that, the verso that was preserved is totally blank.

the presumable date of the compilation of the lexicon part could have been in the late 8th or the early 9th century, when the Imperial Edict most likely had not been issued. Then, after the imperial decree in 814 CE was issued and presumably the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra* was revised or thought to be in need of revision, the lexicon became less useful, so that, the scroll could have been re-used for the name-listing as an internal monastic document.

Nevertheless, either way, whether the lexicon was documented first or the name-listing document first, the nature of the lexicon of PT1261 is obvious in comparison with PT1257. First, PT1261 was a scroll of used paper-sheets whose height was not even, thus one-edge of the scroll was rather bumpy and less tidy. This composition of the scroll indicates that it was probably for temporal and private use and not for official or monastic communal purposes. The condition of PT1261 is rather deteriorated. The beginning portion of this scroll has extensive damage, so that, there could be a missing portion at the beginning.

Also, in terms of the writing style, both Chinese and Tibetan writing seem to be quite cursive, in particular, some Tibetan words are extremely cursive, look like scrawls, so that some are illegible. Also, there are more than several places of terms that were blotted out in black. Their marks are so obvious that it is hard to think that this manuscript possessed a certain communal value among monastics within a temple.

Thus, these points described above indicate that the lexicon manuscript of PT1261 could have been for the private use of individual(s) who needed to access Tibetan terminology of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, but the manuscript was not treated as a valued property kept among a certain temple's monastic community.

4.3 Significance of PT1257

In contrast, PT1257 demonstrates a totally different significance in its composition and treatment. In terms of composition, the paper-sheets used for PT1257 were of similar size and shape (a trapezoid figure) as if they manufactured only for the purpose of this lexicon. Although there are some text-titles written on the verso of PT1257, these sheets were not re-used wastepaper. In terms of its state of preservation, PT1257 shows additional special care and treatment several times after the manuscript was initially composed. For example, each page of the text-titles list has a reinforcement tape added to its top edge to protect it from damage. After binding together, a shiny bamboo stick was added to the front page for reinforcement of the binding. Also, this manuscript was wrapped by a large cover

whose top-side sheet had special dye for preventing insect damage. Although the manuscript was not directly bound to the cover, the cover itself has a shiny bamboo stick on its backside.

In terms of the writing style of PT1257, although some terms in Chinese are cursive, but still legible, all Tibetan terms are written in a very tidy style with care and concentration in the form of what Van Schaik (2014) terms the "square style" used in Tibetan Imperial records such as the *Old Tibetan Annals*. PT1257 also does not have any portion where the Chinese or Tibetan is blotted out, unlike what we observed in PT1261.

In term of its content, PT1257, too, includes archaic terminology that is not included in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, and many terms are taken from the SNS that were most likely translated before 814 CE. Along these lines, PT1257 seems to be treated well as if it is a valuable property in a certain monastic community that was furbished with rare accessories, such as shiny bamboo sticks and a large size dyed cover.

What made PT1257 so special? The key point is that the manuscript was a Tibetan–Chinese lexicon. The Tibetan terminology found in PT1257 was coined before 814 CE. And, our analysis indicates that this lexicon was initiated from the Tibetan side. The Tibetan community needed to access and equip themselves with Chinese terminology equivalent to Tibetan terminology. This glossary could have been a draft of an official document that was offered to high ranking Chinese monks by Tibetan authorities in order for both parties to communicate on topics related to Buddhism.

In any case, the purpose of PT1257 was not for individual private use considering the valued treatment of this manuscript. Rather, taking material composition, writing style, and the condition of preservation into consideration, this manuscript was highly valued and important for the Tibetan imperial monastic authorities who supported it. Because of this manuscript's background, even after the Imperial Edict standardized Tibetan terminology in ca. 814 CE, the value of this manuscript remained unchanged due to its authoritative origins.

Conclusion

A close analysis of the form, content, terminology, as well as paleographic and orthographic features of Pelliot tibétain 1257, among other characteristics, generates a number of complex and specific questions that our future research on this manuscript will strive to answer. Our initial analysis of this manuscript has established several definitive and basic points. First, the manuscript was compiled

for the purpose of studying Buddhist texts and terminology in both Chinese and Tibetan. The manuscript is comprised of two different documents, a list of texts and a list of terms, which were bound together into a single manuscript. The copyists of both the list of terms and the list of texts wrote down the Tibetan first followed by the Chinese. Around eight percent of Tibetan terms are listed without Chinese equivalents and the Chinese terminological entries are written in approximaely seven different hands of writing. This may indicate that the lexicon section of the manuscript was copied and circulated by Tibetans among Chinese monks in Dunhuang in order for Tibetan monastic authorities to gain knowledge of Chinese equivalents for Tibetan terms. The Tibetan terminology list is comprised of translation terms in Old Tibetan, terms that are before the imperially decreed standardization of 814 CE. The listed terminology reflects an interest in term equivalents for Chan Chinese terminology and Chinese equivalents for Indic based sources such as the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* and other Mahāyāna sūtras, terms that would be important for the Samye debate held around 792-794 CE. The list of texts has two primary possibilities for its source. The list is from (1) a local Chinese based source, possibly from a catalogue or an actual depository of texts found in Dunhuang, or (2) a resource brought back from China by a Tibetan delegation led by sBa Sang shi/ rBa dPal dbyangs. Although the actual date of the manuscript is difficult to determine, the Tibetan text of the manuscript's documents contain orthographic and paleographic features that place its initial composition between 779 and 814 CE, making it one of the earliest known Tibetan lexicons of Buddhist terminology and an authoritative source for documenting translations preserved in Old Tibetan.

Annotated Transcription of Pelliot tibétain 1257

Transcription and Tibetan Transliteration of Pelliot tibétain 1257

Symbols used in the Transliteration

The Roman transliteration of Tibetan follows the Wylie System proposed in Turrel Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22 (1959): 261-267, with the following modifications:

I	reversed *gi-gu*
M	*anusvāra*
s +ho	*sa* with subscribed *ha* plus *na-ro* vowel sign.

$	page initial sign head *mgo-yig*
:	*tsheg* written with two dots
abc	insertions: letter, word, or phrase written below the line
[abc]xxx	scribal notation written above the line
[#a#]	page and line number
~~abc~~	letters crossed-out by copyist
[abc]	supplements; letter illegible or disappeared, but supplied by editors
[abc?]	doubtful readings
[…]	illegible letters or characters; number un known
[---]	illegible letters; number known
[X]	Blank entry; no term filled in
[v]	Vertical writings of preceding Chinese Characters

PT 1257 Folio 1a[54] (IDP #01)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[…] *dge' ba'*	[…]悪[v] *sdIg pa'*	[…] *'phags pa'*	[…] [du]s bya[s]	[无][為][v] 'dus ma byas

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
世俗[v] *kun rdzob*	[真][諦] [v] *don [dam]*	[…] […]

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
涅槃 [v] [mya nga]n las 'da' ba /	人无我 [v] /gang zag la bdag myed pa /	[法]无我[v] /chos la bdan myed pa /	[観] /lhag mthong /	正 /zhI gnas/

Column 6	Column 7
善巧[v]方便[v] /thabs mkhas/	心 /shes rab //

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54   There is an Arabic numerical number from "1" to "10" in each folio added by a modern time curator at the upper left corner (when the side with holes is at the bottom). This transcription will follow the numbers.

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
衆 [*sem*]*s chan* /	[覺] /*sang rgyas*/	三毒[v] /*dug gsum*/	貧 /'*dod chags*/	嗔 /*zhe sdang*

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
癡 /'*ti mug* /	三寶 [v] /*dkon mchog gsuM* /	佛 /*sangs rgyas* /	法 /*chos* //

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
僧 *dge 'dun* /	三姓[v] /*mtshan nyid gsuM* /	遍計[v] 所執姓[v] /*kun du rtogs pa'I mchan nyId* /	依他起[v]姓 /*gzhan gyI dbang mtshan nyId* /	圓成實[v]姓 /*yongs su rdzogs pa'I mtshan nyid* /

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
三无[v]姓 /*ngo bo nyId myed myed pa gsuM* /	相无自[v]姓姓[v] /*mtshan nyid la ngo bo nyid myed pa* /	生无自[v]姓姓[v] /*skye ba la ngo bo nyid myed pa* /	勝義无[v]自姓姓[v] /*don dam pa la ngo bo nyid myed pa*	三乘[v] /*theg pa gsum*/

Column 6
聲聞[v] /*nyan thos* //

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
獨覺[v] *rang sangs rgyas*/	大乘 [v] /*theg pa chen po* /	三身[v] /*sku gsum* /	法身[v] /*chos gyI sku* /	報身[v] /*bsod nams gyI sku* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
化身[v] /*sprul pa'I sku* /	三解[v]脱門[v] /*rnaM par thar pa'I sgo gsuM* /	空 /*stong pa nyId* / /

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
无相[v] *mtshan ma*	无願[v] /*smon pa myed*	三世[v] /*dus gsum* /	過去[v] /'*da's pa* /	未来[v] /*ma 'ongs pa*

myed pa/	pa' /			

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
見在[v] /da' lta' /	三行[v] /'du byed naM gsuM/	善 /dge' ba' //

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
不善[v] myi dge ba' /	无記[v] /lung du myI ston pa	四念住[v] /dran ban ye bar gzhag pa bzhI /	身念住[v] /lus dran ban ye bar gzhags pa	受念住[v] /tshor ba dran ba nye bar gzhag pa' //

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
心念住[v] sems dran ba nye bar gzhag pa /	法念住[v] /chos dran ba nye bar gzhag pa /	四[v]正断 [v] /g.yung drung gI spang ba bzhI	悪法未[v]生令 不[v]生 /sdig pa myI dge ba'I chos ma skyes pa myI bskyed //

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
悪法已[v]生令滅 [v] sdig pa myI dge ba'I chos skyes pa myed par bya /	善法未[v]生令生 [v] /dge ba'i chos ma skyes pa bskyed /	已生善[v]法令增 [v]長 /dge ba'I chos skyes nas phel zhIng rgyas par bya/	四顛[v]倒 /phyIn cI log bzhI / /

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
於苦楽[v]到 sdug bsngal la bde bar log /	於不浄[v]浄到[v] /myI gtsang ba la [..]tsang bar log /	於无我[v]我到[v] /bdag myed pa la bdag du log /	於无常[v]常到 [v] /myI rtag pa la rtag par log / /

PT 1257 Folio 2a (IDP # 03)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
大般若[55][v]	大方[廣?][佛?][…][經][v]	大方等大集経[58][v]

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[55]   An abbreviation of 大般若波羅蜜多經 T.220. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra.*

$/ / shes rab 'bum pa^{56}$ /: / [1]^{57}	:/ yong su rgyas pa sang rgyas rmad (?)(?)/ [2]	:/yo*ng* su rgyas pa 'dus can po [3]

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
大寳集幡経[59][v] $/ / dkon mchog dphal /$ [4]	月登三昧経[60][v] :/ zla ba'I skron ma tIng nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po'[61] / [5]	艹[62]瓔経[63][v] [X] [6]

Column 4
賢劫経[64][v] : / bskal pa [-----][65] [7]

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
大灌頂経[66][v] $/ / dbang bskrur pa'i mdo /$ [8]	觀仏三昧経[67][v] :/de bzhin gshegs pa dgongs pa'I ting nge 'dzIn	大方便報恩経[68][v] :/ dri ba lan bsnyan pa'i mdo[69] / [10]

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[58] T.397. (*Mahāvaipulyamahā*) *sannipātasūtra*.

[56] 'Phang 1, *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'bum pa*; Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[1].

[57] The number in brackets refers to the sequential number of text titles.

[59] Not included into the *Taisho*. A part of this title, "大寳集經," appears as a synonym of 大方等大集經 (T.397, 94b29).

[60] 月燈三昧経 T.639. *Samādhirāja*(*candrapradīpa*)*sūtra*.

[61] *'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po*; Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[77]; 'Phang 35.

[62] ![glyph] A "combined script (合字 *hezi*)" of 菩薩 (bodhisattva). The *heji* is known as *Shōmotsu-gaki* in Japanese and has been used in non-official writings in Japanese Buddhist monastic communities throughout history.

[63] Possibly an abbreviation of 菩薩瓔珞本業経 (T.1485).

[64] T. 425; *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*.

[65] *'Phags pa bskal pa bzang po*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[73]; 'Phang 33.

[66] Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "大灌頂經十二卷或九卷一百一十二紙" in the *Catalogue of Buddhist Works in the Great Tang* (*Datang neidian lu* 大唐内典録, hereafter *DTNL*, T.2149, 286c05) among other catalogues.

[67] Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "觀佛三昧經八卷" in the *Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka* (出三藏記集 *Chu sanzang jiji*, hereafter *CAZJJ*, T.2145, 11c11) and "觀佛三昧經八卷" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 246c28) among other catalogues and treatises.

[68] Possibly an abbreviation for 大方便佛報恩經 (T.156). The exact title appears as 大方便報恩經見呉録 in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 223c24).

[69] *'Phags pa thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyi drin la lan gyis blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge*; Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[253]; 'Phang 232; Lalou: **Mahā-upāyakauśalya*.

	/ [9]	

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
勝天王般若波羅蜜経[70][v] *$/ / rab gyi tsal kyis rnam par gnon pa*[71] [11]	報雲経[72][v] *:/ dkon mchog sbrin*[73] / [12]	密積金剛力士経[74][v] *:/ ma ha ba la'i g[z]ungs*[75] [13]

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
大雲経[76][v] *$/ / ma ha me ga sprIn cen pho*[77] / [14]	仏藏経[78][v] *:/ sangs rgyas kyI mdzod*[79] [15]	央掘摩経[80][v] *:/ ang ga la ma: la / 'phags pa sor 'phreng*[81]/ [16]

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[70]   T.231. *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*.

[71]   *'Phags pa rab kyi rtsal gyis rnam par gnon pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008:[6];'Phang 6, 58. *Mahāvyutpatti* 1347.

[72]   This title can be a clerical error combining two titles of 報恩經 *Baoen jing* "Sūtra on Compassionate Recompense" (T.156) and 宝雲経 *Baoyun jing* "Jewel Cloud Scripture" (T.658). *Ratnameghasūtra*.

[73]   *'Phags pa dkon mchog sprin*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[89]; 'Phang 52. Translated from Sanskrit (Harada 1985, p.438).

[74]   Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "蜜迹金剛力士經五卷一百一十二紙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 287b04) among other catalogues.; *Ārya-mahābala(-dhāraṇī)*.

[75]   *'Phags pa stobs po che'i gzungs*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[342]; 'Phang 324.

[76]   Possibly an abbreviation of 大雲無想経 (T.388) or 大方等大雲經請雨品第六十四 (T.992) This title is mentioned as "方等大雲經六卷一方等大雲無想一大雲無想一大雲密藏於涼內苑寺出見叡二秦錄" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 255c21) among other catalogues. *Mahāmegha*.

[77]   *'Phags pa sprin chen po*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[85]; 'Phang 47.

[78]   佛藏經 T.653. *Buddhapiṭakaduḥśīlanirgraha*.

[79]   *'Phags pa sangs rgyas kyi sde snod tshul khrims 'chal pa tshar gcod pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[92].

[80]   The Taisho includes the following titles that use different Chinese characters, 鴦掘摩經 (T.118) and 佛說鴦崛髻經 (T.119). The title with exactly the same Chinese characters as this title is found as "央掘摩經四卷" and "鴦掘魔經一名指鬘經或央掘摩羅經見道眞録" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 303b19, 234a06, respectively), "又央掘摩經云" in the *Essential Collection from Various Sūtras* (*zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集, T.2123, 161b07). Both the *DTNL* and the *Essential Collection from Various Sūtras* are compiled in the Ximing temple (西明寺) by both Daoxuan and Daoshi, respectively. Akamatsu states that the exact letters 央掘摩經 as appearing in PT1257 are used only in the *DTNL*, and other catalogues list this text tile as 央崛魔羅經 or 央崛摩羅經. AKAMATSU, Kōshō, 敦煌写本－P.tib.1257－に見られる経論リストについて (Scripture-List found in Pelliot 1257 of Dunhuang Manuscript) *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) 73, 1988-12-15. *Ārya-Aṅgulimālīya*.

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
艹藏経[82][v] $/ / byang cub kyI sde snod[83] [17]	首嚴経[84][v] :/ shu rang ga ma dpa' bar 'gro ba'I teng nge 'dzin[85] [18]	艹本行経[86][v] :/ rold pas chub pa / / [19]

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
文殊師利所問経[87][v] $/ /'jam dpal kyis kun drIs pa'I mdo [20]	梵網経[88][v] :/tshangs lha dra pha[89] / [21]	善臂艹所問経[90][v] :/dpung bzang kyIs drIs pa'i mdo /:/ [22]

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
孔雀王陁羅尼呪経[91][v] $/ / rma bya chen mo / [23]	摩訶摩耶経[92][v] :/ma ha ma yas kun drIs pa'I mdo [24]	除恐灾[93]患経[94][v] :/gnod pa thams cad rab du zhI ba' / / [25]

[81]   *'Phags pa sor mo'i phreng ba la phan pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[98]; 'Phang 59.

[82]   Possibly an abbreviation for 大乗菩薩藏正法經 (T.316). *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*.

[83]   *'Phags pa byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[36]; 'Phang 34; D, *Dkon-brtsegs (kha)* 255b-294a, *(ga)* 1b-205b.

[84]   An abbreviation of 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (T.945). *Śuraṅgamasūtra*.

[85]   *'Phags pa dpa' bar 'gro ba'i ting nge 'dzin*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[111]; 'Phang 72; D, *Mdo-sde (wa)* 263a-287a.

[86]   菩薩本行經, T.155.

[87]   Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "三從能問人立名如文殊師利所問經等" in the *Profound Commentary on the Vimalakīrti* (*Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論, T.1780, 864b07) and the *Expository Commentary Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (*Wéimójīng yìshū* 維摩經義疏, T.1781, 914a19).

[88]   梵網經廬舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品第十 T.1484. *Brahmajālasūtra*.

[89]   *Tshang pa'i dra ba*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[261a]. 'Phang 248; D, *Mdo-sde (za)* 74a-91a.

[90]   Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "善臂菩薩所問經一卷" in the *Record of the Three Treasures in the Successive Generations* (*Lidai sanbao jì* 歷代三寶紀, T. 2034, 112c06), "善臂菩薩所問經二卷二十六紙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 289b08) among others.

[91]   Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "孔雀王陀羅尼呪經 二卷上五經同帙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 304a08) among others.

[92]   摩訶摩耶經 T.383. **Mahāmāyāsūtra*.

[93]   An abbreviated character of 災.

[94]   佛説除恐災患經 T.744. **Śrīkaṇṭhasūtra*.

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
決定毗尼経[95][v] *$/ /'dul ba rnam phar gdon myi za ba*[96] [26]	浄業障経[97][v] *:/las kyIs bsgribs pa rnam phar sbyong ba*[98] [27]	大乗十法経[99][v] *:/chos bcu pa'*[100] / [28]

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
虚空蔵艹問幾福経[101][v] *$/ /nam ka'i snying pho kun dris pa* [29]	出家功徳経[102][v] *:/rab du 'byung ba bsn-gags pa'i mdo* [30]	頻婆娑羅王経[103][v] *:/gzugs can snying phos dris pa*[104]/ [31]

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
三曼陁跋陁羅艹経[105][v] *$/ /kun du bzang pos dris pa'i mdo*	仏地経[106][v] *:/sangs rgyas kyi sa*[107] [33]	六門陀羅尼経[108][v] *:/sgo drug gi gzungs*[109] [34]	天請問経[110][v] *:/lhas dris pa'i mdo*[111] / [35]

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[95] 佛説決定毘尼經 T.325. *Vinaya-viniścaya-upāliparipṛcchā.*

[96] *'Phags pa 'dul ba rnam par gtan la dbab pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[48]; 'Phang 28.

[97] 佛説淨業障經 T.1494. "淨業障經十四紙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 294b15). *Karmāvaraṇaviśuddhisūtra.*

[98] *'Phags las kyi sgrib pa rnam par dag pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[162]; 'Phang 141; D, *Mdo-sde (tsha)* 284a-297b.

[99] 大乘十法經, T.314. *Daśadharma(ka).*

[100] *'Phags chos bcu pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[162]. 'Phang 134, *'Phags pa chos bcu pa'i le'u*; D, *Dkon-brtsegs (kha)* 164a-184b.

[101] Not included into the *Taisho*, but mentioned as "虚空藏菩薩問持經得幾福經一卷即抄前虚空品" in the *Zhenyan Revised List of Canonical Buddhist Texts* (*Zhēnyuán xīndìng shijiào mùlù* 貞元新定釋教目録, T.2157, 1047a12) and as "虚空藏菩薩問持經得幾福經一卷" in the *Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings Compiled During the Kaiyuan pe-riod* (*Kaiyuan shijiaolu* 開元釋教録, T.2154, 662b09). This title is not included in the *DTNL.*

[102] 出家功德經,T.707.

[103] 頻婆娑羅王經 T.41. *Bimbisārapratyudgamanasūtra.*

[104] *'Phags mdo chen po gzugs can snying pos bsu ba*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[245]; 'Phang 255; D, *Mdo-sde (śa)* 244b-249b.

[105] 三曼陀跋陀羅菩薩經 T.483.

[106] 佛地經 T. 680; *Buddhabhūmi.*

[107] *'Phags pa sangs rgyas kyi sa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[185]; 'Phang 172; D, *Mdo-sde (ya)* 36a-44b.

[108] 六門陀羅尼經 T.1360. *Ṣaṇmukhadhāraṇī.*

[109] *'Phags sgo drug pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[411]; 'Phang 400; Gondhla, p. 101 (no. 52): *sgo drug pa'i gzungs kyi mdo*; D, *Mdo-sde (na)* 299a-300a, *Rgyud-ḥbum (na)* 71a-71b, *Gzuṅs-ḥdus (E)* 260b-261a.

[32]			

Line 12

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
八吉祥神呪経[112][v] *$/ /bkra shis brgyad kyI gzungs*[113] [36]	大方廣十輪経[114][v] *:/'khor lo bcu pa'i mdo*[115] [37]	悲華経[116][v] *:/snying rje pun da ri ka*[117] [38]	解深密経[118][v] *:/dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa*[119] [39]

Line 13

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
思益梵天所問経[120][v] *$/ /tshangs lha khyad bar sems*[121] [40]	阿耨達龍王経[122][v] *:/ma dros rgya klu'i rgyal pos dris pa* [41]	阿弥陁経[123][v] *:/snang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo*[124] / / [42]

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Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
諸法无行経[125][v]	金剛場陁羅尼経[127][v]	無量門破摩陁羅尼経

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[110] T.592; *Devatāsūtra*.

[111] *Lha'i mdo nyung ngu*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[303]; 'Phang 292; D, *Mdo-sde (sa)* 257a-258b.

[112] 八吉祥神咒經 T.427. *Aṣṭabuddhaka*.

[113] *'Phags pa bkra shis brgyad pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[227]; 'Phang 214; D, *Mdo-sde (ya)* 52b6-54b6.

[114] 大方廣十輪經 T.410. *Daśacakrakṣitigarbha*.

[115] *'Phags pa sa'i snying po 'khor lo bcu pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[82]; 'Phang 40; D, *Mdo-sde (zha)* 100a.1-241b.4.

[116] 悲華經 T. 157; *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

[117] *'Phags pa snying padma dkar po*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[78]; 'Phang 39; D, *Mdo-sde (cha)* 129a.1-297a.7.

[118] 解深密 T. 676; *Sandhīnirmocanasūtra*.

[119] *'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[117]; 'Phang 77; D, *Mdo-sde (ca)* 1b.1-55b.7.

[120] Possibly an abbreviation of 思梵天所問經 (T.586). *Brahmaviśeṣacintīparipṛcchā*.

[121] *'Phags pa tshangs pa khyad par sems kyis zhus pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[97]; 'Phang 60; D, *Mdo-sde (ba)* 23a.1-100b.7.

[122] This title appears as "法要其事具如阿耨達池龍王經中説" in the *Sūtra of Gold Wheel Mantra King Turning Wish-granting Jewel as a Secret to Become a Buddha in the Present Body* (*Ruyibaozhu zhuanlun mimi xianshenchengfo jinlunzhouwang jing* 如意寶珠轉輪祕密現身成佛金輪呪王經 T.0961, 331c15).

[123] 阿彌陀經 T.366. *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*.

[124] *'Phags pa bde ba can gyi bkod pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[97]; 'Phang 188. The title *sNang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo* equals the title in PT758 and differs from teh title in the Kanjur.

$/ /chos thams chad byed pa myed pa'e mdo[126] [43]	:/rdo rje snying po'i gzungs[128] [44]	[129][v] :/sgo mtha' yas pa'i gzung[130] [45]

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
大方等大云請雨経 [131][v] $/ /yongsu rgyas pa sprin cen po char dbab pa'i mdo [46]	大寶積経[132][v] :/dkon mchogs pa chen po [47]	薬師瑠璃光如来本願経 [133][v] :/ sman kyi bla'[134] / / [48]

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
不空絹索経[135][v] $/ / don yod pa'i:zhags pa[136]/ [49]	大方廣艹十地経 [137][v] :/byang cub kyi sa [50]	荘嚴菩提心経 [138][v] :/byang cub sems kyI rgyan [50]	伽耶山頂経[139][v] :/ga ya'i tshe[140] mo'[141] // [52]

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[125] 諸法無行経 T.650. *Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśa*.

[127] 金剛場陀羅尼經 T.1345. *Vajramaṇḍādhāranī*.

[126] Unusual spellings. *'Phags pa chos thams cad 'byung ba med par bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, D, *Mdo-sde* (*ma*) 267r.1-296r.6. Tr. by Rin chen 'tsho.

[128] *'Phags pa rdo rje snying po'i gzungs*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[150]; D, *Mdo-sde* (na), 278r.1-289v.4.

[129] 無量門破魔陀羅尼經 T.1014. *Anantamukhasādhakadhāraṇī*.

[130] *'Phags pa sgo mtha' yas pa bsgrub pa'i gzungs*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[178]; 'Phang 169, *sgo mtha' yas pa*; D, *Mdo-sde* 140, *rgyud sde* 525, *gzungs 'dus* 914.

[131] This title appears as "大方等大雲請雨經一卷十九紙 隋開皇年闍 那崛多及笈多等於大興善寺譯" in the *Catalog of Scriptures* (*Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録, T.2148, 191a22-23) and as "大方等大雲請雨經見唐録" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 276a15).

[132] 大寶積經 T.310. *Mahāratnakūṭa*.

[133] This title can relate to the following sūtra titles: 佛説藥師如來本願經 (T.449), 藥師琉璃光七佛本願功徳經 (T.451). Also, it appears as "生死經一名藥師瑠璃光本願經十三紙" in the *Catalogue of Scriptures, Authorized by the Great Zhou* (*Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目録 T.2153, 396b12). *Bhaiṣajyagu-rupūrvapraṇidhānaviśeṣavistara*.

[134] *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa sman gyi bla bai ḍū rya 'od kyi sngon gyi smon lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[148]; 'Phang 117; D, *Mdo-sde* (da) 274r.1-283v.7.

[135] Possibly an abbreviation of 不空羂索陀羅尼經 (T.1096). This title also appears as "不空羂索經一卷 大隋開皇年崛多譯" in the *Catalog of Scriptures* (*Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録, T.2147, 152b16), "不空羂索經十紙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 291c08), and as "不空羂索經一卷菩提留志" in the *Catalogue of the texts Brought by the Great Teacher Chisho* (*Zhizheng dashi qinglai mulu* 智證大師請來目録) (T.2173, 1102a20). *Ārya-amoghapāśakalparāja*.

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
稻芋経[142][v] **$/** /sa lu ljang pa[143] [53]	老母経[144][v] :/'phags pa bgris mo'i mdo[145] [54]	弥勒苐所問経[146][v] :/'phags pa byams pas dris pha'i mdo / / [55]

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2
十二因縁経[147][v] **$/** /'phags pa rten cing 'dred par byung ba bstan pa'i mdo[148] [56]	阿闍世王受決経[149][v] :/ma skyes dgra'i the tsom bstsald pa'i mdo[150] / [57]

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
正法念處経[151][v] **$/** /chos dran bar gzhag pa'i mdo[152] [58]	増一阿含経[153][v] :/gcig las btses pa'i gzhung[154] / [59]	中阿含経[155][v] :/gzhung bar ma / / [60]

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[136] *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa'i rtog pa chen po*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[316]; 'Phang 924, *don yod zhags pa'i cho ga zhib mo*.

[137] 大方廣菩薩十地經 T.308.

[138] 佛説莊嚴菩提心經 T.307.

[139] 伽耶山頂經 T.465. *Gayāśīrṣasūtra*.

[140] Note unusual writing of *tshe*.

[141] *'Phags pa ga ya mgo'i ri*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008): [190]; 'Phang 180, *'Phags pa ga ya'i rtse mo*; D,

[142] 佛説稻芋經 T.709. *Śālistambhakasūtra*.

[143] *'Phags pa sā lu ljang pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[180]; 'Phang 167, *'Phags pa sa lu ljang pa*; D,

[144] 佛説老母經 T.561. *Mahālalikāpariprcchā*.

[145] *'Phags pa bgres mos zhus pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[200]; 'Phang 191, *bgres mos zhus pa*; D,

[146] *Taisho* includes the possible treatise of this sūtra 彌勒菩薩所問經論 (T.1525). This title appears as "南無彌勒菩薩所問經" in the *Buddha's sermon of Sūtra on the Names of the Buddhas* (*Foshuo foming jing* 佛説佛名經, T. 441, 231c22).

[147] Possibly an abbreviation of 貝多樹下思惟十二因縁經 (T.0713). *Nidānasūtra*.

[148] *'Phags pa rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba bstan pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[234]; 'Phang 225.

[149] This title appears as "阿闍世王受決經一卷" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 238b26). Possibly a relation to 阿闍世王經 (T. 626). *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana*.

[150] *'Phags pa ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa gsal ba*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[257]; 'Phang 74, Dunhuang Stein 705.

[151] 正法念處經 T.721. *(Saddharma)smṛtyupasthānasūtra*;

[152] *'Phags pa dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar gzhag pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[271]; 'Phang 74.

[153] 増壹阿含經 T.125. *Ekottarāgama*.

[154] *gCig las 'phros pa'i lung*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[274]; 'Phang 242.

[155] 中阿含經 T.0026. *Madhyamāgama*.

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
雜阿含経[156][v] *$/ /gzhung bsdus pa* [61]	長阿含経[157][v] *:/gzhung ring pho*[158] */* [62]	賢愚経[159][v] *:/'dzangs blun*[160] */* [63]	十二頭陀経[161][v] *:/sbyangs pa bcu gnyis kyi mdo //* [64]

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
四諦経[162][v] *$/ /bden ba bzhi pa'i mdo* [65]	大智度論[163][v] *:/shes rab 'bum pa'i 'grel pa* [66]	瑜伽師地論[164][v] *:/rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*[165] */* [67]	阿毗達摩雑集 [166][v] *:/chos mngon ba bsdus ba*[167] [68]

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
般若登論[168][v] *$/ /shes rab sgron ma*[169] [69]	大莊嚴論[170][v] *:/mdo sde'i rgyan*[171] [70]	攝大乘論[172][v] *:/theg pa cen po bsdus pa'i gtsug lag*[173] *:/* [71]

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[156] 雜阿含經 T.0099. *Saṃyuktāgama*.

[157] 長阿含經 T.0001. *Dīrghāgama*.

[158] Note archaic *pho* for *po*.

[159] 賢愚經 T.0202. *Damamūka(nidānasūtra)*.

[160] *'Phags   pa   mdzangs   blun   gyi   mdo*, Lhan   Kar   ma   (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[250]; 'Phang 230; Dunhuang PT 943, Stein 217, 218.

[161] 十二頭陀經 T.783.

[162] 四諦經 T.32.

[163] 大智度論,T.1509.

[164] 瑜伽師地論 T.1579. *Yogācāryabhūmi*.

[165] *Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[614-620].

[166] Possibly an abbreviation for 大乘阿毘達摩雜集 (T.1606). The exact title appears as "阿毘達摩雜集十六卷二帙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 310c19) among others.

[167] Note: could be *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.

[168] Possibly 般若燈論釋 (T.1566). This title appears as "般若燈論十五卷二百四十二紙 唐貞觀年波頗蜜多等於勝光寺譯" in the 衆經目録 (T.2148, 185b21-22) and as "般 若燈論一部一十三卷" and "般若燈論一十五卷二百四十二紙" in the *DTNL* (T.2149 0281a09 and 294b28), and others. Skt. *Prajñāpradīpamūlamadhyamakavṛtti*.

[169] *Shes rab sgron ma'i rgya cher bshad pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[575]; 'Phang 528.

[170] Possibly an abbreviation of 大莊嚴經論 (T.201). This exact title appears in various treatises composed in China. *Sūtrālaṅkāraśāstra*.

[171] *Mdo sde rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[632]; 'Phang 568; D, *mdo 'grel* (*sems tsam*), bi 174b-183b

[172] 攝大乘論 T.1592. *Mahāyānasaṅgraha*.

[173] *Theg pa chen po bsdus pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[627]; 'Phang 561.

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
成唯識論[174][v] $/ /rnam phar shes pa tsam du grub pha[175] [72]	苹地持論[176][v] :/byang cub kyi sa'i ti ka / [73]	仏地経論[177][v] :/sangs rgyas gyi sa'i 'grel pha[178] / / [74]

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
艹[179]提資粮論[180][v] $/ /byang cub kyI tshogs 'grengs pha [75]	中論[181][v] :/dbu ma cen pho'i* gtsug lhag[182] / [76]	辯中邊論[183][v] :/dbus mtha rnaM par 'byed pha*[184] / [77]

PT 1257 Folio 4a (IDP #07)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
卄[185]維識論[186][v] $/ /(?) nyi shu pha*[187] [78]	維識論[188][v] :/sum cu pha*[189] / [79]	十八空論[190][v] :/stong pa bco brgyad 'grel pa/	廻諍論[191][v] :/thod pa bzlog pha*[192] [81]

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[174] 成唯識論 T.1585. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra*.

[175] Note archaic *pha* for *pa*.

[176] This title is mentioned as an another title of 菩薩地持經 (T.1581) according to its footnote ("聖本知本各卷俱作菩薩地持論" T.1581, 888 footnote2). This exact title "菩薩地持論" appears in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 311a07) and as "南無攝大乘論 南無菩薩地持論 南無菩薩善戒經" in the *Buddha's sermon of Sūtra on the Names of the Buddhas* (*Foshuo foming jing* 佛説佛名經, T.441, 239a10-14), among others. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

[177] 佛地經論 T. 1530. *Buddhabhūmisūtraśāstra*.

[178] Note archaic *pha* for *pa*.

[179] An abbreviated form of "菩," which is an upper part of the *heji* "苹."

[180] 菩提資糧論 T.1660. The exact Chinese characters appears as "菩提資粮論六卷 慧琳" in the *Enunciations and Meanings of All Sūtras* (*Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, T.2128, 633b03).

[181] 中論 T. 1564. *(Mūla)madhyamakaśāstra*.

[182] *Dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab ces bya ba*, translation by Jñānagarbha, Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[573]; 'Phang 526.

[183] 辯中邊論 T. 1600. *Madhyāntavibhaṅgabhāṣya*.

[184] *Dbus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i 'grel bshad*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008:[637];'Phang 567; D, *mdo 'grel* (*sems tsam*), bi 189b-318a.

[185] A variant form of 廿 (二十).

[186] 唯識二十論 T.1590. *Viṃśatikāvṛtti*.

[187] *Nyi shu pa'i rab tu byed pa* Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[646]; 'Phang 577; *Nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa* Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[647]; 'Phang 578.

[188] 唯識論 T.1588. *Viṃśatikāvṛtti. Viṃśatikāvṛtti.*

		[80]	

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
因明理門論[193][v] *$// thtar ka'* / [82]	十誦律[194][v] *:/'dul ba: rnam phar* 'byed pha*[195]/ [83]	讚僧功德論[196][v] *:/dge:'dun gyi legs pa bsngags (pa)* [84]

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
蜜厳経[197][v] *$//stug po'i rgyan*[198] / [85]	父母恩重経[199][v] *:/pha ma'i drin lan bstan pha**[200] / [86[201]]	[X] *:/dpal dbyangs bris te zhus* / /

Line 4

大雲寺張闍和上[v]

Line 5

大乗百法明門論開宗義記 夫遍知委照渾眞俗於心源深慈普洽[v]

Line 6

演半滿言派寔由性相更會万法歸於一而義互融八藏馳於四辯[v][202]

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[189] *Nyi shu pa'i rab tu byed pa* Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[646]; 'Phang 577.

[190] 十八空論 T.1616. *Aṣṭadaśaśūnyatāśāstra.*

[191] 迴諍論 T.1631. *Vigrahavyāvartanī.*

[192] *Rtsod pa bzlog pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[589]; 'Phang 547.

[193] This title appears in the *DTNL* (T.2149, 311b15).

[194] T.1435. *Sarvāstivādavinaya.*

[195] *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[484]; 'Phang 453.

[196] The text of this title does not appear in the *Taisho*, but the text of the following title, 讚僧功徳經 (T.2911), does.

[197] Possibly an abbreviation for 大乘密嚴經 (T.0681). *Ghanavyūhasūtra.*

[198] *'Phags pa rgyan stsug po bkod pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[121]; 'Phang 78.

[199] 父母恩重経 T. 2887.

[200] *Pha ma'i drin lan bstan pa*, Lhan Kar ma (Hermann-Pfand 2008):[263]; Stein (2010:89) notes as apocryphal text translated from Chinese, absent from Kanjurs.

[201] This indicates the total number of Chinese titles. The total number of the Tibetan titles is 85 as there is no corresponding title to 艹瓔経 (F2aL2C3, Title number 6).

[202] Equivalent Chinese title and its passage in *Taisho* are as follows:
 大乘百法明門論開宗義記
 夫遍知委照渾眞俗於心源。深慈普洽演半 滿於言派。寔由性相更會萬法歸於一如。文義互融八藏馳於四辯 (T. 2810, 1046a14-16).

PT 1257 Folio 4b (IDP #08)

佛説大方佛華厳経[v[203]]

PT 1257 Folio 5a[204] (IDP #09)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
假施設句[205] *bstan pa bzhag pa'I tshig/*	遍計所執[206] *kun du rtog pa la zhugs /*[207]	[X] *rtsod pa'I smra ba /*	[X] */dngos po myed pa/*	現正等覚[208] */mngon bar sangs rgyas /*

Column 6
愚癡頑鈍[209] */gtI mug glen ba'I rigs //*

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
悪恵種類[210] *shes rab nyams pa'I rigs /*	最勝子[211] */rgyal ba'I bu /*	幻師[212] */sgyu ma mkhan /*	[X] */'dI lta bur 'gyur ro /*	[X] */nan gyI reg cIng chags /*

Column 6
如其所見[213] */jI ltar mthong ba / /*

---

[203] This title is written in vertical when the bound side of the manuscript is placed in its right side.

[204] The terms of this folio basically appear at the beginning of the second chapter of the *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* (*Jieshenmì jing* 解深密經 T.676. Hereafter the *SN*). Some terms that are not included into the *SN* are found in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqieshidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 T.1579. Hereafter the *YB*) and the *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* (*Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 T.310. Hereafter the *RK*) among others.

[205] The *SN* (T.676, 688c29, etc.), the *RK* (T.310, 29c01), the *YB* (T.1579, 714a08).

[206] The *SN* (T.676, 689a01, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 311c1, etc.).

[207] Note *tsheg* before *shad*.

[208] The *SN* (T.676, 691b03, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 539b19. etc.) .

[209] The *SN* (T.676, 689a27, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 714b03, etc.) .

[210] "惡慧種類" in the *SN* (T.676, 689a27) and the *YB* (T.1579, 714b03).

[211] The *SN* (T.676, 689a18, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 714a01, etc.) the *RK* (T0310, 218a29) .

[212] The *SN* (T.676, 689a23), the *YB* (T.1579, 714a28) .

[213] The *SN* (T.676, 689b02, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 545a22).

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] *sgyus byas pa/*	迷惑於眼[214] */myIg 'khrul pa ste /*	離言説法[215] */brjod du myed pa'I chos nyId /*	[X] */gtI gmug gIs myos /*	後更観察[216] */phyis brtags par 'gyur /*

Column 6
口出[v]鉾鑽 [217] */ngag gI mtshon shag tis //*

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
鑽[刺][218] *'dzugs pa dang 'thIng ba /*	甚奇[219] */ngo mtshar to rmad do /*	自證[220] */rang gIs rIg pa /*	盡其壽命[221] */nam 'tsho'i bar du /*	加行[222] */sdad pa spyad pa'I sa /[223]*

Column 6
習辛苦味[224] */tsha ba dang kha ba'I ro la 'dris / /*

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
俱會一處[225]	[X]	[X]	如是請已	[X]

---

[214] The *RK* (T310, 525b28). "迷惑眼事" in the *SN* (T.676, 689b08-9).

[215] *Treatise on the Buddha Bhūmi Sūtra* (*Fodijing lun* 佛地經論, Hereafter the *SBBS*, T.1530, 305a15, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 311b19, etc.), *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* (*Pusadichi jing* 菩薩地持經, Hereafter the *BSB*, T.1581, 905b02, etc.). "離言法性" in the *SN* (T.676, 689b16).

[216] "應更觀察" in the *SN* (T.676, 689b04) and the *YB* (T.1579, 707a16). Tibetan phrase includes "subsequent," whose equivalent Chinese letter appears as "後," in the Chinese phrase in this correspondence while there is no such letter appears in the equivalent phrase in the *SN*.

[217] "口出矛鑽" in the *SN* (T.676, 689c017) and the *YB* (T.1579, 714c23).

[218] "鑽已刺已" in the *SN* (T.676, 689c017) and in the *YB* (T.1579, 714c23).

[219] The *SN* (T.676, 690a28), the *YB* (T.1579, 418c28).

[220] The *YB* (T.1579, 341c14, etc.). "自所證" in the *SN* (T.676, 689c25) and in the *YB* (T.1579, 310b20, etc.).

[221] "盡其壽量" in the *SN* (T.676, 690a09), the *BSB* (T.1581, 917c10).

[222] The *SN* (T.676, 695a23, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 315b09, etc.).

[223] Note column four and five entries do not match Tibetan.

[224] The *SN* (T.676, 690a09), the *YB* (T.1579, 715a15).

[225] "曾見一處" in the *SN* (T.676, 690b02, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 714c18, etc.).

lhan cIg 'dus te 'khod /	*/gzhan dang gzhan ma yIn ba /*	*/'dod pa'I gdung ba /*	*/de skad ches gsol pa dang /*	*/zIl gyIs myI non par 'gyur / /*

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
不異施設[226] *gzhan du bde bar myI thogs /*	記別所解[227] */bka' la lung stong par shes /*	[X] */ngags dgon pa'I gzhongs /*	微細[v]極微[v]細[228] */phra ba shIn du phra ba /*	甚深[v]極甚[v]深[229] */zab pa shIn du zab pa / /*

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
難通達極難通達[230] *chud dka' ba shIn du chud dka' ba /*	[X] */log pa'I gnyen dang gnyen po /*	[X] */zag pa dang bcas pa /*	一切一味相[231] */thams chad du ro gcIg pa'I mtshan nyid / /*

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
我慢所持[232] *nga rgyal gyIs mngon bar zIn pa*	[X] */dbyer myed pa'I mtshan nyId /*	黑沈[233] */(?) a ga ru nag po /*	[X] */rtag pa yun du rtag pa /*	[X] */brtan ba yun du brtan ba / /*

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
一切法性[234] *chos rnams gyI mtshan nyid*	不生[235] */ma skyes pa/*	不滅[236] */myI 'gog pa /*	本来寂静[237] */thog ma nas zhI ba /*	自性涅槃[238] */rang bzhin gyIs mya ngan las 'das*

---

[226] *Laṅkâvatāra sūtra* (*Lengqie abaduoluo bao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T.670, 496a07). "不可施設" in the *SN* (T.676, 691a29) but not in the *YB*.

[227] The *SN* (T.676, 691b12, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 716b21, etc.).

[228] The *SN* (T.676, 691b01), the *YB* (T.1579, 716b09).

[229] The *SN* (T.676, 691b02), the *YB* (T.1579, 716b10) .

[230] The *SN* (T.676, 691b02), the *YB* (T.1579, 716b10, etc.) .

[231] The *SN* (T.676, 691b02), the *YB* (T.676, 691c16, etc.) .

[232] "慢慢所持" in the *YB* (T.1579, 371a16), "增上慢所執持" in the *SN* (T.676, 691c15) .

[233] The *SN* (T.676, 691a19), the *YB* (T.1579, 716a26, etc.) .

[234] The *YB* (T.1579, 820a20), *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (*Lengqie abaduoluo bao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T0670, 485b15, etc.). "一切法決定" in the *SN* (T.676, 695c17).

[235] The *SN* (T.676, 695c17, etc.) the *YB* (T.1579, 286a18, etc.), among others.

[236] The *SN* (T.676, 695c17, etc.) the *YB* (T.1579, 291a14, etc.), among others.

[237] The *SN* (T.676, 695c17, etc.) the *YB* (T.1579, 702c04, etc.), among others.

[238] The *SN* (T.676, 695c18, etc.), the *YB* (T.1579, 702c05, etc.) among others.

				pa

Column 6

Column 6
心不[v]怯弱[239][v] /*sems myI zhan pa* / /

Line 10[240]

[X]	[X]	[X] [X] [X] [X] [X]

byin gyis brlabs /	/*lhag ge* /	/*goms pa* / /*lhan chIg /brtags te skyes* /*'phrul dga'*
		/*gzhan 'phrul*
		     skyes pa'I mya ngan/ *pa'I mya ngan* / *gnam* /
		dbang byed
		                                        gnaM / /

Line 11[241]

[X]   [X]   [X]   [X]
mtshi ma gnam/ / *kha na ma tho ba* / /*ltos bzang po* / / *zIl dngar* /

PT 1257 Folio 6a (IDP #11)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
三界[v] /*khams gsum* /	欲界 / *'dod pa'I* *khaMs* /	色界 /*gzugs yod* *pa'I khaMs* /	無色界 /*gzugs myed* *pa'I khams* /	三業[v] /*las rnam* *gsuM* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
身 *lus*/	口 *ngag* /	意 *yId* /	四諦[v] / *bden bzhI* / /

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
苦 /*sdug bsngal* /	集 /*'dus pa* /	滅 / *'gog pa*/	道 /*lam* /	四大[v] /*chen po bzhi* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
地 /*sa* /	水 /*chu*/	火 /*mye*	風 /*rlung* /	四如意足 /*rdzu 'phrul* *gyI rkang pa* *bzhI* /

---

[239] The *YB* (T.1579, 527a20), the *BSB* (T.1581, 893c15), the *Sūtra of Profoundly Secret Enlightenment* (*Shenmi jietuo jing* 深密解脱經, T.675, 683a26).

[240] Tibetan only, the entries after column 2 do not have red line divisions.

[241] Tibetan only, no red line divisions.

Column 11
五根 /dbang po lnga / /

Line 3[242]

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
如是我聞[243] /'dI skad bdag gis thos pa /	一時[244][v] /dus gcIg na /	與大比丘衆俱[245] /dge slong chen po'i dge 'dun dang lhan cIg /	最勝[v]光曜[246][v] /mchog du 'tsher ba/	七寶 v 莊嚴[247][v] /rIn po che bdun gyI rgyan / /

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
放大[v]光明[248][v] /'od gzer chen po btang /	妙飾[v]間列[249][v] /shIn du rnam par phye ba/	周圓[250][v] /dkyIl 'khor /	所行[v]之處[251][v] /sbyor yul na/	如来所都[252] /de bzhin gshegs pa'I gnas na /

Column 6
衆所翼從[253] /dge 'dun rjesu dong ba na / /[254]

---

[242] The terms appearing in the introductory chapter of the *SN* start from this line. Same/similar terms and contexts appear in the *Buddha Bhūmi Sūtra* 佛地經 T.680) and the *SBBS* but not in the *YB* as *Yogācārabhūmi* does not include the equivalent chapter to the introductory chapter in the *SN*.

[243] The *SN* (T.676, 688b26).

[244] The *SN* (T.676, 688b26) .

[245] Not found in the introductory chapter in the *SN*.

[246] The *SN* (T.676, 688b26).

[247] The *SN* (T.676, 688b26).

[248] The *SN* (T.676, 688b27).

[249] The *SN* (T.676, 688b28).

[250] The *SN* (T.676, 688b28).

[251] The *SN* (T.676, 688b10).

[252] The *SN* (T.676, 688b11).

[253] "常所翼從" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b13).

[254] Chinese does not match Tibetan.

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] */rtag du rjesu spyod pa na /*	衆生[v]義理 [v][255] */sems chan gyI ~~s~~don /*	遠離衆魔[256] */bdud yongsu spangs pa /*	念慧[257] */dran ba'I blo gros /*	建立[v][258] */rnam par bzhag pa /*

Column 6
不相 v 間雜 [259]v */~~ce~~ so sor ma 'dres pa / /*

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
最清浄覺[260] */shin du rnam par dag pa'I blo /*	所行无尋[261] */bsgribs pa myed pa'I 'gros su song ba /*	住勝彼岸[262] */mchog gI pha rol du phyIn pa rnyed pa /*	極妙法界[263] */chos gyI dbyings dam pa*

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
盡虚空界[264] */nam ka'I dbyings gyI mtha'*	窮未来際[265] */phyI ma'I mtha'I mthar thug pa*	衆所知識 */thams chad gyang nga chang shes pa /*	心善解脱[266] */sems shIn du rnam par grol ba'[267] / /*

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] *chos gyI 'dod*	喜樂法持[268]	多聞[v][269]	聞持[270]	其聞積集[271]

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[255] "衆生一切義利" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b14).

[256] The *SN* (T.676, 688b15).

[257] The *SN* (T.676, 688b16).

[258] The *SN* (T.676, 688b18).

[259] "不相間雜" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b25).

[260] The *SN* (T.676, 688b19).

[261] The *SN* (T.676, 688b19).

[262] The *SN* (T.676, 688b25).

[263] "極於法界" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b27).

[264] "盡虚空性" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b27).

[265] The *SN* (T.676, 688b27).

[266] The *SN* (T.676, 688b28).

[267] Note archaic 'a after *ba.*

[268] "喜樂所持" in the *SN* (T.676, 688b14).

[269] The *SN* (T.676, 688b29).

[270] The *SN* (T.676, 688b29).

pa dang bde bar phrad pa /	/dga' ba dang bde bas brtan pa /	/mang du thos pa /	/thos pa 'dzIn pa /	/thos pa' bsags pa [272] /

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
善思所思[273] legs par bsaM ba sems pa /	善説所説[274] /s legs smra par smra ba smras pa/	善作所作[275] /legs par byed pa'I las byed /	捷慧[276] /myur ba'I shes rab /	速慧[277] /mgyog pa'I shes rab //

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
利慧[278] /rno ba'i shes rab /	勝決擇慧[279] /nges par myI phigs pa'I shes rab /	慧賓成就[280] / shes rab dkon mchog dang ldan ba /	趣於大乗[281] /theg pa chen po la zhugs pa /	摧諸魔怨[282] /bdud dang phyir rgol ba bcoM ba //

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] phul du bde ba thob pa /	[X] /yon chen po sbyangs pa[283] /	息諸害悩[284] / gnod pa rab du 'jil ba /	如理請問[285] /rIgs par kun 'drI ba /	法涌[286] /chos gyis 'phags pa /

Column 6
徳本[287] / yon tan 'byung

---

[271] The *SN* (T.676, 688c01).
[272] Note archaic 'a after *pa*.
[273] The *SN* (T.676, 688c01).
[274] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c01).
[275] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c01).
[276] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c02).
[277] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c02).
[278] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c02).
[279] The *SN* (T.676, 688 c02).
[280] The *SN* (T.676, 688c03).
[281] "皆住大乗遊大乗法" in the *SN* (T.676, 688c07).
[282] "摧伏一切衆魔怨" in the *SN* (T.676, 688c8-9).
[283] Subscript bya written underneath and to side of head letter sa (*mgo can*).
[284] "息一切衆生一切苦悩" in the *SN* (T.676, 688c11).
[285] The *SN* (T.676, 688c13).
[286] The *SN* (T.676, 688c13).
[287] The *SN* (T.676, 688c15).

gnas / /

PT 1257 Folio 6b (IDP #12)

大乘百法明門

PT 1257 Folio 7a[288] (IDP #13)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
魔侯[v]羅伽[v] /lto phye chen po /	人 /myI'a [289]/	非人[v] /myI ma yin /	羅刹[v] /'bar bar /	[X] /grul bum /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
鷲峯山 /bya rgod 'phung pa'I ri /	給孤[v]獨園[v] /kun dga'I ra ba /	竹林[v] /smyIg ma'I tshal /	薗苑[v] /skyed mos tsha*l* / /

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
王舍[v]城 rgyal po'i khab /	大宮殿 /gzhal myed khang chen po /	須弥山 /rI rab lhun po /	海 /mtsho' /[290]	池 /mtshe'u /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
沼 /lteng ka'	神通[v] /rdzu 'phrul /	神變[v] /cho' 'phruld [291]/ /

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
加備[292][v] /dnos grub /	如来[v] /yang dag par gsheg pa /	世尊[v] /bcom ldan 'da's /[293]	善逝 /bde bar gshegs pa/	菩薩 /byang cub sems dpa' /

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[288] On the upper side of column 3 of line 1, there is a mark by *sumi*-ink, "\ ," which seems to be mistakenly made.

[289] Note archaic *'a* after *myI*.

[290] Note archaic *'a* after *mtsho*.

[291] Note archaic spelling with *'a* after *cho* and *da drag*.

[292] A variant of 備.

[293] Note archaic spelling compare with inscription (bSam yas?).

Column 6
善男子
/rIgs kyI bu' [294]/ /

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
比丘[v]	憂婆[v]塞	衆生[v]	[X]	地嶽[v]
dge slong /	/ *dge bsnyen* /	/*sems chan* [295]/	/ *yI dags* /	/*dmyal ba*/

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
仙人[v]	外道[v]	魔	煩悩/	憂
/ *drang srong* /	/ *mur 'dug* [296]/	/ *bdud* /	*nyon mongs pa*/	/ *mya ngan* / /

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X]	廣	无上[v]	不退[v]	散心[v]
rgya che /	/ *yangs*/	/ *bla na myed* /	/*phyir myI ldog* /	/*sems bskid* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
相	性	想	體性[v]	誓
/*mtshan ma* /	/ *mtshan nyId*	/*'du shes* /	/ *ngo bo nyid* .	/*yI dam* / /

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
譬喩[v]	放逸[v]	法器[v]	聚洛[v]	曠野[v]
dpe' /[297]	/*bag myed* /	/ *chos kyI snod* /	/ *grong khyer* /	/ *'brog dgon pa* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
不思議	劫	十力[v]
/ *bsam gyis myI khyab* /	/ *bskal pa* /	/ *stobs bcu'* [298]/ /

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[294] Note archaic *'a* after *bu* and at end of a line.

[295] Note archaic aspirated spelling.

[296] See Stein (2010: 2, note 1; 10; 20; 32-33; 42; 47; 53-54) for *mur 'dug* as Chinese Chan based term for *heretic*. But also note Karashima 2005:196 from Khotan Lotus sūtra as *mur 'dug rnam pa thams cad* (kha 50 b7) for *mu steg can*. See also Cüppers, The IX Chapter of the Samādhirājasūtra, 1990, pages 64, 161.

[297] Note archaic *'a.*

[298] Note archaic *'a.*

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
十八[v]不共佛法 / ma 'dres pa'I chos bco brgyad /	憧 / rgyal mtshan /	十善[v] /dge ba bcu /	十二[v]處 / 'du mched bcu gnyis /	十八界 / khams bco brgyad /

Column 6
十二法 /myI gnyis pa'I chos[299] / /

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
无二[v] gnyisu myed /	無生法忍 / myI skye ba'I chos kyI bzod pa thob /	娑婆世界 / myI mjed gyI 'jIg rten gyI khams /	得法眼浄 / chos *ky*i myig rnam par dag /	威徳 / gzI brjid [300]/ /

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
不攀[v]縁 myi dmyigs /	斷見 /chad par lta /	常見[v] / rtag par lta /	邊見[v] / mthar lta /	決定[v] / gdon myi za ba[301] /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
嬌 /rgyags pa /	慢 / dregs pa /	忿 khong khro ba /	恨 / khon du 'dzIn pa /

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
覆 /'chab pa /	惱 / khrug pa /	悼擧 / 'phyar pa /	昏沈[v] /rmugs pa /	害 /'tshe ba /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
利益[v] /phan ba /	[X] / gnod pa /	一生[v]補處 /tshe gcIg gis thogs pa [302]/	神通 /mngon bar shes pa / /

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[299] Tibetan term does not correspond with Chinese.
[300] See Stein 2010: 69-70.
[301] See Walter, Buddhism and Empire, 2009, page 44, note 15. Takeuchi 1998, pages 155, 307. Karashima 2005: 264 at kha 70a4.
[302] Different than *Mahāvyutpatti* 806.

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
等至 /snyoms par 'jug pa /	根機[v] /(erase mark) dbang po	獣不[v] / myi skyo ba /	[X] /chos gyI dbang bskur pa /	種諸善根 /dge ba'I rtsa bskrung pa /

Column 6	Column 7
辯才[v] / spobs pa'[303]	[X] /ngal tshul chan[304] //

PT 1257 Folio 8a (IDP # 21)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] /bar du gcod pa /	障 /bsgrIbs pa /	覆 /g.yog pa /	盖 / bkab pa /	樂 /bde ba /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
利 /phan ba/	无所[v] / grangs myed /	无邊[v] /mtha' yas /	无量[v] /tshad myed /	不可測[v] / dpag du myed //

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X] dpyod pa /	[X] /dpog pa /	[X] /spong ba /	已離[v] /sprang pa'[305]	離 / bral ba /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
已得[v] /thob par gyurd /[306]	超 /'gyas pa /	過 /'da's /[307]	涌 /'phar ba /	圓満[v] /phun suM tshogs //

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
異類[v] 'gro ba mang	善根[v] / dge ba'I rtsa	救濟[v] / skyong ba/	行行[v] /spyod pa	脩 /sgom ba /

---

[303] Note archaic 'a.
[304] Note archaic aspirated suffix *chan*.
[305] Note archaic 'a.
[306] Note the *da drag*.
[307] Note archaic spelling found in inscription.

| po / | ba / | | | |

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
學 / slob pa /	名稱[v] / grags pa /	吉祥[v] /bkra shIs pa /	一切[v] / thams cad /	極多[v] /mang rab /

Column 11
諸 /kun / /

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
別異[v] tha dad /	各各[v] /so so'/[308]	種種[v] /sna tshogs /	[X] /khyad bar /	妙 /dam pa /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
最 /mchog /	勝 /rgyal ba /	莊嚴[v] /brgyand /	因緣和[v]合 / rkyen dang 'du ba tshogste byung /	稠林[v] /zug rdu: [309]/ /

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
問信[v] gsong por smra /	於如意[v]云何[v] khyod gyI yid la chI snyam /	習氣[v] /bag chags /	威儀[v] /spyod lam / pa/ [310]	因緣[v] /rgyu rkyen /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
形色[v] /dkha dog /	表色[v] /dbyibs /	鮮 / ma rnyIs/	供養[v] /mchod pa / /

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
供敬[v] /bkur stI /	尊重[v] / rI mgro' /	[X] stI stang /	敬 / gus pa /	喜 /dga' ba /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
歡悅[v] mgu' rangs /	勇躍[v] /chong rgal /	雖然[v] /mod gyI /	然此[v] 'on kyang /	若 / gal te /

---

[308] Note archaic 'a.

[309] Note *double tsheg* at the end of line.

[310] Note *pa* written between entries.

Column 11
如是[v]
/ de ltar / /

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
所謂[v]ʼ	何以故[v]	纓絡[v]	鬘[v]	虛空[v]
dI lta ste /	/cIʼi phyir zhe na /	/ se mo do /	/phreng ba /	/ nam kaʼ /[311]

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
幻化[v]	龜毛[v]	兎角[v]	石女兒[v]	陽燄[v]
/sgyu maʼ /[312]	/ru sbal gyI spu /	/ rI bong gi rwa /	/ mo sham gyI bu /	/smyIg rgyu / /

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
水泡[v]	聚沫[v]	芭蕉[v]	水中月[v]	火輪[v]
chuʼI chu bur /	/dbu baʼ /	/ chu shIng /	/chuʼI zla ba /	/mye mgal bskor ba /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
乾闥城[v]	中陰身[v]	影像
/drI zaʼI grong khyer /	/lnga phung bar ma /	/gzugs brnyan / /

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
草頭[v]露	夢	殿光[v]	雲	眩翳[v]
rtswaʼI (ʼ) nI zal pa	/ rmyI lam /	/ glog ʼod /	/sprIn /	/ rab rIb /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
嚮	[X]	丘井[v]	風輪[v]	觀
/brag ca /	/myIg yor	/ khron pa /	/rlung gI khrul ʼkhor /	/rtog pa / /

Line 10

Right side of Column 1 (out-side of a grid)
念
(No Tibetan word)

---

[311]　Note archaic spelling.
[312]　Note archaic ʼa.

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
念 *dran ba* /	思 / *sems pa*/	遊戲[v] /*rol pa'* /	灌頂 /*spyI bo nas blugs* /[313]	[X] /*gang latshogs pa* /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
有幾[v]種 /*rnam par du yod*/	分別 /*bye' brag phyed* /	梵王 /*tshang pa'I rgyal po* //

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
閻羅[v]王 / *gshIn rje'I rgyal po* /	帝釋[v] / *brgya' byin*/ [314]	天 / *lha'* /	龍 /*khlu'* / [315]	阿脩[v]羅 / *gnod sbyin*[316] /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
乾闥[v]婆 *khradrI rza'* /	阿脩[v]羅 / *lha ma yIn*[317] /	迦樓[v]羅 /*nam ka ldIng* /	緊郍[v]羅 /*myI 'am ci*[318] / /

PT 1257 Folio 9a (IDP＃23)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
正見[v] /*g.yung drung gI lta ba*	正思惟[v] /*g.yung drung rtog pa* /	正語[v] /*g.yung drung gI ngag*/	[X] /*g.yung drung gI las kyI mtha'* /	正命[v] /*g.yung drung 'tsho ba* /

Column 6	Column 7
正精進[v] / *g.yung drung gI rtsol ba* /	正念[v] *g.yung drung gI dran ba* //

[313] See Stein 2010:10.
[314] Note archaic spelling.
[315] Note archaic and unusual spellings. Search *khlu* within linguistic studies.
[316] Tibetan terms of column 5 and 7 are different. This point also shows that Tibetan terms were written first then filling the corresponding Chinese followed.
[317] Tibetan terms of column 5 and 7 are different. This point also shows that Tibetan terms were written first then filling the corresponding Chinese followed.
[318] See Nattier, *Once upon a future time*, page 256; Also, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, volume 3, p. 131.*

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[正][定][v][319] *g.yung drung gI ting nge 'dzIn / /*	十地[320][v] */sa bcu' /*[321]	極喜[v]地 */rab du dga' ba /*	離垢[v] */ drI ma myed pa /*	發光[v] */ 'od 'phro ba /*

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
焔恵[v] */'od byed pa /*	難勝[v] */ shIn du dka' rgyal /*	現前[v] */mngon du ba'I sa //*

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
遠行[v] */ring du song ba' /*	不動[v] */myI g.yo ba /*	善恵[v] *dge ba'i blo gros /*	法雲[v] */chos kyI sprin /*	十二因[v]縁 */ rgyu rkyen bcu gnyIs la /*

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
无明[v] */ma rIg pa /*	行 */'du byed /*	識 */rnam par shes pa //*

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
名色[v] *mying dang gzugs /*	六入[v] */drug gI mdu' mched /*	觸 */reg pa /*	受 */tshor ba /*	愛 */sred pa /*

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10[322]
取 */len pa /*	有 */stsogs pa /*	生 */skye ba' /*	老死[v] */rga' shI / /*[323]	十二部[v]経 */mdo sde bcu gnyIs la //*

---

[319] This column is blank, but the term that is filled in should be "正定."

[320] The ten titles of bodhisattva that follow are based on the *Ten bhūmi sūtra* (*Shidi jing* 十地經 Nine volume) translated by Siladharma (Shiluodamo 尸羅達摩) during Zhenyuan period (貞元 785-805) in the Tang era.

[321] Compare this list against Pelliot Tibétain 842, known before 814 (Karmay 2010:150-151), on folio *nga* line 6: *sa dang por rab du dga' ba dang / dri ma myed pa dang / 'od byed pa dang / 'od 'phro ba dang / shin tu dka' rgyal dang / mngon* [line 7] *tu pa dang / ring du song ba dang / myI g.yo ba dang / dge' ba'I blo gros dang / chos kyI sprin zhes bgyI ste /.*

[322] Compare following list with *A Sino-Tibetan Glossary from Tun-huang, page 283, sections 61-63.*

[323] Note extra punctuation to end category.

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
契経[v] *mdo'i sde /*	應誦[v] */dbyangs gyIs bsnyad pa'I sde /*	受記[v] */lung bstan pa'I sde /*	諷誦[v] *tshIgsu bcad pa'I sde /*	縁起[v] */ gleng zhI'i sde /*

Column 6	Column 7
自説[v] */ched du brjod pa'I sde /*	譬喩[v] */rtogs pa brjod pa'I sde / /*

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
本事[v] *da ltar dang 'da's pa'I sde /*	本生[v] */skye pa rabs kyI sde/*	方廣[v] */ shIn du rgyas pa'I sde /*	未曽[v]有部 [v] */rmad du byung ba'I sde /*	論議[v] */ chos gtan la bab pa bstan pa'I sde /*

Column 6
如理[v] */tshul bzhIn / /*

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
作意[v] *yid la byed /*	不了義[v] *bkrI ba'I non* [324]/	了義[v] *nges pa'I don /*	(闃[325]?) (閑 [326]) [v] */'du 'dzI'*	(閑[327]) 靜[v] */dben ba /*

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
我 *wǒ / bdag /*	我所[v] */bdag gI ba /*	真如[v] *yang dag pa nyId*	具一切[v]種智[v] */thams chad mkhy-en pa'I ye shes / /*

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
福田資[v]種 *bsod naM*	智恵[v]資粮 [v]	惣持[v] */gzungs/*	咒 */sngags /*	法界[v] */ chos kyI*

---

[324] Should read *bkrI ba'i don* . The Tibetan *bkri ba'i don* translates neyārtha , which is usually translated into *drang don.*

[325] "闃然" in the *Enunciations and Meanings of All Sūtras* (*Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, T.2128, 869b12).

[326] An unknown letter. Possibly a variant of 閑.

[327] An unknown letter. Possibly a variant of 閑.

gyI tshogs /	/ye shes kyI tshogs /			dbyings /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
密意[v] /ldem po ngag /	随喜[v] / rjes su yI rang /	讚歎[v] /bstod pa' / /

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
廻向[v] bsngo ba'	清淨[v] /rnaM par dag /	白淨[v] /rnaM par dkar	疑 / the tshom /	惑 nem nur /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
猶預[v] som ma nyI' /	不信[v] / ma dad /	相應[v] /ldan ba /	相稱[v] /'phrod pa	違逆[328][v] / 'gal ba /

Column 11
順 /gzhol ba / /

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
媿 khrel ba /	慙 / 'dzem ba /	照 / snang ba /	明 /gsal ba /	光 / 'od /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
現 / mngon ba/	曜 /'tsher ba /	[X] / rIg pa /	覺 / tshor ba / [329]	究竟[v] /thar phyIn /

Column 11
境界[v] /spyod yul / /

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
寂静[v] rab du zhI'[330]	降伏[v] /gdul thul /	世間[v] /'jIg rten /	世界[v] / 'jIg rten gyI khams /	佛刹[v] / sangs rgyas gyI zhing /

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[328] This compound appears in the *YB* (T1579, 872b12) and the *Ten bhūmi sūtra* (十地經 T0287, 554b18) among others, but does not appear in the *SN*.

[329] Chan translation; tshor ba also means "feeling."

[330] Note archaic 'a suffix.

Column 6	Column 7
任運成[v]就	通達 [v]
/lhun gyIs grub /	/khong du chud / /

PT 1257 Folio 10a (IDP #25)

Line 1

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
[X]	[X]	[X]	化生[v]	五智[v]
		/ sgo las skye ba	/rdzu te skye ba' [331]	/ ye shes lnga'[332]

Column 6
大圓[v]鏡智[v]
/mye long lta bu'I ye shes / /

Line 2

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
平等 [v]性智 [v]	妙觀[v]察智 [v]	成所 作[v]智	四无量[v]	慈
/ mnyaM nyI gyI ye shes /	/so sor kun du lta ba'I ye shes/	/ bya ba nan tan gyI ye shes /	/ tshad myed pa bzhI /	/ byaMs pa /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8
悲	喜	捨
/ snying rje /	/ dga' ba /	/btang snyoMs / /

Line 3

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
四魔[v]	煩悩魔[v]	蘊魔[v]	死魔[v]	天魔[v]
/bdud rnaM bzhI' [333]	/ nyon mongs pa'I bdud:/	/ phung po'i bdud /	/'chI bdag gI bdud /	/lha'I bdud /

Column 6	Column 7
四部州[v]	東弗[v]于大[v]
/glIng bzhI /	shar gyI lus 'phags gling / /

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[331]   Note archaic 'a suffix.
[332]   Note archaic 'a suffix.
[333]   Note archaic 'a suffix.

Line 4

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
南閣浮[v]提 / lha'I 'dzam bu glIng /	西俱耶[v]尼 /nub gyI bal glang spyod /	北越單[v] /byang gI sgra myi snyan /	預流[v] / rgyun du zhugs pa /	一来[v] /lan chIg phyir ldog pa/

Column 6
不還[v] /phyIr myI ldog pa' [334]/ /

Line 5

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
阿羅漢[v] /dgra bcom ba /	四攝 [v] / bsdu ba rnaM bzhI /	布施[v] /sbyIn ba' /	愛語[v] /ngag snyan pa /	利行[v] /don spyod pa /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
同事[v] /don 'thun ba / /	五蘊 [v] / phung po lnga /	色 /gzugs /	受 /tshor ba' /	想 /'du shes //

Line 6

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
行 /'du byed /	識 /rnaM par shes /	五力[v] /stobs lnga /	信 /dad pa /	進 /brtson 'grus /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
念 /dran ba /	定 /tInge 'dzIn /	惠 /shes rab /	五道[v] /lam rgyud lnga /	人道[v] /myI'i lam lnga /

Column 11
天道[v] /lha'I lam //

Line 7

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
畜生[v] /byol song /	阿脩羅[v] /lha ma yIn /	餓鬼[v] /yI dags /	六根[v] /dbang po drug /	眼根[v] /dmyIg /

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[334] Note archaic spellings.

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
耳根[v] /rna'ba[335]/	鼻 / sna'[336]	舌 /lce'[337]	身 /lus/	意 /yId /

Column 11	Column 12
六塵 [v] /yul drug /	色 /gzugs / /

Line 8

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
聲 sgra'	香 /drI' /	味 /bro' /	觸 / rig[338] / /	法 / /[339]

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9	Column 10
六波羅[v]蜜 / pha rol du phyIn pa drug /	布施[v] /sbyIn ba /	戒 /tshul khrIms /	忍 /bzod pa /	精進[v] / brtson 'grus /

Column 11
靜慮[v] /bsam gtan //

Line 9

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
惠 shes rab /	七覺[v]支[340] /byang chub gyI yan lag bdun / o[341]	念覺[v]支 / dran ba byang chub gyI yan lag /	擇法覺[v]支 /chos rnaM par 'byed byang chub gyI yan lag //

Line 10

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
喜覺[v]支 dga*'* ba byang	安覺[v]支 /bde ba byang	定 覺[v]支 /tInge 'dzIn byang	捨覺[v]支 /btang snyoms

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[335] Note archaic spellings 'a.

[336] Note archaic spellings 'a.

[337] Note archaic spellings 'a

[338] The romanization of the Tibetan script is "rig," which does not corrspond with its corresponding Chinese term "touching." Tibetan term of "touching" is "reg." This can be a scribal error.

[339] No Tibetan term included.

[340] There are only six listed among the seven limbs of enlightenment. The third, bodhyanga of diligence, is missed.

[341] Note possible scribal symbol for change of scribe.

| chub gyI yan lag / | chub gyI yan lag / | chub gyI yan lag / | byang chub gyI ~~lan~~yan lag / / |

Line 11

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5
七寶[v] /rin po che bdun /[342]	象寶[v] /bal glang /	馬寶[v] /rta' [343]	摩尼[v] /~~b~~nor bu' /[344]	女寶[v] /bud myed /

Column 6	Column 7	Column 8	Column 9
輪寶[v] /'khor lo /	主藏[v]神 /blon po' [345]	兵寶[v] /dma'g /[346]	八聖道[v][347] /'phags pa'I laM brgyad / /

Appendix I. Comparable Image-Collation of Binding-holes in PT 1257

1) These images below are copy-pasted from IDP site with partially cut focusing on only their binding-holes.
2) With consistency of the forms and shapes of damages appeared, the following pairs are identical sheets: #01-02, #03-04, #05-06, #07-08, #09-10, #11-12, #13-14, #21-22, #23-24, and #25-26.
3) IDP site shows the backside folio images (#02, 04, 06, 08, 10, 12, 14, 22, 24, and 26) in a way of "up-side-down."

Folios in both front and backsides

#01

#02 (backside of #01)

---

[342] See Mvy.3621-3628. Note the seven royal treasures in classical Tibetan as *'khor lo, glang po, rta mchog, nor bu, bu med, khyim bdag, blon po*. *khyim bdag* is replaced by *dmag dpon*.

[343] Note archaic spelling 'a.

[344] Note archaic spelling 'a.

[345] Note archaic spelling 'a.

[346] Note archaic spelling.

[347] Pelliot 1257 folio 10a, whose end term is "the Eight Sacred Paths," could originally be placed at right before Pelliot 1257 folio 9a as the folio 9a starts with the itemized terms of the Eight Sacred Paths. Thus, its original order in part should have been "folio 9 and folio 10."

#03

#04 (backside of #03)

#05

#06 (backside of #05)

#07

#08 (backside of #07)

#09

#10 (backside of #09)

#11

#12 (backside of #11)

#13

#14 (backside of #13)

#21

#22 (backside of #21)

#23

#24 (backside of #23)

#25

#26 (backside of #25)

Fragments #15 - #20
(#15)

(#16 note: IDP site shows this folio image at the upper side)

(#17 – backside?)

(#18 – backside?)

(#19 - both front and back sides??? Or a bottom of a folded sheet???)

(#20 - note: IDP site shows this folio image at the upper side)

Appendix II. Chinese Character Variants in PT1257

- This list excludes variants whose digital images are not legible.
- Character location listed according to folio, folio side, line number, then column number:
  e.g., F6aL6C2 = Folio 6, folio side a, line number 6, column 2

A
ài
碍

F6aL6C2

愛

F9aL4C5

F10aL5C4

B
bā
芭

F8aL8C3
bá
跋
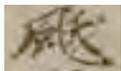
F2aL11C1
bān
般

F2aL4C1

F3aL9C1
bǎo
寶

F1aL3C7

F3aL2C2
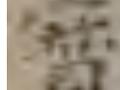
F6aL3C5
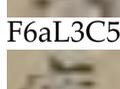
F6aL10C3

F10aL11C1

F10aL11C2

F10aL11C3

F10aL11C5

F10aL11C6

F10aL11C8
bào

報

F1aL6C5

F2aL3C3

F2aL4C2
běn
本

F2aL6C3

F3aL2C3

F5aL9C4

F6aL11C6

F9aL6C2
bí
鼻

F10aL7C7
bǐ
比

F6aL3C3

F7aL4C1
bì
臂

F2aL7C3
biān
邊

F3aL11C3

F7aL9C4

F8aL1C8
biàn
辯

F3aL11C3

F4aL6

F7aL11C6
bié
別

F5aL6C2

F8aL4C1

F8aL10C7
bù
不
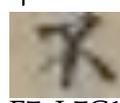
F7aL7C1

部

F9aL4C10

F10aL3C6

C
cǎo
草

F8aL9C1
cè
測
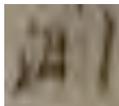
F8aL1C10
chá
察

F5aL3C5

F10aL2C2
chà
剎

F7aL1C4

F9aL11C5
chāo
超

F8aL2C7
chēn
嗔

F1aL3C5
chéng
乘 **(See *shèng*)**
塵

F10aL7C11
chēng (chèn)
稱

F8aL3C7

F9aL9C9
chéng
成
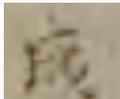
F6aL10C3
城

F7aL2C1
chī
癡

F1aL3C6
chí
持

F6aL8C2

F6aL8C4
馳

F4aL6
chǔ
處

F3aL6C1

F5aL5C1

F6aL4C4

F7aL7C4

F7aL10C8
chù
觸
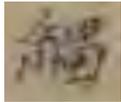
F9aL4C3

F10aL8C4
cí
慈

F4aL5

F10aL2C5
cì
刺

F5aL4C1
cóng
從
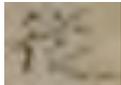
F6aL4C6
cuī
摧

F6aL10C5

D
dá
達

F2aL13C2

F5aL7C1
dào
稻

F3aL4C1
道

F6aL2C4

F7aL4C7

F10aL11C9
dé
德

F2aL10C2
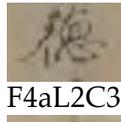
F4aL2C3
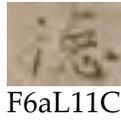
F6aL11C6

F7aL8C5
děng
等

F3aL2C1

F5aL1C5

F7aL11C1

F10aL2C1
dī
提

F3aL3C3

F3aL11C1

F10aL4C1
dì
諦

F3aL8C1
diān
顛

F1aL10C4
diàn
殿

F7aL2C2
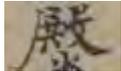
F8aL9C3
dìng
定

F2aL9C1
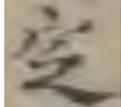
F7aL9C5
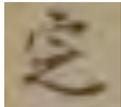
F10aL6C7
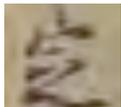
F10aL10C3
dū
闍

F3aL5C2

F4aL4
dú
獨

F1aL6C1

F7aL1C7
duàn
断
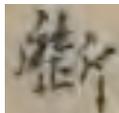
F1aL9C3
斷

F7aL9C2

E
è
惡
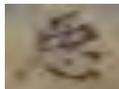
F1aL1C2

F1aL9c4

F1aL10C1

F5aL2C1
ēn
恩
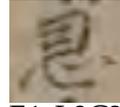
F4aL3C2
ér
兒

F8aL7C9

F
fā
發

F9aL2C5
fǎ
法

F1aL10C3

F2aL9C3

F3aL1C1
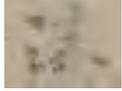
F4aL5

F4aL6

F9aL8C5

F10aL8C5

fēn
分

F8aL10C7

fèn
忿

F7aL9C8

fó
佛

F1aL3C8

F7aL7C1

F9aL11C5
仏

F2aL3C2

F2aL5C2

F2aL11C2

F3aL10C3

fú
弗

F10aL3C7

fù
覆

F7aL10C1

F8aL1C3

G
gāng
剛

F2aL4C3

F3aL1C2
gě
盖

F8aL1C4
gè
各

F8aL4C2
gōng
功

F2aL10C2

F4aL2C3
gū
孤

F7aL1C7
guàn
灌

F2aL3C1

F8aL10C4
觀

F2aL3C2

F5aL3C5

F8aL9C10

F10aL2C2
guāng
光

F9aL2C5

F9aL10C5
guī
歸

F4aL6
guī (jūn)
龜
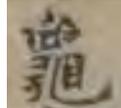
F8aL7C7
guǐ
鬼

F10aL7C3
guò
過

F8aL2C8

H
hài
害
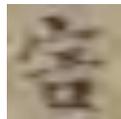
F6aL11C3
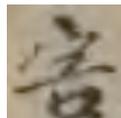
F7aL10C5
hán
含

F3aL6c2

F3aL6c3

F3aL7c1
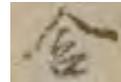
F3aL7c2
hé
和

F4aL4
hēi
黑

F5aL8C3
hóu
侯

F7aL1C1
hù
互

F4aL6
huān
歡

F8aL6C6
huán
還
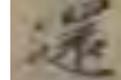
F10aL4C6
huàn
幻
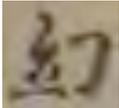
F5aL2C3
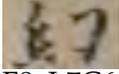
F8aL7C6
huí
廻

F9aL9C1
huì
會

F4aL6

F5aL5C1
慧
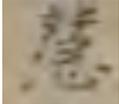
F6aL9c5
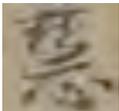
F6aL10C2
hūn
昏

F7aL10C4
huò
惑

F9aL9C5

J
jī
機
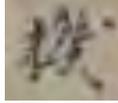
F7aL11C2
jí
極

F5aL6C4

F5aL6C5

F5aL7C1

F6aL6C4

F8aL3C10
集

F6aL2C2
吉

F8aL3C8
jǐ
幾

F2aL10C1

F8aL10C6
jì
計

F5aL1C2
寂
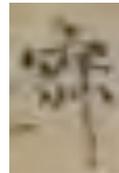
F5aL9C4

F9aL11C1
際

F6aL7C2
济

F8aL3C3
jiǎ
假
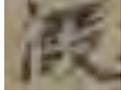
F5aL1C1
jiàn
建

F6aL5C5
jiāo
嬌
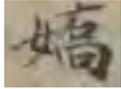
F7aL9C6
jié
捷

F6aL9C4
劫
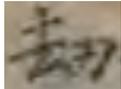
F7aL6C7
jiě
解

F1aL6C7

F2aL12C4

F5aL6C2

F6aL7C4
jǐn
緊
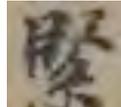
F8aL11C9
jìn
盡

F5aL4C4

F6aL7C1
jīng
経

F2aL2C1

F2aL2C4
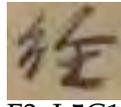
F2aL5C1
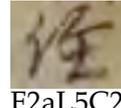
F2aL5C2

F2aL8C1
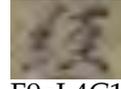
F9aL4C10

F9aL5C1
jìng
精

F10aL8C10
敬

F8aL6C4
淨／浄

F2aL9C2

F6aL6c1

F7aL8C4

F9aL9C2
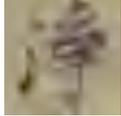
F9aL9C3

鏡

F10aL1C6

靜

F10aL8C11

jiū
究

F9aL10C10

jiù
就

F6aL10C3

驚

F7aL1C6

救

F8aL3C3

jǔ
舉

F7aL10C3

jù
俱
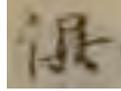
F5aL5c1
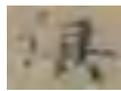
F6aL3C3

F10aL4C2

聚

F7aL6C4

F8aL8C2

juàn
絹
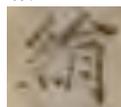
F3aL3C1

jué
覺

F5aL1C5

F6aL6C1

F9aL10C9

F10aL9C2

F10aL9C3

F10aL9C4

F10aL10C1

F10aL10C2

F10aL10C4

决

F2aL9C1

F3aL5C2

F6aL10C2

F7aL9C5

jūn (*guī*)

龜
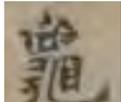
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K
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空

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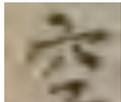
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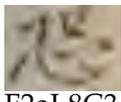
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kǔ

苦

F5aL4C6

F6aL2C1

kuì

媿

F9aL10C1

L
lái

来

F6aL4C5

F6aL7C2

lǎo

老

F3aL4C2

F9aL4C9

lèi

類

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F5aL2C1

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lèng

楞
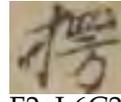
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lí

離

F5aL3C3

F6aL5C3

F8aL2C4

F8aL2C5

F9aL2C4

liàng

量

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F10aL2C4
lìng
令

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liú
流
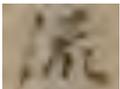
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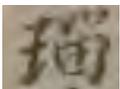
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龍

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lù
露

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lǜ
律

F4aL2C2
廬

F10aL8C11
lún
輪

F8aL8C5
luó
羅

F2aL8C1

F2aL10C3

F2aL11C1

F2aL11C3

F7aL1C1

F7aL1C4
luò
洛

F7aL6C4

M
mǎ
馬

F10aL11C3
mǎn
滿/满

F4aL6

F8aL2C10
màn
曼

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鬘

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慢

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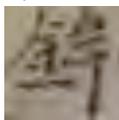
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mén
門

F2aL11C3

F4aL2C1
mèng
夢

F8aL9C2
mí
彌/弥

F2aL13C3

F3aL4C3

F7aL2C3
mì
密

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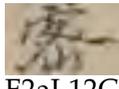
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蜜

F2aL4C1

F4aL3C1

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滅

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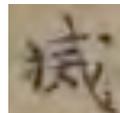
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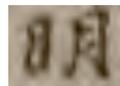
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命

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mó
魔

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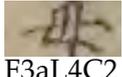
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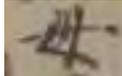
F4aL3C2

N
nà
那

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nán
難

F5aL7C1

F5aL7C1

F9aL2C7
nǎo

悩
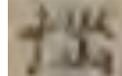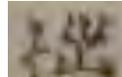
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F7aL10C2

F10aL3C2
ní
尼
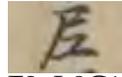
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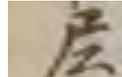
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逆

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niàn
念
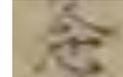
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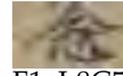
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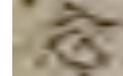
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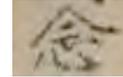
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F6aL5C4

F8aL10
(left margin) out-
side of the
column 10

F8aL10C1

F9aL1C7

F10aL6C6

丼
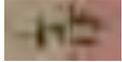
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涅

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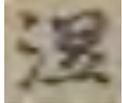
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pài
派
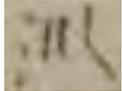
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攀

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pán
槃

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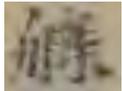
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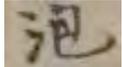
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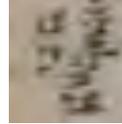
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貧

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pó
婆

F7aL8C3
pú
艹[菩]
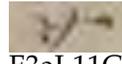
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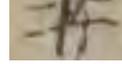
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Q
qǐ
起

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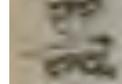
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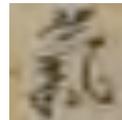
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乾

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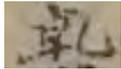
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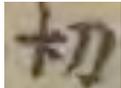
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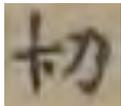
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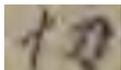
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清

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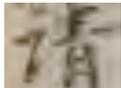
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窮

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趣

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R
rán
然

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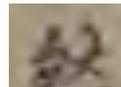
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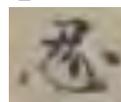
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rèn
任

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róng
融
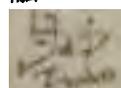
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rù
褥

F2aL13C2

ruò
若

F2aL1C1

F2aL4C1

F3aL9C1

F8aL6C10

弱

F5aL9C6

S
sà
薩

F7aL3C5

sài

塞

F7aL4C2
sǎn

散

F7aL5C5
sè

色

F8aL5C6

F8aL5C7

F9aL4C1

F10aL5C8

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shàn

善

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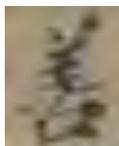
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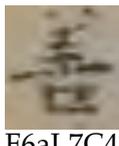
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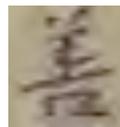
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F7aL3C4

F7aL3C6

F7aL7C3

F7aL11C5

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shè

攝

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設

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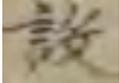
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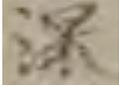
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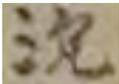
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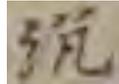
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甚
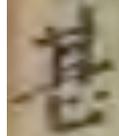
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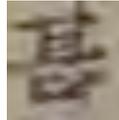
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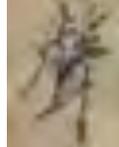
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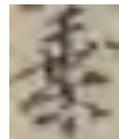
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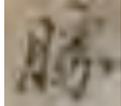
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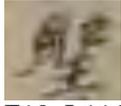
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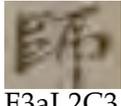
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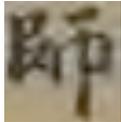
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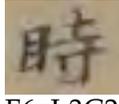
F6aL3C2
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寔

F4aL6
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飾

F6aL4C2
逝

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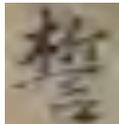
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F5aL5C4

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事

F9aL6C1
世

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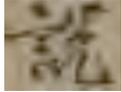
説
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sòng
誦
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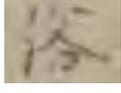
sú
俗
F4aL5

suī
雖
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随
F9aL8C7

suō
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F7aL8C3

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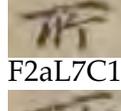
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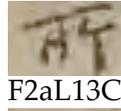
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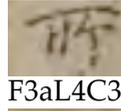
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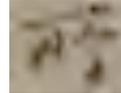
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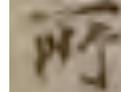
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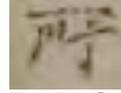
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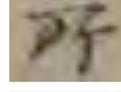
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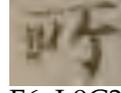
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F9aL7C7

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提

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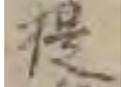
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體

F7aL5C9
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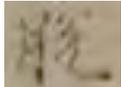
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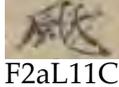
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外
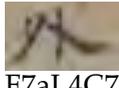
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万／萬
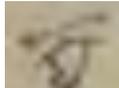
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網

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wēi
微

F5aL6C4

F5aL6C4
wéi
違

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wèn
問
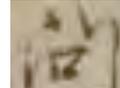
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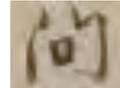
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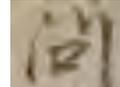
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我

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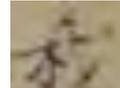
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无

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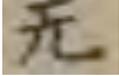
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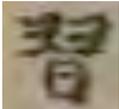
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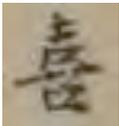
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xì
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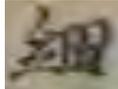
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戲
F8aL10C3
xián
賢

F3aL7C3
閑

F9aL7C4

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xiáng
降

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xiǎng/ xiàng
嚮 (a variant of
響)
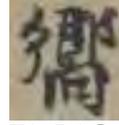
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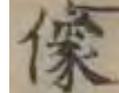
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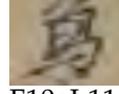
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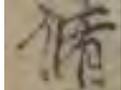
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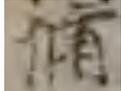
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虛

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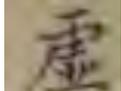
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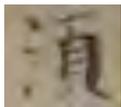
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xué
學

F8aL3C6

Y
yán
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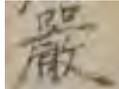
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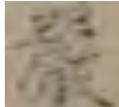
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言

F4aL6

閻

F8aL11C1

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yǎn
眼
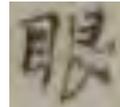
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yàn
猒(厭)
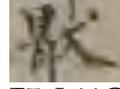
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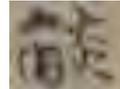
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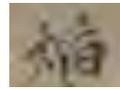
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yāng
央

F2aL5C3
yào
薬

F3aL2C3
曜

F6aL3C4
yě
野

F7aL6C5
yè

業

F2aL9C2

yī
依

F1aL4c4

yí
儀

F8aL5C4

疑

F9aL9C4

yǐ
已

F1aL10C1

F1aL10C3

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F8aL2C6

yì
益

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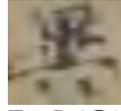
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F8aL4C1

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翼
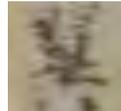
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F4aL6

F6aL5C2

F9aL7C2

F9aL7C3

議

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F9aL6C5

逸

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C2

yīn
因
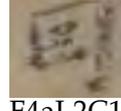
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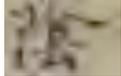
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yīng
纓
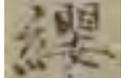
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影
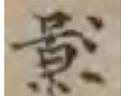
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涌
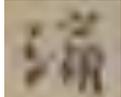
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憂

F7aL4C10
yú
於
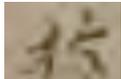
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F1aL11C3

F4aL5

F4aL6-1

F4aL6-2

F5aL3C2

F8aL5C2
愚

F5aL1C6
yǔ
雨

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與

F6aL3C3
yù
芋

F3aL4C1
預
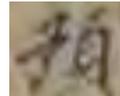
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圓

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F6aL4C3

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F10aL1C6
緣

F3aL5C1
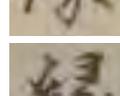
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F9aL5C5

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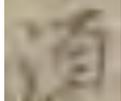
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遠

F6aL5C3

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yuàn
怨

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yuè
嶽

F7aL4C5
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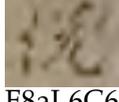
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躍

F8aL6C7
越

F10aL4C3

yún
雲
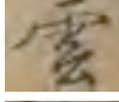
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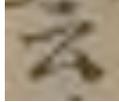
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蘊

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F10aL5C7

Z
zá
雜/雜

F3aL7C1
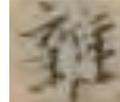
F3aL8C4

F6aL5C6

zāi

灾 (a variant of 災)

F2aL8C3

zàng
藏

F2aL5C2

F2aL6C1

F2aL10C1

F4aL6

F10aL11C7
zé
擇

F6aL10C2

F10aL9C4
zhàng
障

F2aL9C2

F8aL1C2
zhǎo
沼

F7aL2C6
zhào
照

F9aL10C3
zhēn

真

F9aL7C8
zhēng
正

F1aL2C5

F3aL6C1

F5aL1C5

F9aL1C1
zhèng
諍

F4aL1C4
zhī
支

F10aL9C2

F10aL9C3

F10aL9C4

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周

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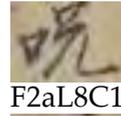
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莊

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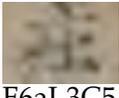
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子

F5aL2C2

F7aL3C6

zǒng
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zú
足

F6aL2C10
zuān
鑽

F5aL3C6

F5aL4C1
zuì
最

F5aL2C2

F6aL3C4

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F8aL4C6
zūn
尊

F7aL3C3

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作
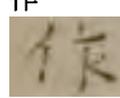
F6aL9C3

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Gallica Digital Library   http://gallica.bnf.fr
IDP   International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/)
IOL   Indian Office Library
Msk   Manuscript Kanjur
Mvy   Mahāvyutpatti
Neidianlu   *Datang neidianlu* 大唐內典録
PT   Pelliot tibétain
S   Stein Collection

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IOL Tib J 53   *Avaivartikacakrasūtra*

IOL Tib J 55 *Kāśyapaparivarta*

IOL Tib J 75 *Jayamatiparipṛcchā*

IOL Tib J 149   *Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra*

IOL Tib J 194 *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*

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PT1257 Pelliot Tibétain 1257

PT1261 Pelliot Tibétain 1261 (edited by Li 1962)

sBa bzhed   See Wangdu and Diemberger 2000

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Is it possible to write a "Tibetan" poem in French? Tentative reflections on Victor Segalen's *Thibet*[1]

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When looking at the history of the reception of Asian literatures in the West, we are often intrigued by writers who, informed only by translations and travelogues, artfully reinvented the Orient using Western modes of expression. This is the case with the French naval doctor, ethnographer, poet, novelist and literary theorist Victor Segalen (1878-1919)—an intrepid practitioner of such cultural appropriation. This article deals specifically with his unfinished long poem *Thibet* in which the author brings into a single narrative Jacques Bacot's travelogue *Le Thibet révolté, vers Népémakö: la Terre promise des Tibétains* (henceforth *Le Thibet révolté*) and Gustave-Charles Toussaint's translation of the Tibetan classic *Padma bka' thang*. A close look at Segalen's strategy of rewriting his primary sources brings to light some of the most problematic aspects of cross-cultural representation, such as clichéd exoticism, literary mimesis, linguistic incommensurability between French and Tibetan, misinterpretation of underutilized sources and its consequences, and so forth.

By focusing on how Segalen reworks the tropes of *Népémakö* and *Poyul* drawn from Bacot's *Le Thibet révolté* and the "ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus" he culls from Toussaint's translation of *Le dict de Padma*, I seek to demonstrate in this article that (1) *Thibet* can be read as a furtherance of Bacot's romantic conceptualization of Tibet as an "idéal inaccessible"; (2) Segalen's adaptation of a portion of *Le dict de Padma* inadvertently avails itself of Toussaint's misreading of the original text, which results in the forgery of a *homo viator* that eventually becomes Segalen's *alter ego* in *Thibet*; and (3) although Segalen's attempt to bring the rhythms of the *Padma bka' thang* into French

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prosody creates an exotic feel, he does it cheaply.

A disclaimer of sorts must be made here: this article deals less with the intrinsic literary value of *Thibet* than with the far-reaching cross-cultural significance the poem's textual genesis entails. More precisely, it seeks to map out, from a fresh perspective, the difficulty of bridging literary traditions as different as French and Tibetan. In so doing, we may elicit some critical thoughts on the nature of such intertextuality instigated by Segalen and his followers, as well as the ideological progressiveness attributed to them by postcolonial scholars.

The textual genesis

Although many critics have noted that Victor Segalen understood Chinese culture very well through his extensive travels across China, he never reached Tibet except in his imagined journeys.[2] While this unfinished long poem is not based on any empirical data pertaining to Tibet, findings in recent years have foregrounded the impact of Segalen's aborted attempts to travel to Tibet on the genesis of his hymn.[3] But it took shape only after the poet's encounter with the

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[2] The circulation of *Thibet* seems rather limited until Henry Bouillier's edition of Segalen's *Œuvres Complètes* came out in 1995. Among the earlier and often fragmentary editions, we may cite in chronological order: four *séquences* (I, II, IV, et V), in Robert de la Vaissière ed., *Anthologie poétique du XXe siècle, tome 2* (Paris: Crès, 1923), 148-151; six *séquences* (X, XXVIII, XXXV, XL, XLVIII, LVII) in *France-Asie*, September 1956; eight *séquences* (XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX), in *La Table Ronde*, October 1956; six *sequences* (VI, XIX, XXIX, XXXVIII, XLI, XLIV), in *Nouvelle Revue Française*, June 1958; Victor Segalen, *Odes, suivies de Thibet*, ed. Annie Joly-Segalen. (Paris: Mercure de France, 1963); Victor Segalen, *Thibet*, ed. Michael Taylor. (Paris: Mercure de France, 1979). Taylor's edition of *Thibet* carrying fifty-eight *séquences* was later included by Henry Bouillier in his edition of Segalen's *Œuvres Complètes*. Cf: Victor Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. II, Cycle Chinois*, ed. Henry Bouillier. (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1995). All citations of *Thibet* in this paper are from *Œuvres Complètes* unless otherwise noted.

[3] Segalen makes meticulous notes of his failed attempts to attain physical contact with Tibet during his archeological missions to West China. In a letter to his wife dated September 27, 1909, from *Si-ngan-fou* (pinyin: Xi'an), Segalen informs her of his project to go to *Goumboum* (Tibetan: *sku 'bum*) and Kou-Kou-nor (Tibetan: *mtsho sngon po*; Mongolian: *khökh nuur*, which is a calque of the Tibetan toponym meaning "blue lake"), where he will "revoir une autre frontière de ce dernier des pays clos, le Tibet" and "se faire recevoir par le Dalaï-Lama, sorte de pape du lamaïsme entier." Yet from his letter sent from *Lan-theou* (pinyin: Lanzhou) on October 31, we know that Segalen had to abandon his plan due to heavy rain. However, he announced that he would instead make a detour to *Song-pan* (Tibetan: zung chu)*,* where he would have "un aperçu du Tibet beaucoup plus intéressant que celui du Kou-Kou-nor." However, once again, he had to cancel his project for practical reasons. See Victor Segalen, *Lettres de Chine*

French orientalist Gustave-Charles Toussaint in 1917, whose translation of Guru Padma Sambhava's hagiography *Le dict de Padma* instantly inspired him.[4] As Toussaint's decisive influence on the poem makes clear, *Thibet* is by definition "the product of intertextuality and translation, rather than an accurate documentary-style depiction of Tibet."[5] Parallel to *Le dict de Padma*, Jacques Bacot's *Le Thibet révolté* also stands out as a vital inspiration for *Thibet*. This arresting travelogue has provided Segalen the archetype of a Nietzsche-spirited mountain climber who, lured by poems and legends, searches desperately and futilely for the lost paradise of *Népémakö* in the wilds of *Poyul*.

No doubt this particular form of intertextuality that we find in *Thibet* is fundamentally ambiguous. Yet, regrettably, no scholars to date have studied this particular form of intertextuality *à la* Segalen in a philologically sophisticated way. Through a series of close readings, I show that although Segalen should be commended for attempting to write a "Tibetan" poem in French, his audacious enterprise falls short of its mark. Two facts may account for this. First, despite Segalen's intention to preserve the sonority of the *Padma bka' thang* in *Thibet*, he nevertheless fails to convey some key features of the Tibetan versification system. Second, *Thibet* is, from the outset, impeded yet propelled by Segalen's inability to visit Tibet in person. In response to this inaccessibility, he borrows from Bacot the tropes of *Népémakö* and *Poyul*, avails himself of Toussaint's mistranslation of an important passage of the *Padma bka' thang*, and brings these two sources into line with a self-identified, simultaneously mighty and

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(Paris: Plon, 1967), 178-211. Also in chapter 16 of *Équipée–voyage au pays du réel*, Segalen relates at length how he witnessed, very likely in the Sino-Tibetan border town of Tatsienlou (Tibetan: dar rtse mdo), the murder of a young French missionary (Théodore Monbeig?) by Tibetan Lamas. The victim is described as *éventré, écorcé, brûlé, divisé,* and *tenaillé* by his butcher. This unexpected encounter with Tibet through a French "martyr" should have enhanced Segalen's vision of Tibet as a hazardous terrain. Segalen's longings for Tibet can also be inferred from chapter 14 of *Équipée*, dedicated to Tch'eng-tou (pinyin: Chengdu)—*la Grande ville au bout du monde* as he terms it. The poet describes Chengdu as "la Principale de celles qui s'avancent vers le Tibet, et s'opposent à lui. J'espérais y voir un reflet du Tibet… " For him, Chengdu symbolizes "la reine du pillage et des échanges entre le Tibet tributaire et la grosse impératrice chinoise…" Certainly, in Segalen's view, the splendor of Chengdu is totally reliant on its geographic closeness to Tibet, which conjures up a mystical aura. Cf: Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 290-291.

[4] Marc Gontard, *Victor Segalen, une esthétique de la différence* (Paris: L'Harmattant, 1990), 271-272.

[5] John Stout, "Metapoetic Explorations of Tibet in Victor Segalen's *Thibet* and André Velter's *Le Haut Pays*," *The Journal of Twentieth-Century/Contemporary French Studies revue d'études français* 5 (2001): 66.

impotent *homo viator* who embarks on the journey of conquering Ti-bet. This romantic montage enables Segalen, on one hand, to over-come Tibet's physical and figurative inaccessibility through literary imagination, yet on the other, it also causes his authorial self to over-do, override, and eventually trivialize the land depicted.

Arguably, oscillating between pedantic references and wild imag-inings, Segalen's long poem can be seen as drawing on a series of metatextual metaphors alluding to Tibet.[6] That said, it would be sim-plistic to aprioristically downplay it as merely distorting some East-ern realities. Instead, let us first look at how Segalen's poetic sensibili-ties enable him to weave together, with inventiveness, different strands of his miscellaneous sources.

The itinerary

Given the considerable length of *Thibet*, a brief summary of the po-em's contents might be helpful. This long "hymn" dedicated to Tibet, as Segalen terms it, comprises fifty-eight *séquences* and is subdivided into three sections, namely, *Tö-böd* (*séquences* I-XXI),[7] *Lha-Ssa* (*séquenc-es* XXII-XLVII), and *Po-youl* (*séquences* XLVIII-LVIII). The three sec-tions correspond respectively to what Segalen conceptualizes as "Ce-lui qu'on atteignit déjà, qui donna son nom au pays," "Celui qu'on atteindra," and "Celui qui ne sera jamais obtenu, innommable."[8]

In the first thirteen cantos of *Tö-böd*, the narrator portrays himself engaging in a perilous–yet-celebratory ascent of Tibet. *Séquences* XIV and XV form an interlude in which the poet addresses Tibet as if the latter were his "concubine" (*séquence* XV). From *séquence* XVI onward, the poet appears to interact more intimately with the mesmeric land-scape of Tibet, as attested by the repeated use of the first-person pos-sessive determiner in expressions such as "ma coupe de monts" (*séquence* XVI) or "en mon domaine" (*séquence* XVIIII). In *séquences*

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6   Unlike *Stèles* which uses visual formatting and ideographs to convey the exotic flavoring, *Thibet* plays first and foremost with intertextuality. Amid *Thibet*'s var-iegated sources, Michael Taylor suggests that, in addition to Western Tibetologi-cal writings, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the Bible, as well as certain passages of *The Odyssey* have also left lasting impression on Segalen. See Michael Taylor, "La création du paysage sacré dans *Thibet* de Victor Segalen et dans *Lost Horizon* de James Hilton," in *Littérature et Extrême-Orient*, ed. Muriel Détrie. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 135-143.

7   *Tö-böd* is a phonetic transcription of *mtho bod*, meaning "High Tibet." At the be-ginning of the twentieth century, many considered *Tö-böd* to be the etymology of "Tibet" in Western languages. See for example Alexandra David-Néel, *Voyage d'une parisienne à Lhassa* (Paris: Plon, 2004), 16.

8   Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 607.

XIX and XX, we have the return of this feminine archetype, this "reine du royaume d'ailleurs" (*séquence* XIX) as Segalen phrases it, which he associates with Tibet's otherness. Yet surprisingly, the triumphant tone dissolves in the last *séquence* of *Tö-böd*, where the narrator is all of a sudden entrapped by a state of ontological doubt and exasperated by the impossibility of locating his "royaume Terrien" (*séquence* XXI). This may indicate that, even though Segalen defines *Tö-böd* as "Celui qu'on atteignit déjà, qui donna son nom au pays," we are in fact navigating in the realm of imaginings from the very outset of *Thibet*.

The subsequent section, named *Lha-Ssa*, is composed of twenty-six cantos, which can be subsumed under two main themes, namely, "les séquences lamaïques" and "les séquences qui retracent les exploits des voyageurs."[9] Segalen first evokes Tibet's "âme sombre et lamaïque" in *séquence* XXII, and gradually reveals his sense of misgiving vis-à-vis Lamaism in the *séquences* ranging from XXIII to XXXI. Clearly for the poet, a spiritual journey to Tibet does not require the adoption of any form of Tibetan Buddhism. We then proceed to three transitional *séquences* (XXXII, XXXIII, and XXXIV) fraught with mystical metaphors such as "mon Outremonde" (*séquence* XXXII), "le château de l'âme exaltée" (*séquence* XXXIII) as well as a Potala palace with its "passages ne menant à rien" (*séquence* XXXIV). Noticeably, in *séquence* XXXV, the poet once again alludes to the fictional nature of his journey by conceding that "Lhā-sa, je n'irai pas à Lhā-sa!" Immediately after this disavowal, the thus far predominantly autobiographical narration gives place to the eulogy of some illustrious Western explorers of Tibet. Not until *séquence* XLIV does this first-person narrator resurface under the guise of "[un] pèlerin lassé vers Lha-sa."

Of the three subdivisions of *Thibet*, *Po-youl* is by far the most challenging for a modern reader, partly due to its multiple narrative halts and its unfinished character. Although this "territoire ineffable" of *Po-youl* is meant to be the core of Tibet that lies outside the poet's reach, *Tö-böd* and *Lha-Ssa* are in fact, as we have seen, equally tantalizing. Be this as it may, during the course of the last section, this self-portrayed *homo viator* seems to be caught by a delirium vis-à-vis a Tibet becoming more and more unattainable. The narrator reacts to the increasing inaccessibility by trumpeting his poem as having conquered Tibet (*séquence* LI), yet admitting at the same time that Tibet still "trône là-bas, dans l'interdit." In fact, Segalen goes so far as to

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[9]   Dominique Gournay, *Pour une poétique de Thibet de Victor Segalen* (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2004), 29.

confess in *séquence* LV that "Je n'entrerai pas au Tod-Bod! Je n'obtiendrai jamais et en rêve Lhassa métropole des Esprits!"

The Promised Land

If Tibet epitomizes an insurmountable height to be tamed by a half-alpinist, half-poet narrator in Segalen's hymn, this thematic kernel seems to have originated in Bacot's *Le Thibet révolté*. To be precise, despite knowing that *Népémakö* in the wilds of *Poyul* is no more than a Tibetan "Promised Land" created by legends and poems, Bacot resolves to ascertain it himself. And his ultimate failure to reach this hidden paradise doubtlessly inspired the threefold *Tö-böd*, *Lha-Ssa*, *Po-youl* itinerary presented to us by Segalen in *Thibet*. Indeed, Segalen first spells out his aspirations for *Népémakö* in the critical *séquence* XXI, just before he closes the first section of his hymn dedicated to *Tö-böd*:

XXI
Où est le sol, où est le site, où est le lieu, —le milieu,
Où est le pays promis à l'homme ?
Le voyageur voyage et va… Le voyant le tient sous ses yeux
Où est l'innommé que l'on dénomme :
Nepemakö dans le Poyul et Padma Skod, Knas-Padma-Bskor
Aux rudes syllabes agrégées !
Dites, dites, moine errant, moine furieux, —encor :
Où est l'Asiatide émergée ?
J'ai trop de fois cinglé, doublé les contours du monde inondé
Où cœur ni oiseau ni pas ne pose.
Où est le fond ? Où est le mont amoncelé d'apothéose,
Où vit cet amour inabordé ?
A quel accueil le pressentir, —à quel écueil le reconnaître ?
Où trône le dieu toujours à naître ?
Est-ce en toi-même ou plus que toi, Pôle-Thibet, Empereur-un !
Où brûle l'Enfer promis à l'Être ?
Le lieu de gloire et de savoir, le lieu d'aimer et de connaître où gît mon royaume Terrien ?[10]

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10   Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 619.

For Segalen, *Népémakö* evokes such biblical images as the Deluge, "le voyant," "le dieu toujours à naître," and "le pays promis à l'homme." Evidently, Segalen is merely borrowing from Bacot an exotic name while disregarding its content, which reduces *Népémakö* to an aggregation of "rudes syllables." Yet for Bacot, the word has its own meaning in Tibetan:

> Népémakö s'écrit *knas padma bskor* et veut dire la terre sainte de Pémakö.[11]

Here, *Népémakö* is an abbreviation of *knas padma bskor* [gnas padma bskor],[12] which reflects the term's accurate spelling in Tibetan.[13] The poet see-saws in this canto between heavenly blessedness and infernal damnation, as the "sol," the "site," and the "lieu" waver between "le pays promis à l'homme" to "l'Enfer promis à l'Être." This oscillation suggests that the narrator is rather skeptical, if not pessimistic, about the ambiguous nature of his "royaume Terrien," which seems to echo Bacot's depiction of *Népémakö* in *Le Thibet révolté*.

This arresting travelogue is a testament to Bacot's two expeditions to East Tibet between 1906 and 1910, during which he witnessed the massive exodus of local inhabitants after their rebellion against Qing rule had been crushed by the Chinese general Zhao Erfeng. As the book's subtitle readily suggests, Bacot perceives Tibetan realities through a biblical prism, which enables him to put together a Western past with a real yet phantasmagoric Eastern present. In the preface to his travelogue, Bacot gives an overview of his motivation to explore this notorious *Poyul* haunted by bandits and terrifying magicians of a non-Buddhist primitive religion:

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[11] Jacques Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté, vers Népémakö : la Terre promise des Tibétains* (Paris: Hachette, 1912), 331.

[12] There was no standardized transliteration scheme for Tibetan in Bacot's time. The Wylie scheme which is now commonly accepted by Tibetologists, results in *gnas padma bskor* and not in *knas padma bskor*.

[13] Of the two romanized names, *knas padma bskor* is by far the trickier for non-specialist readers. In fact, Tibetan spellings represent the way in which the language was pronounced around the eighth century, and this archaism affects mostly some consonant clusters. As far as *knas padma bskor* is concerned, this is the case with the last morpheme *bskor* (literally, to surround) in which both the prefixed consonant "b" and the super-scribed consonant "s" are no longer pronounced in modern standard Tibetan. This is perhaps the reason that Bacot prefers using the phonetic transcription *Népémakö* in most of his book. For an in-depth discussion of Tibetan phonology and the transliteration systems used by Western Tibetologists, see Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje, *Manual of Standard Tibetan* (Ithaca: Snow Lion publications, 2003), 44-46.

> Mais il y a encore mieux que le Tibet, car, entre Lha-
> sa et la frontière de Chine, se trouve une autre con-
> trée, un petit royaume ignoré, indépendant et mys-
> térieux, au sujet duquel on ne connaît que des lé-
> gendes. C'est le royaume de Poyul ou Pomi. Au
> XVIII⁰ siècle, des soldats chinois qui étaient venus
> guerroyer au Tibet auraient été séduits par la beauté
> du Poyul et y seraient demeurés. Ses habitants,
> maintenant habiles dresseurs de chevaux, se livrent
> au brigandage. Il n'est plus un voyageur ni un pèle-
> rin, ni même une caravane bien armée qui ose tra-
> verser le Poyul dont les prêtres initiés de la religion
> primitive et non bouddhistes sont aussi des magi-
> ciens redoutables. 〔...〕 C'était le Poyul que j'avais
> voulu atteindre.[14]

If *Poyul* stands out as the ultimate destination of Bacot, he does, how-
ever, fail to reach it. Along his route, Bacot comes across empty hous-
es abandoned by Tibetans who were said to have migrated to a cer-
tain *Népémakö* located in the wilds of *Poyul*. The explorer explains that
Népémakö is a fertile and tropical wonderland lying between *Poyul*
and the Himalayas prophesized by the eighth-century Buddhist guru
Padma Sambhava:

> Cette fois encore, je ne réussirai pas à gagner le
> Poyul, mais la marche d'approche m'aura fait tra-
> verser des pays inexplorés et visiter les régions les
> plus ensanglantées par la guerre sino-tibétaine.
> J'apprendrai là, en voyant des villages abandonnés,
> l'existence de Népémakö, la Terre promise des Tibé-
> tains, vers laquelle ont émigré les populations vain-
> cues. Où se trouve au juste Népémakö ? Je n'ai pas
> pu le savoir. Derrière le Tsarong, dit-on, entre le
> Poyul et l'Himalaya. Les Tibétains l'ont découvert il
> y a huit ans. Il était alors inhabité. C'était un pays
> très chaud, « aussi chaud que les Indes », couvert de
> fleurs et si fertile, qu'il n'est pas besoin d'y travail-
> ler, mais de cueillir simplement les fruits de la terre.
> Avant de le découvrir, les lamas en savaient
> l'existence par les livres, car au VIII⁰ siècle, le mis-
> sionnaire indou Padma Sambhava l'avait visité.
> Dans ses écrits, il en précise la position, en fait la

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[14]   Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*, 2-3.

> description et annonce qu'après un cycle de milliers
> d'années, le bouddhisme touchant à sa fin, les lamas
> s'y enfermeront avec les livres sacrés.[15]

Since *Népémakö* is an ongoing fascination for Western scholars and the general public alike,[16] it may be helpful to provide some background information regarding the unique religious and geographical features of this earthly paradise. Indeed, *Népémakö* or "the holy land of *Pémakö*" is generally considered the most famous of the hidden lands (Tibetan: *sbas yul*) that were concealed by Padma Sambhava in the eighth century as sanctuaries of peace and spiritual potency to be recovered in future times of political strife. Following the pilgrimage guidebooks (Tibetan: *gnas yig*) of their visionary lamas (Tibetan: *gter ston*), nearly two thousand Eastern Tibetans migrated to "the Land of Pémakö" to escape the violence instigated by the Qing dynasty official Zhao Erfeng during the first decade of the twentieth century. The descendents of these Eastern Tibetans currently form the majority of the inhabitants of *Pémakö* along with other indigenous tribes.[17] Nowadays, it is commonly accepted that the region spans from Kongpo and Poyul (Tibetan: *spo yul*) in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China to Arunachal Pradesh in India following the southward course of the Yarlung Tsanpo River as it leaves the Tibetan plateau and becomes the Siang and Brahmaputra.[18]

Despite the profusion of studies and data surrounding the land of *Pémakö* in recent decades, this region was little known to Westerners at the time of Bacot's expedition in 1909. In fact, he goes on to recount that a few years prior to the British expedition to Lhasa, a Tibetan lama rediscovered *Népémakö* and established rudimentary Buddhist settlements there. This disclosure promptly attracted thousands of Tibetan refugees fleeing the turmoil of Sino-Tibetan conflicts. At first sight, Bacot appears to be rather skeptical about the marvel of *Népémakö*, which for him is no more than a delusive shelter stemming outright from the naivety of a desperate people:

> Mille familles y sont allées les premières années de
> la guerre chinoise. Beaucoup moururent de la

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[15] Ibid., 10-11.

[16] For further readings on the myth of *Pémakö*, see Ian Baker, *The Heart of the World: A Journey to the Last Secret Place* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).

[17] Elizabeth Mcdougal, "Drakngak Linpa's Pilgrimage Guides and the Progressive Openings of the Hidden Land of Pemakö," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 35 (2016): 5-52.

[18] Kerstin Grothmann, "Population History and Identity in the Hidden Land of Pemakö," *Journal of Bhutan Studies* 26 (2012): 21-52.

fièvre, de la chaleur que ces hommes constitués pour des froids excessifs ne peuvent supporter, et de la morsure des serpents. Beaucoup aussi sont revenus. Ils racontent qu'au bout d'une vallée fermée, une falaise se dresse dans laquelle, tout en haut, s'ouvre une caverne. Un dieu à corps humain et tête de taureau y habite. Tout homme qui l'a regardé meurt aussitôt.

Maintenant, quand des saltimbanques chargés d'oripeaux et de clochettes viennent danser dans les villages, ils chantent sur leurs *péons* des poèmes sur *Népémakö*. Voilà pourquoi tout un peuple malheureux a quitté ses vallées pour le pays des rêves, conduit par ses lamas et sans autres renseignements que des légendes, mais confiant dans le merveilleux, et avide de vivre des jours meilleurs.

Plus tard, quand je serai sur la route de cet exode, mon voyage aura un nouveau but. Tout seul, depuis des mois, parmi ces nomades mystiques, je subirai l'enchantement de leurs fables et de leur âme naïve. La nostalgie de cette terre décevante et lointaine m'empoignera à mon tour. Désespérément, moi aussi, je voudrai voir la Terre promise, dussè-je n'en jamais revenir, dussions-nous tous périr, comme le craindront mes Tibétains effrayés, ces compagnons d'épopée qui sont encore à l'époque fabuleuse de leur histoire et vivent leurs légendes.[19]

This excerpt is culled from the ending paragraphs of Bacot's preface. Viewed in retrospect, the narrator places himself at the starting point of his expedition, retracing the bad fortune of some naïve Tibetans migrating to *Népémakö*. This flash-back is recounted with an ironic lightness of touch, which is compounded by a sense of detachment, as borne out by the use of reported speech and the emphasis on hearsay. Nevertheless, the narrator becomes more and more sympathetic to Tibetans as the time frame switches from the past to the present, and then to the future. Ultimately, he speaks as if he were one of the unhappy Tibetan migrants setting out on the route of exodus. Finally, Bacot experiences a spiritual renewal by following the precedence of his Tibetan counterparts whose journey to the "Promised Land," however, was destined to fail.

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[19]   Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*, 11-12.

Most noticeably, in the last paragraph, the narrator makes it clear that he will be "tout seul" on the road by underscoring the cowardice and naivety of his "compagnons d'épopée." The phraseology recalls a form of chivalry and romanticism, with Bacot's valor pitted against the faintheartedness of his Tibetan followers. In addition, the narrator speaks as if he were partaking in an historical event that is about to take place; yet in the meantime, we know that he relates this imminence in retrospect, from the perspective of a veteran who has already gone through it. Likewise, we may note the complexity of time frames entailed by the word "nostalgie" hinting at a remembrance of the past. In other words, before getting to "la Terre promise," the narrator has already been there and he knows how "disappointing" it is. This near-contradiction suggests that Bacot is in fact nostalgic of this bygone and biblical "Promised Land" while dying to embrace its Eastern equivalent known as *Népémakö* that still awaits him in *Poyul*. In so doing, Bacot appears to impersonate a tragic yet intrepid Moses struggling to lead his Tibetan countrymen out of their puerile legends, albeit to no avail.[20]

Parallel to this air of romanticism and chivalric heroism, there is also a metaphoric use of literary terms such as "poèmes," "légendes," "fables," "histoire," and "épopée," which appear time and again throughout *Le Thibet révolté*. To cite a few examples, in chapter II, Bacot highlights the Tibetan people's predisposition for poetry, "Enfin les Tibétains, c'est pour cela que je les aime... Ils sont à la fois stoïciens et poètes."[21] In chapter VI, the author evokes the power exerted by poetry on the Tibetan mind: "Voilà tout ce que savaient sur Népémakö les gens de ce village : des poèmes... et ils sont partis."[22] Although this note *per se* cannot dispense with a hint of sarcasm, Bacot ends up approving the Tibetans' faith in *Népémakö* and their propensity for poems, as he confesses, "Qu'importe si je vais à une déception, pourvu que l'illusion soit belle… rien que suivre la trace de ces hommes qui sont partis, sur la foi de poèmes, vers leur Terre promise, n'est-ce pas un pèlerinage?"[23] What Bacot calls "poems" here are most likely the pilgrimage guidebooks to the land of *Pémakö* under the forms of rediscovered teachings (Tibetan: *gter ma*). And *Le dict de Padma* or the *Padma bka' thang* in Tibetan, which was recovered by the "treasure finder" (Tibetan: *gter ston*) U rgyan gling pa in the course of the fourteenth century, is perhaps the most fa-

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[20] Moses is a central figure of nineteenth-century French Romantic literature, see for instance Alfred de Vigny's famous poem *Moïse*, in which Moses appears as a modern visionary poet.

[21] Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*, 92.

[22] Ibid., 163.

[23] Ibid., 164.

mous of the concealed literatures ascribed to Padma Sambhava.[24] Rich in apocalyptic prophecies (Tibetan: *lung bstan*), *Le dict de Padma* surely recalled Nostradamus's *Centuries* for the turn-of-the-century French literati. As we will see, *séquence* XLIII in Segalen's *Thibet* is patterned after the opening lines of *Le dict de Padma*, in which a mysterious "ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus" is extolled for its supreme spiritual qualities.

Arguably, for Bacot, running after *Népémakö* in *Poyul* is akin to a poetic undertaking. By making the illusion of Tibetans his own fancy, Bacot portrays himself as navigating the hazardous terrain while wavering between reality and imagination. This narrative pattern seems to have lent significant influence to Segalen. Accordingly, in both *Thibet* and *Le Thibet révolté*, we have this Tibetan landscape captured through a Christian lens, a sense of romanticism and unflinching heroism leading to predestined disenchantment, a masculine narrator identifying himself with a half-alpinist, half-poet *homo viator*, and most noticeably the metaphor of poetry as guiding the spiritual journey to a lost paradise that lies beyond physical reach.

The orientalists

It is evident that both Bacot's *Le Thibet révolté* and Toussaint's rendering of *Le dict de Padma* have heavily influenced *Thibet*. Yet one may ask why Segalen chooses in particular these two authors' writings as the conceptual bedrock of his hymn. The answer seems to be: Bacot and Toussaint are for Segalen the paradigmatic orientalists to emulate. As a valiant yet hapless French explorer who failed to reach Tibet himself, Segalen projects his orientalist fantasies on Bacot and Toussaint and makes them his role models.

We know that *séquence* XLIII of *Thibet* is adapted from the opening lines of *Le dict de Padma*, in which we have this *homo viator* futilely searching for a series of abstract banal names under the "ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus." Yet does this oddly disposed "Western sky" have anything to do with Bacot's *Népémakö*? In fact, there is an inaccuracy in Bacot's transcription of *Népémakö* as *gnas padma bskor*,[25]

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[24] This biography, supposedly recorded by Padma Sambhava's consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal in the ninth century and rediscovered by the treasure finder U rgyan gling pa in the fourteenth century, recounts how the guru and his disciples brought Buddhism to Tibet by overcoming numerous obstacles. As the founding canon of Tibetan religious literature, the *Padma bka' thang* is widely considered a holy text in and outside Tibet. It is generally believed that this type of texts, when recited, has power to dispel obstacles as well as diseases.

[25] Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté*, 331.

literally meaning the "land of circling lotus." To be precise, the last letter *bskor* (literally, to circle) seems to be a misspelling of *bkod* (literally, to array) due to the two words' phonetic closeness. As a matter of fact, the commonly accepted transliteration used by Tibetologists nowadays for *Pémakö* is *padma bkod* (literally, the array of the lotus). In this regard, *Népémakö* in Bacot's travelogue most likely means "the land of the array of the lotus," which overlaps to a great extent with the *nub phyogs padma bkod pa'i zhing khams* (literally, the Western land of the array of the lotus) that we find in *Le dict de Padma* – a phrase Toussaint renders as "le ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus." Etymological nuances notwithstanding, it seems that *Népémakö* and the "ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus" jointly epitomize, for Segalen, Tibet's essence as an inaccessible and illusory "Promised Land."[26]

This metatextual abstraction of Tibet takes place throughout Segalen's hymn, but it is particularly evident in the portion spanning *séquences* XXXVI to XLIII of the second section *Lha-Ssa*, during the course of which the first-person narrator retreats from the forefront of the scene, giving the floor to a cohort of Western explorers who made their way to Tibet. This list covers the fourteenth-century Franciscan father Odoric de Pordenone (*séquence* XXXVI), the seventeenth-century Portuguese Jesuit Antonio d'Andrada (*séquence* XXXVII), and the Lazarists Huc and Gabet, who carried out their voyage to Lhasa between 1844 and 1846 (*séquence* XXXVIII). If Segalen regards the Christian missionaries with a sense of reservation, nevertheless he speaks highly of Dutreuil de Rhins (*séquence* XXXIX), Jacques Bacot (*séquence* XL) and Gustave-Charles Toussaint (*séquence* XLI), who are lay adventurers contemporary to Segalen. Most spectacularly, the poet gives a lengthy description of the trophy Toussaint garnered

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[26] Disenchantment and utopia are two recurrent tropes in Segalen's writings. Muriel Détrie explains, for instance, that in *Équipée*, Segalen reworks the tale of the *Peach Blossom Spring* (Chinese: 桃花源记) based on a footnote in Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys's translation of Tang poems. See Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, *Poésies de l'époque des Thang* (Paris: Champ Libre, 1977), 335-336.; Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 303-306; and Muriel Détrie, "Équipée, un voyage à travers la littérature," in *Équipée, Écritures poétiques du moi dans Stèles et Équipée de Victor Segalen*, ed. Didier Alexandre and Pierre Brunel. (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 37-60. For those who are curious about Chinese literature, *Peach Blossom Spring* is a story written by the poet Tao Yuanming in 421 about the chance discovery of a lost paradise where people live in perfect harmony with nature, unaware of the turmoil of the outside world for centuries. Segalen's appropriation of the tale of the *Peach Blossom Spring* in *Équipée* has also been studied by Yvonne Hsieh and Qin Haiying. See Yvonne Hsieh, "A Frenchman's Chinese Dream: The Long Lost Paradise in Victor Segalen's *Équipée*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 25 (1988): 72-85; Qin Haiying, "Réécriture du Mythe, Segalen et *Récit de Source aux Fleurs de Pêchers*," in *Cultural Dialogue and Misreading*, ed. Meng Hua and Mabel Lee. (Sydney: Wild Poetry, 1997), 100-112.

during his sojourn in Tibet—the *Padma bka'i thang yig* (*séquence* XLII), to which he even adds a heavily modulated adaptation of a small portion of this manuscript (*séquence* XLIII). Evidently, Segalen, bereft of any direct contact with Tibet, is keen to appropriate the empirical data gathered by his predecessors. This strategy of rewriting eventually replaces an empirical Tibet with a figurative metatextual one.

As Dominique Gournay observes, "À l'échec représenté par l'impossibilité d'accéder à l'Être, Segalen oppose la victoire représentée par l'écriture du poème."[27] It comes thus as no surprise that Segalen perceives Bacot's and Toussaint's feat as mostly residing in their capacity to possess Tibet by writing down its landscape, religion, and culture. Take for instance the four concluding lines of *séquence* XL in honor of Bacot:

> Que le Voyageur soit loué pour avoir erré vers lui
> sans l'atteindre,
> Laissant ce mystère plus grand :
> Il revient avec le regard au-delà, ce regard...
> Il prend possession de son domaine :
> Ce qu'il a conquis et écrit d'un verbe seul en sa
> marche hautaine :
> Le Thibet révolté : toutes les Marches Thibétaines.

As the last line indicates, Bacot's two travelogues, namely *Dans les Marches tibétaines* (1909)[28] and *Le Thibet révolté* (1912), merge and morph into a symbolic locale conquered by the explorer. In Segalen's eyes, Bacot is all the more commendable for not having reached either *Poyul* or *Népémakö*, leaving thus the hidden paradise of Tibet unspoiled. Noticeably, the poet implies that Bacot's unfulfilled mission leaves no room for regret, since the inaccessibility of the empirical Tibet does not preclude words gaining a figurative access to it. By staging Bacot as an intrepid orientalist who gets pushed back by Tibet's natural barriers while conquering it through "un verbe seul," Segalen interprets the essence of Tibet as attainable only by literary imagination. This consecration of literature's symbolic power also applies to the subsequent *séquence* (XLI) dedicated to Toussaint. Certainly, Segalen's hyperbolic language makes Toussaint unabashedly superhuman, portraying him as a "grand dépeceur" who "va de sa très sainte folie" and "s'abreuve et dîne en esprit." Yet for Segalen, the greatest merit of Toussaint lies in the fact that "[il] s'en revenir

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[27] Gournay, *Pour une poétique*, 64.
[28] Jacques Bacot, *Dans les Marches tibétaines—autour du Dokerla, novembre 1906-janvier 1908* (Paris: Plon, 1909).

auprès de nous ayant accompli son oracle: Portant le manuscript in-connu." If Toussaint is depicted as a legendary treasure hunter who fulfills his own prophecy, he is above all praised for returning with this capitalized and somewhat Mallarméen "Livre." And based on its "Colophon mystique," we know it is the liturgical version and "la traduction même sans un seul mot qui ne soit pur et magique" of a lost book (*séquence* XLII).[29] As one might expect, Segalen goes on to provide, in *séquence* XLIII, a sample of this sacred book duly prepared for the unraveling of its exotic attire.

The "Padma bka' thang"

As is often noted, *Thibet* grows out of Segalen's adaptation of a pas-sage in Toussaint's translation of *Le dict de Padma*. I want to insist, however, that Toussaint grossly misinterprets the Tibetan text by forging a *homo viator* motive inexistent in the original. This journey-ing character further becomes, in *Thibet*, Segalen's *alter ego*; it pro-vides Segalen the poetic license to overcome Tibet's physical inacces-sibility through figurative means.

Before proceeding to a philological scrutiny of Segalen's strategy of rewriting, we must select the right corpus for comparison. Yet this is not an easy task. One major obstacle is that Toussaint does not give the exact edition of his Tibetan source.[30] He simply states that his translation was based on a manuscript he acquired at the lamasery of Lithang on April 3, 1911, in addition to an 1839 xylograph he stum-bled upon in Peking and a Mongolian edition.[31] But from a scholarly point of view, it must be regretted that Toussaint fails to reproduce

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[29] Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 631.

[30] Blo gros rgya mtsho, who is a modern Tibetan editor of the *bKa' thang gser phreng*–one of the most widely-consulted extant editions of Padma Sambhava's biography–notes that subsumed under the generic name of the *Padma bka' thang* are numerous different "treasure texts." He specifies that the *Padma bka' thang* has more than one thousand variations if we count the incomplete editions as well. Cf: "'O na pad ma bka' thang zer ba de po ti gcig yin nam po ti gnyis ying nam/ po ti mang nyung ci tsam yod dam zhe na/ de yang gangs can bstan pa'i byed po slob dpon chen po pad ma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam thar pad ma bka' thang du grags pa de ni/ 'dzam gling gi tshigs bcad kyi bstan bcos thams cad kyi nang nas ches ring po'am ches mang bar gyur pa de yin te/ 'dir cha tshang min pa'i bsdoms rtsis ltar na/ pad ma bka' thang la sna kha chig stong lhag yod/ ma mtha' yang po ti rgya phrag tsam yod nges." See Blo gros rgya mtsho, introduc-tion to *O rgyan gu ru pad ma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*, rediscovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 6-7.

[31] Gustave-Charles Toussaint, "Le Padma than yig," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 20 (1920): 13.

his primary sources in facsimile along with an annotated list of lexi-
con variants.

Based on the manuscript's colophon, Toussaint provides the Ti-
betan title as *Padma bka'i thang yig*,[32] which is a generic name applied
to a myriad of Padma Sambhava's biographies, varying considerably
in both length and content. Yet as the modern English editor of Tous-
saint's translation Tarthang Tulku insightfully infers,[33] this scarcely
informed manuscript of Lithang cannot be other than the *Padma bka'
thang* recovered by the fourteenth-century treasure finder U rgyan
gling pa, who himself "unearthed," or much more likely, composed
this signature text of Tibetan Buddhism.[34]

Despite being the first Western scholar to attempt a complete
translation of the *Padma bka' thang*, Toussaint's *Le dict de Padma* is re-
garded by most Tibetologists as amateurish, pointing out the transla-
tor's lack of expertise in esoteric Buddhism.[35] Indeed, a close look at
Toussaint's text reveals that while it is not entirely bereft of scholarly
merit, his translation could have better informed us on Tibetan Bud-
dhism if it had been carried out in a more philologically rigorous
manner. But rather than viewing Toussaint's rendering as an instance
of "lost in translation," one might ask how this particular translation
serves Segalen's appropriation of the *Padma bka' thang*. In this respect,
I would like to offer some suggestions.

As Bouillier explains, "*Thibet* se compose de cinquante-huit

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[32] Ibid., 14.

[33] Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays, trans., *The Life and Liberation of Pad-
masambhava. Padma bka'i thang*, as recorded by Yeshe Tsogyal (eighth century),
rediscovered by Terchen Urgyan lingpa (b. 1323), translated into French as *Le
Dict de Padma* by Gustave-Charles Toussaint, translated into English by Kenneth
Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays, corrected with the original Tibetan manuscripts
and with an introduction by Tarthang Tulku, two volumes. (Emeryville, CA:
Dharma Publishing, 1978).

[34] This is the opinion of David Jackson, for whom "the text was a textual rediscov-
ery or "treasure text" (*gter ma*), one of many such writings in Tibetan literature.
As such, much of the work was very likely the composition of its 'discoverer,' O-
rgyan gling-pa or Urgyan lingpa." Furthermore, Jackson thinks the *Padma
bka thang* presents great historiographical value since "O-rgyan gling-pa brought
into circulation a number of remarkable and influential texts. Some of his 'dis-
coveries' contain sections that most likely were copied from or patterned after
genuine ancient documents of the eighth century A.D., and are therefore of his-
torical importance. In addition, his 'discoveries' reveal a great deal about the cul-
tural and spiritual life of the period in which they were 'discovered'
(c. 1350 A.D.)." See David Jackson, "Review of *The Life and Liberation of Pad-
masambhava (Padma bka'i thang)*," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (1979): 123-125.

[35] Giuseppe Tucci, for instance, regrets that "mere knowledge of the Tibetan lan-
guage is not enough for arriving at the proper meaning of these difficult texts.'
See Giuseppe Tucci, "Review of *Padma thang yig*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Socie-
ty of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (1937): 514-516.

poèmes nommés *séquences*, et chaque séquence se compose en général de dix-huit vers ou ; plutôt, de neuf distiques formés d'un long vers de treize, quinze ou dix-huit pieds suivi d'un vers constant de neuf pieds."[36] Put another way, this overarching prosodic pattern adopted by Segalen in *Thibet* rests predominantly on couplets, and each canto carries nine of them. But this metric guideline is not absolute, since *séquence* XLIII visibly carries ten couplets instead of nine. Accordingly, it is very helpful if we develop a critical apparatus assigning each of these couplets a serial number:

<div align="center">XLIII</div>

Couplet 1	Suit, la séquence en son Neuvain ; puisse le Poète répondre : « A l'Esprit futur diffusé là ! »
Couplet 2	Plus mont que le Mérou des dieux ; plus palais que le Potala, Voici 〔le〕 chant qui ne se peut confondre
Couplet 3	« Apparu dans l'échiquier du sol d'or il chercha et ne trouva pas le nom Banal du carré des champs terrestres

Couplet 4	Flambant du feu personnel de l'arc-en-ciel savoir de la science, il chercha
	  〔et ne trouva pas le nom
	  Banal des lanternes allumées

Couplet 5	Fleurant l'encens tout à fait pur, il chercha et ne trouva pas le nom Banal des fientes et des fumées
Couplet 6	Rayonnant dans les astres clairs de la science de l'espace, il chercha, et 〔ne trouva pas le nom Banal du soleil et de la lune...
Couplet 7	Plongeur au ciel vide et nu, par au delà des ailleurs inconnus, il chercha et 〔ne trouva pas le nom Banal du ciel de notre apparence
Couplet 8	Enivré par la boisson de l'extase qui soutient, il chercha et ne trouva pas 〔le nom Banal de la soif proprement dite
Couplet 9	Ayant mangé dans la chair ardente au penser 〔?〕 magnifique, il chercha

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36   Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 606.

	⎰et ne trouva pas le nom Banal de la faim proprement dite
Couplet 10	Vivant à la vie adamantine de félicité, il chercha et ne trouva pas le nom Banal du déclin de ceux qui vieillissent

Semantically and stylistically, this canto may strike the reader in many respects. First, the long-windedness and repetition of "il cher-cha et ne trouva pas le nom banal [...]" at the end of each couplet re-calls a supposedly liturgical prosody. Second, the citation of an ob-scure "chant qui ne se peut confondre" spanning the third couplet through the tenth creates a disjuncture in the narrative progression of *Thibet*, which is compounded by such incomprehensible phrases as "l'échiquier du sol d'or" or "la vie adamantine de félicité" that readi-ly challenge a French reader's metaphysical vocabulary. Third, we have great trouble identifying this third-person masculine pronoun *il* that appears over and again in this *séquence*. Last but not least, it is not clear at all why Segalen would be concerned with depicting a concatenation of seemingly meaningless actions executed by an anonymous *homo viator*. To compare, I provide Toussaint's rendering of the corresponding passage as follows:[37]

Introduction	A celui-là le Ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus.
Couplet 1	Se délectant au sol en damiers d'or, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du Meru du sol.[38]
Couplet 2	Développant les feuilles annuelles et les fleurs de l'arbre de la Bhodi,[39] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint des arbres[40] et des forêts

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[37] This passage is extracted from the partial translation of the *Padma bka' thang* pub-lished by Toussaint in 1920 in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. Among the various editions of Toussaint's translation, this earliest version should be the closest to the one Segalen had access to in 1917. The 1933 edition, which is a com-plete translation of *Le Padma than yig*, presents some lexical variations, probably because Toussaint heavily reworked his translation between 1920 and 1930. For a further comparison of the two editions, see Toussaint, "Le Padma than yig," 13-56; and Toussaint, trans., *Le dict de Padma: Padma thang yig. Ms. de Lithang* (Paris: Librairie E. Leroux, 1933).

[38] "du Meru du terrestre" in the 1933 edition of *Le dict de Padma* (hereafter the 1933 edition).

[39] "Étendant frondaisons et fleurs de l'arbre de l'Éveil" in the 1933 edition.

[40] "plants fruitiers" in the 1933 edition.

Couplet 3	Plongeant au Gange huit fois excellent de l'extase,[41] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint des différentes rivières.[42]
Couplet 4	Enflammant l'arc-en-ciel de la sagesse comprise,[43] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du feu du monde
Couplet 5	Possédant la fragrance de l'encens tout à fait pur, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du vent du monde.
Couplet 6	N'ayant pas trébuché aux profondeurs[44] de la Loi absorbant toutes choses il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du ciel apparent
Couplet 7	Déployant[45] l'astre clair de la science des degrés de l'Abîme,[46] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du soleil et de la lune.
Couplet 8	Rayonnant[47] dans son noble arc-en-ciel de victoire, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du jour et de la nuit.
Couplet 9	Gardant le règne lumineux[48] et sauveur de la Loi précellente, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du roi et des ministres
Couplet 10	N'ayant fait qu'un indistinctement de lui-même et d'autrui, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint des querelles.
Couplet 11	Content de l'aliment de l'extase substantielle,[49] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint de l'aliment banal.
Couplet 12	Ayant bu dans la soif le flot de nectar de sa pensée,[50] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint de la soif banale.

[41] "Plongeant au Gange de la concentration" in the 1933 edition.
[42] "des rus et des fleuves" in the 1933 edition.
[43] "Dedans l'arc flamboyant de la sagesse comprise" in the 1933 edition.
[44] "au gouffre" in the 1933 edition.
[45] "Éployant," in the 1933 edition.
[46] "de la science d'abîme" in the 1933 edition.
[47] "Radieux" in the 1933 edition.
[48] "éclatant" in the 1933 edition.
[49] "Content de substantielle contemplation" in the 1933 edition.
[50] "Désaltéré au flot de nectar de sa pensée" in the 1933 edition.

Couplet 13	Ayant revêtu le bon vêtement de l'observance pure,[51] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du vêtement banal.
Couplet 14	Miraculeusement issu du lotus de sa naissance,[52] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint de l'autre naissance.
Couplet 15	Devenu puissant dans la vie adamantine de félicité, il cherche et il ne trouve même plus le nom éteint de la sénescence.
Couplet 16	Parfaitement établi dans la terre sans naissance et sans mort,[53] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint de la mort de ceux qui naquirent.
Tristich	Dans ce ciel[54] sublime de tous les Bouddha des Trois Âges, Heureux de concentrer dans l'illumination de son entière activité,[55] il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du malheur et de la misère.

I have extracted this passage out of the first canto (Tibetan: *le'u*) of *Le dict de Padma* on the basis that it contains the key leitmotiv of "il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint," which seems to have initially captured Segalen's attention. To be precise, this excerpt comprises an introductory phrase, "A celui-là le Ciel occidental Disposé-en-Lotus," followed by sixteen couplets and a tristich. Through a comparison, I have ascertained that couplets 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 9, 8, and 10 of Segalen's *séquence* XLIII are respectively patterned after couplets 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, and 15 of Toussaint's text.[56]

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[51] "Couvert du bon habit de la droite observance" in the 1933 edition.

[52] "Surnaturellement issu de son lotus natal" in the 1933 edition.

[53] "Établi en la terre où nul ne naît ni meurt" in the 1933 edition.

[54] "Au ciel" in the 1933 edition.

[55] "Heureux de vouer à l'Éveil son entière activité" in the 1933 edition.

[56] Toussaint's rendition is imbued with conspicuous inaccuracies. I content myself with citing a few of them. In the second couplet, Toussaint seems to misunderstand *lo 'dab* as two separate words, namely *lo* (literally, year) and *'dab ma* (literally, tree leaves), but this is not the case, since *lo 'dab* altogether means "tree leaves." Therefore, the qualifier "annuelles" in "les feuilles annuelles" should be crossed out. Take also, for example, the third couplet that starts with a description of the Ganges River "huis fois excellent de l'extase"; it must be admitted that Toussaint's phraseology is not quite comprehensible, whereas the Tibetan text poses no difficulty to someone who has a basic knowledge of Buddhism. To be precise, Toussaint seems to confound the Buddhist epithet *yan lag brgyad ldan chu bo,* meaning "the water possessing eight virtues," with *yan lag brgyad ltan,* which

From a logical point of view, Toussaint's rendering seems befuddling, as a skeptic might well ask: if in the eleventh couplet this masculine protagonist (Padma Sambhava?) is already content with the nourishment of the substantial ecstasy, why would he bother looking for the extinguished name of the banal nourishment? Likewise, if in the subsequent couplet the nectar of his thought has already quenched his thirst, why would he bother running after the extinguished name of the banal thirst? To elucidate such near-contradiction, we are obliged to parse the corresponding passage in Tibetan:[57]

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is an alternative appellation (Tibetan: *mngon brjod*) of the Ganges River. Yet since the Ganges River is a worldly reference, it should not be associated with the "Western land of the array of the lotus." Similarly, we are also baffled by the obscure expression "absorbant toutes choses" in the sixth couplet. Toussaint must have ignored here the meaning of the Tibetan set phrase *phyogs lhung med pa* denoting literally "without falling into directions," yet figuratively "without falling into biased extremes." Likewise, in the first line of the ninth couplet "Gardant le règne lumineux et sauveur de la Loi précellente," we may wonder whether "lumineux" correctly renders the Tibetan idiomatic expression *rang shar rang grol*, meaning "self-arising and self-liberating." Undoubtedly, *rang shar rang grol* implies that the rule in the "Western paradise of the array of the lotus" is a reign without *de facto* ruling, leaving thus the birth and death of the ruled totally at their own disposal. Regrettably, Toussaint fails to revise some of these inaccuracies in the 1933 edition of *Le Padma than yig* and its various reeditions. This is the case with "Gange," "absorbant toutes choses," and "lumineux," which Toussaint replaces with "éclatant" in the 1933 edition. With that said, my remarks should not be too negatively weighed against Toussaint's attempt at a first complete translation of the *Padma bka' thang* into Western languages, since in his time scholars' ignorance of Tibetan Buddhism was so profound and good dictionaries were so scarce. Furthermore, we are not entirely sure of the exact Tibetan spellings of the problematic renderings I single out here, and it is always possible that Toussaint was misled by the scribal errors or typos that his source manuscripts, like many similar Tibetan xylographs, unavoidably carry.

[57] The Tibetan text is based on the most popular edition of Guru Padma Sambhava's biographies, namely, *Padma bka' thang*, attributed to Ye shes mtsho rgyal and rediscovered by U rgyan gling pa. (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 4-5. This edition is based on a Derge xylograph (Tibetan: sde dge par khang gi shing brkos par ma), as its colophon indicates. Concurrently, I have also consulted *O rgyan gu ru pad ma 'byung gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreng ba thar lam gsal byed*, rediscovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 1-2. It must be noted that the second text, henceforth designated as *bKa' thang gser phreng*, is only intermittently versified. It differs occasionally from the first text in terms of prosody and lexicon. Yet respecting the opening paragraphs of the first canto, they are quite similar.

Introduction	*De-la nub-phyogs padma bkod-pa'i zhing-khams zhes-bya-ba/*
Couplet 1	*gser-gyi sa-gzhi mig-mangs ris-su chags-pa **las**/* *sa-gzhi ri-rab*[58]*ming-yang mi-grag*[59] *btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 2	*byang-chub shing-gi lo-'dab me-tog rgyas-pa*[60] ***las**/* *rtsi-shing nags-tshal ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 3	*ting-'dzin yan-lag brgyad-ldan-chu-bo 'bab-pa **las**/* *sna-tshogs chu-yi ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 4	*rig-pa'i ye-shes 'od-lnga*[61] *rang-me 'bar-ba **las**/* *'jig-rten me-yi ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 5	*rnam-par dag-pa spos-kyi dri-ngad ldang-ba **las**/* *'jig-rten rlung-gi ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 6	*khyab-gdal chos-kyi dbyings-la phyogs-lhung med-pa **las**/* *'byung-ba nam-mkha'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 7	*dbyings-rig ye-shes gsal–ba'i khri-gdugs brdal-ba*[62] ***las**/* *nyi-ma zla-ba'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 8	*rgyal-ba 'phags-pa'i rang-'od lnga-ru 'bar-ba **las**/* *nyin-dan mtshan-gyi ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 9	*mchog-ldan chos-kyi rgyal-srid rang-shar rang-grol skyong-ba **las**/* *rgyal-po blon-po'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 10	*bdag-dang gzhan-gnyis tha-mi dad-par gcig-pa **las**/*

[58] *ri-rab* is spelled as *ri-brag* in *bKa' thang gser phreng,* meaning either "rock mountain" or "remote location," whereas *ri-rab* designates "Mount Meru." Either way, the second verse of this couplet seems to refer to *Saṃsāra* (Tibetan, *gling bzhi pa'i 'jig rten* or *mi mjed 'jig rten*), which is the realm where unenlightened sentient beings reside.

[59] Spelled as *grags* in the *bKa'i thang gser phreng. Grags* is past tense of *grag*, literally meaning "to resound."

[60] *lo 'dab me tog rgyas pa* (leaves and flowers flourish) is written as *me tog 'bras bu smin pa* (flowers and fruits ripen) in the *bKa'i thang gser phreng*.

[61] *'od lnga* cannot be found in the *bKa' thang gser phreng*.

[62] Spelled as *gdal ba* in the *bKa' thang gser phreng*. That said, *brdal ba* and *gdal ba* are synonyms, both meaning "to propagate."

	'thab-cing rtsod-pa'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/
Couplet 11	*'tsho-ba ting-'dzin zas-kyi 'tsho-bas tshim-pa **las**/* *zas-zhes*[63] *bya-ba'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 12	*skom-du yid-bzhin bdud-rtsi'i chu-rgyun 'thung-ba **las**/* *skom-zhes bya-ba'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 13	*gos-su tshul-khrims gtsang-ma'i gos-bzang gyon-pa **las**/* *gos-zhes bya-ba'i*[64] *ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 14	*skye-ba padma'i steng-du rdzus-te skye-ba **las**/* *skye-ba gzhan*[65]*-gyi ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 15	*zag-med rdo-rje lta-bu'i tshe-la mnga'-brnyes pas/* *rgas-shing rgud-pa'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Couplet 16	*skye-shi med-pa'i sa-la yongs-rdzogs 'jog-pa **las** /* *skye-zhing 'chi-ba'i ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*
Tristich 1	*dus-gsum sangs-rgyas kun-gyi zhing-mchog de-na ni/* *ma-lus thams-cad byang-chub la-spyod skyid-pa la/,* *mi-bde sdug-bsngal ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa/*[66]

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[63] *zes* (nourishment) is written as *bkres ltogs* (hunger) in the *bKa' thang gser phreng*.

[64] *gos zhes bya ba* (the so-called "clothing") is written as *'jig rten gos zhes bya ba* (the so-called "worldly clothing") in the *bKa' thang gser phreng*.

[65] Spelled as *skye ba bzhi* (the four kinds of birth) in the *bKa' thang gser phreng*. The "four kinds of birth" include, from the best to the worst, *rdzus skye* (literally, birth from a miracle, which is applied to gods), *mngal skye* (literally, birth from a womb, which is applied to humans and livestock), *sgong skye* (literally, birth from an egg, which is applied to birds), and *drod gsher skye* (literally, birth from heat and moisture, which is applied to insects). However, since *rdzus skye* is one of the "four categories of birth," it would make better sense to keep the spelling of *skye ba gzhan* (literally, other categories of birth) as we find in the *Padma bka' thang*. As such, the fourteenth couplet literally means "with the exception that [one is] born from miracle on the surface of a lotus, the names of other kinds of births never resound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them."

[66] It would be helpful to provide a literalist and even slightly "wooden" translation of this passage. "In this land named the 'Western land of the array of the lotus' (introduction), with the exception that golden lands appear as orderly as squares on a chessboard, the name of the earthly Meru mountain never resounds, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it (couplet 1). With the exception that the Bodhi tree's leaves and flowers flourish, the names of [common] trees and forests never resound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 2). With the exception that the river of *Samādhi* containing eight virtues

It is readily evident that Toussaint fails to understand the syntactic
function of the particle *las* in bold (Tibetan: *las sgra*) placed at the end
of the first line of each couplet (except the fifteenth),[67] which is not an

flows, the names of all kinds of common rivers never resound, and even if one
searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 3). With the exception that the
five wisdom lights spontaneously burn, the name of the worldly fire never re-
sounds, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it (couplet 4). With the ex-
ception that the odor of the pure essence emanates, the name of the worldly wind
never resounds, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it (couplet 5).
With the exception that the dharma realm impartially permeates, the name of the
material sky never resounds, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it
(couplet 6). With the exception that the sun of clear wisdom, realm, and aware-
ness radiates, the names of sun and moon never resound, and even if one search-
es for them one cannot find them (couplet 7). With the exception that the five vic-
torious and noble lights spontaneously burn, the names of night and day never
resound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 8).
With the exception that the noble dharma king rules in a self-occurring and self-
liberating way, the names of kings and ministers never resound, and even if one
searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 9). With the exception that self
and other [are] inseparably the same, the names of fight and dispute never re-
sound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 10). With
the exception that the *Samādhi*'s nourishment satisfies the life, the names of
[common] aliments never resound, and even if one searches for them one cannot
find them (couplet 11). For the sake of quenching the thirst, with the exception
that [one] drinks the constant current of wish-fulfilling nectar, the name of thirst
never resounds, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it (couplet 12). For
the sake of dressing, with the exception that [one] wears the good clothing of the
pure observance of monastic vows, the names of clothes never resound, and even
if one searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 13). With the exception
that [one is] born from miracle on the surface of a lotus, the names of other kinds
of births never resound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them
(couplet 14). With the exception that [one] obtains mastery over a life that resem-
bles an undefiled diamond, the names of senescence and degeneration never re-
sound, and even if one searches for them one cannot find them (couplet 15). With
the exception that [one] establishes everything on the earth bereft of birth and
death, the names of birth and death never resound, and even if one searches for
them one cannot find them (couplet 16). In that noble land of all Buddhas of the
three times, everyone without exception practices the conduct of enlightenment
and enjoys happiness, and the names of unhappiness and distress never resound,
and even if one searches for them one cannot find them (tristich)." For other Eng-
lish translations of Padma Sambhava's biographies, see Kenneth Douglas and
Gwendolyn Bays, trans., *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava. Padma bka'i
thang*; and Erik Pema Kunsang, trans., *The Lotus-Born: The Life story of Padmasam-
bhava* (Boston: Shambhala Books, 1992).

[67]   In his review of Toussaint's translation dating back to 1937, the Italian polymath
Giuseppe Tucci bluntly concludes that "*Padma thang yig* still awaits a translator."
To justify this opprobrium, Tucci notes precisely that Toussaint's rendering of the
foregoing passage "seems to be quite unintelligible, but the Tibetan text is quite
clear and contains the description of the world in which the western Paradise is
situated." He even translates the introductory sentence and the first four couplets
as, "There in the western quarter there is a world called Padmavyūha: There with
the exception of the golden surface appearing to the eyes even the name of (any

ablative case marker (Tibetan: *'byung khungs*) as he appears to assume, but rather a conjunction meaning "with the exception that" and equivalent to *ma gtogs* in colloquial Tibetan.[68] Arguably, Toussaint's misunderstanding of this conjunction repeated sixteen times should account for the visible bifurcation between his rendition and the original Tibetan text.

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other kind) of soil–mountains or rocks–is not known, and even if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the ripe fruits of the tree of illumination even the name of (other) gardens and fruit trees is unknown, and even if one searches for them cannot find them. With the exception of the flowing stream possessed of the eight qualities of meditation not even the name of (other) kind of water is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it. With the exception of the flame of that fire which is the gnosis, not even the name of the mundane fire is known, and if one searches for it one cannot find it (This description is quite in accordance with that of the Sukhāvatīvyūhaḥ)." Undoubtedly, Tucci's attested acquaintance with Classical Tibetan and his mastery of the Buddhist terminology allowed him to correct quite a few lapses in Toussaint's text. See Giuseppe Tucci, "Review of *Padma thang yig*," 514-516.

[68] In fact, in classical Tibetan grammar, the particle *las* is customarily associated with the fifth (ablative) case, and it indicates either the "veritable ablative case" (Tibetan: *'byung khungs dngos*), "verisimilar ablative case" (Tibetan: *'byung khungs cha 'dra po*), or the "incommensurable comparison" (Tibetan: *rigs mi mthun dgar ba*). For a fairly straightforward annotation of *las*, see the sixth-grade Tibetan textbook developed by the Central Tibetan Administration: dKar gzhung bkra shis rdo rje eds., *sKad yig 'dzin rim drug pa'i slob deb* (Delhi: Sherig Parkhang, 2011), 43-44. Regrettably, the usage of *las* as summarized in the canonic text of Tibetan grammar known as the *Legs bshad ljon dbang* is far from comprehensive. To be precise, in the *Legs bshad ljon dbang*, the quatrain regarding *'byung khungs* goes as follows: "*nas las 'byung khungs dgar sdus de/ 'byung khungs dngos la gang sbyar 'thus/ rigs mthun dgar nas mi mthun las/ sdud la nas sgra kho na 'jug*," which seemingly does not contain any explanation pertaining to *las*'s usage as conjunction. With that said, we can find this usage neglected by traditional grammarians in more contemporary linguistic treaties such as Kelzang Gyumed's *Bod kyi brda sprod rig pa'i khrid rgyun rab gsal me long*, in which *las*, when used as a conjunction, is termed a "marker of differentiation" (Tibetan: *mi mthun pa'i tshig rgyan*). Kelzang Gyumed glosses this usage as follows, "*tshig snga ma sgrub phyogs dang, phyi ma dgag phyogs yin pa'i tshig grub gzhi mi mthun pa gnyis mtshams sbyor ba'i tshe, tshig snga ma'i mthar las sgra sbyar nas phyi tshig 'dren dgos. sbyor tshul 'di phal cher phal skad kyi tshig phrad [ma gtogs] dang yig skad du ['brel sgra] yis mi mthun pa'i don ston tshul dang mtshungs*." I have attempted an English translation as follows, "when two discordant clauses are put together, [*las sgra* is used] to approve the preceding one while negating the following one. *las sgra* is added at the end of the first clause in order to draw out the following one. The rule of adding [*las sgra*] is perhaps similar to that of adding [*ma gtogs*] in colloquial Tibetan and that of adding genitive particles ['brel sgra] employed as a marker of contrasting transition in literary Tibetan)." Kelzang Gyumed also supplies a few examples drawn from some important literary sources such as the *Sakya Legshe* and the famous opera *sNang sa 'od 'bum*, see sKal bzang 'gyur med, *Bod kyi brda sprod rig pa'i khrid rgyun rab gsal me long* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 115-117.

Take for example the second couplet: *byang-chub shing-gi lo-'dab me-tog rgyas-pa las*/ *rtsi-shing nags-tshal ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa*,[69] which can be rendered word-for-word as "Bodhi tree['s]/ leaves and flowers/ flourish/ with the exception that; trees/ forests/ even name/ not resound[70]/ searched for[71]/ but/ not find." Alternatively, we can translate it less literally as "with the exception that the Bodhi tree's leaves and flowers flourish, the names of [common] trees and forests never resound, and even if [one] searches [for them] [one] cannot find [them]."

In this couplet, we see an explicit line between *byang chub shing*, "Bodhi tree," in the subordinate clause and *rtsi shing nags tshal*, "trees and forests," in the main clause. In addition to the conjunction *las*, "with the exception that," that syntactically articulates this incommensurability, there is also a differentiation of registers between the Buddhist term, "Bodhi tree," and "trees and forests," which are generic substantives. As such, in the foregoing Tibetan excerpt, the attributes of "the Western land of the array of the lotus" (Tibetan: *nub phyogs padma bkod pa'i zhing khams*), also construed by many as the land of the body of perfect enjoyment (Tibetan: *longs sku'i zhing khams*; Sanskrit: *sambhogakaya*),[72] are pitted against the unattractive realities of the *Saṃsāra* occupied by unenlightened sentient beings. In the foregoing passage, this sacred–secular binary revolves around a series of metaphoric images totaling the number of seventeen, all of which consist of two contrasting yet intertwined images, one being transcendental and the other earthly, such as the "Bodhi tree" versus

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[69]   This remark also applies to other couplets, since they are constructed quite similarly.

[70]   Since the Tibetan verb *grag* is both intransitive (Tibetan: bya tshig tha mi dad pa) and non-volitional (Tibetan: bya tshig gzhan dbang can), "to resound," which is an intransitive verb in English, would be a better translation of *grag* than "to give off or to broadcast [the sound]."

[71]   In literary Tibetan, it is usual that the verb preceding the conjunction *kyang*/*yang* (Tibetan: rgyan sdud) be inflected into past tense. However, this does not necessarily mean that the action described by the verb takes place in a past time frame.

[72]   I am deeply indebted to Gen Ganden Lobsang and Sonam Phuntso, who kindly shared with me their thoughts about "the Western land of the array of the lotus" from the perspective of the rNying ma pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. Needless to say, all the remaining mistakes are my own. Generally speaking, the body of perfect enjoyment (Tibetan: *longs sku*) is one of the three Buddha-Bodies (Tibetan: *sku gsum*), including the absolute body (Tibetan: *sangs rgyas kyi chos sku*; Sanskrit: *dharmakaya*), the body of perfect enjoyment (Tibetan: *longs sku*; Sanskrit: *sambhogakaya*), the manifested body (Tibetan: *sprul sku*; Sanskrit: *nirmanakaya*). Nevertheless, it seems unnecessary to tap any further into the meaning of the body of perfect enjoyment as adopted by esoteric Buddhism since Toussaint does not seem to be fully cognizant of it.

"common trees" in the second couplet and the "water of *Samādhi*" versus the "worldly water[s]" in the third couplet.[73]

By contrast, in Toussaint's version, the second couplet metamorphoses into "développant les feuilles annuelles et les fleurs de l'arbre de la Bhodi, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint des arbres et des forêts." It may hardly be necessary to point out that Toussaint's phrasing considerably attenuates the dichotomy between "the Western land of the array of the lotus" and the earthly *Saṃsāra*. More concretely, Toussaint does not properly translate the conjunction *las*, but brings to the fore a third-person pronoun *il* in the second line of the couplet and turns the verb *rgyas pa* (literally, to flourish or to multiply) preceding the conjunction *las* into the present participle *développant*. In so doing, both "the Bodhi tree's leaves and flowers" and "the names of all kinds of [common] trees" in the Tibetan text are now direct objects of the actions performed by a masculine agent designated as *il* in the French text.

Although we see that there is someone who "develops" the Bhodi tree's "annual leaves and flowers" while "searching" in vain for some other species of trees, Toussaint's rendering as a whole is not very comprehensible, since we are baffled by the protagonist's intention to counter-intuitively "develop" tree leaves (instead of letting them grow by themselves), and we are keen to know what on earth motivates this character to look for, *incognito*, the extinct names of some other species of trees and forests.

These odd phrasings are evidence of Toussaint's misinterpretation of the Tibetan text. Indeed, the verb *rgyas pa* (literally, to flourish or to multiply) is both intransitive and non-volitional in Tibetan. Thus Toussaint's rendering of it as *développant* is misleading since *développer* is a transitive verb in French, which grammatically requires a volitional agent. Yet one may immediately realize that this shift operates in perfect tandem with the pronoun *il*, which serves as the subject of *développant*. Evidently, the metamorphosis of *rgyas pa* into *développant* is not a lapse, but a well-advised strategy of rewriting. We may cite the sixth couplet of Toussaint's text that goes as:

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[73] These rotating oppositions revolve around *sa gzhi* "land" (couplet 1), *shing* "trees" (couplet 2), *chu* "river" (couplet 3), *me* "fire" (couplet 4), *rlung* "wind" (couplet 5), *nam mkha'* "sky" (couplet 6), *nyi ma zla ba* "sun and moon" (couplet 7), *nyin mtshan* "day and night" (couplet 8), *rgyal po* "king" (couplet 9), *'thab rtsod* "fight and dispute" (couplet 10), *zas* "food" (couplet 11), *skom* "thirst" (couplet 12), *gos* "clothing" (couplet 13), *skye ba* "birth" (couplet 14), *tshe* "life" (couplet 15), *skye shi* "birth and death" (couplet 16), *skyid sdug* "happiness and suffering" (tristich 1).

>   N'ayant pas trébuché aux profondeurs de la Loi absorbant
> toutes choses
>   il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint du ciel appa-
> rent

From the various Tibetan editions of the *Padma bka' thang* available to me, I can see that *N'ayant pas trébuché*, meaning "not having tripped" or "not having stumbled," is an erroneous rendering of the Tibetan verb *khyab gdal*, meaning "to permeate" or "to fill with." I have come up with the hypothesis that Toussaint might either have unthinking-ly mistaken the verb *gdal* for *brdab*, meaning in Tibetan "to hit against,"[74] or in a greater likelihood, he may have consciously inter-preted *gdal* as denoting *trébucher*—a verb requiring an animate sub-ject and thereby foreshadowing the advent of an anonymous male protagonist *il* in the following line of the couplet. By the same token, Toussaint should have deliberately mistranslated the polysemic verb *chags pa* as "se délectant," which implies a sentient subject,[75] despite the fact that he could have rendered *chags pa* into "apparaissant" in the sense of "to come into being," which better fits the context.[76] Nonetheless, one must not lose sight of the tremendous difficulty of translating religious text across languages as different as French and

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[74] In modern Tibetan, *brdab* is also frequently used in the set phrase *'dred brdab shor,* meaning "to lose one's footing" and in the collocation *brdab skyon shor*, meaning "to have an accident."

[75] When used as a verb, *chags pa* can mean both "to come into being" and "to de-sire."

[76] Hence, all the volitional present participles in Toussaint's translation, namely, "se délectant," "développant," "plongeant," "enflammant," "possédant," "n'ayant pas trébuché," "ayant bu," "ayant revêtu," "gardant," "déployant," "rayonnant" and so forth need to be retranslated. For instance, instead of turning *rgyas-pa* into *développant* and assigning as its subject an oddly coined *il* non-existent in Tibetan, it makes better sense to use the pronominal form *se développer* and replace *il* with the indefinite pronoun *on* (if we want to keep the active voice, which is pre-ferred). Likewise, it appears more appropriate to translate *ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-ba* into French as "le[s] nom[s] ne résonne[nt] pas et même si l'on le[s] cherche, on ne le[s] trouve pas." Thus we may render the second cou-plet as a whole into "À part le fait que les feuilles et les fleurs de l'arbre de la Bhodi se développent, les noms des arbres et des forêts [ordinaires] ne résonnent pas et même si l'on les cherche, on ne les trouve pas." Similarly, the third couplet, which goes as "Plongeant au Gange huit fois excellent de l'extase, il cherche et ne trouve même plus le nom éteint des différentes rivières" in Toussaint's text, may be rephrased as "À part le fait que la rivière dotée de huit vertus de *Samādhi* s'écoule, les noms des rivières [ordinaires] ne résonnent pas et même si l'on les cherche, on ne les trouve pas." By the same token, we may reformuler the eleventh couplet singled out above for its oddity as "À part le fait que l'aliment de *Samādhi* procure de la satisfaction à la vie, les noms des aliments [ordinaires] ne résonnent pas et même si on les cherche, on ne les trouve pas."

Tibetan. This is perhaps the reason that, despite all its flaws, Toussaint's *Le dict of Padma*, along with Kenneth Douglas, and Gwendolyn Bays's English translation which is based on it, remains a widely-circulated primary reference for Western practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism.

In short, Toussaint winds up adding a masculine agent to the original text via both the pronoun *il* and the attendant transformation of a series of non-volitional and intransitive Tibetan verbs into volitional and transitive French verbs in the first line of each couplet. Indeed, the Tibetan text does not display such agency. Also the avoidance of grammatical subject is not uncommon in both literary and colloquial Tibetan. Partly because of this, there is simply no epic element nor any room for the display of a heroic spirit *à la* Friedrich Nietzsche in the aforementioned section of the *Padma bka' thang*, which is strictly composed of metaphysical formulations. By contrast, Toussaint's rendering brings forth a considerable dose of extra drama, particularly this pervading *homo viator* who takes turns in "plongeant au Gange," "enflammant l'arc-en-ciel," "déployant l'astre clair" (to cite only a few examples), while not being able to put his finger on a series of extinct names.[77]

Needless to say, this simultaneously mighty and impotent character eventually becomes Segalen's *alter ego* in *Thibet*. In both *Thibet* and *Le Thibet révolté*, we have this valiant yet hapless French poet who sets off in search of a Tibetan utopia and who ultimately gets pushed back by Tibet's insurmountable barrier. Indeed, Toussaint's mistranslation of the encomium of "the Western land of the array of the lotus" has paradoxically the advantage of offering Segalen, as does Bacot's recounting of his failed expedition to *Népémakö*, the dramatic archetype of such a male *homo viator*, who embodies the heroic spirit of Nietzsche. Hence, it is no surprise to see *Thibet* open with a first-person narrator who portrays himself *tour à tour* as "saccadant le roc" (*séquence* I), "plongeur à la mer saumâtre," or "nageur à plat dessus la plaine" (*séquence* III), and ends with some equally egocentric and dramatic formulae such as "Je monte en frappant ton sol craquant" or "Je scande le tréteau…" (*séquence* LIII). Based on this overarching trope of *homo viator*, we may even elicit the conclusion that as someone who yearns for Tibet from afar, Segalen utilizes both poetic imaginings and pedantic references as a compensation for his inability to visit Tibet in person. Consequently, it comes as no surprise that the poet's strategy of rewriting in *Thibet* resembles an ecstatic projection of his *alter ego* upon a body of abstruse metaphors.

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[77] Michael Taylor describes this extra dose of drama as "le souffle épique que Toussaint a si bien su rendre en français." See Segalen, *Thibet*, 11.

The untranslatability of Tibetan prosody

Indeed, *Thibet* is loaded with recondite tropes, ecstatic hyperboles, and above all relentlessly forceful rhythms. As many commentators have noted, Segalen strains to reproduce in his hymn the supposedly "Tibetan" sonority via Toussaint's conduit.[78] I want to insist, however, that as someone who knows no Tibetan, Segalen merely offers his readers some undecipherable orientalist gimmicks while passing himself off as a western writer who attempts to bring Tibetan rhythms into French prosody. In fact, Segalen's own draft notes attest to such intentionality of borrowing from what he terms as "le grand verset d'oddhyana:"

> Poëme: *Le Tibet*. Sur le mode du « grand verset d'oddhyana ». Ne point chercher ni redouter la forme : l'écrire ! Pékin, 10 juillet [...] Or, il n'y a pas de « grand verset Oddhyana ». – L'Udyana est un pays. J'ai pris le Lieu pour la Formule. N'importe ! Le Poème s'écrit,. Hanoi, 29 août.[79]

As Segalen notes with the benefit of hindsight, Oddhyana is the birthplace of Padma Sambhava and not a poetic mode of expression. This slip casts light on Segalen's perfunctory knowledge of his Tibetan source. He might have listened to Toussaint's recitation of some snippets of the *Padma bka' thang* in Tibetan, but this much-discussed exposure is by no means sufficient for someone who strives to write a "Tibetan" poem in French. However, some critics have opined with verve that Segalen dismisses alexandrine and embraces a form of "Tibetan" prosody that enables his Western audience to "capture the

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[78] According to Isabelle Gros, Segalen discovered "la sonorité si différente du tibétain et le mysticisme de ce pays" by listening to Toussaint's recitation of the *Padma bka' thang* in Tibetan. She also suggests that "l'idée du poème *Thibet* est donc née de deux illuminations: l'une est visuelle aux bords du Tibet inaccessible, l'autre sonore à l'écoute d'un texte sacré racontant la vie d'un deuxième Bouddha." See Isabelle Gros, "Le Thibet recréé de Victor Segalen" in *Cahier Victor Segalen No. 3, Victor Segalen, vu d'Amérique*. (Brest: Association Victor Segalen, 1997), 35.

[79] Segalen, *Thibet*, 12. The "grand verset d'oddhyana" refers to Toussaint's *Le dict de Padma*, as the Tibetologist explains that the Tibetan title of his manuscript is based on "la mention terminale de chaque chapitre" that reads as "Histoire en teneur intégrale des existences du Guru d'Oddiyana Padmasambhava." See Toussaint, "Le Padma than yig,"13-14; and Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, 1-2.

otherness of Tibet."[80] Very little about this assumption survives close inspection.

To avoid hasty interpretation, let us first focus on *Thibet*'s metric pattern. As Bouillier convincingly notes, each *séquence* of *Thibet* "se compose en général de dix-huit vers ou ; plutôt, de neuf distiques formés d'un long vers de treize, quinze ou dix-huit pieds suivi d'un vers constant de neuf pieds."[81] However capricious this versification guideline may appear due to the poem's unfinished character, seemingly for Segalen the "Tibetan" sonority of the *Padma bka' thang* can be rendered into French through a wealth of couplets alternating a long-winded first line with an enneasyllabic second line.

Seemingly, the metric pattern of *Thibet* can be traced all the way back to the *Padma bka' thang*, especially to the portion of the first canto describing "the Western land of the array of the lotus" where we find a concatenation of couplets with regulated yet uneven lines. This is the case of the first couplet in the foregoing excerpt:

> *gser-gyi sa-gzhi mig-mangs ris-su chags-pa las/*
> *sa-gzhi ri-rab ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-*
> *pa/*

Also we spot a few enneasyllables in the portion of the first canto preceding "the Western land of the array of the lotus":

> *dus-gsum 'rjid-rten khams-'dir mtshungs-med rje/*
> *rgyal-ba'i bka'-las rtsod-med sprul-sku grags/*
> *skyon-spangs yon-tan yid-bzhin nor-bu 'dra/*
> *'gro-kun ma-lus dgos-pa'i don-kun 'grub/*
> *mdzad-tshul rnam-grangs bsam-gyis mi-khyab kyang/*
> *'di-ru spros-te ma-'ongs sems-la glan/*[82]

Toussaint's rendering goes as follows:

> Ce Bouddha n'a pas de rival,
> seigneur sans pair dans cet univers des Trois Âges,
> fameux dans l'incarnation où il ne débat plus les préceptes
> vainqueurs,

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[80] For example, John Stout suggests that "to capture the otherness of Tibet for a Western audience, Segalen consistently rejects traditional French versification based on the *alexandrin*–this is, the twelve-syllable line–here. In place of the *alexandrin*, he adopts a more eccentric system." See Stout, "Metapoetic Explorations of Tibet," 66-67.

[81] Segalen, *Œuvres Complètes*, 606.

[82] *Padma bka' thang*, 4.

> est semblable à la Gemme-des-Désirs aux qualités sans défaut.
> Pour atteindre toutes les fins nécessaires à la totalité des êtres,
> le nombre de modes d'actions étant inconcevable,
> après s'être prodigué ici, il renvoie à l'Esprit futur.[83]

Toussaint does not seem the least preoccupied with regulating the meter of his French rendering, let alone keeping the original prosody.[84] The translator's want of metrical concern is vividly at odds with Segalen's intention to recuperate the lost feel of Tibetan prosody. Segalen's objective is very likely based on what Toussaint informs him regarding the original meter of the *Padma bka' thang* and not on what he finds in Toussaint's translation *per se*. Although Segalen should be commended for attempting such a difficult task, it would be reductive to equate the Tibetan versification, known as "*tshigs bcad*" (literally, the cutting of joints), with couplets alternating a long-winded first line with an enneasyllabic second line.

Let us use again the above-cited Tibetan verses as an exemplar: in a hendecasyllable like "*gser-gyi sa-gzhi mig-mangs ris-su chags-pa las*" (literally, gold's/ earth/ chessboard squares/ orderly/ appear/ with the exception that), there is a latent rhythm giving off the musicality of TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH, which has five disyllabic feet followed by one stressed ending rhyme *las*.[85] Idem

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[83] Toussaint, "Le Padma than yig," 16.

[84] This translatorial stance *per se* is irreproachable, given that the foregoing Tibetan verse contains a high percentage of monosyllables, which rules out the possibility of preserving the exact identical meter in a French translation that unavoidably carries a higher ratio of multi-syllables. That said, we do know a few cases in which Western translators adopt the Tibetan prosody. Pavel Poucha notes in this regard how Heinrich Jäschke renders with painstaking care certain passages of the New Testament into decasyllabic Tibetan lines. See Pavel Poucha, "Le Vers Tibétain," *Archiv orientálni* 4 (1950): 188-235. Unfortunately, the Tibetan translation on which Poucha's analysis is based, namely the 1925 Shanghai edition of the New Testament published by the British and Foreign Bible Society under the name *Dam pa'i gsung rab ces bya ba bzhugs so: zhal chad gsar ba'i mdo rnams ni* is currently unavailable to me. According to John Bray, this so-called Ghoom/Shanghai New Testament is a revision of Jäschke's initial translation by Moravian missionaries A.W. Herde, Graham Sandberg, as well as the later British agent in Tibet David Macdonald, See John Bray, "Language, tradition and the Tibetan Bible," *The Tibet Journal* 16 (1991): 28-48. We may speculate that Jäschke's target-oriented translation strategy is motivated by pragmatic rationale, as a Bible written in elegant Tibetan verses would be a better tool for missionaries to gain Tibetan converts, especially those conversant with literary Tibetan.

[85] As conjunction, *las* is grammatically and semantically unstressed, but it becomes metrically accented when placed at the end of the line. See J. Verkerdi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody," *Acta Orientalia* 2 (1952): 221-233. I have provided the scansion based on how these verses are read in modern Tibetan, which may not exactly reflect how they were pronounced in Classical Tibetan.

for the thirteen-syllabic *sa-gzhi ri-rab ming-yang mi-grag btsal-kyang mi-rnyed-pa* (literally, earth/ the Meru mountain/ even name/ not re-sound/ searched for/ but/ not find), which is reliant on a slightly differing rhythm that can be illustrated as TAH -ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ ta-ta/ TAH-ta/ ta-ta-ta with the substantive *ming* and the verb *btsal* duly accentuated.[86] In the same vein, the enneasyllable *dus-gsum 'rjid-rten khams-'dir mtshungs-med rje* (literally, three times/ world/ realm/ this/ unparalleled/ lord) presents the rhythm of TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH-ta/ TAH. Indeed, the use of hyphens in the scholarly transliteration can in most cases help delineate the scansion of Tibetan verse (Tibetan: *yig 'bru'i tsheg bar cha dang ya khel stangs* as the polymath Dungkar Lozang Thrinlé glosses on it).[87] However, un-like modern Indo-European languages, since the segmentation of words is non-existent in Tibetan typography, the scansion of Tibetan verse may thus appear extremely elusive for a Western eye. Equally important is the fact that, compared with Tibetan, it seems much harder to do syllable by syllable bounds in an inflected language like French that has a higher frequency of polysyllabic words. In sum, from a metrical point of view, the aforementioned portion of the *Padma bka' thang* is almost untranslatable due to its rhythmic pattern that differs in crucial ways from French versification.

Needless to say, however dedicated Segalen is, without being conversant with this prosodic incommensurability he cannot recu-perate "the Tibetan sonority" by superficially patterning his French verse after a supposedly Tibetan meter.[88] In this respect, *Thibet* can be seen as a literary experiment that wishfully reinvents Tibetan poetic features in the French context. As for Segalen's meticulously crafted enneasyllables, they seem to have nothing to do with the sonority of the *Padma bka' thang* but resemble more the high-flown idiolect of the turn-of-the-century French literati. Such a painstaking simulacrum may even run the risk of debunking the much-cherished definition of Segalen's poetics as "le transfert de l'empire de Chine à l'empire de soi-même." If this putative alterity presented under the guise of Chi-

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[86] The two disyllabic feet *ming-yang* and *mi-grag* tend to merge into a tetrasyllabic foot while the disyllabic foot *btsal-kyang* and the ending trisyllabic foot *mi-rnyed-pa* tend to merge into an elongated pentasyllabic foot. In this case, the first sylla-ble of each conjunct foot, namely *ming* and *btsal* acquire a metrical stress.

[87] For a more in-depth analysis, see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *sNyan ngag la 'jug tshul tshig rgyan rig pa'i sgo 'byed* (Xining: mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2012), 28-38.

[88] There are quite a few similar examples in the history of literary translation in France. This is the case with the theoretician Henri Meschonnic, who authored a strictly rhythmic translation of a quatrain written by the Tang poet Meng Haoran. See Henri Meschonnic, *Poétique du traduire* (Paris: Éditions Verdier, 1999), 180-183.

na, Maori, or Tibet turns out to be an avatar of Segalen's own French ego, such transfer would acquire no *raison d'être* in the first place.

Despite all this, no one can dismiss the fact that *Thibet* is a unique piece of turn-of-the-century French literature; it is simultaneously a yelp of ecstasy and an outcry of dismay. Born out of adaptation, it is every bit as patchy as florid, insofar as the poet feels licensed to dispense with the empirical landscape and turns instead to a handful of metatextual tropes for inspiration. Through a close investigation of how Segalen creatively reworks the metaphors of *Népémakö*, *Poyul*, and "Western land of the array of the lotus," this article has resolved some points of debate regarding *Thibet*'s genesis, stylistic originalities, and, above all, the extent to which this unfinished long poem fulfils Segalen's aesthetic ambitions.

As a final note, *Thibet* advisedly emulates Bacot's pursuit of *Népémakö* and a key episode of the *Padma bka thang* that Toussaint has brought back from the wilderness of Tibet. This double-fold mimesis has uneven results. Although Segalen's reworking of Bacot's *Le Thibet révolté* can be hailed as a bold enterprise, his borrowing from *Le dict de Padma* proves to be cross-culturally deceptive in that it provides merely a stylized Western mirage of the land depicted.

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Studies in Tibetan Indigenous Grammar (4):
A Sixteenth-century Survey of *Sum rtags* and Related Literature
(Appendix: Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*)[1]

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*Homage to a Masterful Teacher and a True Friend, Ronald H. Poelmeijer.
Written as a minute token of immense appreciation, in memory of the man
who introduced me to all this, who enriched my life profoundly, and who
inspires me to this day.*

Important sources for the bibliography and history of Tibetan literature are extant in Tibetan,[2] yet have only begun to be explored by Tibetologists in earnest in recent decades. To mention only a few of the more obvious materials that provide such information:

a. Catalogues (*dkar chag*) of various types, e.g. of collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of single authors or of certain lineages, of text-collections centered around a specific topic or basic text, or of xylographic blocks kept in specific libraries (*par tho*);

b. Listings of textual materials required in specific monastic curricula (*yig cha*), or of texts studied by specific individuals in the course of their education or career (*gsan yig*);

c. Surveys of literary activities and textual materials on specific topics contained in historiographical sources (e.g. in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*) or scholastic compendiums[3] (e.g. *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* by Don dam smra ba'i seng ge (15th cent.), *Shes bya kun khyab* by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas [1813-1899]).

An example of the latter category will be presented in this article, viz. the compendium of the science of grammar, entitled *Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa Blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba*, '[Treatise] elucidating the history

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[2] Cf. e.g. Taube (1968).

[3] Smith introd. Chandra (1969: 5-7) = Smith (2001: 209-210), who distinguishes the *mkhas 'jug* type intended for monks, and the *bshad mdzod* type intended for lay readers.

of the five fields of scientific (*tha snyad*)[4] knowledge, entitled "Rosary of Aphoristic Jewels, Neck-ornament to the Clear of Mind".[5] It appears to be the work of a personal disciple of the well-known Sa skya pa scholar Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596)[6]. The author, probably the monk-translator Dngos grub rgya mtsho from Sman ljongs in the Dbus province of Central Tibet, who is mentioned in the colophon,[7] addresses the first *maṅgala-śloka* to Mang thos, and stresses his indebtedness to that scholar in the colophon.[8]

A significant feature of the text is the frequent reference to and citation from the *Rig gnas kun shes*[9] by Stag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405-after 1477), so much so that one could almost consider the present text as a commentary to the *Rig gnas kun shes*. Note also the biographical notice on Shes rab rin chen (p. 309-311), which forms a welcome addition to the limited information about this interesting scholar.

The text commences with a brief introduction to the five fields of knowledge (*rig gnas*, Sanskrit *vidyā-sthāna*) (p. 255-258), listing them in the order: *sgra rig pa* 'linguistics', *gtan tshigs rig pa* 'logical reasoning', *bzo rig pa* 'arts and crafts', *gso ba rig pa* 'medicine' and *nang rig pa* 'the interior science' i.e. the Buddhist doctrine (p. 256).[10] It establishes grammar, or more broadly, linguistics, as the most important secular science, therefore second only to *nang rig pa*, and proceeds to deal almost exclusively with the science of linguistics, touching on the other fields of knowledge only sporadically, e.g. in the elaborate notice on the activities of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan.

After this introduction, the text is subdivided into five parts:

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[4] *Tshig mdzod chen mo*: *tha snyad kyi gtsug lag = bzo gso sgra sogs rig gnas kyi gzhung*, cf. De Jong (1995: 298).
[5] Henceforth all page references are to the Nor brang O rgyan 1987 edition. Another edition: TBRC: W1PD90704_5: 212-248.
[6] The second successor of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1567) in the Tshar pa branch of the Sa skya pa sect, associated with the Mnyan yod Bya rgod gsho temple in Gtsang, near to Bo dong e, cf. Ferrari (1958: 67, 119 note 180, 156 note 574); author of a no longer extant biograpy of Sa skya Paṇḍita, and of a *Bstan rtsis* history, cf. Jackson (1987: 18-20, 23, 33, 495).
[7] *yul dbus kyi sman ljongs su skyes pa'i dge slong lo tsā ba rnam dpyod can dngos grub rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*, p. 322.
[8] *thams cad mkhyen pa mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i bka' drin las rig pa'i gnas la blo gros cung zad gsal ba*, p. 322.
[9] Basic text *Rig gnas kun shes nas bdag med grub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* (TBRC: W2DB4577_1: 33-53), and the auto-commentary *Rig gnas kun shes nas bdag med grub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa nyung gsal kun dga'* (TBRC: W2DB4577_1: 54-124), dated to 1477; cf. Jackson (1994B: 119-121), Mimaki (1992).
[10] On the five 'fields of knowledge', cf. Jackson (1994B: 111-122).

1. on the significance of linguistics for interpreting the word of the Buddha (p. 258-262, giving, most interestingly, the technical derivations of the Sanskrit terms *siddha*, *tathāgata* and *buddha*),
2. a brief description of the grammatical observations attributed to Bodhisattvas (p. 262),
3. the history of grammar in the world of the gods (p. 262-263),
4. the history of grammatical studies in India (p. 263-276) and
5. the history of grammatical studies in Tibet (p. 276-319 [end]).

The section on the development of (Sanskrit) grammar in India contains notices on Pāṇini (p. 264), *Cāndra* (p. 264-270), *Kātantra* (p. 270-273, including the stories of Vararuci p. 271), and Kālidāsa (p. 273-276). This section, and the preceding one on the supramundane "prehistory" of grammatical science, telling the story of *Indra-vyākaraṇa*, 'Indra's grammar', the mythical primordial grammar attributed to the seer Bṛhaspati and the god Indra, show close similarities to such descriptions in Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung* (1322), the *Kātantra* commentary by Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen (14th century), the *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyas par brjod* by Mkhas grub rje (1385-1438), and in later literature e.g. in Kong sprul's *Shes bya kun khyab*.[11]

The description of the history of grammar in Tibet is far more elaborate than the sources available thus far (notably *Za ma tog bkod pa*). First we have biographical notices on Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa (7th cent., p. 276-279), Ska ba Dpal brtsegs and Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan, translators associated with the Early Dissemination of Buddhism, 7th / 8th century,[12] and Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), exponent of the Later Dissemination (p. 279-285). The remainder of the text offers brief biographies of Tibetan masters active in the transmission of the grammatical science (p. 285-321):

— Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251/1252, p. 285-296)[13]
— Shong Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (c. 1235/1245-?, p. 296-299)
— Dpang Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342, p. 299-303)

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[11]   Verhagen (1994: 166-202).
[12]   On Ska and Cog, cf. e.g. Simonsson (1957: 217-218).
[13]   After a brief introduction about his youth (285-287), distinguishing his activities in the ten fields of knowledge: grammar (287-288), epistemology (288), prosody (288-289), poetics (289-290), lexicography (290-291), theatre (291), astrology (291), arts and crafts (292), medicine (292), and the 'interior' knowledge of Buddhism (292-end). This section gives a (non-exhaustive) list of his grammatical writings including *Sgra la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad*, *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo* and *Smra sgo'i don bsdu* (p. 287), the latter evidently referring to his *Sa bcad* of *Smra sgo*.

— Thar pa Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (end 13th-14th cent., p. 303-304)
— Sa bzang Ma ti Paṇ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1292-1376, p. 304)
— Byang chub rtse mo (1303?-1380, p. 304-306)
— Bo dong pa Shes rab dpal (dates unknown, p. 306)
— Lo chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan (c. 1285/1295-after 1378, p. 306-308)
— Shab smad lo tsā ba Thugs rje dpal (end 14th/beginning 15th century, p. 308)
— Snar thang Saṃghaśrī (dates unknown, p. 308-309)
— Stag tshang Shes rab rin chen (1405-after 1477, p. 309-311)
— Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527/1528, p. 311-319)
— disciples of Zha lu lo tsā ba (p. 319-321).

For the present, necessarily brief contribution I will concentrate upon the list of grammatical texts, given under the heading *bstan bcos 'di nyid dgongs pa 'grel ba'i bstan bcos phyis su byung ba* [p. 278], 'later treatises being commentaries on the subject matter of these same treatises', *in casu* the two seminal treatises for Tibetan indigenous grammar, *Sum cu pa* [henceforth *SCP*] and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* [henceforth *TKJ*].

The list contains twenty-one titles. For the first ten items, a chronological ordering has been adopted. Titles 1 to 3, the earliest, stand out among the rest in this first group as they are not commentaries on *SCP* or *TKJ*. Titles 4 to 10 are in fact commentaries on *SCP* and/or *TKJ*. Then, for items 11 to 21 an approximate chronological ordering seems to be resumed, starting again in the eleventh century. This section seems mainly to comprise lexicographical texts that are naturally related to *Sum rtags*, but they are not genuine commentaries on *SCP* or *TKJ*; the precise nature of entries 12 and 21 is unclear.

In addition to the entries in this list [marked B], corresponding entries from two other major indigenous bibliographical sources are included for the sake of comparison, viz. from lists of linguistical texts in *A khu Tho yig*[14] [A] and Tshe tan zhabs drung's *Thon mi'i zhal lung*[15] [T 1 for the list of *Sum rtags* commentaries, T 2 for the list of lexicons]. [TH] refers to the translation and annotation of T 1 in Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 29-31). As far as possible, I have added

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[14] A khu rin po che Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803-1875), *Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig Don gnyer yid kyi kunda bzhad pa'i zla 'od 'bum gyi snye ma*, section 18 on *Sum rtags* commentaries, ed. Chandra (1963-3).

[15] Two lists, one of early commentaries on *SCP* and *TKJ*, Tshe tan zhabs drung (1981: 190-192), cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 29-31), and a list of lexicographical materials, Tshe tan zhabs drung (1981: 196-199).

further identifications of the texts and authors. A more detailed description of one of the texts in the list will be given in an appendix.

Linguistical texts listed in *Blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba* [B]:

[B 1]   *bdag nyid chen po bsod nams rtse mo'i byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa /*
[A][T][TH]   deest
= Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182), *Yi ge'i bklag thabs byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa*. Treatise dealing with the phonology of Sanskrit and Tibetan.[16]

[B 2]   *'jam dbyangs sa paṇḍi tas de'i 'grel pa dang /*
[A][T][TH]   deest
= Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa*. Commentary on B 1.[17]

[B 3]   *sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan /*
[A][T][TH]   deest
= Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), *Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*. As very little has been written on this highly interesting treatise,[18] I have added a more elaborate description and a transliteration of the text in the appendix (see below).

[B 4]   *dbus pa blo gsal gyi sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*
[A 1]   *dbus pa blo gsal gyi sum cu pa dang /*
[A 2]   *rtags kyi 'jug rtsa ba'i 'grel pa /*
[T 1.2] *bcom ldan rigs pa'i ral gri'i slob ma dbus pa blo gsal byang chub ye shes (rab 'byung bzhi pa'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu gnyis pa) kyis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba /* [TH 2]
= Dbus pa Blo gsal Byang chub ye shes (14th cent.), *SCP* commentary [precise title as yet unknown, text not available] and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa'i 'grel pa*, a *TKJ* commentary.[19]

[B 5]   *sgra pa saṃgha śrī'i sum cu pa'i 'grel pa /*

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[16] *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968) vol. 2, pp. 345-349, vol. *nga* ff. 318r-326r6. TBRC: W2DB4568_3: 514-530; W00EGS1017151_4: 691-710, etc. For more detailed descriptions of this text, cf. Verhagen (1995) and (2001: 58-63).

[17] *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968), vol. 5, pp. 117-122, vol. *tha* ff. 235v5-247r5. TBRC: W30279_1: 545-570 ; W00EGS1017151_10: 502-527 (ff. 12v-25r). Cf. Verhagen (1995) and (2001 : 67-69).

[18] Inaba (1961), Miller (1965) (= 1976: 74), Jackson (1987: 53, 66, 83, 92).

[19] Both commentaries are extant in manuscript form; personal communication Van der Kuijp and Mimaki, at the 7th IATS Seminar, Graz June 1995. The *TKJ* commentary is accessible TBRC: W1KG2170; cf. Mimaki (1992: 595-598).

[A 3]   *snar thang lo tsā ba saṃgha śrī'i sum rtags mchan 'grel rta ljang rol pa* /

[T 1.4] *snar thang ba saṃ gha śrīs (rab byung bdun pa'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu bzhi ba) mdzad pa'i sum rtags mchan 'grel /* [TH sub 3]

= Snar thang Saṃghaśrī[20] (14th cent.), *SCP* (?) commentary, title uncertain (*Rta ljang rol pa* acc. to A): text apparently not extant.[21]

[B 6]   *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog gi rtags 'jug gi 'grel pa* /

[A 17] *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog gi sum rtags 'grel pa rin po che'i za ma tog* /

[T 1.5] *yar 'brog pa rin chen tog (rab byung lnga ba'i nang byon / dus rabs bcu gsum pa) gis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba rin po che'i za ma tog /* [TH 4]

= Yar 'brog pa Rin chen tog[22] (13th cent.), *TKJ* commentary, *Rin po che'i za ma tog*: text apparently not extant.[23]

[B 7]   *paṇ chen śākya mchog ldan gyi sum rtags kyi don 'grel pa chos la 'jug pa'i sgo* /

[A 26] *zi lung śākya mchog ldan gyi ṭikka* /

[T 1.8] *paṇ chen śākya mchog ldan (1428 1507) gyis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba /* [TH 7]

[T 1.10] *paṇ chen gser mdog can pas mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba /* [TH 9]

= Gser mdog Paṇ chen Śākya mchog ldan[24] (1428-1507), *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, commentary on *TKJ*, written in 1471.[25]

[B 8]   *kun mkhyen goo* [double o-graph] *rab 'byams pa'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i ṭī ka* /

[A 27] *go rams pa'i sum rtags ṭikka* /

[T 1.6] *go bo rab 'byams pa bsod nams seng ges (1429 1489) mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba /* [TH 5]

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[20] Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

[21] TBRC: deest.

[22] Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

[23] TBRC: deest.

[24] Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 11).

[25] TBRC: W29984: 46-56. Colophon: *zhes bya ba 'di ni / sum rtags gnyis kyi don rgyas par bkrol nas bsdebs snyan pa'i ngag gis / tshig nyung bar bsdus pa chos la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba dbu ru byang phyogs kyi rgyud du byung ba'i dge slong dpal shā kya mchog ldan dri med legs pa'i blos / mgrin dbyangs rnga sgra'i lo zhes pa / lcags mo yos kyi lo / khrums kyi nya ba'i phyogs dang po la gtsang g'yas ru'i sa'i cha nyug rgyal gyi lha khang du sbyar ba yin no.* Not contained in his collected works (TBRC: W1KG8897).

= Go bo rab 'byams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429-1489),[26] *Rtags 'jug gi ṭīkā* var. *Byā ka ra ṇa'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rnam 'grel tshig nyung zhing don gsal bar ston pa*,[27] *TKJ* commentary.

[B 9]   *snyigs dus kyi 'jig rten mtha' dag gi mig zha lu lo tsā ba chen po'i sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*
[A 8]   *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po'i sum rtags kyi ṭikka /*
[T 1.9] *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos* (1441-1527) *sku tshe stod la brtsams pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba rnam par gsal ba'i legs bshad /* [TH 8]

= Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), *Slob dpon a nus mdzad pa'i bod kyi skad kyi gsung rab la 'jug tshul sum cu pa'i rnam 'grel*, a *SCP* commentary,[28] and *Byā ka ra ṇa'i rtags kyi 'jug pa Rnam par gsal ba'i legs bshad*, a *TKJ* commentary,[29] are extant.

[B 10]   *karma pa'i sum rtags kyi 'grel pa /*
?[A 23] *'ol phrug rab 'byams pa karma rab rgyas kyi yum* [emend: *sum*] *rtags 'grel pa mkhas pa'i rgyan /*
?[T 1.14] *'ol phrug karma rab rgyas kyis mdzad pa'i sum rtags 'grel ba mkhas pa'i rgyan /* [TH 13]

= 'Ol phrug (or 'Ol pa) [Rab 'byams pa] Karma Rab rgyas[30] (?-?), *Mkhas pa'i rgyan*, commentary on *SCP* and/or *TKJ*: text apparently not extant.[31] Identification of [B 10] with [A 23] and [T 14] is by no means certain.[32]

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26   Mentioned as the author of a *SCP* [!] comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), Schubert (1937: 12). N.B. Only his *TKJ* commentary is extant.

27   *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968) vol. 11, pp. 24-27, ff. 1-7; TBRC: W1PD1725_1: 109-124 ; W29984: 173-183; colophon: *byā ka ra ṇa'i rtags kyi 'jug pa'i rnam 'grel tshig nyung zhing don gsal bar ston pa 'di ni / blo ldan bson nams seng ges mkhas pa snga ma'i legs bshad la brten nas rang gzhan la phan pa'i phyir bris pa'o*; cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 11).

28   TBRC: W29984: 57-79; Transl. Inaba (1974; 1979); Tohoku (1953: no. 7071), Van Manen (1922: list II no. 124), 18 ff., = Schubert (1937: 8), Chandra (1961: 506) [= *'Bras spungs par tho* title no. 22], Miller (1992: 584-586).

29   TBRC: W29984: 80-110; Tohoku (1953: no. 7072), Chandra (1961: 506) [= *'Bras spungs par tho* title no. 23], Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 30 no. 8), *dbu med* ms., 14 ff., Cultural Palace of Nationalities (Beijing) no. 002348(13), cf. Van der Kuijp (forthc.).

30   Mentioned as the author of a *Sum rtags* comm.: Csoma de Körös (1911: 86), = Schubert (1937: 11), Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 9).

31   TBRC: deest. Cf. also Van Manen (1922: list III no. 148): *karma pa gsung rab 'phreng ba'i sum rtags 'grel pa*, = Schubert (1937: 8-9)?

32   E.g., in a personal communication, October 1995, Van der Kuijp has expressed the opinion that the author of [B 10] may very well be Karma pa VIII Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554).

Observation *ad interim*: A number of the grammarians listed above must have been scholars of considerable influence; because their (often conflicting) views on specific grammatical topics are still repeated and cited, yet often refuted, in the major *Sum rtags* commentary by Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699-1774). Although Si tu does not refer to them by name, a later sub-commentary on Si tu mentions the authors of items (B 4, 7, 9 and 10) among the sources of these divergent opinions.[33]

[B 11] *don 'grel yi ge'i brda dag ston pa la lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyis nyer mkho bsdus pa /*
[A][TH]   *deest*
[T 2.1] *lo tsā ba chen po rngog blo ldan shes rab* (1059-1102) *kyis mdzad pa'i dag yig mdor bsdus /*
= Rngog lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab[34] (1059-1109), *Nyer mkho bsdus pa*[35] [or: *Dag yig mdor bsdus*], lexicon.[36] The author is mainly known as a specialist on epistemology, being the founder of an important tradition of interpretation of Dharmakīrti's thought in Tibet.[37]

[B 12] *dbus pa blo gsal gyi phrad kyi gnad bsdus pa'i 'grel chung /*
[A][T][TH]   *deest*
= Dbus pa Blo gsal Byang chub ye shes (14th cent.), *Phrad kyi gnad bsdus pa'i 'grel chung:* text apparently no longer extant.[38] Dbus pa Blo gsal mentions his commentary on *Phrad kyi gnad*, 'the important points regarding the enclitics', in his commentary on *TKJ*,[39] alongside his commentaries on *SCP* and *Smra sgo mtshon cha*. It seems therefore that the *Phrad kyi gnad* was a text different and separate from *SCP* and *TKJ*.

[B 13] *snye thang pa grags bzang gi ganggā'i chu rgyun /*
[A 6]   *snye thang pa grags seng gi dag yig dag byed ganggā /*
[T 2.2] *'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i bla ma snye thang pa grags pa seng ges mdzad pa'i dag yig ganggā / 'dis rab byung bzhi pa'i chu*

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[33]   Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 9).
[34]   On the author as a grammarian: cf. Tillemans & Herforth (1989: 9).
[35]   Taube (1978: 185, note 91).
[36]   TBRC: W1PD89051: 97-114 (9 ff., pp. 93-110. A quotation from an unnamed grammatical work by Rngog lo tsā ba is found in the *Sum rtags* commentary *Ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi lde mig* by (Gser tog) Blo bzang tshul khrims (1845-1915), cf. Miller (1965: 328) (= 1976: 72).
[37]   Cf. e.g. Ferrari (1958: 166 note 674), Jackson (1987: 127-128, 165-169), Jackson (1994A).
[38]   TBRC: deest.
[39]   Mimaki (1992: 598).

stag lor (1242) *bstan rtsis mdzad pa'i lo tshigs la dpags na dus rags pa shes thub* /

= Snye thang pa Grags bzang [or Grags pa seng ge] (13th cent.?), *Dag yig*[*dag byed*] *Ganggā*['*i chu rgyun*], lexicon: text apparently not extant.[40] From T we learn that the author was a teacher of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), the great Sa skya pa hierarch, and that the work was composed in 1242.

[B 14] *gtsang nag sbug pa thuḍ rje seng ge'i bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /
[A 7]   *gtsang nag pa phug thugs rje'i seng ge'i bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /
[T 2.3] *gtsang nag pa thugs rje seng ges mdzad pa'i dag yig bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* /

= Gtsang nag pa Sbug pa [or: Phug] Thugs rje['i] seng ge (dates unknown), [*Dag yig*] *Bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun*, lexicon.[41] One might consider identifying the author as Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?-1171), the prominent specialist in epistemology,[42] although he would be approximately one century too early for the internal chronology in this list.

[B 15] *stag tshang gzhon nu dpal gyi 'od zer brgya pa* /
[A 11] *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyi dag yig 'od zer brgya pa* /
[T 2.4] *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyis mdzad pa'i dag yig 'od zer brgya pa* /
         'di dbus pa blo gsal dang chos grogs yin pas rab byung bzhi pa'i nang du byon /

= Stag tshang [or: Stag ston] Gzhon nu dpal (14th cent.?), [*Dag yig*] *'Od zer brgya pa*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant.[43] T describes the author as a contemporary of Dbus pa Blo gsal, which places him in the fourteenth century. Stag ston Gzhon nu dpal is mentioned in *Deb ther sngon po* as active in a transmission of a Vajravārahī cycle.[44]

[B 16] *bu ston seng ge 'od kyi sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /
[A 13] *bu ston seng ge'i 'od kyi sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /
[T 2.5] *bu ston seng ge 'od kyis mdzad pa'i dag yig sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long* /

= Bu ston Seng ge['i] 'od (13th cent.), [*Dag yig*] *Sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant.[45] Bu ston Seng ge

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[40]   TBRC: deest.
[41]   TBRC: W1KG10731.
[42]   Cf. e.g. Van der Kuijp (1983: 38, 59, 69, a.o.).
[43]   TBRC: deest. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 84). Cf. also A 45: *gzhon nu dpal gyi legs sbyar blta ba'i me long*, possibly a work of the same author.
[44]   Chandra ed. (1976: 349 = *ja* 20r5), Roerich (1949-1953: 396).
[45]   TBRC. deest. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 85).

'od is mentioned as "secret preceptor" in the final monastic ordination of Mun me Brag kha ba Grags pa seng ge (1255-1343) in *Deb ther sngon po*.[46]

[B 17]   *rje byams pa gling pa'i smra ba'i rgyan* /
[A 19]   *dag yig smra rgyan* [+ add from preceding entry: *paṇ chen byams pa gling pa bsod nams rnam rgyal gyi* ...]
[T 2.7]   *paṇ chen byams pa gling pas* (1400-1475) *mdzad pa'i dag yig smra ba'i rgyan* (1435 *lor brtsams*) /
= Paṇ chen Byams pa gling pa Bsod nams rnam rgyal (1400-1475), [*Dag yig*] *Smra* [*ba'i*]*rgyan*, lexicon: text apparently no longer extant?[47] According to T the date of composition was 1435. The author also wrote the *Zhib mo rnam 'thag* commentary on *SCP*,[48] and compiled several chronicles.[49]

[B 18]   *bsam sdings pa kun bzang gi 'th* [?] *al pa spong ba* /
[A 14]   *bsam sdings pa kun bsam gyi 'khrul spong* /
[T 2.6]   *bsam sdings pa kun bsam gyis mdzad pa'i dag yig 'khrul spong*
= Bsam sdings pa Kun bsam [or: Kun bzang] (dates unknown), [*Dag yig*] *'Khrul* [*pa*] *spong* [*ba*], lexicon: text apparently not extant.[50]

[B 19]   *rje btsun zha lu lo chen gyi za ma tog bkod pa* /
[A 9]   *dag yig rin chen za ma tog* [+ add from preceding entry: *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po'i* ...]
[T 2.8]   *zhwa lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang pos mdzad pa'i dag yig za ma tog* (1514 *lor brtsams*) /
= Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), *Bod kyi brda'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa zhes bya ba*.[51] This is a well-known work on Tibetan lexicography and orthography, presenting the entries arranged systematically according to the initial consonant structure, written in 1514.

[B 20]   *dpal khang lo* [?] *tsā* [?] *ba'i ngag gi sgron ma* /
[A]   *deest*

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[46]   Chandra ed. (1976: 679 = *tha* 10r2), Roerich (1949-1953: 773).
[47]   Taube (1978: 178, note 48, 185). Perhaps contained in the *dbu med* manuscript of his collected works: TBRC W1CZ1101?
[48]   A 18, T 1.18 (*thon mi'i gdung brgyud las 'khrungs pa paṇ chen byams pa gling* (1400-1475) *pa* ...), Tillemans and Herforth (1989: 31, note 60).
[49]   Vostrikov (1970: 86-87).
[50]   TBRC: deest. Cf. Taube (1978: 185, note 87).
[51]   TBRC: W1KG10663_1: 99-156; W1KG23488. Partial ed. and trl. Laufer (1898); cf. Taube (1978: 178, note 49, 185).

[T 2.10] *zhwa lu lo chen yab sras kyi slob ma dpal khang lo tsā ba ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtshos mdzad pa'i dag yig ngag gi sgron ma* (1538 *lor brtsams*) /

= Dpal khang [or: Dpal sgang] lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (dates unknown), [*Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa*] [*Dag yig*] *Ngag gi sgron ma*, lexicon, composed in 1538.[52]

[B 21] *thams cad mkhyen pa klu sgrub rgya mtshos slob ma la phan pa* [*la sogs pa mang du yod pa yin no* /]
[A][T][TH]   *deest*
= Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-1596), *Slob ma la phan pa*: text apparently not extant?[53] The precise nature of this *Slob ma la phan pa*, a work by the personal teacher of the compiler of the present list, is not evident. Perhaps it is this text that Dngos grub rgya mtsho quotes from when he cites his teacher (at least twice) elsewhere in this compendium.[54]

Evaluation and concluding observations

It is evident from the close agreements in the content and phrasing of items B 4-10 (and B 13-19, cf. *infra*) that either this list has served as a source for the nineteenth- c.q. twentieth-century listings in *A khu Tho yig* and Tshe tan zhabs drung, or all three lists are based on a hitherto unidentified common source.

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[52] Cf. the introduction to Dagyab (1966: 5), Taube (1978: 178, note 47, 185). TBRC deest. Two commentaries on this lexicon: *Dpal khang lo tsā bas mdzad pa'i bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa ngag gi sgron ma zhes bya ba'i don rnams cung zad mchan bur btags pa byis pa dga' ba'i ma ku ra* (W1KG10740) and Rdzogs chen Mkhan po Thub bstan snyan grags (1883-1959): *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma'i 'grel pa utpala gzhon nu'i phreng ba* (W1KG10751).

[53] Perhaps contained in his collected works: TBRC W23636; W4PD1493; and W1CZ1100.

[54] P. 255-256: *'dren pa dam pa klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i gsung las* / *lnga rig chos la ma sbyangs zag med kyi* / / *bdud rtsi thob pa'i rgyal ba 'ga' yang med* / / *rig gnas che chung shes bya'i gnas rnams la* / / *blo gros rtsal du thon cig grogs po dag* (/), and p. 257: *thams cad mkhyen pa mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i bzhed pas* / *de lta bu'i dgos pa ni rang gi blo tshod du* / *'phags pa mchog gis rig gnas la sbyang mi dgos so snyam pa shar ba'i tshod dpag las yin mod* / *'dir skabs kyi 'phags pa ni byang sems 'phags pa rnams yin pas* / *de rnams sa yongs sbyongs kyi skabs su shes bya'i gnas thams cad la* [*tha 4 na*] *slob dgos par bshad yod pas* / *'phags pa dman pa nyan rang las ches mchog tu gyur pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sar gnas rnams kyis kyang thams cad mkhyen pa thob pa'i phyir du rig pa'i gnas lnga la slob dgos na* / *so skye'i blo gsal rnams kyis rig gnas la slob dgos pa lta smos kyang ci dgos zhes pa'i don yin gsungs te* / *bla na med pa'i bshad tshul yin no* /.

For entries B 13-18 the source can be identified: these are mentioned in the concluding section of Zha lu lo tsā ba's *Za ma tog bkod pa* (itself being entry B 19) among the main sources for this lexicon.[55] It seems most likely that the redactor of our present list was using the very same *Za ma tog bkod pa* (dated 1514). It is therefore uncertain whether these texts were still available to that author in the second half of the sixteenth century. In any case, it is certain that Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po, when compiling his *Za ma tog bkod pa*, must have had access to them.

This brief, preliminary investigation has, I hope, shown that this indigenous survey of the history of grammatical science contains many materials of great value to the student of these disciplines. These and similar sources of indigenous history-of-science should be taken seriously, and they should be explored properly; they should now be recognized as highly important additions to the limited and not easily accessible sources for many branches of Tibetan literary history.

It is particularly for this reason that I dedicate this short contribution to the exploration of indigenous bibliography to the memory of the *kalyāṇamitra* who never failed to impress on his pupils the supreme importance of the indigenous arts and sciences for our understanding of the Tibetan traditions.

Ronald: *Kye kye*! *So so*! *Lha rgyal lo*! *Lha rgyal lo*! *Lha rgyal lo*!

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[55]   Ed. Laufer (1898: 548, 550-551), New Delhi: Tibet House, 1992, 63v3-5: / *dag byed mkhan po'i* [gloss: *snye thang grags pa sengge* /] *gaṅgā* [gloss: *gtsang na* [add: *g*] *phug pa thugs rje seng ge'i*] *bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun dang* / / [gloss: *stag ston gzhon nu dpal gyi* /] *'od zer brgya pa* [gloss: *bu ston seng ge 'od kyi* /] *sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long dang* / / [gloss: *rje byangs pa gling pa'i*] *smra ba'i rgyan dang* [gloss: *bsaṃ sdings pa kun bsaṃ gyi* /] *'khrul pa spong ba la sogs pa'i* / / *legs bshad snying po gces so 'tshal rnams 'dir bsdus te* / (...); in his translation Laufer (1898: 550-551) erroneously combines *Gaṅgā* with *Bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* as one title, and *'Od zer brgya pa* with *Sgra don rgya mtsho'i me long,* yielding a total of four titles instead of six. The passage is also quoted in the colophon to *Bod hor gyi brda yig Ming tshig don gsum gsal byed* by Kīrtivajra, cf. Taube (1966-3: no. 2689).

— **Appendix** —
A One-of-a-Kind Tibetan grammatical treatise: *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* **by Sa skya Paṇḍita (?).**

Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan[56] (henceforth *KKG*), 'Grammatical treatise [entitled] Head-ornament of the wise', is a treatise describing the morphophonemics of the Tibetan syllable, and the grammar of the enclitic particles, in the following sections:

1. Introduction of the phonological and morphological categories (13v4-14r1)
2. Introduction of the enclitic particles (14r1-14r5)
3. Morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *i* (14r5-14v2)
4. idem with vowel *u* (14v2-14v4)
5. idem with vowel *e* (14v5-15r1)
6. idem with vowel *o* (15r1-15r3)
7. idem with vowel *a* (15r3-15r6)
8. Case-particles (15r6-16r2)

The grammatical elements described here correspond to a large extent to the subject matter dealt with in *SCP*, viz. the phonology and the enclitic particles of Tibetan. However, the present text deals with these in a manner which is quite different from *SCP*, both in the order of treatment as well as in the technique of description. Briefly put, the *KKG* emulates the *sūtra*-style of the Sanskrit grammarians to a far higher degree than *SCP*, *TKJ* or any other Tibetan grammatical treatise that I have seen.

The statement repeated in the introductory verse,[57] in the concluding verse[58] and in the colophon,[59] that this text is "[made] in accordance with *Skad gsar bcad*" could be taken as suggesting that it is some form of post-*Skad gsar bcad* reworking of the materials contained in *SCP*. Indeed, these elements in *SCP* that have been interpreted as pointing to a pre-*Skad gsar bcad* date of origin,[60] are not found here. In these instances, *KKG* describes the morphophonemics

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[56] Sde dge xylograph *Sa skya Bka' 'bum* vol. *na*, f. 271v2-274v1; facs. ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968-5: title no. 109), text infra based on this edition; see Inaba (1961), Miller (1965) (= 1976: 74), Jackson (1987: 53, 66, 83, 92). TBRC: W30279_3: 651-657; W00EGS1017151_10: 577-584 (ff. 14r-17v); W22271; W2DB4570_4: 287-293.

[57] / *gsar bcad skad kyi nor bu rin chen tshogs* / / *rnam dag blo* [?] *yis byi dor legs byas shing* (271v3-4 / 13v3-4).

[58] *gsar bcad ji bzhin* (274r6 / 16r6).

[59] *skad gsar bcad dang rjes su mthun par* (274v1 / 16v1).

[60] E.g. the morphophonemics of the enclitic -*tu* and its alternants, cf. Miller (1963: 493-495) = (1976: 9-11), (1993: 43-53).

of post-reform, classical literary Tibetan. However, this is hardly
unusual as this is, of course, also precisely what we find in all of the
commentaries on *SCP*.

The authorship of this text is uncertain: the text is contained in the
collected works of Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (briefly Sa
paṇ) (1182-1251) in the Sde dge print of the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (and is
attributed to Sa skya paṇḍita in the colophon in that edition), in the
Sa skya and Glo bo manuscripts as well as in the index by Gong dkar
'Phrin las rnam rgyal.[61] However, as Jackson (1987: 53, 67, 83, 92)
observes, Sa paṇ himself refers to his treatise *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* as a
work dealing with poetics.[62] It is therefore by no means certain that
we can identify with certainty the *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan* under
consideration here, with the text of the same title to which Sa paṇ
referred. The *KKG,* as we have it now, refers explicitly to two treatises
that are datable; but they cannot contribute to our dating or
identification of the author of *KKG,* because, on the one hand, both
antedate Sa paṇ (in fact he wrote commentaries on both), while, on
the other hand, both remained popular throughout the history of
grammatical studies in Tibet; so they could very well be quoted by a
later author as well. The references are to the *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa*
by Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182) (B 1 supra)[63] and *Smra sgo'i mtshon
cha* by Smṛtijñānakīrti (11th cent.),[64] both references occurring in
glosses. At best we can therefore conclude that the glosses in *KKG*
must have been composed at a date later than *Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug
pa,* i.e. 1167 or 1179.[65]

Whoever the author of the text was, it is evident that he was well
versed in the traditions of Sanskrit grammar; and that he attempted
to adhere to the style and techniques of the basic texts of Indic
vyākaraṇa as closely as possible. He abandoned the traditional Tibetan
seven-syllable *śloka*-line, as is found in *SCP* and *TKJ,* and materials
such as Bsod nams rtse mo's *Byis 'jug* and Sa paṇ's *Yi ge'i sbyor ba.*
Instead he adopted the format of the Indic *sūtra,* which was

[61]   Jackson (1987: 92).
[62]   In his *Nga brgyad kyi 'grel pa,* p. 149.4.4: *snyan ngag gi gtsug lag ltar bshad shes pa
dang / 'di dag 'chad pa'i bstan bcos kyang / kho bos byas pa'i mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos der blta bar bya'o /,* cf. Jackson (1987: 103).
[63]   1.12: */ de rnams la rkyang pa dang 'phul ba dang brtsegs pa dang / rjes su rkang* [?]
'jug dang yan lag rnams sbyar bas phye ba'i yi ge'i rnam grangs ni [infralinear gloss:
byis pa bde 'jug la sogs pa /] *gzhan du grags* [infralinear gloss: *kyis 'dir ma bshad /*] *pa
nyid do /* [271v6 272r1 / 13v6-14r1].
[64]   2.23: */ 'di la sogs pa don gyi phrad rnams ni* [infralinear gloss: *smra sgo la sogs pa /*]
gzhan du grags pas 'dir ma bshad do / [272r4-5 / 14r4-5].
[65]   Verhagen (1995: 944).

commonly used not only in the basic texts of the grammatical traditions, but also in other technical genres of Sanskrit literature.[66]

The most prominent characteristic of the *sūtra*-style is its brevity. The individual rules (Skt. *sūtra*) usually consist of nominal phrases formulated with the utmost economy of words. This economy is achieved by a number of techniques and conventions; such as ellipsis; the use of technical terms; the specific technical use of certain cases, etc. All these elements typical for the *sūtra*-style can be found in *KKG*. Moreover, we find the sentence-final particle -C*o* at the end of every *sūtra*, which convention is also found in the canonical Tibetan translations of the *sūtra*-texts of the Sanskrit grammarians.

For the technical use of cases:[67] the ablative case is used in the technical sense of 'following x', in other words indicating the left-hand context of the grammatical operation (3.1-4, 3.16). In most instances, however, the genitive seems to be used instead of the ablative (3.8-10, 4-7 passim). This could be taken as (through *anuvṛtti*, cf. infra) abbreviated from genitive + *pha rol tu* (4 passim with *anuvṛtti* of *pha rol tu* from 4.1, 5 passim with *anuvṛtti* of *pha rol tu* from 5.1, etc.). The technical use of the locative in the sense of 'before x', i.e. indicating the right-hand context of the operation, is found as well (3.17-19). I see no evidence of the technical use of the genitive, at least not in the traditional Pāṇinian technical sense of indicating the substituend element. In fact, I find no trace of the method of substitution, which constitutes such a central element in the Indic descriptive technique. Neither the method of notation of Pāṇini (and *Cāndra*, genitive for substituend and nominative for substitute) nor that of *Kātantra* (nominative for the substituend, or perhaps rather transformand, and accusative for the substitute) is applied. No form of substitution is used in the description: in the first introduction of an enclitic all allomorphs are listed; and, subsequently, in a later rule each allomorph is associated with its specific morphological left (or in some cases right) context.

Another characteristic of the *sūtra*-style is the grouping and ordering of rules describing similar elements,[68] and the use of *anuvṛtti*, i.e. ellipsis of recurring phrases.[69] The occurrence of *anuvṛtti* can be explicitly indicated by *kyang*, i.e. Skt. *ca* (e.g. 2.2-2.6 where in

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[66] Cardona (1976: 142, 187 seqq.).
[67] Cardona (1976: 201-202).
[68] E.g. the grouping of the enclitics according to the vowel they contain, both in the first introduction in 2, as well as in the description in 3-7; and, the ordering within these groups, as in the consecutive treatment of -*gi* etc., -*gir* etc. and -*gis* etc. (3.1-6), thus avoiding repetition of the morphophonemics that they have in common.
[69] Cardona (1976: 204-206).

every *sūtra* the phrase *i yig gi rkyen* from 2.1 must be supplied), or it can be implicit (e.g. in 2.7 where to *u yig gi* the term *rkyen* from 2.1 must be supplied).

The most important technical terms used in this text that are evidently of Indic origin, are the following:

- *kyang* = Skt. *ca*, indicating *anuvṛtti*, cf. supra (2.2-2.6, 2.8-2.10, 2.12-2.13, 2.15-2.17, 2.19-22, 3.6, 3.13, 3.16, 4.11, 5.10, 6.8, 7.7, 7.10; its allomorph *yang*: 2.22, 3.5, 3.11, 4.6, 5.4, 5.8, 6.6, 6.7, 7.5, 7.6, 8.7, 8.11, 8.30-8.33, 8.35, 8.39).

- *mthar gnas pa*: Indic antecedent is unclear; the term meaning 'standing at the end', refers to the consonant *h* (1.5).[70]

- *sde pa* = Skt. *varga*, phonological class (1.4, 1.5 gloss).

- *rnam (par) dbye(ba)* = Skt. *vibhakti*, case ending (8.2, 8.29).

- *dbyangs* (1.1) and *gsal byed* (1.3) = Skt. *svara* and *vyañjana*, vowel and consonant.

- *ming* = Skt. *nāman*, here equivalent to *prātipadika*, free, lexical word form, typically of a nominal (8.1).

- *yang na* = Skt. *vā*, indicating optionality, (3.12, 3.14, 3.15, 4.3, 4.10, 5.9, 6.2, 7.2, 7.3, 7.10, 7.12, 8.20, 8.27).

Technical terms that seem not to be based on Indic examples: *yan lag* (1.2, 1.12), *rjes ’jug* (1.6 etc.), *yang ’jug* (1.7 etc.), *sngon ’jug* (1.9 etc.), *rkyang pa*, *’phul ba*, *brtsegs pa* (1.12 etc.).[71]

In the captions at the end of each section we find the title *Phrad kyi sbyor ba*, 'Application of the enclitic particles' for the first seven sections. It is quite likely that the title should also apply to the last, eighth section, as it deals with the case enclitics. It is important to note that, in addition to the term *phrad* for 'enclitic particle', as found in the chapter-titles, the text also uses the term *rkyen* for the same grammatical elements (2.1). In a grammatical context, *rkyen* usually translates Sanskrit *pratyaya* 'suffix'. In its emulation of the Indic methods, this text applies the term to the Tibetan enclitics.

The descriptive technique of *KKG* displays particularly significant correspondences with *Kātantra* grammar. The first chapter of *KKG*, with its introduction of the main phonological and morphological categories, strongly resembles the first, so-called *saṃjñā-prakaraṇa* of

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[70] Note that the term *mthar gnas* is frequently encountered as a translation for the Sanskrit term *antaḥstha*, 'semi-vowel'. This translation seems actually to be based on an erroneous reading of the term as *anta-stha 'standing at the end', instead of *antaḥstha* 'standing in between', i.e. between vowel and consonant. Here, in *KKG,* the meaning 'semi-vowel' is clearly not intended. The designation 'standing at the end' for consonant *h* is quite plausible per se, as this consonant is in fact the last phoneme in the traditional Sanskrit alphabet.

[71] On a number of these terms, see Verhagen (1995: 947, 953-954, 957).

Kātantra, where the basic *saṃjñā*s, 'technical terms', for these categories are introduced and defined. The similarity is especially striking in the first two rules of *KKG*:

[1.1] / *de la dang por dbyangs rnams ni lnga'o* [infralinear gloss: *a i u e o* //] /
[1.2] / *a yig bor* [infralinear gloss: *i sogs bzhi* //] *ba rnams ni* [infralinear gloss: *bod*] *'dir yan lag go* /

[1.1] Here [i.e. in an apparently "sanskritized" form of the Tibetan alphabet] the five [elements] at the beginning [of the list] are [technically termed] the vowels. [Gloss: viz. *a*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*.]
[1.2] The [vowels] with the exception of *a* [gloss: viz. the four *i* etc.] are here [gloss: i.e. in Tibet] [technically termed] *yan lag*.[72]

Note the close resemblance of *KKG* 1.1 with *Kātantra* 1.1.2 *tatra caturdaśādau svarāḥ*, 'Here [i.e. in the traditional Sanskrit alphabet] the fourteen [elements] at the beginning [of the list] are [technically termed] the vowels'. On account of this similarity, I chose to translate *KKG* 1.1 as a *saṃjñā-sūtra*. It is tempting to consider whether *KKG* 1.2 might be related in some way to, or perhaps rather inspired on *Kātantra* 1.1.7 *svaro 'varṇavarjito nāmī*, 'A vowel with the exception of phoneme *a* is [technically termed] *nāmin*'.[73] The term *nāmin*, 'bending' i.e. 'changing', refers to the 'changing' effect of certain vowels on a following dental sibilant under certain conditions, the dental being substituted by a retroflex.[74] Of course, it seems evident that the rationale for grouping all Tibetan vowels except *a* here in *KKG* is structurally different from that in Sanskrit grammar. What distinguishes the four vowels *i* to *o* from the vowel *a* in Tibetan is, of course, their graphic representation: the *a* being implicit in the syllable, the other vowels being appended as 'limbs' (*yan lag*) over or below the radical consonant sign in the Tibetan writing system.[75] And, there is no *prima facie* evidence for a relation between the Sanskrit term *nāmin* and Tibetan *yan lag*. Nevertheless, the similarity between *Kātantra* 1.1.7 and *KKG* 1.2 is too striking to be ignored.

KKG uses item-and-arrangement models of description, as does *SCP*, while Indic *vyākaraṇa* generally prefers item-and-process type(s) of description. Note, however, that precisely the *Kātantra* tradition --

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[72]   *KKG* 1.1 and 1.2, as quoted in the *Sum rtags* commentary by Blo bzang tshul khrims (1845-1915), were translated by Miller (1965: 330) (= 1976: 74); his rendering of *bor* as "having" seems implausible.
[73]   *Kātantra vṛtti* ad 1.1.7: *avarṇavarjjaḥ svaro nāmisaṃjño bhavati*.
[74]   Abhyankar (1977: 217).
[75]   Verhagen (1995: 956-957, 959).

which clearly influenced the redactor of *KKG*-- is one that favours item-and-arrangement types of description more than is generally found in the Indic systems of grammar. For instance, the *Kātantra* description of the personal endings of the verbal tenses and moods simply lists the occurring combinations of thematic and personal suffixes, while Pāṇini and *Cāndra* describe these formations as step-by-step processes of concatenation and substitution of thematic and personal suffixes and appropriate augments under specific conditions. This description of the verbal conjugation in *Kātantra* reveals significant correspondences with the description of the case-particles in *KKG*, e.g. *Kātantra* describes the ending *-syati* as a unit, as a single suffix indicating third person singular active future tense, while Pāṇini analyses it as thematic suffix *-sya-* indicating future tense and personal suffix *-ti*(*P*) indicating third person singular active. This is comparable to *KKG*'s description of the genitive plural, where *-rnams kyi* is presented as a unit, and where it is not analysed as consisting of the enclitic *-rnams* indicating plural, and the enclitic *-kyi* indicating genitive. Equally comparable is the treatment of the combinations of certain nominal particles with specific case particles that are integrated into the syllable of the nominal particle, which are introduced as separate, integral particles; *-pur*/*-bur*/*-'ur* (2.9, 4.11), *-pus*/*-bus*/*-'us* (2.10, 4.11), *-por*/*-wor*/*-mor* (2.16, 6.8), *-pos*/*-wos*/*-mos* (2.17, 6.8), *-par*/*-bar*/*-war*/*-mar* (2.19, 7.7), *-pas*/*-bas*/*-was*/*-mas* (2.20, 7.7).[76]

The paradigm of case grammar, as described 8.1-8.29, is interesting as it attempts to minimize the relative incompatibility of the Indic case system and the sets of Tibetan particles. In *SCP* the set of particles *-la*/*-na*/*-tu* and its alternants is associated with (at least) three case-functions, viz. the accusative, dative and locative. *KKG* primarily pairs off *-tu* etc. with the accusative, *-la* with the dative, and *-na* with the locative, adding the option for interchanging these particles in a later rule (8.27). A second observation of some interest is the introduction of a particle, other than zero, for the nominative singular, viz. *-nyid*, adding in a gloss that this particle is commonly elided (8.3). Section 8 is not devoted exclusively to the case particles. It touches also on verb morphology and semantics in the passage 8.30-8.39, dealing, roughly speaking, with the same subject matter as *TKJ* 12-16. Although this is certainly very interesting, it is too complex, its opacity being enhanced by apparent corruptions in the blockprint, to be dealt with here.

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[76]   Note in this connection also the remarkable and inconsistent spelling in nominal particles *-wo* (2.15-2.17, cf. *-'o* in 6.6?; the usual orthography is *-bo*), and *-ba*/*-wa* (2.18-2.20, 7.2, 7.4).

Sa skya Paṇḍita's
Sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan: **text.**

Transliteration based on Sde dge xylograph *Sa skya Bka' 'bum* vol. *na*,
f. 271v2-274v1, facs. ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968-5: title no. 109);
numbering in square brackets added by present author; indication
"igm" in square brackets stands for "infralinear gloss in minuscule":

[271v2 / 13v2:] [Minusc.: / / *bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan bzhugs* /]

/ / *oṃ swa sti siddhaṃ*/

sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan /

bla ma dang dkon mchog gsum la phyag 'tshal lo /

/ [271v3 / 13v3:] *sgra ni 'chi med dbang pos mtshon dka' zhing* /
/ *gsung ni tshangs pa'i dbyangs la phrag dog byed* /
/ *phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i thugs mnga' ba'i* /
/ *bdag gi snying la yun du gnas par mdzod* /

/ *gsar bcad skad kyi nor bu rin chen tshogs* /
/ *rnam dag* [271v4 / 13v4:] *blo* [?] *yis byi dor legs byas shing* /
/ *dri med tshig gi srad* [?] *bus* [?] *legs brgyus te* /
/ *mkhas rnams kha rgyan mdzes pa bdag gis bya* /

[1. introduction of phonological / morphological categories:]

[1.1] / *de la dang por dbyangs rnams ni lnga'o* [igm: *a i u e o* //] /
[1.2] / *a yig bor* [igm: *i sogs bzhi* //] *ba rnams ni* [igm: *bod*] *'dir yan lag go*
/
[1.3] / *ka la sogs pa* [igm: *nyi shu dgu* /] *rnams ni*   [271v5 / 13v5:] *gsal
byed rnams so* /
[1.4] / *bzhi bzhi* [igm: *ka tsa* [sic] *ta sogs* /] *pa'i sde ba ni bdun no* /
[1.5] / *ha ni* [igm: / *sde pa de rnams kyi* /] *mthar gnas pa'o* /
[1.6] / *ga nga da na ba ma 'a ra la sa* [igm: *bcu* /] *rnams ni rjes su 'jug pa
rnams so* /
[1.7] / *da sa dag ni yang 'jug pa dag go* /
[1.8] / *da ni na ra la* [271v6 / 13v6:] *rnams kyi'o* /
[1.9] / *sa ni ga nga ma rnams kyi'o* /
[1.10] / *de rnams las ga da ba ma 'a rnams ni sngon du 'ong ngo* /
[1.11] / *lhag ma* [igm: *bcu dgu*] *rnams ni* [igm: *sngon rjes* /] *gang du
yang* [igm: *'jug pa* /] *ma yin pa'o* /

[1.12] / *de rnams la rkyang pa dang ʼphul ba dang* [272r1 / 14r1:] *brtsegs pa dang / rjes su rkang* [?] *ʼjug dang yan lag rnams sbyar bas phye baʼi yi geʼi rnam grangs ni* [igm: *byis pa bde ʼjug la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du grags* [igm: *kyis ʼdir ma bshad /*] *pa nyid do /*

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las dang poʼo //*

[2. introduction of enclitics:]

[2.1] // *gi kyi gyi ʼi rnams ni i yig gi rkyen no /*
[2.2] / *gir kyir gyir yir* [?] *rnams kyang* [272r2 / 14r2:] *ngo /*
[2.3] / *gis kyis gyis yis rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.4] / *cing zhing shing rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.5] / *cig shig zhig rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.6] / *ci ji dag kyang ngo /*
[2.7] / *tu du ru su rnams u yig giʼo /*
[2.8] / *pu bu ʼu rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.9] / *pur bur ʼur rnams kyang* [272r3 / 14r3:] *ngo /*
[2.10] / *pus bus ʼus rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.11] / *ste de te rnams e yig giʼo /*
[2.12] / *ce she zhe rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.13] / *ces shes zhes rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.14] / *ga sogs rnams la o yig sbyar* [?] *ba rnams o yig giʼo /*
[2.15] / *po wo mo rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.16] / *por wor mor rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.17] / [272r4 / 14r4:] *pos wos mos rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.18] / *pa ba wa ma rnams a yig giʼo /*
[2.19] / *par bar war mar rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.20] / *pas bas was mas rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.21] / *kyang yang ʼang rnams kyang ngo /*
[2.22] / *rnam par brtag pa can yang ngo /*
[2.23] / *ʼdi la sogs pa don gyi phrad rnams ni* [igm: *smra sgo la sogs pa /*] *gzhan du* [272r5 / 14r5:] *grags pas ʼdir ma bshad do /*

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las gnyis paʼo //*

[3. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *i*:]

[3.1] // *ga nga dag las pha rol du giʼo* [igm: *bdag gi / gang gi /*] /
[3.2] / *da ba sa rnams las kyiʼo* [igm: *khyod kyi / rgyab kyi / las kyi /*] /
[3.3] / *na ma ra la rnams las gyiʼo* [igm: *mdun gyi / lam gyi / bar* [?] *gyi / ʼ* [?] *tshal gyi /*] /

[3.4] / *'a las 'i 'o* [igm: *mkha'i* /] /
[3.5] / *sa mtha' can spangs* [igm: *de'i 'di'i* [?] /] *pa'i yang ngo* /
[3.6] / *rang dang* [272r6 / 14r6:] *sa rjes su 'jug pa'i rnams kyang de bzhin no* /
[3.7] / *bya ba la sbyor ba'i kun tu gyis so* /
[3.8] / *ga da ba rnams kyi cing ngo* [igm: *dag cing yod cing* / *grub cing* /] /
[3.9] / *sa'i shing ngo* [igm: *rtags shing* /] /
[3.10] / *lhag ma* [272v1 / 14v1:] *rnams kyi zhing ngo* /
[3.11] / *ga la sogs pa spangs pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *'byung zhing* / *dran zhing* / *bsgom zhing* / *'gyur zhing* / *'tshal zhing* / *'dri zhing* /] /
[3.12] / *da yang 'jug pa rnams kyi cing yang na'o* [igm: *stend cing* / *gyurd cing* / *rold cing* /] /
[3.13] / *cig shig zhig rnams kyang de bzhin no* /
[3.14] / *rjes 'jug spangs pa'i cig yang na'o* /
[3.15] / *bya ba sbyor ba'i yang na'o* /
[3.16] / *sa las cig kyang ngo* [igm: *thabs cig* /] /
[3.17] / [igm: *ci*] *zhig* [igm: *ci*] *ste* [272v2 / 14v2:] *slar* [igm: *ci*] *'dra* [igm: *ci*] *phyir rnams la ci'o* /
[3.18] / [igm: *ji*] *zhig la ci* [igm: *ltar*] *yang ngo* /
[3.19] / [igm: *ji*] *snyed* [igm: *ji*] *srid* [igm: *ji*] *ltar* [igm: *ji*] *bzhin skad rnams la ji'o* /

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las gsum pa'o* //

[4. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *u*:]

[4.1] // *ga ba dag gi pha rol tu'o* [igm: *bdag tu* / *rab tu* /] /
[4.2] / *nga da na* [272v3 / 14v3:] *ma ra la rnams kyi du'o* [igm: *gang du* / *thad du* / *don du* / *tsam du* / *bar du* / *tshal du* /] /
[4.3] / *da yang 'jug pa rnams kyi tu yang na'o* [igm: *shind tu* / *gyurd tu* /] /
[4.4] / *zhugs pa'i tu nyid do* /
[4.5] / *a'i ru'o* [igm: *mkha' ru* /] /
[4.6] / [igm: *sa skya ru*] *sa mtha' can phyin pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *de ru 'di ru*] /
[4.7] / *sa'i su'o* [igm: *rjes su* /] /
[4.8] / *ga'i pu'o* [igm: *gcig pu* /] /
[4.9] / *lhag ma rnams kyi bu'o* [igm: *dal bu* / *shed bu* / *lan bu* / *xxul [?] bu* / *dum bu* / *nor bu* / *gsar bu* /] /
[4.10] / *'a dang rjes 'jug med* [272v4 / 14v4:] *pa'i 'u yang na'o* /
[4.11] / *ra dang rjes su 'jug pa rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las bzhi pa'o* //

[5. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *e*:]

[272v5 / 14v5:] [5.1] // *ga nga ba ma 'a rnams kyi pha rol tu ste'o* [igm: *reg ste* / *'byung ste* / *grub ste* / *'tsham ste* / *dga' ste* /] |
[5.2] / *da'i de'o* [igm: *byed de* /] /
[5.3] / *na ra la sa rnams kyi te'o* [igm: *yin te* / *tshar te* / *'tshal te* / *thos te* /] /
[5.4] / *da yang zhugs pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *gyurd te* /] /
[5.5] / *sa mtha' can med pa'i ste'o* [igm: *de ste* / *ci ste* /] /
[5.6] / *ce ga da ba rnams kyi'o* [igm: *rtag ce'am* / *yod ce'am* / *'grub ce'am* /] /
[5.7] / *she sa'i'o* [igm: *thos she'o* /] /
[5.8] / *zhe lhag ma rnams dang rjes 'jug med pa'i yang ngo* [igm: *'ong zhe* / *yin zhe* / *lam zhe* / *mtha' zhe* / *rol zhe* / *tshol zhe* / *'gro zhe* /] /
[5.9] / [272v6 / 14v6:] *ma* [?] *'i yang na'o* [igm: *shes sam zhes* /] /
[5.10] / *ces shes zhes rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

/ *zhes pa* [273r1/15r1:] *phrad kyi sbyor ba las lnga pa'o* //

[6. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *o*:]

[6.1] // *ga sogs rnams kyi pha rol tu rang rang la o yig sbyor ba'o* [igm: *dag go* / *'ong ngo* / *byed do* / *don no* / *grub bo* / *bam mo* / *mkhas so* / *dor ro* / *dal lo* / *rtags so* //]
[6.2] / *de* [emend: *da* ?] *yang 'jug pa rnams kyi te* [= *to* ?] *yang na'o* [igm: *z* [?] *ind to* / *gyurd to* / *'tshald to* /] /
[6.3] / *zhugs pa'i to nyid do* [igm: *phyind to* /] /
[6.4] / *sa mtha' can b* [?] *or ba'i 'o nyid do* [igm: *de'o* / *'di'o* / *ba'o* /] /
[6.5] / *sa mtha' can gyi pha rol tu po'o* [igm: *bdag po* / *'byung po* / *byed po* / *rin po* / *dal* [?] *po* [?] /] /
[6.6] / *'a dang* [273r2 / 15r2:] *de rnams med pa'i 'o yang ngo* [igm: *dga'o* / *kha* [?] *'o* / *skye'o* /] /
[6.7] / *thams cad la mo yang ngo* [igm: *dog mo* / *mang mo* / *gad mo* / *nyin mo* / *zhib mo* / *mkho* [?] *mo* / *khod* [?] *mo* / *rol mo* / *legs mo* /] /
[6.8] / *ra dang sa rjes su 'jug pa rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi* [273r3 / 15r3:] *sbyor ba las drug pa'o* //

[7. morphophonemics of enclitics with vowel *a*:]

[7.1] / *ga da ba sa rnams kyi pha rol tu pa'o* [igm: *dag pa* / *god pa* / *grub pa* / *shes pa'o* //] /

[7.2] / *nga ra la rnams kyi wa yang na'o* [igm: *'byung bar* / *'gyur ba* / *dal ba* / *gang ba* / *myur ba* / *chal ba* /] /

[7.3] / *na ma dag gi pa yang na'o* [igm: *g* [?] *zhen pa* / *ram pa* / *rim pa* /] /

[7.4] / *'a 'i wa'o* [igm: *dpa' ba* / *dga' ba* /] /

[7.5] / *sa mtha' can bor ba'i yang ngo* [igm: *drog* [?] *drag* [?] /] /

[7.6] / *thams cad la ma yang ngo* [igm: *thog ma* / *gong ma* / *gdod ma* / *sgron ma* / *'dab ma* / *gsham ma* / *tha' ma* / *bar ma* / *mkhal ma* / *dbu ma* / *lo ma* / *'o ma* /] /

[7.7] [273r4 / 15r4:] / *ra dang sa rjes su 'jug pa rnams kyang de bzhin no* /

[7.8] / *kyang ga da ba sa rnams kyi pha rol du'o* [igm: *bdag kyang* / *byed kyang* / *grub kyang* / *thos kyang*] /

[7.9] / *yang lhag* [273r5 / 15r5:] *ma rnams kyi'o* [igm: *gang yang* / *gzhan yang* / *nam yang* / *mnga' yang* / *'gyur yang* / *grol yang* /] /

[7.10] / *yang 'jug pa rnams kyi kyang yang na'o* /

[7.11] / *sa mtha' can phyis pa'i 'ong* [emend: *'ang*?] *ngo* [igm: *de'ang* / *'di 'ang* /] /

[7.12] / *yang yang na'o* [igm: *khyed la* [?] *yang* /] /

[7.13] / *rnam par rtog pa can ni ga sogs rnams kyi pha rol tu rang* [273r6 / 15r6:] *rang gi rjes su ma sbyor ba'o* [igm: *'gog gam* / *'dong ngam* / *byed dam* / *byin nam* / *thub bam* / *'don nam* /] [igm: *thim mam* / *dor ram* / *'phel lam* / *thos sam* /] /

[7.14] / *de rnams spangs pa'i 'am mo* [igm: *de'am* / *'di am* /] /

/ *zhes pa phrad kyi sbyor ba las bdun pa'o* //

[8. case particles:]

[8.1] // *don gyi ngo bo ston pa ni ming ngo* /

[8.2] / *de las pha rol tu* [273v1 / 15v1:] *rnam dbye rnams so* /

[8.3] / *nyid* [igm: *shing nyid* /] *dang po'i gcig gi tshig gi'o* [igm: *phal cher dbyi'o* /] /

[8.4] / *dag gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dang* [emend: *dag]* /] /

[8.5] / *rnams mang po'i'o* [igm: *shing rnams* /] /

[8.6] / *tu du su ru rnams phrad bzhin du gnyis pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing du* /] /

[8.7] / *'a dang sa mtha' can med pa'i rjes su sbyar ba yang ngo* /

[8.8] / *dag tu gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag tu* /] /

[8.9] / *rnams su mang* [273v2 / 15v2:] *po'i'o* [igm: *shing rnams su* /] /

[8.10] / *gis kyis gyis yis rnams phrad bzhin du gsum pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing gis* /] /

[8.11] / *'a dang sa mtha' can spangs pa'i rjes su sbyar ba yang ngo* /

[8.12] / *dag gis gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag gis* /] /

[8.13] / *rnams kyis mang po'i'o* [igm: *shing rnams kyis khang pa bskyed* /] /

[8.14] [273v3 / 15v3:] / *la bzhi pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing la /*] /

[8.15] / *dag la gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag la /*] /

[8.16] / *rnams la mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams la bya gnas /*] /

[8.17] / *las lnga pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing las /*] /

[8.18] / *dag las gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag las /*] /

[8.19] / *rnams las mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams las bras bu 'byung ngo /*] /

[8.20] / [igm: *gter /*] *nas* [igm: *gtir /*] *dag nas* [igm: *gtor /*] *rnams nas rnams yang na'o* /

[8.21] / [273v4 / 15v4:] *gi kyi gyi 'i rnams phrad bzhin du drug pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing gi /*] /

[8.22] / *dag gi gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing dag gi /*] /

[8.23] / *rnams kyi mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing rnams kyi me tog /*] /

[8.24] / *na bdun pa'i gcig gi'o* [igm: *shing drung na /*] /

[8.25] / *dag na gnyis kyi'o* [igm: *shing drung dag na /*] /

[8.26] / [273v5 / 15v5:] *rnams na mang po'i 'o* [igm: *shing drung rnams na thub pa gnas so /*] /

[8.27] / *gnyis pa'i rnams dang* / *bzhi pa'i rnams dang* / *bdun pa'i rnams yang na'o* /

[8.28] / *brgyad pa'i rnams dang po'i rnams la kye sbyar ba'o* /

[8.29] / *zhes pa rnam par dbye ba'o* /

[8.30] / *las la ga dang* [273v6 / 15v6:] *por 'jug pa'i byed pa la 'a* [?] *yang ngo* [igm: *gnas bya / gnas byed / gzhal bya / 'jal byed /*] /

[8.31] / *da 'jug pa'i byed pa la 'ang 'a yang ngo* [igm: *dpag bya / dpog byed / dbri bya / 'bri byed /*] /

[8.32] / *pa* [emend: *ba*] *'jug pa'i la 'a 'am 'a mtha' can phyis pa yang ngo* [igm: *bstand bya / ston byed /*]]

[8.33] / *ma 'jug* [igm: *mchod bya / mchod byed /*] [274r1 / 16r1:] *pa'i lag* [??] [igm: *mnan bya / gnon byed /*] *'am* [?] *'a mtha' can bor ba yang ngo* [igm: *mnyan bya / mnyan byed /*] /

[8.34] / *'a 'jug pa'i la ni gzhan ma yin pa nyid do* [igm: *gzhug bya / 'jug byed /*] /

[8.35] / *'a mtha' can spangs pa'i la 'ang yang ngo* [igm: *shes bya / shes byed /*] [igm: *dor bya / 'dor byed /*] /

[8.36] / *lus dang srog* [igm: *'chad bya / mchod byed /*] *gzhan du 'gyur ba ni ci rigs par ro* [igm: *bsal bya / sel byed /*] /

[8.37] / *bya ba la las gtso bor ston na las dang* / [274r2 / 16r2:] *byed pa gtsor ston* [igm: *ston pa'i gsung / gsung rab /*] *na byed pa'i sgra'o* /

[8.38] / *yang na* [igm: *sbyor ba byas te mdor gzhan dag la dpyad pa'i phyir /*] *ci rigs par ro* /

[8.39] / *bya ba byas pa la ni* [igm: *dgag bya / 'gog byed / bkag pa /*] *gzhan yang ngo* /

[8.40] / *gnyis pa mang po'i tshig dag* [274r3 / 16r3:] *ni dag dang rnams nyid do* /

[8.41] / *zhes pa byed pa'i tshig go* /

/ *'dir ni phrad rnams 'dud pa bzhin* /
/ *rnam dbye snyan par smra ba bzhin* [igm: *zhes pa la sogs 'di rnams kyis mgron gyi bya ba rgyas par bstan to* /] /
/ *byed tshig g'yos legs ston* [274r4 / 16r4:] *pa bzhin* /
/ *mkhas rnams mgron du bos pa bzhin* /

/ *phrad dang rnam dbye byed tshig rnams* /
/ *'gran pa bzhin du bstar ba 'di* /
/ *zhal ras rgyan gyis mdzes 'dod pa'i* /
/ *mkhas pa rnams la bdag nyid 'bul* /

/ [274r5 / 16r5:] *da dung mkhas la nyer mkho ba'i* /
/ *rnam dbye du ma yod mod kyi* /
/ *yi ge'i tshogs kyis rnam sgrag pas* /
/ *don de'i spros pa re zhig bzhag* (/)

/ *kho bos legs par rnam dpyad nas* /
/ *phan pa'i bsam pas bshad mod kyang* /
/ *nongs pa'am phrag dog gis* [274r6 / 16r6:] xxx xxx [?] /
/ *mkhas rnams bdag la brtse bar mdzod* /

/ *gsar bcad ji bzhin mkhas rnams kyi* /
/ *kha rgyan bkra bas rnam sdus* [?] *las* /
/ *thob pa'i dge bas 'gro rnams kyis* /
/ *thub mchan* [?] *changs* [?; or *tshangs* ?] *dbyangs thob par shog* (/)

[colophon:]
/ *ces pa mkhas* [274v1 / 16v1:] *pa'i rgyan* / *sa skya paṇḍi tas skad gsar bcad dang rjes su mthun par* / *brda sprod pa'i mkhas pa rnams la nye bar mkho ba bzhin rgyan du byas pa'o* /

/ *dge bar gyur cig* //

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Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Hermeneutics (7): Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Mkhas 'jug* on the Sanskrit-Tibetan Interface: Synthesis, Comparison and Translation[1]

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(1) Introduction: The *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo* by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan

This is the second article in the present series[2] which focuses on the important manual on scholastics by Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251; henceforth Sa paṇ), one of the founding masters of the scholastic traditions in Tibetan Buddhism, entitled *Mkhas pa* (*rnams*)*'jug pa'i sgo*, lit. the 'Introduction for Scholars' (henceforth *MJ*).[3] Kapstein has argued recently that *MJ* promotes an ideal of *pāṇḍitya*, of scholastic sophistication, which is based specifically on the rich classical Indian traditions.[4]

MJ constitutes a manual on Buddhist scholastics, covering the three aspects of 'composition', 'exposition' and 'debate', which correspond to the three chapters of the text:

(I)   'Composition' (*rtsom pa*): *MJ* f. 163v1-190r1
(II)   'Exposition' (*'chad pa*): *MJ* f. 190r2-205r1

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[1]   This research was made possible by a subsidy of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, NWO).

[2]   The first is SIBH 5.

[3]   All references for *MJ* in this article are to the version of this text in the Sde dge xylographic edition of the collected works of Sa paṇ contained in the *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum* volume *tha* (10), ff. 163r1-224r6, available in the facsimile reprint Bsod nams rgya mtsho (ed.) (1968.5: 81-111). Various editions accessible in TBRC: W1KG17446; W29898: 111-224; W2DB4570_4: 33-153; W00EGS1017151_10: 355-484. The groundbreaking elaborate study of this text is Jackson (1987), which offers an edition and annotated translation of the third chapter. Cordial thanks are due to prof. Jackson for kindly providing me with a draft version of his as yet unpublished annotated translation of the second chapter of *MJ*. The present article was written initially (as a paper for the International Association of Tibetan Studies seminar in Oxford, 2003) before the publication of Gold (2007), which explores the first two chapters of *MJ*. I have added references to Gold's study where relevant.

[4]   Kapstein (2003: 776-782).

(III)   'Debate' (*rtsod pa*): *MJ* f. 205r1-223v4
          Postscript and colophon: *MJ* f. 223v4-224r6

For my present purposes only the first and second chapter are specifically relevant.

The first chapter,[5] entitled 'introduction to composition' (*rtsom pa la 'jug pa*), which opens with a general introduction to the text (I.1-6, 163v1-165r6), is primarily devoted to various aspects of linguistics, first discussing the elements required in the introductory parts of a scholastic treatise (I.7-12, 165r6-167r6), then addressing a variety of topics in the fields of grammar (I.13-51, 167r6-173v2) and poetics (I.52-end, 173v2-189v6).

The second chapter[6] deals with the principles of expounding (Tib. *'chad* pa) the Buddhist doctrine, in particular 'exposés' in the form of explaining and commenting on doctrinal scripture, which involve the analysis and interpretation of such scripture. In it Sa paṇ also addresses certain aspects of these matters which are specific for communicating to a Tibetan audience. The structure of this chapter is based on the five hermeneutical 'categories' as formulated in Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti*:[7]

(1)   'Intention', 'purpose' (Skt. *prayojana*, Tib. *dgos pa*): *MJ* sub II.3, f. 191r5-191r6
(2)   'Summarized meaning' (Skt. *piṇḍārtha*, Tib. *bsdus don*): *MJ* II.4-5, f. 191r6-192v2
(3)   'Meaning of the words' (Skt. *padārtha*, Tib. *tshig don*): *MJ* II.6-30, f. 192v2-203r3
(4)   'Connection' (Skt. *anusaṃdhi*, Tib. *mtshams sbyor*): *MJ* II.31-32, f. 203r3-203v2
(5)   'Objections and rebuttals' (Skt. *codya-parihāra*, Tib. *brgal lan*): *MJ* II.33-34, f. 203v2-204v5

We will now turn to a number of passages in the first and second chapters that are germane to the interface between the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages.

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[5]   For a brief survey of the contents of the first chapter of *MJ*, cf. Jackson (1987: 193-194), SIBH 5, and Gold (2007:152). For a translation of much of this chapter, see Gold (2007: 153-183).

[6]   For a brief survey of the contents of the second chapter of *MJ*, cf. Jackson (1987: 195-196), SIBH 5, and Gold (2007: 152).

[7]   Cf. SIBH 4 and SIBH 5.

(2.1) Indic and Tibetan: Synthesis and Comparison

A striking feature of this work by Sa paṇ is its commitment to integrating Indian and Tibetan aspects and points of view concerning the topics at hand. This is perhaps a more general characteristic of Sa paṇ's approach, often aiming at a synthesis of the Indian and Tibetan sides of the matter.[8]

In the field of linguistics this involves in *MJ* not only the introduction of Indian models for the description of Tibetan linguistic phenomena --a tendency which is common in indigenous Tibetan linguistics[9]-- but also the juxtaposition and comparison of linguistic phenomena in both languages. The latter is exemplified by Sa paṇ's comparison of case-grammar and word formation in Sanskrit and Tibetan in chapter I and—in a way—by his elaboration on Tibetan translation techniques in chapter II.

It is nonetheless evident that Sa paṇ was perfectly aware of the limitations pertaining to the adoption of Indian models for linguistic description of Tibetan, as for instance verse I.41 from his discussion of Sanskrit case grammar clearly shows. He stresses there that a great many of the complex details of nominal declension in Sanskrit are different from the case morphology of Tibetan, and are therefore not applicable in—or even adaptable to—the description of Tibetan case grammar:[10]

> '[Description of case-grammar in precise accordance with the Sanskrit model] is not possible for this [Tibetan language], [nor] is it necessary:
> as regards the case-suffixes, [the two languages] do not correspond,
> and also the [various word-]formations are different;
> therefore only little of the diverse complexities of that subject [i.e. Sanskrit nominal declension] remains [in (the description of) Tibetan case grammar].'

In his commentary on this verse he adds:[11]

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8   Cf. e.g. Kapstein (2003: 776-782).

9   Cf. e.g. HSGLT 2 chapter 2.

10   *'dir ni mi nus mi dgos la / / rnam par dbye la rang gnas min / / sbyor ba dag kyang tha dad pas // don de'i spros pa re zhig bzhag /*, *MJ* I.41, f. 171v5-171v6. Translated: Gold (2007: 169).

11   *saṃ skṛ ta la rtags gsum la rnam dbye tha dad yod pa de bod kyi rtags so so'i gnas su mi 'jug cing / legs par sbyar ba la ā li'i mtha' can la sgra sbyor tha dad pa yod pa la bod la de lta bu'i sgra sbyor mi rung ba*, *MJ* 171v6-172r1. Translated: Gold (2007: 169).

'The [morphological] peculiarities (*tha dad*) in nominal declension for the three genders that exist in Sanskrit, do not coincide with [those for] the various Tibetan genders (*rtags*), and [numerous] peculiarities (*tha dad*) in word-formation (*sgra sbyor*) for the [nominal stems] ending in [different] vowels (*ā li*) exist in Sanskrit, whereas such [peculiarities in] word-formation do not apply to Tibetan.'

A similar statement with regard to verbal morphology can be found slightly later in the same chapter, in the comments on I.50.

It is interesting to note at this point that a text has been preserved in the *Sa skya pa* literary traditions, which is—albeit not very convincingly—attributed to Sa paṇ, and which attempts to take the adoption of Indian models for Tibetan linguistic description considerably further than the indigenous Tibetan grammatical traditions centered around *Sum cu pa* and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa* did. I am referring here to the *Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*, which is contained in Sa paṇ's collected works, but which is of disputed authorship. In this work, composed in the typically terse *sūtra*-style of Sanskrit indigenous grammar, we find an even stronger imitation of the methods and devices of Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* than is common within the *Sum rtags* tradition of Tibetan indigenous grammar.[12]

(2.2) Indic and Tibetan: Translation

In the second chapter also, one can point out a number of interesting passages which show Sa paṇ's preoccupation with the Indian-Tibetan interfaces in language and literature. Especially when he deals with the practicalities of translating into Tibetan and of setting forth this Indian body of thought to a Tibetan audience, Sa paṇ goes into considerable detail occasionally, offering salient observations on translation technique and practical advices in this matter.

For instance, in verse II.23 he stresses the importance of the Indian lexicographical treatises for the Tibetan interpreters:[13]

'The formation [or: use] of words in Sanskrit which are not [generally] current [may] be difficult to understand.
Therefore, if one is well acquainted with [lexicons] such as *Amarakośa*, one will not be in doubt [concerning such terms].'

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[12]   Cf. Verhagen eslewhere in this issue, pp. 217-245.
[13]   / *legs par sbyar la ma grags pa'i* / / *sgra yi sbyor ba rtogs par dka'* / / *de phyir 'chi med mdzod la sogs* / / *legs par shes na the tshom med* /, MJ II.23, f. 198v3-198v4.

In his commentary on this verse,[14] Sa paṇ recommends, in addition to *Amarakośa*, a Sanskrit lexicon entitled *Viśvaprakāśa* as a source of information in these matters, and he refers similarly to his own lexicographical work entitled *Tshig gi gter*.[15]

A salient aspect of this advice is the fact that—in all probability—no Tibetan translations of Sanskrit lexicographical works (such as *Amarakośa* and *Viśvaprakāśa*) were available during the lifetime of Sa paṇ. In fact, Sa paṇ's own *Tshig gi gter* appears to be the first work in Tibetan introducing materials from *Amarakośa* to the Tibetan readership.

For the famous Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakośa*—of uncertain date, perhaps sixth cent. CE[16]—the first integral Tibetan translation that we know of was produced in the fourteenth century,[17] with later revisions in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.[18]

As regards the reference to *Viśvaprakāśa*, there seem to be two possibilities. It most probably refers to the twelfth-century Sanskrit lexicon of that same title, compiled by Maheśvara Kavi.[19] No Tibetan translation of this work seems to have been made, although it is referred to by Tibetan scholars such as Sa bzang Mati Paṇ chen (1291-1376)[20] and Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774).[21]

There is a second, far less likely possibility that it refers to the *Viśvalocanā* lexicon, by Śrīdharasena, which would become well-known in the Tibetan world through the translation by Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527)—again considerably later than Sa paṇ.[22]

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[14] / *legs par sbyar ba'i skad la mdzes pa byung na* / *'jig rten phal cher la ma grags pa'i saṃ skri tas sbyar ba yin pas* / *a ma ra ko shā dang* / *bi shwa pra kā sha la sogs pa ming gi mngon brjod rnams legs par shes pa tshig gi don thams cad la the tshom chod pa yin no* / / *'di'i phyogs tsam kho bos tshig gi gter du bshad pa ltar shes par bya'o*, MJ 198v4-198v5. Translated: Gold (2007: 28 & n. 17-18).

[15] Sde dge xylograph *Sa skya bka' 'bum* vol. *tha* 253r-265v, facs. ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1968.5: title no. 14); TBRC: W22271_10: 513-538; W30279_1: 585-616; W2DB4570_4: 210-235 etc.; cf. Jackson (1987: 52), HSGLT 2: 72 n. 264.

[16] Cf. Vogel (1979: 309-313).

[17] By Kīrticandra and Yar klungs Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Peking *Bstan 'gyur* vol. *she* 1v1-63v1, title no. 5787.

[18] By Zha lu Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527) and Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) respectively; on the reception of this work in Tibet, cf. Ruegg (1995: 128-130).

[19] Dated 1111/1112; cf. Vogel (1979: 329-331).

[20] In his *Kātantra* commentary; cf. HSGLT 2: 94; N.B. delete the text of note 384 there (which --probably erroneously-- suggests that *Viśvaprakāśa* is a variant title of *Viśvalocanā*) and substitute by the data provided here.

[21] In his extensive commentary on *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*; cf. HSGLT 2: 175.

[22] Full title: *Abhidhānaśāstra Viśvalocanā ity aparābhidhāna Muktāvalī nāma*, Tib.: *Mngon brjod kyi bstan bcos sna tshogs gsal ba zhes pa ming gzhan mu tig phreng ba zhes bya ba*, Peking *Bstan 'gyur* vol. *po* 78r6-179r3, title no. 5898; cf. Vogel (1976), (1979: 348-350),

Due to the similarity of the titles, confusion of the two may have occurred, which may have been strengthened by the circumstance that *Viśvalocanā* is in fact based on *Viśvaprakāśa* in the second, homonymic part of the lexicon.[23] In an enumeration of sources earlier in *MJ*, Sa paṇ had listed two Sanskrit lexicons, namely *Amarakośa* and *Sna tshogs gsal ba*.[24] The latter Tibetan title is used as the translation for *Viśvalocanā* but could also reflect Sanskrit *Viśvaprakāśa*. One might note here that the accepted approximate dates for both *Viśvaprakāśa* and *Viśvalocanā* lexicons are sufficiently early for Sa paṇ to have known them.[25]

In any case, as no Tibetan translations of such Sanskrit lexicographical works antedating Sa paṇ's own efforts are known, it would seem, therefore, that Sa paṇ's advice actually implies the consultation of the Sanskrit originals of these works.[26]

A recurring issue of some importance in the Tibetan translation technique is the distinction between *sgra 'gyur*, lit. 'translation [according to the] word', and *don 'gyur*, lit. 'translation [according to the] meaning'. These two forms of translation and the principles underlying them were already formulated in the earliest discourse on these matters that has come down to us, *in casu* the royal edict on the translation activities preserved in the introductory section of *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. In the section on the principles for the standardization of the translation idiom, we find the following passage dealing with this dichotomy:[27]

> 'On the one hand, [in the case of] single [i.e. uncompounded] [Sanskrit] words that do not require explanation and for which it is proper to translate them in accordance with the 'word', the [translating] term has been established taking the 'word' as the main criterion, whereas on the other hand, [in the case of] certain words for which it is proper to translate

Ruegg (1995: 130).

[23] Cf. Vogel (1976: 319-321), Vogel (1979: 349-350), Wayman (1994: x-xi).

[24] In his comments ad I.3, f. 164v4; cf. Kapstein (2003: 779-780), SIBH 5: paragraph 2.

[25] *Viśvaprakāśa* dates from 1111/1112, cf. supra; *Viśvalocanā*: not earlier than the mid-twelfth century, not later than 1261 (date of the Nepalese manuscript underlying the canonical translation), cf. Vogel (1976: 311-312), (1979: 348-349), Ruegg (1995: 130).

[26] Cf. Kapstein (2003: 780 note 94, sub 5).

[27] *skad rkyang pa bshad mi 'tshal ba sgra bzhin du bsgyur bar rigs pa rnams kyang sgra btsan par bgyis te ming du btags / skad kha cig don bzhin du gdags par rigs pa rnams kyang don btsan par bgyis te ming du btags*, ed. Ishikawa (1990: 2), cf. Simonsson (1957: 245), Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 72), HSGLT 1: 21-22. In an earlier article in the present series I investigated a paraphrase of this principle by Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774), see Verhagen (2001B: 69, 73-75).

them in accordance with the 'meaning', the [translating] term has been established taking the 'meaning' as the main criterion.'

Within this dichotomy, *sgra 'gyur* refers to translations that attempt to be as literal as possible, that aim to present an explicit and unambiguous—preferably standardized—reflection of every term and, in the case of more complex terms, of the constituents of the terms, based on the grammatical analysis of the morphology involved. *Don 'gyur*, on the other hand, amounts to translations which are less literal, i.e. which take more liberty with regard to the morphology of the original term, but instead emphasize the representation of its semantical aspects. Typically it is in case of a *don 'gyur* translation that we find that the grammatically non-standard type of 'etymology' (Skt. *nirukti*) which has been dubbed 'hermeneutical' underlies the translation.

This is clearly exemplified by the application of the *sgra 'gyur / don 'gyur* contrast in the section of *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* commenting on the Tibetan rendering of Skt. *arhat*, a *sgra 'gyur* translation being [*mchod*] *'os pa*, 'deserving [veneration]' and a *don 'gyur* translation *dgra bcom pa*, 'who has defeated the enemies'.[28] The 'hermeneutical etymology' which is reflected in the latter translation is actually quoted by the commentary: *kleśārīn hatavān ity arhan*, 'because he has killed [Skt. *hata (vān)*] the enemies [Skt. *ari-*], namely the defilements, he is [called] *Arhat*'.[29] It is noteworthy here that it is in fact this latter translation which became accepted as the standard Tibetan translation for the Indian Buddhist term *arhat*.

In the 1980s, Prof. Broido has published a series of perceptive articles on hermeneutics in later Buddhist traditions. One of the

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[28] Cf. Simonsson (1957: 269-270), Ishikawa (ed.) (1990: 7-8), Ruegg (1998: 120), Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 71), HSGLT 1: 21-22, Verhagen (2001B: 75). In fact both analyses of the term *arhat* are represented among the five 'etymologies' for the corresponding Pāli term *arahant* in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* 7.4, respectively as the fourth (*paccayādīnaṃ arahattā*, ed. Rhys Davids 1920: 198; "because of his worthiness (*araha*) of requisites, etc.", trl. Ñāṇamoli 1956: 206, 210; cf. trl. Pe Maung Tin 1971: 227, 231; cf. also *Visuddhimagga* 7.23) and the second (*arīnaṃ* (...) *hatattā*, ed. Rhys Davids 1920: 198; "because of his enemies (*ari*) (...) having been destroyed (*hata*)", trl. Ñāṇamoli 1956: 206; cf. trl. Pe Maung Tin 1971: 227; cf. also *Visuddhimagga* 7.6).

[29] Cf., e.g., in the Pāli tradition *Visuddhimagga* 7.6: *Te ca anena kilesārayo maggena hatā ti arīnaṃ hatattā pi arahaṃ: // yasmā rāgādisankhātā sabbe pi arayo hatā // paññāsatthena nāthena, tasmā pi arahaṃ mato ti //*, ed Rhys Davids (1920: 198), and in the Sanskrit traditions of the Mahāyāna, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*: *Tatra arīn hatavān arhann ity anena prahāṇasampad uktā / arayaś ca rāgādayaḥ kleśāḥ sarvakuśaladharmopaghātārthena*, ed. Wogihara (1934: 183), cf. Simonsson (1957: 270).

important points that Broido made in a number of these articles,[30] was that in this connection it might be useful to follow a distinction commonly made in modern speech-act theory, namely that "[I]n speaking of the meaning of words and sentences, one must distinguish carefully between the general rules or conventions governing the use of an utterance-type on all the occasions when it is used, and the particular purpose or intention with which tokens of that type are uttered, or their particular semantic functions, on distinct particular occasions of use."[31]

Broido then proceeded to associate this opposition with the Buddhist hermeneuticians' distinction of *śabda* (Tib. *sgra*) and *artha* (Tib. *don*). In certain contexts, Broido argued, the terms *śabda* and *artha* did not have their standard designations of 'word' and 'meaning' respectively, but in certain forms of hermeneutical manipulation they referred to precisely this opposition, specifically *śabda* (Tib. *sgra*) for 'general, conventional meaning' or 'sense' and *artha* (Tib. *don*) for 'particular intention' or 'reference'.

Returning now to the *sgra 'gyur* / *don 'gyur* opposition, in the light of the convincing arguments for Broido's hypothesis, I would now propose to render *sgra 'gyur* as 'convention-based translation' or 'sense-based translation', and *don 'gyur* as 'intention-based translation' or 'reference-based translation'.[32]

On the basis of this I would therefore propose to read the above-cited passage from *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* as:

> 'On the one hand, [in the case of] single [i.e. uncompounded] [Sanskrit] words that do not require explanation and for which it is proper to translate them in accordance with the general conventional meaning, or sense, the [translating] term has been established taking the general conventional meaning, or sense, as the main criterion, whereas on the other hand, [in the case of] certain words for which it is proper to translate them in accordance with the particular intention, or reference, the [translating] term has been established taking the particular intention, or reference, as the main criterion.'

Linking this to the above-mentioned translations for Skt. *arhat*, we find that indeed the 'convention-based [or sense-based] translation'

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[30] Broido (1982: 18), (1983: 36), (1984: 10-11), (1988: 83-84).

[31] Broido (1988: 83-84).

[32] Jackson, in his draft translation of this chapter, renders these two terms as "calque-translation" (or, "translated by calque") and "translation according to sense" respectively.

[*mchod*]*'os pa* reflects the Sanskrit morphology and the general, conventional semantics associated with that morphology (*arhat* being an active present participle from the root *arh*, indeed generally meaning 'deserving'), whereas the 'intention-based [or reference-based] translation' *dgra bcom pa* more emphatically reflects the particular usage of that term in Buddhist contexts.[33]

It may be useful to point out some possible correspondences with Chinese translating practices in this typology of translations. In a recent study on the work of the third-century Chinese translator Zhi Qian, Nattier has shown the occurrence of a number of different types of rendering in his work.[34] The first two of these are reminiscent of the *sgra 'gyur / don 'gyur* opposition up to a point. Nattier characterizes the first as: "straightforward etymological renderings, e.g. the rendition of *sugata* as [Chinese characters omitted] "well departed"."[35] This is contrasted with a second type: "Others, such as the translation of *arhat* as [Chinese characters omitted] "perfected one", are best described as cultural calques—that is, expressions which attempt to convey the significance rather than the literal etymological meaning of the underlying word, using terminology already current in the recipient culture. In some cases—as in the rendering of *bhagavat* as [Chinese characters omitted] "god among gods"—we have evidence of a special sub-category which we might label "third-party cultural calques", where the translation term is based not upon that of the recipient culture but upon the terminology of an intermediary language."[36]

The Tibetan rendering *dgra bcom pa* does not seem to qualify as Nattier's second main type of the "cultural calque" as it does not, as far as I can tell, use "terminology already current in the recipient culture". It is, however, an interesting question whether Tibetan *dgra bcom pa* could be regarded as corresponding to Nattier's sub-type of

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[33] Note here that *dgra bcom pa* was (and is) the generally current Tibetan translation for the Buddhist Indian term *arhat*, as sanctioned by the normative documents of *Mahāvyutpatti* and *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, and is indeed found throughout the canonical literature as the standard translation for that term. So, one should take care to avoid a possible terminological confusion here: although *dgra bcom pa* is the "conventional" Tibetan translation for *arhat* (in the sense that it is the standardized commonly used rendering for that term), in the dichotomy discussed here it is a translation of the 'intention-based' type, not 'convention-based'. The two usages of the term 'convention' here are of a different order, the one pertaining to the level of translating Sanskrit into Tibetan ("conventional translation"), the other to the interpretation of the Indian term *c.q.* text per se which underlies the rendering ("convention-based translation").

[34] Nattier (2003).

[35] Nattier (2003: 239).

[36] Nattier (2003: 239).

the "third-party calque".[37] It is obvious that Middle-Indic forms corresponding to Sanskrit *arhat*, such as *araha*[*n*]*t* (or perhaps even *ariha*[*n*]*t*[38]?), almost certainly have played a role in the origination and the popularity of the "defeater of the enemies" etymology which forms the basis for this particular translation. It is, for instance, the second of the five 'etymologies' which Buddhaghosa quotes in his *Visuddhimagga* for the Pāli term *arahant*: 'because he has slain (*hata*) the enemies (*ari*)', i.e. the defilements.[39] And the vast majority of the Buddhist scriptures which the Tibetans have translated were in Sanskrit. However, the 'hermeneutical' etymology underlying the translation can also be traced to Sanskrit sources (*Kleśārīn hatavān ity arhan*, cf. supra). And then again, what precisely is second- or third-party here, what is "intermediary" here? The early strata of Buddhist literature started out in Middle-Indic languages and these texts were subsequently Sanskritized. The matter is quite convoluted and far from clear, but it is tempting to see a parallel between the Tibetan *lo tsā ba*s' handling of the translating of the term *arhat*, and comparable instances, and the cited typology of translation vocabulary identified by Nattier in the work of Zhi Qian.[40]

The examples for these two types of translation which I have been able to trace in *MJ* are perhaps not as compelling as one might wish for, yet they merit closer inspection. For the first passage relevant to this dichotomy we turn to verse II.24.[41] In his discourse on the Tibetan translation techniques, we find Sa paṇ addressing some

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[37]   As suggested by Nattier herself (2003: 219).

[38]   Cf. e.g. Trenckner etc. (1924-1948: 418 l. 38-39) "the anaptyctic –*a*- (Amg [= Ārdhamāgadhī] mostly –*i*-".

[39]   *Visuddhimagga* 7.4 and 7.6, trl. Ñāṇamoli (1956: 206), trl. Pe Maung Tin (1971: 227); cf. Nattier (2003: 218-219), who associates the first of these etymologies with one particular of Zhi Qian's renderings of *arhat*.

[40]   Note also Nattier's interesting observation, warning us who wish to "understand how Indian Buddhists interpreted the key terms of their own tradition: Buddhist preachers were not constrained by historically accurate etymologies or linguistically permissible sound shifts. On the contrary, they clearly felt free to indulge in word-play using "spurious" etymologies and "impossible" sound-shifts –spurious and impossible, that is, according to the strict rules of historical linguistics—in order to make an exegetical or didactic point. (...) it is clear that he is not interested in establishing the single "correct" meaning of the word, nor is he concerned with tracking its historical etymology. On the contrary, he is interested in what the word can *do*, and he deliberately adds layer upon layer of interpretation, making it resonate for his audience in a multitude of ways" (Nattier 2003: 218-219), and, indeed, we find that such 'etymologies' quite frequently played a significant role particularly in the early development of the translation terminology in the Tibetan traditions as well.

[41]   *MJ* verse II.24: / *bod kyi skad la mi shes pa // phal cher thos pa chung ba'i skyon // 'ga' zhig 'gyur gyi bye brag dang // yul skad dag gis bsgribs pa yod* /, f. 198v5.

possible causes for the erroneous translation of Sanskrit terminology. In the auto-commentary on verse II.24, discussing various forms of confusion which may arise, he observes that: 'Some [translators] have also made intention-based translations for [terms elsewhere translated by] convention-based translations'.[42]

In the examples which Sa paṇ adduces[43] we find the juxtaposition of two alternative translations for one single Sanskrit term in three instances. For Skt. *sītātapatra* he mentions the convention-based translation *gdugs dkar*, 'white parasol', and the intention-based translation *tshad skyob dkar po*, 'white heat-protector'. One might say that the latter translation is a-typical for a *don 'gyur* translation as it is in fact quite accurate (actually in a sense even more so than the alternative translation) in its representation of the Sanskrit morphology: the term *ātapatra*, 'parasol', indeed consists of the constituents *ātapa* 'heat' and *tra* (from root *trā*) 'protecting'. Secondly, the convention-based translation *smon lam*, 'prayer', versus the intention-based translation *yongs su bsgyur ba*, 'transformation' for Skt. *praṇidhāna*[44] and finally, the most clear-cut example of the three, for Skt. *kuśala* the convention-based translation *dge ba*, 'virtue', as opposed to the intention-based translation *ngan 'byol*, 'avoiding evil', where the latter translation is evidently based on a 'hermeneutical etymology' deriving it from *ku* 'evil' + *śal* 'to move [away from]'.[45]

In the same chapter, under verse II.26, the *sgra 'gyur / don 'gyur* distinction is referred to again. The verse states that acquaintance with legendary and mythological lore is required for a correct interpretation (and hence translation) of Indian names. A number of examples are given, two of which are relevant at this point. The first concerns the rendering of the Sanskrit name Bhagīratha:[46]

> 'Although [the name] Bhagīratha[47] [can] certainly be [translated as] 'rubbed vulva' because, according to the *Purāṇa*s, he was born from the rubbed vulvas of the [grand]daughters of

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[42]   *la las sgra 'gyur la don 'gyur du byas pa'ang yod*, 198v6-199r1.

[43]   *gzhan yang gdugs dkar la tshad skyob dkar po / smon lam la yongs su bsgyur ba / dge ba la ngan 'byol la sogs pa lta bu sgra'i khams mi shes na go dka'*, 119r3-4.

[44]   Cf. Gold (2007: 29 & note 25).

[45]   Cf. Gold (2007: 29 & note 25-26).

[46]   *bha gi ra tha zhes bya ba sngon rabs las bdag nyid chen po dug can pa'i bu mo dag gi bha ga bsrubs pa las skyes pas bha ga srub ces bya ba yin mod kyi / sgra 'gyur du skal ldan shing rta zhes bsgyur ba*, 200r2-200r3.

[47]   Monier-Williams (1899: 744): "*Bhagīratha*, m. (prob. fr. *bhagin* + *ratha*, 'having a glorious chariot'), N. of an ancient king (son of Dilīpa and great-grandfather [Verhagen, read: great-grandson] of Sagara, king of Ayodhyā; he brought down the sacred Gaṅgā from heaven to earth and then conducted this river to the ocean in order to purify the ashes of his ancestors, the 60.000 sons of Sagara".

the noble Sagara,[48] it should be translated as '[having? a] glorious chariot', which is a convention-based translation.'

Here two translations for the name Bhagīratha are juxtaposed: *Bha ga srub*, 'rubbed vulva' (or perhaps, more literally, 'vulva rubbing'?), and *Skal ldan shing rta*, '[having? a] glorious chariot'.[49] Much remains unclear in this passage, such as: What is the analysis of (*ī*?)*ratha* underlying the translation *srub*, 'to rub'? Is the translation *bha ga srub* of the intention-based type? etc. Nonetheless there can be no doubt that the translation '[having? a] glorious chariot' is identified as a *sgra 'gyur* type of rendering. And indeed it is precisely this one of the two translations which reflects the morphology of the original term more faithfully. The name Bhagīratha can, in all probability, be derived from *bhagin* 'glorious' + *ratha* 'chariot'.

Moreover, the validity of the point which Sa paṇ is making in verse II.26, namely the importance of acquaintance with the Purāṇic lore for translating Sanskrit names,[50] is emphatically corroborated if we have a look at the entries on the names Bhagīratha and Sagara in the Sanskrit-English dictionary by Monier-Williams (quoted in the notes above), where quite detailed mythological information is supplied, especially in the latter case, serving to make sense of the name.

The commentary then continues with a discussion of two Tibetan renderings for Skt. Godāvarī,[51] name of one of the major rivers in the South of India. Even more opaque than the previous passage --the analysis underlying the first translation which Sa paṇ introduces has remained quite obscure to me anyway-- it is nonetheless interesting to find there that the second, apparently preferred, translation is identified as an 'intention-based translation':[52]

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[48]   Monier-Williams (1899: 1125): "2. *sa-gara*, mfn. (fr. 7. *sa* + *gara*, 'poison', root 2.*gṝ*; ...) containing poison, poisonous (...); N. of a king of the solar race, sovereign of Ayodhyā (son of Bāhu; he is said to have been called Sa-gara, as born together with a poison given to his mother by the other wife of his father; he was father of Asam-añja by Keśinī and of sixty-thousand sons by Su-mati; the latter were turned into a heap of ashes by the sage Kapila [see *bhagīratha*], and their funeral ceremonies could only be performed by the waters of Gaṅgā to be brought from heaven for the purpose of purifying their remains; this was finally accomplished by the devotion of Bhagīratha, who having led the river to the sea, called it Sāgara in honour of his ancestor: Sagara is described as having subdued the Śakas, Yavanas and other barbarous tribes". Note that the usual translation for *sāgara*, 'ocean', is Tib. *rgya mtsho* (cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* ed. Sakaki 1916-1925: nos. 36, 527, 752, 825, 1357, 3238, 3408, 3412), but *Mahāvyutpatti* gives *dug can* twice (nos. 3264 and 4162).

[49]   Cf. Das (1902: 87) s.v. *Skal ldan shing rta* and *Skal ldan shing rta'i bu mo*.

[50]   Cf. Gold (2007: 35).

[51]   Monier-Williams (1899: 364): "*Go-dāvarī*, f. (= -dā, s.v. I. -da) 'granting water or kine', N. of a river in the Dekhan"

[52]   *go dā wa ri zhes bya ba drang srong zhig gis ba lang bsad pa'i sdig sbyong gi chu*

'Although [the name] Godāvarī [can] certainly be translated as 'river of the slaughtered cow' because it is the river by means of which a *ṛṣi* cleansed himself of the sin of having killed a cow, a [preferable?] intention-based translation has been fashioned, [namely] 'supreme gift of the cow'.'

It is quite problematic to pinpoint precisely why the latter translation is characterized as a *don 'gyur* type.[53] A crucial obstacle in this respect is the opacity of the morphology of the term Godāvarī in the first place. In all probability it should be traced to *go*, 'cow', and a (probably *upapada*) form **dāvara* from root *dā*, 'giving': the river (hence the feminine gender) 'giving cattle'. The (hermeneutical?) etymology on which the second translation is based appears to involve an additional, third element, namely **vara* 'supreme', reflected in Tib. *mchog*, thus: *go + dā + vara / varī* (or, following the order of the elements in the Tibetan translation, *go + vara / varī + dā*?) = *Ba'i mchog sbyin*.

   In verse II.27 Sa paṇ addresses the problem of additional elements in Tibetan translations:[54]

'In order to make it [more] easily understandable for the Tibetans, [occasionally] a translation [introduces] a slight additional element, although [this element] is not present in the Sanskrit [original]; a learned scholar should not give a [separate] explanation for these.'

In his commentary, Sa paṇ first deals with a type of 'additional element' which had been identified already in the royal edict concerning the standardization of translation techniques laid down in *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*,[55] scil. the addition of a generic designation in Tibetan when a Sanskrit name for a place, living being, plant or the like is left untranslated. This accounts for Tibetan renderings such as

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yin pas / *ba lang bsad pa'i chu zhes bya bar 'gyur mod kyi* / *ba'i mchog sbyin zhes don 'gyur byas pa*, 200r3-200r4.

[53] And does this imply that *Ba lang bsad pa'i chu* is a *sgra 'gyur* type of translation?

[54] *'ga' zhig bod la go bde'i phyir* // *legs par sbyar la med na yang* // *cung zad lhag par bsgyur ba yod* // *de la mkhas pas bshad mi dgos*, 200v3.

[55] *yul dang* / *sems can dang* / *me tog dang* / *rtsi shing la sogs pa'i mi bsgyur na yid gol zhing tshig ni bde ba dang* / *'ol spyir* [var.: *phyir*] *bsgyur du rung ba* [var.: *rung yang*] *don du de ltar yin nam ma yin gtol med pa rnams la* / *mgo la yul zhe'am* / *me tog ces pa la sogs pa gang la bya ba'i ming gcig bla thabs su snon* [var.: (*b*)*snol*] *la rgya gar skad so na zhog cig*, ed. Ishikawa (1990: 3), Simonsson (1957: 253-254), Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 72-730); cf. also the parallel passage in Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*, Ruegg (1973: 254, 260).

yul ma ga dha, 'the country Magadha', where the original Sanskrit only reads *Magadha*, or *rtswa ku sha*, 'Kuśa grass' for Sanskrit *kuśa*. Sa paṇ enumerates examples for a number of categories of name: the addition of the explicatory designation 'jewel' (*rin po che*) before the untranslated Sanskrit terms *vaiḍūrya* 'cat's eye gem' or *padmarāga* 'ruby', the addition of 'flower' (*me tog*) before untranslated terms such as *utpala* 'blue lotus' or *saugandhika* 'water-lily', and similar applications of the elements 'tree' (*shing*), 'animal' (*ri dags*) and 'fish' (*nya*).[56] It is noteworthy that such an additional element in the translation is termed *bla thabs* in *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, whereas Sa paṇ terms it *tshig gi rgyan* here.

Sa paṇ argues that it is wholly justified to introduce such additional elements into the translation, but that the Tibetan commentator / exegete should not make the mistake of commenting on these additional elements as if they were terms actually present in the original Sanskrit texts.

Let us, finally, have a look at Sa paṇ's discussion of one more type of such 'additional elements' in the translation:[57]

> 'Moreover, there are also [cases of] the addition of small additional elements (*tshig gi lhad*) for the sake of making that form easily understandable for Tibetans. Knowing [that] these [are additional elements], one should not introduce them into the standard (*dkyus ma*) [scil. word-by-word] explanation (or: the explanation proper). If one does introduce [these elements into the exposé] the grammarians will disagree. For instance, if one glosses *ye shes* as *gdod ma'i shes pa*, or (*bcom ldan*)*'das* as *mya ngan las 'das pa*, or *phyag rgya* (*chen po*) as *lag pa'i rgya*,

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56 *legs par sbyar ba'i skad la med kyang bod kyis go bde bar bya ba'i phyir tshig gi rgyan cung zad bsnan nas bsgyur ba yod de / rgya gar la sgra med kyang rin po che baiḍurya dang / rin po che padma rā ga zhes bya ba la sogs pa dang / rgya gar la me tog gi sgra med kyang me tog utpa la dang / me tog padma dang / me tog sau gandhi ka zhes bya ba la sogs pa bsnan pa dang / rgya gar la shing gi sgra med kyang shing nya gro dha dang / a shwa ka dang / shing pa la sha zhes bya ba la sogs pa bsnan pa dang / rgya gar la ri dags kyi sgra med kyang 'ga' zhig gis ri dags khri snyan sa le dang / ri dags eṇa ya zhes bya ba la sogs pa bsnan pa dang / rgya gar la nya'i sgra med kyang nya ti mi la sogs pa de dag bsnan pa'i rgyu mtshan gang yin snyam na / bod brda mi shes pa dag gis / rin po che dang / me tog dang / shing dang / ri dags dang / gos dang / srog chags kyi bye brag la sogs pa'i ming gang yin zhes dogs pa skye bas / de gcad pa'i don du rin po che dang / me tog dang / shing la sogs pa bsnan pa'o*, 200v3-201r1. Cf. Gold (2007: 30).

57 *de bzhin du / gzhan yang bod kyis go bde ba'i don du tshig gi lhad bag re bsnan pa yod mod / de shes par byas la bshad pa dkyus ma'i nang du mi gzhug / gal te bcug na sgra shes pa rnams kyis khrel bar 'gyur te / dper na ye shes la gdod ma'i shes pa dang / bcom ldan 'das la mya ngan las 'das pa dang / phyag rgya chen po la lag pa'i rgyar bshad pa la sogs pa bod la bshad du rung yang / sgra shes pas mthong na bzhad gad kyi gnas su 'gyur ba'i phyir ro*, 201r5-201v1. Cf. Gold (2007: 30).

although these explanations are [strictly speaking] correct within Tibetan [proper], they will present occasions for ridicule in the eyes of those who know [Sanskrit] grammar.'

(3) Typology of Summaries

Widening the perspective somewhat, finally, I would like briefly to address one element in *MJ*, which may perhaps derive from the Indic-Tibetan interface, but may require us to take another inter-cultural interface into consideration as well.

In chapter II, second section, on 'summarized meaning' (Skt. *piṇḍārtha*, Tib. *bsdus don*) Sa paṇ discusses two types of summary an exegete may offer: the first a general overall summary of a text, the second a summary which enumerates the individual topics dealt with within a text, or within the chapters of a text.[58] Sa paṇ describes the second type of summary as follows:[59]

> 'Taking into consideration the entire basic text, from the beginning to the end, one should establish the main general sections [in the basic text] each separately on the basis of an analysis of the various topics discussed [in that text] that are categorically similar or dissimilar. [Doing this] one should parse [the text] in such a manner that the internal subdivisions are consistent [with one another].'

This second type may correspond to the commentarial device of the *sa bcad* or 'topical outline' which is widely used throughout the Tibetan scholastic literature. The question of the origin of the *sa bcad* format is, as far as I have been able to determine, still unanswered. It is, as yet, unclear whether this device was modelled after an Indic or Chinese model, or if it was a Tibetan innovation which did not have an antecedent in either tradition.[60]

I have not yet come across a clear-cut unmistakable model for the *sa bcad* device in the Indic Buddhist literature. One might have hoped to find one in the second section of Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti*, on summarization, or in the fourth section which deals with textual structure and the ordering of topics. Unfortunately, neither the rather

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[58] I refer to SIBH 5, par. 3.2 for a more detailed treatment of the contents of this section of *MJ*; cf. Gold (2007: 104-107).

[59] *gzhung gi thog mtha' ma lus pa blo yul du byas te / brjod bya rigs mthun mi mthun blos phye nas spyi 'i sdom chen po rnams so sor bzhag / nang gi dbye ba rnams mi 'gal bar phye*, f. 191v2.

[60] Cf. Steinkellner (1989: 235).

terse discussions of these topics in *Vyākhyāyukti*[61] proper nor the relevant comments in the *Vyākhyāyukti-ṭīkā*[62] by Guṇamati offer anything approaching a model for the *sa bcad* format.

The term *sa bcad pa* (var. *sa gcad pa*) is given in *Mahāvyutpatti*, along with *mdor bshad pa*, 'explanation in brief', as the translation for Skt. *ṭippiṭaka*, which I take to be erroneous for *ṭippaṇī* (or *ṭippaṇaka*, or *ṭippaṇikā*?).[63] The *ṭippaṇī* type of commentary appears usually to be a brief set of notes or glosses. Further investigation would be required to determine if the *sa bcad* device may be traced to this class of Indic commentary.

A modelling after examples in the Chinese literary culture should certainly not be ruled out either. Firstly, it stands to reason to search for an origin there in the light of the fact that the earliest attestation of a commentary with a fully developed *sa bcad* system traced thus far in the Tibetan canon is in fact a translation from Chinese, namely the famous seventh-century commentary on *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* by Wen tsheg, as had already been noticed by Prof. Steinkellner.[64]

Moreover, on reading Hiroshi Kanno's study on 'Chinese Buddhist Sūtra Commentaries of the Early Period'[65] one is tempted to speculate on possible associations with the technique of 'analytic division' or 'parsing' (Chin. *fenke*) which is a core element in the 'exposition of the meaning' or, briefly, 'expository' type of commentary—as opposed to the 'interlinear' type—found in Chinese Buddhist literature from the earliest periods onwards and which can ultimately be traced back to similar devices in early Confucianist scholastics.[66] In the earliest extant 'expository' type of commentary, the fifth-century Lotus Sūtra commentary by Daosheng, one finds already a highly elaborate system of analytic division involving several levels of parsing.[67]

The precise term *sa bcad* appears not to be used by Sa paṇ, however at the very end of his comments in this section, sub II.5, the term *sa gcod* does occur. He may be referring to the second type of

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[61] Peking *Bstan ʾgyur* 36v5-37r2 and 99r1-100v3; cf. SIBH 4 par. 5.2 and 5.4.

[62] Peking *Bstan ʾgyur* 9r7-10r7 and 126r1-129r1.

[63] *Mahāvyutpatti* ed. Sakaki (1916-1925: no.1448), ed. Ishihama (1989: no. 1453). Cf. Edgerton (1953-2: 246), Monier-Williams (1899: 439) s.v. *ṭippaṇa*, *ṭippaṇaka*, *ṭippaṇī*, *ṭippaṇikā*.

[64] Cf. Steinkellner (1989: 235), Powers (1993: 19), Schoening (1996: 119-120).

[65] Kanno (2003).

[66] Cf. Kanno (2003: 303 etc.).

[67] Cf. Kanno (2003: 308-312).

summary specifically here; it is, however, also conceivable that he is speaking about a summary in general:[68]

> 'I have seen numerous such summaries, superior and inferior ones; some such [inferior] topical outlines (*sa gcod*) may even corrupt the meaning [of the basic text], and, even if they do not corrupt the meaning, they are hard to expound for the master, and hard to memorize for the pupil, therefore I set them aside.'

In any case, the second type of *bsdus don* which Sa paṇ discusses here in *MJ* seems to describe the *sa bcad* or 'topical outline' device, this hugely "successful and influential technique of literary analysis"[69] so widespread within the Tibetan commentarial traditions. Sa paṇ's description is, in any case, very reminiscent of the *sa bcad* device as it is actually used. If indeed the hypothesis of the origin of this *sa bcad* technique lying in the Chinese literary traditions is correct, then perhaps the second type of summary introduced here in *MJ* may in fact be regarded as a trace of influence of Chinese scholastics. This would also imply that the ideal of *pāṇḍitya* as set forth in *MJ* is not based exclusively on classical Sanskrit scholasticism, as one might expect at first sight.[70]

(4) Concluding Observations

Winding up, we can conclude that Sa paṇ's *MJ* is a veritable treasure-mine for the investigation of the linguistic and literary interface between the Tibetan and Sanskrit domains in the thirteenth century. Building on foundations such as Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* and Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, in *MJ* Sa paṇ sets up a model for the scholastic enterprise for the then budding scholastic traditions of Tibet. In this treatise, as well as in much of his work in general, Sa paṇ aims at a synthesis between the two cultural domains, for instance in linguistic description, but in full awareness of the limitations that pertain here. In the handling of the *sgra 'gyur / don 'gyur* typology, the sophistication with regard to the hermeneutical processes involved in translating a body of literature speaks volumes. We have seen how *MJ* promotes what appears to be a strictly Indian ideal of *pāṇḍitya* –

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[68] *'di lta bu'i bsdus don mtho dman can mang po mthong ste | de lta bu'i sa gcod 'ga' zhig don yang 'chug nus don ma 'chugs kyang slob dpon gyis brjod dka' | slob mas gzung dka' ba'i phyir kho bos btang snyoms su bzhag go*, 192v1-192v2.
[69] Steinkellner (1989: 235).
[70] Cf. Kapstein (2003: 776-778, 782).

and, of course, the source of much of Sa skya Paṇḍita's scholastic agenda lay in the classical Sanskrit culture—yet it also betrays influence from another neighbouring literary culture, *in casu* the Chinese scholastic traditions. It is precisely this versatility, this ability to adopt various exogenous cultural elements, and through processes of adaptation and amalgamation to arrive at a cultural identity unmistakably distinct from its sources of inspiration, which I find one of the most striking features of the Tibetan culture.

Abbreviations

HSGLT 1   = Verhagen (1994)
HSGLT 2   = Verhagen (2001A)
MJ   = *Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo* [see note 3]
Sa paṇ   = Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251)
SIBH 4   = Verhagen (2005A)
SIBH 5   = Verhagen (2005B)
SIBH 6   = Verhagen (2008)

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❖

"Dying Mongol and Being Reborn Tibetan": Otherness and the Integration of Foreigners in the Landscape of Amdo

Valentina Punzi

ost scholars (Kolas and Thowsen 2005; Dai 2009; Wellens 2010; Nietupski 2011; Hayes 2013; Haas 2013; Yeh and Coggins 2014) have defined Amdo, the north-eastern area of the Tibetan plateau that now falls within the Chinese provinces of Qinghai, western Gansu and northern Sichuan, as a geopolitical middle ground squeezed between Chinese and Tibetan polarities and shaped by the political, linguistic and cultural influences of Beijing to the east and Lhasa to the south. They have accordingly labelled it a frontier zone, where linguistic, cultural and religious hybridity and marginality prevail, in comparison with the assumed wholeness of Chinese and Tibetan centres. Roche (2015, 1-4) insightfully argues that this Sino-Tibetan frame cannot account for the complexity and variety of communities who have been living for centuries in this area, and that it is fundamental to shift the focus back to local agency. Clusters of communities have been interacting over history and have distinctively shaped their local identities beyond the ethnic and linguistic macro-divides that were imposed by the Chinese state's classification of minority populations. On the other hand, western academia's attempts to describe processes of cultural and linguistic change solely in terms of the Tibetanisation of these groups erase diversity in favour of the idea of the Tibetan absorption of local identities (Roche 2015, 13-14). Beyond the academic frame, a Tibetan civilising project oriented toward Tibet's peripheral populations, aimed at stretching Tibetan political, linguistic and cultural influence to the marginal territories, reveals a long-term Tibetan agenda of assimilation (Huber 2010, 2011; Jinpa 2014).

The creativity of vernacular religion allows a space for expression that promotes local agency and highlights its specific social and historical context. At the same time, belief narratives redefine local instances of contemporary identities, alternative to those proposed by the Chinese state, into configurations of the Amdo kaleidoscope of cultural and linguistic identities. Although the prescriptive role of institutionalised Buddhism echoes the power of the state in its attitude of standardising and normalising religious beliefs and practices, and casts its shadow of disapproval onto heterodox systems, local

belief narratives reproduce meaningful connections with both the land and the past of the community.

This article will present a case study of a belief narrative concerning three mountain gods in a Tibetan community in eastern Amdo that is deeply embedded in the local landscape and history of the former Mongol occupation of this area.

Mongol armies ruled over Amdo at different periods between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. Contemporary local accounts recall the activities of both historical and legendary Mongol characters, and suggest that Tibetans considered them to be the embodiment of an alien threat to their cultural and social order.

Belief narratives also bear traces of the Mongol occupation of Amdo, but tell a more complex story that, rather than straightforwardly depicting the Mongols as invaders, suggest their integration through an ontological shift from the human agency of the Mongol rulers to their divinisation in the local Tibetan pantheon. Based on three extracts from belief narratives recorded *in loco*, this essay analyses the negotiation between historical memory and vernacular religion in the emergence of a theogonic myth concerning a Tibetan mountain god as a cultural strategy aimed at making the Mongol foreigners fit into the local Tibetan landscape and worldview.

The cult of mountain gods is widespread on the Tibetan Plateau, where valleys, peaks, caves, and high passes are all topical *loci* for supernatural encounters and offerings of libation, fumigation and prayers to the local protector gods. A myes Brag dkar spun gsum (pron. Amye Drakar punsum, the three brothers of Amye Drakar) are among them. The origin and deeds of these mountain gods are inscribed in centuries of the turbulent history of Khri-ka (Chinese: Guide), rTse-khog (Chinese: Zeku) and Mang-ra (Chinese: Guinan) Counties, where the three brothers of Amye Drakar are believed to dwell in their underground mountain palace in the midst of grassy hills. Ranging from brief references to longer and more detailed storylines, belief narratives ascribe the origins of the three brothers of Amye Drakar to the death of a Mongol prince.

I recorded the first version of the story during one of my fieldwork trips in the area of the three brothers of Amye Drakar in 2012. The story was told by A-ku Ta, a ninety-year old man who had spent his monastic life in the local Gelukpa monastery of Banshul until moving to his family house at the foot of the three brothers of Amye Drakar mountain, in the homonymous village of Drakar (Chinese: Zhika) in Mang-ra County.

The three rocky peaks of A myes Brag dkar spun gsum.

While sipping his butter tea, he recalled episodes from his intense and personal relationship with the gods, who had been constantly present in his life through dreams, epiphanies, prayers and paintings.

Thangka painted by A-ku Ta after a dream about A myes Brag dkar spun gsum.

Not only did A-ku Ta claim a deep acquaintance with the three brothers of Amye Drakar, he also provided a lengthy narration on the gods' theogony:

> […] The son of the Mongol king wore a brocade robe and a fur-lined jacket with a shining golden upper part, like a foreigner. He rode day and night until he arrived in a place called The White Rock Mountain in the area of A-ma Zor-gu in Guide. He hid in a big rocky cave and though he didn't eat or drink for many days, he was not hungry or thirsty. One day, when some hunters passed by that place, they saw golden rays shining from inside the cave. At that point, the Mongol minister arrived with his army and asked if there was either a man or any other living being in the cave, so they all went to see. Then the prince said to the minister: "It would be good if you do not break the law and you do not do any black magic or killing and lead the army outside in happy and peaceful times." Such was the order given by the Mongol prince but they did not listen and were ready to take bows and arrows and shoot the son of the king. The prince was praying: "In the future may I be reborn as a Tibetan and cut the fringes of Mongol hats and the ear-rings of Mongol women! May the black tents[1] be as numerous as if black tadpoles covered the grassland! May those who will be born in this place conquer the three realms and cast down the enemies and obstructers with might and power!" And as soon as he finished his prayer, the Mongol minister killed him. After that, it is said that the son of the king was reborn in the area of Drakar mountain among the seventeen villages of the Tibetan black tents in the golden valley, and he became the mountain god, the oldest brother of the three brothers of Amye Drakar.[2]

Despite being primarily oriented by the aetiological aim of explaining the theogony of the three brothers of Amye Drakar, this narration also reveals the presence of Mongols in the region and inferentially sheds light on the ethnic and social context in which these narratives emerged and circulated. However, since the identity of the Mongol king, the prince and the minister remain vague, it is impossible to assess the timeframe of the narration. Notably, the reasons behind the conflicting relationship between the minister and the prince, which eventually ends in a murder, remain incomprehensible and lack a precise historical context. The apparent absence of historical references is indeed a characteristic of all the narratives I recorded, wherein Mongols' presence is not set in a specific chronological time,

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[1] Black yak-hair tents are the traditional housing of Tibetan herders, easily distinguishable from the round white yurts used by Mongols.
[2] Recorded on August 13th 2014 in Drakar village (all translations by the author).

but is rather blurred in the mythical abstraction of taking place *in illo tempore*, which potentially applies to any segment of the Mongol occupation of Amdo and is generically opposed to the present. In contrast to the commitment to chronological order pursued by local histories, belief narratives subordinate the historical characterisation of Mongols to the more basic need of making sense not of specific momentous events during their past rule but of the enduring presence of these new occupants with whom Tibetan communities in Amdo had to come to terms.

A-ku Ta during an interview in summer 2014.
He was one of the most knowledgeable informants and talented storytellers I met during my fieldwork trips in Amdo.

The arrival and establishment of the first long-term Mongol rule in this region dates back to the thirteenth century and to the times of Kublai Khan and the institution of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) in China. Following Gengis Khan's conquest of Asia, for the first time the lay Mongol conquerors came into conact with Tibetan Buddhism

and Mongol princes established patronage relationships with Tibetan abbots, parcelling out their spheres of influence on the Tibetan plateau (Nietupski 2011, 3-8). During this time, some Mongol tribes settled on the shores of Kokonor Lake in Amdo, and contributed to maintaining the political fragmentation of the region that remained unchallenged during the Chinese Ming dynasty that followed (1368-1644).

The seventeenth century witnessed a new chapter of Mongol rule over Amdo. Coming from the Tianshan region, Gushri Khan migrated with his followers to the south, around Lake Kokonor, where they settled. He later became the main protagonist in supporting the Fifth Dalai Lama's establishment of Gelukpa rule over Tibet; his successful campaigns, which culminated in the triumph of the Gelukpa School in 1642, gained him the title of *Bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po*, "King Protector of the Dharma". After his death, his descendants continued to promote the diffusion of the Gelukpas in Amdo.

This centuries-long history is the background to the theogony of the three brothers of Amye Drakar. Some narrations, like the two following passages, provide an imaginary historical frame that clusters around the emblematic figures of Kublai Khan (1215-1294) and Gushri Khan (1582-1655), whose lifespans serve as generic time markers and coincide with the two distinct periods of Mongol occupation in Amdo. These two historical periods, which witnessed the institution and the strengthening of Mongol presence in predominantly Tibetan areas of Amdo, are reflected in the use of differentiated ethnonyms to designate Mongols. The earlier Mongols of the thirteenth century are usually referred to as Hor, whereas the later Mongols of the seventeenth century are more frequently called Sog(po). Local Tibetans do not necessarily make a historically accurate choice between the two ethnonyms, but tend rather to use them interchangeably or even to merge them into a single combination, Horsog. Nevertheless, in the belief narratives presented here, Mongols are consistently referred to as Sog(po), suggesting that the first elaboration and circulation of stories in the area should be dated to the second period of Mongol occupation that occurred during the seventeenth century.

Not far from A-ku Ta's house, his neighbour A-ku Tshe-ring-rgyal, a 75-year-old herder, sat in the sun and told his version of the story:

> In order to explain why the three gods of Amye Drakar dwell in a white rock, you should know that three sons were born to the Mongol king Kublai Khan, and that they were murdered. In our place they turned into the white rock of the three brothers of Amye

Drakar. Before dying the eldest brother said: "I will cut the fringes of Mongol hats and the earrings of Mongol women; I will protect the people living in the black yak-hair tents and destroy those living in white yurts." Such is the story. We say that in our valley the three brothers of Amye Drakar protect the people living in the black yak-hair tents and destroy those living in white yurts.[3]

In the village of Tonche, 40 km south of Drakar village, a third version of the story was told by A-ku bKra-shis, a 72-year-old farmer:

The three brothers of Amye Drakar in the past were born as the sons of the Mongol Gushri Khan. Afterwards, because they broke the Mongol law, they fled and were killed near Mtsho snying Island on Kokonor lake. Afterwards, they arrived at a place in upper Amdo with a three-peaked mountain. When they arrived in the village, they were chased by many wild yaks of the Mongols. They transformed a female yak with her calf into that place and it was named the Little Stone of the Female Yak. Because they were angry with the Mongols, the eldest brother said: "I will cut the fringes of the Mongol hats and the earrings of Mongol women." Afterwards, the three Mongols turned into mountain gods and stayed as the three brothers of Amye Drakar.[4]

Belief narratives concerning the origins of the three brothers of Amye Drakar did not develop randomly but according to the specific fear of the Mongols. Since the thirteenth century Mongols have embodied a concrete threat to Tibetans, who in turn have implemented various cultural strategies to construe their presence within the Tibetan landscape. The three extracts reported above reveal a creative way of deconstructing the Mongol historical encounter with Tibetans and their ambiguous role of being conquerors of a Tibetan land, whereas Tibetan Buddhism eventually culturally conquered them.

The narrations focusing on the three brothers of Amye Drakar's mostly end with an obscure statement that announces the return of the dying Mongol protagonist in a future Tibetan rebirth:

In the future may I be reborn as a Tibetan and cut the fringes of Mongol hats and the earrings of Mongol women! May the black tents be as numerous as if black tadpoles covered the grassland! May those who will be born in this place conquer the three realms and cast down the enemies and obstructers with might and power!

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[3] Recorded on August 17, 2014 in Drakar village.
[4] Recorded on August 22, 2014 in Tonche village.

The epilogue of the story entails oblique meanings, covered by this inter-narrative cliché. By summarising both the cursing of Mongols and the blessing of Tibetans in a prophecy, this conclusive sentence adheres to Vansina's definition of cliché as "a highly compressed and deceptively simple statement of meaning that refers to a much more complex reality" (Vansina 1985, 139). The use of this rather fixed oral cliché indeed shows how the entire historical and social background of Tibetan–Mongol relations in Amdo is condensed into a few sentences. By triggering the deification of a Mongol prince into the Tibetan landscape, the cliché provides a frame for compensating the historical reality of Mongol domination, effectively subverting it. At its minimum development, the plot of the narration is emblematically remembered through this idiomatic repetition, which stresses the intrinsic alterity and the fierce condemnation of Mongols.

Discourses of distinguishing ourselves from the Other are rooted in the perception of a threat invading not only our physical space but also generating long-term memories of the past and affecting present worldviews. The gradual and pervasive presence of Mongols in Amdo from the thirteenth century onwards made Tibetans hesitant about classifying them as strangers or neighbours: through frequent and enduring contacts they became acquainted with each other, although ethnic and cultural borders marked the lasting division between the two groups. Caught in this liminal role, the intermediate position of the Mongols between their own ethnic cultural and linguistic background and that of the surrounding Tibetans contributed to portraying them as being at once close and remote. Rather than being projected in the genre of fantastic descriptions of faraway lands and people, the immediacy of the Tibetan experience of encounters with the Mongols did not fix them in the category of exotic foreigners; for Tibetans, Mongols were rather familiar strangers.

From the Tibetan standpoint, the Mongols' "otherness is always approximate and relational because total otherness would be unintelligible" (Olmsted 1996, 168). The otherness of the Mongols is relationally built up and fuelled by contrasting it with the self-perception of the Tibetans and through the definition of their putative distinguishing characteristics.[5] Furthermore, since "strangers are not really

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[5] Regarding this attitude among neighbouring communities, anthropologists have labeled it the "narcissism of small differences", a concept first introduced by Freud in his *Civilization and its Discontents*: "I once interested myself in the peculiar fact that peoples whose territories are adjacent, and are otherwise closely related, are always at feud with and ridiculing each other, as, for instance, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the North and South Germans, the English and the Scotch, and so on. I gave it the name of narcissism in respect of minor differences, which does not do much to explain it. One can now see that it is a convenient and relatively har-

perceived as individuals, but as strangers of a certain type" (Blier 1993, 375), the status of being Other implies a range of natural inherent qualities that are not characteristic of specific individuals but are broadly ascribed to those coming from outside the community. At collective and individual levels, all societies generate and transmit certain ideas about foreigners, which easily turn into stereotypical markers that anticipate the encounter with strangers and can be so deeply rooted that the real meetings do not deny but confirm them.

The red-fringed hat is the motif that is immediately recognisable across narrations as a mark of alterity, and reflects a tendency to stereotyping the ethnic identity and the social position of the Mongol rulers. Stereotyping through the symbolic act of dressing, which becomes "an overdetermined signifier of difference", is a transcultural way to elaborate gender, ethnic and social differences (Dwyer 1999, 7). More specifically, "clothing and jewellery are read as a clear visual marker of the divide between the local and the foreign population" (Holloway 2005, 357). Through a metonymic stereotype, the Mongol hats and earrings embody and suggest alterity; they are unequivocal marks of a different ethnic and cultural identity, which at once identify, authenticate, stereotype and potentially discriminate against the Other.

This is further projected onto the iconographic representations of the three mountain gods of Amye Drakar that are still circulating in the area centuries after the Mongol threat has dissipated. In general, the Tibetan iconography of the territorial gods who populate the overcrowded pantheon and geography of Amdo conforms to fixed repetitive models of representation. While a trained local eye can easily distinguish among the features of different territorial gods, the outsider can be puzzled by their superficial similarities. However, in the case of the three brothers of Amye Drakar, the red-fringed hat is the emblematic symbol of the god, which makes his Mongol background immediately discernable. In contemporary times, the red-fringed hat is still worn by Mongol-speaking communities in Amdo like the Tibetans who speak the Bonan and Wutun languages[6] (Chinese: Tuzu) in the area of Rebgong and the Yellow Yughur (Chinese: Yuguzu) in northern Gansu during the annual festivals celebrating local mountain gods, weddings and traditional dances.

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mless form of satisfaction for aggressive tendencies, through which cohesion amongst the members of a group is made easier."

[6] I prefer this descriptive definition to the Chinese name Tuzu, which univocally identifies an ethnic distinction for this group, because most of them consider themselves to be Tibetans and many have actually changed their IDs to Tibetan (personal communication with Gerald Roche).

*The red-fringed hat and the earrings worn in the area of Rebgong
during the Lurol festival in Gnyan thog village*

In the iconography of the three brothers of Amye Drakar, the red-fringed hat metonymically symbolises Mongol otherness and the cliché–prophecy embodies a reflection and a resolution of the destiny and the place to be occupied by Mongols in the local geography. No matter how threatening and unwelcome the Mongols might have been, they had to fit somewhere in the landscape and mindscape of the local Tibetans; their presence had to be elaborated and processed in the framework of the intimate Tibetan contiguity between people, landscapes and territorial gods that characterise their relationship to the land. It is precisely this epistemology that sustains the transposition of Mongols onto a legendary conversion and incorporation in the local pantheon.

Dynamic and creative ambivalence is at the basis of the elaboration of an historical event into a legend, a process that can lead to the same event being reported in diametrically opposite versions. The illustrative extracts portray Mongols' different identities, but always show them in a bad light that naturalises their evilness. The Mongols who appear in the stories about the three brothers of Amye Drakar are members of the aristocracy, whose violent actions are characteristic of an oppressive ruling agency; their different status from ordinary Tibetans is symbolised by the red-fringed hats worn by men and

the heavy earrings worn by women. The Mongol threat is culturally elaborated as an impersonal evil presence that switches to a positive existence only after their rebirth in the form of a mountain god.

The perception of evilness is often associated with ethnic and social otherness and reflects social contrasts merged in the collective imaginary of a community. "Evilness and furthermore, demonic evilness, is something alien and threatening for human beings, who therefore tend to project it outside themselves. We do not perceive, nor do we want to perceive anything evil either in ourselves or in the representatives of the social class we belong to" (Valk 2001, 74-75). Therefore, 'others' are easily stereotyped into evil characters, especially when they embody ethnic as well as social alterity. The confrontation between the local Tibetan folks and the Mongol rulers takes the shape of a socially unbalanced opposition between local and foreigner, in which ethnic and social statuses become coincidental categories in defining the two parties involved: Mongols are the ruling aliens, whereas Tibetans are the ruled locals; the overlap of ethnic and social identity reduces the possibilities of confrontation and dialogue. However, instead of maintaining a polarised antithesis, belief narratives suggest that the effective inclusion and incorporation of the Other into the local Tibetan geography was the preferred solution.

Based on the assumption that "civilised centres" have a mission to spread the values of civilisation and help the spontaneous or forced conversion of alien peripheral people to the ideals of the centre, this cultural mechanism of assimilation was common among other peoples, from ancient Greece to Han China (Segal 1974, 289-308; Harrell 1995, 3-36). Likewise, despite being in the socially dominant position of rulers, Mongols were considered uncultured aliens at the margins, upon whom Tibetans exerted a centripetal force of attraction to incorporate them from the borders to the core of Tibetan cultural and religious identity.

Putting a Tibetan territorial god's origins in relation to Mongol ancestry is a way to effectively incorporate the foreign invader in the present of the community, where the descendants of those who were once foreigners have intermarried with Tibetans and are now born as indigenous. "Since most groups maintain strong ethnic boundaries there is an unwillingness to come to terms with an ancestry, which may be as much foreign as native because such borders might become at risk to be subverted" (Ó Giolláin 1987, 72). By entering the realm of vernacular belief, Mongols become integrated into the past of Tibetan communities in Amdo; once the Mongols have been transformed into supernatural beings with a foreign ancestry, their

memory is imprinted in the present and revived through contemporary worship of the three brothers of Amye Drakar.

In their human life the three brothers of Amye Drakar embody several identities of ethnic, cultural and social alterity. Being a member of the restricted but dominant minority of Mongol rulers, they are characterised as extraneous figures to the local Tibetans. The turning point in the narration occurs in the passage from human life to rebirth as gods. The moment when the Mongol minister kills them marks the end of their secular power and a fundamental change of identity. The rebirth as mountain gods grants the opportunity to take revenge on the Mongol murderers and become protector gods for the Tibetans.

The end of the human existence of the three brothers of Amye Drakar comes with the prophecy in the form of a curse on the Mongols, foretelling a return after death with the power of a god, and offers enduring protection to the Tibetan community against the foreign invaders. Notably, the change of side takes place after the human existence; in order to take the Tibetan side they dismiss their human form and are reborn as territorial gods; thus their status is empowered by the acquisition of a divine identity. The rebirth of powerful characters into divinities is a widespread phenomenon that is referred to as *mi shi btsan skyes* (death of a human, birth of a *btsan*) (Ramble 2008, 137). Within the narration, the passage from life to death and the very condition of being foreigner itself conveys a liminal status at the edges of Tibetan culture as the precondition enabling the protagonists to cross the border between their human existence and their rebirth as local protector gods.

Through the enactment of this dynamic of cultural assimilation, the cult of many Tibetan territorial gods in Amdo stemmed from the after-death deification of foreign generals and rulers of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, i.e. Han Chinese, Mongol, Tibetan (Buffetrille 2002; Nietupski 2014). The deification of the Other entails that their domestication takes places through an act of submission that simultaneously elevate their status.

In the representations found in painted scrolls, a whole set of paraphernalia consisting of armour, arrows, bows and well-equipped horses are the clear reminiscent markers of past martial identity, and deceptively insignificant details, such as the red-fringed hat, provide fundamental clues that help any attempt at an assessment of the historical and social context within which particular theogony-related narratives emerged. The after-human life incorporation of powerful and threatening foreigners into the already existent local Tibetan pantheon reconciles the Mongol presence within a Tibetan religious and cultural frame, which has been flexibly open to the introduction

of new territorial gods of both autochthonous and foreign origins down to the present day.

Following the revitalisation of Buddhism and the consolidation of monastic institutions during the later dispensation period in the twelfth century, Tibetan self-perception had shifted from that of a cultural periphery to a conscious role as an established Buddhist centre. This renovated confidence undoubtedly further affected and problematised the perception of outsiders in relation to Tibetans themselves. Dalton effectively notes how the Mongol arrival at that time triggered opposite reactions among Tibetans:

> Throughout the later dispensation period, Tibetans regularly depicted themselves as a benighted people dwelling in a demonic land at the very edges of civilization. […] Tibetans begin to portray their land less as a marginal backwater than as a Central Buddhist country under threat from its barbaric neighbours. Tibetans responded to the Mongol incursions in a variety of ways. Some portrayed the Mongols as long-prophesied protectors of the faith, while others wrote more ominous prophecies and developed large-scale ritual performances designed to repel the offending Mongol armies (Dalton 2011, 172).

Such a divergence of attitudes in dealing with the Mongols was manifested again upon the advent of Gushri Khan in the seventeenth century. In Central Tibet the severe conflict between Mongol supporters and opponents escalated as the on-going struggle for political power among Tibetans themselves intensified. Thus, in Central Tibet, Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624) performed ritual activities aimed at expelling the Mongols. In his *History of How the Mongols Were Turned Back* (*Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus*) he described twenty-five different ritual methods that could efficiently achieve the purpose of exorcising a foreign power from the Tibetan land (Gentry 2010, 132-136). The sponsors of these large-scale rituals were the rulers of Gtsang area, in south-west Central Tibet, who feared the rising power of the Dalai Lama and his Mongol patrons (Templeman 2012, 67). Ritual expulsion (*zlog pa*) exemplifies an alternative scenario to the deification of the Mongol prince in Amdo, who, once reborn as a mountain god, was appropriated by Tibetans rather than being banished. However, the approach to incorporation and acceptance is only superficially in conflict with the powerfully organised form of ritual expulsion expressed by the actions of Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan. In Amdo there was no Tibetan centralised institution of power that could have directly confronted the pervasive presence of Mongols. The lack of central power in Amdo might account for the emergence of alternative cultural strategies of symbolic incorporation

of the Mongols that we still find traces of in oral narration. The three extracts presented above do not represent an unequivocally identifiable Mongol agency although different vernacular storylines converge on the Tibetan gods of Amye Drakar as a cultural–religious re-elaboration of Mongol invasion. The post-mortem divinisation of the Mongol prince in Amdo and the ritual expulsion of Mongol armies in Central Tibet both entail a clear demarcation of territorial and ethnic borders between the local and the foreign population.

In return for his support, the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) granted his Mongol patron Gushri Khan the title of King Protector of the Dharma. However, honorary titles could only partially cover Mongol interference and legitimise their manipulation of local politics, openly denounced in the disconsolate verses composed in those same years by the abbot of Rongwo monastery in Amdo, Shar Skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607-1677):

> In this time in which the Buddha's teaching, the origin of benefit
> and happiness,
> Is being seized by the Mongols,
> Generally it is hard for the Tibetan people to be happy.
> In particular, the lamas don't have independence.
> The most beautiful clothes, the best cushions, and
> The best horses, the best food and drink
> Are in the hands of the Mongol masters (Sujata 2004, 2).

At this official level of discourse, the political and religious complexities of the time intermingled and disclosed conflicting interests and frustrations. At the same time, Mongols were penetrating Tibetans' daily lives and their presence surpassed the contingencies of time and became concretely, though invisibly, inscribed into the landscape.

The theogony of the three brothers of Amye Drakar recounts a story of formal ritual submission rather than foreseeing the total suppression of the Mongols. Contiguity between humans, landscape and supernatural beings prompted the deification of a Mongol, who was ethnically and socially extraneous to Amdo. Likewise, the geomantic analysis of the land that precedes the construction of any religious building is not only oriented towards the natural elements of the landscape but also detaches all classes of beings residing in it that should be both pleased and brought under control through offerings and violent actions, like pinning them to the ground with architectonic components of the building itself. The identification and submission of demons and different autochthonous supernatural beings is a prescribed ritual action for turning the natural landscape into a

cultural space in which the dangerous power of demons is converted into a positive force serving the Buddhist dharma, subsequent to which monasteries, temples, shrines and stupas can be built.

Mountain gods and the mountains on which they dwell tend to merge into a single ontology, which suggests that the incorporation of a foreigner in the local pantheon also affects the perception of the local landscape and, to a certain extent, its re-arrangement. Despite coming from outside, Mongols are immobilised and neutralised in the physical landscape in the same way as local demons: their eternal instalment on the three local mountains of the three brothers of Amye Drakar stands as a mark of the everlasting presence of divinised foreigners and also of the successful incorporation of Mongol ancestry in the local community.

This instalment in the land is not limited to mountains and their resident gods. Today, Mongol toponyms are still widespread in Amdo, far beyond the Mongol Autonomous Prefectures in Qinghai province, and stand as a constant reminder of the pervasive former occupation by the Mongol armies. The longstanding presence of a multi-ethnic and multicultural population in the region is reflected by the syncretic character of many toponyms, which notably include the name of the largest lake in Amdo, Mtsho sngon po (Blue Lake), translated in Chinese as *Qinghai hu*, 'Clear Blue Sea' and originally referred to by Mongols as Kokonor, which reflects the same semantic meaning of its Tibetan and Chinese equivalents. Today, the lake gives its name to the entire administrative province of Qinghai.

Mongol toponyms were introduced *ex novo* for previously unnamed places in order to designate new settlements or Mongol army transit areas.[7] Naming the landscape entails the expression of a political will of formal acquisition and incorporation of the land. Such examples of the Mongol wandering, fighting and naming activity in

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[7] For example, for a detailed account of the survival of Mongol toponyms in Henan Mongol Autonomous County, see Roche (2016, 10), who links the authority exercised by the Oirat-speaking Mongol princes with their naming activity of the landscape, and further to the Mongols' freedom of movement that was denied to the local Tibetan population: "the accumulated itineraries of the Henan princes throughout the polity over the course of nearly three centuries resulted in a thinly-spread residue of Oirat toponyms over a landscape inhabited primarily by a Tibetan-speaking population. Part of the reason for this was that the princes and their retinue were the only people who could move with impunity throughout Henan, whereas the rest of the population were subject to the strict enforcement of tribal boundaries, the transgression of which was seen as an infringement of community sovereignty and garnered violent retaliation."

Amdo are reported in the *Annals of Kokonor*, a work authored by the Mongol scholar Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788):[8]

> In that year (1636), Gushri Khan, leading an army allied with Pa thur te je[9] of the Dzungars, came to this region. They passed through Yile[10] and Tharim,[11] [and traversed] the river of Has tag and the Big Swamp ['Dam chen po][12] over the ice between autumn and winter. After arriving at Bu lung ger on the border of Kokonor, the soldiers and their horses took a rest there. Having subsisted on many wild antelopes, they gave the mountain where they stayed the name of Gwan yam thu. In the first month of the Fire Ox New Year (1637), having arrived in the upper part of the Kokonor, (Gushri Khan's) ten thousand soldiers fought a great battle with Tshog thu's thirty thousand soldiers. Because two mountain spurs became reddened by blood,[13] they are now known as the great and small Ulan Hosho.[14] His son Ta yan the je,[15] and others with troops, chased the remainder of Tshog thu's army across the ice of the Har gel and defeated them. Some soldiers went towards a valley on the east side of the Har gel and occupied it; so nowadays it is called Sha hai.

Mongol memory of the past has become spatialised in the oral description of the landscape and in the process of partial Tibetanisation and Sinicisation of Mongol toponyms, which make their original form and meaning almost unrecognisable in their present form. An example is a toponym like Ulan, a place on the northern bank of Kokonor. *Ulan*, a Mongol word meaning 'red', was later phonetically rendered in Tibetan as *Dbus lam* and thus semantically reinterpreted as 'The Road (*lam*) to Central Tibet (*Dbus*)'.[16] Some other place names

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[8] The Tibetan title is *Mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus sogs bkod pa'i tshangs glu gsar snyan zhes bya ba*. The translation of the following passage is mine; for the integral text in Tibetan and English see Ho-Chin Yang 1969, 69-70.

[9] He was the ruler of the Dzungar tribes.

[10] This is a phonetic calque of the toponym Ili, a town in today's Xinjiang Province.

[11] The Tarim Basin in today's Xinjiang Province.

[12] This place is the Tsaidam Basin in today's Qinghai province.

[13] The red colour of rocks and mountains as a consequence of bloody fighting in the past is a classic motif in the folk etymology of place names in Amdo.

[14] From the Mongol word *ulan qosu*, which literally means 'red promontory'.

[15] He succeeded his father Gushri Khan in 1655.

[16] This same Mongol toponym, reinterpreted in folk ethimology as semantically Tibetan, is encountered in other areas of Amdo. For example, Chos bstan rgyal (2014, 37-38) reports the following about 'Dbus' as the alternative toponym for Smug po community in Xinghai County: "An enlightened monk named Klu 'bum mi rgod went to Dbus (Central Tibet) with some other monks. On the way, they rested in Smug po Valley. Klu 'bum mi rgod looked at the beautiful landscape and said,

have been more resistant to Tibetan semantic reinterpretation, like the still widespread Mongol toponym Bayan, which designates 'good grass pastures'.

From the Tibetan local perspective, the past Mongol presence on the grassland is also recalled by the division between areas occupied by black tents (*sbra nag*) and white yurts (*gur dkar*). In the stories focusing on the three brothers of Amye Drakar, the motif of black tents versus white yurts is a recurrent expedient to express the spatial tension between the two groups and to emphasise their diversity. Though invisible today, the enduring perception of this housing separation is emblematic of the past ethnic distribution of Tibetans and Mongols in Amdo.

The presence in the landscape of the three brothers of Amye Drakar is one among the numerous emblematic traces to be found in the past as well as in the contemporary complex distribution, settlement and migration of communities in Amdo. Different versions of this theogonic myth express a subtle articulation of ethnic borders, power negotiations, human *versus* non-human relationships and social interactions. The performance of propitiatory rituals to the three brothers of Amye Drakar at the foot of the mountain where they dwell is the embodied silent enactment of local history, elsewhere neglected or forgotten. Moving beyond the simplistic Tibetanisation of the past and present linguistic, cultural and ethnic identities of Mongol-speaking populations in Amdo, belief narratives, maybe unexpectedly for the historian with a restricted concern for 'proper' historical documents, are a rich source of knowledge that unveils complex, dynamic and creative cultural processes whose ultimate agency is embedded in the local context, from where they cannot be eradicated to serve theoretical models abstractly developed elsewhere.

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"We are going to Dbus, the most beautiful and holy place on the Tibetan Plateau, but I have never seen such a beautiful place as this before. It's just like Dbus." Later, the valley became called Dbus Valley."

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James Duncan Gentry. *Power Objects in Tibetan Buddhism: The Life, Writings, and Legacy of Sokdokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen.* Leiden: Brill, 2017. xvi + 514 pp. ISBN 978-90-04-33019-1

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In this monograph, Gentry offers Tibetan Studies a very welcome case study, applying recent theories on material culture to the practices of Sokdokpa Lodrö Gyeltsen (1552–1624). However, it could have been improved by building on his 2013 Harvard dissertation on the same theme, rather than largely reproducing it in print.

The subtitle of the dissertation, "[o]bjects of power in the life, writings and legacy of the Tibetan ritual master Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan," is a more fitting description of this generally outstanding book. This master is famous within the Tibetan tradition as the man who built his public identity around the claim to be able to perform violent rites that would "turn back" or "repel" (*bzlog*) the "Mongols" (Sog) threatening large parts of Tibet during his life. These rituals made use of various objects, from those usually associated with Tibetan Buddhism such as human effigies, oblations and thread-crosses, to more creatively employed "objects" such as recited texts and newly built Buddhist structures (333). Sokdokpa also practiced and wrote many other things. Gentry includes an appendix (443–63), the only substantial element not found in his dissertation (apart from the index, 494–514), that comprises a very useful catalogue that Sokdokpa penned for his *Collected Works* and shows well the breadth of this master's interests. Gentry's focus in this monograph is the light that this literature (and other works on Sokdokpa) sheds on the importance, agency and aftereffect of power objects from the sixteenth century onward. More specifically, he seeks to question the idea that only humans give non-human objects power in Tibetan Buddhism. Gentry thus poses the question:

> to what extent does transformation [e.g. of world, body or psyche] depend on individual karma, intention, meditative cultivation, gnosis, or some other personal quality; and to what extent does efficacious, transformative power reside in certain special materials, sensory objects, locations, gurus, or deities, such that they can impart it to other beings and impact them? (16)

Gentry makes the case that Sokdokpa's many and nuanced views on the power of objects should inspire Tibetanists to take them more seriously in their descriptions of Tibetan Buddhism and culture in general. Sokdokpa's views are found in his discussions of their efficacy, apologies for his use of them and criticism of other practitioners for treating them wrongly or unsubtly. He argues that Sokdokpa wrote in a sophisticated way about the objects he used in his rituals, which were so important to his successful career and legacy, and that his representations find resonance with today's theorists of material culture such as Jane Bennett, Bruno Latour, Birgit Meyer and Daniel Miller. This approach offers a welcome corrective to the older tradition of Tibetan Studies that tended to ignore or disparage material aspects of Tibetan Buddhist religious rituals as degraded Buddhism and/or folk practice. Notable early exceptions among Tibetologists include Yael Bentor and Dan Martin, cited by Gentry (21, n. 38 and 179–80, nn. 18–19), and in Buddhist Studies Stanley Tambiah, whom he explicitly states was an inspiration for his study (21).

Gentry echoes Latour's sentiment when he states that his focus will be "object-power discourse" (27), neatly combining the latter's emphasis on three strands of analysis—the object or material, the power or social, and the discourse or representational. This balanced approach aims to avoid the replacement of a privileging of human agents with a blinkered focus on non-human agents. All three strands associate with each other, either harmoniously or in tension, and contribute together to build every complex and dynamic society.

Going further, Gentry represents Sokdokpa as adding his own perspective, such that we can "allow Sokdokpa's power-object discourse to present us with its world, not through the lens of these contemporary theorists, but as one conceivable alternative, which might contribute fresh possibilities regarding what it means to be human, and non-human" (17). He argues that Sokdokpa and proponents of the actor-network-theory (ANT), for instance, grant agency to non-humans in similar but different ways that should not be confused by applying etic frameworks onto the Tibetan context. Instead, he approvingly quotes Viveiros de Castro on '"the art of determining the problems of each culture, not of finding solutions for the problems posed by our own"' (25, n. 52). However, Gentry's

formulation of "object-power discourse" reveals a limitation in his approach, in that it privileges discourse as the noun qualified by the other two terms. This is perhaps due to a limitation of his sources, since we can only approach "Sokdokpa" through his writings, rather than perform an object biography on the materials he uses or conduct an anthropological survey of their social power. Yet it means that, in this reviewer's opinion, Gentry's fine book does not ultimately manage to break free of the previous weight of emphasis on literary discourse in Tibetan Studies.

In Part One, Gentry leads the reader through the turbulent sixteenth-century world preceding the birth of Sokdokpa. Of primary interest is Zhikpo Lingpa (1524–1583), whose influence on Sokdokpa was acknowledged in the latter's biography of the former, and consisted of two main points (to quote Gentry):

1. the copious edible sacra and other power objects that Zhikpo Lingpa revealed, exchanged, and implemented during his lifetime; and
2. the ritual cycle *Twenty-five Ways to Repel Armies* and other violent army-repelling and natural disaster-repelling rites, which Zhikpo Lingpa discovered, implemented, and conferred upon Sokdokpa to enact after his death. (56)

Also of interest are two treasure-revealers (*gter ston*) from Mon, now Bhutan, Yongdzin Ngawang Drakpa (16th c.) and Tuksé Dawa Gyeltsen (1499–1587). The former may have been identified as a seven-times born Brahmin, thus imbuing his flesh with magical power and meaning that it could be used to gain liberation, ingested as pills (79). Gentry also looks at the process by which the latter of Sokdokpa's mentors "cemented his identity as a seven-times born one whose physical flesh would be potent enough to both liberate beings and repel enemies" (83). Sokdokpa would go on to use and propound the benefits of these objects in his day, while also lauding his own power over them and ability to interpret prophecies regarding the time at which their deployment would be most effective (143–52).

Part Two delves in more detail into the tension in Sokdokpa's depiction of the subjective power of Sokdokpa and the objective power of the pills, amulets, sounds and visions with which he was involved in various rites. Gentry offers a close reading of a number of his theoretical works and ritual texts, and argues that Sokdokpa's discourses do not merely privilege the material. In fact, it seems at times that Sokdokpa's works advocate for more discourse against those ritualists who had gone too far in the material direction. Gentry

quotes him as saying about initiation ceremonies "these days even great lamas just place the crystal, bell, and the rest on the head, and do not perform the introduction" or *ngo sprod* (365).

Finally, Part Three charts the influence of Sokdokpa on two state-formation projects. These effects were positive in Sikkim (415–27), but worked negatively in how the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682) tried to destroy his legacy (384–408). This part also provides a number of interesting descriptions of ritual objects linked to Sokdokpa, their biographies and uses down to the present day. Of the three strands of Latourian analysis, object, power and discourse, this part most extends the discussion into the second, the social (though it also picks up some of the similar themes addressed in Part One). Yet even here, Gentry argues, the three cannot and should not be divorced. As he says of Lha Tshering's attempt in this century to defend Sokdokpa and others against the attacks spearheaded by the Fifth Dalai Lama:

> the indissoluble link between Zhikpo Lingpa, Sokdokpa, and their powerful object-oriented rites means that safeguarding their authority and authenticity in the eyes of potential detractors is tantamount to securing the efficacy of the objects and rites they produced, revealed, or implemented, objects and rites that are now central to the identity of Sikkim's Tibetan Buddhist Bhutia population. (429)

Gentry has evidently read widely within Sokdokpa's oeuvre, and translates many apposite words of this master to support his case. He has also thankfully retained the Tibetan in transliteration, so that scholars can check that the translations do justice to the texts (which in the most part they do). Gentry appears also firmly grounded in the related Tibetan and non-Tibetan academic literature, with which he ably contextualises this master's works in its time, as heir to numerous traditions inherited from the past, and affecting future Tibetans' relations to power objects. He is to be commended for his judicious use of learned footnotes, which this reviewer was relieved to see do not misrepresent the earlier periods of Tibetan Buddhist history stretching right back to the imperial period.

To explain Sokdokpa's perspective, Gentry analyses important passages of his works in multiple ways and from many angles. However, this can often make for dense and complex sentences that tend towards tortuous and repetitious prose at precisely those moments when the reader desires a clear and concise statement of the point being made. Gentry is thankfully much better at writing history, and so we are treated to fine narrative representations of Sokdokpa's era lit with well-chosen vignettes from his life and times. At these points, in the same way that he describes Sokdokpa, Gentry

satisfyingly "weaves throughout these biographies episodes that attempt to demonstrate to readers through compelling narrative sequences the power of the material media that he theoretically defends in his apologetic writings" (138).

However, certain small details still detract from the overall effect. We are often asked to "recall" matters discussed sometimes fifty pages previously and not easily located using the index, when it would have been easy to have added a page reference to aid our recall. The book is pleasingly free of spelling and grammatical errors, but some have been transmitted from the dissertation to the book while others have appeared in the process (see especially 99–101). It is unclear why Gentry chooses to use Sanskrit, English or Tibetan terms at several points, since this is not explained at the beginning of the book. Nor are the very nice +, - and = *sigla* used in his transliterations, though they are largely self-evident.

More problematically, Gentry does not appear to have taken on board the insights of the "linguistic turn" in his zeal for the "material turn." This reviewer found that Gentry privileges a "Sokdokpa" throughout the work, and does not enter into any preliminary philological criticism of the corpus or the words or deeds attributed to this person. Thus, he takes statements in colophons for granted as self-references (122) and generally refers to Sokdokpa's utterances in the past tense of historical reality rather than the present tense of textual discourse. He claims, for instance, that Sokdokpa's *History of How the Mongols Were Turned Back* "is told from the particular vantage point of its author … [and] we must ask what effects in light of his broader context Sokdokpa may have hoped to achieve among his readers" (91). Gentry here strays into speculation over Sokdokpa's authorial intent in a way that does not seem warranted. These statements should instead be problematized with reference to the traditional, genre and transmissional constraints placed upon what we may know of any author's relationship to his work, including the specific constraints prevalent in Tibetan literary traditions such as historiography, and the physical, object-related constraints that limit the extent of his texts' audiences. This reviewer is no advocate for the wholesale "death of the author," yet would like to have seen Gentry take a more critical stance towards his protagonist—also finding much more satisfying analyses (such as at 166) where authorial intent is dropped from the discussion.

The above approach means that one prominent actor in the book goes largely unexamined: the text. Gentry provides one indication of a more complex relationship between the "author" and his text when he discusses the supply of paper as influencing Sokdokpa's increased productivity (130), and later describes the paper required for creating

effigies of the Mongol hoards (and so repel them, 117) as "a scarce and expensive commodity which Sokdokpa could secure only through his diverse connections with a number of wealthy patrons" (143–44), which would occasionally run dry at inopportune moments during the fighting (127). This reviewer feels that Gentry could have explored such aspects of the agency of written works and the associations created by their material bases more fully, and so mitigated the privileging of the human agent "Sokdokpa" within the discourse of the monograph.

Also lacking is a serious consideration of whether this "Sokdokpa" arguing in the pages of these cited and quoted works could have been wrong, except for one footnote where he shows the master's conception of "Mongols" to be flawed but nonetheless insists on using Sokdokpa's usage throughout the book (29–30, n. 57). Gentry is right to criticise the unreflective use of the term "legitimation" in Tibetan Studies, which reduces a complex situation to a single socio-political strand of analysis, and instead describe two of the multiple levels of orientation of masters such as Sokdokpa—the quotidian and the sacralised (53–54, n.48). However, it seems that Gentry uses this perspective on Sokdokpa to avoid any responsibility to criticize the positions taken in works attributed to him—replacing a blanket disparagement with a general acceptance. He elsewhere states that, at times, "Sokdokpa attempts to create for himself a public image with just the right balance of moral integrity, selfless servitude, and dangerous power" (141), but this is merely accepted rather than challenged: "The dissonance between these two orientations can be read as an extension of the fundamental friction between subjective and objective sources of power that animates Sokdokpa's power-object discourse throughout" (*ibid*). If Sokdokpa is to be taken seriously as a possible alternative to theorists of material culture, then more work would have to be done to demarcate the limits of his perspective and identify moments when his arguments are inferior to those of recent theorists. Nonetheless, these criticisms speak more to the difficulty of the task that Gentry undertook, and should not be read as a reason not to generally applaud his results.

Unlike many dissertations and monographs, Gentry refreshingly remains committed to the theory he discusses in the opening chapter, raises theoretical issues at many turns throughout the book and then returns to focus primarily on the material turn in his conclusion. He entertains the possibility that textual studies of objects such as his "run the risk of surreptitiously assimilating materiality to the subjective realm of human discourse" (435) but appeals to recent theories of material culture to try to escape from this trap. In fact, he suggests that Sokdokpa offers an improvement to these theories, a

"re-materialisation of textuality [through which] I envision this study to nudge the material turn into new directions. To be precise, … a suggestion for how material culture studies of religion can incorporate or proceed based on the study of texts in a way that does not reduce cultural discourses to materiality or vice versa" (440–41). This reviewer is very sympathetic with his cause, but feels that such a dense and complex monograph may not have a great impact on the wider field of material studies outside of Tibetology.

Gentry's dissertation, and thus this book, is a rather technical work of obviously fine scholarship that will be of great benefit to Tibetan Studies, most obviously as a detailed treatment of the key aspects of the life and works of Sokdokpa. It is also invaluable for anyone working on this period of Tibetan history and important for broaching the underappreciated topic of the material world for the benefit of Tibetology in general. Nonetheless, this reviewer regrets that the dissertation did not, and hopes that this work will, form the basis for a more ambitious and approachable work on power objects in Tibetan Buddhism—perhaps even a Tibetan history of material culture to match John Kieschnick's 2003 work, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, or Fabio Rambelli's 2007 monograph, *Buddhist Materiality: A cultural history of objects in Japanese Buddhism*, for lands further east. For such an undertaking by any other scholar, Gentry's fine scholarly work would definitely be required reading.

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