WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE
HEFT 85

EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE IN THE PRE-MODERN BUDDHIST WORLD

Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference
Held in Vienna, 14-15 Oct. 2011

EDITED BY

KURT TROPPER

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN UNIVERSITÄT WIEN
WIEN 2014

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ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

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HEFT 85

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CONTENTS

Preface vii

Arlo Griffiths: The ‘Greatly Ferocious’ Spell (*Mahāraudra-nāma-hṛdaya*). A *dhāraṇī* Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur. 1

Guntram Hazod: The Stele in the Centre of the Lhasa Maṇḍala. About the Position of the 9th-Century Sino-Tibetan Treaty Pillar of Lhasa in its Historical and Narrative Context. 37

Charles Manson & Nathan W. Hill: A *Gter ma* of Negatives. H.E. Richardson’s Photographic Negatives of Manuscript Copies of Tibetan Imperial Inscriptions Possibly Collected by Rig ’dzin Tshe dbang nor bu in the 18th Century CE, Recently Found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. 83

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub: A Perusal of Early Tibetan Inscriptions in Light of the Buddhist World of the 7th to 9th Centuries A.D. 117

Suey-Ling Tsai: Historische Inschriften aus der Tang-Dynastie (618-907) im “Kloster des Liegenden Buddha” in Anyue, Sichuan. 167

གུ་གེ་ཚ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ: མངའ་རིས་ས་ཁུལ་རྫ་མདའ་རྩོང་ན་མཆེས་པའི་གུ་གེ་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་བཞིངས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་མཚན་བྱང་སོོར་ལ་རགས་ཙམ་བརྩོད་པ། 193

Nobuyoshi Yamabe, in collaboration with Academia Turfanica: Toyok Cave 20. Paintings and Inscriptions. 217

About the Contributors 263

PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of a conference that was conducted at the University of Vienna on 14-15 October 2011 and organized by the project "Tibetan Inscriptions" (FWF: S9811-G21) within the framework of the National Research Network (NRN) "The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya". Bringing together scholars from various academic disciplines, this NRN was generously financed by the Austrian Science Fund from 2007 to 2013, and the various projects that formed part of it regularly organized workshops, seminars and conferences with different scopes and objectives.

In keeping with the broad interdisciplinary approach of the NRN, the epigraphy conference transcended the linguistic boundaries defining the research objects of the inscription project and provided a platform for scholars working on epigraphic sources not only in Tibet, but also on the Indian subcontinent, in China, and in Southeast Asia. Moreover, there were no limitations regarding the material and the contents of the inscriptions that the participants could discuss, provided they were somehow related to Buddhism and dated back to pre-modern times, with "pre-modern" roughly equating to "19th century or earlier".

As with other events organized by the projects of the NRN, originally there were no plans to publish proceedings of the conference, but during the closing discussion several participants expressed their strong interest. Although some of the presenters had already agreed to publish their papers elsewhere, it was decided to bring the other contributions together in what eventually became the present volume.

In order to give the authors a greater opportunity to express themselves in a language in which they feel comfortable, but also to counteract somewhat the increasing hegemony of English in scholarly publications, articles could be submitted in any of the following four languages: English, French, German, and Tibetan. For the convenience of the readers, the contributions of the two authors who eventually pre-

ferred not to write in English have been furnished with short English abstracts.

The editor would like to thank the Austrian Science Fund and the University of Vienna for their financial support of the conference. He is also indebted to Karin Preisendanz, who made the facilities of the University's Department of South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies available for the conference, and to the department staff, who provided much-needed help in practical matters during the two-day event.

Sarah Teetor was instrumental in organizing the conference and kindly checked (or re-checked) the English contributions of the non-native speakers in this volume. Final decisions regarding the wording were of course left up to the authors.

Cristina Scherrer-Schaub was co-organizing the conference and originally intended to act as a co-editor of the proceedings; due to her numerous other obligations she later had to step down but continued to provide very helpful feedback and advice. It was also due to her kind initiative that Arlo Griffiths, who could not attend the conference, contributed an article on an inscribed lead-bronze foil found near the famous monument of Borobudur, thus expanding the geographical frame of the present volume from China and the Indo-Tibetan world to Southeast Asia.

Last but not least, thanks are due to Jürgen Schörflinger, who once again helped to solve some technical problems.

Vienna, March 2014 Kurt Tropper

THE 'GREATLY FEROCIOUS' SPELL (*MAHĀRAUDRA-NĀMA-HṚDAYA*)

A *dhāraṇī* Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur[1]

ARLO GRIFFITHS

During the preparations for the major restoration of Borobudur that was conducted from 1973 through 1983, excavations were carried out in different sectors surrounding the monument, as they became available for study after purchase of the lands. A "preliminary report" written in 1976 by leading Indonesian epigrapher Boechari, and published in 1982, is among the principal sources that we have on these excavations, which were regrettably carried out under generally rather unfavorable conditions.[2] One of the major finds at the time was the lead-bronze foil whose

[1] This paper could not have been written if Bambang Budi Utomo and Titi Surti Nastiti, archaeologists of the Indonesian National Center for Archaeology, Jakarta, had not so kindly shared photographs of the metal foil under discussion made during a mission of their institution to Borobudur in 2011. In preparing this study, I have benefited, through exchange of letters, from Lokesh Chandra's magisterial knowledge of Buddhist literature and iconography; in August 2013 he kindly sent me a draft of the paper referred to below, and by the end of the year he sent me his book *Lord Śiva and Buddha in the Golden Isles* allowing me to refer to the final version of his article, published in that book, days before the final draft of mine was submitted for publication in the present volume. Ron Davidson, Shingo Einoo, Rolf Giebel, Gergely Hidas, Péter-Dániel Szántó, Vincent Tournier, Klaus Wille and Yuko Yokochi have given comments and pointed me to sources that are unaccessible to me. I am grateful to all these colleagues.

[2] See Anom 2005: 150-163, which largely reproduces Boechari's preliminary report and is also based on a limited number of other publications by Boechari himself, by Boechari in collaboration with Wiwin Djuwita & Heriyanti Ongkodharma,

Sanskrit inscription in Kawi script is the subject of this study. From Boechari's report, we learn the following about the circumstances of its discovery (1982: 92 [= 2012: 580]):

> The area west of the temple was purchased in March 1974. Immediately trial excavations were undertaken. In a number of trenches were found formations of cut stones, brick and small river boulders, local potsherds, and Chinese ceramic sherds. In trench 35/III was recovered a rolled piece of lead-bronze, which later on turned out to be an inscription containing a kind of *dhāraṇī*. We include a transcription of it in this report. On this side, too, we could not make adequate archaeological investigations, since the area was immediately needed for the building of the storage rooms.

Boechari's transcription of the text was included on p. 94 of his report (= 2012: 585-586), and this is preceded by just a few remarks on its interpretation:

> The lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the monument contains a very interesting text. But due to our very limited knowledge of Buddhism, we will leave its interpretation and also that of the shorter texts above transcribed[3] to the experts. We only can note that the text is Buddhist, presumably from the Wajrayāna school of Buddhism, and that we find a reference to the building of a *mahāśāśana*, as well as to a location on a hill in the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpāthāsyaparvatasthala*). Does this text refer to the Borobudur? Unfortunately the script of the epigraph shows the irregularity and carelessness of the hands of the non-royal scribe. But from the general form of the characters it could not be older than the script on

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as well as a report on pottery by Mundardjito. Boechari's preliminary report was recently republished among his collected papers (Boechari 2012: 575-586).

[3] Boechari is referring here to two short *dhāraṇī* inscriptions on silver foil, which will not be treated in the present article. The recent publication of Boechari's collected papers (2012) contains photos of these two items (pp. 583-584).

> the *stūpa*s: it could be even a decade or two older (*sic*). (1982: 93 [= 2012: 583-585])

We shall return below to the contents of the inscription. As for the remark about its palaeographic dating, Boechari is alluding to inscribed miniature *stūpa*s found during the excavations, about which he suggested that they "could not be younger than the second half of the ninth century A.D." (1982: 93 [= 2012: 582]). Presumably the final sentence in the long citation above contains a slip of the pen, and Boechari's intention was to say that the script on the lead-bronze foil "could be even a decade or two *younger*". Boechari concludes his report with the crucial observation that "the chronological relation of these important finds with the Borobudur monument cannot yet be determined on account of the fact that their stratigraphic position could not be accurately recorded" (1982: 94 [= 2012: 586]). This means that the foil, although no doubt a document of great importance for the history of Buddhism in Indonesia – as I will try to show below –, cannot be used in any argument directly involving the underlying concept and the building of the monument in whose vicinity it was unearthed.[4]

I shall not make any attempt here to apply the palaeographic method to make a dating estimate for the inscription, because I have already tried to do so for another important Javanese *dhāraṇī* inscription (Cruijsen, Griffiths & Klokke 2012, §4), without much success. I may just refer the reader to my discussion in another study (Griffiths 2014, §1) where I have mentioned the tilted shape of the *akṣara ma*, observed on the foil, as a feature that might be characteristic of the middle of the 9th century. A feature that is, to my knowledge, absolutely unique,[5] is

[4] Lokesh Chandra's assertion (2013: 237) that this inscription "shows that the Borobudur was dedicated to the STTS [i.e., the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*; A.G.] whose central deity was Vajradhātu Vairocana and his ferocious counterpart was Trailokyavijaya" fails to take these archaeological facts into account.

[5] This statement must be qualified in the sense that Sundanese script of West Java, whose earliest attestation belongs to the 13th or 14th century CE, shows the same subscript form of *virāma* under certain consonants, most notably *k*. See the

the placement of the *virāma* signs *below* rather than *above* their *akṣara*s. I suspect that this may be the result of influence of Siddhamātṛkā on the scribe's use of Kawi script.[6] Although it seems a reasonable estimate, I do not share Boechari's confidence in the palaeographic attribution of the inscription to the 9th century, and would not wish to exclude the possibility that it dates to the 8th or the early 10th.

After Boechari's provisional edition of the inscription, it seems that it did not attract any scholarly attention at all until it was taken up just a few years ago by Hudaya Kandahjaya (2009), who brilliantly identified a parallel for the main *dhāraṇī* in a text preserved on Bali under the title *Navakampa*. This text, previously published by Lévi (1933: 80-81), was reedited by Goudriaan & Hooykaas (G&H) (1971: 314-316; text number 510). But Hudaya Kandahjaya's textual observations were hindered by the provisional nature of Boechari's edition; this also holds for the textual notes recently published by Lokesh Chandra (2013). The main purpose of this contribution, therefore, is to furnish a reliable edition, on a sounder philological basis than the provisional edition of Boechari, who had no knowledge of nor access to Buddhist Sanskrit literature. This will make it possible to evaluate more precisely the extent of the parallels between the *Navakampa* and our *dhāraṇī*.[7]

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inscription of Kawali (de Casparis 1975, plate IXa, line 1). The reading adopted by de Casparis on p. 95 does not recognize the case of *k·* (*k*+*virāma*), and indeed this palaeographic feature remains altogether unmentioned in his handbook.

[6] For a survey of inscriptions of ancient Java in Siddhamātṛkā script, all Buddhist and in Sanskrit, see Griffiths, Revire & Sanyal 2013: 15-17. The normal script of ancient Java was Kawi, and it was used for all languages epigraphically attested on Java during the first millennium (Sanskrit, Old Javanese, Old Malay).

[7] When I received the draft of his observations from the author and responded by informing him of my work towards a new edition, Lokesh Chandra's piece had already gone to the press and could not be modified. Since it is based on Boechari's reading, I refer to Lokesh Chandra (2013) only sparingly in the present contribution, limiting myself to his text-critical observations which are useful or in need of discussion.

The foil is presently preserved at the Borobudur Site Museum 'Mahakarmawibhangga', where excellent photos were taken in 2011 by Sugeng Riyanto during a visit by a team of the National Center of Archaeology. These photographs serve as the basis for the critical edition proposed below.

The text has reached us in rather bad condition. The foil on which it is inscribed is quite damaged, while the writing was irregular and careless to begin with, as already pointed out by Boechari.[8] Moreover, it seems that the exemplar from which the scribe made his copy on metal must itself already have been heavily corrupt. Given these challenges, I have decided to present my edition in two stages. First, an edition which is basically diplomatic but does comprise restorations of lost or illegible syllables, which will be provided with extensive text-critical notes, in justification of my restorations and proposals for emendation. These are then reflected at the second stage in a restored text, which is the basis of my translation. For the sake of comparison, I reproduce the text of the *Navakampa* as part of stage one.

I have not been able to inspect the foil directly, but Titi Surti Nastiti kindly informs me that the dimensions of the lead-bronze foil are 45.5 cm in length × 2.3 cm in height. There seems to be a circular drawing of some sort on the left end of the *verso*, but the photographs at my disposal do not allow me to say anything significant about it. Regarding the original function of the foil, it is important to recall that Boechari reported it to have been unearthed in a rolled up state.[9]

[8] However, when Boechari writes (as quoted above) "the script of the epigraph shows the irregularity and carelessness of the hands of the non-royal scribe", one may question whether the distinction between royal and non-royal scribes is the most pertinent here. Rather, it seems to be the fact that *dhāraṇī* inscriptions were not meant to be read but were written for magical purposes that is relevant. See Griffiths 2014 for other Indonesian examples of very carelessly written *dhāraṇī* inscriptions.

[9] This is again a feature shared with other Indonesian *dhāraṇī* inscriptions (cf. Griffiths 2014).

Editorial conventions

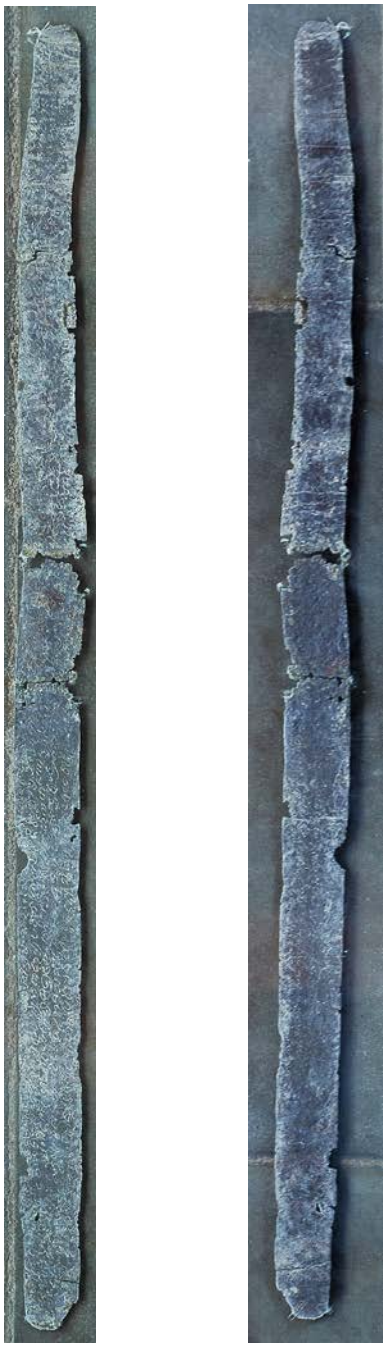
The text is initially edited line-by-line. I use the following editorial signs:

x	one illegible *akṣara*
_	one completely lost *akṣara*
·	the *virāma* sign
°	precedes an independent (*akṣara*) vowel sign
(…)	graphic element(s) whose reading is visually uncertain
[…]	graphic element(s) wholly lost or wholly unreadable on the foil but restorable on the basis of philological considerations
+…+	*akṣara*(s) added between two lines

The text on the lead-bronze foil

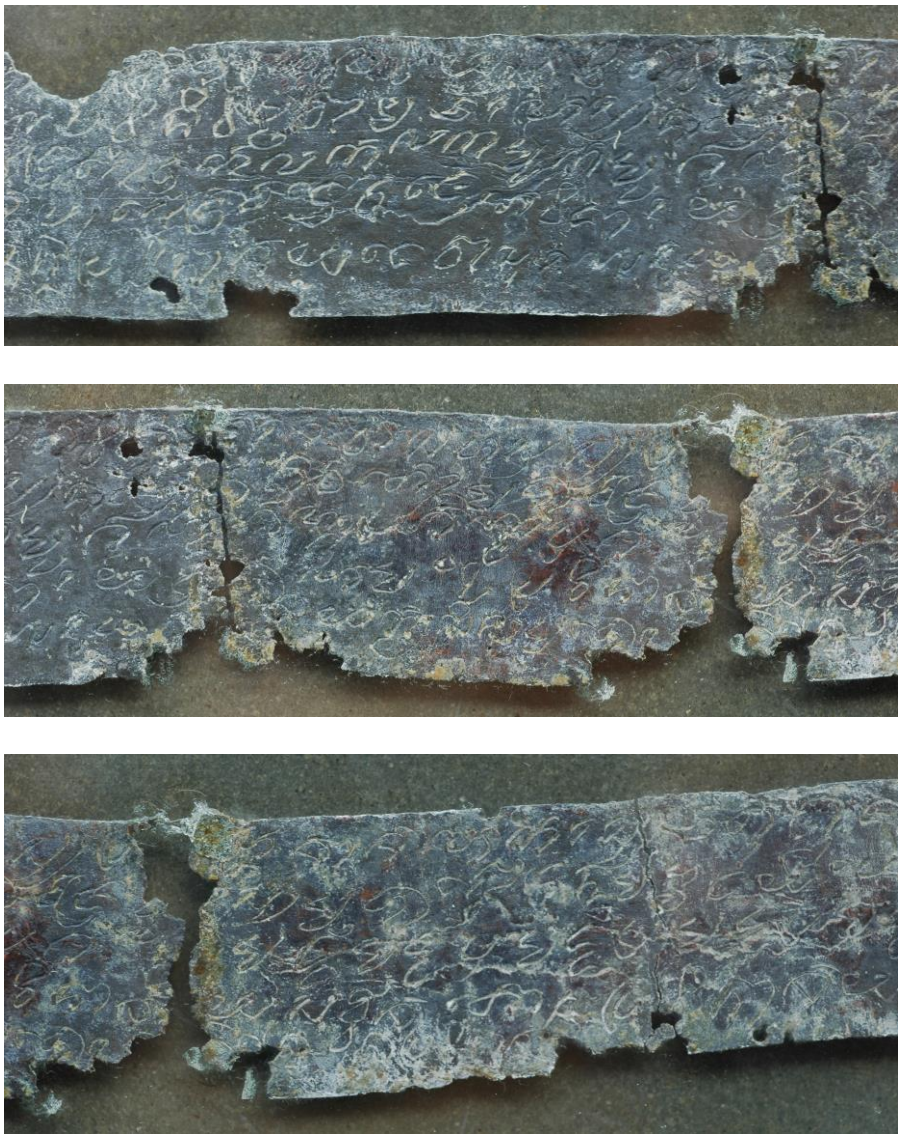
Recto

1. (namo) ratnatrayāyasya nama[ś] c(aṇḍa)vajrapānayisya mahāya-[kṣa]senāpatisya namo bhagavat(o) [pra]tihatavalav[īr]yyavicitravi(dyā)[dha]r(e)śavarasahasrasya (pr)_(ṇḍa)śāśaṇakarasya catu(r)-bhujālaṅkṛtaśarīrasyama[si]muśalaparaśupāśavajrajvalāgniḥ (vi)[bhī-]
2. saṇakasupasya (pa)tijaṭilājalasañcayavilamvitadakṣiṇapādāsya parvvatasthalatapaviniviṣṭavāmacaraṇasya na[mo] bhagavato mahāvajra[dhara]sya mahārodran nama (h)ṛdayaṁ parama(dā)ruṇaṁ +sarvva+-bh(ū)tagaṇa(vin)āśakaraṁ rodrakaraṁ traśabhaya-
3. vivādakaraṁ sarvvakammāsiddhikaraṁ siddhikaraṁ °avartayiśyaṁmi tadyath(ā) ta bhoḥ bhoḥ rodra rodra kala kala kampa kampa gañja gañja p(r)agañja praga(ñja) mardda mardda pramardda pramardda pramardda hā hā hi hi hūṁ hūṁ rodraka x (lā)maṁ duṣṭagrahaṁ ciñca(lā)ya haṣṭaci(ttaṁ)
4. pāpacittaṁ kupitacittaṁ pravināśaya roruṣi pravināśaya rodraśvareṇa traśaya rodravajre vajreṇa vidāraya (p)ra(hā)ṇamaṁpi pravināśa-

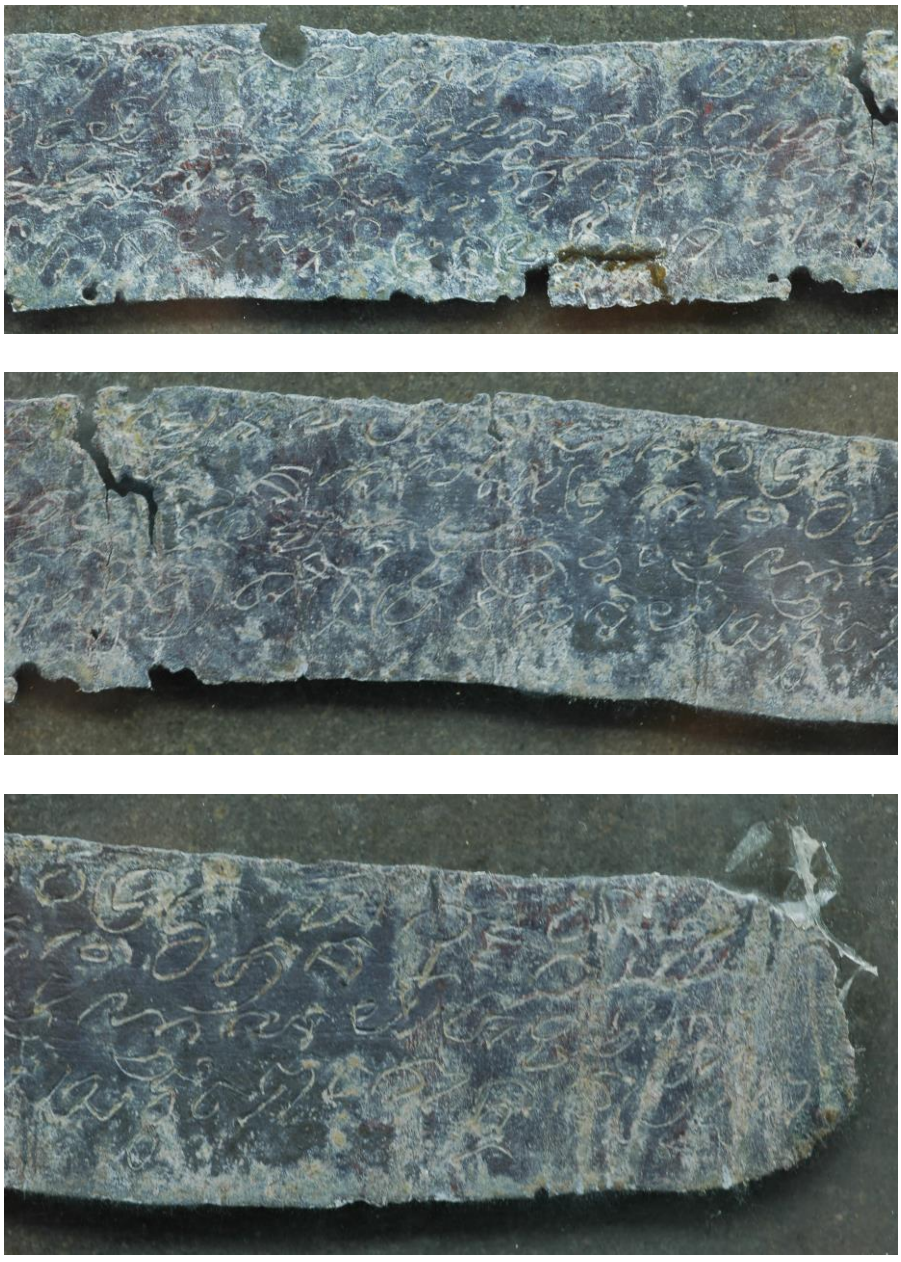


Figs 1, 2: *recto* (above) and *verso* (below) of the lead-bronze foil
(all photos 2011, by Sugeng Riyanto, National Center of Archaeology, Indonesia; reproduced by permission)

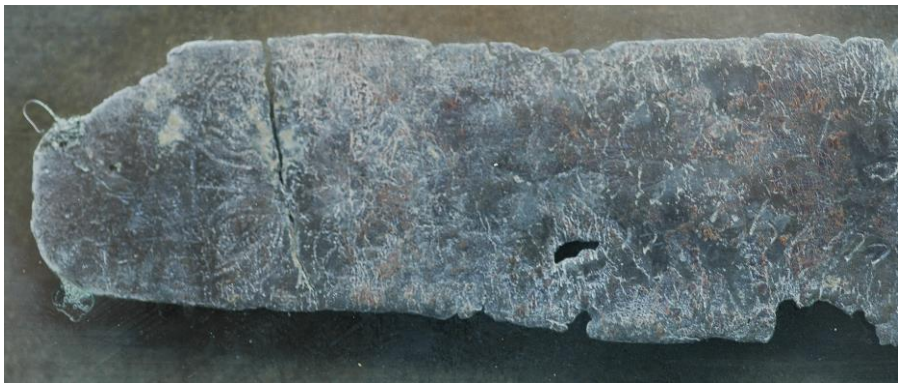
Figs 3-5: *recto*, left side of the foil

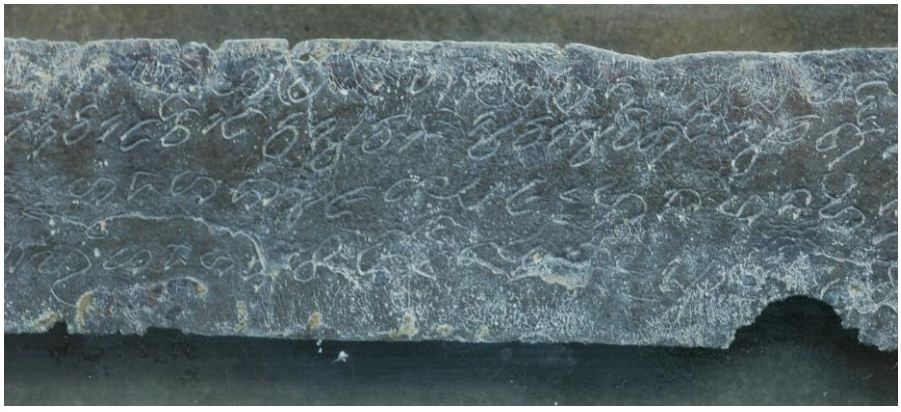


Figs 6-8: *recto*, central part of the foil

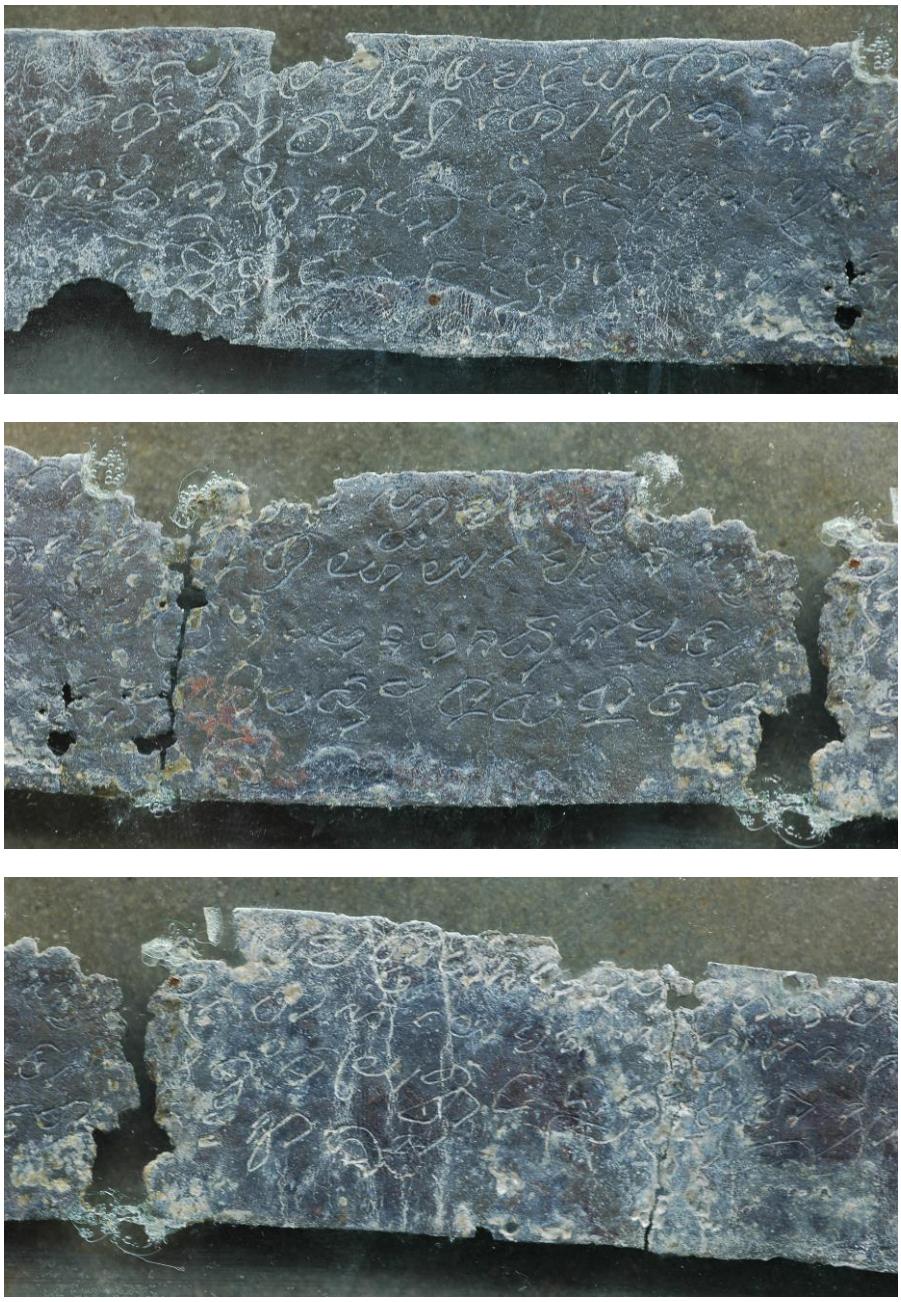


Figs 9-11: *recto*, right side of the foil

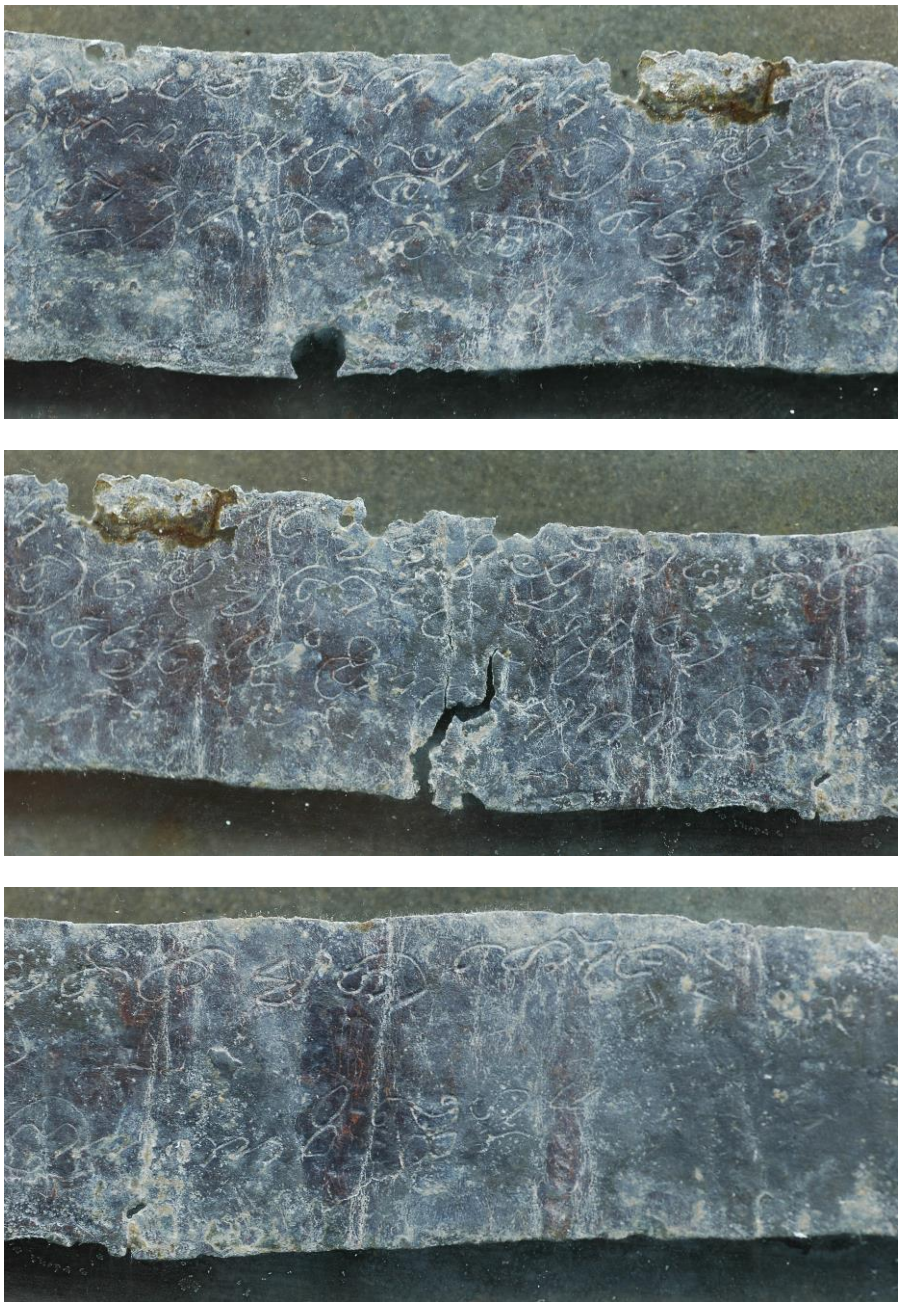




Figs 12-14: *verso*, left side of the foil



Figs 15-17: *verso*, central part of the foil



Figs 18-20: *verso*, right side of the foil

Fig. 21: *verso*, right extremity of the foil

ya sarvvaśaton[·] pravināśaya sarvvaṁ vipran(·) pra(vinā)śaya sarvva-(vyādhi)n· pravināśaya sarvvaṁ rogon· ga pravinā-

5. [śaya sa]rvvaviṇāvināśayakanā pravināśaya sarvvadussavdān· pravināśaya sarvvadurddama(tv)an· pra(vi)nāśaya devāsuragha(ru)ḍa[gandharva]yakṣakinaramaho[ragādīn·] pravināśa-

Verso

1. ya kampaya kampaya gañjaya gañjaya pragañjaya pragañjaya mardda mardda pramarda+ya+ pramardaya bhoḥ (bh)[oḥ caṇḍa ca]ṇḍa marā ma[rā pramattha] pramattha hana (hana dada) haha paca paca kuru kuru (mahāro)dra mahāviryya mahātita mahātojaḥ
2. mahāśāśaṇa kuru kuru vāda vāda va svavara svavara svavatu svavatu bhāvāmiho svāhā nāmo [ra]tnatrayāya namaḥ caṇḍa[va]jrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasonāpataye tadyath(ā) °oṁ ma °īḥ jaḥ svāhā
3. °oṁ ma °īḥ jaḥ hana hanā vijaye jaḥ hana hana hi °ihi °ihā hāṁ jaḥ svāhā °oṁ (ma °ī)ḥ hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvaṁśayettadadma

°oṁ x ta svāhā (tathā) tadyathā, °oṁ tri(kā x °ākā) °ī(kāro) vicchet· (pa)

4. x x x (na)n(d)āka(mākāvānākadhākakayaka) °oṁ hana hana vijaḥ (j)oḥ svā(hā) ṭaki hūṁ jaḥ jaḥ hūṁ kiṭa h(ū)[ṁ] ṭaki (dhuṁ) kiṭa dhu(ṁ) °iya °ija (°i)_ḥ svāhā //[10]

Text of the *Navakampa* after Goudriaan & Hooykaas

Namo Ratna-trayāya svāhā, namaś Caṇḍa-vajra-pāṇi svāhā, mahā-yakṣa-senā-pati svāhā, namo Bhagavate ’prati-hata-bala-vīrya-vidhi-trividyā-dhara-sahasra svāhā, catur-bhujalâkṛti-śarīra svāhā, asi-musala-paraśu-pāśa-vajrâgni-jvālâtibhīṣaṇaka-rūpa svāhā, paśu-pati-jatijada-sañcaya-vilambita-dakṣiṇa-pāda svāhā, sarva-niyantaka, tava viniṣṭha-vāma-caraṇa-uṣṇīṣa svāhā, namo Bhagavate mahā-vajra-dhara svāhā, namo Rudra, namo hṛdayaṃ, parama-dāruṇaṃ, sarva-bhūta-gaṇa-vinaya-karaṃ, roṣâstrâśīviṣâdhaḥ-karaṃ, sarva-karma-siddhi-karam āvarta-yiṣyāmi,

tad yathā: Bhoḥ bhoḥ vajra vajra kāla kāla karma karma, kampa kampa bandha bandha marda marda haha hihi HUṂ HUṂ; raudrâti-raudrânusāriṇam imaṃ daṃstrâgra-caṇḍa-grahaṃ, mayi duṣṭa-cittaṃ pravināśaya, raudra-dhūpena pravināśaya, raudra-vajreṇa pravināśaya, Viṣṇuṃ pravināśaya, Brahmāṇaṃ pravināśaya, sarva-rogān pravināśaya, sarva-pāpān pravināśaya, sarva-devān pravināśaya, sarva-kleśān pravināśaya, sarva-duṣṭa-cittān pravināśaya, sarva-vighnān pravināśaya, sarva-vināyakān pravināśaya, sarva-kala-kali-kaluṣa-kalaha-vigraha-vivādān pravināśaya, devâsura-garuḍa-gandharva-kinnara-mahôragâdīn pravināśaya; trāsaya trāsaya, kampaya kampaya, bandhaya bandhaya, mardaya mardaya, caṇḍa caṇḍa, mara mara, hana hana, daha daha, kuru kuru mahā-bala mahā-bala, mahā-vīrya mahā-vīrya, mahā-dīpta mahā-

[10] Line 4 starts in the left margin, curving downwards; line 3 starts significantly further to the right than line 2, which in turn is further justified than line 1. In line 4, below *jaḥ jaḥ*, the word *svāhā* is legible. It is not clear whether it forms part of a fifth line or is to be inserted somewhere in line 4.

dīpta, mahā-tejaḥ mahā-tejaḥ, mahā-raudra mahā-raudra, mahā-śāsana mahā-śāsana, turu turu, dara dara, vara vara, sthāvara sthāvara,[11] svabhāvânta svabhāvânta, bhavāmike[12] HUṂ HUṂ PHAṬ SVĀHA.

Sprinkling formula:[13]
OṂ Ratna-trayāya Nava-kampāya namaḥ svāhā,
OṂ Bhagavatyai svāhā,
OṂ Bhoḥ Buddha Bhūmi-kampāya svāhā,
OṂ sarva-deva-sukha-pradānāya namaḥ svāhā,
OṂ HUṂ HUṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ parama-sukhāya namaḥ svāhā.

Text-critical commentary

r1 *ratnatrayāyasya nama[ś] c(aṇḍa)vajrapānayisya* ◊ the first word seems to be a contamination of the dative form °*trayāya* with the genitive form °*trayasya*. A subscript *c* still seems discernible under the *ś* which is lost, so one may safely restore *namaś ca*°. The rest of the restoration follows from the parallel in *verso*, line 2, and from several occurrences of the formula *namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍa-vajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye* in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (see Giebel 2001) and other early Buddhist tantric texts (e.g., the *Amṛta-kuṇḍalivināyakabandhadhāraṇī* [Giebel 2012: 190-192]; see also the *Sarvanāgānāṁ Hṛdaya* of the *Meghasūtra* [Bendall 1880: 308]). The form *vajrapānayisya* (read *vajrapāṇayisya*), just like *ratnatrayāyasya*, is a contamination of standard Sanskrit *vajrapāṇaye* with the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS) form *vajrapāṇisya* (Edgerton 1953, vol. I, §10.79). The following *mahāyakṣasenāpatisya* is a 'regular' BHS

[11] Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1972: 315, n. 13: "thus PVTg; others *smavara smavara*."

[12] The edition has *bhavānike*, but it is reported that this is a reading/emendation of Sylvain Lévi, while the manuscripts read °*mike* or °*mame*. I choose the former reading as being closer to our inscription.

[13] This is apparently found in only one of the six manuscripts collated by G&H.

form. Gergely Hidas has pointed out to me that the same opening formula is found with another kind of BHS form right after the end of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Hayagrīvavidyā*; cf. the reading recently published by von Hinüber (2014: 104): *namo ratnatrāyāya: namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇāye mahāyakṣasenāpaye (!). tadyathā ugrāya svāhā ‖ atiūgrāya. svāhā ‖ ugrapriyāya svāhā ‖ [ati]ūgrapriyāya svāhā ‖*, etc. This, in turn, is partly parallel to Taishō 21.1243 (as rendered in Bischoff 1956: 81), but there the opening is grammatically normalized. Finally, Péter-Dániel Szántó reports to me that in the Tibetan canon (Tōhoku 746), the (*Mahā*)*Vidyottamā* has more than a hundred occurrences of *vajrapāṇisya*, several times in conjunction with *mahāyakṣasenāpatisya*.

r1 *namo bhagavat(o)* ◊ this opening, with *genitivus pro dativo* (rather than *namo bhagavate*), is surprisingly rare. I have found it in the invocation formulae of Buddhist Prakrit inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, notably the famous site Nagarjunakonda (see Mirashi 1981, inscriptions 29 and 32; J.Ph. Vogel, *Epigraphia Indica* 20, 1929-30: 16-25; *idem*, *Epigraphia Indica* 31, 1931-32: 62). In transmitted (Buddhist) texts, it is found in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Takubo 1972: 44, l. 15-16: *namo bhagavataḥ* alongside *namo bhagavate*). Rolf Giebel informs me that in Chinese transliteration he has found both *namo bhagavato buddhasya* and *namo buddhasya bhagavato*, as well as several examples of *namo … tathāgatasya* (cf. Giebel 2002: 755[34]-754[35]).

r1 *[pra]tihatavalav[ī]ryyavicitravi(dyā)[dha]r(e)śavarasahasrasya* ◊ understand *'pratihata°*. Partially able to support this with reference to NK, I restore *°vicitravidyādhareśvarasahasrasya*. Our text is certainly better than *vidhitrividyādharasahasra* in NK (all sources have *vidvā*, emended by G&H). The presence of *e* in *r(e)* is not entirely certain; if it is assumed to be absent, we obtain *°vidyādharaśavarasahasrasya*, but this is not a likely reading because no other cases of the juxtaposition of *vidyādhara* and *śavara* can be found anywhere. On the other hand, while *vidyādhareśa* as well as *vidyādhareśvara*

are fairly well attested compounds in Sanskrit literature, they are hardly attested in Buddhist sources.

r1 *(pra)_(ṇḍa)śāśaṇakarasya* ◊ the reading is very uncertain for the first few syllables. If my reading is correct, one may restore *pracaṇḍaśāśaṇakarasya* (and then correct *ṇa* to *na*); *pracaṇḍaśāsana* is attested in line 23 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, revised ed. 1981: 213), but seems a bit out of context here, unless *pracaṇḍaśāsanakara* can be an allusion to the *mudrā* of the deity being addressed here.

r1 °*śarīrasyama[si]muśalaparaśupāśa*° ◊ we can read °*śarīrasya asi*°, for *-m-* here serves as hiatus breaker; *asimusalaparaśupāśa* is a fixed set of attributes assigned to wrathful figures in more than one Buddhist scripture (cf. *Susiddhikarasūtra*, transl. Giebel 2001: 132, *mantra* nr. 10; *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, ed. Gaṇapati Sâstrî 1922: 15, ll. 26-27; *Guhyasamājatantra*, *mantra* before 14.12, ed. Matsunaga 1978: 62).

r1 °*vajrajvalāgniḥ* ◊ emend °*vajrajvālāgni* or °*vajrajvālāgnibhiḥ*. The compound *vajrajvālāgni* appears to be found only in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha* (STTS) and dependent texts. In the STTS itself it is found in two passages: *athāsmin viniḥsṛtamātre vajrapāṇihṛdayavajrāt sa eva bhagavān vajradharaḥ samantajvālāgarbhāḥ sabhrukuṭibhrūbhaṅgakuñcitalalāṭavikaṭadaṁṣṭrākarālamukhāḥ vajrāṅkuśakośapāśādi**vajrajvālāgni**pradīptapraharaṇavyagrakarāḥ anekavidhavarṇālaṁkāravicitraveṣadharāḥ vajrapāṇivigrahāḥ viniścaritvā* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 326, §651-652); *tatredaṁ sarvatathāgatākarṣaṇahṛdayaṁ bhavati | oṁ **vajrajvālāgni**pradīptākarṣaya sarvatathāgatān mahāvajrasamaya hūṁ jaḥ |* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 388, §860). It is also found in a text related to the STTS brought to Japan by Kūkai, and transmitted in Japan under the title *Daisanmaya Shinjitsu Ippyakuhachi Myōsan* 'Eulogy in One Hundred and Eight Names of the "Truth of the Great Pledge".' In Giebel's edition of this text (2012: 207), the fifth verse reads: *rāgavāṇa mahādīpta **vajrajvālāgni**saṁnibha | ṛṣṭisaukhya mahādraṣṭar mahāmadana manmatha ||*.

r1-2 *(vi)[bhī]saṇakasupasya* ◊ the reading is uncertain for the first two syllables; if it is correct, then emend *vibhīṣaṇakarūpasya*, following NK except with regard to the syllable *vi*.

r2 *(pa)tijaṭilājala°* ◊ emend *paśupatijaṭilājaṭā°* (partly following NK), and, at the end of the long compound, emend *°pādasya*.

r2 *parvvatasthalatapa°* ◊ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) convincingly proposes to emend this to *pārvatīstanadvaya°*, with reference to a passage from the STTS, which in his edition (Lokesh Chandra 1987: 59) reads: *athaivam ukte vajrapāṇir mahābodhisatvo mahādevaṁ vāmapādākrāntaṁ kṛtvā, dakṣiṇena comā[yāḥ stanau pīḍa]yann idaṁ svahṛdayam udājahāra oṁ vajrāviśa hanaya traṁ traṭ* ‖. This corresponds in Horiuchi’s edition (1983, vol. I: 347, §726) to: *athaivam ukte vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvo mahādevaṁ vāmapādākrāntaṁ kṛtvā, dakṣiṇena comā[devīm ākrama]yann, idaṁ hṛdayam udājahāra oṁ vajrāviśa hana pātraṁ traṭ*.

r2 *mahārodran nama (h)ṛdayaṁ* ◊ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) proposes to emend this to *ahaṁ idaṁ nāma-hṛdayam*. Comparing such a parallel as *ebhyo namaskṛtvā āryāvalokiteśvaramukhodgīrṇam amoghapāśa(rājaṁ) nāma hṛdayaṁ tathāgatasaṁmukhaṁ bhāṣitaṁ mahatāṁ parṣanmadhye ’ham idānīm āvartayiṣye* in the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* (reconstructed text based on ed. Meisezahl 1962: 321), it seems better to remain more faithful to the available reading, and to emend either *ahaṁ raudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ* or, still closer, *mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ*. Recalling the clear case of hiatus breaking *-m-* that we observed in l. 1, so that *mahā°*, too, could easily stand for *-m-ahaṁ*, the former option might at first sight seem viable. But *mahāraudra* is a well-attested term, occurring for instance twice in the account of the subjugation of Maheśvara by Vajrapāṇi/Trailokyavijaya in the STTS: *atha bhagavān vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvaḥ punar api mahādevam āhūyaivam āha na pratipa[dyasi] duṣṭasattva, mamājñāṁ kartum iti | atha mahādevo vajrasattvavacanam upaśrutya, kupitaś caṇḍībhūtas tathāpatita eva punar api* ***mahāraudrarūpatāṁ*** *darśayann evam āha | maraṇam apy utsahāmi, na ca tavājñāṁ kariṣyāmīti |* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 345-346, §717-719); *atha*

maheśvaraḥ sakalatrailokyādhipatyatayā svajñānavaśitayā ca bhagavato vajrapāṇeḥ saṁdarśanārthaṁ mahācaṇḍakrodhatāṁ mahābhairavarūpatāṁ mahājvālotsṛjanatāṁ ***mahāraudrāṭṭ****ahāsatāṁ sahagaṇaiḥ saṁdarśayann evam āha* | (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 332, §675). The term is also attested as a name of Mañjuśrī, here identified with Vajrapāṇi, in verse 40 of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṁgīti*, in its section on the Vajradhātumaṇḍala: *mahābhavādrisaṁbhettā mahāvajradharo ghanaḥ* | *mahākrūro* ***mahāraudro*** *mahābhayabhayaṁkaraḥ* ‖ (Davidson 1981: 18 [n. 52], 23, 52). Most importantly, the same term also occurs on the *verso* of our foil (line 1). I therefore restore *mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ*.

r2 *rodrakaraṁ* ◊ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) proposes to emend this to *raudrākāraṁ*.

r2-3 *traśabhaya-* ◊ correct *trāsabhaya-*. Cf. *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 14.38-39 (ed. Skjaervø 2004, vol. I: 272): *yakṣaśatasahasrebhiḥ ṛddhimantair mahābalaiḥ* | *teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti sarva****trāsabhayeṣu*** *ca* ‖ *vajrapāṇiś ca yakṣendraḥ pañcayakṣaśatair api* | *sarvebhir bodhisattvebhis teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti* ‖.

r3 *sarvvakammāsiddhikaraṁ siddhikaraṁ* ◊ one expects here *sarvakarmasiddhikaraṁ*, and no repetition (cf. NK). The shape of *mmā* suggests a misreading for *rmma*; on the *verso*, in line 4, the *akṣara* read as *mā* likewise probably stands for an original *rma*. The expression *sarvakarmasiddhi* seems to be typical of the STTS (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 68-69, §118; 462-463, §1127; 606, §1448; vol. II: 17, §1526; 33, §2737). It is never found more than once in any other Buddhist text that I am aware of.

r3 °*avartayiśyaṁmi* ◊ correct *āvartayiṣyāmi* (cf. NK).

r3 *tadyathā ta* ◊ the syllable *ta* needs to be deleted (cf. NK).

r3 *pramardda pramardda pramardda* ◊ one expects only one repetition of this word.

r3 *rodraka x (lā)maṁ* ◊ instead of *lā*, one might conceivably read °*e*, but this does not help to make sense out of this difficult sequence, apparently without direct parallel in NK.

r3 *ciñca(lā)ya haṣṭaci(ttaṁ)* ◊ emend *cañcalāya duṣṭacittaṁ*? I very hesitantly suggest that *cañcalāya* might be imperative to a denominative of *cañcala* (cf. *cañcalita*). For the expression *duṣṭacitta*, and for the whole segment from *duṣṭagrahaṁ* through *kupitacittaṁ*, cf. the following passage from the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* (ed. Ngawang Samten & Pandey 2002: 152): *ye kecin mama sarvasattvānāṁ ca duṣṭā duṣṭacittā raudrā raudracittā pāpāḥ pāpacittāḥ kupitāḥ kupitacittā amitrā amitracittā | ete mama sarvasattvānāṁ ca rakṣāṁ kurvantu jīvantu varṣaśataṁ paśyantu śaradāṁ śatam | ye kecid yakṣagrahāḥ, … | pāpacittāḥ, duṣṭacittāḥ, raudracittāḥ, devagrahāḥ, …, sarvagrahāḥ |*.

r3 *kala kala* ◊ it is perhaps not necessary to follow NK and emend *kāla kāla*, for *kala kala* is attested as such in the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī*: *oṁ kala 2 kili 2 kulu 2 mahāśuddhasattvāya svāhā | devatāsaṁśodhanamantraḥ* (ed. Meisezahl 1962: 321).

r3 *hi hi* ◊ emend *hī hī*. Cf. again the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī*: *mahāpaśupativeśadhara | dhara 2 dhiri 2 dhuru 2 tara 2 sara 2 cara 2 para 2 vara 2 mara 2 lara 2 hara 2* ***hā hā | hī hī*** *hū hū | oṁkāra brahmaveśadhara | dhara 2 dhiri 2 dhuru 2 …* (ed. Meisezahl 1962: 322). Cf. also *Sādhanamālā* 271 (ed. Bhattacharya 1925: 541).

r4 *roruṣi pravināśaya rodraśvareṇa traśaya rodravajre vajreṇa* ◊ emend *raudrarūpeṇa pravināśaya raudrasvareṇa trāsaya rodravajreṇa*. Cf. NK *raudra-dhūpena pravināśaya, raudra-vajreṇa pravināśaya*. Cf. also *mahāraudrarūpatāṁ* in a STTS passage quoted above (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 345, §718).

r4 *(p)ra(hā)ṇamaṁpi* ◊ the reading is a bit uncertain; it seems that an emendation such as *sarvapāpaṁ* (cf. NK *sarvapāpān*) cannot be avoided, unless one is to emend *brahmāṇaṁ* (cf. NK).

r4 *sarvvaśaton[·]* ◊ emend *sarvaśatrūn*, after NK.

r4 *sarvvaṁ vipran(·)* ◊ emend *sarvavighnān*, after NK.

r4 *sarvvaṁ rogon· (ga)* ◊ emend *sarvarogān*, after NK, suppressing the intrusive syllable tentatively read here as *ga*.

r5 *[sa]rvvaviṇāvināśayakanā pravināśaya* ◊ emend *sarvavināyakān pravināśaya*, after NK.

r5 *sarvvadurddama(tv)an·* ◊ I hesitantly assume that *sarvadurdamatvaṁ* is intended. This phrase has no parallel in NK, and the presumed expression is not found elsewhere.

r5 *°maho[ragādīn·]* ◊ that this restoration must be made is clear from comparison with NK, although it seems rather doubtful from remaining traces of *akṣara*s that this is precisely how the text was originally written down on the foil.

r5-v1 Comparison with NK suggests that a repeated *trāsaya* must, at some stage of transmission, have been lost between *pravināśaya* and *kampaya kampaya*. It is possible that the first readable sign *ya* at the beginning of line v1 is in fact the final syllable of *trāsaya*, and that any trace of syllables *ya trāsaya trāsa* has been lost to its left. But given the position where lines 2 and 3 begin, it is unlikely that such a significant number of further syllables would have stood at the beginning of line 1.

v1 *marā marā* ◊ emend *mara mara*. Cf. STTS *atha vajrapāṇiḥ punar ap[īmaṁ svadharma]samayam abhāṣat | oṁ hana hana huṁ phaṭ | atha vajragarbhaḥ sva[dharma]samayam abhāṣat ‖ oṁ hara hara huṁ phaṭ | atha vajranetraḥ……[sva]dharmasamayam abhāṣat | oṁ* ***mara mara*** *huṁ phaṭ | atha vajraviśvaḥ svadharmasamayam abhāṣat | oṁ kuru kuru huṁ phaṭ | atha vajravidyottamaḥ svadharmasamayam abhāṣat | oṁ huṁ huṁ phaṭ |* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 569, §1376-1380).

v1 *hana (hana dada) haha* ◊ emend *hana hana daha daha*.

v1 *mahātita* ◊ I emend *mahādīpta*, following NK, whose reading is supported by verse 5 of the *Daisanmaya Shinjitsu Ippyakuhachi Myōsan*, cited above. Another possibility would be to emend *mahātīkṣṇa*. Cf. *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*: *vajrapāṇir mahāpāṇir vajravāṇaḥ suvedhakaḥ | vajratīkṣṇo* ***mahātīkṣṇo*** *mahāmahān mahodadhiḥ ‖* (ed. Skorupski 1983: 298).

v1 *mahātojaḥ* ◊ emend *mahātejaḥ*. Cf. the same passage of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*: *vajratejo* ***mahātejo*** *jvālāprabhayamāntakṛt | vajraghoro mahāghoro ghanaprabho mahāghanaḥ ‖* (ed. Skorupski 1983: 298).

v2 *mahāśāśaṇa* ◊ read *mahāśāsana*. This word does not seem to be attested as such in Buddhist literature, but in the opening of chapter 13 of the *Guhyasamājatantra* we read: *atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatā jñānavajrāgracāriṇaḥ sarvasattvārthasambhūtā bodhisattvāś ca dhīmantaḥ praṇipatya* ***mahāśāstāraṁ*** *muniṁ sattvārthavajriṇaṁ pūjāsamayatattvajñaṁ vajraghoṣam udīrayan* (ed. Matsunaga 1978: 44).

v2 *vāda vāda* ◊ emend *vada vada* (cf. NK *vara vara*), a sequence found repeatedly in the STTS (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. 1: 392, §877; vol. II: 48, §1634; 202, §2093), while *vāda vāda* seems unattested elsewhere.

v2 *va svavara svavara* ◊ the *va* is superfluous; as for the remaining syllables, one could emend *sthāvara sthāvara*, after NK, but it must be noted that in that text too, the reading *sthāvara sthāvara* is only supported by some of the sources, the other ones reported by G&H reading *smavara smavara*, which is substantially closer to our reading, but equally obscure; moreover, *sthāvara sthāvara* is never attested in any similar *dhāraṇī*s known to me. One might therefore prefer a more radical emendation, like *smara smara* or even *smara smara vara vara*. But the matter seems to be too uncertain to justify any particular modification to the text as it stands (besides removal of *va*).

v2 *svavatu svavatu* ◊ I hesitantly propose to emend *śṛṇvatu śṛṇvatu*. Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 140, §28.6, records the BHS form *śṛṇvati* built on the analogy of the regular 3pl form *śṛṇvanti* and lists his textual sources attesting the stem-form *śṛṇva-* in §43, on p. 234. One of his sources was the *Mahāvastu*, from which one occurrence of the indicative form *śṛṇvati* is cited, although this form is attested four times in Senart’s edition (1882-1897, vol. II: 108 [prose]; vol. III: 82-83 [2×] and 361-362 [prose]). The fundamental manuscript designated as “Sa”, which was not collated by Senart, does not support any of the four occurrences of *śṛṇvati* in the edition: it reads regular *śṛṇoti* throughout (Yuyama 2001, vol. I: fol. 146r2, 296r2 and 397v2). Edgerton does not mention at all the imperative form *śṛṇvatu* which is found three times in Senart’s edition of the same text, in a single stanza that is repeated three times. Senart reads the hemistich in

question as follows: *śṛṇvatu bhavān prayojanaṁ yaṁ asmākam iha gamanāye*. For its attestation at vol. I, p. 152, l. 9 and 226, l. 3, the manuscripts collated by Senart give *śṛṇvantu*, which he emends to *śṛṇvatu*. The collocation *śṛṇvatu bhavān* first suggested to me the emendation of our inscription proposed here. However, the manuscript "Sa" (Yuyama 2001, fol. 43v4 and 63v6) shows the regular form *śṛṇotu*. For the attestation at vol. II, p. 29, l. 6, the two manuscripts collated by Senart apparently read *śṛṇu*, again emended by Senart. Here "Sa" reads *śṛṇuta* (fol. 122v6). The manuscript transmission of the *Mahāvastu* thus gives no support whatsoever to the existence of an imper. form *śṛṇvatu*, but it must be recognized that *śṛṇotu* and *śṛṇoti* are not metrically acceptable readings in at least two of the mentioned contexts which are in verse, and hence Senart's emendations are likely to be correct despite lack of explicit manuscript support. The only explicit attestation of the form *śṛṇvatu* that I can cite in support of my emendation is found in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra*, in the following verse quarter: *guṇā[ṁ]ś ca śṛṇvatv abhiśraddadheta* (ed. Dutt 1939: 63; ed. Cohen 2010: 221).[14]

v2 *bhāvāmiho* ◊ emend *bhavān iha*. Cf., despite uncertainty of reading, the collocation *śṛṇvatu bhavān* in the *Mahāvastu* stanza whose text-critical problem I have just presented. NK reads *bhavāmike*.

v2 *nāmo* ◊ emend *namo*.

v2 *mahāyakṣasonāpataye* ◊ emend *mahāyakṣasenāpataye*.

v3 *hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvaṁśayettadadma* ◊ the final *akṣara*s, whose reading is perhaps not totally certain, might be emended after a *mantra* preserved in Chinese transliteration in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (retransliterated in Giebel 2001: 148) *namo vajrāya, hūṁ hana dhuna matha vidhvaṁsayotsāraya phaṭ*. To stay somewhat closer

[14] On the extraordinary importance of the manuscript designated as "Sa", see Tournier 2012. The readings of this manuscript have been provided to me by Vincent Tournier on the basis of Yuyama's facsimile edition, which is not accessible to me. Likewise, Vincent Tournier has checked for me the reading *śṛṇvatu* in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra* based on the facsimile edition of the Gilgit manuscripts.

to the text as our foil transmits it, *utsādaya* might be chosen as an alternative reading. Cf. *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, chapter 37 (ed. Gaṇapati Sâstrî 1922: 413, ll. 18-21): *oṁ namo apratihatatathāgatoṣṇīṣāya anavalokitamūrdhni cakravarti hūṁ jvala jvala dhaka dhaka dhuna dhuna vidhuna trāsaya* ***mārayotsādaya*** *hana hana aṁ aṁ aḥ aḥ kaḥ kaḥ proṁkhini proṁkhini kuṇḍalini aparājitāstradhāriṇi*[15] *hūṁ phaṭ*; and chapter 54 (p. 662, ll. 22-23): *oṁ hana hana sarvabhayān* ***sādayotsādaya*** *trāsaya moṭaya chinda bhinda jvala jvala huṁ huṁ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*. The form *mathāna* can be explained as a perfectly regular 2sg imperative form, of the class IX present *mathnāti*, although in this register of language (as in the above citation from the *Susiddhikarasūtra*) we expect the form *matha*.

v4 A number of *akṣara*s may have become illegible at the beginning of this line. The sequence *kamā* no doubt stands for *karma* (cf. *recto*, line 3: *kammā*). I am unable to make sense of the following nine *akṣara*s. The remainder of the line, from *oṁ* onwards, mainly comprises a sequence of *bīja mantra*s for which I have found no precise parallels, except for the sequence *ṭaki hūṁ jaḥ*, which I have discussed elsewhere (Griffiths 2014, §7). The element *kiṭa* seems to be an inversion of *ṭaki*; the element *dhuṁ* (if the readings are correct) is unusual in Buddhist *mantra*s and might perhaps be based on a misunderstanding of the *sandhi* in the following STTS verse: *pratyālīḍhaṁ samāsthāya vajrāveśaprayogataḥ | kṣaṇād* ***dhuṁ****kāramātreṇa sarvam āveśayej jagat* | (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 402, §916).

Reconstructed text

Syllables I am unable to reconstruct with any confidence are marked by an underscore (_).

[1.] namo ratnatrayāyasya namaś caṇḍavajrapānayisya mahāyakṣasenāpatisya

[15] Ed. *aparojitāstradhāriṇi*.

namo bhagavato 'pratihatabalavīryavicitravidyādhareśvarasahasrasya___śāśanakarasya caturbhujālaṅkṛtaśarīrasya asimuśalaparaśupāśavajrajvālāgnivibhīṣaṇakarūpasya paśupatijaṭilājalasañcayavilambitadakṣiṇapādasya pārvatīstanadvayaviniviṣṭavāmacaraṇasya

namo bhagavato mahāvajradharasya mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ paramadāruṇaṁ sarvabhūtagaṇavināśakaraṁ raudrākāraṁ trāsabhayavivādakaraṁ sarvakarmasiddhikaram āvartayiṣyāmi

tadyathā

bhoḥ bhoḥ raudra raudra kala kala kampa kampa gañja gañja pragañja pragañja marda marda pramarda pramarda hā hā hī hī hūṁ hūṁ raudra___maṁ duṣṭagrahaṁ cañcalāya duṣṭacittaṁ pāpacittaṁ kupitacittaṁ pravināśaya raudrarūpeṇa pravināśaya raudrasvareṇa trāsaya raudravajreṇa vidāraya sarvapāpaṁ pravināśaya sarvaśatrūn pravināśaya sarvavighnān pravināśaya sarvavyādhīn pravināśaya sarvarogān sarvavināyakān pravināśaya sarvaduḥśabdān pravināśaya sarvadurdamatvaṁ pravināśaya devāsuragaruḍagandharvayakṣakiṁnaramahoragādīn pravināśaya trāsaya trāsaya kampaya kampaya gañjaya gañjaya pragañjaya pragañjaya marda marda pramardaya pramardaya bhoḥ bhoḥ caṇḍa caṇḍa mara mara pramatha pramatha hana hana daha daha paca paca kuru kuru mahāraudra mahāvīrya mahādīpta mahātejaḥ mahāśāśana kuru kuru vada vada svavara svavara śṛṇvatu śṛṇvatu bhavān iha svāhā

[2.] namo ratnatrayāya namaḥ caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye

tadyathā

oṁ ma īḥ jaḥ svāhā

oṁ ma īḥ jaḥ hana hana vijaye jaḥ hana hana hi ihi ihā hāṁ jaḥ svāhā

oṁ ma īḥ hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvaṁśayotsādaya oṁ _ta svāhā

tathā tadyathā

oṁ tri _____ cchet _____

oṁ hana hana vijaḥ joḥ svāhā

ṭaki hūṁ jaḥ jaḥ hūṁ kiṭa hūṁ ṭaki dhuṁ kiṭa dhuṁ iya ija i_ḥ svāhā

Translation

[1.] Homage to the Triple Jewel (Buddha, Dharma, Saṁgha)! Homage to the fierce Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas!

Homage to the Lord, who has (a host of) a thousand supreme magicians (*vidyādhareśvara*) of irresistible power and might, who has hands … teaching, who has a body adorned with four arms, who is of terrible appearance due to (his bearing) sword, club, axe, snare, cudgel (*vajra*), and flaming fire, whose right foot hangs down over the heap of twisted locks of Paśupati (Śiva), whose left foot is placed on the pair of breasts of Pārvatī!

Homage to the Lord, the great Cudgel-bearer!

I shall recite the Heart named Mahāraudra ('Greatly Ferocious'), extremely violent, that causes the destruction of all of (Śiva's) Bhūtas and Gaṇas, of ferocious form, that causes terror, fear and conflict, that causes the success of all undertakings!

[It is] like this:

Ho! Ho! Ferocious one, ferocious one! Soft one, soft one! Tremble, tremble! Sound, sound! Resound, Resound! Crush, crush! Crush down, crush down! HĀ, HĀ, HĪ, HĪ, HŪṂ, HŪṂ! O ferocious … chase away the evil seizure! Destroy the evil thought, the bad thought, the angry thought! Destroy with your ferocious form, frighten with your ferocious sound, disperse with your ferocious cudgel! Destroy all evil, destroy all enemies, destroy all obstacles, destroy all diseases, destroy all illnesses, destroy all Vināyakas, destroy all those who have bad words, destroy all those who have bad thoughts, destroy the Devas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Kiṁnaras, Great Serpents, etc. Frighten, frighten! Cause to tremble, cause to tremble! Cause to sound, cause to sound! Cause to resound, cause to resound! Crush, crush! Crush down, crush down!

Ho! Ho! Fierce one, fierce one! Kill, kill! Tear, tear! Slay, slay! Burn, burn! Cook, cook! Act, act! Greatly ferocious one, greatly heroic one, greatly fiery one, one of great fire, one of great teaching! Act, act! Speak, speak! *Svavara svavara*(?)! Listen, listen here, your honor! Hail!

[2.] Homage to the Triple Jewel! Homage to the fierce Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas!

[It is] like this:

OM. MA ĪḤ JAḤ. Hail!

OM. MA ĪḤ JAḤ. Slay, slay! Victorious one! JAḤ. Slay, Slay! HI, IHI IHĀ HĀṀ JAḤ. Hail!

OM. MA ĪḤ. Slay, slay! Shake! Crush! Agitate! Destroy! Annihilate!

OM. … Hail!

So also like this:

(a *mantra* that is not sufficiently well preserved to be rendered here)

OM. Slay, slay! VIJAḤ. JOḤ. Hail!

ṬAKI HŪṀ JAḤ JAḤ HŪṀ KIṬA HŪṀ ṬAKI DHUṀ KIṬA DHUṀ IYA IJA ... Hail!

Analysis

The contents of the *dhāraṇī* suggest that the foil on which it was engraved may have held some protective function, but whether it functioned as an amulet, for personal use, or rather as a *dharma*-relic, inserted into some architectural context, cannot be determined. The inscription comprises two texts, both opening with an invocation to the Triple Jewel and Caṇḍavajrapāṇi as Mahāyakṣasenāpati. It seems that these two texts were not originally composed together and the distinction between them is underlined by the fact that the invocations of the first are in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, whereas those of the second are in standard Sanskrit.

The first and principal *dhāraṇī* inscribed on the foil bore the title *mahāraudra-nāma-hṛdaya*, The 'Greatly Ferocious' Spell, with *hṛdaya* standing as a common equivalent to the term *dhāraṇī*. It comprises an opening invocation, followed by an extended invocation enumerating the attributes of the deity being invoked, i.e., Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, followed by a performative statement of the title and purpose of the *dhāraṇī* and finally the text of the *dhāraṇī* proper, this last portion being introduced by *tadyathā* and terminated by *svāhā*.

This is followed by another *dhāraṇī* that does not show any clear connection with the principal text, except being addressed to the same deity Caṇḍavajrapāṇi. It is also structurally different, comprising besides the simple invocation nothing but sequences of *mantra*s, with a much higher ratio of untranslatable *bīja* syllables vis-à-vis translatable elements, including mantric imperatives,[16] than we saw in the first *dhāraṇī*. This second text apparently comprises two *mantra* sections, each opening with *tadyathā*, and each being built up of sequences opened with *oṁ* and terminated with *svāhā*. But the text is too damaged to allow certainty about its original structure.

Despite these differences, the two texts are bound together by their reliance on a variety of elements characteristic of the cycle of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*: terminology, *bīja mantra*s and the figure Vajrapāṇi, here called Caṇḍavajrapāṇi.

It is only for the first text that we know a parallel elsewhere in the Buddhist world. It has not been possible to confirm Hudaya Kandahjaya's suggestion of a connection with the early Buddhist *tantra* entitled *Susiddhikarasūtra*, lost in Sanskrit but transmitted in Tibetan and Chinese.[17] Uniquely, the parallel for our first *dhāraṇī* comes not from South, Central or East Asia, but from the Buddhist tradition of Indonesia itself. It is the *Navakampa* of Balinese tradition whose correspondence with the Borobudur lead-bronze foil was discovered by Hudaya Kandahjaya. Indeed, my new edition reveals the correspondence with the *Navakampa* to have been more extensive than could be made out relying only on Boechari's provisional reading. The second text has no parallel in the *Navakampa*, and the sprinkling formula of the *Navakampa* conversely has no parallel among our two texts. Still, it seems possible that there is at least a structural parallelism between the *Navakampa* and our combination of two texts: our second text may have served a

[16] Cf. Meisezahl 1962: 269.

[17] This is also the implicit conclusion of Lokesh Chandra (2013: 236): "The word *siddhikara* in *sarva-siddhi-karaṁ* is a general statement and need not be tied to the Susiddhikara-sūtra."

specific ritual function as the sprinkling formula of the *Navakampa* presumably did.[18] Although the entire text corresponding to the principal *dhāraṇī* is known under the title *Navakampa* in the Balinese tradition, it is only this sprinkling formula that contains the actual expression *navakampa*, which, being unattested in our version of the *dhāraṇī*, cannot be assumed to have an original connection with it.[19]

The *Navakampa* shows clear signs of having undergone a long history of transmission, with insertion of certain extraneous elements (e.g., the names of Hindu deities) and the near or even total loss of original ones, most notably the deformation of the title *mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ* into *namo rudra namo hṛdayaṁ*.[20] However, our foil too shows clear signs of errors in copying (e.g., r2: °*supasya* for °*rūpasya*; r3 and v4: *m(m)ā* for *rm(m)a*). In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that its copy of the two texts is tremendously corrupt. The availability of the parallel for the first text in the *Navakampa* provides a partially effective means to mend the textual problems, but to the extent that the *Navakampa* has itself suffered in transmission, we must rely on other philological evidence to restore the text on the foil to comprehensible form. Indeed, the necessary interventions are sometimes quite drastic. To conclude this contribution, I wish to highlight one problem that I have not been able to resolve.

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[18] From the sources at my disposal (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 168 and Hooykaas 1973: 112-113), I am unable to form a picture of how and when this sprinkling formula would have been applied in ritual context.

[19] For this reason, I feel that Lokesh Chandra (2013: 233) is going beyond the bounds of what the evidence permits us to affirm when he states: "Nava-kampa is a Balinese reconstruction of Bhava-kampa, wherein Bhava means 'the world, existence' and stands for Trailokya or Trailokyavijaya."

[20] Note also the genitive endings *-sya* in the first text of our foil being represented as *svāhā* in the *Navakampa*. Cf. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 8, item 12, on the development *-sya* > *-sva* that is frequently encountered in Balinese mss. of Sanskrit texts. See also the editors' note 1 on p. 316 observing the problems posed by *svāhā*.

The interplay of philological and iconographical problems

I have proposed in the preceding paragraph on the basis of correspondences of terminology, of *bīja mantra*s and the concentration on the figure called Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, that our *dhāraṇī*s are related to the cycle of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṁgraha*. This means that the deity whose characteristics are listed in the extended invocation of the first text may be identified as the figure known as Trailokyavijaya in later Buddhist iconographical sources in Sanskrit (such as those used by de Mallmann 1975: 381-382).[21] In order to avoid the problem of anachronism between Indian statuary and relevant Sanskrit sources, Robert Linrothe in his study of Buddhist tantric iconography makes use of contemporary texts preserved in the Chinese canon. With regard to one such text, Taishō 21.1209, translated by Amoghavajra between 771 and 774 CE, Linrothe writes (1999: 190):

> The combination of specific descriptions and parallel functions in accord with those found in the *STTS* makes it clear that the four-headed, eight-armed Trailokyavijaya standing in *pratyālīḍha* on Maheśvara and Umādevā (*sic*) is the hero of the second section of the *STTS*. It is important to clarify this, because the text itself nearly always calls him Vajrapāṇi, despite the fact that Trailokyavijaya is the name of the entire section and the *maṇḍala*. Iyanaga has noted this anomaly in the text, and he cited different textual evidence to demonstrate that Trailokyavijaya was understood as the form of Vajrapāṇi who subjugates Maheśvara.[22]

The indications of our text correspond in a loose manner with the textual and sculptural material studied by Linrothe, but the damage to the

[21] This is also Lokesh Chandra's conclusion (2013: 235 and *passim*), although he does not pay attention to the fact that this name as such does not occur in the text engraved on our foil, calling it simply the "Borobudur inscription of Trailokyavijaya".

[22] Linrothe refers here in a note to Iyanaga 1985: 725-727, n. 5.

foil in line 1 precludes the possibility of establishing with certainty what gesture, which attributes and how many heads are assigned to the deity. Perhaps it is necessary to go against the unanimous evidence of our foil and the NK and to emend something like *asimuśalaparaśu-pāśadharasya vajra°*. But if the preceding element (with *°karasya*) indicated a *mudrā*, it is hard to escape the impression that the text assigns more features than could be accommodated in the four hands that the deity is explicitly stated to have. This number of hands suggests that we are in any case dealing with an iconographic form not so far attested in the Indonesian sculptural record, which has yielded four bronze images identifiable as Trailokyavijaya, all of them eight-handed and four-headed.[23]

A major discrepancy between the iconography transmitted by our *dhāraṇī* and the known sculptural corpus all over the Buddhist world lies in the fact that the deity is here said to have his right foot placed on Paśupati (Śiva), while his left foot is placed on Pārvatī's chest. All sculptural representations of Trailokyavijaya known to me show the opposite placement of the deity's feet.[24] One could of course alter the assignment of left and right feet as transmitted unanimously both on our foil and in the *Navakampa*, but it seems better to remain prudent, and to leave open the possibility that we are dealing with an iconographic variant not yet attested in the art-historical literature, rather than assuming that the text itself is in error here.[25]

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[23] See the discussion and images published by Pleyte (1901 and 1902) under the name "Vajrapāṇi as Dharmapāla". The images in question are Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden) 1403/1760 and 1630/5; Museum Nasional (Jakarta) 655a; British Museum (London) 1859, 1228.94. See also Juynboll 1909: 94 with exhaustive references to 19th-century publications.

[24] Thus also the textual sources referred to by Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235), who does not note the contrary indication in our inscription.

[25] For another example of such discrepancy between texts and sculptures, see Hidas 2003: 280 (and cf. Cruijsen, Griffiths & Klokke 2012).

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THE STELE IN THE CENTRE OF THE LHASA MAṆḌALA

About the Position of the 9th-Century Sino-Tibetan Treaty Pillar of Lhasa in its Historical and Narrative Context[1]

GUNTRAM HAZOD

1. Introduction

Inscriptions on stone pillars (*rdo ring*s) and on natural slabs of rock formed a significant part of the cultural repertoire of imperial Tibet (ca. AD 600-850). As already summarised by Richardson (1985: v), their purpose was in most cases to proclaim an imperial decision, which was usually accompanied by more or less detailed descriptions of the circumstances that led to these edicts. We also find blank pillars, which were apparently intended for an inscription that for some reason had not been realised. Finally, in the time of the empire there was the continued use of blank megaliths, which, as an ideal or ritually defined demarcation, were to assume a further range of functions. All of them represented markings of a political topography, for the decoding of which

[1] The new fieldwork data included in this contribution are from research trips in Central Tibet carried out in 2010 and 2013. They were part of research projects financed by the Austrian Science Fund (ASF, P 18711 G-14; P 25066-G19). In Rgya ma it meant a renewed visit to a place we had come to know from earlier investigations in the late 1990s and early 2000s. I would like to thank Dungkar Penpa (Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, Lhasa) and my son, Thassilo Hazod, for their copious assistance and contribution during the trip of 2010. My thanks also go to a number of colleagues, Kurt Tropper, Bettina Zeisler, Pasang Wangdu, Tsering Gyalbo, Ngodrop Tsering, Per Sørensen, Gudrun Melzer, Xu Hualan, for their useful comments, especially concerning appraisals of the new findings in Rgya ma. Finally I wish to thank David Westacott for the editing of the English text.

the position of the monuments, their orientation, the choice of location and the relationship to each other form important criteria.

It is part of the monuments' history that different perceptions in later periods sometimes led to their removal from their original location or even to their destruction. For example, the inscription stele known as the "*rdo ring* at the 'Phyong rgyas bridge", which is dedicated to the emperor Khri Srong lde btsan, was removed a few years ago and now is kept in the garden of an office in 'Phyong rgyas township. The stele's position at the bridge is already mentioned in an 18th-century text (Richardson 1985: 36), but apparently represents only a secondary location if we identify the stone with the "inscription *rdo ring* at the grave of Khri Srong lde btsan" noted in an earlier (pre-18th c.) tradition (Hazod, forthcoming). There are steles which we only know existed from the sources and which might have disappeared very early, such as the "*rtsis kyi rdo ring*" in commemoration of Srong btsan sgam po or the tomb-pillar of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (below, n. 46). Elsewhere we find the base of a large stele, undoubtedly from the empire period, the former existence of which is still in the local memory (Hazod 2007: 609, n. 70) and which is said to have been removed in the 1960s (*ibid.*).

The history of the *rdo ring*s also includes manipulation of the stones' appearance. In the 1990s, the renowned 8th-century inscription pillar of Bsam yas was newly coloured, in a reddish tone, with the inscription highlighted in gold. As recently demonstrated by Uebach (2010) in a palaeographical study, what has been painted over is probably a later, post-imperial reproduction of the original inscription. This also indicates that it is questionable whether the current location of the stele (at the entrance to the main temple) is its original position; this may well have been somewhere in Brag dmar, but not necessarily directly at the monastery. While in this case the changes can be seen within an authentic context of function and use of the stone, there have occasionally been modifications in the earlier history of inscription stones, whereby the monuments were taken from their historic slumber to be reawakened somewhere else in a new context. The famous Zhol stele in front of the Potala, which was brought to Lhasa from a nearby valley after

the construction of the palace in the 17th century, is one example of this phenomenon (Hazod 2010). In the case of other famous inscription steles their current location is also probably due to a likewise politically motivated history of later relocation. Thus the Lcang bu inscription situated in the courtyard of the Mtshur phu monastery (below, n. 43), and also the inscription stone in front of the Jo khang temple most likely stood at a different location originally.

As is known, the latter much studied monument, popularly known as "uncle-nephew pillar" (*zhang dbon rdo ring*) documents the agreement between Tang China and Tibet from the year AD 821/22 at the time of the Tibetan emperor Khri Gtsug lde btsan (*alias* Khri Ral pa can, r. AD 815-841). One particular aspect of the history of this stone concerns its mention in the popular narrative of the killing of Glang Dar ma (imperial name Khri 'U'i Dum brtan; r. AD 841-842). According to the classical version, the emperor was killed by an arrow shot while he was reading the inscription in front of the Jo khang. The story is to be seen in the context of the post-dynastic Buddhist classification and ritualisation of the Lhasa valley, a geography that can be characterised as the "Lhasa Maṇḍala". The present paper takes up this narrative aspect of the stele's history. The study is immediately combined with the question of its actual place of origin, an issue that leads us to Rgya ma, the valley east of Lhasa, where the treaty was ceremonially concluded.

For Central Tibet's early history Rgya ma (older name Snon [Rnon], also Yar Snon) represents a particularly important place. The petroglyphs in Upper Rgya ma, which point to a still little-known phase of the early settlement history of Central Tibet (n. 35), are unique to the entire Skyid chu region. Rgya ma is known for its rich copper and gold mines, which were already being used in imperial times and their intensive exploitation today is currently making international headlines (n. 28). Not least, the valley became the founding place of the empire (ca. AD 600); it was the birthplace of Srong btsan sgam po (AD 605?-649); and in the 9th century together with 'On can do it served as a preferred residence place of the court, a fact that has so far remained unnoticed by research. In the post-imperial period the area developed to become

the centre of the political and religious hegemony of the Rgya ma pa from the line of Dgyer pa of Yar lung, whose representative sites continued the older territorial structure of Snon / Rgya ma in various ways.

The district is currently being turned into a major tourist centre, a kind of museum-park that rather distorts history in the process of making it accessible to visitors. An oversized highway leads from the giant portal at the entrance to the valley up to the "Srong btsan sgam po Memorial Hall" (*srong btsan sgam po'i dran gso khang*) built on the ruins of the king's birthplace, in fact, in the form of a fictional reproduction of a Tibetan tower. In the courtyard a modern cement pillar has been erected; its (Chinese) inscription marks, as it were, the country's new era of tourism (and musealisation). There was no careful archaeological inspection in connection with these changes. Even so, in the wake of the renovation and new construction some important findings did come to light which provide important complementary data to our knowledge of the place's older history. The question concerning the original place of the treaty stele of Lhasa is part of this reconsideration.

2. The inscription stele in front of the Jo khang

Together with the willow tree known as Jo bo'i dbu skra ("Buddha's hair") the stele (fig. 1) has for centuries formed a striking pair at the main entrance of the Ra sa 'Phrul snang temple *alias* Jo khang. The pillar rests on a stone tortoise, which – on the same level as the temple – faces west, with the narrow sides of the rectangular stone aligned towards the north and south. A modern glass construction has recently replaced the wall around the pillar; it now allows a better view of the inscription, which proclaims the treaty between Tibet and China from the year AD 821/22.[2] According to Chinese sources, it was the last of

[2] From a photograph kept in the Lhasa Tibet Museum we learn that the previous wall enclosure was made (or renewed?) in the 1930s.

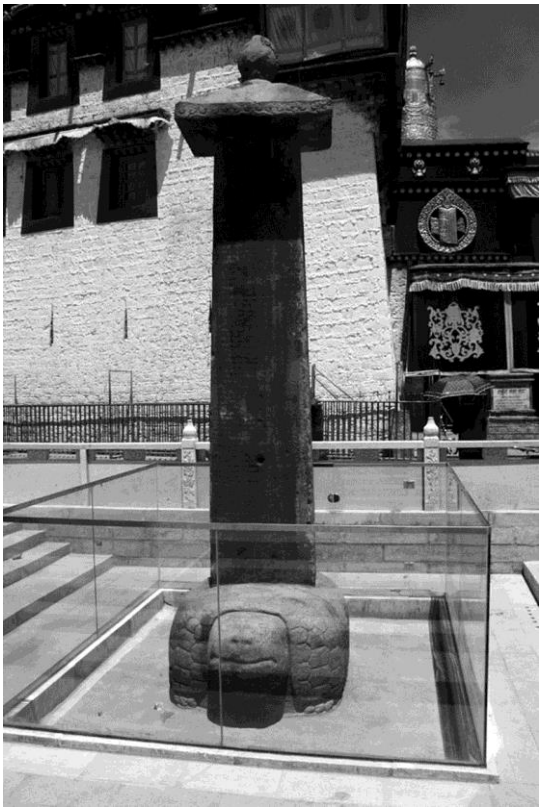

Fig. 1: The treaty stele in front of the Jo khang temple in Lhasa (2013)

altogether seven agreements between the two states during the Tang Dynasty (between AD 706 and 821), and – as pointed out by several authors – the first one in which the political co-equality between the two powers was also recognised by the Chinese side (Pan 1992: 146). One may also see an expression of this co-equality in the unique bilingual form of the treaty, inscribed on the stele's west side. The north and south side list in both languages the names of the Tibetan and Chinese officials who were involved in the negotiations. The east side contains the Tibetan emperor's edict including details of the earlier Tang-Tibet relation and details of when and where the current agreement was con-

cluded.[3] Parallel to the inscription there is known to be the portrayal of the treaty ceremony in the *Tang Annals* – an eyewitness report by a Chinese envoy – which among other things confirms the peculiarity of the ceremony, with the oath having been sworn twice, once according to the archaic tradition with the blood of a sacrificed animal and once before the Buddha.

The treaty initiated a longer period of peace, during which Tibet also concluded agreements with the Uighurs and the Nanzhao kingdom. Several authors (such as Li 1956) see Buddhism as being responsible for the Tibetan policy of abstaining from aggressions against the neighbours during this time.[4] Whatever the case, it is true that at this time the religious elite had, in fact, taken over governmental leadership. Evidence of this fact is not least provided by the situation of the present treaty, where we find the powerful monk-minister Dpal chen po Yon tan as the central figure. He was the chief negotiator on the Tibetan side, who also directed the ceremony in Tibet.

The inscription states that the ceremony took place in midsummer AD 822, after the treaty had previously been ratified on the Chinese side in the first month of winter AD 821. In spring of AD 823, a summary of the treaty was inscribed on a *rdo ring* in Central Tibet;[5] two additional steles with copies of the contract were erected at the Sino-Tibetan border and in the Chinese capital (Changan).[6] The exact loca-

[3] For a translation, see Richardson 1985: 109-143 and Li & Coblin 1987: 78-137.

[4] See the discussion in Pan 1992 and Kapstein's critical comment on this issue (2009: 67, n. 70).

[5] In Lhasa, some people say that the (granite?) stone of the Lhasa Jo khang *rdo ring* comes from a quarry near Ljang in Lower Skyid. From the sources, one of the favourite stone quarries of the Lhasa area appears to have been the Skam po Yung quarry (Skam po lung), SE of Lhasa (Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 212, *et passim*). KT 152.2f. offers some details (related to the imperial time) of how an inscription stone was prepared by the stonemasons (*rdo bzo mkhan*).

[6] In China, the treaty ceremony was held at a place outside the capital (in Sheg sang si; on this site, see Li & Coblin 1987: 114), while the pillar was set up near

tion where the pillar was set up in Central Tibet is not mentioned; the inscription only gives the place where the treaty ceremony was held, namely in "Sbra stod tshal to the east of the *pho brang* Lhasa" (*pho brang lha sa'ï shar phyogs sbra stod tshal*; e61).[7] Sbra stod tshal (Upper Tent Park) is to be located in Snon *alias* Rgya ma, the valley 60km east of Lhasa – well-known as the place where Srong btsan sgam po was born (Hazod 2009: 216). The expression "east of the *pho brang* Lhasa" gives Lhasa a quasi-prominent position and, with some imagination, one may see here the picture of a 9th-century geography with Lhasa as the central point of reference, which from the very beginning was also seen as the location for the treaty stele.[8] It would confirm the statement in the later chronicles which state that of the altogether three pillars with copies of the treaty text the one in Central Tibet was erected in Lhasa.[9] However, it is questionable as to whether the latter reflects any authentic 9th-century tradition or gives the interpretation of a later

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the emperor's palace in Changan. The border stone was at (Gung bu) Rme ru (Rma/Dma' ru); see Sørensen 1994: 421f. for references; see also Kapstein 2009: 27, n. 25, and his discussion about the related Temple of the Treaty (*gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang*) at De ga G.yu tshal.

[7] References to the inscription in this article follow the edition of OTD II, 32-42.

[8] It remains still unclear exactly to which place the inscription's *pho brang lha sa* refers; it could be the Jo khang that is meant here (cf. Alexander 2010: 204), or more generally it could refer to the divine *pho brang*, i.e., religious foundations in Lhasa established since the Buddhist founder-king Srong btsan sgam po. This situation already undoubtedly gave Lhasa a prominent position in the imperial time and therefore may have been mentioned in the specification of the treaty ceremony's location. Otherwise, Lhasa is not recorded as the place of the "mobile centre" (see below), unless we read the Mkhar prag mentioned three times in OTA as assembly place in the 8th century as the Lha sa Mkhar brag (cf. Sørensen & Hazod 2005: 199). The latter is known from later sources as the cave temple attributed to the Mong bza' Khri lcam, who also had her residential house there. It was located next to the Brag lha Klu sbug cave, and the Mkhar prag of OTA possibly refers to the plain at the foot of Lcags po ri, or in a wider sense to the plain between Lcags po ri and Dmar po ri.

[9] See Sørensen 1994: 422 for references; cf. also Kapstein 2009: 17, 62.

(post-dynastic) situation, in which the stone's presence in front of the Jo khang was simply regarded as its place of origin.

Our scepticism is first based on the fact that the location in Lhasa appears not to be conclusive, because the stele should have been erected where the *btsan po* resided. The inscription was not least dedicated to the rulers of China and Tibet, to the representatives of the sun and moon (w57),[10] and since the Zhol stele originally stood at the place where the person to whom this very inscription is dedicated had his home (Hazod 2010), one would in this case expect the residence place of Khri Ral pa can to be the actual site of the treaty pillar. Lhasa was not a capital in the imperial time and also it is nowhere recorded as the residence of the *btsan po* during the time in question. Rather Snon Sbra stod tshal, 'On cang do or other places referred to in the sources as residences of Khri Ral pa can would represent the appropriate sites for the erection of the memorial monument.[11] Among these places, 'On cang

[10] See Kapstein 2009: 28 on this metaphor.

[11] For 'On cang do, see below, n. 34. Other places that appear to have been used by the royal family during the reign of Khri Gtsug lde btsan include Mal tro Spe tshal, Zhom pa (var. Zham pa) of Mal gro, and Lan dkar. Spe tshal (in P.t. 1165; cf. Dotson 2009: 142) evidently corresponds to the ('Bri gung pa) estate of Mal gro Dpe tshal mentioned in later sources for the 13th century (RP 114). It may be identical with the imperial Spel registered as royal place of residence for AD 724, and with the Spel zhabs listed as a variant form of the *stong bu chung* of Yel rabs (Yel rab / Spel zhabs *stong bu chung*); cf. Hazod 2009: 218. Mal gro Zhom pa, which is specified both as *pho brang* and as *lha khang*, is mentioned as the place where Khri Ral pa can was reportedly killed; see KG 422.11-15 and YC 66.11. (P.t. 130 [Richardson 1998: 100] alludes to the fact that the emperor was suffering from a sickness caused by the *gza'* [planets], referring to epilepsy or a similar disease of the nervous system [Gyalbo *et al*. 2000: 209]. Yamaguchi [1996] reads it – perhaps somewhat overhastily – as an indication that the king died a natural death, and accordingly sees the account of the emperor's violent death as related in post-dynastic sources as a later fabrication.) We think Zhom pa is a misspelling of the assembly site of Zhon ba of Zu spug (Gzi sbug) in eastern Mal gro (Hazod 2009: 216), corresponding to present-day Gzhong pa (situated at 29°42' N, 91°52' E). It can be speculated as to whether it is identical with the *pho brang* Sdings of Zu spug registered in OTA as residence of Khri Srong lde btsan for AD 761 (Hazod 2009:

do is known as the site of a large stone pillar but without inscription, and also a *rdo ring* is recorded in the area of Rgya ma, namely in connection with the story of the killing of Glang Dar ma.

3. Mythographical aspects in the narrative of Glang Dar ma's death in Lhasa

Chronologically, the first mention of the stele at its present location is in the story of the killing of Glang Dar ma (Khri 'U'i Dum brtan, r. AD 841-842)[12] by the monk Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje – a creation of the post-imperial period, with the earliest version not before the 12th century. As is well known, in this narrative 'U'i Dum brtan, the elder brother and successor to Khri Gtsug lde btsan, is depicted as the "sinful king" (*sdig pa'i rgyal po*),[13] who was responsible for the persecution of Buddhism – a negative image the historical validity of which is questioned by research.[14] On the other hand, the decline of Buddhism (with

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216). Gzhong pa is not far from Mkhar rgyas and the site called Gling stod Rgyang, probably the Rkyang bu tshal, a place likewise known from OTA and listed in later sources as the location of a *lha khang* ascribed to Mu tig btsan po (Uebach 1987: 104f.). In fact in Mkhar rgyas a local tradition has it that Khri Ral pa can was killed in this area (Ngodrop Tsering, personal communication). Other sources give Lan dkar as the place where the king died (Sørensen 1994: 426); for Lan dkar (Ldan dkar / Lhan dkar), see Hazod 2007: 602 and Hazod 2009: 217.

[12] For the succession and dates of the Tibetan emperors, see Dotson 2009: 143.

[13] Later sources list altogether five sons fathered by Khri Lde srong btsan, in slightly divergent order, but with Dar ma usually ranked as the older brother (by three years) of Ral pa can (Sørensen 1994: 409, 427). For Glang Dar ma and Ral pa can 'On ljang rdo ('On cang do) is recorded as their birthplace.

[14] While the image in later sources seems to correspond to what is stated in the *Tang Annals* about this king, the Dunhuang documents address the emperor as a figure well in line with the (standard) functions of a Tibetan emperor at that time, namely as a Buddhist, or more precisely as a patron of Buddhism. See here the discussion of the relevant passages in P.t. 840 and P.t. 134 by Karmay (1998: 90; 2003), Yamaguchi (1996), Scherrer-Schaub (1999-2000) and Dalton (2011: 47); see also Halkias 2004: 57f. As summarised by van Schaik in his notes on Glang Dar

the closing of temples, etc.) at this time is a historical fact with striking parallels to events in China in the mid-9th century.[15] The exact circumstances that led to the killing of Glang Dar ma are still not entirely clear, and there is also the theory that the narrative of his killing by a monk is pure fiction.[16] But in our opinion it is precisely the Buddhist decoration of the story, with its tendency to legitimise the act, that speaks in favour of a historical core of the account. As is known, Dpal gyi rdo rje, a native of the 'Brom stod district in Skyid shod (below, n. 40), is listed in a Dunhuang document among a group of *kalyāṇamitra*s of the 8th and 9th century. Possibly he was a member of the highly influential body of the Buddhist council (*chos kyi 'dun sa* or *bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs kyi 'dun sa*), which since its establishment in the late 8th century appears to have been held regularly at the place where the *btsan po* resided.[17] It is also known that "*dge slong* Dpal gyi rdo rje" is

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ma (earlyTibet.com, entries of February and March 2008), the emperor was possibly both a patron of Buddhism, but at the same time one with "horns". Note that the construction of his grave in 'Phyong rgyas remained uncompleted (YC 67.1-2; Hazod, forthcoming).

[15] Cf. most recently van Schaik 2011: 48 and Dalton: 2011: 47.

[16] According to Yamaguchi (1996), who argued that the Buddhist king was assassinated by the anti-Buddhist faction; but see here the remarks in Dalton 2011: 227 and in van Schaik 2008 (earlyTibet.com, *op. cit*.).

[17] The *chos kyi 'dun sa* was established before the Bsam yas foundation, sometime during the earlier phase of the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan; it is not registered in OTA, so possibly its introduction fell outside the time span of OTA (i.e., after AD 764). Although primarily in charge of the clarification of doctrinal issues, the religious council was at the same time a highly political body where the decisions for the establishment of Buddhism as a political force were taken (cf. Karmay 1988: 4f.). Later sources describe it as *'dun sa che ba* ("great council"), in contrast to the conventional assembly of the ministerial aristocracy (*zhang blon*) specified as *'dun sa chung ngu/ba* ("small council") (cf. *Dba' bzhed* 13b [Wangdu & Diemberger 2000: 58], KG 327 and Karmay, *op. cit*., n. 11). The assembly appears likewise to have been convened regularly, and apparently at the place where the court resided (cf. the form *pho brang du bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs kyi mdun sa* (= *'dun sa*) as given in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* 73, Karmay 1988: 5-6 and Dotson 2007a: 2). According to the *Dba' bzhed* (14a), the first *chos kyi 'dun sa*s

mentioned in a (9th-century?) stone inscription kept at Brag Yer pa (Karmay 2003: 63-65), the place where the narrative of the killing of Glang Dar ma has its starting point.

According to the classical version,[18] Dpal gyi rdo rje was informed about the persecution of Buddhism while he was practising in the retreat of Yer pa; under the protection of the Lha mo he left for Lhasa to liberate the country from the sinful king. In the outfit of a black demon he killed Glang Dar ma with an arrow shot while the king was inspecting the (treaty) inscription (fig. 2).[19] He then fled miraculously, leaving the valley unseen in the darkness and simultaneously in all four directions. The details of the escape sites reflect the contours of the Lhasa Maṇḍala geography (fig. 3), a conception that is traceable in the sources for the first time in the narrative concerning the "fourfold arrival" of the Chinese Princess Kong jo in the Lhasa valley and which places the Jo khang shrine at the centre (Hazod 2007: 573). The retreat of Brag Yer pa, considered the "life pole" (*srog shing*; Skt. *yaṣṭi*)

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were held at the winter and summer *pho brang* of the *btsan po* Khri Srong lde btsan, namely in Brag dmar Mtsho mo mgur (a place in the lower Brag dmar valley) and in Zu phug Rkyang bu tshal (the latter referring to the *chos-bon* debate in AD 759 or 771, which apparently was held within the framework of a *chos kyi 'dun sa*).

[18] It is most detailed in *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (GRS 236.15-238.4), which *inter alia* is also the version represented in the Fifth Dalai Lama's chronicle, albeit in an abridged form (GD 77); cf. Sørensen 1994: 431-435 and Schlieter 2006.

[19] See Karmay 2003: 62f. for the identification of the Lhasa *rdo ring* as the treaty pillar. The stele is also clearly identifiable in the image of fig. 2, a section of the narrative *thang ka* "Lha lung dpal rdor gyis glang dar ma bsad pa" in Rezin Dorji *et al*. 2005: plate 16. The image represents the version of GRS, which states - more exactly - that the arrow hit the king's forehead, which the king then grasped and immediately pulled out. Other versions speak of the killing with a sword or also a spear. The killing of a sinful king (or insane ruler, whose mind was possessed by a [*gdon-*]demon) with an arrow shot in the forehead is also to be found in the (later versions of the) killing story of Gri gum btsan po (Sørensen 1994: 142).

Fig. 2: The killing of Glang Dar ma at the treaty stele in Lhasa (after Rezin Dorji *et al*. 2005)

of Lhasa,[20] represents the ideal entry into this Lhasa geography. In the killing story it appears as the place where the event of the regicide was "prepared" in the context of a spiritual realisation. This is also the reason why, in this story, the assassin remained undetected and was not seen by his pursuers during his flight in the four directions. The pursuers only found "real" tracks of the hero's presence in Yer pa.

This Lhasa Maṇḍala is also a *chos rgyal maṇḍala*, or a Glang Dar ma *maṇḍala*, where four Glang Dar ma places relayed in the local tradition correspond to the escape sites at the four sides of the valley. The locations are: Glang Dar ma ri (north, a small hill at the entrance to the

[20] Cf. YK 9-10. In the local tradition, the famous retreat and temple complex in the upper Yer pa valley is also described as the Lhasa *gong ba* ("collar of Lhasa"), a designation indicating its function as the spiritual safeguard of Lhasa's central shrine.

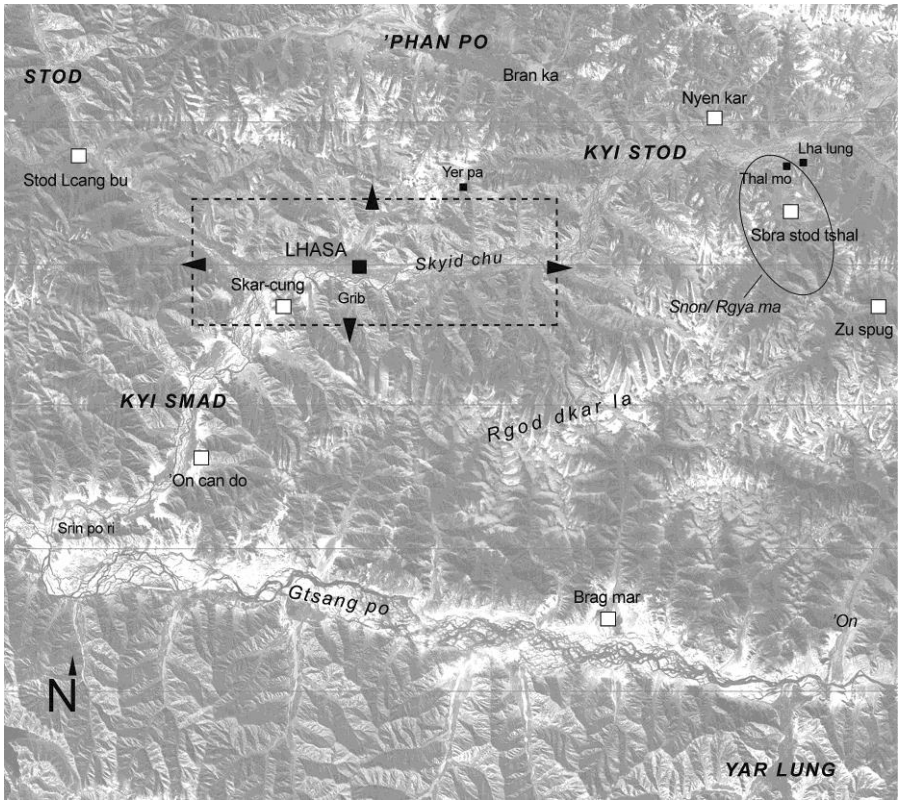

Fig. 3: The Skyid chu region, with major sites mentioned in the text, and the Lhasa Maṇḍala zone (the arrows indicate the escape route of Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje) (map based on satellite photo 1970)

Nyang bran valley), Glang Dar ma bang so (south, at the top of the mountain behind Ra ma sgang), Glang Dar ma pho brang (west, the site of Glang so in the Bran phu valley) and Rgyal po Glang Dar ma mchod rten (east, in the Ldan valley due east of Ba lam).[21] The killing and escape story in this form is evidently not a factual report but a rewriting of history that describes the end of Buddhism in the imperial period as

[21] See Hazod 2007: 579f. for the individual sites and their history; for Glang so, see Hazod 2009: 184.

an event visualised in the landscape of the Lhasa Valley. Seen as an act of liberation, the violent event is set into the frame of a Buddhist ritual and was thereby also legitimised.[22]

In addition to the *maṇḍala*-modelled narrative there is the (probably older) version in NC 440, in MTP 31a (Uebach 1987: 120-21) and in BC (Szerb 1990: 49-51), which only speaks of three escape routes and of a "triple appearance" of the hero. The routes here are not classified according to the directions, but the hero simply leaves the Lhasa valley to the south, with the three routes in each case represented by a particular location. The locations are from west to east: Drang srong Srin po ri'i sna, Grib Bse sgrom gyi phu ru and Thal mo Rdo ring. Srin po ri seems to refer to the holy mountain of the same name in Skyid smad, which is actually quite far from the Lhasa area. The mountain sanctuary assumed a prominent position in the descriptions of the immediate post-Glang Dar ma period as a hiding place of sacred books (NC 436) and was perhaps therefore included in the escape story. Grib, the valley in the south of Lhasa is the place where the transformation from the black to the white hero took place (Hazod 2007: 579, Gyalbo 2005: 360f.). Thal mo Rdo ring is given in NC as Than mo Rdo ring; it is due east of the entrance to Rgya ma.

The three routes describe old connections between the Lhasa valley and the Gtsang po, where the Rgya ma route is the one that directly leads to Bsam yas. Apart from Ba lam, it represents the main pilgrimage route from the Skyid chu area to Tibet's first monastery and is marked by three successive gates situated in the upper part of the Rgya ma valley.[23] If we assume that the killing and escape story has a historical core, we have to decide on one of the toponyms as the historical reference point of the events described. Thal mo Rdo ring ("Long-stone of Thal mo") is here most indicative. It is locally known as the place where Srong btsan sgam po appeared for the first time, miraculously

[22] Cf. also Schlieter 2006.

[23] For a description of the religious sites of Rgya ma (summarised as the *gnas bzhi* and *dgon brgyad*), see Horkhang 1999: 584f.

born from the bundle of blood that a bird had put down in Thal mo.[24] The story of the king's birth, which we recorded in 1999, locates this somewhat mysterious place non-specifically behind Snon mda' Village in Lower Rgya ma. In this regard, the version we came across in 2013 sounds more reliable,[25] and on that occasion an old man, a native of Snon mda', also led us to the likely site. It is situated at the northern foot of the Rgya ma Mgon po ri range and forms a small plateau next to the highway, where a (blank) "great stone" was located; it was removed in the 1990ies and is said to have been used for the road construction. This stone was locally also known as the "*rdo ring* of Thal mo".

It is conceivable that through the much frequented route this Thal mo site at the entrance area of the Rgya ma valley became known as a synonym for the Rgya ma-Bsam yas route beyond the local borders of the Rgya ma district, and found its way into the escape story of Dpal gyi rdo rje; but it was a toponym, which was possibly at the same time linked to the memory of a historical event – the emperor's death at this same place (below, chapter 6).

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[24] The bird is considered to be a manifestation of Srong btsan sgam po's birth god Tshangs pa dkar po. The bundle of blood (i.e., afterbirth, placenta) was previously thrown into the river at Rgya ma Thod dkar (fig. 5) by the mother, which is described as a "dangerous" *nāga* place; it then flowed down the Rgya ma chu and Skyid chu up to Btsun mo tshal ("The Garden of the Queen", corresponding to the old Byan of OTA), from where the divine bird brought it to Thal mo (Hazod 2002). Here the king stepped out from the clot and went to Rgyal po khang, where he grew up (Hazod 2002). It is the story of a second birth (based on archaic models), in which one may see the contours of a ritual journey – the orbit from a mythical "mother place" to the (historical) place of the king's birth. But see n. 25.

[25] According to this version, the bird first wanted to place the bloody clot, hidden in a lotus flower, at this site, but the flower remained closed (like folded palms, i.e., the *thal mo phyag rgya* gesture); thus he continued his journey and arrived at the place of Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling, where the flower finally opened its petals.

4. The imperial sites of Rgya ma and the architectural design of an assembly place and place for the *pho brang*

The old *sku mkhar* tower of Rgyal po khang is located at the eastern side of the valley, where Srong btsan sgam po reportedly grew up. Next to it, at the foot of Mgon po ri (connected with Mahākāla), is the famous sky burial site of Rgya ma, and behind it are a number of burial mounds, which so far have not been registered by research (fig. 4).[26] They are probably to be related to the Mnon, if we read the toponym Snon as being related to the territory of the Mnon lineage, one of the allied clans that persuaded the founder-king Khri Slon btsan (Gnam ri Srong btsan) to a campaign against the ruler of Ngas po, whose centre was north of the Skyid chu.[27] Connected to these events which mark the beginning of the empire is the establishment of the two sites of Snon Sbra stod tshal and Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs mentioned in the Gnam ri Srong btsan chapter of the later chronicles; the latter site is most likely identical with the foundation known as Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling. The identification of these names proves to be significant in relation to the assessment of the territorial architecture of Rgya ma. It appears that it

[26] It includes ca. 15 tumuli, with the largest being a trapezoidal structure of ca. 20m at the front. Another three burial grounds with smaller structures are to be found higher up the valley (fig. 4).

[27] I.e., the *mkhar* Yu sna (or *mkhar* Sdur ba'i Yu sna). It is most likely to be identified with a place in the area of Yung ba (Yung ba sna) of Lower 'Phan yul, the core territory of the Ngas po principality (later a fief or territorial appanage of the Bran ka lineage; below, n. 39). During our visit to this area in 2010, we learned that the ruins above the village Zing ba at the entrance to the Yung ba valley (at 29°25'23.46"N, 91°22'02.74"E) are locally also known as Zing ba rtse ("palace of Zing ba"), with the toponym Zing ba – as noted elsewhere – being said to be related to (the Ngas po ruler) Zing po rje. In an earlier publication we suggested identifying the site of *mkhar* Yu sna with the area around Ka'u Village due south of Zing ba (Hazod 2009: 184f.).

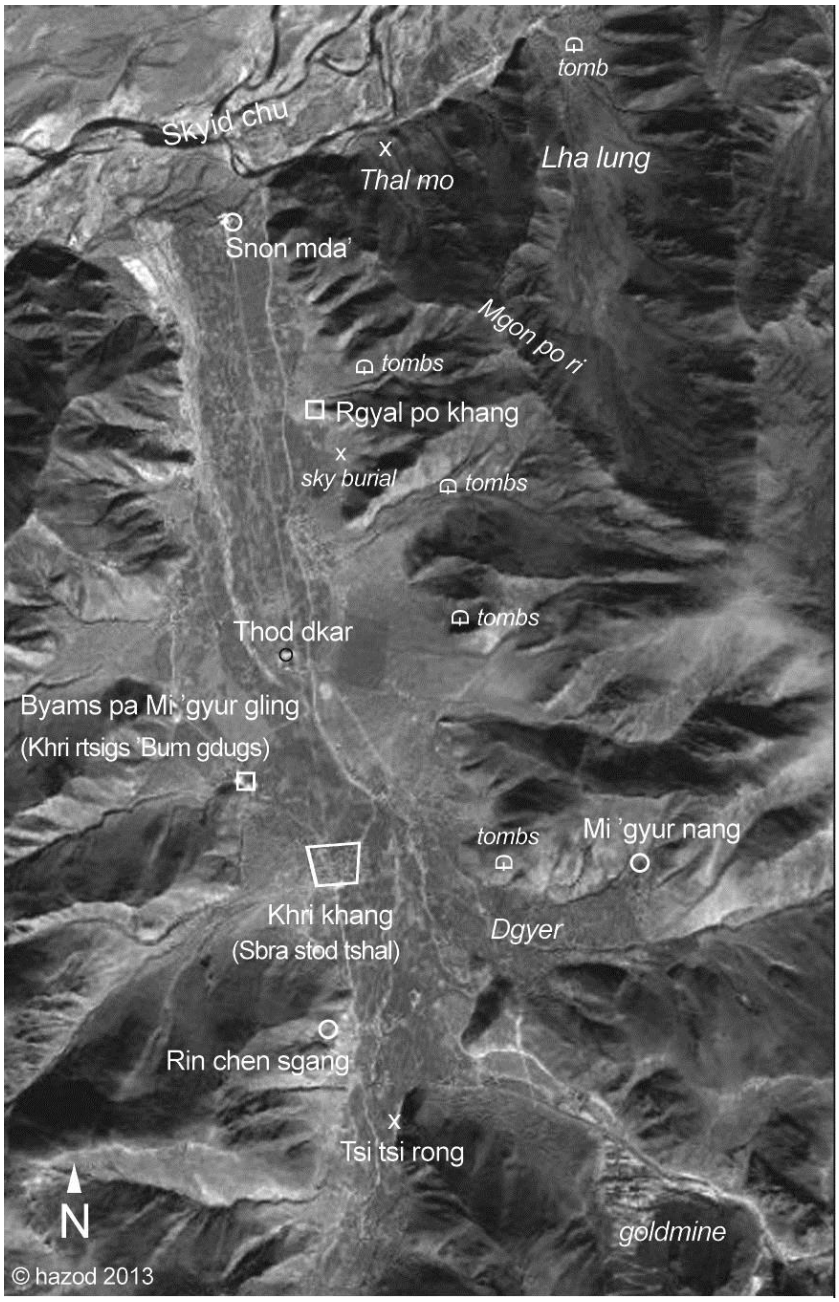

Fig. 4: Snon / Rgya ma (map based on satellite photo, 12/2010)

was designed as a quasi-copy of ancient Yar mo Sna bzhi in Lower Yar lung.[28]

[28] In the various versions relating Srong btsan sgam po's birth, the names Sbra stod tshal and Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling are often interchanged or even collectively addressed as the king's birthplace (Hazod 2002). The foundations of the "palace" Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling have recently been uncovered in the course of the construction of the Memorial Hall (see Introduction), and in size (perimeter ca. 15x15m) it is similar to the Rgyal po khang (fig. 5). In other words, its original construction was possibly as a *sku mkhar*-like tower. The establishment of the fortress (*mkhar*) Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs is listed among the findings (*rnyed pa*) and deeds of Gnam ri Srong btsan (i.e., the discovery of ore and salt, the defeat of Chinese and Turkic peoples, the introduction of astrology and medicine from China, and the foundation Khri brtsigs/rtsegs 'Bum gdugs; see Hazod 2002: 29 for references). The Gnam ri Srong btsan chapter of KK (97 f.) does not mention the Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs foundation, but immediately before the entry about the discoveries of the ore mountains it states that the ruler stayed in Bug pa can of Yar stod and then built the *pho brang* Byams snyoms Mi 'gyur (= Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling).* This suggests that the two names, Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs and Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling, refer to one and the same foundation. At the same time Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs is the name of one of the four *sku mkhar* of Yar mo Sna bzhi of Lower Yar lung (cf. Hazod 2005: 228), where its placement at the western side (ascribed to Spu lde Gung rgyal) corresponds to the position of the tower of the same name in Rgya ma. There are several indications which suggest a deliberate transmission of the local political topography of Yar mo Sna bzhi to the new habitat of the Yar lung house in Rgya ma, a situation that was continued in post-imperial time by certain cultic establishments in Rgya ma and Yar lung (starting from Khra 'brug [aka Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling] and the institution of Srong btsan sgam po's "birth god" Tshangs pa dkar po; accordingly the alternate name, Yar Snon, should probably be read in this sense, as the "Yar lung of Snon"; Sorensen & Hazod 2005: 234-236). Related to Khri brtsigs 'Bum gdugs is evidently the similarly worded "law of Khri rtse 'Bum bzher", the name of the first of the six legal codes, which according to the Section on Law and State offered in the Lde'u chronicles and in KG were established under Srong btsan sgam po (Dotson 2006: 321; cf. also GD 72. 2-4). The name appears to refer to the construction in Rgya ma, namely in terms of its greatness (*khri brtsigs 'bum gdugs* "10.000 storeys, 100.000 canopies") to symbolise the shelter and safeguard for legislation and civilising order (cf. the form *khrims kyi bog*[*s*] *ri*/*ra* "roof of the law", MTP 4a; Uebach 1987: 66f.).

As is known, OTA mention Gor ti as the actual place where the first law was written (in AD 655). According to new information from our fieldwork in 2013, it appears to be identical with present-day Gorte, a settlement not far from the entrance to the Sbra kha dam pa valley of the upper Skyid chu (ca. 15km east of Mer khe in Dbu ru lung; for the latter, see Hazod 2009: 217, 222; geographical position of Gorte: 30°21'52"N, 91°01'59"E). In the upper part of Sbra kha dam pa a 'Du nag sgang is located (XD 134b; 30°23'28"N, 91°07'24"E), which we think corresponds to the not yet identified place of residence of Ldu nag of Zrid. This leads to the conclusion that the original name of the valley was Zrid, with the Zrid mda' (Lower Zrid) of OTA arguably referring to the valley's entrance section. (There, the remains of a grave field are to be found, including one larger square tumulus [approx. 32x32m; 30°21'09"N, 91°03'.35"E].) Zrid is recorded as one of the preferred sites of the emperor's *pho brang* during the time when the three Mgar served as chief minister in the second half of the 7th century (i.e., Stong rtsan Yul bzung, Btsan snya Ldom bu and Khri 'bring Btsan brod; Dotson 2009: 152). Therefore, the proposed identification of the Ldu nag of Zrid with a place in Yar 'brog (Hazod 2009: 215) is obsolete. It should be noted that the Ri phu opposite Mer khe is probably the Ris phu of OTA, where the author of the law book, Mgar Stong btsan Yul bzung, died (AD 667/ 68) after having visited the emperor in Zrid mda' the year before (Dotson 2009: 88). Today, in Ri phu there are no traces of memory of a historical Mgar minister, yet it is worth mentioning the local custom according to which each of the altogether 33 (mainly *'brog pa*) families still today worship a "Mgar gyi lha" as the family or household god. This refers to the deity Mgar ba nag po ("dark-hued blacksmith"), known as the officer (*las mkhan*) of Dam can Rdo rje legs pa. As noted elsewhere, further to the east in the Dbu ru lung district was the Sho ma ra of Skyi, which later sources give as the seat of the *mkhos dpon* Mgar Stong rtsan yul zung (Hazod 2009: 167). It seems that the Mgar family of the 7th century had a special connection with this area of the Dbu ru lung district and the upper Skyid chu, where, in the vicinity of the residence places of Mer khe and Zrid, the first administrative and legal measures were fixed in written form. This identification does not contradict our appraisal that the legal code of Khri rtse 'Bum bzher of the later sources relates to the fortress in Snon / Rgya ma – the historical starting point for the establishment of the empire.

* The ore-bearing sites which the founder king "discovered" refer to mountains in the area north of Gtsang po – the Rgod dkar la mountain range and the Skyid chu area (KK 97f.; Hazod 2002: 30f.; for old mining sites in the Skyid chu region, see Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 212, *et passim*). The major (gold and copper) mines are in Upper Rgya ma and adjacent Gzi sbug, both arguably used since ancient

The name Snon Sbra stod tshal (Park of the Upper Tent in Snon) does not refer to any (walled) building complex but to a campsite as characteristic of the imperial time, namely as a place of the "mobile centre" which was represented by the assembly (*'dun ma*) regularly held at various locations and by the likewise mobile residence (*pho brang*) of the

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times. In the Tibetan tradition, the finding of ore is ascribed to the time of Spu lde Gung rgyal, when the smelting process using coal to obtain gold, silver, copper and iron was discovered (Sørensen 1994: 146; Uebach 1987: 73). The gold mine of "Gser khur (read: khung) Glang po sna" mentioned in the context of the foundation of Bsam yas (*Sba bzhed* 29.19-22; KG 326.4-8) is evidently to be located at Zur phud Klung rgyu tshal, the taming place of the "gold keeper" Mal gro Gzi can, which corresponds to Mal tro Zu phug Rkyang bu tshal (n. 11, 17). In Rgya ma, the ancient use of the gold mine is alluded to in the local story of a holy man called Byams pa, who came from the south (via 'On) to Rgya ma, where he fell ill after consuming the copper-rich water and died. (A *stūpa* containing the remains of the *rin po che* was built for healing people suffering a similar fate. It is called Bad 'Bum mchod rten after the illness of the Byams pa of the type of *bad kan nad*; Dorje 2006: 41.) We have elsewhere argued that behind this figure of the "loving (father)" (Byams pa, in Dorje 2006: 41 given as Mi 'gyur rin po che, i.e., Byams pa Mi 'gyur "Everlasting Maitreya"), is the paternal king (*yab rgyal po*) Gnam ri Srong btsan, who arrived in Rgya ma to found the *pho brang* Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling (cf. Hazod 2005: 232 and the relation of the story both to the mention of the king's death in OTC and the narrative of his discovery of salt). Note that Bug pa can in Upper Yar lung where Gnam ri Srong btsan started his campaign was not far from the gold valley of Tshe spong, which was arguably under the dominion of the Yar lung *rgyal po* at that time. The king moved, as it were, from one gold country to another and potentially an even greater El Dorado. Today, both mines operated by Chinese gold mining companies in Rgya ma and Yar lung (with major international shareholding) are booming. In Rgya ma, the locals of the altogether 15 farming villages and two nomadic hamlets have repeatedly complained of massive loss of livestock due to the increased polymetalic (copper, lead) content of the water as a result of the extensive form of industrial mining. In Rgya ma, the "*lha mo* with the copper boots" (Lha mo Zangs lham ma) is revered as the patroness of the country (and as guardian of the Rgya ma pa teaching tradition) whose protective function not least relates to the dangers of the copper-rich water of the Snon phu chu (or Rgya ma Shing chu).

Fig. 5: In the courtyard of the Srong btsan sgam po Memorial Hall (2010), with parts of the foundations of the "palace" Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling in the foreground (n. 28)

emperor and his family. The appearance of the campsite is described in an entry in the *New Tang Annals* (*Xin Tangshu*), where it is specified in this context as the principal summer camp of the Tibetan *btsan po* (meaning Khri Ral pa can).[29] The description is often cited – indeed, because

[29] The *Xin Tangshu* records that after having reached Migu, the Chinese envoys headed by Liu Yuanding came to the camp of the Tibetan emperor, i.e., to the summer residence north of the Zang River (Bushell 1880: 521). Then the description of the campsite of the treaty ceremony follows (below, chapter 5). Before, it states (Bushell 1880: 520) that Liu Yuanding had his first meeting with the Tibetan emperor at Mendalu Chuan (emended to Menjulu Chuan by Bushell), i.e., Mendalu

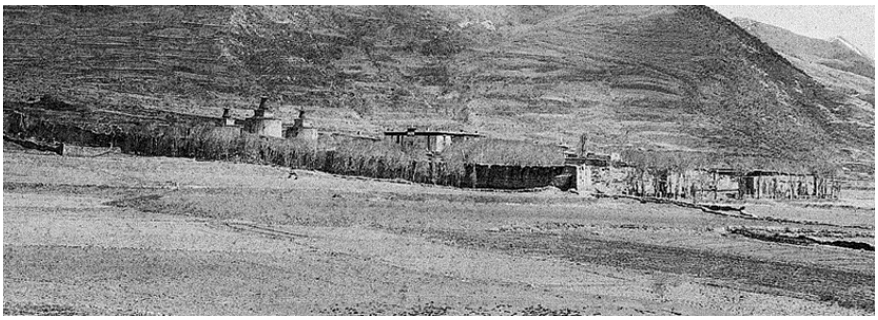

Fig. 6: The Hor khang manor, the old Khri khang (photograph from the 1930s)

of its detailed description of an imperial campsite and the comparative information with respect to the portrayal of the treaty ceremony in the inscription – however, research has so far failed to identify the details in the *Xin Tangshu* with a concrete place in Rgya ma.

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valley, "where the tsanp'u had his summer residence. It is 100 *li* [i.e., ca. 50km; G.H.] south of the Luosuo Chuan [= Lhasa valley], and the Zang River flows through it". The same passage is also recorded in the *Jiu Tangshu*; see Wang Zhong 1958: 139. The identification of the place names is problematic. Wang Zhong (*op. cit.*, pp. 139f.) suggests a location of the "Mentanlu Chuan" north of the "Yaluzangbo river" (Yar lung Gtsang po), and he identifies Migu as a "city in Babu Chuan"(?). However, as already noted by Richardson (1985: 117), the passage seems to be a fusion of separate events, with the place of the Chinese ambassador's first meeting with the *btsan po* and the place of the treaty ceremony probably referring to different sites and (summer) *pho brang*s of the *btsan po*. We think Mendalu is to be identified with the (winter) residence of 'On can do in Lower Skyid shod (see below, n. 34), and Migu means Mal gro (older spelling Mal tro). What remains confusing, however, is that in one case the Zang river would refer to the Skyid chu, and in the case of Migu and the location of the *btsan po*'s principal summer camp it evidently means the Yar lung Gtsang po. Pan (1992: 145) identifies Migu as the "Tibetan summer capital, east of Lhasa", evidently combining the two pieces of information provided by the *Xin Tangshu* and the Lhasa stele text. The suggested identification of the place names in Don grub rgyal & Khrin Chin dbyin 1983: 104f. and 392 (with, e.g., Migu identified as Sha tshal) are mostly untenable.

This camp of the treaty ceremony most likely corresponds to the location of Rgya ma Khri khang, the walled city-like complex (fig. 6) that goes back to the medieval rule of the Rgya ma pa from the line of Dgyer.[30] In the early 18th century the place came into possession of the noble house of Hor khang, which established its central manor there. The former place of the throne of the Rgya ma *dpon po* (or Dgyer *dpon*), who also provided the *khri dpon* of the Rgya ma myriarchy of the 13th and 14th century, is identified by the locals with a location near the Mchod khang, the temple divided into Mchod khang 'og and -gong, whose foundation is attributed to Sangs rgyas Dbon ston (1138-1210) from the religious side of the Rgya ma pa / Dgyer pa line. The palace of the *dpon po* is described as a four-storey construction with turrets on each corner which were reached through the main gate on the south side of the wall. Each of the four side walls is said to have been an arrow-shot long.[31] In the wake of the recent restructuring of the Hor khang complex, the construction work began with the wall that was to replace the old one and which has in the meantime been completed.[32] To my knowledge there are no details of exactly when the original wall was built, probably in connection with the establishment of the *khri skor* in the late 13th century. What is striking is the trapezoidal ground plan of the enclosure. The front is about 277m long, the sides are 200m and the

[30] For a representation of the genealogy of the religious and secular lines of the Dgyer pa and the branch institutions of Rgya ma Rin chen sgang established in the 12th and 13th century, see Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 707ff.

[31] After Dorje 2006: 41f., which does not mention its sources.

[32] Together with the Memorial Hall the intended reproduction of the whole Hor khang manor compound is to form the main attraction of the Rgya ma museum park. The work was not associated with any systematic archaeological examination, and a number of important sites were destroyed: the old place of Rgya ma Thod dkar, the village Gnas nang 'og and the holy spring of Khra mgo Chu mig – all significant places of the Srong btsan sgam po vita (Hazod 2002) – have disappeared or have been overbuilt. A several metre high rock sculpture of the Medicine Buddha (probably from the early Rgya ma pa period) was blown up during the road construction, etc.

rear is 230m long. It gives a perimeter of approximately 907m. The description in the *New Tang Annals* states that 100 lances were posted along the fence at a distance of 10 paces from one another. If we assume a distance of 8 to 9m (= 10 paces) for each, then it results in more or less the same perimeter as in the Khri khang construction, namely about 900m (fig. 10). The Khri khang city is lined with additional trees along the walls, which already in imperial times might have been part of the architecture of Sbra stod tshal and would also have given the site its name: Upper Tent Park. The trapezoidal shape appears as a ground plan in Tibetan architectural history for the first time in the imperial burial mounds (*bang so*), where it relates to the greater rectangular mausoleums, a tradition that started with the tomb of Gnam ri Srong btsan.[33] The form is to be found especially in the *bang so*s that were built on a hillside, where the tumuli with the front facing towards the valley bottom, merge like a foothill into the slopes behind (Hazod 2009: 185). We would like to consider in this context that 1) the trapezoid layout was deliberately selected for the architecture of the royal park, that 2) this architectural principle has been preserved in the form of the remains of the perimeter fence and by the trees, and that 3) the walls of the Rgya ma Khri khang were later raised on these remains. The Tibetan historian Hor khang Bsod nams dpal 'bar, a descendant of the Hor

[33] Cf. KG 172.3: *phul che dbyibs ni gru bzhi sogs ka* (read: *sog kha*) *ris*, "it (i.e., Gnam ri Srong btsan's grave) has great *phul*, concerning its shape it is quadrangular and in the form of a shoulder-blade". Dotson (2006: 54f.) relates *sog*(*s*) *k*(*h*)*a* to *phul* (which he takes to mean "peaks" or "pinnacles"). For a parallel version of this tomb's description, see Panglung 1988; cf. also most recently Hazod, forthcoming. Our *in situ* investigations of grave fields in Central Tibet and satellite photographs show that each of the trapezoidal mounds was apparently aligned individually; in each case the front of the tombs seems to have been designed in parallel to the river course opposite – an indication that the element of water evidently formed an integral part of the ritual composition of the *bang so*. Note that the trapezoid shape is the layout of the traditional Tibetan black tent and also can be seen as the horizontal reflection of the elevation of a Tibetan building, which is like a tent turned on its side.

khang house of Rgya ma, argued that the name "Khri khang" is related to *khri skor* and to the administrative centre of the Rgya ma myriachy (Hor khang 1999: 584; cf. similarly Richardson 1998: 306). This indeed appears an obvious explanation, but the identification of the site as the old Sbra stod tshal also allows a different reading of the toponym, "House of the Throne" – a name which oral tradition has retained as a memory of the (summer) residence of the *btsan po* and which was later adopted by the Rgya ma pa.[34]

[34] A possible parallel to the architecture of Snon was the 'On cang do ('On can do) in Skyid smad (at 29°25'46"N, 91°57'14"E). This was part of the Dbul lde (var. Dbu sa skor, later spel. Dbus sde, 'Bud bde) district, one of the three major districts of ancient Skyid smad (i.e., Gzad, Gsang and Dbul lde; cf. Hazod 2009). 'On cang do is registered in OTA as winter place for the council and also for the *pho brang* for the years AD 700-709, and in the Zhwa'i lha khang inscription (e22-23) and in the *Sgra sbyor bsam po gnyis pa* again as residence for AD 812 and AD 814/15 (Dotson 2007b: 3; 2009: 141). The latter was the last year of the reign of Khri Lde srong btsan, whose sons according to later sources were born in 'On cang do ('U zhang rdo and other [later] spellings; later, after Glang Dar ma, it became the leading power base of the Yum brtan lineage; see Gyalbo *et al.* 2000). It most likely served as the winter residence of Khri Ral pa can already before the latter founded his Thugs dam temple here (Sørensen 1994: 413-417). We suspect that the temple was erected at the place of the former campground, whose principal alignment towards the Skyid chu has been taken over. However, in contrast to Sbra stod tshal the ground plan of the temple enclosure, which can still be established through the remains of the four *stūpa*s, is not trapezoid but rectangular (170x170m), here reflecting different architectural principles of a Buddhist construction. The site originally had two pillars without an inscription. There are some remains of the smaller inner *rdo ring*, and although the outer one no longer exists, its tortoise pedestal has recently been uncovered (fig. 11). The stone (visited by Richardson and Tucci) was situated some 100m in front of the western side of the enclosure where – we assume – the main gate was also situated.

A similar situation can be seen at Skar cung (fig. 3), the foundation of Khri Lde srong btsan (Sad na legs), with a *rdo ring* in front of the temple enclosure marked by four *stūpa*s and facing towards the river (Richardson 1989: 72). Probably the location served originally as (summer) residence of Sad na legs (perhaps the ancient Skar cung Gla ba Park [Gla ba'i tshal] known from the Ra sa 'Phrul snang foundation story; Sørensen 1994: 269) and 'On cang do was (one of) his winter *pho*

The fact that the Khri khang place was most likely an imperial structure is indicated by some findings that recently came to light during the renovation work in the northern part of the compound. Most interesting is a stone with the engravings of a *mig mang* game. It is very similar to the *mig mang* stone that Tsering Gyalbo and I came across in 1999, which came from the rubble of the ruins of Byams pa Mi 'gyur gling (the stone is now kept in the Lhasa Tibet Museum). The difference in the current finding is that it is distinctly smaller and has 17 squares (instead of 16; fig. 7). In our opinion both stones are copies of Tang period (or even older Chinese) models and in this form were among the belongings of the Tibetan aristocracy during the time of the Tibetan Empire (cf. Hazod 2002: 42).[35]

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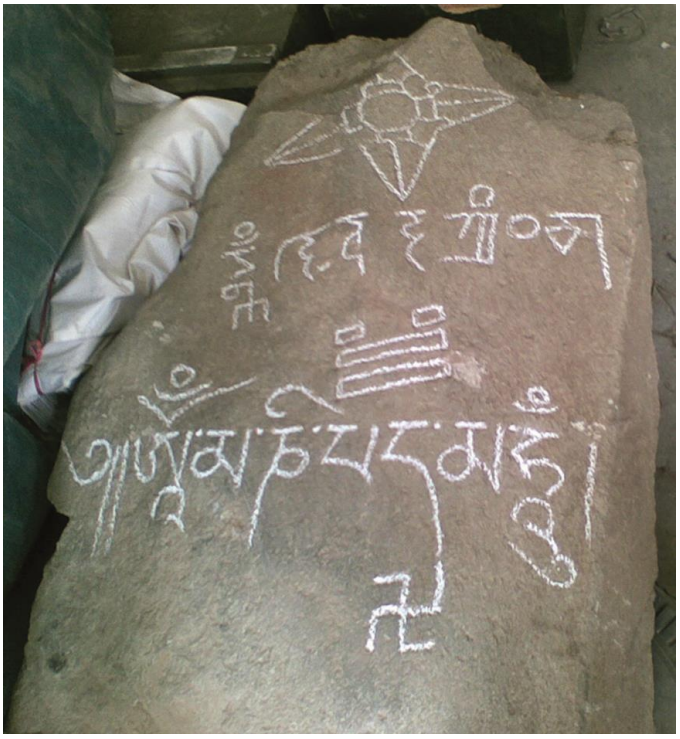
brang(s). Such architectural transformation of former campgrounds, which we might also assume for Brag dmar Bsam yas, concealed their original layout, as it has remained exemplary in Sbra stod tshal of Snon.

[35] Another finding is a stone (fig. 8), whose inscriptions include a somewhat strange lettering (2nd line, below the "star symbol" and above the *duì* symbol of the Eight Trigrams), a (corrupt) rendering of the six syllabic Avalokiteśvara specific *mantra oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* (4th line) and an anticlockwise *svastika* (5th line). As to the lettering in line 2, there are different suggestions by colleagues who have seen a photograph of the stone. Most likely it is a failed Devanāgarī reproduction of the same *mantra* as in line 4 as proposed by Kurt Tropper (e-mail from Oct. 18, 2011). On the other hand, for Bettina Zeisler it is not a Devanāgarī but rather could be a pseudo-Zhang zhung writing (e-mail from July 2, 2011). On the whole, the text of line 2 looks like the result of an "exercise" or experiment by someone who was writing from memory or was generally unfamiliar with the matter. Yet it is just this awkwardness that one may see as an indication of the age of the inscription stone. It should be noted that the stone is said to have been excavated next to the spot where the (imperial) *mig mang* stone was buried.

On four rock walls in Upper Rgya ma (fig. 9), at a place called Tsi tsi rong ("mouse valley"), there are the carvings of hunting scenes and depictions of animals, where different styles, colours and depths of the incisions and also partially overcarving point to chronologically different phases of the drawings. In addition, the rock carvings include several symbols of a later (Buddhist) period, such as a semi-preserved six-syllabic formula and the stylisation of *stūpa*s and temples. A more detailed documentation of this unique monument is in preparation.



Figs 7-8: The *mig mang* stone (7) and the inscription stone (8) recently excavated from inside the Hor khang compound (photo of fig. 8 by Ngodrop Tsering)

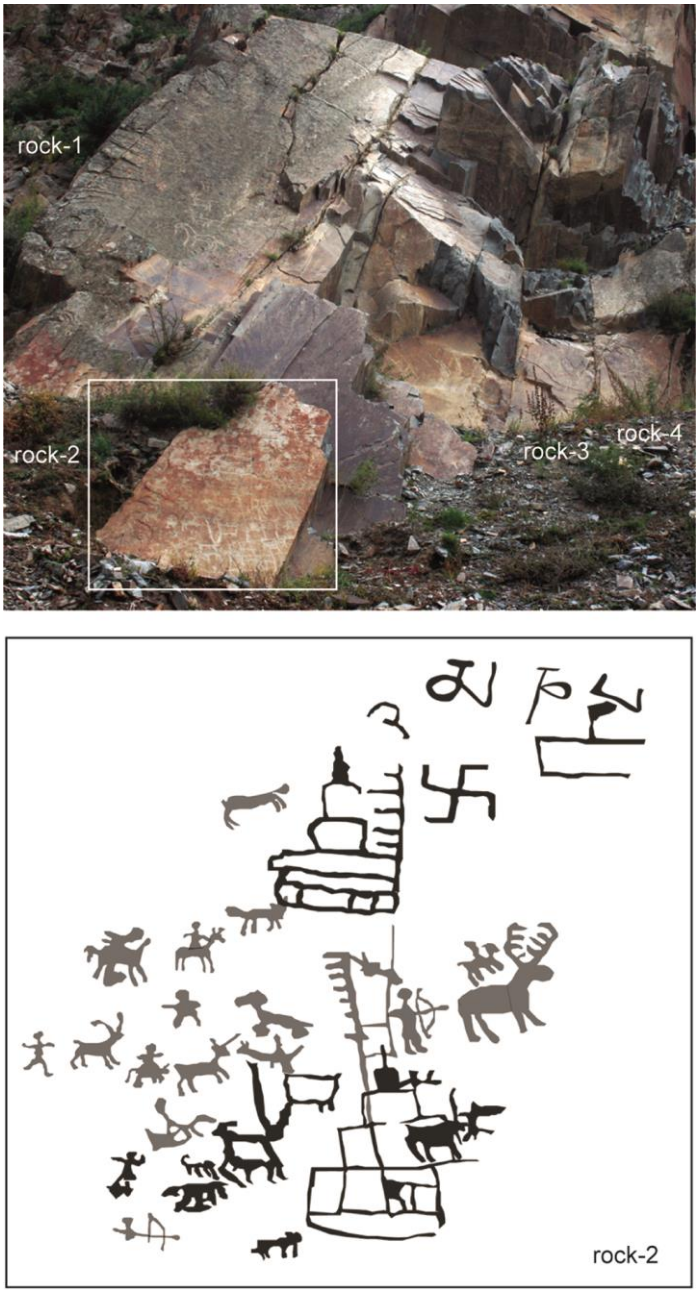


Fig. 9: The petroglyphs of Tsi tsi rong (2010)

5. The treaty ceremony in the Sbra stod Park

Fig. 10 is an attempt to illustrate simply the details of the events of the treaty ceremony as given in the *Xin Tangshu*, with the ground plan of the Rgya ma Khri khang used here as the basic model for this reproduction of the Upper Tent Park. Some components in the illustration are pure speculation. Thus we do not know on which side the three gates were located ("at a distance of 100 paces from one another"); the alignment of the central platform (situated "in the middle [of the camp]"), of the main tent, the altar, etc. is similarly uncertain. The main entrance to Khri khang (and to the Hor khang manor complex) was in the south, and on the east side (probably in the same place as today) there was a second gate, which led to the Mchod khang 'og temple. This orientation made strategic sense, at least for the Rgya ma pa period, during which the "vulnerable" (northern) side was protected towards the valley bottom in the north by the solid wall. However, our drawing does not follow these later models, but uses the trapezoid shape for its orientation. Here we assume that, similar to the *bang so* architecture, the longer side of the campground indicated the front and (like the throne) was facing the river (n. 34). In other words, the "*btsan po* sitting in his tent" (see below) was looking in the direction of the Skyid chu river.

According to the *Xin Tangshu* at the ceremony were present:

– The emperor (seated in his tent, clothed in a white robe and red turban and with a gold-embroidered sword; the tent was situated on a raised platform in the middle of the camp)

– Dpal chen po (i.e., *chos blon* Bran ka Dpal gyi yon tan; seated next to the emperor on his right)

– High ministers, seated below the platform[36]

– The Chinese ambassador (i.e., Liu Yuanding, n. 29)

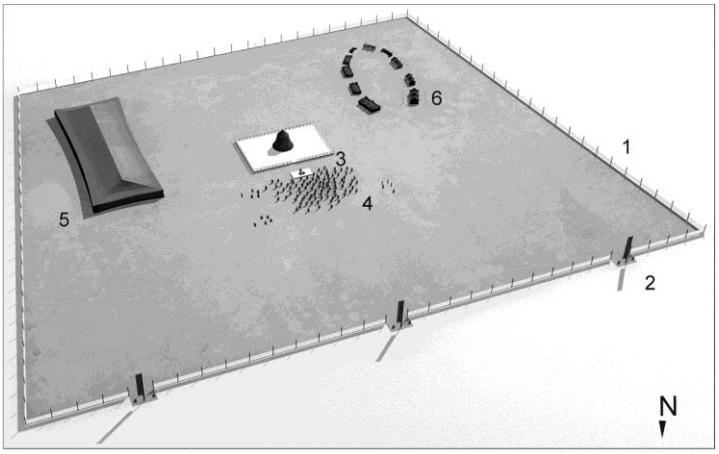
– More than 100 witnesses, seated in front of the altar (*dkyil 'khor* in

[36] For the names of the Tibetan officials noted on the North Inscription (n1-40), see also Dotson 2009: 159f.

Rgya ma Khri khang

Front: 277m
Back: 200m
Perimeter: 907m

(Satellite photograph, Google Earth,12/2010)



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Sbra stod tshal

Based on the description in the *Xin Tangshu*:

1 = Fence with "100 long lances arranged at a distance of 10 paces" (perimeter = c. 900m).

2 = Three gates, each with standards in front and guarded by armed soldiers. (Distance between the gates: 100 paces.)

3 = Platform with the emperor's tent. (It is surrounded by a jewelled balustrade, the high-ranking ministers are at the foot of the platform.)

4 = Altar ("ten paces wide and two feet high"), with "100 chiefs below the altar."

5 = Marquee for the "great feast."

6 = Tents for housing court members (not mentioned in the text).

Fig. 10: Reconstruction of Sbra stod tshal (drawing by H. Feiglstorfer 2011)

> the inscription [e60; e63-64]; it was "10 paces wide and two feet high")
> – Tibetan sorcerers ("drum beating and decorated with bird feathers") and Chinese musicians
> – A marquee with richly laid tables, situated to the right of the central platform.

Then it continues: Dpal po chen po entered the altar and recited the text of the treaty in Tibetan, which was then conveyed by a translator to the Chinese participants. At the end of the announcement (the responsible officials came to the altar and) all except the monk-minister smeared their lips with the blood (of an animal killed on that occasion). Then the oath was again sworn before the Buddha. They then left the altar after a shared drink of saffron water.[37]

The description according to the Lhasa inscription suggests a reverse order, where the Buddhist part was performed first:

> The Three Jewels, the Buddhist saints, sun and moon, and the planets and stars were invoked as witness, its purport was expounded in solemn words, the oath was sworn with the sacrifice of animals, and the agreement was solemnised. (w61-66; cf. the transl. in Richardson 1985: 127)

Whatever the correct order here, the portrayals form a living example of the coexistence of Buddhism and archaic beliefs and practices – a syncretistic entanglement, which was often accompanied by heated debates,[38] but which apparently worked and was also shared by the of-

[37] My reference to this passage in the *Xin Tangshu* is the representation in Kapstein 2009: 28f., based on the translation in Pelliot 1961 and Don grub rgyal & Khrin Chin dbyin 1983. Cf. also Bushell 1880: 521 and Pan 1992: 143-48, 156ff.

[38] See the example of the *chos – bon* debates as described in *Dba' bzhed* for the year AD 759 or AD 771 (n. 17) and in the run-up to the funeral and erection of the tomb for Khri Srong lde btsan (*Dba' bzhed* 14a,b; 26a-30b [Wangdu & Diemberger 2000: 92-105]); in the course of these debates, the winning Buddhist party reportedly decided that animals should no longer be killed on the occasion of funerals

ficials present at the treaty ceremony. Here the *chos blon* Dpal chen po demonstrated his role as the leading representative of the government officials at that time. According to the descriptions in later chronicles, the increasing concentration of power on the religious side of the aristocracy was also the trigger for the elimination of the monk-minister. Interestingly, the person chronicled in this context as responsible for the killing of Dpal gyi yon tan, Dba's Rgyal to re Stag snya[39] is not included among the ministers listed in the treaty inscription and probably was also not present in Sbra stod tshal.

6. The theory of Glang Dar ma's death at Thal mo and of the stele's later relocation to Lhasa

The stone of Thal mo of today's local tradition (chapter 3) is apparently not identical with the one related in the early sources. But Thal mo itself evidently describes a place from the imperial period; we think that its popularity as part of the Srong btsan sgam po birth-story only represents a secondary "usage" of the site.

In this context, the place called Lha lung is most interesting. This is the name of the small side valley two miles east of Snon mda', which according to the locals is related to Lha lung Dpal gyi rdo rje, "who had his *sgrub gnas* there". A hill, evidently a grave mound (diameter ca. 25m), with a shrine of the *yul lha* Pangmä (Spang smad?) *rgyal po* on top, is located next to a small hamlet at the entrance to the Lha lung valley (fig. 4). Possibly the valley's name refers more precisely to a branch settlement of the Lha lung pa, the lineage from which Dpal gyi

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and for sacrifice, a decision which evidently could not be not enforced and led to compromise solutions.

[39] Dpal gyi yon tan was killed in Yung ba, the old Bran ka territory, where also his birthplace, Bran ka, is located (29°51'40.72"N, 91°22'32.31"E, due south of Zing ba; n. 27) (Hazod, forthcoming).

rdo rje hailed.[40] Its local classification as a Dpal gyi rdo rje retreat may reflect a historical link to the Thal mo Rdo rings of the Glang Dar ma account, according to which this site represents the actual place of the killing of the emperor and the actual place of the treaty *rdo ring*. This identification only makes sense, if we see the place as part of a former campground, which extended along the banks of the Skyid chu between Thal mo and Lha lung and which was regularly used by the court and the assembly in the time after the event of Sbra stod tshal.[41] The stone was erected here, one may conclude, for the simple reason that the emperor resided in Thal mo at that time, i.e., in early spring of AD 823 as the inscription suggests.

As noted in the inscription, the stone calls for the praise of the treaty in every generation (see Richardson 1985: 118f.). This was possibly linked to an obligatory ceremony, and Glang Dar ma, who inherited the throne of his brother in AD 841, was killed one year later during the commemoration in Thal mo – perhaps indeed by Dpal gyi rdo rje or by someone from his lineage or his comrades. The detail in the classical versions according to which Glang Dar ma was reading the inscription when Lha lung appeared before him may well reflect the situation of a ceremony held at the stone in the presence of the king. In this sense we

[40] According to KG 365.17, Dpal gyi rdo rje was born in Gung mo che of the 'Brom stod district in Upper Skyid shod, and Stag Nya bzang was his *skya ming* or lay name. A more popular tradition gives the Lha lung of Lho brag as the birthplace of Dpal gyi rdo rje (cf., e.g., Chöphel 2002: 136), a tradition that we think only represents the reformulation of a local memory of the lineage's actual home territory.

[41] A Thal mo is not known from OTA, which does not include the reign of *btsan po* Khri Gtsug lde btsan, however. The area of Thal mo belongs to Snon / Rgya ma, and the campsite could be the Mnon which is registered in OTA as an assembly site for AD 714. However, it is mentioned as a winter place, and the area of Mal gro (Mal tro in OTA) is usually given as a summer location for the assembly and/or the *pho brang*; Snon Sbra stod tshal was also used in summer. Only in a few cases do we find one and the same place used as summer and winter site. Possibly the *'dun ma* of Mnon refers to the Snon of Lower Skyid (Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 182).

would like to conclude that not only was the stone moved to Lhasa, but with it also the memory of the killing of the emperor *at* the stone, which in the context of the formulation of the Lhasa Maṇḍala was then redesigned into the narrative as we know it today. After the institution of the mobile centre disappeared in the second half of the 9th century, the place had become obsolete and the stone was misplaced in the true sense of the word. What remained after the empire was the solitary stone at a place that became known as the Thal mo Rdo rings.[42] We do not have precise details about the stone of Thal mo that recently disappeared in the course of the road construction; it is possible that it served as a quasi-replacement of the original treaty stone, or it belonged to the original ensemble of the campsite or in some other way served as a reminder of something special, the historical content of which has long disappeared from the collective memory. In fact we may speculate that both the toponym Thal mo Rdo rings in the chronicles of the early 13th century and today's story about the lost *rdo ring* of Thal mo point to one and the same history: the original place of the Lhasa treaty stele.

But all this remains speculative as long as no textual evidence emerges that would confirm this theory of a later installation of the pillar in Lhasa. In the case of the Zhol stele, the 8th-century inscription pillar in front of the Potala, it was a bit of luck that some textual indications in conjunction with a local tradition have ultimately led to finding the stele's original place (not far east of Lhasa). Its transfer to Zhol is to be dated to the late 17th century, while in the case of the treaty stele, the realistic time frame for its possible relocation would be the 12th century. This was the time of the early Tshal pas, who as the "Lords of Lhasa" (*lha sa'i bdag po*) are known for their territorial and

[42] Nel pa Paṇḍita notes that during the *kheng log* ("rebellion of the subjects") of the post Glang Dar ma era, the "pillar(s) with royal edicts toppled down" (*gtsigs kyi brdo rings ni 'gyel*; MTP 7b; Uebach 1987: 67 reads it as "Vertragsobelisk" [treaty stele (of Lhasa)], but we think that here the term appears in its more general use to describe pillar inscriptions of royal edicts). Perhaps among them was also the stele of Thal mo, which would mean that from this time the travellers passed by a toppled or fallen stone.

ritual re-positioning of the Lhasa valley, and the violent demolition of older buildings and the relocation of parts of monuments are also known from the sources. One of these was the "Rgyal po Glang Dar ma" *stūpa* in the Skyid shod side-valley of Ldan; in the classical version Ldan (Mdan of OTA) marks the eastern escape route of Dpal gyi rdo rje (Hazod 2007: 580). The structure's removal is ascribed to the Tshal pa founder Gung thang Bla ma Zhang (1123-1193), who demolished it to use parts for the construction of his *vihāra* in Gung thang (Hazod 2007: 613). In contrast to Ldan, Ba lam and many other places in Skyid shod, Rgya ma was not part of the occupied areas of the early Tshal pas (later set up as *mi sde* units of the Tshal pa myriachy; Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 553-567); rather it developed at the latest from Dbon ston's term of office as the second Rgya ma pa and abbot of Rin chen sgang (1169-1210) to become an independent religious and political power that also seems to have been respected by Bla ma Zhang and his group. Thus Dbon ston was among the masters who were invited to consecrate the highly significant Mahābodhi statue in the central shrine of Gung thang (in AD 1189; RN 440.2-5; Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 259). We may thus locate the relocation of the treaty stele in this milieu of the early Tshal pa policy and the Tshal pa – Rgya ma pa connection. The following scenario is conceivable: the transport from Snon to Lhasa could have been arranged by Dbon ston, and the "Lord of Lhasa" took care of its final installation in front of the Jo khang. The latter is classified in Tshal pa sources as one of the "seven retreats" (*sgrub pa'i gnas bdun*) of Gung thang Bla ma Zhang (Sørensen & Hazod 2007, n. 86ff.). Such actions linked to the motif of the accumulation of symbolic capital may be seen as a significant part of the emerging hegemonic policy of the 12th century. Here, Tshal was apparently not an isolated case, because a similar story of a stele-relocation can be assumed in the context of the early Karma pas.[43]

[43] It concerns the position of the *rdo ring* of the Stod Lcang bu lha khang (Richardson 1985: 92f.). "Lcang bu of Stod [lung]" is registered as a place of residence of Khri Srong lde btsan for the year AD 757. This was probably also later

7. Which way are the tortoises in Tibet looking?

One issue of the stele history which appears to be somewhat mysterious concerns the orientation of the stone. It is related to the direction in

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used as *pho brang*, when in the time of Khri Gtsug lde btsan the noble Stag bzang Snya sto from the house of Tshes pong Zhang sponsored the construction of a temple there, which – as specified in the inscription – was attached by the emperor's command as a dependency of 'On cang do (Richardson 1985: 92f.; Dotson 2007b: 50). Most probably the stele was originally not in its present location, i.e., the courtyard of the Mtshur phu monastery. As first noted by Matthew Akester (personal communication), it is obvious that the confined space in the upper reaches of the Mtshur phu valley, where the monastery is situated, was arguably never used as a campsite, and the "willow [park]" (*lcang bu*) of Stod is rather to be located somewhere in Lower Stod lung. In later sources, the Tshes pong foundation is given as Stod lung Lhag ma'i lha khang (also Stod lung Lhan/Thag ma) and described as being built from the remaining material of the 'On cang rdo lha khang (Uebach 1987: 114; in the 11th century it was later re-occupied by members of the *phyi dar* group of the Rag shi *tsho*; Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 664). One of the estates of the Tshes pong lineage registered for the imperial period was Brag rum, which has still not been properly identified but was most likely in the Stod lung district, where apparently the *phyi dar* settlement of Brag rum Gnas gsar was located. The latter was founded as one of the Stod lung-based dependencies of the Mtsho smad lha khang in Upper Stod lung (RCP 665). The Gnas gsar ("New Place [for the religion]", i.e., temple) of Brag rum may refer to a re-establishment of the temple of Brag rum Dngul ma, founded by [Tshes pong] Zhang Lha thog Khri rgyal, the elder brother of the founder of the Stod Lcang bu temple (Uebach, *op. cit. ibid.*). One of the candidates for the identification of Brag rum is the entrance zone of the Mtshur phu valley (fig. 3); this is the area around Gu rum (Rgu rum), where not only the Dngul ma lha khang but also the residence and the temple of the "willow park" were possibly located. (With respect to the size of the *bang so*, the grave field behind Gu rum Village and visited by the author in 2009, is to be regarded as the most important burial ground of the 12 or so [empire-era] grave fields to be found in the district of Stod lung, perhaps a necropolis of the Tshes pong clan). Dus gsum khyan pa (AD 1110-1193), a religious brother of Gung thang Bla ma Zhang, probably initiated the relocation of the stele of old Lcang bu lha khang (*alias* [Brag rum?] Lhag ma lha khang) to its present place in the course of the foundation of his monastery in AD 1187.

which the tortoise is looking. The uncle-nephew pillar represents one of three tortoise-borne steles of imperial Central Tibet, where, as in the case of 'On cang do, only the pedestal is extant (n. 34). The third one is the inscription pillar at the burial mound ascribed to emperor Khri Lde srong btsan in 'Phyong rgyas, which is also the oldest of the three monuments.[44] The stone tortoises are certainly adoptions of Chinese or Turkic models, whereby the Tibetan example with its crouching posture and the neck slightly pulled back is closer to the "Turkish model", as represented by the 6th-century Turkic Bugut inscription pillar.[45] Here it is interesting to note that the tortoise of the *rdo ring* in 'Phyong rgyas is facing north, the 'On cang do figure is facing south, and the tortoise of the treaty *rdo ring* is facing west. While in the case of the first two figures the Gtsang po could have formed the fixed point of orientation, the Lhasa stele simply seems to follow the (exact) western orientation of the Jo khang temple. On the other hand, if the flow direction of the rivers (i.e., 'Phyong po chu and Skyid chu) was the key criterion for the stones' alignments, then all three examples appear to be positioned correctly. What does this mean, if anything at all? We indeed assume that there was a common approach regarding the orientations of the monuments, where it was not necessarily associated with the adaption of a geomantic or other basic concept from the outside.

A possible solution here is to see the campsite of Sbra stod tshal as a model, namely its trapezoidal layout, which we believe was based on the plan that we find among most of the major burial mounds. As mentioned above (n. 33), these constructions are individually oriented towards the river course. A closer look at the grave of Khri Lde srong btsan shows

[44] Note that also the border stele (above, n. 6) apparently had a tortoise pedestal; see fig. 1 in Kapstein 2009. Cf. also fig. 5 above for a modern copy of a tortoise-borne stele.

[45] Cf. the photograph at www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/alyilmaz.html (August 23, 2012). But note that the styles of the Tibetan tortoises are very different and evidently were from different workshops.

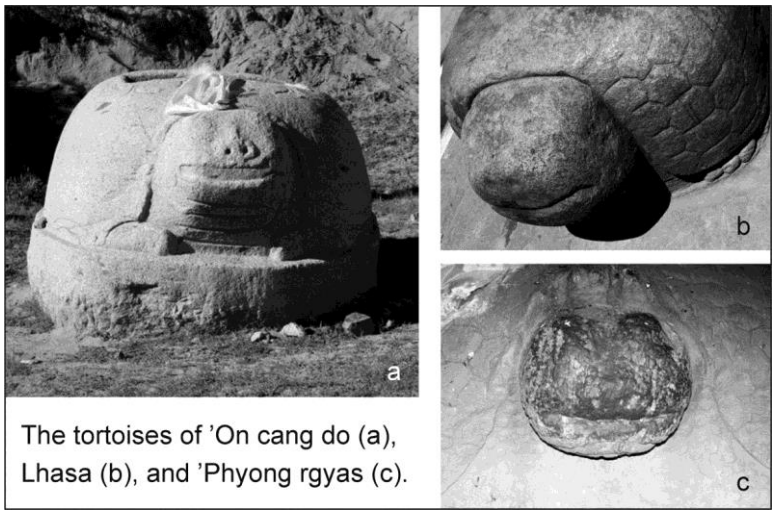

Fig. 11: The three stone tortoises of Central Tibet (photos: 2009 [a], 2013 [b], 2010 [c])

that it actually points slightly northwest to the course of the 'Phyong rgyas river. The tomb stele and the direction its tortoise faces appear to follow exactly this orientation. This also seems to be the case in 'On cang do, with the tortoise facing southwest towards the meandering course of the Skyid chu (figs 12, 13). In neither case is there any indication that the stones have ever been moved – in other words, the orientation we find today corresponds to the original situation.[46] The

[46] As noted above (n. 34), the temple of 'On cang do was probably erected at the place of the older campsite. Even though we cannot say with certainty when (and for what purpose) the stele was erected, before or after the foundation of the famous temple, the fact that the direction the tortoise faces is not in line with the direction of the (west-facing) temple speaks in favour of the stele's present position as being reflective of an older architectonic context (cf. also the representations of the stele in the "'Un shang rdo yi pho brang" *thang ka* in Rezin Dorji *et al*. 2005: plate 19). In the case of the *rdo ring* in commemoration of Khri Lde srong btsan, there is no reason to doubt that this is the spot where it was originally erected. (Note that also for the emperors Srong btsan sgam po, Khri Srong lde btsan, and Khri Gtsug lde btsan the existence of a pillar at their respective graves is recorded;

history of the empire era architecture with regard to conceptions related to the location and orientation of monuments is still little known. In connection with the founding history of Khra 'brug (7th c.), and the positions of the border temples it has been pointed out that there were evidently different concepts in use. The "Kathmandu-direction" of Khra 'brug, for instance, seems to correspond to what is chronicled in the founding story of Tibet's first temples, namely to be faced towards Nepal (the homeland of one of the king's Buddhist wives), whereas the Jo khang's (exact) west-direction and the orientations of several of the border temples apparently were based on different considerations.[47] The concept of the original stele orientations corresponds to a tradition that dates back to older Tibetan funeral practices. In this sense, the treaty stele is "facing the wrong way", and its parallel west-facing "Jo khang direction" may be indeed an indication of its later relocation to Lhasa.

In this sense we wish to conclude:

– The treaty pillar was originally set up in Thal mo next to Snon mda' of Lower Rgya ma, at the place of a campground in this valley, after the treaty ceremony had been held at the Upper Camp Park in the previous year. It was brought to Lhasa presumably in the period of the early Tshal pa (second half of 12th century).

– The basic design of a Tibetan imperial campsite with its characteristic direction towards the valley floor has been preserved in the construction of Rgya ma Khri khang, the site of ancient Sbra stod tshal.

– The side which today represents the west-facing inscription of the treaty stele in Lhasa originally faced north, in the direction of the Skyid chu. It begins with the opening passage, which states that the agreement was carved on this stone to be celebrated in each generation. At this

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with Ral pa can it was reportedly without inscription; see n. 25 in Hazod, forthcoming.) The burial mound of Khri Lde srong btsan is said to have been erected on an elevated site in order to protect it from the flood water of the ('Phyong po) river (Hazod, *op. cit., ibid.*). It also suggests that the situation of the river course as we find it today is not necessarily identical to that of the 9th century.

[47] See Sørensen & Hazod 2005: 178 and Hazod 2005: 267, n. 77.

Figs 12-13: Reconstruction of the steles' alignments in 'On cang do and 'Phyong rgyas (based on satellite photos, 5/2010 and 1/2011)

monument (and perhaps indeed on the occasion of a memorial ceremony) the emperor 'U'i Dum brtan *alias* Glang Dar ma was killed in AD 842. As we know, his violent death meant the beginning of the end of the Tibetan Empire. According to our assessment of today, this incident happened in the same side valley of the Skyid chu where the kingdom had been founded 250 years earlier.

Abbreviations and References

BC = Bu ston Rin chen sgrub. *Chos 'byung.* (Szerb 1990)

GD = Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1981.

GRS = Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan. *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1981.

KG = Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. 2 Vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1986.

KK = *Bka' chems Ka khol ma*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1989.

KT = O rgyan gling pa, *Bka' thang sde lnga*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1986.

MTP = *Me tog phreng ba.* (Uebach 1987)

NC = Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer. *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (*Gangs can rig mdzod* 5). Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang 1988.

OTA = Old Tibetan Annals. (Dotson 2009)

OTC = Old Tibetan Chronicle.

OTD II = Iwao *et al*. 2009.

RP = Byang chub rgyal mtshan. *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa* (*Gangs can rig mdzod* 1). Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang 1986.

RN = Spyan snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan. *Sangs rgyas rin chen sgang pa Khu dbon gyi rnam thar dad pa'i dad pa'i chu rgyun*. *In* The Collected Works (*Gsung 'bum*) of Spyan snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan. Vol. II: 423-511. Delhi 1983.

YC = Yar lung Jo bo Śākya rin chen sde. *Yar lung chos 'byung*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1988.

XD = *Xizang zizhiqu Dimingzhi bianji renyuan mingdan* (The Toponymical Record of TAR). 2 Vols. Beijing 1993.

YK = Zhi ba'i snying po. *Sgrub pa'i gnas mchog yer pa'i dkar chag dad pa'i sa bon*. *In* Gnas yig phyogs bsgrigs. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1998, 3-49.

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A *GTER MA* OF NEGATIVES

H.E. Richardson's Photographic Negatives of Manuscript Copies of Tibetan Imperial Inscriptions Possibly Collected by Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu in the 18th Century CE, Recently Found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

CHARLES MANSON & NATHAN W. HILL

Every scholar who has studied early Tibetan inscriptions will know of the journal articles that H.E. Richardson wrote on inscriptions, from the first published in 1949 to the last in 1995. In 1985, Richardson also published a book entitled *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*.[1] The 1949 first article (on inscriptions at Skar cung, Bsam yas and Mtshur phu) was published while Richardson was in Tibet; all subsequent articles were published after he had left in 1950. Thus, without access to the actual stones at the time of the later articles, apart from other authors' publications on the subject he must have relied on his collection of notes, photographs, copying of inscriptions, and rubbings.[2] He also re-

[1] A full listing of Richardson's articles on inscriptions can be found in the bibliography of Iwao *et al*. 2009: xxviii. Therein 15 articles and two monographs on inscriptions by Richardson are listed.

[2] Sir Charles Bell (1870–1945) left some *stelae* rubbings (made in 1921) to Richardson, which apparently first awakened the latter's interest in inscriptions. Bell's and Richardson's rubbings are preserved in the British Library, London, in a box of 'Richardson rubbings', containing envelopes marked MS35 to MS41. The six envelopes contain rubbings (in whole or fragment) for the inscriptions of the Lhasa Treaty pillar (all four faces), the Kun bde ling monastery pillar (Lha sa), and the Lcang bu pillar (Mtshur phu). Kazushi Iwao has created a preliminary handlist

lied on a copy made for him of the inscription at Rkong po, because he never did visit that site.[3] In addition, it must be obvious to any reader of Richardson's articles that from 1959 onward he referred often to a series of photographs of a manuscript text.[4] The photographs and negatives had been given to him by Rai Bahadur T.D. Densapa (also known as Burmiok Athing, 1902-1988), of Gangtok.

Densapa had informed Richardson, in a letter sent from Gangtok to St Andrews (Scotland), that several of the notes on the original manuscript appeared ("certain degree of resemblance") to be in the handwriting of Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755).[5] The manuscript apparently records the inscriptions of five *stelae* in the Central Tibet region, and from internal evidence the text may be an original record made in the 15th century, with possibly 18th-century additions and notes. Several times Richardson expressed in articles the intention to publish the photographs of the manuscript, but he never did so. Indeed, the photographs in St Andrews seemed to have disappeared, and the original manuscript in Gangtok has not surfaced.

In 2007 one of the authors of this paper – Charles Manson, currently (2012) Tibetan Subject consultant librarian at the Bodleian Library – was then a student at Harvard. Required to write an essay on a Tibetan

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of the contents of the envelopes, and digital reproductions of the rubbings are in the process of being created by the British Library (2012).

[3] Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford, holds the original copy made of the Rkong po inscription (in the Richardson Papers collection, MS. Or. Richardson 38, folio 16) as reproduced in Richardson 1954: 157-173. The making of the copy was arranged by Bdud 'joms Rin po che ('Jigs bral Ye shes rdo rje, 1904-1987) for Richardson, in 1950. The Rkong po copy was sent to Richardson in Scotland by Pemba Tsering from Lhasa in March 1951 (as described by the latter in a letter, Bodleian MS. Or. Richardson 32, folios 15, 16).

[4] The first published reference to the photographs appeared in Richardson 1959: 79. Richardson's first publication based on research using the photographs did not appear until his article on the 'Phyong rgyas bridge-head inscription (Richardson, 1964: 1-13).

[5] The letter, undated, is in Bodleian's Richardson Papers (MS. Or. Richardson 32, folios 8, 9, 10).

inscription, he chose the 'Phyong rgyas bridge-head inscription as his subject. The essay necessarily had to be based on information on the inscription in Richardson's 1964 article and 1985 book.[6] The *stela* was reported by Richardson to be ten feet high by two feet wide.[7] Very few words of the original inscription *in situ* remain legible, and Richardson's 'record' of the inscription relied almost entirely on the Densapa manuscript photographic record. With the essay completed, later that year Manson happened to be in the Bodleian and spent a pleasant summer's afternoon searching through the Richardson Papers for any negatives or photographs of the manuscript, but to no avail. Likewise, enquiries and letters to the Pitt Rivers Museum (repository of Richardson's photographs), the British Museum, British Library and Richardson's will-executors in St Andrews also drew a blank: no evidence of the negatives.

In 2009 Manson had the good fortune to be appointed as the librarian for the Tibetan collection at the Bodleian. In late 2010, he started the process of attempting to clear up several boxes of books in a back room at the top of New Bodleian Library. Some of Richardson's books which had yet to be catalogued were in the boxes. Amongst the books Manson came across a folder of negatives with the Das Studio (Darjeeling) logo printed on it, along with several positive prints of a manuscript text, marked with pagination and notes in Richardson's handwriting. Manson immediately felt that this find might be the 'missing' negatives. It was indeed.

Since then, the negatives have been expertly processed and digitized by Bodleian Libraries staff,[8] and are now presented online as positives on the Luna website, specifically at:

http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Class=Tibetan%20LIMIT:ODLodl~23~23&sort=Shelfmark,sort_order

[6] Richardson 1964: 1-13; Richardson 1985: 36-41.

[7] Richardson 1964: 4.

[8] With thanks to James Allan and Nick Cistone (Bodleian Imaging Services) and Alex Franklin (Bodleian Centre for the Study of the Book) for their expertise and advice.

They can also be found easily by inputting the terms "bodley luna tibetan richardson" into an Internet search engine such as Google. From such a search, initially 15 photos of the manuscript are presented, but each can be viewed individually and enlarged for easier reading. Information on each page of the manuscript is presented in the left-side panel of its website page.[9]

The negatives are two regular 35mm strips: strip A with six exposed frames and strip B with only two frames, so a total of eight exposed frames, each containing exposures of the manuscript. *In toto* there are 28 pages of text contained in the eight frames, some frames having four pages within (Strip A, frames 1 and 2; Strip B, frames 7 and 8), others having three pages per frame (Strip A, frames 3, 4, 5, 6). As shall be seen below, the original text consisted of seven folios, hence 14 page sides. With 28 pages on the negatives, it would at first seem that there are probably duplicate photographs of each side of the seven folios. This is so, and will be clarified below.

Before presenting the layout of the pages contained within the negatives, it would be useful to give an overview of the contents: the text pages appear to contain copies of the inscriptions at

– 'Phyong rgyas bridge-head pillar,
– 'Phyong rgyas valley pillar (near Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb),
– Rkong po (Bde mo sa) rock,
– Skar cung pillar,
– Lha sa treaty pillar (East and West faces),

thus six inscriptions from five *stelae*.[10]

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[9] The original folder and contents are in Bodleian, MS. Or. Richardson 47. Strip A is folio 316, strip B is folio 317. A CD of the negatives, digitized, is also available for consultation at the Bodleian Library.

[10] Richardson presents an outline of the contents of the manuscript and an initial overall assessment in Richardson 1964: 1-4. The order of the list of inscriptions given here is in the chronological order in which Richardson wrote about the inscriptions, once he had the negatives (he had written articles on some of these inscriptions before he received the negatives). The sequence of the inscriptions in the text pages is given below, after the tables of the negatives.

The correspondence of the pages of the text in the negatives and the inscriptions themselves is shown in the diagrams below, after the key.

Key:

Each diagram below represents a negative frame, with the text pages diagrammed within the frame, either four or three pages per frame. The information within each page is presented as follows:

[Strip, frame, page] [inscr. name] [*Old Tibetan Inscriptions* (OTI) lines of inscr.] [Left margin page marking, recto/verso] [lines per page] [first words] [last words]

The '+' after the no. of lines per page (e.g., '8 +') indicates the presence of interlinear corrections, remarks or notes on the page. Details of the interlinear additions are in the transliteration notes, below.

Eight photo negatives of Tibetan text, the Densapa manuscript

Strip A: (Bodleian) MS. Or. Richardson 47 folio 316:

Strip A, frame 1, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 33-56.
L.: *cha - gsum* (recto). 8 lines +. First: *pa yin na* / ... Last: ... *bod rgyang* [sic]		
Strip A, frame 1, page b:	'Phyong rgyas bridge pillar.	OTI: lines 16-34.
	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 1-7.
L.: *cha - gnyis* (recto). 6 lines +. First: *btsan po* ... Last: ... *mthon po'i ni dgos* [sic]		
Strip A, frame 1, page c:	Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb pillar.	OTI: lines 1-25.
L.: *cha - gcig* (recto). 8 lines +. First: *btsan po lha sras* / ... Last: ... *ma thag du*		
Strip A, frame 1, page d:	Rkong po rock.	OTI: lines 1-10.
L.: [no markings] (recto). 7 lines. First: *lha btsan po* ... Last: ... *gces shing mchis*		

Strip A, frame 1

Strip A, frame 2, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 56-71.
	Lhasa Treaty pillar, West.	OTI: lines 1-16.
L.: [page *gsum*] (verso). 8 lines.	First: *gnyis rabs khrir* / ...	Last: ... *'phral*
Strip A, frame 2, page b:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 7-33.
L.: [page *gnyis*] (verso). 8 lines +.	First: *chu bo chen* ...	Last: ... *nye zhing gnyen*
Strip A, frame 2, page c:	Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb pillar.	OTI: lines 25-30.
	'Phyong rgyas bridge pillar.	OTI: lines 1-16.
L.: [page *gcig*] (verso). 6 lines +.	First: *bod kyi dmag* ...	Last: ... *'phrul gyi lha*
Strip A, frame 2, page d:	Rkong po rock.	OTI: lines 10-21.
L.: [no markings] (verso). 7 lines +.	First: *na* / *nam du'ang* ...	Last: ... *gnang n*go //

Strip A, frame 2

Strip A, frame 3, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, West.	OTI: lines 16-63.
L.: *bzhi* (recto). 8 lines +.	First: *yun gnyis* ...	Last: ... *gza' skar*
Strip A, frame 3, page b:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: lines 1-27.
L.: *gcig* (recto). 7 lines +.	First: *'phrul gyi lde* ...	Last: ... *blun kun gyi*
Strip A, frame 3, page c:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: lines 53-56.
L.: *gnyis so* (recto). 3 lines.	First: *pa dag mi bya* ...	Last: ... *pa yin no* / (end)

Strip A, frame 3

Strip A, frame 4, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, West.	OTI: lines 63-77.
L.: [page *bzhi*] (verso). 4 lines.	First: *la yang*...	Last: ... *dgu 'gro'o* / (end)
Strip A, frame 4, page b:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: lines 27-53.
L.: [page *gcig*] (verso). 8 lines +.	First: *dbu snyung* ...	Last: ... *phud*
Strip A, frame 4, page c:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: no lines.
L.: [page *gnyis*] (verso). [blank]		

Strip A, frame 4

Strip A, frame 5, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar West.	OTI: lines 63-77.
L.: [page *bzhi*] (verso). 4 lines.	First: *la yang ...*	Last: ... *dgu 'gro'o*/ (end)
Strip A, frame 5, page b:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: lines 27-53.
L.: [page *gcig*] (verso). 8 lines +.	First: *dbu snyung ...*	Last: ... *phud*
Strip A, frame 5, page c:	Skar cung pillar.	
L.: [page *bgyis*] (verso). [blank]		

Strip A, frame 5

Strip A, frame 6, page a:	Lhasa Treaty pillar West.	OTI: lines 16-63.
L.: *bzhi* (recto). 8 lines +.	First: *yun gnyis ...*	Last: ... *gza' skar*
Strip A, frame 6, page b:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI: lines 1-27.
L.: *gcig* (recto). 7 lines +.	First: *'phrul gyi lde ...*	Last: ... *blun kun gyi*
Strip A, frame 6, page c:	Skar cung pillar.	OTI lines 53-56.
L.: *gnyis so* (recto). 3 lines.	First: *pa dag mi bya ...*	Last: ... *pa yin no* / (end)

Strip A, frame 6

Strip B: (Bodleian) MS. Or. Richardson 47 folio 317:

Strip B, frame 7, page a:	Rkong po rock.	OTI: lines 10-21.
L.: [no markings] (verso). 7 lines +.	First: *na* / *nam du'ang ...*	Last: ... *gnang*
Strip B, frame 7, page b:	Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb pillar.	OTI: lines 25-30.
	'Phyong rgyas bridge pillar.	OTI: lines 1-16.
L.: [page *gcig*] (verso). 6 lines +.	First: *bod kyi dmag ...*	Last: ... *'phrul gyi lha*
Strip B, frame 7, page c:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 7-33.
L.: [page *gnyis*] (verso). 8 lines +.	First: *chu bo chen ...*	Last: ... *nye zhing gnyen*
Strip B, frame 7, page d:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East.	OTI: lines 56-71.
	Lhasa Treaty pillar, West.	OTI: lines 1-16.
L.: [page *gsum*] (verso). 8 lines.	First: *gnyis rabs khrir* / ...	Last: ... *'phral*

Strip B, frame 7

Strip B, frame 8, page a:	Rkong po rock. OTI: lines 1-10.
L.: [no markings] (recto).	7 lines. First: *lha btsan po ...* Last: *... gces shing mchis*
Strip B, frame 8, page b:	Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb pillar. OTI: lines 1-25.
L.: *cha - gcig* (recto).	8 lines +. First: *btsan po lha sras / ...* Last: *... ma thag du*
Strip B, frame 8, page c:	'Phyong rgyas bridge pillar. OTI: lines 16-34.
	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East. OTI: lines 1-7.
L.: *cha - gnyis* (recto).	6 lines +. First: *btsan po ...* Last: *... mthon po'i ni dgos* [sic]
Strip B, frame 8, page d:	Lhasa Treaty pillar, East. OTI: lines 33-56.
L.: *cha - gsum* (recto).	8 lines +. First: *pa yin na / ...* Last: *... bod rgyang* [sic]

Strip B, frame 8

One can see from the above that each of the 14 photographed page sides appears twice on the negatives. Strip A's frame 1 has an obscuring mark crossing pages b and c – perhaps strip B's frames 7 and 8 (which duplicate strip A's frames 1 and 2, but in different sequence of pages) were created later as 'retakes' in order to provide good copies. The Luna website's 15 reproductions of the negatives as positives gives the two complete strips plus 13 individual pages of the seven folios (omitting one blank verso page), ensuring no duplications on the website presentation.

The negatives being black and white, there is no immediate evidence of variations in ink colour. However, in the one-sided Richardson-Densapa correspondence preserved in the Bodleian (the library only has Densapa's letters), Densapa makes it clear in his discussion of the Rkong po inscription that the ink of the corrections and interlinear notes added to the manuscript record of that inscription is red.[11] Subsequently Densapa had a handwritten copy made for Richardson, in *dbu can*, with the ink colours copied. This copy also is in the Bodleian, so at least

[11] MS. Or. Richardson 32, folio 7.

there is for one section an indication of which parts of the Densapa manuscript were red.[12]

The page numberings, or lack of them, in the left-side margins of recto pages indicate that the original folios were three parts:

– a one-folio copy of the Rkong po inscription,
– a two-folios copy of the Skar cung inscription,
– four folios of copies of (in corresponding order):
  • Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb pillar,
  • 'Phyong rgyas bridge pillar,
  • Lhasa Treaty pillar, East,
  • Lhasa Treaty pillar, West.[13]

Richardson remarks that the text of the transcriptions is written in three different hands, but he does not elaborate his reasoning for this view (Richardson 1964: 2). An examination of the manner in which the syllable *khri* is written in the various texts serves to confirm Richardson's claim. The angle at which the *ra btags* descends to the right differs between the Rkong po transcription and the Skar cung transcription. The left tail of the *kh* intercepts the *ra btags* in the transcriptions of the Lhasa Treaty inscription, the inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde srong brtsan, and 'Phyong rgyas bridge inscription, but the left tail of the *kh* does not intercept the *ra btags* in the transcriptions of the Rkong po or Skar cung inscriptions (v. Table 1).

[12] The *dbu can* copy is MS. Or. Richardson 38, folio 11. Richardson briefly mentions the red ink markings in Richardson 1972: 30. A photograph of the *dbu can* modern transcription with red ink markings can be consulted on the Bod Blog website ("An occasional update from the Tibetan subject librarian at the Bodleian Library, Oxford") at *http://yeshiuk.blogspot.co.uk/*.

[13] Richardson also made this division into three, and labelled his prints of the photographs texts X (Rkong po), Y (Skar cung) and Z (remaining group of four). The prints are in the MS. Or. Richardson 47 box. The X, Y, Z formula is kept to in this article, see shortly below.

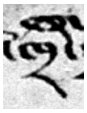
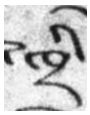
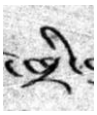
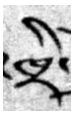
Rkong po (1d.1. 4)	Skar cung (6b.1.6)	Lhasa Treaty, East (8c.5.6)	Khri Lde srong brtsan tomb (8b.2.27)	'Phyong rgyas bridge (7b.4.30)
				

Table 1: The syllable *khri* as written in different parts of the text

Thus, on the basis of pagination and penmanship it is possible to divide the transcriptions into three original texts (X, Y, and Z) written by three different scribes (A, B, and C). Scribe A penned text X which contains the Rkong po inscription; scribe B wrote text Y which contains the Skar cung inscription; and scribe C is responsible for text Z which contains the inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde srong brtsan, the 'Phyong rgyas bridge inscription and the Lhasa Treaty East and West inscriptions.

Regarding dating of the manuscript, Richardson (1964: 2 and 1978: 137) mentions that the Densapa manuscript transcription of the Lhasa Treaty West inscription has a colophon that reads:

> *de ltar na rdo rings chu yos la btsugs nas da lta'i chu stagi bar lnga brgya dang dgu bcu rtsa dgu 'gro'o //*[14]
>
> "Thus since the erection of the stela in the water-hare year [823] until now, the water-tiger year, 599 years have passed".

The colophon of text Z thus puts the year in which the transcription was made as 1422. It must be stressed that this date applies only to the transcription of the Lhasa Treaty inscription, it cannot be assumed that the other inscriptions were copied at the same time. However, it may be plausible to surmise that the two 'Phyong rgyas inscriptions (tomb and bridge-head) were transcribed at the same period, because they are in the same hand and are included with the treaty pillar inscriptions all in one text (text Z).

Richardson discusses the possible rough dating of the 'Phyong rgyas tomb transcription (Richardson 1969: 30) with respect to a notation in

[14] See strip A, frame 5, page a, line 4.

the transcription as to how many lines were legible (29 lines) and how many further lines were illegible and above ground (14 lines).[15] At the time of Richardson's visit in 1949 he found 22 lines above ground. At that time he did some cautious digging with the help of Kazi Sonam Topgye of Sikkim (1925-2009) and an 'orderly' known as 'Brug skad in order to note any subterranean lines, and published in 1969 that the full inscription was 47 lines (Richardson 1969: 35; but Richardson 1985: 90 has 46). As we now know, the full inscription is 59 lines (Iwao *et al.* 2009: 27).

This is not the place for a fresh systematic study of these inscriptions in light of this newly found manuscript historical evidence. Instead our goal is merely to bring these materials to the attention of the scholarly community and to provide such introductory remarks and background as will facilitate the consultation of these transcriptions.[16] Nonetheless, a few pertinent observations on the text of the transcriptions in relation to the original stones may prove to be of interest.

It is hardly surprising that in numerous cases the orthographic and lexical peculiarities of Old Tibetan have in some way been modernized in transcription. Thus, the Rkong po inscription itself reads *kar po mang po rje dang* / (line 3; Iwao *et al.* 2009: 15), but the manuscript transcription renders *kar po* as *dkar po* (strip B, frame, 8 page a, line 1; i.e., photo 8a.1), a reformulation of the name to look less unusual, perhaps. However, above the line someone – possibly Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu – has corrected *dkar* to *kar* (photo 8a.1). This clearly suggests that the manuscript was corrected against the inscription *in situ*. The *dbu can* transcription of the Rkong po inscription sent by Densapa to Richardson makes clear that this correction, and indeed all the others made in this particular Rkong po transcription, are in red ink. It is notable that the other inscriptions presented in the Densapa manuscript have very few corrections or additions.

[15] See strip B, frame 7, page b, lines 2 & 3, and Richardson 1969: 29-30.

[16] See below for a correlation of our transcription of the manuscript with the inscriptions as presented in Iwao *et al.* 2009.

Another instance of such an interaction among the texts is the line in the Rkong po inscription *nya grï btsan po myi yul gyï rjer* // (line 4; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 15), which appears as *gnya' khri btsan po myi yul gyi rjer* // (photo 8a.2) in the Densapa manuscript transcription. The notes in red ink place a *nya* above the *gnya'* and a *gi gu inversé* directly atop the *gi gu* of *gyi;* this notation suggests the reading *nya khri btsan po myi yul gyï rjer,* closer to the original but still missing out the *gi gu inversé* and the *g* rather than *kh* of the syllable *grï*. An instance that particularly illuminates the practice of the red-ink editor is the phrase *bdagï srog la' bab pa* (line 7; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 15), which is transcribed *bdag gi srog la bab pa* (photo 8a.5); the word *bab* is then amended to *'bab* in red. The sporadic use of *'* after grammatical morphemes is characteristic of Old Tibetan (Hill 2005: 115-117) but is quite unknown in Classical Tibetan. Consequently, when his eyes presented him with the sequence of letters *l, ', b, b,* the editor with the red pen read them as *la 'bab* rather than the correct *la' bab*.

While the textual history of these transcriptions and of the concomitant editorial practices of the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries is no doubt interesting in its own right, the student of early Tibetan history will hope to find places in which these transcriptions help us to arrive at a better analysis of the original text. Of course, the most clear-cut case of these transcriptions providing information which we would otherwise lack is the inclusion of the 'Phyong rgyas bridge-head pillar inscription. The utility of the transcriptions in other cases is limited, but there are occasional lacunae in the original stones for which the transcriptions offer useful or interesting readings. Thus, the West face of the Lhasa Treaty inscription has *nyes cï yang === thugs rje chen* (line 17; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 33)[17] transcribed as *nyes ci yang mkhyen thugs rje chen* (photo 6a.1), providing the word *mkhyen* where previously the reading was unknown. However, there is no way to know whether the word *mkhyen*

[17] The syllable *yang* in the edition of Iwao *et al*. is provided on the basis of "previous study(ies), but not reconfirmed by the editors" (cf. the "Signes critiques" in Iwao *et al*. 2009: xix).

was actually visible in the stone at the time the transcription was done, or whether it is a conjectural emendation on the part of the transcriber.

In another case the transcriber seems likely to have relied on conjecture. On the East face of the Lhasa Treaty inscription the phrase [*dbon zhang g*]*nyïs kyi tshul ci 'dra ba dang* // (line 3; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 35) is transcribed *bod rgya gnyis kyi tshul ci 'dra ba dang* // (photo 8c.5). Reading the text *bod rgya* is contextually appropriate, but the conjecture [*dbon zhang g*]*nyïs* of Iwao *et al*. has the advantage of matching the parallel phraseology on the West face – *dbon zhang gnyïs* (line 4; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 33) and in our judgment better satisfies the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* since by *dbon zhang* the text means *bod rgya*. The testimony of these transcriptions must be taken with a proverbial pinch of salt.

One might hope that in the future the entire corpus of Tibetan inscriptions will be scientifically documented with a full array of squeezes and advanced photographic techniques; such an undertaking would probably help resolve at least some of the uncertain readings. Until such a result is eventually realized, these photographs of the earlier transcriptions, now available for the first time to all scholars, contribute another puzzle piece both in the study of Tibet's imperial civilization and in our understanding of the knowledge and appreciation of this civilization by later generations of Tibetans.

Transliteration of the Densapa manuscript

The transliteration of the six inscription transcriptions in the Densapa manuscript is presented below line by line. Supralinear and sublinear additions are indicated in footnotes. In the manuscript transcription of the Rkong po inscription, text X, all the supralinear and sublinear additions and corrections were in red ink (see above). It is notable that the Densapa copyist (cf. n. 12, above) has also added some red corrections which are not featured in the original manuscript (e.g., *btsan* to *brtsan*, *ri* to *rï* for lines 1 and 2 of the Rkong po inscription transcription). It is not known whether the additions for texts Y and Z were in red ink.

In keeping with the Vienna tradition, the following signs and conventions are used:

{1}, {2}, etc.	Beginning of a line in the manuscript
*	*dbu*
/	*shad*
:	*double tsheg* (frequently used instead of a *shad* or double *shad*)
ï	*gi gu inversé*
ṃ	*bindu* (frequently used instead of a *ma rjes 'jug*; e.g., *naṃ* [for *nam*])
ḍ	*d inversé* (occasionally used instead of *-gs*; e.g., *bzhuḍ* [for *bzhugs*])

In Iwao *et al*. 2009, the square brackets containing three numbers refer to the line reference of the relevant inscription, e.g., [002] for line 2, [027] for line 27. These references are inserted in the manuscript transliteration.

Our thanks are due to Dr Lewis Doney for checking the transliteration and for his useful comments.

The Rkong po Bde mo sa inscription

(Text X; page 1, recto l. 1 - verso l. 7)

Strip B, frame 8, page a

{1} [001] ** // lha btsan[18] po khri[19] srong lde brtsan[20] dang/ lde srong yab sras kyi ring la'/ [002] rkong dkar[21] po la gtsigs gnang ba'[22]/ [003] * / dkar[23] po mang po rje dang: blon po lha'i zung gis gsold pa'//[24] x[25] thog mar

[18] Red *ra mgo* added by Densapa's copyist, although not present in original manuscript. The copyist may have deemed it necessary as four words further on another red *ra mgo* is given. The manuscript photo has *btsan* and *brtsan*.

[19] *gi gu* correction added to indicate *khrï*.

[20] *ra mgo* added in red by Densapa copyist.

{2} phywa ya bla bdag drug gi sras las/ [004] gnya'[26] khri btsan po myi[27] yul gyi[28] rjer/ lha ri[29] gyang dor gshegs pa tshun chad/ dri gum[30] btsan po phan chad/ gdung rabs[31] bdun gyi[32] bar du: phying ba stag

{3} [005] rtse na bzhugs bzhugs/ dri[33] guṃ[34] btsan po'i sras: gtsen[35] nya khyi[36] dang: gcung sha[37] khyi gnyis las: gcung sha[38] khyi ni lha btsan po/ gtsen[39] nya khyi[40] [006] ni rkong yul du bzhugs ste/ gtsen[41]

{4} dkar[42] po ni[43]/ thog mar[44] yas gshegs pa'i tshe: mched gnyis kyis: sku bla gnyan po gsol ba dang: sku bla de mo dang bshos pa'i [007] lha bdag bgyid[45] kyis kyang: lha sras kyis[46]: sku'i

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[21] *d* in red.

[22] ' in red.

[23] Supralinear addition: *kar* (red).

[24] The first *shad* seems to impinge on the '.

[25] 'x' indicates a mark, somewhat like a '2' in red; perhaps it is the scribes indication of the start of the quoted petition.

[26] Supralinear addition: *nya* (red).

[27] Densapa copyist has *ya btags* in red.

[28] *gi gu* correction added: *gyï* (red).

[29] *gi gu* correction added: *rï* (red).

[30] Supralinear *bum* (red).

[31] Triangle of dots (red) above *s*.

[32] Supralinear correction: *kyi* (red).

[33] *gi gu* correction added: *drï* (red).

[34] Supralinear *buṃ* (red).

[35] Densapa copyist has 'hook' of *ts* in red (unnecessarily?).

[36] Supralinear *khri* (red).

[37] Supralinear *tha* (red).

[38] Supralinear *tha* (red).

[39] Densapa copyist has 'hook' *ts* in red (unnecessarily?).

[40] Supralinear *khri* (red).

[41] Densapa copyist has 'hook' of *ts* in red (unnecessarily?).

[42] Supralinear *dkar* (red).

[43] *gi gu* correction: *nï* (red).

[44] Triangle of dots (red) above *r*.

[45] Supralinear *bkyid* (red).

[46] Triangle of dots (red) above *s*.

{5} rim gro la/ bdag gi srog la bab[47] pa man chad kyi cho gar mdzad pa: srogs[48] 'phongs[49] ma bgyis[50] te/ lha sras kyi chab [008] srid 'di ltar mtho: dbu rmog btsan: yong lha sras

{6} gnaṃ dang 'dra ba'i chags 'og na: gnaṃ kol[51] du gnang ba'ang[52]: ci[53] bas zhig mchis na: bdag [009] cag lta zhig [*vacat*] thog ma mched gyes po[54] nas/ pha myes[55] dang po lha

{7} myi[56] ma bye ba[57] tshun chad: bde skyid cing/ chu srid g.yung[58] drung dang 'dra bar gnang gis kyang: deng sang [010] du/ khab so dpon sna[59] dag gis khral gyi[60] sna 'tshal te gtses shing mchis

Strip B, frame 7, page a

{1} na: naṃ du'ang bde bar thugs[61] dbag[62] mdzad pa'i/ gtsigs tsaṃ zhig ci gnang zhes [011] gsold[63] nas: de bzhin du gnang ste: gtsigs[64] 'phra men sgroṃ bur[65] stsal ba'i[66] dper bris

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[47] Supralinear *'bab* (red).

[48] Triangle of dots (red) above *s*.

[49] Triangle of dots (red) above *'*.

[50] Supralinear *dgyis* (red).

[51] Supralinear *bkol* (red).

[52] Supralinear *ba'ang* (tautologically?) and triangle of dots above *ng* in the running text. Both are red in Densapa copyist version.

[53] *gi gu* correction: *cï* (red).

[54] Densapa copyist has no *na ro*, instead has a horizontal red line above *pa*, perhaps indicating a *na ro* in *dbu med*, although all copyist's writing is in *dbu can*.

[55] Densapa copyist has *ya btags* in red.

[56] Densapa copyist has *ya btags* in red.

[57] Triangle of dots (red) above *ba*.

[58] Short horizontal line (red) above *g*.

[59] Supralinear *snang* (red).

[60] Supralinear *kyi* (red).

[61] Short horizontal line (red) added above *s*.

[62] Short horizontal line (red) added above *d*.

[63] Densapa copyist has added red *d* after *gsol*, and repeats (for clarification?) with sublinear *gsold nas*; in the photographed Densapa manuscript the clarifying *gsold nas* is supralinear.

{2} pa[67]/ [012] * / btsan po lha sras khri srong lde btsan gyi ring la: dkar[68] po'i gtsigs[69] gnang ba la:[70] [013] lha sras lde srong gi sku ring la: gtsigs[71] snga ma bas bskyed par bkas[72]

{3} gnang ba:[73] [014] naṃ zhar kyang[74]: rkong dkar[75] po'i rgyal por[76] gzhan myi[77] gzhug[78] par: dkar[79] po mang po rje'i[80] bu tsha[81] 'phel rgyud las stsal bar[82] gnango/ [015] dkar[83] po mang por[84] rje'i rgyud rab[85]

{4} chad na: gcen rgyal po: dkar po'i ming mi rlag par: rgyal por yang: dkar po rgyal btsan gyi rgyud las [016] bsko'o: rgyal btsan gyi rgyud kyang rab chad na: nye 'tshaṃs las:

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[64] Supralinear *gtsig khra* or *rtsig khra* (not clear). Densapa copyist has *rtsig khra* (red), sublinear.

[65] Short horizontal line (red) added above *r*.

[66] Supralinear *stsald ba'i* (Densapa copyist has the same, sublinear, in red).

[67] Supralinear *pa'*/ (red).

[68] Short horizontal line (red) added above *d*.

[69] Triangle of dots (red) above *s*.

[70] Supralinear *las* (red).

[71] Triangle of dots (red) above *s*.

[72] Supralinear *bka'* (red).

[73] Supralinear *bar* (red).

[74] Supralinear *zhard kyang* (red).

[75] Triangle of dots (red) above *d*.

[76] Triangle of dots (red) above *r*.

[77] Densapa copyist has *ya btags* in red.

[78] Supralinear *bzhug* (red).

[79] Triangle of dots (red) above *d*.

[80] Supralinear *'di yi* (red).

[81] Sublinear *tsa* (red).

[82] Supralinear *stsald par* (red).

[83] Triangle of dots (red) above *d*.

[84] Densapa copyist has sublinear *r* addition (red).

[85] A note added in margin: *'di yan rdo ring dngos las bshus shubhaṃ*/. Densapa copyist has *'di yan rdo ring dngos las bshus*, supralinear (red). Note that no further additions or corrections in Densapa manuscript (or by copyist) are evident in text X.

{5} kha chems kyis: gang gsold ba'i nang nas: spus dang [017] sbyard te: gang 'os pa 1 stsal bar gnango: [018] * / rkong dkar po'i bran dang: zhing 'brog: slan chad mi dbri zhing:

{6} rje blas dang: dpya khral bla skyes mi dbab pa dang: [019] stsang ra phywa nas dang: 'bras gang 'bul yang rung: 'bul ba'i sa tshig/ da ltar gyi las mi bsring bar: lha sras [020] yab

{7} kyis bkas gnang ba bzhin du: lha sras lde srong gi sku ring la: rje blon mol te [021] bkas gnang ngo//

The Skar cung inscription

(Text Y; page 1, recto l. 1 - page 2, recto l. 3)

Strip A, frame 3, page b

{1} [001] **[86] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri lde srong brtsan gyi ring[87]: [002] dam pa'i chos yun du brtan pa'i gtsig [003] bsnan pa/ [004] * / 'phrul gyi lha btsan po mes khri srong btsan gyi [005] ring la: sangyas kyi chos mdzad de: ra sa'i gtsug

{2} [006] lag khang la sogs pa brtsigs te: dkoog [007] gsuṃ gyi rte btsugs pa dang: mes khri 'dus srong gi [008] ring la: gling gi khri rtse la sogs par: gtsug lag [009] khang brtsigs te: dkoog gsuṃ gyi rte btsugs [010] pa dang: mes khri

{3} lde btsug brtan gyi ring la: brag dmar gyi [011] ka cu dang: 'ching phur gtsug lag khang brtsigs te: dkoog [012] gsuṃ gyi rten btsugs pa dang: yab khri srong lde [013] btsan gyi ring la: brag dmar gyi

{4} bsaṃ yas la sogs [014] par dbung mthar gtsug lag khang brtsigs pa dang: lha btsan po khri [016] lde srong btsan gyi ring la[88]: skar cung gtsug lag khang [017] la sogs pa brtsigs te: dkoog gsuṃ

{5} gyi rten [018] btsug pa la sogs pa: gdung rab rgyud kyis [019] 'di ltar chos mdzad pa 'di: nam du yang ma [020] gzhig ma btang na: legs pa dpag tu med par 'gyur: [021] btang ste zhig nas med par gyur

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[86] Supralinear title addition: *skar cung rdo rings kyi yi ge:*

[87] Sublinear insertion: *la.*

[88] Supralinear *yang.*

{6} na: sdig pa grangs med [022] pa/ [*vacat*] 'ong bas: da phyin chad/ nam nam [*vacat*] zhar zhar: 'phrul gyi lha [023] btsan po yab khri srong lde btsan gyi ring la: dgoog [024] gsuṃ gyi

{7} rten btsugs pa dang: sangyas kyi chos mdzad pa [025] mi btang: ma zhig par: gdung rab rgyud kyis yi dam bca' 'o [026] zhes 'byung ba la sogs pa: btsan po yab sras rje [027] blon kun gyi

Strip A, frame 4, page b

{1} dbu snyung dang bro bor te: gtsigs kyi yi ge dang: [028] rdo rings la bris pa bzhin mdzad[89] do/ 'di ltar yab [029] mes rgyud kyis: dkoog gsuṃ gyi rten [030] btsugs shing: sangyas kyi chos mdzad pa 'di

{2} gcas[90] spras [*vacat*] spyi[91] [031] yang sdigo zhe'aṃ: mi legso zhes: mo dang rmi ltas[92] [032] sogs te: ci'i phyir yang rung: mi gzhigo: mi spang ngo: de skad [033] ces che chung sus gsol kyis kyang:

{3} de ltar mi mdzad do: btsan [034] po dbon sras sku chung ngur bzhuḍ pa yan chad: chab srid kyi [035] mnga' bdag mdzad pa man chad kyang: dge slong las dge ba'i [036] bshes gnyen bskos te:

{4} chos thugsu ci chud chud slob cing: bod [037] yongs kyi chos bslab cing spyad pa'i sgo mi bcad/ nam du yang: bod ya [038] rab man chad/ bod 'bangs las thar par gzud pa'i sgo mi dgag [039] par:

{5} dad pa rnaṃs las thar par btsud de: de'i nang na [040] nus pa las: bcoṃdas kyi ring luḍ rtag tu 'doṃs [041] shing: bcoṃdas kyi: ring luḍ byed pa'i gtam: chos 'khor [042] nas bya 'o cogi bka' la yang brtaḍ te

{6} chos khor[93] gyi las dang [043] dbang byed cing: dge ba'i bshes gnyen[94] pa bsko 'o: rab tu byung ba [044] rnaṃs: nged yab sras kyis

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[89] Supralinear *du*, with dots indicating it should be inserted here (but probably intended to be before the *mdzad*).

[90] Long horizontal line is above *gcas*, not readable as a *'greng bu* (but also is not scribe's usual *na ro* vowel sign), so may be a mark by an editor noting a possibly misspelt *gcas*. The likely correct term is *gces spras.*

[91] Sublinear insertion *la*.

[92] Sublinear insertion *la*.

[93] Sublinear insertion '.

[94] Supralinear *pyed pa* [sic].

mchod gnasu gnang ba bzhin bya [045] ste: btsan po'i phrong na gnasu bgyi 'o/

{7} [047] mdor na: btsan po'i phrong dang: bod khaṃs na: dkoog gsuṃ med [048] pa dang: dkoog gsuṃ gyi rkyen bcad pa rnams [050] kyang: ma smad ma zhig pa'i chos so zhes: lha ris kyi khyim yiggi mgo

{8} mnan las [051] byung ba bzhin du mi mdzado: da phyin chad: gdung rab ree[95] bzhin yang [052] btsan po yab sras kyi 'di bzhin du yi dam bca' 'o/ di las mna' kha [053] phud

Strip A, frame 3, page c

{1} ** // pa dag mi bya: mi bgyi: mi sgyur bar: 'jiten las 'das pa dang: 'jiten [054] gyi mi ma yin pa thaṃd kyang dpang du gsol te: btsan po [055] rje blon kun gyis kyang: dbu snyung

{2} dang bro bor ro: gtsigs bsnan pa'i [056] yi ge zhib mo 'di: yab kyi ring la gtsigs kyi yi ge bris pa'i zla la [057] bzhago: [ms. continues with a note] *ces pa 'di skar cung rgyal sde'i rdo rings nyid las*

{3} [ms. note continues] *bcus pa yino/*

[Text Y, page 2, verso is blank]

Incription at the tomb of Khri Lde srong brtsan (also known as 'Phyong rgyas tomb inscription)

(Text Z; page 1, recto l. 1 - verso l. 3)

Strip B, frame 8, page b

{1} [001] ** //[96] / btsan po lha sras/ 'o lde spu rgyal gnas kyi [002] mi'i rjer gshegs pa/ chos lugs bzang [003] po ni gzhar gzhug mi 'gyur/ mnga' thang chen po chin chad [004] kyang byin mi nyaṃs ste

{2} chab srid ni phyir zhing che/ dbu rmog [005] ni shin du brtsan pa'i/ g.yung drung gi gtsug lag chen po [006] bzhin du/ btsan po lha

[95] I.e., *r* with two *'greng bu*s (for *re re*).

[96] Supralinear title addition: *srong btsan bang so'i rdo rings la:*

sras khri lde srong brtsan/ mi'i rje [007] mdzad pa/ lha'i lugs dang 'thun par

{3} ni mnga' thang che/ [008] gnam gyi chos dang mtshungs par ni bka' brtsan te [009] thugs sgam po'i rlabs dang / bka' lung bzang po'i [010] lugs kyis/ phyi nang gnyis su legs shing / chab srid che [011] ba'i

{4} tshul/ nam du yang mi yongs kyis shes par/ mdo [012] tsam zhig rdo rings la bris pa'o / [*vacat*] [013] * / btsan po lha sras/ khri lde srong brtsan/ lha 'phrul

{5} gyi [014] zha snga nas/ thugs sgam/ khong yangs/ bka' brtan/ zung thub/ [015] thugs stobs che'o/ rang nyid de lta bas na/ 'greng gi [016] rje mdzad na yang/ myi dgos pa'i las kyi mu bskyangs pas [017] nang

{6} du 'khrug pa dang myi bde ba med cing / bod yongs kyis [018] khongs la yul phyug ste/ 'bangs skyid do / nam zhar/ dbon [019] sras rgyud kyi chab srid brtan zhing / 'bangs skyid par bya ba'i [020] gdams ngag dang /

{7} phyi'i dgra 'dul ba'i byin gyi dgra thabs [021] sngon med pa'i bzang po bka' lung du bzhag ste/ yun gyi legs pa [022] yang rgya cher dgongs so / lha 'phrul gyi zha snga nas mtha' bzhi [023] phyogs brgyad

{8} du bka' brtsan chab srid che ste/ shar phyogs/ [024] * / rgyal po chen po rgya 'dug pa dang / bar du bka[97] khon byung nas [025] dgrar bsdo ba las/ dang po chab srid phyag du bzhes ma thag du

Strip B, frame 7, page b

{1} bod kyi [026] dmag gis rgya'i yul thog phyogs su drangs pas spa ba'o / [027] de tshun chad kyis chab srid kyi mnga' bdag mdzad ma thog la bar du [028] lan 'ga' rgyas chab srid la ma bsdo ste/ rtag du 'jal

{2} [029] dum gsol lo / lho phyogs kyi rgyal po chen por rgya gar 'dug pa yang / [additional note] *'dir bris pa yan la yige phreng nyiu rtsa dgu: mi gsal ba man la yig phreng bcu bzhi/ de nas sa 'og tshud pa la ji tsam yod*

[97] Probably *bka'* intended, to form *bka' khon*.

{3} [additional note continues] *ma bris so / rdo rings 'di'i srid du sa las mthon pa yan la mtho nyishu rtsa cig/ zheng che ngos la mtho bzhi/ chung ngos la mtho do yod//*

Inscription at the 'Phyong rgyas bridge

(Text Z; page 1, verso l. 4 - page 2, recto l. 4)

[As the actual inscription is now almost completely illegible, Richardson's transliterations of the Densapa manuscript are the source for this inscription in Iwao *et al*. 2009: 13-14. Richardson gave details of adjustments he made to a literal transliteration (1964: 7, 1985: 36), however also at line 17 he read *zha* for *zhal* and at line 27 he omitted *kyi* after *chub*.

Richardson (1964: 4-5) stated that he based his arrangement by lines on his "fragmentary notes" of the "sporadic fragments" legibly extant on the stone in 1949. He was able to make notes on the fragments down to line 26.]

Strip B, frame 7, page b

{4} [001] * //[98] lha btsan po yab mes lha dang mi'i [002] rjer gshegs te chos gtsug lag ni [003] lugs kyis bzang / dbu rmog brtsan po ni [004] byin du che'o// [005] * / lha btsan po khri srong lde brtsan gyi zha [006] snga nas

{5} kyang yab myes kyi lugs bzhin [007] lha'i gtsug lag ni ma nyams gnam [008] sa'i chos dang ni 'thun par mdzad sku [009] yon tan yongs kyis brjod pa'i yi ge [010] nam zhig rdo rings la bris so// [011] chos

{6} rgyal chen pos phrin las su ci [012] mdzad pa dang: dbu rmog btsan po byin [013] gyis chab srid skyes pa la stsogs pa'i [014] gtam gyi yi ge zhib mo gcig ni gud [015] na yod do// [016] * / 'phrul gyi lha

[98] Supralinear title addition: *'phyong rgyas stag rtse zaṃ sna'i rdo rings la/*

Strip B, frame 8, page c

{1} * / btsan po khri srong lde [017] brtsan gyi zhal snga nas mtha' bzhi'i rgyal po [018] gzhan dang mi 'dra ste byin gyi sgam dkyel [019] chen po dang dbu rmog brtsan pos yar ni [020] ta zhig gyi mtshams man chad/

{2} mar ni long [021] shan gyi la rgyud yan cad chab 'og du 'du [022] ste chab srid ni lho byang shar nub [023] mthas klas par che'o// de ltar chab srid [024] che ba'i byin gyis bod yongs yul che khong [025] phyug du[99] gyurd[100]

{3} pas nang nas kyang nam [026] zhar bde zhing skyid par gnas so// [027] thugs la byang chub kyi spyod pa rlabs po [028] che mnga' bas 'jig rten las 'das pa'i [029] chos bzang po brnyes nas kun la bka' [030] drin du

{4} byino// de ltar 'greng dud [031] gnyis la 'phral yun gnyis kyi bka' drin [032] chen pos ma khyab pa med de/ myi yongs [033] kyis mtshan yang 'phrul gyi lha byang chub [034] chen por gsol to//

The Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821-822 (East face)

(Text Z; page 2, recto l. 5 - page 3, verso l. 6)

Strip B, frame 8, page c

{5} [001] ** //[101] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri gtsug lde btsan[102] dang / rgya rje bun bu he'u [002] tig hwang de gnyis chab srid gcig tu mol te mjal dums mdzad pa'i tshe/ [003] bod rgya gnyis kyi tshul ci 'dra ba dang / mjal duṃs

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[99] Richardson's 1964 version has *du*; in the 1985 version his scribe (Ngawang Thondup Narkyid) corrected it to *tu*.

[100] There could be a possible reading of a *shad* here, rather than a *tsheg*. However, "*gyurd/ pas nang nas*" would not make sense. The beginning of line 3 might be read as "*sas nang nas*" which also does not make sense. So the mark after *gyurd* is read as a 'long' *tsheg*.

[101] Supralinear title addition: *ra sa 'phrul snang gi rdo rings la/*

[102] Sublinear note: *ral pa can*.

{6} mdzad pa'i [004] gtan tshigs rdo rings la bris pa'o// [005] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po 'od lde spu rgyal/[103] yul byung / sa dod tshun chad/ [006] gdung ma 'gyur bar bod kyi rgyal po chen po mdzad pa yang / gangs ri [007] mthon po'i ni dges

Strip B, frame 7, page c

{1} chu bo chen po'i ni mgo/ yul mtho: sa gtsang : [008] zhes: gnam gyi lha las mi'i rgyal por gshegs te/ gtsug lag [009] chen pos ni yun gyi srid btsuḍ/ chos khriṃs bzang pos ni [010] mi'i lugs bsrang / byams pa'i bka'

{2} drin gyis ni nang gi tshis sbyar/ [011] dgra thabs mkhas pas ni[104] dgra btul te/ chab srid ni phyir zhing che/ [012] dbu rmog ni slar zhing btsan pas nam zhar gtsug mi 'gyur/ byin mi [013] nyams pa'i g.yung drung gi rgyal po chen po yin/

{3} de'i phyir/ lho phyogs [014] kyi rgya gar dang: nub phyogs kyi ta zhig dang: byang phyogs kyi gru gu no [015] smel la sogs pa/ g.yas g.yo'i rgyal po sde chen por bya ba kun kyang: [016] 'phrul gyi lha bstan po'i dbu rmog btsan po dang:

{4} lugs bzang po la mi [017] phyogs mi gus pa ni med de/ phan tshun dgyes shing: bka' stsal to cog [018] nyan pa yin/ shar phyogs na rgya 'dug pa: [105]mtsho chen po'i bar/ nyi ma [019] shar logs kyi rgyal po ste/ lho bal gzhan dang

{5} mi 'dra bar: srid dang [020] lugs bzang: gtsug lag che bas: bod dang yang 'thab kyi zla: gnyen [021] gyi sde/ dang po rgya rje[106] rgyal sar zhugs nas/[107] [022] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po [023] khri srong btsan[108] dang: rgya rje the'i[109] dzung bu sheng hwang de gnyis chab

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[103] Sublinear note: *gnya' khri btsan po*.

[104] Supralinear *phyi'i* [in *dbu can*].

[105] Sublinear note: *phyi'i rgya.*

[106] Supralinear *lï* [in *dbu can*].

[107] Swastika mark indicating note written below line 8 which supplies (in *dbu can*) scribe's omission: *de'i tang gi srid la brtsa gsum lon rgyal rabs gcïgi 'og tu* (*tu* placed below *'og*).

[108] Sublinear note: *srong btsan sgaṃ po*.

{6} [024] srid gcig tu mol nas: cang kwan gyi lo la/ kun sheng kong co [025] btsan po'i khab tu blangs/ phyis 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri lde gtsug [026] btsan[110] dang: rgya rje saṃ lang kha'e 'grwan sheng būn shin bū hang de [027] dang chab srid gcig[111]

{7} tu mol te/ gnyen rtsegs: keng lung gi lo la [028] ma shang kong co btsan po'i khab tu blangs nas/ dbon zhang du gyur [029] te dgyes pa las: bar 'ga'/ phan tshun gyi so so'i blon pos gnod pa [030] dag brtul[112] gyis kyang: gnyen

{8} pa'i chab gang du bya ba : thugs dkyel chen po [031] dag gi tshe/ dmag stongs kyis phan thogs par byas pa dang: phan tshun [032] thugs nongs byung ngo cog la: dgyes gnad dag kyang ma chad par bsrings te/ [033] 'di ltar nye zhing gnyen

Strip A, frame 1, page a

{1} ** // pa yin na/ dbon zhang gi tshul kho na ltar thugs [034] yid ma phebs pa las/ stsan[113] po yab lha 'phrul khri lde srong btsan[114] gyi zhal [035] snga nas/ bsgam dkyel chen pos ni [036] phyi nang med par phyoḍ

{2} brgyad khyab ste/ [037] mtha bzhi'i rgyal po kun dang yang mjal zhing 'dun par mdzad na/ rgyal lha [038] zhig/ gnyen brtsegs ma yin pas/ lhag par chab srid [039] gcig tu dgyes te/ phan tshun dbon zhang dgongs pa

[3} 'thun nas/ rgya rje zheng [040] shing bun bū hwang ti dang mjal dums su mol te/ bka' bon rnying pa ni [041] sbyangs shing bsal/ dgyes pa gsar pa ni slar zhing bstur/ de tshun [042] chad btsan po dbon ni sku tshe gcig/ rgya

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[109] Sublinear note: *thong būn* [obscure].

[110] Sublinear note: *mes ag tshoṃs.*

[111] *ga rjes 'jug* placed below *ci*.

[112] Obscure sublinear note, possibly a *bsdus yig* for *brtson 'grus*. Richardson saw it as *brtson 'grus* (1978: 144); *v.* sublinear addition *brtson* below the word *brtul* at strip A, frame 1, page a, line 6.

[113] Possible orthographic error for *btsan.*

[114] Sublinear note: *sad na leḍ.*

{4} rje zhang ni gdung rabs gsum gyi [043] bar du/ bka' 'khon gyi gcugs ni ma byung: dgyes pa'i srid zhu ni phan tshun [044] phrad de: pho nya ces pa las/ bka' phrin snyan pa dang: dkon nor [045] bzang pos ni rgyun du

{5} 'grul na/ mjal dum gyi mdo chen po btsiḍ pa [046] bca ba lta bu yang ma grub/ dbon zhang mol ba'i rjes kyang tshar ma phyin par [047] thugs nongs kyis stsal te/ bar gyi gcuḍ rnying pa phran tshegs kyi

{6} [048] dogs 'phrig gis legs pa chen po'i sku don phyi lcigs[115] she dag tu gyur [049] nas/ dgra chos kyi thabs dang: dmag btsan po dag kyang mi brtul[116] du ma [050] rung ste/ dgra zun gyi tshul du gyur gyis kyang: yong

{7} nye zhing gnyen la/ [051] 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri btsug lde[117] btsan gyi zhal snga nas/ mkhyen pa ni [052] 'phrul gyi tshul chags/ mdzad pa ni lha'i lugs dang 'thun te/ bka' [053] drin chen pos phyi

{8} nang gnyisu snyoms shing: dbu rmog btsan/ bka' [054] lung gnyan te/ rgya rje būn bu he'u tig hwang de dang dbon zhang gnyis/ [055] 'phrul gyi dgongs pa ni 'thun/ legs pa'i chab srid ni gcig ste/ [056] bod rgyang

Strip A, frame 2, page a

{1} gnyis rabs khrir/ bde zhing skyid pa'i mjal dums chen po mdzad nas/ [057] rgya yul du ni keng shi'i nub phyogs/ sang shi'i drung du/ bod chen [058] po'i lo'i ming: skyid rtag lo bdun: rgya chen po'i lo'i

{2} ming: [059] cang keng lo dang po/ lcags mo glang gi lo'i dgun zla ra ba'i tshes bcu la/ [060] dkyior la 'dzegs te rgyas btsiḍ bzung ngo / bod [061] yul du ni: pho brang lha sa'i shar phyoḍ: sbra stod tshal du bod

{3} chen po'i [062] lo'i ming/ skyid rtag lo brgyad: rgya chen po'i lo'i ming/ cang keng lo [063] gnyis: chu pho stagi lo'i dbyar zla 'bring

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[115] Sublinear *shol* with dots leading to *sa yang 'jug* of *lcigs*.

[116] Sublinear *brtson*; strip B, frame 7, page c, line 7, has a sublinear note below *brtul*, which may be *brtson 'grus.*

[117] Sublinear note: *ral pa can*.

po'i tshes drug la/ dkyior [064] la 'dzeḍ te: bod kyis rtsiḍ gzung ngo // rtsiḍ kyi [065]

{4} rdo rings la bris pa 'di yang: bod chen po'i lo'i ming: skyid rtag [066] lo dgu/ rgya chen po'i lo'i ming: cang keng lo gsuṃ: chu mo yos [067] lo'i dpyid zla 'bring po'i tshes bcu bzhi la/ rdo rings la yi ger

{5} bris so / [068] rdo rings 'di bri:[118] ba'i spyan yang: rgya'i pho nya thabs cung [069] shing yod pa do tse'e dang: thabs tsan shan de bū yod pa/ [007] li kri'u la sogs pas byas so / rtsiḍ kyi rdo rings 'di [071] dra cig/ rgya'i

{6} yul keng shir yang btsuḍ so// [Introductory note to West face inscription follows]

The Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821-822 (West face)

(Text Z; page 3, verso l. 6 - page 4, verso l. 4)

Strip A, frame 2, page a

{6} [Introductory note] *'di yan shar loḍ kyi yige/ nub loḍ la/* [*vacat*]

[001] * // bod kyi rgyal po[119] [002] lha btsan po dang: [003] rgya'i rgyal po chen po rgya rje hwang de : [004] dbon zhang gnyis chab srid

{7} [005] gcig tu mol nas/ mjal dums [006] chen po mdzad cing: rtsigs bcas [007] pa/ nam zhar yang mi 'gyur bar/ [008] lha mi kun gyis shes shing dpang byas [009] te/ tshe tshe rabs rabs su: brjod [010] yod: zhir rtsiḍ

{8} [011] kyi ming: rdo rings la bris pa'o// [*vacat*] [012] / 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri gtsug [013] lde btsan[120] gyi zhal snga nas/ rgya rje [014] būn bū he'u tig hwang de: 'phrul dbon [015] zhang gnyis: bsgaṃ: dkyel chen pos [016] ni: 'phral

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[118] Supralinear insertion of *'* to give *'bri:*. The double *tsheg* after *'bri* is possibly a scribal error.

[119] No *chen po*. Sublinear *'phrul gyi* [in *dbu can*].

[120] Sublinear *ral pa can.*

Strip A, frame 6, page a

{1} ** // yun gnyis kyi leg [017] nyes ci yang mkhyen/ thugs rje chen [018] pos ni bka' drin gyis dgab pa [019] la phyi nang med pas/ mang po kun bde zhing [020] skyid par bya ba la ni dgongs pa gcig/ [021] yun ring por

{2} legs pa'i don chen po [022] la ni bka' gros 'thun te/ gnyen [023] pa'i srid zhu ni bstud/ khyim tshes [024] dgyes pa'i tshad kha ni rtseg mar [025] mol nas/ mjal dums chen po [026] mdzad de / bod rgya gnyis: da ltar [027] su mnga' ba'i

{3} yul dang mtshams bsrung [028] zhing: de'i shar phyogs thaṃd [029] rgya chen po'i yul: nub phyogs thaṃd [030] ni yang dag par bod chen po'i [031] yul te/ de las phan tshun dgrar mi [032] 'thab: dmag mi drang: yul gyi mi [033] mangs rnaṃs

{4} yid mi ches pa zhig yod [034] na: mi gzung zhing: gtam dris te/ [035] phyir btang[121] ngo / [036] da: chab srid gcig cing: mjal [037] dums chen po 'di ltar mdzad pas/ [038] dbon zhang dgyes pa'i bka' phrin [039] snyan pas kyang 'dul dgos te/

{5} [040] phan tshun gyi pho nya 'dong ba yang: lam [041] rnying par byung na: sngar lugs bzhin [042] bod rgya gnyis kyi bar/ tsang kun [043] yog tu rta rjes la: rtsi zhung cheg tu [044] rgya dang phrad pa man cad ni rgyas phu dud [045] bya/ rtseng shu hyan du phrad pa

{6} [046] yan chad ni: bod kyis phu dud bya ste/ [047] dbon zhang nye zhing gnyen pa'i tshul bzhin [048] du/ srid zhu dang bkur sti'i lugs [049] yod par sbyar te/ yul gnyis kyi [050] bar na dud brtul mi snang: glo bur [051] du dngang ba dang: dgra'i ming

{7} mi grag ste: [052] sa mtshaṃs bsrung ba'i mi dang [053] yang: dogs shing 'jigs pa med par: [054] sa mal na bag brkyang ste: bde [055] bar 'khod cing: skyid pa'i bka' drin [056] ni rabs khri'i bar du thob: snyan pa'i [057] sgra skad ni nyi zlas slebs

{8} so cog tu [058] khyab ste/ bod bod yul na skyid : [059] rgya rgya yul na skyid pa'i srid chen po [060] sbyar nas: rtsigs bcas pa 'di/ [061]

[121] Sublinear *brdzangs.*

nam zhar mi 'gyur bar: * dkoog [062] gsum dang: 'phaḍ pa rnaṃs dang: [063] nyi zla dang: gza' skar

Strip A, frame 5, page a

{1} la yang dpang du [064] gsol te/ tha tshig gi rnaṃs kyang [065] bshad/ srog chags bsad de/ mna' [066] yang bor nas: rtsigs bcas so/ [067] rtsigs 'di bzhin du ma byas sam/ [068] bshig na/ bod rgya gnyis gang gis sngar nyes

{2} [069] pa la bsdig cing: lan du brku sgyu byas kyang [070] rtsigs bshig pa la ma gtogs so// [071] 'di ltar bod rgya gnyis kyi rje blon gyi zhal [072] gyis gshegs/ mna' bor te/ rtsigs [073] kyi yi ge zhib mor bris nas/

{3} rgyal po chen [074] po gnyis kyis ni phyag rgyas btab: blon po [075] rtsigs 'dzin pa la gtogs pa rnaṃs [076] kyis ni lag yig tu bris te/ rtsigs kyi [077] yi ge so so'i phyag sbal du bzhag go/ [ms. additional note] *shu bhaṃ*

{4} [ms. additional note] *lho logs la rgya'i blon po'i ming 'dugo/ byang logs la bod kyi blon po'i ming 'dug go/ de ltar na rdo rings chu yos la btsugs nas da lta'i chu stagi bar lnga brgya dang dgu bcu rtsa dgu 'gro'o//*

Addendum: Recent research on early Tibetan inscriptions

In addition to these transcriptions uncovered at the Bodleian in 2010, a number of publications on Old Tibetan inscriptions have either appeared subsequent to or were overlooked in Iwao *et al*. 2009. Since that volume otherwise serves as a comprehensive guide to the bibliography of Old Tibetan inscriptions it may prove useful to the reader to have an inventory of these omissions and potential additions, supplied here in 2013 by one of the co-authors (N.W. Hill) of Iwao *et al*. 2009.

Regarding omissions, two inscriptions and three publications went unnoticed there. First, an inscribed bell, badly damaged, probably dating to the imperial era was published by Aris (1979: xxvii and page 35,

plate 6). Second, Neelis (2001: 238-239, 374) published a transcription and an image of the Haldeikish Graffito in the Hunza valley, along with a translation suggested by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. Third, in addition to Francke's work on Balu-mkhar inscriptions is a paper by Denwood & Howard (1990).

As for additions, an impressive number of new discoveries and new publications have appeared subsequent to Iwao *et al*. 2009:

Hazod (2009: 181-184; 2010) demonstrates that the Zhol inscription was originally erected in Sri, and moved to Zhol at the end of the seventeenth century by Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho.

Denwood (2009: 258) draws attention to three short Tibetan inscriptions discovered in Pakistan.

In 2010 a Tibetan bell was discovered in Dpa' ris and has been published by Lha mchog rgyal (2011). The same bell is treated by Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011).

Alexander & van Schaik (2011) present a stone carving of Maitreya in Ladakh with accompanying inscription.

Dotson (2013: 70-71) published a new transcription and translation of the Haldeikish Grafitto, along with a photo. The same photo also appeared in Scherrer-Schaub 2012: 254.

Although the rock inscriptions of Alchi are not newly discovered, Takeuchi (2012) provides documentation of them exceeding in depth and scope what has been known heretofore.

An eight-folio manuscript on Tibetan stone inscriptions was reproduced by the Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (2011).

Papers treating previously known inscriptions, especially with an eye to establishing their date and authenticity, include Walter & Beckwith 2010, Uebach 2010, and Imaeda 2012. Studies treating the background or interpretation of known inscriptions include Hill 2013 and Iwao 2012.

Both Pa sangs dbang 'dus (2011) and Chab 'gag rta mgrin (2012) have published an edition of the entire corpus of Old Tibetan inscriptions, including a number of inscriptions not treated in Iwao *et al.* 2009.

Chab 'gag rta mgrin (2012) also includes Tibetan inscriptions from later historical periods.

Finally, Tashi Tsering (2012) published a collection of inscription transcriptions in facsimile as a celebration of Amnye Machen Institute's 20th anniversary. It includes monochrome reproductions of Densapa's original manuscript, with the Rkong po inscription transcription reproduced in colour to show the red ink additions. Also the publication includes an introductory essay by Tashi Tsering (pp. 51-72).

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A PERUSAL OF EARLY TIBETAN INSCRIPTIONS IN LIGHT OF THE BUDDHIST WORLD OF THE 7TH TO 9TH CENTURIES A.D.

CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB

I The first pieces of evidence of Buddhism in Tibetan politics

The presence of lithic arrangements, tombs and rock carvings,[1] studding the Tibetan high plateau and the various routes flanking the rivers' valleys, a practise by the semi-nomadic societies during more than two millenia before the introduction of Buddhism,[2] attests to a dynamic shared by several cultures. It also shows that Tibet had always been an open space, contrary to the image given by some travellers of the past, an image that occasionally may resurface even nowadays. The dynamic

[1] Cf. Chayet 1994: 57-58 and figs 31-32. Her essay on Tibetan pre-historic archaeology (pp. 21-86) remains unrivalled for the rigorous treatment of the material and the clarity of approach in spite of the fact that the documentation has, since then, tremendously increased. Cf. also Bellezza 2008: 70-93, for a description of the variety of lithic monuments, the material, the localization, morphology and functionality.

[2] Chayet (1994: 56-57), in critically reviewing the results of archaeologists and pre-historians, underlines the difficulty of attributing a specific dating to a period: "Pour essayer d'éclairer les premiers temps de plus de deux millénaires d'histoire tibétaine, on doit encore se contenter de quelques vestiges (mégalithes, tombes, objets en métal ramassés sur le plateau et privés de tout contexte, pétroglyphes); d'une question, celle de l'influence de l'art animalier et des cultures des steppes sur la culture du Tibet; enfin de quelques précisions apportées par l'archéologie et dont la plupart touchent les confins du nord-est." On the art of Tibetan rock painting, see the admirable catalogue in Li & Huo 1994.

of this openness that made/let Tibet be known since high Antiquity, is conveniently painted by Anne Chayet:

> [L]es cols de l'Himalaya, pour élévés et difficiles qu'ils soient, ne sont pas infranchissables: la preuve en est dans les influences de toutes sortes qui sont venues au Tibet de l'Inde du nord, du Cachemire et du Népal. Les passes des Kunlun, la dépression marécageuse du Tsaidam (tibétain: Tshwa'i-'dam) ouvrent sur les grandes voies migratoires de l'Asie centrale. Par le seuil du Gansu, la route est ouverte vers la Chine. Au-delà de la boucle du gTsang-po (le Brahmapoutre), des altitudes plus modérées réunissent les confins du Tibet à ceux de la Birmanie et du Yunnan, en dépit des coupures brutales que sont les vallées des fleuves. Car le Tibet, château d'eau de l'Asie, est relié à toutes ces régions par les vallées, parfois réduites à des gorges étroites, de ses fleuves: gTsang-po, affluents du Gange, Indus, Sutlej, fleuve Jaune, Yangzi, Mékong, Saluen …[3]

Stone monuments, petroglyphs,[4] and epigraphs constitute a corpus of technical and intellectual information handed down by the pre-historic and historic semi-nomadic societies inhabiting the present Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) or Xizang, and some of these monuments, besides attesting a long-standing tradition of stone masons, continue nowadays to function as meaningful "signs" and/or communication supports.[5]

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[3] Chayet 1994: 22.

[4] When dealing with pre-historic and historic artefacts, we prefer the term "petroglyph" (lit. intaglio on rocks, Tib. *brag brkos*) to the terms "sgraffito" and "graffiti" (commonly in the plur.), which, said in passing, are not exact synonyms, and refer to the technique of inscribing or ornamenting the wall with incised marks, primarily used with reference to walls or monuments of Pompei and Rome, and Antiquity in general.

[5] Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2013: 160 *et passim*. On Tibetan epigraphy, see Tropper, forthcoming.

While an early presence of Tibetans may be inferred from the existence of inscriptions in the northern region of present-day Pakistan, where they seem to have been sporadically active from the 7th century on, if not earlier, the oldest Tibetan "lithic charters" or inscriptive royal orders known so far date to the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan (755-795/8). Possibly the first grant of privileges engraved on a rock-cliff is the inscription of Lho brag, published in 1982 by Pa sangs dbang 'dus,[6] which together with the Zhol and Rkong po inscriptions shares a non-Buddhist character, unlike the majority of the following inscriptions attesting a progressive instalment of the Buddhist institution.[7] The charter preserved on the Zhol *rdo ring* commemorates political events,[8] and the stele stands nowadays in front of the Potala, possibly at some distance from its previous location, seen on the various photographic nega-

[6] Pa sangs dbang 'dus 1982: 154-156, re-examined in 2011: 126-132; his detailed comments on pp. 131-132 would place the date of the inscription somewhat later than the surmized date of Richardson and Uebach. The inscription has been studied by Richardson (1987; reprinted in Richardson 1998: 261-275). The author, in his careful analysis, notes that "[a]nother point in common between the Lho-brag and Zhol inscriptions is that in neither is there any trace of Buddhist influence", and, after presenting very convincing arguments, he adds "[the previous argument] does not run counter to the early date suggested by the orthography and allows the Lho-brag inscription to be tentatively assigned to the early years of the reign of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan" (Richardson 1987: 12 [= 1998: 269]). See now Uebach, forthcoming.

[7] This subject has been treated variously in Scherrer-Schaub 1999[a], 1999-2000, 2002, 2012 and 2013. See *infra*, p. 125 and 149.

[8] Although copies of the inscription had been circulating since the beginning of the last century, its first publication dates to 1952; see Richardson 1952 and 1985: 1-3, Beckwith 1987: 100-101, Pa sangs dbang 'dus 2011: 6-28. The addressee of the panegyric is Ngan lam Stag sgra klu khong, "a parvenu, possibly of foreign origin", who was appointed General by Khri Srong lde btsan and, among other things, contributed to establishing the victory over the 'A zha, that had been a matter of contention between China and Tibet for several decades. The inscription as such is not particularly "Buddhist" though the background, naturally, is; cf., e.g., Sørensen 1994: 365, n. 1181. The text of the inscription is taken almost verbatim from Richardson in Iwao *et al*. 2009: 4-9, with updated bibliographical references (*ibid*., p. 4).

tives taken by Richardson in 1949-1950.[9] This text equally records a grant of privileges assigned to Blon Stag sgra klu khong in reward for a valorous feat of arms and might be dated to 763, or shortly thereafter, being thus very close to the *bka' mchid* of 761.[10]

It is indeed upon the initiative of this sovereign and his *entourage*, that the Buddhist institution was organised on a large and complex scale, under the aegis of the Indian Master Śāntarakṣita. A philosopher and high Buddhist dignitary, active during the epoch of Gopāla (c. 750-775)[11] and Dharmapāla (c. 775-812), Śāntarakṣita visited Tibet twice, in

[9] Recently reproduced (courtesy of Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford) on the front cover of Scherrer-Schaub 2012.

[10] See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 267, n. 20 and 268-269. Together with the following *bka' gtsigs*, emanating from the same king and granting by oath protection to the Buddhist institution, the two authoritative decisions, indeed, according to Dpa'o Gtsug lag phreng, were deposited in the archives, and copies were distributed to the religious foundations in the kingdom, including religious foundations at far distances, such as Bru zha, the region of Gilgit, the region of Zhang zhung and Mdo smad. On the presence of Tibetans in the western regions, see *ibid*., p. 271-274 and notes, 2012: 229-232. As mentioned on several occasions, the first Tibetan religious foundations in these regions (possibly also in other regions of the margins) may have been occupied and administrated by religious of various origins and provenance, and the bilinguism (or multilinguism) that we may see in Dunhuang is not unique. Comparing the *bka' gtsigs* kept in the inscription, and the document transmitted in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (KGT) we may note that both texts do not really "proclaim Buddhism the state religion", as it is often said, e.g., Scherrer-Schaub 2007[a]: 263, more precisely perhaps "proclaim Buddhism as one of the state religions". The *bka' gtsigs* in the KGT (2006: 195-196) comments the text of the inscription or, if we consider this to be the enlarged version mentioned in the inscription and said to be kept separately (in the archives), then the edict of Khri Srong lde btsan may indeed be considered as a public "exaltation" of Buddhism showing, by the same, that the "gods of Tibet" had at that moment already been included in the hierarchy of divinities and confined to the role of witnesses of the *btsan po*'s oath; see KGT 2006: 195.26-196.1.

[11] The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (29, vv. 683-690), composed possibly, and at least partially, during the 8th century, tells us a story modelled after the celebrated motifs of a Buddhist king. Accordingly, the text narrates that Gōpala, in his youth a

763 and again in 775, and resided there until his death.[12] Credited with having been born in the royal lineage of Vaṅga (East Bengal), and educated in the monastic centers of the time,[13] Śāntarakṣita became the first

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weak character, eventually met a *kalyāṇamitra* and became a powerful (*mahābala*) ruler, "sweet in speech" (*priyavādin*) and "compassionate" (*ghṛiṇin*); see Jayaswal [& Sāṅkṛtyāyana] 1934: 50-51. The Khālimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla paints him as the son of Vapyaṭa, celebrated (*ślāghya*) as the one who crushes the enemies (*khaṇḍitārāti*), and grandson of Dayitaviṣṇu, educated in all sciences (*sarvvavidyāvadāta*); cf. Sircar SI II: 65; EI IV: 248.5-7. For some, during the reign of Gopāla (for others under his son Dharmapāla), the monastery of Uddaṇḍapura was built in Nālandā where Śāntarakṣita continued his activity. Śrīmat-Uddaṇḍapura monastery, whose name is attested in the inscription of Bodh-Gayā 29 (Tsukamoto 1996, I: 146-147), as it is well known, served as a model for the construction of the first monastic precinct of Bsam yas, cf. *Sba bzhed*, ed. Stein 1961: 34.7-9: *de'u khar gtsug lag khang rtsig pa de'i dpe ri rab gling bzhi nyi zla gling phran dang bcas pa la dpe byas te bzhengs pa / o tan pu ri bya ba yod / btsan po'i thugs dam gyi dpe de la bya'o gsungs /*. Cf. *infra*, n. 14.

[12] In about 788; see Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 88-89, 89, n. 284 (ref.), 94. According to Sørensen (1994: 400 and n. 1362), Śāntarakṣita passed away in 797, not without having transmitted his last will to Ye shes dbang po asking him, among other things, to invite his disciple Kamalaśīla. Apparently, the date of 797 suggested by Sørensen is not unproblematic. On some related issues, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 56-63. One cannot refrain from noting the fact that the date of his second arrival to Tibet coincides with the advent to the reign of king Dharmapāla: could Śāntarakṣita, in one way or another have been attending the royal consecration ceremonies, and/or have been present in order to settle and/or reconfirm his religious *cum* diplomatic credentials? As a matter of fact, the "rituals for the consecration of the Vikramaśīla monastery" were performed by Buddhajñāna, who "was appointed as its Vajrācārya"; see Sanderson 2009: 93 and notes, editing, translating and commenting upon Tāranātha. The Nālandā copper plate (Sircar SI II, Nr. 16) of Devāpāla (c. A.D. 812-50, see *infra*, p. 126-127 and n. 24) on its part, attests the presence of Buddhist religious of various creeds (Sircar SI: 76.38-39: *tāntrika-bodhisattva-gaṇasyāṣṭha-mahāpuruṣa-pudgalasya cāturdviśārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya …*) to whom subsistence was granted in the same *vihāra*, a *modus vivendi* that most likely was equally prevalent under Devapāla's predecessors.

[13] On the region of Vaṅga (East Bengal), see Sircar 1971[1990]: 131-141. Vaṅga appears among the regions giving their names to the scripts known to the young

upādhyāya of the newly founded Tibetan monastic site of Bsam yas, where the famous *rdo ring* stands up to today.[14] Incidentally, the

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Bodhisattva in the *Lalitavistara* (ed. Vaidya 1958: 88.9-20, cf. Salomon IE: 8-9, 8 and n. 6), and starting with *brahmī-kharoṣṭhī* (*puṣkarasārī*, *aṅga-lipi*, *vaṅga-lipi*, *magadha-lipi*, … *drāviḍa-lipi*, … *dakṣiṇya-lipi*, *apara-goḍaṇī-lipi*, *pūrvavideha-lipi* …). The later *Śaktisaṅgama-tantra* quoted by Sircar (1971[1990]: 81 and 90, 122-123) situates "Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea" (i.e., the Bay of Bengal) "to the Brahmaputra" (whose last branch is now known as Jamuna). Śāntarakṣita, born in East Bengal, before entering Nālandā, had probably been educated in the Buddhist monastic centers that flourished in the region of the present-day Rajshahi division of Bangladesh, where various monastic sites existed in the 8th century, namely Somapura (Pāhārpur) recorded, among other inscriptions, in Pāhārpur 1-2 as *mahāvihāra* (Tsukamoto 1996, I: 210-211), in Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān), and in other sites of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, a prosperous region where, in the 7th century, Xuanzang counted, in addition to other religious sites, 20 *vihāra*s and 3000 Buddhist religious. The region of Rajshahi, situated between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra/Jamuna, coincides with the present region of north-east Bihar. As a matter of fact, following the Ganges upwards one reaches present-day Bhāgalpur, where, according to Majumdar (1955: 49), the monastic site of Vikramaśīla might have been located. See now the richly documented note of Sanderson (2009: 88, n. 156) suggesting the site of Antichak, in the same region; cf. also Durrans & Knox 1982: 50. At the epoch of Śāntarakṣita from these regions one could also reach Tibet, via Burma and Yunnan, as attested namely in the "mémoire géographique" of Kia Tan, kept in the *Tang shu*; see Pelliot 1904: 181-182. Pelliot's article, though not deprived of peccadilloes, patently shows, among other things, the intense exchanges existing between China and the southern seas in the 8th-9th century; along these routes studded with Buddhist sites and travelled through by Buddhist religious, the maritime routes are thus paired with the route's network of the western regions; see *supra*, n. 10, and *infra*, p. 149-150.

[14] Sørensen (1994: 376, n. 1244) suggests the date of 762/763 for the foundation of Bsam yas (which is also the year of the first visit of Śāntarakṣita in Tibet), the construction lasting till 774/775 (date of Śāntarakṣita's second arrival to Tibet), 776 for the celebrations and 779 for the final consecration. Moreover, Uddaṇḍapura, as well as the famous monastic site of Vikramaśīla, known to have been built during the reign of Gopāla's son, king Dharmapāla (775-812), might thus have been under construction more or less at the same period as Bsam yas. Chayet (1988: 27), while noting that "[le plan du maṇḍala] ne contredit aucune forme préexistante", harbours doubt about the fact that the temple of Uddaṇḍapura could

12th/13th-century account of Mkhas pa Lde'u, in recording Padmasambhava's successive consecrations notes that "a watch-dog, a bitch guarding the local *rdo-ring*-pillar [in bSam yas] barked three times, so that it could be heard all the way to India, signalling that the translation of Buddhist treatises would never discontinue."[15]

The Bsam yas *rdo ring* appears to be the first inscriptive royal edict officially acknowledging the practice of the Buddhist religion, and enacting that the institution should be maintained in time to come. The text specifically states that the lithic decree is the abridged version of a document kept separately (*gtsigs gyi yi ge zhib mo gcig ni gud na mchis so*).[16] And this is a euphemism. The epigraph of Bsam yas, the publication of the edict of Khri Srong lde btsan, is indeed extremely concise, a fact that may be understood in the political context of the time. Significantly indeed, as noted earlier, the Buddhist institution made its entry into the state affairs, cautiously and progressively. Some decades later, this edict would be reconfirmed and expanded by the king's son, Khri

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have been the model of Bsam yas (*ibid.*, p. 25): "Il est plus troublant, quoique parfaitement explicable par l'absence de textes antérieurs au XII^{e} siècle, que la mention de ces modèles soit contemporaine ou de peu postérieure au grand mouvement de pèlerinages que firent les moines tibétains dans les sanctuaires indiens à partir du second déploiement du bouddhisme. Le laps de temps écoulé depuis la fondation de bSam-yas permettait certes alors une meilleure diffusion des modèles Pāla comme Odantapuri ou Vikramaçîla, diffusion qui n'avait guère pu se faire lors de la construction du monastère tibétain qui leur est à peu près contemporain." This hypothesis is certainly plausible, particularly if the building of Bsam yas had followed a sculpted miniature model of Uddaṇḍapura; however, other elements and hypotheses could be taken into consideration that tend to incline us in favour of a possible contemporaneous construction. The question is amazingly interesting, though far exceeding the present scope.

[15] *Mkhas pa lde'u mdzad pa'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs 1987: 355, translated in Sørensen 1994: 390, n. 1316.

[16] Cf. *supra*, n. 10. The edict of Bsam yas is alluded to in contemporary (or quasi contemporary) documents of Dunhuang and extensively recorded in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* of Dpa'o II Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566); see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 266-268; 2013: 141-142 and notes, 162.

Gtsug lde btsan (c. 800-815), whose royal act we read on the Skar chung *rdo ring*. The institutional system that is meant behind the vow of maintaining the Buddhist religion, and essentially governed according to the various ecclesiastic Codes (Vinaya), is now overtly mentioned. Moreover, Buddhism is said to have been practised since the epoch of Khri Srong btsan, i.e., Srong btsan sgam po (? - 649), and 'Dus srong (676-704).[17] More interesting is the fact that the Buddhist property (*dkon mchog gsum gyi rkyen*) is commanded to be administrated in accordance with the previous documents, kept in the register of the families of the *lha ris* (ll. 50-51: *lha ris kyi khyim yig gi mgo nan las 'byung ba bzhin du chis mdzad do //*).[18]

While it will be shown that part of the phraseology of the early Tibetan inscriptive edicts recalls parallel practices and ideological motifs circulating in the Buddhist world of the time, the Tibetan royal edicts are subtly interspersed with titulatures, social and administrative cate-

[17] See Skar chung ll. 4-9 (ed. Richardson 1985: 74). Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 314-316 and 327.

[18] This is an interesting question. Well known is indeed the fact that with the revolt of An Lushan (755) the family registers ceased, and were re-enacted by the mid-8th century (Yamamoto & Dohi 1985). The fact that the Skar chung inscription mentions their existence, seems to confirm that Central Tibet's administration was in one way or another following the practices applied in Dunhuang and that in Dunhuang, though the family's registers were officially ineffectual from mid-7th to mid-8th century, the practice was still continued, possibly on a restricted and less official scale. On the passage of Skar chung ll. 47-51, see Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[d]: "L'édit de Skar chuń pour le maintien perpétuel du Saddharma (autorités et fondations religieuses au palais et dans le pays, ll. 47-51) comporte une disposition générale portant sur les biens du Triratna (*dkon mchog gsum gyi rkyen*) faisant partie du domaine de l'église (*lha ris*). On dispose que 'les avoirs ne peuvent être libérés/désaliénés (*ma dma's*), ni détruits, en accord avec ce qui [avait été stipulé] à l'époque des ancêtres (*yab myes dbon sras*)'. Et les acquêts (ll. 50-51) 'doivent être maintenus suivant [ou en conformité avec] les [documents] antérieurs [conservés] dans le registre des familles (*khyim yig*) du *lha ris*.'" See also Scherrer-Schaub 2007[a]: 263. And the process became even more refined with Khri Gtsug lde btsan (815-836); see *infra*, p. 127-128.

gories and terms (cf., e.g., the various modes of inheritance and succession), or stylistic elements that appear to be intrinsically indigenous, and this is not their sole distinctive character.[19]

II Political and religious strategies

It has already been suggested that Buddhism may have penetrated Tibet from its margins, and following a long-term sequential process (Scherrer-Schaub 2012: 217). During the epoch of the first royal inscriptions, dating to the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan, the majority of the sovereigns and petty kings of the western, southern and eastern margins were supporting the Buddhist institution, in various degrees and modes without necessarily being Buddhist themselves, while other cases (e.g., China or Khotan) show that Buddhism was central to the political sphere. This was also the case with the newly founded Pāla dynasty,[20] whose advent is said, in later sources, to have been supported by Tibet and who are said to have paid tribute to the Tibetan *btsan po*.[21] The alleged-

[19] The encounters of Buddhism with various Asian societies have been characterized differently, as, e.g., "conquest", "assimilation", or "adaptation". In many a case, however, for instance in narrative motifs, or representations of divine and semi-divine beings, and prestigious persons (as in the case of numismatics), it is as if a process of "translation" is at stake, at times a refined process of persuasion, that is not without concessions from both parts. Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2010: 309-314, and *infra*, § IV.

[20] See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 275-277, 276, n. 47, and 277, n. 49. On the Pāla dynasty, see Sanderson 2009: 87-96. In what follows, we rely upon Sanderson's accepted chronology, *ibid*., p. 87 and n. 154.

[21] Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 276, n. 47. See *Rgyal po bka'i thang yig*, *Bka' thang sde lnga*, *mdo kha*, fol. 21b6: *lho phyogs rgya gar rgyal po bzhugs pa yang // rā ja dha rma dpal dang dra'u dpung gnyis // dmag sgo gcod par bka' yis sa bsgugs nas // rgya gar rgyal srid bod kyi bran du byas // rgya gar yul gyi nor rdzas* (22a1*) rin po che // kha zas bzang dgu dus las ma 'das phul // rgya gar stod smad rgyal po chen po gnyis // rang la mnyan zhing bka' la gces spras byed //*. From the same epoch as Dharmapāla, cited here, the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription of Lhasa, East-side ll. 13-18, corroborates the fact that "*lho phyogs gyi mon rgya gar*" was

ly oldest narrative on the early history of Buddhism in Tibet relates the events surrounding the invitation of Śāntarakṣita, the Bodhisattva of Zahor (Bengal), who was then soujourning in Nepal.[22] His figure, however, is "evanescent". The oldest attestation of his presence in Tibet comes from a list of the lineage of *kalyāṇamitra*s and teachers of the Buddhist colleges (*chos grwa'i slob dpon*) of various regions of Tibet. This text is accessible in the seminal work of Uebach (1990: 408-409), and Śāntarakṣita, here called "*upādhyāya* Bodhisattva", opens the list.[23] Uebach (1990: 407) notes the importance given by the later parallel historiographical sources to the fact that the Buddhist colleges were "institutionalized" (*khod bshams* / *'khod bsham*), and adds: "It may therefore be concluded that by institutionalizing 30 dharma-colleges Khri gCug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan did integrate monasticism into the organization of the Tibetan state and thus contributed greatly to its spread and flourishing." And this despite the fact that the *btsan po* Khri Gtsug lde btsan (815-836), like his predecessors, made legislation about the rules governing the religious institution, authoritatively supervising even the work of translating, but did not intervene personally in the "donative process", whose juridical and/or administrative modalities, as will be shown, were delegated.

In this conspectus it is interesting to draw attention to the "Indian side" of the question. Śāntarakṣita's *floruit*, as seen, coincides with two Pāla kings, Gopāla (r. c. 750-775) and Dharmapāla (c. 775-812). Of King Gopāla, no epigraphic record seems to have existed or survived, but he is recorded in the inscriptions of his successors that, incidentally, reflect facts that find resonance in Tibetan historiography. The Nālandā

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considered among the surrounding countries (with Tibet at the center) that paid respect in one way or another to the *btsan po*.

[22] On the various editions of the *Dba/Sba bžhed*, see Martin 1997: 23, n° 1; Wangdu & Diemberger 2000: 1-21.

[23] Śāntarakṣita is also mentioned in the introductory part of the canonical version of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*; this part, however, is not extant in the three Dunhuang fragments, nor in the Tabo manuscript; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999[a]: 69, and 2002: 275, 282, 291-292 and 317-324.

copper-plate of Devapāla (r. c. 812-850) for instance, records the famous foundation of Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa,[24] who ordered a monastery to be built in Nālandā, and the maintenance of which was granted by Devapāla. Worthy to note is the fact that this inscription, besides placing the donation of the monastery in the frame of the "international law" (see *infra*, p. 153-156), equally shows that two distinct actors, and even possibly of different faith, could share the foundation and its maintenance. The charter, in its wording, particularly with regard to the list of the granted acquisitions,[25] echoes the usual list of requisites for the maintenance of the *saṃgha*, the repair of the building, for ensuring the spread of the teaching, etc. If we now compare this with the situation in Tibet, we see that the Bsam yas edict (l. 7; ed. Richardson 1985: 28), for reasons that have already been mentioned, restricts this category to the bare "*yo byad* / *pariṣkāra*". Some decades later, however, the expanded version of Skar chung (ll. 49-50; ed. Rich-

[24] EI XVII: 322.37: Suvarṇadvīpādhipa-mahārāja-Śrī-Bālaputradeva. The charter issued by Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Devapāladeva, records the foundation of a temple at Nālandā, "mediated" by Balavarmman of the Vyāghrataṭīmaṇḍala (in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana), acting as *dūtaka* for the king Bālaputradeva. Interestingly enough, the *vaṃsānucarita* of the Śailendra dynasty, that closes the inscription, seems to suggest that Bālaputradeva's mother might have been Buddhist [and Śaiva?]; see EI XVII: 324.60-62, vv. 31-32. Incidentally, we may mention a gift of land to the Ratnatraya in the *vihāra* of Veṇḍamatī (copper plate of Bhavadeva Abhinavamṛgākka, c. 765-780 A.D.), mediated by a *dūtaka*; see Sircar SI II: 744-750, cf. also *supra*, n. 27, and *infra*, p. 157-158, n. 98. The function of *dūtakarman*, attesting "international diplomacy", appears in an inscription of northern Campā (C149/833 Śaka [= 911 A.D.]) speaking of a "diplomatic mission to the capital of Yavadvīpa"; see Griffiths 2013: 66 and notes. The function of a *dūtaka*, as a deed's executor or adviser of the deeds executed, a term that appears in charters of the late Gupta period "but not in those which are issued by the Gupta Emperors themselves", seems to be quite complex; see Regmi 1983 III: 66-67.

[25] Cf. Sircar SI II: 76.39-40; EI XVII: 322.39-40: … *vali-carū-satra-cīvara-piṇḍapāta-śayanāsanaglāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajyādyarthaṃ dharmaratnasya lekhanādyartha-vihārasya ca khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhānārtha-śāsanīkṛtya pratipādita* …

ardson 1985: 80), speaks of "the inalienable property assigned to the Triratna" (*dkon mchog gsum gyi rkyen bcad pa'i rnams kyang ma dma's ma zhig*) and, as seen previously, obliquely hints at the existence of families, assigned to the monastic estate (*lha ris kyi khyim*).[26] Subsequently, at the epoch of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (815-836), the Lcang bu inscription recording the foundation of Stod Lcang bu gtsug lag khang by Zhang Tshes pong Nya sto, whose merits, perfectly in line with the stipulated Vinaya rules, are here tranferred to the *btsan po* (*btsan po sku yon du bsngo*), explicitly details the donated properties (ll. 18-21; ed. Richardson 1985: 96).

That the terms of property and ownership are extremely complicated is reflected in the prodigious jurisprudential cases that the ecclesiatic Codes (Vinaya), often in hilarious terms, illustrate in the commentarial narrative, largerly accessible in the work of Gregory Schopen. But if the monastic administration may be discretely read behind the narration, its counter-part, that is the secular and monastic documents on which the casuistry is based, are rare. We also don't always precisely know the system of governance. There is no doubt that the various modalities of "mediated donation" attested by epigraphic evidence in the Buddhist world incidentally show, on the part of the supreme authority, the will to come to terms about the possible opposite parties, dissentions and, above all, with the territorial gods and/or regional lords. This is not particularly Buddhist as such; it is the ideal of a *dharmarāja* / *chos rgyal* and of a sovereign *tout court*, to be beneficial to everybody and to ensure prosperity and peace in the kingdom. The case of Devapāla and

[26] Often mentioned in Dunhuang documents; see Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[d]. On the monastic families (*sseu hou* / *sihu*) in Dunhuang, see Gernet 1956: 101-108. The *lha ris kyi khyim*, mentioned in the inscription could be (theoretically) equated with the "paysans faisant partie des biens permanents" (*tch'ang-tchou posing* / *changzhou chu*); *ibid*., p. 103. The addition of "theoretically" means that (1) in matters of juridical and administrative affairs, though the terms used may be the same, the *de facto* social position of the actors intervening in the process may vary considerably, and (2) the various ecclesiastic Codes contemplate various modes of the service to the *saṃgha*. See also *supra*, p. 124 and n. 18.

Bālaputradeva's donation is exemplary in this respect and the royal act, kept in the inscription, a piece of poetry (cf., e.g., ll. 56-58, v. 28), of information about the various Buddhist schools (cf. ll. 38-39), the educational and cultural program of the time, and the formal rules of redacting a public charter.[27] Moreover, the lapicide/poet, paints in veiled terms the pedigree of Bālaputradeva's mother, and seems to allude to her Buddhist faith.[28]

The coexistence of Buddhism with Śaivism and/or Vaiṣṇavism[29] as well as, at times, the practice of joint-endowment, attested in the neighbouring countries of India, Nepal, South-East Asia and beyond, might thus have offered a suitable pattern applicable in Tibet, where the socio-political and religious categories (not to speak of the complex ritual and mythological "contract" with the territorial gods), pre-dating the introduction of Buddhism, were less familiar, if not alien to the Buddhist trend of the epoch and demanded to be "translated" into various modes of social, cultural and political transactions. If the early inscriptions and

[27] Worth mentioning is the introduction, in the body of the charter, of the personal order given to the *dūtaka* by the king himself; see EI XVII: 322.37-38: … *Bālaputradevena dūtakamukhena vayam vijñāpitaḥ yathā*: "*mayā Śrī-Nālandāyām vihāraḥ karitas*"; *tatra* …, a nice piece of evidence of inclusion of another royal act into the charter itself, something that we have also discovered in Old Tibetan documents, namely Ptib 1089; see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 2007[a].

[28] EI XVII: 324, ll. 58-61, vv. 30-31.

[29] As for instance the Kārkoṭa dynasts of Kāśmīr, in the record of Kalhaṇa; see Sanderson 2009: 60 and 73: "… the Rājavihāra 'The King Monastery' founded and richly endowed by Lalitāditya (r. *c*. 725-761/2) with a large Caitya and a huge Buddha image at his new capital Parihāsapura", or "a large monastery and three Buddha images established by Jayāpīḍa (r. *c*. 773/4-804/5) in his new capital Jayapura" (and *ibid*., n. 96, where the note on Caṅkuṇa may be complemented with the discussion by M.A. Stein and S. Lévi, whose issue is slightly different, and above all *Rājataraṅgiṇī* vv 246-264). See also Neelis (2011: 177-178, and 177, n. 357): "… King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's construction of Vaiṣṇava temples and Buddhist monasteries, which shared the same complexes at Huṣkapura and his royal capital at Parihāsapura: 'At Huṣkapura this noble-minded king built the splendid [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Muktasvāmin* and a large *Vihāra* with a *Stūpa* (4.18).'" Cf. *infra*, p. 156-158.

the *Chronicles* attest the grant of privileges assigned by the *btsan po* to the clan's representative, generals or meritorious officers of the state, only subsequently, the *btsan po*, *together with the lords and ministers*, declares and orders support of the Buddhist institution, while continuing to exercise his specific role as ruler among the clan's chiefs.[30]

III The reciprocal transfer of polysemic motifs

The Xāqān of Tibet pretends that he has come from heaven
and has a cuirasse [made] of light.
Gardīzī: *Zayn al-Akhbār*[31]
gnam gyi lha las // myi'i rgyal por gshegs te // ... // dbu rmog
ni slar zhing brtsan pas // nam zhar gtsug myi 'gyur // byin myi
nyams pa'i gyung drung gi rgyal po chen po yin //[32]

In the seventies and eighties of the last century the historical documents of Dunhuang, as well as the early Tibetan epigraphs, experienced a regain of interest on the part of Tibetologists. The ground-breaking article of Ariane Spanien "Une lecture des Pelliot tibétain 1286, 1287, 1038,

[30] This shared and balanced authority is the conspectus in which the support of the Triratna must be analyzed; cf. *infra*, p. 156-158. A similar sharing of power may be seen in the process of application of the royal decision (*bkas bcad*) in the case of translating into Tibetan; see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: § 1.3, 283-284, § 2.3., 287-289, and 304-305.

[31] Quoted from Beckwith 1987: n. 2. On Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. Ḍaḥḥāk Gardīzī, who in 1050 wrote the "Adornment of Narratives", see Barthold 1968[1928]: 20. Cf. Martinez 1982.

[32] Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription (821/822), reign of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (815-836), east-side, l. 8 and ll. 12-13 (ed. Richardson 1985: 108). As Stein noticed, the epithet *byin* that was borne by the *btsan po*s, but also by religious and officials of the state, translates here the Chinese "*wei*" (see Stein 1981: 246-248, 262 and n. 72), with the meaning of "prestige, majesté, gloire, rayonnement" (Stein: *loc. cit.*). At the same time, it belongs to a largely attested inscriptional and literary phraseology, used in royal panegyrics, and does not necessarily, nor always, hint at a specific meaning. See in this respect the illuminating article of Broquet (1996).

1047 et 1290. Essai sur la formation et l'emploi des mythes politiques dans la religion royale de Sroṅ-bcan sgam po" represented the first attempt to interpret the history of early Tibet in its extreme complexity, which the author, with a remarkable energy, placed into a system, something that, all things considered, may be compared with the daunting enterprise of Paul Mus in his interpretation of the Borobuḍur. A decade later, Rolf Stein responded to this article in his own peculiar way, which from the methodological point of view may be characterised as quasi-opposite, based upon an analytical approach into the frame of a large context.[33] And yet, the contribution of Ariane Spanien remains a milestone, particularly because, as will be shown, her own analysis of the documents from the emic perspective furnishes us with the frame into which Buddhism mirrored itself. While essentially focussing here upon the early Tibetan documents and the possible shared models circulating in the Buddhist world of the time, we suggest heuristically to reconsider the early Tibetan epigraphs, and in particular the inscription at the tomb of Khri Srong lde btsan,[34] with an as open and dynamic key of reading as possible, with the aim of exploring to what an extent the *Buddhist world* of the epoch may have been interfering or playing with indigenous Tibetan motifs, and to see in what respect the intellectual history of Buddhism in general may influence, and even at times possibly intrude into the political sphere.[35]

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[33] See Scherrer-Schaub in McKeown 2010: xxiii. One may wonder if Stein's *ad hominem* critiques addressed to Ariane Spanien, were not just the result of the fact that the two approaches were simply "irréductibles l'un à l'autre". Cf. also *infra*, n. 64.

[34] The stele, in the words of Richardson (1985: 36), stands "in an exposed position to the south of a small bridge over the stream below the *rdzong* at 'Phyong-rgyas beside the track leading to the tombs of the kings (*bang-so*), about half a mile distant"; cf. Iwao *et al.* 2009: 13, suggesting the date "ca. 797, end of the reign of Khri srong lde brtsan". See the still illuminating critical analysis of Chinese and Tibetan sources, related to the passing away of Khri srong lde btsan by Tucci (1950: 20-21).

[35] A similar approach may be seen in Scherrer-Schaub 2007[b], as well as in forthcoming[b] and forthcoming[d].

It has long been known that the titulature of the Tibetan *btsan po*, appearing in early inscriptions and documents could be fruitfully compared with parallel royal epithets known in other parts of the Buddhist world. In one of his articles, Rolf Stein drew attention to the epithet *'phrul gyi lha btsan po* that appeared for a limited period of time, and that he critically questioned in view of contemporary Chinese documents.[36] The occurrence of this term in the eulogy (*brjod pa'i yi ge*, l. 9) praising the virtues of Khri Srong lde btsan, was signalled, as early as 1964, by Hugh Richardson. Among other things, he noted that the eulogy "echoes strongly the account of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's reign", kept in the *Chronicles*, and presents "many similarities in the phraseology to that of the inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde-srong-brtsan and that at Rkong-po in De-mo-sa" (Richardson 1985: 37).[37] The context is interesting. Richardson further stresses the fact that "[t]he burial rites at 'Phyong-rgyas were of pre-Buddhist character" and draws attention to "the representation of the king as defending the faith and achieving the perfection of *both the traditional religion and the new Buddhism* [emphasis of the present author]." Moreover, he states: "In this inscription the title *Chos-rgyal* is for the first recorded time applied to a Tibetan ruler."[38]

The text in praise of the (presumedly) deceased *btsan po*,[39] and of which only the south side is preserved, is arranged in 34 lines of *dbu can*

[36] Apart from the debated case of its occurrence in the 'A zha Annals, see Stein 1981: 242, 253-254. For an extensive treatment of this title borne by royals and religious, see Stein 1981: 242-248. Cf. Spanien 1971: 336-345.

[37] The inscription at the tomb of Khri Srong lde btsan was published by Tucci (1950: 36-39 and 91-93) who copied the text, partially legible, on the spot and took photos "on the same occasion". Richardson "a few months after" persuaded "the local people to bring to light the portion of the *rdo riṅ* which was underground and was therefore able to complement" Tucci's text; *ibid.*, p. 36.

[38] It is important to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that these passages, quoted here from Richardson 1985: 37, sum up two articles previously published by him; cf. Richardson 1964 and 1969.

[39] See Scherrer-Schaub 2013: 142 and n. 12.

PLATE 5

Pillar at 'Phyong-rgyas (See p. 36)

Fig. 1: 'Phyong rgyas *rdo ring* (after Richardson 1985)

script, and originally also bore the carving of a lion and a dragon that, together with part of the text, are nowadays hardly visible (fig. 1).[40] The eulogy concisely recalls the origin and principles of the royal lineage of the ancestors (ll. 1-4), continuing with Khri Srong lde btsan, their merits recorded on the *rdo ring*[41] (ll. 5-10). The text details the commitment of the *btsan po* as a *chos rgyal chen po* (ll. 5-15), which, as we see, consists of following the custom of the ancestors, not impairing (*ma nyams*) the order of the gods (*lha'i gtsug lag*), and acting in agreement with the norm of heaven and earth. By his fully accomplished and wide (*sgam dkyel chen po*) *byin*, and by his mighty helmet (*dmu rmog btsan po*), granting the political and military success of the reign, the *btsan po* acts as a *'phrul gyi lha btsan po* (ll. 16-26). Finally, for having found the excellent supramundane law/order (*'jig rten las 'das gyi dam pa'i chos*) and bestowed it as a favour to all, all men gave him the name of "*'phrul gyi lha byang chub chen po*" (ll. 27-34).

The general tenor of the passage concerning the actions and virtues of the *btsan po* as a *'phrul gyi lha btsan po* (ll. 16-26), evokes the phraseology in vogue during the epoch of the Gupta sovereigns and in particular the eulogy of Samudragupta kept in the Allahābād inscription:[42] "being without comparison with the other kings of the four quarters" (*mtha' bzhi'i rgyal po gzhan dang myi 'dra*, ll. 17-18), "extending his

[40] See Richardson 1985: 36; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 13-14.

[41] It is not impossible that this passage, instead of being taken as self-referential, could hint at an enlarged version describing the qualities of the present *btsan po*, Khri Srong lde btsan, that may have been written on the north-side of the stele but is nowadays illegible. The general allusion to the deeds of the *btsan po* in lines 5-10 seems indeed to be too short for a eulogy (*brjod pa'i yi ge*). As a matter of fact, the inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde srong btsan may be considered as an enlarged version of the text found in the Khri Srong lde btsan inscription, this time dedicated to Khri Lde srong btsan. See Richardson 1985: 84-91, 1998: 269-271; Iwao *et al*. 2009: 25-28.

[42] Cf., e.g., the eulogy of Samudragupta kept on the Allahābād column (*stambha*, l. 30); see Bhandarkar, CII III: 211-215, and compare the ideas transmitted in ll. 17-18 of Khri Srong lde btsan's eulogy along with those of Samudragupta, ll. 24-26, CII III: 213-214.

dominion and fame", "ensuring peace, prosperity and happiness to the kingdom", all motifs that are current in the Indian literature at large and appear in quite a number of Dunhuang *smon lam* / *praṇidhi* texts.[43] A subtle distinction is made here between the *chos* or *dharma* as the duty of the king, and the *chos*/*dharma* referring to the Buddhist teaching and principles, also alluded to by the expression *dam pa'i chos* or *saddharma*.[44] Moreover, in this passage the unnamed eulogist and/or lapicide[45] skilfully retakes the terms appearing in the first part of the inscription (ll. 1-15), qualifying the *btsan po*'s sovereignty, and glosses them in Buddhist wording.

IV Politics and narrative pattern

While it is rather common that chancery phraseology and *topoi* may be transmitted over centuries, almost *verbatim*, it appears that specific narrative motifs circulate in particular contexts, and with a precise scope or function. This was the case, for instance, of some *mahāyānasūtra*s, that were purposedly used in China, at the end of the 7th century, when "from 693 onwards unprecedent changes which denoted the adoption of

[43] Cf. Ptib 134, Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000.

[44] On the distinction between the king's and the Buddha's *dharma*, see Scherrer-Schaub 2007[b]: 768 and notes. As it is shown in this article, Nāgārjuna constantly plays with the ambiguity of the term. The *dharma* of the king and the treatises on politics are a common share in Indian society. The skilfullness of kings (and *bodhisattva*s) consists also in the knowledge of the *vidyā-sthāna*s, or mundane arts, including politics. These ideas are circulating in the Buddhist world at large (in narratives, e.g., the Jātakas), at an early stage. Naturally, in the case of the early Tibetan documents and inscriptions, the distinction is maintained, though the social order and administrative organization, regardless of whether the ten *kuśala-dharma*s are mentioned, is fundamentally based on the ancestors' system pre-dating the introduction of Buddhism, as the narrative relating the first enactment of law amply demonstrates.

[45] Possibly a high dignitary; cf. *infra*, p. 138.

a new concept of sovereignty had been taking place" (Forte 1976: vii).[46] Richardson (e.g., 1977: 221-222) on his part first noticed that some documents from Dunhuang were presenting analogies to, if not commenting on, part of the narrative of early inscriptions. Some of these documents present themselves as *smon lam* (*praṇidhi*, *praṇidhāna*). These prayers were offered in public, on special occasions, such as the institution of religious sites. The prayers take as their model the Mahāyānistic ceremonial *par excellence*, the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*, which, in turn, refers to an ancient formula known from records of Indian inscriptions. They often include a few historical facts inserted in the formulary. In studying one of these documents (Ptib 134) we noticed the use of themes appearing in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, and reappearing in the *Rgyal po bka' chems*.[47] And in studying the historical context of the three successively proclaimed authoritative decisions *(bkas bcad*), kept in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*'s textual tradition (Scherrer-Schaub 2002) and governing the codification of the Tibetan language for use in ecclesiastic and religious matters (*chos skad*), we have already stressed the fact that the first *bkas bcad*, presumably dating to the beginning of the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan, but with antecedents from the epoch of 'Dus srong and Khri Lde gtsug btsan, referred to the period of old translations of the *Ratnameghasūtra* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which were extremely influential in the Buddhist world toward the end of the 7th / beginning of the 8th century, particularly in China.

These texts, together with the *Mahāmeghasūtra* and the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja*, conveyed various political theories that could be applied in contemporaneous *ad hoc* situations.[48] This was the case with the famous ideological themes thoroughly studied in the seminal work of Forte (1976), that contributed to the successful ascent of Em-

[46] Also mentioned in relation to the Tibetan context at the epoch of the translation of the *Ratnameghasūtra*; see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 303 and n. 124.

[47] See Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000: 217, 220-222, 240 and n. 77.

[48] See Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 297-303. Moreover, it is worth noting the fact that the Lhan dkar ma catalogue, lists these *sūtra*s in a close sequence; see Lalou 1953: 321.

press Wu Zetian in 690, the successive establishment of Mahāmegha monasteries in the Empire, and the reward of the nine bhadantas,[49] the religious that had presented the *adapted* commentary on the *sūtra*, which was then "distributed throughout the empire" (Forte 1976: 5). Forte, in analysing the ideological motifs having inspired the interpolation appearing in the *Ratnameghasūtra* (1976: 130-132, 137), notes that in the commentary the "autochthonous terminology jointly appears with a terminology clearly foreign, and which is the expression of conceptions which are just as universalistic: this is the Buddhist theory of sovereignty symbolized in the figure of the Cakravartin king."

As stated previously, in the context of the early inscriptions of Tibet, however, we rather face a phenomenon of reciprocal mirroring of Buddhist and autochthonous themes. Indeed, the perusal of the inscription of 'Phyong rgyas, at the tomb of Khri Srong lde btsan, shows that, systematically, a quasi homonymous terminology familiar to both parts, had been purposedly chosen in order to play with its polysemy.[50] This is the case of the famous logion which opens the inscription and the origin of the lineage, and that may be understood in Tibetan terms[51] or be read through an Indic dharmaśāstric key[52] and first seems to appear in the mentioned eulogy of Khri Srong lde btsan: "the *lha btsan po,* the ances-

[49] Worth noting is the presence in Tibet, during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan, of "*bhadanta*s" such as Lang ka (*Sba bzhed* 57.3: "*ban de lang ka*"), mentioned among the Ho-shangs having taken part in the Debate of Bsam yas who together with *ban de* Myang Ting nge 'dzin bzang po and others, including the *btsan mo* of the 'Bro clan, were placed at the right side of the *btsan po*. On the very complex issue of the Debate, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989.

[50] The use of discursive devices is proper to the art of convincing (*captatio benevolentiae*), and thus inherent to the process of transmitting the Buddhist teaching. That this might also have been used in political matter is exemplarily shown in the study of Antonino Forte quoted before; see p. 136-137. The use of expressions of double entente (*śleṣokti* / *tshig* [*g*]*yur gnyis su sbyar ba*) at this epoch, seems to be confirmed by its entry in MvyS 6903. On *śleṣa* in Indian literature and epigraphy, see Broquet 1996: 469-495.

[51] Cf. Spanien 1971: 202-227.

[52] Cf. *supra*, p. 135 and n. 44.

tor, came to be the ruler over gods and men" (*lha btsan po yab myes lha dang myi'i rjer gshegs te*, ll. 1-2).[53] The dharmaśāstric model that had been integrated in the narrative of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, is here superposed onto the indigenous motif. Publicly, the epigraph may thus appeal to a larger audience. Moreover, the motif of the divine origin of the king or royal function,[54] whose phrasing may vary in early Tibetan inscriptions, is largely diffused throughout the Eurasian world, if not universally, without necessarily designating the same reality.

What is of interest for us, is the cluster of themes appearing in the eulogy of Khri Srong lde btsan (755-795/8), extensively glossed a decade later or so in the inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde srong btsan (c. 800-815), seeming to indicate that the text emanates from a high dignitary and Buddhist scholar. While Laufer went so far as to affirm that documents like this were emanating from the Chinese chancery in Tibet, following our previous studies on the matter we rather think that these documents were emanating from the Buddhist milieu *tout court*.

Behind the screen, one may indeed see at work the synthesis of the dharmaśāstric royal theory operated in the twelfth chapter of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtrendrarāja*, bearing the title "*Devendrasamayaṃ nāma-rājaśāstra*", where the traditional royal theory is filtered, as it were, and poured into a specific Buddhist vessel.[55] The *devendra-*

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[53] On this formula and its extended version in the eulogy of Khri Lde srong btsan, cf. Spanien 1971: 348-349. The eulogy at the tomb of Khri Lde srong btsan, as noted by Richardson, is more explicit and gives a better reading of the incipit (ll. 1-2): *gnam gyi lha las / myi'i rjer gshegs pa //* "He came from the gods of heaven to be ruler of men". The commented logion, however, voluntarily or unvoluntarily phrased "*lha dang myi'i rjer gshegs*", has a notably different meaning.

[54] See Scherrer-Schaub 2007[b]: 764, n. 24, quoting *Manusmṛti* VII.38 and VII.8.

[55] The topic has been studied at the École Pratique des Hautes Études for three years, reading and commenting on the *Suvarṇa*; a synthesis of this work was presented at the SWC in Kyōto, September 2009. See Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[c]. In matters of political and social transactions the Buddhist tradition developed a series of models that may generally be classified under two main headings (with due variations): the (rare) case in which the Buddhist institution regulates the

samaya is here the precept that the king (*rāja*) receives from his father when he accedes to the throne, is installed in his "new kingship", and just consecrated (*acirābhiṣiktena nava-rājya-pratiṣṭhitena*). In short, the text explains "why a king, though born among men, is called '*deva/lha*' and why he is called the 'offspring of gods' (*devaputra/*devasuta*, *lha sras*)."[56] With much ability the text evokes themes that may be at once Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and the narrative following a familiar pattern may be read from different perspectives, a fact that granted great popularity to the *sūtra* throughout the Asian world at large, particularly from the 6th to the 9th centuries.[57] The passage of the *Suvarṇa* which is of interest in the present context is introduced by a question addressed from the protectors of the world (*lokapāla*) to Brahmā, the king of gods:

> 12.4 *tvaṃ va sura-gurur Brahmā devatānāṃ tvam īśvaraḥ / cchettā tvaṃ saṃśayānāṃ hi cchindayāsmākaṃ saṃśayaṃ //*
>
> "You Brahmā are a venerable teacher among the gods, you are lord of the gods. Solve our problems. Remove our doubts!"

---

transactions and the disputed cases "internally", and the case in which the external society is called to deliberate.

[56] Stein (1985: 110, n. 65) mentions this passage in a cursory glance. In his article "'Saint et divin'. Un titre tibétain et chinois des rois tibétains", Stein (1981: 243-246), while studying the title *'phrul gyi lha btsan po*, reviewed the titles of the Tibetan kings attested in early inscriptions and documents, and noted that the title *lha sras / devaputra* appears together with other titles, more or less at the same period (1981: 245, 248), but did not bring this fact in full light. Stein (1981: 232) refers to Pelliot (1914), who notes that the verb *'phrul* is translated as *közün* in Uighur with the meaning "se manifester, être visible, paraître". Stein further notes that this is the meaning of the term in a passage of the Zwa'i lha khang inscription (c. 800-815), west-side, ll. 1-2: *gnam lhab kyi rgyal po // 'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri lde srong brtsan*, "the *btsan po* Khri lde srong brtsan, king of heavenly descent, god manifested".

[57] See Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[c].

12.5 *kathaṃ manuṣya saṃbhūto rājā devas tu procyate / kena hetunā sa rājā deva-sutas tu procyate //*

"Why is a king, though born among men, called 'divine'? And for what reason is that king called a 'divine son'?"

12.6 *yadīha mānuṣe loke jāyate ca bhaven nṛpaḥ / kathaṃ devo manuṣyeṣu rājatvaṃ ca kariṣyati //*

"If he is born here in the world of men, he should become king, but how will a god exercise kingship among men?"

Brahmā responds:

12.9 *rājānāṃ saṃbhavaṃ vakṣye utpādaṃ manujālaye / yena hetunā rājāno bhavanti viṣayeṣu ca //*

"I shall proclaim the birth of kings, how they arise here among men, and for what reason they become kings of the lands."

12.11 *kiṃ cāpi mānuṣe loke jāyate mriyate nṛpaḥ / api vai deva saṃbhūto deva-putraḥ sa ucyate //*

"Although as king he is born and dies in the world of men, yet since he comes from the gods he is called 'divine son'."

Then, the *Suvarṇa* goes a step further: the king is a *devaputra* / *lha sras* also because he is "made or magically created" (*nirmita* / *'phrul*)[58] by the gods:

[58] The attribution of magical power to the king is a common feature shared by various Asian royal theories (and trans-Asian ones). This appears as an attribute of kings in contemporaneous Buddhist inscriptions – see, for instance, Griffiths 2013: 48, n. 13 – and the motif is extensively present in the *Suvarṇa*; see Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[c]. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1995: 27, n. 26. Charles Ramble, whom we thank, has kindly signalled the article of Shen-yu Lin (2007) "The Tibetan im-

12.12 *trayatriṃśair deva-rājendrair bhāgo datto nṛpasya hi / putras tvaṃ sarva-devānāṃ* ***nirmito*** *manujeśvaraḥ //*[59]

"And the Thirty-three kings have given a share [of their quintessential nature to] the king, [in saying:] 'You are [our] son (*putras tvaṃ*), a lord of men (*manuṣya-īśvara*) made / magically created (*nirmita*) by [a portion of] all gods'."[60]

The 'Phyong rgyas inscription, as seen, after having recalled the qualities and *gesta* of the king (ll. 1-26) and after having surreptitiously moved from the bare title "*lha btsan po*" (l. 1 and 5) to the titles "*chos rgyal chen po*" (l. 11) and "*'phrul gyi lha btsan po*" (l. 16), concludes in "sealing", so to speak, the preceding eulogy in Buddhist terms (ll. 26-34). At this stage, the inscription shows that the notion of the king leaves far behind the mundane sphere, including the gods, to enter the supramundane:

ll. 27-30 *thugs la* ***byang chub spyod pa rlabs po che***[61] *mnga' bas / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos bzang po brnyes nas / kun la bka' drin du byin no //*

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age of Confucius" that also includes a review of the different interpretations of the epithet *'phrul* and *'phrul gyi lha* occuring in the titulature of the early Tibetan kings.

[59] See Skjaervo 2004, vol. I: 236-238. Variations in the translation are due to the present author.

[60] Extensively commented in Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[c].

[61] This expression appears with an oblique meaning in the *Suvarṇa* (15.20, Skjaervo 2004, vol. I: 280-281). Indeed, the same expression is applied here to the *devaputra* who has not yet accomplished the extensive buddha career: *na caiṣam bhadanta bhagavan Jvalanāntara-tejo-rāja-pramukhānāṃ daśānāṃ deva-putra-sahasrāṇāṃ yāvad vistīrṇā bodhisattva-caryā bhabhūva //*, "Not [yet], O gracious Lord Buddha, [had] Jvalanāntara-tejo-rāja and the other thousand divine sons [had] such an extensive buddha career." We may also add that the text details all the accomplishments required on the part of the *devaputra* in order to fulfill his career, and obtain from the Lord Buddhas the appellation "*tathāgata*" and the *vyākaraṇa*, that is, the announcement that they will become Buddha; see *Suvarṇa* 15.20-33,

"Possessing in his mind the extensive buddha career, he [i.e., Khri Srong lde btsan] obtained the excellent supramundane law and bestowed it as a favour to all."

ll. 32-34 *myi yongs kyis mtshan yang / 'phrul gyi lha byang chub chen por gsol to //*

"And all men gave him the name ''*phrul gyi lha byang chub chen po*'."[62]

The motif of the king "who comes from the gods of heaven to be king of men" is a kind of "algorithm" that may solve a large number of contextual situations, even if, once solved, these may be revealed to be semantically antinomic. This is patently shown in the inscription of Rkong po,[63] where the same motif appears in the context of the indige-

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Skjaervo 2004, vol. I: 280-283. Clearly, the scholar who composed the eulogy of Khri Srong lde btsan knew the art of convincing, and the Buddhist rhetoric sanctioned by centuries of practice. Moreover, we see here in a nutshell the theory of the "King/Bodhisattva" which will appear in full bloom two centuries later or so, reunited in the person of Ye shes 'od, the founder of the Guge-Puhrang kingdom; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999[b]: 213-222, and Steinkellner 1999: 258-260. Curiously enough, the passage in the 'Phyong rgyas inscription, certainly the oldest attestation to date, and though mentioned by Richardson (1998: 262), has not so far received the attention it deserves. Incidentally, Richardson (1998: 263) connects this passage to the fragmentary inscription of Brag lha mo and notes that the carving accompanying the inscription "recalls drawings in manuscripts of the 8th or 9th century from Tun-huang and some paintings in cave temples there of which the style seems to show more Central Asian than Chinese characteristics."

[62] It is worth mentioning a passage of Pelliot Chinois 4646 on the "Ratification des vrais principes du Grand Véhicule d'éveil subit", presented by Wang Si, and possibly the oldest record on the presumed "Buddhist career" of Khri Srong lde btsan, by an exponent of the so-called "école du dhyāna"; see Demiéville 1952: 23-24.

[63] The inscription has been thoroughly studied by Uebach (1985). The genealogical myth found parallels in the Dunhuang Chronicles (Ptib 1286 and 1287) studied by Spanien (1971: 221-227); cf. Uebach 1985: 18f.

nous Tibetan tradition. The inscription dates to the reign of Khri Lde srong btsan (c. 800-815) and contains a passage (ll. 3-4) relating the genealogical myth of the Spu rgyal lineage and mentioning the descent of the first ancestor: "At first, Nya khri btsan po from the sons[64] of the Phywa Ya bla bdag drug came to Lha ri gyang do to be the ruler of the land of men …" (*thog ma phywa ya bla bdag drug gi sras las / nya khri btsan po myi yul gyi rjer // lha ri gyang dor gshegs pa …*).[65] And again, this time in the inscription at the tomb of the same king (cf. *supra*, p. 134, n. 41, p. 137-138, and n. 53): "*btsan po lha sras*, 'O lde spu rgyal, came from the gods of heaven to be ruler of men" (ll. 1-2: *btsan po lha sras // 'o lde spu rgyal // gnam gyi lha las // myi'i rjer gshegs pa //*).[66]

Buddhism had been confronted, since its inception, with the problem of adapting to various cultural, political and social practices and transactions, in order to assess the institution. The tension existing between the practices of "regulating the evil" in society (rite of protection, divination, etc.) and the normative practices and rules directed by institutions and laws is attested in the ninth rock edict of Aśoka, in which the Mauryan king exhorts that the numerous ritual observances, which the

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[64] On this particular passage and its parallel in the Chronicles, cf. Uebach 1985: 18 and notes. Hill (2013) offers a new perspective on the myth, introducing an "alternative reading", which he qualifies as "philologically superior". His argument is essentially substantiated by the sources that were lavishly included in the magistral essay of Spanien (1971) and retaken by her followers. On the myths of the first king variously explaining his descent from heaven, see the unsurpassed articles of Spanien 1971 (despite some peccadilloes which do not undermine the work), and Karmay 1998[1994]: 282-309.

[65] See Karmay 1998: 240-241, 282-309.

[66] As we now have become familiar with the fact that the early Tibetan inscriptions may be considered as a coherent corpus, we may add to the textual and intertextual relationship seen so far the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription (821/822), eastside, ll. 5-13, which may be considered as a comprehensive synthesis of the essential elements of the royal theory succinctly expressed in the previous inscriptions; see Richardson 1985: 108-109 and Iwao *et al.* 2009: 35-36. This passage has been translated, commented upon and compared with other documents in Spanien 1971: 340-353.

inscription qualifies as "vile and vain", all practices that are fruitless, and mainly practised by women, are abandoned in favour of the **dharmamaṅgala*, the observance of the *dharma*, that will bring a *mahāphala*.[67] This banality will resurface in the Buddhist textual tradition in India; it appears in the second *bka' gtsigs* attributed to Khri Srong lde btsan, recorded also in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* of Dpa'o Gtsug lag phreng ba,[68] and in the famous decree (*bka' shog*) of king Ye shes 'od, addressed to the "unbridled" behaviour of some Buddhists, pretending to be Mahāyanists.[69]

Incidentally, during the first decades of the 9th century the polemics against the pre-Buddhist religion and practices stand out on various documents, overtly criticizing the cult to the mountain-gods or the funerary practices, while other documents seem to indicate, as we had occasion to see previously, that the *btsan po* opted for a politic of compromise.[70] In this respect, it is interesting to investigate the role of the

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[67] In this case "*dharma*" refers to the politically institutionalized social rules that the inscription explains in detail; see Bloch 1950: 113-115, 115.1-116.10.

[68] See *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (2006: 197.4-7): *de na bod kyi chos rnying pa ma lags la / sku lha gsol ba dang cho ga myi mthun pas / kun kyang ma legs su dogs te / la la ni sku la dmar yang dogs / la la ni chab srid gong gis kyang dogs / la la ni mi nad phyugs nad byung gis kyang dogs / la la ni mu ge langs bab kyis kyang dogs so //*.

[69] See Scherrer-Schaub 2001: 705-719. This article, translated into English, is now integrated in the Introduction to Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[e].

[70] Tucci (1958: 122-125) signalled the *Bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa* attributed to king Khri Srong lde btsan. Its existence at his time is confirmed by the Lhan dkar catalogue (see Lalou 1953: 336), in which it is classified among "the treatises composed by *btsan po* Khri srong lde btsan" (*btsan po khri srong lde btsan gyi mdzad pa'i gtsug lag*); the text listed here is of considerable size (7 *bam po*, identical with 'Phang thang ma catalogue, q.v.), while the text transmitted in Bstan 'gyur, Tōh. Nr. 4352, vol. Co, fol. 173b1-203b7, is of a remarkably reduced volume. The passage shortly mentioned by Tucci and translated by Spanien (1971: 367-368) has the *btsan po* tell that (fol. 174a6-7) "having embraced the Buddhist religion (*dam pa'i chos kyang bzhung*) he took the decision that [the Saddharma] was better, since it didn't permit to abandon the life of the sentient beings (*sems can la srog spang du mi rung ba*), [and his decision was] not taken out of

bstan po in the "circuit of donation", a compelling need for the maintenance of the Triratna and a key element for determining the position of the king in the face of the Buddhist institution.

V Keeping the authority and delegating the administration[71]

In the Bsam yas edict, as seen, we find the solemn declaration sworn on the part of the *btsan po* Khri Srong lde btsan, father and son, rulers and ministers (ll. 18-20: *btsan po yab sras dang rje blon kun gyis dbu snyung dang bro bor ro*) to protect the Buddhist institution and grant subsistence to the religious sites. The edict associates the mundane and supramundane gods in the role of witnesses to the oath (Scherrer-Schaub 2012). This means that the *btsan po*, together with the lords and ministers, deliberately publishes the intention to keep some sort of equanimous attitude toward the custom of the ancestors and the Buddhist institution, a fact that is confirmed in the eulogy at the tomb of the

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hostility (*zhe sdang ba yang ma yin te*), since he didn't say [anything against] the respect due to the *gtsug lag* of the mundane gods, neither that [the mundane gods] did hurt him (*'jig rten gyi lha dag gyi gtsug lag la bsngags par mi smra ba yang de dag gis bdag la gnod pa byas pa'i phyir*)." While we are not in a position to affirm that this text dates to the period we are interested in here, nor that Khri Srong lde btsan himself redacted the text, the fact remains that according to the Rkong po inscription (cf. ll. 6f. and Spanien 1971: 355) the homage to the indigenous deities (*sku bla*) was still practised by the lord Kar po Mang po, following the custom of his ancestors. Cf. *infra*, p. 156-157, and n. 96.

[71] This form of politics that we see at work in the campaign to expand Tibet, in military affairs and with regard to the lords/kings of the regions "annexed" by Tibet in the 7th-9th centuries (Scherrer-Schaub 2007[a]: 264-265 and notes), and which we see applied also in religious matters, has certainly contributed to assessing the sovereign and sovereignty's theory that we see confirmed and explicitly described in the inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821/822, east-side, ll. 8-11 and 18-20; see Scherrer-Schaub 2007[a]: 261 and n. 13. Combined with the Buddhist genealogical myths, this factor could also have been a reason of resentment against the *btsan po* on the part of the (or some) clan's representative; cf. *ibid*., p. 267, and *infra*, p. 156-157.

king (’Phyong rgyas ll. 6-8: *yab myes gyi lugs bzhin / lha’i gtsug lag ni ma nyams / gnam sa’i chos dang ni ’thun par mdzad /*). This might be the reason why, following a long-standing tradition common to various Buddhist societies, the unique donation to the Triratna during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan is made by his mother Jo mo rgyal mo btsan yum, who indirectly associates her son, and dedicates the merits to the attainment of the sixty qualities of the sound of the voice of the Buddha (*ṣaṣṭyaṅgasvara*) [a veiled allusion to the vow of spreading the teaching] and the supreme enlightenment (*anuttarabodhi*) of Khri Srong lde btsan, father and son, husband and wife.[72]

Again, in the inscriptions at Zhwa’i lha khang, a charter of privileges is granted in perpetuity by Khri Lde srong btsan (r. c. 800-815) to *ban de* Myang Ting nge ’dzin. In commenting on the terms stipulating the privileges, the text mentions the clause of inalienability applicate to the [property] that was dedicated (*bsngos*) to the monastic estate (*lha ris*);[73] the text, however, does not specify whether the *btsan po*, besides solemnly swearing the act and binding to his oath the royal and political authorities, does in one way or another function as donor of the Buddhist institution.

Interesting data informing us about the nature of the act of granting support to the Buddhist institution at the epoch of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (c. 815-836) come from the inscription at Lcang bu gtsug lha khang, possibly the predecessor of the present temple and monastery of Mtshur phu. In this case we have clear evidence that Zhang Nya sto,[74] lord of

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[72] Following Snellgrove’s reading of the expression *stangs dbyal* in Richardson 1985: 34-35 and n. 2. An analogous case is the bell at Khra ’brug (Richardson 1985: 82-83), dedicated to *lha btsan po* Khri Lde srong btsan (r. c. 800-815) and cast by the *mkhan po* (*mkhyen po*), and *bhikṣu* of China (*rgya’i dge slong*), Rin chen.

[73] “Inalienable”, in other words, it cannot be transferred to another ownership (*gzhan gyis dbang myi bya bar gnang* ... [ed. Richardson 1985: 58]).

[74] On the location of this inscription, on the Tshes pong clan and on Nya sto, see Hazod (this volume, p. 71 and n. 43).

the Tshes pong clan,[75] in accordance with the order given by the preceding kings to practice and maintain the Buddhist religion (*dam pa'i chos*), is the actual donor of the institution, while *btsan po* Khri Gtsug lde btsan gives authority to the act and validates it: "with regard to what has been done in dedicating (*bsngo zhing spyad pa yang*) property for the support (*rkyen ris*) of this temple (*gtsug lag khang 'di*) order is given that the dedication should be strictly enforced just as Zhang Nya sto has made it (ll. 32-34: *zhang nya stos / ji ltar byas shing / bsngos pa bzhin brtsan par / bka's gnango //*)!"[76] And the inscription nicely details

[75] Richardson (1985: 92) gives a clear picture of the underlying political issue, and in particular instructs us about the terms of kinship linking the *btsan po* and the lord: "It is recorded in the Tibetan Annals that in 757 A.D. Khri Srong-lde-brtsan stayed in the palace of Lcang-bu of Stod". "The founder of the Lcang-bu *gtsug-lag-khang* was a noble of the Tshes-pong clan from which Khri Srong-lde-brtsan took his **principal wife** [emphasis of the present author], the mother of Mu-ne, Mu-rug, and Khri Lde-srong-brtsan. It is probable that the temple would be built on the founder's own estates, so perhaps in 757 the king, recently enthroned and then fifteen years old, was visiting the palace of the family from which he had taken or was about to take a wife; alternatively, a royal palace could have been bestowed on his wife's family." On Tshes pong za Rma rgyal ldong skar, wife of Khri Srong lde btsan, mother of Mu ne btsan and Lde srong btsan, see Uebach 1997: 74. But of Tshes pong clan was also Tshes pong za 'Bring ma thog dgos, mother of Srong btsan sgam po; see *ibid*., p. 72. Be that as it may, we have here, once again, a case of direct implication of the maternal line in the attribution of estate to the Buddhist institution. The Chinese pilgrim Wukong, who travelled in north-western India between 751 and 790, at the age of 29 reached Kāśmīr and Gandhāra and noticed there the presence of monasteries founded by Generals, Ministers and Noble Ladies; on the *vihāra*s founded by Qatuns, in Kāśmīr and Gandhāra, see Chavannes & Lévi 1895: 354-357; cf. *infra*, p. 157-158 and n. 98.

[76] Following Richardson 1985: 98-99 with minor changes. The practice of giving a name to the monastery is ancient and recorded in various narratives, namely in the Vinaya. The present context seems to indicate the fact that the *btsan po* possibly gave the name of the palace of Lcang bu, where, according to the Tibetan Annals, Khri Srong lde btsan stayed in 757 (Richardson 1985: 92), to the homonymous temple (ll. 23-24: *gtsug lag khang 'di'i mtshan yang // btsan po'i bka' zhal gyis btags ste /*), further linking this foundation to the temple at the royal palace of

the reasons. As consequence of having adhered to the Buddhist religion, the grace of the *btsan po* was bestowed on the lord and, in return, Zhang Nya sto founded the temple and dedicated the merit to the *btsan po* (*btsan po sku yon du bsngos te*).[77] The series of reciprocal involvement between the *btsan po* and the lord that the *praestatio* generates indicates that the *btsan po* gives an order, among others, to attribute a name to the temple (ll. 23-24: *gtsug lag khang 'di'i mtshan yang / btsan po'i bka' zhal gyis btags ste /*).[78] This complex circuit is again reflected in the prayers given on the occasion of the foundation and consecration of the temple and *rdo ring* "in the time of Khri gCug-lde-bcan in dByar-mo-thaṅ to commemorate a treaty sworn with the Chinese, Uigurs and lǰaṅs (Nan-chao)" (Uebach 1991: 497). Addressed by a number of officials, fortresses and cities of the region of Mdo gams, the prayers, together with the donation, function here as an action of repentance, and the merits issued from the donation are requested to be dedicated to cleanse the evil caused by the *btsan po* and his retinue of lords and ministers.[79] However, and notwithstanding the fact that the *btsan po* was not the direct donor of the Buddhist institution, the strong support given by Khri Gtsug lde btsan, Ral pa can, made the religious institution powerful, a

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'On cang do and making it a dependency of the *thugs dam gyi gtsug lag khang chen po* at the royal residence. Cf. Uebach 1987: 114-115 and n. 617. On the narrative related to the royal temple of 'On cang do, dedicated to the tutelary deity (*thugs dam*), Dpe med bkra shis dge 'phel, see Sørensen 1994: 413-414 and n. 1439. On the location of 'On cang do, see Hazod (this volume: 73-74).

[77] Richardson 1985: 94-97, ll. 8-16: *bka' lung stsald pa las 'byung ba bzhin // zhang tshes pong nya stos / dam pa'i chos nyams su blangs // btsan po lha sras / khri gtsug lde brtsan 'phrul gyi bka' drin // zhang nya sto la cher stsald pas / bka' drin chen po bsab pa'i phyir // btsan po sku yon du bsngos te // smon lam rgya cher btab nas // stod lungs kyi lcang bur / gtsug lag khang brtsigs ste //*.

[78] Richardson 1985: 96-97.

[79] Scherrer-Schaub 2001: 693 and n. 1. That the institution of religious sites or writings was considered as a public act of repentance is confirmed by Wang Si in his "homiletic" memorial addressed to the Tibetan *btsan po*; see *infra*, n. 87.

fact that according to the later narrative contributed to the ensuing anti-Buddhist revolt and the assassination of the king in 836.[80]

VI Tibetan politics in the conspectus of a wide-spread universalism

Les taoïstes prescrivent de suivre la nature,
les lettrés mettent en honneur la conformité (de l'homme) avec son époque.
Ils assurent le calme aux supérieurs et pratiquent les rites,
ils modifient les moeurs et se plaisent aux régles,
(mais) ayant pris naissance dans la terre du milieu,
ils n'englobent point les feuilles et les éloignés.
(Au contraire,) quand la religion bouddhique est descendue ici-bas,
elle s'est propagée sans limites.
Wang Xuance, inscription installed on the Gṛdhrakūṭa,
28th of February 645 A.D.[81]

The documents at hand show that starting from the mid-7th century, the *btsan po* and his executive progressively integrated Buddhism into the Tibetan state machinery. And the question does not only interest the internal politics of Tibet. From the 7th to the 9th centuries, Buddhism is indeed an inescapable factor in the complex politico-religious exchequer, constituting the vast area where the Buddhist institution, in various degrees and following different circumstantial modalities, intervenes in political and cultural issues. Buddhism moves then along two networks of monastic sites and an impressive number of masters and mis-

[80] Sørensen 1994: 410-417, 423-427.

[81] Translation of Lévi (1900: 334). The stele is no longer extant, but its text is recorded in the *Fayuan zhulin* (T. 2122); cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2012: 227-228 and notes. On the coherent and constructed "universalism" of Buddhism, see Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[a]. Incidentally a passage of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription (East-side, ll. 33-37) patently "translates" this idea in political terms: *thugs yi dam phabs pa las // btsan po yab lha 'phrul khri lde srong brtsan gyi zha snga nas // sgam dkyel chen pos ni // chos srid ci la yang mkhas shing gsal byams pa'i bka' drin gyis ni // phyi nang myed par // phyogs brgyad du khyab ste // mtha' bzhi rgyal po kun dang yang mjald cing 'dum bar mdzad na //* (Richardson 1985: 112).

sionaries, crossing paths on the northwestern continental and south-southeastern maritime routes.

Exactly because Buddhism finds itself implicated into the state affairs of various countries, the model of governance varies and, by no means, may be reduced to an ossified form. The passage, cited here from Wang Xuance's panegyric, illustrates the aspiration of Buddhism to universality, a fact that equally complies with juridical changes that may be observed in the conception of the *saṃgha*.[82]

As already shown (Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 2012), the perusal of old inscriptions and documents and, specifically, the in-depth study of the modifications appearing in the secular *cum* religious administrative terminology, sheds new light on the continuity and discontinuity of the socio-political system. This may be seen, among other things, in the detailed chancery procedure prescribing the reconfirmation of charters that, at the epoch of Khri Lde srong btsan, when the Buddhist institution is henceforward integrated into the State, is partially assigned to the religious authorities.[83]

Khri Srong lde btsan, whose success in military and diplomatic affairs is undeniable, is at the same time playing an important role as a clear-sighted sovereign. His personal involvement in the process of translating the Buddhist corpus (Scherrer-Schaub 2002) on a large scale, his decision to convoke the Bsam yas debate and, prior to that, to invite Śāntarakṣita and, possibly, also some Chinese *bhadanta*s, reflect the model illustrated in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, of a king "who goes and meets his invitee, the *dharmabhāṇaka*".[84] The inscriptional

[82] See Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[a].

[83] See, e.g., Zwa'i lha khang, East-side, ll. 58-62 (Richardson 1985: 52-53): *gtsigs kyi mkhar bu 'di // nam zhig dbye dgos na yang // sras dbon chab srid kyi mnga' gang mdzad pas ring lugs thugs ches pa gtsigs bdag 'drang ba gsuṃ yan cad bsgo ste / lag sbrel la dbyung zhing / phyir yang 'di bzhin phyag rgya dang / ring lugs kyi rgyas btab ste / gzhag par gang ngo //*. Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 265-266 and notes.

[84] Demiéville (1952: 36-37), in his seminal work *Le Concile de Lhasa*, quotes the Chinese "dossier" where we see that an invitation had been addressed to the

corpus, which, as said, may be interestingly interpreted as a coherent historiographical text, shows that starting from the edict of Bsam yas the public records progressively introduce a terminological set, known for centuries and in common use in the Buddhist world at large. The edict orders the maintenance of the Buddhist foundations, asseverated in the name of the future generation of *btsan po*s, granted by oath by the *btsan po* and his executive, and validated by the mundane and supramundane deities functioning as witnesses,[85] but neither Khri Srong lde btsan nor his executive appear here nominally as donor(s) (*yon bdag*) of the Buddhist institution. Khri Srong lde btsan was a skilfull monarch. His balanced politics aimed to treat considerately the internal political and religious factions[86] and the external expansionistic ambitions,[87] dat-

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Chinese *bhadanta*s, a fact that would perfectly comply with the balanced politics of the *btsan po*. By the mid-8th century, when Amoghavajra reached Śrī Laṅka "the king sent a deputy to welcome him. The guardsmen on foot and on horse were stationed in ranks along the street when he entered the city. The king, having made obeisance at his feet, invited him to stay in the palace to be entertained for seven days." (The biography of Amoghavajra translated in Chou 1944/45: 290-291.)

[85] Richardson 1985: 28, 30, ll. 1-20: *ra sa dang / brag mar gyi gtsug lag khang las stsogs par / dkon mchog / gsum gyi rten btsugs pa* [**pratiṣṭhā*, cf. MvyS] *dang / sangs rgyas kyi chos / mdzad pa 'di / nam du yang myi gtang ma' zhig par bgyi 'o / yo byad sbyard / pa' yang / de las / myi dbyi myi bskyung bar bgyi 'o / da' phyin cad / gdung rabs re re zhing yang btsan po yab sras gyis 'di / bzhin yi dam bca'o / de las mna' kha dbud pa dag gyang / myi bgyi myi bsgyur bar / 'jig rten las / 'da's pa' dang / 'jig rten gyi lha dang / myi ma yin ba' / thams cad gyang dphang du / gsol te / btsan po yab sras dang rje blon gun gyis dbu snyung dang bro / bor ro /*

[86] It is useful to recall here that the contention was not only between Buddhist and Bon po but also, as noticed by Demiéville (1952: 179-180), following Mahāyāna, between those neophytes who on the issue of the Bsam yas Debate were "fanatisés" and "résolus à sacrifier leur vie pour protester – à la chinoise – contre la 'cabale' politique dont on menaçait les champions de leur foi. En effet, précise-t-il, et son témoignage est ici d'un intérêt particulier, les adversaires de Mahāyāna intriguaient pour exciter contre lui un clan des 'grands du royaume', une coterie de ministres tibétains dont ils se permettaient d'exploiter à leurs fins propres l'esprit de parti." Cf. the interesting analysis of the Tibetan literature on various problematic aspects of this delicate issue in Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 77-89.

ing back to Srong btsan sgam po and confirmed by the succession of conquests and embassies recorded in the *Annals*. Disregarding possible retroactive interpretations, the politics of compromise that we see at work, with more or less success, during the monarchic period reflects a pattern that is general course in several societies where Buddhism co-existed with other religious institutions.

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[87] The first memorial of Wang Si addressed to the *btsan po* (Demiéville 1952: 195) indirectly instructs us about the fact that some Buddhists were called to follow the army and to act as diplomats. Wang Si shows a strong propensity to diplomacy in order to avoid the throes of military campaigns, and beseeches the *btsan po* in these terms: "Il supplie donc le Roi, si, comme il est à craindre, il entreprend sans crier gare, un beau matin, quelque campagne à l'Est ou à l'Ouest, de ne pas l'obliger à suivre ses armées; malade comme il l'est depuis son enfance, Wang Si sait pertinemment qu'il en mourrait, surtout s'il est amené à la frontière chinoise, où on lui mettrait mains et pieds aux planchettes et on le ferait courir sur les chemins par tous les temps, exposé au givre et à la neige. Du reste, plaide-t-il, son vrai 'lot' , le rôle auquel le destinent, toutes modestes soient-elles, ses capacités personnelles, est de 'jouer des lèvres et de la langue', c'est-à-dire de palabrer comme délégué diplomatique, en vue de ramener la bonne entente entre le Tibet et la Chine et de dissiper les soupçons et les malentendus qui nuisent aux bonnes relations entre ces deux pays. …" In his "deuxième memorial" (Demiéville 1952: 220-222) Wang Si recalls to the *btsan po* the Bodhisattva and *lokottara* ideal in contrast to the sovereign's ambitions, indeed: "Par ses guerres incessantes, le Roi compromet toute tranquillité. Les fils sont séparés de leurs parents, les frères cadets de leurs aînés, à des distances telles qu'aucune nouvelle ne parvient des uns aux autres: on se perd de vue, les coeurs se brisent; et par surcroît, il faut se faire massacrer à son rang sur les champs de bataille. Le Roi aura beau construire des stūpa, fonder des monastères, appeler de l'étranger des moines et des nonnes, faire copier des textes saints, instituer des jeûnes et faire transporter de l'argile pour fabriquer des Buddha: tout cela ne lui vaudra que des rétributions d'ordre encore impur et conditionné, telles que la renaissance dans un genre d'existence supérieur, comme homme ou comme dieu; ce ne sont point de vrais 'champs de Bonheur', des oeuvres aptes à fructifier en félicité véritable." This text is amazingly interesting and in its rich detailed depiction of the everyday life of this tumultuous epoch confirms that religious sites were instituted as an act of repentance associating the political body of the state; cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000 *passim*, and *supra*, p. 148, n. 79.

As a matter of fact, the *internationalism* of Buddhism in the 7th-9th centuries[88] may be seen in following the lives of famous masters, their paths crossing on the pan-Asian Buddhist network.[89] It equally burst on the scene with several majestic and singular creations: Vikramaśīla,[90]

[88] The phenomenon, however, started earlier; see Scherrer-Schaub, forthcoming[a] and forthcoming[b].

[89] The cosmopolitanism that reigned among Buddhists is patently illustrated in the life of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. Vajrabodhi was born in 670 in South India (Chou 1944/45: 272-284) [the summarised vita in the Hōbōgirin slightly differs; see *fascicule annexe,* p. 143, s.v. Kongōchi], son of a learned brahmin. teacher of the king of Kāñcī. After having been introduced into the doctrine, he accompanied his teacher to Nālandā. "Then he visited Ceylon" and travelled "eastward and visited twenty countries or more, including Bhoja", that is present-day Palembang in Sumatra, from where he went to China "by the sea route" reaching the country in 719, where he died in 732. Amoghavajra, of a brahmin family of North India and a contemporary of Śāntarakṣita, visited China "at the age of fifteen" and "became Vajrabodhi's disciple". When his Master passed away, Amoghavajra travelled to India and Ceylon, "as the late Master once ordered him to do". He returned to China in 754, and passed away there "while making a great *mudrā*, in the midst of meditation" at the age of fifty. Among his pupils, we find Huigo (746-805), the teacher of Kobo Daishi, the founder of the Shingon school in Japan, Bianghung, a monk from Java, Huichi of Silla (Korea), and others from Kučā and Kashgar, Samarkand and Tukhara. Cf. Chou 1944/45: 284-307 and Appendix S, and *Hōbōgirin*, *fascicule annexe*, p. 135, s.v. Fukū. During this time the Indian monk known by his Japanese name Bodaisen (704-760) "reached Japan in 736 and in 751 was appointed *sōjō*, the highest position in the state-regulated Buddhist hierarchy." See Kornicki 2012: 54, and herewith n. 91.

[90] It is worth mentioning that the monastic site of Pāhārpur (Somapura), judging from the archaeological report, must have been an impressive *mahāvihāra* – the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra celebrates its beauty; see Tsukamoto 1996, I: 200, ll.10 and 11: *adatta hemābharaṇam vicitraṃ buddhāya bodhau janatāṃ vidhātum* / … *kṛtvā tena vihārikā kṛtavatālaṃkārabhūtābhuvo mitrebhyo 'dbhūtavaijayantajayinī datteyam unmīlati* /, and also *supra*, n. 13. On this inscription, tentatively dated to the first half of the 12th century, see Salomon IE: 298-302, Appendix 12.

Fig. 2: Borobuḍur, before the sunrise (Cristina Scherrer-Schaub 2001)

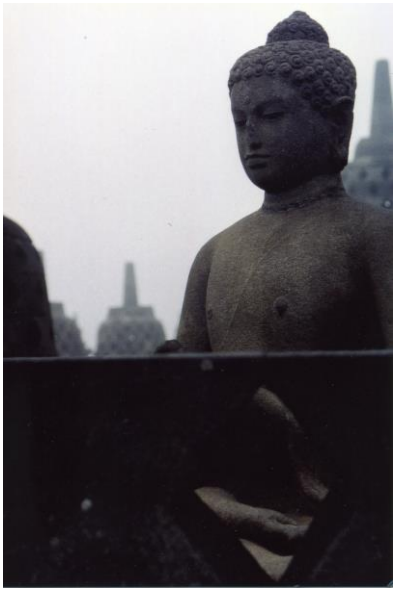

Fig. 3: Borobuḍur, upper terrace
(Cristina Scherrer-Schaub 2001)

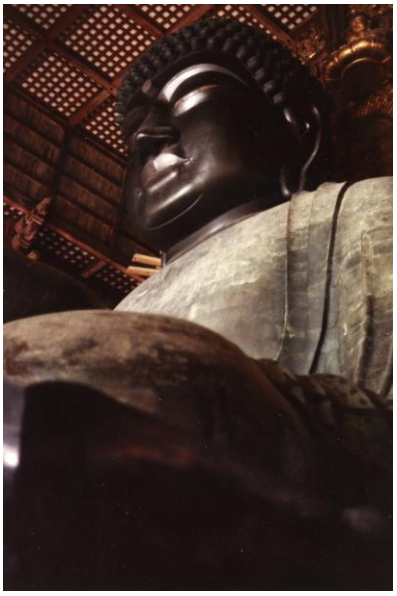

Fig. 4: Daibutsu, Tōdaiji, Nara
(Cristina Scherrer-Schaub 1989)

Bsam yas, Borobuḍur (figs 2-3), but also the Daibutsu of the Tōdaiji in Nara (fig. 4), or the monumental Buddhas of Bāmiyān,[91] the construction (or progressive completion) of which was initiated (or continued) within a short period of time. And despite of being a result of a series of blending of various styles and techniques, the architectural conceptions (and religious symbolism) of these artefacts were reflecting various interpretations of models attested, among others, in the Pāla kingdom. This is certainly not to say that Buddhism was then "standardized", rather that the mobility of religious, texts and ideas were concurring to transmit ideological and cultural motifs, appropriate to cross frontiers. These impressive monuments, marking not only the major hubs of a communication system, but also an integrated and complex logistical network, favored the economic exchange and the transmission of information.[92] This banality is, as it were, the positive counter-part of the

[91] On Vikramaśīla, see *supra*, n. 13-14. On Bsam yas, see n. 11, 14, 49 and 86. The inauguration of the Daibutsu at the Tōdaiji in 751 was presided over by Bodaisen (see n. 89) during the reign of Empress Shōtoku (rg. 738-758). Empress Shōtoku, in 764, "took a vow and ordered the construction of one million small three-storied pagodas … and containing underneath the upper part one of Konpon, Jishin, Sōrin and Rokudo *dhāraṇī*. Once this had all been done, the pagodas were distributed to various temples. The officials and artisans who had been engaged in this work, one hundred and fifty-seven in all, were rewarded with increases in rank, according to station." See *Shoku nihongi* 4.280 (entry for the year 770), translated in Kornicki 2012: 44 and n. 4. Worth noting in this respect is the fact that the *Bodhigarbhalakṣa-nāma-dhāraṇī* (incidentally translated into Tibetan by Amoghavajra; see Scherrer-Schaub 1994: 715 and n. 74), together with the *Āryoṣṇīṣavimala-dhāraṇī*, and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya-dhāraṇī* are mentioned in a Dunhuang Tibetan ritual text witnessing the practice of consecrating a *stūpa*; see Scherrer-Schaub 1994. As far as Bāmiyān is concerned, Klimburg-Salter (2010: 179) notes that "the three colossal Buddhas described by Xuanzang in ca. 629 were the starting point for the monumental and ambitious artistic program excavated into the great rock façade". On the dating of the Bāmiyān complex, see Klimburg-Salter 1989 and 2010, advantageously updating the issues.

[92] Buddhist monuments were not, during this epoch, the sole prodigious and gigantic projects. It is said for instance that the Uighur capital, Qarabalghasun, situated on the upper Orkhon river and founded by the mid-8th century, like Bay-

universalism of Buddhism expressed in performative vocal or written rites, known as "*praṇidhi*" or "*praṇidhāna*", effectuating the transfer of merit from religious acts to the universal attainment of the *anuttara-samyaksaṃbodhi*.[93] It also consists in the genuine concern of transmitting an educational program, contemplating at once religious and profane knowledge, as the archives constituted by texts and documents surfaced in various parts of the Buddhist world amply demonstrate. And this coalescence of religious and profane knowledge is reflected in the fairly impressive casuistics of ideological motifs illustrating the Buddhist royal theories and applied to a variety of political contexts throughout Asia and beyond. With this ability in the art of persuasion, Buddhism could, case by case, adjust to and, at once, mirror into the various autochthonous systems.[94] This *universalism*, as seen, did equally take shape in architectural and artistic productions, bringing to a pinnacle the technical possibilities of the time.

As long known, the encounter and coexistence of Buddhism with other religions "played significant roles in shaping and changing Buddhist practices and ideologies".[95] On the other hand, the balanced politics of Khri Srong lde btsan (and of other kings or petty kings of his

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Balik, quickly "developed into quite an impressive city". Tamīm ibn Baḥr records that "the town has twelve iron gates of huge size. The town is populous and thickly crowded and has markets and various trades". The town "was dominated by a golden tent, which could be seen from some distance outside the city. It stood on the flat top of the palace and could hold 100 people." See Mackerras 1990: 337.

[93] On the "soteriological universalism" that found resonance in early Indian inscriptions, see Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 13-18.

[94] Particularly eloquent is the case of Buddhism introduced into the acquaintance of Manicheans by the mid-7th century. As we learn from the inscription of Qarabalghasun, and other texts of Dunhuang, the use of the "jeu de miroir" was largely in vogue in this period among Buddhists and Manicheans as well. See Chavannes & Pelliot 1911: 191 *et passim*.

[95] Neelis 2011: 180. In this superb work, Jason Neelis presents the first richly documented and finely argued essay on "mobility and exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia" that, though published in 2011, had been presented on several occasions, his ideas circulating since 1997.

time) also included a practice of non-interference in the religious institution. This is the case particularly concerning the delicate question of the donation of tenure, which in Tibet, as well as in other parts of the Buddhist world, though not for the same reason and each time under specific circumstances, could create upheaval of the traditional territorial administration and "irritate" the cadastral indigenous guardians.[96] Following a long-standing practice common for centuries in India, the Buddhist adviser(s) of the king[97] suggested a biased mode of donation by which the role of donor(s) was assigned to royal ladies, ministers or clan representatives. The practice, largely attested in the neighbouring countries,[98] and that we see at work during the reign of Khri Srong lde

[96] A fact that may be linked with the narratives, i.e., to the episode, related in several sources, that "presents a lengthy topographical and toponymical exposé of various sites associated with the Chinese princess' divination and a geomantical description of the well-known erection of twelve temples pinning down the prostrate demoness." See Sørensen 1994: 253-281 and 552-580; but also the more specific case of Bsam yas and the ensuing invitation of Padmasambhava (*ibid*., p. 368-375).

[97] It is tempting to interpret, in this sense, the long preamble appearing in the *narratio* of the Zhwa'i lha khang inscription of Khri Lde srong btsan, west-side, ll. 3-24 (Richardson 1985: 44-47), relating the reluctance of *ban de* Myang Ting nge 'dzin to accept the offer of the *btsan po*, who finally ignores Ting nge 'dzin's hesitation and bestows to him his favour in return of the benefit the *btsan po* had received from him. This lively piece of ordinary life is amazingly interesting since it is, possibly, one of the rare cases where we see how the socio-political transaction could work between the *btsan po* and his executive (always associated with the *btsan po* in the royal acts) and the religious representative, eventually explicitly defined in the relation donor/officiant. On this passage, see Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000: 229-230. Śāntarakṣita also, though possibly as a post-eventum narration, is assigned the role of "*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*" / *kalyāṇamitra* in the *Bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma las mdo btus pa*, attributed to *chos rgyal* Khri Srong lde btsan *byang chub rdzu 'phrul*; see Seyfort Ruegg 1995: 31, and *supra*, n. 70.

[98] The examples abound in Kāśmīr, Bengal, and other neighbouring countries. Cf. *supra*, n. 29, but also, e.g., (1) the Kailān (Chandina P.S., Tipperah, Comilla district, Bangladesh) copper-plate inscription of Śrīdhāraṇarāṭa, dated c. 665-675, (Sircar SI II: 36-43, 38, ll. 21f.) granting a "gift of land" on the part of the "minis-

btsan, would progressively become complex when the *btsan po* (Khri Lde srong btsan) assigned privilege to a clan's representative who, at the same time, was also a high ecclesiastic figure, such as *ban de* (Myang) Ting nge 'dzin. However, as seen, it is only with Khri Gtsug lde btsan (815-836) that the inscription of Lcang bu explicitly mentions the assignment of a tenure (*rkyen ris*) to the Buddhist institution, regardless of the fact that it had been granted by Zhang Nya sto, representative of the Tshes pong clan and a fervent Buddhist. As noted earlier, the Buddhist institution appears here as the *de facto* executor of the chancery practice (Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 264-266), and this could also have been one of the factors having overturned the "balanced politics" of the *btsan po*(s). The situation changed radically with the king of Guge-Purang, Ye shes 'od,[99] but this, as it goes, is another story.

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ter for war and peace", and "dedicated to the Bhagavat Tathāgataratna for the worship of the Buddha, the reading and writing of Buddhist religious texts and the provision of food, clothing and other necessaries for the *āryasaṅgha* as well as to a number of Brāhmaṇas for the performance of their *pañca-mahāyajña*". The gift, as said, was done "at the request of the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Jayanātha". (2) The copper-plate inscription of Bhavadeva Abhinavamṛgāṅka, dated c. 765-780 and found in a village of the Comilla district, Bangladesh (Sircar SI II: 744-750 and 749, ll. 53f.; *supra*, n. 24). (3) The Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla (c. 775-812); see *supra*, n. 11.

[99] Ye shes 'od is mentioned in the inscription of Tabo as having founded the temple and offered the entire kingdom/sovereignty for the sake of the *dharma* (*rgyal srid thams cad chos phyir dbul mdzad de*); see Steinkellner & Luczanits 1999: 16-17. He is presumably also the princely donor (*yon bdag chen po*) of a *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999[b]. Moreover, he granted land in Cog ro to *lo chung* Legs pa'i shes rab; see Scherrer-Schaub & Tropper, forthcoming.

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HISTORISCHE INSCHRIFTEN AUS DER TANG-DYNASTIE (618-907) IM "KLOSTER DES LIEGENDEN BUDDHA" IN ANYUE, SICHUAN

SUEY-LING TSAI

This article provides the edition and German translation of nine Tang-dynasty donor inscriptions in the "Monastery of the Reclining Buddha 臥佛院" (Anyue 安岳, Sichuan Province), which is famous for its extensive *sūtra* inscriptions cut into the walls of fifteen cubic caves. It also furnishes a summary and a brief discussion of the various people involved in the production of both the *sūtra* and the donor inscriptions, their dates, and the monastery's area of influence. Finally, the article puts the epigraphs into their larger historical context.

Die Ruinen des "Kloster des Liegenden Buddha" (Wofoyuan 臥佛院) befinden sich im Kreis Anyue 安岳 im Südosten der Provinz Sichuan, circa 170 km von der Hauptstadt Chengdu 成都 entfernt (Abb. 1). Die weitläufige Anlage enthält mehr als 130 in den gewachsenen Fels gehauene Höhlen und Nischen (Abb. 2) mit vielerlei figürlichen Darstellungen und in die Wände eingemeißelten Sūtrentexten (Abb. 3). Die Kolossalfigur des liegenden, ins Nirvāṇa eingehenden Buddha mit einer angeschlossenen Predigtszene ist das imposanteste Monument der Anlage (Abb. 4). In die Wände von fünfzehn der Felshöhlen sind neunzehn Sūtren, teils in voller Länge, teils in Exzerpten, und ein Katalog buddhistischer Schriften eingemeißelt (s. Appendix). Im Ganzen handelt es sich schätzungsweise um ca. 400.000 Schriftzeichen. In keiner der großen buddhistischen Kulthöhlenanlagen in China sind mehr Texte eingemeißelt.[1]

[1] Das größte Steinsūtrenprojekt in China (und wahrscheinlich das größte epigraphische Projekt der Weltgeschichte) wurde im "Wolkenheimkloster" (Yunjusi 雲居寺) in Fangshan 房山 bei Beijing durchgeführt. Hier wurden die Sūtrentexte jedoch nicht in die Wände von Höhlen eingemeißelt, sondern auf ca. 15.000 Steinplatten (vgl. Ledderose 1990-2009). Auch im Kloster Lingyan 靈巖寺 in Dujiangyan 都江堰

Abb. 1: Lage des Klosters südöstlich von Chengdu

Abb. 2: Teilansicht der Südseite der Anlage

Abb. 3: Wand d der Höhle 73 mit eingemeißeltem Sūtrentext (Detail in Abb. 7) [2]

Über den Ursprung und die Geschichte der Anlage ist wenig überliefert. Ihre Existenz und ihr Name sind durch eine auf 1103 datierte Stele am Ort belegt.[3] Die frühesten sonstigen schriftlichen Quellen sind zwei Lokalchroniken aus der Qing-Dynastie (1644-1911) mit je einer knappen Erwähnung des Klosters.[4] In jüngster Zeit wurden auch archäologische Ausgrabungen durchgeführt, bei denen Bauteile vor dem kolossalen

(Sichuan) findet sich eine große Sammlung von Steinplatten mit eingemeißelten Sūtren. Da dort noch keine vollständige archäologische Ausgrabung und Bestandsaufnahme vorliegen, ist das Gesamtvolumen unbekannt (vgl. Hu Wenhe 1984).

[2] Für die Wandbezeichnung siehe Appendix.

[3] Cao Dan 1990: 52, Zhang Xuefen 2009.

[4] "卧佛寺治北四十里, 石象森然今未修。" (Zhang Songsun & Zhu Renlan 2001 [1786]: 73), d.h.: "Das Kloster des Liegenden Buddha liegt 40 Meilen (Li) nördlich vom Regierungssitz. Die steinernen Skulpturen sind Ehrfurcht einflößend und derzeit nicht restauriert." "卧佛寺在治北四十里。" (Pu Yuan & Zhou Guoyi 1836: 57), d.h.: "Das Kloster des Liegenden Buddha liegt 40 Meilen (Li) nördlich vom Regierungssitz."

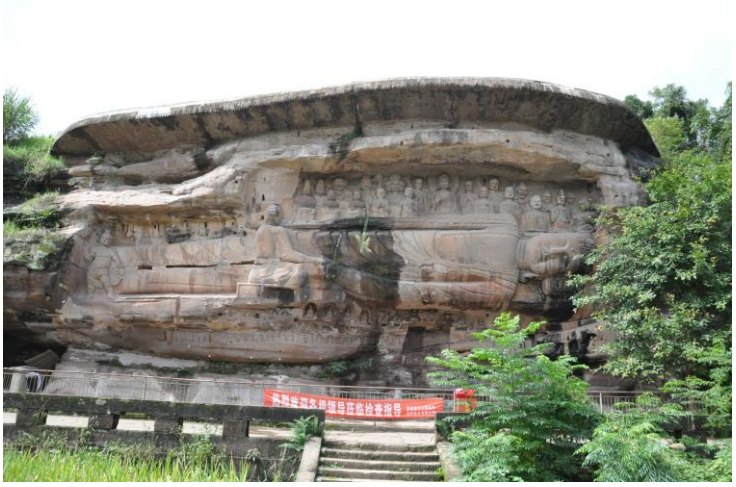


Abb. 4: Der liegende Buddha von Wofoyuan

Buddha gefunden wurden. Ein Lageplan der historischen Gebäude der Anlage steht noch aus.

Das aussagekräftigste Material für die Erforschung der Geschichte des Klosters sind die historischen Inschriften zu den Skulpturen und den eingemeißelten Sūtren. Sie enthalten, ähnlich wie Kolophone in mittelalterlichen Kodizes, Informationen über die Entstehung der Anlage und ihrer Teile, ihre Herstellungszeit, die Auftraggeber, deren Herkunftsorte und Absichten, sowie den Wirkungsraum des Klosters. Insgesamt sind 33 solcher historischer Inschriften *in situ* gefunden worden. Davon stammen 9 aus der Tang-Dynastie (618-907), 5 aus der Zeit der Fünf Dynastien (907-960) und 9 aus der Song-Dynastie (960-1279). 9 Inschriften sind undatiert, und 1988 bekam die Anlage anlässlich ihrer Nominierung zum Nationalen Kulturgut schließlich ihre jüngste Inschrift. Um die Anfänge der Anlage zu erschließen, konzentriert sich dieser Artikel auf die neun historischen Inschriften aus der Tang-Dynastie (618-907). Dabei gehe ich chronologisch vor.

Zwischen 2009 und 2012 konnte ich alle Inschriften vor Ort untersuchen. Für zum Teil stark verwitterte Stellen konnte bei der Edition auch auf alte Abreibungen und auf Scans zurückgegriffen werden, die mit ei-

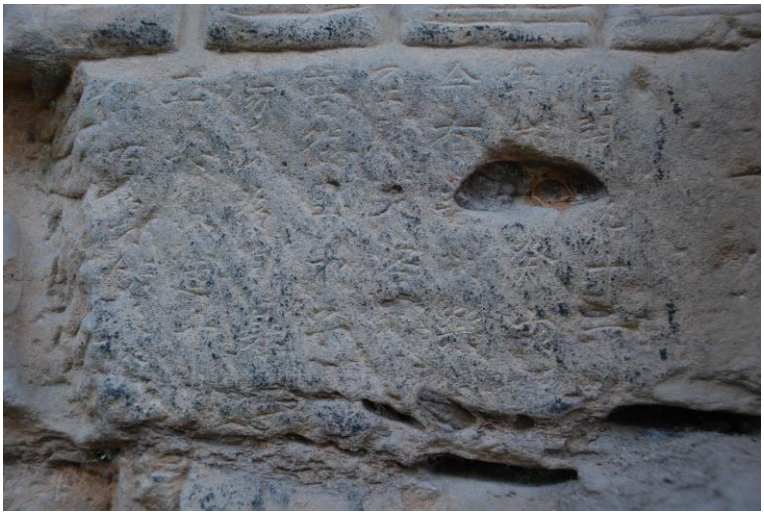


Abb. 5: Inschrift 1

nem Streiflichtprojektor hergestellt wurden. Zeichen, die auch damit nicht sicher gelesen werden konnten, sind im Folgenden unterstrichen. Gänzlich beschädigte Zeichen, die sich durch den Kontext rekonstruieren ließen, sind in eckige Klammern gesetzt; nicht mehr zu rekonstruierende Zeichen sind durch Quadrate (□) gekennzeichnet. Schließlich zeigt ein Schrägstrich den Zeilen- oder Spaltenumbruch in der Inschrift an.

Inschrift 1

Der Text (Abb. 5) befindet sich auf der Fassade zwischen Höhle 46 und 51 (Abb. 6). Er ist in acht von rechts nach links zu lesenden Spalten mit jeweils fünf Zeichen angeordnet.

惟開元十一 / 年歲[在]癸亥 / 今有普州樂 / 至縣芙蓉鄉 / 普德里弟子 / 楊義為自身 / 平安敬造千 / 佛百身供養

Nun, im elften Jahr der Kaiyuan-Ära mit den zyklischen Zeichen *guihai*, lässt der Schüler [des Buddha] aus dem Weiler Pude der Gemeinde Furong des Kreises Lezhi der Präfektur Pu, Yang Yi, respekt-

Abb. 6: Fassade links des Eingangs zur Höhle 46

> voll für sein eigenes Wohlergehen hundert Figuren aus der [Menge der] Tausend Buddhas zur Verehrung herstellen.

Das 11. Jahr der Kaiyuan-Ära ist das Jahr 723 nach westlicher Zeitrechnung. Der Stifter namens Yang Yi kommt aus Anyues nordwestlichem Nachbarkreis Lezhi, der wie Anyue zur Präfektur Pu gehört.

Diese Inschrift gewährt uns einen Einblick in die Laiengläubigkeit des 8. Jahrhunderts, sie liefert aber auch einen *terminus ante quem* für die undatierten Sūtrenhöhlen 46 und 51. Die 100 kleinen Buddhafiguren im Relief sind links entlang der Aureole der großen, an der Fassade stehenden Buddhafigur arrangiert, und zwar auf einer im Stein tieferliegenden Ebene. Das deutet darauf hin, dass sie später als der stehende Buddha gemeißelt wurden. Ferner muss das für diese voluminöse Skulptur an der Fassade benötigte Material bereits beim Aushauen der Sūtren-

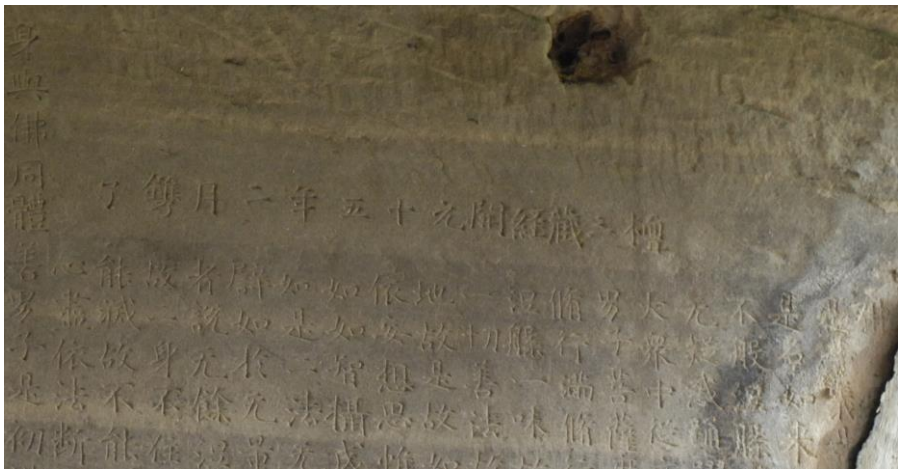


Abb. 7: Inschrift 2

höhlen 46 und 51 bemessen worden sein. Daraus lässt sich schließen, dass die beiden Sūtrenhöhlen vor 723 geschaffen wurden oder zu diesem Zeitpunkt mindestens bereits geplant waren.

Inschriften 2 und 3

Die Inschriften 2 und 3 (Abb. 7 und 8) befinden sich in Höhle 73 (Abb. 9). Inschrift 2 steht rechts oben auf derselben polierten Fläche von Wand d[5] wie der erste Teil des *Hebu Jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經 (Taisho 664). Sehr wahrscheinlich war die Fläche für die Inschrift bereits eingeplant und wurde dafür freigelassen. Der einzeilige Text verläuft von rechts nach links und lautet:

檀三藏經開元十五年二月鐫了

Das Einmeißeln des gestifteten Sūtras aus dem *Tripiṭaka* wurde im 2. Monat des 15. Jahres der Kaiyuan-Ära [727] vollendet.

[5] Für die Wandbezeichnung siehe Appendix.

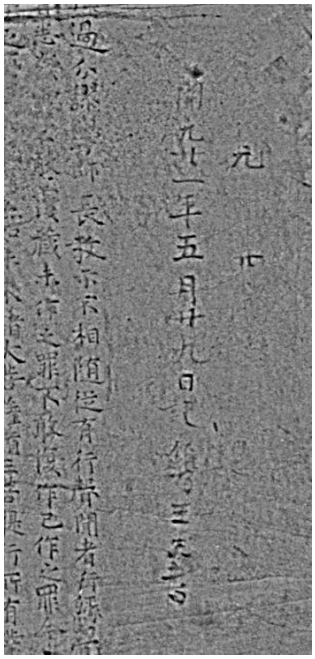


Abb. 8: Inschrift 3

Diese Inschrift bezieht sich jedoch nur auf Wand d. Auf Wand e, in die der zweite Teil des Sūtrentextes eingemeißelt ist, findet sich rechts unten Inschrift 3, die ebenfalls ein Datum enthält. Der Steinmetz scheint hier seinen Namen hinterlassen zu haben. Er trug wahrscheinlich den Familiennamen Wang; der Vorname ist aufgrund der starken Beschädigung leider nicht mehr lesbar. Rechts von der Inschrift sind zwei lose Zeichen zu sehen, bei denen es sich um spätere Graffiti handelt. Der einspaltige Text lautet:

開元廿一年五月廿九日記鐫王□□

Zur Aufzeichnung eingemeißelt am 29. Tag im 5. Monat des 21. Jahres der Kaiyuan-Ära [733], Wang […].

Die beiden Inschriften zeigen, dass das Meißeln der zwei Sūtrenwände mindestens sechs Jahre gedauert hat. Die Arbeit war also recht langwierig.

Inschrift 4 (Abb. 10)

Es handelt sich hier um die Stifterinschrift in Höhle 59, in die Exzerpte des *Dasheng daji Dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經 (Taisho 411) und des *Chan miyaofa jing* 禪祕要法經 (Taisho 613) eingemeißelt sind (Abb. 11). Der einspaltige Text lautet:

開元廿三年二月十五日長江縣李涉敬造供養

Respektvoll zur Verehrung hergestellt am 15. Tag des 2. Monats, im 23. Jahr der Kaiyuan-Ära [735]von Li She aus dem Kreis Changjiang.

Abb. 9: 360º Panorama der Höhle 73 mit Kennzeichnung der Lage der Inschriften 2 und 3

↑ Abb. 11: Wand f der Höhle 59 mit Kennzeichnung der Lage der Inschriften 4 und 5

← Abb. 10: Inschrift 4

Der 15. Tag des 2. Monats wird traditionell als der Todestag des Buddha gefeiert, und der Kreis Changjiang liegt etwa einen Tagesmarsch nördlich von Wofoyuan in Pus Nachbarpräfektur Sui (Suizhou 遂州). Da die Kolossalfigur des liegenden, ins Nirvāṇa eingehenden Buddha (Abb. 4) den Eindruck verleiht, dass die Anlage die Ruhestätte des Buddha ist, und die vier Anfangsfaszikel des *Nirvāṇasūtra* zweieinhalb der Wände der Höhle 59 ausschmücken (s. Appendix), ist zu vermuten, dass eine Zeremonie, möglicherweise in Verbindung mit der Einweihung der Höhle, am Todestag des Buddha im Jahre 735 stattfand. Wahrscheinlich bewältigte der Stifter Li She die Strecke von Changjiang nach Wofoyuan, um dem Buddha an seinem Todestag Ehre zu erweisen. Es wäre denkbar, dass er bei dieser Gelegenheit die Stiftung veranlasste und seinen Namen am Ort hinterließ. Die Inschrift ist ein Indiz dafür, dass das Kloster am Todestag des Buddha das Ziel von Pilgerfahrten aus der Umgebung war.

Inschrift 5 (Abb. 12)

Es handelt sich hierbei um die Stifterinschrift für das *Foshuo bao fumu enzhong jing* 佛說報父母恩重經, das sich unmittelbar an die Exzerpte aus dem *Dasheng daji Dizang shilun jing* und dem *Chan miyaofa jing* in Höhle 59 anschließt (Abb.11). Der einspaltige Text lautet:

… 年六月廿六日清信女滿…

Die fromme Gläubige Man … am 26. Tag im 6. Monat des … Jahres …

Bedauerlicherweise ist die Jahreszahl beschädigt. Die Ähnlichkeit des kalligraphischen Stils mit dem der Exzerpte aus dem *Dasheng daji Dizang shilun jing* und dem *Chan miyaofa jing* lässt jedoch vermuten, dass Inschrift 5 aus dem gleichen Jahr stammt. In diesem Fall wäre Inschrift 5 also etwa viereinhalb Monate jünger als Inschrift 4.

Abb. 12: Inschrift 5

Abb. 13: Inschrift 6

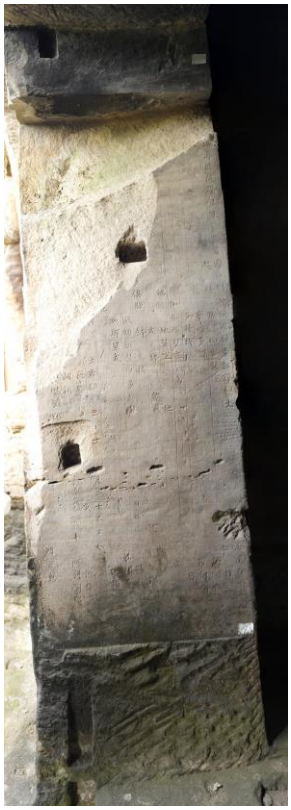


Abb. 14: Wand h der Höhle 46

Inschrift 6 (Abb. 13)

Die Inschrift findet sich in zwei Teilen mitten zwischen einem Dhāraṇī-text (Abb. 14) und lautet:

大唐開元三十一[年]□月二十日 / … / … / … / … [沙]門玄應

Im 31. [Jahr] der Kaiyuan-Ära der großen Tang-Dynastie, am 20. Tag des … Monats … der Mönch Xuanying.

Ein Mönch namens Xuanying ist durch zwei weitere historische Inschriften (Abb. 15, 16) in Anyue-Stadt, dem heutigen Verwaltungszen-

Abb. 15 und 16: Historische Inschriften aus Anyue mit Signatur des Abtes Xuanying

trum des Kreises Anyue, bekannt, das 21 km vom Kloster entfernt liegt. Dort trägt er den Amtstitel "Abt" (*shangzuo* 上座) und signiert als Kalligraph: "geschrieben von Xuanying" (*Xuanying shu* 玄應書).[6] In einer dieser zwei Inschriften nennt er auch den Namen seines Klosters, Qixia Si 棲霞寺. Vergleicht man Inschrift 6 mit den zwei Inschriften des Abtes Xuanying, die sich durch klaren Aufbau und Sorgfalt auszeichnen, so scheint Inschrift 6 einen informelleren Charakter aufzuweisen.

Ein anderer gelehrter Mönch mit demselben Namen ist durch seine phonetischen Wörterbücher des buddhistischen Kanons wohlbekannt. Allerdings lebte er bereits in der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts[7] und kann deshalb mit dem Mönch Xuanying im Kloster des Liegenden Buddha nicht identisch sein.

Vielleicht wegen des prominenten Namens hat die Inschrift 6 in der Forschungsgeschichte besondere Aufmerksamkeit gefunden, und es wurde vermutet, dass der Mönch Xuanying der Urheber des gesamten Steinsūtrenprojektes im Kloster des Liegenden Buddha war.[8] Die Platzierung der Inschrift in zwei Teilen mitten zwischen einem Dhāraṇī-

[6] Fu Chengjin 1991: 48-49.

[7] Baxter 1996: 41.

[8] Peng Jiasheng 1988: 13, Deng Zhijin 1993: 39, Lee 2009: 42-43.

text, der zudem nur unvollständig eingemeißelt ist, unterscheidet sich jedoch von der der übrigen acht Inschriften. Dazu kommt, dass die 741 zu Ende gegangene Kaiyuan-Ära nur 29 Jahre dauerte, und es sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass die Mönche in Anyue – auch wenn der Ort etwas abgelegen ist – nicht vom Wechsel der kaiserlichen Ära erfahren haben. Die Inschrift sollte deshalb mit Vorbehalt gesehen werden

Undatierte Inschriften

Abb. 17: Inschr. 7

Außer diesen sechs datierten Inschriften gibt es noch drei undatierte. Sie stammen jedoch sicher aus der Tang-Zeit, denn die Meißeltechnik und der kalligraphische Stil der zugehörigen Sūtrentexte sind gleich wie bei den datierten Inschriften.

Inschriften 7 und 8 (Abb. 17 und 18)

Die beiden Inschriften befinden sich in Höhle 66 (Abb. 19). Inschrift 7 bezieht sich auf die gesamte Höhle und steht am Ende des *Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經. Der einspaltige Text lautet:

普州安岳縣沙門僧義造涅槃經一龕永為供養

Der Mönch Sengyi aus dem Kreis Anyue der Präfektur Pu ließ einen Schrein mit dem *Nirvāṇasūtra* zur ewigen Verehrung herstellen.

Der Auftraggeber Sengyi ist neben dem in Inschrift 6 erwähnten Xuanying der einzige in einer Inschrift namentlich genannte Mönch. Wie aus dem kurzen Text hervorgeht, war es seine Absicht, die in der Inschrift als Schrein (*kan* 龕) bezeichnete Höhle mit dem *Da boniepan jing* "zur ewigen Verehrung" herzustellen, was für das Verständnis der Funktion der Sūtrenhöhlen von Bedeutung ist.

Abb. 18: Inschrift 8

Zusätzlich zu dem Sūtrentext, sind in Wand d der Höhle zwei Bildnischen und eine kleine Buddhafigur eingemeißelt. Da das Sūtra von den Bildnischen nicht unterbrochen wird, kann man davon ausgehen, dass die Nischen vor dem Text eingemeißelt wurden.

Inschrift 8 nimmt wie Inschrift 1 Bezug auf die Tausend Buddhas, und sie benennt wie Inschrift 5 eine Stifterin. Der Text ist in zwei kurzen, von links nach rechts zu lesenden Spalten angeordnet, die die bereits erwähnte kleine Buddhafigur flankieren.

女弟子仿三禪敬造 / 千佛一身

Die Schülerin [des Buddha] Fang Sanchan ließ respektvoll eine Figur aus der [Menge der] Tausend Buddhas herstellen.

Inschrift 9 (Abb. 20)

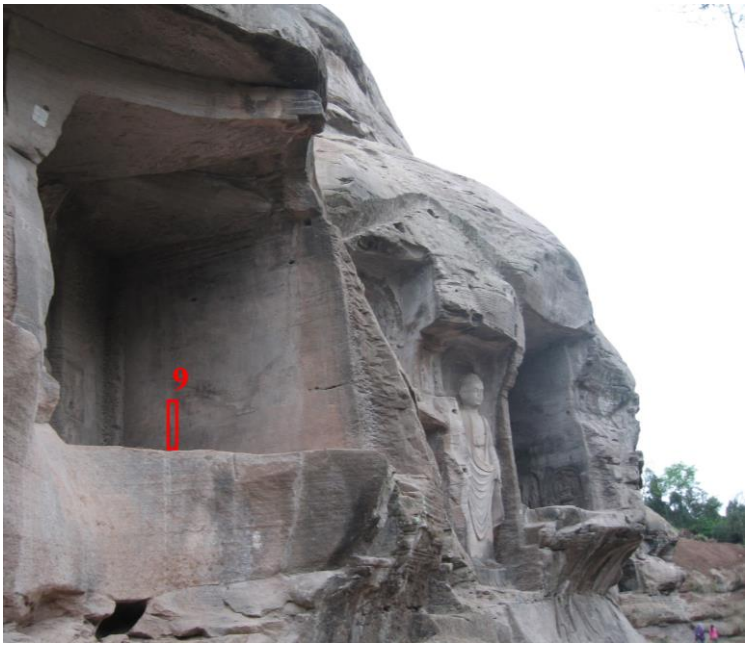
Der einspaltige Text befindet sich auf Wand d der Höhle 71 (Abb. 21) und lautet:

遂州長江縣楊思慎為亡父楊敬宗亡母袁張寶敬造供養

Yang Sishen aus dem Kreis Changjiang der Präfektur Sui ließ respektvoll [das Diamant- und das Herz-Sūtra] für seinen verstorbenen Vater, Yang Jingzong, und seine verstorbene Mutter, Yuan Zhangbao, zur Verehrung herstellen.

Der Stifter stammt wie schon der in Inschrift 4 genannte Li She aus dem Kreis Changjiang der Nachbarpräfektur Sui, und er ließ die zwei bekanntesten Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtren in die Höhle einmeißeln. Durch eine

Abb. 19: 360º Panorama der Höhle 66 mit Kennzeichnung der Lage der Inschriften 7 und 8



↑ Abb. 21: Höhle 71 mit Kennzeichnung der Lage der Inschrift 9

← Abb. 20: Inschrift 9

Stiftung für seine verstorbenen Eltern religiöses Verdienst zu erwerben, das diesen im Jenseits zugutekommen soll, war stets eine gängige Praxis – von den Anfängen des Buddhismus bis in die Gegenwart.[9]

Zusammenfassende Bemerkungen zu beteiligten Personen, Entstehungszeit der Inschriften, Wirkungsraum des Klosters und Motivation der Stifter

Die Inschriften nennen die Namen von Stiftern und ihre Herkunftsorte. Unter den Stiftern finden sich sowohl Mönche als auch Laien, und unter den Laien sowohl Männer als auch Frauen. Die genannten Personen hatten keinen Amtstitel und damit auch keine hohe soziale Stellung. Dennoch genossen die Stifter der Sūtren, die in den Inschriften 4, 5 und 9 genannt sind, offensichtlich einen gewissen Wohlstand, denn das Einmeißeln der Texte in den Felsen dürfte kostspielig und das entsprechende *knowhow* selten gewesen sein.

Über die Gründer der Anlage sind keine Informationen erhalten geblieben. Es ist jedoch davon auszugehen, dass sie bereits ein mehr oder weniger festes Konzept dazu hatten, welche Sūtren in die Wände der Höhlen eingemeißelt werden sollten. Sie scheinen weit gereiste Gelehrtenmönche gewesen zu sein, denn die seltenen Vorlagen, die überlegte Auswahl und die guten Editionen[10] dieser Texte lassen eine Vertrautheit mit den Schriften und ein hohes Bildungsniveau erkennen. Ähnliche Texte waren im 7. Jahrhundert in der Höhlenanlage von Longmen 龍門 in Henan eingemeißelt worden.[11]

Die Inschriften beweisen weiters, dass die Hauptherstellungszeit der Steinsūtren im Kloster in die zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts fällt. Inschrift 1 kann als *terminus ante quem* des gesamten Sūtrenprojektes am Ort dienen. Spätestens im Jahr 723 waren die Höhlen

[9] Gregory 1997: 58.

[10] Die Beobachtungen basieren auf meiner Feldforschung vor Ort. Zu den Details siehe Ledderose 2014ff.

[11] Wang Zhenguo 2006a: 87, Wang Zhenguo 2006b: 92-109.

46 und 51 schon geschaffen oder wenigstens geplant. Die letzten drei Inschriften sind zwar nicht datiert, doch die Meißeltechnik und der kalligraphische Stil der zugehörigen Hauptexte ist identisch mit denen der datierten Texte.

Der Wirkungsraum des Klosters des Liegenden Buddha umfasst laut den Inschriften drei Kreise, nämlich Lezhi (Inschrift 1) und Anyue (Inschrift 7) in der Präfektur Pu und Changjiang in der Präfektur Sui (Inschriften 4, 9). Das Kloster war also in der Umgebung bekannt und fand dort Patrone.

Inschriften 2 und 3 nennen nur Daten, Inschrift 6 einen Kalligraphen; Inschriften 1, 4, 5, 7, 8 und 9 nennen als Stifter fünf Laien und einen Mönch. Zwei der Laien machen ihre Motivation explizit: Yang Yi stiftete die 100 Buddhafiguren "für das eigene Wohlergehen" und Yang Sishen ließ die beiden Sūtrentexte für seine verstorbenen Eltern in die Höhle einmeißeln. Die übrigen drei Laien haben ihre Motivation zwar nicht ausdrücklich benannt, jedoch ist davon auszugehen, dass durch das Stiften von Bildern und Texten Verdienste erworben werden sollten, die eine günstige Wiedergeburt nicht nur der Stifter selbst sondern auch anderer bewirken sollten.

Die Inschrift 7 des Mönches Sengyi ist von essentieller Bedeutung für das Verständnis der gesamten Anlage. Er will einen Schrein für das *Nirvāṇasūtra* schaffen, was mit der kolossalen Figur des liegenden, ins Nirvāṇa eingehenden Buddha auf der anderen Talseite korrespondiert. Die gesamte Anlage des Klosters des Liegenden Buddha in Anyue wird damit in einer Art *translatio loci* zu einer chinesischen Replik des indischen Ortes Kuśinagara, wo der Buddha ins Nirvāṇa einging.

Historischer Kontext

Die Kaiyuan-Ära (713-741), die einzige, aber mehrfach in den Inschriften genannte Ära, war die erste, fast drei Jahrzehnte dauernde Periode in der Regierungszeit des Kaisers Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762). Seine Herrschaft gilt als eine der glanzvollsten in der chinesischen Geschichte. Die

Hauptstadt Chang'an war für zwei Millionen Einwohner angelegt und mit einer Million tatsächlicher Einwohner im 8. Jahrhundert die größte Stadt der Welt,[12] ein kosmopolitisches Zentrum, wo Reisende der verschiedensten Völker Asiens zusammentrafen.[13] Der Kaiser errichtete überall in seinem Reich die so genannten Kaiyuan-Klöster, in denen zum Wohle der Dynastie gebetet und gelehrt wurde. Unter seiner Ägide wurde 730 auch ein neuer, umfassender Kanon aller ins Chinesische übersetzten buddhistischen Schriften zusammengestellt, der bis heute grundlegend ist.[14] Die Herrschaft von Kaiser Xuanzong endete mit einer Rebellion, die ihn zwang, abzudanken und sich 756 nach Sichuan zurückzuziehen, wo er 762 starb. Es gibt allerdings keine Belege dafür, dass er dort mit dem Kloster des Liegenden Buddha Kontakt hatte. Ob die Rebellion den Aktivitäten in der Anlage eine Zäsur setzte, lässt sich zwar ebenfalls nicht beweisen, aber ein drastischer demographischer Schwund in der Präfektur Pu ist gut dokumentiert. Laut den *Yuanhe junxian zhi* 元和郡縣志 (Aufzeichnungen aller Kreise der Yuanhe-Ära [806-820]) betrug die Zahl der Haushalte in der Präfektur Pu während der Kaiyuan-Ära (713-741) 32.680, aber während der Yuanhe-Ära (806-820) nur noch 1.652.[15]

Ausgedehnte Höhlenkomplexe mit vielen einzelnen Kulthöhlen gehören zu den eindrucksvollsten Leistungen der materiellen Kultur des Buddhismus in China. Sie waren mit einem überwältigenden Reichtum an farbenfrohen Wandmalereien und Skulpturen ausgestattet. In Dunhuang 敦煌, welches ab dem 4. Jahrhundert angelegt wurde, schätzt man eine bemalte Wandfläche von insgesamt ca. 40.000 qm; in Longmen 龍門 (Provinz Henan), begonnen nach 493, zählt man über 100.000 Skulpturen. In Xiangtangshan 響堂山 (Provinz Hebei) wurden in der Mitte des

[12] Nach einem Gedicht von Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), zitiert nach Thilo 1997: 12. Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Zahl bespricht Thilo 1997: 12-13.

[13] Thilo 1997: 13-14. Thilo 2001: 147-151.

[14] Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740) 730. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (Katalog zu Śākyamunis Lehrinhalten in der Kaiyuan-Ära), T 2154.55.477-724.

[15] Li Jifu 1983*: juan* 33, 857.

6. Jahrhunderts Sūtrentexte zum ersten Mal als Teil des ikonographischen Programms in die Wände von Höhlen eingemeißelt. Die Anlagen von Longmen wie auch der bereits um 460 begonnene, ebenfalls überaus ausgedehnte Komplex in Yungang 雲崗 (Provinz Shanxi) wurden von Kaisern der Fremdvölker der Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏, die damals Nordchina beherrschten, initiiert und patronisiert. Auch die Stifter von Xiangtangshan, die Kaiserfamilie Gao der Nördlichen Qi-Dynastie (550-577), waren zum Volk der Xianbei 鮮卑 gehörende Fremdherrscher. Dass diese Familie Sūtren von mehreren zehntausend chinesischen Schriftzeichen zwischen den Kultfiguren einmeißeln ließ, war ein bedeutender Schritt im Prozess der chinesischen Adaption des Buddhismus.

Wie die Stifterinschriften im Kloster des Liegenden Buddha vermuten lassen, wurde dieses nicht vom Kaiserhaus, ja noch nicht einmal von vermögenden Beamten, sondern wesentlich von Laiengläubigen aus dem Ort und der Umgebung finanziert. Dies zeigt in beeindruckender Weise, wie sehr der Buddhismus hier in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts bereits im Volk verwurzelt war. Auch die Zahl der Schriftzeichen, die diejenigen in Xiangtangshan um eine Zehnerpotenz übertrifft, ist ein beredtes Indiz für die verstärkte Verankerung des Buddhismus. Die lokale Herkunft der Stifter, die enorme Zahl der Schriftzeichen, und die Anlage des gesamten Klosters als gleichsam chinesisches Kuśinagara sind drei Aspekte einer augenfälligen Amalgamierung des Buddhismus in die chinesische Kultur.

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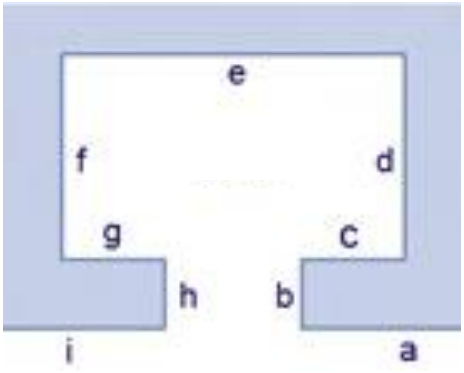
Appendix: Liste der eingemeißelten Texte und ihrer Lage



Wandbezeichnung einer Höhle

Höhle	Wand	Wiedergegebene Texte	Übersetzer, Taishō Nr.	Inschrift
1	d	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 1-2	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#262	–
	e	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 2-6		
	f	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 6-11 [8-11 stark beschädigt]		
2	d	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 12-16		–
	e	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 17-23		
	f	*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kapitel 24-28		
29	d	*Foshuo foming jing* 佛說佛名經, Kapitel 1-2	Bodhiruci (?-527), T#440	–
	e	*Foshuo foming jing* 佛說佛名經, Kapitel 2-3		
	f	*Foshuo foming jing* 佛說佛名經, Kapitel 3-4		
	i	*Bore boluomiduo xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經	Xuanzang (602-664), T#251	
33	d	*Foshuo guanding qiwan er-qian shenwang hu biqiu zhou jing* 佛說灌頂七萬二千神王護比丘咒經, Kapitel 12, 11	Śrīmitra (1. Hälfte des 4. Jh.) / Huijian 慧簡 (5. Jh.), T#1331	–
	e	*Foshuo guanding qiwan er-qian shenwang hu biqiu zhou jing* 佛說灌頂七萬二千神王護比丘咒經, Kapitel 11		
		Liumen tuoluoni jing 六門陀羅尼經	Xuanzang (602-664), T#1360	
		Fo chui boniepan lueshuo yi-jiaojing 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#389	

	f	*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經, Kapitel 22: *Chujia gongde Shilibiti pin* 出家功德尸利苾提品	Huijue 慧覺 et. al., T#202	
		Jingang bore boluomi jing 金剛般若波羅蜜經	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#235	
46	d	*Da Tang Dongjing Da Jing'ai Si yiqie jinglun muxu* 大唐東京大敬愛寺一切經論目序, Vorwort und Kapitel 1-2	Jingtai 靜泰, T#2148	–
		"*mohe bore boluomi* 摩訶般若波羅蜜"	Kein Text, nur die Zeichen für "Mahāprajñāpāramitā"	
		Da boniepan jing 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 22	Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, T#374	
	e	*Foxing haizang zhihui jietuo po xinxiang jing* 佛性海藏智慧解脫破心相經, Faszikel 1	T#2885	
	f	*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#235	
		Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing 佛頂尊聖陀羅尼經	Buddhapāla, T#967	
		Foshuo xiuduoluo bore poluomi jing 佛說修多羅般若波羅蜜經	Einzige Version. Nicht in T.	
		Foshuo amituofo jing 佛說阿彌陀佛經	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#366	
	h	Bannspruch des *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊聖陀羅尼經	Buddhapāla, T#967	Inschr. 6
51	f	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 14	Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, T#374	–
59	d	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 1		

	e	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 2-3		–
	f	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 3-4		
		Exzerpte aus *Dasheng daji Dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經 und *Chan miyaofa jing* 禪祕要法經	Xuanzang, T#0411	Inschr. 4
			Kumārajīva (344-413), T#0613	
		Foshuo bao fumu enzhong jing 佛說報父母恩重經	T#2887	Inschr. 5
	a	*Foshuo bao fumu enzhong jing* 佛說報父母恩重經	T#2887	–
66	d	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 5-7	Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, T#374	Inschr. 7
	e	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 7-9		
	f	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 9-11		
71	d	*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#235	Inschr. 9
		Bore boluomiduo xinjing 般若波羅蜜多心經	Xuanzang (602-664), T#251	
73	d	*Hebu Jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經, Faszikel 1	kompiliert von Baogui 寶貴, T#664	Inschr. 2
		Hebu Jinguangming jing 合部金光明經, Faszikel 1		
		Hebu Jinguangming jing 合部金光明經, Faszikel 1		
		Hebu Jinguangming jing 合部金光明經, Faszikel 2		
	e	*Hebu Jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經, Faszikel 2		Inschr. 3
		Hebu Jinguangming jing 合部金光明經, Faszikel 3		

76	d	*Hebu Jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經, Faszikel 3		–
83	d	*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, Faszikel 12.	Dharmakṣema 曇無讖, T#374	–
85	d	*Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 1	Kumārajīva (344-413), T#475.	–
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 2		
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 3		
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 4		
	e	*Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 6		
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 7		
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 8.		
		Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經, Kapitel 9		
109	d	*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 1	anonym, T#156.	–
	e	*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 2		
	f	*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 3		
		Da fangbian fo bao'en jing 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 4		
110	d	*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 4		–
	e	*Da fangbian fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, Faszikel 4		

མངའ་རིས་ས་ཁུལ་རྩྭ་མདའ་རྩོང་ན་མཆིས་པའི་གུ་གེ་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་བཞེངས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་མཚན་བྱང་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཙམ་བརྩོད་པ།

གུ་གེ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ།

This article provides the diplomatic edition of some 250 captions found on the walls of three cave temples in the Mkhar rtse valley (Mnga' ris prefecture, Rtswa mda' county). The epigraphs were copied *in situ* by the author during several field trips that he conducted in Mnga' ris since the 1990s. In 2010 he also documented most of these short texts photographically for a project that was financed by the Austrian Science Fund and conducted at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.[1] Making the captions available in their idiosyncratic form, the present article establishes the basis for further research on both the history and the iconographic concept of the temples.

སྤྱོད་མངའ་རིས་ས་ཁུལ་རྩྭ་མདའ་རྩོང་ན་མཆིས་པའི་གུ་གེ་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་བཞེངས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་ན་མཆིས་པའི་ཕྱེབས་རིས་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མཚན་བྱང་རིན་ཐང་ཆེ་བ་དག་ནི་སྤྱིར་ཆུ་མོ་སྐང་ཆེན་ཁ་བབས་ཀྱི་བཞུར་རྒྱུན་དུ་མཆིས་ལགས་ཤེང་གཙང་པོ་དེའི་དབུས་ཙམ་ན་ཚགས་པའི་མཐོ་ལྷོང་དགོན་པ་ནས་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་ཚོའི་དབང་ལ་འགྱངས་ཐག་དེ་ཙམ་རིང་པོ་མེད། སྤྱིར་ན་ཕྱེབས་རིས་དང་སྦྱགས་མཚན་བྱང་མཆིས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་དག་ནི་མཆོད་ཁང་ཤ་སྟག་ཡིན་ལ་སྒྲུབ་ཆེན་དག་གིས་སྒོམ་སྒྲུབ་

[1] [Editor's note] We would like to thank Christian Jahoda, director of this project ("Society, Power and Religion in Pre-modern Western Tibet: Interaction, Conflict and Integration"; no P21806-G19), who put the entire digital documentation of the three cave temples at our disposal. This allowed for the preparation of figs 1-12, which show the location of the various epigraphs, as well as for the verification of nearly all of the author's readings (no detailed pictures were available for the following four captions: Rdzong gtsug lag khang: east wall: no 35, north wall: nos 22 and 23; Lcang lo can phug pa: west wall: no. 3).

བྱེད་ས་ཡང་ཡིན། ཤུ་ཁང་དེ་ཚོའི་ནང་གི་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཟེའུ་རིས་དག་ནི་ཤུ་ཁང་ཕྱོགས་བཞིའི་གྱང་ཟེའུ་དང་སྦྱང་གཅལ་སོགས་ལ་བགོད་ཡོད་ཅིང་ཟེའུ་རིས་དེ་དག་གི་འོག་གམ་བར་མཚམས་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཚོ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། སྐུ་རྟྭ་ཚོས་ཡུགས་གྲུབ་མཐའ། དམངས་སྲོལ་སོགས་ལ་ཞིབ་འདྲུག་བྱེད་པར་རིན་ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུན་ཡོད། ཟེའུ་རིས་དང་སྦྲགས་མཚན་བྱང་ཡོད་པའི་ཤུ་ཁང་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ནི་སྐད་གྲགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བའི་དུང་དཀར་ཟ་སྒོ་ཕུག་གསུམ་དང་ཞག་ཕུག་པ། ཤེལ་དཀར་ཕུག་པ། སྤང་ཁྲ་ཕུག་པ། བར་རྩོང་གོག་པོ། རྩོང་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་སོགས་ཡིན། འོན་ཀྱང་ཤུ་ཁང་གྲགས་ཅན་དེ་ཚོའི་མཚན་བྱང་ཡིག་ཐོག་ལ་བབས་པ་དང་ཞིབ་འདྲུག་བྱེད་མཁན་དང་བར་སྡུད་ཞུད་ཡིན། དེས་ན་དུ་ཐེངས་ཁོ་བོས་ཤུ་ཁང་གསུམ་ནང་མཆེས་པའི་མཚན་སྦྱང་རྩི་མ་རྩི་བཞིན་བགོད་ཡོད་པས་ཞིབ་འདྲུག་བྱེད་མཁན་རྣམས་ལ་སྨན་པར་སོན།

གཅིག རྩོང་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་།

རྩོང་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་ནི་མཁར་རྩེའི་དབུར་སའི་སྲོད་གནས་ཤར་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སའི་རི་གཡང་གཟུར་ཅན་གྱི་ཉེན་ལྡེས་སུ་ཚགས་ཡོད། ཅིང་བྱང་གི་འཕྲེད་ཐེག 31.28° དང་ཤར་གྱི་གཞུང་ཐེག 79.30° ཙམ་ན་ཚགས་ཡོད། དེའི་མཐོ་ཚད་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ལས་བརྩེས་པའི་རྣིང་གསུམ་སྟོང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ཕྱག་ཙམ་ཡིན། རྩོང་ཞེས་པ་ནི་གཡང་གཟུར་ཅན་གྱི་རི་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཐུ་ཚན་ཁག་ཅིག་ཏུ་ངོད་པ་འདུག་པ་དང་ཅི་ཞིན་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་རྩོང་ཁ་བཙན་ལ་ས་འོག་གི་ཆུ་ལེན་སའི་ཕུག་ལས་རི་རྩའི་ཆུ་མེག་བར་དུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་རྩེ་ཐོག་ཏུ་དགུ་ལ་རྒྱུ་ཡས་གཏམས་ནས་ཡོད། ཐར་རྩེ་ཐོག་གི་རྩོང་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ལང་ལ་འགོ་སའམ་རི་ཞེས་གྱི་ཕུག་པ་ཁག་ལ་འགོ་སའི་ཕུག་ལམ་གང་སར་ཡོད་མོད་ཀྱང་ཡུན་རིང་མི་སྡོད་མཁན་མེད་གཤེས་ཕུག་ལམ་མང་ཆེ་བ་རྣེད་པ་འམ་རྒྱད་སོགས་ཀྱིས་འཁྱེར་ནས་ཀ་ལམ་རྩ་བརྩགས་སུ་སོང་ཟིན།

ཤུ་ཁང་དེའི་སྒོ་ཤྲོ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་ཐུང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཆེས། སྒྲིན་ན་ཤུ་ཁང་དེ་གླུ་བཞི་ནར་མོའི་དབྱིབས་གཟུགས་ཞིག་ལགས་ཏེ་ཤར་ནུབ་ཀྱི་ཀྱང་གཉིས་དབང་ཀྱི་རིང་ཚད་ལ་

རྩིད་ 6.3 ཙམ་ཡོད་ལ་སྟོང་བྱང་གཉིས་ཐྲུང་བས་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རིང་ཚད་ལ་རྩིད་ 5.8 ཙམ་འདུག དེའི་གནམ་གཅལ་ནི་གླུ་བཞི་རང་མེན་པར་ཁུང་སྒོར་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཅིང་དེའི་དབུས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་ལ་རྩིད་ 3.6 ཡོད་ལ་གནམ་གཅལ་མཐའ་ཟུར་གྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་རྩིད་ 2.4 ཡོད་དོ།

ཤར་ངོས་གྱང་ཁྲིབས།

གྱང་དེའི་སྟེང་ངོས་ལ་མཇོས་ཤིང་ལྷ་ན་སྐུག་པའི་གཤམ་བྱ་དང་དེའི་འོག་ལ་ས་སྐྱའི་ཟླ་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་གཤམ་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ལྷར་ཁོད་ཡོད་དེ།

(1) འབྲོག་མི་ལོ་སྟོང་བ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (2) ཟླ་མ་སེ་ཁང་ཆུང་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (3) ཞང་དགོན་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (4) རྩེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ས་སྐྱ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ:ན་མོ།། (5) སྒོང་པོན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྐྱིང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ། (6) ཐང་རྩྭ་ཁ་ཏ: (7) ཐང་རྩྭ་པོ་ཏེ་ལ་ན་མོ། (8) སྒོང་དཔོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (9) རྩེ་བསྟན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (10) མཁམས་གསུམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་སྐྱ་པན་ཆེ་ཀ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (11) འཕགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ: (12) ཞང་དགོན་མཆོག་དཔལ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (13) ཐང་རྩྭ་ལིང་ཏེ་ལ་ན་མོ། (14) ཐུ་ཀ་ཁར་མ་ལ་ན་མོ། (15) བདླ་ཀ་ར་ཁན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (16) ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཤུགས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (17) ཆོས་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (18) ཟླ་མ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་ན་མོ་ (19) ཆོས་སྐྱེ་ཡིས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ན་མོ།། (20) ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (21) འཕགས་པ་བྱམས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (22) ཕགས་པ་ཐོགས་མེད་ (23) ཁྱི་ཐང་བ་རྩྭ་ན་ཤེ་རི་ལ་ན་མོ།། (24) དོལ་པོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སྙིང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (25) དགེ་ཐང་བ་ས་བ་ཀ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (26) དགེ་ཐང་བ་ཀ་ནི་སོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (27) ལྷ་ཙོ་བ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་ན་མོ: (28) སེང་གར་ར་བསོད་ནམས་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་ན་མོ: (29) མཁན་པོ་བོ་ཏི་སཏྭ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (30) མཇོ་ཏ་རི་དགྲ་ལ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ལ་ན་མོ།།

ཞེས་དང་དེའི་འོག་ལ་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱས་པའི་ཤུ་དང་ཤུ་མོ་དུ་མ་ཐྲེས་ཡོད་ཅིང་གཤམ་གྱི་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ལྷར་ཏེ།

ཀུ། རྩོང་ཁাསྐའ་ལགা་བང་ཆི་ཕར་རོལ་གྱང་ཞྭདས།

(31) འཇམ་དཔལ་གསང་□□ཟན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (32) ཆོས་དབིང་གསུང་དབང་ལ་ན་མོ།།

(33) རྣམ་སྣང་མངོན་པར་བྱང་ཆུབ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (34) ལྷ་མོ་འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་ལ་ན་མོ།། ཞེས་པ་དང་དེའི་འགྲེལ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལྷ་ཡོད་དེ་གཡས་ན་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་དང་། དབུས་སུ་འབྲིང་བ་གཉིས། གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཆུང་བ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་གཅིག་ཐོག་ལ་གཅིག་བརྩེགས་ཤིང་གཤམ་འགྲེལ་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ལྟར་བྱེས་ཡོད་དེ།

(35) དབུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་ན་གྱན་རིགས་ནི།། གདུང་དང་གྱན་ཟླ་བཙལ།། ཞལ་བཞི་པ་སེང་གེའི་གདན།། མཚན་དཔེའི་རལ་རྒྱན་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

(36) མཁམས་གསུམ་པའི་འགྲོ་གྱན་གྱི།། ངན་སོང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱོང་འཇོད་པའི།། ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་□སྐོར་འཇོད་པ།། ཤཱཀྱ་སེང་གེ་དེ་ལ་འདུད།།

(37) སྟོབས་ལྡན་རྡོ་རྗེ་གླང་པོའི་ཁྲིར།། མེ་ལོང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐུགས་རྡོ་རྗེ།། ཐོན་པོ་རྡོ་རྗེ་བདུད་འདུལ་བརྒྱ།། ཕྱག་འཚལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་མི་ཁྲུགས་ལའོ།།

(38) མཚན་ལེགས་བླ་དང་གསེར་གཟངས་ཆུ་ངན་མེད།། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབྱངས་དང་མངོན་ཁྱེན་སྨན་ཀྱི་ལྷ།། ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་འགྲོ་བ་དུ་མའི་མགོན།། བདེར་གཤེགས་དཔའ་བོ་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

(39) འཇིག་རྟེན་འགྲེན་པའི་གཙོ་བོ་ཆེ་དཔག་མེད།། དུས་མིན་འཆི་བ་མ་ལུས་འཇོམས་པའི་ལྷ།། མགོན་མེད་བསྡུག་ཕལ་ཐུར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས།། ས་ངར་ཆེ་དཔག་མེད་ལ་ཕྱ□འཚལ་ལོ།།

ཞེས་པ་བྱིས་ཡོད་ལ་ཡང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དེ་ཚོའི་གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་གཤམ་འོག་ལྟ་དང་ལྷ་མོ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཡོད་པའི་འགྲེལ་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་གཤམ་ལྟར་བྱེས་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

(40) སྟོང་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (41) སྤྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (42) རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མཁམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (43) བསིལ་བའི་མཚལ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (44) ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ་ལ་ན་མོ: (45) རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམ་པར་འཇོམས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (46) གསང་སྔགས་རྗེས་འཛིན་ལ་ན་མོ: (47) ཀྱེ་ཀྱེ་མཐའ་གཉིས་རྣོ་པར་མ་གཡོས་ཀྱང་།། སྨྲལ་[ཚོག་ཤད་བཞིའི་ལྷག་མ་མེས་ཚོག་ནས་ནག་པོ་ཆགས་པས་མི་གསལ།] (48) [མེས་

ཚོག་ནས་ནག་པོ་ཚགས་པས་མི་བསལ།] (49) འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ལ་ནོ: (50) སྨྲན་རྣ་གཟེགས་དབང་ཕྱུག་ལ་ནོ: (51) དཔལ་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོརྗེ་ལ་ནོ: (52) སོ་སོ་འགྲང་མ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་□□□

སྐར་ཡང་ལྷ་རེ་འདུག་སྟེ་མིང་ནི་མི་འདུག་པ་མ་ཟད་ད་དུང་སྣང་མ་དང་དགྲ་ལྷ་དམག་དཔོན། བསྟན་མོ། མཚོ་སྨན་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་བྱང་བཀོད་ཡོད།

སྟོ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཞིབས།

ཀྱང་དེའི་དབུས་སུ་སྐོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་སྐོ་ཐོད་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཟླ་བརྒྱད་དག་བིས་ཡོད་དེ། མཚན་བྱང་ལ་བསྟན་པ་གཡས་ནས་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ།

(1) ར་ཀུ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (2) དཔལ་ལྡན་མེ་ཏྭ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (3) གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ (4) བྲམ་ཟེ་ཚོག་སྡེད་ན་མོ།། (5) ནོར་བུ་གླིང་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (6) བདེ་བའི་རྡོརྗེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (7) སྒོང་མཛད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྡོརྗེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (8) དཔལ་ལྡན་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (9) ཟླ་མ་འཕྲོ་བཟངས་སྐྱིང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།།

དེའི་མཏུག་ཨོས་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་མི་འདུག སྐོའི་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་མཚན་བྱང་ལ་བསྟན་པ་གཡས་ནས་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ།

(10) རས་ཆུང་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (11) ཁྱུང་ཚང་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (12) རོང་དགོན་པ་བ་ན་མལཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (13) དབུས་པ་སང་འབྲམ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (14) ཚོག་ལྡན་ལོ་ཚྭ་བ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (15) བཀ་སྟོན་གཞོན་ཚུལ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (16) མལན་ཆེན་ཤེས་རྡོར་ལ་ན་མོ།། (17) གཉན་མེད་ལོ་ཚྭ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།།

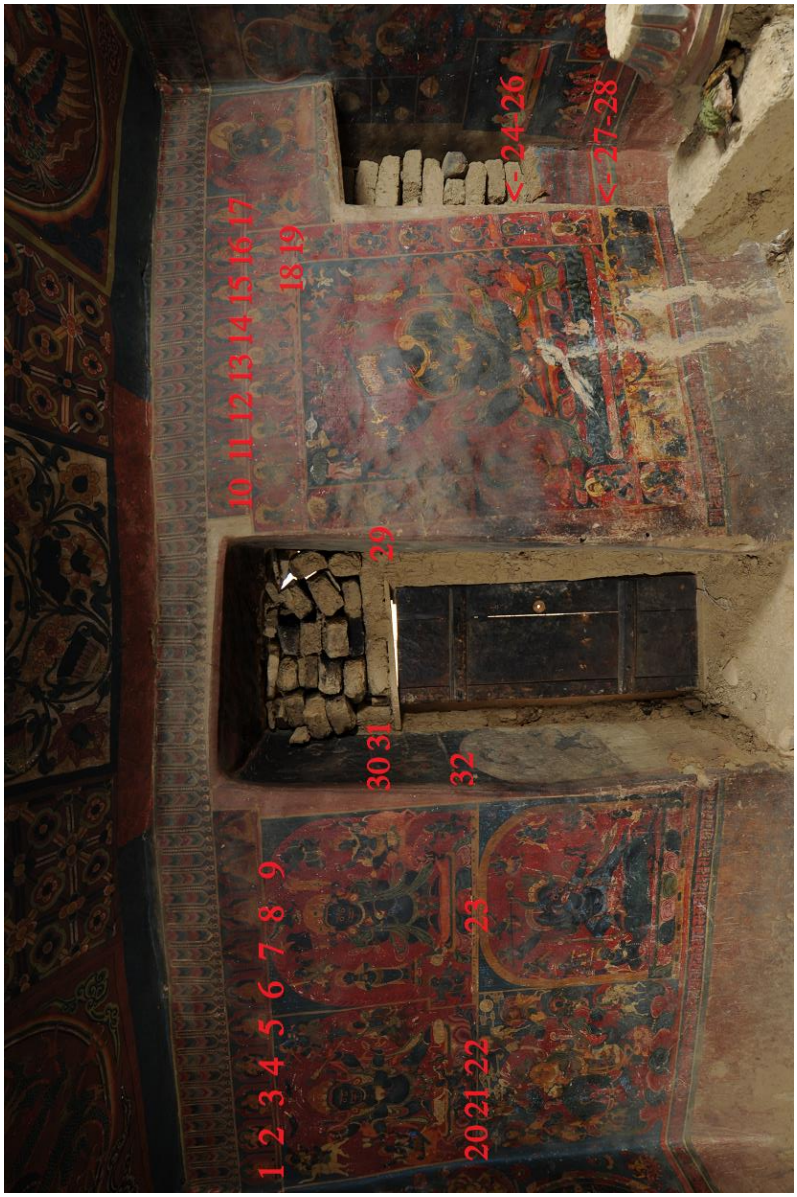
སྐོ་གཡོན་རིམ་པ་གཉིས་པར།

(18) ཟླ་མ་དམ་པ་སཀྱ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (19) ན་མལཁའ་འོད་ཟེར་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།།

དང་སྐོ་ཡི་གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་སྣང་མ་དག་བིས་ཡོད་དེ་

(20) དཔལ་ལྡན་ལྷ་མོ་ (21) ཁྲེ་ཀ་པ་ལ།།

སོགས་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། མགོན་པོའི་གཤམ་འོག་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ལྷར་འགོད་ཡོད་པ་ནི།



ཀྲི་རྩང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་སྤྱི་ངོས་གྲུབ་ཁྱོན།

(22) ཆོས་དབྱིངས་དང་ལས་མ་གཡས་ཀྱང་། མ་རྟོགས་ཀུན་འདུལ་ཤེས་པའི་རྒྱུ།། བསྟན་པའི་དགྲ་རྣམས་འཇོམས་མངོད་པའི། ནག་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།།
ཞེས་ཤིང་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་གཤན་འོག་ལ།

(23) ।। ཧཱུྃ་སྦིན་པོའི་གཟུགས་ཀྱིས་གདུག་པ་འདུལ།། ཚར་གཅོད་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེ།། ཐོང་ཁྱེར་གསུམ་རྣེག་འཇིག་པར་བྱེད།། གཏུམ་པོ་ཁྲོད་ལ་བདག་བསྟོད་དོ།།
ཞེས་བྱིས་འདུག་ཅིང་ཁུག་ཏུ་ནུབ་ལ་བསྟན་པའི་ཀྱང་ཟེའམ་ལ།

(24) ।। མཁན་པོ་ནམཁའ་གྲགས་པ།། (25) ། དབང་ཕྱུག་དཔལ།། (26) ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དེའི་འོག་ལ་

(27) ཡོན་བདག་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་གྲུབ།། (28) ཡོན་བདག་མགོན་པོ།།
སྐོ་འཇུག་ས་ཁ་ཤར་ལ་བསྟན་པའི་ཀྱང་ངོས་ལ་

(29) ।। དབུ་ཕྱ་དམག་དཔོན་།།
ཁ་ནུབ་ལ་བསྟན་པའི་ཀྱང་ངོས་ལ་

(30) གངས་སྨན་མ།། (31) གཡའ་སྨན་མ།། (32) མཆོ་སྨན་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་□□□་ མཆེད་གསུམ།།
བཅས་སོ།།

ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཟེའམ།

ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཟེའམ་གྱི་སྟེང་ངོས་ལ་མཇོས་རིས་གཤམ་བུ་དང་དེའི་འོག་ལ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་བརྒྱད་དག་བྱེས་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཁ་ཤར་ལ་བསྟན་པ་གཡས་ནས་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ཤུར་བྱེས་ཡོད་དེ།

(1) མང་ནང་པ་ཤེ་ལ་གླ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (2) གུར་ཤིང་བ་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ན་མོ་
(3) བིར་བ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (4) ྀམ་པེ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (5) བིར་ཁ་དེ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (6) ཟླ་བེར་ར་ བཟང་མཆོག་ལ་ན་མོ: (7) ཨ་ཙན་པ་སྟོན་ལེགས་ལ་ན་མོ།། (8) ཁྲ་ཆེ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་ཤེས་རབ་ལ་ན་མོ་ (9) ཟླ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་ན་མོ།།
(10) ཪ་བ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (11) ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (12) མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སེང་གེའི་

སྔོང་ཅན་ (13) ཟླ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐུ་ག�གས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (14) ཆོས་སྐྱེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (15) ཆོས་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དབང་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ན་པོ།། (16) ཆོས་སྐྱེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (17) ཆོས་སྐྱེ་གྱ་ཏུ་རྦ་རར་ལ་ན་མོ།། (18) ཨ་མོ་གཱ་བརྡ་ལ་ན་མོ: (19) ལ་ལི་ཏ་བརྡ་ལ་ན་མོ (20) འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ལ་ན་མོ: (21) བཙུ་གཉིས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (22) ཉེར་བརྒྱད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (23) སྒུ་ཐ་ཚམས་□སྒུད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (24) རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཐོག་ཁ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (25) ཁྲང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (26) རྗེ་རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (27) ཇ་ལ་རྦ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་། (28) རྦ་རི་ཀ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (29) ལོ་ཧེ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (30) དབོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (31) སྒྲུན་ཐ་ལ་ན་མོ།།

ཞེས་པ་དང་དེ་ནས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཁག་ཕྱ་ཚམ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་གི་འོག་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་གཤམ་གསལ་ལྟར་བཀོད་ཡོད་དེ།

(32) ।। སངས་རྒྱས་ཀུན་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་ཁྱོད། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅིག་བསྡུས་པ།། སངས་ཀུན་རབ་མཆོག་གི་མཆོག།། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དབང་ཕྱུག་ཁྱོད་ཕྱག་འཚལ།།

(33) ཐམས་ཅད་དངོས་པོའི་རང་གཞིན་མཆོག । སྔོད་གནས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་གི་གནས།། ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་ཆེ་བའི།། ཀྱེ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ།།

(34) ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་གཉིས་མེད་ཅིང།། ཁ་སྦྱོར་ཉེ་རྩའི་སྒོ་བདུ་ཡིས།། བགེགས་རིགས་སྔོང་ཕྱག་འཇོམས་མཛད་པའི།། འཁོར་ལོ་བདག་པོ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

(35) ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ལ་བྱམས་སྡང་མི་མངའ་ཡོད།། སྙིང་གསུམ་སྟུག□མ་ལུས་འདུལ་བའི་ཕྱིར།། ཕྱགས་རྗེས་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་བསྐྱེན་ནས།།

(36) ।। བདག་མ་ཉེ་མ་འཇིགས་ཉེད་དུས་མཚན་སྐེང།། ཞལ་བཞི་སྒྲུན་གསུམ་བཙུ་གཉིས་ཕྱག་གིས་སྒྲས།། ཐག་མོས་མགུལ་ཐྲུད་དཔའ་བོ་དཔའ་མོས་བ□□ ।। བདེ་མཆོག་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

ཞེས་པ་དང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དེ་དག་གྱི་གཡས་གཡོན་སྐེང་ཤོད་ཡི་དམ་དང་ལྷ་མོ་ཀྱི་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱེས་ཡོད་ཅིང་ཡང་མཚན་བྱང་ལ།

ཤིན་རྗེ་གཙོ་ལག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཆུའ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཟླེབས།

(37) སྒ་ནག་ལ་ན་མོ: (38) གདོང་དྲུག་ལ་ན་མོ: (39) གསང་འདུས་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་ལ་ན་མོ།། (40) ཁྲོ་བོ་ཌཱི་མཛད་ལ་ན་མོ: (41) རྡོརྗེ་སློབ་མ་ལ་ན་མོ: (42) ཕག་དཀར་ལ་ན་མེ (43) གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་རྡོརྗེ་ལ་ན་མོ: ཟེམས་ཚན་ཐམས་ཅད། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག (44) རྡོརྗེ་ཕག་མོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (45) ན་ར་ཁ་སྦྱོང་མ་ (46) དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (47) ལྷ་རྗེ་བསྟེན་ཤུགས་འདོད་ལ་ན་མོ:

གྱང་དེའི་གཤམ་ཤོས་ཁ་ཤར་ལ་བསྟན་པ་གཡས་ནས་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ལྷ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཡོང་པ་ནི།

(48) ཁྲོ་བོ་གནོད་མཛེས་ལ་ན་མོ: (49) [མི་གསལ] (50) རྣུགཏོར་འཁོར་ལོ་རྒྱུར་བ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (51) མི་གཡོ་བ་ལ་ན་མོ: (52) འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ (53) གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤེད་ལ་ན་མོ: (54) རྡོརྗེ་བདུད་ཅི□་ན་མོ: (55) ཤེས་རབ་མཐར་ཕྱིད་ལ་ན་མོ: (56) སྐྱེགས་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ན་མོ: (57) པདྨ་མཐར་ཕྱིད་ལ་ན་མོ: (58) འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ན་མོ: (59) བགེགས་མཐར་ཕྱིད་ལ་ན་མོ: (60) བདག་མེད་མ་ལ་ན་མོ:

བཅས་བྱིས་འདུག་གོ།།

བྱང་ངོས་གྱང་ཁྲེགས།

བྱང་ངོས་གྱང་ཁྲེགས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་ལ་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཐ་བརྒྱད་སྦྱི་དང་འབྲི་གུང་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཐ་བརྒྱད་སོགས་བྱིས་ཡོད་ཅིང་མཚན་བྱང་བགོད་པ་ནི།

(1) འཇིག་རྟེན་མགོན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (2) དབལ་ཕག་མོ་གྲུབ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (3) དགས་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (4) ཤར་རྩོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (5) གྲུབ་ཐོབ་མ་ཐང་□ (6) འཕགས་པ་ལྷུ་གྲུབ་ལ་ན་མོ: (7) བྱང་སེམས་ཐུགས་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ན་མོ: (8) མིད་ལ་རས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (9) མར་པ་ལོ་ཚྭ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (10) ན་ར་པན་ཆེན་ལ་ན་མོ།། (11) ཉེ་ལོ་ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (12) བདག་མེད་མ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (13) ནག་པོ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (14) ནག་པོ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (15) ཥ་མི་རུ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (16) རྒྱལ་པོ་རབ་བསལ་ཟླ་བ་ (17) [མི་གསལ་] (18) དཔའ་བོ□□□་ལ: (19) ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོརྗེ་ (20) ཞ་བ་དྲ་ཉི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ།། (21) རྗེ་ག་ཡོ་རྒྱ་ར་ལ་ན་མོ།།

དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གཉིས་བྱིས་ཡོད་པ་དེའི་གཤམ་འོག་གི་མཚན་བྱང་ལ་འདི་ལྟར་བྱིས་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷག་བཅད་གི་ནང་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཞྭདམ།

(22) མི་བསྒོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཆེ། རྡོ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་ནམ་མཁའ་ཆེན་མོ། རྡོ་རྗེ་གསུམ་མཆོག་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གསུམ། གསང་བའི་དབྱངས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།

(23) སྣང་སྟོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས། མེ་ལོང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྡོ་རྗེའི་སྐུ། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་བརྒྱ་མཇད། ཕྱག་འཚལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་འབྱུང་གནས་པ་ལ།

ཞེས་དང་ཡང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་སྟོང་ལ་

(24) ཞི་རང་བཙུན་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (25) ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ: (26) རྡོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ལ་ན་མོ: (27) ལྷ་བླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ལ་ན་མོ: (28) ལྷ་རྗེ་བླ་མ་ཞི་བ་འོད་ལ་ན་མོ: ཞེས་བྱིས་ཡོད་ཅིང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གཤམ་འོག་ལྷ་སྐུ་བཞི་ཡི་འོག་ལ་

(29) རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བཞི་ལ་ན་མོ།། (30) སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོད་པ་ལ་ན་མོ: (31) དཔལ་ཆོག་ཤེར་དུམ་ལ་ན་མོ: (32) ནམ་མཁའ་དྲི་མེད་ལ་ན་མོ:

ཞེས་སོ།

གཉིས། བར་རྫོང་གོག་ཡོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་།

བར་རྫོང་གོག་ཡོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ནི་རྩ་མདའ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་མཁར་རྩེའི་དབྱར་སའི་བྱང་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སྟེ་བྱང་གི་འཕྲེད་ཐིག་31.31°དང་ཤར་གྱི་གཞུང་ཐིག་79.28°ཙམ་ལ་གནས་ཡོད། དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ངོས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་ནི་རྩིད་བཞི་སྟོང་བརྒྱ་མེད་སུམ་བཅུ་ལྔ་ཙམ་ལགས། ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་བྱ་སའི་གཡང་གཟར་ཅན་གྱི་རི་ཞེབས་སུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་གཤེས་དེར་འགོ་སའི་ཕུག་ལམ་མང་ཆེ་བ་བརྩེགས་ནས་ཤིན་ཏུ་འགོ་དཀའ་ལ་ཉེན་ཁའང་ཧ་ཅང་ཆེན་པོ་འདུག ཐར་དེའི་ཉེ་འཁོར་ལའང་ཕུག་པ་མི་ཤུང་བ་བྱུང་སྐྱོང་ཡང་དེང་སང་མང་ཆེ་བ་རྩ་བརླག་ལ་སོང་ནས་འདྲེན་བྱེད་ལམ་དུ་འཆར་བ་དབེན་ཀྱང་ཐར་ཐོར་ཡོད་པ་གཡང་རོང་ལ་ཆགས་པ་མི་བསྡད་ཆོག་པའམ་ཕྱུག་ཟོག་འཛོག་ཉན་པ་རྩ་བ་ནས་མི་འདུག་གོ།

བར་རྫོང་གོག་ཡོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དེའི་སྒོ་སྟེང་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་རྒྱབ་བྱང་ལ་བརྐེན། ནང་དུ་ཞེབས་རིས་ཀ་ཅང་ལེགས་པོ་འདུག ཐོ་འཕྲུལ་མ་ཁད་སྟེང་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཞེབས་ཀྱི་གཡས་གཡོན་ལ་སྐང་མ་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག་སོགས་བྱིས་འདུག ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱང་ཞེབས་སུ་

དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དང་སྨན་བྱ་བའི་དང་། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་གྱང་ལྷེབས་སུ་ངོ་བོ་རྩེ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཨ་ཀྱ་ཤ་དང་ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་བཟང་པོ། ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད། བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་སོགས་ཡོད། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་གྱང་ལྷེབས་སུ་སྨན་བྱ་བའི་དང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སོགས་མཆིས་སོ།

ཤར་ངོས་གྱང་ལྷེབས།

གྱང་ངོས་དེའི་སྟེང་ལ་དམིགས་བསལ་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ལྡན་བའི་གཤམ་བུ་ཙ་པ་ཏེ་ཁ་བྱིས་འདུག་ཅིང་གཤམ་བུ་དེ་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་ཙན་གྱི་ངོ་གདོང་མཚོན་བྱེད་ཡིན། བརྩོལ་ལ་འབངས་ཀྱིས་རེ་བ་ཞུས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོར་མཇལ་ཁ་གནང་རོགས་ཞེས་བར་རྒྱལ་པོས་འབངས་མི་སེར་གྱི་རེ་འདོད་བསྐང་ཆེད་རབ་གསལ་ནས་གཟུགས་སྐས་གདོང་བ་བསྟན་པས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་བསོད་བའོད་བསོད་ནམས་ཡོང་ཆེད་ལྷེབས་རིས་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཡི་ངོ་གདོང་བྱིས་ནས་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེན་པོའི་མཚོན་ཆེད་ཡིན། གྱང་དེ་ཁ་ནུབ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ཤིང་ལྷེབས་རིས་འོག་ལའང་མཚན་བྱང་ཡིག་གེ་གཤམ་གསལ་སྐར་བགོད་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

(1) ཾ།། ཆོས་ཀྱི་བློ་གོས་གཏིང་ཁ□ག་དཀའ་བའི་ཚུལ།། རྣམ་དག་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལ་རོལ་མཛད་ཅིང་།། ཤེས་བྱ་མ་ལུས་མངོན་གསུམ་གཟིགས་པ་པོ་།། མཉེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་། ཿ།།

(2) ཾ ।। འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱུག་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོན་།། གཤེན་ལ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་བརྩོན་པའི་གོ་ཆ་རྣོས་།། ཐུགས་རྗེའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་མེད་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་□□□ཞལ་།། འཛོ་བའི་བསྡུག་བསྔལ་སེལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།

(3) ཾ ।। ཆོས་སྒྲ་ཆེན་ཡོས་ཐ་རོལ་རྒལ་བ་འཇོམས།། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཕྱ་བུར་ཟད་པའི་སྐུ་མངའ་ཞིང་།། འཛོ་བའི་དུག་གསུམ་མ་ལུས་སེལ་མཛད་པའི།། ཆོས་གྲགས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དབྱངས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་། ཿ ।

(4) ཾ ।। ཉེ་མའི་མཉེན་གྱུར་བདེ་གཤེགས་འཛོ་བའི་མགོན་།། སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཆོག་འགྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིའི་ཕྱ།། ཤག་ཀྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཅོམ་ལྡན་མེའི་མགོན།། ཐུབ་པ་རབ་མཛེས་ཁྱིད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་། ། ।

ཤཀ། བར་རྩོང་གོག་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ཤར་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེབས།

(5) ৩॥ ॥ ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་མིན་ཅོད་པན་གྱིས་॥ ཞབས་གཉིས་པད་མ་ལ་བཏུད་དེ་॥ འཕོངས་པ་ཀུན་ལས་སྒོལ་མཛད་པའི་॥ སྒོལ་མ་ཡུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ་॥

(6) ৪॥ འཕྲོ་བའི་□གས་མཛད་པའི་སྡེན་པའི་མཆོག་॥ ལེ་དྲུ་རྩ་ལྔར་དང་བའི་སྐུ་མངའ་ཞིང་॥ སྐུའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་འཕྲོ་བ་སྒོལ་མཛད་པ་॥ སྡེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།།

བཅས་བྱིས་ཡོད།།

ལྷོ་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེབས།

ཀྱང་ངོས་དེར་སྡུང་མ་དག་བྱིས་ཤིང་དེ་ཚོའི་གཤམ་འོག་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་གཤམ་གསལ་ལྷར་བྱིས་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

ཤྀཀ་བར་རྩོང་གོག་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་སྐོ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ཕྱེས།

(1) ཅ། ། ཤེས་རབ་རལ་གྲི་མདའ་གཞུའ་ཐོགས་། ཉོན་མོངས་མི་ཤེས་གཡུལ་ངོ་སེལ་། དཔའ་བོ་བདུད་སྤྲ་བདུད་འདུལ་བ་། བདུད་བཞིའི་འཇིགས་པ་སེལ་པར་བྱེད་། ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔའ་ཆེ་ལ་ཕག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།

(2) ཅ།། ། སྐོབས་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དྲག་ཤུལ་ཆེ་། རིགས་སྔགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགེ་བ་པོ་། འདུལ་དཀའ་མཐའ་དག་འདུལ་མཛད་བའི་། རྗེ་རྗེ་སྐྱམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།

(3) ཅ ། ནག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་གཟི་མདངས་ཅན་། སྨྲ་བའི་སེང་གེ་གྲགས་པ་ཆེ་། འཇམ་བྱ་གྲིང་གི་རྒྱན་ཅིག་པོ་། མི་ཕམ་མགོན་པོ་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།

(4) ཅ ། ། ཇྙཱ་བདེར་བཞེགས་ཐུགས་རྗེས་སྐྱལ་བ་། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་འགོན་སྐྱབས་མཛོད་། འོག་མིན་གནས་ན་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་། རབ་ཏུ་བཏུད་དེ་ཕྱག་འཚལ□□□□བསྟོད།།།

(5)]ཞོའ་ནུའི་སྐུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་།།

ཤེལ་བར་རྩོང་གོག་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ལྡེབས།

(6)]བརྩེད་པའི་|| ཁོ་□□□□གིན་ཞྭད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།||
ཞེས་སྤུང་མ་དེ་དག་གི་ཞུང་ཆོས་སོགས་སྐན་ངག་ལམ་ནས་བྱིས་འདུག དེ་བཞིན་ཀྱང་
ལྡེབས་དེར་ཡུལ་ལྷ་དང་སྤུང་མའི་མཚན་བྱང་ཡང་བྱིས་ཡོད་དེ།

(7) ར་མ་ཏི་ (8)]ཆེན་མོ (9) དཀྱི་བླ་དམག (10) བརྒྱ་ཐྱེན་
ཞེས་གསལ་ཆ་དོད་པོ་བྱས་ནས་བྱིས་འདུག

ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱི་ཀྱང་ལྡེབས།

ཁ་ཤར་ལ་ཕྱོགས་པའི་ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱང་ལྡེབས་ཀྱི་མཚན་བྱང་གཤམ་གསལ་ལྟར་བྱིས་ཡོད་དེ།

(1) ཅ|| དེ་བཞིན་ག□གས་པ་བདུན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།|| | མཚན་ཀྱིས་མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱས་
པས་དག་པ་ལ།| དེའེ་བྱང་བཟང་པོས་འབྱུ་ཆགས་མཛེས་པའི་སྐུ|| གང་གིས་མཐོང་
ཐོས་དྲན་ན་དབལ་ཀྱར་པའི།| མཚན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།||

(2) ཀཱཾ།། རིན་ཅེན་རྩེ་དང་པད་མས་རབ་བརྒྱན་ཅིང་། ཤེས་བྱ་ཀུན་ལ་མཁས་པས་མཉེན་པས་འཕགས་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྟ་བུར་བའི་སྐུ་མངའ་བ།། སྒྲ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།།

(3) ཁཾ།། སྒྲ་བསམས་བརྩོད་མེད་ཤེས་རབ་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན།། མ་སྐྱེས་མི་འགག་ནམ་ཁའི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད།། བཅོམ་ལྡན་སོ་སོ་རང་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྨྲོད་ཡུལ་བའི།། དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།།

(4) ཀཱཾ །། འཇམ་བྱའི་གསེར་ལྟར་ལྷམ་མེ་བ།། ཉེ་མ་སྟོང་བས་ལྷག་པའི་འོད་མངའ་བ།། དྲི་མེད་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་སྣོང་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐུ།། གསེར་བཟངས་དྲི་མེད་སྣང་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོ།།ཱ

(5) ཀཱཾ །། རྒྱ་དན་འདས་ཞི་བདེ་བའི་མཆོག་བརྙེས་ནས།། འཕྲོ་བའི་བསྟུག་བསྔལ་གདུང་བ་སེལ་མཛད་པ།། འཕྲོ་དུག་འགོན་དང་དཔལ་དུ་ཀྱུར་པ་པོ།། རྒྱ་དན་མེ་མཆོག་དཔལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།། ཽ།།

བཅས་སོ།

བྱང་ངོས་ཀྱི་གྱང་ཁྲེལས།

གྱང་ངོས་དེའི་ཁ་སྟོ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་པའི་གཡས་ངོས་སྐྱེང་ལ་བཀའ་གདམས་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་རོ་པོ་རྩེ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ[2]དང་དེའི་འོག་ལ་མཚན་བྱང་འདི་ལྟར་བིས་ཡོད་པ་ནི།

(1) ཁཾ།། སྐུའི་མཛད་པ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་སྣ་ཚོགས་བསྟོན།། གསུང་གི་མཛད་པ་མ་ཚོགས་དབང་དུ་འདུད།། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པས་འགྲོ་བའི་རེ་འདོད་སྐོངས།། བད་མའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྱེད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།། ཱ།

[2] རྩ་པོ་རྩེའི་སྐུ་ཡི་གཡས་ན་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་འདིར་མི་འདུག ཕྱིར་ན་སྐུའི་སྟོད་འགག་མེད་པ་རྒྱ་གར་བྷ་མ་ཡིན་ཅང་ལོ་ཙྪ་བ་ཁག་གཅིག་ལའང་སྐུའི་སྟོད་འགག་མཚོད་མེད་པ་ནི་ཁོང་ཚོ་རྒྱ་གར་ལྷང་པར་རྒྱན་རིང་བསྡད་པས་སོ།

ཤེ། བར་རྩོང་གོག་པོའི་ཡུལ་ཁང་གི་བྱང་ངོས་གྱང་ཞྭེབས།

(2) ཀཱ ॥ སྐུ་གསུང་དབྱེར་མེད་ཡུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་॥ ཐུགས་དམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་དུ་॥ རྒྱུ་མ་ནོར་གྱིས་འགྲོ་བའི་རེ་འདོད་སྐོངས་॥ བླ་མ་གསལ□□□□□ངོད་ཟེར་གྱི་སྐུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་॥

ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་གཤམ་ལ་

(3) ཀཱ ॥ རྟག་ཏུ་རི་ཁྲོད་མགོན་པ་འགྲིམ་॥ ཐུགས་དམ་ཆོས་ཉིད་རང་ལ་བཞུ□ས་॥ འཕྲིན་ལས་རྣམ་བཞིའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་བརྟེས་॥ དྲིན་ཅན་རྩ་བའི་བླ་མའི་སྐུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟོད་॥

ཞེས་སོ།

ཤེལ་ཐོ་ཅན་ཕྱག་པའི་ཤར་ངོས་གྱང་ཁྲེབས།

གསུམ། ཐུང་ཐོ་ཅན་ཕྱག་པ།

ཐུང་ཐོ་ཅན་ཕྱག་པ་ནི་མཁར་རྩེ་ལྷང་པའི་ལྷང་མཇུག་ཏུ་ནགས་ཚལ་ཚང་ཆོང་གིས་གཏམས་པའི་བྲུ་རོང་གཡང་གཟར་ཅན་གྱི་རི་ཁྲེབས་སུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ཅིང་བྱང་གི་འཕྲེད་ཐེག་31.30°དང་ཤར་གྱི་གཞུང་ཐེག་79.27°ཙམ་ལ་གནས་སོ། ཕྱག་པ་དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ངོས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་ནི་རྩེད་གསུམ་སྟོང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་སུམ་མཆེས།

ཤར་ངོས་གྱང་ཁྲེབས།

ཤར་ཕྱོགས་གྱང་ཁྲེབས་ཀྱི་སྟེང་ངོས་སུ་

(1) འཕྲོགནས (2) འཛིན་དག: (3) བརྩོན་སྐྱོང (4) ཁྲབ་འཇུག: (5) ཕུ་སྐྱེད: (6) ཚོག་ཕུ (7) སེར་རི: (8) ཕུ་རྩོན:

ཤཀ༦། ལྷང་ཟོ་ཅན་ཕྱག་པའི་ལྷོ་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེབས།

སོགས་ཀྱི་བྱིས་རིས་དང་དཀྲུ་ངོས་སུ་

(9) འཛོད་པ་ (10) དགའ་བོ (11) དྲང་ཅན (12) ཉེ་བའི་སེང་གེ (13) མཐའ་ཡས (14) ནོར་རྒྱས (15) འཛོག་པོ (16) སེང་གེ (17) མེག་བཟངས (18) རིང་པོ་ (19) ནོར་བུ་བཟང་པོ (20) ཡབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣོ་མང་ཐོས་པ (21) སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས (22) ཡུ་དཔལ་ལྡན་བཟང་མོ། (23) : གཱ□་མ□□ཆོག: (24) ། རྒྱལ་བ་ཁ་མཆོག (25) □་མ་གསེར་པོ (26) □□ནག་པོ (27) □ན་དུ་རྒྱལ (28) ། སྐྱིད་པ་པོ། (29) གདོན་པོ་ཆེ། (30) □□བྱ་□□ (31) གསེར་ཅན (32) འཚོས་བསྡུང་ (33) ཤེན་ཏུ་ས་པ: (34) རིགས་ལྡན། (35) པང་མ (36) ནག: (37) པད་ལྡེ (38) ཆེ་ཙང་ཡང་ཁེ་ཤེར

བཅས་བྱིས་རིས་དང་མཚན་བྱང་ཁ་གསལ་བྱིས་འདུག ཀྱང་ཞེབས་དེར་དབུས་སུ་རྣམ་ཐོས་སྲས་དང་མཐའ་འཁོར་ལ་རྣམ་སྲས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ཏུ་བདག་བརྒྱད་བྱིས་ཡོད།

སྟོ་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེངས།

སྟོ་ཐྱོགས་གྱང་གི་དབུགས་སུ་སྐོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། སྐོའི་གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་གྱང་ཞེངས་ལ་སྲུང་མ་ཁག་བྱེས་ཡོད་དེ།

(1) གུར་འགོན་ (2) ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ (3) ཕྱག་བཞི་བ། (4) ཕྱག་དྲུག་པ་

བཅས་ཀྱི་མཚན་བྱང་ཡང་ཁ་གསལ་འདུག

ནུབ་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེངས།

ནུབ་ངོས་ཀྱི་གྱང་ཞེངས་སུ་

(1) རྡེ་ཙོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ (2) । འཕོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ། (3) ॥ ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་འཛུང་པོ་ འདུལ་བྱེད ॥ (4) । ལོ་ཆེན་རིན་བཟང་ (5) བདེ་མཆོག་སྡོམ་འབྱུང་། བཅས་ཀྱི་བྱེས་རིས་ཡོད། དབུགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཕོར་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་ནི་འཕོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཆོག་གི་ དཀྱིལ་འཕོར་དང་མཐའ་བཞི་ལ་བདེ་མཆོག་གི་འཕོར་ཕྱོ་བྱུག་བསྡུ་རྩ་བཞི་ཡོད། འདིར་ དཔེགས་བསལ་བརྗོད་དགོས་པར་གཡས་ལ་རལ་གྲི་དང་གཡོན་ལ་སྐེག་བམ་ཡོད་པ་རྡེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། གཡས་ལ་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་གཡོན་ལ་དྲིལ་བུ་[3]ཡོད་པ་བུ་སྟོན་ཡིན་ཚོང་ཁོང་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནམ་བཟའ་དང་དབུ་ཞྭ་ཆ་འདྲ་ཡིན། ཡང་ས་སྐྱ་པཾ་ྀ་ཀ་ལའང་གཡས་རལ་གྲི་དང་གཡོན་སྐེག་བམ་ཡོད་པ་རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འདྲ་ནའང་ས་སྐྱ་པཾ་ྀ་ཀའི་དབུ་ཞྭ་ལྟེ་མེད།

བྱང་ངོས་གྱང་ཞེངས།

བྱང་ངོས་ཀྱི་གྱང་ཞེངས་སུ་

(1) । ཤྲཱ་གྷ་བ། (2) । ལྷ་ཨི་པ། (3) । ཕོ་རང་བསྒོམ་པ་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད། (4) । བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཤྲཱ་ཐ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད། (5) । ཤྲཱ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མ་ཞི་བ་འོད།

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[3] རྡོར་དྲིལ་སྐབས་སུ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཤེས་རབ་དང་དྲིལ་བུ་ཐབས་ཡིན། ཉི་ཟླའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་རབ་དང་ཟླ་བ་ཐབས་ཡིན། ཡབ་ཡུམ་སྐབས་སུ་ཡབ་དེ་ཤེས་རབས་དང་ཡུམ་ནི་ཐབས་ཡིན།

ཤཀ། ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་ཕུག་པའི་ནུབ་ངོས་གྱང་ཞྭེབས།

ཤཀ། ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་ཕུག་པའི་བྱང་ངོས་གྱང་ཞྭེབས།

བཅས་ཀྱི་ཟིས་དང་མཚན་བྱང་ཡང་གོང་ཤུར་ཁ་གསལ་འཁོད་ཡོད་དོ། དབུས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེ་བ་དེ་ནི་དགེས་པ་ཏོ་རྗེའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལགས།

TOYOK CAVE 20

Paintings and Inscriptions[1]

NOBUYOSHI YAMABE, in collaboration with ACADEMIA TURFANICA

Introduction

One of the difficulties which researchers of pre-modern inscriptions and paintings face is that their materials are often in a poor state of preservation. The Buddhist cave temples in Xinjiang are no exception. I am currently engaged in a joint project with Academia Turfanica digitally to restore mural paintings in the Turfan area that are faded or otherwise not clearly visible. In this paper, I would like to present some of the fruits of this project and discuss their significance.

My focus this time is Toyok Cave 20, which is part of a large cave complex on the western cliff of the Toyok Gorge on the outskirts of Turfan (fig. 1).

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[1] This paper is an interim report of a joint project between Academia Turfanica, which is based at the Turfan Region Cultural Relics Bureau (Tǔlǔfān Dìqù Wénwùjú 吐鲁番地区文物局 [Bureau]), and myself. I would like to thank the Bureau for their cooperation with my field trip and for the permission to take photographs in the Turfan area and to publish part of our results here. Unless otherwise noted, all the photographs in this paper were taken during the field trip to Turfan in September 2013 by the author with the assistance of Mr. J. Suzuki 鈴木迅 and processed by the author. I thank Messrs. R. Kikuchi 菊池遼一 and Umar Abudulla for their assistance during the field trip. My thanks are also due to Professor C. Scherrer-Schaub and Dr. K. Tropper for their kind invitation to the conference "Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-modern Buddhist World" and for all their assistance with the preparation of this paper. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, has kindly allowed me to use their image for this paper. For technical matters of photo-taking and image processing, I owe much to Messrs. S. Seiji 城野誠治 and H. Mitsuo 原口光雄. Dr. T. Yano 矢野太平 has advised me about astronomical pictures. Mr. and Mrs. E. Kozin-

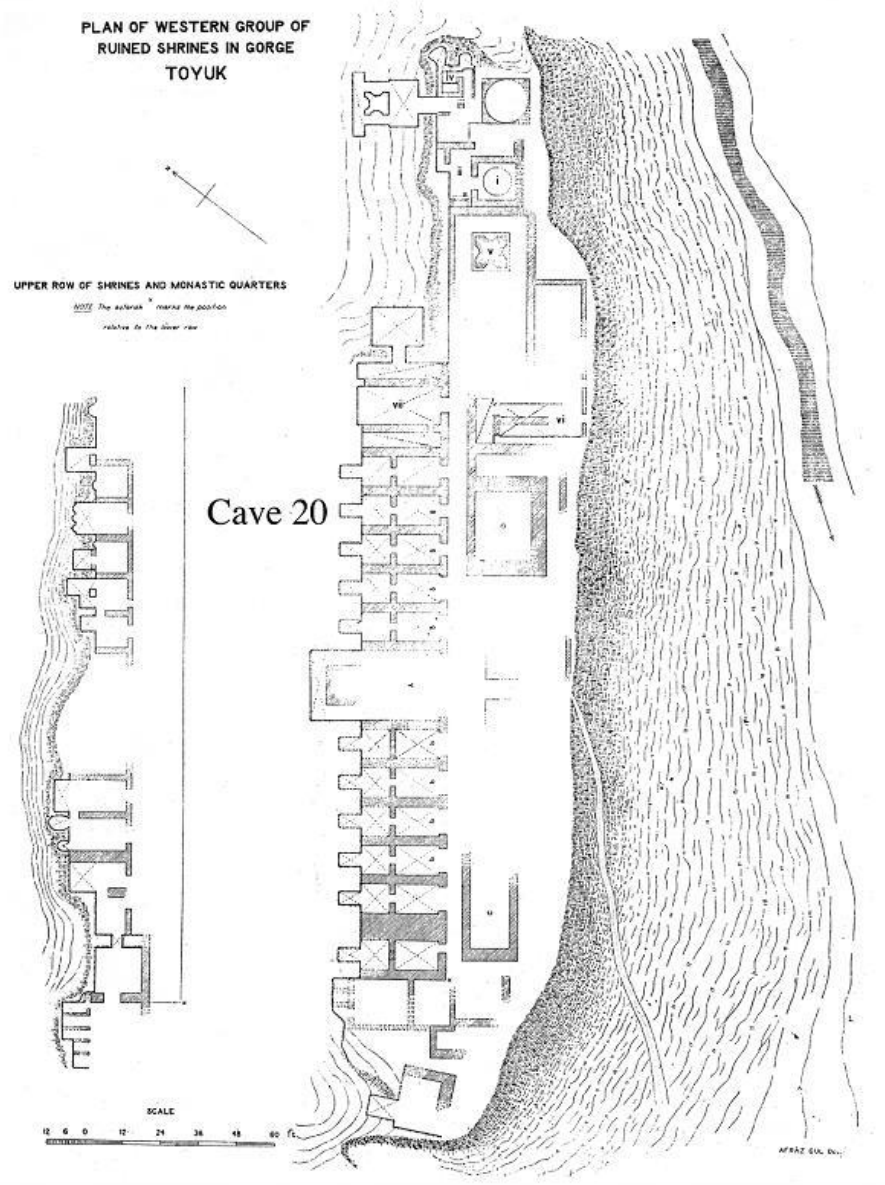

Fig. 1: Plan of a large cave complex on the western cliff of the Toyok Gorge. After Stein 1981 [1928]: 27. Notation added by the author. See also Grünwedel 1912: 318, fig. 636.

Fig. 2: Rear wall of Toyok Cave 20.

As I have discussed elsewhere, Toyok Cave 20 has many paintings of monks practicing visualization, and some of them retain inscriptions.[2] These paintings and inscriptions are closely linked to the *Amitāyus Visualization Sūtra* (*Guān wúliàngshoùfó jīng* 觀無量壽佛經, T12:340c-346b [No. 365], hereafter, "*Visualization Sūtra*"), one of the most important texts in Chinese pertaining to visualization. Thus, this cave may provide an important clue for studying visualization practices in Central Asia, but one major problem is that this cave is not well preserved. First, let us observe the rear wall (fig. 2).

The wall is highly damaged, and it is difficult to make much out of its poorly preserved paintings. Indeed, a sketch of this wall from Miyaji's paper leaves much of the space blank (fig. 3).

Ulmer have kindly translated Russian material for me. I have also greatly benefitted from personal discussions with Dr. L. Sander and Ms. M. Mori 森美智代. Professor R. Ward and Ms. S. Teetor have kindly checked my English. The research for this paper was supported by a JSPS Kakenhi grant (nos 21320014 and 24320014). To all the people and organizations that have supported this project, I express my deepest gratitude.

The title of the aforementioned conference indicates that the main topic of the conference was inscriptions. It should be noted that, according to the invitation letter (January 23, 2011) to the conference from Professor Scherrer-Schaub, here "inscription" is "broadly defined as a written text, or any sign, destined to be public or «to be known by everybody»". From this definition, I understand that paintings are not excluded from the scope of the conference (and thus of this book). On this assumption, in this paper I would like to discuss the relationship between paintings and "inscriptions" (here, in the narrow sense).

[2] Yamabe 1999, 2002.

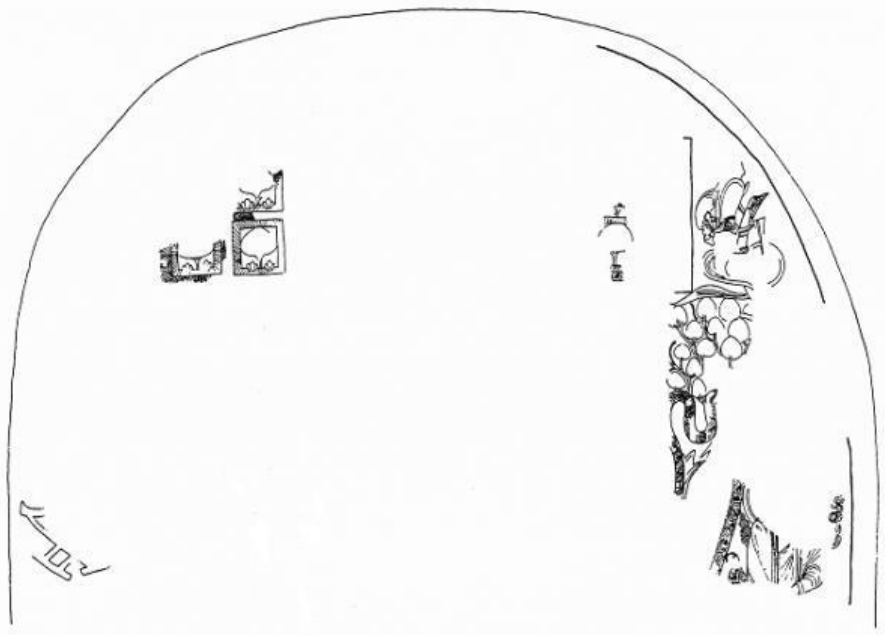

Fig. 3: Sketch of the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b: 16, fig. 3.

In this particular case, however, we fortunately have some useful evidence for restoring the original state of the wall.

First, there is a fragment preserved in the State Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg (fig. 4).[3] Nowadays, due to technological advancements, we can digitally bring the fragment back to its original place without difficulty (fig. 5). The paintings in the original cave are naturally more faded than the fragment preserved in the museum, so the colors do not match exactly (even though I have slightly adjusted the colors so that the incorporated fragment does not look too alien). Nevertheless,

[3] After the State Hermitage Museum, and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences 2008: 223, pl. 147. I thank Ms. O. Novoseltseva, Manager, Rights and Permissions Office, the State Hermitage Museum, for her kind permission to reproduce this image, and Dr. Tropper for his assistance in this regard.

Fig. 4: Fragment of the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20, preserved in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. →

Fig. 5: The Hermitage fragment (fig. 4) digitally incorporated into the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20 (fig. 2). ↓

Fig. 6: Sketch of a monk sounding a bell by A. Grünwedel. After Grünwedel 1912: 319, fig. 639.

it is evident that the fragment nicely fits a lacuna of the mural painting. Noting the contiguous pattern of squares, one would agree that this restoration is not unfounded.[4]

Another bit of luck we have is that Grünwedel left detailed descriptions of this cave, and his sketch (fig. 6) is particularly helpful.

[4] According to the State Hermitage Museum, and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences 2008: 222, there are photographs taken *in situ* at the end of 1909 in Toyok Mazar during the First Russian Turkestan Expedition, before the cave was damaged by an earthquake in 1913. These pictures, however, are not yet accessible to me. I thank Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Kozin-Ulmer for kindly translating the original Russian text of this page into English for me, and Dr. Kira Samosiuk at the State Hermitage Museum for generously checking the relevant materials.

Fig. 7: Fig. 5 overlaid with fig. 6.

Comparing this sketch with the upper-left part of the Hermitage fragment (fig. 4), we immediately notice that the sketch is remarkably accurate. Thus, it would be justifiable to supplement the fragment with this sketch. Based on the sketch, we can also re-confirm that the Hermitage fragment indeed came from Toyok Cave 20. Thus, the mural painting on the back wall can be restored to the extent seen in fig. 7.[5]

We should further note that the rear wall of another meditation cave at Toyok, Cave 42, has a pattern of 7x7 squares and that each square is decorated with a tree (fig. 8).[6]

[5] I have slightly re-shaped Grünwedel's sketch to overlay it on the painting. Since this is a free-hand sketch, it does not exactly match the painting, but it is only natural and does not at all diminish its value.

[6] Picture taken by by the author with the assistance of J. Suzuki in 2010 and processed by the author. Photo-taking was also assisted by Mr. S. Komota 古茂田慎也.

Fig. 8: Rear wall of Toyok Cave 42. (Two pictures combined into one)

According to Miyaji, another possible meditation cave, the now-lost Cave 1, had a similar pattern on its rear wall.[7] Thus, a 7x7 square pattern with a tree inside each box seems to be a fixed scheme of decoration for the rear walls of Toyok meditation caves. In this connection, we should note that faint traces of two trees can be seen on the right-hand side of the rear wall of Cave 20 (fig. 9; cf. fig. 3).

These two faint trees on the right and the extant trees on the left seem to show the borders of the 7x7 square pattern, and indeed the missing lines of trees would fit between them fairly nicely (fig. 10).[8]

[7] Miyaji 1995a: 21, figs 4-5, Miyaji 1996, plate 1.

[8] The State Hermitage Museum, and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences 2008: 222 also states that there were seven rows, each of which had seven squares. See also Grünwedel 1912: 320.

Fig. 9: Faint traces of two trees on the right-hand side of the rear wall of Cave 20. (Fig. 2 with notation)

Fig. 10: Digital reconstruction of the painting on the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Fig. 11: A baby in a lotus flower on each side of a tree. (Detail of fig. 4)

Judging from the adjoining caves on the western cliff that have similar openings, the central opening in the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20 is certainly original (i.e., not a result of later destruction; see fig. 1). On this wall, the trees must have been painted around the opening. Thus, I believe that fig. 10 represents a hypothetical but fairly plausible digital reconstruction of this wall. Although I have filled some of the lacunae by copying from extant portions, at this time we do not have further clues for filling the remaining gaps. Nevertheless, this reconstruction helps us gain a more comprehensive picture of the wall.[9]

Next, let us observe the square pattern in more detail. In each square there is a tree, and on each side of the tree is a baby in a lotus flower (fig. 11).

[9] Cf. the digital restoration of the mural paintings in Bezeklik Cave 15 by Digital Archives Research Center, Ryukoku University. Many parts of the paintings in Bezeklik Cave 15 were taken away by various expedition teams and are now stored in several different museums around the world. A team of scholars at Ryukoku University digitally assembled and restored the paintings in a systematic way. See http://www.afc.ryukoku.ac.jp/Komon/bezeklik_HP/index.html (where Cave 15 [current Chinese numbering] is called "Cave 4" following the German numbering system) and NHK "Shin Shiruku Rōdo" Purojekuto 2005: 142-191. For a digital restoration of Bezeklik Cave 20 ("Cave 9" in the German numbering system, which the Ryukoku team follows), see Shoji, Kudara, Fujii & Okada 2005: 129-131.

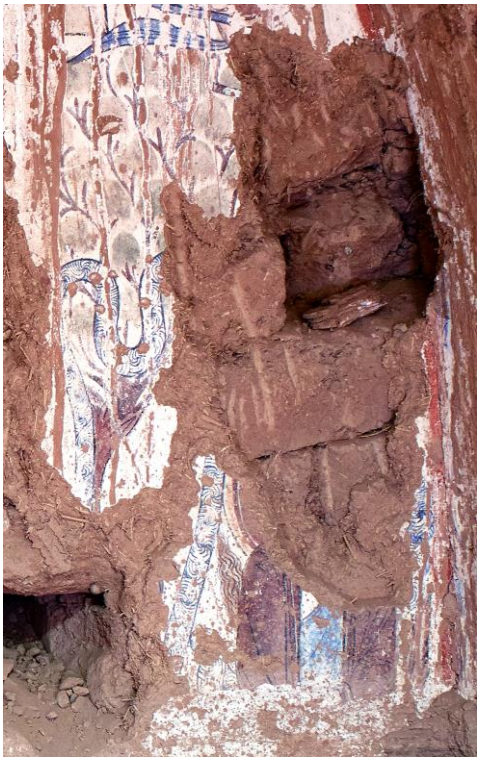

Fig. 12: A tree and a blue stream on the right-hand side of the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20. (Detail of fig. 2)

The baby probably represents a person being reborn in Sukhāvatī. On the tree itself, we see two people with their hands in the *añjali* position. As has been suggested by Grünwedel (1912: 320) and Miyaji (1995b: 16f.), these trees seem to represent the seven lines of trees in Sukhāvatī.[10]

On the very right-hand side of the wall, we see a large tree with a blue line running up and down like a snake (fig. 12).

[10] *punar aparaṃ śāriputra sukhāvatī lokadhātuḥ saptabhir vedikābhiḥ saptabhis tālapaṅktibhiḥ kaṅkaṇījālaiś ca samalaṃkṛtā samantato 'nuparikṣiptā ...* / (*Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha*; Fujita 2011: 84.15-17)

"Furthermore, Shariputra, the world known as the Land of Bliss is adorned and enclosed on every side by seven railings and seven rows of palm trees, all decked with nets of tinkling bells." (Gómez 1996: 16)

As has already been pointed out,[11] this is probably the stream that flows around trees in Sukhāvatī:

> 其摩尼水流注華間尋樹上下。其聲微妙演説苦空無常無我諸波羅蜜。復有讃歎諸佛相好者。(*Visualization Sūtra*, T12:342b29-c2, emphasis added [similarly below])
>
> The *maṇi* water flows in between the flowers and goes up and down along the trees. The delicate and exquisite sounds of the flowing water proclaim [the teachings of] "suffering, emptiness, impermanence, no-Self, and the *pāramitā*s". They also praise the major and minor bodily marks of various Buddhas.[12]

Beside the tree in fig. 12, we see a monk seated in meditation, who is emitting fire (red) and water (blue) from his body and apparently has a halo around his head. He may be visualizing a jewel tree in Sukhāvatī. Above him is a heavenly being flying down with a tray in his right hand and something like a big folding fan in his left hand (fig. 13). Although we do not see flowers around him, he is probably scattering flowers from his tray, like the heavenly beings on the left (figs 15, 16) and right[13] walls of this cave.[14] These flowers may well represent the flowers that rain in Sukhāvatī.[15]

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[11] Grünwedel 1912: 320, Miyaji 1995b: 17.

[12] For translating this passage, I have referred to and partly made use of Ryukoku University Translation Center 1984: 41.

[13] See Xīnjiāng Weíwú'ěr Zìzhìqū Bówùguǎn 1990: plate 170.

[14] We must keep in mind that this rear wall is in a poor state of preservation, so flowers that were originally painted here might have been lost at a later date. Note also that we can see a flower above the seated figure in the left section of the rear wall (fig. 14).

[15] *tatra ca buddhakṣetre triṣkṛtvā rātrau triṣkṛtvā divasasya puṣpavarṣaṃ pravarṣati divyānāṃ māndāravapuṣpāṇām* / (*Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha*; Fujita 2011: 86.5-6)

"And in that buddha-field a shower of heavenly coral-tree blossoms pours down three times every day and three times every night." (Gómez 1996: 17)

Fig. 13: A heavenly being flying down on the right-hand side of the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20. (Detail of fig. 2)

Since many of the paintings in this cave are relevant to visualization, we might also take into consideration that flowers are regarded as one of the "auspicious signs" (*hǎoxiāng* 好相) practitioners see in their vision when their repentance has been successful, as stated in the following passage from the *Brahmā Net Sūtra* (*Fànwǎng jīng* 梵網經 [T No. 1484]):[16]

[16] Visionary repentance (*hǎoxiāngxíng* 好相行) and the practice of visualization (*guān* 觀) are very closely related. See Yamabe 2005.

若到禮三世千佛得見好相. . . . 好相者, 佛來摩頂見光見華種種異相, 便得滅罪. (T24:1008c15-18)

When he has worshipped the thousand Buddhas of the past, present, and future, he can see auspicious signs. . . . Auspicious signs mean that [he sees] a Buddha come and rub his head, that [he] sees light, flowers, and various extraordinary signs. [Only after seeing such signs] can his transgressions be expiated.

Thus, in this painting, the (presumed) flowers may also have visionary implications.

The person at the bottom-left corner of the rear wall is fragmentary and difficult to interpret (fig. 14). Grünwedel describes this person as a monk meditating on a chair,[17] but I am not sure whether this figure really represents a monk.[18] Since he has a halo and a large hanging ear,[19] he must be some eminent figure. His identity, however, is unclear. Above him is another heavenly being with a stick in his right hand and a small bowl(?)[20] in his left hand flying downward.

The monk sounding a bell in the top-left part of the Hermitage fragment (figs 4 and 6) is also not simple to interpret. At this stage I would like to refrain from further speculation on this matter.[21]

[17] "R. v. Mittelfeld sitzt ein meditierender Mönch auf einem Stuhl unter einem Baum." Grünwedel 1912: 320.

[18] Although faded, he seems to have hair.

[19] Only his right ear is visible. Similar ears are visible on some of the monks depicted on the right wall of this cave. However, the hair of these monks is depicted differently from that of the figure in question on the rear wall.

[20] Cf. Grünwedel 1912: 320 ("Teller").

[21] Regarding this monk sounding a bell, Jĭa 2002: 426 refers to the *Dà zhìdù lùn* 大智度論 (T25:186a4-16 [No. 1509]), which compares the first large peal of a bell to *vitarka* and a later smaller peal to *vicāra*.

Fig. 14: A person seated on a chair and a heavenly being flying down in the bottom-left corner of the rear wall of Toyok Cave 20. (Detail of fig. 5)

Fig. 15: Left wall of Toyok Cave 20. (Detail of Xīnjiāng Weíwú'ěr Zìzhìqū Bówùguǎn 1990: plate 169)

Left wall

Now let us discuss the left wall of this cave (fig. 15). As already mentioned, there are two heavenly beings scattering flowers. A large portion of the top register has been removed from the wall, and since Grünwedel's record includes this section,[22] it must have been removed after his visit in late 1906 to early 1907. As this portion seems to have been cut out by a professional hand, it could possibly be stored in some European museum. But I have not been able to ascertain any concrete information concerning its whereabouts. To make matters worse, in 2000 someone broke into the cave and attempted to remove portions of the wall[23] (fig. 16).

[22] Grünwedel 1912: 320.

[23] I owe this information to the Bureau.

Fig. 16: Present state of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20. (Two pictures combined into one)

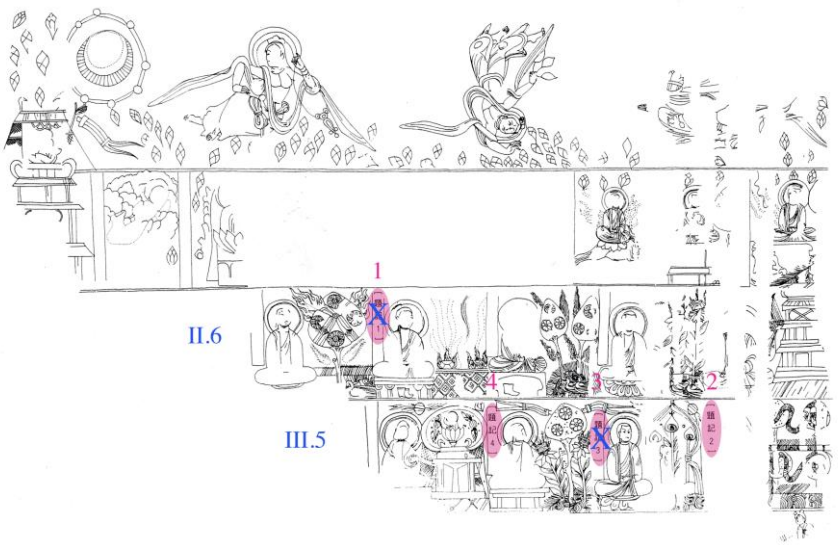

Fig. 17: Sketch of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b: plate 3, with notation by the present author.

Fig. 18: Visible-light picture of section III.5 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Prior to this incident four inscriptions were legible,[24] but due to the recent destruction two of them (inscriptions 1 and 3) are now lost (fig. 17).[25] Thus, the overall state of preservation of this wall is also not good.

In addition, there are holes in the ceiling, and soil comes in when it rains. Therefore, the paintings are partly covered with soil, which makes

[24] Miyaji 1995b: 24-27. See also Zhōngguó Bìhuà Quánjí Biānjí Wěiyuánhuì 1990: 19, Jía 2002: 423.

[25] Miyaji (1995b: 19) numbers the registers on this wall from I to III (from top to bottom) and the paintings in each register from 1 to 9 (from rear to front). See table 1 below. I follow his numbering system.

Fig. 19: Infrared picture of section III.5 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

their observation even more difficult.[26] For example, portion III.5 of fig. 17 has been left blank in Miyaji's sketch. Fig. 18 shows a regular, visible-light picture of this section. Traces are faintly visible, but it is very difficult to make any detailed observations.

In the aforementioned joint project with Academia Turfanica to digitally restore deteriorated paintings, I took an infrared picture of this section. However, since the soil on the wall is rather thick, even infrared photography did not prove to be very effective (fig. 19). I tried to improve the picture digitally by enhancing the contrast and sharpening the whole image using Capture One and Adobe Photoshop CS5 (fig.

[26] When Grünwedel visited this cave, about one third of the walls were covered with soil. See Grünwedel 1912: 320. Some of the soil covering the wall now might remain from this period.

Fig. 20: Enhanced infrared picture of section III.5 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Fig. 21: Fusion of visible-light and infrared pictures, both enhanced, of section III.5 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

20). Fig. 21 shows the result of fusing this enhanced infrared image with the equally adjusted visible-light picture.

As is well known, by using different wavelength bands of electromagnetic waves (note that light is a type of electromagnetic wave) we can capture different types of images of the same object surface. Fusing these multi-band images can often be an effective method and is used in various disciplines. In particular, images generated by infrared (IR) and part of visible-light ranges (red and green) are called "Color Infrared (CIR) images" or "IR false-color images", a technique originally developed in aerial imagery for military purposes during World War II. In IR false-color images, which were originally taken on special CIR film (but which are now formed digitally), IR is represented as red, red light as green, green light as blue, and blue light is not represented (blocked or discarded). This method was useful for detecting tanks camouflaged in vegetation but is now used for observing the conditions of vegetation.[27]

In astronomy, researchers also use various ranges such as visible light, infrared, ultraviolet, radio (including microwave), and X-ray from astronomical bodies to capture various different images and observe manifold aspects of their targets. At times they combine some of these multi-band (especially IR and visible-light) images to obtain more comprehensive views (and to create more impressive images) of their objects.[28]

A somewhat comparable method is used for medical diagnosis. "Anatomical imaging", such as Computed Tomography (CT) and Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI), yields rich anatomical information but is not necessarily helpful in detecting pathological abnormalities in their early stages. On the other hand, "functional imaging", such as Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography (SPECT) and Positron Emission Tomography (PET), can detect early pathological abnormalities in a more sensitive way but do not yield much anatomical information.

[27] The Statewide Mapping Advisory Committee, Working Group for Orthophotography Planning 2011: 1-4.

[28] Christensen, Fosbury & Hurt 2009: 4-6, figs 2-3, 131, Kokuritsu Tenmondai 2009: 114-120, T. Yano (pers. comm., 2012).

Therefore, by fusing images of "anatomical imaging" and "functional imaging", medical professionals can locate pathological abnormalities in the patient's body more easily.[29] This idea already existed in the late 1980s to the early 1990s and became widely practiced from the late 1990s to the early 2000s.[30]

In art history and archeology, too, various means have been employed, e.g., visible light (including oblique light), infrared, ultraviolet-induced luminescence, visible-light induced luminescence, and X-ray.[31] Since different methods are effective for different purposes, digitally overlapping these images for comparison using Photoshop's "layers" function is an effective method of research.[32]

Beside visible light, infrared is most commonly used in the study of art historical and archeological objects. Since IR is absorbed by carbon, portions of paintings that contain carbon appear dark in IR images. This method is frequently used for observing underdrawings, but it can also be effective for spotting the distribution of some pigments, and for differentiating pigments that look similar in visible light. Here also "IR false-color images" have been used. Although (or perhaps because) the colors in "IR false-color images" do not reflect the original coloring, these images are useful for observing the distribution of carbon-based pigments and for approximately identifying pigments.[33]

In the case of "IR false-color images", unnatural colors are useful for the purposes described above. However, one should also note that in digital imaging it is not necessary to discard the blue channel in fusing an IR image with a visible-light image. By retaining the blue channel of

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[29] Ishida, Katsuragawa & Fujita 2010: 1064-65.

[30] Nakamoto 2006: 21. See also Ishida, Katsuragawa & Fujita 2010: 5.

[31] For various technical methods employed in the examination of cultural assets, see, e.g., Hours 1976: 17-82, Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Kōgaku Kenkyūhan 1984 [1955], Kanba 1993: 157-173, Bukkyō Geijutsu Gakkai 1994, Miura 2001, Mabuchi *et al.*, 2003: 283-303, Suzuki 2007: 25-32, Verri 2008, Wieseman 2010: 18-30.

[32] Lie 2003: 130-132. Cf. Kanba 1993: 170-173.

[33] Passmore *et al.*, 2012: 37-38, Buoso, Ceccato & Zafiropoulos 2010: 153.

the visible-light image and by using the IR image in monochrome,[34] we can obtain in the fused image significantly more natural coloring (though not necessarily the original coloring).[35] While IR pictures often make invisible things visible, they also frequently efface something visible in regular pictures.[36] Thus, combining an IR image, which typically shows black lines and contours more clearly, with a visible-light image, which contains color information, has a merit somewhat similar to that of fusing "functional imaging" with "anatomical imaging" in medical diagnosis. This method makes detailed and intuitive observation of the faded painting much easier, and attempts have been made to restore deteriorated paintings digitally using this method.[37]

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[34] In astronomical pictures discussed above, IR images are typically shown as color images (in other words, some visible-range colors are assigned to different ranges of infrared; see Kokuritsu Tenmondai 2009: 116). When these kinds of images are fused with visible-light images, the coloring of the visible-light images is greatly affected. In art history and archeology, IR images are typically used in monochrome. When such images are fused with visible-light images, the IR images have less of an effect on the coloring of the outcome.

[35] In order to restore the original coloring accurately, one needs to identify the pigments used. This kind of thorough restoration is beyond the scope of this project, and I would like to leave it to restoration specialists. As a researcher in humanities, what I am attempting to do is merely to make otherwise unobservable materials observable, and thus usable for art-historical research.

[36] Infrared light penetrates some pigments, and that is why it can reveal what is hidden underneath those pigments. Thus, it is by the very nature of this method that something visible in regular pictures becomes invisible (transparent). Regarding the use of infrared pictures for art-historical research, in addition to the sources listed in n. 31, see, e.g., Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 1992: 15-16. A more up-to-date and systematic discussion is found in Ide, Shirono & Yamanashi 2009: 160-177, 208-209, Wadum & Scharff 2012: 59-61.

[37] T. Sakata digitally restored paintings stored at Senbon Enmadō 千本閻魔堂 Temple in Kyoto by fusing IR and visible-light images already in 1982. See Sakata 1991: 23-27. For more recent attempts, see Bunkazai Fukugen Center n.d. (especially p. 4). Although the method is not the same, for IR-based digital restoration of mural paintings at Hōryūji 法隆寺, see Sakata 1991: 105-132, Sakata (ed.) 1992. See also Murai & Kimata 1991: 7, 86-87, Hirao & Yamagishi 2000 [1999]: 13-14. For other approaches to digital restoration, see Kobayashi 2008, 2010, Ōtomo 2013.

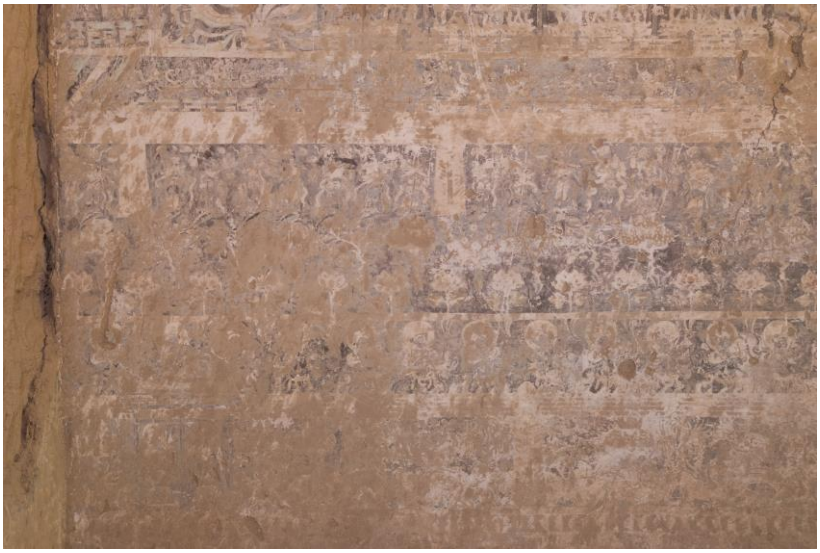

Fig. 22: Visible-light picture of the bottom-left section of the right wall of Bezeklik Cave 40. Picture taken by the author with the assistance of Suzuki in 2010 and processed by the author.

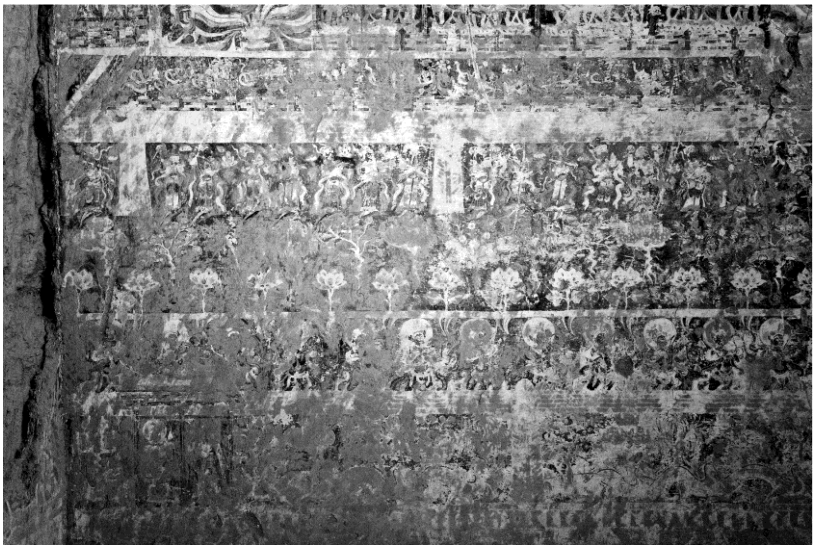

Fig. 23: Enhanced infrared picture of the bottom-left section of the right wall of Bezeklik Cave 40. Picture taken by the author with the assistance of Suzuki in 2010 and processed by the author.

Fig. 24: Fusion of visible-light and infrared pictures, both enhanced, of the bottom-left section of the right wall of Bezeklik Cave 40. Pictures taken by the author with the assistance of Suzuki in 2010 and processed by the author.

My own attempts are shown in figs 22-24. Fig. 22 shows the current state of a mural painting on the right wall of Bezeklik Cave 40 (visible-light picture).[38] Fig. 23 is an enhanced infrared picture, and fig. 24 is the result of their fusion. As can be seen, where the dust on the surface is not thick, one can expect a fairly good result.

In the case of Toyok Cave 20, the result is not as good since the covering soil is too thick. Nevertheless, we can now observe a plant with a large round object at the top as well as a halo on the left-hand side. This is probably a remnant of the head of a monk visualizing this plant.

[38] This image is considered to depict the scene of the nine classes of rebirth in Sukhāvatī. See Xīnjiāng Weíwú'ěr Zìzhìqū Bówùguǎn 1990, captions to plates 97-98 (no pagination).

We should further note that on the right-hand side of figs 18-21, we faintly see an inscription. Uncolored infrared photography is generally better for observing inscriptions, so let us focus on the inscription as seen in the enhanced infrared picture (fig. 25; in addition to the aforementioned adjustment, I have darkened the black lines and lightened the background). Unfortunately the lower part of the inscription is too thickly covered with soil, but the upper part yields more information. Even in this part, the soil on the surface is too thick to allow full restoration, but at least we can see the first few characters in fig. 25. Let us compare this inscription with another, clearer inscription on the same wall (inscription 3 [to painting III.3], not extant;[39] fig. 26).

Compared with inscription 3 (fig. 26), the first character of the restored inscription (fig. 25), though fragmentary, seems to be *xíng* 行, "practice", and the second character is probably *zhě* 者, "person". The fourth character is not clear, but it seems to be *xiǎng* 想, "to imagine" (cf. the fourth character in fig. 26). The third character proves to be more problematic. From the context and in comparison with other examples on the same wall, one would expect *guān* 觀, "to visualize", here, but the character seems closer to *dì* 諦, "clearly". *Xíngzhě dìxiǎng* 行者諦想, "Practitioner clearly imagines . . . ", is not a standard phrase, but it would make sense, and thus this painting must depict another scene of visualization. The fifth character is very difficult to read, but it might be somewhat similar to the fifth character of inscription 4 (to painting III.4, fig. 27 [enhanced infrared picture]), *zì* 自, "oneself", but this is by no means certain. In any case, the following portion is illegible, so we cannot determine the object of visualization based on this inscription. Nevertheless, since only four inscriptions were visible in this cave even in the days of Grünwedel,[40] confirming the existence of an additional inscription is not insignificant.

[39] See figs 16 and 17 and table 1.

[40] Grünwedel 1912: 320, nn. 2-5.

Fig. 25 (left): Enhanced infrared picture of the inscription to section III.5 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Fig. 26 (center): Inscription 3 (to section III.3) of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20 (not extant). Detail of Xīnjiāng Weíwú'ěr Zìzhìqū Bówùguǎn 1990: plate 171.

Fig. 27 (right): Enhanced infrared picture of inscription 4 (to section III.4) of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Incidentally, Grünwedel copied the four visible inscriptions and asked the sinologist O. Franke to translate them into German. What catches our eye is that *xíngzhě* 行者, "practitioner", is constantly translated as "Wer die Liebe besitzt" ("one who has love"), which does not seem to be an appropriate translation. From inscription 3 (fig. 26) we can see why this confusion was brought about, because the first character *xíng* 行, "practice", may well look like *rén* 仁, "benevolent" (note that the last vertical stroke in the right part is rather indistinct). Thus, I assume that *xíngzhě* 行者, "practitioner", was misconstrued as *rénzhě* 仁者, "benevolent one".

To return to the painting, since we cannot confirm the object of visualization from the inscription, we have to infer what the object could be based on the content of the painting. Because there is a rebirth scene right next to this scene (III.4), one possibility is that it perhaps represents a lotus bud in which one is reborn.[41] When the flower opens, one can see Amitāyus and listen to his teachings.[42] If the painting in the round circle at the top is indeed an unborn baby, this interpretation be-

---

[41] 當起想作心自見生於西方極樂世界。於蓮華中結伽趺坐。作蓮華合想。作蓮華開想。(*Visualization Sūtra*, T12:344b14-16).

"You should imagine, call up in your mind, and see yourself being born in the western world of Sukhāvatī and being seated cross-legged in a lotus flower. You should create images of a closed lotus and an open lotus." (Cf. Ryukoku University 1984: 73)

See also the following passage, which describes a lotus flower growing from a lake in Sukhāvatī:

padmāni … śakaṭacakrapramāṇapariṇāhāni / (*Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha*; Fujita 2011: 85.10-15)

"And these lotus blossoms are as wide as chariot wheels." (Gómez 1996: 17)

[42] 即得往生七寶池中。一日一夜蓮花乃開。七日之中乃得見佛。雖見佛身於衆相好心不明了。於三七日後乃了了見。聞衆音聲皆演妙法。 (*Visualization Sūtra*, T12:345a29-b3)

"[The practitioner] immediately attains rebirth in the pond of seven kinds of jewels [in Sukhāvatī]. After a day and night, the lotus flower opens. Within seven days, [the practitioner] can see [Amitāyus] Buddha. Although he sees the body of the Buddha, his mind cannot clearly perceive the major and minor bodily marks [of

Fig. 28: Visible-light picture of section II.6 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

comes highly likely. Since, however, we cannot discern what is painted in the circle, it is impossible to reach a definitive conclusion.

Next, let us examine another portion of the wall (II.6), which has also been left blank by Miyaji (fig. 17). In its present state (fig. 28) it is unfortunately very difficult to make any detailed observations. The infrared picture (fig. 29) is not entirely successful either. However, by processing the IR image as explained before, we gain a much clearer picture (fig. 30). This can be further combined with the processed visible-light picture (fig. 31). The central part is totally lost, about which we cannot do anything. However, we can clearly make out a large flame above the lost part and also some apparently polygonal object to the right.

Amitāyus]. Three weeks later, he sees [Amitāyus] clearly, and he hears various voices all proclaiming the exquisite teachings." (For translating the passage, I have referred to and partly made use of Ryukoku University 1984: 91.)

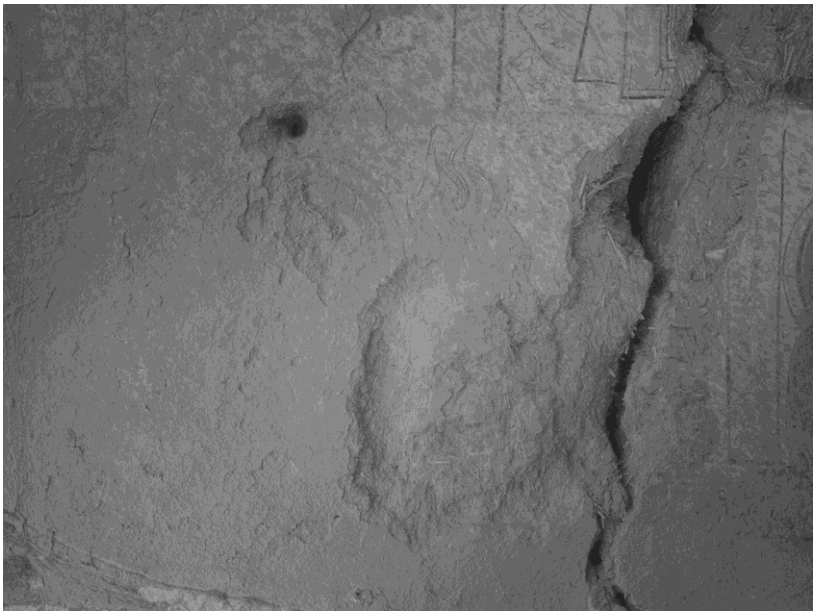

Fig. 29: Infrared picture of section II.6 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Fig. 30: Enhanced infrared picture of section II.6 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

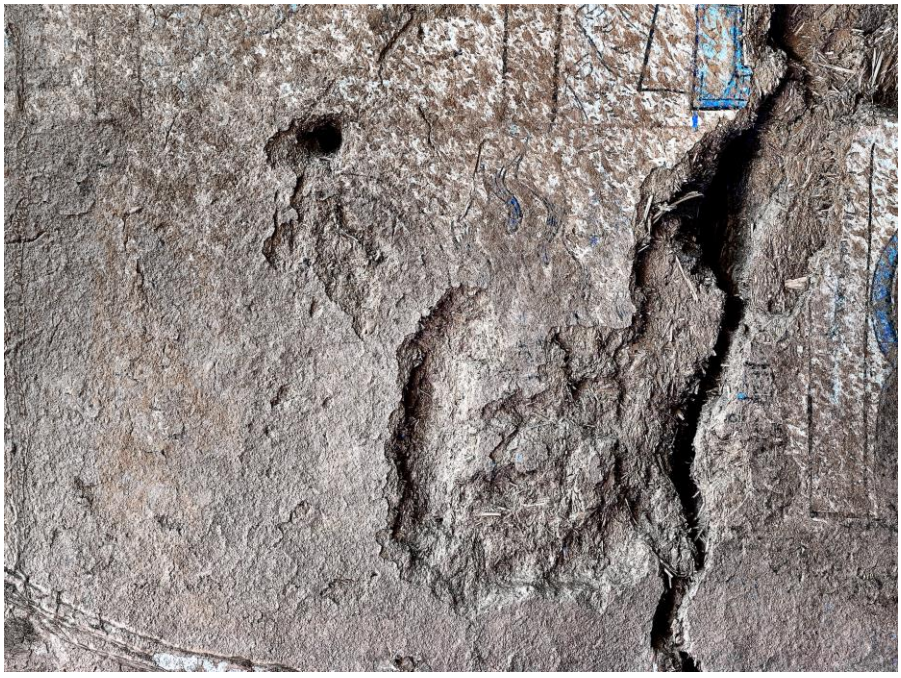

Fig. 31: Fusion of visible-light and infrared pictures, both enhanced, of section II.6 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

In addition, we can again see an inscription on the right-hand side of this section. Here, too, we focus on an enhanced IR picture of the relevant inscription and the right-most part of the painting. Since the characters are very indistinct, I have made individual tonal adjustments to various portions in addition to the aforementioned adjustments. Furthermore, I have darkened the black lines and lightened the background, as I did with fig. 25. Fig. 32 shows the result.

Let us compare it with another inscription on the same wall (enhanced IR picture of inscription 2 [to painting III.2]; fig. 33).

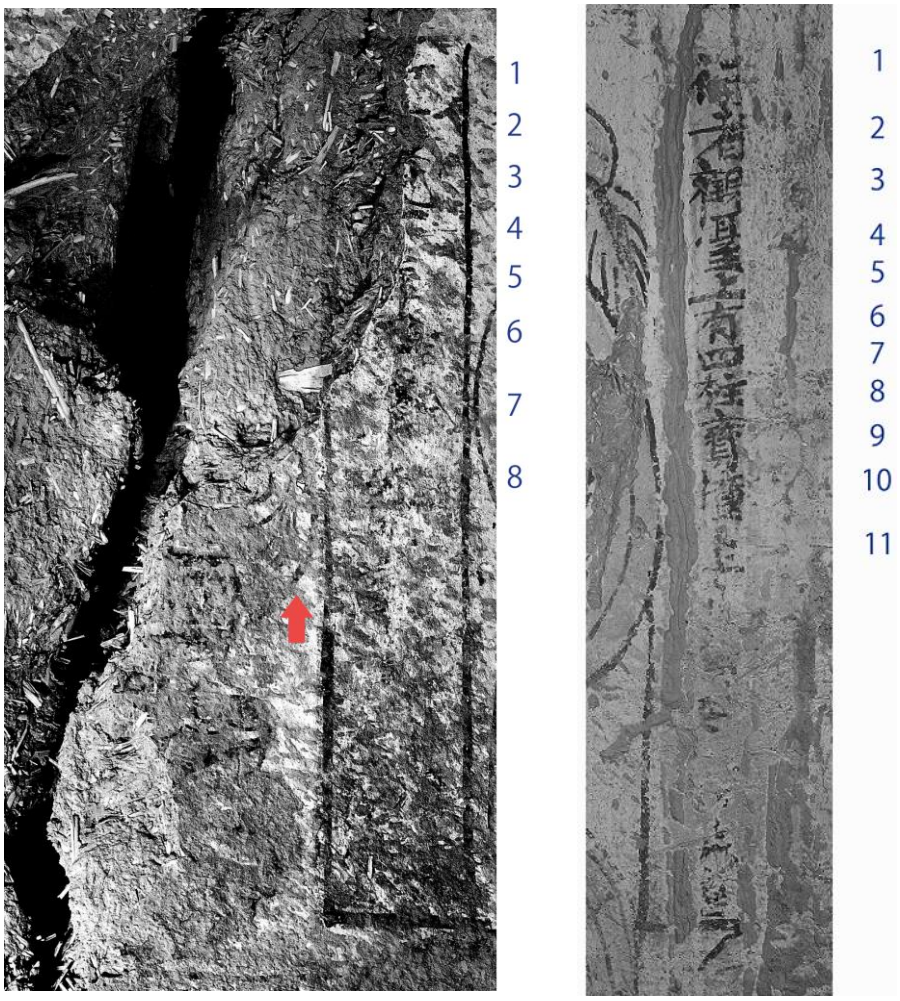

Fig. 32 (left): Enhanced infrared picture of the inscription to section II.6 of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20. For the red arrow, see below.

Fig. 33 (right): Enhanced infrared picture of inscription 2 (to section III.2) of the left wall of Toyok Cave 20.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the characters in fig. 32, how to count them is not entirely clear, but I have added tentative numbers to the right of the image. The first two characters of fig. 32 are only partially extant, but judging from the consistent pattern observed in all the other

legible inscriptions on this wall (cf. figs 26, 27, 33), they must be *xíngzhě* 行者, "practitioner". After that we expect some expression meaning "visualizes", but the following characters (3-5) are too damaged to read. Skipping the next character for now, I suspect the following character (7) might be *qíng* 擎, "to support". The top-right part 攵 is fairly clearly visible, and the bottom part may well be a remnant of the hand radical 手. The following character (8) is also unclear, but it could be *dì* 地, "ground". The one before *qíng* 擎 is very difficult to read, but it might be somewhat similar to the tenth character of fig. 33, namely *chuáng* 幢, "cylindrical banner".[43] Thus, I would like to read the inscription in fig. 32 as:

行(?)者(?)○○○幢(??)擎(?)地(?) . . .

If we accept this admittedly very tentative reading, it could be tied to the following passage from the *Visualization Sūtra*:

> 此想成已，見琉瑠地内外映徹。下有金剛七寶金幢。擎琉璃地。其幢八方八楞具足。一一方面百寶所成。一一寶珠有千光明，一光明八萬四千色，映琉璃地如億千日不可具見。(*Visualization Sūtra*, T12: 342a9-13)
>
> When this image has been established, see the *vaiḍūrya* ground through which [rays are] reflected inside and outside. Supporting the *vaiḍūrya* ground from below are golden cylindrical banners made of diamond and the seven kinds of jewels. These cylindrical banners have eight angles and eight sides. Each side consists of a hundred jewels, each jewel shines with a thousand rays of light, and each ray of light has eighty-four thousand colors, which are reflected in the *vaiḍūrya* ground like a thousand *koṭi*s of suns and are beyond our observation.[44]

[43] The reading of this character in inscription 2 is well supported by the parallel line in the *Visualization Sūtra*. See Miyaji 1995b: 25.

[44] For translating the passage, I have referred to and partly made use of Ryukoku University 1984: 29.

Fig. 34: Cylindridal banners supporting the checkered jewel ground of Sukhāvatī on the north wall of Dunhuang Mogao Cave 171. Detail of Shī 2002: plate 115.

This passage is noteworthy because it might explain the apparently multi-tiered polygonal object in the right-most part of the painting (i.e., between the crack and the inscription). Perhaps, this is the octagonal ban-

ner that supports the checkered ground of Sukhāvatī, as seen in fig. 34 (Dunhuang Mogao Cave 171, north wall, detail). Note that in Mogao caves cylindrical banners are often depicted in this kind of multi-tiered style. Note also the thin curved lines drawn on the surface of this object (pointed out by the red arrow in fig. 32), which suggest that this is a depiction of pleated cloth. Taking all these points into consideration, a cylindrical banner supporting the jewel ground of Sukhāvatī seems to be a possible interpretation.

On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the large flame based on the *Visualization Sūtra*. Like the big flames on the tree, it might indicate that these paintings were influenced by other meditation texts.[45]

Thus we can add two scenes (II.6, III.5) and two accompanying (incomplete) inscriptions to the items already known. How do they affect our understanding of the paintings on this wall?

Table 1[46]

Painting No.	**II.6**	**II.5**	**II.4**	**II.3**	**II.2**	**II.1**
Content of the painting	burning polygonal object [inscription]	burning tree (**inscription 1**)	**checkered ground**	two burning trees from a pond	two flowers from a pond	tower, musical instruments

[45] See Yamabe 1999: 40-41, 2002: 127-130. As I have discussed in the latter article, one possibility is that the frame was an attempt to depict the "rays of light" mentioned in the *sūtra* passage.

[46] Red letters indicate extant inscriptions, and blue letters, now-lost painting and inscriptions. Brown and green letters indicate the paintings and inscriptions restored in this study. Similarly below in Table 3.

Painting No.	**–**	**III.5**	**III.4**	**III.3**	**III.2**	**III.1**
Content of the painting	–	plant, bud [inscription]	baby in a lotus (**inscription 4**)	flower tree, two flowers (**inscription 3**)	flowers with strips (**inscription 2**)	trees with water streams

As I have mentioned, the four known inscriptions are closely linked to the *Visualization Sūtra*, and the two additional inscriptions do not seem to conflict with this view. The contents of the two restored paintings also appear to be tied to the same *sūtra*. As is well known, the *Visualization Sūtra* has a well-structured system of visualizing Sukhāvatī and Amitāyus, consisting of thirteen items.[47]

Table 2

1. 日觀　Sun
2. 水觀　Water
   - 2.1 水想　Water
   - 2.2 氷想　Ice
   - 2.3 琉璃想　*Vaiḍūrya*
3. 地想觀　Ground
4. 寶樹觀　Jewel Trees

[47] For the Chinese names of these items, I follow Shàndǎo's 善導 commentary on the *Visualization Sūtra*, *Guān wúliàngshoùfó jīng shū* 觀無量壽佛經疏 (T37: 261b-277b [No. 1753]). Note that my English translations of these names are approximate and are not necessarily literal translations of the corresponding Chinese words.

5. 寶池觀 Jewel Ponds
6. 寶樓觀 Jewel Towers
7. 華座觀 Lotus Seat
8. 像觀 Statues of the Amitāyus Triad
9. 眞身觀 Amitāyus
10. 觀音觀 Avalokiteśvara
11. 勢至觀 Mahāsthāmaprāpta
12. 普觀 One's Own Rebirth in the Pure Land
13. 雜想觀 Amitāyus Triad

In the system of this *sūtra*, the order of individual items is meaningful and important. However, the arrangement of the paintings on this wall is in total disorder, and this situation does not change with the addition of the two scenes. Table 3 gives the correspondences between the paintings and the items to be visualized in the *Visualization Sūtra*.

Table 3

Painting No.	**II.6**	**II.5**	**II.4**	**II.3**	**II.2**	**II.1**
Content of the painting	burning polygonal object [inscription]	burning tree (**inscription** 1)	**checkered ground**	two burning trees from a pond	two flowers from a pond	tower, musical instruments
Corresponding item in the *Visualization Sūtra*	2. water	4. jewel trees	2. water	4. jewel trees (?)	5. jewel ponds (?)	3. ground *or* 6. jewel towers

Painting No.	–	**III.5**	**III.4**	**III.3**	**III.2**	**III.1**
Content of the painting	–	plant, bud [inscription]	baby in a lotus (**inscription 4**)	flower tree, two flowers (**inscription 3**)	flowers with strips (**inscription 2**)	trees with water streams
Corresponding item in the *Visualization Sūtra*	–	12. one's own rebirth (?)	12. one's own rebirth	4. jewel trees	7. lotus seat	5. jewel ponds

Note the numbers of the apparently corresponding items in the *Visualization Sūtra*. The order of these paintings does not at all follow the system of the *sūtra*. In addition, some items (2. water, 4. jewel trees, 5. jewel ponds, 12. one's own rebirth) appear to be depicted more than once on the same wall. Clearly the person who executed these paintings did not pay respect to the system of the *Visualization Sūtra*. As I have argued elsewhere, it suggests that the *Visualization Sūtra* was not considered to have absolute authority in the Turfan area.[48]

[48] Yamabe 1999: 43-44, 2002: 142-143, 2004: 405.

Concluding remarks

Many points are still inconclusive, but after these discussions I think I can suggest a few possible approaches to poorly preserved materials such as the paintings in Toyok Cave 20.

First, sometimes fragments are kept separately from the original site, and – if we can identify such fragments – they can provide very helpful clues for restoring the original state of these paintings. If available, old records, in particular sketches or pictures, can also be highly useful. By digitally combining these pieces of information with fragmentary information remaining on site, we might be able to restore the original image with a degree of reasonable plausibility.

In addition, infrared photography, already widely used for these and similar purposes, is another useful device. Depending on the state of the material, however, even infrared images may not be sufficient. In such cases, with the help of newer advanced photo-retouch software, we can sometimes restore the images to an observable condition. In particular, fusing infrared pictures with visible-light pictures is a promising method, especially in the case of faded paintings.

Using these methods, I have attempted in this paper to offer some additional information on the paintings and inscriptions in Toyok Cave 20. I have not been able to discuss the full significance of these additional findings but have, at least, reconfirmed the very disorderly nature of the paintings. My impression is that they do not contradict my previous arguments concerning the close ties between the paintings and local traditions of meditation.[49]

Technical note

For the pictures taken in 2013, I used Mamiya 645DF+ and Phase One IQ140 (internal IR-cut filter removed) with Mamiya Sekor AF 35mm (figs 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12-14, 16) or Mamiya Sekor AF 80mm LS D (figs

[49] See the sources listed in n. 45.

18-21, 25, 27-33). For visible-light pictures I used RGB LED lights made by ThreeS Electric Instrument Manufactory Co. Ltd 株式会社スリーS電器製作所 (since the natural light could not be blocked, the LED light was mixed with natural sunlight) and an external IR-cut filter (attached in front of the lens). For infrared pictures I used K-Lights (peak, 940nm) made by Sun-Mechatronics, with Fujifilm IR 96 (figs 19, 20, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32) filter or IR92 filter (fig. 27). For the pictures taken in 2010, I used Fuji IS Pro and Nikon AF-S DX Nikkor 16-85 mm zoom lens. For the visible-light pictures (figs 8, 22), I used the aforementioned RGB lights and an IR-cut filter. For the infrared picture (fig. 23), I used infrared LED lights made by ThreeS (peak, approx. 850nm) and a Fujifilm IR88 filter.

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