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Kamalaśīla's Word Commentary to the *Heart Sūtra*, Translation and Edition

James B. Apple

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he *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po* ≈ *prajñāhṛdaya*), more commonly called the *Heart Sūtra*, is known world-wide in traditional and modern Mahāyāna Buddhist cultures. The *Heart of Wisdom* has been textually present in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist cultures for at least the past twelve hundred years. The following study presents for the first time an annotated translation and edition of Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po bshad pa*), the earliest among extant Indian Buddhist commentaries and an Indian Buddhist commentary that was not included in the Tibetan canon. Previously recognized, but not systematically studied, Kamalaśīla's commentary provides clear evidence that the short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* was brought from India to Tibet, that Indian and Tibetan Buddhist traditions knew and recited a short recension of the scripture, that the whole scripture circulated as a *dhāraṇī*, that the short recension embedded in Kamalaśīla's commentary circulated independently in Tibet and Dunhuang, that this Indo-Tibetan short recension does not match Xuanzang's translation, and that the recension preserved in Kamalaśīla's commentary is similar to, but importantly different from, recensions that circulated in the eighth century that are preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese sources. The following study provides an important snapshot in the history of the *Heart of Wisdom* and documents its place in eighth century Indo-Tibetan forms of Buddhism.

Introduction

The *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po* ≈ *prajñāhṛdaya*), more commonly called the *Heart Sūtra*,¹ is known world-wide in traditional and modern Mahāyāna Buddhist cultures. The *Heart of Wisdom* has been textually

¹ Although the title of this text is conveniently referred to as "Heart Sūtra" in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and modern languages (Silk 1994, 3n1) as well as in the title of this article, I have referred to the text as *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po* ≈ *prajñāhṛdaya*) throughout this article to reflect the historical and cultural specific name of the text in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism.

present in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist cultures for at least the past twelve hundred years. The following study presents for the first time an annotated translation and edition of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po bshad pa*) of Kamalaśīla (ca. 740-795 CE), the earliest among extant Indian Buddhist commentaries and an Indian Buddhist commentary that was not included in the Tibetan canon.² This significant commentary was previously recognized by La Vallée Poussin (1962) in his catalog of Tibetan Dunhuang works, as well other scholars (Ueyama 1965; Conze 1974; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008), but this commentary until now has not been not systematically studied or translated. Although the textual basis for this study, Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript IOL Tib J 122, was recognized by La Vallée Poussin (1962) and Ueyama (1965) as authored by Kamalaśīla, later modern authors may have overlooked this commentary as being the same one that is included in the Tibetan Tangyurs (*bstan 'gyur*) and translated in English by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (1996). However, even a cursory glance at the translation and critical edition furnished below with Lopez's English translation indicates that this Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript differs from the Tibetan Tangyur commentary. In brief, Kamalaśīla's commentary preserved in the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript critical edition provided below is on the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* while Kamalaśīla's commentary preserved in the Tangyur (Pk. No. 522 and Narthang (*snar thang*), N, Volume ma 340a5-342b6) is on the Long recension (see below) among other differences between the two commentaries.³ The Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript critical edition and English translation given below also substantiates this difference, as all of the manuscripts comprising the critical edition below, IOL Tib J 122, IOL Tib J 125, Pelliot Tibétain 495, and Pelliot Tibétain 496, are based on the same work of Kamalaśīla's commentary on the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom*. Another reason that this commentary was perhaps overlooked is that Marcelle Lalou (1890–1967) in her inventory of Tibetan texts from Dunhuang, while identifying the texts PT 495 and PT 496 as *Heart of Wisdom* commentaries, did not philologically examine PT 495 while in the same publication she described PT 496 as written by Dpal gyi sgron ma, which, based

² Kamalaśīla's commentary included among Tibetan Tangyurs (*bstan 'gyur*) is the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa ka ma la shī las mdzad pa bzhuḡs so* ("A Commentary on "The Essence of the Perfection of Wisdom" written by Kamalaśīla"; *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayanāmaṭīkā*) included only in the Peking (Pk. No. 522) and Narthang (*snar thang*) (N, Volume ma 340a5-342b6) Tangyurs. English Translation Lopez 1996, 105-109. See further remarks below.

³ Kamalaśīla's Long recension commentary also does not contain outline division subtitles on the "aspects of meaning" (*dōn rnam pa*). See the table in Appendix 6. On the structure of the Long recension according to Indian commentators see Lopez (1988, Chapter 9).

upon the critical edition given below, is the name of the scribe.⁴

Dunhuang Tibetan Manuscripts Related to the Heart of Wisdom

As is well-known in the study of Buddhist traditions related to the *Heart of Wisdom* there are “two broad recensions...conventionally referred to as Long and Short” (Silk 2021, 100). Both Long and Short recensions are preserved in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts. Among works preserved in Tibetan, the Short recension is only preserved at Dunhuang while Tibetan canonical sources preserve the Long recension as well as Indian and Tibetan commentaries on the Long recension. Until now, a commentary on the Short recension by an Indian Buddhist author has not been found or recovered. The recension and commentary of the present study concerns the Short recension embedded within a manuscript from Dunhuang. There are perhaps over 180 copies of the *Heart of Wisdom / Heart Sūtra* among manuscripts, fragments, and art work discovered and preserved from the ancient oasis city-state of Dunhuang.⁵ A great number of these manuscripts are preserved in the British Library in London, England brought by Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, France brought by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945).

Among the known and cataloged manuscripts from Dunhuang at least ninety, if not more, are preserved in Tibetan script.⁶ As far as currently known, there are roughly five types of the *Heart of Wisdom* among Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts: (1) the Long recension in the Tibetan language such as PT 449 that is different from the Tibetan Kangyur (*bka' gyur*) Long recension; (2) a Long recension in the Tibetan language matching that found in the Kangyur as in the example of PT 457; (3) a transliteration version of the Chinese “Heart Sūtra” written in Tibetan script. This type would include PT 448 which is a transliteration of Xuanzang's Chinese translation; (4) manuscripts that preserve the Short recension, such as Lalou (1939) catalog numbers PT

⁴ Lalou (1939, 116). See Doney 2023 and Dotson (2013-2014), and Iwao (2012) for scribal practices of Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts.

⁵ Listed by Fukui (2000, 63-64) as cited by Tanahashi (2014, 64). I do not have access to the important study by Fumimasa Fukui (福井文雅).

⁶ Among manuscripts preserved in the Tibetan script, there are at least seventy (Ueyama 1965, 73), ninety, or possibly even over one hundred manuscripts of the *Heart of Wisdom* preserved at Dunhuang (Silk 1994, 62-63). According to Fukui, Bibliothèque Nationale de France houses seventy manuscripts of the *Heart of Wisdom* in Tibetan, discovered and brought to France by Paul Pelliot (Tanahashi 2014 citing Fukui 2000, 63,64), while the British Museum and the British Library house eleven manuscripts in Tibetan brought to England by Aurel Stein (Tanahashi 2014, 69).

451–456, and all the listings from PT 464 through to PT 486. The Short recension is the most numerous among Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts of the *Heart of Wisdom*. Many manuscripts of this type state that they are translated from the Indian language (*rgya gar skad du*) and/or based on Indian exemplars (*rgya dpe*) (see Appendixes below); (5) Finally, a fifth type of Dunhuang Tibetan *Heart of Wisdom* manuscript is a recension found within a commentary or liturgical text. These include texts such as IOL 751, or the manuscript of IOL Tib J 122 which is the basis of the present edition and translation.

The following edition of Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* is based on the Tibetan Dunhuang exemplars available from the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) and Bibliothèque nationale de France Gallica (BnF). The Dunhuang exemplars consist of one near complete version (IOL Tib J 122) and three fragments of the commentary, including IOL Tib J 125, as well as previously unidentified, nearly complete, fragments Pelliot Tibétain 495 and Pelliot Tibétain 496. Details regarding these editions and exemplars are briefly described in the section below entitled "Description of Dunhuang Manuscripts and Fragments." The Tibetan edition of these manuscripts provided below clearly demonstrates a Short recension embedded in a commentary composed by Kamalaśīla that differs from Xuanzang's translation of the Short recension.

Besides the philological comparison of the Short recension embedded in Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* with other Dunhuang manuscripts documented below, how can one infer that the following edition based on IOL Tib J 122 is different from the well-known Short recension of Xuanzang's *Xinjing* 心經 (Taisho No. 251) or other Short recensions? As Silk (2021, 104) has recently reported, the "Tibetan script transcription of the *Heart Sūtra* found at Dunhuang (Pelliot tibétain 448) records Xuanzang's Chinese translation in Tibetan script." Along these lines, a Short recension of the Sanskrit preserved in Chinese transcription (Taisho 256), initially credited to Xuanzang is "clearly due to Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–774)" (Silk 2021, 103) and actually differs from Xuanzang's translated version as pointed out by Ishii (2015, 499[26]-494[31]). A primary difference, among others, clearly discussed by Ishii (2015), is that all extant Sanskrit manuscripts, as well as all the Tibetan documents included in this present article, read "*svabhāvaśūnyān*" (≈ Tib. *ngo bo nyid kyis stong par*), "empty of essence," which Xuanzang's version lacks. In brief, there are at least three different Short recensions preserved at Dunhuang: (1) Xuanzang's Chinese version, (2) Amoghavajra's transliteration version, (3) and Tibetan Short recension version(s). These three are different versions of a Short recension. The following study focuses on a known Tibetan Short recension (Ueyama 1965) embedded within a

preserved Dunhuang Tibetan commentary attributed to Kamalaśīla (La Vallée Poussin, 1962:47-48, entry number 122).

These facts along with the philological data of the following Tibetan edition demonstrate that a Tibetan Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* embedded in IOL Tib J 122 matches other extant Sanskrit short versions but does not match Xuanzang's or Amoghavajra's version.⁷ Even then, from a broader historical perspective, how can one infer that the Short recension embedded in Kamalaśīla's commentary, as well the commentary itself, or even the *Heart of Wisdom* (a.k.a *Heart Sūtra*), were even known in India at this time? The colophon of IOL Tib J 122 attributes the commentary to Kamalaśīla and the internal evidence in the commentary demonstrates an author familiar with details of Indian religious culture in its comments on the life of Śāriputra. As discussed below, the content of IOL Tib J 122 also provides the foundation for the commentarial exegesis of the Indian Buddhist scholar Praśāstrasena's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Tōh. no. 3821), which is a word commentary on the Long recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po*) (translated in Lopez 1996, 150–164). Although Praśāstrasena's commentary is on the extended Long recension, embedded in its comments are remnants of the earlier Short recension Tibetan Dunhuang translations that have been observed but not recognized as belonging to earlier Tibetan translations found among Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g. *kun tu spyan ras gzigs kyi dbang po; sarvāvalokiteśvara*, Lopez 1996, 154; also Conze 1974, 60–61). These points also apply to the eighth century Indian Buddhist commentator Jñānamitra, whose *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayavyākhyā* (translated Lopez 1996, 141–150) on the Long recension preserves the earlier language of the Short Recension as well (e.g. Lopez, 1996, 143).

The Heart of Wisdom in the Pāla Dynasty

Even with thorough philological arguments suggesting earlier Indian beginnings of this scripture, some scholars, guided by certain theories,⁸

⁷ On Amoghavajra's Short recension of Sanskrit transliterated in Chinese see Chen (2004) and Tanahaashi (2014, 213-214).

⁸ An early advocate for the hypothesis that the "Heart *Sūtra*" is an apocryphal text that came from China due to the influence of the famous monk-translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (596-664 CE; Brose 2021) is Jan Nattier (1992). Nattier's provocative thesis rests on a number of problematic philological issues (for which, see Ishii 2015) and unproven assumptions including that "all Indo-Tibetan commentaries...are based on the longer version..." (Nattier 1992, 179). Fukui (2000, as cited in Tanahashi 2014, 77) has described Nattier's article as "driven by theory and not convincing." A general problem with Nattier's (1992) framing of the historical narrative is the presumption of a stable "Large Prajñāpāramitā" corpus that is

may be led to claim that the *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po*) did not exist in India and was only commented on by such Indian Buddhist scholars such as Vimalamitra, Atiśa, and so forth, who encountered the scripture in Tibet because the *Heart of Wisdom* “originated” in China. In addition to Kamalaśīla’s commentary (IOL Tib J 122) preserving a word commentary on the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* provided below, the following statement from Dharmamitra, an early ninth century abbot of Nālānda who was a student of Kamalaśīla’s classmate Haribhadra (ca. 730–795 CE), indicates that some form of this scripture was known in India. Dharmamitra states,

The Blessed One, king of the Śākya, moistened with a compassionate mind, taught as many teachings of concordant doctrines each of their own specific type as a means of establishing definite goodness (*nīḥśre-syas*) and high status (*abhyudaya*) to all sentient beings; the pure, the best, the principal, and most sublime among the 84,000 divisions of the Dharma is the Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*) because there is

comparable between the versions attributed to Kumārajīva or Xuanzang either brought to China, or composed in China, based on a regional Sanskrit version at Gilgit. Nattier relies on Schopen for this regional Gilgit representative version, but as Schopen (2009, 2012) has clearly demonstrated, following upon Ruegg’s (2004: 21) suggestion, there was not any single Urtext traceable to a unique archetype of any Mahāyāna literary document, as there could be multiple variant versions of a scripture at the same time from the very same place (Schopen 2009: 193; Cf. Apple 2014, 27n4). In brief, scriptures in Indic Buddhist traditions were an open textual tradition with versions subject to emendation, change, and recensional variants from the same scriptural text even in the same locatable time and place, not to speak of the variables of a scriptural text across time and place. As Nattier (2003: 13–16) later explains, a great amount of “what we have today are written canonical documents that originated as oral texts” but that the social and historical processes that took place to produce “what are now known as ‘Mahāyāna sūtras’ took place off-camera—that is, were never documented in written form . . .” Even though we do not have access to the “off-camera” stages of the beginning developments of Mahāyāna literary documents, we do have access to snapshots of the developments of specific Mahāyāna discourses as preserved in Indic languages, Chinese, and Tibetan. The following study therefore provides, based on Nattier’s (2003) photographic model, a “snapshot” (Apple 2014) of an Indian Buddhist commentary on the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* of an Indian Buddhist scholar known to be in Tibet in the late eighth century. Although this study does not focus on providing a text critical analysis of the recensions of the “*Heart of Wisdom*” a.k.a “Heart Sūtra” in Tibetan or other various languages, this study clearly demonstrates that a version of the *Heart of Wisdom* was known in India in the eighth century and that a Short recension of this scripture was studied, commented upon, and recited by Indian and Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet in the late eighth century. The four Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts of Kamalaśīla’s commentary that comprise the following Tibetan edition match the same recension. I have placed the Short recension of Kamalaśīla’s “*Heart of Wisdom*” embedded in his commentary in the Appendixes for comparison with other known eighth centuries versions for comparative purposes only. A full text critical study of the Tibetan Dunhuang version(s) of the “*Heart of Wisdom*” a.k.a “Heart Sūtra” alone awaits further study.

nothing which is not contained in that. Furthermore, some say that the foremost essential meaning (*snying po'i don*), ultimate reality, is in the *Noble Heart of the Perfection of Wisdom* (*Āryaprajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*) and so forth.⁹

Along these lines, Dharmamitra's commentary also preserves an Indian Buddhist understanding of the "Essence" or "Heart" (*hṛdaya*) of the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*),

...[5b] The Mahāyāna sūtra called "*The Noble Buddhāvataṃsaka*" states, "The childish although not knowing awakening, they rely upon it." Therefore, this natural Perfection of Wisdom is the principal Perfection of Wisdom and because it is very dear (*rab tu gces pa*) one speaks of the so called **heart** of the Perfection of Wisdom. How is it that a force apprehended by the mind abides and increases in the body and so forth? When that mind becomes stable in relation to the various part of the body it is called "**heart.**" The agitated mind is due to latencies. It is an abode of many conceptual thoughts. One says, "Abiding as the object of the heart" and when there is not a heart that supports that, the mind does not abide, and when [an object] definitely does not abide in the body along with the faculties, that is the **heart** and that is very dear and reknowned as "*hṛdaya.*" Likewise, if there did not exist a natural Perfection of Wisdom, non-conceptual wisdom would not arise no matter what object of observation was relied upon. If [non-conceptual wisdom] does not arise, then how will the path, results, and texts occur? Therefore, this [natural Perfection of Wisdom] is called "*hṛdaya*" because it is very dear.¹⁰

⁹ *Abhisamayālaṅkārikāprajñāpāramitopadeśa śāstraṭīkāprasphuṭapadā*, D 2a: *bcom ldan 'das shākya'i rgyal po thugs rje'i thugs brlan pa des 'gro ba thams cad mngon par mtho ba dang nges par legs pa la 'god pa'i thabs su gyur pa rang rang gi rigs dang rjes su mthun pa'i chos bstan pa ji snyed chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong bstan pa rnams las rab dang phul dang / gtso bo dang / gya nom pa nyid ni shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste / [2b] der gang ma bsdu pa'i don 'ga' yang med pa'i phyir ro / / de yang kha cig ni don dam pa'i bden pa snying po'i don gtso bor byas pa 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po la sogs pa'o / / . See Apple (2015, 4-5n5) on adding "Noble" (*ārya* ≈ 'phags pa) to the title of a discourse to indicate that it is a teaching of the Buddha.*

¹⁰ *Abhisamayālaṅkārikāprajñāpāramitopadeśa śāstraṭīkāprasphuṭapadā*, D 5a-b: ...[5b] *zhes gsungs la 'phags pa sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba'i mdo theg pa chen po dang rab tu ldan pa las / byis pas byang chub mi shes kyang / / de dang de la rab tu gnas / / zhes gsungs te / de'i phyir rang bzhin gyis shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'di ni gtso bo'i shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste / rab tu gces pa'i phyir shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po zhes bya'o zhes kyang gsungs te / de'i phyir rang bzhin gyis shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'di ni gtso bo'i shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ste / rab tu gces pa'i phyir shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po zhes bya'o zhes kyang gsungs te / ji ltar lus la sogs pa gnas shing 'phel ba ni sems kyis bzung ba'i mthu yin la / sems de yang snying zhes bya ba'i lus kyi bye brag de la rab tu brtan pas na / bag chags kyis ni dkrugs pa'i sems / / rnan par rtog pa mang po'i gnas / / snying gi yul la rab tu gnas / / zhes gsungs te / rten du gyur pa'i snying med na sems mi gnas shing / / de ma gnas par gyur na dbang po dang bcas pa'i lus nges par mi gnas pas na snying ste / rab tu gces pa*

An exegetical understanding of *hr̥daya* is also found in Kamalaśīla (IOL Tib J 122), Jñānamitra (Lopez 1996, 141–2), and Praśāstrasena's commentaries (Lopez 1996, 151). In addition to these points that some form of the *Heart of Wisdom* existed in India and that Indian Buddhists were familiar with the notion of *hr̥daya* in relation to *prajñāpāramitā*, there is no record of Dharmamitra ever travelling to Tibet or anywhere else outside of India. In brief, the knowledge of the *Heart of Wisdom* and its exegesis in Indian Buddhist history at Nālandā, and from scholars trained at Nālandā, is actually a distinct possibility in the history of *Prajñāpāramitā*.

Historical Context

In order to provide some historical context for the authorship of Kamalaśīla's commentary, I will provide a brief overview of the development of Buddhism in eighth century Tibet related to Kamalaśīla's arrival in the Land of Snows. Śāntarakṣita (Zhi ba 'tsho; c. 725-788), a Nālandā abbot of the Mūlasarvāstivāda ordination lineage was invited to Tibet by the Emperor Khri-srong lde-bstan (c. 742-797). Travelling through Nepal, Śāntarakṣita first arrived in Tibet in 763 and Tibetan translation activities began while Śāntarakṣita served as the Emperor's advisor.¹¹ The construction of the first Tibetan monastery of Samyé (*Bsam yas*) started in 775. The first seven Tibetan monk were ordained in 779. In the 780s, Tibetan military expansion extended into northwest China up into the Ordos region (Beckwith 1987: 148–56), including the major Buddhist oasis-state of Dunhuang. These martial activities prompted an exchange between various currents of Buddhism in central Tibet and Dunhuang. Khri-srong lde-bstan requested an arrangement with China (781) to send two Buddhist monks, replaced every two years, for teaching Buddhism (Demiéville 1952: 184n2). Khri-srong lde-bstan also patronized the copying and studying of the *Śatasahāsrīkā-prajñāpāramitā* as evinced by the numerous Tibetan manuscripts of this scripture found at Dunhuang and the Emperor's own commentary on the massive work.¹²

ni hri da ya zhes grags so // de bzhin du rang bzhin gyis shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa med na rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes dmigs pa gang la brten nas kyang skye bar mi 'gyur la / de ma skyes par gyur na ji ltar lam dang / 'bras bu dang gzhung dag 'byung // de bas na 'di yang hr-i da ya zhes gsungs te rab tu gces pa'i phyir ro //

¹¹ For an overview of Śāntarakṣita life and works see Eltschinger and Marks (2019a) and Doney (2017) for his role as the Emperor's advisor. On Tibetan translation activities commencing in 763 when Śāntarakṣita arrived in Tibet see Scherrer-Schaub (2002).

¹² See Khri srong sde btsan, Chos rgyal (ca. 742-797), *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa rgya cher 'grel pa in Khri srong lde'u btsan gyi gsung 'bum* (2013). On the importance of the Tibetan manuscripts of the *Śatasahāsrīkā-prajñāpāramitā* at

After the conquest of the Dunhuang region in 787, Khri-srong lde-bstan communicated with such figures as the Yogācāra master Tankuang 曇曠 who had studied at the Ximing-si temple before arriving in Dunhuang in 763 CE (Ueyama 2012: 20-23) and who composed a work in response to the questions of the Tibetan King Khri srong-lde-btsan (Pachow 1979a:42-43; Apple and Apple 2017, 101). The Emperor also brought a Chinese Chan master known as heshang (monk) Moheyan, or hva shang Mahāyāna in Tibetan, to central Tibet. Moheyan taught a system of *dhyāna* (meditation) that was current in the Dunhuang region at this time and gained as many as five thousand Tibetan followers (Demiéville 1952: 25, 154), including noble ladies from prominent clans residing at the royal court (Wangdu, Diemberger, and Sørensen 2000: 76–77). Moheyan's teachings were controversial in that he advocated a spontaneous path to Buddhahood (*cig car pa* or *ston mun pa*; Ch. *dunmen*) involving sudden awakening (*dunwu*). These teachings and the patronage they generated troubled Indian scholar-monks residing at Bsam-yas who taught a path of gradual attainment (*rims gyis pa* or *btsen min pa*; Ch. *jianmen*).

After the death of Śāntarakṣita in 788, his disciple Kamalaśīla (Padma'i ngang tshul, c. 740-795) arrived shortly thereafter and became involved in a discussion or council (ca. 792–794) with Moheyan and his followers commonly known as the “Samyé Debate.” The *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* appears to have been popular at this time as Tankuang, Moheyan, and Kamalaśīla cite this scripture in their works. Kamalaśīla would later compose a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*.¹³ The *Heart of Wisdom*, however, is not cited by Tankuang, nor is this scripture cited by Moheyan or Kamalaśīla in the Samyé Debate related literature. Rather, for the Samyé Debate, Kamalaśīla reportedly focused on the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra* while Moheyan utilized the *Śatasahasrika-prajñāpāramitā* and the *Vajracchedikā*.¹⁴ Recent scholarship has demonstrated that both Moheyan and Kamalaśīla relied upon the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to substantiate their arguments.¹⁵ Along these lines, Van Schaik's work on “Tibetan Zen” also indicates that the *Vajracchedikā* was important for Chinese and Tibetan based groups in Tibet and Dunhuang during the late eighth century (Van Schaik 2014, 2015).

Dunhuang see Lalou (1954), Dotson (2013-2014), and Doney (2023).

¹³ For Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāvajracchedikāṭīkā* see Tendzin 1994.

¹⁴ Wangdu, Diemberger, and Sørensen 2000: 78; Biondo 2021, 76-77.

¹⁵ See Ding 2023, 6-8. Ding (2023,7) notes, according to Moheyan's own testimony, the scriptures that he studied as, “...the (1) *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, (2) *Laṅkāvatāra*, (3) *Brahmapariṣṭhā*, (4) *Ghanavyūha*, (5) *Vajracchedikā*, (6) *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, (7) *Mahābuddhoṣṇīśa* [i.e., *Pseudo-Śūraṅgamasūtra*], (8) *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, (9) *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, (10) *Ratnakūṭa*, and (11) *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanā*. I [Moheyan,] have faith in and uphold them accordingly.”

However, the *Heart of Wisdom* was not cited among elite scholars active during this time as a source for their arguments.

Rather, the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom*, as commented on by Kamalaśīla, was considered a *dhāraṇī* text (*gzung 'di'i gzhung*, 61b2) for recitation (*bstan pa'i chos bzlas*, 53a4). Kamalaśīla explains that his Short recension word-by-word commentary is for the benefit of ordinary beings. In addition to the Dunhuang Tibetan Short recension exemplars found in, for instance, Stein (IOL Tib J 120) and Pelliot Tibétain (PT 465), that match the Short recension embedded in Kamalaśīla's commentary (see Appendixes), a calqued citation of the same recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* appears in a late eighth-early ninth century catalog by famed hermit sPug Ye shes dbangs (ca. 735-814; Tauscher 2021, 17). This citation illustrates that the Tibetan short version of the *Heart of Wisdom* contained in Kamalaśīla's commentary circulated in Tibet at this time among Buddhist Tibetans who did not reside at Samyé or in the Emperor's court. Moreover, among the 441 citations in sPug Ye shes dbangs's catalog, the *Heart of Wisdom* (citation 318; Tauscher 2021, 109) is not listed among the citations from Chinese sources.¹⁶

The Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* embedded in Kamalaśīla's commentary matches to a great extent other Short recensions of the "Heart Sūtra" preserved in Sanskrit and Chinese, but there are striking anomalies in IOL Tib J 122 that illustrate the antiquity of the recension as suggested by recent analysis of Kamalaśīla's canonical commentary on the Long recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* (Horiuchi 2020, 194-196; see Appendixes). Praśāstrasena's *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-ṭīkā* commentary on the Long recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* builds upon Kamalaśīla's *Vṛtti* (IOL Tib J 122) on the Short recension. This is documented by the verbatim exegetical comments that Praśāstrasena repeats in his commentary that are also found in Kamalaśīla's as noted in the following English translation. Aside from the fact that Praśāstrasena is commenting on the Long recension, his comments parallel to Kamalaśīla's are more extended and in a different order of sequence. This demonstrates that Kamalaśīla and Praśāstrasena's commentaries are different works but that one, Kamalaśīla's, influences the

¹⁶ As Tauscher (2021, 190) notes "*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya..* title is not listed among the texts cited in *brGyad bcu khungs*, but cit. 318, quoted as *Shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa'i mdo'*, fits almost perfectly. It is a short citation speaking about material form (*rūpa*) and emptiness (*sūnyatā*) not being distinct." This citation (Tauscher 2021, 109) reads: *shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa'i mdo' las / 'di ni sha ri'i bu gzugs stong pa nyid de / stong pa nyid kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa nyid tha dad pa yang ma yin / gzugs dang yang tha myi dad do / de bzhin du tshor ba nas chos thams cad kyi bar du stong pa nyid kyi mtshan ma ste / myi skye myi 'gog myi 'phel myi 'bi'o /*. This citation may be compared with sections 2 and 3 among the Tibetan versions in the Appendixes.

other, Praśāstrasena's. In addition to the fact that Praśāstrasena follows an exegetical pattern found in Kamalaśīla's *Vṛtti*, Praśāstrasena adds to the exegesis by identifying the names of the same *sūtras* that Kamalaśīla cites without attribution. This suggests that Kamalaśīla's commentary was composed and translated before Praśāstrasena's commentary, as the cited *sūtras* were not yet translated into Tibetan at the time that Kamalaśīla composed his commentary on the Short recension.¹⁷ However, unlike Praśāstrasena's commentary, Kamalaśīla's *Vṛtti* on the Short recension cites without attribution the *Śālistambasūtra*, of which Kamalaśīla would later compose a detailed commentary (Schoening 1995).

Kamalaśīla's *Vṛtti* on the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* may be one of his first works that he introduced in Tibet when he arrived around 788 CE.¹⁸ Kamalaśīla's commentary introduces its audience to a word-by-word account of the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom*. Scholars can no longer claim that a Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* was not known in Indian Buddhist tradition or that Indian Buddhist commentaries on the *Heart of Wisdom* do not preserve the exact words of the scripture. In commenting on the Short recension, Kamalaśīla provides a very Madhyamakan style of interpretation, mentioning the two realities, conventional (*saṃvṛti*) and ultimate (*paramārtha*), while thoroughly denying inherent existence (*svabhāva*) throughout the commentary. At the same time, Kamalaśīla explains the conventional appearance of things by mentioning latencies (*vāsanās*) projected from the subliminal storehouse consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) in his discussion. This combination of Madhyamaka and Yogācāra commentarial scholarship supports Kamalaśīla's authorship of the commentary, as he is well-known in both his other commentarial works and in later Tibetan doxography for combining these Mahāyāna philosophies in the same fashion as his mentor Śāntarakṣita.¹⁹

Ueyama (1965, 76) suggests that the Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* was never included in the Tibetan canon due to the antiquity of the translation language. That is, the Tibetan Short recension and Kamalaśīla's commentary have not been updated to conform with the imperially decreed "new resolution" translation reforms whose final

¹⁷ Kamalaśīla is known to have composed commentaries in Sanskrit while in Tibet as evinced by the case of the *Madhyamakāloka* that was composed in Tibet for the Emperor (Keira 2004), and was unknown in India until Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (982-1054) viewed a manuscript copy of the work in a temple in Samyé and had the Sanskrit manuscript copied and sent back to India (Apple 2019, 55-56).

¹⁸ See Vincent Eltschinger and James Marks (2019b) for Kamalaśīla's arrival in Tibet and activities.

¹⁹ On the Madhyamaka-Yogācāra synthesis of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla see Ruegg 1981, Tillemans 1990, Schoening 1995, Keira 2004, Blumenthal (2004), McClintock (2010), and Blumenthal and Apple (2022).

redaction occurred in 814 CE. 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: (1) an initial stage of “the first royal resolution” (*dang po bkas bcaḍ 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 brtsan (c. 742–797 CE). Texts initially translated during this period include the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* the four āgama, the vinaya, and various sūtras. 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). The Tibetan Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* and Kamalaśīla’s commentary belongs to the pre-revision period of Tibetan translation activity and consists of Old Tibetan terminology before the “new, fixed language” of the second resolution (*bkas bcaḍ gnyis pa*) (see Appendix 5 for terminological comparisons). (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. The Long Recension *Heart of Wisdom* and its commentaries were updated during the period of the second resolution. The two canonical recensions of the longer *Heart of Wisdom* based on these updated revisions are contained in present day Kangyurs (edition and translation Silk 1994) and the Indian commentaries to these versions are found in the Tengyurs (translated in Lopez 1988, 1996). (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 study.²⁰

Ueyama (1965) utilized the manuscript of IOL Tib J 122 that preserves the Short recension and Kamalaśīla’s commentary to restore lacunae found in Stein Or.8212/77 as he recognized that both texts

²⁰ See Apple 2021, 12–14. Although it should be noted that colophons to the revised Tibetan translation of the Long recension are associated with dGe ba’i blo gros, a West Tibet monk and translator student of Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), who worked with Atiśa (982–1054) when Atiśa first resided in West Tibet for three years (see Silk 1994, 47–56 on the colophon to Tibetan revised translations). Among other affiliations with the revisions of the *Heart of Wisdom*, Atiśa brought the ritual practice of reciting a poetic verse prior to recitation of the *Heart of Wisdom* based on new evidence from recently recovered Tibetan manuscripts, see Apple, *forthcoming*.

reflect the same recension.²¹ Kamalaśīla's *Vṛtti* on the Short recension may have been superseded by Praśāstrasena's commentary in the later Tibetan canonisation of the Long recension. The translation into Tibetan of the Long recension is attributed to the Indian scholar Vimalamitra (Silk 1994) who is thought to have arrived in Tibet around 797 CE (Horiuchi 2022), after the death of Kamalaśīla in 795 and the death of the Emperor Khri-srong lde-bstan in or around 797 as well. The preserved ninth century catalogs of the lDan kar ma and 'Phang Thang ma call the scripture *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po*) and only in later catalogs is the work classified as a "Mahāyāna sūtra" (*theg pa chen po'i mdo*) (see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 9, no. 14 for a survey of listings). Among Dunhuang documents, the Long recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* was ritually recited in 822 CE as witnessed in the 'Prayer of Dégayutse (De ga g.yu 'tsal) Temple' as found in PT 16/ IOL Tib J 751.²²

To return to Kamalaśīla's commentary, what is striking about the work in addition to the antiquity of the language, is the suddenness of realization that the commentary seemingly advocates. Lopez (1996, 81-83) hints at this issue in his brief historical contextualization of the events leading up to the Samyé Debate. As he mentions, the *Heart of Wisdom* may easily be utilized for advocates of sudden awakening. This point makes it all the more curious why the Chinese Buddhist masters interacting with the Emperor like Tunkuang or Moheyan did advocate for their positions by citing the *Heart of Wisdom*. This again suggests that the Short recension, as Kamalaśīla explains, is a *dhāraṇī* text for recitation, in contrast to Kamalaśīla's canonical commentary on the Long recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* which places an exegetical five-fold path structure upon the text (Lopez 1996) while advocating for the use of the means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) in the realization of the Perfection of Wisdom.

In conclusion, the following translation and critical edition presents for the first time Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* (*Shes rab kyi pharol tu phyin pa'i snying po bshad pa*), the earliest among extant Indian Buddhist commentaries and an Indian Buddhist commentary that was not included in the Tibetan canon. Kamalaśīla's commentary provides clear evidence that a Short recension of the *Heart of Wisdom* was known by Indian and Tibetan scholars, that Indian and Tibetan Buddhist

²¹ In addition to Ueyama's (1965) publication on the Tibetan, Stein Or.8212/77 has been noted to date to the early ninth century based on the Old Turkic text written on the manuscript's other side (Tryjarski 1969).

²² The 'Prayer of Dégayutse (De ga g.yu 'tsal) Temple' is a text written on a single *pothi* manuscript of twenty folios, now divided between PT. 16 (fols. 22-34) and IOL Tib J 751 (fols. 35-41), which lists prayers to the emperor by Eastern Tibet military and political officials. See Doney 2023, 23 for details and further sources.

traditions knew and recited a Short recension of the scripture, that the whole scripture circulated as a *dhāraṇī*, that the Short recension embedded in Kamalaśīla's commentary circulated independently in Tibet and Dunhuang, that this Indo-Tibetan Short recension does not match Xuanzang's translation, and that the recension preserved in Kamalaśīla's commentary is similar to, but importantly different from, recensions that circulated in the eighth century that are preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese sources. This significant word-by-word commentary also demonstrates in its comments on the *Heart of Wisdom* breaks in the text that indicate how the text was read in the context of eighth century Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. The following study therefore provides an important snapshot in the history of the *Heart of Wisdom* and documents its place in eighth century Indo-Tibetan forms of Buddhism.

A Note on the English Translation

The following English translation is based on the Dunhuang Tibetan edition which follows. I have indicated the folio numbers of IOL Tib J 122 (52a1 to 61b3) for each beginning line in the manuscript. Bold print indicates the *Heart of Wisdom* scripture as it appears in the red ink in IOL Tib J 122 and corresponds with the text set apart with the punctuation marks “ : ” in the manuscript PT 495 (=M₃). I have placed section titles in bold print with brackets to indicate divisions in the translation, and the edition, but these do not occur in any manuscript. The words of the root text of the *Heart of Wisdom* that are cited in the commentary are given in italics in the translation.

English Translation

[52a1] Other than the limitless, inconceivable perfect Dharma-body, the merit of sentient beings is due to being endowed with causes and conditions. The Omniscient One is the skillful liberator from afflictions and suffering. The Realm of Reality (*dharmadhātu*) is hidden, immeasurable, and beyond uttered words. In order to expel the darkness which pollutes with ignorance the three realms, [52a2] profound wisdom is the supreme of medicines which purifies the three poisons. In this way, the one endowed with Dharma provides the most excellent benefit for oneself and others. He is the glorious protector and the lord of the lineage who bestows gifts for sentient beings who are without refuge within cyclic existence. Having respectfully prostrated with body [52a3], speech, and mind to him and having uttered his virtuous good qualities and praised him, [with] the blessings of the Sugata, the Buddha, along with whatever learning and meditation I have made, I

will unravel and explain this *Heart of Wisdom* (*shes rab snying po* ≈ *prajñāhrdaya*) [52a4] for the benefit of ordinary sentient beings.

In explaining this discourse, I will clarify seven aspects of meaning: the name of wisdom, entering to wisdom, the characteristic of wisdom, the domain of wisdom, the virtuous benefits of wisdom, the result of wisdom, and the *dhāraṇī* of wisdom.

[*The Name of Wisdom*]

In regards to the the name of wisdom [52a5], a name is mentioned for the purpose of recognizing an entity since it is not suitable to understand an entity if a name does not exist.²³

The Noble Heart of the Perfection of Wisdom

Knowledge (*jñā-*) is threefold, mundane (*laukika*), supramundane (*lokottara*), and supreme (*anuttara*). [52b1] Mundane knowledge sees the impermanent (*anitya*) as permanent, the impure (*aśuci*) as pure, suffering (*duḥkha*) as pleasurable, and the selfless (*anātmaka*) as having a self.²⁴ Supermundane knowledge is the knowledge of the selflessness of the person that belongs to the śrāvakas, that is, to realize the impermanence of [52b2] conditioned things (*saṃskāras*), the suffering of the conditioned things, and the peace of nirvāṇa (*sāntaṃ nirvāṇam*). Supreme knowledge is the Tathāgata's knowledge of the selflessness of the person and the essencelessness of things, knowledge as signlessness, wishlessness, and emptiness. [52b3] This knowledge is unsurpassable knowledge. The text stating "noble" (*ārya*) signifies that this knowledge is far separated from sorrow and suffering. The text stating "highest" (*pra-*) since the knowledge which is superior of mundane and super-mundane and is unsurpassable, it is the highest. [52b4] Stating "gone to the other side" (*pāramitā*), this side is produced and disintegrates, the other side has passed beyond misery. In between, sentient beings are carried away in the river of cyclic existence. Since this wisdom creates a boat or a raft that carries one to the shore of nirvāṇa, is "that which goes to the other side" (*pāramitā*).²⁵ Stating "heart"

²³ Compare similar statements in Jñānamitra (Lopez 1996, 41) and Praśāstrasena (Lopez 1996, 150).

²⁴ These are known as the four illusions (*viparyāsa*), that is, perceiving something impermanent as permanent, perceiving something that is painful as pleasurable, perceiving something dirty as clean, and perceiving what is selfless as having a self. See Lang (2003) for a translation of Candrakīrti's commentary on this topic.

²⁵ Kamalaśīla is providing a semantic etymology for *pāramitā*. The Sanskrit and Pāli noun *pāramitā* is derived from the adjective *parama*, meaning "high, complete, perfect." In this sense, *pāramitā* is an old noun denoting 'the highest point'. The etymology of the Sanskrit and Pāli term *pāramitā* was a contested issue in classical

(*hr̥daya*), [52b5] it is called heart since it brings together within of this all the sutras of the hundred thousand chapters of the great Perfection of Wisdom. At the same time, since the highest meaning within the teaching of the Tathāgata is this Perfection of Wisdom which is taught as the most supreme it is called “heart.”²⁶

[53a1] Homage to the Omniscient One!

Omniscience is total knowledge of both conventional and ultimate reality.²⁷ In this regard, knowledge of the highest object is the cognitive sphere of the Dharma-body and non-conceptual wisdom non-conceptually cognizes objects of knowledge [53a2], as in the perspective of space, the abundant excellence of one’s own welfare. The omniscience of conventional reality is the cognitive sphere of emanation bodies, who with post-meditative wisdom perceives all things as like an illusions and mirages, the abundant excellence for the welfare of sentient

India. One representation, which Kamalaśīla follows here, considered that the term was derived from *pāram*, “other (side),” plus the past participle *ita*, “gone.” This derivation is later preserved in the standard Tibetan translation *pha-rol-tu phyin-pa* “gone to the other shore,” implying that such virtues lead to the blissful shore of *nirvāṇa* and away from the side of *saṃsāra*, the conditioned world of repeated re-birth and re-death. Other interpretations advocated that this etymology was misguided, and derived *pāramitā* from the term *parama* “excellent, supreme.”

²⁶ Cf. Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 295b2-7 : 'di ni shes rab kyi ming ste / ming med na dngos po rig par mi rung bas dngos po la dmigs pa'i phyir ming smos so / / de bas na 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po zhes bya'o / / shes pa de la 'di skad ces bya ste / 'jig rten pa dang / 'jig rten las 'das pa dang / bla na med pa'i shes pa'o / / 'jig rten gyi shes pa ni bsad pa ste / mi rtag pa la rtag pa dang / mi gtsang ba la gtsang ba dang / sdug bsngal ba la bde ba dang / bdag med pa la bdag tu 'du shes pa'o / / 'jig rten las 'das pa ni nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kiyis gang zag la bdag med par shes pa ste / 'dus byas mi rtag pa dang / 'dus byas sdug bsngal ba dang / gang zag la bdag med pa dang / zhi ba mya ngan las 'das par shes pa'o / / bla na med pa'i shes pa ni de bzhin gshegs pas gang zag dang chos la bdag med par mkhyen pa ste / mtshan ma med pa dang / smon pa med pa dang / stong pa nyid du mkhyen pa'o / / shes pa 'di ni bla na med pa'i shes pa la bya'o / / 'phags pa zhes bya ba ni shes pa 'dis mya ngan dang sdug bsngal las ring du bral ba'o / / rab ces bya ba ni 'jig rten dang / 'jig rten las 'das pa mchog gi shes rab ste / bla na med pas shes rab bo / / pha rol tu phyin pa zhes bya ba ni skye 'chi sdug bsngal ni tshul rol / mya ngan las 'das pa ni pha rol / sems can 'khor ba'i 'dod pas ded pa rnam ni bar na ste / shes rab 'dis gru dang gzings byas te mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'gram du phyung bas pha rol tu phyin pa'o; Lopez 1996, 150-51.

²⁷ Omniscience (*sarvajñatā*; *thams cad mkhyen pa*) is affiliated with *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in Indian and Tibetan forms of Buddhism (see Apple 2008). On Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla’s arguments for omniscience see McClintock 2010. The two realities (*satyadvaya*) are conventional (*saṃvṛti*) and ultimate (*paramārtha*) in Madhyamaka based discourse. Note that the term *thams cad mkhyen pa* (“Omniscience”) does not occur in Praśāstrasena’s *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*.

beings.²⁸ [53a3] This the Buddha, the Bhagavan, the lord of Dharma teaches, and since it is supermundane medicine it is noble. As it is a gift of medicine for [curing] the three poisons it is very kind. In this way, at first one pays homage because of devotion as [the *Heart of Wisdom*] is noble, very kind, and majestic, [53a4] afterwards [the *Heart of Wisdom*] is a taught Dharma to be recited.

[The Engaging with Wisdom]

From this point forward is engaging with wisdom.

In this way the Noble Avalokiteśvara...

At the time of explaining this Perfection of Wisdom, within the gathered countless hundreds of thousands retinue, [53a5] since this bodhisattva is the supreme, the foremost, [the *Heart of Wisdom*] was explained in the frame of reference for him. The text stating, “*In this way,*” is in accordance with the dharma factors which occur after that. “*Noble*” means passed beyond misery and suffering. “*One-who-has-penetrating-vision-in-all-ways*” (*Sarvāvalokita*)²⁹ means that with objectless compassion [53b1] he brings about protection for all sentient beings. “*Lord*” (*dbang po* ≈ *īśvara*) means that he has the power of drawing sentient beings away from suffering.

The bodhisattva at the time of performing the practice of the profound Perfection of Wisdom...

“*Bodhi*” (awakening) means like the realm of reality (*dharmadhātu*), complete, [53b2] the highest reality. “*Sattva*” (heroic mind) means the energy and engagement with respect to that and by arising the mind and aspiration for the profound like that meaning, one is called “heroic mind” (*sattva*).³⁰ Wisdom has three aspects: by cutting off the great net of the five aggregates it is called “the sword of wisdom.” By destroying

²⁸ Compare with Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 297b4-5; Lopez 1996, 154, similar exegesis but different phrasing of: *shes rab ni gnyis te / kun rdzob shes pa'i shes rab dang / don dam shes pa'i shes rab bo /*.

²⁹ *kun du spyan ras gzIgs*; Cf. Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 297b1, 303b6; Compare Silk 2020, 76 line 86: Noble Avalokiteśvara (p. 71 tib. 'phags pa kun du spyan ras gzIgs).

³⁰ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 296a6-7; Lopez 1996, 153. Similar to etymology given in *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (ed. rDo 2003, p. 100): *byang chub sems dpa'i sgra bshad pa la / bo dhi sa tva zhes bya ba / bo dho satvaan ye śān te bo dhi satva zhes bya ba / bodhi ni byang chub / satva ni sems dpa'am sems stobs che ba la bya ste / bla na med pa'i byang chub sgrub pa la gcig tu brtul zhing mi nur bas na byang chub sems dpa' /*.

[53b3] the aggregate of suffering it is called the “vajra of wisdom.” By removing the darkness of ignorance it is called the “lamp of wisdom.” In brief, non-conceptual wisdom, in all aspects, perceives all phenomenal marks as empty.³¹ A perfection has three aspects: the mundane, supermundane, [53b4] and a perfection which is exceedingly supermundane. A supermundane perfection averts rebirth and cyclic existence and passes beyond suffering [leading] one-sidedly toward peace. [53b5] An exceedingly supermundane perfection does not seek even to be liberated [while perceiving] the three realms to be like a dream. As sentient beings are like an illusion, the result, buddhahood, is not even attained. As all phenomena are naturally in *nirvāṇa*, there is non-localized [54a1] *nirvāṇa*.³² “Profound” (*gambhira*) means it is not cognized by the mind since there is not a basis of thought. As [the Perfection of Wisdom] cuts off the path of words, it not objectified by words and passes beyond the cognitive sphere of mind and speech. “Practice” refers to Dharma and the Perfection of Wisdom. [54a2] “Perform” (*spyod pa*) refers to the person, a bodhisattva. “Time” means doing at that time.

When he looked,³³ these five aggregates were perceived as empty of an essence.

Vision has three aspects: the vision of ordinary individuals and non-Buddhists, the vision of śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas, [54a3] and the vision of bodhisattvas and Tathāgatas. These five aggregates are seen as a self, a sentient being, or a life-force by the fleshly eyes of ordinary individuals and non-Buddhists. The emanated eyes of śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas see [the aggregates] as the all-pervasive origin [of suffering] (*kun 'byung ba*) and suffering. [54a4] The eyes of a

³¹ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 296a6-7; Lopez 1996, 153. Phenomenal mark (*lakṣaṇa*; Old Tibetan *mtshan ma*, Revised *mtshan nyid*), is a polysemous term in Buddhist thought that in general refers to the characterizing feature of an entity. The term has different permutations in Buddhist discourse according to the context of Abhidharma, Yogācāra, or Madhyamaka thought (see Buswell and Lopez 2014, 463). In this commentary, the appearance of a phenomenal mark conveys for Kamalaśīla the imputation of intrinsic existence (*svabhāva*) on to something as a result of ignorance.

³² Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 297a3-5; Lopez 1996, 153. On non-localized *nirvāṇa* (*apraṭiṣṭita-nirvāṇa*) see Nagao 1981.

³³ Cf. Ueyama 1965, 75. Also, compare translation of *Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharājasūtra* (Criegern 2012, 57 (Skt. *atha vyūharājo bodhisatvo mahāsatvo vyavalokay(ati | pṛthvīm, vyaval) o(kya bha)g(ava) n(ta)m etad avocat ; de nas byang chub sems dpa' bkod pa'i rgyal pos bcom ldan 'das kyi ltar mnyan nas / sa chen po 'di la rnam par bltas nas kyang bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces te / rnam par bltas nas / bcom ldan 'das gsol to / / la 'di skad ces gsold to / / (Tib. page 112).*

bodhisattva and buddha see [the aggregates] as emptiness.³⁴ The vision of ordinary individuals becomes a cause of birth and death. The vision of śrāvakas falls to the extreme of nirvāṇa. The vision of a bodhisattva abandons both extremes.³⁵ Emptiness also [54a5] has two aspects: empty space which is unconditioned and the emptiness of interiorized awareness (*pratyātmavedya*) by the wisdom of the noble ones, the ultimate.

[*The Characteristic of Wisdom*]

From this point forward is the characteristic of wisdom.

As for this, Śāriputra, form is emptiness. Emptiness is also form.

“As for this” refers to an object of knowledge, [54b1] the five aggregates such as form and so forth. “*Śāriputra*” is called as such since “the name of his mother is Śārika,” thus, “*Śāriputra*” (“the son of Śārika”). [Śāriputra,] after engaging with the disciplinary-doctrine of the non-Buddhists and Jains,³⁶ [moved] in the direction of the Holy Dharma, understood how to gain the virtuous, became a monk, removed his hair and beard, wore religious robes on his’s own body, then after attaining the result of Arhat, with the highest of wisdom while a receptacle with the Dharma among the trainees of the Buddha’s śrāvakas, the [Perfection of Wisdom] was explained [to him] after [the Noble Avalokiteśvara] observed it.

“Form” (*rūpa*) is an object of knowledge, the four great [elements] earth, water, fire, and wind. [54b3] “*Emptiness*” (*śūnyatā*) is the highest reality, the realm of reality, that is the characteristics of emptiness. That characteristic does not exist as an object of observation, has transcended number and enumeration, is free from apprehended object and apprehending subject, non-referential, the characteristic of suchness. Even all phenomena, [54b4] the characteristic of emptiness, does not

³⁴ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 154).

³⁵ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 153).

³⁶ In the phrase *mu steg can rgyu gu can gyi chos la zhugs pa*, I have translated *mu steg* (*tīrthya*) as “Non-Buddhist” and *rgyu gu can* (Old Tibetan, *rgyu khu can* ≈ *gcer bu pa*, Nirgrantha) as “Jain.” The Pāli tradition records that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were disciples of the ascetic Sañjaya in Rājagṛha before joining the Buddhist order (Migot 1954, 426–43, 455). However, the first book of the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin opens with an account of how Śāriputra, as Upatiṣya, and Maudgalyāyana, as Kolita, came to join the Buddhist order. In this Mūlasarvāstivādin account, Śāriputra, and Maudgalyāyana encounter and question six leading teachers including Tīrthikas and Nigranthas (i.e., Jains). See “The Chapter on Going Forth” (*Pravrajyāvastu*) from The Chapters on Monastic Discipline (*Vinayavastu*) (Miller 2023).

exist as an aggregated plurality.³⁷ That has the absence of characteristics. The four great [elements] earth, water, fire, and wind also have the absence of characteristics, they are immaterial, selfless, without a master, and when examined as particles do not become emptiness but, rather, since they are empty of inherent existence, the text states “*form is emptiness.*” Since form [54b5] is empty of inherent existence, that is empty of ultimate reality and since there does not exist an other emptiness which is ultimate from that, the text states “*emptiness is also form.*” With respect to this, a sūtra states,

“A bodhisattva, with the pristine awareness which engages with the realm of reality, the realm of reality although it is [the same as the] realm of earth, [55a1] it is not solid. The realm of reality, space, all phenomena, and the realm of one’s self, these are all the same. Why is that? Since they are similarly empty, one says “similar.”³⁸

Form and emptiness [55a2] are not different.³⁹ Form and [emptiness] are non-differentiated.

In this way, both the empty characteristic of form and the empty characteristic of the ultimate are non-differentiated, inseparable, free from enumeration, concordant with the characteristic of the absence of inherent existence.

That which [55a3] is form is emptiness. That which is emptiness is form.

Sentient beings, malicious people, who have become childlike, from beginningless time within the cyclic existence of birth and death have cycled in the five paths of being,⁴⁰ acquainted with the five aggregates, familiarized with the eighteen elements, through attachment and clinging to them [55a4] grasp on to entities and agglomerations. Due to the Tathāgata teaching [that these are] empty of an essence, when

³⁷ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhrdayaṭkā* (Lopez 1996, 155).

³⁸ Abbreviated citation from the *Akṣayamatīnīrdeśasūtra* section on the bodhisattva’s skill with realms (*bodhisattvaśya dhātukaśalyam*) (Braarvig 1993, 255-59; cited also by Prasastrasena (Lopez 1996, 155).

³⁹ I have emended the translation “emptiness” (*stong pa nyid*; *śūnyatā*) against all exemplars reading “two” (*gnyis*).

⁴⁰ The *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (1998, 2763) defines “The five paths of being” (*lam rgyud lnga*) as the five divisions of the realms of rebirth and paths of transmigration in cyclic existence that a mental continuum may take including hell-beings, hungry ghosts, animals, gods, and humans” (*’khor bar ’gro ba’i lam dang skye ba’i rgyud kyis dbye na lnga ste dmyal ba dang / yi dwags / dud ’gro / lha / mi bcas lnga’o /*). For the Old Tibetan expression *skye shi lam rgyud lngar ’khor ba* in the Old Tibetan Version of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* see Apple (2018, 338).

the characteristic of form is destroyed as empty, the antidote, which is apprehended as existing separately as another entity which is empty, is the śrāvaka attachment to the nirvāṇa [55a5] which is prejudiced toward peace.⁴¹ In this way, stating “*That which is form is emptiness*” is the antidote against a person falling into the extreme of cyclic existence due to attachment to form. Stating “*That which is emptiness is form*” is the antidote against a śrāvaka arising the phenomenal mark of emptiness for the opposite of form while realizing the person as selfless and apprehending the extreme of nirvāṇa. Since both form and emptiness are without inherent nature, [emptiness] is not visible because of abandoning the mind which apprehends the phenomenal marks for form. [55b2] When emptiness is demonstrated, the mental factor which apprehends a phenomenal mark for emptiness is extinguished in the name exchange between both emptiness and form. As for phenomenal marks, whichever phenomenal mark is observed, since it will become an obscuration for reality, even something apprehended as emptiness may be attached to as a phenomenal mark. [55b3] Regarding this, for example, someone with eye disease [while walking on a path] going to a feast on the bank of the right side of the path there are thorns and a ditch. On the left side of the path there is excrement and a precipice. When someone without eye disease says “There is thorns and a ditch,” [55b4] [the with person with eye disease] falls into the side with excrement and a precipice. When someone says, “There is excrement and a precipice,” [the with person with eye disease] falls into the side with the thorns and a ditch while the middle path, due to its emptiness, is indicated to be uninterrupted without obstacle for one to reach one's own place of safety. [55b5] Like the example, “eye disease” [which is] the afflictive obstruction (*kleśāvaraṇa*) of malicious people, [or] the śrāvaka impeded by the obscuration to knowledge (*jñeyāvaraṇa*), [for them] the eye of wisdom occurs as eye disease. The ditch and thorns are the forms for attachment to phenomenal marks that accumulate on the path and one falls to the side of cyclic existence. The excrement and precipice are attachment to the phenomenal marks of nirvāṇa and one falls into the side of emptiness. The person with vision is the Tathāgata and with a clear eye of wisdom, [he sees that] forms are empty of essence, [that] birth and death are like an illusion and while not forsaking even the faults [56a2] of cyclic existence, [he perceives that] the three realms are like a dream, does not search out even the virtuous qualities of nirvāṇa, and having entered the middle way as emptiness, arrives at his own location of non-localized nirvāṇa.⁴²

⁴¹ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 156-7).

⁴² Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 157).

Likewise, for feelings, [56a3] perceptions, conditioning factors, and consciousness.

Among the aggregates mentioned earlier that are “empty of an essence,” the emptiness of form is the plow, the remainder are likewise explained by six aspects of being mutually empty, including feelings, [56a4] perceptions, and conditioning factors.⁴³ These are the mental continuum. Due to the mind being without form and having the characteristic of emptiness it depends on the aggregate of form. For example, like the emptiness of a vessel depends on a vessel. When the vessel is destroyed, [56a5] there does not exist a place of support. It is non-differentiated with great emptiness. Like the example, as the aggregate of form is imputed as empty a place for the aggregate of mind does not exist. It is non-differentiated with the great emptiness of ultimate reality, the realm of reality. With respect to that, the five aggregates [56b1] as empty occurs in the sūtras,

“The aggregate of form is like foam and cannot be grasped when held. The aggregate of feelings is like a bubble and as they are momentary, are impermanent. The aggregate of perceptions is like a mirage and is mistaken due to thirst with desire. [56b2] The aggregate of conditioning factors is like a lotus plant and when destroyed is without essence. The aggregate of consciousness is like an illusion and arises from mistakes. In this way, the five aggregates are not a self, not a person, not a sentient being, not a life-force, not a nourisher, not an individual. These five aggregates are empty of this nature, are empty of a self and what pertains to a self. They are unproduced, unarisen, non-existent, the element of space, unconditioned, and nirvāṇa.”⁴⁴

Accordingly, since the four great external elements are understood as empty, form is empty. Since the four internal mental [aggregates] are understood as empty, by abandoning the characteristics of emptiness, form and emptiness, one is free from both the apprehended object and apprehending subject and is “liberated.”

Here, Śāriputra, [56b5] all things have the phenomenal mark of emptiness.

Stating “all things” includes the support for the five aggregates, the faculties, the objects, the elements, the sense-media, and the aggregations from dependent arising and when the five aggregates are cognized as empty, [57a1] the ancillaries of those [aggregates] should be recognized as the phenomenal marks of emptiness. For example,

⁴³ On this point see Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 158).

⁴⁴ Abbreviated citation from *Akṣayamatīrdeśa sūtra*. Also cited by Praśāstrasena (Lopez 1996, 158).

when cognizing the primary part of the body as empty, the secondary collections such as the hands and arms should be recognized as empty.⁴⁵

[*The Range of Wisdom*]

From this point onward the range of wisdom is indicated.

They are unproduced, unceased; they are not defiled, [57a2] they are not undefiled; they are without increase, they are without decrease.

When there is an existent afterward from a previous non-existent that is "production." When there is a later non-existent from a previous existent that is "cessation." For the inherent nature of the buddha, the realm of reality, this emptiness of the ultimate since beginningless time, [57a3] an ultimate endpoint has not been found. Production does not exist. Cessation does not exist. When an endpoint does not exist, an original beginning cannot be found. Production does not exist. Sentient beings, cycling within the five paths of being, and the collections for the inherent existent of a buddha do not exist. The suchness of unsurpassable perfectly [57a4] complete awakening does not become pure. The suchness of a body that has become impure and darkened is not diminished. Although becoming the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*) it does not increase. Why is that? [The Dharma-body] is beyond thought and expression, not pervaded by limits.⁴⁶ [57a5]

Therefore, Śāriputra, in emptiness there is no form, there is no feeling, there is no perception, there is no conditioning factors, there is no consciousness.

As mentioned earlier, distributed to naming each of the five aggregates and indicated [57b1] as empty, again, concepts formulated from the mind, the five aggregates when emptiness are without any differentiation, as it is taught that the phenomenal marks that are imputed for form and so forth are understood not to be suitable because the phenomenal marks conceived for the name are not sought out. In this way, since the five aggregates are [57b2] empty of essence, beyond name, transformation, and so forth, and are without any differentiation, they are said to be non-existent because the phenomenal marks that are imputed on form and so forth do not exist.

⁴⁵ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 159).

⁴⁶ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (Lopez 1996, 159).

There is no eye, or ear, or nose, or tongue, or body, or mind;

This is the six faculties. Although six through depending on the five aggregates, [57b3] when the aggregates do not exist, the six faculties are also said not to exist since they are not other than the five aggregates.

no form, no sound, no smell, no taste, no tactile sensation, no object of mind;

These are the six sense objects. Although six external sense objects, they are merely false conceptions like a city of [57b4] gandharvas, a sky-flower, a reflection in a mirror, a dream. The mind apprehends them as existent due to being affected by the ignorance of sentient beings initiating karmic consequences and achieving conditioned effects. Ultimately, since they are empty of essence, they do not exist. [57b5]

There is no eye-element up to no mind-element;

These are the eighteen elements. Since the six inner faculties do not exist, the basis of consciousness does not exist. Since the six outer objects do not exist, a place for consciousness does not exist. Since that alone is not established, [58a1] the six [types of] consciousnesses also do not exist. Therefore, the eighteen elements do not exist.

Knowledge does not exist, ignorance does not exist, the elimination of knowledge does not exist, the elimination of ignorance does not exist, and so on up to no aging and death and no elimination [58a2] of aging and death.

This is the range of entering to the vehicle of the pratyekabuddha. Teaching from ignorance up until aging and death, briefly stated, are the karmic formations due to the condition of ignorance.

Likewise, they are due to the condition of consciousness, from name and form [58a3] up through tactile sensation, feeling, craving, appropriation, becoming, birth, aging, and death. "Ignorance" arises from self-grasping. Self-grasping arises from an entity that does not exist. Accordingly, since an entity does not exist, for example, [58a4] long lasting black darkness will not exist for a single moment with the single occurrence of a lamp, an entity which does not exist will not appear. In a similar way, the thick darkness of ignorance of sentient beings since beginningless time will not exist for a single moment by investigation with the lamp of wisdom. [58a5] An entity which does not exist will not appear. "Knowledge" is eliminated as merely the

designation for the opposite of ignorance. Since ignorance does not exist, the name of knowledge is also not established, such that “*Knowledge does not exist, the elimination of ignorance does not exist.*” Since ignorance does not exist with an essence, ignorance [58b1] does not exist. Since an entity which does not exist does not appear to be seen, elimination also does not exist. With respect to that, as it occurs from the *sūtras*,

“How is dependent arising seen? Without life, free of life, just as it is, unerring, unborn, unarisen, not made, [58b2] unconditioned, unobstructed, peaceful, empty, seen as non-existent. One who sees in a manner like this, that dharmas are without life up through to empty and non-existent, sees the unsurpassable, the Dharma-body, the Buddha, understanding the higher knowledge.”⁴⁷

Likewise, there is no suffering, origin, cessation, or path;

This is the range of entering to the vehicle of the śrāvaka and the “four truths.” Truth has three aspects: the mundane, supermundane, [58b4] and the ultimate nobles’ truth. Mundane truth is the five aggregates viewed as the origin [of suffering] and aging and death is understood as suffering. The supermundane truth is cessation for the arising [of suffering] and the eliminators of the path for suffering. [58b5] The supermundane ultimate truth is the five aggregates known as unproduced, the knowledge of suffering. That which destroys craving is the knowledge of arising. The realization that ignorance and its underlying latencies do not intrinsically exist [59a1] is the knowledge of cessation. Through cognizing phenomena as sameness⁴⁸ one does not impute at any time [and this] is the knowledge of the truth of the Noble path. In this way, as all of the truths ultimately do not have inherent existence they are non-existent. With respect to that, as it occurs from the *sūtras*, [59a2]

⁴⁷ Cf. *Śālistambasūtra* (Schoening 1995, 240; Sanskrit citation slightly differs Schoening 1995, volume 2, 702, citing *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*): *tatra katham pratityasamutpādam paśyati? ihoktam bhagavatā—ya imam pratityasamutpādam satatasamitam nirjivam yathāvad aviparitam ajivam ajātam abhūtam akṛtam asaṃskṛtam apratigham anālabanaṃ śivam abhayam anāhāryam avyayam avyupaśamasvabhāvam paśyati, sa dharmam paśyati / yas tu evam satatasamitam nirjivam—ity ādi pūvavat yāvat—avyupaśamasvabhāvam paśyati, so ’nuttaradharmasārīram buddham paśyati / āryadharmābhisamaye samyagjñānopanayenaiva / |.*

⁴⁸ A bodhisattva embodying qualities of sameness (*mnyam pa nyid, samatā*) in relation to the realm of reality (*dharmadhātu*) is an important doctrine which occurs in a number of Mahāyāna sūtras and is important concept for proponents of *śūnyatā* (Demiéville, 1937:270-6).

“Who is a bodhisattva skilled in the truths? These aggregates are suffering. The understanding exactly how [the aggregates] are empty of the phenomenal marks of suffering is called the noble truth. The cause of craving and the cause of wrong views of the five aggregates, [59a3] that which does not grasp and does not superimpose these causes of craving and views is called the noble truth of origin. The knowledge that the aggregates do not arise at an earlier point, do not depart at a later point, and are changeless in the present is called the noble truth of cessation. [59a4] That which is placed in the equipoise on the non-dual pristine awareness while understanding that the four truths are emptiness is called the noble truth of the path.”⁴⁹

there is no attainment, and even no non-attainment.

This is the sphere of one who has entered the great vehicle [59a5] of the bodhisattva. “Attainment” is the attainment from what did not exist before. If attainment exists, it is also empty. Since if a result exists, it will also disintegrate, the suchness of the buddha that equally exists in [59b1] all sentient beings is not empty in the beginning, it is also not attained in the end. Even the zealous application on the bodhisattva stages is merely eliminating the gradual purification of the latencies of ignorance on the *ālayavijñāna*. Purifying the latencies of ignorance is like [attaining] the mirror-like wisdom of a buddha.⁵⁰ [59b2] Since in the realm of reality (*dharmadhātu*) there is nothing at all designated as “attainment or nonattainment,” the text states “*There is no attainment, and even no non-attainment.*” A sūtra says,

“not practicing in any phenomenal marks is the practice of the perfection of wisdom. [59b3] To have no attainment whatsoever is to attain unsurpassable, perfectly complete awakening.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Cited from *Akṣayamatirdeśa sūtra* (slightly differs from Braarvig 1993, vol. 1, 266-68). Compare Praśāstrasena’s *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, Lopez 1996, 161.

⁵⁰ The mirror-like wisdom (*ādarśajñāna*, *me long lta bu’i ye shes*) is one of the five wisdoms (*ye shes lnga ≈ pañcajñāna*) that are facets of perfect awakening often affiliated with Yogācāra traditions. The other four wisdoms are (1) the wisdom of the realm of reality (*dharmadhātu-jñāna*), (2) the wisdom of equality (*samatājñāna*), (4) the wisdom of specific knowledge (*pratyavekṣaṇajñāna*), and (5) the wisdom of accomplishing what was to be done (*krtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*). The mirror-like wisdom is considered a transformation of the *ālayavijñāna* reflecting like a great mirror.

⁵¹ Praśāstrasena’s *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* (302a) quotes the citation as from the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā* (“Perfection of Wisdom in 700 Lines”) with slight differences (underlined): *de bas na shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bdun brgya pa las kyang // mtshan ma thams cad la mi spyod pa de ni shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la spyod pa’o // ci yang thob pa med pa ni bla na med pa’i byang chub thob pa’o zhes gsungs so.* Cf. Lopez 1996, 161-2. Untraceable in extant Kangyurs.

As a bodhisattva abides in, and practices, the Perfection of Wisdom, the practicing mind also does not exist.

Stating “to abide in the perfection of wisdom” [59b4] is not to abide in any phenomenal marks whatsoever. “To practice” means the mind does not practice anything whatsoever. Accordingly, by not practicing, “practice does not exist.” When the phenomenal marks of the mind not practicing occur, [59b5] since the mind which is transformed in practice does not seek out the phenomenal marks that are imputed, the “not practicing mind also does not exist.”

[The Virtuous Qualities of Wisdom]

From this point forward are the virtuous qualities of wisdom.

Accordingly, when abiding in the non-existent, one completely passes beyond error and there is liberation: [60a1] Nirvāṇa

In this way, “when abiding in the non-existent,” any phenomenal marks whatsoever do not exist.

“to completely pass beyond error”: “error” is to see various aspects of nonexistent external sensory objects [60a2] due to the latencies of ignorance on the *ālayavijñāna*. In this regard, the lamp of wisdom simultaneously makes non-existent the darkness of the latencies of ignorance and all phenomenal marks are seen in the perspective of space. “Liberation” [60a3] is liberation from the illusory birth and death of the three realms. As for *nirvāṇa* (“passing beyond sorrow”): ignorance is the basis of pain and sorrow and ignorance initiates karmic formations. Karmic formations arise from the three poisons. As the perfection of wisdom [60a4] instantly clears away⁵² the painful darkness of ignorance, karmic formations do not occur. Since karmic formations do not occur, one passes beyond the pain and sorrow of the three poisons, thus it is called “*nirvāṇa*” (Tib. literally, “passing beyond sorrow”).

[The Fruition of Wisdom]

From this point forward is the fruition of wisdom.

All the buddhas [60a5] who abide in the three times, by relying on the perfection of wisdom...

⁵² I have emended the translation “clears away” (*bsal ba; parihāra*) against all exemplars reading “seeks out” (*btsal ba*).

“In the three times” refers to the past, present, and future. *Buddhas* (Tib. *sangs rgyas*, “awakened-expansively”): [60b1] since they have attained the eye of pristine awareness free from the contamination of the cyclic existence of the three realms, they are “awakened” (*sangs pa*). Extensive signifies becoming the Dharma-body and the immeasurable wisdom, pristine awareness, *dhāraṇī*, and meditative concentration. As they are an excellent abundance of virtuous qualities they are called expansive (Tib. *rgyas*).⁵³ [60b2] “All” signifies the buddhas throughout the three times. Relying on the perfection of wisdom: they abide in the absence of all phenomenal marks. The buddhas of the three times are alike in arising from the perfection of wisdom. [60b3]

Completely awakened in unsurpassed, perfectly complete enlightenment.

“Unsurpassed” signifies that there is nothing above that. “Perfectly complete” signifies the total final limit of all activities in knowledge. [60b4] “Awakening” signifies realizing the ultimate suchness. Total enlightenment signifies not unlike the aspect of past buddhas by totally abandoning the latencies of consciousness [60b5] and refers to similar virtuous qualities.

[*The dhāraṇī of wisdom*]⁵⁴

From this point forward is the *dhāraṇī* of wisdom.

Therefore, one should know...

⁵³ Kamalaśīla’s commentary at this point provides a semantic elucidation (*nirukti*) on the Indo-Tibetan translation of the term *buddha* (Tib. *sangs rgyas*) as “awakened” (*sangs pa*) and “expansive” (*rgyas pa*). Two traditional Sanskrit glosses are also found in Yaśomitra’s *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Wogihara, 1932, 2.31-33 to 3; Tōh. no. 4092), not preserved in Chinese. The gloss is also found in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* which was finalized after Kamalaśīla’s life. Yaśomitra’s gloss reads, “...Buddha is because his mind (*buddhi*) has expanded like a lotus that has expanded (*vibuddha*). Alternatively, ‘buddha’ is in the sense of the twofold sleep of ignorance having vanished; the meaning is ‘awakened’ like a man who has awakened [from sleep] (*prabuddha*). (...*buddha iti...buddher vikasanād buddhaḥ. vibuddha ity arthaḥ. vibuddhaṃ padmam iti yathā. atha yāvidyānidrādvayāpagamād buddhaḥ prabuddha ity arthaḥ. prabuddhapuruṣa iti yathā*). See Simonsson (1957, 265–266), Beyer (1992, 143-144), Scherrer-Schaub (2002, 328), and Braarvig (2018, 433) for the gloss of “buddha” in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*.

⁵⁴ All three Indian commentaries of Kamalaśīla, Praśāstrasena, and Jñānamitra have this topic heading of *dhāraṇī*, see Appendix 6. On the idea that the *Heart of Wisdom* as a whole was treated as a *dhāraṇī* see Kamalaśīla’s comments below and Silk (2021).

Stating “*Therefore, one should know..*” means this perfection of wisdom should be known to act as a cause of reaching buddhahood. [61a1]

The mantra of the great perfection of wisdom.

Since it removes the latencies of inner consciousness it is a mantra of greatness.

The mantra of great knowledge. The unsurpassed mantra. The mantra equal to the unequaled. [61a2] The mantra that pacifies all suffering.⁵⁵

By understanding all external phenomenal marks as essentially non-existent, it is the mantra of great knowledge. Accordingly, since it removes internal and external phenomenal marks it is the [61a3] unsurpassed mantra. Because it brings about the fruition of buddhahood, it is the mantra equal to the unequaled. Since it fulfills the welfare of all sentient beings, it is the mantra that pacifies all suffering.

Since it is true and not false, [61a4] the mantra of the perfection of wisdom is spoken. tadyathā gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā

“*True and not false*”: as it is not spoken with words, it is verbally true. As it is not agitated [61a5] by the body it is physically true. As thinking of the mind does not exist, it is mentally true. As verbal speech does not exist it is wishless. As bodily agitation does not exist it is signless. As thinking of the mind does not exist it is emptiness. It does not contradict the [61b] three doors of liberation of the Noble ones. Since the perfection of wisdom removes all phenomenal marks of the mind, it is true and not false. This mantra of the perfection of wisdom serves as the cause of mundane and supermundane merit.⁵⁶ [61b2] Mundane merit is able to protect and pacify formidable afflictions due to sickness and all harmful spirits and demons. Supermundane merit, when relying on the text of this *dhāraṇī* [61b3] serves as a cause of wisdom and

⁵⁵ Watanabe (2016, 27-31) in his discussion of the characteristics of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* mantra explains that the “five epithets are a characteristic limited to the Sanskrit text of the longer version...” and that “the Tibetan translations have four epithets, without the first...” That is not the case in the present example of Kamalaśīla's commentary to the Short recension preserved in Tibetan.

⁵⁶ For comparable Indian Buddhist understandings of *mantras* and the efficacy see Eltchinger 2001, 2008, 2017.

pristine awareness.⁵⁷

The Commentary on the Heart of the Perfection of Wisdom is completed.

The Ācārya Kamalaśīla was the one who explained this commentary.

Description of Dunhuang Manuscripts and Fragments for the Edition

The following edition of the Tibetan Dunhuang version of Kamalaśīla's *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayavṛtti* is based on digital images of exemplars available from the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) and Bibliothèque nationale de France Gallica (BnF). The Dunhuang exemplars consist of one nearly complete version (IOL Tib J 122 = **M**) and three fragments of the commentary, including IOL Tib J 125 (= **M**₂), as well as previously unidentified fragments Pelliot Tibétain 495 (= **M**₃) and Pelliot Tibétain 496 (= **M**₄). Details regarding these editions and exemplars are briefly described in the following paragraphs.

M = IOL Tib J 122 is the base text for the following edition. The manuscript is described in La Vallée Poussin (1962:47-48, entry number 122) as the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po bshad pa* (*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-vṛtti*) in *pothī* format, 52.5 cm x 6.7 cm, with folios numbered *ka* 52 to 61. The numbering of pages are given as "*ka nga gnyis*" reflecting a mid-range chronological style of page numbering based on Scherrer-Schaub's manuscript typology (2002). The opening *siddham* (*mgo yig*) marker at the beginning of each folio reflects a pre-9th century style (Apple 2021, 10-11). I have kept the numbering of this text in the edition for each line beginning at 52a1 through to 61b3. The text is in hand written printed script (*dbu can*) with five lines per a folio side. The root text of the *Heart of Wisdom* ("mūla") is in red ink while the commentary is in black ink. I have indicated the root text in bold print in both the English translation and Tibetan edition. The text is incomplete at the beginning while the colophon contains the title only with a second hand written note in *dbu med* stating that "this commentary (*'grel pa 'di*) is the work of the Ācārya Kamalaśīla."

I note that **IOL Tib J 124**, which is also a fragment manuscript copy

⁵⁷ Compare Praśāstrasena, *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā*, 303b3-4: shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i sngags 'di ni / 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i bsod nams kyi rgyur 'gyur te / 'jig rten pa'i bsod nams ni don gyis nyon mongs pa dang / bdud dang / bgegs kyis mi tshugs shing bsrung nus pa'o / / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i bsod nams ni gzungs 'di la brten pas shes rab dang ye shes kyi rgyur 'gyur ba'o / /; Lopez 1996, 164.

of Kamalaśīla's commentary is currently unavailable for viewing on the IDP website, and is described by La Vallée Poussin (1962) as belonging to the same recension as IOL Tib J 122.

M₂ = IOL Tib J 125. The manuscript fragment is described in La Vallée Poussin (1962, number 125). The fragment is in *pothī* format and is one folio in length, numbered on the verso with the number *gsum*, and has five lines on the front side and four lines on the back side in dark ink. The images are in inverse order on the IDP website, but I have numbered the folio lines beginning with 3a1 in the edition.

M₃ = Pelliot Tibétain 495 is briefly described in Lalou (1939, 116) as consisting of

1 roll (19 x2m820) written in strips; 96 centimeters are written upside down with a Chinese text composed of two pieces glued head to tail and mutilated. The manuscript is complete with only the beginning slightly mutilated. However, the slightly mutilated beginning that is missing on the first line of first strip of the roll would have contained the phrase "*rgya gar skyad du*" ("In the Indian language..."). I have numbered the roll by the image and line number as the photos appear on the BnF web site. For example M3 1.5 means the first image, line 5. The Tibetan appears on the first eleven images with twelve lines per image of the roll.

M₄ = Pelliot Tibétain 496 is briefly described in Lalou (1939, 116) as a *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* commentary written by Dpal gyi sgron ma. As mentioned, after line by line analysis and comparison with the other manuscripts, Dpal gyi sgron ma is a name of a scribe. The beginning is missing. The manuscript ends with: "*'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po 'grel pa rdzogs so /: / .../ //*" written by Dpal-gyi-sgron ma, this is an excellent model." The colophon is followed by a small drawing representing a 5-storey stupa surmounted by a dome and a mast. The manuscript is 1 roll (23 4m02) written in strips of which the beginning first "strip" is missing. The manuscript is illustrated and according to Lalou contains the original stick for the roll viewable as the first image on the BnF web site. However, I have numbered the Tibetan text M4 1.1 beginning with the first image of viewable text.

I have edited the text with the best readings provided by all the current textual witnesses. **M** and **M₂** are in *pothī* format and may originate from Central Tibet. Notably, **M** begins at folio number 52 and must have been part of a larger volume. **M₃** and **M₄** are on roll paper strips produced in Dunhuang. **M₃** contains a number of superfluous readings which I have documented in the footnotes. The commentary is

transcribed in normal print. I have used bold print for words

which appear in the commentary with red ink in IOL J 122 that correspond with the root text of the *Heart of Wisdom*. I have also used bold print for red punctuation marks that have been written by the scribe. I have included bracketed section titles in English in bold print for cross-referencing with the translation.

In the edition I have not marked minor differences in punctuation, differences in *gyi*, differences in reverse *gi gu*, or the spelling of *da drag*.

Symbols used in the Transliteration

The Roman transliteration of Tibetan follows the Wylie System proposed in Wylie

(1959), with the following modifications:

I	reversed <i>gi-gu</i>
a', i', u', e', o'	long vowels (ā, ī, ū, ē, ō) expressed by subfixed a-chung
\$	page initial sign head <i>mgo-yig</i>
:	<i>tsheg</i> written with two dots
§	Section marker indicated by scribe
abc	letters crossed-out by copyist
abc	Insertions: letter, word, or phrase written below the line
[abc]	xxx Scribal notation written above the line
[#a#]	Page and line number
{abc}	Written page number on left edge of folio
○	String hole

Tibetan Edition

/ bod skad du shes rab kyI snying po bshad pa /⁵⁸

52A

{ka nga gnyis} [52a1] \$ / / / yang dag chos sku mtha' yas bsam myI khyab las⁵⁹ / / / sems can bsod nams⁶⁰ rgyu dang rkyen du ldan ba'i phyir / / / thams cad mkhyend pa nyon mongs sdug bsngal sgrol gyi mkhan // // chos dbyIngs gsang ba⁶¹ dpag myed smra brjod 'das

⁵⁸ M3 (Pelliot Tibétain 495) begins with the title. The preceding Sanskrit title at the beginning, as noted by Lalou 1939, has been "gnawed away."

⁵⁹ *bsam gyIs myi khyab las*] M3; *bsam gyIs myi khyab* M, M4.

⁶⁰ *sems can bsod nams*] M3; omit. *sems can bsod nams* M, M4.

⁶¹ M3 omit *gsang ba*.

pa las /// / khams gsum ma rIḡ⁶² bslad pa'I mun pa brtsal ba'i phyir
 / / / [52a2] shes rab zab mo dug gsum sbyong ba'I sman gyi mchog
 // // de ltar myI dang chos ldan bas /// bdag dang gzhan don phun
 sum tshogs par mdzad // // sems can 'khor ba'I skyabs myed la⁶³ //
 // mgon po dpal zhIng yon 'bul rigs pa'I gtso // // de la ngag yId lus
 [52a3] kyIs gus par phyag 'tsal te /// bstod cing yon tan dge brjod
 nas /// bde gshegs sangs rgyas ○ byIn rlabs dang // // bdag gIs thos
 bsgoms cI mchis pas⁶⁴ // // sems can phal gyI don phyir du⁶⁵ // //
 shes rab snying po dgrol zhIng bshad par bgyi // // [52a4] ^(M3.1.5) mdo
 sde 'dI bshad pa la don rnam pa bdun gyis gsal bar bya ste / shes rab
 kyI mying dang // shes rab la 'jug pa dang // shes rab kyI mtshan nyId
 dang // shes rab kyI spyod yul dang // shes rab kyI yon tan dang //
 shes rab kyI 'bras bu dang // shes rab kyI gzungs so /

[The Name of Wisdom]

// / 'dI ni shes [52a5] rab kyI mying ste / myIng myed na dngos po
 rig par myI rung bas dngos po la dmyigs pa'I phyir mying smos so /

/ 'phags pa shes rab kyI pha rol du phyInd pa'i snyIng po'o /

/ shes pa rnam pa gsum ste / 'jig rten dang / 'jIḡ rten las 'das pa
 dang / bla na myed pa'I

[52b1] shes pa'o / / 'jIḡ rten gyI shes pa nI bslad pa ste / myi rtag
 pa la rtag pa dang / myI gtsang ba la gtsang ba dang / sdug bsngal la
 bde ba dang / bdag myed pa la bdag du shes pa'o // / 'jIḡ rten las 'das
 pa nI / nyan thos gang zag la bdag myed par shes pa ste / 'dus byas
 [52b2] myi rtag pa dang / 'dus byas sdug bsngal ba dang / ⁶⁶zhI ba
 mya ngan las 'das par shes pa'o // / bla na myed pa'I shes pa nI / de
 bzhIn gshegs pas gang zag dang / chos la bdag myed par mkhyen pa
 ste / mtshan ma myed pa dang / smon pa myed pa dang / stong pa
 nyId du mkhyen [52b3] pa'o / ⁶⁷ / shes pa 'di ni bla na myed pa'I shes
 pa la bya'o / // 'phag pa zhes bya ba nI / shes pa 'dIs ○ mya ngan
 dang / sdug bsngal las rIng du bral ba'o // / rab ces bya ba nI 'jIḡ rten
 dang / 'jIḡ rten las 'das pa'I mchog gI shes pa ste / bla na myed pas
 rab bo // [52b4] pha rol du phyIn pa zhes bya ba nI / skye zhIng 'jig

⁶² M3 omit *ma rIḡ*.

⁶³ M3 *mgon skyabs byed pa la*.

⁶⁴ M3 *nan tan ci mchis pas*.

⁶⁵ M3 / *sems can phal las bstan pa'I don phyIr* [...].

⁶⁶ M3 adds *chos bdag myed pa' dang* / .

⁶⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

pa nI tshu rol⁶⁸ / mya ngan las 'das pa nI pha rol / bar na⁶⁹ sems can
 'khor ba'I klung gI ded pa rnams⁷⁰ / _(M2 3a1)⁷¹ shes rab 'dis gru dang /
 gzIngs byas te⁷² / mya ngan las 'das pa'I 'gram du phyung bas pha rol
 du phyInd pa'o / // snyIng po zhes [52b5] bya ba nI shes rab kyI pha
 rol du phyInd pa chen po le'u 'bum pa'I mdo kun 'di'i nang du 'dus
_(M3 2.1) pas snyIng po zhes kyang bya⁷³ / / gcig du na de bzhIn gshegs
 pas bstan pa'I nang na don dam pa shes rab kyI ph rol du phyInd pa
 'di mchog tu gsung pas snyIng po zhes kyang bya'o ///⁷⁴

53A

{ *Ka nga gsum* } [53a1] \$ // **thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tsal lo** / ⁷⁵
₇₆

thams cad mkhyen pa nI / kun rdzob dang / don dam pa'I chos⁷⁷
 gnyIs ma lus par mkhyen te⁷⁸ / de la don dam pa mkhyen pa nI⁷⁹ chos
 kyI sku'I spyod yul te / rnam par myi rtog pa'I ye shes kyIs / shes bya
 la rnam par _(M2 3b1)⁸⁰ myI rtogs pa 'I ye shes [53a2] kyI shes bya la rnam
 par myI rtog pa⁸¹ / nam ka'I ngos bzhIn te / bdag gI don phun sum
 tshogs pa'o / / kun rdzob kyI thams cad mkhyen pa nI / sprul pa'I
 sku'I spyod yul te / phyIs thob pa'i ye shes kyIs chos so chog la sgyu
 ma dang / smyIg rgyu ba ltar mthong ba ste / sems can gyI [53a3] don
 phun sum tshogs pa'o / / 'di nI sangs rgyas bcom ldan _(M3 2.5) 'das /
 chos kyI bdag po ston pa⁸² la bya ste / ○ 'jlg rten las 'das pa'I sman
 yIn bas nI btsun / dug gsum gyI sman byIn bas nI drIn che ste / de
 ltar btsun zhIng drIn che ba la / rje dang / dad pas bya ba'I phyir thog
 mar [53a4] phyag byas⁸³ nas / de nas bstan pa'I chos bzlas'o⁸⁴ / / : /

⁶⁸ M3 *skye shI'i sdug bsngal gyi tsu rol* /.

⁶⁹ M3 omit *bar na*.

⁷⁰ M3 *sems can 'khor ba'I 'od pas ded pa'i rnams ni bar na ste* /.

⁷¹ M2 (IOL Tib J 125) begins at this point.

⁷² M2 *ste*.

⁷³ M3 *bya'o* /.

⁷⁴ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁷⁵ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁷⁶ M3 / *de la 'dl skad ces bya'o* /.

⁷⁷ M3 *kun rdzob dang don dam pa*.

⁷⁸ M3 *ste*.

⁷⁹ M3 *don dam pa'i mkhyen pas ni*.

⁸⁰ M2 (IOL Tib J 125), 3b1 begins at this point.

⁸¹ M (IOL Tib J 122) has a red line over the strikethrough transcription.

⁸² chos kyI bdag po ston pa; M3 *ston pa'i mkhan po* .

⁸³ M2 (IOL Tib J 125) ends at this point and has different punctuation: / *rje dang dad pas bya ba'I phyir / thog mar phyag byas...* .

⁸⁴ bstan pa'I chos bzlas'o; M3 *bstan pa'i phyi chos bsblabs so* .

[*The Engaging with Wisdom*]

/ 'dI man cad nI⁸⁵ shes rab la 'jug pa'ste / /⁸⁶

'dI ltar 'phags pa kun du⁸⁷ spyan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / /⁸⁸

shes rab kyI pha rol tu phyInd pa 'dI bshad pa'I tshe / 'khor brgya stong⁸⁹ grang myed par 'dus pa'I [53a5] nang na byang cub sems dpa' 'dI mchog gtso bo yin bas de la dmyigs te bshad do⁹⁰ /// 'dI ltar zhes bya ba nI 'og nas 'byung ba'I chos rnam ltar ro / / / 'phags pa nI mya ngan dang sdug bsngal las 'das pa'o⁹¹ ⁹²_(M4 1.1) /// kun du spyan ras gzIgs nI myi dmyigs pa'I thugs rjes sems [53b1] cad thams cad la skyob par mdzad pa'o⁹³ / / / dbang po nI ^(M3 2.10) sems can sdug bsngal las 'dren pa'I⁹⁴ rang dbang yod pa'o⁹⁵ /

⁹⁶§ / byang cub sems dpa'⁹⁷ shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyInd pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / /⁹⁸

byang cub ces bya ba nI chos kyI dbyIngs de bzhIn yang dag [53b2] pa'I mtha'o⁹⁹ / / / sems dpa' zhes bya ba nI de la 'jug cing rtsal ba¹⁰⁰ ste / don de lta bu zab mo¹⁰¹ la mos shIng sems bskyed pas sems dpa' zhes bya'o / / / shes rab la rnam pa gsum ste / Inga phung gI rgya mo gcod pas shes rab kyI ral gyI zhes kyang bya¹⁰² / sdug bsngal gyI phung po 'jom bas [53b3] shes rab kyI rdo rje zhes kyang bya¹⁰³ / ma rIlg pa'I mun pa sel bas na¹⁰⁴ ^(M3 3.1) shes rab kyI sgron ma zhes kyang

⁸⁵ M3 omit *ni*.

⁸⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁸⁷ M3 *kun du 'phags pa'*.

⁸⁸ M3 / 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

⁸⁹ brgya stong ; M3 *mang po*.

⁹⁰ de la dmyigs te bshad do] M ; / *sangs rgyas kyI mthus / / sha ri bu bdag dang / gzhan gyis the tsom brtsal ba'i phyir / de la 'dI dris so / M3*.

⁹¹ mya ngan dang sdug bsngal las 'das pa'o] M; *bsgribs pa rnam gnyis las / 'phags pa'o / M3*.

⁹² M4 begins at this point.

⁹³ skyob par mdzad pa'o] M, M4; *skyabs mdzad pa'o* M3.

⁹⁴ 'dren pa'I] M M3; 'dren pa la M4.

⁹⁵ rang dbang yod pa'o] M, M4; M3 *rab / dbang yod pa'o*.

⁹⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁹⁷ byang cub sems dpa'] M; byang cub sems dpa's M3; byang cub sems pa M4.

⁹⁸ M3 / 'dI skad ces bya'o /

⁹⁹ yang dag pa'I mtha'o /] M3, M4; yang dag pa / yang dag pa'I mtho'o] M.

¹⁰⁰ de la 'jug cing rtsal ba] M; de la 'jug cing rtsol ba M4; 'di la rtsol ba ste / M3.

¹⁰¹ M3 omit *zab mo*.

¹⁰² M3 *bya'*.

¹⁰³ M3 *bya'*.

¹⁰⁴ sel bas na /] M3 M4; *stseld pas M*.

bya ste / mdor na¹⁰⁵ ○ rnam pa thams cad du myI rtog pa'I shes rab
 gyIs mtshan ma thams cad stong par mthong ba la bya'o¹⁰⁶ / // pha rol
 du phyIn pa la rnam pa gsum ste / 'jIlg rten dang / 'jig [53b4] rten las
 'das pa dang / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa'[i] dam pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa¹⁰⁷
 ste¹⁰⁸ / 'jIlg rten¹⁰⁹ gyI pha rol du phyin pa nI lam rgyud gsum gyI sdug
 bsngal las bzlog pa'o / / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa nI
 skye zhIng 'khor ba las bzlog ste / zhi ba phyogs gcig pa'I [53b5] mya
 ngan las 'da' ba'o¹¹⁰ / / 'jIlg sten las 'das pa (M4.2.1) dam pa'I pha rol du
 phyIn pa¹¹¹ nI / khams gsum rmyI lam dang 'dra bas mya ngan 'da'
 ba yang myI tshol / sems can sgyu ma yIn bas 'bras bu sangs rgyas
 kyang¹¹² myI sgrub ste / chos so chog ngo bo nyId kyIs mya ngan las
 'das pas myI gnas pa'I

54A

{ka nga bzhi}[54a1] \$ / / mya ngan las 'das pa'o / // (M3.3.5) zab mo
 zhes bya ba nI bsam ba'I gnas myed pas¹¹³ nI sems kyIs myI rtogs /
 tshig gI lam chad pas nI tshIlg gIs myI dmyigs ste / sems dang / ngag¹¹⁴
 gI spyod yul las 'das pa'o¹¹⁵ / // spyad pa zhes bya ba nI / chos te /
 shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'o / // [54a2] spyod pa nI gang zag
 ste¹¹⁶ / byang cub sems dpa'o / // tshe zhes bya ba nI de'I dus la
 bya'o¹¹⁷ /

¹¹⁸§ / rnam par bltas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong
 par mthong ngo / ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰

¹⁰⁵ M3 omit *na*.

¹⁰⁶ mtshan ma thams cad stong par mthong ba la bya'o] M, M4; *shes byas thams cad stong pa'r shes pa la bya'o* / M3

¹⁰⁷ dam pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa] M, M3; don dam pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa M4.

¹⁰⁸ ste; M3 pa'o.

¹⁰⁹ M3 'jig +rten.

¹¹⁰ M3 'da's pa'o.

¹¹¹ dam pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa] M, M3; don dam pa'I pha rol du phyIn pa M4.

¹¹² 'bras bu sangs rgyas kyang] M; sangs rgyas kyI 'bras bu'ang M3; sangs rgyas su yang M4.

¹¹³ bsam ba'I gnas myed pas] M, M4; M3 sems kyI gna's myed pas.

¹¹⁴ ngag] M, M3; gang zag M4.

¹¹⁵ 'das pa'o] M, M4; 'da's pa'o M3.

¹¹⁶ gang zag ste] M, M4; myed de M3.

¹¹⁷ de'I dus la bya'o] M; dus de'i tshe la bya'o M4; *mying dang chos su ldan ba ste / dus gcIlg du mthun ba'I tse'o* M3.

¹¹⁸ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

¹¹⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

¹²⁰ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

/ lta ba¹²¹ la nram pa gsum ste / ma rabs dang / mu stegs can gyI
 lta ba dang // nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas kyI lta ba dang //
 [54a3] byang cub sems dpa' dang / de bzhIn gshegs pa'I lta ba'o //
 lnga phung de dag¹²² la ma rabs dang / mu stegs can gyI ○ sha'I smyig
 gIs nI¹²³ bdag dang¹²⁴ / sems can dang / srog du mthong ngo // nyan
 thos dang / rang sangs rgyas kyI 'phrul gyI myig gIs nI kun 'byung
 ba¹²⁵ dang / sdug bsngal du mthong ngo // [54a4] byang cub sems
 dpa' dang / sangs rgyas kyI spyang gyis nI stong pa nyId du gzigs so /
 /¹²⁶ ma rabs kyl lta bas nI skye shi'i (M3 3.10) rgyur 'gyur / nyan thos kyi
 lta bas¹²⁷ nI mya ngan las 'da' ba'I mthar ltung¹²⁸ / byang cub sems
 dpa'I lta bas¹²⁹ nI mtha¹³⁰ gnyIs spangs so¹³¹ // stong pa la yang¹³²
 [54a5] nram pa gnyIs te / 'dus ma byas¹³³ nam mkha'¹³⁴ stong pa dang
 / don dam pa 'phags pa'I ye (M4 3.1) shes kyIs so so rang gIs rlg pa'i stong
 pa'o

[The Characteristic of Wisdom]

// § // ¹³⁵ dI man cad nI shes rab kyI mtshan nyId de / ¹³⁶

/ 'dI ni sha rI + 'I bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyId kyang
 gzugs so / ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸

/ 'dI ni shes bya ba nI / [54b1] phung po lnga ste / gzugs las tshogs
 pa'o // sha rI'i bu zhes bya ba nI / ma'I mying sha ri ka¹³⁹ zhes bya
 (M3 4.1) ba las dras¹⁴⁰ te / sha rI' bu zhes bya'o // mu steg can rgyu gu

¹²¹ lta ba] M3, M4; blta ba M.

¹²² de dag] M; de M4; om. de dag M3.

¹²³ M3 inserts / 'dus pa dang / sdug bsngal du mthong ngo / byang with editorial marks.

¹²⁴ bdag dang] M; bdag dang gang zag dang M3; sems can dang bdag dang M4.

¹²⁵ kun 'byung ba] M, M4; 'dus pa M3.

¹²⁶ M3 de la.

¹²⁷ lta bas] M, M4; lta ba M3.

¹²⁸ 'da' ba'I mthar ltung] M, M4; 'da's pa'I mur 'dzInd M3.

¹²⁹ byang cub sems dpa'I lta bas] M, M4; byang cub kyi lta ba M3.

¹³⁰ mtha] M, M4; mu M3.

¹³¹ spangs so] M3, M4; spong ngo M.

¹³² yang] M; omit yang M3, M4.

¹³³ M3 'du mas byas.

¹³⁴ nam mkha'; M3 nam ka.

¹³⁵ M3 'dI man cad dris pa'i mchog to /.

¹³⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

¹³⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

¹³⁸ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

¹³⁹ sha ri ka] M3, M4; sha rI M.

¹⁴⁰ dras] M; drangs M3; / ma'I mying las dras M4.

can gyi chos la zhugs¹⁴¹ pa las / dam pa'I chos la phyogs nas / (M4 3.5)
 dge bar 'ongs shes bas pas / rab du byung nas¹⁴² skra dang / kha spu
 rang byI¹⁴³ [54b2] chos gos¹⁴⁴ kyang rang lus la gyon te¹⁴⁵ / dgra bcom
 ba'i 'bras bu mod la thob nas¹⁴⁶ / sangs rgyas pa'i nyan thos pa'I¹⁴⁷ slob
 ma'i nang na shes rab gyi mchog pas¹⁴⁸ chos dang snod du bstun¹⁴⁹ nas
 / de la dmyIgs nas¹⁵⁰ bshad pa'o¹⁵¹ / // gzugs shes bya ba nI sa chu
 mye rlung chen po¹⁵² bzhI'o / // [54b3] stong pa zhes bya ba nI don
 dam pa chos kyI dbyIngs stong pa'I mtshan nyId de / mtshan nyId de
 nI dmyigs su myed pa¹⁵³ / ○ grangs dang / bgrang ba las 'das pa / (M4
 3.10)¹⁵⁴gzung ba dang 'dzIn pa las bral ba / myI dmyigs pa¹⁵⁵ / de bzhIn
 nyId kyi mtshan nyId de¹⁵⁶ / chos so chog kyang¹⁵⁷ stong pa'I mtshan
 nyId du [54b4] ma 'dus pa myed de¹⁵⁸ / mtshan nyId myed pa'o / /
 sa chu mye rlung chen po bzhI yang mtshan nyId myed pa ste / dngos
 po myed pa / bdag myed pa / rje myed pa ste / rdul du gzhIgs nas
 stong par gyurd pa nI ma yIn gyI / rang bzhIn gyis stong bas gzugs
 stong pa nyId ces bya'o¹⁵⁹ / / (M3 4.5)gzugs [54b5] (M4 4.1)rang bzhIn gyIs¹⁶⁰
 stong bas de¹⁶¹ don dam pa'I stong pa¹⁶² ste / de las¹⁶³ don dam pa'I

¹⁴¹ rgyu gu can gyi chos la zhugs] M, M4; rgyu gu can chos la brtugl zhugs M3.

¹⁴² byung nas] M, M4; rdzogs te M3.

¹⁴³ kha spu rang byI] M, M4; sma ngar yang rang bya M3.

¹⁴⁴ gos] M, M3; dgos M4.

¹⁴⁵ rang lus la gyon te] M, M4; lus la rang gond ste M3.

¹⁴⁶ thob nas] M; thob pas M3; thogs nas M4.

¹⁴⁷ sangs rgyas pa'i nyan thos pa'I] M; sangs rgyas nyan thos kyi slob ma'I nang'as
 M3; sangs rgyas kyi nyan thos pa'i slob ma nang na M4.

¹⁴⁸ mchog pas] M, M3; mchod pas M4.

¹⁴⁹ bstun] M; bsdus M3; du bas sam M4.

¹⁵⁰ dmyIgs nas] M; dmyIgs te M4; bsngos te M3.

¹⁵¹ bshad pa'o] M; bshad do M3, M4.

¹⁵² chen po; M3 omit chen po.

¹⁵³ mtshan nyId de nI dmyigs su myed pa] M, M4; 'dI ni gnyIs su myed pa M3.

¹⁵⁴ M3 inserts: *bdag dang bdag tu lta ba las 'da's pa' /*.

¹⁵⁵ myI dmyigs pa] M, M4; myi gnyis pa de M3.

¹⁵⁶ de bzhIn nyId kyi mtshan nyId de] M, M4; de bzhIn ngo bo kyi mtshan nyId do
 M3.

¹⁵⁷ kyang; M3 omit kyang.

¹⁵⁸ stong pa'I mtshan nyId du ma 'dus pa myed de] M, M3; stong pa nyid du 'dus pa
 myed de M4.

¹⁵⁹ stong pa'I mtshan nyId du [54b4] ma 'dus pa myed de / mtshan nyId myed pa'o
 / / sa chu mye rlung chen po bzhI yang mtshan nyId myed pa ste / dngos po
 myed pa / bdag myed pa / rje myed pa ste / rdul du gzhIgs nas stong par gyurd
 pa nI ma yIn gyI / rang bzhIn gyis stong bas gzugs stong pa nyId ces bya'o; M3
 stong pa nyi kyi stong pa bas gzugs stong pa nyid ces bya'o / .

¹⁶⁰ rang bzhIn gyIs] M; rang bzhIn M4; ngo bo nyid kyI M3.

¹⁶¹ stong bas de] M, M4; stong pa de M3.

¹⁶² don dam pa'I stong pa] M, M3; dam pa'i stong pa M4.

¹⁶³ de las] M, M4; de M3.

stong pa gzhan gud na myed pas¹⁶⁴ stong pa nyId kyang gzugs shes bya'o / / de la mdo sde las 'byung ba¹⁶⁵ / / byang cub sems dpa' chos kyI dbyIngs la 'jug pa'I¹⁶⁶ ye shes kyIs / chos kyI dbyIngs nI sa'I

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{*ka nga lnga*} [55a1] \$ / / khams yIn kyang sra ba nyId nI ma yIn no¹⁶⁷ / / chos kyI dbyings dang / nam mkha' dang¹⁶⁸ / chos thams cad dang / bdag gI khams (M4 4.5) de dag¹⁶⁹ nI mtshungs so / / cI'I phyir¹⁷⁰ zhe na¹⁷¹ / stong pa nyId du mtshungs pas na mtshungs shes bya'o +zhes sungso /

¹⁷²§ / **gzugs dang stong pa nyid kyang**¹⁷³ [55a2] **tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang tha myI dad do** / ^{174/175}

de ltar gzugs kyI mtshan nyId stong pa dang¹⁷⁶ / don dam pa'i stong pa gnyIs kyang tha myI dad de / dbyer myed pa / bgrang ba las bral ba / rang bzhIn gyIs stong pa'I mtshan nyId du 'thun no¹⁷⁷ /

¹⁷⁸§ / **gag gzugs** [55a3] **pa de**¹⁷⁹ **stong pa nyId / gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te**^{180 / 181/}

¹⁶⁴ gzhan gud na myed pas] M; gzhan gud na myed pas na M4; gclg gud na myed pas na M3.

¹⁶⁵ ba; M3 ba'.

¹⁶⁶ chos kyI dbyIngs la 'jug pa'I] M, M4; chos dbyings la 'dug pa M3.

¹⁶⁷ ye shes kyIs / chos kyI dbyIngs nI sa'I khams yIn kyang sra ba nyId nI ma yIn no] M, M4; ye shes kyI dbying nI sa chu mye lung gyI khams te / sra lan dro g.yo ba' / M3.

¹⁶⁸ nam mkha' dang] M, M4; M3 omit nam mkha' dang.

¹⁶⁹ bdag gI khams de dag] M; bdag gI khams 'di dag M4; de dag M3.

¹⁷⁰ cI'I phyir] M, M4; de jI'i phyir M3.

¹⁷¹ zhe na] M, M3; zhes na M4.

¹⁷² M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

¹⁷³ stong pa nyid kyang] **Emended**; stong pa gnyIs kyang M, M4; stong pa gnyIs M3. I have emended the Tibetan "emptiness" (*stong pa nyid; śūnyatā*) against all exemplars reading "two" (*gnyis*).

¹⁷⁴ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

¹⁷⁵ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

¹⁷⁶ de ltar gzugs kyI mtshan nyId stong pa dang] M, M4; de ltar gzugs kyis stong / mtshan nyid kyI stong pa dang M3.

¹⁷⁷ dbyer myed pa / bgrang ba las bral ba / rang bzhIn gyIs stong pa'I mtshan nyId du 'thun no] M, M4; bsnand pa dang bri ba'I bsgurd pa dang 'bral ba / mu gnyIs spangs pa nyId kyIs / stong pa'I mtshan nyI *du^{*}shu-mthun no M3.

¹⁷⁸ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

¹⁷⁹ gag gzugs pa de] M, M3; gag / gag gzugs pa de nyid M4.

¹⁸⁰ gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te] M; gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te' M3; gag stong pa de nyid gzugs ste M4

¹⁸¹ ; / zhes bya ba nI / M4; / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / M3.

(M4.4.10)sems can ma rabs byIs bar gyurd ○ pa rnames¹⁸² thog ma myed
 pa tshun cad skye shI¹⁸³ 'khor ba'I nang na lam rgyud lngar 'khor te¹⁸⁴
 / phung po lnga dang nI 'dris / khams (M3.4.10)bco brgyad¹⁸⁵ la nI goms
 pas / de la shIn du chags [55a4] shIng zhend nas / dngos po dang /
 gong bur 'dzin pa la / de bzhIn gshegs pas ngo bo nyid kyIs stong par
 bstan pas¹⁸⁶ / gzugs kyI mtshan nyId nI stong par shigs na¹⁸⁷ / (M4.5.1)
 gnyen po stong pa'I dngos po gzhan gud na yod par 'dzIn pa nI / nyan
 thos zhI ba phyogs [55a5] gcig pa'I mya ngan las 'da' ba la chags pa'o
 / // de lta ste gag gzugs pa de nyId stong pa nyid ces bya ba nI / gang
 zag gzugs la chags pas 'khor ba'I mthar¹⁸⁸ ltung ba'I gnyen po'o¹⁸⁹ / /
 gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs¹⁹⁰ shes bya ba nI nyan thos gang zag la
 [55b1] bdag myed par chud nas¹⁹¹ gzugs kyI zla la stong pa'I (M3.5.1)
 mtshan ma skye ste¹⁹² / mya ngan / (M4.5.5)las 'da' ba'I mtha'¹⁹³ 'dzIn pa'I
 gnyen po'o / / gzugs dang / stong pa gnyIs nI ngo bo nyId kyIs myed
 pas snang ba¹⁹⁴ ma yIn te / de la gzugs la mtshan mar 'dzIn pa'I sems
 spang ba'I phyIr / [55b2] stong pa nyId¹⁹⁵ bstan na / stong pa la
 mtshan mar 'dzIn pa'I sems byung bas¹⁹⁶ / stong pa dang / gzugs
 gnyIs mying¹⁹⁷ brjes su zad de / mtshan ma nI gang gI mtshan ma la
 dmyIgs pas¹⁹⁸ kyang yang dag pa la sgrib par 'gyur bas / gang stong
 pa nyId du 'dzin pa de yang mtshan ma la [55b3] chags pa'o / / de la
 dper bya na¹⁹⁹ / myI rab rIb can zhig 'dron du 'gro ba²⁰⁰ lam g.yas rol
 gyI / (M4.5.10)'gram ○ na nI tsher ma dang / dong yod²⁰¹ / lam g.yon rol
 gyi 'gram na nI ngan pa dang / g.yang ma yod de²⁰² / myI'I myig la
 skyon myed pa gcig gIs tsher ma dang / dong yod do²⁰³ / [55b4] zhes

¹⁸² gyurd pa rnames] M, M3; gyur pa'i rnames M4.

¹⁸³ skye shI] M, M3; skye shir M4.

¹⁸⁴ te; M3 omit te.

¹⁸⁵ khams bco brgyad M3, M4; khams M.

¹⁸⁶ bstan pas; M3 bstand nas.

¹⁸⁷ shigs na] M, M3; bzhigs nas M4.

¹⁸⁸ mthar] M, M4; mur M3.

¹⁸⁹ ltung ba'I gnyen po'o] M, M4; ltung ba 'bral ba'I gnyen po'I stong pa de M3.

¹⁹⁰ gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs] M, M4; gzugs shes bya ba M3.

¹⁹¹ chud nas] M, M3; 'chad nas M4.

¹⁹² ste; M3 te.

¹⁹³ 'da' ba'I mtha'] M, M4; 'da's pa'I mur M3.

¹⁹⁴ snang ba] M, M4; spangs pa M3.

¹⁹⁵ stong pa nyId] M, M3; stong pa' de nyId M4.

¹⁹⁶ sems byung bas] M, M4; gcIg 'byung bas M3.

¹⁹⁷ gzugs gnyIs mying] M, M4; gzugs M3.

¹⁹⁸ dmyIgs pas; M3 dmyigs.

¹⁹⁹ de la dper bya na] M, M4; dper M3.

²⁰⁰ 'gro ba] M; 'gro ba' M4; 'gro ba la M3.

²⁰¹ tsher ma dang / dong yod] M, M3; dong dang tsher ma yod M4.

²⁰² yod de; M3 yod do.

²⁰³ dong yod do; M3 dong yod.

byas na nI ngam pa dang / g.yang ma'I mur ltung / ngam pa dang / g.yang pa yod ces byas na nI tsher ma dang / dong gI mur²⁰⁴ ltung ba la²⁰⁵ / lam dbu ma stong pa nyId jI la yang ma thogs ma chags pa bstan te / rang gI gnas bde bar phyIn par byed do²⁰⁶ / / [55b5] dpe de dang 'dra ste / rab /_(M4 6.1) rib can zhes bya ba nI ma rabs nyon mongs pa'I [x]sgrib [x] pa dang / shes bya'I [x] sgrib [x] pa ma²⁰⁷ shes rab gyi myig rab rib du song ba'o / / dong dang / tsher ma nI²⁰⁸ gzugs la stshogs pa'I²⁰⁹ mtshan ma la chags te 'khor ba'I mur ltung ba'o / /

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{*ka nga drug*} [56a1] \$ / / ngam pa dang / g.yang sa nI mya ngan las 'da' ba'I mtshan ma la chags te / stong pa'I mur ltung ba'o²¹⁰ / / myig can²¹¹ gyI skyes bu nI de bzhIn gshegs pa ste / shes rab kyI spyan²¹² _(M4 6.5) gsal bas gzugs ngo bo nyId kyIs stong bas²¹³ nI skye shI sgyu ma dang 'dra _(M3 5.5) ste / 'khor ba'I [56a2] nyes pa'ang²¹⁴ myI spong / khams gsum rmyI lam dang 'dra bas²¹⁵ mya ngan las 'da' tha'I yon tan yang myI tshol te / dbu ma stong pa nyId du zhugs nas²¹⁶ / myi gnas pa'I mya ngan las 'das pa²¹⁷ rang gI gnas nyId du phyInd to /

²¹⁸§ / **de bzhIn du tshor ba**²¹⁹ [56a3] **dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / mnam par shes pa'o** / ^{220 221}

- ²⁰⁴ tsher ma dang / dong gI mur] M; dong dang tsher ma'i mur M4; omit. M3.
²⁰⁵ M3 omit ngam pa dang / g.yang pa yod ces byas na nI tsher ma dang / dong gI mur ltung ba la.
²⁰⁶ phyIn par byed do] M; phyin par byas so M4, phyInd par byas so M3.
²⁰⁷ shes bya'I [x] sgrib [x] pa ma] M; shes bya'i sgrib pa'I M4; nyan thos kyis shes bya'i bsgribs pas.
²⁰⁸ tsher ma nI] M, M4; tsher ma zhes bya ba nI M3.
²⁰⁹ la stsogs pa'I] M4; lam tshogs pa'I M, M3.
²¹⁰ M3 omit ngam pa dang / g.yang sa nI mya ngan las 'da' ba'I mtshan ma la chags te / stong pa'I mur ltung ba'o
²¹¹ myig can; M3 dmyig can.
²¹² shes rab kyI spyan] M, M3; shes rab kyI spun ba M4.
²¹³ stong bas; stong bar mthong bas na M3; om. gzugs ngo bo nyId kyIs stong bas M4.
²¹⁴ 'ang; M3 yang.
²¹⁵ khams gsum rmyI lam dang 'dra bas] M, M4; khams nI rmyi lam dangs 'dra bas M3.
²¹⁶ dbu ma stong pa nyId du zhugs nas] M, M4 ; M3 lam dbu ma mtshan ma myed pa dang / smon pa myed pa dang / stong pa nyId kyI sgor bzhugs nas.
²¹⁷ myi gnas pa'I mya ngan las 'das pa] M, M3; myi gnas pa'I mya ngan las 'das pas / M4.
²¹⁸ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .
²¹⁹ tshor ba; M3 'tshor ba.
²²⁰ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .
²²¹ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

/ gong du phung po²²² de ngo bo nyId²²³ stong par ○ mthong zhes
 bya ba las / gzugs kyI stong pa rmos te / (M4 6.10) phan tshun stong pa
 rnam drug gIs bshad pa bzhIn du lhag ma rnams²²⁴ kyang de bzhIn te
 / tshor ba dang / 'du [56a4] shes dang / 'du byed (M3 5.10) rnams so / /
 'dI rnams nI sems kyI rgyud de²²⁵ / sems nI gzugs myed pa ste / stong
 pa nyId kyI mtshan nyId pas²²⁶ gzugs kyI phung po la rten pa'o²²⁷ / /
 dper na snod kyI stong pa nyId²²⁸ dang 'dra ste snod la rtend to / /
 snod de bshIg na de la²²⁹ [56a5] rten pa'i gnas myed de (M4 7.1) / stong pa
 chen po dang yang²³⁰ tha myI dad do / / de dang 'dra ste / 'dI gzugs
 kyI phung po stong bar brtags pas²³¹ sems kyI phung po'i gnas myed
 de²³² / don dam pa chos kyI dbyIngs kyI stong pa chen po dang²³³ yang
 tha myI dad do / / de la phung po lnga [56b1] stong par nI²³⁴ mdo sde
 las 'byung ba / / gzugs kyI phung po nI²³⁵ dbu ba dang 'dra ste /
 gzugs zhIng ma nyer myed pa'o²³⁶ / / tshor ba'I phung po nI chu bur
 dang 'dra ste²³⁷ / skad clg ma yin bas²³⁸ (M4 7.5) myi rtag pa'o²³⁹ / / 'du
 shes kyI phung po nI smyig (M3 6.1) rgyu ba dang 'dra ste / 'dod pas
 skom bas nor [56b2] pa'o²⁴⁰ / / 'du byed kyI phung po nI chu skyes
 kyI ldu bu dang 'dra ste / gzhIgs na snyIng po myed pa'o / / rnam
 par shes pa'I phung po nI sgyu ma dang 'dra ste / log pa las skyes
 pa'o²⁴¹ / / de lta ste phung po lnga nI bdag ma yIn / gang zag ma yIn
 / sems can ma yIn / srog ma yIn / gso' [56b3] ba ma yIn²⁴² / skyes bu

222 phung po] M, M3; phung po lngo po M4.

223 ngo bo nyId] M; ngo bo nyId kyis M3, M4.

224 lhag ma rnams] M, M3; lhag ma'I rnams M4.

225 sems kyI rgyud de; M3 nga'I sems gyI rgyu ste.

226 stong pa nyId kyI mtshan nyId pas] M, M4; stong pa nyI kyI mtshan nyId de / bag
 chags rnam par smyind pas M3

227 rten pa'o; M3 rten to.

228 stong pa nyId] M; stong pa M3, M4.

229 de la; M3 omit de la.

230 dang yang; M3 omit dang yang.

231 brtags pas] M, M3; brtags par M4.

232 gnas myed de; M3 omit gnas myed de.

233 chos kyI dbyIngs kyI stong pa chen po dang] M, M4; omit chos kyI dbyIngs kyI
 stong pa chen po dang M3.

234 phung po lnga stong par nI] M, M4; omit phung po lnga stong par nI M3.

235 nI; M3 la rten te.

236 ma nyer myed pa'o] M; dbyer myed M3; mnyer myed pa'o M4.

237 chu bur dang 'dra ste /] M, M4; omit chu bur dang 'dra ste / M3.

238 skad clg ma yin bas] M, M4; skad clg ma bas M3.

239 myi rtag pa'o] M, M3; myi rtog go M4.

240 nor pa'o] M; nor pa 'dra'o M4; gnod pa zer ba'o M3.

241 M3 omit: rnam par shes pa'I phung po nI sgyu ma dang 'dra ste / log pa las skyes
 pa'o.

242 gso' ba ma yIn] M, M4; omit gso' ba ma yIn M3.

ma yIn te / phung po lnga 'dI ni rang bzhIn 'dI ste²⁴³ / bdag dang /
bdag gIs stong pa'o / ○ / ma skyes pa'o / ma byung ba'o / myed
pa'o / nam^(M4 7.10) ka'I khams so²⁴⁴ / 'dus ma byas pa'o / mya ngan las
'das pa'o +zhes gsungs so²⁴⁵ / / de ltar phyI rol gyI²⁴⁶ chen po bzhI
stong par [56b4] shes pas ni gzugs stong pa'o²⁴⁷ / / nang gI sems bzhI
stong par shes pas²⁴⁸ stong pas stong ba ste / stong ba dang / gzugs
kyI mtshan nyId spangs pas gzung ba dang / 'dzIn pa gnyIs las bral
te / rnam par grol ba zhes kyang bya'o²⁴⁹ /

/²⁵⁰ / 'dI ni sha rI'i bu chos [56b5] thams cad kyI²⁵¹ stong pa nyId
kyi mtshan ma ste /^{252 253} /

^(M4 8.1) chos thams cad ces bya ba ni²⁵⁴ / phung po lnga la brten pa ste
/ dbang po dang / yul dang²⁵⁵ / ^(M3 6.5) khams dang / skye mched dang
/ rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba las tshogs pa la bya ste²⁵⁶ / lnga phung
de stong par rtogs pas na /

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{ka nga bdun} [57a1] \$ / / de'I yan lag rnam kyang stong pa'I mts-
han mar rIgs par bya'o / / dper na lus kyI gtso²⁵⁷ stong par rtogs pas
na²⁵⁸ / rka lag las tshogs pa²⁵⁹ zhar gyIs stong par rIg par bya'o //

[The Range of Wisdom]

:// 'dI man cad shes rab kyI spyod yul te / de ston to²⁶⁰ /

²⁴³ 'dI ste] M; 'di 'dra ste M4; 'dI lta ste M3.

²⁴⁴ nam ka'I khams so] M, M4; nam ka'I dbyIngs so M3.

²⁴⁵ zhes gsungs so; M3 'dI lta ste.

²⁴⁶ de ltar phyI rol gyI; M3 omit de ltar phyI rol gyI.

²⁴⁷ stong pa'o] M, M4; omit stong pa'o M3.

²⁴⁸ nang gI sems bzhI stong par shes pas] M, M3; nang gi chen po bzhI stong par shes
pas na M4.

²⁴⁹ rnam par grol ba zhes kyang bya'o] M, M4; rnam par grol ba'i gzugs shes kyang
bya'o M3.

²⁵⁰ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁵¹ kyI] M; ni M4; omit kyI M3.

²⁵² M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁵³ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

²⁵⁴ ces bya ba ni] M; bya ba ni M4; shes pa ni M3.

²⁵⁵ yul dang] M, M3; omit yul dang M4.

²⁵⁶ rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba las tshogs pa la bya ste] M, M4; rkyed dang / 'du
btshogs te 'byung ba las stogs te / M3.

²⁵⁷ gtso] M; gtso bo M3, M4.

²⁵⁸ na; M3 ni.

²⁵⁹ las tshogs pa] M, M3; la stogs pa M4.

²⁶⁰ de ston to] M; omit de ston to M3, M4.

²⁶¹ / **myI** _(M4 8.5) **skye myI 'gog / myi gtsang [57a2] myi btsog**²⁶² / **myI 'phel myi 'bri** / ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ /

snga myed pa²⁶⁵ las phyIs yod par gyurd na nI skyes shes bya'o / / sngon yod pa²⁶⁶ las phyIs myed par gyurd pa nI 'gag²⁶⁷ ces bya'o / / sangs rgyas kyI ngo bo nyId / chos kyI dbyings / don dam pa'I stong pa 'dI ni thog ma myed [57a3] pas na mtha'I mtha²⁶⁸ myI rnyed de / 'gog pa yang myed / mtha ma myed pas na²⁶⁹ thog ma'I mgo myi ○ rnyed de²⁷⁰ / skyes pa yang myed / / sems can lam rgyud lnga'I nang na 'khor yang / sangs rgyas kyI ngo bo nyid la _(M4 8.10) btshogs pa²⁷¹ yang myed / bla na myed pa yang dag [57a4] par²⁷² rdzogs pa'I byang cub kyI²⁷³ de bzhin nyId²⁷⁴ nI gtsang mar yang ma gyurd / / rnyog ma dang / sur bu'I lus su gyurd kyang²⁷⁵ de bzhIn nyId la²⁷⁶ 'bri ba [em. 'grib?] yang myed / chos kyI skur gyurd kyang 'phel ba yang myed de / c'i phyir zhe na / bsam zhIng brjod pa las 'das te / [57a5] dpag pas myi khyab pa'I _(M3 6.10) phyir ro /

²⁷⁷ § / **de bas na sha r'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang med / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / rnam par shes pa yang** _(M4 9.1) **myed do**²⁷⁸ / ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰

/ gong du phung po lnga so sor mying gIs²⁸¹ bsngos te stong par [57b1] bstan pas / yang sems las mtshan mar rtog pa phung po lnga stong pa nyid na stong pa la dbyer med pas / gzugs las stshogs pa+r

²⁶¹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁶² btsog] M; rtsog M4; grtsog M3.

²⁶³ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁶⁴ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

²⁶⁵ snga myed pa] M, M3; sngun myed pa M4.

²⁶⁶ sngon yod pa] M, M3; sngun yod pa M4.

²⁶⁷ 'gag; M3 'gog.

²⁶⁸ mtha'I mtha; M3 thog ma'I mtha.

²⁶⁹ mtha ma myed pas na] M, M3; mtha' yang myed pas na M4.

²⁷⁰ 'gog pa yang myed / mtha ma myed pas na thog ma'I mgo myi rnyed de] M, M4;

omit 'gog pa yang myed / mtha ma myed pas na thog ma'I mgo myi rnyed de M3.

²⁷¹ la btshogs pa] M; la bstogs pa M4; las btshogs pa M3.

²⁷² yang dag par] M, M4; de bzhin yang dag par M3.

²⁷³ kyI] M, M4; kyang M3.

²⁷⁴ de bzhin nyId] M, M4; sangs rgyas kyI ngo bo nyid M3.

²⁷⁵ rnyog ma dang / sur bu'I lus su gyurd kyang] M; grog ma dang sbur lus su 'gyur

yang M3; grog ma dang sbrur bu'i lus byas kyang M4.

²⁷⁶ de bzhIn nyId la; M3 sangs rgyas kyI ngo bo nyid.

²⁷⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁷⁸ myed do] M; myed M3, M4.

²⁷⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

²⁸⁰ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

²⁸¹ mying gIs] M, M4; omit mying gIs M3.

(M4 9.5) yang gdags pa'i mtshan ma yang²⁸² myI rigs shes mying la rtog pa'I mtshan ma bsal ba'I²⁸³ phyir bstan pa ste²⁸⁴ / de ltar phung po lnga ngo bo nyid kyis [57b2] stong pa ste / mying dang bsngo ba²⁸⁵ las tshogs pa²⁸⁶ las 'das te dbyer med pas / gzugs las tshogs pa btags pa'I²⁸⁷ mtshan ma yang myed pa'I phir myed ces bya'o

/²⁸⁸ § / **myIg dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed** / ^{289 290} /

'dI ni dbang po drug ste / drug²⁹¹ kyang phung po lnga la [57b3] rten pas (M3 7.1) phung po²⁹² myed na dbang po drug kyang phung po lnga las gzhan ma yIn bas myed ces bya'o

/^{293 294} § / ○ **gzugs dang / sgra dang / drI dang / ro dang / reg dang / chos kyang myed** / ^{295 296} /

'dI ni yul drug ste / phyI rol gyi yul drug²⁹⁷ kyang kun du brtags pa²⁹⁸ tsam ste / drI za'i [57b4] grong khyer dang / nam ka'I me tog dang / mye long gI²⁹⁹ (M4 9.10) gzugs brnyan dang / rmyi lam lta bu ste / sems can gyI³⁰⁰ ma rig pa las 'du byed 'dus byas kyI 'bras bu grub pa³⁰¹ la bsal pa'I sems kyIs yod par 'dzIn te / don dam par na³⁰² ngo bo nyid kyIs stong pa bas³⁰³ myed [57b5] ces bya'o /

282 mtshan ma yang] M, M4; omit mtshan ma yang M3.

283 bsal ba'I] M3, M4; brtsal ba'I M.

284 ste; M3 pas.

285 bsngo ba] M, M3; gsob M4.

286 las tshogs pa] M, M4; omit las tshogs pa M3.

287 btags pa'I] M, M4; gdags pa'I M3.

288 M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

289 M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

290 M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

291 drug] M, M4; dbang po drug M3.

292 phung po] M, M3; phung po lnga M4.

293 M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

294 M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

295 M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

296 M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

297 yul drug; M3 yul rnam.

298 kun du brtags pa] M, M4; rnam par brtags pa tsam M3.

299 gI] M, M3; om. gi M4.

300 gyI] M, M4; omit gyI M3.

301 ma rig pa las 'du byed 'dus byas kyI 'bras bu grub pa] M, M4; ma rIg pa'I dbang las bags cags smyind te / 'dus byas kyi ds 'bras bu grub ste pa M3.

302 na] M, M3; ni M4.

303 stong pa bas] M, M3; stong pa bas na M4.

³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ § / myIḡ gi khams nas yId kyI khams su yang myed / ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ /

'dI³⁰⁸ ni khams bco brgyad la bya ste / nang gi dbang po drug myed pas nI / rnam par shes pa'I rten myed / ^(M4 10.1) phyI'I yul drug myed pas nI rnam par shes pa'i gnas myed de / de³⁰⁹ ^(M3 7.5) 'ba' shIḡ³¹⁰ myi 'grub pas

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{*ka nga brgyad*} [58a1] \$ / / rnam par shes pa drug kyang myed de / de bas na khams bco brgyad kyang myed ces bya'o /

³¹¹ § / rIḡs yang myed / ma rIḡs yang myed / rIḡ pa zad pa yang myed / ma rIḡ pa zad pa yang myed pa nas³¹² / rḡas shIḡ shI ba yang myed³¹³ / rḡas shIḡ shI ba³¹⁴ zad [58a2] pa 'ang³¹⁵ myed³¹⁶ / ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ /

'dI ni rang sangs rgyas kyI theḡ pa la zhugs ^(M4 10.5) pa'I³¹⁹ spyod yul te / ma rIḡ pa nas rḡas shI'i bar du bstan pa nI mdor gsungs pa ste³²⁰ / ma rIḡ pa'I rkyen kyIs 'du byed de / de bzhIn du rnam par shes pa'i rkyen gyIs³²¹ mying dang gzugs shes [58a3] bya ba nas³²² / reg pa / tshor ba / sred pa / len pa / srid pa / skye ba³²³ / rḡa shI'i bar du'o / / ma rIḡ pa zhes ○ bya ba nI bdag du 'dzIn pa las [x]byung ngo / / bdag du 'dzIn pa nI dngos po myed pa las byung ste / de ltar dngos po myed pas / dper na mun gnag³²⁴ yun rIḡn por [58a4] 'dug pa la

³⁰⁴ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³⁰⁵ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

³⁰⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³⁰⁷ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

³⁰⁸ 'dI] M, M4; M3 'dI skad.

³⁰⁹ de] M, M4; 'di M3.

³¹⁰ 'ba' shIḡ] M, M3; 'ba' shIḡ du M4.

³¹¹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³¹² nas] M; na' M4; M3 pas.

³¹³ myed] M, M4; myed nas M3.

³¹⁴ shI ba] M, M3; om. shI ba M4.

³¹⁵ 'ang] M; yang M3, M4.

³¹⁶ myed] M, M3; myed de M4.

³¹⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³¹⁸ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

³¹⁹ theḡ pa la zhugs pa'I; M3 omit theḡ pa la zhugs pa'I.

³²⁰ gsungs pa ste; M3 gsungs te.

³²¹ rnam par shes pa'i rkyen gyIs; M3 omit rnam par shes pa'i rkyen gyIs.

³²² mying dang gzugs shes bya ba nas] M, M4; M3 mying dang / gzugs drug gi skyed mched.

³²³ srid pa / skye ba] M; sred pa len pa skye ba M4; las scogs pa' M3.

³²⁴ mun gnag] M; mun gang du M4; khyim mun nag du M3.

sgron ma gcig byung bas skad cig du³²⁵ myed par 'gyur te³²⁶ (M4 10.10) /
 myed pa'I³²⁷ dngos po yang myI snang ngo / / de lta ste / sems can
 gyI thog ma myed pa tshun cad kyI ma rIg pa'I mun pa stug po la /
 shes rab kyI sgron mas brtags pas skad cig du myed par 'gyur te /
 [58a5] myed pa'I dngos po yang myi snang ngo /³²⁸ / / rIgs zhes bya
 ba yang ma rIg pa'I zla la btags pa tsam du zad de / ma rIg pa myed
 pas rIg pa'I mying yang myi grub ste / ³²⁹rIg pa yang myed / ma rIg
 pa zad pa³³⁰ yang myed ces bya'o³³¹ / / ma rIg pa (M4 11.1) de³³² ngo bo
 nyid kyIs myed pas ma rIg [58b1] pa myed do / / myed pa'I dngos po
 la yang bltar myi snang bas³³³ zad pa yang myed ces bya'o / / (M3 7.10)
 de la mdo las 'byung ba / ci ltar rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba mthong
 zhe na³³⁴ / srog myed pa / srog dang bral ba / jI lta bu nyid³³⁵ / ma
 nord pa³³⁶ / ma skyes pa³³⁷ / ma byung ba / ma byas pa³³⁸ / [58b2]
 'dus ma byas pa / thogs pa³³⁹ myed pa / zhi ba / (M4 11.5) stong pa /
 myed par mthong ste / gang gIs de lta bu'I tshul du chos rnam la
 yang srog myed pa nas³⁴⁰ / stong pa dang³⁴¹ / myed par mthong ba de
 ni³⁴² bla na myed pa / chos gyi sku³⁴³ sangs rgyas mthong ste / chos
 mngon bar shes so zhes [58b3] gsungs so /

³⁴⁴ § / sdug bsngal dang / kun 'byung dang / 'gog pa dang / lam

³²⁵ skad cig du] M, M4; ska cIg du mun nag M3.

³²⁶ te] M, M3; nas M4.

³²⁷ myed pa'I] M, M4; myed de M3.

³²⁸ M3 omit: / de lta ste / sems can gyI thog ma myed pa tshun cad kyI ma rIg pa'I
 mun pa stug po la / shes rab kyI sgron mas brtags pas skad cig du myed par 'gyur
 te / [58a5] myed pa'I dngos po yang myi snang ngo.

³²⁹ M4 inserts de bas nas.

³³⁰ zad pa] M; omit: zad pa M3, M4.

³³¹ ces bya'o] M, M4; omit ces bya'o M3.

³³² ma rIg pa de] M, M3; ma rIg pa myed de M4.

³³³ ma rIg pa de ngo bo nyid kyIs myed pas ma rIg pa myed do / / myed pa'I dngos
 po la yang bltar myi snang bas] M; ma rIg myed de / ngo bo nyid kyis myed pas
 / ma rIg pa'i dngos po yang bltar myi snang bas / M4; omit ma rIg pa de ngo bo
 nyid kyIs myed pas ma rIg pa myed do / / myed pa'I dngos po la yang bltar myi
 snang bas M3

³³⁴ rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba mthong zhe na; M3 rkyend dang / 'du btshogs te
 'byung ba' / mthong zhes na /

³³⁵ jI lta bu nyid] M, M3; lta bu nyid M4.

³³⁶ ma nord pa] M, M4 ; ma nor ma byung ba' M3.

³³⁷ pa; M3 pa' .

³³⁸ ma byung ba / ma byas pa] M; ma byung ba M4; omit ma byung ba / ma byas pa
 M3.

³³⁹ thogs pa] M; thog ma nas M4; rtog pa M3.

³⁴⁰ nas] M; shes pas na M3; om. nas M4.

³⁴¹ dang] M, M4; omit dang M3.

³⁴² de ni] M, M4; ni / des M3.

³⁴³ bla na myed pa / chos gyi sku] M, M4; bla na myed pa'i M3.

³⁴⁴ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

yang myed / ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ /

'dI ni ○ nyan thos kyI theg pa la zhugs pa'I spyod yul te / bden ba
 bzhI zhes bya'o / / bden ba la rnams gsum ste³⁴⁷ / (M3 8.1) 'jIlg rten dang
 / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa dang / [58b4] don dam pa 'phags pa'I bden ba'o³⁴⁸
 / / 'jIlg rten gyI bden ba nI phung po lnga la kun 'byung du lta ba³⁴⁹
 dang / rga shI la sdug bsngal du shes pa'o / / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa'I
 bden ba nI kun 'byung³⁵⁰ la 'gog pa dang / sdug bsngal lam gyI spong
 bar byed [58b5] pa'o³⁵¹ / ³⁵² / ³⁵³ (M4 11.10) 'jIlg rten las 'das pa don dam pa'I
 bden ba³⁵⁴ nI (M3 8.5) phung po lnga³⁵⁵ la sbye ba myed par shes pa nI³⁵⁶
 sdug bsngal gyI shes pa'o / / gang gIs sred pa 'jom ba nI kun 'byung
 gI³⁵⁷ shes pa'o / / ma rIlg pa dang / bag la nyal ba'I rnams ngo bo nyid
 kyis myed par

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{ka nga dgu} [59a1] \$ / / shes pa nI 'gog pa'I shes pa'o / / chos³⁵⁸
 mnyam ba nyId du rtogs nas³⁵⁹ thams cad la sgro³⁶⁰ myi 'dogs pa nI
 'phags pa'I lam gyi bden (M4 12.1) bshes pa'o / / de ltar bden ba'I rnams
 kyang don dam par na rang bzhIn gyIs³⁶¹ myed pas na myed pa zhes
 bya'o / / de la mdo sde las 'byung [59a2] ba / (M3 8.10) byang chub³⁶²
 sems dpa' bden ba la mkhas pa gang zhe na / phung po 'dI ni sdug
 bsngal te / gang gIs sdug bsngal gyI mtshan ma de³⁶³ stong pa nyId ji
 lta ba bzhIn rtogs pa nI 'phags pa'I bden ba'o / / gang phung po
 lnga'I³⁶⁴ sred pa'I (M4 12.5) rgyu dang / lta ba'I rgyu nI kun 'byung ste³⁶⁵

³⁴⁵ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³⁴⁶ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

³⁴⁷ rnams gsum ste] M, M3; yang M4.

³⁴⁸ 'jIlg rten dang / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa dang / [58b4] don dam pa 'phags pa'I bden
 ba'o] M, M3; omit 'jIlg rten dang / 'jIlg rten las 'das pa dang / [58b4] don dam pa
 'phags pa'I bden ba'o M4.

³⁴⁹ lnga la kun 'byung du lta ba; M3 'dus par / blta ba.

³⁵⁰ kun 'byung] M, M4; 'dus pa M3.

³⁵¹ pa'o; M3 do.

³⁵² M3 insterts lam yang myed / .

³⁵³ M3 insterts de.

³⁵⁴ don dam pa'I bden ba] M, M3; don dam pa 'phags pa'i bden ba M4.

³⁵⁵ phung po lnga] M, M4; lnga phung M3.

³⁵⁶ nI] M, M3; ste M4.

³⁵⁷ kun 'byung gI] M, M4; 'du's pa'I M3.

³⁵⁸ chos] M, M3; gang gis chos M4.

³⁵⁹ rtogs nas] M, M4; rig na M3.

³⁶⁰ sgro] M; sgros M3, M4.

³⁶¹ rang bzhIn gyIs] M (kyis) M4; ngo go nyid kyis M3.

³⁶² byang chub] M; byang cub M4; byang cubs M3.

³⁶³ sdug bsngal gyI mtshan ma de] M (ste) M4; sdug bsngal de / M3.

³⁶⁴ phung po lnga'I] M, M4; lnga phung po'I M3.

³⁶⁵ kun 'byung ste] M, M4; 'dus te M3.

/ gang [59a3] gIs sred pa (M3 9.1) lta ba'I³⁶⁶ rgyu de dag myI len cing sgro myi 'dogs pa nI 'phags pa'I kun 'byun ○ gl³⁶⁷ bden ba'o / / gang phung po sngon gyi mtha' myi 'byung ba dang / phyI ma'I mtha' myi 'pho ba dang / da ltar myi 'gyur bar shes pa nI 'phags pa'i 'gog [59a4] pa'I bden ba'o³⁶⁸ / / gang myi gnyIs pa'I ye shes la mnyam bar bzhag nas bden ba bzhI stong pa nyid du shes pa 'dI ni 'phags pa'I lam gyI bden ba'o +zhes gsungs so³⁶⁹ /

³⁷⁰§ / (M4 12.10) **thob pa yang myed ma thob pa yang myed**³⁷¹ / ³⁷² ³⁷³ /

'dI ni byang chub sems dpa'³⁷⁴ [59a5] theg pa chen po³⁷⁵ la 'jug pa'I spyod yul te / thob pa³⁷⁶ zhes bya ba nI sngon³⁷⁷ myed pa las phyIs thob pa la bya'o³⁷⁸ / / thob pa yod na nI stong pa yang yod / 'bras bu yod na nI 'jlg par yang 'gyur bas / sangs rgyas kyI de bzhIn nyId³⁷⁹ sems can thams cad³⁸⁰ [59b1] la³⁸¹ mnyam bar yod pa nI³⁸² thog ma yang ma stong / tha ma³⁸³ yang (M4 13.1) thob pa myed de / sa'I rim pa smos pa yang kun gzhi rnam par shes pa la ma rlg pa'I bag chags rlm gyis sbying ba³⁸⁴ tsam du zad de / ma rlg pa'I bag chags byang³⁸⁵ nas / sangs rgyas kyI ye [59b2] shes mye long³⁸⁶ dang 'dra ba³⁸⁷ / chos kyI dbyIngs la³⁸⁸ nI thob pa dang / ma thob ces gdags su yang myed pas³⁸⁹

³⁶⁶ sred pa lta ba'I] M; sred pa'i lta ba'I M3, M4.

³⁶⁷ kun 'byung gl] M, M4; 'gog pa'I M3.

³⁶⁸ 'gog pa'I bden ba'o; M3 'pha-gs pa'i lam *'phags pa'I 'gog pa'I bden ba'o*.

³⁶⁹ M3 reads gyi stong pa nyid du shes pa'o; M3 has editorial insertion vertically on right side of paper: gang myi gnyIs pa'I ye shes la mnyam bar bzhag nas / bden ba bzhI stong pa nyid du shes pa ; M3 omit: ni 'phags pa'I lam gyI bden ba'o +zhes gsungs so.

³⁷⁰ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³⁷¹ myed; M3 myed pas na.

³⁷² M3 inserts punctuation marks : . .

³⁷³ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

³⁷⁴ byang chub sems dpa'] M, M3; byang chub sems dpa'i M4.

³⁷⁵ theg pa chen po] M, M4; theg pa M3.

³⁷⁶ thob pa] M, M4; thob M3.

³⁷⁷ sngon] M, M3; sngun M4.

³⁷⁸ bya'o] M, M4; thob ces bya'o M3.

³⁷⁹ de bzhIn nyId] M, M4; ngo bo nyid M3.

³⁸⁰ thams cad] M, M4; om. thams cad M3.

³⁸¹ la; M3 lam.

³⁸² mnyam bar yod pa nI] M, M4; mnyam bar 'jug pa' M3.

³⁸³ tha ma] M, M3; mtha' mar M4.

³⁸⁴ sbying ba] M; sbyong ba M4; sbyang ba M3.

³⁸⁵ byang] M, M3; byung M4.

³⁸⁶ sangs rgyas kyI ye shes mye long; M3 sangs rgyas kyi mye long.

³⁸⁷ 'dra ba] M, M3; omit 'dra ba M4.

³⁸⁸ la; M3 om. la.

³⁸⁹ yang myed pas] M, M4; myed de M3.

/ ³⁹⁰thob pa yang myed / (M3 9.10) ma thob pa yang myed ces bya'o / /
³⁹¹mdo sde las 'byung ba / mtshan ma thams cad la myI spyod pa nI
shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa la [59b3] spyod pa'o / (M4 13.5) cI yang
thob pa myed pa nI bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang
cub thob ces ○ bya'o +zhes gsungs so /

³⁹² / **par**³⁹³ byang cub sems dpa' shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa
la gnas³⁹⁴ te spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med ³⁹⁵ / /^{396 397}

shes rab kyI [59b4] pha rol du phyin pa la gnas shes bya ba nI³⁹⁸
mtshan ma thams cad la myi gnas pa'o / / / spyod pas³⁹⁹ shes bya ba
nI sems cI la yang myI spyod pa'o / / de ltar myI spyod pas spyod pa
myed ces bya'o⁴⁰⁰ / / myI spyod pa'I sems kyI mtshan ma byung
[59b5] na yang sems spyod par 'gyur bas / btags pa'I mtshan ma bstsal
(M4 13.10) ba'I⁴⁰¹ phyr / sems myI spyod pa yang med ces bya'o

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// : // 'dI man cad nI shes rab kyI yon tan te⁴⁰² / ⁴⁰³ / **de ltar myed**
pa la gnas pas na log pa las shIn du 'das te thar pa⁴⁰⁴ ni

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{*ka drug chu*}[60a1] \$ // **mya ngan las 'das pa'o** /^{405 406}

³⁹⁰ M3 inserts de bas na.

³⁹¹ M3 inserts de la.

³⁹² M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

³⁹³ par; M3 omit par but reads myed pas na in previous part of commentary.

³⁹⁴ gnas; M3 gna's.

³⁹⁵ spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med] M; spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med sems
myI spyod pa yang myed M4; / sems myi spyod pa yang myed M3.

³⁹⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

³⁹⁷ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

³⁹⁸ shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas shes bya ba nI] M; shes rab kyI pha rol du
phyin pa la gnas te shes bya ba nI M4; / pha rol du phyind pa gna's shes bya ba ni
M3.

³⁹⁹ spyod pas] M; spyod pa M3, M4.

⁴⁰⁰ myI spyod pas spyod pa myed ces bya'o] M, M4; sems myI sbyod pas na / sbyod
pa yang myed ces bya'o M3

⁴⁰¹ bstsal ba'I] M; gsal ba'i M4; seld pa'I M3.

⁴⁰² te; M3 te'.

⁴⁰³ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁰⁴ thar pa] M, M3; thub pa M4.

⁴⁰⁵ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁰⁶ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

de ltar myed pa la gnas pas na⁴⁰⁷ zhes⁴⁰⁸ bya ba nI / ⁴⁰⁹mtshan ma thams chad myed pa la bya'o // / log pa las shIn du 'das te zhes bya ba nI kun gzhI rnam par shes pa la ma rIlg pa'I bag chags kyIs / phyI rol gyI yul dngos [60a2] po⁴¹⁰ myed pa la rnam pa sna tshogs (M4 14.1) su lta ba⁴¹¹ nI log pa zhes bya'o⁴¹² / de la shes rab gyI sgron mas ma rIlg pa'I bag chags kyI mun pa cig car myed par byas te / mtshan ma thams chad la nam ka'I ngos⁴¹³ bzhIn du mthong ba'o⁴¹⁴ // / thar pa zhes [60a3] bya ba nI khams gsum gyI skye shI sgyu ma⁴¹⁵ las thard pa'o // / mya ngan las 'das pa nI⁴¹⁶ ma rIlg ○ pa nI mya ngan gyi gzhI ste / ma rIlg pa las 'du byed 'byung ngo / / 'du byed las dug (M4 14.5) gsum 'byung ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa 'dIs ma [60a4] rIlg pa'I mun pa sdug po cig car btsal bas 'du byed mi 'byung / 'du byed myi 'byung bas dug gsum gyi mya ngan las 'das pas⁴¹⁷ / mya ngan las 'das shes bya'o

[The Fruition of Wisdom]

// : // 'dI man cad nI shes (M3 10.1) rab kyI 'bras bu ste /

⁴¹⁸ / **dus gsum du [60a5] rnam par bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pas / ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰**

⁴⁰⁷ gnas pas na] M, M4; gna's M3.

⁴⁰⁸ zhes; M3 shes.

⁴⁰⁹ M3 inserts: nang gI bag cags dang / phyI'.

⁴¹⁰ phyI rol gyI yul dngos po] M, M4; phyi rol kyI dngos po M3.

⁴¹¹ lta ba] M, M3; ltan ba M4.

⁴¹² bya'o] M, M4; bya ste M3.

⁴¹³ ngos] M; dngos M4; omit. M3.

⁴¹⁴ de la shes rab gyI sgron mas ma rIlg pa'I bag chags kyI mun pa cig car myed par byas te / mtshan ma thams chad la nam ka'I ngos bzhIn du mthong ba'o; M3 gang zag dang chos la bdag myed par ni chud / nyon mongs pa dang shes byas gyi sgrib pa ni shInd du 'da's shes bya'o / .

⁴¹⁵ khams gsum gyI skye shI sgyu ma] M, M4; khams kyI skye shI M3.

⁴¹⁶ mya ngan las 'das pa nI] M; mya ngan las 'da's shes bya ba nI M3; mye ngan las myi 'da' ba M4.

⁴¹⁷ ma rIlg pa las 'du byed 'byung ngo / / 'du byed las dug gsum 'byung ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa 'dIs ma rIlg pa'I mun pa sdug po cig car btsal bas 'du byed mi 'byung / 'du byed myi 'byung bas dug gsum gyi mya ngan las 'das pas; M3 rgyu rkyen bcu gnyis nang du 'khor ba'I rgyu 'gyur bas / sdug bsngal phung po 'ba' shlg 'gog ces gsungs te / ma rig pa myed par shes pas sdug bsngal dang / mya ngan gyI bar du yang myed de de bas na.

⁴¹⁸ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴¹⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴²⁰ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o / .

dus gsum du nram par⁴²¹ zhes bya ba nI / 'das pa dang / da ltar⁴²²
 (M4 14.10) dang / ma 'ongs pa'o⁴²³ // / sangs rgyas shes bya ba nI khams
 gsum⁴²⁴ [60b1] 'khor ba'I bslad pa las⁴²⁵ ye shes⁴²⁶ kyI myig thob pas
 sangs [rgyas] shes bya'o // / rgyas pa nI⁴²⁷ chos kyI skur gyurd te /
 shes rab dang / ye shes dang / gzungs dang⁴²⁸ / tIng nge 'dzIn grangs
 myed de⁴²⁹ / yon tan⁴³⁰ phun sum tshogs pas rgyas⁴³¹ shes bya'o // /
 [60b2] thams cad ces bya ba nI dus gsum gyIs sangs rgyas so // (M4 15.1)
 / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pa nI⁴³² mtshan ma thams
 chad myed pa la gnas pa'o⁴³³ // / dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas kyang
 mtshungs par shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa (M3 10.5) las byung [60b3]
 ngo^{434 435} /

⁴³⁶§ / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub du
 mngon bar rdzogs par ○ sangs rgyas so / ^{437 438} /

⁴³⁹bla na myed pa zhes bya ba nI de'I gong na myed pa'o⁴⁴⁰ // / yang
 dag par rdzogs pa'I⁴⁴¹ zhes bya ba nI / mkhyen par bya ba thams cad⁴⁴²
 [60b4] mthar thug pa'o // / byang cub ces bya ba⁴⁴³ nI de bzhIn nyId
 don dam pa thugs su chud pa la bya'o⁴⁴⁴ / / mngon par kun sangs
 rgyas so zhes bya ba nI / nram par shes pa'I bag chags ma lus par

⁴²¹ nram par] M, M3; nram par bzhugs pa M4.

⁴²² da ltar] M, M3; da ltar bzhugs M4.

⁴²³ ma 'ongs pa'o] M; ma 'ongs dus tha dad pa la bya'o M3; ma' os pa'o M4.

⁴²⁴ khams gsum] M, M4; khams M3.

⁴²⁵ bslad pa las; M3 bslad pas.

⁴²⁶ ye shes] M, M4; shes rab M3.

⁴²⁷ rgyas pa nI] M; sangs rgyas pa ni M4; omit rgyas pa nI M3.

⁴²⁸ gzungs dang] M, M4; om. gzungs dang M3.

⁴²⁹ tIng nge 'dzIn grangs myed de] M, M4; dpe byad bzang po dang / ma 'dres pa las
 scogs te / yon tan grangs myed pa dang / M3.

⁴³⁰ yon tan] M, M4; omit yon tan M3.

⁴³¹ rgyas] M, M4; sangs rgyas M3.

⁴³² la gnas pa nI] M, M4; M3 omit la gnas pa nI.

⁴³³ myed pa la gnas pa'o] M, M3; la myi gnas pa'o M4.

⁴³⁴ byung ngo] M, M4; byungs bas M3.

⁴³⁵ M3 inserts: / shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa 'dI ni / sangs rgyas kyI yum zhes
 bya'o /.

⁴³⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴³⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴³⁸ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

⁴³⁹ M3 de la.

⁴⁴⁰ de'I gong na myed pa'o] M, M4; khams gsum las 'da's pa'o / M3.

⁴⁴¹ rdzogs pa'I] M, M4; rdzogs M3.

⁴⁴² mkhyen par bya ba thams cad] M, M4; de bzhin nyId lam ma nord pa'I chos kyI
 M3.

⁴⁴³ byang cub ces bya ba] M, M3; byang cub sems dpa' shes bya ba M4.

⁴⁴⁴ don dam pa thugs su chud pa la bya'o] M, M4; don dam pa'I chos kyI dbying so /
 M3.

spangs pas 'das pa'I sangs rgyas rnam pa⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ dang [60b5] yang myi
'dra ba myed de / yon tan tshungs pa la bya'o

[*The dhāraṇī of wisdom*]

// : // 'di man cad shes rab kyI gzungs so /

⁴⁴⁷ / **de bas na shes par bya ste**⁴⁴⁸ / ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ /

de bas na shes par bya ste⁴⁵¹ zhes bya ba nI / shes rab kyI pha rol
du phyIn pa 'di sangs rgyas su phyInd pa'I rgyur 'gro

61A

{*ka ro gcig*}[61a1] \$ / / bar shes pa la bya'o // ⁴⁵² /

shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa⁴⁵³ **chen po'i sngags** / ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ /

(M3 10.10) nang gI⁴⁵⁶ rnam par shes pa'I bag chags stselds⁴⁵⁷ pas nI chen
po'I sngags⁴⁵⁸ so /

⁴⁵⁹ / **rIg pa chen po'I sngags** / ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ **bla na myed pa'I sngags** / **myI**
mnyam ba dang [61a2] **mnyam ba'I sngags**⁴⁶² / **sdug bsngal thams cad**
rab du zHI ba'I sngags //

⁴⁴⁵ rnam pa] M; nams M3, M4.

⁴⁴⁶ mngon par kun sangs rgyas so zhes bya ba nI / rnam par shes pa'I bag chags ma
lus par spangs pas 'das pa'I sangs rgyas rnam pa] M; M3 mngon bar kun sangs
rgyas shes bya ba nI / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyind pa la rnam par myi rtog pa'I
tshul gyIs spyad pas / mngon par sangs rgyas te / 'da's pa'I sangs rgyas nams
dang /

⁴⁴⁷ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁴⁸ ste] M, M4; te M3.

⁴⁴⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁵⁰ M3 / *de la 'dl skad ces bya'o* /.

⁴⁵¹ ste] M, M4; omit ste M3.

⁴⁵² M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁵³ shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa] M, M4; shes rab gyI pha rol du phyInd pa M3.

⁴⁵⁴ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁵⁵ M3 / *de la 'dl skad ces bya'o* /.

⁴⁵⁶ nang gI] M, M3; gang gi M4.

⁴⁵⁷ stselds] M; sel M4; seld M3.

⁴⁵⁸ chen po'I sngags] M, M4; shes rab chen po'i sngags M3.

⁴⁵⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁶⁰ M3 inserts punctuation marks : : .

⁴⁶¹ M3 / *de la 'dl skad ces bya'o* /.

⁴⁶² myI mnyam ba dang mnyam ba'I sngags] M, M3; mnyam ba dang myI mnyam
ba'I sngags M4.

phyI rol gyi mtshan ma thams cad ngo bo nyid kyis myed par shes pa nI / rIlg pa chen po'i sngags so // / de ltar phyI nang gnyIs kyI mtshan ma⁴⁶³ bstsal pas na / bla na [61a3] myed pa'I sngags so // / sangs rgyas kyI 'bras bu 'grub pas⁴⁶⁴ na (M4 16.1) / myi mnyam ba dang mnyam ○ ba'I sngags so // / sems can tham cad kyI don byed pas na / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zhI ba'I sngags so //⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁶ / bden te (M3 11.1) myi brdzun [61a4] bas⁴⁶⁷ shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'I sngags smras so // tad tya tha' / 'ga' te 'ga' te / pa ra 'ga' te / pa ra sang 'ga' te / bo⁴⁶⁸ de sva' ha' /⁴⁶⁹ 470

/ bden te myI brdzun zhe bya ba nI / tshig gis smra ba myed pa nI⁴⁷¹ ngag gI⁴⁷² bden ba / lus kyis [61a5] bskyod pa myed pa nI⁴⁷³ lus kyI bden ba / sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI yid kyI bden ba⁴⁷⁴ / ngag gI⁴⁷⁵ smra ba myed pa⁴⁷⁶ nI smon pa myed pa / lus kyI g.yo ba myed pa nI mtshan ma myed pa / ⁴⁷⁷sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI stong pa nyId de /⁴⁷⁸ 'phags pa'I rnam par [61b] thar pa'I sgo gsum⁴⁷⁹ dang yang mi 'gal / shes rab kyI pha rol tu phyIn pas / sems kyI mtshan ma thams cad bsal⁴⁸⁰ pas na bden te myi brdzun no⁴⁸¹ // / shes rab kyI pha rol du

⁴⁶³ de ltar phyI nang gnyIs kyI mtshan ma] M, M3; omit M4.

⁴⁶⁴ 'grub pas] M, M3; 'grub pas M4.

⁴⁶⁵ M3 presents a different sequence of phrases with each mantra phrase separately listed followed by the commentary description.

⁴⁶⁶ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . :

⁴⁶⁷ myi brdzun bas] M, M3; myi brdzun bas na M4.

⁴⁶⁸ bo] M, M4; M3 boh.

⁴⁶⁹ M3 inserts punctuation marks : . :

⁴⁷⁰ M3 / de la 'dI skad ces bya'o /.

⁴⁷¹ tshig gis smra ba myed pa nI] M, M4; tshIlg gI spyod pa myed pas smond pa myed pa ste M3.

⁴⁷² ngag gI] M, M3; gang gis M4.

⁴⁷³ lus kyis bskyod pa myed pa nI] M, M4; lus kyI spyod pa myed pas / mtshan ma myed pa ste M3.

⁴⁷⁴ sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI yid kyI bden ba] M, M4; sems kyI bsam pa myed pas stong pa nyid de / yid kyI bden ba M3.

⁴⁷⁵ ngag gI] M, M3; gang gis M4.

⁴⁷⁶ myed pa] M, M3; myed pa M4.

⁴⁷⁷ M4 omit: sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI stong pa nyId de / 'phags pa'I rnam par thar pa'I sgo gsum dang yang mi 'gal.

⁴⁷⁸ ngag gI smra ba myed pa nI smon pa myed pa / lus kyI g.yo ba myed pa nI mtshan ma myed pa / sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI stong pa nyId de /] M; ngag gI smra ba myed pa nI smon pa myed pa / lus kyI g.yo ba myed pa nI mtshan ma myed pa / sems kyI bsam ba myed pa nI stong pa nyId de / omit M3; omit M4.

⁴⁷⁹ 'phags pa'I rnam par thar pa'I sgo gsum] M; 'phags pa'I bden pa' rnam gsum M3; omit M4.

⁴⁸⁰ bsal] M3, M4; brtsald M.

⁴⁸¹ brtsald pas na bden te myi brdzun no] M, (bsal) M4; bsal nas / don dam pa la cl

phyInd pa'I sngags 'dI⁴⁸² ni 'jIḡ rten dang / 'jIḡ rten las 'das pa'I bsod
 [61b2] nams kyi⁴⁸³ rgyur 'gyur te / 'jIḡ rten gyi bsod nams nI nad kyIs
 snyon smongs pa dang / bdud dang / 'dre gnod thams cad kyIs myi
 thub par zhl zhing srung nus so⁴⁸⁴ /// 'jIḡ rten las 'das pa'I bsod nams
 nI / gzungs 'dI'i gzhung⁴⁸⁵ la rten pas na⁴⁸⁶ / [61b3] shes rab dang / ye
 shes kyI rgyur 'gyur ro / / * * / ○

\$ / / ⁴⁸⁷shes rab kyI pha rol du phyInd pa'I snying po bshad pa⁴⁸⁸
 rdzogs so / / *⁴⁸⁹

'grel pa 'di ni slob dpon ka ma la shi las mdzad cis bshad

Appendices

The section divisions have been adapted from the Conze 1948 Short Recension.

Appendix 1. Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya Short Version Comparison: IOL Tib J 122 and IOL Tib J 120.

IOL Tib J 120 line numbers are inserted in brackets.

Section	IOL Tib J 122	IOL Tib J 120
Title		[1] \$ / : / rgya gar skad du / / a rya prad nya par myi ta rhl da ya' / / bod skad du 'phags pa shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa'I snying po [2] bam po gcig go /
Homage	thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tsal lo	thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo
Short §1	'dI ltar 'phags pa kun du sryan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / byang cub sems pa'	'dI ltar 'phags pa kun tu sryan ras gziggs gyi dbang po byang chub sems [3] dpa'

⁴⁸² car bcug pa / rnam par myi rtog pa dang mthun bas bden te myi rdzun ba'o M3.
 shes rab kyI pha rol du phyInd pa'I sngags 'dI] M, M3; shes rab gyi pha rol du
 phyIn pa 'dI M4.

⁴⁸³ bsod nams kyi] M, M4; omit bsod nams kyi M3.

⁴⁸⁴ myi thub par zhl zhing srung nus so] M, (nus pa'o) M4; myi 'jIḡs par srung nas so
 M3.

⁴⁸⁵ gzungs 'dI'i gzhung] M, M3; gzhung 'di'i gzhung M4.

⁴⁸⁶ rten pas na] M, M3; brten pas M4.

⁴⁸⁷ M4 inserts: 'phags pa.

⁴⁸⁸ bshad pa] M; 'grel pa M3, M4.

⁴⁸⁹ M4 adds colophon lines: \$ / : / dpaI gyi sgron mas bris te lhaḡ cad ma mchis so / : : /
 [Drawing of a stupa].

	shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyInd pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / rnam par bstas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong par mthong ngo /	shes rab gyi pha rol tu phyin pa zab mo spyad spyod pa'I tshe / / rnam par bltas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid gyIs stong par mthong ngo / /
Short §2	'dI ni sha rI +I bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyId kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa gnyIs (em. <i>nyid</i>) kyang tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang tha myI dad do / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyId / gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te / de bzhIn du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / rnam par shes pa'o /	^[4] 'dI ni sha rI 'I bu gzugs stong pa nyid de / / stong pa nyid kyang gzugs so / / gzugs dang stong pa nyid tha dad pa yang ma yin / / gzugs dang yang ^[5] tha myi dad do / / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyid / / gag stong pa nyid pa de gzugs te / / de bzhin du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / rnam ^[6] par shes pa 'o / /
Short §3	'dI ni sha rI'i bu chos thams cad kyI stong pa nyId kyI mtshan ma ste / myI skye myI 'gog / myi gtsang myi btsog / myI 'phel myi 'bri /	'dI ni sha rI 'i bu chos tham cad stong pa nyid gyi mtshan ma ste / myi skyes myi 'gog / myI gtsang myI brtsog / myI 'phel ^[7] myi 'bri /
Short §4	de bas na sha rI'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang med / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / rnam par shes pa yang myed do / myI g dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed / gzugs dang / sgra dang / drI dang / ro dang / reg dang / chos kyang myed / myI g gl khams nas yId kyI khams su yang myed / rIgs yang myed / ma rIgs yang myed / rI g pa zad pa yang myed / ma rI g pa zad pa	de bas na sha rI bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang myed / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes gyang myed / 'du byed gyang myed / rnam par ^[8] shes pa yang myed / myI g dang rna ba dang / sna dang lce dang / lus dang yid gyang myed / kha dog dang sgra dang / dri dang ro dang / reg dang chos gyang myed / myig gl ^[9] khams nas yId gyi khams su yang myed / rig pa yang myed / ma rig pa yang myed / rI g pa zad pa yang myed / ma rig pa zad pa yang myed pas na ^[10] rga

	yang myed pa nas / rgas shIng shI ba yang myed / rgas shIng shI ba zad pa 'ang myed / sdug bsngal dang / kun 'byung dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / thob pa yang myed ma thob pa yang myed /	shing shI ba yang myed / rga shing shI ba zad pa yang myed / sdug bsngal ba / 'dus pa dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / shes pa yang ^[11] myed / thob pa yang myed / ma thob pa yang myed par
Short §5	par byang cub sems dpa' shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med / de ltar myed pa la gnas pas na log pa las shIn du 'das te thar pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'o	byang chub sems dpa' shes rab gyi pha rol tu phyin pa la gnas te / spyod pas / sems spyod pa ^[12] yang myed sems myi spyod pa yang myed / / de ltar myed pa la gnas na / logs pa las shin tu 'da's te / / thub pa ni mya ngan las ^[13] 'da's pa'o / /
Short §6	dus gsum du rnam par bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pas / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub du mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas so /	dus gsum tu rnams par bzhugs pa'i sang rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab gyI pha rol tu phyin pa la gnas te / spyod pas ^[14] bla na myed pa g.yung drug rdzogs pa'I byang chub tu kun tu mngon bar sangs rgyas so /
Short §7	de bas na shes par bya ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa chen po'i sngags / rIg pa chen po'I sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / myI mnyam ba dang mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zHI ba'I sngags / bden te myi brdzun bas shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'I sngags smras so / / tad tya tha' / 'ga' te 'ga' te / pa ra 'ga' te / pa ra sang 'ga' te / bo de sva' ha'	/ de bas nas na shes rab gyi pha rol phyin pa chen po'i ^[15] sngags / rig pa chen po'i sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / mnyam ba dang myI mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug sngal thams cad rab tu zHI ba'i ^[16] sngags / bden te / myi brdzun bas na / shes rab gyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i sngags smra so' / sngags la tad tya tha' 'ga' te 'ga' ^[17] te pa ra 'ga' te pa ra sang 'ga' te / bho de sva' ha'a /

Colophon		'phags pa shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa'I snying po rdzogs so // /cang cin dar bris
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*Appendix 2. Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya Short Version Comparison:
IOL Tib J 122 and Pelliot tibétain 465*

Pelliot tibétain 465 line numbers are inserted in brackets.

Section	IOL Tib J 122	Pelliot tibétain 465
Title		^[1] rgya gar skad du / a rya prad nya pa ra myl ta rhI da ya' / : / bod skad du 'phags pa shes rab kyI pha rol tu phyin pa'I ^[2] snying po'o /
Homage	thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tsal lo	thams cad mkhyen pa nyid la phyag 'tshal lo
Short §1	'dI ltar 'phags pa kun du spyan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / byang cub sems pa' shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyIn d pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / rnam par bstas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong par mthong ngo /	'dI ltar 'phags pa kun du spyan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / byang cub sems ^[3] dpa' shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyin pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / rnam par bstas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong par mthong ngo /
Short §2	'dI ni sha rI + 'I bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyId kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa gnyIs (em. <i>nyid</i>) kyang tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang tha myI dad do / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyId / gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te / de bzhIn du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / rnam par shes pa'o /	^[4] 'dI ni sha rI'i bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyid kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa gnyis tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang ^[5] tha myI dad do / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyid / gag stong pa nyid de gzugs ste / de bzhin du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / rnam ^[6] par shes pa'o /
Short §3	'dI ni sha rI'i bu chos	de ni sha rI'i bu chos thams

	thams cad kyI stong pa nyId kyI mtshan ma ste / myI skye myI 'gog / myi gtsang myi btsog / myI 'phel myi 'bri /	cad stong pa nyid kyI mtshan ma ste / myI skye myI 'gog myI gtsang myi btsog myI 'phel ^[7] myI 'bre' /
Short §4	de bas na sha rI'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang med / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / rnam par shes pa yang myed do / myI g dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed / gzugs dang / sgra dang / drI dang / ro dang / reg dang / chos kyang myed / myI g gi kham nas yId kyI kham su yang myed / rI g yang myed / ma rI g yang myed / rI g pa zad pa yang myed / ma rI g pa zad pa yang myed pa nas / rgas shI ng shI ba yang myed / rgas shI ng shI ba zad pa 'ang myed / sdug bsn- gal dang / kun 'byung dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / thob pa yang myed ma thob pa yang myed /	de bas na / sha rI'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang myed / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / ^[8] rnam par shes pa yang myed / myI g dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed / kha dog dang / sgra dang / drI dang ro dang ^[9] reg dang / chos kyang myed / myI g gi kham nas / yId kyI kham su yang myed / rI g yang myed / ma rI g pa yang myed / rI g pa ^[10] zad pa yang myed / ma rI g pa zad pa yang myed pas na / rgas shing shI ba yang myed / rgas shI ng shi ba zad pa yang myed / sdug bsn gal ^[11] dang / 'dus pa dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / shes pa yang myed / thob pa yang myed / ma thob pa yang myed /
Short §5	par byang cub sems dpa' shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med / de ltar myed pa la gnas pas na log pa las shIn du 'das te thar pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'o	byang cub sems ^[12] dpa' shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te / spyod pas / sems spyod pa yang myed / sems myI spyod pa yang myed / ^[13] de ltar myed pa la na gnas pas na / log pa las shIn du 'da' ste / thub pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'o /

Short §6	dus gsum du rnam par bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pas / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub du mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas so /	dus gsum du rnam par ^[14] bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang / shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te / spyod pas bla na myed pa g.yung drung rdzogs ^[15] pa'I byang cub du kun du mngon bar sangs rgyas so /
Short §7	de bas na shes par bya ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa chen po'i sngags / rIg pa chen po'I sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / myI mnyam ba dang mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zhl ba'I sngags / bden te myi brdzun bas shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'I sngags smras so // tad tya tha' / 'ga' te 'ga' te / pa ra 'ga' te / pa ra sang 'ga' te / bo de sva' ha'	/ de bas na shes par bya ste / shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa'I sngags / rig pa chen po'i ^[16] sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / mnyam ba dang / myI mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zhl ba'I sngags / bden ba myi brdzun ^[17] bas na / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa'I sngags smras so // // tad thya tha 'ga' te 'ga' te pa ra ^[18] sang 'ga' te / bho dhe sva ha' //
Colophon		^[19] shes rab gyi pha rol du phyin pa'I snying po rdzogs so //

Appendix 3. Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya Short Version English Translation, IOL Tib J 122

Section	IOL Tib J 122	English
Title		
Homage	thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tsal lo	Homage to the Omniscient One!
Short §1	'dI ltar 'phags pa kun du sryan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / byang cub sems pa' shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyInd pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / rnam	In this way the Noble Av- alokiteśvara, the bodhi- sattva, at the time of per- forming the practice of the profound Perfection of Wis- dom, when he looked, these

	par bstas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong par mthong ngo /	five aggregates were perceived as empty of an essence.
Short §2	'dI ni sha rI '+I bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyId kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa gnyIs (em. <i>nyid</i>) kyang tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang tha myI dad do / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyId / gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te / de bzhIn du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang / 'du byed dang / nam par shes pa'o /	As for this, Sāriputra, form is emptiness. Emptiness is also form. Form and emptiness are not different. Form and [emptiness] are non-differentiated. That which is form is emptiness. That which is emptiness is form. Likewise, for feelings, perceptions, conditioning factors, and consciousness.
Short §3	'dI ni sha rI'i bu chos thams cad kyI stong pa nyId kyI mtshan ma ste / myI skye myI 'gog / myi gtsang myi btsog / myI 'phel myi 'bri /	Here, Sāriputra, all things have the phenomenal mark of emptiness. They are unproduced, unceased; they are not defiled, they are not undefiled; they are without increase, they are without decrease.
Short §4	de bas na sha rI'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang med / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / nam par shes pa yang myed do / myI g dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed / gzugs dang / sgra dang / drI dang / ro dang / reg dang / chos kyang myed / myI g gI kham nas yId kyI kham su yang myed / rIgs yang myed / ma rIgs yang	Therefore, Sāriputra, in emptiness there is no form, there is no feeling, there is no perception, there is no conditioning factors, there is no consciousness. There is no eye, or ear, or nose, or tongue, or body, or mind; no form, no sound, no smell, no taste, no tactile sensation, no object of mind; There is no eye-element up to no mind-element; Knowledge does not exist, ignorance does not exist, the elimination of knowledge does not exist, the elimination of ignorance

	myed / rlg pa zad pa yang myed / ma rlg pa zad pa yang myed pa nas / rgas shIng shI ba yang myed / rgas shIng shI ba zad pa 'ang myed / sdug bsngal dang / kun 'byung dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / thob pa yang myed ma thob pa yang myed /	does not exist, and so on up to no aging and death and no elimination of aging and death. Likewise, there is no suffering, origin, cessation, or path; there is no attain- ment, and even no non-at- tainment.
Short §5	par byang cub sems dpa' shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te spyod pas sems spyod pa yang med / de ltar myed pa la gnas pas na log pa las shIn du 'das te thar pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'o	As a bodhisattva abides in and practices the Perfec- tion of Wisdom, the practic- ing mind also does not exist. Accordingly, when abid- ing in the non-existent, one completely passes beyond error and there is liberation: Nirvāṇa
Short §6	dus gsum du rnam par bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pas / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub du mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas so /	All the buddhas who abide in the three times, by relying on the perfection of wisdom completely awaken in unsurpassed, perfectly complete enlightenment.
Short §7	de bas na shes par bya ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa chen po'i sngags / rlg pa chen po'I sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / myI mnyam ba dang mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zhi ba'I sngags / bden te myi brdzun bas shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'I sngags smras so / / tad tya tha' / 'ga' te 'ga' te / pa ra 'ga' te / pa ra sang	Therefore, one should know: the mantra of the great perfection of wisdom. The mantra of great knowledge. The unsur- passed mantra. The mantra equal to the unequaled. [61a2] The mantra that paci- fies all suffering. Since it is true and not false, [61a4] the mantra of the perfection of wisdom is spoken. <i>tadyathā gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā</i>

	'ga' te / bo de sva' ha'	
Colophon		

**Appendix 4. Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya Short Version Comparison:
IOL Tib J 122, Hypothetical Sanskrit Reconstruction**

The following is a hypothetical Sanskrit reconstruction based on extant Buddhist Sanskrit literature for illustrative purposes only. The reconstruction is based on the work of Conze (1948, 1967, 1973) unless otherwise indicated. Sanskrit bold print represents reconstruction not attested in previous versions of the *Prajñāhṛdaya*.

Section	IOL Tib J 122	Sanskrit Reconstruction (Conze 1948, 1967, 1973)
Title		
Homage	thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tsal lo	namaḥ sarvajñāya
Short §1	'dī ltar 'phags pa kun du spyan ras gzIgs kyI dbang po / byang cub sems pa' shes rab kyI ph rol tu phyIn d pa zab mo spyad pa spyod pa'I tshe / rnam par bstas na lnga phung de dag ngo bo nyid kyis stong par mthong ngo /	Atha-āryāvalokiteśvara bodhisattvo gambhīrāyāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caryāṃ caramāṇo vyavalokayati sma / pañca skandhāḥ tāmś ca svabhāvaśūnyān paśyati sma //
Short §2	'dī ni sha rI +I bu gzugs stong pa nyId de / stong pa nyId kyang gzugs so / gzugs dang stong pa gnyIs (em. nyid) kyang tha dad pa ma yIn / gzugs dang yang tha myI dad do / gag gzugs pa de stong pa nyId / gag stong pa nyId pa de gzugs te / de bzhIn du tshor ba dang / 'du shes dang /	iha śāriputra rūpaṃ śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpaṃ / rūpān śūnyataiva anānātva / rūpān yadyāpi abhinna ⁴⁹⁰ / yad rūpaṃ sā śūnyatā yā śūnyatā tad rūpaṃ / evam eva vedanā saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānaṃ

⁴⁹⁰ Reconstruction based on terminology in Conze 1973. A number of Short recensions read: *rūpān na pṛthak śūnyatā śūnyatāyā na pṛthag rūpaṃ*.

	'du byed dang / rnam par shes pa'o /	
Short §3	'dI ni sha rI'i bu chos thams cad kyI stong pa nyId kyI mtshan ma ste / myI skye myI 'gog / myi gtsang myi btsog / myI 'phel myi 'bri /	iha Sāriputra sarvadharmāḥ śūnyatālakṣaṇā anuṭpannā aniruddhā amalā avimalā anūnā aparipūrṇāḥ
Short §4	de bas na sha rI'i bu stong pa nyid la gzugs kyang med / tshor ba yang myed / 'du shes kyang myed / 'du byed kyang myed / rnam par shes pa yang myed do / myI g dang / rna ba dang / sna dang / lce dang / lus dang / yId kyang myed / gzugs dang / sgra dang / drl dang / ro dang / reg dang / chos kyang myed / myI g gI kham nas yId kyI kham su yang myed / rIgs yang myed / ma rIgs yang myed / rI g pa zad pa yang myed / ma rI g pa zad pa yang myed pa nas / rgas shI ng shI ba yang myed / rgas shI ng shI ba zad pa 'ang myed / sdug bsn gal dang / kun 'byung dang / 'gog pa dang / lam yang myed / thob pa yang myed ma thob pa yang myed /	tasmāc Chāriputra śūnyatāyāṃ na rūpaṃ na vedanā na saṃjñā na saṃskārāḥ na vijñānam / na cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāna-jihvā-kāya-manāṃsi / na rūpa-śabdo-ganda-rasa-spraṣṭavya-dharmāḥ / na cakṣūr-dhātur yāvan na manovijñāna-dhātuḥ / na vidyā nāvidyā na vidyākṣayo nāvidyākṣayo yāvan na jarāmaṇam na jarāmaṇakṣayo na duhkha-samudaya-nirodhā-mārgā na prāptir na-aprāptiḥ /
Short §5	par byang cub sems dpa' shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas te spyod pas sems	bodhisattvo prajñāpāramitām āśritya cāraṇena cittacāraṇā api nāsti ⁴⁹¹ / atra nāsti sthitvā viparyāsa-

⁴⁹¹ **cittacāraṇā api nāsti]** Source: *Tathāgatācintyaḡuhyānirdeśasūtra*, Szántó 2021 ad 9v6.

	spyod pa yang med / de ltar myed pa la gnas pas na log pa las shIn du 'das te thar pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'o	atikrānto mocitā iti ⁴⁹² nirvāṇaḥ
Short §6	dus gsum du rnam par bzhugs pa'I sangs rgyas thams cad kyang shes rab kyI pha rol du phyin pa la gnas pas / bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub du mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas so /	tryadhva-vyavasthitāḥ sarva-buddhāḥ prajñāpāra- mitām āśritya- anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhi- sambuddhāḥ.
Short §7	de bas na shes par bya ste / shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa chen po'i sngags / rIg pa chen po'I sngags / bla na myed pa'I sngags / myI mnyam ba dang mnyam ba'I sngags / sdug bsngal thams cad rab du zhI ba'I sngags / bden te myi brdzun bas shes rab kyI pha rol du phyIn pa'I sngags smras so / / tad tya tha' / 'ga' te 'ga' te / pa ra 'ga' te / pa ra sang 'ga' te / bo de sva' ha'	tasmāḥ jñātavyam prajñāpāramitā mahā-man- tro mahāvidyā-mantro 'nut- tara-mantro 'samasama- mantraḥ sarva-duḥkha- praśamaṇaḥ satyam amithyatvāt. prajñāpāra- mitāyām ukto mantraḥ / tadyathā gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā /
Colophon		

Appendix 5. Terminology Comparison between Old Tibetan in IOL Tib J 122 with Mahāvīyutpatti Lexicon Terminology of 814 CE

Tibetan Dunhuang IOL Tib J 122 (folio and line number in brackets)	Mahāvīyutpatti, 814 CE (Reference to entry number)	Sanskrit
[53a2] / nam ka'I	nam kha' (No. 221)	ākāśa

⁴⁹² *mocitā iti*] Source: *Vajracchedikā*, Schopen 1989, p. 105.

[53a4] spyan ras gzigs kyI dbang po	spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug (No. 645)	Avalokiteśvaraḥ
[53b5] mya ngan las 'da' ba'	mya ngan las 'das pa	nirvāṇam
[54a5] ma rabs	so so skyes bo (No. 7152)	prthagjanaḥ
[54b1] mu steg can rgyu gu can gyi chos	mu steg (No. 3320) gcer bu pa (No. 3529)	tīrthikaḥ nirgranthaḥ
[54b5] byang cub sems dpa'	byang chub sems dpa'	bodhisattva
[55a2] gag	gang (No. 4632)	yad
[55b2] mtshan ma	mtshan nyid (No. 600)	lakṣaṇa
[56b5] lnga phung	phung po lna (No. 103)	pañcaskandhaḥ
[57a1] myi gtsang	dri ma dang bral ba med	avimāla
[57a2] myi btsog	dri ma med pa (No. 710)	amala

Appendix 6. Heading Divisions of Heart of Wisdom Commentaries Among Eighth Century Indian Buddhist Scholars.

Kamalaśīla, Short Recension, (IOL Tib J 122)	Praśāstrasena, Long Recension (Lopez 1996)	Jñānamitra, Long Recension (Lopez 1996)
1. The Name of Wisdom	1. The Name of Wisdom	1. The Setting
2. The Engaging with Wisdom	2. The Setting 3. The Absorption 4. The Opening 5. The Engaging with Wisdom	2. The Engaging with Wisdom
3. The Characteristic of Wisdom	6. The Nature of Wisdom	3. The Characteristic of Wisdom
4. The Range of	7. The Range of	4. The Range of

Wisdom	Wisdom	Wisdom
5. The Virtuous Qualities of Wisdom	8. The Virtuous Qualities of Wisdom	5. The Virtuous Qualities of Wisdom
6. The Fruition of Wisdom	9. The Fruition of Wisdom	6. The Fruition of Wisdom
7. The Dhāraṇī of Wisdom	10. The Dhāraṇī of Wisdom	7. The Dhāraṇī of Wisdom

Abbreviations and Bibliography

IDP International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk/>)

IOL Indian Office Library

MskManuscript Kanjur

Mvy Mahāvvyutpatti

Pt Pelliot Tibétain

v.l. varia lectio (variant reading)

Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts

IOL Tib J 53

IOL Tib J 122

IOL Tib J 124

IOL Tib J 125

IOL Tib J 297

IOL Tib J 751

Or.8212/77

Pelliot Tibétain 495

Pelliot Tibétain 496

Pelliot Tibétain 1257 (Apple and Apple 2017)

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Stairway from Heaven: Account of the Intermediate State (*bar do'i rnam thar*) of the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383)

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1. Introduction

While reading life stories (*rnam thar*) of Tibetan Buddhist masters, one comes across different levels of content, which can classically be divided into outer, inner, and secret life stories.¹ Secret life stories (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*) contain mystic events experienced by the protagonist, such as miraculous dreams, visions, and supernatural phenomena—all of them representing realization of the nature of mind. Through earlier research, I became particularly interested in accounts of experiences during the intermediate state between death and rebirth (Tib. *bar do*), which can be classified as a sub-category of the secret life story.² Those accounts are sometimes called *bar do'i rnam thar*.³ This paper is dedicated to an account of this kind of the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383).⁴ It appears in two different sources. The first one is a historiographical work of the genre “Religious History” (Tib. *chos 'byung*) called “Feast of the Wise” (Tib. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*), composed by the historian dPa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba (1504–1564/1566), which will be henceforth referred to as CKG.⁵ The second source is also a historiographical work, but of the genre “Golden Garland” (Tib. *gser 'phreng*), often referred to as the “Golden Garland of the Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud” (Tib. *Kaṃ tshang bka' brgyud gser 'phreng*) or by its ornamental title “Moonstone Water-

¹ This classification is ascribed to sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) (Vostrikov 1994, 186–87).

² On the meaning of *bar do*, see Cuevas 2003, 39–68.

³ Sometimes they are also called *rnam thar bar do ma*, especially with respect to the Third Karmapa. See for example Manson 2009, 44, and Berounský 2010, 7.

⁴ The existence of this account with reference to two sources was already mentioned in Dell 2020, 44.

⁵ For an overview of the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Dell 2021. For the life of its author, see Bjerregaard and Dell 2022.

Crystal Mālā" (Tib. *Nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, often shortened to *Zla ba chu shel*), which will be henceforth referred to as KSP. It was written by the polymath Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699/1700–1774), also known as Si tu Paṅ chen, and his student 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab (b. 18th cent.).⁶

The KSP has become the standard work for scholars in the Karma bKa' brgud tradition who deal with the lives of their lineage's masters. Its language is considered easier to understand and its organization is more chronological than the earlier CKG, which is another standard historical Karma bKa' brgud work.⁷ In the case at hand, in both sources, the *bar do'i rnam thar* seems to follow the same story line and content, but the text is generally more extended in the KSP.

For context, a short summary of the known accounts of this type from the different Karma pas shall be provided in this introduction. A more extensive overview of different existing representatives of *bar do'i rnam thars*, as well as research on and translations of them, has been presented elsewhere.⁸ In section 2, annotated translations of both texts are to be presented, followed by an analysis of their content in section 3, and a conclusion in section 4. An appendix contains the Tibetan text of both passages.

Most representatives of *bar do'i rnam thars* that have been identified as such are about the Karma pas', who are the hierarchs of the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition and who formed the first incarnation lineage in Tibet. Usually, *bar do'i rnam thars* are not separate texts, but inserted into *rnam thars*, sometimes without calling them by that name. This gives reason to conjecture that there are probably a lot more representatives yet to be identified.

Most of the research papers touching on *bar do'i rnam thar* circle around the Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339).⁹ In his introduction into the life of Karma Pakshi (1204/6–1283),¹⁰ Manson mentions the existence of a *bar do'i rnam thar* with respect to the transference of Karma Pakshi's consciousness to his third incarnation.¹¹ Manson traces back the existence of a missing original *bar do'i rnam*

⁶ For an overview of the *Kam tshang bka' brgyud gser 'phreng* and references about the lives of its authors, see Dell 2023.

⁷ Rheingans 2017, 69.

⁸ Dell 2020, 43–47.

⁹ BDRC, P66. (BDRC stands for Buddhist Digital Resource Center (<https://www.bdrc.io/>). In the following text, footnotes, and bibliography, I will very often use the abbreviation BDRC followed by an alphanumeric code by which the person, location or work can be found in the BDRC database.) For more information on the Third Karma pa's life, see Seegers 2009 and forthcoming 2024, and Gamble 2018 and 2020.

¹⁰ Second Karma pa, Karma Pakshi (BDRC, P1487).

¹¹ Manson 2009, 44–43.

thar text from an account and references in the Red Annals¹² and from the reappearance of the account in the later Blue Annals.¹³ It is also mentioned in passing in Rang byung rdo rje's *rnam thar* in verse, but not discussed there.¹⁴ Accordingly, in the Collected Works of the Third Karma pa, this text is also indicated as missing.¹⁵ Berounský dedicated a paper to this missing text.¹⁶ Gamble translated the *bar do'i rnam thar* of the Third Karma pa, which she found inserted into one of his life stories.¹⁷ This text is the longest of its kind I know of, and most likely the earliest one, since the Karma pas were the first ones to establish the system of successive incarnations in Tibet. According to Gamble, the Second Karma pa, Karma Pakshi, called himself an "emanation" (Tib. *rnam par 'phrul*) of the First Karma pa, while claiming to have various other emanations at the same time.¹⁸ The Third Karma pa was the first to shift focus from simultaneous emanations of a celestial being to concatenate lives and the idea of reincarnation.¹⁹ His *bar do'i rnam thar* plays a crucial role in establishing this narrative by filling the gap between these successive incarnations. In Berounský's words: "the sole existence of a text containing the detailed description of the events of the 'intermediate state' during reincarnation shows that in this case an effort was made to provide a variety of proofs confirming the genuineness of the 'repeated existence' of Karmapa."²⁰

The life story of the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340–1383)²¹ begins, both in the CKG and the KSP, with an account of his intermediate state.²² The CKG passage is rather short, while the KSP passage is more extended, but still less than one folio. Translations of both passages are found in section 2 of this paper. The function of the Fourth Karma pa's account might be similar to that of his direct predecessor's—consolidation of the still freshly established narrative of successive incarnations.

The *bar do'i rnam thar* of the Seventh Karma pa, Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) in the CKG extends to about one folio, while in the

¹² Tshal pa kun dga rdo rje (1309–1364) 1981, 96. For a translation of the relevant paragraph, see Berounský 2011, 24–26.

¹³ Roerich 1988, 487–88. For the Tibetan original, see 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal (1392–1481) 1984.

¹⁴ Rang byung rdo rje 2006c.

¹⁵ The missing text is called *Bar do'i rnam thar bstan pa*, see Rang byung rdo rje 2006a, *dkar chag*.

¹⁶ Berounský 2010.

¹⁷ For the original, see Rang byung rdo rje 2006b, 358–66. For the translation, see Gamble 2020, 121–27.

¹⁸ For Karma Pakshi's view on his preincarnations, see also Manson 2022, 111–26.

¹⁹ Gamble 2018, 78–80.

²⁰ Berounský 2010, 8

²¹ BDRC, P1456.

²² For the CKG, see PX1, vol. 2, 98; for the KSP, see SX1, vol. 11, fols. 161r–161v.

KSP it is condensed to three short sentences, which correspond to the end of the CKG version.²³ Hence, in its longer version it is about the length of the account of the Fourth Karma pa. The account of the Seventh Karma pa was translated and analyzed in an earlier paper.²⁴

The *bar do'i rnam thar* of the Eighth Karma pa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554),²⁵ is not discussed much in research papers, but translations exist from different sources. It covers approximately two folios in the KSP, and Verhufen provided a German translation of it.²⁶

Rheingans translated a rather short version not exceeding a few lines from one of the Third Karma pa's *rnam thars* in his Collected Works.²⁷ Rheingans mentions another seemingly untranslated text, a spiritual autobiography (Tib. *rang rnam*) that supposedly contains an account of the Karma pa's sojourn in the pure land of Maitreya.²⁸

In the future, further *bar do'i rnam thars* of the Karma pas might surface, but at present, these are the only ones known to me.

2. Translation

In this section, annotated translations of the Fourth Karma pa's account of the intermediate state from the CKG and the KSP are presented.

2.1 Translation from the CKG

The noble Rol pa'i rdo rje

First,²⁹ [his] physical form condensed in Shang to palace³⁰ and [he] looked at the world from the top of a moon disc.

Suddenly, in Tuṣita [Heaven], when the divine sages exchanged gifts [with the Karma pa], Bhagavan Maitreya encouraged [him to take

²³ For the CKG, see PX1, vol. 2, 184–86; for the KSP, see SX1, vol. 11, fols. 266r–266v.

²⁴ Dell 2020.

²⁵ BDRC, P385. For a comprehensive overview of the life and works of the Eighth Karmapa, see Rheingans 2017.

²⁶ Verhufen 1992, 75–77. For the Tibetan original, see SX1, vol. 12, fols. 3r–3v.

²⁷ Rheingans 2010, 280. For the Tibetan original, see A khu A khra dGe slong Byang chub bzang po 2004, 82 (fol. 25b).

²⁸ Rheingans 2017, 63. For the Tibetan original, see Mi bskyod rdo rje, Karma pa VIII (1507–1554) 2004.

²⁹ Tib. *sngon*, lit. “earlier” or “previously.”

³⁰ Tib. *pho brang shang to*. Here, *shang to* seems to be the name of the palace, however, I could not find any reference to it as a name. Likewise, *shang to* is not lexicalized as a word. In the KSP text, the name is given as *shong to*, however, the same result applies. Nevertheless, the scene is likely an allusion to the life story of the Buddha who resides in a palace in Tuṣita Heaven before descending to the earth, as becomes even clearer from the next sentence.

birth and benefit beings].³¹

Thereupon, [the Karma pa] demonstrated appearances which proceeded from a crystal stairway into the golden base [of our world],³² and [thus] purified [his] mother's womb through miracles which proceeded from the entirety of buddha-fields such as Sukhāvati also into this field.

In A la rong,³³ in the rNgod [area],³⁴ not far from the Eighteen Great Valleys, in the south [of] the country of Sum pa,³⁵ [he] was born to [his] father bSod nam don grub from the Ku cor family line and [his] mother brTson 'grus rgyan, on the eighth day of the third month [of] the [iron-]dragon year (1340).

2.2 Translation from the KSP

[The story of] Rol pa'i rdo rje³⁶

Regarding the glorious holder of the black crown, the Fourth Karma pa Rol pa'i rdo rje, in the sealed instructions [in] the life story of Karma Pakshi, [the latter] said:

"In more than one hundred years from now,
having come [as] an emanation of the mind of the Great Brahmin, [Saraha, and as] an emanation of the essence of Dus gsum mkhyen pa [in the past],
although [I] will uphold the teachings [in that future time], [we] will have entered a period of decline [of their] knowledge.

Therefore, at that time, my activity will hardly occur, [it] will occur only a little."³⁷

In accordance with [this], first, [his] physical form condensed in Shong to palace³⁸ and [he] looked at the world from the top of a moon

³¹ The text only says that Maitreya encouraged (Tib. *bskul*). However, in the corresponding passage in the KSP, we learn a bit more. There, he asks the Karma pa explicitly to benefit beings. I used this information to fill in the missing part here, since otherwise it is too contracted to make sense of it.

³² Here it is not obvious if it is Maitreya or the Karma pa who demonstrates these appearances. However, in the KSP, the passage is a bit longer, which makes it a bit clearer who does what.

³³ BDRC, G4881 (*a la rong*): a canyon located in rNgod.

³⁴ BDRC, G4880 (*rngod*): a valley located in Kong po.

³⁵ BDRC, G3CN404 (*sum pa*): a country located in greater Tibet.

³⁶ Literally "Rol pa'i rdo rje exclusively."

³⁷ All the verbs, which I translate with the future tense ("will"), are in the present tense in Tibetan. However, given the context, which clearly suggests a prediction to be made here, they must have future meaning. The fact that, first, the past incarnations are mentioned, makes it even more tricky to sort it out.

³⁸ Tib. *pho brang shong to*. Here, *shong to* seems to be the name of the palace, however, I could not find any reference to it as a name. Likewise, *shong to* is not lexicalized

disc.

Suddenly, in Tuṣita [Heaven], when the divine sages exchanged gifts [with the Karma pa], Bhagavan Maitreya prophesied: "You are not weary of the world. Continue to be a guide of sentient beings!"

Thereupon, [the Karma pa], immediately, thought: "[I] need to benefit sentient beings in the world."

When this aspiration occurred, in the presence of a multitude of [forms of the] precious Bhagavan Maitreya dwelling on thrones,

[the Karmapa] generated immeasurable manifestations [of himself] who were pleased by manifold assemblies of *ḍākinīs* and *ḍākas*³⁹ such as Śrī Hayagrīva⁴⁰ [surrounding them], and [he] said: "May the benefit of sentient beings arise spontaneously!"

Then [the numerous Karma pas] offered *amṛta*⁴¹ [to the numerous Maitreyas] and appearances dispersing the highest abode⁴² emerged.

Emanating various rainbows on a stairway attached to a crystal house, [the Karma pa] demonstrated appearances which proceeded into the foundation [of the house] which was like the golden base [of our world].⁴³

Thus [he] purified [his] mother's womb through miracles which proceeded from the entirety of buddha-fields such as Sukhāvati also into this field.

In A la rong⁴⁴, in the rNgod [area]⁴⁵, not far from the Eighteen Great

as a word. Nevertheless, the scene is likely an allusion to the life story of the Buddha who resides in a palace in Tuṣita Heaven before descending to the earth as becomes even clearer from the next sentence.

³⁹ *Ḍākinīs* (Tib. *mkha' 'gro*) and *ḍākas* (Tib. *dpa' bo*) have been classified in multiple ways, but often they are seen as a kind of dharma protector, which fits with the given context and the mention of Śrī Hayagrīva as an example (Buswell and Lopez 2014, 208–209).

⁴⁰ Śrī Hayagrīva (Tib. *dpal rta mgrin*) is a tantric wrathful deity (ibid., 347).

⁴¹ Tib. *bdud rtsi*, Skt. *amṛta*. The concept of *amṛta* originates in the Vedic legend of the churning of the ocean, which was later adopted by Buddhism. It is the "nectar of immortality" (Beer, 1999, 109–10). It also became an attribute of the longevity Buddha Amitayus ("Limitless Life," Tib. *tshe dpag med*) in the form of the contents of his long-life vase (ibid., 221).

⁴² Tib. *rab gnas* often comes to mean "consecration," but here I took it more literally as "highest abode" (extended form: *rab tu gnas pa*), which I think refers to this very realm of Tuṣita in which the scene takes place and which starts to dissolve. This understanding is also supported by what follows.

⁴³ Tib. *gser gyi sa gzhi*. According to Abhidharma descriptions of how our world-system was formed, one of the very first events is that through churning an ocean a golden disc or golden base formed. Later on, Mount Meru, all the continents and everything else formed on top of this golden disc (Jamgön Kongrul Lodrö Tayé 2003, 109–10).

⁴⁴ BDRC, G4881 (*a la rong*): a canyon located in rNgod.

⁴⁵ BDRC, G4880 (*rngod*): a valley located in Kong po.

Valleys, in the south [of] the country of Sum pa,⁴⁶ [he] joined the great family line called A la spang dkar. In particular, as it appears to others, [he] was born in the form of a lower, ordinary being [to his] father lHa sdong bSod nams don 'grub from the family line of Ku cor and [his] mother mDza' za brTson 'grus rgyan, at sunrise of the eighth day of the third month [of] the male iron-dragon year (1340).

3. *Analysis*

3.1 *Outline*

In order to embark on an analysis of the account of the Fourth Karma pa's intermediate state, first, an outline of the story, which includes both versions, is provided:

- Reference to prophecy from Karma Pakshi's life story (KSP only)
- Manifestation in Shang to / Shong to palace and looking at the world from a moon disc (CKG and KSP)
- Meeting with Maitreya and divine sages in Tuṣita and encouragement to take rebirth to benefit beings (CKG and KSP)
- Karma pa's demonstration of appearances and purification of the mother's womb (short in CKG and much more extensive in KSP)
- Place and date of birth, and name of his parents (CKG and KSP)

3.2 *Karma Pakshi's Prophecy*

The first paragraph, the reference to the prophecy from Karma Pakshi's life story, is only found in the KSP. There, Karma Pakshi (1204/6–1283) claims that he had been Saraha (8th cent. CE)⁴⁷ and the First Karma pa, and that he would come again in about a hundred years. The lifetimes of the Second and the Fourth Karma pa are about a hundred years apart and it is obvious from context that the Fourth Karma pa is meant to fulfil this prophecy. Manson's work about Karma Pakshi shows that his connection to those historical figures is mentioned in many places in his life stories.⁴⁸ The prophecy also mentions the

⁴⁶ BDRC, G3CN404 (*sum pa*): a country located in greater Tibet.

⁴⁷ For the Tibetan traditions of Saraha, see Schaeffer 2005.

⁴⁸ E.g., Manson 2022, 23, 93 and 124. Nevertheless, I was not able to find this

decline of the knowledge of the teachings in this degenerate time. This is then used as a transition to the actual *bar do'i rnam thar*, since it constitutes a motivation for such a great master to take birth again and help sentient beings. In that sense, it is also used to create an arc of suspense.

3.3 *Manifestation in Celestial Realm*

Both accounts mention that he condensed himself in Shang to (CKG) or Shong to (KSP) palace and looked at the world from the top of a moon disc. This is certainly a way of saying that the Third Karma pa passed away and then found himself in a pure or celestial realm. I was not able to identify the name of this palace from any literature, however, the mention of a palace in a heavenly realm reminds of the palace in Tuṣita, where the tenth level bodhisattvas reside before they become buddhas, and it also fits with the subsequent scene where it is made explicit that it plays out in Tuṣita.⁴⁹ As for the symbolic meaning of the moon disc, Beer explains:

“The sun disc [symbolizes] ultimate *bodhichitta*; and the moon disc, relative or conventional *bodhichitta*. The Sanskrit term *bodhichitta* (Tib. *byang chub kyi sems*) means ‘the mind of enlightenment’, which is the foundation of the Mahayana path. Conventional *bodhichitta* refers to the altruistic resolve to attain enlightenment for the benefit of all beings, and ultimate *bodhichitta* refers to the enlightened wisdom which directly realizes emptiness through the perfection of this altruistic aspiration.”⁵⁰

The moon disc standing for conventional *bodhichitta* fits very well with the given context. The Karma pa looks at the world, where he sees the beings that are in need of his help as a spiritual teacher and thus resolves to take rebirth for their benefit.

3.4 *Meeting with Maitreya and Divine Sages in Tuṣita*

In the next scene, the Karma pa finds himself in Tuṣita Heaven meeting the future buddha, Maitreya. This is an allusion to the life story of the Buddha. Buddha Śākyamuni, before descending to the world in his last rebirth, resided in Tuṣita and was its regent. He handed over regency to the designated future buddha Maitreya, the fifth buddha of our

prophecy there.

⁴⁹ The palace is, for instance, described in the Lalitavistara sūtra, see Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013, paragraph 2.13.

⁵⁰ Beer 1999, 38.

eon.⁵¹ Likewise, when the time has come, Buddha Maitreya will hand over regency of Tuṣita to the sixth buddha, Siṃha, who is said to be the Karma pa.⁵² Hence, Buddha Śākyamuni, the future buddha, Maitreya, and the Karma pa eventually are considered to play in the same league. In the scene at hand, the Karma pa and the divine sages exchange gifts. It is not quite clear if the Karma pa gives or receives gifts or if it is bi-directional. It could be an allusion to Buddha Śākyamuni, who received offerings from countless gods and bodhisattvas before he left Tuṣita to take birth, as described in the Lalitavistara sūtra.⁵³ On the other hand, in the case of the Eighth Karma pa, it was him who made offerings to a great number of buddhas in the *bar do* state.⁵⁴ Similarly, in the next scene (at least according to the KSP), the Fourth Karma pa will offer *amṛta* to a multitude of forms of Maitreya.

Maitreya encourages or urges the Karma pa to take rebirth (CKG) or prophecies that he will take rebirth again to benefit beings (KSP). This is a common theme in all *bar do'i rnam thars*. The Third Karma pa is asked to take rebirth by the twenty-five earth guardians over and over until he finally agrees.⁵⁵ The Seventh Karma pa meets several buddhas in the *bar do* state one by one, and most of them, with slightly different wording, ask him to bring benefit to sentient beings—among them Vajradhāra, Maitreya, Akśobhya, Ratnasambhava, and Amitābha.⁵⁶ Likewise, the Eighth Karma pa is asked by Maitreya to teach beings to save them from the lower realms.⁵⁷

3.5 *The Karma pa's Demonstration of Appearances in Tuṣita and Purification of the Mother's Womb*

This scene is described very briefly in the CKG, where it is just mentioned that “[the Karma pa] demonstrated appearances which proceeded from a crystal stairway into the golden base [of our world] and [thus] purified [his] mother's womb through miracles which proceeded from the entirety of buddha-fields such as Sukhāvati also into this field.” Whereas, in the KSP, it is described at some length. The two versions do not contradict each other; the CKG version is just very condensed. Therefore, I will offer some interpretations based on the KSP version. To summarize: Out of the aspiration to benefit beings, the

⁵¹ For this scene, see, e.g., Translation Committee 2013, paragraph 5.2.

⁵² Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé 2010, 349: “The future sixth buddha, Lion's Roar, in the guise of a bodhisattva, appears as the Karmapas.”

⁵³ Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013, paragraph 5.75.

⁵⁴ Verhufen 1992, 75.

⁵⁵ Gamble 2020, 121–27.

⁵⁶ Dell 2020, 49–50.

⁵⁷ Verhufen 1992, 75.

Karma pa finds himself in front of multiple forms of Maitreya dwelling on thrones. He, in turn, generates multiple manifestations of himself surrounded by *ḍākinīs* and *ḍākas* and utters the wish that benefit for sentient beings may arise spontaneously. The multiple forms of both future buddhas might symbolize their power and all-pervading quality. The fact that they both are able to manifest those multiple forms might show that they are on an equal level.

Next, the Karma pas offers *amṛta*—the nectar of immortality—to the Maitreyas, which is certainly a sign of reverence to his predecessor in the line of buddhas. When meeting with Maitreya, the regent of Tuṣita, every bodhisattva would present a gift. Nevertheless, this deed also leads to the dispersal of Tuṣita from the point of view of the Karma pa and eventually to his embodiment in his future mother's womb. Symbolically, one could say, giving away the nectar of immortality, he consents to take birth again and thus becomes mortal.

The dispersal of Tuṣita leads seamlessly into the next scene, where the Karma pa stands on a stairway attached to a crystal house and emanates rainbows and appearances. They proceed into the foundation of the house, which is likened to the golden base of our world, and thus he purifies his future mother's womb through miracles, which proceeded through the entirety of buddha-fields to her. Obviously, the scene describes the Karma pa's descent from Tuṣita to the world, i.e., his conception. It is somewhat different from the Buddha's conception, who was conceived while his mother was dreaming of a six-tusked elephant.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, there are elements that remind us of the Buddha's life story. For instance, a stairway reaching from the celestial realms to the earth occurs in the Buddha's descent at Sāṃkāśya from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven ("Heaven of the Thirty-three"), where he had gone to teach Abhidharma to his deceased mother—a story so popular that it gave rise both to the establishment of this place as one of the four secondary pilgrimage sites related to the Buddha's life, and to a Buddhist holiday or festival (Tib. *lha babs dus chen*). Young points out that the Buddha's descent on a staircase is also a widespread image in iconographic representations while textual references to it are rather rare.⁵⁹

Another aspect that reminds us of the life story of the Buddha is the crystal house. It is not quite clear if this house is located in the celestial realm or elsewhere. However, in the Lalitavistara sūtra, we learn that the Buddha as a fetus resided in a jeweled structure or temple inside his mother's womb, which is described in great length as having the

⁵⁸ Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013, paragraphs 6.3–6.4

⁵⁹ Young 2004, 41. According to her, it is, e.g., mentioned in the Buddhacarita.

most exquisite qualities.⁶⁰ The crystal house could be an allusion to this jeweled structure, implying that the Karma pa dwelled in a similar structure while in the womb. It is mentioned that the foundation of the crystal house is like the golden base of our world, i.e., the base on top of which the structure of our world, such as Mount Meru and the continents, formed, according to legend. This might indicate that the crystal house is not placed in the celestial realms but further down in a place such as Jambudvīpa (and more specifically his mother's womb) which is more closely connected to this golden base. It could also signify that this crystal house is a miniature world in itself.

In the *bar do'i rnam thar* of the Third Karma pa a crystal palace is also mentioned in the context of conception:

“As they explained this process of conception, [the *dākinīs*] created a nine-colored rainbow that became intensely saturated and bright. I watched as they ascended the rainbow, then I traveled alone down to a crystal palace with a sky-door, four bright white sides, and a dark base. Rainbows danced around me on all sides. As soon as I entered the house, waves of passionate blood were aroused, and I watched them [the *dākinīs*] flee.”⁶¹

Here, the womb is also represented by a crystal palace. Another similarity to the Fourth Karma pa's conception scene is the involvement of rainbows in this process. The difference is that in the case of the Fourth Karma pa, he himself emanates the rainbows and other appearances and they are not only related to the conception but also to the purification of the mother's womb, which is at least not explicitly mentioned in the case of the Third Karma pa. In the case of the Buddha, we find the aspect of purification briefly mentioned in the Lalitavistara sūtra: “When the Victors' Son, the Great Being, settled in his mother's womb, [...] Golden light shone forth and all the lower realms were purified.”⁶²

The subsequent paragraph contains the physical circumstances of the Fourth Karma pa's birth such as place, date, and name of parents. It was only included in the translation to round off the passage about the *bar do'i rnam thar*. There is no need to provide any interpretations in this context.

4. Conclusion

The core of the article is the annotated translation from the CKG and KSP of the account of the intermediate state of the Karma pa's

⁶⁰ Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013, paragraphs 6.40–6.48

⁶¹ Gamble 2020, 126.

⁶² Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013, paragraph 6.62.

transition from his third to his fourth incarnation, together with the analysis thereof. The analysis part tried to decipher and explain the description of the events in the *bar do* and to put them into context. To this end, parallels or allusions to the life story of the Buddha, as well as to other known *bar do'i rnam thars*, were pointed out, and more generally the background of Vajrayāna and its symbolism was considered. The fact that the description in the later KSP is more extensive than in the earlier CKG suggests that the KSP has not (or not only) drawn from the CKG, but that there must be an earlier source known to both authors. There is a *rnam thar* of the Fourth Karma pa consisting of sixty-one folios authored by his contemporary and student, the Second Zhwa dmar pa, mKha' spyod dbang po (1350–1405).⁶³ There are grounds to conjecture that both later sources drew from this text, but to confirm this remains a task for future research and goes beyond the scope of this paper.

The analysis part of this article involved some comparison between different *bar do* accounts, but a systematic comparison between all known representatives of this sub-genre with respect to content, form, length, intention, circumstances, function, and so on is still a desideratum. It is something I would like to work on in the future, but I feel it might be worth first exploring the life stories of the Karma pas a bit more to identify and take into account even more examples of *bar do'i rnam thars*.

5. Appendix: Edition

5.1 Edition of the Passage from the CKG

An extensive overview of the extant textual witnesses of the CKG was provided by Dell and I will use the same sigla in the paper at hand.⁶⁴ All witnesses are derived from just one set of printing blocks—the IHo brag printing blocks. There are several textual witnesses of the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, of which the most interesting and original one is a reproduction of prints from the IHo brag blocks from Rumtek Monastery in two volumes from 1980 (PX1). This reproduction is also available via BDRC, and I took this as the starting point for the edition provided here. There are several other prints or reproductions of prints from those printing blocks available. However, all being produced from the same printing blocks, I do not expect any added value in considering them, and therefore, neglected them for the edition. All other textual

⁶³ For the person, see BDRC, P1413; for the Tibetan text, see mKha' spyod dbang po 2013.

⁶⁴ Dell 2021, 126–41.

witnesses are derived from these printing blocks' text more recently.

Apart from the mentioned block print reproduction, I only used one of the contemporary editions, i.e., rDor je rgyal po's modern edition in book format, which was published by Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, first in 1986 in two volumes (PB2). It is also available via BDRC. The added value of rDo rje rgyal po's edition is that in many places, it corrects spelling mistakes or non-standard spellings from the original block print. If there are differences, they are indicated in the apparatus. Generally, there are no significant differences in the section I studied.

[PX1, vol. 2, p. 98, l. 4; PB2, vol. 2, p. 950, l.1] *de la rje rol pa'i rdo rje ni/ sngon pho brang shang tor sku'i bkod pa bsdus shing*⁶⁵ *zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi steng nas 'dzam gling la gzigs te*

*skad cig gis dga' ldan du lha'i drang srong legs skyes su gyur pa la bcom ldan 'das byams pas bskul te*⁶⁶ *shel gyi skas las gser gyi sa gzhir gshegs pa'i snang ba bstan la/*

bde ba can la sogs pa sangs rgyas kyi zhing mtha' dag nas kyang zhing 'dir gshegs pa'i cho 'phrul gyis yum gyi lhuums sbyangs te

sum pa'i yul lho lung chen bco brgyad dang mi ring ba rngod a la rong du ku cor gyi gdung las yab bsod nams don grub dang yum brtson 'grus rgyan las 'brug lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes brgyad la sku bltams te

5.2 Edition of the Passage from the KSP

An overview of the different textual witnesses of the KSP was provided by Dell and I will use the same sigla in the paper at hand.⁶⁷ There is only one set of printing blocks. Consequently, one of their reprints is used below (SX1), which forms volumes 11 and 12 of the collected works of Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas. In addition, one of the modern editions is used for the reader's convenience (SB3). In the paragraph at hand, there were no differences in spelling and nothing where I felt the need for an emendation. In the edition below, the page numbers of both texts are indicated in brackets, if a new page starts.

[SX1, vol. 11, f. 161r, l. 5; SB3, p. 380] *rol pa'i rdo rje kho na'o//*

//de la dpal mthon mthing gi cod pan 'dzin pa karma pa bzhi pa rol pa'i rdo rje ni/ karma pakshi'i rnam thar bka' rgya ma las//da ste lo brgya lhag tsam na bram ze chen po'i thugs kyi sprul pa/ dus gsum mkhyen pa'i ngo bo rnam par 'phrul pa zhis byon nas/ bstan pa skyong yang shes dus tshod mar 'grib du song ba'i phyir/ deng sang nga'i phrin las tsam mi 'byung cung zad

⁶⁵ shing PB2] cing PX1

⁶⁶ te PB2] ste PX1

⁶⁷ Dell 2023, 21–29.

tsam 'byung/zhes gsungs pa dang mthun par sngon pho brang shong tor sku'i bkod pa bsdus zhing zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi steng nas 'dzam gling la gzigs tel skad cig gis dga' ldan du lha'i drang srong legs skyes su gyur pa la/ bcom ldan [SX1, 161v] 'das byams pas khyod 'dzam bu'i gling du skyo bar ma byed par/ da dung sems can gyi 'dren pa la song zhig

/ces lung bstan pa dang de ma thag tu 'dzam bu'i gling du sems can gyi don bya dgos par 'dug snyam pa'i 'dun pa byung ba'i dus su/ bcom ldan byams pa rin po che sna tshogs kyi khri la bzhugs pa'i drung du/ dpal rta mgrin la sogs dpa' bo dang/ mkha' 'gro'i tshogs du mas dgyes pa'i rnam 'gyur dpag tu med pa mdzad cing/ sems can gyi don lhun grub tu byung bar gyur cig/ces gsungs nas bdud rtsi [SB3, 381] drangs shing rab gnas 'thor ba'i snang ba byung ba dang/

shel gyi khang pa them skas dang bcas pa yod pa la 'ja' tshon sna tshogs 'phro ba/ logs gser gyi sa gzhi lta bu yod pa'i nang du gshegs pa'i snang ba bstan pa dang/

bde ba can la sogs pa sangs rgyas kyi zhing mtha' dag nas kyang zhing 'dir gshegs pa'i cho 'phrul gyis yum gyi lhums sbyangs tel/

sum pa'i yul lho lung chen bco brgyad dang mi ring ba rngod a la rong du/ a la spang dkar zhes bya ba rus chen sdong/

bye brag ku cor gyi rigs las/ yab lha sdong bsod nams don 'grub dang/ yum mdza' za brtson 'grus rgyan zhes bya ba gzhan snang du skye bo phal pa dman pa'i tshul bzung ba la/ lcags pho 'brug gi lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes brgyad kyi nyi shar la sku bltams tel/

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A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759-after August 1, 1840) on some Chinese Lexemes and the Chinese Language, Part Two*

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 recounted the little that we know about Ngag dbang bstan dar's life in Part One of this essay that was published in the volume that honors the work of my old comrade in studies, Franz-Karl Ehrhard.¹ There, I began my exposition of his references to Chinese, and the present contribution continues in the same vein and constitutes the second and last part of the essay.

As far as Ngag dbang bstan dar's scholarship in general is concerned, he is especially known for his vignette-like glosses on several important texts, for his relatively short tracts dealing with the knowledge-domain of language (*sgra'i rig gnas*), which includes grammar, poetics and lexicography, with logic and epistemology, as well as for a number of commentaries on shorter works. Several of these he never completed and we must be grateful to the unknown editor[s] of

* The following abbreviations are used:

BSTAN *Bstan 'gyur [dpe bsdur ma]*. Ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008. 120 vols.

NGAG1[1,2] *Collected Gsung 'bum of Bstan dar lha ram of A lag sha*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Lama Guru Deva. 1971.

NGAG2 *Bstan dar lha rams pa'i gsung 'bum*. Edited by Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2008.

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¹ See van der Kuijp 2019. There, in connection with tea and tea drinking in the Tibetan area, I was unaware of the excellent dissertation on the subject in Booz 2011, and the fine master's thesis of Li 2013 to which we may now add Benn 2015 and Sun 2021. And I was equally unaware of Choġtu [= Čoγtu]1999 – the bibliographical entry in Ujeed 2009: 228 drew my attention to this work – and the biographical sketch of Ngag dbang bstan dar's life in Powers 2016: 118-121.

his "complete" works for nonetheless including these fragments in his *gsung 'bum*. Not the usual traditional scholar, he was also interested in more practical matters as is indicated in his fascinating study of the weights, measures, and currencies of India, Tibet, and China and their relative valuations in the past as well as in the present, a work that should prove of interest to someone studying aspects of Tibetan economic history.² Further details about this work are given below and in the Appendix.

Over the years, several studies of his more philosophical writings were published in the secondary literature, and they will be duly signaled in my essay on his examination of Dignāga's (6th c.) **Hetucakraḍamaru* that is currently under preparation. One of the interesting features of his oeuvre as a whole is his obvious sensitivity to philological and text-critical issues, and he frequently points out variant readings in the texts that he cites. His works show furthermore that he was a discerning critic and that he did not shy away from setting things straight that, in his opinion, had gone awry.

An example of this may be taken from his tract on weights and measures, currencies, and their respective values in the context of what constitutes the infraction of stealing, "to take what is not given" (*ma byin gyi len pa, adattādāna*), according to *vinaya*-canon law and how much of value needs to be stolen to warrant the perpetrator's excommunication or expulsion [or near-expulsion] from the Buddhist community. Depending on the value of what has been taken when it was not given such an act may or may not constitute a *pārājika-pham pa* violation, one for which, in its most severe case, a monk will be "excommunicated" from the assembly.³ The problem of course was how to calculate value, especially diachronically and under different social circumstances and geographical regions! In the course of his deliberations, Ngag dbang bstan dar addresses a problem with an alleged canonical source that he found cited in the Tibetan literature; he writes⁴:

...gzhan yang 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa'i lung yig cha rnam su
drangs pa yod cing / sde dge'i bstan 'gyur khrod na 'grel pa shes
rab 'byed pa zer ba e mi bzhugs shing / 'grel pa prajndza ka ra zer

² This is his *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa 'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag*, for which see NGAG1[1], 730-755, and NGAG2, 433-448, and below in the Appendix.

³ For an excellent study of this offense and the various legal issues that are implied by it, without going into any detail about the values of the material goods that may be stolen, see Kieffer-Pülz 2011.

⁴ NGAG1[1], 748-749, and NGAG2, 444. Truth be told, there is something that is not quite fluent with the syntax of this passage. For example, to read ...gzhan yang 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa'i lung yig cha rnam su drangs pa yod la /, makes much better sense! I have made certain adjustments without, I hope, violating its meaning.

ba gcig mchis pa 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa la ngos 'dzin dgos pa 'dra na'ang yig cha rnams su drangs pa'i lung tshig der mi rnyed pas / des na so thar 'grel pa glang po che chu 'thung zhes pa sngon khri srong lde btsan gyi dus su yod par / dran dbang sang rgyas rgya mtshos g.ya sel du gsungs kyang [749] deng sang mi bzhugs pa bzhin 'di yang de dang 'dra ba yin nam dpyad par 'tshal /

...furthermore, there is a scriptural source from the *Shes rab 'byed pa* [**Prajñāvibhāga*] commentary that is cited in monastic text-books and the so-called *Shes rab 'byed pa* commentary is not at all contained in the *Sde dge Bstan 'gyur* collection.⁵ And even if it may be necessary to identify the commentary titled *Prajñākara*⁶ [= *Shes rab byed pa*] as the *Shes rab 'byed pa*, we do not find therein the wording of what is quoted in the text-books. Hence, although the powerful scholar⁷ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) has stated in the *G.ya sel* that there existed a **Pratimokṣa [sūtra]* commentary [sub]titled *Glang po che chu 'thung ba* in earlier times during the era of king Khri srong lde btsan (c. 742-800)⁸ - it is also likewise not extant today -, one should inquire whether also this [*Shes rab 'byed pa*] is similar to that.

There is also no question that Ngag dbang bstan dar had the courage

⁵ We can add here that this work is also not listed in the *vinaya* section of the other *Bstan 'gyur* xylographs, for which see *BSTAN*, vols. 84-93. But he refers to a work with this title in *NGAG1*[1], 743, and *NGAG2*, 440, as if this is the title that is cited in Dalai Lama I Dge 'dun grub's (1391-1474) study of the *vinaya*. It is not! Both available xylographs have *Shes rab byed pa!*; see Dalai Lama I 1978-1981: 191 and No date: 253. For reasons that remain to be investigated, the Lhasa Zhol printing blocks for Dalai Lama I's '*Dul ſik rin chen phreng ba*, were only prepared as late as 1896 under the aegis of Dalai Lama XIII Ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933).

⁶ For this work, the *Vinayasūtraṅvākyāna* that was written by *Prajñākara*, see *BSTAN*, vol. 92, 3-773.

⁷ My rendition of *dran dbang* is based on the entry for this term in *Btsan lha* 1997: 340.

⁸ *Sde srid* 1976: I, 269. No work by this name is listed in the *Lhan dkar ma* or the '*Phang thang ma*, the earliest extant catalogs of translated scripture. Ngag dbang bstan dar also mentions this work in his undated *So thar sdom pa 'bogs chog gi lhan thabs legs bshad gser thur*, a study of the liturgy of the transmission of the *pratimokṣa* vows - see *NGAG1*[1], 701, and *NGAG2*, 416 - where he cites the *Las ſik*, that is, Bu ston Rin chen grub's (1290-1361) 1357 commentary on Guṇaprabha's (7th c.) *Ekottarakarmaśataka*; see Bu ston 1971a: 844. Gser mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428-1507) cites the same passage from Bu ston in his 1472 exegesis of the text - see Gser mdog Paṅ chen 2013: 288. Some Tibetan scholars seem to have held that Vinītadeva (8th c.) had written the *Ekottarakarmaśataka*, but such commentators as Bu ston and Gser mdog Paṅ chen never wavered in their view that its author was Guṇaprabha.

of his own ideas and that he often waxed quite brilliantly in his philosophical works. Some years ago, Jampa Panglung suggested that he was not averse even to take Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) in the cross hairs, in this case, apropos of the origins of the *tsha gsur/bsur* ritual complex. This ritual or ceremony involves the burning of food in a pot of clay so as to feed those who are in the intermediate state between death and rebirth (*bar do ba*) with the smell of food, since these disembodied entities are of course unable to eat a solid meal! Jampa Panglung was of the opinion that he had criticized Dalai Lama V in his *Tsha gsur la dogs gcod pa'i 'khrul spong dgongs pa rab gsal*,⁹ an undated work that, in his view, was quite explicitly written against Dalai Lama V's *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* - we should include here also Dalai Lama V's *Dkar cha bzhi'i dga' ston phan bde'i 'dod 'jo*.¹⁰ Ngag dbang bstan dar cites both works and it is true that in both, the Dalai Lama had argued that, firstly, no canonical texts, not even those belonging to the literature of the Old School [Rnying ma pa], contain any mention of such a ritual and that, secondly, in any event, no one in the intermediate state can be nourished or gain enjoyment from such 'food.' Ngag dbang bstan dar tells us what had motivated him to write his work on the topic at hand. A Qalqa Mongol anchorite in Ulaanbaatar had wondered why the *Gsur*-singed ritual practice that had been so widespread among the Qalqa had ever fewer virtuosi of this ritual, and this had led Ngag dbang bstan dar to look for reasons. He first cites the misgivings that the Dalai Lama had voiced in these two little texts. However, contrary to Panglung's view that Ngag dbang bstan dar had rejected the Dalai Lama's claims out right, a closer reading reveals that he really did not do so. Thus, Ngag dbang bstan dar writes after his citations from the two relevant texts of the Dalai Lama that¹¹:

*lnga pa chen pos kyang rang lugs la tsha gsur khungs med du bzhed
pa ma yin par / rgyud sde bzhi'i nyer spyod kyi mchod pa'i nang gi
bdug spos phul ba'i tshig ji snyed pa dang / 'dod yon lnga'i dri phul
ba'i tshig ji snyed byung ba thams cad dang bsangs kyi cho ga
rnams de'i khungs su bzhed par gsal te...*

⁹ NGAG1[2], 710-729, and NGAG2, 848-859, and Panglung 1985.

¹⁰ Dalai Lama V 2009a and 2009b. Both are undated. The first actually comprises two different texts of which the first is the *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* that was written at the behest of Dbu mdzad Blo bzang yon tan, Brag sna Chos rje Blo bzang ngag dbang, and Ri khrod pa Blo bzang chos 'phel, while he wrote the second, untitled work for Sde pa Blo bzang mthu stobs, his right-hand man, who acted as his *sde srid*, his secular but subordinate counterpart, from 1669 to 1774. He wrote the second, the *Dkar cha bzhi'i dga' ston phan bde'i 'dod 'jo*, for his relative Ldum po ba Nor bu dar rgyas.

¹¹ NGAG1[2], 710-729, and NGAG2, 848-859.

It not being the case that the Great Fifth [= Dalai Lama V], too, claimed for his own position that *tsha gsur* had no authentic source, it is clear that he claimed as its authentic source [1] all of the entire wording of the offering of incense among the offering rituals of the practice of the four tantra classes, [2] all of the entire wording for offering fragrance of the five objects that engender cupidity-attachment,¹² and [3] the rituals associated with *bsangs*-smoke offerings.¹³

Indeed, the Dalai Lama himself had said in his *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* that even if there were no explicit literary source for this ritual, there is nonetheless some benefit that can be derived from it (*'on kyang 'di la phan yon cung zad 'byung*), and he follows this up by detailing these very kinds of benefit.¹⁴

Panglung closed his essay by concluding that this ritual "must be sought in pre-Buddhist beliefs" of the Tibetans and indeed points to a Bon po text from Dunhuang, Pelliot tibétain 1042, in which the term *gsur*, "singed, something slightly burned," occurs. This manuscript, which was of course not available to either Dalai Lama V or Ngag dbang bstan dar, was *inter alia* studied by M. Lalou, R.A. Stein, and Chu Junjie.¹⁵

As was shown in Part One of this essay, Ngag dbang bstan dar had some competence in Chinese, a competence that he had probably picked up, first, in his native land, and then especially during his stay in Beijing. The present paper further opens the aperture on this theme and is thus a continuation of an assessment of his use or mention of the Chinese language as well as its conclusion.

¹² I am not entirely sure what this may mean, but I opted for the *'dod pa'i yon tan lnga* entry in Nor brang 2008: 1110, where the five are: beautiful color-shape, mellifluous sound, fragrant smell, sweet taste, and soft to the touch.

¹³ NGAG1[2], 714, and NGAG2, 849. This statement will probably not dispel the widespread view that the burning of *bsangs*, juniper, has no Indian Buddhist precedent, even though Ngag dbang bstan dar has written in NGAG1[2], 717, and NGAG2, 851, that: "Those who say that positioning *bsangs*-smoke offerings and the receptacles [= statues] of worldly deities belong to the eternal Bon tradition and not to the Buddhist tradition of the Indians is the meaningless chatter of not having been able to trace their scriptural sources..." (*bsangs mchod dang 'jig rten pa'i lha rten btsugs pa dag ni g.yung drung bon gyi lugs yin gyi rgya gar pa'i chos lugs min zhes smra ba rnams lung khungs rtsad ma chod pa'i 'chal gtam yin (...)*), at which point he indicates the sources for the *bsangs*-offering that he had adduced earlier and also adds a number of sources for constructing statuary for the so-called worldly deities. A valuable collection of different *bsang* offering rituals is Chab 'gag 2006.

¹⁴ Dalai Lama V 2009a: 456.

¹⁵ See Lalou 1952, Stein 1970, and Chu 1991. For the occurrence and notion[s] of *bon* in the Tibetan Dunhuang corpus, see the dossier compiled by and studied in van Schaik 2013a.

In addition to the Chinese words that I referenced in Part One, he mentions three more in the tract on traditional weights, measures, types of currency and their relative values that I mentioned earlier.¹⁶ This fascinating treatise bears a full and careful study. It will be readily noticed that, in some places, I have not been very successful in fully understanding the terminologies used therein and I am sure that a future study of this work can improve on what I have written here. Its core title indicates that it deals with the amount/measure (*tshad*) of value (*rin thang*) for the transgression of taking what has not been given, that is, theft. For its structure and Ngag dbang bstan dar's Tibetan sources, see the Appendix to this paper. A full topical outline is given in the Appendix, but for now it will suffice to note that it falls into the following three main parts:

1. An explanation of the measure of a *zho* and a *srang* (*zho srang gi tshad bshad pa*)
NGAG1[1], 732-740, and NGAG2, 433-438
2. An explanation of the measure of value (*rin thang gi tshad bshad pa*)
NGAG1[1], 740-749, and NGAG2, 438-444

¹⁶ This is his *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa 'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag*, for which see above n. 2. A similarly difficult work is the Sde srid's replies to several questions about currencies, weights, measures, and values posed to him by Bstan srung rnam rgyal (?1646-after 1699), then king of Sikkim, for which see the text in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 292-305, and its Chinese translation by Rdo bis Tshe ring rdo rje *et al.* in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 124-132. My thanks to my former student Dr. Sun Penghao for providing me with a copy of this volume. These questions were prompted by the Sde srid's 1681 work on administrative law; see Sde srid 1989. Schuh 2015: 168 ff. includes a study of the bewildering Tibetan vocabulary in the King's second question and the Sde srid's response in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 297-298 [Ch. tr. 127-128]. For useful but still incomplete surveys of Tibetan weights, measurements, valuations, etc., see the German language Wikipedia article *Tibetische Maßeinheiten* and D. Martin's blog *Tiblical/measurements/numbers*. For Tibetan currencies, see Boulnois 1983, Xiao (1987) and Bertsch (2002), which is the standard work on the subject in English, and D. Schuh's article "Gold und Goldmünzen" in [primarily] his *tibet-encyclopedia.de/gold-goldmuenzen.htm*; the Wikipedia article "Historical Money of Tibet" is also quite useful. For all of these weights, measurements, and valuations in the Indian subcontinent, see the monumental synchronic study of Wilson 1855 and the ever so useful work of Sircar 1968. Titled *The Power of Wealth – Economy and Social Status in Pre-Modern Tibetan Communities*, the issue of *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 57 (2021) has much to offer about various economic activities, but not in terms of methods of measurement and relative valuations of currencies. Last but not least, the lengthy and highly informative Wikipedia article "Qing dynasty coins" illustrates the numismatic complexities of the period

3. An Exposition of my own position
 (*rang gi lugs rnam par gzhas pa*)
 NGAG1[1], 749-755, and NGAG2, 444-448

Right or wrong, Ngag dbang bstan dar begins his narrative by writing that there is no agreement among the learned about the measure of value. And since Indic and Tibetan scholars did not explain the measure of the *zho* (*karṣa/kārṣa*) and *srang* (*pala*), he will first take up this topic. He writes that Indians and Tibetans used grain (*srana ma*), rosary peas (*dmar ru mgo nag*), barley (*nas*), rice (*'bras bu*) and the like as substances (*rdzas*) to measure goods, whereas broomcorn millet (*khre'am drus ma*) was used in China. For a survey of the Indic terminology, he cites *Amarakoṣa*, II: 9: 85d-86a,¹⁷ for additional terms like *guñja* [= rosary pea] and *māśaka* [= bean] that were used for measurements, Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* for the valuation that four *ka ka ni* [= *kākiṇī*] make up one *ma sha ka* [= *māśaka*], and the latter's **Svavyākhyāna*-commentary for the idea that one *ma sha ka* make up eight *se ba*.¹⁸ Of course, the problem with these and other Indic sources that may be marshalled for shedding light on the subject is that there is no hard evidence that any universal standards existed in the entire subcontinent for weights, measures, and currencies, either synchronically or diachronically. And we need to apply this caveat for the Tibetan area as well as is made quite clear in some of the passages that he cites and that are cited below. Aside from primarily religious sources that deal with the sociology of the monastery and the punishments that are meted out for such transgressions by the clergy as theft, it is obvious that Tibetan legal, that is,

¹⁷ For the reference to the *Amarakoṣa*, see Amarasimha 1940: 87; for some Tibetan references, see, BSTAN, vol. 110, 473, and BSTAN, vol. 110, 634. In these, the text reads: *ma [tu sic!] ru lnga sogs mā sha ka / de rnams bcu drug zho gnyis te //*, rather than Ngag dbang bstan dar's citation: *kuñja* (read: *guñja*) *lnga sogs ma sha ka / de dag bcu drug zho gnyis te //*, both of which should correspond to Sanskrit: ...*guñjāḥ pañcādhyamāśaka // te ṣoḍaśākṣaḥ* ... For the various editions and translations of the Tibetan text of the *Amarakoṣa* [and Subhūticandra's commentary] see the somewhat editorially mangled text of van der Kuijp 2009a and now also Deokar 2020 and the literature cited therein, including her meticulous study of the first portion of this work. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje II Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po's (1728-1791) edition of the Tibetan text of the bilingual edition of the *Amarakoṣa* that his predecessor 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648-1721/22) had prepared in *circa* 1715/16 has: *ma ru lnga sogs mā sha ka / de rnams bcu drug karṣaḥ ste //*; see 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I 1972-1974: 701. On the other hand, Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699-1774) has in his bilingual edition: *ma ru lnga sogs srana khre'u'i tshad // de bcu drug zho zho tshad ni //*; see Si tu Paṅ chen 1990: 150, who evidently also read ...*karṣaḥ*, but *karśa* and *akṣa* are synonyms for the Terminalia Bellirica known for its bedda nuts.

¹⁸ For the *Vinayasūtra* and the **Svavyākhyāna* references, see BSTAN, vol. 88, 871, and BSTAN, vol. 89, 83; see also Nakagawa 1996.

secular texts will have much to say about weights, relative valuations, and currencies. For example, a number of passages of the Gtsang pa Sde srid legal code that was issued by Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606-1642) are potentially quite rewarding in this respect.¹⁹

Having cited some Indic sources, Ngag dbang bstan dar then quotes at length Dalai Lama V's study of aspects of *vinaya*-canon law, which he completed in 1679.²⁰ The passage that he cites belongs to the section on theft and begins with distinguishing between two types of *kar ṣa pa ṇa* (< *kar / kāṛṣāpaṇa*), a real one (*mtshan nyid pa*)²¹ and a nominal one (*btags pa ba*) that have the same value (*rin [thang]*). The actual one is forged from precious metals, whereas the nominal one is made from such things as cowrie shells (*mgron / 'gron bu*), etc. Dalai lama V cites a reply of Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528) to a query on theft in which the latter had stated that one-fourth (*bzhi cha*) of a *kāṛṣāpaṇa* is equal to a pair of golden *se ba* (*gser se ba do*).²²

Having laid down some terminological groundwork, Ngag dbang bstan dar then discusses the meaning and valuations of *guñja*, *kākaṇṭi*, and *se ba*. It is in connection with his discussion of *se ba*²³ that he

¹⁹ For the Tibetan text and its Chinese translation, see Spen pa lha mo 2014: 217-219, 228-231 and 2014: 66-68, 74-76. Of great interest is that Karma bstan skyong dbang po cites older official documents/codes (*khriṃs yig rnying pa*) and the official document/code (*khriṃs yig*) of the Tshal pa, which I take to refer to Tshal pa myriarchy that was established in the thirteenth century when Tibet was under Mongol rule and occupation. Ehrhard 2015 is a study of the introductory matter of this code.

²⁰ For what follows, see Dalai Lama V 2009c: 64-65.

²¹ Dalai Lama V refers to the famous commentary on the *Vinayasūtra* by Mtsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po (13th-14th c.) where it is written that a real *kāṛṣāpaṇa* is made from silver and has the shape and design of a *dong tse*, "a coin"; see Mtsho sna ba 1993: 271-272. Mtsho sna ba cites the *Zhu 'grel* – this is the incomplete canonical *'Dul ba lung bla ma'i bye brag lung zhu ba'i 'grel pa* as his source for *dong tse*; - and that it was "made" by Dpal legs gtam/bltams [= ?]; see Bstān, vol. 88, 624. In his 1335 catalog of the Zhwa lu *Bstan 'gyur*, Bu ston notes that this work was authored by a Dge ba'i bshes gnyen [*Kalyāṇamitra, or a spiritual friend (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*)], an exponent of the sutras, and that the text was incomplete at the beginning and at the end; see Bu ston 1971b: 613. "Dge ba'i bshes gnyen" appears to be a carving error for "Dge legs bshes gnyen" [*Kalyāṇamitra], the name of an author of numerous works on the *vinaya*. Laufer 1916: 506-507, no. 218, already pointed out that *dong tse* derives from Chinese *tongzi* 銅子. However, Tibetan *dong tse* [rtse] also translates Sanskrit *dīnāra* as in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* where the Chinese equivalent is *jīnqian* 金錢; see Hirakawa et al. 1973: 182. Now that a number of earlier Tibetan studies commentaries on the *vinaya* have become available, it is incumbent on future research to make full use of these.

²² For more on the gold or silver *kāṛṣāpaṇa* and their values, see NGAG1[1], 740-741, and NGAG2, 438-439.

²³ The word *se ba* by itself can also refer to the red-winged rose for which De'u dmar Dge bshes Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (1672-?), the great physician from Sde dge, appears to have *se ba'i me tog* in his *Dri med shel sgong / Dri med shel phreng* pharmacopeia of 1727; see De'u dmar Dge bshes 1986: 226. Pp. 211, 212, and 248 of the latter

explicitly mentions a Chinese lexeme; he writes²⁴:

*se ba zhes pa ni dmar ru la sogs pas gzhal bar bya ba'i lcid tshad
zhig gi ming yin gyi dmar ru sogs las logs su med do // de yang se
ba gcig gi tshad ni dmar rus gzhal na dmar ru che shos gcig gam
chung tshad gnyis kyi tshad dang mnyam / nas 'bras gzhal na nas
'bru gsum sam bzhi'i tshad dang mnyam / 'bras 'brus gzhal na
'bras 'bru drug yan gyi [435] tshad dang mnyam pa zhig yin no //
de ltar se ba gang gi tshad dmar ru gnyis kyi tshad la byas pa 'di
'thad par sems te / baidūr g.ya sel du'ang /*

*dmar ru'am ka ka ni gnyis la se ba / de nyi shu la
zho / zho bryad la srang gang...*

*zhes gsungs pa dang shin tu mthun pa'i phyir / de lta bu se ba gang
gi tshad rgya thur la 'degs^a na rgya'i hphun gang gi phyed longs
par myong bas grub pas / des na dmar ru bzhi'i lcid tshad la se ba
do dang / se ba do la rgya nag gi hphun gang dang bod kyi skar ma
gang yod ces kho bos smras pa yin no //*

^a NGAG1[1]: gdegs.

se ba is a term for a weight that is measured in rosary peas, etc., but it does not exist apart from rosary peas, etc. Moreover, the measure of one *se ba*, when it is measured in rosary peas, is equal to a measure of the largest rosary bead or to two small ones. When a *se ba* is measured in barley, it is equal to three or four grains (*nas 'bru*). If it is measured in rice grains (*'bras 'bru*), then it is equal to up to six rice grains. So, we think that to take the measure of a single (*gang*)²⁵ *se ba* to be the measure of two rosary peas is correct, because it is quite consistent with what is also stated in the *Baidūr g.ya sel*²⁶:

Two rosary peas or *ka ka ni*, a *se ba*; twenty of these, a bedda nut (*zho*), eight bedda nuts, a

work contain entries for *se yab*, flowering quince, *se 'bru*, pomegranate, and *se rgod*, rosa sertata. He writes anent the latter that it is called *ha tsi ki* and *kha 'bar ba*; in Chinese: *zur pa ting dang* and *gha kul*; and in the Mi nyag [= ?Xixia / Tangut or the language used in Khams Mi nyag] language: *to hi tis*, *phrom gyis*, and *kas bya*. The usual Chinese name for the *se rgod* is *qiangwei* 蔷薇. On the other hand, the Mongol physician Jambaldorj (< Tib. 'Jam dpal rdo rje) (?1792-?1855) gives the Chinese equivalent of *yeciwei* 野刺薇 in his *materia medica*; see 'Jam dpal rdo rje 1971: 120 [= Dge bshyen 'Jam dpal rdo rje 2008: 108].

²⁴ NGAG1[1], 734, and NGAG2, 434-435.

²⁵ Tibetan *gang* has the sense of "a single."

²⁶ Sde srid 1976: I, 563: *ma ru'am ka ka ni gnyis la se ba / de nyi shu la zho / zho bryad la gser srang...* Without textual support, he states that these valuations held for the period of the Tibetan religious kings (7th-9th c.).

single *srang*.

Accordingly, since it is established by experience that, when such a single *se ba* is weighed on a Chinese scale (*rgya thur*),²⁷ it amounts to half of a single Chinese *hphun* (< *fen* 分), we therefore say that the weight of four rosary peas involves a pair of *se ba* and that a pair of *se ba* involves a single Chinese *fen* and a single Tibetan *skar ma*.

If these relative values were not sufficiently confusing, we now enter a virtual morass of relative weights/ measures and values. Turning to the Tibetan area proper, Ngag dbang bstan dar begins by stating that Tibetan is terminologically quite rich where *zho* and *srang* are concerned, and he writes that a golden *zho* has [a weight of] thirty-two *se ba* (*gser zho zhes pa se ba so gnyis can*) and that a *byes zho* of Lhasa weighs thirty-six *se ba*. Well aware of the possibility of adulterated coinage – he cites Dalai Lama II Dge 'dun rgya mtsho () who wrote that some had suggested that a *kārṣāpaṇa* is made from unadulterated silver (*dngul lhag med*) and that the *byes zho* of early Lhasa had a measure of sixty-six *se ba* (*sngar gyi lha sa'i byes zho se ba so drug gi tshad dang ldan pa yin*).²⁸ Ngag dbang bstan dar gives additional valuations for different *zho* and his source for this was evidently the work by De'u dmar Dge bshes that is titled *Lag len gcig bsdus*; he cites it as follows:

/ sa shed bzang ngan snyoms pa'i nas kyi 'bru /
/ drug la se ba gang gang de nyi shu /
/ nas 'bru brgyad [read: brgya] dang nyi shu byung ba de /
/ 'degs zho gang zhes yongs la grags pa'o /
/ se ba nyer bzhi mgur zho gang du bzhed /
/ se ba nyer lnga gzhung zho gang zhes pa /
/ de gsum snga bar phyi ma'i lugs gsum yin /

A work with the title of *Lag len gcig bsdus* is not explicitly found among De'u dmar Dge bshes' published writings. But these lines of verse bear great similarity with, even if they are not identical to, a passage that

²⁷ The term *rgya thur* suggests a *thur* of Chinese origin; see Laufer 1916: 522. Weights and measurements are of great importance for the preparation of medicines, and it is thus not surprising that De'u dmar Dge bshes should devote a reasonable amount of space to their discussion in De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007a: 832-834. There he appears to distinguish between two kinds of scales (or steelyard balances), a "black stick from China" (*rgya nag nas 'byung thur nag*) and a "large white bone stick" (*rus pa'i thur dkar che ba*). While I am not sure of this, NGAG1[1], 737, and NGAG2, 436, appear to distinguish between a *rgya'i thur* and a *rgya nag gi thur*, that is, an Indian and a Chinese scale?

²⁸ See Dalai Lama II 2006: 238 with slight variations. For what follows, see NGAG1[1], 738-739, and NGAG2, 437-438.

we find in a compendium titled the *Lag len gces rigs btus pa sman kun bcud du sgrub pa'i las kyi cho ga kun gsal snang mdzod*, which De'u dmar Dge bshes had written at the behest of a certain *sprul sku* Ba zal Padma dbang rgyal.²⁹ In fact, the readings are sufficiently close to allow for the conjecture that Ngag dbang bstan dar's *Lag len gcig bsdus* is none other than another manuscript of this work; there we read the following:

/ sa shed bzang ngan snyoms pa'i nas kyi 'bru /
 / che ba gsum la ra ti zhes su bshad [smra] /
 / ra ti gnyis te nas drug se ba gang /
 / se ba nyi shu [shur] ra ti bzhi bcu ste /
 / nas 'bru brgya dang nyi shu 'byung ba der /
 / 'degs zho gang zhes yongs la grags pa'o /
 / se ba nyer bzhir 'gur^a [bzhi mgur] zho gang du bzhed /
 / se ba nyer lngar^b [lnga] gzhung zho gang byed pa /
 / de gsum snga bar phyi ma'i lugs gsum yin /

^a Sublinear note: *nas 'bru brgya dang bzhi bcu rtsa bzhi [zhe bzhi]*.

^b Sublinear note: *nas 150 [nas 'bru brgya dang lnga bcu]*.

Three large barley grains of a good, bad or even ?fertile soil
 (*sa shed*),
 Are called a *ra ti*.³⁰
 Two *ra ti*, that is, six barley grains or a single *se ba*;
 Twenty *se ba*, forty *ra ti*;
 The occurrence of a hundred and twenty barley grains
 Is universally known as a '*degs zho*.
 Twenty-four *se ba* are claimed to be a single *mgur zho*.
 Twenty-five make a single *gzhung zho*.
 These three are the early, middle, and later [measurement]
 traditions.

Aside from the otherwise little known *ra ti* unit of measurement, this passage thus isolates three different kinds of *zho*:

²⁹ Written posterior to his more famous *Dri med shel phreng* of 1727, which it cites, the passage in question of this rewarding work is found in De'u dmar Dge bshes 1957: 57a-b. The 1957 printing blocks of this *Lcags po ri* xylograph of his study is based on four manuscripts (*ma dpe*) that were in part edited by Mkhyen rab nor bu (1883-1962); see also De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007: 833-834. The variant readings in brackets are those of the 2007 publication. De'u dmar Dge bshes' considerations occur in the section (pp. 832-834) that is concerned with measures (*gshor tshad*) and weights ('*degs tshad*). Also known as '*jal tshad*, the first has two parts, the first dealing with measures in the medical tradition (*sman lugs*) and the second with measures that are in common use (*spyi lugs*, '*jig rten spyi lugs*).

³⁰ On the *ratī* (not *rati*), see Wilson 1855: 440 and Sircar 1968: *passim*.

1. one [?pre-]weighed *zho* ('*degs zho*) = twenty *se ba*
2. one market place *zho* (*mgur zho*) = twenty-four *se ba*
3. and a government *zho* (*gzhung zho*) = twenty-five *se ba*

Continuing with his quotation from what is ostensibly De'u dmar Dge bshes' work, Ngag dbang bstan dar writes:

/ *rgya nag nas rgya thur che ba dang* /
 / *tshong 'dus mgur mo'i zho la khyad par med* /
 / '*degs zho bcu la srang gang de la ni* /
 / *bod 'gar spor gang zhes pa'i tha snyad byed* /
 / *srang bzhi nyag gang de lnga khyor ba gang* /
 / *de bzhi khal gcig gam ni rgya [ma] gang bya* /

There is no difference between a large *rgya thur* From China³¹ and the *zho* of the Mgur mo market. Ten '*degs zho* is a single *srang*, In some Tibet[an areas], [a *srang*] is called a single *spor*. Four *srang*, a single *nyag* [or: *nya ga*];³² five of these, a single handful. Four of these are said to be a *khal* or a single *rgya [ma]*.

Earlier, De'u dmar Dge bshes had noted another *zho*, the so-called *gshor zho*, and he writes³³:

/*phul bzhi la* /
 / *bre gang zhes bya bre bzhi gshor zho yin* /
 / *gshor zho bzhi la gro na zhes bya ste* /
 / *gshor zho lnga la gshor khal gic tu 'dod* /

³¹ I do not quite know what to make of this, but here *rgya thur che ba* does not appear mean 'a large scale.' Rather, it must refer to a value. See also below.

³² De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007: 834 has an interesting gloss in which differences are noted between a Dbus and a Gtsang *nyag*, and between the Khyung po, Chab mdo, Lha thog *rgya ma*, etc. I leave these terms untranslated, since it is far from clear [to me] what exactly is indicated.

³³ De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007a: 832. This passage occurs in a paraphrase of passages that he cites from the fifth chapter of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā* [BSTAN, vol. 111, 627-628], and Candranandana's (?10th c.) commentary on it [BSTAN, vol. 114, 217], and from an unidentified passage of Śālihotra's *Āśvāyurveda*; for the latter treatise, see Blondeau (1972: 37-110). He refers to the same sources, as well as to this work, in his later study of technology and the manufacture of various items and substances; see De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007b: 217-218 – there he cites A bo [= pho] Lnga 'Dzoms, a high-ranking person who is also referred to in Dmu dge Bsam gtan rgya mtsho's (1914-1993) narrative of the precipitous decline of Dalai Lama VI Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho's (1683-1706) status as Dalai Lama; see Dmu dge Bsam gtan 1997: 190-191. Undated, De'u dmar Dge bshes' work was written at the behest of a number of individuals including the aforementioned Ba zal Padma dbang rgyal.

.....four *phul*,
 Are said to be one *bre*; four *bre* is a *gshor zho*.
 Four *gshor zho* are said to be a *gro na*.
 Five *gshor zho* are claimed to be one *khal*.

Ngag dbang bstan dar wrote immediately after he cited De'u dmar Dge bshes' line "Four of these are said to be either a *khal* or a whole *rgya*," that the majority of Tibetan intellectuals appear to have used fractions of a *zho* (*zho cha*) that were apparently common in the Mgur mo market and that according to De'u dmar Dge bshes the measure of its *zho* (*de'i zho tshad*), that is, the *zho* of the Mgur mo market.

A propos of the Mgur mo market, Dpa' bo II Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566) remarked in his well-known chronicle that during the lifetime of Lo ston Rdo rje dbang phyug (10th c.) this market (*tshong 'dus*) was called the Rab kha market, and Ngag dbang bstan dar echoes this.³⁴ The Mgur mo market is located in Ru lag, to the southwest of Shigatse. It so happens that the well-known lover of lexemes A kyā [阿嘉] Yongs 'dzin Blo bzang don grub (1740-1827), alias Dbyangs can dga' ba'i rdo rje, had also something to say about this in connection with his gloss of *ma byin len gyi rin thang* where he wrote the following³⁵:

*bu ston rin po ches / tshong 'dus kyi mgur mo bzhin gsungs pa'i
 mgur mo ji lta bu yin zhes pa ni / dris tshig nor ba ste / tshong 'dus
 mgur mo'i bzhi nam zhes pa yin / de ni sngon dus gtsang gi phyogs
 bu ston rin po che'i gdan sa zha lu'i nye 'dabs su nyo tshong byed
 pa'i gnas shig byung ba la / ming tshong 'dus mgur mo zhes chags
 / de'i bzhi nam zhes pa tshong 'dus de'i gser zho gang gi bzhi cha
 yin par sems / zho srang gi tshad ni / nas gnyis la ma ru gcig / ma
 ru gsum la palla gcig / palla brgyad la dha ra na gcig / dha ra na
 gnyis la tshong 'dus mgur mo'i zho gang du brtsi bar bshad do //
 des na ma ru bzhi bcu zhe brgyad kyi lcid dang mnyam pa'i gser ni
 gser zho gang yin pas / de'i bzhi cha ma ru bcu gnyis kyi lcid dang
 mnyam pa'i gser se ba drug la bya'o // ma ru ni bal po'i sran ma
 dmar po nag thigs can de yin par bshad / ma byin len gyi rin thang
 gi tshad yig cha rnam su mkhas pa'i bzhed tshul sna tshogs bkod
 la / rdzas kyi rin thang dang / zho srang gi tshad sogs kyang yul
 dus kyi dbang gis 'gyur bas nges pa med phyir / mkhas pa mang
 pos / dngul zho gang ngam gser se ba gsum brkus na pham pa
 'byung ba yul dus kun tu nges pa yin gsung ngo // se ba ni [120]
 phal cher ma ru gnyis kyi lcid mnyam la bshad / 'ga' zhis tu ma ru
 gcig gi lcid mnyam la zer ba'ang 'dug ste / yul dus kyis zho srang*

³⁴ See, respectively, Dpa' bo II 1986: 473 and NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 437. Tshong 'dus Mgur mo is located in Ru lag, to the southwest of Shigatse.

³⁵ A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 119-120.

ga brtsi gzhi mi 'dra ba'i khyad du snang ngo //

To ask what is a *mgur mo* in precious Bu ston's statement "like (*bzhin*) the *mgur mo* of a market" is a wrongly worded question, that is, it is "is it four (*bzhi*) of the *Mgur mo* market? (*nam*)."³⁶ In early times, the *Mgur mo* was a place for buying and selling in the Gtsang region, close to Zhwa lu, the see of precious Bu ston, and it was called the *Mgur mo* market, and I think that the phrase "is it four of that?" means one quarter of a single golden *zho* of the *Mgur mo* market. The *zho* and *srang* are weight measures: It has been explained that for two barley grains, one rosary bead; for three rosary beads, one *pala*³⁷; for eight *pala*, one *dharāṇa*; one *dharāṇa* is reckoned as a single *zho* of the *Mgur mo* market. Hence, in as much as gold that is equal in weight to forty-eight rosary peas (*ma ru* = *dmarru*) is a single golden *zho*, one quarter should be six golden *se ba* which are equal in weight to twelve rosary peas. A *ma ru* is explained to be a red Nepalese bean with a black spot.³⁸ Various claims of the learned have been recorded in textbooks about the measures of the values of taking what is not given. But because the value of substances and the measure of the *zho* and *srang*, etc. are uncertain due to the changes in regions and time periods, many scholars have said that it is certain that one would have incurred a *pārājika-pham pa* violation in every region and at all time periods were one to steal a single silver *zho* or three golden *se ba*. A *se ba* is for the most part explained to be equal in weight to two rosary peas. In some sources, it is also suggested that it is equal in weight to one rosary pea; due to region and time period, there appears to be a difference on what basis a *zho* and a *srang* are calculated.

Ngag dbang bstan dar then cites A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's (1708-1768) miscellaneous writings (*gsung thor*), to wit, his *Rtsis kyi skor sna tshogs*,³⁹ a wonderful miscellany on the calendar, *skar*

³⁶ I have not found the source for this statement, neither in the relevant section of Bu ston's commentary on the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* - see Bu ston 1971a: 921 - nor in that of his 1356 commentary on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* - see Bu ston 1971d: 314-315.

³⁷ The Tibetan equivalent of *pala* / *palla* is *srang*.

³⁸ Blo bzang rin chen (1810-1907), alias Sumatiratna, has this very line in his great Tibetan-Mongol lexicon: *ma ru ni bal po'i srin ma dmar po nag thigs can de yin par bshad*; see Sumatiratna 1959: II, 392. Chi Galsang 1982: 440 registers Mongol *ulayan burča*, "red pea/bean," and even *körüsü sirui*, "topsoil," for Tibetan *ma ru*.

³⁹ Undated, the *Mahā tsi na'i byang mtha' rgyal khab chen po pé kying gtso bor gyur pa'i byang phyogs kyi yul 'khor la 'os pa'i dus sbyor gyi rnam bzhas padmo'i tshal rab 'byed pa'i nyi ma gzhon nu* is but the first work of this miscellany [pp. 1055-1064] and ends with a colophon - it consists of five folios to which is added a table that is tellingly titled *Dus sbyor nyi gzhon ma!* Not every work in this collection was by A

rtsis-astronomy, *nag rtsis*-astrology, and, and the chronology of the historical Buddha's life, to the effect that⁴⁰:

*nas gnyis la dmar [ma] ru gcig / dmar [ma] ru gsum la pa la [palla]
gcig / palla brgyad la dha ra na gcig / dha ra na gcig la mgur mo'i
zho gang du brtsi'o //*

And this may of course have been the very source tapped by A kyā Yong 'dzin we met in his work that I just cited, since he was the tutor of A kyā III Ye shes bskal bzang rgya mtsho (1817-1869).

Just before this citation, Ngag dbang bstan dar then refers once again to De'u dmar Dge bshes and writes⁴¹:

*nas 'bru drug la se ba gang du byas pa'i se ba nyer bzhi'i tshad
dang [438] ldan zhing rgya nag gi rgya thur che ba dang mnyam
zer kyang / de ltar brtsi na se ba nyer bzhi la nas 'bru brgya zhe
bzhi thob cing / de chen [NGAG2, 438: chen] lung rgyal po'i ring gi
shī phing [NGAG2, 438: la shi thing] zer ba rgya thur che ba dang
bsdur na zho gang skar lnga yan longs pas na rgya thur dang tshad
mi mnyam par gsal /*

Although it is alleged that what has the measure of twenty-four *se ba*, where a single *se ba* is made up of six barley grains, is equal to a Chinese *rgya thur che ba*, if calculated accordingly, twenty-four *se ba* would obtain one hundred and forty-four barley grains and if one compares the so-called *shi thing / phing* of Qianlong's reign (1735-1796) with a large *rgya thur*, then it is clear that, insofar as a single *zho* exceeds five *skar*, it is not equal to a *rgya thur*.⁴²

kyā II. On pp. 1071-1075 [fols. 9a-11a], there is a short piece written by an Oirat Mongol who is referred to as Hu bil gān (< Mo. *qubilyan* = Tib. *sprul pa*['i sku]) Rab 'byams pa [gün] Paṇḍita. His tract on Buddhist chronology on pp. 1075-1104 [11a-25b] is dated 1760, but none of the others are. Portions of this miscellany were studied in Lobsang Yongdan 2018-2019.

⁴⁰ NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 438, citing A kyā II No date: 1164 [fol. 55b] – the variants of the latter are in square brackets. A kyā II's texts continues: *palla bcu bzhi la dha ṭa ka gcig ste / 'dir ma ru gsum la se ba phyed dor byed pas ma ru gnyis la se ba gang ngo // yang ma ru lnga la tam ma gcig / tam ma bcu drug la zho gang / zho bzhi la srang gang du brtsi bar snang bas / ma ru brgyad bcu la zho gang du byas pa'o // yang zur rtsis zhig la / se ba bco brgyad zho yi bcu cha dgu / zhes dang / se ba bcu drug zho yi lnga cha bzhi / zhes pa ltar na se ba nyi shu la zho gang du byas pa'o // yang nas₂ ma ru₁ gser se ba₁ rnam lcid mnyam zhing / bal tam la se ba nyer bzhi'i lcid yod zer ba'ang snang //*

⁴¹ NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 437-438.

⁴² My colleague Prof. Zhang Changhong of Sichuan University kindly suggested to read *shi ding* 十錠, "ten ingots," for Tibetan *shi thing / phing* but I am unclear how this might fit the narrative. Further, I am not at all sure what to do with a "large *rgya thur*."

And he uses the terms *dong tse* and *dong tse tā chen* (< 銅子?大钱) in connection with their respective valuations, and he refers to the relevant passages in what he calls the "three Indian commentaries."⁴³

Ngag dbang bstan dar quotes a passage from Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor's (1704-1788) *Dris lan rab dkar pa sangs* in which the latter points to the relativity of weights, measures and monetary valuations that exist in different regions and for different time periods. The implication that can be drawn from his remarks and those of Sum pa Mkhan po and A Kyā Yongs 'dzin is that this relativity creates problems for an assessment of how much needs to be stolen before it becomes a major infraction according to Buddhist canon law.⁴⁴ But it is especially in the third and last main portion of his work that Ngag dbang bstan dar draws repeated attention to this very relativity and from which we learn that he and other members of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy were ever so well aware, as they should be, of the importance of the maintenance of the rule of law in the land (*rgyal khrims*) and the degree to which its maintenance is a precondition for the maintenance of the clergy's proper behavior, one that is in accordance with canon law (*chos khrims*) and other norms.⁴⁵ And what is more, they were also cognizant of the fact that scarcity of goods, as for example during a famine, creates an upward pressure on prices and impacts

⁴³ NGAG1[1], 749, and NGAG2, 444. As is indicated in NGAG1[1], 742, and NGAG2, 439-440, these are Kamalaśīla's (8th c.) *Don brgyad ma* [= *Dge sbyong gi kā ri kā lnga bcu pa mdo tsam du bshad pa*, BSTAN, vol. 93, 733-799], *Shes rab byed pa* [= Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtraṅkyāna*, BSTAN, vol. 92, 3-733], and the '*Grel chung yon tan 'od ma* [= *Vinayasūtraṅrtti*, BSTAN, vol. 92, 737-1682]. In his Zhwa lu *Bstan 'gyur* catalog of 1335, Bu ston 1971b: 612 suggests that the third may have been of Tibetan origin (*bod ma*). However, twenty-two years later, in his survey of the *vinaya* and its literature of 1357, he wonders whether the second and third might have been Tibetan lecture notes (*bod kyi zin bris*); see Bu ston 1971c: 113. Two of the passages cited occur in BSTAN, vol. 93, 769; vol. 92, 872, but I have not been able to verify this statement in what is allegedly Prajñākara's work.

⁴⁴ NGAG1[1], 744, and NGAG2, 441, citing Sum pa Mkhan po 1975: 325-326. The latter reference occurs in the eleventh question of a series of some twenty-seven questions on a wide range of subjects, from religious practice to astronomy and Sanskrit-Tibetan prosody, posed to him by a certain Ngag dbang nyi ma on pp. 310-347. Sum pa Mkhan po's astute remarks deserve a separate study. Dngul chu Dharmabhadra (1772-1851) expresses a similar sentiment in his brief statement about theft in his many replies to equally many questions that were posed to him over time; see Dngul chu 1973-1981: 424-425. Recently, Dorji Wangchuk drew attention to a passage in the late Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las' (1927-1997) encyclopedic dictionary in which the author opines that the so-called third "great decree" (*bkas bcad chen po*) issued during the reign of Khri gtsug lde btsan (r. 815/818-836/838), alias Ral pa can, was concerned with achieving parity between Magadha-Indian and Tibetan weights and measures; see Wangchuk 2020: 950-951.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the passage in NGAG1[1], 750, and NGAG2, 444-445, in which Mtsho sna ba 1993: 270, 271 is cited.

the stability of monetary values. We can expect that the strength of the rule of law and its application will have a bearing on the prevalence of infractions, theft among them, within the community of the clergy. The degrees to which local, regional law (*yul khrims*) or customary law (*'bangs khrims*) may have played a role in these determinations are of course questions that need further study. Here, my translations of *yul khrims* and *'bangs khrims* are tentative. The first occurs in a version of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, where we read that "Srong btsan sgam po created the good *yul khrims*."⁴⁶ Here, *yul khrims* may also be an abbreviation or short for *yul gyi khrims*, "law of the land," in the sense of the law in the country under his domain. The *Blon po bka'i thang yig* of U rgyan gling pa (1323-?) enumerates in one breath *rgyal khrims*, *chos khrims*, and *'bangs khrims*, suggesting thereby a distinction between the first and the last.⁴⁷ Commenting on the final five-hundred year period of the five thousand year duration of the Buddha's teaching, when all is about to go to hell, U rgyan gling pa's *Rgyal po bka'i thang yig* uses the phrase *'bangs kyi mi chos*, which I submit is a phrase that is closely associated with the term *'bangs khrims*⁴⁸:

/ rab tu 'byung ba'i mkhan slob yul gzhi stongs /
/ rgyal po'i bka khrims nyi ma lta bu rgas /
/ 'bangs kyi mi chos sog ma'i phon thag gcod /
/ bla mchod chos khrims dar mdud lta bu grol /

The world has been emptied of renunciate abbots and masters.⁴⁹

The king's laws have weakened like the sun.⁵⁰

The popular religion of the people has the straw rope cut.⁵¹

The religious law of the court chaplains becomes loose like a silk knot.

Referring to Chinese lexemes as *rgya skad* or *rgya nag gi skad*, Ngag dbang bstan dar also made several references to Chinese in the *Gangs can gyi brda' gсар rnying las brtsams pa'i brda' yig blo gsal mgrin rgyan*, his important, undated study of archaisms (*brda rnying*) and their updates

⁴⁶ Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 315.

⁴⁷ U rgyan gling pa 1986: 520. U rgyan gling pa 1986: 446 contains a narrative in which all four notions of *khrims* find a place.

⁴⁸ U rgyan gling pa 1986: 108.

⁴⁹ It is possible to read *slob* as *slob dpon*, the master who aids in the ordination ceremony, or as *slob ma*, the student who is to be ordained.

⁵⁰ I can only understand *rgas* in the sense that the sun's heat has grown weaker towards the end of the year.

⁵¹ The straw rope (*sog ma'i phon thag*) motif also occurs in connection with the idea of *'bangs khrims* in U rgyan gling pa 1986: 446: / *'bangs khrims sog ma'i phon thag mang yang 'dus* /.

(*brda gsar*), a literary genre of which M. Taube has given an impressive, if now somewhat dated, survey⁵²; he writes⁵³:

1. *khyogs ni mi chen sogs 'degs byed de / rgya'i skad du kyo zer ba de yin zhing.....*

A *khyogs* is that which carries important persons; in Chinese, it is called *kyo* [*jiao* 轎, sedan chair].⁵⁴

2. *dan kong ni 'jim pa las byas pa'i ril bu skam po 'phen pa'i gzhu'o 'di rgya nag gi skad yin /*

A *dan kong* is the slingshot that shoots a dry globe made of clay; this is Chinese [*dan gong* 彈弓].

3. *phrag rdang gi khur ni shing ring po'i phan tshun snye la khres^a po dpyang ste phrag pas khur ba'o // rgya'i skad du thi'o dan zer ro //*

^a NGAG2, 655: *khri*s.

A *phrag rdang gi khur* is a load that dangles on the mutual support of a long pole, and it is carried on the shoulders. In Chinese, it is called *tiaodan* 挑担.

4. *phyags ma ni sdud byed dang dag byed / rgya'i skad du swo kyo'u /*

A *phyags ma*-broom is what gathers and cleans; in Chinese *saozhou* 扫帚.

5. *sho gam ni rgya'i skad du shu'u / sog skad du ha'i li zer /*

sho gam-tax in Chinese is called *shui* 稅 and in Mongol *γaili*.

6. *shod thabs ni brtsi grangs brtsis pa'i thabs te rgya nag gi skad du swa phan dang bod kyi brtsi gzhong dang sa gzhong lta bu'o //*

A *shod thabs*-abacus is a means for calculating numbers; it is *suanpan* 算盘 in Chinese and it is like the Tibetan *brtsi gzhong* and *sa gzhong*.⁵⁵

⁵² Taube 1978.

⁵³ NGAG1[2], 317, 355, 367 [2x], 401 [2x], 406, and NGAG2, 626, 648, 655 [2x], 674 [2x], 677.

⁵⁴ The word *khyogs* is glossed by *kyā'o* [*jiao* 轎] in his commentary on Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385-1438) praise of his teacher Tsong kha pa, his famous *Bstod pa dad pa'i rol mtsho*, in NGAG1[2], 33, and NGAG2, 467. For this work, see van der Kuipj 2022.

⁵⁵ For the abacus and its use in Tibet, see Schuh 2012: xxxvi ff. and 2012a: 694-697.

7. *slo ma ni zhib ma ste de yang glang ma dang smyug ma sogs las bzos pa'i snod sgor mo ste rgya nag gi skad du pha'o lū zer /*

A *slo ma*-basket is a *zhib ma*. Further, a round container/basket that is made from willow reed and/or bamboo; in Chinese, it is called *beilou* 背篓.

In his undated and fragmentary *Yi ge'i mtha' dpyod ma dag pa'i dri ma 'khrud pa'i chab gtsang*, Ngag dbang bstan dar deals with a number of orthographic ambiguities and mistakes that he culled from a host of orthographic dictionaries (*dag yig*) and xylographs.⁵⁶ Even if some Tibetan authors have suggested that several earlier works belonged to the Tibetan literary genre of the *dag yig*, the expression first seems to have made its appearance in an actual title as late as the thirteenth century with Snye thang Grags pa seng ge's *Dag yig ganggā'i chu rgyun* - this work has not [yet] come down to us, but it is mentioned in various later specimen that belong to the *dag yig* genre. True, Ngag dbang bstan dar refers to a *dag yig* tract by Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (ca.1059-1109), which can only be the *Dag yig nyer mkho bsdus pa*, but the jury is still out on whether it was correctly attributed to him.⁵⁷ I personally doubt this very much, since it contains the disparaging expression *hor 'dra*, "Mongol-like," which only gained currency during the Mongol occupation of Central Tibet (1240-1368) and was unknown prior to this time.⁵⁸ Tax-collectors were often called *hor 'dra*. Among the many Tibetan authors who wrote *dag yig* works, Ngag dbang bstan dar cites three of the better-known representatives of the genre several times. In addition, he also cites a piece on correct orthography that Dalai Lama VII Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757) had written in response to some philological queries that the translator Tā bla ma Kau shrī Shes rab rgya mtsho had sent him from Beijing.⁵⁹ In the course of his deliberations in the *Yi ge'i mtha' dpyod ma dag pa'i dri ma 'khrud pa'i chab gtsang*, Ngag dbang bstan dar refers to Chinese on the two

⁵⁶ NGAG1[2], 585-610, and NGAG2, 781-795.

⁵⁷ He refers to it in NGAG1[2], 590, and NGAG2, 782. Gser tog Blo bzang tshul khri ms rgya mtsho (1845-1915) quotes a passage from what is *allegedly* Rngog Lo tsā ba's work in his 1891 study of Tibetan grammar; see Gser tog 2005: 86b *ad* Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 2b-3a [96-97] -, and it was studied in Miller 1976: 72. A kyā Yongs 'dzin cites another passage, Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 3a [97], in his undated work on Tibetan grammar; see A kya Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 432. Miller 1976: 78-80 also studied a passage from what turns out to be Ngag dbang bstan dar's *Sum cu pa dang rtags 'jug gi don go sla bar bsdus pa'i bshad pa skal ldan yid kyi pad ma 'byed pa'i snang mdzod*, for which see NGAG1[2], 160 and NGAG2, 540.

⁵⁸ Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 4b [100].

⁵⁹ NGAG1[2], 592, and NGAG2, 784; the possibly incomplete work in question is Dalai Lama VII 1975, and the cited passage occurs therein on p. 122.

occasions,⁶⁰ of which only the first is relevant here:

*spa dbyug ces pa dang sba dbyug ces pa sde tshan bzhi pa'i dang po
dang gsum pa / [587] gnyis yod pa ltar gnyis ka 'thad de / byams
pa gling pa'i smra rgyan du /*

/ spa dang spa ma'i nags su sdod /

*ces gsungs pas spa ma'i nags yod na spa shing yod par grub cing /
spa shing yod na spa dbyug kyang grub la / der ma zad za ma tog
tu /*

/ sprang^a po'i spar mor spa dbyug 'chang /

^aNGAG1[2], 587, and NGAG2, 781: *spyang*.

zhes dang / ngag sgron du /

/ sprang po'i spar mor spa dbyug sprad /

*ces byung bas spa dbyug yod pa gdon mi za'o // sba dbyug ces
pa'ang yod pa yin te / ngag sgron du /*

/ sbyag tshe lus sbrid sba 'khar sbom /

zhes pa'i sba 'khar de sba dbyug las 'os med cing / smra rgyan du /

/ da dung sbyag na sba dbyug bsten /

*ces gsal por byung bas sba dbyug kyang grub bo // [588] des na
rnam thar sogs su bshad pa'i sba dbyug ni rgya nag gi skad du
theng tse zer zhing rgya'i yul du lcag yu byas pa de yin snyam
zhing / spa shing gi ngos 'dzin ma mthong yang gong du drangs
pa'i dag yig rnam kyi lung so sor yod pa bzhin shing gi rigs kyang
so so ba e yin snyam /*

As there are both words *spa dbyug*, "bamboo walking stick," and *sba dbyug*, "rattan stick," with the first and the third of the fourth category of the Tibetan alphasyllables/graphs, both are correct; since the phrase

"Bamboo and staying in a bamboo forest..."

⁶⁰ NGAG1[2], 586-588, 593, and NGAG2, 781, 784. The second has to do with the old Tibetan expression *rgya nag stong khun, tong kun*, etc. for which see the illuminating article in van Schaik 2013b. One slight correction can be made, the Rol pa'i rdo rje mentioned therein is not Karma pa IV, but Lcang skyā III (1717-1786); see van der Kuijp 2010: 125, n. 104.

is stated in Byams pa gling pa Pañ chen Bsod nams rgyal ba'i sde's (1400-1475) *Smra rgyan*,⁶¹ it is established that when there is a bamboo forest, there is bamboo and that when there is bamboo, there is also a bamboo walking stick. And not only that, since

"A bamboo walking stick is held in the hand of the beggar."

occurs in Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba's *Za ma tog*⁶² of 1514 and since,

"Giving a bamboo walking stick in the beggar's hand."

occurs in Dpal khang Lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho's (16th c.) *Ngag sgron* of 1538,⁶³ the expression "a

⁶¹ Byams gling Pañ chen 2014: 355. The *Smra rgyan* dates from 1419 and was thus written when the author was a teenager!

⁶² Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba No date: fol. 31a; 2002: 82-83; and 2014: 70; Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba's work was partly studied in Laufer 1898 where, however, this line was not translated; see now also R. Kaschewsky's study of the bilingual Tibetan-Mongol text of this dictionary where we read this line in Kaschewsky 2017: 120: "[in Tibetan] *spyang po'i spar mor spa sbyug 'chang*. [in Mongol:] *kersegüü-yi-yin adqun-dur spa beriy-e barimu*. [in German:] klug. Wanderstab in der Hand halten." He noted the variant *sprang po'i* for *spyang po'i* – we find the same in No date: 31a where *spyang po* is given a Sanskrit equivalent! – and that Tibetan *spa* was not given a Mongol translation. The bilingual Tibetan-Mongol xylograph of this work was published in Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba 1981, where the line is found on fol. 38b [5890]. The Tibetan carver of the blocks, the Mongol translator, and the editor[s] mistook the correct Tibetan *sprang po'i* for *spyang po'i* and then misread *spyang po'i* for *sbyang po'i* so that the Mongol translation would read *kersegüü-yi-yin*, "intelligent." To be sure, the Mongol equivalent of *sprang po*, "beggar," is *yuilinči*. The basic text dates from 1514 and was completed at Grwa thang monastery. The manuscript replete with many Sanskrit glosses on which the undated xylograph [with Tibetan and Chinese pagination] is based dates from a text that was completed in Bsam grub bde chen, in 1526.

⁶³ Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014a: 19. The year of his birth is sometimes given as 1456, but, as far as I am aware, there is no evidence for this. Dpal khang Lo tsā ba is also known as Karma 'phrin las pa II, as if he were the reembodiment of Karma 'phrin las pa I (1456-1539). This is not the case. A collection of his letters, poetic admonitions, and other ephemera contains *inter alia* a long, undated letter to Karma 'phrin las pa I; see Dpal khang Lo tsā ba No date: 16a-19a. The *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshig le'ur byas pa mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma'i 'grel pa bdud rtsi'i dga' ston* on occasion parades as an autocommentary on the *Ngag sgron*. Contained in Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014, its table of contents states that Dpal khang Lo tsā ba was its author. The colophon [pp. 189-190] clearly disputes this claim and in fact its author turns out to be a certain *bkṣu (sic!) sum (sic!) ti gu ṇa* [= *bhikṣu* Blo bzang yon tan], who completed this work in 1848 in Bshad sgrub dga' tshal in Bde mo thang, Amdo. Once again using *bi kṣu su ma ti gu ṇa* as his name, he is without

bamboo walking stick," too, exists without a doubt. There is also the word *sba sbyug*. There is no possibility that the *sba 'khar* ("bamboo/rattan cane") that is stated in the *Ngag sgron*⁶⁴:

"Frail, numb, cane, corpulent"

is other than the *sba sbyug*, and *sba dbyug* is moreover established, since the *Smra rgyan* has clearly stated⁶⁵:

Nowadays, if you lose weight, you rely on a cane"

Hence, the *sba dbyug* that is mentioned in biographies, etc. is called *tengzi* 藤子 in Chinese and I think that it is called whip-handle (*lcag [gi] yu [ba]*) in China. Although I have not seen identifications of the *spa shing*, "*spa tree*," I wonder whether just as there are a variety passages of the orthographic dictionaries that were cited above, there would also not be several species of trees.⁶⁶

Finally, aside from the aforementioned lexemes, he makes one pertinent, if elementary, remark a propos of the Chinese language that is spoken in northern China in his undated study of the Tibetan language titled *Yi ge'i bshad pa mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*. Contrasting Chinese with Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongol, he writes⁶⁷:

rgya gar dang bod dang sog po gsum la rnam dbye brgyad med mi rung zhing^a rgya nag la rnam dbye gtan nas mi dgos par / tshig gong 'og brje ba'i khyad par tsam las ming thams cad brjod par 'dod cing / rnam dbye'i tshab tu phing / nang / chus / bzhu'u zhes pa bzhi 'dod cing / de yang dbyangs sam nga ro yin par mngon pas / phing zhes pa dbugs cha snyom pa'i shugs kyis [247] thon pa dang / shang^b zhes pa dbugs gyen du btegs pa'i shugs kyis thon pa dang / chus zhes pas dbugs thad kar phyir 'phul ba'i shugs kyis thon pa

doubt also the author of the 1837 biography of Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs phyogs las rnam rgyal, alias Tshangs sras sgeg pa'i rdo rje (1789-1808), for which see Blo bzang yon tan No date. Indications are that Tshangs sras sgeg pa'i rdo rje was a precious and a precocious talent, who passed away way too young.

⁶⁴ Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014a: 21, where we read *mkhar* instead of '*khar*.

⁶⁵ Byams gling Pañ chen 2014: 360.

⁶⁶ A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 120-121 has something similar to say about *sba smyug* and *sba dbyug* and does not set store by the *spa/sba* variant, which he says seem to be based on synonymy (*don gcig pa 'dra*).

⁶⁷ NGAG1[2], 246-247, and NGAG2, 587. It is interesting that he shows a broad appreciation of language as such. This is not the case with Sum pa Mkhan po, his senior contemporary and as well ethnically a Mongol, whose works on orthography and on what may be called the language arts (*sgra rig*) focuses solely on Tibetan and Sanskrit.

*dang / bzhu'u zhes pa dbugs thur du phyung ba'i shugs kyis thon
pa dang / ming gang brjod kyang brjod tshul bzhi po 'di las ma 'das
zer ro //*

^a NGAG1[2], 246, adds /. ^b NGAG2, 587: *nang*.

Case endings in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongol are indispensable and while Chinese never had a need for a case ending, it is asserted that all characters (*ming*) are expressed based on the mere difference in the interchange of their word order. And as a substitute for a case ending, it asserts the four [tones] of level (*phing* < Ch. *ping* 平), rising (*shang* < Ch. *shang* 上), departing (*chus* < Ch. *qu* 去), and entering (*bzhu'u* < Ch. *ru* 入). Further, since it is obvious that these involve voice (*dbyangs*) and pitch (*nga ro*),⁶⁸ the level tone is articulated with the force of an even exhalation, the rising tone is articulated with the force of an upwardly raised exhalation, the departing tone is articulated with the force of a pulled back and straight forward exhalation, and the entering tone is articulated with the force of a downward exhalation. And it is alleged that no matter what word is spoken, it does not go beyond these four manners of articulation.

In addition to writing on Tibetan grammar⁶⁹ and the Tibetan alphasyllabary and orthotactics, Ngag dbang bstan dar also authored a Mongol grammar, the *Kelen-ü čimeg* or *Language Ornament* of 1794, which was studied by Taube and others, and a Tibetan-Mongol dictionary.⁷⁰ These were not included in the Tibetan editions of his oeuvre.

Postscript One: Many years ago, I surmised that the deep engagement with spelling and the study of language and grammar that we witness in such learned men as Ngag dbang bstan dar and A kyā Yongs 'dzin - we can add the names of Si tu Pañ chen and Sum pa Mkhān po -, may have been in part a reflex of the Qing dynasty's philological concerns, its *hanxue* 汉学. Both men lived in the Sino-Tibetan marches and at least Ngag dbang bstan dar had also worked in Beijing - there is evidence that Ngag dbang bstan dar was familiar with A kyā Yongs 'dzin, for he refers to one of his lexicographic glosses in his 1834 commentary

⁶⁸ I follow here the 1624 commentary of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659) on Sa skyā Pañḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (1182-1251) *Rol mo'i bstan bcos*, his essay on music; see A mes zhabs 2012: 146, 149.

⁶⁹ See his *Sum ca pa dang rtags 'jug gi don go sla bar bsodus pa'i bshad pa skal bzang yid kyi pad ma 'byed pa'i snang ba'i mdzod* in NGAG1[2], 115-214, and NGAG2, 538-569, and the brief remark in Tillemans 2007: 54-55.

⁷⁰ See, respectively, Taube 1961 and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar 1982.

on Candragomin's (5th c.) *Śiṣyalekha*.⁷¹ But I now believe that this impression of mine was too hastily formed and, in fact, was quite wrong, so that I now wish to distance myself from it. Instead, I would suggest that their interest in grammar and lexicography had to do with them living at the end of an intellectual environment in the formation of which they were late participants. This environment was characterized by the printing [and publication] of large-scale literary collections such as the canon, Kanjur and Tanjur, and a good number of editions of the collected oeuvre of many leading Tibetan scholars, past and present, and as well the scholarly milieu that contributed to this. There is no question that the great Si tu Paṅ chen also fits very well in this milieu. He was not only deeply concerned with both Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar and lexicography but was also engaged in editing the Kanjur portion of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. Working on editing the canon went in tandem with the inception of a specific genre of Tibetan lexicography that the earliest treatise in which what were considered to be lexical archaisms (*brda rnying*) were given their updated equivalents (*brda gsar*). I am thinking here of the little text that came from the pen of Dbus pa Blo gsal, whose nickname was Rtsod pa'i seng ge (ca.1270-ca.1355).⁷² We find a brief mention of the notion of an archaic or dated lexeme plus three examples in Sa skya Paṅḍita's celebrated treatise on what a person who aspires to scholarship should know.⁷³ But there seems to be little room to doubt that, contrary to Sa skya Paṅḍita's brief mention, Dbus pa Blo gsal's work should be viewed by bearing in mind that he was *inter alia* the editor-compiler of the Snar thang Tanjur manuscript of the 1310s.

Postscript Two: In Part One of this essay – van der Kuijp 2019: 288, n. 5 -, I mentioned Se cen Mgon po skyabs' bilingual Tibetan-Chinese materia medica, at least this was how the author of this work was identified. I had forgotten that L. Chandra had reproduced a xylograph of this work titled *Sman ming bod dang rgya'i skad shan sbyar ba*, the accompanying Chinese and Mongol titles of which are *Fan han yaoming* 番漢

⁷¹ NGAG1[1], 636, and NGAG2, 379, where he refers to A kyā Yongs 'dzin glossing *bya gar* with *bya gag*; see A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971c: 208.

⁷² First published in Mimaki 1990, which is based on Dbus pa Blo gsal 1983. For similar texts with different titles that are ascribed to Dbus pa Blo gsal, see van der Kuijp 2009b: 128, n. 2. A somewhat different manuscript of this work has now become available, for which see Dbus pa Blo gsal No date. The latter has been wrongly included in a collection of several works by his namesake. This person must have flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, since, in some of the writings contained in this collection, the author mentions his teacher Rdo ring Kun spangs pa, who must certainly be identified as Kun bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1449-1524).

⁷³ Sa skya Paṅḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2007: 15.

藥名 and *Em-iin ner-e töbed kitad qadamal iige*.⁷⁴ Also published by Chandra, the so-called *Sman sna tshogs kyi per chad* is nothing but a somewhat incomplete manuscript copy of the *Sman ming bod dang rgya'i skad shan sbyar ba*.⁷⁵ The introductory note, the section headings, and the concluding remarks plus the printer's colophon are given in both Tibetan and Mongol; the printer's colophon reads:

...slar yang yung ceng gi gnam lo bcu gnyis pa shing stag dbyar
[14a] zla 'bring po'i tshes bzang la spar 'di skyar brkos byas pa yin
no // dge'o //

...again, the blocks were carved once more on Yongzheng twelve, the wood-tiger year, the "good day"⁷⁶ of the intermediate-summer month.

Thus, the xylograph probably dates from printing blocks that were prepared on June 11, 1734.

Appendix

The Structure of the *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa*

'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag⁷⁷

Ngag dbang bstan dar begins his work with the usual statement of homage and verses of obeisance. Just prior to the main body of his text, he ends his preamble with two verses. Waxing poetic, he states in the first that earlier generations of scholars, who were not able to drink the muddy water of how to go about valuating things, neglected to deal with this in a comprehensive fashion. But help is on the way, and he writes in the second verse:

bdag gi rnam dpyod nor bu ke ta kas //
rnyog ma gang de legs par bgrungs byas nas //
legs par bshad pa'i mchod yon gtsang ma'i chab //

⁷⁴ Se cen Mgon po skyabs 1980a. Laufer 1916: 440-441 reacted quite vehemently, but rightly, against Hübotter 1913 for the many mistakes he had made in his book that was based on Se cen's work. A revised edition appeared in Hübotter 1957. On F. Hübotter (1881-1967) and his contributions, see the interesting capsule scientific biography in Schnorrenberger 2010: 157-159.

⁷⁵ Se cen Mgon po skyabs 1980b.

⁷⁶ Not specifying which *bzang po* day of the month, I, rightly or wrongly, take it to be the first one which is equivalent to the second day of the first week of the month.

⁷⁷ For the text, see above n. 2.

deng 'dir sbreng ngo mkhas rnams 'dir 'dus shig //

Having appropriately strained whatever impurities there
were,
With the Ke ta ka gem⁷⁸ of my intellect,
The pure water, a gift that is well-articulated,
Is now decanted in this treatise; may the learned gather here!

The Indian Buddhist literature on canon law was quite explicit that theft is a significant infraction for the mores of the Buddhist monastic community, but it was not always clear on how much of value needed to be stolen that would result in the culprit's expulsion or excommunication from the community, that is to say, when it would constitute an actual transgression or downfall. At the same time, what in fact constitutes theft, intentional or otherwise, was also a much-debated issue. Standards of measurements and valuation and their terminologies no doubt varied from region to region in the Indian subcontinent, never mind the variations that would occur during the passage of more than a thousand years of the Indian Buddhist literature that was then ultimately translated wholesale into Tibetan. In addition, we can be sure that measurements and valuations also fluctuated in the Tibetan area. This made things exceedingly complicated. Underterred and without historicizing his sources, Ngag dbang bstan dar valiantly tackled the subject of value and currencies in the following three main sections and a number of subsections:

1. An explanation of the measure of a *zho* and a *srang*
NGAG1[1], 732-740, and NGAG2, 433-438
 - 1a. A general explanation of *zho* and *srang*
NGAG1[1], 732-734, and NGAG2, 433-438
 - 1b. The value of *zho* (**karṣa*) and *srang* (**pala*) of the Holy Land [India]
NGAG1[1], 734-738, and NGAG2, 433-437
 - 1c. The value of *zho* and *srang* of Tibet
NGAG1[1], 738-740, and NGAG2, 437-438
2. An explanation of the measurement of value
NGAG1[1], 740-749, and NGAG2, 438-444

⁷⁸ This mythical "purificatory" gem is of Indic origin and is already found mentioned in the **Āryamūlasarvāstivādaśramaṇerakārikā*, in BSTAN, vol. 93, 168, that is attributed to Śākyaprabha.

- 2a. Inquiry into the things that form the basis of value
NGAG1[1], 740-741, and NGAG2, 438-439
- 2b. How these are stated by Indian scholars
NGAG1[1], 741-743, and NGAG2, 439-440
- 2c. How they are commented on by Tibetan scholars
NGAG1[1], 741-743, and NGAG2, 440-442
- 2d. Inquiry into what and what is not correct about these
ways
NGAG1[1], 743-749, and NGAG2, 442-444
- 3. An exposition of my own position
NGAG1[1], 749-755, and NGAG2, 444-448

What now follows is a listing of Ngag dbang bstan dar's citations of Tibetan authors *and* their works in the order in which they are cited for the first time (multiple citations are not registered and the dates of authors already given in the main body of my paper or in the footnotes are not repeated here):

- 1. Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho
Las mchog gser mdog rnam rgyal
- 1a. Cites: Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po
Dris lan
- 2. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho
Baidūr g.ya sel
- 3. Skyed tshal Mkhan po Kun dga' chos bzang (1433-1503)
'Dul ba spyi don lung rigs gter mdzod
- 4. Rgyal ba Dge 'dun rgya mtsho
Bslab bya lag len gsal ba'i sgron me
- 5. [De'u dmar Dge bshes] Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs
Lag len gcig bsduś
- 6. Gtsang gi Lo ston Rdo rje dbang phyug (?10th c.)
- 7. A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
Gsung thor bu [= Rtsis skor sna tshogs]
- 8. Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po [= Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba]
- 9. Thams cad mkhyen pa Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757)
Dris lan dpyod ldan yid kyi shing rta
- 10. Kun mkhyen Mtsho sna ba [Shes rab bzang po]
Legs bshad nyi ma'i od zer
- 11. Mkhas pa Dmar ston (?-?)

12. 'Dul 'dzin Grags pa dpal ldan, alias 'Dul 'dzin Blo gros bas pa (1400-1475)
Ka ri ka'i ñik chen legs bshad chu rgyun
13. Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor
Dris lan rab dkar pa sangs
14. Rgyal ba Dge 'dun grub
'Dul ñik rin chen phreng ba
15. [Rgyal ba] Dge 'dun rgya mtsho
Bslab bya lag len gsal ba'i sgron me
16. Pañ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478-1554)
'Dul ba lung rigs kyi nyi ma
- 16a. Cites: *Gtsang ñik rin chen phreng ba'i dgongs pa rmad du byung ba*
17. Dkyil khang pa Blo gros legs bzang (?-?)
'Dul ba rin chen phreng ba'i dgongs rgyan
18. Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa I
'Dul ba skal bzang re ba kun skong
19. Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa I
'Dul ba'i mtha' dpyod
20. Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan
Bslab bya 'od ldan snying po
21. Rgya 'Dul 'dzin pa [?Dbang phyug tshul khrim (11th c.)]
22. Sbal ti Brtson 'grus dbang phyug (1129-1215)
23. Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413)
24. Spyan snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan
Bslab bya 'od phreng
Bslab bya gzhan phan snying po
25. A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
'Dul ba rgya mtsho'i snying po'i rnam bshad 'phags nor rin chen 'dren pa'i gru gzings

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“Our Tents Sometimes Vibrated with Roaring Laughter”: The Ernst Schaefer Tibet Expedition 1938-1939*

Roger Croston

“A story that was the subject of every variety of misrepresentation, not only by those who then lived, but also today. The events are wrapped in doubt and obscurity. Some people believe the weakest hearsays are facts; other people turn facts into falseness. Both of these ideas have been exaggerated by posterity.”

The Roman historian Tacitus, in his “Annals” book 3, chapter 19, on the story of the death of Germanicus, 15BC - 19AD.

The article entitled “L’Allemagne au-dessus de Himalaya: des SS sur le toit du monde” in *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 61, Octobre 2021, pp. 53-109, by Charlie Caron-Belloni about the Ernst Schaefer Tibet Expedition 1938-1939 needs substantial comment. Herewith, I present an extensive review of the expedition to demonstrate its scientific authenticity. Caron-Belloni has relied on too many secondary sources, many of which are unreliable when checked against original archive evidence, and which all too often omit original data or take material from the archives out of context. Consequently, Caron-Belloni has produced a confusing and contradictory essay, which branches out into too many areas, which have little or nothing to do with the actual Schaefer expedition. Throughout that essay, however, when carefully ‘sifting the wheat from the chaff’, some truths can be found. However, in contrast, several unreliable statements have been cited – see “Afterword” below for a selection. To correctly assess the expedition, it is vital to understand the German language; to be qualified in the natural sciences and to have good knowledge of Tibet, her culture and history.

* This essay is dedicated to the memory of Dr Isrun Engelhardt (3rd September 1941 – 2nd March 2022), whose dedicated research over many years – which she generously shared with many other academics – to establish and publish the facts, and to debunk many far-fetched myths about the Schaefer Tibet Expedition can never be surpassed.

In this essay, I have taken what I hope is a straightforward, dispassionate approach of, wherever possible, referencing only original archive data, adding only minimum comment. The archives are paramount: they are clear, comprehensive and speak for themselves. This is the approach I have taken since 1998, when Hugh Richardson, the erudite Tibetologist and last British diplomat to Tibet suggested I should pioneer research on the then little-known Schaefer Expedition. Until then there were only short reports in Alastair Lamb's *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950. A History of Imperial Diplomacy*. Roxford Books, 1989, pages 293-94, and Alex McKay's *Tibet and the British Raj. The Frontier Cadre 1904-1947*. Curzon, 1997, pages 174-77. Richardson knew there was one member of Schaefer's team, "their medicine sahib", who was still alive somewhere in Germany and he strongly recommended I should try to find him for interview.

Richardson did not have a good relationship with Schaefer "but the rest of them were not that bad! Schaefer wrote a book "Fest der Weissen Schleier", [Festival of the White Veil] you speak reasonable German, so start with that." Armed with a letter of introduction, it took almost two years until I found Dr. rer. nat. Bruno Beger, who, on receiving Richardson's recommendation, agreed to give a series of interviews.¹ In the meantime Hugh Richardson had died and I was regrettably unable to directly reconnect them after a 62-year gap as they had both wished. Bruno Beger's memory of the expedition was pin-sharp, detailed and accurate. Although I was initially extremely sceptical, due to the expedition participants all having been members of the Schutz Staffel – the SS (Protection Echelon also known as The Black Guard) – and some being members of the NSDAP, the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (Nazi Party / The National Socialist German Workers' Party), everything he told me I could corroborate in original archives and publications. What was surprising in these records was the depth, breadth and quality of the scientific research, and even though I deliberately looked for it because of my preconceived negative prejudice about 'the Nazi expedition', the total lack of Nazi propaganda or ideology in, for example, Wienert's "Preliminary Report on the Magnetic Results..." or in Schaefer's book *Geheimnis Tibet* and in the cine' film of the same name or in Schaefer's *Fest der Weissen Schleier* etc. (I am open to being challenged on this by academics who can provide any new, unknown, original 1938/39 Schaefer expedition data – rather than secondary 'interpretations' – which demonstrate any Nazi propaganda or ideology in the expedition's aims and results).

¹ Personal letter dated 7th February 2001 following an initial telephone call.

Ernst Schaefer was an internationally recognised zoologist, as evidenced by his participation in two earlier expeditions led by Brooke Dolan II, under sponsorship of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (today the Academy of Natural Sciences of Drexel University). On the second expedition of 1934-1936, when he was in charge of the scientific work, Schaefer realised he needed to lead another mission based on completely new lines. Hence his 1938-1939 expedition was a multi- and cross-disciplinary ("holistic" to use Schaefer's term), scientific investigation. It became inadvertently trapped in the complexities of domestic and international politics on the cusp of the Second World War. Those politics are mostly outside the scope of this essay, and I shall set them aside in order to concentrate and focus on the actual Tibet Expedition itself. (It must be borne in mind that this was a time of working and living under an increasingly totalitarian regime where lives were at great risk for opposing it. It was also a time when scientists needed patronage that was as influential as possible). The expedition was and has been labelled with various names such as the "SS Tibet Expedition" or the "Nazi Tibet Expedition" etc. which has often caused knee-jerk negative reaction and blind prejudice caused by post-war knowledge of the horrors and crimes of the Nazi regime. Call it what you will, its title is not important and need not be argued about. What is important is what the expedition *actually* set out to do and what it *actually* achieved.

Working on the concept of "take nobody's word for it" I shall demonstrate below, in sections, which, importantly and for absolute verification of evidence, require extensive quotations, summaries and paraphrasing of original documents, such that it cannot be stated that interpretations are being made or things are being taken out of context. Such lengthy original texts from the expedition have not previously been published to this extent; but by doing this, however tiresome and unusual it may be judged to be, it allows readers to assess for themselves what the expedition actually involved. This approach of putting the various aspects of the expedition into sections, which I find to be unavoidable, perhaps presents this essay at times in rather a brusque, disjointed 'telegraph' style.

Most of the results of the expedition's multi-disciplinary studies of the Natural Sciences have been omitted in many publications and mass media reports about the expedition made in recent years, which have disproportionately concentrated on, or misrepresented and overemphasised the mission's physical anthropology almost to the exclusion of every other scientific investigation. As can be seen below in Schaefer's lecture to the Himalayan Club, Calcutta in July 1939, out of 20 projects, only a total of three related to anthropology. However,

despite this small number and due to the excessive attention that has been paid to the anthropological research, it is necessary in this essay, also out of proportion, to look in close detail at its actual aims and results.

In addition to original archives, I sometimes need to draw on detailed academic research in other disciplines such as that by Lang, Hutton, Weingart and Wojak. By far, the best research on the Schaefer expedition had been done in meticulous, accurate, painstaking detail, almost all from original sources by the late Dr. Isrun Engelhardt, who left not a single archive leaf unturned. As she explained, "Schaefer's old style handwriting was so bad that it often took more than one hour to decipher and transcribe a single page." No other researcher has had the ability or has taken such a dedicated, time-consuming approach to unearthing the actual details of the Schaefer Expedition. Special note should also be taken of González, who has produced an excellent annotated bibliography of all of Schaefer's publications.²

There is a myth that there were secret purposes behind the aims of the expedition, the main one of which was that it set out to covertly find remnants or common origins of a supposed Aryan Master Race on the Roof of the World in Tibet. However, if such an aim was 'covert' or 'secret', then how can anyone who did not actually participate in the expedition ever possibly know? A secret remains a secret until it is exposed, when it is then no longer a secret: Q.E.D. No primary archival evidence has ever been produced to support this supposed secrecy. When proponents of such ideas are challenged to produce verification of their claims, they are "forced to admit after conscientious research and, for example, after searching all files in the National Archives in Washington, that they could find nothing "about the occult activities and interests of the Third Reich concerning Tibet," they often conclude with innuendo."³

It is interesting to note that even at the time of the expedition there was baseless innuendo and suspicion made against it, for example in Theos Bernard's September 1939 article in *Asia* where he comments that "there has recently been a visiting Nazi delegation in Lhasa, and it may be safely assumed that its several members did not come for their health." Yet Bernard contradicts himself with a photograph caption reading "A German mission spent some months this past spring in Tibet gathering scientific data. As a good-will mission it paid a visit to the Holy City of Lhasa".

² González (2010: 83-96).

³ Engelhardt (2008: 63-96).

In fact, it is important to note that the word "Aryan" is not to be found in any original document of the expedition; either in its aims, its progress or its results, for the simple reason that the expedition was established to do genuine research on multiple Natural Sciences and not at all to search for any supposed Aryans. The following statement eloquently sums up the position.

If it could be shown that Nazi scholars promoted this 'myth' [of the Aryan race], then we would have a simple model to show how racist ideology undermined science and scholarship. However, while the term 'Aryan' was used in various fundamental ways in Nazi Germany, there was no academic support at all for its use as a strictly racial label, and by 1935 this was accepted as orthodoxy by the political authorities. There was complete unanimity among scholars of race, and in official publications, that the notion of an 'Aryan race' lacked any scientific basis... [therefore]... The 'ideological distorted science' or 'pseudo-science' model of Nazi thought is thus potentially quite misleading.⁴

The Expedition's Original Destination Was Not Tibet

One absolutely fundamental consideration, that has almost been overlooked, is that the original destination for the expedition was not Tibet, but rather the region between the eastern outliers of the Himalayas in Assam as far as the Kokonor area to the north, and from the eastern border of the Chinese lowlands towards the central plateau of Tibet. The planned research route was from the tropics of Assam to the palaeo-arctic plateau of northeast Tibet via the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Mekong and the Yangtse-Kiang rivers as far as the Amnye-Machen mountain-massif (near to where Schaefer had travelled with Brooke Dolan II), and the city of Sining. The research on this route was to be integrated with research carried out in the western Chinese province of Gansu as well as integrating findings from the return journey via the province of Sichuan, following the Yangtze to Chunking, thus crossing the border between sub-tropical China and the Tibetan highlands. Research projects were to include: 1) geology-

⁴ Hutton (2005: 3). See also: Hutton <https://hiphilangsci.net/2013/07/24/rethinking-the-history-of-the-aryan-paradigm/comment-page-1/#comment-34994>

geography, 2) anthropology and culture, 3) palaeontology and pre-history, 4) biology-zoology, and 5) botany.⁵

However, the intended route and destination could not be followed due to the tense pre-war international political situation and had to be changed at short notice. At the conclusion of a lecture in Calcutta on 25 July 1939 [see below], Schaefer stated, "Shortly before we left Germany, I received a telegram from the [Chinese] Minister of Economics saying, 'please postpone expedition.' The [German] Foreign Office advised me to do so. I could not, I said we are going, and off we went. I dropped the Amnye Machin project and we went to British India, though I was warned many times, that to enter Tibet from the south is more or less impossible."

The Expedition's Aims

The above "Ziele und Plaene" [Aims and Plans] document was partly translated by the British Foreign Office on 5 May 1938.⁶ This is given here verbatim because it is singularly the most important and fundamental original reference in English that demonstrates unequivocally what all the original objectives of Schaefer were.

Aim and plan of the Tibetan Expedition of Ernst Schaefer

1) Geological-geographical aim

An attempt will be made at a causal-analytical observation of the field of exploration, which, by reason of its physio-geographical conditions, is one of the richest areas of the world in discoveries. It is the task of the geologist – to secure records of the geological structure and the surface formation, and to make records of terrestrial magnetics, as well as maps. The field has, up to the present, only been explored by pure geographical specialists, with the result that we possess no reliable and exact records of this loftiest and most mighty mountain group. Everything that has been done up till now in the realm of geological geography in East Tibet has been concerned merely with surface observations – with the exception of the explorations of the Englishmen Gregori [sic], who worked in the southern border-territory and the southern riverbeds. We have, up to the present, as little information on the min-

⁵ Bundesarchiv Berlin NS21-682 dated 3-12-1937. On paper headed "Das Ahnenerbe e.V. "Ziele und Plaene der unter Leitung des SS-Obersturmführers Dr. Schaefer stehenden Tibet Expedition der Gemienchaft "Das Ahnenerbe" (Erster Kurator: Der Reichsfuehrer SS).

⁶ British Library archive, Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) L/P&S/12/4343 pp.362-366

eral findings as we have on the structural problems of the mountainous regions in East Tibet. We have also no exact observations of any sort of the geological age of the different mountain systems, and the bare, undulating plateau lands.

2) *The anthropological-ethnological aim*

Because of the vertical formation and the high mountain walls, which separate the great river-valleys with the culture of their human settlements, we are concerned, in our area of exploration, with a great number of peoples of very different races and cultures. They have been subjected to very little anthropological and ethnological investigation, and are therefore of unusual interest. Besides the Mongolian Tibetans of the Tibetan plateau and the Chinese who have, in the course of centuries penetrated into the land, there are, in the secluded mountain valleys, many primitive peoples, who have retained their existence as mere racial fragments. Nearly all these "fragment" tribes have preserved their own cultures and their own languages and are distinguished by well-marked racial characteristics. We have had access, up till now, to only the most superficial observations on the origin and route of penetration of these people living in these out-of-the way parts. In the border territory alone, between Zetschuan and Eastern Tibet proper, there are no fewer than 18 different tribes. Attempts have been made to connect these now with the Mon and Miau tribes, now with Caucasian racial elements, and also with the Veddoïd Indians. Further north, in the upper steppes of Tibet, live the nomad tribes which have, till now, remained absolutely unknown, and which are especially interesting because matriarchy is the rule among them. These tribes, it appears, show a strong west-Asiatic (or Caucasian) influence. The task of the anthropologist and ethnologist will be a worthwhile one for this reason and that he has here an opportunity of studying very different peoples in conditions of environment which are themselves very different from each other. Prehistoric and palaeontological discoveries have, until now, only been made in the border country between China and Tibet notably by Edgar (English) and Bowles (American) near the frontier town Tatsienlu. As the excellent collections of the English in British-India (that is, in the south of our field of our exploration) and those of the Americans on their expeditions into Mongolia have brought to light very informative material, it is to be expected that Tibet as well (a land of which we know nothing prehistorically) is also a source for palaeontological and prehistoric discoveries. We can already indicate that we presume that Tibet was raised as a mountain-block at a, geologically speaking, very

recent date, for its animal world is composed very largely of ancient elements whose development has remained a standstill. It is the task of the anthropologist to support pure collection and observation by the measurement of skulls and the making of moulds.

3) The biological-zoological aim

The results of the last American expedition to Tibet in 1934-36 (with Dr. Schaefer as scientific leader) show that, in the mountain masses which separate China from Tibet, there are in the remote parts animal species and fauna belonging to the ice-age, which have been preserved there in small retreats to the present day. The whole territory, however, forms a bio-geographical junction for the fauna-region of the Himalayas, India, East Asia and northern central Asia. This is the only place in the world where the abundance and variety of form of animal life is to be found in vertical belts over so very small a space* (Translator's note [1938]: This may refer to "time". I don't know) [*sic*]. East Tibet and West China can be regarded as the key-territory for historical and animal-geographical problems. Over and above this, this mountain territory, because of its enormous climatic differences, offers as does hardly any other, an opportunity of studying environment, ecology and the historical development in species and genera. An attempt will be made to form collections of the rare animal species which are of historical, animal-geographical and systematic interest. This applies also to the entomological examination of the area. The zoological-gardener's task is also one which will repay effort, for all mammals of the territory, which are among the rarest big-game in the world, have never been exhibited in any zoological garden; for another reason also, namely that of a number of rare animals have been tamed by the Tibetan princes. This would mean that the only difficulties to be overcome would be those of transport and acclimatization.

4) *The Botanist* has the task of observing the useful plants of west China and east Tibet. As Eastern Asia is regarded as the home of most of our useful plants, the problem is two-fold: (1) the original form shall be sought for and (2) the winter-hardened and drought-resistant primitive forms shall be collected.

5) *The Cinematographer* has the task of securing for posterity by means of moving pictures the big game (the species which are native to this area) which till now has been completely unknown, and which is only to be found as Pliocene remains in the remote mountain territories in the parts of the Hsifan range which are

backward (in regard to fauna), and which are giving way to the ever increasing pressure from China. The species in question are: *Budorcas*, *Ailuropas*, *Capricornis*, *Rhinopithicus* [Takin; Sulawesi Bear Cuscus, Serow, Snub-nosed Monkey] – those “living fossils”, the biology of which, in the narrower sense, was only ascertained through the two Dolan expeditions. Then the film-operator shall photograph the different tribes and their sociological conditions, and further, secure in moving-picture form a general view of the life of the complicated animal – and plant – world of this interesting bio-geographical convergence point of Asia.

The Proposed Anthropological Research – Comprising 3 out of 20 Research Projects

As already noted, undue emphasis has been placed on the mission's anthropological research in recent years, almost to the exclusion of all other research objectives. It is worthwhile, however, to understand what the ethnographic and anthropological studies really involved.

The expedition's anthropologist, Bruno Beger, found himself unexpectedly invited to join the expedition after a mutual friend of Schaefer's asked if he might be interested in going to Tibet as an anthropologist and ethnographer. A week later, Beger received a postcard from Schaefer so badly written that he misread that as a physical anthropologist he was being asked to write a primer school book on the many types of human races. A further week later Schaefer telephoned wondering why Beger had not replied to the invitation. Until then, Beger had had no intention of ever travelling to Tibet.⁷

In December 1937, a final detailed working plan was submitted to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft [German Association for Scientific Research] in which Schäfer was still assuming the destination of the expedition to be Eastern Tibet. Schaefer included the following direct quotation from Bruno Beger in his plan: [Translation from Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 135/43 p. 163381].

To date only superficial observations have been made of the origins and migration routes of the peoples that live in the areas of retreat. It is highly probable that individual groups of the legendary *Juezhi*, the *Tocharians* or the *Indians* arrived in this region on their forays, and that both skeletal remains of *these* early Nordic* immigrants and other prehistoric remains may be found, as well as remnants of blood strains here and there in the current popula-

⁷ Beger 1998: 7.

tion. In the border area between Szetschuan and eastern Tibet proper, alone, there live no fewer than 18 different tribes; *Mon* and *Miau* peoples (the indigenous peoples of China), they are brought together partly with *Caucasian* elements and also with *Veddoid-Indian* race elements. It is certain that in the research area there are three major racial groups, the *Tungid*, the *Sinid* and the *Palaeomon-golian* races, which clash together and are closely intertwined. It is now the anthropologist's task to conduct research into current ethnological conditions by means of measurements, research into characteristics, photographing and taking casts (using Poller's method), particularly concentrating on collecting material on the proportion of population, the origins, significance and development of the Nordic race [Note:- Beger is referring again to the above mentioned "Juezhi, the Tocharians or the Indians"] in this region. In addition, the steeply vertical structure already mentioned in the research area provides a rich field of evidence for investigation of the relationships between race and landscape. Chance may throw up the discovery of fossilised human remains, since it was immediately adjacent to the research area, on the fringe of the Eastern Asian mountain chains, that one of the most important human skull fossils, "*Sinanthropus pekinensis*" was discovered.⁸

This plan of Beger's has often been misinterpreted and misunderstood to wrongly claim that the plan was to search for Aryans in Tibet; a racial group which, as in the Hutton reference above, does not exist. Here, an understanding of anthropological classifications, which are various – according to the particular author – is necessary. It is generally agreed that the Juezhi/Yuezhi were nomadic pastoralists who were probably speakers of Indo-European languages first described in the first millenium BC in what is now the western Chinese province of Gansu. Some migrated southward to the edge of the Tibetan plateau. The Tocharians/Tokharians, speakers of Indo-European languages, were documented around 400 to 1,200 AD on the northern edge of the Tarim Basin in what is now Sinkiang/Xinjiang, China. Whereas northwestern and north-central India were occupied between 2,000 to 1,500 BC by peoples with linguistic affinities to Iran and Europe.

⁸ Underlining is my emphasis of what was defined as Nordic.

The British Reactions to the Expedition

*"... we need not necessarily attribute to them any particularly sinister intentions..."*⁹

German Expedition to Tibet. Homeward Bound. From our correspondent, Berlin July 1939.

According to reports reaching Berlin from the expedition to Tibet undertaken by members of the S.S. (Black Guard) under the leadership of Dr. Ernst Schaefer and under the patronage of Herr Himmler, the base at Gangtok [Sikkim] has been reached and the expedition is returning to Germany... On May 19 the expedition reached Gyantse, where there were discussions with the British military authorities concerning the future of the expedition and the transport of its specimens. The members of the party were the guests of the British officers at the King's birthday celebrations. The expedition is bringing back valuable zoological and botanical collections including 50 live animals.¹⁰

There is no indication that the expedition engaged in intrigue with the Tibetan government. They did not indulge in anti-British propaganda in any organised way.¹¹

I cannot imagine why Mr Hubbard troubled to put us on to these German press articles about the Schaefer Expedition. There is nothing new in them and nothing to indicate that the Nazis regarded this as anything more than a scientific stunt. I have sidelined an odd passage here and there which may interest you, but on the whole, it seems that they were hardly worth the trouble and expense of translations.¹²

On the way back from Mount Everest in 1938... at Tangu... we fell in with a large party of German Scientists led by a Dr Ernst Schaefer who were engaged in a very thorough examination of the fauna and flora and every other aspect of Sikkim. The party included every breed of scientist known to man: ornithologist, en-

⁹ British Library archive, Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) L/P&S/12.4343. Political Department's document P. Z. 3056/39 p.4. (Unknown official author. Dated 1939).

¹⁰ *The Times* [London], July 31, p.15; issue 48371; col. F.

¹¹ British Library archive, Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) L/P&S/12/4343 p.20. (Unknown official author).

¹² Miss Rolfe 22-2-1943; British Library archive, Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) L/P&S/12/4343 p.4.

tomologist, zoologist, anthropologist, geologist, and other 'ologists of whom I had never even heard. Here, if anywhere, was a team capable of clearing up any difficult problems. I took the anthropologist (an earnest, inquiring man) on one side and over a few glasses of Kuemmel [Schnapps] abjured him to spare no pains in solving the mystery of *Homo odiosus*, and begged him on no account to be put off by the zoologist who would assuredly tell him that any unaccountable tracks he might see in the snow were not those of a 'Snowman', not even a 'Snark', but merely those of a bear.¹³

The Expedition's Results

Good general accounts of the mission can be found in Schaefer's book *Geheimnis Tibet* [Mysterious Tibet], published in 1942, a travelogue lavishly printed on glossy paper, including full colour photographs; and in a ciné film of 1943 of the same name - the lively, brash, adventurous but factual script of which was translated into English. The full-length film lasting 101 minutes with English sub-titles can be viewed at the following website. The website itself is in error to state that the film is Nazi propaganda and that it was sent to seek Aryans. There is nothing to suggest these ideas in the film, viewers, however, can judge for themselves. It is a grainy copy but the best one I have yet been able to trace.¹⁴

However, in this essay, rather than taking information from the above book and film script, the expedition's results are best summarised by paraphrasing very similar data from the original English language transcript of an earlier, lengthy, detailed lecture given by Dr. Ernst Schaefer on 25th July, 1939 at the Himalayan Club, Calcutta.¹⁵ This also sheds light on his reaction to the falsehoods that would develop over the aims of the mission.

Deutsche Tibet Expedition Ernst Schaefer

We did not find any gold, nor did we find any oil, and we did not even have the instruments for finding such things with us. But the newspapers in India, as well as in England and probably also in other countries were full of untrue stories about these things and full of suspicion against us. Headlines such as "Hitler's Delegation in Tibet found oil" appeared and they did not surprise us any more after a while. **Our tents sometimes vibrated with roaring**

¹³ Tilman 1948: 134-35.

¹⁴ <https://www.themoviedb.org/movie/194405-geheimnis-tibet#TE81FBYIc3o>

¹⁵ Bundesarchiv Berlin, R135-30. Nr. 12 p.9.

laughter, when we read such articles, but we also learned, what the great freedom, by which any person is allowed to express his noble private ideas in the press, actually means. I also experienced what damage this does to friendly scientific relationships of different countries. I might add in this connection, that I have just returned from Simla, where His Excellency the Viceroy kindly and most graciously granted me a farewell audience, and from Dehra Dun, where for reasons of mutual understanding and gratitude to the Government of India, I presented the Survey of India with the results of our surveying work, which for them, have a practical and material, but for us only a scientific and theoretical value. Many viciously false rumours have been spread throughout this country and other countries about my expedition... I have to say a few words about the actual idea of the Expedition, about its aims and prospects as they were invested in my mind, and as I laid them down already in 1935...

Schaefer then explains that on the second Brooke Dolan Expedition, sponsored by the U.S. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia in spring 1935, he realised when he was camped in the Ngolok area of northeastern Tibet, that there were few connecting links between different specialised natural sciences. So he decided to lead another expedition on completely new lines. Later, when working in America on results of the Brooke Dolan expedition, he received a telegram from Himmler, the head of the SS, asking him to explain his plans.

Having been a member of the Black Guard since a long time, I was only too glad that the highest SS Leader, himself a very keen amateur scientist, was interested in my work of exploration. There was no need of convincing the Reichsfuehrer SS, as he himself had the same ideas; he simply promised to give me all the help necessary, and I asked him to act as a sponsor of the expedition, which he graciously accepted.

The expedition's projects: [summary]

1. Terrestrial magnetism, geophysics, surveying.
2. Exact meteorological measurements.
3. Salt contents of lakes.
4. Soundings [depths] of lakes and rivers and the rapidity of rivers.
5. Measurements of exact altitudes, timber-lines, contact zones – changes of fauna and flora.
6. Collection of most important stones and minerals.
7. Collection of petrofacts and fossils.

8. Maps of geological structures.
9. About 400 complete anthropological measurements of Sikkimese, Bhutias, partly Lepchas, Lachenese, Lachung people and many Tibetans.
10. Hundreds of dactyloscopic hand and a certain number of footprints were taken.
11. Sixteen head masks of Lachenese, Lachung, Nepali, Sikkimese-Bhutias and Tibetans, men women and children.
12. Sketches of many foundations of houses and photographic pictures for the purpose of reconstructing interesting buildings such as the Potala.
13. A large and nearly complete collection of ethnological objects, embracing the cultures, both material and spiritual, and religions of Sikkim and Tibet. A third of the entire expenditure of the Expedition went into this collection, which came up to about 150 mule loads. The greatest trouble was also taken to obtain as many of the cheap everyday tools used in households, fields and handicrafts.
14. About 2,000 samples of wild flower seeds... All seeds of grains, fruits and vegetables... 4,000 – 5,000 samples, requiring 10 mule loads.
15. More than a thousand flowering plants, dried and pressed.
16. 3,500 bird skins, 2,000 bird eggs, 400 mammals, a certain number of reptiles and amphibia, many thousands of butterflies, several thousands of hymenoptera... and about 150 skulls of all existing domestic animals were collected.
17. More than 20,000 black and white still photographs of land, people, animals, plants etc... about 2,000 coloured still pictures. About 40,000 feet of moving pictures... about 4,000 feet of coloured moving picture films.

I may have left out a few points, but this gives you a fair idea, of what we were after and what my real aims were.

Secret Research in Tibet

Here is the only original source reference to any “secret work” done by the Schaefer Expedition. The following is a paraphrase of the relevant section from Wienert’s account:

Summary – The main result is a table giving declination, horizontal intensity, and dip for 55 stations in Sikkim and Southern Tibet, reduced to the epoch 1939.0. [sic] The data were obtained by the author on the Schaefer Expedition in 1938-1939. Details are given on the instruments used, and the manner of reduction. Linear formulas for a smoothed normal field in the area are derived for D, H, I , and Z . Numerous observations of vertical intensity with an Askania field-balance are used for a preliminary description of local anomalies...

(1) The original task was to get geographical and meteorological data for the biologists. Because of interest in magnetic exploration, the author decided to take along a full set of instruments and to perform a survey of this magnetically unknown region. In Sikkim there were no restrictions on the work. On the trip to Tibet scientific investigations had been prohibited by the Tibetan Government and the work had to be done secretly. On the journey from Gangtok to Lhasa observations were made during the nights. At Lhasa, under the careful watching of Tibetan officials, absolute observations could be made only twice. On March 19, 1939, when we left Lhasa, the program was changed to start at 04h, to reach the new station at 09h 30m and to complete observations at 21h. Camps were at adequate distance from inhabited places, so that nobody was able to find out what was actually done. The instruments were always kept hidden in the tents and the astronomical universal was put on the tripod only when necessary. If these activities had been discovered by the Tibetan authorities, this would have meant the end of the expedition. The Tibetan as an individual is rather harmless and extremely helpful, but in congregations, especially when involved in religious service, he becomes easily excited and dangerous.

(2) Observations of position and time – The astronomical observations, azimuth and altitude, were made by means of a Hildebrandt theodolite...

(3) Declination observations – A magnetometer designed by Professor R. Bock of Potsdam, and fabricated by Gustav Schultze of Potsdam was used... This instrument was especially designed for traveling purposes... with an accuracy of $0'.1$... etc. etc. etc.¹⁶

¹⁶ Wienert 1947.

Wienert fixed 240 terrestrial magnetic stations in northern Sikkim which, he noted, were of use to the local British Indian authorities for geological surveys, mining and aviation.

The Proposed Publication of Results, Including the Anthropological Research

The following excerpt from a memorandum that Wienert received from Schaefer outlines the contents of the anticipated publication.

Where are the mostly ethnological notes on the Lepchas (Gangtok to Chungtang) being revised? Beger must by all means finish his anthropological works on them and has to orientate himself strictly by the advancement of the work of the other scientists. I expect detailed diary-like accounts of Beger's visit to the nomads' tents around Tangu with [gra?]phical documents. The same for a detailed description of the visits undertaken together with Wienert to the Tso-lhamo and the Lonak valley. A further chapter should be written by Beger on his medical experiences, similar to how he has already written on nutrition, but in more detail. How is the situation with the models of the Potala and the Tibetan house? Has the work started or has the plan not been stipulated yet? In which department of the work do the descriptions of the population density go? I attach Beger's scientific programme in writing and ask him to write a more detailed working plan with the typewriter for me, because the account is too short. Similarly the accounts on the progress of the work should be in more detail from now on and most of all I request a schedule to know, when Beger's works can be finally done. The set-up of the working plan should be like this:

- 1.) race historical part
- 2.) race scientific part
- 3.) race-soul scientific part

In this order the volume on anthropology will be published in the anthology. Furthermore I want to get an account on the number of pictures to be published and their format, or rather I have to know how many pictures will fit on one page. On all these questions I request a written account upon return from Berlin.

Munich, the 29th October 1940

Signature Schaefer, SS-Obersturmführer

- I. Race historical part
 - a.) Preface
 - b.) The Tibetans, especially the South Tibetans
 - c.) The Bhutias from Sikkim and the Chumbi valley and other Bhutia groups in the Himalaya (Fauna)
 - d.) The Lepcha (retreat!)
 - d.) [sic] The Nepalese with the Sherpa

II. Race-soul scientific part

- a.) Introduction: race-soul scientific work in Tibet and the Himalaya, questions, shortages of the following account, the common expedition and the race-soul scientific work!
- b.) Race style and landscape – The highland Tibet and the Himalaya: The style of the background, houses, yaks and Tibetans etc.
- c.) Different types of Tibetans (Lepcha): different postures, behaviours and more
- d.) How they wish for life to be!: The best inventions, negation of conflicts by methods of avoidance etc.
- e.) Singing, laughing, dancing
- f.) The order of society through submissiveness and fear of God: hanging around, devotion, lack of effort and distance
- g.) Mercilessness: cruelty?, dullness and more
- h.) Tibetan scattered groups in the Himalaya

III. Race scientific part

- a.) Introduction: race scientific work in Tibet and Himalaya, superstitions, questions, common expedition and race-scientific work and more
- b.) The researched groups: Tibetans, Sikk. Bhutia, Lepcha, Nepalese and Sherpa
- c.) The method of research
- d.) Mass, colours, forms in comparison with neighbouring and other Mongolian groups (the Mongolian eyelid crease and its hereditary transmission!)
- e.) Connection of characteristics
- f.) Differences within the groups by region and social layer (caste!)
- g.) The race-composition of the researched groups

Concluding remarks:

The anthropological exploration of Inner-Asia in its importance for the larger connection with the race history of Europe.¹⁷

Comment

Here, for non-anthropologists and non-biologists, it is necessary to understand a few biological definitions as used at that time..

“Taxon” (plural taxa): any unit (e.g. family, genus, species) used in the science of biological classification (i.e. taxonomy). Taxa are arranged in a hierarchy. A given taxon can include several taxa of lower rank. Taxonomic categories are universally recognized. In descending order these are:- kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, species, sub-species, race, variety, form. In biological nomenclature, race has various definitions. Race is a level below sub-species. Races may be genetically distinct populations within a sub-species and they may be defined as geographically or physiologically distinct and where genetic differences have not sufficiently accumulated to form sub-species (sub-species can interbreed, whereas different species cannot).

Europid/Europide: a grouping of humans regarded as a biological taxon, which, depending on which of the race classifications is used, have included some or all of the ancient and modern populations of Europe, Western Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, North Africa, and the Horn of Africa.

Mongolid/Mongolide: depending on which classification is used, this grouping includes the Mongols, Manchus, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, Tibetans, and, to some extent, the Inuits and the American Indians.

The taxon ending “-ide” was coined in 1891 by Maurus Horst, being taken from zoological classification, c.f. *Bovide*, *Canide*, *Felide* or *Hominide* (see von Eickstedt 1940, 58).

**Resulting from Schaefer’s Memorandum,
Beger Published his Anthropological Paper in 1944**

Relevant, detailed extracts are translated and published here for the first time in English. The paper speaks for itself.

Within the large continental countries of the earth there is no natural region and at the same time no state which is in the same way

¹⁷ Translation of *Memorandum from Schaefer to SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Wienert (for discussion with SS-Obersturmführer Dr. Beger. 29-10-1940 [Budesarchiv].*

enclosed and secluded from its neighbours by enormous mountain ranges and natural borders as Tibet. The Tibetan highland is, because of this, and because of its extraordinary height from a geomorphological and climatical viewpoint, the most reclusive and island-like region of the earth. It is therefore only natural that one finds singular and special circumstances regarding flora and fauna as well as the people. After all, there exists not only a close relationship and interaction between any living being and its environment, but the living world and environment, race and region are closely knitted together.

Creation of humankind in Tibet?

It has to be emphasized that the spreading of many plants, most of the animals and especially of humans across the inner and essential Tibet happened relatively recently. The Tertiary rise of the high mountain ranges and the subsequent creation of the Tibetan highland had caused the rise of new species, but also the displacement, even the extinction of many species and races. Many factors make it probable that this was also the trigger for the creation of humankind in Inner Asia and probably even in Tibet. But the conditions of this living space did not remain unchanged after the Tertiary. Rhythmic cold periods starting in the Quaternary brought deep changes in the living conditions, which could only be survived by plant and animal species as well as the pre-human groups by adaptation or evasion. How the species that survived after the Tertiary reacted to the Ice Age is one of the important scientific quests of biology and is still largely hypothetical. We know only one thing with relative security that – irrespective of whether or not the notion of the creation of pre-humans in Tibet is correct or not – the subsequent phases of the creation of humans and the coming into being of larger race circles during the periods of Ice-Age turmoils have to be sought outside of Tibet. In the same way that many creatures of the present flora and fauna have spread in Tibet only between and after the Ice-Ages, it also seems certain that Tibet was only gradually inhabited by *Homo sapiens* during these same periods and starting from the outside areas which had also been Tertiary retreat areas.

Early Mongolides as the first inhabitants of Tibet

The Tibetan highland seems to have become inhabited by humans later than the neighbouring regions, probably because of its reclusiveness and extraordinary height, which causes an uncomfortable and rough climate. The people living closest, especially the ones living at the border regions in the east and southeast, were proba-

bly the first to migrate into the unstructured young regions. The original people therefore consisted, as is probably rightfully assumed – there are so far no osteological proofs – of people of the Mongolide or better said “yellow” (or Circum-Pacific) race group, that lived mostly to the east and north-east of Tibet. Because coming from the East via the deep riverbeds of the large East-Asian streams and from the North via the Kokonor region the mountain walls around Tibet are most easily crossed. The inhabited area of these early Mongolids probably also included only the more densely populated areas as today, being the more fertile and slightly lower lying regions of the highland in the east, south-east and south. The island-like isolation, which should actually have promoted an uninhibited development of the first inhabitants and the low density of the population were not strong enough to avoid later and often repeated invasions of neighbouring peoples or shepherd warriors. These later intruders came mostly through the thin strip of grassland, divided by many mountain ranges, which reaches from the Kokonor region into northeastern Tibet and seems to be the actual gateway to Tibet. All other gateways leading into the Tibetan highland play lesser roles compared to this one concerning its importance for the present-day race picture of the Tibetans. A slightly larger importance as a gateway for other peoples of other races can also be attributed to the upper Indus-valley. The few military intrusions across the high passes of Nepal, India or China towards Tibet, which could always only be performed with small armies, seem to have had no or only little race-scientific impact. The foreign, racially higher developed intruders or conquerors have obviously displaced some of the original inhabitants towards the borders of the Tibetan highland.

The importance of the north-east Tibetan gateway for the race-history of Tibet

But of which race is now the essence of the Tibetan people, those intruders that have come in several waves from the northeast into Tibet and displaced or assimilated the original inhabitants? The northeast route of the high plateau is the focus of the struggles of Inner-Asian peoples and races. Here Chinese, Mongolians and Turkic peoples clashed with the Tibetans and took turns in ruling the region within a history of several thousand years. Time and again migration routes and advances of peoples, who spread from Europe over all of Inner Asia, ended here and took the route along the lines of the least obstruction towards the young and only lightly populated Tibetan highlands. At the northern border of this territory runs the famous Silk Road, the aorta of Inner Asia, which

over many thousands of years connected the Middle East and Europe across East Turkestan with China. Here the Silk Road had its weakest point for the infringement and conquest by the marauding nomad warriors from North-East Tibet or from Mongolia as well as for a jamming, bursting or trickling away of the advances of the migrating peoples from the west just before the gates of China, which was densely populated and later secured from intruders by its unique wall. Looking at the mixture of races in this region and its neighbouring peoples today we have to take these migrations, which still go on and which at the same time provoked race-struggles and brought with them displacements and assimilations of races, strongly into account. The larger part of these movements is so young when seen from a viewpoint of the history of race-development, that a naming of races has to be applied with great care. Some big and difficult tasks are waiting for anthropological research in this field, which can only be fulfilled in cooperation with related sciences of biology and geology. Only the answers to some large questions in these fields will enable us to find answers to the composition of races in the Tibetans. Moreover this will clarify the relationship of races in China, Mongolia and East-Turkestan, which afterwards may have to be seen in a new light.

The different approaches of Anthropology towards the problems [i.e. questions] of the Inner-Asian races

Two different approaches exist within modern anthropology towards the problems of the Inner- and East-Asian races. The one holds back and waits for new viewpoints and materials, bit by bit, resulting from exact anthropological research in those regions, which are far from the present events in the world and are reachable for the European scientists only with great efforts and strain. With the help of older anthropological writings, with regard to geographical and only partly known geological facts, and taking into account the few anthropological records, that were mostly taken only in passing and at the main caravan routes – wherein often the enthusiastic description of certain very striking types for the sake of later successful publication, caused a completely distorted image of the inhabitants of the regions – [whereas] others try to develop a race-picture and a map of races in the way of a generous and in parts quite speculative putting together and division of races. Both approaches stand on opposite sides like old and young, but should get together and find each other in the middle. What our complete anthropology is missing is first of all, matter-of-fact and thorough field research, which cannot be replaced even

by the most beautiful hypothesis or the most daring synthesis. According to the description of the Asian races, which have become popular in recent years through von-Eickstedt's "*Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte*" [Race Science and Race History], three versions of east-Mongolid races of the Mongolid race-circle and one version of the mountain-races belt of the Europid race-circle meet in the regarded region; being the Tungid, Sinid and Palämongolid races on the one hand and the Turanid race on the other.

The Inner-Asian race

The clearest case is that of the Tungid race, which should be called the Inner-Asian race, because it is the only race whose original home-region has to be sought in Inner-Asia and because its main inhabited region is still Inner-Asia, meaning East-Turkestan, Tibet and most of all Mongolia. As a result of the anthropological research of the author in Tibet it can be assumed that the share of the Inner-Asian as well as the Tungid race is evenly distributed in the different social classes of the population and is relevant; definitely it is much larger than has been assumed up to now in the anthropological sciences. The climatic relationship of Tibet and Mongolia especially promoted a migration of this race into Tibet. Also in favour of this are the many struggles between Mongolians and Tibetans even in recent history in the Kokonor region. Relatively pure representatives of this race according to their physique were found all over South-Tibet. It seems though, as if an intense mixing with some Europid blood, has created types that look somewhat like our Ostic (Alpine) and East-Baltic (East-Europid) races, which makes it harder for our eyes to differentiate this race.

The Sinid race

The Sinids, who according to von-Eickstedt make up the second main race-share of the Tibetan people next to the Palaeomongolid race, are described as being of higher and thinner growth with longer heads and thinner but nonetheless flat faces. The Mongolian eyelid crease is less strong and the hair black and tight. In the writings on this subject the probably repeated admixtures of Europid blood in the creation of this race are always emphasized, which probably even caused fundamental changes in the Chinese culture time and again. In the opinion of the author the Inner-Asian race also has a part in the creation of this relatively young race or has possibly even created this race together with Europid blood. Even though the clear differentiation of traits of the Sinid race towards the other races is not fully researched yet, the exist-

ence of the latter cannot be doubted. The Chinese people also, obviously show their face. The Sinid should simply be called, like in the vernacular, the East-Asian race, because it is to be found mainly in the centre of East Asia, in China and it makes up the main race of East Asia. Surely it plays a similarly important role for East Asia as the Nordic race for Europe. But whether its several subdivisions in north-, central- and south-Sinid are justified will have to be shown by future anthropological research in China. In the end it is also a question of how narrow or wide one wants to read the term race when looking at humans. The differences in the looks of the inhabitants of North and South China are obvious, but this could be explained as in Germany and other countries, too, by different proportions in the mixture of races and does not necessarily have to have an inherently racial cause. It must not be forgotten that the Chinese as well as the Mongolians and all other peoples are a people made up by a mixture of different races.¹⁸

Comment:

Much commentary about the physical anthropology of the expedition has stated that it was supposedly looking for Aryans in the Tibetan aristocracy. The first paragraph of the following excerpt makes it clear that it is actually the Sinid/East Asian racial element that shows up the most in the aristocracy.

It [the Sinid race] shows mostly in the Tibetan aristocracy and in the smaller cities, next to Europid traits and gets proportionately stronger towards the east and northeast. [As an example] a young woman from Shigatse, who comes from a very high-ranking family, seems to be mostly of Sinid race but with a strong part of old-Mongolid race, which according to von-Eickstedt has created the more "South-Sinid" type.

The family of the mint official of Lhasa, who belongs to the high-ranking aristocracy of Tibet, seems to be to a lesser extent admixed with Sinid blood, which can be assumed by the only slight characteristics of the existing share of the Inner-Asian race-part. The Chinese traders with Sinid looks, who were seen by the

¹⁸ Beger 1944. See also Hutton (2005: 95), referring to Firth (1956 [1938]), who discusses the term Aryans as a name for types of language only and who also attacked the notion of racial purity, noting that "all modern populations must be supposed to be very mixed from a racial point of view." Hutton adds: "But no Nazi racial anthropologist would have pretended otherwise." Indeed, this understanding of racial mixture is the exact viewpoint stated by Beger at the end of the above paragraph on the Sinid race.

members of the Tibet expedition in Lhasa, would have looked un-Tibetan even in Tibetan clothes, because they looked so different from the Tibetans. Half-breeds of Tibetan women and Chinese mercenaries from the last Chinese rule in Tibet were mostly easily recognised as such.

The Turanid race

Towards the importance of foreign and especially Europid blood-admixtures to the Sinid race, one can take the often-mentioned view that they play only a small role, because of the large numbers of Sinids and their extraordinary power of assimilation. This view does not hold up though, when regarding the admixtures of other race-parts to the relatively smaller number of inhabitants of Turkestan, which has the function of a bridge and therefore has had an extraordinarily turbulent history of many thousands of years with planned exterminations, displacements or movements of the inhabitants of whole regions. In this population with its amazing amount of different small peoples and tribes which it has preserved until the present day, it is supposed that the Turanids, who are thought to be quite close to the Ostic (Alpine) race, have remained the main race. Could it be that Deniker, Haddon, Montandon and von-Eickstedt have gone too far in this assumption of the perseverance of a Turanid race and have elevated rather similar types of mixed Europid and Mongolid blood into its own race?

Europid race-parts in Tibet

Taking into account several facts it can be deemed as secured that several waves of peoples of mainly Europid race-components, coming from Turan and also carrying Ostic (Alpine) race-parts, met in this region with groups of peoples of mainly Inner-Asian race and became mixed-up. In favour of this concept also, is that the Europid characteristics increase when going from South-Tibet to North-East-Tibet and their stronger existence in groups of peoples at the eastern and southern border of Tibet, who once migrated here coming from the north-east and have stayed more or less pure-blooded since. Within the North-Eastern Ngoloks and other related tribes in the pilgrimage camps in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, and also with the Sikkimese Buthia were found several persons with blue eyes, children with dark-blond hair and some especially Europid types, in whom a Nordic-race element seemed to be obvious. Last but not least there are signs in the Tibetan tales, traditions, history, language and material culture for a racial and cultural connection to the Europid race-circle, especially though to

Asia Minor, which would have to be researched in more detail in cooperation with pre-history, history, ethnology, linguistics and theology. The change from peaceful nomads towards shepherd-warriors, which happens at several intervals in Inner-Asia, the author wishes to attribute not to affliction because of overpopulation, as Prof. Machatschek did in his lecture on Inner-Asia at the 400-year jubilee of the Munich University, but more to the intrusion and mixture with certain Europid race-components.

The importance of Ladakh, India and Nepal for the race-picture of Tibet

Because of the above, we have a more or less detailed overview of the influence of the important races on the Tibetan race-picture. In how far the intrusion of the Europid race across Ladakh, which over centuries shared a border with the West-Tibetan kingdom Guge, reached into Tibet and to what extent is so far not clarified. The Ladakh people, who speak a Tibetan dialect and belong according to Ujvalfy to the Tibetan race, actually are much closer to the neighbouring strongly Europid Balti than to the South-Tibetans. Race-components that seem to belong to the "Vorderasiatisch" [ancient Near East] race could have come through Ladakh into South Tibet. The Ladakhis from Leh who visited Lhasa for the New Year celebrations as representatives of the Maharaja of Kashmir impressed the members of the last Tibet expedition especially with their strongly Europid, almost Nordic facial features but in dark colours. Racial elements that could have come across the Himalaya from India were not seen by the author in the physique of the Tibetans. The enormous differences between the Indian and Tibetan landscapes and the resulting differences in the populations have made mixing only rarely possible. The Indian elements in South Tibet as assumed mainly by Rockhill are probably not so much race-components from India, Nepal or Kashmir but more such of the Europid race coming from North-East Tibet.

The tendency for race-development in Tibet

Altogether the Tibetans seem to be strongly mixed. According to the research of many Tibet researchers they do not seem to know any racial barriers between the sexes within the population. This may have to do for one thing with the morality of the peaceful nomads and on the other hand with the fact that new immigrants brought only few women with them over the difficult passes and bad caravan routes onto the high plateau. The mixture of the single races in Tibet is so strong and brings about such a uniform

type of the Tibetan that it is very understandable that respected researchers like the brothers Schlagintweit were already speaking in the past century of a Tibetan race. The seclusion and the extreme environmental conditions surely would strengthen the process of race-development more than in any other part of the earth so that if admixtures of other races would stop, after few generations of Tibetans one could possibly already speak of a sub-variety or even a race.

The race picture of the Tibetan

The race picture of the Tibetan, is in conclusion, mostly influenced by the races of the Mongolid race-circle, which are mixed here to a large extent with Europid blood. How strong the specific shares of the races are cannot be estimated yet, especially since the clear differentiation of the forms is not securely clarified. Research on the race-picture of Tibet in all detail and in all parts of the country is therefore a task for further research. The best insight into the Tibetan race-relations and at the same time an overview of the races of the Tibetan population in the different provinces, can be found at the time of Tibetan New Year in Lhasa when it is the pilgrimage site of many Inner-Asian but mainly Tibetan Buddhists. The population of Lhasa itself, as a result, seems to incorporate, more or less harmoniously mixed, all the race-components existing in the west, north, east and south.

The transitional position of the Tibetan race-picture

A race-scientifically exact subdivision of the Mongolid race-group, as well as the classification of the peoples of Inner-Asia to the so far assumed specific Mongolid races, seems to be daring. The difficulties for the researcher lie mainly in trying to put together a detailed and thorough account of the races of this region similar to what has already been achieved in the research of the history and characteristics of the races in Europe. This can only be achieved by a circle of dedicated and cooperating scientists with a carefully planned and fully synthetic research. A certain transitional position of the Tibetan race-picture between the Mongolid and the Europid race-groups with a stronger element of the Mongolid part can be safely assumed via the morphological facts, which are explained by Tibetan pre-history and history. They seem to be symbolized by the two lucky and healing charms that are painted on almost every Tibetan front door: the crescent of the moon open towards the top with the flaming sun, the sign of the Mongolian hordes of Ghengis-Khan, above the swastika of Indo-Aryan origin.

For the complete research in all fields of the "human" in the Sven Hedin Institute for the research of Inner Asia, and possibly also for biology, this transitional position is of great importance; moreover, it could gain importance for the demarcation of front fields and spheres of influence of Greater Europe and East Asia, because the fate of Inner Asia will not be determined on its own grounds but by the bordering superpowers. If Europe wants to retain or, rather, regain an influence in these regions it will have to throw in all factors in its favour, even the racial factors.¹⁹

For a comparison with almost identical anthropological research undertaken in 1951-54, see the following excerpt from a work by a group of internationally-recognised scholars, paraphrased here:

This expedition was to comprise zoological, botanical and anthropological investigations in the widest sense of the word, and to include ethnographical, religious, archaeological and physical anthropological studies... One of the tasks it had been deemed advisable to realise was a description of the physical anthropology of the Tibetans; both by examinations of the living and by the collection of skeletal material... in the course of the years from 1951 until 1954 Prince PETER [sic] obtained for the expedition anthropological measurement sheets in respect of 5000 Tibetans... Tibet has been a coveted prize for scientific investigations. The physical-anthropology of the Tibetans formed no exception to this." Non-metrical observations in this research project included:- pigmentation of skin; colour of hair; eye colour, hairiness and hair type; beard growth; eye shape; nose shape; jaws; ear shape. "How are variations to be explained? ...Mongolian traits towards the east can be explained by the geographical factor. China, with her Mongol population, lies to the east and has had close connections with Tibet for centuries. India with a Europoid population lies to the south and also links up with Tibet... it is thus natural to explain the less typical Mongoloid populations in the southern provinces [of Tibet] as being due to the greater distance from the Mongolian centres in the north and east, and as a result of relations with a Europoid India... The Tibetans are thus typical Mongoloids, characterised by low height, relatively short extremities, mesocephalic heads, broad faces, medium noses, narrow eyes with Mongol folds, sparse hair, a yellowish skin, dark, wiry hair, dark eyes and powerful jaws." Research in nearby Sikkim and

¹⁹ Beger 1944. 29-53

Assam found “it has been possible to show a certain non-Mongoloid influence (Dravidian or Indo-Europoid) on the Boro group.”²⁰

From this one example amongst a great many, we can see that the physical anthropology of the Schaefer expedition corresponded to the international standards of the time. The genetics of individual people could at that time only be observed in the phenotype (i.e. the observable morphological body), as opposed to the underlying genotype with its complexities and interactions of dominant and recessive genes, all of which are not physically displayed, but which can now be explored by modern DNA and mRNA analysis etc. The question of the racial composition of Tibet and the surrounding regions had already been a topic of research for years before the Schaefer Expedition, as it still is today. See Afterword for a small selection of published examples.

The Idea of a Nordic-Aryan People in the Ahnenerbe

From the above, it can be seen from original expedition data that the idea that the Schaefer expedition was looking for “Aryans” in the Himalayas and Tibet is a misconception. Such a concept was, however, held by some people within the Ahnenerbe. In interviews, Beger stated that “all the expedition members laughed at this stupid idea.”

The following paraphrase of selected passages from Junginger and Akerlund (2013) helps to explain the views held in the Ahnenerbe.

The idea of a Nordic-Aryan people who lived around the Atlantic before emigrating southwards after the Atlantis catastrophe was put forward by the German-Dutch amateur historian Herman Wirth (1885-1981), in his best-selling book *Der Aufgang der Menschheit. Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Religion, Symbolik und Schrift der atlantisch-nordischen Rasse* (Wirth 1928). This drew on Bal Gangadhar Talik’s 1903 book *The Arctic Home in the Vedas. Being also a New Key to the Interpretation of Many Vedic Texts and Legends* (Talik 1903). Talik developed a theory of an Arctic Aryan Homeland from where Aryans set off south to India and Europe. Wirth was a founding member of the predecessor organisation of the Ahnenerbe, the *Geistesurgeschichte*. His ideas were dismissed as being imaginative conjectures and

²⁰ H.R.H Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, L. Edelberg, J.Balslev Jorgensen, K. Paludan, and H. Siiger 1966, p. 5.

outside those of academic reasoning and rational thinking. By chance, Wirth met Himmler at a party in October 1934. Himmler wholeheartedly consented to Wirth's ideas, which gave Wirth the opportunity in July 1935 to found a new society for the study of primeval ideas, the "*Studiengesellschaft fuer Geistesurgeschichte, Deutsches Ahnenerbe.*" However, Wirth's reputation was severely damaged when he translated a fake chronicle about a Friesian family, such that in 1936 even Himmler withdrew his support and, under pressure of public criticism, Himmler "transformed the Wirth-society into a scientific brain[s] trust" changing the name in 1936 to "*Das Ahnenerbe,*" appointing Walther Wuest of Munich, professor of Indian and Iranian studies, as president in 1937, with Wirth resigning in 1938.²¹

How Schaefer Dissociated Himself from the Ahnenerbe

Ideas of remnant Aryans heading south to Tibet and so forth were not originally those of Himmler and certainly not those of Schaefer, who established his autonomy from Himmler, as seen in the three following excerpts from, first, a letter from Schaefer to Beger at the end of December 1937:

...I set the yardstick for our coming expedition quite independently... This independence awarded me by the Reichsfuehrer – and without which I would never have taken on the charge...²²

Secondly, in a letter from Sievers to Wolff:

In the meantime the task of the expedition has diverged too far from the goals of the Reichsfuehrer SS and does not serve his ideas of cultural studies [because] it would lie outside the scope of his work.²³

Thirdly, in a memo by Sievers:

²¹ From Junginger and Akerlund 2013: 8-9; 50-51; 108; 115-16; 124-25.

²² Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 135/43 pages 163367-163370.

²³ Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS21-628 January 23, 1938.

At the request of the Reichsfuehrer SS, SS Obersturmfuehrer Schaefer's expedition was not conducted by the Ahnenerbe.²⁴

Claims that the Expedition was "Racist"

Here, reference is made to original sources. Readers of this essay are invited to assess the following statements for themselves.

[Prof.] Clauss says "each race is valuable in itself, within its own environment, within its own area. It is clear for us today that the Nordic race ranks number one, but not because we say it is the best race, but rather, because it has created the German people in its current form, because it is in the majority, and because it belongs in the Middle-European Region."²⁵

SS officers are never to drop the natural barriers to other races or foreigners, however, they must not treat them as a lower order (the latter is valid especially for the researcher of races as this would then block their access to the others' race and soul).²⁶

Examination [of the film *Geheimnis Tibet* of 1943] demonstrates that the accused and his scientific collaborators have never advocated any ideas of racial discrimination and that the results of the expedition were evaluated according to strictly scientific points of view and that the film, after 1945, [i.e. re-issued as *Lhasa Lo* on safety film rather than on dangerous nitrate film] was without any substantial changes. The film also depicts the anthropological method of measuring and moulding. It presents the scientific work of the accused [in the skeleton collection – see below] in an objective way.²⁷

Recent Nonsense

New invented nonsense continues to be published about the Schaefer Tibet Expedition. As recently as 2012, international media sensationally reported on "The Buddha from Space" which had appeared for

²⁴ Bundesarchiv Berlin, NS21-682 May 27, 1938. This and the last two excerpts are all cited in Engelhardt 2008: 76.

²⁵ Lecture 1-2-1937 by Bruno Beger. "Geschichte der Rassenkunde."

²⁶ Letter to Himmler from Bruno Beger, 3rd May 1941. p.15. point 7. Incomplete archive ref. Bundesarchiv folio 164751, p. 15; also cited in Weingart 1995: 56.

²⁷ 15-1-1971. Affidavit. Staatsarchiv Muenchen. Stanw 34.878/92.

sale and which had apparently been “looted by the Nazis in Tibet in the 1930s.” This was supposedly an ancient priceless Tibetan Buddha statue carved one thousand years ago from a meteorite, which had crashed to earth 15,000 years earlier. It is actually made from the third largest piece ever found of the Chinga Iron Meteorite from the Tanna Tuva border area between Siberia and Mongolia. Further research indicated that the statue was a modern counterfeit made by a well-trained western sculptor who had no background in Tibetan art. The attribution that it had been collected by the Schaefer Expedition was baseless and no source could be produced for such a claim.²⁸

There can be no doubt, that when crossing certain high Himalayan mountain passes today and tomorrow, it will be possible to hear the ghosts of the expedition members roaring with laughter, making their ghostly tents vibrate once more as they read such newly minted, absurd stories!

Afterword: Miscellaneous Corrigenda

World War Two: The Skeleton Collection

Caron-Belloni's essay includes references to the later criminal skeleton collection, which need to be commented on. There is no direct connection between The Schaefer Tibet Expedition and the later events of anthropological measurements in Auschwitz and the subsequent murders in Natzweiler for the criminal skeleton collection. They are separate events. The article contains the following misleading statements.

More than 2,000 Tibetans participated in the collection of this [anthropological data] but none of them could have suspected that these scientific experiments would fuel one of the most important mass murders in history a few years later. (p. 72)

As far as the numbers are concerned : “About 400 complete anthropological measurements of Sikkimese-Bhutias, partly Lepchas, Lachenese, Lachung people and many Tibetans. Hundreds of dactyl-oscopic hand and a certain number of footprints were taken.”²⁹ Also,

²⁸ For more on the Buddha from Space, see: <https://descrier.co.uk/science/is-the-space-buddha-a-counterfeit/>; Bayer 2012; *The Lama Wearing Trousers: Notes on an Iron Statue in a German Private Collection*. Hamburg: Zentrum für Buddhismuskunde. Buchner et al. 2012; Engelhardt 2017.

²⁹ Schaefer Calcutta lecture.

physical measurements and the making of body moulds cannot be described as experiments. The Tibet Expedition data was not used in the later mass murder.

All the anthropometrical measurements collected were compared to the measurements taken on Northern Europeans... as well as on those deported to concentration camps of different ethnic types in order to serve the Nazi racial experiments. (p. 72)

In fact, no comparisons were made.

... the expedition's anthropologist, Bruno Beger, took a much darker turn on his return to Germany. In December 1941, he proposed to the head of the Ahnenerbe, Wolfram Sievers, to build a collection of Jewish skulls as part of his anthropological research...Beger would have reserved some for his personal use and had them sent to Mittersill Castle in Austria. (p. 82)

According to the verdict in Beger's trial in 1971 (of which a synopsis is given below),

It cannot be stated that Dr. Beger was the author of that document ("Securing the skulls of Jewish-Bolshevist Commissars"), as was thought by the prosecution. According to the comments of the expert Dr. Schroeter, Dr. Beger cannot be the author because of the style of the document.

For the facts relating to the skeleton collection, Hans-Joachim Lang should be referred to for the most definitive and detailed research on this crime and its victims.³⁰ The following is a paraphrase of part of this work.

In June 1943, the anthropologists Bruno Beger and Hans Fleischhaker... and the taxidermist Wilhelm Gable travelled to Auschwitz...[they] had Himmler's special order to make an anthropological record of alien race prisoners... In the preliminary Auschwitz Trial proceedings (1960-1968), Beger affirmed that he had had the special assignment declared as a secret Reich matter to conduct anthropological studies on Jews and to determine as many varieties of Jewishness as possible. Outside of his assignment he was also naturally interested in Inner Asians because of

³⁰ Lang 2004: 153. See also Lang and Renz: <https://www.die-namen-der-nummern.de/index.php/en/research>

his other scientific activities... For the prosecutors of the Auschwitz Trial, Beger was one accused among many... Initially, 22 defendants stood trial... in August 1965, 17 were sentenced to imprisonment, three were acquitted; two withdrew because of illness; with the indictment against Beger, Fleischhaker and Wolff still pending... It was not until October 1970 that their trial [court reference 4 Ks 1/70] began... Beger was sentenced to three years imprisonment [later suspended], for aiding and abetting the joint murder of 86 people...solely because of his activities in Natzweiler in August 1943 when he knew that the 86 would be killed... In Auschwitz... he had no knowledge of the killing plan.

Further information concerning Beger's involvement with the skeleton collection is to be found in the following excerpts from the Verdict of the 1970 Auschwitz Trial.³¹

For Dr. Beger the stay in Auschwitz "made sense" without him knowing of the killing plan: he had to measure 150 persons for Hirt... he wanted – "in passing" – to supplement his Tibet material, he wanted to do comparative measurements with Fleischhacker and he also wanted - this could not be refuted – to get information for Prof. Clauss on the situation in a concentration camp [Comment: from a post-war perspective, astonishingly, this was to find out if it was a safe refuge for Clauss's Jewish mistress]...

There is no evidence that Beger was guided by personal motives and interest...He was not put in the picture on his way to Auschwitz by the fellow accused or later in Auschwitz by others, about the true purpose of his assignment. There is no evidence for the viewpoint of the prosecution that Dr Beger was in the least one of the co-ordinators of the plan... it is not manifest that he even actively participated in the planning at all... His behaviour after the killings indicates the absence of any personal interest in the skeleton collection. Any use of the accrued materials by him is not provable...

Under the circumstances of a Constitutional State he surely would not have become an accessory to murder. His illegal behaviour can only be the result of the circumstances under the national-socialist dictatorship. Already in his youth and studies he was influenced by the NS-ideology. This may have caused the fact that in spite of his academic learning, his critical faculties and his willingness to refuse measures of the SS-leaders were weakened...

³¹ LG Frankfurt, 4 Ks 1/70.

It had to be taken into account, that he actively and effectively interceded with Himmler for his teacher Prof. Clauss, who had become seriously endangered because of his relationship with his Jewish assistant, by which he strongly helped in the saving of this woman and Clauss...

The participation of Dr. Beger partially has features of entanglement by fate: in Auschwitz he had decisively but unknowingly participated in the establishment of the skeleton collection and he was only called in to the later work because other anthropologists were not available.

Incorrect bibliographical reference

In Carron-Belloni's footnote 128 and bibliography "Sources Internet – Documentaires télévisés" Carron-Belloni incorrectly cites me "Croston, Roger, Critique de Le Secret d'histoire du docteur Bruno Beger: L'Expedition nazie, Channel 4, 2004, Ofcom. This should correctly be referenced under "Ofcom."

The quote is: "The anthropologist [Beger] affirmed in a letter to Himmler in April 1943, his approval to 'liquidate the Jews in Europe and beyond throughout the world if possible'." This sentence was taken out of context. The context is: the letter was addressed in April 1943 to Brandt, Himmler's Chief of Staff. Beger wrote to Brandt, quoting and agreeing with his former teacher Prof. Clauss in order to ingratiate himself with Brandt – with the consequentially effective aim to save the lives of Clauss and his Jewish mistress:

I am of the same opinion as Clauss that with the total eradication of the Jews in Europe and possibly even in all the world, the mental Judaism which one encounters at every step will not be eradicated for a long time yet. From this actuality there results the main research task in the science of the racial spirit, tools like the one composed by Clauss in the form of the half Jewess Lande are indispensable for this research...³²

Beger goes on to point out that Lande is fully and not half Jewish and Beger proposes a solution to safeguard the pair. This direct intervention was recognised by the verdict passed on Beger in the 1971 trial: "it had to be taken into account, that he actively and effectively interceded with Himmler for his teacher Prof. Clauss, who had become seriously endangered because of his relationship to his Jewish assis-

³² Mueller-Hill 1988: 51-52.

tant, with which he strongly helped in the saving of this woman and Claus...”³³

Citations of incorrect information

Their secret mission was to discover the origins of the Aryan race (p. 53).

Comment: There was no secret mission. The mission was an holistic approach to integrate and cross-reference many natural sciences, of which anthropology was only one part. There is no evidence that there was a mission to discover origins of the Aryan race.

The attempt was to allow the Nazis to rewrite history; to forge a new past, allowing them to legitimise the new world they claimed to set up at the time (p. 53).

Comment: No history was rewritten as a result of the expedition.

A team of the Ahnenerbe... in addition to performing scientific tasks, looked for traces of hypothetical Aryans or even Atlantean descendants... hiding in the bottom of the caves of Tibet (p. 57).

Comment: The Ahnenerbe did not organise or direct or finance the expedition. Schaefer extracted the expedition from the organisation so that he could run it under his own leadership. The idea of the expedition searching any Tibetan caves for such people is pure fantasy.

The Regent had asked Schaefer, to his great astonishment, whether Germany would be interested in selling arms to Tibet (p. 71).

Comment: An original document verifying this would be an interesting discovery.

The nobles of the country [Tibet] were the only ones who could have preserved the purest Aryan patrimony (p. 71).

Comment: There is nothing to support this statement in the expedition reports. In Beger's anthropology paper regarding the Tibetan aristocracy he states "[the Sinid] shows mostly in the Tibetan aristocracy and in the smaller cities next to Europid traits and gets proportionately stronger towards the East and Northeast." He does not mention Aryans.

Regarding Tibetan sky burials. "Bruno Beger was fascinated by death" (p. 75)

³³ For full details of this complex situation, see Weingart 1995: 165 ff.; see also Afterword, below.

Comment: This assertion cannot be supported by the archives. Unsurprisingly, however, he was “*impressed*” by a sky burial, as were all of the expedition’s members and many, if not all, foreign travellers to Tibet at the time, before or since. Here is what he recalled:

We were even more impressed by something, which lay close to the monastery, a large flat rock with bowl-like indentures. It was the burial ground for Lhasa’s dead and its surroundings. We experienced with shivers running down our spines the hacking apart of a dead woman, who seemed to have died because she could not give birth. The embryo was still in her body. The bones were smashed with large stones and mixed with Tsamba [roasted barley flour]. On a sign of the leader nearly two hundred greedy vultures and some ravens barge down for the feast. As an ethnographer I did not feel entitled not to look upon this dreadful scene. Subsequent thinking let me come to the conclusion that this form of burial actually makes good sense for this kind of rough climate with its meagre soil, the more so when it is connected with the religious belief that the soul of the dead flies into a “space in-between” on the wings of the birds. It wouldn’t disquiet me in my life to know that something like this would happen to me after my death.³⁴

Himmler desired to make contact with the Regent of Tibet (p. 76).

Comment: Actually, it was the Regent who sent a missive to Hitler. See Engelhardt 2008.

The first task of the expedition was to study the possibility of making Tibet a base for attacking British troops stationed in India... the purpose of the expedition was a means of drawing up maps and surveying passes to send guerrillas from Tibet to British India (p. 77).

Comment: There is no archival evidence for this. Schaefer actually shared the results of their surveys with the British Indian government as related in his speech to the Himalayan Club in Calcutta in 1939.

The archives are far from having delivered all their secrets (p. 80)

and

The scientific and cultural legacy of the Nazi expedition to Tibet was tainted by National Socialist thought, which motivated some members of the team.

³⁴ Beger 1998: 7.

Today the archives do not allow conclusions, which would exclude any other point of view (p. 85)

and

The members of the expedition were the only ones to know truthfully their personal motivations for participating in such an expedition (p. 91)

and

We realise the Nazi expedition to Tibet is far from having delivered all its secrets (p. 96)

and

The shadows that surround it remain difficult to explain without physical evidence in the archives and are the subject of many speculations, however mystical or esoteric, which today are the source of many cinematographic fiction and novels (p. 96).

Comment: Academics, most notably Isrun Engelhardt, have thoroughly investigated the mission archives, which are freely available to scholarship, in Germany, Great Britain and the USA. There is no evidence to suggest there are any remaining 'secrets' or archives that would radically alter the factual knowledge and factual understanding of the mission. There is no need for any speculation.

Schaefer recorded his observations on homosexuality and even masturbation... he described the various positions taken by the monks with young boys and explained the important role played by homosexuality in the high political spheres in Tibet... The expedition's archives also contain meticulous observation pages about the sexual habits of the Lachung and other Himalayan peoples (p. 86).

Comment: I know of no such accounts in the archives or references to them. The production of an original 1938-1939 document verifying this statement would be a most remarkable contribution to the study of the expedition.

The data they collected for the SS served a much darker purpose (p. 53).

Comment: What this darker purpose is supposed to be is not described.

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Comptes-rendus

Michael Farmer, *An Atlas of the Tibetan Plateau*, Leiden/Boston (Brill), 2022. x+393 pp. [Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, Volume: 50].

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This beautifully produced detailed atlas of the Tibetan regions which have been incorporated into the PRC represents the output of many years of dedicated work (beginning in the 1980s), and provides an invaluable resource for scholars of Tibetan Studies. The book is large format, and there are one hundred and twenty full page topographical maps in colour, showing locations, natural features and cultural landmarks, as well as modern roads and other developments. Roughly the first half of the maps cover different sections of the entire area, while most of the remaining maps are larger scale, providing more detail for the areas of greater population. The first map gives the key to all the numbered maps, while each of the smaller scale maps outline and number any areas which are given a detailed map. It is therefore easy to navigate from the smaller to the larger scale. Following the specific area maps, there are a number of thematic maps of the entire region over double pages, illustrating population densities, the location and lineage affiliations of gonpas (*dgon pa*), climate classification, and satellite views. As far as can be determined, little of this detailed information has previously been easily accessible.

For scholars such as myself who lack a geography specialism, access to an atlas enabling the identification of locations is a boon. Much depends on the indices, and these have clearly been given considerable thought. The Introduction provides considerable background to the linguistic complexity of Tibet and the decisions that were taken, including ideas for future geo-linguistic research, particularly the preservation of local variant place names. The indices themselves take up some 240 pages, beginning with an Index of Administrative Areas, divided into listings for Tibetan and Pinyin, in each case noting the Hanzi also, and the area capital. The longest Index is that of Place Names, again giving listings for Tibetan and Pinyin, this time including the County, Prefecture and Province, and a

feature code (noting the natural feature or settlement or building type). Clearly, the intended audience is primarily international scholars: the maps give phonetics of the Tibetan in Roman script, with Pinyin in brackets. The indices order the Tibetan lists under the phonetics used, although they also give the Tibetan language, so it is not too difficult for an international scholar to confirm the actual Tibetan. Of course, one limitation of this approach is that for obvious reasons, the atlas will be less useful for Tibetans unfamiliar with romanised phonetics of Tibetan. It would have been ideal if the maps could also have included the place names in Tibetan language, and if there had been a Tibetan index in Tibetan alphabetical order. However, it is hard to see how the Tibetan could have been fitted additionally onto the maps, and an additional index would also have meant that the atlas could not have fitted a single volume. Perhaps a useful future project for younger scholars would be to create a Tibetan language version?

The book comprises rather more than the maps – apart from the technical information on methodology, the Introduction contains an analysis of the extraordinary changes in the landscape over the past twenty to thirty years. Evidence is presented of changes to the natural environment, as well as the radical expansion of infrastructure such as roads, airports, and railways, although some of this infrastructure appears to have more of a symbolic than practical purpose (e.g. high altitude highways which could not safely maintain expected traffic flows). Perhaps of greater current impact are huge new building projects, including the development of new towns and forced re-settlement schemes. The impact of tourism, mostly from China, and other economic development is also considered; as well as the building (or re-building) of Buddhist monasteries and religious structures – but here we see official interventions also, with sites such as Larung Gar having faced repeated waves of destruction. Much is achieved through a comparison of satellite data from different periods. Harsh colonialist impositions are witnessed, the loss of Tibetan architecture and settlements to "grid-style social management" and "comfortable housing", and building structures which may even possibly be prisons, provoking a comparison with the internment camps in Xinjiang. The construction of gonpas, chörtens, and other religious features, some with creative new forms, also demonstrates Tibetan cultural resilience, along with the concomitant involvement of Chinese converts to Tibetan Buddhism. The author has a particular interest in these expanding gonpas, and has attempted a provisional analysis of gonpa lineages and distribution, with reference to the four associated thematic maps mentioned above.

In short, the Atlas is an important and handsome contribution to Tibetan Studies, which should help to stimulate further study of contemporary Tibet. For all scholars of Tibetan literature and culture, the book will doubtless remain an essential reference work for generations to come.



Compte-rendu de: Per Kværne and Dan Martin, *Drenpa's Proclamation: The Rise and Decline of the Bön Religion in Tibet* (in collaboration with Joanna Bialek and Charles Ramble), Kathmandu: Vajra Books, 2023 [Vajra Academic, Vol. III]. ISBN: 978-9937-733-30-4 (xiv, 656 pp.).

Dylan Esler

84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha

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The book under review presents the first complete translation into English (or, for that matter, into any other European language) of the *bsGrags pa gling grags* (henceforth *GLG*). The *GLG* is a Tibetan historiographical work of the Bon tradition, which is attributed to the 8th-century figure Dran pa Nam mkha' and which has been dated by modern scholars to the late 12th century. We are especially fortunate in that this translation has been carried out by two of the foremost scholars in the field of Tibetan Studies in general and of the study of Tibetan historiography and of the Bon tradition in particular. In preparing this translation, Per Kværne and Dan Martin have worked with five manuscripts (discussed on pp. 68–73, with sample pages reproduced on p. 336).

The English translation, which represents the core of the work, is preceded by a substantial introduction by Per Kværne and succeeded by a diplomatic edition of what the translators consider to be the oldest manuscript version of the text (= A, the Dolanji manuscript). The latter is reproduced in Wylie transliteration, and the variant readings found in the other manuscript sources are noted in smaller font on the right-hand side of the page beside the line they refer to, so that the reader can easily discern the various readings that confronted the translators of the text (the conventions used are all described on pp. 81–83). The volume is supplemented by an appendix reproducing passages from the *GLG* that are shared by various other sources, as well as an extremely useful glossary prepared by Joanna Bialek of the special terms found in the *GLG*. An exhaustive bibliography and an index further enhance the usefulness of this book.

In the introduction Per Kværne discusses four contexts for the usage of the term *Bon* as signifying (1) a cluster of more or less unified non-Buddhist religious practices existing on the Tibetan plateau during the imperial period (7th–9th centuries); (2) local beliefs and practices during the 10th and 11th centuries, some of which having had antecedents in the imperial period; (3) post-11th century traditions, which by the 12th century had crystalized under the epithet 'Eternal

Bon' (g.*Yung drung Bon*) in a complex process of interaction with and mutual borrowing from Buddhism, whereby elements from (1) and (2) were also incorporated into this religious system; and (4) a range of practices still current on the margins of the Himalayan plateau, which are sometimes locally referred to as *Bon* and which partially represent the continuation and adaptation of (2), bearing apparently little influence from the institutionalized religion of Eternal Bon (3).¹ The *GLG* belongs to the third of the above contexts. While it is placed in the mouth of the 8th-century Bon priest and cultural hero, Dran pa Nam mkha', and while there may indeed be links to material from the imperial period, the *GLG* must basically be approached as a late 12th-century reconstruction and retelling of events having taken place several centuries earlier.

As well as providing a detailed overview of the contents and structure of the text, the introduction further deals with the doctrinal background of the Great Completeness (*rDzogs chen*) that informs the *GLG*, the text's peculiar eschatology, which combines the Buddhist doctrine of karma with recollections of the non-Buddhist religion of the imperial period, the role of the priests during the imperial period in ritually securing the king's power, and the wider social world described in the text and the relationships that connected humans, gods, demons, and priests. Here Kværne makes useful references to ethnographical fieldwork carried out by Charles Ramble, Toni Huber, Daniel Berounský, etc., on (non-Buddhist) Tibetan rituals still practised in Tibetan areas and on the fringes of the Himalayan plateau—referred to as category (4) above—implying a possible sense of continuity with the reminiscences of imperial period rituals found in the *GLG*. Such references also enrich the invaluable discussions of technical terms and rituals found in the footnotes that accompany the translation.

Even though the later tradition considers the *GLG* to be a treasure (*gter ma*), i.e. a text concealed during difficult times for the benefit of future generations, the *GLG* does not style itself along such lines (p. 11). It presents itself as a large commentary on a set of root verses found at the beginning of the text. These root verses, however, have been identified by Dan Martin as belonging to an entirely different text that is also attributed to Dran pa Nam mkha', the *rNam 'byed 'phrul gyi lde mig*, itself part of the *Gal mdo*, a slightly earlier work that uses reasoning to establish the *rDzogs chen* view (p. 63, pp. 66f). Likewise, the Zhang zhung title appended to the *GLG* does not match the Tibetan one and also belongs to the *rNam 'byed 'phrul gyi lde mig* (pp. 80f). The *GLG* thus belongs to a wider group of texts attributed to Dran pa Nam

¹ The classification slightly modifies and fine-tunes that formerly proposed in Per Kværne, 'The Study of Bon in the West: Past, Present, and Future', in Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.), *New Horizons in Bon Studies: Bon Studies 2*, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2000, pp. 7–20, esp. p. 17.

mkha', which emerged within the rMa clan in the 12th and 13th centuries (pp. 67f).

Interestingly, the Bon tradition asserts the existence of two (and occasionally even three) personages known as Dran pa Nam mkha', and they are sometimes conflated: an earlier one at the time of Mu khri btsan po, the son of the first Tibetan king, gNya' khri btsan po, and the 8th-century contemporary of Padmasambhava, who is the protagonist and mouthpiece of the *GLG*. This doubling of a (semi-)historical figure (= the 8th-century Dran pa Nam mkha') and his projection into the distant past is typical of Bon historiography and exemplifies a process whereby historical events and personages are mythologized to create the seemingly infinite timeframe of Eternal Bon.² A further instance of this can be seen regarding the persecution of the Bon religion: the historical vicissitudes met by the Bon tradition during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan are likewise doubled and projected into the distant past, during the reign of Gri gum btsan po, placing the historical events in a grand mythological scheme of repeated waves of rise and decline.

The core of the *GLG*'s narrative centres on how Khri srong lde btsan (742–ca. 800) came to favour Buddhism over Eternal Bon and on the unfortunate consequences of this misguided choice. This core narrative is framed by a wider mythological structure depicting the spatio-temporal unfolding of the known world, the arising of enlightened beings, and the succession of the Tibetan kings. The *GLG* presents us with an alternative historiographical tradition, one in which the figures responsible for Tibet's conversion to Buddhism—Khri srong lde btsan, Sāntarakṣita, and Padmasambhava—far from being the heroes, are the villains of the plot (frequently referred to as the “three beggars,” *sprang po gsum*), with Dran pa Nam mkha' and his entourage of Bon priests and priestesses (on the latter in particular, see pp. 41f, pp. 261–263) being those who strive to uphold the happiness of the Tibetan people in spite of the king's foolhardy infatuation with Buddhism.

The *GLG* itself presents its narrative in terms of four main topics, which discuss the cosmology of 'Dzam bu gling (the known world of the 'Rose Apple'—or, as duly noted by the translators, perhaps more accurately 'Black Plum' Continent), the succession of the enlightened ones, who are 1,002 in number, the rise and decline of the kings and priests, and the rise and decline of Eternal Bon, whereby it should be noted that the fourth topic is subsumed under the third one, so it does not appear as a separate chapter in the body of the work. Fortunately, this rather loose outline has been filled in by the translators of the text,

² On this and related processes, see Henk Blezer, 'The Bon of Bon: Forever Old', in Henk Blezer (ed.), *Emerging Bon: The Formation of Bon Traditions in Tibet at the Turn of the First Millennium AD*, Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2011, pp.207–245, esp. pp. 214–218.

who have supplied 109 subheadings that help the reader to navigate their way through the text while keeping sight of the narrative's structure. These headings also greatly facilitate the task of switching between the English translation and the diplomatic edition of the Tibetan text. One might only regret that this structure is not reproduced in the book's table of contents.

The main part of the second chapter, on the succession of the enlightened ones, is devoted to gShen rab Mi bo che, the principal Buddha and fountainhead of the Bon tradition, and his activities for the welfare of beings (pp. 130–133). While all the countries surrounding Tibet are taught the Bon doctrine (pp. 137–143), which is portrayed as the eternally valid religion upholding the cosmic order, certain demonic beings begin to cause obstacles. In particular, by using truncated ritual instruments, they propagate false Chos instead of Bon. gShen rab Mi bo che transforms into numerous emanations in order to subdue the demon Nga med Chos po and understands that success depends on the youth Dam pa Tog dkar. The latter is a divine emanation not born from a womb, and he is commanded by gShen rab to counteract the demon's nefarious designs, which include devouring his disciples and throwing their remains in a pit, all the while claiming that they have reached the state of transcendence without a remainder of the aggregates (*phung po lhag med*, pp. 148f).

This is where the episode concerning Śākyamuni's appearance in India comes in, the latter being portrayed as an emanation of gShen rab Mi bo che (p. 144, p. 133, p. 152). Śākyamuni is depicted as a tantric yogin who pretends to follow the demon Nga med Chos po in order to outwit and conquer him. The demon initiates Śākyamuni by placing an inebriating beverage on his tongue. While pretending to be intoxicated, Śākyamuni remains in contemplation and withstands the demon's attacks. When the demon swallows him, Śākyamuni assumes a fierce, gigantic form, distending the demon's body from within. The demon finally agrees to convert and offers up his life force. This is when the Bon scriptures are transformed³ into Buddhism (Chos), an episode intended to demonstrate how Buddhism owes its very existence to Bon, of which it is but a particular adaptation and (no doubt rather pale) reflection. The *GLG* presents Bon and Buddhism as two communities that practise the same doctrine, so that when one seems to disappear, the other seems to rise, both ultimately serving the same purpose (pp. 157f).

The third chapter, on the rise and decline of the kings and priests, continues with gShen rab Mi bo che's propagation of Bon in Tibet itself, a propagation which according to the text predates the country's

³ The Tibetan verb *bsgyur* (p. 386, the perfective of *sgyur ba*) can refer both to 'translating' and 'transforming'.

kings. The first king of the Yarlung dynasty, Nya khri btsan po, is depicted as a crystal man emerging from a crystal scorpion; his three brothers likewise emerge from a golden frog, a turquoise fish, and a conch-white tadpole, respectively (pp. 170–172). His son Mu khri btsan po, like Nya khri btsan po, descends to the world of men from the sky by means of the *dmu* cord. During Mu khri btsan po's reign, troubles begin to arise due to the king's egotism, but they are successfully averted. The king hides a group of profound scriptures, which are subsequently transmitted outside the human realm for three generations.

It is during the second half of the reign of Gri gum btsan po that problems begin in earnest. His birth is therefore accompanied by a number of unfavourable omens. Despite the magical skills of the priests in working for the welfare of the country and its people (pp. 194–199), some of the king's evil ministers slander the Bon religion, claiming that the priests' power threatens to overshadow that of the king. As a result, Gri gum btsan po instigates the first persecution of Bon, although the tradition continues to be practised in dBus (p. 211) and although the priests are able to hide their texts as treasures (pp. 204–206) in anticipation of the destruction that will follow. At the age of thirty-six, Gri gum is killed in battle by one Lo ngam, who is one of his subjects. After his death, his son sPu lde gung rgyal reinstates the Bon tradition (pp. 216f).

At the time of king Lha tho tho ri, an Indian teacher travels to Tibet, bringing with him a golden *caitya* or miniature *stūpa*; according to one of the manuscripts, three items (for their identification, see p. 221, n. 698) are blown by the wind on to the roof of the palace. This event is accompanied by the somewhat ominous statement: "What is called Chos has indeed appeared." An interesting divergence from Buddhist histories is the fact that in the *GLG* Thon mi Saṃbhoṭa is made into a minister not of Srong btsan sgam po but of the latter's father, gNam ri blon btsan. Buddhist texts begin to come to Tibet, although gNam ri blon btsan's interest in the Indian religion displeases the gods, and those practising Buddhism are quickly subdued. During the latter part of Srong btsan sgam po's reign, the king is influenced by his Nepalese wife to favour Buddhism.

It is only during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan, however, that the Bon religion is eventually eclipsed by Buddhism, and the success of the latter is attributed in the *GLG* to the perverted aspirations of the "three beggars." A further contributing cause is the fact that India and China, jealous of Tibet's greatness, conspire to introduce Buddhism to Tibet to weaken the country (pp. 238f). These factors cause perverted Chos to arrive in India and to mingle with the genuine variety (= that taught by Śākyamuni), resulting in different factions. The Indian followers of genuine Chos are almost vanquished by the heretics and call on the Tibetan king for assistance (pp. 240f), in an interesting reversal

of the usual relationship of intellectual superiority in which India is generally placed in Buddhist histories of Tibet. A further point to note is the ambiguity of the term 'Chos' itself as it is used in the *GLG*'s narrative: it can refer both to perverted doctrines and to those that while genuine are but a pale imitation of the perfection of Bon and into which Bon transforms itself when all other options have been exhausted. The term 'holy Chos' (*dam pa'i chos*; Skt. *saddharma*) is thus often used in an ironic sense in the *GLG* (e.g. p. 254).

Given this state of affairs, it will come as no surprise that Dran pa Nam mkha' has a bad dream presaging the arrival of Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita (p. 250) and that the king's adoption of Buddhism is compared to various calamitous and unnatural situations, such as fish adopting the ways of birds and birds adopting the ways of fish (p. 252). The disorder that ensues results in the defeat of the Tibetan army. Buddhism is thus sent back to India, along with its chief representatives, Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava, and happiness, military success, and prosperity return to Tibet, where the Bon priests are once again conferred their titles and privileges.

Nonetheless, as might be expected, this happy state of affairs does not last, and before long Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita return to Tibet to build monasteries and temples, including bSam yas, and advise the king to get rid of the Bon priests. The king decides that the representatives of Buddhism and Bon must engage in a contest of magic and debate, the outcome of which will determine which religion the king will adopt. Padmasambhava turns out to be less powerful than the Bon priests in the magical contests, and during the debate Dran pa Nam mkha' explains that the Buddhists fixate on virtues to the detriment of the rDzogs chen view, and that despite their obsession with non-conceptuality, they lack an adequate account of origin (*dpe dang lo rgyus*, "examples and stories") as well as proper funerary rites (pp. 274f, p. 278). This point is taken up later on in the *GLG*, where the Bon funerary rites, which provide both temporary enjoyment and the ultimate happiness of realization, are favourably contrasted with the Buddhist ones, which due to their exclusive focus on the emptiness of the *dharmadhātu* leave hungry those who fail to realize it (pp. 289f). The text continues with a critique levelled against the transgressive substances used in tantric rites and the associated necromantic practices (pp. 281f).

Despite the Bon priests' success in both magic and debate, the king increasingly turns towards Buddhism during the latter part of his reign, although his subjects continue to prefer the Bon tradition. Even the king favours the funerary rites of Bon, yet the protagonists of Buddhism slander Bon, claiming that the king's power is being usurped by the priests. gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po and Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan, well-known translators of Indian Buddhist texts, are here

credited with transforming Bon texts into Buddhist ones (pp. 291–293). Here again, this narrative serves to establish the anteriority and superiority of the Bon tradition and to explain that despite its outward decline in the face of Buddhism, Bon continues to irrigate Buddhism in the manner of an underground current, even while mostly unbeknownst to the Buddhists themselves. The rise and success of Buddhism thus becomes a mere epiphenomenon in the grand drama of the unfolding of Eternal Bon. While it is acknowledged that the followers of Buddhism desire enlightenment, they are portrayed as taking sides, such as ‘self’ and ‘other’, even though on a fundamental level Bon and Buddhism are both considered to be the display of reality-as-such (*bon nyid*, p. 297).

Dran pa Nam mkha’ self-ordains as a monk, and his self-ordination illustrates at once his skilful means in assuming whatever outward form will best ensure the survival of the Bon tradition given the new Buddhist context and a refusal on his part to submit to the authority of the Buddhist monks (since normally ordination would be bestowed by a preceptor). The sacred shrines and doctrines of Bon are transformed into Buddhist ones, and this process of doctrinal adaptation is said to include the transformation of the class of the “Mental Teachings” (*sems phyogs*) into rDzogs chen (p. 301). It is at Dran pa Nam mkha’s instigation that Khri srong lde btsan issues the order to hide the Bon texts as treasure, and interestingly Padmasambhava (who in the *GLG* is made out to have visited Tibet three times rather than twice, p. 304, p. 320) is here portrayed as hiding not only Buddhist treasure texts but also Bon scriptures.

Having been expelled from the country, the Bon priests curse the king and monks (pp. 304–307). Bon having become yellow (i.e. having taken on the external trappings of Buddhism), they pray that both Bon and the “yellow religion” (i.e. Buddhism) may spread, and that Bon may eventually come back from the borderlands. On the advice of the priestess gCo bza’ Bon mo, the king reinvites the priests one last time, and once again the kingdom briefly prospers. The priests visit bSam yas monastery, yet they are unimpressed and do not prostrate themselves before the temple.

Although by this point the king has come to the conclusion that both religions are beneficial and would like both Buddhism and Bon to peacefully coexist side-by-side (“let each have their treasures,” p. 315), gNubs Nam mkha’i snying po requests that the Bon priests be expelled once more, and thus they return to their former exile, while Vairocana and rTsang Legs grub pursue the work of transforming Bon rituals into Buddhist ones, changing the rank and the names of the deities (p. 320).

Dran pa Nam mkha’ makes a final speech in which he explains that he was forced to become a monk because of the difficulties befalling

the Bon religion and that he bears no ill will towards the perpetrators of these misfortunes. He expounds on his realization of ultimate reality and predicts numerous calamities that will occur in the wake of the suppression of Bon, notably the disintegration of royal rule. Among the ominous signs following the king's adoption of Buddhism, he mentions a general sense of disorder, the fact that rulers will be overthrown by their subjects, that monks will break their vows, and that tantric adepts (*sngags pa*) will engage in village rituals, as well as foreign invasions (pp. 325f)—all of which can be seen as recollections of the time of fragmentation (*sil bu'i dus*) that followed the collapse of the Tibetan Empire. Dran pa Nam mkha' finally promises that he will send forth an emanation in the distant future, and that he will not pass into woe-transcendence (*mya ngan mi mda'*) but will instead wonder the world blessing those with merit and secretly observing their meditative experience (p. 334).

The translators have succeeded in producing a flowing yet precise English rendition of the *GLG* in spite of the highly complex nature of the text, and it can be said without exaggeration that this book is a true model of erudition. Hence, there is very little that could be criticized. There is a mistaken cross-reference for *klu* (p. 31, n. 84: "see n. 85" needs to be corrected to "see n. 172"). The choice of the word 'trance' to translate *bsam gtan* is somewhat unfortunate,⁴ and one might have liked to see two distinct words to translate *ye shes* and *shes rab*, both being rendered here as 'wisdom' (p. 114: "eyes of Wisdom"—here with a capital—for *ye shes spyan*; p. 262: "gods of wisdom" for *ye shes lha rnams*; p. 116: "Lamp of Wisdom" for *shes rab sgron me*; p. 333: "great wisdom" for *shes rab che*). The translation "little focus on objectives" (p. 334) for *bza' stad chung* (var. *gza' gtad chung*) could potentially mislead readers into thinking that this is a negative attribute, when actually it is positive, being an expression of the realization of rDzogs chen, although the accompanying footnote does help to clarify this. Typographically, there are two places in the diplomatic edition where the font of the subheading (or of words thereof) is smaller than it should be (p. 380, p. 477).

But these are trifling matters in light of the immense value of this work, which represents a major contribution to the study of Tibetan historiography and to our understanding of the historical and mythological narratives that have shaped the identity of the Bon tradition.



⁴ On the difficulties in using the word 'trance' for the parallel Pāli term *jhāna*, cf. Lance S. Cousins, 'Buddhist *Jhāna*: Its Nature and Attainment according to the Pali Sources', in *Religion*, vol. 3:2, Autumn 1973, pp. 115–131, esp. pp. 125–127, where the author notes that 'trance' would only be applicable if used in a strictly medical sense.

Christoph Cüppers, Karl-Heinz Everding, and Peter Schwieger, eds., *A Life in Tibetan Studies: Festschrift for Dieter Schuh at the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, Lumbini (Lumbini International Research Institute), 2022. lii + 764 pp.

Reviewed by Per Kværne
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This massive volume contains eighteen articles in honour of Dieter Schuh on his 80th birthday. It also contains a list of his publications and a substantial bilingual (German and English) biographical essay by the editors. It is difficult to imagine that anyone engaged in Tibetan studies is unaware of Prof. Schuh as being one of the truly great Tibetologists, on a par with such scholars as Giuseppe Tucci, Rolf A. Stein, and Luciano Petech. Nevertheless, the range and sheer volume of his research, pursued over a period of sixty years, is perhaps not universally realized, nor the fact that Prof. Schuh has spent much time in the field, sometimes under challenging conditions, in Pakistan (Baltistan), India (Purig, Spiti, and Ladakh), and Nepal (Mustang).

At the beginning of their contribution to the present volume, Charles Ramble and Naljor Tsering describe Prof. Schuh's work as follows: "In the world of Tibetan Studies, Dieter Schuh is probably best known for his contribution to domains that are considered to be among the most intractable. He has been the main impetus, and in certain cases the initiator, of investigations into fields such as astrology, calendar studies, mathematics, law, administration, epistolography, sigillography, diplomatics and numerous other areas of specializations that had generally been given a wide berth by other scholars" (p. 557).

To give a presentation of each article within the restricted format of a review is hardly possible. All the contributions to the *Festschrift*, however, admirably reflect Prof. Schuh's own research interests, and several of them are in fact written by former pupils. They, and many others, have built on the solid foundations provided by Prof. Schuh. In the following, some of the articles will be briefly commented on (in alphabetical order), but the choice is rather arbitrary and should in no way be taken as modifying the consistent excellence of the articles in this *Festschrift*.

The first article, "Amtliche Reisedokumente in Tibet – Schnellpost am Beispiel eines Eilbriefes «mDa' yig»" (pp. 1-42) by Saadet Arslan,

is a detailed and richly illustrated discussion of a particular form of official document, called *mda' yig*, lit. 'arrow letter', which was used in pre-1959 Tibet to ensure that the bearer, an official, was provided with transport and other necessary facilities by villages through which he passed when travelling. It could also ensure that a messenger, a special runner or horseman, carrying urgent news or government documents, or simply ordinary letters, was given the necessary assistance and support along a preset route. The article also deals with so-called *lam yig*, passports which authorised the bearer to travel along a certain defined route. Further, the article deals with the context of both types of documents, and provides a general overview of Tibetan postal services from 1904 to 1959. This reviewer is not aware of any published work which gives a similarly concise yet detailed description of this topic, including tables showing the use of both terms from the point of view of function and linguistic context.

Over the years, Katia Buffetrille has published an important body of research dealing with pilgrimages to a number of holy mountains in Tibet. In the present article, "A myes rma chen 1990-2018: Reflections on the transformation of a Tibetan pilgrimage" (pp. 75-115), she discusses how the pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Amyes rma-chen, in which she herself has participated five times between 1990 and 2018, has undergone profound changes – visibly in the landscape, in the form of a road encircling the mountain and the related infrastructure related to tourists, less visibly in terms of the motivation of tourists, mainly Chinese, for visiting the mountain, but also with regard to Tibetans who partly abandon, partly uphold traditional modes of pilgrimage and worship. Buffetrille's personal experience, gathered over a period spanning almost thirty years, of the physical and cultural landscape of this mountain, is surely unique among Western scholars.

The phenomenon of 'Treasures' (*gter ma*) and 'Treasure Discoverers' (*gter ston*) has over the last few years benefited from an extraordinary impetus thanks to the Oxford Treasure Seminar Series, organised by Robert Mayer, which has now completed its fourth Series. Likewise, Franz-Karl Ehrhard's article, "Transmissions and Prophecies: Visiting Treasure Discoverers in lHo-brag" (pp. 131-162), focusing on Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan (1484-1549) and his involvement with treasure discoverers active in that area, adds a useful contribution to this rapidly developing field of study.

The art treasures of the great stūpa of Gyantse have been published in several important volumes, but the history of this unique structure has received less attention. The contribution of Karl-Heinz Everding, "Die Geschichte Gyantse's entsprechend dem

rGya bod yig tshang in Edition und Übersetzung” (pp. 163-238), is therefore most welcome as it provides a textual edition and a carefully annotated translation of the relevant part of the most important source (composed in 1434) for the history of Tibet, including Gyantse, in the 13th-15th centuries.

Bringing the reader back to the 20th century, Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy writes about the Tibetan theatre: “sKyor mo lung pa: Notes on the History of an Outstanding Troupe that Reshaped Tibetan Theatre in the First Half of the 20th Century” (pp. 285-312). The author has recently published a massive, fundamental volume on the Tibetan theatre in general (see *EMSCAT*, vol. 51, 2020). In the present article, she conveys her thoughts about the fate of Tibetan theatre (also sometimes referred to as ‘opera’) in the modern world, in the Tibetan diaspora in India as well as in Tibet itself, ending (p. 309) with the reflection that,

Despite the unavoidable simplifications, misunderstandings, reinventions, and standardizations induced in modern times, *lha mo* songs, with their unique and challenging vocal techniques, are still ringing in the Tibetan social media. One can frequently see children singing *rnam thar* songs with passion and dedication, as if these sounds were tangible echoes of a lost past.

Peter Aufschnaiter belonged to the last generation of Westerners, few in number, who had a personal experience of living for many years in pre-1959 Tibet. In his contribution, Christian Jahoda, “Peter Aufschnaiter (1899-1973): A Fresh Biographical Sketch” (pp. 355-420), is inspired by the fact that “Nearly fifty years after his death, the overwhelming majority of the scientific legacy of Peter Aufschnaiter... is still unknown, not researched and not published” (p. 356). Jahoda points to the rich material awaiting exploration – “diaries, manuscripts, documents, texts (in German, English and partly in Tibetan), correspondence, visual materials (photographs, sketches of maps, drawings), collected religious items and other objects” (*ibid.*) and provides a “short fresh biographical sketch... with brief extracts from unpublished diaries, papers, and letters” (*ibid.*). A new research project aims at making this material accessible.

A field of study in which Schuh has been a pioneer, is Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan astral science, which is likewise the topic of Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp’s article, “A propos of *Skar rtsis pa* and *Nag rtsis pa*” (pp. 421-458), drawing upon an impressive range of Tibetan scholars, starting with Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251).

Yannick Laurent’s contribution, “From Lithang with Love: A Travel Permit from the Seventh Dalai Lama” (pp. 459-482), places a

bilingual Tibetan-Mongolian travel permit (*lam yig*), beautifully reproduced in colour, in its historical context. This fascinating article should be studied in conjunction with Saadet Arslan's contribution (discussed above).

Prof. Schuh has, as pointed out by Charles Manson and Fernanda Pirie, been "both a pioneer and an unrivalled authority" (p. 483) in the study of Tibetan legal texts. In their contribution, "The earliest Tibetan legal treatise: the *Khrims gnyis lta ba'i me long*" (pp. 483-522), Manson and Pirie provide the first-ever comprehensive translation of a legal document belonging to class known as *zhal lce*. The text in question is both the earliest and longest *zhal lce* hitherto known. The translation has been made in close consultation with Prof. Schuh. The authors provide not only a translation, but also a transcription of the Tibetan text and a reproduction of the original manuscript (first reproduced in 1985), of which only one copy is currently known, preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala. It is worth mentioning, as Prof. Schuh already pointed out in 1983, and as is evident from the translation of the *zhal lce* text studied by Manson and Pirie, that its contents have little, if any, basis in Buddhism. It is therefore a significant contribution to the study of secular aspects of Tibetan culture and society.

Another type of document, a *gan rgya*, a declaration of a certain obligation, in this case an obligation "to participate in the protection of the sanctuary of [*the sacred mountain – PKv*] Bu le gangs ra in southern gTsang" (p. 577), is presented and discussed in detail by Hanna Schneider in her contribution, "Sacred Ground and The Skilful Use of Land(Scape) Resources – Two Facets of The Same Gem" (pp. 575-598). Like several other contributions in this volume, this important article mirrors Prof. Schuh's own interests and style of scholarship: presentation and discussion of the historical origin and contents of the document ("Directly relating to the enthronement of H.H. the 14. Dalai Lama... on February 22nd, 1940"), including the two official seals representing deeds of confirmation and the imprints of thirty individual private seals, followed by the Tibetan text of the document, a translation, and finally images of the entire document.

Prof. Schuh has been a pioneer in the study of Tibetan seals. Peter Schwieger's article, "The Gold Seals of the Fifth and Seventh Dalai Lamas" (pp. 599-623), is therefore a highly appropriate contribution. It revisits a seal, already noted by Schuh in a groundbreaking work in 1981, attached to a document in the Tibetan archives in Lhasa, studied (digitally) by Schwieger during a study tour to Lhasa. At the end of a detailed discussion of a number of relevant seals, he concludes that this seal, previously generally identified as belonging to the Fifth Dalai Lama, is almost certainly a

seal granted to the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1730.

Rounding off this impressive volume, Bettina Zeisler revisits the topic (attested as early as Herodotos) of 'gold digging ants' in what today is Baltistan, Ladakh, and Western Tibet in her contribution "Of gold, ants, and fables concerning the 'Dards' of Ladakh (and Baltistan)" (pp. 705-764), in which she discusses the wider question of the possibility of "an early influx of 'Dardic' culture or perhaps even a (more) aboriginal 'Dardic' cultural layer" (p. 705).

Five of the contributions in this volume are written in German, while the others are in English. Prof. Schuh wrote and published practically all his research in German. It is therefore obvious that scholars who do not have a working knowledge of German cannot access or benefit from his œuvre, except via publications by other scholars quoting from or referring to his works. The editors of *A Life in Tibetan Studies* make this point which deserves to be quoted in full (p.li):

Even though he revolutionised numerous fields of Tibetology, his works have still not achieved the level of widespread familiarity among Tibetologists that they deserve. This can only be explained by the reluctance of contemporary Anglo-American Tibetology to engage more than superficially with German-language research – and Dieter Schuh's publications are almost exclusively in German.

In fact, this is just one instance of a wider problem, which does not only concern the use of German. Thus, it is difficult to see how one can study the Gesar epic without reading the works of Rolf A. Stein (the relevant ones remain untranslated from French), or engage in the study Tibetan theatre ('opera'), intensively studied by Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, or familiarize oneself with Tibetan folkloristics without access to the 15 volumes of the series "Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung" (edited by Dieter Schuh), or study the early history of Christian missions in Tibet without consulting the massive seven volumes published in Italian by Luciano Petech (*I missionari tibetani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*) – and so on. It is entirely unrealistic to believe that even the core works of Tibetan studies will ever be available in English (or any other single language) in their entirety. I once met a German professor who told me he had spent an entire year in Copenhagen in order to be able to read the works of the Indologist Poul Tuxen, most of which were written in Danish. Hopefully this kind of dedication to the intellectual challenges of humanistic research has not disappeared. One of the merits of this Festschrift is that it points – implicitly – to this issue.

Be that as it may, the volume is an indispensable survey of Dieter Schuh's unique research in Tibetan studies, outstanding not only for

its quantity, but equally for its quality and originality. Moreover, the eighteen articles in the Festschrift constitute an extremely valuable collection of articles, each one of which is an original and substantial piece of research.



Travers, Alice, Peter Schwieger and Charles Ramble, eds., *Taxation in Tibetan Societies: Rules, Practices and Discourses*, Leiden and London (Brill), 2023. xi+388 pp. [Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, vol. 53].

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As the editors of this volume point out in their Introduction, “the fiscal structure of a country reflects the state of a society and the nature of political power” (p. 1). In the case of Tibet, as opposed to the nation-states of the western world, there was, until 1959, no single unified polity, and “Tibetans were not citizens, but rather subjects of a variety of rulers across the area of Tibetan culture” (p. 2), the largest of which was the Ganden Phodrang (1642-1959) with its centre in Lhasa and the Dalai Lama as its head of state. There were, however, not a few other independent or autonomous political units, some of which were hierocratic, others monarchic (and hence secular), and yet others tribal or simply confederations of villages. All these polities were, in one way or another, dependent on access to economic resources in the form of taxation (Tib. *khral*) levied in various ways from their subjects, either in money, in kind, or in the form of corvée labour.

The editors have provided an “Introduction” (pp. 1-10) in which salient features of the tax systems in pre-1959 Tibet are outlined and the twelve contributions in the volume presented. Scholars who have previously dealt with taxation in Tibetan societies – Melvyn C. Goldstein, Wangchen Gelek Surkhang, and Paljor Tsarong – are mentioned briefly. An important article by Dieter Schuh was probably published too recently to be included before the book went to the press: “Landwirte und Viehzüchter im Bereich der dGa’-ldan pho-brang-Regierung. Untersuchungen zur Steuererhebung, Demographie und Vermögensungleichheit in Tibet. Teil 2A: Steuerrechtliche Zusammenfassung (Summary of Taxation Principles)”, *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 51 (2023), pp. 145-159.

The articles fall, *grosso modo*, into two groups: taxation systems in the Ganden Phodrang state and taxation systems in regions not under the Ganden Phodrang state but situated along its borders.

The greater part of the book mainly concerns the Ganden Phodrang government. This is not surprising since it was by far the largest pre-1959 political unit on the Tibetan Plateau, and the only polity that could be regarded as a centralized state. Thus, the first article, quite

appropriately, is by Peter Schwieger: "The Tax System in Central and Far Eastern Tibet Towards the End of the Ganden Phodrang Reign: An Outline of Its Structure and Terminology" (pp. 11-53). Schwieger translates substantial parts of a modern study, *A General Description of Tibet (Bod ljongs spyi bshad)*, first published in Chinese in 1986, and subsequently in Tibetan in 1991. That book gives a detailed overview of the various kinds of taxes in Tibet, adopting a historical perspective going back to the early 20th century and providing the relevant Tibetan terminology. This text has not been translated into a Western language before and is a rich mine of information. The second part of Schwieger's article deals with taxation in the kingdom of Derge, thus moving out of the domain of the Ganden Phodrang state. This topic has already, as Schwieger points out, been touched on by Rinzin Thargyal in 2007,¹ but in the present volume Schwieger translates a relevant passage from a book in Tibetan, published by the Kandze Autonomous Tibetan Prefecture in 1990. The contribution of that volume to the study of taxation in Tibet is made available here to western researchers for the first time.

Kalsang Norbu Gurung, "A Perspective on the Ganden Phodrang's Administration of Taxation in the 19th and 20th Centuries Based on Archival Sources" (pp. 54-82), adopts a historical approach, basing itself on primary sources, namely government offices of the Ganden Phodrang concerned with tax regulations; some of these offices were as old as the Ganden Phodrang state itself, going back to 1642. The author provides (pp. 55-58) a very useful overview of these offices, and the article contains references to studies and editions of relevant archival documents, without which, as the author points out, taxation in Tibet cannot be understood "conclusively and accurately" (p. 71). Two relevant edicts, from 1830 and 1894 respectively, are published in facsimile, transliteration, and English translation.

The focus on the Ganden Phodrang is continued by Alice Travers, who discusses taxation in Ngamring, one of the administrative districts of the Lhasa government: "'When You Count, Everything Is There, and When Everything Is There, Everything Vanishes': A Criticism of Tax Collecting in Ngamring District (*rdzong*) during the First Half of the 20th Century" (pp. 83-126). The choice of Ngamring as a field of study is justified first, by the existence of a possibly unique first-hand account, published in Lhasa in 1994, by a "district clerk" working in the Ngamring *rdzong* from the 1930s to the 1950s; second, Ngamring used to be under the semi-autonomous Tashi Lhunpo administration "before passing, in 1923, under the direct control of the Lhasa

¹ *Nomads of Eastern Tibet: Social Organization and Economy of a Pastoral Estate in the Kingdom of Derge*, ed. Toni Huber, Leiden (Brill), 2007).

government after the flight of the Ninth Panchen Lama ... the Tashi Lhunpo tax system has so far been less well documented than other areas of Central Tibet" (p. 85). The article also includes a useful overview of "the secondary western-language literature on the tax system in agricultural areas of Central Tibet" (pp. 86-92) and a discussion of the uses – and limitations – of an oral source published in the context of the political system in present-day Tibet, a system where denunciation of the "old system" was (and remains) a requirement (pp. 93-96).

"Traditional Taxation Systems in Western Tibet: A Comparative Perspective" (pp. 127-154) is contributed by Nancy Levine. Attention is now shifted to Western Tibet (Ngari), a region which, although having its own history and cultural background, was incorporated into the Ganden Phobrang state in the 17th century. The author, Nancy Levine, collected the relevant data during "a brief period of field research in summer 1990" (p. 127). Although the author warns that the "accounts are not exhaustive" and may have "unrecognized lacunae" (p. 128), the article does have the merit (which the author modestly prefers to regard as limitations) of referring to a system that after a period of thirty years was still alive in the recollection of the interviewees. Levine shows very clearly that the former taxation system must be seen in a broader context which, at least in terms of economics (based on agrarian production) and social mobility, would seem to be designed to ensure a range of negative effects: "restrictions on land usage, low levels of production, limited monetization, and restricted market systems" (p. 127) – surely a sobering corrective to fantasies of a harmonious and happy pre-1959 Tibetan society.

The following three chapters discuss taxation from a different angle, namely various forms of corvée labour, all of them, however, imposed within the framework of the Ganden Phodrang government. The first, "*Lam yig* – An Official Document Granting Travel Privileges in Tibet" (pp. 155-196), authored by Saadet Arslan, deals with "route letters" (*lam yig*), "granting travel privileges to designated people". The article is a summary of the author's Magister Artium thesis (University of Bonn), dating from 2005, the first systematic study of the *lam yig* system. The pioneering and well-written article also has interesting illustrations, and includes colour photos, transliterations, and translations of two *lam yig* from the 20th century. In an article published in 2022, the author presented a study of a related phenomenon, the *mda' yig*, "arrow letter", the basic component of the traditional Tibetan postal system.² A *lam yig* issued by the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1729 has

² "Amtliche Reisedokumente in Tibet – Schnellpost am Beispiel eines Eilbriefes «mDa' yig»", in Christoph Cüppers, Karl-Heinz Everding, and Peter Schwieger,

recently been studied by Yannick Laurent.³

Another pioneer study of corvée tax is Diana Lange's contribution, "'My Karma Selected Me to Become a Ferryman': The Role of Waterways and Watercraft in the Corvée Tax System in Pre-1959 Tibet" (pp. 197-210). Traditional Tibetan yak-hide boats have often been noticed by western travelers in Tibet, but to the best of my knowledge, their use and economic relevance had not been studied systematically before Lange published a study, in 2009, of Tibetan fishing communities, their techniques and economy in the changing social context of contemporary Tibet.⁴ In that book she also dealt, although only briefly, with traditional Tibetan boats. Subsequently she has published several articles on the economic aspect of this element of pre-1959 Tibetan society, and with the present chapter she takes the topic further by presenting the traditional tax system of the river boat corvée.

Another, and for many readers perhaps surprising, form of corvée taxation, was the obligation of certain villages to provide actors for the performance, on fixed occasions, of what is often referred to as 'Tibetan opera' (*a lce lha mo*, or, more simply, *lha mo*). The undisputed expert of *lha mo*, including its gradual decline in post-1959 Tibet, is Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, the author of a monumental study on this topic.⁵ While her *magnum opus* deals extensively with history and repertoire, the author describes her contribution to the present volume, "Performing Tibetan Opera As *khral* in the First Half of the 20th Century: In Principle a "Tax", in Experience a Pervasive Obligation" (pp. 211-253), as "a foray into the sociology of traditional Tibetan opera" (p. 212). She discusses how "the system of performance-as-tax [was] conceptualised and practically organised" (*ibid.*) In particular, she looks at the ten troupes that performed at the Lhasa *zho ston* festival, initiated in the 17th century by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and among other topics, discusses the *lha mo* as "a merit-making activity situated between religion and entertainment" (pp. 244-248).

Finally, among the three chapters that deal with taxation in the form of corvée service, Berthe Jansen discusses the so-called "monk-tax": "A Preliminary Investigation into Monk-Tax: The Concept of *grwa khral/btsun khral/ban khral* and Its Meanings" (pp. 254-278). She argues

eds., *A Life in Tibetan Studies: Festschrift for Dieter Schuh at the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, Lumbini (Lumbini International Research Institute), 2022, pp. 1-42.

³ "From Lithang with Love: A Travel Permit from the Seventh Dalai Lama", in Cüppers *et al.*, pp. 459-482.

⁴ Altner [Lange], Diana, *Die Verkleinerung der Yakhautboote: Fischerkulturen in Zentral- und Südtibet im sozioökonomischen Wandel des modernen China*, Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz), 2009.

⁵ Henrion-Dourcy, Isabelle, *Le théâtre ache lhamo: Jeux et enjeux d'une tradition tibétaine*, Leeuven (Peeters), 2017.

that this tax has usually been understood as “the tax levied on families with three or more sons ...occasionally cited as a prime example of the far-reaching influence institutional monasticism has had” (p. 254) but points out that “neither the prevalence of this tax... nor the underlying reasons for imposing this policy have been appropriately researched” (*ibid.*). On the basis of historical as well as modern written sources, Jansen, an expert on traditional monastic law and its social context,⁶ is able to show that the term *grwa khral* (etc.) besides its accepted meaning of a tax levied in the form of monastic recruitment, can also have the hitherto largely unknown meanings of “duties to be fulfilled by monks” inside the monastery, and “sustenance payment made to monks” by the local lay population (pp. 268-271), thus enriching our understanding of what turns out to be a term invested with quite diverse meanings. More generally, Jansen shows that “the monk population was very unevenly spread throughout the Tibetan and Himalayan areas” and that monk-tax was not applied universally (p. 273).

The final four chapters focus on specific regions rather than on forms of taxation. The first chapter, contributed by M. Maria Turek, “Monastic Obligations, Hat Change and Lhasa Encroachment: Taxation Rights Among Politico-Religious Shifts in the Kingdom of Nangchen” (pp. 279-301), deals with the kingdom of Nangchen, a distinct polity from the mid-13th century until 1951, although since the 17th to 18th centuries it was incorporated – without losing its largely autonomous status – into present-day Qinghai province. This period was characterised by the gradual transfer of religious control from the Kagyüpa school to the Gelugpa school, a change from which the Ganden Phodrang government “had much to gain” (p. 280), as the monasteries converted to the Gelugpa school retained the right to collect produce (butter, tsampa, tea, salt etc.) in return for ritual services and simultaneously could take over the fiscal personnel of the previously dominant Kagyüpa school. The author looks at the nature and history of taxation in Nangchen, noting that “since the second half of 19th century... many areas of Eastern Tibet including Nangchen became the scene of growing Lhasa encroachment, expressed through ideological and economic pressure” (p. 291).

The following three chapters deal with questions of taxation in polities belonging to the Tibetan cultural area, but firmly placed outside the borders of the Ganden Phodrang government. The most significant of these areas is undoubtedly Ladakh, an independent kingdom until 1834. An important contribution to Ladakhi studies is the chapter contributed by John Bray: ““By Ancient Custom and Engagements”:

⁶ Jansen, Berthe, *The Monastery Rules: Buddhist Monastic Organization in Pre-Modern Tibet*, Oakland CA (University of California Press), 2018.

Trade, Taxes and Diplomacy in Ladakh and Western Tibet between the 17th and 20th Centuries" (pp. 302-332). As indicated by the title, Bray's chapter concerns "Ladakh's historical trading relationship with Western Tibet" (p. 302). He reviews taxation in Ladakh, especially in the 19th and early 20th centuries, with a focus first, on "taxation in the form of labour obligations" (p. 303), secondly, on those who benefited from the system, and thirdly, on those who were subject to corvée transport labour, including their fate and strategies of resistance. The article is a pioneer study of taxation in pre-modern Ladakh, and, in general, a masterly exposition of the changing relationship between Ladakh, Tibet, and Kashmir between the 17th and the 20th centuries.

"Taxes and Corvées in the Manorial and Monastic Estates of Zangskar (Western Himalayas)" (pp. 333-340) by Isabelle Riaboff is based on almost two years of fieldwork in Zangskar in the 1990's. By this time, labour obligations to the local monarchy had ceased to apply, while taxation in the form of grain and certain corvée services were still in force. The chapter is concise but informative and is a significant contribution to research on the social and economic history of this formerly independent kingdom.

Bringing the volume to a close is Chapter 12, "The Fiscal Status of Buddhist and Bönpo Institutions in Mustang (Nepal): A Historical Overview" (pp. 341-370) by Charles Ramble. The fiscal and political situation in this region of Nepal was particularly complex, involving, at various times, traditional village councils, local hereditary rulers, and, from 1846, the Rana Central Government. This was further complicated by tax privileges benefiting families belonging to the priestly social stratum, namely families the male members of which would be married ritual practitioners, whether Buddhist or Bönpo. Ramble uses local legal documents, of which he has an unparalleled knowledge, to illustrate how all these factors play out in a range of villages in Mustang, introducing the reader to individuals and families and tracing their changing fortunes over several generations. He does so without overlooking the basic features of the larger social and political changes in Mustang in the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, by which the region was slowly integrated into the state of Nepal.

Taxation in Tibetan Societies is a major contribution to the study of the history of the sociology and economy of Tibetan societies, a field of study which is coming increasingly into focus among researchers, but also among a wider audience with an interest in Tibet and the Himalayas. This excellently edited volume, with its original and substantial articles, deserves a wide readership.

